

THE VICISSITUDES OF A CLERICAL CLASS : THE TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENT
OF THE TOOROBBE IN FUUTA TOORO
(SENEGAL)

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The haalpulaar (or Toucouleur) society occupies the largest part of the central valley of the River Senegal which divides the two countries - Senegal and Mauritania. The Peul call this region the Fuuta Tooro, the word Tooro referring to the downstream part of the central valley. This society is characterized by a strong hierarchy of statutory groupings which has led some authors to translate the peul word leñol by caste. We are only concerned here with free statutory groups, dimo, and not with specialized craftsmen, ñeeño, which include both those who produce the goods and those who are connoisseurs, nor with slaves, maccudo, nor emancipated slaves.

The free population can be divided into four categories (the cubballo, the Toorodo⁽¹⁾, the ceddo and the Pullo. They can be differentiated according to their primary activity or to the dominant activity of acquisition or else according to their social function.

At one extreme are the cubballo who devote themselves to fishing in the lesser bed during the dry season and in the major bed in the rainy season when the plain is flooded. They have no clear-cut social function as do the two categories of agricultural workers that follow.

As far as agriculture is concerned, they combine fishing and the cultivation of the riverbanks.

Those who work in agriculture often combine farming most of the types of soil that are found in the Senegal valley: riverbank soil, falo, and river basin soil, kolangal - that is waalo flooded directly

(1)

Toorodo (plur. Toorobbe). Henceforth we shall only use the singular form of proper names used in this paper except for the Toorobbe which is used in the plural form.

from the lesser riverbed as in the case of the falo, or indirectly from swampy tributaries as are the kolangal, and lastly the jeeri lands which are never flooded and are thus cultivated during rainy periods. So what distinguishes these two groups of agricultural workers is not acquired activities but rather general social functions: a religious function for the toorobbe, from whom the Imams are still recruited for the mosques, and also the priests who are to be teachers or healers; a "warrior" function for the ceddo who for a long time have refused to accept Islam and have dedicated themselves to war.

A certain controversy surrounds the statutory origin of this group insofar as one may suppose that they constituted the entourage of prisoners of war of the former Saltigi Deeniyanke, a Peul dynasty founded by Koli Tengella in the sixteenth century. It was only the tooroodo "revolution" under Suleyman BAL at the end of the 18th century that allowed them to accede to the status of freemen when they were regrouped in adjacent communities dedicated to defence, that is to guarding the fords which allowed the Moors to mount raids against the left bank of the river during the dry season.

Counterbalancing the group of fishermen, insofar as we are dealing with a group that has no clearly defined general social function, we should situate the Peul; they are still engaged in stock breeding, more or less associated with agriculture, transferring their herds from pasture to pasture (jeeri), as well as the cultivation of crops found there. Let us add that this extremely simplified presentation must not let us forget that the Peuls have dominated the flooded areas or waalo for a long time, as is borne out by the fact that they often assume the local

political function of territorial chief, jom leydi, as we shall see later.

We should like to show how the toorobbe priests seized power at the end of the 18th century thus putting an end to the Peul hegemony (16th to 18th centuries). To understand the emergence of this clerical class, we feel that it would be of great interest to review a village community, to analyse the genealogy and matrimonial links of a territorial chief's family, and to study the importance of local power sharing. Through a microscopic study of a village community - Meri in the present-day Podor region - we have been able to understand and subsequently to trace the boundaries of the territorial units or leydi of the major part of the central valley; we have systematically collected the political village charters and, finally, tried to envisage the dispersal of the chieftain clans (jom leydi) by superimposing the genealogies of the patrilineages and the reconstituted territorial units.

The conditions which make it possible, to pass in this way from the village area to the surrounding territory, from the local political level to the central level, are found in the existence of an actual centralized political organization: in the nineteenth century the capital of the Almaami or the elected priest who ruled the whole of Fuuta Tooro was simply the village where the priest lived: in the same way mass conscription replaced a professional army.

In addition an astonishing homology can be noted in organizational rules at the local and global levels. Thus the transmission of a small plot from one patrilineage to another when a woman is given to a "foreigner" recently come to the village, follows the same procedure as the transfer of several "cuvettes de décrue" from an aristocratic Peul lineage to that of a toorodo priest. The same procedures govern the

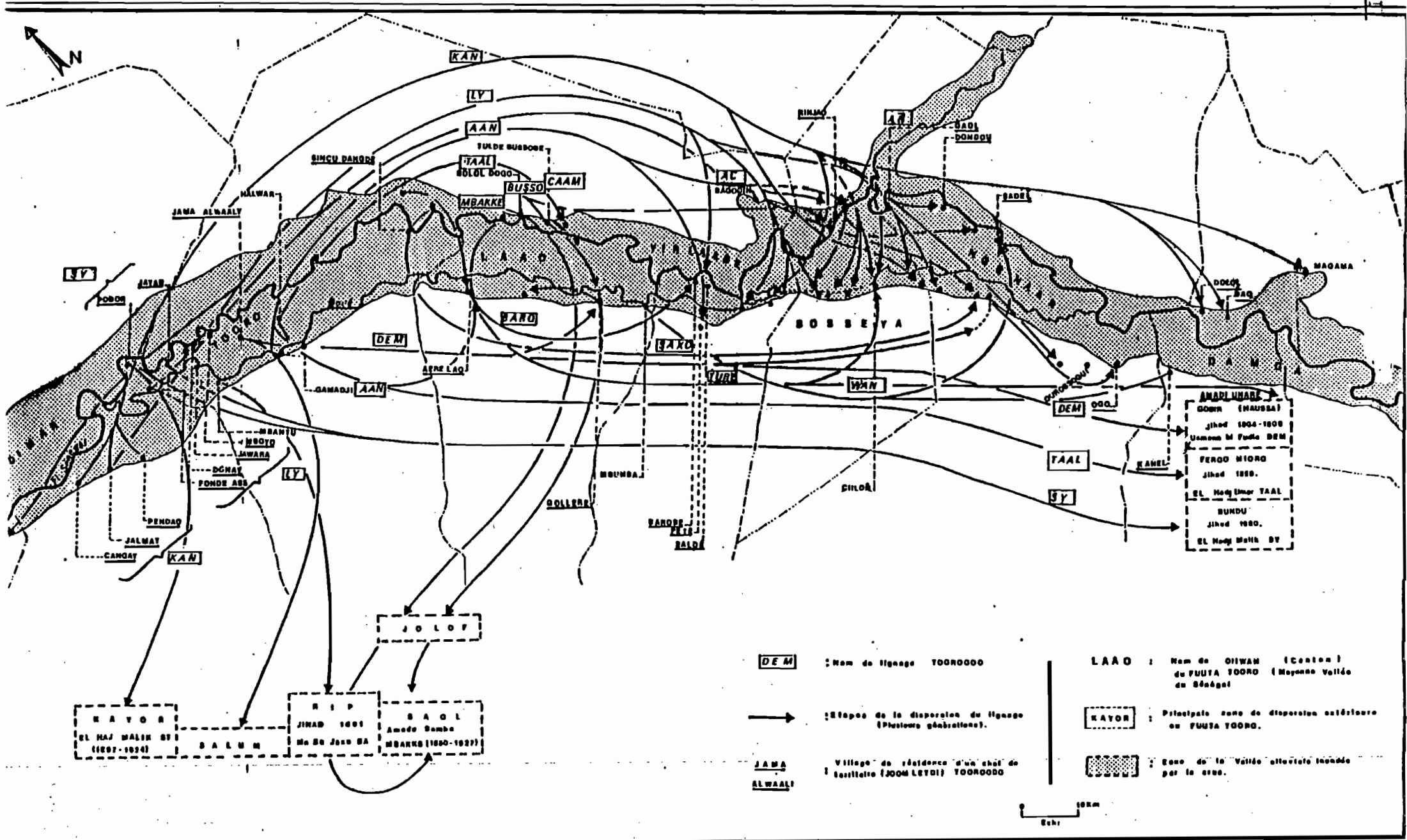
election of a territorial chief or jom leydi as govern that of an Almaami.

Historical genealogy of movement of Toorobbe lines

The destiny of the great Toorobbe lineages can be traced by means of genealogical information first collected and published by Siré Abbas Soh in his "Chroniques du Fouta Sénégalais" (see Soh, S.A., 1913). From this it is possible to connect all the members of one clan dispersed throughout the Senegal valley and constitute a sort of in-depth reference work on its settlement. In most cases this work traces the path from the clan's common ancestor to the secondary ancestor giving rise to a segmentary lineage localized in a village (wuro) or a territory (leydi). These secondary ancestors, which is where Siré Abbas Soh normally stops, are the first bearers of a title that corresponds to a village magistrate. The two main local political functions are those of village chief, meaning chief of a community of inhabitants (jom wuro) and territorial chief (jom leydi) comprising normally a "décrue" area, a pastoral section situated transversally in relation to the river, a part of which is reserved for the territory's fishermen. It is the situating of these secondary ancestors which enables the reconstruction of the historical itinerary of the clan concerned. This itinerary is shown on the map entitled "The dispersal of the Toorobbe" (Figure 1) by directional arrows from the village inhabited by descendants of the secondary ancestor situated at a greater genealogical depth than that of other ancestors/segmentation points of the lineage.

Let us take the example of one of the greatest of the Toorobbe lineages, the Kan. Siré Abbas puts the founder of Dimat (Jalmat on

LA DISPERSION DES TOOROBBE (MOYENNE VALLEE DU FLEUVE SENEGAL).



DEM : Nom de lignage TOOROBBE

→ : Etapes de la dispersion du lignage (Plusieurs générations).

JAMA
ALWAALI : Village de résidence d'un chef de canton (JOM LETDI) TOOROBBE

LAO : Nom de OIHANE (Canton) de FUUTA TOORO (Moyenne Vallée de Sénégal)

KAYOR : Principale zone de dispersion extérieure de FUUTA TOORO.

▨ : Zone de la Vallée affectée historiquement par le clan.

100km
Ech:

Figure 1) who bore the title Elimaan Dimat as Bilali Ayel (Bilali, son of Ayel) (Soh, S.A., 1913:164). Bearers of other titles of the great Kan lineage, descendants amongst others of this same Bilali, appear subsequently and one can thus continue the arrow from Dimat. We have, however, more recently obtained from a Dimat resident another version which makes Hamme-Juldo-Yero-Bilali the first bearer of the title Elimaan Dimat. In this version too Hamme Juldo is placed at a greater genealogical depth than the other secondary ancestors. Whether it is Bilali Ayel or Hamme Juldo their situation in relation to the other segmentation points is thus identical.

We have also had recourse to the traditions at the origin of the clans as can also be found in the "Chronique du Fouta Sénégalais" (Soh, S.A., 1913: 109-114) even though these traditions are even more debatable inasmuch as declarations of origin are often reversible from one village to another, very distant, village. Thus, for example, while most of the traditions gathered orally at the beginning of the century situate the origin of the Aan and particularly those of Pete, in the Yirilaabe (see Figure 1), in the village of Gamadji, in the province of Tooro, the Aan of Gamadji claim to come from Pete: in fact these latter have produced a certain number of notable historical characters who figure in songs sung by the wandering minstrels, which is not the case of the Aan from Gamadji. It is thus necessary to lend only a certain amount of credence, "cum grano salis", to the directional arrows in Figure 1.

We have selected the following from the Toorobbe lineages: those who supplied one of the 33 Almaami or chiefs of the Fuuta who reigned in

the nineteenth century and are thus known as Toorobbe Almameebe, or else those where several members have been the Koranic masters of the Almaami: those from whom are descended the founders of moslem brotherhoods and/or instigators of Jihaad.

A swift examination of this sample leads to the superficial conclusion that it is not possible to connect the Toorobbe to a given ethnic group.

- The Wan and the Gaan certainly came from the Wolof country in the West;
- The Ac, the An, the Baro, the Saxo and the Ture came from the South East, i.e. Soninké country;
- In the North, Mauritania must be the source of the patronyms with no clear ethnic reference: Busso, Ly and Sy.
- Further East, from Kingi or Masina, came the Fulbe: Aan, Dem, Kan and Mbakké.

This calls into question the possibility of an ethnic partition of groups of well-read moslems from West Africa to the extent that in actual fact ethnic specificities are replaced by functional and statutory specializations. Thus one wonders whether the ethnicity of groups of well-read moslems ("clerisy") worked out by J.R. Willis does not lead to a dead end (Willis, J.R. 1979): he distinguishes in West Africa a "Zawaya Clerisy" where the berber element is dominant, a "Mande Clerisy" and finally a "Torodbe Clerisy". Willis admits moreover that "the Torodbe moslems transcend ethnic barriers",

insofar as "torodité" is more of a "profession", (Willis, J.R., 1979: 3). But if an exception has to be made, the whole system of classification collapses: why not admit, as do numerous authors, that the Marka or the Jula also constitute heterogeneous groups. Lastly, as we have just seen, these three "clerisy" intermingle as "zawaya" and "mandé" are included amongst the major constituents of "torodbe clerisy" if, as Willis does, one connects the Wolof to the "zawaya clerisy" (Willis, 1979: 12): the real central core of Tooroodo would no longer be made up solely of Fulbe who, having lost their cattle, were obliged to settle down and become moslems.

Despite the reservations made above, it is still possible to make a few comments on the type of dispersal experienced by the Toorobbe. One cannot help but be struck by the common origin of the majority of lineages which come for the most part from the Tooro province and to a lesser extent from that of Laaw. As this region of the Tooro lay alongside the triple frontier separating the Moorish, Wolof and Haalpulaar populations, the topography and the history of the settlement of the region confirms to a certain extent the hypothesis formulated simultaneously by Curtin and Levtzion in 1971 (see Curtin, P.D. 1971 and Levtzion, N., 1971):

"From 1673-1677 the Jihad of the Moorish Zwayas (the Sharbubba war) led by Nasir Al Din spread into the Futa Toro and set the moslem Torobbés against their denyanké leaders. The Zwayas and the Torobbés were beaten by an alliance between the hassani warriors and the denyanké. The subjugation of this Jihad was perhaps the reason for the migration of the militant moslems in the Torobbé ranks to Bundou, which resulted in the setting up of the first Islam-inclined Peul state by Malik Si." Levtzion, N., 1971:95.

On the same map we have marked the migrations of three or four centuries, the foundation of villages and local dominations: this synchronistic view may enable us to distinguish strategies in the

dispersions that characterize such and such a group of Toorobbe lineages.

The best known movements of the Toorobbe lineages are those to which belong the priests who instigated the jihaad: first of all there was the foundation of the oldest theocracy, Bundu, founded by El Hajj Malik Sin who came from the present-day Podor region, which took place in the second half of the seventeenth century. We shall show later on that Bundu constituted a sort of refuge for all dissidents and exiles from the Fuuta Tooro: it is probable that the foundation of this theocracy is a result of the "war of the priests" which we have just mentioned.

It seems certain that Usman Dan Fodio (Usman bi fuje in Pulaar: Usman, the son of the scholar) belonged to the Dem clan, a toorodo clan, for their honorary name differentiates them from their cousins who remained farmers in the neighbouring Jolof region and who bear the name of Deh. It is probable that the ancestors of Usman bi Fudie do not belong to Jama Alwaali but to Fumi Hara Dembube in the Danga, as stated by O. Kane. Nevertheless, the origin of the Dem being clearly situated at Jama Alwaali, it is interesting to note that the three villages inhabited by even very distant ancestors of the jihadists (Podor Suyama, Jama Alwaali, Halwar) are a few kilometers apart and in particular that they form part of the sort of small priestly republic of Tooro known as the Seloobe villages (see below).

Lastly El Hajj Omar Tal comes from the little village of Halwar, situated in the middle of the Waaloo lands between the river and the Dove swamp. It should be noted, from the local power point of view,

that while the Sih and the Dem bear the titles of territorial chief and village chief, Elimaan Syuma and Alwaali Jama respectively, the Tal share power with the Caam who bear the title Elimaan Halwar.

The priests of haalpulaar origin also founded Tariq'a, moslem brotherhoods in the Senegambia area. Thus we see a sort of contraction in the area of expansion of these toorobbe priests: if the instigators of the Jihaad founded a whole series of theocratic states from West to East, roughly following the direction of the pilgrim routes to Mecca (Hajj), Amadu Bamba and Al Hajj Malik Sih settled principally in the Wolof settlement area situated in the South West part of the Fuuta Tocré. The founders of the brotherhoods came much later as they are contemporary with the setting up of the colonial administration at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries.

To explain the expansion of the toorobbe lineages outside the haalpulaar area, simultaneously towards the East (jihaad) and towards the South (tariq'a), we must first analyse what happened before in the Senegal valley. In fact before and during the toorodo "revolution" at the end of the 18th century, a vast territorial rearrangement took place. It was at this time that the slave raids carried out by the Mooris, haratin against the riverside population were most frequent and at their most intensive. Most of the haalpulaar communities settled on the Moorish bank withdrew to the Senegalese bank, abandoning their agricultural "décrue" lands which they would only get to cultivate again at the beginning of the 20th century and in some cases even later. The insecurity that covered over the Moorish bank coincided with the weakening of the domination in the realms of hunting and warmongering enjoyed throughout the century by the Saltisi Deenivanke (Bah), who

had appealed to their Moorish allies to settle their disputes surrounding the dynastic succession (Kane, O., 1972): the last Saltigi fell back from the Kaedi area (Mauritanian bank) to the Hordadiere area (Senegalese bank) situated at the Eastern confines of the Fuuta Tooro. It is also in this area that the territorial settlement of the great toorobbe lineages took place, fleeing from the demands of the Moors but also following their patron since some of them belonged to the Saltigi court.

This territorial settlement is, however, only one brief incident in a long process which was to result in the supremacy of the toorobbe under Ceerno (the priest) Suleyman Baal who would fight the Moors and the Peul deeniyanke simultaneously, and under Abdul Kader Kan who was to be the first to bear the title Almaami in which position he was to settle the conflicts generated by the falling back on to the Senegalese bank of the haalpulaar communities: one cannot but be struck even today by the permanent nature of both this sort of territorial arrangement ensuring the peaceful co-existence of fishermen, farmers and stockbreeders, and that of the system of titles which lies behind the meaningless "modern" administrative vocabulary.

The evolution of the lineages that became toorobbe took place in several stages over 2 or 3 generations. For the sake of simplification, we shall only deal with four stages - conversion, emigration, territorial settlement on return, and finally dispersion throughout the whole of the Fuuta Tooro - which can be ascertained from the genealogical records assembled by Siré Abbas Soh (Soh, S.A. and Delafosse, M., 1913), Cheikh Moussa Kamara (Kamara, C.M., 1924/75, 1931/Hilliard, C.B., 1977), Oumar Ba (Ba, O., 1971) Mammadou Dia (Dia, M., 1982). The two

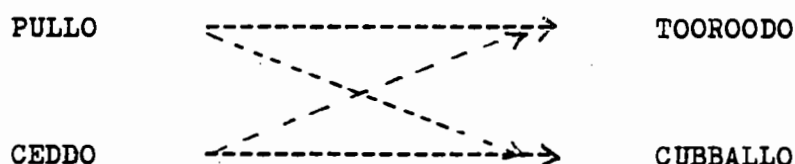
last stages will be illustrated by means of a few cases of transfer of patrimony in the form of "décrue" lands between certain priestly lineages encountered in villages during the preparation of a monograph (Meri, Mboumba, Tioubalel). In describing this process we shall try to distinguish between the new social relationships brought in by the Toorobbe priests, thus allowing us to talk about a clerical class, and the social "institutions" that existed previously in haalpulaar society. The existence of these latter practices, which it is too hasty to characterize as moslem, allows the supposition of a sort of virtual existence of Islam in this society, a sort of pre-Islamic Islam.

Change of identity and conversion to Islam

The ethnic heterogeneity of the toorobbe lineages has been recognized by numerous authors (Gaden, H., 1931, Wane, Y., 1969, Meillassoux, C., 1977). Until the 19th century conversion (tuubde) was not uniquely an individual act. A matter of functional specialization - the priest bathes the dead, teaches the Koran, leads the Friday prayers - it is a part of a whole system of statutory change taking place over several generations, the best analysis of which has been done by Cheikh Moussa Kamara, as recognized by the last author to be interested in the formation of the "Torobbe clerisy", John Ralph Willis (Willis, J.R., 1979:22).

While Willis tries to find the roots of this clerical class among the rootless people making up the lower classes of Peul society, that is the slaves or emancipated slaves and the specialized craftsmen and

connoisseurs (ñeeño)⁽¹⁾, Cheikh Moussa Kamara is interested in the toorobbe from other statutory groups, that is other toorobbe, whether ceddo, cubballo or pullo. He infact puts back the problem of the origin of the toorobbe amongst the types of changes in status that can occur among the four statutory groups of the dimò: the two ancestral populations are the tooroodo and the cubballo. We are only concerned here with statutory changes that can affect the pullo or the ceddo who become tooroodo



According to Kamara, the change in status which results in becoming tooroodo comes from several successive changes and to dichotomies of choice that enable one to define the tooroodo as moslem, settled and speaking the Peul tongue.

It is essential for the Peul who wants to become tooroodo to settle down, because the ceddo already practise settled farming. The Peul who takes his herds from pasture to pasture (jeeri or pullo jeeri)

(1)

As to the slavish origin of the toorobbe, Willis bases his results chiefly on Gaden's proverbs (1935:317) and also on examples of slaves emancipated because of their Koranic apprenticeship that are found in the Fuuta Jallon but not in the Fuuta Tooro. In fact, in the Fuuta Jallon a slave who knew the Koran was emancipated: but in actual practice the masters confined Koranic apprenticeship to knowledge of a few chapters and thus by means of this hypocrisy, typical of scholars, maintained the superiority of those who know (gaando) over those who do not ("maccudo mo jangga" - "the slave is an ignoramus" as Balde reports in 1975:199.). In Bundu, Willis himself (id:30) notes that Arab instruction was forbidden to prisoners. Thus it is not the Koranic apprenticeship that is at the origin of the recruitment of certain maccudo. As regards the

thus becomes a pullo saare, a Peul living in a village inasmuch as he gives up following his flock. This relationship between the Islamization and the settling down of the Peul can also be observed in other Peul theocracies set up after a jihaad in West Africa, the jihaad being followed by the founding of a capital city, Hamdallaye, and a sharing out of the lands used during the dry season, as was the case at Masina: let us here recall the division of the Futa (feccere Futa) carried out by Abdul Kader Kan⁽²⁾.

The ceddo, that is the non-Peuls, those that are therefore of Wolof or Soninke origin, have to learn the pulaar tongue; thus they have to change their language (waklude haalamum) if they want to belong to the toorodo who form part of a society where the dominant language is pulaar.

These two changes do not themselves ensure entry to the toorodo groups but rather constitute pre-conditions. The change of leñol proceeds from conversion (tuubde) and, particularly, from apprenticeship to the Koran (janngude Gur'aana). The main consequence of this change of statutory group is to modify matrimonial customs in that there is a break on the one hand in intermarriage between other members of the former leñol (pullo or ceddo) and on the other hand marriage with the toorobbe who bear various patronyms: for the endogamy of leñol is substituted

toorobbe with ñeeño origins, we have only encountered the Caam of Tulde Bussobe who bear the title Elimaan and were to be converted after receiving a Buso woman; the Buso had been part of the Islamic core for a long time but had not provided an Almaami (Vidal 1924:36). Furthermore, it would be difficult to understand how some of them were able to be directed by or to recruit from amongst the ñeeño, like the jihaad of Jille Caam (Barry 1972:271, Colvin 1974:603) if the ñeeño could have become toorobbe simply by learning the Koran.

(2) For Masina see Gallais, J. 1958:8) who tells of the importance of the sharing of the burgu achieved by Sheku Aamadu between the different Peul factions. At Futa Too, we refer again to Kane, O. (1973: 450) as well as to what has been said above.

an opening introducing as matrimonial partners patrilineages belonging to the leñol which was previously entirely matrimonially separate. Thus although pullo and ceddo only marry very occasionally, the factions originating from these two statutory groups but subsequently becoming toorobbe, can intermarry. Within the genealogies this change of status can be pinpointed by the fact that the ancestral segmentation points are identical to the statutory differentiation points as the segments differentiating in this way do not henceforth marry any more.

These changes in statutory groups (waklude leñol) can be accompanied, in the logic of differentiation, by a change of name (yettoode) as well as of title (innde lefol). The best known case, which, incidentally, gave rise to a sort of algebra for use in the study of proper names and their changes, is that of Jen and the Wan, on which Cheikh Moussa Kamara also dwells.

The genealogy of the Jen and the Wan (Figure 2) that we have been able to reconstitute by conducting interviews at W/alalde and at Sadel, is made up of three principal titles; those of Faarba Waalalde, Ceerno Sadel and lastly Ceerno Wanwanbe, the title borne by the two Wan segments, one in the village of Mbumba in the Laaw, the other in the large village of Kanel, South of Matam, in the Damga.

1. waklaani jikku, waklaani yettoode: the Faarba Waalalde has changed neither its behaviour nor its patronym. As Kamara says, "the Faarba Waalalde, originating from the same tribe as the Ceerno Sadel and the Ceerno Wanwanbe bears, as they do, the name of Jen. But not being instructed in the Islamic sciences, he remains ceddo up until now even though he has forgotten his own language and only speaks Peul".

2. waklude jikku, waklaani yettoode: the members of the Ceerno Sadel patrilineage, although they have become toorobbe "because of their perseverance in the pursuit of Islamic science", still maintain the patronym jen.

3. waklude jikku waklude yettoode: "Ceerno Wanwanbe like Ceerno Sadel both go back to the same origin, the Wolof, as they bear the name Jen. Only the Wanwanbe changed their name and are known as Wan while the Ceerno Sadel have kept their own until now."

An analysis of this process of change in statutory groups illustrates the ambiguity of the word leñol which means lineage as well as statutory group: as long as the lineage has not undergone a statutory drift which has alienated one of its segments, the two meanings are identical. It is not the same when a segment of lineage becomes toorodo and its members change their matrimonial area. Thus the definition of lenol in terms of affiliation and ascendance is no longer relevant, insofar as the statutory group is defined as a network of affinity. Concerning the jen, Kamara adds "the two brothers Wanwanbe and Ceerno Sadel broke off relations with him, Farba Waalade, and went their separate ways: they do not contract marriages with his family because they do not like to hear their common origin evoked. Even better, for fear of upsetting them, the genealogists and the wandering minstrels stop before getting to this ancestor that unites them" (Weinde Jen).

Kamara's description, however, is not sufficient to give an account of the logic of this statutory differentiation between lineages. It is now necessary to replace the various titles inside the village "constitutions" which define the functions filled by the different segments of the

Jen lineage from the local power point of view. This differential analysis of the lineage segments can be compared to a sort of chemical titration.

The Farba Waalalde formed part of the continuous line of the ceddo and cubballo titles which probably assured the hegemony of the Wolof over the valley. From this old established power comes the imposing status of the Leydi who still dominate the Jen at the present time: just as in the past, it was the donor of both land and women, especially to the Teeñ Bokki in the West who are the cubballo Saar, to the Elimaan Bahbaabe who are the toorobbe in the West, as well as to Kamalinku Gilngol of Kaskas who would be descended from the deeniyanke and would thus be pullo. It is only thanks to the "revolution" that the Cerno Wocci of the Ture patronym could replace the Jen as territorial chief before ceding the position to them once again.

A short distance from there (about 70 km) the Cerno Wanwanbe of Mbounba were only territorial chiefs of Kolangal Arijog situated on the Mauritanian bank and reclaimed before the Wan took refuge in Mbumba. In this village, therefore, they share power with the Soh who have the title of territorial chief (Jom Leydi) while the Wan are village chiefs (Jom Wure). However, at the central political level in the nineteenth century the Wan were one of the principal families who certainly supplied the most Almaami as they did district chiefs in the 20th century. It appears that even within the family a certain sharing of tasks can be observed. The taxes on the flood plain in Mauritania as well as the chieftainship of the village of Mbumba still go at the present time to the oldest descendants of Cerno Ibra, the first of the ancestors to bear the title of Cerno Wanwanbe. It is the same branch from which the

Almaami were recruited who passed the function down from father to son, as illustrated in Figure 2 (the shaded triangles designate the Almaami). The origin of the powers attached to the title Almaami is connected with the capacity to nominate other bearers of titles in the Laaw, against payment of taxes. So the maintenance of these political alliances necessitated keeping a warrior force composed to a great extent of slaves, who still form the majority of the population resident at Mbumba today. On the other hand, the religious function is assumed by another branch of the lineage; this branch contests the official version of the Wan genealogy which makes Ceerno Ibra the first arrival in Mbumba: it is from this branch that the Imams are recruited for the Mbumba mosque (when it is the Wan who assume this function) as are the Koranic teachers. The "politicization" of the first segment of the lineage brings in its wake the religious specialization of another segment which contests the right to power of the first group in the name of Islam.

The Ceerno Sadel and the Ceerno Wanwanbe of Kanel, who came from Mbumba, both of whom are situated at a greater distance from the centre of dispersal of the lineage, that is from Waalalde, are both territorial chiefs in their respective territories. The title of territorial chief at Sadel would not seem to be very old insofar as it would have been Suleyman Baal, the priest, who instigated the Jihaad, who was to be at the origin of the Almaami régime, which set up the Jen at Sadel. Nearby is another territorial chief whose patronym is also of ceddo origin since it is Cerno Wuuduru of the Njaay clan.

Thus from the connection in the form of a genealogical unit of lineage segments belonging to distinct statutory groups, we can draw up a sort of profile of the territorial settlement and reconquest of power -

both local and central - at the level of a large territorial mass. One of the segments of lineage is sufficiently powerful from a territorial point of view to be a land donor. Another segment goes into exile and rebuilds domination on the basis of the appearance of a new ideological power bereft of its land, while the last segments are reinvested with territorial power in the name of Islam much further East.

Dissent and the search for Koranic knowledge

In the case of the Jen lineage formerly converted to Islam, we do not know the detailed story of the conversion of the ancestral priest, Cerno Ibra. More recent accounts which tell of similar phenomena - more generally, these concern converted pullo and not ceddo - place greater emphasis on the mobility caused by the conversion than on its circumstances. Here, even more than in the case of statutory changes, there is a certain confusion between the Islamic contribution and the Haalpulaar practices, as is shown by the story of Tafsiir Faalil who belonged to the Peul faction of the Uururbe Daqu. This faction, itself included in the Uurube Bantu, came, according to tradition, from Masina and then after numerous peregrinations, especially in the Wolof country, settled at Bantu, the heartland of one of the most important Peul chiefdoms of Tooro, with Ardo Bantu at its head elected from amongst the Bah.

"Sire Abbas Soh (1913) claimed that they were named Dagu because they are from Mahmud Tegella father of Gayuu Mahmud, father of Demba Gayuu, father of Dagu Demba, father of Buubu Dagu, father of Faalil Buubu who was Tafsiiru Buubu and he is the first of those who studied and adopted religion among them. And God, may he be exalted knows.

"Then they settled in Mbantu until Faalil Buubu went out from there, grandfather of those whom we now mention. He came to Agnam Siwal requesting knowledge and religion. Then he studied and adopted religion, then he returned to their village Mbantu. He informed them that he wanted to make the hijra to where there was knowledge and religion. He commanded them to do the same but they refused. He emigrated and was accompanied by the

Jekkesbe who are today called in Siwul, Ja_ababaabe. They finally halted their riding animals in Agnam Siwul. Then they settled in it and he married a woman from there named Sala Aisha Suwiiri and she gave birth to six children, four males and two daughters.

"Then a quarrel erupted between him and the people of Siwul. They were begrudging his presence prevailing over them. And they feared a civil war. Thus he and the people of his house departed from them and the Jekkesbe remained in Agnam Siwul. When he departed from them he settled in Seeno Paael for two years. I said -- perhaps that was during the time that the Rangabe lived in Seena Paael. Then he departed from them to Bundu, then he settled in Kaagel Buubu Safiyata, where Tafsiiru Faalil died. From there Hammadi Faalil went to Pir in order to study. Then they emigrated from Bundu also. And they settled in Gawde Buufe. Ceerno Sulaiman Baal was fighting at that time the Deenyankoobe. Then they remained in Gawde for a period, then the Deenyankoobe expelled them from it and they came to Hawre and took refuge with Ceerno Baila. They resided with him for five years, then they wanted to proceed on to Fuuta. Ceerno Baila said to them: "Do not depart from us. Rather, remain with us." Then he settled them in Siwul Haire and said to them: "This settlement is for you and for your descendants to possess." It is a place near Hawre, adjoining her. They rule it even today. I said -- and perhaps they named this place Siwul Agnam after where they had departed from. And they have another branch in Siwul." (Kamara, C.M., 1931/Milliard, C.B., 1977: 174-175)

Most of the elements in the migration of the dissidents can be traced in this tradition closely linked with what can be called the "déambulation propédeutique" or the quest for Koranic knowledge from several masters: Tafsiir Faalil goes to Anam Siivol in the Booseya, the central province of the Fuuta Tooro. His eldest son, Hammadi Faalil, goes to Pir, in Wolof country, a centre of Koranic teaching which supplemented direct teaching from the Moorish priests for the Haalpulaar due to the insecurity prevalent at the beginning of the 19th century.

Let us note too the order taken by the processes of dissimulation and assimilation: the break with the Bantu family followed closely by that with the first teaching priests, those of Añam Siivol. This break was certainly not a voluntary one as Tafsiir Faalil returned to Bantu to

convince his relations to follow him: this failed, since his message was only heeded by a faction dependant on Ardo Bantu, the Jeggesnaabe, if another passage by the same author in his history of the Toorobbe (id:164) is to be believed. Very revealing is the fixation surrounding the core of accretion built up by Cerno Bayla Al Sagir, the chief priest of the village, who also belonged to a Peul lineage but a Feroobe faction, also apparently from Masina, and settled almost on the frontier between the Fuuta and Soninké country: Cerno Awre offers him his protection against the demands of the Deeniyanke, then invites him to settle in a village next to Awre with the title of Cerno Siiwol, a reminder of the title encountered at Añam Siiwol. In the following generation, Hammadi Faalil and his brother, Taafsiir Njaay Faalil, would repeat their father's gesture and ask Almaami Abdul to settle near Matam in the village of Nabaji, which they would call Nabaji Siiwol, while two other brothers would stay in the village founded by their father, Siiwol Awre. This last detail allows us to understand to what extent the segmentary cuts are at work behind this tangle of movement.

Indeed when an individual belongs to a segment of lineage from which few are elected territorial chief - supposing that this segment of lineage belongs to that from which the Jom Leydi is chosen - how can he achieve his political ambitions in the knowledge that in each village it is always the same lineage that is eligible for the title of Jom Leydi and the same lineages able to vote with no changes ever occurring to change these positions?

First solution: join another village. However, the rigidity of the local political system is such that the newcomer has to find a corresponding lineage, that is a protector, in the new village with whom

he can form matrimonial alliances: if the demographic strength (Doole Besngu) of this new lineage is sufficient, it is possible for him to supplant the original inhabitants but for a certain number of generations he can only have the status of a "foreigner" (arani) under the protection of the lineage that has accepted him.

The other solution which in terms of time is far quicker is to found a new village or sincu and thus a new micro dynasty. Generally a sincu or sincaan is populated from the original village by the relatives, both of the blood and through alliances, of the founder of the new village situated near the old one.

However, the process of founding these new communities near to the original village is limited by the very nature of the social relationships which are put at risk, that is relationships of affiliation and affinity: now the clerics maintain amongst themselves other types of "propédeutique/pédagogique" relationships which are more complex when they interfere with those of kinship and marriage and, in particular, far less concerned with territorial notions than the former insofar as they form part of a network: the tradition of the "déambulation propédeutique" (the peripatetic studies of Goody, J., 1968:208) due to the search for knowledge from several priests dispersed among several "countries" or else that of the Hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca allows the priestly network to extend itself indefinitely. The main points of this network are thus formed by what we call "classical heterotopia", villages which take on both the tradition of the free city, the role of a protector vis à vis the authority whatever this might be, and also the Koranic school. The predominance of relationships that result from the Koranic school leads

us to speak of heterotopia to distinguish this kind of social organization from ordinary villages.

Thus we can better understand the voluntary exile with the hope of return or fergo (cf. Kane, O., 1973:628-9) which generally took place in the direction of Galam or the Bundu. The Galam which designates the Soninké country was incidentally called "leydi fergooji"-or the country of fergo - by the Haalpulaar. Fergo is often translated as hijra (Hegira) and the jihaad of El Hajj Omar is known under the name of fergo Nioro: however, this word is also used in pastoral vocabulary to mean escape by cattle in times of drought, and the Bundu still plays this role at the present time in the pastoral economy of Ferlo.

Territorial settlement of toorobbe clerics

Historically it seems that the first form of territorial settlement is connected to the political economy of the lucky charm made by the cleric of the Peul aristocrats. However, traditions bear witness to the fact that payment for the talisman was accompanied by the gift of a girl, the opposite form of a charitable gift (sadaka) of a girl to earn the prayers of the cleric and to bring one luck or riches (see Ba, D., 1977: 148). This "marriage en Dieu" is present in most of the Islamicized West African societies: the specificity of this form of marriage is that he who gives his daughter also gives the priest a considerable gift. Nevertheless, we often encounter cases where "décrué" land is given to reward the making of a talisman as is shown in the following example, also taken from Cheikh Moussa Kamara.

"Among the Fulbe who became toorobbe is Ceerno Fondu, the clan of Almamy Mustafa in Hebbiyaabe. His origin is from the Fulbe Woodjaabe. The first of those who acquired knowledge is Ceerno Birama Moodi Reenam Faatuma Demha Ali Soh. And it was said (in another account) his

honorific was Bari not Suh. He had been a contemporary of Satigi Buuhu Booli who was fighting Satigi Niimaa and this Ceerno Biraama was worshipping God in Fondu in Mauritania. And Satigi Buuhu was in Buuli in Haire Dekle in Mauritania also. And he requested from Ceerno Biraama an amulet to insure victory at the battle. The Satigi promised him that if he were victorious over his opponent in battle, then he would give him much wealth. Thus he gave him the aforementioned amulet. Then Satigi Buuhu Booli went out and he met with Satigi Niima at Jabbi Dulu in the place of the post Jurbewal. And Satigi Niima was defeated by the will of God may he be exalted, and Satigi Buub Booli returned rejoicing in the victory. Thus he married Ceerno Biraama to his daughter on the condition that if she bore for him a son he would be named nothing else but the honorific Bah neither Bari nor Suh. And he accepted the condition. This is the origin of their honorific being Bah until today.

"Satigi cut out for him a large tract of Nile farmland in Mauritania. Their names today are (that is the farmlands) Baari Fondu, Mboolo Fondu and Baare Fondu. Ceerno Biraama used to say to the person sent by the Satigi to divide up the fields if the boundaries were not straight: "Fondu, fondu," ie "set the boundaries straight". For this reason he was called Sernu Fondu." (Kamara, C.M. id: 218) (see also Chenny, P., 1911).

Although this form of territorial settlement should not be neglected, we do not think that it alone explains the fact that the Toorobbe remained in the Damga region at the Eastern extremity of the central valley. It is in this area that the "great" are encountered, those who produce a surplus of foodstuffs. It is indeed by far the most favourable area for food-producing agriculture combining two harvests, a pluvial agriculture during the winter and a "décrué" agriculture during the dry season. The pluvial crops are assured almost every year, unlike in the downstream area of the central valley when the farmer sows his seed knowing that the average rainfall barely attains 400 mm. Furthermore, with regard to the "décrué" crops, the major bed extends over a large area thus allowing the floodwater to spread out, unlike upstream where the River Senegal is much more confined. Koranic education, which for the most part obliges the child-pupil to leave his native village and thus temporarily cuts off the relationship he had with his original family who have given him into the care of the Koranic

master, provides the latter with a free source of labour for use in the construction of huts and buildings but principally in the cultivation of his fields.

Thus the "mariage en Dieu" and the mobilisation of a labour force directly from the Koranic school, are the specific social contacts of the toorobbe priests: the first of these sums up the customer contact linking priests and Peul aristocrats; the second contains the seed of a relationship exploiting the taalibe or the almuube which the priests use in the production of peanuts sold on the world market.

Social relationships within the Toorobbe clerical class

After a brief description of the forms of social relationships characterizing contact between the clerics and those who do not belong to their social group, we shall now turn to their internal relationships.

In his study on the Dyula and more especially on the Saghanugu priests in present-day Ivory Coast, Wilks draws a parallel between consanguinity relationships limited to patrilineal descent and transmission chains of Islamic knowledge (Isnad or Silsila) (Wilks, I. 1968:137). To carry out such a comparison, he "imports" into the study of "propédeutiques-pédagogiques" relationships a series of methods uniquely used in kinship anthropology. By means of diagrams he describes the master/pupil relationship and confronts them with the genealogies of the same individuals. He also uses a whole series of notions perfected by Anglo-Saxon theorists on groups of unilineal descent: when genealogy and teaching relationships blend, the master/pupil relationship is characterized within the family as lineal (from father to son) or lateral (from brother to brother). In parallel to the biological generations, he calculates the duration of a "pedagogical generation". Lastly, he

examines the effects of the "development cycle of the family" on the division, both economic and symbolic (and thus pedagogical), of tasks within the Lu Dyula.

For the Dyula, "a man is a Karamoko according to his chain of apprenticeship (Isnad) and not by right of birth" (Wilks, I., 1968:170). "Pédagogiques-propédeutiques" relationships are thus more influential than those of kinship.

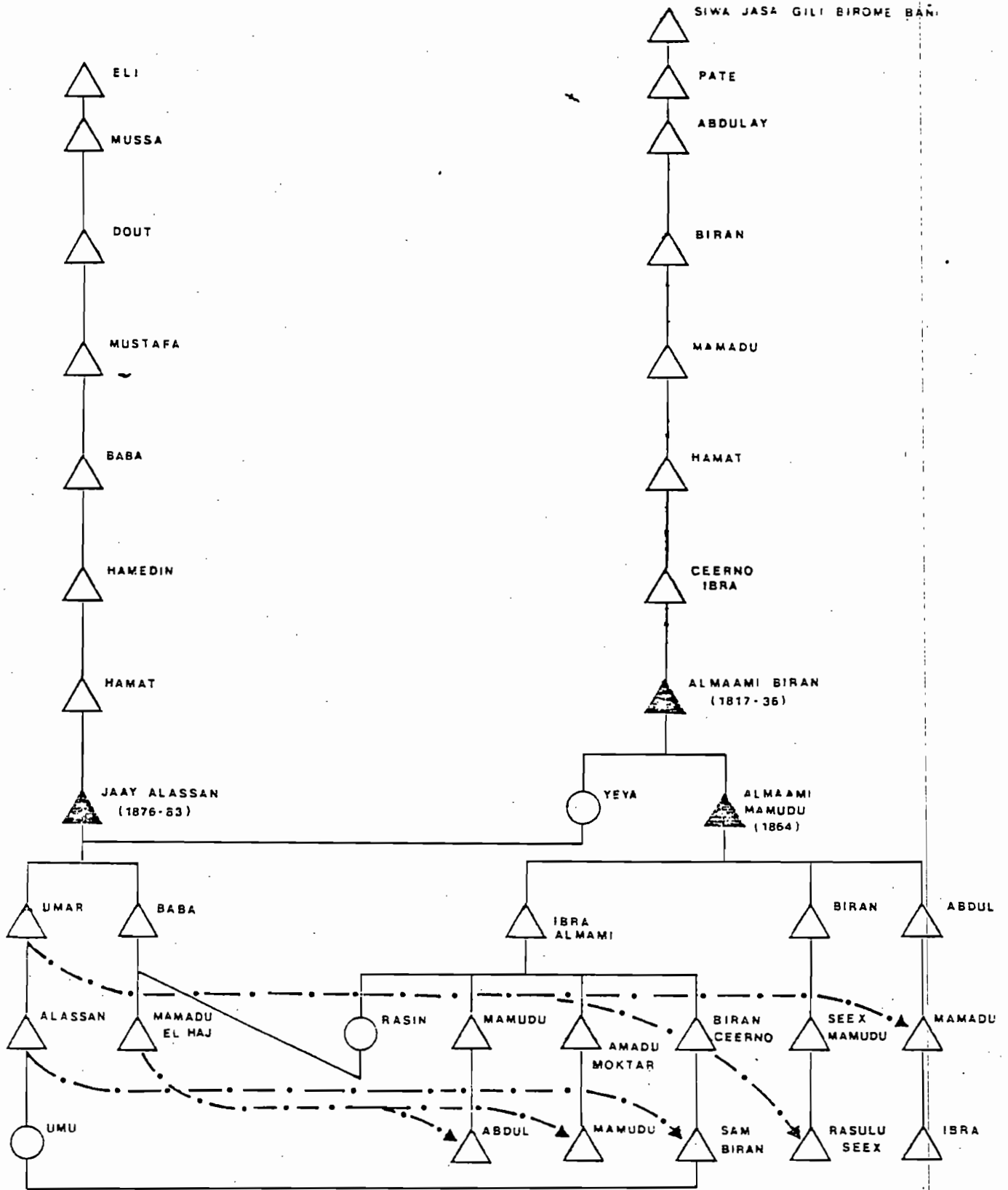
Let us see how this applies to the Toorobbe of the Senegal valley. To do this we shall examine a certain number of cases set out in the form of genealogies. Instead of separating kinship relationships from master/pupil relationships, we represent the latter by means of an arrow from the master in the direction of the pupil on the genealogies themselves.

Figure 3 describes "pédagogiques/propédeutiques" relationships between the Wan of Mbumba and the Baro of Aere Laao. The two villages are situated in the same province, Laaw. Whilst numerous Almaami have been elected from amongst the Wan of Mbumba (see above), only one has been chosen from amongst the Baro of Aere: this is Jaay Alassan (1876-1883). This asymmetry in the exercise of central power can be found again in teaching relationships but the other way around: it is the Baro, of distant Soninké origin, who teach the Wan, who carry out most of the political functions. Mamudu Amadu Moktar is a former canton chief while Mamadu Abdul Almaami is the father of Ibra Mamadu, a current deputy in the Senegalese parliament.

This type of asymmetry between Koranic teaching specialists, who are often recruited amongst the Toorobbe of Soninké ascendance, and

LES PROPÉTÉUDIQUES PÉDAGOGIQUES ET MATRIMONIAUX ENTRE LES WAN ET LES BARO.

Figure 3



B A R O	W A N
CEERNO BAROBE	CEERNO WAN WAN BE
ERE LAAO	M B U M B A

candidates for political office, is encountered fairly often within the teacher/taught network (Cernagal) of the nineteenth century Almaami as far as we can reconstitute it - albeit with many gaps.

It is essential to remember that in the case of the Baro and the Wan the "propédeutiques/pédagogiques" relationships create constant and long-term asymmetrical relationships between two families.

In the case of the Kong and Bonduku priests mentioned by Wilks, it is remarkable that, on the contrary, teaching relationships between two families last no longer than a single generation, agnates taking over the role of teachers from another family: we are witnessing here a sort of redomestication (in the sense of a reinstatement of kinship relationships) in teaching relationships.

Furthermore, it is known that the most widespread form taken by the search for Islamic knowledge in West Africa is Siyaha, what we call "déambulation propédeutique" to translate both what Goody (1968:225) calls the "peripatetic system" or what Batran (1979:120) calls "religious wandering".

The quest for knowledge is pursued by consulting several masters generally some distance apart, which leads one to the opinion that there was no single place where Islamic knowledge was concentrated.

Between these two major forms of transmitting Islamic knowledge, the domestic form and the itinerant form, there exists an intermediate form employing a continuous asymmetric exchange between two families. This system, which creates hereditary friendships, can be found amongst the Mourides, pupils of Amadu Bamba Mbakke: if, during one generation,

a priest instructs a Taalibe, during the next generation the son of the Taalibe will work his apprenticeship with the son of his father's priest (see Cruise O'Brien, D.B. 1971:175, Copans, J., 1980:177).

This system of hereditary alliances, rooted in lasting master/pupil relationships, brings about a series of marriages in both directions in the case of the Wan and the Baro. Instead of "propédeutiques/pédagogiques" relationships undergoing a redomestication process, they create on the contrary affinities between families in the case of the Toorobbe. The Koranic school contributes to the creation of "affinal sets" moving more or less from generation to generation because of the durable nature of the master/pupil relationships and we propound the hypothesis that the Toorobbe clerical class came to power from the time that a vast matrimonial area had been set up, interspersed with "propédeutiques/pédagogiques" relationships. The main criticism that can be levelled at Wilks' study (1968) is that he privileges relationships of filiation over those of affinity: even if it is the form of the Dyla or Lu family which is responsible for this approach and not Anglo-Saxon anthropological tradition, the limitations of the method confine it solely to the study of domestic pedagogy.

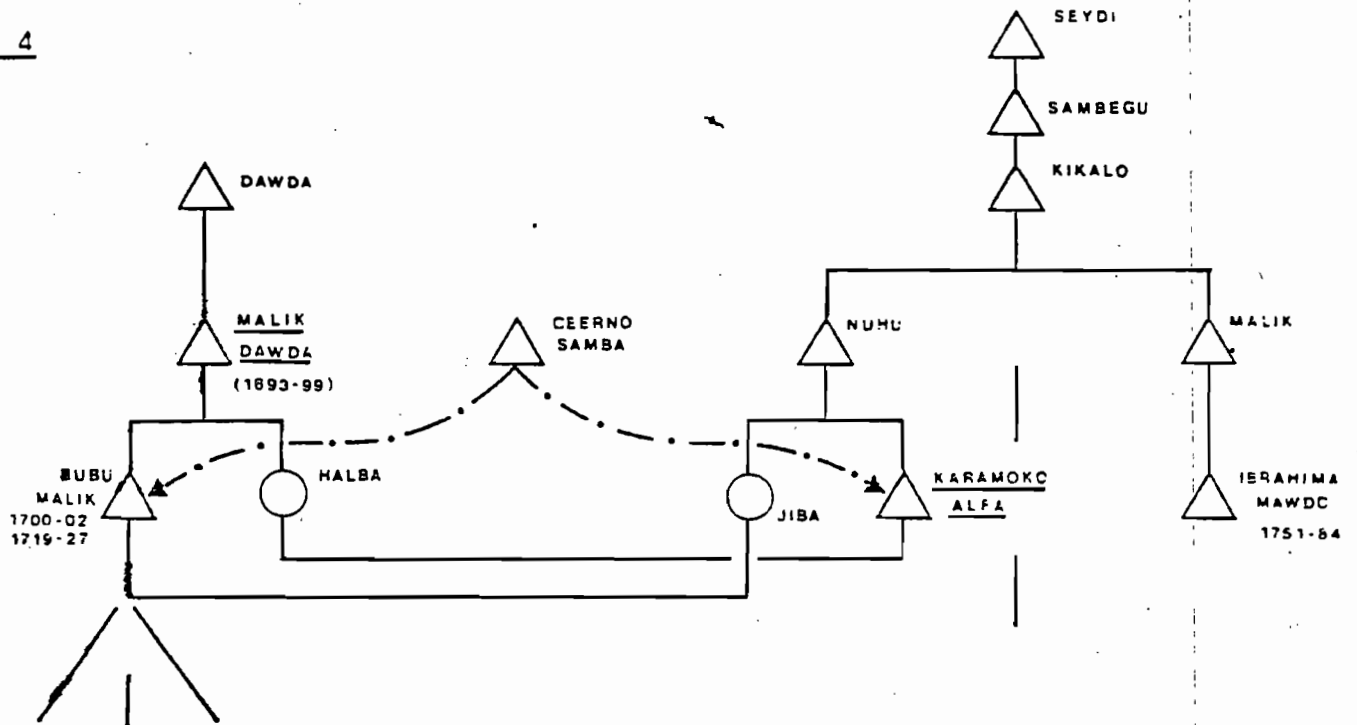
Let us now take a look at the two forms of marriage that the Koranic school can bring about:

Exchange of sisters between fellow-pupils

The pupils of one master exchange sisters: this type of event is quoted by Curtin to explain the connections existing between the Jihaad of the Bundu and that of the Fuuta Jallon (Figure 4):

LECHARGE DE SOEURS ENTRE CONDISCIPLES.
SY (BUNDU) ET BARI (FUUTA JALLON).

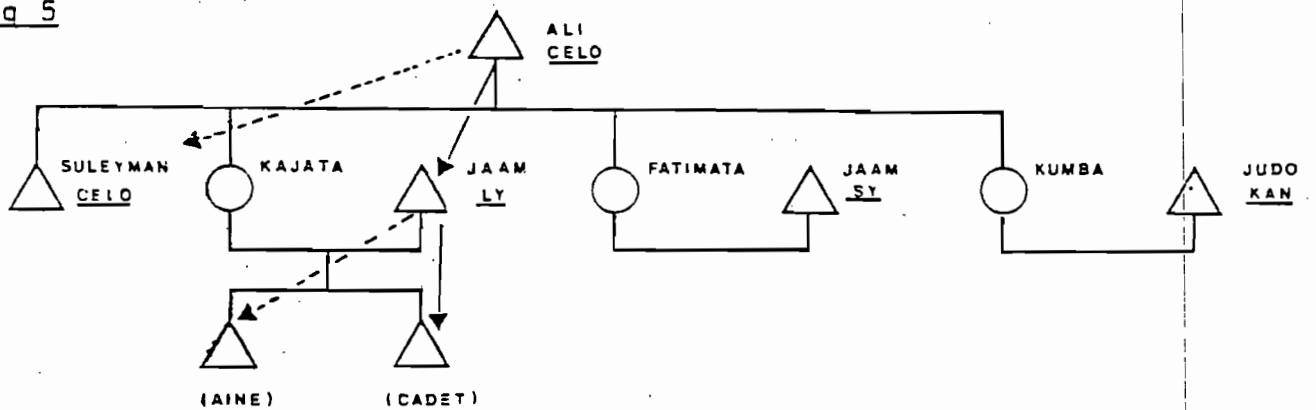
Fig 4



KUSAN	BULEBANE		ALFAYA	SORIYA										
S	Y		B	A	R	I								
B	U	N	D	U		F	U	A	J	A	L	L	O	N

E L I M A A N D U T O O R O .

Fig 5



CELO	LY	LY
ELIMAAN	ELIMAAN	ELIMAAN
NJAWAR	MBOYO	NJAWAR

S	Y					
E	L	I	M	A	A	N
S	I	Y	U	M	A	

K	A	N				
E	L	I	M	A	A	N
D	I	M	A	T		

---> Transmission normale du charisme (BARAKA)

—> Transmission effective du charisme (BARAKA)

"Malik Dawda (Sy) sent his own son, Bubu Malik Sy, to the Fuuta Jallon to study the Koran under Ceerno Samba of Fugumba (later of Buria). This connection was stronger than it appeared at first sight since Ceerno Samba was also the master of Karamoko Alfa, the principal director of the Jihad of the Fuuta Jallon: the link between pupil and master is very close in West African religious traditions. The link between the two fellow-pupils was stronger than usual as each married the sister of the other: Bubu Malik married Jiba who became the mother of Maka Jiba or Maka Bubu Malik who was Almaami of the Bundu from 1731-1764. Halba, who married Karamoko Alfa, gave birth to the Alfaya faction of the Almaami of the Fuuta Jallon". (Curtin, P., 1971:22)
See Figure 4.

The gift of the priest's daughter to the pupil

The form most frequently encountered in matrimonial relationships resulting from "propédeutiques/pédagogiques" relationships is certainly not the exchange of sisters between fellow-pupils; it is rather the gift of the master's daughter to the pupil. This seems to have been relatively common in that it allowed the priest to choose a successor without the hazards of biological reproduction. This allows the priest to transmit his charisma (Baraka) not to his son but to the best of his Taalibe who then becomes his son-in-law.

To illustrate this phenomenon, let us take the example of the legends concerning the Seloobe villages of the Tooro. These Seloobe villages - the principal ones being Diawara, Mboyo, Donaye, Suyama, Diatar, Diama Alwaali and Alwar - assemble the main Toorobbe lineages of the Tooro. The name Seloobe comes from the ancestor of the Celo clan, Ali Celo. This Ali, who bore the honorary name of Jallo and came from Masina, was a great hunter and simultaneously a master of Islamic science and black magic, the science of the bush (Gardal ladde) necessary for his hunting activities; he specialized particularly in dog and snake bites.

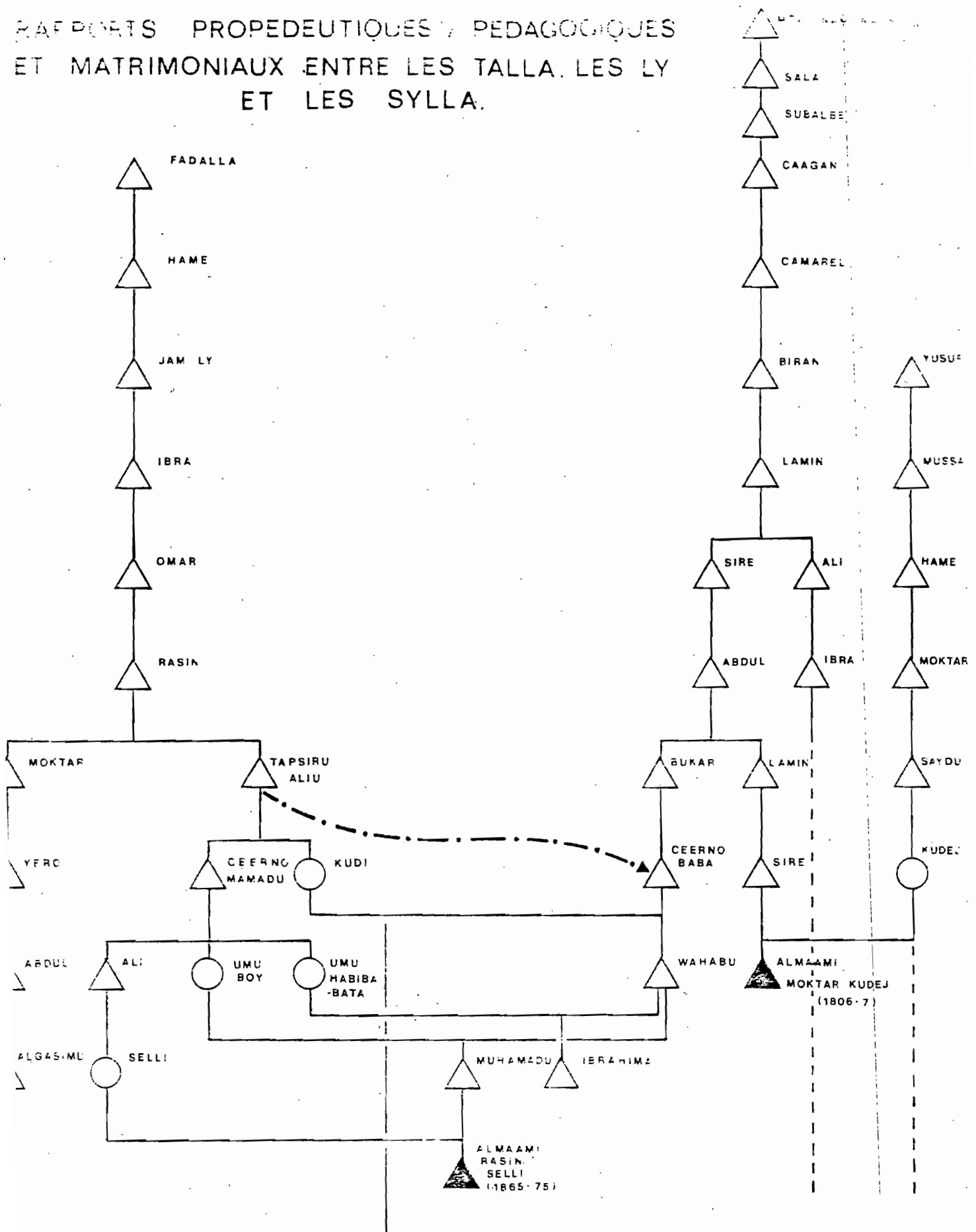
He settled first at Mboyo, then changed his name when he came to set himself up at Diawara (Jawara on Figure 1) and called himself Celo, Ali Celo. The people from the surrounding villages, attracted by his fame, formed a court around him: one of his first pupils was Jaam Ly to whom he was soon to give his daughter, Kajata. When he was near to death, he chose as his successor not his son, Suleyman, but his son-in-law, Jaam Ly. Thus at the present time the Ly and the Celo alternate as village chiefs in Diawara (oral communication of E.H.M. Dia, 8/6/82. See also Cheruy, P. 1911). See Figure 5.

A similar matrimonial policy can be found not in the area where the Toorobbe lineages originated, but in the heart of the Bossea, at Tilogne, one of the largest villages of the central valley today. In this case it is no longer a question of transmission of charisma but of the creation of an urban society as the seat of power of one of the chief electors of the Almaami of the nineteenth century, Ceerno Molle, the "priest protector" of Tilogne.

According to Aamadu Ceerno Molle (12/2/79), five or six generations ago Ceerno Mamadu (see Figure 6) decided to have brought to Tilogne a Talla child from Sincu Bamambe (Ngeenan), a Ture child bearing the title of Ceerno Woci, living in Walaldé (Lao), a son of Elimaan Dimat who became Elimaan Duga (Kan) at Tilogne, a number of Sy from the Bundu and Sise from the Wagadu. He gave instruction to these children and then gave them girls so that they settled in Tilogne.

We have decided to present only matrimonial alliances between the Ly of Ceerno Molle and the Talla of Ceerno Gappugu. The latter of Soninké origin belonged to the court priests who were in the service of

RAFFORTS PROPEDEUTIQUES PEDAGOGIQUES ET MATRIMONIAUX ENTRE LES TALLA, LES LY ET LES SYLLA.



L Y	T A L L A	SYLLA
E E R N O M O L L E J E E R I	C E E R N O G A P P U G U	C E E R N O J I I N G E
C I L O Ñ	S I N C U B A M A M B E	H A M A D I H U N A R E J O N G T O
B O S E Y A	D A M G A	B O S E Y A

the last Deniyanke rulers at Horkadiere. Two Almaami were chosen from amongst them: Almaami Rasin Selli (1865-75) and Almaami Moktar Kudej (1806-7) (See Figure 6). They lived at Sincu Bamambe in the Damga.

The tradition described by E.H.M. Dia is less simple than that of Ceerno Molle Aamadu and puts back by one generation the first teaching relationship:

"The first to live at Sincu Bamambé is Ceerno Baaba Bullari. He was very wise. His master was Tapsiru Ali, the father of Ceerno Mamadu. He then married his master's daughter, Kudi Ali, and had a son called Wahabu Baaba". (E.H.M. Dia, 1982:70).

Wahabu Baaba would successively marry two daughters of his maternal uncle while one of his sons would repeat this type of marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle.

Schmitz Jean. (1983)

The vicissitudes of a clerical class : the territorial settlement of the
Toorobbe in Fuuta Tooro (Sénégal)

Dakar : ORSTOM, 34 p. multigr.