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Economic and Religious Change among the Diola of Boulouf (Casamance), 1890-1940; trade, cash cropping and Islam in southwestern Senegal

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

by
Peter Allen Mark
May 1976
ABSTRACT

Economic and Religious Change among the Diola of Boulouf
(Casamance), 1890-1940; trade, cash cropping and Islam
in southwestern Senegal

Peter Allen Mark
Yale University, 1976

This dissertation investigates, on the basis of oral testimony
together with archival and published documents, socio-economic change
and religious conversion among the Diola of Boulouf in the Casamance
region of southwestern Senegal. The Diola (population 220,000) are
the dominant ethnic group in the Lower Casamance. The 40,000 inhabi­
tants of Boulouf, which is also known as Djougoutes, constitute a
predominantly Muslim sub-group. Their conversion coincided with the
growth of extensive economic contact with the outside world and the
establishment of French colonial administration.

Before 1890 the people of Boulouf had almost no contact with
the cash economy. During the 1890s young men from Boulouf began to
trade rubber and palm produce in the Gambia. The development of this
trade entailed local economic initiative. Access to two products
enabled these Diola to respond to fluctuating market demand for both
items. After the collapse of the wild rubber market about 1913,
palm produce became their sole source of monetary income.

After World War I the Diola showed further economic initia­
tive, as some men began to cultivate peanuts as a cash crop. During
the 1920s, with active French encouragement, the people of Boulouf rapidly developed a cash crop agriculture to complement their traditional subsistence rice farming.

These economic developments fostered increased communications with the world outside of Boulouf and resulted in the partial integration of the region into the colonial economy. The end of the relative isolation of Djougoutes corresponded with the spread of Islam. The earliest Diola Muslims were returned traders, and Islam continued to spread as Boulouf entered the cash economy. This corroborates Robin Horton's theory that in Africa, the first converts to Islam and Christianity tended to be individuals who had the most extensive contact with the world beyond the microcosm of the traditional community.

During the 1930s cash cropping, primary education and urban migration continued to effect the integration of Boulouf into the colonial society and economy. At the same time, repeated crop failures combined with the economic depression to create severe hardship for local society. Traditional ritual means of dealing with drought failed to improve the situation and Muslim marabouts were called in to exercise their ritual expertise. These crises accelerated the process of Islamization, as mass conversions occurred throughout Boulouf beginning about 1933. By World War II the region had become overwhelmingly Muslim.

In Boulouf between 1890 and World War II, long-distance trade, urban migration, the development of a cash crop agriculture and the gradual diminution of patriarchal authority all created a new environ-
ment to which Diola religion was not ideally suited. Islam by contrast offered a universal cosmology based on the concept of a supreme being. It also provided an embracing moral code to guide social and commercial contacts, as well as membership in the supra-kinship, supra-ethnic group community of the Faithful. Islam thus offered an identity and an ideology which facilitated the expansion of commercial and social relations with the outside world.
As I complete this dissertation, I should like to express sincere gratitude to those institutions and individuals whose assistance and encouragement were invaluable to me. Fieldwork in France and West Africa was made possible through grants from the Yale University Council on African Studies and from the Roothbert Fund. In Senegal, my research was facilitated by the support of the Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, in Dakar.

My deepest thanks are due to my advisers, David Robinson and Leonard Thompson. Their teaching has led me as far as I may have come along the road of African scholarship, and their understanding of methodological problems helped me to formulate the issues raised in this study. Most important, their advice, encouragement, and critical reading of early drafts of the manuscript, have inspired me throughout the writing process.

Many other students of African history have offered their friendly assistance. During my field research Professors Paul Péllissier, Louis-Vincent Thomas, and especially Martin Klein provided encouragement and offered suggestions that were later incorporated into the format of this dissertation. Three adopted "Casamancais," J. David Sapir, Francis Snyder, and Christian Roche, shared the lessons of their own fieldwork, as well as some of their considerable expertise in the history and anthropology of the Basse Casamance. My
fellow graduate student Robert Baum has freely shared his consider­able knowledge about the Diola of Kasa; our discussions of Diola religion have frequently challenged me to revise sections of this thesis.

This study could never have been completed without the warm cooperation and friendship of the people whose history it attempts to describe. Indeed, to a degree, the men who recounted the events of their youth and the traditions of their ancestors are the historians; I am but the transcriber and annotator of their knowledge. With humility and deep gratitude, I offer them my thanks.

In Dakar, three friends particularly helped me to prepare for my field research. Bakari Bodian, Abibou Diatta, and Abdou Sambou provided language lessons and contacts in their home communities in the Basse Casamance.

In Tionk-Essil, Bassiru Djiba and his family welcomed me into their home in Niagalan ward. Throughout my stay they were my hosts, or rather, my family. Not once did they complain about my irregular schedule and strange habits, even when I dropped the rope to the water bucket into the well. Also in Tionk, Cheikh Abba Badji and Bakari Badji, chef and imam of Batine ward, spent many evenings with me, dis­cussing the Manding wars, the rubber trade, and other aspects of Boulouf history. To them, and to my friend Lamine Djiba, I owe more than I can express. And to Cherif Chamsedine Haidara, marabout, scholar, host and informant, great appreciation is also due. Also, during
my months in the Casamance, Kalilou Badji provided practical advice and helpful historical information.

There is one man whose assistance was especially invaluable throughout my time in the field. To my co-worker and interpreter, my language teacher and close friend Ansoumana Faye Sané, this dissertation is dedicated. Émit ékati fanfan.

Kutiom injé nisafuł.

Peter Mark

New Haven

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Glossary of Diola Terms

bakin - Diola shrine, together with the spiritual force believed to make its abode therein; Kasa dialect.
bukut - men's initiation ceremony. Each village holds a bukur approximately every twenty years.
bunááti - shrine of a sub-quarter or of a ward; dialect of Tionk-Essil.
énááti - (pl. sinááti) - shrine and resident spiritual force; Fogny dialect, also widely used in Boulouf.
esúkey - the village, or village-cluster.
fankafu - the extended family housing compound.
fufaama - shrine associated with a specific fankafu; dialect of Tionk-Essil.
kajando - Diola agricultural implement. A long-handled hoe with a curving wooden blade tipped with iron.
kahat - archaic form of men's initiation; limited to the region near Oussouye, in Kasa.
kalolaku - the ward or quarter. Several wards, grouped together, form a village or village-cluster.
oeyi - priest of village rain shrine; selected for life and living apart from the rest of the population; the most important religious figure in the village; village-priest.
Ethnic Groups of the Casamance
(from Roche, p. 23)
Map three - Boulouf and the Basse Casamance

1. Tiobon  5. Bagaya
3. Tionk-Essil  7. Balingore
4. Tendouk

Scale - 10 km
Cantons of the Basse Casamance
Introduction

Between 1890 and 1940 the Diola of Boulouf, in the Casamance region of southwestern Senegal, entered into extensive economic contact with the outside world and were subjected to French colonial administration. At the same time, a great majority of them converted to Islam. This dissertation has two aims. First, it is an attempt to describe initiatives taken by the Diola as they entered the cash economy. Second, it essays to interpret Islamization as a response to the progressive integration of Boulouf into Senegalese society and the colonial economy.

The Diola constitute the major ethnic group in the Base Casamance region of Senegal. Numbering about 220,000 persons, they comprise several sub-groups which are distinguished from one another by linguistic and cultural variations. The isolation of these sub-groups is reflected in the fact that, until the mid-nineteenth century, the Diola had no single word to identify themselves. From the late fifteenth century, the term "Floup" or "Feloupe" ("Felupe" in Portuguese) was used by Europeans to refer primarily to the peoples south of the

1. Paul FéliSSier, Les Paysans du Sénégal; Les civilisations agraires du Cayor à la Casamance (St.-Frieix, 1966), p. 645, gives the Diola population as 200,000. The population of Boulouf increased by seven percent between 1966 and 1973; a similar rate of increase for all the Diola would place the present population at about 220,000.
Casamance River, but also in a generic sense to all the Diola. The term "Diola," apparently of Wolof origin, came into common usage during the mid-1800s. This appellation now defines the several subgroups who speak dialects of the same language and share a common wet rice agriculture. Before the colonial period, all the Diola apparently showed a common social organization, the basic unit of which was the extended family compound. Related family groups frequently lived together in wards; nevertheless, Diola lineages are actually quite shallow, and one can hardly speak of "clans." Pre-colonial society further lacked centralized political authority. The largest unit of organization was the village or village-cluster. In some instances, neighboring village-clusters developed mutually incomprehensible dialects; sometimes too, religious and social institutions developed considerable variation from one community to the next.

Today, the Diola are divided into three main cultural zones. South of the Casamance River, in Kasa, greater isolation has facilitated the retention of local customs and religious practices, although


3. J. David Sapir, "Kujaama: Symbolic Separation among the Diola-Fogny," American Anthropologist, vol. 72, no. 6, p. 1346, observes that precise affiliation is rarely remembered beyond three or four generations.

4. "Village-cluster" refers to the loose aggregation of often geographically distinct wards which comprise the typical Diola community. In this study, the two terms are used interchangeably, particularly when the communal aspects of the village, or village-cluster are being described.
many southern Diola are Catholics. North of the River, in Fogny and Combo and Boulouf, most of the Diola have become Muslims. In the extreme eastern part of the Basse Casamance, along the Soungrougrou River, the Diola have adopted Manding agricultural techniques and have abandoned their own culture and even their language. Outside of this small Mandingized area, however, the Diola language, together with the important men's initiation ritual and traditional rice farming methods, have been retained.

Boulouf, part of the Muslim but non-Mandingized zone, is located south of Fogny-Combo, west of the village of Bignona, and north of the Casamance River. It comprises the former French cantons of Djougoutes Nord and Djougoutes Sud. There is no single Boulouf dialect, and village-clusters exhibit varying combinations of cultural influence from Fogny and Kasa. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the region view themselves as "the Diola of Boulouf."

Today, as a century ago, Boulouf is among the most densely populated regions of the Casamance, and its villages are among the largest in the region. The 1974 census shows a population of 40,305 divided among twenty-one villages. While the present study considers all of western Boulouf, fieldwork and, consequently, the collection

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5. Early spelling was not consistent and the word is sometimes spelled "Djougout," "Djougoutes," or "Djougouttes."

6. Many communities show distinctive dialects. Those of Mlomp and Tionk-Essil almost constitute separate languages. Most people in Boulouf can understand Fogny, the main Diola dialect.

7. In 1860 Pinet-Laprade estimated a population of 18,000 for the region; Archives Nationales de Sénégal (ANS) 1D 16 20.
of oral testimony were concentrated in six villages: Tionk-Essil, the largest community in the region, with a population of 6,000; Mlomp (population 2,300); Tiobon (1,400 inhabitants); Tendouk (1,900 inhabitants); Mandegane (2,600 persons); and Bagaya (1,100 persons).

The name "Boulouf" purportedly derives from *elif*, the handle of the traditional Diola agricultural tool, the kajando. The term Djougoutes, by which the French referred to the region, comes from "Djougoutémano" or Djigudj, a small community located between Tionk-Essil and Tendouk. The two terms, Boulouf and Djougoutes, are interchangeable; in this study they are used as synonyms.

As a case study of one small-scale agricultural society, this dissertation considers three problems of general interest to students of African history. On a general level, it relates to the theme of culture contact and change. On a more specific level, it considers the role of local producers in initiating both long-distance trade oriented towards European markets, and cash crop agriculture. Finally, it constitutes a detailed study of Islamization.

Changes in Djougoutes society over the last eighty years have been the result of contact between the Diola and other African cultures, as well as with French colonial administration. It is hoped that the following pages will provide not only a description of that contact, but also a sense of the processes by which change occurred. Culture

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8. The region was called "Jigouches" at least as early as 1850; ANS 1G 23. "Djougoutémano" translates as "Djougoutes rice," and may refer to the extensive wet rice fields of western Boulouf. This name appears on an 1861 map of the region; ANS 5D h (6).
contact, interaction, and change followed complex patterns. Change was certainly not the result of "the impact of a higher culture upon a simpler more passive one." Neither was it a matter of the gradual and inevitable erosion of local institutions, and their replacement by Islamic and Western cultural elements. Rather, culture contact and change entailed the dynamic interplay of three traditions. Any conceptual model of culture change based on the situation in Boulouf must clearly take into account synthesis, selective borrowing, and the adaptability of all three traditions.

Religious and economic change constitute the primary themes of the present study. Before the 1890s the Diola of Boulouf had practically no contact with the cash economy. About 1893 young men began to transport Djougoutes rubber to the Gambia and, before 1900, they had also entered the palm produce trade. The development of this long-distance trade entailed local economic initiative. Access to both rubber and palm produce enabled these Diola traders to respond to fluctuating market demand for the two items. With the collapse of the wild rubber market about 1913, palm produce became their sole source of monetary income.

After the end of World War I the Diola showed further economic initiative, as some men in Boulouf began to cultivate peanuts as a cash crop. During the 1920s, with active French encouragement, the Diola

rapidly developed a cash crop agriculture to complement their traditional subsistence rice farming.

These economic developments fostered increased communications with the world outside of Boulouf, and resulted in the partial integration of the region into the colonial economy. The end of the relative isolation of Djougoutes correlated with the spread of Islam through the region. The earliest converts were returned traders and the progressive Islamization of Djougoutes occurred as the Diola economy developed a cash sector.

The theme of Islamization has received considerable attention throughout Africa. It is my belief, however, that the actual processes of and motivations for religious conversion can be understood only as they relate to specific historical circumstances and even to specific human beings. Certainly, generalizations about African conversion have validity only insofar as they accurately depict the experiences of actual societies. Therefore, case studies such as this are essential to an understanding of the spread of Islam in Africa.

One attempt to formulate a generally applicable model of conversion, Robin Horton's "Intellectualist Theory," does offer promising insights.

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into the process of religious change. Horton suggests that Islam and Christianity were accepted where small-scale societies came into increased contact with the outside world, because the world religions, founded on the universal concept of a supreme being, were better suited to life in the macrocosm. I have addressed myself specifically to his thesis, in order to determine whether the Diola situation accords with the "Intellectualist Theory."

While Islamization constitutes the main concern of this study, the presence of small Catholic communities in Boulouf invites comparisons about the relative success of the two world religions in Djougoutes. I have, accordingly, attempted to analyze the reasons for the far greater appeal of Islam. This comparison may provide further insight into the validity of Horton's thesis for the Diola.

This dissertation, then, offers a detailed account of religious change, which may be compared with other case studies; it may thereby add to our understanding of the process of religious conversion in Africa.

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Pre-colonial social, economic, and religious organization in Boulouf can be reconstructed by means of several types of evidence. Oral testimony can provide important information about traditional society, for the period of most rapid change is still within living memory. Four sources of written records are available to corroborate and modify this oral evidence. First, published travellers' reports provide information about Diola society from the early sixteenth century to the late nineteenth century. Before 1836 Europeans had little or no contact with the people of Djougoutes. The early travel reports, including Valentim Fernandes' account of a 1507 voyage to the Casamance and Sieur de la Courbe's record of his 1685 journey, offer only general information about the Diola. These sources are of interest primarily because they demonstrate a continuity of several hundred years, in Diola agricultural techniques and social organization.

After the establishment of a French trading post at Carabane on the lower Casamance River in 1836, Europeans established sporadic contact with the Diola of Djougoutes. From that date, travellers' accounts


specific information about Boulouf society. Particularly rich in their treatment of Djougoutes are two published accounts of French missions to explore the economic and commercial potential of the Casamance. Hyacinthe Hecquard's "Rapport sur un Voyage dans la Casamance," and Lieutenant Vallon's "La Casamance, dépendance du Sénégal," are the earliest published sources to provide detailed information about Boulouf society.

A second source of written information comprises the archival records of French administrative and military actions in the Casamance, subsequent to 1836. The first important document to deal at length with Boulouf is an 1850 account of a journey to Tionk-Essil by the administrator at Carabane, Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé. A decade later, Pinet-Laprade's expedition against Tionk also left records which shed light on mid-nineteenth century social organization. After a hiatus of twenty-five years, French administrators again turned their attention to Boulouf about 1890. Thereafter, visits were made every few years. Most important to the historian are Lt. Moreau's account of his 1891 visit and Lt. Nouri's report of a 1901 trip.

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5. Archives Nationales du Sénégal (hereafter ANS); 1G 23; "Rapport de M. Bertrand-Bocandé, Voyage au Pays de Kion."
6. ANS 1D 16, "Expédition de la Basse Casamance par Pinet-Laprade."
7. ANS 13G 372 70.
8. ANS 13G 498 5, "Rapport du Résident du Fogny sur sa Tournée dans la Sud-Ouest (3-8 juin 1901)." A copy of this report is also preserved in the Archives Nationales de France, Section Outre-Mer (hereafter ANF-OM), Sénégal I 96 ter.
Until the end of World War I, Boulouf was only nominally subject to French administration and, consequently, administrative reports are few. Only during the 1920s did the French establish firm control over the region and even then Boulouf frequently received only passing attention in administrative reports. Thus, while these archival records do constitute a vital source of information about social and economic changes then occurring, detail is quite often lacking.

The period from about 1890 to 1940 is covered by a third group of documents, the published writings of missionaries, administrators, and employees of European firms with commercial interests in the Casamance. Lagrillière-Beaumier's economic evaluation of Senegal, sponsored by the French Chambers of Commerce, provides the most thorough late nineteenth century account of the Diola rubber trade. The writings of Dr. MacLaud, an anthropologist who served as Administrator of the Casamance in 1911, offer some material on Diola religious practices. Finally, several articles, some of them by Catholic missionaries, provide information about Diola religious beliefs and rituals. Unfortunately, none of these published accounts deals at length with the people of Djougoutes.


11. See, for example, Charles Hanin, "L'animisme des Diolas de la Casamance," Revue Militaire de l'AOF, vol. 5, no. no. 16 (January 1933), pp. 27-35; and "La Présence des dieux dans la vie des Diolas de
The last category of written material comprises scholarly studies of Diola history and society and of French administration in the Casamance. Louis-Vincent Thomas' monumental monograph, *Les Diola*, provides a general ethnographic survey of the Diola, helpful at times as a reference text. Thomas makes no effort to study in detail either the people of Boulouf, or any other sub-group. Paul Pélissier's *Les Paysans du Sénégal* constitutes the most detailed study of Diola agricultural techniques. In addition, Pélissier's consideration of social and economic change in the Basse Casamance since 1877 is insightful, and his analysis of that change is essentially accurate. By contrast, Jean Girard's *Genèse du Pouvoir Charismatique en Basse Casamance*, a study of the evolution of Diola religious institutions during the colonial period, is vague and fails adequately to consider the differences between Diola sub-groups. More seriously, the factual basis of his information about Boulouf is often weak.

J. David Sapir has produced excellent linguistic studies of the Diola, including a Diola-Fogny grammar. His anthropological work


with Fogny religious rituals is detailed and his interpretations are compelling. 16 Sapir is not an historian and his work does not deal directly with Boulouf. Francis Snyder has written extensively on customary law and land tenure among the Diola-Bandial, south of the Casamance River. 17 He too, however, does not deal with the people of Djougoutes.

An excellent account of French administration and trade in the Casamance up to 1920 has recently been compiled by Christian Roche. Derived primarily from archival sources, his Conquête et Résistances des Peuples de la Casamance, 1850-1920, 18 is a definite study of the establishment of colonial administration and the development of European commerce in the Casamance. It provides a strong historical background to the present study.

The spread of Islam in the Casamance has been treated at length by Frances Leary in her doctoral dissertation, "Islam, Politics and Colonialism." 19 While she covers the entire Casamance, her discussion of the Basse Casamance is generally reliable, and her treatment of Cherif Mahfuz proved helpful to my own investigation of the arrival of Islam in Djougoutes.

Finally, two bibliographies on the Diola immensely aided the present study. Francis Snyder's list includes most published sources, as well as manuscripts in Dakar and Paris. Antoine Tendeng's "Les Sources de l'Histoire de la Casamance aux Archives du Sénégal" includes an exhaustive inventory of Casamance materials in the Archives Nationales de Sénégal. This work is absolutely indispensable to any archival research on the Diola.

The dearth of pre-1920 written sources about Boulouf forces the historian to rely heavily on oral testimony. The memories of older informants offer a rich source of information for events as far back as the 1890s, and some of these men are conversant with events of their fathers' generation. For earlier history, only sketchy and vague information is generally preserved.

The use of oral tradition entails potential dangers for the historian. First, all informants are interested parties, anxious to present themselves and their ancestors in the most favorable light. They will, consequently, elide episodes which reflect poorly on themselves or their progenitors, while exaggerating events which present a more positive view. The same distortion occurs with the history of


22. Some extremely important events, such as Pinet-Laprade's 1860 attack on Tionk-Essil, are remembered in detail for a longer period.
wards and villages. For example, several communities claim to have been the first in Boulouf and the elders of each ward in Tionk-Essil say theirs was the founding quarter. Chronological precedence is extremely important to the Diola, and the researcher has constantly to adopt a critical approach to statements regarding the first converts, the first migrants, and similar claims.

A second problem arises from the fact that the Diola have an "ahistorical" sense of the past. Events which took place before the lifetime of the parents of today's elders, are lumped together in "the time of the grandfathers." The Diola have, furthermore, no group of professional praise-singers or 'griots' to remember events of the distant past. Chronology, which may become confused even within living memory, is yet less reliable for the second half of the nineteenth century.

To guard against incorporating distortions from oral testimony into this study, I adopted several precautions. First, since informants are likely "to have an axe to grind," I interviewed a wide range of individuals about each important event. Confirmation by independent witnesses establishes with reasonable certainty, that the episode occurred as related. Sometimes collection of several versions of an event limits one to accepting "the least common denominator," or that

23. In Diola: "watay ati sipay sifan."

24. The absence of griots reflects the lack of a group or class holding centralized political authority; such a group might have fostered the development of a class of griots to provide "historical" precedents for their advantaged status.
core of information which is related by all parties. Second, in addi-
tion to seeking independent oral corroboration, I made extensive use
of written records for further confirmation. Indeed, the correlation
of oral testimony with contemporary written documents is absolutely
essential; it provides the firm backbone for late nineteenth and early
twentieth century chronology in Boulouf. Briefly, then, where written
corroboration of oral evidence exists, I have used it; elsewhere, I
have endeavored to collect several independent testimonies of important
events.

Finally, important events of pre-colonial culture have survived
in Boulouf. Each village has not, however, retained precisely the
same traditional institutions. Frequently, where oral tradition in
one village claims that a structure now found in a neighboring community
formerly existed there too, one may assume that the information is
accurate.

The Diola inhabit the Basse Casamance region of southwestern
Senegal. They are the predominant ethnic group from the Soungrougrou
River in the east, to the sparsely populated islands of Karonea along
the Atlantic, and they extend north through Fogny and Combo, into the
Gambia. South of the Casamance River the Diola inhabit the region from
Ziguinchor westward to the coast and south across the border into
Guiné Bissau.

25. Traditional Diola territory may only have extended as
far as Brin, ten kilometers west of Ziguinchor. See Paul Pélissier,
On the basis of linguistic and cultural similarities to the Manjak, J. David Sapir suggests that the ancestors of the Diola migrated from present-day Bissau, immediately to the south of the Casamance. Their gradual dispersal to the north and eventually, across the river, explains the high degree of linguistic diversity which has developed among different Diola populations. Due to this diversity, as well as to the total absence of any centralized state or political authority, the Diola have been described as comprising as many as fifteen sub-groups. An underlying cultural unity may nevertheless be perceived in historical references to the "Floups" or "Feloupes," the preferred European name for the Diola until the late nineteenth century. This unity is manifested in a common social organization, in the structure of traditional religious beliefs and rituals and, above all, in the traditional Diola agriculture, based upon the cultivation of wet rice. Until the late nineteenth century, all the Diola practised wet rice farming. Although they also cultivated riz de montagne, the

26. L. V. Thomas, Les Diola, p. 13, has simplified the Diola north of the river into two groups, the Bliss Karones and the Diola-Fogny. (Where this leaves the Diola of Djougcoutes is, however, unclear.) South of the Casamance, he enumerates six groups.

27. The term "Diola" first appeared in European documents about the middle of the nineteenth century. Hyacinthe Hecquard, "Rapport sur un voyage dans la Casamance," p. 417, writes: "At the mouth of the Casamance are the Floups or Yolas, the same group under different names: the first was given them by the Portuguese, the second by Wolof sailors; they are also called Aiamat in their own language."

[The term "Aiamat" is confined to the people of the north bank, particularly of the Kujamatay region of Fogny.]
distinctively Diola crop was, and still is grown on land reclaimed from the marigots, or tidal waterways which criss-cross much of the Basse Casamance. Using the kajando, a hoeing and digging tool unique to the Diola and to a few of their southern neighbors such as the Manjak, the men construct a series of low earthen dikes around the future polders. They then cut the mangroves which proliferate in these marigots. For a number of years, the newly cleared land lies fallow while rain water leeches salt from the soil and is drained off through hollowed-out logs of the ronier tree. Once these lowland ricefields, or witau, are ready for planting, the drains are closed. The dikes then serve to keep the rice plants under water during the hivernage.

The first brief European reference to Diola rice farming techniques was made by Valentim Fernandes, who visited the Casamance in 1506 or 1507. A far more extensive description was provided by Sieur de la Courbe following his 1685 visit to the area along the Soungrougrou River. There, he found both the Diola and their Bainunk neighbors growing wet-rice:

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28. The kajando consists of a curving wooden blade about 20 inches long and tipped by iron, which is attached to a long handle, perhaps six or eight feet in length.

29. For a detailed discussion of Diola agricultural techniques, see Féliissier, pp. 709 ff.

30. Fernandes, Description, pp. 57 ff.

31. This voyage was actually published by Père Labat in 1728, and the trip was attributed to André Brüe. Cultru, however, demonstrated that Labat had plagiarized a manuscript, part of which has since been lost, of an earlier visit by de la Courbe; P. Cultru, ed., Premier Voyage de Sieur de la Courbe, vii.
Ils coupent tous ces terres par de petites levées qui retiennent les eaux, afin que leur ris soit toujours baigné. 32

The Floups were clearly using an implement identical to the kajando. "They work with wooden shovels tipped with a strip of metal and attached to a long handle." 33

The existence of this highly specialized instrument, itself the product of considerable evolution, indicates that wet rice agriculture had already become established in the region long before the seventeenth century. It may well be extremely ancient. Archeological evidence uncovered by Olga Linares suggests that the Diola could have been using iron implements to cultivate wet rice as early as the middle of the first millennium A.D. 34

Both men and women share in the exacting labor of Diola rice farming. With the arrival of the rains in late June or July, the men prepare the fields with their kajando. Once the heavier August torrents have inundated the fields, the women transplant the seedlings from the nurseries, a task which entails working all day long in water frequently above the knee. Rice, depending on the variety, matures in from 90 to 120 days, during which period the men are constantly at work weeding and

32. "They divide these lands by small dikes which retain the waters, in order that their rice is constantly watered." Père Jean-Baptiste Labat, Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale (Paris, 1728), p. 23.

33. Labat, pp. 43-44.

caring for the fields and the dikes. The rainy season ends in late October and, from late November until early January, it is the women who harvest the grain. The dry season is then devoted to other activities including fishing, hunting, building houses, or seeking seasonal employment in the cities. The rice fields are not, however, ignored. Turning the soil during the dry season serves both to fertilize and to weed the fields. Many men, therefore, work their fields an additional time, usually before March when the ground has become too hard. This traditional organization of rice cultivation is still followed by all the Diola south of the Casamance River, as well as the non-Mandingized inhabitants of Fogny, and the Diola of Boulouf.

Cattle constituted an important form of wealth in pre-colonial Diola society. Ownership of herds conferred considerable social prestige; in part, the importance of cattle reflected the fact that they were the most valuable sacrifice one could make to the shrines, or sinááti. In addition, large numbers of cattle were killed at funerals of wealthy men.

Before the increased inter-cultural contact of the late nineteenth and twentieth century, all Diola sub-groups also exhibited a common social organization. Pre-colonial society centered on the extended

35. As early as 1507 Fernandes remarked that the "Falupos" maintained large numbers of cattle; Description, p. 58.

36. See Thomas, Les Diola, p. 94; see also Pélissier, p. 760.

family and was essentially egalitarian, without centralized temporal authority. The Diola are patrilocal. Each family group, consisting of two or three generations of male descendants of an elder, together with their families, inhabited houses within the same concession, or fankafu.

The earliest detailed description of social organization in Djougoutes appears in a report by the résident at Carabane, Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé, of a visit he made to Tionk-Essil in 1850. There, he found fortress-like constructions, somewhat reminiscent of the compounds described by la Courbe. Each family inhabited its own isolated compound, or fankafu:

Chaque habitant batit sa demeure isolément pour lui et sa famille, au milieu de son champ, sur des terrains élevé au dessus des terres cultivés en riz au bord des marigots. . . . Une habitation se compose de diverses cases, en terre en forme de petites tourettes sans fenêtres. . . . Les diverses constructions sont encore ceintes au moins en parti d'une palisade.

38. Pélissier, pp. 677 ff.

39. In 1685 la Courbe described a typical Floup compound. Surrounded by several rows of stakes and arranged around a central courtyard were six houses, well fortified for defense. The entire family houses one extended family; Labat, p. 32. This attests to the antiquity of Diola residential organization.

40. ANS 1G 23; "Voyage au Pays de Kion," rapport de M. Bertrand-Bocandé, le 10 avril 1850.

41. Ibid. "Each inhabitant builds his home separate from the others, for himself and his family, in the middle of his fields, on land elevated above the rice fields which line the marigots. . . . A compound comprises several houses, built of earth and in the form of small towers without windows. . . . The diverse buildings are surrounded at least in part by a palisade."
Average size for a fankafu was about fifteen or twenty persons although some, perhaps recently formed concessions in which the offspring had not yet married, were smaller.\textsuperscript{1} Each nuclear family inhabited a house within the compound.\textsuperscript{2} Sons, so long as they remained in the family compound, were subject to the authority of their father even after they had married. Furthermore, one could not easily move away from the fankafu, which provided physical security against attack, and was situated in the midst of the family fields. When a new compound was formed, it was by a process of fission; for example, by a married son of a deceased patriarch.

Compounds which traced their descent from a common ancestor or place of origin were linked together into sub-quarters. In some instances the members of an entire sub-quarter had the same family name. In Tionk-Essil, for example, one group of compounds was inhabited solely by Diattas.\textsuperscript{3} Sub-quarters, numbering perhaps 250 individuals, were loosely joined into quarters or wards,\textsuperscript{4} kalolaku (pl. ulolau). Separated from one another by considerable distances, these quarters were largely autonomous. Government was by consensus

\textsuperscript{1} In 1901 the résident at Bignon, Lt. Nouri, travelled through Djougoutes. His report shows that the Diola were still living as they had in 1850. He noted that most compounds contained two to four large dwelling units, each of which housed at least five persons. ANS 13G 498 5.

\textsuperscript{2} Interview with Kepi Diatta, Niaganan kalolaku, Tionk-Essil, December 31, 1975. This informant grew to manhood at the turn of the century.

\textsuperscript{3} Interview with Bakari Badji, imam of Batine kalolaku, Tionk-Essil, February 13, 1975. Bakari, too, has personal recollections of pre-colonial Tionk, about 1900.

\textsuperscript{4} ANS 13G 498 5.
of the elders. Younger married men could achieve respect by demonstrating uncommon intelligence and good judgment. In important matters pertaining to the entire ward, the elders would gather in the sacred forest. There, after palm wine libations and sacrifices to the quarter's shrine, issues of common concern were discussed and decisions were made.

The geographical and social autonomy of the wards makes the appellation "village" slightly misleading for pre-colonial Djougoutes social organization. On his tour through the region in 1901, Lt. Nouri remarked, "The name 'Balingore' actually refers to a group of several villages." This situation was typical of all of Djougoutes. Consequently, the term "village-cluster" is as appropriate as "village." Animosity was frequent between quarters of the same "village-cluster." In Tionk-Essil a century ago, parents would not allow their children to wander away from the family compound at night, for fear that they would be captured by the men of another quarter and sold into slavery. Even today, inter-ward hostility has not entirely disappeared in Tionk.

The degree of autonomy which existed in each kalolaku until the present

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46. ANS 1G 23.

47. In Tiobon, Dianku Diedhiu is said to have achieved considerable authority while he was yet relatively young, based on his good judgment in political matters; interview with chef Suleyman Diedhiu, Tiobon, January 9, 1975. Dianku Diedhiu died in 1912, a rather old man.

48. ANS 13G 498 5.

49. Interview with the elders of Batine quarter, January 7, 1975. Slave-raiding probably expanded during the mid-nineteenth century, stimulated by the Soninké-marabout wars. (See chapter Two).
century is further reflected by the fact that the four quarters developed their own dialects of Gussilay, the language of Tionk-Essil.

The wards functioned together as a "village," esůkay, only for a few matters of common concern. These included warfare with other communities, and two socio-religious institutions: the village-wide initiation ceremony, bukut, and the rituals surrounding the oeyi, or village priest.

Inter-village skirmishes were endemic to traditional Djou-goutes society. Lt. Nouri was moved to observe:

"J'apprends que tous ces groupes sont plus ou moins hostiles les uns aux autres; ils ont eu toujours des contestations de rizières qui ont amené des échanges de coups et parfois des lutes à main armée." 50

Since disputes over ricefields were a frequent cause of fighting, village-clusters tended to have hostile relations most often with their immediate neighbors. Often, alliances were arranged between communities that had a common enemy. Consequently, inter-village alignments in Boulouf tended to assume a checkerboard aspect. From at least the early eighteenth century, according to oral traditions, Tiobon was frequently at war with its southern neighbor, Mlomp, which in turn had a long history of hostility toward Tionk-Essil. 51 Tiobon and Tionk, therefore,

50. "I have learned that all these groups are more or less hostile to one another; they are constantly embroiled in contestations over rice fields, leading to blows and sometimes even to armed fighting." ANS 13G 498 5.

51. Tionk claims to have attacked and driven off the original inhabitants of Mlomp, shortly after the founding of Tionk, thirteen initiations (260 years) ago. Mlomp then attacked the people of Tiobon, forcing them to move north to their present location. Both
considered themselves traditional allies. During the nineteenth century, the people of Tionk, in turn, had frequent and bitter battles with Tendouk, to the southeast.

Before going to war, the four quarters of Tionk would meet in council. The men would gather in the sacred forest of the village to perform sacrifices to the shrine of that forest, in order to divine whether the time was propitious for military ventures. The same principle used for governing individual wards—consensual agreement of the adult population, based in part on favorable omens from the local shrine—pertained for decision-making on a village level.

Episodes are also recorded in the traditions of Mlomp and Tiobon. Interviews with the elders of Batine, Tionk-Essil, 1 January 1975; the elders of Tiobon, 9 January 1975; and the elders of Mlomp, 22 January 1975.

52. Interviews with elders in the three villages provided complementary versions of these relationships.

53. Oral traditions of the wars between Tendouk and Tionk are corroborated by archival sources; ANS 13G 361 1 (ca. 1859). Tionk was allied with Djigudj which, although between Tionk and Tendouk, was too small to pose a threat to either and consequently served as a buffer between the two larger villages. Djigudj was destroyed by Tendouk about 1875, (see ANS 13G 537 5) and has only recently been reestablished.

54. Only initiated men were permitted to enter the forest. In Tionk, the sacred forest used for village-wide convocations apparently belonged originally to Batine, which was probably the founding quarter.

55. In Tionk, councils were also convened to organize cattle and slave-raiding expeditions.
In pre-Islamic Boulouf, women had considerable influence in village matters. They may even have played a vital role in war councils. In 1906, the résident at Bignona wrote, "It is the consensus of the women that predominates and decides in principle, in matters of tax or war."^56

Wards within a village-cluster were also brought together by marriages of people from different quarters. As Diola families are patrilocal, such unions entailed the exchange of women between wards. In situations where hostility prevailed between quarters, these marriages may have occasioned dissatisfaction. Even today there exists a feeling that, in time of conflict, a true son of the quarter, one whose parents are both from the ward, will stick with the kalolaku in times of trouble. Nevertheless, these inter-quarter marriages created ties of consanguinity and thereby brought the various segments of the village closer together.57

Two religious institutions, the oeyi or village-priest,58 and the bukut or men's initiation, also served to promote a sense of communal identity on the village level. The concept of esukay, the

56. ANS 13G 375 2, "Rapport du résident de Fogny pour l'année 1906." If contemporary practice among the non-Muslim Diola of Kasa accords with the pre-colonial situation in Djougoutes, then one may assume that women participated actively in most important decisions. 57. Even inter-village marriage, although unusual, was not unknown. These unions provided a basis for cooperation between communities. Thus a travelling trader might lodge with relatives by such a marriage, or with relations of friends, in a neighboring village. 58. Thomas, Les Diola, p. 645, and Girard, Génése, p. 3, translate oeyi by the French "roi-prêtre." In view of the oeyi's lack of temporal authority however, the English rendition "village-priest" is more accurate than "sacred king," or "royal priest."
village, was embodied in and given tangible expression through rituals associated with these two institutions.

When the founders of Tionk-Essil arrived from the village of Essil near Bandial, south of the Casamance River, they brought with them their accustomed religious practises. At least thirteen initiations have occurred since that migration. As the average interval between these ceremonies is about twenty years, one may presume that Tionk was founded not later than the early eighteenth century. It may, of course, be considerably older than that. After the new settlement had been firmly established, the villagers appointed their own oeyi. Before that, they had been obliged to travel to Ewampor, near Bandial, to attend vital agricultural rituals which were led by this village-priest.

In Tionk-Essil the oeyi's authority was limited to performing agricultural rituals and settling land disputes within the community. He had very little power outside of these specific areas. "This 'chef,'" wrote Bertrand-Bocandé in 1850, "is more an important priest than a kind of king." In matters temporal, the oeyi of Tionk could not even participate in the council of elders.

59. Thirteen initiations were mentioned by the elders of all four quarters. Some individuals named fifteen or sixteen. I have counted only those recognized by the elders of all the wards.

60. Thomas, Les Diola, p. 646, postulates that in Kasa, before the establishment of French administration, the oeyi exercised temporal as well as religious authority. Perhaps this was the case in Kasa; certainly there is no evidence that any oeyi in Boulouf exercised political authority.

61. ANS 16 23.
In matters outside the oeyi's strictly confined jurisdiction, decisions were made by consensus of the entire community. 63

The oeyi's main function was to officiate at the annual rain ceremony. 61 At the approach of the rains, the villagers would convene dressed in black at his shrine and he would sacrifice a black bull. 65 If the rains then failed to materialize, the oeyi would lead a delegation to Enampor to sacrifice a bull there. These pilgrimages to Enampor, source of the Tionk oeyi's power, continued even after the disappearance of the village-priest in Tionk, about 1900. 66

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61. "He has very little influence in the councils of his republic, where he does not personally appear. . . . Everyone, in considering the common good and welfare, makes decisions as he pleases. . . . The 'chef' alone can decide nothing." Ibid.

62. In 1852 Hecquard, Reise an die Küste und in das innere von West-Afrika (German translation, Leipzig, 1854), p. 77, wrote of the Floups: "Their form of rule is oligarchy and the highest have so limited an influence that in no matter can they make decisions, without calling together the village elders; this is also their manner of judicial proceedings."

63. Information on this ceremony comes from interviews with Kepi Diatta, 31 December 1974; the elders of Batine ward, 1 January 1975; and the elders of Kamanar, 12 February 1975.

64. The black bull, color of rain clouds, also played a central role in rain ceremonies in Tendouk and Mlomp.

65. According to informants now in their eighties, the oeyi disappeared shortly before the establishment of French administration. The precise reason for the end of the priestship is uncertain. It may have been the result of a revolt by Batine, who claim to have deposed the last oeyi because he attempted to alienate some of their land.
Delegations continued to visit Enampor as late as 1942, when the Islamization of Tionk was far advanced.67

The earliest inhabitants of western Djougoutes were the Bianunk, and the first Diola inhabitants migrated from south of the Casamance River. The earliest Diola settlers in Mlomp migrated from the village of the same name, in Kasa. They arrived before the foundation of Tionk and brought their own oeyi.68 Like the village-priests of Kasa and the oeyi of Tionk, this priest did not cultivate his own fields and, also reminiscent of Kasa priestship, he possessed a staff of office, with which he selected his wife.

In Tiobon, where Islam penetrated before the turn of the century, the village-priest disappeared before the present-day elders of the community were born.70 It is consequently difficult to find detailed information about the institution. Surviving oral tradition about the oeyi suggests, however, that he fulfilled a role similar to the priests of Tionk and Mlomp, and that he too conformed to the Kasa

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67. Interview with the elders of Batine, 1 January 1975.

68. Interviews with Ousman Sagna of Tendouk, 7 April 1975 and Ousman Diatta of Tendouk, 18 May 1975. Also discussion with Abba Badji, Tionk, 8 April 1975. In Diatok, Dr. Joos van der Klei has found evidence that the Bainunk were the first inhabitants of that community.

69. Information about the oeyi of Mlomp was provided in interviews with Benjamin Sambou (a Catholic), 23 January 1975; Djangok Diatta and Djimis Coli (traditionalists), 20 January 1975; and Mamadou Diedhiu, Ibrahima Sambou, and Mamadou Sambou (all Muslims), 22 January 1975.

70. In Tiobon information about the oeyi was provided by chef Suleyman Diedhiu, Malamine Diedhiu, Bakari Sonko, Lan Mané, Oumar Coli, Amadou Sambou, et al., 9 January 1975.
model. He settled land disputes and presided over the annual rain ceremony; furthermore, the villagers cultivated his fields for him.

The question of who cultivated the oeyi's fields is perhaps the most important variable in Djougoutes village-priestship. In Kasa, the oeyi alone was excused from agricultural labor. This exemption reflected his unique and almost sacred role as mediator between man and God, vested with the responsibility to procure adequate rainfall. In those Djougoutes communities where the "oeyi" worked his own land, his status was comparable to that of the guardians of other shrines. In such instances the "oeyi" may have been imported after the foundation of the village, as simply another means of insuring rain. By contrast, in communities where the sacred aspect of the priestship was preserved, it is far more likely that the institution had been brought by immigrants from Kasa.

The three central Boulouf villages of Mandegane, Bagaya and Diatok, were settled at least in part by Diola from Fogny. They show more linguistic and cultural affinities to Fogny than to Kasa. None of these communities has a tradition of migration from south of the Casamance River. Furthermore before the spread of Islam, in Bagaya and Diatok, rituals peculiar to Fogny were practised. Not surprisingly, none of these villages had an oeyi who was exempt from agricultural labor.

71. Specifically, the kujaama, or ritual separation of different generations at mealtime and at funerals; see Sapir, "Kujaama." Also the fubanbaran, a cleansing ritual performed if a special sling used by women to carry infants, accidentally caught fire.

72. Informants in Bagaya denied the village ever had an oeyi. Diatok apparently had no oeyi either. (I am indebted to Joos van der
Situated geographically between the region of Fogny influence and the area of indisputable Kasa origin, Tendouk represents a mixture of cultural elements. The local dialect does not show heavy Kasa influence, unlike the languages of Tionk, Mlomp, and Tiobon. Before a majority of the population converted to Islam or Christianity, Fogny rituals were practised in Tendouk. Nevertheless, despite these strong elements of northern Diola culture, there was an oeyi before the arrival of the French. 73

As elsewhere, the oeyi officiated at rain ceremonies before the start of the hivernage; he also consulted the village shrine before the community went to war. He, however, cultivated his own fields. Tendouk's rain ceremony survives, in a syncretist ritual which closely parallels informants' descriptions of Tionk's now-discontinued ceremony. 74

In nineteenth century Tendouk, as in Tionk, if the rains failed the oeyi would lead a delegation to Enampor. In Tendouk, however, this practise continues. In 1971 at the height of the recent drought, a party went there to pray for rain.

Klei for sharing with me some of the information he gathered in Diatok.) Mandegane did have a priest who officiated at rain ceremonies and led the community in war (interview with chef Mamadou Coudiaby, Moustapha Coli, and Brahia Sane, 7 February 1975); he, however, had no special agricultural privileges.

73. Interviews with Michel Diatta, who is over 80 and claims to remember the days when there was an oeyi, 11 January 1975; and with Ousman Coudiaby, the descendant of the family which provided the oeyi, and himself the officiant at the rain ceremony, 9 February 1975.

74. Under the supervision of Ousman Coudiaby, the villagers gather, dressed in black, at the village shrine. A black bull is sacrificed and palm wine librations are made. Everyone then disperses and, supposedly, the rains soon begin to fall. (The village Catholics pray in the chapel, rather than participate in this ceremony.)
Tendouk's oeyi did not conform entirely to the Kasa model. Nevertheless, the persistence of the annual rain ceremony and of visits to Enampor would be highly surprising if the oeyi was originally only a borrowed institution. It seems most probable that some of the village's early inhabitants migrated from Kasa. Tendouk then, is situated not only geographically, but also historically and culturally between the Kasa-oriented communities of western Djougoutes and the Fogny-influenced villages of central Djougoutes.

The institution of oeyi indicates, by its existence in Boulouf, the degree of historical contact between particular villages and Kasa. In central Boulouf the oeyi, if he existed at all, tended to be simply the guardian of a particularly potent rain shrine. In Tiobon, Mlomp, and Tionk-Essil, the oeyi retained the sacred attributes of his position at the apex of the spiritual forces that comprised Diola religion.

Other aspects of traditional religion

Arrayed beneath the oeyi and his shrine were several categories of spiritual forces. These forces exhibited common characteristics among all pre-colonial Diola sub-groups. Most of them were closely associated with either a single extended-family group or fankafu, a specific sub-quarter, or a quarter. They manifested themselves, or

75. Kasa origins also seem reasonable because Tendouk's location at the end of a large marigot would have made it a likely point of disembarkation for migrants from Kasa. One informant even stated that the first inhabitants of Tendouk were fishermen from Kasa.
were thought to make their abode, in specific locations such as trees
or in shrines constructed for them. These shrines, each of which was
identified with a specific spiritual force, were the location for
libations and animal sacrifices which accompanied all ritual contact
between men and spirits. 76

The spiritual forces, together with the shrines with which each
is identified, have various names in different parts of the Basse Cas-
mance. In Fogny, shrine and spirit are referred to as enaatii (pl.
sinaâti), while in Kasa the generic term if bakin (pl. ukin). In
Boulouf they are generally known by the Fogny term. 77 For greater
clarity, shrines will here be referred to as sinaâti.

The sinaâti frequently took the form of a forked stake set in
the ground, sometimes at the foot of a large tree. The stake was often
covered by a small roof of straw, and surrounded by a small earthen en-
closure meant to receive pots of palm wine (bounouk) and the remains
of sacrificial animals. Together with the prayer offered by the guardian
of the shrine, the libation and sacrifice comprised the essential ele-
ments of ritual contact with the sinaâti.

Each shrine was entrusted to the care of a guardian. The family
enaati was usually in charge of the eldest male. He was responsible
both for the upkeep of the shrine and for performing the appropriate
rituals. Other shrines, which were not limited to the use of a

76. For a discussion of ritual sacrifice see Thomas, Les
Diola, pp. 576 ff.

77. In Tionk-Essil, however, the generic term for family or
compound shrines was fufaana, while each sub-quarter or quarter was
associated with a shrine known as bunaaati.
specific family or residential grouping, could be consulted by anyone, even visitors from other villages. 

Guardianship of such shrines was also generally in the custody of one family, and the position was hereditary, passing from father to son. Some of the most important shrines, however, were in the care of women.

Besides the multitude of lesser spirits, the Diola recognized the existence of a supreme being, "Emitay." However, "Emitay," however, appears to have been a remote concept; 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 sinááti, which are occasionally described as intermediaries between man and God.

In pre-Islamic Boulouf society, as elsewhere among traditional Diola even today, men approached the sinááti both to fulfill their ritual obligations, and to insure success in important undertakings such as war and cultivation. In the latter instance the ceremony, kawasen, frequently included elements of divination. Depending upon

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78. Some fufaana could also be visited by outsiders to the fankafu.

79. The word "Emitay" may also be translated as "sky," "rain," or "year." On "Emitay," see Sapir, "Kujaama," p. 1331; see also Thomas, pp. 587 ff.

80. Interview with Abako Diatta, traditionalist; Mlomp, 21 January 1975.

81. See Sapir, p. 1331. For traditional practises in Tionk, my main informant was the 90-year-old traditionalist, Kepi Diatta. Other informants include Jalaya Djiba and Djisen Djiba, traditionalists, and Lamine Djiba, whose household has an active fufaana; also imam Bakari Badji of Batine.
whether the animal sacrificed died lying on its stomach or on its back, one would know whether the proposed military venture was destined to succeed or not.  

Perhaps the most common situation for contact with the sinááti was in time of illness or misfortune. Each shrine was associated with a specific ailment, either physical or psychological. Individuals who failed to fulfill their ritual obligations or who transgressed some rule of social or ritual conduct, were "grabbed" by the enaati. A person who believed himself to be suffering from an enaati-induced malady would arrange with the guardian of that shrine to perform an expiatory sacrifice. This usually consisted of bounouk libations, plus the sacrifice of a chicken or goat, accompanied in some instances by the ritual washing of the afflicted part or, occasionally, by his confession of culpability. A properly performed sacrifice generally would induce the enaati to cease its attack. The patient then offered a goat or a pig as a gift to the guardian.

The distribution of sinááti varied from one village to another. Throughout Boulouf, however, each family compound seems to have been

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82. Interview with Anata Diatta, guardian of an enaati, Tendouk, 8 February 1975. Discussion with Kalilou Badji, Falmeré (Signona département), 29 January 1975.

83. For a thorough description of the sinááti in Fogny, see Sapir, "Kujaama."

84. This procedure, described by older informants as formerly widespread in Tionk, is still followed by the few traditionalists in the village. It is also followed by guardians of traditional shrines in Mlomp (Abako Diatta, elder of a sacred forest), and in Tendouk (interviews with Aliou Diedhiu, 7 February 1975; and with two guardians of shrines, Anata Diatta and Danfa Diatta, 8 February 1975).
associated with an enááti. Most of the shrines in Tionk have disappeared as a result of the Islamization of the village. The few remaining ones are in the possession of old men and women. These elders give sometimes contradictory information about the ownership of shrines in traditional society.

According to most sources, each compound had its own shrine, which was entrusted to the care of the eldest member of the family. Sometimes, this individual held a special parcel of his rice fields to provide grain used in the kawasen. If the shrine were ignored or if proper ceremonies were not performed, it would "grab" a member of the family.

Throughout pre-Muslim Boulouf there were also shrines associated with the various sub-quarters and wards of each village. These shrines were approached through rituals similar to those used for the family sinááti. Although associated with an entire lineage, these sinááti, too, were entrusted to one individual, and the position of guardian was hereditary. Like the family shrines, these sinááti manifested themselves by "grabbing" victims. "Fanjalita" of Niaganan-Djiwadj sub-quarter in Tionk, attacked anyone who drank the wine left to it as a libation, causing them to go deaf.

85. Only if there were no more non-Muslim men, could most family shrines pass into the possession of women.
86. Interview with Kepi Diatta, 30 December 1974.
87. If "Fanjalita's" guardian unintentionally drank some of the Bounouk before offering any to the shrine, he too would be struck deaf. Interview with Kepi Diatta, guardian of the shrine.
boy who ventured to enter the wood.

A very large number of shrines were concerned with either female fertility or rain. This obviously reflected the vital importance of both matters, in a subsistence agricultural society where poor sanitary conditions, minimally adequate nutrition, and disease caused very high infant mortality.

In each community there were several different groups of shrines to which one could address demands for rain. In Tionk, for example, the men of each ward would gather in the sacred forest to sacrifice. Also, the entire village convened at the annual rain ceremony presided over by the øeyi. In addition, there were unaffiliated shrines that were considered effective for seeking rain. Finally, if all these steps failed to bring the rains, a delegation would be sent to sacrifice the black bull at Ehampor.

Apart from these functions, the sinááti played an important medicinal role in traditional Diola society. A wide range of ailments, from swollen limbs to leprosy were attributed to the attacks of various shrines. Only the appropriate ritual sacrifices were deemed capable of inducing a shrine to cease its attack. In Muslim regions today, this medicinal function has survived. In Boulouf, contact with sinááti is confined primarily to visits by patients seeking relief from these attacks.

88. Unaffiliated shrines were not associated with a specific family or residential grouping.

89. Leprosy is thought to be caused, on occasion, by the enááti of the blacksmith, who is deemed to have the corresponding capacity to cure new cases of the disease.

90. See Sapir, "Kujaama."
As one traditionalist in Mlomp stated, "One only goes to the sinaâti in time of affliction." 91

Today, Tendouk, alone among the communities where fieldwork was conducted, has a significant animist population. 92 Some practitioners of the traditional religion are only in their thirties or forties, and far more sinaâti survive in Tendouk than in any other village. The contemporary situation there may, therefore, shed light on pre-Muslim religious structures elsewhere in Djougouotes. Inter-village variation makes it difficult to extrapolate from observation in one community; nevertheless, two types of shrines which probably existed in the now more thoroughly Muslim communities may still be found in Tendouk.

While most sinaâti are associated with particular social groups, there also exist shrines which, although concerned with the welfare of large groups of people, are not directly affiliated with a specific social grouping. None of these unaffiliated shrines survives in Tionk-Essil. In Tendouk, however, the powerful, multifunctional enââti known as Kaoucka, or Baupé, is just such a shrine.

91. Interview with Abako Diatta, 21 January 1975.

92. It is impossible accurately to estimate the animist population of Tendouk. A large majority of villagers are Muslims, and Catholics comprise a substantial portion, perhaps a majority, of Brombone quarter. A general estimate of the "kuSoninké" would, therefore, be well under twenty-five percent, and perhaps closer to ten percent of the villagers. This figure does not, however, include those nominal Muslims who participate, to varying degrees, in animist rituals. Further to complicate a numerical breakdown of the three religious groups, Tendouk is the only Boulouf community where I found Muslims who either serve as guardians of sinaâti, or else expect eventually to inherit the position.
This enááti is said to have insured rain, wealth, family concord, and female fertility, and to have cured critically ill children.\(^{93}\) The guardian of the shrine, a priestess, was selected "by God" from among the women of the village. She was made known to the community by her supernatural powers.\(^{94}\) The enááti Baupé is so renowned that, during the tenure of the last priestess, people came from villages throughout Djougoutes, to offer sacrifices. Before the advent of Islam, similar shrines may well have existed in other communities.

A second type of shrine which survives in Tendouk would most likely have been found in the other villages. This is an enááti, in the possession of the Diedhiu family, that attacks thieves.\(^{95}\) The shrine catches guilty individuals by causing their bodies to swell.\(^{96}\) The only cure is a ritual sacrifice which entails public confession.

In Tionk-Essil, the function of this particular thief-catching shrine has been assumed by a similar but specifically Islamic institution, known locally as harando. To prevent theft, people hang animal jawbones on their fruit trees. If someone steals from one of these trees, his own jaw will immediately swell. The only way to be cured

\(^{93}\) Interview with Aliou Diedhiu, son of the last priestess, 7 February 1975.

\(^{94}\) The last priestess died eight years ago. She has not yet been replaced, but members of her family expressed confidence that God would select a successor.

\(^{95}\) My informant, Saran Diedhiu, son of the guardian, said that the shrine is called bakin. Perhaps he was unwilling to tell a stranger its true name.

\(^{96}\) Interview with Saran Diedhiu, 10 February 1975.
is to visit the local Muslim *harando* specialist. As with the Diedhiu shrine 97 in Tendouk, this too, entails a confession of guilt. *Harando* thus clearly represents the Muslim equivalent of the traditional *enááti*, which it probably replaced during the period of conversion.

In addition to the *sinááti*, the traditional Diola conception of the world presumes the existence of human beings who are closely allied with the spirit world. These individuals fall into two categories, the *assaya* or *assanga*,98 who harness "evil spirits" to harm other people or the community as a whole, and another group which works in conjunction with "benevolent spirits" to assure the welfare of the community.99 The former group, described by one informant as "sorcerers in the night," are capable of transforming themselves into animals and travelling long distances at night, to attack their victims. The *kusanga* cause illness and death by capturing people's souls and devouring them at nocturnal feasts.

Arrayed against these *kusanga* are the second group of clairvoyant individuals. These beneficent people are known in Tionk-Essil simply as "bukan kujajak," "good people," or as "kutokonerit bukan," "they never crunch people." 100 When such a "good person" meets a sorcerer

97. The Diedhiu are the blacksmith clan in Diola society. Unlike in many other West African ethnic groups, they are exogamous and do not form a separate caste.

98. The former term is used in Fogny; the latter generally is used in Tionk.

99. Most Diola Muslims today remain strongly convinced of the existence of these spiritual forces.

100. Interview with Kepi Diatta.
on its nightly rounds, it kills the evil being. In the everyday world, however, the "bukan kujajak" fight sorcery chiefly through the use of medicines. As healers, they make medications from plants, to cure individuals suffering from illnesses visited upon them by the kusanga. The "kutonkonerit bukan" can also prevent future attacks by making medications of roots, which are then placed in bottles and buried in the courtyard or within the house of the assay's intended victim. These objects, bufokub ("buried thing"), attract the "benevolent spirits" which combat sorcery. Similar to the bufokub is the esafet, a small charm consisting of powdered roots enclosed in an animal horn and covered with leather. Worn against the body, such a gris-gris protects the bearer against one of a wide variety of scourges including sorcerers, snakes, and malaria.

The Bukut Initiation

The most important socio-religious institution in pre-colonial Diola society was the bukut, or village-wide male initiation ceremony. Once the cornerstone of traditional society, the bukut is still important to Diola ethnic identity. With the exception of a small area around

101. Esafet refers both to specifically Muslim charms that incorporate verses from the Koran, and to the traditional, non-Muslim root charms.

102. For a general discussion of bukut see Thomas, Les Diola, pp. 697 ff. For a detailed description of one initiation see Thomas, "Bukut chez les Diola-Niomoun," Nôtes Africaines. no. 108, pp. 97-118. Touze, Bignona en Casamance, gives an eye-witness account of the 1951 bukut at Tiobon. Unfortunately, no written accounts of nineteenth century initiations exist. This is not surprising as bukut is the most secret aspect of Diola ritual, and European observers would hardly have been welcomed. The earliest descriptions of bukut are by
Oussouye, where a different initiation, the kahat is traditionally practised, the Diola of Basse Casamance all observe the bukut. Held approximately once every twenty years, bukut is the initiation into manhood of an entire generation of young men in a village. The culmination of years of anticipation and several months of preparatory ceremonies, bukut brings together the entire village for three days of festivities, following which all the formerly uninitiated youths enter the sacred forest to undergo a period of instruction in traditional knowledge. During this period, they are subject to the authority of the elders in their quarter. At the end of the retreat the entire village gathers again to welcome the initiates back into society in their new status.

The beginnings of bukut are so ancient that they may not even be recorded in oral tradition. Bukut is probably as old as the Diola themselves. In Boulouf, some villages have preserved the names of at least the more recent initiations. Thirteen ukútau are remembered in Tionk. At an average interval of twenty years, this represents at least 240 years of tradition prior to the last bukut.


103 See Girard, pp. 87 ff.

104 This is true both literally and symbolically, for bukut is the quintessential Diola institution. As long as there have been ukútau there have been Diola. Asked when the bukut began, many Diola will respond that bukut is a thing of the ancestors and has been around since long before anyone can remember.
of 1962. In all probability, bukut itself is far older than that.

Girard assumes that bukut was adopted in Djougoutes as a result of the Manding wars of the late nineteenth century and the arrival of the French. Bukut, he feels, replaced the more open and less rigidly disciplined kahat initiation, at a time when traditional society was experiencing challenges from the outside world. Presumably, initiates were subjected to stricter discipline in order to enforce the authority of the elders and thereby combat the centrifugal tendencies that were beginning to threaten Diola society.

This theory is utterly wrong. Bukut pre-dates the arrival of both the French and the Muslim warriors by centuries. The Diola of Boulouf apparently have no knowledge whatever of kahat. An elder in Bagaya expressed this fact succinctly: "We only know the bukut." Furthermore, Girard's idea that initiation retreats have become more strictly disciplined and more onerous since the late nineteenth century, is diametrically opposed to the reality. Older informants uniformly maintained that the initiation retreat was formerly longer than it now

105. See supra, footnote 59. Information about Tionk's bukut was provided by Ansoumana Sambou, 26 December 1974; Suleyman Sané, 28 December 1974; the elders of Daga ward, 7 January 1975; the elders of Batine, 1 January 1975; the elders of Kamanar, 12 February 1975; and the elders of Niaganan, 12 February 1975.

106. Girard, pp. 139-144.

107. Asked what he knew about "kahat," one informant in Mandegane said he thought that was a word for "foot" in Kasa.

is, lasting from six weeks to two months, as opposed to the present two or three weeks. And they all averred that discipline was more severe before the colonial period. All the evidence indicates that bukut represents a very ancient tradition in Djougoutes. It certainly did not replace kahat during the last one hundred years.

In pre-Muslim society the bukut not only provided the essential means for maintaining traditional knowledge, it also constituted a rare occasion for the uniting of the entire village; bukut served to give concrete expression to the concept of village. In Tionk the entire community would gather a year before the initiation, to set a date for the ceremony. This preparatory meeting was called "esúk," or village. 109

The festivities which preceded the entry into the sacred forest were marked by feasting and dancing. The accumulated wealth of many years was consumed, in the form of rice, cows, and pigs. 110 These ceremonies also included palm wine libations offered by the elders of the community.

The most important aspect of the traditional bukut was the ritual circumcision of the new initiates, followed by the long retreat in the sacred forest. The circumcision (sometimes only a symbolic incision was


110. Pigs were sacrificed in large numbers, at Tionk-Essil's ukútau as late as 1919; interview with Anoumoua Sambou, imam of Kamanar-Bouloub, 24 December 1975. Suleyman Sané claims that goats as well as pigs were sacrificed at his bukut, which took place about 1905.
made on the stomach) was performed in the forest by ritual experts. In Tiobon, Młomp and Tionk, the initiates entered the forest of their particular ward. There, they lived, slept, and ate in the forest, where they were closely supervised by the elders of their quarter.

Each forest was supervised by an individual who had been selected by the community. This post often remained within a single family. The elder of the forest instructed initiates in traditional songs, dances, and a secret sign language. It was he who performed the palm wine libations.

The retreat served to separate the initiates from the community during this important period of liminality. It also worked in two ways to socialize them to their new adult role in the community. First, the retreat facilitated the transmission of traditional knowledge from the elders to the coming generation of adults. Second, strict

111. In Tendouk the older initiates entered the forest of the entire village, while the younger boys entered the forest of their wards. A day later all were united in the village woods; interview with Michel Diatta, 11 January 1975.

Further information about bukut was provided by the elders of Tiobon, 9 January 1975; and by Abáko Diatta, 'chef' of the sacred forest of Boundia ward, Młomp, 21 January 1975.

112. Suleyman Sané of Tionk claims to have spent nearly two months in the sacred forest during the 1905 bukut. Ansoumana Sambou spent a month on his retreat, in 1919. In Bagaya, pigs, goats, and a few cows were consumed at the 1893 bukut, and discipline was much stricter than it is today; interview with Ousman Sané, who was initiated in 1893, 5 April 1975.

113. Until the last two generations, a youth was not allowed to be initiated in the same ceremony as his father's brothers. In addition, initiates may not have been permitted to enter the bukut immediately following their father's. Consequently, many initiates had reached chronological adulthood long before their initiation.
discipline imbued the youths with respect for patriarchal authority, at a time in their lives when they might otherwise have been inclined to establish their independence. As a period of instruction and enforced respect for authority, the initiation retreat constituted a stronghold of tradition.

Bukut, then, embodied continuity and tradition in Djougoutes society. The modifications which the initiation ceremony has undergone since the arrival of Islam reflect the profound evolution of Diola society and religious life since the turn of the century.
The traditional economy of Djougoutes villages was based upon subsistence agriculture, which was supplemented by some local exchange between communities as well as a small amount of long-distance commerce. This economic structure was not substantially affected by the establishment of a French trading and administrative post at Carabane, on the south bank of the Casamance River, toward the middle of the nineteenth century. During the last quarter of the century, the activity of Muslim warriors in the Casamance and the Gambia temporarily curtailed long-distance exchange, but did not substantially alter the traditional economic structure of Boulouf. "Legitimate trade" directed toward European markets, and the cash economy only began to penetrate the region after about 1890.

Pre-colonial Djougoutes villages were largely but not entirely self-sufficient. Commercial contact existed, not only between communities within Boulouf, but also with the Manding populations to the east.

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1. I have adopted A. G. Hopkins' definition of "long-distance trade," as that commerce which involves distances large enough to require overnight stops and either commercial intermediaries or a group of people, who might be termed specialists, who transport the merchandise. A. G. Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa (London, 1973), p. 53.
and north. In addition, trade with English and French outposts along the lower Casamance River was established during the 1830s; the people of Djougoutes may conceivably have traded with the Portuguese at a much earlier date. Indeed, until the beginning of the twentieth century, most contact between the inhabitants of Boulouf and the outside world occurred in the context of commerce.

Prior to about 1850, written references to Diola involvement in trade are rare. The few extant reports treat either the Diola as a whole, or only those people who lived in close proximity to European commercial establishments. Furthermore, for this period, oral testimony is not very explicit. Consequently, only the most general observations are possible about commercial exchange in Boulouf before 1850.

In 1507 Valentim Fernandes reported that the Casamance, beginning at a point eighteen leagues from the ocean, was under the control of a Manding king called the Casa Mansa. This kingdom had presumably been established as a vassal state of the Malian empire. Further downstream the Kasanké kingdom encompassed Floups, Balantes, Bainunks, and Malinké. Jean Boulègue believes that this kingdom, too, had been founded by a Malinké group. The Casamance, then, represented the western limit of the medieval expansion of Malinké political influence.

4. Ibid., p. 8.
It is likely that the region was also at least marginally involved in the Manding trading diaspora. Boulégue feels that trade existed by the fifteenth century between the Casamance and the Malinké regions of the interior. The principal item brought westward by the dioula traders was iron. 5

The pattern of commercial intercourse thus established during the period of Manding ascendency continued after the decline of the Malian Empire. In his discussion of the Casamance River trade, which was published in 1728, Père Labat mentioned "the Manding, who are the regular traders of those regions." 6 While these dioula continued to visit the region, they did not frequent the more isolated parts of the Basse Casamance. 7

It is likely that the Diola of Djougoutes were involved in this long-distance commerce and that they obtained cotton from the Manding. 8 Fernandes had described the peoples of Basse Casamance as "communally all weavers, who make pagnes of numerous types and colors." 9 In 1862 Lieutenant Vallon was to observe that "the 'Djougoutes' alone know how to make pagnes; they seek for this purpose Gambian cotton." 10 The

7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Like the Balantes, whom the dioula never visited, the Diola of Djougoutes may have been outside the regular trading network. Labat, p. 232. Probably, however, they were involved in this long-distance commerce and obtained cotton from the Manding.
Diola-Djougoutes' expertise as weavers was undoubtedly an old tradition by the mid-nineteenth century, and it may have dated to Fernandes' time. The cotton trade must have been of comparable antiquity. Some commercial contact between the people of Djougoutes and the Manding had, therefore, probably been established by about the sixteenth century.

It is unclear whether such commercial exchange between Djougoutes and the Manding was direct or whether, as seems more likely, the cotton was acquired from other Diola, who in turn obtained it from dioula traders. Very limited trade would not, in any case, have been sufficient to overcome the physical and cultural isolation of Boulouf.

As early as the fifteenth century European traders too, visited the Casamance. The Portuguese soon developed a commerce that was based on the export of bees' wax. With the construction of a permanent post at Ziguinchor in 1645, the Portuguese and their mulatto traders had a base of operations from which they penetrated north into eastern Fogny, along the Soungrougrou River. By the end of the seventeenth century Portugal received 100 to 120 quintals of wax per year \(^\text{11}\) from its two forts at Ziguinchor and Guinguin, five leagues from Cacheux in Bissau.\(^\text{12}\) The average price for a quintal was sixteen bars of iron, of which a minimum of three-quarters was to be paid in iron.\(^\text{13}\)

While the bees' wax trade probably did not extend so far into the hinterland as Djougoutes,\(^\text{14}\) commerce with Europeans may indirectly

\begin{itemize}
  \item \(^{11}\) A quintal was equal to 100 kilograms.
  \item \(^{12}\) Labat, p. 231.
  \item \(^{13}\) Labat, p. 232.
  \item \(^{14}\) At least, I have been able to find no mention of Djougoutes in the few existing, pre-nineteenth century references to the bees' wax trade.
\end{itemize}
have affected agriculture in Boulouf. The peoples of Basse Casamance had learned to extract iron from local bog iron ore before the middle of the first millennium A.D. The iron imported to the Casamance from Europe, together with that procured from the dioula would, however, have increased both the quantity and the quality of the metal available to the Diola. It is possible that the development of these two new sources of iron led to improved agricultural techniques and to greater crop yields beginning in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The use of a strong metal to cover the cutting edge of the kajando blade may have speeded labor and facilitated the cutting of mangrove trees. This would have permitted increased acreage of highly fertile wet-rice fields to be reclaimed from the mangrove swamps. Undoubtedly, so vital a technological improvement as higher grade iron would rapidly have diffused along internal commercial networks throughout the Basse Casamance.

Exchange between Boulouf and the outside world may have been based in part on the slave trade. In Kasa, several communities including Mlomp and Djembéring were deeply involved in that commerce. It is unclear whether slavery was indigenous to any Diola societies or whether it had been introduced as a result of contact with European slave traders, although Vallon asserted that the institution had been introduced by the Portuguese. The exchange of

15. Olga Linares de Sapir, p. 41.
16. In Djembéring, the distinction is still made between the descendants of slaves and freemen. This suggests that slavery was practised within that Diola community.
17. He reported that the "Portugais" of Ziguinchor, most of whom were actually Creoles, were unable to leave their settlement for
captives was certainly greatly stimulated by European demand. The people of Kasa provided captives to the Portuguese at Ziguinchor. Djougoutes, on the other hand, was linked to the Manding trading network to the north.

Located between the Portuguese comptoir of Ziguinchor and the English factories on the Gambia River, the Diola had been in continuous proximity to European slave dealers since the seventeenth century. At some time before the nineteenth century, the people of Boulouf entered the slave trade. Oral tradition does not permit the dating of this first participation. When the French arrived at Carabane in 1836 they found Tionk-Essil already involved in slave raids.

The men of Tionk-Essil procured captives by carrying out raids against the Diola of Kasa. Setting forth in large pirogues similar to those mentioned by Fernandes in 1507, they kidnapped isolated individuals, brought them back to Djougoutes, and then sold them either to the Diola of Fogny-Combo, or directly to the Manding. Quite possibly, some of these captives ultimately were traded to the British at James Fort, or to the French at Albreda.

fear of being captured by the Diola of Kadiamoutay (Fogny), "who capture the inhabitants of Ziguinchor and sell them to the Manding who traverse Fogny with the aim of finding captives; the Portuguese are frequently the victims of customs they have introduced to the country." Vallon, p. 467.

18. Some Portuguese slavers had, of course, visited the Casamance well before the establishment of Ziguinchor.


20. According to Robert Baum, to whom I am indebted for much information about the Diola-Kasa, people in Mlomp-Kadjinol recount stories of ancestors who were captured by Djougoutes raiders, while working alone in their rice fields.
Historians of long-distance trade in the Senegambia have tended to limit their studies to the region north of the Casamance. As a result, this southern ramification of the Manding trading routes to the Gambia has generally been overlooked. The evidence, however, leads one to reaffirm Charlotte Quinn's assertion that the Diola were involved in the slave trade, not only as victims but also as suppliers. Contact between Djougoutes and the Manding diaspora was sporadic and, frequently, only indirect, through intermediaries. The Diola did, nevertheless, supply some captives to dioula traders in the Gambia.

Before the establishment of French commercial interests in the Casamance, there is no evidence that Boulouf society underwent any revolutionary change as a result of either the Manding trade or commerce with the Portuguese. While imported iron may have radically benefited traditional agriculture, information about such a possible development does not exist. Domestic weaving was probably stimulated by the importation of Manding cotton. The pagnes would only

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22. Any theory of resultant population growth and accompanying social change would be pure speculation. Other academic disciplines might, however, provide additional information. Archaeological excavation in the shell middens of Western Djougoutes, together with linguistic studies of the local dialects and their relation to Kasa speech, could offer helpful information about pre-nineteenth century migrations and population expansion.
have played a minor role, however, in any export trade. As these two examples suggest, trade, by bringing new goods to Boulouf, probably promoted the development of indigenous technology. Essentially, Djougoutes society in 1850 represented the continuation of a way of life that the Diola had known for centuries.

French establishment in Basse Casamance

In 1836 France established its first permanent trading post in the Casamance, on the island of Carabane, located on the south bank just within the mouth of the Casamance River. Carabane quickly outstripped in commercial importance the small British factory at Elenkine. Two years later, however, Sedhiu, 120 kilometers upstream, became the principal comptoir on the River and it was not until Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé was appointed résident at

23. Cloth is not mentioned in early documents, as a central item of trade from Djougoutes; (then again, Djougoutes itself is not mentioned). The fact that Fernandes and, 350 years later, Vallon were familiar with Diola pagnes does imply that Europeans acquired some of these products of Diola weaving.

24. The French government "purchased" the island from the "chief" of Kagnout, a nearby village.

25. Elenkine's access to the River was conveniently blocked by Carabane. The influence of these earlier English traders is reflected by the fact that when the French began trading at Carabane, the Diola would only accept British-made muskets bearing the mark "Tower." See Jacques Foulquier, "Les Français en Casamance, de 1826 à 1854," thèse, Faculté des Lettres, Dakar, 1966; quoting ANN lB 8 9 (1838).

26. Bocandé, who first visited the Casamance about 1837, became familiar with the region while amassing an insect collection which eventually numbered 10,000 specimens. He spoke Creole and Manding, and had an unusual knowledge of Bissau and its peoples. Bocandé
Carabane, in 1849, that the island was further developed as a commercial entrepôt. For the next half century, Carabane served as the center for French trading activity along the lower River.

The first period of aggressive French expansion in the Lower Casamance coincided with Bertrand-Bocandé's tenure at Carabane, which lasted until 1867. As résident he attempted to establish French authority in the region around the trading post, and he pursued a policy whereby France actively served as "peace-keeper" in the area. This entailed the safeguarding, by force where necessary, of the welfare of French nationals and representatives of French trading houses. Such a policy inevitably brought Carabane into conflict with the most powerful and aggressive Diola community, which was Tionk-Essil.

Tionk's practise of mounting slave raids against the people of Kasa soon led to direct confrontation with the French. Bertrand-Bocandé's 1850 visit to the village was an attempt to rescue an African woman and her child, who had been kidnapped near Carabane. Within a year after he assumed the post of résident, Bertrand-Bocandé was characterizing the people of Tionk-Essil as "a tribe of pirates." Early recognized that Sedhiu was located too far upstream to develop into a major port; he therefore worked to make Carabane into an important trading center. Roche, pp. 111-112.

27. For a detailed and thorough history of French commercial establishment in Casamance, see Roche, pp. 97-159.

28. Tionk had also developed unfriendly relations with the English at Elenkine, after two Diola had been killed there; ANS 16 23, "Voyage au Pays de Kion."

29. Ibid.
Finally, in March of 1860, Pinet-Laprade, the Commander at Gorée, mounted an 800 man expedition to attack Tionk and punish the community for pillaging French nationals and their allies. The attack, which took place on March 16, left forty Diola dead and twenty men prisoners of the French. In addition, 200 head of cattle and 150 goats plus large stores of rice were taken from the village, and a large part of Tionk was then burned.

Pinet-Laprade's expedition thereby fulfilled his aim to make the Diola respectful of French power, so that traders could freely traverse the region. Two months after the attack, Bocandé signed a treaty with the eight "chiefs" of Tionk, whereby the villagers agreed to receive future traitants in peace. Thereafter, Tionk-Essil's depredations against foreign traders became less frequent.

Following Pinet-Laprade's military expedition, the French continued their efforts to extend political authority over Djougoutes. In fact, these designs may be characterized as imperial. On June 11, 1860 Bocandé received instructions which clearly indicate that

30. Pinet-Laprade estimated the forces of Tionk at from 800 to 1000 armed men. ANS 13G 361 1.

31. ANS 1D 16 5l. Oral tradition corroborates the archival records, on details of the French attack.

32. These "chiefs" were probably simply influential elders of their wards. Among the eight were a Djiba and a Djemé, both of which names are common patronyms in Tionk, today.

33. In 1862, however, a Wolof traitant and his wife were captured while traversing Tionk's territory, while on their way overland from the Gambia to Carabane. The woman was sold at Ziguinchor. ANS 13G 366.
Faidherbe's interest in the region went beyond the assurance of free access for traders:

A votre disposition pour terminer la collection des traites que nous avons à faire pour nous assurer la possession de la Basse Casamance jusqu'au dépendance du comptoir Portugais de Ziguinchor. 34

Even before the attack on Tionk, Pinet-Laprade had viewed French interests in the Casamance as linked to more ambitious economic designs which included the Futa Jalon. He hoped that, after pacifying the peoples of the Casamance, and with the subsequent construction of a new post at the headwaters of the Casamance River:

Nous pourrions enlever aux Portugais le commerce de la rivière Saint Dominique et du Haut Géba et attirer peut-être vers nous des caravanes du Fouta-Djallon. 35

The attack on Tionk-Essil, then, was seen as but the first step in the clearing of indigenous resistance to European commerce. Ultimately, the French hoped to capture for themselves all the export trade as far as the sources of the Niger and Senegal Rivers.

By the end of 1860, in the Basse Casamance, treaties had been signed with several villages, including Tendouk, Elana, and

34. "It is at your disposition, to complete the collection of treaties which we must make in order to secure the possession of the Basse Casamance as far as the dependency of the Portuguese comptoir at Ziguinchor. ANS 4B 35 54.

35. "We might take away from the Portuguese the commerce of the Saint Dominique River and of the Upper Géba, and perhaps even attract to ourselves the caravans of the Fouta-Djallon." ANF-OM, Sénégal et Dépendances IV, dossier 51a; a call for an expedition against Tionk-Essil, by Pinet-Laprade; 19 November 1859.
By 1865, Affiniam and Bagaya had also concluded pacts with Carabane. By these treaties, the French hoped both to safeguard their Wolof traitants from attack by the Diola and to assume the role of mediator in inter-village disputes.

Some Diola may have been anxious to gain an ally in the French. This was particularly the case in Tendouk, which at the time was embroiled in a series of wars with Tionk-Essil. It is, however, dubious that the Diola realized the implications of the treaties, each of which began:

Les Djigouches [name of village] ayant demandé à se placer sous la suzeraineté de la France . . . 39

By means of these documents, Bertrand-Bocandé intended to establish "legal" justification for French claims to jurisdiction over the region.

The Diola reaction to these events was not recorded. In Tendouk, the villagers' response to early French visitors may be preserved in the account of the arrival of "the first whites."


37. Ibid. Treaty of 2-4-64 with "le tribu des Fignames"; Treaty of 4-19-65 with "le village de Bagane et les Djougouttes d'Affiniam."

38. Immediately after attacking Tionk, Pinet-Laprade wrote that war might well break out between Tionk and Tendouk. ANS 1D 16 34. In Tionk, the generation initiated in the bukut known as "Bampeck" (ca. 1865) fought a war with Tendouk.

39. "The Djougoutes of _____, having requested that they be placed under French sovereignty." ANS 13G 461.
According to one old animist informant, the elders and "têtes clairvoyantes" gathered secretly in the sacred forest. There, they performed kafuka ("things of the night"), religious rituals to insure that the strangers would not stay in the village.

In fact, these treaties had no immediate repercussions for the Diola. Rather, for thirty years they marked the highpoint of French imperial designs in Djougoutes. The expansionist policies pursued by Bertrand-Bocandé in the Casamance were possible because of support and encouragement provided by Faidherbe. With the retirement of the Governor in 1865, and with Bocandé's own departure two years later, active French involvement in Djougoutes affairs came to an end. The period from 1865 to 1886, when Ziguinchor was ceded to France by Portugal, marked a time of retrenchment for the French in the Basse Casamance. Archival records from Carabane are scanty for this period, and references to Djougoutes are far less frequent than during Bocandé's residency. Oral testimony, plus interpolation from slightly earlier and later written records, are the main sources of information for this period.

40. Interview with Silounya Sagna, Tendouk. Some early Diola misconceptions about French motives may unwittingly be preserved in Sagna's story. Asked in what from the villagers first paid the impôt, he replied that the entire village paid one pig. In 1860, Pinet-Laprade reported that several Djougoutes villages had asked to be placed under French sovereignty and that, as a token of recognition of French authority, Tendouk had sent a cow and a pig to Carabane; ANS 1D 16 80. What Tendouk viewed as a tax, or forced donation, Pinet-Laprade interpreted as the free acceptance of French authority.
Bocandé's interventionist policy did not lead to a commensurate growth of commercial relations between Carabane and Djougoutes. The men of Boulouf made only infrequent visits to the French comptoir. Occasionally, they came to Carabane to sell rice, some of which was used to feed the island's population, and the rest of which was exported to Gorée. The Diola of Djougoutes exchanged their unthreshed rice for iron, guns, gun powder, and perhaps even for cattle. On at least one occasion a group of men from Tionk went to Carabane to sell cattle they had stolen elsewhere. In Tionk, Mlomp, and Tiobon, informants indicated that the sale of rice had provided their ancestors with their earliest monetary income.

Some Diola from Boulouf sought employment at Carabane. As early as 1862 Vallon noted their presence on the island. Other men from Djougoutes came to cultivate rice for the islanders. This agricultural labor continued after the end of Bocandé's tenure of office. In 1867 Père Kieffer, Superior of the Holy Ghost Fathers' Mission at Carabane, wrote:

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h1. Vallon, p. 163. Several elders of the Djiba family in Niaganan (Tionk-Essil) mentioned the purchase of iron.

h2. ANS 1G 23. In 1860 a cow sold at Carabane for 40 francs; ANS 1D 16 37.

h3. Rice was not nearly so important a source of income, however, as rubber later became. The sale of rice was, however, mentioned by the elders of the Djiba family (April 8, 1975), the elders of Daga kaloleku in Tionk (January 7, 1975), the elders of Tiobon (January 9, 1975), the elders of Mlomp (January 20, 1975), and Kepi Diatta and Jalaya Djiba, of Niaganan.

h4. The "Djougoutes ... come to seek work as laborers in our 'factories.'" Vallon, p. 172.

h5. In 1870 Carabane had a garrison of eleven men, plus a population of 600 that was 80 per cent Diola, with a large Wolof minority; Roche, p. 224.
Les Djougoutes ne viennent plus à Carabane depuis le mois de juillet, parce qu'un des leurs avait été mis en prison. Cela fait que bien des personnes n'ont pas eu le personnel nécessaire pour travailler leurs champs. 46

The Administrator of Basse Casamance succeeded, however, in patching up the dispute. He invited the elders of Tendouk to a meeting and, over many pots of palm wine, the Diola agreed to return to Carabane.

Limited commercial exchange between the Diola and representatives of French trading houses also occurred within Djougoutes. Several major trading firms had been established at Carabane by 1862. These companies used traitants, usually Wolofs from St. Louis, to carry on trade in the countryside. Supplied with goods by their trading houses, the traitants traded in the interior for local products, which they brought back to Carabane. Another group of travelling merchants, the "traitants secondaires," were not employees of the trading houses. They too, however, obtained merchandise from and then sold their local products to these same firms. They were not paid a fixed salary. Rather, their profit came from reselling, to the houses, the rice or other goods which they obtained from the Diola. These "traitants secondaires" tended to work in remote areas, where they could avoid competition from regular traitants. 47

46. "Since July the Djougoutes no longer come to Carabane, because one of their number had been put in prison. Consequently, many people have not had the necessary personnel to work their fields." Archives de la Congrégation des Pères du Saint-Esprit (Paris), [hereafter: Archives St. Esprit, or ACSE] boîte 673, Journal de la communauté, Carabane et Sédhiu, October 1887.

47. The system of traitants and "traitants secondaires" is described by Vallon, pp. 468-69. Among the goods which the Diola received for their rice was iron; interview with imam Bakari Badji, 7 April 1975, interview with Bassiru Djiba, Tionk, 12 February 1975.
between the two groups of traders served to extend the frontier of commercial contact progressively further into the interior, and may have led to the first limited penetration of Djougoutes by Wolof traders.

Commercial contact between Boulouf and Carabane remained on a small scale during this early period. Aside from their labor and their rice, the Diola had no commodity which they could readily sell to the French, until the rubber trade expanded into Boulouf in the late 1880s. Relatively few Diola from Djougoutes worked as navétanes at Carabane, and the rice trade was limited by the Diolas’ unwillingness to deplete their considerable stock of the grain. Large quantities were stored in granaries to ensure against famine in dry years, and to provide the substantial amounts of rice consumed at the bukut. Until about 1890, then, commercial intercourse between the Diola and the French at Carabane remained peripheral to the economy of Djougoutes.

Trade with the Manding

A second form of commercial contact with the outside world was provided by the Manding traders who may occasionally have visited Djougoutes, and by the more frequent exchange of goods with the Manding, through Diola intermediaries. The first written documentation of travelling merchants in Djougoutes dates from 1850, when Bocandé wrote, "The Floups, of whom the Djougoutes are a sub-group, consider it a great honor to receive traitants as guests." It is,  

48. ANS 1G 23.
however, unclear whether the résident was referring to Manding dioula or to the Wolof traders who were just beginning to push into the more remote parts of the Basse Casamance.

A decade later Vallon noted that the Diola of Djougoutes participated in commerce with Manding traders. They exchanged their rice for cattle, arms, gun powder, cloth, and a small amount of cotton, with which they weaved pagnes. The exchange rate was one measure of cotton for two measures of rice.49

Oral testimony offers more detailed information about this dioula trade. Bakari Badji recalls that, shortly after the turn of the century, a few elders in Tionk-Essil wore bronze or copper collars. Considered a sign of wealth, these collars had been acquired from dioula traders. Although itinerant merchants only began to pay regular visits to Tionk after the Battle of Dianki (see page 66), a few traders had passed through the region before then. Prior to the introduction of money in Boulouf,50 the metal collars and bracelets were obtained in exchange for rice. On each visit, the dioula would lodge with the same host, adjoetay.51 When the trader had completed his transactions, his host would accompany him to the next village.52 Inspite of endemic

50. In other words, before the turn of the century.
51. The word translates literally as "one who helps." Hospitality is important to the Diola. Today, as in Bocandé's time, they consider it an honor to receive strangers.
52. Interview with Bakari Badji, imam of Batine, April 12, 1975. In southern Boulouf, inter-village travel was apparently accompanied by the symbolic exchange of knives. This practise was apparently not found in Tionk.
hostility between villages, these merchants were able to circulate through Djougoutes.

During most of the nineteenth century, the slave trade continued to play an important role in commerce between Djougoutes and the Manding of the Gambia. This commerce was the special domain of Tionk, probably because it was the largest and strongest community in Boulouf. Other villages, too, however, may well have been involved, to a lesser degree. Tionk's notorious slave raids were not the only source of captives. Even local people might fall prey to this trade. It is related that parents kept their children inside the family compound at night because a child who wandered into a neighboring yard risked being taken by the men of that quarter, and sold to the Manding. Men sometimes set up ambushes along the forest paths which led between villages, to kidnap unwary travellers. 53

In 1885 the Superior of the Catholic mission at Sedhiu, Père Lacombe wrote:

Dans les temps de disette [les Diolas] font le commerce des enfants; cela se pratique surtout chez les Djougoutes. 54

Although the Diola custom of storing excess rice in years of good harvest would have reduced the incidence of famine, Père Lacombe's statement cannot be dismissed out of hand. He may have been referring

53. Interview with the elders of Batine, January 8, 1975; interview with Bakari Badji, February 13, 1975.

54. "In time of drought the Diola sell children; this practise occurs particularly among the people of Djougoutes." Archives St. Esprit, II, boîte 159; "Rapport du R. P. Lacombe, supérieur de la mission de Sédhiu, sur la mission de la Casamance, 1885."
to precisely such incidents as fostered the Diola tradition about
the capture and sale of children.

As late as the 1870s human captives were an important Diola
export to the Manding. The captives were first transported into
Fogny-Combo, where they were sold to the Diola of that region, who
in turn traded the prisoners to the Manding.

The Soninké-Marabout wars in the Gambia stimulated the slave
trade by creating large numbers of captives. To this flow of human
merchandise, the raiders of Djougoutes contributed only a small per­
centage. Once the captives had been transported from Boulouf into
northern Fogny, they undoubtedly shared the fate of the victims of
the maraboutic conflicts.

Both J. M. Gray and Charlotte Quinn have called attention to
the interior trading networks whereby Diola captives ultimately
reached Gambia. From Fogny, the captives were

conveyed by certain recognised 'underground railways'
to the banks of the Gambia, where they were ferried
over to Baddibu and bartered for cattle, guns and
ammunition. 56

One of the collecting points for the transport of slaves was on
Vintang Creek, north of Fogny. 57 Once they had been sold in the

55. Interview with the elders of Batine, Tionk-Essil, 7 Jan­
uary 1975. This oral testimony does not date the end of the slave
trade. It is however, unlikely that the slave-raiding mentioned by
Bertrand-Bocandé during the early 1860s, ended as soon as the French
began to protect their subjects at Carabane. Slave-raiding was wide­
spread in Fogny after 1877, as a result of the maraboutic wars. The
people of Boulouf would therefore have found a ready market for
captives as late as the 1880s.

p. 469.

Manding states of the lower Gambia, the slaves were employed as agricultural laborers, to cultivate peanuts. 58

Inter-village trade in Djougoutes

Within Boulouf, some local exchange did take place between villages. This trade consisted primarily of agricultural produce. Tionk-Essil, with the most extensive rice fields in the region, frequently produced a surplus which it was able to exchange for other food items. Tendouk had much more limited rice fields, but did grow some millet. The people of Tendouk, therefore, brought millet to Tionk, and traded it for rice. In addition, Tendouk, which maintained friendly relations with the French before 1860, obtained iron from Carabane earlier than did the inhabitants of Tionk. Surplus rice from Tionk was accordingly also exchanged for iron. 59

Before the introduction of money, rice was traded for so wide a variety of goods that, in effect, it served as a form of currency. One is therefore compelled to take issue with L.-V. Thomas' assertion that:

La coutume fétichiste s'oppose à la vente du riz et le contenu des greniers est jalousement gardé. 60

58. The use of domestic slave labor to cultivate peanuts illustrates A. G. Hopkins' contention that the development of legitimate commerce often stimulated the demand for cheap labor within Africa, and was consequently associated with the continued existence of domestic slavery. Hopkins, p. 143.

59. Interview with Bakari Badji, April 12, 1975.

60. "Tradition forbids the sale of rice, and the contents of granaries are jealously kept." Thomas, p. 104.
In pre-Islamic Boulouf, not only was rice traded, it actually served as a unit of exchange, and it was sold at Carabane, for money.

In Fogny, bronze bracelets and iron bars sometimes replaced rice as a unit of exchange. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, Fogny was far less isolated commercially than Boulouf. There was a French military and administrative post at Bignona; the Diola themselves held a six-day market at Sindian to which people came from throughout Fogny; and Dioula traders were relatively common.

In addition, greater commercial development favored the adoption of a form of currency that was less bulky than rice. These factors led to use of metal bracelets and iron bars as money.

In Boulouf, however, not only were there no established periodic markets, but copper and bronze were far less common. Unlike the men

61. A cow, for example, could be acquired for a tremendous basket of rice.

62. Bronze was highly valued not only for economic reasons (it was acquired in exchange for cattle, which was also a prestige item among the Diola), but also because it was used to make the most powerful gris-gris for the protection of warriors. Interview with Kalilou Badji, Falméré par Tangori (near Bignona), January 14, 1975.

63. Interview with Mama Sané, Marsassoum, February 1, 1975; interview with Kalilou Badji, to whom I am most grateful for the extensive information he provided about traditional life, including periodic markets.

64. After the Manding wars (1877-1893), there was increased population movement between Fogny and the Moyen Casamance. Manding traders began regularly to bring iron, copper, and bronze to Fogny. The Diola purchased the metal with cattle.
of Fogny, few inhabitants of Djougoutes festooned their necks, arms and legs with bracelets. Metal in Boulouf was probably too scarce to serve as currency.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Djougoutes was not totally cut off from the outside world. Some commercial contact is recorded with traders at Carabane, with itinerant dioula, and with the Diola of Fogny-Combo. Nevertheless, it is clear that periodic markets, widespread commercial exchange, and a rudimentary system of metal currency, all of which existed in Fogny by the end of the century, were still unknown in Djougoutes. Commercially, the region was certainly more isolated than Fogny.

Kutiíkak kati kuMandingak (the Manding Wars)

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the maraboutic warfare which had broken out in the Gambia about 1850 spread into the Casamance. The invasion of Fogny by Fodé Kaba in 1877 or 1878 marked the beginning of warfare which devastated Combo and northern and eastern Fogny for 15 years and occasionally affected Boulouf. During that


66. For detailed discussions of these wars in the Gambia, see Gray, History of the Gambia, chapter XXVI; see also Quinn, Mandingo Kingdoms.

67. Pélissier, p. 796, dates Fodé Kaba's attack, on the basis of oral testimony, to 1877. Roche, however, p. 205, uses archival records to show that the Diahanké marabout invaded Fogny in September 1878.
period, peaceful commercial contact between the Diola and the Mande-
ing to the north was disrupted. Travelling traders risked capture
by Mande raiding parties, and the only form of commerce that thrived
between the Casamance and the Gambia was the slave trade. Not until
hostilities ceased after 1890 did it become possible for trade to
revive. By then, the exploitation of new forest products was to
stimulate a tremendous increase in commercial contact between the
Diola and the Mande.

During the period of warfare—which the Diola refer to as "the
Mande wars," "kutiíkak kati kuMandingak"—the Diola were subjected
to the assaults of several other warriors besides Fodé Kaba. From
his base near Gunjur in southwestern Gambia, the Mande marabout
Fodé Sylla carried on a religious war against the Diola of Combo. 68

The Wolof traitant—turned—warrior Birahim (or Ibrahima) N'Diaye, also
harrassed the Diola, from 1884 until 1888 when he was killed by Fodé
Sylla. 69 Later in the same year, Sylla also did away with Birahim's
brother and successor, Papa Oumar N'Diaye. 70

68. Roche, pp. 289 ff. Roche presents the most comprehensive
treatment of the wars in the Casamance.

69. N'Diaye, according to correspondence from Gorée, began
his attacks on the Diola 7 June 1884; ANS 13G 463 2, "1888, Relations avec les chefs indigènes,
Casamance." On July 1, 1884, Père Girot (?) of the Carabane-Sedhiu
mission wrote in his journal that N'Diaye had begun a holy war that
consisted of raiding the Diola and reducing them to slavery.
Archives St. Esprit, boîte 673.

70. Roche, p. 295.
In Fogny and Combo the repeated assaults of these warrior marabouts kept the region in turmoil. Crops were ruined, fields were abandoned by cultivators fearful of being captured if they left their fortified villages, and large segments of the population either fled or were enslaved. Due to their geographical isolation and perhaps also to their reputation as slave-raidgers who might defend themselves fiercely in the event of invasion, the Diola of Boulouf were spared the full force of this maraboutic warfare. Fodé Kaba never entered Djougoutes. Birahim N'Diaye and Fodé Sylla each attacked the region with limited success.

N'Diaye arrived from the east in 1886. In March of that year, Père Lacombe, who had recently come to Tendouk to set up a mission station, reported that N'Diaye was camped a day's march from that village. The Muslim warrior presented the Diola with an ultimatum: either deliver the priest into his hands, or prepare for war.71 Tendouk rejected the ultimatum. Nevertheless, the missionaries abandoned their efforts a month later, and returned to Carabane. On April 29, a report from Gorée indicated that N'Diaye was still in Djougoutes,72 and on July 25 another report stated:

Les Yolas de Djougoutes ont entrepris de résister contre Birahim N'Diaye. Le Commandant de la Casamance a réussi à faire comprendre à ces sauvages que leur déshonneur était la cause de leur perte et qu'ils ne pourraient venir à but des bandes de Birahim qu'en

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71. Archives St. Esprit, boîte 673, Journal de Père Kieffer, entry of March 17, 1886.

72. ANS HB 72, p. 349, 29 April 1886.
se reunissant • • • Jusqu'à present [N'Diaye] n'a pas osé attaquer les Djougoutes depuis qu'il sait le pacte qu'unite entre eux ces villages. 73

Ultimately, N'Diaye did attack the village of Djimonde. The precise date of the ensuing battle, in which his forces were opposed by the men of Djimonde and Mandégane, is uncertain. According to oral testimony the engagement lasted an entire afternoon, and many soldiers from both sides were killed.74 The following day, the combined forces of Bagaya, Diatok, Tendouk and Mangagoulak set out to aid their comrades. Before the Diola reinforcements could arrive, however, N'Diaye was warned of their approach and he retreated towards Soutou in Fogny. In the battle of Djimonde, the Diola were facing cavalry for the first time; the horses evidently inspired fear. N'Diaye took many prisoners during the conflict, which suggests that the battle may have been more one-sided than the Diola now maintain.

N'Diaye's departure removed the one serious threat to materialize against the Diola of eastern Djougoutes during this period of warfare. In 1886, N'Diaye had divided his forces, and some of his soldiers were in the vicinity of Marsassoum.75 Strategically weakened by this division, he may have chosen not to risk a full-scale battle against

73. "The Diolas of Djougoutes have undertaken resistance against Birahim N'Diaye. The Commandant of the Casamance has succeeded in making these savages aware of the fact that their own disarray has been the cause of their defeat, and that they cannot hope to be rid of Birahim's bands until they unite. . . . So far, N'Diaye has not dared to attack them since he learned of the pact which unites these villages." ANS 4B 72, correspondence of 25 July 1886.

74. Interview with Seku Coudiaby and Ansoumana Badji, Mandégane elders, 24 March 1975.

75. Roche, p. 290.
several united Diola villages. Boulouf was, therefore, spared much of the devastation suffered by regions to the east and north.

At about the same time that Birahim N'Diaye was attacking eastern Djougoutes, Fodé Sylla was mounting an invasion against the northern and western part of the region. Sylla's forces advanced from the north and, after burning the village of Ebinkine in Combo, they crossed the Baila marigot near Kagnobon and then proceeded west towards Dianki. They camped near a marigot, where they were surprised and routed by the combined forces of Tiobon, Mlomp, Kartiak, and Tionk-Bssil. Many of the Manding invaders were killed, others drowned while trying to escape, and the remainder, together with their leader, fled. Fodé Sylla never again dared to bother the Diola of Djougoutes.

76. Bakari Badji provided the most detailed oral information about the victory over Combo Sylla. Many of the details here presented, are as he related them.

77. Suleyman Diedhiu, chef of Tiobon, asserts that his ancestor, Dianku Diedhiu, forewarned of Sylla's impending attack, arranged the alliance. As part of his plan, no one was to shoot a gun for any purpose, unless he had spotted the invaders. Upon hearing the rifle shot, the men of the four villages immediately armed and came together for the counter-attack. Suleyman's story gains credibility through his claim that Dianku had been educated at Carabane and, although a young man, had been selected chef by the French. The French were encouraging alliances among the Diola, and Dianku Diedhiu may have been their emissary to his own people. He, however, could not have been more than an elder of a ward in 1888.

78. Sylla, according to Bakari Badji, did not participate in the fighting, but remained in his tata, some distance behind the front lines.
The defeat of "Combo" Sylla is an important episode in the oral tradition of Tionk-Essil, for it was the men of that village who led the assault. The battle also received attention in French administrative reports, for the Europeans saw it as further evidence that local populations might, by forming such alliances, successfully resist the Muslim invaders. The battle of Dianki is, consequently documented, by both written and oral sources.

Oral testimony does not date the engagement with precision. Archival references, however, mention two battles. On 20 May 1886 a naval report from the Casamance stated:

Un autre marabout révolté du nom de Sillah a envahi vers [la fin d'avril] le pays de Thionk situé à coté de Djougoutes, mais sa témérité lui a été fatale car il a essuyé une sanglante défaite et a été grièvement blessé. 79

Gambian archival sources, too, mention an important Diola military victory in April 1886. 80 This may not, however, be the battle referred to by oral tradition.

On 23 March 1888, the French were informed that Sylla was surrounded by the Diola of Djougoutes. 81 A subsequent dispatch, written during the dry season--i.e. before the end of June--reported:

79. "Another rebel marabout by the name of Sillah invaded the territory of Thionk, situated at the edge of Djougoutes, towards the end of April, but his boldness was fatal to him, as he suffered a bloody defeat and was seriously wounded." ANS 1D 50, "Rapport de mer, mission du 'Gabès'.

80. See Quinn, p. 171.

81. ANS 13G 26 5 (or 13G 26 28; the dispatch has two numbers).
Sylla roi de Combo ... a fait savoir à l'administrateur qu'il ne faisait pas la guerre aux musulmans et qu'il ne s'en prenait qu'aux buveurs de sangara [?], ce que ne l'a pas empêché d'attaquer les Djougoutes à Gabali [Dianki] où il a été repoussé avec beaucoup de pertes. 82

On July 7 the Governor of Senegal wrote to his Administrator in the Casamance, urging him to offer encouragement to the Diola, to inspire their energetic resistance against Muslim invaders. 83 Ten days later, the Administrator replied. That letter provides a detailed description of what appears to have been the battle of Dianki:

Sylla ... a attaqué les Djougoutes dans le village de Guibali [Dianki] ... mais les Djougoutes ont bravement résisté, l'ont repoussé et ont blessé son chef de guerre Arfan Silima [?]. Les Djougoutes auraient tué presque tous les hommes de Sylla, puisque, paraît-il, neuf seulement avaient pu échapper, et auraient pris 45 chevaux. Ce fait d'avoir pris des chevaux a un grand importance car, ce qui avait toujours fait le succès des perturbateurs, était la crainte que les Yolas (Djougoutes ou Floups) avaient des chevaux; s'ils n'en ont plus peur, ils se défendront certainement avec avantage. 84

82. "Sylla king of Combo ... has informed the administrator that he would not make war on Muslims and that he only attacks drinkers of alcohol, which however has not prevented him from attacking the people of Djougoutes, at Gabali where he was repulsed with many losses." ANS 13G 26 26.

83. ANS 13G 463 2; "1888, Relations avec les chefs indigènes, Casamance"; letter from the Governor of Senegal, 7 July 1888.

84. "Sylla ... has attacked the 'Djougoutes' at the village of Guibali ... but the 'Djougoutes' resisted fiercely, drove him off and wounded his military commander Arfan Silima [?]. The 'Djougoutes' are said to have killed almost all of Sylla's men, since, as it appears, only nine were able to escape, and they purportedly took forty-five horses. The fact that they have captured horses is quite important, because the thing which always made the invaders [troublemakers] successful, was the fear which the Diola (Djougoutes or Floups) had of horses; if they are no longer afraid, they will surely defend themselves to their best advantage." ANS 13G 463 2; letter of the 'Administrateur Supérieur de la Casamance,' to the Governor, 17 July 1888.
Archival evidence therefore indicates that Fodé Sylla attacked the Diola of Djougoutes on two separate occasions. The first time, in April 1886, he was defeated by Tionk-Essil. In the return engagement, a coalition of villages inflicted an even more disastrous beating.

The identification, in the written records, of the second battle site as the village of "Gabali" or "Guibali" poses little historical difficulty. The administrator had received word of the fight at second hand, and the place name was confused, either in transmission or in transcription, with the name of another village in northwestern Combo. Since the same reports refer to Djougoutes, the Combo location is not probable. Oral sources explicitly state that the battle occurred near Dianki; no other village in the area has a name which closely approximates "Gabali."

The French account of the conflict depicts a Diola victory even more overwhelming than that portrayed by oral sources. Interestingly, one informant mentioned the capture of Manding horses. After Ehane Djiba returned to Niaganan quarter with one of Sylla's animals, the men of Tionk-Essil were never again afraid of mounted warriors. 85

The successful resistance to Fodé Sylla and N'Diaye indicated that when faced by a direct foreign military threat, the people of Djougoutes were capable of cooperating on a regional level. Certainly, the Diola were fortunate that Fodé Kaba, who is said to have approached Boulouf in the same year as Combo Sylla, decided not to attack

85. Interview with imam Bakari Badji, 13 February 1975. The Diola had thought that horse and rider were one monstrous animal.
Their spirited and unified defense of their homeland may have dissuaded other warriors from invading Djougoutes. After Sylla's second defeat, the region was never again subjected to Manding attack.

This early contact with militant Islam did not result in any religious conversion among the people of Boulouf. The success of the Diola on the battlefield precluded any forceful conversion, while the relative isolation of Djougoutes further ensured that the region was spared the brunt of the maraboutic wars. Since the wars were far less devastating to Boulouf than to Fogny and Combo, anti-Manding sentiment was probably not as strong in Djougoutes. When the Diola subsequently adopted Islam, which was closely associated with "the Manding," they may have been less hesitant to accept elements of Manding culture in Djougoutes than were the Diola of Fogny.

Today in Boulouf people demonstrate with pride how thoroughly Islamized they are. To an outside observer, the Diola-Fogny do seem to have retained more of their traditional religious shrines and rituals. One of the reasons for this distinction may be the greater anti-Manding sentiment, a legacy of the maraboutic wars, which prevented the people

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86. According to Bakari Badji, Fodé Kaba approached Boulouf near Bessire in the same year that Sylla arrived. Chef Suleyman Diedhiu of Tiobon also maintains that both warriors approached Djougoutes in the same year. He says that Kaba and Sylla sent emissaries to Tiobon on practically the same day, to demand tribute. Realizing that they could not fight both forces, the villagers decided to pay tribute to Fodé Kaba. Sylla, however, they determined to resist. Suleyman claims that Dianku Diedhiu played an important role in deciding on this strategy.

87. Also, the fact that Cherif Mahfuz was not a Manding increased the prestige of that important early marabout, in Boulouf. See chapter three.
of Fogny freely from adopting Manding cultural traits. In Djougoutes, less stigma was attached to things Manding, and Islam has subsequently more fully permeated religious life.

Conclusion

Through most of the nineteenth century, the Diola of Djougoutes maintained approximately the same economic relations with the Manding areas of the Moyen Casamance and the Gambia that they had carried on for generations. Goods from Boulouf—primarily human captives and rice—were traded through intermediaries, until they reached northern Fogny or Combo-anglais. From there, they followed the regular trading routes used by the Manding. To a lesser degree, Boulouf was directly linked to the Gambian trading system by virtue of sporadic visits from itinerant Manding traders. Such visits, which were to become more frequent during the last decade of the nineteenth century, after the end of the religious wars, brought cotton, metals, and guns and ammunition to the region. Djougoutes, then, occupied the periphery of the Manding commercial networks which led to the lower Gambia.

In some respects, Boulouf was more isolated in the mid-1880s than it had been twenty years earlier. French commercial and military expansion and involvement in local affairs, which had characterized the residency of Bertrand-Bocandé at Carabane, came to an end after 1867. Subsequently, traitants affiliated with the trading houses at Carabane and Sedhiu traversed the forests of Boulouf only infrequently. During this period of retrenchment Carabane itself fell into partial
neglect. In 1879 Alfred Marche reported that the island's garrison consisted of a junior officer, four Frenchmen, and a few tirailleurs.\textsuperscript{88} Six years later, the situation was unchanged.\textsuperscript{89}

The event which signalled the revival of French activity in the Casamance, the cession of Ziguinchor by Portugal to France, took place in 1886.\textsuperscript{90} Two years later, a French expedition took physical possession of the town. During the years that followed, French commercial interests expanded, stimulated by the exploitation of new products from Casamance forests. This time, commercial activity did not prove transitory; it fostered the imposition of colonial rule in Basse Casamance. After 1900, that administration was extended to include the Diola of Djougoutes.


\textsuperscript{89} In addition to the Commandant, there was a corporal, plus four "douaniers," and ninety-four tirailleurs. Archives St. Esprit, IV, boîte 159, Rapport du P. Kieffer sur la mission de Carabane, 1885.

\textsuperscript{90} The transfer of sovereignty occurred in accordance with the Franco-Portuguese Convention of 12 May 1886. For the most thorough discussion of this agreement and of the economic interests which prompted French attempts to acquire Ziguinchor, see Roche, pp. 268-288.
Chapter Three:

The Rubber and Palm Produce Trades, the Establishment of Colonial Administration, and the early Islamization of Djougoutes, 1893-1918

The relative isolation of the Diola of Djougoutes began to break down during the last decade of the nineteenth century as a direct result of the development of the rubber and palm produce trades. After the turn of the century, the institution of colonial administration worked to accelerate change in traditional society. These factors, together with the proselytizing of non-Diola marabouts in Boulouf, led to the first conversions to Islam.

Stimulated by growing commercial demand in Europe, rubber and palm produce became the staples of the Casamance export trade during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Rubber was first exported in significant quantity by the French trading houses in 1883, when fifty-nine metric tons were sold. Production rose sharply during the next two years. By 1887 it had reached 150 tons, and it increased to 400 tons in 1893. The following year, the effects of the 1893 Depression caused latex prices to drop; production fell by over a third and did not fully recover until the end of the decade.

1. Lagrillière-Beauclerc, Mission au Sénégal et au Soudan (Paris, 1897), p. 107. For production figures of both rubber and palm produce, see Tables 1 and 2 below.

2. All references to "tons" in this chapter refer to metric tons.
It was, nevertheless, during the 1890s that the rubber trade spread into the interior of the Basse Casamance, and that the Diola of Boulouf entered that trade in large numbers.

Palm produce was valuable to European manufacturing as a source of oils and lubricants. The clusters of kernels which constitute the fruit of the oil palm, *Elaeis guineensis*, provide cooking oil (mitam in Diola), as well as an oil used as an industrial lubricant. By crushing the kernels one can extract another oleaginous substance, used in the production of margarine and fertilizer. These multiple functions stimulated demand for palm produce in Europe.

Palm kernels had been exported from the Casamance as early as the 1850s. The oil, however, was only shipped in quantity after 1880. From 1879 to 1881, a total of fifteen tons of oil was produced. By the middle of the decade, production had quadrupled and, in 1893, exports rose to sixty-four tons. The increase in palm kernel production was less sudden. An annual average, between 1869 and 1877, of 198 tons grew by 1884-1886 to 287 tons. Output expanded to 639,000 kilograms in 1890 and reached 721,000 kilos in 1894. Between 1895 and 1899, however, kernel production fell to an average of 133 tons annually. (See Table 2 below). The period from about 1883 to the end of the century then, marked the establishment of the three forest products, rubber, palm oil, and palm kernels, as the basis of the Casamance export trade.

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3. Roche, p. 119. This work presents the most thorough account of nineteenth and early twentieth century commerce in the Casamance.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Casamance Rubber Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>59,623 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>103,347 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>123,692 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>150 metric tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>128,807 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>96,863 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>93,778 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>139,169 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>193,135 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>396,553 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>238,471 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>144,582 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>126,878 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>280 tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>387,167 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>2 tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>(419 tons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>(338 tons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>(550 tons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>379,912 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>(1,002 tons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>402,167 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>402,047 kg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>(1,040 tons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>280 tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>328 tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>(580 tons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>692 tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>(212 tons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>(217 tons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>2 tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>(87 tons)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Unless otherwise noted, figures for years through 1896 are from Lagrillière-Beauclerc, pp. 107-09.


c. According to Lagrillière, the slump in rubber exports which began in 1888 reflected a fall in the European market price of rubber.

d. ANS 13G 496, "La Casamance," supplement from newspaper Le Temps, November 1891.
(Table 1 notes continued)

e. ANS 13G 372. Lagrillière, however, inadvertently reversed the figures for 1893 and 1894.

f. This is an approximate figure. The 1898 exports were slightly over 100 tons less than the following year's quantity; ANS 13G 496.

g. ANS 13G 496.

h. ANS 1G 328, Labretoigne de Mazel, "Notice sur la Casamance."

i. Bracketed figures are from Pélissier, Les Paysans du Sénégal, p. 774. Clearly, these statistics do not agree with those derived from the other sources cited. Pélissier's figures are from the archives of the "Service de l'agriculture de Ziguinchor."

j. 1905 and 1906 statistics are from ANS 13G 378. ANS 13G 380 cites a figure of 440 tons for 1905. Roche, p. 498, cites the same figure given by Pélissier, without giving his source.

k. 1908 and 1909 figures are from ANS 1G 343, "Monographie de la Cercle de la Casamance," by Dr. MacLaud, Administrateur Supérieur de la Casamance, written in 1911.

l. Roche, p. 498.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Palm oil</th>
<th>Palm kernels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879-81: average, 5 tons&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1869-77: 198,483 kg (average)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882-86: average, 20,150 kg.</td>
<td>1879-81: 220,600 kg. (average)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893: 64,349 kg.</td>
<td>1884-86: 287,413 kg. (average)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894: 57,223 kg.</td>
<td>1890: 639 tons&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899: 16,694 kg.</td>
<td>1893: 561,721 kg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905: 26 tons&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1894: 721,291 kg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-99: 433,654 kg. (average)</td>
<td>1905: 903,972 kg.&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906: 1,035,585 kg.&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Unless otherwise noted, figures are from Courtet, *Etude sur le Sénégal* (Paris, 1903), pp. 28 ff.

<sup>b</sup> ANS 13G 380.

<sup>c</sup> ANS 13G 496 3.

<sup>d</sup> ANS 13G 380.

<sup>e</sup> ANS 13G 378.
In Djougoutes rubber was first collected during the 1880s. In 1885 a report from the Casamance noted the strategic importance of Pointe Saint Georges which, located on the south bank of the Casamance River, commanded the entry to the "Thionk marigot . . . where there is a considerable traffic in rubber." It is not clear who gathered the rubber at this early date. Perhaps it was the Diola themselves, or it could have been migrant rubber harvesters, such as the Manjaks (Mandiagos). By 1890 the Diola of southern Djougoutes had certainly begun to collect and sell rubber. In that year three traitants visited Diatok to buy rice and latex, and the inhabitants of Affiniam asked a visiting French naval officer when they might expect traitants in their own village. As the rubber trade expanded during the 1880s, traitants from the trading houses at Carabane penetrated into new regions in search of latex. Southern Djougoutes was well-situated, near the River, for this commerce.

4. ANS 43 7h 24; 3 June 1885. The marigot referred to is most likely the Kourioum marigot, which winds from Thionk-Essil to the River opposite Pointe St. Georges. The "Zinguinchor" map of the Institut Géographique National (feuille ND28-11; scale 1/200,000) shows no "marigot de Thionk."

5. Roche, p. 261, says much of the Basse Casamance rubber was collected by the Aku, who were of Mandé origin and came from the Gambia, and by the Manjak. According to Lagrillière-Beauclerc, the Manjaks were the expert rubber harvesters of the Basse Casamance.

6. ANS 13G 465 6; 24 February 1890; "Rapport de Mission du Commandant de l'Ardente."

7. Ibid.
Although this early commerce was directed towards Carabane, the subsequent development of the Djougoutes rubber trade was oriented primarily toward the Gambia. During the 1890s dioula traders purchased increasing quantities of Djougoutes rubber, which they resold at Bathurst. Ultimately, the Diola themselves began to transport their latex to the Gambia, and thereby managed to avoid the middlemen.

The Djougoutes plateau was heavily forested, and the rubber plant, *Landolphia*, grew there in abundance. The extraction of rubber from this vine was a relatively simple operation which provided the people of Boulouf with a reliable trading commodity. Men, women, and children collected the latex during the dry season; they then sold it either to traitants or to the dioula who, by 1894, were attracted to Djougoutes by the rubber. Sometimes the Diola were paid in cash, but more frequently they had to exchange the rubber directly for goods. Chief among the items so procured were iron, used to make the cutting edge of the *kajando*, clothing, and guns.

The methods employed by the Diola to collect the latex resulted in impurities. Frequently they cut the trees and allowed the latex to run onto palm leaves, where they sprinkled it with water to hasten coagulation. Alternatively, the roots of the trees were cut, a method

8. ANS 13G 375 2.

9. A gun, at the turn of the century, sold for 35 francs in Boulouf; interview with Abdou Soumaré, son of the first chef de canton.

10. The rubber thus obtained was impregnated with moisture and it frequently rotted. See Lagrilliére-Beauclerc, p. 109. Salt water was often used to induce coagulation; ANS 2G 4 37.
which not only produced latex that was often too dirty to sell, but also tended to kill the trees. Often, the dioula further impregnated the rubber with foreign substances to increase its weight before they sold it to the trading houses. The French were constantly complaining about the poor quality of Diola rubber, "which cannot compete on European markets with rubber from America." In 1906 the résident at Bignona complained that Diola rubber would not even attain the value of Guinean latex, until the Diola learned to use another method of coagulation.

Essential to the development of these commercial ties between Djougoutès and the Gambia was the end of the maraboutic wars. In Djougoutès, the battle of Dianki marked the end of direct involvement in the hostilities. In Fogny-Combo and in the Gambia peace returned more gradually. By 1893, however, open warfare had largely ceased, and on 7 May, the aging warrior Fodé Kaba signed a treaty with Governor de Lamothe. In return for an annual retainer of 5000 francs and the promise of French assistance in the event of a Diola attack, Kaba relinquished his claim to Fogny. This agreement was followed, early in 1894, by the establishment of a French military post at Bignona.

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11. For a detailed late-nineteenth century discussion of Casamance rubber production see Lagrillière-Beauclerc, pp. 107-09.
12. ANS 13G 372 95.
14. ANS 13G 461; "Casamance, Traités et Conventions, 7 mai 1893"; see also Roche, p. 318.
From this station, administration was gradually extended through Fogny, and peace was slowly imposed. In March 1894, a French column captured Fodé Sylla near the Gambian border; shortly thereafter, Sylla died in exile. With the removal of these two powerful military leaders, the period of active maraboutic warfare came to an end.16

The establishment of peace made it possible for traders to move between Bathurst and the Casamance, without the risk of attack by raiding parties. As late as 1892 followers of Fodé Sylla were preying on Diola traders in the Gambia. By the mid-1890s, however, these raids had diminished and both Diola and dioula could traverse English Combo in relative safety.

Until travel between Gambia and Fogny-Combo became safe, the Diola either sold their rubber to traitants or they transported it directly to Carabane. Already by 1894, however, dioula traders were frequenting northwestern Fogny and Combo. Undoubtedly, they were also buying rubber in Boulouf. The arrival of these Manding merchants gave the Diola access to a second market for their crop. This

16. Sylla was captured just south of the San Pedro River, at village of Brunkunie. Roche, p. 304.
17. Although he remained at liberty until he was finally killed by the French at Medina in the Moyen Casamance, in 1901, Fodé Kaba never again posed a serious threat to the Diola.
18. See Quinn, pp. 171, 184.
19. In that year the 'Administrateur Supérieur' of the Casamance complained that much latex from these regions was sold in the Gambia. ANS 13G 475, report of the 'Administrateur,' Tétart.
20. There was at this time no fixed term for "Boulouf." "Combo" and "northwest Fogny" were sometimes used to refer to northern Boulouf, if not to the entire region of Djougoutes. Prior to 1901, the term
was an important development, for it meant that the producers could choose where to sell their latex, on the basis of where they were offered a better price.

Also in 1894, the résident at Bignona, Lt. Moreau, paid a reconnaissance visit to southern Combo and northwestern Djougoutes. His report shows that travelling merchants were common throughout the region. Each village he visited, including Tiobon, Kartiak, and Kagnobon, frequently hosted traders. What had undoubtedly attracted these merchants was "the considerable development of rice farming and rubber production which is occurring in these areas." 21

At the same time that the advent of peace in the areas to the north stimulated the circulation of dioula traders, a natural calamity forced the Diola to gather more rubber. The 1893 rice crop had been destroyed by grasshoppers and the people of Fogny had to acquire their grain from traitants. Rubber provided their only negotiable commodity. As money had not yet been introduced in Fogny, the latex was exchanged directly for rice, at a rate of 1.50 francs worth of grain for each kilogram of rubber. 22

"Djougoutes" was sometimes restricted to the western and southern part of Boulouf, that area centered around Tionk and Tendouk. See the concluding portion of Lt. Nouri's report, ANS 13G 498 5.

21. ANS 13G 372 70. At Kagnobon Moreau found two traders. He refers to them as traitants. Thus, not only dioula but also traitants were visiting the region with increased frequency, by 1894.

22. Ibid. Actually, of course, rice farming had long been the most important agricultural activity in Djougoutes.

23. ANS 13G 372 95.

24. Ibid.
While Djougoutes is not specifically mentioned as suffering from famine, the situation was undoubtedly the same there. The substantial increase in rubber production noted by Lt. Moreau may have been caused in part by the need to buy rice from traitants.

Rubber production was further stimulated by French efforts to impose a tax on the Diola north of the Casamance River. The complete absence of currency in Fogny meant that the impôt had to be collected in the form of rice, millet, or rubber.25 The Diola quickly came to prefer rubber, which was easily collected and had a high value. Also, paying the tax in rice had the disadvantage of depleting their food supplies.

In January 1894, Governor de Lamothe advised the Commandant of the Casamance to collect the impôt in cattle, millet, or other goods. The French viewed this tax as reimbursement for military assistance against the Diolas' enemies.26 By the end of February, Lt. Kiribel, the résident at Bignona, had determined to set the impôt at one kilo of rubber per person.27 Only men were taxed the first year, but the French hoped to extend the impôt to each inhabitant, as soon as the Diola accepted the idea of taxation.

Beyond the immediate vicinity of Bignona, the French relied on non-local Africans to collect the impôt. These "chiefs" were supposed

25. ANS 13G 372 81; regional budget of the Casamance, as projected for 1895.
27. ANS 13G 372 53.
to serve as intermediaries between the French administration and the peoples of Basse Casamance. The Diola, however, did not accept their authority, which was, at any rate, frequently abused. In 1893 the French were forced to remove Mangone Seye from his post as chief of southern Combo. Seye, a Wolof, had allied with the forces of Fodé Sylla in an unsuccessful attempt to impose his control over the recalcitrant Diola.28 In Djougoutes, Mangone's efforts to collect taxes were vigorously opposed by Tionk-Essil 29 and other villages. His successors were also notably unsuccessful at gathering the impôt in Djougoutes. In 1894, writing about Boulouf, the résident remarked, "I very much fear that they are a little too unaware of our presence in the Casamance." 30 Two years later, a political report contrasted the situation in Fogny with that in Djougoutes, where the Diola still refused to recognize French authority:

Le Fogny dans toute sa plus grande étendue reconnaît notre autorité, mais il existe à l'ouest de Bignona une peuplade, les Djougoutes, qui ne l'accepte pas. 31

During the 1890s, only one village in Boulouf paid the impôt with any regularity. This was Tiobon, whose paramount elder Dianku Diedhiu maintained relatively close relations with the French at Carabane, where he had been educated. In 1899 Diedhiu brought his village's tax,

30. ANS 13G 372 77.
31. "Fogny, through all of its wide area recognizes our authority, but there exists a population to the west of BIGNONA, the 'Djougoutes,' who do not accept it." ANS 13G 485; "Rapport politique sur la Casamance, 16 mai 1896."
consisting of forty-five kilos of rubber and ten kilos of rice, to
the Administrator of the Basse Casamance, "as he does every year." 32

In the rest of Djougoutes, however, the tax was only collected infre­
quently, on the occasion of tours through the area by officers from
Bignona.

The continuing isolation of Djougoutes from French administrative
influence was due in part to the fact that although geographically
closer to Bignona, the region maintained economic ties primarily with
Carabane. 33 As a result, there was sometimes confusion about where
the inhabitants should pay their taxes. Towards the end of 1896
Djougoutes was attached to the cercle of Carabane. The region's loca­
tion, however, made it convenient for administrators to visit while on
tournée from Bignona. Since these visits were the only way to enforce
payment of the impôt, the administrative ties with Carabane lessened
the frequency of official tournées and facilitated non-payment. This
ambiguous position retarded imposition of administrative control.

Only after the turn of the century did the résidents at Bignona
assume administrative responsibility for all of Djougoutes. In 1899 the
Administrator from Carabane collected Dianku Diedhiu's tax, but instructed
the people of Mlomp, four kilometers from Tiobon, to send their tax

32. ANS 13G h92 l. Actually, in 1896 the Administrateur Supérieur
de la Casamance reported, after a visit to Tiobon, that Diedhiu had not
paid that year's impôt, because nobody had asked him for it. ANS 13G
h85 3. Thus, the regular payment dates from not earlier than 1896-97.

33. ANS 13G h85 1. The Diola continued to bring their chickens
and rice to Carabane for sale, and some still hired themselves out as
agricultural laborers on the island. The trip by pirogue to Cara­
bane was safer than the overland route to Bignona.
It. Nouri's expedition of June 1901 was intended to take a census and to reconnoitre the country. In addition, he tried to convince the elders of each community to bring their impôt to Bignona. For several years after Nouri's expedition, attempts to collect tax in Boulouf brought only meagre results. In 1902 Diatok and Tionk-Essil led the opposition to payment. When the résident arrived at Niaganan to collect the rubber, he was met by 100 men armed with guns and spears. This refusal to pay then spread to Mlomp, Kartiak and Dianki; the French did not manage to collect the impôt that year. They were no more successful in 1903, when only Diegoun paid its entire levy. In 1904 a number of villages brought a large part of their taxes to the résident. Again, however, many villages did not pay, and it was not until the winter of 1905-06, that, for the first time, most of the assessed tax was actually paid by Djougoutes.

Diedhiu was either unable or unwilling to risk the overland journey to Bignona; ANS 13G 192 h.

ANS 13G 198 5. Tiobon, with an estimated population of 480, paid one franc per inhabitant. Elsewhere, Nouri tried to collect one franc per house.

ANS 13G 500 3.
ANS 13G 375 70
ANS 13G 375 88.

ANS 13G 375 2, "Rapport 1905-6 du premier regiment des Tirailleurs Sénégalais, par le Lt. Diverrès, résident de Fogny." The résident attributed the refusal to pay, to the instigation of Balingore, which he therefore occupied twice with the tirailleurs. Lt. Diverrès further attributed the tax revolt to Diola women: "It is the will of the women which is dominant and decides matters of tax or war." Perhaps Diverrès exaggerated.
If the Diola of Boulouf proved more reluctant to pay the impôt than their neighbors in Fogny, they nevertheless showed no hesitancy to enter the rubber trade.

Much Basse Casamance rubber was harvested by non-Diola. Aku from the Gambia and Sierra Leone, and Manjak from Bissau formed a group of itinerant, "professional" rubber collectors. These foreigners usually produced rubber that was freer of impurities than the balls that the Diola made. It is, however, unclear whether Aku or Manjak ever exploited the Landolphia of Djougoutes. They are mentioned neither in oral tradition, nor in written references to the Boulouf trade. Once the Diola themselves seriously entered the rubber trade, any foreign harvesters probably left Djougoutes.

The poor quality of Diola-harvested rubber was not the only problem facing French officials concerned with the latex trade. In 1894 the 'Administrateur Supérieur' of the Casamance complained that all rubber from Combo and northwestern Fogny (an area encompassing at least part of Djougoutes) was being siphoned off into the Gambia. Merchants were attracted by the higher prices offered at Bathurst, where rubber was exchanged for cash. In 1896, the Administrateur wrote:

40. ANS 13G 1963 (1900): "Notice sur les productions de la Casamance."

41. For a brief discussion of the Aku in the early rubber trade, see Roche, p. 261. For a contemporary account, see Lagrillière-Beauclerc.

42. Frequently, the Diola chased foreign rubber-gatherers, in order to preserve for themselves the profits; Roche, p. 261.

43. ANS 13G 175. Tétart, the Administrator, may have exaggerated when he claimed that all rubber was siphoned to the Gambia.
Pendant l'année 1895 le commerce de la Casamance souffrit beaucoup, car la Guiné Portugaise et surtout la Gambie, payaient le caoutchouc contre espèces.

Rubber exported from the Gambia was free of export duties. Consequently, trading firms there could pay higher prices than the French trading houses in Senegal could offer. In addition, Casamance trading houses did not pay cash for the latex. Rather, they gave the Diola credit towards the purchase of goods and then charged high prices for those items, a situation which was hardly satisfactory to the local rubber harvesters. As a result of these factors, it was more profitable for traders to sell their rubber at Bathurst than at Carabane or Ziguinchor.

The flow of rubber into the Gambia was largely unaffected by French efforts to control it. It was impossible to patrol the border—even today, smuggling flourishes—and trading houses in the Casamance were unable to match Gambian prices. An 1897 commercial report complained:

La majeure partie du caoutchouc recolté en Casamance n'y est pas vendu mais est porté à Bathurst par voie de terre.

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44. "During 1895 Casamance trade suffered considerably because Guiné Portugaise and especially Gambia paid cash for rubber." ANS 13G 498 2. (This report may date from 1907.)

45. Some French firms, including Maurel et Prom, had established posts at Bathurst during the late nineteenth century. See Marche, p. 46.

46. After its cession to France in 1886, Ziguinchor gradually supplanted Carabane as the main entrepôt on the lower River. The coup-de-grâce for Carabane was a yellow fever epidemic which ravaged the island's population in 1901. In 1907 Ziguinchor became the capital of the entire Casamance.

47. "Most of the rubber collected in the Casamance is not sold there but is carried by land to Bathurst." ANS 13G 487 1.
The same report estimated that dioula traders annually sold 200 metric tons of Diola rubber to the English in the Gambia. This was greater than the total quantity exported from Casamance ports in either 1895 or 1896.

At first, the Diola, fearing capture and sale into slavery, hesitated to journey themselves to the Gambia. As a result, much of the profit from their latex was lost to middlemen. Sometimes the dioula offered prices that were so low, the Diola refused to sell their rubber. In 1901 Pakaout, the "chef" of Boutegol, received authorization from Lt. Nouri to arrest any dioula who attempted to fleece his villagers.

Even before 1900, exploitative commercial practises by the dioula, combined with the promise of greater profits, had inspired many Diola to make the trip to Bathurst. This development must have been viewed with irony by the French, who had encouraged the Diola to avoid the trader-middlemen. The incentives which led the Diola to undertake the journey were well summarized by one man who, in 1900, told the Administrateur:

> A Bathurst, le caoutchouc, on nous paye un pris très élevé, en espèces, avec lesquels nous achetons des pagnes ou des perles ... tandis qu'à Carabane, le caoutchouc nous est payé beaucoup moins cher, on ne veut pas nous donner le montant en espèces, et nous sommes obligés de prendre des marchandises qui ne nous plaisent pas.

48. ANS 13G 475 (1894).

49. ANS 13G 498 5; "Rapport du Résident du Fogny, Lt. Nouri, sur sa Tournée dans le Sud-Ouest, 3-8 juin 1901." (Also marked by the côte ANS 13G 498 7.)

50. "At Bathurst we are paid a very high price for our rubber,
Some idea of the magnitude of this commercial exodus is given by the fact that in Combo the Diola were unfamiliar with French money and refused any but English currency for their rubber. In 1902, the Administrator, concerned by this increasing trade, commissioned a report on the traffic between Fogny-Combo and the Gambia. The study showed that three routes were used by the Diola, one of them exclusively by the people of Djougoutes. This corridor followed the Diouloulou marigot to the vicinity of Kafountine (see map), in the islands of Karones, then continued north either by land or marigot ten kilometers to Abéné, after which it followed the coastline to the Rio San Pedro, where it entered the Gambia. The establishment of such a corridor reflects the end of the isolation of Boulouf.

This route enabled the Diola to transport their rubber to the Gambia by water, which was faster and easier than overland routes. Nevertheless, the trip to Bathurst remained far longer in time than the route to either Carabane or Ziguinchor. Obviously, the disadvantages of the longer journey were outweighed by the prospect of greater in cash, with which we purchase pagnes or beads . . . whereas at Carabane we are paid much less for our rubber, they do not like to pay cash, and we are obliged to accept unsatisfactory merchandise."

51. ANS 13G 374 71.

52. ANS 13G 500, "Rapport sur les chemins suivis par les indigènes du Combo et du Fogny pour se rendre en Gambie-Anglais."

53. This report corroborates oral testimony collected in Mlomp.

54. For centuries the Diola had built pirogues capable of carrying large numbers of warriors. Large canoes had also been used to transport rice and rubber to Carabane, and they now carried the latex to the Gambia. The water route would have minimized the time and manpower differential entailed in the longer trip.
economic return. It is significant that this choice was made, not at the urging of European merchants or administrators, but independently, and on the basis of comparative economic benefits. Here, then, is an instance of Diola agency and choice in the development of long-distance trade and the growth of export markets.

After 1896 the Casamance rubber market entered a decade-long period of expansion, sparked by European recovery from the 1893 Depression. Exports from Senegalese ports more than doubled from 127 tons in 1896 to 280 tons in 1898. The following year 387 tons were shipped from the Casamance, and the total climbed to an all-time high in the period 1905 through 1907. In 1908, however, rubber prices fell substantially on the European market; Casamance exports tumbled accordingly.55 The situation improved in 1909, but by the following year the impact of Indochinese plantation rubber began to affect the European market. Wild rubber could not compete either in price or—and here the complaints of many observers in the Casamance were finally justified—in quality. In 1913, the resultant catastrophic fall in prices56 led the Diola virtually to abandon rubber harvesting. The collapse of the trade was important enough to the people of

55. Substantial disagreement exists between annual production as noted in various dossiers of the Archives Nationales du Sénégal, and the statistics provided by PéliSSier, p. 774 (quoting the archives of the "Service de l'Agriculture de Ziguinchor."). The general trend, however, of high production until 1908, and a brief recovery in 1909, is recognized by both sets of statistics. See Table 1, p.

Djougoutes that one informant recalled the precise year.\textsuperscript{57} The out-
break of World War I further curtailed trade between Senegal and
France; in 1914 only two tons of rubber were shipped from the
Casamance.

\textbf{Palm Produce}

Palm oil and palm kernels complemented rubber as important
sources of monetary income for the Diola. Palm produce, which became
an important commercial item in Djougoutes during the 1890s, played a
central role in the development of economic relations and increased
contact between Boulouf and the Gambia.

For two important reasons, the growth of the palm produce trade
in Djougoutes was intimately linked to the rubber trade. As a sub-
stantial part of the palm trade occurred in the Gambia, its inception
depended on the development of exchange and communication between the
two regions. The rubber trade served to create these links. Even
after the palmistes trade had been established, it remained tied to
rubber. Until the collapse of the rubber market, palm produce was a
secondary commodity; increases in production were essentially a
response to lowered demand for rubber.

The same factors which attracted rubber traders to the Gambia--
payment in cash, better prices, and a wider selection of goods to pur-
chase with the money earned--also led the Diola to sell their palm oil

\textsuperscript{57}. Ousman Sané of Bagaya recalled that the price of rubber fell
and the Diola stopped gathering it, one year after the bukut called
"Dasio." Informants dated that initiation to 1912.
in the English colony. But whereas rubber was collected in the Casamance and only transported to the Gambia for sale, the palmistes trade necessitated long sojourns. The palm kernels were actually collected, and the oil extracted, in the Gambia.

Men left their villages in Djougoutes immediately after the rice harvest in January and remained away until the approach of the next rainy season. They would settle in southwestern Gambia, often choosing as their host a Muslim Manding. Before returning home, they would offer the host a quantity of palm kernels as payment for his hospitality. Frequently, the visiting Diola were also expected to make a gift of a twenty-five liter drum of oil to the host village. After several months of gathering palmistes, followed by boiling them and extracting the oil (which could be a group activity), individuals might be left with 200 liters to sell at Bathurst. The proceeds were most often used to purchase clothing and cattle. Ownership of cattle is a sign of wealth among the Diola. Thus, by bringing back animals with them from the Gambia, palm oil traders could build their wealth and increase their social status.

58. Many migrants from Tionk lodged in Gunjur, just north of the main trading route, in Combo-Anglais.

59. Information on the trade comes from many informants, including, in Tionk, Imam Bakari Badji and Bassiru Djiba; and in Momp, chef de village Mamadou Sambou, who participated in the trade at a later date, during the 1920s.

60. Unless the new wealth appeared too suddenly or became too conspicuous, in which case one risked becoming the object of sorcery accusations. In 1904, a French official estimated that there was one cow for every ten inhabitants in Djougoutes. A cow sold for 80 to 175 francs. 

ANS 2G 4 37.
It is difficult to date the beginning of this seasonal migration of palm produce traders to the Gambia. In Tionk-Essil and Mlomp the trade was well-established before World War I, but oral testimony provides no firm date for its inception. As a result of the rubber commerce, men of Djougoutes had begun travelling to the Gambia for the first time. As the trip north became increasingly familiar and as individuals made acquaintances and trading contacts in the markets of the British colony, some Diola decided to hazard the longer stay that enabled them to take advantage of higher prices for palm produce in Bathurst.

From its inception, the Diola palmistes trade was linked to the rubber commerce. The Diola preferred rubber, which was far more remunerative, bringing from five to twenty times more per unit weight than did palm kernels. But access to a second product gave them greater commercial flexibility. In years when the European demand for rubber fell, as in 1894, local producers turned to palmistes as an alternate source of income. When, in 1899, rubber exports regained

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61. Interview with Bakari Badji and Bassiru Djiba of Tionk, and chef Mamadou Sambou of Mlomp.

62. One is tempted to surmise that the drop in palm oil exports from the Casamance between 1894 and 1899 may have been due not only to economic depression in Europe, but also to the fact that the Diola were collecting and selling their palm oil in the Gambia rather than in Senegal.

63. In 1905 five kilos of kernels had a value, for export duty, of 1 franc; ANS 13G 380. The Diola would presumably have received an even lower rate. By 1922 100 kilos brought 80 francs; ANS 2G 22 33. Rubber fluctuated between 2.5 francs per kilo (1893) and 4.14 francs, in 1899.
their pre-Depression levels, palm oil exports dropped to 75 per cent of the 1894 figure and kernels too fell sharply. This direct inter-relationship was noted in a French agricultural report of 1900:

On remarque en effet ... que les palmistes ont atteint leur maximum d'exportation les années où le caoutchouc ne se vendait pas. 64

African producers, then, were able to respond to fluctuating market demand by switching from one product to another.

For a decade and a half, the migration of palm produce traders continued as a corollary to the rubber trade. When Asian plantation rubber began to depress the West African rubber market, Diola palmistes production expanded. In Fogny, an appreciable growth in the sale of palm produce was manifested early in 1910. 65 After 1913 palmistes output and the migration of palm traders from Boulouf to the Gambia expanded rapidly. The men of certain villages, particularly Tionk-Essil and Mlomp, became specialists at gathering the kernels and extracting the oil. 66

The migration of young men to the Gambia was, undoubtedly, given added impetus by their desire to avoid military conscription. Indeed, between 1912 and 1918 the population of Gambia jumped from 117,000 to 186,000, "As a direct and exclusive result of the most recent recruitment drives in Senegal and Guinea." 67 Another political report of

64. "In effect, one notes ... that palm produce were exported in the greatest quantity in those years when rubber did not sell." ANS 13G 496 3.
65. ANF-OM Senegal I 97 ter; (Rapports politiques 1910-1913); Rapport du premier trimestre, 1910.
66. Interview with the chef de village of Mlomp, Mamadou Sambou.
67. ANS 1F 13.
1918 stated:

A maintes reprises des exodes ont été signalés de Casamance vers la Gambie... il n’est pas contestable que ces pertes de population si on les totalise depuis quelques années sont importantes. 68

On the eve of the first post-war recruiting drive, in 1920, the 'Administrateur Supérieur' wrote that another exodus had begun into Gambia, but that the emigrés were expected to return home once the conscription had ended. 69

By the 1920s seasonal migration had become a common means to earn money during the dry season. It is a trend which continues today. Practically all young people who have completed primary school leave the Casamance from December or January to June. 70 Many now go to Dakar, where they remain for years. Others, however, still follow the path to the Gambia, either to collect palm oil or to seek seasonal employment at Bathurst. 71

The entry of the Diola into the Gambian rubber and palm produce trades illustrates themes important to West African economic history.

68. "There has been repeated mention of migrations from the Casamance into the Gambia... incontestably, these population losses, if they are reckoned over a period of some years, have been considerable." ANS 13G 547 1.

69. ANS 2G 20 36.

70. Except, of course, those students who continue on to the lycée.

71. Several southwest Gambian villages are heavily populated by people from Tionk-Essil who, although they may stay for many years, retain close ties with their kin in the home village. People in Tionk confer cattle to the care of these relatives.
The inception of this commerce pre-dates the institution of colonial administration in Boulouf, and demonstrates local initiative in the development of an export trade. The Diola thus followed a general West African pattern, noted by A. G. Hopkins: "The main items of legitimate commerce were produced and transported entirely through indigenous enterprise." Furthermore, the decision to sell at Gambian markets rather than at the closer Casamance entrepôts, was clearly based upon comparison of the economic advantages of the two markets. The Diola were perceptive of market factors, not only in their choice of where to sell their products but also in the decision about which items to trade. After 1890, for those years in which adequate export statistics are available, the Diola situation corroborates Hopkins' assertion that Africans responded with flexibility to changing returns on their exports.

The Introduction of Islam in Djougoutes

In May 1894, Lieutenant Moreau, passing through southern Combo and northern Boulouf on a reconnaissance mission, visited the village of Tiobon, where he observed:

73. Ibid., p. 139.
74. ANS 13G 372 70. Moreau confuses Tiobon with Kartiak. His description of chef Diedhiu leaves no doubt however, that he is in fact referring to Tiobon. For corroboration of this point see ANS 13G 485 3 (1897) and ANS 13G 498 5 (1901).
La religion de son chef Dianko Diadio qui est musulman et la situation non loin du marigot de Gambie lui valent la présence d'un cherif maure de [St. Louis?]. 75

This is the earliest reference to Diola Muslims in Djougoutes. Dianku Diedhiu must indeed have been among the first Muslims in the entire Basse Casamance.

At the time of Moreau's visit, Diedhiu had only recently begun to attempt to spread the new religion among his villagers. Although Diedhiu had no true political power, he might increase his authority, as the Frenchman observed, by proselytizing, "Which he has begun to do with the support of the cherif." 76

By the end of 1896 Diedhiu had succeeded in winning many more converts to Islam. At the same time, his authority had also grown.

This progress was noted by the 'Administrateur Supérieur':

Thiobon est dirigé par un diola musulman, élevé à St. Louis 77 et qui a entrepris la conversion à l'Islamisme [sic] d'une partie du village; très-ecouté de ses sujets, il a vivement protesté sa sympathie pour la France. 78

75. "The religion of its chief Dianku Diedhiu who is a Muslim and the location not far from the Gambia marigot are responsible for the presence of a Mauritanian cherif from (St. Louis) [partially illegible]." Ibid. The term "cherif" (sharif) refers to a maraboutic family of Mauritanian origin, whose members claim descent from Fatima, the Prophet's sister.

76. ANS 13G 372 70.

77. According to the current chef de village, Suleyman Diedhiu, Dianku had been educated at Carabane. It is, however, possible that he also spent time at St. Louis.

78. "Thiobon is led by a Muslim Diola, educated at St. Louis and who has undertaken the conversion to Islam of a part of the village; very influential among his subjects, he has expressed his strong friendship for France." ANS 13G 485 2; "Rapport de tournée de M. Adam, décembre 1896."
Apparently, Dianku Diedhiu had political as well as spiritual motivations for encouraging the spread of Islam. By establishing himself as the patron of the new religion, he was able, as his village converted, to achieve a degree of political authority uncommon in Boulouf society. 79

By 1901 there were many converts in Tiobon, centered in Diedhiu's ward of the village. Arriving on his tournée, Lt. Nouri was struck by

la présence de nombreux hommes en boubous mandingues qui parlent cette langue et sont tous munis du chapelet marabout. Je les prends pour des Dioulas, mais ce sont des Diolas, des habitants du village convertis à l'Islam. Cela est dû sans doute à la situation de Thibon au confluent des rivières de Gambie et de Bayla, point de panage des nombreux Dioulas qui vont à Bathurst. 80

Nouri, who did not remark other Diola Muslims anywhere in Djougoutes, was correct in his assessment of the reasons for Tiobon's early conversion. Besides the active espousal of Islam by Diedhiu

79. Dianku's cooperative attitude toward the French, noted by Administrator Adam, was another factor in his achievement of temporal authority. The French recognized him as chief, used him to collect the impôt at Tiobon, and generally supported his position in the village.

80. "The presence of numerous men in Manding boubous who speak that language and who each have a maraboutic chapelet. I assumed that they were dioulas; but they were actually Diolas, inhabitants of the village who had converted to Islam. This is undoubtedly due to the location of Tiobon at the confluence of the Gambia and Baila marigots, point of embarkation for the numerous dioulas who travel to Bathurst." ANS 13G 498. Diola who participated in long-distance trade became known in Boulouf as "dioula"; this passage may consequently refer to Diola traders carrying rubber by boat to the Gambia.
and his cherif, the village's location near the main trading routes to Bathurst led to extensive contact with dioula Muslims. This location also stimulated seasonal migration from Tiobon into the Gambia. The fact that many Muslims in the village spoke Manding was not so much a sign of affectation, as an indication of the extensive contacts with the Gambia. For those Diola who travelled north to trade rubber and palm produce, fluency in Manding would have proved useful for commercial purposes.

The first group of Muslims, those who together with Dianku Diedhiu formed the nucleus of the new religious community in Tiobon, had converted while in the Gambia. Lan Diatta was converted by the Manding marabout Arfan Mané, while on a trading trip to English Combo. The period of early conversion in Tiobon, from shortly before 1894 to the early years of the twentieth century, corresponded precisely with the inception and growth of the rubber and palm produce trades. To a considerable extent, then, Dianku Diedhiu's success at fostering the spread of Islam was due to the commercial relations which linked Tiobon to the Muslim world of the Gambia.

Cherif Mahfuz

The individual who did the most to bring about the Islamization of Boulouf was the Mauritanian marabout Cherif Muhhammed Mahfuz Haidara (Shahy al Mahfuz b. as-Shay al'Talib Ahyar). Mahfuz, the grandson of

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81. Interview with Seku Ansoumana Diatta, nephew of Lan Diatta. Lan had gone with his brothers to buy clothes at Bathurst.

82. Born near Hodh in 1858, Mahfuz studied at Walata and, later, with his uncle Saad Bu. He spent the period from 1877 to 1900
Muhammad al-Fadel, devoted the period from about 1900 until his death in 1919, to converting the peoples of Basse Casamance. His greatest success was in Boulouf, where he attained the status of "Khalife générale," the most respected religious leader and authority in the region.

The date of Cherif Mahfuz' arrival in Djougoutes is not recorded. According to his son and biographer, Cherif Chamsedine Haidara, Mahfuz himself converted Lan Diatta and Dianku Diedhiu. Marty dates Mahfuz' arrival in the Casamance shortly before the Cherif established the village of Dar Silame, in Gambia (1901). If this date is correct, however, Mahfuz could not possibly have converted Dianku Diedhiu. If Mahfuz was the "cherif maure" seen by Moreau in 1894, then the chronology presented by Marty is substantially in error.

83. Interviewed at Dar ould Khair, 25-26 May 1975. Chamsedine has written, in "L'Islamisation de la Casamance" (French translation of the published Arabic version, Department of Islamic Studies, IFAN, Dakar), that Mahfuz first arrived in Casamance in 1877. Such a visit would have been very brief, if it occurred at all. The Cherif spent the next 23 years elsewhere in West Africa, according to Marty, who makes no mention of a trip to the Casamance before 1901.

84. The name is a corruption of Dar-as-Salam, "place of peace."

85. This chronology is corroborated by a 1908 report that Mahfuz had been with Samori in 1893, and with Moussa Molo in 1895; ANS 13G 379, Mission Arnaud, "Etudes des Questions Musulmanes." In 1914 Marty wrote of Mahfuz, "en 1901 il . . . entreprend des missions en pays Diola." ANS 13G 67; manuscript for his work, L'Islam au Sénégal.
likely that Cherif Mahfuz arrived at Tiobon after the early conversions. It may have been the unique presence of a small Muslim community in Tiobon that attracted him to that particular village. Although Mahfuz was probably not responsible for the first conversions in Boulouf, his periodic tournées through Boulouf and the koranic schools which he established did play a vital role in the subsequent spread of Islam.

86. Ansoumana Diatta claims that his uncle, Lan Diatta, was already a Muslim when Mahfuz arrived, and that the Cherif subsequently converted Diaku Diedhiu, after which the chief was given the title Seku by Mahfuz. (Ansoumana Diatta later received the same title from Chamsedine.)

87. I am inclined to agree with Frances Leary’s assertion that, “even before the guidance and inspiration of Cherif Mahfoud, Tiobon had become a center of conversion among the Diola of Fogny.” Frances Anne Leary, “Islam, Politics and Colonialism, A political history of Islam in the Casamance 1850–1914.” (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1968), p. 217. Leary’s dating of these first conversions to 1880 is too early by slightly more than a decade.

88. Mahfuz dispensed both the Qadriyya and the Tijaniyya wîrds. The Qadriyya, founded by the twelfth century Moroccan Abd el Kader al Jilani, is the oldest ‘Sufi,’ or mystical Islamic order in North and West Africa. In Senegal at the turn of the century, it was represented by two main branches, both of Mauritanian origin. The Bu Kunta group, followers of the cleric Sidi Mokhtar, had many adherents among the Wolof of the Lower Senegal Valley. The second important Qadriyya group was led by Mahfuz’ uncle and teacher, Saad Bu. Unlike the younger and more orthodox Tijaniyya (founded in the late eighteenth century), the Qadriyya does not demand the exclusive loyalty of its followers. Hence, Saad Bu and also Mahfuz had taken the Tijaniyya as well as the Qadriyya wîrd. On occasion, Mahfuz would confer the Tijaniyya to some of his disciples. This practice was abhorrent to the main Tijaniyya group, the followers of Malik Sy of Tivaouane. For a detailed discussion of the various Sufi groups in Senegal, see Marty.
From his base at Dar Silamé I, Mahfuz made numerous trips to Tiobon and, ultimately, he visited all the villages of Djougoutes. While travelling, he would lodge by preference with non-Muslims. As a respected visitor he was brought rice, goats, and other gifts by the Diola. He would then address the people who had gathered to see this white man who was, some people said, a descendant of God. After giving a benediction to the community, Mahfuz would encourage the Diola to follow the way of Islam. If anyone converted he would leave a disciple (talibé) from his entourage, to serve the village as a koranic teacher. Frequently, the community would confer children to his keeping, for religious instruction. Later, when the youths returned home, they would be able to disseminate their religious knowledge to others.

In 1913 Mahfuz constructed a second village, also named Dar Silamé, in French Combo east of Diouloulou. Among the talibés who helped to construct the new community were Diola from Tiobon,

89. He stayed with prestigious elders or local "chefs"; interviews with Bakari Badji and Bassiru Djiba of Tionk, Ansoumana Diatta of Tiobon, and Chamsedine Haidara. Presumably, Mahfuz hoped, by converting these influentials hosts, to bring about the conversion of their entire wards.

90. Actually, this may have been a Diola misunderstanding of the significance of his cherifian descent. Information about these visits was provided by Cherif Chamsedine, Seku Ansoumana Diatta, Bassiru Djiba of Tionk, Imam Bakari Badji, and chef Abba Badji (of Batine) whose grandfather, an animist, was Mahfuz' host in Batine.

91. Dar Silamé II was ten kilometers from the French post of Diouloulou.
as well as Fulani, Manding, and some Mauritanians. Located six hours' journey from Tiobon, Dar Silamé II became a center for the education of converts from Djougoutes.

Mahfuz's influence was due in part to the fact that he respected the Diola and never tried to force them to convert. He relied instead on words, and on the example of Muslim prayers and rituals he and his followers performed. In large part too, Mahfuz's success may be attributed to his policy of promoting cooperation between the local population and the Europeans. Wherever he went in West Africa, Mahfuz adopted a conciliatory attitude between opposing socio-political factions. When, about 1893, he was associated with Samori, the cherif is said to have encouraged reconciliation between the Diola warrior and the French. He pursued a similar policy among the Diola.

Mahfuz's plan of fostering cooperation between the Diola and the French was particularly appropriate because his two decades in the Basse Casamance coincided with the imposition of colonial administration

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92. Interview with Chamsedine Haidara, 25 May 1975. Marty, p. 46, notes the presence of many Manding talibés at Dar Silamé I.

93. In the Casamance, the French maintained generally good relations with all important Cadriyya marabouts. In 1908 a special mission to the Casamance, investigating whether marabouts there could be trusted to remain loyal to the Administration, depicted Mahfuz in a favorable light; ANS 13G 379, "Mission Robert Arnaud en Casamance."

As early as 1893 Mahfuz had tried to establish himself as an intermediary between Samori and the French; Marty, p. 36. After arriving in the Casamance, he continued to assume a conciliatory position between the French and their subjects. In 1905 he made an unsuccessful attempt to mediate between the Portuguese and some rebellious peoples in Bissau; ANS 13G 67 189, "Documents diverses, 1906."
in Djougoutes. The Diola did not readily accept French authority, and were therefore frequently at odds with the administration. Mahfuz counselled the villagers to avoid warfare with the French. He also dispensed gris-gris to protect against military attack. According to his son, Mahfuz also served the French on occasion as an intermediary between them and the Diola. In view of his earlier diplomatic efforts in Bissau, this claim seems plausible.

The Cherif's policy ingratiated him to colonial authorities. The French, while constantly on the lookout for marabouts who might spread dissent and anti-European sentiment in their colonies, were nevertheless favorably inclined towards those Muslim clerics and missionaries of whose loyalty they felt confident. Since Mahfuz was not perceived as posing a danger to French authority, he was not hindered by colonial officials in his work among the Diola.

At the same time, Mahfuz' conciliatory stance apparently added to his status among the people of Boulouf. By offering them counsel and by intervening on their behalf, the cherif demonstrated his

94. At the inquest which followed the Kartiak revolt of 1907, evidence was presented that Mahfuz had prepared war gris-gris for the Diola; ANS 13G 380, and ANF-OM Sénégal I 97 bis (fourth quarter, 1907). According to Chamsedine, however, the charms were intended not to foster aggression, but to forestall it. Certainly, the French would have been likely to interpret any Diola charms found in Kartiak, as "war gris-gris."

95. Cherif Chamsedine Haidara, 26 May 1975.

96. ANS 13G 379, "Mission Arnaud."
dedication to them; having won the Diolas' confidence, he was better able to spread his spiritual message. 97

Mahfuz' work stimulated early conversion in Djougoutes. By 1903 there were a few Muslims in Bessire, Diatok and Dianki. 98 In 1912 Catholic missionaries noted that Muslims had a considerable influence among the young people of Kagnobon. 99 By about 1914 some individuals in Tendouk, Bagaya, Mandégane, and Mlomp had also converted and, two years later, Islam won its first permanent converts in Tionk-Essil. 101

In Diatok and Tendouk, Mahfuz himself made the first converts. Ansoumana Diatta of Tendouk adopted Islam under his guidance, at Tiobon, about 1910. Both Diatta and 'Ansoumana Diatok' (Ansoumana Sagna, 99) 被 Chamsedine summarized his father's success at winning the Diolas' confidence and friendship: "He was not a toubab who had come to collect tax, nor was he a Manding who had come to steal their children or to make war." Today, of course, Mahfuz' memory is venerated among the Muslims of Boulouf. Critical statements about him are not to be heard. Ansoumana Diatta of Tiobon presented a similar picture to Chamsedines', of Mahfuz gradually winning the confidence of Seku Dianku Diedhiu.

97. Chamsedine summarized his father's success at winning the Diolas' confidence and friendship: "He was not a toubab who had come to collect tax, nor was he a Manding who had come to steal their children or to make war." Today, of course, Mahfuz' memory is venerated among the Muslims of Boulouf. Critical statements about him are not to be heard. Ansoumana Diatta of Tiobon presented a similar picture to Chamsedines', of Mahfuz gradually winning the confidence of Seku Dianku Diedhiu.

98. ANS 2G 3 44.


100. Interviews with chef Mamadou Sambou and elders of Mlomp; with imam Arfan Kémo Sagna, and with Seku Coudiaby and Ansoumana Badji, all of Mandégane; with Suleyman Sagna of Bagaya.

101. There is a tradition in Tionk that several men had converted during the 1890s while living in the Gambia, only to renounce their new beliefs upon returning home. Interview with chef Abba Badji and elders of Batine, 7 January 1975.

102. According to Ansoumana's son, chef de village Sidiku Diatta, 8 February 1975. It is always possible that descendants of early Muslims claim their ancestors were the first converts, more out of family pride than historical accuracy.
the first Muslim in southern Djougoutes) served as hosts to Mahfuz when he visited their communities. Chamsedine further maintains that his father personally converted the first Muslims in practically every Boulouf community, but this claim is not borne out by oral traditions in the villages. Informants' testimony clearly indicates that most of the earliest converts were men who had travelled either to the Gambia or to the Manding Moyen Casamance, and had adopted Islam while away from their villages. 103

These early converts included, besides traders in the Gambia, palm produce collectors in Pakao. Isolated Diola also converted while even further afield. Thus, Arfan Sonko, the first Muslim in Bessire, had been a dioula 104 and had travelled to the Futa Jalon, where he converted about 1900. 105 The earliest convert from Bagaya was a seasonal migrant who cultivated rice for a Manding near Baganga, east of Zinguinchor. 106 In Mandégane the first two Muslims were converted by Ansoumana Diatok about 1911. 107 Several youths from the village were then sent to study under Cherif Mahfuz. Arfan Kémo Sagna, now the most prestigious imam in Boulouf, was confided by his older brothers to the care of a marabout from Pakao, in 1912. 108

103. Interviews with the elders of Batine, 7 January 1975; Ansoumana Sambou of Tionk, 22 December 1974; Cheikh Suleyman Sané of Tionk, 28 December 1974; chef de village Mamadou Sambou and the elders of Mlomp, 22 January 1975; Seku Ansoumana Diatta of Tiobon, 18 January 1975; Arfan Kémo Sagna of Mandégane, 26 March 1975; Cusman Sané of Bagaya, 4 April 1975, et al.

104. The Diola use the term "Adioula" to refer to travelling merchants of any ethnic origin.

105. Interview with Sonko's son, Ibrahima; Bignona, 30 January 1975.

106. Interview with Suleyman Sagna, Bagaya, 3 April 1975.

107. Interview with Arfan Kémo Sagna, Mandégane, 26 March 1975.

108. Ibid.
Most of these early converts were relatively young men. The strongest opposition to Islam was voiced by elders. This is not surprising, as the position of relative authority which older men enjoyed in traditional society was threatened by the conversion of the younger generation. The practice of conferring children as pupils to Mahfuz and other Koranic teachers furthered this process of conversion of younger people. Another reason frequently given for the opposition of elders to conversion was the Muslim prohibition against alcohol. The older men presumably feared that if everyone converted, there would be no one left to collect palm wine for them; this is essentially what has happened in most of Boulouf.

It is difficult to ascertain the strength of anti-Muslim feeling Boulouf at the time of the first conversions, for informants tend to present a picture of peaceful and totally spontaneous conversion. One may nevertheless reasonably assume that the new religion met some antipathy. Traditions are common of early converts who apostasized because of threats to their lives.109 And in Mandegane, the first small group of Muslims was forced to flee the village and form their own quarter.110 It may be that the most important function of Cherif Mahfuz' visits was to create for Islam an atmosphere of respect, which facilitated the foundation of the first Muslim groups in the animist environment of traditional Djougoutes society.

109. Such traditions exist in Tionk and Tiobon. In Mlomp chef Mamadou Sambou said of the first converts, "C'est dur chez toi. Il faut que tu le fasse ailleurs."

110. Interview with Seku Coudiaby and Anoumana Badji, Mandegane, 24 March 1975. Animists then accused the Muslims of stealing their cattle, so they burned all the houses in the Muslim quarter.
Those Diola who pursued their koranic studies for several years, and who subsequently provided the educated local elite of imams and marabouts, usually adopted the tariqa of their masters. Both Tijaniyya and Qadriyya are represented in Boulouf, but there are no Mourides. The Diola are, however, distinguished from most other Senegalese Muslims by the fact that many of them are affiliated with no specific tariqa, or mystical path. Rather, there exists a spirit of communality which usually overshadows distinctions between Tijaniyya and Qadriyya. Indeed, the two groups rarely hesitate to pray together in the same mosque. Even among the imams, who are themselves associated with one of the tariqas, the sentiment is often expressed that all Muslims follow the same path, and that differences between the tariqas are not particularly important. The Diola's non-sectarian approach to Islam is in part the result of their recent Islamization. By the time of their conversion, militant reformist movements in Senegambian Muslim society belonged to the past. The Diola consequently never gave strong allegiance to one order, at the expense of another tariqa.

This non-sectarian attitude may well reflect the teachings of Cherif Mahfuz and the numerous sons and grandsons who carry on his work in the Basse Casamance. The Cherif himself conferred both

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111. By which point they would have read and translated (i.e. interpreted) the koran, perhaps two or three times, and also have studied works of Muslim jurisprudence.

112. The wird is a litany unique to a particular mystical order, tariqa.

113. Interview with Ansoumana Sambou, imam of Kamanar Bouloub, Tionk-Essil, 22 December 1974.
Qadriyya and Tijaniyya. As Chamsedine explains, Mahfuz could confer several wārids, but he considered all tariqas to be one and the same path. This same spirit continues to inform Islam in Boulouf. Cherif Mahfuz's teachings have thus left an imprint on Islam among the Diola. By the time of his death, in 1919, Mahfuz had established himself by his erudition and his devotion to the Diola, as the most important religious figure in the Casamance. His position as khalife général of Djougoutes has passed successively to three of his sons.

The Establishment of Colonial Administration

In 1906 the administration of the Casamance made its first serious attempts to impose colonial authority over the Diola of Djougoutes. A concerted effort was made during that year to collect the impôt in its entirety, by show of force where necessary, and to establish local administration through the appointment of canton and village chiefs. On January 15 the résident at Bignona, Lt. Diverres, led his company of tirailleurs into the village of Balingore. The military occupation, which lasted three days, was intended to forestall opposition to the payment of the tax. The French feared that Balingore was likely to instigate non-cooperation among the neighboring communities, as had apparently been the case in 1905. On February 23, the résident brought his forces back to Balingore, this time for a nine-day occupation.

114. Interview with Cherif Mulay Idris Haidara, grandson of Cherif Mahfuz, at Falmère, 26 December 1974.

115. Interview with Cherif Chamsedine Haidara, 25 May 1975.
During this stay elders of Tionk-Essil, Diegoun and Djimonde brought their villages' impôt to the résident.\textsuperscript{116}

On May 7, Lt. Diverres returned to Djougoutes. After spending five days in Bagaya, "Inhabited by the most backwards, lazy and quarrelsome people in Fogny,"\textsuperscript{117} he led his men to Elana, where the elders of Tionk and Tendouk brought him the remainder of their communities' assessed taxes. The tournée continued to Affiniam\textsuperscript{118} before returning to Bignona. During his visit Lt. Diverres informed the "chefs de partis" or elders of each ward, that they had one month in which to select a chef de village.\textsuperscript{119} This was the beginning of the next step in the subjugation of Djougoutes. The French hoped to use village chiefs to collect the impôt, instead of sending military parties into the region to force the Diola to pay. These strenuous efforts resulted in the collection of 23,000 francs, of an assessed sum for 1906 of 23,500 francs, the first time that Boulouf had paid nearly the entire assessed tax.\textsuperscript{120}

In addition to appointing village chiefs, the résident at Bignona named the first chef de canton for Djougoutes. The man he selected,\textsuperscript{120}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{116} ANS 13G 375 2. "Rapport pour 1905-6 du premier régiment des tirailleurs Sénégalaises.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{118} Diverres described Affiniam as a large trading center whose inhabitants gathered large quantities of palm produce.

\textsuperscript{119} Ibid. In many villages, this meant the creation of a new institution. Before this date only Tiobon and Tendouk had individuals with enough authority to be called "village chiefs."

\textsuperscript{120} ANS 13G 375 2.
\end{footnotesize}
Demba Soumaré, was a Sarakollé whose father had immigrated to the Casamance. In 1901 Demba Soumaré served as an interpreter to the French forces that attacked Fodé Kaba at Medina. In recognition of his assistance he had been given permission by the 'Administrateur Supérieur' to settle in Djougoutès. Together with members of his immediate family and some Manding, he had then formed a new village, Bodé (referred to derisively by the Diola as "Educ"), between Elana and Affiniam. Soumaré's duties as chef de canton were to see that the impôt was paid regularly at Bignona and to adjudicate inter-village quarrels. Those disputes which he was unable to settle himself, he would refer to the résident.

Inter-village hostility was still prevalent in Boulouf after the turn of the century, and actual fighting was frequently reported by successive résidents. The most common cause of conflict was disputes over ownership of rice fields. Skirmishes frequently occurred at the end of the dry season (May and June), and they occasionally precipitated battles involving a few hundred men. Bagaya's bellicose

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121. Demba Soumaré had come to Boulouf during the 1890s to hunt birds, whose plumage he shipped to France. He supplemented his income by selling guns to the Diola, for 35 francs each. Soumaré served as chef de canton until his death in 1916. Interview with his son, Abdou Soumaré, chef of Bodé, 31 March 1975.

122. "Educ" refers to the thorns which grew in the vicinity of the new settlement.

123. Lt. Diverres wrote of Soumaré, "This native, fluent in French and the ex-interpreter for the Medina forces, is very devoted and performs many services." ANS 13G 375 2.
reputation was well-earned; in 1900 the village was at war with Diatok and, two years later, it was embroiled in another conflict, with Diatok, Mandegane and Djimonde, which left thirty people dead.125 In September 1903 Tendouk invaded Mlomp-Kasa, while Tionk mounted a cattle raid, also against Kasa. Meanwhile, back in Djougoutes, Mandegane had welcomed the approach of the planting season by attacking Djimonde.126 After 1906 there were sporadic conflicts; three people were killed at Boutegol in a 1918 mêlée.127 A major aim of the new colonial administration was, therefore, to discourage and ultimately to stop this endemic skirmishing.128

The French occupation and establishment of local administration in Djougoutes did not go unchallenged by the Diola. In April 1905 fifty warriors from Bessire tried to block the advance of a column of tirailleurs;129 the troops opened fire and dispersed the Diola.130

124. ANS 13G 374.2. Like most conflicts this occurred during the dry season, from December 1899 to January 1900.

125. ANS 13G 375.2.

126. ANS 2G 3. lih. Mandegane attacked in May, presumably because of disputes over ownership of ricef ields.

127. ANS 2G 18. lih.

128. The French passed edicts limiting bounouk production, in hopes of removing the cause of many conflicts. Islam, however, was to do much more to end drunken quarrels.

129. The tirailleurs were African troops, under the command, in this instance, of the resident of Bignona.

130. ANS 13G 380. The Diola more frequently reacted by fleeing into the forest until the tirailleurs had passed.
This incident did not lead to a full-scale confrontation. In 1907, however, the Diola of Kartiak were provoked to armed resistance by French attempts to construct an administrative post in their village. Opposition to the proposed post was led by eight guardians of sinááti, including the chief, or elder of circumcision, and two priestesses. The Diola had armed themselves with guns and powder bought from dioula traders in exchange for rubber. Local blacksmiths then forged the bullets, and the men of Kartiak further armed themselves with gris-gris provided by Manding marabouts.

On the night of June 18-19, the Diola launched a surprise attack on the tirailleurs who had come to Kartiak to build the new post. The assault was beaten back but, on June 24, the villagers attacked again, killing two tirailleurs but suffering several dozen casualties themselves. The fighting brought the 'Administrateur Supérieur,' together with Captain Lauque and reinforcements from Bignona, to the scene. It was not until mid-July that the revolt was finally put down and the Diola of Kartiak were disarmed.

After the resistance was broken, the French proceeded to construct a piste from Bignona to Kartiak. This path, although not made

131. ANS 13G 175 11; "Procès Verbal, Kartiak."

132. Ibid. The report states that the marabout Arfan Thierouma, from Pakao, had sold gris-gris from Dianki, "il y a longtemps qu'il rendait [sic] dans le pays." The same witness is then quoted as saying that there was another marabout at Tiobon, who lodged with chef Dianko. This clearly refers to Mahfuz. See footnote 9b.

133. This description of the Kartiak revolt is derived from Roche, pp. 408-411, and from ANF-OM Sénégal I 97 bis (report of the second trimester, 1907).
traversable by automobiles until 1921, was the first road into Djougoutes. It facilitated travel and communications between northern Boulouf and Bignona. After the French initiatives of 1906-07, the people of Djougoutes found it more difficult to ignore the colonial presence.

The policy of relying on village chiefs to serve the colonial administration as agents at the local level, was encouraged during the tenure of Governor-General Ponty (1908-1915). As a corollary to his "politique des races," Ponty championed the concept of "le contact direct," direct contact between French administrators and the indigenous populations. In the Casamance, Ponty strongly supported the attempt to eliminate non-Diola intermediaries from the local administrative structure. In 1911 he wrote:

A signaler l'heureuse initiative prise par l'Administrator supérieur de la Casamance, de conc­ert avec la Capitaine Résident du Fogny à Bignona, de se passer des services des notables, Ouloffs, Mandingues ou Sarrakolés, qui jusqu'à ce jour ser­vaient d'intermédiaires entre l'Administrator et les indigènes du Fogny. Aussi les chef Diolas ... nous secon­dent-ils de façon plus effective dans la percep­tion de l'impôt.13h

At the end of 1911 Ponty expressed satisfaction with the progress of this program of direct contact:

13h. "Worthy of note is the commendable initiative taken by the Administrator of the Casamance, in conjunction with the resident of Fogny at Bignona, to dispense with the services of the Wolof, Manding and Sarakollé notables who, until now, served as intermedia­ries between the Administrator and the local people of Fogny. Furthermore, the Diola chiefs support us in a more effective manner, when it comes to collecting the impôt." ANF-OM Sénégal I 97 ter, "Rapport politique du troisième trimestre, 1911."
Cette mesure a été très favorablement accueilli par les [Diolas, qui] entrent sans difficulté en relations avec l'Administration, et la politique de contact direct parait devoir donner d'heureux résultats, notamment chez les Blis, les Karones et les Djougoutes. 135

Governor-General Ponty further expressed the hope that the Basse Casamance might soon be placed under civil administration. 136 This optimistic projection was, however, to be disappointed.

During World War I, French control over the Basse Casamance, including Boulouf, was insecure. Military conscription exacerbated tensions between the Diola and the Administration. The precarious status of colonial authority was demonstrated by the decision to curtail the 1915-16 recruiting drive in the Basse Casamance, "because of the resistance of local populations." 137 In 1918 the 'Administrateur Supérieur' remarked that the Diola as a whole refused to participate in recruitment drives. In May of that year, Balingore refused to provide conscripts and was therefore occupied by the tirailleurs. 138

Conscription also stimulated massive emigration; as many as 10,000 men crossed the border into the Gambia to escape the army. 139

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135. "This measure was very favorably received by the Diola, who enter without difficulty into relations with the Administration, and the policy of direct contact seems likely to give favorable results, particularly among the peoples of Blis and Karones, and in Djougoutes." ANF-OM, Sénégal I 97 ter, Fourth quarter report, of 1911.

136. ANF-OM, Sénégal I 97 ter (third quarter report, 1911).

137. ANS 2 G 18 44h.

138. Ibid.

139. ANS IF 13, "Relations avec la Gambie."
The government of Senegal had long viewed the Diola as among its most truculent subjects. In an attempt to end the long-standing hostility towards the colonial regime, Ponty's successor, Governor-General Clozel, ordered the forceful disarmament of the Basse Casamance. In July 1916 he wrote to the Governor of Senegal, calling attention to the troublesome spirit of the local populations, and calling for vigorous and immediate action. Although Clozel recognized that military occupation of the region could only be undertaken after the war, he ordered that disarmament be carried out, beginning in 1916.

By mid-1917 plans were being formulated for the long-term occupation of the Basse Casamance. On October 25, the Minister of Colonies requested that Governor-General Van Vollenhoven keep him informed of the progress of the impending occupation, which was effected without bloodshed. As Christian Roche has observed, "Il était bien entendu qu'il s'agissait d'une occupation et non d'une colonne d'opération."

1h0. ANF-OM, Affaires Politiques; carton 597, dossier 1; letter of July 1916 to the Governor of Senegal.

1h1. By 1917, 100 guns per month were being confiscated in the region of Tionk and Fogny. ANF-OM Affaires Politiques, 597, 1; Rapport politique du premier trimestre, 1917.

1h2. Ibid. The Administrator believed that, "To have these people mend their ways, it is necessary to replace tournées with an effective military occupation."

1h3. ANF-OM, Affaires Politiques; 597, 1; letter of 25 October 1917.

1h4. "It was clearly understood that occupation rather than military operations, was the goal of the mission." Roche, p. 1483.
The combined effect of the presence of three companies of tirailleurs, and the end of the war, was to stabilize the situation in the Casamance. By 1923, most of the soldiers had been removed. In the cercle of Bignona, however, military administration continued long after any recognizable need for it had disappeared.

By the end of 1917 the administrative organization of the Casamance had been fully elaborated. The entire territory, under the authority of an 'Administrateur Supérieur' stationed at Ziguinchor, was divided into three conscriptions, Lower, Middle, and Upper Casamance. Lower, or Basse Casamance was further divided into three cercles. The 'Commandants de cercle,' or résidents, were installed at Ziguinchor, Bignona, and Kamobeul (located in Kasa, twenty kilometers west of Ziguinchor). The commandant at Bignona, the senior officer of the fourth company of tirailleurs Sénégalais, was the lowest level French administrator in the region of Fogny-Combo and Boulouf. Beneath him were eight chefs de canton, nominated by the résident. Arrayed beneath the canton chiefs were the chefs de village. The canton

116. An arrêté of 1 June 1907 had divided the Casamance into two cercles. The cercle of Basse Casamance was further divided into three residences, one of which was at Bignona. An arrêté of 10 May 1912 established three cercles in the Casamance; again, Bignona was made a residence within the cercle of Basse Casamance. The cantons of Bignona cercle were created by arrêté on 11 April 1924. Finally, on 7 May 1938 the cercle of Bignona was attached, as a subdivision, to the cercle of Ziguinchor.

117. The administrative center for Upper (Haute) Casamance was at Kolda, while that for Middle Casamance was Sedhiu.

118. The cantons under the jurisdiction of Bignona were: Narang, Djirangone, Fogny-Combo, Kadiamoutaye, Kalounaye, Bignona, Dijougoutes, and Blis-Karone.
chiefs were charged with responsibility to collect taxes and, after 1921, to recruit forced labor. Taxes were theoretically to be collected by village chiefs but there was frequent non-cooperation. At such times the canton chief, or the Commandant himself accompanied by the tirailleurs, would visit the recalcitrant communities to enforce payment. In Djougoutes, troops were also used beginning in 1917, to accompany the canton chief on a campaign to disarm the Diola.

Local Administration and the Spread of Islam

The policy of "le contact direct" and the appointment of local Diola as village and canton chiefs influenced the spread of Islam in Djougoutes. Not surprisingly the men who ultimately filled these newly created positions of authority were among the early converts to Islam. The Diola who had had some experience in the world beyond Djougoutes and who had consequently acquired the qualities sought by the French in local chiefs—above all, ability to communicate in Wolof or French—were precisely the people who were most likely to have adopted Islam. Dianku Diedhiou of Tiobon was the first such individual, but throughout Boulouf there were other individuals like him.

The first Muslim in Tendouk, Ansoumana Diatta, was named chef de canton in 1916. After his appointment, Diatta attempted to foster the spread of Islam by selecting as village notables men whom he had

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148. Ansoumana Diatta had earlier served as assistant to the chief of Tendouk; ANS 13G 537 5 (1907).
convincing to become Muslims. Likewise, Arfan Sonko, who succeeded Diatta as chef de canton in 1925, was the first Muslim in the village of Bessire, where he had served as chef since about 1904. And in Tionk-Essil Boubacar Sagna, who was selected chief about the end of World War I, had studied the Koran in Dakar. It was he who served as host to the Tukulor marabout Thierno Sy. Sy, in turn, was to win many converts to the Tijaniyya in Boulouf. The early spread of Islam in Boulouf was facilitated, then, by a small number of relatively widely travelled Diola who, placed in positions of authority by the colonial administration, or chosen by their compatriots, served as active proponents of the new religion.

The French had no explicit policy to approve or foster the spread of Islam among the Diola of Boulouf. Nevertheless, the practical effect of administering the region by working through village and canton chiefs—who had to be appointed, since such positions did not exist in pre-colonial society—was precisely to encourage the expansion of the Muslim faith.

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119. This, at least, is the interpretation given by his son, Sidiku Diatta, chef de village, Tendouk.

150. Ansoumana Diatta was removed from office on 16 January 1925 at which time Djougoutes was divided into two cantons. Arfan Sonko was appointed chef de canton of Djougoutes Nord, and Ansoumana's son Akanga became chef of Djougoutes Sud.

151. According to Cheikh Suleyman Sané the people of Tionk chose Sagna to replace an unpopular chief, about 1915 or 1920. This may be the appointment referred to in a 1922 report which states, "a village chief has been elected at Tionk-Essil." ANS 2G 22 33.

152. ANS 2G 31 73, p. 31. Thierno Amadou Sy was a talibé of sharif Bachir, at Ziguinchor.
The First Diola Converts

The earliest Diola converts to Islam were mostly traders and other travellers. Many factors prompted these individuals to adopt Islam. Far from their own villages and isolated from their families, they found themselves accordingly cut off from most meaningful contact with the sinááti. While a lone traveller might, in some instances, bring a token of his household enááti with him, separated from the lineage most sinááti could be of little effectiveness. Having, therefore, little recourse to their traditional shrines, these men may have found in the religion of their Manding hosts a spiritual "home away from home," which permitted them to identify with the religious community among whose members they were living. Acceptance of the Muslim faith brought membership in a wider community, at the very moment that these travellers found themselves removed from the village or even the ward which had hitherto constituted their world.

Some of the Diola from Tionk-Essil settled in Gunjur, long a stronghold of the maraboutic faction in the Soninké-Marabout wars. These Diola palm produce traders must have had extensive exposure to the religious rituals and practises of their hosts, who may have

153. See I. M. Lewis, Islam in Tropical Africa (London, 1966), p. 80. Some Diola from Kasa bring tokens of their sinááti (called ukíñ in Kasa) with them when they travel. Most traditional rituals would, however, be inaccessible to travellers. The lineage-oriented shrines did not enable migrant traders to relate to the surrounding, non-Diola religious community.

15h. Many early converts, asked what had attracted them to Islam, said they had been impressed by the daily prayers and by Muslim rituals associated with holidays such as Tabaski.
conferred physical protection and even economic advantages on those Diola who became Muslims.

Islam, as Abner Cohen has observed, can provide networks of geographically dispersed traders with an ideology and moral framework which facilitates the organization of long-distance trade. While the Diola constituted a non-Muslim minority participating in the economic life of a primarily Muslim society, some of Cohen's observations may nevertheless prove relevant to their conversion. The Diola palm produce trader who became a Muslim would have been accepted into the ideological and moral community of Muslim merchants that Cohen describes. Entry into this group would have entitled an individual to greater trust, in the eyes of his hosts. In economic matters, this would have meant access to credit and perhaps better terms of exchange. Thus, to Diola traders Islam may have offered economic as well as spiritual benefits.

Rules of personal conduct and hygiene were an important element of Islam's appeal; to many Diola converts they represented a superior moral code. New Muslims generally gave up alcohol entirely. (Today, the Diola refer to a non-Muslim as "anaraane," or "one who drinks.") Formerly, palm wine consumption was a major pastime in Boulouf; it is now rarely encountered, except among the few Catholics and animists. Excessive drinking is widely associated with "the old days," before

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156. Drinking is sometimes tolerated, or simply overlooked, among older men who are Muslims. Most Diola in Boulouf do remain faithful to the injunction against alcohol.
people knew better. As informants in Mlomp and Mandegane said, the animists drank, which often led to drunken quarrels and even to bloodshed. Muslims, by contrast, do not drink; furthermore, they live at peace with their neighbors.

Throughout Boulouf, the earliest converts were usually men who had travelled beyond the borders of Djougoutes. Most became Muslims while in the Gambia. Others had been to Pakao in the Moyen Casamance, in search of palm oil or to consult marabouts for medical reasons, or they had been even further afield. This situation accords with a theory propounded by Robin Horton. Horton suggests that where the microcosm of the traditional world was breaking down, the people who first adopted religious beliefs centered on the concept of a Supreme Being, were those who had the most extensive contact with the world outside the traditional community. He writes:

The particular position taken by a given individual will depend largely on the degree to which, in his own personal life, the boundaries of the microcosm have ceased to confine him. 158.

Horton implies that the appeal of the world religions stems in part from the fact that they provide the believer with a "universalist moral code," based on the concept of a Supreme Being. Certainly, Islam fulfilled such a function for many of the Diola. Precisely because Muslim ritual and moral precepts related to the supralineage and supra-village community, Islam was well-suited to the Diola at a time of

157. Interview with chef de village Mamadou Sambou, Mlomp; interview with Seku Coudiaby and Ansoumana Badji, Mandegane.

improved communications and growing contact with the outside world.

Even while it remained the religion of a small minority, Islam began to instill among the Diola the concept of a more all-encompassing moral code. Cherif Mahfuz is said to have ended the traditional state of animosity and war between Mlomp and Tiobon, simply by pointing out that close neighbors should live in friendship and brotherhood. 159

From 1906 to 1920 French authority gradually brought about a decrease in inter-village fighting. One informant summarized the early colonial period, "Nya kulem a k kujalojaw; nya kankan kasumay." ("Now the Europeans arrived; now they imposed peace.") 160 With the establishment of peace between villages, Islam offered a moral framework which corresponded to the new level of social integration.

159. Interviews with Seku Ansoumana Diatta, Tiobon, and Cherif Chamsedine Haidara, Dar ould Khair.

160. Interview with Seku Coudiaby, son of Ansoumana Coudiaby, first chef de village and an early Muslim in Mandegane, 24 March 1975.
Chapter Four: The 1920s -- The Spread of Cash Cropping and the Extension of Colonial Administration

From the end of World War I to the onset of the Great Depression, the colonial administration implemented fundamental changes in the economy of Djougoutes. During the 1920s, the French actively encouraged the production of peanuts throughout the cercle of Bignona. By introducing a cash crop in the Basse Casamance, the government intended to make the area an economically productive part of the colony. These efforts succeeded and, even though Boulouf remained self-sufficient in rice production, there was a tremendous increase in peanut farming during the 1920s and 1930s. The adoption of cash cropping accelerated the integration of Boulouf into the colonial economy.

Economic innovation was accompanied during these two decades by other measures such as the construction of roads and the opening of local primary schools, which further stimulated the integration of Djougoutes into colonial society. Thus, a process which had begun with the development of the rubber and palm produce trades during the 1890s was intensified between the two World Wars by changes introduced from outside Diola society by the colonial administration. In addition to agricultural and economic activity, family organization, the role of the individual in society, the status of women, and the authority of the elders were all substantially modified. Ultimately, the religious structures and beliefs which had reinforced and provided
the ritual foundation for traditional life and social structure were themselves modified or replaced. By the end of the inter-war period, most of the Diola in Boulouf had become Muslims.

One month after the signing of the 1918 Armistice, the 'Administrateur Supérieur' of the Casamance had already turned his attention to economic development of the region. He proposed the establishment of "Sociétés indigènes de prévoyance," to stimulate the production of cash crops throughout the circles under his jurisdiction.¹ The Basse Casamance, however, had only recently come under military occupation, and the Administrator conceded that plan for the development of that area would have to be deferred:

Dans les Cercles de Bignona et Kamobeul [south of the Casamance River, between Pointe St. Georges and Ziguichor] nous n'avons pas encore établi notre autorité de façon à pouvoir consacrer la plus grande part de notre activité à la mise en valeur des richesses naturelles. ²

Within three years, however, the Administrator was confident that the peoples of the Basse Casamance had been sufficiently "pacified" to allow the agricultural development of the region to begin. Both the reasons which impelled the French to promote this development, as well as the methods they employed to effect changes in local agriculture, were typical of European efforts to bring about agricultural development

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2. "In the circles of Bignona and Kamobeul we have not yet established our authority in a manner that would permit us to dedicate most of our activity to the exploitation of the natural resources." ANS 2G 18 li, December report.
The Diola had been familiar with peanuts long before they began to cultivate them in large quantity. Through their contact with the Manding and through their agricultural labor at Carabane, people from northern Djougoutes had acquired groundnuts before the turn of the century. Dioula traders too, very likely brought seeds to Boulouf by about 1900. Older informants generally dated the introduction of peanuts to the period 1890-1900. The small quantities grown were consumed locally, or traded among the Diola themselves.

Administrative encouragement of peanut cultivation in the Basse Casamance served several purposes. First, peanut oil was needed in metropolitan France for industrial uses. Second, revenue generated by the export of groundnuts and by higher direct taxation might make the Casamance more nearly self-supporting financially. Third, the infusion of currency into the region would create a local market for


4. Men from Djougoutes worked in lougans as well as rice fields at Carabane; ANS 13G 485 (1896).

5. Interviews with Kepi Diatta, Tionk-Essil; Ousman Sané, Bagaya; Jalaya Djiba, Tionk-Essil. Boubacar Niassi (b. 1912) claims that his grandfather first brought peanuts from Senegal to Tionk, though this seems perhaps dubious, as the date would have been improbably early. In 1907 the Administrator of the Casamance reported that a few villages in the Bignona region were growing peanuts. ANS 13G 378; and 2G 17 21(13). In 1911 the Administrator of the Casamance reported that the Diola of Kian [Tionk?] were growing peanuts to pay their impôt; ANS 1G 343, "Monographie de la Casamance."
goods produced elsewhere in the colony or in the metropole. Ultimately, the increased demand for consumer goods might stimulate the Diola to undertake yet more intensive cultivation of cash crops. As the Governor of Senegal observed in 1928, French policy was to:

_faire naître dans la brousse éloignée, les besoins, mêmes essentiels, qui pousseraient au travail intensif et seraient un si grand facteur de prospérité pour la Colonie._

In order to encourage cash cropping by the Diola, the French used a strategy common throughout the West African colonies: increased direct taxation, combined with active propaganda for the new crop. Between 1918 and 1920 the **impôt** was doubled from five to ten francs. The higher assessment forced local populations to seek a source of monetary income. In the Basse Casamance, there was no reliable source, aside from the money earned by palm produce traders in the Gambia. The scarcity of currency thus made it difficult for the Diola to pay the **impôt.** After 1922 the French increased their efforts to collect the higher **impôt.** In 1922 the Commandant at Bignona complained that "the

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6. In 1920 the Diola still received script ("billets") for their rice, from Casamance trading houses. The Administrator complained that the paucity of small denomination currency made transactions very difficult. ANS 2G 20 36.

7. "To give rise in the remote bush to needs, even essential ones, which would inspire intensive work and would constitute such an important factor in [ensuring] the prosperity of the Colony." ANS 2G 28 8.


9. ANS 2G 18 44; ANS 2g 20 36. In announcing the increase to ten francs, the Administrator wrote that the Africans would earn this sum through the sale of crops; monthly report for January 1920.
inhabitants of the center of the cercle still exhibit the same resistance to paying the impôt." The following year tax collection was intensified. An entire company of tirailleurs accompanied the résident on a tour of the cercle, and the Diola were forced to pay the head-tax. In addition to collecting all but 300,000 francs of a total assessment of 2.8 millions, the Casamance administration also enforced the payment of back taxes for 1921 and 1922. This campaign correlated with the rapid development of peanut farming, presumably to provide monetary income to pay the impôt.

Beginning in 1921 the administration began to provide seed peanuts to the Diola. To this purpose, Sociétés indigènes de prévoyance (SIP) were established in each of the four circles of the Casamance. The SIP distributed seed free to farmers, with the stipulation that the loans be paid back in kind, and with a fixed interest of 20 percent, after the harvest. This insured a steady annual growth in the SIP's store of seed. The Societies also provided storage facilities for the peanuts.

In 1923 the 'Administrateur Supérieur' evaluated the early work of the Casamance SIPs in glowing terms:

Au début de 1921, il n'y avait en Casamance aucune Société de prévoyance; aujourd'hui, il en existe une dans chacun des quatre cercles; pour aboutir à ces créations il a fallu vaincre bien des résistances locales même de la part de certains commandants de cercle qui estimaient la mesure prématurée en Basse Casamance. . . . Leur rôle toutefois s'est borné jusqu'ici à l'extension de la culture de l'arachide

10. ANS 2G 22 33.
11. ANS 2G 23 70.
par la distribution de semences . . . à l'ouverture
de la dernière campagne agricole il a été delivré
280.335 kg. de semences. 12

Until the SIP built up their own seed supplies, they procured peanuts from Chambers of Commerce in the region.13

In northern Djougoutes, the campaign to develop groundnut cultivation was an immediate success. In 1922 the amount of land devoted to peanuts in the Kagnobon-Kartiak area had increased by one-third over the previous year.14 There, as elsewhere in the circle of Bignona, the Diola may have turned spontaneously to peanut farming, even before the establishment of Sociétés de prévoyance. In 1921 the commandant at Bignona complained that the Diola had burned down several hundred hectares of forest since 1919. "Peanut farming," he wrote, "is responsible for all of the trouble." 15 He called for the imposition of fines to punish those who destroyed forestland without authorization.

12. "At the beginning of 1921 there was not a single Société de prévoyance in the Casamance; today, there is one in each of the four circles; in order to create them it was necessary to overcome substantial local resistance even on the part of certain 'commandants de cercle,' who deemed the measure premature in the Basse Casamance. So far, their role [of the SIPs] has been limited to the extension of peanut cultivation through the distribution of seed. . . . At the opening of the last agricultural campaign 280,335 kilos of seed had been distributed." ANS 2G 23 70; "M. Descemet, Administrateur Supérieur de la Casamance, rapport semestriel."

13. There was a Chamber of Commerce located in Ziguinchor.

14. ANS 2G 22 33

15. ANS 2G 21 27.
That the Diola of Djougoutes began to cultivate groundnuts as a cash crop before the SIP began its propaganda, is hardly surprising. The Djougoutes plateau provided vast expanses of uninhabited land which, once denuded of forest cover, were perfectly suited to growing peanuts. With the demise of the rubber trade, those forests had lost their economic value to the Diola.

Tiobon, with its early commercial ties to English Combo, was the first village to acquire the new crop. Kartiak and Kagnobon, which were also frequently visited by dioula, must also have obtained groundnuts at an early date. After the establishment of a military post in 1907, Kartiak became a commercial trading center within Boulof. These northwestern villages then, had learned about peanuts at an early date, and about 1920, prompted by the higher tax, they were the first to begin cultivating the seed as a cash crop.

Since the Diola were already familiar with peanut cultivation, they did not require outside instruction to grow it. As they could use the kajando to prepare the soil and plant the nuts, and as unused land was available, capital was needed only to purchase seeds. While this certainly limited the indigenous extension of peanut cultivation before the establishment of SIPs, some Diola began peanut cultivation on a wider scale before 1921.

Because peanuts did not grow in the low-lying, inundated areas reserved for rice cultivation the Diola could add the new crop without sacrificing their staple food production. Groundnuts therefore

16. Interview with the elders of Daga, Tionk-Essil.
complemented rather than competed with rice. Consequently, the people of Djougoutes were able to develop a dual agriculture. While rice, cultivated by traditional techniques, remained their basic food crop, peanuts became their primary source of monetary income and their means of paying the impôt.

An extraordinary rise in peanut prices during 1919-1920 may have helped to stimulate the early development of groundnut farming. From an accustomed level of about 50 francs per 100 kilos, peanuts suddenly shot up to 80-100 francs per 100 kilos. Unfortunately for many farmers who purchased seed on credit at the elevated price, the market tumbled at the end of 1920. Forced to sell their harvest at only 35 francs per 100 kilos, many of these men went deeply into debt.

It is nevertheless significant that some of the earliest efforts to raise groundnuts as a cash crop in the circle of Bignona were due to Diola initiative and were independent of French technical assistance.

The development of peanut cultivation throughout the Casamance is reflected in production statistics. In 1917 and 1918 only 11,000 and 8,000 tons respectively were grown in the entire region. Of this, practically the entire quantity came from the circles of Kolda and Sedhiu. By 1922 the growth of cash cropping had already attracted

17. This contrasts markedly with the situation in other parts of French West Africa. Among the Guro of Ivory Coast for example, as Claude Meillassoux has demonstrated, French efforts to increase cash crop production led to a corresponding decrease in the cultivation of subsistence crops. Claude Meillassoux, *Anthropologie Economique des Gouro de Côte d'Ivoire* (Paris, 1964).

18. ANF-OM, Affaires Politiques, 598,1; fourth quarter of 1920.

"a large number of merchants" to Fogny. Two years later, the Casamance produced 20,000 tons. In 1925 prices rose and production soared to 45,000 tons. Poor rainfall caused the following year's output to drop to 27,000 tons, and in 1927 32,000 tons were exported. In 1928, the last year of pre-Depression prosperity, production climbed to 50,515 tons, of which 10,930 tons were exported from the circle of Bignona. While no production figures are available for Djougoutes, the growth of peanut farming in Boulouf led to the construction of two storage granaries, one at Bessire and the other at Tendouk.

As the French extended their efforts to commercialize agriculture in the Basse Casamance, they did not limit their activity to the Sociétés de prévoyance. Closely related was a campaign beginning in 1921, to construct roads throughout the region. By linking the administrative posts to the more remote areas, the French hoped both to facilitate communication and to strengthen their effective control

20. ANS 2G 22 33.
22. ANS 2G 26 30
23. ANS 2G 27 34.
24. Ibid.
25. Of the 50,515 tons produced, 40,312 were exported; ANS 2G 28 37.
26. ANS 2G 28 37. In 1927 too, Bignona had exported approximately 10 to 12,000 tons; ANS 2G 27 94. Unfortunately, production statistics for Bignona are available only for 1927 and 1928.
27. The granaries were built by the SIP. ANS 2G 26 66.
over the area. Coordinated with the introduction of cash crops, the new transportation network permitted the rapid evacuation to market of the groundnuts. In both 1921 and 1925 most of the colony's credits for transportation development went to the Casamance.\(^\text{28}\)

The first stage of road construction was achieved by late 1921; it connected Bignona to Tobor (then the southernmost limit of ground transport on the route to Ziguinchor). To the north and west, road negotiable by automobile were also built to Balandine and to Baila, the commercial entrepôt of southern Combo.\(^\text{29}\) At first, these roads were maintained by prisoners.\(^\text{30}\) As the transportation system expanded, however, the administration began to rely on forced labor for both construction and maintenance. From 1921 until the end of World War II, forced labor provided the manpower for public works projects in the Basse Casamance.

To the Diola, forced labor was the most odious aspect of the system of administrative justice for French West Africa, the indigénat. Other provisions in the indigénat allowed French administrators to imprison Africans without trial and with no recourse to appeal.\(^\text{31}\)

In 1922 the new transportation network was extended into Djougoutes. The first road suitable to automobile traffic ran from Bignona

\(^{28}\) ANS 2G 25 43; "Sénégal, rapport politique annuel."

\(^{29}\) ANS 2G 21 27; Cercle de Bignona, rapport trimestriel du troisième trimestre.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., deuxième trimestre.

\(^{31}\) Even village chiefs were subject to the indigénat. From 1921 canton chiefs were theoretically exempted. They remained liable, however, to trial and imprisonment, if they failed to satisfy their French superiors; witness the case of Ansoumana Diatta. (See below).
to Tiobon. By the middle of the year, only three bridges and six kilometers of roadway remained to be built. This artery was subsequently extended to form a route seventy kilometers long that traversed most of the communities of Djougoutees. By the rainy season of 1923 the 'Administrateur Supérieur' reported that this road was nearly completed.

By 1921, Boulouf had been joined to Bignona by roads which permitted the rapid transportation of groundnuts by truck. The essential lines of the present-day road system in Boulouf had already been completed. Its construction had a profound effect on Djougoutees society. The introduction of trucks to carry peanuts to Bignona fostered the rapid expansion of peanut cultivation. The growth of trade in turn brought non-Diola representatives of trading houses to Kartiak and Balingore. In addition, the road system made it easier for the Diola to travel outside of Boulouf.

The use of forced labor to construct and maintain roads occasioned hostility and resentment towards the colonial administration. At a time when the French were still consolidating their authority, forced labor exacerbated tensions.

The task of recruiting forced labor devolved upon the shoulders of local Diola canton chiefs, who served as intermediaries between the 'Commandant de cercle,' and the local population. Their role, essential

32. ANS 2G 22 33. The countless marigots which had to be bridged greatly complicated the construction of the Djougoutees transportation system.

33. ANS 2G 23 70; Casamance, rapport du deuxième semestre. The Diola did not undertake any road or bridge construction on their own. But then, they were kept busy enough by forced labor projects.
to the functioning of colonial administration, was described by the Governor in 1926:

Auxiliaires directs et immédiats des Commandants de Cercle, ils en deviennent de plus en plus les collaborateurs indispensables; ... Sans leurs concours, le recensement et le recrutement deviendraient malaisés, de même que la perception des impôts et l'utilisation de la main d'œuvre prestataire, autant également que le fonctionnement des Sociétés de Prévoyance. 34

The chef de canton of Djougoutes, Ansoumana Diatta was, however, unable adequately to render these services, because of his advanced age 35 and his involvement in partisan disputes. 36 Diatta's refusal to respond to a convocation by the Commandant at Bignona provided the excuse for his removal from office in October 1924. 37 Charged with abuse of office, he was briefly imprisoned. 38 Diatta was replaced

34. "Direct and immediate auxiliaries of the Commandants, they are becoming more and more indispensable; ... Without their assistance, census-taking and recruitment would become most difficult, as would the collection of taxes and the use of prestatory labor, not to mention the functioning of the Sociétés de prévoyance." ANS 2G 29 10, Sénégal, rapport politique annuel, 1929; p. 23.

35. ANS 2G 22 33.

36. ANS 2G 24 50. The résident at Bignona wrote that Diatta, "has for too long weighed heavily on his people."

37. Officially, Diatta was removed because he twice refused to come to Bignona to meet with the Commandant and because of complaints that he had abused his power; ANS 2G 25 43. Such complaints were inevitable, in view of his obligation to compel the Diola to pay tax and fulfill their forced labor. An important reason for Diatta's dismissal may have been that he showed favoritism to Tendouk in a land dispute with Djigudj (Djougouteman'); interview with his son, Sidiku Diatta, 8 February 1975.

38. Sentenced to six months in jail (ANS 2G 25 43), Ansoumana was held only four days, according to Sidiku Diatta.
as chef by Arfan Sonko, 'chef' of Bessire. Djougoutes was shortly divided into two cantons, as part of the administrative reorganization of Bignona circle. Sonko remained the head of Djougoutes Ouest, while Ansoumana's son Akanga was named chef of Djougoutes Est.

To these two men fell the unenviable responsibility to supply the laborers requested by the Commandant. This gained them the lasting animosity of their fellow Diola, who viewed them as collaborators and symbols of the hated forced labor. In Djougoutes Ouest, opposition to Arfan Sonko was led by the people of Tionk-Essil. While the French sometimes approved of the strict manner in which Sonko fulfilled his duties, Tionk vociferously resisted him at least as early as 1929. Towards the end of Arfan's long tenure, his authority was openly disputed not only by Tionk, but also by Dianki and Kagnobon. Nevertheless, he remained chef de canton until the end of World War II.


40. Tendouk, Bagaya, Mandégane and Balingore, together with the area to the south constituted Djougoutes Est (or Sud). Djougoutes Ouest (or Nord) comprised the remainder of Boulouf. The reorganization was officially promulgated in an arrêté of 3 March 1926.

41. Although Sidiku Diatta claims his father named Akanga as his successor at the time of his removal from office, administrative records suggest Sonko replaced Ansoumana Diatta, and that Akanga did not become chef de canton until March 1926. ANS 2G 26 10.

42. ANS 2G 29 l3.

43. ANS 2G 40 92.

44. In 1942 the road from Bignona to Tobor was extended south to the Casamance River. A ten kilometer causeway was built by hand, with forced labor. The Diola of Tionk still bitterly recall 1942 as the year of the 'chaussée de Tobor.' After 1943 forced labor was no longer widely used in the Bignona area; see R. L. Touze, "Bignona en Casamance" (Paris, CHEAM, mémoire de candidature, 1954), chapter xii.
Arfan Sonko had been among the first Muslims in Boulouf, and his authority as village chief may have stimulated early conversions in Bessire. By the time that he became responsible for recruiting forced labor, in the 1920s, Islam had already gained a foothold throughout the region, and many factors besides the prestige of local Diola Muslim chiefs were fostering the spread of the new faith. By the 1920s, the support of canton chiefs was no longer a crucial factor in the acceptance of the Muslim faith. The widespread opposition to the canton chiefs after that date did not, therefore, dissuade the Diola from accepting Islam. Village chiefs frequently opposed colonial authority anyway, so they were not regarded by the Diola as representatives of the unwelcomed administration. In 1921 the résident at Bignona complained, "the attitude of the village chiefs still leaves much to be desired." 45

The completion of the transportation network in Boulouf was followed by other projects which served to break down remaining barriers between the local population and the outside world. In 1926 the first primary school was constructed in the region, at Balingore. 46 Two years later schools were built at Tendouk and Bessire. 47 During the following decade elementary education became available throughout Boulouf. In 1933 institutions were added at Kartiak and Tionk-Essil; 48

45. ANS 2G 21 27.
46. ANS 2G 26 66.
47. ANS 2G 28 61. The first schools and SIP granaries were built in Tendouk and Bessire because the two chefs de canton were from those villages.
48. ANS 2G 33 128, Cercle de Bignona, rapport annuel.
both of these schools had more than 300 pupils within three years.\textsuperscript{49}

By introducing primary education, the French hoped to create a group of young Diola with the training necessary to act as local auxiliaries to the administration.\textsuperscript{50} The effects of offering primary education, however, went beyond the formation of low-level functionaries. With the development of a local school system, Boulouf was brought more closely into colonial society. As the younger generation became fluent in Wolof and French,\textsuperscript{51} linguistic barriers between the villagers and the non-Diola-speaking world dissolved. This further facilitated communication and it probably stimulated the continued growth of urban migration.

Migration to the Gambia and to Ziguinchor had grown to significant proportions before and during World War I, and increased during the 1920s. The factors which fostered integration into the money economy—especially the need for cash to pay the impôt—also stimulated

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\textsuperscript{49} ANS 2G 36 75, Territoires de la Casamance, rapport politique annuel, 1936.
\textsuperscript{50} As the Governor of Senegal wrote in 1927, education was aimed at providing, "A level of young students capable of receiving the preparation [which would enable them to become] the true agents of our decisions and of our politics." ANF-OM, Affaires Politiques, 598, 3, Rapport politique pour 1927, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{51} Wolof is the 'lingua franca' of most of Senegal.
\textsuperscript{52} As early as 1917, some young women were working as peanut loaders on the wharves of Ziguinchor. ANS 13G 384; Casamance, Affaires Politiques 1917.
\end{flushright}
further Diola trading activity in the Gambia. Seasonal migration had become a regular aspect of life in Boulouf. Population movements in the Casamance were characterized as "a perpetual coming and going" by the administration in 1928.\(^5\)

During the 1920s migration into the Gambia continued, not only for economic motives but also as a means of avoiding military conscription. The number of Diola drafted during this period was never large. Whereas 86 men from Bignona cercle had been inducted during the first four months of 1918,\(^5\) a total of only 149 were called for the three recruiting drives of 1926, 1928, and 1929.\(^5\) Several thousand men were, however, forced to register for the draft.\(^5\) Thus, recruitment affected far more young men than were actually called; many men left for the Gambia to avoid the risk of being drafted.\(^5\)

As conscripts from earlier recruiting drives, including some 'Ancien Tirailleurs' who had served in Europe during the war, returned home, they joined a growing group of widely travelled men, largely fluent in French and familiar with life in Dakar and St. Louis. Quite likely these individuals stimulated other young men to travel north,

53. ANS 2G 28 8, Senegal, Rapport politique annuel, 1928. Migration was also a means of avoiding the impôt; ANS 2G 21 27.

54. ANS 2G 18 44.

55. The number of men conscripted from Bignona was: 1926, 45 (ANS 2G 26 66); 1928, 51 (ANS 2G 28 61); 1929, 53 (ANS 2G 29 43).

56. In 1928 alone, 1106 men registered; ANS 2G 28 61.

57. The 1920 recruiting drive also "produced an exodus into Gambia and Bissau." ANS 2G 20 36.
During the 1920s migration to the Gambia remained far more common than travel to Dakar.59

Structural Change in Djougoutes Society

The continued growth of migration to the Gambia and to Dakar profoundly affected the family structure which was the basis of Djougoutes social organization. Urban migration coincided with and was partially responsible for the dissolution of the extended family compound, the fankafu. Traditionally, the family had dominated the individual and the entire compound had turned to the elders as a source of ultimate counsel and authority. As increasing numbers of young men left their villages for extended periods to seek employment, they became free from the constraints of patriarchal authority. With the gradual diminution of this authority, the most powerful bond insuring the maintenance of custom and tradition was loosened.60

58. Interview with Cheikh Suleyman Sané, 28 December 1974. Boubacar Sagna, who subsequently was named chef de village, in Tionk, visited Dakar about the time of the war.

59. Oral testimony provided little information about the migration to Dakar. It would be instructive to study the Diola population of Dakar, to ascertain how long ago it was established. Pélissier, Les Paysans, p. 818, suggests that substantial Diola migration to Dakar dates only to the construction of the Trans-Gambia highway, in the early 1950s.

60. I am indebted to Mapaté Diagne, historian and former Inspector of Schools, for sharing with me his insight, derived from over forty years of familiarity with the Diola, about the end of patriarchal authority and its role in social change. Interviewed at Sédhiu, 3 February 1975.
the source of traditional authority weakened, further social and religious change occurred with increasing rapidity.

Migrants were effectively independent of the elders of their *fankafu*. Upon returning home to their ward, many of them were unwilling to give up that independence. The income they had earned while away gave them a degree of economic autonomy unknown in the pre-monetary economy. Some returned migrants had the means to build their own houses and to establish their own compounds together with their wives and children. This resulted in the emergence of nuclear families in Djougoutes.

The subsequent break-up of the extended family compound occurred gradually over a period of perhaps twenty years. During the 1920s, independent nuclear family groups were formed by returned migrants eager to free themselves from financial obligations to the entire fankafu. Traditionally, they would have been expected to share their new wealth with the entire extended family. By setting up independent compounds they were perhaps able to keep that capital for themselves.

Clearly, the fragmentation of traditional social structure was the result of a complex series of interrelated factors. It reflected the growth of urban migration and the emancipation of young adults from parental control. It was also a response to the infusion of money, which the migrants earned while away. The dissolution of the fankafu, which took place gradually and continued through the 1930s, corresponded to the progressive Islamization of Boulouf. The Diola themselves often attribute the break-up of the extended family
to the adoption of Islam. This claim is not without truth. Islam, which valued religious learning and knowledge of the Koran above age alone, offered an alternative value system for younger men bent upon establishing their independence from the elders. The sense of the importance of piety and Islamic learning which converts received from their new faith, would have lessened their dependence on traditional Diola authority, particularly where the elders remained animist. Where formerly the elders adjudicated quarrels, Islam introduced a new source of authority in the imam. The new religion thereby fostered the break from the fankafu.

The interrelated processes of social change and religious conversion progressed slowly to the end of the 1920s. Although challenged, the authority of the elders had not disappeared. In 1929 the Commandant at Bignona reported that the council of elders, which had practically disappeared in some parts of the circle, retained their accustomed authority in Djougoutes. Nevertheless, he also noted that indigenous traditions were continually being eroded by Islam, Catholicism, and European customs.

Diola informants universally agreed that during this period Islamization occurred slowly, "dyatit, dyatit." In most of Djougoutes, the momentum towards more rapid mass conversion did not come


62. See Chapter Six.

63. ANS 2G 29 h3, Cercle de Bignona, rapport politique annuel, 1929; pp. 14, 16.
until the 1930s. Already by the mid-1920s, however, the neighboring region of Combo had adopted the Muslim faith. Combo, of course, had been in close commercial contact with the Manding lower Gambia since the end of the maraboutic wars. The circulation of dioula and of marabouts, and the proselytization of Chérif Mahfuz and his successor Mohammed Fadel Haidara, had assisted this early spread of Islam. As the 'Administrateur Supérieur' noted in 1924, the French practice of using friendly marabouts as auxiliaries to the colonial administration, also facilitated Islamization:

Les talibés des marabouts ont déployé une activité particulière dans le Cercle [de Bignona] et surtout dans la Résidence de Diouloulou où Chérif Mamadou Fadel s'emploie activement à la propagande musulman. Ce n'est là que le résultat de la politique suivie depuis de longues années dans Diouloulou . . . Trois cantons sont à trois-quarts islamisés tout en restant fidèlement attachés à leurs coutumes fétichistes . . . Mamadou Fadel, seul marabout vraiment influent nous est entièrement dévoué. 64

So long as the important Muslim clerics posed no direct threat to French authority, the administration made no effort to curtail their religious proselytization. Rather, they welcomed the presence of these marabouts and used them as intermediaries, analogous to the chefs de canton. Mohammed Fadel, for example, was a member of the 'Conseil des Notables' 64. "The talibés of the marabouts have undertaken concerted activity in the circle and particularly in the region of Diouloulou where Chérif Mohammed Fadel is actively engaged in Muslim proselytization. This is simply the result of the policy followed for many years in Diouloulou . . . Three cantons are three-quarters Islamized, while nevertheless remaining faithful to their fetishist traditions . . . Mohammed Fadel, the only truly influential marabout, is entirely dedicated to us." ANS 2G 24 50, "Extension de l'Islam dans la Résidence de Diouloulou."
for Bignona circle, as were the canton chiefs and the more influential village chiefs. 65

In Djougoutes, the advance of Islam was noted by the Administrator in 1926. He observed:

Dans certaines régions du cercle de Bignona—Djougoutes principalement—la propagande musulmane s'emploie activement. 66

In addition he noted that some villages were already Muslim. In Boulouf, the only communities that would have fallen into this category in 1926 were Tiobon, and perhaps Kartiak and Kagnobon. These villages formed a continuation of the Manding sphere of cultural influence in Combo. Like the communities of the Diouloulou region, Tiobon had been closely tied commercially to the Gambia since the 1890s and, in addition, the prestige of Mahfuz and his successors was extremely great. Subject to the same outside cultural influences as Combo, Tiobon accepted Islam twenty years before most of the rest of Boulouf. At the same time, and by virtue of its geographical position as well as its chronological primacy, Tiobon became a bridge for the diffusion of Islam to the other villages of Djougoutes.

In 1921, when Chamsedine made his first visit to Tiobon, he found the Muslims there "very, very numerous." 67 Even before 1916 there were many converts. 68 Kartiak and Kagnobon, which had early

65. ANS 2G 29 43.

66. "In certain regions of the circle of Bignona—principally in Djougoutes—Muslim propaganda is actively under way." ANS 2G 26 66, p. 7.


68. Interview with Seku Anoumana Diatta, 18 January 1975.
hosted visiting marabouts, and where an early Muslim community apparently blocked the work of the Holy Ghost Fathers as early as 1912, were the only other communities in Boulouf to contain large Muslim populations by World War I.

Tionk-Essil was more typical of the stage of religious transformation achieved elsewhere in Boulouf during the 1920s. At the beginning of the decade, there were very few Muslims in Tionk, and these men had converted while in either Pakao or the Gambia. As young migrants continued to adopt Islam, this group grew. When Ansoumana Sambou left Tionk in the early 1920s to pursue his koranic studies in English Combo, there were not many Muslims in the village. In about 1927, Suleyman Sané returned to Tionk from his religious studies to find that the first mosque had already been built, in Kamanar ward. In Daga kalolaku, however, the first Muslim only converted about 1927.

As in many other Boulouf communities, an important factor in the ability of Islam to implant itself in Tionk-Essil was the early support of an important and respected village leader; chef de village Boubacar Sagna was among the first Muslims in Tionk. When the Tukulor merchant and marabout Tierno Amadu Sy arrived in the village, Sagna acted as his host. Tierno Amadu, a talibé of Cherif Bachir at

69. ACSE, IV, boîte 147.
70. Interviewed in Kamanar-Bouloub, 22 December 1974.
Ziguinchor, settled in Tionk and established himself as one of the most important proponents of the Tijaniyya in the Basse Casamance. Supported by Boubacar Sagna, Tierno Amadu began to convert people who had not been to the Gambia. By 1930 the Muslims of Tionk-Essil had grown from a small group of returned migrants to a sizable minority of the population.

In most of Boulouf a similar situation prevailed. During the 1920s the first small groups of Muslims were joined by other converts, but Islam remained a minority faith. Religious change did not, however, progress at the same rate in each village. Two communities, Mlomp and Tendouk, were to retain animist communities a generation after all but a few traditionalists in Tionk and Mandégane had died or accepted Islam.

Between the end of World War I and the onset of the Great Depression, the economy and social structure of Djougoutes entered a period of transformation. The introduction of peanuts as a cash crop brought the Diola into the money economy, without however causing dislocation of traditional subsistence rice-farming. Increased migration to the Gambia by young men, some of whom converted to Islam,

73. Cherif Bachir may have been the Bachir, son of Cherif Younous, mentioned by Marty, Etudes, p. 200. At the beginning of the twentieth century Younous was the most important disciple in the Casamance of Malik Sy, leader of the Tivaouane branch of the Tijaniyya. In 1919 two of Younous' sons were living in Ziguinchor; ANS 2G 19 26. One of the them may have been Bachir.

74. ANS 2G 31 73, Cercle de Bignona, rapport politique, 1931.
correlated with the diminution of patriarchal authority and the weakening of the extended family. Small Muslim communities grew up throughout Djougoutes. The social and religious changes which gained momentum in Boulouf during the 1920s were to reach their culmination during the ensuing decade.
The Depression which struck the Western economies in 1929 had immediate repercussions in those areas of West Africa linked to a cash economy. In Senegal the trading price of peanuts plummeted, depriving the Colony of a large portion of its revenue. The ensuing years brought continued low groundnut prices as well as decreased financing for colonial administration and development programs. In the Casamance, a series of natural calamities coincided with the Depression, and visited further hardship on the Diola. Thus, at the same time that the progressive integration of Boulouf into Senegalese society and the colonial economy was stimulating change in local social and religious institutions, Djougoutes was confronted with the added stress of severe economic problems and agricultural disasters. The coincidence of these events led, during the 1930s, to the rapid extension of Islam in Boulouf.

The collapse of European finance and business was felt at once in Senegal. The economic situation for 1929 was summarized by the Governor in his annual political report:

La crise commerciale consécutive à la traite 1928-1929 ... la dépréciation des arachides sur le marché extérieur ... un nouvel effondrement des cours du principal produit d'exportation. Les
1. "The commercial crisis resulting from the 1928-1929 trade ... the depreciation of peanuts on the export market ... another drop in the price of the principal export commodity. At the present moment these economic and financial problems assume an aspect of particular gravity." ANS 2G 29 15, "Sénégal, Rapport politique annuel, 1929."

2. This compared with 408,709 tons in 1928 and 393,745 tons in 1929; ANS 2G 31 48, "Service de l'agriculture et de forêts, rapport annuel." Hopkins, Economic History, p. 254, notes a general increase in West African agricultural exports during the 1930s, as farmers tried to maintain their incomes in the face of falling market prices.

3. ANS 2G 30 4, "Sénégal, Rapport politique annuel."

4. ANS 2G 30 78, "Cercle de Bignona, Rapport pour novembre." Earlier, the Commandant had predicted that the Diola would refuse to sell their crop even at a rate of 50 fr/100 kg.

5. ANS 2G 30 60, "Casamance, Rapport mensuel pour août."
crop damage, they reappeared with more deleterious results during the rainy season of 1931.  

1931 brought no relief from Senegal's economic woes. In his annual report, the Governor bemoaned the fact that, "the value of the peanut ... has effectively fallen to a level lower than [that allowed for by] the most pessimistic forecasts." Total exports from the Colony dropped by ten percent to 456,732 tons. In Bignona circle 13,000 tons were produced for export, but the depressed market price was beginning to discourage peanut cultivation among the local populations.

While the collapse of the peanut market affected farmers who had recently begun to cultivate that cash crop, the effects of the Depression were mitigated by the fact that the Diolá continued to raise enough rice for their own sustenance. In the summer of 1931, however, the Basse Casamance was seriously affected when the rains failed. The rice crop was further damaged by grasshoppers in July. Hardships arising from the poor harvest were intensified by the lack of money, which might otherwise have been used to buy grain. This terrible coincidence of agricultural and economic calamities was further exacerbated by an outbreak of cattle plague in the circle of Bignona. An estimated 1,500 head perished and the canton of Djougoutes

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7. ANS 2G 31 144.
8. ANS 2G 31 48.
10. ANS 2G 31 111, "Cercle de Bignona, Rapports économiques mensuels, avril."
11. ANS 2G 31 73, p. 51.
was hit particularly severely. Informants recall that only two animals were left alive in the entire village of Tionk-Essil.

Djougoutes society was rocked by these catastrophes, which came at a time when the traditional culture and economic and social order were already under challenge from the intrusion of the money economy, individualism, and Islam. Succeeding years brought further hardship, and only gradually did the Senegalese economy recover from the Great Depression. Furthermore, the new social forces that had begun to affect Boulouf intensified during the mid-1930s, as the Administration continued its effort to bring the region into the colonial economy.

In 1931 the French inaugurated a new program to "modernize" Diola agricultural techniques and make farming in the circle of Bignona more productive. It was decided that cattle-drawn ploughs would greatly speed preparation of the peanut fields and might permit greater crop yields. Djougoutes was selected as one of the areas where the new ploughing techniques were to be introduced. (This decision had presumably been made before the decimation of the Diola herds by cattle plague.) In 1932 seventy-two head of cattle were fitted out in teams of two. Cultivators from Djougoutes Ouest

12. ANS 2G 31 73, p. 63.
13. Interview with the elders of Batine, 8 January 1975.
14. ANS 2G 32 96. Originally 42 ploughs were brought to Bignona; the additional cattle were apparently never yoked up. ANS 2G 32 111.
15. That cattle-drawn ploughs, like many other innovations sponsored by the Administration, were first introduced in Djougoutes Ouest was due in part to the enthusiasm of Arfan Sonko for modern techniques. In 1935 one plough remained in operation at Bessire—Sonko's. ANS 26 35 67.
were then brought to Bignona for instruction in the new methods.\textsuperscript{16} The Diola not surprisingly showed immediate reluctance to try "la culture attelée." Cultivators were unwilling to abandon the kajando, and they only used the ploughs when under constant scrutiny of administrative personnel. Although the Diola were ready and willing to grow new crops, they would only do so by adapting their accustomed and proven agricultural techniques. Furthermore, cattle although plentiful in Boulouf were traditionally never used as animals of labor. "La culture attelée" directly attacked too many conventions and already-proven methods of farming. It was an alien invention with no parallels in local society. In addition, the people of Djougoutes were quite able to expand their peanut cultivation without using ploughs. The failure of this program is therefore in no way surprising. Within a year Captain Pelletier, Commandant at Bignona, wrote the epitaph for the attempt to introduce cattle-drawn ploughs among the Diola:

Les charrues disséminées en partie dans la brousse (Djougouttes en particulier) ont été trouvées en plus ou moins bon état et reléguées au fond des cases... les cultivateurs... étaient devenus plutôt réfractaires à la méthode. \textsuperscript{17}

Although it was of short duration and never made substantial inroads in Boulouf, this program nevertheless constituted one more challenge to

\textsuperscript{16} Demonstration fields were established at Tionk, Kartiak, Tendouk, and Bessire; AJS 2G 33 60, "Territoire de la Casamance, Rapport politique annuel," p. 145.

\textsuperscript{17} "The ploughs distributed through parts of the bush (particularly Djougoutes) have been recovered in more or less good condition, relegated to the back of the houses... the farmers had become strongly opposed to the method." ANS 2G 33 138, "Cercle de Bignona, Rapport annuel d'ensemble."
traditional practises. The refusal to use animal-drawn ploughs reflects the fact that the Diola were able, while rejecting revolutionary change in their farming techniques, to adopt a dual agriculture which met their needs both in the emerging cash economy sector and in terms of their own subsistence. Throughout the colonial period Djougoutes society was characterized by the ability to adapt to change without losing its distinctive identity.

Local society continued to face extraordinary hardship in 1933. Again, the rice crop was damaged by insufficient rainfall. Meanwhile, the French continued their efforts to develop Boulouf economically. The piste from Bagaya to Diatok was widened—using forced labor—to enable cars to travel it, and military conscription was now carried out annually. This stimulated a new tide of emigration into the Gambia. Other Diola crossed the border to avoid paying the impôt and for the first time, the administration noted that young women too, were travelling to Bathurst to seek employment.

18. ANS 2G 13 64, Bignona, "Rapport économique annuel."
19. ANS 2G 33 138.
20. In 1931 Bignona, with an estimated total population of 72,000, furnished 32 conscripts; in 1932, 70 men were drafted, and in 1933, 55 were called; ANS 2G 33 60, p. 2h. In 1934, 87 men were called (ANS 2G 34 84), in 1935, 54 went (ANS 2G 35 10), and in 1936, 44 were called up (ANS 2G 36 5). In 1938 the Diola were reported to be in hiding, rather than risk the draft; ANS 2G 39 88.
21. ANS 2G 31 73.
22. In 1930 the résident wrote that emigration, "particularly attracts . . . young men modernized by their work in European commerce and attracted to Bathurst. For the first time our attention is
The 1934 peanut harvest in Bignona was large, and 16,000 tons were exported. Due to a late and short rainy season, however, the rice crop was once again somewhat insufficient. The administration, seeking ways to increase agricultural exports from the region, and accepting with apparent reluctance the Diolas' absolute refusal to sell their rice on the open market, made a serious attempt in 1934 to introduce fruit trees in Bignona and Tiobon. The SIPs planted nearly 2,400 banana trees in the circle. The next year, over 4,000 additional trees were put in and 700 cola trees were distributed among the concessions of the elders in many Djougoutes villages. These innovations, which complemented rice and peanut production without compromising traditional farming methods, were accepted by the Diola. The small scale of the plantings, however, together with transportation problems, prevented fruit from becoming an important export of Boulouf.

The agricultural situation improved markedly in 1935. The return of abundant rainfall led to a "magnificent" rice harvest, thereby also called to groups of young women who, leaving the authority of their families, go to try their luck in the Gambia.  


24. Ibid., p. 69. The 'Administrateur Supérieur' wrote, "The Diola do not like to sell [rice]; it is a matter of local custom which prohibits transactions of this product."

25. Ibid.  


27. ANS 2G 35-67, "Territoire de la Casamance, Rapport politique," The Administrator sounds as if he is praising a fine vintage in Bordeaux.
ending several years of deprivation in the Casamance. Peanut produc-
tion, too, rose and the long depression in the market began to ease.
By the end of the 1934-35 trading season, 17,662 tons of nuts had
been sold in Bignona circle, at prices ranging from 65 to 75 francs
per 100 kilos. By the end of 1935 then, there was a greater supply
of money, as well as plentiful food supplies in the region. The
'Administrateur Supérieur' estimated that the Basse Casamance had
reached its reasonable limit of groundnut production. Any further
increase, he felt, would cut into the rice crop. In Djougoutes,
this meant that most of the forest had been cleared and converted
to peanut fields.

For fifteen years the Administration had worked to make ground-
nuts an important export crop in Bignona circle. Now, that program
had been largely achieved. In the remaining years before the out-
break of World War II, the French continued to pursue other aspects
of their program to develop the economic potential of the region.

28. ANS 2G 35 71 (2), "Bignona, Rapports mensuels sur la
traite." The January records offer a fragmented but interesting
glimpse of Djougoutes peanut production. In that month 4418 tons
were exported from Balingore, 1171 tons from Kagnobon, and 175 from
Kartiak. The three trading centers of Boulouf thus provided 734
tons of the 4,867 tons exported from Bignona, or 15 percent of the
month's production. Unfortunately, figures are not available for
any other month, and it is not possible to estimate whether this
is a representative percentage.

29. ANS 2G 35 67. Peanut production in Bignona had indeed
approached full development. The 1934-35 exports exceeded the figures
for every year from 1962-65. In the more productive years 1952-61,
exports ranged from 12,000 tons to 22,600 tons. See "Trente ans de
Commercialisation Arachidière" (Sénégal, Ministère du plan et de
l'Industrie, Direction de l'aménagement du territoire, CINAM 1968).
Economic recovery in Senegal accelerated during 1936. The local peanut trade opened at 70 francs per 100 kilos and rose to 85 francs by December. Stimulated by the higher prices, total peanut exports climbed to 487,000 tons, from 389,000 in 1935. 1936 was, indeed, an exceptionally favorable year for agriculture. 16,000 tons of peanuts were exported from Bignona circle and the rice harvest was very large. At year's end, the 'Administrateur Supérieur' observed that, "the years 1935 and specially 1936 mark a considerable recovery in the economic situation." 32

No major agricultural projects were initiated in Bignona circle in 1936, although bananas and pineapples were planted throughout Djougoutes. The most important development during the remaining pre-war years was the administrative consolidation of the Casamance. On 30 March 1938 the Governor of Senegal promulgated an arrêté which abolished the circle of Bignona, and attached it to the circle of

29. Local cultivators were exploited by trading companies that purchased their peanuts. These firms resold the nuts in December at 141 francs per 100 kilos. ANS 2G 36 5, p. 3.

30. Ibid.

31. ANS 2G 36 75, pp. 52 ff.

32. ANS 36 75, p. 107. In 1935-36 43,680 tons of peanuts were exported from the Casamance but a year later 60,230 tons were exported, a figure not regularly surpassed until 1956; "Trente ans de commercialisation arachidière."

33. ANS 2G 36 75, p. 63.
Ziguinchor. With the beginning of the war, further measures were taken to consolidate colonial administration. In November 1939 the Casamance lost its administrative autonomy, as the 'Administration Supérieur' was abolished.

Archival records for the period 1939-1945 are, not surprisingly, rather more scanty than for the preceding decades. In the Basse Casamance the most immediate effect of hostilities was an increase in military recruitment. Conscription continued to meet strong resistance among the Diola, and it stimulated another exodus into the Gambia. Some men from Djougoutes found employment in war industry in the British colony; others, who remained at home, were drafted and served in Europe. Both groups returned to the Casamance after 1945 with a greater awareness of the outside world.


36. Furthermore, post-1940 reports are not fully catalogued in the Archives Nationales de Sénégal, and a 30-year closure rule is in effect.

37. In Kabrousse near the Bissau border, the priestess Alinsitoue called on the Diola to resist military recruitment, forced labor, and the requisitioning of rice. She attracted followers from throughout Basse Casamance and in 1942 the village of Effoc south of Oussouye revolted against the Administration. Effoc was occupied and Alinsitoue, held responsible for the rebellion, was deported to Kayes. ANS 2G 42 1, Sénégal, "Rapport politique, 1942," p. 60. See also Girard, Genèse du Pouvoir Charismatique, chapter 3.

38. See ANS 2G 40 26, "Relations avec l'Etranger," p. 63. See also ANS 2G 40 93.

39. Many of these returned migrants speak a pidgin English.
As the post-war era began, the Diola of Boulouf had experienced more than a generation of direct contact with the colonial society, its economy, and its educational institutions. Boulouf society had adjusted to this new world by the continuing process of religious and social adaptation. By the 1940s that adaptation and change had led to the social, economic, and religious organizations which are essentially recognizable today.

During the 1930s primary education expanded in the Basse Casamance. In addition to the preparation of low-level administrative functionaries, another goal of French educational policy was to teach new agricultural and cattle-raising methods. This 'enseignement rural' was put into effect in Boulouf's three schools, at Tionk, Kartiak, and Bessire. Students cared for experimental fields and the peanuts they raised made the schools at Tionk and Bessire into profit-making enterprises. More traditional academic disciplines were not, however, ignored. By 1936 over 800 youths were in attendance at these schools.

The generation which grew to maturity during the 1930s was the first to receive primary education in Boulouf. Young men who could speak and write French were better prepared to seek employment in

40. The influence of local chiefs is again reflected in the placement of the schools. Kartiak was a trading center, but Bessire was Arfan Sonko's village. In Tionk the school, built in the ward of the chef de village, was opened in 1932; ANS 2G 33-138.

41. ANS 2G 34 67, p. 130.

42. ANS 2G 36 75.
Dakar. The spread of education was therefore correlated with the continued growth of emigration to urban centers. Ironically, an educational system which was intended to disseminate improved agricultural techniques, served to foster the exodus of young men from the countryside. Today, nearly universal primary schooling, together with an exceptionally high rate of migration of young people to Dakar and the Gambia, have made Tionk-Essil a relatively cosmopolitan community.

Education, by stimulating this migration, led to a further deterioration of patriarchal authority. Also, literacy provided the younger generation an important and prestigious skill that their parents did not possess. Much as Islam introduced an appreciation of koranic learning and literacy, so too primary education placed a premium on literacy. Together, these new values partially replaced the old parameters of respect for age and experience.\(^\text{13}\)

During the 1930s religious conversion gained momentum in Boulouf. The accelerating rate of Islamization was in part due to the same factors which had begun to transform local social and economic structures during the preceding decade. In addition, conversion was subject to a "snowball effect"; as more and more Diola became Muslims, their neighbors too were encouraged to adopt the new faith. This rapid spread of Islam was undoubtedly spurred by the series of natural

\(^\text{13}\). Anyone who has seen the illiterate head of a household forced to ask a son or grandson to read him a letter, cannot deny that the illiteracy of the older generation works to decrease their general aura of unquestioned authority.
catastrophes which afflicted Djougoutes society during the early 1930s. As indigenous religious rituals proved incapable of ending these disasters, it was only natural that people turned to Muslim clerics as another source of assistance against the drought and plagues. When, about 1935, those disasters diminished, the marabouts may have received some credit for the improvement, thereby stimulating further conversions. By the 1940s Islam had become the dominant religion in Boulouf. Only the older generation and the Catholic community 44 rejected the new faith. In the thirty years since World War II, as the old men and women have died, the ranks of non-Muslims have further diminished.

By 1930 all the villages of Djougoutes contained small but growing Muslim communities, composed largely of young men 45 who had converted while in the Gambia or in the Moyen Casamance, as well as a few individuals who had converted in their home villages. The development of communication and transportation, the continued expansion of migration, and the consequent deterioration of the patriarchal extended family all engendered further conversion. This was reflected in the construction of mosques. In 1930 the résident at Bignona had written that the most important communities already possessed a more or less

44. See Chapter Six.

45. Women were rarely among the first converts. Islam is male-oriented and relegates women to a position subordinate to their husbands. Frequently, women converted to follow their spouses. Even today, however, the wives of some older Muslims—including at least one imam—are non-converts. This leads to the situation of an imam's household raising pigs.
well-cared for mosque, and in Tionk-Essil a second mosque was built in 1931.

The growth of Islam in Djougoutes was noted in the résident's annual report for 1931:

Le nombre des adeptes augmente quelque peu, notamment dans l'ouest et le Nord-Ouest du Cercle (Djougouttes, Fogny Combo, Narangs).

Muhammed Fadel Haïdara had died in 1930 and had been replaced as spiritual leader at Dar Silamé by Mahfuz' next son, Cherif Abba Haidara. Abba proved an able successor and Dar Silamé remained a center of religious proselytization for Combo and Djougoutes.

In 1933 the Administrator of the Casamance remarked on the increasing rate of Islamization in Bignona circle:

Les Diolas se sont laissés islamisés en assez grand nombre dans le Cercle de Bignona surtout dans le Nord-Ouest et l'Est du Cercle au contact des Mandingues et d'un Chérif sérieux et vénéré malgré son jeune âge, Chérif Aba Aidara résident à Dar-Silamé près de Diouloulou.

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46. ANS 2G 30 87.

47. The mosque was built only after the settlement of a dispute between Tijaniyya and Qadriyya over its location. This was an unusual instance of disharmony between the two tariqas. ANS 2G 31 73.

48. "The number of followers is growing quite a bit, most notably in the west and the northwest of the circle (Djougoutes, Fogny, Combo, Narangs)." ANS 2G 31 73.

49. "The Diola have allowed themselves to be Islamized in rather large numbers in the circle of Bignona and especially in the northwest and the east of the circle, in contact with the Manding and a Cherif who despite his young age is both serious and respected, Cherif Aba Aidara residing at Dar Silamé near Diouloulou." ANS 2G 33 60, p. 40.
The Administrator added that it was Muslims who responded most favorably to agricultural innovations:

Ce sont les musulmans dans les cercles de Kolda et de Bignona qui sont à la tête des plantations de culture attelée et ce sont eux qui ont donné les premiers le bon exemple pour la culture des arbres fruitiers et l'exportation des fruits. 50

Cherif Abba and his younger brother Chamsedine were indeed among the first to adopt new farming techniques. This was appreciated more fully by the French than by the Diola. Nevertheless, the Cherifs were the propagators of Islam in the region and their example undoubtedly influenced some of their Diola followers to take up the innovations themselves. In the village of Mandegane, for instance, the first men to cultivate peanuts were Muslim Diola. 51

A large proportion of Boulouf Muslims had converted in the Gambia, and it was Muslims who first began the intensive cultivation of peanuts. Quite likely therefore, the same individuals who participated in the rubber and palm produce trades may have been among the first Diola to grow peanuts as a cash crop. 52

The natural calamities of the period 1930-34 together with the effects of the Depression, provided the immediate impetus that led

50. "It is the Muslims in the circles of Kolda and Bignona who have taken the lead in plantations using harnessed animals, and it is they who have given the first good examples with regard to the cultivation of fruit trees and the exportation of fruit." ANS 2G 33 60, p. 42.

51. Interview with Seku Coudiaby and Ansoumana Badji, Mandegane, 26 March 1975.

52. The collection of further oral testimony to shed light on this possible correlation is clearly indicated.
many Diola to adopt Islam. This period of extreme hardship and repeated crop failures coincided precisely with the rapid Islamization of Djougoutes.

Oral testimony indicates that the years 1932-35 were a period of rapid conversion throughout Boulouf. Many informants in Tionk-Essil identified this brief span as the time of mass Islamization. Chef de quartier Mamadou Diatta of Daga says, "It was in 1933 that the Muslim faith achieved considerable strength." 53 Cheikh Suleyman Sane calls 1934 "the era of important conversion." 54 Village chief Nyanku Sagna states that most of Tionk-Essil converted about the time that the first school was constructed (i.e. 1933). 55

Although the Diola do not themselves attribute their conversion to the calamities that befell them at this time, it is clear that these disasters stimulated the rapid acceleration of Islamization. In time of drought, traditionalists had recourse to three sources of assistance. In Tionk-Essil, for example, they could sacrifice to "Badjankusor," the village shrine; they could ask the oeyi to lead a rain ceremony; or, if these measures proved ineffectual, they could send a delegation led by the oeyi to Eunampor. By 1930 the oeyi of Tionk no longer existed. 56 Badjankusor, however, remained undisturbed

56. The oeyi ended shortly before the first 'chef de village' was appointed, about 1910.
in the sacred forest until 1954, and Tionk continued to send delegations to Enampor as late as 1942. Yet visits to these shrines brought no respite from the drought, nor from the other problems that beset the Diola. This inability of indigenous religious ritual to safeguard their well-being led some individuals to seek assistance of Muslim marabouts. In 1933 the people of Mandegane sent a delegation to Dar Silamé, and asked Cherif Chamsedine to visit their village and bless their rice fields, which were not producing. Chamsedine came, offered a prayer and, in time, the harvests improved. Islam, then, gave people an additional source of ritual expertise with which to combat the plagues and droughts that afflicted Boulouf during the early 1930s.

As the numbers of converts increased during the mid-1930s, Islamization gained a momentum of its own. Peer group pressure, which had at first served to discourage the acceptance of Islam, now began

57. The village bunaati was displaced in 1954 when the sacred forest was torn down to build the village-wide mosque.

58. Interview with the elders of Batine, 7 January 1975.

59. For example, although locusts had periodically attacked Boulouf before 1930 (ANS 2G 31:48), they had rarely appeared two years in a row. No shrines dealt specifically with locusts; nevertheless, the repeated insect attacks of the early 1930s may have been interpreted as further evidence, together with the other calamities, of the impotence of the sinasti which had traditionally safeguarded Diola agriculture.

60. Chamsedine, who received four cows for his services to Mandegane, lived until 1937 in Dar Silamé. Interviews at Darould Khair, 25-26 May 1975.
to have quite the opposite effect. By the second half of the decade, people had begun to convert to follow everyone else. This snowball effect was described by Cheikh Suleyman. Asked why everyone in Tionk-Essil became Muslim about 1934, he replied, "Whoever you were, you saw your friends converting." Indeed, in 1938 peer group pressure helped to induce the Catholic catechist in Niaganan to become a Muslim.

The pressure to conform by accepting a new faith was most strongly felt during important Muslim holidays. In order to participate in such celebrations as Tabaski and Mawloud, one had to be a Muslim. These religious festivals had impressed the Diola and attracted individuals to Islam, ever since the arrival of Cherif Mahfuz at Tiobon. During the 1930s too, many people were drawn to Islam through its festivals. Once a majority of the village had converted, these celebrations assumed the character of village-wide rituals embodying the community. A non-Muslim would have felt very much an outsider. Thus, the desire to be a member of the religious

62. There were only five Catholics in Boubacar Niassi's ward. He suffers from a crippled foot and found it impossible to walk the 140 kilometers to Bignona to celebrate Catholic holidays. By 1938 almost the entire village of Tionk was participating in Muslim holidays. Niassi decided to become a Muslim.
63. Interviews with Seku Ansoumana Diatta, Tiobon, and Cherif Chamsedine. Mahfuz celebrated Tabaski in Tiobon early in the century, and many Diola were thereby attracted to Islam.
64. As Mamadou Diatta says, people saw that the Tabaski celebration was good, and they wanted to participate.
'communitas' of the village, and to participate in its rituals, led many Diola to join the swelling ranks of the Faithful.

In Tionk-Essil, Islamization was largely completed by about 1940. When Ansoumana Sambou had left the village to pursue his advanced koranic studies, about 1928, conversion was still in its early stages. In 1941, when he returned, most of the population had become Muslim. In the relatively brief span of one generation the Muslim community, which had begun with four members in 1916, had grown to encompass almost the entire village.

Elsewhere in Boulouf the spread of Islam followed a similar course. Some villages converted more slowly and, even today, there are more traditionalists in Mlomp and Tendouk than in Mandegane, or Tionk. There, too, however, a majority of the population adopted Islam during the 1930s. When the present imam of the mosque of Mlomp converted, about forty years ago, most of his village was already becoming Muslim.

In Mandegane, where Chamsedine had been called in to bless the rice fields, most of the population had become Muslim by 1939, when Arfan Kemo Sagna returned to the village to assume the post of imam. Only in Tendouk, where the traditionalist minority still contains some relatively young individuals, did Islam fail to win over many of the younger non-Catholics by World War II.

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65. Ansoumana Sambou, Kamanar Bouloub, Tionk-Essil, 22 December 1974. Other informants, including Mamadou Diatta stated that Islam had become the religion of the community by 1940.

66. Imam Ansoumana Sambou (no relation to Ansoumana Sambou of Kamanar kalolaku), Mlomp, 19 January 1975.
During the 1930s not only did the Diola adopt Islam, they enthusiastically set out to learn to read the Koran. Koranic schools were established throughout Boulouf. Sometimes, a marabout or imam would simply gather a group of children around the fire in the evening, to recite verses. The lessons were written in charcoal or ink on wooden tablets. A few teachers, however, had talibés who worked their fields for them and received koranic instruction before and after work. 67 These talibés lived with the master and formed part of his household; eventually, it was his responsibility to find them a wife. Eighty-eight-year old Cheikh Suleyman Sane still teaches young talibés.

The enthusiasm with which the Diola approached their new faith was reflected in the proliferation of koranic schools. By 1934 there were 85 in the circle of Bignona. The 1,149 pupils constituted the fifth highest number in any circle in Senegal. 68 In 1935 Arfan Kemo had thirty-nine talibés; four years later he had 100, drawn from throughout Boulouf. 69

Most pupils achieved only minimal proficiency at reading the Koran. Indeed, their literacy in Arabic consists essentially of

67. Few marabouts in Boulouf have talibés working their fields. Most imams cultivate their own land. Cheikh Suleyman is one of the few teachers with such talibés. Arfan Kemo, the most important Diola imam, has followers who farm land as far away as Fogny and send him the proceeds. His is probably the most extensive network of talibé-cultivators in Djougoutes.

68. ANS 2G 34 5.

69. Interviewed in Mandegane, 26 March 1975.
memorizing key passages. A few, however, continued their studies under men who had earned reputations as scholars. 70 Now that the students of the 1930s have themselves become the heads of families, they frequently complain that today's youth lack interest in Islam. These complaints may be valid, for almost universal urban migration has taken young Diola out of the religious, if largely unlettered Muslim community of Boulouf, and placed them in the more secular atmosphere of modern Dakar. The younger generation of Muslims may well exhibit less seriousness and enthusiasm about their faith than did their parents and grandparents who were first-generation Muslims.

70. Cheikh Ibrahima Seydi Kane, a Fulani from Bissau, imam of the central mosque of Tiobon, is one of the most venerated scholars. Cherif Mahfuz' grandson Muhammed Fadel Haidara has confided a son to his care, in recognition of his learning.
Compared with Islam, the Catholic faith has had very limited success in Boulouf. Two southern Djougoutes villages, Elana (population 760) and Affiniam (2,100), have Catholic majorities. Elsewhere, Catholics predominate in one ward of Tendouk and they constitute one sub-quarter of Daga, in Tionk-Essil. There are, in addition, a Catholic community at Mangagoulack, and a small number of Christians at Kartiak. Outside of Elana and Affiniam there are probably fewer than a thousand Catholics in a total population of 40,000. This represents rather modest results for nearly 60 years of continuous missionary activity in Djougoutes.

The evangelization of the Casamance was the work of the Holy Ghost Fathers (Les Pères du Saint-Esprit). This Paris-based missionary society opened its first station in the Basse Casamance at Carabane in 1880. In February 1886, they inaugurated a mission at Tendouk,

1. Figures are from the 1974 census. Affiniam is actually a twin village or village cluster; Affiniam has 1,700 inhabitants, while Affiniam-Boutem contains 742 people.

2. There is a small chapel in the village, which has a total population of 811. No fieldwork was carried out there.

3. The mission was opened by Père Kieffer in 1880; Archives St.-Esprit, IV, boîte 159, "Rapport du P. Kieffer sur la Mission de Carabane, 1885."
in Brombone kalolaku. The timing could not have been more ill-fated, for it coincided with Birahim N'diaye's invasion of Djougoutes. The marabout issued an ultimatum to the Diola:

Ce guerroyeur mahometan avait en effet fait savoir aux diogoutes qu'ils devaient lui livrer les missionnaires sinon les faire partir s'ils voulaient avoir la paix avec lui. 5

Although the Diola refused to compel Père Lacombe to leave, the missionary decided not to force the issue, and the first Boulouf missionary post was abandoned, two months after its inception. 6

A second attempt to establish a mission in Djougoutes was undertaken thirteen years later. Early in 1900 two priests from the Carabane station brought a catechist, Aloys Samba, to Tendouk, where he began teaching children in the Brombone quarter. 7 The new post had the support of Catarina, the most influential elder in Tendouk, 8 and the Fathers had high hopes for its success. Once again, however, an unforeseen and essentially fortuitous development doomed the enterprise. An outbreak of yellow fever killed two priests at Carabane, and led to


5. "This Muslim warrior had in effect informed the 'Djougoutes' that they must deliver the missionaries into his hands or else compel them to leave, if they wanted to have peace with him." Ibid., 17 March 1886.

6. Ibid.


the recall of the catechist, who was placed in charge of the quarantine by the Administration. During his year in Tendouk, Samba had apparently baptized a few Diola, who may later have formed the core of the Catholic community there. This second abortive effort to set up a mission in Boulouf was, like the first attempt, followed by a hiatus of over ten years. These early forays by the Holy Ghost Fathers into Djougoutes were too sporadic to bear fruit. Hampered by lack of manpower and by bad luck, the missionaries were unable to establish a permanent post in the region.

In 1909 the Fathers again turned their attention to the circle of Bignona. At first, they concentrated their efforts at Kartiak and Bignona. In 1910, they constructed a chapel at Kagnobon and appointed a Wolof as village catechist. From Kagnobon, the Fathers hoped to extend their work to the nearby community of Diégoun, and south to Tendouk. The entire Boulouf enterprise was, however, abandoned once again in 1912. Confronted by the hostility of Diola elders and the growing influence of Islam among the youths of Kagnobon, the priests decided to transfer their mission headquarters to Bignona. Salesian Missionaries of the Holy Ghost, Directoire, Bignona, France, August 1912. The entire Boulouf enterprise was, however, abandoned once again in 1912. Confronted by the hostility of Diola elders and the growing influence of Islam among the youths of Kagnobon, the priests decided to transfer their mission headquarters to Bignona. Salesian Missionaries of the Holy Ghost, Directoire, Bignona, France, August 1912.

Bignona developed rapidly into the center of Diola Catholicism north of the River. During the war, its work was, however, largely

9. ACSE, boîte 159.
10. Ibid.
11. ACSE, IV, 159.
12. Ibid.
13. In 1909 sixty persons were studying under one catechist; by 1916 Bignona had 800 'catéchumènes' and 12 catechists; Bulletin de la Congrégation (Maison-Mère, Paris), vol. 15, p. 408.
curtailed when Fathers Jacquin and Joffroy were mobilized to the
Front. After Jacquin returned from Europe in 1919, he used Bignona
as a base for regular visits through western Djougoutes. Still
hampered by insufficient manpower, Jacquin and his assistants had
to rely on catechists to perform most of the proselyting in Boulouf.
At first they employed non-Diola but by the end of World War I the growing number of converts in the Basse Casamance provided a pool of Diola catechists. During the 1920s, the catechists in Boulouf were usually Diola from Bignona.

The evangelization of parts of Tendouk, Mlomp, and Tionk-Essil
dates from this post-war period. As early as May 1918 a group of nuns
had visited Tendouk; they returned to Carabane with children for the
catechism class. In July, two catechists were placed in Tendouk. In 1925 Jacquin began his work in Tionk-Essil; at approximately the
same time, he also turned his attention to Mlomp.

In each of these three villages, the presence of Muslims who actively opposed the missionaries greatly restricted the Priests' field
of action. The failure of the missionaries to establish a mission at
Tendouk in either 1886 or 1900 greatly reduced their subsequent ability

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14. In 1922 Ziguinchor and Bignona together had only three
priests; Annales Apostoliques, 1922, p. 136.

15. ACSE, "Journal de Carabane, 1907-1920."

16. Interview with Boubacar Niassi, Tionk-Essil, 30 December 1974. The Tionk mission began a few years before the burning of
the chapel, which is dated by archival references, to 1929.

17. Interview with Jean Sambou, Mlomp, 23 January 1975.
to attract converts in the community. Had the Fathers been able to remain in the village and had they converted Catarina, they might have won most of Tendouk to Christianity. This is precisely what did occur during the 1920s and 1930s, in Elana (see below).

In Tendouk after World War I, hostility to the missionaries was apparently led by a group which included the chef de canton Ansouman Diatta. Likewise, when Jacquin arrived in Tionk-Essil, he was told by the chef de village that he could only proselyte in the two quarters, Niaganan and Daga, where there were no Muslims. Had the Holy Ghost Fathers arrived in the region a decade earlier, they might not have found any Muslims in Tionk. By 1925, however, substantial parts of the community were closed to the missionaries.

In Mlomp, too, they were barred from at least one quarter because there were already Muslims there. In 1919 Père Joffroy had baptized three people, all of whom later apostasized. During the 1920s Jacquin resumed missionary work in Mlomp. He opened a small chapel and began a catechism class. Within two years, however, many parents withdrew their children from the class, to follow the religion of Muhammad. After gaining eight converts in the first year, the

18. Both Muslims and Catholics hesitate to speak to foreigners about the factionalism which evidently divided Tendouk along religious lines, during the 1920s. Oral testimony is very scanty on this subject, and written accounts are non-existent.

19. Interview with the former catechist of Niaganan, Boubacar Niassi. The elders of Daga confirmed that there were no Muslims in their quarter until 1927, after the missionaries' arrival.


Catholics were unable to attract further converts in the village. In Bagaya, where a small catechism class had been set up in 1918, Muslims convinced the village chief to expel the catechist. Consequently, no converts were made in that community.

Several factors besides the shortage of missionaries and the opposition of early Muslim communities, hindered the Fathers' efforts to proselyte the Diola of Djougoutes.

When the Holy Ghost Fathers arrived in a new community, they opened schools where students were taught to read and write and were given religious instruction. While these catechism schools were permitted, larger mission schools, including one at Ziguichor, were closed after 1904, when the French government laicized education. Ironically, the colonial administration effectively encouraged the

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22. Interestingly, two of the Catholics who persevered, Benoît and Simone Sambou, adopted Christianity after earlier having been Muslims. Benoît, indeed, was a Catholic, later a Muslim, and then converted again to Catholicism.


24. Ousman Sane of Bagaya claims that he himself convinced the chief, Sabajani, to chase the catechist, Ernest Sagna of Bignona. The Diola had first welcomed the school, because they wanted their children to learn to read. Once they realized that instruction was religious in nature, they pulled their children out of the classes. Interviewed at Bagaya, 5 April 1975.

spread of Islam by appointing Muslum Diola to positions of authority as local chiefs. Furthermore, administrators did not discourage the subsequent establishment of koranic schools, provided the loyalty of the marabouts in charge of those schools was not in question.\textsuperscript{26}

The Catholic missionaries reacted bitterly to what they felt was official favoritism towards Islam. Anti-clericalism is indeed frequently evident in the writings of French officials in the Casamance; throughout the colonial period relations between missionaries and administrators were often less than cordial. In 1907 Père Wintz of the Ziguinchor mission was repatriated to France, "for hostility to the administration."\textsuperscript{27} During the 1920s Père Jacquin, 'Supérieur' of the Bignona mission, was frequently on poor terms with the administration.\textsuperscript{28} French officials continued to show a predominantly hostile attitude towards the Fathers during the 1930s. In 1936 the Administrateur Supérieur complained:

\begin{quote}
Dans cette région les pères sont souvent en conflict avec l'Administration et font une guerre sourde aux établissements laïques, incitant les catholiques à ne pas aller à l'école, entretiennent [sic] des intrigues et voudraient [sic] constituer 'un état dans l'état' . . . . les relations . . . . avec la mission de Bignona [sont tenues] en raison du caractère acerbe du chef de la mission et de ses subordonnés. \textsuperscript{29}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{26} The government of Senegal maintained files on all marabouts who maintained koranic schools. See ANS 13G 367 (187), "Casamance, Statistique des écoles Coraniques, 1915."

\textsuperscript{27} ANS 13G 525 5.

\textsuperscript{28} In 1926 the Administrateur Supérieur, Maubert, complained of Jacquin's "intransigent and haughty attitude." ANS 13G 551.

\textsuperscript{29} "In this region the priests are often in conflict with the administration and they wage war against lay establishments,
Throughout the period 1900-1940, Catholic missionary activity in the Basse Casamance was rarely aided, and it was sometimes hindered by lack of cooperation between the missionaries and the civilian administration. Nevertheless, ironically, Christianity may have had less appeal than Islam in Boulouf, partly because the Diola associated both the priests and their religion with the colonizers.

Christianity made slow progress in Boulouf, partly because both the French missionaries and their catechists viewed conversion as entailing a radical and abrupt break with indigenous religious and cultural values. In particular, the priests felt the Diola initiation ceremonies were pagan rites that had to be actively discouraged. Thus, in 1919 the Superior at Carabane wrote:

Espérons qu'avec l'instruction, ces cérémonies plus ou moins païennes qui n'ont plus lieu dans les villes du Sénégal, disparaîtront également chez les Diolas. 30

When, in 1921, a few pupils left the mission school at Ziguinchor to participate in the bukut at Affiniam, Père Jacquin energetically attacked the initiation and tried to forbid them to attend. 31 A year later, Joffroy succinctly expressed the priests' attitude:

encouraging the Catholics not to go to school, they involve themselves in intrigues and would like to set up a 'state within the state' . . . Relations with the Bignona mission are strained because of the acerbic character of the head of the mission and of his subordinates." ANS 2G 36 75.

30. "Let us hope that with instruction, these ceremonies which are more or less pagan and which no longer occur in the cities of Senegal, will also disappear among the Diola."

Missionary efforts to obliterate traditional religious ritual were, therefore, centered on the most important Diola ceremony, the bukut.

This approach placed Christianity in direct confrontation with traditional society, an attitude that was never assumed by early Islam in Boulouf. The Catholic approach ensured that any accommodation between indigenous religious values and Christianity would be extremely difficult to achieve. Furthermore, the direct attack on deeply held beliefs and customs led, not surprisingly, to conflict between Christians and the rest of the community, at a time when Christianity had barely established itself in the region. This was a major factor limiting the spread of the Catholic faith in Boulouf.

In Tionk-Essil, the policy of openly attacking bukut and directly challenging traditional spiritual beliefs led to an incident which brought the Christians into conflict with the rest of the population. In 1929 the catechist of Daga, Albert Mané, declared to the children in his class that there was no such thing as sorcerers ("Badjut assay"). He proceeded to reveal to everyone, male and female, the secrets which initiates were taught during their stay in the sacred forest. Enraged, parents immediately took their offspring out of the catechism class,

32. "I shall create a revolution in the country, by forbidding circumcision." Annales Apostoliques, 1922, p. 4.
33. Interview with Boubacar Niassi; also, elders of 'sous-quartier' Daga-Catholique; 7 January 1975.
and a group of about 100 elders destroyed the chapel. While the traditionalists later repaired the building, the animosity engendered by Mané's indiscretion was not soon forgotten. The episode marked the apogee of Catholic strength in Tionk-Essil. After this attack on the bukut, many young people stopped attending catechism, and the missionaries had a more difficult time attracting converts.

In contrast to Christianity, Islam did not overtly attack traditional religious practises. To this day, the overwhelming majority of Muslims have no qualms about allowing their sons to participate in the bukut. While Muslims are now circumcised according to Islamic tradition, marabouts and imams have not forbidden participation in other aspects of the bukut.

Furthermore, although they hesitate to admit it, many Muslims continue to visit the sinááti, when they fall ill. This recourse was, however, forbidden to Catholics. The early missionaries were concerned that new converts free themselves of all vestiges of their traditional "pagan" religion. New Catholics were expected to renounce all recourse to the sinááti. In practice if not in theory, some Diola Muslims are frequently less strict about avoiding the sinááti. A Muslim who falls ill has access to marabouts and, if he is discreet, he may visit the

34. Daga-Catholique; and ANS 2G 29 43.


36. See Chapter seven; concluding section on Tijaniyya opposition to the bukut.
appropriate shrine. He may also, of course, consult a European
docor. For Catholics, only the latter course is open. For an
individual abruptly to renounce his familiar defenses against illness
and misfortune requires tremendous confidence in his new religion.
This, coupled with the requirement that catechists undergo a two or
three year period of instruction before they were even permitted
access to the Sacraments, surely reduced the number of converts to
Christianity.

Among Diola Catholics in the Kasa, there is not the rigid avoid-
ance of traditional shrines which seems to characterize Djougoutes
Catholics. In part, this difference may be attributed to the fact
that Boulouf Catholics, surrounded by an Islamic society, are more
isolated than Kasa Christians. Boulouf is shielded from the contem-
porary atmosphere in which "African Christianity" is no longer frowned
upon. In addition, there are now so few surviving practitioners of
the old religion in Boulouf, that interplay between Catholics and
traditionalists is infrequent. The influence of local beliefs and
rituals is far stronger in Kasa, where the traditional faith remains
a vital force. The earlier and more rigid version of Christianity
was at a disadvantage, compared to an initially less purist Islam.

37. The nearest Western doctor is at Bignona, an all-day journey
which costs 600 francs round-trip. There are also nuns with medical
training at Elana, 3 hours' walk from Tionk.

38. I am indebted to Robert Baum for sharing information about
religious dualism among Kasa Catholics.

39. There are practically no Muslims in the Kasa.
Not only did Catholicism in Boulouf attack a wide range of traditional religious beliefs and rituals more directly than did Islam, but also conversion to Christianity entailed the immediate acceptance of alien social and cultural norms. This, too, incontestably hindered its progress among the Diola. To become a Catholic, one had to adopt practises that ran counter to deeply held values. The early mission Fathers were aware of this situation, yet they accepted it as inevitable and even desirable. Père Jacquin wrote:

Cette christianisme d'un village est une révolution dans les moeurs, les coutumes sociales, et les fêtes païennes qui disparaissent devant les coutumes et fêtes chrétiennes. 40

To the missionaries, the new social standards embodied progress away from the old pagan way of life and towards civilization. The Fathers did not distinguish between the religious doctrine they were propagating and the Western social and cultural values that were assimilated into their teachings, precisely because they viewed these cultural elements as one of the positive products of Christianity. Their inability and unwillingness to assume an attitude of cultural relativism certainly lessened their chances for success among the Diola.

The most salient Western cultural standard which the missionaries imposed upon Diola converts was monogamy. As has been observed by historians elsewhere in Africa, the stricture against polygamy

40. "This Christianity of a village represents a revolution in the morals, the social customs and the pagan ceremonies, which disappear before the customs and ceremonies of Christianity." Annales Apostoliques, 1925, p. 45.
prevented the Church from attracting more followers. Among the Diola, the ability to maintain two or more wives is generally the prerogative of older and wealthier men. Besides the status element, there are important cultural and economic reasons for multiple marriages. The ability to produce a male heir is of very great moment to the Diola. Infant mortality is, however, high, and sometimes a wife cannot present her husband with living male offspring. A second or third wife serves as insurance that a man will have male children to care for him in his old age and to carry on his name. Monogamy, on the other hand, increases the risk that one will have no sons.

In Diola society, women harvest the rice crop and in some communities, such as Tionk-Bissil, a wife brings her own fields to the marriage. To limit oneself to a single wife therefore decreases both the amount of land one can cultivate and the acreage that can be harvested. Polygamous households, of course, tend to have more children, so the larger quantity of rice is consumed. A large family is itself considered a sign of wealth, however, and confers social status. Christians had to forego this form of wealth and prestige.

Diola Muslims could, by contrast, take as many as four wives. Islamization did not entail the social and economic drawbacks associated with monogamy. While Muslims were expected to renounce alcohol, Catholics were faced with even more difficult sacrifices.

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Closely related to the subject of monogamy was the matter of priestly celibacy. Among a people to whom the family is extremely important, the fact that the priests had no wife or offspring was difficult for the Diola to understand; it may also have decreased the missionaries’ influence. Muslim clergy were not forbidden to have wives. One of the informal requisites for a potential imam was that he be a good family man. Celibacy, however, placed the priests outside of the family structure.

Of course as foreigners, the Fathers remained outside the kinship network of Diola society. This, more than their celibacy, may have hindered their efforts to convert the Diola.

Although the first marabouts to work in Boulouf were not Diola, by the 1930s imams were being selected from the local population. Today, the mosques of most wards are entrusted to imams who come from the kalolaku. In addition, of the communities which have a village-wide mosque—Tionk-Essil, Mlomp, Tiobon and Mandegane—all but Tiobon are under the care of Diola imams. Within a generation, Islam developed an indigenous class of clerics. This meant that the religion was less a foreign institution. Furthermore, it meant that local

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1. One episode serves to illustrate the misunderstandings that sometimes arose. In 1900 Père Wintz convinced the French at Carabane to liberate an imprisoned Diola. In gratitude the man brought Wintz a basket of potatoes and his daughter, "who will make a good wife." ACSE, boîte 673, "Carabane, Journal de la Communauté, 1898-1907."

2. Mlomp’s mosque is under construction (1975).

3. The imam of Tiobon, Cheikh Ibrahima Seydi Kane, is a Fulani from Bissau.
religious leaders themselves belonged to the kinship structure and had, therefore, direct contact with and influence among their kinsmen. Also, once these Diola imams had reached middle age, they began to receive some of the respect due to elders in Diola society. All of these factors facilitated their efforts to spread Islam in the community. Christianity, by contrast, remained under the leadership of European priests—not to mention a distant Church hierarchy in Rome—and it did not have the advantage of an indigenous clergy.  

Another important factor in the success of Islam, the early support it received from Diola in positions of local authority, was also absent from Christian missionary work in most of Boulouf. The assistance of village and canton chiefs imbued Islam with prestige and facilitated its acceptance by the population. In most of Djougoutes, the Holy Ghost Fathers did not found mission stations until after the development of core Muslim communities which enjoyed the patronage of local authority. One exception to this pattern is, however, illuminating.

When Père Jacquin arrived at Elana during the early 1920s, there were fewer Muslims there than in most of the neighboring communities. Jacquin brought a catechist, who lodged with the village chief, Bernard Diatta. Diatta and his children became the first pupils

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45. There is now one Diola priest in Boulouf (at Elana). During the critical period of the 1920s and early 1930s, however, all priests in Basse Casamance were European.

46. Diatta took his Christian name when he was baptized.
of the catechist. The Catholic community at Elana thus developed under the patronage of the chief. Given the proper situation, in which Christianity arrived during a period of social and economic change, and in which there were few Muslims in the community, it was possible for the Catholic faith to follow a pattern of growth similar to that shown elsewhere by Islam.

In Elana, people who had not yet come in close contact with Islam readily accepted Christianity when the missionaries arrived. Both there and elsewhere in Boulouf, many Diola who became Catholics were attracted by universal aspects of the religion and by its moral standards. Thus, Alfred Diatta, currently the "chef" of the Catholic sub-quarter of Daga, converted because he was impressed by the priests' teaching of the Golden Rule. Boubacar Niassi became a Catholic in 1925 because he felt that "the way of God" must be the truth. With its all-embracing moral code and a cosmology based upon a God of all mankind, Christianity like Islam was adapted to a world in which the boundaries of the local microcosm were breaking down.

Unlike their Muslim counterparts, however, early Catholics usually converted in their home communities. Christianity did not

47. Interview with chef de village Ernest Sagna of Elana, 2 April 1975.

48. Interview with Alfred Diatta and the elders of Daga-Catholique, Tionk-Essil, 7 January 1975.

49. Interview with Boubacar Niassi, Niaganan, Tionk-Essil, 30 December 1975. Most Catholics also gave as a reason for their conversion, the desire to save their souls and to gain eternal life.
enter Boulouf as a religion of traders. This was clearly because in the Gambie, Diola traders were in contact exclusively with Muslims. If, as Horton suggests, participation in trade fostered conversion to one of the world religions, the choice of Islam or Christianity was obviously determined by which religion the traders were exposed to during their travels.

The present preponderance of Muslims in Boulouf reflects the fact that conversion to Christianity entailed the abrupt renunciation of traditional religious beliefs and rituals, while such Christian principles as monogamy conflicted with essential Diola cultural norms. Islam, on the other hand, did not require nearly so rapid a break with local customs. Nevertheless, Christianity, like Islam, offered a world view and a related code of conduct which transcended the scale of the local community, and which were suited to the needs of a people whose commercial and social relations with the outside world were rapidly increasing. If Islam had not reached most of Djougoutes shortly before Catholic missionaries arrived, Christianity would undoubtedly have attracted many more Diola converts.
Chapter Seven: Summary and Conclusions

The religious and socio-economic transformation of Boulouf, from 1890 to 1920, can be subdivided into several stages. This chapter will delineate the three main stages of change and enunciate the dominant characteristics peculiar to each period. Differentiation within Islam in western Boulouf reflects the fact that all communities did not have uniform contact with the outside world. In addition, the more complete conversion of some villages correlates with the presence of the Tijaniyya order. The role of this tariqa in the development of more orthodox Muslim communities constitutes the subject of the concluding portion of this chapter.

The Diola of Boulouf are a non-centralized, kinship-oriented society of sedentary subsistence farmers who, over a fifty-year period, integrated themselves into the money economy, while also becoming predominantly Muslim. Their situation may offer broadly applicable insights about mechanisms of economic change and religious conversion.

The general context of change was provided, from the early 1890s until the end of World War I, by the development of long-distance trade to the Gambia. About 1893 young men from Boulouf began to travel to Bathurst to sell rubber which they had collected in the forests of Djougoutes. Prior to their entry into the Gambian trade, the Diola had almost no experience with either the money economy or periodic
markets. Commerce with French trading houses in the Casamance had been conducted by exchanging goods, without recourse to money. Nevertheless, the early Diola rubber traders demonstrated a clear understanding of market factors. Indeed, it was the promise of being paid in cash rather than goods, combined with the desire to avoid dioula middle-men, which led the Diola to forego the closer French trading posts in favor of the more distant Bathurst markets.

Once they had familiarized themselves with the route to Bathurst and had established commercial contacts there, these early Diola traders also began to collect and sell palm produce in the Gambia. Palm produce, while less lucrative than rubber, did provide an alternative commodity which the Diola could sell. In years when the European demand for rubber dropped, palm produce sales increased. The Diola thereby exhibited flexibility in responding to fluctuations in the market prices of their goods.

After the collapse of the wild rubber market in 1913, the Diola continued to collect and sell palm produce in the Gambia. Until the 1920s, most of the Muslims in Djougoutes converted while participating in this long-distance trade. Their conversion while away from home spared them some of the opposition they would have encountered from the traditionalist community.

Distant from their extended family and even from their own ethnic group, these traders were outside of the circumscribed universe to which their sinááti (shrines) related. Their traditional faith offered no conceptual or moral framework by which to deal with the
non-kin, non-Diola among whom they now found themselves. The appeal of Islam derived in part from the fact that it fulfilled both of these needs. Based upon the concept of a supreme being, Islam betokened a universal world view. In the Koran and the Sunna it provided guidelines by which believers could relate to and measure their actions towards members of all ethnic groups. To the Diola trader, the new religion offered a view of the world, together with rituals and a code of behavior, which oriented him and guided his relations with the wider human community.

Economic factors also played a part in the conversion of the individual Diola trader. In joining the community of the Faithful, one implicitly accepted standards of conduct common to the dicula of the Gambia, and one accepted the authority of local imams to adjudicate quarrels. Diola Muslims may therefore have won the trust of their hosts, and they may well have received better credit terms from the Manding Muslims with whom they did business. It is impossible to know whether any Diola converted with these economic benefits consciously in mind. Clearly, however, Islam entailed no economic drawbacks to dissuade Diola traders from converting. Economic self-interest may well have encouraged conversion.

The first Diola to become Muslims were long-distance traders and the first Boulouf villages to convert were those with the most extensive communications and commerce with the Gambia. Both of these facts are congruent with Robin Horton's hypotheses about African religious conversion. Horton's "Intellectualist Theory" is an
attempt to explain the evolution of indigenous belief systems and
the spread of Christianity and Islam in Africa. He postulates that
traditional religions characteristically exhibit:

A 'basic' African cosmology which has a two-tier
structure, the first tier being that of the lesser
spirits and the second that of the supreme being. 1

The lesser spirits underlie events in the microcosm of the local com-
community, while the supreme being underpins events in the wider world.
Where peoples' social relations are confined to the microcosm, as is
generally the situation in subsistence agricultural societies, it is
the lesser spirits which receive most ritual attention. As communica-
tions and social contacts with the macrocosm increase, however,
greater attention is paid to the supreme being.

The second aspect of Horton's theory—and that to which the
Diola situation is directly relevant—deals with the reaction of local
African societies to exposure to one or the other of the world
religions. As trade and communications weakened the boundaries of
the microcosm, local peoples sought a more fully developed and less
remote concept of the supreme being. Islam and Christianity both
offered cosmologies centered on just such a concept. The world re-
ligions therefore held considerable appeal where they were introduced
at a time of greatly expanded contact with the outside world. In such

1. For Horton's most succinct and refined exposition of the
Intellectualist Theory see "On the Rationality of Conversion;"
instances, Horten argues, they served essentially as "catalysts for changes that were in the air anyway."²

Horton's Intellectualist Theory does indeed offer a "handle" by which to understand religious and psychological motivation for the Islamization of Boulouf. The first Diola converts were precisely those men, long-distance traders, who had the most extensive contact with the outside world. This bears out Horton's supposition that the concept of a "morally concerned" supreme being was most important to those individuals whose lives transcended the boundaries of the microcosm.³

According to Horton's theory, a cult of the supreme being might have been expected to develop within traditional Diola religion, about the beginning of the present century, in response to the break-down of the microcosm. Three generations later, however, an observer⁴ cannot evaluate changes which may have occurred in the traditional conception of "Emitay." Today, some traditionalists do speak of Emitay as the same God to whom Muslims and Christians pray.⁵ One senses, however, that the identification of Emitay-Allah-God is a direct result of contact with the world religions,⁶ rather than

⁴ Particularly a non-Diola, unfamiliar with the subtleties of late-nineteenth century religious thought and ritual in Djougoutes.
⁵ Abako Diatta, elder of the forest of Boundia ward, Mlomp, 21 January 1975.
⁶ This identification was fostered by Christian missionaries who used the term "Emitay" to refer to the Christian deity. The first Diola-language catechism was written in 1900. In the same year, Père
evidence of the spontaneous elaboration and humanization of the traditional otiose deity. 7

Nevertheless, Horton's predicted correlation between increased outside contact and Islamization does hold true for the Diola. In Boulouf, an accelerating rate of conversion corresponded with the further development of long-distance trade and transportation, and with the general dissolution of the microcosm. Furthermore, those communities which first became predominantly Muslim, such as Tiobon, were the villages that had the longest and most extensive history of contact with the macrocosm. This much of the Intellectualist Theory is borne out by the early progress of Islam in Djougoutes. In addition, as Horton would suggest, the universality of the Islamic cosmology, rituals, and moral code, was clearly a factor in the religion's appeal among the Diola.

During the period of early conversion, Islam's appeal also derived from the fact that it was seen as a religion of peace. 8 Cherif Mahfuz' message that neighbors should live together in harmony assumed increased relevance after 1907, as the beginnings of French colonial administration brought Djougoutes villages into closer con-

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7. Horton is himself aware of this problem. He writes: "We meet grave difficulties when we try to discover how far present-day belief and cult relating to the supreme being are part of the indigenous religious heritage, and how far they are the results of Islamic and/or Christian religious influence." "Rationality of Conversion," part I, p. 223.

8. After unsuccessful attempts by Fodé Sylla and Birahim N'Diaye to convert the Diola by force of arms during the 1880s, Islam entered Boulouf only by peaceful means.
tact with one another. Prior to that time, inter-village relations had been characterized by frequent skirmishes, often sparked by excessive palm wine consumption. The Muslim stricture against alcohol discouraged these drunken brawls. As the religion of inter-village cooperation then, Islam was well-suited to the changing environment of the early colonial period.

Until after World War I, the spread of the new religion was also fostered by the fact that most of the local Diola chiefs, who had been appointed at the behest of the colonial administration, were Muslims. As the chefs de village used their influence to encourage other Diola to convert, Islam gained both prestige and strength. In Boulouf, the chefs de village frequently aligned themselves with their communities against French authority, by refusing either to collect taxes or actively to assist in recruiting drives. They, therefore, were not mistrusted by the villagers, as representatives of the administration. During the 1920s the chefs de canton did become highly unpopular for their role as tax collectors and as recruiters of forced labor. By then, however, Islam had already gained a solid foothold in Boulouf and the support of canton chiefs was not a vital factor in its continued spread among the Diola.

The second stage of conversion, which lasted through the 1920s, was characterized by the introduction of a cash crop economy and by

9. Village heads were either named by the résident at Bignona, or chosen by the villagers, subject to approval by the résident.

10. ANS 2G 18 hh; ANS 2G 21 27.
the continued breakdown of the microcosm of traditional society. The economic initiative which the Diola had demonstrated by entering the Gambian trade was again manifested in the early development of peanut cultivation in Boulouf. As early as 1911 small quantities of peanuts had been grown in Tionk-Essil to raise money to pay the impôt. After the end of World War I, some Djougoutes farmers independently began to expand cultivation. The more rapid growth of peanut farming, beginning in 1923, was stimulated by higher taxes and by the Sociétés de Prévoyance, which provided seed to the Diola. By the end of the 1920s the traditional subsistence rice economy had been modified into a dual agricultural system: peanuts for export and rice for local consumption.

During this period, the construction of roads and the partial integration of Djougoutes into the colonial economy led to greatly expanded communications and commercial contact with the world beyond Boulouf. Islam continued to attract new followers, increasing numbers of whom converted in their own villages.

The continued growth of migration and the introduction of cash cropping led to an infusion of wealth, much of which accrued to younger men. Many migrants returned from the Gambia with cattle, giving them an economic status unprecedented among young men in pre-colonial Diola society. Economic independence afforded these men some freedom from the stringent bonds of patriarchal authority. Islam, which stressed ideals of piety and religious learning above age alone, provided a value system to support this status. The new religion thus
helped to free the most dynamic segment of society, the young adults, to participate in the economic changes then occurring.

For some individuals, conversion may have constituted a way to achieve adult status. In Boulouf society, uninitiated young men were not considered adults and they could not marry. For men in their twenties who had not yet been through a bukut, conversion to Islam may have served as a means of overcoming their subordinate position and of starting a family.  

The third and final phase in the conversion of Djougoutes lasted from the early 1930s until the end of the decade. The same economic and social transformations which had begun during preceding decades continued to effect the progressive integration of Boulouf into the colonial society and economy. During the 1930s repeated crop failures and cattle plague, combined with economic depression, created severe hardships for local society and led to a substantially accelerated rate of conversion. Traditional ritual means of dealing with drought proved incapable of alleviating the problem. Ultimately, Muslim marabouts were called in to exercise their expertise.

The use of marabouts to end the natural calamities afflicting Djougoutes illustrates a general human tendency to turn to any available sources of specialized technical assistance in time of critical challenges to survival. Non-Muslim Diola respected the spiritual  

11. Additional field research is indicated, to ascertain whether a significant number of Diola traders in the Gambia became Muslims before they had been initiated.
powers of marabouts and sometimes consulted them. Even before indigenous ritual remedies had been exhausted to no avail, both Muslims and non-Muslims may have appealed to the marabouts for assistance. Furthermore, by the 1930s Islam was already the religion of a sizable minority throughout Boulouf, and this increased the probability that Muslim specialists would be called. When, in 1935 the unprecedented series of calamities began to abate, many Diola probably attributed the improvement to the ministrations of the marabouts.

The mid-1930s were a period of mass conversions. As more and more people became Muslims, their compatriots experienced social pressure to follow suit and conversion assumed a momentum of its own. A movement which had begun slowly among migrant traders forty years earlier, now culminated in the rapid conversion of a majority of the population. Without the catastrophes of the early 1930s, Islam would still undoubtedly have continued to win adherents in Boulouf. The crises simply accelerated a process which was already well under way.

During the late 1920s and 1930s, the fankafu or extended-family compound began to give way to smaller residential groups. This develop-
ment was closely related to migration and cash cropping. While in the Gambia, migrants were free from parental control. After they returned home, the money they had earned afforded them the means to support families. By establishing their own compounds, they were probably able to maintain some independence from patriarchal control.

These habitations were constructed in close proximity to the patriarchal compound. Thus, although the fankafu began to break up during the inter-war period, the members of each extended family group remained in the same ward and family ties did not totally dissolve.

In Djougoutes between 1890 and World War II, the growth of long-distance trade and seasonal migration, the development of a cash crop economy, and the gradual dissolution of the extended family compound and of traditional patriarchal authority, all created a new environment to which Diola religion was not ideally suited. Islam, by contrast, offered a universal cosmology based on the concept of a supreme being. It also provided membership in the supra-kinship, supra-ethnic group community of the Faithful as well as an embracing moral code to guide social and commercial contacts. The Muslim faith

15. Many of these smaller compounds house two married brothers and their families; they are not strictly "nuclear family" habitations.

16. Pelissier, p. 843, points out that another reason for the dissolution of the fankafu was the end of inter-village warfare; by the 1930s there was no longer the need for fortress-like buildings.

17. Even today, the migrant who spends years in Dakar maintains ties with his home ward and returns to that quarter. The sole exception is in Tionk, where centrally located land has been set aside as a "commune." Families from all four wards have constructed their homes there.
thus provided both an identity and an ideology which better enabled
the Diola to develop commercial and social relations with the outside
world. It offered:

a bridge mediating between the narrow particularism
of traditionalist society and the wider impulses and
requirements of modern life and economic interests. 18

I. M. Lewis' observation is eminently valid for Boulouf.

Islam and the evolution of 'Bukut'

The bukut initiation well illustrates the changes which Djou-
goutes society has undergone since the arrival of Islam. The evolution
of this most important of all Diola ceremonies reflects survival and
modification of some local rituals, and the disappearance of others
due to Islamization. In addition, a study of the men's initiation
facilitates an assessment of what part, if any, the liminal period
has played in culture change in Boulouf.

Although the initiation remains a stronghold of traditional
ritual and knowledge, it nevertheless underwent significant changes
during the colonial period. According to elders who were initiated
before 1920, the initiation retreat was formerly characterized by
more severe discipline and neophytes remained in the forest for as
long as two months. The introduction of schools and the growth of
urban migration have limited the time when the entire community can
gather. Now, the retreat occurs during school vacation; it lasts
only two or three weeks.

The most important change to accompany the spread of Islam was the end of traditional circumcision. Where formerly bukut was organized around the ritual cutting, futampaf, of the initiates, Muslim youths are now circumcised by their imam. The bukut now entails a ritual incision, rather than true circumcision. Nevertheless, the attendant celebrations and the initiation retreat which follows, have survived. The partially secularized bukut is practised today throughout Boulouf.

Many other adjustments have been made in the bukut as a result of both Islamization and obligations imposed by contemporary Senegalese society. Until 1919 pigs were sacrificed in Tionk-Essil's initiations. In a Muslim society this is, of course, not permissible. The Diola now kill primarily cattle; fathers who can afford to, sacrifice an animal for each of their sons.

Traditionally, very young boys were not permitted in the bukut, and a young man could not enter the same initiation as his father's brothers. Consequently, some men reached the age of thirty without having been initiated. These regulations imposed uncomfortable restrictions on the affected individuals, who were not considered to be adults.

21. This regulation was probably intended to prevent two generations from being initiated at the same bukut.
Within the last thirty-five years, however, these rules have been modified so that now, virtually everyone is initiated by his mid-twenties. The change is related to the development of urban migration. Virtually all young men leave home, at least for the dry season; many of them spend years living in Dakar independent of their elders. Hence, the old guidelines for entry into adult status no longer have force.

With the spread of Islam to the entire population, there inevitably comes a time when there are no surviving traditionalists to instruct the initiates. The role has then to be assumed by Muslims, with some resultant changes in the ritual. This evolution follows the same general pattern in each village. During the period of conversion and for a generation after the majority of the population have converted, the sacred forest remains in the care of traditionalist elders. These men continue to offer palm wine sacrifices to the sinááti; Muslims simply do not participate in the offerings. By the time of subsequent initiations, however, most of the old traditionalists have died and direction of the initiation retreat passes to the care of Muslims. While the general structure of the retreat remains, palm wine libations to the sinááti cease.

The progressive loss of traditional religious ritual in the bukut occurred first in Tiobon. There, the sacred forest was under the direction of a traditionalist minority in 1928. Twenty years

22. The date of 1928 is given by Touze, Bignona en Casamance.
later there were only a few "kuSoninké" left to offer the bounouk libations. In Tionk-Essil the 1962 bukut was undoubtedly the last for the traditional libations; already, some of the sacred forests were in the care of Muslim elders. At the last bukut in Mlomp (1952), all of the sacred forests were directed by traditionalists, one of whom survives. In the next initiation Abako Diatta may well be the last to offer the traditional libations in Mlomp. And in Mandegane, where a bukut will be scheduled within the next few years, the entire village is now Muslim. Only in Tendouk do these libations seem likely to continue for at least another generation.

In Boulouf, traditional religious rituals have tended to survive Islamization by at least a generation. Clearly the bukut, far from being an instrument of change, has actually served to preserve pre-Islamic ritual and knowledge. Even in its altered form, bukut retains the fundamental structural elements of pre-Islamic 'rites de passage.' If the sinaáti have generally disappeared from the bukut, the initiation retreat nonetheless remains a vital instrument for the transmission of traditional knowledge.

The role of liminal periods during 'rites de passage' in the transmission of cultural values and practises, is the subject of an illuminating essay by Victor Turner. Liminality occurs between the initiates' separation from society and their réintégration, as

23. Tiobon last held a bukut in 1951. Imam Cheikh Ibrahima Seydi Kane recalls only two traditionalists who participated in that ceremony. For an eyewitness account of this bukut see Touze.

adult members. The temporary relaxation of social structures and roles for the neophytes, together with their absolute submission to the authority of their instructors, makes them particularly malleable during liminality.

Where Turner deals primarily with a traditionalist society, the Ndembu, Edward Alpers has analyzed the role of liminal periods in promoting social and religious change. He finds that among the Yao of southern Tanzania and Malawi, initiation rituals played an important part in effecting the spread of Islam. Yao society was politically centralized and chiefs controlled initiation rites. During the late nineteenth century, Muslim chiefs were able to introduce Islamic elements into the initiation ritual, thereby extending the new faith to the population. The Diola, on the other hand, have no centralized traditional political authority. The bukut would not so readily have served as a vehicle for the introduction of Islamic symbols or practises.

Unlike initiation among the Yao, Diola bukut has clearly served as a stronghold of tradition. During the bukut, new initiates spend several weeks in the sacred forest, under the supervision of elders from whom they receive instruction in traditional songs, dances, sexual information, historical traditions, and a secret sign


Even in predominantly Muslim communities, if there are surviving traditionalists, the elder of the forest is likely to be a non-Muslim. Accordingly, even today the period of instruction in the forest serves to instill traditional knowledge. If anything, the liminal period is the last phase of traditional ritual to be infiltrated by Islamic elements.

Bukut clearly did not afford early Muslims an opportunity to introduce Islamic symbols or ideas to the community. Perhaps had there existed a centralized political authority with control of the ceremony, the situation might have been different. The only men to control the bukut, however, were—and remain—a small group of elders. These people were frequently the last to become Muslims.

In its partially secularized form, bukut continues to represent and to imbue the participants with, a sense of Diola identity. Bukut is tradition. Respect for tradition is shared by most people in Boulouf, including Muslims. As one imam stated, "Bukut is a ceremony of our ancestors which must never be ended." Although the initiation has changed markedly over the last fifty years, there is little likelihood that it will soon be discontinued. This equilibrium between tradition and the exigencies of contemporary Muslim and urban society, typifies the ability of the Diola to adapt to the new, without sacrificing their distinctive identity.

27. Interview with Aba Xo Diatta, 'chef' of the sacred forest, Mlomp. See also Thomas, "Bukut," pp. 111, 113-114; and Doutremépuich, "Visite a un 'camp' de Circoncis."

28. Imam Ansoumana Sambou, Tionk-Essil. The same sentiment was expressed by Arfan Kemo Sagna, 'grand imam' of Boulouf and spiritual leader of the Tijaniyya community in Mandegane.
Bukut in Boulouf is a living institution. Indeed, it may have experienced a resurgence during the past fifteen years. Two decades ago, Louis-Vincent Thomas felt that the bukut was in the process of disappearing. As late as 1965 he predicted that the bukut in Niomoun that year might be the last ever in the region of Blis-Karones. Today, however, it is almost impossible to find Diola, at least in Boulouf, who wish to discontinue the bukut. Perhaps Thomas underestimated the continuing importance of the initiation ceremonies. Perhaps too, a general revival of African pride and sense of identity since independence has contributed to the renewed concern for indigenous customs. This new attitude is particularly evident among those individuals whose daily lives are most distant from traditional society. When the bukut is celebrated, it is the functionaries from Dakar, returning to the Casamance to trade their suit and tie for apparel more appropriate to the sacred forest, who aggressively embrace traditional customs. This trend has apparently contributed to the vitality of the bukut in Boulouf.

While most Muslims in Boulouf accept the bukut as congruent with their religious beliefs, a minority have refused to permit their children to participate in the retreat. In 1962 about 100 Tijaniyya initiates in Tionk-Essil were kept out of the sacred forest by their


30. In all my fieldwork, I found only one group of men, in Mandegane, who expressed the belief that the bukut might be discontinued. Subsequent interviews, including a talk with Arfan Kemo Sagna, suggested that this was a minority view and that bukut will continue in Mandegane.
parents. During the retreat, they remained in a separate compound.
A similar situation arose in 1974 when Diatok held its bukut. A few
parents did not wish their sons to take part in an institution infused
with "Soninke" rites. This sub-group are, quite obviously, more rigid
in their demand for Muslim orthodoxy, than are the vast majority of
Diola.

Differentiation within Islam in Boulouf

Tijaniyya opposition to the bukut relates to the more general
question of the differential evolution of religious practises in the
villages of western Boulouf. The communities of Tiobon, Mandegane,
and Tionk-Essil are almost entirely Muslim and religious rituals there
show a high degree of orthodoxy. Mlomp and particularly Tendouk, by
contrast, contain sizable traditionalist communities. Furthermore,
these two villages, as well as Bagaya, continue to observe the tradi­
tional pre-Muslim rain ceremony. In Tendouk this ceremony exhibits
distinctly syncretist elements. 31

Several factors may account for these differences. Tiobon
was, of course, the earliest Muslim community in Djougoutes. The prox­
imity to Combo, close commercial contact with dioula traders, and the
long association with Cherif Mahfuz and his successors, all led to the
implantation of Islam and the early dissolution of traditional religious

31. This is essentially the traditionalist rain ceremony of the
 oeyi, "in Muslim garb." The officiant, a descendant of the oeyi,
presides over the sacrifice of a black bull, and himself offers palm
wine librations (although he is a Muslim). He then offers a verse
from the Koran, as a prayer for rain.
ritual. Tiobon's location at a commercial cross-roads also brought travelling marabouts to the community. Exposed regularly to visiting clerics, including representatives of the Tijaniyya, the population may consequently have accepted a more orthodox Islam than they would have, had they been more isolated. Perhaps, too, the "purer" Islam practised in Tiobon represents a later stage in religious development. Like Tiobon, Tionk-Essil has long maintained extensive relations with the outside world. Its well-travelled population is the most cosmopolitan in Djougoutés. This has certainly stimulated the growth of Islam and the atrophy of traditional practices. In Mandegane the dominant personality of Arfan Kemo Sagna, imam for thirty-seven years, has been a powerful force behind the growth of Muslim ritual and the loss of traditional practices. Arfan Kemo runs the largest koranic school in Boulouf, his talibés come from as far away as Bathurst, and the huge white-domed mosque of Mandegane is as much a source of civic pride, as is the imam himself. The combination of the school, the example of his own piety, and the local pride which unites the village, particularly for Muslim festivals, has served to instill orthodox Muslim practices in Mandegane.

32. The dominance of Islam in a cosmopolitan community accords with Horton's suggested correlation between degree of contact with the macrocosm, and adoption of beliefs centered in the supreme being.

33. On the Prophet's birthday in March 1975, several busses of his Diola talibés drove from Banjul, to participate in the festivities. During this holiday, all of Arfan Kemo's followers try to come to pay homage to him.

34. The largest and most imposing structure in Boulouf, the mosque is also the only building to have electricity, outside of the Catholic mission at Elana.
In each of these three Boulouf communities unique historical factors have lent particular strength to the new religion. In the other villages, no dominant Muslim cleric arose to instruct and lead the population, and commercial ties and migration to the outside world remained less important. Without such forces, the local Muslim communities developed in greater isolation and there was less pressure to abandon indigenous ritual in favor of a more orthodox Islam.

It is striking that the distribution of the two groups of communities reflects the checkerboard pattern of pre-colonial village alliances. There is quite possibly a direct causal relationship. During the period of early religious change, villages which maintained friendly relations with one another would have been likely to exchange visitors. Thus, Tionk would have had closer contact than Mlomp, with the Muslims of Tiobon. Similarly, visiting marabouts may on occasion have been escorted directly from Tiobon to Tionk. Even after the suppression of local hostilities by the colonial administration, this situation would have continued. Accordingly, Arfan Kemo of Mandegane would have had few pupils from Bagaya at his koranic school, while the people of Tendouk would not readily have conferred their children to Tierno Amadou in Tionk.

There is, significantly, one factor which is common to all three of the "orthodox" communities, but absent from the other villages. That is the existence of a significant Tijaniyya population. This tariqa, associated during the nineteenth century with the militant reform movement of El-Hajj Umar, still retains some of its orthodox vigor. Members
of the Tijaniyya tend to reject indigenous religious practises more adamantly than do other Diola Muslims (witness the refusal to allow participation in the initiation retreat).

From the 1920s, under the guidance of Tierno Amadou Sy, Tionk-Bessil was a center for the Tijaniyya in Boulouf. The order continues to attract followers under the leadership of local Diola marabouts. In Mandegane too, the tariqa is strong. Arfan Kemo's Tijaniyya followers may even constitute a majority of the population of that village. In Tiobon, where Mahfuz originally conferred both main wîrds, the present imam belongs to the Tijaniyya.

In the three villages where remnants of the traditional prayer for rain survive, the Tijaniyya is not a significant force. There is apparently a small group in Bagaya, but not a single person in Tendouk belongs to the tariqa. The absence of the reformist Tijaniyya appears to be one reason for the proliferation of sinâáti in Tendouk. Certainly, the participation of Muslims in the annual ceremony at the bakin would not be tolerated by the Tijaniyya. It is likely that the Tijaniyya has served as a vanguard, in communities where it is strong, striving for more complete Islamization through the abandonment of traditional religious practises. Where the tariqa did not become established, the absence of strong opposition to traditional rituals facilitated the maintenance of some indigenous shrines and the development of syncretist practises.

35. Such as Ansoumana Diatta of Daga, born in 1933, who studied the Koran in Ziguinchor (perhaps with a follower of Cherif Younous).
For nearly a century, culture contact in Boulouf has led to the dynamic interaction of Diola and Islamic traditions, as well as elements of European education and economic organization. The process of social and economic change through adaptation and synthesis of all three currents, continues. Local religious institutions and rituals have changed drastically within the span of eighty years. Yet, with the maintenance of traditional agriculture and of the bukut initiation, important aspects of traditional culture have survived and remain functional.
Sources

Oral Sources

In researching this dissertation, I attempted to correlate written and oral sources. Since most of the period considered in this study is yet within living memory, interviews constituted a rich source of information. However, partly because of the nearness of the period described testimony was invariably influenced by personal, family, and community interests. Thus, for example, one individual who was depicted by his son as the earliest Muslim in his village and a stalwart convert, was revealed by another early Muslim who knew him, to have apostasized twice. To minimize the danger of unwittingly adopting the viewpoint of one particular informant or faction, I sought to interview as wide a range of informants as possible. Wherever conflicts or factional disagreements could be identified, I tried to interview representatives of all sides.

Inspite of such precautions, written records remain the most reliable means of establishing the validity of oral testimony. Frequently, comparison with archival records reveals the great detail and accuracy of oral traditions. Sufficiently often to keep one "honest," however, the correlation of sources provides graphic warning against uncritical acceptance of uncorroborated oral testimony. Written sources, both archival and published,¹ are indispensable even to the writing of what is hopefully primarily a history of the Diola, rather than of European colonialism.

¹. For a discussion of written sources, see Chapter One, pp. 1-8.
I collected oral testimony during a six-month period in Boulouf. Upon arriving in each village, I usually met first with the chef de village. Often, he not only identified individuals who were particularly well-informed about local history, but was himself a knowledgeable informant. In addition to chefs and local imams, I tried to interview surviving traditionalists, as well as early converts to both Islam and Christianity. Each community also contains a few individuals, not necessarily its oldest members, who are particularly well-informed about pre-twentieth century local history. A protracted stay in one village enables the researcher gradually to identify these men, who often become his most important informants.

My interviews generally lasted from one to three hours. I was usually accompanied by my Diola assistant, Ansoumana Faye Sané. Informants were generally interviewed singly, although occasionally as many as ten elders would convene to recount the history of their ward or village. Sessions began with formal questions. Frequently a free-flowing discussion ensued. During the interview I took notes and, if the informant was agreeable, the session was tape recorded. Immediately after the interview, I wrote a detailed report based upon the notes and the tape.

After several months in Tionk-Essil, I found that many of my interviews occurred in less formal settings. Indeed, important insights often evolved from casual conversations. It would be impossible to list all such discussions. I have, nevertheless, tried to include the names of all informants who provided assistance during my time in the field.
I. Diola Informants

A. From Tionk-Essil:

1. Cheikh Abba Badji, chef of Batine and grandson of Indis who, as chef de quartier, served as Cherif Mahfuz' host. Interviewed many times between January and May 1975. About 65 years old. Fluent in French, he also assisted at interviews with Bakari Badji.


3. Elders of Batine: Malan Djemé (b. 1895); Moussa Diatta (b. about 1920); Seydou Sadiu. Interviewed with the chef and imam, 1 January and 7 January 1975.

4. Alfred Diatta, chef de sous-quartier, Daga-Catholique (b. 1898). Interviewed with Bernard Diatta (b. 1936); Nasia Diatta (b. 1900); Eugene Mané (b. 1920) and other men of the sub-quarter, 7 January 1975.


10. Bassiru Djiba and several elders of Niaganan (Malan Djiba, Bakari Diatta, Ousman Djiba, Boubacar Diatta); interviewed 12 February 1975. All Muslims. Bassiru, in whose compound I lived during my months in Tionk, is about 65 years old.


13. Lamine Sagna (Daga) and Sekou Djemé (Batine), Muslims, about 55 and 65 years old. Interviewed with Mfali Djemé, 1 January 1975.


B. Mlomp


23. Chef de village Mamadou Sambou, interviewed with Mamadou Diedhiu (b. 1910) and Malam Diedhiu (b. 1904) and other elders, 22 January 1975.

C. Tiobon


D. Tendouk


31. Aliou Diedhiu, traditionalist, born 1930. Son of late priestess of important enaâti which insured rain and health to the village. Interviewed 7 February 1975.


E. Mande gane


34. Chef de village Mamadou Coudiaby (b. 1925). Interviewed with elders of the community, 7 February 1975.

35. Seku Coudiaby, brother of village chief and son of Ansoumana Coudiaby an early Muslim and village chief. Interviewed 24 March 1975 with Ansoumana Badji, assistant village chief.

F. Bagaya


37. Ousman Sané, Muslim, claims to have been initiated in about 1890. Interviewed 4 and 5 April 1975.
G. Elana


H. Other Diola


40. Lansana Sane', traditionalist herbal healer, father of Ansoumana Faye Sane'. Interviewed in Falmeré, in Fogny near Bignona, 26 December 1974.

II. Non-Diola Informants


42. Mapaté Diagne, retired Inspector of Schools. Wolof, born St. Louis about 1890. Interviewed at Sedhiou, 2 January 1975.

43. Cheikh Ibrahima Seydi Kane, imam of village mosque, Tiobon. Born 1908 in Bissau. A Fulani, he studied at Dar Silamé and took the Tijaniyya wîrd.

44. Cherif Malay Idris Haïdara, son of Cheikh Abba and grandson of Cherif Mahfuz. Interviewed at Falmeré in Fogny, 26 December 1974.

45. Abdou Soumaré, chef de village, Bodé, and son of the first chef de canton in Boulouf, Demba Soumaré. Himself a Tukolor. Interviewed 1 April 1975.

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