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THE HISTORY OF A MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN
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CHEIKH ANTA MBACKE BABOU

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AMADU BAMBA AND THE FOUNDING OF THE MURIDIYYA: THE HISTORY OF A MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN SENEGAL (1853-1913)

VOLUME I

By

Cheikh Anta Mbacké Babou

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History

2002

ABSTRACT

AMADU BAMBA AND THE FOUNDING OF THE MURIDIYYA: THE HISTORY OF A MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN SENEGAL (1853-1913)

By

Cheikh Anta Mbacké Babou

This dissertation examines the historical roots of the Muridiyya through an analysis of the internal dynamics of the development of Islam in 19th century Senegal and a reflection on the changing meaning of Islam as agent of cultural and social change. I reconstruct the genesis of the Murid Muslim brotherhood and the biography of the founder, Amadu Bamba, based on a wide variety of sources in several languages. These include taped interviews in Wolof, hagiographies, biographies, and correspondences written in Arabic and Wolofal (Wolof written with Arabic scripts), religious iconography, and French colonial reports.

In this study, I demonstrate that the emergence of the Muridiyya is intimately associated with social and religious changes at work in the Western Sahara and Senegal long before the colonial encounter of the mid-nineteenth century. I show that ideas and perceptions developed in the context of the interactions between rulers, Muslim clerics and Europeans in the pre-colonial setting shaped the relations between the French colonial administration and the Murids in the early development of the brotherhood. I also demonstrate that the Muridiyya is not a mere re-action, a coping strategy to respond to changes wrought by external structural forces, as many scholars have argued, but rather it is an important phase in the development of Islam in Senegal. It is neither the end of a process nor the beginning of another, but part of a continuum that individualizes

itself as an original attempt by Amadu Bamba and his early companions to respond to past and present challenges.

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I dedicate this dissertation to Fatime, to my mother, and to my late father, Usseynu Babou, who taught me the virtue of persistence and excellence.

ACKNOWLEGEMENTS

Far more people than those recognized in these pages have in various ways helped me in the research and writing of this dissertation. Omitting them here in no ways diminishes my gratitude to them. I am also indebted to the Rockefeller Foundation for the funding that made possible twelve months of fieldwork in Senegal. The College of Arts and Letters of Michigan State University funded a subsequent trip to Senegal and provided the resources that allowed me to work full time on the dissertation for a whole semester.

Among the scholars and friends that I have to thank, I would like to give special recognition to David Robinson. Dave was not simply an adviser to me. He was a colleague, a guide, and a mentor. Since our first meeting in Senegal in the summer of 1994, he has taken an equal interest in my development as a scholar, and in my family's well being. The completion of this dissertation owes at lot to his unswerving support, trust and confidence in me, and to his guidance. I must also extend my thanks to the members of my dissertation committee, Leslie Moch, Harold Marcus, and my prayers go the late Chris Vanderpool.

I am deeply indebted to Ellen Foley and Paap Joob whose hospitality and genuine friendship made our life in East Lansing much enjoyable. Ellen and Paap are more than friends they are true members of our family. As for Ellen, our common interest in the study of the people and cultures of Senegal and our and stimulating intellectual exchanges has created a strong bond between us. I am especially grateful to Richard and

Beth Moore. The Moore opened their door to us and to our friends, and they were truly a second family to my wife and me.

I also want to thank my fellow graduate students at MSU. Tibebe Eshete shares my interest in the study of religion in Africa and our frequent conversations on the topic have been an inspiration for me. Ellen Foley, Carmella Garritano, Tamba Mbayo, Mikelle Antoine, and Ibra sene took the pain to read and edit the manuscript. Bartek Plichta generously helped me with the scanning of documents, the editing and formatting of the dissertation.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the generosity of many people in Senegal. The archival research for this project was carried out at the National Archives of Senegal, and I would like to thank its director, Saliu Mbay, my friend and fellow historian Babakar Njaay and Mamadu Njaay for their help. I also would like to thank Gora Ja at the library of IFAN, Jean Pierre Juuf and Abu Musa Ndongo at the Documentation Center of CODESRIA, Charles Becker who welcomed me in his rich private library, and my friend, professor Ibrahima Cubb, for his support. I am also grateful to Wendy Wilson Fall, the director of the West African Research Center, and her staff for their assistance during my field research in Senegal.

Elhaaj Mbakke, the head of the Library Maktabatul Shaikh ul Xadiim, and his assistants provided invaluable help. In Tuubaa, I have also benefited from the kind support of Seriň Xadim Mbakke, Seriň Basiiru Mbakke Anta Ňaŋ, my friend and colleague Afia Ňaŋ, Seriň Moodu Maamun Ňaŋ, Seriň Elhaaj Jaxate, and Seriň Mbay. The late Seriň Mbakke Astu in Daaru Salaam, my friend and mentor, wrote letters of introduction and showed interest in my work. In Mbakke Bawol, I am grateful to Seriň

Mustafa Caytu, Seriň Shaikh Maam Balla, Maamun Caam, Mustafaa Njaate, the late Sawru Mbay, and professor Mustafa Ley. My thanks also go to the many Murid disciples and shaikhs across Senegal who made their private archives available to me and responded kindly to my questions.

My friends Aida and Gregoire Lawson welcomed me in their beautiful house and greatly contributed to make my stay in Dakar both fruitful and pleasant. My oldest friend Axma Faal has long followed my work and has been of constant support for the pursuit of my academic career. I also need to thank him for introducing me to the powerful Murid family of Daaru Xudoos and for making the trip from Washington to Lansing to attend my defense.

My warmest gratitude belongs to my wife, Faatim Joob. I am eternally indebted to her for the sacrifices she has made in allowing me to pursue and achieve this goal.

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Note on Wolof Orthography

Wolof words that appear in this study are spelled according to the official system presently in use in Senegal. Doubled vowels such as in "baadoolo," represent elongated pronunciation. Most vowel sounds are pronounced as in European languages. The consonant "c" as in "ceddo," is pronounced like "ch" in English, while the letter "x" as in "xalwa" is pronounced like the Spanish sound "j." The letter "ñ" as in "seriñ" corresponds with the sound heard in the French word "règne" the semi-vowel "ŋ" in "Ñaŋ is pronounced like the "ng" in King.

For names of Wolof persons and places, I have used the official transcription, for example, Amadu Bamba instead of Amadou Bamba. I have left names that appear in French documents and names of authors in the original orthography, Abdoulaye Bara Diop instead of Abdulaay Baara Joob, for example. For the names of pre-colonial Wolof kingdoms and places I have used the modern transcription throughout, unless in quotations, for example Kajoor instead of Cayor and Bawol instead of Baol.

GLOSSARY OF IMPORTANT TERMS

Baraka: gift of grace, blessing, divinely derived power.

Ceddo: slaves of the crown that formed the army of the pre-colonial Senegalese kingdoms, the word also describe Wolof aristocracy and their allies.

Daara: koranic school.

Daara tarbiyya: Murid working schools where 10 to 25 years old disciples devote their time to working in the field and worshipping under the guidance of a supervisor.

Jawriň: representative of shaikh in a *daara* or any other places.

Jebëlu: submission to a shaikh.

Jihad: struggle, striving, effort directed toward inner religious perfection (jihad of the soul) or armed struggle against non-Muslims (jihad of the sword).

Maggal: pigrimage, commemoration.

Marabout: french word for religious notable in general.

Muqaddam: A Sufi leader member of a brotherhood who has the authorization to distribute the *wird.*

Nafs: animal instincts in every human being that create the need for food, sleep, etc...

Qadiriyya: "Q" read like "x" in Xerox, a Muslim brotherhood founded by Abdel Qadir Al Jilani in Bagdad, Iraq, in the 11th century.

Qotb or Qutb: the pole of an era recognized for his spiritual power and closeness to God.

Shaikh, Sheikh or *Shaykh (plural shuyuukh*): a master or Muslim religious leader.

Sufi: a Muslim mystic.

Sufism: Islamic mysticism that emphasizes the use of esoteric means to get closer to God.

Takk der: disciple in the daara tarbiyya.

Taalibe: disciple of a shaikh.

Tarbiyya: a Sufi system of education that aims at educating the soul through worship, work and meditation.

Tafsir or Tamsir: somebody who masters the whole Koran and can recite it and write it from memory.

Tijaniyya: a Muslim brotherhood founded by Shaikh Ahamad Al Tijaani in Fez, Morocco in the late 18th century.

Wolofal: Wolof language written with Arabic script

ABBREVIATIONS

ANFOM	Archives Nationales de la France Section Outre-Mer.
ANS	Archives Nationales du Sénégal.
AOF	Afrique Occidentale Française.
BCAF/RC	Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes Françaises/Renseignements Coloniaux.
BCEHSAOF	Bulletin du Comité des Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française.
BIFAN	Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, Dakar.
CEA	Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, Paris.
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.
CRA	Centre de Recherches Africaines, Paris.
DEA	Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies.
DOSSAB	Dossier Amadou Bamba.
IBLA	Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes à Tunis.
IJAHS	International Journal of African Historical Studies, Boston.
JAH	Journal of African History, London.
ORSTOM	Organisation pour la Recherche Scientifique et technique Outremer now Institut pour la Recherche et le Developpement (IRD).

1. Introduction

1.1. Justification of the research.

The Muridiyya is a Sufi Muslim organization or *tariqa*, a word that in Arabic means a "path," and here it means specifically a mystical way or path to get closer to God. In English the word *tariqa* is often translated as "order" or "brotherhood." In this work I will be using these three words interchangeably to refer to the organization that Amadu Bamba founded in Senegal by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Mudidiyya derives from Murid, which in Arabic means "aspirant." Murid is the name that adherents to the Murid brotherhood have coined for themselves.

The Muridiyya was not the first Sufi brotherhood in Senegal. By the eighteenth century, the Qadiriyya order had spread in the area; the Tijaniyya gained a considerable following in the nineteenth century, and still remains the largest Sufi order in Senegambia. In contrast to the Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya that are chapters of orders founded in the Middle East and North Africa, The Muridiyya originated from Senegal. The brotherhood emerged gradually as a structured and autonomous Sufi organization from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. It developed in the pre-colonial Wolof kingdoms of Kajoor and Bawol in a context marked by internecine warfare, slavery, increasing exploitation by the rulers, and French colonial conquest. The order's message of worship, work and distrust of temporal power holders, exerted an appeal to all strata of Wolof society, but it was particularly attractive to people of lower social status who identified with Amadu Bamba's critiques of the increasingly dysfunctional social order and his emphasis on communal organization and solidarity. Amadu Bamba and a

small group of his disciples started the movement in Kajoor in the early 1880s; by the eve of WWI, French sources numbered the Murid disciples at over 70,000 people, in the early 1950's colonial estimations put the number of Amadu Bamba's followers at 300,000, now over a third of the 10 million Senegalese belongs to the Murid brotherhood.

The Muridiyya has attracted much scholarly attention. It is arguably the most studied Sufi order in West Africa. Two main reasons explain the attraction that the Muridiyya exerted to scholars. First, there are abundant and accessible colonial archival materials on the brotherhood. The second reason stems from the central role that the organization plays in contemporary Senegalese society. By the time the bulk of scholarly work on the Murids was produced in the late 1960s, the Muridiyya had become a major political and economic force in Senegal. Murid traders had already started to take control of the informal sector of the economy. The Murid caliph's voice has carried and still carries much political weight and his support to the government of newly independent Senegal was perceived as a major guarantee of political stability in the country. Some scholars even referred to what they called the "social contract of Senegal," which they described as a sort of power sharing between the hierarchy of the Muslim brotherhoods, especially the Muridiyya, and the state. They saw the Muslim orders of Senegal as a form of civil society mediating the relationships between the government and the population in the rural area. The current development of a dynamic Murid diaspora in Africa, Europe and the United State has created a renewal of scholarly interest in the brotherhood.

The Muridiyya did not appeal to historians. Social scientists and specialists of religion produced much of the works on the Murids. My Masters thesis on the origins of

the order that I defended at the History Department of University Cheikh Anta Diop of Dakar (UCAD) in 1991 was the first work by an historian on the Muridiyya. However, more recently, historians have been showing some interest in the study of the organization.[1] This research is the first comprehensive study of the history of the Murid brotherhood.

Three main reasons explain my interest in the Muridiyya. One is personal and the other two are related to the literature on the Murids and the contemporary development of the organization. I grew up in the Murid heartland, 7 km from the holy city of Tuubaa, the spiritual capital of the Murids, and I belong to a prominent Murid family. Growing up in Mbakke Bawol, I have been intrigued by the dynamism and zeal of the thousands of Murid disciples that came from everywhere in Senegal and stayed in our home and city during the annual Murid pilgrimages, and the numerous gatherings organized by Murid leaders.

My scholarly interest in the Muridiyya originated from my experience at the History Department of University Cheikh Anta Diop of Dakar and the recent changes in the organization. I was first exposed to scholarly literature on the history of Islam in West Africa in my third year at the University in 1990. The reading list on the Murids was composed of works by sociologists, political scientists, and Anthropologists. There were some articles and books by specialists of Islam and colonial administrators, but

---

[1] In the 1990's David Robinson has written a couple of articles on the relations between the Murids and the colonial administration. A chapter of his recent book, *Paths of Accommodation* (Ohio U. Press, 2000) is devoted to Amadu Bamba. More recently, three Masters thesis on the history of Amadu Bamba's successors and brothers have been defended in UCAD. A Ph.D thesis on the founding of Daaru Musti, the second largest Murid city in Senegal, was presented at the University of Illinois at Chicago in 2000. In his recent book on Islam and Emancipation in Senegal, *God Alone is King* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002), James Searing devotes two chapters to the study of the conditions of the emergence of the Muridiyya in Kajoor and Bawol.

nothing by historians. I was struck by the absence of historical works on such an important social, economic, and cultural phenomenon in the past and present of Senegal. I was further struck by the difference between scholarly reconstruction of the history and development of the Muridiyya and the way that the Murids understood and interpreted their history. It seemed to me that there were two parallel versions of the history of the Muridiyya, each based on specific premises and sources. The scholarly version was built on ideas, perceptions and evidences mostly influenced by colonial archival sources while the Murid version was inspired by the abundant but largely untapped oral and written documents generated within the brotherhood. One goal of this work is to bring into conversation these two versions of the history of the Muridiyya.

Moreover, since the first books on the Muridiyya were produced in the 1960s, the development of the organization has taken a course that belied most scholarly predictions. Paul Marty, the colonial administrator whose work has the most influenced scholarly literature on the Muridiyya, predicted that this institution would not survive Amadu Bamba whom he perceived as the only unifying figure of the brotherhood.[2] In the late 1960s Cruise O'Brien made a similar prediction, arguing that the increasing modernization of Senegalese society expressed through urbanization, the expansion of Western education, and the development of a market economy would gradually lead to the weakening and decline of the power and authority of Murid shaikh.[3] However, already in the 1980s, the Senegalese sociologist Momar C. Diop noted that modernization

---

[2] See Paul Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam au Sénégal*, tome I, les Personnes (Paris: Leroux, 1917), p. 287.
[3] Donal Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Sénégal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) p. 238. See also Cruise O'Brien and Coulon, ed. *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p.136.

did not lead to the weakening of the organization instead Murids had developed successful strategies for adapting to urbanization.[4]

By exploring the historical roots of the founding of the Muridiyya, this dissertation seeks to help understand how a century old Muslim brotherhood founded by Senegalese farmers has succeeded in modernizing and spreading to a wide variety of followers and situations. In my view, the basic explanation for the movement's ability to grow and adapt to changes derives from a Murid pedagogy, which emphasizes loyalty, solidarity, pragmatism, and organization over prescriptive norms, thereby creating in adherents a remarkable flexibility in responding to new situations. This flexibility has enabled the brotherhood to accommodate and prosper in changing contexts and environments and has favored the accumulation of economic and cultural capital, which maintains, reproduces and expands the Murid ethos.

1.2. Review of the literature

There is a remarkable consensus in the perception of the Muridiyya by scholars. They interpreted the organization as a secular conservative rural movement whose historic function was to adapt Wolof farmers to changes spurred by colonization.[5] They emphasized the material dimension of the brotherhood and paid little attention to spiritual and religious aspects. The main outline of the story of the founding of the Muridiyya that is widely shared by scholars of the brotherhood was drawn in Marty's study of the

---

[4] Momar Coumba Diop, "La Confrérie Mouride: Organisation Politique et Mode d'Implantation Urbaine," (Thèse de troisième cycle sous la direction du professeur Jean Girard, UER de Psychology et des sciences sociales, Lyon 2, 1980), p.13.

[5] The recent work by John L. Glover, "Maam Cerno and the Settlement of Darou Mousty, 1912-1947," (Dissertation Thesis, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2000), and Searing, *God Alone is King*, op cit. diverge from this trend.

Murid order. Marty was born in 1882 in Alger. He pursued a career of interpreter in the French colonial army that took him to Tunisia then Morocco, where he published his first works on some Arabic dialects of the region. He joined the office of the Governor General of French Africa in Dakar in 1910, and worked closely as an interpreter and Officer of Muslim Affairs for William Ponty.[6] Marty remained in West Africa for nine years, and his two volumes book on Islam in Senegal published in 1917 strongly influenced French Muslim policy.[7]

Marty was an unsympathetic observer of Islam and the Muridiyya. He constructed the brotherhood as a heretical religious movement where Islam was used as mere façade to masquerade the political and economic ambitions of Murid leaders. For him, Black Africans are incapable of comprehending the Islamic doctrine, and in the Senegalese context, Muslim Sufi leaders are mere substitutes to the fetishes of the traditional religion. Marty emphasized the persistence of pre-Islamic beliefs in the Muridiyya. He conceived the brotherhood as a *wolofisation* of Islam, that is a new religion that draws some inspiration from Islam, but which is profoundly shaped by Wolof traditional beliefs. He offered a more sympathetic depiction of the Tijaniyya and the Qadiriyya although these two brotherhoods were also labeled syncretistic and religiously corrupt. Marty did not have much respect for local Muslim clerics. Comparing the Moorish and Black Muslim scholars he noted that in contrast to Moorish clerics, the Black Muslim's brain is resistant to the Islamic dogma and that they are

---

6 See L. Bercher, "Nécrologie de Paul Marty," in *Revue Tunisienne* 33-34 (1938): 15-17.
[7] On Marty's influence on French Islamic policy see Ed Van Hoven, "The Nation Turbaned" in *Journal of Religion in Africa* xxx-2 (2000):225-248, p.230

intellectually unfit to understand the extreme subtlety of the morphology and syntax of the Arabic language.[8]

Marty's biased view of Islam in Senegal was shaped by the French ethnography of the nineteenth century and the deficit of knowledge about the history of Islam in sub Saharan Africa. When reflecting about Muslims in West Africa, this ethnography distinguishes between "Semitic" and "Hamitic," peoples and adopted an essentialist view that associated pure Islam with the Arabs and the Berbers, and interpreted the Islamic practices of sub-Saharan Black Africans as superficial and tainted. Marty's work lacked the historical perspective, which would have showed him the long history of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa and the deep roots of Islamic education and culture among the Wolof, that were forged through centuries of multiform contacts and interactions between Arabs and Africans living in the northern and southern edges of the Sahara. Marty's artificial distinction between Moorish and Black Islam overlooks the "common intellectual tradition"[9] shared by Muslim scholars and clerics on both sides of the Senegal River.

Marty's biographical description of Amadu Bamba constitutes the central piece of his work on the Muridiyya.[10] In his reconstitution of Bamba's life Marty relied heavily on colonial reports produced between 1889 and 1912, which was a period that coincided with the protracted conflict between the Murids and the French. He endorsed the information and analysis generated by his colleague administrators. Marty painted a contrasted image of Amadu Bamba.

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8 See "Rapport à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général sur les écoles coraniques." ANS, J.86. p. 13.
[9] I borrow this expression from Charles Stewart, see "Southern Saharan Scholarship and Bilad al Sudan" in *J.A.H.* XVII, 1(1976): 73-93.
[10] See Paul Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam au Sénégal*, tome I op cit.. pp..223-232.

He described the young Bamba as an associate of the radical Muslims and the *ceddo* régime in Kajoor, Bawol and Saalum. He argued that the early involvement of Bamba with the aristocracy and rulers of the Wolof states inspired his political ambitions. Rehearsing the arguments many times made by previous colonial administrators, he asserted that since the death of Lat Joor in 1886, Amadu Bamba's life was guided by the single objective of replacing the kings defeated by the French. He saw the founder of the Muridiyya as the representative of the ancient spirit of Wolof independence. Marty identified those who followed Amadu Bamba with the distraught former slaves, peasants and casted people in Kajoor and Bawol who found in the cleric an object of worship and a patron, and the defeated aristocracy and their *ceddo* warriors who sought to retrieve their lost social status by allying themselves with a powerful man. For Marty, the Muridiyya performed two major roles in Wolof society. First, it was an attempt to reconstruct the society, which was profoundly disrupted by the colonial onslaught and second, it provided to backward strata a means to continue a passive resistance against French civilization and rule.

Marty recognized that Amadu Bamba was a devout Muslim and an accomplished scholar for his time and milieu. He acknowledged the sincerity of his beliefs and his personal dedication to Sufi ideas. However, for Marty, it was only after 1912, that the cleric, realizing the futility of his quest for political power, had resigned to confining his actions to the religious domain. In his work on the Murids, Marty paid little attention to Murid doctrine and religious practices, and he emphasized the secular nature of the organization, which was founded to respond to the material needs of the Wolof who were profoundly disturbed by the colonial conquest.

One can safely say that Marty's work on the Muridiyya has established the paradigm that still shapes studies of the order.[11] This paradigm is articulated around three basic assumptions: Bamba was influenced by the traditional Wolof aristocracy, and the founding of the Muridiyya was motivated by political goals; the Muridiyya is fundamentally a secular movement that functioned as the Wolof's response to colonization; Amadu Bamba did not play the central role in the founding of the Muridiyya but rather the social forces that coalesced behind him.

Scholars have criticized Marty for his racist and simplistic view of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa. Some have noted his prejudices in the depiction of the Muridiyya. But his study of the brotherhood remains influential. The enduring influence of Marty's interpretation of the Muridiyya despite its obvious flaws is remarkable.[12] Marty's work remains a valuable source of the Muridiyya, as far as its documentary value is concerned. It provides a rather complete synthesis of the archival resources on the relations between the Murids and the French between 1889 and 1912. Marty's article also contains unique statistical and demographical information on the early development of the Muridiyya. It

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[11] In a recent work on Sufi orders in Dakar, following previous scholars, Adriana Piga reasserted the validity of Marty's interpretation of the Muridiyya. See *Dakar et les Ordres soufis* (Paris: l'Harmattan, 2002), p. 75.

[12] Martin Klein noted the prejudice in Marty's work but observed that, "There is little material which can be used to contrast with "*Etudes sur l'Islam.*" See the "The Islamization of the Wolof" in D.F.McCall, N. R. Bennett, J. Buttler, eds. *Western African History*, Boston University Papers on Africa, vol. IV (New York: Praeger, 1971), p.116. However, Contemporary French scholars of Islam received Marty's work on the Murids with reserve and caution, and to some extent even doubted its scientific validity. In fact, when Governor General William Ponty sent Marty's article to the *Revue du Monde Musulman* in 1913, the journal's editorial board felt it necessary to write a disclaimer where it dissociated itself from Marty's analysis and interpretations. In their note to the reader they mentioned their disagreement with Marty's view that the Muridiyya was a new religion and instead noted that it was more appropriate to classify the organization among the mystic Sufi orders such as those found in Asia, which are at the extreme fringes of Islam, but still part of it. They noted that Marty's article was not the work of a specialist of Islam but rather the report of a civil servant addressed to the colonial authorities and whose major aim was to help in the maintenance of order. They also added that Marty was dealing with issues that were familiar to scholars of Islam but might be less familiar to civil servants like him who specialized in other domains. See *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 7ième année, vol.XXV (Décembre 1913): 1-2.

gives a list of the Murid shaikhs and their distribution in the districts and villages of the colony. It shows the balance of power between the different Sufi orders of Senegal. The article also draws useful physical and moral portraits of some Murid leaders, but it was less concerned with the average disciples. Marty is a less valuable source when it comes to the interpretive and analytical value of his works.

Cruise O'Brien's works on the Muridiyya, despite sharp criticisms of Marty's biases and prejudices, followed in the latter's footsteps. He shared Marty's view that the Muridiyya was primarily a response to the colonial onslaught. Like Marty, he saw the year 1886, as the turning point in the founding of the order. O'Brien believed that the Muridiyya functioned as a response to French imperialism. He portrays the brotherhood as mainly a this-worldly organization. For him Murid beliefs provided psychological solace to the Wolof people who were disoriented by the upheavals brought about by French conquest and the destruction of traditional social structures. However, according to O'Brien, it was the organizational aspect rather than the doctrine that appealed to people who joined the organization.[13]

The picture that Cruise O'Brien drew of Amadu Bamba focused on three aspects of his personality: a Sufi saint, a scholar, and a teacher.[14] He contends that Bamba was a saint, a pious and ascetic Muslim whose life was mainly devoted to the improvement of his own religious knowledge.[15] Amadu Bamba showed little interest in worldly affairs. As a saint, Amadu Bamba remained in the Sufi tradition by rejecting extremism and reassuring transcendence through the Koran and *Sunna* (tradition of the Prophet

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[13] Donal Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p.289.
[14] Donal Cruise O'Brien, *Saints and Politicians* (Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 36.
[15] Ibid, p. 36.

Muhammad). When he analyzes the writings and teachings of Amadu Bamba, Cruise O'Brien particularly highlights the importance of submission. However, he indicates that Amadu Bamba did not direct the disciples in their choice of a Shaikh (spiritual leader). He did give some warnings in elusive terms, but the disciples were responsible for choosing their "necessary guide." Cruise O'Brien maintains that Amadu Bamba's teachings were based on realism, because the conversion of a great mass of "semi-pagans" could not instantly eradicate former beliefs and practices. Bamba was also realistic by providing writings that could be used to teach some basic religious principles. On the whole, for Cruise O'Brien, Amadu Bamba was an otherworldly saint.[16] He did not proselytize, but he gave his blessing to the activists.

Analyzing the factors that favored the expansion of the Muridiyya, O'Brien argues that the new brotherhood's appeal was most successful among those who had been greatly affected by the changes introduced by colonial rule.[17] The slaves, people of low social status, and poor peasants joined massively the Muridiyya where they found "security and protection" under the umbrella of the *marabouts*, who could provide a leadership adjusted to the new context.[18] Cruise O'Brien contends that these people of low social extraction were responsible for giving to the brotherhood its most distinctive feature that is the extreme submission to authority.

O'Brien also observed that the ancient ruling aristocracy of the defeated Wolof kingdoms played an important role in the founding and development of the Muridiyya. He argues that many of the dismissed chiefs and their courtiers rallied around the

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[16] Ibid, p. 36.
[17] Ibid, p. 58.
[18] Ibid p. 35.

marabouts in an effort to recover some of their lost prestige.[19] Ibrahima Faal, whom he considers to be a member of the former *ceddo* aristocracy, is viewed as the active agent of innovation in the Muridiyya.[20] Based on statistical data provided by Marty, Cruise O'Brien correlates the development of the Muridiyya with the dismantling of the ancient Wolof kingdoms, thus proving that the brotherhood had replaced the destroyed Wolof traditional political and social structures.

For O'Brien, another important feature of the Muridiyya is found in its role in the economy. He contends that the brotherhood's major organizational innovation is the "working *daara*".[21] He notes that work bears a particular significance in the brotherhood's ideology. It is by working for his *marabout* that the disciple earns his thanks. The Murid believes that the gratitude of his shaikh equals God's blessings and therefore can bring him, his relatives, and even his friends to heaven.[22] However, for the Murids the material needs take precedence over any other preoccupation. Therefore "the success of the Muridiyya seems explicable with only occasional reference to properly "religious variables."[23]

In his interpretation of Amadu Bamba and the Muridiyya, Cruise O'Brien comes up with two images, which are starkly opposed. Amadu Bamba is viewed as an otherworldly saint who showed little interest in worldly things. He was attracted to meditation and learning. He did not value material wealth and he resented the crowds

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[19] Ibid , p. 57.
[20] Ibid p. 148.
[21] Ibid, p. 163. The working *daara* or "working school" is a typical Murid innovation, for further information on this institution see chapter IV and V of this work.
[22] Ibid, p. 175.
[23] *The Mourides*, op cit. p.9

that gathered around him.[24] Conversely, the Muridiyya is interpreted mainly as an organization whose aims were materialistic. It functioned as an instrument for the reconstruction of the Wolof society that allowed the followers to act more effectively within the economic and political framework of French colonial rule.[25] One can wonder to what extent Amadu Bamba, the otherworldly saint, contributed to the creation of the Muridiyya, a mainly worldly organization.

For O'Brien, Bamba's role in the founding of the Muridiyya mainly rests on his charismatic power. He observed that, "Amadu bamba's greatest contribution to the development of the new brotherhood was not in his organizational activity, or even in his teaching, but in the supernatural powers which the followers attributed to him in Weber's term, his charismatic legitimacy."[26] Max Weber distinguishes between legal, traditional and charismatic authorities, which are three major forms of legitimizing relations of domination.[27] For Weber, the charismatic leader appears in a time of crisis and he acts as a revolutionary that breaks with tradition. Charisma is typically an anti-economic force and the charismatic authority repudiates involvement in every day routine of life. The charismatic leader's influence is solely based in his followers' belief in his supernatural powers. In Weber's view charisma is unstable and short-lived, and it becomes quickly routinized in the traditional or rational forms of authority after the death of the charismatic leader.

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[24] *Saints and Politicians*, op cit, pp. 39-40.
[25] *The Mourides*, op cit. 289.
[26] *Ibid*, p. 53
[27] See Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp 359-364

O'Brien's use of Max Weber's ideal type of charismatic authority as an analytical tool to interpret Amadu Bamba and the Muridiyya poses a number of problems.[28] It is clear that Bamba does not fit Weber's definition of a charismatic leader. Bamba's legitimacy as a leader was patiently constructed; he followed a pedigree that is well established in the Western Sahara, and which is built around learning, piety, sainthood, and family lineage. Bamba did not either break with tradition, he criticized the traditional Muslim leadership, but his calling has focused on the necessity to return to an orthodoxy that claims to improve but not to abandon the past. He called for reform and renewal, but not for the destruction of the tradition. Bamba shared the common intellectual heritage of scholars and clerics of the Western Sahara. His death did not lead to the disappearance or demise of the Muridiyya, and charisma has not been routinized. O'Brien indeed, noted in his last edited book on Sufi Islam in Africa that miracles attributed to Amadu Bamba are still being witnessed.[29]

However, it seems that Amadu Bamba's personality offers a synthesis of some of the main characteristics that Weber found in his three types of authorities. Bamba built his legitimacy upon the inherited tradition of scholarship and wisdom of his ancestry and his own accomplishment as a man of God believed by his disciples and the wider Senegalese community to have benefited from a special blessing. The success of his movement is also explicable by the strong sense of discipline, hierarchy and organization that Weber associates with the rational legal authority.

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[28] On the difficulties of applying the Weberian concept of charisma to religion and Islam in particular, see Glen Wade McLaughlin, "Sufi Saint, Sharif Muhammad Fadil Wuld Mamin: His spiritual Legacy, and the Political Economy of the Sacred in Nineteenth Century Mauritania," (dissertation thesis, Northwestern University, Evanston Illinois, June 1997.) pp.7-11; see also David M. Anderson and Douglas H. Johnson, *Revealing Prophets* (London: James Currey, 1995): 11-12.

[29] See also Cruise O'Brien and Coulon, ed. *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam*, op cit. p.137.

O'Brien's work on the Muridiyya was mainly based on French archival sources. He made some use of the oral tradition that he collected during his field research in the Murid heartland of Bawol during the mid-1960s, but he did not place the interpretation of these sources in a historical context. He was suspicious of his informants and did not even judge it necessary to mention their names in his bibliography. Although he shared the colonial administration's beliefs about the exploitative nature of the relations between Murid disciples and shaikh, O'Brien corrected some of their misconceptions by emphasizing the latter's contribution to their followers and the redistribution of wealth within the brotherhood.

Conducting his research in the context of the recent African independence, O'Brien was seemingly looking for a politically significant social movement. He was fascinated by the apparently dominant political role that the Muridiyya played in the 1960's and might have been unwittingly influenced by the strong nationalist ideology that swept West Africa by the time. His narrow functionalist approach and his reliance on Marty and the colonial archives prevented him from perceiving the central role that Amadu Bamba and the Murids played in the genesis and evolution of the brotherhood. Because of his materialist analysis of the development of the order, O'Brien did not take seriously the religious beliefs and motivations of Murid disciples in adhering to the brotherhood. His interpretation of the Muridiyya makes of the Murids passive objects in the making of their history.

Christian Coulon's work on Islam in Senegal focuses on issues of politics and power. Coulon offers a longitudinal study of the relations between rulers and clerics

from the pre-colonial to the contemporary era.[30] He drew a distinction between the "armed prophets" of Fuuta Tooro in northern Senegal and the "prophet preachers" of the Wolof country, and he observes that it is the latter that gave to Senegalese Islam its character. Coulon distinguishes between political and religious authorities and identifies three major phases in their interactions. He notes that the relations between clerics and rulers have been historically characterized by ambivalence, exchanges of services, and collaboration. Coulon does not believe in the widely held view that *marabouts* in Senegal were involved in a sort of indirect rule where they mediated between the administration and the people. He rather stressed colonial distrust of Muslim leaders and the ideological autonomy of Islam. Coulon considered that Sufi Islam provided to the shaikh a basis for the foundation of an autonomous power that competed with, and balanced the power of political authorities.

In contrast to many works on Islam in Senegal, Coulon has the merit of placing his research in the framework of the changing historical and socio-cultural context of the development of the religion in Senegal. Thus, bridging the gap between pre-colonial and post-colonial history. However, he was more concerned with how the organizations he studied responded to external situations rather than with their internal dynamics. Coulon, for example, interpreted the Muridiyya as a messianic movement, which functioned as a popular mode of political action. The use of oral materials and internal sources would have provided him a more complete and balanced picture, and an understanding of the motivations of those who adhered to the Muslim movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Senegal.

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[30] Christian Coulon, *Le Marabout et le prince : islam et pouvoir en afrique noire* (Paris: Pedone, 1981); *Les musulmans et le pouvoir en afrique noire* (Paris: Karthala, 1983).

Jean Copan's study of the Muridiyya shares with the works reviewed above their focus on the influence of external structural forces on the founding and development of the Muridiyya, and the lack of interest in religious variables. Copan's study of the Muridiyya is inspired by a Marxist framework. He interprets the brotherhood in the framework of the expansion of French imperialism, class struggle and the international division of labor. According to Copans, the Muridiyya responds to three imperatives created by French colonialism.[31] First, the need to grow peanuts, second, the necessity of a new organizing structure for the production of this cash crop, and third, the need to supply labor for the colonial economy. For Copans, whether consciously or subconsciously, the Murid shaikhs became the organizers of the colonial economy.[32] Therefore, the Muridiyya functioned as an ideological apparatus, which mediated the incorporation of Senegal into the world market economy.

Unlike previous studies of the Muridiyya, Copan's book was based on serious fieldwork that he conducted with an interdisciplinary team of French researchers in the 1970s in the Murid heartland of Kajoor and Bawol and elsewhere in Senegal. He was the team's anthropologist. Copans work raised the issues of migration, village organization, local authority, and labor that have not been addressed in previous research on the brotherhood. He was able to study the Muridiyya from a comparative perspective, and his findings allowed to correct many generalizations made about the Murids, and which were not specific to the brotherhood, but were rather typical of the Wolof farmers. He demonstrated for example, that the most written and theorized about Murid work ethic did not differ very much with the average Wolof farmers'. He also

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[31] Jean Copans, *Les Marabouts de l'arachide* (Paris: le Sycomore, 1980), p. 228
[32] ibid.

made an important contribution by distinguishing between the Murid students in the "working school," which has been defined by scholars as the typical Murid disciple, and the average Wolof peasant that constitute the overwhelming majority of Murids. He noted that many generalizations that have been made about the Murids, in regards to work, donations and extreme dependence, only apply to the *daara* students.

The main weakness of Copans work is found in his narrow structuralist approach that does not allow for a perception of Murid shaikh and disciples' agency. His model suggests that the Murids were merely reacting to external stimulus. In his study he paid little attention to Murid beliefs, which he perceived as mere false consciousness. Copan's work also lacked a historical context. However, in the last edition of his book (1988), he offered a new perspective on the Muridiyya. Recognizing that the "death of peanuts economy" did not lead to the weakening of the Murid order, he called for the necessity to pay closer attention to the history of the Murids and the impact of cultural and religious factors in the development of the brotherhood. My dissertation is a response to this call that has been also made by Cruise O'Brien, Michelle Villeneuve and other scholars of the Muridiyya.

1.3. Research perspectives

My present study addresses some of the issues raised in the works reviewed above, but it is framed by premises that are different from those that have guided previous authors. While studies of the Muridiyya focus on the important role of external structural factors (colonial onslaught and the introduction of a market economy) in the foundation of the organization, my research explores the impact of internal socio-cultural and political elements and stresses the agency of Murid shaikh and disciples. I do not

see Islam as a mere interstitial force whose significance is transitory and secondary, I take seriously Murid religious beliefs and motivations. I see the founding of the Muridiyya as part of the ongoing effort of Muslim clerics in Senegal and the Western Sahara in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to reform increasingly dysfunctional societies. I share Louis Brenner's view that "The emergence of *turuq* [plural of *tariqa*] in West Africa...was not a accident but the result of conscious decisions by Sufi leaders who saw in them a potential not only for religious change, but also for social and political transformation."[33]

In my work, I examine the historical roots of the Muridiyya through an analysis of the internal dynamics of the expansion of Islam in nineteenth century Senegal. I emphasize the motivations of Amadu Bamba and his earliest followers and concentrate on the theory and practices of Murid education. By emphasizing Murid educational practices and values my study departs from the existing literature, renews and broadens scholarly knowledge of the history and development of the Muridiyya. My present research has greatly benefited from my previous experience in studying the Muridiyya and my family ties with some branches of the brotherhood. I have had unparalleled access to bearers of Murid oral traditions and to Arabic and Wolof written sources of the brotherhood. I was able to tap into resources that have not been accessible to previous researchers.

However, the relative ease to access internal Murid sources facilitated by my connections in the brotherhood can also be a liability. The history of Amadu Bamba and the Muridiyya told by bearers of oral tradition is subject to editing and refashioning, it

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[33] Louis Brenner, "Concepts of Târiqa in West Africa," in Cruise O'Brien and Christian Coulon eds. *Charisma and Brotherhood,* op cit p. 35.

remains a living history of a cultural hero and guide, whose life and deeds still constitute an inspiration for millions of people. However, my intimate knowledge of the Murid brotherhood and the use of a variety of sources from different provenances and supports helped to minimize the adverse effect of uncritical use of oral sources.

The Muridiyya is not a homogenous organization in which everybody agrees about everything, as the literature on the Murids would lead one to believe. From the order's inception, Amadu Bamba faced the hostility of his family and his fellow clerics, and the organization he founded was riddled by conflicts between competing factions that struggled to earn his confidence and build their own power base in hopes of taking control of the brotherhood after his death.

Therefore, there are layers of conflicting information, silences, and gaps in the stories told by different lineages, groups of disciples, and members of Bamba's family. My familiarity with these lineages and groups that produce these stories puts me in a unique position to be able to disentangle the layers of information and to fill the gaps and silences by comparing and contrasting the different versions of Murid oral stories.

Furthermore, the abundant Murid written literature in Arabic and *Wolofal* (Wolof language written with Arabic script), which thus far has not attracted much attention from researchers, also constitutes another means to check, balance and corroborate oral sources. Some of these written documents are contemporary to the events they describe, such as Amadu Bamba's correspondence and some of his works, others are written oral histories or biographies composed by disciples or members of Bamba's family. Dating these written documents constitutes the main challenge to the historian. However, they contain clues such as names of places and administrators, outbreak of epidemics,

ecological phenomenon, and allusions to historically dated events that can help place the stories on a historical timeline. Moreover, many of my informants used the Muslim calendar and they were able to correlate the events they recounted with their own ages, the ages of their parents, or the ages of the historical actors involved in the stories they told.

In reality, the weaknesses of Murid oral tradition are also found in the colonial archives, especially in the materials related to the early development of the brotherhood. French officers primarily relied on information provided by the Wolof traditional chiefs who appeared to be staunch adversaries of the Murids. The information these chiefs gathered and communicated to the colonial administration were mired by factual errors and unwarranted accusation. Indeed, archives are not neutral repositories of documents, they reflect the circumstances of their creation and respond to the economic, political and social preoccupations of the government they served. The historian working with archival documents tend to absorb the assumptions, rationales and expectations of the state employees and political authorities who generate the information he is using.[34] Similarly, Murid oral and written sources present the brotherhood's perspective on its history. They exaggerate some events, and sometimes fail to report or gloss over significant circumstances and conflicts that are important to the historian, but apocryphal for the collective memory of the brotherhood. However, these sources contain invaluable information that provides a unique alternative to the colonial archives and they constitute the only means through which one can reconstruct Murids interpretation of their history.

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[34] On the pitfalls of archival documents see Mack, "The AOF Archives and the Study of African History" in *BIFAN* série B (1980): 277-298; see also David Edwards, *Heroes of the age* (Berkeley: The U of California Press, 1996), p.10.

I apply the method of historical analysis and criticism to both Murid internal sources and colonial archives. I submit my sources to external and internal critiques to weigh the credibility and quality of the informants and the information provided. I hope to overcome the biases in the sources by critically comparing and contrasting a variety of sources (text, oral history, images) from different provenance (colonial government, Murids shaikh and disciples) produced for differing purposes (hagiography, education, surveillance). I have taped eighty hours of interviews from over fifty Murid shaikh, disciples and non-Murids, and I have collected over five hundred pages of diverse written documents in Arabic, Wolofal and French, some pictures and genealogies.

The use of oral and written materials generated by members of the Muridiyya has been central to the development of an alternative interpretation of the brotherhood that lends more attention to Murid voices. In my research, I demonstrate that the emergence of the Muridiyya is intimately associated with social and religious changes at work in the Western Sahara and Senegal, long before the colonial encounter of the mid-nineteenth century. I argue that ideas and perceptions developed in the context of the interactions between rulers, Muslim clerics and Europeans in the pre-colonial setting profoundly shaped the relations between the colonial administration and the Murids in the early development of the brotherhood.

1.4. Outline of the research

I start my study of the Muridiyya with an analysis of the social and political structures of pre-colonial Wolof society and I assess the gradual transformation of these societies spurred by internal and external factors. I analyze the impact of the Atlantic and trans-Saharan Slave Trade on the political institutions of the Wolof states. I

demonstrate how the involvement of the Wolof states in the slave Trade favored the centralization and concentration of power in the hands of the rulers and their armies of crown slaves. I also show how these transformations in the social structures of Wolof society paved the way for the development of Islam. This chapter is mainly based on Wolof court chronicles produced by members of the aristocracy such as Yoro Jaw, Amadu Wadd, and Rawaan Booy whose works have been collected, edited and published by French researchers in Ifan and Saint-Louis. I complement these chronicles with early European sources produced by Portuguese and French travelers in Senegambia in the fifteen, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The second chapter focuses on a study of the development of Islam in Senegal. It provides a narrative of the gradual expansion of the Islamic religious culture among the Wolof and draws from European accounts as well as literature produced by local Muslim scholars. In this chapter I also use some court chronicles and archival material to document the relations between the Muslim clerics, the courts and the European traders on the Atlantic coast. I develop an alternative analysis of the development of Islam in Senegal that mitigates the role of jihad and de-emphasizes the broad evolutionary scheme presented by pervious authors to explain the expansion of the religion. I stress the impact of the laborious and dedicated village Muslim teachers and Imams who, in my view, were the central agents in the expansion of Islam in Senegal.

Chapter three examines the historical background of Amadu Bamba through a reflection on the establishment of his forebears in the pre-colonial kingdoms of Jolof, Bawol, Saalum and Kajoor. It provides a narrative of the process through which the Mbakke were able to build for themselves the reputation of a respected family of Muslim

scholars and teachers. In this chapter I analyze their interactions with fellow clerics and rulers, their marriage patterns, and intellectual journeys. The chapter also looks at the growth of the family, its alliances, and the conflicts that divided its members. The chapter is mainly based on original oral and Murid written sources. It provides unique and fresh information on the history of Amadu Bamba's ancestors. Isa Mbakke, Umar Sy, and Afia Ňaŋ in Tuubaa, Mustafa Njaate and Cheikh Mbakke Maam Balla in Mbakke and Sawru Mbay in Daaru salaam provided invaluable information. Mbay is a professional genealogist specialized in the study of Amadu Bamba's ancestors and Sy has reconstituted the family tree of all the prominent members of the Mbakke family starting with Maaram, Amadu Bamba's great grandfather, who founded the village of Mbakke Bawol in 1786. It is interesting to note that the best bearers of the tradition of the Mbakke are either disciples such as Mbay and Sy, or members of peripheral branches of the family. If the disciples are motivated by their love for their shaikh, members of less powerful branches of the Mbakke seem to find in the careful conservation of their ties with Amadu Bamba a way of legitimizing their claims to the power and authority attached to their family name.

In the fourth chapter I offer a biographical reconstruction of Amadu Bamba's early life. I emphasize his education, the relations with his father, brothers and other members of the family. I describe the political, economic and social context in which he grew up. I lend particular attention to his spiritual growth as a scholar, Sufi leader and saint. I analyze his readings and writings, his religious and political thought, and I draw his physical and psychological traits. My portrayal of Amadu Bamba was based on information provided by informants such as Gallo Mbay in Tuubaa, who was born in

1912 when Amadu Bamba was sent to Diourbel and who then lived in the latter's compound until his death in 1927, Modu Mamun Ňaŋ, in Tuubaa, Modu Jaxate in Xuru Mbakke, Abdu Samat Sylla and Maxtaar Joob in Diourbel. Some other interviewees provided useful information. The two biographies of Amadu Bamba written by his son, Basiru Mbakke, in 1935, and his close disciple, Amadu Lamin Joob, in 1960, provided invaluable data. Because of the quality of the information collected, I was able to overcome the difficulties that faced Cruise O'Brien who deplored the scarcity of information about the founder of the Muridiyya and the difficulties to reconstitute his personality, despite the fact that people who knew him were still alive by the time he conducted his research in the late 1960s.[35] I was able to offer a thorough description and analysis of Amadu Bamba's life, personality, and character.

Chapter five is an analytical chapter that discusses the doctrine and educational system of the Muridiyya. Here I reflect on Sufism and education, I also look at the doctrinal foundation of the Murid order. I describe the brotherhood's organization and examine the religious beliefs that underpin people's adherence to the Muridiyya. I analyze the internal dynamics of the development of the brotherhood and demonstrate the active role that the disciples, the shaikhs along with Amadu Bamba played in the founding and development of the Muridiyya. The sources for this chapter are mainly drawn from Amadu Bamba's writings, correspondence and sermons, and from discussions with such Murid scholars as Modu Maamu Ňaŋ, author of some publications on the Muridiyya, and former secretary of the third caliph of the Muridiyya. My long discussions with Afia Ňaŋ, Shaikh Mustafa Mbakke, head of one major branch of the

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[35] *The Mourides*, op cit p.38.

brotherhood, and numerous exchanges with ordinary Murid disciples were helpful in making sense of how the average Murids understood the brotherhood's doctrine and their relations with their shaikh.

Chapter VI sets the stage for the protracted conflict that opposed the Murids and the French between 1889 and 1913. In this chapter I examine French Islamic policy and practices in Senegal. I look at French perception and interpretation of Islam and their relations with their Muslim subjects. I pay particular attention to French views on the Murid and how these views were instilled in the mind of the pupils frequenting the colonial schools and the Westernized African elite of the Communes. I demonstrate that French hostility against the Muridiyya was mainly motivated by the fact that the brotherhood functioned as an effective counter culture that impeded *the mission civlizatrice* in the areas where it was a dominant social force. The Muridiyya also constituted an objective obstacle to the establishment of colonial authority in the countryside of Bawol and Kajoor. I analyze the relations between the Murids, the colonial administration, and the African chiefs and show the important role that the latter played in fueling the tension between the French and the Muridiyya. In this chapter I rely primarily on the relevant colonial archival documents and I check the history told by the archives with Murid written and oral sources.

Chapters seven and eight are concerned with the conflict that opposed the Murids and the colonial administration. In these two chapters I provide a detailed narrative of Amadu Bamba's exiles in Gabon and Mauritania and his house arrests in Ceyeen and Diourbel. I reflect on the apparent and deeper causes of the conflict. The chapters also chart the growing influence of the Muridiyya and the spiritual growth of Amadu Bamba

as a martyr and a saint. It analyzes Murid responses to colonial coercion and the unintended consequence of the conflict that resulted in the unprecedented development of the brotherhood. I also examine the gradual rapprochement between the Murids and the French that led to Amadu Bamba's transfer to Diourbel in 1912 and his installation in 1913 at the eastern side of the city. I demonstrate how the growing influence of the Muridiyya in the economy, demography and politics of the colony contributed to the entente between the colonial administration and the order. Because of the dominant personality of Amadu Bamba and the obsessive focus of the archival as well as oral sources on his persona and on the colonial authorities involved in the conflict, it has been difficult to delineate the activities of the average disciples and the functioning of the brotherhood in the wider context. I use the fascinating work of the famous Murid poet Musa Ka, Amadu Bamba's travel account, and some data collected from oral sources and the biographies, to give the brotherhood's perspective on the conflict with the French administration.

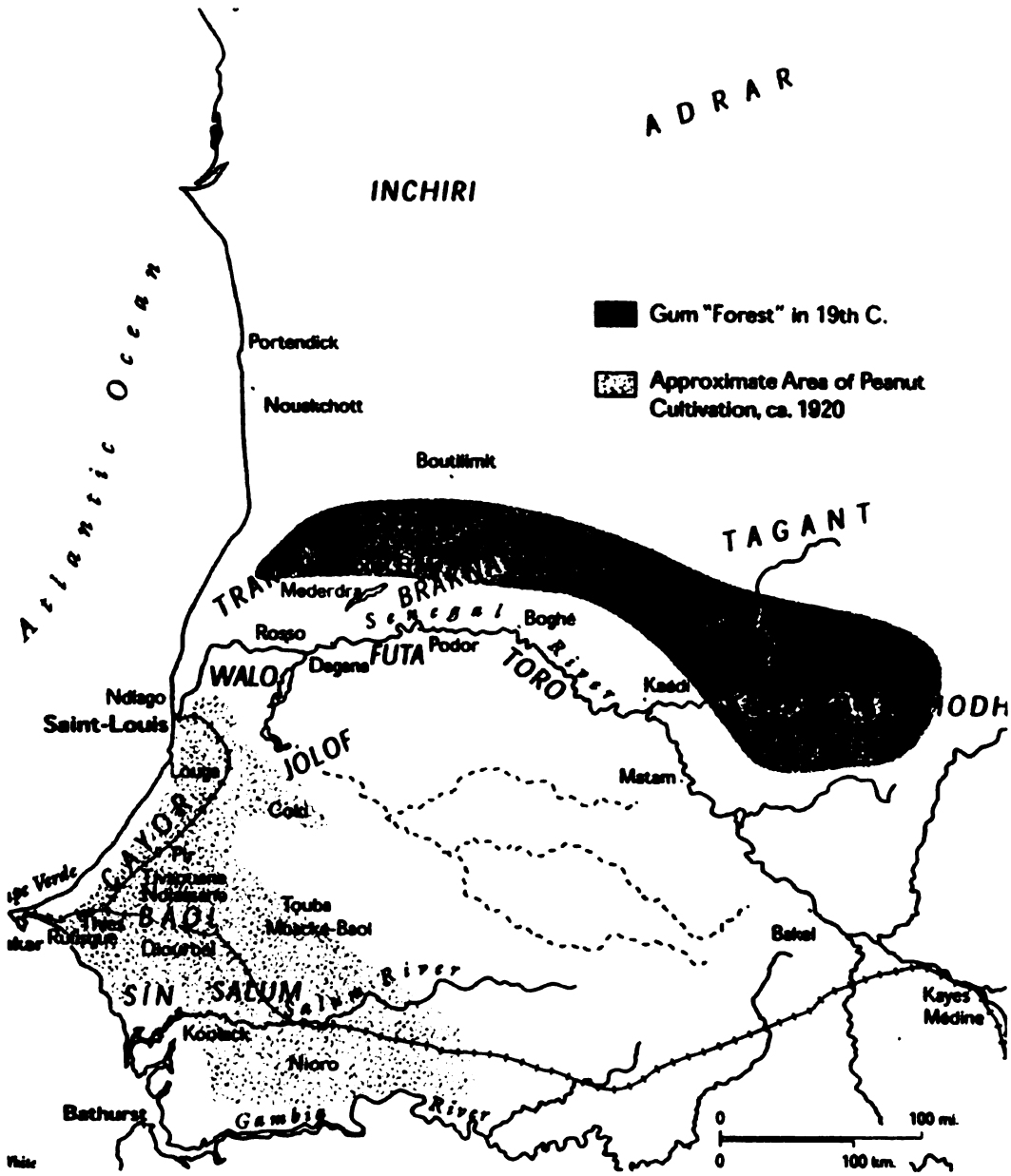


Figure 1: Senegalo-Mauritanian Zone in the 19th century.

Source: Adapted from D. Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation,* p. 20

2. Chapter I: The Wolof: States and Society.

Although Amadu Bamba's ancestors were Fulbe in origin, they migrated among the Wolof and were assimilated into Wolof culture centuries before his birth. The religious organization he created by the end of the nineteenth century was influenced by Wolof social, political and cultural structures. The aim of this chapter is to provide basic historical and sociological information about Wolof society, which is instrumental for understanding the Muridiyya.

Little is known about the origins of the Wolof people. The first written historical account of the Wolof appears in the writings of Alvise de Ca Da Mosto, who provided a description of the political organization of the Wolof states during the mid-fifteenth century.[36] Subsequent European travelers gave ample information about different aspects of Wolof political, cultural, social, economic and religious life. Beyond the fifeteenth century, archaeology and oral traditions remain the only sources of Wolof history. By combining information provided by these different sources, this chapter describes the process of the founding of the Wolof states and proceeds to an analysis of the social and political structures of pre-colonial Wolof society. A central assumption of this chapter is that the identity formation of the Wolof took place through a process of gradual differentiation from larger neighboring ethnic groups such as the Sereer, the Fulbe, the Mandinka and the Berbers, which culminated in the founding of the Jolof Empire. This process of formation of the Wolof ethnic group is also reflected in the construction of the different structures of Wolof society. The constitution of the castes, the orders and the

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[36] David Gamble, *The Wolof of Senegambia* (London, 1957), p. 16.

structures of power that shape Wolof society is closely associated with the development of the Jolof Empire.

2.1. Constitution of the Wolof States

2.1.1. Emergence of a Wolof identity

Scholars generally consider the Tagant and the Tichitt regions of Mauritania to be major sites for the identity formation of the different ethnic groups in contemporary Senegal.[37] These populations, through successive waves of migratory movements started by the Serer, progressively drifted south and west to occupy their current settlements. Findings from linguistic research conducted by Doneux on the River Gambia area, however, suggest another pattern of migration.[38] According to Doneux's research, the Wolof language developed along the Gambia River in the south and only subsequently did Wolof speaking people migrate northwards to settle in northwestern and central Senegal. Doneux's conclusions however are not supported by oral traditions, which situate the origins of the Wolof and the other ethnic groups of Senegal in the east, lending more credit to the theory of East-West migration.[39]

Oral sources place the founding of the Jolof Empire, the first historically known Wolof state, in the mid-thirteenth century.[40] Previous to the emergence of this empire, Wolof communities lived in the kingdom of Takrur (or Tekrur), which constituted the

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[37] Raymond Mauny, *Tableau géographique de l'oues africain au moyen age* (Dakar: IFAN 1961), p. 67.
[38] Doneux cited by Brooks, *Western Africa to c1860* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1985), p. 60.
[39] See Gaden, "Légendes et coutumes sénégalaises, Cahiers de Yoro Dyâo ," *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie,* III (1912); Rousseau, "Les Cahiers deYoro Dyâo: Etudes sur le Waalo" *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F.* #1-2, (1929); " Etudes sur le Cayor," *B.C.E.H.S.A.O.F* # 16,(1933) ; V. Monteil, "Chroniques du Waalo Sénégalais (1186 ?-1855)" par Amadou Wade, in *Esquisses Sénégalaises,*.Initiations aux Etudes Africaines (Dakar: IFAN, 1966).
[40] Ibid

westernmost province of the great medieval empires of Ghana and Mali. European writers conveyed fragmented versions of the history of the Jolof Empire, collected from local informants, as early as the fifteenth century.[41] By the late 19th century, Yoro Boli Jaw, a descendant of the reigning dynasty of Waalo and colonial administrator trained at the Ecole des Otages of Saint-Louis, presented an elaborate version of the story of the founding of the empire.[42] In 1966, a chronicle of the kingdom of Waalo recorded from Amadu Wadd, another member of the Waalo aristocracy, was translated and published by Vincent Monteil.[43]

Jaw and Wadd are the major bearers of the oral traditions of the founding of the kingdom of Waalo and the Jolof Empire. According to Jaw, Njajaan Njaay[44], the mythic founder of the empire, is the son of Abu Dardai or Abubakr Ben-Umar and Fatimata Sall. Ben Umar was one of the leaders of the Al Murabitūn movement who died in Adrar, Mauritania, in 1087.[45] As the tradition goes, Fatimata Sall was the daughter of the Laam Tooro (king of Tooro) Abraham, an emperor who controlled a vast territory extending from the middle to the high valley of the Senegal River, including the provinces of Fuuta

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[41] Jean Boulègue signals that the first written reference to Njajaan Njaay, the mythic founder of the Jolof Empire, is found in Texeira Da Mota, a Portuguese traveler, writing in early 17th century. See *Le Grand Jolof,* XIIIe-XVIe (Paris, 1987), p. 24. Le Brasseur, a governor of Gorée between 1774 and 1777 then Father Boilat, a métis from Saint-Louis, in *Esquisses Sénégalaises* (Paris: Karthala, 1984), and also F. Carrère and Paul Holle, in *La Sénégambie Française* (Paris, 1955), provided other versions of the story.

[42] Yoro Jaw (1847-1919) who set to write the history of the Wolof has handwritten seven notebooks related to the political history and culture of the Wolof people. His works were later published by the Governor Gaden who ruled the French colony of Mauritania and Rousseau, a French high school teacher who served in Saint –Louis.

[43] Monteil, *Esquisses* op cit. (1966).

[44] "Njajaan Njaay" is an expression of great astonishment in Sereer, meaning approximately "Something strange has happened."

[45] Boulègue, in *Le Grand Jolof,* op cit, notes that Abubakr Ben-Umar who is mentioned in oral traditions might refer to the sixth caliph of the Lamtuna Berbers who is a descendant of the Almurabitūn leader. See p. 35. This hypothesis makes more sense as it allows dating the birth of Njajaan Njaay at around 1287; this date of birth is more congruent with the presumed founding of the Waalo and Jolof kingdoms, which is generally dated from the thirteenth century. See also Monteil, *Esquisses*, op cit, p.17.

Tooro, Gidimaxa, Kamera and Jawara. After Ben-Umar returned to Adrar, Fatimata Sall married Mbarik Bo, a slave of her former husband, despite the opposition of her son, Njajaan Njaay. In protest, Njaajaan Njaay disappeared into the waters of the Senegal River. His attempted suicide, however, failed. He was miraculously protected from drowning and stayed under the waters for an indeterminate amount of time until he reappeared in the area currently known as Waalo.[46] The Waalo-Waalo fishermen then adopted Njajaan Njaay who, by helping solve many conflicts that opposed different factions of the community, rapidly earned himself the reputation of a skillful mediator.[47] He was finally elected *Brak* of *Waalo* then Buurba of Jolof.[48]

Amadu Wadd argues that the Wolof language was created in the process of emergence of the Jolof Empire as a means of communication among the people of different linguistics background that met in the court of Njajaan Njaay and mingled in the kingdom.[49] In contrast to Wadd's account, it seems that well before the founding of the Jolof Empire, diverse groups of Wolof speaking people lived along both banks of the Senegal River, interspersed between larger communities of Fulbe, Sereer and Mandinka. I have already noted that Wolof speaking communities existed in the Tichitt area, probably before the 10th century. Some of these communities might have already started

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[46] Waalo was a province of the Takrur Kingdom, which was successively occupied by the Sose, a branch of the Mandinka people, the Sereer, the Fulbe and finally the Wolof. See Gaden, *Cahiers*, op cit, (1912); Gamble, *The Wolof*, (1957); Brooks, *Western Africa*, (1985); Boulègue, *Le Grand Jolof*, (1987)

[47] The doubling of a toponym is often used by the Wolof to name the inhabitants of an area, e.g., Bawol-Bawol, inhabitants of Bawol, Saalum-Saalum, people indigenous of Saalum etc..The inhabitants of Kajoor constitute the exception; they are called Ajoor.

[48] Wolof kings bear specific titles: *Brak* is the title of the king of Waalo, *Buurba*, the Emperor of Jolof, *Dammeel*, the king of Kajoor, *Teeñ* the king of Bawol, *Bër*, the king of Saalum, and *Buur* the king of Siin.

[49] See Amadu Wadd in Monteil, *Esquisses*, (1966). The association between the Wolof and Njajaan Njaay is further reinforced by the fact that Njaay is the only typical or with Joob, one of the two typical surnames (*sant*) of the Wolof; all their other surnames are borrowed from other ethnic groups. In fact, Njaay is even sometimes conceived as a generic surname for all Wolof as many Wolof proverbs start with: "Wolof Njaay said." See C.A. Diop, *l'Afrique Noire Precoloniale* (Alençon , 1987), p.220.

to move south as a consequence of the wars of 1086 that led to the dislocation of the Ghana Empire in which Takrur was involved. This early migration could explain the presence of Wolof *lamans*[50] in Waalo as early as the mid-thirteenth century. Considering this migratory process, it is safe to concur with Brooks who argues that the process of Wolofization of the Jolof Empire took place gradually between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries when the empire expanded steadily southwards and westwards incorporating more and more Wolof, along with Fulbe, Sereer and Mandinka speaking peoples. [51]

The association made by Wadd and other oral sources between the origins of the Wolof language and the founding of the Jolof Empire constitute a mythic expression of the emergence of a unified and conscious Wolof identity, characterized by a certain cultural hybridism.[52] Wolof identity is in fact shaped by linguistic, religious, and political developments closely associated with the development of the Jolof Empire.[53] One may safely assume that the Jolof Empire was not the site of the creation of the Wolof

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[50] *Laman* is a Sereer term meaning Master of the Land. The *lamans* are the descendants of the first occupants of the land. Prior to the establishment of the kinship, the Wolof country was composed of independent villages each ruled by a *laman* in consultation with the elders. It seems that the *lamans* did not enjoy much political power; their competence was exclusively limited to the management of the land. However, by the mid-sixteenth century, the involvement in the Atlantic Trade allowed the *lamans* ruling the coastal provinces of the Jolof Empire to accumulate wealth and power. See Gamble, *The Wolof*, op cit., p.16; also A. Bara Diop, *La société Wolof*, op cit.

[51] Brooks, *Western Africa*. Op cit., (1985), p.114.

[52] This hybridism is mostly expressed through language. Non-Wolof speakers consider that Wolof is not a language per se; they also deny the existence of a genuine Wolof ethnicity. This argument is based on the fact that Wolof language is a mixture of Sereer, Pulaar, Mandinka, Arabic, and European languages. In addition, the oldest Wolof families can trace their ancestry to another Senegalese ethnic group. The Wolof seem to validate this opinion. They call their non-Wolof compatriots "*làkk kat*" (this appellation is sometimes seen as derogative), which means those who speak a language and they tend to develop a weaker ethnic consciousness. Wolof men and women are more prone to marry outside of their ethnic group than vice versa.

[53] Even though scholars agree about the historicity of the Jolof Empire, the persona of Njaajaan Njaay remains an object of debate. This mythic hero may have existed but it is probable that he is not the author of all the deeds attributed to him by traditions. It seems that the persona of Njaajaan Njaay represents a synthesis of different historic actors and facts that spanned a long period of time but deemed fundamental in the formation of Wolof identity.

language but that the foundation of this empire strongly contributed to forging an ethnically conscious Wolof community.

2.1.2. Founding and expansion of the Jolof Empire

Little is known about the process of the founding of the Jolof Empire and its development. While oral traditions emphasize the might of this empire, which at its utmost development extended from Dimar, the westernmost province of Fuuta Tooro, to the Mandinka states of the north bank of the Gambia River, including the Wolof kingdoms of Bawol, Kajoor, Saalum[54], Waalo and the Sereer provinces of Siin, it says nothing about the process through which these territories were incorporated.[55] Accounts by early European travelers who visited Senegal and Gambia in the mid-fifteenth century convey stories about the emergence of the Jolof Empire but do not provide information related to the process of its expansion.[56] One can only surmise, since wars of conquest are not reported by traditions that this expansion proceeded without violent confrontations, but through persuasion or threat of the use of force.[57] Two factors might have played an important role in the expansion of the Jolof Empire: superior political organization of the people of Jolof, who dominated the state, and cultural affinities between the Jolof-Jolof and the populations of the different provinces gradually incorporated into the empire.

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[54] Saalum was founded by a Mandinka dynasty, which was succeeded by a Sereer lineage, but by the nineteenth century, Wolof rulers dominated this kingdom.
[55] Valentim Fernandes, the Portuguese writer who reports information collected in Senegal and the Gambia between 1506-1507, gives approximately the same expansion for the Empire. See Fernandes, *Description de la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique*, translated by Monod, Da Mota and Mauny, (Bissau, 1959), p.7.
[56] See analysis of these sources in Boulègue, *Grand Jolof*, (1987).
[57] Fernandes signals that by the early fifteenth century, the Jolof army could mobilize 8000 horsemen, ibid.

The six provinces (Waalo, Jolof, Kajoor, Bawol, Saalum, Siin) that formed the core of the Jolof Empire were traditionally constituted by independent villages, each ruled by a *laman* or master of the land. These *lamans* were guardians and managers of the land by virtue of the right of first occupants earned by their ancestors. In exchange for the payment of an annual fee, they could grant usufruct rights to farmers. These fees were paid in millet, rice, and beans, the crops grown in Wolof country, or in cattle or milk for the Fulbe pastoralists. *Lamans* also acted as arbiters mediating conflicts about land use and other matters; they represented local power. In Kajoor, there was a paramount *laman*, a kind of primus inter pares, who established his capital at the village of Paleen Dedd and enjoyed some authority over the other *lamans* of the province.[58] The paramount *laman* of Kajoor had the reputation for being a great hunter and magician. He always belonged to the Faal Family and was elected by his colleagues. He controlled a vast amount of land and a sizeable population. However, this was not the case elsewhere. In the Sereer states of Siin and in Saalum, a strong centralized power probably did not emerge until the Mandinka conquest that dated from the late fourteenth to the early fifteenth centuries.[59] In Bawol as well, the areas dominated by sereer *lamans* refused to submit to the centralizing authority of the Teeñ until the seventeenth century.[60]

By the fourteenth century Jolof had consolidated its domination over the Wolof and sereer *lamans*, but the ties between the center of the empire and the provinces were loose. The Empire looked more like a confederation of independent provinces than a centralized state. Neither oral traditions nor written sources mention the existence of

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[58] T.L.Fall, "Recueil sur la vie des Damels," *BIFAN*, ser. B., I (1974), p.99.
[59] Boulègue, *Grand Jolof*, op cit, (1987), p.47.
[60] R. Fall, "Teeñ Ce Ndeela et la consolidation de l'aurotité politique des Faal ." in Boulègue, *Contributions à l'histoire du Sénégal* (Paris, 1987), p. 110.

political structures that allowed the emperor control over the authorities in the provinces. The structures of power within the territories that were incorporated in the empire remained unchanged.[61] The *lamanats* continued to be passed on to the same families that historically occupied the position, and the *lamans* continued to perform their traditional functions of managers of the land and arbiters of land disputes.

The provinces were subjected to the payment of an annual tax. Failure to accomplish this duty could expose the guilty party to pillages and other retaliatory measures from the *Buurba.* The tax was paid in kind and consisted of the commodities that were produced in the area. T. L. Fall describes how this duty was carried out in Kajoor.

> Every year, [the paramount *laman*] accompanied by the other *lamans* or their representatives and numerous aids, brought an important tribute to the Buurba Jolof. This tribute was composed of cattle, slaves, cloths, foods, horses, honey, delicious fruits, baobab barks to make ropes for the emperor's cavalry, and white sand to embellish the palace's yard.[62]

The paramount *laman* then bore the responsibility of collecting and sending the *Buurba* the taxes owed by his community. He was also the first to be held responsible in case of failure to meet the king's request. The compulsory presence of all the notables of the provinces at the court of Jolof to deliver the taxes had a major political significance. It was an expression of the superior political authority of the *Buurba* and a constant reminder of the status of vassals and subordinates of the provinces.

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[61] Diouf in *Le Kajoor au xix^e siècle* (Paris, 1990), makes this remark about Kajoor but his observation can also be applied to the other provinces of the Empire. p. 34

[62] T. L. Fall, "Receuil," op cit. p.99.

Despite the loose connections between the center of the empire and its periphery, the incorporation of the Sereer and Wolof territories into the Jolof Empire might have favored the emergence of a centralized power in these provinces. Oral traditions mention the existence of reigning dynasties in the states of Kajoor and Bawol before the dislocation of the empire that took place in the mid-sixteenth century. It is likely that these dynasties stemmed from families of paramount *lamans* that gradually succeeded in building their own power based on their position as de facto representatives of the emperor in the provinces.

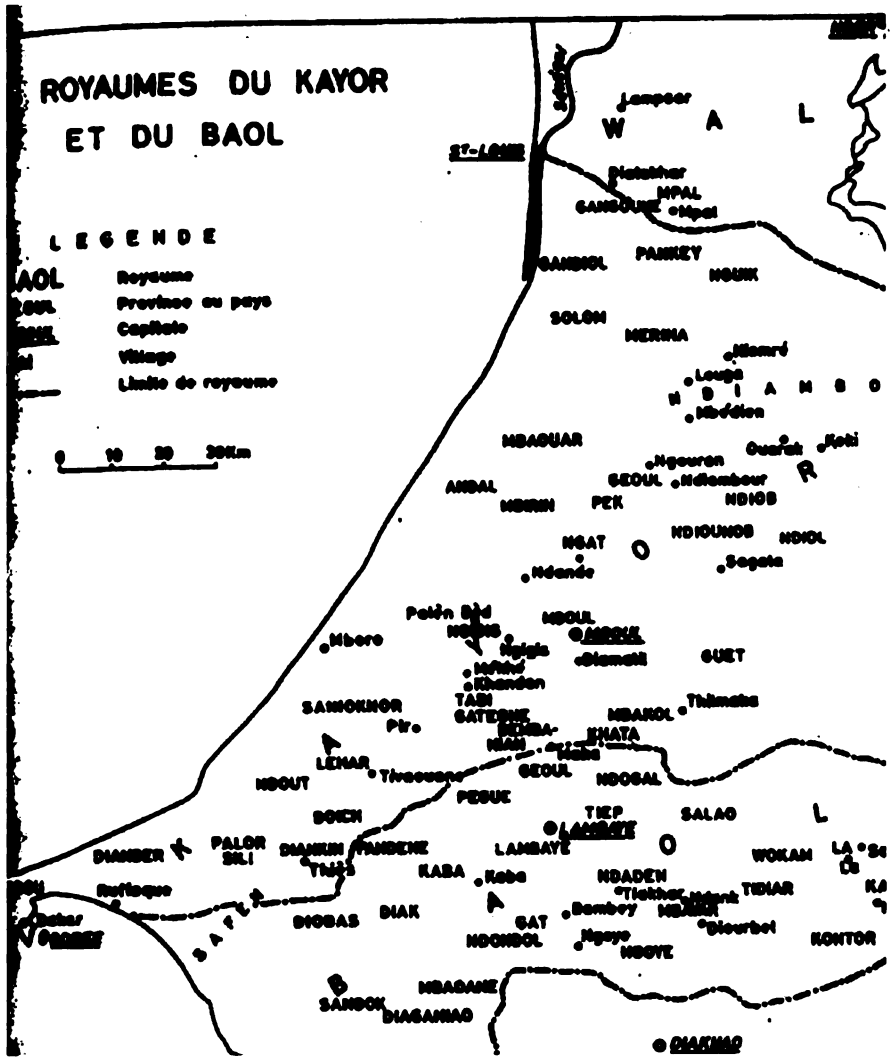


Figure 2: Map of the Kingdoms of Kajor and Bawol, 19th.c

2.1.3. Dislocation of the Jolof Empire and formation of the Wolof Kingdoms

Two major factors contributed to the dislocation of the Jolof Empire and the formation of independent kingdoms, which took place in the second half of the sixteenth century: the Fulbe invasion led by Koli Tenguela Ba in the early sixteenth century, and the development of European trade along the Atlantic coast of the Empire. [63] These two factors continued to have an enduring effect on the development of Wolof society.

The *Tarikh es-Sudan* and the *Tarikh el- Fettash* both mention the conquest of Fuuta Tooro and the kingdom of Jara by Tenguela Ba and his son Koli.[64] Traditions collected in Fuuta Tooro, Siin and Jolof provide information that helps gauge the impact of the invasion on the fate of the Jolof Empire.[65] By the first decade of the sixteenth century, Koli had completed the conquest of Fuuta Tooro where he established the *deñankoobe* (sing. *deñanke*) dynasty. He also conquered Dimar and Ferlo, which constituted the eastern provinces of the Jolof Empire.

This situation had a noticeable economic, political and cultural impact on the evolution of the region. The establishment of the *deñankoobe* state denied Jolof access to the Saharan market, which was its principal supplier of such precious goods as horses.[66]

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[63] The battle of Danky has a major historical significance for the history of Senegal and The Gambia (Senegambia) as it marked the secession of Kajoor that led to the break away of the other provinces and ultimately to the dislocation of the Jolof Empire. Historians, however, disagree about the date of 1549; some place the battle in 1566 other dates are also evoked. But it seems as argued by Rousseau in *Etudes sur le Cayor* (1933), Boulègue, *Grand Jolof* (1987) and Diouf, *Le Kajoor* (1990) that the battle of Danky is only one of, though the most decisive, of a series of battles that opposed Kajoor and Jolof during a relatively long period of time.

[64] See O. Houdas ed. and translator *Tarikh Es-Sudan*, (Paris, 1900) and *Tarikh el Fettash*, (Paris, 1913).

[65] Jean Boulègue provides a thorough analysis of these sources in his *Le Grand Jolof* (1987). See also Siré Abbass Sow, *Chroniques du Foûta Sénégalais*, M. Delafosse, ed. (Paris, 1913).

[66] P. Curtin, *Economic change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison Wisconsin, 1975), p.11; Robin Law, *The Horse in West African History* (Oxford, 1980).

Migratory movements triggered by the invasion provoked enduring cultural transformations. The immigration of people already in contact with Islam might have contributed to strengthening the Muslim communities in the provinces of the Empire. Jolof, while remaining under the political control of the Wolof, incorporated an important Fulbe population that impacted the economy and the cultural make-up of the region. Fulbe cattle herders entered into contact with Wolof and Sereer farmers living further south, and formed cultural enclaves that were recognized by the appointment, in all of the Wolof states, of an *ardo* or chief of the Fulbe. It is also significant to note that important features of Wolof society, such as the caste system, are influenced by Fulbe culture. The weakening of the center of the Empire, subjected to the pressure of the *deñankoobe* kingdom, encouraged the development of centrifugal forces in the provinces. The *lamans* Mbegaan Nduur in Siin and Amari Ngoone Sobel, son of the paramount *laman* of Kajoor, were the first to take advantage of the situation by rejecting the authority of *Buurba* Jolof.[67]

The Atlantic Trade had an even more dramatic effect on the fate of the Jolof Empire. As long as the Trans-Saharan Trade dominated the economy of the region, the strong bond with Waalo and the connections with Takrur allowed the *Buurba* Jolof to control the major trade routes to the interior of the Empire. Control over the commercial networks permitted the accumulation of wealth and the building of an army that constituted a major deterrence to rebellious movements. By the end of the fifteenth century, the development of the Atlantic Trade had provoked a major change in the

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On the trade in horse and the Transsaharan market see also James Webb, *Desert Frontiers* (Madison: The U. of Wisconsin Press, 1995).

[67] Boulègue, *Le Grand Jolof,* (1987), op cit., p. 165

balance of power between the center of the Empire and the coastal states of Kajoor, Saalum, and Siin, who were engaged in trading relations with the Portuguese. These provinces could access goods that were difficult to acquire or not available through the Trans-Saharan Trade. Stallions, for example, could be bought through the Trans-Saharan market, but their number was limited and access restricted.[68] The Atlantic Trade provided unlimited access to horses and iron, the goods most coveted by the aristocracy of Kajoor, Saalum and Siin. Horses were associated with royal prestige and elite status, and both horses and iron were scarce and strategic goods for warfare and agriculture. The weakening of the Jolof province, capital of the empire, due to the progressive decline of the Trans-Saharan Trade and its geographical location in the hinterland, contrasted with the increasing development of the coastal provinces.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Mbegaan Nduur had established his domination over the province of Saalum. And by the mid-sixteenth century, the paramount *laman* of Kajoor was powerful enough to rally the aristocracy of his province and the *lamans* of Bawol against *Buurba* Jolof. The break away of Kajoor, Saalum and Siin further marginalized the empire, which was progressively reduced to the small landlocked province of Jolof.

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[68] The Moors who monopolized the trade avoided selling mares to the Wolof as they wanted to protect their commerce by preventing the local breeding of horses. In addition, since Moors and Wolof were in permanent conflicts, the selling of horses was closely controlled as not to give to a potential enemy a weapon that could be returned against them. The provinces had further difficulties accessing to horses, as probably the emperor of Jolof was also concerned about the development of centrifugal forces. For a thorough discussion of these questions see Ph. Curtin, *Economic Change,* op cit.

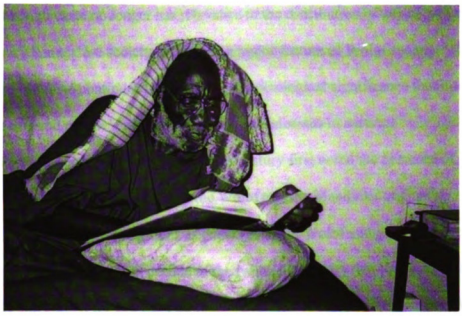


Figure 3: Gallo Mbay

2.2. The Structures of Wolof Society

2.2.1. The castes

Wolof society is composed of hierarchies, which are founded on a classification of people based on their traditional occupations and their political status. The principal hierarchy distinguishes between the *géer*, non-artisans that occupy the top rank of the social ladder, and the *ñeeño,* or artisans.[69] The practice of endogamy and hereditary status allowed the formation and reproduction of craft corporations. The social isolation of these corporations is so extreme that some scholars describe the Wolof as a caste

[69] Some authors tend to assimilate *géer* to agriculturalist or noble, in reality, as argued by A. Bara Diop, the social status of the *géer* is negatively defined as those who are not involved in artisan work, in contrast to the *ñeeño*, defined as professional artisans see *La Société Wolof* (Paris, 1981) p. 34. Besides agriculture, *géer* can work as traders, hunters, or even fishermen, as among the Wolof and the sereer. *Géer* is not either a synonym of noble as some authors advance in fact a slave can also be a *géer* and it is often the case.

society. [70] Although caste no longer has relevance to the distribution of wealth and power in contemporary Senegalese society, it remains a major feature of Wolof society. The stigma attached to caste continues to have a strong sociological significance that informs marriage patterns and people's perception of their social status in society.

The Portuguese travelers of the sixteenth century first noted the presence of socially segregated communities amongst the Wolof and the Mandinka of Gambia. In their writings, they refer to these groups as *gauls* (*gewël* in Wolof and *griot* in French) or Black Jews. It is only by the first decade of the twentieth century that the word caste was definitely substituted for Jews.[71] The characterization of these communities as Jews reflected the European experience of the writers for whom only Jewish descent could explain the low social status to which these *gauls* were confined. Ca Da Mosto [72] who visited the court of the *Dammeel* (title of the king of Kajoor) in the mid-fifteenth century, describes the instruments of music used for entertainment but did not allude to the *gauls*. Writing around 1500, Valentim Fernandes signals the presence among the Wolof of a segregated group of people he calls *gaul*.[73] He notes that these *gauls* were kept in segregated villages; they were forbidden from entering a "noble's" house and they lived off gifts that they earned by entertaining their patrons. They could fetch water only after

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[70] A.Bara Diop, *La Société Wolof*, (1981), T.L. Irvine, "Castes and Communication in a Wolof village," (PhD dissertation, U. of Pennsylvania, 1973).

[71] The appropriateness of the term caste to describe the structures of Wolof society has been, and is still the object of debate among scholars. As early as 1912, Delafosse cautioned against the use of the concept caste to describe the social structures of West African societies, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger* (Paris, 1972), pp. 115-117. Studies conducted later by Leach and Dumont in India concluded that the term caste should apply exclusively to India, see *Homo Hierarchicus* (Chicago and London, 1974). Irvine, and A. B. Diop claim that Wolof society fits the definition proposed for caste and even further; they admit the existence of a caste system among the Wolof. See "Caste and Communication in a Wolof village," op cit; Diop, *La société Wolof.*

[72] Alvise de Cada Mosto, *Relations des voyages.*

[73] Valentim Fernandes, *Description,* (1951), pp. 9-10.

the "nobles" had satisfied their needs, and in areas where water was abundant they had their own segregated wells. He also signals the importance of ironwork and the use of weapons and agricultural implements in iron by the Wolof, but he doesn't refer to a caste of blacksmith. Fernandes describes weaving as a non-casted occupation performed by men and women alike. His description suggests that at the time, ironwork and weaving were not exclusively reserved to a caste. Andre Alvarez de Almada's travelogues depict what could be called an embryo of a caste system among Senegambian societies.[74] De Almada signals the presence in the Wolof country, at the end of the sixteenth century, of endogamous blacksmiths, *griots* and leather workers, who were socially segregated from the rest of the society. Subsequent European visitors to Senegal describe a more complex caste system that incorporates diverse groups of artisans and organizes the segregation more on a biological than a spatial base. They emphasize the practice of endogamous marriage among the castes and the hereditary nature of status.

The origins of the castes and the period of their implantation in Wolof society remain a mystery. The information provided by the first European travelers in Senegal and Gambia suggest that the first castes appeared in this area around the beginning of the sixteenth century, and that only then did the system gradually expand, including more and more groups of artisans. It seems, however, that the expansion of the castes is closely associated with the existence of a centralized power. Scholars seem to agree with C. A. Diop's assumption that castes are only encountered in kingship societies.[75] Even if some castes are found in so called stateless societies, it is believed that their presence in

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[74] Cited in Tal Tamari, *Castes de l'Afrique Occidentale: artisans et musicians endogame (* Nanterre, 1997), p.85.
[75] C.A. Diop, *Afrique Noire,* (1987), p. 16.

these societies was due to imitation or migration; it is only among people organized in kingdoms that one finds elaborate system of castes.

Tamari affirms that the people who have a long tradition of castes such as the Bambara, Mandinka, Soninke and Wolof are also those who lived under strong centralized power or have been closely associated with such type of government.[76] Using the epic of Sundiata, linguistic analysis, and ancient oral sources, Tamari proposes three hypotheses for the formation and expansion of the castes in West Africa. First, she argues that kings and chiefs played a central role in the creation and development of the castes. Second, castes developed from a unique or at least a small number of places. Third, these places could be located among the Mandinka, the Soninke or the Wolof, but a Mandinka origin seems more likely.[77]

Tamari associates the appearance of the castes in West Africa with the founding of the Mali Empire, which took place in the first half of the thirteenth century. She credits Sundiata Keita, legendary founder of the empire, or his immediate successors to be the initiators of the caste system, which served as a political instrument to isolate or neutralize dangerous enemies or prospective rivals. According to Tamari, after defeating the king of Sosso, (the master magician and blacksmith Sumaoro Kante), the Mandinka aristocracy developed an ideology associating iron works with impurity and low social status in order to discredit and exclude their defeated enemies from the contest for political power. The same strategy was used against Balla Faseke Kuyate, Sundiata's *griot*. Kuyate, who experienced a long period of captivity among the Sosso, had learned their secrets and was also perceived as potentially dangerous. In sum, for Tamari,

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[76] Tal Tamari, *Castes,* (1997), p.110.
[77] Op cit pp.. 111-130

Sumanguru Kante and Balla Fasseke Kuyate can be considered the ancestors of the blacksmiths and the *griots*, the oldest castes found in West Africa.

Tamari offers the first elaborate attempt to trace the history and development of the castes in West Africa. She conceives of the caste system as the materialization of a political strategy consciously crafted by the court of Mali in the mid-thirteen century. However, her theory raises some questions. One wonders how the different elements that form the ideology of the caste, such as the notion of impurity, the exclusion from the ruling class, the confinement to specific occupations, and forced endogamous marriage, were generated and implanted in the social fabric of Mandinka society by the mere will of the aristocracy, and from a specific period in time. By attributing the creation of the castes to the court of Mali in the thirteenth century, Tamari overestimates the power and cultural influence of the Mandinka aristocracy and overlooks the complexity of such ingrained social phenomenon as the castes. It seems that although the Malian aristocracy might have played a role in the development of the castes in West Africa, this role consisted mainly in the institutionalization of a social institution, which probably pre-dated the founding of the Mali Empire. Caste appears, to me, to be a social phenomenon generated through economic, political and social exchanges and interactions within and between different West African societies, over a long period of time. This social phenomenon became rationalized and integrated in the political structures with the advent of kingdoms and centralized power. This explains why caste is more visible in societies with a tradition of centralized government.

Yoro Jaw provides the most complete description of the caste structure of Wolof society.[78] Jaw's works do not contain a history of the castes, but his description of some castes provides insight into the process through which these institutions were gradually implanted in Wolof society. This implantation might have taken place through internal transformation of Wolof society and contacts with other ethnic groups such as the Fulbe. For Jaw, occupation constitutes the fundamental characteristic that set apart the *ñeeño,* the casted people among the Wolof. He defines *ñeeño* as those who succeeded in monopolizing and consequently expelling the *géer* from all the easy and advantageous occupations and crafts.[79] In contrast to Tamari, he considers that besides the *gewël* and the *ñoole,* all the other Wolof castes are of Fulbe origins. Jaw explains the low social status of the castes by the impurity of their blood. However, besides the *ñoole*, whose legendary ancestor is said to have been conceived post-mortem, he does not provide an explanation of the stigma that affects the other castes.[80] One could think that the alleged foreign and pastoral origins of casted people may have favored their marginalization in a predominantly agriculturalist and sedentary society. The attribution of tainted blood to these marginalized communities could then be seen as an ideological artifact used to justify the status assigned to them in the society.

Jaw distinguishes three main castes in Wolof society, subdivided each into sub-castes.[81] The group of *jëff lekk*, literally those who live off their work, is composed of

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[78] Jaw, *Sénégal d'autrefois,* (1929)
[79] Jaw (1929) op cit., p. 175
[80] According to Yoro Jaw, the ancestor of the *ñoole* was part of the Ja Ogo migration which departed from Egypt in an unspecified time. This ancestor died on the way to West Africa but continued after his death to show sign of sexual desire. His wife consented to have sex with the cadaver and from this relation was conceived a twin boy and girl. The bodies of the people that descend from this twin have the particularity of decomposing very quickly when they die. (1929), p.180
[81] Yoro Jaw (1929)op cit., pp. 175-188.

five castes: the *lawbe* and *seeñ* or wood workers, the *rabb* or weavers, the *tëgg* or blacksmiths, the *wuude* or leather workers. Some of these sub-castes are also divided into smaller units depending on the instruments they use and the type of crafts they produce.

The *sab lekk*, or those who live off their mouth or speech, are entertainers and musicians who play instruments. This group is composed of the *xalmbaan*, the *tamakat*, and the *maabo*. Here also different categories are distinguished based on the type of instruments played. The *baw lekk*, those who live "off barking," or *griots* (*gewël* in Wolof) constitutes the third sub-caste. The *griots* are praise-singers, historians and buffoons attached to the courts and the aristocracy in the Wolof States. They play important social and political roles in Wolof society as guardians of the values and valor of the past. They are also negotiators, morale boosters and diplomats in times of conflict, and intermediaries in social transactions such as marriages, funerals and baptisms. Yoro Jaw divides the *baw leek* into different categories based on the melody of their songs and their ethnic and family origins. The *ñoole*, who are almost extinct, are set apart as a quasi-caste assimilated to the *griots*, but despised by them. Moral principles or an ethic of behavior do not bind the *ñoole*. They have the liberty to say anything they wish and to behave in outrageous ways without any offense being taken.

Yoro Jaw's detailed description of the Wolof castes does not reflect the way the Wolof perceive the system. In reality, the distinction between castes and sub-castes is less apparent than Jaw's descriptions suggest. The Wolof generally do not distinguish between castes and sub-castes. They put *jëff lekk*, *sabb lekk* and *baw lekk* in the same group, the *ñeeño*.

While Yoro Jaw's study of the Senegalese caste system was based on indigenous knowledge and cultural features, Louis Dumont's book on the Indian caste system provides the theoretical framework that inspired most of the academic works on the Wolof castes.[82] A central argument of Dumont is that the presence of castes does not warrant the existence of a caste system in a given society. Dumont contends that for a caste system to exist a certain number of conditions must be realized. The principal condition is that the whole society should be divided into a large number of hereditary groups, distinguished from one another and connected together by three characteristics: "*separation* in matters of marriage and contact, whether direct or indirect (food); *division of labor*, each group having, in theory or by tradition, a profession from which their members can depart only within certain limits; and finally *hierarchy*, which ranks the groups as relatively superior or inferior to one another."[83] He places the religious concepts of purity and impurity at the center of any caste system. It is the distinction between pure and impure that gives the system its ideological justification and coherence, and determines, at the same time, the place of the individual on the social ladder. Therefore, for Dumont, in a caste society social status is not determined by power, but rather the contrary is true. According to Dumont, only Indian society presents these characteristics and therefore could be rightly called a caste society.

Building on Dumont's work, A. Bara Diop has produced the most comprehensive academic work on what he conceives as the Wolof caste system.[84] Diop criticizes Dumont for founding his theory on empirical analysis derived from a single example.

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[82] Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus : Essai sur le systeme des castes(* Paris , 1974).
[83] Emphasis in original text. Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus* (1974), p.21.
[84] Abdoulaye B. Diop, *La Société Wolof*, (1981).

He rejects the claim of the uniqueness of the Indian system and considers that the criteria that define this system should be only perceived as general characteristics and should not be strictly applied to all caste societies. He argues that the difference in the historical contexts in which these castes are produced allows variances in the importance of the criteria and their ideological foundation that need to be taken into account.

For Diop, the different elements Dumont identifies in his analysis of the Indian castes are also found among the Wolof, though their significance and ideological underpinnings may differ.[85] He asserts that the social division of labor between the *géer* or superior caste and the *ñeeño* or artisans constitutes the sole objective factor of the Wolof caste system. Following Dumont, he mentions that all the other aspects of the system, such as hereditary status, endogamous marriage, and repulsion, are subjectively generated by the ideology. But while Dumont places the concepts of purity and impurity, inspired by the Hindu religion, at the center of the ideology of the Indian caste system, Diop considers that the biological distinction between clean and tainted blood constitutes the defining concept of the Wolof system. Regarding the separation between status and power, considered by Dumont to be an important criterion of a caste system, Diop notes that among the Wolof these two elements belong to two different types of hierarchies. While the caste system defines the social status of the individual, the devolution of power pertains to the system of orders that organizes the society according to other criteria. Despite these caveats, Diop considers that Dumont's criteria can be usefully applied to Wolof society, which he considers to be a valid example of a caste system.

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[85] Ibid., p.105

Even if, theoretically, the criteria identified by Dumont can be found among the Wolof, as argued by Diop, the exclusion of the *géer* and *jaam* or (slaves) from the system constitutes two major empirical obstacles for the application of the theory to Wolof society. For Dumont, the principal pre-condition for a caste system to exist is that the whole society should be encompassed by that system. Diop and Irvine classify the *géer* and the *jaam* among the castes, thereby validating Dumont's premise. According to Diop, the status of *géer* is defined by the same criteria that set the *ñeeño* apart. These criteria are professional specialization, endogamous marriage and hereditary status. Therefore, for him, the *géer* should be considered as a caste. Regarding the *jaam*, Diop notes that the castes were formed at a period where this group was socially insignificant and it is only with the development of the monarchy that the *jaam* became important and was appended to the system as a pseudo-caste.[86] Irvine, on the other hand, considers the classification of the *géer* among the castes to be a moot question. She writes: "now in the first place, if some groups in a single community are castes then the residuum is also a caste; the term "non-casted" [often used to describe the *géer*] makes little sense if caste is defined with reference to a total system, rather than to a kind of trait-listing for each group." [87] Irvine rejects the claim made by her informants that *jaam* are not casted people and contends that the *jaam* might well, in the past, have been classified among the castes, and it is only after emancipation that this group was assigned a new social position.[88] For her, in pre-colonial Wolof society, the *jaam* formed a caste.

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[86] Irvine, "Caste and Communication," pp. 60-61.
[87] Ibid., p. LVII.
[88] Ibid., p. LVII.

Nonetheless, the conclusions reached by Diop and Irvine in their analysis of the Wolof caste system leave important questions unanswered. Both scholars fail to give a convincing argument as to why the *géer* and the *jaam* should be included among the castes. The *jaam*, in fact, do not see themselves, and are not considered by the Wolof, to be members of a caste. The *jaam* cannot be classified as a caste since the social status of a slave is not determined by a set of criteria but rather by the status of their masters; the slave of a blacksmith is considered a blacksmith, though of lower status, the slave of a *géer* is a a *géer* and the slave of a *griot* is a *griot.* Moreover, neither the *géer* nor the *jaam* fit the criterion of professional specialization. At the exclusion of artisan work, *géer* and *jaam* can have a variety of professional occupations, and these occupations are not exclusive to them. In fact, aside from their traditional craft, caste members can, like the *géer* and the *jaam*, work as agriculturalists, traders, healers, etc. The practice of endogamy is also less strict among the *géer* and the *jaam*. These two groups often engage in marriage as shown by the multiple intermarriages between crown slaves and reigning dynasties in the Wolof kingdoms. It seems, as noted by Diouf, that the classification of the *géer* [and the *jaam*] among the castes, as in Diop's scheme, is based more on formalist determination than an expression of the concrete reality.[89]

The examination of the relationships between castes also shows that the Wolof and Indian systems differ in many ways. The relation of exploitation between the Brahman and the lower castes, noted in India, does not exist between the *géer* and the *ñeeño*, nor does the obligation of strict separation. On the contrary, the *géer* cannot, without risking social, material and moral decline, exploit the class of artisans; they are

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[89] Mamadou Diouf, *Le Kajoor* (1990), p.54.

bound to assist them.[90] *Géer* and *ñeeño* share food, drink, and interact in every day life.[91] The only taboo concerns the *tëgg* whose sweat is considered a cause of bad luck. It is safe to argue that despite the presence of castes among the Wolof, this society cannot be rightly considered to be a caste society as defined by Dumont and students of the Indian caste system. The castes remain, however, important features of Wolof society and continue to function as a framework for social, cultural and economic interactions, determining people's marriage patterns and professional occupations in the traditional economic sectors more so than the orders, which no longer have a strong influence on the society.

2.2.2. The orders

The orders constitute the second important feature of traditional Wolof society. While the castes still remain sociologically significant in contemporary Wolof society, the orders are less relevant. However, understanding the history and functioning of the orders is instrumental in reconstructing the events that marked the development of pre-colonial Wolof society. Traditionally, the devolution of political power among the Wolof obeys hierarchies defined by what scholars have come to call orders.[92] The system of orders developed with the establishment of monarchic rule, which was introduced with

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[90] Silla quoted in Victoria Bomba, "The Pre-nineteenth century political tradition of the Wolof," *BIFAN,* ser. B, No I, T. 34 (1974), p.7.
[91] M. Delafosse, *Haut Sénégal Niger* (1972), pp. 117-118.
[92] Diouf has questioned the appropriateness of the word 'order' to describe the political system of Wolof society. He notes that 'order' refers to Western and Christian culture and may not correctly render the meaning of the much different cultural and political situation of the Wolof. He suggests the word "Etat" or states in reference to the three states of Ancient Régime in France. See *Le Kajoor,* (1990), p. 55. It seems to me that "state" also presents some difficulties: it describes a Western experience and moreover, it fails to capture the fluidity of Wolof socio-political organization, which was not ideologically ingrained and as a consequence, allowed some social mobility.

the foundation of the Jolof Empire in the mid-thirteenth century. This system provides the judicial framework that organizes and regulates access to power. The orders distinguish between different hereditary groups ranked according to their rights to power. Unlike the castes, economic exploitation and political domination characterize the relations between orders. As the castes divide Wolof society into two major groups, *géer* and *ñeeño*, the orders also set apart the *gor* or freeborn and the *jaam* or slaves. [93]

The division *gor/jaam* is certainly as ancient as the practice of slavery among the Wolof. The advent of the monarchy complicated the system by introducing new hierarchies determined in reference to political power. Among the *gor*, for example, the *buur* is opposed to the *baadaolo*. *Buur* refers to the group that controls the power or has the rights to exercise political power; the word *buur* also signifies king. Among the *buur,* only those belonging to *garmi* matrilineages are eligible to be king. The *baadoolo*, on the other hand, is defined by his powerlessness. This social category is composed of the freeman, *géer* and *ñeeño*, who constitute the majority of the population of the Wolof kingdoms, but were excluded from the exercise of power. Between the *buur* and the *baadoolo*, the group of *jambur*[94] represented nobility that enjoyed prestige and authority. The *jaam* were also divided into two subgroups: the *jaami buur*, subjected to the crown or reigning dynasties, and the *jaami badolo* or slaves of the common people.

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[93] The terms slave and slavery are certainly not accurate translations of the Wolof words *jaam* and *Njaam*. Early European writers have, in fact, noted that what was termed slavery among the Wolof was a form of dependency among others, in a kinship society, that was different from Greek and Roman slavery. They have used the terms serf or captive to describe this form of dependency. Later use of these two words by supporters of the Atlantic Slave Trade, however, aimed at mitigating the effect of the trade in order to counter the abolitionist movement that gained strength during the late eighteen and early nineteenth century. The terms slave and slavery have come in general use among scholars for *Jaam* and *Njaam*. I adopt this translation, bearing in mind that the economic, social and cultural meanings of slave and slavery have changed over time among the Wolof, following the transformations underwent by this society throughout its centuries of internal evolution and interactions with other societies and cultures.

[94] Note to confuse with Njambur, which is a Muslim dominated province in Northern Kajoor.

The group of *garmi* was composed of matrilineal lineages or *meen* that monopolized the exercise of power in Waalo, Kajoor, and Baol. In Saalum, the rulers descended from the *gellowar* family. Jolof constituted an exception: in this kingdom, the status of *garmi* was determined by four patrilineages or *geño*.[95] Being a *garmi* was a principal, but not a sufficient condition to bid for the throne; the sovereign was also required to descend, on the male line, from the founder of the kingdom. The *garmi* were not endogamous. They married widely among the lower nobility and the *jambur* to foster political alliances and reduce the competition for power within their families. In the nineteenth century, with the increasing influence of Islam, the marriages between *garmi* and clerical families were particularly frequent. The unions between nobles and lay people produced low ranking nobility classified according to their paternal or maternal descent. The *tañ* or *doomi lingeer* is the son of a princess and a *jambur*. The *doomi buur*, literally, son of a king, is the product of a marriage between a king, or a legitimate candidate to the kingship, and a *jambur* or a slave women (*taara*). Because of the preeminence of matrilineage among the Wolof, the *tañ* was considered a *garmi* but he could not pretend to the crown. Both *tañ* and *doomi buur* were often entrusted with the administration of provinces.

In practice there was more flexibility in the functioning of the structures of power than the rigid classification described above would suggest. Violence also was a means of establishing a ruling lineage. This was, for example, the case of Lat Sukabe Faal, a *doomi buur*, therefore not untitled to rule, but who succeeded in capturing the power in Kajoor and Bawol to found the lineage of the Faal of Kë[…]r Ceyaasin. The tradition of

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[95] See Oumar Leyti Ndiaye, "Le Djolof et Ses Bourbas," *BIFAN t. XXVIII* : 3-4 (1966,) p. 998.

Kajoor characterizes his lineage as "garmi by the barrel of the guns."[96] Lat Joor's election to the position of *Dammeel* could be also considered as a breach of the rule. Lat Joor was the first king of Kajoor to bear the name Joob. He was *garmi* from his mother's side but his father was a joob.

Below the *garmi*, the *jambur* formed a community of powerful notability. *Garmi* and *jambur* are descendants of the first *lamans* that ruled the Wolof before the appearance of kingship. The *lamans* that participated in the wars of secession against the Jolof Empire succeeded in imposing their descent as ruling dynasties while those who remained neutral became *jambur*.[97] Gradually, the group of *jambur* inflated with the inclusion of *baadoolo*, who became clients of the aristocracy by amassing wealth and authority. The increasing influence of Islam among the Wolof bestowed power and prestige on the leaders of the Muslim communities who also achieved entrance into the group of *jambur*. In contrast to the *garmi,* the group of *jambur* exemplified a rather open social category that permitted upward mobility to *baadoolo*.

The *baadoolo* were the freemen of lowest status. They formed the group of subjects that did not have access to power and bore the burden of taxes and other obligations they owed to the king and the local chiefs. They were not allowed to carry weapons and did not participate in war. The defense of the kingdom was the responsibility of the *garmi,* the *jambur* and the *jaami buur* (see below). The *baadoolo*

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[96] On Latsukaabe and his reign see Jean Boulègue, "Lat Sukaabé Fall ou l'opinâtreté d'un roi contre les échanges inégaux" in *Les Africains*, t. IX. (Paris: Editions Jeune Afrique, 1977). pp 167-196. See also Diouf, *Le Kajoor* (1990), p.92

[97] Diouf, *Le Kajoor,* op cit. (1990), p. 56.

constituted the most vulnerable community in traditional Wolof society.[98] As a defenseless group, they were the victims of the pillages and raids perpetrated by local as well as foreign rulers. With the development of the Atlantic Trade, they were particularly targeted for enslavement. They paid the highest toll during the wars of conquest and the period of political instability that preceded the French take over of the mid-nineteenth century. Consequently, this group was the most sensitive to the propaganda developed by Muslim clerics against the rulers; they were the most zealous followers of the jihadists.

The *jaami buur*, or crown slaves, were, as their title indicates, property of the sovereign. In principle they did not belong to a particular person or lineage, but they were attached to the function of king. This status is clearly rendered by their Wolof title "*fekk bayeetil*" which means, "leave them as you found them."[99] The emergence of this group, which gradually became a powerful praetorian army at the service of the reigning aristocracies, seemed to be a response to the instability associated with the system of succession among the Wolof. While the slaves of the father's house, or *jaami néeg baay*, and the slaves of the mother's house, or *jaami néeg ndey*, were divided between heirs, the crown slaves were subjected to the right of primogeniture.[100] By placing the *jaami buur* out of the control of the conflicting reigning dynasties, the system aimed at preserving a force loyal to the crown and apt at providing continuity for the defense of the interest of the kingship. However, the scheme was undermined by the numerous conflicts of succession that opposed different *garmi* lineages supported by their own

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[98] Within this group, it was the *géer* who were the primarily victim of exploitation and violence, since the Wolof code of honor forbids people of higher social status from using force against, or exploiting groups of lower social status. Diop, *Afrique Noire* (1987), p. 15 ; See also Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger (1972)*, pp. 115-117.

[99] Jaw, op cit., (1929), p.91.

[100] Ibid, p.91.

slaves. Only in Jolof, where the impact of matrilineage in the succession was less important, did the system remain strong. Everywhere else, the group of crown slaves was progressively substituted for a group of "royal slaves" that showed loyalty only to the specific families to which they were attached. These "royal slaves," however, rendered the same service as the crown slaves when their masters succeeded in capturing the power.[101]

Because of their central role in the succession struggles, and their strategic position in the Atlantic slave trade, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the *jaami buur,* gradually, became the real kingmakers in the Wolof states. They were slaves only in name; in practice, they enjoyed higher social status than the *jambur* and the low ranked nobility. Mollien informs us that the *jaami buur* were obliged to hang iron shackles over their beds as a constant reminder of theirs slave status.[102] The crown slaves were exempted of tax payment and were entrusted with the administration of important provinces. They intermarried with the *garmi* and *doomi buur* and fostered a separate identity as *ceddo*[103], or professional warriors, feared by the common people and notorious for their drunkenness, violence, bravery, pride and indefectible fidelity to the *garmi* lineages. By the nineteenth century, *ceddo* had become a synonym for heathen opponent to Islam and it applied to the ruling aristocracy and their associates.

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[101] The accession of Damel Teeñ Latsukaabe and the Geej matrilineage to power in Kajoor in 1695 constitutes a perfect illustration of the important influence that the crown slaves came to exert on the kinship in the Wolof kingdoms. Lat Sukaabe who was a *doomi buur*, therefore not qualified to rule as *Dammeel*, took advantage of a period of instability in the kingdom to conquer the throne with the help of his lineage's slaves. He founded a new dynasty that monopolized the power for almost two centuries. See Diouf, *Le Kajoor* (1990), pp. 92-96; J. Searing, *West African slavery* (London , 1993), pp. 22-23.

[102] Gaspard Mollien, *l'Afrique Occidentale en 1818 (*Paris, 1967), p. 79 also, P. Lovejoy and A. S. Kanya-Forstner, eds, *Slavery and its abolition in French Africa: the official reports of G. Poulet, E. Roume, and G.Deherme* (Wisconsin, Madison, 1994), p.48.

[103] *Ceddo* is the Fulbe word for Black in comparison to themselves and the Moors. See Monteil, *Esquisses* (Ifan, 1966), p.87

Jaami baadoolo does not only refer to slaves owned by the common people, as the name tends to suggest, but it includes any other slaves that do not fall under the category of *jaami buur*. In reality, few *baadoolo* could afford to acquire and maintain slaves. As we have already seen, the *baadoolo* were not only the poorest but they were also exempted from military duty and therefore deprived of an important means of accumulating wealth and property. The majority of the *jaami baadoolo* belonged to the *jambur*, and the group of *jaami baadoolo* was divided into two subgroups constituted by the *jaam sayoor* and the *jaam juddu*.

According to Yoro Jaw, the name of *jaam sayoor* was given to newly acquired slaves.[104] This category of slaves became particularly important during the nineteenth century jihads, wars of successions, and conquests that plagued the Wolof kingdoms. The *jaam sayoor* was at the very bottom of the social ladder. Because he was a suspected and feared stranger in the family and in the society, he did not enjoy many rights. He was considered to be "a good" that could be pawned, sold or exchanged in time of need. The *jaam sayoor* was not allowed to accumulate wealth or to found a family. He was assigned the hardest chores, and could be beaten if he was found guilty of a major offense.[105]

The *jaam juddu,* on the other hand, was assimilated into the master's family. This group was composed of slaves born in servility or inherited; they often bore the name of their master. Yoro Jaw compares the relations between the *jaam juddu* and their masters to the links that bind adopted children with their families of adoption.[106] They could not

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[104] Jaw, op cit (1929) on *Jaam Sayoor* also Lovejoy and Kanya-Fortsner, *Slavery and its abolition* op cit .
[105] J.L.Boutillier, "Les Captifs en AOF, 1903-1905", *BIFAN,* ser. B, T. 30-2 (1968), p.522.
[106] Jaw,op cit (1929), p. 192 and also Lovejoy and Kanya-Fortsner, *Slavery and its abolition,* pp. 48-49.

be sold under normal circumstances. When they lived in the master's house, the *jaam juddu* were treated like nephews and other young men in the compound and were provided food and shelter in exchange for their labor. In general, the *jaam juddu* was required to work five days in the master's field and two in their own. When they lived in a separate quarter or *ngallo,* they enjoyed much greater autonomy. They could start families and cultivate their own fields, provided that they pay a fixed fraction of their harvest to the master. The *jaam juddu* were also allowed to travel and to engage in trade and other business on behalf of their masters. They had the right to keep portions of the profit they made and to develop their own businesses. Some were successful enough to accumulate wealth and slaves and become even richer than their masters.[107]

2.2.3. Political structures

The political system of the Wolof kingdoms can be described as a "limited monarchy."[108] A council of "non-royal" electors chose the king who shared the administration of the state with a body of agents that often owed their positions to inalienable inherited rights. Eligibility to the position of king was determined by certain lineage requirements. In all of the Wolof states, the kings were chosen within specified families. In Jolof, the *Buurba* had to be of the patrilineage or *geño* of Njajaan Njaay. In Baol, Kajoor and Waalo, as we have seen, only the *garmi* matrilineages and *gellowar* for Saalum provided reigning dynasties. However, being a *garmi* was a necessary but not sufficient condition to contest for the crown. Among the *garmi,* only those descending

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[107] Boutillier, "L'esclavage" (1968), p. 523.
[108] I borrow this expression from Lucy Colvin, "Kajoor and his Diplomatic Relations with Saint-Louis, du Sénégal, 1763-1861", (Ph.D dissertation, Columbia U.' 1972), p. 37.

on the male line from the historic founder of the kingdom could be chosen as *Bër, Brak, Dammeel* or *Teeñ.* For example, in Kajoor, the *Dammeel* had to belong to one of the seven *garmi* matrilineages and be a descendant of Amary Ngone Sobel Faal, the first king who led the secession against the Jolof Empire.[109] In Waalo, the *Brak* was chosen within the family of Barka Bo Mbooj, but he was also required to be descended from one of three royal matrilineages. The king was appointed by an electoral council whose composition and prerogatives varied according to the states, and this council had the power to depose the ruler in every state.

In Waalo, the *Jogomaay,* master of the water, the *Jawdin,* master of the land, and the *Maalo,* general treasurer, headed the electoral council or *seb ak baor.*[110] In Kajoor, seven great electors led by *Laman jamatil,* a sort of Prime Minister, representing the *jambur,* the crown slaves and the Muslim community elected the *Dammeel.*[111] In Saalum, the role of the electoral council led by the great *Jaraaf* and composed of the provincial chiefs, was in principle symbolic, since it belonged to the reigning king to choose his successor.[112]

The appointment of the new king followed the same procedures in all of the Wolof states. Numerous secret meetings were held by the Electoral Council, which consulted widely with representatives of different segments of society, before making its choice. Barry sees in the effort to involve the community in the election of the king an

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[109] These seven garmi matrilineages are the *Bey,* the *Doroobe,* the *Geej,* the *gellowar,* the *Mooyooy,* the *Sooño* and the *Wagadu.*

[110] Barry, *Le Waal* (Paris ,1985), p. 73.

[111] The Electoral Council of Kajoor was composed of Jawriñ mbul, Laman jamatil, Bootal ub njoob, Baje gateñ, all four were *jambur* administrators of provinces, the Ilimaam of mbal and Seriñ kabb represented the Muslim. community, the crown slaves were represented by the Jawriñ mbul gallo. Brigaud, *Histoire Traditionnelle du Sénégal* (Saint-Louis, 1962), pp. 91-92.

[112] Brigaud signals however that the electors were not bound by the reigning king's choice, ibid p. 162.

indication that the states among the Wolof emerged from a compromise between different more or less autonomous groups.[113]

The Wolof king was not sacred. He did not wield a spiritual power. The ruler was basically a temporal leader whose duties and rights were defined in secular terms; his main function was to maintain order in the state and to protect the territorial integrity against a foreign enemy.[114] He was expected to be wise and fair, a sort of neutral arbiter of the conflicting interests of the communities under his rule. The king was also believed to play a certain role in bringing prosperity to his subjects. In all of the Wolof states, the coronation ceremony that followed the election involved entrusting the new king with samples of the principal crops grown in the kingdom. The coronation ceremony was also the opportunity for the chief of the *jambur* to remind the sovereign of the necessity to respect and protect the rights traditionally recognized to the different categories of subjects. In Waalo for example, after his coronation, the *Brak* made payment of slaves to the *Jawdin,* the *Jogomaay,* the *Maalo,* and two other maternal lineages in recognition of their historic rights of ownership of the land as descendants of the first *laman* Jaw.[115] The *Buurba* Jolof, after his election, also paid seven horses to the seven members of the electoral council who represented the *jambur*.[116]

The king, in fact, ruled the country in association with families whose rights were set by tradition and in principle could not be withdrawn. These families earned their rights to participate in the exercise of power because of their roles as founders of the

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[113]Barry, *Le Waalo,* p.74.
[114] Pathé Diagne, *Pouvoir Politique Traditionnel en Afrique Occidentale* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1967), p. 99.
[115] Jaw, (1929), p.165.
[116] Bomba, "Pre-nineteenth century," op cit (1974), p.5.

kingdom or their historically recognized rights as first occupants of the land. The minority ethnic groups, the Muslims, and caste members chose their own community leaders. Members of the central administration and heads of many territorial jurisdictions earned their position by rights of inheritance.[117] The king's discretion could only be exercised for the appointment to certain specified positions. The rulers often appointed crown slaves, the only people they could trust. Since they were slaves, their personal fortunes were dependent on their masters. Generally, the rulers tried to undermine the system that aimed to check and balance their authority. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they were particularly successful in their efforts to centralize and concentrate power exclusively in their hands.

Many territorial jurisdictions belonged to chiefs with inherited title. Heads of villages inherited their titles as descendants of *lamans*. When a village chief died, it was incumbent on his family to appoint his successor and notify the higher authority. The chief of the province, or *kangam*, on the other hand, was a client of the king, chosen from specific matrilineages and appointed by him. The *kangam* had administrative and political prerogatives delegated to him by the king. In Jolof, the Ndaw, and Ñaŋ lineages furnished the *kangam* for the principal provinces.[118] In all of the Wolof states, the position of chiefs of provinces was primarily granted to the *tañ* and *doomi buur* (royal lineages without rights to rule). The *kangam* had his court, clients and security forces composed of his slaves and members of his family. In times of war, each *kangam* was required to mobilize and lead his forces in the battlefield. The *kangam* was also

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[117] The description of the administrative structures of the Wolof kingdoms will be mainly based in Kajoor where the administration was the most developed. However, the political institutions found in Kajoor exist in one form or another in the other kingdoms.

[118] Omar L. Ndiaye, "Le Djolof.. " (1966), p.969.

responsible for the administration of justice and the collection of taxes and other dues. However, only the king could pronounce sentences involving death, the shedding of blood, or enslavement. At the level of the village, the *kangam* was represented by the *jaraaf* who watched after the interest of the central administration.

The highest rank of the administration was held by a *jambur*, who represented the interest of his peers in the court. In Kajoor, it was the *Jawdin Mbul,* chief of the great electors, who filled this position. In Bawol, *Jaraaf Bawol* occupied the post. When Bawol was under the authority of the *Dammeel*, as was the case most of the time during the eighteenth century, the *Jaraaf Bawol* filled the position of vice king of Bawol for the *Dammeel-Teeñ*. *Jaraaf ju rëy* in Jolof and *Jogomay* in Waalo headed the central administration in these two kingdoms. Head of central administration was the highest independently inherited title in the Wolof states and it carried a lot of power. European merchants and officials rightly gave these personalities the title of Prime Minister.[119] In Kajoor for example, the *Jawdin Mbul* assured the interim of *Dammeel*. In Waalo, it was the *Jogomay* who ruled the land during interregnums.[120]

From the outset, rulers in the Wolof states had tried, through different strategies, to undermine the power traditionally vested on the *jambur* and their representatives. They could not undo the historic rights bestowed by the tradition on some lineages, but they weakened independently appointed chiefs by transferring the bulk of their prerogatives to invented parallel administrative positions or by encouraging illegitimate pretenders. The migration of Njajaan Njaay from Waalo to Jolof could be seen as the first sign of the tension between a king and the group of *jambur*. It is after an unsettled

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[119] L. G Colvin, "Kajoor and its diplomatic relations," (1972), p.53.
[120] Bomba, " Pre-nnineteenth century"op cit, (1974), p.5.

dispute with the *Seb ak baor* that the first Wolof king gave up his throne. But it is in Kajoor, where the administrative system was the most developed, that the conflict between the traditionally decentralized system of administration supported by the *Jambur* and the more centralized rule encouraged by the kings was the most apparent. The first major political decision by Amary Ngone Sobel, first *Dammeel* of Kajoor, was to attack the position of *Laman Jamatil,* head of the *lamans* under the Jolof Empire, and a sort of Prime Minister under independent Kajoor. He created the position of *Jawrin Mbul Gor,* chief of the free subjects of Kajoor, with virtually the same prerogatives as the *Laman Jamatil,* leaving to the latter a mere honorary status.[121] Over time, subsequent *Dammeels,* even more suspicious of the *jambur,* created the position of *Jawrin Mbul Gallo,* chief of the slaves of Kajoor, to further undermine the power and political position of the *jamburs.*

The *Dammeel*'s basic means for balancing the power of the hereditary chiefs was the appointment of crown slaves to high offices.[122] The *Fara- Biir- Kër,* treasurer and chief accountant of *Dammeel,* and the *Fara-Sëf,* quartermaster and general commander of the royal bodyguard, were crown slaves. *Ceddo* were also appointed as representatives of the *Dammeel* or *Alkaati* at the European trading posts along the Atlantic coasts. The administration of territories conquered by the king, therefore, out of the traditional *laman* domain, was entrusted to crown slaves. Crown slaves were also assigned to the collection of taxes and tributes from the provinces. *Ceddo* carried punitive raids against rebellious *kangams* and provinces and were allowed to keep one third of the booty collected during these operations.

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[121] Jaw, op cit (1933), pp., 263-264.
[122] L. G.Colvin, "Kajoor and its diplomatic relations.," p. 40.

In all of the Wolof states, communities and ethnic groups had their own leaders. For example, among the Fulbe, the *Ardo* was the intermediary between the administration and his community. Each caste was led by a chief called Fara: *Fara Tëgg, Fara Wuude*, etc. These leaders were expected to protect the interest of their communities. By the eighteenth century the Muslim community was the most powerful of this group. The increasing influence of Islam in the kingdoms was recognized in Kajoor with the inclusion of two representatives of the Muslim community in the Electoral Council: the *Elimaan* of Mbal and the *Seriñ* of Kabb. Elsewhere, the *xaali* (*qadi* in Arabic or judge), a sort of marabout[123] in chief, was respected and consulted by the king on all affairs involving his community. Villages headed by marabouts benefited from a limited autonomy.[124]

2.3. Conclusion

The identity formation of the Wolof as an autonomous ethnic group is closely associated with the emergence of the Jolof Empire. The Fulani invasion of Koli Tengela Ba and the development of the Atlantic Trade contributed to the dislocation of the Empire and the founding of the independent Wolof kingdoms. From the eighteenth century, the acceleration of the Atlantic Trade and the gradual encroachment of European powers dramatically upset the balance of power within the political structures of the Wolof states. The development of slave trading favored centralization and the concentration of political and economic powers in the hands of the aristocracy and their army of *ceddo* warriors. Muslim clerics and the French characterized the pre-colonial regime as a rule of violence

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[123] Marabout is the French word for Muslim cleric coined from the Arabic word *Murabit*. The Wolof uses the word *Seriñ*.
[124] See below for further developments on the role of Islam in the Wolof kingdoms.

and disorder. Traditional rulers were blamed for their bloody pillages and slave raiding that imposed a reign of terror on the Wolof. Although these accusations have validity, particularly from the eighteenth century on, the judgment of the Muslims and colonialists on the *ceddo* were not unbiased. The former waged numerous wars and jihads against the ruling class for at least two centuries. The latter, who often allied with the *ceddo* against the Muslim clerics, evoked the violence of the local rulers as a justification of their colonial enterprise. They failed to expose their own role in the spread of violence in the Wolof states. Violence certainly played an important role in pre-colonial government as it does in any government, but the Wolof rulers were also aware of the necessity to protect their subjects, more so that control of people constituted the principal basis of their power.[125] The context of violence of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contributed to the growth of the Muslim population that found in Islam a refuge against the dysfunctional *ceddo* regime. Competition for control over the growing and increasingly restless Muslim population constituted the bone of contention that opposed Muslim clerics and traditional rulers in the Wolof states from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.

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[125] P. Curtin, *Economic Change* (1975), p.2.

3. Chapter II: Patterns of Islamization

The historiography of Islam in West Africa is marked by two major opposing trends. One perceives Islam as a religion of strangers and chiefs whose fortune depended on the ebbs and flows of the power of Muslim rulers, until the nineteenth century, when the religion succeeded in gaining a popular base.[126] The other emphasizes religious purity and conceives the history of Islam in West Africa to be a long evolution towards greater orthodoxy through a phase of quarantine, where Islam was the religion of a secluded minority, and a period of expansion, marked by syncretistic interactions between Islamic and traditional African beliefs.[127] This second trend places the reformist movements of the nineteenth century at the center of the construction of Muslim identity in modern West Africa. By placing the history of Islam in West Africa in these broad evolutionary frameworks, both of these approaches overlook the internal dynamics of the religion and its changing social meaning.

In this chapter, I pay close attention to the historical roots of Islam in the Wolof states and I particularly emphasize the agency of Muslim leaders and followers at the grassroots level. I stress the importance of Islam as agent of cultural and social change. The major contention of this chapter is that continuity, rather than ruptures and revolutions, best describes the development of Islam in West Africa and Senegal and,

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[126] The works of French colonial administrators and Islamicists such as Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal Niger* (Paris, 1972); Gouilly, *l'Islam dans l'Afrique Occidentale Française* (Paris, 1952); Froelich, *Les Musulmans en Afrique Noire* (Paris, 1962); V.Monteil, *L'Islam Noir* (Paris, 1980) represent this trend. The British historian, John Spencer Trimingham, *History of Islam in West Africa* (London, Glasgow, 1962) also belongs to this school of thought.

[127] See Humphrey Fisher, "Conversion Reconsidered," *Africa,* 43 -1 (1973): 27-40 and *Amar Samb,* "l'Islam et l'histoire du Sénégal", *BIFAN, (*1971), both of these authors conceive the history of Islam in West Africa as a gradual development towards orthodoxy, through periods of quarantine, mixing and reform.

contrary to the common wisdom that considers the jihadists and rulers as principal agents of islamization, that the village Koranic teachers and preachers played critical roles in the implantation of Islam among the Wolof. The nineteenth century was a turning point in the history of Islam in West Africa, but the events that took place in this century are rooted in social and religious changes at work since earlier centuries, inaccurately described by some scholars as periods of 'eclipses' or 'quarantine.'

3.1. The Encounter with Islam

3.1.1. Presence of Islam in the Wolof kingdoms

The contacts between the Wolof and Islam dated from the first decades of the eleventh century. We have learned from El Bekri also (Al Bakri) that by A.D.1040, Islam had spread to the Senegal River valley due to the efforts of Waar Jaabi, the first ruler of Tekrur to become Muslim.[128] Waar Jaabi was a major supporter of the Al Murabitūn movement that originated in the Western Sahara and then established its domination over Morocco and South Spain. This movement played a noticeable role in the islamization of the Berber population of current day Mauritania. It fostered a new identity among the desert people, such as the Sanhajah, where Islamic learning and scholarship became a vocation and source of prestige that supplemented the traditional Berber culture and nomadic way of life.

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[128] See Vincent Monteil, "Al Bakri (Cordoue, 1068), Routier de l'Afrique Blanche et Noire," *BIFAN*, ser. B., No 1, (1968): 39-116.

By the fourteenth century, Arab immigrants, offshoots of the Bedouin "tribes"[129] that invaded North Africa in the eleventh century, started to reach the Western Sahara. These immigrants were Muslims, but they were profoundly influenced by Bedouin traditions of pastoralism, which considered raiding and tribute collection a legitimate source of income. The pursuit of Islamic scholarship was not as valued among them as among the Sanhajah Berbers.[130] By the sixteenth century, these Arab warriors had established their hegemony over the indigenous Berber groups. The encounter between Arabs and Berbers fostered a split identity among the Mauritanian desert people. The indigenous Berbers who specialized in learning and commerce came to be known as *zwaya* or *tolba*, whereas the population of Arab origins associated with warfare was known as the *Hassan*.[131] Both of these groups shared pastoralist culture and Islam; their differences lie in the intensity of Islamic practice and trading, featured among the *Zwaya,* while force played a greater role in the economy and polity of the *Hassan*. *Zwaya* "tribes" gradually built their power base as Muslim scholars and holy men with large followings, traders, and peace brokers between the warring desert clans. Over time, *Hassan* and *Zwaya* identities were blurred as different clans shifted back and forth between warfare and Islamic scholarship, depending on the fortunes of their political ambition. The patterns of separation, opposition and negotiation that framed the interactions between *zwaya* and *Hassan* also shaped the relations between clerics and rulers in the Wolof states.

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[129] I use "tribe" as the English equivalent of the words *banu* or *awlad* used by the Arabs and Berbers to distinguish between different lineages.
[130] P. D.Curtin, "Jihad in West Africa, Early Phases and Interrelations in Mauritania and Senegal," *J.A.H.*, XII-1 (1971): 11-24, p. 12.
[131] A. B. Miské, "Al Wasiit (1911) Tableau de la Mauritanie à la fin du dixneuvième siècle," *BIFAN,* ser. B., t. xxx, 1 (1968), p.132.

El Bekri's writings do not provide an account of the introduction of Islam among the population of the Senegal River valley, but his descriptions suggest that the religion was known in Tekrur before the Al Murabitūn movement. Oumar Kane attributes the introduction of Islam in Tekrur to Soninke clerics from Ghana, decades before the dislocation of the Empire in 1086.[132] The islamization of Tekrur could also have been the feat of Berber traders and holy men. We know that Islam was present among the Sanhajah Berbers from at least the tenth century.[133] The involvement of Waar Jaabi in the Al Murabitūn movement indicates that close ties existed between the Senegal River valley and the Muslim communities of Western Sahara before the eleventh century.

Whether or not the Berbers of Western Sahara were responsible for the Islamization of the population of the Senegal River, they had an enduring influence on the expansion of Islam among the Wolof. Rawaan Booy reports that the first community of Wolof Muslims founded in the year twelve hundred in Tuube, northern Kajoor, was converted by a branch of the Berber Ida El Hajj.[134] As noted, Njajaan Njaay, founder of the first Wolof state is descended from Abu Dardai or Abdel Kader, a leader of the Al Murabitūn movement.

Not much is known about the evolution of Islam among the Wolof between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. A wealth of Arabic sources documents Islamic practices in the great African Empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai. However, the provinces lying at the periphery of these states, such as Jolof, did not capture the attention

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[132] Oumar Kane, "Le Fuuta Tooro des Satigi aux Almami, 1512-1920" (Thèse de doctorat d'Etat, Université de Dakar, 1986), p. 336.
[133] Miské, op cit.(1968); Curtin, "Jihad...,"(1971).
[134] Booy, See Rousseau, "Le Sénégal d'autrefois : Etude sur le Toubé. Les papiers de Rawane Booy" *B.C.E.H.S.A.O-F.*, t. XIV, 3 (1931), p. 348 .

of Arab travelers. The presence of Islam can be gauged through the influence of Muslim clerics in the courts and the increasing influence of patrilineal descent in the rules of succession. In Jolof, for example, the preeminence of patrilineal over matrilineal lineage may be an innovation related to Islamic influence imposed by Njaanjaan Njaay and his successors. Moreover, oral tradition indicates that the mastery of the Koran was a requirement for the candidate to the position of *Buurba*.[135] Despite the scarcity of sources, one can surmise that isolated Muslim communities, such as the people of Tuube, existed elsewhere in Wolof country. These communities, organized around agriculture and Koranic teaching, were mostly located in the northern regions of Kajoor in contact with the Moors. But the rarity of Koranic schools and the inexistence of an indigenous "clergy" during the considered period indicates that Islam was not strongly rooted; it is even probable that, at over time, Islam had experienced a regression in some areas.[136]

From the fifteenth century on, information provided by European travelers and writers permits a better understanding of the pattern of Islamic practices among the Wolof. The early Portuguese navigators' descriptions suggest that islamization was superficial and primarily confined within the aristocracy. Ca Da Mosto notes that Islam was practiced among the Wolof, especially by the ruling elites, and that they were not as resolute as the white Moors in their faith.[137] He signals the existence of a mosque in the court of *Budomel* (*Buur Dammeel*) and describes a prayer session led by the king.[138] Valentim Fernandes makes similar remarks, he observes that "The King and the nobility

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[135] Oumar Leyti Ndiaye, "Le Djolof et ses Bourbas," *BIFAN*, ser. B, t xxviii, # 3-4 (1966), p. 969.
[136] Mollien who visited Jolof in the early 20th century noted that Islam was not widely practiced in the kingdom. See *l' Afrique Occidentale en 1818,* presented. by H. Deschamps(Paris, Calman Levy, 1967).
[137] A. De Ca Da Mosto, *Relations des voyages à la côte occidentale d'Afrique*, published by M. Charles Schefer, (Paris, Leroux, 1895), p.79.
[138] Ibid, pp.98-99.

of Jolof are followers of Muhammad, but only a minority of the general population is Muslim."[139] Both writers emphasize the religious influence of Moorish clerics from Mauritania and as far as Morocco on the Wolof rulers. The Moors were not only preachers; they were also advisers, judges, merchants and healers who made charms and talismans for members of the aristocracy. Neither author refers to Muslim ceremonies or Koranic schools; in contrast, Fernandes, rather, emphasizes the Wolof habit of drinking alcohol and the practice of 'pagan' rituals. Wolof society, as described by the Portuguese travelers, was mostly characterized by religious pluralism, where Islamic rituals were observed along side elements of the traditional religion. This was not however a "syncretistic" form of religion since there was not conflicting or competing cosmogonies and no conscious attempt to reconcile conflicting beliefs. In fact, by the time the Portuguese visited Senegambia, the long presence of Islam had already significantly altered the traditional Wolof religion.[140] However, if Islamic cosmogony was adopted, Wolof also resorted to non-Islamic practices to find solutions to day-to-day problems

3.1.2. ***The expansion of Islamic practices***

The sixteenth century constituted a watershed in the history of the Wolof. It marked the dislocation of the Jolof Empire and the erection of its former provinces into independent states. This period also witnessed an intensification of the Atlantic Trade.

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[139] Valantim Fernades, *Description de la côte occidentale d'Afrique*, translation by, Monod, Da Mota and Mauny, (Bissau , 1951): 7-8 .

[140] Unlike with the Joola, the Sereer or the Yoruba and other ethnic groups in West Africa, scholars have not so far been able to offer an elaborate description of Wolof traditional system of belief. Even the Wolof name for god, Yalla, is derived from Allah.

Both events had an influence on the development of Islam among the Wolof. The establishment of centralized power, combined with the development of commerce, attracted Muslim traders and holy men from the Senegal River valley, Mauritania and probably Morocco, to Senegambia. These clerics filled the positions of political advisers, secretaries, diplomats and trading middlemen for the Trans-Saharan traders. Their proselytism was apparently limited to aristocratic circles, and they did not hold their patrons to a high standard of Islamic practice. Whenever Islamic rituals conflicted with customs associated with the exercise of power, the latter prevailed. Gradually, a less constraining practice of Islam, tailored to the ruling class, was developed, in contrast to a more rigorous practice of the religion expected from the clerics and the lay people. [141] In reality, the description of Islamic practice among the Wolof reported by the Portuguese travelers referred more to the courts than the global society. Their testimonies about the lay population, with whom they had neither a prolonged contact, nor the language skills to communicate with, are less reliable. In addition, it was only incidently that these European travelers became interested in the social structures and culture of the Wolof. Their main goal was to survey the economic resources of the places they visited and explore the possibility of developming trade relations with the rulers.

The presence of Islam in the courts was an important factor in its development. The rulers provided resources, visibility and prestige to Islamic clerics and fostered respect for the Muslim communities, who gradually secured some sort of political autonomy. Amary Ngone Sobel, the first *Dammeel* of Kajoor, was advised by Moor and

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[141] Father Labat, signals that to a marabout who told *Dammeel* Lat Sukaabe that it was unlawful to have more than four wives, the latter responded that only marabouts and the lay people should strictly abide by the letter of Islamic rules; the rulers are allowed exceptions. *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale* (Paris, 1728), t..v, p. 179.

Tukuloor clerics who played an important role in the founding of the kingdom.[142] Aliu Baro, a Tukuloor marabout from Aire in Fuuta Tooro, assisted the *Dammeel* in the organization of the new kingdom. He inspired the creation of the two capitals of Kajoor: Mbul and Ngigis. Muxtar Mbay, a cleric of Berber origin, advised and prayed for the *Dammeel* in his struggle against Jolof. He instituted the ritual bath or *xulixuli,* probably inspired by the Muslim ritual of ablutions, a central feature of the ceremony of coronation of the *Dammeel.* Mbay became the official marabout of the *Dammeel* and was granted the region of Gadd Njandul where he formed the first independent Muslim community in central Kajoor.[143] By granting land to his marabout, Amary Ngoone Sobel redefined the relations between clerics and rulers in the Wolof states by establishing a framework of cooperation between the two characterized by the exchange of services. The rulers recognized a relative autonomy to the clerics against their mystical and political support.

The long reign of Amary Ngone Sobel in Kajoor and Bawol (1549-1593) reflected the influence of Islamic ideas on the court. Writing in 1594, obviously about events that took place earlier, d'Almada reports that the *Dammeel* "was a bixirin [*seriñ*]" that he did not drink alcohol and preferred the company of the Moors to theirs.[144] Regarding the general population, he noted that the "jolofos [Wolof] and Mandingues do not eat pork and do not drink our wine, especially the cacizes [*Xaali*?], who are bixirins [*seriñ*], a category of people found everywhere in these regions." D'Almada's remarks contrast with the observations made by Ca Da Mosto and Fernandes less than a century

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[142] A. Samb, *Essai sur la contribution du Sénégal a la litérature d'expression arabe* (IFAN, 1971), p.470.
[143] Ibid
[144] Quoted in A.Bara Diop, *La Société Wolof* (Paris, 1987), p. 218. My translation.

earlier. His description suggests that Islam was expanding among the lay population and that Islamic learning was sufficiently developed to produce a relatively abundant body of local clerics. It is probable that by the end of the sixteenth century Koranic teaching was already introduced in the Wolof states and that connections with the Islamic foyers of Mauritania also existed. The banning of alcohol and pork points to a more rigorous practice of Islam.

3.2. Islamization of the Wolof

3.2.1. Construction of Muslim identities

The increasing influence of Islam among the lay population, observed during the sixteenth century, intensified in the seventeenth. This century saw a shift in the development of Islam among the Wolof. While during the previous centuries Islam was mostly confined to the court, by the seventeenth century, it was gaining ground among the wider population.[145] While Islam was becoming a popular religion, the ruling aristocracy was reverting to "paganism." Although the progress of Islam among the common people is widely documented, sources suggest that the assumption that the aristocracy massively abandoned Islam is an overstatement. During the seventeenth century, several French and Spanish missionaries met and failed in their attempts to convert the *Dammeel* or the *Teeñ* or to implant Christianity in Kajoor and Bawol. They all blamed the kings for their stubborn attachment to the Muslim faith. For example,

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[145] See Gouilly, (1952), op cit.; Froelich , (1962), op cit., and Trimingham, (1962), op cit.

while offering their hospitality to the missionaries, the rulers made it clear that they were Muslim and that they did not have any desire to change religion.[146]

The image of a pagan aristocracy opposed to a mass of pious Muslims seems to be a late construction fostered in the context of the struggles between Muslim clerics and traditional rulers that started in the seventeenth century. I would argue that what is perceived as a massive conversion from "paganism" to Islam among the masses, and apostasy among the rulers was rather the expression of the changing meaning of Islam and Muslim identity in the Wolof states. The spread of Koranic teaching and a growing body of Muslim clerics contributed to a more rigorous respect for Islamic rituals among the lay people, while the aristocracy clung to the religious pluralism they deemed more congruent with their social status as warriors and rulers. Muslims accused the rulers of being "unbelievers," but they did not mean by this accusation that the latter were practicing another religion.[147] They were rather blaming the rulers for their religious laxity. Both of these groups shared what Brenner calls the "Islamic religious culture," which he defines as the "ensemble of beliefs and practices deemed Islamic by the Muslims who abide by them and understood as such by the non-Muslims."[148] However, with the development of a more committed Muslim creed the lax religious practice of the aristocracy, once perceived as an acceptable exception, became more and more intolerable. The clerics expected the declared Muslim faith of the rulers to be translated

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[146] See Thilmans and Moraes, "Dencha Four, souverain du Bawol", *BIFAN*, ser B.t. xxxvi, 4 (1974): 691-714.
[147] L.G. Colvin, "Kajoor and its Diplomatic Relations, " (1972), p. 7 .
[148] See L. Brenner, *Réflexions sur le savoir islamique en Afrique de l'ouest* (Bordeaux , 1985), p.1. My translation.

into their religious practices and into political terms, and in this new context conversion became charged with religious and political meanings.

The development of Koranic teaching and the increasing influence of marabouts in the society represent two major causes of the expansion of Islam among the Wolof. Literacy was certainly low and teaching methods rather ineffective, as advanced by early European travelers. However, preaching and teaching, more than any other factors, contributed to the implantation and expansion of Islamic religious culture among the Wolof. This religious culture involved recognizing the Oneness of Allah and the prophecy of Muhammad, bearing a Muslim name, memorizing some verses of the Koran, praying, fasting, respecting the rituals of the Muslim calendar and diet, and adopting the conceptions of justice as taught by Islam. Elements of traditional culture still ordered some aspects of the life of the Wolof, such as healing practices, marriage patterns and social interaction (castes, tabous), but the identification with Islam was stronger. The introduction of Koranic schools and the formation of an indigenous "clergy" not only contributed to the expansion of Islam, but also transformed Muslim identity. Senegambian Muslims progressively took local conceptions of Islam seriously as standards of conduct in personal and public life. For the masses and their religious leaders, allegiance to the religion meant a stricter respect of Islamic prescriptions and the abandonment of drinking and raiding. For the aristocracy, rigorous Islam was not compatible with the exercise of power because the Islamic ideal of social justice and humility conflicted with the values of ruthlessness, pride, bravery, and the celebration of force and courage associated with traditional rule. This evolution set in motion the contradictions that would later lead to confrontations between Muslim clerics and rulers;

the steady development of the emerging Muslim communities accelerated these confrontations.

From the seventeenth century, there are a series of chronicles written by Europeans that document the existence of a growing and committed Muslim population in the Wolof states. In 1635 Father Alexis describes the beginning of Ramadan in Bawol and notes the zeal of some of the population to observe the fasting.[149] La Courbe reports that some of the Muslims who were fasting "were so strict that they did not swallow their saliva and they covered their mouths for fear that some alien object could enter."[150] Writing in 1643, Jannequin signals that in Waalo and Kajoor, after doing their ablutions, the people observe the five daily prayers in mosques made of thatched square structures. [151] Chambonneau, director of the Compagnie du Sénégal (1673-1677), provides a detailed description of Islamic practices in the regions of Waalo, Ganjool and Njambur, neighboring Saint-Louis. He wrote: "They follow Mahomet, obey the precepts of alkoran, pray, fast during Ramadan like the Turks, they do not eat pork, do not drink wine, have many wives and ceremonies as instituted by the false Prophet Mahomet." [152] Chambonneau also describes the celebration of *Korite* (end of Ramadan) marked by a collective prayer session, the slaughtering of cows and the organization of fantasias and

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[149]Father Alexis, in Thilmans and Moraes, op cit., (1974), p. 701. Ramadan is the holy month (twenty nine or thirty days) during which Muslims are required to fast from dawn to dusk. The end of this month is marked by the holidays of *Kori or Korite* (*Aid El Fitr* in Arabic). *Tabaski (Aid El Ada),* commemorating the sacrifice of the lamb by Prophet Abraham, *Tamxarit (Al Ashora),* the Muslim New Year, and *Gammu (Mawlid),* birthday of Prophet Muhammad constitute the other major Muslim holidays in West Africa.
[150] P. Cultru, *Premier voyage du sieur De La Courbe, fait a la coste d'Afrique, 1865* (Paris : Larose, 1913), p. 90. My translation.
[151] Claude Jannequin de Rochefort, *Voyage de Lybie au Royaume de Sénéga, le long du Niger* (Paris, 1643), p. 106. My translation.
[152]Carson I. Ritchie, Deux textes sur le Sénégal, (1673-1677), *BIFAN,* t.xxx, ser. B., No.1, (1968): 289-354.

other festivities that lasted for three days. He mentions the existence of Koranic schools and the involvement of marabouts in judicial proceedings.

*3.2.2. **Teachers and clerics s and their role in the expansion of the Muslim faith***

The founding of the schools of Ndogal and Pir and the development of semi-autonomous Muslim communities illustrate the impact of indigenous Muslim clerics in the expansion of Islam in Senegal. The school of Ndogal was founded in Bawol by a Moor *Zwaya* named Abdulay Jeŋ from Ouadane in Mauritania.[153] Jeŋ sojourned in Fuuta, then Kajoor, before settling at the border between Bawol and Kajoor, in the first half of the seventeenth century. Ndogal was certainly the first Muslim center of Bawol. The Jeŋ of Ndoga, the Faal of Pir and the Joob of Kokki are among the most ancient maraboutic families of Senegal.[154] The circumstances of the founding of this village-school are not known, but its creation was certainly encouraged by the *Teeñ*. The population of Bawol was dominated by non-Muslim Sereer who reluctantly submitted to the centralizing power of the ruling Wolof dynasties. *Teeñ*, inspired by the practice inaugurated by Amary Ngone Sobel in Kajoor, might have seen in the creation of semi-autonomous villages a means to control the growing Muslim community and to win the support of the increasingly influential marabouts. By the end of the seventeenth century, semi-autonomous Muslim farming communities ruled by marabouts became part

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[153] On the history of the school of Ndogal, I rely on Boulègue, "La participation Possible des Centres de Pir et Ndogal à la révolution islamique sénégambienne de 1763" in *Contributions à l'histoire du Sénégal*, Cahiers du C.R.A. (Paris, 1987), pp. 119-125

[154] Ibid., see also Thierno Ka, "l'Enseignement Arabe au Sénégal" (Thèse pour un doctorat de troisième cycle en arabe, Paris, 1982).

of the landscape of the Wolof states. The founders of the village school of Pir in Kajoor emulated the example of the Jeŋ of Ndogal.

Umar Faal founded the village-school of Pir, in the saňaxoor region of Kajoor, in the second half of the seventeenth century. Faal's ancestors belonged to the patrilineal branch of the reigning dynasty of Kajoor, but they were excluded from power and exiled in Fuuta Tooro in the late sixteenth century.[155] Faal was educated in Fuuta and Mauritania where he completed his training in the Islamic sciences. He started to teach in Fuuta where his fame and spiritual power attracted many followers. He decided to return to Kajoor sometime in the second half of the seventeenth century and was welcomed by his cousin, *Dammeel* Maxureja Joojo (1681-1691). When the *Dammeel* proposed to name him paramount *Xaali* of Kajoor, he declined, preferring to consecrate his life to teaching. Faal only asked for a land that he could cultivate with his followers, and a place where he could build his school and pursue his vocation. The *Dammeel* allowed him to settle in the saňaxoor region where he founded the village-school of Pir.

Pir soon became a great center of Muslim intellectual activity and a substitute to Mauritania for the study of some religious sciences such as *fiq* or jurisprudence, attracting disciples from all over the region. The example of Pir and Ndogal was duplicated in Kokki, Ňomre, Loŋoor, in northern Kajoor, and in the Mbaakol region where semi-autonomous Muslim village-schools blossomed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Students trained in these schools entertained a tradition of Islamic learning, intermarried, and formed a network of teachers and students who shared the identity of *doomi soxna*, "son of a honorable women." The *doomi soxna* were the Wolof replica of

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[155] On the history of the school of Pir I relay on Thierno Ka. Op cit., "l'Enseignement..." (1982).

the Moor *tolba*. They pursued Islamic scholarship and farming as a source of prestige and honor. *Doomi soxna* provided guidance to the growing Muslim communities at the grassroots level; they shaped Islamic identity in the Wolof kingdoms.[156]

The spread of violence and insecurity fueled by the transsaharan and Atlantic trades contributed to the development of Muslim communities.[157] The contacts with the Moors allowed the integration of the Wolof into a vast network of international slavery. The land based Trans-Saharan trade remained for centuries before the European explorations of the mid-fifteenth century, the almost exclusive window of West Africa to the rest of the world. Marabouts and the common Muslim population owned and traded slaves and other commodities with the Moors and Arabs, who monopolized the trade. Islam did not oppose slavery, but it provided a judicial framework that was aimed at regulating its practice. Islam prohibits the enslavement of Muslims and strongly condemns the selling of believers to Christians. Islamic law also forbids brutalizing slaves and institutes rules of manumission that opened some avenues to freedom for slave concubines and their children. These rules existed in theory, but were not always respected in practice. However, they provided the clerics and their followers with the ideological arguments that served as a base for the contestation of traditional rule. The Trans-Saharan slave trade predated and outlasted the Atlantic market. Webb has recently emphasized the continued importance of the Transsaharan Trade into the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, challenging the "Atlantic thesis" that stresses the complete

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[156] In fact, as noted by Denis Bouche, Koranic schools are not destined to only transmitting knowledge; they are also an instrument that forges character. " L'école française et les musulmans du Sénégal de 1850 à 1920," *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, tome LXI,No. 223, 2ième trimestre (1974), p.221.

[157] On the role played by the Atlantic Trade in the development of Islam in Senegambia, see Martin Klein, "The Social and Economic factors in the Muslim Revolution of Senegambia," *J.A.H.*, XIII 3(1972): 419-441.

domination of the European trade during this period.[158] The sociological and cultural effects of the Transsaharan trade on both sides of the desert edge are important. It contributed to the spread of Islam, and shaped white and black ethnicities in the Western Sahara, but its political and economic impacts seem les significant.

The Trans-Atlantic trade had a greater effect on West African and Wolof societies in particular. Comparing the Trans-Saharan and the Atlantic trade Paul Lovejoy notes: "Whereas the demand for slaves in the non-African parts of the Islamic world had a relatively gradual but steady influence on the spread of Islamic ideas and practices through parts of Africa, the impact of the European market for slaves was more intense over a much shorter period, with correspondingly different influence." [159]

The attraction of European crafts affected the economy of the region by making available new goods to the local people and their rulers and by generating new needs. The important pull of the Atlantic market led to the transformation of the slave into a commodity and altered the nature of indigenous servitude. Slavery was no longer a form of dependency among others in societies based on kinship, but the slave increasingly became a principal commodity, critical for the economy of the African states. Studying the interconnections between Atlantic commerce and the historical development of slavery in the states of Kajoor, Bawol and Waalo, Searing notes that the demand for grain and other commodities by the trade spurred the development of local slavery. He asserts that by the eighteenth century, the number of people enslaved and

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[158] See *Desert Frontiers* (Madison: the U. of Wisconsin, 1995), pp. 69-97.
[159] Paul Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery* (Cambridge, 1995), p.18.

kept in the region for the purpose of the local economy equaled the number shipped to the Americas.[160] Slavery gradually became a central institution of West African societies.[161]

The Atlantic trade also affected the socio-political structures of Wolof societies. Analyzing the impact of the Atlantic trade in Kajoor and Bawol, Becker and Martin emphasize the transformation of the relations between rulers and subjects, which they consider as one of its major consequences.[162] They observe that, by the eighteenth century, violence had become the principal instrument of government. Force progressively replaced tradition in the devolution of power. The mechanisms that were set to check and balance the power of the kings were ignored or abused. Enslavement was used abusively as a form of punishment for any shadow of offense to the king or breach of the law. Because of their monopoly on the European trade and the control on firearms, the rulers were powerful enough to manipulate or overrule the different institutions that aimed to control and limit their power. The concept of kingship lost its traditional meaning and the king became a despot at the service of the European merchants and a small group of allies, who were the major beneficiaries of the Trade in the Wolof states.

The erosion of confidence in the Wolof rulers mostly worked to the advantage of Muslim clerics. Those who were chased from their villages by famine or insecurity, caused by the intensification of the hunt for slaves, clustered around the Muslim clerics. Just as the image of the *ceddo* was deteriorating in the eyes of the people, the marabout

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[160] James Searing, *West African Slavery* (1993), pp. 197-98.
[161] Paul Lovejoy *Transformations*,. (1995), p.19.
[162] C. Becker and V.Martin, "Kayor et Baol: Royaumes sénégalais et traite des esclaves au XVII ième siècle," *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-mer,* No 62 (1975): 270-300.

was becoming a respected leader of the community. This change is captured in the contrasted description that Father Boilat gives of the two groups. He writes,[163]

> The marabout is in principle, a Mohamedan preacher, but also included in this group is any knowledgeable man that has good mores and obeys the rule of law. Marabouts enlighten the people and promote peace and reconciliation. The *ceddo* is the opposite of the marabout. He is an unbeliever, a frivolous man living off theft and pillages.

The semi-autonomous maraboutic villages enjoyed relative peace and stability. They were not required to participate in war and were, in theory, granted an immunity that protected the people against the raids of the *ceddo.* Those who, tempted by the relative wealth of Muslim villages, risked an attack against them faced a staunch resistance and even retaliation; marabouts were not defenseless. The guarantee of security attracted traders. The population could cultivate their fields without fear of being kidnapped or having their harvests destroyed by slave raiders.

Gaspard Mollien, a French traveler, gives an illustration of the development of the Muslim communities of northern Kajoor during his visit in the early nineteenth century.[164] Mollien estimated the population of Ňomre and Kokki, two major Muslim centers founded in the eighteenth century, at respectively three and five thousand. He was impressed with the organization of the two villages and the good living conditions of the inhabitants. He notes that a good crowd circulated in the large roads and that wells were dug despite the drought that renders this task quiet daunting. Kokki was also a sort of commercial hub at the border between Kajoor, Waalo, and Jolof that accommodated Moorish caravans that traded gum Arabic and salt between Western Sahara and the

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[163] Boilat, *Esquisses Sénégalaises* (Paris, 1984), pp. 301 and 308. My translation.
[164] Mollien, *L'Afrique Occcidentale en 1818* (Paris, 1967): 57-59

Wolof states. Mollien sees the Wolof as a society that had a definite and strong commitment to Islam and notes that the religion was making daily progress and that Islam would soon become the universal religion of Kajoor, despite the attachment of the court to "paganism." He attributes the success of Islam in Kajoor to three factors: the universal practice of male circumcision,[165] the influence of the Koranic schools run by the marabouts and that all children are required to attend, and the persons of the "Mohametan priests" being sacred even among the "pagans." Mollien's appreciation of the level of Islamization of Kajoor was certainly exaggerated. His observations were valid in the predominantly Muslim northern Kajoor but not reflective of the situation in the other parts of the Kingdom, such as the center and the south where Islam was less rigorously practiced. However, he was right in his prediction in regard to the future of Islam among the Wolof. Semi-autonomous Muslim communities gained strength and progressively considered themselves to be part of *Daar Al Islam*, "abode of Islam," unwillingly submitted to *Daar El Arb* "house of heathen," represented by the royal courts.

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[165] Mollien, like many European visitors of West Africa, considers circumcision as an indication of the influence of Islam on the population he visited. In reality, circumcision is a pre-Islamic cultural feature of West African societies. Non-Muslim communities also practice circumcision.



Figure 4: Abdu Rahim Dem, xalif of the Family of Ahmed Dem in Diourbel

3.3. Islam and power in the Wolof Kingdoms

3.3.1. The reformist movement of Nasir El-Din and its impact on the Wolof states.

With its increasing popularity in the Wolof kingdoms, Islam, gradually, became a major political force. Islam was not only a refuge for oppressed *baadoolo* and *jambur;* conversion also became a means of political protest for dissenting *garmi* families as well. Some of the *doomi soxna*, mostly those with aristocratic roots, became vociferous critics of the *ceddo*, whom they portrayed as unbelievers, and started to present themselves as the only legitimate rulers of the growing Muslim community. When Nasir El-Din declared his jihad in the Western Sahara in the second half of the seventeenth century, his calling was echoed in the Wolof states where the situation was ripe for Muslim clerics to challenge the power of the ruling aristocracy, increasingly perceived as illegitimate. This episode marked the beginning of the violent and most impressive phase in the

development of Islam in the Wolof states, but it involved only a fraction of the clerics and had a limited impact on the implantation of Islam in the region.

The reformist movement of Nasir El-Din also (Nasir Al-Din) or *Toubenan* movement[166] started in southwestern Mauritania and swept the Wolof states between 1673 and 1677. Nasir El-Din was a member of the Banu Dayman, one of the major *zwaya* "tribes." He adopted the title of *Amir al-Muminīn*, commander of the faithful, a title that invokes the first caliphates of Islam, and called for an Islamic revival. The jihad began with a religious appeal urging the rulers in the Western Sahara and Senegal to reform their way of life and abide by the rules of Islam. In his letter to the *Satigi* of Fuuta, Nasir El-Din declared that the Prophet Muhammad recommended him to tell the rulers to change their lives by praying better and more regularly, limiting themselves to four wives and getting rid of their *griots* and followers. He added that Allah does not permit kings to pillage or enslave their subjects, that on the contrary, kings were required to support their peoples and protect them from their enemies.[167] This message was also sent to the rulers of the Wolof states.

Confronted with the resistance of the *Hassan* warriors in Mauritania, Nasir El-Din relied on the local Muslim clerics, such as Njaay Sall in Kajoor and Surang or (Suranko) in Jolof, to rally the population to his cause. The people in the Wolof states seemingly welcomed the anti-slavery overtones of his message and his reformist ideas. According

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[166] The Jihad of Nasir El-Din, which took place between 1673 and 1677, is described by the French administrator and explorer, Jean Louis Moreau de Chambonneau, then on duty in Saint-Louis in a manuscript edited and published by Carson Ritchie, op cit., *BIFAN,* ser B., t xxx, # 1(1968). Chambonneau gives to the movement the name of *Toubenan,* from the Wolof word "tuub" meaning conversion. Philip Curtin, in his article, "Jihad in West Africa" examines the Arabic sources of the Jihad, which is called Shur Bubba by the Moors, *JAH* 12 (1971):11-24; Wolof oral traditions collected by T.L. Fall, *Recueil sur la vie des Damels, BIFAN*, ser. B, t.xxxvi, 1 (1974) and A. Bamba.Dio , *Lat Dior* (1966), relate the revolt of Njaay Sall in Kajoor but do not associate this episode with the *Toubenan.*

[167] Chambonneau, "*Toubenaan,*" op cit. (1968): 338-339.

to Labat (1728) and Chambonneau (1968), the party of jihad had great success in all of the Wolof states and in Fuuta, where the people abandoned the traditional ruling class and adhered to the *Toubenan* movement. In less than two years, Muslim kings or "*buur Jullit*" had taken charge in Fuuta, Kajoor, Jolof and Waalo. Some of these kings were members of the aristocracy who accepted the new rules imposed by the leader of the jihad, but local Muslim leaders held the real power.

In Kajoor, the marabout Njaay Sall struck an alliance with *Linger* Yaasin Mbuubu who joined the Muslim community after she was stripped of her title by the *Dammeel Decce Maaram.*[168] The *Linger* married the powerful marabout and brought her allies and slaves to the camp of the Muslim cleric. Njaay Sall overthrew the *Dammeel* Decce Maaram and enthroned the newly converted candidate, Mafaaly Gey. Mafaaly was at his turn toppled and killed when he was caught drinking alcohol by the cleric'sdisciples. Abandoned by his ceddo allies because of the killing of the king, Njaay Sall proclaimed himself *buur jullit* of Kajoor, but he would be soon defeated and killed by a coalition of the Kajoor aristocracy who refused to submit to a *Dammeel* without traditional credentials.

The success of Naser El-Din's Jihad was ephemeral. By 1677 the reform movement was defeated by the combined forces of the *Hassan,* the French traders of Saint-Louis, and the apostate *buur jullit.* Scholars diverge in their interpretations of the movement. Boubacar Barry perceives the jihad as a reaction of the Transsaharan Trade, which was controlled by *zwaya* tribes, against the growing Atlantic Trade that was

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[168] The *Linger* was the mother or sister of the reigning king. She was the first lady of the kingdom and was entitled to land and public funds.

dominated by Europeans.[169] Philip Curtin emphasizes the religious dimension of the movement. He links the tradition of religious revolt and the struggles of Muslim state builders, which marked the history of Senegambia for the two ensuing centuries, to the Nasir El-Din reform.[170] There is some truth in both of these interpretations. Religious grievances, as well as social and economic discontent, motivated the holy warriors and their supporters. For the Wolof masses what mattered most was the establishment of a less oppressive and peaceful rule as promised by the ideology of the Jihad.[171] For the clerics on both banks of the Senegal River, the triumph of the movement meant the imposition of their cultural and political dominance, but also the control of the economy of the River. These objectives are difficult to dissociate because Islam is at the same time *Diin* (religion) and *Dawla* (government).

The French clearly understood that the *Toubenan* was not hostile to the commerce with Saint-Louis, but its success would have created a context that would hurt the profitability of the trade. Chambonneau lamented that the four years' reign of the *buur julitt* had completely destroyed the trade on the River. He reproached the marabouts for their arrogance and frugality; whereas *ceddo* rulers accepted and protected the whites, and more importantly, they could not restrain themselves when they saw a ship full of European goods.[172] The French traded with the new power on the river, but also they were at the center of the conspiracy to end the reign of the *buur Jullit*. They incited the

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[169]B. Barry, *Le Waalo* (Paris, 1984), p. 136.
[170] Philipp Curtin, "Jihad...," op cit. (1971), p. 24.
[171] Labat, *Nouvelle relation d'Afrique Occidentale* (Paris, 1728); Chambonneau in Ritchie and the other European writers attribute the failure of the *Toubenan* to the inability of the leaders of the movement to make good of their promise to end the violence and pillages and eradicate slavery and the slave trade in the Wolof states.
[172] Chambonneau, in Ritchie, "*Toubenan*," op cit., (1968), p.352.

ousted aristocracy to resist and lavishly supported their efforts when they took arms against the reformers.[173]

The impact of the reform movement on the course of Islam in the Wolof states was determinant. In Waalo and Jolof, where a protracted war opposed the jihad forces to the ruling aristocracy, the marabouts' defeat led to a harsh repression that almost emptied the two states of their clerics. Those involved in the revolt were killed, sold or forced into exile. Writing in 1682, Le Maire signals that the people of Waalo no longer had marabouts in their country, and all those they had been able to catch, they had made slaves.[174] The situation was similar in Jolof and Kajoor, but to a lesser extent. In this last kingdom, the war was comparatively short and the reign of the *buur jullit* was brief. Nevertheless, the feeling of the aristocracy against the Muslim clerics was as strong as in the other states. I agree with Barry that the hostility of the aristocracy of the Wolof states to Islam, which until then had a strong influence on the courts, could be dated from this period.[175]

The jihad, everywhere, prompted changes that had enduring influence in the relations between Muslim clerics and ruling aristocracy. *Dammeel-Teeñ* Lat Sukaabe Faal (1697-1719), who was elected after the jihad, initiated an important reform aimed at containing and controlling the increasingly powerful and restless Muslim clerics of Kajoor and Bawol.[176] His strategy consisted, on the one hand, of drawing cultural and

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[173]On French participation in the wars against the *buur jullit*, see B. Barry, *Le Waalo,* op cit., pp 125-127.
[174] Lemaire,*Voyage to the Canaries, The Cape Verde and the Coast of Africa Under the Commandment of M. Dancourt, 1682,* translated by Edmund Goldsmid (Edinburg, 1887), p.49.
[175] B. Barry, *Le Walo*, op cit., (1984), p. 135.
[176] Some years after he was elected *Dammeel,* Lat Sukaabe had to face another Muslim revolt, which he defeated apparently with the help of the French traders of Saint-Louis and Gorée.

spatial boundaries between Muslim clerics and rulers, and, on the other, of coopting some marabouts into the *ceddo* party.

Lat Sukaabe rejected the policy of accommodation established by Amary Ngone Sobel, the first king of Kajoor, and which seem to have more or less guided the relations between his predecessors and the clerics. He committed himself to respecting the immunity of marabouts only as long as they renounced involvement in the business of power and were willing to stick to their professions of teachers and men of religion with no political ambition. By enhancing the cultural distance between rulers and clerics, Lat Sukaabe sought to erect an ethical barrier against the access of committed Muslims to power in Kajoor. He also built alliances between the *geej* matrilineage and some powerful Muslim families.[177] His most important initiative towards the clerics was the creation of the position of *seriñ i lamb.* The *seriñ lamb* was a marabout head of a territorial jurisdiction. The *lamb* (drum), which is used to sound alert for wars or other events, symbolizes the secular nature of the power that was bestowed on the marabout by the *Dammeel.* By this initiative, Lat-Sukaabe brought a great number of the semi-autonomous Muslim communities at the borders between Kajoor, Waalo and Jolof back under the authority of the central power.[178]

The *seriñ lamb* had the same prerogatives as the traditional *kangam* or *jaraaf.* The only difference was that he was also the head of a Muslim community and partly owed his appointment to this status. But the *seriñ lamb* participated in wars and pillages and collected taxes and other dues on behalf of the central government. *Seriñ lamb* were recruited among the *Naari Kajoor* (Moors of Kajoor) and some branches of the

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[177] Diouf, *Le Kajoor au XIXième siècle* (Paris, 1990), p .9.
[178] Searing, *West African Slavery,* op cit., (1993), pp. 22-23.

Maraboutic families with *garmi* roots. Over time some of these *seriñ lamb* adopted the ceddo lifestyle of warfare and raiding, and were completely assimilated into the ruling class. This is the case, for example, with the *Naaru Kajoor daarsaket* and the Xuma of Ngalick.[179] Other *seriñ lamb*, especially those who ruled over important Muslim communities, tried to maintain their autonomy and fluctuated between allegiance to the *Dammeel* and opposition to his policy. This group is found in the villages of Pir, Ñomre and Kokki that participated in all the jihads and revolts against *Dammeel.*

In contrast to the *seriñ lamb*, the *seriñ fakk taal* [180] shunned any direct involvement with the ruling class. They maintained their traditions of Islamic scholarship and teaching and emphasized their identities as Muslim clerics. Important communities of *seriñ fakk taal* lived in the Mbaakol region and in Loŋoor in Kajoor. But scattered groups of *seriñ fakk taal* were found in all the Wolof kingdoms. They were welcomed in all communities where they presided over naming ceremonies and funerals, taught the youth and educated people on Islam. The *seriñ fakk taal* were peace loving farmers relying mostly on their disciples' labor and the support they received from the community for their livelihood. The *seriñ fakk taal* were generally Wolof of *baadoolo* origins or assimilated immigrants belonging to a minority ethnic group (Mandinka, Fulbe), which, perhaps, explains their tendency to adopt political neutrality. Some of them were heads of small communities, mostly composed of their families and disciples. The *seriñ fakk taal* benefited from a certain respect and political immunity. They were the only ordinary subjects to speak before the king without prostrating themselves and

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[179] A.Bamba Diop, "Lat Dior et le problème musulman," *BIFAN,* ser. B., t. xxviii 1-2 (1966)), p.496.
[180] *Fakk taal* literally, "clear and lit" refers to marabouts specialized in teaching. Koranic schools have a tradition of studying after dark and early in the morning at the light of firewood.

removing their head covers.[181] Those among them who had a reputation for mystical and magical power were feared by the rulers who were prohibited from entering their villages or even touching their belongings. The paramount *xaali* (judge) of the kingdoms and their collaborators in the provinces were chosen among the *seriñ fakk taal*. The *seriñ fakk taal* were, to paraphrase Searing, the true agents of the "quiet revolution" that ingrained Islam in the cultural fabric of Wolof society.[182] The rulers offered their positive relationships with this type of cleric as a model of cooperation between *ceddo* and clerics.

3.3.2. ***The Jihad of Abdel Kader in Kajoor and Bawol***

The defeat of the *Toubenan* movement, repression, and reforms enacted in the kingdoms allowed stable relationships between clerics and aristocracy in the Wolof country for over half a century. But the success of the Toroodo revolution in Fuuta Tooro awakened the reformist ambition of Wolof marabouts. In the 1770s, the *Deñianke* dynasty, which had ruled Fuuta Tooro since Koli Tengela's takeover in the early sixteenth century, was overthrown by the Toroobe clerics. The victorious marabouts established a theocratic state headed by an elected *Almaami* (from Al Imam or the guide in Arabic). Even though the Toroodo revolution was not the first successful Muslim movement in Senegambia (Bundu was already ruled by Muslim clerics), it had

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[181] Labat, *Nouvelle relation,* op cit., (1728), p.137; Doumet report of 1769 in Becker and Martin, "Le kayor et les pays voisins au cours de la seconde moitié du xviii ième siècle," *BIFAN,* ser B., No., 1, pp. 25-97 (1974) p. 41.

[182] Searing, *West African Slavery,* op cit., (1993), P. 89; see also M. Klein op cit., "The Social and Economic Factors" (1972), p. 440, and Henry Sène. For Sène, the expansion of Islam in Senegal is intimately linked to the development of Koranic education, because the clerics have always based their proselytism on teaching. "Le Livre et l'Ecrit de Langue Arabe dans la Société Sénégalaise, des Origines au Début du XXième siècle" (thèse pour un doctorat de de troisième cycle en science de l'information et de la communication Bourdeaux, 1982), p.138.

greater effect in the Wolof kingdoms because of its geographic proximity and continuing interactions through migrations and trade between *Fuutanke* (inhabitant of Fuuta Tooro) and Wolof. The important Fulbe minority in the Wolof states played a great role in the spread of the ideology of the revolution among the Wolof. This ideology advocated the respect of the canonical obligations of Islam, the renouncement of slavery and selling of Muslims to Christians, and more social justice in the rule of the people.[183] The criticisms and recommendations that the *Almaami* made to the Wolof rulers resonate with Nasir El din's message and show the lasting influence of his calling on the clerics of Fuuta and probably of the Wolof states too.

Following the example of Nasir El-Din, Abdel Kader Kan, the first *Almaami* (1776-1806), sought to expand his reform to neighboring kingdoms. After a series of confrontations with the Fuutanke army, the Brak of Waalo granted autonomy to the Muslims of the kingdom and agreed to pay an annual tax as a token of submission to Islam.[184] An agreement was also reached with Buurba Jolof who accepted to put his army at the disposal of the *Almaami.*[185] By 1795, the Fuuta clerics felt strong enough to wage a jihad against the powerful *Dammeel-Teeñ,* Amary Ngone Ndeela, who rejected their call for atonement and reform.[186] The *Dammeel* had the support of the French traders of Saint-Louis and Gorée who, anticipating the important number of prisoners of war that could be traded as slaves, supplied him with firearms and ammunitions.[187] The

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[183] See for example, the message sent by *Almaami* Abdel Kader to Dammeel-Teeň Amary Ngone Ndeela in Baron Roger, *Kélédo histoire africaine* (Paris, 1828), pp. 13-16.
[184] A. Wadd, in V. Monteil, *Esquisses Sénégalaises* (Dakar, 1966), p.63.
[185] Siré Abass Sow, *Chroniques du Fouta Sénégalais,*ed. by M. Delafosse (Paris, 1913) p. 50 ; A. Bamba. Diop, "Lat Dior," op cit , (1966), p. 503.
[186] Baron Roger,*Kélédor op cit.* p. 13-16; Sow, *Chroniques,* op cit., (1913) p. 49.
[187] Baron Roger wrote: "When the slave traders of Saint-Louis, Gorée and Rufisque learned that a war was about to break out between Caior and Fouta, they were happy, because they new that, regardless of the

Toroodo army met the combined forces of Kajoor and Bawol near the village of Bunxooy and was routed. The *Almaami* was captured by the victors and kept in custody in Bawol. He was released after two years of detention and sent back to Fuuta Tooro. Some of the Wolof clerics who participated in the battle on the side of the *Almaami* migrated to Fuuta and Saalum or escaped to the Cap Vert region in Western Kajoor, where they eventually succeeded in founding an autonomous state.

Bearers of Kajoor oral traditions, relayed by later European sources, characterize Abdel Kader's jihad as a war of aggression motivated by mere greed and political ambition.[188] One should not discount the idea that the *Almaami* aspired to become a sort of *Amir Al Muminīn* for the Senegambian Muslims, but in my judgment, it is inaccurate to portray his actions as exclusively imperialistic. The letter sent by Seriñ Kokki Amadu Faa Xuja Joob to the *Almaami,* at the eve of the invasion of Kajoor, suggests that local clerics might have played a greater role in the invasion of Kajoor by the *Almaami* than so far acknowledged.[189] In this letter, Seriñ Kokki begs his colleague, whom he calls "commander of the army of jihad," "pillar of the religion of Allah," to come to the rescue of a man with a "saddened heart filled with grievances." The reason for this sorrow is that the "fabric that sustains our society is crumbling," he wrote. And he added: "if Jihad is one of the most important obligations [of a Muslim], then it becomes even more imperative when one is forced to submit to the authority of a master rather then to the Prophet's."

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identity of the winner, there will be lot of slaves to buy....Dammeel asked the traders for the supply of firearms and ammunitions to help him defend his territory and he agreed to reimburse them with the first prisoners of war he would make."p. 67. My translation.

[188] See Amadou Bamba Diop, "Lat Dior" (1966) op cit., Tanor Lat Soukabe Fall, "Recueil" (1974), op cit Baron Roger, *Keledor*, (1828).

[189] ANS 14 B. 318 cited by Thierno ka, "l'Enseignement," op cit., (1982) p.47. My translation.

The circumstances that prompted *Seriñ* Kokki to send the correspondence to the *Almaami* are not described in the letter. However, Abdel Kader''s invasion of Kajoor took place after the failure of a major revolt of the marabouts in the kingdom.[190] This revolt followed the assassination of Malaamin Saar, a preeminent cleric of Bawol by the *Dammeel*'s *ceddo*. Faidherbe, writer and Governor of Senegal who is considered a major actor in the creation of the French colony of Senegal, finds some connection between the death of Malaamin Saar, whom he identified as *Seriñ* Njambur, and the Toroodo revolution. He argues that the marabout was part of a conspiracy inspired by the Fuuta clerics that aimed at overthrowing *Dammeel-Teeñ* Amary Ngoone Ndeela.[191]

Wolof oral traditions, however, give a more credible interpretation of the conflict. According to this source, Saar was a *seriñ fakk taal* living in the village of Caréen in central Bawol. His conflict with the *Dammeel* arose when he refused a request by Fara Kaba, the commander in chief, to supply food and cattle to the army.[192] Caréen was located near Kaba, headquarters of the army of Bawol, and just a couple of miles away from Lambaay, the capital of the kingdom and residence of *Dammeel-Teeñ*. In this situation, the marabout certainly would not have taken the risk to lead an open opposition to the king, as argued by Faidherbe.[193] However, he probably bore some resentment

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[190] Amadou Bamba Diop is the only source that put the revolt after the jihad. Diop is a grand son of *Dammeel* Lat-Joor and his version of the history of Kajoor is rather sympathetic to the traditional ruling class, especially to the geej dynasty. Placing the marabout revolt after the Jihad makes it much easier to portray Abdel kader as an invader. Abdel Kader's invasion of Kajoor might be also caused by the assassination of Hammadi Ifra, a Futanke scholar and preacher, supporter of the Almami, by *Dammeel*'s ceddo. See Jean Schmitz, "Le souffle de la Parenté," in *l'Homme*,154 (2000): 241-278.

[191] Faidherbe quoted in Diouf, *Le Kajoor* (1990), p. 97. The attribution by Faidherbe of the title "Seriñ Njambur" to Malaamine Saar is intriguing. At this period, Njambur was not certainly a unified province. It was composed of scattered villages such as Ndaam, Kokki, Ngiiik, each ruled by marabouts.

[192] Interview with Mustafa Njaate Mbakke, Mbakke Bawol, (August, 1999).

[193] We have learned from Baron Roger, *Kélédor*,op cit., (p.17) and oral traditions that Amari Ngone Ndeela was the first Wofof king to create a standing army. This army composed of *ceddo* was stationed in some

against the *ceddo* and he was perhaps a supporter, if secretly, of the reformist regime. In effect, clerics from Fuuta were dispatched in Kajoor to proselytize and win people to the cause of the jihad.[194] By ordering the attack and the killing of the marabout, the *Dammeel* aimed to make an example and warn his own clerics against any attempt to rebel. Saar's death apparently caused the revolt of the marabouts of Kajoor and Bawol that ended with their defeat at the battle of Caxreew.[195] The letter sent by Seriñ Kokki to the *Almaami* can be perceived as a reaction against the unprecedented act of the *Dammeel*, which was a violation of the sacred status of the cleric and at the same time a threat to the community of marabouts as a whole. The installation of Amadu Bamba's family in Bawol is associated with the death of Malamin Saar who was a schoolmate of his great grandfather, Maaram Mbakke.

3.3.3. The revolt of Seriñ Kokki Njaga Isa

By 1827, another Seriñ Kokki, Njaga Isa Joob, spearheaded a revolt that shook northern Kajoor and Waalo. [196] Joob participated in the Jihad of Abdel Kader in Kajoor and was probably among the Wolof clerics who sought refuge in Fuuta after the *Almaami's* defeat. In 1806/7, he was listed as part of the small group of faithfuls that sided with Abdel Kader then confronted with a strong movement of opposition to his power in Fuuta.[197] The *seriñ* Kokki, clearly, shared the same motives as Nasir-El-Din

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strategic areas of the kingdom and was fed by the local population. This information lends more credibility to oral tradition's version of the circumstances of the death of Malaamin Saar.

[194] Sow, *Chroniques,* op cit., (1913), p.49 and Robinson on Abd El Kader in "The Islamic Revolution in Fuuta Tooro," *IJHAS,* (1975).

[195] See A. B. Diop, "Lat Dior..," (1966), op cit., p. 504.

[196] Monsérat describes this episode of the history of Kajoor and Waalo in a memoir edited and published by Boubacar Barry, *BIFAN,* ser. B, 1(1970), pp. 1-43.

[197] See Siré Abbass Sow, *Chroniques.* op cit. (1913), pp. 55-56.

and Abdel Kader. The population of Kokki and the province of Njambur, in general, was almost entirely composed of supporters of the Muslim clerics, and they considered their region as part of *Daar-El-Islam.* They resented their subjection to *ceddo* rule and took every opportunity to shake off the *Dammeel's* control of the region.[198] Njaga Isa's revolt failed in Kajoor but was successful in Waalo where he had fled after his defeat. Between 1827 and 1830, he succeeded in mobilizing a strong army composed of his partisans in Kajoor and Waalo. He entrusted the leadership of his troops to Diile Faatim Caam, a marabout belonging to the caste of blacksmith. Diile took advantage of the civil war that opposed supporters of the *Jawdin* and the *Brak* in Waalo to storm and conquer the kingdom. But his success was short lived. When the movement became a threat to the French trading posts on the River, Governor Brou joined the coalition formed by *Elimaan* Bubakar of Fuuta and the remnants of *Brak's* army against Diile. The two armies met at Mbilor in March of 1830; the Muslim army was dispersed and Diile captured. He was forced by Brou to abjure his faith before he was publicly hanged. Njaga Isa found refuge in the Muslim ruled state of Cap Vert.

Njaga Isa's revolt was the last major initiative taken by a Wolof cleric to end the power of the traditional aristocracy in Kajoor and Bawol. Despite its failure, this movement revealed future trends of the socio-political evolution of the Wolof states. The victory of Diile in Waalo, with no external support, suggests the level of decay of the

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[198] Faidherbe quoted by A.Bara Diop, *La société Wolof*, p. 229 notes " Ndiambour does not support a king without a religion. By the end of the last century, they sided with Abdel kader of Fouta during his holy war and secured their independence from Cayor. After the end of the war, the religious enthusiasm faded and Damel mobilized his forces to bring the province back under his authority. This province will again take advantage of any opportunity, when a holy war is declared, in order to escape the authority of Damel. These last years, the province was awaiting Elhaj [Omar Taal] with an ill hidden desire to join him. Unfortunately, the stupid government of Damel lends legitimacy to this aspiration [secession]." My translation.

power and authority of the traditional ruling class. If it had not been for the intervention of Brou, Waalo would have become the first Wolof Muslim state. The French understood the weaknesses of the Wolof aristocracy and were increasingly prone to enforce their will on their neighbors. At the aftermath of the victory over Diile, Brou vowed to impose the authority of Saint-Louis, which he presented as the superior power on the River.[199] Less than a quarter century after the revolt, Waalo became the first French colony in West Africa. The Diile episode also reveals the transformation in the Muslim clerics' message as they gradually sided with the mass of jambur and baadoolo and championed the popular aspiration for social change. By choosing a blacksmith as the leader of his army, Njaga Isa was apparently sending a message to the Wolof masses about the promise of Islam as an alternative to the traditional social structures of castes and orders.

3.4. Conclusion

Islam has a long tradition in the Wolof states. Its status and functions in the society changed overtime depending on its reach and on the changing meaning of the Islamic religious culture among the faithful. Islam has sometimes served as an ideology for the legitimation of local rule; other times it functioned as as an instrument of contestation and opposition to rulers. From the seventeen century, Islam gradually became a refuge for the powerless who were the primary victims of the violence and insecurity spured by the slave trade, the dynastic wars and the French encroachment.

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[199] Barry, *Le Waalo,* op cit. (1985) p. 250.

Muslim clerics responded to the deleterious situation in the Wolof states by waging jihad and seeking political autonomy.

However, it was the transition from Jihad to *tariqa*, realized by the Muslim Sufi orders, principally the *qadiriyya*, the *Tijaniyya Malikiyya*, the *Muridiyya*, founded at the end of the nineteenth century, that created the conditions for the important expansion that Islam experienced under French colonial rule. But when perceived through the *longue durée*, the actions of Muslim jihadists, teachers and *tariqa* founders are neither contradictory nor disjointed; they are, rather, complementary and parts of the same continuum that James Searing terms the quiet [Islamic] revolution in West Africa.[200] Holy warriors have certainly contributed, sometimes in a dramatic fashion, to the geographical expansion of Islam, as proponents of social change and examples of an alternative political leadership, but it was the preachers and teachers, through their laborious day-to-day work and interactions with grass root Muslims, who produced and implanted the Islamic religious culture that provided the foundation for the building of the Muslim *sufi* orders of the nineteenth century.

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[200] Searing , *West African Slavery,* (1993), pp. 22-23. Martin Klein also shares this view of the role of the Teachers and local Muslim clerics in the expansion of Islam among the Wolof. See "The Social and economic Factors," op. cit., *J.A.H,* (1972), p.440.

4. Chapter III: Amadu Bamba's Ancestors

This chapter looks at Amadu Bamba's ancestry against the background of the social, political, and religious developments discussed in chapters I and II. It describes how Amadu Bamba's ancestors were able to establish themselves as a respected Muslim family in Jolof, Baol, Kajoor and Salum and how the Mbakke family was shaped by events that marked the Wolof states between the late eighteenth and the late nineteenth centuries. I pay special attention to Momar Anta Sali, Amadu Bamba's father, and the particular trajectory that his life took in the second half of the nineteenth century. By exploring the different paths taken by the life of Amadu Bamba's forebears as they labored to establish a reputation of Muslim scholarship and political wisdom, I provide a historical basis for understanding the trajectory of Amadu Bamba's own life beyond the colonial encounter of the late nineteenth century.

4.1. The Founding Father: Maaram Mbakke

4.1.1. The Mbakke from Fuuta to Jolof

The Mbakke originated from Fuuta and Jolof before they settled in Bawol where they gained a reputation as Muslim scholars and clerics. Not much is known about their life in Fuuta and the causes of their migration from Fuuta to Jolof. The scanty information gleaned from oral sources only allows for a partial reconstruction of the family's history in northern Senegal. Bearers of oral tradition inform that the village of Abdallah in the Lao province of Fuuta Tooro is the cradle of the Mbakke family. Gollera, another village located in Lao, is also often cited as the birth place of the

Mbakke, but this village is actually associated with the history of the ancestors of Jaara Buso, Amadu Bamba's mother.[201] Lao was inhabited by pastoralists who lived in scattered villages during the rainy season and migrated further south from November to June when grazing land becomes rare in Fuuta. Before adopting the *sant* (surname in Wolof) Mbakke, Bamba's ancestors bore the surname Ba, which is typical of the Fulbe pastoralists.[202] They raised cattle and most likely followed the seasonal cycle that ordered the life of their fellow pastoralists who, annually, crisscrossed the Ferlo and the Wolof states, in search of grassy land. Therefore, when the Mbakke moved to Jolof, they were not in an unfamiliar territory.

The circumstances that prompted the settlement of the Mbakke in Jolof are not known. Some sources indicate that they left Fuuta to join family members that were already living in Jolof.[203] A prolonged drought, a protracted period of unrest, a will to adopt a new identity and lifestyle or a combination of these reasons, might explain the migration of the Mbakke family to Jolof. According to oral tradition, Usmaan Ba was the first ancestor to move to Jolof with his cattle and family.[204] He was welcomed and accommodated by the *bergel* Mafinty Ňaŋ who, as the tradition goes, was impressed with

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[201] Cerno Barakatu Baal explains that the traditional compound of the Buso, which is called '*galle cerno*', or 'the cleric's house' is still standing in Golléra. Dakar 05/27/00. Siré-Abbâs Sow also refers to the Busoobe of Golléra, *Chroniques* (1913), p.66.

[202] According to Cheikh Anta Diop, Ba and Ka are the only surnames typical of the Fulbe; the other surnames they bear are borrowed from the different ethnic groups they mingled with during their migration. See *Afrique Noire Pre-coloniale* (1987), p. 211.

[203] Shaikh Mame Balla Mbakke, 05/29/00 and Sawru Mbay, 03/01/00.

[204] Besides slight differences my interviewees agree in their rendering of the story of the installation of Usmaan Ba in Jolof. Shaikh Mbakke Maam Balla and Sawru Mbay give the most complete version of the story. Jean Schmitz notes that a *Jom* (fief or chief) of the Mbakke existed on the northern bank of the Senegal River until the end of the eighteenth century, inferring that the Mbakke migration to the south might have taken place at a later date (Personal communication). However, it might be that this village was founded by a branch of the Mbakke clan that originally lived on the southern bank but migrated to the north at the same time as the branch led by Usmaan moved towards the south. This hypothesis suggests a dispersal of the Mbakke occurring sometime during the reign of the *deňankoobe* through successive waves of migration and heading different directions.

his mystical knowledge and spiritual power.[205] The *bergel* was one of the dignitaries of the Jolof kingdom. He was the chief of the Ňaŋ clan, which was not eligible for the position of *Buurba*, but had the inherited rights to command the region of Mbëlëxe.[206]

According to oral tradition, Usmaan changed his family name from Ba to Mbakke upon his arrival in Jolof. The Mbakke *Sant* is said to be a derivation from "*Mbakkuude njahen*" which in Pulaar means, "Let's prepare our belongings and go." Usmaan is believed to have uttered this phrase when he left his first compound after accepting the *bergel*'s invitation to settle in Jolof. However, the Mbakke surname existed in Fuuta and Jolof before Usmaan's migration. The mother of the first *kangam* that ruled the Jolof region of Ndukumaan by the first decade of the 16th century, Wal Ndaw, was named Mbaru Mbakke.[207] Moreover, many *Fuutanke* families that are not related to Usmaan bear also the *sant* Mbakke.

In contrast to oral tradition accounts, it is likely that the adoption of the surname Mbakke took place before the migration to Jolof. However, the association made between the change of *sant* and the installation of the Mbakke in Jolof is significant. It shows that the move from Fuuta to Jolof, beyond a mere geographical relocation, might also have been the expression of an identity change. Change of surname, mostly from Ba to another family name, was common in Fuuta during the time period considered. We

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[205] The legend has it that Usmaan had arrived in Jolof with his family during the rainy season. The day of his arrival, Jolof was hit by a storm and it had rained all night. But when the rain had stopped people were amazed to see that not one drop of water had touched Usmaan or his party. So the people who saw the miracle went to tell the story to *Bergel* who came and begged Usmaan to stay with him. Another version of the story tells that Usmaan had spent the night outside but he and his family and cattle had been protected against the wild animals and the looting ceddo by a circle of fire that had burned all night long. Interviews with Shaikh Maam Balla, 05/91 and Sawru Mbay 03/01/00.

[206] See Oumar Ndiaye Leyti, The Djolof, *BIFAN*, ser.B, 28:3(1966), p.1006. See also Yoro Jaw translated by Gaden in annexes of Sow, *chroniques*, op cit (1913), p. 123.

[207] The Ndaw and the Mbakke are, in fact, cousins and have joking relationships. This fact suggests the existence of connections between Mbaru Mbakke and the ancestors of Usmaan.

know from Siré Abbâs Sow that the Baal and Laam *sant* or (*yettoodee* in Pulaar) also derived from Ba.[208] Ba was the surname of Koli Tengela and the members of the *deňankoobe* dynasty that dominated Fuuta from the early sixteen to the late eighteenth century. This dynasty, as we have seen, entertained conflicting relationships with the Fuuta Muslim clerics who finally succeeded in overthrowing it during the revolution of 1776. The abandonment of the surname Ba might have been a form of rejection of *deňanke* culture and rule adopted by dissenting members and affiliates of the *deňankoobe.*[209] This political and religious change was often accompanied, on the part of those who changed their surname, by the adoption of sedentary agriculturalist lifestyle associated with Tukuloor identity.

Murid traditions portray Usmaan Mbakke's heirs as lacking the prestige and *baraka* (gift of grace) that their ancestor enjoyed.[210] The Mbakke continued to live in Jolof as modest marabouts and clients of the *bergel.* The relations between the two families were consolidated by marital alliances. Habibulah senior, great grandson of Usmaan, for example, married Aram Ňaŋ the *bergel's* daughter. Maaram was the product of this marriage.

The history of the Mbakke in Bawol begins with Maaram Mbakke or Muhammad El Kabir, Amadu Bamba's great grandfather.[211] He was the founder of the village of

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[208] See Sow, *chroniques*, (1913), p. 200.

[209] Information provided by Mustafa Njaate Mbakke, a descendant of Maaram through Modu Jee, supports this hypothesis. Mustafa Njaate asserts that the Mbakke are related to Samba Gelaajo Jeegi Ba, member of the *deeňankoobe* dynasty who reigned between 1725 and 1726 then 1738 and 1740. Interview 07/31/00 in Mbakke

[210] Interview with Seriň Shaikh Maam Balla Mbakke, Mbakke, 05/91.

[211] Among the Wolof, the first name of the mother is generally added to the name of a son as a way of distinguishing between many sons and cousins that often bear the same name. Maaram is for example formed of 'Ma' which is a shortening of Muhammad and 'Aram' which is the first name of his mother Aram Ňaŋ. The same remark can be made about Momar Anta Sali, Amadu Bamba's father. Anta Sali Kan

Mbakke Bawol where Amadu Bamba was born, and he was the first member of the Mbakke family to earn fame and prestige in Jolof and Bawol. Maaraam Mbakke was born in H 1111/1700-1703 CE in Jolof.[212] He devoted a great part of his lifetime to acquiring knowledge. He frequented the school of Seriň Kokki Mataar Ndumbe Joob in the village of Kokki, where he had Saxewar Faatma Joob, *Ber Geet* and great-grandfather of Lat Joor Joob, *Dammeel* of Kajoor, and the marabout Malaamin Saar as schoolmates. He also studied with Samba Caam, a famous *Fuutanke* marabout, and great grandfather of Abdulaay Nass, founder of the village-school of Taiba Ňaseen in Saalum. Maaram probably studied with other scholars in the Wolof states and in Fuuta. One source even indicates that he sojourned among the marabout *zwaya* of Mauritania.[213]

Maaram not only acquired knowledge, but also the blessings of his masters. Koranic schools are not solely instruments for the transmission of knowledge; they are also places for character building. A successful Muslim scholar not only masters the Islamic sciences but he also satisfies his masters and earns his thanks and gratitude. Because of his respect and devotion to Samba Caam, for whom he worked tirelessly during his stay at the school, Maaram earned knowledge and *baraka*. Shaikh Maam Balla informs us that the day of Maaram's departure from Fuuta to Jolof, Samba Caam

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is the mother of Momar. In his writings Amadu Bamba adopted arabized forms for the names of his ancestors. Maaram, for example, became Muhammad El Kabir or Muhammad senior, Maam Balla, his grandfather, became Habibulah, and the name of his father, Momar Anta Sali, became Muhammad Ibn Habibulah or Muhammad son of Habibulah. Later in his career, Amadu Bamba also adopted an arabized form for his own name and started to sign Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Habibulah, which means Muhammad son of Muhammad son of Habibulah. The substitution of the name of the father to the name of the mother in the arabized form adopted by Amadu Bamba indicates the importance of patrilineal lineage among the Muslim in contrast to the matrilineal oriented pre-Islamic Wolof society.

[212] Bearers of the oral traditions of the Mbakke family agree on this date. But Maaram was probably born a decade later. Although my sources agree that Maaram enjoyed a long life of 99 years, it is less likely that he would have been able to play the role ascribed to him in events dated from the late 18th century if he was born at the beginning of the century.

[213] Interview with Seriň Isa Mbakke, Tuuba, 07/02/00.

gathered all the disciples in the yard of his school so that they could bear witness of his appreciation of Maaram. He declared to the assembly of disciples: "Anybody who is in this school to seek knowledge, the sciences are still here, but to those looking for *baraka*, I say that Maaram has earned it all."[214] The satisfaction of Maaram's illustrious teacher was a premonition for a bright future for him and his family.

Maaram completed his scholarship at a mature age. He was taught by the most well- known scholars of the area and studied with colleagues that constituted the clerical elite of the Wolof states. His mother was of *ceddo* extraction, but he earned the credentials of *doomi soxna.* He acquired the Islamic religious culture that bound the Muslim clerics of the Wolof states. Maaram had the knowledge, the *baraka,* and the credentials that put him in a position to claim a central role among the Muslim elite of the Wolof states. Back in Jolof, he founded the village-school of Mbakke Jolof, a short distance away from Mbakke Saañanka, the traditional village of his forefathers. For the Wolof, the founding of a village is a form of assertion of one's authority and power. Maaram sought wives in the most respected Muslim families of Jolof, Kajoor and Bawol. His first wife, Farimata Sekk, was from Taïba in Eastern Bawol. He named the second son from this union, Cerno Farimata, after his master, Samba Caam. He then married his cousin Awa Ňaŋ, from the family of the *bergel.* His third wife, Soxna Buso, belongs to the Busoobe, a famous clerical family of Gollera origin that also migrated to Jolof. He had Balla Aisa or Habibulahi junior, Amadu Bamba's grandfather, with his last wife,

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[214] Interviews with Shaikh Maam Balla Mbakke, Mbacke, 05/91; Isa Mbakke, Tuuba, 07/02/00 and Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam, 03/01/00.

Aisa Kan from Kaneen Njob, a well-known maraboutic village in Kajoor.[215] Maaram married six times and was survived by eight sons and four daughters.[216] Maaram's abundant male descendancy was seen as a sign of *baraka* and an asset that earned him a respectable position in the Mbakke family where women outnumbered the men.[217]

The marriage patterns of his daughters exemplify Maaram's willingness to anchor his family in the tradition of Islamic scholarship and his preoccupation with building strong ties with the traditional clerical families of the Wolof states.[218] He married his first daughter, Soxna Mbakke Awa Ňaŋ, to Aymeeru Jaxate of Mbaakol, who belonged to one of the most prestigious maraboutic families in Bawol and Kajoor. The sons and daughters from this union married among the clerical families of Pir and Kokki. The founders of Kër Makala and Mewndu, two important centers of Islamic education and culture in Senegal, originated from Soxna Mbakke Awa Ňaŋ. Xaali Majaxate Kala from the Jaxate branch of kër Makala, a central figure in the court of Lat Joor during the second half of the nineteenth century, was a grandson of Soxna Mbakke. Another grandaughter of Maaram, Mati Mbakke, daughter of his son Cerno Farimata, married in the family of Demba Bunna Sy of Suyuma in Jolof. The Sy are renowned Muslim clerics of Fuuta origin. Usmaan Sy, the father of Elhaaj Maalik Sy, the founder of the Malikiyya branch of the Tijaniyya in Senegal, was a product of this marriage.

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[215] Some sources, mistakenly, give to Aisa Kan, Balla Aisas's mother, the surname Dem. In reality, Dem was the surname of Aisa's mother who was named Sidy Dem. Since Sidy is a male name, many sources confuse the last name of the father who was a Kan with the last name of the mother. Interviews with Mustafa Njaate Mbakke, Mbakke, 07/30/00; Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam, 03/01/00 and Abdurahim Dem, Diourbel, 07/30/00.

[216] See table below for Maaram's family tree.

[217] Mustafa Njaate Mbakke, interview in Mbakke, 06/30/00.

[218] See charts representing the marriage patterns of Maaram's daughters and the links between the Mbakke and other lineages of clerics in the Wolof country.

Maaram was a successful scholar and he might have had some contacts with the courts of Kajoor and Bawol in his capacity as jurist and adviser, as affirmed by Shaikh Tidiane Sy.[219] However, he had less influence on the courts than the Joob of Kokki and the Faal of Pir, or even some of his schoolmates such as Malaamin Saar. The stories about Maaram's political power and his leverage on the *Dammeel* and *Teeň* told by some bearers of oral traditions are probably nineteenth and twentieth century reconstructions of hagiographers aimed at building a prestigious ascendance for the founder of the Muridiyya.[220] Before Momar Anta Sali, the Mbakke did not have the prestige or the cultural and familial roots that allowed some clerics to play a major role in the politics of the Wolof states.[221] Rather, Maaram was mostly respected for his distant attitude towards the rulers and his strict commitment to the life of a *seriň fakk taal.*

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[219] Cheikh Tidiane Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des Mouride* (Présence Africaine, 1969), p. 104.
[220] Elboudrary notes that hagiographers always portray the success of a saint as the logical outcome of a continuous and flawless ascension. The picture they offer describes the success as the coronation of a cycle, which unfolds smoothly through phases as if it reflected the accomplishment of a foretold destiny. "Quand les saints font les villes," *Annales ESC*, mai-Juin, 3(1985), p.491.
[221] Even during the second half of the nineteenth century, when Momar Anta Sali Mbakke, Amadu Bamba's father, gained some preeminence in the court of Dammeel Lat Joor, the Mbakke were still considered second order marabouts. Mustafa Njaate informs that Massek Ndooya, the closest aide of Lat Joor in Kër Amadu Yala, blamed Amadu Bamba for being arrogant and pretentious when the latter contested a *fatwa* (decision of justice) rendered by the *xaali* Majaxate Kala. He found it unacceptable and odd that in matter of Islamic sciences a Mbakke should have something to say after a Jaxate had spoken. Interview, Mbakke, 07/30/00.

4.1.2. Maaram and the founding of Mbakke Bawol

The pursuit of prestige and recognition that Maaram sought in his scholarship also informed his interactions with secular rulers. The name of Maaram appeared for the first time in the political history of Bawol at the occasion of the death of his colleague Malaamin Saar. The death of this cleric, as we have seen, is associated with the Muslim revolt against *Dammeel* Amary Ngoone Ndeela and the Jihad of Abdel Kader Kan (1796). Maaram was aware of the tension between clerics and rulers in Bawol where his first wife originated and where some of his former schoolmates taught. He might even have been invited to participate in the marabouts' revolt against *Dammeel-Teeñ*. However, he was not involved in the conflict and he actually disapproved of the political stance of his colleagues. His position of political neutrality and discretion allowed him to interact with the rulers of Bawol and even to try to broker a peace between the *Dammeel-Teeñ* and the marabouts.[222] This tradition of suspicion towards temporal leaders was passed on to his sons and his great-grandson Amadu Bamba.

After the death of Malaamin Saar in 1796, Maaram endeavored to travel to Caaréen in Bawol to present his condolences to the family of his defunct colleague and to help settle his estate in accordance with Islamic law. The hostility of the *ceddo* to the marabouts of Bawol, after the wars that opposed the two factions, was quite extreme. The majority of the clerics that survived the confrontations had migrated and those who remained in the Kingdom dared not approach the family of the slain cleric. Oral tradition

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[222] All my informants agree on the fact that Maaram was anxious to keep his neutrality in the conflict that opposed rulers and clerics in the Wolof states and that he even mediated between the belligerents. Mustafa Njaate, particularly emphasizes this trait of character of Maaram, interview in Mbakke, 06/30/00.

tells us that Maaram was accompanied on this trip by a large group of his disciples and could stand an attack by the *ceddo*, but he chose to respect the authority of the *Teeň* and his administration.[223] For example, after he entered the territory of Bawol, he camped at *Guy Fukki Ser*, four miles from the border, and sent one of his disciples to inform *Bër Sin Laa*, (Ibra Jayla Ka), administrator of the province of eastern Bawol, about the trip and his good intentions. He also made a stop after he passed the current location of Mbakke Bawol and met with the representative of *Dammeel- Teeň*. Bër Sin Laa, who had already collected some information about the cleric, was reassured by Maaram's responses to his questions and concerns and he cleared the way for him to pursue his trip to Caaréen. He informed Maaram that *Dammeel-Teeň* appreciated his wisdom and that he felt that if all the marabouts in Kajoor and Bawol behaved like him, there would be no conflict between rulers and clerics. He told the cleric that the he had a message from the king to deliver to him before he heads back to Jolof.

On his way back, Maaram met with Bër sin Laa who told him that *Dammeel* Amary Ngoone Ndeela was impressed with his behavior and demeanor and that he wanted him to stay in Bawol. He invited Maaram to settle wherever he wanted in the kingdom and assured him that he would be given as much land as he needed. Maaram declined the offer. He responded to the *Dammeel*'s representative that his family had been living in Jolof for a long time, and that they had been honored by the rulers of Jolof and had earned the respect and consideration of the people of Jolof. To move to Bawol would suggest that he had a problem with the people in Jolof, whereas this was not the case. He also objected to the suggestion to leave his son and close aid, Ibra Awa Ňaŋ, in

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[223] Interview with sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam, 03/01/00; Shaikh Mbacke Maam Balla, Mbakke 07/91 and Isa Mbacke, Tuuba .07/02/00.

Bawol. However, Maaram gave his blessing for the founding of a village in Bawol that would be headed by his eldest son Amadu Farimata. He chose the land at the border between Jolof, Bawol and Kajoor and named the village Mbakke Bawol. Amadu Farimata, who then was living in his uncle's village of Taïba, moved to the new village and Maaram headed back to Mbakke Jolof with his son Ibra Awa Ňaŋ. Maaram, in reality, never lived in Mbakke Bawol. He enjoyed a long life and died in the first decade of the nineteenth century, in his late nineties, three or six years after the founding of Mbakke Bawol. He was buried in Mbakke Jolof.

The granting of Mbakke Bawol to Maaram by *Dammeel-Teeň* was not without political motive. The last quarter of the eighteenth century, as seen above, was a period of conflicts between clerics and rulers in the Wolof states. By convincing the Mbakke family to settle in Bawol, Amary Ngoone Ndeela had some goals in mind. First, he wanted to show the Muslim community of Bawol and Kajoor that he was not hostile to Islam, and that it was the clerics who bore the responsibility of the wars that had plagued Kajoor and Bawol for decades. Second, *Dammeel-Teeň* wanted to offer Maaram as a model for other marabouts to emulate. Lastly, Mbakke was located in the *jatti* bordering Saalum, Jolof and Kajoor.[224] This area constituted a sort of no-man's land. It was heavily wooded, offering a secure shelter to dissenting subjects, and it was difficult to defend in time of war. The creation of a village in this area by a prestigious family of marabouts respectful of *Dammeel-Teen*'s authority was a means to assert the rulers' power in a strategic location. In sum, the *Dammeel* was putting the Mbakke in a position of *Seriň Lamb* even if, officially, his action was presented as a gesture of admiration and

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[224] *Jatti* is a wasteland that borders inhabited areas that is used to graze cattle and to collect firewood.

generosity.[225] One should not exclude the hypothesis that it is because Maaram was aware of the political motivation behind the offer that he did not want to settle in the new village.

4.2. After Maaram

4.2.1. The heirs

Maaram's heirs were as eager as their ancestors to maintain and expand the family tradition of scholarship, righteousness, and political neutrality. However, the development of the village of Mbakke Bawol and the accumulation of prestige, material wealth and power it generated introduced a new challenge to the maintenance of family cohesion. Amadu Farimata, Maaram's elder son, was the first chief of the village of Mbakke Bawol. He led the family for nearly a decade. Ibra Awa Ňaŋ Mbakke, who according to oral traditions was the real founder of the village, succeeded him.[226] Under the latter's long leadership, which lasted thirty years, Mbakke became a large village. During Ibra's tenure, the population of the village grew considerably and other small satellite villages were created around Mbakke, which probably controlled a couple of hundred to a thousand people. Mustafa Njaate Mbakke, a descendant of Ibra Awa Ňaŋ,

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[225] Basiru Mbakke, Amadu Bamba's son and biographer, certainly bought *Dammeel Teeň's* political scheme. He presents Amary Ngoone Ndeela as a ruler "who liked the savants and the pious and was willing to tolerate from them deeds that no other ruler would have accepted." He also curiously omits in his account the killing of Malaamin Saar, which he could not have been unaware of. See *les Bienfaits de l'Eternel ou la biographie de Shaikh El Khadim* (Dakar: Saint Paul, 1995.), p.24. Muslim scholars and French writers on the other hand, depicted *Dammeel* Amary Ngoone, as a ruthless and anti-clerical ruler responsible for the killing, enslaving and selling of a lot of Muslim clerics. See my discussion of the Jihad of Abdel Kader Kan and the killing of Malaamin Saar in chapter II.

[226] Interviews with Shaikh Mbakke Maam Balla, Mbakke 05/9; Isa Mbakke,Tuuba .07/02/00; Mustafa Mbakke Njaate Mbakke, Mbakke, 07/30/00; Modu Jaxate, Xuru Mbakke 06/29/00, and Sawru Mbay Daaru Salaam, 03/01/00.

notes that during the leadership of his ancestor, the drum was no longer used as instrument of communication.[227] Because of the distance that separated the different communities under the authority of Ibra Awa Ňaŋ, it became necessary to send a horseman to transmit his orders and convocations.

The succession of Ibra Awa Ňaŋ Mbakke that took place around 1834/35 created a major conflict among the Mbakke.[228] The position of village chief was coveted because it was associated with honor, prestige and authority. Since Mbakke Bawol was a Muslim village, the chief was also the Imam. He collected the *zakaat* (annual Muslim income tax) and mediated the relationships between the population and the king's representatives. After Ibra's death, Balla Aisa Mbakke or Habibulahi Junior, Amadu Bamba's grandfather, was the only living son of Maaram and therefore the legitimate successor to his brother as head of the village of Mbakke Bawol. Sucession among the Mbakke followed a collateral line.[229] Balla Aisa was only three or six years old when Maaram, his father, died. He was educated by Ibra Awa Ňaŋ who taught him the Koran, oversaw his training in the Islamic sciences, and helped him found a family. In addition, some of Ibra's children such as his elder son, Modu Jee Mbakke, were much older than their uncle Balla Mbakke. They thought that their father was the real founder of Mbakke Bawol and that it was Modu Jee who should be elected chief of the village. The majority

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[227] Interview with Mustafa Njaate Mbakke, Mbakke, 07/30/00.

[228] For the conflict between Balla Aisa and his constituency in Mbakke, I rely on my interviews with Modu Jaxate, grandson of Xaali Majaxate Kala and current xalif of the family of Mbay Jaxate, and Sawru Mbay. It is interesting to note that my interviewees from the Mbakke family did not refer to this episode in the history of the family. Only Isa Mbakke makes some reference to the succession of Ibra Awa Ňaŋ and the role of Modu Jee but he provides a version totally different from those given by the other informants and he did not mention a conflict or tension between the different protagonists.

[229] The conflict between agnates in the collateral mode of succession among the clerical families of the Western Sudan is analyzed by Jean Schmitz, "Le souffle de Parente" see *l'Homme* (2000), Op cit.

of the population of the village sided with Modu Jee who, de facto, became the head of the family.

With the village against him, Balla Aisa sought help from his cousin, Baara Saajo Ba, who was a respected cleric and chief of the village of Boofel near Mbakke Bawol. Ba tried to convince the Mbakke family to recognize Balla Aisa's authority with the support of *Bër Sin Laa* and other authorities close to the *Teeñ*.[230] He finally succeeded in restoring Balla as head of Mbakke. The dissenters left to found the villages of Mbakke Baari and Mbakke Ndimb. Balla Aisa relocated the village of Mbakke Bawol further east, justifying his move by the necessity to rest the ancient fields and cultivate the *gent* (abandoned location) that had a more fertile soil. However, the relocation of the village was rather a disguised political statement. In effect, in Wolof society, the relocation of a village was a traditional means for a contested chief to assert his authority and power. By moving the site of the village and forcing everybody to rebuild their houses, Balla Aisa Mbakke was showing his nephews and subordinates that, henceforth, he was in charge. Plagued by a succession of bad harvests, some of the dissenting families finally returned to Mbakke Bawol.

Under Balla Aisa Mbakke's leadership, the village of Mbakke Bawol continued to enjoy prosperity. New communities were founded around the village. The cleric Gammu Kan, for example, founded the village of Njah Kan and offered his sister Anta Sali Kan in marriage to Balla Aisa. Balla Aisa continued the tradition of cooperation and interaction with the clerical families of the Wolof states. His son with Anta Sali Kan,

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[230] According to Jaxate and Mbay, it was finally the arbitrage of *Teeñ* or his representatives who threatened to deal severely with anybody contesting Balla Aisa's leadership that brought closure to the dispute. Interview with Modu Jaxate, Xuru Mbakke, 06/29/00; Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam, 03/01/00.

Momar Anta Sali or Muhammad Ben Habibulah, Amadu Bamba's father, was sent to Kokki and Saalum for his education. Balla Aisa also maintained good relationships with the *Teeñ* and his administration. But he still faced lingering resentment from some of his constituency who only reluctantly accepted his leadership. This resentment surfaced when he endeavored to marry a fifth wife.[231] The Muslim leaders of the village of Mbakke banded together and staunchly opposed the initiative. They told Balla Aisa that they would no longer accept his leadership if he broke the Islamic rule that restricted Muslims to four legitimate wives. Balla Aisa finally decided to divorce Anta Sali Kan to be able to marry another wife. Anta Sali returned to Njah Kan with her son Momar Anta Sali, then a little boy, and later married at the village of Mbampana.[232]

The rupture between Balla Aisa and the village of Mbakke occurred in 1862/63 at the occasion of the death of his son Abdul Xaadir, whom he named after Abd Qadr Al Jilaany (1077-1166), the illustrious founder of the Qadiriyya brotherhood in Baghdad. Abdul Xaadir was the second but dearest son to Balla Aisa. He was younger than Momar Anta Sali and was probably in his early twenties when he was shot by a group of *ceddo* who were avenging the death of a peer killed during a foiled raid in Mbakke. According to oral traditions, Balla Aisa was so affected by the death of his beloved son that he refused to see the body and ordered his burial at a location out of his sight.[233] Finally, he decided to migrate to ŋay in the siñi province of Saalum, arguing that he could no longer live and walk on the soil sullied by the unjust shedding of his son's blood. He

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[231] Interview with Modu Jaxate, Xuru Mbakke, 06/29/00.
[232] Some oral sources indicate that Anta Sali left left Balla's compound ostensibly in the middle of the day, which was an unusual practice, to exhibit her anger, and she predicted that the fame and prestige of Momar Anta Sali, then a toddler she was carrying on his back, would vindicate the injustice she was a victim of.
[233] Interviews with Shaikh Maam Balla Mbakke, 05/1991; Modu Jaxate, Xuru Mbakke, 06/29/00, and Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam, 03/01/00.

left the leadership of the village to his nephew Modu Jee. Balla Aisa was killed in ŋay by a Fulbe pastoralist in 1865/66.[234]

Oral traditions report that sorrow and outrage were the principal reasons that explain Balla Aisa's migration to ŋay siñi. There is certainly some truth to this assumption. However, one can surmise that if Balla Aisa had felt genuine compassion and support from his family and the population of Mbakke, he might not have chosen to restart a new life in his late sixties in a foreign soil. It is likely that the tension that marked his appointment as chief of Mbakke Bawol, and the hostility of the population towards his leadership, also had a bearing on Balla's decision to leave the kingdom of Bawol all together. Perhaps Balla Aisa's decision to migrate was also motivated by the insecurity that plagued Bawol and Kajoor in the early and mid-eighteen sixties. This period coincided with the beginning of the French conquest of the Wolof states and a long and bloody civil war that opposed *Dammeel* Lat Joor Joob, supported by the jihadist Maba Jaxu Ba, on the one hand, and factions of the reigning families of Kajoor, backed by the French Governor of Saint-Louis Faidherbe, on the other. Balla Aisa's departure for Saalum was an ominous sign for the village of Mbakke Bawol and its inhabitants. The village had to be abandoned in 1865, just a short period after his resignation.

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[234] Shaikh Coro Mbakke, in an interview with Robert Arnaud reported in: "l'Islam et la Politique Musulmane de la France,"*BCAF/RC* (1912), p. 111, blames the Jihadist Maba Jaxu Ba for the killing of his grandfather. Other sources do not make a connection between the Jihad of Maba and the death of Balla Aisa. They only retain that a Fulani robber killed Balla Aisa.

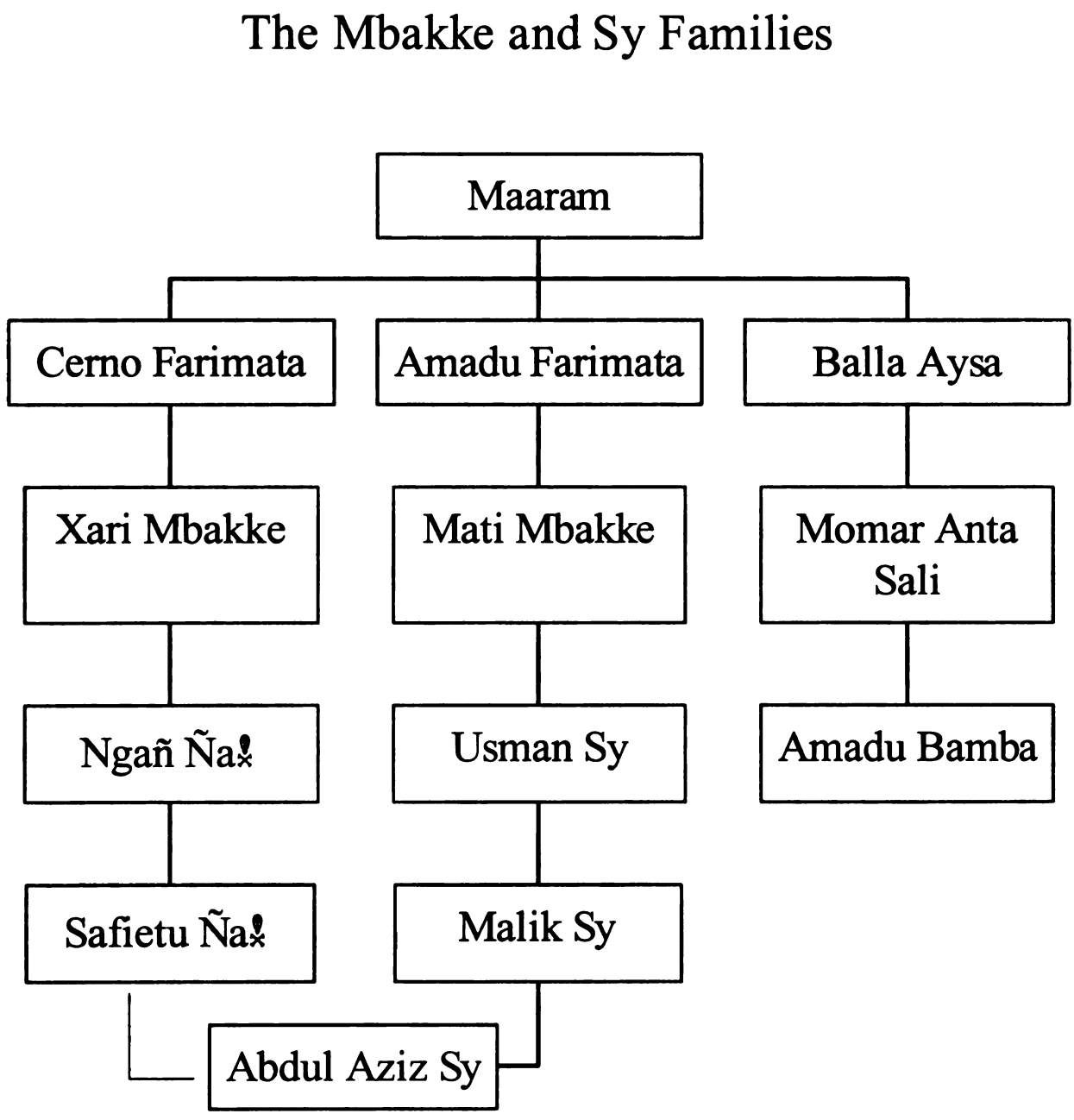


Figure 5: The Mbakke and Sy Family Ties

4.3. The Jihad of Maba and the Migration of the Mbakke to Saalum

4.3.1. The jihad

Ahmad Ba, better known as Maba Jaxu Ba, or Maba, was born in the first decade of the nineteenth century into a *Deňanke* family from the province of Bossea in Fuuta Tooro. [235] His grandfather Paate Ba migrated from Fuuta and settled in Jolof during the seventeenth century. Maba is the son of Njoogu Ba and Jaxu Sey, a woman that belonged to the reigning dynasty of Jolof. Maba's father moved to the province of Rip or Badibu in Saalum where he founded a Koranic school and became a major actor in the diffusion of Islam in the region. He sent his son to the village of Loŋoor Mbay in Mbaakol to get an Islamic education.

After completing his training in the Islamic sciences, Maba married Maty Njaay, a niece of *Buurba*, and settled in the kingdom of Jolof. After several years of study and teaching in Jolof, he returned to Rip at the request of his brothers who had lost their father in 1827. While his younger brother, Maamur Ndary Ba, was pursing Islamic education in Mauritania, Maba became the leader of the Ba family of Badibu, or Rip, in Saalum. According to the Ba family, in 1848/49, he had an encounter with Elhaaj Umar Taal at the village of Kabakoto, in eastern Saalum.

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[235] On biographical information about Maba, I rely on his biography written by his great grand son Tamsir Ousmane Ba, "Essai historique sur le Rip", *BIFAN* ser. B., 19 (1957), and my interview with Modu Maamun , Ňaŋ ,Tuba, 06/08/00. See also Martin Klein, *Islam and Imperialism in Senegal* (Stanford, 1968).

Elhaaj Umar was the most important Tijaani leader in West Africa.[236] He was born in the 1790's in Fuuta Tooro from a modest Toorobe clerical family. In the 1820's Umar made the pilgrimage to Mecca, which at the time was an extraordinary accomplishment for a West African Muslim. The trip to Mecca, which was then performed mostly over land, required material resources, physical strength and courage that few Muslims could master. The difficulties involved in the pilgrimage made the title of Elhaaj, bestowed on the pilgrim, all the more prestigious in the western Sudan. During his extended sojourn in Arabia, Umar was initiated into the Tijaniyya Sufi order and appointed *xalifa,* or paramount leader of the Tijaniyya brotherhood among the Blacks of western Sudan. Upon his return to West Africa, he settled on the foothills of Fuuta Jallon and endeavored to create a theocratic empire based on the model of the Islamic states of Bornu, Sokoto and Masina that he had visited on his way back from Mecca. He began his jihad in 1852 but faced the hostility of the rulers of his native Fuuta and the military presence of the French on the Senegal River valley. He succeeded in inspiring a vast migratory movement of his supporters who left Fuuta Tooro to join him in the Fuuta Jallon region, but he failed in his attempt to conquer his native kingdom. After failing to overcome the French military presence in the lower valley, he concentrated his effort on the high valley and the east, in current day Mali. He died in a war with the rival Muslim state of Masina in 1864.

The encounter with Umar was a watershed in the life of Maba. Oral tradition from Saalum reports that it was at their meeting at Kabakoto in Salum that Umar appointed Maba his lieutenant in the region. Umarian traditions, however, does not

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[236] On the history of Elhaaj Umar Taal and his Jihad see David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Taal* (Oxford, 1985). See also Yves Saint-Martin, *l'Empire Toucouleur et la France* (Dakar, 1966).

mention this meeting. Oral tradition kept by the Ba family reveals that it was during this encounter that Umar indicated to Maba that there were both destined to lead the Muslim community of their areas to a Jihad. Maba's jihad started in earnest in 1861. Sources differ on what prompted Maba to revolt against the rulers of Badibu. Oral traditions see the abusive and tyrannical rule of the 'pagan' *Mansa* (king in Mandinka) of Badibu, Jereba Maroon, and his son Mat Jakeer as the triggering factor of the Jihad. British sources emphasize the responsibility of Maba who, by participating in their punitive action against Badibu, exposed himself to the retaliation of the *Mansa*. [237] Martin Klein's interpretation, which places the conflict between Maba and the *Mansa* in the context of power struggle between Muslims and traditional rulers in eastern Saalum, is more convincing. For Klein, it is because Jereba Maroon "feared the increasing power and independence of Muslim led forces [that] he decided to move against them, either by killing the outstanding leader or by forcing a symbolic gesture of submission on that leader."[238]

The *Mansa*'s failure to eliminate Maba led to a greater Muslim awareness of their power and fueled their religious and political ambitions. Maba's revolt inspired Muslim rebellions all over the regions of eastern and southern Saalum under ceddo rule, who looked to him as their guide. By the summer of 1863, Maba had swept the traditional rulers of Badibu and Saalum and had established his domination over the area between the Saalum and Gambia Rivers. He named his capital Ňooro after the headquarters of his master, Elhaaj Umar, in Kaarta in Mali and took the title of *Almaamy* or *Al Imaam*, the guide. The struggle between the French and the rulers of Kajoor also helped his

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[237] Quoted in Martin Klein, *Islam and Imperialism* ..op cit., p.71
[238] Ibid

cause. Makodu, former *Dammeel* of Kajoor driven to exile by the French because of his opposition to the building of a telegraph line in his kingdom, joined forces with him. Soon after, another *Dammeel*, Lat Joor Joob, also forced by the French to flee Kajoor, "converted" to Islam and followed the forces of the jihad.

Two major obstacles confronted the expansion of Maba's jihad. To the west, the French fort of Kaolack that Maba failed to capture in 1862, and the non-Muslim Sereer state of Siin barred the access to the Atlantic coast. To the south, the British trading and military posts on the River Gambia impeded the progression of the jihad towards the non-Muslim population of Casamance, which would have offered a legitimate target for jihad. However, from the beginning, the French and British adopted a neutral and even sympathetic attitude towards the jihad.[239] They saw Muslim rule as a guarantee of order, discipline and peace that favored the development of commerce. However, when their ambition shifted from trading to political domination, and when peanuts became central to business, the French and British started to consider the relentless wars that Maba waged against the so called "pagans" as a threat to their interests. The French became particularly resolute to destroy Maba when the latter showed an ambition to conquer Bawol, Kajoor and Jolof, which were then judged as important to them as the capital of the colony, Saint-Louis.[240] By 1864, Maba reached a treaty with the French who recognized his authority over Saalum, and they were probably prepared to accept the extension of his domination to Siin. However, they advised him to observe a pause in his conquest and warned him against any attack directed at their protégés. Following the Senegambian tradition of diplomatic relations with Europeans, which conceives of the

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[239] See Klein, *Islam and Imperialism*, pp. 73-79.
[240] See letters exchanged between Maba, Faidherbe and Pinet Laprade, ANS 3B 94; 1D 27; 13G 271-318.

whites as "men of the sea" who should not be allowed to build on the land, Maba rejected any claim of the French on the hinterland of the coastal enclaves of Saint-Louis, Dakar and Kaolack. He saw these areas as belonging to the purview of Islam or *Daar el Islam.* He recognized their rights as traders and granted his permission for the building of trading posts along the banks of the Saalum and Gambia rivers, but he vowed to fight any French involvement in the business of the Muslims living in the hinterland.[241]

By 1864, Maba had turned his efforts to Jolof, Kajoor and Bawol. The wars of succession in these two last kingdoms and the encroachment of the French troops had sent a flux of refugees and destitute warriors and rulers who eagerly joined the jihad in Saalum. In addition, the bloody repression, and the looting and pillaging of the colonial troops let loose on the plains of Kajoor, had kept the farmers away from their fields while their granaries were burned or confiscated by the warring parties. The year 1864 is still remembered in Kajoor as "*at um xiif ba*," the year of the famine. Maba, advised by his new allies from Kajoor and Bawol, believed that the relative anarchy and violence in these two kingdoms could favor the success of the Jihadists. Maba also knew that he was engaged in a race with the 'Christians'[242] who were no longer hiding their ambition to impose their political domination over the Wolof. Furthermore, the population of Kajoor was almost entirely Islamized and Bawol had an important Muslim community. In addition, in both of these states, there were strong autonomous Muslim villages led by clerics whom Maba might have considered to be potential allies in his religious crusade. Maba also sought to bring his native land of Jolof into the fold of Islam.

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[241] Ibid.
[242] This is the word Maba uses in his correspondences with the French.

By the end of 1864, a base of operations was created in Mbakke Bawol where the forces of Lat Joor, henceforth the strong-arm of the jihad, launched raids against eastern Bawol, Kajoor and Jolof.[243] Driven out of the village by the army of *Teeň* in December, Lat Joor's forces maintained their pressure against the three kingdoms from the Saalum border. By May 1865 the forces of Maba and Lat Joor launched a major attack against Bawol and Jolof. The French reacted by sending a military force to protect the heavily islamized northern Kajoor. They also mobilized their allies in Bawol and Siin against the jihad. By August 1865, Maba had succeeded in imposing his authority on the kingdom of Jolof, which he started to reorganize. From his base in Jolof, he contacted the Moor rulers of the state of Trarza in Mauritania and the Almaamy of Fuuta to build a strong coalition for the triumph of Islam.[244]

However, Maba was not successful in his bid to mobilize the Muslim population of Fuuta and Western Sahara for his cause. The French presence at the mouth of the Senegal River deterred the emir of Trarza and the chiefs of Fuuta from making any substantial contribution to the Jihad. The lay population might have responded to his call, but not at a magnitude that would have made a major impact on the jihad. Beside *Seriň* Kokki Balla Soxna Joob, whose support of the jihad was primarily motivated by the involvement of his cousin Lat Joor, most of the clerics of Bawol and Kajoor were actually critical of Maba and his jihad. The cleric Abdulaay Sey of Mbaakol and *Seriň* Pir, Bubakar Penda Yeery Faal, denounced Maba's brutal method of war, protested against the forced migration of people to Saalum, and sought the protection of the French

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[243] ANS 13G 271 (20) (23) and (24).
[244] See Claudine Guerresh, "Le livre de Métrique du Cadi Majaxate Kala " *BIFAN*, ser. B, 4 (1974): 726-727. See also ANS, 3B-89-49.

administration of Saint-Louis. *Seriñ* Pir was even sent firearms by Pinet Laprade for the protection of his village.[245]

The controversial initiative taken by Maba to deport all the Muslim clerics of Jolof, Bawol and Kajoor to Saalum, after the French and their *ceddo* allies had repulsed his forces, fuelled the hostility of important sectors of the Muslim communities against him. Basiru Mbakke reports that this decision was judged unfortunate by the clerics although they understood Maba's concern with possible retaliatory actions of the ceddo against them.[246] Mbakke also raises objections about Maba's method of government and the legitimacy of his political ambitions. He considers that despite his good intentions, Maba's authoritarianism and his impatience led him to many mistakes. Furthermore, he noted that Maba was not a scholar, he had not mastered the *fiq* or Islamic law, and that he lacked political experience.[247] Xaali Majaxate Kala, another respected Muslim cleric from Kajoor, also doubted Maba's fitness as *Almaamy*. He criticized Maba for forcing new converts to shave, arguing that it is only during the rituals of pilgrimage that a Muslim should be instructed to shave his head.[248] A smoker himself, he also challenged Maba to provide the doctrinal basis for his interdiction of tobacco. Maba is said to have responded to the cleric that he didn't care about doctrine and that his guns gave him enough power and authority to enforce his will.[249]

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[245] ANS 13 G 257 ; 13 G 318.
[246] Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits de l'Eternel* (1995), pp. 26-27.
[247] ibid, p.27
[248] See Amar Samb,*Essai sur la contribution du Sénégal à la ittérarure d'expression arabe* (Dakar1972), pp. 264.
[249] Moodu Maamun Ňaŋ who reports this story added that Majaxate Kala buried his pipe while muttering, "Truth rests here with force and power on top of you." Interview in Tuuba 06/08/00. The conflict between Majaxate Kala, the other Muslim clerics, who were at the time Qadiry in their majority, and Maba might have been aggravated by the fact that Maba was a Tijany.

This unsympathetic depiction does not give us an accurate picture of Maba's character. He might not have been as knowledgeable in the Islamic sciences as Majaxate Kala, Momar Anta Sali, and some of the scholars who dedicated their lives to learning and teaching, but the sincerity of his beliefs and his dedication to what he saw as his mission cannot be doubted. His extremist option for total war against the so called "pagans," with no room for compromise, probably bothered his unwilling war weary allies from Bawol and Kajoor who are used to tolerating the lax religious practices of their so-called Muslim local rulers.

4.3.2. The Mbakke in Saalum

Basiru Mbakke's resentment against Maba can be understood; his family was profoundly affected by the violence associated with the jihad. Since Maaram founded Mbakke Bawol in 1796, the village was abandoned for the first time in 1865 when its inhabitants evacuated the site to follow Maba in his retreat to Saalum. Cheikh Tijaan Sy asserts that the jihadists destroyed the village and herded the inhabitants to Saalum.[250] Traditions kept by the Mbakke disagree with this statement. They consider that the evacuation of Mbakke was voluntary, and it was motivated by security reasons and the will of the Mbakke family to help Maba in his enterprise of expanding Islam. Oral traditions tell us that Maba had met with Balla Aisa, leader of the Mbakke family, in ŋay in 1865 and had asked him to join the forces of the jihad in Saalum.[251] Balla Aisa had declined the invitation, arguing that he was too old to follow the jihad, but he had given his blessings to Maba to enlist his sons and family members living in Mbakke. Only after

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[250] Cheikh Tijaan Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des Mourides* (Dakar, 1969), p. 105.
[251] See Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, pp. 26-27.

this did Maba contact the population of Mbakke Bawol, who accepted to migrate with him to Saalum. The other part of the family, which resided in Jolof and was led by Muhamadu Buso, better known as *Seriñ* Mbusoobe, was already on its way to Saalum.

A close examination of the interactions between the inhabitants of Mbakke and the jihadists and the circumstances of the migration of the Mbakke to Saalum reveals another story. We know that because of its strategic location at the borders of Saalum, Bawol, Jolof and Kajoor, Mbakke Bawol was chosen by the forces of Maba and his ally *Dammeel* Lat Joor Joob, as their headquarters, as early as 1864. Mbakke was a populous and relatively wealthy village where millet and other food crops were grown in abundance. Maba's army certainly benefited from the generosity of the predominantly Muslim population of Mbakke, but traditions, as well as archival documents, report many instances of raids and conflicts that opposed the population and the *ceddos*, during the period. These *ceddos* were part of Lat Joor and Maba's army or members of punitive forces sent by *Teeñ* against them. Balla Aisa's son, Abdul Xaadir, was assassinated by a group of these *ceddos* who were avenging a death of one of their men killed during a raid against Mbakke Bawol.[252] It is also at this same period that slave raiders supposedly abducted Momar Anta Sali's daughter, and little sister of Amadu Bamba, Faty Mbakke, then nine or ten years old, at Xuru Mbakke.[253] The Mbakke were not happy to see their village transformed into a battlefield and their harvest pillaged. It is unlikely that they willingly abandoned the land of their ancestors to pursue a jihad in Saalum, whereas the family tradition promoted political neutrality and peaceful interactions with rulers.

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[252] Interview with Isa Mbakke, Tuuba, 07/02/00 and Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam, 03/01/00.
[253] Ibid

The arrival of the Mbakke family in Saalum coincided with the battle of Paate Bajaan or Paos Koto that opposed the forces of Maba and Pinet Laprade in November of 1865.[254] The family had to be evacuated to the village of Jaaba Kunda in the Gambia. The death of Jaara Buso, Amadu Bamba's mother, occurred a short period after the migration to Saalum and is attributed to the fatigue associated with the migration and the flight. In Saalum, the Mbakke family settled in two villages. Muhamadu Buso, Amadu Bamba's uncle, who was appointed head of the clerics of Jolof in Saalum, founded the village of Naawel. Momar Anta Sali, his family and his brothers settled at the village of Poroxaan.

Sons	**Daughters**
Mbakke Anta	Fati Anta
Momar Jaara	Roqaya
Amadu Bamba	Anta Sali
Ibra Fati	Astu
Shaikh Anta	Xari
Shaikh Absa	Kumba Tayba
Shaikh Coro	Absatu
Balla Coro	Aminata
Aafe	
Masamba	

Figure 6: Momar Anta Sali's Sons and Daugthers.

[254] Interview with Shaikh Maam Balla Mbakke, Mbakke 05/91; Sawru Mbay, 03/01/00; Isa Mbakke Tuuba, 07/02/00; Modu Jaxate, Xuru Mbakke, 06/29/00 and Habibu Sy, Tuuba, 06/26/00.

4.4. The Emergence of Momar Anta Sali

4.4.1. Xuru Mbakke

Before moving to Saalum, Momar Anta Sali, Amadu Bamba's father, was a successful teacher at the village of Xuru Mbakke. Momar was born in Mbakke Bawol in the earlies 1820s but he grew up at Njah Kan under the protection of his uncle Mamadu Binta, best known as Gammu Kan.[255] He studied the Koran with his uncle and father. He pursued the study of the Islamic sciences and Arabic literature with Masamba Anta Joob of Kokki and Amadu Sall from the village of Bamba in Saalum, who taught him Islamic jurisprudence. Momar had a special affection for Sall after whom he named his son Amadu Bamba. Like his grandfather Maaram, he devoted most of his life to seeking knowledge; he was a lifetime student. He perfected his training in the science of Tawhid or theology with Xaali Majaxate Kala, who was much younger than him.[256] Momar Anta frequented the school of Biraan Siise of Rufisque where he studied *Tuhfa al Hukkam,* (gift for the judges) d'Ibn Asim (d.1425 in Andalusia), which was a highly valued book by *qadis* and specialists of *sharia* in Senegambia.[257] He probably sojourned in other reputed schools to study with specialists of specific books and disciplines. Momar Anta Sali was also in contact with the famous Tijaani cleric of Barñy, Cerno Yoro Njaay, to whom he confided his sons Ibra Faty and Shaikh Anta for their education.[258]

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[255] On the biographical information about Momar Anta Sali, I rely on my interviews with Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam 03/01/0; Seriñ Shaikh Mbakke Maam Balla, Mbakke 05/91; Isa Mbakke, Tuba, 07/02/00; Mustafaa Njaate Mbakke,Mbakke,06/30/00 and 07/30/00; Modu Jaxate, Xuru Mbakke, 06/29/00, and on Bassiru Mbakke's book, les *Bienfaits*, op cit.
[256] Amar Samb, *Contribution*, op cit p. 261.
[257] ANS 10D3/0035
[258] Interviews with Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam 03/06/00, and Seriñ Mustafa Caytu, Gawaan Mbakke, 06/16/00.

Momar Anta Sali returned to Mbakke Bawol in his early twenties after he finished his training with Amadu Sall of Bamba. He soon left the village to join his uncle at Njah Kan. Some sources report that it is because of tensions with his father's family that Mbakke decided to leave Mbakke Bawol.[259] It may be that Momar Anta was just following the tradition. In Wolof society, it is typical for a young man old enough to marry to return to his mother's family until he founds a family with the help of his uncles. Therefore, Momar Anta's move to Njah Kan may be seen as an expression of tradition rather then a sign of tensions within the family. However, the fact that he remained with his uncles, even after he founded a family, suggests some difficulties in his relationships with the Mbakke.

Momar Anta Sali contracted his first marriage in his early twenties. Gammu Kan, his uncle, first sought a wife for him among his mother's family at the village of Paal Sekk, but failed.[260] The refusal of Momar Anta's cousin to marry him, despite verbal commitment, was unusual and offensive to the Mbakke family. To repair the affront, Astu Mbakke or Anta Njaay Mbakke (his paternal cousin), daughter of Ibra Awa Ňaŋ, was offered to him. After his marriage, Momar Anta Sali left Njah Kan and founded the village-school of Xuru Mbakke, a short distance from Njah. This move might have been prompted by the adversity of his uncle's sons as some sources indicate, but it also might be that Momar Anta wanted to establish his own authority as a teacher and scholar out of the shadow of his respected mentor, Gammu Kan.

Momar Anta Sali's reputation as scholar enhanced his prestige and attracted many disciples to his school at Xuru Mbakke. He gradually earned the respect and

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[259] Interview with Modu Jaxate, Xuru Mbakke, 06/29/00.
[260] Interview with Sawru Mbay, 03/06/00 and Isa Mbakke, Tuuba, 07/02/00.

consideration of the clerical families of Bawol and Kajoor. Momar married Faty Joob from Kokki then Jaara Buso, his cousin, who originated from the Busoobe of Jolof. As already noted, the Mbakke and the Buso are both from Fuuta and Jolof, and the bond sealed by this common origin had been reinforced by marital alliances since the time of Maaram. In addition, Jaara Buso's senior brother, Muhamadu Buso, was Momar Anta Sali's schoolmate at Kokki. However, the prosperity of the school at Xuru Mbakke was affected by the tension and violence associated with the jihad of Maba. Momar Anta's nine years old daughter, Fati Mbakke, Amadu Bamba's little sister, was abducted and sold into slavery supposedly by the *ceddos*. In 1865, Momar Anta Sali was forced to abandon his village and migrate with his family to Saalum.[261]



Figure 8: The Well of Xuru Mbakke

[261] Momar Anta Sali's departure was probably precipitated and unwanted, contrary to claims made by oral traditions that he willingly followed the jihad. In fact, it is difficult to explain why Momar Anta would have willingly made the long and exhausting trip to Rip with all his family and two of his wives, Astu Mbakke and Faty Joob, pregnant; Shaikh Anta and Ibra Faty were both born not long after the arrival of the family in Saalum.

4.4.2. Poroxaan

Momar's reputation as a teacher and scholar preceded him in Saalum. Maba Jaxu trusted him with the education of his son Saer Mati and the children of the Muslim communities of Kajoor and Bawol that joined the jihad. Momar founded the village of Poroxaan, eight kilometers from Ñooro, the capital, where he opened his school and taught the Koran to the youth and Islamic sciences to the adults.

The sojourn at Poroxaan was a turning point in the life of Momar Anta Sali. He had contact with clerics from all over the Wolof states who ended up in Saalum voluntarily or by force. He was certainly involved in the debate about the legitimacy of the forced migration of clerics to Saalum and the role they should play in the Jihad. His cousin Muhamadu Buso and the branch of the family installed at the village of Naawel were actively involved in the jihad. We have learned from Musa Ka that a *Saŋe* (thick wooden fence) protected this village and that Muhamadu Buso was as reputable in the handling of the rifle as he was in the handling of the pen.[262] The Sy of Suyuma, other allies of the Mbakke in Jolof, were also active participants in the jihad.[263]

It is in Saalum where Momar Anta Sali met with Xaali Majaxate Kala, who belonged to a family of *Seriñ Fakk Taal* that had a long tradition of close cooperation with the rulers of Kajoor and Bawol.[264] Xaali became a friend of Momar and later offered him his sister, Absa Jaxate, for marriage. Jaxate also taught Momar's son,

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[262] See Musa Ka, *Jaaraama,* in *BIFAN*, serie B, t. xxxvi (1974), p. 605. Oral sources also confirm the active involvement of Muhamadu Buso in the Jihad. A differing opinion is expressed by Maxtaar Buso, great grandson of Muhamadu Buso, interview in Tuuba, 06/11/00.

[263] Interview with Habibu Sy, whose ancestors were from Suyuma, Tuuba, 06/26/00.

[264] Njamme Jaxate, Xaly's great grandfather was married to Princess Asta Joob of the geej reigning dynasty of Kajoor. Xaali himself is known for his Salomonic judgments and controversial role as a *qadi* in the court of Lat Joor. See Guerresh, *Livre de métrique* and Samb, *Contribution,* op cit.

Amadu Bamba Mbakke. Momar Anta and Xaali Majaxate were not involved in the fighting; they worked as teachers and probably advisers of Maba.

The initiation of Momar Anta Sali to the Qadiriyya Sufi order probably took place in Saalum. It is Samba Tukuloor Ka who initiated Momar to the Qadiriyya. Samba Tukuloor, who is a cousin of Momar, received the qadiri wird from the family of Shaikh Sidiyya El Kabir in Butilimit in Mauritania.[265] Momar's friend, Majaxate Kala, was also a qadiri before shifting to the Tijaniyya in the late nineteenth century. Momar Anta Sali was a fervent disciple of Shaikh Sidiyya Al-Kabiir (1780-1868), founder of the prestigious Qadiriyya zawiya of Butilimit.[266] He named his son Shaikh Anta Mbakke, after Shaikh Sidi Muxtaar Al Kunti, from the illustrious Kunta family of Azawad, north of Timbuktu, where his master was educated. Balla Aisa, Momar's father, was also probably a qadiri. He was, to my knowledge, the first member of the Mbakke family to name a son after Abdul Qadir Jilaani, the founder of the Qadiriyya brotherhood; however, Momar was apparently the first member of the Mbakke family to show devotion to the sufi brotherhood and to entertain relationships with a zawiya.[267]

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[265] Wird or Ouerd are litanies composed of names of Allah and portions of the Koran, assembled in specific orders and recited alone or in common a given number of times at given times of the day by affiliates to a sufi Muslim brotherhood. Wirds differ from a Sufi brotherhood to another. The Qadiriyya founded by Abd Qadir-Al Jilani (1077-1166), in the 12th century in Baghdad is the first known Sufi brotherhood. It constitutes with the Tijaniyya, founded by Shaikh Ahmad Tijaan (1737-1815) in Algeria and Morocco in the second half of the 18th century, the most popular Muslim brotherhoods in West Africa. For further information about Sufi brotherhoods see B. G. Martin, *Muslim Brotherhoods in nineteenth century Africa* (Cambridge, UK. , 1976); J. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya* (Oxford, 1965); O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries Religieuses Musulmanes* (Algiers, 1897). See a copy of the authorization that Samba Tukuloor gave to Momar after the later adhered to the Qadiriyya in the appendixes.

[266] The best word to translate *zawiya* into English is probably 'lodge'. Zawiya is a school, a place of prayer, meeting, and socialization for members of a Sufi brotherhood. For further information about the *zawiya* of Butilimit and Shaikh Sidiyya's family, see David Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation* (Ohio University Press, 2000), pp. 178-194. See also Paul Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam Maure* (Paris, 1916).

[267] Thierno Ka, quoting an interview with Moor Doj Mbakke, a descendant of Maaram, signals that the latter never adhered to a brotherhood and that many members of the Mbakke family followed his example. See "*l'enseignement arabe au* Sénéga.l" p. 251. In reality, although Sufism was known and practiced by

It is also in Saalum where Momar Anta Sali had his encounter with Lat Joor Joob, former *Dammeel* of Kajoor deposed by the French. Basiru Mbakke reports that Lat Joor was among the many people who frequented the school of Poroxaan for the purpose of education or for advice and counsel on religious and other matters.[268] Lat Joor had a lot of affection and respect for Momar to whom he offered his niece, Cooro Maarooso Joob, for a wife. This was not the first contact between the Joob and the Mbakke families. Maraam, Momar Anta's grandfather, and *Ber geet* Saxewar Fatma Joob, Lat Joor's great grandfather, were schoolmates at Kokki; some marital alliances might even have existed between branches of the two families.

Momar's experience in Saalum shaped his conception of the relations between clerics and rulers. In contrast to the traditionally suspicious and distant attitude that his ancestors adopted towards the courts, he showed a greater willingness to get involved with them. He played an active role in the campaign launched by Lat Joor in the late 1860s to regain his throne. In 1869 a French intelligence report mentioned Momar Anta Sali as one of the clerics who were encouraging the former *Dammeel* to get rid of the *ceddos*.[269] Momar Anta Sali, Majaxate Kala, and the other clerics in the *Dammeel*'s entourage endeavored to convince Lat Joor to stick to his commitment to orthodox Islam; they also strived to influence his political actions. Clerics from Kajoor and Bawol might have played a role in convincing Lat Joor to return to his former kingdom and to work

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Muslim scholars in the Western Sudan, Institutionalized brotherhoods did not exist in the area until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

[268] Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, p. 19.

[269] ANS 13G264 see also Thierno Ka, " l'Enseignement," p. 65.

out some sort of compromise with the French who had established their domination over the two kingdoms.

After Maba's death, under the pressure of his mother, his army and probably his clerical advisors, Lat Joor decided to return to Kajoor in February of 1869. After failing to convince the French to let him return to the crown of Kajoor, the former *Dammeel* accepted the less prestigious position of *Ber geet,* traditionally held by his paternal lineage. Appointed by Governor Pinet Laprade, he endeavored to rebuild the province of *geet,* which was deeply affected by the civil war that had plagued Kajoor for a decade. He settled in the Muslim dominated area of Kër Amadu Yala, a village south of Kokki, founded by his great grandfather, Saxewar Faatma. However, the lull in the confrontation between Lat Joor and the French, on the one hand, and Lat Joor and the contenders to the throne of Kajoor, on the other, did not last long. When the *marabout* Amadu Shaikhu from Wuro Madiyu, at the wake of the yellow fiver epidemics that ravaged Fuuta and Waalo in the late 1860's, declared a jihad along the banks of the Senegal River, Lat Joor joined forces with him. They resisted the numerous troops sent by Governors Pinet Laprade then Valière in Kajoor, and even scored some victories over the French army.

By 1870, a set of circumstances in the colony and in the metropole imposed a shift in the French colonial policy. Pressure from the French trading companies of Bordeaux, who were lamenting the deleterious effects of the civil war in the Wolof states on their business, and the establishment of the Third Republic after the disastrous defeat of the army of Napoleon III before the Germans, sparked a dramatic change to France's politics in Kajoor. The emphasis shifted from political domination at all costs to the

promotion of commerce and the creation of the conditions that could allow French business to prosper.[270] The treaty of January 1871, allowed Lat Joor, for the second time, to acceed to the throne of Kajoor as *Dammeel* recognized by the French authority of Saint-Louis.[271]

4.4.3. Momar Anta Sali in Kajoor

Although he was identified as one of the most influential members of the entourage of Lat Joor, Momar Anta Sali managed to keep his distance from court life. For example, he did not move his family to Kajoor until probably after 1872, three years after Lat Joor's return to the kingdom. His sons Balla Coro, Shaikh Coro, and Aafe Mbakke were all born in Poroxaan in the early 1870s. Momar's decision to delay his settlement in Kajoor could be explained by the turmoil that marked the first years of the return of Lat Joor to the kingdom, or a reluctance to hold a central position in the court of the Dammeel whose declared faith to Islam was suspect in the eyes of many Muslim clerics.[272] In a famous pamphlet Majaxate Kala questioned the sincerity of Lat Joor's "conversion" to Islam and wondered if the *Dammeel* was not motivated by mere political

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[270] See Mamadou Diouf, *Le Kajoor*, chapter xvi sections 5 and 6, pp. 238-243, for a thorough analysis of the relations between Lat Joor, Amadu Shaixu and the governors Pinet Laprade and Valière.
[271] See *Moniteur du Sénégal*, February 7, (1871).
[272] Contemporary scholars still debate about the sincerity of Lat Joor's "conversion". His grandson and biographer, A. B. Diop, believes that Lat Joor's conversion to Islam was genuine; V. Monteil, building on the abundant correspondences of the *Dammeel* kept in the Senegalese National Archives where he signs as "Sultan" or "Emir of the Black Muslims," notes that although he violated some prescriptions of Islam, Lat Joor should still be considered a Muslim see *Esquisses Sénégalaise*, (IFAN, 1966); Mamadou Diouf, on the contrary, sees the conversion as part of a political strategy to win the support of the Muslim community of Kajoor. In reality, Lat Joor's attitude did not differ very much from that of his predecessors. He followed the tradition of religious pluralism and selective practice of Islam, which had marked the attitude of the rulers of Kajoor since Amary Ngoone Sobel Faal.

opportunism.[273] Amadu Bamba probably shared Majaxale Kala's concern. Although he was only in his twenties, he was instrumental in convincing his father to renounce direct and bold involvement in the court's affairs.[274] When he moved his family to Kajoor, Momar Anta Sali founded the village of Pataar, a couple of kilometers away from Kër Amadu Yala, Lat Joor's new capital. He remained an advisor to the *Dammeel* who consulted with him in the court every Thursday.[275]

The settlement of Lat Joor at Kër Amadu Yala and the increasing influence of Muslim clerics in the politics of the kingdom provoked a major political crisis in Kajoor. In a report on the political situation in Kajoor in 1879, the French administrator Valière gives a detailed description of the crisis.[276] When he returned from Rip in 1869 as noted above, Lat Joor was appointed *Ber geet* and he chose Kër Amadu Yala as capital. After he recovered the throne of Kajoor in 1871, he erected Kër Amadu Yala to the rank of capital of the kingdom and refused to join Mbul or Ngigis, the official headquarters of the *Dammeel* since the time of Amary Ngone Sobel, the first king of Kajoor. Lat Joor's refusal to move to the traditional capitals of the Kingdom divided Kajoor into two hostile groups that could be called the party of *ceddo* and the party of marabouts, or *Daar El*

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[273] See A.Samb, *Contribution*, pp. 26.

[274] Some sources indicate that Amadu Bamba pressured his father to resign from his position of *xaali* of Lat Joor See for example, Monteil, *Esquisses*; Samb, *Contribution*; and Momar Coumba Diop, "La Relation Talibe-marabout," (Mémoire de maîtrise, université de Dakar, 1976), p. 3. These sources probably base their conclusions on the fact that from 1869 Momar Anta Sali was no longer writing Lat Joor's correspondence. M. C. Diop, for example, suggests that Mormar Anta Sali resigned as *Xaali* in 1869 and was replaced by Majaxate Kala. However, my sources indicate that Momar Anta Sali did not resign from his position but he was rather appointed as a sort of paramount judge not involved in the day to day administration of justice, but only called upon to oversee contested rulings made by his colleagues. At any rate, Momar Anta Sali remained an advisor and associate of Lat joor until his death in 1882-83.

[275] Interview with Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam, 03/06/00; Isa Mbakke, Mbakke 07/02/00 and Shaikh Mbakke Maam Balla, 07/16/00.

[276] See "Renseignements sur la situation politique de Cayor en 1879, " ANS, 1G48.

Harb versus *Daar el Islam.* According to Valière's report,[277] the northern territories of the kingdom, which included the Muslim dominated provinces of Mbaakol and Njambur, supported the decision of Lat Joor to remain in Kër Amadu Yala, while the people south of the province of Mbawaar opposed the *Dammeel*'s decision.

Ibra Fatim Saar, *Jaraaf Njambur* and Demba Waar Sall, head of the army of Kajoor, lead the ceddo party. These two leaders of the crown slaves were among the most powerful authorities of Kajoor. They reproached Lat Joor for violating the tradition set by his ancestors by moving the capital away from the center and the legitimate dignitaries of the kingdom. They accused the king of surrounding himself with unworthy people that were not interested in the public good but only in their selfish interest.[278] In Kër Amadu Yala, Bekaay, a marabout of Mauritanian origins, Majaxate Kalla and Massek Ndoya, a ceddo, supported by the *xalis* Madina Amar and Amar Faal, dominated the court. The *marabout* party tried to keep Lat Joor under its control and to isolate the ceddo whose influence on the *Dammeel* they deemed detrimental to the kingdom.[279] Momar Anta Sali's role in this conflict was less apparent, but he was also involved in the dispute. We know that he was among the group of clerics who were advising Lat Joor to get rid of the *ceddos*, when the latter returned from Saalum. Furthermore, when in 1877 Daam Seynabu Mbakke and Samba Caam Mbakke, two of his cousins, re-settled in the village of Mbakke Bawol, and called on Momar to lead the

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[277] ibid p.10.
[278] Ibid P.6.
[279] Beyond mere dispute about the location of the capital of the Kingdom, what was at stake between the marabouts and the ceddo parties was the attitude to adopt with regards to the French project of building a railroad linking Dakar to Saint-Louis across the territory of Kajoor. Both the ceddo party and the marabout parties waved between support and opposition to the project depending on French military pressure and the political position of the leader they were backing. Finally, the decisive alliance between the crown slaves and the French and the isolation of Lat Joor allowed the occupation of Kajoor and the building of the railroad.

village in his capacity as the oldest living grand son of Maaram, the latter declined their proposal. [280] Instead of moving to Mbakke, he preferred to follow Lat Joor to central Kajoor when the *Dammeel* yielded to the *ceddo* party's pressure and relocated to Sugeer.

In central Kajoor, Momar Anta Sali founded the village-school of Mbakke Kajoor, twenty kilometers away from Sugeer, in 1880-1881. The school (*daara*) of Mbakke Kajoor was mostly devoted to the teaching of the Islamic sciences. The *daara* was considered a testing ground where all good disciples should sojourn before they could aspire for recognition.[281] It attracted disciples from some of the famous Muslim families of Kajoor. Ndaam Abdurahman Lo, from the respected Muslim clerics of Ndaam in Njambur, for example, studied in Nguiik and Pir before finishing his scholarship in Mbakke Kajoor. Daaru Asan Njaay from Njare, Masamba Joob from Saam, Adama Gey and other disciples from renowned Muslim families were also among Momar's disciples. Amadu Bamba, then in his mid-twenties, helped his father with the teaching and started to emerge as a respected scholar.[282]

In Mbakke Kajoor, Momar Anta remained one of the most respected Muslim clerics of Kajoor. With his colleagues Majaxate Kala and seriñ Medina Syll, Mandumbe Maar, he enjoyed confidence and consideration from the court. They received subsidies from the *Dammeel* who generously supplied their families to supplement the resources they drew from their farms. Momar Anta, for example, was entitled to parts of the cattle

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[280] See "Calendrier historique de la région de Diourbel" prepared by the Minister of economy and Finance of Senegal for the general census of 1988, DPS, République du Sénégal, (1988). T II, and interviews with Mustafa Njaate, Mbakke, 07/3000 and Isa Mbakke, Tuuba, 07/02/00.
[281] Interview with Mustafa Ley, 05/16/00.
[282] Interview with Shaikh Maam Balla Mbakke, 05/ 1991 in Mbakke.

that were slaughtered in the court.[283] His prestige in Mbakke Kajoor was exemplified by his marriage with Isa Joob, a niece of Seriñ Kokki Njaga Isa and former wife of Lat Joor and Absa Jaxate, from the Jaxate clerical family of Mewndu. [284]

From 1882, a new conflict erupted between Lat Joor and the French over the construction of the railroad that would run across Kajoor to link the French post of Dakar to the west to Saint-Louis, capital of French Senegal on the mouth of the Senegal River to the North. In 1879, Lat Joor had signed, with the blessing of his marabout advisers, a treaty allowing the building of the railroad provided that land previously annexed by the French would be returned to him.[285] However, he changed his mind when he learned of the full economic and political implications of the railroad. Lat Joor was supported by some of the Métis of Saint-Louis such as Devès and Crespin, whose position in the colony as intermediaries between the French trading companies and the population of the hinterland, was threatened by the direct contact that the train would allow. He was also backed by the circle of his marabout advisers and the *jambuur* who were still hostile to French domination of Kajoor. Lat Joor vowed to oppose and fight the railroad to his

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[283] Interview with Shaikh Maam Balla Mbakke, Mbakke, 05/91; Mustafa Njaate Mbakke, Mbakke,06/30/00 and Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam,03/01/00.

[284] The marriage with the former wife of a king, and especially when this wife has a son by the king is an honor rarely given to a simple subject. However, the marriage between kingly families and marabouts is often the fruit of arrangements that have more to do with politics than respect of the Muslim clerics. Mustafa Njaate signals that ruling families often resort to marry their women to marabouts when the former become mentally ill, bear a handicap or are thought to carry a curse. He notes that the marriage between Saxewar Soxna Mbay, Lat Joor's father and Ngone Latyr, Majaxate Kala and Debo Suka, mother of *Dammeel* Samba Yaya, and probably Coro Maarooso and Momar Anta Sali, follows this logic. Cooro Maarooso married in many noble families before she was proposed to Momar Anta Sali. The marriage between Momar Anta Sali and Isa Joob also should be understood in this context. Tradition holds it that Lat Joor was forced to divorce Isa Joob, whom he married as a *taara* after she abducted her during a raid against Kokki, when a cleric convinced him that keeping this woman from a renowned Muslim family as a *taara* in the court will ultimately ruin his power. However, the fact that Momar Anta was chosen as a husband for Isa Joob is revealing of his prestige in Kajoor.

[285] On the conflict between Lat Joor and the French over the railroad, see Diouf, *Le Kajoor,* pp. 265-286 and also Guerresh, *Le Livre de Métrique.*

death. By entering the war against the French, Lat Joor further alienated himself from the *ceddo* party, which since 1879 had resigned itself to accepting French administration of Kajoor. The war like ceddo seemed to have realized the futility of armed resistance or as they were accused of by Lat Joor's camp, they had been bought by the Governor of Saint- Louis, who gave them money and horses and promised to appoint them at the place of the current leaders after they had conquered the kingdom. The *Dammeel* also alienated the war weary marabout faction of Njambur who were more vulnerable to French retaliation and repression because of their proximity with Saint-Louis. [286]

The full scale fighting between Lat Joor, the French, the ceddo and the different candidates to the throne of Kajoor rendered the situation of clerics supporters of the *Dammeel* precarious. The destruction in 1883 of Sugeer by French troops put Lat Joor in the position of an outcast, and dramatically affected the situation of his marabout advisers. They lost the material support and prestige earned through the *Dammeel*'s patronage and faced the adversity of the *ceddo* party, now the dominant political force in Kajoor.

Momar Anta Sali, then in his early 60's, remained in Mbakke Kajoor, but his position became uncomfortable; he was from Bawol and the Mbakke had neither the historical roots nor the credentials that the *ajoor* clerics such as the Jaxate and the Syll of Medina could claim. Some ceddo also expressed their resentment against the Mbakke family. Momar Anta Sali died in 1882-1883, but even his burial in the village, of Deqële was opposed. Moor Maam Jeey, one of the leaders of the ceddo party in the village

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[286] See Valière's 1879 report, this is also M. Diouf's interpretation.

protested the burial of the marabout in this village, without his permission. His attempt to desecrate the tomb failed because of the opposition of the clerics of Deqële. [287]

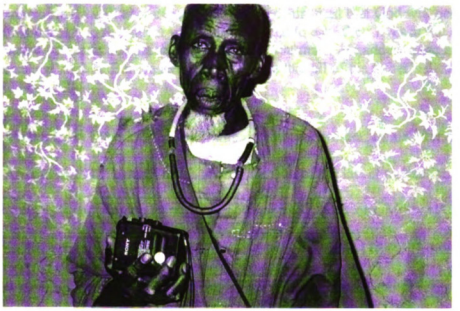


Figure 8: Guardian of Momar Anta Sali's Tomb in Deqële.

4.5. Conclusion

On his deathbed, Momar Anta Sali had called Amadu Bamba to confide in him his last will. The latter never disclosed the words he exchanged with his father. Oral tradition has it that Momar Anta Sali entrusted himself and the whole Mbakke family to Amadu Bamba. The substance of the more commonly told version of the conversation is reported here by Shaikh Mbakke Maam Balla. According to Mbakke, Momar Anta Sali called Amadu Bamba to his hut and told him,

> Now I know that I have entered the path to the hereafter and I will never be back again. Among my sons, you are the one I trust the most and I know that Allah has bestowed on you his blessing. During my life, I have done my utmost to do and

[287] Interview with Cerno Gey, custodian of Momar Anta Sali's mausoleum in Deqële, 07/20/00.

recommend the right, to avoid and forbid the wrong, as Allah has recommended all Muslims. But I want you to assure me here that I will face no harm in where I am headed.' Amadu Bamba responded: 'I guarantee you that.' Momar Anta Sali added, 'I entrust you with the whole Mbakke family and I want you to assure me that none of them will ever experience any hardships and that God will bestow on them his *baraka* so that never will they be forced to earn their lives at the sweat of their brow.' Amadu Bamba said, 'I guarantee you that.' He added some more requests and Amadu Bamba gave his assurance that all of his father's demands would be fulfilled.

Shaikh Coro Mbakke, Amadu Bamba's younger brother, in his interview with Robert Arnaud in 1912, gives a much shorter version of the last conversation between Momar Anta Sali and Amadu Bamba. According to Shaikh Coro, Momar Anta Sali called his son and told him: "Among my sons, you are the one I trust the most. I entrust you with your younger brothers and sisters, take care of them."[288] However, both versions of the story omit to mention any recommendation that Momar Anta Sali might have made to his son with regards to the school of Mbakke Kajoor and his relations with the zawiya of Butilimit, whereas these two questions were probably at the center of Momar Anta Sali's concerns and legacy. The version recorded by Cheikh Tijaan Sy from Falilu Mbakke, son of Amadu Bamba and second xalif of the Murids, on the other hand, emphasizes recommendations urging Amadu Bamba to pursue education and to avoid involvement with worldly rulers.[289]

The versions provided by Shaikh Coro and Falilu, because they were collected earlier from older members of the family were less likely to have been subject to later modifications inspired by recent developments of the Muridiyya. Momar Anta Sali was close to his son and proud of him and he counted on Amadu Bamba for the perpetuation

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[288] See Note annexe in Robert Arnaud, op cit., p.142.
[289] Cheikh Tidiane Sy, *La confér*ie,, p.106.

of the family's tradition of scholarship and the maintenance of the relationships with the zawiyya of Butilimit. He also probably drew lessons from his involvement with Lat Joor and made recommendations to his son as to the attitude to adopt towards worldly power. He probably encouraged Amadu Bamba to maintain his distant and suspicious attitude towards holders of temporal power as Falilu Mbakke mentioned. Whatever might have been the exact words that father and son exchanged, the last conversation between Momar Anta Sali on his deathbed and Amadu Bamba then in his thirties sounded like a passing of the torch. Amadu Bamba was not the oldest son of Momar Anta Sali, but he was the most learned and the privilege of having been entrusted with his father's last will legitimized him as the leader of the Mbakke family.



Figure 9: Amadu Bamba

5. Chapter IV: The Emergence of Amadu Bamba (1853-1895)

In this chapter I provide a careful reconstruction of the events that marked Amadu Bamba's life from birth to manhood. This biographical reconstruction is critical to the interpretation of the man and the movement he created. However, this has never been done either by the social scientists, who dominate the literature on the Muridiyya, or hagiographers who left out or glossed over significant conflicts and problems that Amadu Bamba faced. The data used here comes primarily from Murid internal sources. I rely on the two biographies of Amadu Bamba written by his son Basiru Mbakke and his close disciple Amad Lamid Joob in addition to my interviews and other Murid written sources collected in the field. I have consulted the colonial archives to fill gaps and to corroborate or to contrast information drawn from oral tradition. The chapter is framed around major events, places and endeavors that marked Amadu Bamba's life. It analyzes the political and social context in which he grew up; his interactions with relatives, teachers, disciples and local political authorities; the progressive development of his thinking and practices. I put special emphasis on Amadu Bamba's scholarship. This scholarship gives us a road map of the construction of his credentials as a scholar and shaikh, and provides indispensable insights into the development of his thought. The chapter stops in18 *Safar* 1313 H /August 10th1895, the date that marks Amadu Bamba's arrest in Jeewol and his transportation to Saint-Louis, capital of the colony of Senegal, where he was tried and deported to Gabon in the French Congo. This historical marker is both significant from the colonial as well as from the Murid perspectives on the history of the Muridiyya. The French expected the arrest of Amadu Bamba to be the end of what they perceived then as a real threat to the stability of the newly conquered

colony. For the Murids, 18 *Safar* 1313 H was a coronation of the spiritual quest of their shaikh, and a turning point in his career as a saint. Indeed, the commemoration of this date is the most important religious event of the Muridiyya.

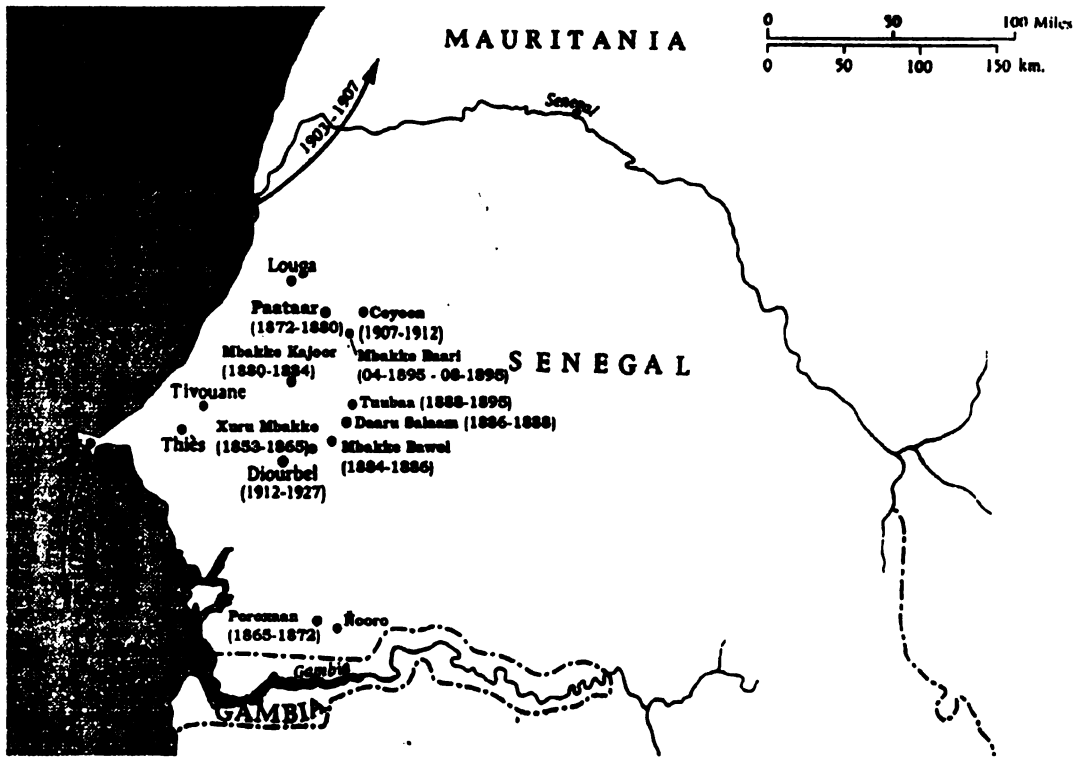


Figure 10: Some Important Places in Amadu Bamba's Life.

Source: adapted from Cruise O'Brien. *The Mourides*, p. 37.

5.1. Youth and Education.

5.1.1. Between Mbakke and Xuru Mbakke

Amadu Bamba was born in Mbakke Bawol, probably in 1853, during a visit of his mother in this village because at the time of his birth his father had already settled in Xuru Mbakke. He was the fourth child of Momar Anta Sali and the second son of his

third wife, Jaara Buso.[290] Amadu Bamba grew up in Xuru Mbakke where, as he told to his disciple Mbay Jaxate, he "learned to crawl and walk."[291] Neither of his biographers reports that he performed miracles during his early years as is usual with saints.[292] But Basiru Mbakke[293] mentions that very early in his life, his father showed signs that differentiated him from the children of his generation. He reports that Amadu Bamba did not cry as much as most babies do. He would cry hysterically only when he was brought to places where people do things that Islam prohibits and he would calm down as soon as he was removed from those places. Mbakke also notes that after eating, the young Amadu Bamba avoided his mother's bed and preferred to play and sleep at the place in the room reserved for prayers. His parents noticed this peculiar behavior and wondered about the mental health of their baby.

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[290] Sources disagree about the exact date of Amadu Bamba's birth. Amad Lamin Joob, his biographer, citing a certain Alhaji Hamid, son of Usman from Pout, places Amadu Bamba's date of birth in 1270H (1853-54). Cheikh Tijaan Sy mentions the year 1850, but this date seems early when compared to Amadu Bamba's reported age at various stages of his life. Oral sources note that Amadu Bamba was younger than Elhaji Malik Sy, who was born in 1855. In his report of October 1915 on the Murids, the French Commandant de Cercle of Diourbel estimated Amadu's age at 55 years, which would put his birth date in 1860. Amadu Bamba was probably born between 1853 and 1855, although his physical appearance made him look younger than he really was. The difference in the dates proposed for his birthday might also be due to the gap between the Muslim calendar based on the moon cycle and the solar calendar (there is a difference of 11 days between the two per year, the solar calendar being longer). Oral sources generally agree that Amadu Bamba lived 74 or 75 moon years, which translate into 72 solar years. If this estimation is correct then his birthday corresponds with 1855 on the solar calendar and 1270 H on the Muslim calendar. There seems to be a consensus in the literature that 1853 is the date of Amadu Bamba's birth; In this work I will also follow the consensus.

[291] Mbay Jaxaate is a son of Xaali Majaxate Kala, a colleague and friend of Amadu Bamba's father, who also worked for Dammeel Lat Joor as a Judge. Modu Jaxate, the only living son of Mbay Jaxate and head of the village of Xuru Mbakke, reported to me this story in Xuru Mbakk 06-22-2000.

[292] Since biographies of prophets and saints are subject to refashioning and editing to fit the actual fate of the prophecy or the saint's message across space and time, as suggested by Douglas Johnson and David Anderson in *Revealing Prophets* (1995), it is not unlikely that we will learn in the future of some miracles performed by the young Amadu Bamba.

[292] *Les Bienfaits de l'Eternel ou la Biographie de Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke* (Dakar: Saint Paul,1995).
pp. 15-16.

[293] *Les Bienfaits de l'Eternel* ibid.

Besides this peculiar attitude described by Basiru Mbakke, Amadu Bamba grew up as a normal young boy. When he was six or seven, the age when young Muslims in Senegal are usually sent to Koranic school (this is also the age when young Muslims are taught how to pray, at 10 praying becomes compulsory), his father placed him in the care of his maternel uncle, the senior brother of his mother, Muhamadu Buso, better known as Serin Mbusoobe. Buso was a renowned scholar living in Jolof.[294] He introduced Amadu Bamba to the Koran and then sent him to Tafsir Mbakke Ndumbe. Tafsir and Asta Waalo Mbakke, Jaara Buso's mother, have the same father, Amad Soxna Buso Mbakke; Amad is also a brother of Balla Aisa, Momar Anta Sali's father. So Tafsir was a granduncle to Amadu Bamba on both his father and mother's sides. Tafsir had farms in Jolof where he spent the rainy season with his student, and they would return to Mbakke Bawol during the dry season. During their stay in Mbakke Bawol, Amadu Bamba also frequented the school of Balla Jatara, imam of the village at the time, but he received the bulk of his koranic education from Tafsir Mbakke Ndumbe.[295]

Studying the Koran involved first learning the Arabic alphabet, then memorizing each of the 114 *saars* (*suras* in Arabic or chapters) that compose the book, starting with the shortest. The lessons were written on a portable wooden board or *aluwa* (*luah* in Arabic) with black ink made by the pupils. Only when the pupils reached the long *saars* were they allowed to study with a book. Students devoted four to six years exclusively to study the Koran until they could recite and write the whole book from memory. Upon Tafsir's death, Amadu Bamba had almost completed his koranic education. He returned

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[294] See chapter III for further details on the biography of Muhamadu Buso.
[295] The different masters that taught Amadu Bamba are known but Balla Jatara is not listed among them. I thank Mustafa Ley for showing me a letter written by Amadu Bamba where he acknowledges Jatara as his master.

to his uncle Muhamadu Buso with whom he finished memorizing the Koran and started the study of religious sciences.

5.1.2. Growing up in Saalum

At the time of the Mbakke family's migration to Saalum in 1865, Amadu Bamba was still living in Jolof with his uncle Muhamadu Buso.[296] He and his teacher joined the rest of the family that followed Maba in his retreat to Saalum. Amadu Bamba was then 12 years old. In Saalum, the young Bamba started the second stage of his education in earnest. Now that he had finished memorizing the Koran, he could focus on the study of the *ulum al -diin* or Islamic sciences, and the *ulum al- arabiyya* or sciences of the Arabic language.[297] He did not study the *Ulum al- awal'i* or sciences of the ancient that involved logic, astrology and traditional medicine, although at a later age he made an effort to initiate himself to those sciences.

In Mauritania and Senegal, Islamic, Arabic, and ancient sciences were taught by masters who specialized in the teaching of one or several books.[298] Students were required to travel the country to find the specialists of the books they wished to study. The study of a book could take several months to a year or more because the student not only had to understand, but also to memorize the book before he could receive a certificate or *ijaza* from his master. The principal disciplines taught in the Islamic

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[296] Basiru Mbakke reports that he learned from his father that the latter was still in Jolof when Maba moved his parents to Saalum. *Les Bienfaits*, op cit, p. 27

[297] On Islamic teaching in Senegal see Mamadou Ndiaye, "l'Enseignement arabo-islamique au Sénégal," (thèse de doctorat , Université de Dakar , 1975-76); Thierno Ka , "l'Enseignement Arabe au Sénégal," (thèse de doctorat Sorbonne, 1980) ; Also Rawane Mbaye, "La Pensée et l' Action de Elhadji Malick Sy" (thèse de doctorat d'Etat, Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1992-1993); For a reflection on the politics of Islamic education in West Africa see Louis Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge* (Ohio U.Press, 2001).

[298] List of books studied in West Africa from Cerno Ka " Enseignement" (1980), see also Mbaye, "Elhaj Malick Sy," (1992-1993).

sciences were koranic exegesis or *tafsir, hadith* or traditions of Prophet Muhammad, *fiq* or Islamic jurisprudence, *tasawwuf* or Islamic mysticism, and *siira* or biography and hagiography of Prophet Muhammad. In the Arabic sciences, *nahwu* or grammar, *luqa* or lexicography, *balaqa*, use of the language, and *ouroudh* or metric, were taught. The ancient sciences were composed of *mantiq* or logic, *ilm al-nūgūm* or astrology, and *tibb taqlīdī* or traditional medicine. Many authors from the entire Muslim world of the past, from Central Asia, Andalusia, the Middle East, and North Africa composed the books used to teach these disciplines. Edited and hand copied versions of these books arrived in Senegal from Istanbul and North Africa via Mauritania or through returning pilgrims to Mecca. Over time, local scholars produced simplified versions and commentaries of some of these books or generated their own teaching materials. The rarity of paper and the difficulty of communication made books very scarce and precious good in Senegal until the beginning of the twentieth century. [299]

The intellectual atmosphere in Saalum where Maba deported the most renowned clerics of Bawol and Jolof provided an optimal environment for Amadu Bamba's education. He received the bulk of his education from family members and their associates. Bamba's father introduced him to *fiq*, or Islamic jurisprudence, and to other religious sciences.[300] Xali Majaxate Kala, a friend of Momar Anta Sali and a gifted poet, taught Amadu Bamba the art of writing poems. He did not teach him a specific book, but he gave him practical training in techniques and styles of Arabic poetry by composing

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[299] See Ghyslaine Lydon, "On Trans-Saharan Trails: Long-Distance Trading Networks And Cross-Cultural Exchange in Western Africa, 1840s –1950s" (Dissertation Thesis, MSU Fall 1999), p. 25.

[300] Momar Anta Sali made an important contribution to the education of Amadu Bamba who signs in many of his early works, "Amadu, the disciple of his father," see for example, the introduction of *Massalik Al Jinaan* (Paths to Paradise), translation in French by Pr. Sam Mbay (Rabat: Dar El Kitab, 1984.)

assignments and correcting his drafts.[301] Amadu Bamba studied some elementary principles of law and *tawhid* or theology with Samba Tukuloor Ka. Ka was a cousin of his father and one of the rare members of the extended Mbakke family to have studied in Mauritania. He was probably one of the most knowledgeable scholars in Saalum about *tazawwuf* or Sufism. Samba Tukuloor met with Shaikh Sidiyya El Kebir[302] who initiated him to the Qadiriyya *wird*.[303] Upon his return to Senegal he initiated Muhamadu Buso and Momar Anta Sali. Momar Anta Sali and some other members of the Mbakke and Buso families were *qadiri* but they were not specialists of the sciences of *tazawwuf* and they did not practice Sufi mysticism. It is likely that Samba Tukuloor Ka first introduced Amadu Bamba to Sufism and Sufi practices in Saalum. In effect, it was in Poroxaan, his father's settlement in Saalum, where Amadu Bamba started to show an inclination toward mysticism. He used to spend long periods of time away from his schoolmates and remained isolated in the bush during prolonged séances of meditation.[304]

When his father moved to Kajoor at the request of *Dammeel* Lat Joor in around 1872, Amadu Bamba stayed in Saalum where he continued his education in the Islamic sciences with Samba Tukuloor Ka and his uncle Muhamadu Buso. His mother died at Poroxaan when he was thirteenth or fourteenth years old and he became very close to this uncle who was raising his senior brother Momar Jaara, at Naawel in northeastern Saalum.

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[301] Amad Lamin Joob, *l'Abreuvement*,op cit p. 7. nd.
[302] On Shaikh Sidiyya El Kabir see David W. Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation* (2000). Charles and Elizabeth Stewart, *Islam and Social Order in Mauritania* (Oxford, 1973) and Paul Marty, "Cheikh Sidiyya et sa Voie," *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 31(1915-16): 29-134
[303] The *wird* is a compilation of excerpts from the Koran and special prayers composed by the founder of a *tariqa*. It is recited by members of a *tariqa* at specific times of the day and is different from a *tariqa* to another.
[304] Basiru Mbakke, *les Bienfaits*, Dakar, p. 167.

When Amadu Bamba joined his father at Pataar in Kajoor, he was over twenty and had already mastered a good deal of the scholarship available in Senegal.



Figure 11: Modu Jaxate, son of Mbay Jaxate in Xuru Mbakke.

5.2. The period of maturation

5.2.1. Birth of a scholar

Amadu Bamba inherited an insatiable thirst for knowledge from his ancestors, and his quest for an education was encouraged by the fact that, as reported by Basiru Mbakke, "he was not physically fit to do hard menial jobs."[305] He invested his entire life to acquiring knowledge and earning the credentials of a respected cleric in the tradition of the Mbakke family. As a young man, he was not the quickest to understand and finish his lessons, but he showed a strong will to learn and his love for books was aided by an

[305] Ibid p. 340.

exceptional memory.[306] In Pataar, Amadu Bamba continued to pursue his training in the Islamic sciences and in Arabic language on his own, with occasional masters he met in the school of his father, or by visiting the different foyers of education in Kajoor, Bawol, and Saalum. He took advantage of the presence in Njaañ, near his father's compound, of Muhamad Ibn Muhamad Al-Karim, better known as Muhamad Al-Yadali, an erudite Moor from the Daymani *zwaya* family, to further his training in rhetoric and to receive an initiation in logic.[307] During his stay in Kajoor, Amadu Bamba built ties with prestigious Muslim families in the Wolof kingdoms. He used to travel to Loŋoor where the Mbay family had a rich library. He also visited the schools of Kokki, Pir, and other renowned scholars in the area. Later on, he would strengthen these ties by marrying among these families of *doomi soxna.*

In Pataar, Amadu Bamba began to emerge as a scholar. He gradually became his father's lead assistant. Some of the disciples preferred to study with him since he showed more patience and better communication skills than his father, who was busy with the court businesses and disliked slow students.[308] He wrote his first books while in Pataar. The themes that Amadu Bamba chose to focus on in these works give us insight into the strength of his training as a scholar and his conception of education. These first books consisted of commentaries and versifications of *Umul Barahim,* a theology book written by Al-Sanusi (d-1490), which he entitled *Muwayibul Qudoos* (Gift from the Holiest), *Bidaya Al-Hidaya,* a book on mysticism by Ghazali (d-1111), which he completed in 1294 H/ 1877 under the title *Mullayinu Suduur* (The Enlightener of the

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[306] Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, op cit, p. 166.
[307] Amad Lamin Joob, *l'abreuvement*, P.7
[308] See Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bientaits*, p. 17. This information is also reported by Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam 03-01-2000.

Heart) and the popular treaty of Islamic ritual practices, *Al –Akhdari*, by Abdrahman Al-Akhdari (d. Alger, 983 H/ 1575), which he gave the title, *Jawharu Nafiis* (the Precious Jewels). To show his appreciation and pride for his son, Momar Anta Sali included these books in the program of his school. We learn from Amad Lamin Joob that Shaikh Coro and Afe Mbakke, both younger brothers of Amadu Bamba, were initiated in Muslim rituals by their father using *Jawharu Nafiis* instead of *Al-Akhdari*.[309] Amadu Bamba also became his father's secretary, accompanying him during his visits to colleagues, writing his *fatwas* (legal opinion) and the responses to questions sent by disciples; he also handled, albeit reluctantly, some court businesses on his behalf.

Amadu Bamba first came to the attention of the court and clerics of Kajoor during his controversy with his former master, Majaxate Kala, at the occasion of Amadu Shaiku Ba's jihad in 1875. The jihad of Amadu Shaiku the Madiyanke was the last major attempt by a Muslim cleric in Senegambia to check French colonial expansion and to build an autonomous state. Amadu Shaiku started his campaign at the wake of a cholera epidemic in Fuuta in 1868/69. He interpreted the epidemic as a punishment inflicted by God on Muslims for their sins and for tolerating the occupation of their land by infidels. He called for atonement, the imposition of Muslim rule, and a war to drive the French out of Muslim territory. Confronted by the opposition of Samba Umane, the chief of his native province of Tooro in Fuuta, he directed his proselytism to Waalo, Jolof, and Kajoor, where he gained a good number of followers and supporters. He defeated *Buurba* Jolof Albury Njaay and occupied his kingdom. Lat Joor, deposed *Dammeel* and candidate to the throne of Kajoor, joined the movement in 1870, followed by Sidiya Leon

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[309] Amad Lamin Joob, *L'abreuvement*, op cit., p. 11-12.

Joob, the French trained head of the protectorate of Waalo, in 1873. The momentum of the Madiyanke movement was cut short when Lat Joor, reinstated as *Dammeel* of Kajoor, signed a treaty with the French and started to focus his attention on uniting the crowns of Kajoor and Bawol as many of his *geej* ancestors had done. Now an opponent to the jihad, *Dammeel* waged a ferocious repression against the numerous supporters of Amadu Shaiku in the northern provinces of Kajoor. The jihadist turned his effort against this new enemy and defeated Lat Joor's army in a number of battles. Finally Governor Valière, fearing the political consequence of the establishment of a powerful Muslim regime in the Wolof states, responded to Lat Joor's relentless call for help, and decided to build a coalition with Kajoor and the ousted king of Jolof. The Jihad's army was defeated and Amadu Shaiku killed by Lat Joor's *ceddos* at the battle of Samba Saajo in the province of Bundu in 1875.

Distribution of the spoils from this battle triggered the first major controversy between Amadu Bamba, the *Dammeel*, and the latter's clerical advisers. Many versions of the circumstances that led to the dispute are reported. Some sources indicate that Momar Anta Sali, in his capacity of judge in the Dammeel's court, had received two male slaves as his part of the booty collected after the Madiyanke's defeat. When Amadu Bamba saw the two young male slaves reciting the Koran in his father's yard, he inquired about them and learned that they were part of his father's share of the booty collected after the Madiyanke's defeat. He pressured Momar Anta Sali to free the slaves, since it was unlawful to enslave a Muslim, especially as the young men could read and write the Koran.[310] Other sources report that it was around 1882, at the occasion of Ibrahim

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[310] Interviews with Sawru Mbay 03-06-2000 and Cheikh Mbakke Maam Balla, Mbakke Bawol 7-16-2000

Makodu Joob's submission to Amadu Bamba that the incident occurred. Joob was a cousin of Lat Joor who also owned slaves captured at the occasion of the battle of Samba Saajo.[311] Whatever might be the immediate circumstances of the controversy, the decision of Amadu Bamba to free the slaves captured at the battle of Samba Saajo was seen by the *Dammeel* as an affront to his authority and to the credibility of his clerical advisers. In effect, after the victory of Samba Saajo in 1875, Lat Joor had consulted with his Muslim advisers and judges about the lawfulness of enslaving his prisoners. Qadi Majaxate Kala wrote a *fatwa* (legal opinion) establishing the lawfulness of enslaving the prisoners since their chief, whom he considered to be an imposter and an apostate, had proclaimed to be a prophet, whereas Islam accepts no prophets after Muhammad.

Amadu Bamba is said to have avoided reporting to the court to settle the dispute with the *Dammeel*'s clerical advisers on several occasions, arguing that Islam forbids a cleric from responding to the summons of a ruler. Justifying his position, Bamba sent his disciple Adama Sall to the court with a letter where he quoted a certain Muhamad Ibn Maslama who stated that, "A cleric who seeks the favors of a king is like a fly feeding on excrement."[312] This remark angered Lat Joor who vowed to inflict a severe punishment on Amadu Bamba. He was dissuaded by Majaxate Kala, who recommended that he considers the young cleric to be the "barren spot in his land." In Basiru Mbakke's opinion, it was the resumption of hostility between the French and Dammel, which

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[311] Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, op cit. p.55.
[312] Amad Lamin Joob, *l'Abreuvement*, Ifan/Dakar, p. 24, nd.

eventually resulted in the removal of the king that prevented Lat Joor from dealing with Amadu Bamba.[313]

After the incident described above, some of the Muslim clerics and people in the court started to see Amadu Bamba as a pretentious and arrogant young cleric. However, despite his distrust of the clerics who associated themselves with the court of Lat Joor, Bamba had a lot of respect for his father whom he called his master. He owed respect to Momar Anta Sali as his father in accordance with Wolof tradition and wisdom, but also as his teacher. Islam recommends that disciples show special consideration for their teachers. Bearers of Murid oral tradition unanimously emphasize the admiration that Amadu Bamba had for Momar Anta Sali. They note that although everybody knew very early on that Amadu Bamba was a specially gifted and blessed person, he did not perform any *Karama*[314] and he remained modest and submissive during his father's lifetime.[315]

However, Bamba's respect and consideration for his father did not preclude the expression of his strong personality. This personality was characterized by a rejection of deliberate involvement with rulers and an attraction to mysticism. Amadu Bamba's father and the extended family objected to both of these tendencies. Bamba used every occasion, though with a lot of discretion and respect, to let his father know of his disapproval of his position as judge in the court of Lat-Joor.[316] Momar justified his

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[313] Ibid, p. 25 see also Amar Samb, *Essai sur la Contribution du Sénégal à la littérature d'Expression Arab* (Ifan-Dakar, 1972).

[314] *karama* is an Arabic word for miracle.

[315] This view is unanimously shared by my interviewees, it is also expressed by Basiru Mbakke and Amad Lamin Joob.

[316] Oral tradition reports that Amadu Bamba used to drop under his father's pillows anonymous letters with quotations from the Koran that warn *Ulamas* (Muslim scholars) who collaborate with unjust rulers. Interviews with Sawru Mbay,Daaru Salaam 03-06-2000; Cheikh Mbakke Maam Balla,Mbakke Bawol 06-07-2000; Mustafa Njaate, Mbakke Bawol 07-30-2000 and Modu Maamun Ñang,Tuubaa 06-08-2000. Basiru Mbakke recounts that Amadu Bamba told his fellow disciple, Masamba Joob, that he was going to

position by insisting on the positive impact that his involvement with Lat-Joor could have on the king's administration of Muslims of Kajoor and Bawol, and on the well being of the Mbakke family, but he could not win Amadu Bamba's consent. Perhaps, it was his dissatisfaction with his father's connection with the court and his desire to learn more and experiment with Sufi practices that prompted Amadu Bamba to plan a trip to Mauritania as early as the late 1870s. Momar Anta Sali had to solicit the intervention of Muhamadu Buso and the erudite Matar Penda Sy of Kumboof, (Bamba's uncle and brother of Usman Sy, Malick Sy's father), before he could convince his son to abandon his project and remain with him.[317] Probably, it was after this incident that Amadu Bamba married in Pataar, Fati Jah Ture, the widow of his late brother Mbakke Anta. This marriage might be seen as way of anchoring him in the family. His first daughter, Fati Jah Ture Mbakke, was the product of this union.

By the time the Mbakke family moved to the village of Mbakke Kajoor, Amadu Bamba had gained a considerable reputation as a new kind of scholar. He became de facto the head of the school and he intensified his Sufi exercises. He spent a lot of time alone reading books and meditating at a place now known as *gigis Bamba*.[318] He also continued to write books and short poems or *qasida* praising Prophet Muhammad and his first companions. Bamba started to attract a small group of disciples who followed his teachings and emulated his example. Some of these disciples were his peers or were slightly younger than him, but they looked up to him as their master.

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abandon his father if he doesn't resign from his position of judge in the court of Lat Joor. Les *Bienfaits*, op cit.,p. 107.

[317] Interviews with Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam 03-06-2000, Mustafa Njaate, MbakkeBawol 07-30-2000, and Habibu Sy, Tuubaa 06-26-2000.

[318] Interviews with Modu Sey, Massaer Sylla and Bara Mbakke at Mbakke Kajoor 07-20-2000.

Amadu Bamba's reluctance to interact with the aristocracy was most puzzling to his contemporaries in a period where the aspiration of many Muslim scholars was to become closely associated with the court or other *ceddo* factions that could provide material assistance and protection. The late 1880s, as we have seen in the previous chapters, was marked in Kajoor by violent confrontations between *Dammeel* Lat-Joor, the French, and different contending candidates to the crown that led to famines and epidemics in the region. Perhaps it was this violence that further alienated Amadu Bamba from anything related to the rulers, whether they were secular or allegedly inspired by Islam. Basiru Mbakke affirms that Amadu Bamba told him that he shed the slightest interest in worldly and temporal matters when he saw, while living in Kajoor, the bodies of Muhammad Fati and Ale Lo, two persons from a respected Muslim family in Njambuur who had been killed by the *Dammeel* for political reasons.[319]

At the death of his father in 1882/1883, Amadu Bamba had already acquired the physical appearance and the moral traits that shaped his image and reputation.[320] He was a medium sized man, not tall but not short. He had already adopted the legendary all white clothes composed of a *jellabah* (Moroccan style robe) with a cap over a frock, pants and a turban covering the all of his face except his eyes.[321] People would only see

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[319] Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits,* Dakar, p. 107. This incident was probably linked to the repression of partisans of Amadu shaikhu the Madiyanke in Northern Kajoor when *Dammeel* Lat-joor left the coalition he formed with him and sided with the French.

[320] The physical and moral portrait of Amadu Bamba sketched here is inspired by my interviews with Gallo Mbay, Tuubaa 2-14-2000; Bamba Jaw, Dakar 04-18, 05-13 / 06-18, 2000; Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam 03-06-2000 and Ibrahima Jaañ Mbay, Dakar 10-1-1999. The book in *wolofal* by Modu Maamun Ñjaŋ entitled *Jaar Jaar I Seriň Tuubaa* (the itineraries of Amadu Bamba*)*, and colonial officials such as Paul Marty also offer a depiction of Amadu Bamba. While a *fiche de renseignement* describing each of the most important Islamic and Murid leaders was made by the colonial administration and kept at the colonial archives of Dakar, I was not able to find a fiche for Amadu Bamba.

[321] This impressive outfit is immortalized in the unique picture of Amadu Bamba taken by a colonial administrator after the prayer of *asr* (around 5pm) in front of his wooden structure mosque in Diourbel. Allen and Mary Roberts offer an interesting analysis of this picture in their article "The aura of Amadu

his slightly discolored lips when after praying for visitors he would remove the turban from his mouth to blow some saliva. He was slim, but this was not due to a delicate health; on the contrary, he was in good health. Neither oral tradition nor colonial sources report any of his serious illness. However, both of these sources mention his austerity and frugality. Amadu Bamba did not eat a lot and he slept little. He used to shave his head, but sources do not agree about the treatment of his beard. Some indicate that he had a long beard folded into his turban; others hold that he had a short beard.[322] He was very energetic with swift gestures, and he used to walk quickly looking straight to the front.[323] He prepared his own tea and coffee and served his guests personally (before he became overwhelmed by followers). He often objected to disciples who rushed to grab something for him or to lay his prayer mat. He used to repeat anything he said twice or three times and nobody dared to go ahead and do anything on his behalf without his expressed demand. Once he had made a decision, it was not easy to make him change his mind, and he did not fear adversity once he thought that he was in the right. Amadu

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Bamba," in *Antropology et Sociétés*, 22-1(1998): 15-38; Oumar Ba, a former archivist at the Senegalese National Archives and researcher, informed me at the occasion of a conversation I had with him in Dakar, in July of 2001, that they were two other pictures of Amadu Bamba taken by a French seaman at the port of Dakar while the cleric was embarking for his exile to Gabon. Unfortunately, he has not been able to locate those pictures.

[322] This question of beard is an important one. Prophet Muhammad recommended Muslims to shave their moustache and sideburn but to grow their beard, which was a means to distinguish themselves from the non-Muslims who, at the time, liked to shave their beards. Prophet Muhammad took special care of his own beard. With the development of "fundamentalist" and "salafist" ideas in the Muslim world, the beard has become an important symbol for the expression of one's religious militancy. One of my nieces offered recently to me a reproduction of the unique picture of Amadu Bamba, but with a long beard coming out of the turban. This was obviously an addition aimed at adapting the picture and perhaps making the Muridiyya attractive to the growing number of Senegalese adherents or sympathizers of "salafist" and "fundamentalist" organizations.

[323] Gallo Mbay tells an incident he witnessed in Diourbel around 1919 during an epidemic of small pox. He said that when Amadu Bamba was told that a certain Maalik Laam was in the women's corner of his home for a séance of vaccination, he grabbed a cane, headed the compound and chased Laam out of the house. Interview in Tuubaa 02-14-2000.

Bamba also had a strong will and was persistent and courageous in the pursuit of his goals. He did not like to ask for favors, although he was exceptionally generous.[324]

Amadu Bamba's personality and his temperament made the last years of his life in Pataar and Mbakke Kajoor particularly difficult. He was torn between his loyalty to his father and an internal calling that directed him to mysticism and to distance from secular power holders. Bamba's political and philosophical leaning was opposed to that of his father and to some extent of his lineage. Basiru Mbakke describes the dilemma in these terms:

> At that period, he struggled between two opposite sentiments. On the one hand, he wanted to remain loyal to his father, who interacted with many scholars and secular leaders and who counted on him for teaching, and other duties related to his position as judge and adviser to the rulers. On the other, he aspired to wed himself with God and to distance himself from the people and their futile earthly preoccupations.[325]

This aspiration of Amadu Bamba was dramatically expressed at his father's funeral of in 1882- 1883. Seriñ Tayba Mandumbe Mar Syll, a schoolmate of Momar Anta Sali at the village of Bamba and his close friend, led the mortuary prayer and pronounced the eulogy. After he finished his speech, he presented his condolences to Amadu Bamba, who seemed to have been the oldest son of Momar Anta Sali present at the funeral, and recommended that he comes with him so that he could be introduced to the rulers to replace his father at the court. Amadu Bamba thanked Seriñ Tayba for his

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[324] See the numerous reports about Amadu Bamba and his Murids in the dossier Amadu Bamba at the National Archives of Senegal. See also Paul Marty, *Islam au Sénégal* T. I (Paris: Leroux, 1917)., p.230.
[325] Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, op cit., p. 32.

condolences and added: "I do not have the habit of mingling with rulers and I do not expect any help from them. I only seek honor from the Supreme Lord (God)."[326]

Amadu Bamba's response appalled the crowd. First, it was a violation of Wolof courtesy to express one's mind so crudely in public. Furthermore, this took place in front of the entire village between a person and somebody who could be his father. In addition, a funeral is expected to be an occasion of communion and not of dispute and disagreement. It is not surprising that Amadu Bamba's attitude was considered outrageous and inexplicable. According to oral tradition, the crowd reacted to the incident in two ways.[327] The clerics, who clearly understood that Amadu Bamba's position was in accordance with Islamic ethics and morals, blamed the zeal of their young colleague for his uncompromising attitude towards the rulers. For the common people, the young cleric was thought to have some mental problems because they could not understand why somebody would renounce a position that would guarantee him wealth and fame.

Amadu Bamba seemed to have been aware of the reactions that his attitude spurred. In two short poems he drafted soon after the death of his father, he wrote, "Since I refused to follow their direction, they accused me of madness." In another poem he mentioned, "Lean towards the sultans (rulers) they told me, so that you could benefit from gifts that would solve all your material needs. I responded, I am satisfied with God, I put my trust in Him." He concluded the poem with these words, "If my only

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[326] Amadu Lamin Joob, *l'Abreuvement* p. 9. Bearers of Murid oral tradition, in almost the same words, tell this story.

[327] See Amad Lamin Joob, *l'abreuvemen,t* pp. 9-10. This episode of the life of Amadu Bamba is also widely reported in Murid oral tradition. It is curious though that Basiru Mbakke did not mention the incident although he quotes the poem that Amadu Bamba had written at the occasion of the dispute. p. 426.

shortcoming is my renunciation of the wealth of the kings, then here is a precious shortcoming that does not dishonor me in any way."[328]

By the time of his father's death, Amadu Bamba had already formed his opinion about the rulers and the clerics, at least those involved with the court, and the type of relationships that should exist between these two entities. He was 30 years old, but he had garnered much experience during his stay in Saalum and Kajoor and his trips across the other Wolof kingdoms. The experience of his family, which had suffered from the wars and turmoil that plagued the Wolof states, and his readings, also informed his opinion. Amadu Bamba had certainly already endorsed the well-known Sufi saying that speaks of the desirability of neither knowing nor being known by the political authorities.[329] He was opposed to jihad of the sword and was suspicious of local rulers with whom he tried to minimize his interactions.[330] He also understood that the domination of the French (whom he calls Christians in his writings) over local power had become ineluctable. However, he was convinced that he had a role to play in society. Since he was dissatisfied with the models available to him, he had to devise his own way of coping with the problems of his day. After the death of his father, he was freed from the filial obligation that forced him to repress his personal feelings and orientation. The long trip he took across Senegal and Mauritania after the death of Momar Anta Sali was the first step for his quest for a vocation and role in his society.

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[328] See Amad Lamin Joob, *l'Abreuvement*, pp. 9-10 and Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, pp. 426-427. Many of my informants know by heart some verses of these poems they recited during our interviews.
[329] Mark J. Sedgwick, *Sufism, the Essentials* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000), p. 12.
[330] Basiru Mbakke mentions a conversation between Albury Njaay, Buurba Jolof, and Amadu Bamba where the latter responding to a demand for support said, "...Your provocations and those of the so called jihadists are nothing but useless actions whose tragic consequences you will bear responsibility for." *Les Bienfaits*, p.67.

5.2.2. The spiritual quest

In the first months after the death of his father, Amadu Bamba carried out his business as usual. He continued to teach, pray, write talismans for those who requested them, and visit his former disciples collecting *zakaat*[331] and other alms much needed by the family after the demise of Lat Joor, his father's major supporter. From the end of 1883, Amadu Bamba broke with the routine of the school. He undertook an eight months long trip across Senegal and Mauritania, leaving the task of teaching to his advanced disciples.[332] During this long journey, he visited many scholars and saints, read from their libraries, followed their teachings, consulted them about questions related to Islamic practices and mysticism, and received *ijazas* (diplomas or certificates). He also made pilgrimages to the tombs of saints and to holy sites. He visited Elhaj Camara in Saint-Louis. Camara was a qadiri *Muqaddam*[333] of the branch of Shaikh Sidiyya to which Amadu Bamba was also affiliated. Camara retained Amadu Bamba for a long period of time, testing his knowledge and resolve, and initiating him into some secrets of the Qadiriyya. He appointed Amadu Bamba to the position of *Muqaddam*, giving him the cane and the turban that symbolize this position in the brotherhood. Despite this consecration by the head of his branch of the Qadiriyya in the Wolof country, Amadu Bamba proceeded to Butilimit in Mauritania, the headquarters of the brotherhood.

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[331] *Zakaat* is an Islamic income tax whose rate depends on the type of goods it is taken from. When it is given in money it coincides with the tenth part of the income. *Zakaat* is given to specific persons identified by the Koran and the traditions of Prophet Muhammad. But in secular Muslim states, *Zakaat* is often given to the Imaam of the mosque for distribution. In Senegal, adherents to Sufi brotherhood generally prefer to give their *zakaat* to their former teachers or their marabouts.

[332] This trip is widely reported by Murid oral tradition. Modu Maamun Ñaŋ is the only source to mention the length of the trip, which he put at eight months. Interview in Tuubaa, 06-08-2000.

[333] *Muqadam* is the representative of the head of a Sufi brotherhood that has the authority to transmit some of the secrets of the organization and its *wird*.

Amadu Bamba had longed for this trip to Mauritania, which was seen by Muslim scholars who could not go to Mecca or North Africa as a source of Islamic knowledge and an indispensable place to visit. In addition, unlike his father and grandfather who had traveled to distant places to seek an education from famous scholars, Amadu Bamba had never left the circle of his family, although migration for the search of knowledge was an important item in the resumé of Muslim scholars seeking recognition and prestige.

In Mauritania, Amadu Bamba was hosted by Sidiya Baba who, despite his relatively young age for the task (he was twenty two years old), was the head of the branch of the Qadiriyya founded by his grandfather, Shaikh Sidiyya El-Kebir (1780-1868). Sidiyya El-Kebir studied with the Kunta of Timbuktu, who were major actors in the diffusion of the Qadiriyya brotherhood in West Africa in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Upon his return to southern Mauritania, El Kebir capitalized on the prestige of his masters and his own intellectual achievement and organizing skills to build a network around trading activities, conflict mediation, legal consultation, and Sufi leadership, along the lines of his mentors' model.[334] He succeeded in recruiting a prestigious following among the clerical families and some chiefly lineages of the region. However, the development of Sidiyya El-Kebir's network slowed down after his death in 1868 or 1869 and the passing of his only son and successor, Sidy Muhammad, the following year.

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[334] See Paul Marty, "Cheikh Sidiyya," op cit (1915-1916); Charles and Elizabeth Stewart, *Islam and Social Order* (1973) op cit.; David Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation* (2000)op cit., p. 180 see also Louis Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge* (Athens, 2001),op cit., p .30-31.

Two decades later Sidiyya Baba endeavored to reconstruct his ancestor's organization.[335] However, he faced a much more daunting task than his forebears. The socio-political and economic context in Mauritania during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century was marked by an economic crisis compounded by the dwindling Transaharan trade, the increasing violence of Moorish society, fierce competition between rival *zwayas* groups for the control of the Muslim population of the region, and the encroachment of the French.

By the time Amadu Bamba visited Mauritania from late 1883 early 1884, Sidiyya Baba was engaged in a power struggle between rival Moorish emirates and *zwayas,* offering sanctuary to some and supporting others who he thought could help preserve and shore up the heritage of his family. During the 1880s and 1890s, he confronted intense pressure from his rivals and enemies, which put him in a precarious political and economic situation. By the late nineteenth century, after a visit to the governor in Saint-Louis in 1896, he appeared as the main ally of the French in their enterprise of "pacification" of Mauritania. Baba's alliance with the French was a major cause of his success in preserving and developing the Sidiyya network. His followers benefited from unfettered rights to travel to meet and collect alms from disciples in Senegambia, and they could also offer protection to their allies or intercede on their behalf before the French administration. The Mbakke were among the most prestigious members of the Sidiyya organization in Bawol.

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[335] For the following developments about Shaikh Sidiyya Baba, I rely on David Robinson, *Paths*, chapter 9. pp 178-193 and Paul Marty, "Cheikh Sidiyya et sa Voie," op cit. See also Charles Stewart, "A Mauritanian Reformer: Shaikh sidiyya Baba" in *Tarikh* vol. 7 No 1. pp. 65-70.

Amadu Bamba's trip to Mauritania had an important impact on his career. Sources disagree about the length of his stay.[336] Basiru Mbakke and Amad Lamin Joob mention the trip but they don't specify its length. Cheikh Tidiane Sy speaks of a couple of months; Ahmadu Drame and Khadime Sylla suggest that it lasted one month. Whatever the length of time that Amadu Bamba spent in Mauritania, his contact with the family of Shaikh Sidiyya affected his life in many ways. On the intellectual level, the rich library of Butilimit gave Amadu Bamba access to books he never had the opportunity to study.[337] Immediately after his return from Mauritania, he produced two of his major works: *Nahju*, a poetic version of a book by Dal-Hajj in 1884-1885 and his most important book, *Masalik Al Jinaan*, a commentary and versification of *Khatimat-ul tazawwuf* of Al Yadali in 1885-1886.[338]

Bamba received his third initiation to the Qadiriyya (after the initiation he received from his father or his uncle Muhammad Buso and Elhaj Camara of Saint-Louis) in Mauritania, this time from Shaikh Sidiyya Baba who is a direct descendant of the founder of the branch he was affiliated with.[339] After this initiation, he wrote a poem

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[336] See Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, p 37 ; Amad Lamin Joob, *L'abreuvement*, p. 19 ; Cheikh Tidiane Sy, La *Confrérie Sénégalaise des Mourides*,op cit p. 65 and Khadime Sylla, "Immigration et Confrérie"(thèse de DEA Institut National des Langues et Civilisations occidentales (Paris, 1992-93), p. 53.

[337] Khadime Mbacké mentions that it was at the occasion of his tour of 1884 that Amadu Bamba acquired *Ihya* (Regeneration of the religious sciences) of Ghazali, *the Qut* (Nourishment) by Abu Talib El Makki, the *Risala* (Epitre) of Al Qusayry and *Jawar-al-Ma'aani,* of Sidi Ali Harazim see "Soufisme et Confréries religieuses au Sénégal," (Ifan,1889), p.55. All of these books are about Sufism and they are also found in the library of Shaikh Sidiya Baba at Butilimit. See Louis Massignon, "Une bibliothèque Saharienne: la bibliothèque du Cheikh Sidia au Sahara" *Revue du Monde Musluman* V(1909) : 409-418.

[338] Interview with Afia Ñaŋ, Tuubaa 05-30-2000; Modu Maamun Ñaŋ, Tuubaa 06-08-2000; and Mustafa Ley, Mbakke 05-16-2000 see also Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, pp. 111-112.

[339] In a document found in the archives of Shaikh Sidiyya's family in Mauritania, it is mentioned that Amadu Bamba received an initiation to the qadiriyya from a certain Muhammadu Saar, and he also was initiated by Shaikh Sidiyya Baba in the year of Bu-marâra, which corresponds with 1309 H/1892-93. See See Abd-El Woudoud Ould Shaykh, "Espace confrèrique, espace étatique" unpublished paper, (2001), p. 6. This last initiation was probably a renewal and an upgrade, but not the first initiation that Amadu Bamba received from Shaikh Sidiyya. There are different levels of initiation to a wird: the level of *izna,* which

entitled *Silsilatul Qadiriyya* where he described the chain of authority of the Qaidiriyya *wird* from Shaikh Abd Al Qadir Al Jilaani, the founder, to himself through the Kunta and the Sidiyya family. This third initiation to the Qadiriyya from the source of the brotherhood put him in the position of *Muqaddam*, or representative of the leader of the organization qualified to distribute the wird. He also sought initiation into the Shadiliyya brotherhood and the Tijaniyya.[340] In Mauritania Amadu Bamba learned how to organize and run a Sufi brotherhood, the types of relations the Shaikh entertains with his disciples, the building and maintenance of networks of disciples involved in a variety of activities, and the position of the shaikh in the society.

Amadu Bamba, most likely, also experienced how the concept of fraternity between Muslims, and especially Muslim scholars, so celebrated in the Koran and the *hadiths,* can be ambiguous in practice when it involves people of different skin colors and cultures. Shaikh Sidiyya Baba and his Moorish compatriots did not have much consideration and respect for their black colleagues on the other side of the Senegal River. Marty, for example, quotes this excerpt from an unspecified work authored by Baba, "The Blacks think of themselves as Muslims, however the majority among them do not have the slightest correct notion of what Islam is really about, they ignore the Islamic ethic, its law and principles. But we [the Moors in our capacity as teachers and guides] have a lot of responsibility to bear in this situation."[341] On another occasion, Baba

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gives only the right of usage and the level of *ijaza*, which also involves an authorization to distribute the wird.

[340] Amad Lamin Joob, *l'Abreuvement,* p.20.

[341] Paul Marty, " Cheikh Sidiyya et sa voie," *Revue du Monde Musulman, op cit.* It is curious that Marty did not give the reference of this quotation. In his writings, Marty is prejudiced against the Blacks and he has a tendency to glorify Muslim leaders who ally themselves with the French, but this quotation expresses the general sentiment that Moorish scholars had towards their black colleagues.

expressed his scorn for the uncivilized "little black kinglets" of Sengambia who did not deserve the attention the French had given to them.[342]

Amadu Bamba's experience during his first trip to Mauritania prompted him to mention in the preamble of his book *Masalik Al-Jinaan* these verses: "Do not let my condition of a black man mislead you about the virtue of this work" because "the best of man before God, without discrimination, is the one who fears Him the most" and "skin color cannot be the cause of stupidity or ignorance."[343] If Amadu Bamba had once longed for an extended stay in the country of the Arabs where he could devote his life to the study and practice of Sufism, as suggested by Basiru Mbakke,[344] his trip to Mauritania might have convinced him once for all that his future was in Senegal.

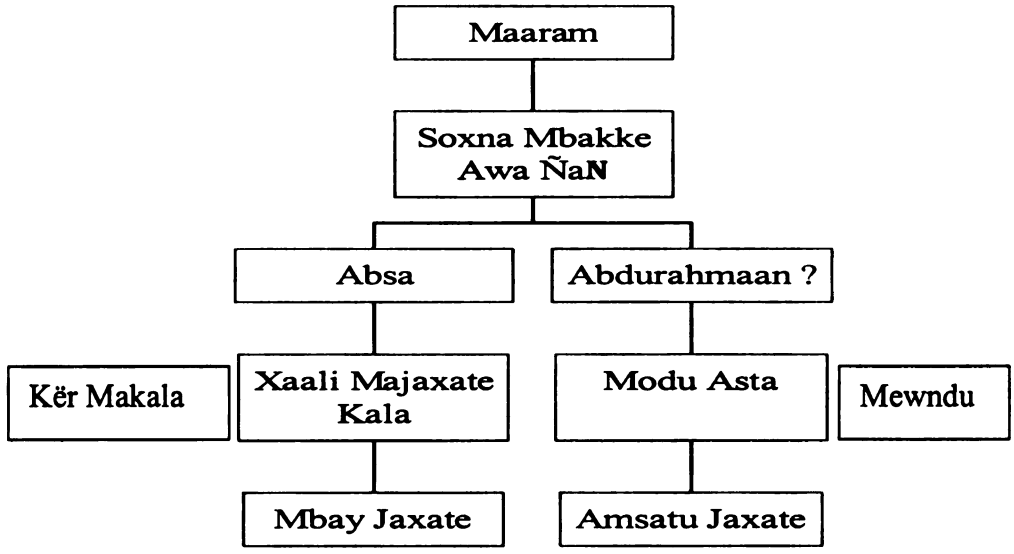


Figure 12: The Mbakke and Jaxate of Kajoor.

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[342] David Robinson quotes here a conversation between Sidiya and Dudu Seck, *Paths* (Athens, 2000), p. 184.
[343] Amadu Bamba Mbakke, *Masalik Al-Jinaan* (Rabat: Dar El Kitab, 1984), livre I verses 47 –49.
[344] Basiru Mbacké , *Les Bienfaits,* (1995) op cit, p.66.

5.2.3. ***Tarbiyya as a vocation***

Now that he was no longer bound by loyalty to his father and that he had earned his credentials as a scholar, Bamba could experiment with his own ideas and worldview. Upon his return from his long trip across Senegal and Mauritania he convened all his disciples at a meeting in Mbakke Kajoor. He let them know that he was henceforth going to focus his actions on the education of the soul or *tarbiyya*, which aims at using esoteric means to bring the disciples closer to God. He invited those who were not satisfied with his new orientation to look for another master.

Tarbiyya is a form of education invented by the Sufis that goes beyond the mere transmission of knowledge. It establishes a special relationship between the Shaikh and his disciple who is no longer a *taleb* (student) but a *Murid* (aspirant) on the path to God who surrenders his will to his master and gives him command of every aspect of his life. *Tarbiyya* requires from the Murid or aspirant a clear commitment to follow the recommendations of the Shaikh on all matters, temporal and spiritual. Amadu Bamba's disciples were disconcerted by this change. Only a small group of pupils, mostly those who had been attached to him since his installation in Mbakke Kajoor and knew about his Sufi inclination, stayed.[345] These disciples were adults who had already finished memorizing the Koran and were advanced in the study of the religious sciences; they did not need the permission of their parents to remain in the school.

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[345] Those disciples who stayed with Amadu Bamba are the first Shaikhs that he consecrated, such as Adama Gey, Adama Sall, Ibra Saar, Matar Ture, Masamba Joob, Modu Gay Jemooy, his brothers Cheikh Anta and Ibra Faty, and his cousin Mandumbe Mbakke; Ndaam Abdurahmaan Lo, Amsatu Jaxate, Amadu Maxtar Mbay, and Maxuja Uma who did not become shaikh in the same way as the first group.

The motives that led Amadu Bamba to adopt such radical changes in his teachings stemmed from his evaluation of the impact that education was having in society. The main problem of the system, from his point of view, was its failure to have a positive impact on people's actions and behavior. His criticism was directed to the gap that existed between what the disciples learned in the schools and the way they behaved in every day life. He noted that the mere transmission of knowledge as it appears in the books is not enough to have a positive impact on the social order.[346] The teacher needs to touch the soul of the learner, and in order to do so he has to understand the wisdom beneath the written words.[347] The remedy he proposed consisted of taming and educating the soul, which in the view of Sufi and Muslim in general, is the center of command that controls and directs people's actions. Tarbiyya was the method to reach that goal.

The pedagogic innovation initiated by Amadu Bamba did not help his relations with the clerics of Kajoor, which were already strained by his attitude during the Madiyanke episode and his father's funeral. The *doomi soxna* were particularly hostile to Amadu Bamba. Many of the *doomi soxna* in northern Kajoor had become *Serin Lamb* and were involved in one way or another in the struggle for power in the kingdom. They owned many slaves who tended their cattle and fields, and they enjoyed a comfortable social status in the society. Those who were not *Serin Lamb* tried to remain neutral in the conflicts that opposed different factions of the reigning families in Kajoor and the French, and counted on their disciples' labor for their survival. This neutral attitude was

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[346] Amadu Lamin Joob, *l'abreuvement*, p. 18

[347] See the *Majmuha*, a collection of Amadu Bamba's correspondences and conversations in Arabic compiled and edited by the third caliph of the Murids, Abdu Lahad Mbakke(Tuubaa, 3-3-1394 H/ 1985), p.130.

also shared by the *seriň fakk taal*. These last two groups worried about the political implications of the type of education that Amadu Bamba was promoting.

In fact, the traditional system of education functioned within the confines of scholarship by only addressing the mind of the disciples (although the messages dispensed though this system of education were not politically neutral) and avoiding any actions that could upset the ruling aristocracy. The extreme submission of the disciple to his shaikh and the control over the body and mind of disciples, sought through *tarbiyya*, could blur the boundary between spiritual and temporal powers and spur the hostility of rulers of Kajoor and Bawol. Overall, the war weary Muslim clerics had worked out a form of accommodation with the rulers, and they dreaded any initiative that could drag them in a conflict with the temporal power holders. In addition, for the *doomi soxna*, Amadu Bamba was a junior scholar from a respected family but a family of second-class clerics that did not have the reputation, prestige, and the legitimacy of the families of clerics historically rooted in Wolof country.[348] They were not ready to receive lessons from him. If his criticism of the clerics working for the rulers could be tolerated as an excess of zeal from a young colleague, his pedagogic innovation was seen as a deviation from a tradition of teaching built by prestigious families of scholars and consecrated by centuries of practice. Even members of Amadu Bamba's own family shared this view.[349]

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[348] Basiru Mbakke cites an instance during the Madiyanke controversy where an aide of Lat Joor was comparing Amadu Bamba to "a kite mimicking the gliding eagle," *Les Bienfaits* (1995), p. 58. The lack of prestige of the Mbakke family was also the excuse advanced by the Lo of Ňomre when they opposed the marriage between Amadu Bamba and their daughter, Aminata Lo, after the death of her husband, Seriň Guyaar. The marriage finally took place only because Aminata wanted to be with Amadu Bamba who was also her late husband's friend. Interview with Ababacar, Mbakke 06-30-2001.

[349] Upon his arrival to Mbakke Bawol, Momar Jaara, his brother, and Mamadu Buso, his uncle and former teacher, sent to Amadu Bamba a letter asking him to justify on the grounds of Islam and the religious practices of clerics in the country the type of education he initiated. He is said to have responded that there was no difference in the intention and the objectives between the traditional way of teaching and his system

The arrival of Shaikh Ibra Faal, his most influential disciple, to the school added to the tension between Bamba and the *doomi soxna* of Kajoor. Ibra Faal is said to have been the fortieth disciple to join Amadu Bamba at Mbakke Kajoor just at the time that he started the system of *tarbiyya* (1883-1884).[350] Faal belonged to a modest family of koranic teachers. His father, Amar Faal Xayta, lived in Njebi Faal in Njambur, northern Kajoor. His grandfather Biram Njebbi Faal, a former *ceddo* in the army of Kajoor, had converted and brought Islam to the family. Some sources associate Shaikh Ibra Faal with the reigning dynasty of Kajoor and Bawol, but this information is not substantiated by oral tradition or written sources. By the time of his birth if ties had existed between his family and the aristocracy of Kajoor and Bawol, they had been severed for a long time. Seynabu Njaay, Ibra Faal's mother, was from the clerical family of the village of Njare, where a king or any person aspiring to temporal power was forbidden to set foot. Ibra Faal was not a *ceddo,* as some authors suggested, and neither oral tradition nor written sources recorded him as taking part in battles in Kajoor or Bawol.[351] He received an advanced Islamic instruction and is even said to have authored a book entitled *Jazbul Murid.*[352] Faal certainly had some notion of *tasawwuf* when he joined Amadu Bamba. According to oral tradition, he was looking for a Shaikh who could guide him in the way

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only the methods differed. This information is not reported in the written biographies of Amadu Bamba, but it is widely known by bearers of oral tradition. See my interviews with Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam 03-06-2000 and Afia Ňaŋ, Tuubaa, 05-30-2000.

[350] The number forty should be seen here as more of a symbol than an expression of the reality. Biographers of Muslim Saints, and Amadu Bamba is no exception, often see their master's life as a reenactment of Prophet Muhammad's. Omar Ben Khatab, the hero and second caliph of Islam, is ranked fortieth among the Meccan "pagans" who joined Islam. Ibra Faal has come to occupy a similar preeminence in the Muridiyya as founder of a powerful branch. In my evaluation, the number of Amadu Bamba's followers was much smaller when he was joined by Ibra Fall.

[351] This information is found in Eric Ross, "Touba et ses Soeurs" (Mémoire de Maîtrise, Mc Gill University, Aoŭt 1989), p. 55.

[352] Interview with Afia Ňaŋ, Tuubaa, 05-30-2000; his personal file put together by the colonial administration also mentions that Ibra Fall was literate in Arabic.

of Sufism when he met Adama Gey, a disciple of Amadu Bamba, at Njaañ. He followed Gey to the *daara* of Mbakke Kajoor then submited to Amadu Bamba. Here is (in the words of Basiru Mbakke) an account of the first conversation between Amadu Bamba and Shaikh Ibra Faal,[353]

> When I (Shakh Ibra Faal) was introduced to the Shaikh for my submission, I told him: The only reason why I left my house was to seek a guide, a bearer of a beam of light that could lift me from darkness and unveil the light of truth. I think that if I had not found such a guide but just his tomb, the sincerity of my quest and my willingness to follow his example would have allowed me to reach my goal. I pledge before you that I will devote all the remaining time of my life in this world to the exclusive quest of God and (salvation) in the hereafter [through your guidance]. Amadu Bamba responded in these words, "[...] I accept your pledge and urge you to obey God's recommendations, to avoid his interdictions, and to devote all your life to seeking God. Do not expect from me, in this world, any protection or material help.

Ibra Faal introduced a new type of relationship between Amadu Bamba and the disciples. He told the cleric that he was seeking God through him and that he was not interested in instruction. Although the remaining group of people in the school had accepted to adhere to *tarbiyya*, this did not affect their relationships with Amadu Bamba at the time Ibra Faal joined the group. They continued to study and to follow Amadu Bamba's recommendations, but they behaved the same way as they had in the past. Ibra Faal, on the other hand, showed an excessive veneration of Amadu Bamba. He collected and drank the water dripping from the latter's feet when he did his ablutions; he kneeled and removed his headwear when talking to him. He greeted Bamba with two hands while rubbing his forehead on the hands of the shaikh, abstained from eating out of the same container than him, and refused that anybody leads his Shaikh in prayer. He devoted his

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[353] Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, (1995), p. 121.

life at the school to work instead of instruction and worship. He collected firewood and timber for construction during the day, and fetched water for the women at night. He neglected praying and fasting and gradually abandoned these acts of worship. This attitude shocked the other disciples in the school, and impressed Amadu Bamba who refused to get rid of him despite growing protestations from his other followers. Faal's neglect of the principles of Islam outraged many who considered him to be a mad man.[354]

Ibra Faal's attitude and Amadu Bamba's refusal to dismiss him prompted many families of *doomi soxna* to withdraw their pupils from the *daara* of Mbakke Kajoor. This was the case with Daaru Asan Njaay of Njare whose parents even refused to receive Amadu Bamba when he came to the village to visit his former schoolmate and disciple.[355] Amadu Maxtar Mbay faced the same hostility when he stayed with Amadu Bamba against his parents' will.[356] He was forbidden from settling in Loŋoor when he finished his training with Amadu Bamba and was obliged to move to the neighboring village of New Daaru. Shaikh Madumbe Mbakke, a cousin and early disciple of Amadu Bamba, was ostracized by his family and some of his older brothers forbade him from eating at their houses.[357] Murid oral tradition has kept a vivid memory of the hostility of the *doomi soxna* towards Amadu Bamba early in his career. This memory is expressed dramatically in the account of an encounter between the cleric Mañaaw Sylla and Amadu Bamba that took place at the village of Sanoosi after the latter's return from his exile to

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[354] See the following chapter for a reflection on the impact on Ibra Faal on the development of the Muridiyya.
[355] Interview with Mamadu Sall whose father was among the early followers of Daaru Asan Njaay, Tuubaa 03-23-2000.
[356] Interview with Galo Mbay, only living son of Amadu Maxtar Mbay, Tuubaa. 02-14-2000.
[357] Interview with Mor Talla Mbakke, a grand son of shaikh Madumbe, Gowaan 04-24-2000.

Gabon in 1902. The story goes, "When Maňaaw Sylla came to greet Amadu Bamba and submit to him at Sanoosi, Amadu Bamba had asked him:

> "Maňaaw, what was your occupations during my exile in Gabon?" Maňaaw responded; "every Friday we would cook a lot of food to give away in the form of alms, recite the Koran many times and pray God so that you never return to this land;" Amadu Bamba pursued, "Why were you doing that?" Maňaaw said, "Mbakke, we are *doomi soxna,* we live by our schools and the labor of our disciples and you were about to take all that from us." Amadu Bamba said, "Maňaaw, you are telling me this only because you are an honest man, but you were not alone in doing this;" he added, "but the man I am going to make of you will never again need the labor of pupils for his life."[358]

This account emphasizes jealousy and material interests in the conflict that opposed Amadu Bamba to the *doomi soxna*. However, beyond material considerations, what was at stake was the confrontation between two different conceptions of education, and to some extent a threat to the way of life that Maňaaw and clerics in the Wolof country have known for centuries.

The tension with the *doomi soxna* and the aristocracy of Kajoor also affected the economy of the school of Mbakke Kajoor. Amadu Bamba was compelled to sell his assets and to count on the generosity of his former disciples to meet his family's needs.[359] Musa Ka, the famous Murid poet and specialist of *Wolofal*, recounts an instance in Mbakke Kajoor where Amadu Bamba, accompanied by Ibra Faty (also affectionately called Maam Cerno by the Murids), his younger brother and confidant, toured Kajoor and Bawol for days and failed to sell for fifteen Francs a Koran that Bamba had written to pay

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[358] There exist many versions of the story of the encounter between Amadu Bamba and Maňaaw Sylla, the one that is reported here was told to me by Shaikh Mbakke Maam Balla during an interview in Mbakke Bawol in May of 1991.

[359] I thank Musa Jatara, a Murid friend and scholar, for showing me a letter written by Amadu Bamba, where he asked his disciple Abdulay Ahmad Ture living in Mbakke Bawol to sell a horse he entrusted him and give the money to one of his disciple named Njamme Saar. Amadu Bamba thought first of selling the female servant attached to his daughter Faty Jah Mbakke then changed his mind.

a debt he contracted from a Moorish scribe named Sheriful Hassan.[360] Amadu Bamba also faced the hostility of the Sylla family of Cyllawell who contested the right of the Mbakke over the land they were occupying in Mbakke Kajoor.[361] The Sylla were a family of modest koranic teachers who probably were also unhappy about Amadu Bamba's innovations. They argued that they owned the rights of first occupants on the land of Mbakke Kajoor where they had settled at least three centuries before the Mbakke, who were newcomers imposed by the *Dammeel* without historic rights on the area. The pressure exerted on Amadu Bamba and the deterioration of the family's material conditions, precipitated his move to Mbakke Bawol. By the end of 1884, Amadu Bamba traveled to Ndalla, a small village near Kokki, and convinced his uncle Ibra Mbakke (namesake of Ibra Faty, Amadu Bamba's younger brother) to return and occupy the house of Mbakke Kajoor.[362]

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[360] Musa Ka, *Marsiyya Maam Cerno Birahim, Ibra Faty,* a poem composed as an eulogy after the death of the latter in 1943.
[361] Interview with Elhaj Sylla, koranic teacher and head of the village of cillaawel, Mbakke Kajoor, 07-20-2000.
[362] Interview with Bara Mbakke, a grandson of Ibra Mbakke, Mbakke Kajoor 07-20-2000.



Figure 13: Gigis Bamba in Mbakke Kajoor.

5.3. Back to the land of the ancestors

5.3.1. Back to Mbakke Bawol

Amadu Bamba's move from Kajoor to Bawol marked a shift in his career. His father had spent a good part of his lifetime in the courts of rulers in Saalum and Kajoor, staying away from the land of his ancestors. By deciding to move to Bawol, Amadu Bamba seemed to divert from the trajectory of his father's life and to return to the tradition of political neutrality and distance from rulers established by his great grand father, Maaram.

In Mbakke Bawol, Amadu Bamba was welcomed by his father's family. When he arrived in the village by late 1884 or early 1885, he settled with the small group of his followers and family at Mbakke Ndeneer at the Western side of the village, half a mile from the *pencc* (center), which was located in Mbakke Xewar. His senior brother, Momar Jaara, his uncle Muhamad Buso, and some other branches of the family of Maaram and Balla Aisa were living in the village. Amadu Bamba continued his scholarly work, completing *Masalik al Jinaan,* his most important book soon after he arrived in Mbakke. He was allotted a plot of land that he worked with his family and disciples. Cruise O'Brien argues that it was in Mbakke where first Shaikh Ibra Faal experimented with the idea of the working *daara.*[363] But it seems that the school of Mbakke did not yet have the form of the *daara tarbiyya*, which would develop later in Daaru Salaam and Tuubaa, when adult disciples started to join Amadu Bamba in large numbers. In fact, contrary to some Murid traditions relayed by secondary sources that attribute a large following to Amadu Bamba when he returned to Mbakke, the *daara* was rather modest. Amadu Bamba indirectly recognized this when in *Massalik Al Janaan,* he warns his readers not to dismiss his writings because of his lack of renown.[364]

Amadu Bamba's methods of teaching and the types of relationships that existed between him and his disciples soon became a source of tension between the newcomers and their hosts. Clerics in the area and members of the Mbakke family criticized Amadu Bamba for the way he was handling his *daara.* Shaikh Ibra Faal was the major target of

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[363] Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 165.
[364] See Amadu Bamba Mbakke, *Massalik*, verse 46, p. 28.

this criticism.[365] In effect, Ibra Faal continued to behave the same way he had at Mbakke Kajoor, refusing to follow the canonic Islamic rituals and devoting his time to working for his Shaikh. He also upheld his refusal to allow anybody to lead Amadu Bamba in prayers, brutalizing those who dared to stand in front of him in the mosque.

Amadu Bamba's frequent mystical retreats or *xalwa* in the wilderness and the claims of saintliness and scholarly authority that his disciples made for him probably added to the tension.[366] The situation was aggravated by the fact that the clerics in the village of Mbakke Bawol were members or associates of the Mbakke family, and some of them had the age of Amadu Bamba's father, others were his uncles or former teachers; yet, their advice seemed to have no effect on Bamba's attitude and actions. It is this situation that prompted Muhamadu Buso and Momar Jaara to write a letter to Amadu Bamba asking him to justify his method of teaching and his orientation on the grounds of Islam and the tradition of his family. Amadu Bamba is reported to have responded to the letter by stating that there was no difference between his intention and objectives and the recommendation of Islam and his family tradition. He added that his single preoccupation was to establish Islam among his people.[367]

The disagreement between Amadu Bamba and the clerics of Mbakke about how to promote Islam was profound. It was not only about teaching practices, but also philosophical. In *Massalik,* Amadu Bamba deplores the fact that many clerics of his

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[365] Moor Saaw, one of the Imaam of Mbakke, was particularly critical of Shaikh Ibra Faal and Amadu Bamba. He used to tell to the former that he doesn't know besides study and worship any other means that a Muslim can use to get closer to God and to earn *baraka*. Interview with Mustafa Ley, Mbakke 05-16-2000.

[366] Khadime Mbacké notes that many members of the Mbakke family considered that this excessive veneration of Amadu Bamba by the disciples was not founded see "Soufisme et confréries religieuses au Sénégal"(Dakar, 1989) p.55.

[367] This information is almost unanimously reported by Murid bearers of oral tradition.

generation ignore Sufism, and that by doing so, they were also losing at the same time the benefits associated with the mastery of the mystical sciences. He regrets that this same group hates the Sufi, whom they consider to be extremists lost to their communities. And he wrote, "the fact that the blind cannot see the sun does not mean that it is not shining; the eminence of the men of wisdom cannot be hurt neither by the jealousy of some men of sciences nor by the ignorance of the idiots."[368]

The building of tension resulting from conflicting perspectives on doctrine and educational practices and the attitude of Ibra Faal, forced Amadu Bamba to abandon the central mosque and to build another in his compound.[369] The village's elders finally forced him choose between conforming to his family's traditions and practices or to leave. Eventually, around two years after his arrival in Mbakke Bawol, he moved to found the village of Daaru Salaam two kilometers east of Mbakke, in Safar 1304 H/ November 1886.[370]

5.3.2. The founding of Daaru Salaam

Daaru Salaam was the first village founded by Amadu Bamba. Previously he had lived in villages founded by his father or ancestors. Murid accounts of the settlement in Daaru Salaam give us insight into the tension that existed between Amadu Bamba and his parents in Mbakke Bawol during this period. Amadu Bamba was accompanied in Daaru Salaam by his two wives, and a dozen of disciples, among whom were his brothers Ibra

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[368] See *Masalik,* verses 629, 632,636, 640 p. 104.
[369] See Ahmad Lamin Joob, *l'Abreuvement,* p. 22, and my interviews with Sawru Mbay, Daaru salaam, 03-06-2000; Cheikh Maam Balla , Mbakke 05-2000.
[370] Daaru Salaam is also an equivalent of the Wolof expression "*Jamm a gën,*" (peace is best), the name that many dissenters give to the villages or neighborhoods they found after separating from their communities of origin.

Faty and Shaikh Anta, and his disciple Ibra Faal. Oral tradition recounts that when Amadu Bamba called on people in Mbakke to help them haul the roof of the first hut they had built in Daaru Salaam, the population of the village refused and threatened to ban anybody daring to help him from marrying in Mbakke.[371] Shaikh Anta Mbakke, whose family on his mother's side was from Mbakke, was mocked and jeered by his relatives who blamed him for being subservient like a slave to his brother who was after all his equal.[372]

The settlement in Daaru Salaam allowed Amadu Bamba to further assert his authority and attract disciples. The site offered a more suitable environment for the cleric's mystical retreats. It was located in the *jatti* near the borders of Jolof and Bawol and was covered by a forest roamed only by migrating Fulani cattle herders. The mystical retreats constituted journeys into the world of *baatin* (esoteric) that enhanced Amadu Bamba's spiritual power. The founding of a village is a major step in the establishment of a cleric or scholar's authority. In Wolof country, specific families of clerics are associated with typical village names. Villages founded by the Lo clerical family are always called Ndaam, for the Sy it is Suyuma, for the Njaay it is Njare. Amadu Bamba often used one of the ninety-nine names of Allah such as *Salaam* (Peace), *Halimul Xabir* (The Supreme Savant), *Rahman* (The Merciful), or koranic references such as Tuubaa to name his villages. Perhaps was he conscious of his role as founder of a new organization, which he wished to separate from his ancestral heritage, or was he aiming for a universal appeal that the name of God and the Koran expressed better.

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[371] Interview with Ibra Mbay, Daaru Salaam, 02-13-2000, Mbay is a grandson of Amadu Maxtar Mbay, one of the disciples that followed Amadu Bamba to Daaru Salaam.
[372] Interview with Ibra Mbay, Daaru Salaam, 02-13-2000 and Cheikh Maam Mbakke Mame Balla, Mbakke 05-1991.

It is in Daaru Salaam where Amadu Bamba's following started to grow. The separation from the Mbakke family and the creation of his own community popularized his reputation as a scholar and a saint. People certainly learned of the details of his life in Kajoor, his conflicts with the rulers and clerics, and his political stance. Some who joined Daaru Salaam were probably attracted by the singular personality of Amadu Bamba, and they expected to find the peace and order that was lacking in their communities. Others wanted to experiment with the education that Amadu Bamba proposed to inculcate on his disciples. After the defeat of Lat Joor in October 1886, it is possible that members of the small faction of *ceddo* that sided with him joined Daaru Salaam, perhaps in the hopes of rebuilding another coalition against the French, as advanced by colonial sources and some scholars.[373] But this group could not have been significant.

Significant factions of the *ceddos* were indeed associated with the French whom they helped defeat *Dammeel.* Demba War Sall, head of the army of Kajoor, his cousin, Jaraaf Njambur Ibra Fatim Saar, and a substantial number of warriors had turned their back on Lat Joor since the controversy of 1879 (discussed in the preceding chapter), and their alliance with the French has been instrumental in defeating the former *Dammeel.* Demba War Sall was appointed chief of the confederation of Kajoor established after the dismantling of the kingdom in 1886, and members of his family and allies occupied the post of chiefs of province. The own son of Lat Joor, Mbaxaan Joob, was later appointed

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[373] This assumption made by Marty to make his point about the Muridiyya as an attempt to resuscitate the traditional Wolof social order with other means, is widely endorsed by scholars. See Lucy Creevey, "The Political Significance of Wolof adherence to Muslim Brotherhoods, in the 19th century," *African Historical Studies*, 22- 1(1968): 60-78; Cruise O'Brien, *the Mourides,* (1971) ; Momar C. Diop, "La Confrérie Mouride: Organisation Politique et Mode d' Implantation Urbaine" (Thèse de troisième cycle sous la direction du professeur Jean Girard, UER de Psychology et des sciences sociales, Lyon 2 (1980)), p.7.

chief of province of Eastern Bawol and became one of the most determined enemies of the Murids.

The first wave of disciples that joined Amadu Bamba in Daaru Salaam was probably composed in majority of adult farmers with little koranic education seeking the guidance and leadership, which they no longer found in their communities. In Daaru Salaam, Amadu Bamba enjoyed some stability. His two sons and first two successors, Mamadu Mustafa and Falilu, were born in the village in 11 *Muharam* 1306 H/ September 17 /1888, and 27 *Rajab* 1306/ March 17/ 1889, respectively. Amadu Bamba built a school and a mosque in Daaru Salaam.[374] For the first time, he could experiment with his own conception of education without many obstacles. But he soon faced the difficulty of handling disciples who presented differing profiles and who had varying expectations. Many of the disciples that Amadu Bamba received in Daaru Salaam were atypical. They were adults who had passed the age to go to the classic koranic schools, and they joined the Shaikh at a time when he was still thinking and working on the implementation of his system of *tarbiyya*. He was also continuing his spiritual quest, often spending long periods in meditation in the wilderness. In other words, he was not yet ready to play the role of guide that disciples wanted of him. If teaching the youth did not pose a major problem, the organization and education of the growing number of adult disciples constituted a challenge. It is in Daaru Salaam where the *daara tarbiyya* started to take form as a way of managing the growing community of adult followers joining the nucleus of disciples that founded the village with Amadu Bamba.

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[374] Ibra Mbay, Daaru Salaam 02-13-2000.

Decentralization and the move to Tuubaa constituted another response of Amadu Bamba to the situation. In 1887-1888 he formally gave the order to Shaikh Anta, Shaikh Ibra Fall, Adama Gey, Ibra Saar and Massamba Joob to separate from him and found their own communities. Shaikh Ibra Fall was ordered to settle in Saint-Louis, then capital of the colony of Senegal. Shaikh Anta was given Daaru Salaam and half of the disciples living in the village (99 disciples) the other half followed Amadu Bamba.[375] The other newly consecrated shaikhs returned to their provinces of origin, founded their own villages, and started to proselytize and to attract disciples.[376] Each of these disciples had been following Amadu Bamba for many years. Shaikh Ibra Faal, the last to join him among this group, had been with him for three to four years. For Amadu Bamba, these disciples had the skills and capacity to propagate his message or at least to check the flow of people towards Daaru Salaam by founding new foyers of *tarbiyya* across Kajoor and Bawol. However, one could wonder why Shaikh Ibra Faal was sent to Saint-Louis and not to his native land of Njambuur. Perhaps, Amadu Bamba thought that with his lax religious observance, Ibra Faal had no chance of attracting disciples in the highly islamicized area of northern Kajoor. He also might have seen him as a suitable intermediary with the political and trading African elite of Saint-Louis whose services he might need down the road. Between 1305 H and 1306 H/ 1887/1888, Amadu Bamba decided to found a new village four kilometers east of Daaru Salaam in the hopes of being able to start a new school under more manageable circumstances.

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[375] Interviews with Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam, 03-06-2000; Ibra Mbay, Daaru Salaam, 02-13-2000 and Shaikh Maam Balla, Mbakke 05-1991.

[376] The administrator Angot in his report of 1889 signals the founding of three new Murid villages in Njambur and list a number of newly appointed Murid shaikhs living in the province. ANS, 1G 136. pp.11-12.

5.3.3. The finding and settlement of Tuubaa

The site of Tuubaa was not chosen at random. Amadu Bamba was probably aware of the strategic location of the village, as the colonial administration would notice later. The founding of this village was part of the effort to construct the symbolic capital, which with the cultural capital he had accumulated would provide the basis for his spiritual power.[377] Tuubaa was located between the borders of the kingdoms of Bawol, Kajoor, and Saalum and on the main road linking Bawol to Jolof and Fuuta.[378] *Teeñ* loosely controlled the area as it mostly served as grazing land for the migrating Fulani herders. It was a desolate land covered by a forest and bereft of water during the dry season.[379] During the rainy season, the pond of Mbal supplied water to the people and cattle. For Amadu Bamba, Tuubaa was a suitable place to train his disciples in the way of *tarbiyya*. Its remoteness protected the disciples from the distraction and disturbances of life in the big villages of Kajoor and Bawol, and allowed them to concentrate on meditation, study and work. The tasks of clearing the forest, building and maintaining the village, and growing food for the community required a workload that left little time for distraction after the disciples had completed their religious duties. The harsh living

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[377] El Boudrary argues that the first action of a saint who succeeds in gaining recognition for his charisma is to found a city in an attempt to engrave in a territory (people and things included) the power he earned in the rather abstract religious field. "Quand les Saints font les Villes," in *Annales ESC* 3 (mai-juin, 1985), p.489. In the case of Amadu Bamba, the founding of villages was not a consecration but part of the very process to construct his religious authority and power.

[378] For the contemporary development of Tuubaa and its significance for the Muridiyya see also Eric Ross, "Tuba, a spiritual metropolis in the modern world," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 29-2(1995): 222-59 and his thesis, "Tubâ an African Eschatology in Islam," (Mc Gill University, 1996); Abdoulaye Dièye, *Touba , Signes et Symbols* (Paris: Deggel, 1997); Christian Coulon, "Touba, lieu saint de la confrérie mouride" in *Lieux d'Islam: Cultes et Cultures de l'Afrique à Java*, edited by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi (Paris: Editions Autrement, 1996): 226-238 and Cheikh Guèye, "l'Organisation de l'Espace dans une Ville Religieuse: Touba (Sénégal)" (Thèse pour l'obtention du titre de Docteur de l' Université Louis Pasteur en géographie, Strasbourg, Octobre 1999). See Also Cheikh A. Babou, "Touba, genèse et evolution d'une cité musulmane au Sénégal," (thèse de DEA Université Cheikh Anta Diop of Dakar, 1992).

.[379] Cheikh Maam Balla, Mbakke 05-1991.

conditions in Tuubaa were also a test of the commitment and faith of the disciples. Amadu Bamba also certainly appreciated its distance from the court and its representatives and the relative political autonomy that the remote site of Tuubaa allowed.[380]

The founding of Tuubaa constituted another stage in the construction of Amadu Bamba's status as a saint and a guide. He conceived of the new village as the spiritual capital of his community. According to oral tradition, as soon as Amadu Bamba discovered the site of Tuubaa, he delimited the place where he should be buried after his death and the site for a central mosque. He also conceived of a project for the construction of a school for teaching Islamic sciences and a library. In *Matlabul Fawzaini* (Happiness in this world and in the hereafter), the poem he wrote just after founding the village, Amadu Bamba prayed that God makes of the village a place of knowledge, worship, and mercy.[381] He also begged that God pours wealth and blessings on Tuubaa, and protects the inhabitants of the village.

For the Murids, the holy site of Tuubaa is among the secrets of God that He reveals only to those close to Him. Bamba therefore did not create Tuubaa, but rather he found or discovered the site. According to Murid oral tradition, Amadu Bamba was not the first *waliyu* or *Wali* (friend of God, or a person close to God) to have had a hint about the site and to have tried to locate it ostensibly. Even Elhaj Umar Futiyu Taal, the famous jihadist, had researched the holy site, but he finally knew that it was not destined

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[380] In fact, neither Tautain who first reported on Amadu Bamba, nor Angot could locate the village, see ANS, 1G 136 in Oumar Ba, *Amadou Bamba face aux autorités coloniales.* (Abbeville, 1982).
[381] See *Matlabul Fawzayni*, (Dakar: Librairie Khadimou Rassoul, nd), verse 58.

for him.[382] Amadu Bamba is said to have roamed the forest between Bawol and Jolof for months trying to find Tuubaa until one day he received the inspiration that guided him to the site.

There are several versions of the story of the discovery of Tuubaa by Amadu Bamba. The stories that I recorded in the field emphasize the role of Bubu Jah, a Fulani cattle herder and hunter, a *bepp* tree (*platane du Sénégal* or *sterculia setigera*), and a mysterious voice that guided Amadu Bamba's exploration.[383] Bubu Jah, who knew the forest between Bawol and Jolof better than anybody, is said to have been hired by the Mbakke family to look after Amadu Bamba. The Mbakke feared that with his prolonged journeys in the wilderness, Bamba might get lost or hurt by animals. The story goes that that while he was living in Daaru Salaam, Amadu Bamba was roaming the forest searching for Tuubaa, when he heard a voice telling him that the site he was looking for was located nearby. At one point the voice would become louder and at another it would fade. He walked back and forth until he got tired, and then he sat in the shade of a *bepp* tree and fell asleep. In his sleep he dreamed that he was sitting right on the place he was looking for. Another version indicates that Amadu Bamba was taking a nap not far from the pond of Mbal when he was told in a dream that the site he was searching was located at the place where he had performed the *takusaan* (*asr* in Arabic) prayer the day before. He asked Bubu Jah to guide him to the place, which was located under the *bepp* tree.

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[382] Interviews with Shaikh Maam Balla, ,Mbakke 05-1991 and Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam 03-06-2000. Many visits of Elhaji umar Tall in the Wolof country are reported by Wolof oral tradition, but traditions collected in Fuuta and French sources do not corroborate these reports. See also Mbakke Buso, "Deux traités d'un lettré religieux sénégalais, Serigne Mbacké Bousso (1864-1945)", translated from Arabic by Khadime Mbacké, (1994), p.3.

[383] See my interviews with Shaikh Mbakke Maam Balla, Mbakke 05-2000; Isa Mbakke, Tuubaa 07-02-2000; Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam 03-06-2000.

As soon as the site was discovered, Amadu Bamba started to plan to build a new village there. He asked some of his disciples to clear the area and to build a house that he named Tuubaa. This house gave its name to the village. Many conflicting interpretations exist as to the origins of the name Tuubaa.[384] Some consider that the name might be derived from *tawba*, an Arabic word widely used in Sufi literature that means "repentance." Tuubaa is also the name of a tree that grows in heaven, and some Murid sources indicate that one branch from that tree hovers over the village of Tuubaa. Others associate Tuubaa with the wolofized Arabic word *Tuub*, which means at the same time conversion and regret. Tuubaa is also another name for Medina, the city that welcomed Prophet Muhammad after he fled Mecca, and one major holy site of Islam. The word Tuubaa also means mercy. Perhaps by naming his house Tuubaa, Amadu Bamba intended all of these meanings, but the use of the word Tuubaa in his writings and his insisting on the sanctity of village suggest that he saw the site as place of felicity and happiness.

Amadu Bamba moved to Tuubaa with around one hundred disciples in 1888, leaving part of his family in Daaru Salaam where Falilu was born in 1889. He built two houses half a mile west of the house of Tuubaa that he called Daaru Xudoos and Daaru Rahman (also Daaru Naar), Daaru Manaan and Daaru Halimul Xabiir(also Ndaam) were built farther west. All of these houses had a mosque and a school, except for Daaru Rahman, which was a guesthouse reserved for Moorish visitors. Daaru Xudoos also served as a place of retreat where Amadu Bamba spent periods in meditation and spiritual

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[384] See Lieutenant Paul Merles Des Isles for a popular legend about the founding of Tuubaa and the different significations of the city's names. Paul Merles Des Isles, "Contribution á l'étude du Mouridisme," ANS 1G 214, (1949).

exercises. The disciples were distributed between the different schools according to their interests. The younger disciples frequented the *daara* where the Koran was taught. The adults were divided into two groups, those who were pursuing the study of the religious sciences and the disciples in the *daara tarbiyya* who shared their time between work and meditation. Amadu Bamba, his cousin Mbakke Buso, his disciple Ndaam Adrahman Lo, and some older disciples assumed the tasks of supervising the teaching.[385] Families were discouraged from settling in the village, which was functioning as a sort of *ribat*.[386] The practice of commissioning the senior shaikh that Amadu Bamba started in Daaru Salaam was pursued. He continued to release disciples who endeavored to build their own communities, and by 1889, a growing number of new Murid villages were reported in Northern Kajoor.[387]

The growing influence of the Murids in Kajoor soon became an object of concern to the local African chiefs representing the French colonial administration. Ibrahima Njaay, the chief of Njambur, particularly worried about the intensification of Murid proselytism in his province and the tendency of the newly consecrated Murid leaders and their disciples to disrespect and ignore his authority.[388] In March 1889, Tautain, the Director of Political Affairs, filed the first report on Amadu Bamba. Tautain did not know Amadu Bamba or the exact location of his village of Tuubaa, but he considered that the forest of *Mbafar* where he was building his house was strategically sensitive. He

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[385] See Amad Lamin Joob, *L'abreuvement*, pp.30-31 and Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, (1995), pp. 44-47.
[386] The *ribat* is an Arabic word that designates a sort of monastery where Sufi disciples are trained and initiated away from the tumult of the towns. *Ribat* is derived from *rabata*, which means to tie together referring to the bond that exist between disciples trained in the same *ribat*.
[387] Angot cites three new villages founded by the Murid and the presence of a newly appointed Murid shaikhs in the area, ANS 1 G 136, pp. 11-12.
[388] Angot op cit.; also see the report by Leclerc, administrator of the cercle of Saint-Louis, ANFOM, Sénégal IV 127.

instructed the administrator of Kajoor to keep a discreet but watchful eye over the cleric and his disciples.[389]

In late April 1889, the administrator Angot was sent to Njambur and Bawol to settle some political disputes in the area, but he felt it necessary to inquire about Amadu Bamba and the Murids. He acknowledged that the information he collected about the cleric was positive despite the troubles that some of his disciples were causing.[390] The positive tone of Angot's report had no bearing on the administration's attitude towards Amau Bamba's disciples. Followers of Ibra Saar, one of the early disciples of Amadu Bamba, were expelled from Kajoor and Njambur.[391] Demba Diop, the chief of Gagna and disciple of Amadu Bamba was also dismissed. Between 1889 and 1891 Amadu Bamba and Governor Clement Thomas exchanged a number of letters while more Murids were forced to leave Njambur and Kajoor.[392] In 1892 Amadu Bamba made a goodwill trip to Saint-Louis, where he met with the Governor and reassured him about his intentions, reaffirming that he was not interested in this world and that he had devoted his life to seeking God.[393] He might have continued to Mauritania to visit Shaikh Sidiyya who was the head of the branch of the qadiriyya brotherhood to which he was affiliated.[394]

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[389] Tautain, letter of March 19 1889 to administrator of Cayor, ANS, 3B/54, fol. 46, in Oumar Ba op cit p. 25.
[390] Angot report, op cit, p. 12.
[391] Oumar Ba, *Amadou Bamba*, Letter of Governor to Amadou Bamba, 06/27/1889, 3B/55, fol. 82-83.
[392] Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, op cit as well as Paul Marty, *l'Islam au Sénégal*, p. 225, mentions the letters.
[393] This trip mentioned by Leclerc is not confirmed by oral tradition.
[394] Murid bearers of oral tradition do not report this trip to Mauritania. However, a letter of Amadu Bamba, dated from Boutilimit, 22 Ramadan 1309 H/1891-92 was found in the archives of Harun Ould Shaikh Sidiyya by Abdel Wedou Ould Cheikh (see Espace Confrérique, espace étatique: le mouridisme, le confrérisme et la frontiére mauritano-sénégalaise, unpublished paper, op cit. p.6); Shaikh Coro, half brother of Amadu Bamba, in his interview with Robert Arnaud also mentioned a trip of Amadu Bamba to Mauritania in 1892. One of my interviewee, Alioune Gay, a Tijani notable from Dagana, mentions a trip of

Amadu Bamba's reputation as a scholar and Sufi shaikh continued to grow as more people joined the community. The rise of his prestige is exemplified by his marriage with Fatu Madu Maam Joob of Kokki, mother of Basiru Mbakke, in 1895. The Joob of Kokki were a prestigious and powerful lineage of clerics in northern Kajoor. There was a saying in Kajoor that "If a *Dammeel* loses the support of the Joob and the Lo, he had better resign."[395] Prior to this marriage, Amadu Bamba had married two widows and his cousin Awa Buso. The marriage with Fatu Madu Maam was a sort of recognition and a re-enforcement of his status of a respected Muslim leader.

5.3.4. Mbakke Baary/Tuubaa Jolof[396]

By the beginning of the year 1895, Amadu Bamba started to think about moving his school to Jolof. According to Mbakke Buso, Amadu Bamba's cousin and close disciple with whom he consulted about this initiative, the main reason for the relocation was that Tuubaa was no longer suitable for training disciples. The village had become too animated because many former disciples had married and brought their families there, and it had become impossible to maintain the separation between disciples and *daaras* engaged in different types of training. In addition, many people who were not interested in education were living in the village. Perhaps by leaving Tuubaa and relieving the

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Amadu Bamba to Mauritania different from his visit of 1884 and his deportation of 1903. He indicates that it was during this trip that his father met and submitted to the cleric. See interview in Ñetti Kadd, Thiès, 06-25-2000. The trip mentioned in these three sources is probably the same and could be dated in 1892 or 1893.

[395] Leclrec, reports this saying. See report op cit.

[396] On the circumstances of Amadu Bamba's move to Jolof, I rely on the account of Amad Lamin Joob in *l'Abreuvement,* see pp. 30-32.

village of some of its population, Amadu Bamba was also trying to prevent a new crisis with the province chiefs and the colonial administration.

However, Muhamadu Buso, Amadu Bamba's uncle and adviser, discouraged him from carrying out the initiative.[397] Buso grew up in Jolof where he spent a good part of his lifetime until he moved to Saalum, and then to Mbakke Bawol after the death of Maba. He told Amadu Bamba that Jolof was not a good place for him to live because the population would not be as faithful as the people of Bawol, and that he might face the hostility of the clerics as well as the rulers who would not tolerate that their disciples and subjects join his movement. Amadu Bamba had, however, made his decision. In *Shawal* 1312 H/ April 1895, he moved the school to Jolof where he resuscitated the ruins of Mbakke Baary, the village of his ancestors. His own family and those of his aides were ordered to stay in Tuubaa.

Amadu Bamba's arrival in Jolof sparked tension with *Buurba* Samba Laobe Njaay who had been appointed by the French. According to Murid oral tradition, the first authorities of Jolof to meet with Bamba were dismayed by his attitude, which they deemed disrespectful. They complained that Amadu Bamba was not behaving like their subjects but rather like their equals. The chiefs considered him a man of temporal power and a threat to the stability of the kingdom. They claimed they had never seen a teacher treated by his disciples the way Amadu Bamba was treated by his followers. For them, he was not a religious leader, but a chief, and his followers were not disciples, but slaves.

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[397] See my interviews with Afia Ňaŋ 05-30-2000; Mustafa Njaate MbakkeBawol 07-30-2000; and Shaikh Mbakke Maam Balla, Mbakke 05-2000.

The continuous growth of the community, which was joined by disciples despite Amadu Bamba's recommendation that they stay in Tuubaa, added to the tension. [398]

The move to Jolof did not silence the protestations of the chiefs of Kajoor, who appeared to have been more concern about the Murids than their colleagues in Bawol. Demba War Sall, head of the confederation of Kajoor, and Ibrahima Njaay, chief of Njambur, continued to send alarming reports to the Governor's office and their complaints seemed to have been supported by intelligence gathered through other sources.[399] Finally, Amadu Bamba was arrested in August 10th 1895 at Jewool near the village of Kokki where he was summoned by the administrator Leclerc. He was sent to Saint-Louis where he was tried in September 5th then deported to Gabon in the French Congo, on the 25th.

5.4. Conclusion

Amadu Bamba was born to a family of clerics, and like his forebears, he devoted his life to earning the credentials that would make him worthy of his ancestry. He endeavored to master the Koran and the Islamic sciences, which was his primary duty as member of a family of scholars. However, in contrast to the family tradition that

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[398] My sources differ here. We learn from French sources that by April or May of 1895 Samba Laobe Njaay, the *Buurba* Jolof, had become a partisan of Amadu Bamba. See Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba,* op cit. p. 51. And this is the main reason that led to the trial and deportation of the former to Gabon in January of 1896, one year after Amadu Bamba was sent to French Equatorial Africa. However, Samba Laobe was later rehabilitated as the administration discovered that he was the victim of a plot by the ambitious interpreter Fara Biram Lo, who was aspiring to replace him at the position of chief of province of Jolof. See Oumar. Ba, p. 81. At any rate, Murid oral tradition does not mention the submission of Samba Laobe to Amadu Bamba by this time; on the contrary, it emphasizes the hostility of the *Buurba* to the Murids when they first moved into Jolof. The epic of Amadu Bamba's deportation to Gabon, however, put both men in the same places, sharing sometimes in the same ordeals.

[399] See the report filed by Leclerc after he arrested Amadu Bamba in August 1895 and the report presented by Merlin to the Conseil Privé during Amadu Bamba's trial. Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba et les Autorités coloniales.*, op cit pp. 29 45.

advocated cultural conformism, political neutrality, and accommodation with the rulers, Amadu Bamba had his own vision of the role of a cleric in society. This vision was shaped by the social, economic and political context in which he grew up. Amadu Bamba witnessed the violence, famine, and epidemics that in the second half of the nineteenth century plagued the Wolof kingdoms. He also noted the repetitive failures of Muslim clerics, either through jihads or through collaboration with secular rulers, to reverse the adverse situation. He believed that to better serve his community, a cleric must withdraw from the world of politics. But this withdrawal did not mean reclusion and the abandonment of all ambition to influence the destiny of the society. Rather, he considered that the best way to change a society was to change the people through an adequate type of education. To be effective, this education should be not only a mere transmission of knowledge, as teachers had always done. Education for Bamba should be directed at the soul, which is the center that controls people's feelings and actions. *Tarbiyya* was the way of taming the soul. But soul and body are not separable, and working the body remains the unique means of educating the soul. By trying to reach the soul of the disciples through a system of education that primarily relayed on submission and loyalty, Amadu Bamba was at the same time competing with other forces in the society who sought to control the same constituency for political sake. This competition and the conflicts resulting from it had an important impact on the course of Amadu Bamba's own life. From the position of a humble koranic teacher he was lifted by his disciples and the wider Senegalese Muslim community to the rank of a shaikh, a guide, and a resistor against the French colonial enterprise.

6. Chapter V: Amadu Bamba and the Founding of the Muridiyya

Since dominant scholarly interpretations see the Muridiyya as a response to French colonization, not much interest has been devoted to the study of the doctrinal and spiritual aspects of the brotherhood. Emphasis had been put on the analysis of the socio-economic context of the founding of the organization, and economic and psychological incentives that motivated people to adhere to the Muridiyya. Scholars have paid little attention to Amadu Bamba's writings and they have not taken seriously the role of religious beliefs and motivation in the founding and development of the brotherhood. In contrast, this chapter focuses on Murid doctrine and religious practices and reflects on how these factors influenced the development of the organization. I describe and analyze the spiritual itinerary of Amadu Bamba and the impact of his thought and teachings on the founding and development of the Murid brotherhood. I will look at Murid beliefs and how doctrinal elements were translated into religious practices. The chapter also examines the impact of the socio-economic and political context on Murid understanding and application of the brotherhood's principles and doctrine. I will show how on the one hand the Murid differentiate themselves from the other existing Muslim brotherhoods in Senegal, and how on the other they tie themselves to the tradition of Sufi thought and practices. I emphasize the role of the disciples as active agents in the building of the organization. This chapter aims to portray the Muridiyya through the eyes and mind of the Murids, and by so doing it corrects the disproportionate attention given in the literature to external structural factors in the construction of the brotherhood.

6.1. Education and Sufism in Amadu Bamba's thought

6.1.1. Philosophy and practices of education

Koranic education has a long tradition in Senegambia. As early as the fifteenth century, the first European travelers in West Africa signaled the existence of schools where the Koran was taught.[400] Some Senegambian ethnic groups such as the Jakhanke, for example, constructed their identity around this occupation.[401] Amadu Bamba, as we have observed in the previous chapter, belonged to a family that cultivated Islamic learning and practices. But by the early 1880s, some Muslim scholars had become critical of Islamic education in the Wolof country. They lamented that the teaching of the Koran had become a scholastic exercise that focused almost exclusively on memorizing the book. There was dissociation between knowledge and wisdom. This degradation in the education was blamed on the betrayal of the values that had traditionally shaped the life of Muslim clerics and teachers, and the influence of *ceddo* values and mores on the Muslim scholarly community. Teachers were accused of placing the quest for prestige and wealth over their duty of dispensing knowledge for the good of the community. They competed with each other and became complacent with the atistocray whose bad behavior they justified. This behavior led to the corruption of the whole system of education, as exemplified by the adoption of practices such as *wañ* and *lawaan*[402], where masters of the Koran rivaled each other before a crowd of admirers,

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[400] See chapter II of this work for a thorough discussion of the history of the Development of Islam in Senegambia.
[401] See Lamin Sanneh, "The Origins of Clericanism in West African Islam," *JAH*, XVII, 1(1976): 49-72.
[402] *Wañ*, literally to count in Wolof, is a public contest, where erudites who knew the Koran by heart, challenged each other, by saying at the sound of the drums how many times a word appears in the book and

at the sound of drums, to showcase their mastery of the holy book. Referring to this situation, Musa Ka, the famous Murid poet, lamented that the Koran had become an orphan, and that knowledge and wisdom had migrated to the East (Moorish country) because of the turpitudes of the Muslim leadership in the Wolof country.[403]

Amadu Bamba's system of education was a response to this situation of crisis. He produced his major works on education between his installation in Pataar in the mid-1870s and his settlement in Mbakke Bawol in 1883-1884.[404] In the tradition of Muslim scholars, he pretexted questions asked by his disciples and colleagues to formulate in the form of books his ideas and thoughts on education.

For Amadu Bamba, the primary duty of a human being is to seek an education. However, the ultimate goal of education is to make good Muslims who model their actions on the teachings of Islam and serve their community.[405] Knowledge for him includes the esoteric or mystical sciences as well as the exoteric sciences (classical disciplines). In *Masalik* he wrote, "There is no doubt that a limited time devoted to scientific work is better than a lifetime spent in ignorance."[406] And he added, "It is an obligation for one to accord the same attention to the Koran and the religious sciences as to mystical sciences."[407] Amadu Bamba also considered that the acquisition of knowledge

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the one who succeeded in getting right all his count, won the contest, and was celebrated by his friends and the young girls of the village. *Lawaan* was a ceremony performed by young men who finished studying the Koran where they wore dread locks and circulated from village to village.

[403] One must signal, however, that reformers often tend to exaggerate the wrongs of their time in order to legitimize their own agenda.

[404] See for example *Nahju*, *Viatique des Jeunes*, and *Massalik al Jinaan*. After his return from Gabon in 1902, most of his writings were devoted to the mystical sciences and praises of The Prophet Muhammad. On Amadu Bamba's writings see Fernand Dumont, *La Pensée Religieuse de Amadou Bamba* (Dakar, 1975).

[405] See Fernand Dumont, "Amadou Bamba, Apôtre de la Non-Violence," *Notes Africaines* no 121 Janvier (1969), p 23.

[406] See v. 105, p. 36. op cit.

[407] Ibid, v. 86, p.34

without practice was a waste of time. He saw science and action as the twin foundations of a virtuous life. These two elements underpin the pedagogy he gradually developed.

The system that Amadu Bamba designed was a lifelong education geared towards the transformation of the character and behavior of the disciples. It comprised three main steps: exoteric education or *taalim* that aims at feeding the brain by the study of the Koran and the Islamic sciences, and esoteric education or *tarbiyya*, which aimed at educating the soul. *Tarqiyya,* which was reached by only a small number of specially gifted disciples, allowed the elevation of their souls beyond the futility of material life and put them in a position of leaders of the community.

Amadu Bamba theorized this system of education in his writings, which were widely read among the Murids, and experimented with it from the 1880s until the mid-1890s, when he was exiled to French Equatorial Africa. His emphasis on spiritual education and the efforts he made to promote and implement a pedagogy that would expand this form of education constitute his major innovation. However, in contrast to the opionion expressed by Rawane Mbaye, Bamba did not abandon classical education.[408] He believed in the necessity of providing different options to respond to the diversity of demands stemming from the social and political context of his time. The first generation of his disciples, using the *daara tarbiyya* (working school) as a model, played a key role in developing and implementing the system.

For Amadu Bamba, the success of education is predicated on the choice of an adequate teacher for the task. Every type of education requires specific skills and

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[408] See Rawane Mbaye "l'Islam au Sénégal" (thèse de doctorat de troisième cycle, Université de Dakar, 1975-1976), p. 398. In reality, as evidenced by his writings and the different reports filed by the colonial administration, Amadu Bamba has always taught and has created a koranic school wherever he settled.

competence from the educator in charge. In a response to a disciple's question about the Sufi conception of education, he described the criteria that should preside in chosing an educator.[409] In this correspondence, Amadu Bamba distinguished between three major types of teachers: the shaikh of instruction, responsible for classical teaching of the Koran and the Islamic religious sciences; the shaikh of education whose aim is to educate the soul and guide the disciple towards spiritual perfection; and the shaikh of tarqiyya or ascension. Each of these shaikhs follows a specific profile.

6.1.2. The shaikh of instruction

Classical teaching of the Koran and the Islamic sciences occupies a central place in Amadu Bamba's system of education. The Mbakke family, indeed, has a strong tradition of scholarship. From Maaram, the founding father, to Momar Anta Sali, Bamba's father, the cleric's ancestors have always been associated with Koranic teaching. Growing up in Mbakke, Saalum and Pataar, Bamba matured in an environment where knowledge was highly valued, and at a young age he was already involved in the academic debates and controversies between his father's colleagues.

The shaikh of instruction plays the crucial role in Bamba's method of education. For Bamba, adequate knowledge, ability to communicate, intellectual sagacity and honesty constitute the three criteria that should guide the choice of this shaikh who specializes in the teaching of the Koran and classical religious sciences. He considered that adequate knowledge for a teacher is knowledge that is based on the one hand on the

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[409] See *Majmuha,* a collection of letters and sermons of Amadu Bamba in Arabic edited by Caliph Abdul Ahad Mbakke, Tuuba, 1985, pp. 129-132. See also Muhamad Fadl Ňiaŋ, "Sufism in Senegal: the example of the Muridiyya"(thesis for a Masters in *Sharia*, University Qarwiyyin, Marocco, 1999). Originally in Arabic.

Koran and the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, and on the other, on the use of rational thinking and comprehension that derive from observation of concrete reality. However, the mastery of adequate knowledge is not enough; the teacher also needs to be able to communicate effectively with his students. For that purpose, Amadu Bamba thought that eloquence was equally important because it allows the teacher to explain his objectives with clarity and without the use of confusing hypotheses. He believed that the quality of an educator was measured by his communication skills. For Bamba, the teacher also must be intellectually fit. This means that he should be able to research and master the knowledge that would help him to identify and to overcome the shortcomings in his spirituality and life. The educator's ability to acquire this knowledge is manifested in his willingness to accept the truth without discrimination, to always be on the side of the right, to be able to say, "I don't know," and to abstain from saying or doing things if he is not sure of their lawfulness.

The shaikh of instruction plays an important role in society as a producer and disseminator of knowledge. He specializes in the *ilm as zahir* or exoteric sciences such as the Koran, law, literature and history. His place is all the more central in the community that without schools and teachers it is impossible for people to develop knowledge. For Amadu Bamba, understanding must always precede action.[410] Bamba observed that access to books and other sources of knowledge did not free one from seeking a guide, and paraphrasing Ghazali he noted that books are important, but the

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[410] See *Masalik Al Jinaan* (Paths to Paradise) (Rabat: Dar El Kitab, 1984), verse 103, p.36.

teacher enlightens and God is the Supreme Knower.[411] Hence, for Amadu Bamba, venerating an honest and knowledgeable teacher is tantamount to venerating God.[412]

However, Bamba believed that many teachers of his epoch did not deserve this veneration because of their failure to uphold the very principles that should guide the good scholar. *Doomi soxna* and *seriñ fakk taal* played a critical role in the diffusion of Islam in the Western Sahara and in Senegal, but by the end of the nineteenth century they were no longer up to the task. For Bamba, they failed to provide adequate responses to the educational needs of their society in the context of turmoil that marked the century.

Bamba's criticism was mostly directed towards the *doomi soxna*. He blamed this category of Muslim scholars of aristocratic origins for failing to conform to the principles and ethic that should guide the Muslim teacher. In place of acting with integrity, they humbled themselves before the rich, and collaborated with unjust rulers.[413] In his book, *Viaticum for the Youth,* Bamba emphasizes how associating with the unjust and the rich leads to corrosion of the faith.[414] He notes that to visit an unjust ruler, unless extraordinary circumstances dictate it, destroys one's faith. He also advises his disciples to refrain from mingling with the rich because humbling oneself before the wealthy dramatically weakens the virtuous savant's faith. Amadu Bamba also criticized his contemporaries for not seeking knowledge to please God but rather for the sake of honor, higher social status, and unproductive polemics. In *Path to Paradise* he wrote,

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[411] *Majmuha*, op cit p. 131.
[412] *See* "*Nahju*,(Path to fulfillment of the disciple) in *recueil de Poèmes en Sciences Religieuses, de Cheikh A. Bamba,* T.2 (Rabat: Dar El Kitab, 1989), verse 136, p. 349.
[413] On Muslim attitude towards unjust rulers see Jean L. Triaud, "Le Renversement du souverain injuste"*Annales ESC*, mai-juin, 3(1985): 509-519 ; For more on the *doomi soxna*, see chapter II of this work.
[414] *Viatique des jeunes*, in Recueil de Poèmes en Sciences Religieuses, T.1 (Rabat: Daar El Kitab, 1988), v.670, 674 and 675, p. 437.

> Some of them (scholars) are abused by their sciences and religious erudition, they do not acknowledge their weaknesses, they are very proud of the number of their disciples, and they are over-confident of their wisdom, whereas their heart is full of such grave sicknesses as pride, hatred, jealousy etc...[415]

For Amadu Bamba, the only way to cure those sicknesses was to educate the soul by submitting to a shaikh of education.

6.1.3. The shaikh of education

Amadu Bamba lists three qualities that are required from the shaikh of education, the specialist of the esoteric sciences. First, he must understand the nature of the soul in its different states and he should master the means of curing its defects. He also must be capable of identifying the sources of sicknesses that can affect the soul and the instruments that can assure its protection. In order to fulfill this task, the shaikh needs to combine scholarly insights and practical knowledge derived from experience with his soul. Second, the shaikh of education is required to understand the subtleties of the world and the practical and religious laws that govern the existence of matter and of the soul so that he can always apply an adequate remedy to the different problems submitted to him. Third, to act in this way, the shaikh must appreciate every problem without passion and prejudice. To do so, he needs to fear God and to show repentance by shunning all self-glorification and by ridding himself of anything that distances him from his Lord.

The work of the shaikh of education is not to transmit formal knowledge per se, but rather to forge character. The techniques he uses are geared towards the control of the *nafs* or lower self, which is seen by the Sufi as the major obstacle that stands between

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[415] *Masalik Al Jinaan*, (Paths to Paradise), op cit v 823-824 p.128.

the believer and God.[416] *Nafs* is the animal instinct that is found in every human being. Sufis consider the fight against this formidable enemy to be the greatest jihad. In fact, for the Sufi, God cannot enter the heart of a human being unless the heart is emptied of all trivial earthly preoccupations. The lower self is the very enemy that lures peolple's mind and body to the search for worldly pleasures.

In *viatique,* Amadu Bamba identifies seven organs through which the lower self works and describes the method to counter its nefarious effect on the heart and mind of people.[417] These organs are: the stomach, the tongue, the genitalia, the feet, the eyes, the hands, and the ears. Referring to the stomach and the adverse effect it can have on the faith, Bamba warns against consuming illicitly acquired food and eating too much. He argues that behaving in such a way only leads to corruption of the spirit, the drought of the heart, and to laziness. As for the tongue, it should be prevented from lying, slandering, or to engage in [futile] controversies. Bamba advises disciples to refrain from seeking unlawful sexual pleasure and recommends chastity before marriage. The feet should be restrained from walking to do illegal acts or from visiting unjust rulers. Instead, they should be used to frequent the mosque and to build and strengthen ties between members of the Muslim community. The eyes should be taught not to look at forbidden things, to threaten, or to embarrass people. The hands must respect the body and property of Muslims, and must be banned from writing indecencies or anything one would be ashamed to say in public. As for the ears, Bamba recommended to keep them from listening to futile conversation such as slander and gossip or violating people's privacy.

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[416] See below for a description and analysis of the instruments the Sufi uses to control the *nafs.*
[417] See *Viatique des Jeunes*, (Viaticum for the Youth) op cit (1988) v 636-637 p. 427.

The shaikh of education occupies an important place in Amadu Bamba's system. If the shaikh of instruction feeds the brain, the shaikh of education nurtures the spirit as well as the body through his ability to touch the soul. The work of these two shaikhs is complementary. However, a lack of spiritual education constitutes the greatest danger to disciples. Bamba blames the deterioration of the mores and characters of the people of his generation on the absence of this form of education. He noted that the path to the truth is paved with pitfalls and traps, and only the guidance of those who had already trodden this path can prevent one from being misled by Satan.[418]

Amadu Bamba's emphasis from 1884 on spiritual education or *tarbiyya* constituted his response to the crisis that plagued his society. Spiritual education was for him the most adequate means to correct the wrongs in society and to provide people with the shield that would protect them from the perils of the epoch. These perils for him were *ceddo* culture and the encroachment of French colonization.

6.1.4. The shaikh of ascension

When the shaikh of education reaches a certain level of spirituality, he can become a shaikh of ascension or *tarqiyya*. At this spiritual juncture, his demeanor and appearance, and by just the fact of interacting with him, become a source of inspiration and an incitement to persevere on the right path. The shaikh of ascension teaches by example and leads the disciples to spiritual perfection through imitation. Disciples pursuing the path of *tarqiyya* live with their shaikh in his compound, learn from every day's activities. They assist him in administering the family and the followers.

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[418] *A Provision for the Adolescent*, v. 566-568, p. 409 in *Receuil*, T.1. (1988).

Sometimes they are assigned specific tasks in the household or the community. They interact with the Shaikh's guests, travel with him. They observe the shaikh solving problems, arbitrating conflicts, making decisions about different issues. Only particularly gifted disciples can reach this ultimate stage in the education of the soul. In the quest for spiritual education, the learner also has a major role to play. Bamba defines this role in his writings, sermons, and correspondence.

6.1.5. Duties of the students

For Amadu Bamba four major objectives should guide the knowledge seeker. First, to combat ignorance, second, to be useful to humanity, third, to enrich the religious sciences, and fourth, to act and live in accordance with the teachings of the sciences. However, he warns that those seeking sciences only for the sake of engaging in polemics or for prestige and honor will earn nothing but punishment from God.[419]

Bamba urged the disciples to start seeking an education at a young age before they are caught in the multiple constraints of adult life. Learning is much easier for the young brain than for the mature brain. He further compares the education of a youth to engraving a rock while educating an old person is tantamount to writing on water.[420]

Amadu Bamba warned the young disciple about the difficulties of acquiring knowledge. He affirmed that the sciences are not easy to conquer; they only reluctantly yield to those who consent to devote their entire lives pursuing them. Therefore, he advised the learner to consent to the necessary sacrifices for the challenging endeavor to master the sciences. For Amadu Bamba, the student should learn to tolerate hunger and

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[419] *See viatique,* op cit v. 595 and 596, p. 417.
[420] *Nahju,* op cit v 172 –173, p. 365.

to be patient and resolute. He must be passionate in his quest, soft in his demeanor, chaste and humble.[421] But above all, the student must respect the rights of his master. Bamba even suggested putting the teacher's rights over the rights of parents because if the former educates the substance of humanity, which is the spirit, the latter only takes care the body, which is a perishable envelope. To completely respect the teacher's right is to honor him, to follow his recommendations without hesitation, and to give him material support.[422]

6.2. Amadu Bamba's conception of Sufism

6.2.1. From Sufism to Sufi brotherhood

Amadu Bamba's pedagogy was profoundly shaped by his Sufi orientation. Sufism appeared as a formal body of theories and practices in the eleventh century. However, it did not gain recognition and acceptance from the *ulamas* (learned Muslims) and the wider Muslim community until the twelth century, when the Iranian philosopher Muhammad Al Ghazali, one of the most prolific and respected Muslim thinkers, adopted Sufism and endeavored to refute the critiques that some *ulamas* leveled against the Sufi, while concurrently striving to establish the orthodoxy of Sufi thought and practices.

Ghazali's synthesis legimized Sufi doctrine and practices, and facilitated the spread of Sufism. Sufi brotherhoods contributed as much as trade and warefare, to a lesser extent, to the spread of Islam in West Africa. Most recently, Sufism has come under criticism from Muslim reformists and radicals, who criticized the cult of saints and

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[421] *Viatique,* op cit v 613-618 p. p. 421 see also *Nahju* p. 377.
[422] *See Nahju* p. 391 also *Viaticum*, p. 421.

the esotericism associated with Sufi practices. Its influence has been substantially reduced in the wider Muslim world, but it remains influential in Africa, particularly in the sub-Saharan region.

Sufi and non-Sufi mostly differ in their perception of the best ways to submit to God and to prepare for their ultimate meeting with Him. While non-Sufi emphasize the strict application of the letter of the Koran and the *hadiths,* and reject all other ways of knowing or worshipping God, Sufi stress the necessity to distinguish between the internal and external, the esoteric and exoteric meanings of God's words, and call for the struggle against the *nafs* or lower self as the best way to get closer to, and to befriend the Creator. Sufi like to quote the following saying of the Prophet Muhammad when after he returned from the battle of Badr[423], the first armed confrontation between the Muslims and their enemies in Mecca, he said to his followers: "we come from the lesser jihad, now we must prepare for the greater jihad;" the greater jihad being the struggle to subdue the *nafs*. Sufi emphasize withdrawal from the world while still living in it, which for them means to be a member of the society while still being able to escape the material concerns and desires that entrap people. Some Sufi have pushed this idea of withdrawal from the world further by choosing to live in seclusion in mountains and desert areas, away from human activities.

Sufism might be understood as a practical program for learning to control the *nafs*. This program is based on techniques fostered by generations of Sufi thinkers and founders of *tariqa* or path. The Sufi method is framed by actions and attitudes that aim

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[423] The battle of Badr has a great symbolism in the history of Islam. It was the first confrontation between The Prophet Muhammad and his allies of Medina and his enemies of Mecca. The traditions retain that the Muslim were outnumbered two to one, but they won the battle, and that it is this victory that saved Islam as a religion.

at freeing the human body from the grip of worldly preoccupations to gradually lift the spirit towards the neighborhood of God's kingdom. This journey is punctuated by different *maqamaat* or stations that ultimately lead the Murid or aspirant to the stages of *Mahabba*, or genuine love of God and *fana* or fusion into the divinity. These stations are repentance, renouncement, total surrender to the will of God, patience, recognition, confidence in God, fear of God, and satisfaction with God's decree. The biography of Amadu Bamba by his son Basiru Mbakke is an attempt to assess how the former reached and fullfilled these different stations.[424]

Sufism and the presence of mystics in Islam predated the foundation of formal *tariqa* or Sufi orders, which appeared in the 11th century.[425] Tariqa are generally named after their founders, the Muridiyya constitutes an exception in this regard. The Qadiriyya, founded by Abdul Qadr Al-Jilani (1078-1166), the Shadhiliyya named after Abul al Hassan Al-Shadhili (1187-1258), the Tijaniyya from Cheikh Amad al-Tijani (1737-1815), and the Sanusiyya, developed by Muhamad Ibn al-Sanusi (1787-1859) are the most popular Sufi orders in West Africa.

In addition to the common Muslim practices (acceptance of the oneness of God and the prophecy of Muhammad, five daily prayers, fasting of Ramadan, pilgrimage to Mecca, and alms giving), the founders of Sufi orders have invented specific practices that serve as a basis for the mobilization and organization of their followers. All Sufi orders emphasize love and submission to one's shaikh, although the degree of emphasis and the

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[424] On the different degrees of sanctity traversed by the Sufi until he reaches the ultimate station of *Qutb* or pole of the era, see Pr. Sam Mbay, "Tasawwuf wa Cheikh Amadou Bamba," in *Les Grandes Conférences de Seriñ Sam Mbay*, compiled and edited by Pape Sall., T. II, (1998):33-34.

[425] I use indistinctly the word "order" or "brotherhood" as synonyms of the Arabic word *tariqa*. These words are not exact translation of *tariqa*, whose meaning is closer to "path", but they are widely used in the literature as synonyms.

meaning of these prescriptions differ from one order to another. Founders of Sufi brotherhoods produce *wird* and *dhikr,* which are the basic communal practices of the order. *Wird* are excerpts from the Koran and special prayers that the founder of an order claims to have received from the Prophet Muhammad. The *wird* always contains indications about the rules for its use, which specify the timing and conditions for its performance. The shaikh, in turn, transmit the *wird* to those who submit to him. Shaikh sharing the same *wird* are linked by a *silsila* or chain of spiritual authority that lists the names of the different Sufi leaders through which the transmission of the *wird* was done over time stretching back to the Prophet Muhammad, who is considered to be the ultimate source of Sufi thought and practices. *Wirds* differ from one order to another, and within an order different varieties of a *wird* may be assigned to different disciples, depending on their experience and status in the organization. However, the production and assignment of a *wird* is the defining element of a Sufi brotherhood.

The *dhikr* constitutes another major organizing instrument of a Sufi order. The *dhikr* is the continuous remembrance of God through the recitation of His names. Sufi distinguish between different types of *dhikr*, the *dhikr* done with the tongue without involvement of the heart, which is the less rewarding, the *dhikr* done with the heart, and the *dhikr* that involves the entire body and spirit, which only especially blessed individuals are able to perform. The *dhikr* is done in different settings. It can be performed alone, but Sufi disciples are encouraged to take part in the *dhikr al hadara* or communal recollection of God, organized by the shaikh or his *moqqadem* (representative) on a weekly basis, generally on Friday afternoons. The *xalwa* or spiritual retreat and the

fikr or meditation on God's works are other techniques used by Sufi to perfect their spirit and soul.

6.2.2. Amadu Bamba's conception of Sufism

Amadu Bamba's path to Sufism was paved by his scholarship and his family tradition. We have seen in previous chapters that his ancestors belonged to the qadiriyya, and that it is through his family that he was first initiated to this brotherhood. He then sought the renewal of his affiliation from different qadiri shaikhs before he received the ultimate initiation from Shaikh Sidiyya Baba, heir of the founder of the branch of the qadiriyya to which his family was affiliated.[426]

The qadiriyya doctrine teaches moderate asceticism that allows the Sufi to seek God sincerely while remaining involved with his society. It rejects the extreme mysticism of the ascetics who shun societal life and place spiritual perfection over formal worship. Qadiriyya doctrine recommends following the Koran and the tradition of the The Prophet Muhammad while maintaining a pure soul, giving charity, adopting good manners in society, and being merciful, patient, and magnanimous. The Qadiriyya also emphasizes constant respect and submission to the shaikh.[427] This form of Sufism is what some scholars call a minimalist Sufism, which combines a moderate esotericism with the respect of orthodox rituals and forms of worship.[428] Minimalist Sufism dominates in the

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[426] See Amadu Bamba's silsila in appendix.
[427] See Depont et Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulames (*1987), p.154.
[428] See Fernand Dumont, *La Pensée*, op cit., pp. 342-343.

Western Sahara, where the *ulamas* are at the same time the Sufi leaders, in contrast with Arabia and the Middle East, where the two groups were often opposed to each other.[429]

These teachings of the Qadiriyya are reflected in Amadu Bamba's writings and practices, but Amadu Bamba's conception of Sufism was also influenced by his readings. Bamba was a reader of the major Sufi thinkers such as Abu Talib Al Makki (d. 386H/996), Ghazali (1059-1111), Ibn Atta Allah (d.1309), Al Yaddaali and their local commentators such as the Kunta and the Deymani families of Mauritania. His writings are replete with quotations from these scholars. Among these Sufi thinkers Ghazali is the author that had the most influence on Amadu Bamba. Bamba classified this author among the renovators of Islam and the great imams, and saw in him a spiritual master. Ghazali is known for his effort to reconcile the rigorous and rational interpretation of Islam by the *ulamas* with the spirituality of the mystics. He was also a staunch advocate of independence of thought for scholars. Commenting on the relations between rulers and clerics, Ghazali notes that although obedience is owed to the unjust prince, one must not condone their injustice. He noted that the devote Muslim should avoid the court and company of the unjust ruler, and should rebuke him, by words if he can safely do so, by silence if words might encourage rebellion.[430] Similar statements pervade Amadu Bamba's writings.

Amadu Bamba's conception of Sufism was shaped by a desire to reconcile mysticism, *sharia* and involvement in society. He considered that Sufism was a central element of Islam but it is second to *tawhid* (theology) and *sharia* (Islamic jurisprudence),

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[429] R. Boubrik, *Saints et Société in Islam*, (Paris: CNRS, 1999), p. 49.
[430] Quoted in Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Libreral Age*, 1798-1939 (Cambridge, 1983), 1983. P. 6.

which he considered to be the soul and body of the religion.[431] This preoccupation is also reflected in his teachings and his scholarly works where *Tawhid* or *Imaan* (theology) and Islam (worship) always come before *Ihsaan* (purification). Amadu Bamba also advocated the involvement of the Sufi shaikh in the life of the community. For him, seclusion is acceptable in only two situations. First, when the shaikh is not well prepared to deal with the danger inherent in an active involvement with society, and second when the society is so corrupt that the shaikh is unable to get his message across. However, he thought that whenever the society needs the shaikh to repair a wrong, then his involvement becomes compulsory.[432]

6.3. Murid doctrines and practices

6.3.1. The founding of the Muridiyya

The dominant interpretation among scholars dates the founding of the Muridiyya in 1886 at the immediate aftermath of the death of Lat Joor, the last major Wolof king, at the battle of *deqële*. This idea that was first developed by Paul Marty is based on the assumption that the Muridiyya functioned as an alternative to the rule of the Wolof aristocracy, which was decisively defeated and dismantled by the French after this battle. For Marty, Amadu Bamba became historically and politically relevant only from 1886. In his influential work on the Muridiyya he starts his narrative of Bamba's life from this date, devoting only two paragraphs to Bamba's ancestry and the events that marked the

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[431] *Viatique*, op cit. v.23-24, p. 265.
[432] *Path to Paradise*, op cit v. 611-615, p.102.

previous thirty-three years of his life.[433] A major flaw of Marty's work is that he completely ignored the history of Amadu Bamba's family and their cultural heritage, the events that marked his life in Saalum, Kajoor and Bawol, and the impact that this heritage and life experience might have had on his career. He interpreted everything that Bamba said and did as a reaction to the destruction of Wolof rule by the French.

Cruise O'Brien further elaborated this idea of connection between the demise of the traditional Wolof aristocracy and the development of the Muridiyya. He argues that the "success" of Amadu Bamba lies less in "his personal make up" then in his social relations with the "courts and the warrior marabouts" of the Wolof states.[434] He presents the alleged ultimate meeting between Lat Joor and Amadu Bamba, just a few days before the death of the king, as a sort of symbolic passing of the torch between the ancient and future leadership of the Wolof. He considers this meeting to be the crucial moment in the founding of the Muridiyya.

With the notable exception of Amadu Lamin Joob, the ultimate encounter between Amadu Bamba and *Dammeel* Lat Joor, which allegedly took place in 1886, is widely reported by Murid bearers of oral tradition and hagiographers. However, both Murid oral tradition and secondary sources give conflicting information about the venue and date of the meeting. Amadou Bamba Diop places the encounter at Mbakke Kajoor, and Cheikh Tidiane Sy mentions Daaru Manaan; Basiru Mbakke, Cruise O'Brien, and Eric Ross refer to the event but are silent about the date and venue of the encounter. Some of my informants in Mbakke Kajoor affirm that the meeting between Amadu Bamba and Lat Joor took place in this village just two weeks before the death of the king,

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[433] See Paul Marty, *L'islam au Sénégal*, op cit p. 223.
[434] Op cit. p. 38

which occurred in October 1886; yet these same sources maintain that Amadu Bamba left Mbakke Kajoor for good a year after the death of his father in *Muharam* 1299 or 1300H/ 1882-1883.[435]

In contrast to the conflicting reports surrounding the meeting of 1886, oral and written Murid sources unanimously agree that by 1886 Amadu Bamba had been living in Bawol for at least two years.[436] Yet no source mentions a meeting between Amadu Bamba and Lat Joor in Bawol or a trip of Bamba to Mbakke Kajoor since he left this village in 1884. It is intriguing to note that the colonial records make no mention of a meeting between Amadu Bamba and Lat Joor in 1886, although the French and their *ceddo* allies controlled Kajoor, and their influence on the *Teeň* of Bawol was quite strong by this time. Paul Marty did not mention a meeting between Amadu Bamba and Lat Joor neither in his article of 1913 or in his later works on the Murids. Such an encounter between two high profile figures of kayorian politics in a time of war could not have escaped French intelligence. And we have noticed that the name of Amadu Bamba appeared for the first time in the French records in 1889. Had even the French learned of the alleged meeting by 1895, when they tried Amadu Bamba, they would have certainly used this occurrence as evidence in their effort to portray the cleric as a representative of the defeated pre-colonial aristocracy.

My analysis of the sources suggests that the meeting between Lat Joor and Amadu Bamba never actually took place, although it has become a "historical fact"

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[435] See interviews in Mbakke kajoor with Bara Mbakkke and Modou Sey, head of the village. May 2000.
[436] Cruise O'Brien is the only source that places Bamba in Kajoor at this date, and by doing so, he established a chronology that conflicts with archival and oral information related to the dates marking different stages of Amadu Bamba's life in Bawol and Kajoor. He, for example, situates Amadu Bamba in Daaru Salaam in 1891 (see the *Mourides* op cit p.41) while oral sources and French intelligence reports agree that at this date Amadu Bamba has been living in Tuubaa for more than two years.

authenticated by oral tradition and scholarly works. I argue that members of the *geej* family probably, Mbaxaan Joob, who after losing his position in the colonial administration joined the Muridiyya, then a rising power in Bawol and Kajoor, invented the story of this encounter. Mbaxaan might have circulated the story in the late 1920s, after he became Murid, as an attempt to foster close relations with the hierarchy of the brotherhood, and to erase the memory of his early confrontation with them.[437] Basiru Mbakke, whose book written in 1935 has inspired many bearers of Murid oral tradition, then popularized the story.[438] Amadu Bamba Joob, Mbaxaan's son, conveyed the story among the scholarly community through his 1966 article in the *BIFAN*.[439] The rewriting of the history of the relationships between Lat Joor and Amadu Bamba helped the reconciliation between the leading branch of the *geej* and the Mbakke, which was sealed by marriages between former reigning families of Kajoor and Bawol and Amadu Bamba's heirs and great disciples. Over time, the politicization of Amadu Bamba's history and scholarly interpretations lent more credit to the account of the encounter. The passing of the torch between Lat Joor and Amadu Bamba, symbolized by the ultimate meeting between the two, conveniently fits the image of resistor to colonialism bestowed on the cleric by later disciples and Senegalese nationalists. For scholars who saw the Muridiyya as a mere response to colonization and a means of providing alternative leadership to a distraught Wolof society, the episode of the passing of the torch between the king and the cleric constituted a perfect illustration of their theory.

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[437] Mbaxaan Joob, *Dammeel* Lat Joor's son, turned out to be the worst enemy of the Murid in the early years of his career as chief of Eastern Bawol, the heartland of the Muridiyya, but later on he became a disciple of Amadu Bamba, and married a number of his sisters with Murid shaikh.
[438] This work "*Les Bienfaits de l'Eternel,*" originally in Arabic, was first translated in three volumes of the *BIFAN*, It is now available in the form of an edited book by the same translator, Khadime Mbacké.
[439] See "Lat Dior et le Problème Musulman" *BIFAN*, ser.B #3-4, Janvier-Avril (1966): 493-539.

Although some Murid sources mention the meeting between Amadu Bamba and Lat Joor, they do not give this event the same importance as scholars of the brotherhood have. They rather emphasize events that marked Amadu Bamba's life during his stay in Pataar and Mbakke Kajoor.[440] They see the period between 1883 and 1884 that coincided with the death of Bamba's father, and the dramatic change in his pedagogy, as the major watershed in the history of the Muridiyya. Murids generally refer to 1884, the year when Amadu Bamba started *tarbiyya*, as the date of founding of the brotherhood. They claim that it was in this year that Amadu Bamba received the inspiration that urged him to henceforth direct his education efforts to the soul of disciples. This change in his pedagogy was also reflected in his relations with the disciples who were no longer students, but were Murids or aspirants attached to their shaikh. Oral tradition notes that the group of disciples that remained with Amadu Bamba after he adopted these changes became the first followers to submit to him.

I concur that 1884 is a turning point in the history of the Muridiyya, but I contend that it was just the initial moment of a gradual development that ended in 1903 and 1904 with the formal constitution of the Murid brotherhood.[441] I argue that the Muridiyya was not founded during a year or two, but it evolved gradually from a loose movement started in the early 1880s to a tightly knit brotherhood after Amadu Bamba returned to Senegal from exile in Gabon in 1902. In effect, between 1884 and 1903, the Muridiyya appeared more like an informal organization than a *tariqa,* and Amadu Bamba acted

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[440] See chapter IV for a description and analysis of these events.

[441] We can speculate that Amadu Bamba might have founded the order earlier had he not been exiled in Gabon between 1895 and 1902. However, as we shall see below, the experience of the exile was a defining moment in the building of his credentials as a Sufi saint and a friend of God, who had the clout and prestige to become a *tariqa* founder.

more like a master and a teacher than a Sufi shaikh or leader of a brotherhood. At this epoch, he was still engaged in his spiritual journey, perfecting the education of his soul through retreats, *dhikr*, meditation, and other Sufi exercises. In 1892, he was reaffirming his allegiance to Shaikh Sidiyya Baba in the humble and self-deprecating language that Sufi disciples use when they correspond with their masters. He was also sending questions to his shaikh inquiring about different points of Sufism and Islamic law.[442]

Founders of new *tariqa* or independent branches of existing *tariqa* draw their legitimacy from their piety, holiness, ancestry or learning, or from a combination of some of these credentials. In the Western Sahara, *tariqa* builders based their status on the claim of a saintly genealogy through a laborious construction of family trees that link their ancestry to the family of The Prophet Muhammad.[443] In addition to *sharifian* (descendence from The Prophet Muhammad) claim and scholarship, *baraka* or gift of grace constitutes a major element of legitimacy for the shaikh. Amadu Bamba did not claim a saintly genealogy, although recently some of his hagiographers have started to make the claim for him.[444] He belonged to a family of respected scholars, but not to a saintly lineage. He was certainly an unusually learned person for his generation, but he was still considered to be the best among equals in the community of his peers in the

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[442] Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh cites a letter that Amadu Bamba addressed to Shaikh Sidiyya where he was asking questions about legal purification, the use of the *Basmala* (opening verse of the Koran) in the prayer, the evaluation of *zakaat* from ears of millet, age of circumcision and food prohibition. "Espace Confrérique," (2001), op cit. P. 6.

[443] See Rahal Boubrik, *Saints et Société en Islam* (CNRS Editions, 1999), op cit.

[444] See the family trees of AB on his mothers's and father's side in the appendices. It is likely that the family tree that ties Amadu Bamba to the family of The Prophet Muhammad was built by some of his Moor disciples as a way of justifying their submission to a black African. In effect, Would Muhammad Miska, a Moorish hagiographer of Amadu Bamba affirms that the latter owes his *baraka* to his sharifian origins on his mother as well as father's sides and to his love of the *bidan*. See Ould Cheikh, "Espace Confrérique," op cit. p. 8.

Wolof states. He needed recognition of his superior piety and holiness before he could establish himself as a legitimate leader and founder of *tariqa*.

The events that marked his life between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries provided this legitimacy. In a written proclamation he made while he was in exile in Mauritania (1903-1907), Amadu Bamba singled out five dates, which he considered as marking the most important moments of his life.[445] These dates are 1301 H/1884 (adoption of tarbiyya); 1311 H/1893-94 (age fourty and watershed in spiritual development); 1313 H/ 1895 (exile to Gabon); 1320 H/ 1902 (return to Senegal); 1322 H/1904 (revelation of the Murid *wird*). It is important to mention that he made no reference to 1886.

The year 1893 marked a major turning point in the spiritual development of Amadu Bamba and the history of the organization he created. This year also coincided with his fourtieth birthday, which is a symbolic moment in the life of Muslim saints and clerics engaged in a spiritual quest. It was at age fourty that Prophet Muhmmad received his first revelations in Mecca. From 1893 Amadu Bamba started to distance himself from his master in Mauritania and to assert his autonomy and personality. In a poem written in 1893 he stated, "My time is henceforth exclusively devoted to Muhammad until the ultimate day."[446] This statement seems to indicate that Bamba felt that he no longer owed allegiance to a shaikh and that he had chosen The Prophet Muhammad as his guide. This stage is crucial in the spiritual development of a Sufi saint. It constitutes a period of anxiety and expectation where the saint is convinced that he has reached a level of spiritual purity that frees him from formal allegiance to a living master, but he has not

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[445] See *Majmuha*, op cit. p.75.
[446] See Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, p. 145.

yet received the mystical sign of his election to the rank of *wali* (friend of God), *qotb* (pole of the era) or another mystical station that draws him closer to The Prophet Muhmmad and God. It is at this period that the saint intensifies his prayers, meditation, retreats and other Sufi exercises, hoping to receive the anticipated sign, which often comes in the form of a dream or a mystical encounter with dead founders of *tariqa* or the The Prophet Muhammad.

It was in 1895 during a spiritual retreat in his mosque in Daaru Xudoos (Tuubaa), that Bamba had a mystical encounter with The Prophet Muhammad and made a covenant with him. During this encounter Amadu Bamba is said to have seen the Prophet surrounded by his close collaborators among which were the combatants of Badr, but he could not shake his hands because a veil separated them.[447] When Amadu Bamba asked the Prophet why he could not get closer to him, the latter responded that being in contact with him was an honor exclusively given to those who fought at Badr, and since jihad was no longer allowed, then this privilege was no longer accessible.[448] Amadu Bamba told the Prophet that he was prepared to face any challenge and sacrifice in the name of God to earn this privilege conferred to the combatants of Badr. The Prophet warned Bamba that many devout Muslims who had reached his rank and had the grace of

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[447] This story is widely known and told by Murid bearers of oral tradition. Amadu Bamba in many of his writings alludes to encounters with Prophet of Muhammad, but he did not elaborate on what happened during these encounters. He solely indicates recommendations, interdictions, or promises that the Prophet made to him, and commitments he made to the Prophet.

[448] In a letter he wrote in 1910 to express his position with regard to the Jihad of Mal Ainin in Mauritania, Amadu Bamba, and following in this, a certain Muslim tradition, noted that Jihad is part of Sunna, but it has been prescribed for specific times and to specific peoples. He explained that Jihad could be lawfully performed only in conditions where Muslims should have weaponry, military forces, and accommodations that equal those of their enemies, and that they should fight under the guidance of a caliph that is recognized unanimously by the community of believers. Here Amadu Bamba, certainly, refers to the time of the The Prophet Muhammad and the four rightly guided caliph that only fulfilled the conditions that he laid out. See ANS dossab, 1910.

meeting him in this condition had made the same pledge, but they had failed to carry out their commitment. He added that the honor that Amadu Bamba was seeking had a very high cost. Amadu Bamba responded that he was ready to pay the cost, that his body and soul were prepared to support any sacrifice.

This story, conserved by oral tradition, served as a mystical explanation of the confrontation between Amadu Bamba and the French.[449] Murids believe that Amadu Bamba's trials at the hands of the colonial administration were nothing but the fulfillment of the terms of this covenant, which were the pre-conditions for the election of their leader to be among the close followers of the Prophet. Consequently, the seven years exile in French Equatorial Africa (1895-1902) had an important impact on Amadu Bamba's life and his organization. Bamba certainly believed that his suffering at the hands of the French, and his steadfastness and return to the country were signs of a special blessing. He was convinced that this experience had lifted him to the level of sainthood and holiness he had been pursuing all his life. He wrote in one of his poems "My exile and return to my home have erased my erstwhile instability." [450] Elsewhere he wrote, "You [God] have indicated me the right path.'"[451]

In 1904, while in exile in Mauritania, Amadu Bamba proclaimed that he had been visited by The Prophet Muhammad, who transmitted a new *wird* to him. Now, like the other *tariqa*, the Muiridiyya has its own *wird*, which was an indispensable element for the

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[449] I will offer a thorough discussion of the mystical interpretation of the conflict between the Murids and the French in chapters VII and VIII.
[450] Les *premices des éloges* (Rabat: Dar El Kitab, 1984) p. 55.
[451] *Les graces de l'Eternel*, in Fernand Dumont, *La Pensée Religieuse de Amadu Bamba* (Dakar, 1975), p. 244.

founding of a brotherhood. The revelation of this *wird* could be considered to be the term of the process of creation of the Muridiyya, which started in 1884.



Figure 14: Sawru Mbay in Daaru Salaam.

6.3.2. Hubu or Love

Amadu Bamba provided the most succinct definition of the Murid in a poem entitled *Should they be mourned?*[452] In this poem he states that the genuine Murid is the sincere disciple who loves his shaikh, submits to his service and gives alms. Love *(Hubu)*, to be at the service of the shaikh *(Xidma)* and alms giving *(Hadiya)*, are three major principles of Murid doctrine, which shape the relations between shaikh and disciples. But we need to make a distinction between the doctrine as articulated by Bamba and its actual embodiment through the practices of disciples and shaikh. The

[452] The Arabic title of this poem is *Huqa al buqaahu* and it was written probably between 1883 and 1884, as a response to Xali Majaxate Kala who sent the first verse of the poem to Amadu Bamba complaining that his former disciple had abandoned him. Alluding to the love and respect that the disciple owes to his shaikh, Xaali was asking if one should mourn the dead shaikh and spiritual guides.

actual practices of Murids appear as a compromise between Amadu Bamba's ideal formulation and the concrete aspirations of the disciples, mediated by the socio-political and economic context of the time. The Mudidiyya, indeed, can be interpreted as a common construction of Amadu Bamba and his disciples.

Love (*hubu*) as observed earlier in this chapter, is an important aspect of Sufi way of life. Sufi conception of love differs from love between a man and a woman or the love of a parent for his child. It is an altruistic love. The disciple's love for his shaikh is expressed through his eagerness to obey his recommendation and follow his example in all things. The necessity of obedience and imitation of the shaikh is expressed in a dramatic way by the Sufi thinker Tustari (818-896) who stated that, "The disciple should be in the hands of his shaikh like the cadaver in the hands of the mortician." This statement is widely referred to by Sufi shaikh in Senegal and elsewhere. However, the language in which this doctrine is crafted, probably, goes beyond the reality of the relationships between Shaikh and disciples. The emphasis on the importance of love and the ways it is expressed through the relationships between disciples and shaikh, differ from one Sufi order to another, and is influenced by the socio-cultural context and historical circumstances of the founding and development of the order.

Among the Murids love for one's shaikh is primarily expressed through the *njebël* or submission and the respect of the shaikh's *ndigël* or recommendation. Murids unanimously agree that *Jebëlu* or allegiance to a shaikh constitutes the gate to the Muridiyya. One becomes Murid by submitting to a shaikh. For the Murids, *jebëlu* has the same meaning as *ba'ya (jaayante* in Wolof), which is the pledge of fealty and support that early followers of The Prophet Muhammad made when they joined him. The first

Murids are the disciples that submitted to Amadu Bamba in Mbakke Kajoor in 1884. Murids explain that Amadu Bamba needed a total commitment from the disciples, because his teachings were directed to the soul and the body and therefore total commitment from his disciples was necessary for him to succeed in his enterprise of education By accepting to submit their body and soul to Amadu Bamba, the disciples were bound to accept his recommendations without discussion, and this attitude was the condition for their successful training in the ways of the Sufi.

Overtime, *Jebëlu* became a central element of the organizational structure of the Muridiyya beyond the strict educational framework in which it was first defined. The Murid shaikh is not solely a spiritual leader, but he is also a temporal guide whose counsel is sought for domestic, social and political matters. Disciples, and particularly those living in the same area as their shaikh, seek his counsels for choosing a wife, naming children, solving family disputes, or before engaging in a business venture; and when they die, they wish to be buried near their shaikh's tomb. Scholars of the Muridiyya have characterized the "strict" submission of the Murid disciples to their shaikh as the most distinctive feature of the organization. All Sufi orders recommend submission to a shaikh. Murid's strong emphasis on this principle set their organization apart. Murid shaikh wield much more power and authority over their disciples than other Sufi leaders in Senegal. However, one should be careful to distinguish between the rhetoric of the brotherhood's doctrine, disciples' emphatic proclamation of blind obedience to their shaikh, and the actual practices. In fact, Murid disciples are often selective when it comes to obeying recommendations, and the shaikhs do not always have it their way; they are sometimes obligated to negotiating the terms of the respect.

Students of the Muridiyya advance different hypotheses to explain the roots of Murid "extreme" submission to their shaikh. The explanations proposed refer to the influence of Wolof social structures and the colonial onslaught on the organization of the Muridiyya. Wolof society, as discussed in chapter one, is stratified and hierarchical, and patron-client type relations shape the rapports between the dominant and subordinate social categories. It is argued that the slaves who were newly freed from bondage by French rule, and who did not know what to do with their newly earned freedom, and casted people, flocked to the Muridiyya and found in the Murid shaikhs the patrons they had lost.[453] The "extreme" submission of Murid disciples to their shaikh is then seen as a reproduction of atavistic behavior brought to the Muridiyya by Wolof of low class status that massively adhered to the brotherhood. Depont and Coppolani use the same argument to explain the development of Sufi organizations among the Berbers of North Africa. They note that by breaking the homogeneity of tribal organization, and by destroying the patronage systems, which had been controlled by prestigious families, the French had at the same time conferred on the local people an unanticipated and bewildering freedom. For Depont and Coppolani, Sufi brotherhoods served as loci for the reproduction of the patronage systems, which are at the heart of Berber societal life.[454]

Scholars' explanations of the roots of Murids' "extreme" submission to their shaikh reveal major weaknesses. First, they give a paramount importance to the socio-political context of the formation of the brotherhood by narrowly tying the genesis of the

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[453] See Cruise O.Brien, *The Mourides*, op cit. p. 83 and Le "Talibé Mouride", in *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 33,IX-3 (1969): 502-507; Momar Coumba Diop, "La Relation talibé marabout dans le mouridisme," (1976), p. 10.

[454] Depont and Coppolani, op cit, les *confréries*, p. XX-XXI.

organization to the colonial conquest and Wolof culture, and ignoring the possible influence of doctrinal and intellectual factors. Lucy Behrman observes,

> The devotional obedience of the disciples to their marabu (sic) is mentioned as a murid innovation although blind obedience of disciples is common to Sufi brotherhoods and extreme subjection of disciples, similar to the murid relationships, has been observed elsewhere. What is different in the Murid order is only the organized fashion in which this obedience is expressed through directed work and regularly solicited gifts.[455]

Second, this approach offers a blanket generalization that doesn't allow for the nuances and differences in the ways that Murids of different socio-cultural and economic backgrounds interact with their shaikh. There is an obvious validity to the assumption that the organizational structure of the Muridiyya is influenced by Wolof social structures, but this single factor does not explain the whole story. The Malikiyya branch of the Tijaniyya and the Kunta Qadiriyya, which developed at the same period of time as the Muridiyya, also recruited the majority of their followers among the Wolof, but the relations between shaikh and disciples in these organizations differ with the Muridiyya. The Muslim elite of the Four Communes and trading posts of Senegal influenced the Tijaniyya, but the bulk of its constituency came from the same area as the Murids. I argue that the profound mysticism of Amadu Bamba, the great sanctity that Murid conferred on his persona, and popular understanding of the Sufi concept of *hubu* constitute the defining elements of the relation between Murid disciples and shaikh.

The relation between Murid shaikhs and disciples is not homogenous, and the extent of deference and submission varies widely. People became Murid for many

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[455] See *Muslim Brotherhoods and Politics in Senegal* (Cambridge, Massachussets: Harvard U. Press, 1970), p.63.

different reasons, and the followers of Amadu Bamba came from all walks of life. The ways disciples interacted with their shaikh also depended on their motivations for joining the organization and their socio-cultural status in the society. Murids of *doomi soxna* origin and *seriň fakk taal* did not entertain the same type of relations with their shaikh as the common disciples that had only a superficial education.[456] Their understanding and adhesion to the Muridiyya was mostly based on their appreciation of Amadu Bamba's superior learning and piety. Their love for the shaikh was expressed in the form of praise-poetry they wrote to magnify their guide's sanctity. They also copied and popularized his works. On a more personal level, they intermarried with their shaikh's family. This is the case with Shaikh Amadu Gay, Shaikh Abdurahman Lo, Shaikh Mbay Jaxate and others, who taught Amadu Bamba's sons, and offered members of their family to the shaikh for marriage and also married his daughters. The way that these shaikhs understood and expressed their submission to Bamba was therefore different from the attitude of the common disciples.

Murids of aristocratic origins and disciples from the urban and trading elite also behaved differently with their shaikhs. Some of them joined the Muridiyya as a way of opposing the French; others, mostly the businessmen were attracted by the economic power of the organization. These two groups tended to be less driven by strict submission, they respected and venerated their shaikhs, but as in the case of Momar Suraŋ, they acted more like advisers and friends to their shaikh and were treated as such.

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[456] *Doomi soxna* and *fakk taal* refers to the old Muslim establishment in Wolof country. The *Dooomi soxna* were Muslim scholars of aristocratic origins who often had a lifestyle and harbored values close to those of the aristocracy, they were also head of large villages. The *Fakk taal* were from modest families, and they specialized in the teaching of the Koran and the Islamic sciences to the youth. They opened schools in villages and lived off the material contributions and labor of their disciples. For more on these two categories of Muslim clerics, see chapter II.

Murids distinguish between different types of disciples according to their degree of deference and submission, the Murid *saadix,* a genuine Murid is differentiated from those who have "come with the wind," and the taalibe *taax,* literally urban disciples (but characterizes more of an attitude than a location), differs from the more faithful rural disciple. In many of their poems, Mbay Jaxate and Musa Ka, the famous Murid poet, criticize the disciples who proclaim submission but fail to act accordingly.

6.3.3. Xidma

In addition to the pledge for total submission, Murids also believe in the importance of being at the service of their shaikh. The concept of *Xidma* is an important element of Murid doctrine. In effect, the name that Amadu Bamba coined for himself, Xadim U Rasul, Servant of the Prophet, derives from this concept. Bamba also wrote two books, *Prelude to Xidma* and *Initiation in Xidma,* where he discribes his service to the Prophet.

Amadu Bamba declared, "Science and work are the surest paths to happiness." Two well known and widely quoted sayings attributed to him, but which are in fact, traditions of The Prophet Muhammad, read: "work is a means of worshipping God" and "Work as if you will never leave this world and pray as if you knew that you will die tomorrow." But when referring to work in his writings Bamba often uses *xidma*, which means in Arabic "being at the service of somebody," instead of *amal*, which means, "labor." This distinction, which has not been made by students of the brotherhood, is capital in understanding the philosophy that underpins Murid's conception of work.

The Muridiyya is known for the importance it accords to work. Much has been written about the idea of the so-called sanctifying virtue of work, seen as the single most important innovation of the Muridiyya. This idea is based on declarations attributed to Amadu Bamba who supposedly had stated that: " Work equals prayer, work for me and I will pray for you." Couty has noted the contradiction in this statement popularized by French colonial writers.[457] In fact, if work can be a valid substitute for prayer, then the worker does not need one to pray for him.

Some scholars see the idea of trading work against paradise as the basis of the exploitative nature of the relations between Murid shaikh and disciples. The idea of the crafty and idle Murid shaikh living off the donations of his poor disciples was widely shared in early scholarly works on the organization. However, subsequent research emphasized mitigating factors of the apparent exploitation of disciples by their shaikh. Looking at the significance of work in the Muridiyya, Copans and the multidisciplinary team of ORSTOM researchers that conducted field research in the Murid heartland in the 1970's, made an important distinction between the work performed by the disciples in the *daara tarbiyya* and the work of common Murid peasants, which form the majority of Murid disciples. They discovered that there were not major differences between the work habits of the Murid peasants and the common Wolof farmers, and that Murid disciples donated less money and labor to their shaikh than they expected.[458] In later works, Cruise O'Brien also emphasizes the services provided by shaikhs to their disciples and downplayed declarations of disciples who boasted the importance of donations they

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[457] Philipe Couty, "la doctrine du Travail chez les Mourides" (ORSTOM, 1969), p. 10.
[458] See Copans' summary of findings from this research in *Les Marabouts de l'arachide*, op cit., see also Couty, "La doctrine du Travail chez les Mourides,"op cit., p.54.

made to their shaikh.[459] More recently, Villalón has emphasized the important degree of reciprocity in exchanges between *marabouts* and disciples and the security that relations with a *marabout* provide a disciple.[460]

The economic relations between Murid shaikh and disciples should be understood in the framework of the exchange of gifts and counter-gifts that shape patron-clients relations in Wolof society, and the perception of the shaikh as the continuator of Amadu Bamba's mission. The prestige of a Murid shaikh is dependent on his generosity, his capacity to take care of his family, disciples and retinues, and his contribution in the realization of the brotherhood's projects. Shaikhs benefit from donations made by disciples, but they are also expected to fulfill their *xidma*, which is to share this wealth with the wider Murid community. For the disciple, giving to the shaikh is a way of participating in the fulfillment of Amadu Bamba's mission and a means of sharing in his rewards in the hereafter.

Building on Weber's works, some scholars found similarities between the Murid and the Protestant' work ethic. Abdoulaye Wade, in a brochure published in the 1970s, observed that the Muridiyya is with Protestantism the only religion to believe in the

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[459] See "Don divin, Don terrestre: l'économie de la confrérie mouride." *Archives Européenne de Sociologie*, XV(1974): 82-100. In this article, Cruise O'Brien revisits a number of conclusions he made in his previous works on the Muridiyya. He blames the misinterpretations by "colonial writers and development experts," who saw the Muridiyya as a mere form of exploitation on their facile Marxism. Acknowledging his own misinterpretation of the relation between Murid disciples and shaikh, he notes the difficulty of "profane observers and people not familiar with the Muridiyya" to distinguish between the declarations of Murid disciples and the actual reality and meanings of their relations with their shaikh. He underlines the fact that "by asserting his total submission and exploitation by his shaikh, the disciple is not in fact describing the reality, but he is actually boasting." Cruise O'Brien then emphasizes the necessity of looking at the spiritual and religious meanings of the relations between Murid shaikh and disciples. See pp. 84-85.

[460] Leonardo Vilallon, I*slamic Society and State Power in Senegal* (1995), p. 187.

redeeming power of work.[461] Wade omits to note, however, that the Murids do not believe in the doctrine of predestination, and in contrast to the Calvinists studied by Weber, they encourage enjoyment of wealth, lavish expenses, redistribution, and generosity. Philippe Couty criticized previous materialist interpretations of Murid conception of work and proposed a new approach that emphasizes doctrinal elements. For Couty, what is important for the Murid is not the production of wealth or the trade of paradise against labor, but the fact that work gave a concrete content to the relation of submission between shaikh and disciples.[462] However, Couty only partially understood the Murid perspective as he considered that work was the means found by unsophisticated Murid disciples, who did not understand mysticism, to show their attachment to their shaikh.

In reality, *xidma* was not an exclusive duty of the disciples and it was not solely expressed in the form of physical labor of the disciples to the benefit of the Shaikh. Shaikhs performed *xidma* as well. Amadu Bamba recommended the disciples to provide *xidma* to their teachers, to the *ulamas*, to their elders, to the lone traveler, and to all good Muslims.[463] In the early years of his career Bamba considered writing books and teaching the disciples as his *xidma.* Later, as he stated in *Prelude to the xidma of the Prophet,* writing religious poems praising the qualities and achievements of The Prophet Muhammad became an important part of his *xidma.* Shaikh Sidy Muhammad Ismu, a Mauritanian disciple of Amadu Bamba, considered the dissemination of his master's

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[461] Abdoulaye Wade, *La doctrine économique du Mouridisme* (Dakar, 1966).
[462] Couty, "La doctrine du travail," op cit. P. 16.
[463] See Cheikhouna Mbakke Abdou Wadoud and Khadim Sylla, *Etude Critique et Analyse des Ecrits du Professeur Rawane Mbaye sur le Mouridisme et son Fondateur* (édition du Collectif des Mourides de France, 1999), pp. 57-59.

teachings and message as his *xidma.* Musa Ka chose the writing of poems to praise Amadu Bamba in Wolof, the latter's mother tongue, as his *xidma.*

For the ordinary disciples the performance of menial jobs on behalf of their shaikh was a principal form of *xidma.* The cultivation of millet, peanuts and the different tasks performed by the disciples in the *daara tarbiyya* (working school) were forms of *xidma* as well. But in the *daara*, work also had a pedagogic virtue. It was the tool to heal the soul of disciples of the sicknesses such as pride, fear, attraction to worldly pleasure, and to protect the disciples from idleness, which Bamba saw as the mother of all sins.[464] Donating to one's shaikh, reading Amadu Bamba's religious poetry, and contributing to the brotherhood's projects were forms of *xidma* for the disciples living in the villages and towns. Therefore, *xidma* or work is not a sanctifying action nor is it a mere expression of the submission of the disciple to the shaikh, but it is a manifestation of the common attachment to the Muridiyya, a way of continuing participation in Amadu Bamba's mission, or as the disciples put it "*ligeey al Seriñ Tuubaa,*" being at the service of Amadu Bamba. For the Murids, prayers, fasting and other forms of worship are duties of all Muslims, *xidma* constitutes the way for the Murid to express love and fidelity to their shaikh and to Amadu Bamba's legacy.

6.3.4. Hadiyya

Besides love and *xidma, Hadiyya* constitutes the basic contribution of the Sufi disciple to his shaikh. *Hadiyya* differs from alms or *sadaqa* (*sarax* in Wolof) that is given to the needy and some specific persons identified in the Koran and the tradition of

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[464] *Paths to Paradise*, p. 156.

The Prophet Muhammad. *Hadiyya* is not a requirement of Islam, but it is rather a Sufi innovation. It is a voluntary contribution that disciples pay directly to their shaikh and from which they also expect some godly reward. *Hadiyya* is the principal source of wealth of Sufi brotherhoods.[465]

All Sufi brotherhoods in Senegal and elsewhere recommend the giving of *hadiyyya*, but the Murids stand out for their generous donations to their brotherhood and its leaders. Although Amadu Bamba recommended the giving of *hadiyya*, he was known for his lack of interest in material wealth and for his frugality.[466] It was this unusual attitude towards wealth, associated with his profound mysticism that further stimulated the donations of disciples. His brothers and early followers benefited from the accumulation of wealth within the Muridiyya. They mobilized their disciples to cultivate peanuts in their *daara tarbiyya* or to work in towns, and they received considerable amount of donations. Some of them took advantage of the aura and influence of the brotherhood to run successful business ventures. Some of this wealth was, of course, redistributed to needy disciples or through communal projects, but the shaikhs still enjoyed a comfortable and sometimes luxurious life.

For the Murid, *hadiyya* is both an expression of love for the shaikh and a source of *baraka*. By donating what is dearest to him (his wealth) the Murid gives the ultimate proof of the sincerity of his love for his spiritual leader. Murids also believe that donations paid to the shaikh and to the brotherhood constitute a source of blessings.

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[465] The French administrator, Maurice Levy, evaluated the contribution made by Algerian disciples to their *tariqa* in 1895 at 16 millions francs against 7, 500,000.00 of taxes paid to French treasury. See "La Guerre Sainte est-elle possible ?" in *Les Grands Faits* (Septembre 1907), p.298.

[466] In numerous reports kept in the dossier Amadu Bamba at the Senegalese National Archives, colonial administrators refer to the frugality of Amadu Bamba and his lack of interest in money and material wealth in general. Paul Marty also mentions Amadu Bamba's generosity and the lavish donations he made to people. *L'Islam au Sénégal*, op cit p. 230.

They believe that giving to the brotherhood is a form of participation in the accomplishment of Amadu Bamba's mission, and therefore a means of sharing his spiritual grace. This spiritual grace in turn positively affects the life of disciples in this world and the world beyond.

The historical context of the development of the Muridiyya affected Murid inclination to give to their shaikh. The Muridiyya developed in a context of hostility and tension with the colonial administration in Senegal. Confronted with this unfriendly situation, Murid shaikh and disciples developed a keen sense of self sufficiency and economic autonomy spurred by the *daara tarbiyya* and different projects (building of mosque and houses, religious feasts) initiated by Amadu Bamba and subsequent Murid leaders. By shouldering the expenses for the development of the community and the well being of their shaikhs, Murid disciples gradually recognized *hadiyya* as a central element of their organization.

The first *hadiyya* is given at the occasion of the ceremony of *jebëlu* (submission), where the new Murid pledges allegiance to his shaikh. Donations are also made during *ziaras* (pious visits), or at the occasion of Murid religious celebrations. *Hadiyya* can be given in cash or kind and it has no limitations. Every disciple contributes in accordance with his wealth and generosity, and theoretically, it is the symbolism of the gesture and the intention that are more important than the amount given. However, rich and generous disciples have come to occupy privileged position in the organization, positions that are often sanctioned by marriage in the family of their shaikh or the attainment of the rank of respected notables.

Hadiyya is not exclusively a disciple's duty. Shaikhs contribute annually to the caliph or head of the brotherhood, who is the successor of Amadu Bamba, and they are often assigned specific tasks to complete on behalf of the community. This can be work performed in the caliph's farms, the building of a new village for him, or building or equipping a mosque. In such a case, the shaikh call on his disciples to provide the work force or to raise money for the tasks assigned. The shaikh's prestige is measured by the contribution he makes to the development of the organization.

6.4. Organization of the Muridiyya

6.4.1. The wird

As observed earlier in this chapter, the assignment of a *wird* is a universal practice among Sufi orders. The *wird* constitutes the basic distinctive feature of a Muslim brotherhood. It is made of verses of the Koran and prayers that disciples recite especially after dawn or after the evening prayers. According to the Sufi, the *wird* contains secret names of God and prayers that can lead the disciples to spiritual perfection. Although the use of *wird* is not a canonic prescription of Islam, it is viewed by Sufi as an important act of worship. Amadu Bamba defines *wird* as an eminent act of worship performed during specific times of the day, and he disapproved of its abandonment.[467] The *wird* is for the Sufi a means to purify his soul and to get closer to God. For Bamba all *wirds* are equally good, provided that they emanate from a respected shaikh.

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[467] *Masalik (Paths to Paradise)*, op cit. (1984) v. 268 269 and 298. pp 58 and 62.

Amadu Bamba used the three most popular *wirds* in the Western Sahara. He practiced the *wird qadiri*, which he received from a variety of channels. He used the *wird tijaani* and the *wird shadility*. He was probably initiated to these *wirds* by Moorish shaikhs. He also initiated disciples into these *wirds*. This eclecticism is not unusual among Sufi shaikh, and especially those affiliated with the qadiriyya, who consider their multiple initiations to different *wirds* as a source of multiplied *baraka*.[468] The *Tijaniyya* doctrine, however, forbids disciples from cumulative use of different *wirds*, because they consider their leader to be the seal of sainthood. Shaikh Amad Tijani, the founder of this order, claimed to have received his *wird* directly from the Prophet Muhammad, who assured him that he was to be the last saint to have contact with him.[469]

In 1894 or while in exile in Gabon in 1895, Amadu Bamba abandoned all the other *wirds* he was practicing except for the qadiriyya.[470] He believed that he had exhausted the spiritual benefits in those *wirds*, and that he was no longer gaining anything by their continuous use. Bamba then renewed his initiation into the qadiriyya through direct inspiration from the Prophet Muhammad who is the ultimate source of all *wirds*.

During his second exile in Mauritania, Amadu Bamba declared that he had received his own *wird* that was transmittted to him by the The Prophet Muhammad. In a poem he wrote to commemorate the event, Ahmed Ibn Hassan, a Moorish disciple of

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[468] For a further discussion of this tradition of eclecticism in a specific branch of the qadiriyya, see Glen W. McLaughlin, "Muhammad Fādil Wuld Mamin," (Dissertation thesis in History, Evanston, Illinois, June 1997), p.84.

[469] Because of this claim and others, the Tijaniyya has been the center of bitter polemics between scholars and students of Sufism in Mauritania. See the Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh's chapter, "Les perles et le soufre. Une polémique mauritanienne autour de la Tijaniyya (1830-1935) in Jean Louis Triaud et David Robinson, ed. *La Tijaniyya* (Karthalla, 2000).

[470] .See Amad Lamin Diop, *l'Abreuvement*, op cit. p. 78.

Amadu Bamba, indicated that the *wird* was transmitted to his shaikh in two steps. In the year 1321H/1904, Amadu Bamba received the *khalif* or light version of the *wird* and in the following year, 1322 H/1905 during the month of *Rabi I*, coinciding with the night of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, he was given the *Kamil* or perfect version.[471] Amadu Bamba describes the circumstances of the reception of his *wird* (the Kamil version) in an *Ijaza* (authorization) that he wrote for a certain Mustafa Othman, a native of Aleppo in Syria, living in Mecca.[472] In this document Amadu Bamba stated that he received the *wird* directly from The Prophet Muhammad in the month of Ramadan 1322 H/1905 in a place named Sarsaara in southwestern Mauritania.[473]

The reception of the *wird* was a turning point in the spiritual evolution of Amadu Bamba and the history of the Murid brotherhood. It undoubtedly marked the summit of his spiritual journey, which had started in 1884. Bamba had evolved from the position of a Murid seeking blessing and *baraka* from masters, to a shaikh deeply engaged in a spiritual quest, and he was now confident that he had reached the level of spiritual perfection and grace bestowed on the major founders of *tariqa*. The *wird* constitutes the most obvious sign of Amadu Bamba's acknowledgement of his status as a shaikh and guide of a community.

The Murid *wird* does not differ very much from those used by other Sufi brotherhoods. It is composed of prayers and excerpts from the Koran that are found in one form or another in other *wirds*. However, there is some specificity in the conditions

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[471] See *Cheikh Amadou Bamba: foundateur de la confrérie des Mourides*, tome II, (Paris: Editions d'Arts les Heures Claires, 1984) p.152. This two volumes book is a compilation of testimonies on Amadu Bamba from Moorish shaikhs and disciples collected by the late caliph of the Murids Abdul Ahad Mbakke. It contains the testimonies of Sidiyya Baba and Saad Bouh, the two major leaders of the qadiriyya brotherhood in the Western Sahara.

[472] See Amad Lamin Diop, *l'abreuvement*, op cit. p. 83.

[473] Ibid.

attached to its use. The Murid practicing the *wird* is required to know the basic religious obligations of a mature Muslim, he must abandon the twenty major sins, read each morning and evening a certain number of chapters from the Koran depending of his mastery of the book, and he is encouraged to visit the pious.[474] The Muridiyya differs here from the other Sufi brotherhoods such as the Tijaniyya that forbid disciples from frequenting non-*tijaani* shaikh.

Another particularity of the Murid *wird* is that it is not a normative prescription. The practice of the wird is not mandatory and does not condition the adhesion to the Muridiyya. Murid shaikh give the *wirds* only to those who ask for it. Then he determines the conditions of transmission, and the level of responsibility to give to the disciple as far as the initiation to the secrets of the *tariqa* is concerned. However, in some Sufi brotherhoods such as the Tijaniyya, adherence to the organization is conditioned on initiation into the *wird* and a commitment for its continuous practice. Amadu Bamba had given the *wird* to some disciples (mostly those of *doomi soxna* and *fakk taal* origins and to his Moorish disciples) but not to all. The Murid wird can be used cumulatively with other *wirds*. Amadu Lamin Joob recounts that when he received the *wird* from Amadu Bamba the latter recommended that he kept the *wird* that he was already using if he could combine both, and if he couldn't, then he recommended he limits himself to the *wird* he had given him.[475] Murid shaikhs continued this tradition. Only a minority of Murids, mostly the learned and old persons practice the *wird* on a regular basis. The flexibility and willingness to adapt to a variety of demands and

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[474] *See* Amadou Bamba, *Fondateur du Mouridisme* op cit, p. 152 and my interview with Moustapha Ley, Mbakke May 2000.
[475] Amad Lamin Diop, *l'abreuvement*, op cit p.84.

circumstances present in Amadu Bamba's pedagogy is also found in the use of the Murid *wird*. For the Murid, the *wird* is only one among several other means for the purification of the soul. The average Murid disciples consider love for the shaikh, submission, the reading of Amadu Bamba's religious poems and the giving of *hadiyya* to be more important than the daily recitation of the *wird*.[476]

6.4.2. The diciples

The structural organization of the Muridiyya can be compared to a pyramid where Amadu Bamba's family occupies the summit followed by a row of leaders composed by the first generation of his disciples and their descendants. These disciples also have under their authority leaders of lesser importance, and at the bottom of the pyramid you have the disciples or *taaleb* who do not receive submission and do not have the authority to distribute the *wird*. Amadu Bamba's descendants and the descendants of his first companions constitute the pyramid's pillars. They form a chain of authority and dependency that links the *taaleb* or disciples at the bottom of the pyramid to the paramount caliph, who is the oldest male descendant of Amadu Bamba in direct line. Each family of leaders reproduces at a lower scale the pyramidal organization of the brotherhood, with a caliph at the summit, lesser leaders at the intermediate position and *taaleb* at the bottom.[477] The number of intermediate leaders between the caliph and the

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[476] See my interview with Modu Maamun Ňaŋ, Tuubaa 06-08-2000; and Mustafa Ley, 05-16-2000.
[477] Fore example, Shaikh Anta made his submission to Amadu Bamba, but as a Shaikh he received the submission of Gora Baaxum, who is linked to Amadu Bamba through him. Gora Baaxum also had Ibra Jonn as a disciple who is linked to Amadu Bamba through him and Shaikh Anta. Baaxum and Jonn are ultimately both disciples of Amadu Bamba but their relation with the latter is mediated by their shaikh. At each level the shaikh manages his own community, and in principle, receives orders from the leaders to whom he had directly submitted.

taaleb varies because a successful disciple can earn the credentials of a leader and form his own constituency thus creating a new branch within the lineage to which he is affiliated with. All those who occupy a position of authority and receive the submission of disciples are, in general given the title of shaikh.

In the Muridiyya, the disciples are those who perform the *jebëlu*, formal submission to a Murid shaikh. The disciple chooses his shaikh, who often belongs to a lineage of shaikh who historically guided his family. The ceremony of *jebëlu* is rather simple. The disciple expresses his will to submit to the shaikh, which means to follow his recommendations and to avoid his interdictions in all matters pertaining to this world and to the hereafter. The shaikh then reminds the novice some prescriptions of Islam and some points of Murid doctrine, after which he prays for him. As noted above, the practice of the *wird* is secondary to this act of submission.

Amadu Bamba recruited his first disciples among his students at the school of Mbakke Kajoor in the 1880's. This small group of followers was composed of Amadu Bamba's two brothers, Cheikh Anta and Maam Cerno Ibra Faty, his cousins Amadu Ndumbe Mbakke and Mbakke Buso, his famous disciple Ibra Faal, and some *doomi soxna* that opted to remain with him despite their families objections. Many of these first Murids were the same age of Bamba (31 years old) or slightly younger than he. They had already finished studying the Koran and were engaged in the study of the religious sciences. The majority of these disciples were from Njambur in northern Kajoor, a region were Islam has been well established for more than a century. Some early disciples such as Ibra Saar, Ndaam Abdurahman Lo, Amsatu Jaxate, Amadu Maxtar Mbay and Seriñ Fay came from well-known Muslim village schools such as Njaañ,

Ndaam, Ker Makala, Lonoor and Wajja. They were attracted to Amadu Bamba because of his piety, superior learning and mysticism.[478] It was this core of disciples who helped with the organizing of the growing number of followers who joined the cleric in Daaru Salaam in 1886-1887.

It was in Daaru Salaam that Amadu Bamba's following started to grow. Murid sources assert that the number of disciples living in the village reached 200 by the time of the founding of Tuubaa in 1887-1888.[479] The real number might be lower, but by this time, disciples had started to cluster around Bamba in greater numbers. This growth coincided with French conquest of Kajoor and the transformation of Bawol into a protectorate.

Neither oral traditions nor French sources provide information about the number and provenance of the people who joined the Muridiyya in the early phase of the development of the brotherhood, but it is certain that the new political context created by the French conquest impacted the development of the organization.[480] However, it would be a mistake to consider this event as the principal and unique factor explaining the fouding of the Muridiyya. Murid disciples came from all works of life as noted earlier. The first core of disciples that submitted to Amadu Bamba originated from families of seriñ *fakk taal* and *doomi soxna* and it was only gradually that members of other social categories joined the brotherhood. Leaders of the Muslim party of Kajoor, who supported Lat Joor against Demba War Sall, the head of the *ceddo* party, gradually

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[478] See my interviews with Sawru Mbay in Daaru Salaam and Gallo Mbay in Tuubaa February and March 2000.

[479] Interview with Ibra Mbay Daaru Salaam, February 2000 and Cheikh Mbakke Maam Balla, Mbakke, May 1991.

[480] A colonial Survey of the Muslim population of Senegal broken down between brotherhoods completed in 1912 estimated the number of Murids in the country at 68,350, with more than 90 percent concentrated in the districts of Kajoor and Bawol. See Marty, *l'Islam au Sénégal,* op cit. p. 304.

joined Amadu Bamba after their champion was defeated and killed in 1886. Some factions of the Kajoor aristocracy that opposed the appointment of slaves of the crown as chiefs might also have turned to the Muridiyya when the organization was gaining some popularity, as a way of defying the French and their Wolof allies. Even before the demise of the *Dammeel*, some brothers of Lat Joor had already become disciples of Amadu Bamba. Members of the defeated aristocracy, probably, understood that they could not sway Amadu Bamba to endorse their fight against the French and their Wolof allies, but siding with him was a way of expressing dissent and autonomy.

These members of the Wolof aristocracy brought their slaves and retinues into the Muridiyya and encouraged their clients to migrate from the areas controlled by the chiefs newly appointed by the French. Some of these migrants joined the growing Murid community in Kajoor and at the borders of Bawol and Jolof. People also migrated to escape the oppressive rule of the *ceddo* and chiefs who inherited power in Kajoor. In effect, the conquest of the Wolof kingdoms did not lead to an immediate break with the traditional system of rule and did not provoke a major displacement of social forces.[481] The newly appointed chiefs, working under the framework of indirect rule implemented by the French in the early phase of colonization, continued business as usual, raiding and pillaging the population to entertain and support their abundant retainers and personal armies, and by unjustly confiscating their constituencies' meager resources, under the guise of taxation. As far as the administration of the population in the protectorate was

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[481] On the continuation of the power of traditional chiefs under French rule sees, Glover, "Maam Cerno and the Settlement of Darou Mousty, 1912-1947," (Dissertation Thesis, University of Chicago- Illinois,(2000), pp 65-74; Markovitz, "Tradition, Islam, and Politics in Senegal," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 8- 1(1970), p. 82-83, and Robert Delavignette, *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*, (1956).

concerned, the pre-colonial order overlapped and even defined the relations between chiefs and subjects until the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Muridiyya developed first in Kajoor, and particularly in the northern part of this province, which was heavily Islamicized. During his tour of 1889, the French administrator Angot noted the creation in northern Kajoor of new villages headed by Ibra Saar, Maruba Gey, Amadu Gay, all well-known Murid shaikhs, and settlements founded by Njuga Xary, Umar Saar and Biram Fay. In addition to the migrants, Murid shaikhs also recruited disciples among their families and allies. The early development of the Muridiyya in Njambur contradicts the assumption made by Marty and later adopted by Cruise O'Brien and other scholars that the organization recruited mainly among newly converted and superficially Islamicized people in Kajoor and Bawol.

Although Amadu Bamba was from Bawol, the Muridiyya developed in this region later and it only started to expand when the cleric returned from his first exile in 1902. Tensions between Bamba and his family, and the hostility of *Teeň* Cayasin and his successor to the crown, *Teeň* Tanor, hampered the development of the organization in this province. French sources describe *Teeň* Tanor as a friend of Amadu Bamba, but this friendship, if it ever existed, developed later. Murids source recall the situation in Lambaay, capital of Bawol, where *Teeň* Tanor summoned his nephews, Aliu Juuf, Babakar Njaay Cargan and Moor Maane, to abandon Amadu Bamba or to face death.[482] It is probably, only after these members of the aristocracy of Bawol joined Amadu Bamba in Tuubaa in the early 1890s, and the rapprochement with *Teeň* Tanor that the Muridiyya started to develop in Bawol. The expelling of Murids from Njambur and the

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[482] This story is widely reported by bearers of Murid oral tradition and historians such as Musa Ka.

Get province of Kajoor certainly also resulted in the migration of disciples to western and eastern Bawol.

It was after Amadu Bamba's return from exile in Gabon in 1902 that the Muridiyya started to gain a considerable number of followers in Kajoor and Bawol. Murid sources note that it was in 1902, while visiting friends and disciples in the villages of Ňaxal and Sanoosi in Kajoor, that many *doomi soxna* and *Seriň Fakk taal* submitted to Amadu Bamba. The return of Amadu Bamba from exile convinced some of these Muslim scholars who were formerly hostile to the Muridiyya to acknowledge his superior holiness and mystical power.[483] Others joined him as a way of preserving their power base, preferring to benefit from his popularity and prestige rather than to oppose him and lose their own disciples. Demba War Sall's death in 1902, the dismantling of Kajoor, and the division of Bawol into cantons also facilitated the expansion of the Muridiyya. Now that a strong centralized power structure led by chiefs hostile to the Murids no longer existed, the common people were able to more freely join the brotherhood.

The Muridiyya exerted a certain attraction to people of lower social status. The brotherhood emphasized the Islamic message of equality before God. Amadu Bamba criticized the Wolof tradition of ranking people according to the nobility of their birth and the purity of their blood. He wrote that whatever nobility one might claim for his

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[483] Murid likes to tell the story of Cheikh Ibra Joob Masar, a prestigious Muslim cleric of Kajoor who submitted to Amadu Bamba in Sanoosi in 1902. The story goes, having learned about the aura that surrounded Amadu Bamba, Ibra Joob intended to test the cleric. At his contact with Amadu Bamba, the latter handed him 3 pouches containing some *gourdes* (French coins). When Ibra counted the money in the pouches he found out that it equaled the exact amount of money he owed to three people, and the distribution between the sacks matched the verses of a poem he just wrote soliciting the help of three of the Guided Caliphs for the payment of this debt. Ibra Joob Masar is one of the most prolific Murid writing in Arabic.

ancestors, the truth is that these ancestors originated from water and clay.[484] For him the only legitimate rank of a person in a society is the one conferred to him by his greater faith and his superior learning. The organization of the Muridiyya was inspired by this idea of equality, although its development had led to the creation of new hierarchy dominated by Amadu Bamba and his first disciples' families. At the ideological level, all disciples, regardless of their origins, were equally required to submit and humble themselves before their shaikh, and the rank bestowed on the disciple depended on their own actions and accomplishment, regardless of their social status. Bamba assigned works to disciples without consideration of their caste status. He ordered disciples such as Massamba Joob, who was from a noble family of Kajoor, to make leather cases for books, a job that traditionally was devoted to a leather-worker. To Omar Joob, from the weaver caste, he assigned the reading and teaching of the Koran. Disciples such as Maruba Gey, Umar Joob, Massamba Lam, Malle Sow and Mahmud Mbegere, all of casted origins were erected to the rank of shaikh.

The Muridiyya contributed to improve the economic and social status of disadvantaged people as noted by Cruise O'Brien, but it did not succeed in subverting the hierarchical nature and inequality of Wolof society.[485] Some casted disciples enjoyed the rank of shaikh, but they were less successful in recruiting a following among the non-casted. Casted shaikhs mostly recruited followers among their castes. Some Murid shaikhs married casted women, but marriages between casted and non-casted Murids were not common.

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[484] See *Nahju,* op cit, p. 367.
[485] See Cruise O'Brien, "Don divin, don terrestre" op cit p.86.

6.4.3. The Shaikh

The bestowing of the title of shaikh or (*seexal* in Wolof) is a discretionary privilege of the founder of the Murid brotherhood that is rooted in his mystical power. The first shaikhs that Amadu Bamba appointed also held the power to consecrate shaikhs. The appointment of shaikh is a tradition that the Murids borrowed from the qadiriyya. In the qadiriyya the shaikh is appointed during a solemn ceremony, where he is given a turban and a cane, which symbolize his rank as *moqqadem* or representative of the supreme shaikh with the power to recruit new disciples and to distribute the brotherhood's *wird.* Among the Tijaan of Senegal, *moqqadem* bear the title of *seriň,* which is the Wolof equivalent of the Arabic word shaikh, but they do not hold a formal ceremony of consecration. Murids give the title *seriň* as a sign of respect to all religious leaders whether they have been formally appointed to the rank of shaikh or not.

For the Murids the power to consecrate a shaikh is God given. It is a mystical power that belongs in the realm of *baatin* (concealed, esoteric). Therefore, it is the *baraka* or spiritual grace of Amadu Bamba that makes the shaikh. The external sign of being a shaikh in the Muridiyya is to have personal disciples, but it is not the followers that confer the rank of shaikh, as some scholars have inferred, rather they only constitute the proof of the efficiency of Amadu Bamba's *baraka.* As some of my informants have put it, it is Amadu Bamba's satisfaction with a disciple and his prayers that create the love and attention that put the latter at the central stage of his community, and drive

people to submit to him. The discretionary mystical power or *baatin,* of the spiritual leader makes the personal merit of the would-be shaikh less relevant.[486]

There are many different ways of becoming a shaikh in the Muridiyya, and there is not a formal public ceremony or symbol marking the elevation of a disciple to the rank of shaikh. Amadu Bamba consecrated the first Murid shaikhs in Daaru Salaam in 1886-1888. Among these first shaikhs were his disciples from Mbakke Kajoor such as Ibrahima Saar, Amadu Gay, Massamba Joob, Aliu Ture, Shaikh Ibra Faal and his half brother Shaikh Anta. According to oral tradition, Amadu Bamba called the aforementioned disciples, thanked them, prayed for them, and then informed them that they were allowed to leave the village and return to their families or settle wherever they wished to. This practice is called "*wacce*" by the Murids in comparison with the finishing of the Koran by the pupil, or "*wacc*" (descend.) The tradition does not mention that Amadu Bamba formally gave the title shaikh to these disciples, but the latter probably understood that the formal thanks and dismissal by their spiritual leader meant that they had reached a certain degree of spiritual growth that warranted their bearing of the title shaikh in the tradition of the qadiriyya from which the Muridiyya developed. It was the submission of disciples and the rapid development of the villages founded by these first shaikhs that legitimated their new status. For newly consecrated leaders, the gathering of people around them and the submission of members of their families was proof of the efficacy of Amadu Bamba's *baraka* and their own sharing in this *baraka.* The new responsibility bestowed on these shaikhs and the new types of relations they developed with Amadu Bamba further contributed to strengthen their status.

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[486] See interviews with Cheikh Mbakke Maam Balla, Mbakke 29/05/2000; Modu Maamun Ňaŋ, 8-06-2000 and Afia Ňaŋ, Tuuba. 30/05/2000.

The pace of training and consecration of shaikhs seemed to have quickened after the installation of Amadu Bamba in Tuubaa. The practice of commissioning shaikh was a response to the rush towards the brotherhood. We learn from Angot that a number of new Murid shaikhs such as Maruba Gey, who was not listed among the disciples who followed Amadu Bamba to Daaru Salaam, were consecrated in 1889.[487] Isa Jenn, one of the major Murid shaikhs, was consecrated after reportedly one day of meeting with Amadu Bamba probably in Tuubaa. Amadu Bamba stopped appointing shaikhs in the first years of his house arrest in Diourbel (1913), but the task of appointing new shaikhs was continued by the first generation of disciples. Ibra Faty consecrated more than forty shaikhs, Shaikh Anta and Ahmadu Ndumbe each appointed a couple of dozens of shaikhs. Ibrahima Faal also appointed numerous shaikhs. The power to appoint shaikhs was limited to Amadu Bamba and his early followers, after their death the attainment of the rank of shaikh became hereditary. The Murid leadership of today is primarily composed of shaikhs that descended in male line from those who reached the rank in the early development of the brotherhood.

The decentralization of the Muridiyya through the appointment of a great number of shaikhs who provided guidance to the growing number of Murids helped the development of the organization. Based on a survey conducted by the colonial administration, Paul Marty estimated the number of Murid shaikhs in 1912 at 164, Nekkach who was writing in 1952, put the number at 200.[488] But neither Marty nor Nekkach defined what they meant by a shaikh. They mainly listed the most prominent Murid disciples and leaders they knew or heard about, and many of the people they

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[487] See the Angot report op cit.
[488] Quoted in Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides,* p. 101.

mentioned were not shaikh but rather notables, teachers and great disciples. They also left out a great number of Murid shaikhs who were among the closest to Amadu Bamba, because these shaikhs were not involved in organizing the disciples in the countryside, and they were not visible in the entourage of the Murid leaders that caught the attention of the French and Senegalese administrators who conducted the surveys on which their estimations were based.

In reality one can distinguish between three types of shaikhs in the Muridiyya. These are shaikhs who specialized in recruiting and organizing disciples and could be rightly called "secular" shaikh. There are shaikhs who are devoted to instruction or "spiritual" shaikhs, and shaikhs who are both involved in organizing and teaching to the disciples. This division follows the indications made by Amadu Bamba in his letter of 1903 evoked above, but it is also derived from an analysis of the functioning of the Murid order.

The "secular" shaikhs owed their position primarily to their perceived organizing skills and their ability to educate and teach discipline to Murid disciples. They may or may not have been knowlegeable for their learning and piety, but they benefited from Amadu Bamba's *baraka*. They were not directly involved in teaching although they run Koranic schools in their compounds and villages. The French survey of 1912 lists the number and locations of schools run by Murid shaikhs. These shaikhs remind one of the shaikh of education discussed above.[489] Ibra Faal, Isa Jenn, and shaikh Anta are perhaps the best representatives of these types of shaikh. Amadu Bamba referred the majority of disciples of ceddo origins who submitted to him to Ibra Faal and Shaikh Anta. He also

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[489] See Marty, *l'Islam au Sénégal*, op cit. appendixes.

recommended some disciples from Kajoor to Isa Jenn. Amadu Bamba clearly appreciated the role that these shaikhs played in organizing the disciples and spreading the Muridiyya although he was not always enthusiastic about the work they had done, especially with regard to education.[490] He was also critical of their excesses in the pursuit of material wealth and of their rivalries.[491] For instance, the relationship between Amadu Bamba and Shaikh Ibra Faal was not always smooth and he had tense relations with Isa Jenn. The involvement of shaikh Anta in politics and controversial business ventures also has earned him many reprimands from his brother and spiritual leader.[492]

The "spiritual" shaikhs were closer to Amadu Bamba and they constituted his immediate collaborators. These shaikhs originated from families of *doomi soxna* or *seriñ fakk taal*. They were not recognized with the rank of "shaikh" by the common Murid disciples, since in contrast to the "secular" shaikh, they did not acquire a great number of disciples, and their activities were closely monitored by Amadu Bamba who assigned them specific tasks. Amadu Lamin Joob Dagana was the personal secretary and barber of

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[490] Abdurahim Dem, informs that Amadu Bamba, while recommending his farther, Ahmad Dem, a respected cleric that became Murid in 1920 in Diourbel, to open a school, told him that he believed that he has followed all the obligations of a Muslim but one. That is what God says in verse no 51 of Sura 18 of the Koran, where He recommends not to put ignorant in a position of leadership. Interview in Diourbel, May 2000. In *Enlightening of the Heart,* Amadu Bamba deplored that some of the disciples were distracted from studying.

[491] The rivalry between "secular" Murid shaikh enriched by the cultivation of peanuts, trading and donations of disciples was especially intense after the settlement of Amadu Bamba in Diourbel and the establishment of stable relationships with the French. Abdu Samat Sylla recounts that by the time of the construction of the Mosque of Diourbel in 1916-1918, there was a *Kadd* (Acacia Albida) tree in the public place of the Murid quarter facing the mosque, which was called *Kadd uk Junni,* literraly the tree of one thousand Francs, which was the place where only wealthy Murid shaikhs would gather.

[492] According to French archival documents, Shaikh Ibra Faal would stay in Thiès for more than 2 years without visiting Amadu Bamba. In the past Amadu Bamba had written letters urging him to pray and fast, and stop thinking that giving hadiyya was enough. See *Majmuha* p.97. Isa Jenn challenged the nomination by Amadu Bamba of his half brother Balla Coro, as head of the Murid quarter of Diourbel. Amadu Bamba is reported saying, referring to Jenn's attitude, that he "would never again load a draft cow before assuring first that it was sufficiently tamed." As with regard to Shaikh Anta, who was one the dearest brother to Amadu Bamba, he has written to him many times asking him to focus on study and teaching and to abandon his life style. See *Majmuha* p.175.

Amadu Bamba in Diourbel, and he worked with a team of nine helpers originating from the Ňaan, Syll, and Cisse families of Kajoor that had a well-known reputation for learning and piety. These aides taught the Koran, read and corrected Amadu Bamba's manuscripts and assisted in the management of the coumpound and househlod. Majëmb Sylla was head of the Koranic school in Diourbel and he directed the reading and writing performed by a group of disciples chosen by Amadu Bamba.[493] Mbakke Buso directed the school of Gede and coordinated the teaching in Tuubaa. Abdurahman Lo was sent to Daaru Halimul Xabiir where he opened a school and taught Amadu Bamba's sons and sons of other Murid dignitaries. Even today descendants of the aforementioned shaikhs run these schools.

Muslim of clerical background that joined Amadu Bamba generally kept the tradition of their families and they did not have much esteem and respect for "secular" shaikhs, even those among them that belonged to the Mbakke family.[494] However, not all of the "spiritual" shaikhs were happy with their conditions; some of them resented their position and even requested the official title of shaikh from Amadu Bamba so that they could recruit disciples and enjoy the wealth and prestige of their colleagues. But Amadu Bamba was reluctant to let *Doomi soxna* and *Seriň fakk taal* engage in the task of

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[493] See Amadu Lamine Diop, *l'Abreuvement* op cit, p.p. 103-109; see also my interviews with Abdu Samat Sylla, son of Majemb Sylla and Cheikh Joob, a grand son of Amadu Lamin Joob, that runs the Koranic school founded by his grand-father in Diourbel. Diourbel, June 2000.

[494] Gallo Mbay, son of Amadu Maxtar Mbay of Lonoor, one the first disciple to submit to Amadu Bamba in Mbakke Kajoor, recounts that, Elhaj Tako, son and second successor of Shaikh Anta told him that he had heard his father (Gallo's father) make comments about high-ranking Mbakke-Mbakke shaikh that showed that he did not have much respect for them. Tuubaa, February 2000. The complex of superiority of certain Murid shaikhs of *doomi soxna* and *Seriň fakk taal* origins towards other shaikhs is still perceptible. Their perspective on the history of the brotherhood and their appreciation of Amadu Bamba's mission and career is quite different.

recruiting and organizing disciples.[495] He preferred to keep them in his compound or to have them return and continue their teachings in their traditional villages, or in other areas that he chose for them. Amadu Bamba, probably, doubted the capacity of these learned scholars to be able to organize and discipline disciples in the way that tarbiyya requires. He mostly worried about the detrimental consequence of their release on the education of the disciples. We have noted that Bamba was rather critical of the "secular shaikhs" for neglecting their tasks of educators.

In addition to the secular and spiritual shaikhs, they are shaikhs that occupy a hybrid position. These are shaikhs who received the submission of disciples but at the same time emphasized teaching and spiritual training. Perhaps Maam Cerno and Amadu Bamba's cousin, Ahmad Ndumbe, constitute the best examples of this type of shaikh. Maam Cerno was Amadu Bamba's half brother and confidant.[496] He had a reputation of strict orthodoxy and frugality, and it was to him that Amadu referred the disciples who wanted to study and work when he was deported to Mauritania in 1903. According to Murid tradition, Maam Cerno was destined to teaching and it is only by accident that he became a major shaikh. It is argued that disciples were attracted to Maam Cerno only because he was the right hand of Amadu Bamba and leader of the brotherhood when the cleric was sent to exile. They emphasize that he was not among the shaikhs appointed by Amadu Bamba in Daaru Salaam, and it was only gradually that he came to occupy the

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[495] Gallo Mbay recounts that his father, Amadu Maxtar Mbay suggested one day to Amadu Bamba to bestow on him the title of shaikh, and he was not alone among the doomi soxna, in asking for this favor, but Amadu Bamba told him that he had something in store for him that was better than the material wealth and prestige that people are enjoying in this world. Ibid

[496] On the relationships between Amadu Bamba and Maam Cerno, see Glover's thesis, op cit (2000); see also Searing, *God alone is King*, (2001) op cit, pp. 242-254.

position of a major Murid shaikh.[497] Whatever might have been the sources of Maam Cerno's status as shaikh, he seemed to have offered a model that was most attractive to disciples. According to French sources, Maam Cerno, whom they call Ibra Fati, was seen by the Murids as well as the colonial administration as Amadu Bamba's legitimate successor. Not only was he the oldest among his younger brothers, but in addition, he was the most faithful to the teachings and the closest to the model disciple as conceived by Amadu Bamba. Amadu Ndumbe is remembered to have been a tireless worker entirely devoted to Amadu Bamba and his family and a shaikh of great piety and asceticism. Like Maam Cerno, he lent much attention to worship and education. Some of his grandsons still run koranic schools.

6.4.4. The daara tarbiyya

The *daara tarbiyya,* which has come to be known in the literature on the Muridiyya as the working school, constituted the major structure through which shaikhs trained their disciples. The Wolof word *daara* derives from *dar* (place in Arabic) and it has historically designated a place where Islamic education is provided. Murids have *daara* that are exclusively devoted to teaching, which are run by "spiritual" shaikhs or other Murid disciples of *doomi soxna* or *seriñ fakk taal* origins. These Murid *daaras* do not differ from *daaras* run by members of other brotherhoods or Muslims. However, the *daara tarbiyya* is a Murid innovation. The institution was exclusively reserved for those who voluntarily engaged in the process of *tarbiyya*. It was primarily located in the countryside, far from the tumult of villages and towns. Disciples joined the *daara*

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[497] See my interview with Ibra Mbay and disciples from Daaru Salaam, 13-02-2000.

tarbiyya at all ages. Some were male youth confided to the shaikh by their father. Others were adults who had already mastered the Koran but wished to spend some years in the *daara tarbiyya* for their spiritual perfection. Disciples also joined the *daara tarbiyya* at the request of their shaikh. Over time, the *daara tarbiyya* became primarily a site for the training of youths starting at the age between seven, ten and a little older. Theoretically, disciples in the *daara tarbiyya* are required to remain in the *daara* until the shaikh decides their release (*wacce* in Wolof). Disciples in the *daara tarbiyya* or *takk der* (from the leather belt, symbol of hard work, that the first disciples in this *daara* wore) have always constituted a minority in the Murid brotherhood, but they have attracted much scholarly attention because of the specifically Murid nature of this institution.

Shaikh Ibra Faal has been credited for creating the system of *daara tarbiyya*.[498] But although he was important for his contribution to creating the Murid code of conduct described in earlier chapters, it seemed that he did not play a central role in the creation of the *daara tarbiyya.* Murid as well as French sources depict Ibra Faal as a man who loved city life. As early as 1912, he owned many houses in Dakar, Ndande, Kébémer, Thiès and Saint-Louis.[499] After his consecration as shaikh in 1888-89, Ibra Faal settled in Saint-Louis, the former capital of Senegal and French West Africa. He then moved to the neighborhood of Lambinaas in Dakar, future capital of independent Senegal, then to the city of Thiès in around 1910. He was primarily involved in trading along the railways between Dakar and Saint-Louis. Murid tradition does not count him among the great Murid shaikhs farmers and founders of *daaras*. It was primarily his sons and first

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[498] See Cruise O.Brien, *The Mourides*, p 165.
[499] Marty, *l'Islam au Sénégal*, T.1,. p. 246

successors, Mustafa, Mortalla, and Hassan that had the reputation for being great cultivators and heads of *daaras*.[500]

The *daara tarbiyya* seemed to have developed progressively as a coping strategy adopted by Amadu Bamba and his first followers to deal with the growing number of disciples clustering around them. Daaru Salaam was the first trial ground for the system.[501] Traditionally, Islamic schools in Senegal had a strong educative component geared towards forging the character of the young disciples. Referring to this aspect of Koranic education in Senegal, Denis Bouche notes that,

> [The French] persistently saw the koranic school as a poor Arabic equivalent to the French school, but koranic schools are not meant for the diffusion of knowledge, even religious, but they are used to forge the character of disciples...Parents confide their children to teachers that have exclusive authority over them for all the duration of their education. They [the pupils] live like Spartans, they are exposed to hunger and the cold, and they wear rugs and must beg their food. They are assigned chores such as fetching water and firewood. They work the field of their teachers and the study of the Koran is only devoted a few hours at dawn and after twilight.[502]

Bouche's description is certainly exaggerated and somewhat misleading. People, indeed, sent their children to koranic school to both forge their character and to acquire a religious education. Pupils also studied in daytime except for Wednesdays, which were generally devoted to working at the fields of the teacher, and Friday afternoons. Indeed if this description was accurate, Senegal would not have produced the Muslim scholars that have marked its history. However, Bouche is generally right about the depiction of

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[500] See my interview with Mustafa Njaate, Mbakke, July 2000

[501] Sy proposes the return of Amadu Bamba from his first exile in 1902 as the date for the creation of the first *daara tarbiyya,* but hi did not provide details as about the place and circumstances of the founding of this first *daara*. See *la Confrérie Sénégalaise des Mourides*, op cit .p.174.

[502] Denise Bouche, "l'Ecole Française et les musulmans du Sénégal de 1850 a 1920," *Revue Française d'Outre-Mer,* tome LXI, 223 (1974), p. 1.

the hardship, which the disciples at the koranic school had to endure, and the expectations of parents to see their children mature and well mannered at the term of their training. Training to support suffering and hardship, and to overcome adversity, is a strong component of African traditional systems of education.

Those who joined Amadu Bamba in the early development of the Muridiyya were adults and could not be sent to school with a wooden board to start the alphabet. Some already had an advanced Koranic education and were seeking something else. Amadu Bamba referred novices to more senior disciples just as was done in the traditional koranic school. It was incumbent on these tutors to educate those confided to them. The tutors harbored the disciples in their houses and put them to work in their farms alongside nephews, sons and other dependents, in the tradition of a Wolof household. Disciples also contributed to the maintenance of the house and performed different household chores such as fetching water and firewood. Those who mastered the Koran and could read Arabic were instructed to study Amadu Bamba's religious poems and participate in séances of *dhikr* during the night.

It was with the dispersal of the first shaikhs that the *daara tarbiyya* started to transform and to acquire its current characteristics. Newly appointed shaikhs built schools near their villages of origins where they first settled. Then they confronted the hostility of parents and neighbors who resented their occupation of the land and the African chiefs who feared their growing authority. Land and political disputes between Murids and local populations were common in the early development of the brotherhood in Kajoor. This kingdom was densely populated and people were sensitive to rights of land ownership. Amadu Bamba advised many of these first shaikhs that faced land

disputes to migrate to areas where they could more easily have access to land. Many shaikhs moved from Njambur to settle further south in the province of Get, others moved to the districts of Siin around Gossas.[503] During Amadu Bamba's exile in Gabon, many shaikhs left Kajoor and Bawol to relocate in the disrict of Thiès where they were under direct French administration and met less hostility from the population. Gradually, Eastern Bawol, the fief of the Mbakke family, received the bulk of Murids *daaras*.

Murid disciples displaced the nomadic Fulani cattle herders and sometimes forcibly occupied their temporary settlements despite condemnations from the courts that were rarely enforced. The colonial administration was rather favorable to the development of the cultivation of peanuts in which the Murids were heavily engaged after 1912.

It was in this context of pioneer development that the *daara tarbiyya* was gradually shaped. The *daara tarbiyya* was ideologically inspired by Amadu Bamba's Sufi conception of teaching that emphasizes keeping the mind and the body permanently occupied, but shaikhs running these daaras also used methods and techniques of organization rooted in traditional Wolof educative practices. The *daara tarbiyya* resembled the Sufi *ribat*, where disciples were kept secluded from the rest of the world for the sake of developing their bond and perfecting their spiritual training. It served as a major instrument for the conquest of the forest and the expansion of the Muridiyya. Murid shaikhs who could no longer rely on communal solidarity because of tense relations with their neighbors and the remoteness of their settlements, counted on the labor and the resolution of their devout disciples to conquer the land.

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[503] This is the case for example with Modu Jaw Paxa, Aliu Ture, and Isa Jenn who moved from Kajoor to settle in the area around Gossas, in the Siin province.

The *daara* accommodated single male disciples in teams of 10 to 15 headed by a *Jawriň*. The word *Jawriň*, or representative, is a borrowing from the terminology of Wolof political culture. The *Jawriň* was a married adult who lived with his wife in the *daara* and tended to the disciples. He was required to provide koranic education to school age disciples, to initiate older disciples to Amadu Bamba's religious poems, but his main task was to enforce discipline in the *daara*, to distribute work and watch after the disciples. A shaikh could have many *daaras tarbiyya* and he would occasionally visit his *daaras*. The treatment of disciples in *Daara* depended on the character of the shaikh. Some provided their disciples with food and clothes, and forbade begging. Others only fed their disciples during the rainy season, when they were engaged in farm work, and allowed them to migrate to towns during the dry season to beg or engage in wage labor. Disciples were responsible for the maintenance of their *daaras*, and they fulfilled this task after harvest when hay and bamboos were available.

Daara tarbiyya originally grew millet, which was the major staple food in Senegal before it was superseded in urban areas by rice imported by the French. Murid shaikh grew large quantities of millet and such great shaikhs as Maam Cerno were often solicited by the colonial administration for help in time of food shortage.[504] The abundance of food in Murid villages and their discipline and solidarity, also attracted migrants, who often ended up embracing the brotherhood. There was a saying that "A Murid never dies of hunger." Other people joined the *daara* as a way of escaping French control. Daara also welcomed young men who submitted to Murid shaikh as a way of

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[504] See Glover on the contribution of Maam Cerno during the periods of Famine that beset Kajoor in the early twentieth century. pp. 150-161.

contesting household authority and protesting communal land management.[505] With the development of a market economy in Senegal, the shaikhs oriented their *daaras* towards the cultivation of peanuts. The introduction of this cash crop affected the organization of the *daara*. Sy mentions that *daara* specialized in the cultivation of peanuts covered twenty to thirty hectares compared to ten to twenty hectares for *daara* where millet was grown.[506] With the reduction of the cultivation of millet the shaikh was obliged to shoulder the expenses for feeding the disciples.

After some years of exploitation, the *daara* generally evolved into a Murid village. Disciples who finish their duty in the *daara* are generally provided a plot of land and a wife with the help of the shaikh. These disciples often chose to settle near their former *daara* where land was easily accessible and where they could benefit from their shaikh's support and the solidarity of their peers. The villages developed around a well and the house built for the shaikh and gradually attracted people because of the security and sociability it offered. The newly built villages ultimately absorb the *daaras*' land. Some disciples chose to migrate to town or to return to their villages of origins if they can rely on strong family networks. Others, mostly the youngest, often started apprenticeship of a job or engaged in commerce with the support of shaikh and the family. Disciples, in general, see the passage to the *daara* as a form of initiation and a useful preparation for the difficult life that awaits an adult, which they value beyond the reward they expect from God.

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[505] See Guy Rocheteau, "Société Wolof et Mobilité"(Dakar: Orstom ,1973.
[506] Sy, La *Confrérie Mouride*, p. 175.

6.5. Conclusion

The founding and development of the Muridiyya is intimately associated with the spiritual growth of Amadu Bamba and the socio-economic and political context in Kajoor and Bawol in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Muridiyya evolved first as a movement that aimed at renewing and reforming the social order. It was a response to both the contemporary socio-political situation that Amadu Bamba judged detestable and the classical system of education that he blamed for not protecting the society against the ills of the time. In this regard, Amadu Bamba's initiative was not original; in Senegambia, Muslim clerics have always spearheaded movements of reform and renewal in time of crisis.

What was new with Amadu Bamba was the method and approach that he advocated for the achievement of societal change. He did not believe in a top down type of reform where rulers, whether secular or religious, would hold the initiative. He rejected jihad and collaboration with the court. He proposed education as central instrument for the transformation of the society. But in Bamba's view, not all forms of education fit the task. For him, to achieve enduring impact, the seeds of change must be sown in peoples' heart and soul. The type of education he proposed encompassed the body, the mind, and the soul and called for a new pedagogy and teaching techniques that differed from those used in the classical koranic school that mostly focused on the transmission of knowledge.

The education system that Bamba proposed was not exclusively geared toward feeding the mind. It was designed to respond to a variety of demands. Amadu Bamba tried to put into practice Sufi principles and ideas that were probably known as theory

and knowledge in Senegal, but never concretely articulated as a basis for the formulation of a method of education. This system of education resorted to educators that did not always have the traditional credentials and pedigree attached to this occupation, and used unconventional teaching practices inspired by Sufi doctrine. It was this breach with the traditional ways of teaching that caused the critiques and hostility that confronted the Muridiyya at its founding.

However, in the context of French encroachment and pressure on traditional political and social structures, the Muridiyya became a rallying point for diverse social forces that joined the organization for a variety of reasons. It was the profound mysticism of Amadu Bamba, his distance and distrust of rulers, and finally his conflict with the colonial administration that attracted people to the Muridiyya. The decentralized structures of the brotherhood organized around the shaikhs provided the framework for accommodating the people who flocked into the organization.

Shaikhs and disciples played a central role in shaping Murid education. Amadu Bamba provided the inspiration through his writings and recommendations and he also had direct impact on the system through the shaikhs he educated However, because of his numerous arrests and exiles, and his confinement to house arrest, it fell to the shaikhs and their disciples' shoulders to interpret and translate his ideas and thinking into actions. One can safely argue that the ways that *tarbiyya* was practiced in the *daara* was a compromise between Bamba's ideas, the shaikhs and disciples' preoccupation and the constraints of the context. Amadu Bamba clearly deplored the imbalance between instruction and education in the *daara tarbiyya,* and lamented the emphasis that certain

shaikhs put on organizational and material preoccupations over the search for spiritual perfection.

The meaning of such elements of Murid doctrine as *hubu*, *xidma*, and *hadiyya* also changed overtime to adapt to the shifting context of the relations between shaikhs and disciples. Many Murids share Mustafa Mbakke, the current caliph of the lineage of Cheikh Anta Mbakke's remark that Murid disciples less and less care about *xidma* and *hadiya,* but their love to their shaikh remain strong.[507]

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[507] Interview Mbakke, Mai 2000.

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AMADU BAMBA AND THE FOUNDING OF THE MURIDIYYA: THE HISTORY OF A MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN SENEGAL (1853-1913)

VOLUME II

By

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History

2002

7. Chapter VI: French Muslim Policy and Perceptions of the Murids in Senegal in the Late 19th and Early Twentieth Centuries

This chapter provides the historical background for understanding the conflict between the French colonial administration in Senegal and the Murids from 1889 to 1912. It first describes the broader context for the elaboration of the French colonial Islamic policy and practices, and then explores the political and cultural roots of French hostility to the Muridiyya in the early development of the brotherhood. It is my contention that the tension that marked the relations between the Murids and the French, particularly before 1912, was not only due to French overreaction against Islam, but also to the vulnerability of the colonial power at this stage of its development. Most importantly the Muridiyya, perhaps, unwittingly, represented an obstacle for the realization of consent for colonial rule.

Much has been written about French Islamic policy in Senegal. However, not much effort has been devoted to comparing the policy (in its written expression) and its implementation on the ground. Moreover, many approaches emphasize the measures inspired by specific administrators and do not always lend attention to the influence of Africans on the decision making process and the implementation of policies. This chapter examines the historical context for the elaboration of the French Muslim policy in Senegal and explores the set of principles (or prejudices) or common denominators that underpinned this policy. I will also discuss the role of Africans in influencing administrative decisions, especially with regards to the Muridiyya.

French attitude towards the Murids was shaped both by the colonial Islamic policy and the administration's interpretation of the doctrine and practices of the brotherhood, and what they saw as the economic, social and political implications of Murid beliefs. I argue that beyond the "fear of political Islam," French policy towards the Muridiyya was to a large extent determined by the function of the brotherhood as a counterculture. By counterculture I mean a set of values, practices, a cultural code and a worldview that provide structure and meaning to people's lives. This counterculture functioned as a viable alternative to French cultural imperialism, particularly in the areas where the brotherhood's influence was dominant.

7.1. The French and Islam in Senegal in the late 19th and early twentieth centuries

7.1.1. A pragmatic policy

The existence of a conscious and coherent French policy towards Islam in Senegal prior to 1900 has been the object of much scholarly debate. Alphonse Gouilly noted, "Political and administrative measures clearly detrimental to Islam, others favorable to it, have been taken at the same time, sometimes in the same territorial unit, by the same authority."[508] Following Gouilly, Cruise O'Brien observed that between 1854 and 1900, a period that coincided with the conquest and installation of the colonial administration in Senegal, no distinct Islamic policy could be discerned.[509] Christopher Harrison emphasizes the lack of stability in the relations between the French and African Muslim

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[508] See Aphonse Gouilly, *l'Islam dans l'AOF*, (Paris: Larose, 1952), p. 248.
[509] See Donal Cruise O'Brien, *JAH* viii (1967), p. 303.

communities.[510] David Robinson, in contrast, considers that French policy towards Islam and the Muslims was guided by core principles that consisted of opposing any attempts at building an Islamic state or a reform movement that could threaten their political and economic interests, and of promoting people and institutions capable of showing compatibility between foreign rule and Islamic culture.[511] Eunice Charles also shares this view.[512]

The principles of French Muslim policy were derived from the colonial political, economic and cultural project, and the experiences of administrators with Muslim societies in North Africa, especially in Algeria. The French, theoretically, pledged absolute respect for the religion, mores, and traditions of the colonized people so long as these cultural features did not conflict with civilization.[513] Varying perspectives on the role that Islam might play to help or to hurt the enterprise of colonization and the civilizing mission determined the attitude of early French administrators in Senegal towards the religion.

The early generation of colonial administrators who started their career in North Africa had a positive attitude towards Islam. This attitude was marked by a certain paternalism shaped by their positivistic[514] view of the development of human society and

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[510] Christopher Harrison, *France and Islam in West Africa*, 1860-1960, (Cambridge, 1988), p.15.
[511] See David Robinson, *JAH* 29 (1988) p. 416; see also *Paths of Accommodation* (2000), p..87.
[512] See Eunice Charles, "French West African Policy and Muslim Resistance in Senegal, 1880-1890," Presentation at the sixteenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Syracuse, October 31-November 3, (1973), p. 3.
[513] See Paul Marty, *l'Islam au Sénégal* (1917), p. 288.
[514] Positivism refers to the system of thought developed by Auguste Comte who is considered the father of modern sociology. Comte distinguishes between three major stages in the intellectual development of humanity. From his perspective, humanity evolves passing from the lowest stage, which is the theological to the highest, which the positive or scientific stage through the intermediate stage, which is the metaphysical stage. Comte also saw the same linear evolutionary process in the development of religion. He distinguished between three major stages: fetishism, polytheism and monotheism, which he saw as the highest form of religion.

their familiarity with Orientalist works on Islam. They saw Islam as a step upwards towards civilization, which they equated with European culture, compared to the African traditional religions, which they placed at the bottom of the hierarchy of cultures. The administrators considered that Muslims, in contrast to other Africans, had achieved literacy. Islam also provided a code of conduct that fostered discipline, respect for rank and hierarchy, the establishment of law and order and some form of social stability. Some French administrators perceived these features as marks of a higher form of civilization that needed to be encouraged.[515]

Moreover, drawing from their experiences in North Africa, many colonial administrators saw an obvious advantage in using Islam as a tool for administration. Algeria, which was under French domination since the 1830's, was seen as the model to replicate in Senegal. Faidherbe, former administrator of the district of Bône in Algeria and governor of Senegal for nine years, while justifying this policy, observed that Algeria like Senegal presented the case of a Christian power over a Muslim population.[516] Administrators appreciated the fact that Muslims in Senegal shared the same beliefs as their counterparts in the north and that they abided by the same rules, which were spelled out in the Koran and other Islamic works accessible to them. They also understood that Islam had played an important role in the pre-colonial government of the conquered territories and that its use assured certain continuity that could facilitate the transition to French rule. But above all, administrators considered that Islam offered an advantage

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[515] For further discussion of French appreciation of Islam in West Africa see P. B. Clarke, *West Africa and Islam* (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), especially, chapters 7 and 8; see also M. Hyskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa* (London: Longman, 1984).
[516] Faidherbe, *Le Sénégal et la France dans l'Afrique Occidentale (*Paris : Hachette, 1889), p.90.

over the multiple local customs, which not only were not written, but also varied, from one ethnic group to the other.

It was in the realm of justice, education, and diplomacy that the French Islamic policy was more apparent. Quellien mentioned, "The justice system of the fetishists tended naturally to be vague, uncertain and arbitrary because oral tradition varies and is subject to changes ... on the other hand, Islamic law is precise; it generalizes and fixes the customs, it allows the evolution of the law by building on the jurisprudence."[517] It was because Islam provided a written law that could be studied and understood by the administration that the French opted early on for the creation of Muslim tribunals in their Senegalese territories. As early as 1832, the *Conseil Privé* of Senegal had authorized the creation of a Muslim tribunal in Saint-Louis and Gorée despite the fact that the French Civil Code of 1830 was promulgated in Senegal and therefore applicable to citizens in the two Communes.

With the appointment of Faidherbe as Governor of Senegal in 1854, the interest of the administration in using Islam as an administrative tool was confirmed. In April 1857, he created the first *medersa*[518] of Saint-Louis; and in May of the same year he authorized the official installation of a Muslim tribunal in Saint-Louis. In June, Faidherbe passed an important decree organizing Koranic education in Saint-Louis. This decree laid out the conditions for opening a koranic school and recruiting pupils. The

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[517] Alain Quellien, *La Politique Musulmane dans l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, quoted in Gouilly, *l'Islam*, op cit p. 248.

[518] *Merdersa* is a deformation of the Arabic world *madrasa* that means place of study. The *medersa* is a model of franco-Arabic school created by the French, which adapts, methods, techniques and pedagogy used in the French schools for the teaching of Arabic and the Koran along with French. For more on the medersa of Saint-Louis, see "Rapport de l'inspecteur de l'Enseignement Musulman à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française," 10 Novembre 1906: ANS, J 92.

French also subsidized the building of mosques to promote an image of tolerance and religious neutrality.

Along with the building of Muslim institutions, the French worked to secure allies among the African Muslim community of Saint-Louis, which was at the same time the center of French power in West Africa and a city with a strong Muslim identity. They adopted Arabic as the language for corresponding with African rulers and notables. The administration recruited from among knowledgeable Muslim families government agents, interpreters, *qadi*, *tamsir* and Imam to the dismay of Catholics and seculars, who denounced the pro-Islamic policy of the administration.[519] They also contributed to enhance the prestige of their Muslim supporters by sponsoring pilgrimages to Mecca.

The willingness of the French to win the sympathy of Muslims was also expressed in their attitude towards missionary proselytism.[520] The zeal of the administration to stem "impatient mission expansion" was a conscious effort to gain the consent of Muslims for colonial rule. The French feared the political effect of what would appear as an imposition of the religion of the conquerors on the populations and the political and sociological consequences of missionary activities among African Muslims.

The creation and protection of Muslim institutions of civil society and the enlisting of Muslim allies was part of a broader policy that aimed at presenting France as a tolerant, secular, and just power whose rule was fully compatible with Islamic culture.

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[519] On French Islamic policy and its implementation in Saint-Louis, see David Robinson, *Paths* (2000), pp.77-85.
[520] Mervyn Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa*, op cit, (1984), p. 280.

Islam could be used to realize a religious unification of the colony, which was seen as a prelude to an easier political expansion and a more unified and simpler administration.[521]

However, French policy towards Islam in Senegal in the late nineteenth century was not guided by *Islamophily* as some colonial administrators advocated or a desire to antagonize the Church, advanced by some writers, but rather by a pragmatism dictated by the will to preserve political and economic interests. In effect, in the second half of the nineteenth century, when this policy of rapprochement with Islam was implemented, the French position in Senegal was rather weak. France depended on her Muslim subjects who formed the workforce in the Senegalese territories and volunteered for the wars of conquest and punitive expeditions. The colony of Senegal was central to the French imperial project in West Africa. It had been in the hands of the French since the mid-seventeen century, and by the end of the nineteenth century it served as a staging ground for colonial expansion and a laboratory for experimenting with ideas and policies. The Muslim population of the colony was aware of its power, and the pressure it exerted was instrumental in shaping the administration's policy towards Islam. The administration appreciated Islam as a tool for political control, but they condemned and repressed militant Islam as barbaric and backward. In a word, by using Islam, France sought to create "hegemony [in Gramscian acceptance] to parallel its domination."[522]

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[521] Marty, *l'Islam au Sénégal,* (1917) op cit. p. 282.
[522] Robinson, *Paths*, p. 77.

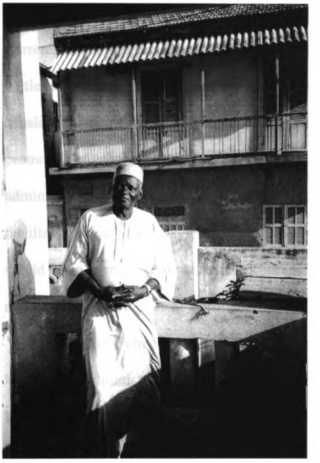


Figure 15: Madike Wade in Saint-Louis.

7.1.2. A policy of containment

Despite the pragmatism of certain administrators who tried to win over the Muslims to the cause of colonization, a majority of the French administrators in West Africa remained hostile to Islam. Even for a man such as Faidherbe, who was considered sympathetic to Islam, the religion was seen as the most serious threat to French domination in the Wolof states. He saw his imperial enterprise in the Wolof states in the late 1850's as "a race against Islam," which if victorious would render the population in

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these areas as hostile to French rule as in Fuuta.[523] Administrators and writers such as Carrère, Holle, Mage and their fellow soldiers who confronted the Muslim warriors in the battlefields of West Africa adopted a more extreme opposition to Islam.[524] They saw the Muslims as enemies of the French civilizing mission and discouraged any policy aimed at promoting collaboration with them or the use of Islamic institutions by the administration. Mage, for example, considered that "Islam is responsible for much of the ills of Africa." He thought, "It would be a mistake to fight it [Islam] openly, but it would be an even bigger mistake to encourage its development;" to do so was for him "to make oneself accomplice of a crime."[525]

The shift from conquest to administration led to a reevaluation of the relations between the administration and Islam and to the adoption of new attitudes towards Muslims, as the French were increasingly confident in their ability to control the areas and populations under their domination. By the early twentieth century, an ensemble of ethnographic studies conducted by colonial administrators among the Muslim population of Africa provided the administration with a body of knowledge that constituted a basis for the formulation of a more elaborate and explicit policy towards Islam.[526] The substance of this program, summarized in the work of Depont and Coppolani, served as a basis for the elaboration of a more steady Islamic policy, especially towards the Sufi orders that remained the principal organizing forces of the Muslims after the defeat of the

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[523] ANS 2B 92, letter 482, Gouverneur au Ministre, 16.10. 1959, quoted in Diouf, *le Kajoor*, op cit, (1990), p. 200.
[524] Eugène Mage, *Voyage au Soudan Occidental*, 1862-1866 (Paris : Karthala, 1980) ; F. Carrère and P. Holle, *De la Sénégambie Française* (Paris, 1855).
[525] Mage, *Voyage*, op cit. (1980), p 303.
[526] Christopher Harrison provides a thorough analysis of this ethnography and its implication on the definition of French Islamic policy in West Africa. *France and Islam* (1988). See also David Robinson, *Paths*, especially, the introduction.

jihads waged by Muslim resistors. For Depont and Coppolani, the Sufi orders were too pervasive and ingrained in the social fabric of Muslim society to be suppressed. They encouraged the administration renounce the use of force against them. Drawing on lessons from the Algerian experience, Depont and Coppolani believed that the use of violence only enhanced the prestige of the victims and furthered the determination of Sufi leaders and disciples. For them, France had to acknowledge that the Muslim brotherhoods were the only social forces able to mobilize the masses and France should manage to cooperate with these institutions in the task of administration instead of antagonizing them.[527]

Following Depont and Coppolani, studies by Delafosse, Arnaud, and Marty demystified the idea of the "Islamic peril" and showed that Islam was not a major threat to colonial rule in sub-Saharan Africa as long as the administration maintained neutrality in matters of religion.[528] However, neutrality for them did not mean impartiality; it consisted both in abstaining from deliberate opposition to the practice of Islam, while making an effort to check the expansion of the religion. They differentiated between "Arab Islam" and "Black Islam" and maintained that the latter was not fanatical and therefore did not present a major political threat.[529] Among the black population they

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[527] X. Depont and O. Coppolani, Les *Confréries*, (1987), first published 1897..

[528] Marty, *L'Islam au Sénégal*, op cit. ; M. Delafosse, see *Haut-sénégal-Niger*, first published 1912 (Paris : Maisonneuve and Larose, reedition,1972); Robert Arnaud, "l'Islâm et la politique musulmane de la France" (1912).

[529] For Vincent Monteil, "African Islam is a black Islam because it is shaped by an animist cultural infrastructure." See *L'Islam Noir*, p. 335. Monteil refers here to the influence of pre-Islamic sub-Saharan African cultures and religions on the understanding and practice of Islam in Africa, but he fails to take into account the different and differing experiences of sub-Saharan African societies with Islam. He also ignores African Muslims' definition and assessment of their religious identity. It is clear that the levels of understanding and practice of Islam and the impact of the religion on the life of Africans vary with their own historical experiences. See also Arnaud for whom, African Islam is not a political threat because it is tainted by animism. Robert Arnaud, *l'Islâm et la politique musulmane de la France*, (1912), p.140 and Harrisson, *France and Islam*, op cit Part III, pp. 91-118.

singled out the Tukolor and the Wolof, where Islam dominated and was likely to continue its expansion, in opposition to the Sérères, Diolas and others who remained faithful to local cultures and religions, and therefore were considered more amenable to acculturation to western values.[530] Delafosse and Marty, in contrast with Depont and Coppolani, saw no interest in promoting Islamic institutions; they encouraged the maintenance of the "status quo" and even supported efforts to curtail the expansion of Islam in non-Muslim areas. They considered that Islam was recently and superficially implanted in sub-Saharan Africa and therefore it was a form of cultural imperialism against which France could legitimately compete. This vision justified the policy of containment of Islam.

This idea of curtailing the expansion of Islam inspired the application of *la politique des races* in Senegal.[531] For Arnaud, *la politique des races*, was an effective method to impede the unification of Islam in West Africa.[532] This policy was first experimented with in the French Sudan (curent day Mali) where it was used as a means of reversing the sense of unity and nationhood that empire builders such as Elhaj Umar, Samori Ture[533] and others might have created by establishing a centralized government over their subjects belonging to a variety of ethnic groups and religions. La *politique des*

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[530] On the ethnic classification of Muslims in sub-Sahara Africa see M. Delafosse "l'état actuel de l'Islam dans l'AOF," *Revue du Monde Musulman*, xi(1910): 32-54; See also David Robinson, "Ethnography and Customary law in Senegal", *Cahiers d'Eudes Africaine* 32(2) 126 (1992): 185 -221.

[531] For more on the *politique des races*, see P.Marty, "La politique Indigène du gouverneur Ponty, *Revue du Monde Musulman* xxxi (1915): 1-22.

[532] This policy that was experimented in the Haut-Sénégal Niger by Governor Ponty has become an elaborate administrative doctrine and philosophy by the time the latter was appointed Governor General in 1908. In a memo he wrote in 1909 Ponty laid out the guiding principles for this policy. See Wesley Johnson, "William Ponty and Republican Paternalism in French West Africa (1866-19150)," in *African Proconsuls*, edited by L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan (The Free Press, 1978), pp. 127-157; Robert Arnaud, op cit. (1912), quoted in Monteil, p. 147.

[533] On Elhaj Umar see D. Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, (Oxford , 1985), and for more on Samory Ture see Yves Person, *Samory, Une Révolution Dioula* (Paris: Memoire de l'Ifan, 3 vol. 1975).

races was also a way of keeping tight control over a recently conquered population whose loyalty was yet not proven. It consisted of placing rulers at the head of each ethnic group and banning the rule of African chiefs outside of their ethnic group. This practice was a version of the policy of divide and rule through the development of a narrow ethnic consciousness among the colonized.

In Senegal, the application of la *politique des races* inaugurated by Governor Ponty and his advisers, Arnaud and Marty, had a religious emphasis; it was a cultural version of the system applied in the other French territories. Ponty banned sending Muslim chiefs to areas dominated by non-Muslim populations. He envisioned quelling the development of Islam among practitioners of the African traditional religions by limiting their exposure to Muslim chiefs whose prestige and clout was considered a major cause of conversion of non-Muslims under their authority.[534] By 1903, with the consolidation of the federation of France's West African colonies (AOF French acronym), and the intensification of the policy of centralization, the French administration started to reverse measures that appeared as factors encouraging the development of Islam in the colony. This same year Governor General Roume suspended the Muslim tribunal of Saint-Louis and would allow its reopening only two years later because of forceful protestations of the Muslim population of the city.[535] The 1903 decree reforming the Koranic schools was also an attempt to hamper the development of this institution and to encourage the frequentation of French schools. This law made it mandatory for Koranic teachers to submit to the administration their

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[534] SeeLucy Behrman, "French Muslim policy and Senegalese Brotherhoods," in *Aspects of west African Islam,* Boston University Papers, edited by Daniel Mc Call and R. Bennet, (1971), p.187.
[535] Robinson, *Paths of accommodation* (2000), p. 134.

judicial record, a certificate of good moral conduct, and to take an examination in Arabic. Koranic teachers were also required to keep a written record of their students in French, and to be granted a license, they needed to enlist more than twenty pupils.[536]

This decree, if rigorously enforced, would have resulted in the closing of all but a handful of Koranic schools in the colony. In effect, many of the people running Koranic schools were in the recent past involved, one way or another, in activities then judged hostile to the French, and which would have disqualified them. In addition, many of the Koranic teachers did not have the Arabic proficiency necessary to pass the examination, and rare were those who could read or write in French.

The administration also moved against the use of Arabic language by the colonial government. In 1911, Governor General Ponty banned the use of the Arabic language in the local courts and all administrative correspondences. Since Arabic was associated with Islam, the administration hoped that forbidding the use of this language in official settings would affect the prestige of the religion. These decrees were, however, not successfully implemented. People continued to open Koranic schools and the administration continued to correspond with Muslim dignitaries in Arabic.

The presence of a strong Muslim identity among the populations of Senegal remained a dilemma for the French as long as the ideology of assimilation was at the center of their policy. Marty, opposing earlier administrative measures that he judged favorable to Islam, advocated the substitution of local customs to Islamic justice. He observed,

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[536] Two administrative decisions, (arrêté) dating from July 15th, 1903 and June 12th, 1906, organized Koranic education in the territory under French law; there was no regulation for the protectorates. For more on colonial regulation of Koranic education in Senegal, see "Rapport à Monsieur le gouverneur général sur les écoles coraniques, ANS, J 86. 20 novembre 1913 by Paul Marty.

> The local customs are malleable and susceptible to our influence. They transform and borrow from our laws and customs. Muslim law, in contrast, is difficult to transform. The transformations that we, as infidels, try to bring about are always ill received and considered arbitrary by the true believers.[537]

Governor General Ponty also worried about the adverse effect of Islamic education on the civilizing mission, he wrote,

> We should not spare any measures susceptible to help expand the use of our language and diminish the number of pupils that attend the koranic schools exclusively. There are, for example, 500 pupils in the municipal schools of Saint-Louis compared to 1,300 young boys in the Koranic schools of the city. (....) We should not subsidize the koranic schools and we must even avoid giving the impression of supporting a religion whose adherents in French West Africa, at least, do not seem always favorable to our influence and to new ideas.[538]

After the establishment of French control over Senegal, Islam was still seen as an anti-colonial and potentially dangerous ideology, but the attitude of the administration towards the Muslim leadership depended on their evaluation of the role that these leaders were willing or could play to support the colonial government. In the colonial mind the "good Muslims" were those who accepted the confinement of Islam to a strictly religious role and cooperated with the administration in their efforts of "pacification" and administration of the population. After the defeat of armed resistance, those Muslims who chose neutrality and withdrawal inherited the label of "bad Muslims" and "fanatics." However, the condemnation of Muslim leaders and organizations by the French was not definite; their appreciation varied with the changing economic and political priorities of the colony. Enemies of yesterday could become friends of today, depending on the

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[537] Marty quoted in Mamadou Ndiaye, "L'Enseignement arabo-islamique au Sénégal," op cit p. 135.
[538] Ibid.

service they could render. In the period prior to 1912 the Murids were mostly classified under the category of "bad Muslims."

7.2. Towards a conflict with the Murids

7.2.1. The French, the African colonial chiefs, and the Murids

During the protectorate era (1886-1904), which was the political order resulting from the treaties signed by France and the defeated local rulers, the French relied on African chiefs, descendants or associates of the former ruling dynasties, for the administration of the new colony. Demba War Sall, former chief of the army of Kajoor, was appointed head of the federation bearing the same name in 1886. In 1890 Bawol and Jolof fell under French control and the same system was replicated there; Tanor Gooň Jeŋ was appointed *Teeň* and Samba Laobe Njaay became the *Buurba* of Jolof.

These chiefs worked under the supervision of the French commandants and residents, but they enjoyed much autonomy and power in their management of the territory under their authority. While acknowledging the suzerainty of their French masters, many of these chiefs recognized for themselves a certain legitimacy stemming from the social status they enjoyed in the pre-colonial era.[539] They retained the trappings of the royal courts and ingratiated themselves with retainers, slaves and *griots*. They sought to exercise full authority over the population under their control, and expected the same level of respect and loyalty that former Wolof rulers received from their subjects.

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[539] For more on the relations between the French and the African chiefs see Kalidou Diallo, "Les Chefs de Canton du Fouta, 1860-1960" (mémoire de maîtrise, département d'histoire, Université de Dakar, 1985).

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It was during this period where the colonial chiefs were consolidating their power that the Muridiyya started to expand in Kajoor and Bawol. The history of the relations between the Murids and the chiefs seems apocryphal for many bearers of Murid oral tradition, who only gloss over the tensions between the two groups in the early development of the brotherhood.[540] The African chiefs soon perceived the Muridiyya as an obstacle to the exercise of their authority. Ibrahima Njaay, head of the province of Njambur in northern Kajoor, was the first chief to complain to the colonial authorities about the Murids. He told Angot during the latter's mission in Kajoor and Bawol in 1889 that an important group of Murid disciples had "invaded his province."[541] These so-called shaikhs lived with their disciples in isolated areas and exploited the naive local populations who gave them land and built for them houses for free. Njaay also denounced the "arrogance" of the Murids who did not respect any authority. He charged that Maruba Gey, one of the new Murid shaikhs in southern Njaambur, wanting to show his influence and power, had insulted him and that he refrained from killing him only because he was restrained by his uncle. Angot also learned from village chiefs in the province of Mbaakol that Murid shaikhs and disciples were disrupting the peace in their communities.

Demba War Sall echoed the critiques and denunciations of the Murids filed by Buur Njambur and his subordinates. He knew Amadu Bamba in Kajoor while the latter

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[540] I have tried many times to convince my interviewees to provide information about the conflicts between the Murids and the African chiefs in the early development of the Muridiyya. Many of them considered it unnecessary to talk about conflicts that have been resolved for a long time, more so that, from their perspective, returning to the past mistakes of the ancestors of now devoted Murids would only embarrass the latter without adding anything important to our understanding of the history of the brotherhood. Basiru Mbakke and Musa Ka blast the African chiefs in their writings for the role they played in fuelling the conflict between the French and the Murids, but they generally avoid citing names or referring to specific events.

[541] Angot, "Mission Angot dans le Diambour et le Baol 1889," ANS 1G 136 , p. 11.

was living there with his father in the 1870's and early 1880's. As we have seen in previous chapters, Demba War was the leader of the ceddo party that opposed the increasing involvement of Muslim clerics in the government of Kajoor after the return of Lat Joor from exile in Salum in 1869. He was against the appointment of Momar Anta Sali, Amadu Bamba's father, to the position of *qadi*.[542] Demba War was the most powerful Wolof chief. He was instrumental in the conquest of Kajoor, and the model of indirect rule he inaugurated in this former kingdom from 1886 until his death in 1902 provided a template for the administration of other protectorates. He was very influential and his advice to the French weighed heavily in the elaboration of their policy in the Wolof states.[543] Demba War resented the gathering of his enemies in Kajoor behind Amadu Bamba and played a key role in convincing the colonial administration of the latter's supposed political ambitions. In 1895 when the colonial administration was investigating the cleric, he was among those chiefs who provided them a list of all the former members of the *Geej* ruling family of Kajoor and their allies that had joined the Muridiyya, in an effort to show the political threat that Amadu Bamba represented.[544]

It is intriguing to note that while the Murids were confronting the hostility of chiefs in Kajoor, they enjoyed a certain entente with those serving in Bawol. Amadu Bamba despised Ceyaasin Faal, the Teeñ that ruled the kingdom until he was deposed by the French in 1890. He blamed Ceyaasin for his drunkenness and his poor administration of the kingdom, but he was appreciative of the rule of Tanoor Gooñ Jeŋ,

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[542] See James Searing, "Accommodation and Resistance" (dissertation thesis, Princeton, 1985), p . 53.
[543] It was, for example, to Demba War Sall and not to the Governor that the Jambur of Bawol appealed in 1889 for the abolition of the monarchy in this kingdom. See ANS 2D 7-1 Baol, correspondence 1889, letter from "Diambours" to Demba War.
[544] See Rapport de monsieur le Directeur des Affaires Politiques au Conseil Privé, séance du 5 Septembre 1895, in Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba face aux autorités coloniales* (1982), p. 62

who was a garmi Muslim, with whom he gradually developed a good relationship.[545] Tanor was among the young princes that had followed Lat Joor in Salum in the early 1860's and he might have had some contact with the Mbakke family there. The tolerant attitude of the rulers of Bawol towards the Murids could also be explained by the fact that this province did not occupy the strategic position of Kajoor in the politics and economy of the colony, and that it was only remotely controlled by the central administration. Kajoor bordered the French outposts at the extreme north and West of Senegal and controlled a good portion of the Senegalese Atlantic coast. This kingdom was the most populous of the Wolof states and was also the largest producer of the colonial cash crop of peanuts. The rulers of Bawol enjoyed much more autonomy than their counterparts in the protectorate of Kajoor and did not resent the infringement of their authority by the Murids.

The major bone of contention between the African chiefs of Kajoor and the Murids was control of the population. Murid shaikhs engineered the migration of their disciples wherever they faced the hostility of local rulers. The loss of population, which was particularly important for northern Njaambur, which experienced a heavy out-migration of Murids during the late 19th century, irritated the chiefs. Chiefs, in fact, were paid based on the amount of taxes they collected, and the loss of manpower was a major blow to the economy of their provinces and their own financial well being.

The chiefs also resented what they saw as the Murid disciples' disrespect of their authority. They were angered by the refusal of Murids to put any authority over God and their shaikhs. They complained that Murids deferred to their convocations only after

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[545] See "Rapport sur Amadou Bamba et ses Mourites", by Lasselves, Commandant of the Cercle of Diourbel, 22 Octobre, 1915, ANS, dossab, p.4.

they received the authorization of their religious leaders. They also denounced the reluctance of Murids to pay taxes while they lavishly gave *hadiya* to their shaikhs.[546] Shaikhs were blamed for usurping the chiefs' prerogatives and interfering with the administration of the people. Chiefs complained that their authority was undermined by the prestige of the Murid shaikhs who snubbed them and declared that they only recognized the French administrators as superior authorities.[547] They developed the idea, which was endorsed later by the French administration, that the Murids were trying to create "a state within the state."

Changes that the Muridiyya provoked in the power structure were also a major cause of tension between the Murids and the chiefs. The development of the Muridiyya, especially in the rural areas of the protectorates of Kajoor and Baol, subverted traditional social norms of hierarchies and social status. Murid shaikhs were of *jambur, doomi soxna* or *badolo* origin; some of them were even, as we have seen, from casted families. Therefore, they belonged to social categories that are traditionally excluded from the exercise of political power. Colonial chiefs, who could claim aristocratic descent, further resented the higher social status of their former subordinates conferred on them by their title of Murid shaikhs. It is interesting to note the particular emphasis that chiefs put on the social origins of Murid shaikhs they complained against. Ibrahima Njaay noted that Shaikh Maruba Gey was a weaver and other Murid shaikhs who disrupted his

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[546] See numerous complaints by Kumba Ndofeen Juuf, superior chief of Siin; Ibrahima Ndaw chief of Ndukumaan, Ibra Joor in Salum, and Mbaxaan Joob, chief of Bawol, dossab, ANS.
[547] Mbaxaan Joob, chief of Eastern Bawol, accused Amadu Bamba of dismissing him by claiming that he only would defer to the Governor's convocation see dossab, April 1903; Marty, *L'Islam*, op cit., also notes this attitude of the Murids, see p.278.

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provinces were former slaves and bards.[548] These same remarks were mentioned in letters sent to the French administration by other chiefs complaining about the Murids. The administrators' image of the Muridiyya as an organization regrouping people of lower class status was shaped by these declarations.[549]

The chiefs were conscious of their strategic position as intermediaries between the population of the protectorates and the French administration and the edge that this position gave them in their conflict with the Murids. Their role was crucial in defining the colonial policy because they mastered the functioning of the colonized societies and controlled the sources of information. Chiefs understood the thinking of the colonial administrators, their fears and expectations, the kind of information they sought, and they learned to manipulate the system by presenting their own political agenda under the cloak of the colony's interest.[550] They exploited the French fear of "militant Islam" to present the Muridiyya as a threat to colonial rule and Amadu Bamba as the next jihadist.

In the early development of the Muridiyya, the chiefs' propaganda shaped French perception of the brotherhood. The latter knew very little about Amadu Bamba and the Murids and this lack of knowledge furthered their fear and prejudices against them. As observed by Behrman, the French were "separated from the people they governed by

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[548] See the Angot report, op cit pp.11-12.

[549] As early as June 1889, repeating the accusations of Buur Njambur and the local chiefs of this province, Governor Clement Thomas was accusing Amadu Bamba of gathering around him the people of low social extraction and of emptying and perverting "his villages." See lettre of Governor General to Amadu Bamba, in Oumar Ba, *Amadou Bamba face aux autorités coloniales* (1982), p. 28.

[550] The chiefs' attitude towards the abolition of slavery constitutes a good illustration of this assumption. Knowing the economic importance of peanuts for the colonial administration, chiefs in Kajoor convinced the French that an aggressive anti-slavery policy in the protectorates would lead to massive migration of slave-owning agriculturalists and to the ruin of the economy of the colony. The French bought into this argument and not only turned a blind eye to the use of slave labor, but also dis-annexed territories formerly under French rule to make it easier for slave owners to continue their practice. It must be added, however, that force labor practiced by the colonial administration was nothing but a disguised form of slavery. In other words both the chiefs and the French administration found their interest in restricting the application of French law to people living in the protectorates.

language, tradition and thought patterns."[551] They principally relied on the information provided by their African auxiliaries, and even when the intelligence that they collected contradicted the chiefs, they tended to abide by the latter's advice. This was the case in 1903 when the administrator Allys sent the spy Omar Ňaŋ to Daaru Manaan to probe Amadu Bamba's intentions, when he allegedly refused to defer to the administration's summon to report to Thies and Saint-Louis. Ňaŋ reported that Amadu Bamba was not preparing a war, that he abhorred violence and was not a political threat although some of his disciples were sources of trouble. However, the administration, influenced by the alarming reports of the chiefs, maintained its plan to attack the cleric and his disciples if they did not surrender.[552]

Its is striking to note the similarity of tone and language between the letters and declarations of chiefs about the Murids and the reports on the Muridiyya filed by colonial administrators, especially between 1889 and 1910. The ideas of a Murid project to re-establish the ancient kingdoms for themselves, the preparation of Jihad, the creation of a "state within the state," and the Murid's hatred of the French were forged by the chiefs and then readily endorsed by the administration. However, the French espousal of the chiefs' critiques of the Murids was made easier because it confirmed their own biases and stereotypes about Islam.

The chiefs were not always wrong in their complaints about Murid shaikhs, although their depiction of the Murid brotherhood as a military and political threat to the colony was an exaggerated and baseless political manipulation. Although Murid shaikhs were not invested with any temporal authority, some of them wielded power,

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[551] Lucy Berman, "French Muslim Policy." (1971), p. 201.
[552] See ANS, dossab, lettre de l'Administrateur de Tivaoune Allys au Gouvereneur Général, 28 mai1903.

bore the external signs, the appearance, and the prestige that were associated with the exercise of political power in Wolof political culture. Murid shaikhs sought to control the appointment and rule of chiefs in their areas of influence. Amadu Bamba's brothers opposed the nomination in 1896 of Mbaxaan Joob, son of Lat Joor, as chief of Eastern Bawol, the heartland of the Muridiyya, and when they could not prevent his appointment, they bought his support to the Mbakke family.[553] In the rural areas dominated by the Murids, some "secular shaikhs" clearly ignored the authority of the African chiefs and even competed with them. Shaikhs paid taxes, but only reluctantly responded to the convocation of chiefs and treated them almost like ordinary people when the latter visited their villages. Some of them incorporated the trappings of the defeated Wolof courts and made great impression on the population. Shaikh Anta circulated in Bawol and Kajoor on horseback surrounded by a uniformed and well-organized cavalry, enjoying as much attention and prestige as a king.[554] Prominent Murid shaikhs were always surrounded by dozens of disciples and they lived in vast compounds and well maintained houses that rivaled the chiefs' headquarters. They were much richer than the poorly salaried chiefs who resorted to pillages and embezzlement of taxes to sustain their princely lifestyle.

7.2.2. French perceptions of the Murids

French perceptions of the Murids and the Muridiyya were shaped by the image of the brotherhood painted by the chiefs, but also by the administration's cultural and racial

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[553] See Plainte des Frères d'Amadou Bamba in lettre de Prempain, Administrateur du cercle de Thiès au Gouverneur Général, 26 mai 1903, ANS 11D1/30 also Political report of Allys, Administrateur de Tivavouane, 24-06-1903.

[554] See Lettre de l'Administrateur René Massetche, Résident du Baol au Commandant du Cercle de Thiès, 25 Octobre 1905, ANS 10D3/0035.

prejudices. This perception changed over time and varied with the changing *rapports de force* between the Murid and the colonial administration, and the French evaluation of the role that the Muridiyya could play as an asset or a liability for the implementation of their colonial goals. Early on the Murids were perceived as a political threat, then they were criticized for being a conservative force that perpetuated and reinforced all that was negative in Wolof culture. At the eve of WWI, Murids were praised for their contribution to the economy and their participation in the war effort. Later on, after WWII when the French engaged in a policy of economic diversification and modernization of the colony, the Murids were decried as destroyers of the environment. Overall, the colonial administration worried about the extreme loyalty of Murid disciples to their shaikhs, and the fact that the Muridiyya constituted a social force that escaped their control.

For the colonial administration and the westernized African elite of Senegal, the Muridiyya represented not only a potential political threat, but also a cultural and economic impediment to the French colonial project. French perceptions of the Murids were, perhaps, nowhere better described than in an article published by a certain Tidjani in the newspaper *Le Petit Sénégal* in 1912.[555] In this article Tidjani observed,

> The mourites(sic) are against the most sacred things [in life]; human rights, civilization, education whether French or Arabic, commerce, the family, paternal authority, freedom, individual wealth, and last, they are against the most basic morals.

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[555] See Tidjani "Le Mouritisme au Sénégal," in *Le Petit Sénégalais*, 5ième année, no 141, (29 Août 1912), p.1.

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Le Petit Sénégalais was edited by Jean D'Oxoby, a French liberal, who was critical of the colonial administration and close to the African elite of the Four Communes of Senegal. Tidjani was certainly one of the westernized Senegalese elite. He was not writing for the administration, but he was an accurate interpreter of their ideas about the Murids. His characterization of the Murids repeats prejudices found in the different reports about the brotherhood filed by colonial administrators as well as in the teachings given to young Muslims in French schools. In essays written by pupils attending the School of the Sons of Chiefs in the early twentieth century as well as in the William Ponty notebooks of the 1940's one finds the same observations and judgments about the Murids.[556] These observations emphasize the ignorance and fanaticism of the Murids, their hatred of civilization, the serfdom in which the disciples are kept, and the shakhs'exploitation of their gullible followers.

The French's negative perceptions of the Murids clearly reveal their irritation and dismay in the face of the obstacle that the brotherhood represented for the spread of French culture and values in Senegal; or acculturation to French culture was at the center of the civilizing mission. In many respects, the Murid doctrine functioned as a sort of counter-culture, "an effective alternative to assimilation with French ideal,"[557] and therefore was a major impediment to the establishment of French hegemony in Senegal. Since culture is an important tool for producing political consent, the colonial administration associated Murid resistance to French cultural assimilation with political

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[556] See essays by A.N. and A. M., students at the Schools of the Sons of Chiefs in Saint-Louis, in Abdoulaye Dièye, *l'Exil au Gabon : sur les traces de Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba,* (ed. Ndigel, Octobre 1985) pp. 98-99. Also see Sakho, Youssoufa, "Les croyances religieuses au Sénégal... ;" Diagne, Mody, "La religion, celle de votre famille, la vôtre ;" Ndiaye, Baba, "L'Islam au Sénégal, l'école coranique", Cahiers de William Ponty, Ifan, Ucad, Dakar.

[557] Martin Klein, *Islam and Imperialism in Senegal* (1968), op cit p.229.

hostility. In his 1950's report, rehearsing accusations and condemnations of previous French administration and writers, Portères noted with dismay in the typical arrogant language of the French colonial administration that the Muridiyya remained the major obstacle to the triumph of French values in Senegal. He wrote,

> Mouridism impedes all possibility of human elevation. It was born and grew up (with our help) whereas all in it is opposed to the political and social institutions, which France has pledged to build in Africa in order to lift the African masses out of the condition of serfdom.[558]

The Muridiyya, indeed, championed values and behavior that antagonized the French civilizing mission. Drawing from Amadu Bamba's Sufi doctrine and Wolof cultural values, it put the community over the individual, it valued sharing wealth over accumulation, it promoted submission and loyalty to religious guides, discouraged rebellion against the colonial rulers, but encouraged withdrawal and distance from anything related to the administration. In the cultural realm the Murids developed a unique persona by emphasizing the use of Wolof as a lingua franca, shunning the wearing of European clothes, and rejecting European manners.

Of all Murid practices, it is "the strict and total submission" of the disciples to their shaikh that earned them the hostility of the administration. The French saw this behavior as a grave violation of the sacred freedom of the individual and a regeneration of serfdom and practices typical of the *ancien régime* in France, rendered forever obsolete by the Revolution. However, as observed by Searing, there was a paradox between the French description of the so called dire situation in which Murid disciples

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[558] See "Aménagement de l'Economie agricole et rurale au Sénégal," fascicule I et II, Mars-Avril, (1952).

were kept and the continuous growth of Murid villages that received migrants trying to put distance between themselves and the French appointed chiefs.[559]

Transferring metropolitan preoccupations to Senegal, the French colonial administration considered the confusion of temporal and spiritual powers in the hands of the shaikhs as a threat to their power.[560] This fear echoed the controversy about the relations between the Church and State in France that ended in 1905 with their separation. The primary loyalty of the Murids to their shaikhs was also seen as a hindrance to administrative control of the population, especially after 1904 when the process of suppression of the protectorates, decentralization, and the takeover of the administration by French agents began.

Murid attitudes towards French culture and customs made them suspect in the eyes of the administration. The loyalty of Murid disciples to the French was questioned by many administrators who considered that being Murid was incompatible with being a good French subject. Governor General Ponty (1908-1915), in a letter sent to local administrators requesting increasing surveillance of the Muslims, noted the Murids' resistance to wearing European clothes, their rejection of French customs, and their scorn of the "infidels" as major preoccupations that warranted the strict monitoring of the

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[559] J. Searing, *God Alone is King*, (Heinemann, 2001) pp. 250-254. In order to preserve their alliance with factions of the Wolof aristocracy that supported the conquest, the colonial administration renounced applying French rule to the protectorates and abstained from reacting against their abusive rule. In addition the *indigénat* law adopted in 1887 and applied to the population of the protectorates gave to the Commandant de Cercle, who was always a French, legislative, administrative and judicial powers that allowed him to be at the same time the prosecutor, the judge, and the enforcer of the sentences, which often included flogging, exposure to the sun, confiscation of properties, and forced labor, without the benefit of court hearings.

[560] See Report sur les Mourides, september 1918, where the administrator laments the growing power of the Murid shaikhs and informs that he told Amadu Bamba to separate the spiritual from temporal power. ANS 2G 18, 12.

activities of the brotherhood.[561] Cor, lieutenant Governor of Senegal, in a memo to field administrators recommending the surveillance of Muslim leaders, singled out the Murids because of what he considered to be their reactionary attitudes.[562]

The Murids did not reject European culture altogether, however. They had a pragmatic and instrumental view of this culture. Murids adopted elements of European culture they deemed useful and compatible with their beliefs, and rejected aspects they judged alienating. Shaikhs bought cars and equipped their houses with European furniture. Some of them wrote on letterhead, though in Arabic, and used stamps.[563] They followed the news in the local French newspapers.[564] Murids did not totally reject French education. Amadu Bamba for example, did not oppose the schooling of his disciples; he rather objected to the expansion of French education in areas that he considered being part of *Daar El Islam* (abode of Islam). He accepted and helped the creation of a French-Murid vocational school in Diourbel, the headquarters of French administration in the district of the same name, but only reluctantly yielded to the pressure of the colonial administration to build a French school in Mbakke, his birthplace and the heartland of the Muridiyya. When pressured by the commandant of the district of Diourbel to start the French school of Mbakke, Amadu Bamba abandoned his customary reserve to ask the administrator why would he force people to study a

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[561] See ANS, 2G10, 5, correspondance no. 566 dated 4-13-1910 sent by G.G. W. Ponty to the Lieutenant Governeur du Sénégal:

[562] ANS 10D3/25, circulaire BP. 67, 09-22-1912, Le gouverneur des colonies aux administrateurs.

[563] Some of these letters with letterhead and stamps are found at the ANS in series G and D

[564] Reports by colonial administrators in the circle of Bawol, especially after the installation of Amadu Bamba in this province, in 1912 and 1914, signal the complaints and preoccupations of Amadu Bamba and some Murid shaikhs against attacks on the brotherhood in the newspapers, "Le Petit Sénégalais" et la "Démocratie"; Lettre du Gouverneur Général à l'Administrateur de Diourbel," 1912 and "Rapport sur les mourides du cercle du Baol," Mars-Avril-Mai-Juin, 1914 in dossab.

language that is not theirs and how would he (the administrator) react if he was compelled to study in Wolof?[565]

The perceived negative influence of the Muridiyya on the economy of the colony was another major reason for French hostility to the Murids. French administrators and businessmen considered the lavish donations of Murid disciples to the brotherhood as an obstacle to the development of the colony's economy. They complained that this practice ruined the purchasing power of the peasants who formed the overwhelming majority of Murid followers, and by the same token distracted important sums of money from the commercial circuit. In a 1905 report, Allys, the administrator of Tivaouane, relaying the grievances of the businessmen in this locality, accused the Murid of stealing a sum of 200,000 Francs from the business of his district between Amadu Bamba's return from exile [1902] and the end of the year 1903.[566] Allys did not explain how this money was stolen, but he was certainly referring to alleged losses of commercial houses due to massive monetary contributions diverted from his district and sent to Amadu Bamba, who was then living in Daaru Manaan.

Overall, French views of the Murids, especially with regard to their contribution to the colony's economic development started to change with the increasing Murid involvement in peanuts production around the years of the installation of Amadu Bamba in Bawol (1912). A report of 1911 noted the potential positive role that the Muridiyya could play for the economy of this province.[567] This trend continued. In the different reports they filed, administrators emphasized how the actions of Murid farmers and

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[565] See Rapport confidentiel sur les mourites d'Amadou Bamba en janvier 1914. p.3, ANS dossab.
[566] Allys, Administrateur du Cercle de Tivavouane, "Rapport politique, commercial et agricole," Mars 1903, ANS, dossab.
[567] ANS, Sénégal, Rapport politique May, 1911" 2G, 117.

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traders were impacting the development of the colony. The Governor General in a report of 1927 praised the Murids arguing that in contrast to certain Muslims who tended to "scorn hard work", the former were opened to material progress and they were not scared to engage in business ventures.[568] By the 1930s the colonial administration became clearly supportive of Murid economic enterprises although they worried about the growing power of the brotherhood.

These positive appreciations of the colonial administration of the role of Murids in the economy of the colony was counterbalanced by the critiques of French developmentalists, who after WWII focused on what they called the "destructive agricultural practices of the Muridiyya". Murids living in the Get region of Kajoor and later on in southern Jolof, and in the Eastern region of Bawol in the early 20th century were accused of indiscriminately attacking and destroying the forest cover of the region.[569] French agronomists considered Murid settlements in these regions as the principal cause of the desertification that threatened this area of Senegal. Murids were accused of systematically axing trees, even species such as *acacia al bida* that were traditionally spared by Wolof farmers because of their positive role in regenerating the soils. Because they were only interested in the accumulation of money, Murids were criticized for the devolution of large tracks of land to peanuts, for skiping fallows, and for cutting the cycle of rotation with millet, and thereby accelerating the depletion of the soil. For the French, the Murids had no respect for the environment and their farming practices were considered a major cause of the rapid destruction of the environment in Bawol.

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[568] ANS, 2G/27-28, 1927.
[569] See R. Portères, "Aménagement "op cit ; see also Paul Péllissier, *les paysans du Sénégal* (Fabrègue, 1966), especially, chapter 6 pp. 301-358.

Administrators also blamed the Murids for hindering the development among the peasantry of technological and economic awareness. The formation of a class-conscious and therefore professional peasantry was seen as a major condition for the economic development of the colony. Conveying this view, Portères considered that by robbing the farmers of their financial independence, by hampering their attachment to the soil, and by hindering the development of a rural sociability, the Muridiyya has precluded the appearance of a class of peasants in Senegal.[570] Portères and others blamed the Murid doctrine of submission for depersonalizing the Wolof farmers by reducing them to mere servants of the shaikhs, whom they compared to the feudal lords of medieval Europe. In a word, for all of these French administrators and researchers the Muridiyya was a negative social force because it impeded the development of the social and economic forces conducive of the establishment of the capitalist relations of production that shape a modern economy.

Researchers such as Michelle Villeneuve and Paul Péllissier have contested colonial depictions of Murid farming practices and have questioned the scientific validity of their assumptions.[571] They acknowledge that the Murids were not good farmers, but they reject the allegation of a connection between Murid doctrine and Murid farming behavior. Based on a study conducted in 1959, Villeneuve, adopting an approach rather sympathetic to the Murids, considered that colonial administrators were merely making up the accusation that the Murids had cleared Eastern Bawol of trees. He noted that only the immediate vicinity of Tuubaa, because it was densely populated, fits this description.

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[570] See, Portères, op cit p. 108.

[571] Paul Péllisier, *Les Paysans du Sénégal* (1966) pp. 340-341 ; Michelle Villeneuve, "Une société Musulmane d'Afrique Noire: la confrérie des Mourides," *IBLA*, 28th année, T. xxviii 110 (1965), see pp. 160-161.

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He observed that Murid fields were dotted with trees and that there was not a major difference between Murid farming practices and the practices of non-Murid Wolof farmers. Péllissier reached the same conclusions. He considered that the poor farming practices of the Murids were rather the reflection of a larger problem that has more to do with the "recent agrarian traditions" of the Wolof than to specific Murid agricultural habits. Péllissier challenged the colonial assumption of the existence of a Murid framing system that was influenced by the doctrine of the brotherhood and which led to the destruction of the environment. He asserted that because the Wolof constitute the social base of the Muridiyya, it is Wolof agricultural practices that dominate among Murid farmers. He noted that Murid peasants reproduce shortcomings inherent in Wolof farming practices, and that the only difference between the Murid and the non-Murid Wolof farmers lie in the conditions of the expansion of the brotherhood. For him, it was in the area of settlement of young single Murids migrants, who did not master traditional farming techniques and were not guided by experienced heads of household that bad farming practices were prevalent. These poor practices were worsened by the fact that immigrant farmers, whether Murid or not, tend to be expeditious and less sensitive to soil conservation than farmers working their own land within their community of origin.

The findings from Villeneuve and Péllissier's research provide us with a more accurate interpretation of Murid farming habits. The administration considered the Muridiya to be the cause of everything they disliked in Senegal. Their perceptions of the brotherhood reflect the general pattern of European perceptions of non-European cultures. French views of the Murids conveyed the Eurocentric and racial prejudices that characterized these perceptions. They harbored an a-historical view of the organization,

which they reconstructed as a social phenomenon that appeared as the work of crafty Muslim leaders who profited from the turmoil of the colonial conquest to take advantage of their distraught fellow Senegalese. French colonial administrators and writers failed to analyze the Muridiyya within the framework of Wolof society and culture and the historical role of Islam in Senegalese society, and were not able to apprehend the religious and social meanings of Murid practices. The French administration also overlooked the deleterious effects that the colonial policies of forced labor, military conscription, heavy taxation and lack of a fair justice and freedom, had on Senegalese in general, and on the Murids in particular. French administrators abstained from researching the motivations of the people who joined and remained in the brotherhood and considered their religious beliefs to be irrelevant. French perceptions of the Muridiyya tell us more about the failures of the colonial cultural enterprise and their prejudices about Islam and black Africans than about the Muridiyya and the Murids.

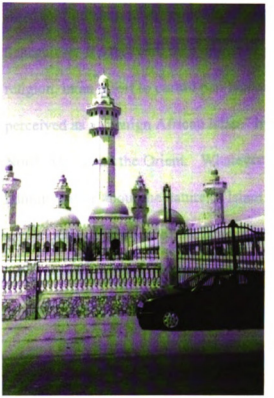


Figure 16: The Mosque of Tuubaa.

7.3. Conclusion

French Islamic policy in Senegal was guided by simple principles: opposition to political Islam, encouragement of the confinement of the religion to the mosque and the private domain, and creation of a Muslim leadership supportive of colonial rule. The place that the colonial administration was willing to give Islam in its policy varied with its changing perceptions of the nature of this religion in Senegal and its appreciation of the Muslim leadership. Administrators that had a universalistic view of Islam looked at the experience they garnered in administering the Muslims of North Africa as a source for inspiration. They encouraged for a while the use of Arabic language in the administration, the spread of koranic education, the institution of Muslim tribunals, and the building of mosques. Those who saw Islam in Africa as a depreciated form of the

religion, "an Islam noir," opposed any policy that could re-enforce the Muslim identity of Senegalese. To this end, they favored a policy of containment and particularization of the religion, in an effort to curtail pan Islamism and stem the contagion of what they perceived as a "benign African Islam" by the more politically dangerous form found in North Africa and the Orient. Whatever might have been the feelings of the individual administrators about the nature of Islam in Senegal, the colonial administration was aware of the deep roots of the Islamic identity of its Muslim subjects in the colony. They avoided open confrontation with Islam and strived to offer the image of a tolerant and religiously neutral government.

The causes of French hostility to the Murids, in the early development of the brotherhood, lie beyond the framework of the colonial Islamic policy. By endorsing the grievances of the African chiefs against the Murids, the French got caught in the struggle between clerics and rulers that was rooted in the pre-colonial past of Senegal. French hostility to the Murids was furthered by the vulnerability of the colonial state, which by the end of the nineteen-century depended heavily on African allies and the use of violence to maintain its rule. When after 1904 the French consolidated their power over the colony and developed a greater confidence in their ability to control their subjects, their perception of the Muridiyya started to change. The French clearly understood that the Muridiyya was not a form of militant Islam, and Amadu Bamba was not a proponent of Jihad. However, the economic, social and cultural implications of Murid beliefs and practices constituted for them major causes of worry. The Muridiyya was not feared because it wanted to build an Islamic state, but because the French saw the type of

society it promoted within the framework of the colonial state as an obstacle to the establishment of consent for colonial rule and the realization of their "civilizing mission."

8. Chapter VII: Murid Conflict with the Colonial Administration: the Exiles in Gabon (French Congo ,1895-1902) and Mauritania (1903-1907).

The conflict between the Murids and the French, which reached its peak between 1895 and 1907, constitutes undoubtedly the most documented episode of the history of the Muridiyya. Because of the abundance of relevant archival documents, and the centrality of the theme of resistance and collaboration in the post-independence historiography of Senegal, colonial writers and scholars have devoted much attention to this question. However, colonial views and perspectives on this conflict expressed through the archival documents weigh heavily on the interpretations developed by scholars. In addition, most approaches have taken a broad view of the conflict, neglecting an analysis of the internal politics of the administration and how this might have impacted the situation. Many gaps and silence persist: for example, beyond the explanation provided by the administration to justify Amadu Bamba arrests and exiles in 1895 and 1903, how did the cleric and his disciples see these events? Was the Muridiyya a real threat? How did the Murids survive Amadu Bamba's seven years deportation to Gabon and his four year exile in Mauritania? What explains the continuous tension between the Murids and the French after Amadu Bamba's return from exiles? What is the impact of the conflict in the development of the Muridiyya? The previous chapters have given partial responses to some of these questions. Here I intend to offer a thorough discussion of the arguments put forward by the French to explain their conflict with the Murids. I also offer a careful analysis of the events and circumstances that led

to the conflict, and I draw from the broad political context in the colony and internal developments within the brotherhood to explain the relationships between the French and the Murids from 1889 to 1907.

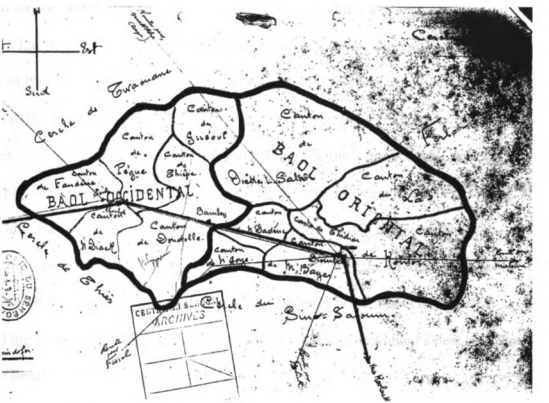


Figure 17: The District of Diourbel in 1910.

8.1. The Conflict

8.1.1. First alerts

Before 1889 the Murids were not known to the French colonial administration of Senegal. The name of Amadu Bamba appeared for the first time in the colonial records in this same year. The cleric was at least thirty-four years old. He had been living between Bawol, Kajoor and Saalum for many years, and was getting increasingly popular as a Muslim scholar and Sufi shaikh. It was this growing popularity that attracted the

French administration's attention to his activities. In the first report filed about Amadu Bamba in March 1889, Tautain, the Political Director of the colony of Senegal, mentioned that he heard that a certain *marabout* named Amadu Bamba may be building a house in the forest of Mbafar (probably a deformation of "*allub Mafary*" literally Mafary's forest, which was the name given to the area by the local population), at the borders of Bawol, Jolof and Kajoor. And he added that if this was true, then the strategic location of the place chosen by the cleric warranted a discreet surveillance of his activities.[572] A month later, the administrator Angot, during a mission in Kajoor and Bawol, provided more detailed information about the Murids living in northern Kajoor.[573] By this time Bawol was still under the authority of *Teeñ* Ceyasin Faal, an ally of the French, but a plan was already being concocted in the office of the Governor for the annexation of this kingdom. The following year (1890), a brigade sent to Bawol, deposed the *Teeñ,* claimed Bawol as a French possession, and appointed a new king that ruled on behalf of the colonial administration.

From 1889 to 1892 the relationships between the Murids and the French were marked by tensions fueled by reports emanating from Buur Njambur and the superior chief of Kajoor, Demba War Sall, that denounced the activities of Amadu Bamba and his disciples. For Basiru Mbakke, Amadu Bamba's son and biographer, the chiefs and Muslim leaders that sent these reports to the colonial administration were hostile to the Muridiyya because of the organization's growing influence in northern Kajoor and the threat it represented for their prestige and authority.[574] He observed that the French did

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[572] See report in Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba face aux authorités colonials*, p. 25.
[573] Ango report, ANS, 1G 136.
[574] See Basiru Mbakke *Les Bienfaits*, p. 65 ; also Ahmad L. Diop, *L'Abreuvement*, p.29

not know much about the Murids and Amadu Bamba, and they believed everything that the enemies of the Muridiyya reported to them. They ordered the deportation of all Murid disciples in Kajoor to Tuubaa, the headquarters of their shaikh.[575] In reality, for the colonial authorities what mattered the most was the maintenance of peace and stability in Kajoor. This new possession acquired in 1886, was the largest and richest kingdom in Senegal and it had opposed a stiff resistance to French occupation for more than three decades. Kajoor was also important for the colonial administration because they saw the policy of indirect rule inaugurated in this protectorate as an important experiment, which if successful, could be replicated elsewhere in the empire.

The flux of Murid disciples to Tuubaa and complaints against abuses inflicted by chiefs prompted Amadu Bamba to write to Clément Thomas, then governor of Senegal. I was not able to find a copy of this first correspondence that the cleric sent to the French, but the Governor's response dating from June 27th gives us insights into the content and context of the letter.[576] Amadu Bamba's letter was probably written in early June 1889, three months after the report filed by Tautain, the head of the Political Affairs Bureau, and two months after Angot's tour in northern Kajoor and Western Bawol.[577] The correspondence was a reaction to the expulsion of Murid disciples and shaikhs from Njambur and Geet. Amadu Bamba probably informed the Governor that the people expelled from Kajoor were affiliated with him, and he pleaded for their return and the restitution of their properties confiscated by the chiefs. In his response conveyed to the cleric by the *qadi* of Kajoor, the Governor confirmed that he gave the order to expel the

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[575] Ibid. p.65

[576] See Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba*, p 28; Basiru Mbakke also mentions this letter, *Les Bienfaits*, p. 65.

[577] See my analysis of these two reports below.

Murids out of "his (sic) country" because of their bad behavior. He also told Amadu Bamba that the people that he had expelled must not be his relatives or disciples because they were against everything sacred to the Muslims.[578] Amadu Bamba responded to the governor's letter in early July, reassuring him about his political stance and reaffirming that he "needed nothing in this futile and transient world."[579]

This exchange of letters was the first act in a series of contacts that continued for two to three years. The Murids probably persisted in their complaints since according to Basiru Mbakke, the Governor finally ordered an inquiry into the conflict, and findings from this probe prompted him to reverse his previous position by allowing the disciples to settle and live wherever they wanted in the colony, as long as they abided by the rule of law and respected administrative authorities.[580]

The account of this first conflict between the Murids and the French told by P. Marty, who repeats the report filed by Leclerc, adnimistrator of the disctrict of Saint-Louis and main accuser of Amadu Bamba during his trial of 1895, proposes a different chronology. For Marty, Governor Clément Thomas first tried a policy of conciliation by asking Amadu Bamba to get rid of his troublesome disciples and by sending him religious books in order to win his friendship.[581] According to Marty, the Governor even tried to use the Koran and Islamic principles to convince the cleric to condemn the outrageous mistakes of his disciples. It was only after this method failed that he ordered the expulsion of the Murids out of Njambur and Kajoor. This account raises many questions. First, it appeared in 1895 as part of the report accusing Amadu Bamba of

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[578] Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba*, p. 28.
[579] See Paul Marty, *Etudes sur l"islam au Sénégal*, (1917), op cit. p. 225.
[580] Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, p. 66.
[581] Paul Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam*, p. 225.

attempting to wage a Jihad. Second, neither Leclerc nor Marty were able to provide contemporary documents to support their assumptions. The only known letter of Clément Thomas to Amadu Bamba that dates from 1889 is a response to the cleric's correspondence, which suggests that Amadu Bamba contacted the administration first, and if this was the case, then it could only have been after the expulsion of Murid disciples. Third, while Leclerc and Marty both asserted that the Murids were expelled because they were calling for a jihad against the French, the Governor's letter did not mention this word, he rather blamed the Murids for being bad Muslims who disturbed the peace and encouraged the migration of people.[582] Fourth, by 1889, the Muridiyya did not constitute a threat and was not powerful enough to warrant that the highest-ranking French administrator take the initiative to seek its cooperation. Rather the logic of colonial policy, especially with regard to new conquered territory, was to punish first and only to show magnanimity after the "guilty" party had submitted. It is evident that in their reconstruction of this first episode of the relationships between the Murids and the French, Leclerc and Marty aimed at making the case for the indictment of Amadu Bamba, and cared less about historical accuracy.

However, both colonial and Murid sources agree that by 1892 the tensions between the Muridiyya and the French colonial administration had receded. The best illustration of this situation was perhaps Amadu Bamba's trip to Saint-Louis, which took place this same year. Amadu Bamba had been in the capital of the colony before, but this was his first meeting with the Governor

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[582] Oumar Ba, *Amadou Bamba*, p. 28. op cit.

It is probably after this visit that the Governor sent Bamba the books that Marty alluded to, by way of following up the relationship built during the visit. To my knowledge, from 1892 to 1895, the date when the tensions between the administration and the Murids resumed, no colonial report about the Muridiyya was filed. The absence of archival documents on the Murids during this period means that the French were not worried about the organization.

8.1.2. The exile in Gabon

The relationship between the French and the Murids deteriorated rapidly between June and July of 1895, immediately after Amadu Bamba moved to Jolof in April of the same year. The reading of the archival documents pertaining to the conflict suggests that reports sent to Leclerc, administrator of the district of Louga, by the superior chief of Kajoor and the Buur Njambur, and information provided by intelligence agents constituted the cause of this deterioration. These reports informed the administration that Amadu Bamba had a considerable influence in lower-Senegal and that his activities and those of his disciples were a major threat to the stability of the regions of Jolof, Kajoor, Bawol and Waalo.[583] Upon receiving this information, the interim Governor of Senegal and Dependences, Mouttet, ordered Leclerc to investigate the situation.

In his report of July 10th where he summarized his findings, Leclerc outlined a number of grievances against Amadu Bamba and his disciples.[584] The gravest accusation he made was that Amadu Bamba's disciples were engaged in intense

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[583] See the report of Merlin, Director of Political Affairs, to the Governor General, in Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba*, op cit., p. 43.
[584] See Leclerc report, ANFOM sen 4/127.

proselytizing and that the chiefs of provinces neighboring Jolof had learned that weapons were being transported to the cleric's compound. He signaled that Amadu Bamba could mobilize a thousand followers, but it was likely that he was not going to move until the end of the rainy season, which would coincide with the month of October. Leclerc added that he was unable to fathom Amadu Bamba's intention despite the fact that spies sent from his office as well as those sent by the African chiefs had been monitoring the cleric and his disciples' activities for sometime. However, he indicated that he was not surprised by the failure of his intelligence gathering effort because he knew that Amadu Bamba was too cautious to betray his intentions. Leclerc also rehearsed the events of 1889-1892 to explain the continuous threat that the Murids represented to the colony.

Leclerc's report triggered the process that led to the decision of the interim Governor, Mouttet, to order the arrest and trial of Amadu Bamba. The cleric was brought before the *Conseil Privé* where he was tried and sentenced to indefinite deportation to Gabon, in French Equatorial Africa in September of 1895. The report presented by Merlin, the Director of Political Affairs of the colony, to the *Conseil Privé* laid out the charges against Amadu Bamba.

Merlin acknowledged up front that no material evidence of Amadu Bamba's intention to wage jihad could be produced, but he noted that there were precedence and circumstances that substantiated his guilt and warranted the adoption of pre-emptive measures. He started by reconstructing the life story of Amadu Bamba to show his historical ties with Lat Joor and the aristocracy of the kingdom of Kajoor. Merlin indicated that Amadu Bamba was born in Kajoor, but left this kingdom immediately after the death of Lat Joor in 1886 because this kingdom had fallen under French domination.

Merlin's informants, some of whom worked with Momar Anta Sali, Amadu Bamba's father, were clearly aware that Bamba was actually born in Bawol and that he did not move to Kajoor until he was in his twenties. The association between Amadu Bamba's migration to Bawol and the year 1886 was also deliberate. We have seen that the cleric left Mbakke Kajoor for Bawol at least two years before the death of Lat Joor. But by associating the demise of the *Dammeel* with the migration of Amadu Bamba, Merlin wanted to construct a behavioral pattern that rationalized all of Amadu Bamba's activities in the region as politically meaningful actions consciously directed against French interests.

Pursing this goal, Merlin interpreted Amadu Bamba's migration between Kajoor, Bawol, and Jolof as evidence of an attempt on the part of the cleric to escape French authority and to take advantage of weak and unpopular African rulers in order to assert his power. He wrote[585],

> After the death of Lat Dior, Ahmadou Bamba immediately moved to Baol. This province was then ruled by Tieyacine Fall, a brutal and drunken tiedo whose authority was only supported by some favorites who took advantage of his vices to constantly plunder the population. Ahmadou Bamba might have expected to be able to, one day, take control of the Muslim faction of the population and depose Tieyacine, who had become unsupportable, and rule the kingdom; or if he could not do so, to appoint a ruler loyal to him, Tanor Gogne, for example.

Merlin omitted to mention that Bawol was the land of Amadu Bamba's ancestors and his birthplace, and as observed in the previous chapters, Amadu Bamba's migration to this kingdom was motivated by the hardships and difficulties that he had experienced in Kajoor after the death of his father. In addition, Bawol had signed a treaty with

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[585] See report in Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba*, pp. 45-46.

France since 1883 and was considered a French protectorate; therefore, by migrating to this region Amadu Bamba remained under French control.[586] Merlin also forgets to mention that Tanor Gooň, whom he identified with hindsight as the cleric's heanchman, and the assassin of Lieutenant Minet (1887), was in fact appointed by the French as *Teeň* of Bawol in 1890, at a time when the colonial administration had been already in contact with Amadu Bamba. Merlin used the same argument to explain Amadu Bamba's migration to Jolof in 1895, still overlooking the fact that Samba Lawbe Njaaay, the *Buurba* Jolof whom he considered to be an accomplice of Amadu Bamba, was also a French appointee. Therefore, in Bawol as well as well in Jolof, where Merlin suspected that Amadu Bamba was plotting to seize power with the complicity of the local rulers, the cleric was, in fact, under the authority of allies of the French or kings appointed by the colonial administration.

In reality, Amadu Bamba had had tumultuous relationships with African rulers who initially saw his reservation and search for autonomy from the court as a form of contestation of their authority until, with the passage of time, they realized that he was not interested in political power. Amadu Bamba certainly struggled to distance himself from all centers of temporal power, and in this he was following the tradition of pious Muslims and Sufi leaders who always sought social and geographical distance from rulers. This attitude was not proof of an intention to oppose the colonial administration.

Merlin also rehearsed and reinforced the accusations made by Leclerc by inventing facts to exaggerate the threat that the Murids allegedly represented. He put the number of disciples likely to follow Amadu Bamba in his revolt, estimated by Leclerc

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[586] See monographie du cercle de Diourbel, ANS, 10D5/ 8.

at 1000, to 5000 in Njambur alone.[587] He also noted, without naming them, that a number of former chiefs and *jamburs* were ready to join Amadu Bamba in his projected rebellion. He mentioned that Amadu Bamba's disciples in Tuubaa and Mbakke were buying weapons, donkeys and horses, and that people were hired to pound millet and prepare provisions for the imminent jihad that the cleric was preparing. To support these accusations, Merlin referred to reports from chiefs, which were neither produced during the trial nor available at the archives.

After making his points about the intentions, connections, and power of Amadu Bamba, Merlin applied to the cleric the label "*Tijaani.*" He noted that Amadu Bamba, who was a member of the Qadiriyya, a brotherhood that he considered friendly to the French, was now also professing the Tijaniyya, the Muslim Sufi order which for the administration of Senegal, epitomized intolerance, fanaticism, and jihad. In the report sent to the Minister of Colonies, Amadu Bamba was no longer portrayed as a *Qadiri* practicing *Tijaani* rituals, but a hardcore *Tijaani.* The accusation that Amadu Bamba was practicing *Tijaani* rituals, therefore he was preparing for a jihad, is an obvious case of guilt by association. Since Alhaj Omar, Maba, Amadu Shaikhu the Madiyanke, and Amadu Lamin Dramé (all clerics that waged jihad in Senegal against the French) belonged to the *Tijaani* Muslim brotherhood, then for Merlin, Amadu Bamba, who was initiated into this order must also be preparing for a jihad.

Amadu Bamba was in fact a *qadiri* by obedience, but leaders of this brotherhood, especially those belonging to the Sidiyya branch to which the cleric was affiliated, were known for their eclecticism. The initiation of Amadu Bamba to the Tjaniyya did not

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[587] This was indeed a large overestimation. In fact, Marty had estimated the number of Murid in Njambur in 1913 at 450. See Marty, *Etudes*, op cit., p.320.

have practical effects on the organization of his disciples and his teachings; it was rather a step in his spiritual and intellectual quest. Indeed, Amadu Bamba was opposed to the Jihad of sword, and as we have seen, he was critical of Maba, Amadu Shaikhu and the other jihadists for the devastating consequences of their military actions on the people. He opted early on for what he called the "jihad of the soul."

To cap his charges Merlin warned the administration against Amadu Bamba's plea for peace and his petition of loyalty by reminding them of the deceitful attitudes of the Muslim jihadists whose strategy had always consisted of allaying the vigilance of the administration before striking treacherously. Following Leclerc's report, he concluded by asking that Amadu Bamba be deported to Gabon, his disciples dispersed, and his ceddo followers put under the custody of the trusted chief of Waalo, Yamar Mbooj. Here too Merlin overlooked the fact that unlike Amadu Bamba, none of these clerics that waged jihad ever traveled to Saint-Louis to meet the Governor and pledge for peaceful relations, and none of them had pursued continuous contacts, keeping the administration abreast of his activities. In fact, according to Mbakke Buso, as late as early 1895, Amadu Bamba was in contact with the Governor and he kept the latter informed about his projects. Buso informed that he was personally commissioned by Amadu Bamba to travel to Saint-Louis to consult with the Governor [de Lamothe] about the cleric's intention to move to Jolof in April. Referring to his meeting with the Governor, Mbakke Buso told Basiru Mbakke,[588]

> The Governor of Saint-Louis was very happy about the letter I gave him [on behalf of Amadu Bamba] and the fact that we were consulting with him. He really

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[588] Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, op ci., p. 72.

honored me and he gave me a bundle of fabrics as gift to bring for the Shaikh. This was the state of our relationships until confusion settled in, because of the collusion between slanderers and agents of the administration, and the spies' plots.

It is clear that Merlin's report was intended as evidence for the prosecution of Amadu Bamba, and that the colonial administration had already made up its mind about the guilt of the cleric even before the trial began.[589] One cannot find a single element in the report that pleaded for the exoneration of the cleric. The decision to try Bamba before the *Conseil Privé*, which was composed of high ranking French civil servants likely to approve whatever decision the administration wanted, and not before the *Conseil Général*, where elected African councils might have challenged Merlin's allegations, betrays the true intension of the colonial administration. Therefore, one needs to look beyond the "evidence" presented by Merlin and Leclerc in their reports, and to analyze carefully the broader administrative and political context in the colony at the time to better understand the motives and circumstances behind the arrest and exile of Amadu Bamba.

It is intriguing to note that the deterioration of the relations between Amadu Bamba and the French administration occurred suddenly and at a period of a relative power vacuum at the head of the colony. The tenure of Governor de Lamothe, who seemingly had a good relationship with Amadu Bamba and the Murids, if one can judge from the visits of Murid dignitaries to Saint-Louis and the exchange of letters and gifts, was terminated in May of 1895. His replacement, Jean Baptist Chaudié, joined his post only after September 1895 when Amadu Bamba had been already arrested, tried, and sentenced to deportation in Gabon. Therefore, the accusation, investigation, prosecution,

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[589] See James Searing, *God alone is king*, (Heinemann 2002), p 78.

trial, and sentencing of Amadu Bamba took place between June and September, a period where the highest administrative position in Senegal was held by an interim Governor, who relied heavily on field administrators and on the Political Director to run the colony. This period also coincided with the rainy season, which is an unhealthy time during which the highest-ranking colonial authorities in Senegal were usually on leave in France. In fact, six out of the ten administrators that sat in the session of the *Conseil Privé* that heard Amadu Bamba's case were filling in for colleagues on vacation.[590]

It is even more intriguing that the Political Director, Merlin, and the administrator of Louga, Leclerc, who were the architects of the arrest and trial of Amadu Bamba, were also in the colony between 1889 and 1892 when the administration first clashed with the Murids, and they were both involved in the event. Leclerc in his report of August 15th 1895, which supplied much of the arguments presented by the Political Director before the *Conseil Privé*, regretted his failure in 1892 to arrest the cleric before the latter met with the Governor to plead his case.[591] Merlin and Leclerc probably resented the fact that the Murids, who were simple subjects living in the protectorates, were able to built direct contacts with the Governor and bypass their authority, a situation that somewhat hurt their prestige before the African chiefs who reported to them. The two administrators might also have been frustrated by the fact that Governor de Lamothe, who ruled the colony between 1891 and 1895, did not share their belief that Amadu Bamba and the Murids were a danger that needed to be dealt with. One Murid

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[590] The councils that sat in the trial of Amadu Bamba are: MM. Mouttet, interim Governor; de Kersaint-Gilly Commissioner for the Colonies, head of the administrative service; Boyer, Lieutenant-Colonel, interim Superior Commander of the Colonial Army; Jurquet, interim Director of Internal Affairs; Cnapelynck, interim Attorney General; Clarac, Physician, interim Chief of Health Services; Nogaret, Navy Lieutenant representative of the Commander of the Naval Forces; J. Beziat, private council; Sambain, deputy private council; M. Superville, interim secretary archivist. See Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba*, p. 62.
[591] Leclerc report of July 15th Anfom sen 4/127 p.5.

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researcher maintains that de Lamothe masterminded the conspiracy against Amadu Bamba before leaving Senegal, but I have not seen evidence supporting this assumption.[592] In reality, de Lamothe, who took office during the "Jeandet Affair," was rather preoccupied with asserting the administration's authority in the Communes by controlling and curbing the growing power of those that Robinson calls the Saint-Louis "opposition," and he entertained good relationships with Amadu Bamba and the Murids.[593]

One can rightly argue that the Political Director, Merlin, and the administrator Leclerc played the critical role in Amadu Bamba's arrest and exile. They took advantage of the instability of the administration during an interim period and the absence of key administrative figures in the colony to carry out their enterprise. The alarming reports that the African chiefs of Kajoor sent to the administrator of Saint-Louis and which led to Amadu Bamba's arrest after three years of peaceful relations with the colonial administration, were probably prompted by the hostile attitude of these two administrators against the cleric and his disciples. African chiefs, as seen in the previous chapter, had their own reasons to fear and antagonize the Muridiyya; they have been trying since 1889 to convince the administration to repress the movement. What was new in 1895 was the way that Merlin and Leclerc treated the information they provided to them. They used this information to convince the *Conseil Privé* to rid the colony of the man they saw as a threat to its stability and a hindrance to their authority. These two administrators probably found sympathetic and listening ears among the veteran

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[592] Cheikh Abdoulaye Dièye, *l'Exil au Gabon, 1895-1902, sur les Traces de Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba*, ed. Ndigel, Octobre, 1985.
[593] On the Jeandet Affairs and the involvement of the Saint-Louis "opposition," see Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation*, op cit (2000), pp 64-69.

administrators of the *Conseil Privé*, who certainly worried about the appointment of of Governor Chaudié, a Paris colonial bureaucrat, who had no experience with Africa and the colonies. These career colonial administrators might have anticipated that the new governor (sent to reorganize the administration of the colony and lead the newly created Federation of French West African territories (1895)) might not be easily swayed into engaging in a conflict in the protectorates and readily accepted the idea of a pre-emptive strike against the Murids.

Amadu Bamba's arrest also took place in a context of assertion of colonial power. The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century marked the final phase of French conquest of Senegal and the beginning of the gradual effort for administrative centralization. The School for the Sons of Chiefs that trained African chiefs and interpreters, which was closed in 1872, was reopened again in 1892. This decision signaled the colonial government intention to move ahead with the aggressive policy of colonization that began with Faidherbe in 1854, but experienced diverse fortunes with the ebbs and flows of France metropolitan politics. During their tenures as governor, Clément Thomas (1889-1891) and de Lamothe (1891-1895) both tried to assert the administration's authority in Saint-Louis and to re-enforce French control of the administration of the protectorates.[594] After the death of *Teeň* Tanor Gooň in 1894, de Lamothe divided the kingdom of Bawol into two provinces, Eastern and Western Bawol, and he appointed Mbaxaan Joob, son of Lat Joor and Salmon Faal, son of Ceyasin, former *Teeň,* both alumnus of the School of chiefs in Saint-Louis and graduates from Tunisia, respectively, superior chiefs of Eastern Bawol and Western Bawol. These two

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[594] On the policy of these two governors see Robinson, *Paths*, p. 69.

chiefs took office in 1896. The Murids, as we have observed in the previous chapter, opposed the nomination of Mbaxaan Joob, then only sixteen years old, and his appointment might be seen as motivation for Amadu Bamba to move to Jolof, where his ancestors originated.

Although the effort for administrative centralization might have had an influence on the relationships between the Murids and the French in Bawol, it does not fully explain the conflict that led to the arrest and deportation of Amadu Bamba in 1895. It might be that Merlin, who oversaw and engineered the administrative reform of Bawol, in his capacity as political director, took it as a duty to clear the way for the newly appointed superior chiefs that he contributed to train, by removing what he anticipated to be an obstacle to their rule. However, Merlin's position did not reflect the overall orientation that has been guiding French policy since the beginning of the tenure of Clément Thomas.

In fact, in 1895, Bawol was not of vital importance to the French. Politically this kingdom had been under the French sphere of influence since 1883, when Ceyasin Faal signed a treaty with captain Dupré.[595] When France decided to take control of Bawol in 1890, not a single shot was fired; Ceyaasin was removed and Tanor appointed at his place. Amadu Bamba and his community lived at the fringes of Bawol, away from the centers of power located in the western side of the kingdom, and they were not powerful enough to constitute a real threat. The Muslims were a minority in Bawol and the Murids were an even smaller minority, though a growing one, within the Muslim

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[595] See Monographie du cercle de Diourbel, ANS 10D5/8.

population of the kingdom that was dominated by *Tijaani* and *Qadiri*.[596] In addition, the colonial administration had enough leverage over the aristocracy of this kingdom to be able to check the development of hostile forces. Moreover, because Bawol was not of major economic importance, there was no urgency to assert French domination in the region that warranted the repression of the Murids. The cultivation of peanuts, which was the principal resource of the colony, was marginal in Bawol. It only started to develop after 1907 with the building of the railways Thiès-Kayes that traversed the kingdom. Even in 1911, when peanut farming had become more important, only one tenth of the arable land in the kingdom (about 50,000 ha) was devoted to it, while as early as 1903-1904 peanuts covered 170,000 ha and 100,000 ha respectively in the neighboring districts of Thiès and Louga.[597] As noted by Péllissier and others, the production of peanuts became important in Bawol only after the installation of Amadu Bamba in Diourbel in 1912, and the migration movement that followed this event.[598]

One can safely argue that the arrest and exile of Amadu Bamba in 1895 was the result of political manipulation by individual colonial administrators who managed to get the administration to endorse their own political vision. It is safe to assert that in 1895 the colonial administration had no potent political reason to fear Amadu Bamba and the Murids, and that the Governor did not perceive them as a threat. There was not a well thought out or preconceived plan from the Governor's office to repress the Murids. The continuous contact between the Murids and the administration between 1889-1892

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[596] Ibid
[597] Ibid.
[598] See Paul Péllissier, *Les Paysans du Sénégal* (Fabrègue- Saint –Yriex, 1966), pp. 337-338.

fostered an atmosphere of trust and was an additional reason for the maintenance of the peaceful relations between the two entities.

8.1.3. *The trial and exile to Gabon (French Equatorial Africa, 1895-1902)*

Amadu Bamba was arrested in 18 *Safar* 1313 H/August 10th 1895 when he surrendered to Leclerc at Jeewol, near Kokki, deferring to the ultimatum of the administrator who threatened to attack his village of Mbakke Baary (also called Tuubaa Jolof) if he did not turn himself in. He was then transported to Luga then to Saint-Louis, where he was brought before the *Conseil Privé* at its séance of September 5th 1895. The colonial archives remain silent about the conditions and the activities of Amadu Bamba between the day of his arrival in Saint-Louis in August 12th and his transportation to Libreville in Gabon, September the 21st. There are virtually no available archival documents pertaining to his seven year exile in Gabon. Oral traditions and Amadu Bamba's written account of these events remain the principal sources of information available to the researcher. Amadu Bamba's *rihla* (travel account), titled *Jazzawwu Shakuur* (Tribute to the Worthy of Recognition) that he wrote at the request of a certain Abdul Latiif from the Moorish "tribe" of Al Hajj Mukhtar, probably during his exile in Mauritania (1903-1907), constitutes a major source on his arrest, trial, and exile to Gabon.[599]

Amadu Bamba wrote that he arrived in Saint-Louis a little before the *Maghrib* prayer (between 7 and 8 PM) [on August 12th] and was immediately assigned a residence,

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[599] There are probably different versions of this work. The most popular version has been translated in French and edited by the Association of Murid Students of University Cheikh Anta Diop of Dakar. Ahmad Lamin Diop, in his biography of Amadu Bamba, quotes extensively from what seems to be another version that provides details that are missing in the version translated by the students.

where he stayed during the rest of the month of *Safar* [10 days], second month of the Muslim calendar, and the month of *Rabbi I,* third month, except for the last two days of this month (September 17th and 18th), when he was traveling to Dakar.[600] He did not write about his trial that took place on September 5th in the governor's office and he also did not elaborate on the details of his stay in Saint-Louis that lasted over a month and half. However, I was able to reconstruct some of these events from information gleaned from the archives and from interviews conducted in Saint-Louis and in the Murid heartland of Bawol and Kajoor.

Oral sources inform that Amadu Bamba was first imprisoned in a cell located in the basement of the governor's office in Saint-Louis.[601] After the intervention of some Muslim dignitaries of the city, the colonial administration accepted his transfer to the house of a certain Ahmed Xuri Seen. He is also said to have resided at the city's laboratory, where he was under the custody of a French commandant. Amadu Bamba was then allowed to move around the city. He frequented the botanical garden of Saint-Louis and used to pray in the mosque of Balakoss located halfway between the garden and his residence. Amadu Bamba declared that he met with a number of dignitaries from Saint-Louis, and even notables from NJambur came to visit and offered mediation between him and the colonial authorities. He declined the suggestion, asking them to leave everything in God's hands.[602]

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[600] See *Les Dons du digne de reconnaissance*, a translation of *Jazaawwu Shakuur*, by the Dahira des Etudiants Mourides de l'Universite de Dakar, undated p.7.

[601] This place has become the site of an annual Murid pilgrimage in Saint-Louis that draws tens of thousands of people.

[602] It is reported that Ahmad Njaay Mabeey, a well-known Muslim notable in Saint-Louis, initiated a petition and collected signatures from the Muslim dignitaries of Saint-Louis to plead for the release of Amadu Bamba. Interview with Madicke Wade, Saint-Louis, 07- 06 01; Amad Lamin Diop also signals the



Figure 18: Mosque of Balakoss in Saint-Louis

Amadu Bamba's trial in Saint-Louis began September 5th in the morning and lasted for over two hours. We learn from the proceedings of the *Conseil Privé* that the cleric was introduced in the room early in the morning. He listened to the prosecution and was given the opportunity to present his defense. Finally, the *Conseil* voted unanimously to adopt the report and proposals presented by Merlin, the Political Director. In a correspondence sent to the Minister of Colony in September 16th, the interim governor Mouttet, stated that Amadu Bamba was sentenced to internment in Gabon and that he was allocated a monthly pension of fifty francs.[603]

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initiatives of other Muslims in Saint-Louis and Njambur who proposed to intervene on behalf of Amadu Bamba. See *l'Abreuvement*, p. 47.

[603] Internement is a provision of the decree of September 30th1887 that defines the disciplinary power of the colonial administration. Internement was a form of administrative punition meted out against those convicted of political offenses. It is a remnant of a wartime law destined to give the administration a free hand to punish any offense that is not described by the law, but which is considered dangerous for public security and colonial rule. See Mbaye Guèye, "Les Exils de Cheikh Bamba Au Gabon et Mauritanie, (1895-1907), " *Annales de la Facultés des Lettres et Sciences Humaines*, 25(1995), p 49.

However, the report produced by the archivist who recorded the trial as well as the administrative correspondence related to this event are silent about what Amadu Bamba might have or might not have said. According to oral tradition, when Amadu Bamba entered the room, he first proceeded to pray (2 *rakaas)* and then he faced the members of the *Conseil Privé.*[604] He was then read the charges against him and interrogated. Amadu Bamba is said to have given the same response to the questions asked by the members of the *Conseil*, who requested that he presents his defense in the face of the allegations made against him. According to oral sources, the cleric kept asking the *Conseil* to bring their informants, his accusers, which he said was the only way to see where laid the truth. He refused to engage in a discussion, claiming that those who provided the information that led to his arrest and trial must be brought in the room to prove their allegations.[605] Other sources indicated that after listening to the report produced by the prosecution, Amadu Bamba only recited the Koranic verses *Al ixlaas*, which asserts the oneness and might of God, then remained silent for the rest of the session.[606] The first version of the story seems more likely. It is unlikely that Amadu Bamba would have adopted an attitude that would have been seen by the *Conseil* as defiant and provocative. As previously observed, in the letters he wrote to the Governor between 1889 and 1895 and in his correspondences in general, Amadu Bamba and the

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[604] The symbolism of two *rakaas* is important. Muslims are recommended to perform it in a situation of emergency and adversity. Therefore the prayer that Amadu Bamba is said to have performed during his trial can be seen as a statement against the colonial administration, and that is how it is understood by contemporary Murid disciples, who gather every year in Saint-Louis at the time where Amadu Bamba performed the prayer, in the office of the former Governor General of French West Africa, to commemorate the event.

[605] See Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, op cit. p 51 and also Ahmad Lamin Diop, *l'Abreuvement*, op cit p. 47.

[606] This version is widely reported by Murid oral tradition.

Murids always worried about the negative influence their enemies might have on their relations with the colonial administration and pleaded for the colonial authorities' trust.

Basiru Mbakke observed that Amadu Bamba's reluctance to engage in a discussion, the fact that he avoided looking at the people in the room, and that he silently and calmly pursued his prayers and recitation of the Koran, added to the tension between him and his judges. He noted that this was the natural behavior of the cleric, who avoided engaging people and was always absorbed by his acts of worship, but the French who did not know him misinterpreted his attitude. Mbakke informed that the *Conseil* was split in two groups.[607] Some took offense at Amadu Bamba's attitude, which they saw as defiant and disrespectful for the administration, and recommended that he be executed or eternally banned from Senegal. Others advised restraint, considering that the shaikh was one of those mystics consumed by their love for God, and that he was no threat to anybody. The *Conseil* ended up siding with the group that wanted banishment.[608] This description might have been inspired by the account that the Koran and *hadiths* (sayings and deeds of Prophet Muhammad) gave of the trial of Prophet Muhammad by his Meccan enemies on the eve of his migration to Medina. Muslim leaders engaged in a conflict with non-Muslim forces always cast their plight in the mold of the difficult life of the Prophet in Mecca. The fact that Murid oral tradition saw a split among the colonial administration may also indicate their awareness that at the time there was no unanimity among the French as to how to deal with the Murids, and that

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[607] Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, op cit., p. 51.

[608] Murid oral tradition considers that Amadu Bamba's stay in Saint-Louis was extended because the members of the *Conseil* could not agree about his sentence. But it seems that the delay between the condemnation and the execution of the sentence was rather due to transportation arrangements; the ship rallying South America to French Equatorial Africa via West Africa, was scheduled to stop at Dakar on September the 20th.

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perhaps some administrators were even sympathetic to their shaikh. In reality, as showed in the archival records, a verdict was reached at the first meeting of the *Conseil.*

A little less than two weeks after his trial in Saint-Louis, Amadu Bamba was sent to Dakar where he arrived on the evening of September 18th. He noted that while he was preparing to rest and spend the night in the room that he was assigned, the administrator called him and he was transferred to a filthy and dark cell. Amadu Bamba had a painful memory of this occurrence. He wrote that whenever this episode comes to his mind, it creates the urge to call for a Jihad of the sword, but the Prophet Muhammad had forbidden him from waging war.[609] Probably, at the request of some *Lebu* dignitaries, the administration accepted to remove him from the cell. Amadu Bamba was then entrusted to the care of a certain Ibra Binta Gey, a serviceman, who accommodated him until he boarded the ship for Gabon on the 20th.

Amadu Bamba noted that the ship stayed in Dakar overnight and did not leave the harbor until 2 *Rabi II* 1313H / the 21st of September 1895. He also mentioned the unfriendliness of the other passengers whose hostility he could read on their faces. Bamba stated that while still in stand by in the Dakar harbor, a civil servant informed him that a new governor (J.B. Chaudié) had just arrived in the colony, and suggested that he sends a letter of appeal to this new administrator who had not yet had contact with the local administration who banned him. Amadu Bamba said that he started drafting the letter, and then he stopped, regretting his gesture; instead, he began writing a poem reaffirming his trust in God.[610]

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[609] See *Les Dons*, op cit. P. 35.
[610] Ibid p. 35.

Amadu Bamba also described his relationship with the ship's crew and his feelings while he was headed to sea. He noted that some of his disciples, among whom Shaikh Ibra Faal, came to say goodbye and he felt their sadness. The cleric was then accommodated in a comfortable cabin, but when the ship's captain read a letter by the Governor that was related to his case, he became very angry and ordered that he and his luggage be removed from this cabin and sent to another. Amadu Bamba noted that he spent an indeterminate amount of time in this other cabin that was not equipped, and that he was afflicted because he had to rely on the crewmembers for anything he needed and the latter kept mocking him. For Amadu Bamba, the fact that he was unjustly removed from his home and schools, and separated from his family, friends, and disciples was even more painful than the vexations and mistreatments he was subjected to.[611] Curiously, Amadu Bamba was not allowed to bring family members with him, whereas other African leaders that were sentenced to deportation by the French were always permitted to bring wives and a limited number of family members. This was, for example, the case of Samory Ture, who was arrested in 1898 and sent to Gabon like Amadu Bamba. The fact that Amadu Bamba did not benefit from this measure was perhaps because he was not considered as important as Samory, whose skills as a statesman and warrior were recognized by the colonial administration, or perhaps his deportation was expected to be temporary.

Amadu Bamba noted that after staying in the same cabin for a number of days, the ship's captain came to see him. The latter has been monitoring his activities for several days, and as he had come to form his own opinion of the cleric, his anger mellowed and

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[611] Ibid pp. 44-45.

his attitude changed. According to Amadu Bamba, the captain expressed sympathy and compassion for him and told him that he believed that he was the victim of an injustice. He mentoned that after the captain, all the other reasonable people in the ship vehemently disapproved of what was done to him, and even blamed those who sent him to exile. Bamba particularly appreciated the attitude of the doctor on board who pledged to provide him with all the assistance he needed; he also commended the attitude of a young Christian (French man) who behaved with him as if he was a Murid.[612] The ship made a stop in Conakry (Guinea), where Amadu Bamba said that he learned for the first time that he was going to Gabon, from a Senegalese of Saalum origin that came to greet him. The ship also made stops in Sierra Leone, Grand Bassam (Cote d'Ivoire), Dahomey, Douala (Cameroon), before heading to Libreville in Gabon.

Upon arrival Amadu Bamba noted that he stayed for a few days in a city (probably Libreville) and then he was sent to a first island (Mayomba), where he sojourned during five years before being transported to another island (Lambaréné), where his sojourn lasted for a little less than three years. Amadu Bamba observed that his stay in Lambaréné was particularly difficult and that he experienced excruciating suffering in this town until God's will was accomplished and he was sent back to his country in November 1902.[613] Amadu Bamba's return to Senegal coincided with the election of Carpot, a Métis from Saint-Louis backed by the African population of the colony, as deputy representing Senegal at the French Legislative Assembly. Carpot, who

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[612] Ibid p. 57.
[613] Ibid. p. 31



probably benefited from the financial support of Murid shaikhs such as Ibrahima Fall and perhaps Shaikh Anta and others, obtained the repatriation of the cleric to Senegal.[614]



Figure 19: Trunks used by Amadu Bamba during his exiles.

8.1.4. The Murids without Bamba

The period between 1895 and 1902, when Amadu Bamba was living in exile in Gabon, is the least documented in the history of the Muridiyya. As far as I know the colonial archives, whether in Senegal, Gabon or France, are virtually silent about the development of the brotherhood during these seven years, and the oral sources are scanty. The lack of archival documents clearly indicates that the brotherhood was not of a major concern to the colonial administration in Senegal. The scarcity of oral materials, on the other hand, is more intriguing. It might be that the Murids were traversing a difficult

[614] I have not been able to find direct evidence proving the implication of Carpot in the liberation of Amadu Bamba, but it is clear that he played a crucial role in the release of the cleric. Allys in a letter sent to Merlin in 1903, accused Carpot of bringing Amadu Bamba back, and Cheikh Ibra Faal in a letter to the governor in January of 1913, also referred to Carpot as the one who helped for the relocation of Amadu Bamba in Bawol in 1912., see ANS, dossab, 1903 and 1913.

time then, and that the oral history of the brotherhood, which has become, to a large extent, a "history of commemoration," has chosen to delete this painful memory, or that information related to this episode of the development of the brotherhood had become apocryphal.[615] However, there are fragmented sources that can allow one to reconstitute, though only partially, the development of the brotherhood during this difficult period of its history.

When Amadu Bamba left his house of Mbakke Baari 10 August 1895 to respond to Leclerc's summon, he entrusted his family[616] and two sons, Mamadu Mustafa and Falilu, respectively seven and six years old, to his younger brother and confident, Maam Ceerno Ibra Fati.[617] The cleric ordered Cerno to stay in Mbakke Baari until after harvest (October-November) and then to move to Mbakke Bawol preferably, or to any other place where he could live with the family and disciples. Cerno is said to have remained in Mbakke Baari despite the harassment of Leclerc who wanted him to leave the village immediately and disperse the disciples.[618]

After harvest, Maam Cerno moved first to join his brother Shaikh Anta at Daaru Salaam. Shaikh Anta welcomed the family but reminded Cerno that perhaps it was more appropriate to settle in Mbakke Bawol, where their senior brother, Momar Jaara, and the elder members of the Mbakke family were living. Cerno understood the suggestion and

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[615] On Murid oral tradition as a history of commemoration see James Searing, *God alone is king*, op cit. p. 93.

[616] Another son, Ahmad Lamin, better known as Baara was born in 1890 and Basiru Mbakke was born in 1895.

[617] On the peregrinations of Maam cerno after Amadu Bamba's exile, I rely principally on my interview with Isa Mbakke, a cousin of Amadu Bamba and great grandson of Balla Mbakke, who provides the most detailed narrative of this episode in the development of the Muridiyya. I supplement the information he provided with data collected from other Murid written and oral sources.

[618] See my interviews with Isa Mbakke, Tuubaa , 07-02-2000; Sawru Mbay , Mbakke, 03/06/2000; and Mustafa Njaate, Mbakke, 07-30-2000.

moved with Amadu Bamba's family and disciples to Mbakke Bawol. He first settled in Momar Jaara's compound. But when he evoked with Momar his conversation with Shaikh Anta and his plan to stay in Mbakke, the latter told him that he was confused and concerned by the relations between Amadu Bamba and the French, and that he could not bear the responsibility of accommodating all the people that were following him. He advised Cerno to ask Amadu's wives to return to their families and to release those among the disciples that were not his own.[619]

Maam Cerno was apparently disturbed by his brother's advice. He envisaged moving to Kokki to join his mother's family since he felt that he was not getting the help that he was expecting from his patrilineal lineage. However, Ibra Nguy Mbakke, a cousin of his father, dissuaded him from doing so.[620] He told Cerno that Amadu Bamba clearly knew where his mother's family originated from, but he recommended that he returns to the land of his father's ancestors. Ibra Nguy descended from Maaram, the founder of Mbakke Bawol. He was also allied through his mother's side to the aristocracy of Bawol that traditionally commanded the province of La, where Mbakke Bawol was located. Ibra Nguy gave Cerno the land of Nguy Ngoora on the Northwestern side of Mbakke where Cerno with the help of the disciples that remained with him built his house.[621]

Cerno lived in Nguy Ngoora for about five years amid many difficulties. The family was beset by illnesses. Eight members died and two sons of Amadu Bamba got

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[619] Interview with Isa Mbakke op cit.
[620] Isa Mbakke is a grand son of Ibra Nguy and it might be that he is giving credit to his ancestor for an initiative that might have been a collective decision of the family of Modu Jee Mbakke that ruled this area of Mbakke Bawol.
[621] Isa Mbakke, ibid.

seriously sick, one of them, Baara Mbakke, who was born in 1890, probably contracted meningitis. Cerno also had difficulties controlling the disciples. The difficulties were compounded by the fact that many Murid shaikhs were deterred by the chiefs' repression and French pressure, and kept away from Amadu Bamba's family. Oral tradition indicates that Amadu Ndumbe Mbakke, Amadu Bamba's cousin and disciple, was the only major shaikh that cared for Cerno and the family during the first five years of the exile, and Ndaam Abdurahmann Lo, one of the first disciples of Amadu Bamba, continued teaching at the school of Daaru Manaan.

In fact, after Amadu Bamba left Senegal, the colonial administration and the local chiefs, especially in Northern Kajoor, pursued their aim to dismantle the brotherhood. Tuubaa, the holy city, and *zwaya* founded by the cleric in 1888-1889, was evacuated. As soon as Amadu Bamba left Senegal, some newly built Murid settlements were dismantled and the disciples forced to return to their village of origins. This was, for example, the case in the area around the region of La in Bawol. [622] Oral tradition reports that the colonial administration and the African chiefs used diverse forms of intimidation to subdue the Murids. Murid shaikhs were forbidden to set foot in Njambur, and as noted by one of my informant, even people living in this area discouraged Murid relatives from paying them visit.[623] At one time rumors were circulated that Amadu Bamba had passed away. Other times the administration summoned shaikhs to make declaration of

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[622] See ANS III-2G1/106 Rapports politiques, commerciaux et agricoles mensuels, cercle de Dakar-Thiès; rapport mensuel, Septempbre 1895 par l' administrateur du cercle, Thiès le 7 Octobre 1895.
[623] Interview with Gallo Mbay, Tuubaa, 2-14-2000.

allegiance.[624] Many shaikhs adopted a low profile. Some migrated to the district of Thiès or to the cities to diffuse suspicion and avoid the harassment of the chiefs who ruled the rural areas.

In contrast with standard Murid accounts that emphasize the development of the brotherhood and the steadfastness of shaikhs during the exile of Amadu Bamba, it seems that during this period many Murid shaikhs focused more on their own businesses than on proselytism and organizing of disciples.[625] This was the case with Shaikh Ibra Faal, who was then living in Saint-Louis and Shaikh Anta, who was a skillful businessman. Some shaikhs reclaimed their autonomy since Amadu Bamba did not give any instructions as to the leadership of the organization in his absence. Cerno and Shaikh Mandumbe bore the burden of reassuring and maintaining the morale among disciples whose commitment was shaken by the absence of information about their leader. Cerno also maintained the relationships with Shaikh Sidiyya, the former spiritual master and friend of Amadu Bamba and a close ally of the French, who was helping to convince the colonial administration to release and repatriate the cleric back to Senegal.[626] Another Murid "spiritual shaikh", Ndaam Abdurahman Lo assured the maintenance of Amadu Bamba's school.

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[624] It is even alleged that written records of these declarations exist, and that the third caliph of the Murids after difficult negotiations with the French government through the government of Senegal was able to see them, but they are kept secret, because of the subversive nature of the information they contain.
[625] See my interview with Basiru Mbakke A. Ňaŋ, a son of MaamCerno, Daaru Muhti, 7-18-2000. It is interesting to note that wile some bearers of Murid oral tradition are reluctant to talk about these events, disciples and descendants of Maam Cerno Ibra Fati, who had bore the burden of watching over Amadu Bamba's family after his exile, and underwent must of the suffering, are quite open to this question.
[626] See Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh, "*Espace Confrérique*", (2001) op cit. Ould Cheikh cites a letter of Ibra Fati to Shaikh Sidiyya where after discussing family businesses, he urged the latter to continue to work with the colonial administration for Amadu Bamba's release. P. 7.

According to oral tradition, it was only when Amadu Bamba entered in the fifth year of his exile (1899-1900) that the Murids started to receive information about him. It is a certain Abdulaay Nduur, a seaman who met Amadu Bamba in Mayomba that brought letters from the cleric giving the proof that he was still alive and well.[627] At least two Murid disciples, Amadu Lo Dagana and Shaikh Anta had visited Amadu Bamba in Mayomba in current day Gabon between 1899 and 1890. It was after the re-establishment of contact between Amadu Bamba and Cerno that the latter left Guy Ngoora, which was thought to be haunted because of the calamities that had beset the family there, and moved to Daaru Manaan where he remained until the return of Amadu Bamba in 1902. Some letters exchanged between Amadu Bamba and his family and disciples, probably after 1899, have been compiled and edited by the third caliph of the Muridiyya. It is clear that the establishment of communication between the cleric and the disciples had an important effect on the morale of the shaikhs and disciples. The return of Amadu Bamba in Senegal in 1902 was perceived by the Murids to be a victory over the colonial administration.

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[627] See my interview with Mustafa Njaate Mbakke, Mbakke 07-30-2000; Sawru Mbay, Daaru Salaam 03-01-2000. and Shaikh Mbakke Maam Balla, Mbakke, Mbakke, 05-1991 and 07-16-2000.



Figure 20: Amadu Bamba's Prison Cell in Saint-Louis.

8.1.5. Amadu Bamba's return to Senegal.

Since 1896, Murid shaikhs had been encouraging Shaikh Sidiyya to intervene on their behalf for the liberation of Amadu Bamba, to no avail. By 1900 they started to orient their efforts to the lobbying of local politicians. Shaikh Ibra Faal, who was living in Saint-Louis, the capital of the colony, played a crucial role in this effort. Bassiru Mbakke credits him for convincing the French to reopen the cleric's file and to reconsider

the decision they had taken against him.[628] The intervention of Carpot was probably decisive in obtaining the repatriation of Amadu Bamba to Senegal.

Amadu Bamba arrived in Dakar 6 *Shaban* 1320 H/8 November 1902. His release was probably not made public, since no mention is made in the archives or the tradition of a popular reception at the Dakar harbor.[629] The cleric was then driven to Saint-Louis, where he met with the Governor and stayed for two weeks before being allowed to join his family in Bawol. Amadu Bamba informed that it took him two months to rally Saint-Louis and Daaru Manaan by traveling on horseback and foot through Kajoor and Bawol.

Amadu Lamin Joob offers a detailed account of Amadu Bamba's journey from Saint-Louis to Daaru Manaan, his village.[630] He explains that the cleric made a first stop at Luga, where he stayed with his brother Shaikh Coro for five days, and then he moved to Sanusi to visit his disciple and friend, Sire Lo. Sanusi was an important step in the journey to Bawol. Amadu Bamba stayed in this village for more than three weeks, celebrated the end of Ramadan there, and accepted the adhesion of a great number of people who came to join the Muridiyya. He obtained the submission of a number of well-known Muslim scholars of Kajoor; among whom were Ibra Joob Massar and Mañaw Sylla. Amadu Bamba then stopped at Makka Samba Baabu, Këër Maxtaar, Ňaxal, and Kokki Nguy, all villages located in Kajoor, before rallying Daaru Salaam (Bawol) where his brother Shaikh Anta offered a big reception. This reception that lasted ten days became a *Maggal*, which is still commemorated annually by Murids

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[628] See Basiru Mbakke, *Les Bienfaits*, op cit. p. 77
[629] Basiru Mbakke, though notes that a group of disciples went to welcome Amadu Bamba at the harbor, *Les Bienfaits*, p. 77-78.
[630] See *l'Abreuvement*, op cit., p. 68-70.

affiliated with Shaikh Anta's lineage. Amadu Bamba then joined Maam Cerno and his family in Daaru Mannaan, by the beginning of the month of *Dhul-qida*, corresponding with the end of January 1903.

So far I do not have knowledge of existing administrative documents related to the conditions of Amadu Bamba's release.[631] There is no archival documents available pertaining to his two-week sojourn in Saint-Louis after his return from Gabon. The freedom with which the cleric traveled through Kajoor seems to indicate that he was not subject to strict surveillance.[632] It might be that the colonial administration thought that the cleric was subdued by nearly eight year exile in the unhealthy land of equatorial Africa, and that he might no longer have the will or the ability to revive the organization that was crippled by the harassment and pressure that administrators and chiefs had been putting on the disciples since he left the colony. Amadu Bamba also blamed the bad effect of this health the fact that he stayed most of the time during his exile confined to his room, and that he traveled by steamship and not on foot or horseback as we was used to.[633] It is clear that his tour of Kajoor was meant to revive his organization. Amadu Bamba stated that during his exile, he was surrounded by unbelievers in a country where nobody cared about the name of Allah, and that what he missed the most was the congregation of his disciples and their love. One of the first things he said he enjoyed

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[631] Amadu Bamba avoided passing through northern Njambur, where chief Ibrahima Njaay, one of the major architects of his exile was still in charge, although his son, Basiru, and his wife, Fati Modu Maam, were still living in Kokki, in this area. He did not go to Tuubaa, his most beloved village. It might be that the administration advised him not to do so or he deliberately chose to avoid those places in order to diffuse tension.

[632] Laurens, the administrator of Diourbel in 1903, for example, regretted the fact that Amadu Bamba was not forced to pay respect [and pledge allegiance] to the administrator and the African chiefs in Bawol, when he returned from exile in 1902.

[633] ANS dossab, letter of Amadu Bamba to the Governor General, May 15th 1903.

when he landed in Dakar was sharing food with his disciples. He even summoned those who were reluctant, out of respect, to eat out of the same recipient as him, to do so.[634]

Amadu Bamba understood his repatriation back to Senegal as the correction of an injustice. He did not believe that he has done anything wrong and certainly from his perspective, the Muridiyya was no threat to the colonial administration, and the latter had nothing to fear from its development. He certainly believed that since the colonial administration had accepted his return to the country, they might have also understood that they had made a mistake by deporting him, and that henceforth they would let him carry on with his activities without hindrance.

8.2. Towards a new conflict

In the early twentieth century, the administrative and political situation in the colony had changed. By the 1890's, there was a phase of gradual occupation of the protectorates; in 1902 a phase of increased control and consolidation of the power of the administration had begun. Ernest Roume, another Parisian bureaucrat, had replaced Chaudié as Governor General and was set to give form and life to the Federation of France's West African colonies founded since 1895, but which was still in the making. In addition to the ambitious economic plan that Roume had developed, political and administrative control of the population was another important dimension of his policy. One of his major initiatives was the creation of the Muslim Affairs Bureau, which aimed at monitoring the development of Islam and the activities of Muslim organizations and leaders, and at helping to define and implement the colonial Muslim policy. The change

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[634] See interviews with Gallo Mbay in Tubaa, 01-03-2000; 01-14-2000.

in the conduct of the colonial power led to a reevaluation of the place of Islamic institutions in the colony. We observed in the previous chapter that Roume's tenure inaugurated a policy of repealing some of the principal administrative decisions that were perceived to have aided the expansion of Islam; and his successor, William Ponty, took similar measures.

In this new administrative framework, the perception of the nature of the threat that the Muridiyya could represent was also changing. In 1895 Merlin and Leclerc feared that Amadu Bamba could foment an armed resistance or overshadow the African chiefs in the protectorates; in 1902 the administration was confident that henceforth no such a challenge to its rule was likely to happen in Senegal. The main preoccupation of the French was how they could devise an efficient system of administration that would allow for better control and closer contact with the population. With this goal in mind, they could no longer tolerate the development of autonomous or politically neutral forces in the colony that could impede direct interactions with the population. In the rural areas of Kajoor and Bawol, the Muridiyya was becoming a major social force that escaped French control. Since Amadu Bamba's return from exile, his prestige, authority, and popularity had increased considerably, and the brotherhood was experiencing an unprecedented growth of its adherents.[635] Therefore, enlisting his support for the colonial policy was an imperative.

However, Amadu Bamba's conception of the relations between temporal and spiritual authorities was shaped by Wolof political culture and Sufi ideas. Wolof rulers

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[635] On the development of the Muridiyya after the return of Amadu Bamba from exile in 1902, see the reports of Laurens, resident of Bawol, Vienne, administrator of Thiès and Allys, dossab, 1902-1903. Oral traditions also reports increasing influence of the brotherhood in Bawol.

recognized to the man of religion the right to dissent or to remain neutral in political matters, and he was granted certain autonomy in the framework of what was defined as acceptable and tolerable. The uncooperative cleric was likened to the unfertile plot in the field, which could be circumscribed and ignored as long as it wasn't too large.[636] Sufi ideology urges the shaikh to keep his distance from and to be critical of the unjust ruler to the extent that the criticisms do not spark or encourage rebellion. It was within this paradigm that Amadu Bamba understood his relations with the chiefs who represented the colonial administration in the protectorates. But the Jacobinism[637] of the colonial administration, which aimed at imposing an overarching and total domination over the people of the colony, left no room for dissent or neutrality. There were only two alternatives, either one was a supporter of the colonial enterprise or a rebel. There was no middle ground. The second conflict between the French and the Murids should be understood in the framework of the increasing centralization and control of the colonial administration and Amadu Bamba's aspiration for neutrality and autonomy.

8.2.1. The circumstances of the exile to Mauritania (1903-1907)

As observed above, one of the major initiatives of Governor General Roume was the creation of a system that would allow monitoring the activities of influential Muslim leaders in the colony, especially those living in the protectorates.[638] Chiefs of province

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[636] That is this tradition that Majaxate Kala called upon in 1875 to convince Lat Joor to leave Amadu Bamba alone, when the latter was engaged in a polemic with the court in regard to the enslavement of Muslims captured at the battle of Samba Saajo. See chapter IV for an extensive discussion of these issues.
[637] Jacobinism refers to the Jacobins, a group of radicals that instituted a reign of terror during the French Revolution of 1789. These radicals were also staunch supporter of the Republic and centralization, and they advocated the use of force against any dissenting movement.
[638] Roume's policy of surveillance of Islam was laid out in a memo of November 1902 see ANS 2G3,7.

were instructed to survey and interview all the major *marabouts* living under their authority and to create a file compiling the critical information about them. The conflict that led to Amadu Bamba's second deportation is related to the implementation of this policy.

Tensions between Mbaxaan Joob, the province chief of Eastern Bawol, who was conducting a survey of Muslim leaders under his authority, and the Murids, were the immediate causes of this conflict. An examination of the report that Mbaxaan Joob sent to Laurens, the resident of this province, on 25 April 1903 gives us insights into the circumstances of the conflict.[639] Mbaxaan noted that when he arrived in Mbakke April 17th at five in the afternoon, he dispatched an envoy to fetch Amadu Bamba, who were living in Daaru Manaan, six to seven kilometers away, so that he could register his name and interview him, as required by the instructions he was given by the Resident. He noted that instead of responding to his convocation, Amadu Bamba sent him his brother Shaikh Anta with a message. According to Mbaxaan, Amadu Bamba said that he was aware of his visit, but he was too busy with his religious duties, and that he should renounce trying to see him and instead deal with his brothers, Shaikh Anta and Maam Cerno Ibra Fati. Mbaxaan responded to Amadu Bamba's message by emphasizing that he was commissioned by the administration to fulfil a mission, and that he would not leave Mbakke without talking to him in person. He mentioned that his firm stance paid off, but he had to wait for five hours before Amadu Bamba finally responded to his convocation accompanied by three hundred disciples.

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[639] See ANS dossab, letter no 3, Chef Supérieur au Résident April 25.

Mbaxaan reported that Amadu Bamba entered the hut where he was waiting for him, laid down his mat, and immediately asked about the purpose of his visit. After listening to him, the latter repeated the same threats and disrespectful words conveyed by Shaikh Anta. Amadu Bamba then concluded by saying to him (between quotation marks in the report).

> Since I returned from Gabon, I no longer want to have anything to do either with the chiefs or with those that are called commandants. I only want to deal with the Governor, whom I met in Saint-Louis on my way back to [Bawol]. As of you [Mbaxaan] who dare to talk to me, if I did not ruin your life, it is because I have pity for you and I know your father. Also your aunt, whom I met at Kër Mataar, recommended you to me. Beware; something regrettable could happen to you on your way back. (.....) Mbaxaan leave me alone and go away, I am not a man of this world, I belong to the hereafter, I only see God and my sight is beyond the mortals.[640]

Mbaxaan noted that after he finished talking, Amadu Bamba left precipitously, and his brothers and disciples, who remained behind, scrambled trying to convince him not to take offense at what the cleric had just said, because the latter was so absorbed by his relations with God that he is not aware of how to deal with temporal authorities.

In his report Mbaxaan also emphasized the negative impact that the Muridiyya was having on the administration of his province. He noted that one of his Canton chiefs was on the side of the Murids, and this chief tried to convince him to forgo the mission bestowed on him by the administration in order to satisfy Amadu Bamba's will. He complained that many chiefs in Bawol were no longer obeyed. And he informed that the *qadi* (Muslim judge) of the province had written Shaikh Anta to warn him about the visit.

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[640] Ibid.

These last remarks of the report that highlighted the disruption that the Murids were causing in the administration of the province struck a sensitive chord among the administration. In his account of the incident that he sent to the administrator of Thiès, who supervised Bawol, Laurens put a special emphasis on the detrimental impact that Amadu Bamba's attitude could have on the psychology of the population and the authority of the African chiefs, and by extension on the colonial administration's power, if it went unpunished. He wrote,

> The Superior Chief's authority has been insolently and publicly challenged and put down by the *marabout*. Our chief's prestige has suffered from this, and also by extension, our administration's prestige from which he received his entitlement. We cannot tolerate this situation and we cannot accept to let grow beside him a power that would counterbalance his influence and hurt the impulsion he receives from us.[641]

He particularly highlighted the treacherous behavior of the *qadi* and chief Maysa Ndumbe, who sided with the Murids. He also mentioned the growing power and prestige of the cleric since his return from exile. But instead of proposing to exile Amadu Bamba, as did Merlin in 1895, he suggested that he be removed from Eastern Bawol, which he perceived as a foyer of proselytism and religious activism, and be assigned a residence in another province where he would be closely monitored by the administration.[642]

Laurens' report prompted Vienne, the administrator of the district Thiès, to summon Amadu Bamba to report to him in eight days. After the cleric failed to defer to his order, he alerted the Governor. The latter sent two letters and dispatched two

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[641] See ANS dossab letter no 74 Resident à l'administrateur de Thiès, 1903.

[642] Ibid.

negotiators to convince Amadu Bamba to come to SaintLouis. The Governor also asked Shaikh Sidiyya, former master and still a close friend to the cleric, to intervene. Amadu Bamba's failure to defer to these summons led the administration to believe that the cleric was prepared to resist arrest. Vienne, who seemed to have taken Amadu Bamba's behavior as an insult to his authority, started to send telegrams after telegrams to Saint-Louis warning of the gravity of the situation. He proposed that the administration abducts Amadu Bamba and send him somewhere where he would never return. Allys, administrator of Tivavouane, on the other hand, proposed a more expedited method. In a personal (non-official letter) to Merlin, the General Secretary of the colony and interim governor, he suggested that they stage a scuffle with Amadu Bamba's disciples at his arrest and use the confusion to kill the cleric.[643]

Between the end of April, when Mbaxaan's report was filed, and the beginning of June, chiefs of province and canton from Bawol, Kajoor, Siin, and Saalum sent alarming reports to the administration informing that Murids were buying weapons in the Gambia, and that more than five thousand disciples were ready to engage in a war against the administration at Amadu Bamba's signal.[644] Spies sent into Amadu Bamba's compound did not confirm any of this information. One of them, Umar Ňaŋ, informed Allys that he had heard Bamba saying that he had made a covenant with God to never wage a war and he would not even kill a scorpion or a serpent, and that if the *Mahdi* appeared today, he

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[643] See letter in Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba*, p.104.

[644] See some of these letters in Oumar Ba, op cit. p.p 96-110; the *Mahdi* is a controversial figure portrayed in some Muslim traditions as the last envoy that God will send to correct the wrong and impose His rule before judgment day. Muslim leaders of millenarist movements have often used the persona of the *Mahdi* to legitimize dissent or rebellion against rulers.

would not join him.[645] But the administrators dismissed all reports that did not substantiate their belief that the cleric was preparing a resistance.

Among the Murids tension was rife. Amadu Bamba had been back from exile for only seven months, and many feared that a second arrest would lead to his disappearance. Some disciples were ready to physically oppose his removal from the village of Daaru Manaan. The conflict also triggered a massive migratory movement of people who fled the area, fearing imminent attacks by the French. Amadu Bamba's family was divided. His senior brother, Momar Jaara, blamed the cleric for listening to his younger brothers and disciples, and urged him to obey the Governor's order.[646] He also contacted the administration to dissociate himself from what he saw as a revolt, and asked that the village of Mbakke be spared in case of an armed conflict. Momar invited the French commandant to search the village to make sure that there were no weapons hidden there.[647] The other brothers criticized Shaikh Anta, reproaching him for adding fuel to the tension by confronting Mbaxaan instead of appeasing the situation.[648] Facing intense pressure, Bamba had to reassure the disciples by guaranteeing them that nothing detrimental would happen.[649]

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[645] See Ňaŋ's report in Oumar Ba, op cit p.112.
[646] Ahmad Lamin Diop reports that harsh critiques were leveled agains Amadu Bamba, *l'Abreuvement*, op cit p. 71.
[647] ANS, dossab, 1903.
[648] Some oral tradition reports that when Amadu Bamba entered Mbaxaan's hut and addressed him, the latter lost control and passed gas. In Wolof culture, to do this in public is considered a shameful act that constitutes a major embarrassment, especially when one occupies a position of authority. The tradition reports that when Mbaxaaan passed gas, everybody ignored the incident to make it look like nothing happened. But Shaikh Anta not only laughed, but he also derided Mbaxaan, and probably spread the word about what happened in the hut, which angered the superior chief. After Amadu Bamba's deportation, Shaikh Anta received death threats from Mbaxaan, and fled Saint-Louis for a voluntary exile. He had to seek the administration's protection before he could return to Bawol. This occurrence, probably contributed to poisoning further the relations between Mbaxaan and the Murids.
[649] Amadu Lamin Joob, for example, notes that all those around Amadu Bamba, but the disciples he personally educated, were panicked and some criticized him harshly. He informed that Amadu Bamba, in

Amadu Bamba's effort to placate the administration remained unproductive. The cleric sent his brothers Shaikh Anta and Maam Cerno Ibra Fati and his cousin Mbakke Buso to confer with the Governor in Saint-Louis; he also responded to the two letters that the latter sent to him. Amadu Bamba explained that he had not received the summon sent to him by Vienne, although the latter had produced excerpts of Bamba's response to his letter where the cleric, allegedly, affirms that he was "a captive of God," and that he would not leave his village of Daaru Manaan.[650] Amadu Bamba also explained to the Governor that he was not feeling well since his return from Gabon, and he requested that the latter give him enough time so that he can be prepared to respond to the convocation. He urged the Governor to change his opinion of him and not to believe the slanderers and egotistic persons that tried to poison his relations with the administration. Amadu Bamba also told the Governor that the reasons why he was unable to come to Saint-Louis had nothing to do with the administration, and that this should not be a cause of anger against him.[651] To the contrary, he indicated that he follows God 's words, which tells the believers to obey the ruler that He chose for them.[652]

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contrast, was calm and continued to reassure the people nothing bad would happen to them. He even wrote a prayer, and asked one of his Moorish disciples, Muhammad b. Ali. Yaqub, to recite it out loud three times at the arrival of the soldiers to assuage their anger and hostility. *L'Abreuvement*, p. 73.

[650] It is unlikely that Amadu Bamba would have written such a defiant letter, it might be that this was an invention of Vienne or Mbaxaan, who were both upset at the cleric's behavior, and wanted to convince the administration of his allegedly rebellious attitude, and the urgent necessity to use force against him.

[651] Amadu Bamba's refusal to respond to the Governor's convocation for almost one month is not consistent with the attitude he had so far adopted in his relations with the administration. His health had certainly deteriorated from the long exile in the wet and humid weather of equatorial Africa, and this might have been one of the reasons why he was reluctant to take the long trip to Saint-Louis. But it might be also that other reasons were involved. In a letter to Amadu Bamba, apparently written at the request of the Governor General, Shaikh Sidiyya, trying to convince the cleric to respond to the Governor's invitation, reminded him that *sharia*, which recommends to obey the rulers, is superior to visions and inspirations. (Ould Cheikh, op cit. p.60) This seems to indicate that Amadu Bamba's reluctance to respond to the Governor's summon was also motivated by mystical reasons. Ahmad Lamin Joob seems to support this assumption when he notes that the administration wrongly interpreted the delay Amadu Bamba observed before responding to their invitations as a form of rebellion, whereas the truth is that the cleric, who did not

8.2.2. The arrest and deportation to Mauritania

For the administration, Amadu Bamba's failure to comply with their orders was a rebellion that needed to be put down by force, if necessary. In a letter dated from June 4th, the Governor General instructed the Superior Commander of the Army of the West African Federation, to mobilize for the arrest of Amadu Bamba. The cleric surrendered in Ngabu, near Mbakke Bawol, to the column commanded by Allys in June 14th and was transported to Saint-Louis where he was sentenced by Merlin, the acting Governor, to deportation to Mauritania for an indeterminate amount of time.

The similarities between the events of 1895 that led to Amadu Bamba's exile to Gabon and the events of 1903 that led to his deportation to Mauritania are striking. In 1895, reports from the African chiefs started the whole process; in 1903 it was also an African chief, Mbaxaan Joob, who set in motion the events that ended with the arrest and deportation of the cleric. In both conflicts the threat that the Murids presented for the authority of the chiefs was one of the principal causes advanced to justify his arrest. Finally, the principal actor in the two dramas, Merlin, is the same.

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do anything without the authorization of Allah and his Prophet, always waited for their permission before moving. (*l'Abreuvement*, p.76) It might be also that Amadu Bamba saw Mbaxaan's visit as a provocation. The Superior Chief, who was only 23 years old and could be Amadu Bamba's son, arrived in Mbakke at a moment that was not suitable for a meeting with the cleric. He probably knew that after the *asr* payer, which starts at 5PM, the cleric would be engaged in ritual practices and prayers and would not be willing to interrupt those activities to meet with him. In fact, in a letter to the administration, Amadu Bamba informed that Mbaxaaan wanted to see him at an unsuitable time, and that he even asked him to delay the meeting until the following morning, but the latter refused. He mentioned that he had to leave his home at 10 pm to respond to the Superior Chief's summon. It might be also that by provoking Amadu Bamba, Mbaxaan wanted to put pressure on the Mbakke family so that they would resume the payment for protection, which they interrupted after the cleric's return from exile. Amadu Bamba's three brothers, Momar Jaara, Maam Cerno, and Shaikh Anta, in a letter to the Resident of Diourbel, that aimed to counter Mbaxaan's report argued that the very reason why the Province chief was persecuting Amadu Bamba, was that he wanted to extort money from them. See ANS dossab, May-13-1903.

[652] See French translation of this letter originally in Arabic in dossab no. 14, 1903.

It is interesting to note, however, that despite similar circumstances, the outcome of the two dramas was different. In 1903, Amadu Bamba was sent to the northern border of Senegal where contacts with his family and disciples were easy despite the objections of some colonial administrators. Better, he was entrusted to his former master and friend, Shaikh Sidiyya. Even after his arrest, the administration made sure that on his way to Tivavouane, where the cleric boarded the train to Saint-Louis, he be escorted only by an interpreter, a guard and an envoy of Shaikh Sidiyya to make sure that he would not appear like a prisoner.[653] The mounted guards that were assigned to his security and to ward off eventual popular excesses were ordered to keep a respectable distance from him. In Saint-Louis, Amadu Bamba was not put in jail and he did not go through a trial. He met with the interim Governor in the presence of Shaikh Sidiyya's representative.

Merlin evoked two reasons to explain why he treated Amadu Bamba with clemency after his arrest, and renounced to send him back to Gabon. He explained that he had a lot of esteem for Shaikh Sidiyya who intervened on behalf of the cleric and that despite his initial rebellion Amadu Bamba had finally surrendered before the army attacked his compound. In reality, Merlin's justifications do not tell the whole story.[654] In fact, in 1895 Shaikh Sidiyya had intervened on behalf of Amadu Bamba. He even had sent a letter to Merlin where he was asking the latter to pardon the cleric or send him to his compound in Mauritania. But this intervention was for no avail. With regard to Amadu Bamba, his attitude in 1903 should have been seen as even more confrontational and defiant by the French administration. In 1895, he was given an ultimatum of less

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[653] See instructions written by Allys for the team in charge of conveying Amadu Bamba to Saint-Louis, June 14th, 1903 in Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba*, pp 116-117.
[654] See account of the meeting between Merlin, Amadu Bamba and Shaikh Khuna, the representative of Shaikh Sidiyya in Oumar Ba, ibid p.118.

than a week to surrender to Leclerc, which he actually respected. In 1903 he failed for over one month to obey the Governor's convocation despite the intervention of at least three negotiators and the exchange of correspondences. Another difference in the outcome of the two conflicts also lies in how the administration assessed the cleric's responsibility. In 1895, Bamba was accused of being at the center of a conspiracy to wage a jihad against the French; in 1903, his behavior was blamed on manipulations by his disciples and some troublemakers in Bawol. The accusation of being a *Tijaani* leveled in 1895 also disappeared from the rhetoric of the administration in 1903.

In reality, Merlin's so-called clemency was the sign of a strategic change emerging in the relations between the Murids and the French. This change was based on a reevaluation of the colonial policy in Senegal. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the consolidation of the colonial power and a better understanding of the functioning of the societies under domination started to provoke a gradual shift in the colonial policy. The French began to understand that their African auxiliaries in the protectorates no longer had much legitimacy in the face of the population. The African chiefs had been able to maintain order in the protectorates only because of the use and abuse of coercion.[655] In Kajoor and Bawol the Murid shaikhs were emerging as the legitimate leaders of the population. They wielded great moral authority and enjoyed much respect from the people. The Muridiyya was growing and its influence was

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[655] In a letter to the Governor General dating July 1903, the Lieutenant Governor of Senegal, Camille Guy noted, "It is precisely because we have been respectful of the local customs [of the people in the protectorates] that we are accepting the perpetuation of abuses of power and excesses against which the population has been slow to react, to the detriment of the economic development of the country and the expansion of our ideas and civilization...Our authority seems sufficiently established in Senegal for us not to need anymore the maintenance of the great provinces led by African chiefs." Quoted by Kalidou Diallo, "Les Chefs de Canton du Fuuta, 1860-1960" (1985) op cit. p.73. Ibrahima Njaay, head of the province of Njambur, was the first African chief to fall victim of this policy in 1904, Ibid. By 1907, all the provinces were dismantled and the African chiefs fired.

expanding despite, and perhaps because of the hostility of the administration. The organization provided a locus for the socialization of former warriors associated with the demised aristocracy and who now were turning to agriculture, it also welcomed former slaves liberated by the progressive annexation of the protectorates, youth that left their families because of generational conflict, and migrant farmers. It seemed that, as noted by Depont and Coppolani in Algeria, repression would only enhance the prestige of the shaikhs and strengthen the resolve of Murid disciples.[656]

The growing influence of the Muridiyya among the population of Senegal seemed to have raised Amadu Bamba's awareness about the necessity for a more forthcoming leadership. In the past, the cleric had tried to confine his role to that of a master and a teacher, who entertained informal relationships with his disciples, but from 1903 he seemed more willing to act as a guide and a leader of his community. When he left for Gabon in 1895 he did not give any instruction to the shaikhs and disciples; but in 1903 he sent from Saint-Louis a letter to the disciples where he outlined his recommendations for the management of the organization in his absence. In this note he recommended that the disciples who were interested in studying exclusively or in combining study and work should follow Maam Cerno Ibra Fati. Those who were strictly interested in working were asked to follow Shaikh Anta. He added that he had nothing to do with people who did not want to work or to study. To the major Shaikhs, such as Ibrahima Faal and others, Amadu Bamba recommended that they get rid of their unruly disciples and only keep those that they could control. This letter was intercepted by the colonial administration and supposedly did not reach its destination, but Murid oral sources

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[656] See les *Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, (1987).

confirm that the disciples and shaikhs effectively received the instructions. At least one of my sources declares to have seen a version of the letter.[657]

It is clear that the shifting rapport de forces in the protectorates, especially in Kajoor and Bawol, in favor of the Muridiyya impacted the relations between the organization and the colonial administration. The alternative for the French was either to adopt an all out policy of repression to suppress the organization, an option that was not only costly but whose outcome was uncertain, or to find a way of accommodating the new social force by establishing a modus operandi with its leaders. It is my contention that by 1903, although there was no consensus among the French as to how to deal with the Murids, an important sector within the colonial administration had started to lean towards the second alternative. The choice that was made to entrust Amadu Bamba to Shaikh Sidiyya, who was seen by the French as the model *marabout*, was a first step towards a rapprochement with the Murids.

Amadu Bamba left Saint-Louis late June 1903 to join Shaikh Sidiyya's compound in Mauritania. The latter was instructed by Merlin to watch over the cleric and to make sure that he did not communicate with the people of Senegal, and especially his disciples in Bawol. Merlin thought that in his capacity as spiritual leader Shaikh Sidiyya had a moral authority over Amadu Bamba. In the letter he sent to Shaikh Sidiyya through Shaikh Khuna, the latter's son in law, who escorted the cleric to Maurtitania, he wrote, " He [Amadu Bamba] has strayed from wisdom by not following your advice; because of the services you rendered him and your friendship, your consels should have been sacred

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[657] See my interview with Mustafa Njaate Mbakke, who said that he saw an Arabic version of the letter.

to him like a father's recommendations to his son."[658] What Merlin did not articulate clearly but which was implicit in his letter, was that he expected that by living with Shaikh Sidiyya for some years, Amadu Bamba would learn from the exemplary political stance of the latter, and would be swayed into engaging in the same type of relationships with the colonial administration.

Merlin's understanding of the relationships that existed between Shaikh Sidiyya and Amadu Bamba was a misconception. In reality, the cleric no longer considered himself a disciple of Shaikh Sidiyya.[659] As discussed above (Chapter V), since 1893, he had abandoned allegiance to any living or dead Shaikhs and had chosen his own path. In Mauritania, Amadu Bamba separated himself from Shaikh Sidiyya in the second year of his exile.[660] He followed his guardian to the camps of Babagouy, Al-Idiyya, Tamarin and others before arriving to a place named Sarsara.[661] This last camp was a day's walk from Dagana and Podor on the southern bank of the Senegal River, which serves as a natural border between Senegal and Mauritania. We learn from Ahmad Lamin Joob, who was among the disciples who joined the cleric in Mauritania, that it was at Sarsara where Amadu Bamba decided to separate himself from Shaikh Sidiyya. He complained against the perpetual migration of his guardian, who moved from place to place in search for grazing land, water, or for the arbitration of conflicts between feuding Moorish "tribes." Bamba also lamented the fact that many of his disciples from Senegal who came to visit him were assaulted by the bandits that infested southern Mauritania, or

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[658] See Oumar BA, Lettre de Merlin à Shaikh Sidiyya, June 23, 1903, p. 119.
[659] Commenting on a letter of Amadu Bamba to shaikh Sidiyya, which he dates from around 1902, Ould Cheikh observes that Amadu Bamba seemed to have taken his distance from his former spiritual leader by this date. See "Espace," op cit. p.8.
[660] See Amad Lamin Diop, *l'Abreuvement*, op cit., p. 75.
[661] Sarsara is probably the local Moorish name of the place, which Amadu Bamba and the Murids also use. The Wolof call the same place Xomaak and the French Sout-el-Ma, another Moorish name.

could not find him because of incessant movement. Shaikh Sidiyya opposed Bamba's decision to stay on his own on the ground that the cleric was entrusted to him and that he was accountable to the administration for his behavior and security. Finally, he consented to let the cleric settle in Sarsara, and he might have intervened to convince the General Commissioner of the Civil Territory of Mauritania to accept Amadu Bamba's settlement in this place.

Amadu Bamba founded a school in Sarsara, which was oriented towards the teaching of the religious sciences and *tarbiyya.* He primarily selected disciples that had already mastered the Koran and were strong enough to do menial jobs. These disciples were mostly composed of sons of the first generation of Shaikh, such as Daaru Assan Njaay, Masamba Joob, Shaikh Anta, Ibrahiman Faal, Fay Lo Sylla, who followed Amadu Bamba, when he began his mission in Mbakke Kajoor and Bawol between 1884 and 1895. This choice was deliberate, since Mauritania was known to be a place of knowledge and piety, Bamba probably wanted to surround himself with disciples who belonged to familes with a tradition of scholarship and who could benefit from the intellectual atmosphere in the country. Maybe he had also started thinking about the future of his organization and the necessity to train the next generation of leaders.

The relationships between Amadu Bamba and his hosts were not smooth. Amadu Bamba had been a disciple of Shaikh Sidiyya in the past, but by 1903 he was confidant that he had the credentials of a master. However, for the Moorish scholars who have historically conveyed Islamic culture and knowledge to their southern neighbors, it was not easy to acknowledge the intellectual authority of a "Black" over a

learned Moor.[662] Oral tradition informs that when Amadu Bamba decided to ignore Shaikh Sidiyya's recommendation and to settle in Sarsara, he was criticized by the Moors who reproached him for violating Sufi teaching by disobeying to his spiritual guide. Amadu Bamba is said to have responded that he was not a disciple of Shaikh Sidiyya, and the latter clearly understood that. The tradition also recounts instances where Shaikh Sidiyya showcased the intellectual achievements of his daughters to Amadu Bamba as a way of asserting the superior importance given to learning in his family. Amadu Bamba is said to have later rejoiced before Shaikh Sidiyya, who was paying him a visit, to the achievement of his daughter Maymuna Kabiir, who not only successfully completed her education by writing the Koran in its entirety, but also prepared without help the delicious dinner he shared with his guest.[663]

Moorish scholars and Sufi shaikhs who belonged to *zwaya* families also tested Amadu Bamba. Oral traditions relate many meetings where Mauritanian *ulamas* challenged the cleric and tested his knowledge and spiritual power. Amadu Bamba was also involved in doctrinal debates between Mauritanian scholars where he was invited to give his point of view. Amadu Lamin Joob reports some of those debates and relates Amadu Bamba's positions. These positions reveal an effort from the cleric to reconcile divergent point of views and interpretations of Sufi principles and doctrinal issues that divided Moorish *ulamas* and Sufi shaikhs. Amadu Bamba considered that Muslims should focus on that which unites them instead of emphasizing divisive issues. He

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[662] More recently, there has been a reversal of this tendency. The tijaniyya branch of Ibrahima Ňass in Kaolack, Senegal has been very successful in recruiting "white" Moorish disciples. On this question see Diana Stone, "The inversion of a historical tendency? The Tijaniyya Niass movement in Mauritania." Paper presented at the Conference on the Tijaniyya at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, 1-5 April 1996.

[663] See my interviews with Mamadu Maamun Ňaŋ, Tuubaa, 06-08-2000, and Sawru Mbay op cit., Anta Baabu and Soxna Buso Njaay, Mbakke, January 2002

showed particular respect and consideration for all founders of *tariqa*. Amadu Bamba recruited disciples from the Moors and he was particularly proud of his disciples from the Daymani *Zwaya* clan.[664] This family had a well-established tradition of scholarship and sanctity among the Moors of Trarza.

The colonial authorities of Senegal did not welcome the settlement of Amadu Bamba in Sarsara, and they worried about his growing influence and prestige. In fact, in contrast with the exile in Gabon, Amadu Bamba's deportation to Mauritania did not impede the development of his organization. The cleric's prestige was intact. Reports from the districts of Louga, Bawol, Thiès, Tivaouane and Saalum emphasized the growing popularity of the Muridiyya, illustrated by the donations sent to the camp of Shaikh Sidiyya, where the cleric was being detained.[665] The Lieutenant Governor, in a letter to the Governor General of French West Africa underlined the troubles that Amadu Bamba's stay near the northern border of the colony was creating.[666] He mentioned that Sout-el-Ma had become a place of pilgrimage for a large number of disciples crossing the border from Senegal, and that Murid disciples were trying to get the cleric involved in the problems of Kajoor In response to this report the Governor General suggested that

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[664] A compilation of poems written by Moorish scholars and Murids praising Amadu Bamba has been translated into French and published by the third caliph of the Murids, Abdul Ahad Mbakke, in a two volumes edited book entitled *Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba, fondateur de la confrérie des mourides* (Paris: Editions d'Art les Heures Claires, 1984). The French were particularly upset at the fact that "white" Moors were writing all these poems that glorified Amadu Bamba, who was a *Black*. This literature subverted their racist ethnography and added to the prestige of Amadu Bamba. The administrator of the cercle of Diourbel fulminated against Shaikkh Sidiyya and dismissed his praise to Amadu Bamba as a flattery aimed at extorting money to the cleric, when he came across a text, where the Moorish Shaikh, addressing Amadu Bamba, wrote, "Yesterday I was your master, now I am your disciple." See ANS, 2G17/32, Cercle de Diourbel, rapport mensuels d'ensemble, 1917.

[665] See ANS 2G5,7, 8.

[666] See Letter of Gouvernor General to the Lieutenant Gouverno of Senegal, 03-22-1906, in Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba*, p. 126.

Amadu Bamba be removed from this place and interned in Fort Coppolani, further north.[667]

Mauritanian colonial authorities were, in contrast, favorable to the repatriation of the cleric back in Senegal. Théveniaut, who commanded the canton of Trarza, where Amadu Bamba was staying, supported the latter's request to return to Senegal. He commended the cleric for his correct attitude during his stay in Sout-el-Ma and emphasized that Amadu Bamba's family, and especially his brother Shaikh Coro, had pledged to guarantee his loyalty to the administration in the future. Shaikh Sidiyya, who pleaded for the cleric's release, also made the same commitment to the General Commissioner of the Civil Territory of Mauritania. The Commissioner, who was probably sensitive to Shaikh Sidiyya's request, seconded Théveniaut's point of view.[668] He noted that Amadu Bamba was irreproachable during his stay in Mauritania, and that the cleric rendered services to the administration whenever he could. He also mentioned that Bamba remained neutral during the events of Tagant and Trarza, which resulted in the assassination of Coppolani. Finally, underlining the bad sanitary conditions in the swampy area where the deportee was living, and which has altered his health and character, he strongly recommended the Governor allow the cleric to return to Senegal.

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[667] See letter of March 22 of the Governor General to the Lieutenant Governor, ibid, p. 126.
[668] See Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba*, op cit p. 127.



Figure 21: Isa Mbakke in Daaru Manaan.

8.3. Conclusion

Amadu Bamba's arrest and exile in1895 was primarily the result of the initiative of individual administrators who acted on the basis of their evaluation of the political situation in the colony, and their assessment of the detrimental role that the Muridiyya might play in impeding the establishment of the colonial authority. This initiative could be considered a pre-emptive measure aiming at preventing problems rather than the consequence of hostile actions against the colonial administration performed by the Murids and their leader. Amadu Bamba's seven year exile was a setback for the Murids, but his return was celebrated as a victory over the all-powerful colonial power and a sign that God was on their side.

Ultimately, the removal of Amadu Bamba from Senegal did not weaken the Muridiyya as the French had expected, it rather bolstered its development. When he left Senegal in 1895, Amadu Bamba was a respected scholar and cleric, a Sufi shaikh whose

credentials were based primarily on erudition and piety; upon his return he was seen by his disciples and other Muslims in the Senegalo-Mauritanian zone as a *wali* (friend of God) a martyr, and a miracle worker who had overcome the evil intentions of the French. Drawing on the lessons of this first phase in their conflict with the Murids, some sectors of the French colonial administration in Senegal became aware that the policy of all out repression would not work, and that it was necessary to find an alternative policy. The consolidation of the colonial power in Senegal and the growing influence of the Muridiyya created this awareness.

However, mutual distrust between the two entities allowed the perpetuation of the tension. This distrust was rooted in the administration's deficit of knowledge about the Muridiyya, compounded by its reliance on field administrators and African chiefs for the elaboration of his policy towards the Murids, and an obsession with administrative centralization that associated any aspiration for neutrality with an act of grave rebellion. Murids also distrusted the colonial administration because they could not understand why their leader, who pledged loyalty and did not indulge in any subversive activity, could be persecuted the way he was. They interpreted French hostility as a religiously motivated feeling aimed at their faith. However, Amadu Bamba's permanent settlement in Senegal from 1907 created the conditions for a gradual diffusion of the tension between the French administration and the Murids.

9. Chapter VIII: Towards Accommodation, 1907-1913

After over eleven years of exile in Gabon and Mauritania, Amadu Bamba was authorized to return to Senegal in 1907. He would not be sent to exile again. The French were talking to the Murid shaikhs and some other members of the Mbakke family, but tension with Amadu Bamba remained until 1913. However, the dynamics of the relationships between the Muridiyya and the colonial authorities in Senegal changed after 1907. In 1895, priority was given to the destruction of the brotherhood by 1903, this option was no longer upheld, but the French lacked an elaborate policy to guide their relations with Amadu Bamba and his disciples. The orientation given to the French Muslim policy by Governor General Ponty from 1908 filled this gap. Political and economic changes in the colony, and the growing influence of the Muridiyya, weighed heavily on the elaboration of this new policy, which aimed at establishing a relation of mutual trust between the Murids and the French. The process for building and implementing this policy of rapprochement was not linear, and not all administrators welcomed its development. This entente did not lead to the establishment of a complete trust between Amadu Bamba and the French administration, but it created a context for a gradual rapprochement with the Muridiyya.

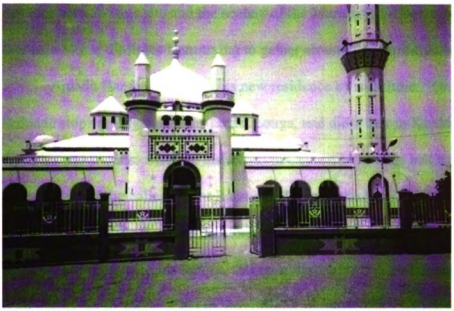


Figure 22: Mosque of Diourbel.

9.1. Return to Senegal and confinement to Ceyeen in Jolof (1907-1912)

9.1.1. House arrest in Ceyeen

Amadu Bamba was authorized to return to Senegal in May of 1907. He received the letter ending his exile in Mauritania from Shaikh Ibra Faal on the night of *Mawlud* (birth day of Prophet Muhammad) of *Rabi I* 1325 H/ May 1907 and moved back in Senegal by the third week of May. The colonial administration assigned him an obligatory residence at Ceyeen in a remote area between the borders of Jolof and Waalo, where he was given a territory of four square kilometers. The choice of Ceyeen was motivated by the remoteness of the site and the confidence that the Governor of the colony had in chief Buna Njaay, son of the former *Buurba* Albury Njaay, and a graduate of the School of Sons of Chiefs. Ceyeen was located sixty kilometers away from the nearest train station, thirty kilometers from Yang Yang (the headquarters of the chief) and it was not connected to any major routes. The colonial administration believed that the

distance between this site and the centers of the Muridiyya in Bawol and Kajoor would dissuade Murid disciples from trying to gather around their spiritual leader.

Amadu Bamba arrived in his new residence by mid-June. On his way to Ceyeen, he made stops at Dagana, Saint-Louis, Louga, and did a tour in Kokki where he visited disciples and friends. Before his arrival in Ceyeen he already had a house built by his disciples, which he called Daaru Rahman (House of the Merciful); a year later, he built another house a mile from the first one that he called Daaru Xudoos.[669] Bamba was again able to unite with his family. His son Abdulahi, also known as Abdul Aziz, was born in Ceyeen in 1909. Ceyeen also offered an opportunity for the continuation of tarbiyya. Amadu Bamba opened a school and the disciples were engaged in agriculture.[670] Disciples and family members were reassured by the cleric's return to Senegal. Momar Jaara, Amadu Bamba's senior brother, who has been skeptical and reserved about the Muridiyya, recognized the leadership of the cleric and became a Murid.[671] The submission of Momar Jaara, head of the village of Mbakke, to his younger brother, probably influenced the remaining members of the family of Maaram living in the village, and who had been hostile to the Muridiyya. This development allowed a rapid expansion of the brotherhood in eastern Bawol.

The remoteness of Ceyeen did not deter Murid disciples from paying pious visits to their spiritual leader. Two months after Amadu Bamba's return to Senegal, the colonial administration started to worry about the movement of population that the

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[669] See Amad Lamin Diop, *l'Abreuvement du Commensal*, op cit., p. 97-98.
[670] In Ceyeen Amadu Bambqa gave a strong indication of his commitment to *tarbiyya* and the importance of agricultural work by naming his garden in this village *Bustaan ul Hariffiin*, (the garden of the one who knows his creator). This was, to my knowledge, the first time that Amadu Bamba had given a name to a field. See my interview with Afia Ňaŋ, Tuubaa, second session, 06-30-2000.
[671] See my interview with Mustafa Mbakke Beto, a grand son of Momar Jaara, and current Imam of the main mosque of Mbakke Bawol, Mbakke, 08-05-2000.

presence of the cleric in Ceyeen had provoked. As early as October, the administrator of Louga proposed to the Governor an ensemble of measures aimed at reducing the flow of pilgrims to the cleric's compound.[672] These measures included the imposition of a pass to pilgrims wishing to visit Amadu Bamba. A number of requirements were imposed to those seeking a pass. The pilgrim was required to report to the headquarters of the commandant of the district of Louga where he was asked to describe his company, the gift that he was bringing for Amadu Bamba, the approximate time he planned to spend in Ceyeen, the itinerary he wished to take to get to the village, and a receipt showing that he had paid taxes.

These measures did not seem, however, to have been helpful in stemming the flow of pilgrims. The office of the commandant in Louga was swamped daily by a great number of people seeking a pass, and because of the shortage of personnel and poor organization of the tax collection system, the administration was unable to process, in a reasonable period of time, the applications it received. The inability of the administration to deliver the required documents sparked protests and contestation among Murids who ignored administrative procedures and proceeded to Ceyeen without a pass.[673] In addition, the movement of a large population of Muslims in the Njambur region, which has been in the near past an ardent foyer of Muslim resistance to colonization, and the rallying of a growing number of former chiefs and *qadis* behind Bamba worried French authorities.

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[672] See lettre de l'administrateur de Louga au Lieutenant Gouverneur du Sénégal, à Saint-Louis, dated from October 3rd 1907 in Oumar Ba, op cit. p. 131.
[673] See Paul Marty, *L'islam au Sénégal*, op cit., p 229.

The colonial administration also realized that it was unable to control and exert an efficient surveillance on the cleric because of the remoteness of Ceyeen. Bamba was blamed for violating the promise he had made to the administration not to receive pilgrims without a pass. In a letter dated March 1909, the commandant of the district of Louga denounced what he called the attempt by the Murids to create "a state within the state."[674] To put an end to what appeared as a dangerous course of events, the Governor imposed new restrictions on Amadu Bamba. The Koranic School was closed and the disciples forced to leave the area; the number of huts in the compound was reduced to twenty; the number of people authorized to stay on a permanent basis with the cleric was limited to fifty men and thirteen women.[675]

Reacting to the situation, Amadu Bamba, in a letter sent to the administrator of Louga, probably in early 1910, reiterated that he was neither a friend nor an enemy to the administration.[676] He reaffirmed that he had recommended to his disciples that they avoid any actions that could create tension or disturbances in the country. He reminded the administration that the people in Senegal were colonial or French subjects and that they could forbid them from visiting him or bringing him gifts. He noted that he would be even appreciative of such measures because it would spare him the hassle of redistributing the gifts to the numerous people who solicited his help.

Amadu Bamba also continued to request his transfer to Bawol. His brothers wrote letters to the Governor demanding his return to Mbakke, and pledged to guarantee

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[674] See note in dossab, ANS, 1909.
[675] See Cheikh A. Mb. Babou, "Le Mouridisme des origines a 1912,"(Mémoire de maîtrise, département d'histoire Université Cheikh Anta Diop, (1990-1991), p. 97.
[676] See Arabic version and translation of this letter inANS, dossab, 1910.

his loyalty to the government.[677] From Saint-Louis, Shaikh Ibra Faal, with probably other less visible Murid Shaikhs, was engaged in an intense lobbying effort to get the cleric transferred to Bawol. He wrote letters to the Governor and enlisted the support of members of the political elite of Saint-Louis such as Carpot, Descemet and others, and some Muslim notables of the city. These politicians who knew the functioning and internal politics of the French administration in Senegal, provided advice and conveyed the Murids' messages to the administrative hierarchy. They were certainly instrumental in convincing Amadu Bamba to make gestures of goodwill that could alleviate the colonial administration's concerns about the possible detrimental political consequences of his transfer to Bawol.

In this context, the *fatwa* that Amadu Bamba wrote during the jihad of Ma al Aynin in northern Mauritania in 1910 could be seen as a gesture aimed at diffusing suspicion, and defining a new modus operandi with the colonial administration.[678] It might be that this pronouncement was done out of a request from the colonial administration that wanted to test the loyalty of the cleric, or as a response to suggestions made by Shaikh Sidiyya or Saint-Louisian advisers, but it certainly contributed to reassuring the colonial authorities. In this *fatwa,* Amadu Bamba reminded his audience of the historical context and the conditions of the Jihads waged by Prophet Muhammad and noted that, at the present time, he did not see any valid reason to wage a jihad against the French. He emphasized the absence of a caliph, the weaknesses of the *umma* (community of believers), and the fact that the French did not prevent Muslims from

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[677] See letter written by the brothers of Amadu Bamba, Momar Jaara, Ibra Faty and Shaikh Anta, ANS, dossab 1909.

[678] Several copies of this proclamation are available at the National Archives of Senegal in the dossier Amadu Bamba.

practicing their religion. Referring to himself, he mentioned that he did not have any hidden agenda or ill intension against the French and that he remained obedient to them. Comparing French rule with the anarchy and violence of the ancient regime, he praised the peace and order achieved under French domination.

This declaration had a definite impact on the development of the relations between Amadu Bamba and the administration. The significance of the declaration lies less in the content and more in the circumstances of its publication. We know that since he began his career in the late nineteenth century, Amadu Bamba had opted for the "jihad of the soul," and that he had opposed the jihad of the sword; we also know that he was critical of the reign of the ceddo. Moreover, since 1889 Bamba had been in contact and had corresponded with the colonial administration, and he frequently reiterated his loyalty to the French. What was new in this *fatwa* is that it signaled a change in the cleric's perception of his stature and role in the political landscape of the "Senegalo-Mauritanian zone." For the first time, Amadu Bamba openly positioned himself in a conflict that involved neither his organization nor his disciples. More importantly, this was a conflict that opposed the French to a Muslim community. He chose to do so through a public proclamation that was not only addressed to his own disciples, but also to other Muslims in Senegal and Mauritania.

The colonial administration was aware of this change. There was certainly no consensus among the French as how to deal with Amadu Bamba and the Murids. The administrators' opinion changed overtime, and varied with their experience of Islam and Senegalese politics. However, by 1910 it had become clear to all of them that the Muridiyya has become a social force to reckon with. In 1911, for the first time, a

special section exclusively devoted to describing the development and activities of the Muridiyya in different districts of the colony was included in the periodic political reports of the administrator of Bawol, and the head of the Political Bureau. Murid disciples in the colony numbered over 50, 000 and they formed a substantial percentage of the population of the former kingdoms of Kajoor and Bawol, which had the largest population, and covered the area of the country where the cultivation of peanuts was the most developed.[679] The Murids were slowly becoming major agents for the economic development of the colony; they founded new villages, and invested their work ethic in agricultural production. The administration clearly appreciated Murid contribution to the colony's economy, but they worried about the great veneration that Murids had for Amadu Bamba, and the fact that their loyalty to the colonial administration came second to their loyalty to their spiritual leader. Therefore, since they could not counter the moral authority of Amadu Bamba, or control the magnetism that his persona exerted on people, trying to channel his influence in a beneficial direction, to the colonial enterprise, became the sole remaining option. The colonial administration probably reached this conclusion by the time of Bamba's internment in Ceyeen. However, in order to achieve this goal they needed to find a modus operandi with the cleric.

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[679] Early French colonial statistical data have to be taken with caution; most of the time, they are results of guesses. No systematic head count of the population was done in the colony by then. It might be that the number of Murids was higher; it might be also that it was lower. But it is likely that the real number was between 50,000 and 75,000.

9.2. Murid perspectives on the exiles and conflict with the colonial administration

9.2.1. Amadu Bamba's perceptions of the exiles

Amadu Bamba was a prolific writer, but he devoted much of his works to religion and education and he did not directly address secular issues. He was a critical observer of the society of his time, but he always couched his observations in religious terms. He wrote a *rihla* (travel account), which is a cursory description of his arrest and transportation to Gabon. Although he did not devote a book to his conflict with the colonial administration, this episode had a profound impact on his life. His post 1895 writings are replete with direct and indirect allusions to these events. Amadu Bamba expresses his understanding and interpretation of his confrontation with the French through the prayers, poems, and sermons he wrote during and after this episode, and in the letters and conversations that he exchanged with disciples and family members.

In a sermon he gave in Diourbel, probably by the early 1920s Amadu Bamba declared that at different stages of his conflict with the French he was inspired by specific verses of the Koran.[680] An analysis of some of these verses can give us a good indication

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[680] For a complete transcription of this sermon see *Majmuha*, a compilation of letters, sermons, conversations and advices to the disciples, op cit.p .20. It is interesting to note that in this sermon, Amadu Bamba seemed to consider that his conflict with the French lasted from 1313 H/ 1895 to 1336 H/1917-18. Amadu Bamba's choice of the year 1918 as symbolic date for the end of his confrontation with the French is puzzling. Many authors consider 1912, as the date that marked the end of the tensions between the Murids and the colonial administration. 1913, the date where Amadu Bamba was allowed to found his own village at the eastern part of Diourbel, could be also seen as a rupture with the French policy of coercion. Amadu Bamba might have chosen 1918, because of two important events in his life happened this year. It was in 1918 that the construction of the mosque of Diourbel was completed. This mosque was the Muridiyya's first major project. Amadu Bamba was proud of this mosque, and he received words of congratulations from all over the Senegalo-Mauritanian zone at the inauguration. This same year also Amadu Bamba had been inducted *Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur* by the Governor General of West Africa. He accepted the certificate but declined to take the medallion, which was engraved with a cross. Perhaps, the occurrence of these two events in 1918, meant to him that henceforth, durable, peaceful, and stable relationships with the French was possible.

of his mindset and sentiments at the time. The verses are excerpts from the Koran that recount the relationships between Prophet Muhammad and his enemies during his life in Mecca and early Medina, but they give us insights into how Amadu Bamba understood French hostility towards him and his organization, and also how the mutual adjustment that led to the rapprochement, operated.

During his arrest and exile to Gabon, Amadu Bamba referred to verses of the Koran that pertain to the relations between Prophet Muhammad and his enemies in Mecca, at the beginning of the latter's calling. The first verses that the cleric reminded himself of are excerpts from the *sura*[681] "The Spoils of War" where Allah addresses Prophet Muhammad in these terms: "...When the disbelievers plotted against you to imprison you, or to kill you, or to get you out (of your home); they were plotting and Allah too was plotting: and Allah is the Best of those who plot."[682] Amadu Bamba added that when he met Leclerc at Jeewol, where he was arrested, the following verse came to his mind: "O! You who believe! When you meet those who disbelieve, in the battlefield, never turn your backs to them."[683] When he was about to board the ship to Gabon, he said that he recited this verse, "O! You who believe! When you meet (an enemy) force, take a firm stand against them and remember the name of Allah much (both in tongue and mind) so that you may be successful."[684] On his way back to Senegal in 1902, the cleric had in mind this other verse from the same *surra*, "(O

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[681] *Surras* are chapters of the Koran. There are 114 *surras* in the Koran, and each is divided into verses. *Surras* and verses are numbered, and when making a quotation from the Koran, one always indicates the number for the *Surra* and verse that are quoted.
[682] English translation of the Koran by Dr. Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din Al-Hilâlî and Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khân, (Ryad: Darussalam Publihsers and Distributors), (v.30 s.8), p. 332. This concise translation is used for the convenience of offering also some commentaries on the context of the verses.
[683] Ibid v.15 s.8 p.329
[684] Ibid v.45 s.8 p. 336

disbelievers!) If you ask for a judgment now has the judgment come unto you; if you cease (to do wrong), it will be better for you and if you return (to the attack), so shall we return, and your force will be of no avail to you, however numerous it be; and verily Allah is with the believer." [685] Amadu Bamba also wrote in his travel account that the day of his arrest he had started to write a prayer where he put into verse the names of the 313 warriors that fought at the battle of Badr.[686] This prayer served as shield of protection against French conspirators.

The choice made by Amadu Bamba to use these verses to illustrate his feelings towards the French at the beginning of the conflict tells us much about his mindset and how he understood the reasons of colonial hostility towards him. The cleric clearly thought that he was unjustly accused and arrested; he also believed that the only motivation of the French administration was to prevent him from worshipping, teaching, and continuing the edification of his organization. In another poem, which he wrote while in Saint-Louis on the road to Gabon, Bamba mentioned, "My houses are empty; and I have been separated from my kin only because I chose to remain in solitude for the sake of worshipping God; and praising the Prophet."[687] By remaining in solitude he certainly refers to his life in Jolof where he tried to keep his distance from the temporal power holders, and to limit his life to the realm of *Daar al Islam* (abode of Islam opposed to *Daar al Harb,* abode of disbelief). However, after his release from exile, Bamba seemed to believe that now he had been put to the test and that he had been vindicated;

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[685] Ibid v. 19 s.8 p. 330

[686] See *Les dons du Très Reconnaissant, Jazaawu Shakuur*, Translation by le *dahira* des étudiants mourides de Dakar, op cit., p. 9. Badr is the first Battle between the Muslims of Medina lead by Prophet Muhammad and his enemies of Mecca.

[687] *Asiru*, a poem of Amadu Bamba translated from Arabic by Pape Seck,. v. 14, p. 14., (Dakar: ed. Islamique), undated.

God had arbitrated in his favor. Now he seemed to challenge the French to change their perceptions of him since seven years of exile had demonstrated his steadfastness and the sincerity of his commitment to Islam. He seemed to imply that since this commitment could not be weakened, then he should be left alone.

During his stay in Daaru Manaan in 1903, Amadu Bamba revealed that his relations with the French were guided by this verse, "But if they incline to peace, you also incline to it, and put your trust in Allah..."[688] By choosing this verse as a guiding principle in his interactions with the French, after he returned from his first exile, Bamba showed that he yearned for peaceful and stable relationships with the colonial administration, and that he was ready to apply reciprocity in his dealings with the French. Reciprocity meant that he was willing to fulfill his duty of obedience to the ruler of the time, and he expected that he would be recognized the right to live his religion and manage his community freely. In a letter he addressed to Governor General Roume, probably in 1903, he articulated this idea when he wrote[689],

> Thus I am writing to tell you what I have in my heart. I want you to know that, I do not want anything from what you look for in this world and that you cannot help me with what I want in the hereafter. You all should know that I have left your world to you and my main objective is the face of, the Exalted and Great, Allah. Let your soul rest and your eyes gladden and delight to the fact that I am not quarreling with anybody on anything belonging to this world. Rest assured that, whoever comes to you with any thing other than what I have just stated, is a liar and do not listen to him. Peace is upon those who follow the path of guidance.

Amadu Bamba noted that during his exile in Mauritania (1903-1907), he was reminded of a verse from the *Surra*, "the Consultation" where Allah ordered Prophet

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[688] Koran, op cit. v.61 s.8 p. 339.
[689] See *Majmuha*, op cit p. 144 and entire copy of the letter in appendices.

Muhammad to say, " I believe in whatsoever Allah has sent down of the book, and I am commanded to do justice among you. Allah is our Lord and your Lord. For us our deeds and for you your deeds. There is no dispute between you and us. Allah will assemble us (all), and to Him is the final return."[690] This verse clearly indicates that from Amadu Bamba's perspective, there was no reason for the French to remain hostile to him. He recognized the French to be people of the book and he no longer thought of them as mere miscreants as he did at their first encounter. He accepted that differences existed between him and the French, but this was the result of God's will and finally, it belonged to God to deliver the ultimate judgment. Therefore Amadu Bamba believed that mutual respect and mutual tolerance between him and the colonial administration was possible.

While staying in Ceyeen (1907-1912), Amadu Bamba announced that his relations with the French were inspired by the excerpts from the *surra* the "The Repentance" and "The Tested." In these verses, still addressing the Prophet, Allah said, "...So long as they are true to you, stand you true to them..."[691] And "Perhaps, Allah will make friendship between you and those whom you hold as enemies..."[692] The evocation of these verses indicates an important shift in the way Bamba perceived the French. Henceforth, he believed that there were just and trustworthy people in the administration. He also believed that his return to Senegal created an opportunity to make peace with the French. He did not even exclude the possibility of making friends among the colonial administrators.

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[690] This verse relates to the relationships that should exist between the Muslims and the people of Book. i.e., the Christians and Jews. Ibid., v.15 s.42, p.874.
[691] Koran, op cit. v.7s.9, p. 344.
[692] ibid, v. 7 s.60, p.1002.

Finally, when he was authorized to return to Bawol in 1912, still under the custody of the French, he was reminded of this verse from the *surra* "The Disbelievers": "To you your religion and to me my religion."[693] This statement implies a sentiment of closure and seems to indicate that Bamba had found a modus operandi with the French. This modus operandi implied that each party had now accepted to recognize the other's rights. The administration had the right to rule its subjects but it should not interfere with the development of the Muridiyya. The Murids, on the other hand, and first among them, Amadu Bamba, should obey the colonial administration about all matters related to the government of the country. The mutual recognition of each other's rights was the base of tolerance and the acceptance of differences.

9.2.2. The politics of miracles: the popular epic

In Sufi Islam, miracles and sainthood are inextricably intertwined. The performance of supernatural feats is an indispensable ingredient in the life of Sufi saints everywhere in the Islamic world. The extraordinary deeds attributed to saints are perceived as proof of the authenticity of their religion, because, as noted by Amadu Bamba, saints are heirs to the prophets.[694] Because of their quality of inheritors of God's messengers, saints are protected and honored. The saint differs from the prophet however, because the latter benefits from the ineluctable protection of God while the former is fallible and susceptible to mistakes and weaknesses. The gift of grace that God gives to the saint is therefore an instrument to protect Islam, and by performing miracles, the saint is, in fact, a mere instrument of a superior power working through him. The

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[693] Ibid. v.6 s. 109, p.1127.
[694] See *Masalik* (Paths to Paradise) op cit., p. 60 v 279-285.

idea of protection and honor employed by Amadu Bamba to explain the miraculous power of saints is central to understanding the politics of miracles in the Muridiyya. In effect, miracles are often performed in a context of adversity.

Amadu Bamba's exiles and trials at the hands of the French have provided fertile ground for the development of an epic that draws from the repertoire of Sufi myths and miracles. Amadu Bamba interpreted many things that happened to him during the exiles as the fruit of divine intervention, but to my knowledge, he did not explicitly report any miracles that he had performed during his conflict with the French. But this did not preclude the development of stories that attribute to him miraculous deeds. In effect, miracles are often reported by a third party.

In his rendition of his confrontation with the French, Bamba denied agency to the colonial administration by affirming from the outset that the French were mere instruments of God, who were acting as they were instructed by a superior power.[695] He interpreted his removal from Senegal as a blessing and his exile in Mauritania as an occasion for spiritual perfection.[696] In fact, for the Sufi, inflicting suffering on those close to God, is a way for God to increase their *baraka* (gift of grace). Those who undergo the trials steadfastly, without complaining, only for the sake of God, are rewarded with greater spiritual power. Amadu Bamba indicated that the solitary confinement in which the French kept him for seven years allowed him to perfect his knowledge of the Arabic language and the religious sciences, and the sacrifices that he

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[695] See *Les Dons*, op cit. p. 7.

[696] In fact, 18 Safar, the date of his arrest in Jeewol, is commemorated every year and constitutes the most important religious celebration of the Murids. It regroups annually over two millions pilgrims from Senegal and the rest of the world. See Christian Coulon, "The Grand Magal in Touba," *African Affairs* 98, 391(1999): 195-210.

consented to the sake of Islam had earned him a superior status as *wali* or friend of God. In a letter he addressed to his disciples, after he returned from exile, Bamba recommended that in their reading of his works, they give priority to what he had written the year of his deportation to Gabon or during and after his return from exile, because those works had been particularly blessed.[697]

Building on Amadu Bamba's description of the events that marked his conflict with the French and his esoteric interpretation of these events, Murid hagiographers and poets have constructed an epic of the conflict between Amadu Bamba and the French. This epic parallels and competes with the version of the story told by the colonial administration, and has, to a large extent, shaped popular views of the conflict. Like all popular epics the stories mix factually verifiable events with extraordinary deeds and exhibit little concern about logical coherence and chronological continuity. These epics recast the events in a Manichean form of confrontation between good and evil.

Fragmented pieces of this epic started to emerge as soon as Amadu Bamba returned from exile in 1902. But it was after his death in 1927 that the famous Murid poet, Musa Ka, developed a rather elaborate narrative that pieced together the different exile stories and reconstructed the popular version of Amadu Bamba's odyssey in the hands of the French. Musa Ka was born in the 1890's in a village near Mbakke Bawol and his father introduced him to Amadu Bamba when the latter returned from his exile in Mauritania in 1907. He studied in Amadu Bamba's school in Ceyeen then followed him to Diourbel where he started to write poems in Arabic. It seems that it was at this period that Amadu Bamba encouraged Ka to write in *Wolofal* instead, in order to spread his

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[697] See *Majmuha*, op cit. p. 21.

message to the majority of disciples that could not read Arabic.[698] It was only after Amadu Bamba's death that Ka started his career in *wolofal*. Ka indicated that since Amadu Bamba had praised the Prophet Muhammad, who was an Arab in Arabic, he was on his part, going to praise Bamba in *Wolofal* since the latter was a Wolof. Musa Ka is certainly the most prolific and the most renowned author who has written in *Wolofal* in Senegal.[699]

Ka's most influential work is his narrative of Amadu Bamba's confrontation with the French, which he entitled *Jazaawu Shakuur*, reproducing the title that Amadu Bamba gave to his travel account. This long poem of 1344 verses is divided into two cycles, the cycle of the sea that describes the trip from Mbakke Baari (also Mbakke Jolof) to Gabon and back (764 verses) and the cycle of the land that recounts the events that took place between Daaru Manaan, Mauritania and Ceyeen (580 verses). In composing this poem Ka sought inspiration from a variety of sources: Amadu Bamba's travel narrative and other writings, testimonies from contemporary eyewitnesses, hagiography of Prophet Muhammad and other Muslim saints, etc...[700] He did not have access to French archival material, but his reconstruction of the events is quite remarkable. His description has helped researchers reconstruct the itinerary that Amadu Bamba followed during his trips, and the different places he stayed during the exiles.

Perhaps, the most interesting aspect of Ka's work is his depiction of the physical and mystical struggle that Amadu Bamba waged against the French. Musa Ka asserted that the French subjected Amadu Bamba to 295 forms of torture and each of these could

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[698] See Diâo Faye, " L'Oeuvre Poétique wolofal de Moussa Ka ou l'épopée de Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba,"(thèse pour un doctorat de troisième cycle, Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar, Année,(1999), p.66.
[699] See Amar Samb, "Jaaraama" t. XXXVI, BIFAN, 3(1974).
[700] During my field research I have come across some of Moussa Ka's informants.

have taken the life of a normal human being.[701] He popularized the stories that Amadu Bamba was confronted by a hungry lion, by a raging bull, and that on his way to exile in Gabon, he laid his mat and prayed on the Atlantic Ocean when he was prevented by the captain from praying in the ship. Ka also describes events that happened in Mayomba, Lambéréné and Wiir Wiir, where French soldiers failed after many attempts to shoot Amadu Bamba or to bury him alive in a pit. Ka has inspired painters, wood carvers, and artists that have figuratively reproduced the stories he recounted to provide more accessible and vivid images of Amadu Bamba's odyssey to the wider Senegalese and Murids audience that cannot read Wolofal.[702] One can rightly speak today of a Murid artistic school that draws its inspiration from Musa Ka's epic. Ka's works are also popularized through other mediums. *Jazaawu Shakuur* has inspired a play performed by amateur actors that featured Amadu Bamba, the governor of Saint-Louis, and other French and Africans that were involved in the conflict, which was very popular in the Murid dominated areas of Senegal in the 1970s and 1980s.[703] Today, audio recordings of Ka's works chanted by professional Murid religious singers are sold around the world, following the trails of the Murid international immigrants.[704] Ka has been instrumental

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[701] Numbers have a great symbolism among the Sufi. Each letter of the Arabic alphabet has a numerical value. And mystics claim that by combining some of these letters (numbers), they can learn a lot about the present and the future and have an impact on people's life. In this case 295 refers to the number of verses that are contained in the Koranic *surra*, "The Cow," which is, perhaps, the most important *surra* of the Koran.

[702] Alan and Mary Roberts, in an interesting analysis of the unique picture of Amadu Bamba, explore also some of the themes associated with the exiles of Amadu Bamba and the popular imagery that grew from these events. See "L'aura d'Amadou Bamba," *Anthropologie et sociétés* 22, 1(1998): 15-41.

[703] This play, then entitled *Bamba mos xam*,[Bamba, You have to taste him to know him] was created by amateur artists in Kaolack, the largest city in mid-west Senegal, who toured the Murid heartland of Bawol and Kajoor, and inspired the creation of local groups, who developed their own version of the play.

[704] See Cheikh Anta Babou, "Brotherhood Solidarity, Education and Migration: The role of the *dahiras* among the Murid Muslim Community of New York," *African Affairs* 101-403(2002): 151-170.

in shaping the popular image of Amadu Bamba as a hero who confronted and defeated the French.

The popular epic of Amadu Bamba's confrontation with the French can be likened with the tales about Kikuyu prophetic heroes, where the story is set outside the real world in an imaginary one in which they exercised moral agency and over which they wielded some control. The difference with the epic of Amadu Bamba is that here, the storyteller does not need to invent the setting for his story.[705] The repertoire of Sufi saints's lives around the Muslim world provide ample examples to draw inspiration from. By displacing the confrontation between the Murids and the French from the physical to a mystical world, where the latter have no control, the Murids put their leader in a position where he escaped the grasp of the colonial administration's power, and where he was able to have the upper hand.

The colonial administration was irritated by the extraordinary stories told about Amadu Bamba's exiles and the capacity of the Murids to turn their setbacks into victories. They worried about the effect that these stories were having on the popular imagination, and how it undermined the effectiveness of the coercive measures they took to subdue the cleric and his disciples. These stories could be seen as a form of what James Scott termed "weapons of the weak."[706] As early as 1903, reports filed by colonial administrators express their dismay at the fact that the Murids interpreted Amadu Bamba's return to Senegal, as an expression of his will and spiritual power, and not the

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[705] See J.Londsdale, "The Prayers of Waiyaki" in D M. Anderson and D. H. Johnson *Revealing Prophets,* (1995) p.240.

[706] James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Every days Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

result of the government clemency.[707] Murids circulated the idea that Bamba could have returned home mysteriously through the airs had he wanted to. When Bamba was exiled to Mauritania, Murids reinterpreted this deportation as the fulfillment of wishes their leader has always had, and as an opportunity for him to perfect his spiritual development. Indeed, it was during his sojourn in Mauritania that Amadu Bamba declared that he received the Murid wird through prophetic inspiration, which was a coronation of his spiritual quest.

The French were unable to counter this form of response to their politics, which effectively undermined their authority and power. Sometimes they would learn about these stories only years after they had circulated.[708] This situation created a problem in the colonial administration. They realized that continuous repression would only enhance the prestige of the cleric who was perceived by his disciples as a martyr protected by God, and his release was not an option.[709] Finally, by 1911, the administration started to develop a new strategy. Some administrators suggested that the return of Amadu Bamba to his native land of Bawol was the best way to curtail his saintly aura and the "anomalous" development of the prestige of Murid shaikhs.[710]

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[707] See Vienne ANS, dossab May, 1903, rapports annuels and semestriels sur le bas Sénégal, 2G3, 7 ; Allys 1905 rapport 1ier trim, ANS, dossab, 1903.

[708] For example, in May of 1942, the General Secretary of the Second Bureau was alarmed by the discovery of a xenophobic (read anti French poem in *Wolofal*) written by Musa Ka. And they only afterwards discovered that this poem was written between 1930 and 1935, in the context of Shaikh Anta's deportation in Mali. ANS 11D1/0049.

[709] In a letter to the Governor General, the Director of Political, Administrative, and Economic Affairs, wondered what to do with Amadu Bamba, because they did not trust him enough to be able to release him, and they could not continue the policy of coercion. By keeping him under house arrest, they would only add to his prestige as a martyr, and if they release him, the Murids would see this action as evidence of the cleric's superior spiritual power, and not a manifestation of clemency, thereby enhancing even further his popularity.
See ANS, dossab, janvier 1913, piéce 2.

[710] Chef du bureau politique, Sénégal rapports d'ensemble 1911, ANS, 2G 11, 6.

9.3. Towards rapprochement

9.3.1. The end of the deportations: shift in the colonial policy

By 1912, the parameters that had shaped the relationships between the Murids and the colonial administration have substantially changed. The French started to develop a pragmatic approach of their relations with Amadu Bamba and the Muridiyya. The failure of repression and the increasing influence of the brotherhood in the demography, economics and politics of the country, and a better understanding of Senegalese society and the role of Islam dictated this change. Priority was henceforth resolutely given to the control of the brotherhood.[711]

At the administrative level, new transformations in the province of Bawol created better conditions for control and therefore rapprochement with the Murids. In 1908, the province of Bawol was separated from the district of Thiès to become an autonomous district under the authority of a commandant based in Diourbel, which was the center of Eastern Bawol, the heartland of the Muridiya. This administrative structuring permitted a tighter surveillance of the organization's development. Théveniaut, former commandant of Trarza, who watched over Amadu Bamba when he was deported in Mauritania, was appointed commandant of the newly created district. He could have sought the post of Diourbel because he believed that he had the experience and knowledge to effectively handle the cleric or he could have been motivated by career goals. Perhaps, he wished to follow in the footsteps of Coppolani, the architect of the

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[711] Robinson, "Surveillance and Control" op cit.

policy of "peaceful" conquest of Mauritania, and build for himself an expertise in Murid affairs that he could later invest in his administrative career.[712]

At any rate, as soon as he settled in Diourbel, Théveniaut started to request the transfer of Amadu Bamba to this town, and he volunteered to be his guardian.[713] This demand was first rejected, but political and economic developments in the colony, and the growing influence of the brotherhood made the necessity of taking a final decision about the status of the cleric, increasingly urgent. In 1911, the director of the Political Bureau reiterated the demand to assign Amadu Bamba a residence in Diourbel, arguing that this was the best way to counter his influence.[714]

It was the policy of Governor General Ponty that gradually contributed to bringing some sort of stability to the relations between the Murids and the French. Ponty was a veteran administrator who had garnered much field experience during previous stays in French Sudan, Madagascar, and Senegal. He was a partisan of the policy of association and believed that in order to win the goodwill of the native population of its colony, France had to preserve the fabric of African societies. In his memo of 22 September 1909 where he spelled out the parameters of his *politique des races*, he wrote[715], "... It seems possible today to formulate this policy into a body of principles derived from the greater understanding that we now have of the psychology of our subjects, from our constant concern not to offend them in their customs, in their beliefs, and even in their superstitions."

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[712] According to an anonymous letter sent to the chief of the Political Affairs Bureau, Théveniaut liked to boast that he was the "*Administrateur Mouride*" see ANS, dossab, 1912.
[713] See Letter to the Lieutenant Governor dated July 1st, 1908 in Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba,* op cit. p.139.
[714] See, "Rapport d'ensemble sur les territories de protectorat, 1911," ANS 2G11, 6, p. 11.
[715] See Wesley Johnson, "William Ponty and Republican Paternalism in West Africa," op cit p. 142.

Ponty, as we have seen in earlier chapters, did not have much sympathy for Islam, and a major objective of his policy was to attenuate the authority of Muslim leaders over the population of the colonies, but he believed that it was possible to find a *modus operandi* with them, Amadu Bamba included. Ideologically he was not hostile to the religion. Ponty was a Republican but he was not a staunch partisan of assimilation, or at least the cultural dimension of the doctrine. He did not endorse the assimilasionists' ambition to impose French culture and civilization over the colonized. Having greater awareness about the power of Islam in Senegal than his predecessors, he favored negotiation and dialogue over repression.[716]

Ponty's policy towards the Muridiyya was informed by his awareness of the contemporary political situation in the colony and in Europe, his own administrative skills and philosophy, and the experience accumulated by the French administration in Senegal during more than two decades of chaotic relationships with the Murids. This policy differed from his predecessors' in two points. First, Ponty strived to place his policy towards the Muridiyya in the framework of the broader French Muslim policy and experience with its Muslim subjects. He relied on the works of French specialists of Muslim affairs, such as Arnaud, and Marty, to define an orientation and set guidelines that informed his overall Muslim policy, breaking with the policy of actions and reactions that had so far guided the relationships between the French and the Murids. In a telegram to the Lieutenant Governor of Senegal dated August 13, 1912, referring to the attitude to observe towards Amadu Bamba, Ponty noted, "...I have always thought that our policy towards our Islamized subjects should be based more on tact and skill than on

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[716] See Governor Général to lieutenant governeur of Sénégal, Août 13, 1912, in Oumar Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba,* p.144.

severity, and especially so, when we are dealing with an institution that has a large number of adherents..."[717] Second, Ponty distrusted the provincial politics of the field administrators, which had to large extent shaped French perception of the Muridiyya, and he deemed the administrators' views as often too personal and too narrow to offer a valid base for the formulation of a Muslim policy.[718] Ponty clearly understood the subjectivity and not always "republican" attitude of district commandants, who behaved like local potentates and interpreted any contestation of their local politics or the actions of their African protégés as acts of rebellion and or a threat to French power in Senegal to be dealt with swiftly and harshly. By 1912, Ponty gave a strong signal to the local administrators, who dared to derail his policy of rapprochement with the Murids, by sacking Théveniaut, who seemed to have not understood that the times had changed.[719]

Ponty's policy towards the Murids was also influenced by political and economic developments in the colony and the metropole.[720] By 1912, the colonel Mangin's idea to engage African soldiers in a European war for the defense of the nation was gaining ground. Ponty was an enthusiastic supporter of this idea.[721] He probably understood that stable and peaceful relations with the Murids, who were gradually dominating the

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[717] Ibid.
[718] Ibid. p. 145.
[719] In the telegram he sent to the Lieutenant Governor of Sénégal, ordering the removal of Théveniaut, Ponty noted that the latter was working against his policy that aimed at creating calm and peace with the Murids, by conducting a personal policy. In another report Ponty accused Théveniaut of trying to create his own fiefdom in the district of Diourbel. ANS, dossab, August 8th 1912.
[720] In fact, as early as 1903, the head of the Political Bureau, after reviewing the relations between the Murids and the colonial administration, noted in his annual report, "Accommodation with the religious chiefs [in Senegal] was possible; it is already taking place. One should mention that it is the Moorish religious tribes [of Mauritania], tired of the exactions of the warriors and the state of anarchy [in their country], that are calling for, and will support, our penetration of the Moorish countries:" ANS, dossab, 1903.
[721] Marc Michel notes that the "plan Ponty," which proposed the recruitment of two divisions of African soldiers for the French army, was a major boost to Mangin's project, see *l'Appel à l'Afrique ,1914-1919,* (Paris, 1982), p. 4 and 7.

two most populous provinces of Senegal, could only help his enterprise.[722] In addition, with the building of the railway Thiès (Senegal) Kayes (Mali) that traversed Bawol, the economy of this province was gaining a major boost. In 1911, the colonial administration was becoming aware of the economic potential of the Muridiyya for Senegal's economy.[723] By 1912, Murid disciples had started to migrate along the railroad lines and eastern Bawol, where they engaged in peanut farming and trading. Of course, Murids were engaging in these enterprises not to please the French, but for the sake of their own interests, but the development of peanut cultivation and trade also helped the economy of the colony. The French knew that peaceful relations with Amadu Bamba and his settlement in the economic and political center of Bawol would be beneficial to the economy and the political stability of the colony as a whole.

Better communication between the Murids and the administration also contributed to the rapprochement. The Murids and the colonial authorities had been in contact since 1889, but the deportation of the cleric in 1895 and his labeling as a rebel had cast a shadow of mistrust between them. After Bamba's return to Senegal this atmosphere of mistrust and hostility only festered. The Murids were convinced that they had done nothing wrong and they could not understand how the French were able to get along with Muslim leaders such as Shaikh Sidiyya and Shaikh Saad Bouh, but not with Amadu Bamba.[724] For the colonial authorities, the destruction of the Muridiyya was no longer an objective, but its control was an imperative. However, Amadu Bamba's willingness

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[722] In fact, the Murids, with the approval of Amadu Bamba helped the colonial administration recruit at least 400 soldiers, despite the fact that some administrators suspected that some Murid shaikhs were hiding people fleeing conscription.

[723] See Lucy Behrman, *Muslim Brotherhoods and Politics in Senegal* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U Press, 1970), p.48.

[724] See Letter of Cheikh Ibra Faal to the Lieutenant Governor of Senegal, January 12, 1913, ANS, dossab, 1913.

to maintain political neutrality and to keep his distance from the administration was ample reason for them to remain suspicious of his ambitions. It is clear that the *fatwa* of 1910 and the efforts by Amadu Bamba's brothers, Murid shaikhs, and local politicians helped reassure the administration by providing a guarantee as of the brotherhood's loyalty to the colonial authorities.

In January 1912, Amadu Bamba was authorized to relocate to Diourbel. He left Ceyeen in 23 *Muharram* 1330 H/ January 13, 1912, and traveled freely on horseback with some of his disciples across Jolof and Bawol. Bamba crossed Tuubaa without stopping and spent the night at the nearby village of Daaru Halimul Xabiir with his disciple and friend Abdu Rahmaan Lo. He arrived in Diourbel on January 16th, and was assigned a residence in the *escale* between the commandant's house and the police headquarters. He was kept under tight security. Only a limited number of persons were authorized to see him. Even his brothers and close disciples were required to apply for special authorization before they could pay him a visit.

However, the spatial proximity between Amadu Bamba and the central administration, which was now closely monitoring the development of the brotherhood, created a suitable situation for the pursuit and expansion of the policy of rapprochement.[725] In a letter to the head of the Service of Political, Administrative and Economic Affairs, dated October 21 1912, the Lieutenant Governor of Senegal, Cor, after a series of meetings with Mbakke Buso, Shaikh Coro and Ibra Fati, noted,

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[725] From 1912, a new section exclusively devoted to Murid affairs was added to the monthly report filed by the administrator of the district of Diourbel.

"I think that we should take advantage of the situation [Murid concerns about articles attacking them in the newspaper *LePetit Sénégalais* and the publication of so called anti-French poems written by Amadu Bamba] to attempt a rapprochement with Amadu Bamba, while maintaining our will to be obeyed by his disciples ...It seems to me that we should first create a climate of mutual trust; I think that the nature of our relations in the past will make this difficult, but I don't think that it is impossible. In this perspective, I have asked the General Commissioner of the Territory of Mauritania, who is now on a tour in the Trarza region, to ask Shaikh Sidiyya to send me one of his son to meet Amadu Bamba in his name and on my behalf,"[726]

Governor general Ponty gave his blessings to this policy, emphasizing that there were no reasons for the administration to single out the Murids. However, he warned that one should be careful not to rely too much on the support of Murid shaikhs for the administration of the population, because this would only enhance their prestige and power.[727] Ponty's attitude shows the ambivalence that characterized French's perception of the Murids, especially during the lifetime of Amadu Bamba. This ambivalence exposes their inability to mold the brotherhood to their will. On the one hand, they acknowledged the influence of the organization and aspired to use the prestige and legitimacy of its leaders to reach the population, on the other, they feared that relying on the Murids would only lead to the empowerment of a social force that escaped their control, and which they could not entirely trust.

Amadu Bamba responded to the policy initiated by Ponty by making his pledge to obey the administration more explicit. In two letters to the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal, both dated February 1913, he reiterated the pledge he had made to allow the teaching of French to some of the students in his schools, to sending the qualified among them to the high school of Saint-Louis, and to authorizing some of his disciples to be

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[726] See letter in ANS Dossab 1912, p.5.
[727] See Letter of Governor General Ponty to Cor, ANS dossab, 8 nov. 1912.

trained at the agricultural school.[728] He also requested permission to build a house in Diourbel, where he would live with his family until the administration decides let him return to his country [Tuubaa]. In the second letter, he mentioned that he agreed to follow the commandant of Diourbel's recommandation on all matters, as long as what was required of him did not infringe on the teachings and prescriptions of Islam.

9.3.2. Al Buqaha al Mubaraka and the territotialization of the Muridiyya

By mid-February 1913, the colonial authorities accepted Amadu Bamba's request to build a house. He was removed from the administrative center and granted a plot of land at the eastern side of the city, where he built the compound that he named *Buqaha al Muburaka* (the blessed land). He moved with a few dozens of his disciples to the compound, which rapidly blossomed into a village of several hundreds people. The installation of Amadu Bamba in Diourbel marked a turning point in the development of the Muridiyya. For the first time since 1895, the cleric was allowed to be back to his native land of Bawol. He was still under house arrest and did not have freedom of movement, but his presence in Eastern Bawol, which had become the heartland of the Muridiyya, was a major boost to the morale of Murid shaikhs and disciples. Amadu Bamba also understood that his settlement in Diourbel inaugurated an era of more stable and peaceful relationships with the French. The majority of his sons and daughters were born while he was living in this town. But still for him, Diourbel was part of *Daar al Harb* or abode of unbelief, and he would have preferred to return to his dear village of Tuubaa. However, it seems that, with the passing of time, the cleric was aware that he

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[728] See letters in ANS dossab, 6 Février, 1913.

would never be able to entirely recover his freedom, and he resorted to creating a sort of *Daar al Islam* (abode of Islam) within the *Daar al Harb.*

The way that Amadu Bamba organized his life in Diourbel seemed to indicate that he had accepted the confinement of *Daar al Islam* to the private domain. Amad Lamin Joob, disciple and biographer of Amadu Bamba, explains that the only difference between Bamba's private life in Diourbel and the life in an Islamic state was that *sharia* was not applied because of the political context.[729] He noted that in *al Mubaraka*, Bamba modeled his life on the life of Prophet Muhammad in Medina. He had the same number of scribes and servants as the Prophet, and he even reproduced the same gender division of nine men and one woman, found among the Prophet's aides. This willingness to recreate *Dar El Islam* at the private level is also shown in the way that Bamba organized his compound. The women and men's quarters were separated. The mosque and Koranic school occupied the eastern side of the village. Amadu Bamba created a library and assigned a number of Moorish and Senegalese disciples the task of copying the Koran and books destined for his schools and the use of his disciples. Lasselves, the commandant of the district of Diourbel, who visited Amadu Bamba's village in 1914, gives this description of the place,

> "...I was able to observe the life in the neighborhood; I have seen the organization of the compound; the different groups, here you have disciples that are in close contact with the Shaikh; there you have disciples that teach; farther, you have scribes that copy manuscripts for the cleric and members of his family; and then, you have Amadu Bamba's private quarter surrounded by a tin fence and in which you see a number of wooden and thatched roof huts that are uniformly furnished

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[729] Amad Lamin Diop, *l'Abreuvement*, op cit p. 110.

with iron beds and trunks full of books in Arabic, the largest wooden thatched hut serves as a mosque.[730]

Amadu Bamba made all possible efforts to circumscribe his life within this private realm, and to limit his contacts with what he probably perceived as the *Dar al Harb*. This attitude spawned conflicts with visiting administrators, who continuously complained about the cleric's reluctance and slowness to defer to their convocation, and his tendency to make them wait for long moments when they came for a visit. [731]

Amadu Bamba also made *Al Mubaraka* the headquarters and second holy site of the Murids. He launched an appeal to his disciples to commemorate *Mawlud* (birthday of Prophet Muhammad) with him in Diourbel. The first public *Mawlud* of the Murids was convened in this city in January 1914, and according to administrative sources, over 4,000 disciples joined the cleric in the commemoration.[732] Amadu Bamba also ordered his major shaikhs to build houses in Diourbel. Some of them would be summoned to the village, sometimes for more than a year, for a specific task, teaching, consultation, or leading a project. Al *Mubaraka* rapidly became a miniature spatial replica of the Muridiyya. Amadu Bamba's quarter was located at the center of the village, surrounded on the north, south and eastern sides by the shaikh's houses. His wives lived inside this central quarter, in a separate fenced place guarded by disciples, in which men were forbidden to enter.[733] In 1916, Amadu Bamba asked for and secured an authorization

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[730] ANS, dossab, "Rapports sur les Murids, " March, April, May , June, 1914.

[731] See the reports of Lasselves, the administrator of the district of Diourbel, on the Murids for the month of November 1913. dossab piece 25; Lucy Creevey has also reported the many accusations of abduction of children and women made against the Murids, See "Ahmad Bamba" in *the Cultivators of Islam,* vol. 1., ed. J. R. Willis, (1979).

[732] ANS, dossab, Rapport de l'admininistrateur, February 1914.

[733] The seclusion of a holy man's wife is common in Islam. Amadu Bamba strictly forbade that a man entered in the women's quarter. Disciples even refused to accompany colonial administrators who,

from the administration to build a mosque in his village. This large mosque (for the time) constituted the first big project of the Muridiyya, and its completion in two years showed the power of the organization

Along with this effort of centralization, Amadu Bamba also initiated a process of territorial expansion in Eastern Bawol. From 1912, Murid shaikhs engaged in the founding of a string of villages and schools between Diourbel and Tuubaa, to provide structure and leadership to the Murid community of the area and to inscribe the indelible mark of the brotherhood in the landscape of the founder's country. By 1912, Amadu Bamba sent Mbay Jaxate, a "spiritual shaikh," and son of the famous jurist and scholar of Kajoor Majaxate Kala, to revive the village of Xuru Mbakke, where the cleric grew up. The same year, Amsatu Jaxate, another "spiritual shaikh" and *doomi soxna* from the village school of Mewndu, joined Tuubaa where Amadu Bamba instructed him to open a school. Shaikh Mandumbe founded the village of Saam, twenty kilometers from Diourbel to the east, and Shaikh Ibra Faal founded the village of Daaru Xafoor, between Saam and Mbakke Bawol. These initiatives triggered a wave of migration that sent Murid shaikhs and disciples to Eastern Bawol. This migratory movement started what scholars have termed the first Murid pioneer front that was planned and controlled by Murid shaikhs.[734] This episode marked a watershed in the development of the Muridyya.

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sometimes came to inspect the compound without Amadu Bamba's express authorization. I was told a story that happened in 1919 during an epidemic of small pox in Diourbel, where Bamba, personally, chased the nurse who was trying to access the women's compound to perform vaccination without his knowledge. See Interview with Gallo Mbay op cit.

[734] For a study of this episode in the development of the Muridiyya, see Paul Péllissier, *les Paysans du Sénégal*, op cit (1966), especially, chapter VI; Jean Copans, *Les Marabouts de l'arachide*,p cit (1980).

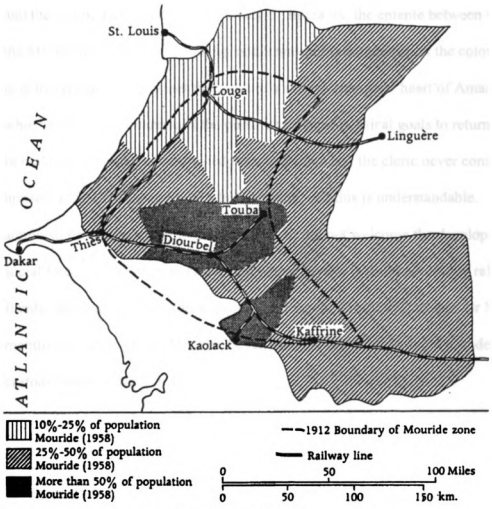


Figure 23: Expansion of the Muridiyya in 1912-1958.

Source: Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides*, p. 76.

9.4. Conclusion

A combination of factors and circumstances explains the rapprochement between the Murids and the French. Colonial interpretations that perceived this rapprochement as the result of Amadu Bamba's renunciation of his earlier political ambition and his willingness to collaborate with the colonial administration have been to a large extent endorsed by subsequent scholars. This perception only tells one side of the story and fails to account for the complexity of two decades of tense relations between the Murids

and the colonial administration of Senegal. In reality, the entente between the French and the Murids was long in the making, and it was not spontaneous, as the colonial reports tend to suggest. It was not the result of a sudden change of heart of Amadu Bamba who, by 1912, had abandoned the pursuit of alleged political goals to return to religion. In reality, the French never trusted Amadu Bamba and the cleric never considered himself a friend of the colonial administration, and this is understandable. The colonial administration, like any other political power, did not welcome the development of a social force outside of its purview, and whose loyalty it could not totally rely on. Amadu Bamba also had every reason to dislike the French. From1895, except for his seven months sojourn in Daaru Manaan, he remained in one form or another under French custody until his death in 1927.

The rapprochement should be seen as the result of lessons learned from the exercise of pressure and responses to pressure initiated by both sides during two decades of interactions. It is clear that Murid responses to the policy of coercion, which ultimately led to the strengthening of the brotherhood, and the colonial administration's failure to check or control the influence of the organization among the population of the colony, raised the awareness among the French of the necessity of fostering durable and peaceful relationships with Amadu Bamba. The increasingly strong Murid impact on the politics and economy of the colony was another factor. Finally, the gradual softening and abandonment of coercion allowed the colonial administration a better understanding of the goals and motives of the brotherhood, which were not incompatible with French rule of the colony. However, the establishment of a climate of entente between the French and the Murids did not mean that the French had succeeded in molding the

Murids to their will, or that the Murids had successfully resisted the French. What was achieved was the creation of a climate of mutual acceptance and tolerance that allowed Murids and French to cohabit and pursue their political, economic or social interests sometimes in cooperation other times seperatly.

10.Conclusion

It is not an overstatement to affirm that the history of the Muridiyya (to the extent that it was told) has been told without the Murids. The dominant narrative of the brotherhood's history is the one constructed from outside with some influence of the rather nationalist post-colonial Senegalese historiography and an important reliance on colonial sources. Scholars have mainly focused on the study of the social forces that they consider to be the critical factors behind the founding of the Murid brotherhood. Our aim in this work has been to put the Murids back in. Without neglecting the impact of social and economic forces in the genesis and development of the Muridiyya, I have deliberately made the choice to place the Murids at the center stage of the "drama." My main goal has been to correct the overwhelming dominance of external voices in the historiography of the Muridiyya, and to reconstruct a history of the brotherhood that pays more attention to Murid perception of their history, their understanding and interpretations of historical events. I indented to write a history of the Muridiyya from below that builds upon an internal perspective but at the same time initiates a dialogue with the external voices. I have tried to tell a story that balances the working of macro structural forces with grassroots agency articulated around people's socio-political and economic preoccupations, beliefs, knowledge, and concerns. Such an approach imposes a shift in focus. The Muridiyya is no longer viewed as a mere re-action, a coping strategy, to respond to changes wrought by external structural forces, but rather as an important phase in the development of Islam in Senegal. It is neither the end of a process nor the beginning of another, but part of a continuum that individualizes itself as an original attempt at social reform that responds to past and present challenges. This

work is not a revisionist attempt; it does not reject everything that has been written about the Murids, indeed, it has even brought more fuel to support findings by previous researchers. However, it is intended to make the Murid voices more audible, and it relies primarily on original source materials internal to the brotherhood.

The writing of a history of the Muridiyya that is centered on the agency of Murid shaikhs and disciples requires emphasizing two aspects of the brotherhood's development that have not been paid much attention to. First, it is necessary to place the Muridiyya in the broader context of the development of Islam in Senegal, and to analyze Amadu Bamba's actions in the light of the ongoing effort by Muslim clerics since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to reform the increasingly dysfunctional Western Saharan societies. Second, one needs to take seriously the role of people's beliefs, aspirations and motivations in the founding of the organization.

Islam has a long tradition in Senegal. It has served as agent of cultural and social change, and sometimes it has functioned as an instrument for the legitimization or contestation of political power. It has been both a "world shaping" and a "world-shaking" institution. Since the dislocation of the Jolof Empire and the formation of the different Wolof states of Senegal in the second half of the sixteenth century, Muslim clerics have been involved, in one way or another, in the business of ruling the states and managing the population, and their influence in their society has been strong. Some of them could be viewed as what Gramsci called "organic intellectuals" in the sense that they have embodied popular aspirations. Clerics have served sometimes as advisers or mouthpieces of kings, other times as vociferous critiques championing social and political change. However, there always had been a fraction among the Muslim

scholars that had kept its distance from everything temporal, and strived to preserve its identity of man of religion, preoccupied with the morality of the society, and suspicious of anything involving the rulers.

Amadu Bamba belongs to this last tradition. The Mbakke is a family of scholars and clerics that has built its credentials around the teaching of the Koran and a political wisdom that advocated limited involvement with the courts. Momar Anta Sali, Amadu Bamba's father, diverged from this tradition. Momar participated in the efforts of Muslim clerics who, in the second half of the nineteenth century, labored to bring and keep the court of Kajoor in the fold of Islam. These clerics opposed jihad, but they believed that it was possible to transform the society through the transformation of the ruling elite. They differed from court clerics who worked as mere auxiliaries that legitimized their patrons' rule; they aimed at impacting their society's destiny by influencing policies. Their agenda was to undermine the political culture of the court that was shaped by *ceddo* values by infusing Islamic ideas and practices in the method of government and the relationships between rulers and subjects.

Amadu Bamba shared the ambition of Muslim clerics who in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries struggled to transform Wolof society that was plagued by political violence, and its corollaries, famine and epidemics He had been critical of both *ceddo* rulers and Muslim state builders, who advocated jihad of the sword against their secular masters. However, although Bamba shared the critiques of ceddo rule, he diverged from his predecessors about the means of correcting the wrong they all associate with this régime. Drawing lessons from centuries of failed jihad, and the inability of court clerics to bring about any substantial change in the fate of the people, he resolutely opted for a

gradual transformation of the society through education.[735] He was a proponent of religious and social renewal, but he believed that education was the best instrument to fulfill these goals. In contrast with clerics who aimed at bringing about social change by influencing the ruling elite, Bamba believed that the best way to change a society was to educate the people that form this society.

However, for Bamba, not every type of education was suitable to meet this goal of changing the society. He had his own vision of the adequate system of education. This vision was shaped by the social, economic and political context in which he grew up and his critique of the traditional system of education. For Bamba, in order to have the positive impact wished on the social order, education should go beyond mere transmission of knowledge, as teachers had always done. One should apply Sufi method of education that allows touching the soul, which is the center that controls people's feelings and actions. *Tarbiyya* served as pedagogy to tame the soul. The Muridiyya was conceived by Amadu Bamba as the framework for disseminating *tarbiyya* education among the masses of Senegal. This attempt to use Sufi doctrine as a tool to reform the society and for fostering a new moral order constituted a change with local perception that saw Sufism as an esoteric intellectual tradition disconnected from social reality.

Tarbiyya responded to a variety of educational demands, and to a large extent, it was these demands that shaped the Muridiyya. Traditional education was restricted to the teaching of the Koran and the religious sciences to a specific audience defined by age,

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[735] The expression failed jihad does not mean that this jihad did not accomplish anything positive, from the jihadist perspective. Indeed, jihad has lead to the expansion of Islam in some area. However, in Senegal, even if some proponents of jihad had been successful in capturing power, they had all failed in translating the ideology of the jihad into an enduring instrument for social change.

gender, and family tradition. *Tarbiyya*, in contrast, aimed to educate the mind, but also the soul and the body. It opened the gate of education to people (mostly male) of all ages and all walks of life. The development of the *daara tarbiyya* and the multiplication of the number of shaikhs was a direct response to the adherence en masse of people to the Muridiyya, especially after Amadu Bamba's return from exile in 1902. Those who joined the brotherhood were not at the search for a master, but a guide, somebody who could respond not only to their intellectual but also spiritual and material needs. This need for guidance was translated in the formula of submission, *jebëlu,* where the disciple pledges reliance to his shaikh's guidance for everything related to this world and to the hereafter. Disciples sought in the Muridiyya a means for preserving and protecting their faith; they also aspired to be part of a community bound by mutual trust, fraternity and solidarity.

In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Wolof country was plagued by incessant warfare initiated by competing factions of the ruling dynasties in Kajoor, Bawol, and to some extent Saalum. Reacting to these situations Muslim clerics waged jihads against their *ceddo* rulers. The violence was fueled by the European slave traders of the Atlantic coast who supplied weapons to the different belligerents and even sometimes participated or started the wars when they felt that their interest were at stake. The internecine fighting and the insecurity devastated the *baadoolo* who could no longer tend to their fields, and migrated away to the fringes of the kingdom or to the semi-autonomous Muslim enclaves to escape the insecurity. The wars of conquest and reprisals that wrecked the area in the late nineteenth century added to the the population's

plight by triggering long and frequent periods of famines followed sometimes by deadly outbreaks of yellow fever and other illnesses associated with malnourishment.

It was because the Muridiyya provided an adequate response to people's aspirations that it gradually became the dominant social force in Kajoor and Bawol. The Muridiyya appealed to all strata of Wolof society, but it was particularly successful in mobilizing forces that since then were at the margins of society, and it developed a strong relation of trust between leaders and disciples. People did not join the Muridiyya merely because they were depressed by French colonization or because Amadu Bamba was a charismatic figure who by the sole virtue of his personal magnetism could command their will. They became Murids because the organization responded to their needs and it exhibited a flexibility that allowed a continuing adaptation to the changing nature of these needs.

Within the Murid brotherhood disciples and shaikhs were not on an equal footing. The shaikhs enjoyed power and prestige, and when looking at the distribution of resources between these two entities, the disciples gave more than what they received, but the relations between shaikh and disciples go beyond the mere exchange of material goods. Adherence to the Muridiyya was motivated by religious, psychological, and other social needs that compensated for the apparent economic exploitation of disciples.

The growing influence of Murid shaikhs, especially in the protectorates later provinces of Kajoor and Bawol, was contrasted to the rapid erosion of the legitimacy of the traditional ruling elite, which increasingly resorted to violence for the maintenance of its power before being defeated by the French. Murid Shaikhs have experienced

tumultuous relationships with the aristocracy and the Muslim elite of the Wolof country because they offered an alternative leadership that threatened their power and authority.

The confrontation between the French and the Murids in the early development of the brotherhood can be viewed as a continuation of this conflict. The ideological and practical foundations of the Muridiyya were laid out before even the colonial administration knew about Amadu Bamba and his organization. The changes and transformation outlined above were in motion before the French became the major players in the politics of the Wolof kingdoms. Indeed, from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries the French administration relied on dissenting members of the pre-colonial elite who allied with them during the wars of conquest to rule much of the territories that fell under their domination. These African chiefs upheld the tension and mistrust that marked their relations with the Muslim leadership during the pre-colonial era. Indeed, in Amadu Bamba and many Muslim clerics' view, there was not much difference between early French rule and the *ceddo* regime they displaced. Amadu Bamba's will to maintain a social and geographical distance with the French as he had done with the ruling elite of the pre-colonial Wolof kingdoms contributed to his conflict with the French administration.

The character of the conflict between the French and the Murids changed overtime, but its causes remained the same. The French, like their predecessors at the head of the Wolof states, saw the political and economic consequences of the allegiance of Murid disciples to their shaikh as a threat to their power. The Murid leadership denied that they had political ambitions; they pledged loyalty to their rulers, and remained committed to their beliefs and mode of organization, which was rooted in Sufi

religious doctrine. They justified their influence over the population on religious grounds while accepting and recognizing the French their right to rule their Senegalese subjects. They differentiated between administrative and religious influence and did not see a conflict between the two.

After the liquidation of the ruling aristocracy, the colonial administration resorted to a form of indirect rule that reproduced the political structures and culture of the defeated kingdoms. African chiefs resenting the gradual weakening of their power and the assertiveness of Murid shaikhs convinced the colonial administration to endorse their fight against the Muridiyya. This led to Amadu Bamba's exiles in Gabon and Mauritania and to the attempts to curtail the brotherhood's development. When in the early twentieth century, the French consolidated their power over the colony, they removed the African chiefs and softened indirect rule in a bid to exert firmer and closer control on the population. However, they soon confronted the increasing influence of the Muridiyya in the protectorates. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the French were clearly aware that the Muridiyya had become a major social force, which they could neither ignore nor destroy, and with which they needed to find some sort of accommodation.

The French have unwittingly contributed to the development of the Muridiyya. Their policy of coercion has made of Amadu Bamba a martyr and has enhanced his prestige and confidence in his status of a man of God. Moreover, by keeping the cleric under tight control, they have limited his influence on the disciples. Murid shaikhs who provided the leadership in his absence did not always share Bamba's esotericism and otherworldly interest. They gave practical meanings to the doctrinal concepts of *hubu*,

xidma and *tarbiyya.* They encouraged the development of daara *tarbiyya* and provided a framework for organizing disciples. They emphasized work, attachment to the shaikh, and obedience. These shaikhs played a great role in translating spiritual authority into material and temporal power.

The growing influence of the Muridiyya in the economy and demographics of the colony spurred by the shaikhs' initiatives and activities, further enhanced French interest in finding a *modus operandi* with the brotherhood. Murid shaikhs were becoming the legitimate leaders of the population in the countryside and it became increasingly difficult to win acceptance for colonial policy in a context of hostility with them. This concern was articulated by administrators at the highest level of the colonial hierarchy, who considered a rapprochement with the Murids as an imperative, particularly at the eve of the Great War where the need for conscripts, and potential disturbances in the colony became a central preoccupation for the French. However, colonial attitudes towards the Muridiyya remained ambibalent. Paraphrasing Shula Marks, who, in referring to the relations between the British and some leaders of the South African Black population, speaks of the "ambiguity of dependence," one can speak of the ambivalence of domination.[736] On the one hand, the colonial administration recognized the influence of the brotherhood and longed to appeal to this influence for the realization of its goals. On the other, it feared that by doing so it would give an official sanction and thereby enhance the prestige of Murid shaikhs whose power was beyond its control and whose loyalty remained uncertain.

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[736] Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism and State in 20th century Natal* (Baltimore, 1986).

By the time Amadu Bamba was authorized to settle in Diourbel in 1912, the French had renounced the policy of coercion and had opted for a gradual rapprochement with the Muridiyya. They remained suspicious of the first generation of Murid shaikhs, such as Maam Cerno Ibra Fati, Shaikh Anta, Shaikh Ibra Faal, Isa Jenn, Ibra Sarr, Mbakke Buso, but still believed that it was possible to work with them.[737] Their relationship with Amadu Bamba was more complex. The cleric's pledge of loyalty, his financial contribution to some colonial projects and his support for the conscription of Murid disciples was not considered enough to earn him their trust. Bamba was inducted Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur in 1918, but the administration never agreed to let him move to Tuubaa, which was his dearest wish, and they opposed his project of pilgrimage to Mecca. The French remained suspicious and they kept him under house arrest until his death in 1927. Amid the many positive post-mortem testimonies by administrators found in the archives, one notes this remark of the Governor General where he mentioned that the loyalty of Amadu Bamba remained "uncertain."[738]

Amadu Bamba on his side considered that he had done enough to fulfill his duty of French subject and leader of the Murids. He obeyed the administration' orders and urged his followers to do so. However, he was reluctant to put his influence at the service of the colonial administration, and he strived to confine his life to the realm of religion. Bamba tried to keep his distance from the French; he did not consider himself a friend of the administration. He acted when he was ordered to do so, or when he felt that

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[737] Colonial Intelligence records about these shaikhs kept at the Senegalese National Archives underline the fact that they were the most powerful leaders of the brotherhood and that they would blindly follow any orders given to them by Amadu Bamba. That one should not be fooled by their apparent loyalty and deference to the colonial administration.

[738] See Governor General of French West Africa "Rapport politique d'ensemble AOF 1927" 2G 26/8.

neutrality could be interpreted as an act of rebellion or hostility by the colonial administration. Bamba probably may never have understood the reasons for French hostility toward him and he perceived his treatment at the hands of the French as an injustice. In Diourbel, Amadu Bamba considered himself to be a prisoner although his installation in Bawol facilitated a steady rapprochement between the colonial administration and the Murids. He never voiced direct protestation against his house arrest in this town; although in some letters and discussions with the administration, he alluded to his will to return to Tuubaa. The most obvious signs of Amadu Bamba's resentment with regard to his condition in Diourbel was his renunciation to lead the disciples for the communal Friday prayer and his refusal to bury any of his family members in this town.[739]

French colonial rule had a noticeable impact on the Muridiyya, but the brotherhood was not a mere response to this watershed in the history of Senegal. Colonial rule defined the socio-economic context for the development of the brotherhood after the conquest of Kajoor and Bawol. The restrictions of contacts between Amadu Bamba and the disciples and the constant surveillance and monitoring of the activities of the Murid leadership certainly influenced the course of the brotherhood's development and the shaikhs and disciples' lives. However, the colonial presence did not have a

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[739] Mbakke Buso explained that since the communal Friday prayer is an obligation for only a Muslim who voluntarily decides to reside in a place for more than four days, Amadu Bamba who would not have stayed one more hour in Diourbel, if he had the freedom to do so, thought that this was not a requirement for him. See Amad Lamin Joob, l'*Abreuvement*, p.100; See also my interview with Afia Ñaŋ, Tuubaa 05-30-200 and also Cheikhouna Mbakke and Khadime Sylla, *Etude Critique et analyse des Ecrits du Professeur Rawane Mbaye sur le Mouridisme*, (1999) op cit, p. 64; The other disciples who have made Diourbel their home observed this prayer under the leadership of Affe Mbakke, a younger brother of Amadu Bamba. While Amadu Bamba was living in Diourbel, he used Xuru Mbakke, thirty kilometers to the east of this city, as a burial ground of his family.

major influence on the ideas and agenda of the founder, and it only partially explains the motivations of the people who joined the brotherhood.

Many studies of the Muridiyya overstate the influence of colonial rule on the development of the organization because they focus on the period that started after 1912 and overlook the circumstances of the genesis and development of the brotherhood in Kajoor and Bawol in the late nineteenth century. Scholars evoke the role that the Muridiyya played in the production of the colonial cash crop of peanut to justify the importance of colonial influence on the brotherhood. In reality, when the Muridiyya started to develop in Bawol, peanut production was marginal in the economy of this province. Amadu Bamba always lived in places that were located away from the railways and centers of peanut production, although some of his close disciples settled early on along near railway stations and peanut producing areas. The reason why Murid engaged en masse in peanut farming did not differ very much from the reasons why Wolof of other religious obedience and other ethnic groups adopted this crop. Peanuts conveniently adapted to the soil, climate, and rain patterns of the Wolof country and did not require much labor. Moreover, Murids like other people in Senegal needed cash to pay their taxes and be part of the currency driven market economy imposed by colonial rule. In fact, one can speak of a culture of peanuts among the Wolof, whether Murid or not, where the historical memory is marked by events linked to the production and commercialization of this crop.[740] The only major difference between other Senegalese farmers and the Murids was that the latter were better organized and that they invested

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[740] For example, *atum bërigo dërëm*, literally, the year when the quintal (of peanuts) was sold at 5 F (1914;) *atum bërigo ñaar fukk*, the year when the quintal (of peanuts) was sold 100 F (1920); and *Atum berigo Junni*, the year when the quintal was sold 5,000 when Senghor and the BDS won the seat to the French National Parliament.

their strong work ethic in peanut farming. The colonial administration and the Murids' interest coincided in the development of the cash crop economy of peanuts. But the death of the peanut economy did not lead to the weakening or disappearance of the Muridiyya.[741] The Muridiyya, as it appeared in the early twentieth century, was the result of a gradual process of adjustment to colonial rule that lasted for over two decades. What happened after1912 was a shift in the development of this process of adjustment and not a radical break with the past or the beginning of a new course in the relations between the Murids and the French.

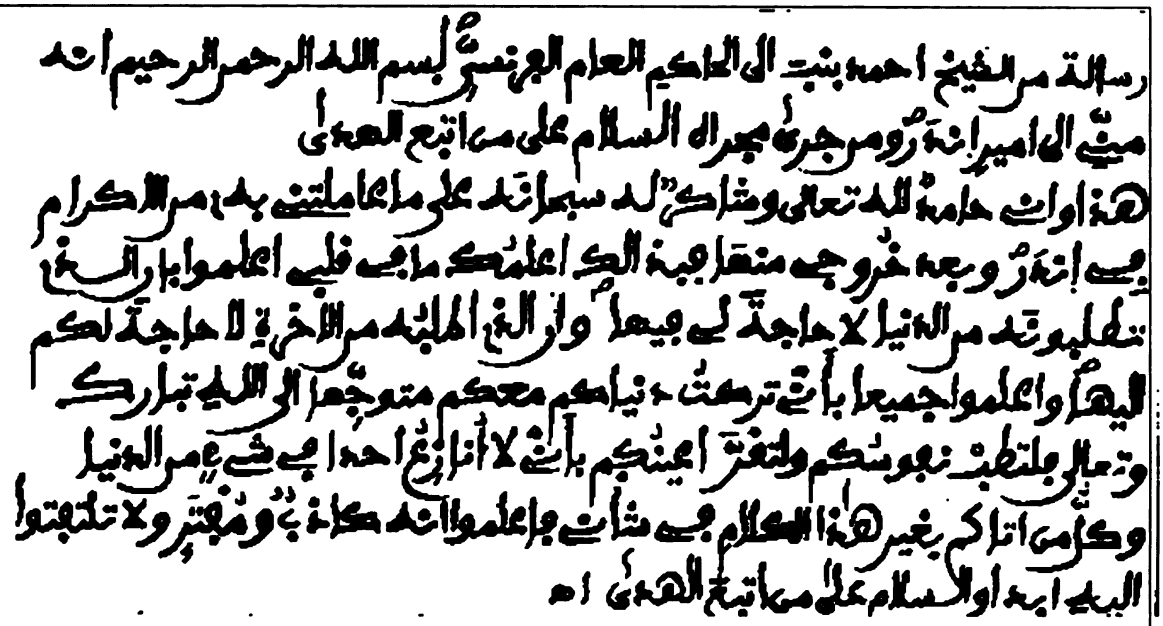
The relations between the Murids and the colonial administration of Senegal were marked after 1913 by an increasing rapprochement. The heritage of suspicion and mistrust wrought by over two decades of tension and conflict had not faded away yet, but a space for accommodation was developing with the shaikhs and some of Amadu Bamba's sons. The French early on identified Mamadu Mustafa, Amadu Bamba's elder son, because he was younger, vulnerable, and more susceptible to French influence than the experienced veteran shaikhs who participated in the journey of building the brotherhood, as candidate for the succession of the cleric. Before and after Amadu Bamba's death in 1927, they worked hard to help establish his authority and they were more successful in developing relations of cooperation with the Muridiyya under his leadership.

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[741] Jean Copans who, more that any other researchers has emphasized the connection between the Muridiyya and peanuts noted in the last edition of his books, *les Marabouts de l'arachide*, that the death of peanut economy did not weaken the Muridiyya and recommended to explore other avenues to explain the historical development of the brotherhood.

11.Appendices

Appendix 1



Message from Shaikh Ahmad Banba to the French governor general

In the name of Allah, Most Compassionate Most Merciful

This is from me to our Amir, Romee [Roume],

Peace is upon those who follow the path of guidance. I am writing this while

I am extoller and thankful to Almighty God for the way He has treated me with more generosity in hellfire [allusion to the exile in Gabon] and after I was released from it. Thus, I am writing to tell you what I have in my heart. I want you to know that, I do not want any thing from what you look for in this world and that you cannot help me with what I want in the hereafter. You all should know that I have left your world to you and my main objective is the face of, the exalted and Great, Allah.

Let your soul rest and your eyes gladden and delight to the fact that I am not quarreling with anybody on any thing belonging to this world. Rests assure that, whoever comes to you with any thing other than what I have just stated, is a liar and do not listen to him and peace is upon those who follow the path of guidance.

Amadu Bamba's Letter to Governor General Roume in 1903.

APPENDIX 2



Praise to God alone, Peace be upon the seal of Prophecy

May the man of knowledge and wisdom who sees this document understand that Sidy ad daar *[Master of the house, nickname that Samba Tukuloor ka gave to himself] has given permission [meaning the ability to use] and authorization [meaning ability to distribute] to Muhammad son of Habib Allah [Momar Anta Sali Mbakke] his brother in the path of God and of the shaikh [Shaikh Sidiyya al Kabiir], for the use of the* qadiri *wirds and the orientations originating from Shaikh Mukhtaar and Shaikh Muhammad, in conformity with the order that the latter has given him face to face, may God be satisfied with them.*

[I have given him the permission and authorization] because I know that he is apt to the task of using it and giving it to those who are qualified to receive it, and in the hopes that he will be among the pillars of our religion, [Surely God is the fulfiller of prayers], and because Shaikh Sidiyya's family asked me to write this authorization for him when the time comes.

Authorization given to Momar Anta Sali for the use and distribution of the Qadiryya Wird.

APPENDIX 3

Sons	*Mothers*
Muhamad al Kebir	Faati Masamba Joob
Muhamad al Yadaali	Maryamu Balla
Muhamad Mustafaa (1888-1945) C	Aminata Lo
Muhamad Faliilu (1888-1967) C	Awa Buso
Muhamad al Amin (Baara) (1890-1939)	Aminata Lo
Muhamad al Bashir (Basiru)(1895-1966)	Faati Madu Maam
Abdul Aziiz (1909-?)	Faatima Kabiir
Ibrahima I (1911- ?)	Faatima Zaghir
Abdul Ahad (1914 -1989) C	Mariama Jaxate
Abdul Xaadir (1914-1990) C	Aminata Buso
Shaikh Salih (1915 -) C	Faati Jaxate
Shaikh Shuhaib (1917	Mairama Jaxate
Abdulahi Samad (1917- ?)	Xari Sylla
Abdul Baaxi	Faati Jaxate
Abd al Hamin	Xari Penda Faal
Abdu as Salaam	Kumba Jaxate
Muxtar Balla	Xari Penda Faal
Abd al Muxtar	Xari Joob
Abd al Wahab	Faati Jaxate
Ibrahima II	Aisatu Joob
Abd al Muhaymin	Faatim Tuuti
Babakar as Sadiix	Aminata Joob
Muhamad Murtada !924-)	Faatim Ture
Babakar	Xari Penda Faal
Ahmidun	Faatim Tuuti
Muhamad Abdulahi	Anta Buso
Muhamadu I	Penda Siise
Muhamadu II	Faati Sylla

Abdul Xudoos	Faati Jaxate
Salihu	Faati jaxate
Abdul Baaxe	Faati Jaxate
Al Baawi	Faati Jaxate
Abdulahi	Faati Joob

Daughters	*Mothers*
Faati jah Mbakke	Jeh Ture
Umu Kaltum	Benda Ture
Mariem Kunta	Awa Buso
Hasiyatu	Faati Masamba
Faati	Mbenda Buya?
Ruqiyatu	Faatim Tuuti
Njooba	Faatim Tuuti
Muslimatu I	Faatim Tuuti
Faatimatu I	Xadijatu Joob
Ayshatu	Xadijatu Joob
Aminatu I	Mariyama Jaxate
Muslimatu II	Mbeen Jaxate
Mashkuratu	Faati Sylla
Xadijatu I	Faati Madu Maam
Maryamma	Mbeen Jaxate
Zahiratu	Maryama Jaxate
Faatimatu II	Faati Jaxate
Maymuna I	Jaxate Sylla
Faatimatu III	Xari Sylla
Aminatu II	Awa Buso
Maymuna II	Soxna Buso
Muminatu	Faati Sylla
Salimatu	Aminata Joob
Fatimatu IV	Maryama Jaxate

Xadijatu II	Aminanta Buso
Maymuna III	Soxna Sylla Zaghir

Amadu Bamba's Sons and Daughters and their Mothers

APPENDIX 4

Ibra Fati Mbakke

Abdul Xadir Mbakke

Momar Anta Sali Mbakke

Soxna Jeng Mbakke

Fati Balla Mbakke

Asta Mbakke I

Asta Mbakke II

Aisa Balla Mbakke

Aisa Buri Mbakke I

Fati Balla Kubra

Xari Mbakke

Jee Mbakke

Soxna Mbakke

Sons and Daughters of Habibulah II (Maam Balla Aysa)

APPENDIX 5

Shaikh Amadu Bamba

Soxna Jaara Buso (mother)

Serin Modu Buso

-------Matabara Buso

-------Amsatu Buso

-------Aliu Buso

-------Buxaari Buso

-------Abo Bakrin Buso

-------Seydi Buso

-------Aliun Buso

-------Abd el Karim Buso

-------Muhamadul Hamin Buso

-------Suleyman Buso

-------Abdu Buso

-------Buseyri Buso

-------Abdu ar Rahamaan Buso

-------Abo Bakar Buso

-------Isa Buso

-------Aliu Buso

-------Usmaan Buso

-------Ibrahima Buso

-------Ismahila Buso

-------Zakariyya Buso

------Suleymaan Buso

-------Hasan Buso

-------Ibrahima Buso

-------Abdulahi Buso

-------Muhamadu Buso

-------Abd al Xadir Buso

-------Musa Buso

-------Shafih

-------Abdulahi

-------Yahya

-------Taysiis

-------Muhamdu Dawud

-------Musa

-------Jalihatu

-------Abdulahi

-------Shafiyatu

-------Al Hasan

-------Faatimatu Bint Rasul

-------The Prophet Muhammad

Sherifian Genealogy of Amadu Bamba from his mother's side

APPENDIX 6

Amadu Bamba
Baba
Muhammad
Sidiyya
Muhammadan
Al Mukhtaari
Ibn Najib
Nadhbi
Ahmada
Ali
Almaghili
Muhammada
Alhumaami
Human
Almahli
Alshuyuti
Anahali Alkarim
Ibn Arabi
Al Iilimsaani
Almushdaari
Al Ghazaali
Ali
Abdi Salaam
Al Hattiimi
Abil NajiibiMuhamadin
Ibnd Hitah
Al Imaami Jiili
Abilwakhayi
Ashbahi
Ahmad Al Baki

Shibli

Al hubaydi

Al Shifti

Mahrul karji

Dayhud Al Talahi

Habib Al Hajami

Al Basri

Ali

Muhammad

[Excerpt from Amadu Bamba's Poem *Silsilatul Qadiriyya*]

Amadu Bamba's qadiriyya silsila

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