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A religious and social history of the Diola-Esulalu in pre-colonial Senegambia

Baum, Robert Martin, Ph.D.
Yale University, 1986

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A RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE DIOLA-ESULALU
IN PRE-COLONIAL SENEGAMBIA

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Robert Martin Baum
December, 1986
ABSTRACT

A RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE DIOLA-ESULALU IN PRE-COLONIAL SENEGAMBIA

Robert Martin Baum
Yale University
1986

In this dissertation I examine the process of religious and social change among the Diola-Esulalu of Senegambia during the pre-colonial era. The dissertation is based on archival and field research focusing on a Diola sub-group, the Esulalu, who number about 12,000 people. Through the analysis of oral traditions I attempt to demonstrate that one can study the history of ideas in a non-literate society. The influence of the slave trade on Diola traditional religion and social values is particularly important to this study.

The Diola, numbering some 400,000 people, include the largest number of adherents of their traditional religion within the Senegambian region of West Africa. They are sedentary rice farmers and are usually described as "stateless" peoples. While Muslims and Christians have been in contact with the Diola since the fifteenth century, there were few conversions during the pre-colonial era. This has been true of the Diola-Esulalu for the colonial era as well.

Given the continued vitality of Diola-Esulalu traditional religion, there had to be something distinctive within their historical experience and belief systems that would explain their continued ability to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances. A close examination of Esulalu religion.
reveals an ongoing history of the creation of new cults as well as a long tradition of direct spiritual contact between the Diola and their supreme being and a variety of lesser spirits. The association of historical forces with religious change illustrates a fundamental Diola belief that sees spiritual forces as active in the world and the specific spirit cults as creations of the supreme being for the express purpose of resolving humanity's problems.

The close involvement of spirit shrines in the daily life of the Diola provided a model for a stateless society to engage in the slave trade. Given the absence of formal state structures, the Diola-Esulalu's participation in the slave trade was regulated by the authority of spirit shrines. Cult priests determined the rules of capture, ransom and sale and the Esulalu believed that any infraction of these rules would bring spiritual punishments from the relevant cults. This involvement of religious authorities in the slave trade, however, opened the way for slave traders to gain increased influence within Esulalu religious life and lessen the influence of cults that stressed charismatic experience.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I type the last few pages of this dissertation I am reminded of how much assistance I have received in enabling me to reach this stage. I am grateful to the Thomas J. Watson Foundation for providing me with the funds to spend a year in Senegal conducting field research before I began graduate school. I am grateful to the Social Science Research Council’s Foreign Area Fellowship Program and the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship Program for enabling me to spend twenty months conducting archival and field research in France, Britain, and Senegal in preparation of this dissertation. In Senegal I was aided by the support of the Department of History of the University of Dakar and the Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire, in Dakar.

I would especially like to thank my advisers, Leonard Thompson and David Robinson. Their skillful teaching has helped me to develop the analytical perspective necessary to transform vast quantities of data into a coherent study. Their patient support has seen me through periods when the writing would not flow. Their critical readings of earlier drafts of this thesis have helped to remove some of the awkward writing, obscure passages, and other problems from the manuscript. Robert Harms also provided detailed criticism of my thesis that helped to shape the work in its present form. I am especially grateful for the considerable amount of time that he took in pushing me to clarify my arguments for the broadest possible audience.

While conducting research on Diola religious and social history, I benefitted from the experience of those scholars who had already begun
research in the Casamance. I am particularly grateful to Francis Snyder, Olga Linares, Peter Mark, and George Brooks who have provided enthusiastic support for my research, the wisdom of personal communications and their written articles, and criticism of my own work in progress.

I am also grateful to the many archivists who assisted in the search for a Diola past. Father Noel Bernard of the Holy Ghost Father's in Paris and Salilou M'Baye of the Archives Nationales du Sénégal in Dakar were particularly helpful in identifying relevant documents. Their commitment to historical inquiry made working in their archives a real pleasure.

I would also like to thank all the people in New Haven who provided moral support and intellectual stimulation during my years of graduate study. I would like to thank my fellow graduate students Bill Worger, Chuck Ambler, and Margie Kinsmen for their intellectual fellowship and friendship. I would also like to thank Florence Thomas and Pamela Baldwin who never lost faith in the eventual completion of this dissertation.

I am especially grateful to Joyce Bell of Columbus, Ohio who typed this manuscript and put up with me in the final hectic weeks of completing this dissertation.

This thesis could not have been started without the assistance and support of the people of Esulalu. To my adoptive family: Dionsal Dieddhiou, Diongny Dieddhiou, Alphonse Dieddhiou, Jean-Marie Dieddhiou, Kumbumbstome Dieddhiou, Virginie Dieddhiou, Elizabeth Sambou, the late Gnimag Diatta, and the late Marie-Hortense Dieddhiou, I wish to thank you for taking me into your home and into your hearts. You have extended to me a gift that I can never repay, only seek to return with equal affection. I would also like to thank François Buloti Diatta and Hubert
Econdo Sambou for taking me under their wing, continuing my instruction in the Diola language that was begun by Alphonse Diedhiou, and guiding me in my first few months within Esulalu. I am particularly grateful to those elders who went out of their way to give me detailed instruction in Diola religion and history and who continually invited me to attend religious rituals. These elders include: Siliungimagne Diatta, Sikakucele Diatta, Antoine Houmandriassah Diedhiou, Siopama Diedhiou, Indrissa Diedhiou, Adialaloung Diedhiou, Boolai Senghor, Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Anto Manga, Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, André Bankuul Senghor, Paponah Diatta, Hilaire Djibune, and Sooti Diatta. This list does not even begin to cover all the people who helped me by allowing me to interview them or merely extending a helping hand when I needed one. To all the people of Kadjinol I greet you.

Emitai oucatti cashumaye.

Robert M. Baum
Columbus, Ohio
October 3, 1986
A NOTE ON TRANSLATION AND TRANSCRIPTION OF SOURCES

All Portuguese and French texts that are cited in the text in English have been translated by the author. All quotations from Diola informants have also been translated by the author.

Diola names and terms have been transcribed according to a system that I developed during field work. Since there is no standard written form for Diola-Esulalu, I had to develop my own system of transcription. This system recognized Diola spellings of names, places, and words to the extent that they have become standard usage. Thus, I have retained the spelling of "Diola", "Dieddhiou", etc. despite the fact that the "Di" sound that these spellings represent is more closely rendered in English by a "Dj" spelling. I have also retained the spellings used by my language teacher when he was teaching me Diola-Esulalu. His spellings are primarily influenced by French phonetics. Words that I learned after my formal language instruction had ended are written as I heard them and their spelling is guided primarily by English phonetics.
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CHAPTER ONE

ORAL TRADITION AND THE STUDY OF DJOLA-ESULALU RELIGIOUS HISTORY
Shaded areas indicate Diola areas of the Casamance and the Gambia. Underlined names indicate ethnic groups of Senegambia. Cities are marked by a .
Map #2 Esulalu in the Twentieth Century

shaded areas indicate rice paddies
Traditionally, many commentators on African religions have concentrated their analyses on various aspects of religious beliefs and practices and have shied away from studying their historical development. Historians of African religions have tended to focus on the history of Islam and Christianity in Africa, limiting their discussion of African traditional religions to the nature of their interaction with the new religions and with the issues of conversion and syncretism. The lack of study of the history of traditional religions has led many commentators to assume that they do not have a significant history, regarding what changes that did occur more as fine tunings to preserve a spiritual equilibrium than major shifts in traditional beliefs. Thus John Mbiti has written: "In the traditional set-up where the African concept of time is mainly two dimensional, human life is relatively stable and almost static. A rhythm of life is the norm, and any radical change is either unknown, resented, or so slow that it is hardly noticed." For Mbiti, African religious history begins with the penetration of Islam and Christianity. Others,


Like Jean Girard, recognize religious change but assume it is part of an evolutionary progression from animism to monotheism. Rather than shaping their own distinctive histories, African traditional religions are often seen as being acted upon and as religions that can not readily adapt to social, political, or economic change.

By the 1970's, a small group of students of African religions began to develop more critical historical approaches to the study of African traditional religions. The collection of essays on African religious history assembled by Terence Ranger and I. Kimambo, as well as the work of Robin Horton stimulated a series of historical studies of African traditional religions. This dissertation is strongly influenced by their pioneering efforts in the historical study of African traditional religions. In this dissertation I shall demonstrate that, at least in the case of the Diola of southwestern Senegal, there were profound changes within their traditional religion during the pre-colonial era and before Islam and Christianity became important spiritual influences. This study will show that a tradition of innovation was integral to the growth of Diola religion and that the direction of such innovations can not be

3 Jean Girard, Genèse du Pouvoir Charismatique en Basse Casamance (Sénégal), Dakar: IFAN, 1969, p. 88 and passim.

placed within a rigid evolutionary framework. Furthermore, I contend that the ways in which Diola religion responded to these forces in pre-colonial Senegambia have important implications for the study of Diola religion in the colonial and independence eras as well as their interaction with Christianity and Islam.

In a provocative series of essays on religious conversion, Robin Horton stimulated a major debate about the nature of African traditional religions as well as the process of conversion to Christianity and Islam. Horton constructed a model of a "basic" African cosmology of a supreme being and a variety of lesser spirits:

In the first tier we find the lesser spirits, which are in the main concerned with the affairs of the local community and its environment - i.e. with the microcosm. In the second tier we find a supreme being concerned with the world as a whole - i.e. with the macrocosm. Just as the microcosm is part of the macrocosm, so the supreme being is defined as the ultimate controller and existential ground of the lesser spirits.⁵

He argues that the expansion of social boundaries, brought on by economic and political changes, produces a comparable change in the religious belief systems of African peoples. As people move into broader spheres of social interaction their religious, ritual and spiritual concerns move from a microcosmic focus on lesser spirits to a macrocosmic focus on the supreme being. According to Horton, a dramatic shift towards the macrocosm normally results in conversion to one of the world

religions, Christianity or Islam, which have more elaborated concepts of a
supreme being. However, it may also provoke a shift in the traditional
religion to a macrocosmic focus and a greater emphasis on the supreme
being. While recognizing the possibility of profound changes in African
traditional religions, Horton assumes that the breaking down of rural
isolation in Africa will result in the predominance of essentially
monolatric religions. Ultimately he returns to older theories of
comparative religion which claim that African traditional religions, at
least as polytheistic creeds, are not viable in universalistic "modern"
societies.

An examination of the Diole concept of the supreme being, Emitai,
that drew most of its evidence from Diola ritual life would tend to
support Horton's description of remote high gods, uninvolved in the
activities of the microcosm or the system of morality which guides Diola
life. Prayers made at various spirit shrines (ukine) rarely invoke the
name of Emitai; rather they focus on the carrying of prayer to the
particular spirit. However, one obtains a very different view of Emitai
from examining the history of various spirit shrines and Diola concepts of
life and death. It becomes clear that Emitai is active in the microcosm,
both as a provider of the necessities of life and as a source of aid in
times of troubles. His name, Emitai, is derived from "Emit" meaning both
"sky" and "year", thus indicating a strong relationship between the
supreme being, the order of an agricultural year, and rain ("emitai
ehlahl"). This linkage appears to be quite old. In 1856, Emmanuel
Bertrand-Bocandé noted the close association of Emitai, rain, and
fertility: "Their season has a name; it is the time of Emit, the time of
the rains, or the time of God (Emit in the Floup [Diola] language, signifies thunder, rain, God, power). Emitai is also said to be able to reveal his will to people through dreams or visions. Such revelations are said to have led to the creation of many of the spirit shrines including such a "microcosmic" shrine as Cabai, a war shrine created during a battle between two Esulalu communities. Finally, it is Emitai who punishes man's wrongdoing in this world and the after life. In the course of this study, I shall examine the role of Emitai in various phases of Diola religious life and his role in legitimating the various types of changes in Diola religion during the pre-colonial era.

Throughout this study, I recognize that religion is more than a belief in spiritual beings and the ritual actions used to address them. I accept Clifford Geertz' view of religion as: "1. a system of symbols which acts to 2. establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by 3. formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and 4. clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that 5. the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic." Using Geertz's vision of religion as a way of constructing ultimate reality, I view the history of religion as a way of examining the history of human consciousness.

---


Evidence for such a history, however, is extremely difficult to extract from either written or oral sources, since the creators of such evidence are often only partially aware of the significance of the changes they describe. This is particularly true of oral sources since they are often modified by each generation in the transmission of historical knowledge. While written sources are set within a particular period by the act of writing itself, thereby allowing for comparisons between religious documents of different periods, this is less true of oral traditions even when verbatim recitation is emphasized. Oral traditions tend to provide far more detail in describing changes in religious practice than in the more abstract aspects of belief systems. From such evidence, the historian of religion can infer some of the changes in belief systems signified by changes in religious practice. Thus, in studying the religious history of the Diola, I describe the history of religious practice, focusing on spirit shrines, and analyze its implications for the subtler historical processes that involve changes in fundamental structures of religious belief.

The Diola, numbering some 400,000 people, include the largest number of adherents of their traditional religion within the Senegambian region of West Africa. They are sedentary rice farmers and are usually described as "stateless" peoples, governed by village assemblies. While Muslims and Christians have been in contact with the Diola since the fifteenth century, there were few conversions before the late nineteenth century.

* For further discussion of oral tradition, see section two of this chapter.
On the north shore of the Casamance River, where contact with Islam was both earliest and most violent, many Diola have embraced Islam and, to a lesser extent, Christianity. The growth of these new religions, however, had to await the firm establishment of colonial rule and the growth of commerce in peanuts before gaining dominance over the traditional religion. On the south shore, the vast majority of the population resisted the advance of Islam and Christianity until after World War II. While Christianity has recently made substantial inroads, Diola religion remains dominant. This has been true despite extensive seasonal migration to the cities for work, beginning about 1900, the penetration of a cash economy and the establishment of Catholic missions in the region. The persistence of Diola traditional religion, despite increasing integration into the nation state of Senegal, raises serious questions about the validity of Horton's thesis that links religious conversion to increasing integration into the modern or macrocosmic sector.

The persistence of a vital traditional religion among the Diola communities south of the Casamance River makes Diola religion an important case study in African religious history. Given that the north shore Diola, the neighboring Mandinka, Serer, and other groups within the Senegambian region have embraced Christianity and Islam, there had to be


something distinctive within south shore Diola historical experience and religious belief systems that would explain their continued ability to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances. Such historical factors as the south's escape from the devastation of the Mandinka incursions of the late nineteenth century and its slower integration into the colonial economy in the twentieth are important, but not sufficient to explain the resilience of Diola traditions. Despite the more gradual influences of the Mandinka and the Europeans, both were a strong presence in the region. In order to more fully understand the ability of south shore Diola religion to adapt to rapidly changing conditions during this period, one must look at the structures for change within that tradition. Innovations in ritual structures, the creation of new cults, and the emergence of Diola prophets have all contributed to this continued vitality of Diola religion in the colonial and independence eras.¹¹

This innovative ability of Diola religion can best be illustrated through a brief examination of the prophetic movement of Alinesitoué, a Diola woman who, during the Second World War, had a series of visions of the Diola supreme being, Emitai. It was a time of severe drought, increasing French military conscription and confiscation of rice and cattle, as well as a period of renewed missionary activity. Alinesitoué

¹¹ The pre-colonial religion of the north shore Diola has not been adequately studied, but it appears that many of the northern Diola's most powerful shrines come from the south shore areas. The lack of evidence of changes in pre-colonial north shore religion may stem from the fact that most studies of traditional religion in that area were conducted when a majority of the populace had embraced Christianity or Islam. See Chapters 2, 3, and 6 for a discussion of Esulalu shrines associated with the priest-kingship that were introduced into north shore areas of Bliss-Karones and Djougoutes. For other south shore influences see Mark, "Economic and Religious", p. 19-21.
claimed that Emitai had given her a series of spirit shrines (ukine) that would help procure rain, but whose ritual offices would be open to all, regardless of wealth, age, or sex. Alinesitoué taught of a renewed commitment to community, a stripping away of social and religious hierarchies, and a reaffirmation of many customs that had fallen into disuse. She taught that Emitai was deeply involved in the lives of the Diola and that they could expect his assistance if they followed his ways. Alinesitoué’s teachings enabled the Diola to meet the crisis generated by the French occupation as well as their efforts to strengthen the bonds between the Diola and the colonial economy. Her emphasis on the supreme being was used, however, to safeguard the integrity and spiritual order of Diola townships against a colonial order and a world religion. In sharp contrast to Horton’s portrayal of the supreme being in African religions, Alinesitoué’s visions of Emitai were invoked to revitalize the microcosm of Diola community life.12

It was this revitalized Diola traditional religion that I first encountered in my field work. Within a short time I learned that this capacity for adaptation and innovation within Diola religion did not begin with Alinesitoué’s prophecies. Histories of specific spirit shrines, the way in which they were created and why, provide evidence of a tradition of religious innovation that can be traced at least as far back as 1700. A closer examination of south shore Diola religion reveals an ongoing history of the creation of new cults and the transformation of old ones.

as well as a long tradition of direct spiritual contact between the Diola and their supreme being, Emitai, and with a variety of lesser spirits. From these shrine histories, the historian of religion can glean not only changes in ritual rules and practices but some indications of changes in paradigms of Diola belief systems about the relationship between people and spiritual forces, the efficacy of ritual, and the nature of tradition. Through the examination of Diola religious history before the colonial conquest, one can gain greater insight into the structures of innovation within Diola traditional religion which enabled it to adapt to a variety of historical forces that confronted it both before and after the imposition of French colonial rule.

In order to obtain an in depth analysis of Diola religious history, I confined my field research to a small and reasonably homogeneous area known as Esulalu. Esulalu is an area of five Diola townships on the south shore of the Casamance River, within the Senegalese Department of Oussouye. Its people, also known as Esulalu, number approximately 12,000 people and speak a common dialect of the Diola language. They share certain religious shrines and, in times of war, they have combined against external attack. During the colonial period the French considered Esulalu as a separate administrative unit or canton. In the establishment of the parish of Mlomp, Catholic missionaries have also recognized Esulalu as a distinct cultural and geographical area. In 1978, the Senegalese government also recognized Esulalu as a "communauté rurale", the major unit of rural administration in contemporary Senegal.
The five Esulalu townships are located on low-lying ridges, nearly surrounded by rice paddies. From east to west these townships are Kadjinol, Mlomp, Eloudia, Kagnout, and Samatit. Each township possesses vast rice paddies, often extending as far as ten kilometers from the township center. This is particularly true of the largest communities, Kadjinol and Mlomp, whose paddies extend all the way to Punta. In the nineteenth century, a series of "stranger villages" were established by northern Senegalese traders on lands belonging to the five Esulalu townships. Kadjinol and Mlomp, with populations of approximately 3,000 and 4,000 respectively, comprise over half of Esulalu's population. Kagnout has 1,800 people while Eloudia and Samatit are inhabited by about 500 people per township. The nine stranger villages range in size from forty to five hundred inhabitants.\textsuperscript{13}

While archival and field research was conducted on the history of the Diola until the 1970's, the dissertation will concentrate on the period before 1880, before the establishment of a French colonial administration and systematic attempts to convert the Diola-Esulalu to Christianity or Islam. While I will begin with a discussion of the origins of Esulalu, the dissertation will focus on Esulalu religious history from 1700 to 1880. The date of 1700 is an approximate one and represents what I consider to be the date of the earliest detailed recollections of Esulalu oral historians about their past.\textsuperscript{14} The year 1880 marks the opening of a

\textsuperscript{13} These are personal estimates checked against the Archives de Sous-Préfecture de Loudia-Ouloff census material. For a more detailed description of the Esulalu region see Appendix II.

\textsuperscript{14} For a discussion of how I obtained a date of 1700 as the beginning of the detailed recollections of Esulalu traditions see Appendix I. For a discussion of Diola periodization of their traditions see the concluding sections of this chapter and Appendix III.
Holy Ghost Fathers’ mission at Carabane, a French administrative and commercial center established on land belonging to the Esulalu township of Kagnout. This study will focus on the history of Diola traditional religion during a period of Diola political autonomy and religious unity. A subsequent study will examine the interaction between Diola traditional religion, Christianity and Islam during the colonial era.

In the remainder of this chapter, I shall discuss the available sources for a study of pre-colonial religious history, beginning with a discussion of written sources and concluding with a discussion of Diola oral traditions and the field research techniques that I used to collect them. These oral traditions provide the primary evidence for this study.

The relevant written sources include scholarly studies of the Senegambia region and its peoples as well as primary sources provided by travellers, missionaries, and government officials. The secondary literature can be divided between those works which focus on the entire region and more specific studies of the Diola. In the first group, Philip Curtin and Walter Rodney have written on the economic history of the Senegambia region, though neither of them were primarily concerned with the Diola areas of the Casamance.15 Curtin focused on the area to the north of the Casamance, while Rodney emphasized the region to its south. Nevertheless, they provide important descriptions of the broader regional

context for economic changes that were occurring among the Diola in the pre-colonial era. George Brooks has written several stimulating articles on Afro-Portuguese and African traders in the region, as well as the development of Christianity in these trade communities.\(^{16}\) Several studies of the neighboring nation of the Gambia include discussion of Mandinka influence on the Diola.\(^{17}\) Christian Roche has written an analysis of the French conquest of the Casamance region and includes a discussion of Diola resistance to French expansion. Paul Pelissier's monumental study, _Les Paysans du Sénégal_, contains substantial material on Diola farming techniques as well as the social organization of their agricultural activities.\(^{18}\)

Until recently, research on the Diola has been limited to anthropological studies. Louis Vincent Thomas has written the primary ethnographic work, _Les Diola: Essai d'analyse fonctionelle sur une population de Basse Casamance_. It is an infinitely detailed survey of many aspects of Diola life and represents the first scholarly study of the

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Diola. It fails to address, however, historical issues in the development of Diola society. More recently, Francis Snyder has studied Diola traditional law and social organization and the impact of colonialism and a world economic system of these facets of Diola life.\textsuperscript{19} Olga Linares has written several informative articles on Diola agriculture and on regional archaeology.\textsuperscript{20} J. David Sapir and Jean Girard have studied Diola symbolic thought and religious systems.\textsuperscript{21} Girard attempted to study religious change, but he relied on a rigid evolutionary framework and some of his conclusions can not be supported by historical evidence. J. David Sapir and Emmanuel Sambou have written valuable linguistic studies of Fogny and Esululu dialects of Diola.\textsuperscript{22}

Historical works on the Diola include two recent dissertations. Frances Leary studied the relationship between Islam and political change among the Peulh, Mandinka, and Diola of the Casamance. She limited her research among the Diola to the predominantly Muslim communities of the


north shore. Peter Mark's dissertation is the first historical micro-
study of a Diola community. He was interested primarily in the
relationship between socio-economic change and the conversion of the north
shore Diola-Boulouf to Islam. There have been no historical studies of
predominantly traditional Diola areas south of the Casamance River.

Other written sources on the Diola include travellers' accounts and
government and mission archives. Travellers' accounts can provide a
limited amount of descriptive information concerning ritual practice and
the physical appearance of the spirit shrines. These accounts, however,
lack deep insight into the nature of African beliefs because of the
relative shortness of travellers' visits, their greater concern with
political and economic issues and, in most cases, their lack of cross-
cultural sensitivity on matters of religion. Because of their location at
the northern limits of the Upper Guinea Coast, the Diola were frequently
described by travellers from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. However
the evidence these travellers provide is too fragmentary to provide
anything more than valuable supplementary evidence to the richer material
provided by oral traditions. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the
quality of the written evidence improved. Travellers' accounts became more
frequent and were supplemented by government and missionary reports.
Missionary journals and the documents provided by Emmanuel Bertrand-
Bocandé, a French resident at Carabane, provide valuable commentaries on

23 Leary, "Islam". Mark, "Economic and Religious."

24 In 1447, Ca da Mosta sailed up the Casamance River, only to be
attacked by Diola in war canoes.
Diola religious life. Still, they maintain an outsider's perspective and fail to provide a detailed sense of Diola belief. Despite the diversity of written sources in the late nineteenth century, it remains true that alone they are insufficient sources for a religious history of the Diola. However researchers need not limit themselves to written documents. Careful field research can provide a far broader entry into the religious life of African communities and a deeper understanding of how African religions have changed over time. The oral traditions collected through fieldwork in Esulalu provide the core of historical evidence for this study.

In conducting field research on the religious and social history of the Diola-Esulalu, I combined interviewing at three levels - oral traditions, personal recollections, and explanations of religious belief and ritual - with participant observation. Oral traditions provide information about the past beyond the life experience of the informant. Personal recollections are of past events in the life time of the observer; this would include materials on events since the first decade of the twentieth century. The explanations of religious beliefs and rituals are obviously accounts of how people perceive such ideas and practices now. Participant observation also sheds light on contemporary practice and belief. Each of these sources provides material that is valuable for

25 Holy Ghost Father archives are available at their headquarters in Paris. Portions of their letters and some reports have been published in: Bullé tin de la Congregation de Saint Esprit, Paris. Papers of Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé are available in both the Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer, Paris and Aix-en Provence and the Archives Nationales du Sénégal, Dakar. Bertrand-Bocandé also published an article: "Carabane et Sedhiou," Revue Coloniale, 1856.
the analysis of religious history. In the remainder of this chapter I shall analyze each type of source and its problems of interpretation. Then I shall discuss the methods used in obtaining this material and outline a set of field research methods for the historian of religion.

For nearly three decades, historians have with increasing frequency turned to the analysis of oral traditions in a highly fruitful effort to broaden our knowledge of the African past. Initially the use of oral traditions was attacked by some historians for relying on what they considered highly selective and distorted data. In his book, Oral Tradition, Jan Vansina carefully defended the use of oral traditions and established a series of criteria for the evaluation of oral documents, as rigorous as those involving the use of written documents. Aware of the controversy surrounding the use of oral traditions most African historians concentrated their initial studies in societies with fixed oral traditions, performed by a specialized group of oral historians, and centralized state structures. Furthermore, they focused their inquiries on two worldly areas of human activity: politics and economics. Religious history was too uncertain an area for the testing of a new methodology. Despite the growing acceptance of oral traditions few historians have applied it to the study of African religious history. In

26 In a now infamous essay, Hugh Trevor-Roper attacked the idea that one could study the history of Africa before the arrival of the Europeans. See his preface to The Rise of Christian Europe. Other historians questioned the use of oral traditions, stressing their fantastic qualities and the distortions involved in passing a tradition from generation to generation.

a recent book, Jan Vansina suggests that Kuba oral tradition cannot provide sufficient material for the religious historian.

Despite the pervasive role of religion in society, only scraps of data exist. Although there were religious specialists, collective representations (beliefs) and ritual practices are not remembered in the traditions except for a few cases that were institutionalized within the political system. Religious practice was so tied up with other institutions that it lacked sufficient autonomy and visibility to develop systematic traditions of its own. It is diffused throughout society. Furthermore, change in the representations and in the practice of ritual was so slow as often to be unconscious and hence could not be remembered. Where change was not slow, the need to adhere to the new consensus effectively prevented development of traditions that would indicate what previous representations of ultimate reality might have been. Oral traditions are therefore, sources that are not promising for intellectual history in general and religious history in particular except when they touch on the ideology of kingship. The data must be found in other sources or can only be deduced from archaic features embedded in traditions learned by rote.28

Vansina claims that political institutions overshadow religious institutions in Kuba oral traditions, leading to the loss of most information about religious change. Furthermore, he argues that ideological needs for community consensus would obscure any radical shifts in religious belief or practice.

Vansina's comment on the study of religious history reveals more about the type of traditions that are strongest in Kuba society than about the possibility of utilizing oral tradition in the study of religious history. Vansina worked in a society in which there was a strong tradition of kingship. The kingdom was the focal point of the society,

politically, economically, and culturally and it overshadowed many of the shifts in religious life, particularly at a village level. In the streamlining of oral traditions, religious materials without political ramifications would be more readily lost than traditions related to the Kuba polity itself.

In a society such as that of the Diola-Esulalu, there is no central polity to overshadow traditions concerning religious change. Specialized political institutions do not become the cultural anchor of the society, the symbol of its continuity over time. Royal reigns are not necessarily the primary chronological guide to major events. Often it is the adoption of new religious shrines and changes in initiation rites which are perceived to be the major events of a people’s history. Similarly, these shrines and initiations may become the center for the cultural continuity of a society. The control of important religious shrines frequently provides an individual with influence in the society. In these communities religious institutions serve as the primary mode of organizing not only the spiritual order, but the social order as well. Thus the founding of a major shrine assumes as central a role as the founding of a new dynasty in an Equatorial African state. Each spirit shrine has its own history, a founder, and a historical situation in which he or she acted, and a changing role within the community. In many cases the adoption of new spirit shrines reflect important changes in a community’s beliefs about spiritual power, ritual activity, and the role of ritual specialists.
Those anthropologists who have concentrated on the study of African belief systems have been critical of historians who use oral traditions. Quite rightly they have said that oral histories must be analyzed in terms of the indigenous cosmologies. By striking out what Westerners deem to be "magical elements", historians have deprived the traditions of much of their explanatory value. Wyatt MacGaffey contends that this separation of mythical and historical elements cannot be justified:

Real history ... cannot be inferred from tradition in any simple way. To accept as historical even such portions of traditions as are real to the foreign eye is to submit unawares to the authority of indigenous cosmology as much as though one had also accepted the magical portions as historically real. In fact, there is no boundary between the two, the myth is one piece, and all of its pieces make sense from the same point of view.\textsuperscript{29}

For MacGaffey, the historian must understand the historical categories from which a tradition has developed and only then translate it into terms that are comprehensible to western readers. Historians of oral traditions are becoming increasingly aware of this problem. Thus Feierman argues that "since oral traditions are not strictly historical texts, but living social documents ... if we do not understand their social context and their social content, then we can not understand our sources."\textsuperscript{30}

Historians must gather their data in such a way that they are aware of the religious and social context of their oral traditions.


However, proponents of the use of traditional categories of analysis tend to place such categories outside the flow of history. T.O. Beidelman claims that oral traditions serve primarily to "reveal certain social or cultural 'truths' quite outside the sphere of the historical." The conception of categories of thought or cultural truths outside of history betrays a lack of understanding of the historical process. Categories of thought shape the way in which people will perceive and act in relation to change, but the structures of thought are influenced by changes in events.

While it is true, as Beidelman suggests, that oral traditions serve the function of legitimation of a contemporary situation and are models for social behavior, these functions of oral tradition need not displace the historical content of such traditions. The careful historian of oral tradition can identify heavily value-laden elements within a historical account and recognize their didactic nature without detracting from his search for a historical chain of events. Furthermore, these value-laden elements themselves are important for the history of beliefs in a society. They offer normative models for community behavior and aspirations. These models are of particular importance to a historian of religion because the changing models are clear indications of changes in fundamental beliefs about the world and society. Oral traditions also contain materials that directly contradict or fail to address basic ideological concerns of the community. Vansina suggests that these


elements provide strong evidence of actual events and long-standing beliefs: "When features which do not correspond to those commonly attributed to an ideal type nevertheless persist in a tradition they may usually be regarded as trustworthy."\(^{33}\)

While the dean of Diola ethnographers, Louis Vincent Thomas, claims that the Diola "give little importance to the events of the past,"\(^{34}\) this is clearly not the case. The origin and seniority of shrines are important for determining the influence of a given lineage or village. Being older generally means being more powerful, both in terms of religion and society. This point is well illustrated by one of the Diola defenses against Christian proselytization. While accepting that Jesus may be a child of God, Diola insist that the ukine are God's first offspring. What confused Thomas and commentators who followed him is not that the Diola have little regard for history, but that it is so important to the present that it is concealed by an ideology of continuity over time and equality of social status. Initial interviews conformed to these ideological needs; shrines were said to have existed since the "time of the first ancestors". Slavery and social inequality were said to have never existed. Only after several months of interviews did I penetrate beyond the history that Diola wish the outsider and the less informed in the community to understand of the Diola past. Learning that a particular shrine was created by an ancestor four generations ago, when eight


generations are remembered in genealogies, situates it historically and far more recently than the "time of the first ancestors". Such a revelation may establish one shrine as junior to another and hence less powerful. It also allows that there was a time when such a shrine did not exist and the community used alternative means of resolving problems. In many instances, traditions running contrary to the ideological need to stress continuity over time revealed that many shrines have a founder or a village of origin outside of Esululu, that they were created to meet specific problems or arose out of specific historical circumstances, and that their power waxed and waned in relation to the power of their priests and the changing needs of the community over time.

Unlike written documents, oral traditions may change over time. The initial observers or interpreters of an events make certain choices about what is important to them in explaining their subject. This selectivity of data is essentially the same as the selective reportage of the author of a written document. Where it differs is that while we usually have the written document as it was set down, we receive an oral tradition after each recipient of it has heard the tradition, decided what was important and passed his rendition to the next generation. It would be analogous to a written document that has been edited several times over after the original document was lost. This would be less true in cases of fixed traditions where the exact duplication of the text is an important element both of the tradition and of its performance. Certain material may be lost from one account but not from another. Some material may be lost altogether because the community finds it is no longer relevant to their concerns. However, when there have been periods of rapid change, either
institutionally or in terms of belief, or when a new belief has only been partially adopted, two or more accounts may exist simultaneously or there may be conflicting evidence in a single account. Vansina refers to this as a palimpsest tradition:

In the Kuba Genesis at least two narratives explain the origin of kingship, which is redundant. Kuba Genesis is a palimpsest tradition. One of the stories can be shown to be younger than the other. It tells us that at one time the essential view about kingship held one thing, and that later it was another. The intellectual historian is pleased. And this is not the only instance. The genealogies of origin are full of palimpsests. Exactly like the Biblical Genesis when it was written down, Kuba Genesis does not reflect exactly and necessarily the world view held now, but still incorporates elements of different ages. For the readjustment of ultimate values and cultural identity is usually a slow process. During this time, the traditions of Genesis are readjusted whenever necessary, just as an old house can be brought up to current fashion by degrees.35

The areas of ambiguity, where certain elements do not seem to fit together, are clues to shifts in belief about the world or in the interpretation of their history. There are several examples of these shifts in Diola traditions which are indications of major changes in Esululu religious life. The anteriority of one belief may be determined by the degree of "fit" that it has with other religious beliefs of the Diola which can be more accurately dated.36

Despite their lack of a caste or a professional group of historians, the Diola have a rich oral tradition. With the exception of songs and proverbs, Diola oral traditions are not formalized. More often than not, 35 Vansina, "Genesis" p. 320. 

36 For a discussion of the problem of chronology, see Appendix One.
Diola elders discuss or lecture about the past rather than perform a fixed tradition. Most interviews consist of commentaries and narratives, comprising what Vansina describes as "free traditions." The degree of candor, particularly on theological or ritual matters, varies widely depending on whether the interview takes place in a public setting where those without the right to ritual knowledge may hear, or in private discussions where we could discuss more freely both the fundamental issues and the details of religious ritual. In general, oral accounts that I received stressed a relative chronology making the establishment of absolute chronologies a difficult task.

The Diola contend that historical and religious knowledge can be acquired in one of two ways: by learning it from elders of a previous generation or through the use of special mental powers. The first method is well known to students of oral tradition. Someone will say that that man sat at the feet of his uncle before he died. Knowledge is handed down from one generation to the next. This type is analyzable in terms of chains of transmission. The second is not so readily analyzed. It involved learning about religious beliefs from dreams and visions. In these cases, the Diola elder rarely refers to his source of information. He simply says "I know" or "someone showed me". It is another person, usually the one who suggested that I go and see him, who will add that that person has a "head" or can "see", both of which imply extraordinary mental powers.

The interaction in the interviewing situation differed in the two instances. In the former, I became a student learning lessons about the past, in a similar fashion to the way my informant had acquired his knowledge. Generally, these accounts contained a stronger narrative line and a stronger sense of chronology. With the exception of questions about sensitive subjects, i.e. social inequality or slavery in Esululu, I was not challenged about why I wanted to know about the past and what I was going to do with it. My explanation that I was writing about the customs of the past and how they had changed was accepted at face value. In the second type of interview I was being trained how to think in the fashion of the elders. My questions were often parried by questions in return about why I wanted to know something or claiming that if I thought about it enough I would know the answer already. Throughout the interview I was being tested to see if I was ready to understand and to accept the responsibility of acquiring new knowledge. In questions about specific shrines I would often be asked what I had seen and experienced during the rituals that I attended, in order to ascertain whether I was learning to "see" in a new way at that particular shrine. The second type of interview occurred invariably when we were in small groups or when I was alone with my informant. They comprise a small portion of the total number of interviews, but yielded the most valuable insights into the meaning of the material collected in all types of interviewing situations.

Personal recollections of the recent past were important in understanding the historical period between the time of my field work in the 1970's and the time of the events of this study, the pre-colonial period. They played a crucial role in the creation of a context for the
oral traditions and the establishment of chronologies for such traditions. Despite the relative lack of controversy surrounding the use of informants' recollections there are certain problems in their reliability. Because they touch directly on the lives of the recounters, they may be colored according to informants' interest in the events: materially, emotionally, politically, or in terms of basic values. However, the author's point of view is equally important in written accounts. In working with oral traditions, this problem can be compensated for by ascertaining the informant's position within the community and analyzing how this affects his testimony. There is also a problem of retention; only certain things are remembered and some things are remembered incorrectly. The frequency of omission or error tends to increase with the amount of time that has lapsed since the event has occurred, though events of great personal or community significance would be remembered in greater detail despite the length of time that had passed. This problem can be compensated for by the large number of informants who would remember an event within the life experience of a substantial portion of the community. By piecing together or comparing several accounts of the same events, the researcher can approach a comprehensive image of what had occurred, as well as the event's impact on the variety of people who recalled the events. In the use of personal recollections, the researcher encounters different types of informants; some are better historians, while others provide richer theological materials. Again, one finds certain informants who base their insights on what are considered as special spiritual and mental powers, while others recount things in a more matter of fact fashion.
The third source, the explanation of religious doctrine, ritual and social custom, conforms to the basic approach of anthropological field research. The researcher asks the informant to explain certain beliefs or to interpret certain symbols or rituals. This information may be received either in formal interviews or during the rituals which the researcher is asking about. Obviously, the explanations reflect contemporary perspectives, but with informants that I knew I could begin to question whether these interpretations have changed over time. In using this material, I evaluated the interpretations against my subjective sense of the informant's knowledge, interest, and his relationship to the material. I reject the claim of many anthropologists, particularly the structuralists, that the meanings of symbol and ritual are not known to the participants themselves. I suspect that their assertion comes from the fact that many of them did not secure sufficient explanations, either through haste in the field research situation (Levi-Strauss among them) or a failure to win the full confidence of the informants with whom they worked. This has led many a researcher to conclude that his subjects have no aptitude for abstract thought, when in fact it may only indicate the failure to gain access to it.\(^{38}\)

The final source of information from field research grows out of participant observation. By living in a community, by joining in religious, work, and social activities, the researcher acquires a wealth

\(^{38}\) Jan Vansina claims that the Kuba lack a critical approach to history, while Louis Vincent Thomas claims that the Diola lack a familiarity with history and are incapable of analytic thought. See Vansina, *Woot*, p. 15 and Thomas, "*Brève Esquisse sur le Pensee Cosmologique du Diola*" in Meyer Fortes and Germaine Dieterlen, *African Systems of Thought*, p. 367-68.
of information about how basic beliefs and values affect daily life. A religion is something that is lived as well as practiced. When I first began to conduct research and asked questions, people's responses were more invitations to experience it than detailed explanations. A month after I began, one elder told me, through an interpreter at that point, that while I had read about Diola religion, I had to see it. He could not explain to me, but I had to experience it. He then invited me on an almost daily basis to attend the rituals of the spirit shrines which he controlled. This was his method of teaching. Another elder, in response to questions about his spirit shrine replied: "If you want to know the spirit shrine get ten liters of palm wine, a chicken and rice, and go to the shrine." To understand his spirit shrine, one must ritually greet it. Furthermore, participation in the religious rites provided a host of tangible questions which were quite effective in beginning to interview about Diola religion.

One implication of participant observation should be mentioned; it makes the researcher an informant. He becomes as situated in the society as his other informants, with many of the limitations and advantages that that might imply. Benetta Jules-Rossette describes the process by which researchers enter into their studies:

The concept that the observer creates the reported data assumes that one filters the social world through particular capacities and conceptual frameworks. These frameworks are not under the

39 Interview with Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 9/24/74.
40 Interview with Sihumucel Badji, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 3/5/75.
observer's autonomous control but are built on the relationship between direct experience, descriptions that mediate experience, and occasions of observation. Through continued observation, I began to develop a repertoire of knowledge and expectations, or a common culture that was shared with participants and created in interaction with them.41

Participant observation allows the researcher to enter into his community and to develop a shared experience. It allows the reflective researcher to acquire a subjective experience of that community which becomes the basis for his analysis of the material acquired in more formal interviews. Finally, it demonstrates to the community a willingness on the part of the researcher to try to live what he is taught. But this will be discussed in the next section.

The possibility of a comprehensive understanding of a religious system in a non-literate society exists only for the period of the present and the recent past. Material on earlier eras is selectively remembered according to a variety of contemporary perspectives. The diversity of informant perspectives provides important evidence of changes in a community's tradition. However, in the streamlining of traditions, changes in religious practice which no longer generate controversy may be forgotten. The historian looking for evidence of religious change will find only fragments of the whole: histories of particular spirit shrines or rites of initiation or the impact of worldly events on religious life. The more comprehensive view of the present and the recent past may be used to extrapolate back into the past the context of these fragments. This

projecting back of contemporary perspectives is not limited to the study of non-literate societies; it is often done implicitly in the historical analysis of literate societies. Since only some of the actual changes in beliefs and practices are described, this historical reconstruction must be done with extreme caution. Inevitably, such a method will overdraw the similarities between past and present. However, contemporary data provide a necessary sense of the dynamics of the religious system being examined. The field researcher must evaluate the fragments of the past that he gathers against his far more complete vision of contemporary religious practice. Thus, the contemporary accounts obtained through participant observation and interviews become the base line for charting the significance of changes in Diola religious history. 42

Having examined the problems of interpreting evidence received through field research experience, I shall describe the methods I used in gathering such materials. My field research techniques were developed during my first months in Esulalu while I was learning the language and becoming known in the community. They draw on anthropological field research techniques and a healthy dose of common sense. My research design, however, had to overcome certain types of problems that are particularly acute for the religious historian. First was the absence of written theological statement that provide fixed guides to religious beliefs in particular periods, thereby making it difficult to establish

42 For a discussion of contemporary, Diola-Esulalu material culture, see Appendix Two. For a discussion of contemporary Diola-Esulalu religious beliefs and social values, see Appendix Three.
changes in belief through hermeneutic analysis, a method frequently used in the study of literate traditions. Secondly, there is an ideology of continuity since the time of the "first ancestors", which was discussed above. Finally, there is the problem of esoteric knowledge. Much of the detailed information regarding rituals and initiations is considered to be forbidden for those who do not have a right to know about such things. This right can be gained through inheritance, by being chosen by a spirit shrine, by being selected by the council of elders of a given shrine, or by a rite of initiation. Otherwise, such information could be dangerous to the listener. A person who reveals forbidden information is said to have "poisoned the ears" of his listener. Given the multiplicity of Diola spirit shrines, each with its own rules of access to its mysteries, it is considered dangerous for any one person to know all the shrines at this esoteric level. The temptation to abuse such powerful knowledge would be too great. This view of the dangers of too wide-ranging a knowledge of the shrines would extend to the researcher as well as members of the community.

In order to maximize my ability to overcome these obstacles in field research in religious history, I limited the primary area of my field research to the Esulalu region. This had several advantages. First, the micro-study enhances the possibility of maintaining adequate control over the large quantity of complex data one receives, while increasing the depth of access to such information. At least in Diola communities, the incredible profusion of spirit shrines makes it very difficult for the

42 Interview with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 3/2/75.
researcher to adequately understand the meaning and function of each 
shrine in a wider area. Also there is considerable variation in the types 
of shrines and the rules that govern them, among the various Diola groups. 
Because of the diversity of the materials and the subtlety of the 
processes that I wished to examine, I found the micro-study to be the most 
appropriate type of research inquiry. A second advantage of the micro-
study was that it enabled me to obtain greater access to informants and to 
develop strong personal bonds with members of each community in which I 
worked. Information, particularly of the more restricted type, may be 
gleaned only through extended personal contact with individuals. You 
cannot walk up to a perfect stranger and ask him to explain his religion. 
Even with the proper introductions, one could hardly expect to glean more 
than the public justification of a society's religious practice, stressing 
both its continuity since the time of the ancestors and its functioning as 
a harmonious whole. It is evident that many researchers did stop there. 
Then, as did Thomas, they claim that such people do not have a concept of 
history or they do not concern themselves with abstract principles. These 
should be read as, "the researcher did not find such materials." They may 
well be there.

The greater contact arising out of the micro-study field situation 
also improves the possibility of gaining permission to attend rituals at 
the various shrines. Particularly for the more restrictive shrines, 
access is gained when people know you and know what you are trying to do. 
Even then, it may only provide access for certain types of ritual. In 
addition to providing the opportunity to observe religious activity, the 
religious rites provided me with the chance to meet and get to know the
leading religious figures of the community. The small talk situation following the completion of palm wine libations was an excellent occasion to pick up detailed information about religious activity: how people approach prayer, why it is done in a certain way, what is prayed for, what words are used. In casual conversation, I would question those in attendance at the shrine about the practice of religion and move toward the more abstract issues. Attendance at rituals also provided me with a tangible set of questions for the first interviews at people's homes.

This leads logically to a second element in my research design; which could not have been done effectively outside the constraints of a micro-study; that is to have repeated interviews with the same informant. During the thirty-three months that I spent in field research, I interviewed some informants as many as sixty times. This did not include additional social visits when interviews were not conducted. The repetition of interviews allows the researcher to go over material that had been discussed before and to try a variety of approaches to get at a particular subject. Furthermore, it allows for a personal rapport to develop between informant and researcher that may result in being taken into confidence, gaining access to restricted information, and perhaps becoming one who "sat at the feet of" that particular elder. Finally, it allows the researcher time to understand that particular informants' mode of recounting historical and religious materials such that he can acquire a more profound sense of the meaning of that particular testimony.

In the interviewing situation I distinguished between four general types of interview, based on my knowledge of the informants. The first category is the initial interview with people whom I do not really know.
and who do not know me. I usually would begin with a brief explanation of my research interests. Then I would ask fairly general questions about the individual's schooling, migrant work experience and religious affiliation, all of which situate the individual within his community. If I knew nothing about his special interests or knowledge, I would then ask broad questions about religion or history, but questions that avoided more controversial areas. A frequent technique would be to take a genealogy of the informant, followed by questions about the name of each forefather's circumcision ritual (which provided a relative chronology), the shrines they controlled and the wars in which they fought.

The second category was the initial interview with an informant who I had already met and who knew some of my interests. This type of interview could move more rapidly into the broad questioning and, at times, into some of the more controversial areas. The third category would be the interview with someone who had been interviewed several times in the past. In such interviews there would be in-depth discussion of areas of his special knowledge. This might be accompanied by general questions about areas that had not been previously discussed. Finally, there were the regular informants who took on the responsibility of teaching me Biola history and/or religion. These were the people at whose feet I sat.

In order to study religion and religious history, I found that it was imperative to learn the Diola language. In order to understand Diola culture the researcher must be able to think in the language that that culture is expressed and to experience that culture subjectively within the language of that experience. The process of receiving data in a European language, particularly about religion, places it within a
European context, relating it to a Judeo-Christian tradition. Evans-Pritchard believes that language is the key to understanding a culture on its own terms: "To understand a people's thought one has to think in their symbols. Also in learning the language one learns the culture and the social system which are conceptualized in the language. Every kind of social relationship, every belief, every technological process - in fact everything in the social life of the natives - is expressed in words, as well as in action." Hoyt Alverson has argued that language provides the primary mode of access to the basic thoughts and beliefs of individuals within a community. "To deal with Tswana experience, and in particular 'self-experience', we must turn to the Tswana speaking - using their language to communicate their beliefs. Their language is our principal mode of access to the private, interior experiences that comprise self-identity." Without a thorough knowledge of the language of the community, the researcher remains distant from the experience of his informants, even with the best of interpreters. It is exceedingly difficult to translate highly abstract terms both from the European language for questioning and from the African one for the responses. Considerable material is lost because of inadequate translation. The logic established by the language itself is entirely lost.


Lack of language skills affects more than the ability of the researcher to understand his informants and the community-at-large; it alters the social dynamics of the interview itself and the researcher's relationship to his host community. First of all, any interpreter one could choose would have a position within that society. If he is no longer an adherent of the traditional religion, i.e. a Catholic, this would limit his right to hear and hence to translate much of the information that I required. If he is young, and most interpreters are, then he may not yet have obtained the right to know such information; again no information received for the researcher. The use of an interpreter creates an artificial formality in the interview situation. Everything must be repeated twice, hence it is more difficult to follow through on a question or a train of thought. It also impedes the use of small talk, which can change suddenly into some of the most important information that one receives. My first interview on reincarnation grew out of a discussion of the impact of the First World War on Diola war veterans. Many of my interviews were extended conversations, meandering in and out of research-related topics and often lasting several hours. This relaxed discussion of everything from crops to Emitsi and from fashions in clothes to funerals, allowed me to glean a lot of material about fundamental beliefs and values from the web of daily life. Evans-Pritchard noted this general conversation as an important source of religious information while he was conducting research on the Nuer: "What I record I witnessed myself or is information given spontaneously during talks about other and more practical affairs or in comment on some event or experience. Such observations may, however, be more valuable in a study
Much of the most important data for the researcher interested in a community's fundamental beliefs grows out of ordinary conversation, something which is most readily sustained when the researcher speaks the language. Furthermore, speaking Diola made it far easier to develop the necessary personal rapport to be accepted in my work.

The two final guidelines to my research design are closely related; they both concern living arrangements in the community and the attitude the researcher develops toward his hosts. First, I decided to live with a family. This provided me with an unequalled way of learning about family life and the life style of the host society. It provided me with teachers of etiquette, guides to the community, and commentators on the material I received. I was extremely fortunate that my language teacher in Dakar, who worked intensively for three weeks with me before I began field work, invited me to live with his family in Kadjinol. My adoptive family clarified many things which were unclear, as well as providing moral support for my work. Living in a family, within the community, provided a strong base for participant observation. People could observe me as well. This was an important element in the development of my rapport with people in Esulalu. It allowed me to enter more fully into the community, learn the day-to-day routine, and to hear of major events. Evans-Pritchard described the importance of this broad interaction with the host community in the field research situation:

... the anthropologist will not produce a good account of the people he is studying unless he can put himself in a position which enables him to establish ties of intimacy with them, and to observe their daily activities from within, and not from without, their community life. He must live as far as possible in their villages and camps, where he is, again as far as possible, physically and morally part of the community. He then not only sees and hears what goes on in the normal everyday life of the people as well as less common events, such as ceremonies and legal cases, but by taking part in those activities in which he can appropriately engage, he learns through action as well as by ear and eye what goes on around him.  

The second guideline was to minimize unnecessary differences between myself and the people of Esulalu. By this, I mean trying to adapt as much as possible to the daily life of the community. I tried to live at a material level within the range of village life and set the village school teacher, roughly a peer of mine in social status and age, as a model. Especially during the initial period of language training and orientation, I worked in the fields and forests and joined in the dances. My learning of a sacred dance associated with a particular spirit shrine and then performing it with the other men, opened my way into the community, both in terms of community acceptance and access to the elders. The work and the dance themselves are rich sources of information about life in the community and about how religion touches upon it. In a society that is non-literate and does not have a specialized class of intellectuals, community wisdom is discussed in the idiom of daily life. Even if one literally hears the words, one may not grasp the meanings. It is necessary to understand the mundane order in order to understand the way people discuss the cosmological one.

47 Evans-Pritchard, Social, p. 78.
Obviously to follow my research design of repeated interviews in the language of the community, I had to spend a substantial period of time in field research. Research in Esululu was conducted during three periods, beginning in 1974 and ending in 1979. In September, 1974, I began my first period of field research, residing with a family in the Esululu township of Kadjinol until August of 1975. In May, 1976, I return to my host family in Kadjinol and remained until mid-August of that year. My most recent field research extended from September, 1977 until February of 1979. Again, I lived with the same family in Kadjinol. Each period that I spent in Esululu was somewhat different from the previous one; in each case my return served as a new sign to the community of the seriousness of my desire to learn of "Diola customs from the past until the present."

In September of 1974, I set out with my language teacher for Kadjinol only to find that the ferry to the Department of Oussouye was out of commission. A few days later, I was brought to Kadjinol by a school teacher from the village and introduced to my host family. They had not received our letter, explaining my plans to live with them. Needless to say they were somewhat startled to find a stranger, equipped with five minutes worth of Diola, who wanted to live with them and study Diola history and religion. I was received somewhat formally and received my meals alone or with my school teacher friend. I spent the first few days pointing at everything around the house and asking for their names, then memorizing the terms. Since it was before the end of the planting season and the beginning of the school term, there were plenty of young, French-speaking students still in the village. Several of them took me under their wing, helped me with Diola lessons, and introduced me to some of the
elders of the community. During my first few months there, I stayed largely in the township of Kadjinol, learning Diola, joining in the work and religious rites, and becoming a part of the community. In many ways my first months in Kadjinol were more like that of an exchange students than a researcher. I joined in all the community activities to which I was invited and because of inadequate language skills, relied primarily on participant observation rather than extended interviews.

The initial period when I could not conduct substantial interviews without an interpreter became in important period in which people in Esulalu could gradually get to know me. With my host family, after about a week of living with them, I asked to take my meals with everyone else from the common bowl. After about six weeks, I was formally adopted into the family and told to consider myself fully at home. Shortly thereafter, I received a Diola name and the first of many Diola nicknames. Outside the family I was quickly accepted into the student group, young men in their twenties, and was included in many of their activities - dances, wrestling, social visits, etc. However, by December, most of the older youth had left either for school or work in the major towns of Senegal.

By that time, however, my language skills had improved sufficiently so that I could conduct simply interviews, slowly and with much repetition, with community elders. In January of 1975, five months after I had arrived, there was a major initiation for a priest of the Cwinte shrine. The initiation was open to men who had completed the initiation rite of Calau though I was allowed to attend. For six days we ate, sang, talked and danced. It was during this time that the new priest learned the history of his shrine and his responsibilities toward it. On the
seventh day, we performed the religious dances for the entire village. My participation in the sacred dances, the period of time with the elders and my interest in community rituals, opened my way into the community. It was during this rite that I received the nickname of "He who follows the priest-king (neryi)" and became known to elders throughout Esulalu.

During the remaining eight months in Kadjinol my language skills and ability to conduct interviews gradually improved. I began to work more in the neighboring townships and make the transition from exchange student to field researcher. During the latter half of that year I began to conduct lengthy interviews on questions of history and religion. Usually I did not tape these interviews. I found that the tape recorder unnecessarily drew attention to my capacity as a "stranger", that interviews often lasted several hours, and that much information — especially in regard to religious doctrine — could not be taped at all. In 1976, I returned to Kadjinol for three months. My return brought home to many people that I was not simply interested in collecting data and then leaving Esulalu for good. I was seen as having an ongoing relationship to my family and to the community of Kadjinol. This was further reinforced by returning for a third time in 1977 and beginning the final eighteen months of field work.

In conducting field research on religious history I confronted two basic tasks, gaining the acceptance and trust of the people with whom I worked and learning to understand the materials that I received. These two tasks are closely related. I limited my research to a relatively homogenous area with a population of about 12,000 people. This was done both in order to understand the religious life of a single sub-group of the Diola and in order to know and be known by the communities in which I
worked. In the same fashion I relied on repeated interviews and attendance at community events to understand the context of the interview material and the mode of relating such materials. I learned the Diola language not only as a way to understand the material I received, but also to develop personal relationships with the people whom I interviewed. Finally, I chose to live with a family and within that family's standard of living, both in order to understand daily life and to gain a more complete acceptance by people within Esulalu.

By following these guidelines in my field research I was largely able to overcome the obstacles to field research in the history of religions. Obviously, thirty-three months of field work comprise only a beginning in the understanding of a religious system, but it was sufficient to lay the foundations of a religious and social history of the Diola-Esulalu. Field research can provide many insights into African religious history that are otherwise unobtainable. Using oral traditions, the historian can move beyond the concept of extremely slow, almost imperceptible change in traditional religions, to seeing such religions as intimately involved in the dialogue between changing objective conditions and changing systems of belief.
CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS OF THE DIOLA-ESULALU
"The Origins of the Diola-Esulalu"

In the historical study of African societies many researchers as well as African recounters of oral traditions have assumed that the ethnic groupings of the colonial era served as the primary social divisions within Africa for centuries before the European conquest. Too often they have attempted to recount a history of a particular ethnic group without addressing the issue of the historical nature of the category itself. Jan Vansina has criticized this assumption: "many historians imagine that the cultural community, the 'tribe' is perennial. It does not disappear; it does not alter throughout the ages... This notion of the perennial tribe is meaningless. It can easily be shown that tribes are born and die..."¹ Many of the social divisions utilized by the communities themselves as well as by scholars are of recent vintage and describe social groups that only became significant in the colonial era. Thus the term "Yoruba" was originally utilized by the Fulani to describe the people of Oyo and then was extended in the nineteenth century to include all of the people we know now as Yoruba.² Similarly, the ethnic term "Diola" was given to a cluster of coastal communities of the lower Casamance by Wolof sailors who accompanied the French into the region in the nineteenth century. It was seized on by the French who were eager to categorize the people that they encountered in trade and in the expansion of the colonial order. This


term was not utilized by the Diola until they embraced a common ethnicity in the face of increasing integration into a multi-ethnic colonial society. In the pre-colonial era, they referred to themselves by their sub-group, be it Esulalu, Huluf, etc., who spoke a common dialect of the Diola language. 3

From an examination of oral traditions and travellers' accounts, it is clear that as early as the sixteenth century, the ancestors of the Diola had formed several distinct sub-groups. These differed not only in dialect, but in political institutions and religious cult structures. When I began field work I believed that the Esulalu were one such relatively homogeneous community, an appropriate cultural unit in which to study religious and social history. As I became better known in the area and was able to penetrate beyond the history of what the Diola wanted outsiders and the less informed in their own community to understand of their history, this sense of homogeneity and an enduring Esulalu identity were revealed to be limited as well. The social grouping "Esulalu" was forged from two distinct groups, a community of "first inhabitants" called the Koonjaen and a newer group, identified as Diola in recent oral traditions. Over several centuries these "Diola" conquered and incorporated the Koonjaen into the five townships comprising Esulalu. This category "Diola" is made up of several distinct groups who arrived in the area from different communities to the south and east of Esulalu.

3 Thomas, Diola, p.11. For a discussion of the fluidity of ethnic boundaries, see Fredrik Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference, Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1969, "Introduction".
These divisions within an Esulalu identity remain important throughout the period of this study.

Based on excavations of shell middens in the lower Casamance, it can be established that the region has been inhabited by sedentary rice farmers for two millennia and that Esulalu has been occupied for at least fifteen hundred years. From this limited evidence it remains unclear what was the ethnic identification of these early inhabitants and the nature of their relationship to the Koonjaen or to the ancestors of the Diola. Esulalu traditions concerning the Koonjaen do not cite a prior place of origins and they are generally considered to be the earliest known inhabitants of Esulalu. Called by various forms of the word Bainounk or Cassanga by early European explorers, they were identified as occupying large areas of the Casamance at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The people who are identified in Esulalu oral traditions as Diola, whom the Portuguese called Floup, were also in the area by the beginning of the sixteenth century.


Central to this chapter are the problems of tracing the origins of these two groups, their growing interaction, and the conquest of the Koonjaen by the Floup. It is from the process of incorporating the Koonjaen into the "Diola" townships and their isolation from other Diola groups, that an Esulalu ethnic identity was formed. In order to avoid confusion between the modern use of the term Diola and its use in Esulalu traditions about their origins, I shall use the term Floup to describe the "Diola" newcomers who eventually conquered the Koonjaen. The term Diola or Diola-Esulalu will be reserved for the mixture of Koonjaen and Floup who together comprise the people of Esulalu. After tracing the origins of Esulalu, I shall shift to the broader context of their interaction with Europeans, their growing participation in trade and the influence of such activities in the development of Koonjaen, Floup, and Diola-Esulalu political, social and religious institutions.

According to Esulalu periodizations of their oral traditions, the era when Floup and Koonjaen interacted with each other as separate and autonomous communities, occurred before the time of the longest genealogies and therefore belongs to the period of the "first ancestors". Only the final conquest of the Koonjaen, in about 1700, is linked to Esulalu relative chronologies as a war in which the first ancestors of various lineages participated.\(^6\) Accounts of the migration of various lineages are remembered, but such population movements are also beyond the longest genealogies. Only the infrequent and relatively brief accounts of European explorers contain any detailed sense of chronology for this

\(^6\) See Appendix One.
period of Floup and Koonjaen independence. When combined with the sparse oral traditions concerning these earliest ancestors of the Esulalu, however, one can glean a limited amount of information about the nature of community life and religious practice before 1700.

Before the arrival of the Floup, two areas of Esulalu were already occupied by groups whose descendents are an important part of the Esulalu people. Along the coast of Esulalu two communities were established: a small village near the present location of Kagnout-Bruhinban, and Elou Mlomp, which was located in the Hamak area north of the present day township of Mlomp. The origin of the people of these settlements remains unclear. No prior places of residence are cited in most accounts of these settlements, nor is an ethnic identity, Koonjaen or Floup, specified.

Within the forest area, south of the Casamance River settlements, were a series of villages inhabited by Koonjaen. Eloudia and Eloukasine were located in that portion of the forest that was closest to the coast, south of the present day settlements of Mlomp and Kagnout. Further south, actually within the northern fringe of Huluf, was the vast township of Hawtane. These Koonjaen settlements are generally considered to be the oldest communities in the region. Furthermore, they are said to be the

7 Olga Linares has examined the archaeological remains of the settlement near Kagnout-Bruhinban. Linares, "Shell Middens", p. 36. The ruins of Elou Mlomp, which was not abandoned until the mid nineteenth century, are still visible in a small forest area of the Hamak. For a more detailed discussion, see: Chapter 6.

8 Paponah Diatta, generally one of the best informed of the Diola historians, claims that "Koonjaen" was a pejorative term for "newcomers" to the region. However the discussion of the Koonjaen wars and the importance of Koonjaen descendents to most of the major shrines tends to discredit this point of view. Still, it could indicate newcomers to the township itself, but not for the region. Interview with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, December 1, 1977. For the interpretation of the Koonjaen as the oldest inhabitants, see: Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhicou, Kadjinol-Kafone, November 17, 1977; Kuadadge Diatta, Kadjinol-
ancestors of a substantial portion of the present day inhabitants of Esulalu.\textsuperscript{9}

The people that Esulalu traditions identify as Koonjaen appear to be part of the same ethnic group identified as Bainounk by early explorers of the Casamance region. According to these accounts, the Bainounk dominated the area, including the north shore of the Casamance, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but were gradually subdued and incorporated by Mandinka and Floup groups that were expanding into the region. When asked about the identity of the Koonjaen, Esulalu historians volunteered that they were Bainounk or, as they are called in Fogny, Faroon. Furthermore, they suggested that people who are the same as the Koonjaen live in such Bainounk dominated villages as Niamoun, Tobor, Djibelor, and Agnak.\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{9} Estimates of their number range from a substantial minority to the overwhelming majority of present day Esulalu. Virtually all lineages have at one time or another been mentioned as Koonjaen, though Dieddhiou, Manga, and Diatta are the most frequently cited.

\textsuperscript{10} Interviews with Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/27/78; Kuadadge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/10/77 and 2/20/78; Eddi Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/16/78. Kuadadge identified himself as Faroon. Olga Linares has confirmed that the Koonjaen are Bainounk. Personal communication, 1979.

A few Diola informants deny that the Koonjaen were Bainounk. Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou claims that both Bainounk and Koonjaen lived in the forest south of Esulalu and that both of them were removed. However, he only describes the removal of the Koonjaen, who he identifies as a type of Diola. The Bainounk simply disappear from his account. It appears that the communities that he identifies as separate are one and the same. Interview with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/11/77 and 2/8/78. Others claim that the Koonjaen were merely a group of forest Diola speaking a different dialect of Diola which is no longer spoken. These latter suggestions come from people of Koonjaen descent who may feel it is necessary to minimize Koonjaen and Floup differences. Interviews with Michel Amancha Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 12/18/78; Etienne Manga, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 2/5/78; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 1/11/79.
There is also a limited amount of linguistic evidence to support this linkage. According to David Sapir's lexical count of West Atlantic languages, there are strong similarities between Diola and Banhun-Bainounk, despite the fact that they are not members of the same subgroup of languages. These similarities are strongest with the Huluf dialect of Diola, and presumably, with the closely related Esulalu dialect, both of which are spoken in areas that absorbed the Koonjaen.\(^{11}\) This would indicate greater contact between Huluf/Esulalu speakers and the Bainounk than with other Diola speakers. Since there are no villages in the Huluf/Esulalu region that are identified as Bainounk, while there are several in other Diola areas, there is a strong likelihood that the Koonjaen were the source of Bainounk influence in the local dialect.

Both the lack of systematic studies of Bainounk history and the length of their presence in the Casamance make it difficult to establish the origins of the Bainounk.\(^{12}\) However, we do know that by the beginning

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\(^{11}\) Sapir used the Swadesh "first one hundred" method of lexical counting; Huluf scored a 19% similarity with the Banhun, one percentage point less than what Sapir required to put them into the same sub-grouping within West Atlantic. Those he grouped together with Banhun had percentage similarities of 22%-37%. See J. David Sapir, "West Atlantic: An Inventory of the Languages, Their Noun Class Systems, and Consonant Alternation" in Thomas Sebeok, editor. Current Trends in Linguistics, Volume 7, Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa, Hague: Mouton, 1971, p. 47-49.

\(^{12}\) While several historical studies mention the Bainounk, they have been only of minor importance in histories by Leary, Roche, and Brigaud. They have not speculated on the origins of the Bainounk. Dembo Kanoute is the historian that has and he suggests that they are a group of Mandée from Gabou. However much of Kanoute’s account of West Africa is inaccurate. Leary, "Islam" Christian Roche, Conquête et Résistance des Peuples de Casamance. Dakar: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines, 1976. Brigaud, Histoire Traditionelle. Dembo Kanoute, Tradition Orale: Histoire de l’Afrique Authentique (no date or publisher).
of the sixteenth century, the Cassangas, a Bainounk group, had established the powerful kingdom of the Casa Mansa. According to Valentim Fernandes, who visited the area at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Cassanga state governed an amalgam of Cassangas, other Bainounk, and Floup. The phenomenon of Floup and Bainounk living in the same communities was fairly common in the lower Casamance. Europeans often mistook one group for the other or described them as having a common origin.\textsuperscript{13} The Cassangas appear to have been strongly influenced by Mandinka political organization. The title of "Mansa" was clearly of Mandinka origin, as was the practice of having royal slaves who served as counselors to the ruler.\textsuperscript{14} Both Fernandes and Duarte Pereira, who visited the region in 1510, claimed that the Cassanga kingdom had strong links to the Mandinka states to the north and east. Pereira claimed that the Casa


\textsuperscript{14} At times the Cassangas have been identified as a separate people, who can converse with the Bainounk because of the similarities of dialect. The principal difference between them appears to be the strong Mandinka influence in Cassanga culture and the relative absence of it from the other Bainounk. Monod, Fernandes, p. 57-59. Boulegue, "Kasa" p. 2-3. Leary, "Islam" p. 6. André Alvares d'Almeda cited in Thomas, Diola p. 310.
Mansa was a tributary of the Mandinka ruler of Encalhor, just south of the Gambia River.\textsuperscript{15} The Cassanga state included the extreme eastern portion of the lower Casamance, but did not extend as far west as Esulalu.

The wealth of the Cassanga kingdom came from its ability to control the interior trade between the Gambia and Sao Domingo Rivers as well as the manufacture of cotton cloth. The importance of this craft was noted by Fernandes: "The inhabitants of this country are commercially all weavers and make cloths of many different styles and colors. And there the Christians go to trade their cloths of many different styles and colors."\textsuperscript{16} The Cassangas held trade fairs which attracted neighboring African communities and Europeans: "It is the custom in this region to organize a fair every eight days [actually six] which, when it takes place the Tuesday of one week, the next week will be on a Monday. And thus, the day of the fair continues to retreat."\textsuperscript{17} At these fairs, the people of the lower Casamance would purchase iron and cloth and would sell slaves and rice. Fernandes estimated that as many as eight thousand people would attend such a fair: "At this fair, many people from 15-20 leagues around would attend and an ordinance of the king of this region forbade those who would enter to enter with weapons and if they carried them they would forfeit them."\textsuperscript{18}


\textsuperscript{16} Monod, \textit{Fernandes}, p. 57-58.

\textsuperscript{17} This is the earliest report of the six day week which remains an important aspect of the Bainounk and the Diola calendar. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 69-71.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}, 71.
appeared to be of considerable importance to the Cassanga state: "their ready supply of slaves and exceptionally favourable treatment of the lancados made Cassanga territory a haven for the Portuguese. That the Cassanga king should have been in the habit of bestowing on his Cape Verde friends gifts of ten or a dozen slaves attests to amicable relations with the Portuguese, as well as his ability to produce this particular merchandise." 19 By the end of the sixteenth century, Bainounk traders excluded the Portuguese and lancados from trade routes between the Gambia and the Sao Domingo. They preferred to confine the Europeans to their small trading posts along the rivers and bring trade goods to them. 20

The Cassanga kings had a second base of authority in addition to their control of trade, a spiritual authority. Cassanga kings were seen as the spiritually powerful embodiments of the fertility of their state and as powerful rain priests. The Bainounk initiated their kings by ritually bathing them in the Casamance River, thereby emphasizing their connection to life-giving water. Subjects brought black cattle, symbolic of dark rain clouds, to be sacrificed by the kings in the hope of receiving adequate rainfall for their crops. Tété Diadhiou described this

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rite as one to ensure a long life for the king, but the insistence on black bulls suggests a rain ritual.\textsuperscript{21} There was no contradiction, however, since the longevity of a king's reign was dependent upon his ability to ensure the fertility of the soil and the prosperity of his people. Unsuccessful kings were put to death.\textsuperscript{22}

Travellers accounts provide a few tantalizing descriptions of Bainounk religious practices in the sixteenth century. Fernandes observed the consecration of a religious shrine called "hatichira":

... they consecrate this wood in this fashion: they take a forked stake that has to have been cut with a new hatchet, whose handle also has to be new... then they make a hole in the ground and they have a calebash of palm wine that contains three or four canadas. And also another of [palm] oil with the same quantity, and in a basket about a quarta of rice to be pounded. They bring a live dog there and then pour the wine, oil, and rice into the hole, and they kill the dog with the new hatchet; they cut off its head and let all the blood flow into the hole on the wine, oil and rice. Then they throw the hatchet in and fix the forked stick over it and cover it properly with earth, and on the forked stick that sticks up out of the hole, they hang some herbs from the bush and to perform this ceremony, one calls the most respected elders of the entire region, and then they cook the said dog with grand solemnity and eat it, and from then on they begin to worship this piece of wood.


\textsuperscript{22} Tôté Diadhiou, cited in Brignaud, Histoire Traditionelle, p. 177. One such king was said to have cursed his people before his death, thereby causing the collapse of the Bainounk kingdom. See Leary, "Islam" p. 21-22.
The consecration of a shrine through strict ritual rules and the use of palm wine and rice are common practices in Diola religious rituals. Dogs are sacrificed at the family shrine of Hupila, whose ritual consecration this description most strongly resembles, and at the divination shrine of Bruinkaw. The eating of the meat of the sacrifice binds all the participants to the words of prayer offered during the ritual. Fernandes described the shrine as a place where people would take binding oaths. They would end their testimony with the words "may the china kill me while climbing down from a palm tree from harvesting palm wine," or other such imprecations.\textsuperscript{23} This practice also bears strong resemblance to Diola oath taking rituals. The Bainounk term for spirit shrine, "china", resembles the south short Diola term, "boekine" and particularly resembles the Ediamat variation, "xinabu".\textsuperscript{24} This similarity may well indicate a Bainounk influence in south shore Diola religion.

Both Fernandes and André Alvares d'Almeda described other aspects of Bainounk religion which closely parallel more recent Diola-Esulalu religious procedures. Fernandes described a Bainounk method of protecting against theft: "If a black wants to leave something in his field without it being stolen, he takes a mass of palm fibers, makes a difficult knot and fixes it in the ground near the object that he leaves and no one will touch it."\textsuperscript{25} This strongly resembles a Diola blacksmith's medicine called

\textsuperscript{23} Monod, Fernandes, p. 71-73. Alvares d'Almeda also describes religious shrines as stakes in the ground and the use of palm wine, rice, and animal sacrifice in ritual. Silveira, Tratado p. 40.

\textsuperscript{24} Monod, Fernandes, pp. 73. For the Ediamat term for spirit shrine, see Thomas, Diola, p. 654-655. Esulalu occasionally pronounce "boekine" as "bachine": "xinabu" is pronounced "chinabu".

\textsuperscript{25} Monod, Fernandes, p. 73.
"houben" which is still used to protect crops, fish traps, palm wine, and fruit trees against theft. They believe that leprosy, a disease associated with the blacksmith shrine of Gilaita, will seize any person who steals. According to Alvares d'Almeda, the Bainounk performed religious rites for victory in war. He also described elaborate funeral rituals involving palm wine libations and lengthy eulogies that preceeded the carrying of the corpse to a cemetery for internment. Again we have close parallels of purpose and of ritual methods that may have encouraged borrowings from one religious system and incorporation into the other.

The Koonjaen were Bainounk who lived to the west of the Cassanga kingdom, within the present day Diola areas of Huluf and Esulalu. What distinguished the Koonjaen from their eastern brethren was the absence of Mandinka influenced political structures, a generally weaker influence of Mandinka culture, and greater contact with the earliest Floup settlers. Like the communities that followed them into the region, the Koonjaen concentrated their energies on the cultivation of rice. They had wet rice paddies in the low-lying areas just to the north and the south of the Calemboekine forest and they cleared some forest areas for the planting of upland rice. One elder suggested that the Koonjaen taught the Floup new techniques of rice farming. "They [the Koonjaen] showed our ancestors how to farm rice... They were more able to do it well." The Koonjaen also

26 Silveira, Tratado, p. 40.

kept livestock. Hunting and fishing provided the principal sources of protein in the daily diet. Koonjaen fishermen limited their activities, however, to constructing fish traps along the estuaries and gathering shellfish in the shallows. The Koonjaen may have depended on the Floup newcomers for the construction of canoes and may have purchased fish from them as well.

Eloudia is generally acknowledged to be the oldest of the Koonjaen settlements within the Esulalu region. It controlled a vast area, stretching from present day Mr.omp to the Huluf communities of Diaken and Oukout. There is some disagreement about whether the original township of Eloudia was settled by Koonjaen or Floup. However the fact that the descendents of the original inhabitants of Eloudia, the Gent compounds, control Djiguemah, a spirit shrine acknowledged as Koonjaen, provides strong evidence of Koonjaen origin. Most accounts of the founding of

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28 After their removal many Koonjaen sought work as cattle herders in the Diola townships. Interview with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, February 27, 1978.

29 Esulalu traditions suggesting that the Koonjaen were not skilled in making dugout canoes may indicate a difference between them and the eastern Bainounk who used canoes as a part of their trading activities. Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/27/78; Edouard Kadjinga Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/6/78.

30 Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/1/78; Indressa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/27/78; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 12/12/78; Badjaya Kila, Eloudia, 11/8/78.

31 The controversy about the Koonjaen origins of Gent and Eloudia stems from a widespread Esulalu desire to conceal Koonjaen origins, especially since the Gent lineage serves as the priest-kings of Kadjinol, Mlomp, and a part of Kagnout. For a more detailed discussion of the Koonjaen priest-kings, see Chapter Three.

Fidel Manga, the son of one of the elders of Djiguemah, has linked his family directly to the Koonjaen and to all the Gent compounds of Esulalu and Huluf. Sikakucele Diatta confirms the Gent-Ekink connection. Other informants described the shrine as a Koonjaen shrine. Antoine Dieddhiou confirms that Gent used to live near the Djiguemah shrine in a forest called Hena. Interviews with Fidel Manga, Kolobone-Ekink, 5/1/78;
Eloudia do not cite a prior place of settlement. This stands in sharp contrast to the detailed migration accounts received from the townships settled by the Floop.\(^{32}\) According to Esulalu accounts, a man named Atta-Essou founded Eloudia. "They say Atta-Essou came from Emitai. Emitai gave him the spirit shrines."\(^{33}\) Atta-Essou is regarded as the first person in the land of Esulalu and the founder of the oldest village. He is seen as a man in close contact with Emitai, who received from the supreme being the necessary spiritual knowledge to be able to control many of the central spirit shrines of Koonjaen religion. Atta-Essou is credited with having received from Emitai the major shrine of the Koonjaen priest-king, the shrine of Egol and of having received revelations concerning the founding of Djeneenandé, an important royal shrine for Eloudia and Huluf.\(^{34}\)

It is said that Atta-Essou did not die. In some accounts he simply disappeared, while in others he flew up into the sky and was received by Emitai. In these latter accounts, Atta-Essou made wings out of fan palm fibers and, after taking leave of his many sons, flew up to Emitai.\(^{35}\) The

\(^{32}\) Thomas collected one account suggesting that Eloudia was settled by people from the Gambia, but he does not regard it as reliable. Thomas, Diola, p. 490.

\(^{33}\) Interviews with Radjaya Kila, Eloudia, December 12, 1978 and December 23, 1978. Atta-Essou is also called Atteesoon.


name of Atta-Essou means "of bird", which suggests bird-like (birds are often seen as emissaries of Emitai) or of bird descent. It is important that he is said not to have died; the same is said of his descendents, the Diola kings of Esulalu and Huluf. Like the priest-king, Atta-Essou is regarded as a symbol of fertility. Atta-Essou was created by Emitai, given land to settle by Emitai, and fathered thirty-nine sons by the grace of Emitai. Thus he received a creative power directly from the supreme being, received the land and its potential fertility, and received the fullest power of procreation. It is said that his spiritual power continues to serve as a link between his descendents, the Gent compounds of Esulalu, and Emitai. Atta-Essou would appear to his descendents in their dreams and provide instruction about creating new shrines as well as moral guidance. Out of respect for his spiritual power, his descendents created a shrine called Atta-Essou. Prayers were addressed to Atta-Essou and palm wine was tossed in the air, a memorial to his ascent to Emitai. East of Eloudia, the ancestors of the Dieddhious of Kalainou and Gayo had established settlements. They were highly skilled metal workers who obtained metal from trade, from smelting bog iron, and from the ilmenite sands at the mouth of the Casamance River. This last source, containing titanium as well as iron, is described by the Esulalu as "white iron" (magne mhuîtê). It is more malleable than other sources of iron and could

36 Interviews with Badjaya Kila, Eloudia, 12/12/78; Edouard Kadjinga Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/14/78. The shrine no longer receives a regular cult. It has not been used since before the First World War.
not be used for *holopuces*, the iron cutting edge of the Diola hand plow.\(^37\)

That the Koonjaen taught the Floup how to work with iron is doubtful, but the Koonjaen dominated the smithing craft even after the arrival of the Floup. This could have been because they controlled the bog iron deposits, leaving the Floup the ilmenite sands; because they controlled most of the forest areas which supplied charcoal; because of superior technical skills; or because of certain spiritual powers that the Koonjaen smiths possessed.\(^38\)

This spiritual power is said to have come from Emitai's revelation of the technique of the forge to the ancestors of the Dieddhiou lineage. In many West African societies, the masters of fire at the forge are seen as spiritually powerful people and are either held in awe or feared because of this power.\(^39\) To the Diola and, presumably, the Koonjaen, the smith is

\(^37\) Bog iron has been found in archaeological digs in the region from as early as 2,000 years ago. Linares, "Shell" p. 33. For descriptions of the "white metal", see Sidionbaaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, February 7, 1978; Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, July 28, 1978; Samuel Dieddhiou and Ompa Kumbereny Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, July 1, 1978. This "white iron" is said to have come from the gray sands of Diogué at the mouth of the Casamance River, where there are ilmenite mines today. Ilmenite is an iron-titanium oxide which was used primarily for jewelry.

\(^38\) For the idea that the Koonjaen taught the Dieddhiou how to forge, see Interviews with Indriira Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, February 4, 1978; Siliungimagne Diatta, May 20, 1978. For the idea that the Koonjaen were more skilled at smithing, see Interviews with Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudin, July 19, 1978; Adiabaloung Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, July 16, 1976. Further evidence of Koonjaen dominance is the use of the surname "Djabune" for the blacksmith families. "Jabundos" was the name of a Bainounk subgroup described in the sixteenth century. Luis Silveira. *Edicao Nova do Tratado Breve dos Rios de Guiné feito pelo Capitao Andréis Alvares d'Almeda (1594)*, Lisboa: 1946, p. 38.

powerful because he has received a spiritual power to manipulate fire. Fire is like blood, water, and palm wine. It contains a soul, the power of which can transform objects and spiritual forces that it touches or enters. Among their powers, the smiths control the disease of leprosy, the running sores of which resemble the festering wounds left by serious burns.

The Koonjaen smiths worshipped at a spirit shrine that both aided and protected them. This shrine, Silapoom (the hammer), is said to be the oldest shrine linked to the forge. Unlike the blacksmith shrines introduced in the nineteenth century, Gilaite and Duhagne, Silapoom is said to have originated in Esulalu and its creation is said to have been at the time of the first ancestors. It is also acknowledged to be Koonjaen: "Our Silapoom is that of the Koonjaen." Silapoom serves as a guild shrine; only master craftsmen can "finish" all the rituals to become its priests. Those who finish the rites have a Silapoom shrine constructed in their homes. Completion of these rituals remains the only way a blacksmith can work at his craft away from his home township.

This shrine was brought to the Esulalu townships when Kalainou and Gayo


40 Interviews with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, May 20, 1978; Bjilehl Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, May 23, 1978; Siliya Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, May 22, 1978. Gilaite and Duhagne are said to have been brought to Esulalu relatively recently, in the nineteenth century. See Chapter Six.

settled in Kadjinol. In sharp distinction from the newer blacksmith shrines, Silapoom's rites can be attended by women and they may partake of the palm wine and food that accompany the rites. The total exclusion of women from Silaite and Duhegne may well indicate a growing emphasis on sexual segregation in the ritual process and a decline in the status of women after the conquest of the Koonjaen.

Eloukasine was a large Koonjaen settlement located in the forest area between Kagnout and Eloudia. Little is known about this community, but it was conquered by the Floup of Kagnout and its inhabitants were scattered among the Esulalu and Huluf townships. It is unclear if this occurred before the removal of the Koonjaen from the Calemboekine forest, since it occurred before the period covered by detailed genealogies. Three causes are suggested for the war that led to their removal: a dispute over oil palm tapping rights, the killing of Kagnout's stray pigs when they entered the forest, and Eloukasine's sexual misconduct. "Their [Kagnout's] wives, they [Eloukasine] deceived them. They seized them and married them [with the implication of 'by force']; this was why they [Kagnout] showed them." 42

Outside of family shrines, there is no mention of Eloukasine bringing ukine with them to their new homes. At Eloudia and at Samatit, they eventually became powerful enough to gain control over some of the royal shrines and to assume the position of oevi. Whether they acquired these spiritual offices because of Koonjaen status, precedence in

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42 These reasons are frequently cited as the causes of war. There was a battle over palm wine tapping rights between Kadjinol and Senghalene in the 1960s. Interview with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etehemaye, December 1, 1978; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, November 20, 1978; Sambouway Assin, Kagnout-Bruhinban, 12/2/78.
settlement of the area, or political intrigue remains unclear at this stage of research.

Hawtane was a large township located at the southern edge of the forest between Huluf and Esulalu. It covered the area from Edioungou west to Kahinda and north to include the Babindeck rice paddies. Some of Atta-Essou's descendants settled in Hawtane and maintained close links with Eloudia. Hawtane had its own priest-king and may well have utilized the Eloudia shrines of Egol and Djoenemandé. After various groups came and settled in Huluf, they decided to remove the Hawtane township. Hawtane controlled valuable paddy and forest land and also raided for captives. Edioungou and the other Huluf townships defeated them in a war and scattered their descendants, who eventually settled in the various Huluf and Esulalu townships. In both areas they became important holders of spirit shrines, probably because of their long standing ties to the land. The Hawtane descendants of Atta-Essou received control of royal spirit shrines and were included as elders throughout the region.

The Koonjaen of these forest areas centered their religious activities around a variety of spirit cults. They had a shrine of the dead comparable to the Diola shrine of Kouhouloung. They had a shrine to protect the well being of the family that was comparable to Hupila.

43 The Hawtane-Koonjaen connection was not made directly. Many people from Edioungou are said to be from Hawtane and Edioungou is also said to be largely Koonjaen. Interviews with Georges Manga, Edioungou, 12/12/78; and Sidionbaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Rafone, 2/7/78.

44 Siliungimagne Diatta claims that they had both Kouhouloung and Hupila. Interviews with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 5/20/78; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/19/78.
They had other shrines that are still in the forest area, though most of them are no longer used. However, the shrine of Diiguemah, located near the Babindeck rice paddies north of the Huluf township of Kolobone, is still used. It is a family shrine dedicated to the protection of the Manga/Diatta lineage and the maintenance of its fertility. Men and women who were born in the Ekink quarter of Kolobone, regardless of where they reside, may attend its annual rites. A similar shrine, Kalayoh, continues to receive ritual attention at Kadjinol. This shrine protects the family and ensures the fertility of the Gayo compounds in Esulalu. Only Gayo families and women who were born in a Gayo compound may attend. As previously mentioned, the Koonjaen also had a blacksmith shrine called Silapoom. Whether they had other shrines associated with artisans or other economic activities remains unclear. Based on limited information it appears that the central spiritual concerns of the Koonjaen included protection of the family, the continuation of fertility, and the

45 In at least one instance the Koonjaen were prohibited by the Floup from continuing to use the shrine. Interviews with Edouard Kadjinga Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/4/78; Sihumucel Badji, Kadjinol-Houssouka, 5/18/78; Antoine Houndrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/23/78; Antoine Djeunedene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/12/78.

46 Fidel Manga’s father is one of the elders. Interviews with Fidel Manga, Kolobone, 5/1/78; Antoine Houndrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/2/78 and 5/23/78; Sidionbaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/7/78.

securing of a good after life. Prayer was accompanied by palm wine libations and animal sacrifice and was followed by the sharing of the sacrificial meal on the shrine premises. The community of supplicants was not separated by gender; while men controlled the cult offices, women could witness the rituals and partake of the consecrated food and palm wine consumed by the worshippers after the ritual.

The most important Koonjaen institution, in terms of its lasting influence, was the priest-king and the cluster of shrines associated with it. Atta-Essou is credited with having received the revelations that led to the creation of the shrine of Egal, one of the two basic shrines of the Esulalu priest-king. While Atta-Essou established the Egal shrine, he did not become a priest-king; one of his sons did. The Egal shrine was established in a sacred grove, Calemboekine, where men would gather to pray for rain, peace, and the general well being of the community. As Atta-Essou's sons dispersed they carried the Egal shrine with them to the other Koonjaen communities where they established new sacred forests. The fundamental difference between the Koonjaen Calemboekine and that of the Floup was that the Koonjaen's housed the shrine Egal while the Floup's housed a shrine called Coeyi.

In most of these accounts, they refer to a Coeyi boekine that was Atta-Essou's and another that came from Kerouhey. This latter shrine is the Biolo Coeyi; Egal is the Koonjaen shrine. Interviews with Ampercé Lambal, Gussouye, January 10, 1976; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, March 31, 1978; Edouard Kadjinga Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, February 4, 1976; Kandudge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, February 21, 1978; Badjaya Bila, Eloudia, December 12, 1978.

For a discussion of the Koonjaen Calemboekine, see Interviews with Djilehl Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, May 23, 1978; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, May 29, 1978; Asamayo Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, July 26, 1978; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, January 11, 1978. Sidionbaw Diatta and Djadja Sambou have suggested that the Koonjaen Calemboekine was the Calemboekine of Kafone, a quarter of Kadjinol. The oeyi of Kafone has no Coeyi; he may only perform rituals at Egal. Furthermore, he is not
received revelations leading to the creation of a shrine called
Djoenemendé, a rain and community shrine that became especially important
to the Huluf priest-king at Oussouye.

These shrines associated with the Koonjaen priest-king, as well as
several other spirit shrines, were eventually adopted by the Floup as they
incorporated the Koonjaen and began the process of developing a common
religious tradition. However these borrowings of shrines do not indicate
the degree of theological influences that may have occurred. Many of the
subtle differences in beliefs of this period have been hidden by the
process of cultural integration and the gradual streamlining of the oral
traditions as they have been handed down. Such influences probably did
accompany the incorporation of the Koonjaen shrines, but both processes
had to await the conquest and incorporation of the Koonjaen into an
emerging Esulalu community.

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Unlike the traditions about early Bainounk and Koonjaen history,
traditions concerning the origins of the Floup, referred to as Diola in
Esulalu accounts, cite prior areas of settlement. There are two primary
theories of the origins of these Floup. One set of traditions suggests
that the Floup came from the east, from the Mandinka dominated area of
Gnoue and that they are closely related to the Serer of northern Senegal.
Believers in a common Serer and Floup heritage claim that two sisters left

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dependent on Oussouye like all the other oeyi of Esulalu. Interviews with
Sidionibaw Diatta, February 7, 1978; Djadja Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, July
17, 1978; Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, June 18, 1978. Sikakucele is
the oeyi of Kafone.
Gabou by canoe and travelled down the Gambia River toward the sea. The canoe split apart, forcing the sisters to swim ashore. One of the sisters swam to the north bank of the river and became the mother of the Serer, while the other reached the south shore and became the mother of the Floup. This would explain the Gambia River boundary between Floup and Serer cultural areas. Thomas, while recognizing similarities between Floup and Serer, rejects this theory, noting that such traditions are only found among the Diola, never among the Serer.\(^50\)

The absence of strong linguistic or cultural links between Diola and Serer raises serious questions about a theory of their common origin. Most Serer came from Futa Toro in northern Senegal. As late as the seventeenth century, Father Labal describes Futa's Lake Retba as the "Lac des Serres". Wolof and Serer traditions suggest strong links between the Serer and the Wolof kingdom of Djollof.\(^51\) The Serer language is far closer to Fulbe or Wolof than it is to Diola. While certain Serer groups, especially the Guelwars ruling clan of Sine and Saloum, appear to have come from Gabou, there are no accounts of a similar group entering the area inhabited by the Diola.\(^52\) The coastal Serer group called the Niominka have certain similarities to the Diola, but this could be a result of commercial ties or even of borrowing rice growing techniques.


\(^51\) Pélissier, Paysans, p. 491.

\(^52\) Ibid., p. 197.
from the Diola.\textsuperscript{53} Despite the lack of linguistic or cultural similarities this tradition persists among certain Diola. However, its pervasiveness may reflect the Diola's relative isolation within the ethnic politics of twentieth century Senegal. Diola and Serer both have a substantial Christian minority and the Serer retain strong influences from their traditional religion. Together Serer and Diola dominate the Senegalese Catholic Church and are frequent political allies. The tradition of a common origin may reflect a Diola effort to reinforce this alliance, particularly since the Serer have dominated Senegalese politics during the last forty years, but there is little historical evidence to support this theory.

A second set of traditions, claiming that the Floup came from Guinea-Bissau, is far more plausible. It is supported by the strong linguistic, religious, and cultural similarities between the Floup and the coastal people of Guinea-Bissau. It is supported by the fact that most north shore Diola, at least in Djougoutes, trace their descent from the Diola of the south shore.\textsuperscript{54} According to these traditions, the ancestors of the Diola came from the area south of the Sao Domingo Rivers, an area presently occupied by the Mandjak. Perhaps under the pressure of a westward expansion of neighboring peoples, the Floup crossed the Sao Domingo and settled the region of Ediamot, along the present day boundary between Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. An increasing population generated a

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., p. 659.

\textsuperscript{54} I do not have specific information about Fogny, though Karones and Djougoutes are largely of southern origin. Pélissier, \textit{Paysans}, p. 663, 665. Mark, "Economic and Religious", p. 9.
need for more rice paddies, so the Floup expanded to the north where they encountered the Bainounk/Koonjaen communities. Some of these people were incorporated into the Floup communities and were able to provide important assistance to the newcomers in adapting to their new homeland.55

The theory of a southern origin is supported by Diola attitudes toward the region to their immediate south. Diola believe that one of the spiritual abodes of the after life, Hausandioume, is located in Guinea-Bissau. The dead walk or travel by canoe south into Guinea-Bissau, reversing a journey made by their ancestors in settling the lower Casamance.56 Many of the Diola’s most powerful spirit shrines originated either in Ediamat or in the Mandjak area south of the Sao Domingo. The links between the Diola and their southern neighbors appear to be long and intimate.

The Floup settled in the Esulalu area in a series of population movements, sometimes involving lineages, sometimes involving entire villages. While this northward movement of Floup into Esulalu occurred before the time of the longest remembered genealogies, the origins of specific townships, quarters, and lineages are remembered. Most of Samatit’s population came from Ediamat settled at Bouyouye, from which a portion of them came to establish Samatit. They claim that they were forced from their homeland near the Bayotte village of Aramé because of a


56 Group Discussion with Dionsal Diedhiou and Diongany, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/25/76.
defeat in war. Neighboring villages coveted their large rice paddies. Bouyouye and Samatit share certain spirit shrines and a secret language used for ritual purposes. Both the cults and the language are said to have originated in Ediamat.57

Other groups of Floup, usually described as Ediamat, settled in Huluf and Esulalu. Separate lineages can trace their migrations from Ediamat to Esulalu. Thus the Badji-Bassin's of Kadjinol can trace their movements from Efok in Ediamat, to Siganar in Huluf, to Kadjinol. The Diomdom Sambou lineage of Kadjinol traces itself back to Bandial and then back to Ediamat.58 In most accounts the shortage of rice paddies are cited as the major cause of migration. Usually an ancestor is described as discovering the Esulalu area while he was fishing or hunting. For example, Kagnout was settled by people from the Ediamat village of Kooloombung, who came there searching for fish and shellfish. As the Floup travelled north, they carried soil from the spirit shrines of their home villages, so that they could reconstruct their shrines in their new communities and continue their religious life.59 How different the Floup were from the older communities of Koonjaen or the village of Elou Mlomp remains unclear. The entry of the Floup into the region began a process of interaction between these groups that resulted in the incorporation of the older settlements and the growth of the Esulalu townships as a distinct Diola sub-group.

57 Group Discussion with Wuuli Assin, Abel Assin, Cyriaque Assin, Baengoon Assin, and Agnak Baben, Samatit, 4/26/78. Interviews with Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 11/7/78; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/5/78.

58 Interview with Eheleterre Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 1/4/79.

59 Interview with Kemehow Dieddhiou, Eloudia, 1/28/78.
Shortly after the removal of Hawtane by the people of Huluf, a new Floup village was established on Hawtane's lands in the forest between Huluf and Esulalu. This was the village of Senghalene. Like the Koonjaen, the settlers of Senghalene had a priest-king, but he controlled a different form of Calemboekine than that of the Koonjaen. This Calemboekine had as its central shrine Coeyi, not Egol. It was the Senghalene form of Calemboekine that later became the dominant one in Kadjinol, Mlomp, and Samatit.

Senghalene, like the other Huluf townships, received its Coeyi from the township of Kerouhey in Ediamat. Ancestors of the Djisenghalene-Djikune lineage went to Kerouhey to receive the shrine from the senior priest-king of the region. Accounts differ on the nature of this pilgrimage to Kerouhey. Sidionhaw Diatta suggests that it was a journey of the spirit, made in the night: "People of the strength of the night, went by their strength at night." Their souls went there while they appeared to be sleeping. These men had powers like those of witches, "but they did it for the boekine." On their return, they left the boekine at the Huluf township of Oussouye, but "a man from Kolobone, a certain man

60 Louis Vincent Thomas has found archaeological evidence of the original Senghalene. Thomas, Diola, p. 178. According to Boolai Senghor the area was called Hutongat. A single homestead remains on the former location. Interview with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 8/14/78.

61 Some of the descendents of the men who went to Kerouhey settled in Kadjinol-Hassouka after the defeat of Senghalene. Samoulli Senghor is descended from one of them. Interviews with Samoulli Senghor, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 6/13/78; Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/23/78 and 6/18/78; Michel Djigoon Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/20/78; Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 6/12/78; Alouise Manga, Mlomp-Djicomole, 12/27/78; Sebeoloute Manga, Mlomp-Djicomole, 7/12/78.
went and stole it. He brought it to Kolobone." Sidionbaw claims that it is theft that makes Huluf senior to Esulalu in matters affecting the priest-king and his shrines. Central to Sidionbaw's account are the role of spiritual powers in the acquisition of the spirit shrine and the underhanded way that Huluf achieved a position of dominance over Esulalu.

Other accounts stress a less spiritual form of pilgrimage. Both Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou and Siliungimagne Diatta describe the pilgrim's travel by ordinary means, in small groups to avoid the appearance of a war party and to avoid being attacked by superior forces. They carried gifts of cattle and rice as offerings at Kerouhey's Coeyj and for the consecration of a new altar for their own Coeyj. Meetings were held at Senghalene to explain the nature of the new shrine and the institution of the priest-king. Despite apparent contradictions, these accounts emphasize different aspects of the introduction of the office of the priest-king and its cluster of shrines. One account emphasizes the institutional process of giving a spirit shrine to a community and the initiation of that community in its ritual use, while the other emphasizes the understanding of the spirit world necessary for the successful control and manipulation of such a powerful cult.

This is only one account of Oussouye's and Huluf's seniority to Esulalu, but it is echoed by Badjaya Kila who claims that Huluf stole its royal shrines from Esulalu. Others claim that Oussouye went to Kerouhey first and that the Coey of Oussouye was appointed as the senior Coey. Interviews with Sidionbaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/13/78; Badjaya Kila, Floudia, 12/23/78.

Siliungimagne Diatta is the present priest-king of Kadjinol. Interview with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 3/31/78. Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/23/78 and 6/25/78; Sebeoloute Manga, Mlomp-Djicomole, 4/24/78; Alouise Manga, Mlomp-Djicomole, 12/27/78.
The Coeì shrine did not originate in Ediamat. The people of Kerouhey received it from the Mandjak of Guinea-Bissau. While we lack a detailed analysis of Mandjak religious practice, some light can be shed on the nature of the Mandjak priest-king. According to Jacques Lopi, the grandson of Mandjak immigrants who fled the Guinea-Bissau village of Basserepm rather than take on the position of the priest-king, the Mandjak priest-king was actively involved in the procurement of rain and the fertility of the soil. "During the rainy season, he may not go outside." He performs rituals at his shrine to ensure adequate rain. At the time of the harvest he performs new rituals, but remains in seclusion. If he is seen in the rice paddies, all work must cease, otherwise "all the rice will fall over." The Mandjak priest-king had to be obeyed. He could fine people for disobedience. Women especially had to avoid him and could not greet him.

By the late seventeenth century the Floup migrations into Falulalu were virtually complete. Individuals and families would continue to come, seeking more abundant land or avoiding priestly obligations or punishments meted out to criminals, but the majority of the newcomers had already

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64 Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kudjinol-Kafone, 5/23/78; Ampercé Lambal, Oussouye, 1/10/79; Sebcoloutie Manga, Mlomp-Djicamle, 4/24/78; Jacques Lopi, Djeromnit, 7/14/78. Ampercé suggests a Mandjak origin for the Huluf oeì as well.

65 The Diola oeì has to avoid women other than his wives; he may talk with them but he may not come in close contact. Material on Mandjak religion is scanty. The principal ethnography by Antonio Carreira emphasizes political and social structures. Perhaps with independence, new opportunities will exist for research on the history of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau. Antonio Carreira, Vida Social des Manjacos, Bissau: Centre de Estudes da Guiné Portuguesa, 1947, #1.
established the townships of Kadjinol, Djicomsolé (later to become the largest quarter of Mlomp), Kagnout, and Samatit. These settlements were established to the north of the Koonjaen villages, along a series of ridges beyond the rice paddy areas, but with access to suitable paddy land between the townships and the Casamance River. As the townships grew the new settlers from the paddy short regions to the south created a land shortage within Esulalu. This shortage of rice paddies was aggravated by the frequent droughts of the mid to late seventeenth century, which restricted Floup farming with reliable yields to the deepest, well-watered rice paddies.

Many people would flee one community and seek the sanctuary of another in order to avoid the onerous obligations of certain shrines. The Cyninte shrines of Huluf required that the priests not marry, remain celibate, and therefore remain childless. The priests had no one to carry on their names and provide new offspring for their reincarnations. The ancestors of Sikakucéla Diatta, Assinway Sambou, and André Kebrooaw Manga fled Huluf for this reason. Interviews with Sikakucéla Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/18/78; Assinway Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/12/75; André Kebrooaw Manga, Kadjinol-Serger, 4/17/78.

Murderers were required to leave their own villages. Other criminals and those subject to malicious gossip (i.e. unwed mothers) would often flee as well.

The date of 1700 is derived from 9-10 generations deep genealogies for several families within Kadjinol and the presence of one of them, a man named Häieheck, three generations before a man in his eighties, who signed a treaty with the French in 1861. See Appendix One. Only Eloudia of the Koonjaen settlements still exists, though with many Dioln settlers in the community.

The region's lack of drought resistant rice paddies could be met in a variety of ways. Some people continued their migrations further north to the sparsely populated islands of Bliss-Karones and to Djougoutes. There they established townships that were similar to those being established in Esulalu. People from Elou Mlomp joined this northward movement, contributing a large portion of the population of Mlomp of Djougoutes. They carried with them the type of priest-king institutions found in Elou Mlomp and some of the spirit shrines from there as well. Those who remained behind sought to expand the amount of paddy land by building dikes to hold back the salty estuary water. Both Esulalu and Huluf had another option; the occupation of the Koonjaen lands that separated them.

Increasing demographic pressure on the limited land available for rice cultivation generated increasing tension between Floup and Koonjaen. According to Diola elders, the Koonjaen resented the Floup encroachments on their lands: "The Koonjaen did not like it that people came and settled on their lands." Why the Koonjaen did not attack the Floup and drive them out before they were established remains unclear. One possible explanation is that the newcomers initially moved into the area with the support of a powerful state, a state which the Koonjaen were unwilling to

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69 Group Discussion with Indrissa Dieddhiou and Edouard Kadjinga Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/4/78.
Instead of a direct confrontation the Koonjaen chose to harass the new settlers when they entered the area that remained under Koonjaen control. Their methods become evident from the list of causes of the Koonjaen wars given by Esulalu historians. The Koonjaen were said to have stolen rice from Floup rice paddies, an act which is strongly condemned within Diola systems of morality. Esulalu elders also claimed that the Koonjaen raided them for cattle: "The Koonjaen, they did not like lots of work, but stealing cattle...a lot." Cattle thievery, while an nuisance, was an accepted form of raiding and was commonly done by young men against unfriendly villages. Koonjaen attacks on people were regarded as more threatening. Children who entered the Koonjaen areas were seized as slaves. Adult men were killed. According to Antoine Houmandriissah Dieddhiou: "If you went toward Huluf, the Koonjaen would kill you." The treatment of women generated the greatest anger: "Why did we show them? They worked in the forest and lived there. They did evil things [seize women]... to make them their wives. They did it

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70 This state would be the kingdom of the Floup which appears to have dominated the region in the early 1500's. The first group of Esulalu settlers could have arrived during that period. This will be discussed shortly.

71 Group Discussion with Djadjia Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka; Elyse Sambou, Titis Sambou, Paul Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao; Albidihaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, Ka Diatta, Mlomp-Cadjifolong; Djiejoe Manga, Mlomp-Djicomole, 7/17/78.

72 Interview with Michel Anjou Manga, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/11/78.

73 Interviews with Antoine Houmandriissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/2/78 and 2/27/78; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudin, 7/19/78; Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/27/78; Diashwah Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/2/78; Sihumucel Badji, Kadjinol-Hassouka., 5/18/78. Group Discussion, Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone and Asambou Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 3/5/78.
[intercourse], did it, did it, a wife until the evening when they sent her home. This is why we showed them.\(^74\) While these descriptions clearly reflect a Floup perspective and omit any reference to similar acts by Floup against Koonjaen, they suggest that both groups were engaging in an increasingly bitter competition for paddy and grazing land as well as regional control. Such competition culminated in the Koonjaen wars.

While often described as a single war, the Koonjaen wars were a series of battles that stretched over a period of several generations. It is only with the last of the wars, in about 1700, that we begin to get names of participants in the battles.\(^75\) This war marks the transition from the period of the first ancestors to that of the ancestors. It was also the largest of the Koonjaen wars, including all the townships of Esulalu and Huluf. According to Sihumucel Badji, war leaders from Esulalu coordinated their attack with Huluf's leaders. "Kadjinol, Mlomp, and Huluf, they said they [the Koonjaen] will finish us off... we must get

\(^74\) Rape of women is cited as a cause of many Esulalu wars and may represent an attempt to describe the enemy as violators of the most basic tenets of what the Diola regard as civilized society. Interviews with Kupooch Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/9/78; Djiremo Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 7/21/78; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 6/10/78 and 12/21/78.

\(^75\) In the wars fought by Kadjinol against the Koonjaen, there are two wars that may be remembered within the time span of detailed genealogies. An elder, Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, sometimes claims that his ancestor Abeohow, at least eight generations ago (born sometimes between 1680 and 1730) participated in such a war and sometimes claims that it was before Abeohow's time. It could well be that he participated in one of the last of these wars. Two families are cited by name, one from Kafone and one from Kagnao, as being Koonjaen who sought refuge at Kadjinol. But in the case of the Kafone case, the genealogy of a far younger man is only five generations deep and was probably too recent to reflect a full genealogy. See, Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, February 2, 1978 and February 8, 1978.
ourselves ready and fight them. Esulalu and Huluf agreed to wait six days before attacking. The Huluf warriors went and offered palm wine libations at the spirit shrine Hoonig in order to obtain victory in war. Then they took up positions south of the Koonjaen villages. Esulalu's forces attacked the Koonjean from the north and pushed them back into an ambush by Huluf.

Many Koonjaen were killed; others fled to Esulalu where they sought asylum. Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou describes the process as it occurred at Kadjinol. A Koonjaen "went to a house ... for a drink of water... It was forbidden to kill him, your house would come to an end." The host family, once it had given a refugee a drink of water, was bound by rules of hospitality to protect him, so the refugee stayed. He helped with the cattle, with farming, and in wars with Djougoutes. After a while, he was given a wife and land, but he remained a Koonjaen client of inferior status. Badiat Sambou suggests that the Koonjaen sought asylum at the homes of their maternal kin in the Floup townships, thus indicating a substantial degree of intermarriage and acculturation between the two groups. These processes of asylum seeking and subsequent incorporation were repeated in communities throughout Esulalu and Huluf.

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During the Koonjaen wars, Eloudia and Elou Mломп managed to avoid being conquered by the townships. However Senghalene, itself a Floup settlement, was not so fortunate. Senghalene had established itself to the north of the collection of settlements around Oussouye. Like Hawtane before it, Senghalene refused to allow Huluf or Esulalu access to large areas of palm forest and rice forests in the Calemboekeine-Babindeck area. They also began to harass travelling between Esulalu and Huluf. By 1700, an alliance of Huluf and Esulalu townships defeated Senghalene in a surprise attack at a time when many of its men were away at work in the paddies or in the forest. Some people from Senghalene fled to Kadjinol and Djicomole, but a substantial portion of the community was forcibly moved closer to Oussouye, to the present site of Senghalene. The Senghor and Djikune lineages of Kadjinol and Mломп are descendents of Senghalene refugees.

Despite the focus on Esulalu and its origins up to this point, it is important to realize that these events occurred within a region that was being increasingly disrupted by the expansion of neighboring peoples and Europeans into the lower Casamance. For this view of the “macrocosp” both oral and written sources are limited in number and detail, allowing only for a broad discussion of these historical events. The history of the

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80 This removal of Senghalene probably occurred during the course of the Koonjaen wars, not afterwards. This is based on their more complete integration into Esulalu than most of the Koonjaen groups. For a discussion of the war, see Interviews with Michel Djigoon Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, July 20, 1978; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, July 15, 1978; André Bankuul Senghor, Kadjinol-Hassouka, June 15, 1978.
lower Casamance region before 1700 was dominated by the expansion of the Mandinka westward toward the Atlantic Ocean and the expansion of the Floup and Bnlante northward. These three peoples gradually conquered and incorporated large numbers of the indigenous Bainounk.\[81\]

Along the northern and eastern marches of the lower Casamance strong states, influenced both by Mandinka forms of political organization and the threat of a Mandinka conquest, began to develop. The Cassanga kingdom that was encountered by Fernandes and Pereira was probably the first of these states. By the end of the sixteenth century, several other Bainounk states had developed: Jaboundes on the north shore and Iziguiche on the south shore. These kingdoms prospered because of their ability to control trade in cloth, beeswax, and slaves.\[82\] In the seventeenth century, Bainounk kingdoms with Floup minorities controlled substantial areas along the south shore of the Gambia. In these kingdoms, Fogny and Gereges, the Floup were described as reluctant subjects who were often raided by their ostensible rulers. De la Courbe described the kingdom of Gereges: "the Bagnons are civilized, but the Floups are mostly savages, and because they do not recognize him [the king] except by force, he frequently makes war against them and seizes slaves that he sells; he is always well supplied


\[82\] André Alvares d'Almeda quoted in Thomas, Diola, p. 309-310.
with arms and powder and has several men who know how to shoot." These Bainounk dominated kingdoms offered European traders a secure base from which to trade and a steady supply of wax, slaves, rice, and hides, which led to the establishment of small European trade factories in these states. From the sale of European goods, especially in iron and firearms, these kingdoms could dominate large areas of the lower Casamance.

Most of the Floup communities mentioned by Europeans in the sixteenth century are described as either subject to the Bainounk or as constituting village republics. The Balanga community, near the Soungrougrou River, was typical of the village republics. Fernandes described the Balanga king as poor and weaker than his Bainounk counterparts: "The king of the Balanga people is a sad and poor man: he lives from his work like everyone else." Community governance was conducted by an assembly of elders. They supported themselves through rice farming, the collection of beeswax, and through trade.

In the early travellers' accounts there is only one example of a strong and powerful kingdom ruled by the Floup; this is the kingdom of the Mansa Floup. Valentim Fernandes (1506) is the sole source of detailed descriptions of the Floup state, but his generally accurate descriptions of the Cassanga and other Guinean peoples lend credence to his report. Like the Casa Mansa, the Mansa Floup was a strong ruler who controlled

83 Cultru, Sieur de la Courbe, p. 207-208.
84 Monod, Fernandes, p. 61.
85 Jean Boulegue, Walter Rodney, and Th. Monod, as well as many others rely on Fernandes. Periera visited the southern fringe of the Floup domains, but only described trade. Pereira, Esmeralda, p. 91.
trade, levied taxes and punished wrongdoers. His title, "Mansa" may be a sign of Mandinka influence, but it might also suggest Fernandes's greater familiarity with Mandinka political terminology. The Mansa ruled over a prosperous state, rich in rice and livestock and feared in war. Floup war canoes, capable of holding fifty to sixty men, could bring Floup warriors to areas that were isolated along the many estuaries of the Casamance River. The Mansa Floup taxed cattle and other livestock, palm wine, palm oil, and rice, but in sharp contrast to the Cassangas, there is no mention of slaves being taxed or kept.

Fernandes also claimed that the Mansa Floup inherited all the property of his subjects and then lent it back to the family of the deceased.

If a man died in the land of this king, Mansa Falup, all that he had the king inherited and also the farms of the deceased. And if some sons of the deceased remain, the king lends them things like cows and other things that he could use, but when he wants he can take them back.

And if a man from his country... went and settled outside his lordship, the king sends out a request for all the goods that remain and they give them to him immediately without debate; they fear him so much.

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86 These large canoes, made from silk cotton trees, are still in use. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries such large canoes were used to transport war parties and their captives or traders and their cattle.

87 Fernandes claims the Mansa Floup received one quarter of all livestock, palm products, and rice produced in his kingdom. Monod, Fernandes, p. 63-65.

88 Ibid., p. 65.
This suggests that the Mansa Floup had the authority to claim the goods of his subjects in other states and also that there was considerable trade.

It also suggests that all property was seen as a possession of the king. Jan Vansina has stated that the idea of all property belonging to the king is extremely common: "The king is also the symbol of the kingdom... the king is the kingdom and as such all the land belongs to him in the sense that he has ultimate control over it. All the people belong to him. He can command their labour and the products of their labour. He is their supreme judge and retains the power of life and death. But this power is not unlimited." It appears that the Mansa's claim to authority was at least buttressed by the concept of the king as the symbol of the unity of his people, a symbolic significance retained by the priest-kings of the twentieth century.

Restrictions on the Mansa Floup's eating habits suggest that there were certain religious beliefs attached to the institution of kingship. "This king only eats in the evening because from morning to night he always has a calebash of palm wine close to him and after he speaks at most three times, he takes the calebash and drinks." The priest-kings of the Huluf and Esulalu areas are forbidden to eat in front of people who are not in their immediate families. This is justified on the grounds that it would be dangerous for an ordinary person to see an oeyi in the act of eating, but it is part of a broader effort to overlook the whole

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range of the **ooyi**’s natural activities: eating, bathing, excreting, and dying. Such restrictions emphasize the sacred qualities of Floup and Diola kingship.

Fernandes does not describe the geographical dimensions of the Floup state or the structure of government beyond the activities of the king himself. Esulalu oral traditions that I received contain no specific references to this Floup state. However, if it is true that the priest-kings of the south shore Diola evolved from the institution of kingship of the sixteenth century Floup, an interpretation that I share with Thomas, then the area which is dependant on the senior **ooyi** at Kerouhey may well represent the boundaries of the Floup state. This would include Esulalu, Huluf, and Ediamat of the present day Diola sub-groups. Both the **ooyi** of Oussouye, the senior priest-king of Huluf, and the **ooyi** of Kadjinol, make semi-annual trips to Kerouhey to consult with royal officials there. Informants in Esulalu and Huluf claim that they received the shrines of the priest-king from Kerouhey or the nearby village of Yahl in Ediamat. It appears that the priest-kings of Esulalu and Huluf were initially appointed by the Mansa Floup as his agents there. The Huluf priest-king at Oussouye served as the senior **ooyi** to both Esulalu and Huluf. This would explain the Esulalu accounts of Oussouye’s theft of Eloudia’s Coevi and Djoenenandé shrines; it was not a theft of the shrines themselves, but of the claim to spiritual seniority exercised by the sons of Atta-Essou. Members of the Senghalene-Djikune lineage of Senghalene, who eventually carried Coevi to Kadjinol, and the Lambals of Oussouye went to Kerouhey

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91 Thomas, *Diola*, p. 203-204.
and brought back the shrine Coeyi. They and their descendants served as priest-kings in Senghalene and Huluf.92

This theory that the Coeyi shrines were connected to the growth of the Floup state influences my interpretation of the Diola expansion into Esulalu. If Senghalene carried with it a shrine of the Mansa Floup when it settled in the area between Huluf and Esulalu, then it may have done so as part of an effort by the Mansa Floup to expand his domains. Perhaps the whole Floup migration was supported by the Mansa Floup. This would explain why the Koonjaen did not attack the Floup; they arrived with the support of too strong a state.

In the early sixteenth century, Portuguese traders based in the Cape Verde Islands began to trade in the Bissau-Casamance region. By 1535, the Portuguese had established several trading posts in the region, including one along the southern border of the Floup state. The Portuguese traded iron, cloth, and beads for African rice, wax and slaves. Some of the Portuguese traders settled in the area, married local women, and created small communities of Afro-Portuguese or lâncados.93 The largest volume of European trade in the lower Casamance appears to have been with the Casa Mansa. The Cassangas held large trade fairs which attracted Bainounuk.

92 After the conquest of the Koonjaen, the Senghalene-Djikune lineage of Kadjinol and the Lambal lineage of Oussouye turned over the office of priest-king to members of the Gent lineages who were seen as "owners of the soil". See Chapter Three. Interviews with Sebeloute Manga, Mlomp-Djicemole, 7/12/78 and 12/27/78; Antoine Houndandrissah Dieddhou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/18/78. On Oussouye's receipt of Coeyi, see Ampercé Lambal, Oussouye, 1/10/79.

Mcindinka, and European participation. The Floup state was another center of regional trade. While we have no elaborate descriptions of trade fairs, Fernandes describes the Mansa Floup's taxation of livestock, palm products, and rice. The taxing of these goods and Fernandes' awareness of such practices suggest that they were important trade items. Furthermore, Pereira describes Portuguese traders purchasing rice and meat on the southern fringe of the Floup domains. While both travellers stress the importance of slaves and slave traders at the court of the Casa Mansa, neither of them describe such a presence within the Floup area. The absence of a tax on slaves suggests further evidence that the slave trade was not important to the Floup.

By the late sixteenth century, important new areas of trade had opened up along the Gambia River. Europeans began to trade with the Combo-Mansa, a Mandinka ruler over a heavily Floup population. These Floups (also called Arriates) supplied most of the beeswax and rice used in trade and were often seized as slaves for sale to the Europeans. The Bainounk states along the Casamance continued to supply wax and slaves, but trade routes had shifted away from the Casamance River to overland routes toward the Gambia or Sao Domingo Rivers. Bainounk traders worked to confine the lancados to small trade factories, rather than allowing them free access to regional trading routes.

95 Alvares d'Almeda quoted in Thomas, Diola, p. 309-310.
Late sixteenth century accounts of the Floup areas do not mention a kingdom, only a deep hostility to any European presence and a fear of engaging in commercial relations with Europeans. D'Almeda visited the Floup areas where Pereira had described a brisk commerce, only to find that the Floup would no longer trade: "Not having commerce, none with us." Olfert Dapper suggested that it was the slave trade that had led the south shore Floup to refuse to trade. "The inhabitants of this coast are better made than those of Angola, & want no trade at all with the whites nor to enter into their vessels, that they do not have hostages, a right that whites under the pretext of trade & friendship have removed from their country." This description, combined with accounts of Europeans burning villages suggests that south shore Floup voluntarily withdrew from direct trade with the Europeans because they could not trust them. However d'Almeda realized that the Floup continued to trade, but relied on African middlemen to complete the transactions. "These negroes [the Floup] understand the Buramos in whose land reside our people [the Portuguese], and as a means to banish its useless and already ransomed people and to purchase that which attracts one to the property of the banished negroes..." D'Almeda suggests that the Floup engaged in the slave trade in order to obtain cattle, a highly valued but highly perishable commodity, and to obtain land which was becoming increasingly scarce.

96 Alvares d'Almeda in Silveira, Tratado p. 39.
97 Dapper, Afrique, p. 242.
Esulalu recollections of the period before the French arrived tend to support d'Almeda's claims. Large numbers of Esulalu informants suggested that the slave trade was an important part of Diola life during this period. Most people claimed that it was important before the earliest circumcision ritual in the Bukut form (at least before 1780). Their accounts are filled with stories of slave raiding between different towns, especially between Esulalu and the Djougoutes area across the Casamance River. Esulalu informants insist that they only traded with African merchants; Europeans did not come until the nineteenth century. This would confirm d'Almeda's contention that the Diola in this area did not like to trade with Europeans and preferred to use African middlemen. While people in Esulalu were aware of the presence of the Portuguese in neighboring areas, they described them as sending out blacks - grummates, Bainounk, or Mandinka - to conduct trade. Others describe a black community based at Ziguinchor, the seventeenth century center of Portuguese activities in the Casamance, that raided the coastal areas of Esulalu for slaves. The Ziguinchor raiders are referred to as "Aetingah" and "Ekabiliane" which are translated as "métis". These Afro-Portuguese conducted raids but did not establish a regular trading presence in the Esulalu portion of the Floup region. The most important traders in

99 This is confirmed by Peter Mark, "Economic and Religious" p. 15.


During this period were the Mandinka, who were described as trading in the area before the Koonjaen wars. They would come to Esululu in large dug-out canoes, carrying with them cloth, iron, and cattle and seeking to purchase rice and slaves. Some of these Mandinka traders may have been Muslim, but there is no record of any attempt to convert the Esululu to Islam during this period.

D’Almeda suggested that the Floup engaged in the slave trade because they coveted each other’s property. It is possible that neighbors might covet cattle or rice, but the main source of value among the Floup was the control of land, specifically rice paddies. If the Floup migrations and rapid population growth increased pressure on the land, as Walter Rodney has suggested, then it becomes likely that it was the control of paddy land that was coveted. For those who found immigration distasteful, selling someone into slavery provided them with cattle to purchase new land and reduced the number of households competing for that land.

Walter Rodney has suggested that the Floup were not actively involved in the slave trade. He claims that Floup judicial and spiritual authorities did not abuse their power of chastisement in order to expand the number of available slaves. He explains this by suggesting that there was no strong Floup state or ruling class: “The isolated exceptions only serve to reinforce this generalization, because it could scarcely have been simple coincidence that the Djolas and the Balantes, who produced the

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least slaves either by raiding or by preying on each other, were the very tribes with an amorphous state structure from which a well-defined ruling class was absent. This appears to be true of the various Balanga villages republics, but it does not describe the non-slaving, but highly centralized, Floup state. Furthermore, by the end of the sixteenth century, the Floup people had entered actively into the slave trade, not only as victims, but as raiders and sellers themselves. This occurred at a time when the Floup state, if for no other reason than the travellers' silence in its regard, appears to be in decline. It is a time when no other state appears to have filled the political vacuum. This raises serious questions about Rodney's interpretation of the slave trade as a product of a mutually beneficial alliance between European and lancado traders and the indigenous ruling class. By the time of d'Almeda, the ruling classes of the Floup had collapsed, but a slave trade had emerged. Rather than an activity of a ruling class, the Floup slave trade appears to have been an activity of small groups of raiders who hoped to increase their cattle herds and landholdings.

Rodney and many other commentators have overlooked the active role the Floup played in seizing slaves. This can be explained by the reluctance of the Floup to engage in trade with Europeans and by their distance from the major trading posts. Until the nineteenth century no major trading posts were established in the Diola heartland. Ziguinchor passed its slaves and other goods overland to the larger factory at

104 Ibid., p. 117. For a discussion of the role of Diola religious authorities in the slave trade, see Chapter Four.
Cacheu. Both Cacheu and the European factories of the Gambia received goods from large areas of West Africa. Isolating statistics for the Floup slave trade would be extremely difficult, unless the origins of the slaves were listed. The tendency to overlook the Floup role in the slave trade was reinforced by the European reliance on Mandinka, Bainounk, and Buramos middlemen.

In the seventeenth century the Portuguese expanded their activities in the coastal area from the Gambia to the Casamance and Sao Domingo Rivers. By 1640, Portuguese traders based at Cacheu, were exporting significant quantities of wax, rice, cattle, and approximately 3,000 slaves a year. Rodney suggests that this estimate by the Conselho Ultramarino overlooked slaves that were not registered with the government officials. Non-registration was a common way of avoiding the tax on the export of slaves.\(^{105}\) By 1650, the Portuguese had also established small factories at Ziguinchor and Bolor. The Ziguinchor post was a mere forty kilometers from Esulalu while Bolor was in the southern part of the Floup domains. These traders generated considerable tension among the Floup.

In 1669, a Portuguese official burned some Floup villages. The Floup responded with the destruction of the Portuguese factory at Bolor.\(^{106}\)

During this period, French, British, and Dutch traders successfully challenged Portuguese hegemony in the Senegambia-Guinea Coast region. Jean Boulegue suggests that this new competition increased the ability of the African populace to manipulate prices and to make their participation

\(^{105}\) Rodney, *Upper Guinea*, p. 98.

in the growing trans-Atlantic trade more lucrative. He cites a Dutch merchant who complained of the Africans' growing search for profits. "The blacks along the coast from Cape Verde to Cape Roxo [a Diola township] are spoiled by us, the English and especially the French, and are made really evil, such that we can not even take a hogshead of water or an armful of firewood without paying him double." While Portuguese law forbade them from selling firearms in the region, other European traders were free to sell them to African traders who valued them over other trade goods. The growing profitability of trade with Europeans may have been an important factor in the Floup's decision to enter into the slave trade during the seventeenth century.

In the late seventeenth century, British and French merchants attempted to establish themselves in the region. In 1669, British officials in the Gambia attempted to enlist an Afro-Portuguese trader to explore the Floup area of Bliss-Karones "that up to the present has not been explored... It is said that it will yield considerable trade; primarily in wax, skins, negroes, and ivory. The people are Floups." Coelho declined the offer because of his loyalty to the Portuguese.

Further south, along the Casamance itself, the Portuguese had established a sufficiently strong presence that they could close the river to other Europeans. Special exemptions were sold by the Captain Major of Cacheu at a substantial profit. Regional trade was profitable enough to limit

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108 Azevedho de Coehlo quoted in Thomas, Diola p. 310-311.
access to it and to sell trade permits at a price sufficient to maintain the Portuguese garrison at Ziguinchor.\textsuperscript{109}

The establishment of a more permanent European community within the region permitted greater social and religious interaction between Europeans and Africans. Portuguese traders often married local women and traded in the region in full partnership with them and through the practice of sealing commercial transactions with ritual sacrifice at local spirit shrines.\textsuperscript{110} African grammatical patterns and vocabulary slowly transformed their language into a Portuguese creole. However, the Portuguese \textit{lancados} continued to follow European styles of dress, wear saint’s medals and crucifixes, and think of themselves as European and Catholic. A chronic shortage of priests prevented the \textit{lancados} from receiving proper instruction in Christianity or from receiving the sacraments. European travellers in the area were appalled by their lack of familiarity with their faith and their lack of ritual observances.\textsuperscript{111}

Despite their lack of rigorous instruction, these Afro-Portuguese made some effort to spread their faith. The Afro-Portuguese trader, Azevedho de Coelho, claimed that the Floup: "can already be made a good harvest for the Catholic religion."\textsuperscript{112} Father Labat claimed that the King

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., p. 310.
\textsuperscript{110} Brooks, "Observance" p. 13-16.
\textsuperscript{112} Azevedho de Coelho in Thomas, \textit{Diola}, p. 311.
of Gereges had become familiar enough with Christianity to request that missionaries be sent to his kingdom.\textsuperscript{113} Labat also suggested that the "idolators" at Gereges were far easier to convert than the Muslims, thereby implying that local Europeans had some experience of both types of religious encounter. There may well have been some commerce in rosaries, crucifixes, and saints' medals for use as talismen.\textsuperscript{31A} By the end of the seventeenth century, many Floup may have become familiar with some of the material objects associated with Catholicism, though it is highly improbable that any systematic attempt at proselytization was attempted during this period.

The era when Floup and Koonjaen were competing for hegemony over the Esulalu-Huluf area of the Lower Casamance was also the period when European traders were becoming a powerful influence within regional affairs. The growth of a European market for slaves and agricultural products aggravated regional instability and escalated the level of warfare. The destabilizing effects of this commerce were felt most acutely in the Floup communities south of the Casamance, in the area governed by the Mansa Floup. It appears that the Floup state was unable

\textsuperscript{113} Labat, \textit{Nouvelle}, V. II p. 20. Nothing came of this because the Spaniard who broached the subject with the king of Gereges could not gain the support of the Portuguese traders there, most of whom were Marrano Jews whose families had fled the Inquisition and had little desire for the propagation of the faith.

\textsuperscript{114} Hyacinthe Hecquard describes this as having been an important and long-standing trade between Afro-Portuguese and the Diola, but his account is from the mid-nineteenth century. Hyacinthe Hecquard, \textit{Voyages sur la côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale}, Paris: Imprimerie de Benaud, 1853. p. 110.
to exercise control over increasingly commercial activities or to maintain its authority in a region that was increasingly disrupted by slave raiding. Raiders from across the Casamance, in Djougoutes, came in canoes and kidnapped people working alone in the rice paddies. Small children were not allowed to leave their neighborhoods for fear that they would be seized. Men did not travel alone to the next township because of the danger of capture. Raiding within areas occupied by the Floup was not controlled by any formal government; individuals or bands of men organized slave raids against neighboring townships or isolated travellers. Dense forests made ambushing a simple process, rapidly accomplished with bows and arrows or spears which ordinary farmers could easily obtain. Neither the Floup ruler or local leaders could readily control a slave trade where it was so easy to become a participant. Under the impetus of the slave trade, the Floup state lost its power to control commerce or maintain its authority. Increasingly, the township and village quarter became the only secure political entities and the primary moral communities.

There is no record, either oral or written, of a new state emerging and gaining control of the former Floup domains. Rather, I suggest that religious authorities filled the void left by the collapse of the Floup state and established a rudimentary system of order. This brought the

115 Jack Goody describes a bow and arrow and spear weaponry as "democratic" because these weapons were easily obtainable. This stands in sharp contrast to the weaponry of the Sahel and Sudan's slave raiders who relied on horses and firearms. The expense and high mortality of horses and the scarcity of muskets and gunpowder made it easier for trading states to limit their availability within their domains. Jack Goody, Technology, Tradition, and the State in Africa, London: Oxford University Press, 1971, passim.
spirit shrines and their priests into a more central role in Floup affairs and strengthened the religious aspect of the oeyi or priest-king. It is during this period, beginning in the seventeenth century, that the south shore Floup began a period of political organization described as stateless, relying on religious authorities for the preservation of order. This process of governance through the spirit shrines will be described in Chapter Three.

Contrary to certain theories of state formation in Africa,\textsuperscript{116} the slave trade did not make a significant contribution to the strengthening of political units among the Floup. Rather it accelerated the decline of indigenous states. Similarly, the slave trade did not encourage a widening of world view.\textsuperscript{117} It encouraged an inward vision, towards the preservation of one's family, one's village quarter, and one's township. Houses became veritable fortresses of banco surrounded by palisades. Village quarters established spirit shrines to protect them from attack. Travel between townships became fraught with danger and people avoided contact with outsiders.

It is within this context that the Koonjaen wars occurred. Perhaps the Floup state had been able to maintain the peace while Floup newcomers settled in Esulalu. By the time that the Mansa Floup's power was in


\textsuperscript{117} In his article on conversion, Robin Horton has suggested that trade (though not specifically the slave trade) leads people to focus on the macrocosm of inter-ethnic relations rather than the microcosm of the village. Robin Horton, "African Conversion", \textit{Africa}, Volume XLII, April, 1971, passim.
decline, Esulalu's Floup had grown sufficiently strong to be able to withstand a Koonjaen military threat and to forcibly incorporate the Koonjaen into new townships. Increasing pressure on the land caused by population growth and recurrent drought was a major factor in this escalating competition between Floup and Koonjaen. However once the Koonjaen were conquered, the political, economic, and environmental uncertainty that prevailed in the region encouraged the rapid incorporation of the Koonjaen. It is from this process of incorporation, beginning in the seventeenth century, but intensifying in the eighteenth, that a common Esulalu social and religious identity was forged. The gradual assimilation of Koonjaen and Floup traditions into a single community formed the basis of Esulalu cultural identity.
CHAPTER THREE

FROM MANY PATHS: THE FORGING OF AN ESULALU RELIGIOUS TRADITION IN 
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
The forging of an Esulalu religious tradition began during a period of political, economic and environmental uncertainty in the lower Casamance region. A distinctive Esulalu religious tradition developed in the aftermath of the decline of the Floup state, a period when religious authorities and the cults which they controlled became the major force for the maintenance of the social order. Indirect links to European traders operating in the Casamance region expanded the market for captives, rice, and beeswax while increasing the availability of such goods as iron, firearms, cloth, and cattle. Contact with Europeans through various African middlemen also introduced new diseases. The greater mobility of people through various trade networks helped spread both new and old maladies with far greater speed. All of these changes had to be explained within an Esulalu system of thought and controlled through the development of appropriate ritual forms.

Central to the task of creating an Esulalu religious tradition was the development of a belief system that could appeal to both Floup and Koonjaen populations within the townships. The Floup majority itself was not unified; each lineage traced its origins back to a particular Huluf or Ediamat township. In many cases lineage names reflected these diverse

1 The ransoming of war captives probably developed independently of European influence. There is no clear evidence of the use of slaves within Esulalu before the development of a European market for slaves. For a description of Diola participation in the slave trade, see Chapter Four.
Settlers from each of these communities had slightly different traditions and controlled different spirit shrines. Each lineage had its own shrines and a strong sense of loyalty to its own group, a loyalty that was far stronger than its initial allegiance to the new townships. However, evidence of inter-lineage conflicts during the period before the Koonjaen wars, appears to be beyond the memory of Esulalu historians.

By the late seventeenth century, the Esulalu townships had developed some degree of political and spiritual unity. Such sentiments were symbolized in the office of the ẹẹjẹj, the priest-king, his series of shrines, and the elders who supervised them. Shrines associated with the well-being of individual quarters fostered a sense of quarter unity and provided a system of governance for the major subdivisions of the townships. Still, the lineage-based neighborhood remained the only true moral community, protected against most violent actions from within and armed with the ability to command group solidarity in the face of outside challenges. While the threat of the Koonjaen encouraged the forging of inter-quarter bonds within the townships, these remained fragile.

2 Examples would include the Kolobone lineage, most of whom presently bear the family name of Manga. Families with the name of Senghor or Djikune trace their origins to the Huluf town of Senghalene.

2 The problem of inter-quarter and inter-neighborhood unity has remained a serious one up until the present. Inter-quarter divisions and violent confrontations were reported as recently as 1979. Inter-neighborhood tensions have gradually diminished and represent sources of competition rather than the serious threat to order that they once were. See Appendix Two. For a discussion of a parallel process of inter-lineage cooperation in quarter and township, see Francis Snyder, "L'Évolution du Droit Foncier Diola de Basse Casamance (République du Sénégal)", Ph.D. Dissertation, Sorbonne, Paris, 1973, p. 55.
Despite their close proximity to their fellow immigrants in Huluf, the people of Esulalu found it difficult to maintain regular contact with these communities. Thick forests and the frequency of Koonjaen raids made travel difficult and dangerous. Isolated from the older communities in Huluf and Ediamat, the people of Esulalu looked to their own communities for religious leaders and new teachings about their spiritual salvation. The lessening of commercial, social, and sacerdotal ties with Huluf and Ediamat earned them the name "Esulalu", a term which implied a distant or poorly known place. With isolation came a growing preference for marriage within Esulalu. This tended to reinforce a growing linguistic and cultural distinctiveness. Rapidly changing political and economic conditions also influenced the development of an Esulalu religious tradition. With the conquest of the Koonjaen and their removal to the Esulalu townships, Koonjaen influences also began to contribute to an emerging Esulalu religious tradition.

In this chapter I shall focus on the problem of forging a unified and coherent Esulalu religious tradition capable of satisfying the needs of the various communities that had settled in Esulalu. The specific impact of Esulalu participation in an expanding network of trade will be discussed in Chapter Four. Enduring tensions between indigenous Koonjaen and invasive Floup and between Floup of different origins generated a series of challenges to a religious system that was integrally involved in

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4 Pierre-Marie Sambou translated the term as "there where you find yourselves" with the implication of a "region that is poorly known". See Pierre-Marie Sambou, Phonologie du Nom en Diola Kasa Esulaalul, Dakar, Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar, 1977, p. 1.
the maintenance of community order. While such diversity was a source of tension and a not infrequent cause of warfare, it also provided a variety of approaches to the explanation and control, through religious means, of a rapidly changing world. I shall also examine the influence of environmental disruption, frequent and prolonged droughts and plagues of insects and diseases that became common during the eighteenth century. The development of an Esulalu prophetic tradition which stressed direct contact between people, Emitai, and a host of spiritual intermediaries will also be central to this discussion. Each of these forces generated new religious and social questions, questions about the place of the individual in relation to family, community, and the spiritual world.

I contend that this emerging Esulalu system of religious beliefs was able to interpret, explain, and channel these forces while developing an integrated Esulalu religious tradition. The relative youth of this tradition, its diverse origins, and its emphasis on individual initiative in all spheres of personal experience allowed Esulalu religion to continue to endow rapidly changing circumstances with meaning and to continue to shape these forces of change within Esulalu society.\(^5\)

With the ending of the Koonjaen wars in the early eighteenth century, most of the Koonjaen villages were incorporated within the townships. Koonjaen and Floup shared many beliefs and concerns and had similar

notions of how society should be organized. Both groups were farmers committed to the intensive care of their rice paddies and convinced of the spiritual bond between soil, rice, water, man, and Emitai. Their religions reflected their concerns with this interdependence and sought, through acts of supplication and communion, to maximize the life-giving properties of their land and their communities. Both groups were accustomed to living in small, lineage based communities, each of which jealously guarded its rights to land and political autonomy. For both Koonjaen and Floup, the office of the priest-king provided the primary institution for spiritual unity and legitimated a limited degree of political cooperation. Both peoples looked to their histories to determine rights to land and shrines, as well as to rank the relative power of these shrines and their priests.

It was this common sense of the centrality of historical precedent that provided the first major obstacle to the integration of Koonjaen and Floup. Each group looked at its past relations with the other and saw long stretches of warfare embittered by deaths, kidnappings, rapes, and raiding. Each community valued its own institution of the priest-king and its own cluster of royal shrines dedicated to community welfare and the procurement of rain. Each group had its own network of household and lineage shrines; shrines associated with fertility, healing, work and governance. Furthermore, Koonjaen and Floup were divided by language and by custom which each community wished to preserve. The incorporation of the conquered Koonjaen would prove to be a difficult task. Questions of Koonjaen social, religious, economic, and political status had to be resolved, particularly because of their enduring links to the land as
"owners of the soil". This task was complicated by the political and environmental uncertainty of the period.

Some links had been forged between Koonjaen and Floup even before the Koonjaen defeat. Commercial relations had provided a limited area for peaceful contact. Koonjaen traded iron and iron implements for Floup fish. The Koonjaen shared their adaptations of wet rice agriculture to the peculiarities of the local environment, while the Floup shared their knowledge of carving dug out canoes as well as new techniques for catching fish. However, there was a limit to the sharing of technical information. Koonjaen smithing techniques were not taught during this period. From commercial contacts and exchanges of technical information, some social contacts developed. While I have no indication of the extent of inter-ethnic marriage, it did exist and was not a rare occurrence.

As the Koonjaen wars dragged on through much of the seventeenth century, Koonjaen, as individuals and as families, were incorporated into the townships. Individuals sought asylum with Floup families. Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou described one such case in which a Koonjaen went to a house for a drink of water. Once having received the water he could

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6 For a discussion of Koonjaen influence on Diola rice farming techniques, see Interviews with Indrissa Dieddhiou and Edouard Kadjinga Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/4/78; Sidionbaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/7/78.

7 There is some disagreement about whether there was intermarriage with the Koonjaen, but judging from the collected genealogies and the asylum-seeking procedures described below, it appears that intermarriage did exist. Indrissa Dieddhiou (2/10/78) suggested that intermarriage with the Koonjaen only developed after they were brought into the townships. Badiat Samhau of Kadjinol-Kagnao (7/16/78) suggested that such marriages were common before the conquest. This claim is supported by the exogamous marriage patterns of the Koonjaen lineages.
not be harmed. "It was absolutely forbidden [to kill him], your house
would come to an end." The offering of water obligated the host family to
provide asylum and hospitality. The asylum seeker stayed with his
"tutor", helping with the cattle, with farming and in wars with
Djougoutes. After a while he was assisted in finding a wife and was given
some land. Still he remained a Koonjaen, a client of inferior status.8
Radial Sambou claimed that many of these individual refugees sought asylum
with their maternal kin. They were incorporated as junior kinsmen,
dependent on their relations for protection and for access to land.9

In other cases entire Koonjaen families or neighborhoods were removed
from the forest areas and brought to the townships. They came as a result
of military defeat or the likelihood of defeat. Unlike the individual
refugees, they came with kin and household goods as well as ritual objects
associated with religious life. They needed less assistance than solitary
refugees, had kin support, and, in certain cases, retained rights to paddy
land and palm trees near their former homes. They were given land within
the townships where they could build homes and plant gardens. Usually
they were settled in quarters that were numerically weaker than their
neighbors. This included Kadjinol's quarter of Kafone and Kagnout's
quarter of Ebrouwaye. Despite their greater self-reliance, these new
settlers remained a subject people, taunted by the remark: "You are not
anything. You are Koonjaen."10

8 Interview with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/27/78.
9 Interview with Badial Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 7/16/78.
10 In some cases Koonjaen families retained ownership of rice paddies
to the north and south of the Calemboekine forest. They had worked these
fields prior to their incorporation into the townships. They also
retained rights to harvest palm wine in certain areas. Interview with
Some people have suggested that the Koonjœn were incorporated into the community as slaves (amiekele). There appears to be little evidence of this. Unlike slaves the majority of Koonjœn arrived in families and had strong ties to the land. They were houbook, people born on the land, and therefore of free status. Slaves were people without kin and without ties to the soil. Because of this distinction, slaves were buried in a separate "strangers" cemetery and were subjected to humiliating religious rituals. Koonjœn, despite their low status, were buried in the main cemetery. While incorporated as subject people without political influence, the Koonjœn were seen as spiritually powerful. They were seen as the first inhabitants of the land given by Emitai to Atta-Essou. Their shrines for the fertility of land and women, and for the procurement of rain, derived their power from the special ties of the Koonjœn to the land.

Sidionhaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/7/78. The term "Koonjœn" remains a word of contempt in contemporary usage, a strong ethnic slur.

For a discussion of Esulalu domestic slavery, see Chapter Six. Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff emphasize the status of stranger as an integral part of a slave's status. However, this should be seen as more than a social category, it is a religious idea separating out those people who have no spiritual link to the community. See Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977, p. 15-16. See also, Interview with Antoine Houmandrisshah Dieddhou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/1/76, who makes a similar distinction. On humiliating rituals for slaves, see Antoine Houmandrisshah Dieddhou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/17/78. On separate slave cemeteries, see Interviews with Eheleterre Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 1/4/73; Michel Amancha Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 12/18/78; Rapooch Dieddhou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/28/78; Siopamn Dieddhou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/26/73; Sihendoo Manga, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/15/78; Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine 6/19/75 and 5/12/78; Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnoo, 6/23/78.
Floup attitudes toward Koonjaen incorporation appear to have developed in three distinct stages. Initially the conquered Koonjaen were seen as a political threat, a foreign ethnic group within the townships. They had powerful allies in the Bainounk villages near Ziguinchor and across the Casamance River. Their use of a different language and their practice of a different religion were central to their ethnic consciousness. Therefore the townships attempted to suppress both of these aspects of Koonjaen identity. During the Koonjaen wars, many of the Koonjaen shrines were destroyed. Some shrines survived but could not be used because of Floup opposition. Many of the cults that did survive were practiced secretly, in the forest, away from the eyes of the leaders of Esulalu.  

The shrine that appeared most threatening was the Koonjaen's Egoł, located in the sacred forest of Calemboekine. This shrine, more than any other, represented the spiritual unity of the Koonjaen. It was said to have been given by Emitai to Atta-Essou, who passed it on to his sons who became priest-kings. At its shrine, prayers were offered for rain, for the fertility of the soil, and for protection of each member of the Koonjaen community. Publicly the cult of Egoł was abandoned when the Koonjaen were defeated. Kapooeh Dieddhiou suggested that it was because:  

12 Interviews with Sidionbau Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/7/78; Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/23/78; Sihumucel Badji, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 5/18/78.  

13 For a fuller description of the creation of Egoł and its role in Koonjaen society, see Chapter Two. See also, Interviews with Sihumucel Badji, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 5/18/78; Siliungimumne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 5/20/78; Djilehl Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 5/23/78.
"If they seize you as a slave... you would not have the strength to perform its rites." However, rituals continued for a long time after the conquest. People would come and perform the rites, but the community at large did not know where the worshippers came from. The Egol shrine enjoyed so much prestige that the Esulalu communities wanted to assume its spiritual power. When the Floup of Djicomole wished to establish their shrine of the priest-king (Coeyi), they took over the sacred forest of Eloudia's Koonjaen, which is to say, the sacred forest of Àtta-Essou's Egol. This action by Djicomole served the dual purpose of weakening the indigenous cult and drawing the spiritual power of the Koonjaen shrine into the new cult presided over by a Floup priest-king.

Several cults of Koonjaen origin survived the conquest and remained distinctly Koonjaen. Most of these were family shrines and were tolerated because the people of Esulalu had similar shrines and did not find them threatening. Kahlayo, the lineage shrine of the Gayo Dieddhious, still exists and it serves to ensure the fertility and material and moral well-being of the family. Outside of the Gayo lineage, only two families can attend its rites, the adjunct (kayille) to the priest-king of Oussouye and the priest-king's relations in Kadjinol. The Oussouye adjunct is the

14 Interview with Kapooeh Dieddhioou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/9/78.
15 Interview with Sihumucel Radji, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 7/3/78. I have not yet learned what happened to the priests of Egol during the Koonjaen wars.
16 There is some evidence that Kadjinol temporarily established its Coeyi at the Koonjaen site in the forest of Calemboekine. Interview with Sidionbaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/7/78. Many Christian shrines were established at the site of traditional shrines in both Europe and Latin America.
major priest of the cult.\textsuperscript{17}

A second Koonjaen cult, Djiguemah, survives in the Huluf township of Kolobone. Members of the Gent lineage from Kolobone-Ekink and members of one of the Gent lineages of Kadjinol attend the annual rites performed before the planting of rice. Both groups are said to be descendents of Atta-Essou.\textsuperscript{18} During the rituals, which are held at night, a pig is sacrificed at the shrine. Rice is prepared and the sacrificial meat is eaten at the shrine site. Both men and women, including those who married away from Kolobone, attend the annual event. Such rituals are closed to outsiders. The continued survival of such shrines indicates that family shrines were not seen as a political threat, nor were they regarded as potential competition with Floup shrines for ritual attention.

Despite the long period of hostilities between Koonjaen and Floup, there were strong pressures toward forging an effective union between the two groups. One force working toward the rapid assimilation of the Koonjaen was the frequency of warfare with people from the north shore. People from Djougoutes and the coastal islands, both of whom had mastered the use of the large dugout canoes, would seize people from Esulalu while

\textsuperscript{17} Oussouye's priest-king is considered to be senior to all the priest-kings of Esulalu and Huluf. The town of Oussouye is in Huluf. This linkage between the Koonjaen and the priest-kingship will be discussed below. Interviews with Kuadadge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/26/78; Sidionbaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/7/78; Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/9/78. Kuadadge is one of the few non-Gayo men who can attend the ritual. This is based on his descent from one of the priest-kings of Oussouye.

\textsuperscript{18} Interview with Fidel Munga, Kolobone, 5/1/78. He is the son of the priest of Djiguemah. Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/27/78, 5/31/78 and 6/18/78; Sidionbaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/7/78.
they worked in the rice paddies. This often led to counter raids and occasionally into prolonged warfare. The Esulalu townships needed peace within their communities and added manpower to protect themselves against the raiders of the north shore. Gradually the Koonjaen appeared less threatening and they were accepted in Esulalu war parties.

Economic pressures also contributed to the incorporation of the Koonjaen. The most technically sophisticated and the largest number of blacksmiths in Esulalu were of Koonjaen descent. Most of them settled in the Kafone quarter of Kadjinol where they became the primary iron-workers for the whole region. They introduced their bockine, Silapoom, which provided spiritual protection for craftsmen working with the forge as well as a religiously based guild system for the protection of technical knowledge and the maintenance of trade rules. Only men who had "finished" the process of taking on Silapoom could practice their craft beyond their home township. Like Dijugumah's Silapoom's cult welcomed the participation of women as well as men, though only men could forge. This

19 Interviews with Kundadge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/10/77; Mungo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/15/78; LeBois Diatta, Radjinol-Bassouka, 1/26/78; Wuuli Assin, Cyrinque Assin, and Ncerikoon Assin, Samatit, 5/11/78; Sooti Diatta, Samatit, 12/21/78. The raiders from Djougoutes who figure so prominently in Esulalu oral traditions are probably the same people as Francisco de Azevedo de Coelho describes as Saccaletes. See Coelho quoted in Louis Vincent Thomas, Les Diola: Essai d'analyse fonctionnelle sur une population de Basse Casamance, Dakar: IFAN, 1959, p. 310.

20 This process may have been aided by the erosion of Bainounk power during the eighteenth century. Interview with Antoine Houmandissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/27/78. George Brooks, "Perspectives on Luso-African Commerce and Settlement in the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau Region, 16th-19th Centuries", Paper Presented at the Fourth International Congress of Africanists, Kinshasa, December, 1978.
The shrine was readily accepted into Esululu where township iron-workers welcomed the spiritual protection of Silapoom.21

Perhaps the most important factor in promoting a more complete incorporation of the Koonjaen was their religious status. They were regarded as "owners of the soil", the first and original inhabitants, whose spiritual bonds to the land could be traced back to their first ancestors and to Emitai's assistance when they first settled the region.22 Diola historians acknowledge the religious influence of the Koonjaen. "The Koonjaen showed us many uking."23 While the Koonjaen had a shrine of the dead that was described as comparable to the Diola Kouhouloung, it is unclear whether this shrine was influenced by that of the Koonjaen. The Koonjaen also had a family shrine, comparable to the Diola Hupila, but I have collected no evidence suggesting that it influenced the various forms of the Diola Hupila.24 Initially the townships did not accept the

21 I have gathered no evidence of a Diola blacksmith shrine that was created before the adoption of Silapoom. Silapoom has been discussed more fully in Chapter Two.

22 For a discussion of Gent's special status, the concept of the "owners of the soil", and Esululu's role in the lives of the "first ancestors", see Chapter Two.

23 Interview with Basayo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/3/78. See also, Interview with Djilehl Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 5/23/78.

24 The Diola-Esululu have three different forms of Hupila. Two of these were developed under the influence of the slave trade and were not of Koonjaen origin. The third form usually referred to as the "old Hupila" does not have the slave fetters on the shrine. It is this type of Hupila which would most likely be of Koonjaen origin or influenced by Koonjaen religion. Both the Diola Kouhouloung and the "old Hupila" were described as existing since the "time of the first ancestors" and were among the very oldest Diola shrines. Perhaps because of their age I was unable to obtain origin accounts of Kouhouloung or the "old Hupila".
Koonjaen shrines of Egal, Cayinte, or Dioenenandé. Their close association with the Koonjaen oeyi was a threat to the establishment of Floup political and religious hegemony.

As Esulalu confidence in the Koonjaen grew, they adopted the Koonjaen ritual of male initiation known as Kahat or Ewang. It remains unclear whether the Floup settlers in Esulalu had an older form of male circumcision. None is mentioned in the oral traditions, while early travellers’ accounts are evenly divided. Had there not been a Floup form of male initiation the Koonjaen rites of Kahat would have proven highly useful. They provided an occasion for the senior men to introduce younger men, approaching marriage, to a wealth of religious, social, and military knowledge while maintaining the authority of the elders. It provided a means for a group of young men to establish strong bonds between them, forged through the shared suffering in circumcision as well as the communitas of the ritual seclusion. It provided an opportunity to test the bravery and ability of young men to bear pain, an important virtue in a society where all men were responsible for the defense of the community. Finally, there was the element of sacrifice. The ritual...


shedding of a portion of the male genitalia and the shedding of that blood on the shrine suggests that circumcision served as a fertility rite. Kahat's sacrifice of a part of the male reproductive organ ensured its continued fertility and the fertility of the land.27

If they already had a circumcision ritual at that time, I can suggest that two factors that could have influenced their decision to accept Kahat: a preference for Kahat's ritual and/or a perceived greater efficiency of the Koonjaen ritual. A belief in the greater power of the Koonjaen rite would arise from the Koonjaen's status as the first inhabitants of the area and their resultant special ties to the land. Their ancestors were buried in its soil. The belief that such "owners of the soil" had special powers led the Esulalu newcomers to embrace this Koonjaen cult which sought to ensure the fertility of the land and the community as well as to ensure adequate rainfall to nourish them all.28

During most of the eighteenth century, Esulalu practiced Kahat. Each township maintained a shrine of Ewang, whose priest controlled the process of male initiation. The most powerful of the Ewang shrines was located in

27 Circumcision as a fertility rite appears to be important to Jewish tradition as well, since the foreskin is buried in the ground after the operation. Women make a similar sacrifice of blood in the act of childbirth itself. Female circumcision remains absolutely forbidden in Esulalu, though some Muslim Diola of the north shore have begun to practice it in recent years.

28 The claim of Koonjaen origin is supported by the fact that rites were performed at the Koonjaen shrine of Kahlayoh, the family that controlled Kahat was of Koonjaen descent, and one of the reasons for abandoning Kahat was that by doing so, they restricted Koonjaen influence. Interviews with Rasayo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/3/78 and 11/7/78; Kusadage Biatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/20/78; Antoine Houmandriessah Dieoñhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/11/77.
the Huluf town of Kolobone and was controlled by the priest-king of Oussouye. Before a group of boys was initiated, rituals were performed at the Kolobone Ewang. In order to ensure the safety of the initiates, rituals were also performed at the township Ewang and at the Koonjaen shrine of Kahlayoh.29 Boys were initiated in small groups after puberty, but before they married. After the actual operation the initiates were secluded for one month. During this time they learned about the responsibilities of manhood, as well as religious knowledge. Women could not enter the initiates' ritual enclosure (Houle), but they would cook rice and bring it to the edge of the retreat area. During this time women were allowed to go about their ordinary business and to work in the fields.30 Once having completed the rites, initiates were considered men and could prepare for marriage.

Despite Esulalu's acceptance of a limited number of Koonjaen shrines, the Koonjaen remained excluded from the political leadership of the townships. They were not named as elders at the most important decision-

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29 Interviews with Asambou Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 10/24/77; Badiat Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 12/21/78; Basuyo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 11/7/78.

30 Interviews with Djiremo Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebunkine, 2/17/78; Antoine Houmandriissah Dieddhiou, 11/28/77; Indriissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/76; Kandudge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/21/78; Basuyo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/3/78. I am being deliberately vague on the nature of the operation and the activities that occurred during the ritual seclusion. This was requested of me by the elders of the present circumcision shrine, Bukut. Kahat is still practised in several Huluf and Ediamat towns. For a description of Kahat in the 1950's, see Thomas, Diola, p. 702-703. Most Bainounk, strongly influenced by the Mandinka and the Diola, presently use the Bukut form of male initiation rather than Kahat. For a description of a twentieth century Bukut, see Thomas, 'Mort symbolique et Naissance initiatique (Bukut chez les Diola-Niomoun), Cيبiers des Etudes Africaines, 1969, p. 41-71.
making shrines. Township and quarter meetings were open to them, but if they chose to address the assembly their comments would be greeted by insults about their Koonjaen background.31

By the late eighteenth century, Esulalu took another major step toward the integration of the Koonjaen. They adopted the Koonjaen royal shrines and named the Koonjaen descendents of Atta-Essou as the priest-kings. This extraordinary development may be explained in several ways. First, this may have been brought on by environmental disaster, such as the locust plagues and the recurrent droughts of the 1780's.32 The cause that is most commonly cited in oral traditions was that the Esulalu priest-kings kept dying. The owners of the royal shrines, the families that had gone to Kerouhey, to Oussouye, or to Kadjinol, to bring back Coeyi, had initially installed themselves as priest-kings. One of their descendents, the adjunct to the present oeyi of Mlomp, described the result: "It was bad. If you did someone [installed him] he would die... We gave it to Gent... If they seized one of Kolobone [his lineage], he would not have a year [of life]."33

31 On the use of the term Koonjaen as an insult see Interviews with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 12/1/78; Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/8/78.


33 Interviews with Sebeoloute Munga, Mlomp-Djicomole, 7/12/78 and 12/27/78. This is confirmed by Alouise Munga, Mlomp-Djicomole, 6/18/78.
Fear of the power of the royal shrines when not properly integrated within the spiritual order of the land led the Floup elders of Coeyi to surrender their offices as priest-kings. At Kadjinol, Djicomole, and Kagnout, they passed their shrines to the Koonjaen descendants of Atta-Essou, the Gent lineage, because of its long standing ties to the land. The Esulalu owners of the shrine felt that they did not have this spiritual bond. The deaths of Esulalu's oevis could well have indicated Emitai's displeasure with the newcomers as priest-kings. The plagues of locusts and the withholding of rain, a gift of Emitai (Emitai ehlahl means rainfall), were probably seen as further signs of Emitai's displeasure. The Gent lineage was chosen because they were the descendants of the creators of the indigenous royal shrines, those established by Atta-Essou with the blessing of Emitai. Simultaneously, they allowed Gent to install their royal shrine of Egol in the sacred forest in close proximity to the Floup shrine of Coeyi. Both shrines were seen as crucial to the maintenance of community fertility and the procurement of adequate rainfall.

While Koonjaen and Floup shrines were brought together in a single sacred forest, strict controls were placed on the spiritual and political autonomy of the new priest-kings. The Floup owners of the shrine retained the right to select each new priest-king from among the eligible Koonjaen families. They also controlled the initiation of the new priest-king and

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34 Interview with Antoine Houmdandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/18/78.

35 Francis Snyder reports a similar dualism in the royal shrines of neighboring Bandial. Personal communication, September, 1983.
supervised his activities. They made sure that the nevi followed the multitude of rules governing the conduct of his daily affairs. The rigorous restrictions on the priest-king’s activities, including prohibitions on crossing streams, carrying weapons, or engaging in wars may well have originated during this period. It was at this time that the priest-king was excluded from participation in the township council shrine of Hutendookni.

The nevi offered sacrifices for the fertility of the land and of women and he prayed for rain. However he was not supposed to involve himself in political disputes. While granting the Gent lineages control of their most powerful shrines and allowing the community as a whole to benefit from the spiritual power of the Koonjaen shrines, township elders would not allow the priest-king to exercise political authority. At the shrines, the priest-kings ruled; within the townships, shrine-elders, primarily of Floup descent, controlled community affairs. While the limitations on the mobility and political influence of the priest-king were said to ensure the purity of this powerful office, they were also designed to prevent the concentration of too much power in the hands of any individual. By sacrificing his former name, his former pattern of economic activity, and his rights to engage in local disputes, the priest-

36 Interviews with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 11/15/77; LeBois Diatta, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 1/29/78; Sihumucel Badji, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 5/11/78. Some of these restrictions are probably older than the joining of Koonjaen and Floup shrines. The Mandjak priest-king, whose shrines are the source of the newer Floup ones, had even more restrictions than the priest-kings of the Floup. Interview with Jacques, Lopi, Djerumait, 7/14/78.

37 Interview with Father Earnest Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 8/18/78.
king obtained a new spiritual power and became the symbol of the spiritual unity of the community. As a Koonjaen priest under the control of Diola elders he became a symbol of Koonjaen status within Esulalu. He was king and client, pure and savage, Diola and Koonjaen.

With the elevation of the Gent lineage to the position of ooyi, the Koonjaen entered fully into the life of the townships. The history of Atta-Fassou became a part of Esulalu traditions, alongside the histories of Esulalu migrations from Ediamat and the histories of Floup shrines. Esulalu culture became a synthesis of Koonjaen and Diola. Still, the Diola elders insisted on distinctions. The term "Koonjaen" remained a grave insult and few people would admit to Koonjaen descent. Among the religiously powerful elders of the shrines, ritual distinctions between Coeyi and Ego! and between the owners of the office and the priest-king that took it on remained central. In traditions circulated within the community as a whole, both shrines became Diola while the Koonjaen were regarded as a barbarous and conquered people.

Despite the unification of two traditions of priest-kings and the integration of the Koonjaen into the townships, a limited ethnic boundary persisted in the realms of religion and politics. While such a boundary may appear to be an anachronism, Fredrik Barth would suggest that it reveals important insights into the nature of Esulalu society. The maintenance of the distinction between Koonjaen and Diola supported a shared belief that the wide diffusion of spiritual and political authority

30 Virtually everyone has Koonjaen ancestry on the maternal side, though one is described as Koonjaen only on the basis of paternal descent.
was necessary for the maintenance of a relatively egalitarian community.39

A continuing belief in the "savagery" of the Koonjaen provided a way to
limit the power of those who were acknowledged as spiritually powerful.
The priest-king's "savage" ancestry would undermine any attempt by him to
dominate the community. Even a priest-king, the embodiment of the
spiritual unity of the townships, in other spheres, "was not anything",
He was Koonjaen.

The incorporation of the Koonjaen into the townships was not the only
task confronting the inhabitants of Esulalu. There were sharp divisions
between different factions within the townships. Diola who traced their
migration back to different villages in Huluf and Ediamat and who
controlled different types of spirit shrines competed for influence.
Aggravating such divisions were frequent disputes over rice paddy and
forest land, livestock and women.40 Frequently these disputes would
escalate into battles, pitting quarters of the same township or several

39 Fredrik Barth, "Introduction" in Fredrik Barth, editor, Ethnic
For a discussion of Diola antipathy to the hoarding of wealth, see
Appendix Three of this thesis. Hoarders of power and wealth were often
thought to be witches.

40 Scattered incidents of violence resulting from land disputes have
occurred as recently as the 1960's in Esulalu and the 1970's in other
Diola areas. On the causes of inter-quarter and inter-township wars, see
Interviews with André Kebrochaw Manga and Musampen Diatta, Kadjinol-
Sergouh, 4/18/78; René Djabune, Oukout 1/30/78. For a description of such
warfare over land in other Diola areas, see, Snyder, "Droit Foncier
Diola", p. 50-51. Peter Mark, "Economic and Religious Change among the
Diola of Boulouf (Casamance), 1890-1940; trade, cash cropping and Islam in
southwestern Senegal", Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, New Haven,
1976, p. 16.
Esulalu townships against each other. The frequency of such battles (Kadjinol's quarters of Kafone and Sergerh fought at least three) make them difficult to date, but their frequency is eloquent testimony to the weakness of township-wide institutions and the insecurity of daily life. In describing this period, Diola historians talked about the tensions generated by the fear of communal conflict. Men would go to sleep with a sword or machete within easy reach. Elders avoided socializing in other quarters because minor disputes could turn into bloody confrontations. Children from different quarters would only meet through kinship networks or through township wrestling matches.\footnote{Interview with Sikakucelc Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/17/78.} Esulalu architecture reflected the turbulence of daily life. As early as the seventeenth century, houses were being built like fortresses of clay, surrounded by walls and with only one entrance.\footnote{Such houses were being built in Esulalu as recently as the 1960's. For early descriptions of fortress type houses, see Jean Baptiste Labat, \textit{Nouvelle Relation d'Afrique Occidentale}, Paris: Theodore Le Gras, 1728. Volume II, p. 32. For a floor plan of such fortress houses, see Paul Pélissier, \textit{Les Paysans du Sénégal}, St. Yrieix, Imprimerie Fabrègue, 1960.}  

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, only the authority of the priest-king and his township-wide shrines provided a symbolic and institutional structure for the creation of township unity. The priest-king's shrine of Coeyi safeguarded the lives of the entire township. Wives from outside the township and children born within the community had ritual offerings of palm wine and rice made on their behalf at the Coeyi shrine. By doing so they would receive the spiritual protection of the shrine. The priest-king and his group of elders discussed township
problems and struggled to maintain the peace. Sinyedikaw Diedhiou described the priest-king's role in preventing inter-quarter conflict. Upon learning of a battle, "the oeyi would come and summon the elders [involved in the war]. They would be fined seven cattle." Other Diola historians described war leaders plotting battles in secret, lest the priest-king learn of their plans and prevent them. Once the priest-king arrived at the scene and waved his ritual broom, all fighting had to stop. It was believed that anyone who continued fighting would invite not only his own death, but the death of his entire family. While these descriptions may represent an idealized vision of the ability of the priest-king to stop wars within Esulalu, it does illustrate the fundamental opposition of the priest-king to warfare that would endanger Esulalu's spiritual unity.

Despite the spiritual authority of the priest-king, inter-quarter warfare was a persistent problem. Most ritual life and decision making occurred within individual township quarters. While respecting the office of the oeyi, each quarter turned to its own shrines for protection in war and to reach community decisions. At these shrines decisions were made to engage in war, plans were developed, and the aid of the spirit shrines was requested. Participation at these shrines was limited to the inhabitants of the area protected by the shrine, at times an entire quarter, a series of quarters, or only a single neighborhood within a quarter. The

43 Interview with Sinyedikaw Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/11/78.
44 Interviews with Anto Manga, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 8/15/78; Sikakuccele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/17/78; Yerness Manga, Mlomp-Djicomole, 21/2/77.
restrictions on participation at these shrines indicate the types of alliances, the boundaries of a moral community that existed at the time of the creation of the shrine. Thus for Kadjinol's shrine of Elenkine-Sergerh, men from Ebankine, Kagnao, Sergerh, and most of Kafone could participate, but not that portion of Kafone called Ecuhuh, which was a part of the Hassouka quarter at the time of Elenkine-Sergerh's creation. Rites at the quarter shrine, Dehouhow, included people from all of Kafone, including Ecuhuh, thus indicating that it was created after the Hassouka-Kafone War.45

Many of the quarter shrines traced their origins back to spiritually powerful individuals who claimed that they could see into the spiritual world. They claimed to see ammahl, spirits that wandered the world and who were often associated with water.46 They could choose to reveal themselves to certain individuals. In many cases those who received the initial revelations were women. Thus for Elankine-Sergerh, one of its elders described how "a woman went to find grass. She saw him [the ammahl] but not everyone could see him." You had to have special powers. He told the woman to tell Sergerh, that they should do a ritual there, to

45 Elenkine-Sergerh represents the Kalybillah half of Kadjinol. The shrine predates the Hassouka-Kafone War of the early eighteenth century, which resulted in the transfer of Ecuhuh from Hassouka to Kafone. Some quarter shrines, such as Dehouhow, include women as participants, while Elankine-Sergerh excludes them. For Kadjinol-Kandianka, the shrine of Elucil allows men from all part of Kandianka, except Batcndu, to attend. Interview with Basayo Sambou, 11/29/77.

46 The spring called Kanalliu is closely linked to the Elucil shrine of Kandianka. Interview with Etienne Manga, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 8/17/76. The spring called Cassissilli is linked to a shrine of the same name at Kagnout-Ebrouwaye. Interviews with Pakum Bassin, Kagnout-Ebrouwaye; Djikankoulan Sambou, Kagnout-Ebrouwaye, 1/8/79.
Elunkine-Sergerh. 47

In the course of such revelations, instructions about a cult were given and the amuhl would agree to aid the worshippers in matters of community concern. This included the waging of a "just" war. In such consultations, the spiritual powers of the priests and elders of the shrine were of critical importance. When consulted about community needs, the quarter shrines would, according to Boolai Senghor, "summon those with head [special powers]. They will say what is there... When they had finished listening, people would ask them what they think. If they think, we are in the wrong then there will be no war." The amuhl of Elunkine-Sergerh is said to guide these men with special powers. One time Sergerh made war when it was said to be in the wrong. The amuhl of Elunkine-Sergerh deserted the shrine and went to another township; Sergerh lost the battle. 48 Even the way sacrificial animals were selected emphasized the working of spiritual forces. Stray cattle and goats, "without owners" were led by the amuhl to the elders of the shrine and sacrificed at Elunkine-Sergerh. 49

While quarter shrines provided a place for the discussion of inter-quarter wars and attempts to gain the assistance of spiritual powers, the turmoil of war itself helped to produce new religious leaders who created

47 A woman also revealed Elucil. She was a slave who was seized from Djougoutes and later released. Interview with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 6/10/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/4/77.

48 Interview with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 6/10/78.

49 Interviews with Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/9/78; Sinyendikaw Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/7/78.
new cults. The most important of these religious leaders was Kooliny Djabune, a man who claimed to have had visions of Emitai during an inter-quarter war within the township of Kadjinol. While it is difficult to pinpoint the date of this war, it probably occurred in the late eighteenth century. The Portuguese were already at Ziguinchor and muskets were already being used in battle.\textsuperscript{50} The war occurred at a time when Hassouka was the most populous and most powerful section of Kadjinol. Its opponent, Kafone, was numerically weaker and included a far larger number of former Koonjaen, especially blacksmiths of the various Djabune lineages. Hassouka's men began to attack and rape women of Kafone as they went to the Camuh spring in the rice paddies south of Kafone.\textsuperscript{51} Boolai Senghor and Ompa Kumbegeny Dieddhiou claimed that a dispute over burial rites was involved as well.\textsuperscript{52}

In the midst of this crisis, Kooliny Djabune fell into a sleep that resembled death. Before he went into his sleep he told his wife and son that he was going to see Emitai and that they should not do anything to his body that he was leaving behind. According to Sinyedikaw Dieddhiou,

\textsuperscript{50} This date is derived from an analysis of Djabune-Dieddhiou lineages, the diffusion of the Cabai shrine, and the fact that it was created before the substitution of the Bukut form of male initiation for Kajat at the end of the eighteenth century. Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/1/77, and 2/27/78; Diaswah Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/12/77.

\textsuperscript{51} Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/1/76 and 2/27/78; Diaswah Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/7/76 and 12/12/77.

\textsuperscript{52} The townships excluded men born outside Esulalu from burial in the main cemetery. They may have tried to extend this to those of Koonjaen descent as well. Interview with Ompa Kumbegeny Dieddhiou and Edouard Kadjings Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/13/78.
Kooliny "wet to Emitai... he had a strength. He slept... His strength went [to Emitai]. Someone who saw you would say you had died.\(^{53}\) Siopama Dieddhiou described Kooliny's sleep. "You die. You can not do anything... for six, seven, eight days."\(^{54}\) Kooliny's soul was said to have gone to Emitai while his body remained behind in a deep sleep, resembling death. Kooliny's soul described Hassouka's rape of the Kafone women. According to Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, "Emitai wept... It is forbidden to marry [here a euphemism for sexual intercourse] in a meeting place."\(^{55}\) His soul was away for so long that his wife feared that he had died. She wanted to tell her brother so that they could begin funeral rites. In order to protect his life, Kooliny had to hurry back to the living before his instruction was complete. However he had learned enough to expect Emitai's aid.\(^{56}\) Nothing happened. He returned to Emitai and described the fears of the community. Emitai gave him a pipe. He told Kooliny that the next day he should look for a spear in his backyard. If he found it,

\(^{53}\) Interviews with Sinyendikaw Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/7/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/20/78; Etienne Abbisenkor Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/15/78.

\(^{54}\) Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/20/78. The vision could have occurred during a bout with African Sleeping Sickness, which was common in the area until well into the twentieth century. Other descriptions of visions occurred during a deep sleep. Interview with Etienne Abbisenkor Sambou, 4/15/78. See also, J.C.Enc, Insecta and Man in West Africa, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1963, p. 12.

\(^{55}\) Interview with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/27/78. This is confirmed in Interviews with Diashwah Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 9/25/78; Ompa Kumbegeny Dieddhiou of Kadjinol-Kafone and Boolai Senghor of Kadjinol-Sergerh, 6/13/78.

\(^{56}\) Interviews with Etienne Abbisenkor Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/15/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone 3/20/78.
Kafone could go to war. Kooliny found the spear and summoned his quarter of Kafone to perform a ritual at the new shrine, Cabai, "the spear". Then they prepared for war. When Hassouka arrived at the field of battle, Kooliny lit his pipe and cloud of smoke was said to cover the area. The men of Hassouka could not see their opponents, but the men of Kafone could see them. Kafone forced Hassouka to retreat where they were attacked a second time by men from the Haer quarter of what was to become Mlomp. In appreciation of their aid, Kafone gave Haer a Cabai shrine, a portion of forest land, and vowed never to fight a war against Haer.57

While Esulalu accounts of the creation of the world and its destruction refer to Emitai’s revelations to the first people and Koonjaen traditions describe Atta-Essou’s visions, this is the earliest Esulalu account of direct contact between someone from the townships and Emitai. Kooliny Djabune fell into a deep sleep, lasting several days, during which time his soul encountered the supreme being. There were two such visions. This account stands in sharp contrast to the description of Atta-Essou’s ongoing visions of Emitai. Kooliny’s visions appear to have ceased after the creation of Cabai.58 From the accounts that I have collected, there were no broader teachings, only the suggestion that Emitai would aid those

57 Interviews with Antoine Houmandissah Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafono, 2/27/78 and 6/25/78.

58 For a more detailed discussion of the visions of Atta-Essou, see Chapter Two. In the early 1940’s Alinesitoué claimed an ongoing series of revelations from Emitai. These visions did not confine themselves to while she slept. See Jean Girard, Genèse du Pouvoir Charismatique en Hausse Guamanse (Senegal), Dakar: IFAN, 1969, p. 214-269. Robert M. Baum, "In Times of Troubles Emitai Will Intervene: The Crises of the War Years, 1939-1944" xerox.
in dire need, in the pursuit of a just cause. From this account it becomes clear that in eighteenth century Esulalu, Diola believed that Emitai would intervene in local affairs when calamity threatened, but only on the side of the righteous. However, contacts with Emitai were difficult, attainable only by people who possessed spiritual powers (houkaw). The messages from Emitai were often incomplete, requiring additional visits when possible or resulting in fragmentary teachings when additional visions were not possible.

The Cabai shrine became the major war shrine for the Esulalu townships. Sacrifices were offered before going to battle. The spirit associated with Cabai would enable those it aided to hide in the forest without being seen and to defeat their opponents. Within its precincts, plans for battle were developed as well. Kafone’s shrine, created by Kooliny, was the oldest in Esulalu. Kafone gave Cabai shrines to its allies in war. Elders of the shrine would carry consecrated earth and ritual objects to another quarter, perform the necessary rituals, and instruct a local priest. Thus Haer received its Cabai for its assistance in the war with Hassouka. Hassouka received one for its aid in defeating a township in Huluf. The new shrines bound the recipients to the community that had given them the shrine. Djatti Sambou, the priest of Haer’s Cabai, described the crisis that would be generated by a war between Kafone and Haer. "If there is a war with Kafone, Cabai will be

59 Interview with Sinycdikaw Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/7/78.

60 Interviews with Sikakucel Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/17/78; Antoine Nounandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone 8/1/76, 2/27/78, and 6/25/78.
destroyed because the Cabai's are the same.° The spirit associated with a single type of Cabai could not fight on both sides of a battle. While some Cabai shrines did not trace their origins back to Kooliny's, most Esulalu quarters eventually established a shrine.

As a result of the Hassouka-Kafone War a portion of Hassouka, the sub-quarter known as Ecuhuh, became part of Kafone. Because of its origins it was excluded from participation in the rite of Elenkine-Sergerh. However, the people of Ecuhuh brought a series of shrines to Kafone. While some of these, such as the sub-quarter shrine of Hnegondone, were restricted to the men of Ecuhuh, others were of township wide importance. The most significant of these was the confessional shrine of Njimamo. At this shrine people would confess those wrongs that they had committed where they were punished by the shrines associated with the priest-king. Because of its incorporation of Ecuhuh, Kafone obtained a large number and variety of shrines which helped shift Kabjinol's ritual balance of power from Hassouka to Kafone.  

While warfare created a need for the spiritual assistance of the ukine and the inspiration for some individuals to bring new shrines into Esulalu, wars also provided opportunities for the display of other spiritual gifts. To the people of Esulalu, success in warfare depended on far more than physical prowess, arms, or strategy. Certain individuals

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61 Interview with Djatti Sambou, Lampolly Sambou, and Edouard Sambou, Mlomp-Haer, 1/9/79.

62 Interviews with Diashwah Sambou, Kabjinol-Kafone, 4/13/78; Mungo Sambou, Kabjinol-Kafone, 4/15/78; Attabadionti Dintta, Kabjinol-Sergerh, 7/13/76; Diashwah Sambou, Isador Sambou, and Mungo Sambou, Kabjinol-Kafone, 6/25/76.
were said to be endowed with spiritual gifts that allowed them to perform super human feats in warfare. Some of these gifts were attributed to the assistance of the spirit shrines. The Katapf shrine was said to protect those who sought its assistance from being wounded by knives, machetes, or other types of metal blades.\textsuperscript{63} Cabni's power to aid in the concealing of warriors was cited as its first manifestation of power. Samatit's shrine of Fann, which protected the general well-being of the community, was said to assist the men of Samatit when they engaged in war.\textsuperscript{64} Others sought out medicines (bouboon) which could protect people from being wounded in war. Certain individuals who were said to have spiritual gifts prepared these medicines from a variety of roots and herbs, leather and metal. It remains unclear whether eighteenth century Esululu fighting men sought the assistance of Mandinka marabouts who traded in the area, in preparing Muslim gris-gris which offered similar forms of protection.\textsuperscript{65}

A less common, but more celebrated form of spiritual assistance was provided to warriors who had spiritual gifts (houkaw). These individuals, who were said to be able to see into the spiritual world, tapped the power of certain spirits (ammahl) who chose to help them. Such warriors were

\textsuperscript{63} Interview with Sikakucye Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/17/78. Personal observations of Katapf rituals. Katapf is closely linked to Cabni in many quarters.

\textsuperscript{64} Interviews with Cyriaque Assin and Neerikoon Assin, Samatit, 6/20/78; Sooti Diatta, Samatit, 12/21/78; Sihumucul Badji, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 5/11/78.

\textsuperscript{65} Gris-gris were in common use by the mid-nineteenth century. On Diola war medicines see, Interviews with Diashwah Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/7/76; Kuadudge Diatta and Ompa Rumbegony Dieddhieu, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/24/76.
said to be able to transform themselves into animals and fly away when
overpowered or sneak up on an enemy and spy on their adversaries. Such
powers were similar to those used by witches, but were used for the
benefit of the entire community. At Samatit such individuals were said
to have arrows that could be shot in such a way that they followed their
victims. If a victim turned a corner, the arrow would follow. This was
described as a gift from Emitai, but was given only to the spiritually
powerful.

From this brief discussion of Esulalu warfare it becomes clear that,
in the eighteenth century, Esulalu had a certain ambivalence about war.
The most important religious figures, including the priest-king and his
adjunct, could not participate in it. People who returned from warfare
and had either taken a life or handled a corpse had to perform the ritual
purification rite of Hougonayes before they could worship at any of the
spirit shrines or even enter their homes. Warfare that was waged when a
community was in the wrong would result in disaster. Such people could
not rely on the assistance of the quarter shrines, the amnhol or Emitai.

66 Interviews with Antoine Houmandriassah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone,
6/25/78; Dinswah Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/7/76; Boulai Senghor,
Kadjinol-Sergerh 8/14/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/25/78.
67 Interview with Cryiaque Assin and Neerihoon Assin, Samatit,
6/20/78.
68 Interviews with Sihumucel Radji, Kadjinol-Hussunk, 7/8/78; Sebeuloute Manga, Mlomp-Djicomole, 4/24/78.
69 Interview with Djntti Sambou, Mlomp-Huerc, 1/13/79. Terence
Galandiou Diouf Sambou of Kadjinol-EBankine described a similar ritual,
Houmal, that was performed to purify those Esulalu who had fought in the
World Wars. Interview 10/19/78.
Heavy casualties and the weakening of their shrines would result from ignoring the advice of spiritually powerful people or the spirits that endowed the shrines with power.

Spiritual assistance was available in the event of a "just war". When Kooliny Djabune sought the assistance of Emitai to keep Hassouko's men from raping Kafone's women, Emitai was said to weep with outrage and then provided Kooliny with the Cabai shrine and the power to vanquish the wrongdoers. Individuals were said to be given special powers to aid them in war when they were in the right. Presumably both sides would seek the spiritual assistance of shrines and the supreme being, but Emitai and the spirit shrines would only ally themselves with the righteous.

Despite Esulalu's acceptance of the concept of a just war, many people were troubled by the persistence of warfare within Esulalu. This discomfort is not only indicated through initial interviews that I conducted with people who sought to conceal the existence of inter-quarter and inter-township wars and who claimed that it was absolutely forbidden (gnigne). It was also evident from their insistence that the priest-king was excluded from the making of war plans, that he would stop any battle that he discovered in progress, and that he would levy fines in cattle against those involved. Such warfare eroded the development of a stable society within Esulalu. It transformed blood relations and kin through marriage into adversaries. It sapped the energy of the community to farm, hunt, and especially to maintain dams and fences that were essential to rice cultivation. It hampered the ability of Esulalu to develop regional religious institutions capable of sustaining a larger moral community. Such warfare also threatened the ability of the Esulalu townships to
protect themselves in warfare against Diola from Djougoutes, Bliss-Karones, and Huluf, as well as Afro-Portuguese raiders from Ziguinchor.70

Once again, Esulalu turned to religious institutions to strengthen community bonds. In the early eighteenth century Kadjinol installed a new town council shrine called Hutendookakai. Kadjinol learned about the shrine from the neighboring township of Seleki, with whom it had various commercial ties.71 Elders from Seleki installed the shrine at Kadjinol where it served as a forum for the discussion of community problems. Meetings were held on Huyaye, the sixth and final day of the Diola week, a day when rice cultivation was forbidden and many religious rites were performed.72 At the time of its introduction, the priest-king appointed senior men from each compound as representatives to Hutendookakai.73

70 Interviews with Koundagde Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/10/77; Siliungisagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 11/25/78; Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/28/78; Diashwah Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/7/76; Asambou Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 12/12/77; Sooti Diatta, Samatit, 12/12/78.

71 While we lack detailed priest lists or detailed accounts of its origin, informants all insist that Hutendookakai is extremely old. Specific priests are mentioned in the early nineteenth century, but informants generally suggested a greater antiquity, invoking the term "since the time of the first ancestors" or comparing its longevity to that of the priest-kingship itself. Interviews with Koundagde Diatta and Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone 2/16/78; Djiremo Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 4/9/78; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/19/78; Songatebeh Diatta, Mlomp-Cadjifolong, 6/29/78.

For its introduction from Seleki, see Interview with Assinway Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/11/77. The Bandial-Seleki area appears to be the only other Diola area that has Hutendookakai. See Francis Snyder, "Legal Innovation and Social Disorganization in a Peasant Community: A Senegalese Village Police" Africa, V. 48, 1978, p. 231-267.

72 Interview with Assinway Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/25/78.

73 Interview with Yerness Manga, Mlomp-Djicomole, 12/2/77.
At the Hootendoookai shrine, problems concerning the whole township would be discussed. Work on the dams that regulated water levels in the rice paddies and on the fences that protected the paddies from roaming livestock were coordinated through Hootendoookai. Shrine elders also adopted regulations governing the hiring of individuals and collective labor. During most of the eighteenth century these sessions were presided over by the priest-king. His spiritual prestige and the power of the Hootendoookai shrine reinforced the power of the town council's decisions. A group of younger men, called the Kumachala, served as the enforcement arm of the Hootendoookai. Selected from each compound, they inspected fences and dams, seized stray livestock in the rice paddies and, together with shrine elders, they enforced unpopular decisions in their compounds. These decisions, while consecrated with palm wine libations at the shrine, were enforced by the Kumachala who would seize wrongdoers' livestock and even raid their granaries. Unlike many spirit shrines, Hootendoookai did not seize wrongdoers with illness.

Hootendoookai also served as a tribunal, hearing cases of land disputes as well as accusations of theft and witchcraft. Decisions were made by consensus rather than by a majority vote. Convicted thieves would be fined livestock, usually pigs or goats. In the most serious form of

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74 Interviews with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 6/29/78; Assinway Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone 1/1/77. I was initiated into this organization in the fall of 1977 and patrolled the rice paddies with them. See also Snyder, "Legal Innovation", passim.

75 Interviews with Kududge Diatta and Antoine Houmandissah Dieddhieu, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/16/78; Assinway Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/11/77 and 2/2/78; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 1/11/79.
witchcraft accusations, when the accused was said to have eaten human flesh, the accused would lose all his rice paddies to Hutendookai. People in the community would buy these paddies with cattle which would then be sacrificed at Hutendookai. 76

In the late eighteenth century the institution of the priest-king underwent a series of changes that substantially altered its role within Esulalu. As previously mentioned, the transfer of the office of oceyi to the Gent lineage and the incorporation of Egal in the priest-king's cluster of shrines was done in response to a perceived need to tap the spiritual power of the Koonjaen as the earliest inhabitants of the region. However, other changes in the institution of the priest-king grew out of a need to reinforce the oceyi's symbolic role as a spiritual emissary for the township as a whole. While the removal of the priest-king from direct intervention in political disputes served to exclude Koonjaen from exercising political power, it also lessened the possibility of the priest-king being identified with any particular quarter or faction in township disputes. His exclusion from an active role in cultivating rice not only served to prevent his violation of the interdictions surrounding

76 References to people who "eat human flesh" could refer to two different types of witches, the assaye and the assanita. The assaye was said to travel about at night as a soul leaving its body behind. While travelling it might consume the soul of another person. This was described as eating human flesh. There was also said to be a secret society that ate human flesh. While some believe that this happens in the temporal world, i.e. Father Henri Joffroy and the French colonial authorities, I would contend that these too were acts of the spiritual world. See Robert M. Baum, "Crimes of the Dream World: French Trials of Diola Witches", Paper Presented at the University of Warwick, "Conference on the History of Law, Labor, and Crime", 1983.
his office, but also removed him from having a personal stake in land disputes. These restrictions freed the priest-king to offer prayers for the well-being of the entire community and all its various factions. They also strengthened the impartiality of the priest-king in the mediation of disputes that threatened township unity. By restricting the involvement of the priest-king in economic and political life, the institution of the priest-king became a symbol of the spiritual unity of the community. Removed from other interests the priest-king could provide strong moral leadership for the township. Thus, Alouise Manga could describe him as above the rivalries that threatened community life. "The priest-king is a shepherd. This is a spirit shrine of shepherding."

While removing the priest-king from community disputes, Esululu elders sought to extend his role in the ritual life of the quarter. A new shrine, Cayinte, was introduced from Huluf and established in every township quarter. Cayinte's ritual focused on the procurement of rain, something that was particularly important during the frequent droughts of the late eighteenth century. The priest-king, his adjunct, and the council of elders of the priest-kingship controlled the selection of the Cayinte priests and the elaborate initiation rites that they went through before assuming their offices. Initiation of new priests lasted seven

77 Certain lands were reserved for the office of the priest-king. The township as a whole cultivated these paddies and provided rice for the priest-king's household. Interviews with LeRois Diatta, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 4/24/78; André Bankuul Songhor, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 11/18/77; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 11/15/77. See also Francis Snyder, "Droit Foncier Biola", p. 49.

76 Interviews with Alouise Manga, Mlomp-Djicomele, 12/27/78; Sebeoloute Manga, Mlomp-Djicomele, 4/24/78.
days and was accompanied by lavish sacrifices of livestock. The priest-king and his associates seized the new priest from his home and placed him in seclusion for a week of rigorous instruction. On the seventh day, he emerged from his retreat and assumed his office. These priests were regarded as lesser priest-kings, as representatives of the ocyi, not only in the quarter, but often in sub-quarters as well. For example, Kadjinol's six quarters had twelve Cayinte shrines and priests. The introduction of a system of rain shrines coordinated through the institution of the priest-kingship reinforced the role of the priest-king as central to township ritual life. The network of Cayinte priests provided another institution to strengthen an often fragile sense of township unity. Its rituals, attended by elders from several quarters, provided an important meeting ground for community leaders.

During this period, a new shrine of the elders, Hoohaney, was created in order to provide a forum for important religious leaders throughout the townships to discuss problems in a less public place than that of Holendooi. Included among the elders of Hoohaney were those men who controlled the shrines of the priest-king, the priests of the major shrines, and some of the wealthier members of the community. The elders of Hoohaney assisted at the initiation of the priest-king and controlled the young men's initiation into the rites of the dead, Calau. It also

79 Interviews with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 6/21/78; Antoine Houmandissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/18/78; Diushwah Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/26/78; Mungo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/15/78.

80 For a discussion of the role of wealth in the selection of Hoohaney elders see Chapter Four.
provided a discrete forum where religious leaders could discuss the moral
climate and religious orthodoxy of the community, as well as such problems
as witchcraft and other forms of social deviance. While the shrine itself
was usually described as a society (semboti) where ritual served to
"seal" the decision of the elders, the spirits associated with the shrine
were said to seize people who worked against them or who refused to "take
on" the responsibilities of the shrine when summoned to do so by its
elders.\footnote{Interviews with Djatti Sambou, Mlomp-Haer, 11/9/78 and 1/13/79;
Antoine Houmandriessah Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/18/77; Kapooeh
Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/7/78; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-
Kandianka, 8/12/78; Samouli Senghor, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 6/25/75.}

The Hoohaney shrine is unique to Esulalu and dates back to the late
eighteenth century.\footnote{Hoohaney is described as extremely old, but not as old as those
created at the time of the "first ancestors". It is said to be older than
the Bukut form of circumcision which was introduced in the waning years of
the eighteenth century. Interviews with Siopama Diaddhiou, Kadjinol-
Kafone, 6/9/78; Djiremo Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 6/29/78; Paponah
Diatta, Mlomp-Etebcemeye, 8/7/78. That it did not precede Bukut by many
years is suggested by the rule that no man may hold priestly office in
both Bukut and Hoohaney. On its being limited to Esulalu, see Interview
with Antoine Houmandriessah Diedhiou, 6/18/77. Thomas, \textit{Diola}, p. 595.}
The first Hoohaney shrine was established in the
Suzannah sub-quarter of Kadjinol-Hassouka. Despite its goal of providing
a forum for all of Kadjinol, divisions between different quarters plagued
Hoohaney from the beginning. Elders from Kalybillah sat on one side of
the shrine and elders from Hassouka, who officiated, sat on the other.\footnote{Interviews with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 8/12/78;
Djatti Sambou, Mlomp-Haer, 1/13/79; Kapooeh Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone,
7/29/78.}

There was apparently little mixing between the two halves of Kadjinol.
Shortly after its creation a man from Kalybillah refused to pay a fine imposed by the officiating priest. Men from Kalybillah supported him and they established a new Hoohaney in the Kagnao quarter. This split could have resulted from the tensions surrounding the Hassouka-Kafone War, though no such conclusion was made explicit. The first priest of this new Hoohaney was Penjaw Djabune. Shortly after the creation of the Kagnao Hoohaney, Penjaw became involved in a dispute with the elders of Kafone. Though the elders of Kafone paid one fine levied against them, as the dispute dragged on, they refused to pay any additional fines. Kafone established its own Hoohaney. Similarly, the Kandianka quarter established its own Hoohaney after war broke out between Kandianka and the Baimoon section of Hassouka. From Kadjinol, Hoohaney spread to other Esulalu townships, but it ceased to be regarded as a source of spiritual unity.

In the waning years of the eighteenth century, men from Kadjinol's quarter of Sergerh introduced a new form of male circumcision called Bukut. Men of the Djisonghalene-Djikune lineage of Sergerh were

84 Based on Dieddhiou-Djabune lineages, Penjaw was born in the mid-eighteenth century and could have represented his compound at the Hoohaney shrine as early as 1790. There have been a total of eight priests of the Kalybillah shrines, though there often are long interregna between priests. Interview with Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/28/78.

85 Interview with Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone 7/28/78.

86 Interview with Basayo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/3/78.

67 Interview with Djatti Sambou, Mlomp-Haer, 1/13/79.

88 Dating of the switch from Kahat to Bukut is based on initiation lists of eight Bukut initiations. These were said to be held every twenty years, though for Kadjinol in the twentieth century, they were held less frequently (Badusu, 1901, Djambia, 1923, Batachakunle, 1952). The third oldest Bukut, Basamane, was the circumcision rite of Haieheck who signed a peace treaty with the French in 1860. By 1860, he would have been an elder and was probably circumcised by 1820.
visiting Djirikunan (Kamobeul), a Diola community to the east of Esulalu, when they learned of the new type of initiation. While Bukut was brought from Djirikunan, its ultimate origin has been variously attributed to the Mandinka and the Mandjak. Despite the lack of a specific place of origin, elders of Bukut insisted that it was introduced by a woman. "A woman showed them everything. She gave it to the men. Emitai gave it to her." Emitai was said to have revealed this to the woman in a dream.

Despite the tradition claiming that Emitai revealed Bukut to a woman, women are carefully excluded from the rituals of Bukut. Women are not allowed to approach the sacred forest of circumcision (Sihinna) or the ritual enclosures (Houle), where the initiates remain in seclusion. In Kanhnt, women had been allowed to bring food to the initiates and could see

Interviews with Kubaytow Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 5/20/78; Antoine Houmandriissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/1/76, 11/9/77, and 11/28/77; Kuadadge Diatta and Djiisenghalene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/14/78; Indrissa Dieddhiou, Sinyedikaw Dieddhiou, Edmund Dieddhiou, Ompa Kumbegeny Dieddhiou, 6/18/75; Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Enbankine, 5/15/78; Edhi Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 11/6/77; Etienne Manga, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 2/5/78.

Peter Mark claims that the Bukut form entered the Djougoutes area no later than the early 1800's. Peter Mark, "Economic and Religious" p. 19. Jean Girard has argued that Bukut was introduced in the early twentieth century by the Mandinka, as part of a modernization process. This is not supported by any of the evidence. See Girard, Genese, p. 66.

Interviews with Eddi Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 2/12/75 and 11/6/77; Indrissa Dieddhiou, Sinyedikaw Dieddhiou, Edmund Dieddhiou, Ompa Kumbegeny Dieddhiou, 6/18/75; Kuadadge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/21/78; Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/78; Yerness Manga, Mlop-Djicomeule, 6/20/76.

I have refrained from naming informants on this point since some elders would not be pleased that this information was revealed. While I have the permission of my sources, I think it is advisable to protect their identities. Interview Kadjinol, 2/17/78. This was confirmed by Kadjinol, 5/22/78; Kadjinol, 4/9/78; Kadjinol 7/3/78.
them from a distance. In Bukut it is believed that a woman who sees any of the Bukut rituals would die. Some women, desperate to see if their children had survived the operation, were said to transform themselves into vultures. However, when they returned they would be afflicted with a distended stomach, that would eventually burst. Despite the severity of the spiritual sanctions against women who would try to see the initiates, women were said to know all about Bukut. Boolai Senghor claimed that:

"Women know more about it [than men], but they will not speak... Perhaps they would cry. Perhaps they would laugh. So we said it was absolutely forbidden (gnigne)."

Jean Girard has argued that the change in male circumcision from Kahat to Bukut strengthened the male aspects of circumcision with its emphasis on secrecy and the exclusion of women. "The Bukut accentuates the masculine cleavage relative to the female world, and surrounds initiation in mystery and fear and reaffirms to the female community a male personality that had become vacillating because of changing circumstances." While Girard attributes this incorrectly to the destabilizing impact of French and Mandinka hegemony in the early twentieth century, he is correct in suggesting a changing relationship

91 Interviews with Djiremo Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 2/17/78; Antoine Houmandissah Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/23/77; Kaududge Dlatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/21/78.

92 Interviews with Antoine Houmandissah Diedhiou, 4/23/78; Indrissa Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/78; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/10/78.

92 Interview with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/10/78.

90 Girard, Genèse, p. 90.
between the sexes. Women were far more systematically excluded from Bukut than Kahat, though their role in creating Bukut hardly suggests the cleavages that Girurd claims. The exclusion of women, rather than a need to strengthen a masculinity embarrassed by colonial domination, represented a growing belief within Diola religion (that was less true among the Koonjaen), that male and female spiritual power should be kept separate. Diola reliance on women as creators of shrines demonstrated the acceptance of female spiritual power, but they believed that it was of a different nature and that male and female should be carefully separated in order to maximize the power of each. Thus the exclusion of women from even marginal participation in male initiation coincides with their exclusion from assisting at the sacrificial meals of Hoonhaney. While excluded from Bukut, women had created it, they knew what happened there and they accepted the new circumcision form as more powerful than Kahat.

Accompanying this change in male initiation was a growing sense of reticence between the sexes in discussing sexually explicit subjects. Cotton cloths purchased from Mandinka traders or weavers at Seleki and Djirikanoo, increased the availability of clothing and helped to extend notions of sexual modesty from a covering of the genitals too, for women, a covering of the area from the waist to the knee. As part of the male initiation rites, young men learned sexually explicit songs, many of which they would be embarrassed to sing within earshot of women. Men were unsure of the women's response to male initiation. They did not know if

95 Interviews with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 5/20/78; LeBois Diatta, Kadjinol-Hassouka, Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, and Djalli Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 4/16/78.
women would cry or laugh at their efforts. With this new form of initiation, they could instruct the next generation of men as they saw fit, leaving the initiation of women to female elders at the maternity huts in the township.  

Informants offer four major reasons why the Bukut form of initiation was adopted and Kahat abandoned. In Bukut, the initiates were kept in a sacred forest for two to three months, during which time they would be more effectively taught about their responsibilities as men, as warriors, and as elders of the community. In Kahat, they were not secluded for as long a period of time nor were they separated as completely from women. Secondly, the elaborate preliminary rituals of Bukut, the festivities held on the day of the boys initiation, and the elaborate sacrifices necessary to become an elder of Bukut created a greater opportunity for feasting. Large numbers of cattle and pigs were sacrificed at Bukut, while the sacrifices at Kahat were far more modest. Thirdly, there was a preference for the surgical technique performed in Bukut. Finally,  

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66 This did not involve any form of female circumcision, a practice which is absolutely forbidden in Esululu. Women mid-wives would complete the ritual initiation of women at the time when they gave birth for the first time. This was followed by several days of seclusion.

67 Interviews with Kuadadge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/21/78; Djiremo Sambou, Kadjinol-Ehankline, 2/17/78; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/10/78; Badjaya Kila, Eloudia, 12/12/78; Djibandial Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/29/75; Antoine Houmandriassah Dieddhiou, 11/28/77. The emphasis on animal sacrifice both in the festivities and in the taking on of priestly office will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

68 This can not be discussed in any detail at the request of the elders of Bukut. Interviews with Djibandial Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/29/75; Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/76; Malanbaye Sambou, Mlomp-Djicomole, 11/7/78; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/10/78.
Kahat was seen as a Koonjaen form of male initiation. Given the growing spiritual authority of the Koonjaen minority, Kadjinol's elders may have welcomed a different form of male initiation that lessened the Koonjaen role.99

Elders of Bukut have stressed the importance of the longer period of ritual seclusion for the initiates as a time for teaching the initiates about manhood, about warfare, and about their role in the religious community. This was particularly important because Bukut was instituted during a period of social instability. Certainly a longer period of seclusion would be useful in offering more systematic ritual instruction. However, Kahat's initiation was limited to boys on the verge of marriage. In Bukut a whole generation of boys, all those who had been weaned since the last Bukut (they could range in age from three to thirty) would be circumcised together. The younger boys would be incapable of absorbing much of the information they received, though once initiated they gained the right to such knowledge and it could be retaught as the boys aged.

From Kadjinol Bukut spread to the other Esulalu townships, but it was not immediately adopted. The adoption of Bukut encountered significant opposition throughout the region. Resistance was concentrated among certain families of Koonjaen descent who controlled the various Ewang shrines associated with Kahat. In addition to their loss of ritual authority, Kahat's elders were concerned about the possible removal of a

99 Interview with Antoine Houmandrisah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/11/77. The Koonjaen origin of Kahat has been established at the beginning of this chapter. No one has suggested that Bukut is of Koonjaen origin, while the opposition to it was from certain Koonjaen families.
fertility ritual, undergone by all the young men of the community, from the spiritual protection of the shrines most intimately connected with the land, the various Koonjucn shrines associated with circumcision and the priest king. They may well have feared that the high mortality that resulted from introducing a "foreign" Coevi shrine and priest-king would be extended into the ritual initiation of a whole generation of young men who were circumcised at a "stranger's shrine."

Eventually a compromise was achieved. Certain families would still be initiated at Kahat. At Kadjinol, only one family still has its sons initiated in the Kahat form, which is performed at Oussouye. Members of this family, a Gent lineage at Kadjinol who are related to the royal lineage at Oussouye, continue to seek the blessing of the Ewang shrine of Oussouye and the Kuhlayoh shrine at Kadjinol before the remainder of Kadjinol's young men are initiated at Bukut. This remnant of Kahat initiates provide a crucial link between Kahat and Bukut and between the "owners of the soil" and the new rites of the Diola majority. The initiates of Bukut still secure the spiritual protection of those shrines most fully integrated into the spiritual hierarchy of the region.

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100 The Ewang shrine at Kolobone, controlled by the priest-king of Oussouye, is the most powerful shrine associated with the resolution of land disputes for both Huluf and Esulalu. Interview with Jonas Sina Diatta, Kadjinol-Hussouka. Personal communication, Klaus de Jonge, 1/12/75.

101 Interviews with Kundadge Diatta, 2/21/78; Indrissa Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/76; Asekahan Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/14/76; Anto Mungn, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 4/17/75; Djiremo Samhou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 4/9/78.
Central to Esulalu religion in the eighteenth century was the problem of healing. A person who was seized with an illness that resisted ordinary cures would seek out a priest of one of the divinatory shrines in order to assess the spiritual cause of the illness. At the divinatory shrine of Bruinkaw, the hockine was said to speak and the priest translated for the supplicant, thereby revealing the cause of the illness. In other cases, at Ehoon, Ekisumvae, and Hulagne, as well as in some instances at Bruinkaw, the priest would learn of the cause of the illness through dreams or by interviewing the patient about possible misdeeds. Priests of the shrines would often take a bundle of rice provided by the supplicant and put it under their pillows to aid in dreaming about the supplicant's predicament. Once the cause of the affliction was ascertained, a series of rituals would be prescribed, involving libations of palm wine and animal sacrifice at the shrine whose rules had been violated. The afflicted would also have to confess the specific nature of the wrongs he had committed, as a part of the healing process. These four shrines are generally considered to be among the oldest in Esulalu. Their origins are said to be beyond the times of the "first ancestors". They were probably used throughout the eighteenth century. Each was a shrine of affliction; their priests were selected from those who survived illnesses associated with the shrine. Surviving the illness required that you take on the shrine, a process involving elaborate sacrifices.

102 Interviews with Songutech Diatta, Mlomp-Cadjifoling, 12/19/78; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 11/17/78; Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 6/10/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/9/78; Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/29/78.
However, only some of those who became elders could discern illnesses; that power was seen as a gift of Emitai.\textsuperscript{103}

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In eighteenth century Esulalu a developing religious tradition was integrally involved in the struggles to procure the necessities of life, the establishment of a stable society, and the protection of community health. Shrines became closely associated with many phases of economic activity, community governance, and healing. As new problems arose, the Esulalu turned to their religion to find new ways to overcome these difficulties. The Diola-Esulalu demonstrated an openness to innovation within their own traditions as well as a readiness to borrow from the conquered Koonjaen and neighboring Diola groups. Recognizing a spiritual power in the longevity of the Koonjaen presence in the region, they readily accepted various shrines, but insisted that the shrines and their priests be stripped of their political power. In order to structure the transition from boyhood to adulthood, they embraced the Koonjaen initiation rites. To protect blacksmiths, Esulalu welcomed the guild shrine of Silapoom. In a time of crisis when their own priest-kings kept dying and when recurrent drought threatened community existence, they turned their shrines of the priest-king over to the Koonjaen descendents of Atta-Essou. They accepted the shrines of the Koonjaen priest-king and allowed them to share the sacred forest. Finally, they combined Koonjaen and Floup traditions about the origin of the priest-kingship.

Esulalu's changing attitudes toward the religious traditions of the conquered raises serious questions about theories of African traditional thought that suggest a lack of innovation or a sacred rigidity. In an essay regarded as a classic in the study of African belief systems, Robin Horton has argued that the fundamental difference between African traditional thought and western science is the absence in the former of a "developed awareness of alternatives to the established body of theoretical tenets;..." Horton identifies African systems of thought as closed and western science as open. "Here then, we have two basic predicaments: the 'closed' - characterized by lack of awareness of alternatives, sacredness of beliefs, and anxiety about threats to them; and the 'open' characterized by awareness of alternatives, diminished sacredness of beliefs and diminished anxiety about threats to them." Clearly, eighteenth century Esulalu does not fit within Horton's vision of a traditional system.

Adherents of Esulalu religion were surrounded by other communities with different beliefs and different shrines. The people of Esulalu adopted some new shrines while rejecting others. They only accepted some of the ritual rules associated with the new cults. More significantly, they altered their vision of their place in the regional spiritual order involving land, shrines, man, and Emitai. Initially, the Floup newcomers established their own shrines and attempted to destroy or suppress the

105 Ibid., p. 156.
shrines of the indigenous inhabitants. As they became aware of the power of some of these shrines, particularly in areas where they were weak, they accepted certain Koonjaen cults. As their own shrines associated with the fertility of the land and women, as well as the procurement of rain, encountered the disasters of drought, locust plagues, and the mortality of their own priest-kings, they began to question whether these shrines could root themselves in the spiritual soil of Esulalu. Descendants of the Floup rejected their own view of Koonjaen savagery and subservience in the religious arena and entrusted some of their shrines to the spiritually powerful descendants of the Koonjaen. They welcomed the Koonjaen priest-king shrines into their sacred forests and trusted their youth to initiation through first a Koonjaen ritual and then a newer form blessed by the older Koonjaen shrines. Finally, they embraced a Koonjaen tradition of Emitai's revelations to Atta-Esson and his descendents and made them their own. Koonjaen visions of the relationship between man and Emitai and the land and the spiritual order became an integral part of Esulalu religion. A single system of spiritual tenets became a dual one, thereby internalizing a creative tension that become a significant source of innovation in a developing Esulalu tradition.

The role of Emitai in Esulalu accounts of spirit shrines raises serious questions about Horton's description of a basic African cosmology. Horton has described African religious system as having two tiers:

In the first tier we find the lesser spirits, which are in the main concerned with the affairs of the local community and its environment—i.e. with the microcosm. In the second tier we find a supreme being concerned with the world as a whole.... Given the association of lesser spirits with microcosm and
supreme being with macrocosm, it follows from these facts that the former will be credited with direct responsibility for most events of human concern, will be the primary guardians of morality... whilst the latter will be credited with direct responsibility for relatively few events of human concern, will have no direct associations with morality, and will seldom be approached by human beings.¹⁰⁶

Central to Esulalu traditions is the belief that Emitai created spirit shrines as intermediaries between himself and man. Many informants claim that "Emitai made the spirit shrines."¹⁰⁷

Emitai's role in the creation of spirit shrines and his ability to enter into the microcosmic world of Esulalu's internal affairs is demonstrated by the tradition concerning the visions of Kooliny Djabune and the creation of Cabai. In this instance, a bitter dispute between two quarters of the same township generated a situation in which a man believes his soul travels to the supreme being, receives religious instruction in a new cult, and returns to his community to install the shrine. Emitai is described as weeping at the outrages committed by one quarter against another and intervenes to aid the weaker and morally wronged community. Contrary to Horton's suggestion of a distant and morally neutral supreme being, Emitai intervenes in local affairs to restore a moral balance to Esulalu.

Esulalu explanations of these changes also challenge certain models of African oral history that suggest an incapacity by recouters of the traditions to explain major changes by mundane causes. Joseph Miller has argued that:

Non-literate thinkers necessarily tend to assume that the world in its natural state is stable and unchanging, in large part for want of unambiguous and concrete historical evidence to the contrary... Events perceived as constituting an upset in the status quo, as a matter of logical necessity, can have no mundane explanation, and so oral historians must resort to "other worldly" causes to account for them. This philosophical proposition leads oral historians, who are as concerned with change as their literate counterparts, to posit magical agencies to explain what they see as historical change. Magic necessarily predominates in historical narrative precisely because these tales exist to explain the (mystical) changes that brought the world from its beginnings to the state of the historian's present.108

Miller is correct in asserting the importance of what he describes as "magical" and I would describe as "sacred" concepts of causality in African visions of their histories, but there are many instances where Diola historians have no difficulty offering what we could consider as mundane explanations for major changes. In the case of the transition from Kahat to Bukut rites of circumcision, there are no miracles or magical manifestations. Diola historians offered four reasons for the abandonment of Kahat: a longer period of ritual seclusion for the initiates, greater opportunities for feasting in the community, differences in surgical technique, and the lessening of Koonjaaen influence. None of these would qualify as "magical". Rather, they represent the reflection of Diola thinkers about the comparative worth of two distinct forms of male initiation.

The innovative tradition within Esulalu religious experience was not limited to borrowing from Koonjaen or other Diola traditions. It also drew on the religious experience of individual Diola men and women. Certain individuals were said to possess special mental powers that allowed them to see in the spiritual world. Based on their experiences, they created many of the quarter shrines and other major ukine within Esulalu. Others had dreams in which they were visited by spirits or by Emitai. Finally, there is the tradition of Kooliny Djabune whose soul was said to have left his body and visited Emitai. Emitai summoned a teacher of a new ritual and created the shrine of Cabai. Thus, Emitai was the primary guardian of the moral order and a source of aid in a time of troubles.

From the earliest period when an Esulalu religious tradition began to differentiate itself from those of Huluf and Ediamat, it had to offer an effective explanation for the rapidly changing temporal order. The existence of alternative religious traditions of the Koonjaen and of other Diola provided alternative approaches to religious problems. Similarly, the emphasis on personal religious experience, the importance of dreams and visions, provided an important source of innovation within an emerging Esulalu tradition. New teachings, new shrines, and a continuing awareness of charismatic renewal reinforces the ability of the tradition to adapt to an unstable world. The broad diffusion of shrines throughout the townships linked most people in the community to particular religious shrines and allowed them to feel personally involved in the direction of religious life. Finally, a belief in the availability of Emitai's aid provided a sense that there was an ultimate moral order, despite the uncertainties of daily life.
CHAPTER FOUR

SLAVES, TRADE AND RELIGIOUS CHANGE IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ESULALU
"Slaves, Trade, and Religious Change in Eighteenth Century Esulalu"

The development of an Esulalu religious tradition was strongly influenced by forces beyond the south shore of the Casamance River. Beginning in the mid-fifteenth century, Europeans began to develop commercial relations with various peoples of the Senegambia-Upper Guinea region. Despite Esulalu's reluctance to trade directly with Europeans, the growth of European commercial activity had a profound effect on Esulalu society, including its religious traditions. By 1535, Portuguese traders had established permanent trading posts in the region, with ready access to Esulalu. Portuguese demand for slaves, beeswax, hides, and rice stimulated the growth of African and Afro-Portuguese trade networks throughout the region, thus strengthening regional ties to an emerging world trading system. In this chapter, I shall examine the impact of this growing commerce, particularly in slaves, on Diola society and on Diola religion. I shall focus on four issues: the structure of Diola participation in the slave trade, involvement of the spirit shrines in its regulation, the changes in the spirit shrines caused by their participation, and the changes in Esulalu religious life that grew directly out of this growing commerce. By placing the slave trade within the context of religious history, I shall examine the spiritual challenges of such an experience and explore the ways in which they were explained by an Esulalu system of beliefs.
In the sixteenth century, Portuguese commercial interest in the Casamance focused on the Cassanga state, where they encountered a ruler who was able to supply large quantities of agricultural products, as well as substantial numbers of slaves. Even during this initial period, however, Diola trade was of sufficient importance that Valentin Fernandes described their trade in rice, meat, and hides. Other Portuguese visitors purchased rice and meat in Ediamat. In sharp contrast to their descriptions of the Cassanga, these early sixteenth century observers claimed that the Diola neither kept nor sold slaves.\(^1\)

In the seventeenth century European commercial activities in the Casamance region continued to increase. The Portuguese developed extensive trading networks along the Gambia, Casamance, and Sao Domingo Rivers. By 1640, the Portuguese were firmly established in Cacheu, a port which exported significant quantities of wax, rice, cattle, and approximately 3,000 slaves a year. Rodney suggests that such a figure, provided by the Conselho Ultramarino, overlooked slaves that were not registered by government officials. Non-registration was a common way of avoiding taxes on slave exports.\(^2\) By mid-century, the Portuguese established additional factories at Ziguinchor and Bolor. The Ziguinchor post was a mere forty kilometers east of Huluf and Esulalu while Bolor was in the Ediamat areas thirty kilometers to the south.


\(^2\) Rodney, Upper Guinea, p. 98.
During this period, French, British, and Dutch traders brought an end to the Portuguese monopoly over regional trade. Jean Boulègue suggests that this new competition increased the ability of the local populace to manipulate prices to their advantage and to make the growing trade more lucrative. He cites a Dutch merchant who complained of a growing entrepreneurial spirit among Senegambian peoples. "The blacks along the coast from Cape Verde to Cape Roxo [a Diola township] are spoiled by us, the English, and especially the French, and made really evil, such that we can not even take a hogshead of water or an armful of firewood, without paying them double." Unlike the Portuguese, the new traders could sell firearms, which were in great demand throughout the region. Their primary trading posts were to the north of the Casamance, near the mouth of the Gambia River, where exports of slaves reached 7,000 per annum by the late seventeenth century.

As early as 1669, British and French merchants began to trade within the Casamance region. In that year, the British traders attempted to enlist a Portuguese métis to explore the region between the Gambia and the Casamance Rivers and to assess its commercial value: "... It is said that it will yield considerable trade; primarily in wax, skins, negroes, and ivory. The people are Floups." Along the Casamance itself, the

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Portuguese had established sufficient control that they could close the river to other Europeans. Special exemptions were sold by the Captain Major of Cacheu at a substantial profit. The sale of permits garnered sufficient income to maintain the Portuguese garrison of Ziguinchor.6

Given the brisk trade that was developing along the frontiers of the Diola area, it is inconceivable that the Diola remained unaffected by this growing activity. Still, both European and Diola accounts of the period do not describe direct and regular commercial exchanges between them. Late sixteenth and seventeenth century accounts frequently refer to Diola hostility to the establishment of commercial relations with them. In the late sixteenth century, André Alvares d'Almeda claimed that the Diola along the Sao Domingo would not trade: "Not having commerce, none with us."7 Olfert Dapper suggested that it was the slave trade that had led the south shore Diola to refuse to trade. "The inhabitants of this coast are better made than those of Angola, & want no trade at all with the whites nor to enter into their vessels, that they do not have hostages, a right that whites, under the pretext of trade & friendship have removed from their country."8 This description, combined with accounts of


Europeans burning villages, suggests that the south shore Diola voluntarily withdrew from direct trade with Europeans because they could not trust them. This interpretation is supported by Esulalu accounts that insist that Europeans did not enter their townships until the nineteenth century.

Written accounts of this period suggest that the impact of the European presence was to encourage slave raiding by the larger, more centralized states against the Diola townships. There can be little doubt, despite a lack of specific descriptions, that the Diola provided some of the slaves that were sold by the Cassangas to the Portuguese. The Mandinka and Bainounk states south of the Gambia, also raided Diola areas for slaves. Afro-Portuguese, referred to as Aetingah or Ekubliane, conducted slave raids against Esulalu farmers working in the rice paddies. Arriving by canoe, the Aetingah could seize their captives and make a rapid escape. As early as 1605, Diola slaves were being transported across the Atlantic to places as far away as Peru.


10 In at least one case, this led to armed conflict between Aetingah and Esululu. Interviews with Antoine Houmandissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/28/78; Attabadjont Diatta, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/13/76 and 6/10/78.

While there is general agreement that Diola were victims of the slave trade, most commentators on the region insist that the Diola were not active slave raiders or traders. In his noted study of the region, Walter Rodney has argued that the Diola's lack of centralized state structures as well as the absence of a powerful ruling or priestly class prevented significant Diola participation in the regional slave trade.

"The isolated exceptions only serve to reinforce this generalization, because it could scarcely have been simple coincidence that the Djolas and the Balantes, who produced the least slaves, either by raiding or by preying upon each other, were the very tribes with an amorphous state structure from which a well-defined ruling class was absent."\(^{12}\)

Despite Rodney's claims of minimal participation, a careful examination of travellers' accounts and oral traditions reveal that the Diola raided for and sold slaves. Diola slavers preferred to use African middlemen rather than trade directly with Europeans. This tendency was noted by D'Almeda in the late sixteenth century: "These negroes [the Diola] understand the Buramos [Mandjak] in whose land reside our people [the Portuguese] and as a means to banish its useless and already ransomed people and to purchase that which attracts one to the property of the banished negroes."\(^{13}\) Esulalu recollections tend to support d'Almeda's claims. Esulalu informants suggest that the slave trade was important before the earliest circumcision ritual of the Bukut form (at least before 1780). Their accounts are filled with stories of slave raiding between

\(^{12}\) Rodney, *Upper Guinea*, p. 117.

\(^{13}\) D'Almeda in Silveira, *Tratado*, p. 135.
different towns, especially between Esulalu and the Djougoutes area across the Casamance River.\textsuperscript{14} Esulalu informants insist that they only traded with African merchants; Europeans did not come until the nineteenth century. While aware of the presence of the Portuguese at Ziguinchor and Cacheu, they described them as sending out blacks — grummates, Bainounk, or Mandinka — to conduct trade. The Esulalu description is supported by Sieur de la Courbe who visited the region in the late seventeenth century: "There are Portuguese who send out black assistants to the villages in order to purchase whatever they can find."\textsuperscript{15} The Mandinka were said to be the most important of these traders; they were active in the area before the removal of the Koonjaen. They would come to Esulalu in large dug-out canoes: "They carried clothes here to sell. People bought with rice. The Mandinka sold the rice at Ziguinchor."\textsuperscript{16} Some of these Mandinka traders may have been Muslim, but there is no record of any attempts to convert the Esulalu to Islam, during this period.

\textsuperscript{14} This is confirmed by Peter Mark, "Economic and Religious Change among the Diola of Boulouf (Casamance), 1890–1940; trade, cash cropping and Islam in Southwestern Senegal", Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1976. p. 15.


\textsuperscript{16} Interview with Indrissa Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/76. Also, Interviews with Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/19/78; Grégoire Diatta, Mlomp-Cadjifolong, 7/5/76.
The slave trade became an important force in south-shore Diola societies at a time when no major state could control trade. By the end of the sixteenth century, the kingdom of the Mansa Floup no longer controlled the region. Political authority existed at the township level, embodied in the office of oewi or priest-king, but was often severely tested by inter-quarter wars. There were no government officials, such as the alkati of northern Senegambia, to enforce trade regulations and no warrior class to forge alliances with external slave trading groups. Thus any form of Diola slave trading would have to develop in different ways than the warrior-trading class models suggested by Rodney and Meillassoux.

The earliest accounts of slave seizures in the Esulalu area refer to the Koonjaen's kidnapping of Floup, mostly children, from the Esulalu townships. These people were sold through Koonjaen-Bainounk trade networks to the Cassangas or Iziguiche who would sell them to the Portuguese at Ziguinchor or Cacheu. There are no accounts of Esulalu

17 See Chapter Two and Appendix Two.


19 Interviews with Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/19/78; Antoine Houmandrisah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/2/78 and 2/27/78; Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/27/78; Kwadade Diatta, 11/10/78; Diashwah Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/2/78; Sihumuce Badji, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 5/18/78. Group Discussion with Asambou Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh and Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/5/78.

seizures and sale of Koonjaen during the Koonjaen wars. While there has been some suggestion that Koonjaen refugees were assimilated as slaves (amiekele), there appears to be little evidence to support this. Unlike slaves, the majority of Koonjaen arrived in families. Furthermore, they came with a certain spiritual prestige as "owners of the soil", the first inhabitants of the region. The absence of Koonjaen enslavement could also indicate the limited importance of the slave trade in Esulalu at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Esulalu participation in the slave trade appears to have slowly developed from the frequent warfare between townships; warfare that grew out of increasing competition for rice paddies, oil palms, fishing zones and hunting grounds. Esulalu's initial participation may have been a defensive response to slaving raids by the Afro-Portuguese of Ziguinchor, the Bainounk, and a north shore Diola group Coelho called the Sacaletes.

On the north shore live a group of people called Sacaletes. They live without a king, except that he who is most able is the most king. They are great pirates and keep peace with no one. Their life consists of riding the sea in their canoes and no one navigates without arms as precaution against these people. They sell those they capture and do not excuse even a white, though they would do no other evil than to require his ransom.

Slaves were buried in a separate "strangers' cemetery". Koonjaen were buried in the main cemetery. See Chapter Three. Also, see Robert M. Baum, "Incomplete Assimilation: Koonjaen and Diola in Pre-Colonial Senegambia", Paper presented to the 98th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, 1983, p. 13.

Coelho in Thomas, *Diola* p. 310. The Sacaletes are probably the seventeenth century ancestors of the Diola of Djougoutou. On the Ekabliane or Aetingah, see Interview with Ndaadade Biatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/10/77.
Raiders from the north shore were particularly noted for their ability to hide their canoes in the salt marshes near isolated rice paddies where they would ambush Esulalu farmers working their fields. Because of their ready access to the Gambia trade factories, the Sacaletes and other northern raiders could obtain firearms, gunpowder, and iron, all of which gave them an advantage in warfare against the south shore Diola. The Esulalu townships may have joined in the slave trade to obtain that era's strategic weapons.

Warfare in Esulalu can be categorized according to the number of combatants and their township affiliations. Diola distinguish between battles involving substantial numbers of warriors on both sides and raids which involved smaller groups who seized captives or cattle on the outskirts of an enemy township. They also distinguish between wars within Esulalu and wars with neighboring Diola or non-Diola groups. For most of the eighteenth century, raids for captives were conducted only against non-Esulalu groups. Taking captives from Kadjinol was "forbidden [gnigne], even Mlomp, even of Samatit... Kagnout, all of them, it was forbidden." 22

22 This did not exclude occasional cattle raids between Esulalu townships during periods of tension. Captives were not seized within Esulalu because they were of one land (essouk). Ideally, this should have prevented inter-quarter and inter-township wars, but it did not in practice. However the priest-kings of Esulalu would stop any warfare within Esulalu. Interview with Kubaytow Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandiunka, 4/26/78. On spiritual powers in warfare, see Chapter Three.
Esululu conducted most of its raids against the two Diola groups that raided them, Djougoutes and Huluf. In the raids against Djougoutes, a group of men, usually from the same quarter, would take large dug-out canoes across the Casamance River and seize people working in the rice paddies or forest areas. Essential to the successful raid was the avoidance of a direct confrontation with warriors from the neighboring community. Ambushes had to be done quickly and without attracting attention, in order to make a successful escape. Captives were bound and placed in the canoes. In raids against Huluf, canoes could still be used, but there was only one estuary leading to the heart of Huluf. Much of the slave raiding had to be done by land. The rainy season was the primary time for raiding; people spent long hours working in the rice paddies as far as twelve kilometers from their homes. "If they found you in the rice paddies, they seized you."23 The lush vegetation of the rainy season provided excellent cover for preparing ambushes. Raiders' loss of time from farming could readily be compensated for by hiring work teams to assist them in cultivation. "Some people did not want to work [in the rice paddies]. [They wanted to] War only."24 Bows and arrows and spears were the preferred weapons for raiding. The loud firing of muskets would draw too much attention to the raiders for them to make good their escape.25

23 Interview with Sinyedikaw Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/9/78.

24 Group Discussion with Cyriaque Assin, Neerikoon Assin, Samatit, 6/20/78.

25 Unsuccessful cattle raiding was an important source of captives as well. For descriptions of the process of captive seizure and the ransom payment, see Interviews with Anto Manga, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 6/4/76; Badiat Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 7/16/78; Grégoire Djikune, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 7/23/78; Antoine Houmandriessah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/27/78. Kuadadge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/10/77; André Manga, Kadjinol-Sergerh,
Captives were not immediately sold as slaves. Their families were given the opportunity to ransom them for cattle. Raiders from Esulalu sold unrepossessed captives to fellow Diola in Ediamat, Diembering, and Djougoutes, in exchange for cattle. They also sold captives to the Afro-Portuguese and to Mandinka traders. From the Afro-Portuguese, slave traders might have received more than cattle. Elders from Samatit claimed: "If you sold to these people perhaps they would give you a musket, perhaps gunpowder, perhaps ejasse [something connected with muskets]." The Mandinka purchased slaves with cattle or cloth and then sold them to the Portuguese or to such inland states as Gabou. Prices for an individual slave ranged from five to ten head of cattle. When it was necessary to take captives to points of sale, an individual raider might commission someone from his township to transport and sell his captives.

4/18/78; René Djebune, Oukout, 1/30/78; Wuuli Assin, Neerikoon Assin, Cyriaque Assin, Samatit, 5/11/78.


28 Interview with Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/76. Also, Interview with Moolaye Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 11/1/78.

29 Abdoulaye Ly reports that in 1685, French and British traders were purchasing slaves for 16-30 cattle a piece. The lower price in Esulalu could be readily explained by its distance from the major trade factories. Abdoulaye Ly, "Un Navire de Commerce sur la Cote Sénégalienne en 1685" IPAN, Catalogues et Documents, Vol., XVII, 1964, p. 26. Interviews with Antoine Houmandissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/27/78; Antoine Djeseleine Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 6/12/78.
slaves. Usually a slave trader had a series of contacts in towns along his route, who would provide him with shelter and protection. A trader with commissioned slaves would receive a cow for his trouble. However, if he allowed the slave to escape, he had to compensate the raider with the number of cattle he would normally have received.30

Raiding for captives was conducted by small groups, often friends or kin, who cooperated with each other in the organization of expeditions. Individual martial prowess and skill in organizing small groups of raiders were more important to such operations than the support of the township institutions. "If you have the strength...you will go...to seize slaves."31 Except in the case of captives seized in inter-township battles, little control of raiding was exercised by the township as a whole.

The technical instruments of raiding were readily available to any aspiring trader. Canoes were used for fishing and trade and were widely distributed in the townships. The bow and arrow was used extensively in hunting and war. Jack Goody has described the bow and arrow as "essentially a democratic weapon; everyman knows how to construct one; the materials are readily available, the techniques uncomplicated, the middle easy to replace."32 The horse, which was of such importance to the

30 Interviews with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/2/78; Antoine Houmandriennah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/3/78; Edouard Kadjinga Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/3/78; Moolaye Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 11/1/78; Sidionbo Diatta and Simingkennah Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/18/79.

31 On spiritual powers in war, see Chapter Three. Interview with Edouard Kadjinga Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/3/78.

military power of the Sudanic kingdoms, was of little use in the tsetse fly ridden swamps and forests of the lower Casamance. Thus the means of participation in raiding were readily available to anyone in Esulalu. It would have been difficult for any warrior class or state institution to control such a "means of production" when its primary instruments were tools of everyday life.

Such a dangerous and potentially disruptive occupation, whether controlled by a warrior class or not, developed rules governing seizures, ransoms, and sales. In the absence of state control, the people of Esulalu turned to their spirit shrines whose prestige and power were seen as an effective means to control this growing economic activity. This was not unusual in Esulalu. Spirit shrines regulated such diverse activities as palm wine tapping and fishing. A number of shrines provided sanctions for the rules governing rice cultivation. There was adequate precedent to involve a spirit shrine in the regulation of raiding.\(^\text{33}\) For such a complex enterprise, a variety of shrines were involved, each enforcing a series of rules. Esulalu's shrines played a radically different role than such shrines as the Igbo's *Aro Chukwu*. *Aro Chukwu*'s power as an oracle of the supreme being was used to punish wrongdoers or losing parties in disputes, by selling them into slavery. The community associated with the oracle used the shrine's prestige to ensure their safe passage throughout

\(^\text{33}\) This process of linking economic activities with spirit shrines did not cease with the slave trade. In the nineteenth century, a hunting shrine, *Houpoombene*, was created and named after the Diola word for musket. In the 1970's the female fertility shrine of *Ehugna* was established in Dakar where one of its functions was to safeguard travel between the Casamance and the capital.
southeastern Nigeria. Esulalu shrines enforced the rules of the trade and offered protection to raiders. However, these shrines seized no slaves themselves nor did they punish those who resisted their followers.

The most important rules about raiding defined the acceptable boundaries between the community which could not be victimized and those that could. For Esulalu, only non-Esulalu or non-Diola, people who were not part of the essouk, one common land, could be seized as captives. Marriage ties between the townships of Esulalu would have also discouraged raiding. Shared system of spirit shrines involved with the protection of communities and the conduct of war made such raiding disruptive. Furthermore, it threatened the more vital economic activities involving the exploitation of paddies, marshes, and forest areas shared by the townships. Sanctions against seizure within Esulalu were closely associated with the office of the priest-king who symbolized the spiritual unity of the township and who was situated within a clear hierarchy in relation to other priest-kings within Esulalu. His Calemboekine, associated with the dead and the living community as a whole, would seize any over zealous raiders with disease, disaster, or even death. Seizures within Esulalu would also be punished by spirit shrines


35 Interview with Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/19/78.

36 Each new child has a ritual greeting performed on its behalf. In-marrying wives also have such a rite performed. Thus, Calemboekine is responsible for the well-being of all the inhabitants of the township.
associated with the victim's lineage or the household shrine of Hupila. Thus, in the eighteenth century, the seizure of a captive from a blacksmith lineage would have resulted in a punishment inflicted on the raider, his property, or his kin. This punishment would have been inflicted by lineage shrines such as Hooleiway or Kahleyoh or the blacksmith guild shrine of Silapoom.\textsuperscript{37} These sanctions were said to be imposed through the actions of spirits linked to these shrines. Such spirits could wait years before they seized their victims. While this did not rule out direct action by a victim or his kin, spiritual punishment was seen as more certain and more devastating.

Special relations between lineages also placed limits on the seizure of captives. One lineage might have special ties with another, which required that family members would go out of their way to avoid conflict with the other group. This would extend beyond Eaulalu and was a useful way of developing travelling or trade contacts. It also prevented members of one lineage from seizing captives from the other (though it did not prevent them from fighting in war). Nuhli Bassin described an incident that illustrates this bond. One of his ancestors seized a women from Djougoutes when she was going to a well to draw water. Upon learning that her surname was Senghor (formerly Djisenghalene-Djikune), he released her to people from another township who returned her to her village. Bassins are not allowed to harm Senghors or be harmed by them.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{37} In the nineteenth and twentieth century, a newer blacksmith shrine would seize such people with leprosy.

\textsuperscript{38} The same thing happened to her sister some years later. Interview with Nuhli Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 7/13/76. A similar relationship exists between certain Dieddhius and certain Sambous. Whether the sanctions for violations were of a religious nature or not remains unclear from what I have gathered to date. However the use of the term "gnigne" (absolutely forbidden) and establishing the custom as existing since the
It was strictly forbidden for raiders to kill captives who did not resist their seizure. "If you seize someone, you can not kill him."39 Such a death would not arise out of an act of war and would be seen as murder. Spirit shrines associated with war, such as Cabai, Katapf, and the quarter shrines might seize the killer within his own community. Such an act could also bring the spiritual punishment by shrines associated with the well being of the deceased's community.40

Once a captive was bound and transported back to Eswalalu, strict rules governing ransoming or sale of the captive took effect. Captives were taken to their captor's houses where their legs were placed in wooden fetters (hudjenk), in close proximity to the family shrine of Hupila.41 They were to be provided with adequate food and water and their safety was the responsibility of their captors. Outside of being fettered, they were not to be harmed in any way. "It is forbidden to beat him [the captive]. If one beats him, perhaps he will die. If he dies, your house will be destroyed. Everyone will die off."42 Such an act was described as "time of the first ancestors" suggests a spiritual sanction. Interview with Badiat Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 7/16/78.


40 Murder was seen as a grave sin (cohofor) and usually led to the forfeiture of rice paddies and expulsion of the murderer. Also witches would attack the murderer in his sleep. Interview with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/2/78.

41 Interviews with Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/19/78; Grégoire Djikune, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 7/23/78; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/2/78; Moolaye Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 11/1/78; Joseph Salinjah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/8/75.

42 Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/26/79.
gnigne, absolutely forbidden, and subject to spiritual sanction by the shrine Hupila.

When the captive was discovered to be missing, his close relatives would send out a group to inquire if he had been seized as a captive. This process was called Kagalen, "the inquiry". They carried a red rooster with them. This emblem of the Kagalen ensured their safe passage while seeking out their relative. Once the captive was located, his relatives would inquire about the size of the ransom, which was usually paid in cattle. A standard ransom of six cattle for a woman and several cattle for a man was closely linked to the mourning period of six days for a woman and seven days for a man. Because a captive's relatives were ransoming back a life, they had to pay a cattle equivalent to the mourning period. Once the negotiations were completed, the rooster was sacrificed at the captor's Hupila. The inquiry party gave thanks to the captor's family shrine for extending its protection to the captive. Then the inquiry party returned home, gathered the necessary cattle and returned to ransom their relative. Once the inquiry had been made, the captive could not be sold elsewhere. "It could not be done. It would bring ruin to the compound."

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44 Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone 2/27/78. Djougoutes apparently paid a ten cattle ransom. Whether a longer mourning period was the justification remains unclear. Fines for starting a war between the quarters of the same Esulalu township were seven cattle. Interview with Sinyendikaw Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/11/78.

45 Interview with Badjassaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 11/8/78.
The sale of captives as slaves was only permitted if no inquiry was made by the captive's kin. Some say that the holding party waited only a few days; others suggest as long as a year. While awaiting ransom, some captives were used as farm labor, but relatively few were kept on a permanent basis. Should an inquiry not be made, the captive became a slave and could be sold to other Diola, the Mandinka or the Afro-Portuguese. "If you do not see a rooster, well then you get him to Diembering [the most active slave trading Diola community]." Shorn of kin who would ransom him, the captive became a stranger and could be sold without spiritual sanction.

Violations of the rules governing ransoming and sale of captives were said to be punished by Hupila. Hupila could attack the wrongdoer materially by sending termites or fire to destroy his rice granary, cattle to eat his rice in the paddies, or disease to kill his livestock. It could also seize the wrongdoer or his kin with disease, leading even to death. One of these diseases, called "Hupila" was said to make your legs

On a short holding period, see Interview with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/2/78. On a one year period, see Badjassaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 11/8/78. For an indefinite waiting period, see Badiat Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 7/18/78; Cyriaque, Wuuli, and Neerikoon Assin, Samutit, 5/11/78. In the eighteenth century relatively few captives were kept as slaves. They were usually from areas that were too close to Esulalu to impede escape. Some children were adopted into childless families. On Esulalu domestic slavery, see Chapter Five. See also, Paul Pélissier, Les Paysans du Sénégal: Les Civilisations agraires du Cayor à la Casamance, St. Yrieix: Imprimerie Fabregue, 1966. p. 681-682.

Interview with Badjassaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/31/78. The absence of kinship ties is seen as a crucial element in establishing slave status. see, Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, "Introduction" to Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977.
feel like a stick of wood. When you awoke in the morning, it made you feel like all of your limbs were bound in rope. It was difficult to move. The disease associated with Hupila resembled the binding up of a captive.48

The involvement of the family shrine of Hupila in regulating the ransoming or sale of captives was quite different from the involvement of the occupational shrines of the forge, fishing, or palm wine tapping. The latter's central focus was on the economic activity itself and they were created to carry the spiritual concerns of those involved in such activities to Emitai and to receive guidance and protection in these activities. Hupila's link to the raiding, ransoming and sale of people was of a different nature. Hupila's central task was protecting the material well-being of the household and protecting the fertility of its women. Hupila's responsibility for the rules of raiding was an extension into a new area, building on its role of safeguarding the household. But why did Esulalu choose the family shrine of Hupila for this new role in community life?

There are three possible explanations for the extension of Hupila into the affairs of captives. The first of these focuses on the origins of the link. One of the major sources of captives, in addition to raiding, was the seizure of cattle thieves. In an effort to augment their wealth and demonstrate their martial prowess, young men would sneak into a

48 Interview with Antoine Houmandriassah Diedhdhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/18/78. Interviews with Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 5/17/78; Siliungizagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 3/31/78. In Fogny, Hupila is called Caneo, rope. Interview with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Btebemaye, 8/7/78.
compound at night and seize cattle. If they were caught, they were placed in wooden fetters until the next day and were ransomed for cattle. Since cattle were held collectively by the men of an extended family, this wealth was watched over by Hupila. Since the thief had been working against the protective responsibilities of Hupila and was caught through the aid of Hupila, he was fettered near the shrine. Gradually the linkages became more complex and the fetters themselves were linked to Hupila.\(^49\)

The second explanation focuses on the collective nature of the responsibilities and benefits of a ransom or sale. Once a captive had taken a drink of water or eaten food, the captor's family took on a responsibility for the well-being of the captive. They had to see to it that the captive was maintained in good health. Abuse of the captive would bring disaster to the household.\(^50\) It was the responsibility of the household's Hupila that such a disaster never took place. Should a captive die while awaiting ransom, through no fault of his keepers, sacrifices would have to be made at the captor's shrines of Hupila and Kouhouloung. For ritual purposes, the captive would become temporarily a part of his captor's family. Shorn of his kin, there was no alternative ritual for a proper burial, though he would be buried in a separate cemetery reserved for strangers.\(^51\)

\(^{49}\) On cattle raiding, see Interviews with René Djabune, Oukout, 1/30/78; André Kebroohaw Manga, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 4/18/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/17/77.

\(^{50}\) Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/26/79.

\(^{51}\) Interview with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/30/78.
Just as there was collective responsibility for the well-being of the captive, there was a collective benefit from a successful ransom or sale. When asked why the captives were linked to Hupila, Moolaye Bassin replied that, "if you have something of value you will summon your brother." In a similar vein, Siopama Dieddhiou said that it was because: "Only the house will take it [the ransom]." The cattle paid became the property of the family. As they share in the wealth, they share in any responsibility for the welfare of the captive.

A third explanation, which was not offered directly by any Esulalu interpreters of the phenomenon, centers around the exchange of cattle, seven for a man and six for a woman. In most of Kadjinol, as well as most of Esulalu, this corresponds to the period of intense mourning, which ends with ritual sacrifice and prayers at Hupila and Kouhouloung. By linking ransoms and sales of captives to Hupila and the mourning period, people in Esulalu seem to be saying that these economic transactions are exchanging lives, that they must be considered as equivalent to death. The number of cattle assume a symbolic quality, equalling the days of mourning. The family shrine of Hupila watches over the exchange of lives, just as it safeguards the lives and reproduction of the Esulalu household. Hupila guards not only the well-being of its supplicants, but it guides them in the spiritually dangerous task of exchanging lives.

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52 Interviews with Moolaye Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 11/1/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/26/78.

53 The belief that the keeping of slave was spiritually dangerous will be discussed in Chapter Five.
Once the ransom or sale process was completed, two shrines received part of the proceeds. 

Katapf, a shrine linked to war through its ability to protect against wounds from knives and machetes, required a ritual offering of thanks. This consisted of an offering of a chicken, rice and palm wine. Katapf’s protection was considered vital in the often dangerous process of seizing captives. Should the sacrifice be omitted, Katapf was said to seize the negligent party or someone in his family. At least in the Kalybillah half of Kadjinol, there was a further obligation, to offer a calf to the priest-king of Kalybillah. This was intended to fulfill one’s obligation to the Djumpoc shrine of the Elenkine Sergerh. This was a shrine connected to the protection of Kalybillah and was particularly important to the waging of war.

The close involvement of Esulalu shrines in the sale of captives had a profound effect on the shrines themselves. This was particularly true of Hupila, where the growing commerce in captives radically altered the nature of the shrine, its priesthood, and its accessibility. To understand this process, it is necessary to examine what informants called the "old Hupila", which was brought to Esulalu when the townships were founded. This Hupila, like its successors, was seen as a powerful spiritual ally in the protection of a family’s well-being, wealth and

54 Interviews with Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/17/78; Edouard Kadjinga Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/3/78; Eddi Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 11/6/77. Sikakucele received his shrine of Katapf because he successfully seized some cattle thieves in the 1940's.

55 Interview with Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 6/12/78. Offerings were made at Elenkine Sergerh before waging war. For more information on this shrine, see Chapter Three.
fertility. The Hupila that was prevalent in the early eighteenth century had a relatively simply altar made of clay with a libation cup in the middle and a pig's jaw bone on either side. This was a shrine of affliction; one undertook the sacrifices and religious initiation when one was seized with a disease associated with Hupila. In order to recover, the afflicted made a series of sacrifices in which he "took on" the priesthood of the shrine. One could not refuse such a summons. "If you did not do it, the kahoeka (the ancestral dead) would kill you." A shrine was established in the afflicted's backyard, and after suitable instruction and sufficient sacrifices, he became a priest of Hupila. He could offer prayers for his extended family and help initiate others into the priesthood. Sacrifices were relatively simple: two pigs, a goat, a dog, and chickens. No cattle or ducks were sacrificed and there was a limit on the number of pigs sacrificed. Initially, it had no wooden fetters associated with it and it had nothing to do with slavery. This shrine was consistently held to be one of the very oldest in Esulalu.

As a closer relationship between the slave trade and the Hupila shrine developed, Esulalu traders gained a greater awareness of the

56 Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/17/78. The disease could be identified by certain symptoms described as the disease "Hupila". Usually the relatives of the afflicted would take him to the shrine of Bruinkaw, a divinatory healing shrine, which would identify the cause of his malady. On shrines of affliction, see Victor Turner, Forest of Symbols, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967. p. 10.

57 Interviews with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 7/19/78; Antoine Roumandrisah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/13/79.

58 Interviews with Musasenkor Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/14/78; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 7/19/78.
townships where they sold their captives. They were particularly impressed by the far closer connection between the slave trade and the Hupilas of Ediamat, Diembering, and Niomoun, major slave trading Diola communities. In each of these townships, the wooden slave fetters, hudjenk, were an integral part of the shrine itself. The blood of animal sacrifice and the palm wine libations were poured not only in the cups of the Hupila altar, but over the consecrated fetters of the shrine. Further inquiries revealed that in order to become a priest of the shrine, one had to have captured a slave and one had to offer far larger quantities of animals, including a head of cattle in order to assume the priesthood. To active slave traders, acquiring substantial numbers of livestock these new forms of Hupila appeared to provide a more efficacious protection of the captive and the slave trader. They also provided a socially acceptable way for newly wealthy traders to display their wealth, while avoiding the appearance of hoarding wealth or of practicing witchcraft.

The most widespread form of the newer Hupila was introduced from Ediamat by Diola from Bouyouye and Samatit. Judging from its wide diffusion throughout the five townships, as well as its close association with the seizure of captives, it appears to be the first of the new forms.

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59 I have not conducted sufficient field research in these areas to trace the new Hupilas back further than Ediamat, Diembering, or Niomoun. It is possible that they were created there or borrowed from slave trading neighbors. Interviews with Badjassaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/31/78; Terence Galandiou Dicouf Samobu, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 1/27/79; Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/28/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/24/78; Moolaye Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 11/1/78; Sidionbaw Diatta and Simingkennah Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/8/79.
probably being established in Samatit by 1750. Members of the Badiat lineage of Samatit brought the shrine from Bouyouye, a closely related township whose members came from the same township in Ediamat. "Samatit, they are the senior ones" for Hupila. From Samatit, members of a blacksmith lineage at Kadjinol-Kafone brought it to Kadjinol. Finally, it spread to Mlomp-Kagnout, and Eloudia. In each case, the family that

60 A precise date for the introduction of this shrine is extremely difficult. There appears to be some confusion in the oral traditions between the first to introduce a shrine and the first to finish it. Finishing a shrine refers to the most elaborate sacrifices possible for that shrine. The first to finish this shrine in Esulalu and therefore the first to assume the right to install others as full priests may not have done this until the late nineteenth century. Before that, they would have been dependent on priests from Niomoun, Bouyouye, or Ediamat for the initiation of new priests, though Esulalu priests could have performed ordinary rituals. For the interpretation of an early introduction and a late finishing, see Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/13/79; Sidionbaw Diatta and Simingkennah Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/18/79. This could also refer to a return to finishing the shrine after a generation or so had not completed the final rites. It could also refer to an expansion of the sacrifices necessary to take on the shrine, a change that might have occurred in the late nineteenth century.

Some of the oral traditions suggest that the shrine itself was not introduced before the time of their grandfathers, in the late nineteenth century, but this is contradicted by the close links between slave raiding and this form of Hupila. Such a close association would no longer have made sense in the waning years of the nineteenth century. See Interviews with Basayo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 4/3/78; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 7/19/78; Sooti Diatta, Samatit, 1/4/79; Moolaye Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 11/1/78; Badjassaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/3/78. Others suggest that this form of Hupila was already present at the end of the Koonjaen Wars. This would be too early since slave raiding was not of sufficient importance at that time. See, Interviews with Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/9/78; Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/28/77. Based on the broad diffusion of the shrine and its linkages to captive raiding, I would place the installation of the shrine at about 1750, though the completion of its most elaborate rituals could have waited until the nineteenth century.

61 Interviews with Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/9/78; Moolaye Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 11/1/78; Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 1/27/79; Badjassaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/31/78; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 7/19/78. On the Ediamat form of Hupila see, Interviews with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/78; Basayo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/31/78.
introduced it was also active in the seizure of captives.

This Ediamat form of Hupila fulfilled many of the same functions as the older one. It protected the family from harm, ensured its fertility, and protected its wealth. The placement of wooden fetters on the shrine added another function, the protection of captives and those involved in their seizure. Access to this shrine was quite different from the old Hupila. In the older shrine, one became a priest after successfully weathering an illness associated with the cult. In the new cult, priests were still seized through illness, but new qualifications were added. To become a priest of Hupila Hudjenk, one had to have seized a captive. "If you seize a slave/captive, you will have a Hupila. Anyone who has Hupila..." you know his ancestors seized slaves or captives. In fact, each Hupila was named after the slave who was seized initially. "His name will remain." This was not the name of the spirit of the bookine, but of the shrine. Songs were sung at the shrine about the slave who was captured. In Kadjinol's quarter of Ebankine, the slave at Moolaye Bassin's Hupila was named Amoody; Terence Sambou's, Bookanbon; at Alanbissay Bassin's, Adjagi; at Djisahl Sambou's, Djumba.

62 Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/17/77.

63 Interview with Moolaye Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 11/1/78. See also, Interviews with Antoine Houmandrisah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/13/79; Badjassaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 11/8/78. Group Discussion with Hounkaw Diatta, Simonlitaw Leon Sambou, Assalawbaw Sambou, Jaimala Assin, Mein Julien Sambou, Mlomp, 12/15/78.

64 Interview with Moolaye Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 11/1/78. This is confirmed in general by Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 1/27/79; Acanediwke Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 1/21/79; Antoine Houmandrisah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/7/76.
This new form of Hupila did not immediately replace the old. In the late nineteenth century, certain elders finished two Hupilas, the newer Hupila Hudıenk and the older form without fetters and without familiar names (casell).\textsuperscript{65} Opposition to the installation of the new shrine may have delayed the abandonment of the old. This opposition appeared to have been the strongest in the various communities that become Mlomp.\textsuperscript{66} In addition to loyalty to an older cult, opposition focused on the way that the new Hupila required the seizure of a captive in order to become eligible for its priesthood and the large, expensive sacrifices in order to be able to perform its religious rituals.

There were profound changes in what was the most basic cult of Esulalu. In the older Hupila, selection of the priesthood was a spiritual process. The spirits associated with Hupila would seize its desired priest with an illness whose origin would be detected by a priest or priestess of the divinatory shrine, Bruinkaw. The illness itself was seen as a sign of spiritual election.\textsuperscript{67} Affordable sacrifices of a few pigs, some chickens, and a dog, enabled the afflicted to begin the ritual instruction to perform all of the family shrines' rituals and to initiate others into the cult. With Hupila Hudıenk, the illness became a sign of Hupila's command to establish a shrine, but it did not enable one to become a priest. Families that did not engage in raiding, established

\textsuperscript{65} Interviews with Antoine Houmandriassah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/13/79; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 7/19/78.

\textsuperscript{66} Interview with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 8/7/78.

\textsuperscript{67} Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/17/77. Turner, Forest, p. 10-13.
small shrines without the wooden fetters. The shrines were installed by those who had become priests; by those who had seized, ransomed, and sold captives. When such a family needed a ritual performed, they could not do it themselves. They had to summon the trader priests in order to perform such rituals as giving thanks for a good harvest. Even in death, the distinction between those who seized captives and those who did not was maintained. Only those who had seized captives could have cattle sacrificed at their funerals. These cattle had the fetters of Hupila attached to their legs.

When you had seized a slave, then you had arrived. If you had not seized a slave, they could not seize cattle [at your funeral]... Now, even for a woman they can seize cattle... You know the world is not the same as in the past. In the past, they did what was true.68

The introduction of Hupila Hudjenk was closely associated with the increasing wealth of those who raided or sold captives. When asked why a new form of Hupila was adopted, informants frequently cited a desire to display their new wealth in a socially acceptable way. "The rich men..." wanted to show "... that you are a big man, that is why they did it this way."69 This can be demonstrated by the sharp increase in the material demands made on an aspiring priest of Hupila Hudjenk. Hudjenk required lavish sacrifices of, from twenty to forty pigs, a duck, a goat, large

68 Interview with Badjassaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandienk. See also, Interviews with Koolai Songhor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/2/78; Lampolly Sambou and Sigondac Edouard Sambou, Mlomp-Haer, 1/12/79.

69 Interview with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 7/19/78. See also, Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/17/77.
numbers of chickens, and one head of cattle. Cattle were still extremely scarce in the mid eighteenth century and few people could afford to sacrifice them. In addition, the initiate had to supply enough rice and palm wine to feed a large crowd for six days of festivities. On each day celebrants performed the nyakul, a funeral dance which honors the ancestors. The taking on of Hupila became a large spectacle in which the new priest showed his status as an oussanome, a sharer of wealth, who used his abundant reserves for the good of the community.

Once these elaborate rites were performed, the new Hupila was considered to be so powerful that its altar could not be attached to the walls of the home. It needed its own house detached from other dwellings, but still within the compound walls. The releasing of the soul force of all the sacrificial animals endowed this shrine with a greater spiritual power than the old Hupila. The inclusion of the wooden fetter, Hudienk, ensured that some of this power would be used to protect the ransoming and sale of captives. This new form of Hupila reflected additional demands on the shrine, demands for the effective protection of a new form of wealth. It also reflected a new ethic which celebrated the wealth of the raider, ransomer, and seller of captives. As the wealth generated by the raider economy increased, the raiders transformed more old shrines and created new ones that would ensure that their economic power was reflected in their religious influence.

70 The quantity of livestock has been verified by personal observation. Interviews with Antone Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/13/79; Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/78, 7/9/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/17/77, 7/31/78; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 7/19/78; Malambaye Sambou, Mlomp-Djicosele, 11/7/78. On the suspicions focused on rich people, see Thomas, Diola, p. 613-614.
Resistance to Hupila Hudjenk seems to have been overcome because of Esulalu's widespread participation in the seizure of captives. Most genealogies list ancestors who seized captives and ransomed or sold them. Virtually every extended family in Kadjinol and many that I visited in the other townships have this form of Hupila, complete with wooden fetters. The ease of entry into the captive trade made such widespread participation possible. Any man could pick up his bow and arrows or other weapons and join a raiding party. Thus any man could aspire to have a Hupila Hudjenk.

A second form of Hupila was introduced during the last decades of the eighteenth century. This new form of Hupila, named after the towns of Diembering and Niomoun, was also closely linked to raiding, but was much more closely linked to the slave trade than Hupila Hudjenk. Both Diembering and Niomoun were trade centers, where, in sharp contrast to Esulalu, traders sold slaves directly to Europeans. As part of the

71 The people who are said to have introduced this shrine are said to be grandfathers of elders with whom I talked. This would place the introduction of this shrine in the nineteenth century. This appears to be unlikely, since the sale of captives was already extremely important a century earlier and this shrine stressed the slavery connection. The man usually credited with introducing the shrine was called Hunome Boukhan which means "Seller of People". It is unlikely that this was his given name. Rather it appears to have been a nickname, (casell), which could have been applied to several of the people within his ancestral line. Once again, this could refer to the completion of the shrine rather than its introduction.

installation of this form of Hupila, the sacrifice of a slave was required. Hounakaw Diatta of Mlomp, who is a priest of this shrine, described the special and very difficult part of taking on this shrine:

"They would seize people... slaves" and attach them in wooden fetters at the Hupila shrine. At Diembering, they killed the slave whereas at Mlomp they would only beat them. Killing them was "forbidden (gnigne) since our ancestors." Kapooeh Dieddhiou claims that, rather than kill a slave, human remains were included in the consecrated soil brought from Diembering and placed in the altar of Hupila HouDiemberingai. While suggestions of human sacrifice made in another locale must be taken with a grain of salt, the frequency of the assertion by people who participated in the cult lend it a special credence. The link to human sacrifice, through consecrated soil or actual sacrifice, is also cited as the reason that there was such strong opposition to the new shrine's spread in Esulalu. Its influence was limited to parts of the communities of Djicomole, Djibetene, and Cadjifoling that eventually became part of Mlomp. This link to human sacrifice is regarded as the cause of the

73 Group discussion, Hounakaw Edouard Diatta, Simatellihaw Leon Sambou, Assalabaw Sambou, Jainaba Assin, Mein Julein Sambou, Mlomp, 12/15/78. This is confirmed by Badjassaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/31/78; LeBois Diatta, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 1/22/78; Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/28/78; Antoine Houmandissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/7/76, 2/8/78; Basayo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/3/78; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/19/78. Beating of captives was also forbidden by the "old Hupila" and Hupila Hudjenk.

74 Interviews with Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/28/78; Hounakaw Edouard Diatta, Mlomp-Cadjifolong, 12/15/78.

75 Interviews with Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/28/78. Boolai Senghor claims that they killed slaves at the shrine and buried them near the Hupila shrine. Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/2/78.

76 Interview with Badjassaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/31/78.
failure of cult follower’s families to grow. The children of the cultists
died because their parents had violated the rules of protection and
hospitality required even for a slave. Thus, Kapooeh Dieddhiou claims
that to kill a slave: "If you do it, all of your family will die."77

As in Hupila Hudjenk, Hupila HouDiemberingai was closely linked to
growing wealth from the slave trade. The man credited with introducing
the shrine to Esulalu had the nickname (casell) of Hunome Boukhan, "seller
of people" and is generally described as being extremely wealthy. When
asked why people would establish this type of Hupila, people replied:
"They who had lots of wealth, they went because they were very rich."78

The sacrifice of a slave would greatly enhance the spiritual power
released through the sacrifice of massive numbers of pigs, chickens, a
cow, duck, goat and dog. This was seen as a still more efficacious way of
safeguarding family wealth and slave trading activities. However, its
reliance on human sacrifice or human remains impeded its growth and was
said to bring other spiritual powers against them, attacking the
participants' abilities to reproduce themselves. With Hupila
HouDiemberingai, not only did it cease to be primarily a shrine of
affliction, but it transgressed strong Esulalu beliefs in the polluting
nature of the act of murder.79

77 Interview with Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/28/78. See
also, Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/78 and Kapooeh Dieddhiou,
1/16/79.

78 Group Discussion with Hounakaw Edouard Diatta, Simitellihaw Leon
Sambou, Assalabaw Sambou, Nainaba Assin, Mien Julien Sambou, Mlomp,
12/15/78. Interviews with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 7/19/78,
8/7/78; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/19/78.

79 For the most detailed discussion of the sanctions against murder,
see Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh 7/2/78. On special sanctions against
killing slaves, see Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 6/17/78.
The increasing frequency of raids for captives during the second half of the eighteenth century, encouraged the people of Esulalu to take a series of measures to ensure the security of their communities. Men went to work in the rice paddies and forests armed with muskets, bows and arrows, and spears. Frequent raids against people working in rice paddies encouraged men to work in groups and to arrange work patterns so that women worked in the same area at the same time.\(^8\) This may have also provided an added incentive for the development of the labor society (embottai), a social club which hired out its labor in exchange for livestock that were killed on festive occasions. The areas surrounding the townships were not cleared. Paths were intentionally left as winding and narrow as possible in order to make it more difficult for raiders to flee. Armed groups of men from each quarter of the townships guarded the forest or estuary areas in order to prevent raiders from seizing cattle or people.\(^8\) Houses were built to serve as fortresses as well as lodging. Houses had only one door to the outside, which could be bolted shut. There were no windows on outside walls. Their backyards were walled with adobe and covered with fan palm leaves and thatch, both to protect them from rains and to ensure that no one could climb over them quietly.\(^8\) Finally, people drastically limited their travels beyond the townships.

\(^8\) Interview with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/11/75. On the structure of agricultural labor, see Appendix Two.

\(^8\) Group Discussion with Sidionbaw and Simingkennah Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/18/79.

\(^8\) Labat, *Nouvelle Relation* V. 5, p. 32. This is a description of north shore fortress houses. On south shore houses, see Interview with Samedymolly Dieddhiiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/22/75 and personal observation.
during the day and beyond the quarter at night. "In former days, if you went even a little away, you were seized and sold." Only Mandinka traders buying slaves and rice in exchange for cattle, cloth and other goods enjoyed freedom of travel. "In the past, you would not see anyone going anywhere, only the Mandinka. You sit, you farm, you eat, only."

Better defenses and greater caution exercised by the people of Esulalu and other Diola areas made the task of raiding more difficult at precisely the time when European demand for slaves was growing. While I have not collected any materials on changing prices for slaves in Esulalu, Philip Curtin has shown that in the area immediately to the north of the Casamance, an area that was firmly linked to Diola slave traders through Mandinka middlemen, prices and demand peaked in the late eighteenth century. With a growing demand for slaves and the continued success of more centralized raiding systems, even against Diola defenses, some Esulalu raiders looked for new ways to procure slaves. In many African societies, judicial authorities or rulers could impose punishments of selling someone into slavery for a variety of offenses ranging from adultery to murder. As the demand for slaves increased, so did the number of crimes punishable by enslavement. Such an alternative was not readily

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83 Interview with Nuhli Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 7/13/76. This is supported by Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 6/17/78; Moolaye Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 11/1/78 and Nuhli Bassin, 6/16/75.

84 Interview with Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/19/78.

available in Esulalu. Judicial decisions were made through consensus at certain governing shrines in which all lineages were represented. There was little chance that lineage members would allow their kin to be sold into slavery for crimes committed against another group. One exception to this was the crime of murder. Murderers were exiled from Esulalu and could become easy prey for slave traders in other communities, but there is no evidence that Esulalu traders sold murderers or other criminals at this time.

One method of slaving that minimized the risk of armed combat with other townships and the long delay in waiting for a ransom, was the seizure and sale of local children. As easy as this form of slaving might be from a military point of view, it posed serious social and religious problems. While the sale of unransomed prisoners of war, cattle thieves, or victims of raids from beyond Esulalu was socially acceptable, the seizure of captives from within Esulalu was not. Such seizures would strike at the social stability of the townships, making work in the rice paddies and forests more difficult, as well as threatening an intricate web of marriage and ritual ties. Seizures of children threatened the

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87 On Diola judicial systems, see Appendix Three.

88 On the socially acceptability of seizing captives from raids outside Esulalu, see Interview with Kubaytow Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 4/26/78; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/19/78.
ability of Esulalu to expand its population. At a spiritual level, the seizure of local children violated an absolute ban on the taking of people from a common land, "essouk". Such strictures were enforced by the priest-king’s shrine of Calemboekine which was responsible for the lives of all members of the township and which had links to the other Calemboekine of the region. It also would bring spiritual punishment by the victim’s Hupila and any lineage shrines that might protect the victim’s matrilineage or partilineage. Such punishments could come in the form of diseases, ranging from leprosy to Hupila’s rope disease.

Punishment was seen as certain; there were only questions of time and whether the shrine would size the perpetrator or some of his close kin. A slave trading system based on the kidnapping of children from the community had to overcome community resistance and the certainty of spiritual punishment. For such an illicit form of slave trading, secrecy was essential; for such a spiritually polluting activity, some form of spiritual protection was also required. A new shrine, Hupila Hugop (Hupila of the rice granary) was instrumental in solving both problems.

Hupila Hugop, like the other forms of Hupila, was associated with the protection of the family that had taken on the shrine. Even more than the other forms of Hupila, it served to protect the families of slave raiders from capture or from spiritual danger brought on by their activities. It had a small altar, complete with wooden fetters. Unlike the other Hupila, located in full view of visitors, Hupila Hugop was hidden inside the rice granary, a two room area that was an integral part of every Esulalu home.

On the nature of collective guilt, see Appendix Three.
Both the existence of this shrine and its rituals were to be kept secret; only other families that possessed the shrine could attend its rituals.\textsuperscript{90} Like Hudjenk and HouDiemberingai, Hupila Hugop was introduced from major slave trading areas outside Esulalu. Kadjinol's originated in Diembering and may have been passed on to Niomoun before being established within Esulalu. The shrine was also adopted in part of Djougoutes and the islands of Bliss-Karones, both areas of extensive slave raiding.\textsuperscript{91}

The secrecy surrounding Hupila Hugop made it particularly suitable for illicit forms of slave trading, most notably the kidnapping of children. Captives seized in socially acceptable ways, people seized from outside Esulalu, could be held in public view. Captives seized in violation of these norms had to be hidden away. They were fettered in the rice granary, out of sight, beside the shrine of Hupila Hugop. Concealed within an inner chamber of the Esulalu household, Hupila Hugop provided a place for the storage of illicit slaves and where plans could be developed for future raids and sales of slaves. Because of its violation of community norms, Hupila Hugop became known as a "boekine of theft".\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{90} I first attended this shrine in June, 1975, when I visited a friend in the Ebankine quarter of Kadjinol. The entire family was assembled in the ranary where his father was completing the rituals necessary to become a priest of Hupila Hugop. Because of my closeness to the family, I was allowed to attend.

\textsuperscript{91} Interviews with Eddi Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 11/6/77; Antoine Houmandriissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/8/78. Kadjinol had strong commercial and religious ties with Niomoun. Kadjinol gave a rain shrine, Djalangoo, as well as the office of priest-king to Niomoun. On slave raiding in Bliss-Karones and Djougoutes, see Mark, "Economic and Religious", p. 44.

\textsuperscript{92} Cult members stole livestock as well as children. Interviews with Eddi Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 2/17/78; Djisambouway Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/28/78; Ekussaeben Dieddhiou, Dionsal Dieddhiou, Diongany Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/22/78; Moolaye Bassin, 11/1/78.
The association of kidnapping of children and **Hupila Hugop** is firmly established in Esululu oral traditions. After discussing the shrine, Siopama Dieddhiou described the kidnapping process: "One would seize someone to take away... a small child who is not able to go. Keep it in the house." People would search for the child, but no one could search a man's granary. Djibelene of Kafone, who was a priest of **Hupila Hugop** in the early nineteenth century, seized so many people that he was nicknamed Adjouke Boukhan, "Seizer of People". He used to tell children, "Come to my house, I have some bananas". Then he would seize them, put some cloth in their mouths so they could not scream and hide them in the granary until he could safely take them away for sale. Similar accounts are told of kidnapping in Mlomp.\(^3\)

In each case, children were hidden in the granary until being taken away for sale. One head of cattle, a part of the sale price, was sacrificed at **Hupila Hugop**, in thanks for its aid in this endeavor.\(^4\)

One might wonder how such a socially explosive activity could be carried out and why a community would not move decisively to eliminate it. First, it would be difficult to prove whether a child was seized by neighbors or raiders from outside Esululu. With captives hidden safely from public scrutiny, only witnesses could lead to the captive. On those

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\(^3\) Interviews with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/10/78; Ekusumeben Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/21/76; Badiat Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 7/16/78; Djisambouway Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/26/78. For Djougoutes, see Mark, "Economic and Religious" p. 15-56.

\(^4\) Interviews with Joseph Salinjahn Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/19/76; Muhl Nassein, Kadjinol-EBankine, 7/13/76; Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 6/17/75.
occasions where a kidnapping was discovered, the child was freed and the slaver might be severely beaten or even killed. Secondly, the elders of the shrines that could move most effectively against slave raiding were often slave traders themselves, who had used their wealth to acquire religious offices. Finally, it appears that the seizures were a way of settling grudges, particularly against unpopular people in the community. One could deprive a man of any security in old age by seizing his children and selling them into slavery. Father Joffroy described a north shore Diola institution, of unspecified vintage, called punkus ave, which involved the deliberate seizure of a man's children in order to ruin his house. Louis Vincent Thomas suggests that this practice was done by other Diola as well as the neighboring Bainounk.

It would be virtually impossible to come up with an estimate of the number of children seized from within Esulalu. However, there were sufficient numbers seized to make parents worry about their children wandering about the township. Children who were too small to work were locked in the house, often under the supervision of someone who was too old to work. They were instructed not to unbar the door until they were sure that it was their parents outside. Children were not allowed to wander about the quarter until they were strong enough to draw too much

95 Interview with Djisambouway Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/26/78.
96 This will be discussed below.
attention to any attempt to kidnap them.\textsuperscript{98} Another measure of the extent of this practice is to see how widespread the shrine became. While it exists in Diembering, Bliss-Karones, and Djougoutes, I have no accurate measure of its frequency. However, in Kadjinol's quarter of Kafone there were at least four; in Sergerh and Kagnao two each; and at Ebankine, three. Comparable numbers are suggested for Mlomp.\textsuperscript{99} This is considerably less frequent than the incidence of ordinary Hupilas but it had a far more specialized function. While each of these shrines was created after the illicit seizure of a slave, we can not be sure of how often the practice was repeated.

A second major function of Hupila Hugop was to protect people who kidnapped children and sold them into slavery. Seizing children as slaves within Esulalu was believed to be punished with death. In reference to raiding for children, Kubaytow Diatta claimed that: "If you seize slaves, you will die. Everyone in your family will die."\textsuperscript{100} Hupila Hugop was supposed to be able to protect its supplicants against seizure by other
shrines. "If you did not have it [Hupila Hugop] you would be more afraid." Other ukine could not punish you for kidnapping their children. However, failure to sacrifice a portion of the sale price would lead the spirits associated with Hupila Hugop to seize you with disease or to destroy your rice or livestock.\footnote{101}

The protection offered by upila Hugop was only temporary. In Esululu, expiation of serious sin must be accompanied by public confession of wrongdoing, public sacrifice and rituals of purification. With Hupila Hugop, not only were the sacrifices considered unequal to the taking of a life through kidnapping, but the rituals were performed in secret within the very group which organized to seize children.\footnote{102} One had to repeat the sacrifice at Hupila Hugop whenever an illness or calamity was diagnosed by the healing shrine of Bruinkaw as coming from Hupila Hugop. The necessity of repeating the sacrifices of propitiation continues to the present day. Most of the shrines are still active despite the fact that their role in the slave trade has long since ceased. Now its primary function seems to be the warding off of punishment. Boolai Senghor, a man who has not taken on his family's Hupila Hugop, warned his sons that they would have to do it. "If one does not do it, Hupila Hugop, everything in the household will be destroyed. You will lose all your cattle, everything."\footnote{103}

\footnote{101 Interviews with Djsamboway Diedhdiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/26/78; Kubaytow Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 4/26/78.}

\footnote{102 Interviews with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/2/78; Kubaytow Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 4/26/78.}

\footnote{103 Interviews with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/2/78; Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 5/17/78, 6/5/76; Nuhli Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 6/16/75. On active priests, see Djsamboway Diedhdiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/26/78; Anto Munga, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 7/14/76; Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 6/17/75; Joseph}
This form of slave trading was not accepted by the Esulalu townships. Shrines associated with the priest-king, the various lineages, and the family all protected against kidnappings within Esulalu. In response to the spiritual dangers of such an action, slave traders in Esulalu brought in a secret shrine designed to protect them from spiritual harm. It was regarded as only temporarily successful and it did not gain them social acceptance. Informants in Esulalu often describe the traffickers in children as witches. Like witches, they drain the life blood of the community, its children, and they operate in secret. While witches lust for meat, the kidnappers of children lust for wealth. A witch will kill your only child; a kidnapper will sell him.  

Profits from the ransom and sale of captives heightened differences in wealth between families in Esulalu. Before the growth of the slave trade, wealth was determined by the size and location of one's rice paddies, skills as a farmer and herdsman, and not a little bit of luck to withstand nature's adversities. Commerce in captives introduced a new and more rapid way to acquire wealth. Through ransoms, a successful raider could acquire large numbers of cattle. Through the sale of slaves, he could acquire livestock, guns, iron, and cloth. With access to guns and gunpowder, one could extend one's hunting and raiding activities. Iron could be forged into the iron tips of the Diola hand plow, the cadynelo. This was far more efficient than melting old tips or hardening the

Salinjahn Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/19/76.

104 Interviews with Bubackar Manga, Loudia-Ouloff, 7/13/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/10/78 Ekusumben Dieddhiou, Dionsal Dieddhiou, Diongany Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/22/78.
cadyendo's in the fire and plowing without metal blades. Steady access to iron would increase rice production.\textsuperscript{105} Cloth was important not only for the making of clothes, but for wrapping the dead before burial. One could gain social prestige by giving a cloth for a friend's or relative's burial.

The most important asset gained through this commerce in captives was cattle. In addition to the social prestige gained by having a large herd, they served an important religious and economic role. Cattle were needed for ritual sacrifice to honor the dead, to become a priest of certain shrines, or to atone for a grievous sin.\textsuperscript{106} Cattle also served a vital economic function. They could be used to ransom a relative who had been seized. They could also be used to purchase sizeable areas of paddy land. Cattle were the only commodity accepted for the purchase of rice paddies.\textsuperscript{107} Paddies were only sold in times of crisis and only with great reluctance. Only the pressures of needing cattle for funerals, atonement, or ransom would convince a man to sell his rice paddies.\textsuperscript{108} Those who held cattle could supply the need, thereby expanding their landholdings.

\textsuperscript{105} Iron was in short supply in the eighteenth century. Old cadyendo tips were melted down and reformed, but they rusted more quickly and did not hold their sharpness. Those who could not afford to purchase iron, hardened their cadyendo blades in the fire.

\textsuperscript{106} On social prestige, see Pélissier, \textit{Paysans}, p. 760. Cattle were required for sacrifice at the new Hupila, at various shrines of the priest-kings, as well as for the atonement of major sins.

\textsuperscript{107} Interviews with Dionsal Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/8/79; Anto Manga, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 7/2/75; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/30/78; Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/28/78.

\textsuperscript{108} Interview with Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/19/78.
Their reserves of cattle made raiders a highly influential group, able to assume ritual responsibility, honor their dead, protect their relatives, and expand their lands. The cattleless poor and those who did not engage in raiding found it difficult to resist their influence.

This influence extended far beyond raider control of the new forms of Hupila. In the late eighteenth century, they also extended their control over the new form of circumcision, Bukut; the town council shrine of Hutendookai; and they helped to create an influential elder's shrine called Hoohaney. In each case, wealth, rather than spiritual knowledge or charismatic selection, was emphasized in the selection of the elders of the shrine.

The change in male circumcision from Kahat to Bukut had many causes. These have been discussed in the previous chapter. One of these causes related closely to this tendency to emphasize wealth in ritual. Informants suggested that the reason Esulalu abandoned Kahat was because one could not sacrifice cattle there, either during the initiation or in the process of becoming an elder. You could only sacrifice pigs and chickens and not too many of them. At Kahat "you could not have a good festival."109 At the initiation of Bukut, you could kill cattle to honor or strengthen your son or nephew. There was much feasting over a several day period. To be chosen for membership in the group of elders that control the circumcision shrine, one had to "finish Bukut". This involved

109 Interview with Eddi Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 11/6/77. Also Interviews with Antoine Houmandrisah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/28/77; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/10/78; Djibandial Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/23/75; Kuadadge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/21/78; Djiremo Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 2/17/78. See also Chapter Three.
a series of rituals involving the sacrifice of many pigs, as well as large quantities of palm wine and rice. One had to demonstrate one's status as an oussanome, a sharer of wealth. There was no question of spiritual election or a special illness. Once again, the new found wealth of the captive trade could be put to socially acceptable uses.

The township council shrine, Hutendookai, was also affected by the growing influence of the wealthy. When Hutendookai was first introduced from the Seleki area in the early eighteenth century, the senior men of each lineage were representatives at the shrine. Such appointments were made by the priest-king. Younger men served as the enforcers (kumachala) of the Hutendookai's decisions. By the late eighteenth century, representatives to Hutendookai were being selected on the basis of wealth. "The wealthy of the past... if you have [a lot], then you will go to Hutendookai." This was justified on the basis that the rich would be listened to in a meeting. This suggests a growing acceptance of the wealthy and a decline in the suspicions that Esulalu had toward the rich. As the wealthy took over Hutendookai, they used fines to enforce the shrine's edicts. Those who refused to pay fines risked losing rice paddies which would be sold out for cattle. Once again, the newly wealthy would be the primary beneficiaries.

The shrine of the elders, Hoohaney, created in the late eighteenth century to control the activities of the priest-king, was structured in

110 Interview with Yerness Manga, Mlomp-Djicomole, 12/2/77. See Chapter Three.

111 Interview with Ramon Sambou, Mlomp-Haer, 6/28/78.
such a way that wealth became a critical factor for participation in its rituals. The elders of Hoohaney controlled the initiation of new priest-kings, the initiation of young men into the rites of the dead, and represented the most respected men from each lineage in the townships. Their deliberations at the Hoohaney shrine were instrumental in developing community attitudes on moral issues, ritual responsibilities, and on religious dogma.\textsuperscript{112}

Selection for membership in the elders of Hoohaney was done by the other elders, who wished to ensure that all lineages were represented. They favored the wealthy because only men with substantial holdings of livestock could hope to complete the four stages of initiation. Once selected a new elder would perform the rite of Kikillo. He sacrificed one pig and offered libations of palm wine at the shrine. By doing so he accepted his obligation to enter the shrine's council of elders. Yet he was not a full member. He had to perform the rite of Kanoken, "to enter". This required the sacrifice of three more pigs, as well as providing palm wine and rice for the adepts of Hoohaney. At this stage, he would receive certain limited information about the shrine and would be allowed to assist at some of the rituals. Two large pigs, palm wine and rice were required to enter Eleng, the next stage of responsibility at Hoohaney.

\textsuperscript{112} On the creation of Hoohaney, see Chapter Three. Interviews with Sinyendikaw Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/7/78; Kapooech Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/7/75, 7/28/78; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 8/12/78. Dating of this shrine's creation is based on the priest-king lists of Kadjinol which extend back to the late eighteenth century. Priest lists of Hoohaney's Kalybillah shrine include 7 priests. Estimating 20 years per priest, this would mean that 140 years has passed since the split between Hassouka's and Kalybillah's Hoohaney, which was already fairly old.
This qualified the adept to be called a Lingona, an elder of the shrine with full access to its esoteric knowledge.\textsuperscript{113} To those who had not achieved this level or who had not been chosen as an elder of the shrine, such knowledge was vigorously guarded. To reveal such knowledge to those who had no right to hear it would "poison their ears" and could not even bring death to the hearer.\textsuperscript{114}

Esulalu’s involvement in the ransom or sale of captives had a profound impact on their society and their religious beliefs. Cattle and trade goods introduced into the community from the proceeds of captive transactions contributed to widening social differentiation within the townships. Large holdings of cattle allowed raiders to expand their rice paddy holdings and to exercise a greater influence within religious life. Simultaneously, those who were not involved in raiding found what security they had sharply diminishing, both at an economic level and a spiritual one. Subject to raids from outside Esulalu, they needed cattle to pay for ransoms. For the acquisition of priestly office, to atone for serious sins, and to honor the dead, poorer Esulalu had to sell their rice paddies in order to procure cattle. These cattle quickly passed out of their hands as sacrifices or ransoms, leaving them with fewer paddies to feed their families. Remaining suspicions that the wealthy were witches, bargainers with spirits, or anti-social individuals contributed to rising

\textsuperscript{113} Interviews with Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/28/78, 12/7/77. See also, Thomas, Diola p. 606. On the difficulties of finishing Hopaney, from a financial point of view, see Interview with Salomon Ompa Kembegeny Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/18/78.

\textsuperscript{114} Interview with Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/9/78.
tensions within the townships. The fragility of the traders’ wealth, however, provided some easing of these divisions. Wealth in cattle was highly perishable in the tsetse fly ridden and swampy Casamance. Herds could be rapidly depleted by disease, theft, or ransom and ritual needs. A wealthy man could soon find himself without cattle.\textsuperscript{115}

In religious life, Esulalu’s participation in the sale and ransom of captives also had profound effects. Through the creation of new Hupila, traders and ransomers of captives placed themselves in a position as spiritual intermediaries between individuals and the spirit shrines that protected their families. Ordinary people had to rely on this new elite for their most basic family rituals. Surviving the afflictions of Hupila no longer ensured the survivors of entry into its priesthood. The wealthy were also able to place themselves in the group of elders that controlled male circumcision. In Hutendookai, the town council shrine, the wealthy elite replaced the most senior men as representatives. It was believed that their words would carry more weight. In Hoochaney, as well, wealth was enshrined as the key to access to the higher levels of ritual knowledge.

Such changes in Esulalu ritual life represented far more than the entrenchment of a new elite in the religious system. They began to redefine the very concept of a priest or elder. In many of the older shrines, priests and elders were chosen from the successful survivors of

\textsuperscript{115} Diola cattle, mostly of the ndama type, have some resistance to African sleeping sickness, but they are not immune. In Esulalu there is a widespread belief that a wealthy man who fails to share or boasts of his charity to the poor, will soon find himself impoverished and the humiliated person will find himself a rich man.
certain diseases, or from visions of spiritual power surrounding a particular person, or from the special knowledge that an individual displayed. Such an individual took on the shrine and communicated with the spiritual powers associated with it. Such priests were said to be able to "see" into the spiritual world and to negotiate with the emissaries of Emitai. As wealth became an increasingly important criterion for selecting priests and elders, such spiritual powers were considered less important. A priest of Hupila Hudjenk might have seized a slave, sacrificed all those animals, and received all the necessary ritual instruction. But no one could teach him to "see" into a spiritual world. With increasing frequency, priests of these shrines became mere "technicians of the sacred", masters of ritual technique, but without charismatic authority. The office of a priest became a symbol of status. The people who really knew the shrine and its spiritual powers, people who were said to have houkaw ("head"), might be seated far down the row of logs around a shrine. People still dreamed and had visions, but their influence was diminished. By the end of the eighteenth century it was the authority of wealth rather than charisma that proved to be the most heeded guide.

In a series of articles on religious conversion, Robin Horton has suggested that trade and other activities which tend to break down the localism of African village life, would strengthen the concept of a supreme being in African religion. He argues that lesser spirits are

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116 Interviews with Siopama Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/2/78; Djilehl Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 12/27/78; Kemehow Diedhiou, Eloudia, 11/20/78; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 12/27/78.
associated with local activities within the "micocosm" of the villages, while the supreme being governs the "macrococsm" of the wider world.\textsuperscript{117} Such a shift did not occur in Esulalu. In Esulalu, the increasing insecurity that accompanied raiding turned people's spiritual concerns inward, toward protecting their families from attack and spiritual danger. Even the slave traders, who had the strongest taste of "macrococsmic" experience, turned inward to protect their families and to invest their wealth in socially acceptable ways, through elaborate rituals that gave them priestly office. They concentrated their religious activity on those shrines that did not stress charismatic experience, experience that had included visions of Emitai. In concentrating on the more institutional aspects of religious experience, they turned away from Emitai toward his emissaries, the lesser spirits of the ukine. While trade strengthened Esulalu's links to the "macrococsm", it also strengthened the influence of lesser spirits. Esulalu's supreme being, long active in the "micocosm" of township religion, found that with less attention to charismatic experience, there was less emphasis on Emitai's role in the creation of the spirit shrines.

The commerce in captives forced people to think about the nature of captivity and slavery. People in Esulalu had little trouble in accepting the idea of detaining cattle thieves and prisoners of war until they were ransomed. Recognizing the captive's humanity, they extended certain rights of hospitality and protection to the captives. If captives died, funeral rites would be performed at their captor's shrines of Kouhoulong.

\textsuperscript{117} Horton, "African Conversion", passim.
and Hupila. To symbolize that relation, the captive was fettered by the shrine of Hupila. To sell people who were not claimed by relatives was seen as a necessary and profitable way of disposing of unneeded strangers. Such sales were seen as a legitimate form of commerce, a legitimate slave trade.

This was not the case in situations where slave traders kidnapped children from the townships. This had to be done in secret and captives were hidden in granaries until they could be carried away for sale. Hupila Hugop was created to protect such slavers from spiritual punishment for their illicit slave trade. Still, Hupila Hugop provided only temporary protection, since there was no public confession, atonement, reparation, or purification for what was seen in Esulalu as a grievous sin.

In looking back on this period of raiding, ransoming, and sale of captives, of an increasing emphasis on economic criteria for access to ritual office, the present priest-king of Kadjinol has said:

> Men did not think well. They thought only of cattle. They committed sins against the spirit shrines and the spirit shrines destroyed the country. They brought in diseases that wiped out families; diseases that not even shots could cure.  

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118 Interview with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/11/75.
CHAPTER FIVE

STRANGERS WITHIN THEIR BORDERS: ESULALU RELIGION IN THE ERA OF FRENCH EXPANSION 1800-1880

The first eight decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the dramatic expansion of French activity in the Casamance, from sporadic trading forays to the establishment of permanent trade centers and French regional hegemony. During this period, however, the French did not attempt to establish the type of colonial control expressed in taxation, labor prestations, and land cessions that characterized their activities in coastal areas of northern Senegambia during the same period, nor did they seek to regulate the internal affairs of the Diola townships. Instead of colonial administrators, Muslim and Luso-African traders were the primary representatives of expanding European activity. These trading groups established a series of small villages along trading routes throughout the region, including Esulalu.

The people of Esulalu continued to perceive of themselves as members of independent communities, governing themselves through the various spirit shrines and councils of elders that they had developed. During this period there was no spiritual crisis of conquest. Diola religion continued to interact with the incoming religions of Christianity and Islam with the full support of their township adherents. Still, these new religions brought with them new ideas and ritual practices and enjoyed the prestige of being associated with powerful European or Muslim communities. In the nineteenth century, Esulalu became increasingly aware of the nature of these traditions, both as a new source of religious innovation and as a challenge to their own traditions. The newcomers also found a new
religion, that of the Diola, that influenced their own religious practices and often became a source of spiritual comfort.

In examining Esulalu's religious history in the nineteenth century, I shall focus initially on the influence that these outsiders, "strangers" in Esulalu terminology, had on the Esulalu townships, and, conversely, the influence of Esulalu on the religious experience of the newcomers. In the first part of this chapter I shall discuss the growth of the European presence in the lower Casamance until 1850, its influence within Esulalu, and religious life within the European affiliated communities that were established during that period.

In the second section, I shall examine the changing objectives of French policy in the period from 1850 until 1880, their impact within Esulalu, and the nature of religious interaction with the "stranger" villages established during this latter period. In both sections I shall focus on the influence of powerful political, commercial, and religious groups, whose gradual penetration of the Diola region allowed for a process of mutual influence and accommodation, rather than a direct assault on the foundations of Diola community and spiritual life. In a subsequent chapter I shall examine those religious changes that were not directly associated with the increasing presence of strangers within Esulalu's borders.

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Europeans had been actively trading in the Casamance well before the nineteenth century, but they had established only a few small trading communities in the region. These were on the periphery of the Diola-controlled lower Casamance. From larger commercial centers at Gorée,
Cacheu, and along the Gambia River, as well as the smaller settlements, Mandinka, Bainounk, Mandjak, and Afro-Portuguese traders brought European trade goods to the Diola. They purchased Diola rice, beeswax, and slaves. Before the nineteenth century European influences were felt most intensely through the increased demand for Diola goods and through the expanding availability of iron and other European goods within Esulalu. European cultural influences were limited by the sporadic nature of European-Diola contacts and were usually mediated by Afro-Portuguese or African middlemen. During this period Europeans did not attempt to exert direct control over Diola townships or to establish a permanent presence on Diola land. African trading groups also limited themselves to an itinerant role within Diola territories.¹

By the late eighteenth century the French had become increasingly interested in establishing a permanent presence in the Casamance region.²


² In 1777, a French trading ship was seized by the small Portuguese garrison at Ziguinchor and its crew was detained for eight months. During the diplomatic exchanges that ensued, French officials became aware of the richness of the area as well as the fragility of Portuguese control. "Lettre de M. Raymoral, le 3 juin, 1777 demandent que M. le Ministre des Blioses sois de nouveau autorisé à faire des demandes pour obtenir la restitution de la Cargaison du navire le St. Jean Baptiste avec le indemnitė.". Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Mémories, Documents, Afrique et Colonies Françaises #12, Sénégal et Côtes Occidentales, 1670-1790, p. 32.
In 1778, Governor Le Brasseur visited the Casamance and negotiated for trading rights at the village of Itou on the north shore of the river. He predicted that this could be the beginning of a prosperous commercial presence: "... the village of Itou [is] where the French have acquired exclusive docking privileges to the exclusion of all other nations. The rice trade is quite abundant as is that of slaves, 'morphil', and wax and will become very advantageous if we establish a more secure possession." Furthermore, he argues that Portuguese trading posts in the region were nothing more than "some miserable fugitives from Lisbon..." who had neither exclusive rights in the region nor the power to deny the French access. While Le Brasseur's assessment of the trade potential of the Casamance was echoed by other French visitors, little action could be taken before the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars.

3 M. Le Brasseur, "Détails historiques et politiques sur la religion, les moeurs et le commerce des peuple qui habitent la côte occidentale d'Afrique depuis l'Empire de Maroc jusqu'aux rivière de Casamanse et de Gambia", 1778, Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits Français, 12080.

In 1826, the French governor of Senegal visited the Casamance in order to assess its economic and strategic value. Governor Roger was impressed by the industriousness of the Diola who produced an abundance of rice in fields protected by an elaborate system of dikes. His report emphasized the richness of the region's agriculture, its importance in relation to the growing British control of the Gambia, and its importance to the slave trade. He saw that a major commercial presence in the Casamance would allow them to abandon their poorly located post at Albreda. The British also were aware of the Casamance's potential as an alternative route for the export of slaves.

Since the British establishment of Bathurst was founded... near the mouth of the river, no French vessel has been allowed to enter or leave the river without undergoing an examination. Notwithstanding this restriction, however, a very considerable Slave Trade is carried on by the French factors of Albreda throughout the whole length of the river Gambia: For, although the authorities at Bathurst do not permit any vessel with slaves on board to pass that settlement, yet they are carried in canoes to the left bank of the river, and thence conveyed by land to Cacho or Casamens, whence they are shipped for the West Indies.


In 1828, Jean Clement Victor Dangles, acting upon Roger's recommendations, negotiated the rights to establish a commercial post at Brin, about ten kilometers downriver from the Portuguese settlement at Ziguinchor. Concerned about the possibility of British incursions, he also negotiated a treaty with the village of Itou which controlled the northern entrance to the Casamance and which had close ties to the Esulalu township of Kadjinol. Dangles was struck by the friendliness and trust displayed by Diola leaders. In both cases treaties were only signed after village leaders had consulted with local assemblies. Itou's treaty preserved Diola rights to harvest palm wine at the mouth of the river and guaranteed them freedom from interference with their religion:

Article 8: His majesty promises to have anyone severely punished who proceeds to insult Couloubousse [the priest king] or his subjects or attempts to abuse their religion or customs of the country.  

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8 Itou received its offices of the priest king, with their accompanying shrines from Kadjinol.


Given the absence of such a provision from many treaties of a similar type in the Senegambia region and Itou’s long-standing trade relations with the French and Portuguese, one may assume that the Diola of Itou were wary of any potential interference in community political or religious life that could grow out of ties with Europeans. It also indicated that the French, at this stage, were more interested in establishing a commercial presence and excluding other Europeans than in interfering in Diola internal affairs.

In the same year as the Dangles mission, a small group of Afro-French traders from Gorée, led by Pierre Baudin, established themselves at Carabane, an island on the south shore of the Casamance near Itou. From there the Gorée traders could penetrate the various channels near the mouth of the Casamance and trade for rice, beeswax, hides, and slaves.\(^\text{11}\)

An official French mission did not return to Casamance until 1836. Finding the leader of Itou unwilling to allow the construction of a fort, the French Lieutenant Malavois decided to open negotiations with Kagnout for the cession of its island of Carabane, already occupied by Baudin and his companions. The people of Kagnout, led by the priest-king Guindal, welcomed the French and agreed to rent half the island for thirty-nine iron bars a year. They insisted on retaining their rights to harvest palm wine on the island and on retaining control over a portion of the island called Djibamuh, where a major shrine of Kagnout is located. Continuing raids from Djougoutes and Diembering had made the area too dangerous for farming and encouraged Kagnout to welcome these powerful

\(^\text{11}\) Foulquier, "Français", p. 58. Roche, Conquête, p. 77.
newcomers and allow them to settle on their land and assist them in war.\textsuperscript{12} Because Carabane was subject to flooding and was regarded as unhealthy, Sedhiou, in the Middle Casamance region, became the primary base for French operations.\textsuperscript{13} They retained their post at Carabane, under the leadership of the Baudin family, in order to control the entrance to the Casamance and to enable them to tap the Diola's agricultural riches:

they make sufficient havests to permit them, in many circumstances, to come to the aid of other groups on the coast, where there is famine; although they already have a large quantity of land cultivated, there is a still larger part that does not produce and remains uncleared, because the quantity of rice they produce sufficed for their nourishment and a little bit for trade which they are able to do, these places are rarely frequented.\textsuperscript{14}

At the time of the French penetration of the Casamance, Portuguese regional trade was in sharp decline. Their garrison at Ziguinchor consisted of a small detachment, linked by canoes to a larger force at


\textsuperscript{13} The French negotiated a treaty with Boudhie to establish a trading post at Sedhiou in 1837. On the unhealthy condition of Carabane, see: Pierre Baudin, "Rapport sur l'Ile de Carabane ou des Eléphants en la Rivière Casamance, note de M.M. Baudin, 1836, Janvier", Archives Nationales de France (ANF), Archives Privés Noirot, 185 Mi, "Papiers du Gouverneur Ballot", #46.

\textsuperscript{14} "Copies des Rapports de M. Penaud, Lieutenant de Vaisseau, Commandant le Malavoise sur la prise possession des terres acquis par la France à l'entrée de la rivière Casamance", August 2, 1837. ANOM, Sénégal IV, Dossier 25.
Cacheu, and their officials often went years without a salary. While in 1808, Silvester Golberry had described Portuguese trade from Ziguinchor as "a very advantageous trade in slaves, elephant’s teeth, native wax, raw hides, aromatic seeds, and dying woods...", it had been sharply reduced by 1840. Weakened by political instability in Portugal and African revolts in the region, the Portuguese could do little more than make formal protests against the French encroachments on what they regarded as a long-standing Portuguese area of trade. They also attempted to impose a twenty per cent duty on all French ships passing upstream to Sedhiou, but were unable to collect it. By 1840, the French appeared to have secured their position in Casamance, though neither the Portuguese nor the British would recognize their claims.


16 On African revolts in the Casamance-Guinea-Bissau region, see "Extrait d'une lettre du Ministre de France en Portugal, adressée, le 21 janvier, 1879 au ministre des Affaires Etrangères," ANOMA, Serie Géographique, Afrique IV, Colonies Portugueses, 1835-1939. Frequent revolts are described for the period from 1831-1853. The Portuguese garrison at Bolor, at the southern edge of Biola territory was destroyed in one such revolt. On Portuguese diplomatic protests, see: ANOM, Série Géographique, Afrique VI, Dossier 4, 1836-1858, passim. Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents d’Afrique, Sénégal et Dépendences, Tome 40 (Sénégal), Letters of Viscount de Carreira. See also Saulnier, p. 131. Foulquier, p. 68. While British traders visited the Casamance in the 1820’s and 1830’s, they did not try to establish a permanent presence. In 1838, they sent a British ship, the Highlander, to trade at Sedhiou, in defiance of French claims of exclusive trading rights. It was seized and eventually released after a long diplomatic exchange. See: Roche, Conquête, p. 88-90. See also: "Lettre du l’Amiral Pair de France à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, le 17 janvier, 1840", Memoire et Documents d’Afrique: Sénégal et Dépendences, Tome 41 (Sénégal), 1840-1841. Ministre des Affaires Étrangères.
In the 1840's, Ziguinchor and Carabane were the primary centers of trade and of European influences among the south shore Diola. Ziguinchor, located forty kilometers east of Esulalu, had been established in the Bainounk territory of Iziguiche and had once been a small, but prosperous trading center. In the first half of the nineteenth century it was seriously neglected by the Portuguese. In 1837, Dagorne described the fort at Ziguinchor as little more than sun baked clay and branches, a type of fortification common among the Diola. In 1850, the town had only about a thousand homes and was inhabited by Luso-Africans, Bainounk, and small groups of Diola, Mandjak, and Balante. Many of the latter groups were slaves who farmed rice, collected palm wine, and traded in outlying communities. The Luso-Africans and many of their dependents used Portuguese Crioulo as their primary language, used Portuguese names, and wore European style clothes. They identified with the metropole through their embracing of the Christian faith and their wearing of crucifixes. It is clear from Hyacinthe Hecquard's description of Ziguinchor that the label of Christian was an important component of their definition of


community and in the maintenance of ethnic boundaries: "All the inhabitants call themselves Christians even through they do not fulfill any obligations of their religion; they called the neighboring peoples, pagans." 

Roman Catholic Christianity was an important part of the cultural identification of the people of Ziguinchor with Lusitanian civilization, but the depth of their knowledge and their commitment to their religion was unclear. While the people of Ziguinchor professed to be Christians, they were often left for years without benefit of clergy. The church hierarchy, based on the Cape Verde Islands, paid little attention to the spiritual needs of the Casamance. Such long interruptions in pastoral care left little time for religious instruction among Ziguinchor's Catholics and virtually no time for proselytization in neighboring African communities. In 1864, when Father Lacombe visited Ziguinchor, church services were conducted by a Luso-African priest in his own home, on an ordinary table covered with a ragged cloth, the church having burnt down thirteen years before.

Outside observers tended to focus on the Luso-Africans' lack of religious instruction, their mixture of African religious elements, and their veneration of religious objects. The All Souls' Day celebration,


common to Luso-African communities, was often cited as an example of African ancestor veneration polluting a Catholic ritual, as well as an occasion for great bouts of drinking and lascivious behavior. In a stimulating essay, George Brooks shows that the importance of making offerings to the dead on All Souls' Day as well as their festive behavior is not unique to Luso-African communities, but was shared by their rural contemporaries in Portugal. Rather than a simple borrowing from African religions, All Souls' supplication of the dead for assistance in the harvest represented an area of vital overlap between African religious beliefs and the Christian beliefs of a rural Portuguese population. In early nineteenth century Luso-African communities All Souls' Day became one of the major religious holidays.

While Luso-Africans baptized their children and attended mass when clergy were available, they also sought the religious assistance of their neighbors:

Muslim Mandinka and Portuguese, and Luso-African Christians alike evinced great respect—often times expressing fear and awe—for the spiritual powers of coastal riverine groups, and frequently had recourse to their religious specialists for a variety of purposes: for establishing social relations; for

21 Brooks, "Observance", passim. One outside observer who criticized the All Souls' celebration was a Portuguese army officer, Henrique August Dias de Carvalho, who observed such rituals in the 1870's. This emphasis on All Souls' Day was also common in the Spanish colony of the Philippines.

22 It still is an important religious holiday in Ziguinchor, but it is not nearly as important an event among Diola Roman Catholics. This further supports the idea that All Souls' Day was important to the Portuguese traders, rather than an African emphasis within the Catholic religious calendar.
ratifying commercial agreements; for mediation with local spirits; and for medical and spiritual healing.\textsuperscript{23}

In the absence of clergy or when marrying neighboring African women, African traditional rites would often be utilized. Religiously based healing was important to rural Portuguese as well as rural Diola and Bainounk. They also sought traditional African talismans and Muslim gris-gris, containing various types of medicines which were said to have curative or protective power. This too paralleled rural Lusitanian practices.\textsuperscript{24}

Perhaps in exchange for their use of African religious rites and medications, the Luso-Africans provided neighboring Africans with religious medals and crucifixes which were said to perform similar protective and curative functions among Christians. These became items of trade, not only in Ziguinchor, but in Diola and Bainounk villages visited by traders. Hecquard described Ziguinchor's religious commerce:

They [the inhabitants of Ziguinchor] have a great veneration for images, the medals and the Christs, to which they associate a wide power to protect them from all accidents. This belief is widespread among the Floups [Diola] and the Bainounk, the Portuguese traders having made of these images, medals and crucifixes, an object of commerce, and trade them for slaves that they keep or exchange them again for livestock. Little time has passed since this type of traffic has stopped, not because it was immoral, but because the products were no longer sought after by the natives, since a Floup who had dearly purchased a copper Christ which he had carried among his gris-gris, was nevertheless killed by a gunshot.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{23} Brooks, "Observance", p. 11.

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p. 9.

\textsuperscript{25} Hecquard, \textit{Voyage}, p. 110.
Apparently, it was this trade in images, medals, and crucifixes that provided the major source of Portuguese Christian influence among the south shore Diola during the early nineteenth century. From such contacts, they may have acquired a modest familiarity with Christian symbols, saints, and Jesus. It is unlikely that there was any sustained religious instruction of Diola catechumens by Portuguese priests during this period. Through commercial contacts Diola learned of certain instrumental aspects of Christianity, the importance of images, medals, and crucifixes in warding off evil, a facet of Christianity that was shared by rural Portuguese and Luso-Africans. Apparently, they also learned the limits of such protection.

Carabane, the major French trading center in the lower Casamance, developed more slowly than Sedhiou, which served as the French administrative center of the Casamance during most of the nineteenth century. Carabane's primary value was its control over the mouth of the river. Initially Carabane's trade was left to Afro-French and Wolof traders from Gorée who began to settle there in the 1820's. The Afro-French Baudin family controlled the office of resident until 1848. The Baudins engaged in trade with the neighboring Diola, purchasing rice, salt, and selling them to French and English merchants in Senegambia and to Portuguese traders at Ziguinchor and Cacheu.²⁶ By 1842,

the population of Carabane consisted of three groups: Gorée Afro-French, Diola, and Wolof. Judging from an 1842 census, the Diola were the largest group. Approximately one fifth of the population was slaves. Slaves provided labor for the cultivation of rice and for the repair of ships. Slaves were also used as sailors on the trade ships that plied the small channels of the lower Casamance. Judging from census data, the slaves had, for the most part, adopted or were given French or Muslim Senegambian names, which would indicate that most of these slaves were brought from Gorée, rather than being purchased in the lower Casamance. The relative ease with which Diola captives could escape from Carabane discouraged their use locally. However the export of slaves was an important part of French commerce at Carabane throughout the nineteenth century: "The slaves were bought by the French at Sedhiou and Carabane with official approval at least until 1848 when pressures from the British in Gambia forced a halt. Slaves were sent to Gorée or North Senegal where the French incorporated them into their military forces, or apprenticed them to tradesmen... Until 1902 Carabane served as a market center for slave trading." 

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28 Leary, "Islam", p. 82-82. This is confirmed by Roche, Conquête, p. 88-89, 181 and François Renault, Libération d'esclaves et nouvelle servitude, Abidjan: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines, 1976, p. 62 and passim. François Renault describes a vigorous French trade in ransomed slaves which continued into the early twentieth century. Many of these captives were ransomed to government and private employers in French Guiana, Martinique and Guadeloupe. A substantial number of these "ransomed" slaves were taken from Carabane.
In 1848, Jean Baudin was replaced as resident by a French trader who was unable to overcome local opposition to the appointment of an outsider. The new resident, Dufour, was quickly replaced by Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé, a French political exile. Before his appointment in 1849, Bertrand-Bocandé spent twelve years trading in the Casamance. He learned Mandinka, Portuguese, and Portuguese Creole. During his eight years as resident, Bertrand-Bocandé attempted to make Carabane the major trade center for the entire Casamance. He built a wharf, had the village surveyed, and encouraged additional Gorée traders to settle at Carabane. He built up a personal trade network, operated several trade ships, and established small trading posts in several other locations which were supplied from Carabane. Bertrand-Bocandé established a series of small industries for processing local raw materials and a ship repair shop that increased Carabane's importance in regional trade. In 1850 Hyacinthe Hecquard described Carabane's growing commerce and the increasing trader presence in the Diola townships: "The traders travel to the Floup [Diola] and Bainoum village, where they remain until they have traded their

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29 Jean Baudin was replaced because he took one of his slaves, who had run away form him off an English ship, thereby creating an international incident over an issue on which the French were quite sensitive. Jean Bertrand-Bocandé, Gabriel Debien, and Yves Saint Martin, "Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé (1812-1881) un Nantais en Casamance", Bulletin de l'IPAN, Vol. XXXI, Série B #1, January, 1969, p. 285. Roche, Conquête, p. 82.

30 Jean Bertrand-Bocandé, "Emmanuel", p. 280-282. Roche, Conquête, p. 82.

merchandise."\(^{32}\) Most of these itinerant traders were Euro-Africans or Muslims from northern Senegal.

Despite the presence of French and Gorée traders at Carabane, there was no clerical presence there until 1880. Before then, Carabane's small Christian community had to rely on occasional visits from priests stationed in northern Senegal or Ziguinchor. After the 1848 visit of Father Aragon to Carabane, the Holy Ghost Fathers requested permission to establish a mission. While Bertrand-Bocandé gave strong support to the proposal, colonial officials feared that missionary work would stir up Diola opposition to the French presence in the area and that they would incur considerable expenses in providing protection for mission workers. In 1851 the request for a Carabane mission was denied.\(^{33}\)

Despite the presence of French, Gorée, Wolof, and other communities, Carabane's religious life was dominated by the Diola. Lured by opportunities to sell crops, fish, salt, and other goods, as well as the chance to hire out their labor, substantial numbers of Diola came and settled at Carabane. Many of these people were runaway slaves or people convicted of crimes within their townships.\(^{34}\) Individual Diolas came with a knowledge of their religion, though probably without having achieved

\(^{32}\) Hecquard, *Voyage*, p. 109.


\(^{34}\) Peter Mark, "Economic and Religious Change among the Diola of Boulouf (Casamance), 1890-1940; trade, cash cropping, and Islam in Southwestern Senegal", Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1976, p. 52. Banishment was a common punishment for murder and other serious crimes. Interview with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebennye, 1/24/78.
major ritual office. With the assistance of elders from their home communities, Diola immigrants established four spirit shrines at Carabane, two primarily for men and two for women. One of the women's shrines was called Ehugna, a shrine that addressed problems associated with the fertility of women and the land and the procurement of rain as well as a broad array of women's issues. According to Dyaye Babu Faye, Carabane's Ehugna came from the north shore Diola village of Niomoun. However, Carabane's Ehugna was a major shrine, where bulls could be sacrificed. Such sacrifices were part of the extended process of "finishing" or becoming a priestess of the shrine. One of the men's shrines, Bukut, the male circumcision shrine that had spread throughout Esulalu, was also established at Carabane.

Carabane was the first predominantly Diola community where European observers settled and witnessed Diola religious life on a prolonged basis. Such observers' descriptions of the close association between Diola beliefs in a supreme being and the procurement of a rainfall are of particular importance. In 1856, Carabane's resident, Bertrand-Bocandé described this linkage: "The rains bestow upon the land its fertility: their time has a name; it is the time of 'Emit', the time of the rains, or the time of God. Emit in the Floup language signifies thunder, rain, God,

35 Roche, Conquête, p. 181. There was also a Mandjak shrine called Kamene at Carabane. Interview with Jacques Lopi, Djeromait, 7/14/78.

36 Interviews with Dyaye Babu Faye, Elinkine, 12/6/78; Sawer Sambou, Kagnout-Ebrouwaye, 10/28/78. It is unclear whether women actually sacrificed the cattle or pigs or, as they did at Kadjinol and Mioomp, bring in certain men to perform the sacrifice, butcher the animals, and then leave the shrine premises. The name of the shrine Ehugna is closely linked to the Diola term for menstruation.
and power. Rain is the natural phenomenon that bestows life; Emitai is the spiritual being that bestows life. The two forces are intimately linked, not only by a shared name. Rain is seen as an emanation of Emitai himself. In 1850, Hyacinthe Hecquard described the most important of Diola rain rituals, the performance of which he witnessed at Carabane during a drought.

I was witness to one of their ceremonies; for some time the rains had ceased, the rice yellowed under foot, everyone was worried about the harvest. The women assembled, took branches in their hands, then divided into two groups who met dancing, they ran all over the island, singing and praying for their good spirit to send them some rain. Their chanting continued for two whole days; but the weather did not change. From prayer they then switched to threats; the fetishes were knocked over and dragged into the fields amidst cries and threats that did not cease until there was rain; which led to the renewal of the fetishes with the customary respect. This ceremony which lasts until the change in the weather always has infallible results, they assure me that they would not have rain except for the fear they inspired among their fetishes.

Except for the conclusion that the purpose of the rite was to frighten the spirit shrines, this description follows closely more recent descriptions that I collected describing a rite called Nyakul Emit, "the funeral dance for Emitai". Paponah Diatta described the ceremony at Mlomp: "Women will rise up, they will do the nyakul funeral dance, they will cry, they will dance the ignebe [a dance associated with Ehugnal]. They visit the ukine... They dance for Emitai and return." That night Emitai sends one

37 Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé, "Carabane et Sedhion", p. 413.
of the women "pite" (special mental powers). "Emitai will show her."

Mungo Sambou described the ritual as "crying for Emitai". Econdo Sambou claims that women would wear only a small cloth around their loins to show Emitai that they had nothing and that they desperately needed rain. In the Nyakul Emit, all the shrines received sacrifices. The women moved from shrine to shrine, exhausting all spiritual remedies available to them. Then, in a final act, they beseeched Emitai directly through prayer and dance and asked him to provide them with rain.

Droughts were not the only calamity that confronted the people of Carabane. Death was a common occurrence in such a swampy area. European observers had ample opportunities to describe Diola funeral rites and beliefs about death. A Holy Ghost Father, Father Lacombe, provided a detailed account of a Diola funeral that he observed at Carabane in 1864.

During my stay one of the most curious and bizarre ceremonies attracted my attention. It was a funeral ceremony. During the preceding night I heard funeral chants; ... The next day, I saw planted in the middle of the road, some stakes, in the form of a square. One stretched some black cloths around it in such a way that it could provide shelter from the harshness of the sun... I saw the deceased arriving, carried by his age mates. They put him in a chair with his back against a stake to which they attached him securely... They had clothed him in festival clothes; his feet and hands were weighted with silver and copper bracelets... and, since he had a rapport with the Europeans and was employed in the merchant marine, a "chapeau de poil" covered his head. Grouped around him was his family, except for his

39 Interview with Peponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 3/21/78.

40 Interviews with Mungo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/22/78; Econdo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/13/78; Antoine Diemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 2/5/778. Such a public display of "immodesty" is also done by barren women seeking to conceive during certain public healing rituals associated with Khugna.
wife who should have had a special chair near her deceased husband. Her function, during the entire ceremony, consisted of chasing away the flies that covered her dear spouse. To achieve that, she had a cow's tail that she moved constantly. The mother of the deceased, a woman of sixty, with a shaved head, covered with ashes and sand, with her torn cloth around her thighs, would come constantly to interrogate her son and demand of him the cause of his death. Then, receiving no response, she screamed loudly, stretched her hands on her son and went and rolled in the sand, as a sign of mourning and affliction. She entered the house and returned and presented it to him and asked what he lacked that he should leave his family and his community... Throughout the day some forty women assembled for their tears and their funeral chants. They would leave the place where the deceased was, distance themselves up to ten meters, then retrace their steps, chanting and crying at the same time, and those assisting, seated on the ground would reply in the same tone.41

Lacombe described the funeral of a young married man whose premature death was difficult to comprehend. He left a wife and family and did not outlive his mother. His mother's interrogation reflected a Diola belief that some people do not like life and seek a premature return to the world of the dead. Lacombe's description, even the dressing of the deceased in his best clothes and a merchant marine's hat, could well describe a Diola funeral in the 1970's, except that Lacombe did not observe any men dancing the nyakul, funeral dance.

After the performance of the chants and the women's mourning dance the body was prepared for burial, at which time an essential task was performed.

The remains of a canoe, attached to four stakes, lengthwise and widthwise, served as a coffin. The entirety was elevated by six cows' skulls with intact horns... At a certain time, starting with a number of gun shots, six men take this type of bier and place the deceased upon it... The widow, standing on the chair from which they had just taken her husband, takes a calebash used by him [probably filled with palm wine which she pours over the cattle skulls]. Several times, she asks, in a loud voice, her dear spouse to reveal the cause of his death. Several times, they carried the coffin near her and several times she pushed it back, continuing her questioning. Finally, when her husband responded that it was a witch who had eaten his soul, she broke the calebash against the cattle horns attached to the coffin and pointed with her finger the route to the cemetery. The six men who carried the deceased left at full speed.\footnote{Lacombe cited in "Annales", op. cit. The cattle skulls provide a tangible reminder of those cattle sacrificed for members of the deceased's patrilineage at the time of their deaths and may provide a means of summoning their spirits to witness the funeral of their kinsman.}

A crucial part of a Diola funeral is the establishment of the cause of death. The pouring of palm wine over the coffin horns while interrogating the corpse is the Diola equivalent of an autopsy. The deceased is asked if he (or she) had died because of an offense against a spirit shrine. If the coffin, carried by the six men, dipped downward it meant an affirmative answer; if it moved to the side it was a negative one. If the answer was affirmative then the precise spirit shrine involved had to be identified, so that the necessary propitiatory sacrifices could be performed. If the answer was negative then questions were asked about witchcraft. An affirmative answer would be followed by questions leading to the identification of the witch, someone who was usually related to the victim by kinship or marriage. If the answer was again a negative one then the deceased was asked if his death was due to the will of Emitai, a...
death not caused by human failing and without dangerous repercussions. Once the deceased had revealed this information, he was hurried off to the cemetery so that his soul could fully leave his body and start its journey to whatever path in the afterlife it might follow.43

Father Lacombe witnessed the funeral of a middle-aged man who was said to have been killed by witches, "who had eaten his soul". This type of witchcraft belief is common not only among the Diola but among most Senegambian peoples, including the Wolof, Serer, Balante, and Badyaranké.44 At Carabane, the various African communities shared a belief in witches who could travel in the night, attack their victims, and eat their souls. After such an attack, a victim would lose his will to live and gradually wither away and die. After the burial, a group of witches were said to remove the body and take it to the forest where they held a nocturnal feast of human flesh.45

Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé witnessed a witch finding procedure conducted by a Muslim religious leader or marabout. His description to the Commandant at Sedhiou is quite similar to Diola witch beliefs:

42 The above explication of Lacombe’s description is based on my own participation in Esulalu funerals. Several interviews with André Bankuul Senghor, Radjinol-Hassouka, were particularly helpful in understanding the funeral ritual.


45 See Baum, "Crimes", op. cit.
All the inhabitants of Carabane, whomever they are, are extremely superstitious. They believe that several deaths in succession here for some time were not all by natural causes, but were produced by witches who, like vampires, come invisibly to suck the blood of people and to enter into their bodies to devour them, or rather to eat their souls, even though they see that the bodies of the dead remain intact... What is deplorable is that they identify several individuals, almost publically, as having the habit of devoting themselves to these feasts of human flesh and one of them, who was a slave, had at one time submitted to torture at Carabane, so that he would confess to having eaten the wife and child of his master.46

The procedure used to identify this slave as a witch was initiated by Jean Baudin, a former French resident at Carabane, a Christian, originally from the Afro-French community at Gorée. He asked Bertrand-Bocandé for permission to hold a meeting at which a Muslim marabout would search out witches within a predominantly Diola traditional community. The marabout performed various rituals, then killed some chickens, and examined their entrails. By reading the entrails, the marabout claimed that he was able to identify the witches: "he said that the witches were not at all from the Diola who came from the region to live at Carabane, but that he would have to search among the freed slaves. He identified two men and two women; one of these men, was an honest worker, with a perfectly tranquil temperment, and who always has his consent when it was a question of reestablishing order."47 The slave accused of having eaten his master's wife was publically beaten:

46 "E. Bertrand-Bocandé à Monsieur le Commandant du poste de Sedhiou" April 23, 1852, ANS 13G 455.
47 Ibid.
In order to make him confess his alleged crime: they tied him to a tree: they whipped him as rigorously as possible: they removed pieces of flesh from his body, telling him that it was because he was a witch and fed himself on human flesh, that he would eat his own. And because he seemed to submit to his torture with too much forbearance and courage, they imagined that he had the power to remove his soul from his body and transport it into the tree to which he was tied. Thus, so as not to spare him any pain, they beat on the tree and on him in turn, and he did not cry out any less strongly, said Felix Baudin, who told me this story with the simplicity of a man who believed that he had assisted at a just punishment, and who thought he could thereby persuade me that the man was a true witch. The man was named Janhal; his master was François Baudin.48

Evidently, Baudin had accepted the prevailing witchcraft beliefs of the Carabane community.

Bertrand-Bocandé’s description reveals a second method of exposing witches, the use of maraboutage, the divinatory skills of a Muslim religious leader. It appears that the marabout’s claims to be able to detect witches were accepted by the Afro-French, Diola, and other African groups at Carabane. From Lacombe’s description it appears that they also accepted the Diola method of interrogating the deceased. It is unclear whether any of the four spirit shrines at Carabane were used to protect against or to identify witches, though both Ehugna and Bukut were used for those ends within Esululu.

These descriptions also reveal that there was considerable social tension surrounding the position of slaves and former slaves and that this tension was expressed through witchcraft beliefs. In 1848, French

48 "Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé à Monsieur le Commandant Particulier de Gorée", Carabane, April 22, 1852, ANS 130 455.
Senegalese officials began to actively discourage the slave trade. In that same year, Jean Baudin was removed from his position as a resident because of his attempt to retrieve runaway slaves from a British ship. At Carabane, domestic slavery was tolerated, but was no longer supported by the French authorities, thereby engendering considerable anxiety among Carabane's slave owners. The witchcraft accusation process described by Bertrand-Bocandé reflected this fear. It centered on the alleged killing of a master's wife and child by one of his slaves. The accusation process was initiated by the family that had dominated Carabane until three years before. The marabout who conducted the investigation quickly dismissed the possibility of witchcraft among the free population and told the community to concentrate their search among "freed slaves", a liminal group, whose legal freedom had not yet relieved them of work obligations toward their masters. While there may well have been considerable anxiety over the frequency of deaths at Carabane, these accusations also reflected new tensions surrounding the unresolved status of freed slaves, people who were no longer legally in bondage, but who had not yet begun to exercise their freedom.

Bertrand-Bocandé's attitude toward the marabout also reveals a considerable mistrust of Islamic religious leaders, an attitude that was common among French colonial officials in nineteenth century Senegal. Bertrand-Bocandé wrote a letter to Felix Baudin, designed to curtail the influence of marabouts at Carabane and to rebuke the Baudin family for inviting the marabout's activities.
I had asked you verbally to come see me in order to discuss the procedures that it is important to take to prevent blacks from I don't know where, who call themselves marabouts or diviners; who create discord in the country by leading the inhabitants of Carabane to kill one another, under the pretext of vengeance for an imaginary crime, like the one who arrived yesterday... All of this odious intrigue was done with the goal of acquiring some merchandise. It seems that this is the only work to which these men will devote themselves.49

Bertrand-Bocandé did not confine himself to letter writing. He tried to find the marabout, but no one except one of the accused would show him where the marabout was staying. The resident, accompanied by several French soldiers, confronted the marabout, seized the goods that the marabout had received for his witch-finding activities and gave them to the victims of his accusations. He also confiscated all of the marabout's gris-gris. "I seized all of the marabout's gris-gris which I burned the next day to the astonishment of our inhabitants who expected a miracle: they protested that these gris-gris would not catch fire at all and fled, believing that thunder would crush all the spectators at this sacrilege."50 Whether this action led to a general mistrust of marabouts at Carabane or was limited to a disavowal of this particular marabout's skills is not stated. However, it does reveal that, by 1852, a mixed population at Carabane was receptive to the claims that marabouts could

49 "E. Bertrand-Bocandé à Monsieur Felix Baudin", Carabane, April 21, 1852, ANS 13G 455. Bertrand-Bocandé's opposition to the marabout's witch finding not only reflected his scepticism about witchcraft but also reflected his concern with Muslim leaders, such as Al Haji Umar Tall and Ma Ba Diakhou. See Martin Klein, Islam and Imperialism in Senegal, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1968, p. 67.

50 "E. Bertrand-Bocandé à Monsieur le Commandant du poste de Sedhiou", Carabane, April 23, 1852, ANS 13G 455.
seek out witches and create various medicines that could protect people from evil and misfortune.

Despite the presence of Europeans and non-Diola Senegambians, Carabane did not become a major source of Christian or Muslim influence within Esulalu for most of the nineteenth century. The absence of a permanent missionary presence until 1880 made it extremely difficult for Europeans or Euro-Africans at Carabane to participate in the fundamental rituals of the Christian faith, much less attempt to convert the Diola of Carabane and Esulalu. Carabane's marabouts appear to have concentrated their efforts on the making of gris-gris and the detection of witches, activities which were of vital concern to the vast majority of Carabane's inhabitants regardless of religious affiliation. There is no evidence that the marabouts directly challenged the authority of Diola priests at Carabane or tried to convert substantial numbers of Diola. While the marabouts' activities stimulated a growing awareness by Carabane's Diola of the more instrumental aspects of Senegambian Islam, these activities were seen as a source of supplemental power in a multi-ethnic environment rather than a challenge to the fundamental beliefs of Diola religion.

Nevertheless, Carabane provided a very different environment than the Esulalu townships. For many Diola, Carabane was their first experience of a pluralistic community divided along ethnic and religious lines. While Diola traditional religion commanded the allegiance of most Diola and received ritual attention from many non-Diola, there were some people at Carabane who removed themselves from its authority. This was equally true of some of the Christians and Muslims of Carabane who also sought to live beyond the moral dictates of their religions. This disturbed religious
leaders of all communities. Thus Father Lacombe lamented the woeful moral climate of Carabane: "You are familiar with this locale and the moral misery that reigns there is also not unknown to you. It is like a rendezvous of all that is the most evil in the European coastal centers: St. Louis, Gorée, Gambia, Cacheu. This moral degredation is encouraged by the abuse of alcoholic beverages and by the example set by our traders."51

Despite the stresses of Carabane's plural society, it appears, upon closer inspection, that a Diola moral order, influenced by outsiders, continued to guide the vast majority of Carabane's people. This order, however, was guided by a smaller number of ritual specialists and spirit shrines. It focused on four community-wide shrines concerned with the socialization of men (Bukut) and women (Ehugna) and the ensuring of the fertility of the people and the land. Its ritual rules appeared to be less stringent than the Esulalu townships since men could drink palm wine at the women's shrines of Carabane. There also appears to have been an absence of lineage shrines, since many of the Carabane Diola retained close ties to their home townships and lineages. Despite the simplification of the ritual order, major ceremonies such as Nyakul Emit and Bukut commanded the participation of the majority of Carabane's inhabitants. Nineteenth century Carabane remained a predominantly Diola religious community.

A similar multi-ethnic community was established at Elinkine by Wolof traders from the Gambia, in the 1840's. English colonial officials,

however, did not appoint a local resident or provide military support for the Gambian traders. From their base at Elinkine, these Gambians conducted trade in many Diola communities including Samatit, Kagnout, and Kadjinol within Esulalu as well as other Diola communities. At Samatit, they met with the Diatta family, negotiated the cession of Elinkine, and left them with a British flag and a paper naming a member of the Diatta family as village chief.\textsuperscript{52} These traders were primarily interested in purchasing rice and peanuts. In 1853, Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé complained to the commandant at Gorée of the growing influence of these Gambian traders: "the grains which provide nourishment for the people around the Gambia are in such short supply as to raise the fear of famine; the English of the Gambia who extract most of their rice from the Casamance have sent here the majority of their coastal ships to buy rice at any price."\textsuperscript{53}

Gambian traders worried local French officials because they threatened French commercial interests and undermined French control over the region. These Gambian traders were willing to pay higher prices for


\textsuperscript{53} On Gambian trader interest in peanuts, see: Interviews with Cyriaque Assin and Neerikoon Assin, Samatit, 6/20/78; Djikankoulan Sambou, Kagnout-Ébrouwaye, 6/28/78. On their interest in rice, see: "E Bertrand-Bocandé à Monsieur le Commandant Particulier de Gorée", Carabane, October 30, 1853, ANS 13G 455.
Diola rice and were willing to sell the Diola highly valued English rifles and ammunition. Such competition encouraged Diola to seek out the highest bidder for this produce. Bertrand-Bocandé complained that:

These Diolas, seeing the commerce conducted by the English... have been led to raise the price of rice and it seems that they and the English struggle in their desire to see who sells rice more expensively and on the other hand who exchanges merchandise the most cheaply. I can say that this competition has become a real madness; the Diola from the largest villages have tried to organize the others to form a league to compel those who come to them to purchase rice to give rather than to sell their merchandise.54

Bertrand-Bocandé, who conducted a vigorous regional trade while serving as resident, was clearly concerned about the ease with which the Diola adapted to the increasing competition for their produce. He was also worried about these traders negotiating on behalf of the English for trade concessions at Samatit, Kadjinol, and Thionk Essil. As a result of these concerns, he expelled groups of Gambians from Elinkine, though they always seemed to return.55 He also negotiated a series of treaties which guaranteed the French exclusive access to the principal Diola townships.

The only settlement by English subjects in the Casamance was established at Elinkine by a group of Wolof speaking traders from the

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55 Ibid. See also "Bertrand-Bocandé à Monsieur le Commandant Particulier a Gorée", 1850, ANS 13G 361.
These traders purchased rice and peanuts and sold such items as the heavy indigo blue cloths that the Diola use for funerals and other important rituals. One of these traders, Wari Diow, decided that they should establish a permanent trade settlement and went to Samatit to ask for land. According to accounts from Elinkine, the traders asked the leaders of Samatit five times to allow them to settle at Elinkine. Only to the fifth request, in the mid 1840’s, did Samatit consent, providing the newcomers with a small strip of land at the junction of several coastal estuaries. They were not given any land to cultivate rice, both to preserve Samatit’s own paddies and to keep the Gambians dependent on them for rice. According to Dyaye Babu Faye, the only reason that Samatit allowed them to settle was their fear of slave raiding by Thionk Essil. People would be seized while working in the rice paddies close to the estuaries of the Casamance. Samatit’s leaders hoped that the Bathurst traders would use their guns to protect them from the men of Thionk Essil: “They kept away the strangers [from Thionk].”

While these traders were referred to as Wolof or Gambian English in French government sources, the founders included Serer and Aku (Afro-English from Sierra Leone who settled in the Gambia), as well as Wolof. This is confirmed by an examination of the names of the first settlers which included Wolof names like Djow and Dieuf, Serer names like Faye, and Aku names like Bruce. Interview with Dyaye Babu Faye assisted by Fatou Coly of Elinkine and Houmessie Djinna of Samatit, 12/6/78. Interview with Abel Assin, Cyriaque Assin, Baengo Assin, and Wuuli Assin, and Agnak Baben, 4/26/78. “Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé à Monsieur le Commandant de Gorée”, Carabane, December, 1849, ANS 13G 453. After their annexation by the French, Elinkine’s leaders petitioned the Carabane Resident, in English, for protection against mistreatment by the Diola. Signatories included Wari Diow and three Aku, “Letter to the French Commander,” Carabane, November 29, 1856. ANS 13G 455.

Interview with Cyriaque Assin, Wuuli Assin, Neerikoon Assin, Samatit, 5/11/78. According to French colonial records, the men of Elinkine did help repel raiders from Thionk Essil. Bertrand-Bocandé, December, 1849, op. cit. Interviews with Dyaye Babu Faye, Elinkine, assisted by Fatou Coly of Elinkine and Houmessie Djinna of Samatit, 12/6/78; Dyaye Babu Faye assisted by Fatou Coly and Jean Francois Djemé,
There is an alternative account of the founding of Elinkine in which a Diola woman from Itou or Niomoun asked the elders of Samatit for land. Since intermarriage with Diola women was a common occurrence among these Gambian traders, she may well have been the wife of one of the founders of Elinkine. Whether she founded Elinkine or not, this woman, nicknamed Ayou Ahan (grandmother), played an active role in the growth of the village. Given the close ties between Itou and Esulalu, she may well have aided the Gambians' trading activities through her extensive regional contacts.

Ayou Ahan brought with her a shrine of Ehugna (Ehugna-Esoobaw) from Carabane and established it at Elinkine. As priestess of this shrine Ayou Ahan was considered extremely powerful, "a powerful priest-king".

Since a majority of the men at Elinkine were non-Diola and either Christian or Muslim, it was Diola women who provided the initial introduction of Diola religion and language into the community. Freed or runaway Diola slaves, particularly from Diembering, as well as free Diola

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58 In Senegambia, strangers, both African and European, often married local women in order to establish trade alliances. Interviews with Jean-Baptiste Chaim, Elinkine, 5/11/78; Joseph N'diaye and Dyaye Babu Faye, Elinkine, 12/6/78. Intermarriage was also a way to obtain rice paddies from neighboring villages.

59 At this shrine you could not sacrifice a bull, but at Carabane you could. This indicated the subordinate status of Elinkine's Ehugna. At Elinkine, men could not assist at the ritual, but could drink palm wine afterwards. This is not allowed at Esulalu's Ehugna's. Elinkine's Ehugna, like most of its shrines, are no longer used. The village is now predominantly Christian or Muslim. Interviews with Jean-Baptiste Chaim, Elinkine, 5/11/78 and 6/20/78. Interview with Dyaye Babu Faye, Elinkine, 12/6/78.
who were ostracized for criminal acts or social offenses, also settled at Elinkine, thereby contributing to the diversity of ethnic groups and religions. Eventually, Elinkine had its own Bukut and Cabai as well as the family shrine of Hupila and Kouhoulong. It also had a rain shrine associated with the priest king, Cayinte. It was the priests of Diola religion who provided the village’s primary spiritual leadership. No missionaries worked at Elinkine until 1880, nor was there a permanent missionary presence at neighboring Carabane. While marabouts may have visited Elinkine, it did not become an Islamic center.

From its beginnings, Elinkine considered itself an extension of British settlement along the Gambia, even though it had been established by a group of Wolof, Serer, and Aku traders, and was not an officially recognized settlement. Aware of Britain's lack of interest in Elinkine, Bertrand-Bocandé negotiated a treaty with Samatit and formally annexed the settlement in 1851. Nevertheless, the people of Elinkine maintained their close ties to the Gambia. They also developed closer ties to the Diola

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60 Interviews with Dyaye Babu Faye, Elinkine, 12/6/78; Jean-Baptiste Chaim and Joseph N'diaye, Elinkine, 5/11/78; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 5/19/78.

61 Interviews with Dyaye Babu Faye, Elinkine, 6/20/78 and 12/6/78; Jean-Baptiste Chaim, Elinkine, 6/20/78.

62 "Bertrand-Bocandé à M. le Commandant Particulier de Gorée", March 28, 1851, ANS 13G 455. French colonial officials continued to complain about this "English hamlet" at least until 1890. In 1887, the people of Elinkine invited Wesleyan missionaries to establish a mission school whose language of instruction was English. It was shut down after protests by Holy Ghost Fathers because it was not Catholic and by French officials because of its use of English. "Journal du Père Kieffer", 1890, PSE, 17. There are numerous other examples of complaints about English influence between 1850 and 1890. Despite Elinkine's persistence in maintaining their ties to the English, the Colonial Office refused to protect them from the French. Quinn, Mandingo, p. 145. "Rapport sur l'exploration dans le Marigot de Cagnout par Gourlier (Second du Rubris),
religious community that surrounded them.

In 1850, there were three European affiliated settlements within forty kilometers of Esulalu, but no European power had sought direct control over the Esulalu townships. Minor land cessions had been made at Carabane and Elinkine but this had not led to interference in Esulalu's domestic affairs or to efforts to woo the Diola away from their religion. The townships of Esulalu perceived of themselves as independent communities and welcomed the French to the extent that they offered protection from raiders from the north shore of the Casamance as well as profitable trade.

Diola settlers at Carabane and Elinkine carried with them their own ritual forms and continued to adhere to their own religious beliefs. They accepted the skills of Muslim marabouts in searching out witches and in making gris-gris. Similarly, they accepted the claims of Carabane's Christians that crucifixes and saints medals offered a protective power, but in neither case, was there a substantial interest in converting to these new traditions. Christianity and Islam offered supplemental powers for the Diola to utilize in combating witchcraft, disease, and misfortune, but Diola religious beliefs themselves were not challenged. On the contrary, in the new settlements with their shortage of Christian and Muslim religious leaders, Diola established a number of shrines and welcomed the strangers to assist at their rituals, thereby increasing their own spiritual influence at Carabane and Elinkine.

1850" ANF Papiers Bayol, 185 Mi 2, #65.
During the period from 1850 until 1880, the French intensified their activities in the region with the objective of establishing a limited form of control over the Casamance. They hoped to exclude other European powers from the Casamance, secure Diola recognition of French sovereignty, and promote trade. By allowing the French annexation of Elinkine in 1851, the British demonstrated the limited nature of their interests in the region. The Portuguese tried to revive their influence through a diplomatic offensive in the area immediately around Ziguinchor, securing treaties with various African communities, but stopping about twenty-five kilometers east of Esulalú. Diola recognition of French sovereignty was achieved through a new series of treaties negotiated between 1850 and 1865, which established the rights of the colonial government to mediate inter-township disputes and disputes between Diola and non-Diola. At times these treaties were accompanied by a show of force, but the most vigorous resistance to the French came only when they sought to impose the more formal institution of colonial rule. As part of treaties negotiated with Diola townships that were close to navigable waterways, the French frequently included provisions for the cession of a small piece of land for the establishment of French traders. Generally these areas

63 Since the renewed Portuguese activity stopped short of Esulalú it will not be discussed here. See Roche, Conquête, p. 199-214.

64 The first systematic attempt to impose colonial rule lasted from 1880 until 1914 and resulted in armed resistance by many Diola communities. The religious dimensions of this struggle will be examined in a subsequent study. For a discussion of Diola resistance, see Roche, Conquête, p. 180-187, 267-294. The area around Ziguinchor was ceded to France in 1886.
were not inhabited because of the frequency of raids from Djougoutes and Karones, across the river from Esulalu. During this period there were no attempts to spread Christianity within Esulalu, though French Protestants and Catholics did establish missions at Sedhiou in the middle Casamance region.\footnote{In the 1860’s, French Protestant missionaries affiliated with the Paris Evangelical Society operated a mission at Sedhiou. It closed in 1867 and did not work in the Esulalu area. A Catholic mission opened at Sedhiou in 1876. See Jean Faure, "Histoire de la Mission Evangelique au Sénégal, 1862-1914", Société des Missions Evangeliques de Paris.}

The first Esulalu community to feel the effects of France’s new regional objectives was Kagnout, which owned the island of Carabane. During the period from 1837 to 1850, Kagnout sold Carabane traders rice, salt, and other goods but resented the authoritarian ways of the Baudins and other Gorée merchants. As Carabane grew, they also felt pressure from the French to cede a small portion of the island that they had retained, Djibamuh, which included a sacred forest with a shrine of the same name that was said to be one of the most powerful at Kagnout.\footnote{On the shrine of Djibamuh, see Interviews with Hilaire Djibune, Kagnout-Ebrouwaye, 7/11/78, 10/28/78; Bernard Ellibah Sembou, Kagnout-Ebrouwaye, 6/28/78, 10/13/78. On French trade at Kagnout, see: "Correspondances échangées entre le Commandant de Carabane et le Commandant Particulier de Gorée", 1839-1859 and 1861-1864. ANS 13G 455, passim.} In 1850, some of the Baudin family’s slaves were beaten while trading at Kagnout. That same year, cattle raiders from Kagnout came and stole Bertrand-Bocandé’s three head of cattle. Bertrand-Bocandé went to Kagnout and demanded compensation:
...they offered me an indemnity worth less than half the value of the cattle. I refused. Since they had resold the cattle and told me to go and find them where they were sold, I responded that I wanted the same satisfaction that they require of themselves, when one has stolen: Following the customs of the Floup country, the rice paddies of the thieves are sold to indemnify the person who was robbed: ...

The punishment described by Bertrand-Bocandé, selling a thief's rice paddies, was usually imposed by the elders of Hutendookai, the town council shrine. However, it was not imposed on raiders against other townships. Negotiations over Kagnout's payment of an indemnity broke down in an atmosphere of increasing hostility. According to Bertrand-Bocandé, Kagnout considered the possibility of attacking Carabane:

All of Kagnout was assembled when I was writing to you, and deliberated, while drinking a large quantity of palm wine, to learn whether they should attack us or not; I do not know yet the response of the fetishes that they consulted, but I organized a national guard commanded by the leading inhabitants.

At least one of the spirit shrines consulted was Cabai, a shrine associated with the conduct of war, whose assent was considered essential to their success in battle and on whose premises military plans were often

67 "É. Bertrand-Bocandé à M. le Commandant Particulier de l'Ile de Gorée", Carabane, October 4, 1850, ANS 130 455. It should be noted that cattle raiding was a very common activity of young Diola men against hostile communities and was particularly common between Esululu and Huluf.

68 Ibid. According to the Governor of Senegal, the elders of Kagnout agreed to pay an indemnity of ten times the worth of the livestock, but claimed that they needed a delay of one month in order to pay. This was refused by Bertrand-Bocandé. Then Kagnout renounced the agreement and said that they had made it only out of fear. "Gouverneur de Sénégal et Dépendences au Monsieur le Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies", January 8, 1851, ANOM, Sénégal I, Dossier 37.
made. The palm wine was said to have a soul whose power was used to
summon the spirits to the shrine, give force to their prayers, and bind
the community to its decisions. Whether Kagnout decided to attack
Carabane or not remains unclear.

In November, Bertrand-Bocandé requested substantial reinforcements
and enlisted the assistance of the Gambians at Ekinkine and the Diola of
Summit and Mloomp, both of which were involved in disputes over rice
paddies with Kagnout. The firm response of the French led to renewed
negotiations. Kagnout offered Bertrand-Bocandé thirty-one bushels of
rice: "they assured me at the same time that they wished to live in peace
with us and were ready to perform the religious ceremony that, following
local custom should ratify all treaties." The payment was accepted, but
was held to be incomplete.

In March, 1851, Captain Penaud led an expedition of four ships and
several hundred men in an attack on Kagnout. Kagnout was subjected to a
naval bombardment and then set afire. French soldiers led away 120 cattle
and killed many additional livestock. The bombardment, which shattered
silk cotton trees, is vividly remembered in Kagnout. It served as a stern

69 E. Bertrand-Bocandé au Commandant du poste de Sedhiou", Carabane,
October 6, 1850, ANS 13G 361. Lettre de Capitaine de 'Rubis de Perulo",
November 16, 1850, ANS 13G 361.

70 Diola estimated the value of one head of cattle at 20 bushels of
rice. Thus the payment represented only 1/2 the value of the stolen
cattle and did not include an indemnity. "E. Bertrand-Bocandé à M. le
Commandant Particulier de Gorée", Carabene, February 11, 1851. ANS 13G
455.
The leaders of Kagnout were summoned to Elinkine and obliged to sign a treaty surrendering their rights to rent from Carabane and transferring all rights to the island, including the sacred forest of Djibamuh, to French ownership. Four elders of Kagnout signed the treaty: Badicomea, the priest-king; Awa and Foumben, both described as chiefs; and Atabougaye, described as the owner of Djibamuh and presumably the priest or one of the other elders of its shrine. French sovereignty and the right of French officials to mediate inter-township disputes were recognized. Following the treaty signing, ritual libations were offered to an unspecified spirit shrine at Elinkine and then, at a later date, at a shrine at Kagnout. Bertrand-Bocand assisted at both rituals:

They gave drink to what they call the bakine, but it was not accompanied by all the customary prayers to hold those who violate the treaties and it is the custom to go perform the same ceremony at their home. I will have it done in full detail, because if fear stops public crimes, superstition can prevent crimes that they think remain secret.

However this attack on Kagnout is usually described as the first visit of the French to Kagnout and, in one case is attributed to Louis Faidherbe. Interviews with Dikankoulou Sambou, Eina Sambou, and Amangbana Diatta, Kagnout, 6/26/78; Djisambowey Assin, Kagnout-Bruhinban, 12/2/78. "E. Bertrand-Bocandé à Monsieur le Commandant Particulier de Gorée", Carabane, March 28, 1851, ANS 13G 455. Roche, Conquête, p. 99. According to Fallot, Kagnout repulsed the French twice, causing them to use artillery before launching a successful third assault. Ernest Fallot, Histoire de la Colonie Française du Sénégal, Paris: Challamel Aîné, 1894, p. 92.

"Traité conclu le 25 mars, 1852 avec les chefs de Cagnut", ANOM, Traités, Carton II, 253.

"E. Bertrand-Bocandé à Monsieur le Commandant Particulier de Gorée", Carabane, March 28, 1851, ANS 13 G 455.
In another situation Bertrand-Bocandé provides a more detailed account of a rite sanctifying a treaty he negotiated between two Diola townships, Thionk Essil and Itou:

Afterwards, following the customs of the religion of these two peoples, in order to ratify the peace, as pledged a steer was offered in sacrifice in front of the Residence of Carabane, and watered with libations of palm wine, following all ceremonies in practice in this country, on the entrails of the victim, the two peoples swore while raising the beverage of alliance, in their name and in the name of their fellow citizens, to maintain a perpetual peace between them, calling all the heavenly curses against any individual of one or the other people, against his family and against his countrymen, who commits any acts against this sworn treaty.  

Bertrand-Bocandé does not reveal whether his own "national guard" and the citizens of Carabane, whose belief in witches he had attacked as superstitious, would feel bound to respect the citizens of Kagnout for the same reasons.

While the destruction of the naval bombardment is remembered by Kagnout's historians, they focus their accounts less on their defeat and more on the creation of the office of village chief. This was a position created and filled by the French to serve as an intermediary between the

74 E. Bertrand-Bocandé, "Traité de Paix entre le Village de Ytou et le Village de Kion par le mediation du Resident Francais à Carabane," June 9, 1853. ANS 13G 4. It is interesting to note the difference in tone used by Bertrand-Bocandé in describing this peace treaty when writing for the government, as cited above, and for the general public in "Carabane et Sedhiou" (p. 406). Suddenly the one sacrificed steer is transformed into many and such exotic practices as mixing steer's blood, gunpowder, brandy, and other ingredients with palm wine for the libations of alliance are added to the account.
colonial authorities and the Diola. Though his name does not appear on the 1851 treaty, a man named Simendow Sambou was the first chief at Kagnout. In each of Kagnout’s accounts, Simendow was alone fishing or gathering shellfish when the French came upon him and asked him to show them the route through the mangrove swamps to Kagnout. Despite his fear, or perhaps because of it, Simendow led them to his township. As a reward for his services he received a red shirt and cap as well as a pair of baggy pants (chaya). He was also given some tobacco and alcohol to provide as gifts to the township or to sell. They also appointed him as township chief and told him that the French would return in a few days. When they did, Simendow went to the premises of his Hupila shrine, dressed himself in the clothes he had received, and then appeared before the French. They greeted him as a friend and announced to the township that he was their chief. It is apparent from these accounts that the French imposed a chief rather than allowing the township to elect one. Their choice was a wealthy man, able to finish a Hupila Hudjenk, with all its elaborate sacrifices, from a family which controls several shrines associated with the priest-king. Simendow was clearly a man who was influential in the religious and economic life of the community.

75 "Calendrier des Evenements Historique de village de Cagnout Bouhinbanе" "Calendrier des Evenements Historiques de village de Cagnout Houyaha", ASILO.

76 Interviews with Djisamboway Assin, Kagnout-Bruhinban, 12/2/78; Djikankoulan Sambou, Kagnout-Ebrouwaye, 8/26/78; Terence Galandiou Biouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebarkine, 2/19/78; Michel Anjou Manga, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/2/78. Michel Manga identifies him incorrectly as Kasine Kulet who was chief during the early twentieth century.

77 Only a "finished" Hupila would have a separate house for the shrine. Partially finished or older forms of Hupila would be attached to the home and would not have separate premises.
Simendow's role in the 1851 French attack or in the furtherance of French authority at Kagnout remains unclear.

Kagnout was the only Esulalu township that was attacked by French forces. Its devastation instilled a deep reluctance to directly challenge French initiatives in the region. On the same day in 1851 that Kagnout signed its treaty, Samatit also signed a treaty with the French. The treaty was signed with "the goal of strengthening the friendship that has existed for a long time between the French and the inhabitants of Samatit," and established French rights over the Anglo-Gambian settlement at Elinkine.\(^7^8\)

Initially Kadjinol, like Samatit, had friendly relations with the French. Men from Carabane and Elinkine had occasionally traded at Kadjinol. In 1854, a community leader at Kadjinol, called Heêk by the French and Haieheck by the Diola, invited Bertrand-Bocandé to Kadjinol to discuss the establishment of a trading post along the Kadjinol Bolon at a place called Djeromait. Bertrand-Bocandé only accepted the invitation when he learned that a trader affiliated with the English had established himself at the site.\(^7^9\) In 1860, Haieheck signed a treaty with the French ceding a small piece of land at Djeromait. Haieheck was described as the


\(^7^9\) "E. Bertrand-Bocandé à Monsieur le Commandant de Gorée et Dépendences" Carabane, May 29, 1855, ANS 13G 455. The relationship between the settlement of Djeromait and Kadjinol will be discussed below.
principal chief of Kadjinol. It appears that Kadjinol signed the treaty in order to secure French protection against raiders from Djougoutes and Karones.80 In this case, unlike that of Kagnout, a recognized community leader served as the first chief. His position was based on his wealth and his control of a large number of the most important spirit shrines, including Hoohaney, Cabai, and a group of blacksmith shrines.81

Perhaps it was Haieheck’s influence at Kadjinol or his role in an attack by several of Kadjinol’s quarters against the quarter called Sergerh that prevented Haieheck from remaining as village chief. In colonial records, a man named Simembo Sambou of Sergerh was described as Kadjinol’s first chief. He summoned the French to protect his quarter against an attack by the Kafone and Kagnao quarters. The French resident came, stopped the fighting, and presented Simembo with a French flag, symbolic of his office.82 He was also noted for his wealth and religious


81 He is remembered for his wealth in slaves, cattle and rice paddies as well as his control of a major Hupila, Hoohaney, and Cabai. Interviews with Antoine Houmandriessah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/1/76, 11/28/77, 2/8/78; Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/76, 2/10/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/15/78; Sinyendikaw Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/1/77. Haieheck is also credited with the introduction of a major new shrine called Gilaites. See Chapter Five.

82 This transfer of authority occurred sometime between 1865 and 1880. Simembo Sambou was still chief in 1880. Interviews with Attabadiolnti Diatta, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/13/76, 5/8/78; Eddi Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/11/76; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 6/6/78; Sihendoo Manga, Kadjinol-Kafone, and Pierre Marie Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/15/78.
influence. "The case of the nomination of Simembo Sambou as village chief was favored by his great riches, his physical strength, and the respect which he received from his village. He directed one of the major fetishes (Hoohaney)."83 Hoohaney was a shrine of the elders associated with the initiation of men into the funeral societies. Only wealthy men could afford the initiation rites into the group of elders of the shrine. However, Simembo's religious influence was not as great as that of Haieheck who also was an elder of Hoohaney but who controlled several other major shrines and had introduced several new ones.

The benefits of French protection and trade were not sufficient to stem a growing suspicion of French ambitions at Kadjinol and Djeromait. In the 1860's, Kadjinol refused to cultivate cotton and peanuts as required by French officials. Furthermore, they refused to allow the traders at Djeromait to do so. Following their refusal, the Commandant at Sedhiou complained about their increasing distrust: "The Yola [Diola] only will begin cultivation [of peanuts] with difficulty, and will allow the establishment of strangers among him with even greater difficulty; he fears that he will be chased from his country and believes that we would like to remove him... their idea, their certitude in their country [is] that our only goal is to make ourselves masters of their country."84

While the French were initially welcomed by Kadjinol to protect them from

83 "Calendrier des Evenements Historique du Village de Cadjinolle-Kagnao", ASPLO. For a discussion of Hoohaney, see Chapters Three and Four.

84 "Rapport Politique, Agricole et Commercial sur la Casamance", 1867. ANS 13G 368. See also "Rapport de la Tournée faite dans le marigot à Kadjinol, 21 mars, 1865", ANS 13G 440.
According to the archaeological record, the local population engaged in various activities. The tablets reveal that the villagers cultivated crops, engaged in trade, and built structures. This evidence points to a self-sufficient community. The tablets also demonstrate that the villagers maintained contact with other communities, possibly through trade or alliances. Over time, these interactions led to shifts in settlement patterns and the adoption of new practices. The historical context of the region suggests that such changes were part of broader regional developments.
me to create an agricultural establishment if my work and commercial
interests conform to this type of exploitation.\(^\text{86}\)

Eager to prevent continuing raids by Djougoutes and Karones, Mlomp
welcomed the establishment of a trading post while reserving their rights
to fish and harvest palm wine there. In 1860, France formally annexed
Pointe Saint-Georges and signed a treaty with Mlomp confirming this
acquisition.\(^\text{87}\)

During the period of treaty making with the various Diola communities
of the lower Casamance, French regional aims remained limited to the
extension of their sovereignty, the encouragement of trade, and the
establishment of peace in the area. While their efforts to encourage
peanut and cotton production stirred up some resistance in Esulalu,
generally these communities were left to govern themselves. During the
period before 1880 there was no sense of French occupation, only a sense
of more frequent French initiatives. These included attempts to persuade
or compel the sale of cattle to Carabane, interventions to stop intra-

\(^{\text{86}}\) E. Bertrand-Bocandé à Monsieur le Commandant Particulier à Gorée”,
1855, ANS 13G 455. Djougoutes and Karones' raids did not stop with the
establishment of a trading post. In 1857, the post itself was attacked by
raiders from Djougoutes. Several people, including the French agent were
killed, and others were carried off to be sold as slaves to the Mandinka.
A French show of force was necessary before the captives were returned.
See "Rapport du Bertrand-Bocandé" ANS 2D5 7, op. cit. "Rapport", Carabane,
October 2, 1857, ANS 13G 455. In 1860, Pinet-Laprade attacked Karones and
Thionk Essil in retaliation for their attacks on "our nationality and
allies". Annales Sénégalaises de 1854-1885, Paris: Maisonneuve Frères,
1888, p. 215.

\(^{\text{87}}\) "Traité de Jicocomo", April 6, 1860, ANS 13G 4. The relationship
between Mlomp and Pointe Saint Georges will be discussed later. Eloudia,
which does not border a major channel of the Casamance River, did not sign
a treaty with France or develop extensive contacts before 1880.
Diola wars, and sporadic attempts to collect a tax in rice.\textsuperscript{88}

One announced goal of French expansion in the Casamance, the abolition of the slave trade, would have had far reaching consequences had it been consistently enforced. While French intervention in intra-Diola wars did reduce the number of captives, Diola continued to keep slaves as well as sell them. Mandinka and Wolof traders purchased captives from the Diola and sold them as slaves in Mandinka dominated areas of the interior of Futa Jalon. In 1860, Bertrand-Bocandé announced that: "The extension of French influence should little by little put an end to a system of exchange for cloth, cattle, and even gris-gris to sell them in the Gambia."\textsuperscript{89} However, five years before, Bertrand-Bocandé himself was accused of keeping slaves. French officials found that "these captives were no longer his property, but those of a woman who lives with him at Carabane", Dominga Lopez, a Luso-African he met at Ziguinchor.\textsuperscript{90} French authorities permitted the export of slaves, sometimes referred to as

\textsuperscript{88} On French attempts to persuade and/or force the Diola to sell cattle to French traders, see Moniteur de Sénégal, August 9, 1859, ANS 13G 300. "Expedition de la Basse Casamance par Pinet-Laprade, 1860, ANS ID 16. On French efforts to maintain the peace, see Francis Snyder, "L'évolution de Droit Foncier Diola de Basse Casamance (République du Sénégal)" Ph.D. Dissertation, Sorbonne, Paris, p. 391. "Traité de Paix entre le Village de Ytou et le Village de Kion par le médiation du Resident Français à Carabane", June 5, 1863, ANS 13G 4. Interviews with Antoine Houmandriassah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/28/77; Hassouka Elders, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 6/28/75. Efforts to collect rice were sporadic. Within Esulalu only Blinkine and Carabane were paying taxes regularly during this period. Roche, Conquête, p. 182.


\textsuperscript{90} "Procureur Imperial, Ch. De Roboeuf à Monsieur le Commandant", December 7, 1855. ANS 13G 455.
volunteers or indentured workers (engagé à temps), until the 1860's. Slaves were also redeemed for service in the Senegalese army. Carabane was one center of this last stage of the Atlantic slave trade.\footnote{Leary, "Islam", p. 82-83. Interview with Jean Baptiste Manga, Kagnout, 11/23/77. Philip Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969. Renault, Liberation, p. 14, 176-177. Roche, Conquête, p. 88-89. That Diola were among those seized (and freed by the British anti-slavery squadrons) can be documented through Koelle's linguistic analysis of liberated captives in Sierra Leone. See Philip Curtin and Jan Vansina, "Sources of the Nineteenth Century Atlantic Slave Trade", Journal of African History, V. 2 1964, p. 185-208.}


As small trader activity increased they sought to establish permanent settlements, closer to their trading areas than Carabane and with some room to farm and to establish households. This led to the creation of several small villages, dominated by these traders, on lands given them by the Esulalu townships. These villages are referred to by Esulalu as "stranger" villages because they were outsiders who settled on land that was given them by those who were born there. Elinkine, whose founding has already been discussed, was the first of these villages. Beginning in the 1850's, it was followed by Pointe St. Georges (or Punta), Djeromait,
93 All but the first of these were founded by Muslim traders.

The stranger village of Pointe St. Georges was established by Bertrand-Bocandé and his mistress, Dominga Lopez, in the mid 1850's. Bertrand-Bocandé regarded Punta as an ideal site for a trading post with ready access to the major population centers of the Diola and with adequate land for some agricultural activity. Due in part to the support of the French resident and his obligation to spend much of his time at Carabane, Dominga Lopez became the chief of Pointe St. Georges, a leadership role that she retained at least until 1886. She was a Luso-African Christian whom Bertrand-Bocandé had met in Ziguinchor before becoming Carabane's resident. According to Captain H. Brosselard-Faidherbe, she lived in a two story European style house with a large porch where she received visitors. Current residents of Punta often describe the beginnings of their community as a time when "women commanded" the village and its land.

93 The stranger village of Badjigy was not founded until after 1900. The stranger village of Santiaba, population 50, will not be discussed because its history is quite similar to Loudia-Ouloff, Efissao, and Sam Sam. Carabane and Ziguinchor are not considered "stranger villages". They are "essouk ehloumo", "places of Europeans" since Europeans or their Euro-African agents governed them.


95 She is remembered in oral accounts as Pontavina, a name which refers to Punta. Interview with Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Sbanke, 10/20/77. Edouard Sagna and Ramon Diatta, both of Punta, describe the founding of Pointe Saint Georges by a man from Carabane and his wife, though neither of them was ethnically identified. Interview, Punta, 12/18/78. "Copie d'une lettre le M. le Commandant de Carabane adressé M. le Commandant du Cercle de Sedhiou", Carabane. Jan. 22,
Under the leadership of Dominga Lopez, Punta became a small, but prosperous community whose traders purchased goods throughout the lower Casamance. However, it was highly vulnerable to attacks from Djougoutes, Karones, and Esulalu. In 1857, Thionk Essil, the largest Djougoutes township, attacked Punta, killed four people and carried off seventeen women and children, including Dominga Lopez and her son Emmanuel Bocandé. The captives were taken to Thionk Essil to be ransomed or sold. The French trader, Alexis Huchard, ransomed all the captives, including his own wife, returned them to Punta, and then recommended to the acting resident, J.H. Boudeny, that the French attack Thionk Essil. Boudeny recommended such an action in a letter to the French commandant of Gorée. There were also periodic disputes with Mlomp over fishing and palm wine harvesting rights, as well as land disputes.


96 Vallon, p. 464, 471-172. Interview with Edouard Sagna and Rason Diatta, Poite St. Georges, 12/18/78. Letters of J.H. Boudeny to Commandant of Gorée, 1857, passim. ANS 13G 455. Boudeny complains of the great embarrassment to French authority brought on by the necessity of ransoming the people of Punta: "It was necessary to pay enormous ransoms, thus that of Dominga Lopez was raised to a sum of over 500 francs because she is the wife of the Commandant of the Casamance." "J.H. Boudeny à M. le Commandant de Gorée", Carabane, July 20, 1858, ANS 13G 455. It was this incident that provoked Pinet-Laprade’s 1860 attack against Thionk Essil and Karones. Charles Albinet, "Moeurs et Coutumes des Diolas", Memoire de l'Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre Mer, Paris, 1945-1946.

by French and Luso-African traders, Pointe St. Georges attracted some Diola settlers, mostly from Djougoutes, as well as a few Mandjak, Wolof, and Mandinka.  

Founded by French and Luso-African traders, the people of Punta identified with European culture and Christian religion. Like most Casamance Christians before the opening of the Carabane mission in 1880, the people of Pointe St. Georges had only the rarest of opportunities to receive the sacraments or religious instruction by priests. In 1881, Father Kieffer visited Pointe St. Georges and was dismayed by the state of the Christians there:

At Pointe St. Georges, there is a small population, mostly Portuguese with some Diolas. It is baptized but not instructed. All of the religion of these poor people consists of wearing around the neck either a crucifix or a large medal of Saint Anthony. This suffices for them then to be, they say, in the religion of the good Lord.

The children, after having been baptized, grow up in religious ignorance. It finishes by no longer recognizing anything other than their razza or prayer for the dead. On November 2, they spend the entire night in orgies and chants of "Our Father" and "Hail Mary" in Portuguese.


99 Father Kieffer, Bulletin de la Congregation, V. XIII, #167-1, 1883-1885, p. 709, PSE. Father Gabriel Sene notes the enthusiasm with which people flocked to church once one opened. Ibid., p. 710.
Here one finds the same note of disdain for Luso-African Christianity as Brooks described among Portuguese clerics visiting Bissau and Bolama. Pointe St. Georges' Christianity stressed the relationship between the living and the dead (ancestors), and the living and the community. The emphasis on Saint Anthony of Padua stemmed from his importance as the patron saint of Lisbon and his association with healing.\textsuperscript{100}

Pointe St. Georges also had a small number of spirit shrines of Diola origin. The villagers' emphasis on the Luso-African \textit{razza} ritual on All Souls' Day together with their lack of long term ties to the community discouraged the growth of spirit shrines associated with the lineage, household (Hupila), or the dead (Kouhouloung). The spirit shrines at Pointe St. Georges tended to be community wide and gave unusual prominence to women. Probably the oldest shrine was the women's fertility shrine of Ehugna. Punta also practiced the male circumcision rite associated with Bukut, for which they joined together with the village of Djeromait.\textsuperscript{101} Bukut was the only shrine that was exclusively for men. Depah was a "shrine of the entire community" which both men and women attended. It had been brought from the Djougoutes community of Elena. Rituals were performed there whenever there was a community need but always just before the beginning of the rainy season. At that time rice cakes were made and

\textsuperscript{100} None of these emphases were uniquely African, but were also common in rural Portugal. See Brooks, "Observance", passim.

\textsuperscript{101} Pointe St. Georges' Ehugna is still used 3 or 4 times a year. It was probably brought from Carabane. Bukut is no longer used. Interviews with Edouard Sagna and Ramon Diatta, Pointe St. Georges, 12/18/78; Paul Diatta, Pointe St. Georges, 12/18/78. Interview with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/8/78.
offered at the shrine while prayers for rain were recited. Hutoompaye was also a shrine for men and women and concerned itself with community wide problems. For serious community problems rituals were performed at both Depak and Hutoompaye.102

While Pointe St. Georges was initially dominated by a Luso-African community, Diola ritual and beliefs became an important part of village religion. Shrines were introduced to fulfill needs that were not met by the limited contacts with Christian clergy and their limited knowledge of Christian beliefs. Diola shrines were not accepted where their power was associated with problems that the Luso-African, Christian rituals addressed satisfactorily. Thus, Diola shrines of the dead and the hearth did not displace the All Souls’ celebration, the razza. Pointe St. Georges also became an important source of Christian influences within Esulalu and other Diola regions, familiarizing the Diola with basic Christian teachings and symbolism as well as establishing a pattern of peaceful interaction of the two religious systems prior to the advent of missionary activity.

Like Pointe Saint-Georges, the stranger village of Djeromait was founded upon the initiative of the French at Carabane. However, it was founded by Muslim Serer, Wolof, and Mandinka traders. Kadjinol allowed these traders to establish a village because it was situated on a primary raiding route against Kadjinol’s rice farmers working in the rice paddies east of the township. It was hoped that the traders’ presence would scare

102 Both shrines are still used. Paul Diatta is their priest. Interview with Paul Diatta, Jacques Lopi, and Mother Victoire Ehemba, op. cit. Interview with Ramon Diatta, Pointe St. Georges, 12/8/78.
off the raiders from Djougoutes and at least provide them with a well armed ally.\textsuperscript{102} Djeromait was not given land to farm, but was lent a limited number of rice paddies by friends at Kadjinol.\textsuperscript{104}

The first chief of Djeromait, Mangoy Djiba, was not only a prosperous trader, he was also a marabout. While he may have tried to spread the teachings of Islam to Kadjinol, there was little interest in conversion. This would have required a rejection of Diola religion. However, Kadjinol's inhabitants expressed considerable interest in Mangoy's gris-gris, charms filled with words from the Koran, placed in goat's horns or small leather purses, that could provide additional protection against injury or misfortune. Mangoy was said to have gris-gris that protected him from bullets and knives. The making of such gris-gris was not only a source of considerable income but it also inspired fear among Kadjinol's Diola.\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{102} Djeromait was founded by the Djiba and Diouf families. Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/27/78, 4/4/78, 5/23/78; Sillungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 11/15/77; Kuadadge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/9/76; Grégoire Djikune, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 11/27/77, 7/23/78. Jacques Lopi, Djeromait, 11/1/77, 7/14/78. "Calendrier des Evenements Historiques de Village de Djeromait", ASPLO. This protection was not always sufficient. In 1857, raiders from Thionk Essil attacked Djeromait as well as Pointe St. Georges. Salum Cesay, Bertrand-Bocandé's agent at Djeromait, was wounded and several captives were taken. "Baudeny à Monsieur le Commandant Gorée", Carabane, October 8, 1857, ANS 13G 455.

\textsuperscript{104} Interviews with Djangi Diatta and Sebeoloute Diatta, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 8/1/76; Grégoire Djikune, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 7/23/78; Emmanuel Corryen, Djeromait, 7/21/76.

\textsuperscript{105} The first chief of Djeromait, according to local archives, was Aboune Diba. This most probably does not include the earliest chiefs. "Djeromait", ASPLO. Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/4/78; Soolai Diatta and Jacques Lopi, Djeromait, 1/5/79. "L'administrateur de la Basses Casamance à Monsieur le Gouverneur de Sénégal", 1889 ANS 13G 464.
In the 1870's, a second group of strangers settled at Djeromait, a group of Mandjak, Papel and Ediamat Diola from the south. Initially this new group settled in a separate area called Sitotok, but they were integrated into the village of Djeromait when they helped the earlier settlers repel an attack from a large Diola community called Seleki. These settlers had some familiarity with Luso-African Christianity, but also brought several of their own spirit shrines with them. One of these was Casine, "the horn", a shrine of Mandjak origin, which served a similar function as Hupila among the Diola. It is located in the home and has a series of stuffed horns on its shrine. Its priests are seized with an illness that drives them temporarily insane. Both men and women may be seized by this shrine. A second Mandjak shrine, Kameme, was brought by Pasena Lopi when he settled at Djeromait. It too is a shrine for both men and women. Prayer can be offered at this shrine for a variety of community and individual problems. Kameme is located in a small hut and consists of a series of small horns stuck in the ground, open on top to receive palm wine libations. A Mandjak form of the women's fertility shrine of Ehugna was also established at Djeromait. The Diola

106 Interviews with Jacques Lopi, Djeromait, 7/14/78; Jacques Lopi and Soolai Diatta, Djeromait, 1/5/79. The two villages were joined well before 1889 when the French established a customs post at Djeromait. "Monographie du Cercle", 1911, ANS IG 343. Jacques Lopi's grandfather fled to Djeromait to avoid becoming priest-king of a Mandjak community in present day Guinea-Bissau.

107 Prayers are offered at Djeromait's Kameme in Portuguese Creole, Wolof, Diola and Mandjak. This reflects Djeromait's diverse origins. Interviews with Jacques Lopi and Soolai Diatta, Djeromait, 1/5/79; Jacques Lopi, Djeromait, 11/1/77, 7/14/78; Jean Coly, Djeromait, 4/17/78. Personal observations of Kameme ritual, 1/5/79.
circumcision shrine of Bukut was established nearby, at the former site of Kadjinol's circumcision forest, Kapy. Kameme, Ehugne, and Bukut attracted Muslim participation along with non-Muslims, though the former abstained from drinking the palm wine that accompanied the rituals.108 Such religious cooperation between Muslim, Mandjak, and Diola may have been facilitated by the frequency of inter-marriage between the three communities, the persistence of women's cults like Ehugne within a Muslim environment, and a shared belief in the importance of male circumcision and initiation, as represented by Bukut.109

The stranger village of Loudia-Ouloff was founded by Wolof traders from the Djollof area of northern Senegal. A group of men including Aliou Diop, Moussa Seck, and Abdoulaye Suare, asked Eloudia for a small piece of land. After an initial refusal, Eloudia's elders allowed them to settle. Fear of cattle raiders from Huluf as well as a fear that these well armed traders might just seize the land contributed to their decision. Both Aliou Diop and Moussa Seck married Diola women and were lent some farm land by their wives' relations. The community also supported itself through trade and through the sale of muskets manufactured by its own blacksmiths.110

108 Interviews with Jean Coly, Djeromait, 4/17/78; Martha Corryea and Jacques Lopi, Djeromait, 1/5/79.

109 The persistence of women's cults in Muslim communities has attracted substantial interest among Islamicists. See: Mary Smith, Baba of Karo, passim. Margaret Strobel, Muslim Women in Mombasa, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979, p. 78-80. Ortigues, Oedipe, p. 151. I have avoided discussion of Christians at Djeromait since they did not become a substantial influence until after missionary work was instituted in the 1880's.

110 Initially these Wolof settlers did not know how to cultivate rice. They raised peanuts and millet. Their wives and in-laws instructed them in rice agriculture. Interviews with Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/19/78; Babackar Manga, Loudia-Ouloff (though born at Eloudia), 6/12/78
Loudia-Ouloff was founded by Muslims, but, unlike Elinkine and Djeromait, it did not allow the establishment of Diola spirit shrines within the community. Both Aliou Diop and Moussa Seck were marabouts and possessed a small library of Arabic manuscripts. They were members of the Tijanniya order and maintained close ties with other Tijani religious leaders in the region. The settlers at Loudia-Ouloff made little effort to convert their neighbors. While there were few male converts, Diola wives of Loudia-Ouloff's Muslims usually did embrace Islam. Diola visitors also sought out the marabouts to make gris-gris and medicines to protect them.\textsuperscript{111}

Despite the systematic exclusion of Diola cults from Loudia-Ouloff, there were certain ritual practices and beliefs that were shared by this community and the Esulalu townships. Like the Esulalu, the people of Loudia-Ouloff established a special forest for the circumcision of their youth. Men from the village insisted that there were no spirit shrines located there, only gris-gris to protect the boys during their ordeal. As in Bukut, women were strictly excluded from the forest and the boys were kept in seclusion for several months. During this time they learned many of the responsibilities of manhood that might be overlooked in traditional koranic education. The non-Diola origin of their circumcision ritual is

\textsuperscript{111} Interview with Babackar Manga, Loudia-Ouloff, 6/12/78; Bakary Dembo Cissoko, Loudia-Ouloff, 4/27/78; Ekusumben Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/20/78.
supported by the fact that circumcision rituals there were not done according to the ritually prescribed order of Diola Bukuts. However, they shared the Diola belief that a woman who entered the circumcision forest during initiation would die.\textsuperscript{112} Whether that belief, the special powers attributed to blacksmiths at Loudia-Ouloff, or other beliefs that seem to mirror those of Esulalu are of Diola origin remains unclear. However, their extensive intermarriage with Diola women could have become an effective if subtle source of Diola religious influences.

Efissao was founded by a group of Muslim Tukolor from Loudia-Ouloff, who wished to live closer to their millet and peanut fields. By 1868, they had gone to the elders of Kagnout’s quarter of Eyehow and asked for land. Like the Muslims of Loudia-Ouloff, they frequently married Diola women, but did not incorporate Diola shrines into their religious life. Their male circumcision rites did not involve a lengthy ritual seclusion like that of their neighbors; the initiates slept in their own homes.\textsuperscript{113}

The stranger village of Sam Sam was founded by Tukolor Muslims from Futa Toro. It was founded by men who had fought with Abdou N’diaye in wars in Portuguese Guinea and who had planned to attack the Diola villages of Esulalu. Discouraged by the size of Esulalu, they asked Samatit for

\textsuperscript{112} Interviews with Bakary Dembo Cissoko, Loudia-Ouloff, 4/27/78 and 11/12/78.

\textsuperscript{113} "Calendrier des Evenements Historiques de Fissao", ASPLO. Interviews with Constance Bassin, Efissao, 1/3/79; Sambouway Sambou, Kagnout-Eyehow and Efissao, 1/3/79. Group Discussion, Nyacinthe Dieddhiou, Attikelon Sambou, Thomas Sambou, Sambouway Sambou, Efissao, 5/9/78. In recent years, there has been a substantial movement of Diola from Kagnout and other Esulalu townships to Fissao. As a result there are now several spirit shrines there and it has a Diola majority.
some land on which to settle. Samatit agreed in order to avoid conflict with the warrior group and to enlist their aid against Djougoutes raiders. Initially Samatit was afraid of Sam Sam. The people of Sam Sam kept a considerable number of slaves and were well armed. The willingness of Sam Sam traders to sell cattle, guns, and knives to them eased Diola suspicions; friendships and even inter-marriage developed. Like Loudia-Ouloff, Sam Sam was dominated by the Tijanniyya order. Traditions persist that Al Hadji Umar Tal visited Sam Sam on his way to Diembering to visit a spirit. He is said to have created a spring at Sam Sam that never runs dry. While the tradition is probably untrue, it demonstrates the veneration that the people of Sam Sam maintain for Senegambia's most distinguished Tijani religious leader.  

While the Muslim communities within Esulalu's stranger villages have not been adequately studied, it appears that they can be divided into two groups, those affiliated with the Tijanniyya tariga and those that were not. Both groups frequently married Diola women, and increasingly used the Diola language. They differed substantially in their attitudes toward Diola traditional religion. In those communities with largely unaffiliated Muslim communities; Carabane, Elinkine, and Djeromait, Muslims accepted the creation of Diola spirit shrines and often participated in Diola religious rituals. Isolated from substantial Muslim communities, they allowed themselves to incorporate certain Diola

ritual forms and beliefs that helped them to explain and control their lives in these small villages, in a far more heavily forested environment, with different types of crops to plant and diseases to fight. In all these communities, Muslim women participated in rites associated with women’s fertility shrines. Muslim men joined their Diola neighbors in initiating their sons through Bukut, and frequently accepted the protective rituals of cults associated with fishing.

In the Tijanniyya dominated communities of Loudia-Ouloff, Efissao, and Sam Sam, Muslims overcome their isolation from more established Muslim communities and did not permit the introduction of Diola cults in their villages. The Tijani strangers felt a part of a vast movement of reform in West African Islam and looked to the examples of Al Haji Umar Tal and Ma Ba Diakhou as examples of religious leaders who resisted the common West African practice of tolerating traditional cults. While it is true that Loudia-Ouloff and Sam Sam did not attract substantial numbers of Diola settlers, at Efissao they did. Still traditional religion did not attract their Tijani neighbors.115

While Muslims in Esulalu differed sharply in their attitudes toward Diola religion, Esulalu Diola generally showed little interest in Islam as a religion. They were suspicious of the Muslim strangers in their midst. Islam's rejection of palm wine, as well as, at least among the Tijani's, their rejection of the spirit shrines themselves, did not encourage Diola conversion. Generally Muslims were given land to settle along major

raiding routes used by hostile neighbors. It was hoped that Muslim traders could supply them with guns as well as advance warning and military aid in the event of an attack. However, they were also aware of the attacks by Muslim leaders like Fodé Kabba and Fodé Silla against north shore Diola who were unsympathetic to Islam. They were also aware of the cooperation that existed between French and Muslim traders because of their common interest in commerce and the more prolonged familiarity of northern Senegalese with French colonial customs. Muslim traders were often used as interpreters and intermediaries between French and Diola. Such relations could be readily manipulated to the disadvantage of the Diola. The literacy of the marabouts and their ability to use the power of the word in gris-gris also frightened many people in Esulalu. This fear of Muslims was noted by the French resident at Carabane, F. Jalibert: "The natives fear these men; they do not dare expel them because they regard them as kind of henchmen of the devil, as all powerful, capable of dominating our [the French] will, of having us on their side, despite ourselves."

116 Interviews with Indrissa Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/78; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/30/76; Antoine Houmandrissah Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/7/76; Michel Anjou Manga, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/2/78; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 4/27/78, 10/21/78. Roche, Conquête, p. 132-138.


118 "F. Jalibert à Monsieur le Gouverneur du Sénégal," Carabane 1889, ANS 130 464. The resident at Carabane also complained about a Muslim interpreter at Carabane: "Birama Gueye is a stranger to the lower Casamance, who is from Cayor and not Diola, marabout and not fetishist, that is to say a marabout exploiter of the fetishist, exploiter of the naivete, the fears of the Diolas..." He was relieved of his duties.
During the first eight decades of the nineteenth century, the peoples of Esulalu witnessed the rapidly increasing penetration of French and other non-Diola influences within the lower Casamance. French officials negotiated land concessions, intervened in inter-township disputes, and worked to exclude other European powers. Traders associated with French commercial houses established smaller stranger villages on Esulalu territory and brought with them the religious traditions of Islam and Christianity. Still, neither the French nor the non-Diola traders sought to establish direct authority over the Esulalu townships. Village chiefs served primarily as liaisons with the French rather than as executors of a French colonial mandate. The stranger villages had to continue to ask for land rather than to take it. Despite the growing non-Diola presence, the people of Esulalu continued to perceive of themselves as independent communities who had allowed small groups of powerful allies to trade with them and assist them in repelling their enemies.

During this period of relative equality, the people of Esulalu were exposed in a more sustained way to the religious traditions of Christianity and Islam. While there was virtually no Christian missionary activity in Esulalu during this period and the Muslim traders did not actively proselytize, the people of Esulalu gained some direct experience of religious life within these traditions. However, in an era of continued Diola autonomy and freedom the people of Esulalu showed little interest in conversion to these religions. Rather, they were receptive to selective borrowing of ideas that could be incorporated into their own tradition. They were particularly interested in spiritual protection against injury in war or by accident and against disease. These were
major concerns of Diola, Christian, and Muslim alike. The people of Esulalu acquired saints’ medals and crucifixes and Muslim gris-gris. However, they were reluctant to abandon their own core beliefs, which continued to provide an effective explanation of the changing world experienced by the people of Esulalu.

Selective borrowing from other traditions was not restricted to the Diola. Christians and Muslims at Carabane, Elinkine, Pointe St. Georges, and Djeromait welcomed the introduction of Diola religious cults associated with male initiation, the procurement of rain, women’s fertility, and fishing. Whether these were people who actually abandoned their identification with Christianity or Islam remains unclear, but there were certainly strong Diola religious influences within religious life in most of the stranger villages. In these communities, Diola religion appeared to dominate, while certain Christian rites like the All Souls’ Day razza and the use of maraboutic divination to address a variety of problems, enriched community religious life. In the absence of a serious missionary challenge to their religion or a sustained assault on Diola autonomy, the religious traditions of Esulalu continued to flourish, taking root even at Carabane, the administrative center of the lower Casamance.
CHAPTER SIX

THE ELABORATION OF TRADITION: ESULALU RELIGION, 1800–1880
While the nineteenth century was a period of increasing interaction with Europeans and with African trading groups, with Christians and with Muslims, there was little direct Christian or Muslim influence within the Esulalu townships. The people of Esulalu limited their interest to the purchase of saints' medals and gris-gris to ensure good health, good luck or safety in war. When they settled in the stranger villages they carried their spirit shrines with them, often gaining the adherence of the strangers themselves. European trade goods provided more of an impetus for belief and value change than did Esulalu's still limited contact with Christianity and Islam. An increasing availability of cloth altered Esulalu's concepts of dress and sexual modesty. Trade guns and iron strengthened the economic position of Kadjinol's blacksmiths and contributed to their rise to ritual prominence.

Despite increasing anxieties about the ultimate aims of French colonial authorities at Carabane and continued warfare among various Diola groups, the people of Esulalu continued to rely on spirit shrines to strengthen them in war and peace. Despite economic changes brought on by the expanding availability of iron and muskets, Esulalu continued to maintain its structure of spirit shrine regulation of economic activities, while adapting to such changes through the creation of new shrines. The increasing availability of slaves created new problems of social stratification that had to be addressed. The increasing population growth and social mobility, raised serious questions about the efficacy of their shrines associated with curing diseases and combating witchcraft.
In this chapter I shall examine the social mores of nineteenth century Esulalu and the difficult problem of maintaining township unity in the face of frequent warfare, the expansion of slavery, and the growing frequency of witchcraft accusations. In the second section I shall examine the process through which new spirit shrines were introduced into Esulalu and how they attempted to address the new intensity of long standing problems within Esulalu community life.

The increasing frequency of European visitors to Diola communities during the nineteenth century provides more detailed accounts of Diola daily life and social mores than are available for earlier periods. Still, they are, more often than not, only brief glimpses from the outside looking in and unable to provide a sense of historical development on their own. Recent oral sources about nineteenth century Esulalu customs, while more aware of the intricacy of their society, tend to stress the contrast between the time when the informants were young and the period of their parents and grandparents, before the establishment of colonial rule and a Christian faction within Esulalu. Despite these limitations these sources can provide some indications of community social mores during this period.

Such accounts were often begun with a statement that it was a time before the Europeans came. Since small European settlements have been within 50 kilometers of Esulalu for 300 years, this can only refer to the establishment of French authority and the regular passage of colonial officials and missionaries through the region in the 1880’s.
Early nineteenth century visitors to the Casamance were struck by the sharp contrast between Diola styles of dress and the Sudanic styles that prevailed in northern Senegambia. In descriptions of the Diola there were no kaftans, cloth shirts or baggy trousers (chaya) that were so common among the Wolof of that period and the Diola in the twentieth century. Instead, clothes, for both men and women, consisted of a short apron covering the groin and buttocks. Women wore large quantities of copper jewelry and decorated their bodies with scar patterns and tattoos. In 1822, John Morgan, a Wesleyan missionary in the Gambia visited the Casamance and noted that Diola "are very near naked, men and women. Some have a narrow strip of cloth a little wider than your hand which is fashioned to a string round the middle and hangs down behind and before..."² In 1829, M. Perrotet, who visited Kagnout and Samatit, commented on the large quantities of copper bracelets and necklaces worn by Diola women.³ According to Esulalu informants, this was a time when cloth was in such short supply that wearing of pagnes wrapped around the hips was reserved for special occasions. Before cloth became readily available, people would make skirts from a type of palm frond called "badjak".⁴ Uncircumcized boys wore small loin cloths called "hupip",

² "Extract from John Morgan's Journal, August 17, 1822" in Wesleyan Mission Archives (WMA), Gambia Correspondence, 1821-1852, Box 293, File 1821 to 1837.


⁴ Interviews with Basayo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 11/29/77; Sihendoo Manga, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 10/25/78; Michel Amancha Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 1/28/79; Grégoire Diatta, Mlomp-Cadjifolong, 7/5/76. On the wearing of their pagnes for festivals, see Abbé Boilat, Esquisses Sénégalaises, Paris P. Bertrand, 1853, p. 431.
while young girls wore strings of beads or cowries called "epele sossou" (genital shame or modesty) or simply "basossou" (shame). Only after menarche did girls begin to wear the cloth apron. In the early nineteenth century sexual modesty appeared to focus on the covering of the genitalia and did not extend to thighs or breasts.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Diola women had abandoned the apron for the more extensive covering of the pagne. Father Wintz described Diola dress at the turn of the century:

The clothing that the Diola adult wears is very simple. A light cloth passed around the loins and between the legs makes up the clothing of the man. The woman wears that piece of cloth around her loins and lets it reach just to the knee. The children often wear nothing. Boys start to cover themselves after circumcision. Little girls around eight years of age, add a piece of cloth to the belt of fake pearls that they wear around their loins.

The increasing availability of cloth that accompanied the expansion of Esululu trade as well as increasing exposure to northern Senegambian styles of dress led to the adoption of the pagne, wrap around cloth, for both men and women and the extension of sexual modesty among women to


6 On the increasing availability of cloth, see Interview with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 5/20/78. "Rapport de Bertrand-Bocandé, Resident à Carabane sur les sources qui presentent dans leur etat actuel les comptoir francais sur les bords de la Casamance". ANS 2DS-7. On the appearance of pagnes and increasing Diola modesty, see Father Wintz who wrote this in 1909 based on his mission work in the area beginning in the 1890's. "Annales Religieuses de la Casamance", PSE Archives 164 B p. 35.
include the covering of the thighs. This increasing modesty in dress may have resulted from the influence of the predominantly Muslim and Christian traders who were their prime source of cloth.

Despite John Morgan's complaints about the inadequacy of Diola dress, Esulalu sexual mores stressed pre-marital chastity and monogamous marriage. Esulalu informants claim that pre-marital intercourse was absolutely forbidden (gnigne) and that unwed mothers would be driven out of their townships to seek refuge in strangers' villages or Diola communities outside Esulalu. While they remained in the villages, unwed mothers would have insulting songs sung about them. Whether they were forced out of the village or shamed out by the insulting songs remains uncertain. The rarity of pre-marital sexual relations among the south shore Diola was commented on by a French captain, Lauque, who visited Esulalu in 1905. He wrote: "Generally girls do not allow themselves to be easily corrupted, being in great fear of their mother and their aunts, it is generally only after marriage that they become mothers." As part of the final marriage preparations both bride and groom received instruction on sexual relations between men and women, thereby indicating a customary ignorance of such matters before marriage. Unmarried men received such instruction during the festivities at their homes prior to

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7 Interviews with Basayo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 11/29/77; Assinway Sambou and Amperoot Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/17/78; Songant Ebeh Diatta, Mlomp-Cadjifolong, 11/7/78.

8 Despite the military nature of his mission, Captain Lauque provides detailed descriptions of south shore Diola social relations. "Rapport spécial sur les operations militaire executés en Casamance", 1905, ANS ID 170.
the arrival of the bride. Unmarried women received instruction about sex and birth from a group of mothers who would take them to the maternity house for discussion of these matters away from the ears of men.⁹

Throughout the nineteenth century monogamous marriages were the norm in Ebulalu. Polygyny, while permitted was extremely rare.¹⁰ When a boy and girl were quite young it was not uncommon for their parents to enter into an engagement on their behalf. As the children grew up, the boy would periodically visit his prospective in-laws and bring them gifts of palm wine. In this way he could become acquainted with his future bride and her family over a long period of time. As the prospective couple neared marriageable age, approximately fifteen for a girl and eighteen for a boy, they could decide whether or not to go ahead with the marriage. Either partner could refuse, though there were some cases of parents forcing their children to marry.¹¹

⁹ Men would instruct the groom during a social event called "hukwen" when the groom's kin gather around and engage in sexually explicit joking. This practice continued to be observed in 1977. At Kadjinol, girls were taken to a place called Agabuhu, a shrine of Ehugna located in the rice paddies. Interview with Hubert Econdo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/13/78.

¹⁰ Group Discussion Yerness Senghor and Edouard Kadjinga Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/11/76. Father du Palquet, "Notes sur la Mission des Deux Guinées", 1848 PSE Archives B 146 Dossier B. This is confirmed by Father Wintz in 1909. "Annales Religieuses de la Casamance", p. 35 PSE, Archives 164B. This is not the case for the north shore communities of Djougoutes and Fogny where polygyny is more common. For a discussion of divorce, see Appendix Three.

Wrestling matches and social dances provided the major opportunities for girls and boys to meet and to court. Wrestling teams competed by township quarter against other quarters and other townships. Both boys and girls wrestled and observed the other's skills in wrestling while providing support through songs and dances of encouragement. Afterwards an acconkone social dance was held in which boys and girls would dance in separate circles facing one another.12 Girls of a particular quarter would occasionally hold heleo dances which were attended by boys from within Esulalu. They would bring a two stringed guitar called an econtine and sing songs about the girls that interested them.13

Marriages involved a complex exchange of gifts between the bride and groom's families. Most attention has focused on buposs, the large quantities of palm wine and a large pig that the groom had to provide for the bride's family. The palm wine was used not only for entertainment but for ritual libations at various shrines associated with her patrilineage, her mother's patrilineage and her grandmother's patrilineages.14 These


13 This type of dance is no longer held, though there are a few men who play the econtine. Interview with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 8/15/78.

14 These shrines would include cults associated with ancestors of particular lineages including such shrines as Elenking, Hoolmin, Eholma, as well as shrines at which important members of the lineage hold ritual office. Interview with Acanediake Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 1/21/79. The gifts themselves are confirmed by Father Sene, 1880, in "Annales Religieuses de la Casamance" PSE Archives 164 B as well as Captain Lauque, op. cit. in 1905. Acanediake claims that the groom's cost and the size of buposs has increased rapidly since his father's time.
rituals were designed to gain the blessing of all the bride’s ancestors before she left for her new home and family. The pig provided by the groom’s family would be sacrificed at the bride’s family, Hupila to protect her powers of fertility in her new home. The bride’s family, however, provided substantial gifts as well. The bride arrived at her new home with a full set of cooking pots and sufficient rice to last the couple until the next harvest.

A second form of marriage, Boodi, was available to widowed and divorced women of child bearing age. Approximately every three to five years, the elders of Hutendookai convened a meeting at which all single, previously married women were required to attend and choose a husband. Her choice could not refuse her even if he had another wife. It was considered imperative that women of child bearing age be married and bearing children. At Kadjinol the couple were obliged to spend a week together in a trial marriage, while in Mlomp and Kagnout such trial marriages would last several months. At the end of that time, if they wished to stay together they were considered married. There was no buboss or Hupila sacrifice in this form of marriage since it was at least a second marriage for the bride. The husband might, as a token of respect, make a gift to his wife’s family. Men and women who refused to participate were subject to substantial fines levied by the elders of Hutendookai.15

15 Colonial officials tried to suppress Boodi in the 1920's. Interviews with Songant Ebeh and Tidjane Diatta, Mlomp-Cadjifolong, 6/29/78; Hubert Econdo Sambou, 10/22/77; Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnou, 12/4/77; 7/25/78; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 10/24/77. Péliissier, Paysans, p. 23. Thomas, Diola, p. 263.
Despite the increasing assimilation of the Koonjéen into the Esulalu townships and the existence of such township wide institutions as Hutendookai and the priest-kings, the people of Esulalu continued to find it difficult to maintain community cooperation and peace. Warfare between individual quarters of the same township, between townships within Esulalu and against neighboring Diola communities in Huluf, Djougoutes, and Karones continued to be a source of social tension and religious concern. New groups of people, refugees from the conquered villages of Elou Mlomp and Sandianah had to be incorporated into the townships. An increasing number of slaves also had to be incorporated within the Esulalu communities. The necessity of containing such divisions became increasingly important after the establishment of the French post at Carabane and the increasing visits of Europeans and their agents to Esulalu. They also posed a serious challenge to the efficacy of those township institutions responsible for the spiritual protection of all the inhabitants of each township.

Within the townships, violent skirmishes erupted when disputes over control of rice paddies, palm groves, cattle or women could not be settled by the mediation of lineage elders or the leaders of the town council shrine of Hutendookai. Each side would gather at its war shrine of Cabai or at a quarter shrine to prepare for battle and to gain spiritual protection. Intra-village skirmishes were usually stopped within a few hours since the priest-king would quickly stop any fighting within his

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16 Interviews with Siopama Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/4/77; Kudadge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/9/76; Michel Amancha Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 12/18/78; Edouard Signondac Sambou, Mlomp-Haer, 1/5/79.
During the nineteenth century violent altercations occurred several times between the Sergerh quarter of Kadjinol and its neighbors in Kagnao and Kafone. Disputes focused on control of palm groves, rice paddies, and Sergerh’s refusal to pay a fine levied by the elders of the Hutendookai shrine. Several people were killed, some of Sergerh’s houses were destroyed and livestock were seized. A man who had been born at Sergerh and had moved to Kagnao joined in the attack against his birthplace. As punishment for joining the attack against his kin, it is said that witches attacked him and ate the essence of his knees, leaving him lame.

The evil that witches perform is occasionally seen as the result of Emitai’s or lesser spirits’ desires to punish wrongdoers. Similar struggles over rice paddies, palm groves, and fishing areas occurred several times between Kadjinol’s quarters of Kandianka and Hassouka. Other quarters within Esulalu also became involved in violent disputes.

17 Interviews with Eddi Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/11/76; Attabadionti Diatta, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 7/13/76; Abbas Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 8/1/76, 7/24/78, 11/5/78; André Kebrouha Manga, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 5/6/78.

18 Group Discussion with Abbas Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, Sooti Diatta and Djibune Baben, Samotit, 7/24/78.

19 Group Discussion Sihumucel Badji and Samouly Senghor, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 7/29/76; Michel Amancha Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 12/8/78; Nuaadage Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/9/78; Etienne Manga, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 8/17/78; Bassayo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/3/78. Armed conflicts between quarters of the same townships persisted into the twentieth century. Mlomp’s dispute between Cadjifolong and Djicomole erupted in violence in 1952 and has nearly reoccurred several times since then. Thomas, Biola, p. 337.
During the nineteenth century there were frequent wars, again of short duration, between various Esulalu townships. Such wars were complicated by the existence of alliances between individual quarters of independent townships. Such alliances were often represented by the giving of a Cabai war shrine to the other quarter. Such transfers were seen as eliminating the possibility of war since they would create an untenable situation if the same spirit was invoked by both sides in a war. These Cabai shrines were often given as thanks for help in another war. Elders of Kadjinol-Kafone rewarded the Hassouka quarter for its help in its 1860 war against the Huluf community of Boukitingor, thereby creating an alliance between two often disharmonious quarters.20

During this period there were no wars between Kadjinol and other townships within Esulalu. Kagnout, however, waged war against both Eloudia and Samatit. The various quarters of Mlomp also fought against Eloudia, gradually pushing them further south into the forest and seizing large areas of rice paddies. Much of Eloudia's population took refuge in Kabrousse, thirty kilometers to the south. According to Lampolly Sambou "the [arrival of] the Europeans is why Eloudia remains alive."21 The cessation of inter-township warfare was one of the first objectives of


21 Interview Lampolly Sambou, Mlomp-Haer, 1/12/79. See also Thomas Diatta, Eloudia, 6/17/78; Lomé Dieddhiou, Eloudia, 8/11/78; Jean Diatta, Kagnout, 11/23/77; Antoine Houmandriessah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/13/79; Diashwah Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/12/77; Sikarwen Diatta, Eloudia, 7/5/78; Kemehow Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/8/77 and 1/28/78.
the French after their attainment of treaty rights over the region.\textsuperscript{22}

Warfare between various Esulalu townships and their neighbors in Huluf, Djougoutes, and Karones, persisted throughout the nineteenth century. This form of warfare, fueled by the desire for cattle and captives, continued to undermine the security of Esulalu life. Wars with Huluf settlements arose out of disputes over palm groves in the forest area that separated them or as a result of the violent confrontations arising out of cattle raiding.\textsuperscript{23} Wars with the north shore communities of Djougoutes and Karones were most closely connected to the seizure of captives and their ransom and sale.\textsuperscript{24} Protection from north shore Diola attacks was a major factor in bringing the Esulalu townships to sign


\textsuperscript{23} On Esulalu's wars with Huluf, see Diashwah Sambou, Kadjinool-Kafone, 7/7/76; Asambou Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 12/12/77; Antoine Noumandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/23/78, 2/27/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/25/78. H. Bourdeny à M. le Commandant Gorée," July 20, 1858. ANS 13G 455.

\textsuperscript{24} This has been discussed extensively in Chapters Four and Five. On 19th century wars with Djougoutes and Karones, see Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebenaye, 12/1/78; Samboway Assin, Kagnout-Bruhinban, 11/15/78; Sooti Diatta, Sounvit, 12/21/78; Amakobo Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebunkine, 6/8/78; Attabadionti Diatta, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 6/10/78; Sidionbaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/8/79; Tomi Senghor, Mlomp-Cadjifolong, 11/18/76.

treaties with the French and to allow the creation of stranger villages along their coast. Beginning in the 1850's, the French launched several punitive expeditions against Djougoutes, Karones, and other areas that persisted in raiding for captives. As late as 1889, the French resident at Carabane complained of warfare and slave raiding between Diola communities on both shore of the Casamance.25

Peaceful relations with townships outside of Esulalu could be developed through a system of treaties and alliances based on mutual self-interest, but strengthened by religious sanctions. French administrators were well aware of the existence of such alliances which they described in great detail. One such alliance existed between Thionk Essil of Djougoutes and the Esulalu township of Kagnout.26 That such an alliance was religiously sanctioned was clearly demonstrated by several Kagnout accounts in which the possibility of war between Kagnout and Thionk Essil was described as "gnigne" (absolutely forbidden). In contrast these same informants would describe wars within Esulalu as "diakoute" (bad) and without spiritual sanctions.27


26 For example, see "Rapport à M. le Commandant Particulier de Gorée et Dépendences sur le Basse Casamance", July 1856, ANS 13G 361.

27 Interview with Sambouwas Assin, Kagnout-Bruhinban, 11/15/78. The same term would be used to describe a woman visiting a cemetery or the circumcision forest or a man having sex with a menstruating woman. Such actions are said to be punished by spiritual beings who will seize the offender with disease or other misfortunes. Merely "bad" actions are not subject to spiritual sanctions.
Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé observed a Diola ritual designed to establish a lasting peace between Thionk Essil and Itou. Similar ceremonies were probably held to cement other alliances such as the one between Thionk Essil and Kagnout:

... to ratify the peace that they promised between them, a steer was sacrificed in front of the Residence at Carabane, and watered with libations of palm wine. After all the customary ceremonies of their countries, on the victim's entrails, the two peoples swore as they lifted the beverage of alliance, in their name and in the name of their compatriots, to maintain between them a perpetual peace, calling down all the curses of the heavens against any individual of either people against his friends and neighbors who would commit any action against this sworn peace.28

Religious sanctions were seen as certain and not contingent upon the relative power of the two parties involved. Such alliances were of a quite different order than the temporary lulls that characterized relations between two townships involved in long term raiding against one another. In the act of drinking palm wine and eating sacrificial meat together, the participants became bound to the words of alliance and peace enunciated during the ritual. They also became one community. Sambouway Assin described how people from Kagnout could go to Thionk Essil and take livestock: "This is why if you go there and you [someone of Kagnout] see a pig, you can kill it. Then you give it to them to cook for you." They would have the same privilege at Kagnout.29

28 "Traité de Paix entre le Village de Ytou et le Village de Kion par le médiation de résident français à Carabane", June, 1853. ANS 15G 4. The transfer of Cabai shrines was used to arrange alliances within Esulalu but there is no evidence to suggest that it was used in similar fashion beyond Esulalu;

29 Interview with Sambouway Assin, Kagnout-Bruhinban, 11/15/78. The privilege of taking livestock is of major significance. Someone can go to his maternal kin and seize chickens at any time. When I was adopted by my host family at Kadjimol-Kafone, my adoptive brother Dionsal Dieddhiou said: "What's mine is yours. If you need a chicken you take it."
In the mid nineteenth century two Diola communities within Esulalu were forcibly incorporated into the Esulalu townships. Little is known of the first of these, Sandianah, which was located about one kilometer southeast of Samatit. It had been settled by people from Ediamat at about the same time as Samatit. According to Samatit accounts, the men of Sandianah would seize Samatit women as captives when they went to get water at a spring. Samatit attacked them and burnt their houses. A portion of Sandianah settled at Kagnout-Bruhinban while the majority settled in the Kekenin quarter of Samatit. They had their own priest-king, but there was no mention of what happened to him after the conquest by Samatit nor was there any mention of still extant shrines of Sandianah origin. This war probably occurred between 1830 and 1850. The ruins of Sandianah are still visible.

Elou Mlomp was a larger settlement, located in an area called the Hamak, a forested area near the shore of the Cassamance River, several kilometers north of present day Mlomp. The people of Elou Mlomp had their own rice paddies and palm groves. They were also skilled fishermen. They had close ties to the Djougoutes township of Mlomp, which was probably

November, 1974.


31 Group Discussion Cyriaque and Wuuli Assin, Samatit, 1/6/79. Interview with Sooti Diatta, Samatit 1/6/79. The war took place at the time of the great grandfather of a fifty year old man, Sooti Diatta of Samatit. It also occurred before the establishment of Elinkine and Sam Sam, both of whom would have had to negotiate with Sandianah for land cessions.
settled by people from Elou Mlomp. 32 Elou Mlomp had its own priest-king who controlled a royal shrine called Sembini. Unlike the Esulelu Coey shrine, Elou-Mlomp's Sembini was not dependent upon the priest-king of Gussouye. It had ties to Mlomp-Djougoutes' Sembini, but it is unclear which was the senior shrine. There are still rice paddies in the Hamak that are dedicated to the priest-king of Elou Mlomp, though there no longer is a priest-king. Selection was by a process of spiritual election: "The one chosen, Emitai will reveal him." 33 This identification would occur through the candidate being seized with an illness linked to the shrine or through the elders noting a certain aura about the person who was to be initiated as the new priest-king. Sembini was brought to the township of Mlomp when Elou Mlomp was conquered and it continued to have rituals performed. 34

There had been intermittent conflict between Elou Mlomp and Djicomole (the largest quarter of what became the township of Mlomp) for much of the early nineteenth century. Disputes arose over access to palm groves and fishing areas as well as rice paddies, cattle raiding, and the kidnapping


33 The vacancy in the priest-kingship exists because no one has been identified through illness or through spiritual identifications as the suitable candidate. Interviews with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 5/19/78, 1/24/78, 6/21/78; Sebeoloute Manga, Mlomp-Djicomole, 7/12/78; Malenbaye Sambou, Mlomp-Djicomole, 8/8/78.

34 The last priest-king of Elou Mlomp's Sembini died around 1920, but there are still elders who perform the rituals. Only people born at Etebemaye or Djibetene may attend the shrine. Interview with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 6/21/78. On Mlomp-Djougoutes, see Mark, "Economic and Religious" p. 21.
of women. In the 1850's, Djicomole was able to overcome Elou Mlomp and force a substantial portion of the community into the township of Mlomp.\textsuperscript{35} The final attack came when a large portion of Elou Mlomp's population had gone to Mlomp-Djougoutes, either for a funeral or for the festival before the male circumcision ritual, Bukut. Only old men, women, and children were left behind. A woman from Elou Mlomp who had married someone from Djicomole informed her husband's kin of Elou Mlomp's departure. Djicomole attacked and destroyed the village, taking the inhabitants to the present day locations of the Djibetene and Etebemaye quarters of Mlomp. Some people sought refuge in Mlomp-Djougoutes, though some of those who had gone there came back and settled within the township of Mlomp.\textsuperscript{36} The people of Elou Mlomp were allowed to install their own spirit shrines, including Sembini, within the new township of Mlomp, a community dominated by Djicomole through its control of the office of priest-king and the office of the priest of Hutendookai.\textsuperscript{37} The conquest and incorporation of Elou Mlomp, like Sandianah, did not create long term social divisions.

\textsuperscript{35} Before 1850 the main part of the township of Mlomp was called Djicomole by the French. Also French maps of the period showed a place called Mlomp in the Hamak area. On more recent maps it is several kilometers to the south. By 1860 when the French signed a treaty with Djicomole the latter was able to cede a portion of the Hamak area to the French for the establishment of Pointe St. Georges.

\textsuperscript{36} Interviews with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 1/24/78, 6/21/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/25/78; Emmanuel Sambou, Mlomp-Djicomole, 10/8/78; Malanbaye Sambou, Mlomp-Djicomole, 8/8/78; Etienne Manga, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 2/5/78. ASPLO "Calendrier des Evénements Historiques du village de Mlomp Etebemaye."

\textsuperscript{37} Interviews with Ramon Sambou, Mlomp-Haer, 6/28/78; Malanbaye Sambou, Mlomp-Djicomole, 8/8/78; Etienne Manga, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 2/5/78. "Calendrier... Etebemaye."
comparable to those between Koonjaen and Diola. This suggests that they were already regarded as Diola; intermarriage was common and their spirit shrines were similar.

Slaves also had to be incorporated into the social and religious structures of Esulalu. While there had probably been some slaves and refugees in Esulalu before 1800, they became an increasingly important problem beginning in the 1840's. The outbreak of renewed warfare between Diola and Mandinka along the northern and eastern frontiers of Diola settlement as well as the warfare between Muslim and non-Muslim Mandinka in the 1840's, sharply increased the number of captives being circulated to local slave traders. Most of these captives were then resold to other Diola at Diembering and Kabrousse or to Mandinka traders who carried them to the interior. A small number of captives were kept within Esulalu. Unlike captives from Huluf or the coastal region of Djougoutes, who could readily escape and return to their homes, these captives came

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38 North shore slave traders carried their slaves to such south shore areas as Esulalu primarily because the Casamance River was an effective barrier to escape by north shore captives. Slaves that could readily escape had no value. On the increasing number of slaves from these wars, see: Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/7/76, 8/1/76, 5/8/78; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Étebemaye, 4/27/78; Siliungimagne Diatta 7/30/76. On warfare between the Mandinka and the Diola see: Leary, "Islam", p. 95. Mark, "Economic and Religious", p. 60. Quinn, Mandingo, p. 67-70. J.M. Gray, History of the Gambia, London: Frank Cass, 1966, p. 308. In the 1870's captives from Fodé Kabbé's wars against the Diola became increasingly important. "Annales Religieuses de la Casamance", PSE Archives 164. p. 22.

39 Kabrousse and Diembering had large slave populations. The division between slave and free remains strong in both communities. Interviews with Tété Diedihiou, Ziguinchor, 8/5/78; Alouise Diedihiou, Kabrousse, 4/29/78; Sheriff Baye, Diembering, 5/1/78. "Eiffon, Chef de poste de Carabane au Lieutenant Gouverneur à Gorée" March 30, 1884, ANOM Sénégal VI, Dossier 14.
from Kombo, from northeastern Djougoutes and from Fogny, the areas most devastated by war and furthest from Esulalu.

Slaves who were kept in Esulalu lived in the family compounds of their masters where they were treated as junior kinsmen. Childless families would occasionally purchase boys, adopt them, and make them their heirs. Older captives would live with their master's families, where they would assist in the various tasks of rice cultivation as well as household chores. After a while, male captives would be given rice paddies of their own as well as assistance in providing the large quantities of palm wine that were essential gifts to a bride's family before marriage. Masters retained the right to take rice from their slaves, since they had given them land. They could also take livestock from their slaves if they were to be used for sacrifices. Marriages were generally limited to fellow slaves, though Eheleterre Sambou claimed that slave men could marry free women (houbook - people born in Esulalu)

40 Interview with Abbas Ciparaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 11/5/78. This is supported in a French colonial report of 1907, "Note sur le captivité dans les territoires de la Casamance", "The purchased captive for the most part is a child who will not be delayed in being assimilated as a house captive." ANS K 18: 295.

There was a marked increase in disease during the nineteenth century as a result of increasing social mobility and this could well have contributed to an increasing incidence of child mortality. Judging from the creation of several women's fertility shrines in the mid nineteenth century, women's infertility was also an increasing problem. These issues will be discussed more fully later on in this chapter.

41 Interviews with Kemoehow Dieddhio, Eloudia, 5/8/78; Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhio, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/1/78, 7/12/75; Attabadionti Diatta, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 6/10/78; Siopama Dieddhio, Kadjinol-Kafone 11/17/77; Antoine Djenelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 7/1/78; Amuknaw Bassin, Kadjinol- Ebankine, 6/8/76; Anto Manga, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 6/4/76; André Bankuul Senghor, 11/18/77; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/11/75.
if they paid their masters seven cattle, thereby purchasing their freedom.42

Slaves, like other groups within Esulalu, were protected against unnecessary violence and physical abuse. Antoine Djemelene Sambou related an account of a master who killed his slave woman's children. He was forced to pay a fine of six cattle to be sacrificed at the Houle, a shrine associated with Bukut. While there is no confirmation of this story, it does indicate that Esulalu communities strongly condemned violence against slaves within their community. After paying his fine the murderous master was forced to move from the Sergerh quarter to the Hassouka quarter of Kadjinol.43

Despite the relatively benign treatment of slaves within Esulalu, there was a certain stigma attached to their status. They could be insulted as "amiekele" (slave) or "Agoutch" (a person from Djougoutes) and they had little influence in community life. The maintenance of this social distinction generated a certain discomfort within a relatively egalitarian community with a deep seated suspicion of the power hungry. Reflecting back on the families who kept slaves, Esulalu historians have suggested that slave owners tended to lose their natural born heirs through disease or accidents, spiritually inflicted upon them as punishment for their assuming the role of masters.44

42 Interview with Ehleterre Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 1/4/79. This would be extremely difficult if a master could confiscate slave livestock for his own ritual needs.

43 Interview with Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 6/17/78.

44 Interview with Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Eb ankine, 5/4/78.
If slaves were fortunate enough to find themselves in a family with few heirs they might inherit not only the rice paddies of their masters, but also some of their spirit shrines. In the absence of natural heirs, slaves could become elders of Hupila, Bukut, and Hoohaney, through they remained excluded from the cluster of blacksmith, priest-king, and women’s fertility shrines. In some cases, giving a shrine to a slave was considered a good way of keeping him from running away, since he would not want to shirk his religious responsibilities or surrender his religious authority. To provide for slaves who were excluded from those shrines most associated with fertility, a special shrine was given them to ensure fertility of crops. By the mid nineteenth century, at least at the time of Haiebeck Dieddhiou, a shrine called Huwyn, "to play", was associated with slaves and other strangers. Masters brought their slaves, as many as forty at a time, to the shrine in the Ebankine quarter of Kadjinol. Masters fired guns near the captives to show them that they were strangers. Slaves who did not attend were fined ten head of cattle. Clearly this was a shrine of masters, not of slaves.

Funeral rituals marked the clearest differentiation between "houbook", the native born Esulalu, and "agoutch", the strangers and slaves. Agoutch could only be buried in the stranger’s cemeteries. The houbook had spiritual ties to the land; the cemetery was the visible

45 Interviews with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/30/76; Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/1/76; Badjassaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/31/78.

46 This shrine was suppressed by the French in the early twentieth century. Interview with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/17/78, 8/1/76.
symbol of that bond. Slaves and other strangers had to be set apart and were buried in cemeteries close to, but separated from the cemeteries of the locally born.47

While there is little evidence about the number of slaves in Esualulu, it is clear that there were sufficient numbers to influence the development of Diola oral traditions. Louis Vincent Thomas has collected several proverbs about the misfortunes of slaves. Diola oral historians refer to the important contributions of a slave woman named Kubettitaw who was seized from Djougoutes and brought to a home at Kadjinol-Kandianka. She could not bear the way the people of Kadjinol ate their rice. It is said that they did not husk it first, but merely boiled it until it was a soft mush. She taught the people of Kadjinol how to make a mortar and pestle, how to pound the rice and thresh it, and the proper ways of cooking it. Regardless of the historicity of this event, its prominence within Esualulu oral traditions reflects the importance of keeping slaves within Esualulu society.48

47 Wealthy slaves could, by sacrificing a large number of cattle (7-10) be considered free and eligible for burial in the main cemetery. Interview with Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, 5/12/78. There were at least two stranger cemeteries. These cemeteries were abolished by Paul Sambou, canton chief in Esualulu during the 1920’s. Interviews with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 7/30/78; Eheleterre Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 1/4/78; Michel Amancha Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 12/18/78; Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 6/23/78; Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 6/19/75, 2/19/78, 5/12/78; Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/20/78; Sihendoo Manga, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/9/78; Abbas Cifaraw Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 11/5/78. In relation to cemeteries, Elou Mlomp and Sandianah, like the Koonjaen, were considered houbook and buried in the main cemeteries.

48 On Diola proverbs relating to slavery, see Thomas, Diola, p. 420. On Kubettitaw’s contribution of a new method of rice cooking, see Thomas, Ibid, p. 432. Interviews with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 1/24/78; Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, 11/18/77; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/4/77; Eddi Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 3/5/78; Djiremo Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 4/9/78; LeBois Diatta, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 7/5/76; Kubaytow Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 4/16/78, 4/26/78; Michel Amancha
Kubettitaw is also credited with the introduction of a major spirit shrine called Kanalia which she brought from her home village of Affiniam in Djougoutes. She established the shrine at a spring in the rice paddies north of Kadjinol-Kandianka. When she married a man of Kandianka she passed the shrine over to him. Since then it has been a shrine controlled by male priests. Through rituals performed before the planting, Kanalia ensures the fertility of Kandianka’s rice paddies as well as protecting them against theft. It also serves as a major confession shrine where people who have committed offenses against the community can purify themselves. It is said to seize wrongdoers with diarrhea, which will only be cured after confession and sacrifices are performed at the shrine. Kanalia was also associated with war; the men of Kandianka would perform rituals there before going into battle. Only people from Kandianka can attend its rituals.49

Djola beliefs in witches (kusaye) were an additional source of social tension in Esulalu. In the nineteenth century, Djola believed that certain people had special powers to see into the spiritual world, to travel at night without their bodies and to transform themselves into animals. Motivated by jealousy or a lust for meat, they were said to eat the life force of an individual, causing him to wither away and die.

49 This shrine is also called Elucil and Ayimp (the Spring).

Interviews with Kubaytaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 5/20/78; Etienne Manga, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 8/17/78.
Siopama Dieddhiou describes the way in which a witch attacks its victim. The witch would attach a rope around the victim's neck, then fly off like a bird carrying away the victim: "Perhaps you think its the body of someone that you carry. No, you carry the soul." The soul, which is said to reside in the blood contains the life force of the individual; without it, a person has no will to live.\(^{50}\)

In 1852, Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé described the witchcraft beliefs of the people of Carabane, a majority of whom were Diola and many of whom were from Esulalu:

All the inhabitants of Carabane, whomever they were, are extremely superstitious. They believe that several deaths in succession here... were not all by natural causes, but were produced by witches who, like vampires, come invisibly to suck the blood of people and to enter into their bodies to devour them, or rather to eat their souls, even though they see that the bodies of the dead remain intact.\(^{51}\)

Within this brief passage of Bertrand-Bocandé in 1852 and in Esulalu accounts of the 1970's are the belief that witches travel in the night, invisibly while their bodies remain in their beds, to eat the life force of their victims.

\(^{50}\) Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/13/76, also 6/26/78. Group Discussion, Sikakucule Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone and Assinway Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/4/75; Dionsal Dieddhiou and Elizabeth Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/1/78. Interviews with Hubert Econdo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 10/22/77; Dadu Aowa Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 5/22/75; Djiremo Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 10/19/78; Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 7/2/78.

\(^{51}\) "E. Bertrand-Bocandé à Monsieur le Commandant du poste de Sedhiou", April 23, 1852. ANS 136 455.
According to nineteenth century European accounts, the Diola used two methods to identify witches: interrogating the corpse and a poison test. In 1864, Father Lacombe observed one such interrogation of a corpse during a Diola funeral at Carabane:

At a certain time, starting with a number of gun shots, six men take this type of bier and place the deceased upon it... The widow... takes a calabash used by him [probably filled with palm wine for libations over the cattle skulls]. Several times, in a loud voice, she asks her dear spouse to reveal the cause of his death. Several times they carried the coffin near her and several times she pushed it back, continuing with her questioning. Finally when her husband responded that it was a witch who had eaten his soul, she broke the calabash against the cattle horns attached to the coffin and pointed with her finger the route to the cemetery. The six men who carried the deceased left at full speed.\textsuperscript{52}

The determination of the cause of death was an integral part of Diola funerals. Witchcraft was considered to be one of many possible causes. An affirmative response by the deceased's coffin to the suggestion that witchcraft had caused his death would lead to a series of questions designed to identify the witch who was responsible for his death. Anxious Diola also used a poison test to identify witches. An accused witch was forced to drink "brilen" (also called tali and mancone) a poison made from the bark of a red wood tree, \textit{erthyrophloem d'afzelius}.\textsuperscript{53} If the accused

\textsuperscript{52} Father Lacombe, "Annales Religieuses". The interrogations of the corpses that I observed in the 1970's were almost identical. The stretcher was an old door instead of an old canoe and senior kinsmen of the deceased, not only the widow, interrogated the corpse.


While Dr. Maclaud noted in 1907, that the Diola no longer were administering poison test ordeals, as recently as 1978, witch-finders, administering non-poisonous potions were conducting witch-finding activities in Esulalu. Dr. Maclaud, "La Basse Casamance et ses Habitants", \textit{Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris}, 1907, p. 199.
was innocent then he would vomit up the poison; if guilty he would die.\textsuperscript{54}

In the stranger villages, people would employ marabouts to perform various divination techniques to discover the identity of witches. Within Esulalu, two new shrines Gilaite and Rhugna, became involved in the witch finding process. At Gilaite, the people troubled by witchcraft would bring their problems to the shrine without naming specific suspects. Gilaite was said to seize the guilty parties with leprosy. Certain women elders of Rhugna were thought to have the power to identify witches.

Publically identified witches could be fined several head of cattle by the elders of Hutendookai and face a period of social ostracism.\textsuperscript{55}


\textsuperscript{55} Interview with Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/28/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/28/78; Assinway Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/2/78. These will be discussed more fully below.
encouraged a broad diffusion of religious authority; with so many shrines, chances were excellent that any individual would become a responsible elder or priest of at least one shrine during his lifetime. The spirit shrine's (boekine) centrality in Diola religion was recognized by Father Sene, a northern Senegalese missionary based at Carabane, who described the spirit shrines in Diola religion in 1880:

near each village, in the center of the forest, and almost always around a secular tree, that was made sacred, are raised a palisade enclosing a sanctuary: it is the residence of the tutelary spirit called by the name "boekine". The men have theirs, the women as well... The boekine is the supreme resource: for the farmer who wishes an abundant harvest, for the young woman who wishes to become a mother... A Diola who is sick or threatened by a fatal portent quickly he has recourse to the boekine.

While most of the shrines were not associated with sacred forests many of the spirit shrines were located near a consecrated tree or cluster of trees. An individual could become an adept of a spirit shrine by inheriting the shrines associated with his lineage; through spiritual calls of afflictions, dreams, or visions; or by being selected to a place as an elder of a particular cult. Parents could establish a relationship between their child and a spirit shrine which would protect the child. Father Sene described this as well: "the children are consecrated at birth to one of the local spirits; the ceremony is done through the offering of a steer, or a pig, a dog, or a chicken, according to the resources of the family. The victim is sacrificed and the blood is spread

56 Father Sene, 1880, in "Annales Religieuses".
over a kind of butte in the sacred sanctuary, with libations of palm wine..." 

Afterwards, the participants drank the palm wine and ate a portion of the sacrificial meat at the shrine, while the remainder was distributed to the participants to take home. Drinking and eating together bound the participants to the central purpose of the sacrifice, the protection of the child. Children dedicated to the *boekine* would periodically "greet" the shrine with palm wine and small sacrifices over the course of their lives, especially at such major rites of passage as male circumcision, marriage, and the birth of their children.

Reflecting the close involvement of the spirits shrines in mundane economic activities and daily problems, spirit shrines were given new responsibilities or new ones were created in response to economic and social changes within Esulalu. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, as Esulalu participation in trade increased, European trade goods, cloth, firearms and iron became increasingly available. This was especially true in the nineteenth century as stranger traders passed through Esulalu with increasing frequency and established permanent settlements. While the

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57 *Ibid.* Interview with Elizabeth Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/13/78. I have attended such rituals at Houle, *Gilai*te and *Gahite* shrines on several occasions. The type of animal sacrificed depended more on the shrine rules than on the family's wealth. Generally cattle were only sacrificed for a very powerful shrine during a severe crisis or for an assumption of priestly office.

increasing availability of cloth may have influenced the clothing used in Diola ritual, it does not appear to have created new cults. This was not the case of firearms or iron.

While the origin of a hunting shrine called Houpoombene, "the musket", remains unclear, it was an important cult by the mid nineteenth century. Whether or not it displaced an earlier type of hunting shrine is equally unclear. Before going hunting, men would perform rituals at Houpoombene in order to ensure a successful hunt. Warriors would perform rituals there before going off to war, though Cabai remained the more important war shrine. Only successful hunters could become priests of Houpoombene. The process of becoming a priest of the shrine required the furnishing of game, rice, and fish for the shrine and for a community feast after the performance of the necessary rituals.59

The expanding availability of iron strengthened the influence and wealth of blacksmith lineages throughout Esulalu. Greater access to iron increased local demand for holopuc, the iron tip of the Diola hand plow (cadyendo), while continuing warfare maintained a high demand for spears and knives. The overwhelming majority of blacksmiths live in the Kafone quarter of Kadjinol, though there were a few blacksmith compounds in other parts of Kadjinol, Mlomp, Kagnout and Eloudia. Most of the non-Kadjinol blacksmiths could trace their families back to Kafone. Thus, Kafone dominated what was becoming a vital craft both to Diola economic activity

59 Interviews with the Elders of Mlomp-Cadjifolong-Badiat, 7/5/76; Ramon Sambou, Mlomp-Haer, 6/28/78, 11/11/78; Babuuckar Manga, Loudia-Ouloff and Eloudia, 7/13/78; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 8/14/78. Group Discussion with Silokolai Sambou, Basayo Sambou, and Houmouneh Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 3/18/75.
and to warfare. Kafone also had the greatest concentration of ilapoom, "the hammer", a cult which provided spiritual protection for blacksmiths and enforced guild rules concerning the spread of the technical knowledge of the forge.  

One of the Kafone blacksmiths, a man named Haieheck, had acquired substantial wealth from his smithing and from his seizure of captives. He also became an important religious leader, having attained positions of ritual importance at Hoohaney, Silapoom, Cayinte, and Hupila. By 1860, he had gained sufficient influence in the community to negotiate a treaty with the French recognizing their regional sovereignty. He also is credited with introducing the major spirit shrines associated with the blacksmiths, Duhagne and Gilaite. While his career was particularly outstanding, his entire compound of Kumbogy prospered as did many of the other blacksmith families.

With the growing influence of the blacksmith families and the heightened economic importance of their work it is not surprising that two new blacksmith shrines were introduced into Esulalu in the nineteenth century. One could regard this as a way the blacksmith families found to invest their new wealth, through the acquisition of ritual authority, in

60 Interviews with Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/19/79; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandidanka, 5/20/78; Djilehl Samhau, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 5/23/78; Siliya Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/22/78.

61 His importance in Esulalu history is attested to by the discussion of his life in 17 interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone; as well as numerous other interviews with Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone; Sinyendikaw Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone; Sikopana Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, Sikakucule Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, Michel Anjou Manga, Kadjinol-Kafone; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye. All these interviews stress his wealth and ritual authority. On his role in negotiating the treaty with the French, see Chapter Five.
much the same way as the captive raiders invested their wealth in a socially acceptable way, the acquisition of priestly offices. Duhagne "the anvil", is the older of the two shrines and, while sometimes credited to Haieheck, it was probably introduced by Haieheck's father, Abindeck. Like Silapoom, Duhagne protected the blacksmith while he worked at the forge, but is also protected the Djabune (Dieddhiou) lineages, and the community as a whole against theft. Offenders against Duhagne, who violated the rules of the smithy, who stole or who infringed the rights of the blacksmith lineages were said to be seized with leprosy.

In the mid nineteenth century, Haieheck introduced a second major blacksmith shrine, Gilaite to Kadjinol-Kafone. According to Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, one of his descendents, Haieheck became interested in Gilaite at a time when people at Kadjinol were suffering from leprosy: "Each house had maybe two or three [stricken by leprosy]." During this affliction, Haieheck learned of Gilaite's reputed power to protect people from leprosy and set off for a village in Ediamat to bring back the shrine to Kadjinol. He took two head of cattle to sacrifice at the shrine and set out for Ediamat. There he learned that he required a third steer, so he had to make a second trip. He performed

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62 Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, 11/18/77; Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/27/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, 11/27/77.

63 Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, 11/18/77; Terence Galandiol Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 4/19/78.

64 This is probably overstated, though house here may refer to a compound of several houses. Interview with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou 3/1/78 also 2/2/78.
the necessary sacrifices and brought the shrine back to Kadjinol. The bringing back of this shrine was seen as a task that only a spiritually powerful individual, a man with a special "head" could do. According to participants at the shrine, Gilaite is fire itself, only a blacksmith with special powers could control such a powerful boekine and bring it back to Kadjinol.

When Haieheck returned to Kadjinol he established the altar of Gilaite within the sanctuary of Duhagne at Kafone. Because of its close proximity to a footpath, uninitiated people could hear and see rituals which they did not have a right to witness. It is said that Gilaite seized these people with leprosy for violating his sanctuary. In order to reduce the possibility of such incidents, the shrine elders moved Gilaite to a sacred forest near the rice paddies. Initially, the rituals of Gilaite were performed by Haieheck, but after a few years, he initiated an elder of the Kalainou compound of Kafone as oeyi, high priest of Gilaite. He and his family, the Kumbogy compound of Kafone retained ownership of the shrine with the right to select and initiate future oeyi-Gilaite. The

55 Dating of this shrine is based on analysis of the Kumbogy and Kalainou lineage genealogies. Haieheck was a community leader during the period 1850-1870. The first priest of Gilaite, besides Haieheck, died before 1900. Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/1/76, 11/18/77; 3/4/78, 11/2/78; Musasenkor Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/14/78.


57 Interviews with Sidionbaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/7/78; Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/1/78, 3/28/78, 5/23/78.
decision to transfer the ritual responsibilities of Gilaité is usually justified by claiming that Haieheck wanted to strengthen a ritually weak compound. A more plausible justification would be that the Kalainou concession, descendants of Koonjaen, had dominated the rituals of Silapoom as well as the blacksmithing craft. Haieheck probably wished that the lineage with the strongest spiritual ties to the forge serve as the intermediary between the blacksmith shrines and community. Simultaneously, Haieheck created a council of elders, including representatives from all the blacksmith lineages of Kadjinol, which would supervise the workings of the cult. This arrangement resembled that between the priest-king of each Esulalu community, also of Koonjaen descent, and the council of elders who owned the shrine.

Like Duhagne, Gilaité protected the work of blacksmiths as well as the lives and property of blacksmith lineages. It protected the community against theft and leprosy, though it also seized violators of its rules with leprosy. Houben medicines made of palm fibers consecrated at the Gilaité shrine were placed near valuable goods to keep them from being stolen. People who were victims of theft or witchcraft, but who did not know the identity of the offender, would come to Gilaité and swear out the events that had occurred. Gilaité was said to seize the wrongdoers with leprosy. "This is why we have no thieves here."70

68 Interview with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 8/1/76; Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 6/12/78.

69 Interview with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/1/78.

According to Siopama Dieddhiou, the sacred forest of Gilaite also served as a sanctuary for the animal doubles (siwuum) of the blacksmith lineages. People would perform rituals to protect their animal doubles from accidental harm. "This is why, if you don't go to perform the sacrifice, they [the siwuum] will all die." The animal doubles drink water in the sacred forest of Gilaite. "If you do not go to perform sacrifices, they won't let your animal doubles drink." Both you and your children will then fall ill.\(^\text{71}\)

From Kadjinol, relatives of the Kafone blacksmiths took lesser shrines of Gilaite to Mlomp, Kagnout, and Eloudia.\(^\text{72}\) All of Esulalu's Gilaite originated with the one that was introduced by Haieheck. Gilaite quickly assumed a position of dominance over the other shrines of the forge, though cattle continued to be sacrificed at the senior shrine of Duhagne. Silapoom became restricted to a guild shrine taken on by only a few master craftsmen.

Esulalu's low sandy ridges covered by forests and surrounded by rice paddies were breeding grounds for a wide variety of tropical diseases, ranging from malaria and yellow fever to trypanosomiasis, dysentary and myiasis, all of which were endemic along the West African coast. In the

\(^{71}\) Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/28/78. On the Esulalu concept of animal doubles, see Appendix Three.

\(^{72}\) Interviews with Sinyendikaw Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/9/78; Sidionbaw Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/7/78; Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/16/77. Samatit only acquired a small Gilaite recently since it has no blacksmiths. Group Discussion with Cyriaque Assin and Neerikoone Assin, Samatit, 6/20/78.
nineteenth-century greater population mobility brought on by increased trade with Europeans and their agents accelerated the spread of diseases. Increasing population density provided additional hosts for parasites to reproduce and spread.\(^73\)

In the early nineteenth century many types of spirit shrines could be consulted for the healing of specific maladies, but three shrines were of particular importance, Bruinkaw, Ehoon, and Kalick. A person who was afflicted by an illness that resisted ordinary cures would seek out a male or female priest of Bruinkaw, a divinatory shrine. Bruinkaw could determine the spiritual cause of one's affliction in one of two ways; either it could speak through the priest or it could reveal the causes to the priest in a dream. While traveling through the Casamance in 1871, Alfred Marche heard of a spirit shrine that could talk and was involved in healing. He described the way in which the priest would take "two bamboo poles, moving one inside the other so that it stuck and produced with it a raucous sound that he said was the voice of the boekeing, then he

\(^73\) For a description of the diseases prevalent along the coast of West Africa, see: J.C. Ene, *Insects and Man in West Africa*, Ibadan: Ibadan U. Press, 1963. passim. On the increasing incidence of disease, see Oliver Davies, *West Africa before the Europeans: Archaeology and Prehistory*, London: Methuen, 1967. p. 21. He claims that: "The vectors, mosquito, tsotse, and semulium, have probably been indigenous: but so long as there were very few human hosts, the parasites could not easily complete their life cycles. It is not known when malaria, sleeping-sickness (trypanosomiasis) and fly blindness (onchocerciasis) became endemic in West Africa. Is is likely that until recent times they existed only in limited areas;..." Philip Curtin noted that there was a major cholera epidemic in 1868 and 1869. Curtin, *Economic Change*, Appendix, p. 5. A yellow fever epidemic swept through the area in 1878. "Les Camps de dissemination au Sénégal, 2 Avril, 1891" manuscript in the Institut de France.
translated the message to the person who came there to consult."74 The second way of ascertaining the cause of someone's illness, was to give the priest of Bruinkaw a sprig of unhusked rice for the priest to place under his pillow. That night, Bruinkaw would reveal through the priest's dreams, the nature of the subject's problem, its causes and remedy.75

Bruinkaw was a shrine of affliction which seized people with an illness as a way of summoning them to its priesthood. The illness itself was seen as a particularly dangerous one. The process of taking on the shrine, of becoming a priest, was not only expensive, requiring the sacrifice of several pigs and a dog, but it was regarded as spiritually dangerous since Bruinkaw could attack its adepts with a recurrence of the illness for minor violations of ritual rules.75

Unlike the divination shrine of Bruinkaw, Eboon was an important shrine for the healing process itself, once the cause of the illness had been identified. The Kalick shrine was closely associated with women's fertility problems through its priesthood was exclusively male. Both

74 Alfred Marche, Trois Voyages, p. 76. Sikakucele Diatta claims that Bruinkaw could reveal what type of spirit has seized a sick person and what actions that person had done to provoke it. Interview with Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/17/78. I persistently heard rumors that Bruinkaw could speak, though I never witnessed it at the Bruinkaw rites that I attended.

75 Interviews with Dionsal Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/2/77; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 8/14/78; Songatebeh Diatta, Mlomp-Cadjifolong, 12/19/78. The importance of Bruinkaw is confirmed by Thomas, Diola, p. 497.

76 Interviews with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 12/27/78; Siopoma Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/17/77; Dionsal Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/2/77. Group Discussion, Paponah Diatta, and Homère Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/13/78.
these shrines lost much of their influence after the introduction of the
women's fertility shrine of Ehugna.\textsuperscript{77}

In the mid nineteenth century people from Esulalu introduced two
types of Ehugna into Esulalu. Men brought the type of Ehugna that
originated in the Huluf community of Siganar, giving it to their wives who
established it first in Kadjinol-Kafone. From there it spread to the Haer
quarter of Mlomp, to Eloudia, and to parts of Kagnout and Samatit.\textsuperscript{78} The
Mlomp quarters of Djicomole and Cadifolong have the same type of Siganar
Ehugna, but they did not receive it from Kadjinol. Women introduced the
second type of Ehugna from Niomoun, via the stranger villages of Carabane
and Elinkine to Samatit and Kagnout. Each type of Ehugna had its own
rules governing access to the shrines and the performance of rituals,
though they both address similar types of spiritual concerns.

Ehugna was primarily concerned with the problem of fertility; only
women who had given birth to children could participate in its rituals.
Rituals were performed at Ehugna to ensure the fertility of women and
crops and to eliminate forces which would work against community
fertility, including drought, witchcraft and disease. Barren women were

\textsuperscript{77} Eboon is quite rare now. In 1979 there was only one left at
Kadjinol. Interviews with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 11/17/78;
Kupoeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/18/78. On Kulick, see: Interviews
with Edouard Kadjinga Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone and Indriisa Dieddhiou,
Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/4/78; Kuadadge Diatta and Ompa Rumbegey Dieddhiou,
Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/24/76. This shrine probably dates back to the early
eighteenth century since the Ecuhuh section of Kafone is excluded from
participation in its rites. This is because they were an enemy of Kafone
during the Hassouka-Kafone war, (see Chapter Three). Interview with
Kuadadge Diatta, 7/9/76.

\textsuperscript{78} For a discussion of Ehugna at Siganar and throughout Huluf, see:
not permitted to participate in the performance of the rituals because their lack of fertility power could lessen the efficacy of ritual action. The power of Ehugna, whose name is derived from "Hugna" (menstruation), stemmed from the fertile power of Diola women who sought to rid themselves and their communities of evil, life destructive forces. Childless women or barren women could have rituals performed for them, to aid them in conceiving a child. Before the planting of rice, women took some of their seed rice to the Ehugna of the rice paddies, called Agebuhl at Kadjinol, to be blessed for a good harvest. In the fall, before any rice was brought back from the fields, women brought small amounts of rice to the Ehugna to perform a first fruits ritual. When the rains were late, women would perform rituals at Ehugna to obtain this life-giving force. When witchcraft reappeared as a community problem, women performed rituals to protect against witches and to expel evil from the community. Certain elders of Ehugna were said to have the power to see witches in the night, through dreams. This would lead to their being publically identified at the Ehugna shrine. Healing of diseases was also an important part of the functions of the shrine. Ehugna upheld the proper relations between the sexes, seizing men who abused women or violated menstrual avoidances with a variety of diseases, including one whose symptom of a distended stomach was said to resemble pregnancy.

79 Field Notes of Olga Linares, Samatit, 11/19/76. Interview with Ekusumen Dieddhiou, 12/14/78.

80 Field Notes of Olga Linares, Samatit, 11/19/76. Interview with Ameliké Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone 3/26/78; Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 6/23/78.

81 Interviews with Dionsal Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/2/77; Ekusumen Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/25/78; Indrisse Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 10/19/78, 10/20/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/21/78.
A man named Adio Boukhan brought the first type of Ehugna to his compound at Kadjinol-Kafone. He had observed the shrine's rituals at Siganar and been impressed by the power of the women's shrine. It is said that he decided to bring the shrine because Kadjinol's women had no shrine exclusively of their own; however recurring drought, increasing problems with women's infertility and witchcraft concerns may have also led to his decision. In order to control such a boökine Adio Boukhan had to use special spiritual powers. Having decided to take on the shrine, Adio Boukah stole some goats from Kafone and took them to Siganar for sacrifice at their Ehugna. Ehugna was said to have eaten the insides of the goats, all the flesh and organs, while leaving the skin and bones intact. This is a power that is usually attributed to witches.

Returning home, Adio Boukhan carried the spirit of this Ehugna, Djakati, in a sack. He summoned his brother and a man from Sergerh and revealed the spirit to them. Then he called a meeting of the people of Kafone. They were angry because of the theft of the goats and they wanted to know what Adio Boukhan had done with them. He replied that he had sacrificed them at a new shrine, Ehugna. Then he named his wife as chief priestess of the shrine, instructed her in its use, and established a shrine. The office of oevi Ehugna belongs to the wives of Adio Boukhan's

82 Interviews with Elizabeth Sambou and Dionsal Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/22/76; Michel Anjou Manga, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/2/78; Henri Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/5/76; Kuadadge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/21/78; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 12/21/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/21/78.
descendants in the Eljinah compound of Kafone. The men of Kadjinol were forbidden to eat or drink at the shrine, though Adio Boukhan and his descendants performed the sacrifices of cattle pigs, and goats as they were needed at the Ehugna shrine. Following the shrine's installation, women from neighboring quarters, from Mlomp-Haer, from Eloudia and from parts of Kagnout and Samatit requested that Ehugna shrines be established in their communities as well.

The second type of Ehugna can be traced back to the north shore settlements of Itou and Niomoun. A woman nicknamed Ayou Ahan brought the shrine from Carabane to Elinkine. Kagnout and Samatit also received it from Elinkine. At this type of Ehugna men can partake of the palm wine and meat of sacrifice after the rituals have been concluded. In 1889, Father Kieffer observed an Ehugna ritual of this type at the village of Itou:

83 Adio Boukhan was a contemporary of Haieheck and was circumcized in the same Bukut. Interviews with Ekusumben Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/19/78; Djisambouway Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/26/78; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 12/21/78; Musasenkor Dieddhiou and Lolene Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/20/78; Ameliké Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/25/78.

There is a small Ehugna at Kadjinol-Kafone’s Gent compound which is said to be of an older and different type than Djakati. This Ehugna is presided over by the high priestess of Djakati but it belongs to the Gent lineage which is linked to the priest-king of Oussouye and to certain Koonjaen shrines. Whether this is a Koonjaen form of Ehugna or not remains unclear. Interviews with Kuadadge Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/20/78, 2/21/78; Musasenkor Dieddhiou and Lolene Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/20/78.

84 Samatit and Kagnout have both types of Ehugna. Samatit’s Ehugna Djakati is located at Sitokey and has the same exclusion of men as is found in Kadjinol. Field Notes, Olga Linares, Interview with Jagesa, 11/21/76.
On the days of major celebrations, a pig is sacrificed to the fetishes; and all mothers are obligated to take part in the festivities; while rice is being cooked in the courtyard of the priestess, it is the chants that continue during the day and night with quite bizarre accompaniments. Then the worshippers gather together, dressed for the occasion in red pagnes, adorned by three or four strings of bells around their waists. Carrying cow's tails they stir in rhythm and jump. The skill with which they perform the movement is somehow diabolical; one would say it is the demon that gives them the power that is necessary for them not to tire.

The emphasis on mothers, rather than women as a whole, is clear evidence that Kieffer observed an Ehugna ritual. Judging from my observations of such rituals, the red cloth is associated with the high priestess, indicating the possibility that Father Kieffer observed the end of the initiation of a priestess of Ehugna. Cows' tails are symbols of wealth.

By the late nineteenth century, women had obtained ritual authority over what was regarded as one of the most powerful shrine clusters within Esulalu. The spiritual power of women as embodied in the cult of Ehugna rested upon their unique role as givers of life. Their power to bestow life was seen as an effective weapon against the life destructive forces of infertility and witchcraft. In this sense their power was akin to the spiritual power of the Koonjaen and the priest-king whose intimate ties to the life giving properties of the soil give them a unique power against life diminishing forces that continuously threatened Esulalu.

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Within the Esulalu townships people worried about the perennial problems of security and order, of fertility of women and crops, of physical well-being and protection from witchcraft, but as the nineteenth century wore on these problems seemed to take on a new urgency. French military actions against Kagnout, Karones, Thionk Essil, and Seleki raised the spectre of European interference in Esulalu’s internal affairs, while the persistence of raiding for captives did little to alleviate anxieties about community security. A prolonged drought, beginning in 1851, and the increasing incidence of disease threatened the life giving powers of both the land and of women, while contributing to an actual decline in the physical well being of the community as a whole. Such anxieties were often reflected in accusations of witchcraft, which appear frequently throughout the century.

Esulalu, however, did not limit its response to these problems to the socially corrosive process of witchcraft accusations. The blacksmiths of Kafone introduced a new series of shrines to protect against theft, witchcraft, and leprosy. The women of Esulalu spread a new shrine of Ehugna throughout the region in order to ensure the fertility of crops and women and community security against witchcraft and other forces of evil. The search for security led Esulalu elders to forge alliances through the exchanges of such spirit shrines as Cabai while religious sanctions were provided to give power to preserve treaties between previously hostile townships. In the nineteenth century Esulalu religious institutions continued to provide a path for community understanding and control over the problems that beset them. New challenges were met by a reaffirmation of ritual authorities, their extension into new areas, or the creation of
new spirit shrines as intermediaries between the people of Esulalu and Emitai. In the nineteenth century Esulalu religion relied on its capacity for innovation, to continue to find ways of bestowing meaning on an uncertain and rapidly changing world.
"Conclusion"

In this study I have sketched the broad outlines of the history of a Diola-Esulalu religious tradition, beginning with the gradual joining together of distinct Koonjaen and Floup traditions and concluding with an examination of Diola traditions on the eve of the establishment of colonial rule and a permanent missionary presence. Written sources, primarily from travellers, traders, colonial administrators, and missionaries provided interesting and useful descriptions of the Diola past, but were too removed from Diola community life, too fragmentary in scope and lacking in historical perspective to provide more than supplementary evidence concerning Esulalu religious history. The core of this study had to be based on Esulalu oral traditions which I gathered from community elders and other interested people during the course of thirty-three months of field work. While historians of oral traditions have raised questions about the richness of oral traditions concerning religion and students of Diola society have questioned the Diola sense of history, it becomes clear from this study that Diola traditions about their religious history are rich in both detail and analysis for both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The analysis of these traditions provides the basic structure of this work.

1 For a discussion of Jan Vansina's claims about the difficulties of using oral traditions in religious history, see Vansina, Woot, p. 197. For a discussion of scholar's scepticism about Diola oral history, see Chapter One. See also, Mark, "Economic and Religious", p. 7. Thomas, Diola, p. 489.
Diola religious memory focuses primarily on the history of religious institutions rather than on changes in central elements of a Diola belief system. The history of specific spirit shrines, their influence within Esulalu, their ritual rules, and their adaptations to the continuing process of community change provide the core of remembered religious history. In the absence of formal political institutions, spirit shrines became the primary institutions of community life, regulating such diverse activities as slave trading and community labor in the maintenance of rice paddy dikes and fences. As upholders of a moral order, the spirit shrines became a major source of cultural continuity. Shrine histories reveal far more than the nature of specific cults; they reveal the relationship between various families that control shrines and the nature of their claims to spiritual power. Frequently the introductions of spirit shrines are remembered as responses to specific types of historical situations.

The development of cults shed light on the ways in which Esulalu communities sought to explain and control specific types of historical forces.

From the intricate detail of shrine histories, the historian of religion can glean some evidence of their broader significance and the implications they have for the development of a Diola belief system. In certain cases, changes in shrine structures indicate changes in the Diola conceptualization of the relationship between Emitai, the spirit shrines, and the people of Esulalu. In other instances, such changes may indicate changing concepts of a Diola priesthood. Such interpretations are not always offered in the recounting of oral traditions, however, and the student of Diola religious history must infer from the nature of the
institutional change, the broader significance for the process of belief and value change. Almost inevitably, the subtler types of changes remain elusive, concealed by the tendency to refine oral traditions in accordance with contemporary needs or lost beyond the limits of human memory. Still, the absence of fixed oral traditions in Esulalu and the existence of a multiplicity of free traditions reflecting the diversity of spirit shrines preserve far more memories of significant religious changes than the more routinized and centralized traditions of societies with more restricted access to spiritual authority.

Diola religious historians often associate the creation of spirit shrines with particular problems within community life. Certain shrines are described as being created during specific crises within Esulalu history or in response to persistent environmental, economic, social, or political problems. This should not be taken to suggest, however, that Diola religion is a mere reflection of changes within Diola community life. It is a Diola belief system that interprets and gives meaning to those forces for change within a Diola society. Rather than an indication of the primacy of temporal experience over structures of belief, the close association of historical forces with the creation of spirit shrines is evidence of a fundamental structure of Diola beliefs that sees spiritual causes behind many forms of change and sees the various types of spiritual beings associated with shrines as created by Emitai for the express purpose of resolving such problems. The instrumental aspect of spirit shrine worship is central to the definition of the spirits associated with these shrines. It then follows logically that historical forces for change influence the activities of certain shrines, encouraging some to
gain new powers, as well as becoming an impetus for the creation of new shrines and the abandonment of those that are no longer seen as efficacious.

Despite the dramatic changes within Diola society and religious practice during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the fundamental belief that spirit shrines serve as intermediaries between the Diola and their supreme being, in order to resolve various types of problems, was not altered. New spirit shrines were created and old ones were modified, but they continued to be approached in order to resolve specific types of individual, family and community problems. Such endurance reflects the continued ability of this fundamental tenet of Diola religion to explain the changing circumstances in which the Esulalu community found itself.

The close association of the spirit shrines with changing temporal conditions allows the historian of religion to understand the ways in which the paradigm of spiritual intermediaries operates in specific contexts. By examining Esulalu religious responses to various types of temporal change, one begins to uncover the nature of the dialogue between changes in objective conditions and belief systems. Each shapes the other. Historical forces determine the range of phenomena to which Diola belief systems must respond, while the belief systems determine the ways in which such changes are perceived, explained and controlled.

In this conclusion I shall bring together my findings on the nature of this dialogue, the ways in which Esulalu responses to change are structured according to religious beliefs. Then I shall discuss the broader implications of such changes and the structures within Diola religion that permit and encourage continuing innovation within a Diola religious system.
In normal years the people of Esulalu could expect sufficient rainfall to ensure a good rice harvest, sufficient to feed a family and buy some needed goods while leaving an adequate reserve for the leaner years. Yet droughts were frequent during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In a drought, most of the rice paddies did not flood, leaving only a small portion of them suitable for planting and resulting in only a small harvest. The failure of the rains, which often occurred in several successive years, was associated not only with crop failure, but with the ebbing of life forces within the community. Adequate rainfall meant life. The first rains after a long dry season produced an abundance of vegetation; what had once been dry and brown became green and alive. Adequate rainfall also demonstrated the efficacy of Diola rituals designed to carry community prayers, by way of the spirit shrines, to Emitai who gave this vital gift of life.\footnote{This close association of rain and the supreme being is common to many West African religions. In Diola, the term for rain, "Emitai ehlahl," and the name of the supreme being, Emitai, are closely related. A part of Emitai's life-giving force is said to fall with rain.}

Inadequate rainfall was a clear sign to Diola communities that something was wrong in the relationship between the townships, the spirit shrines and Emitai. The withholding of rain was often seen as a sign of Emitai's displeasure. Perhaps the drought was caused by inadequate or poorly conducted rituals at the specific spirit shrines associated with rain or fertility. Perhaps it was due to widespread witchcraft activity or other forms of misconduct. The nature of the problem had to be discerned.
and ritually removed to ensure adequate rainfall and community well being. This would often be accompanied by a community wide invocation of Emitai through the elaborate ritual of Nyakul Emit. When the rains failed to come, men and women would perform rituals at all the spirit shrines of the community, asking them to carry prayers to Emitai to send rain. Then they performed a funeral dance, in a sense a funeral dance for the entire community, imploring Emitai to pity them and to provide life-giving rain.

Prolonged drought provoked a serious questioning of the efficacy of existing spirit shrines and rain rituals and often resulted in the modification of such rituals and the introduction of new shrines. Droughts in the eighteenth century facilitated the acceptance of a series of spirit shrines associated with the priest-king within Esulalu ritual life. Severe drought in the late eighteenth century encouraged Diola elders to question the legitimacy of priest-kings within Esulalu whose ancestors had been involved in the conquest of the autochthonous Koonjaen. The spiritual crisis brought on by this drought was an important factor in overcoming the elders’ resistance to recognizing the spiritual preeminence of the conquered Koonjaen. This allowed members of the Koonjaen royal lineage, Gent, to assume the office of priest-king and to restore its royal shrine of Egol. This was done in order that prayers for the fertility of the land and the procurement of water would be offered by the most spiritually powerful people within Esulalu. The threat of drought also led to the introduction of Cayinte shrines which were explicitly linked to rain, and, in the nineteenth century, may have influenced the spread of Rhuqua, where women offered prayers for rain. Esulalu’s desperate search for rain in a time of drought became a powerful force for
the creation of new spirit shrines and for redefining the priesthoods that performed such rituals. It did not, however, lead to the abandonment of their fundamental beliefs that rainfall was dependent on the community's correct relationship with Emitai and the efficacy of Emitai's intermediaries in conveying their prayers for rain.

Epidemics were another powerful force for change within Esulalu religious life. The people of Esulalu suffered under the debilitating and often fatal effects of a host of diseases. With greater population mobility resulting from increased trade and higher population density providing more hosts for the spread of parasitic diseases, ill health became an increasingly serious problem within Esulalu. Such diseases were often seen as having spiritual causes, ranging from witchcraft to punishment for offenses against an Esulalu moral code, from neglect of ritual obligations to a summons to become a priest of a shrine of affliction. Increasing disease rates gave rise to witch finding movements, especially in the nineteenth century. It also encouraged the adoption of shrines with important healing roles. Thus a high incidence of leprosy helped open the way for community acceptance of the blacksmith shrine of Gilaite, a shrine said to have the power to inflict and to heal leprosy. Other diseases may have encouraged Esulalu to accept the women's shrine of Ehugna, which was said to be able to tap women's life-giving powers to promote good health. The general increase in the incidence of disease or the persistence of certain specific diseases may have contributed to the decline of such healing and women's fertility shrines as Eboon and Kalick.
Esulalu's persistent problem of township unity was also addressed through religious activity, specifically the establishment of spirit shrines specializing in problems of community governance and moral leadership. In the eighteenth century, Esulalu elders brought back from Seleki, a town council shrine called Hutendookai. On its premises, representatives of every lineage within the township could gather and discuss a wide variety of community problems ranging from land disputes to enforcement of community work obligations and the searching out of witches. A new shrine, Hoohaney, was created as a cult for the elders who assisted the priest-king, empowering them to supervise the affairs of the cemetery and to discuss issues requiring spiritual leadership in the community. The introduction of these shrines was accompanied by the removal of the priest-king from the regulation of community affairs and his exclusion from the deliberations of Hutendookai. Stripped of what we would consider his secular powers, the priest-king was elevated above all factions and became a powerful symbol of the spiritual unity of the community. As the embodiment of township unity, the priest-king could stop all intra-township wars and also tap the power of the community as a whole to offer prayers for the protection of township fertility and welfare.

The frequency of warfare, however, resulted in the creation of a series of shrines that could strengthen township quarters and individual members' martial prowess when fighting in a just cause. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a series of quarter shrines such as Elenkine-Sergerh and Kanalia, as well as a single such shrine, Enac, for Samatit, provided spiritual protection and power for the warriors who gathered in
their precincts. The threat of Kadjinol-Kafone's defeat by its neighboring quarter of Hassouka created a favorable environment for Kooliny Djabune to have visions of Emitai. His soul was said to have risen to Emitai, where he received instructions about the use of a new shrine, Cabai, which strengthened Kafone in war and allowed it to defeat its enemies. The giving of Cabai to Kafone's allies became a powerful way of providing spiritual sanctions against the breakdown of such alliances, creating a situation where the same spirit could not assist two antagonists in a single war.

The most dramatic changes within Esulalu religion occurred under the influence of increasing Diola participation in trade during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. European demand for rice and slaves encouraged the Diola to trade, through African middlemen, with Portuguese, French, and English merchants. In exchange for their rice and captives the Diola received cattle, muskets, gunpowder, cloth and a variety of other trade goods. In the absence of a centralized state, the slave trade was regulated and legitimated through a series of religious cults and their priests. As the market for Diola captives dramatically increased in the eighteenth century, Diola slave traders were given new opportunities to amass wealth, especially in cattle and rice paddies. Within this relatively egalitarian society, the primary socially acceptable use of wealth was the acquisition of priestly offices. There were no specialized political offices to desire and the hoarding of wealth was seen as a form of witchcraft. Wealthy slave raiders began to create new spirit shrines and to transform older cults in order to emphasize the role of wealth in their priestly offices. Charismatic elements in Diola religion became
less important, while the spiritual powers of Diola priests were seen as in sharp decline.

This process can best be illustrated by examining the transformation of the cults that were involved in the slave trade. Diola slave trading had its origins in the ransoming of war captives and cattle thieves seized from neighboring Diola sub-groups. When a prisoner was seized, he was taken to the home of his captor and placed in wooden fetters at the family shrine of Hupila. He became a temporary member of his captor's family until ransomed by his family. Should the captive die while being held, rituals would be performed at the captor's Hupila and at the captor's family shrine of Kouhouloung, before he was buried in the stranger's cemetery. Only if a captive was not ransomed could he be sold into slavery. Any premature sale or abuse against him would be punished by Hupila, who was believed to seize wrongdoers with a disease that made them feel like their bodies were bound in ropes. This type of slave trade was regarded as legitimate and was carefully regulated by one of the most basic cults of the religion.

As the wealth and influence of the slave traders increased, they began to use their power to dominate Esulalu religious life. In the late eighteenth century new forms of Hupila were introduced within Esulalu. Only men who had seized a slave could gain the right to perform rituals at this Hupila. It also imposed more costly material requirements for becoming a priest. By a process that remains unclear, participants in the slave trade gradually gained control of one of the most central shrines of Diola religion. They became the intermediaries in prayers for the well being and fertility of most of the families of Esulalu. Wealth as a
requirement for the acquisition of religious office became increasingly important at the town council shrine of Hutendookai, as well as at a new form of circumcision shrine called Bukut and the new elders’ shrine of Hoohanev. An increasing emphasis on animal sacrifice at these cults reflected the augmented supply of livestock, especially cattle, and the importance of this wealthier livestock holding elite.

As seizing slaves in the Diola areas of Senegambia became more difficult, a small group of slave raiders created a secret society to seize children from their own and neighboring villages. These captives were kept at a secret shrine, hidden in the granary of the kidnappers. A new shrine, Hupila Hugop, protected the slavers from the spiritual sanctions of Hupila and other shrines that protect the community. Here one finds a spirit shrine being established to ward off punishments imposed by other spirit shrines for what was regarded as wrongdoing and its use for the regulation of an illicit slave trade.

The increasing availability of trade goods also influenced the process of belief and value change within Esulalu. In the nineteenth century, ready access to cloth, as well as more frequent contacts with northern Senegalese traders encouraged the adoption of more modest styles of dress. The expanding availability of muskets facilitated the introduction of a hunting shrine called Hoopoomhene, "the musket". The increasing availability of iron heightened the influence of the blacksmith linenges and prepared the way for the introduction of a series of new blacksmith shrines that became some of the most powerful shrines in the entire region.
In examining the histories of these spirit shrines, there appears to be three primary methods of introducing new religious cults based on borrowing, giving, and visions or dream experience. Some of the shrines were borrowed from neighboring communities when circumstances suggested the need and when other communities seemed to have a particularly desirable way of addressing spiritual problems or performing religious rituals. The perceived greater efficacy of Koonjaen shrines related to rain and fertility led the people of Esulalu to incorporate the Koonjaen priest-king shrine of Egol and to adopt the Koonjaen form of circumcision, Kahat. Hutendookai, Gilaite, Ehugna, and the new form of Hupila were all borrowed from neighboring Diola groups when individuals from Esulalu observed the efficacy of these cults in other communities. At times, these individuals were said to perform the necessary sacrifices and then brought the spirit associated with the cult back to Esulalu, together with such ritual objects as soil from the senior shrine precincts, and then established a shrine. In such instances the initiator of the shrine had to use spiritual powers to control the spirit associated with the shrine. More frequently, elders of the senior shrine came to Esulalu, created a new shrine and initiated a local priest to perform its rituals. Sometimes cult leaders modified the ritual rules to better meet the needs of the Esulalu townships. Thus the women of Ehugna-Djakati decided to exclude men from drinking palm wine at their shrine, through they were well aware that men could do so at many other forms of Ehugna. At times the junior shrine could exceed the power of the senior shrine because of the reputed powers of its priests or a perceived greater need for its services. Thus, Kadjinol-Kafone’s Gilaite, though introduced from Ediamat, became the most powerful blacksmith shrine of the south shore Diola.
The giving of a shrine by one community to another provides a second method of introducing new spirit shrines within Esulalu. Thus Kadjinol-Kafone's war shrine of Cahni was given to Haer in gratitude for Haer's assistance in a war between Kafone and Hassouka. Haer also received an Ehugna shrine from Kafone for its assistance in a war against Huluf. The north shore Diola community of Niomoun was given a Cayinte shrine by Kadjinol, partially in recognition of the friendship between the two communities. This method, like that of borrowing shrines from other communities, required the performance of certain rituals by the senior shrines' elders to allow for the creation of a shrine in a new community. It differs from the borrowing process in its emphasis on cult elder's desires to spread their particular shrines and their desires to utilize them to forge lasting alliances. It is also distinguished from the visionary process by its lack of emphasis on the display of spiritual powers in the shrine transfer process.

A third method of creating new shrines depended neither on borrowing from Esulalu's neighbors, nor on giving shrines to neighboring communities. This method stressed the creation of new shrines within Esulalu, by people who were said to have spiritual gifts. The founders of these shrines, which were said to have originated in Esulalu, were said to have special powers of the head and special powers to "see" in the world of the spirit. Their dreams and visions of either Emitai or lesser spirits led them to create new shrines and to introduce them into Esulalu townships.
It has been suggested by Esulalu historians that several shrines were created as a result of people having visions of Emitai. In each case the souls of the individuals were said to leave their bodies and ascend to Emitai where they were taught the rituals of the new cult before they returned to earth and reentered their bodies. In several instances their wives were said to have feared that the apparently lifeless bodies left behind were dead and the visionary was forced to stop his instruction before it was complete and return to his body to avert a funeral. Atta-Essou, the founder of Eloudia, provides the earliest example of visions from Emitai, a series of visions that led to his creation of Egol and the institution of the priest-king. Kooliny Djabune’s vision during the war between Kafone and Hassouka, in the eighteenth century, resulted in the creation of the war shrine of Cabai. A vision of uncertain date, but before the colonial era, resulted in the creation of the Cassissili shrine at Kagnout-Ebrouwaye. In the 1940’s, the prophetess Alinesitoué had a series of visions from Emitai that led to the introduction of several rain shrines and a series of new teachings about Diola religious life.

3 This was the case with Kooliny Djabune and his visions relating to Cabai, as well as the visions that led to the creation of Kagnout’s shrine of Cassissili.

4 Atta-Essou was said to have never died. His name means "bird-like". He was said to have made wings of palm fibers and to have flown up to join Emitai and to continue to appear to his descendants, the Gent lineages of Esulalu. This is probably a Koonjaen tradition.

5 For a brief discussion of Alinesitoué, see Chapter One. This will be discussed at length in a future study of Diola religion during the colonial era.
Visions and dreams about lesser spirits, the amnahl, are far more common within Diola religious traditions. Both men and women were said to encounter spiritual beings who taught them how to communicate with them and perform rituals to convey the needs of their communities. Spiritual experiences resulted in the creation of such quarter shrines as Elenkine-Sergerh at Kadjinol-Sergerh and other quarter shrines throughout Esulalu. These types of spiritual experiences can also be seen as a summons to the priesthood for already existing shrines and as a call to anti-social behavior when individuals strike bargains with individual amnahl to secure wealth or power at the expense of community welfare.

In looking at the structure of innovation within Esulalu religious tradition, one can identify three methods for the introduction of new cults and new teachings within Esulalu. Two involve drawing on the religious experience of other communities, including the conquered Koonjaen and neighboring Diola. These methods can be distinguished according to who initiates the transfer of cult knowledge, between requests to receive from these outside groups and offers from them to share a cult with an Esulalu township. The third method focuses on those individuals who claim the power to see into the world of the spirit, to communicate with Emitai or lesser spirits and then convey their teachings to the Esulalu townships. Thus Esulalu religious leaders provided several models for religious innovation. One can distinguish between the relatively public processes of borrowing and receiving and the necessarily esoteric one of spiritual experience. The receptivity of the community to such innovations would depend, however, on the community's perceptions of its spiritual needs and of the efficacy of existing religious institutions.
Another source of religious innovation within Esulalu was less dependent on specific shrine histories. This force for religious change drew on the creative tension within three areas of Esulalu belief in which two theoretical models competed for community adherence. These three issues were the nature of the spirit shrines themselves, the nature of the cult priests, and the nature of the Esulalu religious tradition itself. These need to be addressed in turn.

While Diola theologians generally agree that the spirit shrines serve as intermediaries between people and Emitai they are not in agreement about the degree of independence that they possess. Some would argue that the spirits merely relay human prayer to Emitai and carry out the will of the supreme being. Others see them as less predictable, capable of exercising their own wills and deciding whether or not, or how to, carry such messages. Some of these differences reflect the differences between various types of spirit shrines. Such shrines as Hutendookai and Bukut stress the intermediary role while such shrines as Hupila and Elenkine-Sergerh are seen as capable of more independent action. Still the existence of two theories about the nature of lesser spirits allows for both a greater diversity and a source of innovation within Esulalu traditions. Shrines created from visions of Emitai reaffirm the intimate role of the supreme being in the creation of channels of communication, allowing them to gain a centrality that ordinarily their newness would deny. Furthermore, the teachings that accompany the creation of what is regarded as a divinely inspired cult could supercede contradictory rules from much older cults. On the other hand, the uncertainties of prayer through more independent spirit cults allows for the possibility of
negotiation with spiritual powers and the occasional failure of properly addressed prayer. Simultaneously, it allows for the intervention of spiritual forces in matters that are regarded as still too manageable to require the intervention of Emitai. Neither model disappears, though one often appears to be ascendent until there is need for the other mode of perceiving the essential nature of the spirit shrines.

Another enduring tension in Esulalu religion focuses on the nature of the ritual specialist. Is the priest of a shrine merely the one who knows the correct ritual techniques and possesses the wherewithal to perform the initiation rituals required of the priests? Or should the specialist have received some kind of spiritual calling through an affliction associated with a specific cult, or through dreams and visions? In the former case, the priest becomes a mere "technician of the sacred", a ritual expert, not necessarily endowed with great wisdom or spiritual powers. In the latter case, the priests have been chosen and are often seen as having spiritual powers that enable them to communicate with the spirits of the shrines, not only through ritual actions, but through spiritual gifts.

This tension between a technical mastery and a spiritual mastery is not unique to Diola religion, but the continuing tension between these two visions of a priest provide a source of diversity and innovation. Shrines at which elders select their membership and their priests, using the criteria of family and wealth, are ensured of maintaining their priesthoods without long interregna. When vacancies occur new people are selected and are not dependent on finding someone with spiritual powers. Communication with the spirits of the shrine are fairly routinized, through the correct performance of rituals. Such shrines become an
important source of continuity and stability within Esulalu religious life. Still, such shrines' stress on ritualism, regularity, lineage and wealth may become too rigid and resistant to change and incapable of utilizing personal spiritual experience within an overly routinized structure.

Shrines that stress charismatic selection of priests have certain problems and advantages. The office of the priest could fall vacant for long periods of time if the proper disease does not seize a potential priest or the proper spirit does not reveal itself in dreams or visions. There is comparatively less community input into the selection of such priests. Priests deemed inappropriate by virtue of their youth, moral character, or general knowledge could undermine the authority of a cult. Still, the stress in such cults on dreams, visions, and the ability to communicate with the spirits associated with the shrine allow for a continuing renewal of spiritual experience, a greater flexibility in ritual rules and guidelines for community behavior, and the harnessing of the spiritual power of those who are said to receive a calling to offer prayer on behalf of the community.

In the face of continuing tension between technicians and seers, Esulalu drew both on the routinized power of the elective shrines and the internal religious experience of the more charismatic shrines. The relative importance of these two visions of religious leaders have fluctuated over time. During the period of increasing wealth and stratification, the elective principle and the technical mastery of the priest was stressed. Yet, in times of crises, the shrines of priests who claimed a spiritual calling were there to provide a leadership based on their spiritual gifts.
The third source of tension focuses on the nature of the Esulalu religious tradition itself, whether it is Koonjaen or Diola. Beginning in the eighteenth century when the people of Esulalu began to regard the Koonjaen as members of their community and not only a conquered minority, the newcomers to Esulalu began to draw on the spiritual power of the older inhabitants that grew out of their positions as owners of the land. It was because of this power that the Diola newcomers embraced the Koonjaen form of circumcision, the Egol shrine of the Koonjaen priest-king, and turned over their office of priest-king to the Koonjaen descendants of Atta-Essou. They recognized the spiritual power of being rooted in the land through one's attachment to ancestors who had died there over many generations and they turned to that power when their own cult institutions seemed ineffective. In order to reconcile their incorporation of Koonjaen cults and priests, however, they embraced the Koonjaen oral traditions making the accounts of Atta-Essou and his many children, their own. They gradually bridged the tension between a Koonjaen and Diola vision of history, making the Koonjaen shrines and priests Diola, while maintaining the memory of the Koonjaen's true ancestry primarily as a check on their potential abuse of power.

In examining the tension between conflicting theories in Diola religious thought during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there appear to be no revolutions. One theory does not seem to disappear; rather it wanes, only to be revived when it seems to be more effective. Such theoretical shifts, like the scientific revolutions described by Thomas Kuhn, tend to occur during a time of community crisis when the dominant paradigm seems less able to explain and control the forces of
change that confront it. "So long as the tools a paradigm supplies
continue to prove capable of solving the problems it defines, science
moves fastest and penetrates most deeply through confident employment of
those tools... The significance of crisis is the indication they provide
that an occasion for retooling has arrived."

In analysing the history of Esulalu in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there does not appear
to be a time when Esulalu religious theories lose their power to interpret
the forces that confront them. Consequently, within Esulalu, there does
not appear to be a need to relegate one theoretical model to the memories
of a few masters of oral tradition. Crisis situations seem to emphasize
the most appropriate theory, while conserving the other as a viable
alternative in another time or for a different type of problem. Two
visions of the nature of lesser spirits, priests, and, to a lesser extent,
of the tradition itself, continue to coexist, offering a greater
flexibility and range of answers to the new challenges of rendering
intelligible a rapidly changing world. The shift of paradigms, like the
process of religious conversion or revolutions, rarely results in the
elimination of past ways of perceiving and explaining the world. Rather,
it brings new structures of belief into greater prominence. People
continue to draw on those resources within their system of beliefs that
are still effective in explaining and influencing their world. The
memories of older paradigms reemerge in new crises and endure when they
are able to bestow the world with meaning.

6 Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1970. p. 76. Kuhn would describe a
scientific revolution as one in which a new paradigm first becomes
ascendent, then causes the other to virtually disappear. Kuhn, Structure,
p. 17.
Esulalu beliefs about the importance of religious change and their ability to live with continued ambiguity about the nature of spirits and priests raises serious questions about descriptions of African traditional thought as closed and rigid. Robin Horton has argued that the fundamental difference between African traditional thought and western science is the absence in the former of a "developed awareness of alternatives to the established body of theoretical tenets..." Pre-colonial Esulalu does not fit within Horton's idea of a traditional system. Adherents of Esulalu religion were quite receptive to borrowing new types of cults from their neighbors while modifying their ritual rules to meet their needs. Under the pressures of environmental uncertainty the people of the townships were willing to incorporate the religious tradition of the Koonjaen within their own tradition. Moreover, they continued to tolerate the unresolved tension between two conflicting visions of the spirit shrines and their priesthoods, drawing on each when most appropriate to explain their community's experience. Esulalu's emphasis on personal religious experience, through dreams and visions, as well as the broad diffusion of shrines and priestly offices, encouraged a continuing diversity of interpretations of major issues in Esulalu religion. This diversity of interpretation, each supported by its own spiritual authority, protected and nurtured the creative tension between conflicting visions of the fundamental nature of an Esulalu spiritual order.

APPENDIX ONE

CHRONOLOGY IN DIOLA-ESULALU ORAL TRADITIONS
In this dissertation I have relied on oral traditions to provide the core of evidence for the analysis of Diola-Esulalu religious history. In Chapter One I discussed the problems of gathering oral traditions and some of the problems of interpreting them. In this appendix I shall describe my methods of analyzing them in order to provide a chronological framework for this study as well as some of the problems inherent in such an analysis.

In a highly useful study, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition*, David Henige claims that: "The memory of the past in oral societies seldom included its abstract quantification. Traditional accounts were designed to develop and transmit those aspects of the past which were deemed important, and absolute dating was never, nor could ever be, one of these."¹ Absolute dating of the relatively distant past within the chronicles of a particular society depends on the existence of a quantifiable system of naming or numbering years, of remembering chronology in abstract terms, shorn of their relation to major events in that society's history. That type of dating does not appear to be possible in non-literate societies which do not possess that type of attitude toward time and calendars.² Other forms of data, written documents from outside of that society that can be related to events

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recounted in oral traditions, archaeological evidence, and evidence of
ecological changes all can be utilized in the quest for such an absolute
chronology\(^3\) which are not provided within the oral traditions themselves.

This lack of stress on absolute chronology does not imply that oral
traditions are not concerned with other aspects of chronology. Many oral
traditions contain a different type of chronology than that which
predominates in literate histories. Often they stress a relative
chronology, identifying historical events that are roughly contemporaneous
rather than providing exact dates. This relative chronology is important
to many oral cultures because it helps to establish the relative seniority
of social groups; legal, social, and economic rights; and ritual
precedence that structure contemporary human activity.\(^4\) Obviously, when
chronologies are used to legitimate a variety of social relations in
contemporary society, they can be used to advance the positions of certain
groups. This can be readily seen in the mediation of land and succession
disputes where oral evidence can be developed in a "creative" fashion.
This type of evidence, where the recounter of an oral tradition has
something to gain from his particular use of chronology, must be used with
great caution.

Of far greater value is the type of oral traditions where relative
chronology are suggested but where there are no motives for distortion or
there are motives for distortion that are not being made. Take the

\(^3\) Henige has described this process quite effectively in *Oral

\(^4\) Steven Feierman, *The Shambaa Kingdom: A History*; Madison,
University of Wisconsin Press, 1974, p. 4.
example of the history of a Diola spirit shrine. Suppose an elder of that shrine suggests that it was created by an ancestor of his four generations ago, when he has already recounted to you a genealogy eight generations deep. For him to claim that his shrine was created four generations ago when eight are remembered, is to suggest that there was a time when this spirit shrine did not exist and the people of his community used other means to resolve the problems associated with that shrine. Given that the Diola believe that the longevity of a cult contributes to its power, the informant is saying that while this shrine is senior to some, it is junior to many others. It did not exist since the time of the "first ancestors". This evidence can be more readily relied upon than claims of antiquity that are self-serving. Admitting the historicity of the creation of a spirit shrine and placing it within remembered relative chronologies runs counter to the public presentation of Diola religion, which suggests that all cults existed since the "first ancestors". In fact, such dating of shrines were rarely offered in initial interviews where the more official "ahistorical" presentations were made. A reliance on the historical accounts of the establishment of such shrines is supported by Jan Vansina's claim that: "When features which do not correspond to those commonly attributed to an ideal type nevertheless persist in a tradition, they may usually be regarded as trustworthy."5

One technique for the establishment of relative chronologies within a society as a whole is through the analysis of king lists. In a society with a tradition of centralized kingship detailed lists of rulers in

chronological order are carefully maintained. Various types of political, economic, religious, and environmental changes are said to have occurred during the reign of a particular monarch or chief. Sometimes there is even greater specificity, suggesting that a particular event occurred early in a ruler's reign. Such linkages provide a sense of which events are roughly contemporaneous, or which events occurred before or after other events. They do not provide an absolute chronology, however. Royal reigns vary radically in length; some successions may be collateral rather than lineal, and there may be long interregna.6 Similar problems exist in societies without centralized kingship, but where lists of priests and priest-kings of major shrines are maintained. In my research on the Diola-Esulalu I used these priest-king lists as an aid in determining the temporal relation of one event to another.

Of far greater significance in my research on Diola-Esulalu history was the use of Bukut circumcision initiation lists. Beginning in about 1780, the men of Esulalu adopted a form of male initiation ritual called Bukut. It is said to be held once every twenty years, though drought, poor crops, or other disruptions often caused substantial delays in the enactment of the ritual. In all these rites, all males (approximately 3-23 years of age) who have been weaned since the last Bukut are circumcized together. These circumcision rituals are named and men who are initiated together are said to belong to the same generation. While this does not take on the full organizational structure of an age grade, Bukut.

6 On the problem of analyzing kinglists, see Henige, *Chronology*, p. 6, 34, 145-165.
initiation rites are used to mark the different generations. The name of men's circumcision rituals are well known and are used by the Esulalu themselves to establish relative seniority in social relations. Some of these circumcision rituals can be dated in absolute terms by French visitors who wrote descriptions of these elaborate events. Eight circumcision rituals have been described to me. The methods of dating each Bukut are cited in the appropriate footnote. Dates are for Kadjinol's Bukuts. Other township Bukuts would lag four to six years behind Kadjinol and do not include Cata Seleki. Kadjinol gave Bukut to the other townships.

Djambia 1923.
Badusu 1900.

7 In the Batchakuale Bukut, Kadjinol-Hassouka was ready for the initiation in 1948, but Kalybillah was not and decided to wait until 1952. Mlomp's quarter of Cadjifolong performs its Bukut a few years after Kadjinol. In this case it was held in 1956. This was followed by the rest of Mlomp, Kagnout, Eloudia, and Samatit a few years later.

8 This circumcision ritual was held approximately 4 years after the World War I veterans returned from France (1919). Three years is the usual time between the Kabomen preparatory ritual and the actual circumcision ritual of Bukut. Several men initiated in Djambia had fathers who returned from the service and then fathered them. Since they would have had to been weaned before the circumcision ritual and Diola women nurse their children for three years, the circumcision could not have been held before 1923.

9 Father Wintz described Kagnout's Badusu Bukut which was held in 1904. the rules of transmission of Bukut require that Kadjinol's Bukut be held several years before the rest of Esulalu. "Journal de Carabane, 1898-1905" PSE.
Cata Seleki refers to the introduction of Bukut into Esulalu from the Diola-Bandial township of Seleki. Elders from Seleki conducted this initiation of Kadjinol males and then initiated a Bukut priesthood at Kadjinol. From this list one can obtain an approximate date for the introduction of the Bukut form of circumcision into Esulalu of 1790. Since the dates of all the circumcision rituals before 1900 are approximations, the earliest Bukut circumcision could have been slightly earlier or later. The translation of a Diola relative chronology into a western absolute form cannot be done with exactitude, even with the aid of outside observations of more recent rituals. I have to add a qualification to this date, that it could vary by as much as twenty years in either direction.

10 These two Bukut are dated together. Bertrand-Bocandé observed a circumcision ritual at Kagnout in 1854. Since Kagnout's were held four to eight years after Kadjinol's I approximate the date of Kadjinol's as 1850. All such dates are approximate. Batingalite refers to a mumps epidemic. "Lettre à Monsieur le Commandant Particulier Gorée, 1855", ANS 136-455.

11 Bagungup was the Bukut of Haieheck who signed a treaty with the French in 1860. For him to be in such a position of authority, he would already have had to have been middle aged. Being circumcised in 1830 he could have been anywhere between 33 and 53 at the time of the treaty signing. Bagungup could have been as much as ten years earlier than 1830.

12 Peter Mark has found that Bukut has a similar longevity among the north shore communities of Djougoutes. He collected names of 13 Bukut which he also estimates were held at 20 year intervals. Bukut is probably older in Djougoutes. See Mark, "Economic and Religious", p. 34. For a further discussion of Bukut, see Chapter Three of this thesis.
The time of the introduction of the Bukut form of circumcision and the replacement of the Kahat form marks a major event in the history of Esulalu. A number of other shrines are said to be either older or younger than Bukut. Thus the shrines associated with the priest king, the town council shrine of Hutendookai, the healing shrine of Bruinkaw, the blacksmith shrine of Silapoom, and even the newer forms of Hupila that are linked to the slave trade are said to be older than Bukut. The powerful blacksmith shrines of Gilaite and Duhagne as well as the women’s fertility shrine of Ehugna are all said to have been introduced after the establishment of Bukut, though before the living memory of any of my informants.

Using the introduction of Bukut as a major milestone in Esulalu history, I could then establish more specific categories within the way Esulalu periodize their history. I have already described, in Chapter One, three categories of Diola history including a time of the "first ancestors", beyond the reach of genealogical reckoning; the time of the ancestors, included within the genealogies; and the period lived through by at least some of the elders within the community. The approximate date of the introduction of Bukut and the use of that date to establish the age of various Diola spirit shrines allows the historian to separate accounts of eighteenth century history (pre-Bukut) from descriptions of the nineteenth century (post-Bukut).

Within the nineteenth century, I can use the names of specific circumcision rites to devise an approximate age of people who have introduced certain shrines, allowing me to calculate an approximate date for their introduction. Take for example, the actions of Haieheck
Djabune. I know from French records and from Esulalu oral traditions that Haieheck signed a treaty with the French in 1860. He was circumcised in the Bukut called Bagungup. He would have had to have been of elder status before signing such a treaty. He is also credited with the introduction of Gilaite. This allows us to approximate the date of that introduction to a time when Haieheck had already acheived elder status. Given that he was initiated about 1830, he probably would not have been in a position to introduce such a powerful shrine before 1850. He probably would have been too old to have introduced it later than 1870. Thus, I concluded that Haieheck brought the Gilaite cult to Kadjinol in the mid-nineteenth century, more precisely between 1850 and 1870.13

Dating events that occurred during the eighteenth century is more difficult. There are no named circumcision rituals to provide chronological markers; only the indication that such an event occurred before the adoption of Bukut. For this period I was forced to rely on genealogies and the nature of the changes that were described during the eighteenth century. Again I turn to the Kumbogy lineage of Haieheck Djabune.

Heachow
Djimindene
Kawmyen (Cata Seleki)
Abindeck (Ane Ebané)

13 See Chapter Six.
Haieheck (Bagungup)
Kulimpiopia (Soiybac)
Kumone (Batingalite)
Antoine (Djambia, though some of his brothers were Badusu)
Pierre (a Christian, he would have been Batchakuale)

Note that there are two generations with no Bukut circumcision. Thus Djimindene had to have been an adult, already initiated at Kahat and a father, before the introduction of Bukut. Thus he was probably born between 1740 and 1760. According to this genealogy his father, Heohow, could have been born as recently as 1730.

The acceptance of a 1730 birthdate for Heohow, however, creates serious problems in explaining the incorporation of the Koonjaen into the Esulalu communities. Using a 1730 birthdate for Heohow, the Koonjaen could not have been conquered before 1745, since Heohow was a participant in that war. This would only allow a period of forty-five years for the Koonjaen to be assimilated sufficiently to accept their form of circumcision, Kahat, to use this form of circumcision for a sufficient period of time for its rituals to be considered vital for the blessing of a newer circumcision form, Bukut, and the abandonment of Kahat in favor of Bukut.

In order to explain the persistence of these Kahat rituals as essential preliminaries in the present Bukut as well as the centrality of the circumcision rite transition in Esulalu oral traditions, it had to have persisted for more than one generation, that of Djimindene Djabune.

Using a conservative estimate of three generations undergoing Kahat
initiations and twenty years between generations, I would place the birth of Heohow at about 1680 and the Koonjaen war in which he fought, at about 1700. This would allow for a minimal amount of time to explain the importance of Kahat in Esulalu society.14 In the streamlining of oral traditions, it is quite common for some generations to be forgotten, though it is rare to forget the name of a person such as Heohow who was seen as the founder of his lineage. Jan Vansina has recognized this problem in genealogical chronology: "Ancestors who are not founders of lineages are omitted because they are of no importance in explaining the relations obtaining between the various existing social groups, and although this occurs most commonly with distant ancestors, it can occur anywhere in the genealogy."15 This would be particularly true in recalling those generations where the mnemonic assistance of named circumcision rituals were not available. I would suggest that a minimum of two generations have been forgotten.

Working from the date of the introduction of Bukut, I could project back the introduction of Kahat by the Koonjaen and establish an approximate date for the conquest of the Koonjaen, an event which is said to have occurred at the time of the first ancestors recorded in most Esulalu genealogies. From this analysis of circumcision, genealogies, and a sense of how changes in initiation may have taken place, I established an approximate date of 1700 for the beginning of what Diola-Esulalu traditions refer to as the time of the ancestors. This period, roughly from 1700 to 1880, is the subject of this study.

14 See Chapter Three.
15 Vansina, Oral, p. 102.
While Diola-Esulalu oral traditions stress relative chronologies, there is a certain amount of quantifiable material within circumcision lists and genealogies. Circumcision rituals of the Bukut type are held once every twenty years, but those observed by outsiders were often held less frequently. Genealogies, which often include information in circumcision rituals, provide chronologies not only in marking generations within a family, but, through their particular circumcision rites, they situate them within relative chronologies for the entire community. The use of these, when accompanied by some written descriptions of circumcision rituals which were dated in western forms of absolute chronology, allow the historian to move from the relative chronologies of Diola-Esulalu oral tradition to approximate dates within the historian’s concept of absolute chronology.
APPENDIX TWO

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE DIOLA-ESULALU
Map 6 Esulalu in the Twentieth Century

shaded areas indicate rice paddies
"The Material Culture of the Diola-Esulalu"

In the interpretation of oral traditions it is important to realize that they are gathered during a particular time and reflect the particular concerns of that society at the time that they were collected. This does not negate their usefulness in the reconstruction of earlier epochs in their society's history, but it does introduce a cautionary note. Certain elements which are no longer seen as important or no longer generate controversy may be forgotten. Conversely, certain aspects may acquire a new saliency reflecting the concerns of their recounters more than that of the period that they describe. As Steven Feierman suggests, oral traditions are "living social documents" which must be placed in the social context not only of the events they describe but of their recounters as well.1

As previously mentioned, the oral traditions which provide the core of evidence for this study were gathered during three periods of field research in the 1970's. They represent the received traditions about the pre-colonial era as reflected upon by people who had recently become a part of an independent Senegal. They represent the reflections about Diola traditional religion before the implanting of other traditions, from the perspective of people in communities with substantial Christian minorities. Furthermore, these traditions reflect some of the long term influences of the prophetic teachings of Alinesitoué which revitalized

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Diola religion during the crisis of the Second World War. Such dramatic differences between the time of the events described and the time when these traditions were collected obviously influence the structure of the received tradition. Once this new social context is recognized, however, distortions can be more readily understood and a substantial amount of historical evidence can be gleaned from these oral traditions.

In this Appendix and the next one, I shall attempt to provide the social context in which I received these traditions. In Appendix Two, I shall describe the material culture of the Diola-Esulalu, the nature of the land, social organization, and economic activity as I encountered them in my field work. In Appendix Three I shall focus on the fundamental religious beliefs and social values of the Diola-Esulalu during this same period. In both sections, I will indicate some of the continuities between the period with which this study is primarily concerned and the life experiences of the recounters of such traditions. Though these appendices are more systemic than historical in focus, they allow the reader to understand the material and religious context in which these oral traditions were collected. Through a discussion of more recent Diola social and religious life, it will be easier to understand the significance of the more fragmentary evidence concerning the pre-colonial period.

Both appendices rely most heavily on data collected through personal recollections of informants and through my own participant observation in Esulalu community life.

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A visitor to the lower Casamance region of Senegal is struck by the profusion of vegetation: vast forests, rice paddies, dense undergrowth, and tangled mangrove swamps. It stands in sharp contrast to the open savannah of northern Senegal or the upper Casamance. The Diola inhabit this well-watered coastal plain, an area extending from the Gambia to the Sao Domingo Rivers. The northern extremities of the Diola area resemble the areas of mixed forest and grassland savannah that are found to the north and east, while the areas south of the Casamance have vast tracts of land covered by Guinean forest. The French agronomist, Roland Portères, has suggested that the lower Casamance was one of the first areas where African rice was domesticated. On the basis of archaeological data commentators on Diola culture have concluded that rice farmers have inhabited this region for nearly two thousand years. Excavations of shell middens have indicated that these people have been using bog iron and making pottery since the beginning of the Common Era. How closely related to the present day Diola inhabitants those people were remains unclear, but there is substantial evidence of continuities in land use and economic activities in the region over unusually long periods of time. Excavations near the townships of Kagnout and Samatit indicate that Esulalu itself has been continuously settled for fifteen hundred years.


The Diola habitat consists of four distinct zones: the bush, the rice paddies, the villages, and the marshes and estuaries. The Diola live along the low-lying sandy ridges overlooking alluvial valleys and marshes that they gradually converted into rice paddies. Beyond the ridges and away from the paddy land are vast tracts of what was, until recently, dense forest into which one penetrated only if fully armed to protect against animals or raiders.\(^4\) The difficulty of overland travel discouraged trade and reinforced the development of distinctive dialects and religious practices within each Diola sub-group. The mangrove swamps were another obstacle to transport and communication. However the numerous estuaries provide a rich source of fish and, where the mangrove is thin, a good avenue for trade. Fruits are abundant both in the forest and in the villages. When the rains come the Diola can expect an abundant rice harvest. The Diola areas of Casamance receive an average of between 1300 millimeters (in the north) and 1900 millimeters of rain (in the south) per year, almost all of which falls between June and October.\(^5\) Far too frequently, however, there is insufficient rainfall to flood the rice paddies and the spectre of a substantial crop failure is always present.

As previously mentioned, Esululu presently consists of five townships, each of which is situated on a low-lying ridge, nearly surrounded by rice paddies. From east to west, these townships are

\(^4\) Interview with Antoine Houmandriissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/23/78.

Kadjinol, Mlomp, Eloudia, Kagnout, and Samatit. Each township possesses vast rice paddies, often extending as far as ten kilometers from the township center. This is particularly true of the largest communities, Kadjinol and Mlomp, whose paddies extend all the way to Punta. The "stranger" villages are located on lands that formerly belonged to the five townships. Kadjinol and Mlomp, with populations of approximately 3,000 and 4,000 people respectively, comprise over half of Esulalu’s population. Kagnout has 1800 people, while Eloudia and Samatit are inhabited by about 500 people per township. The nine stranger villages range in size from forty to five hundred inhabitants.⁶

It is important to note that each township is not a cohesive unit. In each case there is an onyi or priest-king, who is the senior religious figure of each community and the symbol of the township as a whole. The spirit shrine of Hutendoookai, which provides a spiritual sanction for the decisions of a township council of men, is also an institution for the unity of the township. Despite the existence of these institutions, each township is comprised of a series of independent quarters each with its own government chief, its own loyalties, and its own positions on matters of township concern. In the pre-colonial era, these quarters did not feel obligated to come to the defense of a neighboring quarter which came under attack. There are numerous cases of inter-quarter wars, though these were usually of short duration. The township possessed only the most fragile sense of unity. Until even sixty years ago, the quarter was the limit of the primary moral and social community.

⁶ These are personal estimates checked against the Archives de Sous-Préfecture de Louia-Wolof census material.
To give a specific example, Kadjinol consists of six quarters: Kandianka, Baimoon, Ebankine, Kagnao, Sergerh, and Kafone. Each has certain shrines at which only people from the quarter can participate and which give spiritual power to the decisions of the quarter as a whole. Each quarter has at some point been engaged in hostile activity against the others. Together, Baimoon and Kandianka form a larger entity referred to as Hassouka; it too has several religious shrines unique to it and certain ritual rules which differ from the other four quarters collectively known as Kalybillah. Within Kadjinol, there is a division between Baimoon and Kalybillah and between the six independent quarters. Furthermore, there are certain special links involving single sub-quarters of Kafone, Kagnao, etc. which have ties to neighboring quarters or neighboring villages. Thus the sub-quarter of Ecuhuh within Kafone, has special links to Hassouka and is excluded from certain religious rites of Kafone and Kalybillah.

The most effective level of community loyalty, outside of the extended family compound (hank) is that of the sub-quarter. Allegiance to the quarter is only slightly weaker, but it diminished substantially beyond the level of the quarter-wide organization. Each quarter as a whole takes responsibility for certain major work projects such as the maintenance of the dikes and fences that protect the rice paddies. It is the quarter that punishes individuals or families that violate community

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7 The Baimoon quarter has often been confused with Hassouka as a whole. The Senegalese government has identified the quarter chief of Baimoon as the chief of Hassouka and appointed a separate chief for Kandianka. In identifying informants I have followed government, and increasingly, Diola practice.
decisions or neglect community obligations, even though in many cases, these decisions might have been handed down by a township wide organization such as Hutendookai. In a society that values independence as much as the Diola, it is important that onerous tasks such as forcing compliance with an unpopular decision be conducted by people who have a strong sense of belonging to the same moral community. Disputes within the sub-quarter can be more readily resolved because of the commitment of the inhabitants to settle a potentially divisive issue and are also less likely to escalate into violent conflict. Within the quarter there are strong moral sanctions against violent quarrels because of the threat an internal conflict would pose to group solidarity.

The attitude that people beyond the quarter are essentially outsiders and are not subject to the brunt of the quarter's moral sanctions, runs deeply in Esulalu society. Until after the First World War, children were not permitted to leave the quarter except in large groups or when accompanied by adults. Parents feared that their children would be seized and sold into slavery. In more recent times, suspicions have persisted, but it is more the actions of evil people, witches or experts in poison, who might not hesitate to strike an outsider, whose activities are feared. Until the First World War, children grew up without knowing the majority of youth from the neighboring quarters. Perhaps they only encountered them at wrestling matches between the quarters, in the fields, or at the homes of their maternal kin. Until they reached the age of physical maturity and were able to fully defend themselves, their community was the quarter. Many adults still will not make solitary social calls on neighboring quarters after dark, for fear that a quarrel could begin and
they would be alone. It is only within the quarter that one is truly home.

Each quarter is separated from its neighbors by an uninhabited area several hundred meters wide, a residential and religious no man's land that marks the boundary of each quarter. The quarters are divided into several densely inhabited sub-quarters. In Kadjinol-Kafone there are four such sub-quarters, each of which is composed of several hank or extended families. All the houses of the hank, often including as many as twelve houses, each of which may contain three generations of a single family, are literally within shouting distance. Some people claim that the density of settlement was a form of protection from the frequent raids against Esulalu villages, but more effective social control by the elders may have also been an important consideration. This high density settlement is common to most Diola; the Bayotte and Kudiamoutay are the primary exceptions.

The geographical location of each quarter has made the quarters relatively distinct in terms of economic development. The quarters of Kafone and Sergerh in Kadjinol, Haer in Mlomp, Bruhinban and Eyehow in Kagnout, and the entire township of Eloudia are located in close proximity to that vast stretch of forest south of the rice paddies and away from the river (See Map). As a result, they have dominated access to the forest areas for palm wine tapping and for the gathering of palm kernels and

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8 Interview with Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/17/78.

other forest products. Despite the lack of private holdings, individuals from outside the quarter need a "tutor" or sponsor, usually developed through kinship or marriage ties, in order to be allowed to exploit the forest areas. On the other hand, the people of Kadjinol's quarters of Kagnao, Ebankine, and all of Hassouka in Kadjinol; Cadjifolong at Mloom; and Ebrouwaye of Kagnout, are isolated from the forest areas, but are near the river and the estuaries that border Esulalu. These quarters control the townships' access to the rich fishing areas and to the intermittent riverain trade, but have little access to the forest. The village of Samatit and the Djicomole quarter of Mloom are blessed with access to both the river and the forest, but they are exceptions. Otherwise, there is a certain economic complementarity within the structure of each township; a complementarity built on unequal access to certain economic resources and each quarter's decision to concentrate their energies on the utilization of those resources closest at hand. Trade of river products such as fish and salt for the palm wine and palm kernels of the forest helped reinforce the sense of allegiance to oeyi and Hutendookai with bonds of trade and economic self interest.

In describing the geography of Esulalu, it becomes clear that the forest, the Casamance estuaries, and the rice paddies are the primary areas of economic exploitation, though the latter are by far the most important. Rice is the Diola staple; for a Diola not to have rice at a meal is tantamount to not really eating. In a Diola family, rice is consumed at three meals every day.\textsuperscript{10} In addition, rice is stored in

\textsuperscript{10} Pélissier, Paysans, p. 709.
granaries in the house and is used as a basis of exchange. One value of rice can buy an equal value of palm wine or half its volume in palm oil. Various measures of rice can be used to buy pottery, fish, and even cattle. Rice is more than the center of the Diola diet and the basis of trade; when stored in a full granary it is a guarantee against famine. If the rains fail or if illness strikes a member of the household, the farmer turns to his granary to tide him over for the next year. If a man is seized by a spirit shrine, he may well have to provide rice for religious rites, or use rice to purchase livestock and palm wine for ritual sacrifice. Rice, as represented by a full granary is a family's guarantee against both economic and spiritual hardship.

For the Diola, rice is more than a hedge against hard times of a spiritual or mundane order. Emitai, the supreme being in Diola cosmology, gave rice to the first ancestors of the Diola and he showed them how to farm it. According to Diola beliefs, rice is part of a covenant between Emitai and people, a covenant based on the Diola's hard work in cultivating the crop that is balanced against Emitai's responsibility to send them rain to nourish it. Francis Snyder collected a proverb in the neighboring region of Bandial that illustrates this task: "The Diola was created in order that he farm [rice]."11 The Diola believe that rice has a sacred quality; a life force within it, similar to the souls of people and animals.12 Rice is a giver of life in that it nourishes people and


their domestic animals. Even the stalks provide essential fodder for Diola cattle during the lengthy dry season. The care of the rice paddies is a central duty of the Diola and it is a year round task. Rice is not something that one can think of lightly or sell at will, and expect to be blessed with a full granary and a prosperous family.

Not surprisingly, the Diola are considered the best wet rice cultivators in West Africa. Paul Pélissier, the leading commentator on Senegambian agriculture, testifies to the care and ability of Diola farmers.

The Diola techniques of preparation and maintenance of the rice paddies, the most perfected of tropical Africa, have created permanent fields that assure, since centuries ago, an uninterrupted production: the accumulation of the work of countless generations on the carefully allocated and limited perimeters are the main reason for the absolute stability of the villages.13

Diola rice farming techniques have amazed visitors to the region, at least since the time of the first European explorers in the fifteenth century.14

There are several types of rice paddies, each with its own labor demands and its own advantages for rice cultivation. The deep paddies, located between the salt water estuaries and the main body of rice paddies


on slightly higher ground, are connected by an elaborate system of dams that control the paddy water levels. These paddies were once mangrove swamps, but, in a painstaking process, Diola farmers cleared the mangroves, constructed huge dike systems to protect the fields from the estuaries, and allowed several years of rain to leach out most of the salt, before they could actually plant rice. Once fully prepared, these rice paddies have the advantage of being the least likely to dry out in times of poor rains. However they are highly susceptible to resalination in dry years and could be easily flooded with salt water if a dike broke. These paddies require rice varieties that can resist a high salt content, but which benefit from deep flooding. On slightly higher ground, there are paddies that have better soil, though they are not as well watered. Still, they can withstand most droughts. On higher ground, near the edge of the flood plain, are the most marginal rice paddies; fields that in a bad year are too dry to be planted. Small dams are maintained to control water levels in all types of paddies. Finally, there are fields in the forest where upland rice is grown. It is a rapidly maturing crop that demands far less water than its wet rice cousin, but it offers smaller yields. It is not commonly planted in Esulalu, except in the township of Eloudia. It is far more common in the paddy short regions of Huluf and Ediamat.

Work in the rice paddies begins as the harvest of the last year nears completion, in February of each year. Men go out and turn the soil, particularly in the deep paddies, in order to plow under the weeds for.

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15 Pélissier, Paysans, p. 722-729.
fertilizer and to have ridges ready for the rainy season planting. By April, women begin the long arduous process of carrying fertilizer, a mixture of dried cow manure and ashes, to the fields. This fertilizer, prepared in the villages and then carried in small baskets that women carry on their heads, takes several months to transport to all the fields. During this period the men repair the dikes and extend them into new areas to prepare new land for conversion into paddies. With the first rains in June, the men prepare the rice nurseries and the women select and sow the rice. Olga Linares claims that a Diola farmer can prepare about two hectares of rice paddy per year. Cattle are not used for plowing for a variety of reasons. The scattered paddy holdings of the Diola and the narrow footpaths that provide access to each plot make cattle impractical. Also, there are certain religious prohibitions on the use of cattle in plowing. Work in the nurseries and rice paddies is done in family teams; husband and wife work together, each with his or her assigned tasks and with responsibility to supervise the children who assist them. The harvest begins in late November and continues until early February. Ordinarily, women harvest the rice, but when there is a shortage of women's labor the men assist them.

16 Interview with Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/7/78.
All of these tasks connected with rice cultivation are done by hand with the assistance of some extremely well adapted tools. The most important of these is the cadyendo, "a long-handled fulcum shovel with an iron blade that is unique to the Diola and their immediate neighbors in Guinea-Bissau." Slightly differently designed cadyendo are used for the water-logged soils of the deep rice paddies than for the lighter soil of the upland rice nurseries. These cadyendo are used for all the plowing, both in the nurseries and in the wet rice paddies, and for the construction of dikes. The metal blade of the cadyendo is made by local blacksmiths, the wooden portion of the shovel by wood carvers, and the long handle by almost anyone, but only using the wood of a special hardwood tree. The knife used for cutting the rice at harvest was, until recently, made by the local blacksmiths, but now many of them are store bought. The various baskets used for carrying fertilizer and for carrying the harvested rice are made by local women.

Olga Linares has estimated that a north shore, Kudiamoutay farmer could expect a rice harvest of close to 3,000 kilos of unmilled rice or about 1800 kilos of milled rice. The rainier and less drought susceptible areas of the south shore could provide even higher yields. Linares also estimates that an adult requires approximately 125 kilos of rice per year.

Ibid. p. 8. Louis Vincent Thomas describes an attempt of the Société des Prévoyants to manufacture a cadyendo. They succeeded in marketing a fairly cheap version, but it was so inferior in quality that the Diola farmers refused to use it. Thomas, Diola, p. 44.
and a child about seventy-five kilos.\textsuperscript{20} Thus, when the rains come, Diola farmers could expect a substantial surplus of rice. Generally the harvest is divided into three parts: one part consisting of seed rice, another for family food, and a third portion for purchasing items for the family, ranging from palm wine to livestock.\textsuperscript{21} Diola distinguish between rice as a sustainer of life and rice as a source of economic power. In Esulalu, the women of the household control that portion of the granary which contains rice for food. The man controls the rice reserve which can be used to purchase cattle. However, if the wife's portion is insufficient, he must provide for the family from his reserve.\textsuperscript{22}

A good harvest depends on two important factors, adequate rainfall and an adequate supply of labor. While rainfall in Esulalu averaged nearly 1800 millimeters a year, actual rainfall may vary by as much as one third.\textsuperscript{23} Late rains or the failure of the rains during the important seed forming month of September may also threaten the crop. Diola farmers compensate for erratic rainfall by using a wide variety of rice seed. Pélassier estimates that the Diola use about two hundred varieties of rice, each having its own requirements as to quantities of water, time or

\textsuperscript{20} Linares, "Agriculture and Diola" p. 211. See also, Linares, "Intensive Agriculture", p. 10. I think that Linare's estimate of rice consumption is far too low. A closer estimate would be 250 kilos of rice per year per adult. See also, Thomas, Diola, p. 85. He estimates that during the rainy season, a man will eat as much as one kilo of rice per day. This would still leave a substantial surplus in good years.

\textsuperscript{21} Thomas, Diola, p. 246.

\textsuperscript{22} Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kudjinol-Kafone, 1/27/78.

\textsuperscript{23} Linares, "Intensive Agriculture", p. 3.
maturation, and soil types, while providing widely variant yields.\textsuperscript{24} Generally, those that require the most water and longest growing season provide the highest yields, while the hardiest varieties provide more modest crops. The Diola distinguish between Diola rices (\textit{Oryza glaberrima}) which are generally the hardier but low-yielding varieties, and European rices, actually of Asian origin (\textit{Oryza sativa}), which include most of the high yield but fragile varieties introduced by the Portuguese and the French.\textsuperscript{25} Taking the location of a particular rice paddy and the amount of rainfall into account, the women decide which varieties of rice to use.

There is continuous trading back and forth of varieties and constant exchange of information as to their behavior under specific soil and water conditions. Such knowledge is restricted to womenfolk. A man usually has no idea of the varieties his wife gives him to broadcast. When asked for the reason why more than one variety is employed, Diola women would answer in terms of the need to space the harvest by planting different varieties. They will also emphasize the need to have fast-ripening varieties in fields that dry up fast and varieties adapted to deeply flooded conditions for paddy fields that retain water during part of the dry season. Finally, several varieties minimize the risk from a possible lack of rain.\textsuperscript{26}

The selection of rice seed is one way of combating the vagaries of a transitional climate zone and thereby ensuring an adequate supply of rice in all but the severest drought.

\textsuperscript{24} Pélissier, \textit{Paysans}, p. 736.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., p. 731. See also Interview with Ramon Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 7/28/76.

\textsuperscript{26} Linares, "Agriculture and Diola" p. 214.
The Diola also strive to achieve a successful rice crop by spiritual means. At various times of the year, certain religious rites are performed at men's, women's and community-wide shrines. Special rites (nyakul emit) are performed in times of drought to ask Emitai to have pity on them and to send rain. The close association of the Diola term for God, "Emitai", with the term for rain, "Emitai elahl" demonstrated the strong linkage in Diola belief between the supreme being and the gift of rain. However, the continued supply of rain is spiritually dependent on more than special rituals. Various traditions relate that Emitai gave the first ancestors (situbai sihan) what they refer to as Diola rice. This rice carries a soul force given by Emitai to the Diola ancestors. It stands in spiritual relation to the Diola’s beginnings, to the land shown them by Emitai and to the spiritual order. While the European varieties may be planted, some of the Diola varieties must continue to be grown to preserve the chain of power invested in the soul of the rice. Otherwise the link to ancestors who intercede and to Emitai who sends rain would be broken. The fields would no longer receive rain. Religious prohibitions of such things as fanning the rice paddies on the day of a funeral or during community-wide rain rites, would provoke a similar break in the link of spiritual power and cause the crops to fail.  

The second factor affecting rice cultivation, the supply of labor, is also controlled by a combination of temporal and religious means. Because of the labor intensive quality of Diola rice cultivation, there is a

27 Interviews with Antoine Houmandriassah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/9/77. Interview with Dionsal Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/2/77.
continual need for labor, but there are no landless people, at least within Esulalu, to provide it. The basic unit of production is the family and there is a sexual division of labor. Divorce, normally a relatively simple process, is not permitted during the planting and harvesting season in order not to disrupt the most critical work of the agricultural year. However, each family unit may be in need of labor assistance or be ready to hire itself out at various times of the year. Since everyone has access to land for cultivation, labor assistance must be persuaded rather than coerced and the rights and responsibilities of such relations must be carefully defined. Labor relations of both a collective and individual kind are regulated by the township assembly under the religious sanction of the spirit shrine Hutendookai. This is a township-wide assembly and shrine which includes two representatives from each extended family. The Hutendookai establishes the wages for the various forms of individual labor for hire; enforces collective labor obligations such as work on a fence around the rice paddies that protect the crops from livestock; and provides a forum for complaints against employers who fail to meet their obligations.

Three types of labor relations occur in Esulalu. The first is that of reciprocal aid in which neighbors are enlisted with the expectation that the favor will be returned. Peer pressure is brought to bear in cases of reluctance to aid one's neighbors. Such a problem would not reach a formal decision-making body such as Hutendookai. The second type of labor relation is the hiring of individuals for help in planting and

harvesting. Slightly higher wages, in money or in kind, are accorded to workers from within Esulalu than for migrant workers from the paddy short areas of Huluf and Ediamat. Finally, there is the hiring of work societies. These societies may be social or religious in nature. The embotta, a social work society, consists of a group of friends who hire out to work for payments in kind: for a pig if it is a large group of adults or for a duck if it is group of twelve year old girls. Some time after the work is completed, the society comes together and has a feast from the fruits of their labor. Other societies, usually formed from a sub-quarter, may be organized to procure the necessary palm wine, rice, and livestock for the celebrations of major initiations or for the fulfillment of a necessary, but costly, religious rite. The actual payment for the work societies is negotiated between the work teams and the employer, but Hutendookai can ensure that the terms of the agreement are upheld.

The Diola-Esulalu grow other crops, but none of them approach the importance of rice. They provide important supplements to the daily diet, are grown in small garden plots and are farmed only when work on the rice crop is under control. There is no hiring of labor for the secondary crops. In these small garden plots, Esulalu farmers raise manioc, igname, sweet potatoes, sorrel, and beans. Within the past century, Mandinka and

29 Thomas, Diola, p. 223-226.

30 Interviews with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/9/77. Interview with Dionsal Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/2/77.
Wolof traders have introduced sorghum, okra, bitter tomato, and peanuts.\textsuperscript{31} The peanut became an important crop for the rice paddy short areas of the north shore and Huluf as well as the stranger villages within Esulalu.\textsuperscript{32} Since the Second World War, small groups of Esulalu farmers have begun to cultivate peanuts, both individually and by work societies. The proceeds of the latter go toward collective projects such as support of the parish or a community-wide awasena rite.

The second zone of economic exploitation is the forest or bush area located to the south of the Esulalu townships. Several varieties of trees from this area are of economic importance to the Diola. Of these, the oil palm is the most valuable. Its sap is used for palm wine, its kernels for palm oil, its branches for fences and its trunk for building material. Palm wine harvesting is done exclusively in the dry season, after planting is completed. Large numbers of men spend almost their entire days in the forest harvesting palm wine. Part of this is consumed by the harvesters and friends who come to visit. The remainder is sold for rice, fish, or money. In addition to the trees, the bush has certain grasses used for thatch, a variety of medicinal herbs, and a number of fruits. Until recently, the bush area was an important source of game. In this century, some forest areas have been cleared for the planting of manioc, peanuts,

\textsuperscript{31} The Diola have adopted the Wolof terms for peanut, okra, bitter tomato and sorghum. See Robert M. Baum, field notebook on Diola-Esulalu. See also David P. Gamble, \textit{The Wolof of Senegambia}, London: International African Institute, 1967, p. 29.

fruit orchards, and for the herding of cattle. Traditionally, ownership of land in the forest was limited to rights to exploit certain trees; the land itself was not owned. However, under the pressure of increased farming of the bush area, there have been several attempts to extend individual ownership to this zone.  

The third area of economic importance is the river and estuary zone. The Diola’s prime source of protein comes from the fish and shellfish that are taken from nearby waters. The oldest fishing techniques are with the bow and arrow, and spear, or with basket fish traps in the shallow waters near the shore. More recently, they developed the use of large reed fish traps capable of snaring, as the tide recedes, several baskets of fish a day. Rights to erect fish traps in particular locations are owned, but can be loaned or sold. Serer fishermen have introduced the fish net and rod fishing which enabled the Diola to exploit the deeper waters of the rivers. Most of the fish caught by Esulalu fishermen are sold for rice (recently for money as well) while a substantial portion is dried for future use or for sale outside of Esulalu. Oysters, which are harvested only during the dry season, are also dried and stored for domestic consumption or sold.

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33 Pélissier, Paysans, p. 692. For a description of several such disputes in Kadjinol, see the Interview with Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/12/77.

34 Interview with Hilaire Djibune, Kagnout-Ebrouwaye, 10/28/78.

35 Thomas, Diola, p. 53-56, 75-76. Pélissier, Paysans, p. 770.
There are other types of economic activities that are not limited to one of the three zones described above; these include livestock raising and various forms of artisan work. The Diola raise poultry, goats, pigs, cattle, and sheep. All of these animals, except for cattle, may be readily bought and sold or given as payment for agricultural labor. The fowls may be killed for special occasions or even in honor of guests. This is not true of pigs, goats, sheep or cattle which, until recently, were not killed except in connection with religious rites or the embottai. Both men and women can own most livestock, though only men have the right to own cattle.

Diola cattle are of the tsetse fly resistant Adama type, a variety that originated in the Futa Jalon. Despite some resistance to sleeping sickness, these cattle are highly susceptible to other diseases of the low-lying areas of the Casamance. Herders build shelters to protect their cattle from rain and predators and keep fires burning to keep insects away. Cattle are the only animals that the Diola actually herd, though this may be as much to protect them against rustlers as from falling into harm's way. Cattle are an important source of social prestige and a sign of material wealth:

... for Diola peasants, cattle constitute the essential symbol of material success in combination with the rice granaries. We have seen that cattle make up a family inheritance... one would have to be reduced to utter destitution to be totally without livestock... wealth, social authority, family prestige are thus linked to the possession of a herd; each man has a permanent preoccupation to maintain and to increase that which he has charge of...36

36 Pélissier, Paysans, p. 760.
Pélissier claims that the Diola consider it a disgrace to sell cattle, even in dire circumstances.\(^{37}\) This seems to be an overstatement. Given a decent sized herd, perhaps as few as five head of cattle, Diola would sell a cow for a section of paddy land. This was frequently done so that cattle could be procured for funeral rites or for the requirements of religious rites at various spirit shrines. Furthermore, people in Esulalu have purchased cattle from the Djougoutes and Kudiamoutay Diola for many years.\(^{38}\)

Despite a steady trade in cattle, the primary value of cattle is religious. Milk is rarely utilized and the meat is available only as a result of religious rites. Diola kill cattle during the celebration of rites of initiation, especially the circumcision of Bukut. The killing of a cow in honor of a young man during initiation brings prestige to both father and son, while the magnitude of the sacrifice holds to ensure the successful completion of the rite of passage. Cattle play a role in the assumption of priestly duties at some of the major ukine; the aspirant has to sacrifice a cow at the altar of the shrine before completing his training. Major infractions of Diola customs, even inadvertent ones, can require the sacrifice of cattle to expunge the sin. Cattle are especially important to the rituals of death. During the funeral rites, cattle are sacrificed to provide for wealth in the after-life and to carry the soul.

\(^{37}\) Ibid, p. 761.

\(^{38}\) Interviews with Dionsal Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/8/79; Anto Manga, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 7/2/75.
force of the deceased cattle to join with the force of community prayers for the good fortune of the deceased. A man without cattle is not just poor; he is without the ability to protect himself spiritually against calamities and sudden twists of fate.

For several hundred years, Diola artisans have been able to supply most of the Diola's needs for tools, clothes, and utensils. While there is no record, either in written or oral sources, of Diola smelting their own iron, even the first explorers have described the Diola as working with iron.\textsuperscript{39} Iron deposits in the laterite soil of the region are quite common so it is possible that they smelted their own.\textsuperscript{40} Ilmenite, described as a soft white metal, was sifted from the sands near the mouth of the Casamance River and used for jewelry. Most of the iron was probably obtained from Futa Jalon or from European traders.\textsuperscript{41} With the iron procured from trade, from scrap, and possibly from their own smelting, Diola blacksmiths forged the blades of the cadyendo, knives, machetes, tools and weapons. Clients gave the blacksmiths twice as much iron as a given task would require. Their pay was the surplus iron which they could forge for sale or for their own use.

\textsuperscript{39} For an example, see: Father Jean-Baptiste Labat, \textit{Nouvelle Relation de Afrique Occidentale}, Paris: Theodore Le Gras, 1728. p. 43-44.


Only certain families could work with metal. Generally, the blacksmiths went by the name of Dieddhiou or Djabune, though it is not the name that is crucial for access to smithing. At Mlomp-Haer, one family Sambou learned how to work with iron so they changed their name to Dieddhiou. The Sambou's of Kadjinol-Hassouka used to work with iron, but gave it up in order to devote more time to rice cultivation and fishing.\(^{42}\)

What is crucial in having a right to work with metal is a combination of technical knowledge, which is only partially protected, and spiritual protection, which is extremely closely guarded. The Dieddhious have a series of spirit shrines associated with their various lineages, with fire, and the forge, all of which protect them from the dangers of manipulating fire. One of these dangers is considered to be leprosy. The spirit shrines also enable the Dieddhious to have the strength to understand and manipulate fire at the forge. To work with metal without such protection would invite disaster, probably in the form of fire or leprosy, to plague both the offender and his entire family.

Within Esulalu, the blacksmithing families are unevenly distributed. The overwhelming majority live in the Kafone quarter of Kadjinol. There is one compound of Dieddhious straddling the Ebankine-Kagnao border, two compounds at Mlomp-Djicomole, one compound at Eloudia, and two at Kagnout, but all of them trace their family origins back to Kafone. Only the Sambous who became Dieddhious at Mlomp-Haer did not originate at Kadjinol.\(^{43}\) Not only does Kafone predominate in terms of the number of

\(^{42}\) Interview with Djilehl Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 4/28/78.

\(^{43}\) Interview with Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinfol-Kafone, 1/19/79.
blacksmiths but it controls all the blacksmith's shrines in Esulalu and keeps the most powerful ones at Kafone. Kafone's blacksmith's shrines are the most important ones in the entire south shore region of the Casamance. Kafone controlled the lucrative iron-working craft which was of particular importance to agriculture and to war, and exerted a substantial religious influence through its control over the senior blacksmith's shrines.

The people of Esulalu also fulfill many of their other needs for material goods. Baskets are made by both men and women. Women make baskets for the rice harvest, for rice threshing, and for other forms of women's work. Men make fishing baskets. Old men manufacture rope. Women collect salt by gathering it from substantial deposits near Kagnout or by constructing dams and allowing the salty water to evaporate. However, certain essential goods were not crafted in Esulalu. While there was a little weaving there, most of Esulalu's cotton cloth came from the neighboring region of Bandial. Djougoutes may have also been a supplier. Mandinka traders also carried large quantities of cloth to Esulalu. The Huluf villages of Djivent and Ediounou were the primary suppliers of pottery for both Huluf and Esulalu.

In addition to the important inter-quarter and inter-township trade within the region, Esulalu is actively involved in trade with neighboring communities, Diola and non-Diola alike. Blessed with vast, well-watered rice paddies, Esulalu normally has a surplus of rice. Its large number of

44 Thomas, Diola, p. 83.

marshes and estuaries yield large amounts of fish and oysters. Its community of blacksmiths attract a substantial number of people eager to purchase cadyendo, tools, or weapons. Esulalu purchases palm wine, cloth, pottery, certain food stuffs, and cattle from the regional trade network. Their most important trading partners are the people of Huluf who have an inadequate supply of rice paddies and poor access to the Casamance estuaries. They purchase Esulalu rice and fish by selling palm wine, palm oil, and pottery. Until recently, Bandial and Seleki sold their cloth in exchange for Esulalu’s smithing services and for herding some of Bandial’s cattle. The people of Djougoutes and Fogny sold livestock in exchange for rice from Esulalu. Finally, Peulh and Mandinka traders visited the region, carrying with them, cloth, cattle, and iron and purchasing Esulalu’s primary export, rice.

The frequent droughts of the past twenty-five years have virtually eliminated the trade in livestock for rice. Rice surpluses are no longer sufficient to purchase cattle in that fashion. In the post-independence era, the cash economy has seriously eroded the entire rice based exchange system.
APPENDIX THREE

THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND SOCIAL VALUES OF THE DIOLA-ESULULU
In this chapter I describe the fundamental religious beliefs and social values of the Diola-Esululu as I encountered them in my field work during the mid to late 1970's. Through this discussion of contemporary beliefs it is possible to provide a fuller sense of an Esululu belief system than can be obtained from the more fragmentary evidence of eighteenth and nineteenth century Diola thought. Accounts of Diola beliefs for earlier periods tend to overlook areas of continuity between the beliefs of the recouters of oral traditions and the period that they describe. Furthermore, such received traditions do not dwell on subjects that no longer arouse controversy or curiosity in the community. Since reciters of oral traditions shape their accounts with some concern for contemporary needs, the researchers' understanding is influenced by their relationships to the society in which they are participant observers. This chapter attempts to provide the context that I used in an effort to understand the more distant past, that allowed me to understand the significance of what was often fragmentary evidence. While the focus of this chapter is on the description of contemporary Esululu belief systems, I shall offer some evidence of the endurance of certain beliefs and the recent origin of others, within what is a continually changing world view.

In examining Esululu religious beliefs and social values, I begin with a discussion of Diola cosmology, their concepts of a supreme being and other spiritual beings. Then I discuss the relationship of people to the spiritual and temporal order. This is followed by an examination of Esululu concepts of the soul, of after life, and theodicy, all of which
give meaning to people's place in their world and provide a sense of life mission. Then I shift the focus of discussion to Diola attitudes about social relations, their concepts of morality, honor, and social values. This is followed by a discussion of Esulalu modes of religious education, both of a day-to-day variety and a more formal type expressed most strongly in rites of initiation. I conclude with a discussion of a Diola philosophy of history. Throughout this discussion, I rely on Diola interpretations of their own beliefs in an attempt to describe Diola religion, what Esulalu call the mesenna path, on its own terms.

The concept of God has been a matter of considerable controversy in the study of African traditional religions. Many commentators on African religions have given what appears to be undue stress to a supreme being in an effort to present African religions as monotheistic precursors of Christianity, religions lacking only a sense of the future or a concept of a messiah. Other commentators have stressed the remoteness of the supreme being, a "first cause" who created the world and then retreated from it. Into the cosmological vacuum rushed a host of lesser spirits who had power over the immediate concerns of man. Robin Horton sees the remoteness of the supreme being as directly linked to the extreme localism of Africa life.

The essence of the pre-modern situation is that most events affecting the life of the individual occur within the microcosm of the local community, and that this microcosm is to a considerable extent insulated from the macrocosm of the wider world. Since most significant interaction occurs within the local community, moral rules tend to apply within the community rather than universally—i.e. within the microcosm rather than within the macrocosm. Given the association of lesser spirits with microcosm and supreme being with macrocosm, it follows from these facts that the former will be credited with direct responsibility for most events of human concern, will be the primary guardians of morality, and will be the objects of constant approach by human beings, whilst the latter will be credited with direct responsibility for relatively few events of human concern, will have no direct association with morality, and will seldom be approached by human beings.²

Horton sees the narrowness of their world as the reason most Africans, but especially sedentary farmers, have failed to develop an elaborate concept of the supreme being and have focused their attention on the complex network of lesser spirits.

An examination of the Diola concept of the supreme being, Emitai, that drew most of its evidence from Diola ritual life, would tend to support Horton's description of remote high gods, uninvolved in the activities of the microcosm or the system of morality which guides Diola life. Prayers made at the various spirit shrines rarely invoke the name of Emitai; rather they focus on the carrying of prayers to the particular spirit. Given a focus on Diola ritual life, Emitai appears to be distant and uninvolved in the ordinary spiritual concerns of the Diola.³


³ This is based on personal observations at over twenty-five shrines. I received instruction on the proper way to address spirit shrines. See Group Discussion with Adiabaloung Diedhiou, Gnalioli Diedhiou, and Econdo
Both David Sapir and Peter Mark have reached similar conclusions. Sapir argues that Emitai ( Emit) has no role in determining the fate of man: "In terms of traditional Diola belief, however, emit remains a distant creative force, an unmoved mover that has nothing at all to do with the immediate, or even distant, fate of man, either during life or after death. It is with the sinaati [spirit shrines] that man must contend." Mark also stresses Emitai's distance: ... he was not directly concerned with the affairs of men. One did not approach him directly, either through prayer or sacrifice. Direct contact between men and spiritual forces was limited to the sinaati, which are occasionally described as intermediaries between man and God."

However, one obtains a very different view of Emitai when one asks informants directly about this role, the history of the various spirit shrines, and the Diola concepts of life and death. It becomes clear that Emitai is active in the microcosm, both as a provider of the necessities of life and as a source of aid in times of troubles. His name, Emitai is derived from "Emit" meaning both "sky" and "year", thus indicating a strong relationship between the supreme being and the heavens and the order of an agricultural year. Furthermore, the term "Emitai ehlahl" which means that it is raining, indicated Emitai's crucial role in the disbursement of that all important resource. This linkage between rain

Sambuc, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/27/75.


and the supreme being appears to be quite old. In 1856, Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé noted the close association of Emitai, rain, and fertility: "Their season has a name; its the time of Emit, the time of the rains or the time of God (Emit in the Floup [Diola] language signifies thunder, rain, God, power)."

Though the Diola rarely talk about the creation of the world, Emitai is seen as its creator and the creator of the first people. There is a Diola proverb that illustrates this: "God made everything, even the little ants." He is seen as the source of man's knowledge of cultivation, of fire and iron-working, and of healing. As mentioned in Appendix Two, Emitai also established certain ways that these activities were to be carried out; a set of positive duties and a set of interdictions, ranging in intensity from merely bad manners to a heinous wrong or gnigne. Emitai is described as all-knowing. When I asked whether Emitai hears the funeral prayer, one elder responded: "Well what is Emitai? Emitai is the whole earth [universe]. He hears everything."

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Nothing escapes the attention of Emitai. Man is accountable to him for his deeds and is obligated to live in accordance with duties received from him. However, "the burden that comes from Emitai is not heavy."  

In order for there to be a way of knowing the "burdens" of Emitai there must be some way that he communicates with man. Emitai may reveal his will to an individual through a dream or a vision. Such revelations are claimed to have led to the institution of Bukut, the male circumcision rite, and of Kasila, the rain shrine of Alinesitoué. Communications between Emitai and man are said to have been more frequent in the time of the first ancestors, though Agnawlen Diatta of Emaye claimed such contact as recently as the 1960's. Mungo Sambou describes a period of frequent communication: "In the past, people would talk with Emitai... Emitai used to be close.... The past is not like the present... In the past, people would see him, but now they can not." This period of more frequent contact appears to be linked to the Diola vision of a time when man lived according to the dictates of Emitai, the time of the "first ancestors". However, the ongoing potential for communication between man and Emitai, either directly or through the spirit shrines, has been an important factor for change in Diola religious practice and belief.

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11 Thomas, *Diola*, p. 418, 588.


13 He introduced a new shrine for the procurement of rain in the early 1960's. See Girard, *Genèse*, p. 279-300.

14 Interview with Mungo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/22/78. Thomas also suggests that the Diola of Ediamat see themselves as at one time closer to Emitai. See Thomas, *Diola*, p. 492.
Esulalu traditions contain many references to Diola prophets who had revelations about the supreme being. The earliest is the account of Atta-Essou, the founder of Eloudia, who was said to have had a series of visions from Emitai. His name means "of bird", which links his visionary role to that of birds who are often seen as emissaries of the supreme being. In the late eighteenth century, Kooliny Djabune received the spirit shrine, Cobai, during a time when his soul was said to have gone up to Emitai. There are also several accounts of men who were summoned by Emitai, leaving their bodies behind in the appearance of death.

There came to pass that a certain man summoned his wife. He said that Emitai has called him to go to His home. He told her, today, tomorrow, and the next day, you may not tell anyone that your husband has died. Afterwards, the woman waited that day, until the next, and then the next, then she told the people that her husband had died. After a short while, they carried her husband's body to the cemetery. The man stirred and then got up. The people were surprised. He said it was like that. [He had not died]. Emitai had summoned him.

Because of his wife's disobedience, he had to leave Emitai before his instruction was complete. As a result, he could not instruct the people of Kagnout about the teachings that Emitai had wanted him to bear.

15 The life of Atta-Essou was before the longest genealogies. He is seen as the founder of all the Gent lineages and lived before 1700. See Chapter Two.

16 The war during which Kooliny Djabune was said to have had his vision occurred in the late eighteenth century. See Chapter Three.

17 Interview with Hilaire Dijibune, Kagnout-Ebrouwaye, 12/17/78. Sambouway Assin of Kagnout-Bruhinban recounts a similar story about the grandfather of a man who still lived at Bruhinban. In this case the man was buried before his soul could return. As a result he died. Again the teachings of Emitai were not revealed. Interview with Sambouway Assin, Kagnout-Bruhinban, 1/8/79. There are other accounts for Kadjinol. See Interview with Mungo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/22/78.
During the second World War, the prophetess Alinesitoué claimed to have receive visions from Emitai and to have been threatened by him if she failed to spread his teachings. There appears to be a long-standing tradition of Emitai's attempts, often successful, to reveal important moral teachings and new spirit shrines to the Diola. Clearly, Emitai is seen as an active force in the lives of the Diola and in the development of their religion.

A second aspect of Emitai's attempt to communicate with the Diola is his bestowing spiritual gifts on certain individuals. These include the ability to "see" in special ways: to see spirits, witches, or far away events; or to dream of events in the future, of spirits, or even of Emitai. "No one can teach you to 'see'... Emitai shows you 'eyes' or He does not." Those people who have special mental powers may become messengers of Emitai or special elders at the leading ukine and the interpreters of their will. The most common use of these spiritual gifts is for communication with the spirits of the shrines or the water spirits (ammahl). However, communication with Emitai is important, even if rare, and the special powers of "eyes" and "head" are his gifts. These special powers to receive visions, to have spiritually significant dreams, and to "see" the spirits of the ukine are all important avenues for the renewal of the charismatic quality of awasena religion and for continued innovation in ritual practice.

18 See Chapter One. See also, Robert M. Baum, "In Times of Troubles Emitai Will Intervene: The Crises of the War Years, 1939-1944. Unpublished Manuscript.

19 Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/21/78. See also, Interviews with Djilehl Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 12/27/78; Kemehow Dieddhiou, Eloudia, 11/20/78; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 12/27/78.
Emitai provides a series of duties and obligations that accompany this bestowal of spiritual power. Frequently, individuals are tempted to abuse these powers in an attempt to gain wealth, power, or a large family. Some of these people are said to be witches (kusaye). It is not that Emitai gave them the power to do evil: "It is like giving birth to a child... You give birth to a child, perhaps it will be evil." Indeed, Emitai is said to have created the witches who take the lives of people when it is time for them to die, but many witches, seduced by the desire to consume human flesh, kill more than those designated by Emitai.

Those who abuse the power are punished by Emitai when they die. Those who receive these special powers without abusing them, the ahoonk, can defeat the witches and can work for the good of the community. It has been those times when the power of witches have dominated the world that Emitai has chosen to destroy it in the apocalypse of Adonai. Thus, it is the abuse of spiritual gifts, human greed, and lust for meat that are seen as primary causes for evil.

Emitai punishes man's wrongdoing both in this world and in the afterlife. In this world: "it is a question of a basically religious

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20 Interview with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 11/8/78.

21 Interview with Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/7/78.


23 This will be discussed in greater detail in the concluding section of this chapter. Interview with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 4/27/78.
sanction, that is to say willed by Ata-Emit and realized by the kin (fetishes). Death, sickness, social failure, epidemics, excessive drought, are seen, for the individual and for the group, as certain indices of a known or unknown fault." Emitai also passes judgement on the lives of the deceased; it is he who decides whether man becomes an ancestor, a phantom, or a villager in a far-away land. "Ata-Emit will take you away. He will give you the word about what you have done..." in your life and what your fate will be.

It becomes clear from the above discussion that Emitai is actively involved in the Diola world, not only as a creative force, but as a continual bestower of life and of rain, the establisher of moral obligations, and the judge of mankind's deeds. The Diola God is neither remote nor inactive; rather he provides the moral basis of the Diola world. Still, it is relatively rare to pray directly to Emitai; most prayers are addressed to the spirit shrines, who then carry the communicants' prayers to Emitai. This hesitancy to address prayers to Emitai comes from a Diola sense of humility and a desire not to disturb him about the minor problems of daily life.

However, in time of troubles, in times of drought, of serious illness, or community calamity, it is believed that Emitai will hear the community's prayers directly, without the mediation of particular spirit

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24 Thomas, Diola, p. 534-535. See also, Interview with Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/20/75.

25 The concept of after-life will be discussed shortly. See Interview with Agnak Baben, Samatit, 12/6/78. See also, Thomas, Diola, p. 541-542, 617.
shrines. In time of drought, the Diola perform a ritual known as Nyakul mit, in which women perform rites at the women's fertility shrines and request that men perform rites at the men's shrines. This is followed by a direct invocation of Emitai. Thomas recorded one such prayer to Emitai: "Ata-Emit, is it true that this year's rice is destined to wither in the rice paddies? Ohe! The other year's famine was bad - but this time the misfortune will be so large that we will not have the strength to speak. Give us water, give us life." Emitai is also addressed as the guardian of fertility, of good harvests, human fecundity, and abundant rain. Emitai assures the continuity of life from one generation to the next. Thomas collected this prayer to Emitai (Atan Batun) in a Dyiwat Diola village.

Atan Batun, Our Father,
It is You, who has made us,
As you made our ancestors,
As you made the boekines (spirit shrines)
As you have made all that is,
We thank you.
Give us peace.
Give the rain that makes the rice paddies fertile.
Give us many children,
Who will come to honor you
And who will make us beautiful funerals.
Give us strength to farm.
Atan Batun, Our Father
You who made the boekine for us,


27 Interview with Mungo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/22/78; Interview with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Stebemaye, 3/21/78.

28 Thomas, Diola, p. 189.
Make it so that they obey you.
As we obey you.
That our granaries will be full
That the bellies of our women will be fertile
That peace will reign among us
Atan Batun, you are our Father.
We thank you,
We supplicate you,
Because without you, we could no longer exist.29

Central to Diola religious beliefs is the concept that Emitai created the spirit shrines as intermediaries between himself and man. It is mentioned twice in the Dyiwat prayer, appears in many of the histories of the individual shrines, and in the explanation of the role of the spirit shrines in the spiritual order. Many informants claim that "Emitai made the spirit shrines."30 Emitai created the spirit shrines for the Diola, just as he created Christianity for the Europeans and Islam for the Mandinka (the first carriers of Islam to the Diola). Thomas argues that Emitai's willingness to create spiritual intermediaries for men alone among his creation, is a sign that only man has the special capacity of thought (bruinom) capable of moral choice.31 Only man has a need to communicate with the supreme being.

In examining the histories of spirit shrines, it becomes clear that Emitai is said to be the creator of many of them. "The original fetish


31 Thomas, Diola, p. 537.
is, in most cases, revealed by God and given by Him to man..." Emitai created the spirit shrines in order to establish specific ways for Diola individuals, communities, or families to present recurring problems to him. Thus, Kasila was used to address problems of rain, Ehugna for fertility, and Cabai for war. Each of these shrines was created during a time of crisis when man called on Emitai and he responded by creating a spirit shrine and by revealing it to a person of special powers.

While it is generally agreed that the spirit shrines serve as intermediaries between man and Emitai, Diola theologians are not in agreement on the degree of independence that the various spirits possess. Some would argue that the spirits simply relay the prayers of man to Emitai and enforce his will. Others see the spirit shrines as exercising their own powers and deciding themselves whether to carry a particular prayer to Emitai, whether to refuse to do so, or whether to take action themselves. Only people with special powers to "see" the spirits can understand the behavior of a boekine. Hupila family shrines are a particularly whimsical group of spirits; their mischievous and unpredictable characters are often commented upon. A prayer directed to


33 This was particularly stressed by Alinesitoué, a prophetess during the Second World War. Interviews with Alphonse Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, September 10, 1974; Gnepoli Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, October 30, 1974; Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, July 16, 1976 and July 28, 1976. See also, Thomas, Diola, p. 153.

34 Ekusumben Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, February 27, 1975. See also Thomas, Diola, p. 153.
the bókine called Elenkine demonstrates the independent power of spirits and their ability to deny a priest requests.

Make it so that God will give water like I pray.  
All of the village has come behind me.  
In order that I be their intermediary between you and God.  
You are the fetish, I come before you to perform my libation.  
It is your task to go before God.  
This is all that I will say to you. It is for you to pardon me.  
Go to God, do not humiliate me before my people.\textsuperscript{25}

It is the choice of the spirit shrine whether to carry Diola prayers to Emitai.

In talking about the ukine, it is important to identify the spiritual beings that may be involved. This is quite difficult because knowledge of these spirits is among the most closely guarded secrets of particular shrines and because few individuals will admit to the power of "seeing" in the spiritual world. Nevertheless, four types of spiritual forces that are linked to the ukine can be identified. In the case of certain shrines, such as Hutendookai and Duhow which are associated with the governance of the community, the spirits are messengers created jointly by Emitai and man in order to sanctify and relay the decisions of the community, almost in a mechanical fashion. The powers or characters of these spirits are rarely discussed.\textsuperscript{26} The council of Hutendookai sends its assistants to enforce its decisions rather than relying on, as is more common, punishment by the bókine itself.

\textsuperscript{25} Prayer collected by Jean Girard, \textit{Génèse}, p. 124.

\textsuperscript{26} Interview with Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone.
In other cases, the spirit of the shrine is considered visible to those who have "eyes" that can see in the world of the spirit. In such cases, they are described in anthropomorphic terms as "children of Emitai. Emitai made them." They are described as human in form, both white and black in color, very hairy, and physically deformed. Like people, these spirits are said to age, marry, have children, die, and be reincarnated (though always as spirits). These spirits can be either male or female. Like people, their moods may change without reason. They must be coaxed, pleaded with, and supplicated in order for prayers to be answered. Different spirits of the same spirit shrine may display vastly different temperaments. This is especially true of the family shrine of Hupila where each compound summons a particular spirit, who then acts according to his own will. Another type of spiritual being, the amnahl (literally "of the water"), may be summoned to the shrine during an act of ritual supplication, though they may exist independently of the shrine. They are closely associated with such shrines as Elenkinie Sergerh, a bokine designed to protect the Kalybillahe section of Kadjinol; Ennr, a similar shrine for a Samatit; and Calemboekine, the sacred forest shrine of the priest-king. These amnahl are described in similar ways as the spirits mentioned above, but they are not directly tied to the shrines. They may decide to reveal themselves to man and create a shrine, or only to impart

certain types of spiritual knowledge, knowledge of healing, or skill in war, all of which could be used for the good of the community. Furthermore, they are often the force behind the most powerful of the spirit shrines. They are often consulted on the legitimacy of an action, such as a war. Their advice is as important as their roles as messengers of prayer. Where the ammahl do not have shrines created, they become spiritual teachers and decline the messenger role altogether. Certain ammahl will offer individuals special knowledge for private gain, special skills to acquire wealth, to gain skill in hunting or to have a large family. However these ammahl ask a price; perhaps the strength of the person's leg, leaving him lame; perhaps the life of his child, which will be surrendered up to the ammahl. These spirits can be a force for good or for evil. They can work through the community, at the shrines, or in private appearances to especially gifted individuals. They can also refuse to communicate with men altogether and act against those who seek them out.

The final group of spiritual beings associated with the ukine are the spirits of the ancestors. They are summoned to the shrine of the dead, Kouhouloung, during all funeral rites, memorial rites, and during the

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39 This type of ammahl is very similar to the Kadmoutay, "Bagum" spirits. See Thomas, Diola, p. 613, 615-616. Interviews with Antoine Houmandrisah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, December 19, 1978; Asambou Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, April 7, 1978.
periodic greetings of the Kouhouloung shrine.\textsuperscript{40} They also assist at the rites of the family shrine, Hupila, and the various lineage-related shrines, such as Gilait\textsuperscript{e} and Hoolin\textsuperscript{w}ay of the Dieddhiou families and Houseenghlane of the Senghor-Djikune families. In these cases, they serve as intermediaries between the spirit of the boekine and their descendents among the living. They are also frequent sources of religious information through appearances in dreams. They give advice and warnings to their descendents among the living. Finally, they accompany the dead to their appointed destiny in the after life.

The spirit shrines are not merely messengers of Emitai in matters of prayer; they are enforcers of the will of Emitai and the upholders of Diola moral conduct.\textsuperscript{41} The ukine seize wrongdoers with illnesses associated with their shrines or hound them in dreams. Often the illness is seen as a sign of wrongdoing and a need for spiritual purification.

"An illness, a death, a bad harvest, or whatever misfortune appears as a certain indicator of a fault that may not be intentionally committed, but of which he is definitely the author."\textsuperscript{42} In cases of disputes between two people that are taken to a spirit shrine, the party in the wrong is the one that falls ill.\textsuperscript{43} Particular shrines and offenses often have their

\textsuperscript{40} Interview with Terence Sambou, Kadjinol-Ébankine, February 13, 1978. David Sapir claims that the animal doubles of a particular family are also summoned to the Kouhouloung shrine. See David Sapir, "Fragments for a paper on Kujamaat and Kasa Siwuum", unpublished manuscript.

\textsuperscript{41} Interview with Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, April 20, 1975. See also, Thomas, Diola, p. 534-535.

\textsuperscript{42} Thomas, Diola, p. 292. Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, July 16, 1978.

\textsuperscript{43} Interview with Agnak Baben, Samatit, 12/6/78.
own disease or symptoms. Theft is punished with leprosy, a disease sent by the blacksmith shrine, Gilaite. Men's offenses against women are punished by a swelling of the stomach that resembles pregnancy. However, ukine may punish individuals not only for violations of the community moral code, but also for failing to provide promised sacrifices to the spirit shrines themselves.44

A person who is seized with illness that resists ordinary cures, will seek out a priest of one of the divinatory shrines or someone who has the special mental power to "see" beneath the surface of things. At the divinatory shrine of Bruinkaw, the bokine is said to speak and the priest merely translates for the supplicant, thereby revealing the cause of the illness. In other cases, the priest or elders of the shrine will delay an answer for a period of time, until in a dream, they are provided with the cause of the illness. Usually the priest identifies the spirit that has seized the afflicted, thereby prompting a confession of the afflicted's misdeeds or accusations of wrongdoing by the elders of the shrine.45 Once the cause and the agent of the affliction are ascertained, then a series of rituals are prescribed, usually involving libations of palm wine and animal sacrifice. Olga Linares describes the importance of the illness, confession and purification pattern.

44 Thomas, Diola, p. 290.

45 I have witnessed this dialogue of accusation and denial and subsequent confession on several occasions during healing rites at the women's fertility shrine, Ehurna. See also, Thomas, Diola, p. 497. It should be noted that not all illnesses are caused by the spirit shrines. The Diola have many healers whose medical knowledge is considered a gift of Emitai and who rely on herbs, massage, and other medical practices with no reference to spiritual causes of disease.
A bakiin traps a guilty person with symptoms general enough to require "divination" by an awaseno [priest-healer] but specific enough to signal to the sick or otherwise misfortuned person which spirit may have trapped him and which awaseno to consult. By facilitating confession, expiation, and atonement by sacrificing an animal and contributing palm wine for communal feasting, the practitioner(s) is (are) in fact sponsoring a social act, a ritual of reintegration and reaffirmation of the solidarity of the residential group, through which an individual recovers his health and moral worth. 

In certain cases, the spirit shrines seize innocent people whom they have selected to become elders or priests of their particular cult. Hupila seizes people it wants to create a shrine by afflicting them with pains all over the body and a fever. During the illness, the victim may have dreams of the particular Hupila spirit. Houlang seizes its priests with fits of madness, until they undertake the shrine. Bruinkaw also seizes people with illness. For the Diola, disease can be a sign of spiritual election; those who can weather an illness sent by a boekine, can cure in its name. 

The shrines were introduced into Esulalu in a variety of ways. The oldest spirit shrines were said to have been created at the time of the "first ancestors", well beyond the time of Diola historical memory. In the case of other spirit shrines, there were several modes of

46 Linares, "Intensive Agriculture", p. 28.

introduction. Some were introduced by the Koonjaen, a people who inhabited parts of Esulalu before the arrival of the present inhabitants. Others were introduced by men who had special powers, who were said to be able to travel up to Emitai, or make contact with spirits in their dreams or day-time visions. Others were given to people who had special powers to "see" amahm. Still others were learned about by people from Esulalu while travelling in other regions. They would inquire about the spirit shrine, perform a series of rituals there, then invite the elders of the shrine to come and create a shrine in Esulalu. Finally, one village could give another village a shrine. Elders of the shrine would come and establish it in the other village and impart the necessary knowledge of the cult in reward for the latter village's assistance in time of war or as a way of solidifying a friendship between the two communities.

While the spirit shrines can be created in a variety of ways, the regularity of their cults depend on their ability to enter into the spiritual lives of the community. Shrines associated with healing must be able to cure illnesses, shrines of the forge must be able to protect blacksmiths or they risk the loss of supplicants and perhaps even abandonment. Their powers may depend on the skill of the priests and elders as well. A particularly wise or adept shrine elder may give the shrine a reputation for power far beyond what it had enjoyed under previous elders. The ability of the spirit to appear to members of the community in dreams or visions, to instruct them, or provide them with

Frequently, one hears that a particular shrine was more powerful in the past because its priest was a seer, or that one should consult a different shrine because of the wisdom of its elders.
special knowledge is also important in the continuing cultic activity of a
particular boekine. Where a boekine fails in its instrumental function
and fails to penetrate the collective unconscious of the community, it
will be abandoned.\footnote{One such fertility shrine was abandoned at the turn of the
century, but was revived in 1978. See Interviews with: Siopama
Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, November 11, 1978; Terence Sambou, Kadjinol-
Ebankine, November 17, 1978; Basuyo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kandianka, November
29, 1977; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, December 27, 1978.}
In the Diola religious world, new ukine are
frequently introduced and older ones occasionally abandoned, thereby
creating a dynamism to the cultic life of the community that belies the
frequent claim of continuity with the time of the "first ancestors".\footnote{Robin Horton noted that the Kalahari also will abandon unhelpful
or greedy shrines. See Robin Horton, "A Hundred Years of Change in
Kalahari Religion", in John Middleton, ed. Black Africa: Its People and
see Indriisa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, October 17, 1974.}

Fundamental to Diola religion is the multiplicity of spirit shrines.
Louis Vincent Thomas lists over one hundred different Diola shrines, while
my own inquiries have yielded forty-eight different types of shrines in a
single quarter of Kadjinol.\footnote{For a list of Diola shrines throughout the Casamance, see Thomas,
Diola, p. 591-594.} Almost every economic activity of the
community has a spirit shrine associated with it, be it palm wine tapping,
fishing, blacksmithing, or farming. Other shrines are important for
healing, either as diagnostic shrines or for healing specific disorders.
Many others are concerned with the perennial problems of rain, crop
fertility, and the fertility of women. There are several shrines
associated with war, the well-being of the community, and the village
councils. Finally, there are shrines associated with the extended family and the lineage. For each type of problem there are several types of shrines. This multiplicity of shrines helps to ensure that one path can resolve the problem of the supplicant individual or group. It also allows a broad access to religious authority; with so many shrines in a small community, chances are excellent that any given individual will become an elder or priest of at least one shrine. In such an egalitarian society where individual prerogatives are carefully guarded, a majority of the people, at one time or another, exercise spiritual authority.

The shrines themselves, while on sanctified ground, do not contain the particular spirit associated with the shrine. They contain the ritual objects associated with the spirits, that help to summon them and that help the worshippers to concentrate their prayers and thought on the spirits that are being invoked. "The sanctuary and the altar are only the representatives of the bookino; it is to the spirit that Diola practice their cult, not to the sacred wood or to the sacrificial stone."52 Often the most powerful spirit shrines appear to be nothing more than a hole in the ground or a forked stick while less important shrines may be quite elaborate. In many cases, however, hidden from the ordinary worshipper by being buried underground, are a series of medicines or symbols of the spirit, designed to attract its presence to the altar. These are buried during the construction of the shrine and often contain soil from an older shrine. The nature of what is buried beneath the shrine is rarely revealed outside the circle of elders.53

52 Thomas, Diola, p. 597-594.

53 Interview with Badjassaw Senghor, Kadjinol-Kandianka, August 11, 1978.
Some spirit shrines receive a cult virtually on a daily basis because of the large number of individuals who have need of their assistance. Others, especially the shrines associated with rain, receive community-wide cults on a periodic basis with perhaps as much as a year separating ritual activities. Thomas notes six different reasons for requesting a ritual at a shrine: a request for something; a need for purification; what Thomas would call a "desire for vengeance", but I would describe as ritual accusations or mediation of disputes; a desire to be at peace or restore health; a need for rain; and a need to preserve oneself against all difficulties. I would add a seventh reason, a periodic need to greet the ukine that are important to your household or that have aided you in the past. Each time there is a ritual at a particular shrine, the priests, elders, supplicants, and anyone who has a right to drink at the shrine will gather, perform the rite and then socialize over the palm wine afterwards. Shrines that receive almost a daily cult, such as Kadjinol's Gilsite, Houle, and Ehugna, become foci of the social life of the community, as well as important ritual centers. In the daily participation in ritual life and the socializing afterwards, the elders become a cohesive group. In the more open ritual activities, younger adults are socialized into the ways of the elders.

In the ordinary greeting of the ukine, there is a fairly standard form in which the prayers are presented. Usually, the supplicant will present ten liters of palm wine to the priest of the shrine, and, in certain cases, an animal. A portion of the palm wine is poured into a

54 Thomas, Diola, p. 683.
piece of pottery or a wooden goblet associated with the shrine. Punctuated by libations of palm wine, the priest will summon the boékine and greet it. Then an elder of the supplicant's compound will pray and the priest will repeat the prayers at the altar site, once again punctuating it with libations of palm wine. The following is a prayer of greetings to a boékine:

Palm wine of Sindé, the father of Koomaswai, the father of Djabune, he brought the palm wine for the rite...Djabune brought the palm wine to salute you. Leave Djabune all that is good for his children, his brothers and his people. He should not have to ask this again. The family of Sindé will not repeat their request. Today he came to greet you. Greet him. From his sleeping place, for tomorrow, do all that you can. Today they came, he who was born of Sindé and Koomaswai. Today we are finished. Give his children strong bodies; his wife who has children, give her a sweet body. Now Djabune's wife has children. Now Djabune...a children. Leave all of his children in peace. Leave Djabune with only the good. My speech is over. My voice is finished. Djabune's palm wine from the family of Koomaswai, who fathered Djabune who brought the palm wine. Leave his house in peace.  

Strong emphasis is placed on one's family line: a supplicant at a men's shrine prays in the name of his father and his grandfather, who will be better known to the boékine and who are closer to the time of the "first ancestors".

The libations of palm wine and animal sacrifice are performed in order to attract the spirit to the shrine and to release a spiritual power. The spirits and, in certain cases, the ancestors come and drink

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55 General ritual greetings of a boékine taught to me by Econdo Sambou, Gnouli Dieddhiou, Adiahougn Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, April 7, 1975.
the palm wine and the blood of the animal. "If you have not given it (the boekine) something to eat, it will not come." The spirit prefers a rite that includes animal sacrifice: "It is like with us when we make rice, but there is no fish. The rice is bad, plain white rice." Both the palm wine and the blood are said to contain a soul. "Palm wine is like blood. If you cut into a tree, it comes out. Blood is like water, it gives life." The soul of the palm wine and of the sacrificial animal nourish the spirit and release a power associated with the word of prayer that helps to carry the prayer to the world of the spirit. One of the major priests described how he could not see the spirit at the shrine, but after the ritual was completed, he could hear it. The spirit would talk to him. The attraction of food and drink and the release of spiritual power summons the boekine to hear the prayer. The spirit consumes the wine and blood and with them the words of prayer. Thomas analyzes the significance of the Diola ritual process: "At this moment, the soul of the priest, by intermediary of the word (kabag) alerts the fetish..., while the soul of the rice, the wine or the blood spread on the altar nourish the boekine. This last thing provokes it at the level of thought (buhinum) and enriched by the vital force, enters into communication with God Himself." Bound by the ingestion of the word, a spiritual link

56 Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, August 15, 1978.
57 Interview with Siléungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 6/27/76. See also, Thomas, Diola, p. 168.
58 Interview with Dinshwah Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/12/78.
59 Thomas, Diola, p. 671.
emerges between priest and spirit who carries the word to Emitai. This is
the ritual ideal; failure is frequent because of the inconsistency of the
spirits and of man. When the communicants partake of the palm wine and
the meat of the sacrifice, each individual is bound to its prayers. Any
ill thought can undermine the spiritual power of the congregation and
diminish the force of ritual prayer.

In discussing the Diola concepts of a supreme being and lesser
spirits, it becomes clear that the central focus of Diola thought is on
man and his relation to the spiritual forces of his world. Only man among
Emitai's temporal creation, has the capacity for thought which is linked
to the mind and the spirit. Man is alone in having a need to present his
thoughts, desires, and beliefs to the spiritual forces of his world. In
response to man's spiritual needs, Emitai created the ukine to serve as
intermediaries between himself and his primary creation.\textsuperscript{60}

Within the Diola's antropocentric view of the world, man exercises a
considerable degree of free will. While it is true that everything is
contingent on the will of Emitai, he does not operate on every detail of
mundane existence. He operates in terms of general laws; laws that do not
involve all affairs of daily life. The spirit shrines, as watchdogs over
man's behavior, limit man's freedom of choice, but do not control it
altogether. Man, through his knowledge of his duties as a Diola, as a
member of a community, and as a member of a family, can manipulate the

\textsuperscript{60} Louis Vincent Thomas "Br\'eve Esquisse sur la Pense\'e Cosmologique du
Diola", in Meyer Fortes and Germaine Dieterlen, eds., \textit{African Systems of
Thought}, London: Oxford University Press, 1965. p. 370-371. See also,
possibilities before him, at least to lessen the misfortune of a bad fate. There is a Diola proverb, "Conjunctivities is better than blindless," which means that a man must choose the lesser of two evils.\footnote{Thomas, \textit{Diola}, p. 422.} The spirit shrines can be bargained with or flattered with lavish rituals. The Diola "knows that he depends on God and the genie; but the latter are not really harmful and it is always possible to act upon them through sacrifices that eventually will move them to pity. In fact, the fetisher always has the last word..."\footnote{Ibid, p. 549. See also, Boilat, \textit{Esquisses}, p. 431.} Man can even appeal to Emitai through direct and urgent prayers, or through public rites of humiliation that underscore the supplicant's desperate straits. This is a principle behind some of the rites for the Nyakul Emit quest for rain and the Kagnalen's bizarre dancing during the rites of the women's fertility shrines. Man's freedom is limited by the will of Emitai and the caprice of the spirits; but there remains a considerable area where man actively chooses his path. He is held accountable to Emitai at the time of death; decisions in life determine his fate in the after life.

Man's vital principle is located within the soul (yahl) which is said to be located in the chest and flows through the body within the blood.\footnote{Thomas, \textit{Diola}, p. 164. Interviews with Eddi Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 3/9/78; Basayo Samobu, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 3/19/75.} One Kadjinol elder described it: "The soul houses the life of a person."\footnote{Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/13/78.} Another elder described how everyone has a soul. "Without a
soul, one could not think. Without a soul, one would not be alive." It is closely related to the mind and its capacity for rational thought. The soul is divisible into several parts, some of which can leave the body and move about, lodge in trees, or provide a spiritual link to certain types of animals. The soul may leave the body during dreams; one's experiences in such dreams are considered real, but lived within the spiritual world. They can be a source of spiritual knowledge, as the priest-king of Kadjinol suggests: "You go to sleep and dream... What you saw in your dream will happen, then you know. It is said that you leave your body here and your soul goes." The soul can also leave the body to do evil, including actions against a neighbor who has attracted his wrath or envy. A severe illness or an emotional shock can force the soul out of the body. In such instances, a priest-healer (mawasa) must guide back the soul to the patient or the patient will die. At the time of death, the soul becomes unified and leaves the body. The soul alone passes into the after life.

65 Interview with Kapooh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/27/78.
66 Ibid., and Thomas, Diola, p. 168.
67 Interview with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/13/78. See also, Thomas, Diola, p. 70.
68 He describes Alinesitoué Diatta and Kooliny Djabune as having had these experiences. Interview with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandiana, 3/24/78.
69 The leaving of the body to do evil will be discussed in greater detail below. See also Thomas, Diola, p. 166, 170. Interview with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergorh, July 10, 1978.
Plants and animals also have souls which embody the life force, though only some of their souls have a capacity for thought. It is the release of the souls of sacrificial animals, rice, and palm wine which provide a vital force to the prayers before the spirit shrines. The spirits of the ukins and of the ancestors are nourished by the souls of the sacrificed animals and plants.\footnote{Group Discussion, Dionsal Dieddhiou and Dongany Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, June 25, 1976. Interviews with Kapooch Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, November 27, 1978; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, November 11, 1978. Thomas, Diola, p. 168, 459, 633.}

Diola believe that people and animals are spiritually linked through the existence of animals doubles, or siwuum. Every individual in Esulalu has a certain number of siwuum, who share parts of a common soul.\footnote{Interview with Dionsal Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, June 23, 1978; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, June 7, 1976. See also, Mamadou Gaye, "Les Bois Sacrés dans le Département de Bignona (le Droit au Seuil des Sanctuaires)" Mémoire de l'Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Dakar, 1973-1974. p. 12-13. Thomas, Diola, p. 168. David Sapir claims that Kaiadamoutay Diola do not believe that everyone has a ewuum and that the number of animal doubles is in decline. For a description of a very different system of animal doubles, see David Sapir, "Fecal Animals: An Example of Complementary Totemism", unpublished manuscript, 1976.} They can include a wide variety of animals: pythons, mambas, crocodiles, hippopotami, elephants, leopards, monkeys, antelopes, lizards, saw-fish, and sharks.\footnote{Ibid, p. 2. Sapir, "Fragments", p. 3-4. Interviews with Asenk Ahan Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/29/78; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/4/78; Elizabeth Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/3/78; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 6/7/78.} Siwuum are never domestic animals; they are creatures of the bush or the sea and beyond the control of the community. Physically they can be seen, but only people with special powers can be certain that they are doubles rather than ordinary animals. However, an animal that
hangs around a family compound and holds its ground when people approach
is liable to be an animal double rather than an ordinary creature.\textsuperscript{74} A
hunter would not kill animals that behave in the fashion of an animal
double because it could place their human partners in jeopardy. Through
some sort of mysterious bond, double and person feel each others' pain,
hurt, hunger, and emotions: "... the totem is born at the same time as
the man, is sick like him, experiences the same joys, the same sorrows,
and the death of one leads fatally to that of the other."\textsuperscript{75} The double
and person share a common soul and can not withstand the loss of the
other.

The reasons for this mysterious link can be understood in terms of
religious belief or social and ritual obligations. The religious basis of
the belief in doubles stems from their belief that both men and women
create the soul of an infant at the moment of conception.\textsuperscript{76} The blood of
the man, located in the semen, and the blood of the woman, unite and
create a multiplicity of souls. Parts of the new souls, arising out of
their diverse origins, enter into the body of an animal that returns to
the home where the new person received blood and a portion of the soul.
One double remains at this birthplace with his agnatic kin while others
are located wherever he has uterine kin. Thus the system of doubles
"replicates the original parental source of the individual."\textsuperscript{77} One has

\textsuperscript{74} Sapir, "Fecal Animals", p. 4. Interviews with Siopama Dieddhiou,
Kadjinol-Kafone, March 28, 1978; Terence Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine,

\textsuperscript{75} Thomas; Diola, p. 168.

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., p. 24.

\textsuperscript{77} Sapir, "Fecal Animals", p. 7.
doubles at one's birthplace and at those of one's mother, father's mother, and mother's mother. The animal doubles provide a material body for the multiple sources of the individual. Socially, it provides a model for kinship relations. 'A separate creature that shares one's consciousness is under the protection of each of one's group of relatives.' Neglect of a person's social obligations to aid kinfolk can lead them to retaliate against him through the animal double.

The *siwum* system also binds the individual to his ritual obligations at the spirit shrines of his kinfolk. The obligation to attend the *Houussiquekou* rites when all the maternal kin come back to their uterine home and greet the family spirits, receives tangible reinforcement because the maternal kin live with the vulnerable animal doubles. Sufficient neglect could lead to very serious consequences, even death. The powerful blacksmith shrine of *Gilaite* is located in a sacred forest which also shelters many animal doubles of the Dieddhiou family and their kin. Siopana Dieddhiou describes the dangers of neglecting one's obligation to greet the family's shrine: "If you don't go to do the rites, they [the doubles] will all die... If you don't do the rites, they won't let the doubles drink [water]. You will fall ill. They will instruct you to go...


to the rites. A man's kin also perform rites to protect their kinfolk's doubles. In the rite of Kehit a new born child is brought to the shrine of the dead, Kouhoulonng, or Kungka, another spirit shrine. Offerings of palm wine, a chicken, and rice flour are made. In this rite, the animal doubles are requested to stay within the area of the family shrines, in the shrine itself, or in a nearby spirit tree, inhabited both by ancestors and the animal doubles. There is a possibility that the animal doubles are intermediaries between the ancestors and the living.

The Diola-Esulalu have an elaborate concept of after-life, reincarnation, and the immortality of the soul. An individual's fate in the after-life depends upon his deeds among the living. When someone dies, Kouhoulonng reports to Emitai as to whether the deceased has lived for the good or for the bad in this world. The prayers, eulogies, and sacrifices performed before Kouhoulonng during the funeral rites, are carried to Emitai. Based on this information, he decides between one of three possible fates. "Emitai will pay you. He will send you what you want. If you have done good, very good...you can not become a phantom (ahoepr). If you violate things, then you are a phantom. If you did not violate things, then you become an ahoeka...", an ancestor who lives near the family compound."

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Evildoers are transformed into phantoms that are condemned to wander in the bush alone and beyond the borders of the community. Their fate is described vividly by many people. Phantoms are attacked by hyenas who eat their arms and legs. Then hordes of mosquitoes descend upon them, but they are unable to swat them away. The arms and legs grow out again and the process repeats itself, over and over again. After a certain time, they die and are reborn (ewa) into this world. However the misdeeds that caused their punishment in the former life can not be repeated in the next. Occasionally, a person is considered so evil that he will be reincarnated as a cow.

Those who have been good in life become shoeka, the spirits of the ancestors. They live in compounds in and around the village and serve as intermediaries between their living kin and the spiritual world. The spirit shrine Kouhouloung is controlled by these ancestors and they perform a crucial intermediary role in the funeral rites. They can also help the living by warning them about witches, assisting at their kin's rituals, and by informing the living about future events or current duties. In the Diola view, the most blessed state one can achieve is


that of an ahoeka, an ancestor who serves his kin among the living by helping them in the world of the spirit.

There is a third possible fate, that of being sent to Housandioume. Housandioume is a place that is far away to the south; a place in which the dead live much like they did in Esulalu. This continues until they die again and are reborn. However, there are considerable differences in interpretation concerning why one is sent there. Some say it is like Heaven for the Christians and that only good people are sent there. Others claim that it is a place for those who have done misdeeds but who are not evil people. Finally, some claim that Housandioume is a place for those who died so prematurely that no moral judgement can be made about them. Unlike the ancestor and the phantom, the inhabitant of Housandioume maintains no connection with the village, either geographically or ritually, until he is reincarnated. The uncertainty concerning the nature of Housandioume and its lack of a role in village life suggest that it may well be a recent idea that has not yet been fully integrated into Esulalu theology.\(^8\)

The Diola belief in reincarnation provides a fluidity to man's different fates in the after-life and a way of recirculating the life forces of the dead into the land of the living. At death, man becomes an ancestor, a phantom, or a villager in Housandioume, depending on Emitai's

judgement of his moral worth. However, reincarnation renders all these judgements temporary. The evildoer is consigned to temporary damnation and then returns to the living. The moral person also returns to the living. An ancestor becomes his own descendant in that he is reincarnated within his direct family line or within closely related groups in other villages. Diola cite many cases of small children who know all the boundaries of the rice paddies or the esoteric knowledge of a particular boekine as evidence of reincarnation. Certain people claim to remember their past lives, as well.

In describing the Diola vision of the after-life, I have emphasized the concept of judgement. In order to understand Emitai's judgement, it is important to understand the Diola's concepts of morality and their social values. It is said that Emitai instructed the first ancestors in the proper ways of conduct toward both the spiritual world and the township community. Fundamental to their concept of morality is a sense that a series of moral calamities will result from a single prohibited act. Theft not only violates a deep-rooted Diola work ethic, but it threatens community solidarity. Thefts of livestock or rice threatens the livelihood of the township, so it is considered particularly heinous. The act of murder not only goes against Emitai's gift of life, but it threatens the community by creating the possibilities of blood.

89 Interview with Siopama Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/24/78; Sikakucéle Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/19/76.
90 Interview with Agnak Baben, Samatit, 12/6/78. Interviews with Eddi Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 3/9/78; Dionsal Diedhiou and Diongany Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/25/78.
Similarly, marriage to a distant cousin who lives in the same compound complicates the siwuum system and it also could split the compound into two factions if the marriage turned sour. Finally, one must respect the restrictions on ritual knowledge of the shrines, not only because an indiscretion could diminish the power of the shrine, but it could place the hearer in danger. Thomas sees the philosophic support of the moral code at three levels:

the least shortcoming suffices to disrupt because of the contagiousness of the fault... it is contrary to nature, that is the equilibrium of forces making up reality... it is a failure to recognize one's obligations to the spirits, that is rebellion and negation... finally, it is a blow to the social order, that which risks to involve collective troubles that are more or less serious."

Distinction is made according to the intent of the wrongdoer. An involuntary act is less serious than one committed with the intent to violate the rules of the community. The Diola also consider certain actions to be more serious than others. That which is absolutely forbidden (gnigne) places the perpetrator in a state of spiritual pollution that could harm both himself and his family unless ritually removed. Such offenses would include violating the rules of the spirit shrines, menstrual avoidances, theft, and murder. Other offenses carry no

91 Thomas, Diola, p. 233, 535.
92 Such revelations are said to "poison the ears" of the hearer. Interviews with Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 7/31/78; André Bankuul Senghor, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 3/30/78.
93 Thomas, Diola, p. 638.
spiritual pollution, only the scorn or mockery of the community. These acts are considered "bad" and include drunkenness, gluttony, miserliness, cruelty, and vanity. There is a large area of morally neutral acts, recommended behavior and, finally, positive obligations. The insane, the spiritually possessed, small children, and the senile are exempted from moral obligations to the extent that their conditions interfere with their moral judgement.  

In his daily life, a member of a Diola township should attempt to perform good acts and to fulfill his positive obligations. Central to the Diola concept of good acts is a belief in the virtues of hard work. There is a Diola proverb that illustrates this point: "To be sitting is never to one's advantage." As has been mentioned earlier, Emitai gave the Diola rice paddies, rice to plant, and livestock. Only hard work can make them provide nourishment and security for one's family and community. A lax worker, of either sex, will have trouble finding a spouse. Physical and moral courage are also highly valued. Restraint in the display of emotions is included in this category of positive virtues.

The Diola also stress an ethic of community and egalitarianism. This becomes evident in their fear of anyone gaining control over too many spirit shrines or becoming too influential in village councils.  

94 Ibid., p. 528-534.  
95 Ibid., p. 423.  
96 Interview with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 3/2/75. See also: Linares, "Intensive Agriculture", p. 27. The growth of slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries helped to erode this sense of egalitarianism, though it remained a community value. See Chapter Four.
necessity for cooperative work in herding animals, building dams, fencing the paddies, and roofing houses all remind the township of their independence and need for cooperation. There is a proverb that illustrates this point: "With one straw one can not cover a roof." A well-meaning individual should also be generous to others. Again, there are proverbs that illustrate this: "A miser is buried in only one cloth." This means that a miser will not have people who will generously come and bring gifts of the death cloths for his burial. Only the immediate family will supply him and he will be buried with only one cloth. A second proverb, "If you give out tobacco one bit at a time, then your wife will leave you", also emphasized one's obligation to be generous. Linked to the need for generosity is the obligation to help the needy. The priest-king has an obligation to give a basket of rice to any needy member of the township. Individuals in the community are also obligated to help someone who needs rice, but only to the extent that they are able. In both cases they must not reveal the name of the person who came to them or they run the risk of falling into a similar plight. Finally, a Diola should respect his elders by helping them in work, deferring to their opinions, and by observing certain ritual avoidances.

97 Thomas, Diola, p. 422.

98 Thomas interprets this as meaning that one can not carry one's riches to heaven, but I believe his interpretation is incorrect. People are often buried with several cloths, given by friends and relatives. Also it is believed that the cattle sacrificed during a funeral accompany the dead into the after life. Thomas, Diola, p. 420.

99 Ibid., p. 287, 564.

100 For a sense of the elaborate ritual avoidances among the Kudiamoutay Diola, See Sapir, "Kujaama", passim.
Standards of proper sexual conduct and courtship behavior have undergone dramatic changes, though certain continuities of values remained throughout the period of this study. During the period prior to the First World War, the Esulalu believed strongly that sexual activity should occur only within the institution of marriage. Boys who sought to engage in sex with a girl risked the wrath of her father. Unwed mothers were taunted with insulting nicknames and mocked in songs about them. Often they were subjected to such ridicule that they left the township and settled elsewhere.\textsuperscript{101} When a boy and girl are quite young, their parents may meet and decide that their children should be engaged to be married. As the children grow up, the boy and his family pay occasional visits and bring gifts of palm wine. When the children become ready for marriage, as early as fifteen for a girl or eighteen for a boy, they could decide whether or not to accept the marriage. Either the boy or the girl could refuse. In the past, there were cases of parents forcing the children to marry, though this seems to have been fairly rare. Even today, most Esulalu marriages are monogamous, though occasionally a man will take a second wife.\textsuperscript{102} The blacksmith families with the surname Diedhiou and the Senghor-Djikune families are each exogamous. Other people with the same

\textsuperscript{101} Interviews with Assinway Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/17/78; Elizabeth Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/16/78; Basayo Sambou, Kadinol-Kandianka, 4/29/78. See also, Thomas, \textit{Diola}, p. 571-572.

\textsuperscript{102} In 1979, only two men at Kadjinol had more than one wife. In the other townships it was almost as rare, though several Muslim Diola had two wives. No one in the townships had more than two wives. Interviews with Gustave Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 10/12/77; Bruno Gitao Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone and Daniel Diatta, Kadjinol-Hassouka, and Sirku Bassin, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 1/31/75; Dionsal Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/12/78; Elizabeth Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/28/76. Pélissier, \textit{Paysans}, p. 684.
surname can intermarry, provided they are not closely related enough to have siwuum at the same compound.103

Prior to the First World War, opportunities for courtship were fairly limited. Boys and girls would meet at the wrestling matches where both sexes could watch the others' skills in wrestling and dance. Afterwards, there would be an acconkone social dance, where boys and girls would dance in separate, but facing circles. Occasionally, the girls would hold a Heleo dance. Boys would bring stools and a two-stringed guitar known as an econtine and come courting. A boy could go and visit a girl at her home, but they were less likely to remain undisturbed than in more recent times.104 Generally, sexual or marital relationships between two people of widely different ages would be frowned upon by the community.

Diola families are patrilineal; all children receive the father's name and remain within the father's family. Divorces are extremely common and readily obtained. Either husband or wife can decide on a divorce, though the wife may not take the children with her. The children remain close to the mother and her kin because of the strong ritual importance of the maternal relations. The major restriction on divorce is that it cannot occur during the planting or the harvest. This would seriously disrupt the family unit of production that is so important to Diola economic survival. Within the family, the husband is clearly regarded as the senior partner, but the woman has a substantial degree of autonomy.

102 Interview with André Bankuul Senghor, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 11/18/77. Thomas, Diola, p. 254.

104 Interview with Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, 8/15/78.
She may speak up and criticize and even mock her husband's decisions. Fear of the women's shrine, Ehugna, and the ease of divorce pressure him to respect his wife and to refrain from abusing her.

There is a second form of marriage, Roodii, that is available to widowed and divorced women of child-bearing age. Every five to ten years, a meeting is held in which all the unattached, previously married women of the township are required to choose a husband. Their choices can not refuse them. The elders of the community shrine of Hutendookai will fine any man who refuses his election or any woman who refuses to choose. In Kadjinol, the new couple are obligated to spend the night together for six days, while in Kagnout the trial marriage lasts four months. At the end of that time, if they continue to live together, they are considered married.105

While the people of Esulalu strive to perform good acts in their daily lives, they often fail to live up to their moral obligations. In cases of serious misconduct, the violation of what is forbidden, they can bring down a host of calamities upon themselves. As has been mentioned above, the spirit shrines will seize people who violate their particular codes of behavior. A serious illness, termite infestations and fire all could be a sign of punishment by the spirit shrines or by Emitai. The punishing disease may also strike the children or the spouse of the guilty person. Thus the son of the man who stole rice may be stricken with leprosy. When asked about the justice of punishing an innocent party, one

105 Pélissier, Paysans, p. 697. Thomas, Diola, p. 263. Interviews with Antoine Djemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 12/27/77; Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 10/24/77.
elder replied that the son had eaten the rice and that the family would be punished until the misdeed was righted. One spirit shrine continued to punish the family of a man who abused his cult responsibilities by inflicting the man’s son with madness. A murderer may bring his own death as well as that of his entire family. There is a collective sense of guilt in Diola life. The family is bound by blood; it survives as a unit and it benefits together from the good or bad deeds of its members.

In many cases where a crime has been committed, the community does not know the guilty party. In cases of theft, the wronged party can go to certain spirit shrines, especially Gilaite, and make an accusation against a specific suspect or simply ask that whoever stole from him be punished. Frequently, the guilty party, upon hearing this, will return the goods and attempt to rectify the crime by confession and ritual purification, rather than run the risk of leprosy. Gilaite and some of the other shrines can also be used for witchcraft accusations. The elders of the community shrine of Hotendookai have the power to investigate accusations of theft and witchcraft, but they punish with the power of the community rather than the power of disease. Hotendookai may impose fines of livestock, rice, or money as punishment for refusing to participate in collective work obligations, village-wide rituals, or marketing decisions.

106 Interviews with Henri Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/5/76; Antoine Houmandressah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 3/31/77; Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/16/79; Econdo Sambou and Sikakucele Diatta, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/12/75; Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/31/78.

107 Group Discussion, Econdo Sambou, Adiabaloung Dieddhiou, Gnapoli Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/27/75; Gilippe Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/8/75; Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/28/78.
Only the priest-king has authority over cases of murder. Once guilt is ascertained, the priest-king confiscates the rice paddies of the murderer, then auctions them off for cattle. Five of these cattle are then sacrificed at the most important township shrines. The murderer himself is banished from the community. After the purification of the township is completed, the family of the murderer purifies itself by sacrificing a bull at Calemboekine, the most important royal shrine and the shrine that watches over the main cemetery.

Moral wrongs leave the perpetrator and his family in an unclean state that must be removed by rites of confession and ritual purification. When someone has committed offenses against the male dominated shrines, against the dead, or against cattle, he summons the priests of the shrine Dijimamo, for a rite of confession. Only the three senior priests of the royal shrines can attend. The supplicant brings palm wine and a pot of rice. The bowl of palm wine is placed on his heart and "he tells me [the priest of Dijimamo] what he has done wrong." It may be that a woman accidentally saw a cemetery while at Dakar, or a man killed a cow that was invading his fields. Someone who has killed another man during an act or war must be purified there. These offenses require an initial confession, and, frequently, a second rite involving animal sacrifice. For serious

108 The sixth cow is kept by the priest-king. Interviews with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, July 30, 1978; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/8/75; Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/28/78.

offenses against the land, including usurpation of rice paddies, or revelations of restricted knowledge, one must go to Huluf, to the Elung shrine, for confession and ritual purification.\textsuperscript{110} Offenses involving witchcraft can be confessed at the shrine of the elders, Hoohaney, or at the circumcision shrine, Bukut.\textsuperscript{111}

Another major confession shrine, Kahoosu or Djilem, is the site for confession of sins against the women’s shrine. Men who have acted improperly toward women, or who have violated the menstrual avoidances (even inadvertently) must purify themselves there. On the eve of circumcision, all the uncircumcized boys will perform the rite of Kahoosu so that they will be pure during their ordeal. Women who have acted improperly according to the responsibilities of women in Esulalu or who have failed to respect the spirit shrines also confess at Kahoosu. A person who has journeyed outside the Diola areas of the Casamance will perform confessional rites at Kahoosu because of the possibility of having violated such interdictions as eating food cooked by a menstruating woman. In cases of minor infractions or where one is confessing only the possibility of committing an offense, the supplicant carries a bundle of rice to the shrine precincts, a place of thick bushes. The supplicant audibly lists the sins he committed or could have committed. The evil force of these acts passes into the rice which he then throws away at the

\textsuperscript{110} This shrine is linked to the priest-king of Oussouye who is the senior oeyi of the region. Interview with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, November 11, 1978.

\textsuperscript{111} Interviews with Djatti Sambou, Mlomp-Haer, January 13, 1979; Agnak Baben, Samatit, December 6, 1978.
shrine. Then he is purified. For more serious offenses, he may bring a pot of rice, a chicken, or even a goat which he leaves to roam the site of the shrine. Only the priestess and elders of the shrine can gather up the rice and animals and use them for food. To all others, they are contaminated with the misdeeds of the confessors.¹¹²

To the Diola, evil is a tangible force, capable of being passed from a person to an object, through the power of the confessional word. Confession purifies by bringing into the light of the shrine, the dark forces that work internally. Ritual sacrifice allows the life force, the soul of the palm wine and animals, to cleanse the wrongdoer. At times, the entire community will come together to remove the force of evil within the township. On several occasions the women's cult of Khugna exorcised evil from the Kafone quarter of Kadjinol. In 1978, evil forces were seen as centering around a clearing where wrestling matches were held. It was said to be causing disease. They wanted to carry the evil force away into the sea. That night a similar rite was held by both men and women at the shrine of the maternity house, Houssanna. In the night, they carried all the bad things of Kadjinol and Mlomp and removed them to a stream on the way to Kagnout.¹¹³ By dawn, the force of evil has been ritually carried away from the community.


A major force for evil, according to Diola belief, is the power of witches, usaye. It is said that Emitai gave them the gifts of special powers to "see" beyond the material world, to travel at night without their bodies, and to transform themselves into animals. They were given these powers in order to eat the souls of people when their appointed time to die had come. "Emitai only does what is good. Emitai sends witches to bring those people He has already killed... Emitai will send them... He says take that person." 114 However, in many cases, such power corrupts them and they become captive of their hunger for human flesh, a hunger that is satisfied by the souls of witches eating the souls of ordinary people. The priest-king of Kadjinol compares this corrupting process to giving birth to a child: "You have a child; perhaps it will be evil." Emitai punishes those who abuse the power he gave them. 115 The increasing corruption of the witches is often cited as a reason that Emitai destroyed the world in the apocalypse of Adonai. 116 These usaye, often motivated by jealousy or greed, attack their neighbors by bringing them diseases or by consuming their souls. When witches attack, they carry off the victim's soul, leaving him like a husk of rice with no substance or


115 The witches also punish murderers by hounding them until they leave the village. Interviews with Siliunganmagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, November 8, 1978; Boolai Senghor, Kadjinol-Sergerh, July 2, 1978.

strength to sustain life.\textsuperscript{117}

Witchcraft accusations have a particularly corrosive effect on community solidarity and harmony. Because the affairs of witches occur at night and involve the souls of apparently sleeping people travelling around the village doing their work, even a husband and wife may not know whether the other is a witch. When the waves of accusations begin, often after several deaths in the same quarter or during a period of general troubles, spouses and neighbors can no longer depend absolutely on each others support.\textsuperscript{118} Often the accusations themselves arise out of personal vendettas or jealousy, rather than from dreams or visions. These accusations are often described as "politique" with the strong implication of dishonest and self-serving motives.\textsuperscript{119}

Despite the suspicious quality of many of the accusations, the fear of witches is quite genuine. Many of the spirit shrines are well known for their ability to detect practicing witches or to provide medicines to be worn or placed in the house to protect against witchcraft.\textsuperscript{120} Certain people, known as ahoonk, have been given the same powers as the witches, but they refuse to take the lives of others. Their ability to "see" and

\textsuperscript{117} For a discussion of the Kussanga society and kusaye see Baum, "Crimes". \textit{passim}.

\textsuperscript{118} Group Discussion with Sikakucele Diatta and Assinway Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, March 4, 1978.

\textsuperscript{119} Interviews with Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 10/19/78; Antoine Dijemelene Sambou, Kadjinol-Kagnao, 7/25/78; Landing Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 12/27/78.

\textsuperscript{120} Interviews with Kapooeh Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 7/26/78; Assinway Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/2/78.
to travel at night, allow them to warn their relatives and neighbors of attacks and occasionally to do battle with the witches directly.¹²¹

Having outlined some of the fundamental beliefs of Diola religion it is important to examine Diola attitudes toward some of the major transitions in the life of an individual, from birth to death. Diola believe that human conception occurs when the blood of the male, located within the semen, mixes with the blood of the woman in the uterus. During her pregnancy, the prospective mother continues her normal work habits, often until the day when she goes into labor. However, once in labor, she must quickly go to the maternity house. Until recently, this was located in a remote, forested area on the edge of the township and was a place where no man could go. The woman in labor presents the woman in charge of the maternity with six rice bundles known as eyasan. The maternity elder, small group of women knowledgeable in the art of midwifery, and members of the council of elders of the major women's shrines, assist the woman in labor.¹²² Any sins which the woman had committed, particularly adultery, have to be confessed before the labor progressed or the woman runs the risk of a dangerous delivery. Women remain in the maternity home for six days. The senior women use this time to instruct the mother in her responsibilities as a woman in Diola society and to initiate her into some

¹²¹ Elizabeth Sambou cites a case of two ahoonk who exposed some witches who then retaliated by driving the ahoonk to madness. Interview with Elizabeth Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/7/78. Interviews with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 6/26/78; Terence Galandiou Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 7/2/78.

¹²² The head of the Kadjinol maternity was also the priestess of Kahoosu-Diilem, the confession shrine. Interview with Antoine Houmandrissah Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/13/79.
of the special knowledge of ritual and belief that are reserved for women. During this time, the father of the child may not approach the maternity house or receive any news about the condition of the mother or child. It is believed that birth is solely the concern of women and that a man would place his life in jeopardy if he witnessed a birth. For three days after she leaves the maternity, the mother of the new child can not approach any spirit shrines because she is considered ritually impure.

Some time during the child's infancy, the family will present the child to the various spirit shrines that are important to the family. They may request the special protection of a major shrine, such as Gilâte or the Houle, so that the child will grow up safe from the menaces of disease and witchcraft. In the rite of Cahîte the infant is presented to the shrine of the dead, Kouhouloung, so that the ancestors will know the child and so that the animal doubles of the child will be protected. Offerings are made at the priest-king's shrine, Calemboekine, so that the spirit of the shrine, symbolic of the whole community, will know its new member and not act against it as a stranger.


One is not considered fully an adult until one is married and has children. Male circumcision and initiation are an important part of the passage into manhood but they are not a prerequisite for marriage.\textsuperscript{126} The rituals concerning marriage are extended throughout the dry season preceding the marriage itself. Their primary purpose is to safeguard the bride's passage from one household to another and to preserve the full strength of the bride's fertility. At the wrestling matches of the harvest festival, the boys engaged to be married wrestle for the last time. Their future brides perform special dances on their cloths in order to have good fortune in marriage. After the harvest, the future husbands begin the laborious task of acquiring several thousand liters of palm wine to present to the father of the bride. The bride's father uses the palm wine to entertain the community and, more importantly, to greet all the spirit shrines that are important to his family. In each case, prayers will be offered for the fertility of the bride and the happiness of the couple.\textsuperscript{127} The most important rites occur at the family shrine of Hupila, where a hog is sacrificed. This is done to inform the family spirits that their daughter will be leaving them to marry and to help her to be fertile and happy. Failure to perform this rite could so antagonize Hupila that the

\textsuperscript{126} Most Diola of Huluf and Bandial require circumcision prior to marriage; Esulalu does not. There are several people, some in their 60's or 70's, who were circumcized during the same rites as their father, though never on the same day. In recounting genealogies, it is fairly common for a father or son, six generations ago, to have been involved in the same circumcision rites. Since the institution of Bukut, circumcision rites have been held once every 20-30 years.

bride's life, as well as her fertility, could be placed in jeopardy. If the woman is marrying outside her township, her fiancéé must ritually greet his township's Calemboekine in order that it accept her into the new community.

Diola attitudes toward death vary according to the age of the deceased and the way the person died. When the deceased is an elder with grown children who have children of their own, then the death is accepted as part of the natural order of events. The funeral dance, nyakul, becomes a celebration of the deceased's life, rather than the mourning of a tragic death. However, when an adult dies in the prime of life or when a full grown child with no offspring dies, then the death is considered tragic and outside of the natural order. Some force of evil, either committed by the deceased or against him, must account for this aberration from the normal order. In such cases, the casop, ritual interrogation of the corpse, becomes the central event of the funeral. The community must find out what caused the death. Even the very old are interrogated, but there is a particular urgency in the interrogation at an untimely death. A senior relation asks the corpse, held aloft on a stretcher: "You have died. What has killed you?" The deceased responds by moving the stretcher up and down to indicate agreement. He moves the stretcher from side to side to indicate a negative response. The deceased is asked if a spirit shrine killed him. If the answer is yes, then they must go through the list of spirit shrines to find which one. They ask, "Have you

128 This ritual is performed even by many Christians who decline most ritual obligations of mwasena religion.
broken with the shrine?" If no, they ask, "Was it so you could rest?" If the latter is true then there is no problem. They tell the deceased to go in peace. However if the spirit shrine killed him because he neglected his ritual obligations or violated its code of behavior, then the family of the deceased must perform rituals to repair the wrong. Witches could have also caused the death. In such cases, the guilty witch must be identified.

Death is accepted as part of the life journey of the soul. The soul passes into the after life where it becomes an ancestor, Houssandoume, or phantom before being reincarnated as a child of its own descendents. The living are their own ancestors. Death is considered a necessary condition for the creation of life. It is said that a very long time ago, the people of Samatit performed rituals at their shrine, Enac, so that there would be no more deaths at Samatit. For nine years no one died at Samatit, but no one was born either. After nine years of neither deaths nor births, they lifted the prohibition on death. "Certain people were old. They did not have the children to take care of them. They found that when one person dies, another will have a child." Death was recognized as an integral part of the cycle of life.


130 Interview with Terence Galandio Diouf Sambou, Kadjinol-Ebankine, 5/12/78. Interview with Remehow Dieddhiou, Eloudia, 5/18/78.
To the Diola history, like life itself, is cyclical. Divine creation is followed by a time of harmony, of great men, and of few deaths. It is a period of a close relationship between the first ancestors, "situbai sihan" and Emitai. Gradually this relationship deteriorates; man loses some of his physical and mental powers, while Emitai destroys all life on earth. Finally there is a period of rebirth and the cycle begins again. This destruction of the world is called Adonai. There have been many of them. There will be many more. This fall of man is blamed on quarrels between people, witchcraft, greed, and the violation of important proscriptions in Diola religion. "Emitai knows why He causes Adonai...People had remained here for a very long time. He removed them and made new people."

Without ancestors these new people were dependent on Emitai for their knowledge of the world and of what was right and wrong. Emitai acted as a parent to the first people, was able to see beyond their immediate troubles and gave them guidance in their daily lives. Paponah Diatta describes the first people to emerge after the Adonai.

Emitai sent out a man and a woman. They lived on the earth... The man went to the woman's house. She struck him... The man went to see Emitai. He said the woman struck him. Emitai said, "oh". Man said, "yes". Emitai said he did not know. Remain here... The man defeated the woman. This time the woman went to see Emitai and told him that the man had beaten her. He gave her

131 Interviews with Siopama Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 4/1/78; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebenay, 4/27/78.

132 Interviews with Djilehl Sambou, Kadjinol-Hassouka, 4/24/78; Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebenay, 4/27/78.
pubic hair to cover her genitals. After he covered her, he gave her a cloth to wear. He told her that the next time the man comes for a quarrel, remove your cloth. He will sting you. He will marry you. [Both are expressions for intercourse]. The woman will bear her teeth and laugh. The man sees the genitals and he will be beaten.

After awhile, she became pregnant. Man went to see Emitai and asked him why the women had a big stomach and big breasts. Emitai said to leave her alone. After a while the stomach matured. The woman disappeared. He did not see her... He went to see Emitai. He said, "I have not seen her." Emitai said to leave her alone. After a while the women emerged. She emerged with her child.133

Eventually she had other children who began to populate the earth.

Central to this account are two themes, the relationship between man and woman and between people and Emitai. To the Diola, the relationship between man and woman is a source of continual quarrels. Man has a certain physical power, but a woman has a sexual power which she can use to control men. This too is established by Emitai, beginning with the first couple. Emitai establishes a balance between the strengths of men and women. Finally he entrusts all matters related to birth to women and excludes men. Emitai is actively involved in the lives of this first couple. He provides them with advice whenever there is a problem that they do not understand. When they follow this advice they succeed in resolving their problems. Emitai is accessible and willing to teach the "first ancestors" about their proper behavior and about what is forbidden (gnigne). With the insights that Emitai imparted to them, they could gain a sufficient understanding of the natural order to secure material prosperity, human fertility, and the ability to resolve their disputes in

133 Interview with Paponah Diatta, Mlomp-Etebemaye, 4/27/78.
a just way. A man who lives in the path of Emitai will prosper. However, as people became more established they neglected their obligations to Emitai. Once again, the world began the slow process of deterioration from the time of the "first ancestors".

While Esulalu historians maintain a cyclical view of history, stretching from Adonai to Adonai, from one instance of the destruction of the world to another, they divide their history since the last apocalypse into three categories. The earliest of these periods, the time of the ancestors, is regarded as a time beyond the limits of the longest genealogies and a time of closer association between Emitai and Esulalu's progenitors. Traditions of this period tend to emphasize the activities of founding ancestors. Spiritual forces are seen as especially important to the success or failure of these ancestors. The second of these categories, the time of the ancestors, is linked to the present by chains of genealogies, shrine histories, and accounts of specific individuals, wars, and religious activities. This period roughly corresponds to the late pre-colonial period, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Finally, these is the period of recent past, lived through by the oldest members of the community, that roughly corresponds to the twentieth century.

134 In establishing the date of 1700 as the beginning of the historical accounts, I have used a system of genealogies and circumcision rite names to reach an approximate date with a possible variation of twenty years in either direction. See Appendix One for a description of these methods.
Despite their lack of a caste or professional group of historians, the Esulalu spend a substantial amount of time discussing their past. Each spirit shrine and each family has its own history. That history sheds light on the relationships between the various spirit shrines, families, and townships. For the Diola their history provides them with a way to trace the origins of power back to the time of the first ancestors. The spiritual power of the ukine, the social and religious authority of families, and the religious and land-holding hegemony in the case of the townships, all are influenced by their places within Esulalu history. However, history also helps the Esulalu to understand and order their world.

In order to preserve the integrity of Diola beliefs and values, each generation must be socialized into the religious community. The religious education of an Esulalu child occurs on a daily basis, with instruction from parents and elders about the proper way of doing things and their responsibilities to the community. Young men spend much of the dry season in the forest harvesting palm wine with their elders and away from the women. Many of the stories about the past and about religious beliefs are imparted during conversation over palm wine at the end of a day’s work. There are a series of children’s shrines that serve to instruct the young in the way of ritual supplication and the communion of one’s fellows at the shrines. Until recently, every boy had his own family shrine of Hupila, a small shrine where he made offerings of the feathers or blood of animals that he had killed. Girls have their own women's shrine of

135 Interview with Indrissa Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 10/20/78.
Ehugna. They gather palm wine, perform the rites, and dance. Each quarter has its own chief priestess and the hierarchy of adult offices is used at the children's shrine. There is also a shrine associated with wrestling, where boys sacrifice stolen chickens the night before a wrestling match.\textsuperscript{136}

In Esulalu, girls are initiated into the responsibilities of womanhood in a series of events which, unlike the men's mass initiations, are highly individualized. Just before the onset of puberty, a girl and her best friend will spend as long as a month sleeping over at one of their homes. They cook festive foods and eat together. During this time the women of the compound instruct the girls in matters relating to their imminent adolescence and the role of women in the community. In Esulalu, female circumcision is not practiced. A second and more intense period of initiation occurs in the maternity house when a mother gives birth to her first child. Only then can she become a full member of the community of women and the congregation of the adult Ehugna shrine.\textsuperscript{137}

The most important of the men's initiations is the circumcision rite. This has undergone radical changes in the past three centuries and is discussed in Chapter Three. However, common to both the older and newer forms of male circumcision is the gathering of a group of boys who must pass through a physical ordeal, sacrifice a part of themselves, and

\textsuperscript{136} Interviews with Mandiaye Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 11/21/77; Dionsal Diedhhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 11/21/77; Josephine Badji, Mlomp-Haer, 9/25/77; Kumbumbatome Dieddhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 1/15/75; Gustave Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 10/11/74.

\textsuperscript{137} Interview with Elizabeth Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone. Thomas, Diola, p. 271.
demonstrate the essential male characteristics of courage and forbearance that are required of Diola men. During their seclusion they are taught the responsibilities of manhood, respect for tradition and for the elders, and they are initiated into certain aspects of ritual knowledge.  

A few years after the circumcision ritual, the young men are initiated into the sacred forest of Calemboekine, during the rite of Calau. In this rite, the elders and initiates spend six days in the sacred forest. There the initiates received detailed instructions about death and its meanings, funeral rites, and ritual obligations, as well as their first information about the closely guarded mysteries of the priest-king. Once having completed this initiation, the young men can assist at burials and attend various royal shrines. They can learn the inner dynamics of Esulalu history, that which is concealed by a public profession of absolute continuity with the ways of the "first ancestors". Through initiation each man becomes "one who is of the spirit shrines."  

138 For a description of both forms of circumcision, see Chapter Three. See also, Thomas, Diola, p. 271.  

139 Interview with Grégoire Diatta and Pap Gueye Diatta, Mlomp-Cadjifolong, 11/14/78. Interview with Siliungimagne Diatta, Kadjinol-Kandianka, 8/12/78; Econdo Sambou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 5/22/75; Indriissa Diedhiou, Kadjinol-Kafone, 2/10/78. See also, Thomas, Diola, p. 693-694.
GLOSSARY

Ammahl - spirits associated with water who may reveal themselves at shrines or to specific individuals.

Ata-Emit - the Diola supreme being, usually called Emitai.

Awasena - Diola term for Diola religion.

Boekine - spirit shrine.

Bruinkaw - a divinatory shrine, important for healing.

Bukut - the newer form of male circumcision, prevalent in Esulalu.

Cabal - "the spear", a shrine associated with war, founded by Kooliny Djabune.

Calemboekine - a forest south of Kadjinol and north of Huluf.

Calemboekine - the sacred forest of the priest-king and the shrines that are located within the forest (Coeyi and Egol).

Cayinte - rain shrines controlled by the priest-king through quarter or neighborhood priests.

Coeyi - a major shrine of the priest-king that is of Floup origin.

Djicomole - an independent township in the 18th century, eventually the dominant quarter of Mlomp.

Djiguemah - a Koonjaen shrine associated with the Gent lineage of Kolobone.

Djougoutes - a region on the north shore of the Casamance River, also known as Boulouf.

Duhagne - an important blacksmith shrine introduced in the 19th century.

Ediamat - a Diola area along the Guinea-Bissau border.

Egol - the Koonjaen shrine of the priest-king, founded by Atta-Essou.

Elenkine-Sergerh - a quarter shrine of the Kalybillah half of Kadjinol.

Elinkine - a stranger village located southwest of Samatit.

Eloudia - the fourth largest township in Esulalu, founded by Atta-Essou.

Emitai - the supreme being in Diola religion.
Ewang - shrine of the priest-king of Oussouye, linked to Kahat circumcision and land disputes.

Gent - the descendants of Atta-Essou.

Gilaite - the most powerful Esulalu blacksmith shrine, introduced by Haieheck Djabune in the mid-nineteenth century.

Hoohaney - shrine associated with the elders and the cemetery.

Huluf - the cluster of townships around Oussouye, ten kilometers south of Esulalu.

Hupila - the family shrine of the Diola.

Hutendookai - the town council shrine of Esulalu and Bandial.

Kadjinol - the second largest of the Esulalu townships.

Kagnout - the third largest of the Esulalu townships.

Kahat - the Koonjaen form of male circumcision, adopted by Esulalu.

Kahlayo - a Koonjaen family shrine at Kadjinol.

Koonjaen - inhabitants of the forest area south of Esulalu. Conquered by the Floup after they created the townships.

Mlomp - not a united township until the mid-nineteenth century. Presently the largest township in Esulalu.

Oeyi - the Diola priest-king.

Samatit - the smallest of the Esulalu townships.

Silapoom - the Koonjaen shrine of the forge, adopted by Esulalu.

Ukine - the plural form of boekine, spirit shrines.
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III. Interviews

Interviews were conducted during three periods: August, 1974-August 1975, June-August, 1976, and September 1977-February, 1979. Eight hundred and forty-five people were interviewed of which 679 live or were born in Esulalu. Because of the large number of people interviewed, I will only list the major informants. Informants are listed by place of birth. Section I is for Esulalu, section II for non-Esulalu Diola, and section III for non-Diola.
I. Informants from Esulalu

**Djeromait**

Coly, Jean, Christian elder of Djeromait; interviews on village history.

Lopi, Jacques, of Mandjak descent; interviews on Mandjak and Diola shrines.

**Efissao**

Bassin, Constance, interviews on the history of Efissao.

Dieddhiou, Hyacinthe, originally of Kadjinol; interviews on the history of Efissao.

**Elinkine**

Chiam, Jean Baptiste, interviews on the history of Elinkine.

Faye, Dyaye Babu, interviews on the founding of Elinkine, its spirit shrines, and the spirit shrines of Carabane.

**Eloudia**

Diatta, Aliou, shrine elder; interviews on Eloudia's shrines and history.

Diatta, Sikarwen, shrine elder; interviews on shrines associated with priest-king, early history of Eloudia, Atta-Essou, and theology.

Diatta, Thomas, shrine elder; interviews on 19th century history and spirit shrines.

Dieddhiou, Kemehow, interviews on Diola agriculture, early history and migration.

Dieddhiou, Lome, shrine elder; interviews on Eloudia's spirit shrines.

Kila, Badjaya, Gent lineage and shrine elder; interviews on founding of Eloudia by Atta-Essou and the shrines of the priest-king.

**Kadjinol**

Kadjinol-Ebankine

Bassin, Amokabaw, shrine elder; interviews about slave trade and shrines associated with the slave trade.

Bassin, Djallé, shrine elder; interviews about male circumcision and Ebankine's spirit shrines.
Bassin, Hélène, interviews about Christian-awasena relations, witchcraft accusations, and marriage customs.

Bassin, Moolaye, shrine elder; interviews about spirit shrines, especially Hupila and the early history of Esulalu.

Bassin, Nuhli, shrine elder; interviews about the slave trade and spirit shrines associated with it as well as the early history of Esulalu.

Manga, Anto, shrine elder; interviews about the nature of the spirit shrines, especially Houle and Bukut as well as some historical materials.

Sambou, Danaye, shrine elder; interviews about the spirit shrines and 19th century Kadjinol.

Sambou, Djiremo, shrine elder; interviews about the creation of Bukut, the early history of Esulalu, and the slave trade.

Sambou, Kebeh, shrine elder; interviews about spirit shrines and war.

Sambou, Ramon, interviews about spirit shrines and war.

Sambou, Terence Galandiou Diouf, interviews about the early history of Esulalu, spirit shrines, witchcraft, Christian-awasena relations, the importance of dreams in Diola religion.

Hassouka

Badji, Sihumucel, shrine elder, Coeyi; interviews about the nature of the spirit shrines, the origin of the priest-king shrines, ritual restrictions on the priest-king, and the Koonjaen.

Diatta, LeBois, shrine elder; interviews on the priest-king and the early history of Kadjinol.

Sambou, Djadjja, interviews on the spirit shrines of Kadjinol.

Sambou, Djilehl, shrine elder; interviews on blacksmiths and their shrines, the nature of the spirit shrines, and the history of Kadjinol.

Sambou, Eleterre, interviews on the early history of Kadjinol, the nature of the spirit shrines, and their initial establishment in Kadjinol.

Senghor, André Bankuul, church deacon; interviews on Christian-awasena relations, witchcraft accusations, funeral customs, and the early history of Esulalu.

Senghor, Samoulli, shrine elder; interviews on the history of various spirit shrines, especially those associated with kingship.
Kafone

Diatta, Edouard Kadjinga, interviews about early Esulalu history and spirit shrines.

Diatta, Francois Buloti, interviews about spirit shrines, sexual mores, and structures of language.

Diatta, Gnimai, interviews about social etiquette, the role of women in Esulalu society, and social customs.

Diatta, Kuadadge, shrine elder; interviews about the nature of the spirit shrines, the office of priest-king, the Koonjaen, and the early history of Esulalu.

Diatta, Lolène, shrine elder; interviews about the early history of Esulalu and the spirit shrines.

Diatta, Sidionbaw, interviews about the nature of the spirit shrines, their history, and the early history of Esulalu.

Diatta, Sikakucele; priest-king of Kafone; interviews on ritual practices.

Dieddhiou, Adiabaloung, interviews about techniques of prayer and the blacksmith shrines.

Dieddhiou, Alphonse, interviews about social mores and Christian-awasena relations.

Dieddhiou, Ameliké, interviews about the early history of Esulalu, especially in relation to the slave trade and Ehugna.

Dieddhiou, Antoine Houmandrissah, detailed interviews about the history of Esulalu, including genealogies of the major lineages of Kafone.

Dieddhiou, Asamayai, interviews about the nature of the spirit shrines.

Dieddhiou, Asenkahan, interviews about the nature of the spirit shrines and social mores.

Dieddhiou, Bruno Gitao, interviews about social customs, economic organization, and Christian-awasena relations.

Dieddhiou, Diongany, interviews about social customs and the nature of the spirit shrines.

Dieddhiou, Dionsal, interviews about social customs, the nature of the spirit shrines, and the history of Kadjinol.
Dieddhiou, Djisambouway, interviews about the early history of Kadjinol, especially as it relates to the slave trade and the growth of Kafone's spirit shrines.

Dieddhiou, Edula, shrine elder; interviews about Bruinkaw and Ehugna.

Dieddhiou, Ekusumben, interviews about the early history of Esulalu, the Koonjaen wars, witchcraft, and the nature of the spirit shrines.

Dieddhiou, Elizabeth, interviews about the early history of Esulalu.

Dieddhiou, Emehow, shrine elder; interviews about the early history of Esulalu.

Dieddhiou, Gilippe, shrine elder of Gilaite; interviews about Gilaite and about blacksmiths.

Dieddhiou, Gnapoli, interviews about structures of prayer, blacksmiths, and social customs.

Dieddhiou, Henri, shrine elder; interviews about blacksmiths, spirit shrines, and the early history of Esulalu.

Dieddhiou, Indrissa, interviews about the early history of Kadjinol, especially shrine histories and social customs of the pre-colonial period.

Dieddhiou, Joseph Salinjahn, interviews about the early history of Kadjinol.

Dieddhiou, Kapooeh, shrine elder Hoohaney and Gilaite; detailed instruction about the role of priests and elders in various cults as well as the early history of Esulalu.

Dieddhiou, Landing, interviews about the history of Kadjinol and about fishing.

Dieddhiou, Marie Augustine, interviews about the nature of spirit shrines and about Christian-wasena relations.

Dieddhiou, Musasenkor, interviews about the early history of Esulalu.

Dieddhiou, Ompa Kumbegeny, interviews about the history of Kadjinol and the nature of the spirit shrines.

Dieddhiou, Ramon Bapatchaboo, interviews about the history of Kadjinol, especially as it relates to Cabai.

Dieddhiou, Samedymolly, interviews about the nature of spirit shrines and about Diola architecture.

Dieddhiou, Samuel, shrine elder of Gilaite and Silepoom; instruction about blacksmiths and blacksmith shrines.
Dieddhiou, Siliya, shrine elder of Silapoom; interviews about blacksmiths and blacksmith shrines.

Dieddhiou, Simeon, interviews about the nature of spirit shrines and about social customs.

Dieddhiou, Sinyendikaw, interviews about the early history of Esulalu.

Dieddhiou, Siopama, shrine elder and healer; interviews about the nature of the spirit shrines and of spiritual experience, the importance of dreams, witchcraft, healing, and the history of spirit shrines.

Manga, Elizabeth, interviews about the history of the Kolobone Manga lineage and about social customs.

Manga, Matolia, shrine elder of Ehugna; interviews about Ehugna and about relations between the sexes.

Manga, Michel Anjou, interviews about Esulalu history, witchcraft accusations, the Koonjaen, and Christian-awasena relations.

Manga, Sihendoo, interviews about early Esulalu history and the nature of the spirit shrines.

Sambou, Assinway, shrine elder of Hutendookai; interviews about the nature of spirit shrines, the after life, visionary experience, and early history.

Sambou, Diashwah, shrine elder of Djimmamo and Cayinte; interviews about pre-colonial wars and the involvement of spirit shrines, especially the history of Cabai.

Sambou, Elizabeth, interviews about the nature of the spirit shrines, witches, evil, and social customs.

Sambou, Etienne Abbisenkor, instruction about the various spirit shrines.

Sambou, Hubert Econdo, instruction about the nature of the spirit shrines, social mores, wrestling, and Christian-awasena relations.

Sambou, Mungo, interviews about the history of the spirit shrines and Diola views of creation.

Kagnao

Djikune, Grégoire, interviews about the early history of Kadjinol and Djeromait, the nature of the spirit shrines, the slave trade, and Christianity in Esulalu.

Djikune, Henri, interviews about social mores and Christian-awasena relations.
Manga, Djalice, interviews about the spirit shrines of Kagnao.

Sambou, Acamediake, interviews about the early history of Esulalu and the nature of the spirit shrines.

Sambou, Alappa, interviews about relations between Bandial and Esulalu, as well as about Esulalu religious practices.

Sambou, Antoine Djemelene, shrine elder; interviews about the nature of the spirit shrines, witches, concepts of God, systems of morality, the slave trade, the institution of the priest-king, and the Koonjaen.

Sambou, Badiat, interviews about the nature of the spirit shrines and the early history of Esulalu.

Sambou, Abbe Earnest, a Catholic priest; interviews about the parallels between Christianity and awasena religion.

Sambou, Francois Djatockoe, interviews about religious practice, witchcraft accusations, and 19th century history of Esulalu.

Sambou, Isador, interviews about Christian-awasena relations and about the recent history of Esulalu.

Sambou, Ompa, interviews about the early history of Kadjinol.

Senghor, Suzanne, interviews about the nature of the spirit shrines, especially Ehugna.

Kandianka

Diatta, Kubaytow, interviews about the early history of Esulalu, especially shrine histories.

Diatta, Mandiaye, interviews about contemporary religious practice and political disputes.

Diatta, Michel Amancha, interviews about the early history of Esulalu, the office of priest-king, and Christian-awasena relations.

Diatta, Silungimagne, priest-king of Kadjinol; interviews about the office of priest-king, reincarnation, ethics, marriage customs, the Koonjaen and the early history of Esulalu.

Dieddhiou, Kadi, interviews about marriage customs and social mores.

Manga, Etienne, catechist; interviews about the early history of Esulalu and about Christian-awasena relations.
Sambou, Basayo, interviews about pre-colonial social mores and the nature of the spirit shrines.

Sambou, Silokolai, interviews about marriage customs and religious practices.

Senghor, Badjassaw, shrine elder of Hupila; interviews about the history of various spirit shrines, especially Hupila, and the rituals that are central to their worship.

Senghor, Michel Djigoon, interviews about the priest-kingship and the early history of Esulalu.

Sergerh

Diatta, Attabadionti, shrine elder of Elenkine-Sergerh; interviews on various spirit shrines, the nature of the ammahl, and the early history of Esulalu.

Diatta, Djangi, interviews on the history of the Gent lineage and the early history of Esulalu.

Dieddhiou, Beatrice, interviews on social customs and Christian-awasena relations.

Manga, Andre Kebroohaw, interviews on the history of the Kolobone-Manga lineage and general religious and political issues.

Sambou, Sedu Benoit, interviews on 19th century Esulalu history.

Senghor, Abbas Ciparan, interviews on the early history of Esulalu.

Senghor, Asambou, shrine elder of Bukut; interviews on male circumcision and Diola religion in general.

Senghor, Boolai, interviews on the early history of Esulalu, the nature of the spirit shrines, the importance of dreams and visions in Esulalu religion, and witchcraft beliefs.

Senghor, Eddi, interviews on the nature of the spirit shrines, concepts of after life, and Christian-awasena relations.

Senghor, Leo, interviews on land disputes and 19th century Esulalu.

Senghor, Pierre Marie, Catholic priest; interviews on early penetration of Christianity in the region.
Kagnout (Bruhinban, Ebrouwayne, and Eyehou)

Assin, Sambouway, interviews about early Esulalu history, the nature of spirit shrines, and religious practice.

Bassin, Pakum, interviews about the history of Kagnout's spirit shrines, early Esulalu history, and Christianity in Esulalu.

Djibune, Hilaire, catechist; interviews about the history of Kagnout, the history of spirit shrines, the visionary tradition in Esulalu, and the growth of Christianity.

Sambou, Antoine, interviews about the history of Kagnout.

Sambou, Bernard Ellibah, interviews about the history of Kagnout and political issues in Esulalu.

Sambou, Djikankoulan, interviews about the early history of Esulalu and the nature of the spirit shrines.

Sambou, Eina, interviews about the early history of Esulalu and the nature of the spirit shrines.

Sarr, Kasaygilette, interviews about Kagnout's spirit shrines.

Loudia-Ouoloff

Cissoko, Bakary Dembo, interviews on Islam and on blacksmiths in Muslim communities, as well as the history of Loudia-Ouoloff.

Cissoko, Boolai, interviews on the history of Loudia-Ouoloff and Islam.

Manga, Bubackar, originally from Eloudia; interviews on the founding of Loudia-Ouloff, its relationship with Eloudia, early Esulalu history, and his conversion to Islam.

Mlomp (Cadjifolong, Djibetene, Djicomole, Etebemaye, Haer)

Badji, Josephine, interviews on social mores and relations between the sexes.

Diatta, Abdoulaye Gaitch, interviews about Mlomp's spirit shrines.

Diatta, Djamonde, interviews about the history of Elou Mlomp and its spirit shrines, as well as Esulalu communities in Dakar.

Diatta, Edouard Hounakaw, interviews about the history of Mlomp's spirit shrines.
Diatta, Grégoire, catechist; interviews about the early history of Esulalu, the Koonjaen, land disputes, Cavinte, social mores of the pre-colonial period, and the history of Christianity in Esulalu.

Diatta, Paponah, shrine elder of Bukut, Bruinkaw, and Hupila, interviews on the history and nature of various spirit shrines, about Diola concepts of God, ethics, and history, about pre-colonial Esulalu history, and about Elou Mlomp.

Diatta, Songant Ebéh, interviews about witches, spirit shrines, and land disputes.

Diatta, Tidjane, interviews about witches and spirit shrines.

Diop, Hadi, interviews about Islam in Esulalu.

Manga, Alouise, interviews about the pre-colonial history of Esulalu and about the priest-king.

Manga, Robert, interviews about Elou Mlomp and the growth of Christianity.

Manga, Sebeoloute, elder of Coeyi; interviews about the origin and the development of Mlomp's priest-king and about the pre-colonial history of Esulalu.

Manga, Yerness, elder of Coeyi; interviews about the origin and the development of Mlomp's priest-king.

N'diaye, Ibu, interviews about the growth of Islam in the region and regional politics.

Sambou, Assalabaw, interviews about Mlomp's spirit shrines.

Sambou, Djatti, shrine elder; interviews about the spirit shrines of Haer.

Sambou, Emmanuel Djikune, interviews about the priest-king of Mlomp.

Sambou, Julien Mien, interviews about the spirit shrines of Mlomp.

Sambou, Lampolly, interviews about Esulalu's early history.

Sambou, Malanbaye, interviews about Esulalu's early history and the nature of the spirit shrines.

Sambou, Patrice, interviews about 19th century Esulalu.

Sambou, Ramon, interviews about spirit shrines associated with hunting and palm wine tapping.

Sambou, Sebikuan, priest-king of Mlomp; interviews about the priest-king, about Diola ethics and cosmology.
Sambou, Signondac, interviews about pre-colonial Esulalu.

Senghor, Thierno, interviews about the spirit shrines of Cadjifolong and the nature of the spirits themselves.

Senghor, Tomis, interviews about pre-colonial Esulalu and the spirit shrines.

**Pointe Saint-Georges (Punta)**

Diatta, Paul, interviews on the history and shrines of Pointe Saint-Georges.

Diatta, Ramon, interviews on the history of Pointe Saint-Georges.

Sagna, Edouard, interviews on the history of Pointe Saint-Georges.

**Samatit**

Assin, Alougoulor Marie-Thérèse, shrine elder of Ehugna; interviews about the history of Samatit and of the Ehugna shrine.

Assin, Cyriaque, interviews about the nature of Samatit's spirit shrines, the slave trade, and the early history of Samatit.

Assin, Cyriaque, interviews about the early history of Samatit.

Assin, Wuuli, priest-king of Samatit; interviews about the spirit shrines of Samatit and the early history of that community.

Baben, Agnak, interviews about reincarnation, visionary experience, the nature of the spirit shrines, and the history of Samatit.

Diatta, Sooti, interviews about the history of Samatit and its spirit shrines.

Djibune, Sophie, interviews about the spirit shrines of Samatit, especially Ehugna.

**Sam Sam**

Sakho, Alfa, interviews on the founding of Sam Sam, its relations with Samatit, Islam, and Al Hadji Umar Tall.

**Santiaba**

Abutch, Mark, interviews on the history of Santiaba and the office of priest-king at Kagnout. He is a member of the priest-king lineage for Kagnout-Eyehow who settled at Santiaba.
II. Diola from Outside Esulalu

Badiane, Augustin (from Oussouye, but living in Dakar), interviews about Huluf Diola religion and the growth of Christianity there.

Badiane, Kafiba (Oussouye), interviews about Huluf Diola religion, the importance of dreams, and the growth of Christianity there.

Badji, Marie Joseph (Balandine), interviews about Christian-awasena relations, beliefs in witchcraft, relations between the sexes, and Senegalese religious orders. She is a sister of Saint Joseph.

Bassin, Georges (Essil), interviews about the Bandial-Essil region, economic issues, and about the origins of Bukut.

Baye, Sheriff (Diembering) interviews about the slave trade.

Dîadhiou, Teté (Ziguinchor), interpreter and local official during the colonial period. Interviews about Diola religion, the slave trade, and the prophetess Alinesitouë.

Diatta, Goolai (Kabrousse), interviews about Alinesitouë and slavery.

Dieddhiou, Alouise (Kabrousse), interviews about Alinesitouë.

Dieddhiou, Father Nestor (Mangangoulak), interviews about Djougoutes and its wars with Esulalu as well as the growth of Christianity.

Djemakoon, Abbé (Senghalene), interviews about Diola history, Alinesitouë, and Diola Christianity.

Ehemba, Mère Victoire (Edioungou), interviews about Diola history, dance, and the growth of Christianity in the region.

Lambal, Ampercé (Oussouye), interviews about the Huluf priest-king.

Manga, Fidel (Kolocone) interviews about Diisunemah, the Koonjaen, and Gent.

N'diaye, Amath (Diembering and Ziguinchor), a Protestant school teacher. Interviews about Diola religion, Islam, and Christianity, as well as slavery at Diembering.

Tendeng, Moositaye (Bandial), interviews about Bandial religion and Bandial-Esulalu relations.

III. Non-Diola

Most of these interviews with 22 informants focused on the colonial and independence eras. The one major exception is cited below.

Salla, Father Antonio, a Spanish missionary; interviews on the nature of Diola religion, the structures of Diola language, and the growth of
growth of Christianity in the region.

Linares, Olga, excerpts from her notes of interviews she conducted in Samatit. These interviews focused on the Ehugna shrines and on the village of Sandiannah that was conquered by Samatit in the 19th century.