THE BANDIAGARA EMIRATE: WARFARE, SLAVERY AND COLONIZATION IN THE MIDDLE NIGER, 1863 - 1903

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ABSTRACT

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Between 1863 and 1903, the Middle Niger, a region under the arch of the Niger River in present day Mali and Burkina Faso, was colonized by two armies. The first army was a Futanke-led army commanded by the Sufi reformer al-Hajj Umar Tal and later led by his nephew, Tijani Tal. The Futanke-led army invaded the region after their war against the Bamana Kingdom of Segu, drew the Umarian Empire into a conflict with the Caliphate of Hamdullahi. The Futanke and the Masinanke of Hamdullahi shared a common faith, language and culture, and both had fought wars under the umbrella of 'jihad' against non-Muslims and Muslims whose practice they considered unorthodox. But despite the rhetoric of Futanke and Masinanke leaders, the instability of wars from 1861-90 necessitated the building of alliances that diminished the instrumental value of racial and religious exclusion. In 1893 a new French-led military regime established itself in the Middle Niger. The French, in turn, used warfare and enslavement as tools of empire, creating a military territory called the "French Sudan." The French regime initially worked through Futanke proxies but soon demonstrated a clear preference for local chiefs and racial politics. As the French army conquered territory non-Futanke were placed directly under the administration of nearby posts.

While my approach is drawn from instrumentalist theories of ethnicity, this study takes a broad view of social differentiation. Rather than centering my discussion around constructions of race, class or ethnicity, I examine how diverse categories of difference were tools of both African and European elites. I argue that military elites selectively emphasized and ignored

longstanding practices of social differentiation to achieve their political and economic goals in the region. I further argue that political realism governed the strategies Futanke and French elites pursued as they conquered and ruled the diverse inhabitants of the Middle Niger in the latter half of the nineteenth century. I propose that historians of warfare in Africa should consider how elites *ignored* categories difference to form effective alliances, even though they may have emphasized the differences of their enemies.

For Jonah

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For me the path to completing this study was long and meandering. I was a first generation student and a non-traditional student. I grew up in a working class family in eastern Oklahoma and western Arkansas. As a kid the possibility of ever attending college seemed incredibly remote. I am indebted to more people than I can name here.

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INTRODUCTION

> The objectives and concerns of military history are essentially technical: battles, wars, military organization, tactics, command structure, or logistics. A political economy of warfare is largely concerned with the role of warfare in the broader context of its relationship to state, *social organization*, and economic structures.
>
> — Richard Roberts, "Production and Reproduction of Warrior States."[1]

> Umar's nephew was the only member of the second generation of Tal who continued to fight in the fashion of the original *jihad*. It is ironic that he waged this fight with by far the smallest number of Senegambian Fulbe.
>
> — David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*.[2]

Conflicts and Contradictions in the Middle Niger

This study centers on what is today central Mali, a region where rocky escarpments and plateaus divide the floodplain of the Niger River from the Seno plain and Sourou watershed. From 1861 to 1903, this region was the site of near-constant warfare, as two armies successively colonized it and established military regimes. The first was a Futanke-led army commanded first by the Sufi reformer al-Hajj Umar Tal and later by his nephew, Tijani Tal. Through their war against the Bamana Kingdom of Segu, the Umarians were drawn into a conflict with the Caliphate of Hamdullahi, an Islamic State dominated by Masinanke Fulbe, which came to be known as the Futanke-Masinanke Wars. Umar perished two years after the start of this decades-long conflict, but Tijani Tal eventually defeated the remnants of Hamdullahi's army and established a new emirate among the Dogon of the Bandiagara Plateau. During Tijani's reign, Futanke-led armies dramatically transformed the Middle Niger: Bandiagara enslaved and resettled Muslim Fulbe enemies, and formed military alliances with non-Fulbe neighbors who had been marginalized

[1] Richard Roberts, "Production and Reproduction of Warrior States: Segu Bambara and Segu Tokolor, c. 1712-1890," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 13, no. 3 (1980): 389-419, (p.389) [emphasis mine].
[2] David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 314.

within the social order established by the Hamdullahi Caliphate. Then, in 1893, a new French-led military regime established itself in the Middle Niger. It, too, used warfare and enslavement as tools of statecraft, and it created a military territory called the French Sudan.

Since 2013, this region has again been plagued by continual violence. Today, the belligerents are primarily Dogon militiamen and Fulbe Islamists, both of whom target civilians. Tragically, their violent acts are too numerous to list here individually and will likely continue for some time to come.[3] Indeed, from 2016 through 2020, the number of attacks in central Mali nearly doubled every year, and the conflict has ruined local economies and created a refugee crisis in neighboring Burkina Faso. Analysts looking for the causes of these conflicts point to a variety of factors, including ethnic and inter-communal tensions and resource competition. Many see farmer-herder tensions as driving conflicts involving Fulbe pastoralists in Mali and beyond, and scholars sometimes project such tensions back into the region's past.[4] Militant groups in the region also use historicized victim narratives to attract recruits.[5] However, I will show that during a chaotic half-century of near-constant warfare in precolonial and early colonial times, there was considerable cooperation between Dogon and Fulbe warriors in the Middle Niger. As such, this dissertation's effort to untangle the dynamic web of social relationships between the multitude of Fulbe-led armies that competed for power after Hamdullahi's collapse and the non-

[3] The most significant Fulbe extremist group in the region is the Katiba Macina also known as the Macina Liberation Front. The most active Dogon militia is Dan Na Ambassagou. Pauline Le Roux "Responding to the Rise of Violent Extremism in the Sahel," *Africa Security Brief* no. 2, 2 December 2019. "Massacre in Mali Leaves at least 95 Dead, Government Says," Associated Press, *New York Times* 10 June 2019.
[4] Jack Paine, "Ethnic Violence in Africa: Destructive Legacies of Pre-Colonial States," *International Organization* 73:3 (2019): 645-683; Todd A. Crane, "Of Models and Meanings: Cultural Resilience in Social – Ecological," *Ecology and Society* 15, no. 4 (December, 2010).
[5] Pauline Le Roux, "Confronting Central Mali's Extremist Threat," Africa Center for Strategic Studies, *Spotlight*, February 22, 2019; Aurélien Tobie, "Central Mali: Violence, Local Perspectives and Diverging Narratives," *SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security*, no. 2017/5 (Stockholm: International Peace Research Institute, December 2017): 1-19.

Fulbe populations of the region may not be of only of historical interest but may be valuable to those living there today.

The armies that fought each other into the first decade of colonial conquest had compositions far different from those of the "ethnic" militias fighting in the Middle Niger today. During the Futanke-Masinanke wars, which are often referred to locally as "the fratricidal jihad," the warring armies were both led by Muslims from the broad Fulbe ethno-linguistic group. The Futanke army was largely composed of Pulaar-speaking Muslims from Futa Toro, an Islamic state on the Senegal River. The Futanke invaders fought other Pulaar-speaking Muslims from the Caliphate of Hamdullahi who called themselves Masinanke. It was a war fraught with painful contradictions that is still a delicate topic more than a century later – and not only in casual conversation. Scholars, too, have hitherto tended to avoid approaching this topic head-on.[6] But examining these wars is essential to a well-rounded understanding of the complexities of warfare, slavery and politics in the nineteenth-century Middle Niger, especially within the Futanke-led emirate established at Bandiagara.

My analysis of the rise and fall of the Bandiagara Emirate will make three main arguments. The first is that Bandiagara-Futanke was one among many Futanke-led successor states to the Umarian Empire. After the death of Umar, a second generation of Tal competed for recognition within the Umarian community. Tijani and many of his cousins were reluctant to

[6] The only the second dissertation that focuses on the Futanke at Bandiagara. The first is Ibrahima Barry's "Le Royaume de Bandiagara, 1864-1893: Le pouvoir, le commerce et le Coran dans le Soudan nigérian au 19ème siècle" (Ph.D. Thesis: Paris, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1993). Ahmadu Hampate Ba's *Une Empire Peul* and Medina Ly-Tal *Une Islam Militant* both concluded with the controversial Futanke invasion of Hamdullahi. David Robinson's *Holy War of Umar Tal* provides a brief history of Futanke settlement at Bandiagara and Tijani's first battles against the Kunta and the Masinanke. Âmadou Hampâté Bâ, *L'empire Peul du Macina (1818-1853) / Daget, Jacques*. (Abidjan: Les Nouvelles Ed. africaines; [Paris]: Ed. de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1984); Madina Ly-Tall, *Un Islam militant en Afrique de l'ouest aux XIX siècle: la Tijaniyya de Saïku Umar Futiyu contre les pouvoirs traditionnels et la puissance coloniale* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1991); David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*.

accept the authority of Umar Tal's chosen successor, Ahmadu, and consequently, the Umarian Empire broke up into a group of loosely federated Futanke-led successor states. More than any other of these new states, Bandiagara effectively ignored Ahmadu's authority. The evidence that I will present regarding Ahmadu's lack of influence at Bandiagara supports arguments that, post 1862, the "Tukolor Empire" was in reality a loose constellation of confederated states.[7]

My second main argument is that militaries used slavery strategically to achieve both political and economic ends. Earlier scholars of warfare and slavery in West Africa have argued that militant states tended to enslave people for just one or the other of these reasons, or framed their explanations of enslavement around modes of economic production and social reproduction.[8] This dissertation proposes a less binary approach to understanding this phenomenon in the Middle Niger, through a broader examination of the multiple forms of slavery in Bandiagara and Futanke society.

Lastly, I will argue that militaries in the Middle Niger used socially constructed categories of difference as tools of statecraft. To accomplish their goals of conquest and colonization, the Futanke formed a diverse army that incorporated non-Muslim neighbors as allies, along with enslaved Muslim enemies, upturning the social order previously established by

[7] John Hanson, "Generation Conflict in the Umarian Movement After the *Jihad*: Perspectives from the Futanke Grain Trade at Medine," in *Democracy and Development* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000): 41-59; John Hanson, *Migration, Jihad, and Authority in West Africa: The Futanke Colonies in Karta* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

[8] For economic production see J. D. Fage, "Slavery and Slave Trade in the Context of West African History," *Journal of African History* 10, no. 3 (1969): 393-404; A. G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (London, Longman 1975); Philip D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa; Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975). For reproduction see, Claude Meillassoux, *L'esclavage en afrique precoloniale*. Paris: François Maspero, 1975); Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa: historical and anthropological perspectives*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006. Jean Bazin, "Guerre et servitude a Sigou," in C. Meillassoux (ed.), *L'esclavage en Afrique precoloniale* (Paris, François Maspero, 1975), 135-81. See especially, Richard Roberts, "Production and Reproduction of Warrior States: Segu Bambara and Segu Tokolor, c. 1712-1890," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 13, no. 3 (1980): 389-419.

the Hamdullahi Caliphate. And later, the Futanke-led Bandiagara Emirate and the social order it established were dismantled by the French colonial army, which placed the region's diverse populations under direct rule by colonial officials who stressed their "ethnic" and "racial" differences.

Political Realism, Instrumentalism and Warfare in the nineteenth Century Middle Niger

In 1863, the Futanke occupiers of the town of Hamdullahi were besieged and starving to death. Members of the royal Lobbo family that had previously ruled Hamdullahi had escaped the city, fled north, and called upon the armies of the Kunta Sheiks at Timbuktu to help them recapture their former capital. Together, the armies of the Kunta and Lobbo laid siege to Hamdullahi from June 1863 to February 1864. Chronicles of the siege claim that the Futanke army was forced to eat every animal in Hamdullahi, including the dogs. Many Futanke soldiers abandoned the city and joined the Kunta and Masinanke armies, leaving Umar Tal dependent upon his closest followers and family members. As hope dwindled, Umar gave his nephew Tijani a large quantity of gold and sent him to Bandiagara to recruit an army of Dogon mercenaries to break the siege. Tijani slipped out of Hamdullahi under cover of night and traveled north to the Bandiagara plateau, where he obtained the support of the Dogon and Bamana warriors.[9]

The choice of Dogon allies was an interesting one. The rationale for Umar's invasion of Hamdullahi was that its ruler, Ahmad III, had committed apostasy by forming an alliance with "pagans" against Muslims. As of 1864, the vast majority of Dogon practiced highly localized religions, which generally recognized the god *Ama* as the supreme being but incorporated the worship of both ancestors and spirits pertaining to the natural world. The importance of earth

[9] Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 309; Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 401.

shrines and these spirits led early scholars to label Dogon religion as animism. There were very likely some Dogon who had already converted to Islam before Tijani arrived, as Ibrahima Barry suggests,[10] but before Futanke rule in Bandiagara the Hamdullahi Caliphate did not recognize such conversions as legitimate.[11] For the purposes of this study, it is chiefly important to recognize that the vast majority of Dogon in the mid-nineteenth century did not practice Islam or any other Abrahamic faith. Why, then, did the Sufi reformer Umar Tal send for Dogon reinforcements? The simple answer is that he had to. It was a pragmatic choice made by a gifted tactician. Today, many Dogon at Bandiagara believe that Umar recognized that Dogon communities would eventually convert to Islam. Be that as it may, it remains a striking choice in light of his ideological justification of his invasion of the Hamdullahi Caliphate.

One might dismiss Umar's recruitment of Dogon warriors as a temporary emergency measure. Yet, Tijani Tal's alliance with the Dogon lasted nearly three decades, and it was broadly accepted by the Futanke settlers who lived among the Dogon at Bandiagara. There is evidence that Dogon religious observances continued at Bandiagara under Futanke rule.[12] Tijani and the Futanke at Bandiagara lived among and shared the spoils of war with their Dogon allies. This arrangement differed dramatically from the Hamdullahi Caliphate's relationship with the Dogon who lived on its margins, who were forcibly conscripted into the caliphal army, subjected to *corvees*, and enslaved.[13] Moreover, all these actions had been justified by reference to their racial and religious differences.[14] This is not to suggest that the Futanke at Bandiagara were

[10] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 562.
[11] Bruce S. Hall, *A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600-1960* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 70-73; Mauro Nobili and Mohamed Shahid, "Towards a New Study of the So-Called Tārīkh al-fattāsh," *History in Africa* 42, (2015): 37-73.
[12] ANM 1D 5, "Notice Général sur le Soudan, Notice sur la région Sud 1895 -1899."
[13] See Chapter 1.
[14] Hall, *A History of Race*, 70-73; Mauro Nobili and Mohamed Shahid, "Towards a New Study of the So-Called Tārīkh al-fattāsh."

liberators; they did not completely dismantle the hierarchies Hamdullahi had built around these differences. They did, however, selectively ignore rhetoric that called for unity among Muslims and the conversion of unbelievers. The French military forces that replaced the Futanke at Bandiagara did not constitute an army of liberation either. Rather, French officers and administrators enforced and ignored laws against slavery according to the ever-shifting political context and their personal preferences. Key French allies were allowed to retain their slaves and vassals, whereas leaders who were antagonistic, or simply in the way, would see such subordinates removed from their control.[15]

Humans are not entirely rational beings, and the Futanke nobles and French officers covered by this study were no exception. Yet, one cannot ignore the abundance of evidence that a measure of political realism underpinned Futanke and French relations with the diverse inhabitants of the Middle Niger. By "political realism," I mean that questions of power and security governed the political choices these soldiers made as they dealt with local populations.[16] This point is particularly important when seeking to understand the politics of the generation of Tal who competed for power after the death of Umar, insofar as many of their choices defied the previous generation's ideological stances. Some of Umar's sons, for instance, focused on military might rather than on the building of Islamic institutions or the promotion of religious scholarship. Others proved willing to attain power by tolerating or even promoting French colonization. In the sphere of military recruitment, Umar himself demonstrated marked ideological flexibility around alliances. His army was composed of non-Muslims, and with

[15] See Chapters 3 and 4.
[16] I understand political realism as "a philosophical disposition and set of assumptions about world," not a scientific theory that could be used to explain human behavior in the past or present. Gilpin. L "The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism," *International* Organization 38, no. 3 (Spring, 1984): 287-304 (p. 290).

Muslims whose practices were unorthodox by his own standards, and against whom the Umarians would embark on militant *jihad* during their conquest of Segu.

In the months leading up to the Futanke-Masinanke Wars, the opposing sides both argued that their enemies were errant Muslims. Umar's treatise accusing Ahmad III of apostasy was based that claim on the fact that Ahmad had given refuge to the Fama of Segu, Bina Ali, and in doing so had chosen an alliance with unbelievers over unity among Muslims. Such criticisms cut both ways. After the Umarians attacked Muslim communities near Segu, a Kunta cleric at Timbuktu named Ahmad al-Bekkay publicly critiqued Umar for invading Muslim lands.[17] Al-Bekkay accused Umar of waging a *jihad* for political reasons: a charge echoed in the twentieth century by historians who have characterized Umar Tal's wars as an "imperial *jihad*." Because this study uses political realism as its primary analytical frame, it will not enter into a debate on the ideological legitimacy of those wars that the Futanke and their enemies fought under the umbrella of *jihad*. I occasionally use the term *jihad* to describe wars, but only by way of pointing out that certain belligerents thought of their efforts as fitting into this category; whether they were justified in doing so lies beyond the scope of this study. Neither do I assume that success in war legitimated the rule of Futanke or French colonizers in the region.

My primary focus is on the transformations of political relationships that occurred during the Futanke and French wars of conquest in the Middle Niger. In many cases, these also entailed broad social transformations that reordered hierarchical relationships, which nevertheless remained organized around assumptions of ethnic, racial and religious difference. Historians of West Africa have keenly observed such processes of social differentiation within and among African societies and their efforts have produced a vibrant literature on warfare, slavery and

[17] For a detailed review of how the Kunta and Masinanke engaged with Umar through letter writing see Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 291-4.

social change.[18] This study aims to connect that scholarship to a growing body of literature around constructions of identity in Africa, by analyzing how categories of difference were used as tools by African and European elites to establish their rule over the diverse populations of the Middle Niger. [19] Local ideas about race, ethnicity and religion were often enmeshed in one another, were typically flexible, and did not always map onto European categories of difference. Consequently, this study takes a broad view of difference rather than focusing on stand-alone concepts of ethnicity, race or religion. Deemphasizing specific categories of difference with deep roots in European thought, like ethnicity and race, allows us to perceive and explicate a longer process of transformation that was driven by both Africans and Europeans. There was continuity between the periods of Futanke and French conquest, in that both the Futanke and the French folded difference into their political strategies. Though this is not to say that difference was wholly invented by outsiders, it was instrumental to their conquest of the region.

Historiography

Al-Hajj Umar Tal's movement is often viewed as a continuation of Fulbe-led revolutionary movements of the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, which established Islamic states through wars that were labeled *jihads*. Indeed, the study of the so-called "Fulani

[18] Boubacar Barry, *Senegambia in the Atlantic Slave Trade*, tr. Ayi Kwei Armah, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Martin Klein, *Islam and Imperialism in Senegal; Sine-Saloum 1847-1914*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968); Walter Rodney, "Jihad and Social Revolution in Futa Djallon in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 4, (1968): 269-84, *A History of the Upper Guinea coast, 1548*–1800, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), Richard Roberts *Warriors Merchants, and Slaves: The State and the Economy in the Middle Niger Valley, 1700-1914*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987); Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts*, (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann, 1991); James Searing, *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce, The Senegal River Valley 1700-1860*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.); Walter Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations along the Guinea-Bissau Coast , 1400–1900*, (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann, 2003).

[19] Especially scholarship that views the construction of difference as a tool of statecraft, Hall, *A History of Race*, and Nobili, *Sultan, Caliph and the Renewer of the Faith*, (Cambrige, Cambridge University Press, 2020).

jihads" has grown into a veritable sub-field of the history of Islam in West Africa. However, term "Fulani" is not commonly used in the region examined in this study. I will instead use the term Fulbe to refer broadly to speakers of Pulaar who were traditionally pastoralists, and the phrase "Fulbe-led" to stress that non-Fulbe peoples also participated in these social movements and lived in the states that resulted from them. The first major Fulbe-led states – Futa Jallon, Bundu and Futa Toro – were established along the Senegal and Gambia Rivers between the late seventeenth and the mid eighteenth centuries. These were followed in the nineteenth century by Fulbe-led states that sought to further reform Islamic practice in West Africa, namely the Sokoto Caliphate, the Hamdullahi Caliphate, and the Umarian Empire. The Fulbe-led *jihads* were complex movements that called for both religious reform and political change, and each used military force to achieve at least some of its goals. Scholars have sometimes pigeonholed these movements in their attempt to describe them all as a series of connected reform movements, ethnic uprisings, or political revolutions. [20] It is, however, important to bear in mind some common threads. As David Robinson has pointed out, the Fulbe *jihads* transformed Fulbe identity: fostering a "sense of electedness" backed by genealogical assertions that connected the Fulbe to the first community of Muslims, and elevated Fulfulde as a language of Islamic learning.[21] Such assertions were critical to the chances of Fulbe-led reform movements that sought to dominate neighboring non-Fulbe communities in which most people did not practice Islam, as well as Fulbe and non-Fulbe ones in which that religion was already well established.

[20] John Ralph Willis, "Jihad fi Sabil Allah-Its Doctrinal Basis in Islam and Some Aspects of Its Evolution in Nineteenth-Century West Africa," *Journal of African History* 8, no. 3 (1967): 395-415; Gouilly, Alphonse. *Alphonse Gouilly. L'islam Dans L'afrique Occidentale Française*. Paris: Larose, 1952); J. S. Trimingham, *A History of Islam in West Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962). Phillip Curtin "Jihad in West Africa: Early phases and interrelations in Mauretania and Senegal," *Journal of African History* 12, no. 1 (1971): 11–24.
[21] Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 81-9.

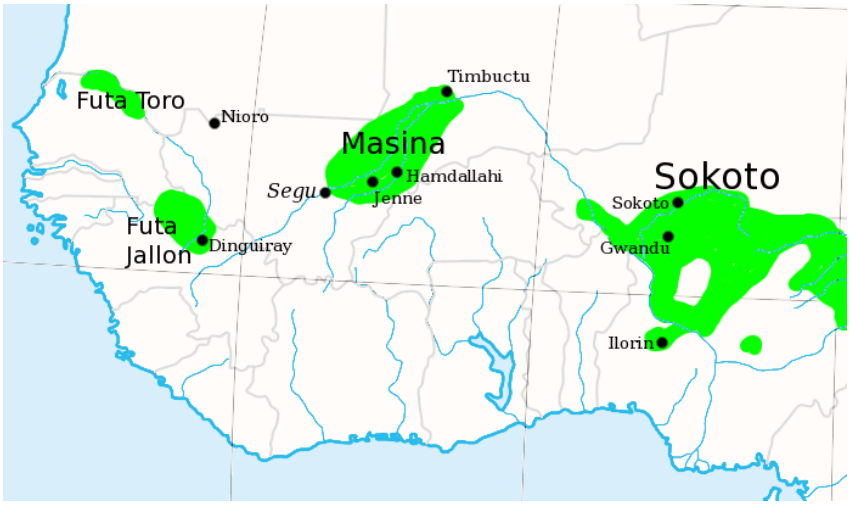

Figure 1: Fulbe-led states c. 1830

Source: Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain

All of the states established through the Fulbe-led jihads followed sharia law to some degree, and an enduring theme within the literature has been the Islamic institutions and programs of religious reform within the states that emerged from the Fulbe-led *jihads*.[22] It is difficult, however, to situate the Umarian *jihads* within the frameworks such scholarship has produced. Robinson points out that Umar Tal's "imperial *jihad*" does not meet the definition of "revolutionary *jihad*," also known as the Sokoto model.[23] This disjunct is even more obvious in the case of the Bandiagara Emirate, where Islamic institutions were never as important as the military. The clerical elite did not hold power at Bandiagara, and its emirs did not assume religious authority. Consequently, one is obliged to connect Bandiagara to its predecessor Fulbe-

[22] Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, (New York: Humanities Press, 1967); Ahmad M. Kani, *The Intellectual Origin of Islamic Jihad in Nigeria* (London: al-Hoda, 1988); Rudolf Ware, *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Paul Lovejoy *Jihad in the Age of Revolution*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016); Mauro Nobili, *Sultan, Caliph and the Renewer of the Faith.*
[23] Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 366-7.

led states through the militarism that sometimes overshadowed social reform in those earlier states, beginning with Futa Toro.

The Futanke who led Umar Tal and Tijani's armies are given this name because they were originally from the Fulbe-led state of Futa Toro, established in 1727 by Abdul Kader Kane, leader of a successful revolution by *torodbe* clerics against the ailing Denyanke who ruled the lands of Futa along the Upper Senegal River. Rudolf Ware makes a strong argument for viewing this revolution as an abolitionist movement, noting the position Kane took against the selling of slaves to Europeans and the Brakna of Trarza. However, it is also worth pointing out that the social reforms of Futa Toro were limited in scope. While Kane did oppose certain sales of slaves, Futa Toro appears to have retained a significant slave population during his lifetime.[24] It is also important to note that Kane's successor, Almamy Abdoul, expanded Futa Toro's political influence through a war that was labeled a *jihad*.[25]

Militaries continued to play a critical role in Fulbe-led states during the nineteenth century. The Sokoto Caliphate in the Central Sudan was established through a revolutionary movement that echoed the *torodbe* revolution in Futa. It was led by the Fulbe reformer Uthman Dan Fodio, who argued that the Hausa States located in what is now northern Nigeria were not sufficiently upholding the laws of Islam. Critically, his revolution hinged on arguments that the Hausa rulers only pretended to be Muslim, and that the Hausa regime enslaved free Muslims. Dan Fodio's regime produced an immense amount of scholarship and instituted sweeping reforms, including some intended to protect free-born Muslims from being sold into slavery. Due to Sokoto's success instituting religious and social reform, it is widely viewed as a revolutionary

[24] Ware, *Walking Qur'an*; David Robinson, "West African Islamic States and 'Antislavery' in *The Walking Qur'an,"* *Journal of Africana Religions* 3, no. 2 (2015): 177-83.
[25] Ahmamy Adboul attempted to force the submission of Cayor through a war fought under the pretext of jihad. Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 64.

state. In his 1976 *The Sokoto Caliphate*,[26] historian Murray Last outlined its similarities to the French revolution. It is important to note, however, that the enslavement of "non-Muslims" remained an important part of Sokoto's economy. Indeed, Joseph Smaldone argued that warfare was the principle instrument for producing slaves, who were crucial to the political economy of Sokoto and its neighbors.[27] The Caliphate also expanded its influence by offering banners, representing the authority of Uthman Dan Fodio, that legitimized other Fulbe-led revolutions in the emirates on its periphery.

The 1818 Fulbe-led revolution in the Middle Niger that established the Hamdullahi Caliphate was likely inspired by Sokoto. Led by a rural cleric named Seku Ahmadu, it sought to liberate Muslims from the exactions of the Bamana at Segu, traders at Jenne, and the dominant Fulbe lineages, all of whom taxed and confiscated the produce of famers and herders. Seku Ahmadu initially requested a banner from Uthman Dan Fodio, but later refused to recognize his leadership.[28] Seku Ahmadu established an independent Fulbe-led state centered around his new capital of Hamdullahi, where he patronized Islamic scholarship and instituted strict social reforms. The Hamdullahi Caliphate also fought peripheral wars to its north and east. After Seku Ahmadu's death, Hamdullahi's military, led by his nephew Ba Lobbo, steadily gained influence. Ba Lobbo had hoped to succeed Seku Ahmadu as leader of Hamdullahi, but the caliphate's clerical elite instead elected Ahmad II, in line with Seku Ahmadu's wishes.[29] Ba Lobbo gained complete control over the military after Ahmad II was succeeded by his son Ahmad III, and eventually became the *de facto* leader of his family and an army of loyalists, but only after Umar toppled Hamdullahi in

[26] Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*.
[27] Joseph Smaldone, *Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 159-60.
[28] See especially Mauro Nobili, *Sultan, Caliph and the Renewer of the Faith*, 189-93; Charles Stewart, "Frontier Disputes and Problems of Legitimation: Sokoto-Masina Relations 1817-1837," *The Journal of African History* 17, no. 4 (1976): 495-514 (p. 500).
[29] Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 287.

1862. Ba Lobbo continued to fight Tijani's Futanke-led coalition until he took ill and died in the aftermath of the Futanke siege of Diamana (*c.* 1867).[30]

The Umarian movement also witnessed a transition from scholarship to militancy within Umar Tal's lifetime.[31] Among his earliest followers, members of a community he established at Tamba in present-day Guinea, Umar focused intensively on teaching and scholarship. But from around 1846-47, he began to travel throughout Senegambia, gathering followers and signaling his intention to lead military campaigns under the banner of *jihad* to Muslim communities in that region.[32] During this tour, Umar attracted a large number of followers from Futa Toro, and as a consequence, his movement can be said to have developed a Futanke consciousness. That is, as recruits from Futa Toro flocked to the Umarian movement, it began to transition from an isolated scholarly community to a Futanke-led movement with an activist approach to Islamic reform, particularly among neighboring non-Fulbe populations. Soon after he returned to Futa Jallon, Umar and his followers initiated their first military campaign, against the non-Muslim Mandinka at Tamba. This was followed by far more ambitious campaigns against the Bamana kingdoms of Karta and Segu. The royal family at Hamdullahi attempted to dissuade Umar from attacking Segu, and when the Futanke army sacked its capital anyway, the Bamana king, Bina Ali, fled to Hamdullahi where he converted to Islam. This sparked the above-mentioned religious debate in which Umar questioned the legitimacy of Bina Ali's conversion, and argued that the rulers of Hamdullahi had committed apostasy by harboring a "pagan" king. Thus, the Umarians soon found themselves committed to a military conflict against Hamdullahi and its allies.

[30] See Chapter 2.
[31] See, Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal* and Ly-Tal, *Un Islam militant*.
[32] Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 121-6.

The outsize importance of the military within both the Umarian Empire and the Hamdullahi Caliphate helped to steer those states into war; and this was perhaps especially true of the Umarian army, which saw a dramatic increase in recruitment from Futa Toro in the lead-up to its invasion of Segu. These new additions appear to have been drawn to fight by a sense of Futanke destiny, and not merely by a desire to obtain riches in battle. Many probably stayed with the contingents that marched on from Segu to invade Hamdullahi, and would have joined Tijani's wars in the Middle Niger. In any case, Tijani's successor state at Bandiagara fought near-continuous wars, and its military was its most significant institution from the outset.

The relationship of warfare and slavery to statecraft and regional economies in West Africa is well-trodden ground in the field of African history. Scholars of this topic have highlighted the vital importance of this relationship in the case of highly militarized "warrior states" like Oyo, Segu, and Futa Jallon that sold people into the Atlantic slave trade.[33] Philip Curtin inaugurated an important phase of the debate around the relationship between warfare and slavery when he posited that precolonial African states tended to fight wars for either political or economic advantages.[34] "In the political model the war is fought for prestige, vengeance, or power, and in the economic model wars to produce slaves were consciously undertaken to produce a profit."[35] Scholars of the Atlantic slave trade have largely argued that European involvement tended to encourage warfare and enslavement. That is, African societies restructured themselves to become better slavers, and in doing so became dependent on the economic inputs of their buyers; thus, states that primarily supported themselves through warfare found themselves locked in a "gun-slave cycle" or a "horse-

[33] Bọlanle Awẹ, "Militarism and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Yoruba Country: The Ibadan Example," *Journal of African History* 14:1, (1973): 65-77; Walter Rodney, "Jihad and Social Revolution in Futa Djallon in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 4, no. 2 (June, 1968): 269-84; Myron Echenberg, "Late Nineteenth-Century Military Technology in Upper Volta," *Journal of African History* 12, no. 2 (1971): 241-54; Richard Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants and Slaves.*
[34] Philip D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa*, 156.
[35] Roberts "Production and Reproduction of Warrior States," 397.

slave cycle."[36] The same body of scholarship produced a consensus that, while slavery and warfare could lead to the centralization and expansion of states, it also encouraged competition among slavers that led to increased violence and instability. As Martin Klein put it, "the slave trade produced islands of growth and prosperity, but these contrasted sharply with the misery of areas victimized by slave raiders."[37]

Richard Roberts connected the paradigm of the warrior state to the Umarian successor state headed by Ahmadu at Segu. For Roberts, a warrior state was one in which warfare was both the primary expression of state power and the primary economic activity. He argued that the Futanke-led warrior state at Segu, essentially a Futanke colony, ruined local economies through the exactions of *sofas* – slave soldiers and defeated enemies folded into the army– and that it faced continual threats to its security from the Bamana majority surrounding it.[38] And, unlike the Bamana Kingdom of Segu that preceded it, the Futanke-led state at Segu failed to create a viable economy based on warfare. The Futanke-led state at Bandiagara, by contrast, successfully expanded both its political power and its agricultural production through warfare and slavery. Tijani's armies gradually seized more and more economically productive land, on which they resettled the Fulbe and *rimaibe* (slaves bound to the land) whom they had captured and enslaved through their wars. This novel strategy transformed not only the whole Middle Niger's economy, but also the hierarchical relationship among its diverse populations, by subordinating formerly free Fulbe to Futanke strangers and their Dogon, Bamana and Bozo military allies.

[36] J. E. Inikori, "The Import of Firearms into West Africa 1750–1807: A Quantitative Analysis," *Journal of African History* 18, no. 3 (1977): 339-68; James Webb "The Horse and Slave Trade Between the Western Sahara and Senegambia," *Journal of African History* 34, (1993): 221-46. Ivana Elbl, "The Horse in Fifteenth–Century Senegambia," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 24, no. 1 (1991): 85-110.
[37] Klein, "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade," 246.
[38] Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants and Slaves*, 19.

The Geographic Setting

The term "Middle Niger" could reasonably be used to refer to any part of a region that stretches beneath the arc formed by the Niger River as it bends through Central Mali and Niger toward Northern Nigeria. In this study I use it to refer to those areas of present-day Mali and Burkina Faso that were dominated by the armies of the Bandiagara Emirate from 1863 to 1893 as it replaced the defunct Hamdullahi Caliphate as the premier regional military power. Although the Middle Niger is located in the West African Sahel, its geography is far more diverse than the savanna and scrublands that make up the majority of the vast Sahelian band south of the Sahara. The majority of this study is oriented around the Niger River, particularly its inland delta (upriver from and southwest of Timbuktu) and its flood plains, which are made fertile by flooding during the rainy season from June to August.

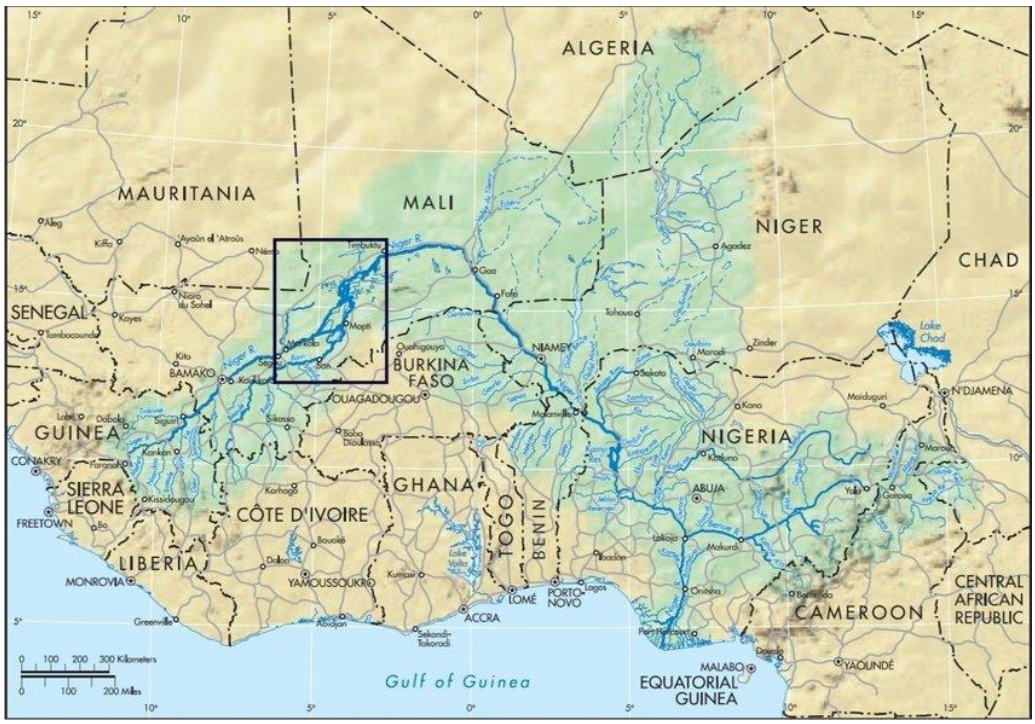

Figure 2: Niger Basin and Inland Delta

Source: te Wierik, Sofie. (2014). Conflicting water management in West-Africa; how agricultural development might increase hunger. 10.13140/RG.2.2.18835.27688.

The peoples of the Middle Niger performed specific forms of labor that, along with their languages and cultures, formed the basis of group identities. In the rich soil of the inundated zone, *rimaibe* slaves bound to the land cultivated rice (*oryza glaberrima*) on terraces. Songhay farmers cultivated rice in the inland delta's lakes. Further east on the sandy soils of the Seno-Gondo plain farther east Bobo and Samo farmers grew millet and sorghum. During the dry season, Fulbe and Tuareg pastoralists would travel to the Niger's inland delta to graze their herds on the *bourgu*, wet grasses that became accessible as the waters receded. [39] The Bozo people worked the rivers: fishing, and ferrying people and goods.

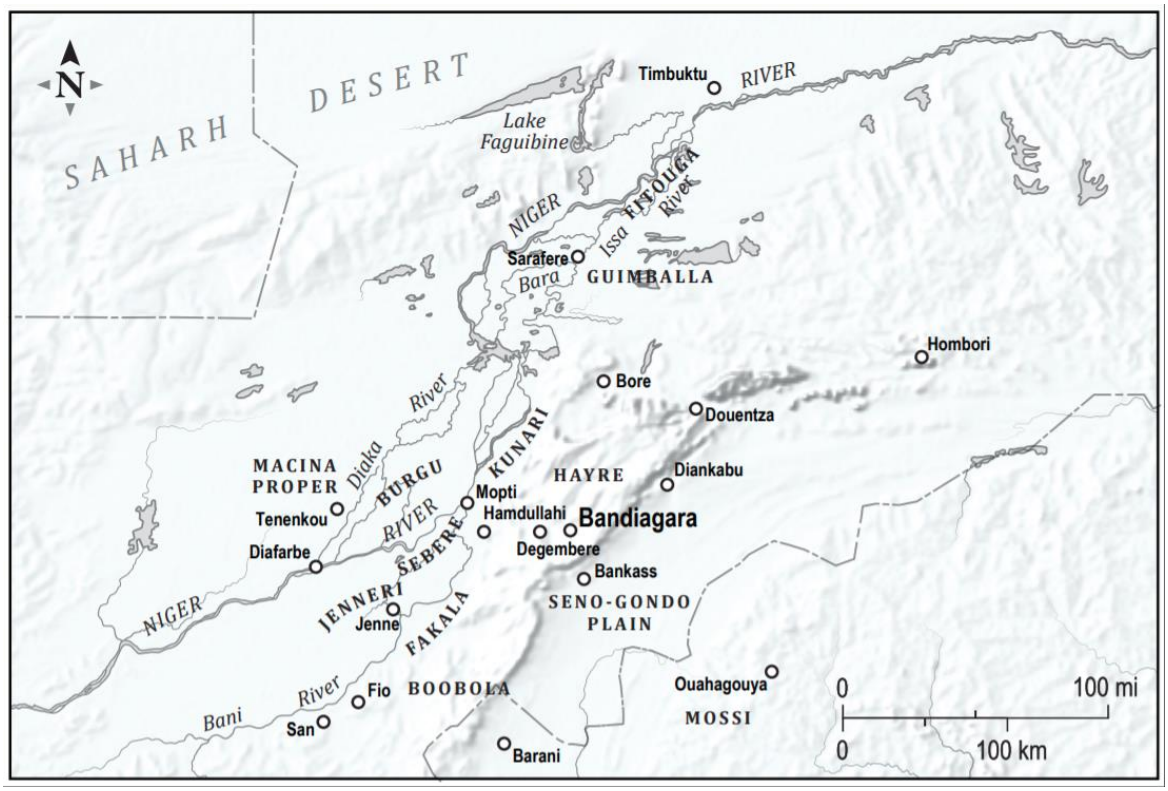

Figure 3: The Middle Niger

[39] Jean Gallais, *Hommes Du Sahel: Espaces-temps Et Pouvoirs: Le Delta Intérieur Du Niger, 1960-1980*, (Paris: Flammarion, 1984); IFAN Fonds Vieillard, Cahier 2, Généalogie Divers.

Following the death of Umar Tal in 1864, Tijani's army tried to establish a settlement in the Kunari, a region of floodplains east of the Niger River stretching from Fatoma to Konna. After their initial victories in the region, the Futanke attempted to settle at Souroufoulay, but were forced to leave the Kunari and settle among their Dogon allies in the plateaus of a region called the Hayre. The word *hayre* means "rock" in Pulaar, the language spoken by the Fulbe, who were traditionally pastoralists. The Hayre was a naturally defensible region, with agriculturally productive niches watered by streams in which farmers could cultivate millet and fonio. They Hayre was home to Dogon, Bamana and Tombo populations that the Fulbe called *habe*, meaning "other" or "non-Fulbe." Among these, the most numerous were the Dogon, according to whose oral tradition the village of Bandiagara was founded by a Dogon hunter. Near a river in the foothills of a plateau, this individual found abundant game, and was able to share his food with passing traders; and the site thus came to be known as *Banja-gara*: the big bowl. The highlands of the Hayre also provided dry pasturage to Tuareg and Fulbe herders during the rainy season, and by the time the Futanke settled there in 1865-66, there were already Fulbe communities in the Hayre at Dalla, Douentza, Djilgodi, Diankabu and De.

In the Hayre, Tijani forged alliances with the Bamana at Bore and the Dogon at Bandiagara that would be critical to his success. The strength of this coalition of non-Fulbe warriors allowed Tijani to extend his influence over the often non-cooperative local Fulbe populations. From its stronghold at Bandiagara, Tijani's coalition was able both to retake the floodplains of the Kunari and to dominate the alluvial plains of Gimballa farther north. At the height of its power, Bandiagara's military ranged as far east as the pasturage along the Diaka River, called the Masina, and as far west as Arbinda.

An Emirate

There is a well-known oral tradition concerning Tijani's mission to recruit Dogon soldiers at Bandiagara. In this tale, in the midst of this recruitment drive, Tijani meets a blind woman who can see the future. She tells him that if he leaves Bandiagara after the morning prayer, his uncle will become a caliph, but if he waits until the midday prayer, then he himself will become a great chief. This legend is still widely recounted in the Middle Niger and it is a useful tool for understanding how the Bandiagara Emirate differed from its predecessors. The woman's prediction "foreshadowed" that Tijani would rule a vast kingdom, but that it would be concerned with mundane affairs like warfare rather than spiritual attainment. While the Futanke settlers at Bandiagara were thoroughly Muslim, warfare was their primary occupation.

Tijani himself never claimed religious authority even though he took the title *emir al-mu'minin*, one of the many that had previously been held by Umar Tal. It was first used by Umar Ibn al-Khattab, the Sunni community's second caliph and the founder of the Rashidun Caliphate. A variety of explanations for Umar Ibn al-Khattab's use of this particular title have been advanced. According to the fourteenth century historian Ibn Khaldun,[40]

> [t]he leaders of military missions used to be called "[e]mirs," of formations. Before becoming Muslims, people used to call the Prophet "Emir of Mecca" and "[E]mir of the Hijaz." The men around Muhammad also used to call Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas "Commander ([e]mir) of the Muslims," because he commanded the army at al-Qadisiyah […]. Now, it so happened that one of the men around Muhammad addressed Umar as "Commander of the Faithful." People liked this form of address and approved it [and] thus they called Umar [Ibn al-Khattab] by this title.

The Ottoman sultans employed the title only rarely, when they wished to stress the ideals of fighting for the Islamic faith. Morocco's Sa'di dynasty, on the other hand, adopted it to stress

[40] Franz, Rosenthal. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1980. Internet resource.

both their independence from the Ottomans and their activist efforts against the Portuguese.[41] As Richard Pennel notes, "They were not only sharifan sultans, but activist sultans and the title *emir al-mu'minin* fitted with that."[42] During the Fulbe revolutions of the nineteenth century, *emir al-mu'minin* – most often translated as *commander of the faithful* – signified political leadership over a Muslim community. It is worth noting that these were also "activist" communities, focused on reforming Islamic practice and expanding the political influence of Islam. Though Tijani left little doubt that he deferred to others in spiritual matters, he did use this title, and for that reason, I refer to the kingdom he founded as an emirate.

Tijani's state was the first Futanke successor state to challenge the authority of Ahmadu, the heir that Umar Tal had publicly declared as his successor, first at Segu and again at Hamdullahi. During Umar's lifetime, power in the Umarian Empire was highly centralized under his authority. To groom his sons for leadership, he posted them as governors in the principal towns of his empire: Nioro, Segu, and Dinguiray. When Umarian forces advanced against the Caliphate of Hamdullahi, Ahmadu remained as governor and garrison commander at Segu, while Umar's son Maki and nephew Tijani continued east with the army. It is possible that Umar had hoped to create a separate primacy for Maki at Hamdullahi. Maki was one of Umar's eldest sons, close in age to Ahmadu, and his mother was a noblewoman from Bornu, and some evidence indicates that Maki was favored by many of Umar's Futanke followers. Umar staged a second ceremony at Hamdullahi to recognize Ahmadu as his successor, perhaps in an attempt to clarify the succession for the Futanke who had accompanied him to the Middle Niger. However, this was contradicted by a subsequent oral tradition that the eastern province had been meant for

[41] Richard Pennell, "What is the significance of the title 'Amīr al-mu'minīn?'," *The Journal of North African Studies*, 21, no. 4 (2016): 623-644.
[42] *Ibid*.

Maki. The same tradition posited that other fiefdoms centered around Dinguiray and Nioro were meant to be governed not by Ahmadu, but by other sons of Umar.[43] In fact, Ahmadu's brothers were involved in two revolts at Nioro: the first led by his half-brothers Moktar and Habib, and the second by Muntaga, another of Ahmadu's brothers who governed Nioro after Ahmadu put down the first revolt.

Maki never governed at either Hamdullahi or Bandiagara. During the 1863 Kunta-Masinanke siege and re-conquest of Umarian-occupied Hamdullahi, Maki fled the capital with his father and his brother Mahi, and all three were suffocated when soldiers loyal to Hamdullahi's Barri dynasty lit a fire at the mouth of a cave in Degembery where the Umarians had sought refuge.[44] This cave was on the road to Bandiagara, where Tijani was busy recruiting Dogon soldiers to aid his uncle and cousins, but his relatives' deaths occurred before Tijani could join them with the army he had raised. Tijani, having recovered the remains of Maki and his brothers and interred them at Bandiagara, married Maki's widow and adopted his son, Ahmadu Makiou, who became known as Ahmadu Tijani.[45] Tijani also recovered and kept Umar Tal's prayer beads, prayer rug and seal from Degembery. Ibrahima Barry has argued that Tijani kept Umar Tal's religious objects primarily to signal his right to rule the lands that the latter had conquered.[46]

[43] Hanson, *Migration, Jihad and Muslim Authority*, 92.
[44] For a comprehensive list of the Umarians who died in the caves at Degembery, see Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 311, note 71.
[45] Caron, *Voyage*, 355.
[46] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 545.

Sources and Methodology

Overview of Sources and Methodology

There are only a few sources on the Bandiagara Emirate that were produced exclusively by Africans living in the Middle Niger in the precolonial period. The lack of internal sources written at Bandiagara in part reflects a decline in Umarian scholarship that began after the conquest of Segu, when warfare, rather than teaching, became the primary focus of the movement. And the fight for Futanke dominance of the Middle Niger and the redistribution of war booty became even more important when Tijani replaced his uncle as leader of the Futanke settlers there. Thus, despite Tijani being surrounded by many of Umar Tal's learned and distinguished companions, decades of warfare stifled the production of religious texts in Bandiagara. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the most significant document produced there in Tijani's time was a chronicle of his wars. That manuscript, written by Abdoulay Ali, forms part of an account of the *jihad* led by Umar Tal, but closes with a presentation of Tijani's battles in the Middle Niger as a continuation of that *jihad.* Robinson suggests that this document was probably intended to support Tijani's claims to leadership of the emirate, noting its status as the only chronicle claiming the Umarian *jihad* continued after al-Hajj Umar "disappeared" in the caves at Degembery.[47]

Similarly there are few secondary sources that focus on the Futanke at Bandiagara. This is only the second dissertation on the Bandiagara Emirate. The first is Ibrahima Barry's dissertation *Le Royaume de Bandiagara*. My argument for Bandiagara's independence from Ahmadu at Segu and my chronology of the Futanke-Masinanke wars benefited a great deal Barry's work. Thanks to the considerable attention Umar has drawn from scholars around the

[47] Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 283, note 1.

world, a number of secondary sources on the Umarian movement during his lifetime are available. Among these, Robinson's *The Holy War of Umar Tal* is the most comprehensive, particularly in its treatment of the available evidence on the life of Umar Tal. Robinson divided the available evidence into two kinds: 1) Internal Evidence, consisting of primary sources written by Umar Tal and his contemporaries, and 2) External Evidence, sources about Umar Tal and his movement written by the French. The internal sources analyzed by Robinson in *Holy War* that have the most bearing on Tijani's wars against the Masinanke are the manuscript arguments for and against the Umarian invasion of Hamdullahi that were written by Umar Tal, Ahmad III, and Ahmad al-Bekkay. These sources provide a window into an intellectual debate not only on the validity of that invasion, but also on Tijani's continued wars against the Kunta and Lobbo.[48] This debate is likely to have had important resonances for the Futanke community at Bandiagara during Tijani's lifetime.

Another chronicle of the Fulbe-Masinanke wars can be found in a manuscript entitled *Tarikh al-Fittuga*, written around 1882-83, after the Futanke had subdued their enemies in the Middle Niger. While it purports to chronicle events from 1786 to 1882, it offers a much more detailed account of the years of the Futanke-Masinanke War, most or all of which would have occurred during the chronicler's lifetime. There are two surviving versions of the manuscript, both of which purport to have been written by Yirkoy Talfi: a Masinanke Fulbe who supported the Umarian movement from within the capital of Hamdullahi.[49] As such, one might conclude that the *Tarikh al-Fittuga* was an Umarian document. However, it is highly unlikely Yirkoy Talfi was the author of either version. First, it is widely recognized – and even stated within the *Tarikh*

[48] Chapter One details how categories of racial and religious distinction played a role in the rhetorical positions of Umar Tal and his critics, see also Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 291-4.
[49] William Brown, "Toward a Chronology of the Caliphate of Hamdullahi (Māsina)," *Cahiers d'Études africaines*, 31 (1968): 428-434.

al-Fittuga itself – that Yirkoy Talfi died soon after the Battle of Konna, i.e., in 1863 or 1864.[50] Second, the events described in Brown's synthesis of the two manuscript versions seem to privilege the perspective of those Fulbe who lived west of the Niger River's inland delta, in regions that maintained strong ties to Timbuktu. Tellingly, the manuscripts also provide details of Kunta clashes with Tuareg groups that are not found in the recollections of Futanke elites recorded by colonial officers. The manuscript also closes with the Futanke defeat at Yumayra: an event that is not emphasized in Menvielle's 1895 history based on Futanke recollections, which will be described below. For these reasons, the present dissertation employs the *Tarikh al-Fittuga* as a check against the more readily available Futanke accounts collected by colonial officers after the French conquest of the Middle Niger.

Lastly, some collections of correspondence between the Umarian princes and other African leaders also survive. The most important of these includes Maki and Tijani's letter to Ahmadu that offers an account of their participation in the major battles between Umar Tal's forces and those of the Hamdullahi Caliphate. This letter indicates that Maki and Tijani deemed themselves appropriate inheritors of the lands taken from Hamdullahi. There are undoubtedly more sources that have yet to be analyzed. For instance, I encountered several collections of untranslated letters written in Arabic and Ajami in the national archives of Mali and Senegal. These collections are not organized by author or period, and some are interspersed among translated letters and colonial reports. These handwritten letters require a significant amount of work to transcribe and translate, and this study uses only a few. These African sources, created by literate elites, do not receive as much attention as the endangered archives that contain letters from earlier periods, but they are treasures nonetheless.

[50] *Ibid*., 429.

Colonial Sources

This study relies heavily on sources written by Africans and Europeans that can be found in colonial archives. My methodology for analyzing these sources is twofold. First, as briefly noted above, it recognizes that the colonial archive is a repository for "authentic" African sources written by literate elites in the nineteenth century. These same archives also hold narrative sources transmitted orally to the French from African elites who occupied positions of power and privilege after colonial conquest. I contend that, while these sources are problematic in ways common to all narratives and political documents used in historical analysis, such problems do not compromise their value as internal evidence, by which I mean written sources based on Africans' accounts of events they witnessed in their own lifetimes.[51] Second, this study analyzes all of its evidence in light of the political objectives apparent in the sources. Once integrated into colonial archives, the letters, chronicles, treaties, military orders, and political reports used in this study all became instruments of the colonial state, whether they were written by Africans, Europeans, or both. As such, it is useful to consider the kinds of work these sources might have performed for the colonial state. The colonial sources used in this study broadly fall into three categories: reconnaissance, diplomatic, and reflective, each of which is discussed in turn below.

Reconnaissance Sources

This category of source material is found in the paper trail created by the French colonial administration and military as they planned the expansion of their influence across the Sahel. Written in the years leading up to France's conquest of the Middle Niger, reconnaissance sources provided the body of knowledge that facilitated that conquest. Most were written by officers who

[51] ANM 2E 14; ANS 15 G 81; ANS 15 G 89.

either traveled to Futanke states or gathered intelligence from local informants. Intelligence-gathering was a critical aspect of military conquest and colonial rule in Africa.[52] France's efforts to gather detailed information on areas targeted for conquest has left us with a large body of evidence made up of notes, reports, and travel accounts written by officers who collected information from African intermediaries and/or conducted missions into the African interior themselves.[53]

Some of the most important sources for the Futanke states are the accounts of travelers who visited Futanke territories to gather useful information for the colonial administration, primarily but not exclusively of a geographic nature. They measured the depth at various points along the Niger River, identified markers for navigation, and attempted to improve the maps that had been made by their predecessors, but also gathered social and political information that proved essential to the subsequent conquest.[54] With varying degrees of success, these so-called explorers attempted to map the political landscape of the Western Sahel, sought potential allies and partners, and charted the paths later trod by colonial troops.

Bandiagara was the Futanke successor state farthest from the French colony of Senegal, and the last to be conquered. It was separated from colonial posts in the "Western Sudan" by the Futanke successor states at Segu and Karta. The only French national to visit during Tijani's

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[52] C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: intelligence gathering and social communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 6-7.

[53] Caron, *De Saint-Louis au Port de Tombouktou: Voyage d'une Cannoniere Francaise* (Paris, 1891); Lt. de Vaisseau Jaime, *De Koulikoro à Tombouctou a board du "Mage," 1889-1890* (Paris: E. Edentu, [1892]); *Parfait-Louis Monteil, De Saint-Louis a Tripoli par le Lac Tchad, Voyage au Travers du Soudan et du Sahara Accompli Pendant les Années 1890-91-92, (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1894);* ANM 1D 218 "Mission Politique de Mademba au Macina et à Tombouctou," 1896.

[54] Maria Gross-Ngate has linked the effort of earlier explorers to later administrator-ethnographers. While I agree that there are many continuities between the two groups of observers, I make a distinction between these two kinds of sources based on how the observations were used and the periods in which the information was collected. See, Maria Grosz-Ngaté, "Power and Knowledge. The Representation of the Mande World in the Works of Park, Caillié, Monteil, and Delafosse," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 28, cahier 111/112, Manding (1988): 485-511.

lifetime was Edouard Caron, a *lieutenant vassaiu* who traveled from Dakar to the fringes of Timbuktu in 1887. At that time, Ahmadu was away in Karta, putting down his brother Muntaga's revolt, and had appointed his unruly son as governor of Segu. Caron took advantage of the ensuing political tumult at Segu to cruise past it unhindered. He spent just a few days at Bandiagara, but in that time made detailed observations of Tijani's court, including of the political positions of courtiers, with varying degrees of success. One of Caron's guides was a member of the Kunta family, and his presence in Bandiagara upset many of Tijani's courtiers, who correctly surmised that Caron also intended to visit their enemies at Timbuktu. Caron, meanwhile, worried that Tijani would hold him hostage at Bandiagara and impede his progress down the Niger. Consequently, the young officer and his crew left the garrison capital abruptly, without signing a treaty.

The need to gather information on Bandiagara became increasingly urgent as Commandant Superior Louis Archinard pushed his administration into direct conflict with Ahmadu.[55] While the extension of French territory eastward to the banks of the Niger had long been a goal, it was only in 1890 that Ahmadu's weakness at Karta and Archinard's ambition conspired to set the conquest in motion. The French took Segu on 6 June 1890 and Nioro on 1 January 1891, but their ability to collect reliable information on the Bandiagara Emirate did not improve much thereafter. Representatives of the colonial regime – including P. L. Monteil, Mademba Sy, and Qinqadron's envoy Mamadou Ali – did travel to the emirate. However, their intelligence-gathering efforts were hampered by the emirate's state of political upheaval, which had begun after the death of Tijani in 1888 and continued until 1891, when Muniru ceded power to Ahmadu, by then a refugee from the French conquest of Karta. Thus, during Ahmadu's two-

[55] For a detailed account of role Archinard played in the conquest of the Western Sahel see Kanya-Fostner, "The Total Conquest of the Western Sudan," *The Conquest of the Western Sudan,* 174-214.

year residence at Bandiagara prior to the emirate's fall in 1893, the French largely relied on information passed by merchants, refugees, and intermediaries, most of whom are unnamed in colonial documents.[56] In any case, however, most such reports offer little more than sketchy accounts of Ahmadu's movements around the region.

Diplomatic Sources:

These sources, comprising the treaties and official correspondence that passed between colonial officers and African leaders, formed part of an effort to protect French interests and influence through a combination of economic pressure and threats of force. Futanke rulers and other African elites who had received Islamic educations sent letters in Arabic to the colonial government, and these were transcribed and translated by interpreters. Their contents reveal African leaders' attempts to retain power where possible, challenge the claims of European colonizers, and assert their sovereignty. It is important to recognize that diplomatic sources written by both Europeans and Africans in the years leading up to colonial conquest are rife with dissimulation and false bonhomie. Nevertheless, they reflect a variety of French and African priorities in the Middle Niger.

The French corresponded regularly with a number of Futanke leaders in the pre-conquest period, with the general goal of remaining at peace with Ahmadu while at the same time encouraging resistance movements in the lands he governed. The French also nurtured the ambitions of Ahmadu's rivals among the second generation of Futanke leaders.[57] Commandant Superior Joseph Gallieni was the architect of this strategy. His successor, Archinard, further

[56] ANS 15 G 86, "Situation Politique au Soudan, 1890."
[57] This study draws on correspondence between Futanke leaders and French officers found in the National Archives of Senegal Serries 15 G. See correspondence in ANS 15 G 27; 15 G 28; 15 G 29; 15 G 69; 15 G 75; 15 G 76; 15 G 81.

isolated Ahmadu by seizing territory, progressively cutting him off from the other Futanke successor states.

Reflective Sources:

This class of sources consists of the histories and ethnographic studies written by colonial officers and their African intermediaries after the French conquest was completed. Administrators wrote such documents principally to provide context for their actions to their superiors and successors, but with the wider aim of improving French rule, especially in areas where the colonial regime leaned on African elites to rule as proxies. A handful of Futanke who had been Umar Tal's companions were still alive and in Bandiagara when the French conquered it in 1893. Consequently, administrator-ethnographers were able to obtain eyewitness accounts for their histories, but these accounts tend to privilege the Futanke perspective of Umar Tal and Tijani's wars in the region. As I will explain in Chapter 5, officers serving as Agibu's "advisors" in Bandiagara had a stake in legitimizing their proxy's rule over the diverse populations of the Middle Niger.

In the first few years after the French conquest, Futanke scholars and courtiers enjoyed considerable access to the colonial administration, and shared their perspectives on the wars in which they had participated. Based in part on such information, an officer who had served as the French Resident at Bandiagara, Captain Menvielle, wrote an ethnographic history of the Bandiagara Emirate titled *Notice sur les Etats de Agibou* in 1896.[58] This work included a synopsis of the battles Tijani fought as he established the Bandiagara Emirate, and a description

[58] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896); 1D 5, "Notice Général sur le Soudan Notice - Notice sur la région Sud 1895 -1899"; 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896. Much of the information in the Menvielle study in ID 7 is repeated in the other reports. It would appear that ID 7 served as source material for ID 47 and ID 5 both of which were written after Menvielle's death in 1895. Menvielle's report was also used to draft a report published by Colonel de Trentinian. ANOM/51/PA "Notice général sur le Soudan publié par l'Ordre du colonel de Trentinian, Lieutenant Gouverner," 1896.

of that emirate's political structure. Menvielle characterized Tijani as a kind of executive, guided by a council of nobles that was mostly Futanke, but included members of other groups. Menvielle also provided descriptions of the territories overseen by Tijani's governors.

While Menvielle's insights were undoubtedly informed by his interactions with the Futanke elite at Bandiagara, he also seems to have incorporated research conducted by the officer who preceded him as the Resident there, Eugene Destenave. Destenave spent a considerable proportion of his time as Resident on missions designed to extend French influence to the east of Bandiagara. In 1885, he concluded two treaties with the Mossi Kingdom of Yatenga, one of them making it a French protectorate: a move that eventually lead to the colonization of the basin of the Upper Volta River. That same year, Destenave was able to convince leaders at Djilgodi, a village that had separated itself from the Bandiagara Emirate, to resume their former allegiance to Agibu. In this effort, Destenave probably received assistance from Ifra Almamy, a Futanke religious scholar and *qadi* who had served as Tijani's representative at Djilgodi. In a political report written in 1895, Destenave, who had preceded Menvielle as Bandiagara's Resdient noted that Ifra Almamy was a reliable source of information and a respected member of the community. Destenave was a keen observer of social and economic affairs in Bandiagara, and completed a thorough study of slavery and the slave trade in the area in 1895 in response to a questionnaire sent by Alfred Grodet to administrators in the Western Sudan.[59] In it, Destenave identified key differences between the slave villages of *rimaibe* and the slaves who were sold into the external slave trade.

Through communication with report-writing French officers, elite Futanke colonists were able to advance their own perspectives of the history of Umarian conquest, with the above-noted

[59] ANM 1E 156, Destenave, "Rapport sur la captivité dans les états d'Aguibou, Bandiagara le 18 aout 1894."

case of Ifra Almamy being just one example. In 1913, Agibu related his memories of the Umarian enterprise and French conquest to A. De Loppinot, a colonial administrator who published them in the *Bulletin du comite d'etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F*.[60] Interestingly, these recollections were focused on the period of Moktar, Habib and Muntaga's challenges to Ahmadu's rule in Karta. Agibu inflated his own status relative to that of his eldest brother, accusing Ahmadu of low birth and suggesting that his rebellious half-brothers could not accept being subordinate to the son of a slave. At the same time, he used the account recorded by De Loppinot to suggest that he had always been a suitable successor to Ahmadu, by highlighting how he protected the Futanke community at Segu during Ahmadu's absence. Agibu also claimed that Umar Tal publicly declared him to be Ahmadu's heir apparent before the Futanke community at Segu.

However, when dealing with any sources mediated by the colonial government, it is important to recognize that colonial officials' understandings of matters were severely constrained. Whether an officer was steaming along the Niger River in a gunboat, reading a letter from a Futanke prince, or recording the reminiscences of a *qadi*, he undertook his work from a position of power relative to "subjects." Even the most curious officers were influenced by an ordering of the world that placed darker-skinned people on the lowest rungs of humanity's evolutionary ladder.[61] These blinders of power and privilege were lifted only partly by the African intermediaries who served as guides, translators, and informants; and here, too, the

[60] This account was critiqued by Claude Faure after its publication. It was also a principal source used by St. Martin in his "Un fils d'El Hadj Omar: Aguibou roi du Dinguiray et du Macina (1843? – 1907)," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 8, no. 29 (1968): 144-78.

[61] Maria Grosz-Ngaté, "Power and Knowledge"; Ed Van Hoven, "Representing Social Hierarchy. Administrators-Ethnographers in the French Sudan: Delafosse, Monteil, and Labouret," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 30, cahier 118, (1990): 179-198.

record has been shaped by human beings who had certain ideas about their places in the world and in history, as well as their own motives for cooperation with the colonial regime.

Positionality of the Author Relative to the Study

My discussion of the sources I have consulted and my interpretation of them cannot be complete without a consideration of my positionality relative to this study. History is a discipline of contexts, and my personal contexts have bearing on my work. I acknowledge that as a graduate student in the United States, I was a privileged outsider as I researched the history of the Middle Niger and the Bandiagara Emirate. Although I do not believe that historians should only study their own pasts – whatever they understand those to be – it is worth acknowledging a few aspects of how my status as an outsider has influenced my work. My connection to a U.S. university allowed me to conduct multiple research trips to four different countries, and such opportunities are all too rarely made available to scholars from Africa, especially Ph.D. students. While I have benefited greatly from the few interviews I was able to conduct with local scholars in Bandiagara and Mopti, this study does not include a rigorous assessment of oral sources, since by the time I was sufficiently prepared to conduct interviews in Bandiagara and its environs, travel to the region had been declared inadvisable by the U.S. State Department. Indeed, the security situation had already begun to deteriorate when I conducted my preliminary visit in 2015. No study is perfect. Yet, I hope mine will serve as a resource for other scholars who will write histories of Bandiagara that incorporate more of the oral record.

Before I began studying history, I was a military intelligence analyst who specialized in French and Arabic language sources. Wherever possible, the English translations of the Arabic and French passages I cite are my own. My years in intelligence influenced my selection of both primary and secondary sources, as I tend to read and interpret military and intelligence sources

more readily. As noted above, many of the reports I uncovered were items of intelligence based on African reports to colonial officers, and when judging the reliability of these sources, I leaned on analytical skills that I first developed in the military. My training as a historian, meanwhile, helped me identify social and political information within these sources that I might otherwise have overlooked. For example, I believe I was able to identify and follow the threads of discussions on women and families between French and Futanke elites within colonial sources because of my academic training and my discussions with colleagues who encouraged me to write on women in Futanke society. Similarly, my analysis of sources on slavery benefited from years of study with experts on that topic.

My interpretation of this history through the framework of pragmatism and instrumentalism will doubtlessly offend some as an imposition of Western epistemology on the African past. But I do not believe there is anything inherently "Western" about reason and political cunning. All in all, I have done my best to find common strategies pursued by African and European combatants during a period of political tumult, wanton violence and profound social transformations.

Structure

My first chapter details how the social hierarchy established by the Hamdullahi Caliphate subordinated the Dogon and other non-Fulbe as vassals through a legalistic category of "blackness." This process relied on the *Tarikh al-Fattash*, a nineteenth century manuscript disguised as a sixteenth century history, to cast doubt on the conversions of non-Fulbe groups to Islam, and thereby justify their subjugation. Chapter 1 also includes a detailed exploration of Umar's justification of his invasion of the Hamdullahi Caliphate, i.e., that its ruler had committed apostasy through his alliance with "pagans." Both these positions leveraged

constructions of racial and religious difference to achieve political ends. Likewise, I detail how Fulbe military leaders in the Middle Niger made strategic decisions to stress or ignore categories of difference in their dealings with non-Fulbe neighbors; and how the Futanke settlers at Bandiagara employed a strategy that was more integrative, and ultimately, more successful.

Chapter 2 analyzes the patterns of warfare in the Middle Niger from 1863 to 1888. Based on a fresh take on the sequence of the battles between the Futanke-led army at Bandiagara and their Kunta and Masinanke enemies, I argue that most were fought to control the agriculturally productive region around the floodplains of the Niger River, with those on its right bank of particular importance. It was there that Tijani resettled the Masinanke Fulbe that his army captured in battle. I contend that this was a strategic decision whereby Tijani removed enemy fighters from the field of battle and set them to work producing grain to feed his own armies. I contrast this program of resettlement against the sale of (only) non-Fulbe slaves to external markets, and contend that through warfare and these two divergent forms of slavery, the Futanke at Bandiagara engaged in both "social reproduction" and "economic production."

Chapter 3 examines the short period between Tijani Tal's death in 1888 and the French conquest in 1893. It explains how the rivalries that emerged in the wake of Tijani's death were part of larger political fractures among the second generation of Tal, which upended Futanke society. Tijani was eventually succeeded by Muniru, a young son of al-Hajj Umar Tal whose rule was challenged as his older brother Ahmadu fled the French and sought refuge at Bandiagara. I argue that Muniru continued to rely on alliances with non-Futanke warriors in the Hayre as he opposed Ahmadu's claims to leadership.

Chapter 4 sheds some light on the experiences of women in the Futanke territories during the period of French conquest, by examining the role of Futanke households in Futanke-French

diplomacy. Patriarchal Futanke households included not only wives and children, but also hundreds of slaves ranging from elite *sofas* and concubines to servants and plantation workers. I argue that, even as the French military seized Futanke territory, Futanke princes engaged diplomatically with French officers to preserve their rights over subordinates within their households. I also explore how French and Futanke elites alike used women and children as pawns in their efforts to coerce and punish their rivals.

Lastly, Chapter 5 examines the French strategy of temporary indirect rule of Bandiagara through Agibu during the period 1893-1902. Archinard installed Agibu and other African rulers as proxy kings in the Middle Niger to maintain order while the French military focused on expansion of the empire. I propose that the French system of indirect rule in the Middle Niger was a temporary expedient, which officers began to reverse during the same year it was implemented. As the French military established new posts, it removed non-Futanke from under Futanke rule; and through this process, the colonial administration gradually diminished the importance of Agibu and other proxies in the region.

I conclude by reviewing how categories of difference were used as tools of statecraft by French and Futanke military regimes. I describe how the second generation of Tal made pragmatic decisions in a time of dramatic political transformations. I contend that the inclination of the Futanke elites in this study was to negotiate. With regard to politics among groups of belonging in the Middle Niger and elsewhere, I argue that an instrumentalist framework, which is most commonly employed to highlight how differences are stressed by elites, is also useful for understanding how differences are ignored.

CHAPTER 1

Constructions of Difference and Military Coalitions 1818-64

From 1818 until its collapse in 1862, the Caliphate of Hamdullahi along the middle Niger River and inland delta folded racial and religious difference into its politics. Founded by the Fulbe Muslim reformer Ahmad Lobbo (d. 1845), who established his capital Hamdullahi, in an inundated region known as the Burgu. Seku Amadu drew the support of leaders from across the Middle Niger, especially from the floodplains along the Niger, Bani and Diaka rivers, who joined his revolutionary movement and eventually fought a war to liberate the Fulbe of the Niger River's inland delta from the Arbe: local proxies of the Bamana kingdom of Segu. The Fulbe of the inland delta's Masina sub-region, called the Masinanke, had long distinguished themselves from the Bamana and other groups. After the Hamdullahi Caliphate encompassed the inland delta, its rulers constructed racial and religious distinctions that became important factors in regional politics and social hierarchy. Hamdullahi, a state that initially brought enslaved and subjugated groups together to fight a war of liberation, eventually created a social hierarchy that placed the caliphates Fulbe population above supposedly servile populations categorized as black. By constructing a non-black Fulbe identity against the blackness of the Dogon, Bobo and others. Hamdullahi used this category of blackness to cast doubt upon conversions to Islam among these people and thereby justify their continued taxation, enslavement, and conscription.

Similarly, al-Hajj Umar Tal – a powerful and influential Sufi cleric from Futa Toro, a Fulbe Islamic state along the northern bend of the Senegal river – constructed categories of unbelief to justify wars against the Bamana kingdoms of Karta and Segu, and later the Hamdullahi Caliphate. During his pilgrimage to Mecca al-Hajj Umar Tal had received a mandate

to proliferate Tijaniyya Sufi Order in the "Sudan" from Muhammad al-Ghali, leader of the Tijaniyya *tariqa* in the Hijaz. On his return from Mecca, he traveled to the Fulbe-led Caliphates of Sokoto (c. 1832-8) and Hamdullahi (1839) where he attracted followers to his nascent movement. In 1841, the Almamy of Futa Jallon Alfaya Bakar, granted Umar Tal permission to establish a community at Jegunko where Umar taught and authored his most influential work, ar-Rimah.

From around 1846-7 Umar Tal traveled throughout the Senegambia gathering followers and signaling his intention to lead military campaigns under the banner of "jihad" to Muslim communities in region.[62] During this tour he attracted a significant number of followers from Futa Toro, and consequently his movement developed a Futanke consciousness. As recruits from Futa Toro flocked to the Umarian movement it began to transition from an isolated scholarly community to a Futanke-led movement that advocated activist approach to Islamic reform, particularly among neighboring non-Fulbe populations. Soon after he returned to Futa Jallon Umar Tal and his followers initiated their first military campaign against non-Muslim Mandinka at Tamba. This was followed by far more ambitious campaigns against the Bamana kingdoms of Karta and Segu. As we will see below, the Hamdullahi Caliphate opposed the Futanke invasion of Segu, and as a result were branded "non-Muslim" apostates by Umar Tal who subsequently led a "jihad" against the Caliphate.

The wars between the Futanke and the Masinanke of the Hamdullahi Caliphate are riddled with contradictions. The Futanke of the Umarian movement and the Masinanke of Hamdullahi Caliphate shared a common faith, language and culture, and both had fought wars they framed as *jihads* against populations they labeled as "pagan." For the Futanke and

[62] David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 121-6.

Masinanke "pagan" was a term that was often applied to Muslims whose practice was deemed unorthodox as well as non-Muslims. Consequently, the Futanke and Masinanke claimed their wars against Muslims and non-Muslims alike were *jihads*. Such constructions of unbelief became particularly when the Futanke and Masinanke accused each other of apostasy to justify the wars they fought against one another from 1861-90. Nevertheless, even while they made such assertions both the Futanke and Masinanke also incorporated so-called "pagan" soldiers into their armies. I argue that despite the importance of categories of difference like "pagan" and black within Fulbe social hierarchy, and within the Caliphate of Hamdullahi in particular, the instability associated with the Futanke-Masinanke wars of 1861-90 necessitated the building of alliances that diminished the instrumental value of racial and religious exclusion. Ultimately, the Futanke colonizers who founded a new Emirate among the Dogon of Bandiagara, would prove better coalition-builders, and conquer most of the territory formerly ruled by the Hamdullahi Caliphate.

At Hamdullahi, the racial category black was applied to certain non-Fulbe populations to cast doubt on the faith of Muslims within these groups and justify their enslavement, taxation and conscription. The racial category of black was employed to distinguish supposedly inferior foreign cultures along the deserts edge by Arab travelers as early as the fourteenth century.[63] This racial category was probably used by Arab-Berbers along the deserts edge to explain their domination of local population, and it was frequently employed to justify the enslavement Sub-Saharan Africans by Arabized groups.[64] In the mid-seventeenth century Moulay Isma'il used

[63] Bruce S. Hall, "The question of 'race' in the pre-colonial southern Sahara," *The Journal of North African Studies* 10, no. 3-4 (2005): 339-367. See also, Rosenthal, Franz. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1980); Akalay, Lotfi, and Joël Alessandra. *Les Voyages D'ibn Battûta*, (Marcinelle: Dupuis, 2020).
[64] James Webb, *Desert Frontier: Ecological and Economic Change Along the Western Sahel, 1600-1850*, (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).

race and slave origins to justify the conscription of free blacks in Morocco.[65] Eventually, the Fulbe-led Muslim states established through *jihads* in the nineteenth century framed their own conquest, enslavement, and conscription of certain groups around such distinctions.[66]

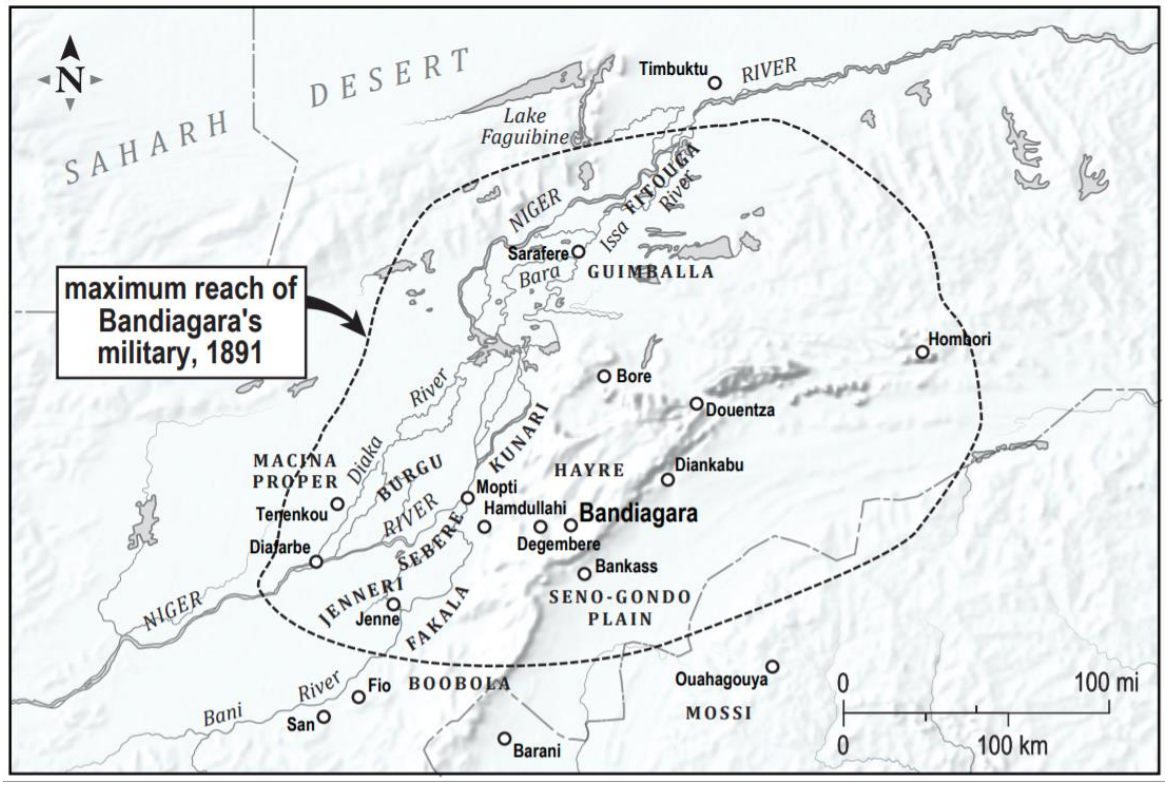

Figure 4: Bandiagara's Military Reach, 1891

Enslaving and Conscripting Blacks in Hamdullahi

Within the oral traditions collected by Amadou Hampaté Ba, there is a story in which Ardo Ngourori advises Seku Ahmadu to establish a residence in lands where Fulbe and non-Fulbe lived together. Ardo Ngourori was an elite Masinanke who initially resisted Seku Ahmadu, but later submitted to the Caliphate after losing military support from his Bamana allies. In the

[65] Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
[66] See Introduction.

story Ardo Ngourori expels Seku Ahmadu and his followers from pasturage under his control, but councils Seku Ahmadu to seek a residence where Fulbe live among blacks and the latter are in the majority.[67] The rest of this tradition recounted by Hampaté Ba stresses that Ardo Ngourori became an ardent follower of Seku Ahmadu, and it is likely this particular episode is foreshadowing that outcome. Mauro Nobili describes how this oral tradition uses Ardo Ngourori's supposed conversion within this tradition was designed to "portray a substantial break between values old Fulbe military aristocracy and those of the new political and Islamic authority personified by Seku Ahmadu."[68] But the tradition also highlights how cohabitation with non-Fulbe was critical to Seku Ahmadu's movement, especially before he established his new capital at Hamdullahi.

Evidence indicates that during the construction of Hamdullahi Seku Ahmadu and his followers settled – albeit briefly – among black non-Muslims, the Dogon. Anne Mayor's work on the material history of Modjodje supports oral accounts that Seku Amadu and his followers lived in a Dogon village for four years during the construction of Hamdullahi.[69] According to Mayor, "the Barri family had brought their herds to the foot of the Dogon's escarpment before the establishment of the village of [Modjodje]."[70] Familiarity with the Barri family and concerns about Segu are likely to have played roles in the Dogon's embrace of their Muslim Fulbe guests. This hospitable cohabitation was short lived. Before Seku Ahmadu's death in 1845 Hamdullahi considered the Dogon crown slaves and routinely pressed Dogon men into military service to support its wars. After Seku Amadu's death, according to Ba's account, the Timbuktu scholar

[67] Âmadou Hampâté Bâ, *L'empire Peul du Macina (1818-1853) / Daget, Jacques.* (Abidjan: Les Nouvelles Ed. africaines; [Paris]: Ed. de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1984), 104.
[68] Mauro Nobili, *Sultan, Caliph and the Renewer of the Faith*, (Cambrige, Cambridge University Press, 2020), 151-2.
[69] Anne Mayor, "Les rapports entre la Diina peul du Maasina et les populations du Delta intérieur du Niger, vus au travers de traditions historiques et des fouilles archéologiques," in *Peuls et Mandingues*, 1-60, 38.
[70] *Ibid*., 39.

Ahmad al-Bekkay criticized Hamdullahi for failing to Islamize the Dogon and continuing to enslave and conscript them.[71]

A similar status was applied to the Bobo. Hamdullahi's location east of the Bani River placed it to the north of the eastern reaches of the Boobola section of the Seno-Gondo plain that was inhabited by Bobo cultivators. By the time Seku Amadu settled east of the Bani, Bobo cultivators had migrated westward and settled both banks of the river. The historical text *Tārīkh Jenne* even holds the peculiar claim that the Bobo were Jenne's first settlers.[72] Jenne became an important religious center during under the Songhay Empire founded by Askiya Muhammad at the end the fifteenth century, and its Muslim population accepted Hamdullahi's rule as early as 1821;[73] however, non-Muslim Bobo cultivators remained on the farmable lands surrounding it. William Brown's dissertation on the Caliphate of Hamdullahi suggests that Seku Amadu had relied on formidable Bobo archers to expand his territory, and that their use of poison-tipped arrows explains how Seku Amadu's forces managed to defeat both the well-trained cavaliers who fought for the Dikko clan of Masina, and Segovian foot soldiers armed with fusils.[74] Despite its early inhabitants' period of cohabitation with the Dogon, and Seku Amadu's probable use of Bobo archers and slave soldiers, Hamdullahi eventually considered the Dogon and Bobo subalterns within the caliphate's racial and religious hierarchy.

It is important to contextualize such hierarchies in the long-standing discourse on slavery and racial difference in the Western Sahel. Within this discourse, revealed by Bruce Hall in *A*

[71] Bâ, *L'empire Peul du Macina*, 280.
[72] Malian Arabic Manuscript Microfilm Project, *Tārīkh Jenne* (Yale University, 1976), reel 7.
[73] Jenne likely submitted to Seku Amadu's authority shortly after the second siege in 1821; see Bâ, *L'empire Peul du Macina*, 151.
[74] The arrow poison was most probably from a type of liana (*Strophanthus hispidus*). Using non-Muslim Bobo archers would also have allowed Seku Amadu to sidestep Islamic prohibitions against using poison in warfare. See William Brown, "The Caliphate of Hamdullahi ca. 1818-1864" (Ph.D. Thesis: University of Wisconsin, 1969), 204, note 51.

History of Race in Muslim West Africa, the term blacks became "a legal status category inferior to free Muslims."[75] In Hamdullahi blackness justified the enslavement of Muslims among the servile populations who were considered crown slaves. The Hamdullahi Caliphate used a forged history, titled *Tārīkh al-fattāsh*, to claim that Seku Amadu inherited his authority over those populations that the Hamdullahi Caliphate racialized as black from the founder of the Songhay Empire, Askia Mohammad.[76] Thus, Hamdullahi's forgery of the *Tārīkh al-fattāsh* represented an effort to insert a racial category of "black" servility into the documentary record to support Seku Amadu's claims over non-Fulbe even if individuals from these blac" populations had practiced Islam before the establishment of the Caliphate. Hamdullahi extended this racial category to the Dogon and Bozo, to justify their taxation, conscription and enslavement. Seku Amadu's son and heir, Ahmad II, referenced his inherited rights over "tribes of blacks" in a political decree that referenced this forged document: "[Ahmad II] has ordered that the enslavement of blacks would be governed generally by the *Tārīkh al-fattāsh*, even if their mothers were free."[77]

In the same ruling, Ahmad II described his authority over some non-Muslims using the Arabic term *zanj*, which was also used to describe the servile tribes in the *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh*. Earlier, it had been applied by Arab traders to the dark-skinned populations of East Africa and slaves taken from the East African coast, and Arab scholars had used the term to describe a tenth

[75] Bruce S. Hall, *A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600-1960* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 70-73.
[76] The provenance of the *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh* was long debated by Arabists of an earlier generation, and it was initially thought to be a pastiche of a sixteenth century document and a nineteenth century one; see especially Nehemia Levtzion, "A Seventeenth-Century Chronicle by Ibn al-Mukhtār: A Critical Study of Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 34, no. 3 (1971): 571-93. Based on previously unexamined documentary evidence, Mauro Nobili and Mohamed Shahid Malthee argued convincingly that the *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh* is a nineteenth century manuscript in its entirety, and that its authorship by the sixteenth century scholar Mohammad Kati was falsified by the nineteenth century scholar Nuhr bin Tahir to lend legitimacy to Seku Amadu's 'inherited' rights over Hamdullahi's servile populations: "Towards a New Study of the So-Called Tārīkh al-fattāsh," *History in Africa* 42 (2015): 37-73.
[77] Amadu Seku, "Amadu Seku to al-qadi Abu Bakr bin Ibrahim," in Gironcourt, Georges. *Missions De Gironcourt En Afrique Occidentale, 1908-1909-1911-1912: Documents Scientifiques*, (Paris: Sté de géographie, 1920).

century slave revolt in Iraq.[78] Thus, Seku Amadu used an Arabic term associated with slavery to support his claims over the populations raced as black and cast doubt upon their conversions to Islam.

The Fulbe of the Hamdullahi Caliphate also applied the Fulbe term *habe*, meaning non-Fulbe, to the Dogon and Tombo of the Hayre. According to Henri Gaden, a French colonial officer and ethnographer stationed in Bandiagara in the mid 1890s,

> [t]he Fulbe originally applied the term *Habe* to anyone who, unlike them, did not have white blood in their veins. *Habe* meant "the blacks" in opposition to oriental populations like the Moors, Tuaregs, and Fulbe. In the time of [the] Masina [Caliphate] the term lost its generality and was applied specifically to cultivators in the mountains from Bandiagara to Doventza and along the Seno-Bankasso plain.[79]

According to Gaden, *habe* originated as a broad racial term that eventually became the Masinanke name for the rebellious non-Muslims who lived at the Hamdullahi Caliphate's fringes. While Gaden's reference to "white blood" indicates he interpreted the ethnographic data he collected through a nineteenth century polygenist lens, he observed that *habe* and black were categories of "otherness" that contrasted Fulbe identity. Indeed for the Dogon and Tombo, the term *habe* marked both their non-Muslim status and their supposed servility within the Hamdullahi Caliphate's social order.

Stephanie Zehnle's dissertation "A Geography of Jihad" notes that the term *habe* also meant non-Muslim and servile in other Fulbe states;[80] Ursula Baumgardt's assessment of a Cameroonian Fulbe storyteller's repertoire shows that the term *habe* contained both ideas of

[78] Hall, *A History of Race,* 71, note 5.
[79] ANOM/FP Fonds Gaden, "Personal correspondence, Bandiagara 20-25 June 1895," [emphasis mine]; For modern understand of the word Habe in among the Fulbe in neighboring Liptako see Paul Irwin, *Liptako Speaks*. (Princeton, N.J: Univ. Press, 1981), 14.
[80] Stephanie Zehnle, "A Geography of Jihad, Jihadist Concepts of Space and Sokoto Warfare (West Africa ca. 1800-1850)" (Ph.D. Thesis: Universität Kassel, 2015), 173.

inheritable servility and religious difference; and Fulbe categories of racial and religious difference also underpinned Sokoto's rule over non-Muslims.[81] Early Fulbe dictionaries produced in the vicinity of the Sokoto Caliphate treated *habe* as expressing both racial and religious difference, and linguists often translated the word as either "pagan" or "slave."[82]

Moses Ochonu has presented a convincing argument that the British colonial administration encountered an entrenched system of racial and religious difference at Sokoto that they adapted to a system of indirect rule centered around the Hausa-Fulani caliphate.[83] Hamdullahi developed a similar hierarchical system, in which the Dogon – called *habe* – were classified among the servile races that the forged *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh* referred to as "tribes of blacks." When al-Bekkay criticized Hamdullahi's treatment of the Dogon Seku Amadu's son and successor, called Ahmad II, used the *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh* to defend this approach. Specifically, Ahmad II informed al-Bekkay that, according to the *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh*, Muslim jurists "long ago" had ordained that certain groups of blacks including the Dogon could be forced into servitude, and that because that ruling pre-dated Hamdullahi, the grand council could not overrule it.[84]

Racial and religious differences underpinned a social structure that treated black non-Muslims in the Caliphate as crown slaves or vassals, confined to certain forms of labor like agriculture, masonry, canoe transport, or fishing, and made them eligible for conscription during

[81] Ursula Baumgardt, "La représentation de l'Autre. L'exemple du répertoire d'une conteuse peule de Garoua (Cameroun)," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, (1994): 295-311.
[82] Zehnle, "A Geography of Jihad," 174.
[83] Moses Ochonu, *Colonialism by Proxy: Hausa Imperial Agents and Middle Belt Consciousness in Nigeria* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2014), 9.
[84] Bâ uses the term *groupments soudanais*, which I have translated as blacks given Ahmad II's use of the Arabic term *zanj* in Arabic texts. In the same exchange, Ahmad II also defended Hamdullahi's conscription of slave soldiers and its failure to Islamize the Dogon. In the French translation provided by Bâ, Ahmad II compared them to the Qureshi, an Arabian tribe that first opposed Islam, but gradually converted near the end of the prophet's lifetime: Bâ, *L'empire Peul du Macina*, 280.

times of war. The slaves Hamdullahi settled on farmable land owed the state a yearly payment called *jamgal*, and thus have been argued to have lived in a state of serfdom.[85] The conscription of crown slaves reinforces the comparison to serfdom, however, it is important not to elide the fact that this serfdom was created via slavery based on racial and religious differences, and this study therefore refers to Hamdullahi's servile population as crown slaves and vassals, to highlight how the state rationalized its claims on them.

After the Futanke toppled the Hamdullahi Caliphate in 1862, the surviving members of the Masinanke royal family continued to treat the black non-Muslims east of the Niger as vassals. They relocated their warriors to Fio where they lived among Bobo farmers, who they continued to tax heavily. However, this strategy of expropriation based racial and religious difference did little to augment the armies of the royal family with non-Fulbe warriors. Their Futanke adversaries, on the other hand, entered into an alliance with their Dogon hosts at Bandiagara that transgressed the hierarchy established by the Hamdullahi Caliphate. Despite their earlier positions against forming alliances with non-Muslims the Futanke at Bandiagara built a coalition of forces that included Dogon, Bamana, Bozo and others. The ideological flexibility of the Futanke indicates that racial and religious hierarchies were less useful during the decades of near continuous warfare between Fulbe-led armies in Middle Niger from 1861-90.

Towards the Futanke Conquest of Hamdullahi, 1855-62

In 1855, Umar Tal overthrew the Bamana king of Karta under the umbrella of a jihad against paganism, and then advanced toward the Bamana kingdom of Segu. The Hamdullahi

[85] Marion Johnson, "The Economic Foundations of an Islamic Theocracy – The Case of Macina," *The Journal of African History* 17, no. 4 (1976): 481-496 (p. 486).

Caliphate's relationship with Segu on the eve of the Umarian conquest demonstrates Masinanke flexibility regarding racial and religious distinctions. As noted above, the Caliphate's founder Seku Amadu had fought a jihad to liberate the Fulbe of Masina from the rule of Bamana kings and their allies; but after Seku Amadu's death, Hamdullahi's ties to its non-Muslim Bamana neighbors at Segu improved. David Robinson has suggested that the Futanke threat prompted the Masinanke to overcome their hostility towards both Segu and Timbuktu. When Umar toppled Segu in 1860, its king Bina Ali fled to Hamdullahi, whose ruler at that time – Ahmad III, the grandson of Seku Amadu – extended his protection to the deposed ruler, whom he claimed had converted to Islam.

During the conquest of Segu, Umar's army took Sinsani: a region with a mixed population of Bamana, Soninke, and Fulbe. This, coupled with Bina Ali's flight to Hamdullahi and conversion, put Umar in a delicate position, as Ahmad III and Ahmad al-Bekkay both accused Umar of invading lands that had submitted to a Muslim power and of sowing discord among Muslims.[86] Umar responded to these critics of his incursion into Sinsani, and justified his impending attack on Hamdullahi, in his treatise *Bayan ma waqa'a*, which turned the argument that he had sown discord among Muslims on its head.[87] In part, Umar accomplished this rhetorical sleight of hand by appealing to overlapping ideas of ethnic and religious difference: in explaining his seizure of Sinsani, he used the ethnic term *bambara* – which was a pejorative term

[86] For a description of Ahmad III and al-Bekkay's opposition to the Umarian conquest of Segu, see Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 262-63.
[87] Sidi Mohamed Mahibou and Jean-Louis Triaud, *Voilà ce qui est arrivé – Bayân mâ waqa`a d'al-Hâgg `Umar al-Fûtî: plaidoyer pour une guerre sainte en Afrique de l'Ouest au XIXe siècle*, Fontes historiae Africanae (Paris: Centre régional de publication de Paris, Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1983).

for "pagans" in the West African Sahel at that time – to elicit an emotional response from his audience.[88]

The word *bambara*'s connection to "paganism" lent a certain rhetorical force to Umar's arguments that the region around Sinsani was not a Muslim territory. He also argued that its "pagans" had subjugated Muslims, and that the Soninke mixed Muslim and "pagan" practice;[89] this meant that the only "true" Muslims there were weakened captives of non-Muslims, and thus that the Umarian army's incursion liberated Muslims and advanced the spread of Islam. Umar described the three types of people that inhabited Sinsani in the following terms:[90]

> The first are the *bambara* pagans, unbelievers who worship Godless idols, and the second are bandits (*muḥarubūn*) who block the roads and take tolls, use what is forbidden, and take from unbelievers and Muslims alike. They say "There is no god but God" but they had not been under the Caliphate's rule from the time they settled the land until the day we arrived there. The third are tribes of Muslims pressed into captivity at the hands of the *bambara* and others.

In the section of the *Bayan* that contained his argument against Ahmad III, however, Umar dropped the pejorative term *bambara*. Instead, he drew on passages from the Quran and writings of earlier scholars to argue that Ahmad III had abandoned his duty of promoting unity among Muslims (*muwalat* with fellow Muslims). Umar Tal further argued that Hamdullahi's alliance with Segu was *muwalat* with unbelievers rather than with Muslims, and claimed that by allying with non-Muslims and supporting their military actions against his army, Ahmad III had committed acts of apostasy.[91]

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[88] B. Marie Perinbam, "'Animist'/Islamized Imaging in the Western Sudan," 102. For more on the pejorative use of "bambara," see John Hanson's analysis of a manuscript written by an anonymous Futanke soldier at Segu, John Hanson, "Islam, Ethnicity and Fulbe-Mande Relations," in *Peuls et Mandingues*, 85-97.

[89] Umar constructed the Soninke as *muḥarubūn* (warriors). Triaud and Mahibou have focused on how Umar used the word *muḥarubūn* to emphasize his argument that Muslim practice among the Soninke was lax. In the passage below Umar stresses that the *muharibun* are warriors who practice banditry. "They take from Muslims and non-Muslim's alike" references their indiscriminate theft rather than mixing religious practice.

[90] The following translation from Arabic is my own, from the original text published in Sidi Mohamed Mahibou and Jean-Louis Triaud, *Voilà ce qui est arrivé*, 99: fol. 12 verso; emphasis mine.

[91] Sidi Mohamed Mahibou and Jean-Louis Triaud, *Voilà ce qui est arrivé*, 107-38.

Despite this, against alliances with "pagans" the army that Umar Tal assembled for his offensive against Hamdullahi included a contingents of *sofas*: these units were made up of slaves and former Bamana and Mandinka infantry. After its capture, many of Segu's former soldiers were folded into these units of *sofas*.[92] Preparations took two weeks, but once it was set in motion, the Futanke conquest of Hamdullahi unfolded quickly. The Umarian army marched directly toward the capital of Hamdullahi. Its progress was interrupted when it encountered a large Masinanke army in a small wooden depression or *cayawal*. It was here that Masinanke fought and lost their most significant battle against the Futanke.

Hamdullahi Divided on the Eve of Umarian Conquest

By all accounts, Ahmad III led a courageous effort to defend Hamdullahi. After his defeat at the Battle of Cayawal, he fled downriver toward Timbuktu where he was captured and executed by the Futanke commander Alfa Umar Baila.[93] Masinanke accounts to colonial officers, like those collected by Hampaté Bâ, suggest that disputes among members of the royal family over the succession weakened the resolve of Ahmad III's uncles who led the military.[94] The available evidence also indicates that the Masinanke were plagued by divisions not only within the royal family but in the Caliphate's population more broadly. After Cayawal, the Futanke army ranged as far north as Fittuga, south of Timbuktu.

The first major split in the leadership of Hamdullahi occurred shortly after the death of Seku Amadu. As the founder of the Hamdullahi Caliphate neared death, two candidates emerged as potential successors: Ahmad II, the founder's son and preferred heir; and the military chief Ba

[92] Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 295
[93] *Ibid*., 298.
[94] Bintou Sanankoua, *Un Empire Peul au XIXeme Siécle, La Diina du Maasina* (Paris: Karthala, 1990), 155.

Lobbo, Seku Amadu's nephew (i.e., a son of his younger brother, Bakari Lobbo).[95] The succession of Ba Lobbo would have been in keeping with the Fulbe tradition of fraternal succession, in which generally the eldest male in the fraternal lineage succeeded rather than the eldest son of the deceased. Accounts of the contest for succession after Seku Amadu's death indicate that there was a split between the partisans of the military leader and Islamic scholars.[96] Hampaté Bâ notes that, having considered all the eligible males, the grand council narrowed the field to just these two candidates; and those who preferred the founder's son noted his devotion and erudition, while those who preferred his nephew noted his bravery and largesse.[97] This reference to Ba Lobbo's generosity was undoubtedly connected to his ability to distribute wealth gained through warfare as gifts to his soldiers and partisans.

The grand council voted for Ahmad II, but Ba Lobbo remained the favorite of a noisy, bellicose contingent within the aristocracy; and the grand council gave him command over the entire army. Warfare and punitive raids predicated on Masinanke-defined racial and religious difference were an important part of Ba Lobbo's political and military strategy. He had first served his uncle as vice-regent of the region of Fakala. His army patrolled the east bank of the Bani where black non-Muslim Bobo subjects cultivated fields for the Masinanke.[98] For Ba Lobbo, the black non-Muslims of the Seno-Gondo Plains to the east of Fakala represented a target of opportunity for punitive campaigns through which he and his army could gain slaves, territory and horses;[99] and Hampaté Bâ suggested that punitive raiding against non-Muslim

[95] Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 287.
[96] Bâ, *L'empire Peul du Macina*, 248-9. Bâ communicated his conclusion that the Hamdullahi was divided between a military and a scholarly elite directly to William Brown: see Brown, "Caliphate of Hamdullahi," 231, note 9.
[97] Bâ, *L'empire Peul du Macina*, p. 249.
[98] Charles Monteil, *Une Cite Soudanaise, Djenne metropole du Delta Central du Niger* (Paris: Societe d'Editions Geographiques, Maratimes et Coloniales, 1932), 112.
[99] Yousouf Diallo argues that Hamdullahi's interventions in the Boobola had a significant economic dimension, and cannot be understood solely in the contexts of Islamization: Diallo, *Les Fulbe du Boobola. Genèse et évolution de l'Etat de Baroni*, (Köln: Köppe, 1997), 188.

populations was practiced more frequently once Ba Lobbo gained complete control of the army after Seku Amadu's death in 1845.[100] The same author also posited that Ba Lobbo thought of the predominately Bamana region of Saro as part of his birthright, because it was his mother's home, and during Ahmad II's reign, Ba Lobbo's numerous successful military expeditions included devastating offensives against the Bamana of the Hayre and the Bamana of Saro.[101] During these expeditions the Masinanke military elite relied on soldiers conscripted from among those "vassals" who were raced as black through the *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh*. The details of Hamdullahi's campaigns during the reign of Amadu Seku prove instructive: as Ba notes, during an assault on the Bamana led by Birema Amiru, the Masinanke called up Bobo and Samo auxiliaries armed with bows and arrows, and *rimaibe* who carried rifles, "in the manner of converted Bambara [*sic*]."[102]

It is tempting to trace the fractures among the ruling family to Ba Lobbo's failed bid to succeed Seku Amadu, and to locate the reasons for Hamdullahi's failure to repel the Futanke in the discontent of the general and his partisans. Information presented to the colonial officer Henri Gaden by Usman Salif Thiam claimed that Ba Lobbo's actions at the battle of Cayawal were less than heroic, and that the general made little effort to keep his troops from fleeing the battlefield.[103] However, this account must be balanced against the political victories Ba Lobbo had won shortly after Ahmad II's death. According to Masinanke traditions, Ba Lobbo played the role of kingmaker by supporting the candidacy of his nephew Ahmad III, the grandson of Seku Amadu and the son of Ahmad II. Ba Lobbo had used the Fulbe tradition of fraternal

[100] Bâ, *L'empire Peul du Macina*, 72.
[101] *Ibid*., 265-6.
[102] Bâ, *Empire Peul*, 265; this account supports Brown's above-cited hypothesis that slave soldiers and non-Muslim archers armed with poisoned arrows played important roles in Hamdullahi's military.
[103] Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 297.

succession to support his own claims to the Caliphate, but faced new rivals within the second generation of Masinanke leadership when Ahmad II died, and supported Ahmad III to stymie the advances of his competitors and increase his own influence.[104] According to Hampate Ba, Ahmad III appointed Ba Lobbo Emir of Masina to secure his support. And once he held the governorships of Masina and Fakala, as well as control of the army, Ba Lobbo could easily check his nephew.[105] Thus, though it is widely assumed that Hamdullahi's defenses collapsed because of the deliberate inaction of military leaders, it should not be overlooked that Ba Lobbo lost a great deal of influence after Ahmad III's defeat.

Ba Lobbo managed to escape the Umarian occupation and form an alliance with Ahmad al-Bekkay who led Timbuktu's prestigious Kunta clan. He and his Kunta allies successfully besieged occupied Hamdullahi in 1863. Shortly after their victory, the Kunta and Masinanke leadership argued over who would enter the capital first, and thus claim the right to rule the re-conquered Caliphate. The allies quickly turned on each other and a tripartite war broke out that pitted the Kunta and their Fulbe allies against Lobbo loyalists and a new Futanke-led army that regrouped under the leadership of Umar Tal's nephew Tijani. Throughout the nearly thirty years of warfare that followed, Ba Lobbo's army remained hemmed into a territory largely populated by non-Muslim Bobo vassals east of the Bani, where the Barri family had first settled. Outnumbered by their enemies, the Futanke colonists formed alliances with non-Muslim Dogon and Bamana warriors and regrouped in the Hayre – the territory east of Hamdullahi occupied by the non-Muslim Dogon and Tombo that the Masinanke called *habe.*

[104] Of Ahmad II's four brothers – Abdullah, Hamidu, Abdul Salam, and Abdul Rahmad – three were potential successors, according to the practice of fraternal succession. Abdullah posed the greatest threat to Ba Lobbo. He was revered for his erudition and supported by the Alfa Nuh bin Tahir, an influential scholar and the author of the *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh*. See Brown, "Caliphate of Hamdullahi," 231, note 10, and Bâ, *L'empire Peul du Macina*, 286.
[105] Citing Bâ, Brown notes that Ahmad III "was completely under the control of the military aristocracy": Brown, "Caliphate of Hamdullahi," 229, note 54.

Futanke Alliances during the Futanke-Masinanke Wars

The Futanke position during the 1863 siege of Hamdullahi was dire. According to some accounts, food was so scarce that the city's inhabitants were forced to eat dogs and cadavers to survive.[106] Somehow, Tijani managed to sneak out of the city with a large sum of gold that his uncle Umar Tal had given him to recruit an army from among the Dogon who lived in the Hayre along what is today called the Bandiagara Plateau.[107] Despite earlier objections to Hamdullahi's military relationship with the Bamana raised in the *Bayan*, circumstances had compelled the Umarians to seek alliances with the non-Muslims of the Hayre.

Tijani's coalition of auxiliary forces included Dogon and Bama warriors, and Fulbe cavaliers. Through an agreement with Sala Baji, the chief of Kambari, he drew the largest part of his forces from the Dogon villages along the plateau that stretched from Bandiagara to Ninari. Dogon warriors who fought for the chief of Kani, Gougouna Kansaye, also joined Tijani's coalition.[108] The Fulbe chief of De, Amadu Amiru, provided horses and cavaliers, and the Bamana chief of Bore, Koniba Joko, provided soldiers.[109] Tijani's new army was unable to save Umar Tal, but over the following two decades it would re-conquer much of the Hamdullahi Caliphate's former territory.

Tijani's military success was tied to the diversity of his forces. He strategically used gifts to maintain strong alliances, transgressing earlier Masinanke expectations of Dogon servitude by

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[106] Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 308.
[107] *Ibid*., 309.
[108] Ibrahima Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara, 1864-1893: Le pouvoir, le commerce et le Coran dans le Soudan nigérian au 19ème siècle" (Ph.D. Thesis: Paris, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1993)p. 401; E Caron, *De Saint-Louis au Port de Tombouktou: Voyage d'une Cannoniere Francaise* (Paris, 1891), 200.
[109] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 402. In an interview conducted at Mopti in 2015, Ali Campo claimed that the Bamana prince of Bore was Tijani's first ally in the region. Brown notes that certain Bamana villages in the Kunari enjoyed political power over Fulbe and Songhay populations until Seku Ahmadu established the Caliphate of Hamdullahi, and that these Bamana rulers returned to power through their alliance with Tijani Tal (Ahmad al-Tijan): Brown, "Caliphate of Hamdullahi," 53.

sharing the spoils of war with his Dogon allies and recognizing their leaders before others. For example, the Dogon chief of Bandiagara was the first to receive gifts after the Futanke.[110] Tijani also used gifts to court Fulbe warriors in the Hayre. During his mission to Bandiagara in 1887, Lt. Edouard Caron saw Tijani attempt to give a horse to one of his Fulbe allies, "to the dismay of the [Futanke]."[111] The Fulbe leader refused the gift, and demanded a better horse. The lieutenant's interpretation of this sequence of events was that Tijani used gifts to win goodwill from the Fulbe of the Hayre, although sometimes without success.[112]

One of Tijani's crucial innovations was his riverine navy, drawn from the Middle Niger's Bozo fishermen. Traditionally, the members of this group were crown slaves who traded their catch for food produced by the Fulbe of Masina and the cultivators who farmed for them.[113] Tijani transformed the traditional fishermen's pirogues into a fleet that could rapidly transport his troops up and down the Niger to attack his enemies. Tijani's admiral, Bubakar, was a fisherman from the Gulf of Guinea. As well as commander of the riverine fleet of Bozo pirogues, Tijani appointed him chief of Mopti, a town at the confluence of the Niger and the Bani rivers.[114] Tijani's fleet was instrumental in his systematic destruction of the Hamdullahi Caliphate. It brought his troops to the inundated territory south of Mopti known as the Burgu, where they mounted a devastating assault, burned villages and took women and children captive.[115] It is likely many of the people enslaved in the Burgu were resettled in the Jenneri: in a report to his

[110] ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/IV/114, cahier a, "Lt. Caron to Col. Gallieni, November 1887"; see also E Caron, *Voyage*, 176.
[111] Caron, *Voyage*, 183.
[112] *Ibid*.
[113] The Bozo were among the 'servile' groups inherited by Seku Amadu according to the *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh*. Marion Johnson notes that the Bozo who had supported Seku Ahmadu from the start were exempt from the *jamgal* tax placed on crown slaves, but that the rest were considered crown slaves; and that all Bozo were considered crown slaves by the Futanke: Johnson, "Economic Foundations," 483. See also Charles Monteil, *Monographie de Djenné, cercle et ville* (Tulle: n.p., 1903), 297, 338.
[114] Caron, *Voyage*, 137.
[115] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 475; Caron, *Voyage*, 292; Johnson, "Economic Foundations," 494.

commanding officer, Caron noted that Tijani had settled the Fulbe of Masina and captives in and around Jenne.[116] Bubakar's fleet later traveled downriver to Lake Debo where Tijani's forces burned dozens of villages and again took captives to resettle east of the Niger. Through nearly thirty years of warfare and enslavement, the hierarchical order established by the Masinanke disintegrated as the Futanke enslaved Fulbe Muslims and allied with black non-Muslims.

Tijani's regime depended on non-Fulbe as administrators as well as warriors. For example, after the chiefs of Gimballa submitted, Tijani appointed the Bamana prince Koniba Joko as his representative in that region.[117] Tijani first approached the Dogon as mercenaries rather than as vassals, and continued to offer their leaders a share in the spoils of war. The Futanke colonists who settled among the Dogon at Bandiagara clearly achieved a fuller alliance with their non-Muslim neighbors than had been the norm. Dogon and Futanke leaders lived in compounds that butted up against one another, and each group was thus able to keep a close eye on the other. While the Futanke continued to draw on Dogon labor, Caron observed that Dogon leaders at Bandiagara were treated with a certain amount of respect.[118]

Masinanke Alliances

On the whole, the Masinanke royal family failed to maintain effective alliances either during the Futanke invasion or the wars that followed. The disagreement between the surviving members of the Barri family and the Kunta after their reconquest of Hamdullahi reveals deep fractures within Masinanke society.[119] The Fulbe from the inland delta territories of Masina,

[116] ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/IV/144, cahier a, "Report from Caron to Commandant Superieur Gallieni, Bamako, November, 1887." Caron also stopped at a village near Mopti inhabited by "*Peuls de Macina transportés*": ANOM, SEN IV 114 a, "Report from Caron to the Battalion Chief, Commandant of *Cercles*, Commandant Superior 31 October 1887."
[117] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 471.
[118] ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/IV/114, cahier a, "Lt. Caron to Col. Gallieni, November 1887"; see also Caron, *Voyage,* 176.
[119] Brown, "Caliphate of Hamdullahi," 155.

Fittuga and Kunari were immediately drawn to Timbuktu's Kunta clan when the Masinanke-Kunta coalition dissolved. On the other hand, the territories along the Bani close to where the Barri family first settled – Fakala, Sebere and Jenneri – remained loyal to the royal family; notably, all had significant non-Fulbe populations that were subordinated to the royal family through claims made in the forged *Tārīkh al-fattāsh*.

After the breakup of the Masinanke-Kunta coalition, those Masinanke who had not allied with the Kunta clerics were once again split among themselves over who should become the head of the royal family. Some still felt that Ba Lobbo should lead, while others preferred his nephew Abdul Salam, who had distinguished himself fighting the Futanke at the battle of Cayawal. Abdul Salam and his son Ahmadu Abdul were, along with Ba Lobbo, among the few members of the royal family to survive the Futanke conquest. According to Ibrahima Barry, those who preferred leadership to pass to Abdul Salam won only a minor victory when he was recognized as the official head of the royal family, insofar as Ba Lobbo remained the head of the military and thus the de facto chief.[120] Abdul Salam was executed at Dalla in 1862, and after Ba Lobbo's death in 1876, leadership passed to Abdul Salam's son Ahmadu Abdul, who took the title of Almamy of Fio.[121] In 1895, a colonial officer from Jenne, Lt. Montgard, visited Ahmadu Abdul at Fio. Montgard wrote that Ahmadu Abdul had betrayed Ba Lobbo and briefly joined the Kunta forces in the inland delta, but later reconciled with Ba Lobbo and helped him support a Tombo uprising in Tijani's territory.[122] Indeed, the Lobbo and the Kunta reconciled briefly and

[120] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 407.
[121] For the execution of Abdul Salam see Brown, "Caliphate of Hamdullahi," 235, note 30. For the death of Ba Lobbo, see Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 478-84.
[122] ANS 15G 172 "Rapport sur le délimitation des États d'Aguibou et Ahmadou Abdoul, 1894."

won a rare victory at the Battle of Nemende (c. 1872), just before a Tombo and Dogon uprisings broke out near Bankass.[123]

However, the Tombo uprisings backed by Ahmadu Abdul, were a short-lived and ultimately failed alliance of opportunity. Ahmadu Abdul did not form a coalition of Fulbe and Tombo warriors or fold Tombo contingents into his regular army. The Masinanke were willing to form military alliances with non-Muslims when pressed by their enemies, but these arrangements did not transgress the racial and religious hierarchies established by the Hamdullahi Caliphate. In general the surviving Masinanke royals received little support from non-Fulbe populations. For example, during an 1865 campaign Tijani chased Ba Lobbo across the Niger to the Bamana village of Kemitaga on the West Bank of the Bani River. The Bamana understood that their hospitality towards Ba Lobbo, a prince on his heels after a losing campaign, put them in danger.[124] Perhaps more importantly, other Bamana leaders had already joined Tijani's coalition. The village sent word to Tijani that his enemy was with them, and the Futanke leader used this advantage to mount an offensive against the battle-weary Masinanke and push Ba Lobbo's forces further south.[125]

Ba Lobbo and Ahmadu Abdul eventually took refuge in villages in the Boobola – the region inhabited by non-Muslim Bobo cultivators that the Masinanke considered their vassals. The Masinanke maintained the status quo and taxed their increasingly reluctant vassals to the best for their ability. As their tripartite wars with the Futanke and Kunta ground on, the royal family was increasingly confined to the village of Fio in the Boobola and the Seno-Gondo Plains; and by the time colonial administrators arrived on the scene, the Masinanke at Fio were

[123] See chapter 2.
[124] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 446.
[125] *Ibid.*

reduced to preying upon Dyulla merchants who brought horses from the Upper Volta kingdom of Mossi through Fio to trade at San.[126]

Conclusions, Comparing Conscription and Alliance

The chaotic period that followed the collapse of the Hamdullahi Caliphate was marked by the emergence of new Fulbe-led states in the Hayre and Seno Gondo plain – Bandiagara, Dokwi, Barani, and Fio – that competed with one another for material wealth and territory. The Fulbe at Dokwi, Barani and Fio continued to assert their supremacy over non-Fulbe neighbors they treated as vassals. Citing colonial documents, historian Yousouf Diallo notes that at the end of the nineteenth century, Masinanke migrants who settled around the Fulbe villages of Dokwi and Barani on the Seno-Gondo plain imposed their political domination over the Bwa and Bobo farmers of that region.[127] Barani became longtime ally of the Futanke settlers at Bandiagara, and funneled Samo slaves from Sourodougu to Bandiagara's slave market.[128] At Dokwi, Fulbe cavaliers demanded millet, goats, chickens and slaves from the Bobo villages under their control.[129] Their expropriations were similar to the eastward campaigns of Hamdullahi described above, and effectively maintained the hierarchy the Caliphate established over the populations on its eastern fringe.

[126] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/I, cahier c, "Telegram from the Commandant Superior to the Govoner of St. Louis, 12 February 1891"; ANS 1G 149, "Spitzer's Mission to Mossi, 1890."
[127] Diallo, *Les Fulbe du Boobola*, 87.
[128] Hubbel, "A View of the Slave Trade from the Margin: Souroudougou in the Late Nineteenth-Century Slave Trade of the Niger Bend," *The Journal of African History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 35.
[129] Diallo, *Les Fulbe du Boobola* 75.

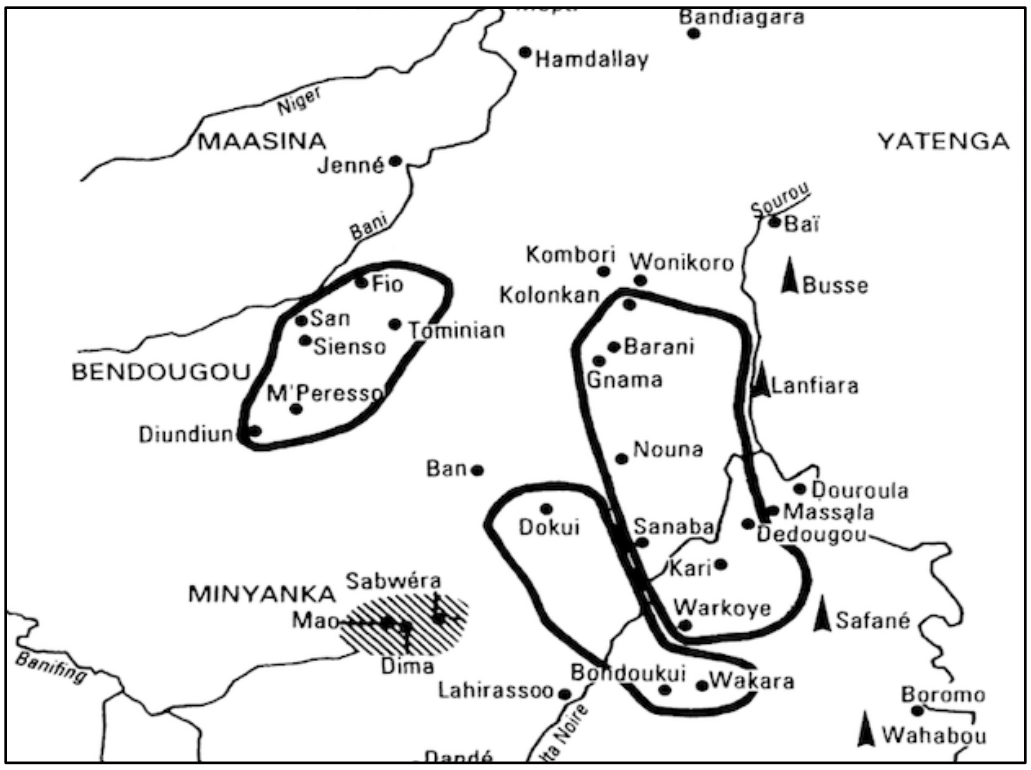

Figure 5: Fulbe States South of Bandiagara (Fio, Dokwi, and Barani) Yousouf Diallo, "Barani : une chefferie satellite des grands États du XIXe siècle," 371.

Similarly, the leaders of the Barri royal family at Fio continued to recognize the hierarchies established by Hamdullahi. Ba Lobbo and Ahmadu Abdul continued to view the Bobo as "crown slaves" whose labor and produce were state assets. Masinanke cavaliers at Fio harassed caravan traffic from the east, and continued raiding near Barani; but the Bobo vassals did not share in the few spoils that the Masinanake managed to gain through their raids and banditry.[130] Visiting colonial officers reported that the Bobo cultivators of Fio lived in abject poverty. Any wealth that the Masinanke cavaliers gained from pillaging caravans of Dyula merchants was augmented by taxes levied on Bobo farmers. During his visit to Fio in 1895

[130] ANS 15G 172 "Report on the Delimitation of Agibu's States and Ahmadu Abdul, 1894"; ANS 1G 213, Lieutenant Montgard, "Mission Chez Ahmadu Abdul, Roi de Fion, 1896."

Lieutenant Montgard photographed a young "armed" Bobo sporting a bow and arrow. He could have been conscripted by the Fulbe military elite at Fio. The image, below, underscores the pervasive violence described in this study. Eventually, a Bobo uprising near Fio forced Ahmadu Abdul to flee to Dokwi, and the colonial government brought his territory under its direct administration.[131]

Figure 6: "Armed Bobo"

Source: ANS 15G 213

Scholars have described the Hayre and Seno-Gondo plains as a kind of "slave reservoir" preyed upon by warrior states: polities in which warfare was the primary expression of state power and the primary form of enterprise.[132] The present research confirms this; Fulbe led

[131] ANS 1G 213, Lieutenant Montgard, "Mission Chez Ahmadu Abdul, Roi de Fion, 1896."
[132] Claude Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold* (Chicago, 1991); Steven P. Reyna, *Wars Without End: The Political Economy of a Precolonial African State* (Hanover, NH: University of New Hampshire / University Press of New England, 1990); Jean Bazin, "Guerre et servitude a Sigou," in C. Meillassoux (ed.), *L'esclavage en Afrique precoloniale* (Paris, 1975), 135-81.

armies conducted eastward raids produced slaves who were sold into the trans-Saharan slave trade and sold to other societies in the region as laborers and wives, but it is important to note that predation in the mid to late nineteenth century was not limited to acquiring captives for external slave trading. Militarily, these Fulbe-led states also relied on non-Fulbe who were either courted as allies or coerced into service.[133] The use of slave soldiers and vassals was a common component of warfare Muslim West Africa, but the late nineteenth century Middle Niger was exceptional because, several Fulbe-led armies employed strategies of alliance and coercion to augment their forces with non-Muslim warriors. As we have seen, the Futanke and Masinanke approaches to such strategies differed considerably.

Seku Ahmadu relied on emancipated non-Muslim slaves in his initial campaigns, but jurists at Hamdullahi eventually developed a legal category based on the "otherness" to justify the coercion of Dogon and others. When it came to the use of slave soldiers in warfare the Umarians proved to be flexible despite their alleged opposition to "paganism." Al-Hajj Umar Tal himself established an elite contingent of Bamana slaves called the *jomfutung,* and sent Tijani to the Hayre to recruit a contingent of Dogon warriors in the first place.[134] Tijani, Ahmadu and other Futanke leaders after al-Hajj Umar continued to augment their ranks with trusted non-Fulbe slave soldiers called sofas, who sometimes rose to positions of authority. But the predominance of non-Futanke warriors within Tijani's coalition distinguished Bandiagara's army from his Futanke contemporaries and the commanders of other Fulbe-led armies.

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[133] There are several terms for unfree or coerced soldiers used in the French source material. While the terms used for these soldiers are not always applied consistent, the word *captif* is generally used for an enslaved soldier or foot soldier pressed into service. The term *sofa* refers to non-Futanke professional fighters or slave soldiers incorporated into Futanke armies. The term *talibe*, derived from the Arabic word for student, is used to refer to free Futanke who enlisted in Umarian armies and emigrated to Bandiagara. John Hanson has noted how French and Futanke sources apply the word *talibe* to Futanke settlers in Kaarta who were not actively engaged in fighting. In Bandiagara one may assume that most Futanke settlers of fighting age participated in the emirate's near continual. See Hanson, *Migration, Jihad and Muslim Authority*, 1.

[134] Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 183.

For example, the Fulbe of Diankabu were willing to engage diplomatically with Mossi, but continued to conscript the Dogon of the Seno-Gondo. According to Ibrahima Cam's chronicle "souvenirs de banjagara," Bokari Haman Dikko, a Masinanke noble who emigrated to the Seno-Gondo region, established a residence at Diankabu by betraying Seku Amadu and allying with the Mossi: a move that defied Hamdullahi's diplomatic and hierarchal status quo. But once Diankabu was established, it depended on the maintenance of a hierarchical system that placed the local Dogon population under Fulbe rulers. Ibrahima Cam's account of the founding of Diankabu suggests Bokari Haman Dikko's son and successor Ali Bokari partnered with the Fulbe inhabitants of Seno-Gondo, who were Seku Ahmadu's enemies, and convinced them that together they could subjugate the Dogon on the eastern edge of the Bandiagara plateau.[135]

Unlike their Fulbe enemies at Diankabu and Fio, the Futanke at Bandiagara grew their fighting force through alliance rather than coercion. At Bandiagara, the Dogon who Hamdullahi and Diankabu routinely conscripted, were courted by the Futanke with gold. Bandiagara's successes in its three decades of near continuous warfare allowed Tijani to maintain this alliance through the distribution of the spoils of war. As noted above, Dogon leaders received gifts before other allies. The Futanke also faced resistance from the Dogon and Tombo of the Hayre; but of all the Fulbe-led states that competed with one another after Hamdullahi's collapse, Bandiagara was the most successful.

Under the leadership of Tijani, the Futanke at Bandiagara strategically transgressed the racial and religious hierarchy established by Hamdullahi. Their courtship of Dogon and Bamana warriors reversed their earlier position on military alliances with non-Muslims, as expressed in al-Hajj Umar Tal's *Bayan*. Tijani made some effort to encourage the Islamization of the Dogon,

[135] IFAN Fonds Vieillard, Cahier 5, Ibrahima Cam, Souveniers de Banjagara. Bandiagara was sometimes able exact a tribute from Diankabu, but its leaders routinely sought to undermine Futanke control in their region.

but was careful not to disrespect his allies. He encouraged the building of mosques in Dogon villages, but allowed certain non-Muslim religious and judicial practices to continue at Bandiagara.[136] In the Futanke garrison capital, a Dogon court was overseen by the Dogon's traditional Hogon priests, while Muslim law applied to the Futanke.[137] Despite this accommodation, Tijani enforced a strict and austere practice within the Futanke community at Bandiagara and among other Muslims he ruled. At Jenne, for example, he put religious leaders in place who aggressively policed Muslim practice.[138] The different approaches in these two cities suggests that the parallel religious and judicial institutions that continued at Bandiagara were tolerated for reasons of political expediency rather than religious or political ideology. By accommodating non-Muslim allies in this and other ways, the Futanke built a strong coalition that eventually defeated their Masinanke enemies.

[136] Field notes, Bandiagara, August 2015. There are photos of the Dogon mosques in the palace of Agibu Tal in Bandiagara. These were supposedly built in Dogon villages for two reasons: firstly, so the Dogon could avoid the taxes placed on non-Muslims, and secondly, because Tijani hoped the mosques would encourage conversions. ANM 1D 5, "Notice Général sur le Soudan, Notice sur la région Sud 1895 -1899"; ANM 2M 56, "Rapport sur la justice indigène, Bandiagara 1905-1910,"; Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 534.
[138] Monteil, *Monographie* 108; Monteil, *Une Cite Soudanaise*, 152.

CHAPTER 2

Warfare and Slavery during the Futanke Conquest and Occupation of the Middle Niger, 1864-80

For three decades, Futanke settlers and their allies in the Middle Niger engaged in almost unceasing wars against the armies of the Kunta and the Lobbo clans: enemies who sometimes banded together, but more frequently fought each other. During these wars, fighting was seasonal. Heavy rains restricted troop movements, and for the most part soldiers hunkered down in garrison towns from August to October, waiting for the rains to end and for farmers to start reaping their millet and rice. For warriors, harvests were the optimal time to descend on men at work in their fields and raid grain stores. Captured men were relocated to cultivation villages: Futanke-controlled plantations overseen by Futanke soldiers or their trusted slave soldiers. Nubile female captives were either married off to soldiers or sold into slavery across the Sahara. Children were also enslaved by the soldiers of the Bandiagara Emirate, especially along its eastern frontier where slave raids continued against populations whose slave status had been established by the Hamdullahi Caliphate. For the Bandiagara Emirate, warfare was an essential political and economic enterprise, carried out under the personal direction the emir Tijani, who led the emirate's armies, distributed slaves and other spoils of war, and allocated captured enemies to plantation villages.

In these ways, Bandiagara typified what historians of West Africa have called the "warrior state." The early literature on such states in Africanist historiography grew out of debates around the impact of Atlantic slave trade on West African societies, particularly during the period of increased demand for West African slaves from Upper and Lower Guinea that coincided with the rise of sugar plantations in the Caribbean. Boubakar Barry, for example,

argued that the Atlantic slave trade led to the creation of centralized warrior states that "magnified social conflict and increased violence, which led to population loss and declining productivity."[139] Similar arguments were made by historians who studied large states that sold slaves into the Atlantic slave trade; and this crystallized into a theoretical model of highly predatory centralized states that collapsed regional economies, which was eventually applied to nineteenth-century states in the Western Sudan. In the case of the Umarians, Richard Roberts effectively demonstrated continuities between the predation of Segu's Bamana warriors, who sold slaves to North Africa and the Atlantic Coast, and the destructive raiding of Futanke cavaliers and *sofas* who served Ahmadu after the Futanke conquest of Segu. Roberts argued that in both "Segu Bambara" and "Segu Futanke," warfare was both "the primary expression of state power and the primary form of enterprise."[140] For Segu's warrior class in Ahmadu's time, quelling Bamana uprisings and raiding disobedient villages became important avenues for personal enrichment. But such skirmishes paled in comparison to the wars waged over nearly three decades by Tijani, who orchestrated months-long seasonal campaigns against both the formidable armies of the Kunta at Timbuktu and those Fulbe cavalry who remained loyal to the royal family of the defunct Hamdullahi Caliphate.

This chapter argues that warfare and slavery in the Bandiagara Emirate were programmatic. During the Futanke-Masinanke Wars, which centered around the agriculturally productive regions on the Niger and Bani Rivers, Bandiagara used slaving to depopulate bellicose regions and relocate agricultural production to plantation villages it directly controlled. Taking these territories cut off Timbuktu from its grain supply. As Paul Lovejoy notes, before

[139] Klein, "The impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on the societies of the Western Sudan," *Social Science History* 14, no. 2 (Summer, 1990): 231-53.
[140] Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants and Slaves: The State and the Economy in the Middle Niger Valley, 1700-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987).

the Futanke conquest of the Middle Niger "Timbuktu slave owners depended on these [inland delta] communities for part of their grain supplies, because Timbuktu was not able to support much agricultural production."[141] Relocating Masinanke herders to plantations cut them off from their traditional occupations, which were an important part of their identities. I contend that patterns of enslavement at Bandiagara demonstrate that the Futanke discerned between Fulbe and non-Fulbe slaves by relocating the former to Futanke controlled plantations and selling the later into the trans-Saharan slave trade.

Futanke depredations in the Middle Niger from 1864 to 1893 are well represented in histories of the region. Like Ahmadu's campaigns against Bamana insurgents to the south, Tijani's wars destroyed villages and ruined local economies. In their analysis of the warfare in Bandiagara's eastern territory, Mirjam de Bruijn and Hans van Dijk asserted that, rather than systematizing land use, the Futanke "extracted resources necessary for their rule by plundering and sacking the countryside from their stronghold at Bandiagara."[142] And indeed, raiding productive regions was an important strategic and economic exercise for the Futanke. However, my analysis of the Futanke-led emirate's warfare suggests that it was far more programmatic than opportunistic, and that Tijani's wars in agriculturally productive regions were complex economic interventions rather than straightforward raids. By reconstructing the sequence of the Futanke campaigns in the Middle Niger from 1864 to 1887, I will demonstrate that control over the agriculturally productive regions of the Middle Niger was the primary strategy employed both by Tijani and by his enemies. He eventually dominated these regions by enslaving and forcibly relocating thousands of enemies to state-controlled plantations, where garrisons ensured

[141] Paul Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery, A History of Slavery in Africa*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 119.
[142] Mirjam de Bruijn and Han van Dijk, "Ecology and power in the periphery of Maasina: The case of the Hayre in the nineteenth century." *Journal of African History*, 42 (2001): 217-38 (p. 227).

that they produced the grain necessary to feed his horses and soldiers. This process involved the building of new villages where none had existed before, and tended to shift agricultural production from the western banks of the Niger and Bani to their eastern banks, where the Futanke cavalry could better enforce their "rights" over captives. The enemies of the Futanke, in turn, raided these newly established villages and other Futanke-controlled areas, in attempts to deprive Tijani's army of both the means of subsistence (i.e., grain) and the means of production (i.e., slaves).

This chapter uses data from three colonial histories of Umar and Tijani's occupation of the Middle Niger. These accounts all seem to be drawn from the same source material, and probably represent syntheses of first-hand accounts collected from Futanke settlers in Bandiagara from 1894 to 1896, about a decade after that polity's completion of its conquest of the Middle Niger. Those accounts were first assembled by Destenave in 1894 during his tenure as Bandiagara's Resident. He maintained a close relationship with Ifra Almamy, a scholar who had served as a military commander under Tijani. Destenave's successor, Menvielle, synthesized a history of the Futanke-Masinanke wars in 1896; and other reports not directly attributed to Menvielle clearly recycle his history of the region,[143] which was very probably drawn from Futanke sources. The *Tarikh al-Fittuga*, source for William Brown's chronology of the Futanke-Masinanke Wars, was likely written from the perspective of Masinanke Fulbe at Fittuga, who were allied with the Kunta .[144] Unfortunately, my own assessment of this document is inevitably filtered through Brown's useful but sketchy chronology. In any case, despite various disagreements between the Masinanke and Futanke accounts of battles – both in terms of their

[143] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).
[144] William Brown, "Toward a Chronology of the Caliphate of Hamdullahi (Māsina)," *Cahiers d'Études africaines*, 31 (1968): 428-434.

sequence and their outcomes – they tend to agree on which were the most significant engagements, as well as the broad sequence of campaigns described below. Moreover, both colonial documents and African chronicles of the Futanke-Masinanke wars describe the relocation of Masinanke slaves from Macina, Farimake, Sebere, and Burgu to plantation villages in Kunari. After 1894, the colonial administration allowed the Masinanke who Tijani had resettled in Kunari to return to the regions of Macina, Farimake and Burgu.[145]

By all accounts, the primary theater of war during the conflicts among the Futanke, Masinanke and Kunta was the Kunari. This region lies along an agriculturally productive flood plain on the banks of the Niger River stretching from Fatoma to Konna, just to the north of where the Niger and Bani Rivers meet at Mopti. Slaves were settled in cultivation villages in the Kunari as early as the sixteenth century. After he established the Hamdullahi Caliphate, in or around 1818, Seku Ahmadu settled his own slaves in the Kunari. In Fulbe, these individuals were called *rimaibe*, meaning that they had been born into slavery and were bound to the land. As such, it was forbidden for them to be sold into the external slave trade, and a portion of their agricultural produce had to be given to their emir. Trading centers at Fatoma and Konna, which had emerged in the eighteenth century, connected the farmlands of these *rimaibe* and other cultivators in the area to the surrounding grazing lands of Fulbe pastoralists, as well as to riverine commerce along the Niger River.

The Umarians held the Kunari briefly, from about May of 1862 to June of 1863. Shortly after his armies entered Hamdullahi's capital in 1862, Umar Tal sent Alfa Umar Baila down the Niger River in pursuit of Ahmad III, who was most likely caught, executed, and buried in secret in the vicinity of Mopti: the gateway to the Kunari. Over the following year, from their base in

[145] ANM 1E 23, Rapports Politiques Cercle de Bandiagara 1893 – 1910; ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).

the occupied capital, the Futanke invaders squeezed the farmers and herders of the region. As noted by Robinson, widespread resentment over taxation, confiscation and foreign occupation created the necessary conditions for the successful reconquest of Hamdullahi by the Kunta Lobbo coalition, which devastated Umar's troops at the village of Sege in the Kunari in 1863.[146] Throughout the Futanke-Masinanke Wars, Tijani resettled Fulbe captives in the Kunari as *maccube*, a Pulaar term for persons enslaved within their own lifetimes.[147] After nearly a decade of conquest, loss, and reconquest, Tijani's armies finally secured control of the Kunari around 1874, and were thereafter supplied with grain by both the *maccube* and *rimaibe* who were settled there.

The Initial Battle for the Kunari, 1864-65

Tijani's first battle in the Kunari occurred just after he retook Hamdullahi from the Kunta-Lobbo coalition in 1864. According to oral traditions, friction between the Lobbo and the Kunta began soon after their siege of Hamdullahi in February of that year, over who had the right to enter the capital first and thus lay claim to Seku Ahmadu's caliphate. However, the death blow to the alliance was dealt by Tijani at Dongoro, when in the wake of their devastating defeat at his hands, the Kunta and Lobbo armies separated, with the former abandoning the latter and retreating to the west bank of the Niger. While no exact date for the Battle of Dongoro has been recorded, it is agreed to have taken place shortly before the Battle of Fatoma, which occurred on or around February 28, 1864.[148] While the Kunta retreated across the Niger in the wake of

[146] David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 307.
[147] Martin Klein, *Slavery and colonial rule in French West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[148] Ibrahima Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara, 1864-1893: Le pouvoir, le commerce et le Coran dans le Soudan nigérian au 19ème siècle" (Ph.D. Thesis: Paris, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1993), 416.

Dongoro, Tijani chased a regiment of the Fulbe army loyal to the Lobbo to Fatoma; and the Lobbo prince, Abdul Salam, sent a second regiment of this loyalist army to Fatoma to rescue them. After being forced to fight on both flanks for a time, Tijani eventually wore down his enemies, scattering Abdul Salam's troops and chasing them from Fatoma before occupying it.[149] Abdul Salam's son, Ahmadu Abdul, launched a campaign to retake Fatoma, with the assistance of Ba Lobbo and the Kunta sheikh Bekkay-Ntien. But when this coalition entered Fatoma, Tijani surrounded and trapped them by blocking the streets that led out of the city. The Fulbe soldiers loyal to the Lobbo and Kunta were unable to flee, and Tijani's soldiers cut them down, in a massacre well preserved in local memory.[150]

Ba Lobbo himself somehow escaped Fatoma and fled north.[151] Tijani had chased him as far as Konna, the Niger River port at the northern frontier of the Kunari, when elements of the Lobbo army that had managed to regroup after their defeat at Fatoma mounted a surprise attack against Tijani's forces. Ibrahima Barry recounted how the loyalists hid until the Futanke reached Konna's mosque, then attacked while they were at prayer. Umar Tal's companion Alfa Ibrahim was reportedly killed during this attack. There were most likely numerous skirmishes within the walls of Konna during Tijani's brief occupation, given Abdoulaye Ali's description of a nine-day period during which men were killed and women and children taken captive.[152] Once again, Ba Lobbo escaped with an unspecified number of followers, this time fleeing south by boat to Sebere.[153]

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[149] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896); ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896; ANM ID 5, "Notice Général sur le Soudan - Notice sur la région Sud 1895 -1899."
[150] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 417-18.
[151] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).
[152] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 422-23.
[153] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).

Meanwhile, the Kunta positioned a considerable force in Timbuktu under the command of Ahmad al Bekkay's nephew, Bekkay-Ntien, who then led an effort to expel the Futanke from Konna.[154] According to the *Tārīkh al-Fittuga*, the second Battle of Konna was a joint effort by the Lobbo-Kunta alliance, and oral tradition further holds that Ba Lobbo led the loyalist army north from Sebere.[155] The ensuing Futanke defeat at Konna is one of the few of Tijani's defeats to have been recorded in the Bandiagara chronicle. During the retreat, Yirkoy Talfi, a poet and scholar from Hamdullahi who had supported Umar Tal's conquest, was killed in the fighting.[156]

During the remainder of the rainy season, Bekkay-Ntien remained at Konna, while Tijani created a base of operations in the mountains and plateaus east of the Kunari.[157] In the first instance, Tijani took refuge among the Bamana at Bore, where Prince Koniba Joko offered him additional troops.[158] According to Menvielle, the Dogon chief Sanande Sana also offered soldiers and arms to Tijani around this time.[159] His army thus replenished with Bamana and Dogon warriors from the mountainous Hayre region east of the Niger River, Tijani launched an offensive against the village of Diona, located to the north of Bore. At Diona, Tijani's new Futanke-Bamana-Dogon coalition faced off against a Lobbo-Kunta army that had been reinforced by Tuaregs and Fulbe soldiers from Gimballa.[160] Tijani's forces emerged victorious from this engagement, and withdrew from Diona with slaves and booty. Tijani also took advantage of this victory to press the nearby Fulbe village of Dalla to submit to his rule.[161]

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[154] After the 1864 Futanke victories, soldiers in Gimballa supported by N'Tien pushed the Futanke out of Konna.
[155] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 424.
[156] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 424; Brown, "Toward a Chronology," 432.
[157] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).
[158] The *Tarikh al Fittuga*, Bandiagara chronicle and Menvielle all mention Tijani's flight to Bore. Ali Kampo informed me that the Bamana at Boré were stalwart allies of Tijani: interview with Ali Kampo, Mopti, 2015.
[159] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).
[160] The Kunta forces were led by Al Wafi, and the Fulbe ones by Modibo Amadu and Abdoulaye Garawal: Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 429.
[161] *Ibid*.

In the late spring and early summer of 1864, Tijani continued to consolidate his power in the Hayre from De: a Fulbe village roughly 50 kilometers northeast of Bandiagara that had offered assistance to Umar Tal during the siege of 1863-4. Alpha Kolado, a religious scholar at De, was an important supporter of the Futanke cause in the region, and would remain closely involved in the affairs of the Futanke-led Bandiagara Emirate until the French conquered it in 1893. During his time at De, Tijani put down a revolt by the Dogon of Amba, and likely obtained more slaves in the process. His army then proceeded to raid and conquer villages in the Seno-Gondo, a region of plains and foothills to the south of the Bandiagara plateau. During this campaign, Bankass submitted to Tijani's rule; and in the Fulbe fiefdom of Barani, the emir of Widi became Tijani's vassal and an important supplier of slaves to the Futanke-controlled markets farther north. Through this domination of Bankass and Barani, Tijani established a presence on the plain that would allow Futanke soldiers to raid and harass villages in the Upper Volta.[162]

[162] Further discussion is provided in Chapter 1, above.

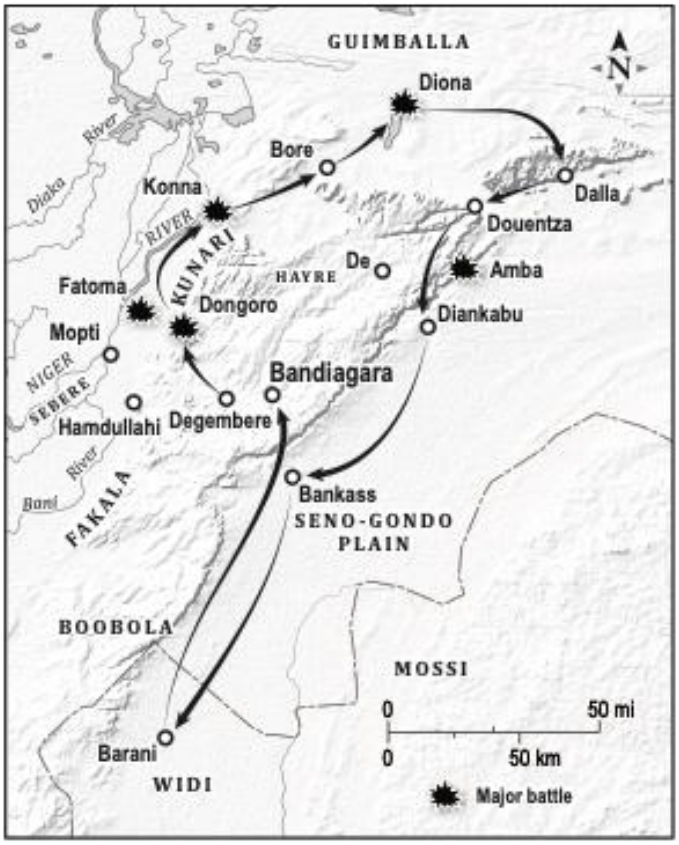

Figure 7: Battles in the Kunari, 1864-5

After his expedition to Bankass and Barani, Tijani probably brought his army back to Bandiagara,[163] which at this time was not yet a capital, but rather an important garrison for the Futanke and their allies. From it, Futanke cavalry could strike agricultural villages above Mopti; and from Bore, they were within range of Konna. In Mopti in 2015, Ali Kampo told me that people in Konna remembered the Futanke cavalry racing their horses to the point of exhaustion down the path from Bore to Konna, a distance of just under 50 kilometers.[164]

[163] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896); ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896.
[164] Interview with Ali Kampo, Mopti, 2015.

The Kunari-Fakala-Jenne Sequence, 1865-67

Before the rains ended and the fighting season of 1865-66 began, the Kunta and Lobbo attempted to resolve the longstanding differences between them that had re-emerged after Tijani defeated their coalition at Dongoro. But this second attempt at an alliance collapsed, and the two groups spent much of 1865 fighting each other in the Kunari, as well as west of the Niger in the region of Macina. One story of the wars recorded by Menvielle describes how Ahmad al Bekkay's death added new tension to the already fraught relationship between the Kunta and the Lobbo. In that account, as Ahmad al-Bekkay was traveling southward past Sare Dina to assist his Fulbe allies in Macina, Ba Lobbo stood on the west bank of the Niger and insulted al-Bekkay's troops.[165] When al-Bekkay died a few days later at Sare Dina,[166] the Kunta blamed Ba Lobbo for his death. According to Ibrahima Barry, negotiations broke down soon after this, and fighting erupted when the Kunta leader's nephew and successor, Bekkay-Ntien, claimed rights of inheritance over the defunct caliphate of Hamdullahi.[167] Be that as it may, we know that the Kunta and Ba Lobbo fought a series of battles shortly after the death of Ahmad al-Bekkay at Sare Dina in 1865. Brown noted that Ba Lobbo won a battle against the Kunta at Toumaye on the west bank of the Bani around the end of 1865, and that Bekkay-Ntien established a garrison-capital at Sare Seini in the same year. [168] Tijani, meanwhile, took advantage of the Kunta-Lobbo conflict in the east to bring more villages in the Kunari under his control. The Kunta camp of Sare Sini was on the west bank of the Niger, directly across from Mopti, and the fact that the

[165] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).
[166] Al-Bekkay's death at Sara Dina is also recorded in the Tarikh al Fittuga. See Brown, "Toward a Chronology," 433.
[167] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 439.
[168] See Brown, "Toward a Chronology," 432.

army was encamped there in 1865 suggest that the Kunta lost control of the east bank of the river to the Futanke around this time.

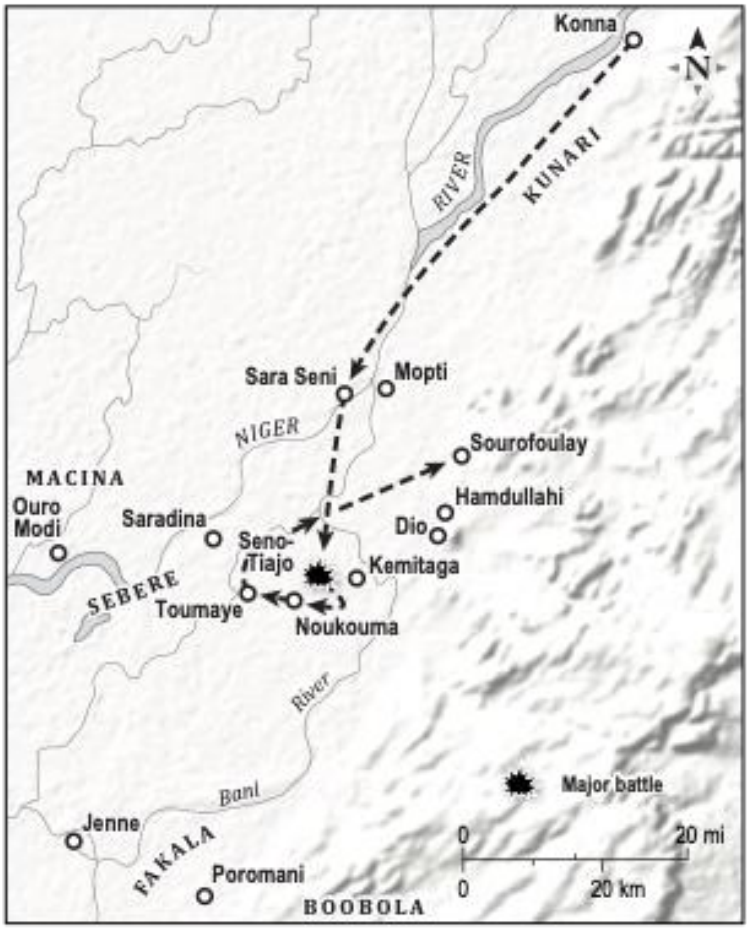

Figure 8: The Establishment of a Plantation Village at Sourofoulay, 1865

Ba Lobbo continued to harass the Kunta. He camped his army near Sare Seini, and eventually gained enough offensive momentum to push the Kunta army westward into Macina. And, as the foci of skirmishes between the Lobbo and the Kunta shifted to the west after 1865, Tijani took advantage of his enemies' absence from the Kunari to retake Konna. From there, he crossed the Bani, chased Ba Lobbo's army, and attacked it from the rear. Ba Lobbo attempted to evade the Futanke by retreating back across the Niger, but Tijani caught up with the Lobbo army

again at Seno-Tiajo, where the latter suffered considerable losses, including Ali Bori Hamsallah: Ba Lobbo's brother and principal general.[169] The Futanke then returned to the region called the Sebere, located between the Niger and Bani Rivers south of Mopti, where they captured the villages of Noukouma and Toumaye and took more than one thousand Masinanke prisoners.[170] Tellingly, it was just after these victories, when the Futanke armies were flush with captives, that Tijani established a new village, now called Sourofoulay.

From Sourfoulay, Tijani sent a raiding expedition led by Suleiman Alfa southward into Fakala, a region long controlled by Ba Lobbo, but virtually undefended because Ba Lobbo's army was still fighting the Kunta in Macina. This Futanke offensive pushed as far south as the village of Poromani, and rejoined Tijani's own column at Dio, where the horses, cattle, slaves and other spoils of war were divided. During these raids, the Futanke destroyed villages in Fakala and Sebere, the regions where the Lobbo family had settled when Seku Ahmadu founded the Hamdullahi Caliphate. Most of the villagers were taken as slaves,[171] and probably resettled as *maccube* in new plantation villages overseen by Futanke soldiers. Around twelve years after this campaign, when Lt. Eduard Caron traveled down the stretch of the Niger River adjacent to Sebere, he described the empty ruins of villages destroyed by the Futanke.

While Suleiman Alfa was raiding Fakala from Sourofoulay, Ba Lobbo was encamped at Ouro Modi across the Diaka River from the Kunta stronghold of Tenenku. When skirmishes between the Kunta and the Lobbo broke out along the Diaka River, Tijani rode west in a bid to force Ba Lobbo to fight on two fronts. Ba Lobbo and his loyalist faction soon found themselves

[169] Ali Bori Hamsallah's death is recorded in the *Tarikh al-Fittuga*; see Brown, "Toward a Chronology." Ba Lobbo also lost the generals Nouhoun Hamidu and Umar Alfa, Barry "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 445-6.
[170] Tomaye apparently passed from the Kunta to the Lobbo and then to the Futanke, all in the course of the same year. Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 445.
[171] Monteil, *Une Cite Soudanaise, Djenne metropole du Delta Central du Niger* (Paris: Societe d'Editions Geographiques, Maratimes et Coloniales, 1932), 114-15.

retreating from their refuge at Ouro Modi back east. When Tijani learned that Ba Lobbo had crossed the Niger at a Bamana village called Kemitaga, he used war canoes to deploy his soldiers along the east bank of the Bani River, effectively cutting Ba Lobbo's army off from its traditional refuge in Fakala. The Lobbo army then began to drift southward, eventually entering Jenne before the rainy season of 1866 halted the campaign.

Tijani passed that season of 1866 at Sourofoulay, and when the rains let up dispatched Koli Modi to the Jenne area. Koli Modi first obliged the Bamana villages in Jenne's hinterland to recognize Tijani's authority. Probably before the end of October 1866, Tijani joined him and they tried unsuccessfully to storm Jenne itself.[172] After, Tijani returned to Sourofoulay, leaving three of his generals to lay siege to the trading town.[173] Specifically, he stationed Seydu Hambarké at Dotala, Souleyman Alfa and Musa Mawdo at Kaka, and Koli Modi at Pema. The siege lasted several months[174] before Jenne's residents expelled Ba Lobbo and his army.

Around the beginning of 1867, Tijani called in allies from the Hayre and attempted to rid himself of Ba Lobbo once and for all by launching a large-scale punitive expedition from Sourofoulay into the Boboola, a region east of the Bani River farmed by Bobo peasants, taking slaves and plundering farms.[175] During this campaign, Hamman Diko, a Fulbe noble who had carved out a fiefdom among the Dogon at Diankabu, died at Kaka and was succeeded by his son Abdoulaye Bokari.[176]

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[172] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896); ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896.
[173] ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896.
[174] Monteil, *Une Cite Soudanaise Djenne*, 114.
[175] ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896.
[176] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896); 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896.
"Notice on Masina, Bandiagara *Cercle*," 1896.

Revolts in the Kunari and the Hayre, 1867-70

According to Menvielle, while Tijani was busy fighting Ba Lobbo in Fakala and the Jenneri, Bekkay-Ntien conspired with the Fulbe of the Kunari to regain control of that region. Menvielle's sources claimed that Bekkay-Ntien secured the defection of Fulbe warriors there who had previously submitted to Tijani. Soldiers and farmers, many of whom might have been settled by force, deserted Futanke-controlled villages. The desertions occurred while Tijani and his army were distracted further west. Bekkay-Ntien had sent a column under the command of his cousin Sidiya to attack the Futanke at Nimitongo. Tijani returned from the fighting at Nimitongo to find Sourofoulay completely abandoned, and was forced to march all the way from Sourofoulay to Bandiagara to garrison his troops.[177] That the desertions occurred, when Tijani's troops were absent underscores how that the immobility of the slaves settled on Futanke plantations was ensured by the threat of force.

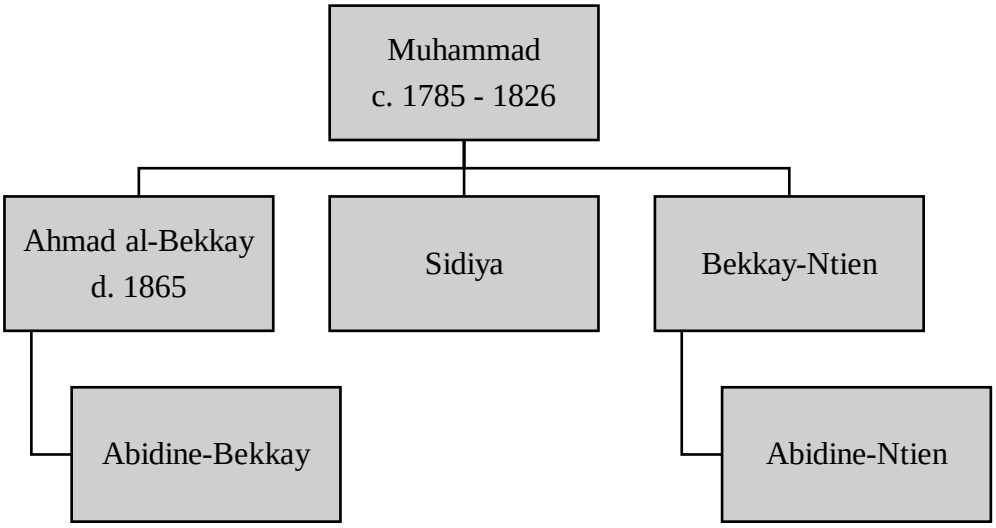

Figure 9: Selective Genealogy of the Kunta

[177] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896); Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 453.

of the KuntaThe *Tarikh al-Fittuga* claims that the Middle Niger was plagued by cattle epidemics during this period, and this too might have motivated Fulbe herders to leave the Kunari. The same chronicle also dates the elevation of Bandiagara to Futanke capital to the fighting season of 1867-68, which tends to support Menvielle's account of Tijani's retreat into the Hayre.[178] According to Barry, the Kunta were short of supplies and needed to wait out the rainy season of 1868 before they could launch a campaign into the Hayre in 1868-69. Brown's chronology, based on a Kunta chronicle, also notes that there was one year around 1869-70 when no fighting took place.

Menvielle recounted that the Kunta resumed their offensive at the end of the rainy season of 1870. Bekkay-Ntien remained in the Kunari, but ordered a contingent of soldiers under Saidu Sheku to attack Tijani in the Hayre. The Futanke army was still hunkered down at Bandiagara, and Tijani had sent messengers to his allies in the region to request reinforcements. Saidu's offensive into the Hayre stalled around Donkombo, just six kilometers from Bandiagara, as the Futanke desperately awaited assistance – Abdoulaye Bokari of Diankabu having refused to send any, probably hoping the tide would turn against the Futanke in the Hayre. But, after fourteen days of fighting, Tijani's army rallied and pushed Saidu's forces out of the Hayre and back into the Kunari. The Futanke then retook Fatoma, from which the Kunta fled east into Macina.[179]

After his victory at Fatoma, Tijani once again turned his attention to Ba Lobbo. According to Menvielle, Tijani's forces met Ba Lobbo's at Diamana: a garrison town protected by high walls and Bobo archers armed with poison-tipped arrows.[180] Unable to mount a successful assault, the Futanke laid siege to the village, apparently with brutal effectiveness.

[178] Brown, "Toward a Chronology."
[179] ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896.
[180] ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896.

According to tradition, Ba Lobbo sneaked out of Diamana and fled to Massara with just three of his cavaliers, and took ill and died shortly after his arrival.[181] The Bobo cultivators around Diamana then submitted to Tijani, who stationed one of his trusted *sofas*, Diawaro Mousa, at Konihou to govern the region.[182]

After the siege of Diamana, Tijani returned to Bandiagara to punish the defector Abdoulaye Bokari for refusing to come to the capital's aid during the lengthy Battle of Donkombo. Tijani's soldiers brought Abdoulaye Bokari's brother to Bandiagara, and ordered him to have Bokari report to the Futanke garrison. When it became clear that Abdoulaye Bokari was ignoring this summons, Tijani personally led a column to Diankabu to capture him. By the time it arrived, however, Abdoulaye Bokari had sought refuge in Mossi, so Tijani burned his villages and replaced him with Mahmadou Ali, a Futanke noble who would govern Diankabu in alliance with the Kane: a group of Fulbe there who had opposed Abdoulaye Bokari's rule.[183] From Diankabu, Tijani traveled to De, and probably passed the rainy season of 1871 there or at Bandiagara.[184]

The Futanke Consolidate their Hold on the Kunari, 1871-75

The period from 1871 to 1876 was a particularly tumultuous one for the inhabitants of the Middle Niger. Consequently, there is little surviving evidence about it. We do know that, after

[181] There are conflicting accounts for the date of Ba Lobbo's death. Menvielle briefly noted that Ba Lobbo died at Masera shortly after he fled Diamana, and Menvielle and Brown both dated that flight to around 1871. However, the source material used in ANM 1D 7, ID 47, and ID 5 also described the participation of another individual styled Ba Lobbo in raids against Macina that occurred after the siege of Diamana (see below). I have concluded that these later attacks were led by either Ba Lobbo's son Ahmadu Ba Lobbo, or his nephew, Muhamad Abu Bakr.
[182] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).
[183] ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896; see also IFAN Fonds Vieillard.
[184] ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896. According to Brown, this attack probably took place in 1872 or 1873: "Toward a Chronology," 433.

Tijani had stamped out a Dogon uprising in the Hayre that had been spurred on by Abdoulaye Bokari, he faced a Kunta offensive against Bandiagara that evolved into a weeks-long standoff. Eventually, Tijani was able to reconsolidate his positions in the north of the Kunari and to reassert control over Gimballa and Fittuga. When this was finally accomplished around 1875, the Futanke's raids on villages in Macina and Farimake achieved greater success, thereby challenging Kunta supremacy in the west.

We also know with a relatively high degree of certainty that when the rains of 1871 let up, Tijani sent a column from De led by Ibrahima Habi to sack Sareyamou, near a small peninsula called Binga on the Niger's inland delta. The ensuing Battle of Sareyamou is recorded in both Macinanke and Futanke accounts of the war.[185] From there, Ibrahima Habi probably pushed south into the Fittuga, where he secured a reluctant submission from the local Songhai farmers. After the French conquest, the Songhai populations of Binga would tell colonial officers that their submission to the Futanke had been made under duress, and argue that their villages should be placed back under the authority of Timbuktu, on the grounds that the Songhai only recognized the rule of Bandiagara when that emirate's soldiers were present.[186]

According to Menvielle, around the time Ibrahima Habi's column was fighting in the Fittuga (1871-72), the Bamana of Sarro and Sansading revolted against Ahmadu and requested assistance from Bekkay-Ntien, who sent a column from Tenenku led by his son Abidin to support Bamana uprisings near Segu. Yet, rather than coming to the aid of his cousin Ahmadu, Tijani judged the moment opportune to for an offensive against the Kunta in Macina. He mustered a large army in Bandiagara and made a tentative march to the south, feigning an

[185] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896); ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896; Brown, "Toward a Chronology."
[186] ANM 1D 59/3, "Rapport sur la délimitation des Tombouctou et les États d'Aguibou," 1896.

offensive against Mossi, where Abdoulay had sought refuge. But the army's real objective was in east, and it managed to strike Tenenku before the distracted Kunta could mount an effective defense. Menvielle reported that the Futanke took "Bekkay's wives and a large number of captives" who were divided among the soldiers at Bandiagara. The women were likely married to Futanke officers or kept as hostages.

As Abidin-Ntien's column returned north to Timbuktu from Saro, it took a detour to threaten Tijani's household at De. The Futanke met the Kunta column at Ninari, where the two armies remained locked in battle for more than a week. It is unlikely fighting continued uninterrupted for an entire week. It is possible that the Futanke laid siege to Ninari and replenished themselves from nearby garrisons at De and Bandiagara. It might also be the case that the Menvielle's informant exaggerated the duration of the battle to underscore its importance. In any case, the battle between Futanke and Kunta at Ninari was among the most significant engagements of the Futanke-Masinanke Wars, and one of a few that struck close to the Futanke capital at Bandiagara.

Eventually, Abidin disengaged from the fighting at Ninari – whether to consolidate his position or to retreat remains unclear – and the Futanke launched an attack while his column was on the move and vulnerable. The Kunta were decimated. According to Menvielle, Abidin narrowly escaped and only managed to reach Konna with the help of a Dogon chief who served as his guide. Menvielle further recounted that Abidin returned to Macina and reunited with his father Bekkay-Ntien, just three days before the latter died.[187] The Kunta defeat at Ninari was devastating, with losses in the thousands; and in its aftermath, the victorious Futanke were able

[187] That is, c. 1871. However, Brown's "Towards a Chronology," 433, places Bekkay-Ntien's death in 1874.

to strengthen their hold over Gimballa, reclaim Konna, and range across the left bank of the Niger River to attack villages in Macina.

After Ninari, the Kunta fell back to Nemende, where they were reinforced by contingents of Fulbe from Macina led by Saidu Cheiku. According to oral traditions collected by Barry, the Kunta-Masinanke coalition was also joined by Tuareg forces commanded by Badi Talib Mamadu, whose cavalry's assaults on Tijani's flanks and rear forced the Futanke to flee in disarray. Barry also notes that the Futanke defeat at Nemende is well preserved in Masinanke tradition, because it serves as a counterpoint to the many defeats they suffered during Tijani's conquest of the Middle Niger.[188] While this rare victory prolonged the Masinanke resistance in the Fittuga, Tijani had once again pushed the fighting westward from the Kunari.

It is also possible, however, that the Futanke retreat from Nemende was prompted by rebellions closer to their garrison-capital at Bandiagara. Menvielle's account, which was likely supplied by Futanke nobles at Bandiagara, claims that after his troops were routed, Tijani was forced to return to Bandiagara to respond to yet another Dogon uprising stirred up by Abdoulay Bokari, who had returned from Mossi.[189] In any case, the Futanke defeat at Nemende was swiftly followed by a devastating southward offensive against rebellious Dogon populations. The Dogon uprisings were accompanied by Tombo ones near Bankass, which were supported by Ahmadu Abdul: the son of Abdul Salam and nephew to Ba Lobbo. A report on Fio by a colonial officer named Montgard confirmed Ahmadu Abdul's role.[190]

[188] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 473.
[189] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).
[190] ANS 15G 172, "Rapport sur le delimination des Etats d'Aguibou et Ahmadou Abdoul, 1894."

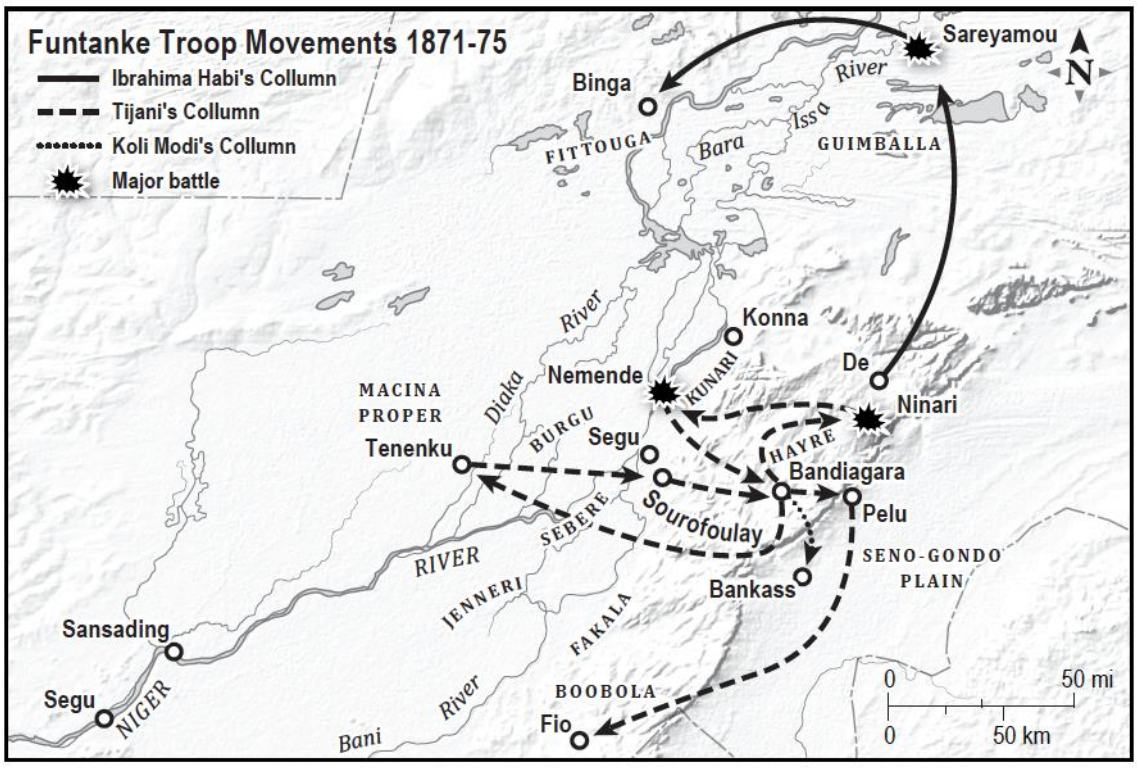

Figure 10: Futanke Troop Movements, 1871-5

Tijani sent a column commanded by the Futanke noble Koli Modi toward Bankass to deal with Ahmadu Abdul and the Tombo uprising. Roughly 15 kilometers south of Bandiagara, it encountered and repelled a contingent of insurrectionists led by Ahmadu Abdul. Tijani then led a counteroffensive that chased Ahmadu Abdul from Pelou to his final refuge at Fio. The Futanke then marched east to put down Abdoulay Bokari's rebellion. The Dogon armies that had joined in that rebellion surrendered to Tijani, who took several Dogon chiefs and Abdoulay Bokari's son as hostages to ensure the submission of the Fulbe and Dogon of the Gondo plain.

The Conquest of the Macina and Farimake Regions, 1876-80

After Abdoulay Bokari and Ahmadu Abdul had been neutralized, Tijani was able launch attacks against the Fulbe of Macina. Tijani called all of his war canoes anchored between Mopti

and Sa to concentrate at Konna, where he assembled two large contingents, one led by Koli Moi and the other led by his *sofa* general Musa Mawdo.[191] These two forces took turns attacking the Fulbe in Macina, and then were conveyed down the Niger by canoe to regroup at Konna. Menvielle reported that during these campaigns, *rimaibe* and Fulbe from west of the Diaka River were forcibly relocated to the plantation village Tijani had established at Soroufoulay. He also noted that Fulbe soldiers lost their wives and their children:[192] probably, through being absorbed into the households of Futanke conquerors.[193]

The campaign in Macina culminated in the Futanke conquest of Diafarbe, a strategic position at the confluence of the Niger and the Diaka. Barry noted that Tijani placed the region of Macina under the administration of Famori Sissoko. It is unlikely the Futanke ever held much sway over the emirate's western hinterland, but from their garrison at Diafarbe they could use the Diaka as a highway for their punitive raids against Dia and Tenenku. The Futanke army's raids and forced migrations depopulated Tenenku, and fighters were settled as *maccube* slaves around Mopti and Soroufoulay. By 1880, the Fulbe of Macina were no longer a serious threat to the Futanke.

Internal and external conflicts both contributed to the collapse of Kunta power in the region of Macina. The *Tarikh al-Fittuga* describes a war fought between the Masinanke and the Kel Antasar during the latter half of the 1870s. Around 1879-80, a nephew of Ba Lobbo's named Muhamad Abu Bakr[194] led a Fulbe uprising in the Macina that ousted Abidin al Bekkay and forced the Kunta sheik to flee to Kigiri. Abidin's cousin Sidia Ahmad al Bekkay pushed Muhamad Abu Bakr back into the Boobola, but the Lobbo launched a raid into the Farimake a

[191] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 478.
[192] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).
[193] For more on the importance of hostages and households, see Chapter 4.
[194] Also referred to as Hamadu Bokar Ba Lobbo by Menvielle, and as Mamadu b. Hambori by Brown.

year later. These wars against the Tuareg and Lobbo armies weakened the Kunta sheiks' ability to check the expanding Bandiagara Emirate. Around 1880, Abidin al Bekkay placed a column under the command of Ali Awdi, a Fulbe chief from Farimake, which marched south from Farimake on a doomed offensive against Jenne, the well-defended garrison of Musa Mawdo and his army of *sofas*.

According to Barry, while Awdi was mounting a series of futile attacks against Jenne, Tijani dispatched a force of around 1,000 warriors under Bubakar, the commander of Tijani's riverine fleet, to raid the Farimake. Awdi was finally forced to abandon his attack and return north to the Kunta camp, where he was admonished by Abidin. Awdi then joined forces with his erstwhile Futanke enemies and participated in a failed attempt to push Abidin out of Farimake. Awdi died in that campaign, but his brother Modi Awdi was installed by Tijani at Konna, as the commander of a group of Fulbe from Farimake.[195] Thus ended Tijani's last major campaign against his Kunta enemies. While Tijani was not able to completely expel Abidin, the Fulbe and Bamana in the region of Farimake gradually began to recognize Futanke supremacy there. With Fulbe resistance in the Farimake region broken, Tijani's armies had free rein to harass those who did not submit willingly, and eventually extended the northern frontier of the emirate to Lake Debo.

Conclusion, Internal Slavery and the External Slave Trade

In 1880, Tijani organized a brutal long-distance raid against Tera[196]: a Songhai village beyond the eastern frontier of the emirate. The raiding party, a veritable army of about 3,000

[195] ANM 1E 23, Rapports Politiques Cercle de Bandiagara 1893 – 1910, "Rapport du 1 Octobre 1895."
[196] Caron described this excursion as a raid but it is quite possible the Futanke were supporting an attack by their Fulbe ally in Djilgodi Ahmad Taffa.

Futanke and Fulbe cavaliers commanded by Ifra Almamy, assembled at Tinntimbolo before moving to Douentza via Ninari. After resting a week at Douentza, it continued to Dalla, where it picked up a local Fulbe escort, who accompanied it as far as Hombori. After resting there, the column proceeded southeast toward Arbinda. At Djibo, a Fulbe chief brought the cavaliers around 600 fresh horses so that they could continue their journey. When they reached Arbinda, the Bandiagara Emirate's eastern limit, Ifra Almamy transferred command to a Futanke named Mamadu Mare, and remained at Arbinda. Mamadu Mare marched the column for three days southeastward to the Songhai village of Tera, where the cavaliers enslaved 8,000 women and children. Caron noted that his Fulbe informant Mamadu Issa never mentioned any male slaves, and speculated that the men of Tera had been killed. This might reflect that the Songhai slaves from Tera were sold into the trans-Saharan slave trade, a market that preferred women and children. In an 1894 report on slavery, Destenave noted that slaves rom the "center and west of the Niger buckle" were taken to Timbuktu, and from there, supplied the markets of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia.[197] Mamadu Issa described how children as young as ten who refused to walk during the long march from Tera to Bandiagara were executed on the spot.[198]

[197] ANM 1E 156, Destenave, "Rapport sur la captivité dans les états d'Aguibou, Bandiagara le 18 aout 1894."
[198] Edmond Caron, *De Saint-Louis au Port de Tombouktou: Voyage d'une Cannoniere Francaise* (Paris, 1891), 206.

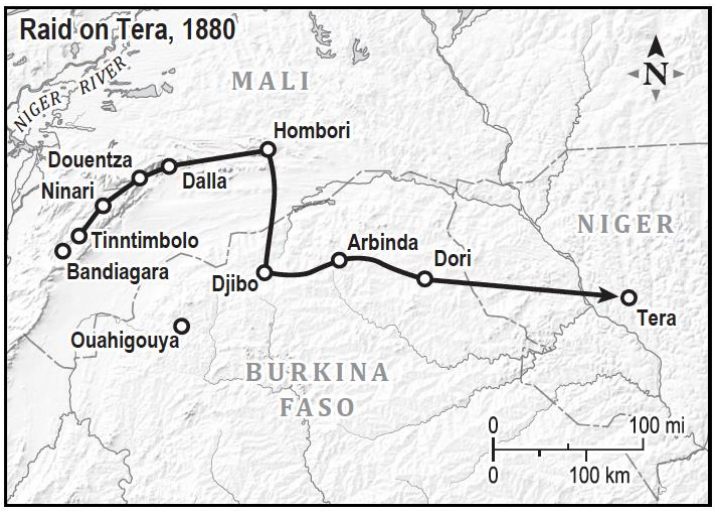

Figure 11: Slave Raid on Tera, 1880

As I have shown, such large expeditions to the eastern hinterlands against populations that fed the external slave trade were a rare occurrence. It is likely that Bandiagara leaned on its alliances with other warrior states – including Bosse, Mossi, Widi, and Kenendugu – to supply its slave markets. In 1894, there were still active slave markets at the town of Bandiagara, as well as at Korondiela, Sarafere, Fatoma and Douentza, data from which suggest that other states on Bandiagara's eastern periphery supplied the emirate's external slave trade. The Bandiagara and Korondiela markets, which were active every day, still sold as many as 12 captives per day in that year, and occasionally, as many as 60 slaves were sold in a day at Sarafere. According to Destenave's report, the slaves sold at Fatoma came from San, while the Douentza slave market was supplied by the Kingdom of Mossi and by Tuareg groups.[199] The slave market at Bandiagara drew most of its slaves from Widi, via a supply chain probably established at a much earlier date. Andrew Hubbel noted that, after the colonial conquest in 1893, the chief of Widi and Agibu maintained a trade alliance with Konia Zon to obtain slaves, and suggested that this agreement

[199] *Ibid.*

had probably been forged much earlier, i.e., when Tijani helped Kunage Wonni take power in Di: a village that funneled slaves from Souroudougou to Bandiagara and Widi.[200] The report also named Bosse and Kenedugu as suppliers of Bandiagara's slaves, though it did not specify where these slaves were sold.

The data from the raid on Tera and Destenave's report suggests that the external markets preferred non-Fulbe and many of groups targeted were the same populations whose supposed legal status as slaves was established by the Hamdullahi Caliphate:[201] Samo, Bobo, Songhay, Bamana. Moreover, While there was little difference between the price for male and female slaves Destenave's report specified that Bamana women were valued three to four times higher than Samo and Bobo women. The presence of Samo and Bobo women in Bandiagara's slave markets supports Andrew Hubbel's description of high levels of enslavement among the Samo of Sourodougou in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Table 1: Slave Prices at Bandiagara by Age and Sex, 1895

Enslaved Person	Price est. in francs
a 12 year-old boy	200 - 250
an 8 year-old girl	200 - 300
a man	250 - 300
a young woman, "Bambara" [*sic*]	300 - 400
a young woman, Samo or Bobo	80 - 100

[200] Andrew Hubbel, "A View of the Slave Trade from the Margin: Souroudougou in the Late Nineteenth-Century Slave Trade of the Niger Bend," *The Journal of African History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 25-47 (p. 33).
[201] See Chapter 1.

Bandiagara's external slave trade as described above exemplifies the predatory-state model, which conceives of slavery as a destructive mode of production, insofar as economies driven by warfare and slavery disrupted markets and depopulated productive areas. Richard Roberts, based on the case of Ahmadu's capital at Segu, argued that the increased militarization of the Umarian movement created an economy that stifled trade and production. Lovejoy's synthetic work on slavery and the Sahel, *Transformations in Slavery*, regarded Bandiagara through a similar lens;[202] and there is ample evidence to support framing Bandiagara's external slave trade around the predatory state model. While slave raids were an important part of Bandiagara's economy, however, plantation villages within the emirate were a key tool whereby Bandiagara weakened its enemies and strengthened its control of agricultural production, thus growing the economy within the state. The intense focus on the Kunari by both the Futanke at Bandiagara and their Kunta enemies at Timbuktu reflects the strategic importance of establishing and retaining these villages, as a means of controlling grain production in the Middle Niger. Moreover, Tijani was often able to use military force to ensure that the slaves who already lived in the Kunari paid taxes to him.

The populations of those entirely new plantation villages that Tijani established by resettling captives taken in his wars with the Kunta and Lobbo comprised some *rimaibe*, already-enslaved people who "belonged" to the Kunta or the Fulbe of Macina, and some formerly free Fulbe who had fought alongside Bandiagara's enemies.[203] These Fulbe slaves were overseen by Futanke troops and their *sofas*. When Caron passed through Konna in 1887, he observed a

[202] Paul Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[203] Fulbe in the Kunari who had been taken from Macina by Tijani, and Diawandos from Karta who had been settled in the Kunari by Seku Ahmadu, were led by Abdoulaye Hamat Sala who resided at Mopti: Rapports Politiques Cercle de Bandiagara 1893-1910, "Rapport Politique du 1 Octobre 1895."

settlement of relocated Fulbe "who had been previously subjects of Abidin" and who had likely been relocated to Konna in the wake of Futanke attacks on Fittuga. Tijani had also based a contingent of Futanke troops at nearby Banandugu to project his authority in the area. Modi Awdi, who was stationed at Konna following his family's alliance with the Futanke, governed some Fulbe there; but the vast grain market at Konna remained under the control of the Futanke.[204]

The grain produced by the plantation villages of the Kunari kept Bandiagara's soldiers on the battlefield, while the Futanke soldiers and *sofas* garrisoned at these villages transformed the enslaved Masinanke soldiers into state assets. Tijani controlled grain production around Lake Debo, from whence Songhai farmers had previously provided a critical supply of grain to Timbuktu. To the north of Lake Debo, Caron observed another garrison under the command of Tijani's *sofa* Chidloki, occupying a fort that had been built between two agricultural villages inhabited by Fulbe.[205] It is possible that the Futanke intended for the Fulbe they enslaved to eventually become *rimaibe*, as new generations were born into slavery. The Futanke might also have intended to eventually absorb the offspring of these enslaved Fulbe. It is worth pointing out that while Fulbe slave owners in the Middle Niger typically lived apart from their slaves, the Futanke lived among theirs, and married enslaved women.[206]

In any case, as the Futanke-led army at Bandiagara fought its wars against the Kunta and Masinanke, it continued to selectively ignore certain norms around difference. Fulbe enemies were relocated and forced to leave the pastures where they traditionally grazed their herds. However, Tijani did not go so far as to sell these captured Fulbe into the trans-Saharan slave

[204] Caron, *Voyage*, 217.
[205] Caron, *Voyage*, 225-26.
[206] ANM 1E 156, Destenave, "Rapport sur la captivité dans les états d'Aguibou, Bandiagara le 18 aout 1894."

trade. As of 1895, many of the Fulbe who had been settled in the Kunari by Tijani were allowed to return to Tenenku, where the colonial government placed them under the authority of a Fulbe chief with weak claims to leadership.[207]

[207] ANM 1D 5, "Notice Général sur le Soudan, Notice sur la région Sud 1895 -1899." See Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3

The Muniru Interregnum, 1888 – 1891

Colonial commentators wrote about the French conquest in the Western Sahel as the pacification of a cohesive empire led by Ahmadu, Umar Tal's eldest son and heir. Ahmadu ruled from Segu: the principle city of one of the Bamana kingdoms conquered by the Umarians. From the French Colonial perspective, Segu was the center of "the Tukolor Empire"; it connected the Bamana kingdom of Karta, which was situated to the northwest, with the southern fiefdom of Dingiray to the territory of "Masina"[208] to the east. This construction was critical for proponents of a more aggressive military policy in the Middle Niger. Contrary to the colonial narrative, however, the Futanke states established through Umar Tal's wars were in fact a loose confederacy that was fraught with political divisions among their second generation of leaders.

[208] As noted above the French colonial administration tended to refer to the Bandiagara Emirate as Macina, which was their preferred name for the Hamdullahi Caliphate.

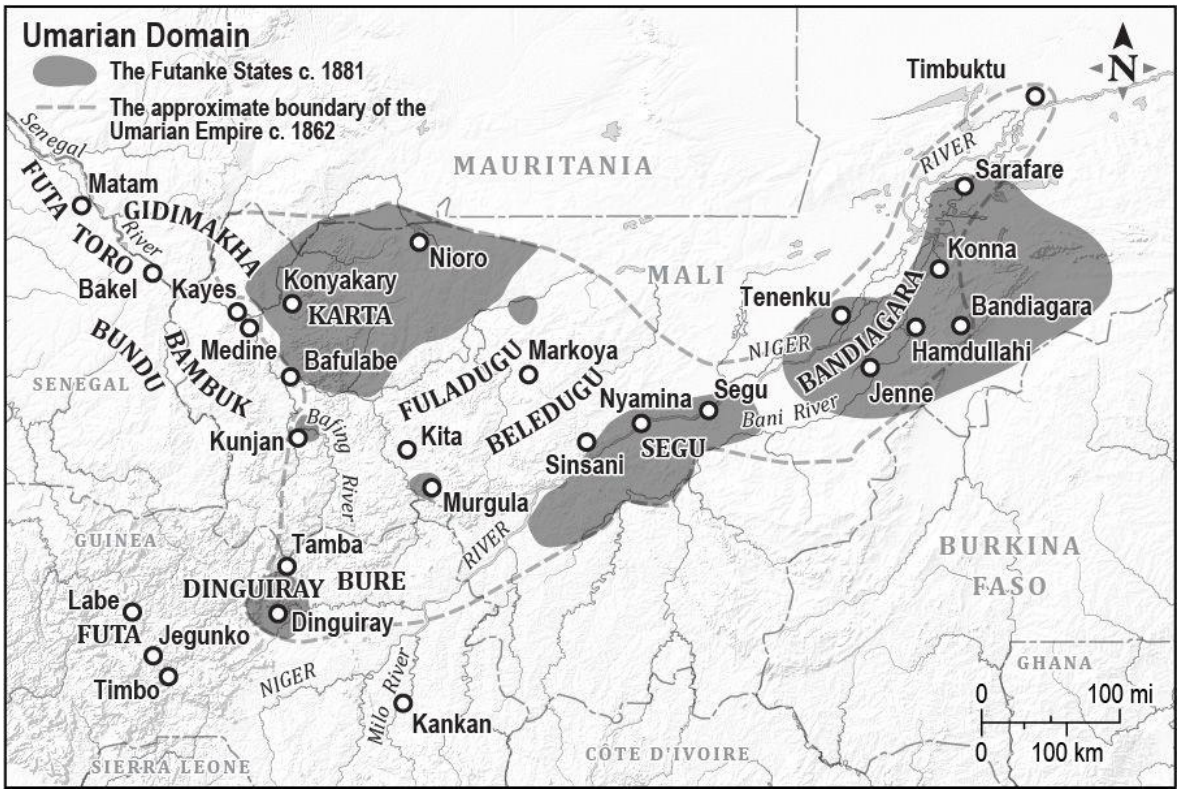

Figure 12: The Umarian Domain in about 1881. Based on Hanson and Robinson, After the Jihad, 23.

These divisions came to the fore at Bandiagara when Tijani Tal died in 1887, and a controversy emerged over whether or not the emirate, which had been independent from Ahmadu for decades should be placed under his control. The political struggle that unfolded in the first three months following Tijani's death has left us with a myriad of byzantine tales of palace intrigue in both colonial sources and local oral traditions. These stories are replete with coups, assassinations, poisonings, and conspiracies that almost always contradict each other. What we know for certain is that, in the end, Muniru, one of Umar Tal's younger and more obscure sons, gained control of the Bandiagara Emirate (c.1889). He ruled for around three years until a political faction within Bandiagara's Futanke community forced him to abdicate to Ahmadu, after Louis Archinard began a series of military campaign that aimed to end Futanke

power in the Middle Niger. After the colonial army took control of Karta in 1891. Ahmadu resided in Bandiagara for two years, and during this time the Futanke community rallied around him, as the end of the Umarian experiment seemed imminent.

By examining the political conflict between Ahmadu and Muniru and the partisans of each brother, I argue that Bandiagara was a Futanke-led Emirate where only a portion of the population recognized Ahmadu's leadership. I further argue that Muniru became Bandiagara's second emir through the support of the emirate's non-Futanke populations. Muniru continued Tijani's policy of incorporating "outsiders" and won the initial political contest against his Futanke rivals by leveraging the support of Bandiagara's diverse military coalition. Muniru's political pragmatism led him to court a relationship with the French as they increased their activities in the Middle Niger. On one level, this is a history of a geographically and economically divided Futanke "confederacy" where brothers and cousins pursued their own agendas as they commanded their fiefdoms. But the political conflicts during Muniru's reign also reflect a divide within Futanke society over how leaders should deal with the obvious existential threat posed by French expansion in the Middle Niger. I conclude by describing how Ahmadu and Muniru each pursued different strategies as they responded to the threat of French conquest.

Historical Context

Before his death, Umar Tal attempted to clarify the issue of succession for his sons. On his return from the hajj, Umar had married prominent women from Bundu and Sokoto. The sons born of these unions could claim a certain amount of prestige based on the social status of their mothers. During the first few years of Umar Tal's wars in Karta and Segu, these women, and Umar's other wives, remained at the Sheikh's first settlement at Dingiray along with their

children. They prepared their sons to govern as princes, and most likely lobbied for their sons at court.[209] As these sons reached maturity, they joined Umar's campaign. During Umar's lifetime, power was highly centralized, and political and religious authority rested with the Sheikh.[210] But the Futanke conquest of the Bamana kingdoms of Karta and Segu required administrators to manage affairs while Umar led his army east against Hamdullahi. Success on the battlefield and in government became the proving ground for potential successors. The trial by which Umar eventually chose and publicly recognized Ahmadu as his successor was recorded in a chronicle written by Muhammad ibn Ibrahim, a scholar from Futa Jallon who resided at Dingiray. During his conquest of the Bamana kingdom of Segu in 1859, Umar called his two eldest sons, Maki and Ahmadu, from Dingiray to Segu to join him. Muhammad ibn Ibrahim traveled with Ahmadu and Maki to Markoya and later recorded Ahmadu's installation as Umar's successor.[211]

Maki was the son of Mariatu, a noblewoman from the kingdom of Bornu sent to marry al-Hajj Umar Tal during his residence at Sokoto. Maki was able to draw on the prestige his mother's lineage to support his claims to succession.[212] Ahmadu was the son of a Hausa woman named Assiatu. While Assiatu was not a noblewoman, her father was a *qadi* of Sokoto and she was known for her piety.[213] Ahmadu and Maki were close in age and admired by Umar's followers at Dingiray. Ahmadu and Maki joined Umar at Markoya, a Bamana village where the

[209] David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 253.
[210] John Hanson, *Migration, Jihad, and Authority in West Africa: The Futanke Colonies in Karta* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 92.
[211] John Hanson and David Robinson, *After the Jihad, The Reign of Ahmad al-Kabir in the Western Sudan,* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1991): 53-65.
[212] Agibu Tal's account in De Loppinot, "Souvenirs d'Aguibou," Bulletin de CEHS de l'A.O.F., 1919 claims that Maki was raised by his mother's servant after Mariatu's's death in 1847.
[213] In the case of Ahmadu there is some confusion over the status of his mother. De Loppinot ("Souvenirs") and Pietri (*Les Français au Niger*, 1885) affirmed Ahmadu's half-brothers' claims that his mother was of slave origins. See Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 106 note 40. Madina Ly-Tal's assertion that Aissatu was the daughter of a qadi is supported by Archinard's report that Ahmadu's mother was of "base" Hausa extraction rather than "slave origins," Ly-Tal, *Une Islam Militante*, 127; ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/V/1, Louis Archinard "Information on the Situation in the Colonies, French Sudan, 1893," (French).

Sheikh delivered a devastating defeat to the kingdom of Segu. As the forces of Segu retreated, Umar ordered his sons Ahmadu and Maki to lead their armies against their battle-weary Bamana enemies so that he might judge their leadership on the battlefield. After a long period of reflection, Umar decided to publicly recognize Ahmadu as his heir. He instructed Maki:

> As for you and your rank, follow your brother, and all you wish from what I gave him, seek it from him and he will give it to you. Keep close ties to your kin, as I have instructed you before; I am stressing that now. For the two of you do not let anyone come between you.[214]

Interestingly, these instructions to Maki also applied to others "of his rank" acknowledging wider reluctance to accept Ahmadu as Umar's successor. When Umar advanced against the Caliphate of Hamdullahi, Ahmadu remained at Segu where he governed and commanded a garrison. Maki and his cousin Tijani continued east with the army that attacked Hamdullahi. After his initial victory over the Masinanke, Umar staged a second ceremony at Hamdullahi to recognize Ahmadu as his successor, but conflicting accounts later emerged claiming the eastern province was meant for Maki, and other fiefdoms were for Umar's other sons.[215] In any case, the 1863 siege and re-conquest of Hamdullahi would end Maki's life. Maki fled with his father and his brothers Mahi and Hadi during the Kunta-Masinanke siege of Umarian-occupied Hamdullahi in 1863. Maki, Mahi, Hadi and several other followers died alongside Umar Tal as they sought refuge in the caves at Degembery.[216] Tijani recovered the remains of Maki and others and interred them at Bandiagara. He adopted Maki's son, Ahmadu

[214] Hanson and Robinson, *After the Jihad*, 53-65.
[215] Hanson, *Migration Jihad and Muslim Authority*, 92.
[216] For a comprehensive list of the Umarians who died in the caves at Degembery see Robinson, The Holy War of Umar Tal, note 71 page 311.

Makiou, who became known as Ahmadu Tijani.[217] Tijani's marriage to Maki's widow and adoption of his son signaled his status as Ahmadu's equal rather than his subordinate.[218]

As all of this suggests, wives and mothers were important sources of prestige within Futanke society in the nineteenth century. When Moktar and Habib challenged Ahmadu's rule at Karta in the early 1870's, they claimed that their own noble birth distinguished them from their low-born brother. Tellingly, after Ahmadu captured Moktar and Habib and reasserted control of Karta, he gave the governorship of Nioro to Bashiru, the son of a concubine and appointed Muntaga, the son of a commoner from Futa Toro, as governor of Konyakary;[219] neither brother could claim the prestige of noble birth through their mothers. Muntaga had proved loyal during the Moktar and Habib's attempted coup, but he began to assert his independence in the early 1880's. He was eventually drawn into a conflict with Ahmadu after he ignored orders to march with his elder brother's army to Segu (1885). During this second crisis at Karta, Muntaga drew on the support of younger brothers who were not given appointments in Ahmadu's regime.

Table 2: Selective List of Umar Tal's Sons and their Mothers

Mother's Name	Mother's Origin	Son's Name	Probable Birth order	Place and Date of Death
Aisha Jallo	Sokoto	Ahmadu	1	*Hijra*, 1898
Batuly Hausa	N. Nigeria	Muntaga	5	Nioro, 1886
–	–	Ahmidu	?	Bandiagara, 1887-8
–	–	Hadi	5	Degembery, 1864

[217] Caron, *Voyage*, 355.
[218] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 545.
[219] Hanson, *Migration Jihad and Muslim Authority*, 95; Lt. de Vaisseau Jaime, *De Koulikoro à Tombouctou a board du "Mage," 1889-1890* (Paris: E. Edentu, [1892]).

Table 2 (Con't)

Mother's Name	Mother's Origin	Son's Name	Probable Birth order	Place and Date of Death
Mariatu	Bornu	Maki	2	Degembery, 1864
–	–	Agibu	7	Bandiagara, 1907
Unnamed Fulbe slave	Unknown	Mahi	6	Degembery, 1864
Bamana Woman	Karta	Bashiru	?	*Hijra*, unkown
Fulbe Woman	Bornu	Daye	?	Nioro, 1886
–	–	Muniru	?	Bandiagara, 1893
Mariam Dem	Sokoto	Habib	3	Segu, (prison) c.1880
–	–	Moktar	4	Segu, (prison) c.1880

Muniru was one of the brothers who supported Muntaga's failed bid to wrest Karta from Ahmadu in the 1880's.[220] In later years, Muniru proved to be ambitious and calculating, but it is unclear what led him to support Muntaga at this early stage. In 1881 Ahmadu had arranged a palace coup to oust Muniru's full brother, Daye, from his command in Southern Karta, and Daye later led a small Soninke army in Muntaga's rebellion.[221] Perhaps Muniru's loyalty to Daye played a role. It was clear, even at this early stage, that Muniru was willing to work with the French to achieve his political goals. As Ahmadu advanced toward Karta to check Muntaga and the bothers who backed him, Muniru and his half-brother Ahmidu[222] traveled to Kita where they

[220] Muniru and his brother Daye were also among the brothers at Dingiray who supported Habib see Hanson, *Migration, Jihad and Muslim Authority*, 95.
[221] Hanson, *Migration, Jihad and Muslim Authority*, 125-6
[222] Ahmidu is often called Habibu in colonial documents. This chapter refers to him as Ahmidu to avoid confusion with the brother Habib who challenged Ahmdu at Nioro in 1870.

asked the French to enter the conflict. Muniru and Ahmidu became high ranking hostages and remained in French custody after Ahmadu took back Karta for the second time.

After his 1885 re-conquest, Ahmadu remained at Nioro, and in 1887 the commander of the gunboat *Niger*, Lieutenant Caron, profited from his absence to cruise past Segu toward Bandiagara unchallenged. The Commandant Superior at the time, Joseph Gallieni, wrote letter to Tijani to inform him of the gunboat's mission to Bandiagara. Muniru and Ahmidu were released from Bamako, given horses, and instructed to deliver Gallieni's letter to Tijani. The letter stressed that the gunboat was on a peaceful economic mission; it mentioned that Muniru carried a verbal message from the Commandant that would explain France's intentions in the region.[223] In an effort to maintain the diplomatic status quo with Ahmadu, Gallieni also sent a letter to Segu that explained he had ordered the release of Muniru and [Ahmidu], because he did not want to host "brothers who had revolted against [Ahmadu]."[224]

[223] ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/IV/88, "Lieutenant Colonel Gallieni, Commandant Superior of the French Sudan to Sheikh Tidiani, 5 April 1887," (French).
[224]ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/IV/88, "Lieutenant Colonel Gallieni Comandant Superior of the French Sudan to Sultan Ahmadu, 5 April 1887," (French).

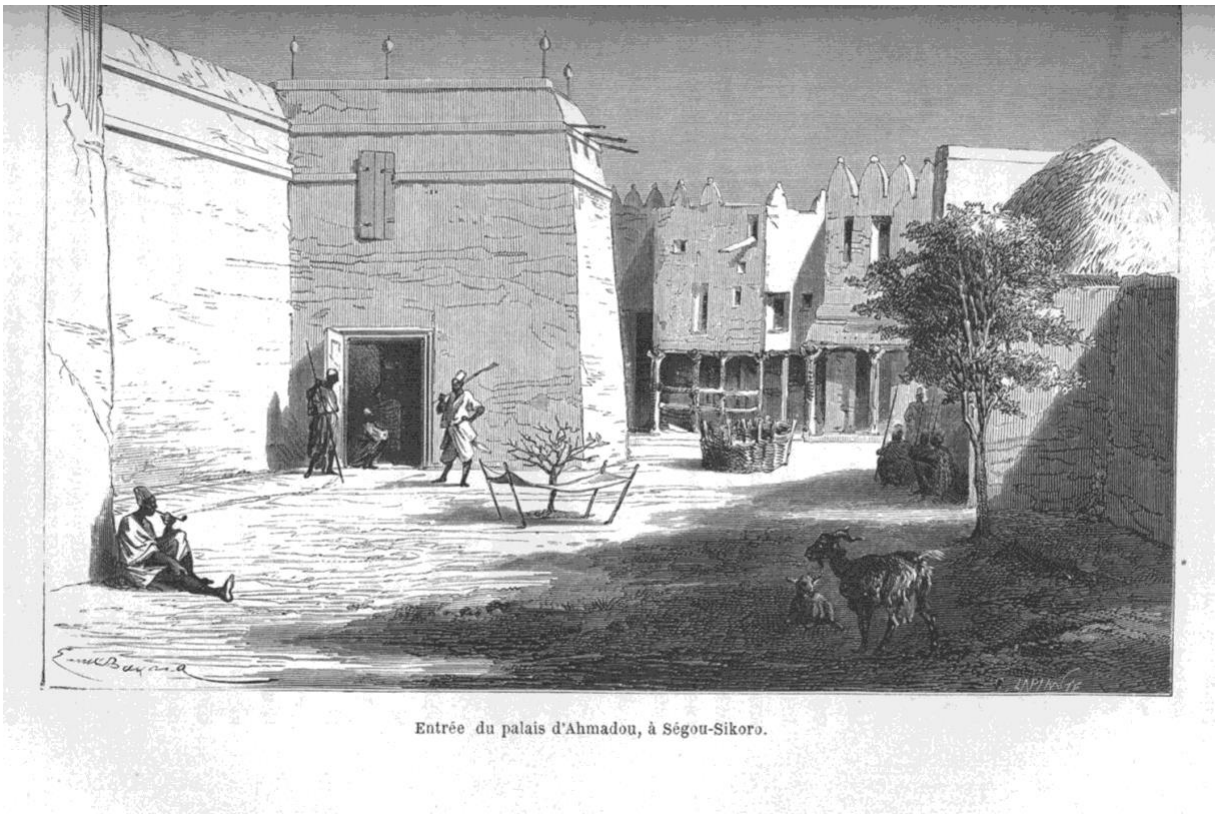

Figure 13: Entrance to Ahmadu's Palace at Segu

Source: Joseph Gallieni, Deux Campagnes au Soudan Francais 1886-1888, 34

The Succession Dispute at Bandiagara

The earliest colonial reports on the political crisis that followed Tijani's death came from Lieutenant Eduard Caron in 1887. Tijani died during Caron's return to Bamako, and word reached the lieutenant just before he arrived there. The French had hoped that Caron's voyage up the Niger River would allow them to gain new allies at Bandiagara and Timbuktu,[225] increase their access to trade along the river, and effectively surround Umar Tal's heir, Ahmadu.

[225] For Gallieni's desire to place Tijani's states under their influence, see ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/114, cahier a, "11 Feb 1888"; and for Gallieni's aspirations for economic and political supremacy on the Niger River, see ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/114 a, "Commandant Superior Gallieni to Governor of Senegal, 1 May 1887" (Both in French).

However, influential nobles in Tijani's court were suspicious of the French, and Caron could not sign a treaty with Tijani.

When Caron arrived at Bandiagara, Muniru made an effort to impress him. In a bold gesture of friendship, Muniru sent Caron a white bull that was bigger than the one sent by Tijani.[226] He also informed the lieutenant that courtiers knew of the gunboat's plans to continue on to Timbuktu from Bandiagara, knowing that Tijani would not let the French officer pass through his territories to establish relations with Bandiagara's enemies. When Caron returned from Bandiagara, he lamented the scant political influence of Muniru, one of the few courtiers who "supported the French cause," but was not considered a serious candidate for the succession.[227]

Reports of Tijani's demise and the initial contest over who should succeed him reached Caron while the *Niger* was anchored at Nyamina, downriver from Bamako. When he arrived at Bamako, Caron gathered further reports from informants, and grouped them into principal accounts of the events.[228] The first account claimed that, two days before his death, Tijani had recognized Saidu-Habi as his successor; and this version of events was widely accepted by the Futanke settlers at Bandiagara. According to Caron's informants, the Fulbe of the Hayre had little interest in the matter, and the Futanke would accept Saidu-Habi's nomination, provided only that Ahmadu confirmed it.[229] Saidu-Habi did rule for just a few months, before dying abruptly and unexpectedly amid rumors of assassination.[230]

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[226] Caron, *Voyage*, 165.
[227] ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/IV/114, cahier a, "Lieutenant Caron, Commandant of the Gunboat Niger to Lieutenant Colonel Gallieni, Commandant Superior of the French Sudan, Bamako November 1897," (French).
[228] Caron, *Voyage*, 335.
[229] Saidu-Habi, Mamadu-Habi and Ibrahima-Habi were all the sons of Umar Tal's older brother Habi or Moktar. See Hanson and Robinson, *After the Jihad*, 238, note 38.
[230] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 610.

The second account Caron collected most likely refers to a more chaotic period that occurred as the issue of succession intensified upon Saidu-Habi's death. This account mainly differed from the first in that it reported an alternative group of confidants at Tijani's death bed. In the second account, Tijani was with his wife, his adopted son Ahmadu Tijani, and his trusted *sofa* Musa Mawdo, who governed Jenne.[231] It may be the case that the disagreement over who was with Tijani when he died reflects an attempt to bolster claims over what his last wishes were. The second version of the narrative collected by Caron also incorrectly reported that Musa Mawdo was killed after Tijani died. This was not the case, but during the chaos of the succession dispute, two other prominent Futanke who were potential successors died unexpectedly: Saidu-Habi's brother, Mamadu-Habi, and the imam of Bandiagara, Cherno Haimutu.[232]

The political tumult gave rise to an ardent pro-Ahmadu group led by Koli Modi, a noble from Bundu who had been a confidant of Umar Tal's. Koli Modi had first supported the candidature of Ibrahim Abi, a respected veteran of Umar Tal's wars. Shortly after Tijani's death Ahmadu had instructed his son Madani to send a letter to Jenne in an attempt to secure Musa Mawdo's support for Ibrahim-Habi, a nephew of Umar Tal's and a respected veteran of his wars.[233] Thus, it seems that Ahmadu tried to influence events in his favor, though he was not successful.

Musa Mawdo supported Muniru, who eventually won the throne by forging alliances with the non-Futanke groups that were critical to Bandiagara's military. Musa Mawdo was himself a former slave who had risen within the ranks of Tijani's slave soldiers and he

[231] Tijani, who had married the wife of Maki, adopted Maki's son, who became known as Ahmadu-Tijani. As noted earlier, Maki was one of Umar Tal's eldest sons and a favorite for the succession; as such, Tijani's incorporation of Maki's family into his own might have signaled a claim to Maki's inheritance.
[232] Caron, *Voyage*, 336.
[233] Hanson and Robinson, *After the Jihad,* 237-9.

commanded large contingent of *sofas* at Jenne. During his lifetime, Tijani had relied on these soldiers to protect himself from political rivals at Bandiagara and it seems their support for Muniru was also critical to his success. Muniru had also married a daughter of Boubakar, commander of Tijani's fleet of Bozo war canoes and his governor at Mopti. As noted earlier, Boubakar was an expert canoe man, who hailed from the Guinea Coast.[234] Through his close relationship with Boubakar, Muniru kept control over the Bozo fleet that moved goods and soldiers up and down the Niger River. Muniru also enjoyed the support of the Dogon warriors at Bandiagara. Archinard noted that the non-Futanke populations of the Hayre had little reason to support Ahmadu, whose prestige stemmed from his connection to Umar Tal rather than his success in battle and his patronage of warriors. In his 1893 report on politics in "the Western Sudan" he wrote:[235]

> For a few years Muniru has reigned at Bandiagara and has sought to kill his brother, but has been forced to retire without fighting. Muniru had hoped to impede his brother from arriving at the capital using a couple hundred Futanke who have been settled in [Bandiagara] for some time. These Futanke were under Ahmadou's orders and betrayed [Muniru].[236] Despite this, Ahmadu seems to have a very precarious position in Bandiagara. The Futanke are few in number and the [Fulbe] who had conquered Macina before being placed under the [Futanke] want nothing to do with him. The primitive populations of the country Tombos[237] and Bambara [*sic*], who are fetishists cannot really align themselves with the former commander of the faithful. Ahmadu feels that he is not at home in Bandiagara and continually announces his intention to continue on his route east just to Hausaland or similarly to go or to finish his days piously in Mecca.

Using oral traditions and a historic account of Muniru's reign written by a colonial officer shortly after the French conquest of Bandiagara, Ibrahima Barry asserts that Muniru had courted

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[234] See Chapter 1.
[235] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/V/1, Archinard, "Renseignements sur la Situation des Colonies, Soudan Français," 1896.
[236] This likely refers to the group of Futanke led by Koli Modi, who sought to deliver the Emirate to Ahmadu.
[237] The Tombo lived along escarpments to the Hayre's southeast. Archinard probably meant to refer to the more populous and politically significant Dogon population of the central plateau. The accounts of Muniru's Tabaski coup and gifts to the Dogon suggest that many were not just disinclined to accept Ahmadu, but supported Muniru outright.

Dogon warriors with gifts and that these warriors helped him seize control of the emirate. According to Barry, Muniru took advantage of the 1888 Tabaski celebration, nearly a year after Tijani's death, to seize complete control of Bandiagara. Muniru reportedly waited until Bandiagara's Futanke population was at prayer and then marched to the mosque followed by a Dogon army.[238] Koli Modi seems to have preferred to accept to Muniru's assertion of power rather than risk plunging Bandiagara into a civil war. Barry's informants told him that the Futanke elite at Bandiagara sent an emissary to Nioro to tell Ahmadu that they had only accepted Muniru's rule under pressure from Dogon soldiers.[239] Muniru rewarded his non-Fulbe allies with gifts after taking power. The colonial officer Underby reported that Muniru gave 1,000 cattle and 100,000 cowries to the Dogon, and 40 cattle to the few Fulbe who proved themselves sympathetic to his cause.[240]

"Three Good Years of Muniru"

Through his political alliances with Musa Mawdo at Jenne, Boubakar at Mopti, and the Dogon soldiers at Bandiagara, Muniru commanded the military backbone of the Bandiagara Emirate. These alliances were crucial to Muniru's brief political success against Ahmadu and his allies, and enabled him to defeat a Kunta-led coalition of Bandiagara's longtime enemies to the North. According to Menvielle's history and Caron's reports from Nyamina, Muniru faced a revived challenge from the Kunta during that may have helped him secure his reign. Before

[238] Interestingly, this account echoes elements of another oral tradition about the attempted Tabski coup that occurred during Tijani's lifetime. Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 612.
[239] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 613.
[240] It is possible the figures given to Underby were exaggerated, but the disparity between the two figures demonstrates that Muniru's rise to power hinged largely on support from Dogon warriors. ANP 1G 122 Underby, "Notes sur l'histoire du Masina, 1890-82"; Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 216.

Muniru and his Dogon allies resolved the succession dispute by seizing Bandiagara, the new the would-be ruler launched an expedition to Farimake, an agriculturally productive inundated region of the Niger buckle just south of Timbuktu. While the offensive did not produce any territorial gains Muniru's warriors managed to take slaves from villages loyal to the Kunta.[241]

Perhaps sensing Bandiagara's renewed interest in warfare Abidin Bekkay reconciled with some of his erstwhile enemies among the Tuareg of Gimballa to assemble an army.[242] Abidin entered Muniru's territory with his column and camped near the tomb of his father, disguising the offensive as a pilgrimage.[243] Muniru was unconvinced and sent a column commanded by Nouhou Moussa to surveil the group's movements. Abidin made a tentative advance towards Jenne where Musa Mawdo counseled the Futanke to send reinforcements to the city. Tailed by Nouhou Mousa and facing a well manned defense at Jenne led by Musa Mawdo, Abidin and his men abandoned their offensive and made a hasty retreat in the dead of night to the left bank of the Niger. It also pushed Bandiagara's sphere of control north of Lake Debo, further limiting Timbuktu's access to grain. This victory broke the resolve of the Kunta and finally neutralized the threat from Timbuktu.

Muniru also organized an eastward raid in the Upper Volta plains east of Mossi. According to the two accounts written by colonial officers stationed at Bandiagara, Muniru's army secured several herds of cattle during this raid.[244] There was no mention of slaves, but it is worth noting that this zone had long been the region where Fulbe warriors of the Hamdullahi

[241] ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896.
[242] Caron had this information by November 1888 just three months after Tijani's death and around the same time Muniru assumed leadership. ANS 1G 83 Mission Caron a Tombouctou, 1887-90; ANOM/SEN/IV/114, cahier a, Caron, "Lieutenant Caron, Commandant of the Gunboat Niger to Lieutenant Colonel Gallieni, Commandant Superior of the French Sudan, Bamako November 1897," (French); ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896.
[243] ANM 1D 47 "Renseignements Historiques sur le Macina 1864-1875," 1896.
[244] *Ibid*.

Caliphate, the Bandiagara Emirate, Dokwi and Barani enslaved Samo farmers who were later sold into the Trans-Saharan slave trade. As noted in chapter two, reports estimated that twelve slaves were sold at the Bandiagara market every week in 1895, most of whom were Samo and Bobo. In present day Bandiagara, when people want to describe something as exceptionally good, they might say, "It was good like the three years of Muniru." Traditions report that his reign was a time when harvests were good and cows gave birth to twins. Cattle and slaves produced through Muniru's raid in the Volta Basin certainly contributed to those memories of surpluses.

Reactions to French Conquest, 1890-2

During Muniru's short reign, the French military began its campaign against Ahmadu. The French conquered Segu on June 6, 1890, and Nioro on January 1, 1891. The capture of Nioro had forced Ahmadu to seek refuge in Bandiagara, and the French were eager to learn if Muniru would continue to oppose his brother. During this time, the French attempted to establish a correspondence with Muniru: P. L. Monteil met with an envoy of Muniru's in 1890 and in May of 1891 Muniru received Qinqadron's envoy Mamadou Ali at Bandiagara. An attempt to secure a treaty with Muniru was made by Ensign Jaime, a young officer who commanded France's two-boat flotilla on the Niger River in 1891. Muniru was reluctant to accept a treaty of protectorate; he claimed that such an arrangement would cost him the support of Futanke settlers.

During the efforts to secure a treaty and win over Muniru, the colonial administration tried to appear non-threatening to the institutions of slavery and warfare that underpinned the emirate's economy. According the Law of 1848, France had officially abolished slavery in its colonies and adopted the principle that any slave who fled to French soil was effectively

liberated. But, in their dealings with the African leaders who ruled French protectorates, the colonial regime was much more flexible. In 1887 when Caron attempted to establish a treaty with Tijani, the emir insisted on clauses that protected both slavery and the production of slaves. In one clause, Tijani stipulated that all slaves and horses must be sold at the market in his capital, Bandiagara. In another he insisted that the French return any slaves from his kingdom that fled to their forts.[245] Tijani made it clear that if France were to establish riverine trading posts within his emirate, it would have to do so without undermining the slave raiding of the Futanke cavalry and the agricultural production of Futanke plantations.

In case Muniru demanded specific clauses that protected slavery, as Tijani had done, Jaime was to reassure him that the French were "very generous" but that the Commandant Superior had not given specific instructions for dealing with the matter of slavery:[246]

> With questions on slaves etc. […] if he asks us to introduce clauses of that kind in the treaty. You should make Muniru understand that we are inclined to demonstrate that we are very generous, but that you do not have detailed instructions regarding these questions, that the Comandant Superior has only sent you to him to establish amicable relations with a powerful neighboring chief, and has only indicated to you the possibility of concluding a commercial convention without giving your precise instructions on this subject.

Jaime's efforts to secure a treaty with Muniru fell flat. The ensign reported later in his travel account that while he was at Mopti his efforts to deliver gifts and hold talks with Muniru were dashed by Ahmadu's partisans in the region. Muniru asked Jaime not to sail his gunboat

[245] Caron, *Voyage*, 171-2.
[246] Avec questions des captifs etc. […] si l'on nous demande d'introduire des clauses de ces genres dans la traite. Sachez de faire comprendre à Mounirou que nous sommes disposés à nous montrer très larges, mais que vous n'avez pas des instructions assez détaillées pour traiter ces questions, le commandant supérieur vous ayant envoyé vers lui a seul fin de nouer des relations amicales avec un chef puissant notre voisin, et vous ayant seulement indique la possibilité de conclure une convention commerciale sans vous donner d'instructions précises à ce sujet, ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/IV/114, cahier a, "Instructions pour Monsieur l'enseigne de vaisseau Jaime commandant la flottille du Niger."

north of Mopti, fearing that such a move would strengthen Ahmadu's position.[247] In light of this request and the difficulties he faced securing rations, Jaime returned to Kolikoro.[248]

Mindful of Jaime's failures, Archinard charged Mademba Sy, the former telegraph operator, with gathering information on Bandiagara and fostering good relations with Muniru. Archinard installed Mademba as "Fama" of Segu in 1891, to serve as an "advanced sentinel" against "Masinanke" aggression. In colonial documents, the word "Masinanke" was used to refer to both the Fulbe of Hamdullahi and the Futanke who colonized the region after 1861.[249] Though a Futanke himself, Mademba had proved himself capable of commanding the Bamana *sofas* who comprised much of Ahmadu's army at Segu. Nevertheless, the French administration recognized that the armies of Bandiagara constituted a preeminent threat to further French expansion in the area.[250] Some evidence indicates that Mademba had spent time with Muniru while the latter was in French custody after 1884; for instance, the orders concerning Mademba's mission to Muniru note that the former telegraph operator had lived close to Muniru for some time, and would likely have his trust.[251]

Muniru probably hoped for French intervention on his behalf. According to Menvielle's history, Muniru had hoped to oppose Ahmadu by force, but the Futanke settlers at Bandiagara effectively opposed his efforts.[252] In an interview with Ibrahima Barry in 1990, Tijani's descendent, Cheick Tijani Agibu, claimed that Muniru tried to argue that Umar Tal had transferred his authority in the eastern provinces to Tijani, and that consequently Ahmadu had no

[247] Jaime, *De Koulikoro à Tombouctou*, 161-4.
[248] ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/114, cahier a, "Comandant Bamako of Comandant Superior, Kayes, 30 Octobre 1889," (French).
[249] ANOM/FM/SOUD/II "Conclusions of Louis Archinard's Report on the Situation of the Colony upon his Departure, Letter to the Minister's Envoy, April 1894," (French).
[250] *Ibid*.
[251] ANM 1D 218, Mission Politique de Mademba au Macina et à Tombouctou, [c. 1891]
[252] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).

rights to the emirate.[253] If such an argument was made, it would not have convinced Koli Modi and the other Futanke settlers who supported Ahmadu. Ahmadu and his partisans leveraged public knowledge of Muniru's meetings with colonial officials to claim he was "a French puppet."[254] One colonial report claimed that Ahmadu sent a public letter to Bandiagara declaring that Muniru would give the emirate over to "the infidels."[255] France's military conquests of Segu and Karta doubtlessly moved many Futanke at Bandiagara to rally around Ahmadu, as a symbol of the *ancien régime* established by Umar Tal. Having just opposed the French at Nioro, Ahmadu was in a position to style himself as a leader committed to saving Futanke society from the corrupting influence of France. When Commandant Superior Louis Archinard led a column up the Niger River toward Bandiagara in 1893, many of the Futanke settlers at Bandiagara accompanied Ahmadu as he retreated east. Their journey was cast as *hijra* similar to Mohammad's emigration from Mecca to Medina.[256]

Conclusions, Pragmatism in a Time of Upheaval

It is unclear how or why Muniru's political advantage in Bandiagara collapsed. Ahmadu lost a critical supporter with the death of Koli Modi around June of 1891.[257] But by this time Muniru's hold on Bandiagara was significantly weakened. In May of 1891, word reached colonial officers that Muniru had "abdicated" his throne to Ahmadu.[258] Narratives gathered after

[253] Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara," 619.
[254] ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/IV/114, cahier a, "Telegram, Koulikoro ,15 September 1890." Another report claimed that Ahmadu sent a public letter to Bandiagara declaring that Muniru would give the emirate over to "the infidels": ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/114, cahier a, "Comandant of Bamako to the Commandant Superior, Kayes, 30 Octobre 1889," (French).
[255] ANOM/FM/SG/SEN/IV/114, cahier a, "Telegram Koulikoro 15 September 1890," (French).
[256] Hanson and Robinson, *After the Jihad, 9.*
[257]ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/I cahier 1c, "Comandant Superior to the Governor of Saint Louis, 3 June 1891," (French).
[258] Muniru abdicated sometime between August and November of 1891.

the French conquest claim that sometime before the end of the rainy season of 1891 Muniru road to the outskirts of Bandiagara to meet his brother; dismounted and led Ahmadu's horse into Bandiagara by the reigns. After this public display of deference colonial sources remembered that Muniru simply abdicated his throne and forgot that he had resisted Ahmadu effectively for two years. It also seems that some sort of settlement was reached between the two brothers. According information gathered at Bandiagara by Menvielle, Ahmadu assured his brother that he would retain his wealth and his estate near Jenne.[259]

The opposition to Muniru led by Koli Modi demonstrates how highly an earlier generation of Umarians valued service in Umar Tal's wars, and how much they disapproved of French expansion into the Middle Niger. Muniru, in contrast, was a political realist who understood that Bandiagara's military institutions were more important than his prestige, religious learning, or service in his father's wars. He made strategic alliances with Bandiagara's military base, and once in power continued to pursue the emirate's military and economic objectives rather than rushing to his brother's defense. It is possible he recognized that a French presence in the region was an unavoidable eventuality; and be that as it may, he routinely sought French assistance to attain his political objectives. The French, for their part, hoped to leverage Muniru's fraught relationship with Ahmadu to turn the obstacle posed by the emirate's military into a key alliance.

Muniru did not survive long enough to see his would-be allies' conquest of Bandiagara. According to a brief telegram, Ahmadu probably ordered Muniru's assassination before he fled the French advance.[260] Rumors that Ahmadu or his partisans poisoned Muniru circulated among

[259] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).
[260] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/I, cahier 4b, "Telegram Commandant Superior to Minister of Colonies 15 Février 1893."

the Futanke at Bandiagara.[261] While Muniru did not survive to benefit from the relationship he had cultivated with the French, his brother Agibu was placed in power at Bandiagara because of his cooperation with the French military. As we will see in the next two chapters, circumstances prompted Agibu to enter into a bargain of collaboration when Commandant Superior Louis Archinard began an aggressive campaign to conquer Futanke strongholds. Through his cooperation with the French, Agibu became a king, but a king placed on the throne by conquerors.

[261] Ibrahima Mamadou Ouane, *L'Empire Toucouleur d'El Hadj Omar. L'enigme du Macina*, (Mont Carlo, 1952).

CHAPTER 4

Households and Politics on the Eve of Colonial Conquest

In 1893 Commandant Superior Louis Archinard faced little resistance as he took the Bandiagara Emirate's garrison capital. Umar Tal's eldest son, Ahmadu, had fled the last independent Umarian fiefdom with a group of followers. Ahmadu's younger brother, Agibu, accompanied the French colonial army, and at the conclusion of the campaign Archinard crowned Agibu *fama*, or king, of the Futanke state in the Middle Niger. For the Futanke community at Bandiagara, Ahmadu's flight and Agibu's coronation marked the end of their emirate's independence. Those who emigrated east with Ahmadu, symbolically recreated Mohamad's *hijra* from Mecca to Medina by leaving the Bandiagara in the hopes of reestablishing a new Muslim community. Many would return after difficult months on the road, and many these returnees found it difficult to accept Agibu's rule.

Agibu's close relationship with Archinard and long career as a colonial intermediary, one marred by failures near the end of his life, has earned him an unenviable place in the history of the Umarians. For a time, Agibu appears to have believed that the Futanke could politically outmaneuver the French. In a letter he wrote to his brother Ahmadu, for example, he suggested that by taking a passive position and allowing the French to expand, the Futanke would eventually be able to take back French posts.[262] But it was the French who eventually whittled away at Futanke authority, until Agibu was a mere figurehead.

While Agibu never reasserted Futanke political authority he did manage to create a landing pad for returnees from the *hijra* who were allowed to reclaim their residences in

[262] ANS 15G 32, "Agibu to Ahmadu, November [n.d.], 1889," (Arabic).

Bandiagara. Elsewhere, the colonial government ordered Futanke settlers to abandon the lands conquered through Umar Tal's wars, including Karta and Segu, and return to Futa Toro. This forced migration was meant to dismantle Futanke power, and for the most part, those Futanke who avoided resettlement did so with the approval of the French administration.

The struggle to maintain control over the movement of people in and around the Futanke states began in early 1889, when the French military began seizing Futanke areas that connected the fiefdom of Dinguiray, which Agibu governed, to Karta, the rebellious northwestern fiefdom where Ahmadu had resided since putting down a coup led by his brothers. Surprisingly, Ahmadu also remained diplomatically engaged with the French, despite colonial encroachment upon his states. This chapter examines Ahmadu's and Agibu's diplomatic relationships with the French colonial administration from 1888 to 1893. Through a close reading of the official correspondence among Ahmadu, Agibu, and colonial officers serving in West Africa during the years leading up to France's total conquest of the so-called Western Sudan, it offers new insights into how mobility and immobility impacted diplomatic relations between Futanke elites and French officers. Specifically, I will argue that Ahmadu and Agibu used their relationships with French officers to control the movement of subordinate members of Futanke households: demanding the return of slaves and runaway women, while negotiating safe passage for their wives and courtiers.

This preoccupation with movement of subordinates, especially in the face of territorial losses, reveals the importance of households to nineteenth-century Futanke politics. That is, by protecting their wives and children and guarding their slaves and concubines, the Futanke princes attempted to maintain control over their households, conceived of as essential political entities. In her book *Our New Husbands Are Here,* Emily Osborne details the relationship between

households and the state in precolonial Kankan – a region on the periphery of the Futanke fiefdom of Dinguiray – and argues that households there were indeed political entities, used by Kankan's rulers (along with marriage) to attract settlers, forge alliances, and expand state power.[263] Like their neighbors at Kankan, Ahmadu and Agibu were preoccupied with growing and protecting their households, especially in the face of French challenges to Futanke sovereignty.

Patriarchal Futanke households included not only wives and children but hundreds of slaves ranging from elite *sofas* and concubines to servants and plantation workers. Ahmadu and Agibu's efforts to preserve their authority over their households forced them to remain diplomatically engaged with France, even as their territory was seized by colonial armies. In the years that preceded France's total conquest of the Futanke states, Futanke households became the favorite pressure points of French officers, though Futanke princes also used their control over subordinate members of their families to achieve political ends. Ultimately, Ahmadu's and Agibu's power over their own households deteriorated as the French colonial regime asserted ever greater political control over the Futanke states established by Umar Tal.

Historical Context

French relations with the second generation of Umarian leaders can be said to have begun when Joseph Gallieni, then a young junior officer, was held captive by Ahmadu at Nango in 1880-81. During his time there, Gallieni formed a sort of rapport with Ahmadu, which the former would draw on in his correspondence with the "sultan" after being appointed Commandant

[263] Emily L. Osborn, *Our New Husbands Are Here: Households, Gender, and Politics in a West African State from the Slave Trade to Colonial Rule*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011).

Superior in 1886. These letters frequently sought to provide assurances of Gallieni's continued friendship, even as he encouraged Ahmadu's Bamana enemies in Beledugu.[264] Gallieni seemed to think that family rivalries and insurgencies would eventually topple the "Tukolor Empire" and preferred to focus his attention on Mahmadu Lamine's insurgency at Bundu: a threat nearer to the French colony of Senegal. Lamine's religious authority also posed a challenge to Ahmadu, and for a while the two men's shared opposition to Lamine facilitated a relatively cordial relationship between Ahmadu and Gallieni. However, the arrival of Archinard marked an important milestone in the steady disintegration of the diplomatic status quo between the French and the Futanke. The new agenda of French conquest, pushed by Archinard, eventually pressed Ahmadu and Agibu into new roles. Ahmadu became the colonial administration's villain, an obstacle to French expansion. Consequently, his short-lived diplomatic relationship with Archinard failed, and he was forced to retreat eastward as France conquered Segu, Karta, and Bandiagara.[265] Agibu, on the other hand, managed to use his relationships with French officers to shelter himself from his enemies and even expand his political power during the period of French conquest.

Nevertheless, in 1889, just a few years before Agibu joined the column that chased Ahmadu from his refuge at Bandiagara, both brothers stood on relatively similar footings with the colonial administration: rankled by French expansion in the region, but staying diplomatically engaged for the sake of maintaining control over their subjects during the politically tumultuous years that preceded France's total conquest of the Middle Niger. These and other Futanke princes were particularly concerned with their ability to ensure the safe

[264] Gallieni explained this strategy in a letter to Monsieur Commandant des Cerclés on November 20, 1886 (ANS 15G 28; French).
[265] France captured Segu in April 1890; Nioro, the capital of Karta, on January 1, 1891; and Bandiagara on April 29, 1893.

movement of elites between the Futanke states, as well as their ability to restrict the movement of non-elites such as slaves and concubines.

Sources

In their diplomatic correspondence with France, Ahmadu and Agibu both sought recognition of their authority over marriage, divorce, and the movement of subordinate members of their households through both Futanke and French territory. Most often, household subordinates were mentioned in letters to the French that primarily dealt with territorial losses, trade, and the interpretation of treaties. Sometimes, however, controlling the movements of women, slaves and courtiers was the sole subject of their letters to colonial officers.

The majority of the letters analyzed in this chapter are now held in two collections in the National Archives of Senegal: ANS 15G 75, consisting of some Arabic originals along with summaries and translations in French, and ANS 15G 81, which contains correspondence that was translated into French and copied into registers by colonial officers and their intermediaries. These translated texts often include marginal notes in which colonial officers provided context. Frequently, the letters passed to French officers were accompanied by verbal messages carried by Futanke couriers,[266] and in a few instances, officers summarized those peripheral messages, providing us with further clues about the intentions of Futanke leaders. Reading this correspondence critically allows us to develop a picture of how the political and diplomatic relationships between the French and Futanke affected Futanke households. For instance, it is clear from such notes that the Futanke kept hostages as leverage against their political rivals,

[266] For example, in one routine letter, Agibu told Archinard that "The rest is in the envoy's mouth": ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, 1888-90, no. 24, received June 26, 1890 (French).

including other Futanke; and as we will see, the tactic of using the most vulnerable members of households as hostages would also be employed by the French.

By focusing on the links between diplomacy and royal households, this chapter is also able to shed some light on the experiences of women in the Futanke territories during the period of French conquest. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that all the reports and correspondence used as evidence for this chapter were written by elite men. Importantly, these documents referred to slaves as *captifs*, and both free and unfree women within households as *femmes*, meaning wives rather than women. In both cases, the terms used elide the subordinate status of these people within Futanke society. In some of the cases described below, it will become clear that the "wives" the documents refer to were, in fact, concubines – just as the "captives" were clearly slaves. It is also important to recognize that women in Futanke society had a variety of experiences. Many of the "wives" described by documents were indeed elite princesses and courtiers who enjoyed a privileged place in Futanke society relative to other women; and, recognizing the status of these women, the colonial government often held the mothers and wives of high-ranking Futanke men hostage to ensure the latter's compliance.

Kunjan

Early in his career, Agibu showed a certain amount of ambivalence toward the French.[267] His principal concerns at the time were protecting his subordinates in the region and ensuring that trade passed through his territory. To this end, he traded with the British in Sierra Leone and engaged in diplomacy with the Dyula, even as he received representatives sent by Gallieni.

[267] St. Martin suggests two reasons for Agibu's reluctance to accept a protectorate treaty before 1889: his desire to maintain trade with the British at Freetown, and the presence of anti-French hardliners among the *talibe* at Tamba. See St. Martin, "Un fils d'El Hadj Omar," 161.

Agibu's attitude toward the French became notably hostile only after they took the Umarian fortress of Kunjan.

Kunjan had been held by the Umarians since their conquest of Karta. From it, they improved their control of the northbound trade in gold, kola and slaves,[268] to the point that it became the key way-station between the southern province of Dinguiray and the northern province of Karta. By the late 1880s, however, the military strength of the Umarians at Kunjan was waning. Gallieni recognized that the fortress had become a weak point, and suggested that, as punishment, "it might be taken over if Ahmadu continued to conscript soldiers in Futa [Toro]."[269] Gallieni wrote to Ahmadu and informed him that the Futanke inhabitants at Kunjan had been harassing Malinke traders from Bambuk, and that these traders had demanded French protection. Gallieni went on to suggest that the Futanke should abandon Kunjan, so that they would not continue to "cause trouble in the region": presumably, a reference to the same alleged harassment.[270]

The colonial administration took a more active role in toppling Ahmadu's "empire" from 1888, when Gallieni was replaced as Commandant Superior by Archinard, whose first offensive against the Futanke – quick, quiet, and effective – was directed at Kunjan. Indeed, even Archinard's superiors were kept in the dark about the operation, for which he subsequently apologized to them.[271] Through their capture of Kunjan, the French had effectively bisected Ahmadu's territory, and opened up a new pressure point for the Futanke states: the movement of their goods and people across territory controlled by France.

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[268] Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, 360.
[269] Kanya-Forstner, *The Conquest of the Western Sudan*, 175.
[270] ANS 15G 76, Correspondence avec des chefs divers, no. 2, undated (French).
[271] Kanya-Forstner, in *The French Conquest of the Western Sudan*, 178-9, speculates that this action may have been aimed at making a name for himself in advance of the publication of a promotion list in February; but St. Martin notes that the news of Kunjan would not have arrived in France before the list was published on February 7, 1890: "Un fils d'El Hadj Omar," 165, n2.

Agibu was particularly rankled by this move, having already complained to Gallieni that it was inappropriate for the latter to order his Futanke subjects to abandon Kunjan.[272] In a second letter, this time intended for Archinard, Agibu conveyed his anger over the issue more plainly, while also asserting that of all of Umar's sons, he was the most pious, the most intelligent, and the truest inheritor of his father's cause. He further claimed that, when he had written to Ahmadu the previous year and asked him to recall the inhabitants of Kunjan to the right bank of the Bafing River, Ahmadu had responded by giving him full authority over Kunjan. Thus, in Agibu's analysis, the French were violating the conditions of Ahmadu's agreement with him.[273]

As Agibu contested the French seizure of territory to his north, he attempted to secure his control over subordinates near Dinguiray's southern frontier by holding meetings with Soriba, a general who served under Samory Toure. Samory's Dyulla Empire had been an existential threat to the Futanke for years, and particularly so to the community at Dinguiray. Agibu had previously made several attempts to foster diplomatic ties with the Dyulla in order to protect this fiefdom.[274] It is therefore difficult to gauge Agibu's precise reasons for meeting with Soriba, but they most likely planned a joint assault to reclaim Baleya and Ulada: two regions that had asserted their independence from Samory through treaties with France.[275]

By 1889, Samory had made his opposition to French expansion clear, and the strength of his armies threatened France's plans to isolate the British traders on the Gambia River. Now, news of Agibu's rumored joint campaign with Soriba alarmed the new Commandant Superior. Archinard responded to both Agibu's effrontery over Kunjan and his gravitation toward Samory

[272] ANS 15G 33 no. 1, June 24, 1888 (French). Ahmadu also claimed that the French had ordered the evacuation of Kunjan in a letter he sent to Gallieni around the same time: ANS 15 G 81 no. 1, Nioro, May 1888, (French).
[273] ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 7, April 10, 1889.
[274] Futanke-Dyulla talks at Nono in 1879 had fallen apart when Samory arrived with a formidable contingent of soldiers. Person, *Samori*, 325.
[275] The 1889 Treaty of Nyako had placed Baleya and Ulada under French protection. See St. Martin, "Un fils du Hajj Umar," 164-5.

in a single threatening letter. He informed Agibu that if his men were still in Baleya when he arrived, he would open fire on them with his artillery – as indeed he later did.[276]

Archinard's heavy-handed response tempered Agibu's defiance. In two letters he sent Archinard in May 1889, Agibu assured him that he had not gone to Baleya to make war against the French. He admitted that he had attacked Baleya with Samory, but claimed that he did this because, years before, slaves of his had escaped and sought refuge there. As well as telling the Commandant Superior that he was there to reclaim these slaves, he mentioned that Dinguiray had a treaty with France, but no treaties with Samory.[277]

After the confrontation with Archinard over Baleya, Agibu attempted to resolve his problems in the region through his relationship with the French. He went as far as asking them to help him recover dissident villages that had previously been attached to Umar Tal's territory. In his correspondence with Archinard, for instance, Agibu asked for the return of Logorumba, a village in Ulada that he claimed had been given to al-Hajj Umar Tal by the Almamy of Timbo, and which consequently should belong to Dinguiray.[278] Archinard rebuffed Agibu's request, informing him that a French treaty with Ulada[279] prevented him from taking any action.

On the subject of runaway slaves, however, Archinard was more receptive. He told Agibu to seek their return through France's allies at Ulada, and assured him that he would return any slaves who had fled Dinguiray to Baleya.[280] Thus, although Agibu failed to recover any territory,

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[276] "[D]e fevrier a avril 1889 apres la prise de Koundian, j'allais parcourir les provinces des Baleya et Ouelada, quand Agibou, chef de Dingiray et Soriba chef sofa du Samory furent en fuit et que notre canon tire contre eux": ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/II/1, Archinard, "Conclusions du rapport de Louis Archinard sur la situation de la colonie à son départ, lettre d'envoi au ministre avril 1894," 639.
[277] ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 13, "Agibu to Archinard, [undated] May 1889," (French); see also ANS 15 G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 12, "Agibu to Archinard, May 11, 1889," (French).
[278] ANS 15 G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 12, "Agibu to Archinard, May 11, 1889," (French).
[279] The 1889 Treaty of Nyako had placed Baleya and Ulada under French protection. See St. Martin, "Un fils du Hajj Umar," 165.
[280] ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 14, "Archinard to Agibu, June 15, 1889," (French).

he was able to enlist France's help to maintain his control over subordinates who had fled to nearby French posts.

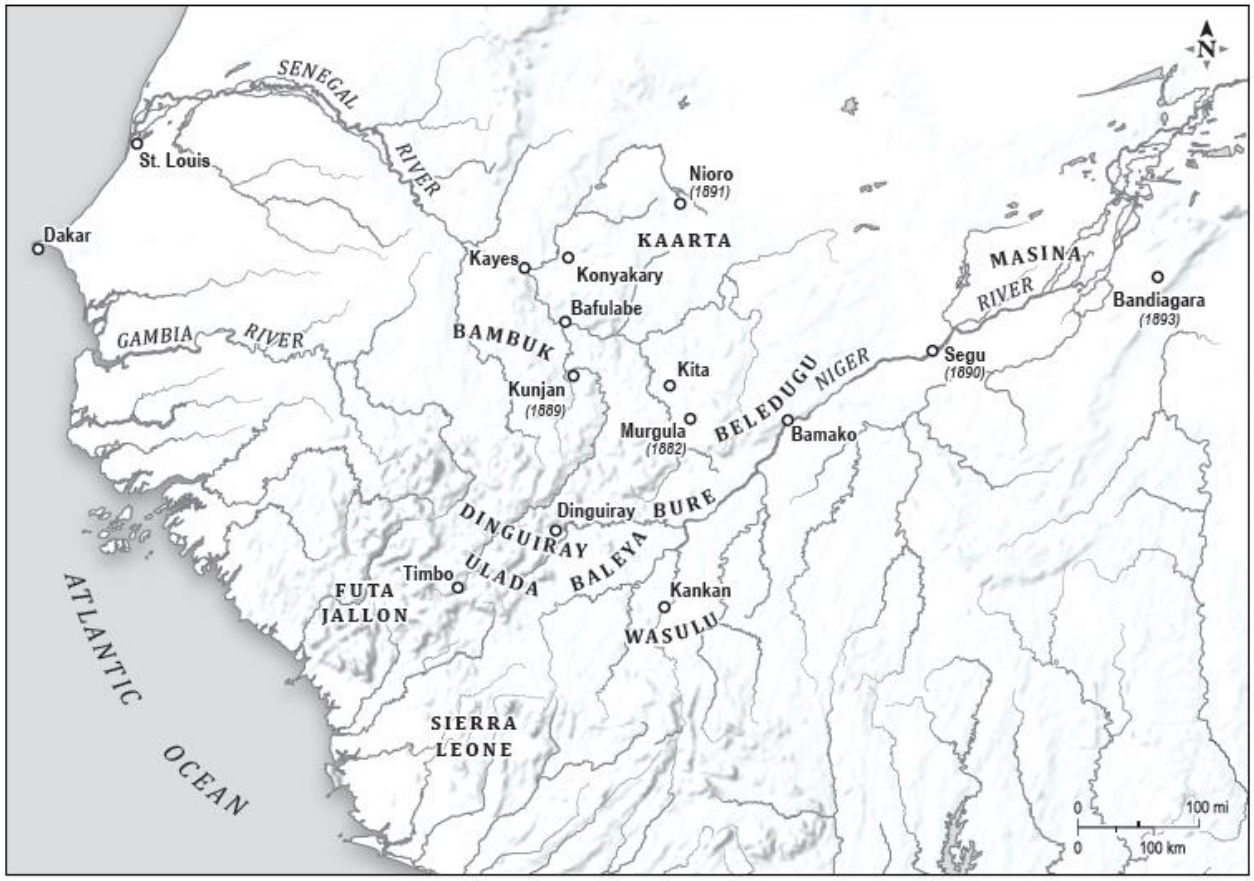

Figure 14: French Conquest of Futanke Territory

Households, Mobility and Diplomacy in Karta: 1889-91

Ahmadu had compelling political and economic reasons to engage with his French neighbors. He had been forced to remain at Nioro after he put down Muntaga's rebellion, which had threatened to sunder Ahmadu's control over Karta. The Futanke community at Karta was still fractured, with settlers who profited from agriculture and long-distance trade being protective of their interests and thus reluctant to support Ahmadu's campaigns in Segu.[281]

[281] John Hanson, *Migration and Jihad*, 86-7.

Against this background of his attempts to shore up his rule in Karta, then, it is perhaps less surprising that Ahmadu did not completely sever his relations with the French after their seizure of Kunjan.[282]

Archinard also continued to assure Ahmadu of his friendship: telling him in March 1889, for example, that he had reprimanded the Commandant of Badumbe for refusing to allow two *talibe* trying to sell a horse to pass through his post.[283] Archinard also assured Ahmadu that their treaty was still in effect, and that merchants and envoys could travel safely between French and Futanke territories.[284] Ahmadu also continued to correspond with officers at Kayes about the movement of people between French and Futanke territory, more than a year after the capture of Kunjan. Specifically, both Ahmadu and these French officers endeavored to negotiate the return of subordinate members of households in their territory – women who had fled their husbands, and slaves who had fled their masters – alongside their more traditional diplomatic correspondence regarding protection of traveling members of the elite.

The correspondence between Ahmadu and officers at Kayes illustrates how protecting the households of elites legitimized the power of rulers. By ensuring his control over his subjects even when they strayed – for whatever reason – beyond his borders, Ahmadu strengthened his power in Karta, a territory he had only recently reclaimed by force from Muntaga. For instance, Ahmadu used his diplomatic ties with French commanders to ensure the safe return of children brought into French territory by enemy soldiers, inquiring in 1889 about two children of a certain Amadu-Moktar who had been taken during a conflict with the Bamana of Karta and were held by

[282] Kanya-Forstner points out that Ahmadu ended trade with Medine after the fall of Kunjan. This is correct, but a certain amount of petty trade apparently continued, and diplomatic relations were not cut off completely until Archinard took Ahmadu's family as hostages after the fall of Segu.
[283] ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 16, "Archinard to Ahmadu, March 23, 1889," (French).
[284] ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 15, "Archinard to Ahmadu, March 7 1889," (French).

Mari Cire. In his reply, Archinard informed Ahmadu that he had recovered one of Amadu-Moktar's two missing children, a son named Omar, who could be collected at Kita.[285] Amadu-Moktar's other missing child, a daughter, remained a subject of correspondence for months, and she was eventually found by the Commander of Kayes. In a letter that clearly indicates the importance to French-Futanke relations of ensuring the safe passage of family members, this officer promised to deliver the girl, and also to ensure the safety of Ahmadu's nephew, who planned to travel through Kayes on his way to Dinguiray.[286] Thus, even though Karta and Dinguiray were separated from each other by French territory, Ahmadu was able to secure safe passage for members of his household traveling between these Futanke provinces.

The Commandant of Kayes also wrote to Ahmadu to seek the return of people who had fled his post. One such case highlights how the Futanke and French appealed to similar ideas about the duty of wives to their husbands in their negotiations over the movement of people between their territories. In the summer of 1889, a woman named Bolo fled her husband, Samba Demba, with the intention of settling in Karta. According the Commandant of Kayes, she had taken advantage of her husband's absence to make off with 350 francs' worth of silver and two large gold earrings.[287] As part of their attempts to settle this affair, Ahmadu and the officer sought to build a common understanding of gender roles and marriage. According to Ahmadu, the wife could be returned because she should not have fled her husband before requesting a hearing before a *qadi*. He pointed out that when he returned the woman, he was placing her under French protection, and that she and her husband should live together without further quarrel. Once the woman returned to Kayes, the French officer thanked Ahmadu for returning

[285] *Ibid.*
[286] ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 24, "Agibu to Archinard, received June 26, 1890," (French).
[287] *Ibid.*

her to her "legitimate husband," underscoring their shared assumption that a married woman should reside in her husband's household.[288]

The imbalance of power in French-Futanke relations during the last decade of the nineteenth century is evidenced by other letters concerning the return of "runaway" women. Following Bolo's return to Kayes, Ahmadu wrote to the Commandant there to request the return of a slave woman who had married her Futanke master, Malik Ndondy. Ahmadu wrote that ensuring this slave's return would affirm the friendship between them, and noted that it was the Commandant who had begun the practice of returning women.[289] The Commandant, responding via special envoy, informed Ahmadu that he had interrogated the woman, named Melankoura. She testified that she had not married Malik, but that she was *his* slave, and had been placed in irons for a month for refusing to marry him. Appealing to the "laws of the nations of God," the Commandant informed Ahmadu that he could not return slaves who fled across the Senegal River to obtain their freedom. Since 1848, French law had indeed held that slaves who reached French soil in the colonies should be liberated, but in reality, that principle was enforced selectively: with the slaves of allies generally being returned, and the slaves of enemies freed.[290] In the event, Melankoura – the wife of another freed slave named Baru – was allowed to live with him in Khasso: a former a Bamana kingdom that had already been integrated into the French Sudan.[291] Both parties to this discussion regarded the earlier return of Bolo to her husband at Kayes as having set a precedent that lawfully-married women should not be separated from their "legitimate husbands." Thus, Melankoura's marriage to Baru strengthened the French

[288] ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 28, "Commandant of Kays to Ahmadu, [undated] August 1889," (French).
[289] ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 29, "Ahmadu to Commandant of Kayes, August 29, 1889," (French).
[290] This strategy was pursued as early as 1857 by Governor Louis Faihdherbe. See Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants and Slaves*, 175-6.
[291] ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 30, "Commandant of Kayes to Ahmadou [n.d.]," (French).

officer's position that she should not be returned to her former master. Nevertheless, this episode illustrates the fact that colonial officials did not uniformly enforce either the liberation or the return of *captifs*. For example, in November of the same year, a postscript to one of Archinard's letters requested that Ahmadu return two slaves who were "stolen from his men" and taken to Guidimaka.[292]

Negotiating the release of family members and couriers was also an important part of diplomatic relations between Futanke princes, and women in particular were often held hostage by Futanke princes to check their rivals. As noted earlier, the founder of the Bandiagara Emirate, Tijani Tal, had asked Lt. Caron to secure his mother's release from Dinguiray in 1888.[293] At this time Dinguiray was still firmly under Ahmadu's control, and the fact that he held Tijani's mother was probably Ahmadu's means of protecting himself from his cousin. Ahmadu also held Agibu's courtiers at Segu long after he had appointed his half-brother governor of Dinguiray. Notes recorded in the ledgers where Agibu's correspondence was transcribed from Arabic into French indicate that he was displeased with Ahmadu for holding his slaves, courtiers and family members at Segu. One note describes two of Agibu's *sofas*, sent by Agibu to claim his share of the female and child slaves taken by his soldiers who had been stationed at Kunjan before the Futanke outpost fell to France, were held at Segu by Ahmadu for three years. In addition to Agibu's slaves and *sofas*, Ahmadu held at least two women hostage who were very dear to Agibu, one being his wife Assa Kulabali. St. Martin cites a report from Archinard claiming that Agibu had placed himself in the service of France because Ahmadu had confiscated 200 of

[292] ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 32, "Archinard to Ahmadu, November 6, 1889," (French).
[293] Caron, *Voyage*, 178.

Agibu's slaves and a large amount of his gold. Ahmadu also reportedly held fifteen women other than Assa hostage.[294]

In 1890, Agibu was able to use his relationship with Archinard to secure safe passage out of Segu for two women Ahmadu had been holding there, one of whom may well have been Assa, though it is difficult to determine their social status. In his correspondence with Agibu, Archinard refers to them as *femmes*, meaning wives, but in a letter to Ahmadu, the same French officer called them "girls […] given as gifts":

> I have also given a pass to the men returning to Agibu as you have requested and I've had them accompany the two girls you have sent him as gifts. One [of them] is the most beautiful I have seen. She could excite covetousness, and it would be a terrible thing for a girl, who God has made so beautiful, to fall into the hands of bandits.[295]

The return of the women to Agibu was accomplished at the same time Archinard and Ahmadu were butting heads over the establishment of a firm border between their two territories. It was also around this time that clear evidence of Agibu's and Archinard's deteriorating relationships with Ahmadu first appear in their correspondence. In a verbal message passed from Agibu to Archinard through the former's envoy, Agibu accused Ahmadu of favoring his son, Madani, over his brothers.[296] Ahmadu had placed this son in charge of Segu when he traveled to Nioro in 1886, and militarily at least, Madani made gains as a leader, mounting successful small-scale raids, first against Samory and later against Tieba.[297] Indeed, bellicose and unpredictable,

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[294] St. Martin, "Un fils d'El Hadj Omar," 152.

[295] "J'ai aussi donne comme tu me l'as demande un laissez-passer aux hommes qui retournant vers Aguibou et je les fais accompagner car les deux filles que tu lui envoyés en cadeau, il y'en a une des plus belles de celles que j'ai vues. Elle pourrait exciter les convoitises et il serait malheureux qu'une fille que Dieu a fait aussi belle tombe dans les mains de quelques pillards." ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 35, "Archinard to Ahmadu, January 18, 1890," (French).

[296] ANS 15G 81, Correspondance indigène, no. 18, "Agibu to Archinard January 12 1890," (French). The note signed by Archinard states that the envoy a "son of Timbo" related that Ahmadu's cause was no longer Agibu's because Ahmadu had rid himself of his brothers to the benefit of his son Madani.

[297] Yves Person, *Samori: une révolution dyula* (Dakar: I.F.A.N., 1968), 494.

Madani represented a real threat to the French presence on the Niger River. One colonial report suggested that Agibu would be inclined to declare war on Madani once Ahmadu was removed from power,[298] but in the event, Agibu never did go to war against his nephew. As soon as Ahmadu rejected Archinard's proposal for the position of the frontier with French Senegal, the colonial administration prepared to attack Segu,[299] and when it fell in 1890, Madani fled north to join his father at Nioro. After the French conquest of Bandiagara three years later, he continued his journey, this time to the east.

After the conquest of Segu, Archinard attempted to use members of Ahmadu's household as pawns to force his surrender. Madani managed to escape, but left his wife and mother behind at Segu, where along with other women they became Archinard's hostages. The Commandant Superior promised the prince that if he surrendered at Kayes and agreed to live the remainder of his life under French authority, the women would be returned to him, noting that this would enable the reconstitution of his princely household, this time in the vicinity of Dinguiray.[300] Archinard then sent Ahmadu another letter, naming thirty women he held as hostages, and threatening to disperse Ahmadu's family by sending some to Gabon and giving the rest to the Bamana of Beledugu, who had fought to retake Segu from the Futanke.[301] Doubting that Archinard would really do this, Ahmadu informed him that he would consider surrendering, but only after the women were returned. On hearing this, however, Archinard married off four women from Ahmadu's family to high-ranking African officers of the colonial army. Two of

[298] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/I cahier c., Commandant Superior to Governor of St. Louis, April 4, 1890 (French).
[299] Kanya-Forstner, *The Conquest of the Western Sudan*, 181.
[300] ANS 15G 75, Correspondance avec Aguibou, 1888-90, "Commandant Superior to Ahmadu, May 15 1890,"; "Commandant Superior to Commandant of Kayes, May 15, 1890,"; ANS 15G 81 Correspondance indigène, no 42 "Commandant Superior to Ahmadu 15 May 1890," and no. 41 "Commandant Superior to Commandant of Kayes, April 28, 1890," (all in French). According to a note in the register under no. 41, Archinard's envoy to Ahmadu neglected to specify that he could send a representative to Kayes instead of surrendering in person.
[301] ANS 15G 76, Correspondance avec des chefs diverse, 1888-90, "Commandant Superior to Ahmadu, May 30, 1891," (French).

Ahmadu's own daughters both wed Mademba Sy, a telegraph operator who had risen through the ranks of the French military administration during Archinard's wars against the Futanke.[302] Archinard informed Ahmadu of these marriages via the third letter in the same sequence of correspondence, which once again threatened to relocate Ahmadu's family members and marry his wives and mother to his enemies.[303]

As noted in Chapter 4, Archinard eventually had Mademba crowned *fama* of Sansading. An account by the gunboat captain Lt. Hourst, who visited Mademba's court in October of 1895, painted the *fama* as a Francophile and a "cultivated and refined man" who served his guests champagne.[304] Through the capture of Segu, Mademba had received not only a title and noble wives, but also a retinue of Ahmadu's slave soldiers who served as his palace guards. According to Hourst, Mademba's personal chambers were guarded by children, who were the only people the *fama* trusted to tell the truth; and in his court, he was waited on by the daughters of *griots* and blacksmiths, whom Hourst suggested had been selected from among the most beautiful women in the kingdom. Mademba was also served by Yakare, a Bamana *griot* woman who had previously worked in Ahmadu's court.[305]

[302] Fatima Diwando was married to an officer named Ahmadu Coumba, and her daughter to a man named Racine: most likely Racine Sy a *tirailleur* who later became the "Fama" of Bambouk.
[303] "Je continuerai à disperser ta famille comme j'ai dit et donner tes mères et tes femmes à tes ennemies." ANS 15G 76, Correspondance avec des chefs diverse, Archinard, Telegram [n.d.].
[304] See Chapter 4 above.
[305] Hourst, quoted in Nancy R. E. Meugens Bells, *French enterprise in Africa: The personal narrative of Lieut. Hourst of his exploration of the Niger* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1898), 68-70.

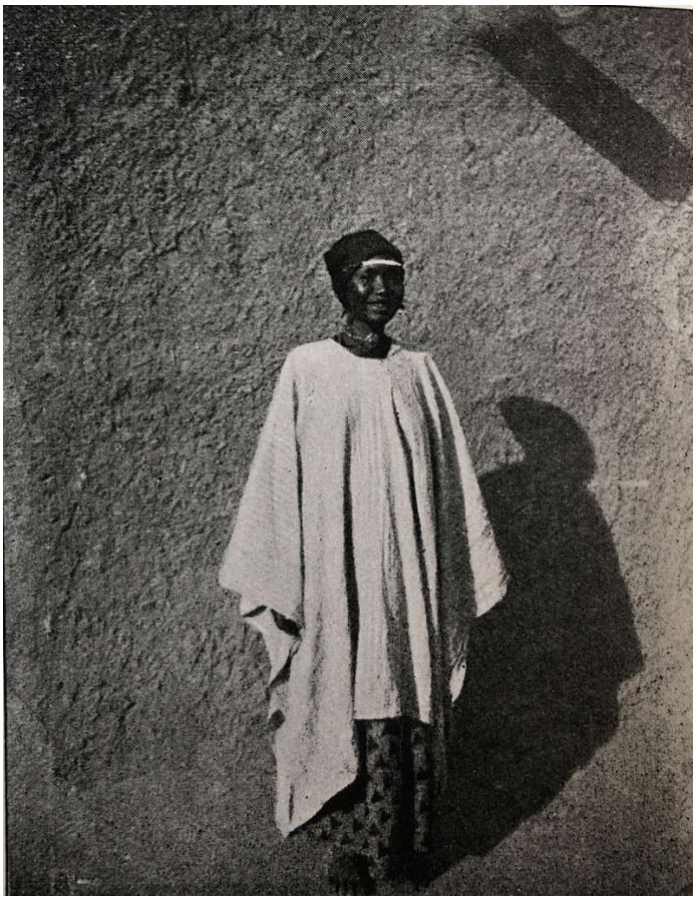

Figure 15: Yakare, a Bamana woman who served in the courts of Ahmadu and Mademba.

Source: Meugens Bells, French enterprise in Africa, 1898.

Agibu's Household in Bandiagara

After the fall of Segu, the French Army marched north to Karta. Ahmadu was forced to flee to the Bandiagara Emirate: by then, the only Futanke kingdom that was not under some form of French rule. Having chased Ahmadu out of his own kingdom, Archinard refocused his efforts against Samory before returning to France to recover from a case of blood flukes. During this absence, he was temporarily replaced by Gustave Humbert; but it was Lt. Maritz, a young officer stationed at Dinguiray with a contingent of *tirailleurs*, who became Agibu's main point of contact with the administration. Maritz limited his own involvement to the military sphere,

apparently respecting Archinard's decision to leave Agibu in charge of delivering justice and collecting taxes.[306]

On or around May 30, 1891, Agibu expressed his concern that Soriba, Samory's general, would move on Dinguiray from Futa Jallon. His fears were borne out in the first weeks of June, when Soriba and another general named Bilali attacked Dinguiray. A relative of Agibu's was able to repel the attack, but after this, Agibu asked Maritz to take command of Dinguiray's troops along with others he would soon provide.[307] Though Agibu's abilities as a recruiter and commander were doubted by French officers in the region, he proved a reliable supplier of material support for the colonial army, including hundreds of head of cattle which – he said – would have been stolen by Samory's soldiers otherwise.[308]

When Archinard returned to West Africa from France, Agibu described how much he had suffered during his absence, listing the names of officers who had not honored Archinard's agreement to return runaway slaves to Dinguiray, including Maritz, was was one of a group of officers who took issue with Agibu's redistribution not only of slaves, but also of material wealth gained from taxation. Still frustrated, Agibu accepted an invitation to join Archinard at Kayes, and accompanied him during his 1893 campaign to push Ahmadu out of Bandiagara. Archinard had initially planned to give command of Bandiagara to Mademba, but decided that the community of Futanke settlers in Bandiagara would more readily accept a descendant of Umar

[306] Archinard wrote in orders to Maritz, "Agibou continuera a render la justice et a reçevoir les cadeaux de Diolas": quoted in St. Martin, "Un fils d'El Hadj Omar," 170. It is also clear from statements collected by officers in 1891 that Agibu still taxed his subjects with little oversight during Maritz's tenure; see ANG 2D 71, Cercle de Dinguiraye chemise 8, "Relève des réclamations contre l'Almamy Maki Talo reçu de 20 au 25 Mars 1899."
[307] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/I cahier c, "Commandant Superior to Governor of St. Louis, May 30, 1890 ," and "Commandant Superior to the Governor and Garrison Commander of St. Louis, June 11 1891," (both in French). Agibu reportedly offered 10,000 men: a number Humbert thought should be divided by ten.
[308] ANS 15G 75, Correspondance avec Aguibou, "Agibu to the Commandant of Bafoulabe, [n.d.]," (Arabic).

Tal.[309] Agibu almost certainly helped Archinard arrive at this conclusion.[310] In a letter of April 1893, Archinard stated plainly that Agibu had requested the appointment for himself: "Aguibu, in whom they attach a great importance and who was one of the faithful, asks me to give them to him, in the event he succeeds at installing himself at Bandiagara in Ahmadu's place."[311] St. Martin notes that the installation of Agibu served two purposes. First, it demonstrated that the colonial regime had acted against Ahmadu, rather than the wider Futanke population or even the family of Umar Tal. Second, the installation of an Umarian prince provided cover for Archinard's military expansion by creating a French protectorate at Bandiagara.[312]

Agibu was able to use his relationship with the French to secure the future of his eldest son, Makki-Agibu, who now took the place he had vacated in Dinguiray and charged with encouraging the cultivation of rubber in that vicinity. The French merchants who subsequently worked with him in that endeavor lauded his efforts. He was also tasked with collecting taxes and providing materials and manpower for colonial projects.[313] Some evidence indicates that he obtained food, other supplies, and laborers by coercing his subjects to pay high taxes in the form of slaves, grain and livestock, diverting much of the resulting wealth to himself and his entourage. Eventually the Commandant of Dinguiray who succeeded Maritz, Lt. Boucher, gathered evidence intended to put an end Makki-Agibu's exactions, beginning with complaints

[309] "J'ai abandonné que j'avais caressé de vous voir commander un jour à Bandiagara et augurant de ce que les diverses populations du Macina obéissaient volontiers depuis plus de 30 ans a des représentants de la famille d'El Hadj Omar, qu'ils se rangeraient plus facilement sous les ordres d'un nouveau membre de cette famille, j'ai donné Macina a Aguibou." ANM 1D 5, "Notice Général sur le Soudan Notice - Notice sur la région Sud 1895 -1899."
[310] St. Martin claims that Agibu made several inquiries about who might succeed Ahmadu at Nioro: "Un fils d'El Hadj Omar," 172.
[311] "Aguibou qui en fait très grand cas et dont il était autrefois un des fidèles m'demande de les lui donner dans le cas où il parviendrait à s'installer a Bandiagara a la place d'Ahmadou." ANM 1E 189, "Archinard to Bonnacorsi, April 6 1893," (French).
[312] St. Martin, "Un fils d'El Hadj Omar," 171-2.
[313] ANG 2D 70, "Rapport sur les traveux, November 6 1897."

made against him by local chiefs.[314] When it became clear that the Almamy would be stripped of his authority and exiled by the colonial administration, additional individuals came forward to complain about misappropriations they had suffered or witnessed. Yet, having collected at least 42 individuals' complaints in two registers, Boucher concluded that the crimes committed by Makki-Agibu and his entourage were too numerous for the administration to address effectively, implying that this data is far from complete. Nevertheless, the registers remain a valuable historical resource. They reveal that Makki-Agibu and his *sofas* demanded gifts in the form of 75 slaves and 79 head of cattle between 1887 and 1898 – notably, a period that overlapped with Agibu's provision of cattle to support French troops fighting against Samory (i.e., in 1889-92). Thus, it seems quite likely that the colonial forces ranged against Samory also profited from Makki-Agibu's expropriations. The registers also note how Makki-Agibu used slavery to form and strengthen households. On one occasion, he married slave women to members of his entourage, and on two others he offered slaves he had appropriated as gifts to his wives.[315] In the end, Boucher had Makki-Agibu exiled to Bamako, and then seized his property, using it to compensate many of those who had made the numerous claims against him.[316]

After word of this reached Agibu in Bandiagara, the now-experienced colonial intermediary appealed to Boucher's superiors in the hope of rebuilding his wealth in people and property. Archinard's letter of investiture had promised Agibu that the colonial administration would relocate his family members to Bandiagara,[317] and in November 1899, Lt. Boucher complied with an order to allow certain family members, primarily women and minors, to leave

[314] ANG 2D 71, Cercle de Dinguiray chemise 7, no. 108, "Réclamations du chef du Tinkisso, March 25 1899."
[315] ANG 2D 71 Cercle de Dinguiray, chemise 8, "Plaintes recu contre Maki Talo le jour meme de son depart," and "Releve des reclamations contre l'Almamy Maki Talo recu de 20 au 25 Mars."
[316] ANG 2D 71 Cercle de Dinguiray, chemise 2, no. 27, Boucher, "Proposition de mesures à adopter pour le règlement des réclamations, [n.d.] Avril 1899."
[317] ANS 15G 74, Correspondance avec les chefs Ahmed el-Kebir *et al.*, "Commandant Superior to Agibu, May [n.d.], 1893" (French).

Dinguiray and travel there. In a letter to the Commandant Superior, Boucher complained that the Futanke elites' maintenance of massive retinues of slaves was causing a disturbance among the free populations. For Boucher, these slaves represented "a good element of the population who want nothing more than to fix themselves on the land."[318] Boucher recognized the right of Makki-Agibu's and Agibu's slaves to their liberty, and by doing so managed to diminish the number of dependents in their households. Boucher claimed that the liberation of these slaves particularly vexed the elite Futanke women in Agibu's household, who "abandoned their luggage in the brush rather than carry the smallest parcel," also noting that these women refused to obey the orders of the officers charged with protecting them along the route.[319] Boucher speculated that Agibu's request to move members of his family from Dinguiray to Bandiagara was in fact a calculated attempt relocate a large number of slaves to his territory in the Middle Niger.[320] Consequently, Boucher elected to send only a few slaves to serve as porters for the Futanke who emigrated to Bandiagara.

In September 1900, Agibu obtained permission for Makki-Agibu to leave Bamako, where he had been exiled, and join his family in Bandiagara. It is unlikely that Agibu ever reclaimed many slaves from Dinguiray, where officers actively sought to limit the number of slaves who left for Bandiagara.[321] A telegram from the Commandant of Kayes to the Governor at St. Louis

[318] ANG 2D 71, Cercle de Dinguiray, chemise 7, no. 359, "Lt. Boucher to Commandant of the southern region, November 8, 1899," (French). In another report from Boucher dated 1-15 July 1899, which is in very poor condition, the lieutenant noted "les différentes femmes ou parents de Maki ses dispersants dans leur famille. La plupart témoignent un vif désir de ne plus retourner jamais près de leur ancien maître"; no. 2. Boucher, "Proposition de mesures à adopter pour le règlement des réclamations, [n.d.] Avril 1899."
[319] ANG 2D 71 Cercle de Dinguiray, chemise 7, no. 359, Lt. Boucher to Maj. commanding the southern region, November 8, 1899 (French).
[320] He posed this theory in ANG 2D 71 Cercle de Dinguiray, chemise 7, no. 359, cited above.
[321] In 1896 Maki arranged to have four slaves carry some of Agibu's personal effects to Bandiagara only after giving several sheep to Lt. Dubrueuil's tirailleurs at Dinguiray: ANG 2D 71 c.1 no. 28. For Boucher's attempts to prevent slaves from traveling to Bandiagara, see ANG 2D 71 c. 7 no. 359 and 2D 71 c. 7 no. 377.

reported that Makki-Agibu had been forced to leave 1,210 "domestics" in Dinguiray.[322] Nevertheless, Agibu continued to acquire slaves and concubines after his installation at Bandiagara, Archinard having ordered the French Resident to ignore any slave raids Agibu might undertake.[323] In 1903, an accounting of persons residing in Agibu's residences revealed that he had more than 100 "captives." The same report also revealed that most of the people in his household were women. Of these women, 65 were referred to as "captives" and another 54 as "femmes d'Aguibou."[324] It is difficult to guess how many of the women from the latter group were actually concubines rather than wives. It is clear from the Resident's reports, however, that he considered these women subordinate members of the household.

Table 3: Slaves in Agibu's Household, 1903

	1st Residence	2nd Residence	Agricultural village	Total
Agibu's "wives"	43	10	1	54
Other women	3	-	-	3
Agibu's children	12	-	-	12
Male slaves	6	1	41	48
Female slaves	49	-	16	65
Sofas	9	-	-	9
Wives of *sofas*	4	-	-	4
Total	134	12	58	204

[322] ANS 15G 71, Correspondance indigène, 1890-1, "Telegram no. 7334, Kayes, November 19, 1900," (French).
[323] Kanya-Forstner, *The Conquest of the Western Sudan*, 200.
[324] ANM 1E 96, Renseignements Politiques, Bandiagara, "Commandant's Report, September 10, 1903, (French).

Eventually, Agibu's power was diminished to the point that he lost control over some of these subordinate women. Acting on a report that Agibu had abused one of them, the French Resident at Bandiagara relocated her to her family's village. In September 1903, Agibu complained to the Resident, who summarized this conversation in his weekly report, as follows: "The next day Aguibou came to see me and demanded freedom to punish his wives as he sees fit and to be the master of his own house […]. I told him he is the master of his house to the extent permitted to everyone."[325] A month later, two more women left Agibu and were permitted by the Resident to marry other men, namely the Resident's interpreter and the son of a nearby village chief. Agibu was furious over the (re)marriage of these two "wives," after which the first woman was routinely ridiculed, and the second denied entry to her father's home. The resident suspected that Agibu had influenced these social repercussions.[326]

As his power and prestige diminished, Agibu's relationships with the officers appointed over him deteriorated. Near the end of his life, his power over even subordinate members of his household had been whittled away, and he was increasingly prone to bouts of anger and melancholy that were recorded in the Resident's monthly reports. Several times, he mounted his horse and started off on the road to Mopti, only to be eventually calmed down by his son Makki-Agibu. And, by interceding with his father on the colonial administration's behalf, Makki-Agibu was able to rehabilitate himself; and when Agibu died in 1908, the Resident suggested that he succeed his father as Chief of the Futanke at Bandiagara in light of his enthusiastic cooperation.

[325] "Le lendemain Aguibou est venu me voir et m'a demandé à être libre de punir ses femmes comme il l'entend et d'être maitre chez lui. Su ma réponse qu'il est maitre chez lui dans les limites permises a chacun" : ANM 1E 96, Renseignements Politiques Bandiagara, "Commandant's Report, September 10, 1903," (French).
[326] ANM 1E 96, Renseignements Politiques, Bandiagara, 1904, "Commandant's Report October 10, 1903," (French).

The Commandant Superior of that time accepted this nomination, in spite of what he called a "deplorable past."[327]

Conclusions, Power over Families

Agibu's political career, one that was propped up by increasingly reluctant French partners, is largely remembered as self-serving and vainglorious. Yet, Agibu managed to secure a special place for the Futanke community at Bandiagara. Even after the colonial administration dismantled their political power and privileges, this group – and especially the Tal – remained important religious authorities for decades. In the 1930's, when Cerno Bokar Tal propagated the Hamawiyya Order of Sheikh Sharif Hamallah, he was opposed at Segu and Bandiagara by other Tal who sought to protect "Tijaniyya orthodoxy" as well as their symbolic capital as Umar Tal's descendants. In his recollections of Cerno Bokar's life and teachings, Ahmadu Hampaté Bâ suggested that the French political authorities eventually exiled Cerno from Bandiagara to Mopti to protect the interests of the influential Tal and the Tijaniyya status quo.[328]

Despite many other failings, Agibu managed to read the changing terrain well enough to ensure his descendants a place in the new regime. He used what power he had to relocate members of his household to Bandiagara, and insisted that his children attend colonial schools and serve as officers in the colonial army. Thus, the privileges that the Tal and other Futanke who remained in the Middle Niger retained during the remainder of the colonial period owed quite a bit to the efforts of Agibu, though he was not alone in working towards this goal by these means.

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[327] ANM 4D 84, Succession du Chef Aguibou Tal, 1908, Ponty, "Télégramme officie, Kayes, 18 Janvier 1908."
[328] Amadou Hampaté Bâ, *Vie et enseignement de Tierno Bokar: le sage de Bandiagara* (Paris: Seuil, 1980); Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation*, 160.

An important aspect of the privileges that Futanke elites in Bandiagara sought to preserve through their cooperation with the French after 1893 was their authority over slaves and other subordinate members of their households. From the outset, France's diplomacy with the second-generation leaders in the Umarian states aimed to end Futanke dominance in the Middle Niger. The French accomplished this end by exploiting rivalries, seizing territory, and selectively liberating slaves. So, it was also by protecting their own households that Futanke princes were able to provide secure futures for subsequent generations of their families within the colonial regime.

The French and Futanke preoccupation with households on the eve of French conquest underscores how these units served as political entities. Women, in particular, were important political assets to both the French and the Futanke, with elite women being used as pawns and hostages by princes and colonial officers alike. The role of women in the preservation of Futanke privilege during the colonial regime deserves more attention than it has received in this chapter, as do France's attempts to assimilate the children of former resistance leaders. In the latter context, it is worth noting that in 1890, when Archinard threatened to marry off Ahmadu's female family members, he also promised to send Ahmadu's son Abdoulaye to France, as he had already sent off the sons of Mamadou Lamine.[329] And Archinard followed through on this, placing Ahmadu's son Abdoulaye in a French household[330] and later in the elite French military academy at St. Cyr, where he died of a heart condition.[331] This suggests that French officialdom perceived the descendants of Ahmadu and Lamine as potentially imbuing the colonial regime

[329] ANS 15G 76, Correspondance avec chefs divers, 1880-94, "Commandant Superior to Ahmadu, May 30, 1891," (French). For more on Lamine's sons, see ANS 15G 32.
[330] Abdoulaye wrote Archinard a warm letter from the home of the de Sales family in February 1894: ANOM/FP/60 APC 1, Correspondence Archinard.
[331] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/X/4 Dossier de Abdoulaye Tal, "Rapport Médicale, 18 Decembre 1898."

with authenticity. Nevertheless, Agibu was one of just a handful of West African leaders who proved able steer France's need for political credibility to the advantage of his offspring.

CHAPTER 5

Military Conquest and the End of Indirect Rule *à la Française*

After the French conquest of Bandiagara, Archinard created a new polity that he called "le royaume d'Agibu." Subsequent colonial officials would refer to this protectorate as "les Etats d'Aguibou," or simply "Macina." Agibu's "kingdom"[332] was set up quickly with little regard for local custom. In a perplexing move, Archinard gave Agibu the title "Fama of Macina," which combined *Fama*, the Bamana word for king, with *Macina*: the preferred French term for the Caliphate of Hamdullahi that had been toppled by Agibu's father in 1862. Archinard had also used the title of Fama when he placed Mademba Sy, a high-ranking Futanke interpreter, in authority over the Bamana at Sansading. In both cases, it was an odd title to choose; but at Bandiagara, it was also foreign, and its use underscored the French military's improvisational approach to colonial administration.

In a certain sense, such an approach resembled the British system of "indirect rule," whereby colonial administrators ruled through African intermediaries, supposedly according to local custom. Before he left the Middle Niger, Archinard installed Mademba as Fama of Sansading, Bodian as Fama of Segu, and Agibu as Fama of Bandiagara. The French military also signed protectorate treaties that recognized Ahmadu Abdul as the ruler of Fio, and Babemba as ruler of Sikasso. But this French system of indirect rule through proxy kings in the Middle Niger was relatively short-lived. After Archinard's departure, military officers in the region began to

[332] I have placed the words king and kingdom in quotes here, to stress that these political institutions were invented to serve French goals in the region. This was especially obvious at Bandiagara, where the Emirate led by Tijani and Muniru was replaced by the "Kingdom" of "Fama" Agibu.

reduce these rulers to "mere agents" of the military's administration, and this power dynamic would come to typify the "French style of Indirect Rule."[333]

This chapter argues that indirect rule through "proxy kings" in the Middle Niger from 1893 to 1903 was a political and strategic expedient that differed fundamentally from the British system of indirect rule. In particular, Agibu's so-called kingdom was intended to be a buffer state that would allow the rapid conquest of the region. As one officer noted:

> One might at first find it strange that the colonel left a Futanke at the head of states that have now come under the French authority. In his report on the campaign of 1892-3 the colonel explained what his goal was: by creating frontier states such as Macina with Agibu, the one in Bobo country with Ahmadu Abdul, the state of Sikasso with Babemba, the colonel wanted to have buffer states where these different chiefs supported by us would maintain a semblance of order rather than letting anarchy take root at our door.[334]

Thus, by installing Agibu as a proxy king, the French military was able to turn Bandiagara into a springboard for further expansion to the north and east. Kanya-Forstner described Archinard's use of proxies as a "temporary expedient," and noted that "Agibu was given tacit instructions to pave the way for the integration of Timbuktu into the empire."[335] Later, military officers stationed at Bandiagara were able to launch campaigns against France's enemies under the guise of supporting and protecting Agibu. As I will show in the pages that follow, Agibu had little say in military affairs at Bandiagara. France's alliances with enemies of the former Bandiagara Emirate, coupled with its plans for economic development on the Niger River, prevented the kinds of conflicts that had supported the economy of Tijani's state.[336] Instead of raiding his enemies, Agibu was encouraged to take action against militant anticolonial movements in his

[333] Michael Crowder, "Indirect Rule – French and British Style," *Journal of the International African Institute* 34, no. 3 (1964): 197-205 (p. 199).
[334] ANM 1D 5, "Notice Général sur le Soudan, Notice sur la région Sud 1895 -1899."
[335] A. S. Kanya-Forstner, *The Conquest of the Western Sudan: A Study in French Military Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 196-7.
[336] On warfare and the economy in the Bandiagara Emirate, see Chapter 2.

hinterlands. And, since Agibu had little support from local warriors, these doomed campaigns inevitably necessitated intervention by colonial troops stationed at Bandiagara and Segu.

Eventually, military conquests in the western Sahel diminished the need for "proxy kings" like Agibu. As more territory was placed directly under military administration, officers of the colonial forces demonstrated clear preferences for local chiefs and racial politics. Below, I will explore how and why the French administration removed non-Futanke populations from under Agibu's rule as conquest made his "kingship" irrelevant. Specifically, once the French military had established posts at Timbuktu, Sangha, Sarefare, and Ouahigouya, they placed Fulbe, Dogon, Songhai and Samo populations under local leaders who reported to French officers. As a consequence, the French conquest of the Middle Niger transformed social hierarchies that had been built around Futanke supremacy.

Historical Context

The capture of Bandiagara in 1893 marked the end of Archinard's conquest of the Middle Niger and the beginning of a new period, during which the *officiers soudanaise*[337] stationed in the region were overseen by civilian administrators at Nioro, Dakar and Paris. Archinard himself was called back to Paris in 1893, on the basis that he had effectively neutralized the "Tukolor threat" to French commercial activity along the Upper Senegal and Niger rivers. Upon his departure from the "French Sudan," civilian administrators in the Ministry of Colonies attempted to assert their control over the military. The Undersecretary for Colonies, Theophile Declassé, a radical republican protégé of Leon Gambetta, appointed a civilian administrator named Albert

[337] The French military empire in the Middle Niger and beyond was called "the French Sudan," and the officers who conquered and administered the territory were called "Sudanese Officers."

Grodet as commandant superior. Declassé instructed Grodet to put an end to campaigning and focus instead on organizing the Middle Niger's administration.[338]

Nevertheless, Archinard's proteges who remained in the region would continue to launch unauthorized offensives, aimed at forcing the wheels of conquest to continue turning despite political opposition. As noted in Chapter 4, Archinard had inaugurated his campaign against the so-called Tukolor Empire with an unauthorized attack on the Futanke fortress of Kunjan, which was presented to his superiors as a *fait accompli*. That attack was also meant to demonstrate Archinard's military brilliance, so that he might ascend the ranks of the colonial military. Etienne Bonnier, the officer placed in command between Archinard's departure and Grodet's arrival, likely weighed his own career in the balance when he prepared a column to attack Timbuktu before Grodet was on the ground to oppose such an action.

While Bonnier was preparing to march on Timbuktu, he ordered a young lieutenant named Boiteux to escort a flotilla of merchants to that city from Jenne. But after word of Bonnier's attack plan reached Paris, Archinard warned Bonnier that the upper echelons of the colonial military opposed the move, and ordered him to keep the reckless Boiteux on a short leash. Bonnier informed Archinard that he called off Boiteux's escort, but noted that "we must go to Timbuktu[,] it is indispensable and it will be done."[339] Grodet had also caught wind of Bonnier's preparations, and ordered him to suspend all military operations. But before Bonnier received Grodet's orders, the impetuous Boiteux, who had halted his flotilla at Mopti, raised anchor and headed for Timbuktu, where he soon became involved in a skirmish with local Tuaregs.[340] With Boiteux overextended at Timbuktu and demanding relief, Bonnier deployed his

[338] Kanya-Forstner, *Conquest of the Western Sudan*, 215.
[339] Kanya-Forstner, *Conquest of the Western Sudan*, 218.
[340] Kanya-Forstner, *Conquest of the Western Sudan*, 217-20.

column to rescue him. Bonnier and Boiteux's insubordination demonstrated how officers would seek out pretexts that would allow them to demonstrate their ability in battle and expand the military's footprint, despite opposition from civilian administrators.

In the event, Bonnier's column did not face any serious opposition from Timbuktu itself, whose leaders had already indicated they would submit to French rule. However, it faced a bloody resistance from Tuaregs, who massacred Bonnier, twelve European officers and sixty-eight African soldiers in their sleep as they camped at Dongoi between Timbuktu and Goundam.[341] This party had set out to scout a route for the arrival of Colonel Joffre, who would succeed Bonnier as the French Commandant at Timbuktu. During Joffre's time there, he frequently attacked Tuareg groups to avenge the killings at Dongoi. These punitive expeditions not only gave him the field experience that paved the way for his future advancement, but also necessitated the establishment of new posts at Goundam, Soumpi and Sarafere. These posts, especially the latter, subsequently brought French officers into direct contact with local leaders, and effectively nullified Agibu's claims over the northern reaches of the former Bandiagara Emirate.

[341] Bruce S. Hall, *A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600-1960* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 135.

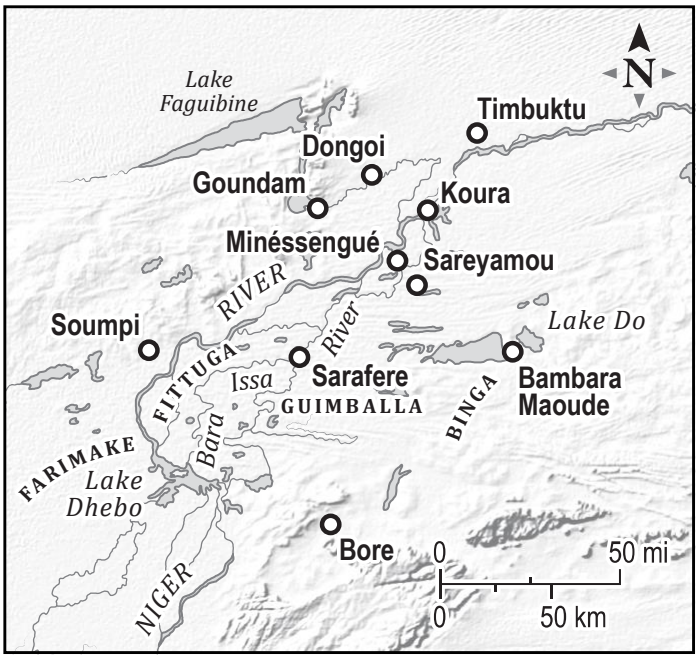

Figure 16: The Regions of Fittuga and Gimballa

The Conquest of Timbuktu and the Reorganization of Agibu's "Kingdom," 1893-5

After the French military had established satellite posts around Timbuktu, that city's Residents began to assert their authority over Tuareg, Fulbe and Sonrai populations who lived in the Gimballa and Fittuga regions. The former region stretched eastward from the alluvial plains of the Niger River around Sarafere to Lake Do, and south toward Dalla and Doventza. The Fittuga region was located within the inundated zone west of Sarafere, from around Niafunke to the Issa Ber. Together, these two regions had formed Timbuktu's southern frontier with the Bandiagara Emirate during the Futanke-Macinanke Wars. The Bamana to the south of the Gimballa region, particularly at Bore, had been Tijani's earliest allies.[342] The part of Fittuga near the Issa Ber, meanwhile, was one of the last regions pressed into recognizing Bandiagara's

[342] See Chapter 1.

authority, and its submission was assured by a contingent of Futanke soldiers stationed nearby. As French officers stationed around Timbuktu attempted to define their spheres of control, they therefore occasionally found themselves at odds with their colleagues at Bandiagara, who could claim authority in these two regions through Agibu's appointment as "Fama of Macina."

As the *officiers soudanaise* sought to extend their administrative reach, they employed contrasting interpretations of the Futanke-Macinanke Wars based on different local accounts. The commandants at Timbuktu generally stressed that populations had "belonged" to Timbuktu before the Futanke invasion of the region, and had been compelled to submit to Bandiagara's armies. The Residents at Bandiagara, for their part, attempted to assert Agibu's authority in this region by arguing that the people who lived there had willingly submitted to or allied themselves with Tijani's Bandiagara Emirate. Among the populations in questions were the Irragenaten: Tuaregs who grazed their herds in Gimballa and had recognized Tijani's rule over that region for decades. To complicate matters further, the Irragenaten were among the Tuareg groups implicated in the massacre at Dongoi.[343]

In 1894, Captain Bonnacorsi dispatched Ahmadu Hamma from Bandiagara to meet with the leader of the Irragenaten, Assalami, and gauge his attitude to the toward the French. Upon his return, Hamma informed Bonnacorsi that Assalami wanted to continue to live on good terms with the "chief of Masina," and that political pressure had compelled him to attack the French. In a subsequent letter to his commanding officer, Bonnacorsi reported that Assalami hoped to gain Agibu's protection from the Fulbe of Gondo and Hombori.[344] In 1895, Assalami began lodging complaints that Agibu and his agents were misappropriating sheep from his people's herds, and

[343] Kanya-Forstner, *Conquest of the Western Sudan*, 221.
[344] ANM 1E 189, Rapports Politiques, "Captain Bonnacorsi Commander of the post of Bandiagara to the delegate of the Commandant Superior, 6 June 1894," (French).

eventually requested that the French administration remove the Irragenaten from under Agibu's authority altogether. Georges Destenave, who was Bandiagara's Resident at the time, later claimed that Assalami's change of heart was encouraged by the commandant of Timbuktu, who "sought the upper hand in relations with the Tuaregs."[345]

In 1894-5, a group of Fulbe in Gimballa under the leadership of Umar Abdoulaye Cisse, known as Garawal, and the chief of Sarafere, Umar ben Koka, also began to assert their independence from Agibu. Destenave claimed that Garawal and Umar ben Koka had traveled to Bandiagara to submit to Agibu upon his installation as "king," but noted that their recognition of Agibu's authority ended after the French capture of Timbuktu: further evidence that, after that event, populations who had accepted Futanke supremacy recognized a new military authority in the region.

Despite the trouble he faced in reining in the officers at Timbuktu, Grodet preferred a direct administration by local leaders guided by officers who lived among them. In July 1894, he issued an order that nullified Agibu's claims to territory north of Lake Debo.[346] However, in December 1895, a dispute erupted between officers at Bandiagara and Timbuktu over whether the Bingha was under the authority of Agibu or the Residents of Sarafere. This was sparked when Agibu gave a number of Fulbe herders permission to settle in a village near Sarafere called Missengue. These same herders had previously been relocated by Muniru from Missengue to a village east of the Issa Ber called Dar es-Salam: probably, as part of a continuation of Tijani's policy of relocating defeated enemies to areas under his control.[347] The Fulbe chief of Missengue visited Bandiagara and asked Agibu for permission to return to his village, which Agibu granted;

[345] ANM 1D 5, "Notice Général sur le Soudan Notice - Notice sur la région Sud 1895 -1899."
[346] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/IV/2, Grodet, "Governor of the French Sudan to the Minister of Colonies, 19 July 1894," (French).
[347] Chapter 1.

but it seems that upon their return to Missengue, the Fulbe asserted their independence from Agibu to the Resident of Sarafere.

The relocation of the Fulbe also prompted a wider debate over the status of the island of Koura on the Sareyamou River and its environs. In a report on the delimitation of the frontier between "Les Etats d'Aguibou" and Timbuktu, the Commandant of Timbuktu pointed out that the question of the frontier impacted not only the Fulbe of Missengue, who made up a minority of the population in this region, but more importantly, the Songhay farmers who made up the majority. The chief of the Songhay farmers testified to the Resident at Timbuktu that his people recognized the Kunta at Timbuktu, and only paid taxes to the Bandiagara Emirate because of Futanke coercion.[348] In a letter to the major who was acting Resident at Bandiagara, Lieutenant Henri Gaden claimed that Agibu had acted independently of Destenave when he gave the Fulbe permission to return to Missengue. Nevertheless, Gaden attempted to defend Agibu's actions: informing the major that if Agibu had known Missengue was under the authority of Timbuktu, he would not have authorized the Fulbe to move there. Gaden further claimed that Bingha had submitted to Tijani; that it was under Ahmadu's authority when the French conquered Bandiagara; and that it therefore had been included in the territory accorded to Agibu in his letter of investiture. Gaden did have to admit, however, that Agibu had shown little interest in this region and had not collected any taxes from it – unlike Tijani, who had placed a *sofa* over the region and demanded a yearly tax of 600,000 cowries and 60 pieces of cloth.[349]

There were strategic economic reasons for removing farming communities in the Fittuga from Agibu's control. As previously mentioned, the Fittuga lies in the Niger River's inland delta,

[348] ANM 1D 59/3, "Rapport sur la délimitation des Tombouctou et les États d'Aguibou," 1896.
[349] Gaden was acting as Resident while Destenave was on his mission to Yatenga, on which, more below. ANS 15 G 179/2, Rapports du Comandant de Bandiagara, 1895, "Gaden to Chef de Bataillon, 20 December 1895," and "Gaden to the Captain in Command at Timbuktu, 21 December 1895," (both in French).

and prior to the French and Futanke conquests it had provided grain to Timbuktu. For climatic reasons, Timbuktu could not produce enough grain for its population locally, and its leaders had established plantations on the northern delta before the establishment of the Hamdullahi Caliphate (est. 1818).[350] Over time, this resulted in a strong economic and political connection between the Fittuga and Timbuktu that endured during the Futanke-Macinanke Wars. After the French conquest of the region, grain produced in the Fittuga and elsewhere was needed by French troops at Timbuktu and the surrounding posts. For this reason, Destenave supported attaching this region to the post at Sarefare, even though he opposed reorganization elsewhere.[351]

Destenave's Opposition to Reorganization

Destenave devoted considerable time and attention to compiling historical evidence in support of Agibu's claims to the emirate founded by Tijani. Destenave's and Gaden's arguments in favor of Agibu's rule over non-Futanke populations in the Middle Niger hinged on the historic legitimacy of Tijani's conquests. In 1894, for example, Destenave balked at the Commandant of Timbuktu's request to attach region of Gimballa to the post at Sarafere, on the grounds that the Bamana of Gimballa had been particularly strong allies of Tijani's.[352] As well as being generally critical of Timbuktu's attempts to absorb Bandiagara's northern hinterland into its area of control, Destenave seemed suspicious of officers at Timbuktu who sought to expand their administrative purview at the expense of his own. He was, of course, also a career officer, and it is important to weigh his historic and political arguments against his own self-interest.

[350] Johnson, "The Economic Foundations of an Islamic Theocracy," 490.
[351] ANS 15 G 179/1 Rapport sur Bossé, "Destenave to Chef de Bataillon, 7 April 1894," (French).
[352] *Ibid.*

As the Resident at Bandiagara, Destenave had a vested interest in supporting Agibu's claims.[353] During the Tripartite Wars, Tijani had relocated captured Fulbe and their *rimaibe* slaves from the regions of Macina and Farimake to the Kunari, settling them at Sareyamou, Mopti and Konna. After the French conquest of the Middle Niger, however, some of these Fulbe and *rimaibe* began to leave the Kunari and return to their homes. Others complained to French officers of exactions by Agibu and his cavaliers, and requested intervention from the French administration. At Konna, the Fulbe and *rimaibe* complained that their herds were being raided by a certain Modi Haoudi.[354] In 1894, Destenave claimed that these complaints were the result of political agitation by agents of Hamat Salla, the Fulbe Chief of Mopti, who advocated the reintegration of Fulbe from Macina and Farimake who had been displaced during the Futanke-Macinanke Wars.[355] Destenave sent Gaden and a representative of Agibu's to Gourao to assess the political situation around Konna, but these visits achieved nothing.[356] Then, on 21 February 1895, the displaced Fulbe and their *rimaibe* in Konna were authorized to move to the Burgu west of Jenne by Grodet's order no. 295, which effectively removed them from Agibu's "kingdom" and placed them under the administrative control of the Commandant of Jenne.[357]

As the territory on the west bank of the Niger River was subsumed by the administration of officers at Jenne and Timbuktu, Destenave worked to consolidate "Agibu's administration" east of the river. First, Destenave secured the submission of Arbinda to Agibu. Then, to further shore up Bandiagara's eastern frontier, Agibu's son Tijani-Agibu was placed in command of

[353] ANS 15G 179/1, Rapport sur Bossé, "Destenave to Chef de Bataillon, 21 November 1894," (French).
[354] *Ibid*.
[355] ANS 15 G 179/1, Rapport sur Bossé, 1895, "Destenave to Chef de Bataillon, 22 November 1894," (French); see also ANOM Fonds Gaden no. 478, Bandiagara, 22 April 1895 (French).
[356] ANS 15 G 179/2, Rapports du Comandant de Bandiagara, 1895, "Gaden to Destenave, 28 January 1895," and "Destenave to the Governor of the French Sudan, 30 January 1895," (both in French). Destenave downplayed any unrest around Gourao in his report to the Governor.
[357] ANM 1D5, "Notice Général sur le Soudan Notice - Notice sur la région Sud 1895 -1899."

Djilgodi, and Agibu's brother-in-law placed in command of villages in the Fakala to enforce the southwest border with Ahmadu Abdul.[358] In April 1896, Destenave wrote a report to Lieutenant Governor Trentinian of the "French Sudan," providing details of the borderlands of Agibu's "kingdom" and the historic precedents for their inclusion in it. He pointed to Timbuktu as the source of confusion over Agibu's northwestern frontier, and asserted that – as a consequence of that confusion – Tuaregs had been displaced from Bambara Maoude in the Gimballa region, which remained part of Agibu's territory.[359] It may be worth noting that Destenave's typed report on the frontier of Agibu's kingdom is included in the same fond as his successor's handwritten history of the Bandiagara Emirate.

Destenave also had a mandate to expand French influence beyond Bandiagara's eastern frontier. Unlike Bonnier's conquest of Timbuktu, Destenave's effort had the full support of the French administration, which was becoming increasingly concerned over British and German expansion from their colonies in present-day Nigeria and Cameroon. Grodet ordered Destenave to secure treaties with leaders around the headwaters of the Volta River east of Bandiagara to strengthen French claims on Mossi-Land. Agibu had already begun a diplomatic effort on behalf of the French with Yatenga's ruler, Naba Baogho, receiving envoys from Yatenga including independent Dyulla merchants and members of the Naba's court. Agibu paused this initiative during Bandiagara's campaign against Bosse in 1894, described below, but resumed it thereafter.[360] In 1895, Naba Baogho was facing a challenge from lineage rivals led by Bagare, and Destenave signed treaties with both these parties.[361] After Bagare ascended to the throne at

[358] *Ibid*.
[359] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle," (c. 1896).
[360] ANS 15 G 179/1, Rapport sur Bossé, "Destenave to Chef de Bataillon, 5 November 1894," (French).
[361] Michael Izard, "La politique extérieure d'un royaume africain: le Yatênga au XIXe siècle," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 22 (1982), 363-85.

Yatenga and took the title Naba Boulli, he would rely on French military protection to remain in power.

Agibu's Military Defeats

Bosse

Paradoxically, Agibu's most damning failures in the eyes of certain French officers at Bandiagara were military defeats that required French intervention. Specifically, while Agibu's inability to check his bellicose neighbor Ali Kari in 1894 and his failure to pacify restive Dogon villages in 1896 provided opportunities for officers to demonstrate their military prowess, they nevertheless resented propping up the "Fama," blaming Futanke defeats on Agibu's poor leadership and his undisciplined troops.[362] When placed in the broader context of Bandiagara's decades of pre-conquest military successes, however, these explanations seem inadequate. In fact, one of Agibu's key problems as a commander was that he was a stranger to the diverse populations that had supported Tijani and Muniru. He had not participated in any of the wars that established the emirate and enriched Bandiagara's military coalition; and, though he and his Futanke soldiers could launch petty raids, he lacked the authority to launch the kinds of large-scale military campaigns that might have won him allies among local warriors. Moreover, he had accompanied a French column that had expelled Ahmadu and his followers, and the families of these emigres – as well as those who returned to Bandiagara after months of wandering in the east – had little reason to accept Agibu's leadership. According to Ifra Almamy, a *qadi* who had accompanied Ahmadu but returned to Bandiagara in 1895, the Futanke settlers "could not accept

[362] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/V/3, Dossier sur Bossé, "Colonne de Bossé, 3 Novembre 1894," and ANS 1D 165, Colonne du Macina, "Rapport sur les opérations du Colonne du Dacol, 26 Aout 1896." See also the personal correspondence of Henri Gaden, ANOM/FP Fonds Gaden.

Agibu as king because he was given his kingdom by the French and only had power through them."[363]

Figure 17: Masinanke Cavaliers at Fio

Source: ANS 15G 213

Before Agibu was installed as the "Fama" of Bandiagara, the French military had freed Macinanke royals held by Agibu's brother Ahmadu at Segu. These freed captives helped Archinard to broker a protectorate treaty with the Macinanke prince Ahmadu Abdul and to chase Ahmadu and his Futanke followers from Jenne. Consequently, Agibu was forced into an alliance with one of the Bandiagara Emirate's longtime enemies: Ahmadu Abdul and the Macinanke loyalists at Fio. French officers at Jenne and Bandiagara firmed up the border between Agibu's kingdom and the Almamate of Fio through tours conducted in 1894 and 1896, and nurtured a diplomatic relationship between their proxies that ensured no border conflicts erupted. Similarly, the French occupation of Timbuktu and its environs prevented Agibu's soldiers from harassing former adversaries to the north. Agibu was encouraged to undertake campaigns, but only if they were aligned with French interests in the region: notably, the pacification of his eastern

[363] ANM 1E 189, Rapports Politiques, "Bulletin politique, Résidence de Bandiagara, 1 Décembre 1895."

hinterlands. These campaigns ultimately necessitated French military involvement, and supported the colonial administration's scramble to extend the empire to the headwaters of the Volta River and the Lake Chad Basin.

According to a report by Captain Bonnacorsi, shortly after Agibu's installation as "Fama," Archinard had warned him about the threat posed by the Marka cleric Ali Kari, Almamy of Bosse.[364] The French administration had sized up Ali Kari as a threat in the early 1890s, during its first attempts to establish relations with the Mossi of the Volta Basin. These diplomatic encounters, first by Crozat in 1890 and then by Monteil in 1891, occurred while Ali Kari was making final preparations for a "holy war" against the Samo of Dafina.[365] Monteil reported that during his visit to Lanfiera, Ali Kari was quick to anger and continually talked about waging a *jihad* against Dafina. Monteil contrasted this militarism against the pacifism of Karamoko Ba, an Imam at Lanfiera who argued that violent *jihad* would ruin the economy and do little to advance Islam among the Samo.[366] Nevertheless, Ali Kari launched his campaign in Dafina in 1892, and an 1894 report on slavery, signed by Destenave, mentioned that Ali Kari had funneled captives through Macina, especially those taken from the village of Gadianga at Bosse's eastern frontier.[367]

As Karamoko Ba had predicted, Ali Kari's *jihad* devastated Samo farmers in the lower Sourou valley. It may or may not have posed much of a threat to Agibu's border,[368] but in any case, Agibu hesitated to take action. Perhaps he hoped to assert his independence from the

[364] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/V/3, Dossier sur Bossé, "Colonne de Bossé, 3 Novembre 1894," and "Governor to Colonel Faris, Kayes, 18 July 1894," (French).
[365] Echenberg, "Jihad and State-Building," 584.
[366] Monteil, *De Saint Louis a Tripoli*, 112-3. Karamoko Ba's pacifism and warm reception of Monteil would not prevent Lieutenant Voulet from executing him years later. Myron Echenberg, "Jihad and State-Building," 560.
[367] 1 E 23 Rapports Politiques Cercle de Bandiagara 1893 – 1910, Destenave, "Rapport sur la captivité dans les états d'Aguibou, Bandiagara le 18 Aout 1894."
[368] Andrew Hubbell, "A View of the Slave Trade from the Margin: Souroudougou in the Late Nineteenth-Century Slave Trade of the Niger Bend," *The Journal of African History* 42.1 (2001), 25-47 (p. 45).

French administration; he may have been reluctant to take action against a Muslim leader; and maybe he wanted to ensure that slaves from Bosse continued to arrive at Bandiagara.[369] And perhaps, as the French claimed, Ali Kari's attempts to flatter Agibu had been successful. Whatever his reasons, Agibu waited almost a year before sending Ali Kari a letter encouraging peace. Ali Kari supposedly responded that "he had drawn the sword against the infidel and it cannot be put back in its sheath" and that, "[s]ince the French protected infidels he could not befriend them."[370] The latter comment seemed designed to insult Agibu, who only at this point was finally persuaded to take action: sending a column to attack Bosse in April 1894. According to a report from Captain Bonnacorsi, the column led by Usman Umaru and Daouda Nguiro was mostly comprised of *sofas*, Rimaibe, and Dogon: slave soldiers and conscripts.

Other details of the composition of Agibu's troops in Bonnacorsi's report are also revealing. For instance, apart from the two leaders of the offensive, there was no mention of Futanke cavaliers – perhaps because many of the ablest had chosen to accompany Ahmadu east in 1893. Similarly, there was no mention of Fulbe troops, signaling that Agibu did not have much influence with the local Fulbe. The *rimaibe* and Dogon farmers Agibu conscripted had few incentives to fight, especially given the approach of the May millet-planting season. After weeks of fighting losing battles around Bosse, these conscripts , especially the Dogon, began to abandon the army and disappear into the Sourou plain. Agibu summoned the help of his ally Widi Sidibe of Barani, but the latter's arrival seems to have had no impact on the offensive.

The new Resident at Bandiagara, Captain Nigote, rushed to Agibu's aid. While Archinard had clearly wanted Ali Kari dealt with, his instructions to Nigote's predecessor, Bonnacorsi, had

[369] Gaden noted in a letter to his father that the capture of Bosse interrupted caravans of cattle and captives from that region: ANOM FP Fonds Gaden, no. 475, 5 March 1895 (French).
[370] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/V/3, Dossier sur Bossé, "Colonne de Bossé, 3 Novembre 1894."

stipulated that if Agibu wanted to rein in villages, he should do so with his own forces; and in a letter rebuking Nigote for mounting an unauthorized offensive beyond the southern frontier of Agibu's territory, Grodet quoted those sections of Archinard's instructions.[371] However, it should be noted that Nigote's actions seemed inspired by Archinard, insofar as they were aimed at forcing the opponents of military action in the French administration to accept the inevitability of French involvement in the campaign against Ali Kari. Nigote had also survived the massacre at Goundam, suffering a sword wound as he retreated.[372] He likely wanted to prove his mettle through *faits de guerre*. Unfortunately for Nigote, his assault on Bosse was a failure. The town was guarded by a rectangular fort and surrounded by strong defensive walls, which his forces did not breach, instead suffering significant casualties as they covered Agibu's retreat. In a second encounter north of Bosse, Nigote's forces suffered 26 casualties, including one death.[373]

Nevertheless, the attack on Bosse was successful, in that Nigote and Agibu's losses gave the French military a suitable pretext for sending troops against Ali Kari. Captain Bonnacorsi, who had just completed his tour as Bandiagara's Resident, was sent from Segu to Bosse to surprise Ali Kari. By completing this march rapidly with the artillery needed to breach Bosse's walls, Bonnacorsi's force was able to kill Ali Kari and his lieutenants before they could summon reinforcements.

Nigote and Agibu shared the blame for the earlier debacle there. Nigote was recalled to Kayes in June 1894 and, as punishment for his insubordination, placed in confinement for fifteen days by Grodet. [374] Agibu's failure at Bosse, meanwhile, raised doubts about both his ability to

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[371] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/V/3, Dossier sur Bossé, "Governor of the French Sudan to the Minister of Colonies, 22 June 1894," (French).
[372] S. Pasfield Oliver, "Operations on the Upper Niger," *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, 38 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1894): 943-74 (p. 968).
[373] Echenburg, "Jihad and State-Building," 554.
[374] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/V/3, Dossier sur Bossé, "Captain Nigote to the Governor of the French Sudan, 26 June 1894," (French).

command and the fitness of his troops. On arrival at Bosse, Bonnacorsi reassigned Agibu's forces to the rearguard, and augmented them with a unit of *sofas* from Segu.[375] A subsequent military failure against a Fulbe-Dogon uprising cemented Agibu's reputation as a poor commander, and confirmed French doubts about using his army to resolve conflicts in the region.

Dakol

The 1896 uprising led by Bokari Hamidu Kolado, a Fulbe from the Farimake, broke out just before the French march on Wagadugu. Bokari Hamidu lived in the Kunari for several years before traveling to the Arbinda in the wake of the French conquest of Jenne in 1891.[376] He may have been among those Fulbe whom Tijani had relocated from the Farimake to Konna. Bokari Hamidu had supposedly offered his services to Ahmadu in 1893, and helped the fleeing prince and his followers travel to Dori from Djilgodi. In March 1896, Captain De Bechevel, a short-term Resident at Bandiagara, learned that a "marabout from the Kunari" had taken Arbinda and had begun to recruit warriors for a "holy war" against the French.[377] From Arbinda, Bokari Hamidu traveled to restive Dogon villages in the Dakol massif to stoke anti-French and anti-Futanke sentiment. These villages' inhabitants were already refusing to pay taxes to Agibu and his chief of *sofas*,[378] and some had even mounted attacks on French officers on the road from Bandiagara to Dowentza.[379] In February 1896, for example, Lieutenant Voulet and his small company of *tirailleurs* had been dispatched to pacify the village of Tereli, but were surprised

[375] ANOM/FM/SG/SOUD/V/3, Dossier sur Bossé, "Colonne de Bossé, 3 Novembre 1894," and "Governor to Colonel Faris, Kayes, 18 July 1894," (French).
[376] ANS 1D 165, Colonne du Macina, "Rapport sur les opérations du Colonne du Dacol, 26 Aout 1896."
[377] ANS 15G 179/3, Rapports du Comandant de Bandiagara, 1896, "De Bechevel to Chef de Battalion, 22 March 1896," (French).
[378] ANS 1D 165, Colonne du Macina, "Rapport sur les opérations du Colonne du Dacol, 26 Aout 1896."
[379] Dr. Henric, "Rapport Médical sur la Colonnes du Dakol and la Mission du Mossi," *Archives de médecine navale et colonial* 69 (1898): 329-39 (p. 321).

outside of Tereli by crack riflemen who effectively took cover behind the rocks of the escarpment.[380] By all accounts, the Dogon riflemen of Dakol were skilled. They frequently hit their targets. The stone ammunition they fired rarely killed but split skulls nonetheless.[381] Their skirmish with Voulet only further fanned the flames of rebellion, and in May, the Dogon of Dakol joined Bokari Hamidu in open revolt against Bandiagara. Estimates of the number of Dogon who followed Bokari Hamidu ranged from 500 to 3,000, with as many as thirty villages around Dakol joining the uprising. The Dogon warriors of Dakol were well armed. According to Voulet, they had caught wind that the French military was preparing a campaign against Mossi, and had been preparing to revolt;[382] and Captain Bechevel estimated the rebels had more than 4,000 rifles.[383] Both officers insisted that regular troops would be needed to put down the unrest.

The first two months of the revolt centered around Koundou, Sangha and Mernade. Agibu and Ifra Almamay made an effort to persuade Dogon chiefs in Koundou to abandon Bokari Hamidu, but to no avail. Agibu called up a militia of Fulbe cavalry that consisted of forty Futanke cavaliers from Bandiagara, thirty Futanke cavaliers from Bokar Boubel in Fakala, eighty Fulbe cavaliers from Prince Widi at Barani, forty Fulbe cavaliers from Abdoulaye Bokari at Diankabu, and eighty foot soldiers from the Fulbe emir of De.[384] On 12 May 1896, Agibu led a seemingly successful attack against rebels at Komokani, a village at the foot of the Bandiagara

[380] ANOM/FM/SOUD/III/3, "Lieutenant Voulet to the Resident of Bandiagara, 26 February 1896," (French). By all accounts, the Dogon riflemen of Dakol were skilled, and it is possible that their abilities extended to making gunpowder and repairing weapons. See Myron Echenberg, "Late Nineteenth Century Military Technology in Upper Volta," *The Journal of African History* 12.2 (1971): 241-54.
[381] Dr. Henric, "Rapport Medical sur la Colonnes du Dakol," 323. It is possible that their abilities extended to making gunpowder and repairing weapons. See Myron Echenberg, "Late Nineteenth Century Military Technology," 247.
[382] ANOM/FM/SOUD/III/3, "Lieutenant Voulet to the Resident of Bandiagara, 26 February, 1896," (French).
[383] ANS 15G 179/3, Rapports du Comandant de Bandiagara, 1896, "De Bechevel to Chef de Bataillon, 20 March 1896," (French).
[384] ANS 15G 179/3, Rapports du Comandant de Bandiagara, 1896, "De Bechevel to Chef de Bataillon, 22 March 1896," (French).

Plateau. A band of his soldiers returned from Komokani to Bandiagara carrying severed heads that they claimed were those of Bokari Hamidu and his brothers.[385] Agibu believed this story, but in fact, Bokari Hamidu had survived the fight at Komokani and regrouped in the highlands before going on to make camp at Pelou, 22 kilometers east of Bandiagara, on 20 May. Seven days later, the lieutenant governor authorized the formation of a French column under the command of Bandiagara's new Resident, Captain Menvielle.[386]

Menvielle's column consisted of two companies of *tirailleurs*, one led by Lieutenant Voulet and the other by Captain Bouche; two platoons of *spahis* (light cavalry) from Segu, one led by Lieutenant Pinchon and the other by Lieutenant Chanoine; and an artillery detachment with one 4-pounder cannon and one 80mm cannon, manned by five European artillerymen.[387] These heavy weapons had to be disassembled and reassembled as the units moved up and down mountainous paths between the rebellious villages, but they proved effective against the Dogon riflemen. Myron Echenberg has noted that the troops who fought the Dogon at Tereli sustained several non-fatal gunshot wounds, most likely from Dogon rifles fired at long range while the French were shelling villages. Bokari Hamidu was able to evade French capture until 27 June, when he was found hiding in Bombou, a slave village near Diankabu, during a nighttime raid by Chanoine and thirty-five spahis, and executed on the spot.[388] Before he died, Bokari Hamidu insinuated that Abdoulaye Bokari had double-crossed the French by helping him.[389]

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[385] ANS 15G 179/3, Rapports du Comandant de Bandiagara, 1896, "Menvielle to Chef de Bataillon, 14 May 1896," (French).
[386] ANS 1D 165, Colonne du Macina, "Rapport sur les opérations du Colonne du Dacol, 26 Aout 1896."
[387] *Ibid.*
[388] ANS 1D 165, Colonne du Macina, "Rapport sur l'Affair du Diankabu, 29 Juin 1896."
[389] *Ibid.* The strategy of fomenting revolt among non-Fulbe populations had previously been used by Abdoulaye Bokari against Tijani; see chapter 2. For local traditions of treason by Abdoulaye Bokari, see IFAN Fonds Vielliard cahier 5, Ibrahima Cam, "Souveniers de Banjagara."

The Dakol revolt prompted the French administration to end the use of Futanke proxies to govern the Dogon, and instead bring them more directly under the administration of the Resident of Bandiagara. In a report on Dakol, interim Lieutenant Governor Lamary posited that if the Dogon had not already been agitated, presumably by the payment of taxes to the Futanke, they would not have joined the "Fulbe fanatics" led by Bokari Hamidu.[390] The French military stationed a unit of *tirailleurs* in Dakol to collect the fines imposed on the Dogon, believing that if Agibu's men were given this duty, they would abuse it and excite further rebellion.[391] The commandant superior also noted that, after Dakol, it was clear that Agibu and local forces could not be relied up to pacify dissidents. Captain Menvielle wrote in his instructions to his replacement that "the role Agibu recently played in the Habe [*sic*] revolt proves that the Fama does not deserve the confidence that Colonel Archinard placed in him."[392] Specifically, Menvielle was convinced that Agibu and his men could not effectively keep the peace among the diverse "races" in "Macina," and suggested to his superiors that if French soldiers were needed to pacify the region, then they should govern it directly.[393]

Conclusions, Using Difference to Dismantle Futanke Privilege

Following Dakol, the French steadily chipped away at Agibu's authority in Bandiagara and the surrounding Hayre region. In part, this was made possible by their conquest of territory farther east. The French column at Bosse was followed by a campaign to rescue Bagare, France's ally in Mossi, and secure French control over the Lake Chad basin before the British or Germans

[390] ANS 1 D 165, Colonne du Macina, "Rapport sur les opérations du Colonne du Dacol, 26 Aout 1896."
[391] *Ibid*.
[392] ANM 1E 23, Rapports Politiques Cercle de Bandiagara 1893 – 1910, "Menvielle, 1 August 1896," (French).
[393] ANS 15 G 176/4, "Menvielle to Chef de Bataillon, 19 May 1896," (French).

claimed it from their colonies to the south.[394] Two months after their victory over Bokari Hamidu and his Dogon allies, Lieutenants Voulet and Chanoine led a column from Bandiagara to Yatenga. This was done on the pretext of aiding Bagare by establishing a French Residence in Yatenga,[395] but the column pressed on from there to conquer Mossi. Their brutal conquest of the region lasted months, during which time their forces terrorized Samo, Marka, Fulbe and Mossi populations. Destenave, who had ordered this operation, joined it personally in January 1897, in time for the subjugation of the Samo of Souru.

Having failed to obtain an audience with the Naba at Ouagadougou in 1895, Destenave went on to demonstrate that the military column was often a more efficient tool of empire than diplomacy. In addition to Mossi-Land, Destenave's forces took three key villages in Liptako – Dori, Say and Yagha – and he is credited with creating the East and Macina region. To be sure, the emergence of the territory "East and Macina was a bloody affair. Voulet and Chanoine would later become infamous for wanton murder and the burning of whole villages in the Lake Chad basin during their 1898 campaign in Gurunsi. Their crimes came to light after a young lieutenant reported the atrocities the column committed in a personal letter that was sent to the Ministry of Colonies. The shameful acts of the Voulet-Chanoine column culminated in Voulet's murder of Lieutenant-Colonel Klobb, a commandant at Timbuktu who had been ordered to disband it. Nevertheless, the focus of colonial expansion had pushed east of Bandiagara by 1896, from which time villages that had been the fringe of the colonial administration were integrated into it.

The decline of the military's influence over colonial policy can be traced to 1895, when the "French Sudan" was incorporated into the West Africa Federation (AOF) and placed under the authority of the civilian governor of Senegal. The political repercussions of the Voulet-

[394] Present-day Nigeria and Cameroon.
[395] ANS 1 D 165, "Captain Menvielle to Lieutenant Voulet, 5 May 1896," (French).

Chanoine column also ensured the end of military expansion in the Sahel.[396] Agibu's waning relevance coincided with the end of major military campaigns and a renewed focus on the organization of the colonial administration in the "French Sudan." As politicians in Paris de-fanged the *officers soudanais* via AOF oversight, officers began to place more villages that had hitherto been ruled by Agibu under direct rule. When Ifra Almamy died while serving as governor of Arbinda in 1898, the French replaced him with an officer stationed in Hombori and taxed the area directly.[397] In the same year, the Resident of Bandiagara recommended that the administration consider taking direct control of Fakala, where Agibu's brother-in-law was then ruling Tomo villages. Also in 1898, the French began to take note of Samo restiveness regarding the rule of Usman Umaru, the Futanke who governed Louta.[398] Usman Umaru was finally replaced by a *tirailleur* officer in 1903, after a Samo revolt revealed that he had accepted child slaves in payment of taxes.[399] Similarly, Dogon populations would continue to rebel against Futanke rule, and were gradually placed under the direct control of the French administration.

In 1902, Agibu was demoted to Chef de Canton, and his authority limited to the Futanke settlers at Bandiagara. From then on, the administration clearly articulated its preference for a racial politics by officially removing non-Futanke from Agibu's jurisdiction. Officers stationed at Bandiagara were ordered to place non-Futanke directly under French authority and to avoid employing Futanke proxies. "You will have to repeat to Agibu ceaselessly that, henceforth he is only the chief of the Futanke and that he has no place in the affairs of the Fulbe or the Habe or

[396] Kanya-Forstner, *Conquest of the Western Sudan*, 257-9.
[397] ANS 15 G 180, Bandiagara Rapports Politiques 1897—1898, "Bulletin Politique, Mai 1898."
[398] ANS 15 G 180, Bandiagara Rapports Politiques 1897—1898, "Rapport Politique, Octobre 1898."
[399] ANM 1E 96, Renseignements Politiques – Cercle de Bandiagara 1903. See Reports from 5 to 23 July, (all in French).

the Samo […]. [A]void employing the Futanke as agents and have the Fulbe and Habe leave a few of their agents with you at Bandiagara to serve as intermediaries with the cercle."[400]

[400] ANS 1 D 108, "Instructions au Cercle de Bandiagara, 1902."

CONCLUSIONS

Categories of Difference

Categories of difference have played a major role in this study. Among the diverse populations of the Middle Niger, these categories combined aspects of what theoreticians might describe as race, class, ethnicity, or nation, which were used as heuristics for understanding one's place in society. Among other things, they determined who could be enslaved, who could marry whom, what kinds of work people performed, and what religious practices were orthodox. They were also context-dependent, and therefore constantly shifting. I have viewed such difference as "instrumental": that is, categories of difference were constructed and refashioned in ways that were politically salient. Accordingly, the common thread of the present study has been that the military-led states of the Middle Niger chose to emphasize or ignore constructed differences in ways that were beneficial to their rule.

My framing of difference as instrumental draws on a wide array of scholarship. Historians of Africa will likely recognize its connections to the work of Terence Ranger, who argued that many African "traditions" were colonial inventions.[401] Taking their cues from Ranger, various scholars have argued that group identities, like ethnicities, were also the products of invention either by colonial officers or their African intermediaries.[402] Amselle has argued "that 'ethnological reason' and 'racial politics' were applied by French administrators, missionaries and ethnographers to replace rigid, bounded models of African societies."[403]

[401] E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
[402] Leroy Vail, *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Oxford: James Currey, 2005); J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2000), 278-83.
[403] Jean-Loup Amselle and Claudia Royal, *Mestizo Logics: Anthropology of Identity in Africa and Elsewhere* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 41-55.

Certainly, the present study has confirmed that the French administration engaged in a reordering of people around hierarchies of "ethnicity" and "race." However, it has also highlighted previously unremarked connections between this strategy and similar efforts by Fulbe and Futanke elites in the precolonial period.

Rather than taking aim at multiple moving targets by defining how difference was "invented" or "constructed" by a large number of different populations in the past, this study has focused on *the work performed by difference* on behalf of military elites in the region. This approach is drawn from instrumentalist theories of ethnicity. According to Crawford Young, the analytical crux of instrumentalist theory is "specification of the circumstances in which ethnicity became politically mobilized," and the theorist's task is to grasp "the dynamics of its political articulation."[404] Rather than focusing solely on how ethnicity and other categories of difference are emphasized, however, I have proposed that it was equally useful, and sometimes preferable, for elites to ignore such differences. It follows that inquiries into the past should pay greater heed to how historical actors strategically ignored differences.

Chapter 1 framed its discussion of difference around the Hamdullahi Caliphate's constructions of race and unbelief, and how and why these constructions were selectively ignored by the Futanke who established the Bandiagara Emirate. Through legal codes based on the forged *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh*, Hamdullahi had cast doubt upon the Islamic orthodoxy of black populations, even if Islam had long been established among them. While there is sufficient evidence that Hamdullahi's constructions of difference were racial (despite blackness being tied to slave descent and slave status, rather than physiognomic differences), there is less evidence

[404] M. Crawford Young, "Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Class in Africa: A Retrospective," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 26, no. 103 (1986): 421-95 (p. 449).

that Bandiagara used blackness to justify enslavement. In any case, it is clear that the Futanke-led army at Bandiagara paid attention to difference. Only non-Fulbe supplied the external slave trade, and many of them were from the same populations racialized as black through the *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh*. Nevertheless, the evidence I have consulted contains no mention of any similar effort to create legal categories of race among the Futanke at Bandiagara. Consequently, I have chosen to take a wider view of difference, rather than attempting to sustain a necessarily forced argument built on the concept of race or ethnicity.

The Futanke-led army at Bandiagara further restructured Hamdullahi's social hierarchy by forcibly relocating their Fulbe enemies their *rimaibe* slaves to plantation villages. I have argued that such relocations should be viewed as slavery, rather than as vassalage or some other condition of servitude. The goal of these relocations was to increase agricultural production on the right bank of the Niger River, a region that was firmly under Futanke control. The compliance of the enslaved Fulbe there was enforced by Futanke soldiers and their *sofas* stationed near the new settlements. From 1864 to 1893, the Bandiagara Emirate used this particular form of slavery as a military strategy with political and economic dimensions. The relocation of captured Fulbe and their *rimaibe* was a political act that benefited economic production by centralizing agricultural activity along the right bank of the Niger, where the Futanke army could more easily surveil and defend it. At the same time, this move crippled grain production on the left bank, which was controlled by the Masinanke and Kunta armies until 1887 or 1888.[405]

During three decades of fighting, Bandiagara concentrated its military efforts on this strategy. I would hesitate to describe the process either as biological social reproduction, or as a

[405] See Chapter 2.

strategy of replacing people who perished in war by incorporating slaves and their offspring into the community.[406] Rather, I have argued that it aimed at transforming the social relations of production[407] by subordinating captured Fulbe to Futanke overlords through enslavement and forced migration.

Ibrahima Barry has suggested that Tijani used marriage to bridge the gap between the Futanke and Masinanke. A major difference between the present study and Barry's dissertation is that mine views the relocation of Masinake Fulbe as slavery, and not as reconciliation through incorporation.[408] There is ample evidence that Futanke men married Fulbe women, but I have not encountered any sources that claim Tijani encouraged Futanke women to marry Fulbe men. Colonial histories that synthesized the accounts of Futanke informants recall how Fulbe women were taken from villages after battles.[409] Thus, Fulbe chronicles and oral histories might reveal whether or not Masinanke and Kunta soldiers captured and married Futanke women who had accompanied their husbands east. Colonial sources, on the other hand, are quite explicit about how women were used as high-value hostages by both French and Futanke leaders.[410] African elites took hostages for a variety of reasons, but the evidence reviewed here indicates that the Futanke did so to gain political leverage over their rivals. Colonial officers also took such pawns for political reasons, and went so far as to threaten marrying off the wives and daughters of Futanke elites to their enemies.

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[406] Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa: historical and anthropological perspectives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006).
[407] Richard Roberts, "Production and Reproduction of Warrior States: Segu Bambara and Segu Tokolor, c. 1712-1890," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 13, no. 3 (1980): 389-419 (p. 402).
[408] Ibrahima Barry, "Le Royaume de Bandiagara, 1864-1893: Le pouvoir, le commerce et le Coran dans le Soudan nigérian au 19ème siècle" (Ph.D. Thesis: Paris, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1993), 569.
[409] ANM 1D 7, Menvielle, "Notice sur les États d'Aguibou par le Capitaine Menvielle" (c. 1896).
[410] See Chapter 4.

Often, it was through diplomacy with French officers that Futanke elites tried to maintain control over women and other subordinates within their households. These large patriarchal units included wives, concubines, junior kinsmen, children and slaves. The surviving correspondence between colonial officers and Futanke elites reveals an effort to mutually define the roles of women within families. Both parties agreed that a "free" woman was bound to her husband through marriage, though Ahmadu provided insight into how a woman might obtain a divorce if a *cadi* could not resolve the issues between her and her husband. The French are also known to have used marriage to liberate enslaved women who ran away from Futanke households, but one should not assume that officers employed such strategies uniformly.[411] French soil did not always liberate, especially when slaves fled French allies. The Umarians who treated with French officers made a concerted effort to preserve control over their slaves.

Unsurprisingly, reorganization of hierarchical relationships around difference was also a tool of statecraft employed French colonizers. Slavery persisted in the Middle Niger in one form or another for decades after the French conquest, but as posts were established, French officers liberated many of Bandiagara's former Fulbe and *rimaibe* slaves by allowing them to return to Tenenku. Officers also removed Songhay, Dogon and Samo populations from the rule of Futanke intermediaries. In doing this, the French colonial military undermined the social hierarchy that Futanke elites had put in place after toppling Hamdullahi. The colonial administration's reorganization hinged on an assumption that political units should be comprised of people from the same "racial" and "ethnic" groups. Accordingly, wherever possible, colonized populations were placed under the jurisdiction of low-level colonial intermediaries drawn from

[411] See Chapter 4.

the same "racial" or "ethnic" group as themselves. These new intermediaries, in turn, were supervised by the officers at the newly established posts.

Political Realism among the Second Generation of Tal

Following the 1863-4 siege of Umarian-occupied Hamdullahi, Tijani found himself at the head of an army far from the established Umarian power-centers of Dingiray, Nioro and Segu. Rather than returning to Segu, where his cousin Ahmadu presided over contingents of Futanke cavaliers and *sofas*, he remained in the Middle Niger, which – as David Robinson notes – he managed to reconquer despite commanding relatively few Senegambian Fulbe in his ranks.[412] He accomplished this feat by drawing non-Futanke to his standard, rather than relying on support from Ahmadu at Segu and Futanke princes who commanded armies elswhere. He also seems to have understood that he could gain political independence from his cousin Ahmadu by choosing to remain in the Middle Niger to continue the war against the Masinanke. Like his dissident cousins at Karta, Tijani sought to remove his emirate at Bandigara from Ahamdu's control. Through Abdoulaye Ali's chronicle of the Umarian *jihad* written at Bandiagara, Tijani argued that this war was a continuation of Umar Tal's *jihad*, which implied he was a legitimate successor to Umar Tal.

I found no evidence that Tijani coordinated his effort with Ahmadu and the Futanke community at Segu. Rather, Tijani's Bandiagara Emirate pursued its own campaigns in the east while Ahmadu struggled against Bamana insurgencies at Segu and political revolts at Karta. When the Kunta and their Masinanke allies marched against Ahmadu's settlements in 1867,

[412] David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 314.

Tijani saw this as an opportunity to attack Tenenku while it was unprotected, rather than rushing to the aid of his cousin.[413] Tijani was not alone among Ahmadu's relations in sensing the weakness of his hand. After participating in Muntaga's revolt at Karta, Muniru continued to challenge Ahmadu's authority by claiming a right to succeed Tijani at Bandiagara. Muniru's resistance to his brother, however ill-fated, further demonstrates Ahmadu's political weakness outside of Segu.

In their dealings with local populations of the Middle Niger, Tijani and Muniru both demonstrated a certain measure of political realism. As I have shown, Tijani courted strong allies who had been marginalized by his enemies. Such alliances were strongest among non-Fulbe, namely the Bamana, Bozo and Dogon. Tijani also pressured Fulbe states to accept the Bandiagara Emirate as the dominant military power in the region, even if they were reluctant to accept Futanke rule. In such cases, he killed or deposed intransigent leaders, but replaced them with proxies rather than attempting to govern their people directly. This strategy had mixed results in Tijani's dealings with the Fulbe states of Booni, Barani, and Diankabu. He was most successful at Widi-Barani, which Youssouf Diallo describes as a satellite state that ensured its security through cooperation with Bandiagara.[414] Mirjam de Bruijn and Han van Djik have noted the strategic importance of Tijani's alliance with Booni, whereby he "recognized Maamudu Nduuldi as chief of Booni and endowed him with his own war drum or tubal, thus neutralizing the danger of Dalla by dividing it in two" while simultaneously "creating a strong chiefdom […] to ward off the Tuareg" on the fringes of his own territory.[415] The Fulbe fiefdom of Diankabu to

[413] See Chapter 2.
[414] Youssouf Diallo, "Barani: une chefferie satellite des grands États du XIXe siècle," Cahiers d'Études Africaines, 34:133/135 (1994): 359-84 (p. 337).
[415] Mirjam de Bruijn and Han van Djik, "Ecology and Power in the Periphery of Maasina: The Case of the Hayre in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of African History* 42, no. 2 (2002), 217-38 (pp. 234-5).

Bandigara's southeast rebelled frequently, but Tijani finally ensured its compliance by taking the sons of Fulbe and Dogon elites hostage.[416] Local alliances remained important after the death of Tijani. Muniru gained the support of Dogon warriors in the Hayre through the distribution of wealth, as Tijani had done before him. Colonial sources and oral traditions agree that the Dogon and other non-Futanke populations in the Hayre supported Muniru over his older brother Ahmadu, and I have argued that this support was critical to sustaining Muniru's rule in the face of resistance from Ahmadu's Futanke supporters.

Tijani and Muniru also demonstrated pragmatism in their dealings with the French. When Lieutenant Caron visited Bandiagara in 1887, Tijani apparently felt that openly treating with him was untenable. Publicly, he agreed with his courtiers that Bandiagara should not negotiate with the French, but privately, he gave Caron conditions for a treaty in the form of five articles that guaranteed his control over slaves and horses. He also asked Caron to secure the release of his mother from Dinguiray.[417] Muniru was likewise cautious in his dealings with representatives of the colonial administration. He was, however, willing to allow a limited amount of French trade down the Niger, and signaled his willingness to cooperate to Caron;[418] and Ahmadu seized on public perceptions of Muniru's willingness to work with the French to paint his younger brother as a puppet. Yet, Ahmadu himself engaged diplomatically with his French neighbors in an attempt to preserve the rights of elite Futanke men over the subordinate members of their households. In the end, the French used Ahmadu's own household as a pressure point, by marrying off his wives and daughters to colonial intermediaries and sending his son to be raised

[416] Chapter 2.
[417] Caron, *Voyage*, 171-3; ANS 1G 83, "Mission Caron a Tombouctou," 1887-90.
[418] Chapter 3.

in France. Agibu, on the other hand, succeeded in maintaining control over much of his household, including more than 200 slaves, most of whom were women.

Deep divisions among the second generation of Tal prevented them from mounting a unified response to French conquest. However, all the Futanke princes who ruled at Bandiagara, including Ahmadu, attempted to maintain their authority by engaging with the colonial government. Ahmadu was the first to learn that the French would set new terms as it suited them. In a letter he sent to the Sultan of Morocco, days before departing Bandiagara, Ahmadu lamented that after twelve years of adhering to the conditions of the treaty he signed with Mage, the French "joined forces with the bad elements among the believers and took the side of the infidel blacks."[419] Ahmadu's letter highlights fractures among the second generation of Tal regarding precisely who the "bad elements among the believers" were, and suggests that the Futanke constructed the Bamana as both black and "pagan." It also underscores that Ahmadu's first response was to negotiate an agreement with the French: rivals whom he could neither ignore nor defeat. Tijani, Muniru and Agibu entered into similar negotiations, but only Agibu lived long enough to complete his bargain and see it fail.

Alternative Directions

This study, like many others that view difference through an instrumentalist lens, has employed a top-down view of events. That is, the actors in it who are seen emphasizing and eliding difference are members of military elites. This, in part, reflects its source base, of documents written by elite African and European men. By the same token, there are ample

[419] John Hanson and David Robinson, *After the Jihad: The Reign of Ahmad Al-Kabir in the Western Sudan* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1991), 245.

opportunities to expand and enrich this research: perhaps most productively, by incorporating more of the experiences of non-elites. I believe that the best way to gain access to such perspectives would be to focus on individual communities impacted by the chaos of the Futanke-Masinanke wars. There is likely much to be found in the oral record. The stories of the Masinanke Fulbe who were relocated to the Kunari by Tijani, and subsequently allowed to return to Tenenku in 1895,[420] could make an excellent case study.

There is also much more to be learnt about trade in the Middle Niger during the second half of the nineteenth century. The Futanke established their emirate between Timbuktu and the Dyulla trade networks south of the Hayre, and also took key positions on the Niger and Bani rivers, where overland trade from the east and west was routed north toward Timbuktu. Thus, the three decades of fighting between the Futanke at Bandiagara and the Kunta at Timbuktu undoubtedly had an impact on regional trade networks.

Another path the present study did not take was to determine how the Futanke propagated the Tijaniyya *tariqa* in the Middle Niger during the period under study. While warfare was the primary occupation of the Futanke settlers, some of Umar Tal's more distinguished *talibe*[421] survived the 1863-4 siege of Hamdullahi and remained in Bandiagara with Tijani. Even though the Islamic institutions at Bandiagara have not left us any religious texts to pore over, the Futanke surely made efforts to encourage and shape the spread of Islam in the region. For instance, Yousouf Diallo suggests that the prevalence of the Tijaniya *tariqa* in Widi is likely related to that state's alliance with the Bandiagara Emirate.[422] A study of such matters might also consider the efforts that were made by the Futanke to encourage conversions among the Dogon.

[420] See Chapters 2 and 5.
[421] Alfa Koladdo, Nouhou Mousa, Ifra Almamay, Cherno Hamitu.
[422] Youssouf Diallo, "Barani: une chefferie satellite des grands États du XIXe siècle," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 34, nos. 133/135 (1994): 359-84 (p. 337).

Military Alliances in Precolonial Africa as a Topic of Study

In 1980, Richard Roberts identified three major themes in the study of warfare in Africa: the technicalities of wars, their political histories, and the socioeconomic factors at play in them.[423] My analysis of the Futanke-Masinanke wars and the French conquest of the Middle Niger has examined warfare through socio-political factors: the ways in which inter-group relationships were politicized by military regimes. Such a focus has been rare in studies of warfare in Africa. Even among relatively recent publications, the political strategies African military leaders employed to recruit soldiers, court allies and subdue enemies often play second fiddle to the environmental, economic and technological aspects of their campaigns.[424] Nevertheless, this is not the very first study of the Umarians to consider the socio-political factors involved in their wars, for Robinson and John Hanson have both written political histories of the Umarians that are informed by a deep understanding of Futanke society. They also describe the work performed by categories of difference, though they do not label them as such. Robinson has argued that the idea of the Fulbe as a "chosen people" was a common thread within the Fulbe-led jihads of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and that a sense of Futanke "electedness" prevailed within the Umarian movement.[425] And Hanson has noted how the construction of the Bamana as "pagan" and "dolo drinkers" was also an important recruitment tool for the Umarian *jihad*.[426] Finally, the construction of unbelief – specifically, the argument that Ahmad III had committed apostasy – was critical to justifying the Umarian invasion of the Hamdullahi Caliphate.[427] But as I have argued throughout this study, the

[423] Richard Roberts, "Production and Reproduction of Warrior States: Segu Bambara and Segu Tokolor, c. 1712-1890," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 13, no. 3 (1980): 389-419 (p. 389).
[424] Bruce Vandervort, *Wars of Imperial Conquest in Africa, 1830-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).
[425] David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 81-9.
[426] John Hanson, "Islam, Ethnicity and Fulbe-Mande Relations," in *Peuls et Mandingues*, 85-97.
[427] See Chapter 1.

Umarians also used another strategy: pointedly ignoring categories of difference when forming military coalitions and strategic alliances.

While I have argued that alliances were critical to the success of the Bandiagara Emirate, it was not the only strategy employed by Fulbe-led armies in the region. Coercion was more commonly used. Coercing and enslaving soldiers were long-practiced military strategies on the African continent and elsewhere, and African history offers us numerous examples of slave armies stretching back to the ninth century.[428] In some cases, conscription led to integration, as slave soldiers were absorbed into the societies that enslaved them or ascended into the upper echelons of military power. This was certainly the case for the Mamelukes of Egypt, slave soldiers who eventually became rulers in their own right.[429] Other groups of slave soldiers, including Mulay Isma'il's slave army in Morocco, emerged as kingmakers.[430] Similarly, the Umarians folded slave soldiers into their ranks as *sofas.* In the Umarian States, some *sofas* became garrison commanders, fleet commanders, governors and plantation overseers. And, after Tijani's death, *sofas* at Jenne, along with Dogon warriors at Bandiagara, played the role of kingmakers by supporting Muniru during his ascent and short reign.

But Tijani's military strategy, which also involved forming a diverse military coalition of Bamana, Dogon, Bozo, Fulbe and others, was an innovation. In creating this coalition, Tijani transgressed norms that had previously governed relations between Fulbe and non-Fulbe in the Middle Niger. Still, the Futanke who lived among the Dogon at Bandiagara did not wholly ignore the hierarchies Hamdullahi had established, and never went so far as to prohibit the

[428] Barton C. Hacker, "Firearms, Horses, and Slave Soldiers: The Military History of African Slavery," *Icon*, 14 (2008): 62-83 (pp. 72-5).
[429] Bernard K. Freamon, *Possessed by the Right Hand: The Problem of Slavery in Islamic Law and Muslim Cultures* (Leiden: Brill 2019).
[430] Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 209.

enslavement of Dogon and Bamana altogether. Moreover, while the Dogon allies of the Bandiagara Emirate retained much of their independence throughout its continued existence, they still provided corvee labor and paid taxes to it. Nevertheless, in matters of war, the Futanke approached their Dogon allies as partners rather than as conscripts until the French colonial army halted large-scale wars in the region; and a parallel strategy subsequently operated when the Dogon of Dakol fought alongside the Fulbe cleric Bokari Hamdidu in his *jihad* against the French and Futanke at Bandiagara.[431]

Accordingly, historians seeking a more nuanced understanding of the role of social organization in warfare on the African continent might usefully focus on alliances like these. In the case of the Middle Niger, such a perspective should prove particularly useful, by providing more context for analysts of contemporary violence. One should never simply assume that alliances foster peace or obliterate differences. As I have shown, that was not the case in the nineteenth century Middle Niger. Yet, the alliances of the Futanke at Bandiagara prove that militaries could strategically ignore differences among allies, even as they stressed differences among their enemies. In short, social manipulations were valuable tools, and should be seen as such.

[431] See Chapter 5.

APPENDIX

Table 4: Prominent Persons in Bandiagara's Military Coalition

Tijani's Fulbe Officers		
Name	Location / Garrison	Notes
Ibrahima Habi Tal	Bandiagara	Son of Umar Tal's brother Habi. Previously served under Umar Tal.
Ifra Almamy	Bandiagara	A Futanke scholar who previously served under Umar Tal and advised.
Toumane Koli Modi Sy	Bandiagara	Abbreviated Koli Modi. A noble from Bundu who had previously served under Umar Tal and advised Tijani.
Cerno Hamitu	Bandiagara	Advisor to Tijani.
Abdoulaye Ali	Bandiagara	Futanke who composed chronicles of the Umarian *jihad* and Tijani's battles against the Masinanke and Kunta.
Umaruwel Samba Dondo	Bandiagara	A distinguished Fulbe soldier who fought for Tijani in Farimake.
Nouhoun Mousa Wane	Bandiagara	Commanded incursion into the Farimake.
Alpha Kolado	Sarafere	Religious scholar / Garrison commander.
Famori Sissoko	Tenenku	Garrison commander.
Usman Umaru Cam	Louta	Futanke from Halwar who served under Umar and was a Garrison Commander for Tijani.
Talibe from the early Umarian movement who settled in Bandiagara*		
Name	Location / Garrison	Notes
Hamidu Hafsa	Unknown	Talibe who served under Umar Tal and Tijani.
Hamidu Sidi Njore, Alfa Ba	Unknown	Futanke envoy and judicial authority who advised Tijani.
Ibrahim Bubu	Unknown	Futanke envoy who served under Umar Tal and Tijani.
Amadu Musa	Unknown	Talibe who served under Umar Tal and Tijani.
Mamadu Sarro	Unknown	Talibe and envoy who served under Umar Tal and Tijani.
Musa Biram Jallo	Unknown	From Khasso served under Umar Tal and Tijani.
*From David Robinson's field notes on early members of the Umarian Movement, 1980-85, Personal Collection. Table continues on next page		

Table 4 (Cont'd)

Local Fulbe Leaders Allied with Tijani		
Name	Location / Garrison	Notes
Modi Awdi	Konna	An enemy of Tijani's in the Frarimake who submitted around 1888 and was relocated to Konna.
Kunage Wonni	Di	A Fulbe leader around Barani who was installed at Di by Tijani.
Maamudu Nduuli	Booni	A Fulbe leader given a war drum by Tijani.
Ahmad Taffa	Djilgodi	A Fulbe ally at the eastern reaches of Tijani's emirate.
Tijani's Dogon and Bamana Allies in Hayre		
Name	Location / Garrison	Notes
Koniba Joko	Bore, Guimballa	Bamana leader at Bore sometimes called Amiru Bore.
Sali Baji	Kambari	Early Dogon ally who provided soldiers.
Gougouna Kansaye	Kani	Early Dogon ally who provided soldiers.
Umaru Jibo	Barrasara	Dogon chief who continued to rule as Tijani's proxy.
Non-Fulbe Commanders in Tijani's Army		
Name	Location / Garrison	Notes
Boubakar Musa	Mopti - Fleet Commander	Reportedly from the Gulf of Guinea. He commanded Tijani's Bozo fleet and later supported Muniru.
Musa Mawdo, Kango Mussa	Jenne	An elite Sofa officer who backed Muniru after Tijani's death.
Chidloki	Near Lake Debo	Sofa and garrison commander who oversaw a plantation village.

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