Text 16: Aali Gay Caam, THE MAADIYADKE MOVEMENT

Aali Gay, the informant for Text 10, gave the following interview on 23 January 1968 in Maatam. In it he demonstrated again his detailed knowledge of the history of western Fuuta in the 19th century, even to the name of the French Commander of Podoo at the time, and the centrality of his maternal ancestor, Suley Maabo. A number of Wolof words, or Pulaar words of Wolof origin, reflect the fusion of Wolof and Haalpulaar'en milieu that mark the region.

The historical setting for the text is another reformist challenge, this time from a set of brothers descended from the Maadiyu Hammee Ba. The Maadiyu, after his unsuccessful efforts to change the structures of Tooro in the 1820s, was forced into exile for a period. He established close ties with the leading clerical and chiefly family of Kokki in northern Kajoor, the lineage of the Seriñ Kokki. He later returned to western Fuuta, founded the "village of the Maadiyu" (Wuro Maadiyu), and taught there for the rest of his days. His sons, both those who, like Aamadu, grew up in Tooro and those who, like Ibraa, grew up in Kokki, became the Maadiyankoobe. They came to prominence in 1869 during a cholera epidemic that killed perhaps 25% of the Senegambian population. Over the next 6 years they became the dominant force in western Fuuta, Jolof and Kajoor. Aamadu, the oldest son, played the leading role, seconded by Ibraa. Although the brothers belonged to the Tijaniyya brotherhood of Islam, they did not establish links with Umar Taal, who had been the great sponsor of the Tijaniyya affiliation in the preceding generation.

The traditional chief whose authority was dramatically threatened in 1869-70 was the Laam Tooro. The ineffective Muulee and Sammba, his deputy and cousin from the rival house, are no match for the numbers and zeal of the reformers, but they survive thanks to the loyalty of their supporters and the French.

The importance of the supporting cast is a dominant theme, as it tends to be in Caam's accounts. In section 20 the informant shifts to a confrontation at Pete which occurred in 1873; in the process he gives a glimpse of the importance of slaves to the power of the Wan of Mbumba. The last tableau is the 1875 mobilization against the Maadiyanke movement; it points up the growing dependence of the traditional chiefs upon the French. See Robinson, Chiefs and Clerics, pp. 78-97, 135.
16: Aali Gay Caam, MAADIYADKOØBE

1. Taanam Sayku Maabo, jibindo neenam tigi,
   wi'i: "Laamtooro!" O wi'i: "Naam!"
   O wi'i: "Dudal nana hubba Wuro Maadiyyu!" O wi'i: "Eey."
   O wi'i: "Saa nifaani ngal law, Calsalo wonta laamo
   leydi ndii. Ma be njeyoy leydi ndii fof."

2. O wi'i Sayku Maabo: "Aan maabo, oo ko ceernaajo meho tan."
   O wi'i: "Moyyi."

   Dammelbe, so neddo maayii, ko baadum ronata.
   Ibraa Maadiyyu ko cukayel. O yetti Ibraa,
   O yaadi e mum haa to kaawmum'en Kokki, to Kajoor,
   roni kaaw mum, boggi jiyaabe be.

4. Laamtooro Samamba, ko cukko oo, kañum e taanam Suley e
   maccube Gede bee njani e galle makko, keli galle oo,
   kebi jawdi ndii, kebi maccube bee, nduppi wuro ng oo,
   njaggii reebbe makko dido.
   Oo ko Pennda Puro, oo doo koo Faatimata Baad.
   Oo ko biyiko, Pennda Puro oo ko debbo makko.
   Laamtooro bami dido fof, bami biyiko, bami debbo makko.

5. Haŋkadi, be nanii dum toon, haŋkadi Aamadu Sayku baamii konu,
   haŋkadi toon Kajoor e Bawol fof et Jolof fof, nootitiima e mum,
   ardi e konu, arri Tooro,
   adii fof ko jippaade do wiyetee Naŋnga Jeeri.

6. Taanam Suley Maabo, jibindo neenam oo tigi,
   neeno pudiido, mo mbii-maa-mi kaaloowo,
   pudiido bonannde oo tigi.

7. O xalwi, o wi'i: "Baraa."
   O wi'i: "Naam." O wi'i: "Aan e Ibraa Maadiyyu."
   O wi'i: "Eey." O wi'i: "Laamtooro na wayi no henndu nii."

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1. Taanam, contraction of taana am.
2. neenam, contraction of neene am.
3. Saa, contraction of so a.
4. law, literally "early, on time."
5. Calsalo, plural Salsalbe, member of the Saal lineage which furnished
   the candidates for the position of Laamtooro.
6. baadum, contraction of baadi mum.
7. cukko, > sukude, "to succeed (someone)."
8. bonannde, literally "disaster."
9. xalwi, > Arabic khalwa, "retreat."
1. My grandfather Sayku Maabo, the very one who fathered my mother, said: "Laamtooro!" He replied: "Yes." He said: "A hearth is burning in Wuro Maadiyyu!" He said: "Yes." He said: "If you do not put it out quickly, the Saal will never rule this country again. They will turn the whole country into their possession.

2. He (Laamtooro) told Sayku Maabo: "You maabo, that one is a mere cleric!" He replied: "All right."

3. They left. The Ibrra Maadiyyu in question, his uncle the Dammel died. Among the Dammelbe, when one dies it is his nephew who inherits. Ibrra Maadiyyu was young. He (Aamadu Maadiyyu) took Ibrra, he went with him to his uncles' (place) in Kokki, in Kajoor, he (Ibrra) inherited his uncle's (property), he collected his slaves.

4. Laamtooro Sammba was the deputy (Laamtooro). He, my grandfather Suley and the Gede slaves fell upon his (Ibrra's) compound, destroyed it, seized the property, seized the slaves, burned the village down, took two of his women. One was Pennda Puro, the other was Faatinata Baadi. She was his daughter, while Pennda Puro was his wife. Laamtooro took both with him, the daughter as well as the wife.

5. So then they heard of it there, then Aamadu Sayku raised an army, there Kajoor and Bawol and Jolof all responded to his call, he came with an army, came to Tooro, stopped first at a place called Nannga Jeeri.

6. My grandfather Suley Maabo, the one who fathered my own mother, was the man of caste who started things up, the one I talked to you about, the one who organized the raid itself.

7. He (Aamadu Maadiyyu) went into meditation and called out: "Baraa." He replied: "Yes." He continued: "You and Ibrra Maadiyyu." He replied: "Yes." He said: "Laamtooro is (just) like the wind."

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1. Hearth, a reference to a center of learning in which the pupils would gather around the fire to read the Koran. See Text 1.10.

3. Dammel. In fact, Ibrra was not close kin to the Dammel.

3. Aamadu Maadiyyu, the older brother of Ibrra by a different mother. He is commonly called Aamadu Sayku, not to be confused with the son of Umar, Aamadu Sayku, who reigned over the Umarian state from Segu.

3. Kokki, an important town and center of learning in northern Kajoor or Njambuur.

5. Nannga Jeeri, a village located at the edge of the waalo south of Podoor and near Wuro Maadiyyu where the Laamtooro made his raid.

6. went into meditation, the practice of intense concentration in order to seek divine guidance, communicate across distance, or accomplish some other purpose through the spirit world.

6. Baraa, another brother of Aamadu and Ibrra Maadiyyu.

6. like the wind, meaning that the Laamtooro is not very important.
O wi'i: "Son mbadii gumndabi hanne de on njippoyiima Tareeji, on mbaranii kam Suley Maabo, on ndupii galle oo; en njeyii Tooro.
So tawii on mbaraani Suley Maabo, hay sinno kawden ko Tooro, fof foti feere makko wootere en ngontaa jey Tooro.

8. Taanam ne ko wage, Kumaandan ina wiyee Kumaandan Sul Gibeeri, oon woni Kumaandan Podoor, oon Federba addunoo doon, oon ko sehil taanam. Fini subaka tan eggi, yetti galle mum e sukaabe mum fof, jolni e laana (ko kawle), fayi Podoor.

9. Kambe ne, be ngunndiima toon, be ngari, be njani e galle oo, be nduppi galle oo, be nduppi paabbi jeedidi, be mbari macuudo makko na wiyee Sule, e Ibraahiima, e Maamadi, e Maamuud, be kebi capande nayi nagge fow, be kirsii. Be mbadditi, be njippitii, be ngari.

10. O wi'i be: "Kibaaru?" Be mbi': "Ii! Min nduppii galle oo, kono min tawii Suley Maabo wiyaama fayii Podoor." O wi'i: "Ii, on mbadii bone, baari tan on mbaraani Suley Maabo." O wi'i: "Eey". O wi'i: "Gasii!"

11. Be moodi, be ngari, be njani e Laamtooro, be kabi e Laamtooro, be kabii Mbooy Jeeri, be kawi Laamtooro. Be njimi hankadi Tooro.


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7. Son, contraction of so on.
7. fof foti, literally "all is the same."
8. Kumaandan, > French commandant, the title used for the head officer of a fort, in this case Podoor.
8. Sul Gibeeri, > Jaurégiberry, the last name of a Frenchman who served as the Commandant of Podoor during this period.
8. yetti galle mum, literally "took his house."
9. fow, > fof, "all," > foti, "equal."
10. Kibaaru, literally "news," > Arabic khabar, "information."
10. Gasii, literally "it is finished."
He went on: "If you raised a small party today and fell upon Tareeji, and had Suley Maabo killed as I wish, and burned his house down, we would become (easily) the masters of Tooro. So long as you do not kill Suley Maabo, even if we defeated Tooro, nothing would change (because of) his shrewdness, we would never become masters of Tooro.

8. As for my grandfather, he was clever. A Commandant called Jauréguiberry, he was the Commandant of Podoor, he was the one Faidherbe brought there, he was a friend of my grandfather. He (Suley) got up one morning, moved out, took all his family and children, put them on a boat (it was high water season) and headed for Podoor.

9. As for them (the Maadiyan koobe), they had left secretly, they came, fell on his compound, set fire to the house, burned seven granaries down, killed his slave named Sule, and Ibraahilma, Maamadi, and Maamud, they took forty head of cattle and slaughtered them all. They rode back, got down and came (in).

10. He (Aamadu) asked them: "What's the news?" They replied: "We burned the house down but we found that Suley Maabo, it was said, had left for Podoor." He continued: "Pity, you have done badly since you did not kill Suley Maabo." He added: "Yes." He added: "It is done."

11. They mobilized, they came and fell on the Laamtooro, fought the Laamtooro, they fought at Mbooy Jeeri, they defeated the Laamtooro. From then on they dominated Tooro.

12. At that time Laamtooro Muulee was ruler. Laamtooro Sammba was the deputy but he was also the favorite. It was like the relationship between Sammba Gelaajo and Konko. He (Sammba) wanted to take over, but that was difficult. He was the one the slaves preferred.

7. Tareeji, a village just west of Gede in the jeeri.
8. Jauréguiberry and Faidherbe. Commandant Jauréguiberry, who served at Podoor for much of the period 1864–73, should not be confused with Jean Jauréguiberry who was Governor of Senegal from 1861 to 1863, between the two terms of Faidherbe (1854–61 and 1863–5).
8. high water season, the period just after the rains when the high water makes river transport possible throughout Fuuta Tooro. Suley was taking his family to Podoor for protection.
11. Mbooy Jeeri, a village close to Gede and distinguished from Mbooy Waalo near Podoor on the riverfront.
12. Muulee and Sammba, the leaders in the late 1860s of the two competing houses of the Saal dynasty.
12. Sammba Gelaajo and Konko, competing members of the Deeniyankane dynasty who fought each other for power in the early 18th century.
12. slaves preferred, an indication of the influence of the crown slaves of the Saal house in determining the choice of ruler.
13. Be mbadit kambe ne haa be njettii tufnde Gede, konu nguu na rewi e mabbe, Mbabba Baasin'en, Joofnaabe cep, jaambareejii dii, jaambareebbe cep na ndewi e mabbe haa be njettii.

14. Be mbii' be njahataa. Laamtooro fi'i koyngeal e leydi. Oon saahaa kadi yimata be rewbe lawakoobe cep, ko been njimata worbe mum'en. Gede ko tufnde nani, Aanam ko tufnde nani, tufnde Gede ndee jiimi ko e Aanam, jiimi ko e tufnde eenal hee, ko e maayo hee jiimi.

15. Yimbe noon hanjadi cooyimina puoci dii na ngara, hanjadi, Laamtooro Muulee wi'i: "Mi habbii doo dimo e diimaajo fof. Mi itta tuubam diraaji teemedere baa, mi yana e ndiyam hee, mi yeenga, mi wisa e oomcam dii ndiyam?" O wi'i: "Mi yahataa." O joodii e leydi, Laamtooro Sammba ne tellii. Conndi ndii heewi, heewi, heewi, heewi, heewi, hankadi Laamtooro suwaa yeebe.

16. Maccobe cep mbii' e "On nji'ii Laamtooro Sammba?" Sebbe cep na pella be, haa be pukki mo e laana hee, be caanii e dow makko. Ebe pellee, Jawdin Usman'en, Jawdin Sammba Penndaa Ngoone'en, sappo e dido cep, be njii mi e makko tan, be caanii e makko haa laana kaa joofi dow.


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13. jaambarejji, jaambareebbe, two plural forms meaning "brave men."
14. lawakoobe, literally "the rulers." This term is used to designate the noble Fulbe in Tooro just as Sayboobe is used in Laaw and Deeniyankaobe in eastern Fuuta.
15. tuubam, contraction of tuuba am.
16. diraaji, sg. diraa, > Arabic dhiraar, "cubit, .68 meter."
17. oomcam, contraction of oomci am.
18. Conndi ndii heewi, literally "the powder was abundant."
19. Mutumtumel, literally "little diving one," > mutde, "to dive." The normal expression for kingfisher is Hammadi gawoowel, "Hammadi the fisher." It refers to Sammba, who is still in the boat, not leading the fighting on the land.
20. yummuum, contraction of yumma mum.
21. hakkunde kawdee kawaadi, literally "between the victors and the vanquished." A metaphor for courage.
13. They mounted and rode until they reached the river bank at Gede. The (Maadiyanke) army was chasing them, Mbabba Baasin and others, those from Jolof, the brave men, the brave warriors were following on their footsteps until they arrived (at Gede).

14. They said they would go no further. Laamtooro set his foot on the ground. At that time the ones who used to sing praises to them were the noble ladies, those were the ones who used to sing praises for their husbands. Gede was on the river bank, Aanam was on the river bank, the Gede bank dominated Aanam and dominated the sandy beach and the river.

15. The people saw the horses coming then, and Laamtooro Muulee said: "I have bound free and slave (to stay and fight). Will I take my pants, 50 meters of material, jump in the water and come out shaking the water off my clothes?" He said: "I will never flee!" He sat down on the ground, Laamtooro Sammba dismounted as well. The guns sounded time and time again. Still, the Laamtooro did not evoke admiration.

16. The slaves said: "Have you seen Laamtooro Sammba?" The sebbe kept shooting at them until they threw him (Sammba) in a boat and covered his body with theirs. They were being fired at, Jawdin Usmaan and his people, Jawdin Sammba Pennda Ngone and his, these twelve, they bent over him, they covered his body until the boat docked on the high ground.

17. As soon as he set foot on the ground, he the Laamtooro (Sammba), Siisiiree Moxtaar Buuba said to him: "Little king fisher!" He said: "Yes." He said: "Sammba Jibi Sammba Umahanti, Sammba Eli Banna Hamedin Bukaar, Saamba Faadimata Jassy Siree Siree Njaay, Njaay Siree Njaay was the mother of Barka Joom, Faatimata Siree Njaay was the mother of Laamtooro Sammba Umar Sammba Eli Banna." He continued: "How shameful you are!" He said: "Indeed Laamtooro Muulee was not accompanied by brave people." He said: "You are just a little king fisher, you should never rule Tooro!"

14. sing praises. Frequently the wives and other women came out to encourage the men to bravery in war.

15. bound. The image is that of being tied up.

16. sebbe, a reference to the Jolof soldiers of Aamadu Maadiyyu who were pursuing the troops of Tooro.

17. Siisiiree Moxtaar Buuba, probably a relative of Njaak Moktaar Buuba of Text 10. In the story Siisiiree has the role of challenging Sammba to act.

17. Sammba Jibi. What follows is a recitation of the illustrious ancestors of Laamtooro Sammba.

17. shameful, a reference to Sammba's failure to take command of the troops in the face of the obvious incompetence of his cousin Muulee. The criticism is designed to galvanize Sammba into action.
18. Laamtooro wi'i: "Mi harminii Gede, mi harminii wuro ngoo, so wonaa mi yah to cerno oo!"
Laamtooro wi'i laana kaa: "Rutto!" Laanaa kaa ruttii.

19. Pucci dii na ndarrii dow, maccube bee na njaggondiri.
Sebbe bee na ndonki yettaade.
O waddii, o wii wii Maadiyankoo bee haa mbaartoyi Njum.

20. Hankadi doo, Baraa be nduttii, be payi Jolof,
be kabi e Jolof, be kawi. Be ngoni tooon ko na wona lebbi jeegom,
be mbadi neddo, be mbi'i yoo ar gaay ndaarana be pucci,
na wiyye Sammba Njaay Beey, na wondi e mbabba
haa heewi kaalis daneejoo, be njippi Pete.

21. Sammba Njaay noon ko bii laamdo,
kono noon hoore ndee na wayi no na artee nii.
Be mbi'i ko Petenaabe mbari dum,
dum wooni njan-gu Pete.
Be bami jawli ndii, be ngarti, be kaalani ceerno oo.
Ceerno oo wadi tooon gunndabi, ari, yani Pete.
Nande Pete hay gooto heddaaki, sabu o wi'i
hade heen ko neddo fof yoo war njaatigi mum.

22. Be benni, o yaabaniMbumba. O tawi Ibraa e galle oo.
Ibraa tini ko garoowo, galle oo wadsama gudde-gudde
tata kaa haa hawri, wudere heen fof maccudo ina heen.

23. O ummii, o fotti e jumaa kaa, o ari haa o darrii e jumaa kaa.
O wi'i yoo Ibraa, yoo ar be calmondira
koo kodo mum.
Ibraa wi'i eyyoo, yoo wad seesa na ara.
Be mbi'i Ibraa leelii, leelii.
Ibraa yalti teemedde jeegom garde na fawii e muudum,
wi'i gooto fof yoo wad e hoore neddo, maccube bee.
O yi'i dum, o anddi dum memotaako, o benni.

24. Hankadi o habi e Dammel, o habi e Aali Buuri, o habi e Ibraa,
Abdul Bookar gooto heddi woni moo habaani.
Be mbi'i: "Jooni noon."
Be mbi'i be ngaandii heen, kambe laambe bee fof,
be njehi, be moddi Borom Ndar.

18. harminii, literally "I have cursed," > Arabic harama, "to curse."
18. wi'i laana kaa, literally "told the boat."
19. njaggondiri, literally "they held each other's hands."
20. kaalis daneejoo, literally "White silver."
21. hoore ndee na artee, literally "the head is often revisited (by spirits)."
21. dum wooni, literally "that was."
21. njan-gu, literally "falling."
23. garde, > French garde, "guard."
23. dum memotaako, literally "that is untouchable."
24. moq, contraction of moo.
24. ngaandii, > aandude, "to be without a recourse."
24. Borom Ndar, literally "master of St. Louis," a Wolof expression for the
French Governor based in St. Louis.
18. The Laamtooro (Sammba) said: "I disown Gede, I disown this village until I go back to that cleric (and fight him)!"
The Laamtooro told the crew: "Return!" and the boat returned.

19. The horses stood on the bank while the slaves held firm.
The sebbe could not manage to come closer.
He (Sammba) mounted and drove the Maadiyankooe back past Njum.

20. After that Baraa (and the others) went bank, headed for Jolof, fought against Jolof and won. They stayed there about six months, then they chose someone and told him to come search for horses.
He was called Sammba Njaay Beey, he had a donkey loaded with plenty of silver, they tarried at Pete.

21. Sammba Njaay was the son of a chief, but he acted as though he were mentally ill.
They said that it was the people of Pete who killed him, and that caused the attack on Pete.
They took their goods, rushed back and informed their cleric (Aamadu).
The cleric raised an army there, came and fell on Pete.
That day in Pete no one was left, because he ordered that day for each one to kill his host.

22. They continued on, he marched on Mbummba. He found Ibraa at home.
Ibraa had learned he was coming, his compound had been prepared with holes dug into the entire wall, at each hole was posted a slave.

23. He (the cleric) got up, approached the mosque, came, stopped at the mosque.
He told Ibraa to come so that they could greet each other, since he was his guest.
Ibraa said yes, and asked him to wait a bit until he came.
They complained that Ibraa was late, was stalling.
Ibraa then came out flanked by 600 guards, ordering each of them to aim at someone's head, they were (his) slaves.
He (the cleric) saw this, knew it was not worth doing anything, and went on.

24. So then he (Aamadu) had fought the Dammel, Aali Buuri, Ibraa, Abdul Bookar was the only one he had not fought.
They (the defeated chiefs) said: "What now?"
They were troubled by it, all the chiefs, they went and called on the Governor of St. Louis.

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19. slaves, a reference to the predominantly slave soldiers of Tooro. See section 12 of this text.
19. Njum, a large village of the jeeri to the east of Gede.
20. search for horses, a reference to the breeding and sale of good horses in Fuuta.
20. Pete, a large village in the jeeri of Yirlaabe province.
22. Mbummba, the large village in the jeeri of Laaw province which served as the Wan stronghold.
22. slave, a reference to the large holdings in slaves of the Wan family.
Most of Ibraa's soldiers and supporters were slaves.
Borom Ndar wi'i so bë njidii wallaa bë, 
hakkunde Ndakaaru e Ndar, 
yo bë ndokku dum heen laawol, boggol tuubaak ngol rewa heen.

25. Lat Joor, baamum Mbaaxaan, wi'i laawol rewataa doon, 
so wonaa tuubaak joli ko e leana geej, 
rewataa dow. 
O wi'i o jabii Borom Ndar. 
Dum woni ńalawma Sammba Saajo oo, 
doon be kaabaa, doon be maayi, kambe fof doon be maayi. 
Ibraa Maadiyyu doon maayi, Aamadu Seyku doon maayi, 
Ibraahiima, Alasan, Alfaa, Mammadu, Bookar, 
heddii Baraa gotoo, be ndiwi Baraa. 
Baraa ari haa do Maatam doo, kono noon 
tawi alaa konu, ina ndaarta konu. 
Albuuri wari dum Saamba Saajo.

25. baamum, contraction of baaba mum. 
25. leana geej, literally "boat of the sea." Geej, > Wolof for "sea."
The Governor said if they wished for his help, between Dakar and St. Louis they must give him a road, the telegraph line must pass through.

26. Lat Joor, the father of Mbaaxaan, had said the road would never pass, only if the Europeans boarded a ship (would they get through), they would not pass overland.

(Now) he said he agreed to the Governor’s (demand). That was the origin of the battle of Sammba Saajo. There they fought, there they died, there they all died. Ibraa Maadiyyu died there, Aamadu Sayku died there, Ibrahima, Alasan, Alfaa, Mammadu, Bookar, the only survivor was Baraa, and they routed him. Baraa came here to Maatam, but he had no army and was trying to recruit one. Albuuri killed him at Sammba Saajo.

24. telegraph line. In fact, the telegraph line was constructed through this region, Kajoor, some years earlier.

25. Mbaaxaan, an important author and personnage in Senegal in the early 20th century.

25. never pass. Caam here takes the tradition of Lat Joor’s opposition to the railroad through Kajoor in the 1880s and reads it back into this situation which occurred in 1875.

25. Saamba Saajo, a small village on the border between Kajoor and Jolof where the Maadiyankoobe were defeated in February 1875. Caam confuses the site of the 1875 battle with Albuuri’s defeat of Baraa in 1881 at Jame Njaay in Jolof.