**CHAPTER 7**

**MIGRATION, MARRIAGE, AND ETHNICITY**

**THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM IN PRECOLONIAL MIDDLE CASAMANCE**

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**INTRODUCTION**

Historical narratives have consistently overlooked the role of marriage in the process leading to the Islamization of the Casamance, the southwestern part of Senegal. This negligence is a clear reflection of the minor role played by this region in the historiography of Senegambia as a whole. Instead of exploring the early development of Islam throughout the Casamance, this chapter focuses on the interwoven relationships between migration, marriage, and ethnic identity transformation in the Middle Casamance. Its chronological focus is the period between the first half of the seventeenth century, when the original Muslim settlements began to emerge, and the mid-nineteenth century, when the balance of religious power was dramatically shifting in favor of Muslims.

Since the 1970s and 1980s the conflicting lines of arguments respectively formulated by Robin Horton and Humphrey Fisher have strongly influenced the scholarship on conversion to Islam in West Africa. In his pioneering model (the Intellectualist Theory) Horton describes the African cosmology as a realm dominated by a higher God and lesser spirits, corresponding to what he terms as the *social macrocosm and microcosm*. For Horton, the transformation of the basic African cosmology was driven by a set of external and internal crises, culminating in the breakdown of the social microcosm. By suggesting that the African religious universe underwent a change from within, Horton offers a new version of "syncretism" or the so-called mixing between Islam and pre-Islamic African beliefs.²
In his "devout opposition" to Horton, Fisher portrays conversion in Africa as a three-step process. The first step, *quarantine*, took shape when Muslims who resided in a region inhabited by non-Muslims distanced themselves from "unbelievers" to avoid the irritation of their faith. The second step, *mixing*, occurred when non-Muslims adopted the characteristics of Muslim clerics in religious practices and advocated for the return of the Holy Quran. The third step, *reform*, involved the suppression of mixed practices and the replacement of non-Muslim clerics with Muslim ones.

The Mandinka, who originated from Daramane, Mali, described patterns of marriage in the precolonial era. They practiced *entele*, which entailed marrying both Muslims and non-Muslims, and *sahih*, a marriage that involved paying a compensation to the non-Muslim bride's family. This practice was popular in regions that were far from centers of Islam, such as the Casamance region.

In contrast to Fisher's approach, this chapter argues that the process of conversion includes the incorporation of new religious beliefs into existing social structures. The Mandinka, who were descendants of the Bamunk in the Casamance region, were influenced by the presence of Muslim traders and scholars in the area. The Mandinka adopted new religious practices to legitimize their social hierarchy and maintain their power.

Reconstructing the ethnogenesis of the Bainunk is a challenging task because of the dearth of evidence. Oral sources provide some insight into the Bainunk's history, but they are often ambiguous and biased. The Bainunk were part of the African indigenous groups who had a positive view of Islam when they first came into contact with Muslims. They exhibited much more of Islam than the Mandinka in the same region.

**BAINUNK INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES**

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A Brief Biography of a Muslim Pioneer

Since the early 1970s scholars have paid closer attention to increasing currents of migration from the Niger River basin to other regions of Africa. For Philip Curtin and others, Mandingo-speaking people were the main architects of these patterns of behavior, which accelerated after the fall of Mali in the sixteenth century. Their primary motivations and repercussions on the political, social, and economic changes in many areas of Africa have often been linked to long-distance trade. But other researchers have mainly associated these trends with the propagation of Islam. For example, Jocelyn Wilt observes that besides trade some Muslim groups like the Jula migrants to the forest ecological zone devoted themselves to activities such as missionary work rather than long-distance trade triggered the dispersal of Jákhanjëës were "the carriers of Islam" rather than the "agents of Islamization," even though material networks were focal points of ethnic and political identity.

Fodey Heraba was among the Muslim clerics portrayed as "devout Muslims," who that were markedly different from military jihad. Fodey Heraba's life and time are examined through the lens of oral narratives and some written traditions such as the holy book of Pakao (pakao al-korano or Pakao al-kifana). This is a nineteenth-century Arab document written by scholars such as Fodey Soko, the leader of Karantaba in the 1840s.

In these sources Fodey Heraba is consistently depicted as a "household name" or as the "early face" of Islam in the Middle Casamance, because when reworking their oral traditions to help explain key historical outcomes informants go beyond the period before Fodey Heraba only to suggest that during this time the Middle Casamance was not part of the dar al-Islam. In popular memory Fodey Heraba is remembered as a holy man (wali) whose vocation was proselytization rather than long-distance trade. His father, Abd al-Rahman, was a merchant from Fink, a Mandinka corruption of the town of Fink located in the northwestern part of Morocc. He then migrated to Timbuktu like many merchant-scholars of his time.

Fodey Heraba's family had long been affiliated with the Qadr Sufi order founded in Baghdad in the twelfth century by Abd al-Qadr al-Jalil (1077-1166). In his early career Fodey Heraba was strongly influenced by many core aspects of Qadr teachings, such as the strict adherence to the prophetic tradition (sunna), religious sanctity and the participation in the improvement of public life. His father instructed him in the Holy Quran and introduced him to the Qadr Sufi order, long before his arrival in the Casamance with his Qadr wira. But nothing indicates that Fodey Heraba had a spiritual master in oral traditions where his Islamic scholarship is viewed as the by-product of divine blessing (baraka).

According to Fodey Heraba's hagiographers, his mission began when he experienced a frequent divine revelation ordering him to relocate from east (stitih) to west (niji). This holy mission was to create a new settlement destined to be a stepping-stone for the spread of Islam between the Casamance and the Gambia, the two rivers flowing through the heart of the Mandinka country. Fodey Heraba left his home in Daramane founded by Dramey clerics from Timbuktu on the south bank of the Senegal River, to the north of Kayes, Mali. André Brue, the director of the Compagnie du Sénégal, visited the region of Kayes at the end of the seventeenth century. He described Daramane as "a very populous village whose majority was Muslim clerics," and counted Dramey and Yatabaré lineages of Darame among the most educated Muslim families in this region.

Fodey Heraba was probably in the middle of his life when he began his spiritual journey by foot, accompanied by his wife (Yassa Tunkara) and by his slave (Man-sasam), stopping in several villages along the way. Oral testimonies suggest that finding a right place to settle was a painstaking experience for Fodey Heraba, because he frequently lost sight of the "divine light" that guided his nightly meditations whenever dawn arrived. Nevertheless, this moment of confusion did not cast his spirit because he understood the challenging mission awaiting him from the beginning. The difficulties surrounding the "forced relocation" of Fodey Heraba are often examined and understood in the light of the predicaments leading to the hijra of prophet Mohammad. Thus, the challenges Fodey Heraba experienced during his spiritual journey are viewed as expected occurrences in oral narratives.

In the Middle Casamance Fodey Heraba was hosted in Bambajon, one of the oldest Bainunko settlements located on the south bank of the Casamance. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the populations of Bambajon were still strongly devoted to their ancestral traditions, including harvesting, sacrificing to ancestral spirits, and drinking palm wine. Bahumbaj Daffy, the chief of Bambajon, first welcomed Fodey Heraba with hospitality and admiration, exhibiting excitement when listening to his
EXOGAMOUS MARRIAGE: MUSLIMS AND NON-MUSLIMS

Exogamous marriage was the first phase in the early development of Islam in the Middle Casamance. This refers to consistent patterns of marriage bonds between early Muslim migrants and non-Muslim local women, who ultimately switched allegiance with Muslims' double role as specialists in long distance trade and experts in the art of divination, three other factors provided incentives for these unions. First, Islamic law (shari'a) allows Muslim men to take wives outside of their religion, but offspring resulting from these relationships must follow the religion of their fathers. In fact, widening the dar al-Islam by bringing in new converts is believed to be one of the highest accomplishments in a Muslim's lifetime. Second, Muslims who resettled in areas inhabited by non-Muslims, such as the Middle Casamance, dramatically restricted their ability to find Muslim spouses in these areas. This led local communities to become the primary “wife giving” groups to Muslims. Third, the sanctity of marriage historically was one of the core cultural values among the Bainunk. As such, marriage resulted often in important entitlements, including land grants authorizing the settlement of strangers.

According to one prolific oral historian, Fina Fenda Faye, these interfaith unions were mostly arranged marriages between Muslim men and much younger Bainunk women, who were showered with many gifts (cloth, cattle, harvest, and jewelry). In some cases the two parties could agree to tie the marriage knot when the wives-to-be reached maturity. Although the Middle Casamance was a lucrative niche for Muslim scholars and merchants, local people portrayed Islamic scholarship and trade as a “door open to wealth accumulation.” Given the age difference between men and women involved in these negotiations, women could expect to inherit the wealth left behind by their husbands. Research has shown that other Bainunk communities in Senegambia followed a pattern similar to the one described by Faye. For example, George Brooks describes a case in which the Bainunk authorized traders such as the Lâncados (Afro-Portuguese traders) to marry their local women, who could consequently widen their commercial activities after the deaths of their husbands.

A consensus opinion between men and women who participated in my group interviews is to retrace their maternal ancestry back to the Bainunk indigenous communities, who hosted their founding ancestors in the Middle Casamance since the time of Fodey Heraba. Traditions recall that Fodey Heraba had no children with his first wife (Yassa Tunkara) when they arrived in the Middle Casamance; he then chose most of his spouses from the Bainunk women, including one of Chief Bahumba’s daughters (Nemuna Jakumba), who converted to Islam before the founding of Karantaba. One oral informant explains the vital role of marriage (fiaawu) in the following terms: “Clerics such as Fodey took advantage of their prestigious status to convert the local populations through fiaawu. This strategy was one of the fastest ways to open up their hearts and minds to Islam. Fodey himself left Bambajou after marrying Chief Bahumba’s daughter who converted to Islam. Many other Muslim migrants followed in his footsteps.” After Fodey Heraba performed many successful prayers for Chief Bahumba, the latter and his daughter converted to Islam, setting the tone for the rest of their community. The chief granted his son-in-law the concession of land, permitting Fodey Heraba to build the first Islamic village harboring the first mosque in the Middle Casamance. This deal did not require the payment of a tax, but Fodey Heraba had to respect the political sovereignty of Bahumba Daffy through his non-involvement in the political matters of Bambajou. This widespread tradition echoes arguments about the role of kings as “the early recipients of Islam,” to borrow from Levtzion. He postulates that the dispersion of Muslims was the first step in the conversion to Islam in Africa, whereas the second step was the moment when Muslim scholars began to communicate with African host kings. The case of King Mabul (Musulmanti) exemplifies this kind of spiritual change. He embraced Islam and Midal (Musulmanti) exemplifies this kind of spiritual change. He embraced Islam and Midal (Musulmanti) exemplifies this kind of spiritual change. He embraced Islam and Midal (Musulmanti) exemplifies this kind of spiritual change. He embraced Islam and Midal (Musulmanti) exemplifies this kind of spiritual change. He embraced Islam and Midal (Musulmanti) exemplifies this kind of spiritual change.
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The story of Fodey Heraba follows a similar pattern, but in this particular case, his migration occurred soon after his arrival in Bambar. This union inaugurated a new marriage occurred right after his arrival in Bambar. This union inaugurated a new marriage occurred right after his arrival in Bambar. This union inaugurated a new marriage occurred right after his arrival in Bambar. This union inaugurated a new marriage occurred right after his arrival in Bambar. This union inaugurated a new marriage occurred right after his arrival in Bambar. This union inaugurated a new marriage occurred right after his arrival in Bambar. This union inaugurated a new marriage occurred right after his arrival in Bambar. This union inaugurated a new marriage occurred right after his arrival in Bambar. This union inaugurated a new marriage occurred right after his arrival in Bambar. This union inaugurated a new marriage occurred right after his arrival in Bambar. 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Migration, Marriage, and Ethnicity

Endogamous Marriage: The Practice of Sanawo

Endogamous marriage was the second phase in the early development of Islam in the Middle Casamance. When Muslim migrants resettled in the heartland of the land of the infidels (dar al-kufur), they quickly realized the need to rally around the banner of Islam for the expansion of the Islamic community (sanawo). This network of Muslim solidarity strongly relied on the practice of sanawo, a long tradition of cross-cousin marriages and joking relations among the Mandinka in the Casamance. In such a highly centralized society, one primary function of sanawo is to stimulate peace and tolerance by allowing members of the same community to transcend existing social barriers for the good of the community as a whole. According to the available evidence, the roots of sanawo stretch back to two major sources.

The first source is a key historical event that radically changed the relationships between two local groups. For example, oral traditions recall that the two female ancestors of the Bayo and Kuyate clan names gave birth to two babies the same night. The delivery occurred when a thunderstorm plunged the whole community into disarray, forcing the nurses to place the babies away from any possible danger. When the two mothers were asked to nurse their newborn babies, they could not identify them in the darkness and agreed to breastfeed them without distinction. In Mandinka social hierarchy the Bayo are part of the high class (karoum), whereas the Kuyate belong to the professional occupational groups (fantagana). Nevertheless, the remarkable solidarity initiated by these two women resulted in sanawo relations between the Bayo and Kuyate clan names. Since this historic event, the customs acquired that all people belonging to these two groups live in peace and harmony by sharing all kinds of jokes.

The second source of sanawo is linked to old patterns of intermarriage between people with different clan names, going back to the time of their founding ancestors. In the long run, members of the two groups solidify their relationships until they view each other as one extended family. Karantaba offers a compelling framework for themselves as one extended family. Karantaba offers a compelling framework for understanding how this form of sanawo played a decisive role in the Islamization of the Middle Casamance. Taking advantage of his status as a prominent Muslim scholar and educator, Fodey Heraba promoted the early development of Karantaba through a pedagogy of hospitality. He opted for an open-door policy that permitted him to be
The central importance of religious tolerance in Fodey Heraba's worldview is often remembered by recalling the story of Koli Jemmé, a non-Muslim barred from succeeding his father or brother to the throne in Badibu, The Gambia. When Jemmé took the path of self-imposed exile to start a new life in the Casamance and subsequently became the chief of Fodey Heraba, he permitted him to harvest palm wine behind Karantaba despite his non-Muslim status. Rather than quarantine themselves from one another, the two men developed peaceful relations until Fodey Heraba converted Jemmé to Islam, and prayed for him before he founded Bugnandu (house of honor) on the north bank of the Casamance River.

The second group included itinerant traders and/or Muslim scholars looking for new religious or economic opportunities away from home. It is noteworthy to emphasize the cases of four men because of their prominent roles in the emergence and development of Islam in Karantaba and surrounding areas: Matiaku Diba, Fodey Musa Soly, Fodey Barro, and Fodey Sakho. By initiating a tradition of mediation, they helped Fodey Heraba settle Karantaba, but he wanted to return to his native Badibu, The Gambia.27 Fodey Heraba persuaded Matiaku to stay in Karantaba when he offered him one of his daughters (Muso Dramé) in marriage.28 Fodey Musa Soly (Soly is a Mandinka corruption of the Fula name Sow) was a brilliant scholar from Macina who wanted to play a dynamic role in the propagation of Islamic learning and to convert others with respect and hospitality.29 While visiting his son in Karantaba, Soly's father (Musa Sow) learned about his marriage to one of Fodey Heraba's daughters (Na Dramé), but then congratulated him on fulfilling his religious obligation, exhorted him to work closely with Fodey Heraba, prayed for the prosperity of Karantaba, and returned home.30 Fodey Barro (commonly remembered as Barroba) was a merchant from Macina who wanted to pay tribute to his maternal uncle, Fodey Musa Soly. Members of Barro's family are referred to as "Barro did not come to stay."31 Heraba married one of his daughters to him.32 Because Fodey Sakho shared the same forbidden relationship with his family, he was absolutely

After the arrival and settlement of these four men, Fodey Heraba then divided Karantaba into five original extended families most commonly known as kabila: Kanfodérí, Kantuktu, Solykunda, Barrokonda, and Sakhokunda.38 Kabila were family units regrouping "those who shared the same kola nut, attended mosque prayers together, and maintained good relationships with one another." Nevertheless, people cultural opportunities could become members of these kabila by adopting the same patronymic names.39 Each kabila was invested with specific tasks in the administration of Karantaba, where the role of male primogeniture dictated the system of power distribution and redistribution within these five kabila.

Kanfodérí (the Dramé founding and ruling family) monopolized the offices of Imam (almasmíyya) and village chief (alikalíyya), the two most powerful social institutions of the Mandinka Muslims in the Casamance. The oldest members of Kanfodérí were automatically appointed village chief and Imam, respectively, but neither one of them could monopolize these two power positions. In the case of a power vacuum, such as resignation, death or long illness, the next person in line was invested. The family of Matiaku Diba (Kantuktu) provided the administrators of the land, the masters of key ceremonies (baptisms, funerals, weddings, and charity distribution), and the official investiture of the village chief.33 People leading the official investiture of the Imam and the spokespersons of Karantaba were chosen from the Solykunda kabila, founded by Fodey Musa Soly.31 The family of Fodey Barro, who established the Barrokonda kabila, assumed the function of Quranic schoolteachers and muezzins (wandalíyya). The descendents of Fodey Sakho, who founded the Sakhokunda kabila, were the direct advisers and the right-hand men of the Imam of Karantaba. They accompanied him to the mosque on Friday and during religious rites such as the Day of Sacrifice (bana stalo) or end of Ramadan celebration (sunkar nàale).33

This model highlights two factors of critical importance in the Mandinka country. The first one is the gerontocratic, conservative and male dominated nature of the Mandinka political system in which religious and political powers were the strongholds of men who relegated women to a subordinate position. The second one is the sacrosant principle of landownership for the Mandinka who believed that those who cleared the space to build a community were ipso facto the owners of the land (bansu tiyo). Marriage ties and a system of power decentralization helped Fodey Heraba to create and maintain the cohesion Muslims needed in the Middle Casamance, where they were still a small minority in the early seventeenth century.

Fodey Heraba and his companions also agreed to open new Quranic schools in every kabila to promote the demographic growth of Karantaba. In exchange for Islamic education these who sought Islamic knowledge were expected to perform agricultural tasks for their teachers (aimnárró). Farming activities took place between the space to build a community were ipso facto the owners of the land (bansu tiyo). Marriage ties and a system of power decentralization helped Fodey Heraba to create and maintain the cohesion Muslims needed in the Middle Casamance, where they were still a small minority in the early seventeenth century.

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The Nineteenth Century: The Phase of Consolidation

The third phase in the early development of Islam in the Middle Casamance was when Muslims used different strategies to develop the tentacles of Islam from their original settlements. Whether motivated by trade, Islamic education, or both, Muslim migrants to the Casamance often targeted sites located near water systems, commercial crossroads, or in the proximity of non-Muslim local populations. Muslims did so with a strong confidence in the superiority of Islam over African religion. As indicated earlier, these migrants first began to gain social acceptance and recognition by coexisting with non-Muslims. When Muslims were given land concessions to build their own communities in the Middle Casamance, they did so while leaving their doors open to all people who wanted to join their communities. Whether Muslims settled near or away from their host communities, no compelling evidence indicates that Muslims wanted to quarantine themselves to preserve the originality of their faith. Where proselytism was the driving force behind Muslim presence in the Casamance, clerical figures such as Fodey Heraba would have run a big risk of defeating their own purpose by using the strategy of quarantine. From my perspective, the need to lay the foundation for new community groups whose rules and regulations were in harmony with the tenets of Islam dictated the strategy used by Muslims. Although oral and written sources make clear that tensions could arise from time to time, during the precolonial era in the Middle Casamance religious boundaries were not hermetically sealed to prevent exchanges between Muslims and non-Muslims.

After the building of their own communities, Muslims continued to develop extensive contacts with the Bainunk indigenous communities in the Middle Casamance, including with the political overlords who authorized their settlement. But at the same time they kept intact their original social and religious identity, their religion and language more specifically. Without a doubt, the phases of mixing and reform Ficher describes in his model of conversion to Islam were prominent factors in the propagation of Islam in many areas in West Africa; the Middle Casamance was no exception. In this region, however, ethnic and religious interactions such as marriage, the frequent recourse of non-Muslims to the Muslim art of divination, Islamic learning, and the sharing of the same geographic space were incompatible with the idea of quarantine. Indeed, in their early encounter Muslims and non-Muslims in the Middle Casamance understood that they needed each other and consequently did not quarantine themselves from one another.

The direction of religious change I describe moved from African religion to Islam, not the other way around. Men and women involved in exogamous and endogamous marriages resulting from these unions, as well as Muslims and non-Muslims seeking "new spaces of religious affiliation" through conversion or Islamic education provided the building block for the early Islamic community in the Middle Casamance. Muslims sought to continuously expand their territory through their dispersal over time and space, the creation of new settlements, the founding of Quranic schools, the teaching of the Holy Quran, and the welcoming of new Muslim and non-Muslim settlers. The Pakou al-kuttaba provides the chronological order of the first twenty-seven mosques built throughout the Middle Casamance and the names of clerics who established them, beginning with those of Karantaba.

These dramatic developments were a slow but continuous process that stretched from the first half of the seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. In 1849, Bertrand Bocandé was the French resident on the Island of Karantaba in the Lower Bissau and the Casamance such as Mandinka, Creole and Portuguese. Bocandé spent more than a decade crisscrossing this area to learn about the development of French commercial activities and the state of mind of the local communities. For him, the settlement and resettlement of Mandinka Muslims over time and space was a defining characteristic of the history of the Casamance, where the influence of Islam consistently grew until the nineteenth century. Most importantly, Bocandé noted the persistence of marriage bonds between Mandinka Muslim men and local women in the Middle Casamance during this period. He reported that the way Muslim men dressed their new wives according to Islamic customs and traditions fascinated non-Muslim local women who tended to adopt the same dress code.

Another French explorer, Hyacinthe Hécquard, described himself as the first European man to visit Karantaba in the first half of the nineteenth century. He portrayed Karantaba as a Muslim village whose inhabitants welcomed him with a great sense of hospitality when he visited Fodey Setama. Hécquard argued that during his short visit he saw the continuous arrival of Muslims and non-Muslims, and inhabitants of Karantaba and strangers, who showered the "holy man" with all kinds of gifts in exchange for his Islamic education and prayers. Because of this combination of factors, and marriage ties in particular, Islam was becoming slowly the dominant religion of the Middle Casamance before the creation of the fort of Sedhiou in the late 1830s, marking the beginning of French colonial settlement in this region. During this time, in many areas of the Middle Casamance, such as Suna, Pakao and Balnudu, Muslims were already the dominant group before the 1840s when the Pakao jihad broke out.

Conclusion

In the final analysis, historical studies on Islam in Senegambia have the tendency to focus almost too exclusively on the period after the mid-nineteenth century. There is no doubt about the importance of this period marked by the beginning of European colonial rule, the emergence of new Sufi orders, and the development of military jihad. However, the period leading up to the rise and expansion of Islam in Senegambia was set in motion long before the mid-nineteenth century. This chapter attempts to show the pivotal role of marriage as a stepping-stone for the Islamization of the Casamance. Although the Casamance is a melting pot where many population groups have coexisted for several centuries, this chapter focuses mainly on the encounter between Mandinka Muslim migrants and the Bainunk local communities prior to the beginning of French colonial rule. During this time the language for social and religious change used by early Muslim scholars such as Fodey Heraba, Dramey was expressed through policies of accommodation and pacific coexistence with the local populations among whom they settled. Endogamous and exogamous marriage and Islamic education provided the first vehicles for the early development of Islam in this region. This language changed for the first time with the outbreak of the first holy war known as the Pakao jihad in the early 1840s. This war inaugurated the beginning of a new era that transformed
The Middle Casamance into a battleground between Islam and monarchy. Religious tension between Muslims and non-Muslims lasted until the early 1900s when Fodey Ka Dumbuya, head of one of their toughest opponents, Fodey Ka Dumbuya, led more than 80 scholars who earned a debt of gratitude to the families of Al-Hajj Manding Dramé in Karantaba and Al-Hajj Dodi Seri in Sedhiou, who were my hosts during my 2003 fieldwork. I would also like to thank all community leaders of the Middle Casamance for their hospitality, advice, and outpouring support.

1. The Casamance is located at the crossroads of four West African states (Senegal, The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, and French Guinea), and as such it is a melting pot where many centralized and decentralized population groups have coexisted for many centuries. These people are farmers, fishermen, traders, hunters, and gatherers. They speak a rich diversity of languages and practice a variety of religions, including Islam and Christianity. The Casamance is divided into three geographic regions (the Lower, Middle, and Upper Casamance) where the Jola wet rice farmers, the Mandinka and the Fula cattle herders are the majority groups, respectively.


4. Fisher's model presents some similarities with the arguments elaborated by Tringham, who also used a three-stage process (infantilization, conversion, and assimilation) when studying in the early 1960s how religion changed from traditional religion to Islam in West Africa. But contrary to Fisher, Tringham argued that African societies only entered history with conversion. See Spencer Tringham, Islam in West Africa, 33–46.

5. For more insights on this issue see Dramé, "Planting The Seeds of Islam," 50–63.

6. Fodey is the highest religious distinction in Mandinka religious hierarchy. It could be described as a swan song because it usually occurs late in the life of people, who have established clear evidence of their piety, wisdom, and Islamic scholarship. During the important ritual ceremony, the recipient's head and chin are surrounded with a long turban and a red hat placed on top of his head. I recorded more than 80 scholars who earned the title of Fodey in the Middle Casamance; all of them were men with most originating from Karantaba. This is a clear revelation that among Mandinka Muslims in the Casamance the priority of higher education is given to men, but the search for Islamic knowledge is mandatory for all Muslims, irrespective of gender.

7. For more discussion on the role of Timbuktu in the development of trade and Islamic education in Africa, see Hunwick, Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire.

8. Of the oldest Sufi orders, the Qadiriya was introduced to the Western Sudan in the early sixteenth century by the Kunta clerical network. Nuhussain is the basis of Qadiriyya in Senegal. Despite the rapid growth of Muridiyya and Tijanniyya, Qadiriyya remains until today the dominant Sufi order among Mandinka Muslims in the Casamance developments on the Qadiri Sufi order see Robinson, Path of Accommodation, 137–97.


10. For more discussion on the role of Timbuktu in the development of trade and Islamic education in Africa, see Hunwick, Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire.
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Bainunk local people gave Burama and his nephew when they arrived in the Middle Casamance. Njuum, however, means pater in Wolof, not in Arabic.


60 These developments occurred in the context of the expanding French colonial rule in the Casamance. For more information see Dramé, Plaçaning the Seeds of Islam, Chapter 3.

61 Sanu Seydi, interview with the author, Diatama, November 12, 2003.

62 Other ethnic groups in Senegal such as the Wolof, Fafo, and Serer also have a similar tradition of sananaw, they respectively call it Kanal, Donarum, and Manna.


64 Jeli Mott Kebba Kuyatey, interview with the author, Chicago, October 11, 2001. To better emphasize the critical importance of sananaw, during the same interview Kuyatey decided to share his own experience. When he visited Mali in 1992, he was pressed for time and uninvited near the walls of the National Assembly in Bamako. The last name of the security guard who caught him was Bayo. When he asked for his national identity card and realized that he and Kuyatey were sananaw, he let him go home instead of forcing him to pay a fee or to spend some days in prison.


66 Group interviews with the author: Karantaba, October 23, 2003; and Sedhiou, November 9, 2003.

67 Al-Hajj Manding Dramé and Kemo Soly, interview with the author, Karantaba, October 23, 2003. Marriage ties between Manding’s daughter and Kemo Soly have consolidated their cordial relations.

68 Dramé, Dionys, and vectors, 131.


70 Oral testimonies recall that Fodq Mbaye interviewed many of his fellow Muslims because of his mastery of the Holy Quran. One tradition recounts that one day a crocodile accidentally took away one of Fodey Heraba’s daughters. Through manipulation and interpretation of the Holy Qur’an, Soly saved the life of the young girl to the satisfaction of the whole village.


74 Today Karantaba comprises nine different Kabilas. Besides the original five Kabilas there are also Kan Kumbu Sara, San Kunda, Kanyu Kunda and San Saliu. Some of them such as Seni Kunda and San Kumbu Sara regroup people directly related to Fodey Heraba. Other Kabilas such as Kanyu Kunda comprise people such as the Saliu, who resettled in Karantaba from the South after the original Mandinka homeland (Mandjaur) was destroyed during the 1846 Pako jihad. The traces of this Mandinka community were destroyed when the original Mandinka homeland (Mandjaur) was destroyed during the 1846 Pako jihad. The traces of this Mandinka community were destroyed when the original Mandinka homeland (Mandjaur) was destroyed during the 1846 Pako jihad. The traces of this Mandinka community were destroyed when the original Mandinka homeland (Mandjaur) was destroyed during the 1846 Pako jihad. The traces of this Mandinka community were destroyed when the original Mandinka homeland (Mandjaur) was destroyed during the 1846 Pako jihad. The traces of this Mandinka community were destroyed when the original Mandinka homeland (Mandjaur) was destroyed during the 1846 Pako jihad. The traces of this Mandinka community were destroyed when the original Mandinka homeland (Mandjaur) was destroyed during the 1846 Pako jihad.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


The Promise of Paradise?

Donal B. Cruise O'Brien wrote in his 1971 monograph, The Mourides of Senegal, that "the Mourides present their own system as one in which they labour unremittingly in return for nothing more than the promise of paradise, but it would (I think) be an error to take them at their word." Cruise O'Brien, like many scholars of the Muridiyya of this period, sought to understand the disciples' devotion in body, spirit, and purse to the will of the spiritual hierarchy and the emergence of the Murid way as an economic force in Senegal. He was among many scholars of the Sufi order who privileged an analysis of the state noting the ways Murid leaders have wielded their control over their largely agricultural base to extract favors from the postcolonial state and how the relationship between the state and the Sufi orders has contributed to what came to be called, not uncritically, Senegalese exceptionalism. Tariq Murid emerged in the late nineteenth century in colonial Senegal around the Sufi scholar and wali, or friend of God, Amadou Bamba (1850–1927). Today, Tariq Murid includes the devotees of the descendants and great *zâlis*, or disciples, who have since inherited the *bândis*, or grace, and the ever-growing band of Bobo's devotees. Although a spiritual guide may be a central feature of Sufism, for Murids, the significance of the sheikh derives from his or her genealogical claim of descent from Amadou Bamba and his (Bamba's) "redeeming power." This emphasis on the relationship to a sheikh as the surest path to salvation has distinguished this Sufi path from the Qadiri and Tijani congregations to which many men and women in the region have belonged. Cruise O'Brien observed that the hierarchical organization of the Murid order—each branch