

02 Temmuz 2018

MADE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA CELEN DOKÜMAN

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BETTINA GRÄF

Fuuta Jalón

Fuuta Jalón (also Fuuta Jaloo, and Fouta Djallon in French) is a mountainous region of west-central Guinea where Fulfulde-speaking Muslims (known also as Fula, Fulani, and Peul) established a state that dominated the region from the early twelfth/eighteenth century until its incorporation into French Guinea in the late nineteenth century.

Fuuta Jalón occupies approximately 77,000 square kilometres (30,000 square miles) and includes mountains, plateaus, and valleys in west-central Guinea. Several peaks reach more than 1,000 metres (3,300 feet); the highest is Tamgué (Mount Loura), at 1,538 metres (5,046 feet), in the eastern region. From these mountains flow

the major sources of the Gambia, Senegal, and Niger rivers, as well as the Koliba (Corubal), Kolenté (Great Scarcies), Kaba (Little Scarcies), and Konkouré rivers. The region receives copious precipitation in its principal rainy season, from July to September. Its diverse environments support both farming and herding: the former predominates in the centre and south, the latter in the more arid northern regions.

Various communities have called Fuuta Jalón home over the centuries. Some claimed ancestors who were indigenous inhabitants of the region. Immigrants included Mande-speakers known as Jalonke, who established many small polities beginning in the eighth/fourteenth century. Other immigrants belonged to the Jakhanke, a diaspora of Mande-speaking Muslim scholars with origins in the Mali Empire. Fulfulde-speaking herders, farmers, and Muslim scholars began to arrive in large numbers in the eleventh/seventeenth century.

Fulfulde-speaking elites established a state in Fuuta Jalón in the twelfth/eighteenth century. The victors represented their effort as a military *jihād* against Jalonke rulers who imposed excessive taxes and unlawful confiscations and enslaved Fulfulde-speaking Muslims in their raids. The movement was launched in the early twelfth/eighteenth century by Alfa Ibrāhīm Mūsā (d. 1164/1751), a Fulfulde-speaking Muslim scholar (known also as Karamoko Alfa, a name compounded of the Mande and Fulfulde terms for “Muslim scholar,” respectively). His forces defeated several Jalonke rulers in the first decades of the twelfth/eighteenth century. When Jalonke resistance and attacks from neighbouring powers challenged the new state at mid-century, Ibrāhīm Sori (d. c.1198/1784) led other Fulfulde speak-

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A. Br. : c. 14, s. 70

B. L. : c. VII, s. 4331

F. A. : c. , s.

M. L. : c. 10, s. 881

T. A. : c. XVII, s. 71

Bundu (Senegal)
Masmia (Mali) den
buraya geldi'ler.
F.C. yerlileri Susu u
Djalankotonu dir.
Iris te Timbo'da

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Fulbe

Name of West African people speaking Fulbe-related languages.

The Fulbe originated as a nomadic people inhabiting the Sahara areas of West Africa. From the fifteenth century onwards groups of Fulbe began settling in the more fertile regions south of the Sahara and integrating with resident groups. Since the seventeenth century the Fulbe were associated with orthodox Islam and inaugurated jihads in several parts of West Africa. The main areas of Fulbe settlement were the Hausa region of northern Nigeria, the Adamawa region of Cameroon and the Futa-Djallon region of Guinea.

The architectural tradition of the Fulbe originated in the circular wooden-framed tents of their nomadic lifestyle. Elements of this nomadic style are said to have been incorporated into the Hausa architecture of northern Nigeria which is a mixture Fulbe and indigenous Hausa style.

See also: Futa-Djallon, Hausa, West Africa

funduq

North African term for a small, urban shop complex. A typical funduq is a square two-storey structure built around a central courtyard with shops on one floor and store rooms on the other. Equivalent to a khan in the Middle East.

Fustat

The first Islamic capital of Egypt, now within the modern city of Cairo.

Fustat was built on the east bank of the Nile opposite the pre-Islamic Coptic settlement of Babylon. The first permanent settlement on the site was established by the Muslim general 'Amr ibn al-'As in 643. This first settlement appears to have been a huge encampment of tents arranged into tribal groups separated by open ground. In the centre of the camp was the mosque of 'Amr which is known as the oldest mosque in Egypt. Little of the original fabric of the mosque survives and in its present

form it dates to 827. The settlement was not fortified until 684 when a ditch was dug around the camp in order to defend it against the Umayyad army under Marwan. During the Abbasid period Fustat was no longer the centre of government, although it was still the main commercial centre. The Fatimid conquest and the establishment of Cairo did little to alter this situation and during the tenth century Fustat was known as one of the wealthiest cities of the world. A series of famines and fires during the eleventh and early twelfth century led to the decline of the city. The Crusader siege of 1168 dealt a further blow to the city and in later periods the area of Fustat was redeveloped as a suburb of Cairo within a new wall built on the orders of Salah al-Din.

Excavations in Fustat have revealed complex street and house plans which indicate a high degree of sophistication. The basic unit appears to have been of rooms built around a square or rectangular central courtyard with a central basin. On one or two sides of the courtyard there was an open arcade of three arches, with a wide central arch and two side arches. Behind the central arch there was usually an open iwan flanked by two side rooms. On the other sides of the courtyard there was either an iwan opening directly on to the courtyard or a door to another room. In general there were few connections from one room to another and the courtyard remained the principal means of access.

See also: 'Amr, Mosque of, Cairo, Egypt

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Futa-Djallon

Islamic region in the highlands of north-west Guinea on border with the Ivory Coast in West Africa.

Before the fifteenth century the primary residents were the Djallonke people who were sedentary agriculturalists. During the fifteenth century various groups of nomadic Fulbe arrived in the area

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Futa Jalon

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Futa Jalon
1776-1896 C.E.

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PROF. MASUDUL HASAN

Islamic Publications (Pvt.) Ltd.

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Ibrahim Sori

Futa Jalon lies in the heart of the tropical zone in Western Sudan. It is a mountainous region consisting of plateaus broken here and there by isolated knolls and split by deep valleys. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the Fulbe migrated from Masina and Hawd and settled in the valley of the Bafing and Tene. The Fulbe were Muslims though their Islam was nominal. Gradually the Fulbe gained strength, and they came to aspire for political supremacy. They adopted Islam as the war cry. Under their leader Sori the Fulbe succeeded in establishing the State of Futa Jalon with the capital at Fugumba. He was originally called the "Shaik", but on acquiring political power he took over the title of "Al-Mami", the chief Imam. He declared the State to be an Islamic State, and the Shariah to be the supreme law of the land. He constituted a Council of Ulema, who advised him about the administration of the affairs of the State. He patronised the Ulema, and took steps to promote the Islamic way of life. Ulema from other Muslim countries were attracted to Fugumba which became a great Islamic cultural centre. The religious divines exercised great influence in the city which came to be regarded as a holy city. Ibrahim Sori started as a religious teacher, but as he acquired political power he became more of a war leader and ruler than a religious teacher. He built up an army, and extended his conquests. With the acquisition of power differences grew between Ibrahim Sori and the Ulema. The Ulema accused Ibrahim Sori of being a dictator, and Ibrahim Sori accused the Ulema of being too narrow minded. Differences between Ibrahim Sori and the Ulema grew, and in order to escape from the influence of the Ulema, Ibrahim Sori shifted the political

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الحاج عمر الفوتي وحركته في غرب إفريقيا

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an alternative model of government with which to compare and confront their rulers. By the early eighteenth century a number of Fulbe Muslim clans were rivalling the Tuareg as the leading Islamic scholars of West Africa. Conversion of 'the unbeliever' was an essential part of Muslim duty and those Fulbe Muslim teachers who preached *jihad* against the *infidel* may have been drawing inspiration from earlier religious reforming movements such as the Almoravids of the eleventh century (see above, Chapter 7, pp. 90-92). Certainly the example of one *jihad* movement has frequently served to inspire the growth of another.

The jihads of Futa Jalon and Futa Toro

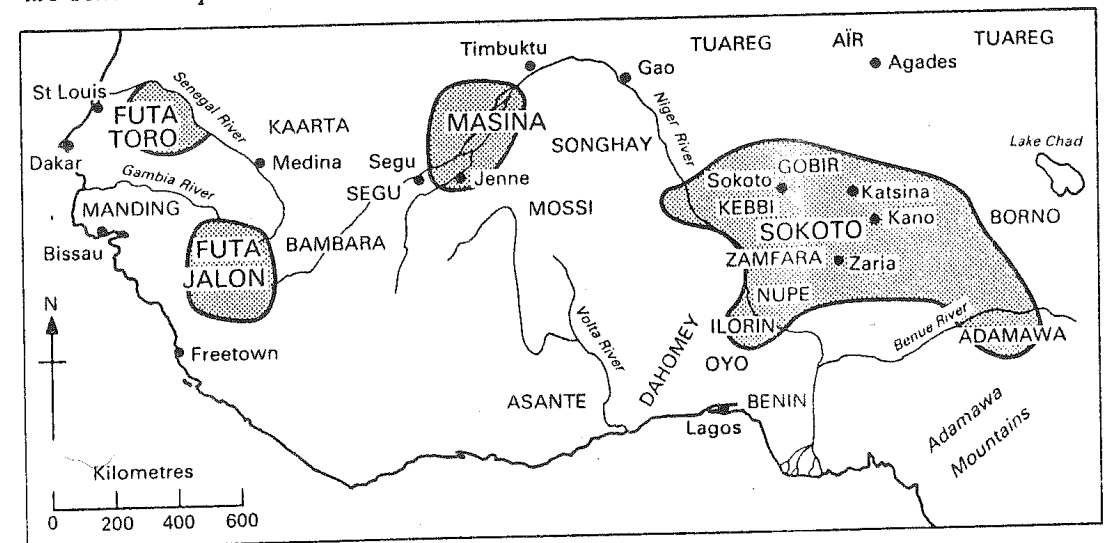
The west African *jihads* of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries began in the highlands of Futa Jalon in what is now the modern state of Guinea. Fulbe pastoralists had settled in these highlands from the early 1500s. The local farming population was organised in a series of small village chiefdoms. As their herds increased in size the Fulbe felt the pressure of the restrictions and taxation of the farmers, but in Islam they found their salvation. In 1725 the Fulbe rose in rebellion against their rulers and with the support of Muslim traders they waged holy war against the 'pagan' settled farmers. It was 1750 before their conquest was complete. By then they had brought the region under Islamic law and created a Fulbe-dominated state. As we saw in Chapter 12 (p. 175) their wars of conquest produced a surplus of captives who were sold into slavery to European traders at the coast.

The Futa Jalon *jihad* inspired a similar movement in Futa Toro to the south of the lower Senegal. Here between 1769 and 1776 Muslim Tukolor and Fulbe waged successful *jihad* and established a new Muslim state under the rule of the *shari'a*.

Usman dan Fodio and the founding of the Sokoto caliphate

The eighteenth-century *jihads* of Futa Jalon and Futa Toro provided inspiration for later Muslim teachers elsewhere in western Africa. In the early nineteenth century a series of *jihads* were waged within the Hausa states of

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16.1 Jihadist states of the western Sudan to c.1840



London 1995

YAYIMLANDIKTAN
 GELEN DOKÜMAN

80 KASIM 2002

LES AFRICAINS

sous la direction

de

Charles-André Julien

et

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Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch,

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TOME XII

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Paris-1990

LES EDITIONS DU
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Bokar Biro réformateur et résistant au Fuuta Jalon

Boubacar Barry

La conquête coloniale, en Afrique occidentale, à la fin du XIX^e siècle, a rencontré partout, à des degrés divers, une vive résistance. Qu'il s'agisse des jeunes États, au faite de leur puissance ou des vieux États, au seuil de leur déclin, partout des hommes, au génie exceptionnel et au courage indéniable, ont surgi pour défier le destin et tenter, jusqu'au sacrifice ultime, de sauvegarder l'indépendance nationale. L'action de Bokar Biro se situe dans le deuxième cas, car il a voulu, en dépit des faiblesses internes qui sapèrent la puissance et la stabilité du Fuuta Jalon, tenter l'impossible pour renforcer non seulement le pouvoir central ébranlé par la tendance autonomiste des provinces et les révoltes populaires, mais aussi pour résister les armes à la main à la conquête française. Bokar Biro devait trouver la mort en 1896 sur le champ de bataille, à Poredaka, où la victoire des Français sonna définitivement le glas de l'indépendance de ce puissant royaume du Fuuta Jalon, fondé au début du XVIII^e siècle.

A ce titre, Bokar Biro est non seulement le dernier *almami* du Fuuta Jalon, mais aussi le dernier des grands almamis qui, au cours de la longue histoire de ce royaume, ont forgé son destin. Dans ce cadre, l'action de Bokar Biro, comme tous les hommes qui ont eu à vivre la tragédie de la fin d'une époque, ne peut se comprendre que replacée dans le contexte de l'histoire de ce royaume dont il incarne à la fois la force et la faiblesse à la veille de la conquête coloniale. L'échec du réformateur et du résistant permet alors de comprendre la véritable dimension historique de l'homme qui a tenté de redresser le cours du destin pour sauver son pays de la conquête coloniale, au sacrifice de sa vie.

Comme le dit Jean Suret-Canale à

propos de l'origine et des caractères ethniques des Peul, ce sujet a donné lieu à une vaste littérature de valeur inégale et où, souvent, il faut bien le dire, une imagination débordante a suppléé aux déficiences de l'information. C'est précisément en raison du rôle prépondérant que les Peul ont joué, à partir du XVIII^e siècle, avec les révolutions musulmanes, qu'une certaine mentalité colonialiste, pour qui l'infériorité naturelle de la race noire est un fait hors de discussion, a développé l'hypothèse de l'origine blanche des Peul. Mais, il est maintenant certain que les Peul, venus de l'est, apparentés peut-être aux pasteurs de bovidés qu'on trouve dans les figurations rupestres du Sahara, constituent avant tout un rameau de la race noire. C'est en définitive leur spécialisation pastorale qui les distingue des autres peuples et explique en même temps leur expansion de l'océan Atlantique au lac Tchad, dans la zone de pâturage que constitue par excellence la savane et le Sahel.

Peuple nomade, les Peul pasteurs, au cours de leurs migrations, ont été attirés très tôt par le massif du Fuuta Jalon riche en pâturage, que Jean Suret-Canale a fort bien défini comme un obstacle et un refuge. En effet, ces hauts plateaux gréseux, tout en isolant les savanes soudanaises de la côte Atlantique, ont servi d'exutoire à tous les peuples plus ou moins opprimés dans le cadre des grands empires du Sudan occidental. C'est ainsi que les premiers habitants, les Baga et Landuma, chasseurs cultivateurs, ont été très tôt refoulés vers la côte par les Susu et les Jalonké, d'origine mandingue. Leur société était organisée en patrilinéages solides sur la base territoriale du *kafu* (canton). L'absence d'un pouvoir politique centralisé fut la source majeure de la faiblesse des chefferies Susu et Jalon-

- Fuuta Calon
- Gine

s. 63-83

MADDE 24 YEREL ANDETAI
SONRA GÖLEN DÜŞÜMAN

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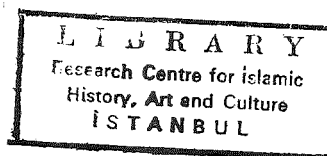
Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century

EDITOR B. A. OGOT

6 ARALIK 1991

Volume V of the *General History of Africa* is accompanied by a corrigendum reproducing some corrections which could not have been made for technical reasons. The publishers believe that this is necessary to maintain the historical, political and academic accuracy required of such a *History*

1992



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Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century

inhabited by Bajaranke, Koniagui, Bassari, Jaxanke, Soninke and many Fulbe from Futa Toro, took advantage of the weakness of Gajaaga to declare a holy war. His religious prestige, and the military organization he set up with the help of Muslims, most of whom had come from Futa Toro after the defeat of the *marabout* movement, enabled him to found the theocratic state of Bundu.⁴⁰

Maalik Sy supported the Jaxanke *marabouts* whose commercial interests were constantly threatened by the pillaging of the Gajaaga military aristocracy. The Muslim party thus ensured for itself the control of Falémé whose commercial importance and agricultural wealth were to make it, over the following centuries, the basis of the power of the Sisibe dynasty.⁴¹ Maalik Sy then took the title of *Almamy*, a Fulfulde version of the title *al-Imām* which had earlier been adopted by Nāṣir al-Dīn.

Philip Curtin has clearly demonstrated the religious and family connections between Nāṣir al-Dīn's movement and the revolution in Bundu. Although he did not take a direct part in the *marabout* war, Maalik Sy was nevertheless a keen follower who achieved some of the political and religious aims of the *marabout* party.⁴²

There is no documentation to explain why the first Muslim revolution was successful. But a clear trend can be seen for Muslim communities to consolidate themselves far from the coast, on the borders of Senegambia, to escape the oppressive policy of the *ceddo* establishment. In this way the fate of Bundu was linked to that of the Muslim communities in Futa Toro and Futa Jallon which lay one on either side of Bundu. Bundu was well situated on the trade routes linking the Niger Bend to the trading posts in the Gambia and it gradually consolidated its position under the Sisibe dynasty at the expense of Gajaaga.⁴³

The Muslim revolution in Futa Jallon

The success of the Muslim revolution in Bundu was followed a few years later by a revolution in Futa Jallon, which took place in much the same circumstances. The fate of the mountainous massif of Futa Jallon – a natural obstacle which over the centuries had become a place of refuge for the Jallonke, the Soso and the Fulbe – underwent a complete upheaval during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Koly Tengella's invasion and, above all, the development of the Atlantic trade soon had powerful cultural consequences while also accelerating the movement of the people of the Sudan towards the forest or the coast with many choosing to pass through the highlands of Futa Jallon. Moreover, this major crossing-point was economically revitalized by the existence of large herds of cattle belonging to Fulbe herdsmen who had flooded into the area from the

40. P. D. Curtin, 1971, pp. 20-2.
41. A. Bathily, 1975, p. 58.
42. P. D. Curtin, 1971, p. 22.
43. S. Diagne, 1975, p. 1.

Senegambia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century

fifteenth century onwards, drawn by the abundant grazing areas in the Futa Jallon highlands.

Futa Jallon, now incorporated into the Atlantic trade, was the scene of a profound economic and social transformation which was to give rise to the Muslim revolution at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Walter Rodney gives an excellent account of the economic, political and social context of the 1725 revolution which ended in the setting up of the theocratic state of Futa Jallon by the *marabout* party. He shows that to present the revolution merely as a struggle between the unfortunate Fulbe and their Jallonke masters and exploiters is simplistic.

During the seventeenth century, the Fulbe had probably become the richest and most powerful social group in the country. This was a result of the combination of three factors. First, the quest for new grazing grounds had considerably increased the numbers of Fulbe from Bundu, Futa Toro, Macina and the Sahel. Second, expansion of the Atlantic trade had led to large-scale development of the trade in cattle and hides and had thus strengthened the economic position of the cattle-owning Fulbe. Third, militant Islam had emerged to serve as an ideology for the construction of a new economic, political and social order.⁴⁴

The Muslim revolution in Futa Jallon was, clearly, as in Bundu, a reaction to the violence and upheavals precipitated by the overseas slave trade. In fact, the leaders of the Muslim revolution in Futa Jallon were not all from Macina but also from the Senegal valley where they had had direct links with Nāṣir al-Dīn's *marabout* movement.

Philip Curtin and Levtzion have both clearly shown the religious, political and matrimonial links between the various *marabout* families of Futa Toro, Bundu and Futa Jallon.⁴⁵ The route linking the Senegal valley to the Futa Jallon highlands through Falémé was a permanent feature of the history of the peopling of Senegambia, as is well illustrated by the travels of Shaykh 'Umar in the nineteenth century. Bundu was the link in this *marabout* movement, whose defeat at the end of the seventeenth century in Futa Toro was followed by its triumph in Futa Jallon at the beginning of the eighteenth, with the participation of the various Fulbe, Mande and Jaxanke peoples of the area. In the context of the large-scale slave-hunts organized by the powerful state of Kaabu, the Muslim revolution in Futa Jallon appears as the victory of the *marabout* party whose prime aim was to ensure the security of the Muslim community.

This essentially Muslim revolution was not at all an ethnic war between Fulbe herdsmen and Jallonke settled farmers. Tradition clearly demonstrates the multi-ethnic character of the revolution initially led by twelve Fulbe *marabouts* and ten Mande *marabouts*, who were certainly of Jaxanke origin. Conversely, the movement was confronted with opposition from the leaders of Kafu, who were Jallonke, and also from the non-Muslim

44. W. Rodney, 1968, pp. 274-6.
45. P. D. Curtin, 1971, pp. 21-2; N. Levtzion, 1971a.

West Africa and Islam

A Study of Religious
Development from the
8th to the 20th Century

by Peter B. Clarke



Edward Arnold

Malik Sy ruled over Bundu for 13, or possibly for 17, years. Like Nasir al-Din he came from a family of religious teachers who had connections with people in the same profession in southern Mauretania, Nasir al-Din's homeland. Moreover, Malik Sy may have been in Futa Toro during the time of Nasir al-Din's takeover there, and possibly joined his army. As Curtin suggests, therefore, Malik Sy was probably influenced by Nasir al-Din's militant reform movement.⁵

The establishment in Bundu of an Islamic state by a member of the Muslim intellectual élite from Futa Toro, supported by pastoral Fulani who were anxious to change the social order and by business people, was followed by several other military jihads in different areas of the Senegambia in the 18th century.

The Jihad of Alfa Karamoko in Futa Jallon.

As I indicated in Chapter 2, it is not always clear what the motives were for launching or sustaining a jihad of the sword. According to one historian the jihad of the sword waged in Futa Jallon in the 18th century soon became little more than a cover for slave raiding.⁶ However, as another historian points out, although slave exports do appear to have been relatively high during the period c. 1720–1750 when the jihad was under way, and again in the 1780s, it is by no means certain as to whether "the demand for slaves caused the wars of the jihads, rather than the jihads creating a supply of prisoners for sale."⁷ Although, the transatlantic slave trade may well have played a part in bringing about the jihad of the sword in Futa Jallon in the 1720s, there were nevertheless a number of other antecedents which combined to give rise to this jihad.

At one time the population of Futa Jallon (in present-day Guinea Conakry), was composed in the main of Dialonke, Susu and Mandinka. These people were mainly hunters and farmers. In the 15th century Koli Tengella from Termes, assisted by Fulani, established the nucleus of a state in the region. Then a new wave of Fulani immigrants entered the territory from Masina in the 16th century, followed by a much larger wave of Fulani towards the end of the 17th century.

Over a period of time clashes between the Dialonke, the masters of the land, and the new arrivals, became more frequent and increasingly violent. One of the main reasons for this was that the Dialonke, the resident farmers, were demanding a payment from the Fulani herdsmen whose cattle were damaging the land and destroying their crops. Some of the settled Fulani supported the Dialonke, both groups being at this stage non-Muslim. Then the Dialonke placed a ban on public prayer, which affected the local Muslim Mandinka merchants and many of the new immigrants from Masina who were either Muslims or sympathetic to Islam as a form of protest against the Dialonke.

It was in this situation that Alfa Karamoko, otherwise known as Musa Ibrahima or Alfa Ibrahima Sembegu, emerged, supported by the chief of the Council of Elders of Timbo, an important town in the south-east of Futa Jallon. Alfa Karamoko had been a Muslim student in Kankan under the respected Jakhanke scholar, Qadir Sanusi. He appears to have been a

charismatic leader with a wide appeal. Professor Curtin has tried to demonstrate school and family ties between Alfa Karamoko and Malik Sy, the leader of the jihad in Bundu. Curtin in this way draws the conclusion that there was a connecting chain linking the jihad in Futa Jallon with that in Bundu, and ultimately with Nasir al-Din's jihad in Mauretania. He also suggests, as we shall see, that the jihad in Futa Toro in northern Senegal was likewise part of this militant Islamic tradition of reform.⁸

Alfa Karamoko died in c. 1751 and was succeeded by his cousin Ibrahim Sori, a man with great ambitions in both the political and economic spheres. It was under Ibrahim Sori's leadership that the jihad lost whatever remained of its religious inspiration.

The Muslim community in Futa Jallon which had supported the jihad during the days of Alfa Karamoko, now split into two factions, one of which was the keenly orthodox Islamic faction known as the Alfaya, and the other was the Soriya or followers of Ibrahim Sori, who were more intent on political and commercial control of Futa Jallon than on the creation of the ideal Islamic state. In 1776 Ibrahim Sori abandoned the title *Imam al-salat*, leader of the Muslim community in prayer, and took on that of *Imam al-ta'a*, commander of obedience.

This division in Futa Jallon persisted after Ibrahim Sori's death in c. 1781, and to all intents and purposes the struggle to create a united Islamic community administered according to Islamic principles was unsuccessful. Still, Futa Jallon exercised great influence as a centre of Islamic education, and the holy war itself brought many non-Muslim communities, tributaries of Futa Jallon, within the sphere of Islamic influence. These wars also gave rise to a good deal of upheaval and migration which resulted in Muslim communities being established in Sierra Leone and Liberia to the east and south-east of Futa Jallon.

The jihad in Futa Jallon, however, like those that were fought elsewhere, was to some extent, counter-productive. It created a hostile reaction to Islam among some non-Muslim communities and even on occasion alienated Muslim sympathisers. In Futa Jallon, for instance, the Solima people whose leaders had become Muslims were at first in alliance with the jihadists but later, disenchanted with the course of the jihad under Ibrahim Sori, withdrew their support and moved into Sierra Leone where they established the non-Muslim state of Falaba.

The Jihad of Sulayman Bal in Futa Toro.

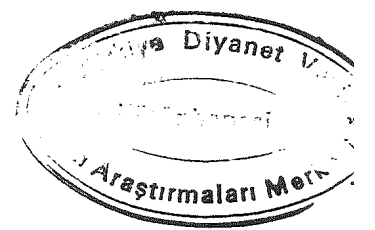
Once ruled by the Tokolor, the kingdom of Futa Toro was taken over by the Denianke dynasty founded by the warrior Koli Tengella. The Denianke rulers, who bore the title *Siratik* (leader of the way), ruled in the late 16th and for most of the 17th century not only over northern Senegal but also over southern Mauretania, and this partly explains why Nasir al-Din waged his jihad against Futa Toro.

The Denianke rulers of Futa Toro, although they recovered somewhat from their defeat at the hands of Nasir al-Din in the 1670s, were no longer as powerful in the 18th century as they had been between 1590 and 1670. During

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FRANCE AND ISLAM
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 1860-1960



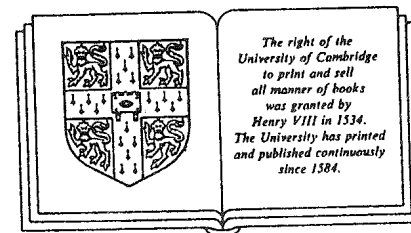
CHRISTOPHER HARRISON

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5

French Islamic policy in crisis: the Futa Jallon 1909-1912

The Futa Jallon region of the modern state of Guinea (Conakry) has a rich and important history. It is the most mountainous area of the western Sudan and, indeed, it is in its hills that the two great rivers of West Africa - the Senegal and the Niger - have their source. The two dominant ethnic groups are the Fulbe and the various Mandinka groups known collectively as the Jallonke from whom the region gets its name. The Jallonke agriculturalists invaded and settled on the plateau of the Futa between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries animist Fulbe pastoralists followed but, preferring to graze their livestock on the higher hills, did not seriously clash with the Jallonke. In the seventeenth century Muslim Fulbe, coming from either Macina or the Futa Toro, defeated both the Jallonke and the animist Fulbe and imposed their suzerainty over the area exacting tribute and taking slaves from the defeated tribes. Despite their great numerical inferiority they succeeded in imposing themselves as the dominant political force in the region in the course of the century. A further grouping which deserves comment were the Jakhanke, a clerical group belonging to the Soninke people, who settled in the Futa in the eleventh century and founded the town of Touba which acquired a reputation as a centre for Islamic learning, attracting visitors from all over West Africa.¹

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century the head of the Futa state (who took the title *almamy*),² Karamoko Alfa, organised the Futa into seven provinces or *diwal* each of which had its own chief and which together formed the Futa Jallon federation which lasted more or less successfully until the French conquest. When Karamoko Alfa was forced to give up through ill health in 1751, the 'Council of Elders' elected a relation, Ibrahim Sori Mawdo, to be *almamy* as Karamoko Alfa's son, Alfa Saadibu, was too young. This decision led to disputes between the two families known henceforward as the Alfya and Soriya. The dispute was eventually settled by an arrangement whereby an *almamy* was chosen from each family, the two of them taking it in turn to reign for a period of two years at a time. This original system lasted a remarkably long time and it was not until 1888 that it

The Futa Jallon 1909-1912

finally collapsed. Whilst it survived the Futa constitution was, in David Robinson's words 'a triumph of balancing'. T. Diallo, a Guinean historian, described the period when the system worked properly as the 'most glorious of nineteenth century Futa history'. Marty, although less enthusiastic, argued that the Futa federation was a more impressive state than those of either Ashanti or Dahomey.³

However, by the last quarter of the century the Futa was in serious decline, and the central authorities were increasingly vulnerable to pressure both from within and from outside the federation. Above all the intense factionalism of the ruling families which had always been one of the striking characteristics of Futa politics provided the ideal opportunity for French intervention. The timetable for the final collapse began in 1886 when the *almamy* designate of the Soriya family, Mamadu Paathe, was ousted by his younger brother, Bokar Biro, who shared power with the Alfya *almamy*, Ahmaadi Ahmaadu, until 1895 when the regional chiefs of the Futa rebelled. During this time the French had been signing treaties with the various *almamys* of the federation but this diplomatic pressure was not sufficient to bring Bokar Biro to terms. A year after the regional chiefs rebelled against the central authority, the French, too, decided on the use of force. In 1896 Bokar Biro was defeated and killed in a battle against an alliance of the French and regional chiefs.

In 1897 a Protectorate Treaty was signed in which France agreed to recognise the heads of the two ruling families of the Futa, Umaru Bademba for the Alfya and Sori Illili for the Soriya, and to respect the original constitution of the federation. However, the latter promise was soon neglected as the French decided to divide the Futa into two administrative provinces, Timbo and Mamou, under the leadership of Sori Illili and Umaru Bademba respectively. The chiefs who had fought alongside the French were similarly rewarded with recognition of the 'permanent' quality of their chiefships.⁴

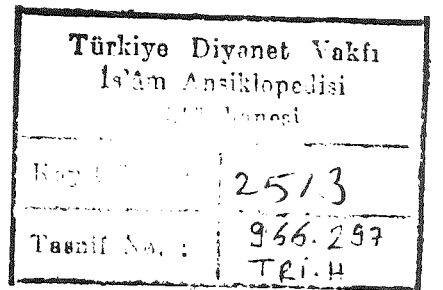
By the end of the nineteenth century the Futa was undoubtedly in a state of crisis. There were several strands to this crisis: economic, political and religious changes resulting from the growing influence of the French and the simultaneous collapse of central authority within the Futa combined to create what Lamine Seneh has called 'a crisis in authority' as various groups jostled for the power and authority once held by the *almamys*. At the turn of the century, Seneh suggests, the two main contenders were the French and a new religious élite based on a rural network within the Futa of radical Muslim communities composed of disaffected peasants and freed slaves.⁵ However, the French, whilst recognising that the situation in the Futa was certainly fluid, appear to have been satisfied that the old structures were still sufficiently strong for them to recognise and make use of existing chiefs. Writing to the Colonial Minister to report on his recent visit to the Futa, the Governor-General explained his policy of indirect rule and respect for the status quo. In Timbo he was met by a delegation of chiefs,

A HISTORY OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

By

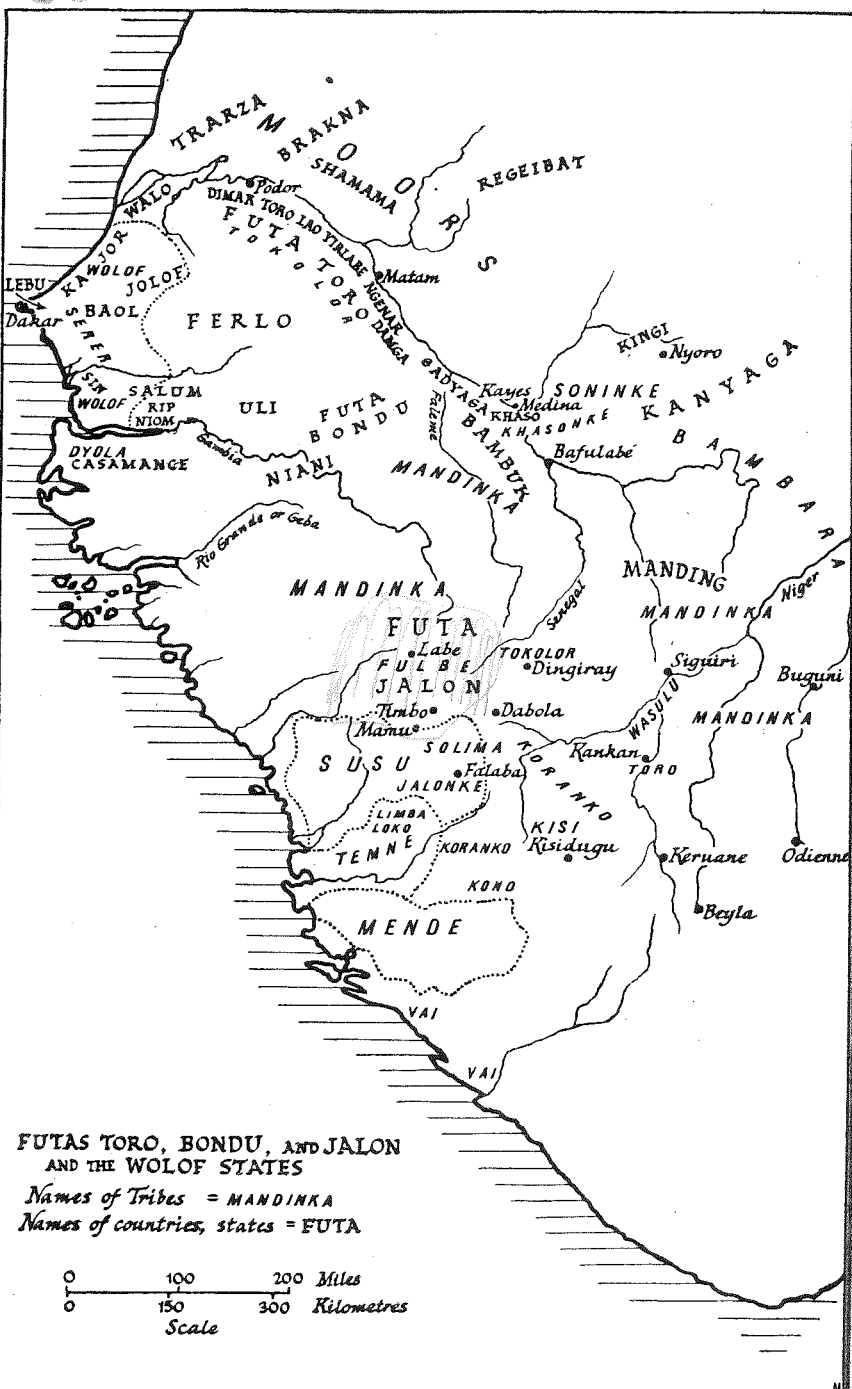
J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM

FUTO JALON



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MAP 4



WESTERN SUDAN

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effective 'follow up'. Yet these wars with their dislocations led to the formation of new villages composed often of the most diverse people between whom allegiance to the Tijāniyya provided the only link.

Contemporary with the sons of 'Umar were a number of non-Tokolor leaders of ethnic groups who made use of Islam as a rallying cry for resistance against European conquest. These include Mamadu Lamīn, a former companion of al-ḥājj 'Umar, leading Soninke; Tyebe heading the Senufo of Kenedugu; and, most famous of all, a Mandinka named Samōri who (from 1872 to 1898) attempted to form a state in the region between the source of the Niger and Upper Volta. In central Sudan towards the end of the century, Rābiḥ, a slaver from the eastern Sudan, dominated the whole Chad region. These later adventurers used Islam largely as a cloak for their personal ambitions. Their bands, recruited by hope of booty, were formed into regular armies whose striking power was based on horsemen (*sōfa*). They ruined the regions they submitted, sparing neither Muslim nor pagan who resisted. They organized their states along lines different from those formed by their predecessors, since they were purely military régimes. They divided their conquests into provinces and districts having at the head a political chief assisted by a war-chief and a cleric. They formed a *bait al-māl*, and one of their main preoccupations was the maintenance of a commercial link with the coast by means of which they could barter their human booty to obtain firearms. Only those local chiefs who, like Tyebe, the great opponent of Samōri, adopted the same means of raising and training professional troops, were able to resist. They fought one another as well as the French against whose occupation they formed a rallying point, and by whom they were all destroyed. Their conquests, though ephemeral, in some ways prepared the ground for the spread of Islam, for by their massacres and slave-raiding, accompanied by the destruction of symbols, statuettes, masks, and ancestor houses, they broke up the old religio-social structure of many peoples; whilst on the positive side nominal attachment to Islam often led under peaceful conditions to permanent islamization.

2. FUTA JALON

In the heart of the tropical zone lies the mountainous region of Futa Jalon covering some 50,000 sq. km. It consists of vast monotonous plateaux broken here and there by isolated knolls and split by deep valleys. Three-quarters of the whole area consists of *bowal*, poor

نشر الاسلام في منطقة فوتاجالون

(غينيا الوسطى)

وقيام الدولة الاسلامية الاتحادية لدواوين (ولايات) فوتا

تم انشاء الدولة الاسلامية الاتحادية لدواوين فوتاجالون في حوالي عام ١١٦٠ هـ بعد اجتماع تمهيدى عقده علماء فوتا في موضع يقال له (فوغومبا Fougoumba) في محافظة (دالابا Dabâ) الحالية . وهؤلاء العلماء كانوا مشهورين بالعلم والتقوى والورع والعبادة وكانوا كلهم من الحفاظ المتقنين للقرآن الكريم ومتعمقين في علوم القرآن والفقه واللغة وأصول الدين وغيرها من علوم وثقافات ذلك العهد .

وهم : (الشيخ ابراهيم بن نوح) من ديوان (تمبو Timbo) ، والشيخ « محمد سيلو » من ديوان لابي ، وتيارنو « الشيخ » محمد سميا من ديوان بوريا Bhouriya وألفا موسى من ديوان تيبالي ، وتيارنو سليمان ، وتيارنو سري « Ciré » من ديوان - تمب تن Timbi Tounni ، وألفا محمد من ديوان كلاد Kollâdhé والشيخ صالح بلا من ديوان كويين Koyin ، والشيخ محمد ساجو من ديوان فوغومبا .

وكانوا قبل هذا الاجتماع في مراسلة متواصلة لاجراء مشاورات فيما بينهم حول ما سيتخذونه من اجراءات لمحاربة الوثنية ونشر الدين الاسلامي في البلاد كلها وفي خلال هذا المراسلات اتفقوا على أن يجتمعوا في مكان ما لاجراء المشاورات شفها فيما بينهم ، فاجتمعوا في فوغومبا مع كثيرين من تلاميذهم فقرءوا تفسير القرآن الكريم حتى اكملوه . وكان تيارنو محمد سمب بوريا هو الذي يقرأ لهم ، ولما اتموا قراءة التفسير تعاهدوا على محاربة الكفار والوثنية واقامة الدين الاسلامي الحنيف في جميع أنحاء فوتا وما حولها بأي ثمن .

(م ٤ - المسلمون في غينيا)

المسلمون في العالم

(٢)

المسلمون في غينيا

Futacallon (٤٩-٥٣)

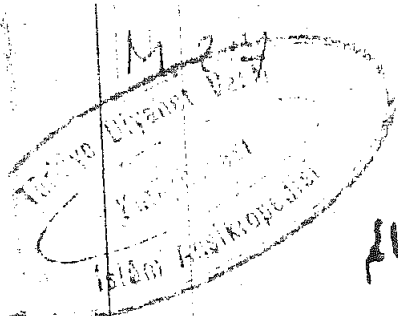
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دكتور محمد عبدالقادر أحمد

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