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In the eastern Senegambia of the 1850s, the imperial designs of al-hajj Umar and Governor Louis Faidherbe came into open confrontation. Umar organized his holy war around campaigns against the "pagan" Bamana, who dominated the space between the Upper Senegal and the Middle Niger, but he needed Senegambia as a base of operations and source of men, munitions and other supplies. At the same time and in the same space, the French sought to expand their control of trade in gum, gold and other products.

The height of the confrontation, both in terms of the events of the 1850s and their portrayal in the subsequent literature, took place at the newly created French fort of Medine in 1857. The Umarian troops laid siege in the hot dry season, but they were not successful in storming the walls or starving the defenders before Faidherbe arrived with reinforcements in the rainy season.[1] This paper deals with the way in which this confrontation has been portrayed in the received traditions, and with the larger question of the convergence of European and indigenous traditions during the colonial period.

The French interpretation of the event began immediately, by means of journal and newspaper articles based on an account by the Franco-Senegalese commander of the garrison, Paul Holle. Faidherbe quickly elevated the interpretation to the status of a received tradition, whereby the French had saved not only their possessions but also the indigenous peoples from the plunder and forced conscription of the "fanatic Tokolor marabout."[2] This tradition became part of the larger annals of French conquest and colonial rule in the Western Sudan.

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[1]See David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal* (1985), Ch. 6. A somewhat similar confrontation, more interesting intellectually and theologically, occurred around a letter that Umar wrote to Senegalese Muslims in 1855. See John Hanson and David Robinson, *After the Jihad: Ahmad al-Kabir and the Maintenance of the Umarian State* (forthcoming), Document 8A.

[2]The crucial article was written by Frédéric Carrère, president of the Imperial Court of Senegal and a close friend of Paul Holle: "Siège de Medine," *Revue Coloniale* 19 (1857). Faidherbe subsequently used the Holle/Carrère account in his book, *Le Sénégal. La France dans l'Afrique occidentale* (1889), which follows closely his third-person account, *Annales sénégalaises de 1854 à 1885* (1885) and some of the articles he published in the 1850s in the *Moniteur du Sénégal et Dépendances*. These articles followed closely the reports he received from Paul Holle as his commander at Medine.

The Umarian chroniclers were less eager to formulate a received tradition around the Medine siege. This was partly due to their failure to achieve victory, in notable contrast to most of their campaigns against the Bamana of Karta a few years earlier (1854-1855) or the Bamana of Segu a few years later (1860-1861). The hesitation may also be explained by the fact that the Umarian holy war was not oriented towards confrontation with the Europeans, who were also "People of the Book," but towards the destruction of those "infidels" who had no redeeming features, who possessed no arms to sell, and who blocked the elaboration of a *dar al-Islam* in the Western Sudan.[3]

In this paper I wish to suggest that the confrontation of Medine, and the larger picture of Franco-Umarian hostility of which it was part, was widely accepted by indigenous as well as French administrative elites during the colonial period. Indeed, I would claim that Faidherbe and Umar became the bookends framing the Senegalese experience during the proto-colonial and colonial periods. Faidherbe was the founder of the secular Senegalese colony and state, in opposition to the Islamic state. Umar was the protagonist of holy war and the Islamic state, and the father of national resistance and Senegalese religious identity. The Senegalese nationalist historians have compensated for the lack of emphasis in the internal Umarian traditions by borrowing from the French interpretation and making Medine and other encounters of the 1850s into signs of the intense religious and political enmity between the Umarian and French causes.[4] For these intellectuals Umar was the Islamic scholar and warrior; he provided the social charter for their existence. I would want to go one step further: versions of events that did not support the confrontational interpretation, or that raised questions about the solidity of the Umarian cause, were consciously or unconsciously suppressed.

I now turn to internal Umarian traditions which are preserved in Pular written in Arabic script [or *ajami*].. I will look in detail at a selection from one such text which deals with the Medine encounter and other events located during the same period.[5]

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[3]For the design of the Umarian cause, see Robinson, *Holy War*, Ch. 9. Madina Ly-Tall, a descendant of Umar, has taken a decidedly different orientation, however. In her recently defended *doctorat d'état*, she emphasizes the Umarian resistance against French expansion. See her thesis, "Islam, pouvoirs traditionnels et pénétration française en Afrique de l'Ouest. Le mouvement omarian et ses relations avec la colonie du Sénégal (1796-1862)" (Paris I, 1988).

[4]Two published examples are Djim Momar Gueye, "Les trois objectifs et les quatre caractères de la lutte d'El Hadj Cheikh Oumar Tall: héros musulman de notre résistance nationale," *Dakar: Vers l'Islam*, May-June 1956, and Amar Samb, "Sur El-Hadj Omar (à propos d'un article d'Yves Saint-Martin)," *Bulletin de l'IFAN*, B, 1968, pp. 803-5. See also Ly-Tall, "Le mouvement omarien."

[5]The *ajami* or "non-Arabic" conventions for writing Pulaar probably originated in the pedagogy developed in Futa Jalon and especially in Labe province in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Many Futa Jalonke joined Umar's community and participated subsequently in his military campaigns. They presumably trained disciples from Futa Toro, which probably did not have an *ajami* tradition, and it is from these Futa Toro men that we have the three principal Pulaar narratives dealing with the *jihad*. The *ajami*

The longest and best known of the Umarian poems is the account of Mohammadou Aliou Tyam which was transcribed, translated, annotated, and published by Henri Gaden in 1935.[6] Tyam's poem runs to 1185 verses, almost the ideal 1200, and it covers Umar's life and the entire *jihad*. Tyam was a very young recruit from a noble family when he enlisted with Umar in the 1846-1847; in the 1860s he settled in Segu during the reign of Umar's son Amadu, and it was at Amadu's court that he wrote his poem over the next two decades. The result is one of the most polished and "ideologically correct" accounts of the whole Umarian enterprise.

Tyam, consistent with the dominant Umarian interpretation, glosses over the defeat at Medine. According to him, Umar had not wanted to attack, but rather to use the means of boycott and threat to force the French out of the upper valley and back into the role of supplying logistical support for his campaigns.

> When some people said: "Head for Medine," the Shaykh said: "No, the ones saying that are stubborn, and you will not win. The best war to wage against them is to seize the routes and prevent anyone coming to them for trade.[7]

After the defeat, Tyam quickly moves to portray Umar as the healer of wounds and rebuilder of the Umarian community, which was now in convalescence deep in the interior near the Bakhoy and Bafing tributaries of the Senegal.

> There the Shaykh knew that the time of arrogance had passed. He said: "Come, so that I may hide you in the mountains until your bodies recover their strength."[8]

A second text adopts the same position on the Umarian movement. Its author was a certain Muhammad ibn Tafsir Mahmud of the village of Nabbaji in eastern Futa Toro. His narrative stops just short of the Medine confrontation.[9]

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tradition of Pulaar writing was not supported by the colonial state in French West Africa, and its use did not expand in the ways in which Swahili and Amharic developed in Eastern Africa. See my article, "Fulfulde Literature in Arabic Script," in *History in Africa* (1982); and *Holy War*, Ch. 2.

[6]As *La Vie d'El Hadj Omar. Qaçida en Poular.*

[7]Tyam, *Qaçida*, p. 101, verses 602-3.

[8]*Ibid.*, p. 104, verse 619.

[9]Found in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Manuscrits Orientaux, Fonds Arabe (hereafter BNP, MO, FA), vol 5732, ff 23-8. In my 1982 article cited in note 5, I incorrectly identified Muhammad ibn Mahmud with a scholar by the same name who wrote some letters in praise of Ahmad al-Kabir in the 1870s and which are contained in BNP MO FA 5640, ff. 25-38. The second scholar was often called Shaykh Mamadu Mamudu, a Futanke scholar with close ties to Muslim families in St. Louis; he was placed as a chief in Eastern Futa by the French in 1890, and was soon assassinated by Abdul Bokar Kane. His son, Abdussalam Kane, presided over the fortunes of colonial eastern Fuuta from the 1890s to the 1950s. See

A third *ajami* author, and the one with whom I am principally concerned here, took a very different perspective on the events of the 1850s. Lamin Mabo Gisse, a *maabo* griot [10]who hailed from the same part of Toro as Tyam and who enlisted at about the same time and age, wrote a much shorter version about the *jihad*, limited to events in the early campaigns and culminating with the battle of Medine.[11]

Lamin Mabo's treatment of Medine comes at the end of a striking critique of the Umarian cause. His poem takes the form of a lament of about 250 verses. About one-fourth of the way into the poem, at the point where Lamin finishes the narrative of the relatively easy initial conquest of Karta and begins dealing with the revolts that produced heavy casualties on both sides, the tone shifts from celebration of the righteous cause to questions about the value of the Umarian mission. In describing the battle of Gimbanne, where Lamin was wounded and many of his comrades killed, he articulates the dominant refrain of his poem for the first time:

> Farngallo gooto feddam ina lelii e bannge gammbol.
>
> In one line all my comrades fell beside the trench.
>
> Alla woni seede, Saykam, alaa piyraado caggal!
>
> God is witness, my Shaykh, that no one was shot in the back!
>
> Njoreeji carii e boowal, diwo weebi cuudi meeden.
>
> The shrouds were spread out, it was easy to become a widow in our country.

The toll of lives lost, families broken and property destroyed builds as Gisse carries the story up through 1856 to the battle of Medine in 1857. For Medine he repeats the litany of destruction and the list of major casualties:

> Ko ni! Bibbe Futa kuubii uddal Madiina Sammbala.
>
> So it was! The sons of Futa were exterminated at the siege of Medine.

David Robinson, *Chiefs and Clerics* (1975), pp. 105-6, 145, 152, 156; and "French 'Islamic' policy and Practice in Late Nineteenth-century Senegal," *Journal of African History* 29 (1988).

[10]*Maabo* is one of three categories of griot in Peul/Tokolor societies. See Robinson, *Holy War*, 10.

[11]I am using here an unpublished version found in the Fonds Gaden, Cahier 16, at IFAN.

Raasin Kaataala e Mohammadu Hammaat[12] e Amiira Abdul,

Raasin Kaataala and Mohammadu Hammaat and Amiira Abdul,

Nalla Pullo Raasin e Njoogu Ciilel Sa'iidu Tooli Abdul,

Nalla Pullo Raasin and Njoogu Ciilel Sa'iidu Tooli Abdul,

Lam Toro Hammee e Demmba Gaysiri,[13]

Lam Toro Hammee and Demmba Gaysiri,

farngallo gooto feddam ina lelii bannge gammbol.

in one line all my comrades fell beside the trench.

Alla woni seede, Saykam, alaa piyraado caggal.

God is witness, my Shaykh, that no one was shot in the back.

Njooreeji carii e boowal, diwo weebi cuudi meeden.

The shrouds were spread out, it was easy to become a widow in our ountry.

He then moves on to a new theme which constitutes the climax of the poem: an appeal to Umar to abandon the *jihad* and lead his people back to the land of milk and honey in Futa:

Ko ni! Sayku Umar, kooten! mbele Alla aawdi heddo.

So it is! Shaykh Umar, let's go home, so that by God some seeds will still remain.

Ko ni! Bibbe Futa yeewee beeyooje tintinii en ndeke waalo Futa

So it is! Children of Futa, look around, the circling birds tell us that the valley has emerged from the flood again.[14]

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[12]Several of the immediately preceding verses deal with the almost legendary bravery of Mohammadu Hammaat, a Wan from eastern Futa who had distinguished himself throughout the Karta campaign. The poet's implication is that if the battles have become so murderous as to take the life of Mohammadu Hammaat, then the war has little purpose.

[13]Two members of the ruling lineage of Toro province, the Salsalbe.

[14]Futa Toro was distinguished from many areas, and even other parts of the Senegal River valley, by the existence of a floodplain which permitted a second crop, cultivated during the dry season, each year. The circling birds could be the buzzards waiting to scavenge the battlefields of Karta or the birds that threaten the grain fields in Futa.

Mbo yehi hannde cuudi meeden maa taw toon Jaalo-Maalee,

He who goes to our land today, he will hear the Jaalo Maalee,[15]

maa taw toon Baaro-Buuli, tawa toon dukdoobe batte keerol e foodoowo jatti baammum.

he will hear the Baaro Buuli, he will find the disputes over boundaries and the heritage of one's father.

Ko ni! Sayku Umar, kooten! A lirwiima leydi Bammbara.

So it is, Shaykh Umar! Let's go home. You have destroyed Bamana country.

A hadii kam yillitoyaade cuudi meeden. Mi waynitoyoo monngo bincan dornalal.

You prevented me from going back to see our home, to say goodbye again to the succulent seeds.

Gisse then brings a portion of the refrain into a sharp contrast between the attractive Futa Toro and the despised Bamana country:

Alla woni seede, Saykam, leydi mbelndi ko cuudi men woni,

God is witness, my Shaykh, that the sweet land is our land,

to gawri e kosam, liddi e lamdam,

of millet and milk, fish and salt,

Kono Alla jogii kootol.

But only God can decide the return.

Alla woni seede, Saykam, min njidaa leydi Bammbara.

God is witness, my Shaykh, we do not like Bamana country.

Alaa ko min tawi e leydi Bammbara son wonaa bata e buuti e buutol e bonde kuugal.

We have found nothing in Bamana country but sacks and ointment and thin cloth and betrayal.

Ko ni! Sayku Umar, kooten! Mbele Alla aawdi heddo.

So it is, Shaykh Umar, let's go home, while some seeds remain.

So wonaa duum, pewjaa, mbelaa wadii en ngado-beno?

If not, be prepared, for two things are converging on us.

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[15]A song sung by the cultivators, as is "Baaro Buuli" in the lines below.

Jaawara na deera Maasina na mooba, eden e tuubaak na reena dammugal.

The Jaawara sere seeking to mobilize in Masina,[16] while the Europeans are watching over the gate.[17]

Gisse's account is a precious resource — the only internal tradition, to my knowledge, that confirms the information reported by the commander of Medine and other French observers of the 1850s about the dissension within the Umarian ranks.[18] The encounter and the result, the devastation of the Umarian ranks, crystallized deep doubts at the heart of the community about the enterprise in which they were engaged, about its toll in lives, family integrity, and property, and the chances of future success. It seems likely that the Umarian army diminished by half in the last months of 1857, and that a very large portion of the loss came as a result of desertion.[19]

Gisse's version challenged a number of fundamental assumptions about the cause and its interpretation. He showed the divisions within the ranks and instances where disciples disobeyed Umar. He pointed out the enormous destruction, in Umarian as well as Bamana lives, and called attention to this fact by citing the names of the martyrs. He emphasized the destruction of property and acquisition of booty, and thereby pointed to the materialistic motivations of the disciples. He took Umar at his word by declaring that the mission of the *jihad* was the destruction of paganism, in this case the Bamana of Karta, and he said that the mission had been accomplished. Finally, he painted life back in the Futa floodplain in alluring colors of rich and varied agricultural production, whole families and general prosperity. His picture of Futa coincided with the arguments made by opponents of the *jihad*.[20]

It is not surprising that the Umarian leadership would want to limit the recitation of this text, or that their descendants would discourage its circulation or publication during the colonial period. This leads me to the final portion of this paper, and to other questions. Why was Gisse's account not published? Why did Tyam's version become the principal published version of the internal perspective on the Umarian *jihad*, without challenge from Gisse or any other source?

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[16]The Jawara, initial allies of the Umarians in Karta, had taken up the mantle of revolt in 1856 and were trying to interest the highly regarded Masina army on their behalf.

[17]A reference to the French installations at Medine and Bakel, from which some missions might be launched against the Umarian positions.

[18]Especially contained in ANS 15G 108. See Robinson, *Holy War*, pp. 183, 215-17, 347.

[19]Robinson, *Holy War*, pp. 215-19.

[20]And may have added to the difficulties of recruitment. For a discussion of these issues and the year of massive recruitment (1858-9), see Robinson, *Holy War*, pp. 223-25.

As an answer to this question I suggest that the converging interests of colonial authorities and indigenous elites led, in this specific instance and perhaps in many others, to the neglect (if not actual suppression) of versions of traditions that did not correspond to the emerging orthodoxy about the precolonial past.[21] In the case of Senegal and Soudan, the two colonial territories with which I am concerned, it is necessary to distinguish two periods: a period of installation of the structures of colonial rule (ca. 1890-1914) and a period of their elaboration (1920-1940), separated by World War I.

In the first two decades of colonial rule the French found their Senegalese collaborators principally in the old royal lineages or among Muslim clerics from anti-jihadic and non-Tijaniyya credentials.[22] For Islamic clerics they relied particularly on Mauritanian Qadiriyya such as the Sidiyya and Saad Bu families, who had considerable influence in Senegal. The chiefs might be the sons of those who had fought against the French advance, but if they were recruited early and properly educated — as in the case of Buna Ndiaye, son of Alburi, or the sons of Lat Dior — they could serve the new regime.

In the interwar period the French had more knowledge of the ethnic, political, and religious history, or at least they thought that they did. They had more security about the solidity, permanence, and benevolence of their regime. In this context they reached out to communities like the Umarians which had not yet been attached to the new order. That might mean publicizing the story of resistance, or the achievements of the Tijaniyya, but this now somewhat "ancient history" no longer threatened the new order — on the contrary, it brought new luster.

During the periods of installation and elaboration of colonial rule, a number of Frenchmen played key roles in articulating the structure of languages, ethnography and history of French West Africa. They joined the roles of administrator and scholar, and they served in the field, in the colonial capitals, and in Paris, where they had prominent roles in the colonial associations, schools and journals. For the purposes of this paper, it was Henri Gaden and Maurice Delafosse who played the key roles in selecting, publishing and thereby shaping the traditions of knowledge about the Umarian movement. Gaden served in Ivory Coast, in Soudan at the old Umarian capital of Bandiagara, and in Niger where he monitored the movement of refugees from the Umarian state who chose to emigrate to the Nile and the Holy Lands.[23] By 1910 he had moved to a base in St. Louis and dealt with a

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[21]See Martin Chanock, *Law, Custom and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Cambridge, 1985), and his article, "A Peculiar Sharpness: An Essay on Property in the History of Customary Law in Colonial Africa," *Journal of African History* 32 (1991).

[22]See my paper, "Brokers and Hegemony in Senegal," given to the 1987 Illinois conference, "New Perspectives on the Colonial Period," and my article, "French 'Islamic' policy," cited in note 9.

[23]See Robinson, "The Umarian Emigration of the Late Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 20 (1987).

series of assignments in Mauritania, including the position of Commissaire and Lieutenant Governor of Mauritania during the interwar period.

Maurice Delafosse played a supporting role to the work of Gaden on the Umarian movement. He had his most important colonial experience in Ivory Coast (ca. 1894-1906), but he also developed a strong interest in Arabic, Islamic societies and the areas of Senegal and Soudan. During the period 1910-1914 he taught ethnography and language at the Ecole des Langues Orientales and the Ecole Coloniale in Paris, and he wrote several of his most important works, including the monumental synthesis of the history and culture of the Western Sudan, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*.[24] It was during this time that he began collaborating with Gaden. Their relationship became more intimate during the years when Delafosse served as the head of the Affaires Civiles et Politiques of the governor general of French West Africa in 1916-1918, and it was sustained after Delafosse resumed his teaching and writing career in Paris after the war (1919 until his death in 1926).[25] Without question Delafosse was the leading French interpreter of Islamic society and ethnography in the early twentieth century.

In Futa Toro the French chose their early allies largely from those who had opposed the Umarian cause: for example, the Wane of Mbumba, Abdulay Kane and his family, and Abdussalam Kane, the chief who served for almost sixty years from Kanel in eastern Futa. Their principal intellectual ally was Shaykh Musa Kamara, a very learned and maverick scholar who was assiduously cultivated by Gaden and Delafosse.[26] It was also during this period that Delafosse and Gaden made another effort to establish the history of Futa from the earliest times, and with the most minimal reference to al-hajj Umar. They published a translation of a chronicle written or collated by Sire Abbas Soh, a noble from the heartland in central Futa, coupled with a smattering of oral and written traditions and a glossary.[27]

It was probably not possible for the Umarians and the French to establish any effective collaboration before the interwar period. The colonial authorities inherited a

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[24]3 vols., Paris, 1912.

[25]See the biography compiled by his daughter Louise Delafosse, *Maurice Delafosse. Le Berrichon conquis par l'Afrique* (Paris, 1976). For Gaden's relationship with Delafosse, see pages 318-24, 364. See also William Cohen, "French Racism and Its African Impact," in G.W. Johnson, ed., *Double Impact: France and Africa in the Age of Imperialism* (1985), and his older study, *Rulers of Empire: The French Colonial Service in Africa* (Stanford, 1971), p. 49; and James Searing, "Accommodation and Resistance: Chiefs, Muslim Leaders and Politicians in Colonial Senegal, 1890-1914," (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1985), pp. 421-44 .

[26]It was at the beginning of the second period, around 1920, that Kamara undertook the vast ethnohistory of the middle valley and surrounding areas, partially at the suggestion of his French friends. See my article, "Un historien et anthropologue sénégalais: Shaikh Musa Kamara," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 109 (1988).

[27]*Chroniques du Fouta Sénégalais traduites de deux manuscrits arabes inédits* (1913). See L. Delafosse, *Maurice Delafosse*, pp. 293-94.

strong legacy of suspicion about the West African Tijaniyya, and that was largely because of the alleged hostility of Umar and his son Amadu Sheku. The Tijaniyya were associated with the Tokolor, who had enjoyed a "fanatical" reputation in French circles for most of the nineteenth century. But the French altered their position in the early colonial period. As they encountered opposition from Muslims who did not belong to the Tijaniyya, as they had to deal with thousands of Umarians whom they expelled from Karta and Segu and forced back to Futa Toro, as they needed a "reliable" Futa to serve as a base for Mauritanian conquest,[28] the French began to differentiate among the different groups of Tijaniyya and to "domesticate" them all. By World War I they had distinguished the "Wolof Tijaniyya" organized around their ally, Malik Sy of Tivaouane. By the interwar period it was even possible to place confidence in leaders of the "Umarian Tijaniyya."[29]

The Umarian side also required a long period of adjustment. Umar had a strong sense of French duplicity, and his son Amadu had a much more ample demonstration between the 1860s and the 1890s.[30] It took at least a generation for most of the Umarian leadership to accept and learn to operate within the colonial system. Agibu, the son who accepted Archinard's patronage and was placed in Bandiagara as the "king of Macina," was the most notable exception, but his option was widely denounced by his contemporaries and he brought little legitimacy to the regime.[31] I have the impression of a "lost" generation around the turn of the century — descendants of Umar and his major disciples who explore a number of options in the Western Sudan outside the horizons of the archival and published record. Only at a later time were some of them able to accept the new colonial order and to move into the new colonial heartlands.[32]

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[28]See Mouhamed Moustapha Kane, "A History of Fuuta Tooro, 1890s-1920s: Senegal Under Colonial Rule. The Protectorate" (Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1987), especially Ch.s 4 and 5.

[29]See Robinson, "French 'Islamic' policy," and "Malik Sy: un intellectuel dans l'ordre colonial au Sénégal," paper given at the conference on "Religion et histoire dans l'Afrique au Sud du Sahara," Paris, 15-17 May 1991.

[30]Many examples can be found in A.S. Kanya-Forstner, *The Conquest of the Western Sudan* (1969) and Yves Saint-Martin, *L'Empire toucouleur et la France. Un demi-siècle de relations diplomatiques (1846-1897)* (1967). See also Hanson and Robinson, *After the Jihad*, especially Document 18B, which is an 1893 letter from Amadu Sheku to the Sultan of Morocco.

[31]For Agibu's defense of his decision to work with Archinard and the French conquest, see De Loppinot, "Souvenirs d'Aguibou," *Bulletin du Comité Historique et Scientifique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* 2 (1919), and Ibrahima Mamadou Ouane, *L'Empire toucouleur d'El Hadj Omar. L'Enigme du Macina* (Monte Carlo, 1952).

[32]In Northern Nigeria the transition was probably easier, since the British selected their main collaborators among the emiral and caliphal families, and since the wazir of Sokoto formulated a very specific justification for submission to British authority in 1903. See Remi Adeleye, "The Dilemma of the Wazir: The Place of the *Risalat al-Wazir ila Ahl al-'ilm wa'l-Tadabbur* in the History of the Conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, IV, 2 (1968).

It was during the second or interwar period that Gaden concentrated a considerable amount of his intellectual energy on the transcription, translation and annotation of Tyam's *Qaç'ida*. In his introduction he tells us that he received his first copy of the narrative poem about 1920, from the *qadi* (or Islamic judge) of Boghe, Amadu Mokhtar Sakho, and that in 1930 the same *qadi* gave him a another copy as well as the fruits of his own research. Sakho was a descendant of a family who had been close relatives and collaborators with Umar and the Tal for several generations.[33] Sakho himself was born in Segu, remained loyal to Umar's son Amadu until the French conquest, and at a slightly later date returned to the family homestead in western Futa Toro. The French appointed him as *qadi* in 1904 in an effort to strengthen their position in the turbulent Halaybe/Boghe area and to solidify their bases in the valley as they undertook the conquest of Mauritania. Sakho had impeccable Umarian credentials, and by virtue of them he could and did serve the colonial regime well.[34] He was obviously interested in the history of the Umarian mission, and in presenting it in a certain way.

One of the Tyam texts upon which Gaden worked was provided by Seydu Nuru Tal, a grandson of Umar who spent several years learning from Amadu Mokhtar Sakho in Boghe as well as al-hajj Malik Sy in Tivaouane.[35] After this "seasoning," and after World War I, he settled in Dakar where he lived in close proximity to the offices of the governor general of the French West African Federation, and went on numerous missions to resolve disputes among Muslim and other communities in the French possessions. Seydu Nuru spoke for much of the Umarian community by this time, and possessed one of the finest Arabic and Islamic libraries in all of West Africa. Gaden, in his introduction, calls him "his old friend." The two men, the French administrator and intellectual and the Senegalese holy man and intellectual, could communicate in Pular. They collaborated on Gaden's other major work, *Proverbes et Maximes Peuls et Toucouleurs*.[36]

Gaden cites two other persons who assisted with the preparation of Tyam's narrative poem. One was Mamudu Ba, son of another *qadi* appointed by the French. The Ba were a prestigious lineage of central Futa who had been closely associated with the Umarian cause and became equally well tied to colonial administration in Mauritania and

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[33]See Robinson, *Holy War*, pp. 68-70, 280, 348-49.

[34]See Paul Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam et les Tribus Maures: les Braknas* (1921), pp. 297-99, and *Etudes sur l'Islam au Sénégal* (1917, 2 vols), I, pp. 163, 179; Kane, "A History of Fuuta Tooro," Ch.s 4 and 5.

[35]One of the few published pieces on Tal is by Sékéné Mody Cissoko, in *Afrique Histoire* 7 (1983). Oumar Ba has compiled a series of references to the missions which Tal performed for the colonial regime throughout French West Africa, beginning in the 1920s, in an unpublished manuscript, "Seydou Nourou Tall, grand marabout" (about 1973).

[36]Published in 1931, in the same series of "Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie" as the *Qaçida*. Gaden thanks Tal on page vii for recommending to him one of the two men who assisted most in the compiling of the proverbs.

Senegal.[37] Finally, he located a *maabo* griot, Usman Salif Sawa Sara Koli Ndiaye, who was the son of one of the closest associates of Umar, Amadu and their court, and a loyal servant of the traditional aristocracy.[38]

With such an array of interested and talented collaborators, it becomes easier to explain how Gaden was able to prepare and publish the carefully transcribed, translated, and annotated poem of Tyam. The world of those interested in West African historiography, oral narrative and *ajami* texts is certainly the richer for the existence of this long and complete account. But in the absence of other published internal texts, and precisely because of the careful presentation and wide availability, the Tyam version has played a great and indeed overwhelming role in the interpretation of the Umarian *jihad*.[39]

It is also possible to see the interest of French colonial authorities in consolidating a picture of united, strong, even "fanatical" resistance to their conquest. The French had fought against the best, most committed Muslim army and won. Now the descendants of the proponents of *jihad* and the Islamic state, individuals with such impeccable Islamic credentials as Seydu Nuru Tal and Amadu Mokhtar Sakho, were reconciled to the existence of the secular colonial state, and they would affirm by word and example that the conditions for the practice of the faith were considerably better than in precolonial times. Seydu Nuru and Amadu Moktar had established their credentials as scholars and Islamic notables quite independently of the French, and their voluntary attachment to the regime was useful in the extension of colonial hegemony.

What can be said about the alternative version, the Lamin Mabo text? The same Henri Gaden acquired a copy of the Gisse text by the late 1920s.[40] He was sufficiently interested to transcribe it into Roman characters, make a word-by-word interlinear translation, and put down some elements of the annotation. This work constitutes Cahier 16 of the Fonds Gaden, and it is the material upon which I have relied for this article.[41]

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[37]*Qaçida*, p. ix; see also Shaykh Musa Kamara, *Zuhuur al-Basaatiin*, II, ff. 11-13. From the same family came the influential interpreter of the Mauritanian colonial administration, Mahmadou Ahmadou Bâ, author of "Notice sur Maghama," *Bulletin de l'IFAN* 1 (1939). Through his colonial connections Bâ became a sharp critic of the claims of Shaykh Musa Kamara to lands on the north bank around Maghama. See Robinson, "Kamara."

[38]*Qaçida*, p. ix. See my reference to his descendant, Amadu Wendu Node Ndiaye in *Chiefs and Clerics*, p. 212.

[39]Particularly where authors have not had access to other internal written and oral accounts, as in Yves Saint-Martin, *L'Empire toucouleur* (1970) and B.O. Oloruntimehin, *The Segu Tokolor Empire* (1972). Madina Ly-Tall, however, also relies heavily on the Tyam version, which buttresses her basic interpretation; see her thesis cited in note 3.

[40]In Cahier 16 Gaden uses the back side of paper marked, "La Presse-Associée, Organisation Cooperative des Journalistes Français et Etrangers, 11 place de la Bourse," and dated October 1927.

[41]In the introduction to Tyam's *Qaçida*, Gaden mentions "Lamine Tafsir Ahmadou Dyainabou" of Tooro province, but he ascribes to him a poem of different length which "celebrates the victories of the Shaikh, from Dingiray to Karéga." He dismisses Gisse's work as of little interest beside the masterpiece of

Thanks to Abubakri Dem, one of the leaders of the Association for the Renaissance of Pular in Senegal, I have learned that the Gisse text was recited and discussed in the 1930s at the residence of Abdussalam Kane at Kanel. Kane was appointed to the position of chief in eastern Futa in the 1890s and remained in that position until his death in 1955. He acquired considerable wealth, power, and influence in the colonial administration during that time.[42] One of Kane's correspondents was Henri Gaden, and one of his clients was Cerno Saydu Shuraw Dem, an expert in *ajami*, reciter of the Gisse text and the father of Abubakri.[43] It is certainly possible that Gaden obtained his copy from Kanel at about that time, and that he met with Dem and Kane about the Gisse version.

The remainder of the argument about neglect or suppression is circumstancial. I do not presume to think that anyone instructed Gaden to leave the Gisse text unpublished. But I do think that Amadu Mokhtar Sakho, Seydu Nuru Tal, and other influential Muslim leaders sought Gaden out as an influential intellectual and administrator, and made sure that he received copies of materials which they thought should see the light of day, and that they discouraged the circulation and publication of alternative versions. This was especially true of versions that ran counter to the emerging orthodoxy about the Umarian *jihad.*

In conclusion, I wish to suggest a number of lines of inquiry:

1) a close examination of the circumstances under which historical texts are publicized and circulated during the colonial era, including situations of "commissioning" (as may have been the case for Kamara), selecting texts of deceased authors (as in the case of Tyam and Sire Abbas Soh), and more generalized forms of collaboration;

2) changing definitions in the minds of the colonial authorities about what is acceptable and useful history (for example, the chronicle of Sire Abbas Soh in one period, the *ajami* chronicle of Tyam in a later one);

3) the perspectives in written and oral documentation which the colonial authorities neglect or suppress, at any period, and the relationship of those perspectives to received traditions and alliances forged between indigenous leaders and colonial authorities.

Tyam. *Qaçida*, p. viii. The celebratory poem was not by Lamin Mabo at all but by Muhammad ibn Mahmud of eastern Fuuta, the author cited in note 9.

[42]See Robinson, "Kamara."

[43]These observations are contained in Abubakri Dem, *Jihaadi Seyku Umar Taal e Yiyannde Cetodiido Makko Lamiin Maabo mo Haayre Laaw*, published by the Association for the Renaissance of Pulaar, Dakar, 1987.