

**Territories, fortresses, and shifting towns:
archaeological landscapes of the Upper
Casamance (Senegal), 7th-19th C.**

Sirio Canós Donnay

**Institute of Archaeology
University College London**

April 2016

**Thesis submitted to University College London
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

DECLARATION

I, Sirio Canós Donnay, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract :

The Upper Casamance, in southern Senegal, is a region that has witnessed dramatic socio-political changes in the last millennium, including its conquest by the Mali Empire and its prominent role in the Atlantic trade. Yet, until now this region had never been the object of systematic archaeological study. Two seasons of fieldwork undertaken in 2013 revealed a landscape of shallow, short-lived sites at odds with the large permanent towns described by historical accounts and oral traditions. I argue in this thesis that the key to reconciling these two sets of evidence lies in a very particular settlement pattern, which I have named 'shifting sedentism', by which villages and towns regularly shifted a few hundred meters, while keeping the name, identity, and institutions of the community intact.

Drawing from archaeological data derived from regional survey and the excavation of two sites (Payoungou and Korop), combined with oral traditions, historical documents, and ethnographic examples, this thesis pursues two main themes. First, it documents the previously unexplored archaeological record of the region, both in terms of sites and of material culture, connecting it with known historical narratives, and comparing it with other geographically and culturally relevant areas. Secondly, it explores this notion of shifting sedentism and the different site mobility patterns that have characterised the Upper Casamance over the last millennium, as well as their political and social implications.

I suggest that the intersection of these multiple sources illuminates a social and political landscape much more complex than that suggested by any individual source. A landscape characterised by shifting yet permanent towns, fixed sacred sites, and fluctuating military strongholds; whose mobile yet resilient dynamics have shaped the Upper Casamance's history over the last millennium.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Prof. Kevin MacDonald, my MA and PhD supervisor. Over the last few years, Kevin has been a kind and supportive mentor; his constructive advice and vast archaeological knowledge have made this thesis into what it is. Prof. Andrew Reynolds, my second supervisor, has also been a key part of this process: his theoretical sharpness and non-Africanist perspective have been a great source of inspiration and ideas. I would also like to thank Prof. Peter Mitchell, who first introduced me to African archaeology, and without whom I would have probably followed a very different –and undoubtedly less exciting– path.

This research was made possible by the funding of the AHRC and the British Federation of Women Graduates; funding for fieldwork came also from the Institute of Archaeology and the Graduate School at UCL, the Worshipful Company of Art Scholars, and the Tweedie Fund at the University of Edinburgh.

Interpreting the archaeological record of the Upper Casamance and its multiple dimensions required of some skills I did not possess, and many people have helped me navigate this complex world with their expertise. Thanks must go to Kat Manning, Adrian Timpson, and Jorge de Torres for the help with the ceramic analysis statistics; to Kevin MacDonald and Nick Gestrich for the faunal identifications; to Lina Campos for the metallurgical analysis of the slag; and to Jamie Inwood for the skeletal analysis of the Payoungou burial. I am also grateful to François Richard for the assistance in the identification of European imports and to Cameron Gokee for the bibliographical help. Liza Gijanto kindly gave me access to her collections, and hosted me in one of the nicest campuses I have ever been to.

At the Library of Congress, in Washington D.C., Mary Lou Reaker and Travis Hensley helped me find my way through paperwork and the complexities of the system. The Kluge Centre was a most amazing place to work; made even better by great people like Arun Sood, Birte Buchmann, and Joe Ryan, who also added a unique Bavaro-Glaswegian touch to the experience.

In Senegal, I am deeply grateful to Ibrahima Thiaw and Hamady Bocoum, who welcomed me at IFAN and provided much needed guidance and assistance in organising the two field seasons. Thanks must also go to Seydou Camara at the

IFAN lab and to Dabo Mafouze at the Museum for the practical help; and to Cyr Descamps in Gorée for helping me find all the documents on the Payoungou cannon. In the field, Thierry Baldé, archaeology MA student at UCAD, and Boubacar Diao (driver-turned-digger) made an incredibly hard-working and enthusiastic core team, without whom this research simply would not have been possible. I am also grateful to Dello Balde, *jarga* of Mampatim Maoundé; Moussa Sane, *jarga* of Payoungou; the late Bokar Balde, *jarga* of Korop; and their families, who kindly hosted us during the two field seasons. In both our host communities and in the rest of villages visited during the project, we encountered many kind, knowledgeable, and generous people, who took the time to answer our questions and show us around. While I do not have enough space to cite them all here, special mention must go to el-Hadj Ibrahima Diallo (aka Gallé Tailleur) from Mampatim Maoundé, whose help and knowledge were invaluable. To all of them I say: *albarka! diarama buy!*

Back in London, the Institute of Archaeology has been my home for the last six years, and I could not have hoped for a better one. In particular, I would like to thank the wonderful people at G7b, past and present: Oli Boles, Andy Brown, Paul Burtenshaw, Jonny Gardner, Nick Gestrich, Beatris de Groot, Barney Harris, Ahmed Mekhawy, Tina Paphitis, Paul Tourle, Sanja Vucetic, and all the others. I honestly do not know how I would have managed to write PhD without such an amazing group of people around.

I am also deeply grateful for the support of my friends from the world of archaeology and beyond, who helped me keep my sanity throughout these years. Santi González and Israel Hinojosa –Ishiba–, have two of the strangest and most wonderful minds I know, capable of connecting things nobody else could. Víctor Barba and Moisés Hernández, have been a regular and much welcome presence in the midst of the London chaos. I am also grateful to the great people of 15M London, who saved what was left of my Spanish, and gave me back the hope of fighting for a better country to go back to.

At the Institute and beyond, Anna Panagiotou has been a fundamental part of my London life: her wisdom, kindness, and wit are equal to none, and much missed when not around. Richard Bater is not just one of my best friends, but also a bottomless source of theoretical and geographical knowledge. Life in the UK would not have been as good without him.

Els darrers agraïments són per als de casa: a Macar i Amparo per ser dues de les persones més bones i generoses que conec, a més d'unes madrines espectaculars. A Jordi Sánchez, per fer Oxford possible, amb la seua paciència i correccions. A la meua iaia Vicenteta, i al meu iaio Jerónimo que ja no hi és, però del que queden molt bons records i històries. Amb ells vaig gravar les primeres històries orals d'un passat, que com al Senegal, cal conèixer per entendre el present. A Clara Mestre, M^o Jesús Franch, i la resta de professor(e)s de l'IES Sos Baynat per ajudar-me en un projecte que en aquell moment devia parèixer a totes llums un despropòsit. A les imprescindibles de la JOSC, Neus, Paula, Marines, Roser, i Altea, que duen anys demostrant que l'amistat no coneix de distàncies ni fronteres. A Irene, que és el més paregut que tinc a una germana, i que a pesar de les seues múltiples ocupacions, sempre troba temps per passar amb mi. I als de sempre: Marina, Mariona i Jordi, als que veig molt menys del que m'agradaria, però que cada volta que torne em fan sentir com si seguirem veient-nos tots els dies. A pesar de tots els anys fora, tornar a Castelló és sempre tornar a casa, i si és així és per tota la gent que m'estime i que m'estima.

Finalment, als meus pares, Mara i Jeroni, sense els que res d'açò no haguera sigut possible. Per ensenyar-me a pensar i a raonar; per l'entusiasme compartit i els suminstres gastronòmics. Per les històries, els viatges, i les discussions; gestionar el món és molt més fàcil quan la curiositat, l'esperit crític i la 'il·lusió els dus posats de casa.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|------------------------|------|
| Abstract..... | 3 |
| Acknowledgements | 5 |
| List of figures..... | 14 |
| List of tables | 18 |

1.- Introduction

| | |
|--|----|
| 1.1 Introduction..... | 19 |
| 1.2 Objectives and Research Questions..... | 20 |
| 1.3 Fieldwork: tools and methods | 21 |
| 1.3.1. Survey..... | 22 |
| 1.3.2. Excavations..... | 22 |
| 1.3.3. Oral tradition interviews..... | 23 |
| 1.4 Other sources..... | 24 |
| 1.4.1. Archaeological sources | 24 |
| 1.4.2. West African written sources..... | 27 |
| 1.4.3. Arabic and European sources..... | 28 |
| 1.4.4. Published oral traditions..... | 31 |
| 1.4.5. Secondary sources..... | 33 |
| 1.5 Chapter organisation..... | 34 |

2.-Political traditions and spatiality: a review

| | |
|--|----|
| 2.1 Terminology: some words on words..... | 37 |
| 2.1.1. Polity..... | 38 |
| 2.1.2. State..... | 38 |
| 2.1.3. Empire..... | 39 |
| 2.1.4. Cities and towns..... | 40 |
| 2.1.5. Kingdom..... | 41 |
| 2.2 The African state: a history of misconceptions..... | 41 |
| 2.3 From classifying to understanding: the complexity of complexity..... | 42 |
| 2.4 Territory and land: spatial implications of power..... | 44 |
| 2.5 Mobility: an often neglected factor..... | 46 |
| 2.5.1. Patterns of site generation and abandonment..... | 47 |
| 2.5.2. Mobility and political organisation..... | 47 |
| 2.5.3. Shifting sedentism..... | 48 |
| 2.6 Ethnicity and identity..... | 50 |
| 2.7 Overview..... | 51 |

3.-Kaabu and Fulaadu: the story so far

| | |
|---|----|
| 3.1 Introduction..... | 53 |
| 3.2 The Upper Casamance..... | 54 |
| 3.3 Historical overview..... | 57 |
| 3.3.1. Pre-13 th :C: Stone Age and Early Iron Age..... | 57 |
| 3.3.2. The Sunjata epic and Tiramakan in the Senegambia..... | 59 |
| 3.3.3. The <i>nyanthio</i> myth of origin..... | 60 |
| 3.3.4. The Atlantic Era and the first historical sources..... | 62 |
| 3.3.5. Kaabu's decline..... | 63 |
| 3.3.6. The fall of Kansala and its aftermath..... | 65 |
| 3.3.7. Musa Moolo and Fulaadu..... | 66 |

| | | |
|--------|--|----|
| 3.4 | Social and political organisation..... | 67 |
| 3.4.1. | Social structure | 68 |
| 3.4.2. | Political structure: territories and <i>nyanthioya</i> | 71 |
| 3.5 | Economy and Trade..... | 72 |
| 3.6 | Clothing and adornment..... | 74 |
| 3.7 | Architecture..... | 77 |
| 3.8 | Military power and warfare..... | 82 |
| 3.9 | Religion..... | 84 |
| 3.9.1. | Dyalan..... | 84 |
| 3.9.2. | Islam..... | 86 |
| 3.10 | Ethnic interactions and negotiations..... | 87 |
| 3.11 | Overview..... | 88 |

4.-Space, mobility and landscapes of power in the Upper Casamance's history

| | | |
|--------|---|-----|
| 4.1 | Oral traditions: methodology and limitations..... | 91 |
| 4.1.1. | Limitation 1: unsystematic ideological statements..... | 93 |
| 4.1.2. | Limitation 2: dating..... | 94 |
| 4.1.3. | Limitation 3: updates and anachronisms..... | 95 |
| 4.2 | Post-independence landscapes (1960-present) | |
| 4.2.1. | Sociopolitical organisation..... | 95 |
| 4.2.2. | Sacred landscapes..... | 97 |
| 4.2.3. | Movements and mobility..... | 99 |
| 4.3 | Colonial period (1903-1960) | |
| 4.3.1. | Sociopolitical organisation..... | 101 |
| 4.3.2. | Sacred Landscapes..... | 104 |
| 4.3.3. | Movements and mobility..... | 108 |
| 4.4 | Fulaadu (1880s-1903) | |
| 4.4.1. | Sociopolitical organisation..... | 108 |
| 4.4.2. | Sacred Landscapes..... | 112 |
| 4.4.3. | Movements and Mobility..... | 113 |
| 4.5 | Kaabu (13th-1880s) | |
| 4.5.1. | Sociopolitical organisation..... | 115 |
| 4.5.2. | Sacred landscapes..... | 123 |
| 4.5.3. | Movements and mobility..... | 124 |
| 4.6 | Pre-Kaabu (pre-13 th C)..... | 126 |
| 4.7 | Landscapes of the Upper Casamance: chronological evolution..... | 126 |

5.-Archaeology of the Upper Casamance : the 2013 survey

| | | |
|--------|--|-----|
| 5.1 | Methodology and overview of results..... | 131 |
| 5.2 | Settlement sites/ <i>tumbuji</i> | 135 |
| 5.3 | Fortresses/ <i>tataji</i> | 152 |
| 5.4 | Subterranean structures/ Guide..... | 159 |
| 5.5 | Polishing and sharpening marks..... | 165 |
| 5.6 | Other sites | |
| 5.6.1. | Burials..... | 168 |
| 5.6.2. | Slag scatters..... | 168 |
| 5.6.3. | Stone circles..... | 169 |
| 5.6.4. | Colonial structures..... | 169 |
| 5.6.5. | <i>Dyalan</i> | 170 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 5.7 Discussion: placing sites in the landscape..... | 171 |
|---|-----|

6.-Payoungou

| | |
|--|-----|
| 6.1 Location and current village..... | 177 |
| 6.2 Oral traditions | 178 |
| 6.2.1. Payoungou and Tiramakan..... | 179 |
| 6.2.2. Payoungou and <i>nyanthio</i> origin myth..... | 179 |
| 6.2.3. Payoungou at the height of Kaabu..... | 180 |
| 6.2.4. Payoungou during Kaabu's decline..... | 180 |
| 6.3 Written sources..... | 181 |
| 6.4 Payoungou's cannon..... | 183 |
| 6.5 The archaeological site..... | 186 |
| 6.5.1. Recent village..... | 189 |
| 6.5.2. Tataji..... | 189 |
| 6.5.3. Tamba Dibi..... | 190 |
| 6.5.4. Dyalan Bantan..... | 191 |
| 6.5.5. Wulufa Wulumba..... | 191 |
| 6.5.6. Solin Dioel..... | 192 |
| 6.5.7. The <i>tumbu</i> | 194 |
| 6.6 Excavation | |
| 6.6.1. Methodology..... | 194 |
| 6.6.2. Summary of results..... | 197 |
| 6.6.3. Payoungou A..... | 199 |
| 6.6.4. Payoungou B..... | 204 |
| 6.6.5. Payoungou C..... | 207 |
| 6.6.6. Payoungou D..... | 209 |
| 6.6.7. Payoungou E..... | 210 |
| 6.6.8. Payoungou F..... | 213 |
| 6.6.9. Payoungou G..... | 219 |
| 6.7 Discussion | |
| 6.7.1. Pre-Kaabu occupation (pre-13 th C)..... | 225 |
| 6.7.2. Early Kaabu..... | 226 |
| 6.7.3. Late Kaabu & Fulaadu occupations (16th-19 th C)..... | 226 |
| 6.7.4. Conclusions..... | 227 |

7.-Korop

| | |
|---|-----|
| 7.1 Current village..... | 229 |
| 7.2 Oral traditions and historical sources..... | 230 |
| 7.2.1. Korop and Kaabu..... | 231 |
| 7.2.2. Korop and Fulaadu | 231 |
| 7.2.3. Korop in the colonial period..... | 233 |
| 7.3 The archaeological site..... | 233 |
| 7.3.1. <i>Tataji</i> | 234 |
| 7.3.2. <i>Dyalan</i> | 235 |
| 7.3.3. Previous village | 235 |
| 7.3.4. The Bambara neighbourhood..... | 236 |
| 7.3.5. Wells | 236 |
| 7.4 Excavation. | |
| 7.4.1. Methodology..... | 237 |
| 7.4.2. Summary of results | 237 |
| 7.4.3. Korop A..... | 240 |
| 7.4.4. Korop B..... | 243 |

| | | |
|------------|-------------------------|-----|
| 7.4.5. | Korop C..... | 246 |
| 7.4.6. | Korop D..... | 249 |
| 7.4.7. | Korop E..... | 251 |
| 7.5 | Discussion | |
| 7.5.1. | Pre-Kaabu..... | 252 |
| 7.5.2. | Early Kaabu..... | 252 |
| 7.5.3. | Late Kaabu Fulaadu..... | 253 |
| 7.5.4. | Conclusions | 254 |

8.- Ceramics

| | | |
|------------|---|------------|
| 8.1 | Introduction..... | 257 |
| 8.1.1. | Issues of classification..... | 257 |
| 8.1.2. | Pottery in West African archaeology..... | 259 |
| 8.2 | Methodology..... | 260 |
| 8.2.1. | Collection and recording methodology..... | 261 |
| 8.2.1.1. | Body sherds..... | 262 |
| 8.2.1.2. | Rims | 266 |
| 8.2.2. | Analytical methodology..... | 271 |
| 8.3 | The Assemblage..... | 272 |
| 8.4 | Analysis: the excavated material..... | 276 |
| 8.4.1. | Distribution of factors: univariate analysis..... | 276 |
| 8.4.1.1. | Decoration and temper..... | 276 |
| 8.4.1.2. | Rims..... | 278 |
| 8.4.2. | Correspondence Analysis..... | 284 |
| 8.4.3. | Summary of results | 287 |
| 8.5 | Analysis: the survey material | 289 |
| 8.5.1. | Distribution of factors..... | 290 |
| 8.5.2. | Dating the survey sites | 292 |
| 8.5.2.1. | Correspondence Analysis..... | 292 |
| 8.5.2.2. | Diagnostic variables | 294 |
| 8.5.2.3. | Summary of survey results..... | 295 |
| 8.6 | Discussion..... | 296 |
| 8.6.1. | Ceramics, time and space..... | 296 |
| 8.6.2. | Non-chronological variation and form..... | 297 |
| 8.6.3. | Comparison with other known assemblages | 298 |

9.- Faunal Analysis

| | | |
|------------|---|------------|
| 9.1 | Methodology..... | 301 |
| 9.2 | Overview of the assemblage..... | 302 |
| 9.3 | Results | |
| 9.3.1. | Pastoral economy: cattle, sheep, goat..... | 304 |
| 9.3.2. | Other domestic animals..... | 304 |
| 9.3.3. | Reptiles..... | 305 |
| 9.3.4. | Fish..... | 305 |
| 9.3.5. | Wild birds..... | 305 |
| 9.3.6. | Wild mammals..... | 305 |
| 9.3.7. | Mollusks..... | 306 |
| 9.4 | Interpreting the faunal assemblage | |
| 9.4.1. | Payoungou and Korop..... | 308 |
| 9.4.2. | Rubbish pits and middens vs other deposits..... | 308 |

| | | |
|--------|-------------------------------------|-----|
| 9.4.3. | Elite areas vs non-elite areas..... | 309 |
| 9.4.4. | Conclusions..... | 310 |

10.- Other artefact categories

| | | |
|-------------|---|-----|
| 10.1 | Introduction and methodology..... | 311 |
| 10.2 | Smoking pipes..... | 311 |
| 10.2.1. | Historical and ethnographic evidence..... | 312 |
| 10.2.2. | Recording and typologies..... | 313 |
| 10.2.3. | The Upper Casamance assemblage..... | 317 |
| 10.2.4. | Comparison with other assemblages..... | 320 |
| 10.3 | Beads..... | 320 |
| 10.3.1. | Classification and dating..... | 322 |
| 10.3.2. | The Upper Casamance assemblage..... | 322 |
| 10.4 | Metals..... | 328 |
| 10.4.1. | Iron..... | 329 |
| 10.4.2. | Copper-based alloys..... | 332 |
| 10.5 | Other imports | |
| 10.5.1. | European ceramics and flasks..... | 334 |
| 10.5.2. | Gin bottles..... | 336 |
| 10.5.3. | Gunflints..... | 337 |
| 10.5.4. | Cowrie shells..... | 338 |
| 10.6 | Other locally-made small finds | |
| 10.6.1. | Spindle whorls..... | 339 |
| 10.6.2. | Ceramic weights..... | 340 |
| 10.6.3. | Other finds..... | 340 |
| 10.7 | Overview..... | 341 |

11.- Discussion

| | | |
|-------------|---|-----|
| 11.1 | Introduction..... | 343 |
| 11.2 | The Upper Casamance: chronological review | |
| 11.2.1. | Pre-Kaabu..... | 343 |
| 11.2.2. | Early Kaabu..... | 345 |
| 11.2.3. | Late Kaabu & Fulaadu..... | 348 |
| 11.2.3.1. | Trade: smoking pipes and European imports..... | 350 |
| 11.2.3.2. | Social inequality: elite areas and feasting..... | 351 |
| 11.2.3.3. | Turmoil and warfare..... | 355 |
| 11.3 | Landscape and mobility..... | 356 |
| 11.3.1. | Settlement landscapes: shifting towns and ephemeral villages | 357 |
| 11.3.2. | Political landscapes: fortresses and territories..... | 361 |
| 11.3.3. | Sacred landscapes: shrines and spirits..... | 363 |
| 11.3.4. | Connecting fragmented landscapes..... | 364 |
| 11.4 | Overview..... | 365 |

12.-Conclusions

| | | |
|-------------|---|-----|
| 12.1 | Back to the research questions and objectives | |
| 12.1.1. | Baselines and chronologies..... | 367 |
| 12.1.2. | Shifting sedentism: mobility, statehood, and territory..... | 369 |
| 12.2 | Future directions..... | 373 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| References | 375 |
| Appendix A: Oral tradition interviews | 403 |
| Appendix B: Survey sites | 739 |
| Appendix C: Documents relating to the Payoungou cannon | 755 |
| Appendix D: Harris Matrices from excavation | 761 |
| Appendix E: Skeletal analysis of the PYG-F burial (by Jamie Inwood) | 777 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | Page |
|-------------|---|
| Figure 1.1 | The Upper Casamance and the research area.....20 |
| Figure 1.2 | Map of sites documented by Girard 1992.....25 |
| Figure 1.3 | Tarikh from Kamboré.....28 |
| Figure 1.4 | Cartography of the UC between the 16th-19 th C.....31 |
| | |
| Figure 3.1 | Current administrative map of the Kolda region.....56 |
| Figure 3.2 | Pre-13 th C sites within a 300km radius of the study area.....58 |
| Figure 3.3 | Almamy Oumar.....65 |
| Figure 3.4 | Moussa Molo during his exile in the Gambia.....67 |
| Figure 3.5 | Fulbe woman from Kantora wearing beads in the 19 th C.....75 |
| Figure 3.6 | <i>Sono</i> from Guinea-Bissau.....76 |
| Figure 3.7 | Representation of a Fulbe village in the 18 th C.....78 |
| Figure 3.8 | Engraving of a <i>tata</i> and a palisade in southern Mali, 19 th C.....80 |
| Figure 3.9 | Photograph of a zig-zag <i>tata</i> in southern Mali, 19 th C.....81 |
| Figure 3.10 | Engraving depicting a group of <i>nyanthio</i> , 19 th C.....83 |
| Figure 3.11 | <i>Dyalan</i> still in use in the 1980s.....85 |
| | |
| Figure 4.1 | Villages where we conducted interviews.....93 |
| Figure 4.2 | <i>Diambatulu</i> healing three in Kounkane.....98 |
| Figure 4.3 | <i>Kankourang</i> ceremonies in 2013 in Mampatim Maoundé.....98 |
| Figure 4.4 | House of Baba Moulaye in Dabo.....101 |
| Figure 4.5 | Colonial administrative divisions in the 1950s.....102 |
| Figure 4.6 | Yoba Camara, from Samasansan, demonstrating how <i>dyalan</i> rituals were done in her youth.....105 |
| Figure 4.7 | Colonial peanut depot in Payougou.....107 |
| Figure 4.8 | Forced labour building the railway in Guinea in 1904.....108 |
| Figure 4.9 | Musa Molo's Fulaadu.....109 |
| Figure 4.10 | Elders from Koumabouré in front of Alfa Molo's tree.....113 |
| Figure 4.11 | Fulbe silversmith from Dabo in 2013.....114 |
| Figure 4.12 | Map of Kaabu's territories.....120 |
| Figure 4.13 | Administrative divisions of the Upper Casamance over history.....129 |
| | |
| Figure 5.1 | Map of sites identified during the survey.....134 |
| Figure 5.2 | Map of villages visited with 5km buffer.....135 |
| Figure 5.3 | Map of abandoned sites/ <i>tumbuji</i> identified during the survey.....136 |
| Figure 5.4 | Map of Mampatim Sinthian.....137 |
| Figure 5.5 | Map of Patim Tibo.....140 |
| Figure 5.6 | Map of Kandia.....142 |
| Figure 5.7 | Map of Kabendou.....146 |
| Figure 5.8 | Tuyère insert points for a forge in Koumambouré.....150 |
| Figure 5.9 | Map of Samassandang.....152 |
| Figure 5.10 | Map of <i>tataji</i> encountered during survey.....153 |
| Figure 5.11 | Satellite image of the <i>tata</i> in Kandia.....155 |
| Figure 5.12 | Kabendou elder standing on the top of the <i>tata</i> remains.....157 |
| Figure 5.13 | Outline of the Bantanguel Yawayou <i>tata</i>158 |
| Figure 5.14 | Girard's map of archaeological sites in the Upper Casamance.....160 |
| Figure 5.15 | Subterranean galleries at Kandiama.....161 |
| Figure 5.16 | Map of the subterranean galleries at Kandiama.....161 |
| Figure 5.17 | Sketch of Guedi Nyanthio Be.....163 |

| | | |
|-------------|--|-----|
| Figure 5.18 | Guedi Nyanthio Be..... | 163 |
| Figure 5.19 | Diouloung Fountere..... | 164 |
| Figure 5.20 | Guide Warva..... | 165 |
| Figure 5.21 | Map showing the distribution of stone marks..... | 166 |
| Figure 5.22 | Types of stone marks..... | 167 |
| Figure 5.23 | Map of sites with slag remains..... | 168 |
| Figure 5.24 | Lateritic stone circle at Dembayumine II (UC-38)..... | 169 |
| Figure 5.25 | Distribution of <i>dyalan</i> encountered during survey..... | 171 |
| Figure 5.26 | <i>Tumbu</i> size..... | 172 |
| Figure 5.27 | <i>Tata</i> size..... | 174 |
| Figure 5.28 | Number of sites by period..... | 175 |
| | | |
| Figure 6.1 | Main street in Payoungou in 2013..... | 178 |
| Figure 6.2 | Detail of 1849 map by Bertrand-Bocandé..... | 181 |
| Figure 6.3 | Detail of 1906 Portuguese map featuring 'Payongo'..... | 182 |
| Figure 6.4 | Detail of a 1851 map of the southern Senegambia..... | 183 |
| Figure 6.5 | The cannon in 2013 at the Gorée Museum..... | 184 |
| Figure 6.6 | Photographs of Payoungou's cannon taken in 1967..... | 185 |
| Figure 6.7 | Cannon from Pirada..... | 185 |
| Figure 6.8 | Fragment of Sare Amadi's cannon..... | 186 |
| Figure 6.9 | Payoungou's archaeological site..... | 187 |
| Figure 6.10 | Payoungou's pottery collection zones..... | 187 |
| Figure 6.11 | Tamba Dibi in Payoungou..... | 191 |
| Figure 6.12 | Payoungou elder in Wulufa Wulumba..... | 193 |
| Figure 6.13 | Polishing marks at Wulufa Wulumba..... | 193 |
| Figure 6.14 | Map of excavated units in Payoungou..... | 198 |
| Figure 6.15 | Furnace in PYG-A..... | 201 |
| Figure 6.16 | Tuyère and slag fragments from PYG-A..... | 202 |
| Figure 6.17 | Quantities of slag and pottery in PYG-A..... | 203 |
| Figure 6.18 | South and west sections in PYG-B..... | 206 |
| Figure 6.19 | Horizon A in PYG-C with possible structure..... | 208 |
| Figure 6.20 | Wall in PYG-E, Horizon B..... | 211 |
| Figure 6.21 | Rubbish pit in PYG-E, horizon C..... | 212 |
| Figure 6.22 | Bottom of the western pit in PYG-F, horizon A..... | 215 |
| Figure 6.23 | Pits at PYG-F..... | 216 |
| Figure 6.24 | Section drawing of PYG-F..... | 217 |
| Figure 6.25 | Eastern pit in PYG-F, horizon A..... | 218 |
| Figure 6.26 | Wall in PYG-G, horizon A..... | 221 |
| Figure 6.27 | Rubbish pit in PYG-G, horizon A..... | 221 |
| Figure 6.28 | Burial and section showing burial pit in PYG-G..... | 223 |
| Figure 6.29 | Skeleton in PYG-B..... | 223 |
| Figure 6.30 | Map of excavated units in Payoungou by period..... | 226 |
| | | |
| Figure 7.1 | Korop Maoundé in 2013..... | 229 |
| Figure 7.2 | Evolution of Korop Sinthian over the last 5 years..... | 230 |
| Figure 7.3 | Detail of 1895 map by Andree, showing Korop..... | 232 |
| Figure 7.4 | <i>Tataji</i> in Korop..... | 235 |
| Figure 7.5 | Korop's Fulaadu abandonments and wells..... | 236 |
| Figure 7.6 | Abandoned well in Korop..... | 237 |
| Figure 7.7 | Map of Korop's archaeological site..... | 238 |
| Figure 7.8 | Refuse pit in KRP-A, horizon B..... | 242 |
| Figure 7.9 | Burrows in KRP-A, horizon B..... | 242 |

| | | |
|--------------|--|-----|
| Figure 7.10 | Burial in KRP-B..... | 246 |
| Figure 7.11 | Pit in KRP-C, horizon B..... | 248 |
| Figure 7.12 | Pit in KRP-D, horizon B..... | 250 |
| Figure 7.13 | Map of excavated units in Korop by period | 252 |
| | | |
| Figure 8.1 | Temper components..... | 262 |
| Figure 8.2 | Surface treatments..... | 263 |
| Figure 8.3 | Incised decorations..... | 264 |
| Figure 8.4 | Cord decorations..... | 265 |
| Figure 8.5 | Additive motifs..... | 265 |
| Figure 8.6 | Non-cord impressions and punctate decorations..... | 266 |
| Figure 8.7 | Vegetal inflorescence roulettes..... | 266 |
| Figure 8.8 | Rim angle coding system..... | 267 |
| Figure 8.9 | Simple rims..... | 267 |
| Figure 8.10 | Y-rims..... | 268 |
| Figure 8.11 | Everted rims 1..... | 268 |
| Figure 8.12 | Everted rims 2..... | 269 |
| Figure 8.13 | Thickened rims 1..... | 269 |
| Figure 8.14 | Thickened rims 2..... | 270 |
| Figure 8.15 | Firing core classification..... | 270 |
| Figure 8.16 | Sherds by unit..... | 274 |
| Figure 8. 17 | Sherds by period..... | 274 |
| Figure 8.18 | Total numbers of sherds from survey..... | 275 |
| Figure 8.19 | Total numbers of sherds from excavation..... | 275 |
| Figure 8.20 | Orange Gritty Ware..... | 277 |
| Figure 8.21 | Proportion of rim forms in each site | 279 |
| Figure 8.22 | Proportion of rim forms in each site by period..... | 279 |
| Figure 8.23 | Proportion of rim forms by unit..... | 280 |
| Figure 8.24 | Rim diversity by period..... | 281 |
| Figure 8.25 | Firing cores by site..... | 282 |
| Figure 8.26 | Firing cores by unit..... | 282 |
| Figure 8.27 | Average thickness by unit..... | 283 |
| Figure 8.28 | Average thickness by period..... | 283 |
| Figure 8.29 | Correspondence Analysis for excavated pottery in Payoungou..... | 285 |
| Figure 8.30 | Correspondence Analysis for excavated pottery in Korop..... | 286 |
| Figure 8.31 | Temper components by survey site..... | 290 |
| Figure 8.32 | Temper combinations by survey site..... | 291 |
| Figure 8.33 | Pottery decorations by site..... | 292 |
| Figure 8.34 | Correspondence Analysis of survey pottery..... | 293 |
| Figure 8.35 | Correspondence Analysis of survey and Korop's pottery..... | 293 |
| Figure 8.36 | Correspondence Analysis of survey and Payoungou's pottery..... | 294 |
| Figure 8.37 | Sites with dated ceramic sequences in near the Upper Casamance..... | 298 |
| Figure 8.38 | Pottery from the Nhampasseré Cave, Guinea-Bissau..... | 299 |
| | | |
| Figure 9.1 | Weight and NISP of faunal remains per unit..... | 303 |
| | | |
| Figure 10.1 | Elders from Payoungou and Kadia with tobacco pipes..... | 312 |
| Figure 10.2 | 19 th C tobacco pipe smokers | 313 |
| Figure 10.3 | Decorative motifs recorded for smoking pipes..... | 315 |
| Figure 10.4 | Types of stem tips recorded..... | 316 |
| Figure 10.5 | Types of bases recorded..... | 316 |

| | | |
|--------------|--|-----|
| Figure 10.6 | Types of rims recorded..... | 316 |
| Figure 10.7 | Smoking pipes by site..... | 317 |
| Figure 10.8 | Smoking pipes by part..... | 317 |
| Figure 10.9 | Smoking pipe decorative motifs in Korop..... | 318 |
| Figure 10.10 | Smoking pipe decorative motifs in Payoungou..... | 318 |
| Figure 10.11 | Archaeological smoking pipes from the Gambia and the Siin..... | 320 |
| Figure 10.12 | Total quantities of beads..... | 323 |
| Figure 10.13 | Bead shapes..... | 323 |
| Figure 10.14 | Galet rouge and galet blanc beads..... | 325 |
| Figure 10.15 | 19 th C Venetian beads..... | 326 |
| Figure 10.16 | 19 th C Bohemian beads..... | 326 |
| Figure 10.17 | Carnelian, stone, and ceramic beads..... | 327 |
| Figure 10.18 | Metal finds by type and site..... | 328 |
| Figure 10.19 | Metal finds type and period..... | 328 |
| Figure 10.20 | Total quantities of slag by period..... | 329 |
| Figure 10.21 | Iron gun parts from excavation..... | 331 |
| Figure 10.22 | Two examples of historic guns..... | 331 |
| Figure 10.23 | Flint-lock mechanism..... | 332 |
| Figure 10.24 | Brass and iron jewellery from excavation..... | 334 |
| Figure 10.25 | Other metal objects from excavation..... | 334 |
| Figure 10.26 | Westerwald ceramics..... | 335 |
| Figure 10.27 | European perfume bottles from Korop..... | 335 |
| Figure 10.28 | European ceramics from survey and excavation..... | 336 |
| Figure 10.29 | Fragments of 19 th C gin case bottles from Korop's surface..... | 337 |
| Figure 10.30 | Fragments of gin case bottles from excavation..... | 337 |
| Figure 10.31 | Two gunflints from Korop..... | 338 |
| Figure 10.32 | Cowrie shell fragments from Korop..... | 338 |
| Figure 10.33 | Spindle whorl fragments from survey and excavation..... | 339 |
| Figure 10.34 | A spindle whorl being used in Koumambouré in 2013..... | 339 |
| Figure 10.35 | Ceramic weights encountered during survey and excavation..... | 340 |
| Figure 10.36 | Other finds..... | 340 |
| Figure 11.1 | Map of sites with OGW..... | 344 |
| Figure 11.2 | Map with Early Kaabu sites..... | 348 |
| Figure 11.3 | Map with Late Kaabu/Fulaadu sites..... | 349 |
| Figure 11.4 | Imports from excavation by site and period..... | 351 |
| Figure 11.5 | Material culture and prestige goods in elite and non-elite areas...353 | |
| Figure 11.6 | Korop over time: excavated evidence..... | 359 |
| Figure 11.7 | Payoungou over time: excavated evidence..... | 360 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | | |
|------------|--|-----|
| Table 3.1 | Vocabulary on social organisation in Manding and Pulaar..... | 68 |
| Table 4.1 | Kaabu's territories cited in oral traditions and written texts..... | 117 |
| Table 5.1 | Stone mark sites | 167 |
| Table 5.2 | <i>Dyalan</i> encountered during survey..... | 170 |
| Table 6.1 | Pottery collection areas in Payoungou..... | 188 |
| Table 6.2 | Temporal divisions used and defining traits..... | 196 |
| Table 6.3 | Radiocarbon dates in Payoungou..... | 198 |
| Table 6.4 | Excavated units in Payoungou..... | 197 |
| Table 6.5 | Datable small finds from Payoungou..... | 199 |
| Table 6.6 | PYG-A horizons..... | 200 |
| Table 6.7 | PYG-B horizons..... | 205 |
| Table 6.8 | PYG-C horizons..... | 207 |
| Table 6.9 | PYG-D horizons..... | 210 |
| Table 6.10 | PYG-E horizons..... | 210 |
| Table 6.11 | PYG-F horizons..... | 214 |
| Table 6.12 | PYG-G horizons..... | 220 |
| Table 7.1 | Excavated units in Korop..... | 239 |
| Table 7.2 | Radiocarbon dates for Korop..... | 239 |
| Table 7.3 | Datable small finds from Korop..... | 240 |
| Table 7.4 | KRP-A horizons..... | 241 |
| Table 7.5 | KRP-B horizons..... | 244 |
| Table 7.6 | KRP-C horizons..... | 247 |
| Table 7.7 | KRP-D horizons..... | 249 |
| Table 7.8 | KRP-E horizons..... | 251 |
| Table 8.1 | Pottery decoration motifs..... | 264 |
| Table 8.2 | Total numbers of sherds from excavation..... | 273 |
| Table 8.3 | Total numbers of sherds from survey..... | 273 |
| Table 8.4 | Presence of OGW in excavated horizons..... | 277 |
| Table 8.5 | Chronologically sensitive ceramic variables..... | 278 |
| Table 8.6 | Chronologically sensitive rim types..... | 280 |
| Table 8.7 | Firing cores by site and period..... | 282 |
| Table 8.8 | Pottery traits by period and site..... | 288 |
| Table 8.9 | Presence of chronologically diagnostic variables in survey sites...295 | |
| Table 9.1 | Bovid class system for West Africa..... | 302 |
| Table 9.2 | Total NISP and weight by unit..... | 304 |
| Table 9.3 | Faunal remains from Korop..... | 306 |
| Table 9.4 | Faunal remains from Payoungou..... | 307 |
| Table 9.5 | Faunal remains in pits/middens vs other contexts..... | 309 |
| Table 9.6 | Faunal remains in elite and non-elite areas..... | 310 |
| Table 10.1 | Variables recorded for smoking pipes..... | 314 |
| Table 10.2 | Smoking pipe traits by unit..... | 319 |
| Table 10.3 | Bead data from survey and excavation..... | 324 |
| Table 10.4 | pXRF results for copper-based alloys..... | 333 |
| Table 11.1 | Pits and middens in elite areas | 353 |
| Table 11.2 | Periods present in each unit..... | 358 |

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction:

This thesis explores the evolution of the landscapes of power and settlement during the last 1500 years in the Upper Casamance, through a combination of archaeology, oral traditions, and historical accounts. Today one of Senegal's most underdeveloped regions, the Upper Casamance has over the last millennium witnessed the rise and fall of multiple states and empires, and has been at the centre of some of the key processes in West Africa's history. Originally inhabited by the Bainouk (according to oral traditions), the region was incorporated in the 13th C AD into the wider Mali Empire. Kaabu, as this part of the empire came to be known, flourished under Manding rule as one of its most important states and its main link with Atlantic trade networks. Kaabu's political and economic success was such that it outlived the collapse of the Mali Empire by three centuries, lasting up until the late 19th C, when a combination of internal and external problems, most notably a Fulbe revolt, put an end to Manding rule. From this collapse, emerged the Fulbe state of Fulaadu, which controlled the Upper Casamance up until the full colonial conquest of the region at the beginning of the 20th C.

Despite its historical importance, however, the archaeology of the Upper Casamance has never been systematically studied. This lack of prior knowledge represented a challenge, for all chronologies and baselines had to be built from scratch; but also an opportunity, as it meant this construction could be done without some of the problematic conceptual baggage of earlier approaches. An important part of this groundwork was acknowledging, and making use of, the multiple historical sources available and the different perspectives they embody, to construct a more plural, multi-vocal, understanding of the past.

As any work based on multi-disciplinary fieldwork, the information presented in the many pages that follow is necessarily quite diverse. Despite this diversity, however, two main thematic threads run across the thesis, connecting the different materials, scales, and processes discussed. The first one is mobility which, both at the site and regional levels, is a defining trait of the Upper Casamance's history. The second is power, and in particular its political manifestations and their materialisation at the site and landscape levels.

This first chapter describes the basic framework and structure that the rest of the thesis will follow. I start by discussing the research questions that it aims to

answer, followed by an evaluation of the tools and methods used to answer them, including their advantages and limitations. Finally, I present the outline of the thesis, and discuss the different aspects covered in each of the chapters and the links between them.



Fig 1.1- The Upper Casamance (yellow) and this project's research area (red)

1.2 Objectives and Research Questions

This study aims to effect a contribution at two different levels. At one level, the goal is to document the archaeology of this so far unexplored area, and to compare it with that of other areas of the former Mali Empire, and of West Africa as a whole. This involves recovering basic information about site types and material culture, building the archaeological baselines for the region, and contrasting the information obtained with that available from other historical sources. The main objective is to set the factual bases for future research to build on, as well as to provide an initial analysis of the region's connections with surrounding areas and their historical and sociopolitical implications.

The second research question is of a theoretical nature, and concerns the relationship between political power, territory, and mobility. While oral traditions

and historical accounts describe this region as characterised by stable states and permanent towns, its archaeological landscape is defined by the shallow, transient nature of the sites. I will argue that the key to reconciling these two apparently contradictory sets of evidence lies in a very specific settlement pattern, which I have called 'shifting sedentism', by which villages and towns regularly shifted a few hundred meters while keeping the name, identity, and institutions of the community intact. Using archaeological data derived from survey and excavation, combined with oral traditions, both collected during fieldwork and available from publications, as well as historical documents and ethnographic and archaeological examples, I will explore this pattern of 'shifting sedentism' and the implications it has for our understanding of the history of the Upper Casamance, as well as for the relation between statehood and mobility more widely. More specifically, I will address the following questions:

- What are the defining characteristics of shifting sedentism, when did it first emerge, and how has it evolved over time?
- How does it relate to political structures in the region and the changing balances of power over the last millennium?
- What can we learn about the relationship between permanence/mobility and power more widely, as well as about their archaeological traces?

1.3 Fieldwork: tools and methods

The methods devised to answer these questions were primarily shaped by the need to develop an initial archaeological baseline for the region, a framework that would facilitate future research, but also flexible enough to accommodate and readjust to new data. At the same time, I also wanted to overcome some of the traditional culture-historical limitations of many of such frameworks, by building an analytical structure capable of recognising the complexities and the multiple voices that participate in the construction of the past, while maintaining the necessary objectivity to derive sound, reliable, and grounded conclusions.

While the conceptual fabric used in this construction will be further explored in Ch.2, and the specific methodologies employed for each of the sources will be described in detail in Ch. 5 and 7, a brief analysis of the different elements of fieldwork and their contributions and limitations is provided here. Fieldwork

consisted of three separate elements:

Survey

The study covered an area of approximately 70x50km, from 13° 09' to 12° 41' N in latitude, and from 14° 36' to 14° 02' W on longitude. Given the lack of prior information on the archaeology of the region, village-led survey (i.e. based on local knowledge), was deemed the most time-effective method of exploring the region. Thus, the last section of each interview dealt with the presence of historical sites around the village, and was followed by a visit to the mentioned locales. Although efficient and practical, this approach presented a major drawback: the difficulty of assessing the representativity of the results. To correct this deficiency, a week-long systematic control survey had been planned at the end of the first five weeks of village-led work. Unfortunately, this plan had to be abandoned in light of the reduced sight visibility and terrain difficulties present. Consequently, while highly informative on the nature and diversity of the sites present in the region, the survey also presents substantial limitations which will be taken into account when drawing conclusions from it. A more detailed discussion of the survey, the methods employed, and their limitations will be undertaken in Ch. 5.

Excavations

Two sites, Payougou (N12.71593,W14.06689) and Korop (N13.13799, W14.45015), were chosen for excavation. Located at opposite corners of the research area, and about 60km from each other as the crow flies, they were selected because of their size, historical importance, surface evidence, and associated oral traditions; but also to provide a useful comparison due to their different geographical locations and political histories. We opened seven units in Payougou, and five in Korop, ranging from 2x3m to 4x5m. The location of the units was based on a variety of criteria, including geographical spread across the site, associated oral traditions, and surface evidence. While the shallowness of the deposits allowed for opening more units than was originally planned, which contributed to a better understanding of the sites' nature and evolution; the lack of complete/long sequences complicated the establishment of integrated site chronologies. These had to be constructed through the combination of the different

'snapshots' provided by each unit.

Oral tradition interviews:

A total of 32 interviews were conducted with elders in 25 different villages. They uncovered a great diversity of traditions, which on the basis of format and content can be grouped into three different types: oral histories, village foundations, and epic narratives. Oral histories are generally defined as eyewitness accounts that occurred during the lifetime of the informant (Vansina 1985, 12-13). In this case, I extend the concept to include events narrated to the informant by the person who lived them. The reason behind this extension is that these one-step-removed narratives are more similar in form to direct experiences than to any of the other types of traditions. Oral histories thus-defined cover approximately the last 150 years. Although undoubtedly subjective and ideological, they are the type of narrative most likely to include detailed factual accounts of events, as the chain of transmission is shorter. Additionally, they allow for cross-checking, as different versions of the same events are available from members of different interest groups involved.

Village foundation narratives, on the other hand, include events occurred during living memory, but their narrative style and perspective are very different from that of oral histories, as orders of arrival have profound power implications and are critical political tools. Formally, all foundation narratives collected follow the same structure: the founder, (generally a hunter/warrior/two brothers) left his original village in order to found his own. The reasons for leaving the initial village are rarely stated. For recent foundations, the origin of the founder is quite precise (generally to the village level), but the further back in time the foundation goes, the vaguer the origin gets. At some point during his travels, the founder(s) encounter(s) a marabout, a dog, or a djinn, that reveals a prosperous location for the new village, and settlement follows. Foundation narratives inevitably end with a list of *jarga* up to the present day, and an enumeration of the groups that joined the village during this period. In the vast majority of cases, however, these foundation narratives cover only the last two centuries, or the period in which the current group in power arrived at the village. Even when previous occupations are known to the current populations, they are not mentioned in village narratives unless explicitly asked about them.

Finally, epic accounts are grand stories centred around a warrior hero, and follow an episode-based structure. The origin of these stories are in most cases griot performances attended by the elders, and occasionally local *tarikhs* (see next section) consulted by the most historically-inclined members of the community. In addition to the biases and limitations of this sort of narrative (discussed in the next section), the elders' versions of these epics are substantially more patchy than the griotic ones, as they result from casual rather than formal peer-reviewed learning processes.

As will be explained in Ch. 4, in all but seven cases I chose to conduct group interviews, rather than individual ones. This choice was dictated by both practical reasons (it facilitated the organisation, socially and logistically) and information-output (elders could complement each other's memories, and trigger new ones by engaging in discussion). Nevertheless, group dynamics also presented some negative aspects, derived mainly from unequal power relations, such as older men with not much historical knowledge stopping more knowledgeable but younger members of the community from speaking, but this was the exception rather than the norm. Women were often present, but rarely intervened, with one notable exception (Int. 30), in which an elderly woman took the leading role in narrating the village's history. Consequently, the view of history presented was in the vast majority of cases a male and gerontocratic one.

1.4-Other sources

Although the Upper Casamance's history has been markedly under-researched in comparison to other areas of the Senegambia, there is a substantial number of useful primary sources, including explorers' accounts and indigenous oral traditions, as well as a handful of historical syntheses combining both with different levels of critical appraisal. Each of these sources provides a unique insight into the past, with different perspectives, agendas, and biases. In this section I review the different available sources for each of these categories, as well as their potential contribution, advantages, and limitations.

Archaeological sources

Before the current project, the only available information on the archaeology of the Upper Casamance came from a single book: Jean Girard's 1992

L'or du Bambouk : une dynamique de civilisation ouest-africaine. In it, Girard, an anthropologist resident in the Casamance, describes his inquiries (with the aid of the head of the local Catholic mission) into an eclectic mixture of archaeological and anthropological phenomena. Of particular interest is his focus on the subterranean structures and rock shelters locally known as *guide*, as well as on sacred shrines or *dyalan*. Using the contact network of the Velingara Catholic mission, Girard identified and visited 76 sites, which he divided into 'troglodytic inhabitations' (further subdivided into rock shelters, sites excavated into the rock, and subterranean caches), wells, basins, defensive basins, 'bucket marks', polishing marks, quarries, and standing stones. Out of these, he excavated the 'subterranean cache' of Kandiana, for which he obtained four radiocarbon dates, 1540 bp \pm 180 (AD 346-747), 640bp \pm 380 (AD 1670-1796), 900 \pm 170bp (AD 986-1276), and 1460bp \pm 160 (AD 406-766). Nevertheless, as Girard (1992, 10) himself recognises, the work at Kandiana is better described as a clearance of sediment than as an excavation, with no stratigraphy beyond a rough separation into high, middle, and low. It is therefore unclear where exactly the dated charcoal came from, which makes the dates problematic. In addition to the dated charcoal, an unspecified number of pottery sherds and an iron arrow point were also found (Girard 1992, 9-17).

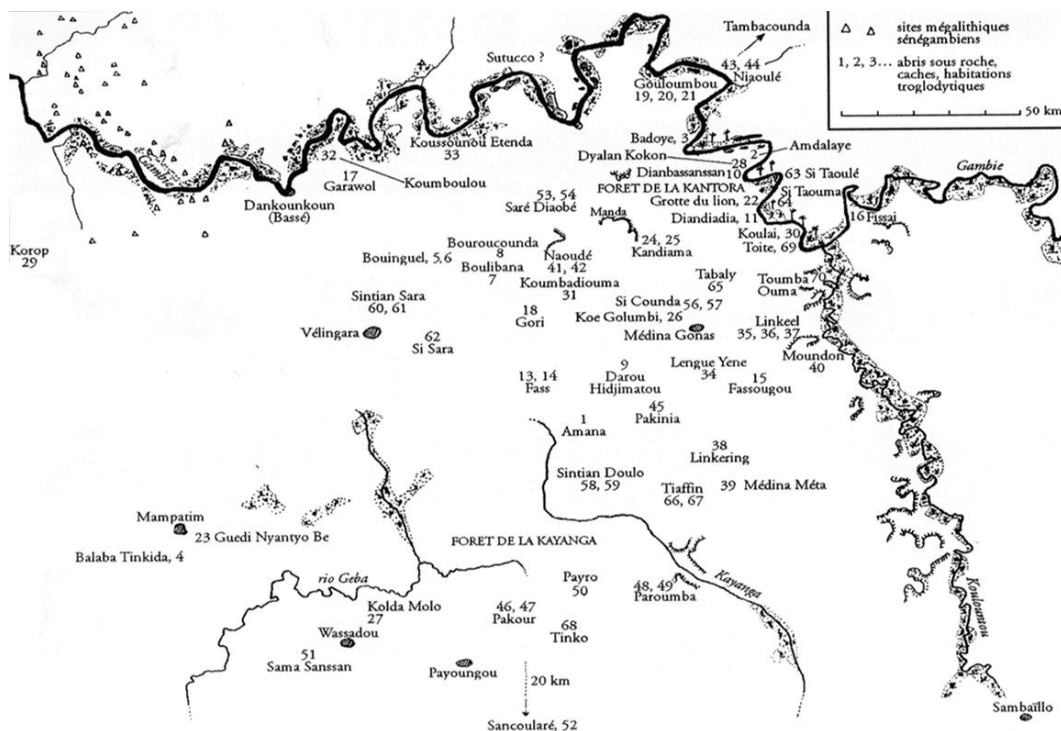


Fig. 1.2 Map of sites documented by Girard. Reproduced from Girard 1992.

Despite its unsystematic nature, Girard's book does contain some relevant information. First of all, its list of sites, with names and associated oral traditions, is useful as a partial inventory of certain types of sites in the region, contributing to our understanding of the nature of the Upper Casamance's archaeology and its diversity. Secondly, his extensive collection of oral traditions, although unsystematic (sources are rarely cited and his methodology is unclear), contains some very interesting fragments, and provides an index of how much elder-based traditions have changed in the last twenty years.

Beyond the Upper Casamance, several projects deserve mention, either because of their geographical proximity, or because of their cultural affiliation. Geographically speaking, the closest reliable archaeological studies are those of Senegambian megaliths (Holl *et al.* 2007; Laporte *et al.* 2012), the Siin-Salum (Richard 2007), the lower Falemé area (Gokee 2012), and the Gambia. For the latter, the work of Liza Guijanto (2007, 2010, 2011a, 2011b) on Niimi, and Amy Lawson on Niani (2001, 2003a, 2003b) is particularly relevant due to their coverage of 1st and 2nd millennium Manding polities associated with, and at times part of, Kaabu.

To the south of the Kolda region, Guinea-Bissau remains largely unexplored archaeologically. The one and only exception to this is the limited work on the Nhampasseré cave and its surroundings undertaken by Amílcar de Magalhães Mateus in 1953 as part of the *Missão Antropológica da Guiné* (Cardoso 1992; Mateus 1953; Mateus 1954; Rodrigues 2012; Soares Poloni 2012, 155-6). Additionally, several colonial publications report isolated findings of historical objects, like a cannon at Pirada (Grãndao 1947), and highly elaborate iron staffs from Sumacunda, Kankelefa, Bafata, Dandum, and Farim (Teixeira da Mota 1960). More recently, two archaeological surveys have been conducted in the Farim and Cacheu areas, but none of them have been published (Ibrahima Thiaw *pers.comm*; Douglas Park *pers. comm*). To the east, the Kedougou area in Senegal was briefly surveyed by Raymond Mauny (1963), but the project's documentation is vague at best.

In terms of wider cultural affiliations, I will draw from archaeological projects dealing with the wider Mali empire as well as other 19th C Fulbe states. Regarding the former, I have taken into consideration the excavations at Timbuktu

(Insoll 1998), Gao (Insoll 1997; Takezawa & Cisse 2012), Jenne-Jeno (McIntosh 1995a), Dia (Bédiaux *et al* 2005), Sorotomo (MacDonald *et al* 2009-2011) and Niani (Filipowiak 1966, 1970, 1979). In relation to the latter, the most useful material came from the excavations at Hamdallaye (Mali), capital of the Fulbe State of the Massina (Gallay *et al* 1990; Mayor 1996a, 1996b, 1997).

The main problem regarding archaeological data is the scarcity of material and limited comparative potential. As will be discussed in Ch. 8, ceramic analyses have only recently begun using similar terminologies that make a comparative endeavour possible. Limited and partial publication of sites is also a problem, as is the prevalence of site-focused approaches with very limited information about landscape and regional structures. But even with these limitations in mind, some comparisons are possible (see sections 8.6.3 and 10.2.4), which should shed light on correspondences and disparities between sites, regions, cultural groups, and political entities.

West African written sources

In a region where history was orally transmitted and written documents were extremely rare, almost all written sources are by European and Arabic explorers, traders, and soldiers. The one exception to this rule are the three known indigenous *tarikhs* or chronicles, the most famous ones being the 17th C *Tarikh al-Soudan* (Es-Sadi 1964) and *Tarikh-al Fettash* (Kati 1913), both of which contain descriptions of the wider Mali Empire. The only published *Tarikh* specifically addressing Kaabu's early history is that of Bijini in Guinea-Bissau, of which two published versions exist (Caroço 1948; Giesing & Vydrine 2007). A short summary can also be found in D.T. Niane's *Les Mandingues de l'Ouest* (1989, 195-8) and in other work by the same author (Niane 1981). This *tarikh* includes a collection of traditions regarding the origins and final demise of Kaabu, most likely compiled after the foundation of the town of Bijini in the 1850s (Giesing & Vydrine 2007, 39). It is partly written in Mandinka with an alphabet based on Arabic graphics, partly in Arabic with regional particularities. It includes three manuscripts: the *Tarikh Bijini*, the *Tarikh Mandinka*, and the *Tarikh Tiramakan*. The current manuscript is controlled by the Baayoo (Bagayoko) and Kasama (Jaabi) families, and can be traced back to the 19th century. The *tarikh Bijini* begins with the first Foutanke invasions in Kaabu at the time of the imams Timbo and Labé at the end of the 18th

century and ends at the beginning of the colonial era with the reconstruction of Bijini (1884) after Musaa Molo's attack (Giesing & Vydrine 2007). The authors define themselves as 'migrant muslim Mandinka' (in opposition to their 'hosts', who were 'Mandinka Soninké').

Additionally, there are references in the literature to other Manding *tarikhs* in the villages of Cuntubuel, Diabicounda, and Kamboré (Niane 1981, 1; Niane 1989); and the elders from Sare Pate Bouya mentioned another one in Soumacounda (Int. 14), but none of these have been published. Finally, there are a few Fulbe manuscripts that narrate the fall of Kaabu from the Fuuta Djallon point of view. Niane (1981, 1) describes one such manuscript in Kamboré (Guinea-Bissau) and another complete version can be found in Diallo (2009).

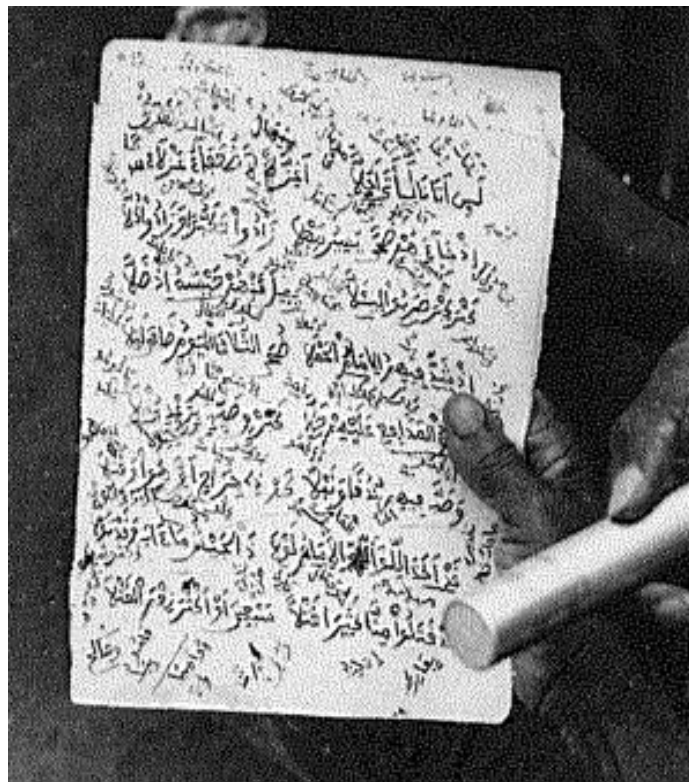


Fig. 1.3 *Tarikh* from Kamboré. Reproduced from Niane 1989

Arabic and European sources

Arabic and European sources go significantly further back in time, and can be divided into three main periods with distinct levels of geographical knowledge: 11th-15th C Arabic authors associated with the trans-Saharan trade, 15th-19th C merchants and military officers, and colonial accounts. From the first reference to Mali in 1068 by the geographer Al-Bakri (Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 82) to much more detailed accounts such as Al-Umari's (Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 267-74) and

Ibn Al-Dawadari's (Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 250-1) descriptions of Mansa Musa's visit to Cairo in 1324, or Ibn Battuta's chronicle of his 1341 stay in Mali's royal court (Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 289-97), these sources provide highly relevant information about the Mali Empire as a whole, but do not specifically mention the Upper Casamance or Kaabu.

This situation changes with the arrival of the Portuguese to the coasts of West Africa. In 1446, a Portuguese expedition under the command of Nuno Tristao reached the Gambia and Geba rivers for the first time. Their journey, described by Zurara (1841), Gomes (1959), and De Barros (1778), did not end well, as the majority of the crew members, including the captain, died when their caravel was attacked by the warriors of the 'Nonimans' (i.e. the *mansa* or king of Niumi) (Teixera da Mota 1947, 319). Niumi was one of the tributary areas or 'provinces' of Kaabu and thus Tristao's account provides the first indirect reference to Kaabu in written texts. As the Gambia was gradually explored, more of these tributary kingdoms (Kantora, Niani, Wouli) came to be known to Europeans, as reflected in the writings of Diogo Gomes (1959 [1485]) and Eannes de Zurara (1841 [1481]). The first direct reference to Kaabu comes from Pacheco Pereira in the early 16th C (1954 [1506], 106-7), and is soon followed by more detailed accounts describing the *farim Cabo's* (king of Kaabu) rule over the Gambian kingdoms and his tributary condition to the emperor of Mali (Almada 1964 [1594], 70; Donelha (1977 [1625], 118).

Although this period is overwhelmingly dominated by Portuguese writers, three significant exceptions are also worth mentioning: Richard Jobson's *The Golden Trade* (1968 [1623]), a first hand account of life and trade along the Gambia; Olfart Dapper's *Naukeurige beschrijvingen der Afrikaensche gewesten* (1686), and André Brue's 1697 account (1723, 267). It is important to bear in mind, however, that none of these authors, whether Portuguese or otherwise, ever set foot in the Upper Casamance. All their information comes from what they could gather in the kingdoms along the coast, and in particular from the southern bank of the Gambia and the traders they met there. This fact was recognised even by the explorers themselves, as reflected in the words of the 18th C military officer Prunneau de Pommegorge:

'on ne connoitra jamais l'intérieur de l'Afrique; car, n'en déplaise à messieurs ni géographes, tous les royaumes qu'ils placent sur leurs cartes y sont placés au hazard, parce que personne s'y a jamais été, si ce n'est dans le haut de la rivière du Sénégal & de Gambie, parce qu'elles sont navigables, & que par-tout ailleurs il est impossible d'avoir des connoissances de l'intérieur du pays au loin, parce pour y aller il faudroit traverser tant de différentes nations, souvent barbares, que les blancs qui seroient assez intrépides pour entreprendre d'y voyager, seroient certains d'avoir le col coupé avant d'y arriver' (Pommegorge 1729, 150)¹

A good measure of the extent of actual knowledge of the interior is provided by the level of detail of maps, which confirms de Pommegorge's observations. As shown by Fig. 1.4, while the areas along rivers and the coast become increasingly populated with names and features from the 16th C onwards, the Upper Casamance and other interior zones remain largely empty until the onset of the colonial period. Even Kansala, the last capital of Kaabu, which features prominently in oral traditions, does not appear in cartography until Bertrand Bocandé's 1849 map, where it is shown as a region, rather than a town. In addition to the reasons outlined by de Pommegorge, a significant factor that needs to be considered is secrecy. As Lopes (1999, 37) points out, geographical knowledge was a highly valuable asset in the establishment of trade routes, and therefore not something to be disclosed lightly, which also helps to explain the paucity of detailed sources for this period.

Nevertheless, despite the limitations posed by this combination of secrecy and actual lack of knowledge, the information contained in these documents, if contextualised and critically assessed, is still one of the best resources we have to understand Kaabu's organisation over this period, especially for its riverine provinces.

¹ 'we will never know the interior of Africa, for even if it displeases gentlemen and geographers, all the kingdoms they place in their maps are placed at random, for nobody has ever been there, other than at the mouth of the Senegal and Gambia rivers, which are navigable, and anywhere else it is impossible to have knowledge of the interior of the country from the distance, since to go there it would be necessary to cross so many different nations, often barbaric, that the whites intrepid enough to undertake such trip, would be certain to have their necks chopped before reaching their destination'

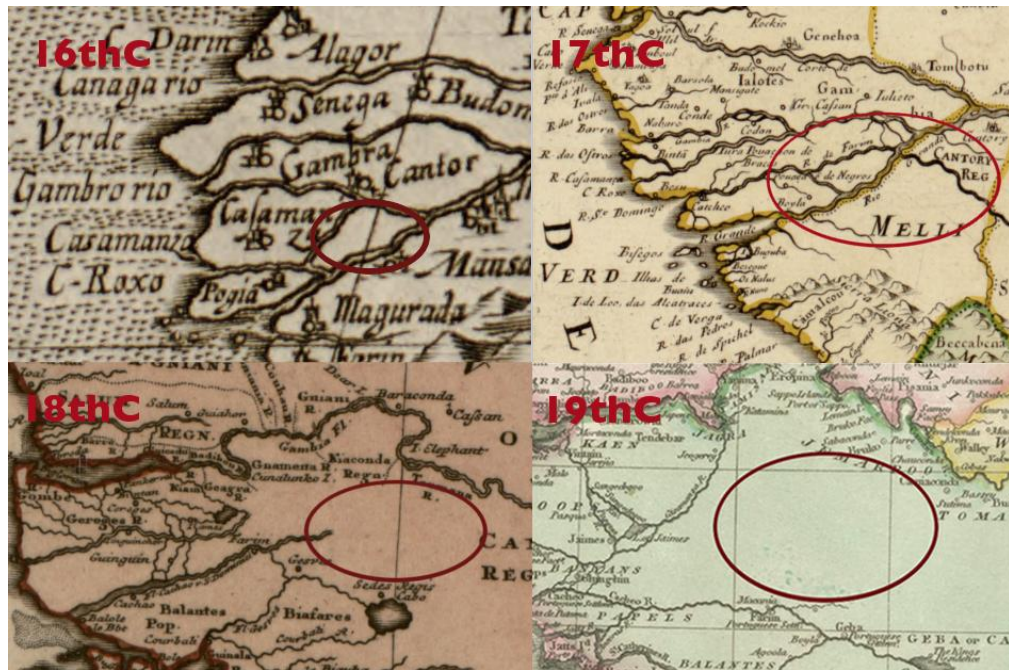


Fig.1.4 Cartographic knowledge of the Upper Casamance (red circle) 16th-19th C. Clockwise from top left: Ortelius 1570, Abbeville 1679, Anville 1743, Pinkerton 1813.

Finally, starting in the 19th C, European, and particularly French, traders and military officials started to increasingly venture inland. From the mid 19th C, the French got heavily involved in the internal wars in the Middle Casamance, but the Upper Casamance was still largely unknown before the 1890s (Roche 1976 , 125-31). From this date onwards, the texts become significantly more detailed, and cover a much broader range of themes than their predecessors. Particularly useful are the documents by Charles de la Roncière (1904a, 1904b) and René Legrand (1912), which describe in detail the human geography of the region in the early 20th C. It is important to bear in mind, however, than from Al-Bakri's 11th C account to colonial documents, all of these texts were written by men from relatively privileged circles, writing from a Euro- or Arab-centric perspective and with preconceived ideas about society and urbanism that undoubtedly affected their interpretations. Additionally, the quality, detail, and reliability of these sources greatly varies, so it is of key importance to place each individual source in context in order to assess its true value and informativeness.

Published oral traditions

Oral traditions are by far the most widely published aspect of the history of the Upper Casamance. The earliest examples appear in the form of short extracts in

travellers' narratives, like André Donelha's 1625 brief version of the *nyanthio* myth of origin (Donelha 1977, 106), but it is not until the colonial period that more extensive versions are published. Coming from both French Senegal (Aubert 1923; Brigaud 1962; Gaden 1912) and Portuguese Guinea (Carreira 1947; Moreira 1948; Vellez Caroço 1948), these texts are useful as indications of the rate of change of these traditions, but present also significant limitations. Most notably, they tend to uncritically combine oral traditions and information from historical texts in order to produce clear univocal syntheses, thus obscuring both the context and the nature of the original sources

Together with independence came a greater interest in indigenous histories, which resulted in an exponential increase in oral tradition publications. Originally rather amateurish, these works have in the last few decades gradually evolved towards an emphasis on integral bilingual versions with all the necessary contextual information. They include three main types of narratives: versions of the Sunjata epic about Tiramakan's conquest of the Senegambia (Girard 1992, 187-200; Lopes 1999, 82-87; Ly-Tall 1981; Niane 1989, 18-26), the *nyanthio* myth of origin about the ruling class of Kaabu (Girard 1992, 201-13; Niane 1989, 40-2; Sidibe 1972), and epic narratives about other heroes, both Fulbe and Manding. Prominent amongst these are texts narrating the deeds of Kelefa Saane (Belcher 1999; Camara 2010 ; Giesing & Vidrine 2007; Innes 1978; Wright 1987), Nalen Sonko (Drame 1970) ; and Alpha and Musa Molo (Bah 1981; Diallo 2009 ; Grandao 1947, 451-2; Innes 1976 ; Mark 2003 ; Sidibe 1984 ; Sidibe 2004).

As usual with oral traditions in West Africa, these tend to focus on the beginning and end of polities, but contain extremely little information on the interim periods. Although an incredibly useful source of information, it is important to bear in mind that these traditions are both accounts of the past and explanations of the present, historical accounts and mythical narratives, socio-political statements and legitimising tools. They are thus subject to both gradual alterations and conscious manipulation, with old and new elements presented together as part of a uniform tradition going back into the mists of time (Conrad 1985).

However, their substantial homogeneity despite their wide geographical spread, suggests some of these myths are not just considerably old, but also have not suffered much modification over time. Furthermore, outstanding coincidences with both archaeology and Arabic accounts reinforce the value of oral traditions as historical sources if used within a critical, comparative framework (Tamari 1991).

Finally, although much smaller than the body of oral traditions, there has been some research done into oral histories in the region (i.e. events directly lived by the informants). In particular, the work of Sylvie Fanchette (1999; 2010; 2011), includes some very detailed accounts of recent population dynamics as described by village elders. Although fairly recent, these accounts are highly informative about settlement patterns during the last century and are useful to understand both the historical trajectory of settlements in recent times, as well as to create models potentially applicable to earlier periods.

Secondary sources

Academic conversations on the history of the Upper Casamance, and particularly regarding Kaabu started significantly later than for the rest of Senegal. The 1972 Conference on Manding Studies included eight papers directly addressing Kaabu (Boulegue 1972 ; Cissoko 1972 ; Innes 1972 ; Knight 1972 ; Leary 1972 ; Sidibe 1972a, 1972b, 1972c). The synergies developed during this congress crystallised eight years later in the International Colloquium on the Oral Traditions of Kaabu, held in Dakar, partly published in a special number of the journal *Ethiopiennes* in 1981 (Ba 1981; Bah 1981; Boulegué 1981; Cissoko 1981; Da Mota 1981, Diallo 1981; Galloway 1981; Gravand 1981, Gueye 1981; Kaba 1981; Kouyaté 1981; Ly-Tall 1981; Mane 1981; Mveng 1981; Niane 1981; Niang 1981; Person 1981; Samb 1981; Sane 1981; Wright 1981), partly available elsewhere (Galloway 1980; Phillot-Almeida 1980).

Two syntheses followed in the subsequent two decades : D.T. Niane's *Histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest* (1989) and Carlos Lopes's 1988 PhD thesis *Les Kaabunké ; structures politiques et mutations*, later published as a book under the title *Kaabunké : espaço, território e poder na Guiné-Bissau* (Lopes 1990). Historiographical interest in Kaabu has since heavily declined, with only one publication (Lopes 2005) in the last decade. There is however a wider literature (e.g. Quinn 1972; or Wright 2010), on the different Manding polities of the Senegambia, most of which were associated with Kaabu at some point. Also useful are the earlier studies from the colonial *Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa* (Caroço 1948; Carreira 1938, 1947, 1961, 1964, 1966, 1983, 1984; de Barros 1947; Grandão 1947; Faro 1957, 1959) discussing a variety of ethnographic and ethnohistorical aspects of Kaabu's Guinean side.

As for the Fuladu period, the most complete source remains Jean Roche's

1976 *Conquête et résistance des peuples de Casamance*, republished in 1985 as *Histoire de la Casamance*, which provides a detailed history of the region from 1850 to 1920. Although significantly shorter and more partial, the writings of Legrand (1912), Ngaide (1999), Quinn (1971), Fanchette (2010), and Sidibe (1984), provide complementary perspectives to Roche's work.

The complexity and diversity of the available sources is apparent. Each dataset has its own limitations and advantages, but if used critically and in combination, the result has the potential to be a rich, plural insight into the history and organisation of the Upper Casamance, necessary to tackle the previously described research questions.

1.5 Chapter Organisation

In this first chapter, I have described the basic framework of this thesis, in particular the research questions addressed, and the methods and sources employed to answer them. In Chapters 2 and 3 I discuss the theoretical and factual backdrops, respectively, for the current research, synthesising the available information and exploring its relevance to this project. Chapter 2 reviews the terminological and conceptual debates that have informed my analytical approach, including debates about the diversity of statehood forms and of their interconnection with space, mobility, and ethnic interactions and negotiations. Chapter 3, on the other hand, summarises the state of the current factual knowledge about Kaabu and Fulaadu, including a review of the different periods, and of the evolution over time and space of aspects like sociopolitical organisation, trade, architecture, religion, or ethnic interactions.

Having described the conceptual and factual frameworks on which this work is based, I proceed to explore how the data collected during the project build on them and contribute to answering the research questions outlined. Given the overlapping and complementary nature of the different data sources, I have chosen to order the information primarily by scale, rather than by source: starting with general principles of regional organisation (Ch.4), moving on to how specific sites fit within them (Ch.5), then addressing patterns of intra-site variability (Ch.6-7), and finally analysing individual artefact categories (Ch. 8-10).

Thus, Chapter 4 explores the different principles and patterns that have structured the Upper Casamance's sociopolitical landscapes over history, starting from the most recent period, and gradually tracing them further back into the past,

through a combination of historical European sources, griotic epics, and ethnographic observations, as well as oral traditions from village elders recorded during fieldwork. Chapter 5 then focuses on the material dimensions of such principles, presenting the results of the surface survey, and exploring their connection with oral tradition narratives.

Chapters 6 and 7 move down in scale to the site level, presenting the results of the excavations in Payoungou and Korop, and their connection with the information available from oral traditions, historical sources, and the landscape perspectives previously outlined. Chapters 8 to 10 continue this progression downwards in scale, by addressing specific materials encountered during both the survey and excavation, including ceramics (Ch.8), faunal remains (Ch.9), and other small finds (Ch 10.) In Chapter 11 I draw together all the different sources, scales, aspects, materials, and processes previously discussed. To conclude, Chapter 12 revisits the original objectives and research questions to evaluate to what extent I have been able to answer them, as well as possible directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: POLITICAL TRADITIONS AND SPATIALITY

Despite being based on an archaeologically unexplored area, my research does not take place in a void. It draws, and aims to build on, a vast literature exploring the diversity of spatial configurations of statehood in Africa and across the world. The pages that follow do not aim to be a comprehensive review of these debates, only a selective and necessarily brief description of their general directions, and where my work fits within them. I start with an overview of some of the key terms employed in these debates, explaining those I will use (or avoid) and why. I then proceed to describe how approaches to statehood have varied in African archaeology and how these debates echo wider concerns across archaeology and the social sciences. These discussions are then complemented with the successive inclusion of two additional factors: space and mobility, considering the dialectical relationship between notions and configurations of landscape, and the power structures which result from, and shape them. I finish the chapter with a brief analysis of issues of ethnicity and how they intersect with the rest of the themes discussed.

2.1 Terminology: Some words on words

As humans, we make sense of the world by classifying it, by dividing the spectrum of things around us into comprehensible categories that group and structure individual phenomena as part of a meaningful whole. Although the biological and social commonalities of human life across space and time result in a certain degree of overlap, different cultures and languages have developed unique systems of classification, each representing a particular worldview. As researchers in the social sciences are acutely aware, words are not just neutral labels, but categories that both describe and structure the world. Consequently, any description of an aspect of a society that is not in the original language, involves both a linguistic and a cultural translation, in which some of the original connotations are lost and new ones added. A possible way out of this is to leave key terms which do not have a direct equivalent untranslated; I follow this strategy to some extent with Pulaar and Manding terms, but this approach cannot be abused lest the text becomes unreadable.

Furthermore, research is not just about description, but crucially, also about analysis. Analysis involves a higher degree of abstraction, which in turn requires

notions not necessarily present in the original language, as well as to connect culture-specific elements to wider, even universal, concepts. The use of specialised terminology and classifications is therefore inevitable, particularly –but not only– if any cross-cultural comparisons are to be made. Yet, it is still a highly problematic endeavour, for as value-free as this terminology claims to be, it often carries culture-specific assumptions (generally Eurocentric ones) with it. Moreover, it is very easy to lose sight of its conceptual analytical nature and use its terms as if they were essentialised realities, thus leading to heated debates about what certain concepts *are* or *mean*, rather than about how best to define them in order to illuminate different aspects of human societies. Nowhere is this more clear than in debates about societal ‘types’. The terminological discussion that follows is therefore not one about essences or ‘real’ classifications, but a study of the different terms available, their conceptual baggages, and how they can illuminate or obscure the institutions and processes studied.

Polity

Polity is a term with a long etymological journey. Adopted into English in the 16th C, from the French *politie*, itself taken from Latin from the original Greek *πολιτεία* (citizenship, government), in archaeology ‘polity’ has come to designate a politically independent or autonomous social unit, regardless of its complexity and scale (Hall 1996). Although some authors (e.g. Bahn 1992, 403) use the term as synonymous with ‘early state’, I consider this use unhelpful, as it duplicates terminology unnecessarily. In its first definition, however, ‘polity’ is a useful neutral term, as it makes no assumptions regarding the nature of the political formations it refers to, and can therefore be used to designate social groupings which do not fit any of the traditional labels, as well as to compare phenomena which would not usually be placed under the same category. On the downside, and precisely for those same reasons, it is also rather vague, and needs to be complemented with descriptions of the nature of the structures and societies involved, if it is to tell us anything about the nature of past social formations.

State

State, on the other hand, is more specific, but also carries more problematic baggage. As all other terms with a social-evolutionary origin, it was initially linked to a particular view of cultural development, based on notions of unilinear,

progressive change from simple to complex through predefined stages, carrying strong ethnocentric connotations and value judgements associated to their underlying directional notion of progress. Nowadays, these notions of unilinearity, directionality, and betterment characteristic of social evolutionism have been widely rejected, yet their associated classificatory systems have persisted (e.g. cf. Service 1962). Such persistence is due to the convenience that these types represent as shorthands for more complicated concepts and as facilitators of cross-cultural comparisons, as well as the need to get precise labels beyond those of 'society' or 'polity'. However, separating words from their conceptual baggage is not an easy task and, despite the emphasis on agency, understanding and multiplicity, neo-evolutionism is still deeply rooted in the way archaeologists think about the past (David & Steiner 1999). Furthermore, authors like Smith (2003, 15) consider that 'the State, as an analytical concept, is at best an illusory focus for research that lends coherence and continuity to a disparate set of authority relationships that are highly discontinuous; at worst, it is an instrument of domination in itself', and emphasise 'the critical need to recenter analysis on what polities do rather than what type they resemble' (Smith 2011, 419).

While I agree with Smith's latter statement, I disagree with his assessment of the utility of 'state' as an analytical tool. I believe that despite the previously outlined limitations –and always bearing them in mind–, state is a term worth salvaging as a general label for a variety of socio-political phenomena that share enough aspects to be worthy of a comparative analysis. It is necessary, however, to define it in a way that is narrow enough to mean something, yet sufficiently wide to encompass phenomena across time and space, while avoiding the term's original Eurocentric notions. I therefore use the term 'state' to designate any independent, centralised, and complex political unit, in which complexity is expressed both horizontally (specialisation) and vertically (hierarchy). Other elements, such as a large permanent army or a bureaucracy for record-keeping, which are often part of definitions of statehood (e.g. Scarre 2005, 193-4) are not included, because establishing whether they are common to all forms of statehood should be an outcome of that comparative endeavour, not part of the initial definition.

Empire

From the Latin *imperium* (power to command), this is a word initially used during the Roman Republic to refer to an order or command in general, and to the

power exercised over a community in particular, but which in the Late Republic came to designate Rome's expansive political structure (Morrison 2001, 3). The term has since been used to describe many other polities across time and space, and acquired the wider meaning of expansive polity incorporating multiple states or significant internal diversity (Morrison 2001, 3). As the traditional pinnacle of social evolutionary ladders, 'empire' also comes with problematic baggage and colonial connotations, but like 'state', I believe it is a term worth rescuing, as 'states of states' do have different organisational requirements to unitary ones. In terms of the specific polities discussed in this thesis, ancient Mali was without doubt an empire, and as such is referred to across the literature. As for Kaabu, some authors describe it as an empire (Phillot-Almeida 2011), others as a state (Mané 1981a), or a kingdom (Innes 1972; Ba 1981; Teixeira da Mota 1981; Niane 1981b). While I consider Kaabu's structural characteristics to be without doubt those of an empire (if possibly not in size, definitely in terms of internal diversity and organisation), as Mali and Kaabu will be frequently be mentioned together, to avoid confusion I reserve the term 'empire' for the former, and refer to Kaabu as a state or confederation.

Cities and towns

From Gordon Childe's (1950) initial 10-point model for recognising urban phenomena, the question of how to define and identify a city is something that has been a constant feature of archaeological debates. At present two views dominate the literature: a more traditional one, represented by Renfrew & Bahn's (2004, 181) description of a city as a 'large population center with major public buildings, including temples and work places for the administrative bureaucracy'; and Trigger's succinct functional definition as 'unit of settlement which performs specialized functions in relationship to a broader hinterland' (Trigger 1972, 577).

Out of these two definitions, I find the latter more useful and with greater potential for fruitful cross-cultural comparisons. Unfortunately, the data currently available for the Upper Casamance do not allow for a reliable exploration of the relationship between urban and rural, which would make the use of the term 'city' inadequate. I therefore, for now, refer to the most substantial sites as 'towns', and to the smaller ones as villages; basing this separation on regional size scales rather than on any absolute criteria; and with no further assumptions about the function, structure, or composition of the settlements involved.

Kingdom

Although more common in historical than in archaeological texts, I find 'kingdom' a useful term. According to the OED, it refers to 'a country, state, or territory ruled by a king or queen'. As will be discussed in Ch. 4, this resonates very much with Manding and Fulbe conceptualisations of political power and space, in which a political unit is defined by a ruler and a land or territory. The term will therefore be used to refer to the different territories that composed Kaabu and Fulaadu, and whose degree of independence, power, and structure greatly varied.

2.2 The African state : a history of misconceptions.

The first academic attempts at understanding social complexity in Africa, both from archaeological and anthropological points of view, took place during the colonial period. The initially preferred category was 'tribe', conceived as a racially and culturally homogenous collectivity, united by custom, shared descent and a common formative historical experience (Kopytoff 1987). The tribe was essentially presented as the 'embryo' of the nation as defined by Western nationalist ideology, implying primitiveness and bottom of the evolutionary sequence. The first recognition of the existence of historical sociopolitical formations whose complexity went far beyond that advocated by the concept of tribe was Fortes and Evans-Pritchard's (1940) *African political systems*. Based on the study of eight societies, it argued African political systems could be divided into hunting bands, acephalous societies integrated through segmentary lineage systems, and centralised states. Fortes & Evans-Pritchard's study opened a set of long-lasting debates regarding the nature of complex societies in Africa, and led to the publication of multiple other societal classifications over the following decade (e.g. Brown 1951; Bernardi 1952; Smith 1956; Eisenstadt 1959; Easton 1959).

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, decolonisation and independence brought about a shift in focus towards indigenous states and empires, as part of the new states' attempt to uncover a past that legitimated their existence and created a rooted common national identity. Coupled with this was an interest in the exploration of 'uniquely African' models of statehood, from Murdock's (1959) 'African Despotism' and Lloyd's (1965) classification system based on the recruitment into the political elite, to Vansina's (1962) five types of African kingdoms (despotic, regal, incorporative, aristocratic, and federations) defined by the degree of centralised control and the principle of political succession. Despite

these theoretical innovations, however, centralised states were still seen largely as the product of outside intervention, 'a superstructure erected over village communities of peasant cultivators rather than a society which has grown naturally out of them' (Oliver & Fage 1962, 36); whereas decentralised societies were presented as 'the product of a deep and unchanging past untouched by outside influences, providing ideal staging grounds for building anthropological models about the primitive' (Cameron-Monroe & Ogundiran 2012, 4).

Although some of the notions explored by these theories, (e.g. segmentary states), have proved to be useful tools for understanding the sociopolitical realities they describe, on the whole these classifications are highly problematic. First, because whether presenting themselves as subdivisions within ethnographically-derived universal societal stage-type classifications or claiming to be uniquely African, these theories shared a rigid adherence to formal and structural-functionalist models, with a strong focus on categorising and classifying that obscured more than it revealed. Secondly, because more or less explicitly, they all carried strong social evolutionary connotations, which at best misrepresented complexity by forcing case studies into directional progress timelines; and at worse justified colonial ideologies.

2.3 From classifying to understanding : the complexity of complexity

Although neo-evolutionary taxonomies of societal evolution have now largely been rejected, their terminology and underlying frameworks are still very much present in archaeological work dealing with 'archaic states' (Feinman & Marcus 1998), 'early civilisations' (Trigger 2003), and 'early complex polities' (Smith 2003), both in Africa and beyond. These 'lingering mental habits' of neo-evolutionism and structural-functionalist political theory (Campbell 2009, 821) have come under heavy criticism in the last three decades. This has involved both a critique of evolutionary terminology and its implications (Campbell 2009; McIntosh 1999; Pauketat 2007; Yoffee 2005), as well as a focus on the *nature*, rather than on the *degree*, of complexity (McIntosh 1998; Stein 2002).

In Africa, archaeologists and historians have brought to light an incredibly diverse array of indigenous African sociopolitical forms, from sedentary hunter-gatherers to nomadic states, and from highly stratified coercive empires to large heterarchical communities (Colson 1969). This recognition of the 'complexity of complexity' (Stahl 2004), has made it clear that while terms like 'state' or 'empire'

can be useful as general labels (and not everybody agrees they are, see Colson 1969, Skalnik 1983, or Smith 2003), the great diversity in organisation, population, territorial configuration, and sources of power within each category makes it imperative to go beyond labelling, and explore how these polities were articulated. In the words of Campbell (2009, 823) 'if we wish to investigate how ancient polities operated (...) we need to understand the *particular* ways in which the relational dialectic of authority was produced and resisted, its sites, its limitations, and the variety of its sources'.

The diversity and multiplicity of the sources of state power has in fact been one of the most discussed topics in African history and archaeology in the last few decades. A particularly important theoretical contribution in this sense is the notion of 'wealth-in-people', which argues that in regions where there is plenty of land available, the real source of power is not control over land or material resources, but control over people (Wright 1999, 416). What defines a person or an institution's power is thus not the territory or the material wealth it controls, but its number of dependents, followers, kin, slaves and other social ties and affiliations, i.e. the human resources it can mobilise (Guyer 1995; 1998).

A different yet complementary perspective is offered by Goody, who argues that differences in the political structures of West African states 'correlated not so much with differences in the ownership of the means of production (nor yet in the objects of production themselves) but rather in the ownership of the means of destruction and in the nature of these means' (Goody 1971, 42-43). As will be discussed in Ch. 3, both the capacity to mobilise human resources, and the threat/action of violence (and in particular raiding) appear to have been key, and intrinsically related, aspects of the articulation and reproduction of power networks across the Upper Casamance's history.

Another relevant topic is the importance of 'alternative' sources of power, such as ritual, ideology and tradition, and the diversity of power spheres and role of age-groups, secret societies, lineages, council elders, and other forms of intra-community organisation. For instance, Adrian Southall (1999), in his study of the Alur, addresses the importance of ritual power as opposed to operational ones, describing how empires can be constructed without recourse to violence, and how ritual centralisation can exist without political centralisation. His concept of the 'segmentary state' has proven extremely useful in identifying a particular kind of polity that has its basis in ritual, personal, and charismatic authority rather than in

effective coercion or control' (McIntosh 1999, 15). Although there is no doubt that violence played a significant role in both Kaabu and Fulaadu, the importance of ritual and ideology should not be underestimated either.

Finally, it is also necessary to consider that power is not always hierarchical, and that although complexity, order, and hierarchy are often conflated, they are not the same thing (Crumley 1987, 163). Heterarchy, understood as a system of organisation where the elements are unranked or possess the potential for being ranked in multiple ways (Crumley 1995, 3), characterises power relations across time and space, as much, if not more, than hierarchy. The importance of heterarchical or counterpoised power relationships for West African societies has been explored by Susan and Roderick McIntosh in relation to Jenné-Jeno. This site, they argue, provides an example of a heterarchical, diffuse, and segmentary power structure based on consensus-based decision-making and horizontal differentiation (McIntosh & McIntosh 1980; McIntosh 1995a). Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that most societies combine heterarchical and hierarchical structures, and that heterarchical relationships between elements at one spatial or temporal scale may be hierarchical at another, and vice versa (Crumley 1987).

2.4 Territory and land : spatial implications of power

As the material matrix in which human life takes place, space both influences, and is shaped by, human agency. Social organisation and political power always manifest themselves spatially, and by studying these manifestations, we can learn more about their operation. Although this analysis can be undertaken at a variety of scales (from a single household to an entire region), a landscape perspective has in the last few decades demonstrated its value and potential to address issues of political and social change both around the world, and specifically in West Africa (e.g. Monroe & Ogundiran 2012).

As an interface capable of integrating different units of archaeological analysis, historical narratives, and oral traditions, while focusing on the multiscalarity and material dimensions of all these processes (Richard 2012, 79), the notion of landscape is a powerful heuristic tool for thinking about the legitimisation of authority, and understanding social, economic and political processes (Fleisher & Wynne-Jones 2010). When it comes to states, most of these discussions focus on the notion of territoriality, which is often presented as an integral and necessary part of government (Wright 1999). Nevertheless, it has become evident in the last few

decades that these assumptions are problematic when it comes to pre-modern states, and that new notions of flexible territoriality, or even a-territoriality, have to be explored. Monica Smith (2005, 838), for instance, has suggested avoiding traditional territorial maps and instead representing polities as sets of changing networks; sets of connecting and disconnecting nodes through which power flows, and whose study enables us to analyse more accurately the mechanisms generated to deal with the inherent political, social and economic challenges to the administration of state authority.

Exploring the relationship between given states and their landscapes/territories therefore becomes a matter, not of drawing lines on maps, but of understanding the different components or layers that make up a territory or landscape, the nodes through which they are articulated, to whom they are relevant, and how access to them is regulated. Resources worth controlling can be of different natures: they can be lands, fields, and pastures; ores and trade routes; people (cf. Guyer 1995), as well as symbolic and metaphysical capital. Nevertheless, it is not enough to identify these nodes or resources, we also need to understand how they were connected to each other, and the wider landscapes they constituted and were part of.

One model which I find particularly useful is that of multiple or fragmented landscapes, which sees landscapes as constituted by a variety of interrelated but conceptually separate layers. Jackson (1984), for instance, distinguishes between a 'political' and a 'vernacular' landscape, while Spiers (2012,115) describes 'a mosaic of weakly centralized polities where centres of economic and political power do not necessarily coincide', but in which the sacred landscape heavily influences the political one (Spiers 2012, 135). Similarly, MacDonald and Camara (2012) in their study of the 18th-19th C Ségou state (Mali) describe an 'eternal' landscape of trading and religious centres which outlived the successive shorter-lived 'state-generated' landscapes of political and military centres.

It is also important to understand that the influence of states was not necessarily felt with the same strength across the different territories it controlled. For instance, Jan Vansina (1962) argued that all pre-colonial African states were conquest states, that started from a small kingdom and expanded by military conquest or threat of conquest. As a result of this process, kingdoms were characterised by a nuclear area with an administrative organisation directly governed by the king and markedly different from that of other regions. Expanding this notion into a tri-partite structure, Lloyd (1965, 70-1) distinguishes between a metropolitan area, peripheral

units, and a sphere of influence; while MacDonald and Camara (2012, 174) describe instead the state's territory as a 'bull's eye', characterised by a 'consciously defined and well-protected core [...] with rings of diminishing political domination and tribute beyond it, giving way to peripheral areas exploited by raiding'.

2.5 Mobility: an often neglected factor

Too often, archaeological studies of the spatial articulation of complexity tend to present landscapes as still pictures, sets of fixed nodes, networks, and boundaries. Yet, in practice, landscapes are constituted by highly dynamic structures, organisations, processes and practices, in which movement is not just a transitional phase between still moments, but an intrinsic part of their articulation. This is particularly true of the Upper Casamance, whose archaeological landscape, as outlined in Ch. 1, reflects a constant pattern of short distance mobility that constitutes one of the main themes of this thesis.

The study of mobility patterns is not new to archaeology, but as with complexity, frequently the focus has been on classifying rather than understanding. Multiple classificatory schemes have been suggested (e.g. Binford 1990, 122; Higgs & Vita-Finzi 1972; Murdock 1967, 159; Rafferty 1985), ranging from binary divisions (sedentary/nomad), to more complex classifications, including multiple sub-types and intermediate categories. Nevertheless, as useful as these 'types' might sometimes be as a shorthand to describe more complex realities, their uncritical use often obscures more than it reveals, especially when the types are conceived as socio-evolutionary stages and/or entail assumptions about the subsistence, political institutions, or social organisation of the group in question (Kelly 1992).

Instead, I think it is more effective to see nomadism and sedentism as two ends of a multi-dimensional gradient, that needs to take into account not just the *degree*, but also the *nature*, of mobility. In this sense, I will make use of Wendrich and Barnard's (2008, 9) framework, which analyses mobility on the basis of moment (duration), movement (range and pattern), motivation, and population segment involved. The relationship between mobility and subsistence will be addressed and analysed, but no *a priori* link between the two will be assumed, thus enabling a richer understanding of the relationship between the two.

Patterns of site generation and abandonment

A crucial dimension in this analysis are regional patterns of site generation and abandonment. How are sites created, by whom, and under what circumstances? What are the most common reasons for abandonment? How are sites abandoned and where do people go afterwards? Although the specifics of these patterns are particular to each case, ethnographic parallels and general models can be very enlightening, if used critically.

One of these models is Kopytoff's (1987) 'African Frontier', which addresses the dynamics of societal and ethnic reproduction through segmentation, and their associated power implications. Kopytoff's central tenet is that fringes of established societies (or 'frontiers') offer spaces for the ambitious and aggrieved to create their own settlements by recreating or reinventing existing sociocultural patterns. Their achieved status as 'first-comers' bestows prestige, authority and legitimacy, thus conferring opportunities for self-aggrandising without challenging the established social order.

On the other hand, while it is true that in most cases 'first-comer' status is a source of power, that is not always the case, as instances where new arrivals dominate the existing populations have been documented, particularly in the Mande world (e.g. Fay 1997; Jansen 1996). Consequently, while I agree order of arrival is a key factor in power negotiations, particularly in West Africa, such negotiations are significantly more complex and flexible than initially thought, and need to be assessed carefully. Articulation of first-comer issues was a common theme in the interviews we conducted as part of the survey, and therefore an important element to consider in order to understand the evolution of settlement patterns in the area.

Mobility and political organisation

As with supposed direct links between subsistence and mobility (e.g. nomadic pastoralists/sedentary cultivators), it has become clear in recent decades, that the relationship between mobility and political structures is also not predetermined, and that it requires careful analysis and consideration. Thus, recent literature has demonstrated that towns can exist without states (S.K McIntosh & R. McIntosh 1993a; Smith 2003); that political hierarchies can develop in societies with high degrees of mobility (MacDonald 1998), that many sedentary societies are not hierarchical (Woodburn 1982), while there are highly hierarchical nomads (Rasmussen

1993), and that complex societies take on all kinds of shapes and paths of development (Cowgill 2004; McIntosh 1999).

Two African examples are of particular relevance to this discussion: Ethiopia's peripatetic or 'wandering' towns, and Mali's *mansaduguw*. In 1969 Ronald J Horvarth coined the term 'wandering capitals', challenging the assumption that cities, and especially capitals, had to be permanent and fixed in space. Instead, he argued for a 'capital city mobility continuum', of which relatively stable capitals (moving only after a century or even more) were merely at one end. At the other end, he described the case of medieval Ethiopia, where the capital moved every few months, or even every few weeks (Horvarth 1969). Since, other examples of peripatetic capitals and/or rulership have also been reported in contexts as varied as medieval Germany (Bernhardt 1993), Buganda (Gutkind 1963) and Ntusi (Reid 1996) in Uganda; as well as in 15th C Kanem-Borno (Gronenborn 2001).

The situation regarding Mali's imperial capital is less clear, but also more relevant to the Upper Casamance, given Kaabu's affiliation to Mali. On the one hand, we have Arabic descriptions of an apparently permanent town, with monumental architecture and an opulent royal court (e.g. Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 290-2, 342). On the other, such a 'capital' has never been found, and oral traditions refer to it not as a capital, but as several *mansaduguw* (lit. 'king's towns'), suggesting the centre of authority was where the king happened to be (Haour 2005, 559). The same sources also clearly distinguish between the royal lineage's ancestral residence and the king's court, and only in relation to the first is a clear sense of place conveyed (Conrad 1994, 366).

Shifting Sedentism

The particular type of mobility I am interested in, that of sedentary settlements that regularly 'shift' a few hundred meters, has not entered theoretical debates yet, but has been documented in both archaeological and ethnographic contexts. The majority of cases have to do with village movements related to shifting agriculture practices, such as those of the present-day Yanomamö horticulturalists in southern Venezuela (Craig & Chagnon 2006), the 15th-17th Haudenosaunee in the north-east of the US (Jones & Wood 2012), and the 8-10th C Anasazi from south-west Colorado (Kohler and Matthew 1988). These studies, however, tend to see residential mobility stemming mostly – or even exclusively – from soil degradation as-

sociated with extensive agriculture, and often fall into environmentally deterministic arguments.

Beyond America, instances of shifting villages have also been reported for Medieval Central Europe, where 'accounts tell of dwellings being moved to where the next job was or onto a patch of vacant land. Whole villages moved when the soil was exhausted or when they were threatened by enemy attack' (Jackson 1984, 94).

This notion of sedentary mobility is also picked up by Braudel (1981, 271), who describes how in rural areas of medieval France and Germany 'often, the centre of gravity within a given cultivated area shifted, and everything-furniture, people, animals, stones- was moved out of the abandoned village to a site a few kilometres away'. Closer to the Upper Casamance, in the Central Gambia, Amy Lawson reported how:

'according to elders in the Gambia, it is quite common for villages of up to 1000 individuals to relocate (usually less than 1 km away) if the village chief or lineage head dies, or if agricultural fields become exhausted. However, during the c.50-100 years in which a particular locale is inhabited, substantial houses are erected and individuals are "sedentary". This results in a settlement pattern in which a particular village sequentially locates itself in a number of discrete locales all within a relatively small area, a strategy which I am calling "serial sedentism". Even though the sites themselves appear ephemeral, this does not mean that the communities that produce them are' (Lawson 2003, 18).

Unfortunately, this insightful description, which coincides entirely with my own observations in the Upper Casamance, is the only mention of this issue in Lawson's work.

Consequently, although not unknown, the existence of patterns of shifting sedentism is heavily under-theorised. The vast majority of archaeological texts on mobility are concerned almost exclusively with nomadism; while existing analysis of shifting villages rarely go beyond simple environmental determinism or explore the relation of these shifts to political structures and their implications. It is likely, however, that the absence (until now) of a unifying term to group these phenomena has led to an under-representation in the literature of what could be a much more widespread phenomenon; and that a richer comparative literature will emerge in the coming decades.

2.6 Ethnicity and identity

Ethnicity is a complex term that encompasses the social phenomena related to the identity of a group as such. Ethnic groups have been traditionally defined as biologically self-perpetuated communities, sharing fundamental cultural values, constituting a field of communication and interaction, with an identity recognized by others and expressed through a self-designated ethonym (Barth 1969,11). Traditional debates about ethnicity have focused on establishing whether it is an all-inclusive general theory or a limited approach to particular problems; an individual assertion of identity or an imposition of the group over the individual; an innate aspect of human nature or an instrumental construction; a matter of content or of boundaries (Banks 1996).

Although important for a long time, this traditional view has now been shown to be inadequate, as it reifies and essentialises what are in fact a series of highly contextual and fluid notions and practices. It has become clear that it is necessary to avoid simplistic dichotomies and to study the specific context in which ethnic manifestations take place, as it is through shared experiences that common identities become meaningful (Banks 1996, 45). While physical or biological traits can in certain cases be used as ethnic markers, ethnicity is in no way about biology; it is instead a socially reproduced system of classification that has to be studied in relation to its social, economic and political context. In other words, it is not an attribute of groups, but a dimension of relationships (Eriksen 2002).

Ethnicity is therefore highly fluid and malleable, and the ethnographic literature is full of cases of individuals and groups changing their identity to more advantageous ones, from the Fur in Darfur (Barth 1996, 22-4) to the Balant in the Senegambia (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849a, 324). At the same time, ethnicity can also be lived and presented as a naturalised and inescapable social fact, and it is precisely this contrast between the constructed fluidity of its operation and the given immutability of its perception that makes it such a powerful political tool.

Understanding this duality between the discourse and practice of ethnicity is particularly important for archaeology, as social boundaries are notoriously difficult to interpret through material culture alone and a reliance on historical texts for guidance can, and often has, led to a reification of the identity phenomena studied. Much has been written about the role of material culture in the definition of identities and of the potential of archaeology to explore and study them (see Jones 2002 for a global review or Richard & MacDonald 2014a for a specifically

African one), so I will not discuss it here. For the current purpose of defining the framework of my analysis, suffice to say that there is no simple direct correlation between material traits and ethnicity, but that material culture *is* an attribute of identity, whose meaning can only be understood by reference to the social, historical, and spatial contexts in which it was deployed (Richard & MacDonald 2014b).

2.7 Overview

In this chapter, I have reviewed the main theoretical strands and themes from which the subsequent analysis draws from, and to which it aims to contribute. I started with a discussion of the terminology I will be employing and why; followed by an exploration of the recent debates about the diversity of indigenous African sociopolitical forms and of the 'complexity of complexity' more widely. Beyond Africa, I have discussed debates about the spatial and material dimensions of political power and organisation, and focused on some of the models that archaeologists, historians, and anthropologists have used to conceptualise notions of territoriality, mobility, and ethnic identity construction.

Two interrelated themes emerge from this review, which define my approach to the Upper Casamance's archaeological landscapes: the emphasis on understanding rather than on categorisation; and the need to explore the connections between different dimensions of human societies (settlement patterns, political organisation, subsistence, ritual practices) without assuming any predetermined correlation between them. Having defined the theoretical framework, in the next chapter I address the factual background on which this research is based.

CHAPTER 3 : KAABU AND FULAADU: THE STORY SO FAR

3.1.-Introduction

In Ch. 1 I reviewed the primary and secondary sources available on the history of Kaabu and Fulaadu. While there is no scarcity of primary sources, most of the historiographical work so far has focused on very specific aspects, and has been characterised by a substantial disconnect between anglophone, francophone, and lusophone authors and sources. As a result, we still do not have a complete critical synthesis of the Upper Casamance's history. The three most comprehensive reviews so far are Lopes' *Kaabunké* and Niane's *Histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest* for Kaabu, and Roche's *Histoire de la Casamance* for Fulaadu. These three books undoubtedly represent key milestones in our understanding of the region's history, but also present important limitations.

For example, Niane's book traces the history of Kaabu from its origins to its demise, and provides previously unknown details about some aspects of its structure and organisation. It does so by drawing from an extensive and unprecedented range of sources, including unpublished oral traditions. These sources, however, are amalgamated to produce a single coherent historical narrative, which makes it difficult to know what the origin of the information is, and how different biases might affect it. Lopes' work, on the other hand, is much more systematic in its referencing of sources, but largely focuses on grand narratives and general organisational principles, without much attention paid to the specifics of daily life or the concrete material and spatial expressions of those principles. Like Niane's book, the focus is exclusively on Kaabu, with no discussion of later periods. In contrast, Roche's *Histoire de la Casamance* is a comprehensive review of the Casamance's history from 1850 to 1920. Incredibly useful, and still unparalleled in level of detail, this study is nevertheless almost entirely based on European written sources, with no attention paid to oral traditions, and extremely little coverage of the region's previous history and how it affected the 19th and 20th developments described. As a result, it presents a detailed and comprehensive description of the region's history, but entirely through European eyes.

Furthermore, the many shorter articles and conference presentations discussed in Ch.1 contain relevant information which is often not included in these syntheses. The fact that the three books focus on either Kaabu or Fulaadu, but never on both, is also a problem, as it has obscured the continuities between the two

periods. Consequently, before I discuss my own data, it is necessary to review all the available information about the region's history and how it fits together, since no other source has done so yet in a comprehensive, multi-vocal, and critical manner.

I start this review with a description of the current political, social, and physical landscapes of the region, for no research takes place in a vacuum and understanding its setting is, as will become clear in Chapter 4, essential to my analysis. Having defined the space in which the research takes place in the present, I look back at the main social and political events that have marked the region's history over the last millennium. In the absence of written sources prior to the 15th C, oral sources form an important part of this review, in particular for the earlier periods. However, instead of amalgamating oral and written sources into a single historical narrative as it is often done, I have chosen to present them separately, and always specifying the origin of the source, so their biases and natures are not obscured. Likewise, I have not applied any 'historical filter' to oral traditions: both mythical and feasibly historical elements are presented as they occur in the original narratives.

Finally, I review the available knowledge on the historical evolution of different aspects of relevance to subsequent discussions, namely social and political organisation, economy and trade, clothing and adornment, architecture, religious practices, and the nature of ethnic interactions.

3.2.-The Upper Casamance

The Upper Casamance, or Kolda region, is the westernmost part of the Casamance, the strip of land that separates Gambia from Guinea-Bissau. Administratively, it consists of three Departments (Kolda, Médina Yoro Foulah, and Vélingara), which in turn are divided into *Arrondissements* and *Communes*. The *Arrondissements* are further subdivided into *Communautés Rurales*. The climate is sudanic-guinean, hot and humid, with a wet season between June and October, and a dry season from November to May. Average rainfall ranges from 700 to 1300mm (ANSD 2009). It is a largely flat area, with sandy and clayey sandstones forming plateaus, and lateritic outcrops which the local Fulbe populations call *ferlo*. Vegetation is abundant, combining savannah and light forest, cross-cut by a multiplicity of seasonal and permanent water courses. In 2009 the Kolda region had 585.155 inhabitants, of which 75% were Fulbe (sing. Pullo), followed by Manding

(7.31%) and Wolof (7.22%), and over 20 other ethnic groups in smaller numbers (ANSD 2009, 7-10). The predominance of the Fulbe is a relatively recent phenomenon, resulting from the decline of Kaabu from the mid 19th C (Roche 1985, 63). Although the difference between Manding and Fulbe is absolute on paper and in speech, in practice both groups have been coexisting for so long that the cultural differences are limited. They speak different languages but the degree of borrowing between the two is significant. The Fulakunda, as the Fulbe from this region are called, still practice more animal husbandry than their Manding neighbours, but contrary to the image of the 'ideal Pullo', they are fully sedentary and mostly agriculturalists. Most villages are mixed to a certain extent (though there are exceptions), but power, symbolised by the figure of the village head or *jarga*, tends to be held by one of the groups.

The main economic activity is agriculture, which generates 70% of the revenues in the region, and the main crops are peanut, corn, millet, rice, Niebé beans, and fonio. Formerly nomadic, animal husbandry has now become sedentary, and focuses mainly on cattle, sheep, goats, horses and donkeys (ANSD 2009). Nowadays there are only two towns that qualify as such, Kolda and Velingara, situated at the western and eastern ends of the region, respectively, and linked by the only paved road, which constitutes both the main axis of communication and the main link of the region with the rest of the country. In 2009, the Kolda region had a population of 585,155 inhabitants, spread over 1589 villages, and with a population density of 43 inhabitants/km² (ANSD 2009, 5-7).

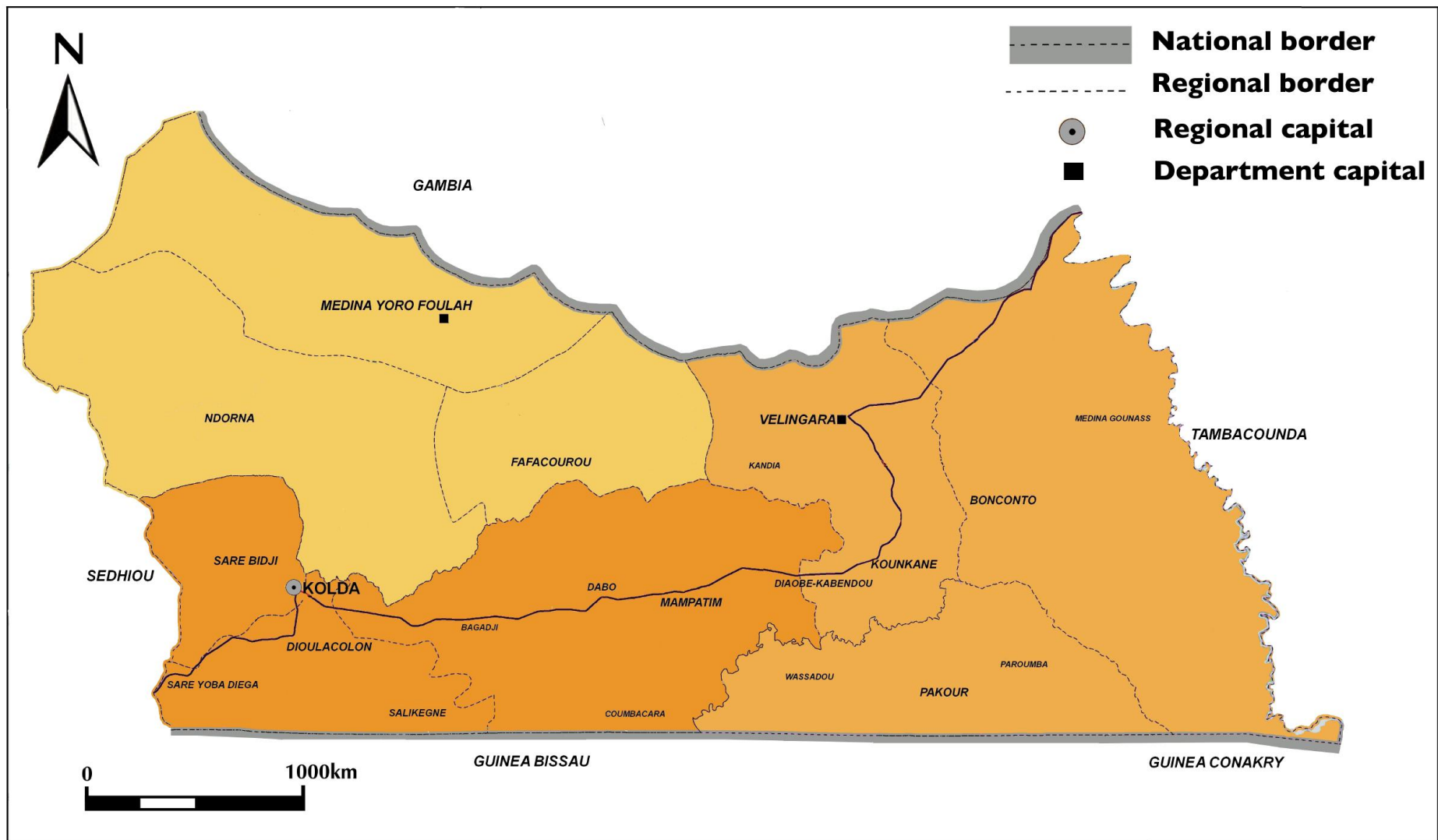


Fig. 3.1 Current administrative map of the Upper Casamance or Kolda Region

3.3.-Historical overview

Pre-13th C: stone age and early farming communities

Although in the absence of any prior archaeological study, we have no direct information about the Upper Casamance's earliest occupations, we have some data for surrounding areas. For instance, at the confluence of the Gambia and the Niokolo Koba (some 120km from the Upper Casamance), Middle Stone Age (MSA) sites like Bafoulabé, Impaté or Matapa, testify to early occupation of the area (Diop 2000, 266-7); as do late Acheulean and MSA sites in the Madina-Sadatou area of the Falémé (Ravisé 1975; Camara & Dubosq 1984, 1987, 1990; Gokee 2012). Additionally, there are documented Late Stone Age (LSA) sites to the west, in the Lower Casamance (Linares de Sapir 1971); to the east, in the Kédougou region (Mauny 1963; Guitat 1970); to the northeast, in the Falémé (Gokee 2012); and to the northwest, in the Siin-Salum (Guitat 1970).

As for later periods, Senegambian archaeology has traditionally divided sites into four main 'culture areas' or 'proto-historic provinces' (e.g. Descamps 1979; Martin & Becker 1984; Bocoum 2000), defined by their predominant site type: shell mounds in the Atlantic littoral from Mauritania to Casamance (Linares de Sapir 1971; Descamps & Thilmans 1979), megalithic cemeteries in the Gambia and Siin Saalum (Thilmans *et al.* 1980; Gallay *et al.* 1982; Holl *et al.* 2007; Cros *et al.* 2010), earthen tumuli in northwestern Senegal (Joire & Duchemin 1955; S. K. McIntosh & R. J. McIntosh 1993b), and tell sites in the Middle Senegal Valley (Thilmans & Ravisé 1980; Bocoum & McIntosh 2002; R. J. McIntosh *et al.* 2012).

This division presents multiple problems: firstly, each of these 'culture areas' includes in fact multiple types of sites, not just the one they have been labelled after (see for instance Lawson 2003 on habitation sites in the megalith area). Beyond issues of misrepresentation, this division has also led to a lack of attention to the interconnection between different site types, with some notable exceptions –see for instance Gallay *et al.*'s 1982 study of the relationship between a megalithic circle an earthen mound, and a settlement site. Finally, these 'settlement types' have in most cases little or no chronological value, as they group archaeological phenomena that are often centuries –or even millennia– apart.

As a result, our understanding of early farming and iron-producing communities in the Senegambia is still very limited, and that is even more the case for the southern Senegambia, where research has been scarcer. We do know,

however, that early farming communities had settled in the site of Arondo, at the confluence between the Falémé and the Senegal rivers (approx. 300 km to the NE of the UC) by AD 400 (Thiaw 1999). To the northwest, shell mounds in the Petite Côte have yielded 2nd C AD dates (Descamps *et al* 1977), and putative early Iron Age pottery has been found at the site of Simal in the Siin (Richard 2007, 569). Closer to the Upper Casamance, the megalithic site of Tièkene Bossoura (70km north of the UC) was in use from as early the 4th C BC (Thilmans *et al* 1980), and occupational shell middens in the Lower Casamance (200km to the west) have yielded radiocarbon dates stretching from the 3rd C BC to the 18th C AD (Linares de Sapir 1971). As for the areas south of the Casamance, as was discussed in Ch.1 there is no information available , for either Stone Age or Iron age sites .

Therefore, while we have no prior information regarding the pre-13th C history of the Upper Casamance, and our overall understanding of early settlement of the southern Senegambia as a whole is still very limited, we know there were MSA, LSA, and iron-using societies to the west, north, and east of the Upper Casamance. It is therefore likely that similar occupations might have been present in the Upper Casamance itself.

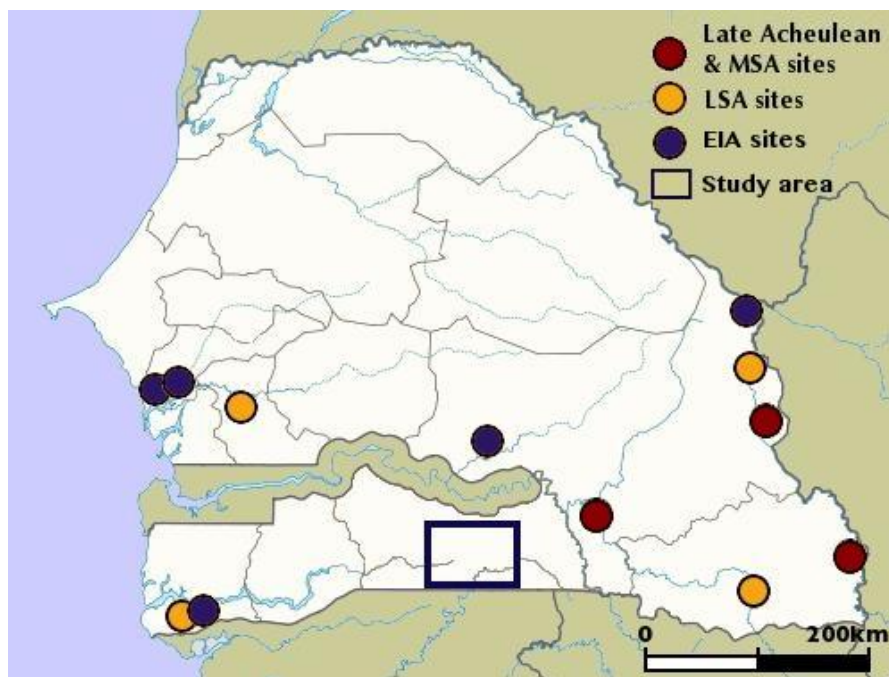


Fig.3.2 Late Acheulean, MSA, LSA, EIA sites within a 300km radius of the study area

The Sunjata epic and Tiramakan in the Senegambia

In the absence of historical sources prior to the 15th C, all our knowledge about the early history of the Upper Casamance comes from oral traditions, and the earliest of them is the Sunjata epic. This epic narrates the life of Sunjata, founder of the Mali empire, and the events that led to the empire's foundation during the 13th century. Besides containing useful information about the Empire of Mali and Mande notions of power and leadership, some versions (Quiquandon 1892; De Zeltner 1913; Kanouté 1972; Innes 1974; Moser 1974; Johnson 1986; Jabate 1987; Jansen *et al.* 1995) include also an episode describing the conquest of the Senegambia. This episode narrates (with some variations) how some time after Sunjata's victory, he was greatly offended by the Wolof king, who refused to give/sell him horses arguing that all a Malinke hunter needed were dogs and/or leather sandals. Furious, Sunjata sent one of his generals, Tiramakan Traoré, to avenge this affront, resulting in the death of the Wolof king and the conquest of part of his territory.

This is as far as most Malian and Guinean versions go, but griots in the Senegambia expand Tiramakan's exploits into a whole epic of their own. They describe how prior to Tiramakan's arrival, the area was inhabited by two main groups: the Bainouk and the Padjadinka (the Beafada, Balantes, and Manjak are also sometimes cited, but their status as first settlers is disputed). The Bainouk occupied the country from Pakao to the Valley of the Gambia and were governed by *musomansaw* (lit. female kings/queens). Depending on the source, their last ruler was called either Ngana Sira Baana¹ (Phillot Almeida 1980; Cissoko 1981,1; Lopes 1990, 20) or Kikikor (Niane 1989, 43). Other Bainouk rulers remembered are Kokoua and Bandiougou (Cissoko 1981, 2), and their capital was at Mampatim (Cissoko 1972; Sidibe 1972a).

Having defeated the Wolof king and conquered large parts of the Senegambia, Tiramakan returned to Mali, where Sunjata, greatly pleased with his exploits, gave him control over the newly conquered territories, as well as thousands of soldiers, artisans, peasants, and slaves to populate them (Sidibe 1980). For several decades, Tiramakan travelled across the Senegambia, founding villages and predicting the existence of future ones, until he eventually died in Bassé (Gambia), where his tomb is still visible (Cissoko 1972, 2; Niane 1989, 26).

As for what happened to the Bainouk rulers, most narratives are silent. The

¹ Ngana Sira Baana is a Manding name. Ngana means 'man of action' (Zobel 1996, 39).

one exception is a version recorded in Kankalefa according to which the Manding would have acknowledged the Bainouk king, Ngana Sira Banna, and not interfered with his domains during his life time. After his death, however, the Bainouk decided to fight the incessant arrival of Manding migrants, but were defeated and had to flee (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 1). From this episode would come the phrase from which the name Kaabu was derived : *N'ka a bung folo*² (let's shoot them first) (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 8). Nevertheless, this is just one among the many explanations for the name Kaabu, which has also been said to come from the word 'periphery' in Pulaar (Ba 1981, 1), the term for 'region' in Manding (Ba 1981, 1), as well as 'let us not leave' (Leary 1972,5).

An alternative interpretation of this story is presented by Mamadou Mané (1979, 98; 1981; 1989, 19), who argues that Manding presence in the Senegambia largely predates both Tiramakan and Sunjata. He contends that the foundation of Kaabu would have in fact resulted from successive waves of migration starting in the 12th C, in which the initial Manding minority would have had to adapt to Bainouk customs, thus explaining the unusual traits of Kaabu's ruling elite (e.g. matrilineal inheritance). Others, like Benoit (1988, 508), argue the opposite, that the Manding migration would have been a much smaller affair than suggested by oral traditions, and that instead local populations would have adopted the language and customs of their new masters. Unfortunately, neither of these authors specifies what their claims are based on, thus making it difficult to judge their validity. Similarly, we have historical confirmation of Sunjata's existence (Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 322-23), but not of Tiramakan's. The character of Tiramakhan, however, is one of the most common in versions of the epic across time and space, appearing already in the earliest printed version of the text in the 19th C (Quinquandon 1892, 316).

The *nyanthio* myth of origin

A parallel tradition to the Sunjata epic narrates the origin of the *nyanthio*, the ruling elites of Kaabu. Although the limits between this tradition and the Tiramakan story are blurry – in fact they are often so amalgamated they become almost indistinguishable – their complete forms appear to be independent. There are many different versions of this tradition, combining the key elements in different

² The correct spelling of this expression according to current Malinké orthography should be *An kal'u bon fòlò!*.

ways and attributing them to different characters, but the core story is as follows :

A Malinké princess, known as Balaba (Cissoko 1981) or Tenemba (Niane 1981, 1), was found in a cave near Mampatim, and taken to the local king, who in some cases is descendant of Tiramakan (Innes 1972, 2; Niane 1989, 40 ; Lopes 1988, 116). Balaba Tinkida, as she came to be known, was hidden in a room which nobody had access to. One day, people heard baby cries coming from inside the room, and when they opened it, they saw Balaba had given birth to three daughters. Because of the miraculous nature of the birth, the daughters were called *nyanthio* (genies) (Niane 1989, 41). The king then married Balaba and the three princesses were given in marriage to the princes of the territories of Jimara, Pathiana, and Sama. It was then established that only the male descendants of Balaba's daughters (identified by the patronyms of Sané and Mané), would rise to the throne, and that the three *nyanthio* territories would rule Kaabu in turns (Niane 1989, 41; Girard 1992, 201-4).

Although this is by far the most extended version, alternative stories also exist. Leary (1972, 3-5), for instance, describes a tradition according to which the *nyanthio* are the descendants of Santy and Dienou, two princes from N'Denia in Mali, who decided to leave the Manden and head westwards. Sidibé (1972b, 4-7), on the other hand, reports a story in which Balaba (or Nyaling, as she is called in this version), is a slave girl given to the king of Damantang, and it is their three sons –not daughters–who are the original *nyanthio*.

Regardless of the story behind the institution's origin, we have historical confirmation that the *nyanthioya* (the rotational system of power among matrilineal princely clans from three different provinces) was in operation by the end of Kaabu in the 19th C (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849, 267; Berenguer-Feraud 1879, 209). What is not so clear is when it was established. Cissoko (1981,2) places its origins in the 17th C on the basis of king lists from oral traditions, but these lists are notoriously unreliable as chronological devices. The griot Sana Kuyaté claims *nyanthioya* appeared at least five generations after Tiramakan (Niane 1989, 40). Girard (1992, 232), however, describes a 14th C succession conflict in the province of Pathiana derived from an attempt at subverting this system, thus implying it was already in place, but his sources are not stated. Most traditions, however, associate the establishment of *nyanthioya* with the move of the capital to Kansala (current Guinea Bissau) (Niane 1989, 41; Girard 1992, 201-4).

Although not mentioning *nyanthioya* directly, both Alvares de Almada (1964, 70) in the 16th and Donelha (1977, 106) in the 17th C, described a group of rulers named 'Mané', who were subjects of the Mali emperor. Additionally, Donelha provided what appears to be a short combined version of the Tiramakhan and *nyanthio* stories:

*'A origem dos Manes, dizem os antigos por tradição de seus avós e o que deles ouviram, é que ãa senhora mui principal, agravada do grande emperador e monarca d'Etiópia, Mandimansa, se saio da cidade de Malem com un enxército de seus parentes e vassalos e amigos, tão grande e copioso, que bastou a conquistar muitas e diversas terras e diversas naçois'*³ (Donelha 1977, 106)

Both of these authors, however, place the 'Manés' further to the south, which has led some historians (e.g. Thomas 1920; Rodney 1970, 39) to believe they might be referring to the 16th C 'Mané invasions' of Sierra Leona, rather than to Kaabu. What the connection between these two groups of 'Manés' –the Sierra Leonean and the Kabunké– is, remains unclear.

The Atlantic Era and the first historical sources

In the mid-15th century, the Portuguese landed on the Senegambia, and were soon followed, by Italian, Dutch, and English traders and explorers, thanks to whom we have the first written historical accounts on the region. Their writings, although mostly focused on the coast and navigable rivers, occasionally give insights into the territories inland, including Kaabu. The first historical mention of Kaabu comes from the Portuguese navigator Duarte Pacheco Pereira, who writing between 1506 and 1508 describes a Manding kingdom by the name of 'Guabu' to the east of the Gambia river (Pacheco Pereira 1956, 64).

From mentions during the 15th and early 16th C, two things become clear: first, that Kaabu was not a recent foundation, but a well established and powerful kingdom that dominated the political and economic life of the southern Senegambia; and second, that despite its power, it was still a vassal state/province of the Mali Empire. For instance, in the 15th C Diogo Gomes (1959, 39) was told in

³ 'At the origin of the Manes, according to the elders from the tradition of their grandfathers and what they heard from them, is that a very important woman, offended by the great emperor and governor of Ethiopia, Mandimansa, left the city of Malem with an army of her relatives, vassals, and friends, so large and copious, that it sufficed to conquer many and diverse cities and nations'

Niumi, a Gambian kingdom, that *'quid rex Bormelli⁴, et quod tota terra nigrorum a parte recta fluuij erat sub suo dominio et sibi subjecti⁵*. Likewise, a century later, Alvares de Almada (1964, 70) speaking also about a Gambian king explained how

'sem embargo, deste Rei ser poderoso, dá obediência a um Farim, chamado Cabo, que é entre eles como imperador, e este a dá a outro que fica sobre ele, e desta maneira vão dando obediência uns aos outros, até irem dar ao Farim Olimança, digo Mandimança, que é imperador dos negros, donde tomaram este nome os Mandingas⁶

Meanwhile, the core of the Mali Empire was in turmoil. In 1433 it had lost Timbuktu to the Tuareg, and some time later Djenné and the Ségou region to the Songhay. As a result, Mali was cut off from some key trans-Saharan trade routes, and became increasingly reliant on Kaabu and its involvement in the Atlantic trade (Ly-Tall 1981,1). Thus, while Mali waned, Kaabu flourished, gaining complete independence in the mid 17th C, and continuing its expansion and consolidation into the 18th C. The economic and political power of the Kaabunke leaders of this period was captured by European travellers and traders: the British explorer Richard Jobson (1968) described in 1623 the Farim Cabo as the great king of the Cantor river, while the Portuguese de Lemos Coelho (1953, 84-8) wrote in 1669 about the many tributary kingdoms to Kaabu. Already in the 18th C, the French missionary Labat recounts how a Kaabu king, by the name of Biram Mansaté, had over 6000 well-armed soldiers in his court, ate only from silver crockery, and sold 600 slaves annually to the Portuguese alone (Labat 1728, 234).

Kaabu's decline

Soon after Biram Mansaté's death, however, the scenario radically changed. The highly profitable slave trade, on which Kaabu's elites had come to depend for economic and political power, gradually declined until its complete stop in the late 19th C. Without the revenues and taxes from the Atlantic trade, the Kaabu elites started to squeeze the population for taxes and resources, leading to a series of

⁴ ' Bour' means 'ruler' in Serer and Wolof

⁵ 'And they said it was the king Bormelli who governed all the lands of the blacks, that all the right bank of the river was under his control, and that they themselves were his subjects'

⁶ 'despite being powerful, this king owes obedience to a Farim, called Cabo, who is among them like an emperor, and this latter is subject to another one above him, and this way they are all subject to another one, until they reach the Farim Olimança or Mandimança, who is the emperor of the blacks, from whom the Mandingas take their name'

revolts. The state no longer able to guarantee their security, merchants started to recruit their own security personnel, and regional and village leaders declared themselves sovereign and independent, while the French and Portuguese expanded their military control of areas and networks (Lopes 1990). Soon, the Kaabu elites started fighting each other for power, leading to a full-blown civil war. The landscape described by European travellers in the area from the 1840s was one of great instability and extreme decentralisation, where even village chiefs had declared themselves independent kings and built fortifications (Bertrand-Bocandé 1851, 415-6).

It is in this climate of unrest that the Fulbe revolt started. The Fulbe, originally nomadic herders from the Fuuta Djallon (Guinea), the Futa Tooro, Bondou (Senegal), and the Macina (Mali), had been arriving in the Upper Casamance since the onset of Kaabu, and gradually sedentarised and entered into patron-client relationships with the Manding elites. At some point, however, these relationships appear to have become exploitative, so when the opportunity arose to rid themselves of Manding oppression, the Fulakunda or Fulbe Firdou (as the Fulbe in Upper Casamance are known) seized it (Sidibe 1972c). Three Fulbe leaders, Molo Egue (aka Alpha Molo), Samba Egue, and Coly Demo, took by force the fortress of the local Manding king, Lékouta Sona, in Hamdallaye (22km NE of Kolda), and once established, sent emissaries to the Fulbe in the Fouta Djallon asking for help in the war against Kaabu (Legrand 1912). The *almamy* (religious and political leaders of the Fuuta Djallon) accepted, marking the beginning of a long war.

Although this war is often portrayed as a straightforward Fulbe against Manding or Muslim versus animist conflict, reality was significantly more complex. While religion and ethnicity no doubt played a part in shaping the factions, it was power struggles that ultimately defined whose camp each actor fought on. Thus, *nyanthio* elites disgruntled with the rule of the then Kaabu ruler Dianke Wali, allied themselves with the Fuuta Djallon, while Fulbe leaders in disagreement with Alpha Molo fought against the invasion (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 6; Niane 1989, 182-3; Girard 1992, 234). Alliances shifted regularly, and the meddling of European powers further complicated the picture. In fact at certain points it became so complicated to identify who was on who's side that some French administrators started to refer to all parties as 'Manding-Fulbe' (Leary 1972, 11).

The first major battle took place in 1849, when the troops of the *almamy*

Omar (see Fig. 3.3) succeeded in destroying the great Kaabu fortress of Berekolon (in current Guinea Bissau), and defeated its ruler, the famous warrior Galen Sonko (Niane 1989, 142,152-3). This battle, and the pillaging that followed, was described by the French commandant at Sedhiou, who in 1853 reported how 'after several fights and the destruction of the large village of Berecolon, the chiefs spread out into various parts of Gabu where they continued to ravage the country during the rainy season' (cited in Leary 1972, 9). More specifically, one part of the army raided Kantora under the orders of Alfa Ibrahima, while the rest besieged Kansala for four months, but was eventually repelled (Sidibe 1972b, 7). In the subsequent five years, the Fuuta troops and their allies conquered all the opposing Kaabu strongholds, until only the capital, Kansala (in current Guinea Bissau) remained.



Fig 3.3 Alamy Omar. Reproduced from Lambert 1861.

The fall of Kansala and its aftermath

The battle of Kansala, which depending on the source took place in 1865 (Leary 1972, 5;Phillot-Almeida 2011, 32), 1866 (Caroço 1948, 121) or 1867 (Sidibe 1972c; Niane 1981, 34; 1989, 64;;Roche 1985, 127) was the final nail in Kaabu's coffin, and is known in Manding oral traditions as *turuban* (lit. 'annihilation') (Sidibe 1972c). The battle ended when seeing no chance of victory, the Kaabu king Dianke

Wali decided to set fire to the remaining gunpowder and blew up his fort, with him and his family inside, an event which is recorded by both oral traditions (Carreira 1947, 30-31; Niane 1989, 193) and historical sources (Roche 1985, 127).

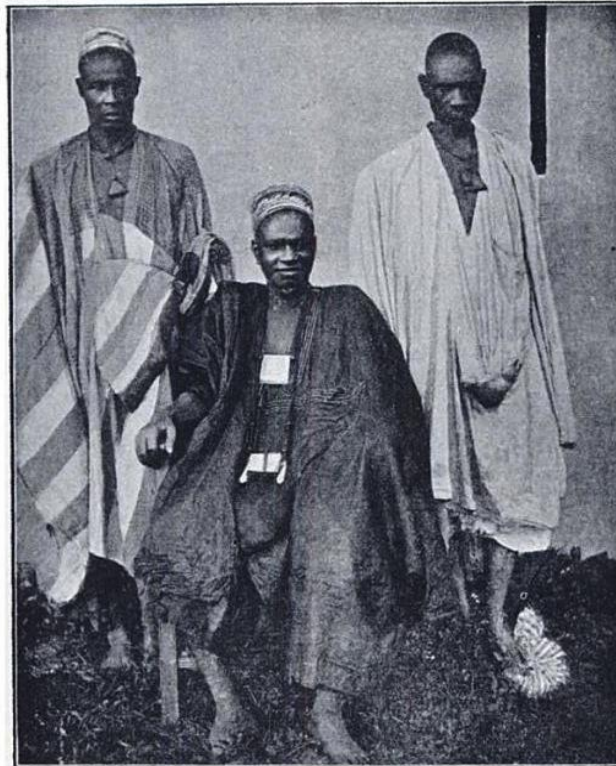
The fall of Kansala was followed by a period of high instability, when a multiplicity of rulers tried to fill the power void left by Kaabu's collapse. Before returning to the Fuuta, the *almamy* left trusted allies at the head of the former Kaabu provinces, but it was not long until the newly appointed leaders started both fighting each other and refusing to pay the yearly taxes to the Fuuta (Sidibe 1972b, 16). From his new fortress in Soulabaly, and thanks to his continual alliance with the *almamy*, the Fulbe leader Alfa Molo succeeded in gradually subduing most of his Manding and Fulbe rivals, establishing himself as ruler of the Upper Casamance, which he named 'Fulaadu' (lit. 'country of the Fula' in Manding) (Girard 1964; Legrand 1912). Nevertheless, peace was always short-lived and up until his death in 1881, Alfa Molo faced continuous threats and invasions, from both Manding and Fulbe adversaries (Sidibe 1984, 9).

Musa Moolo and Fulaadu

Alfa Molo's death was followed by a conflict regarding his succession, for although Alfa had designated his son Musa as heir, the Fulaadu elders chose Alfa Molo's brother, Bakary Demba Balde, as ruler (Sidibe 1984, 9). Bakary moved his capital from Soulabaly to Korop, while Musa retired to the southern Fulaadu, and appeared to cooperate with his uncle, while at the same time signing a treaty with the French placing Fuladu under French protection in exchange for support (Sidibe 1984, 16). After 12 years of unresolved tension, Musa finally attacked Korop and defeated his uncle, although this latter managed to escape (Sidibe 1984, 12).

Having secured his hold over the throne, Musa moved his capital to Hamdallahi (23km north of Kolda) and launched a major program of reforms, reorganising the territory, removing all traditional leaders, and replacing them by trusted allies (Girard 1964). He built an administrative structure that was until then missing, with a territorial hierarchy appointed by himself, and a corps of agents responsible only to him (Quinn 1971). Nevertheless, rebellions in the peripheral provinces required the aid of the French, in exchange for which further concessions were required. In the new treaty, signed in 1895, Musa Molo gave the French the right to perceive half of the taxes collected in the region and to control the legitimacy of his own actions (Leary 1972, 21-2; Bassène 2011, 188-92). The

relationship between Musa and the French authorities gradually deteriorated from then on, leading to Musa's exile to the Gambia in 1903, thus removing all constraints for full French colonial implantation in the Upper Casamance (Legrand 1912).



DEMBO DENSA,
HEAD CHIEF OF
WESTERN BRITISH
FULLADU

MOUSA MOLLAH,
KING OF FULLADU
(or FIRDOU.)

MARANSARA,
ONE OF
DEMBO DENSA'S
PRINCIPAL MEN.

*Fig 3.4 Moussa Molo during his exile in the Gambia. .
Reproduced from Roche 1976, 397*

3.4- Social and political organisation

Reconstructing the social and political organisation of Kaabu and Fulaadu is no easy task, but the challenges are different for each period. In the case of Kaabu, the two key sources are the European descriptions of Gambian political structures and the systems described by oral traditions. Although the former tend to force local realities into Eurocentric moulds, and the latter are idealised and static, their combination provides a relatively balanced view, and the substantial amount of correspondences between the two provides reassurance regarding their historicity. The main problem is in fact of chronological nature, as both types of sources present the six centuries of Kaabu's rule as a uniform period of relatively stable political and social structures (with some notable exceptions, discussed later).

In the case of the shorter-lived Fulaadu, the sources are substantially more abundant and detailed, and changes over time are better documented, but the problem of eurocentrism is ever present. The Fulaadu inherited many of its structures from Kaabu (after all it was largely a shift in power balances rather than in social fabric), but Musa Molo's structure also presented innovations which will be discussed.

Social structure

As all other areas which belonged at some point to the Mali Empire, the Upper Casamance was deeply influenced by Mali's sociopolitical models. The Manding model, in its Upper Casamance adaptation, has as basic social unit the *dembaya* (household or extended family), whose material expression is the compound (*gallé* in Pulaar, *lu* in Manding). A group of compounds makes a village or *saré*, which is governed by a *jarga* (village head). A series of *saré* can form a confederation or *kafu*, controlled by a ruler (*laamdo* in Pulaar, *mansa* in Manding) (Monteil 1929; Levtzion 1980; Niane 1989, 88-9). Each political unit, whether a village or a confederation, has a territory, called *banco* (Manding) or *leidi* (Pulaar). Although very often translated as 'province' in the context of states, both *banco* and *leidi* literally mean 'land' or 'soil', and will here be translated as 'territory' (see discussion in Ch.4). These terms and divisions have proved to be very resilient and adaptable over time, since they appear already in some of the earliest historical sources on the region, and still to a large extent define the sociopolitical configuration of the region nowadays (the president of Senegal would still be defined as a *laamdo*, for instance).

Table 3.1 Main terms defining the social structure in the Upper Casamance and the Manden

| Translation | Upper Casamance | | Manden |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | Pulaar | Manding | |
| compound | <i>gallé</i> | <i>lu</i> | <i>lu</i> |
| family | <i>mbeyguure</i> | <i>diimbaya</i> | <i>dembaya</i> |
| village | <i>saare</i> | <i>saate</i> | <i>dugu</i> |
| village head | <i>jarga</i> | <i>jarga</i> | <i>dugu-tigi</i> |
| land/territory | <i>leydi</i> | <i>banco</i> | <i>banco</i> |
| king | <i>laamdo</i> | <i>mansa</i> | <i>mansa</i> |
| confederation | <i>dentaal</i> | <i>kafu</i> | <i>kafu</i> |
| political power | <i>laamu</i> | <i>mansaya</i> | <i>mansaya</i> |

As for social divisions, the main category beyond the family level is the family name or patronym, (*yetode* in Pulaar, *jamu* in Manding), and above that, the ethnic group (*leñol* in Pulaar, *fiiyo/lafiyo* in Manding). In general terms, Kaabu followed the Mande tripartite social structure of *horon* (free men and women), *nyamakalaw* (artisans), and *jonw* (slaves) (Geysbeek 2002, 37), but it also had its own peculiarities. Most notably, the presence of *nyanthio* and *koring*, an aristocratic class unknown in the rest of the Manding world.

Nyanthio and Koring

The Kaabu aristocracy was divided into two categories: *nyanthio* and *koring*. The *nyanthio*, whose origin myth was described earlier on, were at the top of the social hierarchy. Identified by the patronyms Sané and Mané (very different from the ruling clans of Mali: Keita, Traoré, Condé), *nyanthio* status was transmitted only through the maternal line, so the children of a *nyanthio* man would only be *nyanthio* if the mother was so (otherwise the child would only be *koring*). The *nyanthio* looked down on both agriculture and trade, as war and hunting were the only occupation worth of their status, and it is from their ranks that all Kaabu *mansaba* (emperors, lit. 'great kings') came from (Niane 1981, 2; Mane 1989, 23; Niane 1989, 90). Below the *nyanthio* were the *koring*. *Koring* status could be inherited patrilineally, or from a *nyanthio* father and a non-*nyanthio* mother. They had a greater variety of patronyms than *the nyanthio*, including Sonko, Sagna, Mandjan, Banja, Djassi, as well as Sane and Mane (Sidibe 1972b, 11; Cissoko 1981, 1). They could not become emperors, but were allowed to rule over certain territories; and like the *nyanthio*, they did not farm, and revelled in military exploits and hunting (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 5).

Nyamakala

This category included, as in the rest of the Mande world, a series of endogamous caste specialists, most notably blacksmiths, leatherworkers, and griots. The social position of the *nyamakala* was highly ambiguous. On the one hand, they were highly respected for their skills and powers, and they played a central role in forming and maintaining the social, political, and economic fabric of the Mande world. On the other, they were also regarded as second-class citizens, described by the *hòròn* 'with condescendence, if not outright contempt' (Conrad & Frank 1995, 2). The existence of caste specialists in the Upper Casamance is

clearly a Manding influence, as none of the other local populations had them. They were also present in the royal court: in Kaabu, each king had his own blacksmith, leatherworker, and griot chosen at the time of the coronation (Cissoko 1969, 331).

Slaves

From prisoners of war, to members of other ethnic groups seized during raids, youngsters sold by their families, and condemned criminals, the status of slaves and the reasons that led them to slavery greatly varied (Lopes 1990, 129-30). Slaves were always attached to a family, and very often adopted the family name. They could also rise to positions of significant military and political importance (Lopes 1990, 22). For instance, the head of the slaves was a key member of the royal court, in charge of the king's coronation, of carrying the royal spear, and of guarding the royal fetishes (Cissoko 1969, 331; Lopes 1990, 22).

Horon, Fulbe and other groups

The *horon* were a heterogeneous group which included both non-aristocratic Manding clans, freed slaves, and others, either employed as warriors or farmers (Lopes 1990, 120-2). Additionally, many other groups appear to have lived in Kaabu, but two played a particular important social and economic role: the Dyula and the Fulbe. The *dyula* were merchants, in charge of Kaabu's trade networks. They were granted free circulation across Kaabu, as well as a safe space and substantial freedom to conduct their business, as long as they paid the required tributes (Lopes 1990, 21-2). The Fulbe, on the other hand, initially played a minor role, but as has been discussed were a key factor in Kaabu's demise. Both the Dyula and the Fulbe appear to have mostly (although not only) lived in separate towns, settlements known as *moriconda* (Niane 1989, 92-3).

Social structure during the Fulaadu

As previously discussed, the fall of Kansala did entail a shift in power balances, but not a radical social reconfiguration. In fact, studies after independence in the 1960s showed how descendants of the previously ruling families still controlled the best farming land and maintained a predominant political position (Quinn 1972). The fall of Kaabu did however alter social structures –and in particular the balance of power within them– in two significant ways. First of all, the Fulbe as a whole ceased to be subject to Manding overlords.

Although Manding rulers kept control over certain territories, in most areas they were forced to either accept Fulbe rule or flee. Secondly, a radical shift in power took place within the Fulbe themselves. As the revolt against Kaabu was led largely by *jiyaabe* or *maccuibe* (Fulbe slaves and their descendants) like Alpha Molo, in the aftermath this group reached formerly unknown levels of power, often above those of their former masters, the *rimbe* or *toorodo* (Fulbe nobles). This new situation was not taken lightly by the latter, and was at the root of many of the rebellions faced the Fulaadu leaders (Sidibe 1984, 10; N'Gaide 1999).

Political organisation: territories and *nyanthioya*

Both Kaabu and Fulaadu are best characterised as confederations of diverse territories (for an in-depth discussion of their spatial and territorial configurations, see Ch. 4), linked by fluctuating ties of subordination and collaboration. The fabric holding the different territories together despite this remarkable decentralisation was the *nyanthioya*, and its complex combination of hierarchical, kinship, and class ties. Beyond rotational kingship between the three *nyanthio* territories (Jimara, Pathiana, and Sama), *nyanthioya* tied together elites across the land into a larger political class, a tightly-knit group with common social and political goals (Wright 1980, 18).

Furthermore, although largely elite-centred, the system also included mechanisms for the participation of other social sectors and groups. For instance, all *hòron* of an advanced age had the right to speak during the royal audiences or palavers (Cissoko 1969, 331); and the *nyamakala* also played a central role in court (Cissoko 1969, 334). In Woulli, for instance, the griots were obliged to greet the head leatherworker before they greeted the king every morning (Cissoko 1969, 331). Hyacinthe Hecquard, who travelled across Kaabu in 1850, described how every time a bull was killed, the head belonged to the griot, the kidneys and fillets to the blacksmith, and the skin to the leatherworker (Hecquard 1853, 205). He also noted how among the 'king's people', '*le griot et le forgeron on un rang très élevé et jouissent d'une considération exceptionnelle*'⁷ (Hecquard 1853, 205).

In some aspects, it appears the court protocols followed those of Mali. In 1623, the British traveller Richard Jobson (1623, 48-9) described how in an audience with a Gambian king, the guest:

⁷ 'the griot and the blacksmith have a highly elevated rank and enjoy an exceptional consideration'

'presents himselfe with a great deale of reverence in kneeling on his knee, and comming nearer, layes first his hand upon the bare ground, and the on the toppe of his owne uncovered head, many of them taking up the dust, and laying it upon his bare head, which action he useth twice or thrise';

A protocol which had been described in almost the same exact terms for the imperial court of Mali two centuries earlier by Al-Umari (Levtzion & Hopkins 2000, 266). In other aspects, however, Kaabu's courts greatly differed from Mali's; most notably in the existence of female rulers, which although not frequent, were far from rare. For instance, the ruler list from Kankelefa collected by Phillot-Almeida (1980, 3), includes three female rulers out of a list of ten; and a similar account from Niimi, features twelve queens or *mansa musow* (Cissoko 1969, 330). Although many accounts present the existence of queens as an early trait of Kaabu, a 'left-over' from Bainouk customs, it appears to have been still in force by the 19th C, when Bertrand-Bocandé (1849, 267) noted that '*les femmes peuvent régner et jouissent d'une grande autorité*'⁸.

3.5 Economy and Trade

Most of the information we have about the economy of Kaabu and Fulaadu comes from European sources, and is consequently largely concerned with long-distance trade. From the 15th C onwards, the Portuguese, and later on the Dutch, English, and French set up trading entrepôts along the main rivers (Gambia, Casamance, Bissao, Geba). They bought slaves, bees wax, leather, ivory and gold (Cissoko 1972, 10), in exchange for which they traded a variety of manufactured products and materials, including wine, horses, fabrics, beads, kola nuts, copper, and other metals (Alvares de Almada 1984, 47). Two elements gradually rose in importance until they came to define the nature of the trade: firearms and slaves. In the 17th C, André Brue described how the king of Kaabu (then Biram Mansaté) sold 600 slaves to the Portuguese every year (Labat 1728, 234), and the Spanish missionary Mateo de Anguiano described the Kaabu *mansa* as the largest slave trader of the Upper Guinean Coast (Rodney 1970, 110).

Although most accounts of the Atlantic trade focus on the European trading ports, as this is where most of the information comes from, these were just the tip of a very large and complex set of networks over which Europeans had no control beyond supply and demand. Local elites actively blocked the access of European

⁸ 'women can reign, and enjoy a great authority'

traders to the interior and left the organisation of trade to a network of trading families generally known as *Dyula* (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 5-6; Niane 1989, 94-5). The trading routes towards the interior fell largely on Kaabu's territory, and it was the *mansaba's* duty to guarantee their safety and stability. In the words of the 17th C explorer Brue, the ruler of Kaabu

*'avoit établi une telle police dans ses États, & tout y étoit si bien réglé, que les marchands pouvoient hardiment laisser leurs marchandises dans les grands chemins sans craindre que personne y touchât'*⁹ (Labat 1738, 233).

Trade was subject to a complex system of restrictions and authorisations, managed by the coastal and riverine *mansa*. These latter had the obligation to guarantee the safety of the markets and the merchants, but also had the right to fix the official prices of certain products, and to limit the purchase of others (such as horses, guns, or certain types of clothing) to themselves (Lopes 1990, 158-9). Furthermore, all traders had to pay taxes to the representatives of the *mansaba*, and in some territories (e.g. Niimi), if merchants died their property belonged to the local ruler (Quinn 1972, 5). European traders were therefore well acquainted with the *mansaba's* tax collectors, and wrote regularly about them, as shown by Manuel Alvares' 1616 complaint about how the *mansaba's* men were never satisfied and insisted on taxing everything (cited in Lopes 1990, 157).

Taxes were thus levied on trade commodities, but also on farm produce. The *mansaba* collected annual tribute from the different power centres in the subordinate territories, which in turn levied taxes on their surrounding villages, all of which were paid in kind (Sidibe 1972, 13; Phillot-Almeida 1980, 3-4). This pyramid of tax collection did not go unnoticed by European travellers, who often used it to establish which rulers and territories were subordinate to whom (e.g. Donelha 1977, 106).

Although historical references to agriculture and farming are scarce, they are sufficient to reflect their key importance for Kaabu and Fulaadu's structure. The Upper Casamance's lands, were, as they are now, fertile and rich, with abundant game, and many rivers and streams for fishing (Niane 1989, 98-9; Lopes 1990, 149). The Dominican Labat described in the early 18th C how:

⁹ 'had established such a police in his States, and everything was so well regulated, that merchants could casually leave their merchandises in the main roads without fearing that anybody would touch them'

'les Mandingues généralement parlant sont laborieux, leurs terres sont bien cultivées, on trouve chez eux en abondance tout ce qui est nécessaire à la vie, les boeufs, les moutons, les cabris, les volailles de toutes espèces'¹⁰ (Labat 1728, 356).

Their lands were also rich in corn, rice, and legumes (Lopes 1990, 149), and Sidibe (1972,13) claims cotton was in fact Kaabu's main currency. The importance of agriculture is also reflected in oral traditions, according to which the *mansaba* divined at the beginning of the rains and predicted the nature of the coming season, after which he would retreat and not reappear in public until the harvest (Cissoko 1969, 332; Sidibe 1972b, 15; Niane 1989, 69).

3.6 Clothing and adornment

Information about clothing and adornment comes primarily from two sources: lists of traded items by European merchants and direct descriptions by visitors to the area, both of which stress the economic and social importance of cotton clothes, beads, and jewellery. In the 16th C, Pereira (1506, 108) observed how the people in the Gambia wore blue cotton shirts and breeches. A century later, Moore (1738, 35) noted how the Fulbe only wore cotton clothes which they made themselves. Beads were worn in necklaces and bracelets by both men and women, as well as sown into clothes, hats, and furniture (Hecquard 1853, 195; Labat 1728b, 242). The popularity of different types of beads varied across time and populations, and it is often reported that the Fulbe particularly liked large white and yellow beads, known to traders as 'Fula beads' (Moore 1739, 35). Metal jewellery was also very common, ranging from copper and brass bracelets to gold earrings, iron bracelets, and silver rings (Dapper 1668, 240; Moore 1738, 86; 110; Anon. 1824; Almada 1984, 47).

If clothes were used as markers of status, it was not in a way that the Europeans could easily identify. For instance, Moore (1739, 110) described how slaves were so well dressed

'that it is sometimes a very hard matter to know the slaves from their masters or mistresses ; they very often being better cloathed, especially the females, who have sometimes coral, amber, and silver about their hands and wrists, to the value of twenty or thirty pounds sterling'.

¹⁰ 'The Manding generally speaking are hard-working, their lands are well cultivated, they have in abundance everything which is necessary for life, cattle, sheep, goats, poultry of all sorts'



Fig. 3.5 Fulbe woman from Kantora, wearing red and yellow beads. Reproduced from Raffennel 1846.

In fact, the attire of Gambian kings was not very different to that of their subordinates, consisting of:

'a garment like a surplice, which comes no lower than the knees, a pair of breeches of the same sort of cloth, about seven yards wide, gather'd round the middle ; he wears no stockings, but always a pair of slippers (except when he rides), a small white cotton-cap, and commonly a pair of gold earrings. His people, as well as himself, wear always white cloths and white caps ; and as they are exceedingly black, it makes them look very well' (Moore 1738, 85-6).

Nevertheless, there was one marker of royalty European observers did notice: the royal red cap or *nafo*. Similar to a phrygian cap, the *nafo* was the equivalent of a crown, sometimes decorated with amulets or gazelle horns (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849, 268). The *nafo* is also often mentioned in oral traditions, where 'receiving the cap' is a common expression for becoming king (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849, 268; Niane 1989, 68). Although not as commonly mentioned as the *nafo*, it appears royal insignia included in some cases also a sceptre, as was the case in the Malian imperial court (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849, 269; Cissé & Kamissoko

1998). It has been suggested that these sceptres might correspond to the objects known as *sono* (Niane 1989, 107-8). First documented by Teixeira da Mota (1960) in Guinea Bissau, the *sono* (see Fig.3.6) are iron staffs up to 1,40m long, square in cross-section, with bronze off-shoots curving upwards, topped in most cases by a man on horseback, sometimes accompanied by other figures (Bassani 1979; Niane 1989, 107-8). Some of the documented examples were found by farmers while tilling, others are of unknown origin, but they all appear to come from sites strongly associated with Kaabu, such as Kankelefa or Sumacunda (Teixeira da Mota 1960). Nevertheless, in the absence of archaeologically recovered examples or further historical information, the dates, connection, and historical significance of the *sono*, as well as their connection to Kaabu, remains unclear.



Fig. 3.6 Sono from Guinea Bissau. Adapted from Bassani 1979.

3.7 Architecture

In terms of building techniques, there is remarkable consistence in the European descriptions of local architecture from the 16th to the 19th C, as they all describe a combination of round, wattle-and-daub and entirely organic constructions with thatched roofs. For instance, writing in 1594, Alvares de Almada said 'some of the houses are of clay and wattle, round in shape, and covered with straw or palm-thatch ; others are of straw, not clay, but are built in the same round shape' (Alvares de Almada 1594, 43). A century later, Richard Jobson (1623, 43) wrote:

'some of the houses within their walles, likewise are made of the same Reedes, but the better sort do build the walles of their houses, of loame, (...) the forme of their houses, whether it be loame or Reed, is alwayes round, and the round roofes made lowe, ever covered with reedes, and tyed fast to rafters, that they may be able to abide, and lie fast, in the outragious windes and gusts, that come in the times of raine'.

In the 19th C, Hyacinthe Hecquard confirmed these patterns applied also to the interior, as he noted how in Kankelafa (one of Kaabu's main strongholds, now in Guinea-Bissau) '*les cases sont en terre, couvertes en chaume et sans autre ouverture qu'une porte surmontée d'une espèce d'auvent en paille*'¹¹. He also confirmed the houses throughout the region were round (Hecquard 1853, 90-91), and gave one of the few known descriptions of an ordinary hut's interior, whose only furniture consisted of:

*'un lit formé de six morceaux de bois fichés en terre, recouverts d'une espèce de grosse natte en roseaux et d'une autre de plus fine en paille; à quelques calebasses pour recevoir les aliments, et à deux ou trois jarres en terre crue, construites en même temps que la case, inhérentes au sol et dans lesquelles se conservent les provision'*¹²

As for the shape, form, and structure of the villages, Moore (1738, 109) indicates that the Manding built their houses very close together, whereas the Fulbe left space between them. This last observation is supported by Moore's 18th C depiction of a Fulbe settlement (see Fig.3.7) and by Hecquard's (1853, 185) description of a *fulakunda* a century later:

'Cette foulacounda, village de Peulhs pasteurs, comme toutes celles du

¹¹ 'the houses are made of earth, covered with thatch, and with no openings other than a door covered by a sort of canopy in straw'

¹² 'a bed made of six pieces of wood sunk into the floor, covered by a sort of thick reed mat and a thinner straw one; there are several calabashes for food, and two or three unbaked earthen pots, built at the same time as the house, built into the floor, and in which provisions are stored'.

Toumané, es fort propre. Elle se compose d'une rue très large et sur laquelle ouvrent les cases, qui ont un alignement parfait. Derrière cette grande rue, il s'en trouve de plus petites, mais dont les cases en paille tressée sont rangées de manière à laisser entre elles un espace assez large pour que le feu ne puisse pas se communiquer de l'une à l'autre. Au milieu de la grande rue sont des meules d'épis de petit mil. Le gros mil, rangé par paquets, est, ainsi que le riz, déposé dans des greniers en paille, élevés sur de forts piquets, à deux pieds du sol, pour les préserver de l'humidité et des insectes; ces greniers son placés derrière les cases, à côté de hangars destinés aux vaches laitières qui ne vont paître qu'aux environs du village¹³

Also conforming to Moore's observation, but regarding the Manding, Berenguer-Féraud (1879, 203), described the interior of a Manding village as:

'composé de groupes de cases et de cours entourées de palissades, tout cela sans ordre, de sorte que les rues sont non-seulement tortueuses, mais si étroites qu'il faut avoir une grande habitude de la localité pour s'y reconnaître¹⁴

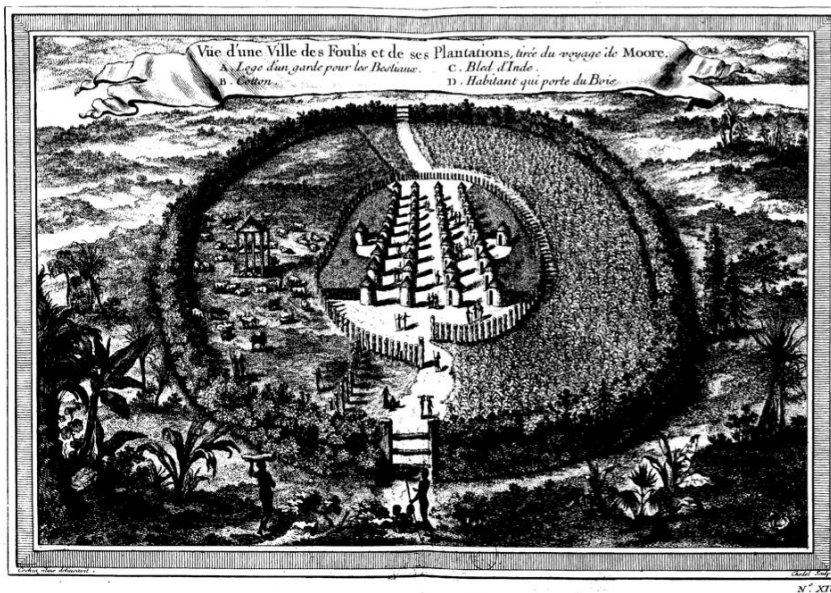


Fig. 3.7 Fulbe village. Reproduced from Prevost 1759, 514.

¹³ 'This foulacounda, village of Peul herders, like all of those in Toumana, is very neat. It consists of a very broad street, onto which the houses open, and which have a perfect alignment. Behind this large street, there are smaller ones, but in which the thatch houses are placed so to leave between them a space large enough to prevent fire spreading from one to the next. In the middle of the large street are the grain grindstones for pearl millet. Sorghum, grouped in packages is, as rice, left in the thatch granaries, raised over strong stakes two feet from the ground, so to protect them from dampness and insects; these granaries are placed behind the houses, next to the sheds for the dairy cows that only graze near the village'

¹⁴ 'Consisting of groups of houses and courts surrounded by palisades, all without any order, so the streets are not just winding, but also so narrow that it is necessary to be accustomed to the locality to find one's way'

The aspect on which most historical descriptions focus on, however, is not the internal structure of towns and villages, but their enclosures and fortifications. Contrasting with the homogeneity in house forms, enclosures ranged from mere hedges to 12m high fortifications. Locally, these are referred to as *tata* (pl. *tataji*) and *sansan*, terms generally translated as forts/fortresses and stockades/palisades, respectively (Galloway 1980, 32). Nevertheless, I consider 'enclosure' to be a more appropriate translation of *sansan*, as *tataji* can also be referred to as *kelo sansan* (war enclosure) (Niane 1989, 72). This explains the confusion existing in historical written sources, were the two terms are often used interchangeably.

In terms of historical references to these structures, on the simpler end of the scale, Richard Jobson (1623,43) described enclosures made 'of reede, platted and made up together, some sixe foot in height, circling and going round their towne, with doores of the same, in the night time to be orderly shut'. A century later, Francis Moore visited a Gambian settlement which was 'only surrounded with a cane cirk, much like our English hurdles, fastened up with a great number of sticks' (Moore 1738, 114). Next to it, however, was another town, 'fortified with a vast number of ciboa trees, fixed in the ground, and clay stuffed in between, to strengthen it, so that it is little inferior to a brick wall', where the inhabitants of the first enclosure took refuge in times of war (Moore 1738, 114-5).

Insecurity appears, unsurprisingly, to have been a key factor defining both enclosures and site locations. For instance, Berenguer Féraud (1879, 203) notes how:

*'les Mandingues ont soin en général d'entourer leurs villages d'une palissade qui s'appelle tata et qui est plus ou moins solide, plus ou moins compliquée. Dans les pays du bas de la côte, les villages mandingues sont généralement adossés à un bois, disposition qui a pour but de permettre aux femmes et aux enfants de s'échapper pour se mettre en sûreté en cas d'attaque; le front découvert est défendu par une palissade épaisse, quelquefois double, pour résister davantage aux agressions'*¹⁵.

The word *tata*, which Berenguer Féraud uses to refer to any sort of enclosure, is in the Upper Casamance restricted exclusively to fortresses, i.e. large fortifications associated with a territory and a ruler, and it is in this sense that the

¹⁵ 'The Manding in general have the care sure to surround their villages with a palisade, more or less solid, more or less complex. In the country south of the coast, the Manding villages are generally next to a forest, measure intended to allow women and children to escape and find refuge; the open front is defended by a thick palisade, sometimes double, to resist invasions for longer'

term is used here. The right to build an enclosure or a *tata*, was, as shall be discussed in Ch.4, a tightly regulated matter, which carried important political implications.

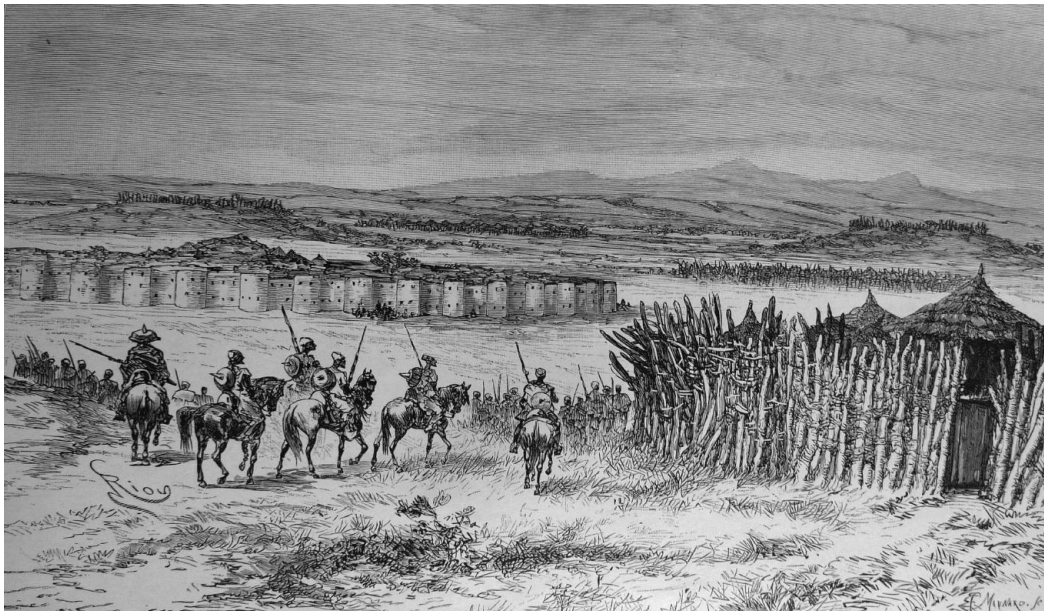


Fig. 3.8 Two types of enclosure. Zig-zag tata and palisade in southern Mali. Reproduced from Binger 1892.

These fortresses or *tata* appear both in oral traditions and European accounts, as they greatly impressed traders and explorers throughout the centuries. Already in the 16th C, Alvares de Almada (1964, 45) described '*fortalezas de guerra (...) com suas guaritas, baluartes, praças de armas, nas quais pelejam e frecham*'¹⁶ on the Gambia. A century later, Richard Jobson (1623, 43-4) noted, referring to Gambian king's town:

'It is seated upon the Rivers side, and inclosed round, neare to the houses, with hurdles, such as our shepeards use, but they are above ten foot high, and fastened to strong and able poles, the toppes whereof remaine above the hurdle; on the inside in diners places, they have rooms, and buildings, made up like turrets, from whence they within may shoot their arrowes, and throw their darts over the wall, against their approaching enemies; on the outside likewise, round the wall, they have cast a ditch or trench, of a great breadth, & beyond that againe a pretty distance, the whole Towne is circled with posts and peces of trees, set close and fast into the ground, some five foot high, so thicke, that except in stiles, or places made of purpose, a single man cannot get through, and in the like manner, a small distance off againe, the like

¹⁶ 'war fortresses (...) with their watchtowers, ramparts, courts, from which they fight and shoot'

defence, and this is as they do signifie unto us, to keepe off the force of horse, to which purpose it seemes to be very strong and avaiable ; considering what armes and weapons they have in use, which in this place is necessary to be knowne'

In the 19th C, when Europeans finally travelled inland into Kaabu's territory, we finally get descriptions of some of Kaabu's core strongholds, like the town of Kankelafa, in current Guinea-Bissau. According to Hyacinthe Hécquard (1853, 204):

*'l'habitation du roi, située sur une hauteur qui domine le pays et au pied de laquelle se trouve un marais plein d'eau durant les pluies, est entourée d'un double tata carré de 12 mètres de hauteur su plus d'un mètre d'épaisseur. Cette fortification est construite d'une manière à former une suite d'angles aigus dont les murs sont garnis de meurtrières et flanqués par quatre tourelles à deux étages'*¹⁷

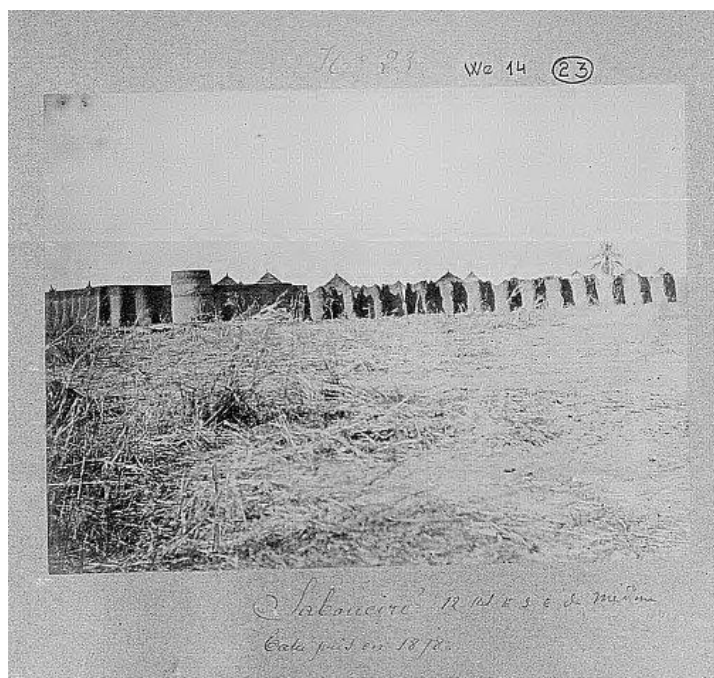


Fig. 3.9 Zig-zag tata in southern Mali. Photo taken by the Mission Galieni in 1878. Source: BnF

Surprised by the zig-zagging walls, Hecquard asked about the reasons behind this shape, and the local rulers replied that it was the only way a mud wall of that height and length could be strong enough (Hecquard 1853, 205).

According to Hecquard, although Kankelafa at this point had 2000-3000

¹⁷ the king's lodgings, located at a height dominating the landscape, and at the foot of which there is a pool which is full during the rains, are surrounded by a double square tata, 12m in height and over a meter thick. This fortification is built forming a series of acute angles whose walls are furnished with loopholes and flanked by four two-storey turrets'

inhabitants, only the 'king's people' (around a hundred houses or huts) lived inside the *tata*; it was only in times of war that the rest of the population took refuge there as well (Hecquard 1853, 188, 204-5). Oral traditions have also kept some information regarding Kansala's structure: according to the description recorded by D.T Niane (1989, 64), the town included a series of small forts built by the first kings, called *moun-gniningo* (lit. 'what are you doing here'), each with a tower, which were the king's private quarters. To the east of the palace there was a large square, with a tree known as *tabadjou*, which separated the palace from the *nyanthio* princesses area, and where the young princes would meet to chat and drink. Each enclosure was dominated by watch towers.

3.8 Military power and warfare

For most of its history, the weapons of the Kaabunké armies were bows, arrows, and spears. A detailed description of the weapons used in the region in the 16th C is given by the Portuguese Alvares de Almada (1964, 132) who observed how

*'as armas dos Manes e Mandimanças são uns arcos pequenos e as frechas pequenas; fazem-nas desta maneira, porque dizem que sendo as suas frechas pequenas e os arcos dos imigos grandes, ficam as suas armas não servindo aos imigos, porque as não podem sacudir nem lançar com força, e eles nos seus arcos se servem das dos imigos, por serem compridas; as adargas que trazem são de verga de pau e rota muito bem tecida e forte, e tamanhas que ficam cobrindo a um homem todo. As espadas curtas e faca em lugar de adarga, e outra atada no bucho do braço esquerdo; azagaias de uns ferros compridos e os contos da mesma maneira, e ficam ferindode ambas as partes; nas geurras trazem dous coldres, que são com muitas frechas'*¹⁸.

Likewise, in the 17th C, the British explorer Richard Jobson (1623, 45) observed how warriors carried:

'a spear in their hands, which they call *affegie*, made of reed and some six foot long, with an iron head, barbed, similar to a javeline. Also a sword of about two feet long, with an open handle, made of iron. The higher classes also carry a bow in their hands, with a case in their back, holding 24 very small arrows (made of a reed about the size of a swans quill, two feet long, with a barbed iron head, poisoned'.

¹⁸ 'the weapons of the Manes and Mandimanças are small bows and arrows; they make them in this way because they say that being their arrows small and the bows of their enemies large, their weapons are not useful to their enemies, as they cannot shake or shoot with strength, while their bows can use their enemies' longer ones; their shields are made of twigs and reeds, very well woven and strong, and large enough to completely cover a man. They carry short swords and a knife next to the shield, and another one tied to the left arm; long iron assegais and with long iron butts which wound on both ends; in war they carry quivers, which contain many arrows'

This appears to have still been the case in the 18th C as confirmed by Moore's (1738, 121) observations. Yet, we know thanks to the testimony of Andre Brue that by the 17th C, the Kaabu *mansaba* was already acquiring muskets, pistols, and rifles from the Portuguese, as were other minor rulers (Labat 1728b, 234). Nevertheless, the persistence of descriptions of warriors armed with bows, arrows, and spears would suggest the use of firearms in warfare might have been limited up until the 19th C. From then on both historical descriptions and depictions, and oral traditions confirm guns played a fundamental role in battle. According to a tradition collected by Bakary Sidibe (1980a), the *mansaba* had a cavalry formed by *nyanthio* on white horses carrying sabres and long guns called *lonko*, and *koring* on black horses who carried sabres and short guns called *brentao*.

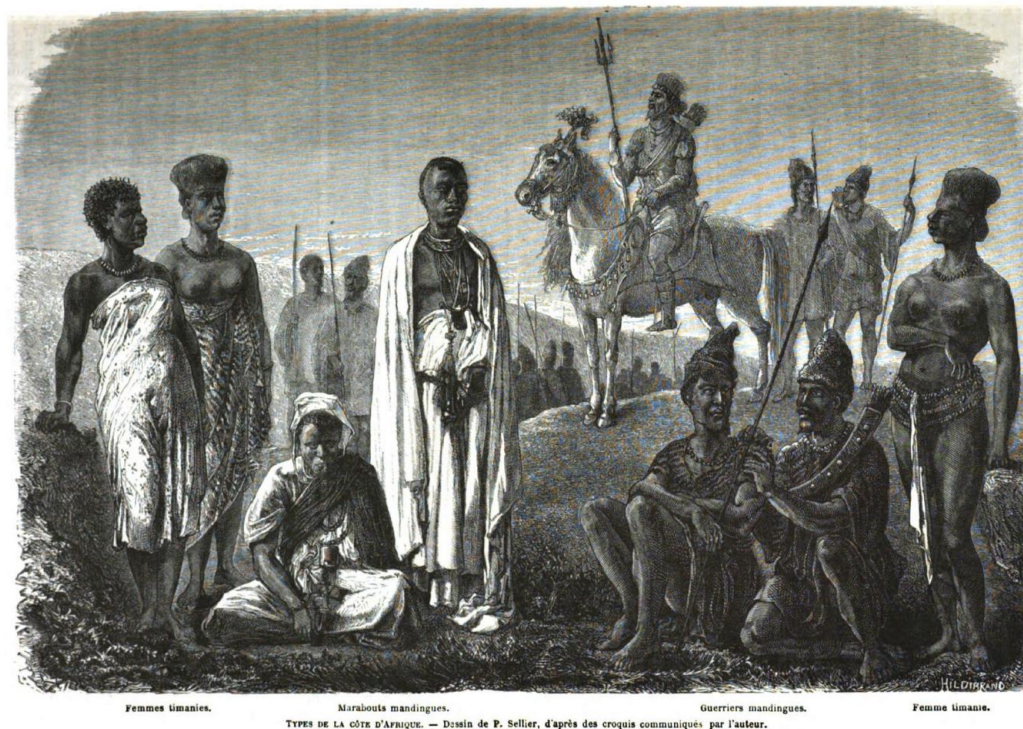


Fig 3.10 Manding warriors and other characters. Reproduced from De Langle 1872

As for the nature of armies and warfare, the 17th C Kaabu mansaba Biram Mansaté:

*'entretenoit toujours six à sept mille soldats bien armez & bien aguerris, par le moien desquels il tenoit tous les voisins en bride, se faisoit paier regulierement les tribus, & faisoit châtier par des executions militaires ceux qui refusoient de payer, ou se les faisoit demander deux fois'*¹⁹

¹⁹ 'kept always an army of six to seven thousand soldiers, all well armed and fierce,

(Labat 1728b, 233-4).

Regardless of the accuracy of Labat's number, the *mansaba*'s permanent army appears to have been relatively small, since any substantial operation required summoning those of vassal rulers and governors (Cissoko 1969, 336-7). Furthermore, actual battles were a rare occurrence. As Hécquard (1853, 187) observed:

'Il est rare que ces chefs se fassent la guerre. S'il survient entre eux quelques contestations, ils s'en rapportent à l'arbitrage des plus anciens du pays. Si un Etat étranger les attaque, ils unissent leurs forces, qui deviennent alors assez considerables pour qu'ils soient respectés de tous leurs voisins' ²⁰.

3.9 Religion

Dyalan

Although often translated as 'fetish', 'oracle', or 'genie', *dyalan* are sacred and powerful places; generally trees, caves or standing stones, connected to a *djinn* or spirit (Girard 1992, 96). They were consulted for advice in times of uncertainty, before battles, and whenever an explanation was required or protection needed. Although the *dyalan* of the Upper Casamance are no longer in use (or at least nobody admits using them), rites associated with *dyalan* were performed up until the 1980s (1992, 193; see. Fig. 3.11). Their origin is more difficult to establish: *dyalan* play a key role in both the Tiramakan story and the *nyanthio* origin myth, as well as in most subsequent traditions; yet they are never mentioned by European sources²¹. This by no means disproves an early origin, since being something so sacred and powerful, it would have probably been kept hidden from foreigners, but it does complicate their dating. A possible solution to the dating issue could be provided by archaeology, as according to Girard (1995, 213-4) in some cases part of the ritual in *dyalan* consisted of taking the sacrifices and libations into the cave (when present), and he himself observed the interior of these caves contained large amounts of sherds and glass (Girard 1995, 20), which could be dated.

through which he controlled all his neighbours, obtained regular tributes, and punished by military execution those who refused to pay, or had to be asked twice'

²⁰ 'It is strange for these chiefs to make war. If problems arise between them, they take them to the elders of the land for arbitration. If a foreign state attacks them, they unite their forces, which then become considerable enough to command respect by all their neighbours, into whose disputes they never get involved'

²¹ Girard (1992, 100) claims early Portuguese sailors to the Cantor region mention the town of Jalan Coo in their writings, but he does not specify the source and I have not been able to find any such reference.

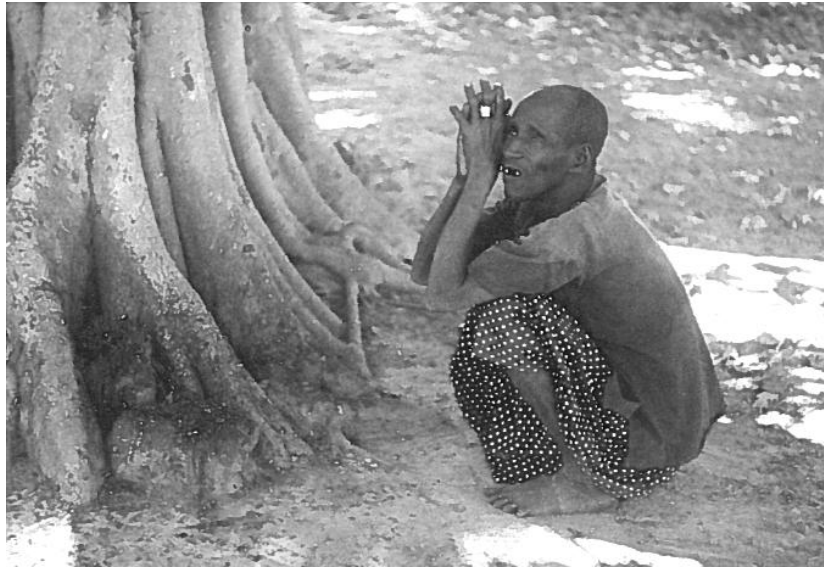


Fig. 3.11 *Dyalan* still in use in the 1980s, note stone with traces of sacrifices to the left. Reproduced from Girard 1992.

In the meantime, all we can say is that *dyalan* cults do not appear to be recent. According to Niane (1989, 104-5), they were in fact Kaabu's state religion until its demise. The oldest *dyalan* is reportedly that of *Soufa Douta* in Mampatim (Niane 1989, 104-5), but dozens of others exist across the Upper Casamance and the ancient territory of Kaabu. By far the most famous *dyalan* is the Tamba Dibi.

Although authors speak of it as a single occurrence, the locations given for it range from Kansala (Fall 1981, 3; Mane 1989, 24; Niane 1989, 105), to Kaataba (Niane 1989, 105), Kankelefa (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 4-5), and Payoungou (cf Ch.6), suggesting that either it moved, or several contemporaneous *dyalan* with the same name existed. Both of these options are likely, as oral traditions establish that in order to create a new *dyalan* it is necessary to transfer some of the power from an older one (Girard 1992, 101). This is a clear example of what has been described elsewhere as 'shrine franchising' (Insoll 2006), and could explain the multiplicity of *dyalan* with the same name.

Other documented *dyalan*, include the *Dyalan Bantan* in Payoungou, a tortoise in Soumacounda, a magic spear in Wouli, the *Fatuma dyalan* in Kankelefa, and another one at Bonje (Galloway 1974, Phillot-Almeida 1980, 4; Niane 1989, 105). The *dyalan* cult is also closely connected to the Kaabu royalty, as no *mansaba* could take the throne without being first endorsed by the relevant *dyalan* (Cissoko 1989, 332; Girard 1992, 234-35).

Islam

Although the precise date of arrival of Islam to the Senegambia is unclear, it certainly predated that of Portuguese explorers, as in 1506, one of them noted how '*a gente desta terra toda fala a língua dos Mandingas e são macometas que gauradam a lei ou seita de Mafoma*'²². He immediately pointed out, however, that they also drank alcohol copiously (Pachecho Pereira 1954, 108). This was still the case in the 18th C, since after a visit to the court of the Gambian kingdom of Barsally, Moore (1738, 85) described how 'the King and all his attendance profess the *Mahometan* religion, notwithstanding they drink so much strong liquors'. Although there is consensus in all sources regarding alcohol consumption (other examples can be found in Alvares de Almada 1984, 43 or Mollien 1820, 322), there are discrepancies in relation to the degree of Islamic conversion, with authors like Mollien (1820, 322), arguing that both Manding and Fulbe were 'pagans'.

A more nuanced, if also later, view is provided by Berenguer-Féraud (1870, 207), who described how despite being 'officially' Muslim, many Manding had '*une religion assez difficilement compréhensible, mais cependant dans laquelle le polythéisme et la croyance aux sorciers jouent un grand rôle*'²³. The current elders living in the region also confirm strict conversion is in fact a fairly recent affair, as the grandparents of the current elders still prayed to *dyalan* and drank wine. Consequently, although present in the region for centuries, Islam was until very recently conceived as only one among the several supernatural sources of power and prestige rulers and ordinary people could make use of, part of a diverse and accommodating set of beliefs. For example, it was deemed prestigious for rulers to keep Islamic scholars and *marabouts* at court, but that did in no way exclude the use of *dyalan*. On the contrary, using both guaranteed a more reliable result, and there are in fact reports of *dyalan* spirits converting to Islam (Phillot-Almeida 1980, 4).

²² 'the people from this land speak the language of the Manding and are mahometans that keep the law of Mahoma's sect'

²³ 'a religion not easily understandable, in which polytheism and the belief in sorcerers play a great role'

3.10 Ethnic interactions and negotiations

The distinction between Manding, Fulbe, and to a lesser extent other ethnic groups, is present in European texts since the 16th C. The earliest sources focus largely on the Manding (e.g. Pereira 1954; Alvares de Almada 1964), but from the 17th C onwards the descriptions of the differences between Manding and Fulbe become common. Richard Jobson, for instance, has a whole section entitled 'the wandering Fulbe' (1623, 3) where he describes their physique (handsome and with lighter skin), profession (herders), and subjection to the Manding. As for these latter, Jobson says they are considered the 'lords and commanders of this country, and professe themselves the naturall inhabitants' (Jobson 1623, 37). A century later, Moore (1738, 32-3), described the *Pholeys*, as 'the greatest planters in the country, tho' they are strangers in it', and as those who the Manding entrust their cattle to. Bertrand-Bocandé (1849b, 58), on the other hand, noted how the power of a Manding ruler was determined by the number of '*Fouls*' in his territory, as it was to these latter that he owed his force, power, wealth, and consideration.

Nevertheless, although their presence in early texts is significant, it is important not to get carried away by these ethonyms and the static reified notions of identity they imply, since as discussed in Chapter 2, both 'Manding', 'Fulbe' are not fixed biological realities, but social constructions. This is not to say they are not 'real'; on the contrary, as lived social realities, these classifications have deeply shaped (and been shaped by) the history of the Upper Casamance, but in a far more complex, nuanced, and fluid way that European sources would suggest.

Firstly, because contrary to what Jobson's description implies, biology and ancestry played a very minor role in their configuration. Speaking of 19th C Niumi (a 'Manding' kingdom in the Gambia), Wright (1987, 296) observed how 'the ethnic background of most persons living in the western Mandinka region was mixed to a high degree. In fact, determination of one's ethnicity- that is, the way a person identified himself- seems to have been more a matter of cultural lifestyle than of ancestry or even parentage'. Likewise, as Bertrand-Bocandé (1851, 416) pointed out '*tous les peuples en contact avec les Mandingues adoptent peu à peu les usages et la langue de ces derniers, et finissent par se confondre avec eux*'²⁴. It is important, however, to understand that this process of 'Mandingisation' (Fall 1981, 4) which undeniably took place across the Mali Empire, cannot be understood as a

²⁴ 'All the peoples in contact with the Manding gradually adopt their customs and language, and end up blending into them'

one-way passive adoption. Like any other such phenomenon (for similar debates on Romanisation see Mattingly 2004), it is a process of active negotiation, undoubtedly defined by marked power imbalances, but in which all the parts shape the outcome. Proof of this negotiation is the unique system of *nyanthioya*, characteristic of many Senegambian polities, but not found elsewhere in the Mali Empire.

Finally, it is necessary not to overemphasise ethnicity at the expense of other forms of identity which might be more meaningful. For example, as previously mentioned, oral traditions suggest that kinship rather than ethnicity was often the key factor in power negotiations, especially at the elite level (Wright 1987, 297). Not all *nyanthio* were Manding and not all Manding were *nyanthio*; the great *nyanthio* warrior Kelefa Sane, for instance, whose epic epitomises the last days of *nyanthioya* was a Diola (Wright 1987, 288-90).

3.11 Overview

In this chapter, I have reviewed the information available for the history of the Upper Casamance prior to this project. I started with a description of the current human landscapes and environment, followed by a review of the information available by period and by theme. From this discussion, it has become clear that the nature, level of detail, and reliability of the information greatly varies depending on the period and aspect covered. Thus, epic traditions largely focus on great warriors and by doing so provide information about historical sequences of events and the political and social structures at the time; while European sources concentrate on trade patterns and chains of command, but also provide details about ordinary life in some of Kaabu's states.

In terms of the region's evolution over time, both the amount of information and the diversity of the sources available gradually decrease as we go further back in time. Nevertheless, by combining the different sources, and acknowledging their biases and limitations, it has been possible to reconstruct the main events that have shaped the Upper Casamance's history over the last millennium. This review, however, is still limited by the very nature of the sources, and in particular by the lack of archaeological data. As was discussed in Ch. 1, while very informative, both griotic epics and European accounts describe only certain aspects of the region's past, and do so from particular perspectives and worldviews, and with specific agendas. While not unbiased (see discussion in Ch. 6), an archaeological perspective can serve to address some of these limitations, providing independent

confirmation (or disproving) claims from other sources (regarding for instance the antiquity of sites). Most importantly, it can complement and build on the existing elite- and story-centric framework thanks to its focus on the materiality of past lives, producing a much more complex, robust, and plural understanding of historical landscapes. It is on this endeavour that the remainder of this thesis will focus.

CHAPTER 4 : SPACE, MOBILITY, AND LANDSCAPES OF POWER IN THE UPPER CASAMANCE HISTORY

In the previous chapters, I have described the ideas and conceptual and factual frameworks on which my work is based. In the chapters that follow, I explore how the data collected as part of this project build on them and contribute to answer the research questions posed in the introduction. Given the overlapping and complementary nature of the different data sources, I have chosen to order the information primarily by scale, rather than source: starting with general principles of regional organisation, moving to how specific sites fit within them, then addressing patterns of intra-site variability, and eventually coming onto individual artefacts and their roles.

Thus, in this chapter I explore the different principles and concepts that have structured the Upper Casamance's landscapes historically, with a specific focus on the articulation of power structures (both political and spiritual), and on the role played by settlement mobility in different periods. This analysis draws on a variety of data, including historical European sources, griotic epics, and ethnographic observations, as well as oral traditions from village elders recorded during fieldwork. After briefly discussing the general limitations that the proposed analysis entails, I proceed to reconstruct the evolution of the Upper Casamance landscapes, starting from the most recent period, and gradually tracing further back into the past. The point of this retrospective gaze is to avoid uncritical projections of the recent into the distant past, by moving from the best known and historical into the less-documented and mythical, while stating at each stage what the evidence is for continuity or lack thereof. Having gone through this process, I finish by reversing the analysis and looking at the different periods chronologically, in order to assess how notions, patterns, and practices have survived, disappeared, and adapted over time.

4.1 Oral traditions: methods and limitations

A total of 32 interviews were conducted with elders in 25 different villages. The literature on this region being rather limited, our candidate list of villages known to have been historically important was initially very short, but it grew exponentially as soon as we started the interviews. Two criteria were used to select the villages where we conducted interviews: first, known historical importance,

either from oral traditions or written records; secondly, known presence of an archaeological site. Our team was composed by Thierry Baldé, an MA student from Dakar University, and native of Kolda, who acted as an interpreter, and myself. Occasionally, our hosts from Mampatim Maoundé, or elders from previously visited villages would come along to introduce us.

The protocol was always the same: on arrival at each village, we would ask for the *jarga's* (village head) compound, and explain the project to him. The excellent coverage of the mobile phone network in the area, as well as the wide family networks of our gradually increasing number of contacts, meant that in most cases we were able to arrange a day for the interview in advance, which greatly sped up the process. As soon as the elders had gathered, we explained the nature of the project, the information we required from them, and opened the floor to any questions or clarifications they required. The interviews were conducted in a combination of Pulaar, Manding, and French, and the full transcripts and translations can be found in Appendix A (except for Int. 3, as the interviewee did not want to be recorded). Interviews were semi-structured, with a series of open general questions, followed by more specific ones as our knowledge of the region's local histories deepened. The questions addressed the history of each village and its surrounding area, notions of its historical roles, as well as local perceptions of the historical landscape. In eight instances, we conducted individual, rather than group, interviews. The first one was with the school director of Mampatim Maoundé, who could not be present the day of the group interview. The following five were in the same village – Kounkane– and the choice was dictated by the reluctance of the elders to gather, on the basis of their advanced age. The seventh was on our second visit to Koumambouré, and followed a request by the interviewee to record without interruption three historical narratives he had heard from his father. The last two were that of El Hadj Alpha Molo Balde, descendant of the Fulbe leader by the same name and renowned Islamic scholar; and Payoungou Seydi, elder from Payoungou who wanted to complement what he had said in the group interview with further information.

In all other cases, it was deemed more productive and time-efficient to interview elders in groups. This strategy had two advantages: first, it was more transparent (since everyone could be present and intervene) and therefore arose less suspicion than individual interviews would have. Secondly, group discussions triggered memories and exposed contradictions in different versions of a story.

There were also problems associated with group dynamics and unequal power relations, such as older men with not much historical knowledge stopping more knowledgeable but younger members of the community from speaking, but this was the exception rather than the norm. Women were often present, but rarely intervened, with the notable exception of Samasansan, where an old woman (Yoba Camara) took the leading role in narrating the village's history.

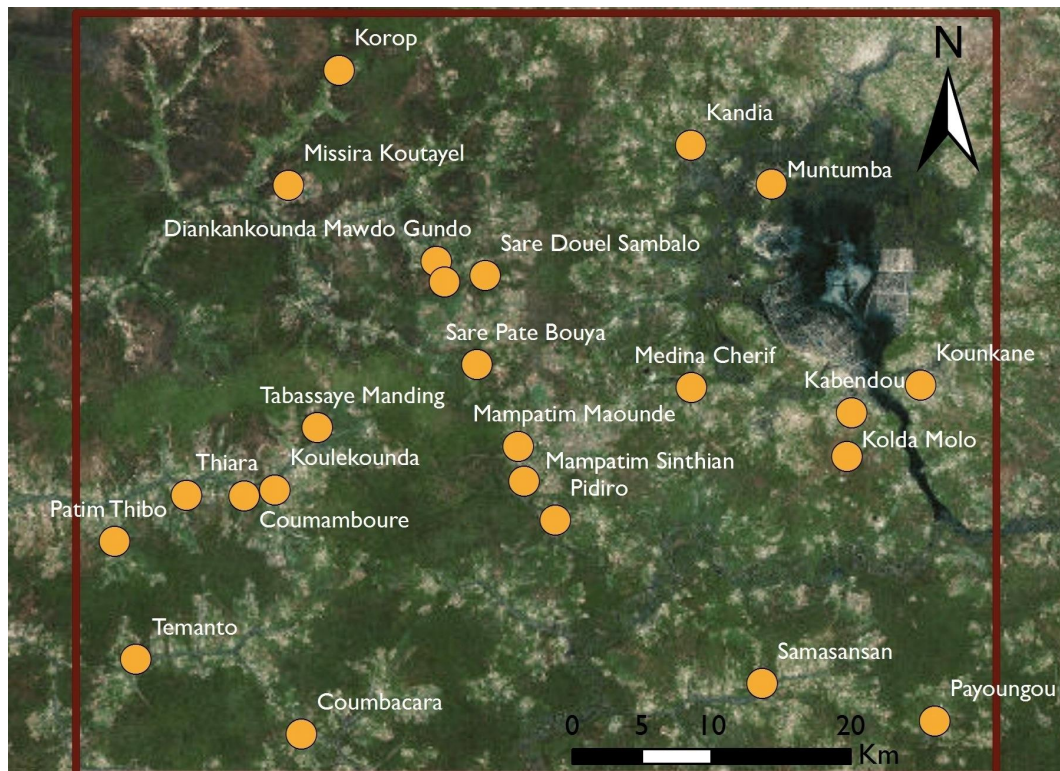


Fig.4.1 Villages in the research area where interviews were conducted. Basemap: ©2016 Google

As was discussed in Ch. 1, oral traditions are a great source of information, but only if we take into account their limitations. Therefore, before I proceed on to analyse the evolution of the Upper Casamance's landscape organisation over time, it is necessary to briefly reflect on those limitations and on the best way to acknowledge and overcome them.

Limitation 1: unsystematic ideological statements, not neutral accounts

Unlike griotic epics, village traditions are not the result of formal learning procedures; in their narratives, elders include stories they heard from their seniors, as well as from griots, and even from radio programmes. If literate, they may also

include information they have read from historical analysis or local *tarikhs*. All of these are amalgamated into a patchwork of stories and ideas, sometimes smoothed out to create a coherent whole, sometimes not, which not only describes the past, but also –consciously or unconsciously– justifies the present. Consequently, it is necessary to understand the social, historical, and political context of the source, as well as the sociopolitical roles played by the different traditions; hence my emphasis on reflecting on the present in order to understand its version of the past.

Limitation 2: dating

Oral traditions are notoriously problematic when it comes to dating, and that is even more the case with unsystematic ones like village elder traditions. The four main periods in which elders divided history were *watu tubacco/watu lammu canton* (the time of the Europeans/of canton power), *watu Fulaadu/watu lammu Fulbe* (the time of the Fulaadu/ of Fulbe rule), and *watu lammu Sébbe* (time of Manding rule), and *watu lammu Bainoukobe* (time of Bainouk rule); with further subdivisions based on the ruler in power at the time (e.g. *watu lammu Alfa Molo* or *watu Yéro Moulaye*). The first three periods are relatively reliable, as they fall at most within the life-time of the current elders' grandfathers, but memories and stories about Kaabu are more problematic.

First of all, because this is a region that has experienced substantial population movements in the last two centuries, which have resulted in a lack of time-depth in most village histories. This is clearly reflected in the short length of *jarga* (village head) lists, which rarely go beyond five or six names; even those of ancestral Kaabu towns like Kabendou only include seven *jarga* (Malang Sané, Int. 12). Therefore, almost all the information regarding Kaabu times (with notable exceptions, like the traditions from Payoungou –Int. 16 & 32) takes the form of relatively standardised epic narratives about Manding heroes, be it Tiramakan, Kelefa Sane or Dianke Wali, rather than of unique village histories.

Secondly, while 'the time of Manding power' is often presented as a uniform whole, in fact it encompassed six centuries of historical change, during which Kaabu's structure undoubtedly evolved. This problem is by no means unique to Kaabu, but is in fact one of the characteristic problems of oral tradition narratives: the focus on origins and ends, with extremely little information about anything in between. In the case of Kaabu, however, we have two substantial advantages: first, that in its latest form, it survived up until the mid-19th C, which means we have both

relatively reliable oral memories and European textual descriptions of its organisation at the time. Secondly, thanks to its proximity to European trading entrepôts, we have regular and datable (if often scarce and uninformed) written accounts, making the project of gradually tracing its organisation back in time a viable one.

Limitation 3: updating and terminological anachronisms

Unlike written literature, that becomes fixed in a given historical moment, oral accounts are constantly reshaped by their contemporary context, both in form, content, and interpretation. One way in which this 'updating' takes place is in the use of words of the present to explain concepts of the past, something that was common in our interviews. For instance, the French word *capitale* was often used to refer to Kansala and other power centres of Kaabu (e.g. Int. 1); Musa Molo was called *chef d'État major* (Int. 28), and the assistants of Kaabu's ruler, *conseillers* (Int. 21). These 'updates' also occur with spatial terms, such as *frontière* (Int. 14). While these are particularly easy-to spot examples, as their French origin immediately exposes their anachronistic nature, it is likely that similar processes might be taking place with Manding and Pulaar terms whose date of origin is more difficult to establish. What could seem as a fairly irrelevant observation is anything but, since terminology and ontology go hand in hand, and unravelling the political terminologies associated with each period is a key part of understanding the landscapes of power that characterised them. When available, historical written sources can be of assistance, but in cases where no such sources exist, this is a phenomenon which needs to be taken into account.

4.2 Post-independence landscapes (1960- present)

Sociopolitical organisation

The basic social unit in the Upper Casamance today is the household or compound, known as *gale* in Pulaar and *lu* in Manding. The size of compounds can largely vary, from a few huts to a small hamlet. In Korop, the whole village was in fact a single compound, but this was reported by the villagers as unusual. The head of the compound is the oldest male, and a set of compounds makes a village (*sare*), which has a village head (*jarga*). Jargahood can be passed on along family lines (from father to son, from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew), but other arrangements are also common. The roles of the *jarga* are varied, including

administrative tasks like collecting taxes, but mostly consisting of guaranteeing the peaceful development of village life (Boutillier 2011, 12). Additionally, the power of the *jarga* is limited by other forces, including religious leaders, councils of elders (*maoubé hala*), and democratically elected regional structures. Villages can be divided into neighbourhoods or *kunda*, named after the lineage that lives in them (e.g. Mballokunda, Manekounda). Satellite villages are also common, generally created by newly arrived populations. There is no standard system for the naming of these new villages: sometimes they are given new names, in other cases they add a modifier to the name of the existing village, like *sinthian* (small, e.g. Korop Sinthian) or the group that lives there (e.g. Diankankounda Manding).

The territory of a village, defined as the land the village has control over/feels responsible for, varies. Rice fields often mark limits between villages, but they can also be shared spaces. Although land arrangements are explicitly stated (everybody knows who the fields belong to and who has the right to cultivate them), they are also fluid. For instance, lands can easily move from one village to another as a result of marriages, long term loans, or the creation of satellite villages (Fanchette 2010, 286-7). Villages tend to be located on the edge of plateaus or valleys, or near the confluence of permanent and seasonal streams, but large permanent rivers and their valleys are generally avoided (Péllissier 1966, 504-6). These areas have the advantage of offering access to three different but equally important environments: flooded areas for the rice fields, fertile plains for dry crops (millet, sorghum, peanut), and large extents of light forest for the grazing of herds (Boutillier 2011).

The political structure immediately above the village is the Rural Community (*Communauté Rural*, or CR) which has an elected president and council, and deals with local matters regarding land tenure, healthcare, culture, sports, education, and urbanism. The next administrative unit is the *Arrondissement*, with a Dakar-appointed subprefect (*sous-préfet*), who reports to a Prefect (*préfet*) at the *Département* level. A series of *Départements* form a *Région*, which has a democratically elected president and council. Beyond *Régions* are national institutions, of which the President of the Republic is the ultimate expression. Interestingly, although the President is generally referred to by the French term (*président*), on multiple occasions I encountered elders who described him with the title used for pre-colonial rulers, i.e. *mansa* in Manding or *lamdo* in Pulaar, something which De Jong (2007, 133) also noted.

In addition to institutional networks and groupings, villages in the Upper Casamance are connected by social and historical ties. As a result of population movements, marriages, and work-related migrations over the last century, networks of relatives connect villages across the region, and constitute one of the most effective tools for social mobilisation beyond official structures.

Sacred landscapes

Nowadays, almost all the population of the Upper Casamance is nominally Muslim. Most villages have a mosque, the largest may have several, and there are multiple koranic schools spread across the territory, but pre-Islamic beliefs and practices still play an important role. Age-group initiations are still very common, where the initiates are taken to the 'sacred forest' for a period of time before rejoining society. Many *dyalan* (sacred places, usually trees, inhabited by a spirit – see Ch.3) are remembered, but *dyalan* cults appear to have largely ceased. They are, however, still well remembered, and in two cases (Koukane and Muntumba), *dyalan* trees showed clear evidence of pieces of bark having been recently removed (see Fig. 4.2), which was explained in terms of their healing and fertility-enhancing properties (Ibrahima Balde, fieldnotes).

Furthermore, even if the rituals associated with them are no longer practised, *dyalan* are still considered places of power, and are sometimes visited by important figures. For instance, the leader of the Casamance independence guerrilla is reported to have visited the Bantangi *dyalan* in Muntumba (Samba Sané, fieldnotes); a powerful Islamic scholar spent a few days camped next to Guedi Nyanthio Bé in Mampatim (Yero Balde, fieldnotes), and the *dyalan* in Korop is said to have spoken to a passer-by in 2012 (Daouda Balde, Int. 27). Furthermore, there are some villages (such as Payoungou or Kandia) that are still considered as 'hot' or dangerous for political authorities, as it is believed that any civil servant or politicians who visit them will inevitably lose their post (APS 2012). Consequently, the current religious landscape of mosques and koranic schools, coexists with reminiscences of an earlier pre-islamic one of *dyalan* and 'ancestral hotspots', both of which have political implications.



Fig.4.2 Dimbatulu healing tree in Kounkane with evidence of recent bark removal



Fig. 4.3 Appearance of the kankourang as part of the initiation ceremonies in Mampatim Maounde, February 2013

Movements and mobility

Although the vast majority of the population of the Upper Casamance is now sedentary –even the Fulbe–, there is still a large degree of movement of both people and settlements. As Sylvie Fanchette (2010, 80) noted

'encore fortement empreints de croyances préislamiques, les Peuls Fulakunda fuient presque systématiquement les villages frappés par la mort. Qu'un chef de village ou un marabout puissant décède, que plusieurs personnes viennent à mourir dans la même concession, ou qu'une partie du troupeau soit décimée par maladie, et les Peuls abandonnent leur village pour s'installer ailleurs (...) Parfois, on ne quitte que sa concession pour la reconstruire dans une autre partie du village'¹.

Fanchette's observations coincide entirely with my own. In addition to individual mobility due to seasonal or permanent work opportunities elsewhere, studies, marriages, or personal disagreements, larger family or even village movements appear to be common, and are of two types: shifts (under 1km) and relocations. Recordings of village traditions and informal conversations with our hosts revealed how relocations could in turn be of four main types:

- a) a segment of a village moving to another existing village;
- b) a segment moving out and creating its own village.
- c) a complete village abandonment followed by a new village foundation elsewhere.
- d) a complete village abandonment followed by population dispersion into several existing villages .

The reasons triggering people to leave are quite varied, as are those that lead people to settle in a new place. Abandonment motifs include disagreements with other groups within the village, the desire to create their own place, the death of a community leader, and a series of deaths within a short time. In some cases, villages were abandoned as a result of the insecurity created by political instability in neighbouring Guinea-Bissau (1963-1974), but in all the instances we documented, these abandonments were only temporary and the populations eventually returned. The reasons for choosing an existing village as new residence

1 'still strongly marked by pre-Islamic beliefs, the Fulbe Fulakunda almost systematically flee the villages hit by death. If a village head or powerful marabout dies, if several people die in the same compound, or if a part of the head is decimated by an illness, the Fulbe leave their village to settle elsewhere (...). Sometimes, they only leave their compound to rebuild it elsewhere in the village'

had to do with family or friendship connections with the village head, or with an economic agreement with the village's *jarga*.

As for new foundations, the first step is to ask permission from the *jarga* of the closest village, and this latter will indicate the areas suitable for settling (Moussa Mballo, Int. 13). In some cases, additional advice might be required, because

'there are places where you can settle and places where you cannot settle. Everybody knows that, but there are also wise men who know more. It is to this latter that you will ask to know if a place can be settled or not. Because there's places where you can find happiness and others were you won't' (Aliou Balde, Int. 23).

One very common way of solving this problem is to reoccupy an abandoned village, or *tumbu*. For instance, when the ancestors of the current elders at Temanto Tobo decided to leave the Gambia, their leader said 'we'd better find a *tumbu* to settle in' (Aliou Balde, Int. 23). Resettling of *tumbu* is in fact so common that in several instances, when we asked the elders about abandoned villages in the vicinity, the reply was 'they have all been resettled' (Int. 20). This stands in sharp contrast to patterns in the eastern Manden, where abandoned villages (*tomo*) are deemed to be haunted places and actively avoided for settlement (K. MacDonald, *pers.comm*).

The second type of movement, 'shifts', is less obvious, and rarely mentioned by oral traditions unless explicitly asked, but by no means less common. Except for very recent foundations, most of the villages visited had 'moved' from their original position. Sometimes, as in Samasansan (see Ch. 5), these moves were punctuated, and each of the individual moves remembered. In other instances, the movement appeared to have been more gradual, and no individual moves were remembered, only the evidence of their accumulated displacement, reflected in the distance between the original and the present location of the village. The reasons given for these 'shifts' were also quite varied: in villages along the central axis of the region, the most common reason was the construction of the tarmac road, and the benefits derived from its proximity, but earlier shifts were more diverse, following similar reasons to the ones previously described for village abandonments.

4.3 Colonial period (1903-1960)

Sociopolitical organisation

At the village level, structures during the colonial period do not appear to have differed greatly from the current ones. In fact, studies in the Gambia show how the same ruling families controlled the best farming lands and maintained a predominant position before and after 1960 (Quinn 1972). At the regional level, however, the organisation was significantly different. Villages were grouped into *cantons*, ruled by a local *chef de canton*, as the French *politique indigène* policies meant that where compliant, local rulers were left in place, but integrated within the new colonial administrative hierarchy (Person 1981, 2). A series of cantons constituted a *cercle*, which was governed by a French *commandant*, who in turn reported to the District Commander and ultimately to the Government of the Colony. In certain cantons, like Kamako and Mamboua, a further subdivision into *secteurs* was introduced, with *chefs* responsible for one to three dozen villages who served as intermediaries between the *chefs de canton* and the *jargas* (Pélissier 1966, 528).



Fig.4.4 Commemorative painting marking the house of Baba Moulaye, *chef de canton* in Dabo

From 1903, the Upper Casamance was divided into 11 cantons (later reduced to 10, see Fig.4.5), each ruled by a *chef de canton*, chosen amongst local allies. The *chefs de canton* were in charge of tax collection, providing labour for colonial projects (building structures and military expeditions, mostly), as well as keeping order and enforcing the decisions of the colonial administration more

generally. They also sometimes directly intervened in the appointment of new *jargas*, but it seems to have been through negotiation rather than direct imposition. For instance, in Kabendou (Int. 12) a conflict in the appointment of the new *jarga* during the time Moulaye Siranding (head of the canton of Bissabor), was resolved with an acceptance of Moulaye's candidate by the village elders at the condition that people from Kabendou would be exempted from forced labour and military service. Similarly, in Tabassaye Manding (Int. 17), they reached a compromise by which *jargas* would be appointed by Abdoul Diallo, the *chef de canton*, but always at the suggestion of the village council of elders.

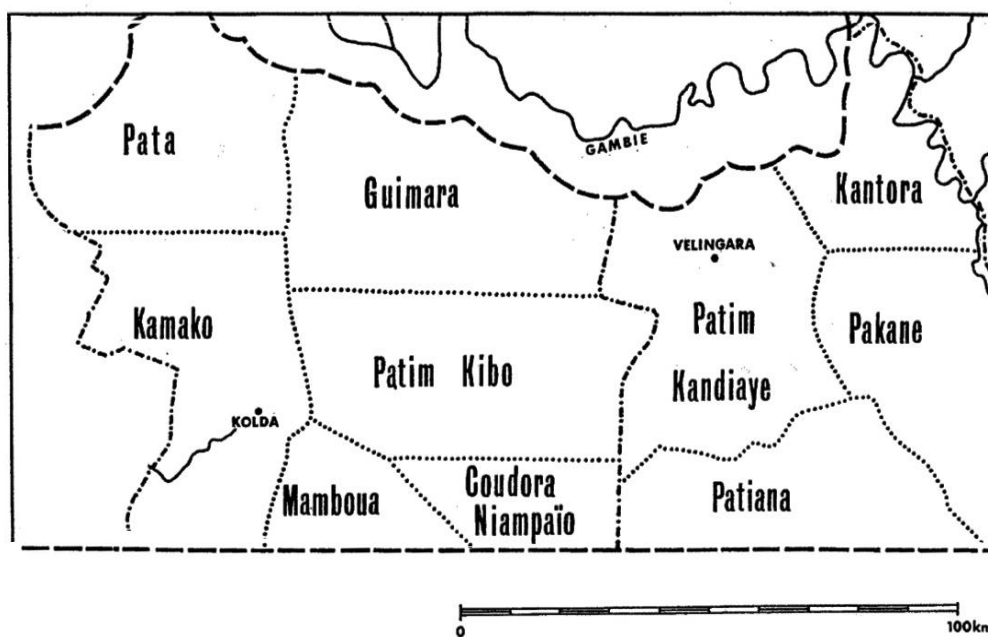


Fig 4.5 Colonial administrative divisions in the 1950s. Adapted from Pelissier 1966

The *chefs de canton* are extremely well remembered by oral traditions, and in fact the canton and the ruler have in most cases become so intrinsically linked in people's memories that it is extremely rare to hear one mentioned without the other. For instance, when asked what canton their villages had belonged to, elders would often reply 'Bissabor of Yéro Moulaye' (Int. 25, Kolda Molo), or 'in the canton of Patim where Abdoul Diallo ruled' (Int 28, Medina Cherif). In some cases, a third element, the place of residence of the *chef de canton*, was also added to the definition. As will be discussed later, this triad (territory, ruler, capital) is a recurrent element in the definition of power networks in the region across history.

Although the *canton* was a French colonial unit, its introduction was particularly successful in areas with Mande political traditions, like the Upper

Casamance, where the cantonal system largely coincided with the traditional political units (*leydi/banco*) in both nature and functions (Suret-Canale 1966, 461-2). This correlation also meant that the articulation of power was still shaped by indigenous notions and categories. For instance, the *chefs de canton* are also regularly described in oral traditions as *lamdo* or *mansa*, and their territories are referred to as *leydi* or *banco*. Additionally, the *chefs de canton* were allowed to have 'traditional' assistants (Zucarelli 1973, 232), which in the Upper Casamance were of three types: *kelengana*, *barula*, and *sufa*.

Kelengana is a Manding word, resulting from the combination of *kele* (war) and *ngana*, 'hero' or 'person of action' (Durán 2007, 570; Johnson & Sisòko 2003, 242-3). This is a term which was recurrent in the interviews with village elders. Mamadou Samba Balde from Kounkane (Int. 8) defined the *kelengana* as 'someone with bravery', 'mystically strong', who was not afraid of anything and who flourished during war or in crisis. Boydo Sabaly (Int. 7), also from Kounkane, said their job was 'at war, in the battlefield' but that they also were present at the court of the *chef de canton*. From these descriptions, it appears the *kelengana* were reputed warriors or military officers at the service of the canton ruler; but in other cases they appear to have operated more like warlords, working independently (cf. Int 11). The names of some reputed *kelengana* have survived, including that of Jata Sabaly from Alarba Kataba, near Guinea Bissau or Jidére Sabaly, at the court of Moulaye Balde, in Bissabor (Int. 7). All elders agreed *kelengana* could come from any ethnic group, as becoming one was entirely a matter of bravery and skill.

The *barula* or *batula*, on the other hand, were the emissaries of rulers, those who executed their orders (Mamadou Samba Balde, Int. 8). In some cases they are also presented as the spokespeople who introduced audiences before the ruler (Int. 6 & 12), and acted as deputy leaders (Dianguiya Mballo, Int. 5). As with the *kelengana*, becoming a *barula* was not a matter of origin, but of trust and skill (Int. 6). Some famous *barula* are still remembered, such as Diam Sow from Kounkane or Assé Molo from Sourouyel (Int. 7). Mory Diao from Kounkane (Int. 6) argued that *barula* were not limited to *chefs de canton*, but that important *jargas* like those of Bayel, Kandiaye, and Niampayo had them as well, which were known as *jonkun*. Alpha Oumar Diakité, from Kounkane (Int. 10), on the other hand, argued that the function of the *barula* was to go around the villages collecting taxes for the *chef de canton*.

Finally, the *sufa* or *sofa* was the least well known figure of the three. According to Mamadou Samba Balde from Kounkane (Int. 8), the *sufa* were spokesmen for the chef de canton, which unlike the *barula* did not come and go, but stayed always with the ruler. Mory Diao (Int. 6), on the other hand, said the *sufa* were in charge of attending the ruler's horse, which makes sense in terms of the term's etymology, from the Manding words *so* (horse) and *fa* (father). *Sofa* is in fact a very common term across all the former areas of Mali Empire, but it is not always employed with the same meaning. Depending on the geographical and historical context, it can mean simply 'warrior' (Tymowski 1981, 432), army chief or general (Niane 1965, 53-5; Kesteloot *et al* 1991), head of warrior slaves (Jonckers & Colleyn 1974) or member of the cavalry (Nyerges 1996, 134). In some cases, these meanings are combined: for instance, in Samory Touré's state in 19th C Guinea and southern Mali, the *sofa* were the army's cavalry, recruited entirely from slaves (Klein 2009). As with the Upper Casamance, in Samory's former territories the term *sofa* survived up until the colonial period, where it came to designate the *chef de canton's* assistants, who supervised tax collection and executed court verdicts (Tymowski 1981, 435-6).

Sacred landscapes

Three main elements, although of different importance, defined the sacred landscapes of the Upper Casamance during the colonial period: Christianity, Islam, and *dyalan* cults. Although, as previously discussed, Islam had been present in the Upper Casamance for centuries, it was the large-scale migration of Gabunké marabouts and their followers into the region during this period that led to genuine mass conversions and the construction of mosques in most villages. This expansion also had a direct translation into settlement patterns: from their mother village of Medina el-Hadj, between 1930 and 1950, the Gabunké marabouts and their disciples created over 60 new villages throughout the Kolda region, which together formed a powerful network united by religious and kinship ties (Fanchette 1999, 178).

As for Christianity, although Catholic and Protestant missions had existed in West Africa since the 18th C (Brasseur 1975), it was only with the association of the missions with the 'civilising pursuit' of the colonial project that their presence became significant in the Upper Casamance. Their impact, however, was largely limited to the influence of their schools, as both the advance of Islam and the

hesitant support of the secular French authorities greatly limited their proselytising mission (Salvaing 2006; Brasseur 1975).

Meanwhile, and despite Islamic conversion, *dyalan* cults were still widely spread, as reflected by the number of elders who declared during interviews having performed these rituals in their youth (see Fig. 4.6). This is confirmed by René Legrand's 1912 description of the Upper Casamance's populations:

'Ils sont fétichistes, croient à l'existence d'un être supérieur et à l'influence toute-puissante de ses "dialans", esprits bons et mauvais. Ceux-ci revêtent aux yeux des indigènes une forme matérielle sous l'aspect d'arbres sacrés [...]. C'est devant le "dialan", arbre sacré, que se font les sacrifices, les libations destinées à assurer le succès dans les entreprises, la protection des troupeaux et des récoltes. Devant lui se règlent aussi les palabres, et les prévenus sont soumis à l'épreuve qui consiste soit dans l'absorption d'un breuvage préparé par un sorcier, soit dans l'examen des entrailles d'un coq, d'un mouton, etc., qui décide de la culpabilité ou l'innocence de l'accusé'² (Legrand 1912, 252).



Fig.4.6 Yoba Camara from Samasansan, demonstrating how *dyalan* rituals were done in her youth

-
- 2 They are fetishist, they believe in the existence of a higher being and in the all-powerful influence of their 'dialans', good and bad spirits. These take on in the eyes of the indigenous population the material shape of sacred trees [...] It is in front the "dialan", sacred tree, where the sacrifices are made, the libations intended to ensure the success in enterprises, the protection of the herds and harvests. Before it they also hold the palavers, and the accused are subject to a trial consisting in either the intake of a beverage prepared by a sorcerer, or in the examination of the entrails of a cock, sheep, etc., which decides on the guilt or innocence of the accused.

Movements and mobility

The colonial period was marked by substantial population movements, a combination of those already described for the most recent period and others linked to the colonial project itself. These latter were of two types: displacements associated with forced labour and military service, and repopulations to ensure the viability of cash crop cultivation. Forced labour in the Upper Casamance was largely connected with the construction of the road that links Velingara and Kolda, as well as some smaller ones in the interior; and the memory of the suffering it caused on local populations still resonates strongly in oral traditions (e.g. Int 5). Although what had previously been a unified political space (the Fulaadu), became partitioned into French, British, and Portuguese territories; social and family networks still crosscut these boundaries, and populations moved easily across them, depending on which offered best living conditions (Fanchette 2010, 42). For example, in Korop, elders remembered how at the time 'everybody fled to the Gambia to avoid forced labour' (Daouda Balde, Int. 27)

Intrinsically linked to forced labour was the second factor shaping mobility during this period: cash crops, especially peanut and cotton. The main villages of the region (Kolda and Velingara) were founded (or substantially expanded) during this time to act as central nodes in the peanut trade (Fanchette 2010, 58). Having built the necessary entrepôts and the roads to communicate them, however, the colonial authorities still needed enough labour to keep production up. Thus, during the early colonial period, substantial efforts were made to re-populate some areas, and the arrival of new populations was actively encouraged (Fanchette 2010, 33). These arrivals were principally of two types: families who had fled towards Niani and Pakao during the times of Musa Molo, and Gaabunké (Fulbe from Guinea-Bissau) marabout leaders looking for lands to settle (Fanchette 2010, 43-5; N'Gaïdé 1998, 190). The result of this combination of people fleeing and arriving was an extraordinary rate of village abandonments and foundations: as an example, colonial documents record how in the canton of Pathim Kandiaye (an area of approximately 40x40km), 10 villages disappeared and 34 were created in 1958 alone (Fanchette 2010, 81).

In addition to movements directly or indirectly connected to colonialism, similar patterns of short and long distance mobility to the ones existing nowadays appear to have already been in place. For example, in 1904, De La Roncière (cited in Fanchette 1999, 176) mentioned how new village foundations were extremely

common in the Upper Casamance, as it was believed that the more settlements a man had founded, the happier he would be in the afterlife. In fact, most villages we visited had experienced departures and arrivals of different groups during the colonial period; some connected to the colonial project, others resulting from deaths, disagreements, or desires of independence, as is now the case. In Koumambouré, for instance, it was a series of deaths that led a substantial part of the population to depart and create the neighbouring villages of Sinthian Pathe, Samba Coumba, Sinthian Souley and Sinthian Koumambouré (Demba Baldé, Int. 26); whereas in Tabassaye Manding, the Fulbe left mid-way through the colonial period due to a series of disagreements with the rest of the population (Birama Kondjira, Int. 17) As for short distance mobility (i.e. shifts), there is plenty of evidence that villages were gradually 'moving' during this period, but is is largely archaeological and will be discussed in Ch.5.



Fig.4.7 Colonial peanut depot, still in use. Payoungou.



Fig. 4.8 Forced labour building the railway in Guinea in 1904. Source: Archives du Sénégal

4.4.-Fulaadu (1880s-1903)

Sociopolitical organisation

After his victory at Kansala, Alfa Molo divided the 48 small territories that were allocated to him by the Fuuta Jallon army into five major provinces: Firdu, governed by himself; Jimara, ruled by his brother Bakari Demba Balde; Mambua, Patingkuta, and Kamako (Sidibe 1984,8). The administration was largely decentralised, more a mosaic of small principalities or *leydi*, than a unified state (Boutillier 2011,11). These *leydi* were very unequal in size, structure and importance, and the relationship between them was only loosely structured around the figure of Alfa Molo, with his capital at N'Dorna (see Fig. 4.9). This substantially changed with his death and the rise to power of his son Musa, who launched a major program of territorial reforms, removing all traditional leaders and replacing them with trusted allies (Girard 1964). Musa built an administrative structure that was until then missing, with a territorial hierarchy appointed by himself, and a corps of agents responsible only to him (Quinn 1971). He divided his father's five *leydi* into smaller provinces, the total number of which changed over time as new lands were conquered and others became independent. In the treaty signed in November 1883 with the French, 29 territories are listed as being under Musa's control (Bassène 2011,188), but this number could have easily been inflated for

strategic reasons by either or both of the signatories. Descriptions from oral traditions, on the other hand, tend to list a lower number of territories, generally around 10 (e.g. Girard 1992, 269; Fanchette 2010, 29).

These changes were also felt at the local level. Although the system of jargahood appears to have been very similar to the one described for the colonial and post-independence periods, the balances of power and their articulation were different. On the one hand, there was a concentration of power around Alfa and Musa's allies. As Kekouta Camara from Kabendou (Int. 12) said:

'when somebody said "help me feed my family". Who did they ask for lands? Alfa Molo. Who did they ask for lands? Musa Molo. Who received the lands? Those who fought along Musa Molo. It was them that Musa appointed to reign. It wasn't because you were pretty, no, it was those who fought with Musa'.

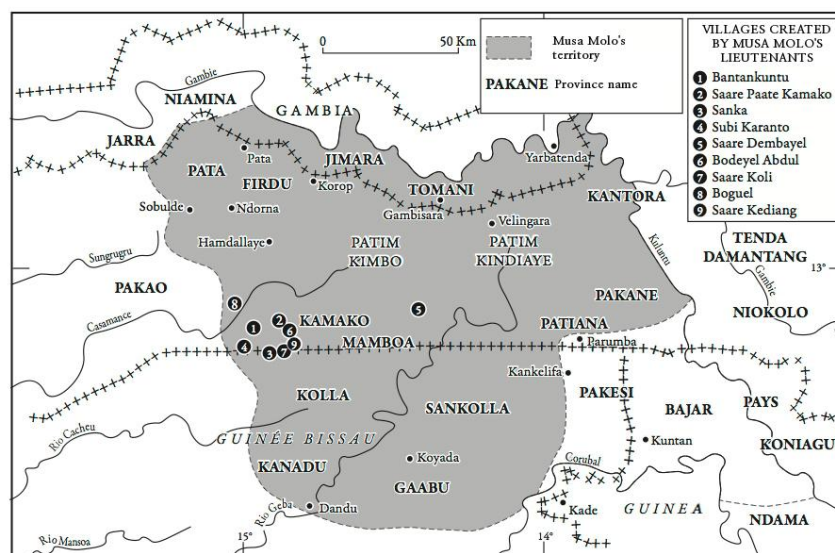


Fig. 4.9 Musa Molo's Fulaadu. Adapted from Fanchette 2010

Additionally, as the elders of Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo (Int. 20) indicated, 'when Musa Molo was in power, he had a representative in place. Like the *président* or the *sous-préfet*'. Sometimes, these representatives were imposed: 'in the time of Musa Molo, when he went to war and conquered a place, he took a Pullo and said 'look over this place' (Dianguiya Mballo, Int. 5). In other instances, however, the old jarga stayed in place. For example, in Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo, Molo's representative was a Manding woman, Mame Fatouma Sané. When asked how did she come to assist Musa, the elders replied 'Mame Fatouma was a brave woman, and when he took power, he left her in place because she was a

fighter' (Int. 20).

In other cases, however, the relationship between local powers and Musa Molo was less peaceful. In Korop, for instance, Fanta Sadyel (Musa's paternal cousin) became *jarga* against her cousin's will, thanks to the military backing of the French Commander in Sedhiou (Alpha Balde, Int. 27). In Sare Pate Bouya, a local Fulbe ruler challenged Musa by simply building up military power, since:

'after he built his house, he also built a *tata* [...]. The elders said 'he's filled seven houses with gunpowder and seven houses with bullets. The Fulbe left to tell Moussa that Pate wanted to betray him, as he had built a *tata* and filled houses with gunpowder' (Sare Pate Bouya elder, Int. 14).

The access to military resources seems in fact to have been one of the key differences between the political structure of the Fulaadu and that of the cantons. While in colonial times military force was centralised and hierarchical, Musa Molo had to rely on the collaboration of vassal rulers and warlords for military force. Thus, although significantly more centralised than his father's, his rule was still largely reliant on alliances and constant power negotiations.

The articulation of regional and local power structures also relied on the three offices described for the canton period: *kelengana*, *barula*, and *sufa*. In some cases, the *kelengana* of this period are referred to as *kelejawara*, which is an unusual etymology, as *Jawara* or *Diawara* is a Manding patronym with no particular warrior associations. Regardless of the origin, in practice the two terms are used as synonyms, and describe a position which appears to have been central to the operation of political power, as the following fragment from Kekouta Camara (Int. 12) in Kabendou indicates:

'The Fulbe became *jarga* because they were in power. The marabouts had told Moussa Molo that if Kabendou became a *tumbun*, he would be captured. For seven years, the *jarga* of Kabendou died every year. After this, Moussa Molo refounded Kabendou. He brought his brother, Yero Egue (...). He said "Yero Egue, as you are *lamdo*, you cannot become *jarga*". He had brought his *kelejawara* with him, his name was Djide Naffa. He became *jarga*, Yero Eggue became *lamdo*'.

This interview fragment highlights four important aspects of the articulation of political power in the Fulaadu: first of all, the importance of non-Islamic beliefs and practices; secondly, that important political figures had an associated *kelengana* who travelled with them; thirdly, that *jarga* and *lamdo* were mutually exclusive roles; and finally, that *kelejawara* could access political power. Musa

Molo himself is reported to have had many *kelengana*, including Loutan Boula, Pate Buya, Koliyel Ndiawro, Dekka, and Samba Kendo (Malang Diamanka, Int. 29). As in the later period, however, not all *kelengana/kelejawara* were associated with Musa Molo and his subordinates; as oral traditions also reflect the existence of independent *kelengana* or warlords. In Pidiro, Bakary Balde (Int. 11) described how Musa Molo changed his route to chase a *kelengana* who was in the region, but that by the time he arrived the latter had already fled. Dianguiya Mballo from Kandia (Int. 5) described how Musa killed many *kelengana*: 'if he knew you had a certain power, he would kill you'.

Unlike the *kelengana*, the *barula* and the *sufa* appear to have always been linked to a royal court. According to Diango Balde from Médina Cherif (Int. 28), Musa Molo's *barula* were Loutan Boula, Yéro Tacko and Bodio Dembo. When asked what was their relationship with Musa, he answered 'they were his government. He had the authority, and they had the management'. Additionally, they are said to have participated in many battles (and in fact to have died in one in Paroumba); and Loutan Boula is also described as a *lamdo* of his own territory, who had a *tata* in the town of Mballo Kunda (Int. 28). According to the elders at Kandia, the *baroula* replaced the king when he was absent, and were also Musa's local governors:

'they were numerous. Because Musa reigned between Gambia and Koli, in each location, he placed a *barula* who was in charge of looking after that sort of *communauté rural*. It was Diarra who was here, there was another in Mumtumba, another in Kabendu, another in Mamadi Thiagol, and Mamacunda; it is that way that he distributed them' (Dianguiya Mballo, Int. 5).

Some of these characters, like Diarra in Kandia, are indistinctly referred to as *kelengana* or *barula*, suggesting the two posts, one more military, the other more administrative, were not mutually exclusive.

As for the *sufa*, the elders at Kandia described them as the king's slaves: 'all the tasks for the king were done by the *sufa*. Even if the king was absent, he stayed in the house and did all the work of the king's wives, even collecting wood' (Dianguiya Mballo, Int. 5). The existence of *sufa* is in fact mentioned in a 1904 document entitled *Résidence au Fouladou* in which a French officer described how '*les champs de Moussa Molo s'étendent à perte de vue vers le nord-est d'Hamdallahi vers Faraté où résident ses sofas*'³ (cited in Benoit 1988, 514).

3 'the fields of Musa Molo extend as far as one can see towards the north east of Hamdallahi towards Faraté, where his *sofas* live'

Sacred landscapes

While many narratives of this period tend to present it as a gradual victory of Islamic Fulbe principles over Manding pre-Islamic ideas, as has already been discussed, reality was significantly more complex. For one, not all Fulbe leaders were Muslim, while some Manding were. In fact, Musa Molo himself, while notionally Muslim, was notoriously superstitious and surrounded himself with diviners and marabouts. For instance, after conquering Kabendou –one of Kaabu's key strongholds–, Musa was told that should Kabendou be abandoned, he would inevitably be captured, after which he made sure the settlement stayed inhabited for the rest of his rule (Kekouta Camara, Int. 12). Additionally, although I have not encountered any direct references to *dyalan* cults during this period, there are several compelling reasons to think such practices were still important. First of all, that they are Manding in origin, and their presence throughout the colonial period would thus imply continuity throughout the Fulaadu. Secondly, that some of the logics behind *dyalan* cults were used to create sacred spaces, this time associated with the Fulaadu. For instance, elders in Pidiro showed us a tree where they said Musa Molo had rested, and as result some branches had turned to the east, and others to the west, which is why it had such a strange spread configuration (Bakary Balde, Int. 11). Similarly, in Diankankounda, the tree under which Musa had his meetings when in town is still remembered; as is the tree in Koumambouré where his father supposedly rested on his way back from Kansala (see Fig.4.10). Although not *dyalan* strictly speaking, these are extraordinary trees which do not just commemorate events, but also embody them and part of their power.

Consequently, the sacred landscapes of the Fulaadu period were an aggregate of multiple, overlapping, and often contradictory notions, combining the older network of *dyalan* and 'places of power', with the new Muslim ideas and the mosques and tombs that represented them, as well as the many hybrid conceptualisations that emerged from the combination of the two.



Fig.4.10 Elders from Koumambouré, their children, and some members of the team in front of the tree where traditions say Alfa Molo rested

Movements and mobility

The final days of Kaabu and the onset of the Fulaadu were, as described in Ch.3, turbulent times, involving considerable population movements. There were substantial displacements out of small villages and towards larger towns due to insecurity, especially towards the end of Musa Molo's rule, as well as continuous migrations towards more stable areas in Guinea-Bissau and the Gambia (Fanchette 2010, 32). The extent of these movements is difficult to quantify, however, as there were no reliable population census until well into the colonial period (Becker *et al* 1983, 200).

One particular phenomenon often mentioned by oral traditions is that of travelling groups of Manding blacksmiths, who settled after a Fulbe ruler offered them protection in exchange for their services. Although there are some examples, both past and present, of Fulbe blacksmiths and silversmiths in the area (see Fig.4.11), metal work is still largely associated with the Manding, which means most Fulbe would have required the services of Manding specialists in order to acquire iron tools and weapons. In Tabassaye Manding, for instance, a group of Manding blacksmiths from the Pakao passed through the village during Alfa Molo's time, and the local *jarga*, Laly, asked them to stay and make tools and weapons for him. When asked if they were forced to stay or they did it of their own volition, the response was 'you know, it's between Pullo and blacksmith. If he treats you well, you will stay [...] where your luck and your food are, that's where you'll settle'

(Birama Kondjira, Int. 17). The same theme is repeated in Diankankounda, where there is a Manding blacksmith village (Diankankounda Manding/Gallouyel) next to a Fulbe one (Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo). When asked what the relationship between these two villages was, the elders replied 'it's a relationship of fraternity between blacksmiths and Fulbe' (Int 21).

Not all were abandonments and departures, however. After the initial flight, many Manding populations returned. In the words of Ousmane Camara from Payoungou (Int. 16) 'After the fall of Kaabu the Fulbe took power. When the Manding returned, the Fulbe gave them back their lands'. Villages like Pidiro (Int. 11), Samasansan (Int. 30) or Diakankounda (Int. 21) were founded during this period, and others like Mampatim Sinthian (Int. 1) were resettled after having been abandoned by their previous inhabitants. These diverse foundations and abandonments were in some cases related to the historical circumstances, but also often the product of the usual motifs described for earlier periods, such as deaths of elders (Diankankounda, Int. 21), disagreements, and repeated deaths that made the village 'hot', i.e. dangerous (e.g. Sare Hogo, Int. 28).

Another important factor for population movements during this period is slavery. Alfa and Musa Molo's wars generated large amounts of captives:

'Whenever Musa took control of a territory, wherever he fought the Manding and defeated them, he captured some among them to make them slaves. Once he had been made slaves, he took their children to sell them to the blacks from Tanda, who were Bassaris. Having sold them, he bought fabrics or exchanged them for goats' (Mamadou Seydi, Int. 5).



Fig. 4.11 Fulbe silversmith from Dabo in 2013

Additionally, many hundreds of these captives lived in N'Dorna and Hamdallaye, and many more were sent to defend areas near the Fulaadu borders, where they founded many villages. Later on, as the abolition of slavery became gradually effective, the newly emancipated slaves moved again, leading to a substantial wave of new village creations (Fanchette 1999, 170).

4.5.- Kaabu (13th C- 1880s)

Territorial and political organisation

Much like the colonial *canton* or the Fulaadu *leydi*, Kaabu's *banco* (meaning literally 'soil' or 'land' in Manding) were loosely defined political spaces, identified by a name, a ruler, and a power centre. It is unclear how many *banco* Kaabu had, and the number most likely changed over time, as provinces split, reassembled, and new conquests were made and lost (Niane 1989, 53-4). The total number of Kaabu's *banco* given by oral traditions varies, but three ures are often repeated: thirty-two (Leary 1972, 13 ; Mané 1981, 2; Payoungou Seydi, Int. 32; Ousmane Camara, Int. 16), thirty-three (Bouly Mané, Int. 21) and forty-seven (Mané 1979,154; Cissoko 1981, 3). Table 4.1 includes a comprehensive list of the territories generally associated with Kaabu, ordered by popularity in oral traditions and written accounts.

We do not know how these territories were structured prior to the establishment of *nyanthioya*, which as discussed in Ch.3, could have taken place any time between the 14th and the 17th C. After the institution of the *nyanthioya* and the designation of Kansala as capital, however, a clearly defined tripartite structure came to characterise Kaabu's political organisation. At its core were the three *nyanthio* provinces (Pathiana, Sama, and Jimara), from which Kaabu's rulers were chosen. In second place were the three *koring* territories (Kantor, Tumana, and Mana), each vassal to a *nyanthio* province (Kantor and Mana to Pathiana, Tumana to Jimara) (Cissoko 1981,1; Niane 1989, 45) (see Fig. 4.2). Beyond these two groups, the status of the different *banco* varied, with their degree of autonomy being largely proportional to their rate of 'mandinguisation' (Mané 1989, 26). In general terms, however, centralisation was extremely loose, limited to annual taxes and war, which meant most territories organised themselves according to their local particularities, as indicated by both oral traditions and European accounts.

For instance, in the small territories along the Gambia (Niomi, Badibou,

Diara), the state was a confederation of 2-5 clans united by kinship, each of which would take power in rotational turn. In some cases, like Badibou, the reigns were limited to 7 years (Cissoko 1969, 330); while larger territories like Woulli tended to have more authoritarian systems of government, where a single clan controlled power (Cissoko 1969, 330-1). The confederate nature of some of these territories is reflected in Hecquard's 1853 description of the organisation of the *nyanthio* province of Toumana:

'Le Toumane se divise en plusieurs petites provinces, ou fractions de territoire, qui forment une espèce de confédération. Chacune d'elles a son chef particulier, dont le pouvoir, absolu du reste, se transmet en ligne collatérale : c'est-à-dire- que le frère succède au frère, et qu'à défaut de frère seulement, le fils aîné hérite des biens et du pouvoir de son père. Il est rare que ces chefs se fassent la guerre. S'il survient entre eux quelques contestations, ils s'en rapportent à l'arbitrage des plus anciens du pays. Si un Etat étranger les attaque, ils unissent leurs forces, qui deviennent alors assez considérables pour qu'ils soient respectés de tous leurs voisins, aux querelles ils ne se mêlent jamais'⁴ (Hecquard 1853, 187).

In practice, each of these territories was defined as a network of *tatas*, military strongholds and administrative centres that surveilled the land and protected it. Very often, some of the smaller *banco* were little more than a *tata* placed in the middle of the bush, surrounded by agricultural fields and Fulbe families with their herds (Benoit 1988, 510). Although as discussed in Ch.3, a *tata* was always a sign of political power, the importance of *tataji* greatly varied. As Kekouta Camara from Kabendou (Int. 12) indicated:

'there were places that had a *tata* but were not important. They didn't all have the same relevance. The most powerful ones were Kansala, Kankelafa, Payoungou, Kabendou, and Kopara. But there were also less important *tatas*, *tatas* with only one compound on the inside'.

4 'The Tumana is divided into several smaller provinces, or fractions of territory, which form a sort of confederation. Each one has its particular chief, whose power, which is absolute, is transmitted collaterally, i.e. the brother succeeds the brother, and only in the absence of a brother, the eldest son inherits the goods and power of his father. It is rare for these chiefs to make war. If it happens that there are some disputes between them, they take them to the arbitration of the elders of the country. If a foreign state attacks them, they unite their forces, which become then quite considerable, so they are respected by all their neighbours, into whose affairs they never meddle'

Table 4.1 'Provinces' of Kaabu cited in oral traditions and written texts

| Frequently cited | Occasionally cited | | Rarely cited | |
|------------------|--------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|
| Jimara | Kongara | Foroya | Bissaboori | Sanno |
| Pathiana | Woulli | Kandiaye | Damantang | Kinara |
| Sama | Kandia | Koli | Kaataba | Manaoisié |
| Kantor | Jarra | Pirada | Kakaari | Kades |
| Tumana | Kombo | Saloum | Kansonko | Mambao |
| Manna | Niomi | Sotuma | Kareesi | Lorcounda |
| Sankola | Bajar | Kabomba | Koopara | Paddinka |
| Koussara | Chanya | Busan | Koose | Loulouma |
| Propana | Pakao | Jaxima | Korubali | Tiracounda |
| Badora | Mambua | Kabuba | Maani | Bissau |
| Pakisse | Baddibu | Kudor | Mamakunda | Bondu |
| Kolla | Fogni | Kudora | Mampatim | Boudie |
| Kanadu | Jokadu | Kuor | Soofanyama | Kusala |
| Nampayo | Niani | Lama | Binafa | Sanno |
| Birassou | Nyamina | Morikunda | Chewel Lawo | Bassari |
| Pajadi | Sandu | Woye | Cana | Cana |
| Pakane | Mansuan | | Jeega | Paji |
| Pating | Base | | Paji | Kangara |
| Mancrossé | Basun | | Kuyara | Kubotu |
| Firdu | Buloli | | Lurinkunda | Farim |
| Kamoko | Karesi | | Mansomini | |
| Mansuna | Kose | | Thyankunda | |
| Thiana | Talto | | Panounkou | |
| Korbala | Basari | | Djimboung | |
| Wuropana | Kafia | | Konyaji | |
| Kiang | Dyèga | | Maru | |

The *tatas* fulfilled both practical and symbolic functions. On the one hand, as discussed in Ch.3, they could be large defensive structures, capable of resisting sieges and attacks, as reflected in the following description of the Toumana region in the 19th C:

'Chaque chef réside dans un tata généralement bien construit. Celui de Mané a deux enceintes, séparées par un espace de 6 metres environ, au milieu duquel est creusé un fossé de 3 mètres. Ce tata est flanqué de tourelles carrées, assez hautes pour dominer tout le plateau, et, en cas de sédition intérieure, balayer de leurs feux le corps même du tata. Quand la guerre éclate au dehors, les habitants abandonnent leurs villages, emmènent avec eux leurs troupeaux et viennent se réfugier dans ces tatas, qui son imprenables pour des noirs. Dans le cas d'une guerre offensive, tous les hommes pouvant porter les armes et supporter de longues marches se mettent en campagne. Le reste de la population se renferme dans les tatas, dont ils font la défense⁵' (Hecquard 1853,

5 'Each chief lives in a generally well-built *tata*. That of Mané has two enclosures, separated by a space of around 6m, in the middle of which there is a 3 metre ditch. This *tata* is flanked by square turrets, high enough to dominate all the plateau, and, in case of internal rebellion, to sweep the core of the *tata* with fire. When war breaks out on the outside, the inhabitants abandon their

188).

Beyond their practical functions, however, *tatas* were also key in the conceptualisation of Kaabu's landscapes, as reflected by both oral traditions and European accounts. They were the nodes that defined the military and political landscapes, as well as an intrinsically Manding manifestation. As Kekouta Camara from Kabendou (Int. 12) put it, 'where *tatas* can be found, that's where the Manding lived. The Fulbe did not build *tatas*. They were subjugated. Does somebody who's subjugated have the courage to build a *tata*?' (Int. 12). The very presence of a *tata* thus defined the existence of a state-controlled territory linked to Manding political traditions, whereas their absence marked a no-man's land suitable for raiding (Benoit 1988).

In several occasions, elders referred to these *tata* sites as *capitales* (e.g. Int 1), using the French term. Although this is clearly an anachronism, it raises pertinent questions regarding the nature of these power centres; questions which also affect the rest of the Mali Empire. The issue of whether Mali was structured around a single or multiple capitals, or whether 'capital' is altogether a useful term to understand its political structures has been, and still is, highly debated. David Conrad (1994, 365) has suggested that *mansadugu* (king's town) is a much better term than capital, as it does not imply a single and permanent seat of power, suggesting instead that the centre of authority was where the *mansa* happened to be.

Back to Kaabu, while the term *mansadugu* was not mentioned in any of our interviews, it is not alien to the elders' conceptualisation of political power, which as discussed earlier, is marked by the triad ruler-territory-town. In fact, this term is entirely appropriate for the colonial and Fulaadu periods, when centres of political power were short-lived and intrinsically linked to the ruler that created them (e.g. Alpha Molo with N'Dorna, Musa Molo with Hamdallahi).

During Kaabu, however, the situation appears to have been different, or at least it is remembered as such. Towns like Kansala, Payoungou or Mampatim are consistently characterised as permanent pillars of power, not attached to a particular ruler or reign. Even sites whose creation is associated directly to a particular individual (like Kelefa and Kankelefa) are presented as largely outliving

villages, take with them their herds and take refuge inside these *tatas*, which are impregnable to the blacks. In the case of an offensive war, all the men capable of carrying weapons and enduring long walks go on campaign. The rest of the population locks itself in the *tatas* and defend them'

their creator. Yet, in terminological terms, there appears to be no direct Manding equivalent for 'capital'. In one occasion, an elder (Malang Dourbaly, Int. 16) used the word *tenda* as a direct translation of 'capital', but this was the only time *tenda* was mentioned. The word *tèndaa* has been reported elsewhere to mean riverine port (Giesing & Vydrine 2007, 384). In the vast majority of cases, however, places like Kansala, Payoungou or Kankelefa were described as villages of power (*saré lammu* in Pulaar), *capitales* (using the French term), or simply as the main town of a given *leydi/banco*, without any further qualification. Nevertheless, I believe the insistence of oral traditions on the permanence of seats of power like Kansala, makes the term 'capital' a useful and appropriate one for understanding Kaabu's structures, regardless of whether there is an indigenous equivalent or not.

The last and best remembered capital of Kaabu was Kansala, located in the territory of Pachesi, where it enjoyed a strategic geographic position: it bordered the three *nyanthio* provinces, it was in close proximity to some of Kaabu's most important military strongholds, as well as a reasonable distance from the main trading ports, but far enough to avoid direct European visits (Niane 1989, 64).

As previously discussed, it is not clear when the capital moved there, but all oral traditions agree that Kansala was not its original location. Several griotic traditions claim that Kaabu's first capital was located in Mampatim (Fall 1981, 2 ; Mane 1989, 21); and the elders of Payoungou (Ousmane Camara, Int. 16), argue that Payoungou was the seat of power prior to the move to Kansala, but no additional evidence exists to back either of these claims.

Thanks to the abundance of epic griotic traditions on Kaabu's rulers and on the interest of European sources in figuring out local hierarchies, we have a substantial amount of information regarding Kaabu's political structures. At the head of each *banco* was a *mansa* (ruler, pl. *mansaw*), of which there were several types. The *dioung-dioung mansaw*, named after the royal insignia (the *dioung-dioung* drums) were at the bottom of the ruling hierarchy.

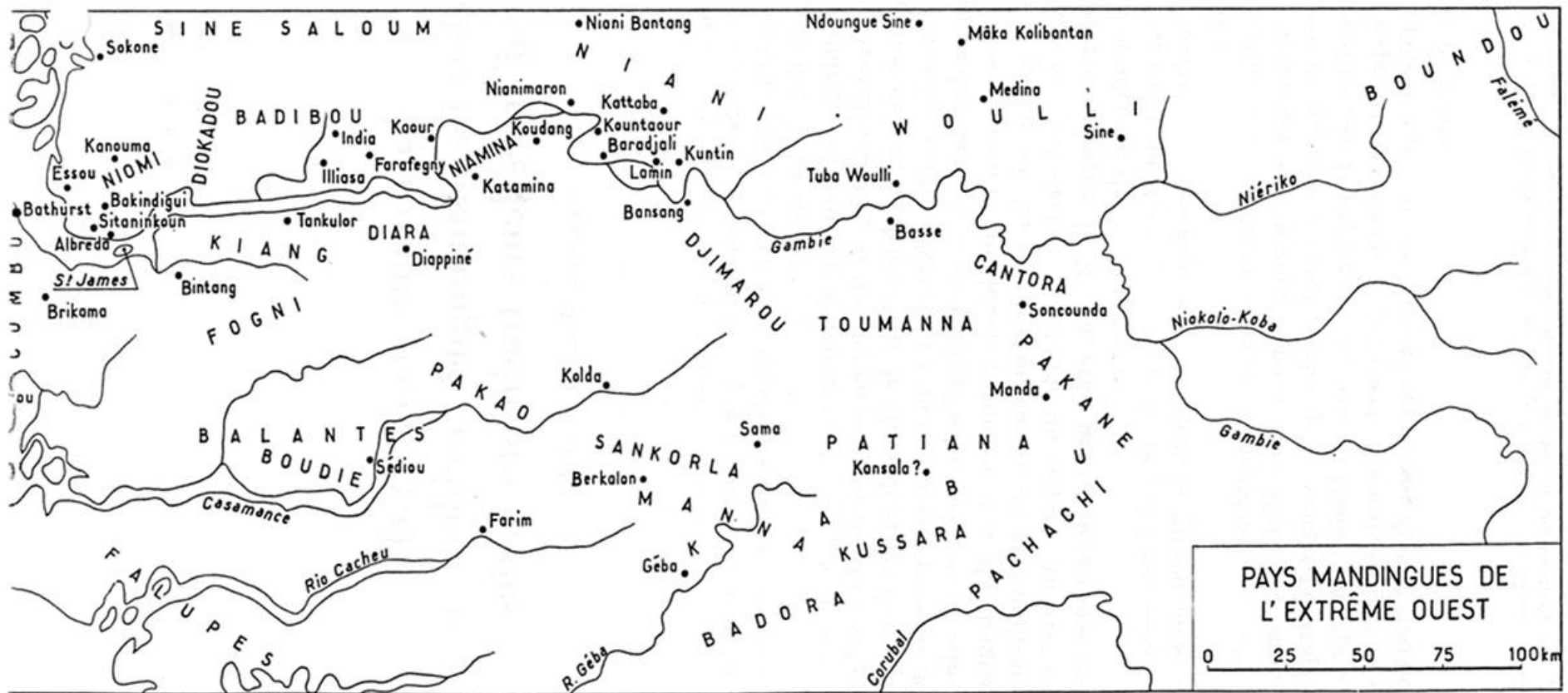


Fig. 4.12 Regions of Kaabu. Reproduced from Cissoko 1969

Next were the *farin mansaw* (warrior kings), who had an army and lived off war. These *farin* appear to have been quite common along the Gambia, as together with *mansa*, *farin* is the most commonly cited title by 15th C and 16th C sources (e.g. Jobson 1623, 58; Gomes 1959, 35; Alvares de Almada 1664, 55; Donelha 1977, 120). The *farin mansa* in the border territories were also known as *kanta mansa* (guardian kings) (Cissoko 1969, 335-6).

Each *mansa* or *farin* had a court and the power to collect taxes, but it owed obedience to the *mansaba* ('great king', or emperor), who bestowed the right to fortify towns (Niane 1989, 71-2). Central taxes were collected by the *mansaba's* agents, generally the *koring* from the territories of Sankolla and Kantora (Niane 1989, 73). The power of the *mansaba*, however, appears to have been limited, both materially and militarily, as his personal army was reduced and any expeditions required calling upon the rulers of the different territories. These limitations are clearly reflected in the description by Lasana Kuyate (griot from Chewel Lawo, Velingara) of the reaction of the Sumakunda rulers after the fall of Kansala:

'Because Sumaa Maane of Tumanna Suma Kunda had founded Jimara Sumaa Kunda, when Jimara Sumaa Kunda collected taxes they sent taxes they collected to Tumanna Sumaa Kunda for remittance to Kansala. This tax was paid once a year in the dry season in the form of cattle, cloth, goats, and sheep. But after the fall of Kansala, when Tumanna still continued to demand that tax be forwarded, Jimara Sumaa Kunda refused. "Why should we pay tribute", they asked, "when Kansala no longer exists?" So Jimara Sumaa Kunda then called on Numu Kunda, Chaa Kunda, Dobang Kunda, and Baa Sansango, the four forts it controlled, when Tumanna came after their taxes with an army. They met the invaders at Kojja, south of Sumaa Kunda, where they had gotten lost, and inflicted a severe defeat upon them' (Lasana Kuyaté, cited in Galloway 1980, 17).

Despite these material limitations, however, the *mansaba* was mystically revered as the father of the people, and surrounded by great mystique and respect (Cissoko 1969, 338).

While European sources often write about the *mansaba's* warriors and agents, they never refer to them by their Manding titles, but oral traditions are full of references to Kaabu's *kelejawara/kelelangana*. Kekouta Camara from Kabendou (Int. 12), for instance, explained how 'the *kelejawara* were important as it was them who went to combat. It was them who helped in the different expeditions, it was them who were rewarded'. Kings were always accompanied by *kelejawara* warriors (Ousmane Camara, Payoungou, Int 16), and it was those warriors who inhabited the

tatas across the land (Kekouta Camara, Kabendou, Int. 16). As with later periods, some of the names of these *kelejawara* are remembered, such as Koring Mané, Dianke Wali's man in Koumambouré (Demba Balde, Int. 26).

Although I have not encountered any mentions to *barula* or *sufa* in historical written accounts or elder traditions about Kaabu, *barula* feature prominently in a version of the Tiramakhan epic collected by the Portuguese colonial officer Francisco Grandao. This tradition describes how during the Manding conquest of the Senegambia, all the conquered territories were left under the control of a 'batulai' or assistants of the king, after whom the original provinces were named (Grandao 1947, 450). The absence of references to *sofa* is intriguing, as out of these three categories, the *sofa* is the one most strongly associated with the Mali empire, and Mage (1868, 82) extensively mentions the role of *sofa* or 'warrior slaves' in southern Mali at the time of Kaabu's decline.

With regards to local administration, no European account mentions the term *jarga*, but they describe a system of operation very similar to the one known for later periods, as shown by the following description:

'Dans chaque village sonniqué⁶, il y a un chef qui administre la justice et profite des amendes, Il est assisté du conseil des principaux et surtout des vieillards du village ; tout est réglé d'après des usages constants, et leurs assemblées se tiennent avec les plus grand ordre. Le roi est considéré comme le propriétaire du pays; mais ce n'est pas lui qui est chargé de le défendre: il y a enconre un commandant militaire, qui doit être le premier soldat, et avoir prouvé son courage par des actions d'éclat'⁷ (Bertrand-Bocande1849b, 59).

In relation to the village head, he adds:

'il est ordinairement le représentant des héritiers de la familles des premiers occupants. On reconnait ses droits sur les terres restées incultes ; les terrains cultivés sont la propriété de celui qui les défriche, les fruits sauvages appartient à celui qui les cueille'⁸ (Bertrand-Bocandé 1849, 268).

Nevertheless, this description refers to the period at the very end of Kaabu, and does not necessarily represent village level structures in earlier times, for which

6 In this case *soninké* refers to the non-Muslim Manding living in the area.

7 'In each Soninke village, there is a chief who administers justice and benefits from fines. He is assisted by a council of village leaders and, most importantly, elders; everything is regulated by customs, and their assemblies take place with the greatest of orders. The king is considered as the owner of the country; but it is not him who is in charge of defending it: there is also a military commander, who must be the first soldier, and to have proven his courage with his exploits'

8 'he is normally the representative of the heirs of the families of the first inhabitants. His rights over uncultivated lands are recognised; cultivated lands are the property of that who clears them out; wild fruit belong to whoever picks them'

we have no information.

Sacred landscapes

As discussed in Ch. 3, *dyalan* were absolutely fundamental to Kaabu's ideology and operation. Kaabu's ruling elite derived its legitimacy from their mythical origin at Guedi Nyanthio Bé, and all the candidates to *mansaba* of Kaabu had to first receive the approval of several *dyalan*, including those in Payoungou, Kankelefa, and Kansala. Important decisions about war and peace were also run through the relevant *dyalan*, and critical state meetings were held before them (Ousmane Camara, Int. 16). Kaabu's *dyalan* thus constituted a network of power loci which largely coincided with that of political authority, as all the great *dyalan* were located in, or in the vicinity of, Kaabu's main political centres. These *dyalan* were not isolated, but conceived as a network of interrelated locales, connected by relationships of kinship and hierarchy. For example, elders at Payoungou claim that their Tamba Dibi was the original, and therefore senior to the rest of Tamba Dibi discussed in Ch. 3 (Ousmane Camara & Moussa Sane, Int. 16).

Contrasting with the mobility of settlements, the permanent nature of *dyalan* is remarkable. Standing stones and caves cannot move, and trees are literally rooted in the ground. Although as living creatures, the life span of trees is obviously shorter, *dyalan* trees can pass their status to their descendants, i.e. the trees grown from the seeds of the original *dyalan*. For instance, in Payoungou the current Tamba Dibi is the 'son' of the original one, as it grew from its seeds (Payoungou Seydi, fieldnotes). Consequently, while the rest of the landscape moved around them, *dyalan* stayed in place.

In addition to the *dyalan*, both epic narratives and village traditions often refer to 'power hotspots', on which great towns could be built and/or forces amassed. For instance, the reason why Tiramakan decided to stay in Kayes during the rainy season –according to the version recorded in Kabendou– was that 'he walked along the river and noticed it was a place of power. He talked to his companions and said: this place is a land of power (*leydi lammu*). Then he went to talk to the king' (Malang Sané, Int. 12). This conceptualisation of the landscape as a network of power locations, 'a spatial blueprint of power' (McIntosh 1988, 28-9) from which energy can be harvested, is not limited to the Upper Casamance, but is in fact extremely common in myths and epic narratives across the former Mali empire, most commonly expressed through the motif of the hero who travels to

foreign lands in the quest of knowledge and power (e.g. Dieterlen 1957; Cissé 1964; Bird & Kendall 1980).

As for Islam, as previously discussed, we know from historical sources that it was present in the royal courts of Kaabu since at least the 15th C, but its influence appears to have been limited and with no particular expression at the landscape level.

Movements and mobility

As we go further back in time, the information about mobility patterns becomes more vague and scarce, but there are some indications that both long and short distance mobility patterns were in place throughout most of Kaabu's history. In terms of village abandonments and relocations, Bertrand Bocandé noted in the 19th how the Fulbe people:

*'reste sur les terres qu'on lui a prêtées tant qu'il y trouve une hospitalité convenable; il se tient toujours prêt à partir. S'il redoute queleques exactions, il déserte dans un instant et va s'établir ailleurs avec ses troupeaux, emportant toute ce qui lui appartient ; il n'abandonne que ses chétives cases de paille'*⁹ (Bertrand-Bocande 1849 b, 58).

Mobility, however, was not limited to the Fulbe, as both griotic epics and village traditions describe patterns of movement among the Manding, albeit of different types. For instance, a version of the Kelefa epic narrated by Ousmane Camara from Payoungou (Int. 16), gives an excellent example of Kopytoff's 'African frontier' model described in Ch. 2. According to this version, Kelefa was the son of Tiramakan; he wished to create his own village, and asked his father for permission. Tiramakan agreed, and gave him some land at the end of his territory. Over time, Kelefa's village grew, and he returned to his father to ask for more lands for cultivation. Again, Tiramakan agreed, and said that in order to define the new extent of their territories, they would both leave their respective villages at sunrise, walk towards each other, and their meeting point would be the new border. Unfortunately for Kelefa, his father cheated and left the night before, so when Kelefa prepared to leave his village in the morning, he encountered his father at the gate. Although almost certainly not a historical occurrence, this story does highlight some key principles and patterns of landscape organisation, especially the

9 'stay in the lands which are lent to them for only as long as they encounter an agreeable hospitality; they always ready to depart. If they fear abuses, they desert in an instant and part to establish themselves elsewhere with their herds, taking all their belongings; they only abandon their meagre straw huts'

dynamics of societal reproduction at the fringes of territories, the prestige involved in founding villages, as well as the hierarchical relations between the original villages and the smaller ones that 'sprouted' from them.

As for short-distance mobility, or shifts, an elder in Payoungou, by the name of Payoungou Seydi (Int. 16), gave a very insightful account of what I have called 'shifting sedentism'. When asked about the different areas that composed the ancient site of the village, he explained how:

'if they settled in a place where there were many deaths, they would move, with a jump of a few meters. And they would never go back. The *tata* which I know of, never moved. It was the people who moved towards and around the *tata*. Thus the *tata* I know in Payoungou stayed in the same place. It was the village which moved around it. This movement was constant. The elders told me so'.

Although as tends to be the case with oral traditions, it is difficult to accurately establish which period this description refers to, we know from historical sources (see Ch. 6 for details) that the *tata* mentioned was abandoned before the 19th C, which means the patterns described pre-date Kaabu's decline.

Finally, a key factor in the movement and displacement of populations across Kaabu's history was slavery. The nature of slave raiding and trade radically changed over the centuries, and especially with the rise of the Atlantic slave trade; as did the social status of slaves (see Ch. 3); but slaves remained a key part of Kaabu's economy over its history. An early instance of this importance, as well as a perfect example of Guyer's 'wealth-in-people' notion, is provided again by the Tiramakan epic, this time narrated by Kekouta Camara from Kabendou (Int. 12). According to this version, on his way to the Gambia, Tiramakan stopped in Kayes (Mali) over the rainy season. As a way of thanking the king for his hospitality, Tiramakan put one of his warriors at his disposal. The warrior joined one of the king's expeditions and returned with five captives, which he gave to the king. As a courtesy, the king gave two of them to Tiramakan. After being fed, one of them told Tiramakan he wanted to fight; and thus was sent in the next expedition, where he in turn captured four people. This process repeated itself several time and after each expedition, Tiramakan had more people under his control. As a result, the king's sons got worried and told their father Tiramakan had to be sent away, as his power would soon outnumber their own.

Once again, it is doubtful whether this particular episode ever happened, but it demonstrates the political importance of slavery (and captives) for both

military and economic power. As Kekouta Camara (Int. 12) explained 'if they made war, all the children captured were taken home. They were their source of wealth'. Unfortunately, at present we have no way of quantifying the extent of the population movements caused by slavery in its early forms. It is also unlikely that we will be able to quantify it archaeologically, as contrary to other areas of the Mali empire (e.g. Ségou, cf. MacDonald & Camara 2012) oral traditions in the Upper Casamance do not mention the existence of particular settlement forms associated with slaves. In later periods, however, when slaves became also goods that could be sold in European trading entrepôts, we start having numbers that testify to the scale of the phenomenon. For instance, and as already indicated in Ch.3, in the early 18th C the Kaabu *mansaba* sold 600 slaves annually to the Portuguese alone (Labat 1728, 234). Movements of captives therefore appear to have been very substantial from the very onset of Kaabu, and thus need to be considered when discussing population movements, but tracing them on the ground might be difficult with the available information and without fully understanding the material signatures they produced.

4.6 Pre-Kaabu (pre 13thC)

Unfortunately, the oral traditions we collected did not describe this period in anything other than extremely vague terms. The information available from existing sources is, as discussed in Ch. 3, also very scarce, thus rendering an analysis of its political and ritual landscape organisation impossible for the time being.

4.7 Landscapes of the Upper Casamance: chronological evolution

Having analysed the evolution of the articulation of landscapes of power in the Upper Casamance from the present to the beginnings of Kaabu, it is time now to reverse the analysis and look at processes and events in the order they happened, at the nature of the transitions between periods and at how the different polities in the region built on, rejected, or continued the practices and notions of their predecessors. Several themes emerge from this review: the extraordinary resilience of patterns at the local level, the adaptability of regional structures, a gradual trend towards greater centralisation, the political importance of sacred landscapes, and the centrality of mobility for settlement patterns throughout the last millennium.

Although as would be expected, the review suffered from a gradual

decrease in information as it went further back in time, the one element that seemed to remain constant, from the earliest Portuguese texts up to the colonial period, was the role of the *jarga* or village head: notionally the eldest member of one of the founding families (although in practice other considerations and caveats apply), in charge of guaranteeing the peaceful development of village life and of allocating lands to those who request them, all within the parameters of the gerontocracy of the council of village elders. Throughout the centuries, villages were composed of segments, of families and lineages of different statuses that came and went, as their circumstances changed.

In each of the periods, however, the regional structures within which villages, *jargas*, and council elders had to operate, and the restrictions and possibilities such structures entailed, gradually varied. Although we do not have any reliable information about the organisation of early Kaabu, the Tiramakan epic and associated traditions, combined with what we know about later periods, offer some possible indications. We know a group of Manding warriors arrived in the Senegambia in the 13th C, and that by the time of the first Portuguese sources two centuries later, they had already established a vast, if only superficially centralised, confederation of states. Traditions describe Tiramakan's peripatetic movements across the region, conquering lands and leaving trusted warriors in charge of them, but never settling.

It is difficult to establish how much of these traditions is historical; but one aspect seems clear: the resulting political system was not a direct copy of that of the Manden. While it retained some of the traits of the latter (presence of *nyamakala* hierarchical structure around a warrior class of which the greatest expression was a *mansa*), it also acquired some markedly different –presumably local–ones, such as the presence of queens, *nyanthioya*, or the importance of mobility (Lopes 1988; Niane 1989). Consequently, 'Tiramakan's conquest', appears to have been a process involving substantial negotiation with local communities, but the specific nature of such negotiations remains unknown.

Given the extremely little information we have about this initial period, it is difficult to assess how much of a break with previous structures the institution of *nyanthioya* represented. What is clear, however, is that it established a more defined and formalised structure that provided greater stability by establishing a mechanism of rotational power between the different elite factions, while limiting access to the higher offices to a reduced group of people, sanctioned and naturalised by a myth

of origin anchored in the landscape. While this system of rotational power gradually collapsed, and was not adopted by the Fulaadu and colonial authorities, other aspects did make the transition, with different degrees of adaptation. One particularly resilient notion is that of *banco/leydi*, which as previously described was used up until colonial times to designate a political space: a territory under the (more or less loose) control of a ruler and identified with a given seat of power. The nature of the seat of power, however, varied. In Kaabu, towns like Kansala, Payoungou, or Kankelefa, fully deserve to be referred to as the 'capitals' of their respective *banco*, as they are consistently described as permanent pillars of power, not attached to a particular ruler or reign. The situation with the 'royal towns' of more peripheral *banco* is less clear, as the association of territory and town is not as strong. During Fulaadu and colonialism, on the other hand, the power of towns appears to have been directly connected to the rulers that resided in them (some towns were even named after their ruler, like Medina Abdoul, residence of the *chef de canton* Abdoul Diallo), and the power centre of a territory changed with each ruler. It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that both these states only lasted for around 60 years, and it is therefore possible that there simply was not enough time for power centres to consolidate and endure.

Another particularly striking example of survival and adaptation of concepts throughout political changes is that of offices and titles. The four main examples discussed in this chapter (*mansallamdo*, *kelengana/kelejawara*, *barula*, *sofa*) are used to describe positions of power in both Kaabu and Fulaadu, as well as during colonial times, although their meaning in some cases changed. *Mansa*, the most frequently cited of the four terms –at least by European sources (e.g. Gomes 1959[1481],35; Ca da Mosto 1895[1507],132; Bertrand Bocandé 1849b, 266)–, is consistently used to describe supra-local rulers, from early Kaabu kings to the current president. The remaining three, although very common in oral traditions, do not appear in written sources until the 19th C (Mage 1868, 82; Roncière 1894 cited in Benoit 1988; 514, Grandao 1947, 450); but their Manding provenance, their geographical spread across the former Mali Empire, and their prominent role in epic traditions, would suggest a pre-16th C origin. The roles they referred to, however, appear to have substantially changed from Kaabu to Fulaadu to colonial times, demonstrating both the importance of continuity and tradition, but also its flexibility and adaptability.

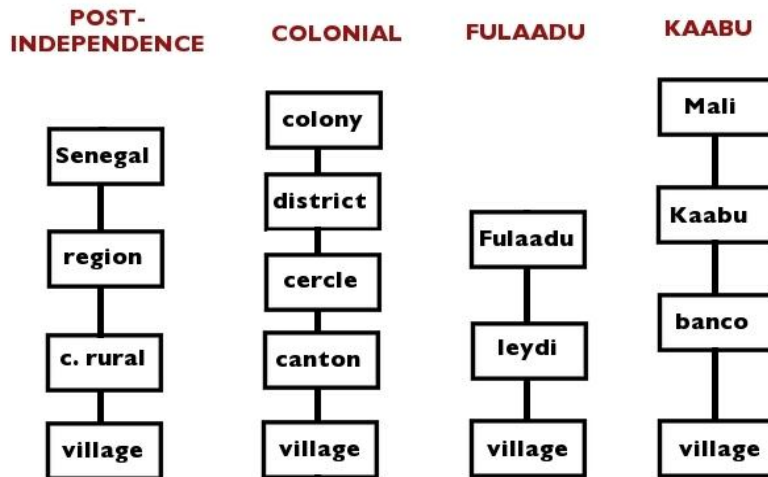


Fig. 4.13 Administrative divisions of the Upper Casamance over history.

As for sacred landscapes, all periods have been marked by a combination of Islamic and pre-Islamic (i.e. animist, traditional) notions, with a gradual shift in importance from the latter to the former. Both sets of beliefs and practices have had great political implications: *dyalan* appointed kings and queens, advised upon state matters, and added to the power and prestige of given towns; it is no coincidence that the greatest *dyalan* of Kaabu also happened to be right next to its key political power centres. Likewise, Islam was used initially as a source of prestige, both political and social, and later as a key identity legitimising tool in the construction of a force capable of overthrowing Kaabu.

Nevertheless, although both Islam and *dyalan* were deeply intertwined with political structures, *dyalan* practices had a degree of anchoring in the landscape, which Islam has not yet achieved. This rootedness gave *dyalan* practices a great degree of resilience, as shown by how even after their abandonment, their associated notions still shape the local understandings of the landscape. This is nowhere clearer than in the association of trees and historical characters: in the same way that all of Kaabu's *dyalan* had an inseparable connection with their founder (Girard 1992, 101), all recent historical characters have their associated trees, from Alfa Molo to *chefs de canton*, trees which also embody the power of the people they represent. Likewise, the idea that there are some areas which are powerful and propitious for inhabitation, while others are inhabited by bad spirits and dangerous, has also survived through the ages, adapting itself through the Muslim concept of *djinn*s.

Despite the many similarities and continuities in the articulation of landscapes of power over time, there is an aspect of landscape organisation that has

substantially changed, and that is centralisation. Although Kaabu was since the beginning a hierarchical state, with a clear pyramid of subordination, first to Mali, later to Kansala; it was also highly decentralised, as the multiple states or provinces that formed the federation retained a large degree of autonomy. A crucial part of this autonomy had to do with the decentralisation of the means of destruction, since the *mansaba* required the collaboration of the regional *mansa* and their armies for any substantial expedition. Likewise, Alfa and Musa Molo also depended on the collaboration of their subordinates, as their personal armies were quite limited, but they both by-passed these by calling upon on a more powerful military force (the Futa Djallon in the case of Alfa, the French in the case of Musa). This added a degree of centralisation, but also of subordination to external powers, which might account for the short length and instability of their reigns. Finally, the colonial administration, while apparently maintaining the precolonial regional structure through the canton system; it also radically changed its power dynamics by centralising military power.

As for mobility, the previous review revealed how constant village foundations and abandonments have been a feature of the Upper Casamance's population dynamics throughout history. This recurrent use of movement as a response to any social, political, or environmental problems has often been linked to the influence of formerly nomadic Fulbe populations; but this explanation obviates the fact that these patterns largely predate the Fulbe rise to power, and are as common among the Manding as they are to the Fulbe. Secondly, documentary evidence consistently shows that short-distance mobility patterns, i.e. 'shifts' have characterised the Upper Casamance's landscapes since at least Late Kaabu times, and the rootedness of these patterns of settlement mobility in oral traditions suggests they may go back much further in time.

CHAPTER 5.- SURVEY

In the previous chapter, I explored the evolution of the principles of landscape organisation that have characterised the articulation of power networks in the Upper Casamance over the last millennium, and how the successive polities in the area adopted, changed and made use of the notions and practices of their predecessors. In the following pages I address the results of the surface survey and how they fit within these wider landscapes. I start with a description of the methods employed, of its advantages and limitations, and of the reasons behind the different methodological choices made. I then proceed to describe the different types of sites encountered in terms of their archaeology, the oral traditions associated with them, and their presence in written historical accounts. Finally, I discuss the different patterns that emerge from this analysis, both in terms of specific site categories and in relation to wider processes of landscape articulation.

5.1 Methods and overview of results

As was discussed in Ch.1, prior to this project the only archaeological information available for the Upper Casamance was Girard's (1992) unsystematic listing of *dyalan* and *guide* structures. The main aim of this survey was therefore to obtain a representative sample of the diversity and nature of the archaeological landscapes of the region. During five weeks in January and February 2013, we conducted a village-based survey covering an area of approximately 70x50 km, from 13° 09' to 12° 41' N in latitude, and from 14° 36' to 14° 02' W on longitude (see Fig 5.1). We visited 25 villages to interview the local elders and record archaeological sites in the surrounding area. Given the combination of poor landscape visibility and lack of prior information, village-led survey (i.e. based on local knowledge) was deemed the most time-effective method of exploring the region. Visiting sites accompanied by elders also had the advantage of not having to contact land owners individually and the interviews gave us the opportunity to explain to village elders who we were, what were we trying to achieve, and why; which in an area in which foreigners tend to be from NGOs, is fundamental to avoid problematic misunderstandings.

The protocols and methods used for the initial arrival at villages and the recording of oral traditions have already been described in Ch. 4. As the interviews

were always conducted in Fulbe (even though in two cases the answers were given in Manding), and Fulbe does not have a direct equivalent to 'archaeological site', one of our first priorities was to establish the local terminology used to refer to the different types of archaeological sites present, which consisted of nine main terms:

- *Tumbu* (pl. *tumbuji*): abandoned village.
- *Tata* (pl. *tataji*): fortification, fortress.
- *Guide* (pl. *guide*): rock shelter, subterranean galleries.
- *Dyalan* (pl. *dyalanji*): sacred place, generally a tree or cave.
- *Fi kadie de*: stone circle.
- *Teppere* (pl. *Teppe*): Foot prints (polishing marks on lateritic outcrops).
- *Huddeji mboy ji*: Ancient things.
- *Saare cosaan* (pl. *thiaé cosaan*): historical village.
- *Duula mboy do* (pl. *duula ji mboy ji*): ancient places.

As efficient and culturally-sensitive as village-based survey is, it presents a problem: the difficulty of assessing how representative the recorded sample is. To correct this deficiency, a week-long systematic control survey had been planned at the end of the first five weeks of village-led work. Unfortunately, this initial plan had to be abandoned in light of two unexpected factors: the very reduced site visibility (no visible stratification and lack of surface pottery in non-cultivated areas) and the dense vegetation cover.

Having chosen the peak of the dry season to conduct the survey, it was expected that wild vegetation would have dried and fields would have been harvested. Although this was an entirely accurate prediction, what I had not expected was that, although dry, vegetation would still be present, in the form of thorny bushes, perennial trees, and some deciduous trees whose fallen leaves formed a 10cm-thick coat on the floor. The conditions ranged from total lack of accessibility without cutting implements, to sparse bush with a dense coat of dry material on the floor hiding any potential surface finds. Additionally, sites were not usually identifiable by topographic undulations given the shallow stratigraphy.

Furthermore, as a region characterised by a depositional rather than deflationary soil regime, very limited amounts of surface pottery or any other

material were visible. In some cases, even when the local elders had identified a place as a site, it would take us a substantial amount of time and effort to find any surface material or feature confirming the archaeological nature of the location. The only areas presenting optimal conditions for survey were harvested fields which, for obvious reasons, were already well known to local villagers, and therefore not appropriate for a control survey. Consequently, given the resources and time available, it was deemed more productive to employ the time initially allocated to the control survey to continue the village-led exploration. Although this leaves us with the problem of accurately assessing the representativeness of the sample, the nature of the results meant that, although not as accurate as the reference provided by a control survey, a general evaluation was still possible, as is discussed later.

In terms of site recording, once at a site, I would walk its perimeter, mapping it with a hand-held GPS, on the basis of surface pottery and local knowledge. In sites where none of these three elements was present or reliable, the site would be left unmapped and marked only as a waypoint. As it has already been discussed, not all areas with subsurface archaeology have surface pottery, but it is necessary to consider that the opposite might also be the case: post-depositional processes (e.g. manuring or water transport) might have spread surface materials to areas without subsurface archaeology. While this possibility cannot be entirely discarded, excavations (cf. Ch 6 & 7) indicate it does not appear to have been common, as all areas with surface pottery did indeed have archaeology below them. Surface pottery thus remains a reliable indicator of minimum site size.

While I determined the extent of the site, the rest of the team would collect surface pottery, and mark the location of any other materials, such as slag, glass, bone, or small finds (especially beads and spindle whorls), to be recorded by GPS later. In most cases, pottery was so scarce that we collected everything we found, but in cases where amounts were more substantial, we prioritised rims and larger body sherds, to a maximum of one full 30x40cm bag. If slag, glass, or any other materials were present, we collected a representative sample of the different classes found, except for bone, which was noted but left in place. Any features, such as wells, furnaces, collapsed walls, anthropogenic stone accumulations, or hearth stones, were marked as waypoints, photographed, and recorded in the site form.

In total, sixty sites were identified and recorded (see Fig. 5.1). After each

interview, we visited a minimum of 0 and maximum of 11 sites (often split over different days), with an average of 2-3 sites per village. These sites were between 0m and 10.1km from each village, which means if we take an average of 5km as the standard measure of landscape knowledge/willingness to move by local elders, our survey covered over 50 % of the study area (see Fig 5.2). The survey revealed four main types of sites: abandoned villages or *tumbuji*, fortresses or *tataji* (sing. *Tata*), stone marks, and *guide* or subterranean structures. A complete list of the sites and their main traits can be found in Appendix B.

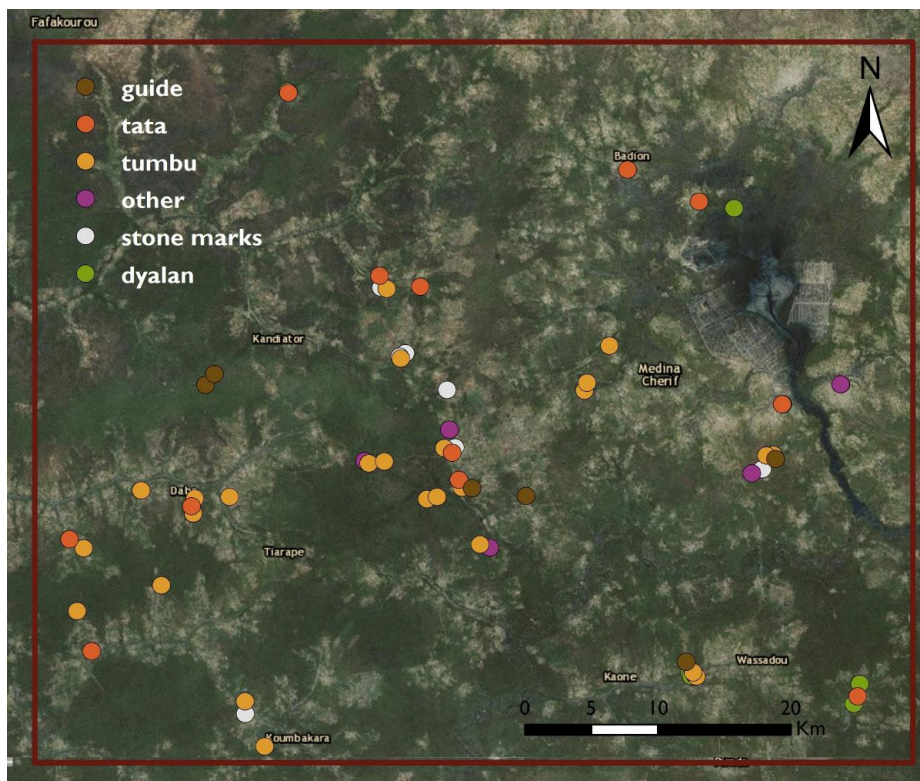


Fig 5.1: Sites identified during survey. Basemap: ©2016 Google.

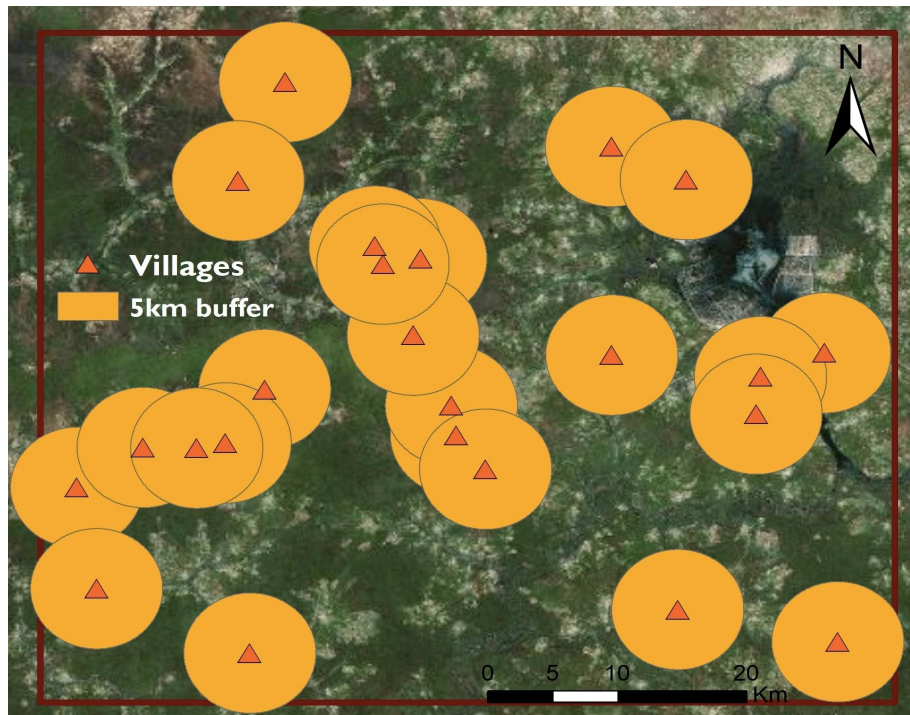


Fig. 5.2: Villages visited with 5km buffer of average knowledge. Basemap: ©2016 Google.

5.2 Settlement sites/Tumbuji

We recorded a total of 34 abandoned settlement sites, locally known as *tumbuji*. Out of these, 21 had surface pottery but only 18 had enough for analysis (i.e. over 20 sherds); 15 had slag, and 9 had remains of glass objects. All of them were located next to a water source. According to local oral traditions, 9% had been occupied during the Bainouk period, 41% in Kaabu times, another 41% after the Fulbe revolt, 59% during the colonial period, and 35% after independence. Although some presented substantial elevation differences from one part of the site to another (up to seven meters) these were in almost all cases related to natural slopes. Only the site of Uraro (UC-27) displayed a clear mound shape. I now describe the information available for each of these sites in detail, both in terms of their archaeology and their associated oral traditions, as well as their presence in historical texts.

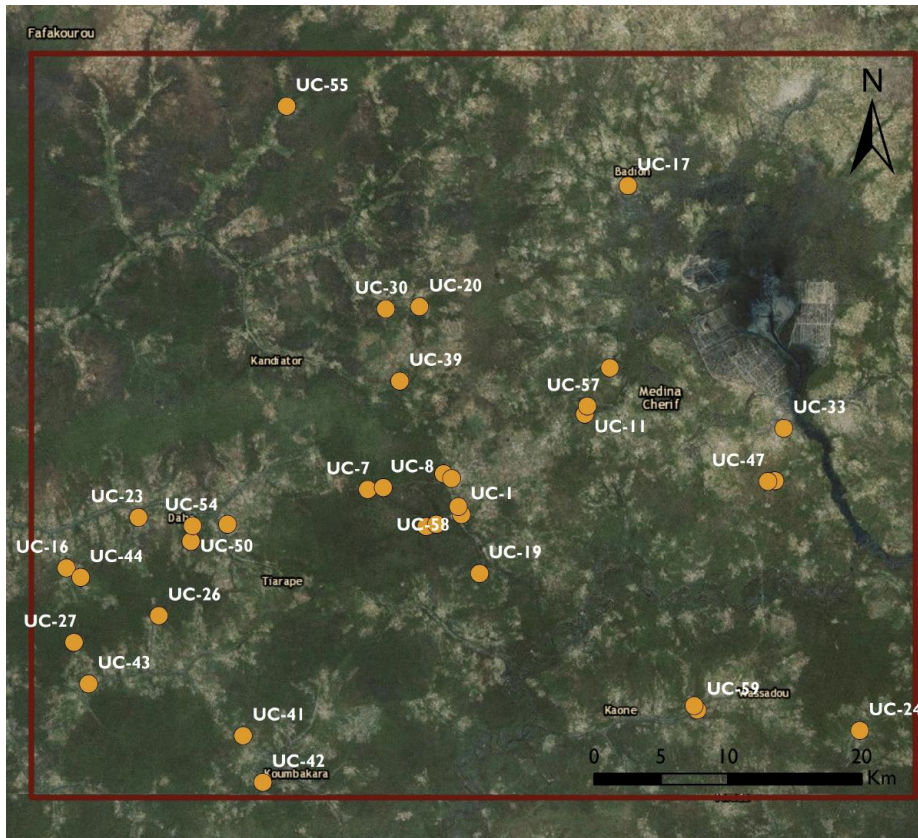


Fig. 5.3 Abandoned settlements or tumbuji identified during the survey Basemap: ©2016 Google.

Mampatim Sinthian (UC-1, UC-58)

N12.86623, W14.33353

There are currently two villages named Mampatim: Mampatim Maoundé (Great Mampatim), which is on the paved road, and the largest of the two; and Mampatim Sinthian (small Mampatim). This latter is a very small agricultural hamlet inhabited by a mixture of Fulbe and Balant populations, 3km away from Mampatim Maoundé. The current village at Mampatim Sinthian was founded during Fulaadu times by a group of Fulbe migrants, who were later joined by Balant families and Manding blacksmiths (the Cissé), although the latter left again some 60 years ago to settle in Saré Hogo (a village 13 km away) (Int. 1). Nevertheless, although their oral traditions are therefore shallow (covering only the last 200 years), several lines of evidence indicate that Mampatim Sinthian is in fact where the original Mampatim (that of the Tiramakan epic and the *nyanthio* myth), was located. First of all, both elders at Mampatim Sinthian and Mampatim Maoundé, agree that Sinthian is the oldest of the two (Int. 1 & 2). Additionally, Guedi Nyanthio Be, which multiple traditions identify as the origin of the *nyanthio*, is in the vicinity (800m away from the village). Finally, several accounts report how the ruins of a Manding *tata* were

visible in M. Sinthian up until the 1970s (Sidibe 1980, 18-19; Niane 1989, 22; Moro Keba Cisse, Int. 28).

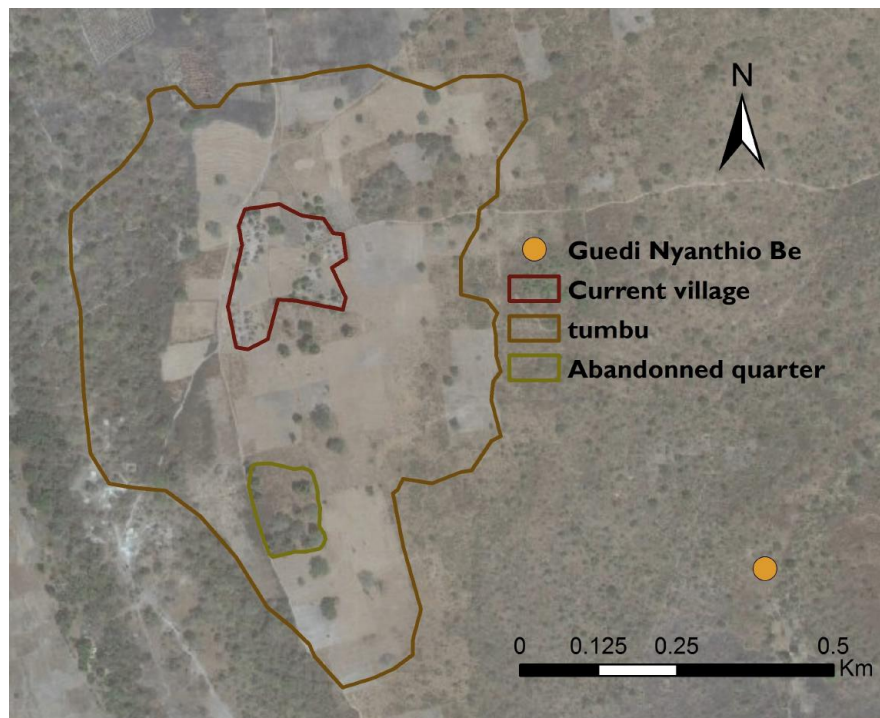


Fig. 5.4 Map of Mampatim Sinthian. Basemap: ©2015 Digital Globe

In addition to the traditions associated to Guedi Nyanthio Be, discussed later, Mampatim features in two different but not mutually exclusive traditions: the first one identifies Mampatim as the residence of the last Bainouk king (Niane 1989, 22), the second, as Tiramakan's first town in the Senegambia (Sidibe 1980, 18-19) and/or Kaabu's first capital (Giesing & Vydrine 2007, 376). According to these, Mampatim was the original seat of Kaabu's rulers, only displaced to Kansala after the establishment of *nyanthioya* (Galloway 1980, 31). It was in the territory of Patim, which extended from the swamps of Chewel Lawo in the west to those of Kandia in the east (Lansana Kuyate cited in Galloway 1980, 43), and it is also where Sumang Koli Tarawali, Tiramakan's son, died (Arfang Lasana Kante in Galloway 1980, 44).

During the survey at Mampatim Sinthian, we identified two distinct archaeological areas: the neighbourhood abandoned by the Cissé around the 1950s (UC-1, 1.3ha), which had been left uncultivated and therefore did not have any surface pottery; and the much larger and older Manding *tumbu* (UC-58, 63ha),

which had surface pottery in the cultivated spaces, particularly in the areas to the east and north of the current village (see Fig. 5.4). Unfortunately, none of the recovered ceramics had any chronologically diagnostic features that could be used to assign it to a particular period. The site also yielded a complete ceramic smoking pipe stem (SF#15), a glass bead (SF#16), and a fragment of a 19th C gin bottle.

Bunya Burdo (UC-7)

N12.88291, W14.39647

Small abandoned village (0.5ha), its Fulbe inhabitants left during Baba Mulai's rule as *chef de canton* (1941-1960) for Diourbel, Sare Ndiaylia, and Goppe, after a series of deaths (int. 29). According to the current elders, its populations lived from agriculture, animal herding, and hunting, and the village was contemporary with Baba Mulai Balde's residence (UC-6), only 330m away. The limits of the site are still marked by tree stumps and stakes, and several hearth stones are still present. 'Bunya' is the name of a nearby river, a Pulaar word of Manding origin meaning 'giving something to a stranger' (Mory Balde, fieldnotes). The river Bunya connects the sites of Bunya Burdo, Bunya Hade Bula, and Wubunyan.

Bunya Hade Bula (UC-8)

N12.88421, W14.38603

Founded by Hade Bula, father of Samba Kendo (lieutenant of Musa Molo), who came from Patim Tibo. Abandoned when Hade Bula followed Musa Molo to exile in the Gambia, (Mory Balde, fieldnotes). Several hearth stones are still present, and the limits of the site are marked by tree stumps and stakes, enclosing an area of approximately 3.4ha. No surface pottery or other finds were present.

Wubunyan (UC-11)

N12.93282, W14.25036

Founded during the times of Alfa Molo by Yeli Kande, who later left to found Mampatim Maounde (Sisao Diao, Int. 26). Refounded by Sano Sy Mballo, and eventually abandoned during Baba Mulai's rule as *chef de canton*, due to conflict between this latter and Sano Sy. Its population was a combination of noble and slave Fulbe, who never converted to Islam (Mory Balde, fieldnotes). The site is not cultivated and therefore did not have any surface pottery, but the village's perimeter (enclosing an area of 14.3 ha) was remembered by the jarga of Mampatim Maoundé.

Tumbu Yero Kumbel (UC-12)

N12.85837, W14.35723

Fulbe settlement, abandoned during the time of the elders' great-grandparents, when the inhabitants moved to Sare Djalia and Pidiro (Mory Balde, fieldnotes; Sisao Diao, Int. 26). No surface pottery or other finds were encountered.

UC-13

N12.85984, W14.35032

Abandoned site whose name or history has been forgotten by the local populations. Found several hearth stones, but no other finds or surface pottery.

Tumbu Abba (UC-14)

N12.89343, W14.34542

Inhabited for 7 years, during which it reached 6.3ha in size, until its inhabitants moved to Mampatim Maoundé during Baba Mulai's (Bory Balde, fieldnotes) or Musa Molo's times (Mory Balde, fieldnotes), depending on the informant.

Patim Tibo (UC-16)

N12.83058, W14.59940

Still inhabited, sometimes also spelt Kibo, Thibo or Chibo, Patim Tibo is currently a predominantly Fulbe village, which has in the past also had Bainouk and Manding inhabitants (Buraima Balde, Int. 4). The current village sits to the east of the centre of the archaeological site, which is stratified (4m difference from the centre to the edge of the site but part of it is natural relief) and 54 ha in size. In some traditions, Tibo is mentioned as one of the settlements founded by Tiramakan (Sidibe 1980, 21; Niane 1989, 24); and in 1849, it was described by Bertrand Bocande (1849b, 63) as a town governed by the Bannoran family in the Sankorla province. Tibo also appears cited in 1885 as one of the provinces of Firdu in the treaty Musa Molo signed with the French (Anon. 1885); and is also mentioned in griotic narratives as one of the four royal towns of the territory of Patim during Later Kaabu (Sana Kuyate in Galloway 1980, 43).

Despite the antiquity of the site, however, its oral traditions were rather shallow, and dealt largely with the colonial period. The reason behind this shallowness appears to be a break in the chain of transmission, as the elder who knew the history of the village died in 2005, and the new *jarga* had not learnt it from him. Some younger members of the community mentioned having heard stories about the Bainouk and the Manding who founded the village from the deceased elder, but could not recall them in detail. Consequently, our interview

focused largely on the colonial period, when Tibo was a *chef lieu de canton*, under the rule of Sama Kendo (Buraima Balde, Int. 4).

The site is, as said, rather large, and has a *tata* whose foundations are still visible. The *tata* was used by the local ruler Sama Kendo during the Fulaadu, but it pre-dated his rule (Buraima Balde, fieldnotes). Sama Kendo himself is buried to the east of the *tata*, and the burial used to be marked by a large tree and some lateritic stones, but only the stones remain now. In the eastern end of the site is a large uncultivated area which houses the village's cemetery, and to the southeast is a fromager tree (*Ceiba pentandra*) which the elders claim used to be the main village square (*banta*), suggesting the site might have been bigger than surface pottery would indicate (as the main square would not be at the very edge of the town). Being thoroughly cultivated, the site had good amounts of surface pottery, as well as remains of glass and slag. Unfortunately, none of these were chronologically diagnostic.

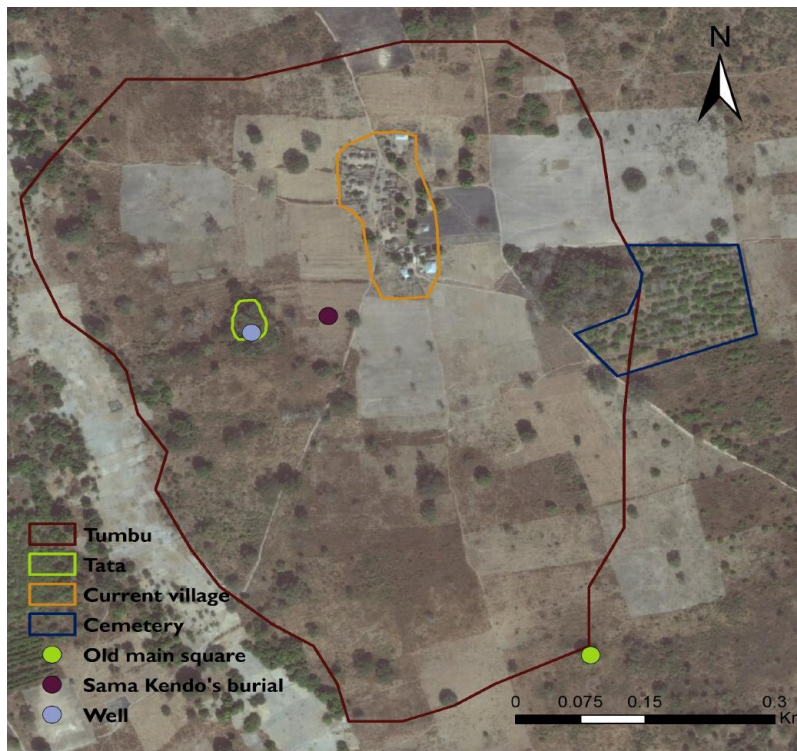


Fig.5.5 Map of Patim Tiibo. Basemap: ©2015 Digital Globe.

Kandia is currently a village of 1202 inhabitants (PEPAM 2014a), mostly Fulbe. According to some griotic accounts, Kandia was founded by Tiramakan, who named it after *kanjoo* (okra), as they got an excellent okra harvest during their first year there (Sidibe 1980, 18; Niane 1989, 22). Its elders, however, disagree. They have two versions of Kandia's foundation: in the first one, two brothers from Mali sat down to rest under the baobabs. After a while the elder brother got ready to leave but the younger refused, saying that was the location of a village. The village was thus named *Kan wo dia* ('somebody stubborn' in Malinke). In the second version, a hunter from Kabendu, guided by his dog, found a well in the middle of the bush. On his return he reported the find to the king of Kabendu and this latter founded Kandia, which became one of the royal towns of the Patim *banco* (Ansou Balde, Int. 5; Galloway 1980, 43).

The importance of wells is in fact a common theme of all the traditions about Kandia, whether griotic or local, and wells also feature prominently in the story of Kandia's second foundation. Having been abandoned by the Manding, Kandia was resettled by the Fulbe during the Fulaadu period after the well attracted the attention of a passing-by hunter (Dianguiya Mballo, Int. 5). The first *jarga* of this new period was Diatta Koumanthio, Musa Molo's *kelengana*. His appointment appears not to have been entirely peaceful, as his role was reportedly to 'oversee' the local populations, and he is remembered for having a tree that he used to tie people to to beat and/or kill them (Dianguilla Mballo, Int. 5). When Musa appointed Diatta Koumanthio, he also gave him a Manding blacksmith, which is the ancestor of the current Manding families living in the village. In a 1891 French census of the 'kingdom of Fouladougou', Kandia was cited as a royal town under the rulership of Sambou Poulo (Becker *et al* 1983, 214). This ruler, however, is not remembered in local elder traditions, which after Diatta Koumantjio jump straight to the colonial period and the appointment of Kalako Balde as *jarga* during Baba Mulai's time. The list of *jarga* is then uninterrupted up until the current *jarga* Ansou Balde, and contains 10 names (Chirifou Mballo, Int. 5).

When we visited the village in January 2013, two wells were shown to us: one to the east of the archaeological site, where the Manding royal family notionally threw themselves and their treasures when the village was abandoned, and another at the centre of the current village. This latter is still in use, and it is

most likely the one the foundation stories refer to. It is excavated into the living rock, 90cm in diameter, and approximately 10m in depth, widening towards the bottom, where it connects with an underground stream. According to the elders, this stream leads in one direction to Kounkané¹ and in the other to Bassé in the Gambia. Until recently, people would not dare approach the well at dusk, let alone draw water from it, for that is when the djinns inside were most active (Ansou Balde, Int. 5). This well was also described by Girard (1992, 27), who was very impressed by the technical skill and knowledge required to build it, as the opening coincides exactly with the width of the subterranean stream whose presence is not detectable on the surface.

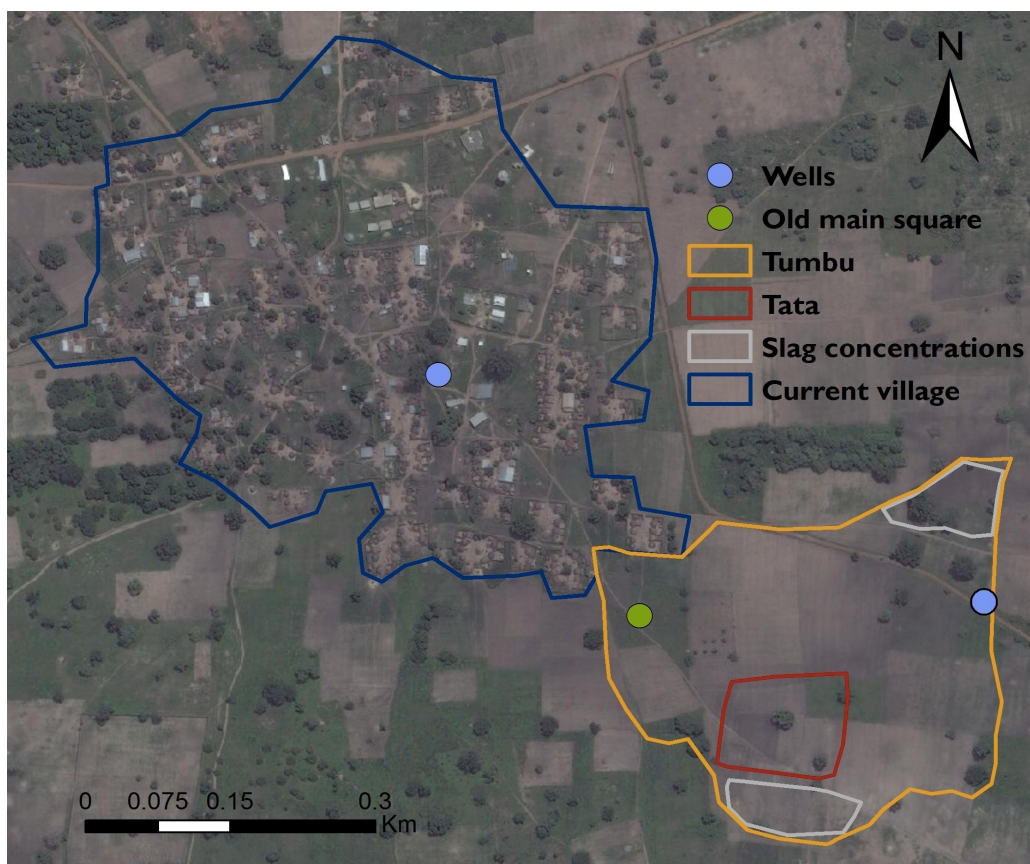


Fig. 5.6 Map of Kandia. Basemap: ©2015 NASA

In addition to the wells, Kandia also has two significant trees: one where the *chefs de canton* were crowned, located to the east of the current village, and a fromager (*banta*) to the south of the archaeological site, which the elders claim marked the ancient public square. According to Girard (1992, 302) there used to be three *dyalan* in Kandia, each composed by a tree and a stone, but none of these was mentioned during our visit. The archaeological site is at least 11.3 ha, probably

¹ The morphology of the well is indeed extremely similar to that of the well found at Losalu in Kounkane (UC-9).

over twice that size, as the old *banta* (which tend to be located at the centre of settlements) was at one end of the cultivated (and hence archaeologically identifiable) area, would suggest the site was larger than surface evidence allowed to record (see Fig.5.6). In the southern area of the site was the Manding *tata*, which will be discussed later. The site had more pottery than most, and some of it presented incised decorations, which are characteristic of the Late Kaabu/Fulaadu period (cf. Ch.8). Some slag was found in the northeast of the site and immediately south of the *tata*; and the elders also reported frequently finding glass beads, but none were encountered during the survey.

Pachukiel (UC-19)

N12.82699, W14.32119

Small site (2ha), abandoned during Fulaadu times. Small quantities of very fragmented pottery with no chronologically relevant features were encountered on the surface. The local populations avoid the site as it is believed to be inhabited by an *ufan*, a type of *djinn* that likes scaring people at night (Bakary Balde, fieldnotes).

Thiara (UC-23)

N12.86421, W14.55082

The current village was founded during Alfa Molo's time by Pate Marun Baldé, and has had four *jarga* since. During both Fulaadu and colonial times, Thiara was in the territory of Patim, governed from Patim Tibo (Int. 15). It is still considered a 'hot' (i.e. dangerous) village, where any civil servants that visit will inevitably lose their post (APS 2012). The *tumbu* is located to the north of the Fulbe part of the village and occupies 4.7ha. There are two contradictory versions regarding its relation to the current village: some elders argue it was the previous location of the village's Manding neighbourhood, others said the *tumbu* was already there when Thiara was founded (Int. 15). Pottery on the surface would seem to support the latter, as it included Orange Gritty Ware, characteristic of pre-Kaabu times.

Payougou (UC-24,UC-34, UC-35, UC-36)

N12.72236, W14.06419

Excavated site, discussed in Ch. 6

Koulekounda (UC-25)

N12.85987, W14.49093

Epic traditions link the foundation of Koulekounda with Tiramakan (Niane 1989, 24; Sidibe 1980), but according to the current populations, the village was

founded by Koule Bayo, a Manding from Bijini (Guinea Bissau), during Late Kaabu. Koulekounda was then abandoned when the Fulbe took power, and refounded during the times of Musa Molo by Keita Seyda, a Fulbe from the Massina. The new village was established north of the older one, but the latter was also eventually reoccupied by Manding blacksmiths from Pakao, who abandoned it again in the 1970s due to the salinisation of some of their lands (Int. 18).

The surface evidence at the archaeological site (6.4ha) confirms this last story: the house mounds are still visible, the two wells are of modern construction, and several fragments of crucibles were found on the surface. As for the earlier occupation described by oral traditions, it is supported by the presence of cord-decorated sherds, rarely used in 20th ceramic traditions, but their specific antiquity cannot be determined by morphology alone.

Sansankoro (UC-26)

N12.79899, W14.53709

Very small site (0.6ha), founded by Fulbe fleeing the Guinea war, abandoned soon after following the death of a large number of cows. This was interpreted by the local populations as the result of their refusal to sacrifice cows to a local *djinn*, and the decision was made to leave and split; some of the population settled in Sare Aleth and Nyenguène (Coumbacara), while others went back to Guinea Bissau (Abba Balde, fieldnotes). Only one pottery sherd was found during the survey and it was not chronologically diagnostic, but the visibility of house foundations and the presence of hearth stones and a functioning well (still used by herders), confirm the recent nature of the abandonment.

Uraro (UC-27)

N12.78120, W14.59411

In the vicinity of the current village of Daar Salam Ibrahima, Uraro (Manding for 'evening'), is a small tell-shaped site (5.1ha), whose inhabitants were chased off by Alfa Molo (local hunter, fieldnotes). Uraro is mentioned in the writings of Bertrand-Bocande (1849b, 63), as a village of the Manjan family, subordinate to Berekolon in the province of Sankorla. Despite being in the vicinity of a village, the *tumbu* is not cultivated, as it is believed to be haunted by dangerous *djinns*, and only hunters dare to venture into it. Partly due to the dense vegetation and the large trees that cover it, partly to its location, the site is much warmer and humid than the surrounding area, and is home to a colony of monkeys. Thanks to this latter, and their digging for tubers, we managed to recover some

surface pottery, whose temper composition indicated an Early Kaabu date (see Ch.8), which would fit with the traditions mentioned.

Tumbu Diankankounda Manding (UC-30)

N13.00297, W14.38429

Diankankounda Manding (aka Galloyel) is part of a cluster of four villages all named Diankankounda (the others are D. Tabadjé, D. Mawdo Gundo, and D. Oguel) of which it claims to be the oldest. According to the current *jarga*, Faly Touré, Diankankounda Manding was founded by Kansou Touré, who came from Sare Pathe Bouya during the time of Musa Molo (Int. 21). It is likely, however, that this refers only to the village in its latest incarnation, as traditions elsewhere recount how the village was conquered by Alfa Molo, who killed its queen Mama Sane (Girard 1964, 305). Nowadays, it is a village of potters and blacksmiths renowned throughout the region for its pots and iron tools.

The tumbu is located between Diankankounda Manding and Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo, about 300 m north of the former, and it is said to be the original location of the village, which would have moved to its present position during the time of the current elders' grandparents. The perimeter of the site, traced by the elders (as vegetation made it impossible to see any surface finds), covered an area of 0.7ha.

Kabendou (UC-33)

N12.92168, W14.11310

Kabendou is remembered by both epic traditions and village histories as one of the four key towns of Kaabu, associated with some of its most important characters. Yet it is strangely absent from both European accounts and maps until the 20th C. Regarding its foundation, some griotic accounts attribute it to Tiramakan (Sidibe 1980, 19), while local elders claim the location of the village was revealed to its founder, Fariman Kante, by a hippo (Kékouta Camara, Int. 15). Sana Kouyaté, one of the most famous Casamance griots, argues that the first *mansa* of Kabendou was Bunka Mané, from Payoungou; but that Kabendou's existence largely predates his appointment, as it was only when a *tata* was built that the appointment of a *mansa* became necessary. With Bunka Mane, Kabendou became the capital of Bisabor, a large *nyanthio* territory (Galloway 1980, 9). Bunka Mane was succeeded by Tamba Mane, who was in turn replaced by Faramba Tamba (Galloway 1980, 9).

Faramba Tamba was contemporary of Dianke Wali, and is the last and best remembered mansa of Kabendou. He was defeated by Alfa Molo, and depending

on the source, either died in the battle (Girard 1992, 302) or escaped into exile (Kekouta Camara, Int. 12). Faramba Tamba's defeat was followed by a substantial depopulation of Kabendou, to which Musa Molo put an end after being told by a marabout that if Kabendou was abandoned, his own capture would inevitably ensue. Musa thus appointed his brother, Yero Egue (aka Yeronding) as *mansa* of Kabendou, and his *kelejawara*, Djide Naffa as *jarga*. Djide Naffa was succeeded by his son, Oumar Coly Balde, who eventually left to found Sare Oumar (near Kounkane). Following his departure, the jargahood returned to the Manding. During colonial times, the *chef de canton* Mulai Siranding tried to interfere in the *jarga* succession, but eventually agreed to candidate presented by the elders (Kekouta Camara, Int. 12). It was in this period that the first mosque was built (Kabendou elders, field notes).

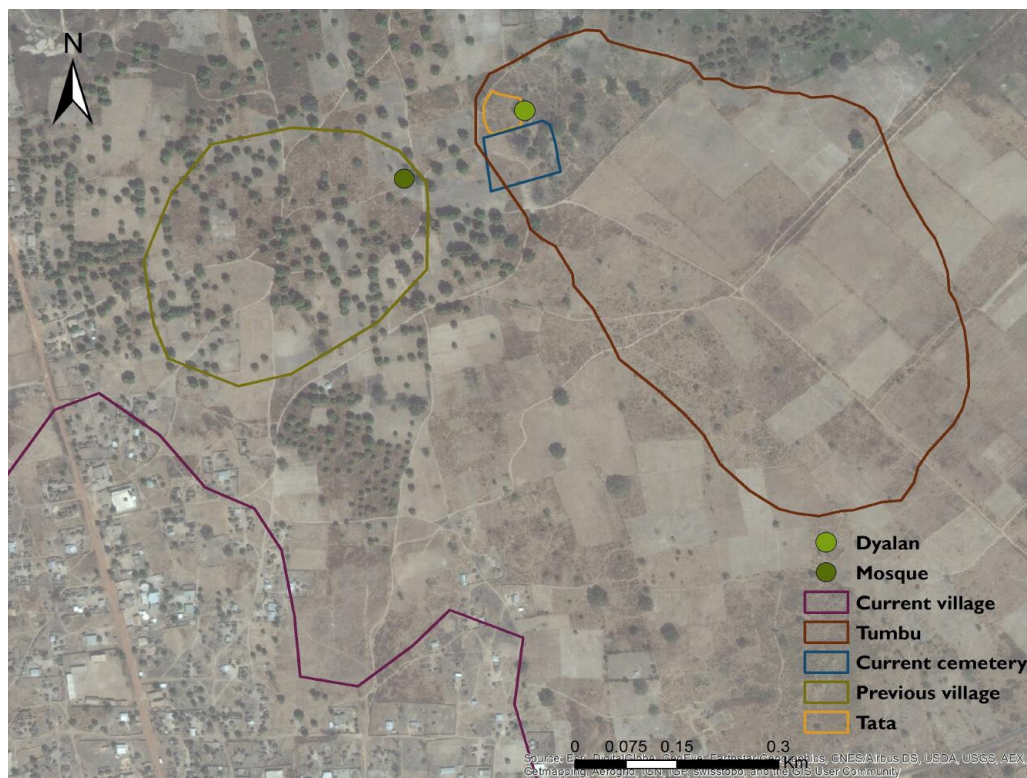


Fig.5.7 Map of Kabendou. Basemap: ©2016 Google.

Currently, Kabendou is a village of 2482 inhabitants (PEPAM 2014b), located on both sides of the main paved road connecting Kolda and Velingara. The archaeological site is to the north-east of the current village, and there is evidence of a gradual shift from one location to the other, both in terms of local histories and through the archaeology (visible house mounds in the area closer to the current village). According to the elders, two main processes account for this movement:

the desire to be closer to the paved road, and the creation of a new neighbourhood by the early converts to Islam during canton times (elders of Kabendou, fieldnotes). The site is around 30ha, possibly more, and had reasonable amounts of surface pottery, some of which presented diagnostic features of both the Early Kaabu and Late Kaabu/Fulaadu periods. In the easternmost part of the site were the remains of a *tata*, the highest one encountered, as will be discussed later. Right next to the *tata* was the current cemetery and the town's *dyalan*, the Tamba Dibi, which is associated to Dianke Wali (Girard 1992, 302).

Tumbu Arfa (UC-39)

N12.95488, W14.37486

Small abandoned village, 1km to the northwest of Sare Pate Bouya, initially founded by Arfa Mballo. Its inhabitants left during the colonial period after a series of deaths, and founded a new Sare Arfa next to Sare Pate Bouya, on an existing *tumbu* belonging to Touré Yaya. The remains of the village were still visible during the childhood of the Bouli Mane, the current *jarga* from Sare Pate Bouya (fieldnotes) but currently the site is covered in thick vegetation and no surface pottery could be found.

Tumbu Saré Sambaru (UC-41)

N12.71931, W14.48033

Small *tumbu* in the vicinity of Coumbacara, of approximately 2.6 ha. Abandoned during the times of Saliou Dia (2nd canton ruler of Niampayo), when its population moved to Coumbacara. The *jarga* at the time of the move was still the founder (Fode Mballo, Int. 22; fieldnotes). Only six pottery sherds were found on the surface, together with two pieces of slag, none of them chronologically diagnostic.

Tumbu Djidima (UC-42)

N12.68814, W14.46699

Located 2km to the south of Coumbacara, Djidima (meaning 'somebody who gives birth/life in Pulaar) was a small village (under 2ha) abandoned before the colonial period (elders of Coumbacara, fieldnotes). The site had moderate amounts of surface pottery, including some with Early Kaabu features, as well as fragments of 19th C case gin bottles.

Tumbu Mawdo Gundo (UC-44)*N12.82452, W14.58976*

Small *tumbu* (under 2ha), 800 southeast of Patim Thibo. Initially founded by Mawdo Gundo, refounded by Demba Diao from Linkering some 50 years ago, and abandoned after 12 years following the death of the latter. However, before they left for Fafakour, however, its inhabitants buried Demba Diao in the middle of the site, where his tomb is still visible. Although it is not clear what period Mawdo Gundo lived in, it was reported that his descendants live today in Sare Samba Lobe (elders of Thibo, fieldnotes). Only six undiagnostic pottery sherds were found on the surface, together with two small fragments of 19th C glass.

Sambel Hari (UC-47)*N12.88816, W14.12720*

Small *tumbu* (1.1ha), 200m to the northeast of the current village of Kolda Molo. Already abandoned when Kolda Molo was founded at the end of the colonial period. At that time, the ruins of the village were still visible, which is no longer the case. Its founders were Mamadou Koumbel, Meta Koly, and Hala Barou, all Fulbe (Koliyel Balde, Int. 25). No pottery or other finds were encountered during survey, but an elder who used to cultivate a field in the *tumbu* reported finding glass beads frequently (fieldnotes).

Sambel Sambaya (UC-48)*N12.88859, W14.12261*

At the opposite side of the current village of Kolda Molo, also 200m away from it, is the even smaller site of Sambel Sambaya (0.5ha). Like Sambel Hari, it was already abandoned by the foundation of Kolda Molo, and all that it is remembered about it is that it was inhabited by a Fulbe by the name of Sambel Sambaya. In the northwest corner of the site there is a well, currently about 4m deep, with no traces of wooden structures. Two undiagnostic pottery sherds were found on the surface, together with two small pieces of slag and a fragment of modern glass.

Sinthian Soule (UC-50)*N12.84838, W14.51551*

Founded by Soule Balde during colonial times (some elders say during the rule of Abdoul Diallo, 1912-1942; others during that of Baba Mulai, 1942-1960); inhabited by Fulbe who left after a series of deaths soon after Senegal's independence. The well, dug in 1945, is still visible, and the location of the cemetery still remembered (elders of Koumambouré, Int. 26, field notes). Only two

small undiagnostic sherds were encountered over the site's 4.7 ha.

Koumambouré (UC-54)

N12.85880, W14.51439

Currently a village of 447 inhabitants (PEPAM 2014c), mostly Fulbe, Koumambouré in its current form was founded by during the Fulaadu by a Fulbe group from the Maasina (Mali), on the site of a much older Kaabu town. The same group also founded Mballo Kounda and refounded Patim Thibo. Koumambouré's first *jarga* after its refoundation was Sara Ada Balde, who was followed by Bassi Alde, Talla Balde, Sirifo Balde, Boubou Balde, and eventually Demba Balde, the current village head. The village was later joined by some Sarakollé families in the 1960s and a group of Manding from Guinea Bissau. The arrival of the Islamic scholar Thierno Sarifou from the Futa Djallon towards the end of the colonial period led to the village's conversion to Islam, and to the construction of the first mosque around the time of Senegal's independence (Demba Balde, Int. 26).

Prior to thus refoundation, however, Koumambouré had been a substantial Kaabu settlement, featured in griotic traditions. The current Fulbe populations acknowledge the Manding origin of the site, whose founders they claim were named Koumba and Bouré, but do not have any further information on the period (Demba Balde, Int. 16). As for wider griotic narratives, like with most substantial Kaabu settlements, the foundation of Koumambouré is linked to Tiramakan who is reported to have lived there for four years after its creation (Sidibe 1980, 21; Niane 1989, 24). The griot Sana Kouyaté (cited in Galloway 1980, 44), describes Koumambouré as the third most important town in the territory of Patim, after Kandia and Mampatim. Koumambouré's *tata* is frequently cited by both elder and griotic traditions, generally in association with Koring Mane, Dianke Wali's *kelengana* (Demba Balde, Int. 26; Sidibe 1980, 21)

The current village is located in the middle of the *tumbu*, which is at least 25ha, probably larger (not all the area was cultivated). Pottery was relatively abundant, as was slag. The surface collection included some Late Kaabu/Fulaadu diagnostic sherds, as well as fragments of 19th C case gin bottles. To the southwest of the site, just before the rice fields, was a concentration of slag and the remains of a series of tuyere insert points for a forge (see Fig. 5.8). About 300m to the south of the end of the site, the elders took us to an area where they claim the *tata* was located, but no remains were visible. There was some surface pottery, but due to vegetation and bad visibility only a few undiagnostic sherds were found.



Fig.5.8 Tuyere insert points for a forge in Koumambouré

Korop (UC-55)

N13.13810, W14.45184

Excavated site, described in Ch. 7.

Miija (UC-56)

N12.96384, W14.23364

Small *tumbu*, one km north of the current village of Saré Koba. We visited the site accompanied by the PCR from Medina Chérif, who did not know any traditions about it, other than that its inhabitants were Bambara. Although the site is currently cultivated (cotton), very little pottery was found on the surface. The few sherds collected, however, did include some with characteristic early Kaabu features. Three pieces of slag and a fragment of a 19th C gin bottle were also recovered.

Santanto (UC-57)

N12.93832, W14.24883

Very small *tumbu* (under 1ha), founded by a Fulbe by the name of Dulo Tendi, and abandoned during the rule of Baba Mulai as *chef de canton* (PCR Medina Cherif, fieldnotes) . The site had small amounts of surface pottery, including sherds with Early Kaabu features.

Two kilometres southwest of Wassadou, Samasansan is today a small village of 450 inhabitants (PEPAM 2014d), and the clearest example of contemporary shifting sedentism we encountered. According to the local elders, the village was named by a group of Kaabu soldiers who around the time of Kansala's foundation predicted how that spot would be 'tomorrow's enclosure' (*sama sansan* in Manding). The actual foundation of the village, however, would not occur till Kaabu's fall, when Yiri Kuntuba Sané, fleeing Kansala, decided to settle there, and was joined by other refugees. Yiri Kuntuba Sané's son was Bidji Sane, who had three children: Duwa Sane, Malang Sané, and Numudion Sané. It was in their time that the village was abandoned after a series of deaths, and its population moved to found Touba (now Medina Poussang), 3km away. Some years later, a Fulbe by the name of Molo Saba decided to refound Samasansan, and was told by the marabouts that the village could never succeed without Manding presence. He thus went to Medina Poussang to ask its inhabitants to return. This move was originally opposed by both the Manding families and the *chef de canton*, who thought the return of the Manding would only bring problems, but eventually Molo Saba managed to convince all parties (Lamine Sane, Yoba Camara & Abdoulaye Balde, Int. 30).

As for the village's location over time, three large moves are remembered: the initial Manding village was located to the south of the valley, but only lasted a year and a half, as the area was too humid. The village then moved to the other side of the valley, until its abandonment. Molo Saba chose the area southwest of the previous location to settle, and the village has subsequently moved north (see Fig.5.9). This sequence is particularly useful, as we have dates for most of the moves: the initial foundation took place after the battle of Kansala, i.e. in the 1860s; Molo Saba's refoundation happened towards the end of Musa Molo's rule, i.e. in the 1900s; and the last shift is remembered to have taken place in the 1960s (Int. 30, fieldnotes).

In terms of evidence on the ground for those shifts, the vast majority of the areas were not cultivated, and hence had no surface pottery, but all except for the first location were marked by a large tree that acted as village square and *dylan*. These were Tenemba (a fromager in the current village), Salimatou (a *neré* in the 3rd village location, dead), and Dado (a fromager in the 2nd Manding village, that sprouted from the seed of the original one).

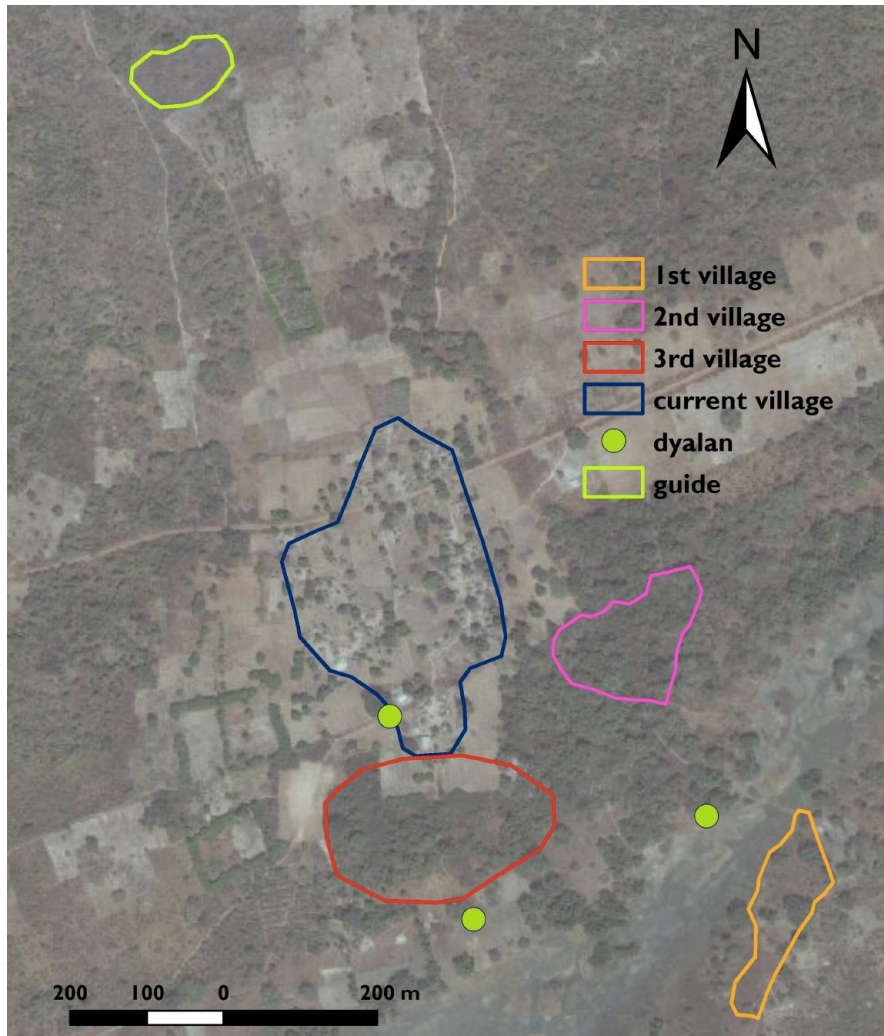


Fig. 5.9 Samassandang

5.4 Fortresses/*Tataji*

As was described in Chapter 3, the word '*Tata*' (pl. *tataji*) is a Western Malinke term that designates fortified areas of a settlement, generally rectangular, and associated with a given ruler. According to the elders, some were made of wattle-and-daub, some of *banco*, and some of mudbrick and large wooden stakes. Some were real defensive fortresses and others just modest enclosures, but they all were centres of military and political power. Although most appear to have been built during Kaabu, many went on being used up until the colonial era. Unfortunately, out of the twelve *tataji* identified by locals during the survey, only four were partly or completely traceable on the ground. In two of the remaining cases (Kandia and Bantanguel Yawayou), the perimeter traced by the elders could later be confirmed by satellite imagery. In all other instances, either recent constructions had obliterated the remains, or the elders knew there had been a *tata*

in the locality, but could not indicate its specific location. I now review all the *tataji* encountered (except for those at Payoungou and Korop, which are discussed in Ch. 6 and 7, respectively).

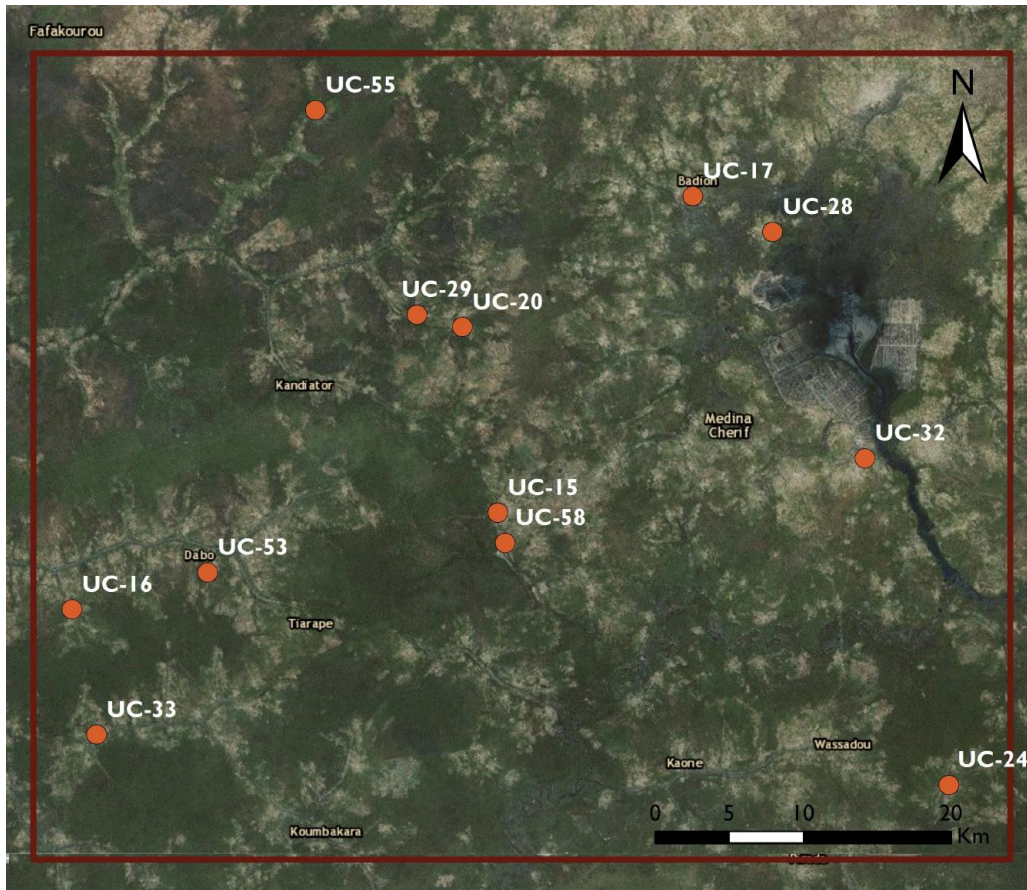


Fig. 5.10 Tata distribution. Basemap: ©2016 Google.

Mampatim (UC-15)

N12.89014, W14.34005

This is a rectangular area of 80x200m, around the current primary school, which the elders at Mampatim Maoundé claim was where the Bainouk/Manding tata was located. (Int. 29). According to these same traditions, the tata would have then been reused by one of Musa Molo's *kelengana*. The area then became a market for many years, before being turned into a school. During the construction of the latter, builders reported finding large amounts of pottery and glass (Delo Balde, fieldnotes). Currently, part of the space is built on, and the rest is covered in contemporary rubbish.

There were many mentions of the Mampatim tata in different traditions that placed it near Mampatim Sinthian, rather than Maoundé (e.g. Int. 28, Sidibe 1980, 26). According to Buli Mane, *jarga* of Sare Pate Boiuya, the Bainouk had built a *tata*

in Mampatim Sinthian and, after chasing them, Tiramakan built another one there (Int. 14). Unfortunately, during the M. Sinthian's survey, no traces of a *tata* were found, which is not surprising considering the heavy tilling the area has been subject to, and the supposed antiquity of the *tata* there. Consequently, at present it is difficult to establish whether the 'Mampatim *tata*' refers to one or two structures (one at M. Maoundé and the other at M. Sinthian), and there is no backing from archaeology or written sources for either option.

Patim Tibo (UC-16)

N12.83058, W14.59940

The *tata* at Patim Tibo is located to the northeast of the centre of the site, in an area purposefully left uncultivated. Its external walls can still be traced on the ground, as an elongated ridge (30-50cm high) enclosing an area of 50x40m. According to the elders, during their childhood the walls were much higher, and also included stakes spaced at regular intervals. Although the origins of the *tata* are said to be Manding, oral traditions (cf. Int. 4) linked to it have to do with Sama Kendo and Musa Molo; and in fact the burial of the former is adjacent to the *tata* itself.

Kandia (UC-17)

N13.08474, W14.22141

Although the *tata* was not visible on the ground, the elders showed us what they claimed was its contour (which they remembered from when it was visible during their childhood) and which satellite imagery proved to be accurate. As can be seen in Fig. 5.11, the *tata* is a structure of approximately 80x80m, marked by a white line, with a darker line on the outside, probably a ditch, which makes it one of the largest structures encountered. Local elders claim the *tata* was only used during Kaabu and that with the Fulbe refoundation of the town, the new ruler built himself a *sanye* made of wooden stakes coated with clay (Int. 5). The Manding *tata* was then abandoned.



Fig. 5.11 Tata of Kandia. Basemap: ©2015 NASA.

Mamakunda (UC-20)

N13.00433, W14.36158

About 200m northeast of the current village of Saré Douel Sambalo are the remains of a clearly visible *tata*, which the elders from Sare Pate Bouya argue was Mamakunda, the capital of the *banco* by the same name. It is a structure of 60x70m, between 0 and 50cm high (height varies considerably depending on the area), and up to 3m wide (some of this might be wall melt, rather than actual foundations). In parts, the wall has been mined for clay to make bricks, leaving substantial gaps. In the middle of the *tata* is a well dug in 1989 (long after the *tata* had been abandoned), and during its construction the villagers reported having encountered substantial amounts of bone (elders of Sare Douel Sambalo, fieldnotes)

According to griotic epics, Mamakunda (literally 'grandfather's place') was a nyanthio state controlled by the Sané. Initially called Jankang Banko (after its founder, Jankang Sane), it later took the name of its capital, Mamakunda. After Jankang's death, power passed on to his son Mansa Bakary, who in turn was succeeded by Mansa Kusang, and eventually by this latter's daughter, Sira Saane, who was contemporaneous with Dianke Wali. Another ruler of Mamakunda was Bibamang Sane, who was a blacksmith (Sana Kuyaté cited in Galloway 1980, 25-6).

Muntumba (UC-28)

N13.06281, W14.17272

Muntumba is a small village of 311 inhabitants in the CR of Kandia (PEPAM 2014e). The current inhabitants are mostly Fulbe, with some Manding families that arrived during colonial times, but the Manding root of the village's name would suggest an older origin. Right in the middle of the village, the current elders claim, is a *tata* from Musa Molo's times. This *tata*, which occupies an area of approximately 40x50m, used to be visible during their childhood, and was made of stakes plastered with clay (Samba Sané, Int. 19). One of these stakes is still visible, in what according to the elders is the northeast corner of the *tata*. Although at some points the perimeter traced by the elders presents some elevation in relation to the surrounding area, the amount of current huts, palisades, and middens makes it difficult to establish whether such elevation is connected to the *tata*'s foundations or to more recent activities.

Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo (UC-29)

N13.01196, W14.38933

As in Muntumba, the supposed *tata* at Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo is right in the middle of the current village. The north and east sides, however, are on a field, recently harvested at the time of our visit, on which the foundations of a large wall were still visible, marked by a very slight elevation, and a clear change in texture. The other two sides of the 50x60m structure were under houses. The elders report, however, that during their childhood the *tata*'s walls were still standing and the gate was on the eastern side. At the centre of the *tata* was a tree called Thiélen-Thiélen Ngayi, under which Musa Molo used to sit when he visited. Inside the *tata* lived Mame Fatouma Sane, Musa Molo's representative. After her death, the space was inherited by the *jarga* and it continued to be the *jarga*'s residence until very recently (Cherif Diallo, Int. 20).

As discussed earlier, Diankankounda Mawdo Gundo is one amongst four neighbouring villages all named Diankankounda, the earliest of which (D. Manding or Galouyel) dates back to Kaabu times (Girard 1964, 305). Thus, although D. Mawdo Gundo itself was founded during the late Fulaadu period, the *tata* would predate its foundation. In the words of Ibrahima Balde (Int. 20), 'Musa Molo found the *tata* already here. It was built by the Manding king'.

Kabendou (UC-32)

N12.92362, W14.11643

As previously discussed, Kabendou was one of the four great towns of Kaabu and the capital of the *banco* of Bisabor. The *tata* is located between the current village and the tumbu, to the northeast of the latter and right next to the local *dyalan*, enclosing an area of approximately 60x50m. Although its remains are covered in tall grass (cultivation is forbidden on the inside), it is the tallest of all the *tataji* we recorded, with external wall stumps of up to 1m (see Fig. 5.12). The width is difficult to calculate due to the dense and height of the grass. Although predating his rule, the *tata* is most strongly associated with Faramba Tamba, king of Kabedou during Dianke Wali's time who was defeated by Alfa Molo, and the *tata*'s last occupant.



Fig. 5.12 Kabendou elder standing on top of the remains of the *tata*.

Bantanguel Yawa Yoli (UC-43)

N12.75365, W14.58436

The site of Bantanguel Yawa Yoli is located beside the current village of Temanto Tobo, founded by Fulbe migrants from Guinea Bissau after the war of independence (1963-1974). The village was named 'Temanto' ('in the middle' in

Manding) after a village in Guinea Bissau by the same name they had previously stayed in. At their arrival, the settlers encountered an abandoned Manding village, on top of which they built theirs, and a *tata* immediately to the south (Int. 23). At the time, the *tata*'s walls were still partially standing, and silver and golden bracelets, as well as coins, were often found in their vicinity (elders of Temanto, fieldnotes). Although the walls have been destroyed since by cultivation, the elders still remember their outline which can also be seen in satellite imagery. Unlike all the other cases so far, the remains are not rectangular but slightly oval in shape (see Fig. 5.13). The current populations do not know anything about the *tata*, other than it was used by a Manding ruler, Koly Kondjira during Kaabu, and abandoned after his death (Int. 23).

About 70m to the south of the *tata*, is a well which predates the foundation of Temanto, now abandoned. To the southwest, bordering the rice fields, is a forested area with some impressively large fromagers which the current populations believe to be the Manding cemetery (elders of Temanto, fieldnotes). No pottery was found near these two, but the area surrounding the *tata* had some sherds with characteristic Late Kaabu/Fulaadu traits, as well as three undated ceramic weights (SF #5-7).



Fig 5.13 Outline of the Bantanguel Yawayou tata. Source: ©2015 Google.

Although both epic traditions (e.g. Niane 1989, 39) and elder accounts (e.g. Int.26) agree there was a *tata* at Koumambouré, and that its last occupant was Koring Mané, Dianke Wali's *kelengana*, the current populations are not certain about its location, and nothing is visible on the ground or through satellite imagery. One elder initially claimed to know its location, and took us to a field about 500m south of the current village, which had some pottery and slag, but later retracted and said he was not sure. The Gambian historian Bakary Sidibe claimed that Koumambouré's *tata* was located 'along the road where the Balantes live, near the rice field' (Sidibe 1980, 21). Assuming 'the road' refers to the main paved road, this would leave two possible locations: to the south of the road, where the current 'sacred forest' is located, and the fields on the northern side. We could not enter the former due to their sacred nature, and nothing was found on the latter.

5.5 Subterranean structures/Guide

Guide or *guedi* is a term that both local Fulbe and Manding use to refer to any subterranean structure, including rock shelters, caves, and excavated galleries. Their existence was first documented by Girard (1992), who identified 37 definite and 16 probable *guide* all across the Upper Casamance (see Fig.5.14), including 10 (3 definite, 7 probable) within the research area of this project. He documented how some had pottery and glass remains on the inside, and rudimentarily excavated that of Kandiamia (14km NW of Medina Gounass). Girard's work at Kandiamia uncovered a 3000m² complex of subterranean galleries and rooms, connecting with a natural cave (see Figs. 5.15 & 5.16), and yielded four radiocarbon dates of unclear origin, ranging from AD 406-766 to AD 1670-1796 (Girard 1992, 9-17). He interpreted these structures as subterranean inhabitations and refuges for times of insecurity.

During our survey, we encountered nine *guide*, including three that had already been listed by Girard (1992, 38-40). Unfortunately, all had been filled by sediment, and the entrances to the excavated galleries had collapsed, possibly due to the 1983 earthquake (Earthquake Track 2015). All we could confirm was a) the presence of a number of apparently deep caves, and b) the existence of human-made rectangular pits, presumably leading to subterranean galleries. Although they are designated by the same name, the local attitude towards caves/shelters on the

one hand, and excavated galleries on the other, are very different. The former are thought to be inhabited by *djinns*, and thus dangerous and powerful places. The latter, however, do not seem to have such associations, and in fact villagers said before their collapse hunters used to enter them to hunt porcupines, and reported having seen galleries high enough for a person to stand up comfortably, as was the case at Kandiana (see Fig.5.15).

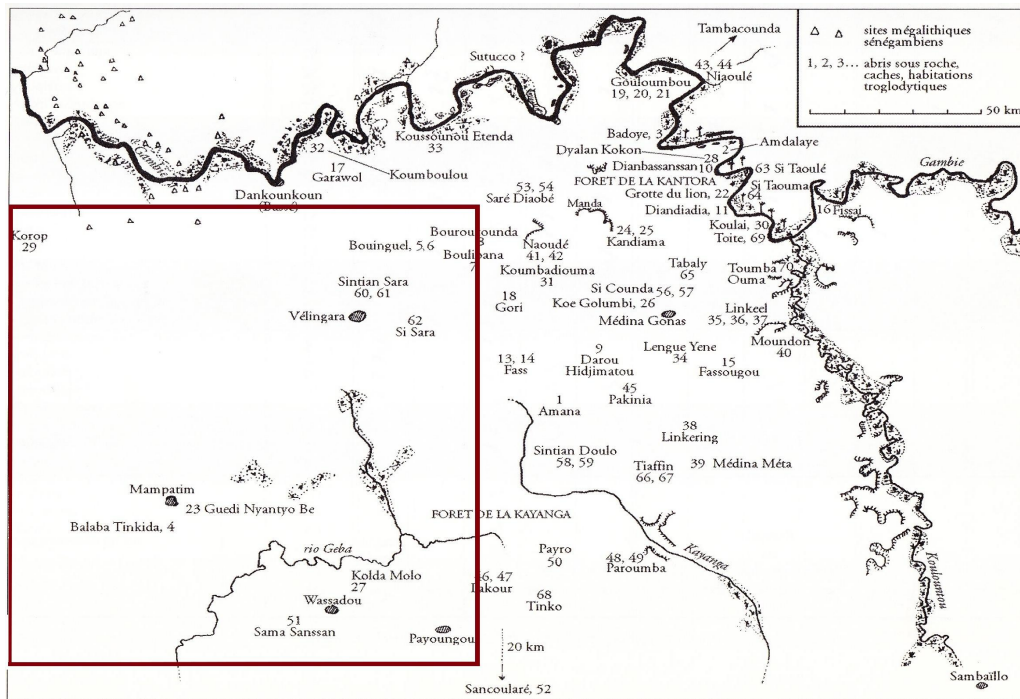


Fig. 5.14 Girard's map of archaeological sites of the Upper Casamance, with my research area marked in red. Adapted from Girard 1992.

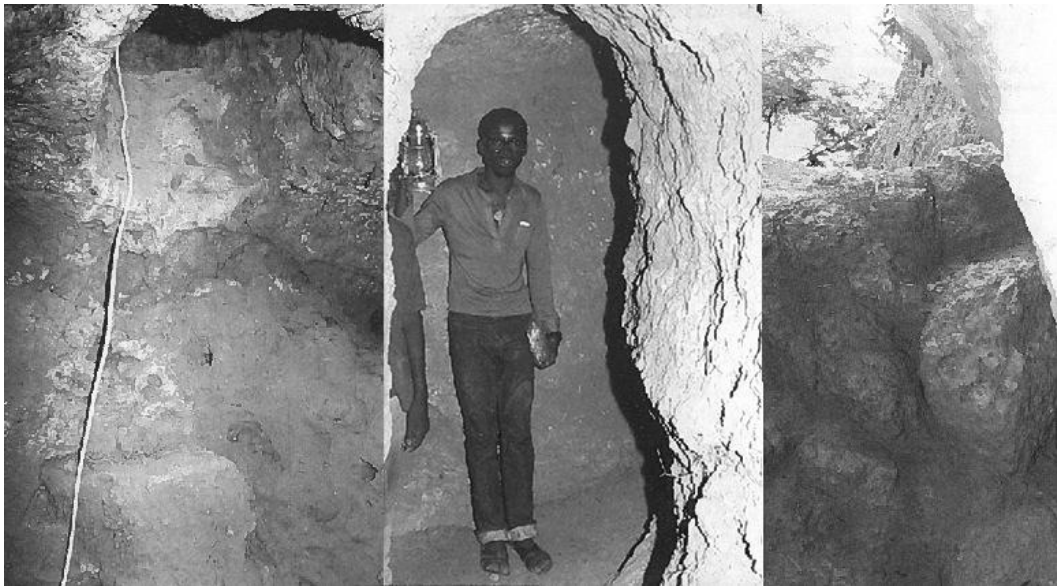


Fig.5.15 Subterranean galleries at Kandiana. Adapted from Girard 1992

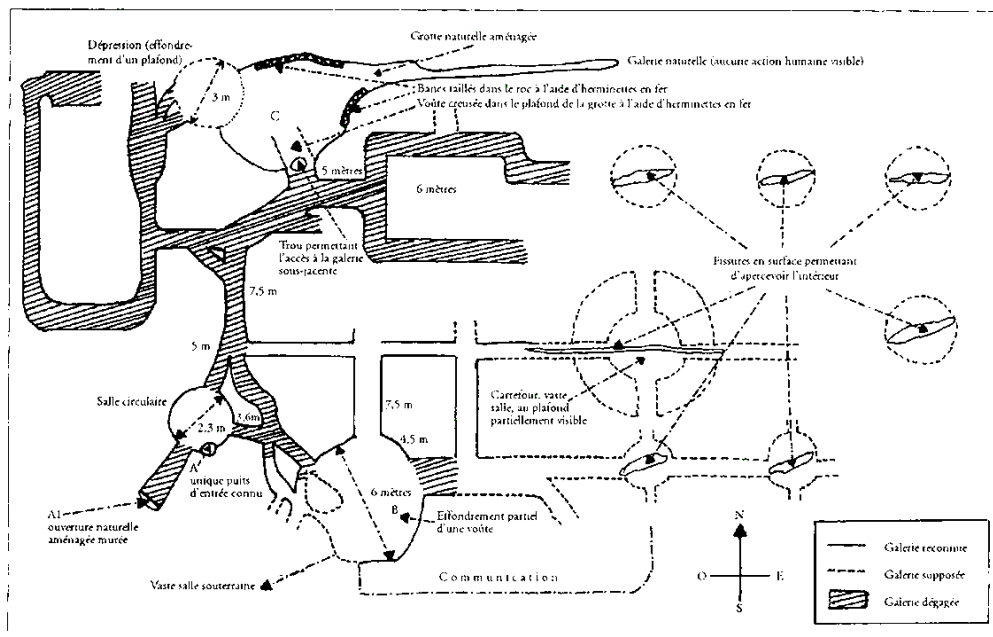


Fig. 5.16 Map of the subterranean galleries of Kandiana. Reproduced from Girard 1992.

Guedi Nyanthio Be (UC-2)

N12.86578, W14.32669

By far the most famous and well-known of all the Guide of the Upper Casamance, Guedi Nyanthio Be (GNB) is located between the current village of Mampatim Sinthian and Saré Amadi. As discussed in Ch.3, GNB is a fundamental part of the *nyanthio* origin myth, and was also frequently mentioned in the interviews with local elders. The elders at Muntumba, for instance, said that after

the fall of Kansala, a Manding woman found herself at GNB and heard voices saying that if she arrived at Mampatim Sinthian she would be enslaved, so she stayed overnight in the shelter. As a result, she fell in love with the djinn that lived in it and has stayed there since. Some time ago, a griot by the name of Lala Kibandome, played the kora outside the entrance so beautifully that she got out of the cave briefly to listen, but she has not been seen again since (Samba Sane, Int. 19).

Nowadays, GNB is a small opening on a lateritic outcrop, next to a seasonal stream. The upper surface of the outcrop is covered in polishing marks (see section below), and in the lower part is the entrance to the cave (see Fig. 5.18), currently blocked by a mixture of fallen lateritic rocks and sediment, leaving a small opening leading to what appears to be a long tunnel, just about large enough for a person to crawl in. When Girard visited in the 1980s, however, the cave was still accessible, and he reported having found pottery remains and glass carboys on the inside (Girard 1992, 20). Additionally, the elders of Mampatim Sinthian say Girard spent considerable amounts of time inside GNB, and on his way out told them there was a stream within on which animals drank (elders of M. Sinthian, fieldnotes). Girard also noted the existence of a standing stone, 1.20m high and 0.5m wide in the lateritic plateau next to the cave, known to the local Badiaranké population as Dyalancoon, but no trace of it was found during our survey. The stone, Girard says, used to be associated with a very large tree in the middle of a dense forest, but which has been decimated since the 1980s by bush fires and droughts (Girard 1992, 20, 34).

According to Girard (1992, 213), rituals were celebrated at GNB up until the 1940s. The gathering took place around May, just before the beginning of the rainy season. The participants were different social groups connected to the myth of Ténéba Gassama: on the first line were the *nyanthio* clans; on the sides the caste specialists: leather workers, blacksmiths and griots. Cattle and goats were sacrificed by three elders in front of the *dyalan*, together with wine libations, after which the prayers for their annual wishes would start. While celebrations continued at the top, two of the elders would enter the cave with the hearts and livers of the sacrificed animals, as well as some wine for a ritual union between the *nyanthio* and the earth spirits.

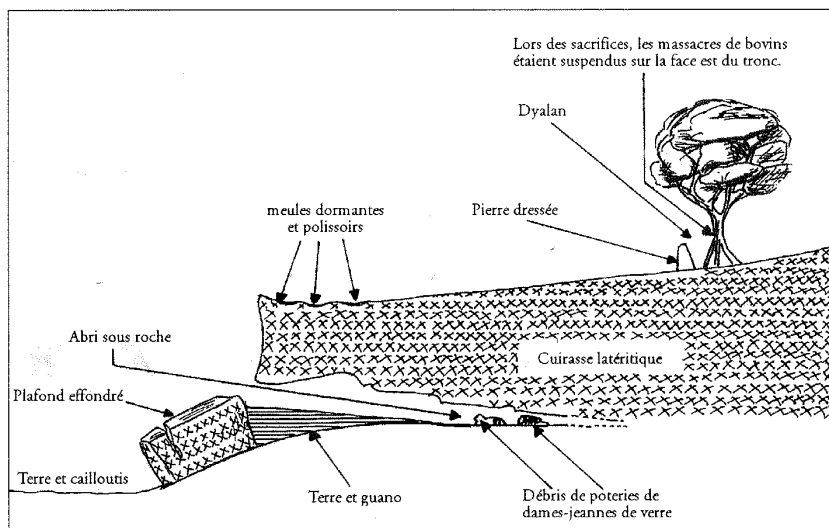


Fig.5.17 Sketch of Guedi Nyanthio Be. Reproduced from Girard 1992.



Fig.5.18 Guedi Nyanthio Be

Diouloung Fountere (UC-18)

N12.86038, W14.29008

Lateritic outcrop of 40m² near the current village of Fouladou Yero. It includes an open rock shelter of approximately 4x2m and 0.5m high, with three small burrow-sized tunnels at the back, as well as multiple vertical openings and collapsed cave entrances throughout the outcrop. On the upper surface of the outcrop were polishing and sharpening marks, but no material culture was found. According to the local Fulbe elders, Diouloung Fountere is a Manding term meaning 'look but do not touch'; it is a haunted place, where hunters who venture inside never return (Pidiro elders, fieldnotes).

Guide Changale (UC-46)

N12.88579, W14.12100

Meaning literally 'guide of the porcupines', this is area of approximately 15x15m west of the current village of Kolda Molo. It is characterised by a series of openings on the ground; some more vertical and pit-like, others more horizontal and open, but all currently blocked by sediment accumulation. According to the current inhabitants, these entrances were accessible up to five years ago, and hunters who went inside to catch porcupines reported finding galleries tall enough to stand (elders of Kolda Molo, fieldnotes). This area was also visited by Girard, who argued that despite their earthy appearance, the pits and galleries were in fact excavated in the rock, and later covered by soil as a result of porcupine activity. He noted that the Badiaranké populations claimed Guide Changale as their ancestral habitat, but that the Fulbe considered the spot to be inhabited by monsters and djinns, and didn't dare to even mention its name (Girard (1992, 294). If Girard's observation was correct, this fearful attitude is now completely gone.



Fig.5.19 Diouloung Fountere

Guide Warva (UC-52)

N12.85337, W14.51683

Near the village of Bassoum, and only 1km away from the polishing marks at Wendu Kadiel (UC-51), Guide Warva consists of six rectangular pits, about 1m x 50cm on the surface and 1-1.7m deep, with openings at the base that could be interconnected galleries or tunnels, all partially or completely blocked. Shown to us

by a hunter who knew of its existence, but not any traditions about its origin or use.



Fig- 5.20 Guide Warva

Timpo Kolon (UC-60)

N12.74630, W14.18145

Located 600m north of the village of Samasansan (see UC-59), this is a site of approximately 10x10m, very similar to Guide Changale at Kolda Molo (UC-46), consisting of a series of openings on the ground, now all blocked by sediment and rock. Known to the local Fulbe populations as Diouloung Fountere, the Manding call it Timpo Kolon, from *kolon* (well/pit) and *timpo*, a now extinct lizard that is believed to have dug the structure. As with Guide Changale, local hunters reported having formerly gone inside to hunt porcupines and encountering galleries where a person could stand up (elders of Samasansan, fieldnotes). This site was also visited by Girard, who in this case also reported the openings being already blocked (Girard 1994, 297).

5.6 Polishing and sharpening marks

Another common occurrence were polishing, sharpening, and cup marks on lateritic outcrops. These were in all cases right next to seasonal or permanent water courses, and in three out of the eleven sites recorded, associated with *guide* sites. There are no oral traditions about these sites, but some elders described them as ancestor's footsteps solidified by the passage of time. The marks always appear in clusters, but the size of the clusters greatly varies, ranging from the four at Kolda

Molo (UC-49) to the many hundreds at Wendu Pete (UC-4).

Their dating is difficult to establish: on the one hand they are similar to marks associated with ceramic LSA sites in Mali (cf. MacDonald 1997), but on the other, the making of sharpening marks was described by the French explorer Hecquard in the 19th C:

'Le pied de cette montagne est un grès rougeâtre dont le grain est très fin e qui sert au habitants pour repasser leurs couteaux et leurs instruments aratoires'² (Hecquard 1853, 421).

As most of these sites are quite similar to each other, I will not describe them individually. Instead, the different types of marks can be seen Fig.5.22, Table 5.1 reflects their presence or absence at the different sites; and Fig. 5.21 their distribution. More information on the location and dimensions of each site can be found in Appendix B.

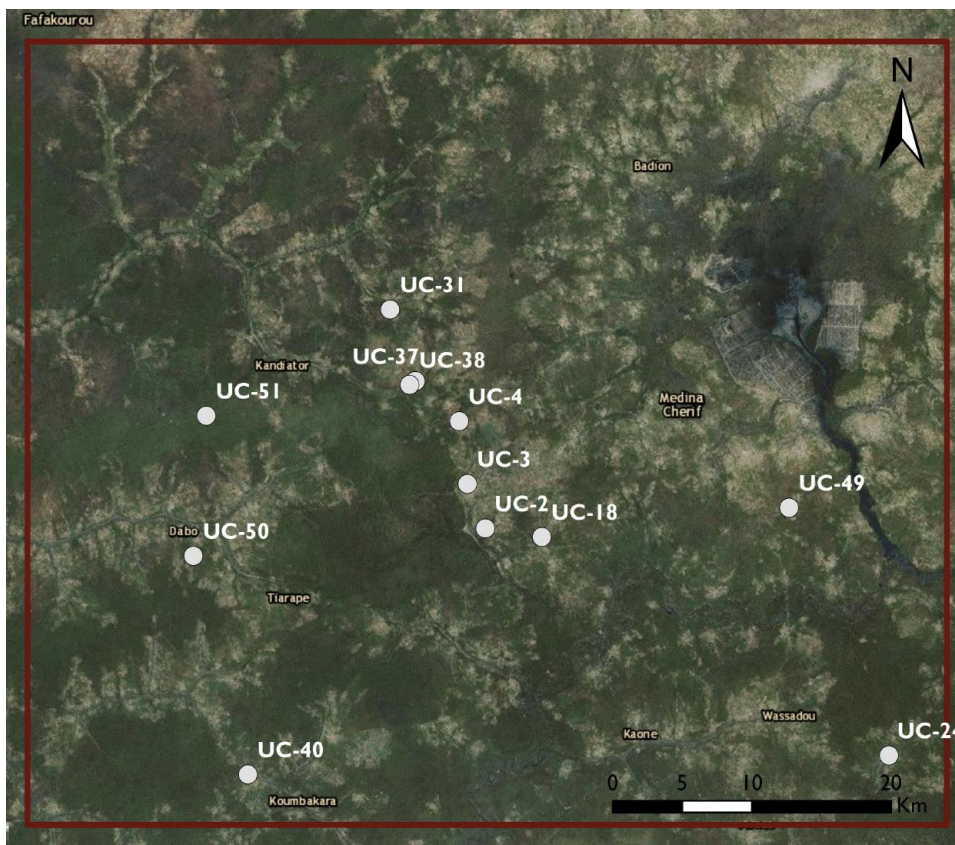


Fig. 5.21 Distribution of stone marks. Basemap: ©2016 Google.

2 'At the foot of that mountain there is a reddish stone of very fine grain and which the inhabitants use to sharpen their knives and ploughing instruments'.

Table 5.1: Stone mark sites

| Site code | Name | Polishing marks | Sharpening marks | Cup marks |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------|
| UC-2 | Guedi Nyantio Be | x | | |
| UC-3 | Mampatim Pete | x | | |
| UC-4 | Wendu Pete | x | x | x |
| UC-18 | Diouloung Fountere | x | | |
| UC-21 | Teppel Sira Ulo | x | x | |
| UC-22 | Berberoto | x | x | |
| UC-24 | Tumbu Payoungou | x | | |
| UC-31 | Wulumbau | x | x | |
| UC-37 | Dembayumine | x | x | |
| UC-38 | Dembayumine 2 | x | | |
| UC-40 | Perlel | x | | |
| UC-49 | Ferlo | x | | |
| UC-51 | Wendu Kadial | x | x | |

Sharpening marks



Polishing marks



Cup marks



Fig. 5.22 Types of stone marks (scale indicates 20cm)

5.6 Other sites

Burials

Three sites (Patim Tibo, UC-16; Korop, UC-55; and Sansankoro, UC-26) had marked burials in, or near, the *tumbu*. These were in all cases said to be local leaders from the Fulaadu period and their relatives, and the tombs were marked by the presence of large trees. We also recorded a small mound of lateritic rocks near Pidiro (UC-10) said to be a mass grave of seven soldiers belonging to Musa Molo's army. The story of this latter site is well remembered because the grandfather of the current *jarga* was present at the inhumation (Bakary Balde, fieldnotes).

Slag scatters

Slag was fairly common in abandoned habitation sites (present on 50% of them), but it also occurred on its own (UC-5) and in association with polishing marks (UC-31). The geology of the region is characterised by highly ferruginous lateritic outcrops, thus making raw materials for iron production readily available. None of the current blacksmiths smelt iron anymore, and they have no memory of when the practice was abandoned.

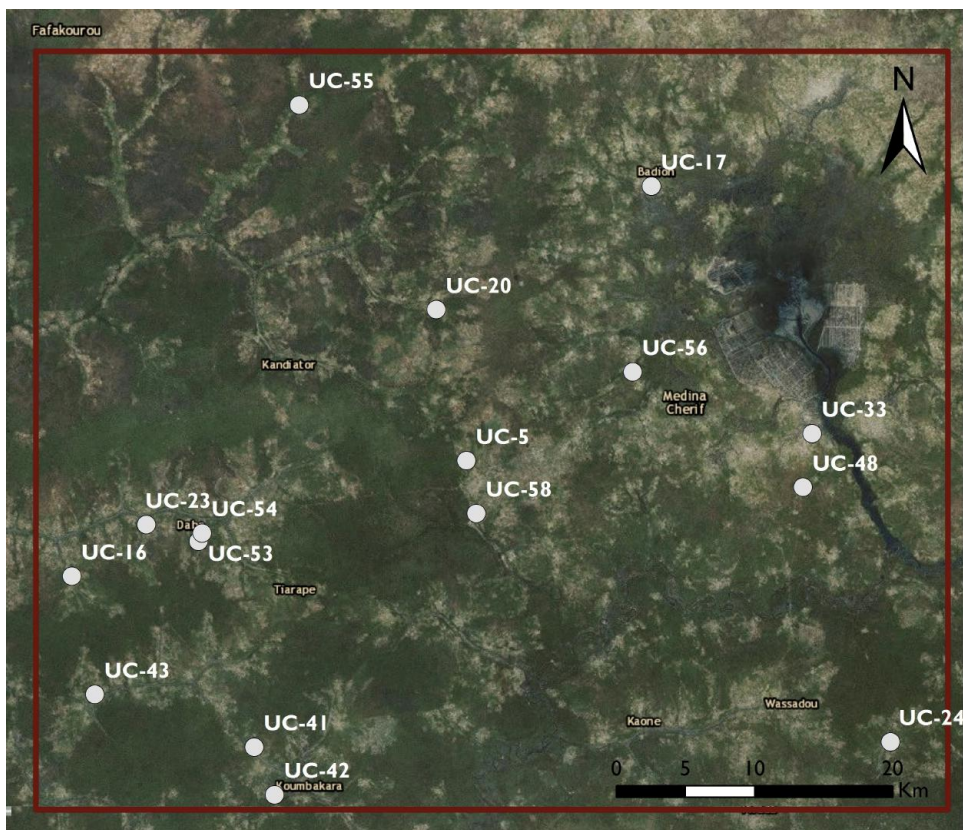


Fig. 5.23 Distribution of sites with slag remains. Basemap: ©2016 Google.

Stone circles

One stone circle was found during the survey, right next to the stone marks at Dembayumine II (UC-38). It was made of apparently unworked lateritic rocks, arranged in two rows forming a circumference of approximately 2m in diameter. The whole area along the stream on which the polishing marks were located was in fact covered in similar rocks, some in potentially anthropogenic arrangements, but out of them only the circle left no doubts with regards to its human-made nature. Additionally, an elder of Sare Pathe Bouya reported that his sister used to worship a *dylan* consisting of a standing stone with breasts in the vicinity, but that he has not been able to find it again since his sister's death (Int. 14).



Fig. 5.24 Lateritic stone circle at Dembayumine II (UC-38)

Colonial structures

Most colonial constructions in the area either have been demolished or are still in use, but we encountered two instances of abandoned colonial infrastructure. The first one was the residence of Baba Moulai Balde, *chef de canton* of Patim Tibo between 1941 and 1960 (UC-6). The remains consisted of a square cement foundation, a trough, and an abandoned well. The second site included an abandoned road and bridge in the vicinity of Pidiro, right next to the tomb of Musa Molo's soldiers previously described (UC- 10).

Dyalan

Although many of them are not archaeological sites strictly speaking, the importance of *dyalan* for the local understanding of the historical landscapes and their crucial role in oral traditions makes their inclusion in the discussion necessary. As discussed in Ch. 4, *dyalan* are sacred spaces, generally trees or standing stones, where sacrifices were often made. The ten cases we recorded during the survey were all trees, but both Girard (1992) and local elders (e.g. Int. 14) describe examples of standing stones being used as *dyalan* until recently. In Payoungou, an elder said that *dyalan* were originally animals, and that only later people started worshipping trees (Ousmane Camara, Int. 16). *Dyalan* are powerful places, connected to the ancestors, and deeply intertwined with oral histories, anchoring myth, legend, and history onto the landscape. Furthermore, the presence of a *dyalan* was presented in all cases as a proof of the historical importance and powerful nature of the town. Figure 5.25 illustrates the 10 *dyalan* encountered and their location, and Table 5.2 their nature.

Table 5.2: *Dyalan* encountered during survey

| Site code | Village | Dyalan name | Species | Location |
|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| UC-2 | Mampatim Sinthian | Guedi Nyanthio Bé | No longer present | N12.86578 W14.32669 |
| UC-9 | Koukane | Diambatulu | <i>Ceiba pentandra</i> | N12.93729 W14.07673 |
| UC-24 | Payoungou | Tamba Dibi | <i>Neocarya macrophylla</i> | N12.73123 W14.06399 |
| UC-24 | Payoungou | Dyalan Bantan | | N12.71741 W14.06793 |
| UC-28 | Muntumba | Bantanui | <i>Ceiba pentandra</i> | N13.05826 W14.14912 |
| UC-32 | Kabendou | Tamba Dibi | <i>Neocarya macrophylla</i> | N12.92357 W14.11619 |
| UC-55 | Korop | ? | <i>Adansonia digitata</i> | N13.13879 W14.45155 |
| UC-59 | Samassandang | Tenemba | <i>Ceiba pentandra</i> | N12.73841 W14.17920 |
| UC-59 | Samassandang | Salimatou | <i>Parkia biglobosa</i> | N12.73663 W14.17822 |
| UC-59 | Samassandang | Dado | <i>Ceiba pentandra</i> | N12.73724 W14.17549 |

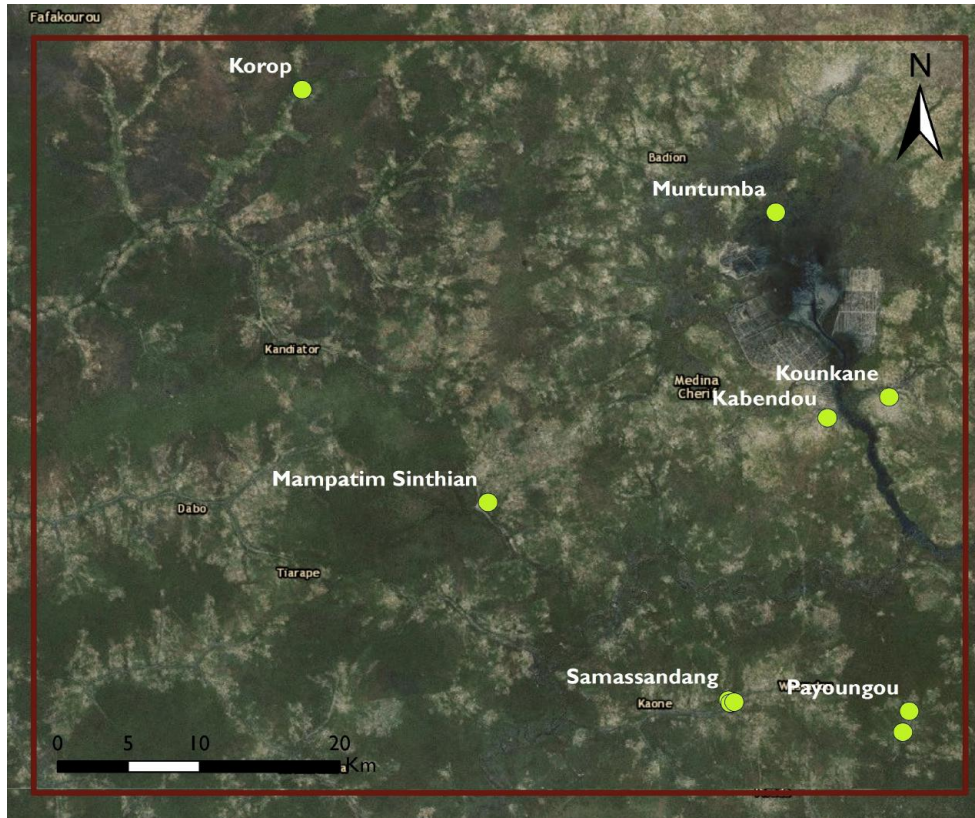


Fig 5. 25: Distribution of dyalan encountered during survey

5.7 Discussion: placing sites in the landscape

So far in this chapter, I have described the different types of sites as independent entities, artificially isolating them from each other and from the landscapes they were embedded in. This isolation had the advantage of making patterns for each of the different types of sites noticeable, and exposing their similarities and differences, but precluded the exploration of how the different site types relate to each other and articulate the multiple landscape layers described in Ch.4. In this last section, I redress this situation, by taking a wider look at the relationships and interconnections between the different sites types and their role in the landscape, while also reviewing the patterns identified for each of the individual categories.

The majority of sites identified were abandoned villages or *tumbu*, ranging from short-lived recent occupations to historical towns with prominent roles in the Kaabu epics. Despite their diversity, however, all *tumbu* but one (the small mound at Uraro, UC-27), had in common the lack of any visible stratigraphy. Notwithstanding the limitations of the survey, I believe this absence of tell-sites is

characteristic of the region, for two main reasons: first, it is a very flat area, where tell sites would clearly stand out and would be difficult to miss. Secondly, it is also a densely populated human landscape, where people live off the land and have an extremely good knowledge of their surroundings. The extent and detail of this knowledge is such that on several occasions elders pointed us in the direction of remains of *tataji* under 30 cm high up to 40km away. Consequently, and despite the methodological limitations of the survey, it is reasonable to conclude that there are in fact no tell sites in the area, and that the archaeological landscape is characterised by a great degree of mobility.

As for the nature of this mobility, in Ch. 4, I discussed how oral traditions and historical texts reflect the existence of two types of mobility (shifts and moves) whose combination resulted in two parallel phenomena: ephemeral villages and shifting towns. While the current evidence is too limited to confidently determine which of these was responsible for the formation of the different sites, some relevant indications are available. For example, although the flat nature of most sites and the restriction of pottery to cultivated areas precluded the recording of reliable site sizes, estimates based on a combination of local knowledge and surface pottery reveal an interesting pattern: the largest sites are also those which oral traditions consider to be the oldest (see Fig. 5.26). This correlation indicates two things: first, that the identification of historical towns in griotic epics is relatively accurate; and secondly, that shifting patterns might be behind these large but shallow historical sites.

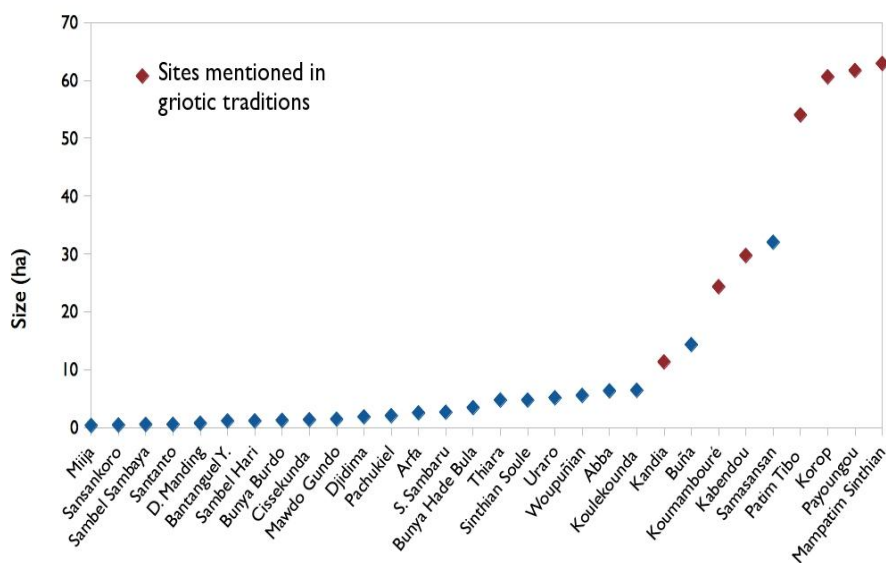


Fig. 5.26 Tumbu size

Finally, in terms of site location, the nature of the survey does not allow for reliable assessments of site distribution patterns, but it is noteworthy that all recorded *tumbu* were located less than 1km away from a potential *risière*, i.e. a seasonally flooded area suitable for rice cultivation.

Despite the high degree of mobility suggested by these patterns, there are two elements anchoring settlements in the landscape: *dyalan* and wells. Both are problematic archaeologically as they are difficult to date, but they are key, often interrelated parts of the definition of the human and sacred landscapes of the Upper Casamance, both past and present. As a prerequisite for a settlement and a labour-intensive investment, wells are key dimensions in the conceptualisation of a village, whether living or abandoned, and central to foundation and abandonment narratives. Old wells are particularly important, for like *dyalan*, they testify to the antiquity and relevance of the village. In some cases (e.g. Kandia, UC-17), old wells are believed to have magical properties, and to be connected to certain *dyalan* or other wells through underground currents (Int. 5). Furthermore, all across West Africa it is common to hear how after military defeats people (especially women) threw themselves and all their wealth inside a well to avoid slavery and looting. Kaabu is no exception, as the examples of Kandia (Int. 5) and Kansala (Int. 30) demonstrate. In terms of their morphology, when the wells are still in use, it is possible to distinguish between recent, colonial, and pre-colonial wells (due to the use of different drilling technologies resulting in markedly different shafts), but unfortunately most wells around *tumbu* had been abandoned and filled.

As for *dyalan*, the examples identified and visited during the survey confirmed many of the elements discussed in Ch. 4: they are sources of power and authority, perceived as permanent reference points in the landscape, and whose most famous and powerful examples are always linked to political power centres (e.g. Kansala, Payoungou, Kabendou). Nevertheless, the survey also revealed another set of minor *dyalan*, which do not appear in epic traditions and are generally not known beyond the local area, but which play key roles in embodying the village's history. *Dyalan* like those at Muntumba, Samasansan or Korop are perceived by the populations as proof and symbols of the importance of their towns. They are seen as witnesses of history, sometimes quite literally: the antiquity of Korop was supposedly revealed to the elders by the local *dyalan*, via a passing scholar (Daouda Balde, Int. 27). Of course, perception of antiquity and actual antiquity are not necessarily the same thing, but until some reliable form of dating

becomes available (e.g. through the ceramic remains inside GNB), oral traditions about *dyalan* remain our only source for developing working hypotheses. As for the location of *dyalan*, sometimes they were right in the middle of the village, like Payoungou's Dyalan Bantan, sometimes a few hundred meters away, like Guedi Nyanthio Be; but in all cases there was a direct association with a village. Interestingly, all villages with *dyalan* had Manding names, except for three (Mampatim, Korop, and Koukane) whose names are of unknown origin.

Regarding the *tata*, although only 6 (out of 12 recorded) were visible on the surface or through satellite imagery, their shapes, sizes and proportions are remarkably consistent. Except for that at Bantanguel Yawayou and the third *tata* in Korop, all the recorded *tata* were either square or almost square, maintaining a largely constant proportion, as reflected in Fig. 5.27; and in all cases their walls were approximately aligned with the cardinal points. Surprisingly, none of the *tata* presented the zig-zag outline described by Hecquard (1853, 205) as characteristic of Kaabu's *tataji* in the 19th C. In terms of their position in relation to settlement, village elders provided two contradictory versions: while Aliou Balde from Temanto Tobo said: 'the *tata* was on one side, and the *tumbu* on the other. You know, if there is power within a village, it locates itself at one end and the village at the other. That's the rule' (Int. 23); Payoungou Seydi from Payoungou claimed that the *tata* was always at the centre and the village orbited around it (Int. 32). While the constraints in site size determination derived from limited surface visibility do not allow to confidently resolve this discrepancy, the collected data do provide some

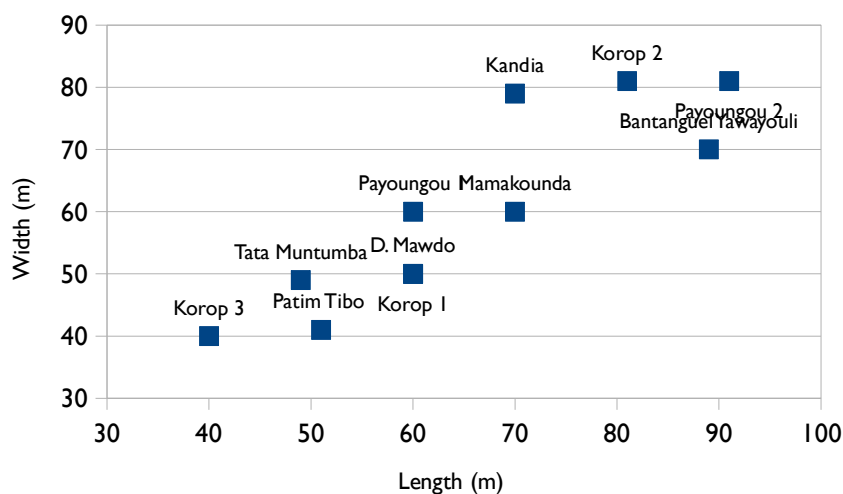


Fig. 5.27. Tata sizes

light, as cases like Patim Tibo or Payoungou show that at least in some instances the *tata* was right in the middle of the village, rather than apart from it.

In terms of dating, as discussed in Ch.8, the attribution of *tumbu* and *tataji* to particular periods is constrained by both the scarce amounts of surface pottery, and the limited chronological variation of pottery traditions over time. In total, only 13 sites presented sherds with chronologically diagnostic features (see Table 8.9). Combining this ceramic information with oral histories about the Fulaadu and colonial era (as prior to that traditions start to be chronologically problematic), and references from European sources, it was possible to attribute periods of occupation to all *tumbu* and *tataji*, shown in Fig. 5.28. These attributions, however, come with important caveats: firstly, the relative amounts for each period are not representative, as recent periods are undoubtedly over-represented by the input of oral histories. Secondly, the presence of *tataji* only in Late Kaabu/Fulaadu is probably the result of the dating method: since most of them were not cultivated (and thus did not have surface pottery), their dating relied on oral histories, which were only used for the two most recent periods. Finally, it is necessary to bear in mind that the proportion of chronologically diagnostic sherds for each period is extremely low, and that therefore absence of evidence is definitely not evidence of absence in this case. The individual information for all the sites and the methods employed for dating each of them can be found in Appendix B.

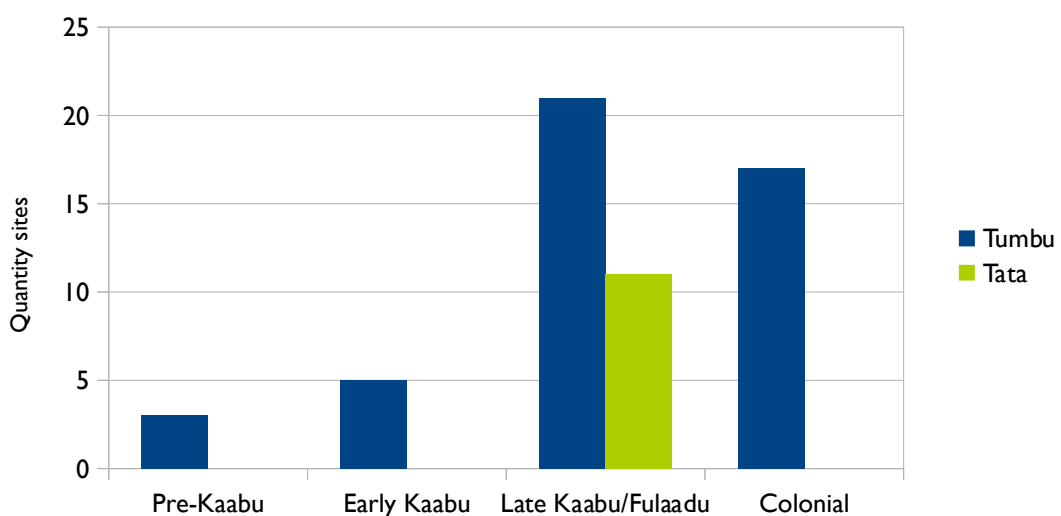


Fig. 5.28 Number of sites by period (based on surface pottery, historical written sources, and oral traditions)

Finally, *guide* and stone marks, on the other hand, remain among the less well-understood of the Upper Casamance sites, and in the absence of any dates for either, it is difficult to both interpret them and to understand their relationship with the wider landscape. Although sometimes close to current or abandoned villages, the distribution of stone marks does not seem to be related to that of settlement sites, but it does –logically– follow that of lateritic outcrops. *Guide*, on the contrary, were all located in the immediate proximity of an abandoned village, with the one exception of Guide Warva (UC-52). As for their function, it is possible that Girard was right in explaining them as subterranean habitations and refuges for dangerous times, but the present evidence does not allow to either confirm or disprove his interpretation.

The survey data, therefore, shed light on a variety of important aspects: they confirm narratives about mobility have a clear material correlate, both in terms of shifts and of long-distance movements. The limited number of *tataji* and their homogeneity in terms of shape, orientation, and size, support the existence of a certain degree of political centralisation and coordination. The local perception of both major and minor *dyalan* as 'historical anchors', reinforces previously explored notions of permanent sacred landscapes against fluid settlement and political structures, but these remain just conjectural until reliable dates can be obtained for their physical manifestations. All these themes will be picked up again in Ch. 10, after discussing how intra-site patterns contribute to, and expand on, this debate.

CHAPTER 6: PAYOUNGOU

Following the survey, two sites at opposite corners of the survey area were chosen for excavation due to their remarkable size, historical importance, surface evidence, and associated oral traditions. In this chapter I discuss the first of them, Payoungou. I start by briefly describing the present village and its political, economic, and environmental context, followed by a review of what oral traditions and historical written sources have to say about its past. After a brief discussion concerning the story of Payoungou's historic cannon, I proceed to describe the archaeological site and the methods and results of the excavation. I end the chapter by drawing together all the sources described in order to review what they can tell us about the evolution of Payoungou over time.

6.1 Location and current village

Located at N 12.71593 and W14.06689, Payoungou is currently in the Rural Community of Wassadou, four kilometres from the Guinea-Bissau border. Its population, estimated at 1325 inhabitants in 2011 (PEPAM 2012) self-identifies as Manding and lives mainly on mixed agriculture and herding. The current village occupies 17.2 ha, and it is the only officially classified 'historical village' in the Kolda region (ANSD 2009, 108).

Getting to Payoungou is not easy, especially during the rainy season. Leaving the paved road at Diaobé, after 30km of degraded yet busy laterite track, there is the even smaller track leading to Payoungou. There is no electricity, other than that supplied by one or two solar panels donated by NGOs, and water is taken from the multiple wells scattered around the village. The village has a primary school, two health centres and a crèche, again all built by NGOs, but except for the school none of them is fully operational. A mobile phone tower is the most recent addition to the village.

Despite its apparent remoteness, Payoungou is surprisingly well connected to the world, although in an uneven way. Community and national radios mean that the latest Beyoncé singles can be heard among the huts, and football fans in the village are up-to-the-minute with the latest transfers in the Champions League thanks to daily commutes to Diaobé, where electricity and satellite dishes are common. Many young people migrate even further away, as seasonal or permanent workers to the Siin or Dakar, and an increasing number is continuing their studies

beyond primary school, going on to secondary school, and in some cases even university.

Although Payoungou's current economic and political significance is rather limited, there is a sense of past importance, of lost former glory, common to most Manding villages we visited, but particularly poignant here, as they claim to have been not just one of Kaabu's great towns, but in fact its spiritual core. This importance and power is recognised across the region, and manifests itself also through certain interdictions, like the belief that any civil servant or politician who stays the night will soon lose its post (APS 2012).



Fig. 6.1 Main street in Payoungou, 2013

6.2 Oral traditions:

Payoungou, together with Kabendou, is one of the few locales in the study area that is known across the Kaabunke world, from the Gambia to Guinea Bissau, connected to both crucial events and central characters in Kaabu's history, in epic narratives as well as in local traditions. Epic narratives, although mostly held by griots, have also infiltrated village elders' traditions, and therefore both sources are used in this review. Additionally, the site also features in a set of more localised and rooted, but not any less important, elder traditions, discussed later when describing the archaeological site. Since Payoungou has had no political or economic importance since the fall of Kansala in the 1860s, its importance in oral traditions across the Senegambia cannot be the result of a projection of more recent events onto the past and it is therefore reasonable to assume that it stems from a genuine

political centrality of the town in Late Kaabu times and/or earlier periods.

Payoungou and Tiramakan

According to the Bijini Tarikh, Payoungou was the first town founded by Tiramakan (founder of Kaabu) on his arrival in the Senegambia. It thus became the base from which he launched the conquest of the region, as well as Kaabu's first capital (Giesing & Vidrine 2007, 380). This tradition is also cited by the Portuguese colonial administrator Francisco Grandao, who adds how 'Paiungo' remained Kaabu's capital until a king by the name of Mansairá Sané transferred it to Kansala (Grandão 1947, 450). Although Grandao cites a local elder by the name of Mamadou Balde as his source, the Bijini manuscript (see Ch. 1) was known to the Portuguese colonial authorities (Jansen 2009,139), and therefore its influence on this statement cannot be ruled out. This notion of Payoungou as the first power centre of Kaabu is also shared by local traditions: 'royalty (*lammu*) started in Payoungou', was a commonly repeated phrase in our interviews both in Payoungou and elsewhere (e.g. int. 16 & 30). According to Ousmane Camara from Payoungou, on his arrival at the village, Tiramakan encountered some Bainouk populations, which he chased away. Having settled, he sent his elder son Fatamba to Paroumba and his younger son Tananké to Kawaral in Guinea, but Tiramakan himself stayed in Payoungou (Int. 16).

Payoungou and nyanthio origin myth

Among the versions of the *nyanthio* origin myth collected by Jean Girard (1992), there are two recorded in Payoungou, which provide a greater insight into the town's involvement in the myth. According to these versions, the first king of Payoungou was Nasso Mansa Wali Ba, who was succeeded by his brothers, Koumanthio Sané and Koumanthio Wali. They were in turn replaced by Mansa Coloumbiti, and it is during the reign of this latter that Tenemba Gassama, the ancestor of the *nyanthio* lived. As for Tenemba's relation with Mansa Columbiti, the two traditions differ: one considers her his daughter; the other one says Columbiti married Tenemba's daughter, Balaba. In both cases, Balaba ends up living in Payoungou (Girard 1992, 208-9). According to the elders in Sare Pathe Bouya, there is a *tarikh* (written historical document) in Soumacounda which says Balaba Tinguida was the daughter of the king of Payoungou and from the Sané lineage (int. 14).

Payoungou at the height of Kaabu

According to most traditions, Payoungou was the capital of Pathiana, one of the three *nyanthio* territories, controlled by the Sane lineage. Later subdivided into smaller states (including Pirada and Propana), Pathiana is consistently described as a key area and power centre throughout Kaabu's history (Cissoko 1972, 8; Galloway 1980, 31; Kuyate 1980, 19). Some of Payoungou's key rulers remembered by oral traditions include Saa Demba Mane, Ngaleng Mama Kumba, and Mamadou Nyanchoding, the latter being the last *nyanthio* to have lived in Payoungou, according to the griot Sana Kuyaté (Galloway (1980, 31). As discussed in Ch. 5, Payoungou was also the origin of the ruling clans of other Kaabu towns, including Kabendou (Sana Kuyate cited in Galloway 1980).

Payoungou during Kaabu's decline

Payoungou is also connected to the two key characters of the final period of Kaabu: Dianke Wali and Kelefa Sane. In relation to the latter, Payoungou is said to have been the place of origin of Kelefa's father (Camara 2010, 7), as well as the location of the *dyalan* that Fanta Nanky (Kelefa's mother), prayed to in order to conceive Kelefa (Int. 18). In the case of Dianke Wali, some traditions claim he was born in Payoungou (Sana Kuyate cited in Galloway 1980, 31; Niane 1989, 140; Malang Diamanka, Int.29). The Payoungou elders, however, say that his mother was indeed from Payoungou, but that she married in Kabendou, and that is where Dianke Wali was born. Those at Koulekounda, however, state that it was his father, Fali Sane, who was from Payoungou (Ousamen Drame Int. 18). Regardless of his original connection to Payoungou, when it became Pathiana's turn to rule in Kaabu, Dianke Wali was taken there again to be tested by the *dyalan* (Musa Sane, Int. 16).

After the fall of Kansala, Samanka Demba (aka Toura Sane), Dianke Wali's son, is said to have led a contingent of refugees to Payoungou, where they settled (Girard 1992). Additionally, in the 19th C Musa Molo is reported to have also spent a night in Payoungou after defeating Koniadji Mo Fa Dienoung, king of Paroumba (Int. 11).

6.3 Written sources

Despite its great role in oral traditions, Payoungou only appears in written sources from the late 1840s onwards. As discussed in Ch.3, one of the reasons for the endurance of Kaabu is how it kept its centres of political power in the interior, in areas where few or no Europeans dared to venture. Even so, it is quite remarkable how even after centuries of trade with Kaabu, no names of inland towns appear in European texts until the mid 19th C; suggesting secrecy about the interior by both the Kaabunke and their intermediaries. The first written mention to both Kansala and Payoungou takes place in 1849, when Bertrand-Bocandé included 'Payonko' and 'Gansala' as regions of Kaabu in a map (see Fig. 6.2). In the accompanying text, he explained that Payoungou *used* to be a town, but that it was destroyed, and that the term came to designate the region governed from the town of Pirada. The region of Payoungou, he adds, is one of the three whose kings alternated in the throne at 'Gansala' and took the title of Cabou Mansa Ba; and is largely populated by the 'Soninké' (i.e. non Muslim Manding), but including also a large number of 'Maures' (Fulbe) and 'Foules' (Fulbe Futa) (Bertrand-Bocande 1849b, 67).

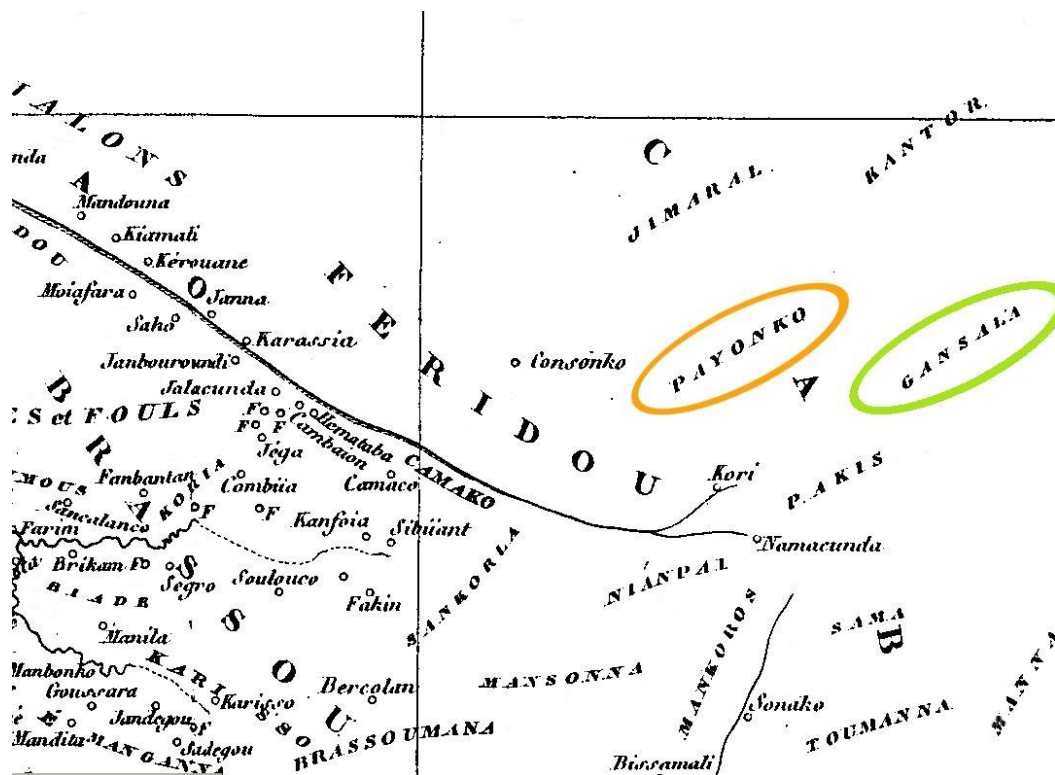


Fig.6.2 Detail of 1849 map by Bertrand-Bocandé depicting both Payoungou and Kansala as regions

A few years later, the explorer Hyacinthe Hecquard, visiting the region on his way to the Futa Djallon wrote:

'Le pays dans lequel nous nous trouvons depuis le passage du Bagéba est borné au Nord par le Kangaye et gouverné par un Guelware qui habite Pourada, grand village entouré d'un fort tata, et situé dans l'Ouest à une journée de marche d'Outoumba. Il est appelé Payoungou par les Mandingues, Pralelatinguara ou Pourada, du nom de sa capitale, par les Peulhs' (1853, 200).

Although Hecquard's route passed 15km east of Payoungou (he stayed overnight at Manato, see Fig. 6.4), he makes no reference to Payoungou as a town, whether existing or abandoned, yet mentions Pirada ('Pourada' in the text), which is 10km further away than Payoungou. The combination of Bertrand Bocandé's comments and Hecquard's observations therefore suggest that by the 1840s-1850s Payoungou was no longer an important power centre (although it had previously been, as its name was still used to refer to its region), and that it might even have been temporally abandoned. If it was, however, by 1906 it appears to have been repopulated, as demonstrated by its appearance in a Portuguese map of the region (see Fig. 6.3). From then on, references to Payoungou in colonial administrative documents become common.

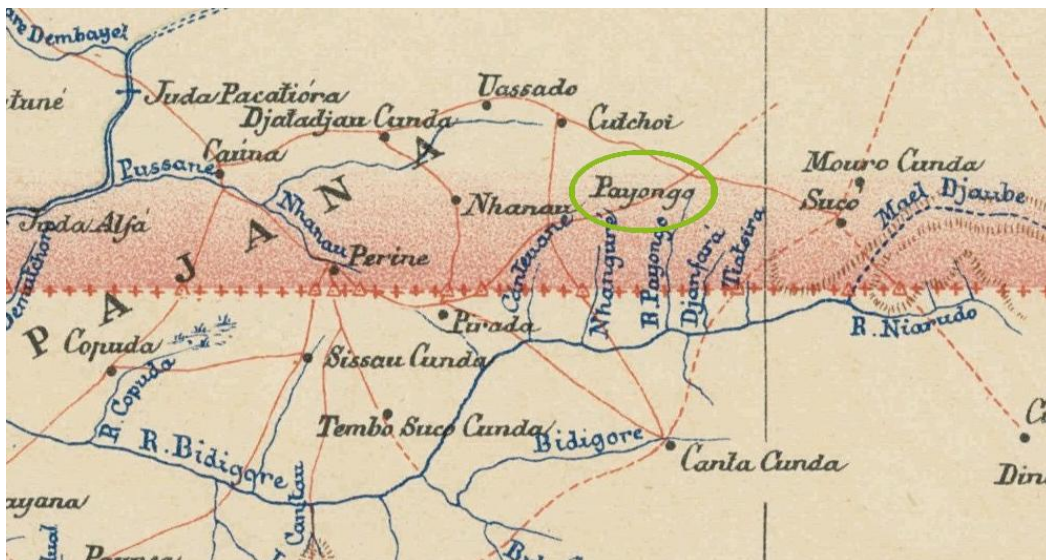


Fig.6.3 Detail of 1906 Portuguese map including 'Payonggo' as a village in its current location. Comissão de Cartografia. 1906. Esboço da Carta da Provincia da Guiné. 1:500,000.

1 'The country in which we find ourselves after crossing the Bagéba limits at the north with Kangaye and is governed by a Guelware who lives in Pourada, a large village surrounded by a strong tata, and located at the west at one day walk from Outoumba. It is called Payoungou by the Manding, Pralelatinguara or Poudara, from the name of its capital, by the Peulhs'

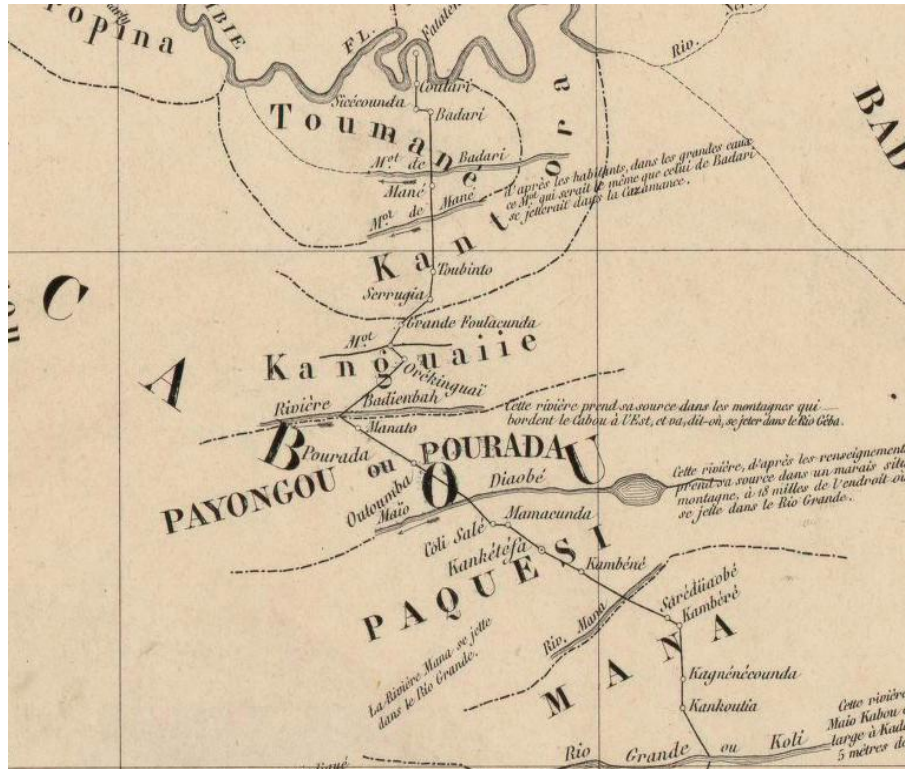


Fig.6.4 Detail of H. Hecquard's 1851 map of his journey to the Futa Djallon. Hecquard, H. 1851. Croquis d'une partie de l'Afrique Occidentale pour servir à l'Intelligence du voyage à Timbo.

6.4 Payoungou's cannon

On our very first visit to Payoungou, we encountered some reticence towards foreign researchers as a result of an incident that occurred in the 1970s, when according to the elders, a 'white man' took away a sacred cannon from the village and moved it to a museum in Dakar. This was, according to the elders, an 'anti-Islamic' cannon, which if placed at the east of a tree, would move itself to the west side. It was found by the villagers while cultivating a field on abandoned ground (the same field that our unit A would be placed in), and later moved to a tree near the road, next to the new health centre, before it was seized and taken to Dakar (fieldnotes).

On my return to Dakar, I visited the Gorée Historical Museum, which I remembered had a cannon room, and thanks to the assistance of Dr Cyr Descamps, located not just the cannon itself (see Fig. 6.5), but also all the papers documenting its acquisition (reproduced in Appendix C). According to these documents, the cannon was taken from Payoungou by a team from the Direction National du Patrimoine headed by Guy Thilmans, from the Prehistory Department at IFAN, on

the 16th of June 1973. It is a small swivel cannon, weighing 54.5 kg, 80cm long, and with a 45mm calibre (Descamps & Thilmans 1973). The cannon has never been studied, but its morphology indicates it was of 18th C British manufacture. It was not a military piece, nor did it belong to the East India Company, as it does not have any incised or cast crest. This sort of cannon was generally used on ships, or on smaller boats to give firepower upon landing on hostile territory, as well as on forts as wall pieces (S. Summerfield, *pers.comm.*). As the cannon was found inland and in the *tata* area of Payoungou, this last option seems to be the most likely in this case.

Furthermore, the Payoungou cannon is not unique. In the same trip, Thilmans and his team collected two other larger cannons from Vouropana (also in the Kolda region, but closer to the Gambia), which are also now in the Gorée Museum. Furthermore, in 1947, the head of the Portuguese colonial post at Pirada, 19km from Payoungou, reported having found two cannons in the old fortifications, one 60cm long, which was taken to the Ethnographic Museum in Bissau (in Fig.6.7), and another one which was lost. Most importantly, he states that these were pieces of artillery used by the Manding to defend the town against the Fulbe (Grandão 1947,454). Finally, the villagers of Sare Amady (a small hamlet immediately north of Payoungou's archaeological site, showed us a fragment of a very similar cannon, also found during cultivation, and currently used to sharpen up hoes (see Fig.6.8).



Fig.6.5 The cannon in 2013 at the Gorée Museum

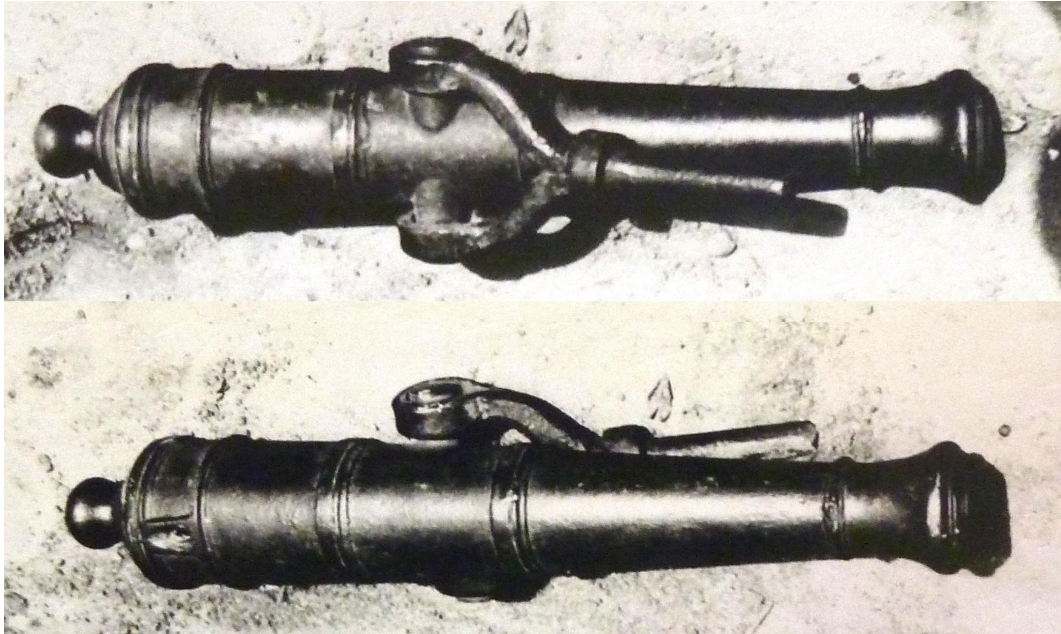


Fig.6.6 Images of the cannon taken by the Direction du Patrimoine at the time of its retrieval from Payoungou. Adapted from Descamps & Thilmans 1967

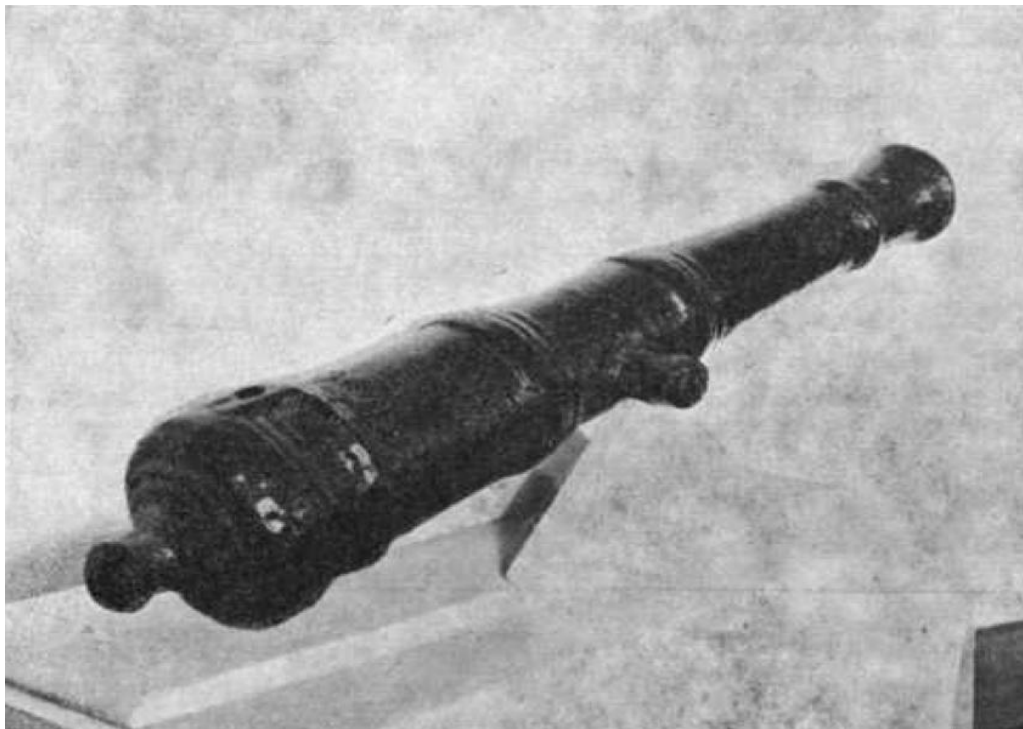


Fig. 6.7 Cannon from Pirada. Reproduced from Grandão 1947



Fig. 6.8 Fragment of a similar cannon in the nearby village of Sare Amadi

6.5 The archaeological site

The archaeological site lies immediately north of the present village, potentially also under it, and its location is well known to the current inhabitants. On our first visit, the elders stated there were two *tataji* and one *tumbu*, but both the nature of the elements described and their location changed over successive visits and depending on the informant. The site's southern and northern limits are marked by two *dyalan* trees, the Tamba Dibi in the north, and the Dyalan Bantan in the south –although this latter no longer exists –, and on the west by a seasonal stream. The site is divided in two along the N-S axis by the track that connects the village with the road to Wassadou. Approximately a third of the site is currently cultivated, mostly with cotton and peanut. The rest is either fallow land, lateritic outcrops, or areas which are left uncultivated for a variety of reasons. In general terms, the site presents a gradual slope descending towards the seasonal stream to the west, with some minor undulations which I initially thought could be archaeological but excavation demonstrated were natural. While visibility in the cultivated areas is excellent, and surface pottery abundant by the region's standards, the uncultivated areas (with the exception of the lateritic outcrop at the centre of the site) are covered in dense, tall, grass. In addition to pottery, surface finds included substantial amounts of slag in the south of the older *tumbu* and small amounts of glass in the larger *tata*.

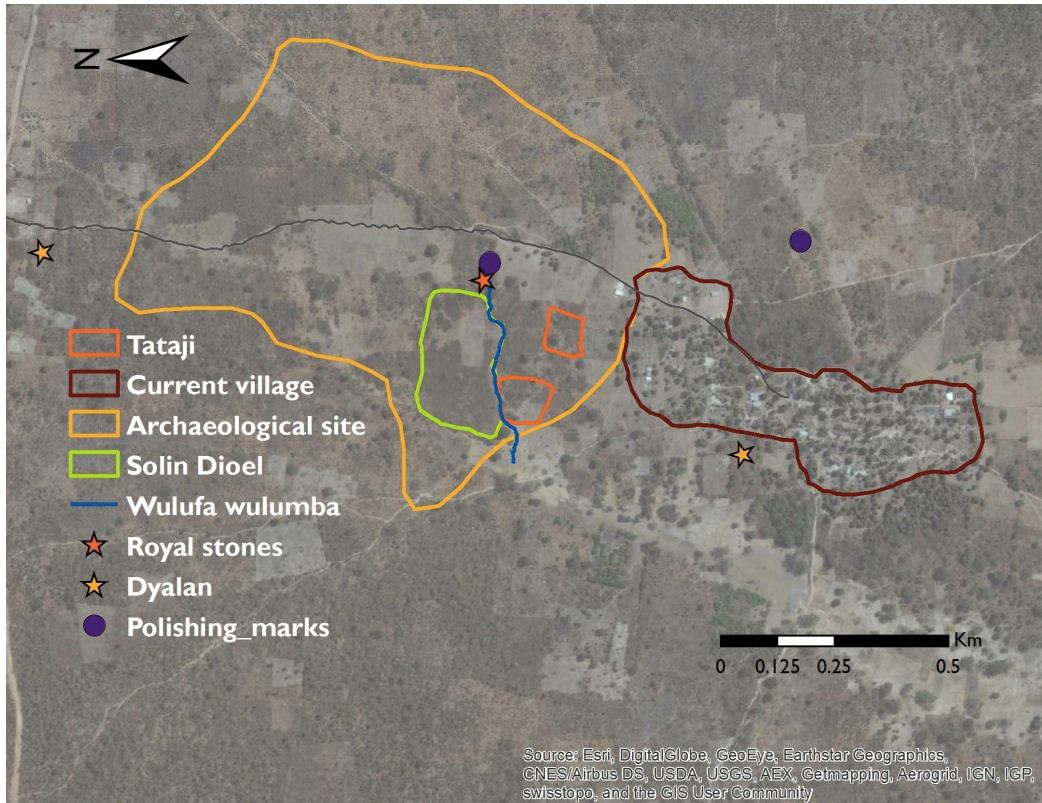


Fig. 6.9 Payoungou's archaeological site

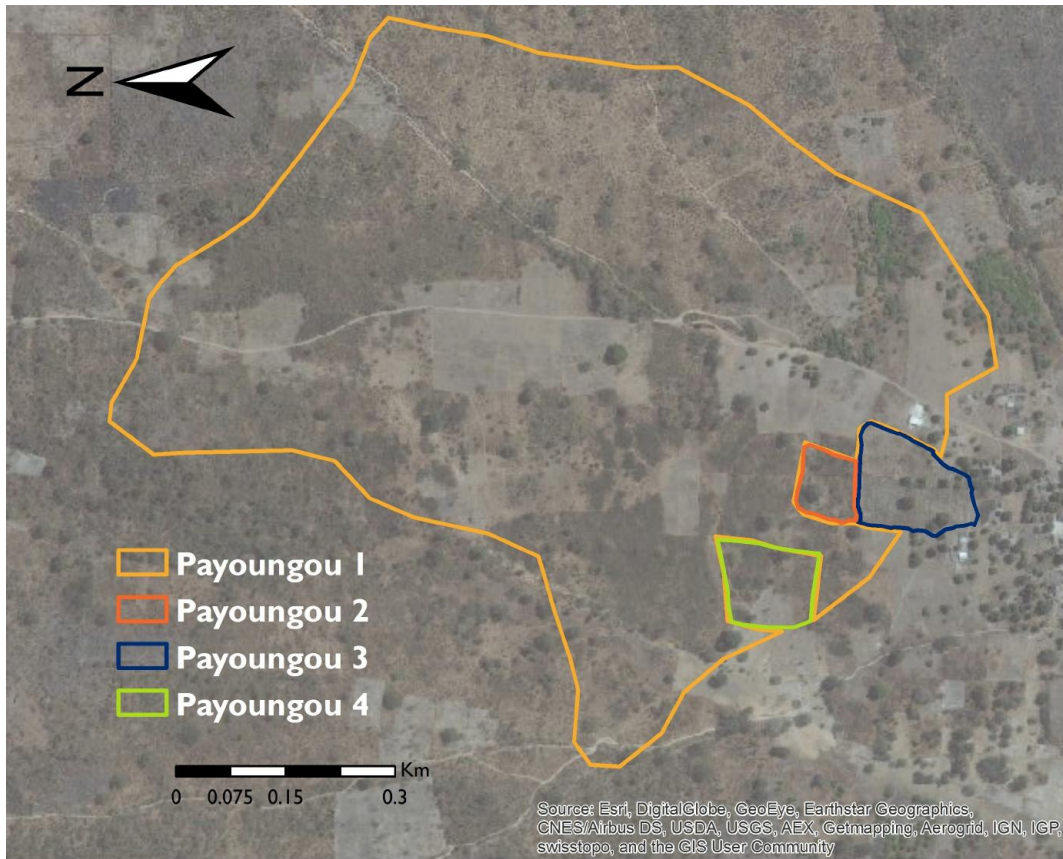


Fig. 6.10 Payoungou's pottery collection zones. Basemap: ©2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

For recording purposes, the site was divided into four distinct areas of pottery collection, following the elders' initial classification of the site:

Table 6.1: Pottery collection areas in Payoungou

| Name | Code | Description | Size | Surface finds |
|-------------|-------------|------------------------------------|-------------|--|
| Payoungou 1 | UC-24 | Older <i>tumbu</i> | 66ha | Late Kaabu/Fulaadu pottery and smoking pipes |
| Payoungou 2 | UC-34 | Interior of smaller <i>tata</i> | 70x60m | |
| Payoungou 3 | UC-35 | Recent <i>tumbu</i> | 1.8 ha | |
| Payoungou 4 | UC-36 | Interior of larger <i>tata</i> | 90x80m | Early Kaabu and Late Kaabu/Fulaadu pottery |

This classification proved to be problematic, as on subsequent visits and during the excavation, it became clear that there were substantial disagreements among the elders regarding the particular contours and locations of each of the zones; but the separation was kept as a way of assessing whether different areas of the site had different ceramic signatures, and whether those corresponded in any way to the subsurface results. As discussed in Ch.8, the results of this comparison were largely negative. Furthermore, a more detailed and plural assessment of local traditions, showed how the local conceptualisation of the site included in fact seven distinct areas:

Recent village (UC-35)

This is an area of 1.8 ha, immediately north of the current village and west of the health centre, where the elders claim the village was located prior to its move to the current location during Dianke Wali's time (1900(?)-1960s). It is all now cultivated and thoroughly fenced. Although some pottery was visible on the surface from outside, we could not collect it as the owner of the field was absent and we could not obtain his permission to survey it.

Tataji

The number and location of the *tataji* was one of the areas of greater controversy among the elders in Payoungou. The first *tata* that was shown to us (UC-34), was traceable on the ground in certain parts, as a slight elevation and a much more clayey texture to the soil. Nevertheless, the dense vegetation and substantial amounts of termite activity in the area made difficult to assess whether the clay accumulations were anthropogenic. According to the elders, the *tata* had belonged to a king by the name of Kankuaji Sane, and the area had been left uncultivated because 'one cannot cultivate where battles have taken place' (fieldnotes).

The second supposed *tata* shown to us (UC-36) was far richer in surface pottery (as a change in a seasonal stream had created a small gully and exposed pottery in the process), but its wall foundations were not traceable. The perimeter defined by the elders was larger than the first one (90x80m), and the structure was said to be associated with the rulers Seriba Sane and Yerikuntu Ba Sane (Late Kaabu). The existence of this second *tata* was disputed by one of the elders, Payoungou Seydi, who said he had only heard of one *tata* (the first one, UC-34), and that it was that one where Yerikuntu Ba Sane lived (Int. 32). Adding to the debate about the number of *tataji*, Jean Girard (1964) mentions not one or two, but three different *tataji* in Payoungou, but unfortunately gives no other information about them. In any case, both of the *tataji* indicated by the elders are in the same part of the site (about 50m from each other), in what all elders agree was the 'royal area' (fieldnotes, Int. 32). This area was at the centre of the town, separated from people's houses by the empty space of Wulufa Wulumba and Solindioyel (see below). Contrary to the town, which constantly moved, the *tataji* reportedly always stayed in the same place (Payoungou Seydi, Int. 32).

Tamba Dibi

Located at the northern end of the archaeological site, this tree is, according to the Payoungou elders, the 'son' of the original *dyalan*, which grew from its seeds after the death of the latter. At the foot of the tree there used to be some stones for sacrifices (Moussa Sane, fieldnotes), but they are no longer present. Across the literature, Tamba Dibi is consistently identified as the most important and powerful *dyalan* of Kaabu, but as discussed in Ch. 3, multiple *dyalan* by the same name have been reported; Kansala, Kankelefa, and Payoungou being the most commonly cited

ones. Out of these three towns, Payoungou is unanimously recognised as the oldest, and therefore it is likely that its original Tamba Dibi was also the first *dyalan* of that name. The term Tamba Dibi is composed of two words: *tamba*, which is the local term for the gingerbread plum tree (*Neocarya macrophylla*), but also a type of spear used by Manding warriors (Park 1800, 549; Giesing & Vydrine 2007, 384); and *dibi*, meaning 'dark' or 'obscure' (Hoffman 1995, 41). The most important role of the Tamba Dibi was in the appointment Kaabu's *mansaba*. According to the elders in Payoungou, all three Tamba Dibi were involved in the process: the candidate had to first seek the approval of the Tamba Dibi in Payoungou, then that of Kankelefa, and finally the one in Kansala. The candidate would sit in the stones under the *dyalan* and after the necessary sacrifices were made, if the *dyalan* approved, rain would fall from the tree to bathe the future king (Girard 1992, 235; Ousmane Camara, Int. 16).

Additionally, the Tamba Dibi had other functions, as described in the griotic traditions collected by Sidibe (1972c, 3-4):

'Each state had its own fetish. The best known (i.e. the most powerful) was Tamba Dibbi, which belonged jointly to Pachana and Pachisi. Before the nyanchos took any important steps, they generally sacrificed fowls and wine to the fetish in order to find out what the prospects of success were. They looked at the kidneys of the sacrificed bird, and if both were light coloured, the sacrifice had been accepted. But if one kidney was dark coloured and the other light, it meant that the sacrifice was refused and that prospects for success were dim. On particularly desperate situations of war, they sometimes sacrificed a nyancho to the fetish, an honour for which young nyancho men actively contested. The man was not killed, but merely offered. A cock was killed to see whether the offer was accepted. If the fetish accepted him, he was sent into the very forefront of the battle, and he did not return'.



Fig. 6.11 Tamba Dibi in Payoungou

Dyalan Bantan

Located immediately to the west of the current village, the Dyalan Bantan² is no longer there, but its location and ritual roles are still well remembered. As with Tamba Dibi, there were other *dyalan* by the same name across Kaabu, the most commonly cited being Kabendou, Kankelefa, and Kansala (Int. 12, 16, & 32). The Dyalan Bantan at Payoungou is also mentioned by Girard (1992, 235), but he appears to confuse its functions with those of the Tamba Dibi. The Payoungou elders gave the following description of the rituals associated with the Dyalan Bantan:

'of all the *dyalan* in Kaabu, if you see that the *dyalan* in Payoungou is the oldest, that's because everything that was done in Kaabu, it was to this *dyalan* that all future events were consulted. When something was about to happen, according to the ancestors, a white vulture perched at the top the fromager. When people saw it, they told the elders. They said 'today a white vulture perched at the top of the fromager'. The elders then assembled and chose a young boy and a young girl which they sacrificed at the foot of the fromager. People then dispersed and the vulture came down to pierce the chest of the youths and took out the hearts, which it ate. Afterwards, it returned to the top of the tree to announce the events that were to come. Then it went away, only to return if a similar situation arose, and the same process ensued' (Malang Dourbaly Mané, Int. 16).

² *Bantan* is the local name of the tree species *Ceiba Pentandra* or fromager.

Wulufa Wulumba :

This is a seasonal stream (now dry) which crosses the site's western half from east to west, separating the royal area from Solindioye. On its eastern end, it includes a lateritic outcrop, approximately 50m long, including a series of boulders located in close proximity to each other, some of which have polishing marks on top (see Fig. 6.13). Because the area is covered in tall grass, it is difficult to establish whether the boulders occur naturally or whether they have been arranged in a particular shape. According to the local elders, this is the place where the Payoungou *mansa* gave judgement and sentenced those accused of serious crimes, especially treason. Whenever somebody revealed a state secret in any of the territories of Kaabu, he was taken to Payoungou to be sentenced and executed at Wulufa Wulumba. In the case of traitors (those who had revealed a state secret), they were beaten to death with sticks, then buried at Solindioye (see below) (Payoungou Seydi, Int. 32; fieldnotes).

Interestingly, Girard mentions and includes pictures of a place in Kansala called Toloberro, which looks similar to Wulufa Wulumba (a series of lateritic boulders, in close proximity, flat on the top) and is reported to have been also associated with royalty, as it was there that Kaabu's *mansaba* was crowned (Girard 1992, Plate 35-7)

Solin Dioiel

Named after a type of grass (*solin*) very common in the area, Solindioye is the area north of Wulufa Wulumba, which notionally separated the *tata* from the rest of the village (at least on its northern side, it is unclear whether that separation existed also on the southern end). Although the specific extent of Solindioye is not remembered, the elders have detailed traditions about the area's role as the place where both horses and traitors were buried. Having been killed at Wulufa Wulumba, traitors were dragged here and buried.

'How was the burial done? It was just taken there and thrown in the whole, as you bury horses. Because it's a liar, it's a dog, it's somebody who cannot keep a secret' (Payoungou Seydi, Int. 32).

As for horses, elders claim that 'in all the territory of Kaabu, the vultures didn't eat horse meat' (Payoungou Seydi, Int. 32). In other words, horses were deemed too important to be left in the open, and thus buried. An elder whose fields

are in the area reported frequently finding horse bones during cultivation, but this could not be verified.



Fig.6.12 Payougou elder showing where the king sat to pronounce sentence



Fig. 6.13 Polishing marks at Wulufa Wulumba

The *tumbu*

The rest of the site, north of Solindioye and south of the *tataji*, corresponded to the *tumbu* or abandoned settlement. According to the elders, the original Payoungou was located near Tamba Dibi, and progressively shifted south.

'If they settled in a place and there were a lot of deaths, they moved with a jump of a few metres. And never returned. The *tata* which I know never moved elsewhere. It was the people who moved towards and around the *tata*. The *tata* I know in Payoungou stayed in the same place. It was the village that moved from one place to another. This movement was constant. The elders told me so' (Payoungou Seydi, Int. 32).

6.6 Excavation

Methodology

The excavation methodology was the same for both Payoungou and Korop. In the absence of any prior archaeological information about the site, I chose a judgemental approach for determining the placement of excavation units, based on criteria of geographical spread across the site, associated oral traditions, and surface evidence. Although the possibility of using a simple or stratified random sampling strategy was considered, it was ruled out due to the substantial risk of coming across sterile areas in the context of limited time and resources. Despite its potentially less representative nature, a judgemental approach offered two significant advantages: first, it could be easily adapted as new information – whether archaeological or from oral traditions – became available, and as new parts of the site became open to excavation as a result of harvests and bush fires. The overall strategy was in fact reassessed before the opening of every new unit to incorporate the information obtained in the previous one. Secondly, this constant updating, together with the flexibility and discretion characteristic of a judgemental strategy, meant that the chances of wasting time on sterile units were minimised.

Focusing on quantitative data output at the expense of a potential loss of representativity was therefore a conscious choice, dictated by the lack of prior information about the site and by the need to obtain a substantial sample for analysis with limited time and resources. Within this framework, however, efforts were made to minimise the impact of the different biases by combining a diversity of geographical, historical, and archaeological criteria, which will be discussed in the context of each individual unit.

The second key strategical choice had to do with unit size. The size chosen

was 2x3m, as it was deemed to be the smallest size allowing contextual interpretation of deposits. In exceptional cases, units were extended to follow features of particular interest, such as pits or burials. Other possibilities, such as 1x1 m units, coring, or a programme of shovel tests were considered but eventually discarded. The problem with these smaller options was two-fold: first, they would have provided very little contextual information about the nature of the deposits, making it very difficult to interpret any stratigraphy in the absence of prior archaeological knowledge about the region. Secondly, neither 1x1m units nor test pits would have provided enough sherds to be confidently dated. As discussed in Ch.8, the very gradual nature of change in post-13th C ceramics means that dating had to be based mostly on proportions rather than on presence or absence of features. These strategies would have therefore been time-intensive but not very informative, as they would have allowed to establish which areas had been occupied, but not when or what the nature of the occupation was.

Deposits were excavated with local hand-held mattocks/hoes (*dabas*), trowels, and brushes, following stratigraphic layers. All excavated sediment (except for soil samples) was sifted through a 1cm-mesh screen (or 2mm in the case of ashy deposits). All faunal remains were collected, and soil samples for archaeobotanical remains were taken from deposits rich in ash and charcoal. All artefacts collected during both excavation and sieving were bagged and labelled on site. Recording procedures included the full documentation of the nature of each individual context (soil type, texture, colour, inclusions, sketch, finds, description, levels), as well as general and detailed photographs both before and after excavation. Accurate top plans were also drawn for all features.

To clarify the terminology employed, 'context' is used to refer to units of excavation. Whenever possible, these corresponded to past single actions that left an imprint, whether positive (wall) or negative (cut) in the archaeological record. Context designations thus refer mostly to depositional layers, or to features such as pits. However in some cases (as explained in the text) context designations refer simply to an arbitrary unit of excavation - such as a 10cm spit of excavated deposit across a designated area - when other soil changes could not be differentiated. It should also be noted that whenever a feature or deposit exceeded 30cm, or when there were any doubts about its limits, excavation was split into separate contexts to make sure any aspects missed during excavation could be reconstructed later. Contexts therefore constitute units of excavation and recording, not of analysis. For

analysis and dating, contexts were grouped into context aggregates, representing single archaeological events (e.g. a pit or living surface). Harris Matrices for each of the units can be found in Appendix D.

Table 6.2 Temporal divisions used and defining traits

| Period | Dates | Defining traits |
|----------------------|-------------------------|---|
| Fulaadu ³ | 19 th C | Presence of 19 th C beads and European ceramics Presence of gin bottle fragments Presence of smoking pipes Presence of flint lock gun parts Pottery: incised and punctate decors |
| Late Kaabu | 16th-18 th C | Presence of smoking pipes Abundance of <i>Galet Rouge</i> beads ⁴ Presence of flint lock gun parts Pottery: incised and punctate decors Relevant C14 dates |
| Early Kaabu | 13th-15 th C | Absence of smoking pipes Absence of post 15 th C imports Absence of flint lock gun parts Relevant C14 dates |
| Pre-Kaabu | pre-13 th C | Absence of smoking pipes Absence of post 15 th C imports Absence of flint lock gun parts Pottery: OGW Relevant C14 dates |

These context aggregates were then aligned with other contemporary aggregates in the same unit to form horizons (for example, a horizon would represent a house, its yard, and associated hearths or pits). Horizons were then assigned to dated periods. Given the distance and lack of connectedness between sampled deposits, it was decided to name horizons separately for each unit, and to

3 'Fulaadu' is used here in the broadest possible sense, to refer to the period from the beginning of Kaabu's decomposition to the onset of full colonial rule, rather than only to the period in which the Fulaadu existed as a well-defined state (i.e. 1860s-1900s).

4 In the absence of any other dating factors, the presence of *Galet Rouge* is understood as characteristic of Late Kaabu, for although their manufacture is dated between the 17th C and the early 19th C, the abundant presence of a speo tails in them (method abandoned after 1817), and Gijanto's (2011b) observation that they were most popular in what she calls Atlantic trade period 1 (or height of the Atlantic trade) suggest a Late Kaabu dating is most likely.

assign them to four broad historical periods (Pre-Kaabu, Early Kaabu, Late Kaabu, and Fulaadu) in order to facilitate comparison between different units and sites. Although roughly based on known historical changes, the specific dates for the split between periods were dictated by practical reasons: the presence of objects or materials that enabled their identification, listed in Table 6.2.

Summary of results

Two seasons of excavations were undertaken at Payoungou: the first one in February and March 2013, in which units A and B were excavated; and a second one later in the year, from October to December, which focused on the excavation of five more units (see Fig. 6.14 for unit locations). Thus, a total of seven units was excavated, ranging from 2x3m to 2x4m, covering a total excavated area of 46m². The excavations were directed by myself with the assistance of Thierry Baldé, from the Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar, and uncovered a variety of occupational deposits from the 7th C to the 19th C AD. Most units included only one or two occupation horizons, and deposits were always less than a meter deep, with the exception of two rubbish pits in units E and F (which had 108 and 260cm of deposits, respectively). All units except for PYG-D had features in them, the most common being rubbish pits (5), followed by coursed earth walls (3), the remains of a furnace, and a burial. Following fieldwork, five charcoal samples from Payoungou, all from wood charcoal, were submitted to Beta Analytic to be dated. Four of them were dated through conventional radiometric methods, and one (PYG-C) through AMS, as the size of the sample was not enough for conventional analysis. Only samples from contexts without smoking pipes or other post-16th C materials were selected, for two main reasons: first, because these units could be dated through their small finds, and secondly, to avoid the problems associated with 17th-19th C dates, which tend to span the entire range of the last 250-300 years. Out of the five samples sent, four came back with useful dates with calibrated dates in ranges between 20 and 120 years. The fourth one only provided a post-17th C date. The samples and their dates are detailed in Table 6.13, and additional *terminus post quem* dates provided by European imports are listed in Table 6.5.

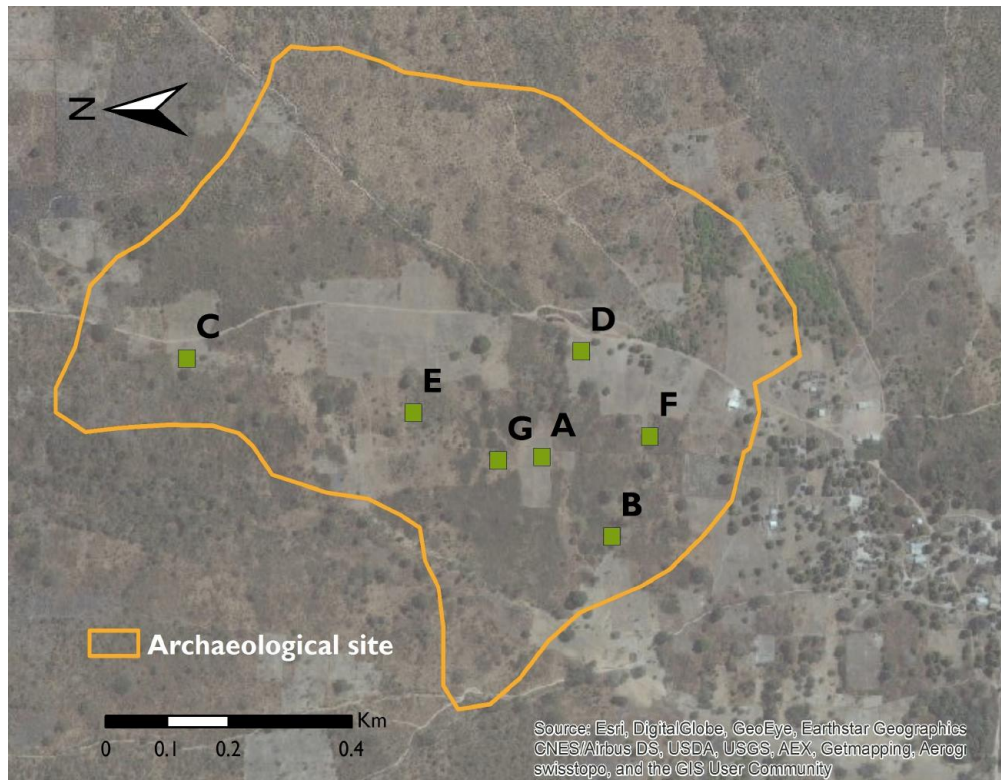


Fig.6.14 Excavated units in Payoungou (units not to scale). Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, Digital Globe

Table 6.3 C14 dates for Payoungou

| Context | C14 date | Lab number | 1 Sigma Cal. | Material |
|----------|------------|-------------|---|---------------|
| PYG-A 16 | 1390±30 bp | Beta-348214 | AD 620-650 | Wood charcoal |
| PYG- A 9 | 920±30 bp | Beta-350837 | AD 1040-1160 | Wood charcoal |
| PYG-B 10 | 250±30 bp | Beta-349385 | AD 1640-1660 | Wood charcoal |
| PYG-C 3 | 100±30 bp | Beta-374191 | AD 1690-1730 AD 1810-1920 PostAD 1950 | Wood charcoal |
| PYG-C 15 | 1280±30 bp | Beta-374192 | AD 675-780 AD 790-870 | Wood charcoal |

Table 6.4 Excavated units in Payoungou. * Indicates a rubbish pit

| Unit | Dimensions | Depth | Features present | Periods |
|-------|------------|---------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| PYG-A | 2x3m | 68-72cm | Furnace | Fulaadu Early Kaabu Pre-Kaabu |
| PYG-B | 2x3m | 44-49cm | Refuse pit | Fulaadu Late Kaabu |
| PYG-C | 2x3m | 60-66cm | Wall? | Late Kaabu Pre-Kaabu |
| PYG-D | 2x3m | 34cm | | Post-13 th C Pre-Kaabu |
| PYG-E | 2x4m | 40- 111*cm | Coursed earth wall, refuse pit | Late Kaabu Pre-Kaabu |
| PYG-F | 2x3m | 50- 266*cm | Two refuse pits | Fulaadu Late Kaabu |
| PYG-G | 2x4m | 35-58*cm | Coursed earth walls, pit, burial | Late Kaabu |

Table 6.5 Datable small finds from Payoungou (excluding smoking pipes)

| Context | SF# | Description | Date |
|----------|-----|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| PYG B-2 | 24a | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG B-2 | 24b | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG B-2 | 24c | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG B-2 | 25 | Glass bead (Bohemian) | 19 th C |
| PYG B-4 | 29 | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG B-5 | 30 | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG B-4 | 31 | Alkaline-glazed stone ware | Late 18th-20 th C |
| PYG B-6 | 34 | Alkaline-glazed stone ware | Late 18th-20 th C |
| PYG F-2 | 112 | Musket fragment | Post mid 18 th C |
| PYG F-3 | 120 | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG F-8 | 131 | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG F-9 | 137 | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG F-10 | 141 | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG F-14 | 150 | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG F-14 | 147 | Gun part | Post mid 18 th C |
| PYG F-19 | 160 | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG F-29 | 203 | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG G-3 | 176 | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 18 th C |
| PYG G-3 | 193 | Westerwald stoneware | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG G-6 | 196 | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |
| PYG G-13 | 207 | Glass bead (<i>Galet Rouge</i>) | 17th-19 th C |

Payoungou A

The first unit excavated at Payoungou, was a 2x3m rectangle located in the area of the site identified by the elders as Solindioye, 100m west of the lateritic outcrop, and 40m north of the Wulufa Wulumba stream (12°43'21.43", -14°03'55.83"). This area was initially chosen because of its central location, on a rise of potentially anthropogenic nature, and on a field with substantial amounts of both pottery and slag. The excavation at PYG-A recorded c.70cm of deposits divided into three main horizons:

Table 6.6 Horizons in PYG-A

| PYG-A | | | |
|-------------|---------|--|-----------------|
| Period | Horizon | Context Aggregates | Max. depth (cm) |
| Fulaadu | C | 1.- Surface clearing | 2 |
| | | 2.- Topsoil. | 10 |
| | | 3.- Living surface. | 21 |
| | | 4.- Burrow. | 24 |
| Early Kaabu | B | 5, 7, 9.- Living surface. | 43 |
| | | 6, 8,10.- Burrows. | 44 |
| Pre-Kaabu | A | 11-13.- Fill surrounding the furnace. | 54 |
| | | 12, 14.-Furnace | 53 |
| | | 15,16.- Transition to sterile below the furnace. | 72 |

Horizon A: Pre-Kaabu iron production area

This horizon accounted for the lowest 30cm of deposits, and contained the earliest cultural activity found in Payoungou so far, as established by an AD 620-650 C14 date (Beta-348214) from the first context above sterile. Its only feature was a semi-circular structure made of coursed earth and slag with a concave base and a diameter of c. 50cm (see Fig. 6.15), on the southwest corner of the unit. The structure was sitting right on top of sterile soil and did not show any evidence of vitrification or of having undergone high-temperature firing. Its base included two tuyere moulds and was consequently interpreted as a section of a furnace shaft (Campos 2014, 38). The sediment surrounding the furnace was very compact, as was that of the rest of the horizon. No pottery, glass or small finds were found; slag was the only material present (a total of 23kg were recovered from this unit) and it

appeared scattered throughout, rather than in clusters. The area immediately north of the furnace presented some pieces of burnt clay, probably resulting from the collapse of the upper part of the furnace.

A study of seven specimens of slag from this unit undertaken by Lina Campos (2014), identified two furnace bottom slags, one pit lining slag, three tap slags, and one tuyere mould slag. The latter was still attached to a fragment of tuyere, with an approximate external and internal diameter of 10cm and 7cm, respectively. Two tuyere mould slags from context 14 presented a narrower internal diameter (between 3 and 4cm), but this difference could be due to changing widths at different ends of the tuyere. The analysis of the internal structure and composition of the fragment from context 10 revealed that the slag had solidified slowly inside the tuyere at a temperature where the silica content did not reach the lowest melting point (Campos 2014, 30). All of the specimens analysed were the product of smelting, rather than smithing, and all but one had a consistent Reducible Iron Index (RII) between 2 and 2.3, indicating optimal reducing conditions characteristic of efficient bloomery. Although some of these specimens came from horizons B and C, the consistency in composition and internal structure with the samples from horizon A would indicate they were part of the same industrial tradition.



Fig. 6.15 Furnace at PYG-A, Horizon A Left: top; Right: bottom.



Fig. 6.16 On the left, slag attached to a fragment of tuyere (PYG-A c. 10). On the right, two tuyere slag moulds from PYG A-14. Adapted from Campos 2014.

Horizon B: Early Kaabu

The transition from Horizon A to B produced a radiocarbon date of AD 1040-1160 (Beta-350837), and was marked by the appearance of pottery and a notable decrease in slag. Horizon B retained some of the compactness of the deposits in horizon A, but became gradually less compact as it approached horizon C.

Horizon C: Fulaadu

Horizon C included the topsoil and the contexts affected by agricultural disturbance, characterised by much looser and homogeneous sediment. The topsoil (c.2), included substantial amounts of material culture, including pottery, slag, one fragment of smoking pipe (SF #20), a small fragment of concave striated bronze (SF# 19), and a broken base of a 19th C case gin bottle. A small chert scraper (SF#250) was also found, but it was probably intrusive.

PYG-A: Pottery vs slag

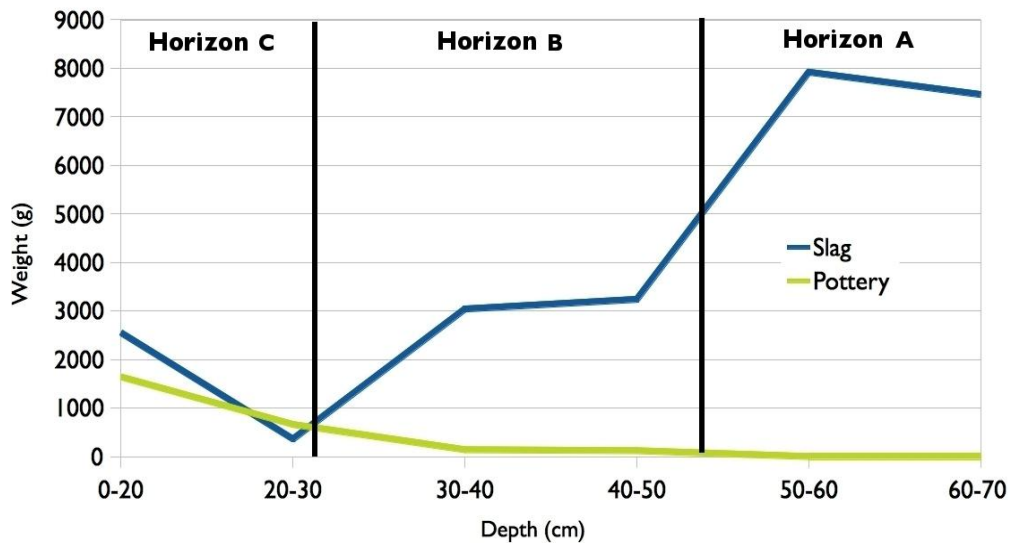


Fig.6.17 Quantities of slag and pottery in the different horizons in PYG-A

Overview

PYG-A is unique in two ways: it contains the oldest evidence so far for occupation in Payoungou (AD 620-650); and it is the only industrial area encountered during excavation. The furnace in horizon A thus pre-dates the Manding arrival and the establishment of Kaabu, belonging to what oral traditions call the Bainouk period (or more precisely, the 'Bainouk rule', *lammu bainoukobe*). Unfortunately, at present we have no historical confirmation of who the inhabitants of the region were before the arrival of the Manding and the establishment of Kaabu. Their furnace building techniques, however, are consistent with those documented for the same period in the Senegal Valley (cf. Bocoum 1995, 145).

This area is located less than a 100m away from a lateritic outcrop (which elsewhere in the region were documented as iron ore sources), and would have therefore been a convenient location for an iron-producing area. At present it is difficult to establish if this area was located inside or outside the inhabited part of the site, but if it was outside, it was not too distant from it, as units PYG-D and PYG-E (both of which had evidence of pre-Kaabu occupation) were less than 170m and 215m away, respectively.

At some point around the 11th C, however, iron production stopped, and pottery started appearing. Although slag is present –albeit in decreasing numbers–

throughout horizon B, it is probably intrusive, rather than representing a continuity of iron production in this period. Three elements suggest so: first, excluding horizon C (which contains mixed deposits resulting from modern cultivation) and context 9 (which was sitting right on top of the furnace), the overall quantities of slag are very small (>1kg) when compared to lower horizons. Secondly, horizon B (and in particular contexts 5-7) were full of burrows. Finally, Campos' metallurgical study showed that slag throughout the unit was remarkably alike in terms of its technical characteristics, indicating a similar or even identical technical tradition, which is unlikely over such a long and changing period.

Whether the end of iron production and the appearance of pottery were two consecutive events, or whether they were separated by a period of abandonment, cannot be stated given the degree of animal disturbance in the upper horizons. What is clear is that the intensity of human activity in the area substantially decreased from then on, as indicated by the absence of features or structures and the overall decline in material culture. The evidence for horizons B and C is thus consistent with an open space inside or near, the settlement, which supports the local traditions' identification of this area as Solindioye, an empty 'buffer zone' between the *tata* and the village. As for the periods in which this open space was used, the total absence of smoking pipes in horizon B suggests an Early Kaabu occupation whereas in the case of horizon C, the presence of both smoking pipes and 19th C European imports indicates a Fulaadu date.

Payoungou B

The second unit was placed 160m to the southwest of PYG-A (12°43'17.72", -14°03'59.76), in the area described by local elders as the 'great *tata*', associated with Kaabu's rulers. The same size as the first unit (2x3m), this was from the beginning a drastically different excavation. Not only was pottery more abundant, but so were small finds in general, and beads and smoking pipes in particular. Although pieces of slag occasionally occurred, it was on a much smaller scale (1.91kg in total). In the 50 cm before sterile soil, the main feature encountered was a midden in the west end of the unit (horizon B), with substantial amounts of pottery, animal bones, charcoal, and ash. A C14 date of Cal AD 1640 -1660 (Beta-349385) was obtained from the last context before sterile soil.

Table 6.7 PYG-B horizons

| PYG-B | | | |
|------------|---------|---|-----------------|
| Period | Horizon | Contexts Aggregates | Max. depth (cm) |
| Fulaadu | B | 1.-Surface clearing | 2 |
| | | 2.- Topsoil. | 10 |
| | | 3.- Termite disturbances. | 21 |
| | | 4-5.- Living surface on top of ash layer. | 30 |
| Late Kaabu | A | 6,9 .- Midden fill. | 43 |
| | | 7,8,10,11.-Deposits surrounding the midden. | 49 |

Horizon A: midden (17th-18th C)

The earliest 20cm of deposits immediately above sterile soil included a midden. The midden was located in the western third of the unit, going into both the S and W sections. The 9m² of midden inside the unit contained 5kg of pottery, 1.7kg of animal bones, and 550g of slag, as well as 5 smoking pipe fragments, a bone bead (#94) and a piece of alkaline glazed stoneware (SF#34). A charcoal sample from the bottom of the horizon provided a C14 date of Cal AD 1640-1660. Although ash and charcoal were present throughout, the greatest ash concentration was at the very top of the midden, at the interface with horizon B. The deposits that had built up around the midden included some pottery, limited amounts of bone and slag, as well as four smoking pipe fragments.

Horizon B: agricultural disturbance and post-midden accumulation (19th C).

This horizon included the top 30cm of deposits, accumulated on top of the midden. The deposits immediately on top of the midden were characterised by a dark and loose sediment with charcoal inclusions and a substantial amount of material culture, including 44 smoking pipe fragments, a piece of alkaline glazed stone ware (SF #31), one carnelian bead (SF#25), and six glass beads (SF#24-6,30), as well as pottery and limited quantities of animal bone and glass. No structures or features were encountered. As the unit was on a partially terraced slope used for rice cultivation, the layer of agricultural disturbance was larger (5-20cm) than in other units.

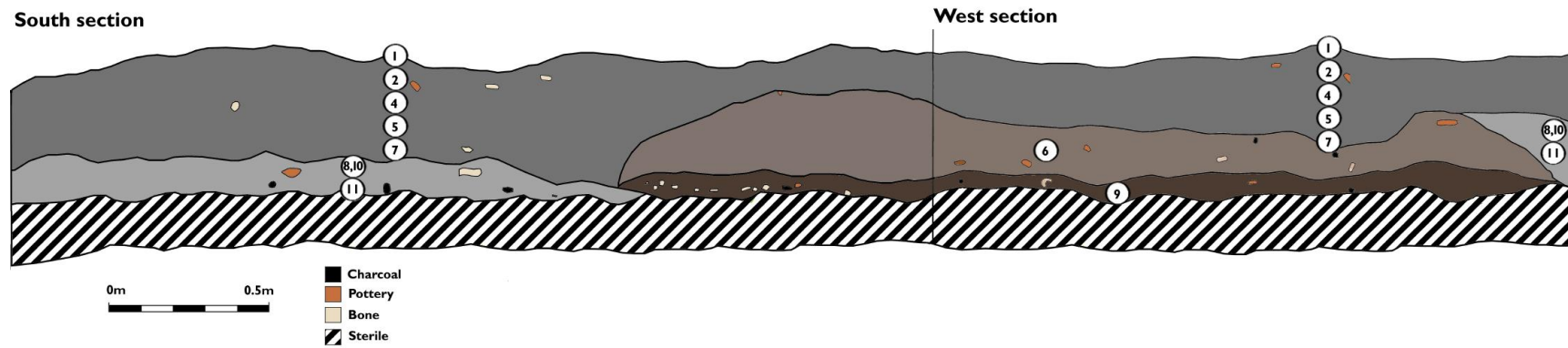


Fig.6.18 South and West sections in PYG-B, showing the midden

PYG-B Overview

Contrary to many other excavated units, occupation in this area of the site only begins to be evidenced in the late 17th C, as indicated by both the C14 date and the chronologically diagnostic finds. The main feature of this occupation was a midden containing domestic refuse. Although only 20cm high, the midden's deposits appear to have built up over a period of at least 100 years, as its bottom part is contemporary with the C14 date, while the upper layer contains one fragment of alkaline-glazed stoneware whose production is no earlier than the 18th C (South 1971). Alternatively, as it is only one sherd, and it is quite similar to one found in horizon B, it could also be intrusive. In any case, there is a substantial amount of continuity in this unit between horizons A and B, particularly in the pottery and the nature of the sediment matrix. This last horizon, however, is much richer in European imports, particularly beads and glass containers, as well as in smoking pipes, suggesting a change in either the status or the contact networks of the occupants, which would match the elders identification of this part of the site as a royal area.

Payougou C

This unit was located as far north as there was visible surface pottery, approximately 370m south of Tamba Dibi (12°43'40.12", -014°03'50.90"), in order to test the claim by local elders that this was the original location of the village. Also 2x3m in area, it included two main horizons:

Table 6.8 PYG-C horizons

| PYG-C | | | |
|------------------------|---------|---|----------------|
| Period | Horizon | Context Aggregates | Max depth (cm) |
| Late-Kaabu /Fulaadu | C | 1.- Surface clearing | 1 |
| | | 2.- Topsoil. | 8 |
| | | 3,4,6.- Living surface | 31 |
| | | 5.-Decayed root. | 29 |
| Pre-Kaabu | B | 7, 9,10, 12-14.- Living surface. | 57 |
| | | 11.-Charcoal pocket. | 41 |
| | | 8.- Putative posthole fill | 57 |
| | | 15.- Coursed earth, possible structure. | 66 |
| | | 16.-Burnt coursed earth concentrations. | 66 |

Horizon A (7th-8th C)

The first 40cm of deposits were characterised by a marked change in pottery, from the sort of wares encountered so far to Orange Gritty Ware (see Ch.8 for description). No small finds were recovered, except for a small piece of green glass from context 12, which could be intrusive, as it was located near a burrow. The presence of burrows and roots constantly releasing water made for bad preservation of remains and difficult interpretation, but charcoal concentrations, potential post-holes, and pieces of degraded coursed earth suggest some sort of structure might have been present. A charcoal sample from the last context above sterile provided a date of Cal. AD 690-775.

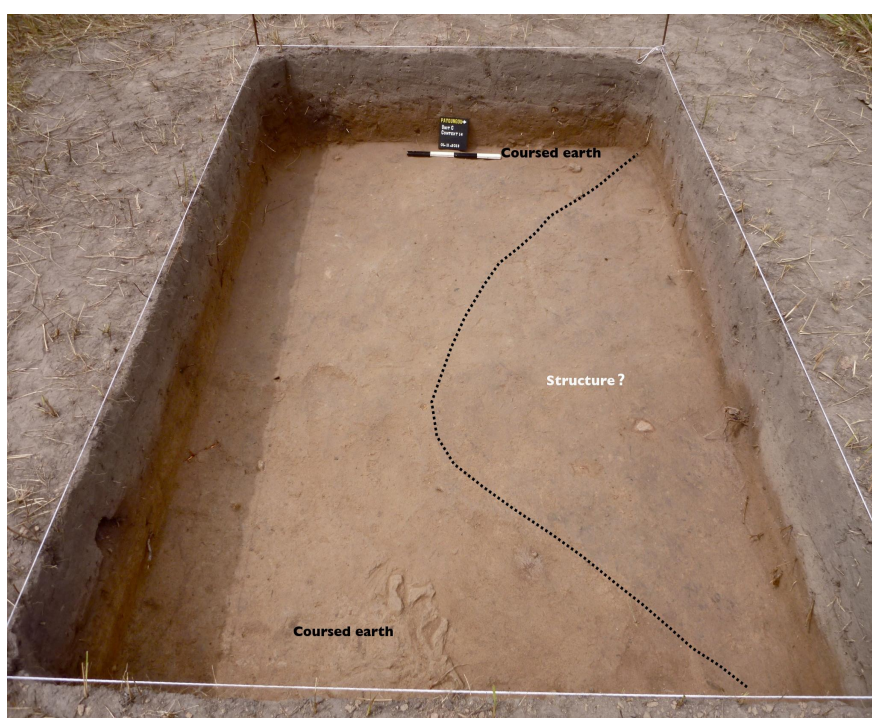


Fig.6.19 Horizon A in PYG-C with possible structure

Horizon B (18th C)

Top 30cm of deposits. Characterised by a variety of glass, pottery, slag, bone, and small finds, including a fragment of a brass and iron bracelet (SF#99). No structures or features present. A charcoal sample from the middle of the horizon provided a C14 date of post-1690 AD (Beta--374191), and none of the material culture encountered had 19th C traits.

PYG-C Overview

PYG-C included the second oldest occupation of the site, and the oldest with associated pottery (orange gritty ware), thus supporting the elders' claims that the oldest part of the site was located at the north of the *tumbu*, near Tamba Dibi. It is unclear when this first occupation was abandoned, as there are no clear abandonment layers despite the clear temporal gap in the material culture and the C14 dates between the two horizons. Nevertheless, despite being confirmed as a 18th C occupation by both the C14 date and the nature of the pottery, horizon B is unusual for this period in that it does not contain any beads or smoking pipes, which is interesting, as this also happens to be the part of the site most distant from what oral traditions consider the royal area.

Payoungou D

Unit D was located immediately south of the lateritic outcrop at the centre of the site, less than 70m away from the stones where elders say the king used to sit to pass judgement (12° 43' 21.25", -14°03'50.98"). The location was chosen because of its proximity to the outcrop, but also because contrary to PYG-A, PYG-B, and PYG-C, it was not cultivated. Unfortunately, this criterion proved to be wrong, as the surface clearing revealed that it had been cultivated in the past. PYG-D was closed without having reached sterile after 34 cm of deposits due to the absence of features and the scarcity of material culture. The only traces of human activity found were pockets of charcoal and 240g of pottery. Despite the small sample, the ceramic sequence presented a very clear evolution, very similar to that of PYG-C: while the lower horizon (A) was entirely composed of OGW, the upper one (B) presented a standard Kaabu/Fulaadu set of pottery with two sherds of OGW. While the presence of OGW makes the dating of horizon A clear, that of horizon B can only be described as post-13th C, as the sample is too small to make any judgement on the basis of absences, and there are no period-diagnostic objects present.

Table 6.9 PYG-D horizons

| PYG-D | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Period | Horizon | Context Aggregates | Max. depth (cm) |
| Post-13 th C | B | 1.- Surface clearing | 1 |
| | | 2.- Topsoil | 13 |
| Pre-Kaabu | A | 3.- Charcoal pocket. | 25 |
| | | 4.- Living surface | 34 |

Payoungou E

Approximately 215m north of PYG-A, and 360 m southeast of PYG-C (12°43'28.1640", -14°03'53.6040"), this unit was located in an area of the site which for which no oral traditions existed but which presented substantial amounts of surface pottery. Initially 2x3 m, the unit was extended an extra metre on the eastern side after the appearance of a rubbish pit next to the section. Despite the shallowness of its deposits (35cm generally, 100cm in the pit), PYG-E presented a more complex stratigraphy than any other unit in the site, with four different horizons of occupation:

Table 6.10 PYG-E horizons

| PYG-E | | | |
|---------------|----------------|---|------------------------|
| Period | Horizon | Context Aggregates | Max. depth (cm) |
| ? | D | 1, 14.- Surface clearing | 2 |
| | | 2,3,15.- Topsoil. | 9 |
| | | 4.- Termite disturbances. | 10 |
| Late Kaabu | C | 10,11,13,17,19, 21 23, 24, 25.- Rubbish pit fill | 111 |
| | B | 5.- Definition of a coursed earth wall. | 21 |
| | | 9.- Coursed earth wall. 7, 16.- Living surface enclosed by the wall. | 19 31 |
| Pre-Kaabu | A | 6,8,18,20,22.- Living surfaces | 34-47 |

Horizon A: pre-13th C

This horizon comprised the 15cm of deposits sitting right on top of the sterile soil. It did not include any trace of structures or features, and the only material culture found was a small amount of OGW ceramics.

Horizon B: coursed earth structure (16th-18th C)

This horizon was characterised by dark loose deposits, with frequent pottery, and occasional charcoal and animal bone; small finds consisted of three fragments of smoking pipes. Its main and only feature was a curved coursed earth wall, starting on the E section, and stopping 80cm before the western one (see Fig. 6.20). Only the foundations were present (<10cm), and on its eastern end the wall had been disturbed by the digging and subsequent filling of the rubbish pit (Horizon C). There was no difference in the nature of the finds and deposits between the exterior (south) and the interior (north) of the structure.



Fig.6.20 Wall in PYG-E, Horizon B

Horizon C: rubbish pit (16th-18th C)

Located in the SE corner of the unit and going into both the S and E sections, the excavated area of the pit measured 1.20x0.8m at the base and 1.40x-1.20m at the top, and was round in shape. It had cut through both Horizon A, Horizon B, and sterile soil, and at its maximum depth it measured 90cm from top to

base. Its base was flat, and the eastern section (which was not as affected by animal burrows as the southern one) clearly reflected (particularly in its most humid areas) three distinct burning events, located at 10, 35, and 60cm from its base, respectively (see Fig. 6.21). Unfortunately, these were not visible/detected during excavation, as the sediment filling the pit appeared to be homogeneous throughout. What did change, however, were its contents and inclusions: while the lower layers had well preserved animal bone and large pottery sherds and pieces of charcoal; the upper ones were characterised by fragmentary pottery, very poorly preserved animal bone, and small charcoal fragments.

Horizon D: post 16th C

The top 10cm of the excavation represent the sediment that accumulated after the closure of the pit. It included no diagnostic objects, structures, or features and was heavily disturbed by cultivation.



Fig. 6.21 Rubbish pit in PYG-E, horizon C.

PYG-E Overview

This unit provided very useful information at a variety of levels. First of all, it has four horizons of occupation, which is the most any unit had either in Payoungou or in Korop. The appearance of OGW (which as discussed in Ch.8 is characteristic of the Pre-Kaabu period) in horizon A indicates a pre-Kaabu occupation in or around this part of the site, which can be added to those already documented for PYG-C and PYG-D. The area was then reoccupied after the 16th (horizon B), with the construction of a coursed earth wall, whose function could not be determined due to the limited size of the unit and the lack of finds or associated structures that could assist in its interpretation.

After the abandonment of the wall (at some point between the 16th and 18th C) a rubbish pit was dug, cutting across the eastern end of the former wall. This pit is particularly interesting, because contrary to those at PYG-B and PYG-F (located in what the elders claim were the royal areas), the material culture in PYG-E's pit was poor, not just in quantity but also in quality: not one trace of glass, of European imports, jewellery, or gun parts was found, and the amount of smoking pipes was also significantly lower. Regarding the timing of the pit's filling, both its top and bottom contexts had smoking pipes in them, indicating that both the digging and the filling occurred after the 16th. The change in the nature of the finds, together with the presence of three burnt layers in the section, suggests that its filling consisted of at least of three separate events, but how spread-out in time those were is difficult to establish.

Payoungou F

Located just east of the small *tata*, in the area where the canon was reportedly found (12°43'15.7080", -14°03'54.7920"), this unit measured 2x3 and reached the greatest depth of any unit in the site (2.66m of deposits in the eastern pit). Although currently densely vegetated, surface clearing revealed furrows indicating past cultivation.

Table 6.11 PYG-F horizons

| PYG-F | | | |
|----------------------|---------|---|-----------------|
| Period | Horizon | Context Aggregates | Max. depth (cm) |
| Fulaadu | C | 1.- Surface clearing | 1 |
| | | 2.- Topsoil. | 17 |
| 3,5.- Living surface | | 26 | |
| 4.-Burrow. | | 25 | |
| | B | 6,7.- Compact floor surface | 40 |
| Late Kaabu | A | 8,9.- Overflow between the two pits. | 52 |
| | | 14,16,18,20.- Western rubbish pit fill. | 72 |
| | | 10,11,13,15,19,23,24,25.-Eastern pit fill, dark grey layer. | 113 |
| | | 26,27,28,29,30.-Eastern pit fill, brown layer | 218 |
| | | 31,32, 33.- Eastern pit fill, orange layer. | 266 |

Horizon A: Rubbish pits (16th-18th C)

On both the eastern and western sides of the unit, the sterile soil had been cut by two round rubbish pits, of different sizes and depths, extending beyond the unit into the west and north, and east and south, sections, respectively. The material culture in both pits indicated a 16th-18th C date, and at the top they had overflowed into one another, before the surface of horizon B was laid.

The western pit was 1.68m², and 30cm deep, except for the area next to the NW corner, which was 10cm deeper. The very bottom of the pit was characterised by a thick layer of charcoal followed by another one of ashy deposits (see Fig. 6.22), which doubled in thickness towards the northern end of the pit. In terms of finds, it contained pottery (4.98 kg), animal bone (2730kg), slag (700g), glass (50g), lateritic stones, and small finds, including brass and iron jewellery (SF#149,159,165), eight smoking pipe fragments, two glass beads (SF#131,137), and a gun part (SF#147), most of which concentrated in its upper contexts.



Fig 6.22 Bottom of the western pit in PYG-F, Horizon A

The eastern rubbish pit, on the other hand, was smaller in area (1.56m² at the top, progressively narrowing down towards the bottom), but much deeper (2.20m). It was composed of three clearly distinguishable layers: a bottom layer, transitional to sterile and orange on colour (30cm); a middle one, brown with large amounts of charcoal (80cm), and a top dark grey layer (110cm) (see Fig. 6.24). Unfortunately the first two were not split during excavation, and therefore had to be combined also in the analysis.

The orange and grey layers were characterised by thick deposits of charcoal, which appear as roughly parallel (but curved) lines on the section, but as concentric ones in the horizontal plane during excavation (see Fig. 6.25). The deposits were not horizontal, but inclined at an angle of approx. 40° towards the centre of the pit. These layers had less faunal remains than the top one (2.9kg), but over twice as much pottery (10.29kg). No glass was found, and only 10g of slag were present. In terms of small finds, they included 16 smoking pipes, and 3 glass beads (SF#177,190,203), which in combination indicated a 16th to 18th C date for the assemblage.

The top dark grey layer, on the other hand, was characterised by less and more scattered charcoal, and more glass (70g) and animal bone (3.3kg). In terms of small finds, it included 14 smoking pipes, 2 glass beads (SF#141,160) a broken sandstone hand scraper with traces of red ocher (SF#144), and an iron earring (SF#157).



Fig.6.23 Pits at PYG-F. Pre-and post-excavation

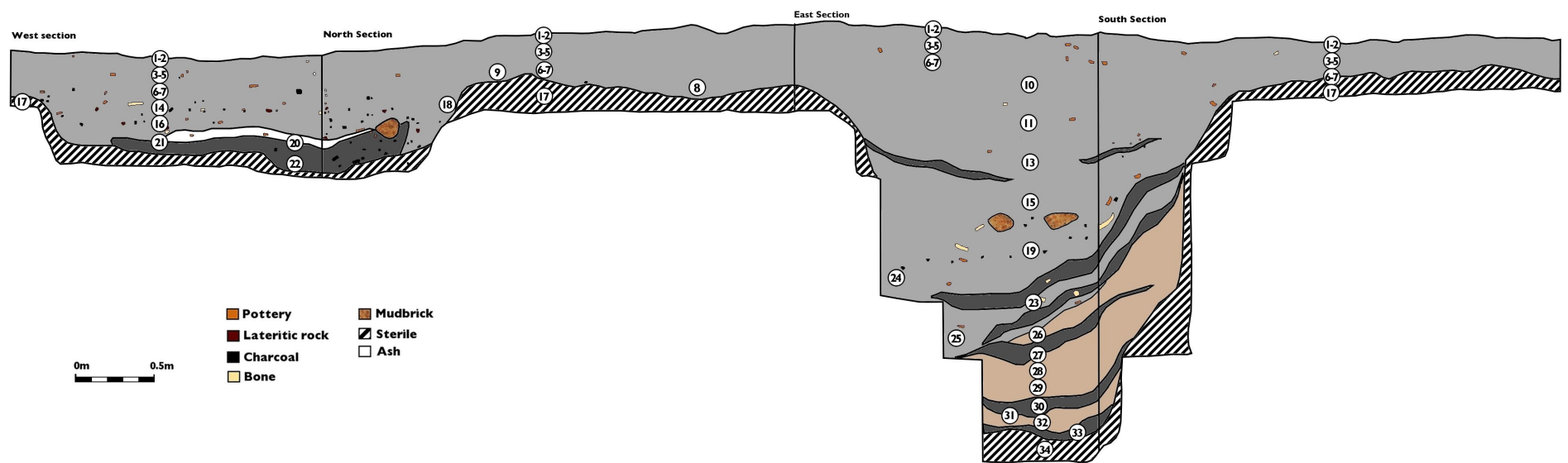


Fig. 6.24 Section drawing from PYG-F with location of contexts



Fig.6.25 Eastern pit in PYG-F, horizon A

Horizon B: floor (19th C)

Horizon B was defined by a floor surface, made of compact earth with very small and fragmented pottery, glass, slag, charcoal, and bone inclusions, which was obvious during excavation, but did not leave any trace on the section.

Horizon C: open space (19th C)

The deposits on top of the floor in Horizon B, which accounted for the top 40cm deposits, included no features, structures or clear surfaces, and were characterised by a high density of finds: 150g of very fragmented animal bone, 40g of glass, 130g of slag, 5.69kg of pottery, as well as seven smoking pipe fragments, three glass beads (#111,123,126), a flint lock gun component (#112), and an iron bracelet fragment (#122).

PYG-F Overview

The excavation of PYG-F uncovered the deepest sequence of deposits of the whole project, although not the longest in chronological terms. The first occupation of the area consisted of two rubbish pits, both dug and filled after the 16th C (as indicated by the presence of smoking pipes) but probably before the 19th C (as suggested by the popularity of *galet rouge* beads). With the current 2x3m exposure, it is difficult to establish what the specific sequence was, whether one pit preceded the other –and if so which–, or whether they were contemporaneous. It also

remains unclear why one pit was so shallow in comparison to the other: did they stop digging the west pit half-way-through or was it intended to be that shallow? And in the first case, why did they stop? There was no apparent geological reason, no bedrock or more compact soil that could account for it. In terms of the timing of the filling, the east pit presents at least eight independent burning events, but the spacing of those events remains unclear. The fact that its earliest layers are much richer in charcoal and pottery, while the top one has more animal bone and glass, would indicate either a change in habits or in the use of the refuse pit. Additionally, both pits are amongst the richest in the site, not just in terms of quantity of finds, but also in quality: almost all bones are cattle (see Ch.9), and this unit has the largest quantity of glass and jewellery. All these elements taken together, fit (although not necessarily confirm) the elders' identification of this area as the empty space adjacent to a *tata* or royal residence.

After the pits were full – and in fact had overflowed into one another– either they were consciously covered with soil, or soil gradually accumulated, for about 10cm. This area then became a surface, and one with substantial transit, for that matter, as evidenced by the horizon of compactness and of fragmentation of the broken materials in it. At some point in the last two hundred years, however, this transit stopped, sediment accumulated, and the area became a field.

Payoungou G

Given the predominance of post-16th C horizons in the units so far, I decided to place this unit in the vicinity of PYG-A, which had given the earliest dates in the site. PYG-G was thus located in the opposite end of the PYG-A's field, 70m north of the first unit (12°43'23.70", -14°03'55.98"), also in the area which the elders call Solindioye. It was originally 2x3m, later expanded to 2x4m to accommodate for the discovery of a burial. It consisted of three main horizons:

Table 6.12 PYG-G horizons

| PYG-G | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|--|----------------|
| Period | Horizon | Context Aggregates | Max. depth(cm) |
| Late Kaabu | C | 1,14.- Surface clearing | 3 |
| | | 2,15.- Topsoil | 13 |
| | B | 12,13,20,21- Burial pit fill. | 49 |
| | | 22.-Skeleton. | 47 |
| | A | 3, 4, 6-8, 11, 16-18 -Living surface deposits. | 45 |
| | | 19.-Charcoal concentration | 40 |
| | | 5.- Wall melt in the SW corner. | 20 |
| | | 9.- Ash pocket in SW corner. | 41 |
| | | 10.- Coursed earth wall. | 31 |
| | 23,24.- Refuse pit fill. | 58 | |

Horizon A: coursed earth wall and rubbish pit (16th-18th C)

The main architectural feature of this horizon was a 25cm-thick coursed earth wall, starting 18cm south of the N section (before the extension), and running south for 1.70m before turning into the E section. The southern end of the wall, however, had been heavily disturbed by a burrow. Under the wall, and marking its foundation, was a lateritic stone (see Fig. 6.26). There was also an accumulation of bricks/rammed earth near the south-west corner, but it did not appear to be part of a wider structure.

Throughout horizon A there were pockets of ash and charcoal. Against the N section of the extension was a crushed pot with charred animal bone and charcoal underneath. At the NE corner of the extension, and extending into both sections, we encountered a 35cm-deep refuse pit. Although most of the pit appeared to be beyond the section, the 40x100cm area inside the unit was different from the pits excavated so far in at least two respects: firstly, it was rectilinear rather than round; and secondly, its top layer was composed of approx. 5cm of compact rubble, including a lateritic stone, not encountered elsewhere. Its contents included substantial amounts of charcoal, 3 smoking pipe fragments, and limited amounts of pottery (110g), animal bone (30g), and slag (10g). The pit started at the level of the wall's foundation, which was marked by a layer of ash present discontinuously throughout the unit. This ashy layer most likely marked the surface of this

occupational horizon, but no floor was apparent. However, contrary to what would be expected, most of this horizon's finds were not concentrated near the surface but on the upper contexts. In addition to those found in the pit, they included pottery (3.8kg), animal bone (360g), glass (75g), shell, slag (465g), four glass beads (SF#176,194-6), eight smoking pipe fragments, a spindle whorl (SF#192), a Westerwald pottery sherd (SF#193), and a flint-lock gun fragment (SF#198).



Fig.6.26 Wall in PYG-C, horizon A, before and after excavation



Fig. 6.27 Rubbish pit in PYG-C, horizon A

Horizon B: burial pit (16th-18th C)

Starting 15cm under the current ground surface, the burial pit was 30cm deep, 2.15m long, and about 40cm wide. Its longest axis was oriented N-S, and it consisted of two main layers: a lower one, immediately on top of the body, consisting of 5-10cm of rubble (mostly broken mudbrick, lateritic pebbles and occasional pieces of slag); followed by less compact soil with occasional bone and pottery inclusions. Unfortunately this upper layer was not identified in the original excavation, as its northern limit coincided with that of the wall (see below), and thus excavated as part of horizon A. This, however, was rectified in the extension.

The buried individual was, according to the skeletal analysis undertaken by Jamie Inwood (see Annex F), a robust male between 50 and 56 years old, who suffered osteoarthritis, and who had lost all his teeth long before his death. The cause of death was established to be a frontal blow to the head with a heavy, likely hafted object with an edge (e.g. an axe). Additionally, the left humerus had a *peri-mortem* complete fracture in the proximal end caused by a similar object (see Fig.6.29). There were also multiple other fractures, in the arms and chest, but it could not be confidently stated if they were peri- or post-mortem. Additionally, the individual had been buried face down, in a prone position consistent with pinioning of hands and feet anterior to the body. Although no grave goods were encountered, the bottom layer of the pit included a *galet rouge* bead (SF#207) from the area near the pelvis and a brass ring/earring found near the feet. Both however, were recovered from the sieve, rather than *in situ*, so their precise position cannot be established. Having lifted the skeleton, it became apparent that the pit continued below it, as the cut was still visible. Nevertheless, because of the premature closure of the unit due to a malaria outbreak in the team, it was not possible to reach the end of the pit, but judging by the compactness of the last deposits excavated, it seems likely sterile was close.



Fig. 6.28 Burial and section showing the burial pit and the living surface it cut



Fig. 6.29 PYG-B burial: skeleton

Horizon C: agricultural disturbance and sediment accumulation (16th -18th C)

Following the closure of the burial pit was a layer of approximately 10cm of mixed deposits, which included pottery, animal bone, glass, and slag, with quantities decreasing with depth. Five smoking pipe fragments were also found. This horizon was stratigraphically sitting on top of both horizon B (the burial pit) and horizon A (occupational deposits), but while the limits with the former were very clear (see Fig. 6.28) those with the latter were not. There was no clear change in the nature of deposits or in the finds in them, yet it is safe to assume the area would have already been abandoned by the time the burial pit was dug, especially given the violent nature of the death (see description below). The agricultural disturbance was here shallower than in the other units, limited to the top 5cm.

PYG-G Overview

Although the initial goal of this unit (finding evidence of early occupation) was not accomplished, PYG-G provided very useful information regarding the occupational sequence of the site and the relationship of archaeology to oral traditions. The first occupation of PYG-G post-dates the 16thC, as demonstrated by the abundance of smoking pipe fragments; and most likely predates the 19th C, as suggested by the fact that none of the European imports present was manufactured after that date. The presence of a wall, a rubbish pit, and areas of charcoal concentration associated with an *in situ* crushed pot, would indicate this was a living area at the time. Although the rubbish pit was rather poor in contents when compared to those of PYG-B or PYG-F, the upper layers of this occupational horizon contained several European imports (beads and pottery), as well as a fragment of a flint-lock gun, which in principle would indicate some degree of wealth. Nevertheless, the proximity of most of these finds to horizon C, together with the substantial animal and root disturbance that characterises both layers, means an intrusion from horizon C cannot be entirely discarded.

At present it is difficult to establish how long the occupation of horizon A lasted for, but in any case it would have been under 200 years, probably significantly less, as indicated by the finds in both horizon C and B. Similarly, it is unclear for how long had it been abandoned by the time the burial pit was dug. The fact that the eastern side of the cut coincides exactly with the western end of the wall in A, could indicate that the wall, or at least part of it, was still standing at the

time, and that the pit was thus dug against it. If so, it is likely that the upper part of the wall might have been used to fill the central layer of the pit after the body was deposited.

The most remarkable aspect about this burial, however, is how closely it corresponds to oral traditions. As previously discussed, this area is known by the elders as Solindioye, and is reportedly where noblemen who were found guilty of betraying a state secret were buried, after having been beaten to death (see Int. 32). The archaeological evidence, from the cause of death (blow to the head with sharp, hafted object) and the peri-mortem injuries (broken arms), to the position it was buried in (face down, probably tied up), fully supports this interpretation. As for the dating, the presence of smoking pipes indicates a post 16th C date, while its association to Kaabu suggests it predated the 19th C (for although Kansala fell in the 1860s, most of Kaabu's institutions were long gone by then). Although the rate of sediment deposition is not a reliable chronological marker, as it is influenced by multiple factors, the 15cm of deposits that have accumulated since the pit was closed also go against a 19th C date. On the other hand, the fact that oral traditions about Solindioye are so detailed, while there is no memory of the occupation at horizon A (which also postdates the 16th C), would suggest the upper range of the 16th-18th C bracket is most likely.

6.7 Discussion

While a more comprehensive discussion of the results of the excavation and their relation to other sources of evidence will be undertaken in Ch. 10, I will briefly review here the evidence generated by the excavations at Payoungou for each of the periods studied.

Pre-Kaabu occupation (pre-13th C)

Oral traditions claimed Payoungou was originally founded by the Bainouk: excavations have shown that human occupation of the site does indeed pre-date Kaabu. Four units yielded pre-Kaabu deposits: PYG-A, PYG-C, PYG-D, and PYG-E; verified through a combination of radiocarbon dates and pottery traits. The distance between the northernmost and the southernmost of these units is 620m (see Fig. 6.30), which depending on whether they were strictly contemporary or not, could either indicate that Payoungou's earliest settlement was already quite extensive, or

reflect an already shifting settlement. Additionally, from the structural feature at PYG-C, we can deduce that at least some of its constructions were made of coursed earth, while PYG-A indicates that efficient iron smelting techniques were known, and practiced in the vicinity of habitation areas.

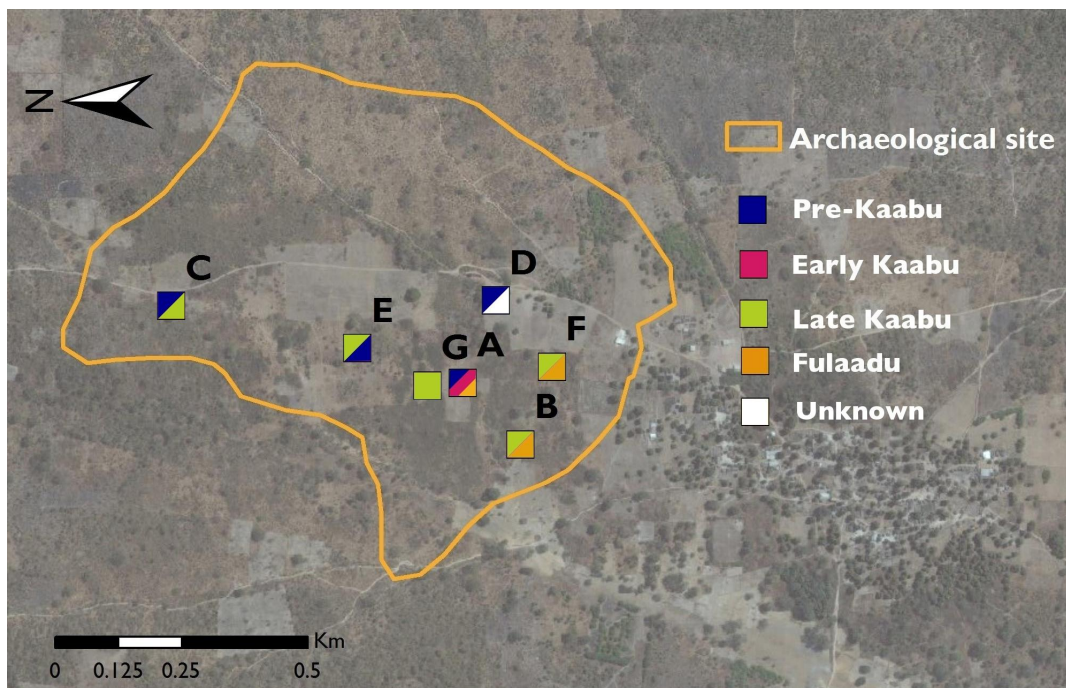


Fig.6.30 Excavated units at Payoungou (size of units not to scale). Basemap: ©2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

Early Kaabu occupation (13th-16th C)

The identification of early Kaabu layers is problematic, as it is largely based on absence of traits belonging to earlier or later periods, rather than on positive evidence. Bearing this caveat in mind, only one horizon was identified as an Early Kaabu occupation: horizon A from PYG-A. It did not have features or structures which could shed light on the nature of this period's occupation, but notably it was immediately on top of pre-Kaabu layers. This scarcity of Early Kaabu deposits contrasts with the prominent political role that oral traditions give to Payyungou, as will be discussed in Ch. 11.

Late Kaabu & Fulaadu occupations (16th-19th C)

The majority of deposits and features excavated belonged to the post 16th C period, as indicated by the abundance of smoking pipe fragments (for a discussion of smoking pipes and dating cf. Ch.10). Nevertheless, unlike Korop, most of Payoungou's deposits had no unequivocally post 18th C imports that allowed to

confidently distinguish between the Late Kaabu and the Fulaadu periods (pottery being identical for both), and therefore the two had to be subsumed in the analysis. The features belonging to this period included four rubbish pits (PYG-E, PYG-F, PYG-G), a midden (PYG-B), two coursed earth walls (PYG-E, PYG-G), one burial (PYG-F), and one floor surface (PYG-F). These features illustrate a variety of relevant aspects: first, that coursed earth, rather than mudbrick, walls were the most common type of building technique, which contrasts with current practices. As for shape, both round (PYG-E) and rectilinear (PYG-G) architectural forms were used, but whether the use of one over the other had social, political or chronological implications cannot be established at present. In terms of refuse disposal, two different methods were encountered: rubbish pits and middens, the differences, similarities, and implications of which will be discussed in Ch. 11.

As for finds, it is in this period when the first European imports appear in Payoungou, including glass and carnelian beads, as well as ceramics and glass bottles. Interestingly, over 3/4 of the imports, gun parts and metal jewellery, as well as 80% of the smoking pipe fragments, were found in the two units in what oral traditions identify as the *tataji* area, i.e. where the king and his entourage lived. While the lack of imports in PYG-C and D is not surprising, as they were both generally poorer in material culture, their total absence from PYG-E is remarkable, and suggests an unequal access to imports and prestige goods in general by different sectors of the population during this period.

Conclusions

The information available for the three periods is very unequal. We have confirmation that Payoungou has been occupied from at least the 7th C AD up until the present, and that occupation has been largely continuous, although periods of abandonment cannot be discounted. While the correspondence between oral traditions for the site and archaeology is remarkable (in particular regarding the wealth of the 'royal' areas and the 'traitor' burial), these correlations involve in all case Late Kaabu or Fulaadu deposits, suggesting that it is this period that most spatially-anchored elder traditions refer to.

Except for the pre-Kaabu horizons, which present a very distinctive set of material culture, continuity across the periods is notable, both in terms of ceramics and small finds. The downside of this similarity is a low chronological resolution, relying largely on C14 dates and chronologically-diagnostic European imports. This

limits the extent to which we can assess mobility patterns. Despite these limitations, the excavations have shown that, with the exception of the iron producing horizon in PYG-A (which lasted over 400 years), all of the occupations in the different units and across all periods, represented timespans of under 300 years, probably less, as the deposits are in all cases very shallow. All these themes and points, will be picked up again and explored in more detailed in Ch. 10, after discussing the excavations in Korop, and the faunal material and small finds from both sites.

CHAPTER 7: KOROP

Several reasons led to the choice of Korop as the second site for excavations. Like Payoungou, it was one of the largest sites encountered, it featured prominently in elder oral traditions and griotic epics, and had more surface material than any other site in the region. At the same time, it was also very different from Payoungou in at least two key respects: first, although notionally as old as the latter, Korop only became a power centre (and for a few years, capital) during the time of Fulaadu; secondly, Korop was located much closer (30km) to the trading ports on the river Gambia, but over 90km away from Kansala, which presumably meant it existed within a very different set of power balances and trade networks. Consequently, both historically and geographically, Korop promised to offer new insights.

In this chapter I discuss the results of the archaeological and historical enquiries at Korop. I start by briefly describing the present village and its political, economic, and environmental context. Having described the current setting, I explore what oral traditions and historical written sources have to say about Korop's past, and how that background can inform the archaeology. I then proceed to describe the results of the excavation, unit by unit, and end by reviewing the information available for each period and what it can tell us about Korop's evolution over time.



Fig.7.1 Korop Maoundé in 2013

7.1.-Current village

Located in the north-east corner of the research area (N13.13799 W14.45015), the village of Korop is part of the Communauté Rural of Fafakour CR, and 20km south of the Gambian border. Its current population, estimated at 270 inhabitants in 2011 (PEPAM 2011), lives mainly from agriculture and herding, as well as from the Koranic school in the village. Despite its small size, it is split into two neighbourhoods: Korop Maoundé (Great Korop), and Korop Sinthian (Little Korop), around 200m to the north of the former, both of which are the respective *jarga*'s family compounds. Although Maoundé is still significantly bigger than Sinthian, the latter is currently expanding, and has trebled its size in the last four years (see Fig. 7.2). Although Sarakolé, Bambara, Wolof, Manding, and Diankhanké families lived in Korop in the recent past, nowadays all the inhabitants are Fulbe: those at Maoundé are Fulakunda, and those at Sinthian, Rorobé (aka Red Fulbe). The elders said there were also three blacksmith families in the village (Mbo, Kante, and Kondjira), but I did not encounter them. Like Payoungou, Korop has no electricity or running water, and is over 30km from the paved road, which often leaves it isolated during the rainy season.



Fig 7.2 Evolution of Korop Sinthian over the last 5 years. Basemap: © 2015 Google

7.2 Oral traditions and historical sources

Although the bulk of oral traditions about Korop, both epic and local, focus on the Fulaadu period and the fights between Musa Molo and his uncle Bakary Demba (ruler of Korop), Korop is also occasionally mentioned in traditions about older periods. In this section I review those traditions, from the earliest to the most recent, as well as the limited information available about Korop's history from written sources.

Korop and Kaabu

According to the *jarga* of Korop at the time of fieldwork (Bokar Balde, now deceased), the village was founded over 400 years ago by a group of 'Soninke' hunters. These were then displaced by the Bainouk, which were in turn defeated by the Manding. While this is all local traditions say about the town's early history, epic narratives provide some more information. In them, the foundation of Korop is sometimes credited to Tiramakhan (Sidibe 1980, Niane 1989, 24; Girard 1992, 204), sometimes to a group of migrants from Sumacounda (Galloway 1980, 17). It is generally agreed that Korop was in the *banco* of Jimara, although occasionally informants place it in Mamakunda (Sidibe 1980, 22). Its first remembered ruler was Tumang Mane, who was succeeded by Duwa Mane and Madi Maane. This latter was contemporary of Dianke Wali and it is him that the Fulbe fought (Galloway 1980, 17). Not far from Korop, on the route to Soumacounda, was a pond known as Chahi, where the guardian spirit and *dyalan* of Jimara, a white caiman, lived. The caiman only left the pond once a year, in order to attend the dances and celebrations that the *nyanthio* organised in his honour to mark the beginning of the harvest (Niane 1989, 44).

Korop and Fulaadu

Neither epic narratives nor local traditions explain how Korop switched from Manding to Fulbe hands, but at some point in the 19th C, Madi Mane stopped being leader and was replaced by Bakary Demba Balde, Alfa Molo's brother. As was discussed in Ch.3, after Alpha Molo's death in 1881, Bakary Demba was chosen by the elders to succeed him, and moved the Fulaadu capital to Korop. His nephew Musa Molo initially accepted the deal, but twelve years later attacked Korop, forcing Bakary Demba into exile. The reins of Korop were taken then by Dansa Sadiel, Bakary's son, who swore allegiance to Musa, but was soon after

killed by the latter, who suspected Dansa was about to betray him (Sidibe 1984, 12-14).

It is in this period that the first European historical references to Korop appear, which is surprisingly late given the town's proximity to the trading centres in the Gambia. The earliest mention of Korop is in the first census of the Fulaadu in 1891, which lists 'Koropo' as one of the villages in the province of 'Djimara', noting that its *jarga* was Bokar Demba (i.e. Bakary Demba), thus confirming the oral history. Four years later, in 1895, Korop was included in a map by the British cartographer Richard Andree (see Fig.7.3); and in 1896 it was cited by an administrator by the name of Adam as one of the villages of the province of Jimara, ruled by 'Chef Mamadu' (i.e. Mamadou Baleyo, *chef de canton* often cited in oral traditions) who lived in Saré Bojo-Demo (Roche 1985, 384). From then on, mentions to Korop become relatively common.

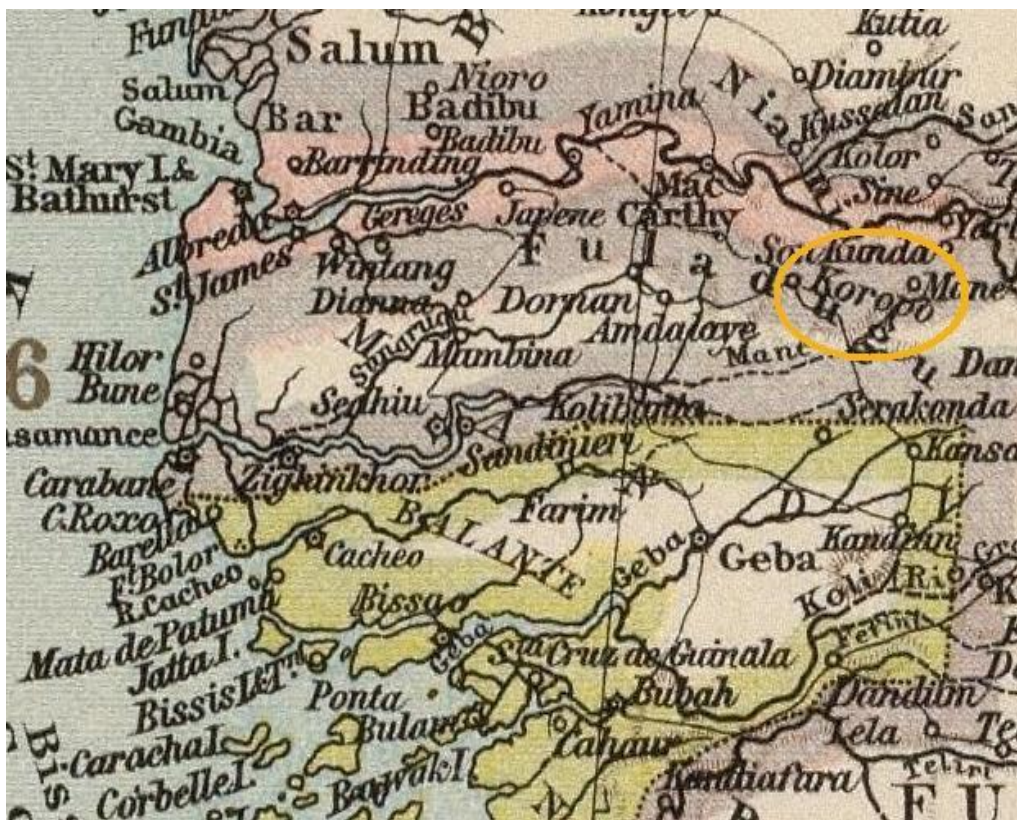


Fig. 7.3 Detail of 1895 map by Richard Andree showing Korop

Korop in the Colonial Period

Following Musa's exile to the Gambia, he sent a messenger to Korop asking his cousin Fanta Sadiel, Bakary Demba's daughter, to join him there. Fanta refused, and fearing Musa's response, rode to Sedhiou together with her grandmother Soura Gara, to reach a deal with the French commander¹. They agreed Fanta would collect tax for the French in Korop, and the territory of Mamakounda more widely, and in return the French would protect her and the town from Musa's attacks (Alfa Balde, Int. 27). After Fanta Sadiel's death, she was buried next to her house in Korop (see below), and succeeded by her younger brother Densa, who moved the capital from Korop to Sare Yéroyel (near Fafakour) (Alfa Balde, Int. 27).

Contrary to many of the villages in its vicinity, Korop was continually occupied throughout the colonial period, with one short exception. During Mamadou Baleyo's rule as *chef de canton* of Jimara, Korop was briefly abandoned, as its inhabitants fled to Marewe (in the Gambia) to escape recruitment into forced labour for the construction of the road. The abandonment, however, lasted less than a month (Alpha Balde & Daouda Balde Int. 27).

7.3 The archaeological site

Korop Maoundé (1.6ha) is located in the southernmost part of the site, while Korop Sinthian (0.6ha) is right in the middle of it (see Fig.7.7). The area with visible surface pottery occupies an area of 60.6ha, but as visibility is limited to cultivated areas, the total size of the site is probably larger. It limits in the west with a seasonal stream, and in the east with a baobab forest, but has no clear southern or northern limits. According to the current *jarga*, at its peak Korop was so large that a whole army could march on one side without the people living on the other side noticing (Bokar Balde, fieldnotes). In terms of surface finds, Korop was the richest site encountered during the survey, as it included not just substantial amounts of pottery, but also more glass and small finds than usual, especially in the fields between the two currently inhabited neighbourhoods. The local conceptualisation of the archaeological site included several features and zones:

1 Which if we assume this visit happened on the same year a Musa Molo's exile, i.e. 1903, would have been du Mazel, according to the list of Sedhiou commanders provided by Roche (1985, 386).

Tataji

According to the *jarga*, four *tataji* had existed in Korop over time. Although none of them were visible on the surface, he claimed to know their contours, which we recorded as GPS tracks. Remarkably, the contours of two of these *tataji* are perfectly clear in satellite images from 2011 (1 & 3 in Fig. 7.4), and one is traceable in those from 2013 (2 in Fig. 7.4). The fourth one is in a densely vegetated area and thus not visible. According to the *jarga*, the first of these *tataji* (Tata 1) belonged to Bakary Demba. In this case, the structure visible on satellite imagery was contained by, but did not exactly match, the contour indicated by the *jarga*. In fact the latter was over twice as large as the former. This is surprising given how it is notionally the most recent of the four, and if its attribution to Bakary Demba is correct, would have been occupied until the early 20th C, which means the current *jarga* would have seen it standing as a child. It is therefore likely, that the structure visible from the air is in fact an enclosure *inside* the *tata*, rather than the *tata* itself. Also supporting this possibility is how the historian Bakary Sidibé's, visiting Korop in the 1970s reported that 'beyond where the Fula live, towards the ricefields, is where the fortress was built. I have never seen anything else so big as that fort' (Sidibe 1980, 22). The structure visible in the satellite imagery measures 50x50m, which as discussed in Ch. 5, is not particularly large for the region. The contour traced by the *jarga*, on the other hand, enclosed an area of 160x95m, which would have been far more deserving of Sidibé's description. Furthermore, although not very clear, this larger contour is also visible on the satellite imagery as a lightly shaded area around the structure (see Fig. 7.4)

The second *tata* (Tata 2), which the *jarga* identified as the *tata* Manding, was located immediately north of Tata 1, and was only visible in satellite imagery taken during the rainy season. Again, the contours traced by the *jarga* (60x70m) were larger than the visible structure (40x40m), but in this case the northern and eastern sides of both align perfectly. As for the third *tata* (Tata 3), which the *jarga* described as the Bainouk fortress, the contour traced on the ground and the structure visible from the air coincide, but their shapes do not, as the former is square, but the latter is round. This round structure, which appears to be regular and 80m in diameter, was the only one of its sort documented. The last *tata* (Tata 4), whose existence cannot be confirmed, as it is covered in vegetation and hence not visible from the air, was notionally the 'Soninké' fortress, the oldest of the four. As with the rest of

tataji recorded in the study area, all of the Korop *tataji* were oriented with their walls facing the cardinal points.

Dyalan

Located 20m to the east of Tata 2, Korop's *dyalan* is a medium-sized baobab with a bee colony living in its upper branches. According to the elders, the tree belonged to the first Soninké ruler of the town, who commanded the bees in it, and used them as a weapon in war. Although not feared or prayed to anymore (in fact the honey from the bees is regularly collected by the villagers) the tree is thought to still be active. In fact, in 2012 it is believed to have talked to a passing traveller, telling him that village was over 400 years old, and that he had been there before its creation (Daouda Balde, Int. 27).

Previous village

According to the elders, the space between Tata 1 and Korop Maoundé was where the village was located at the time of Bakary Demba, before it moved to its

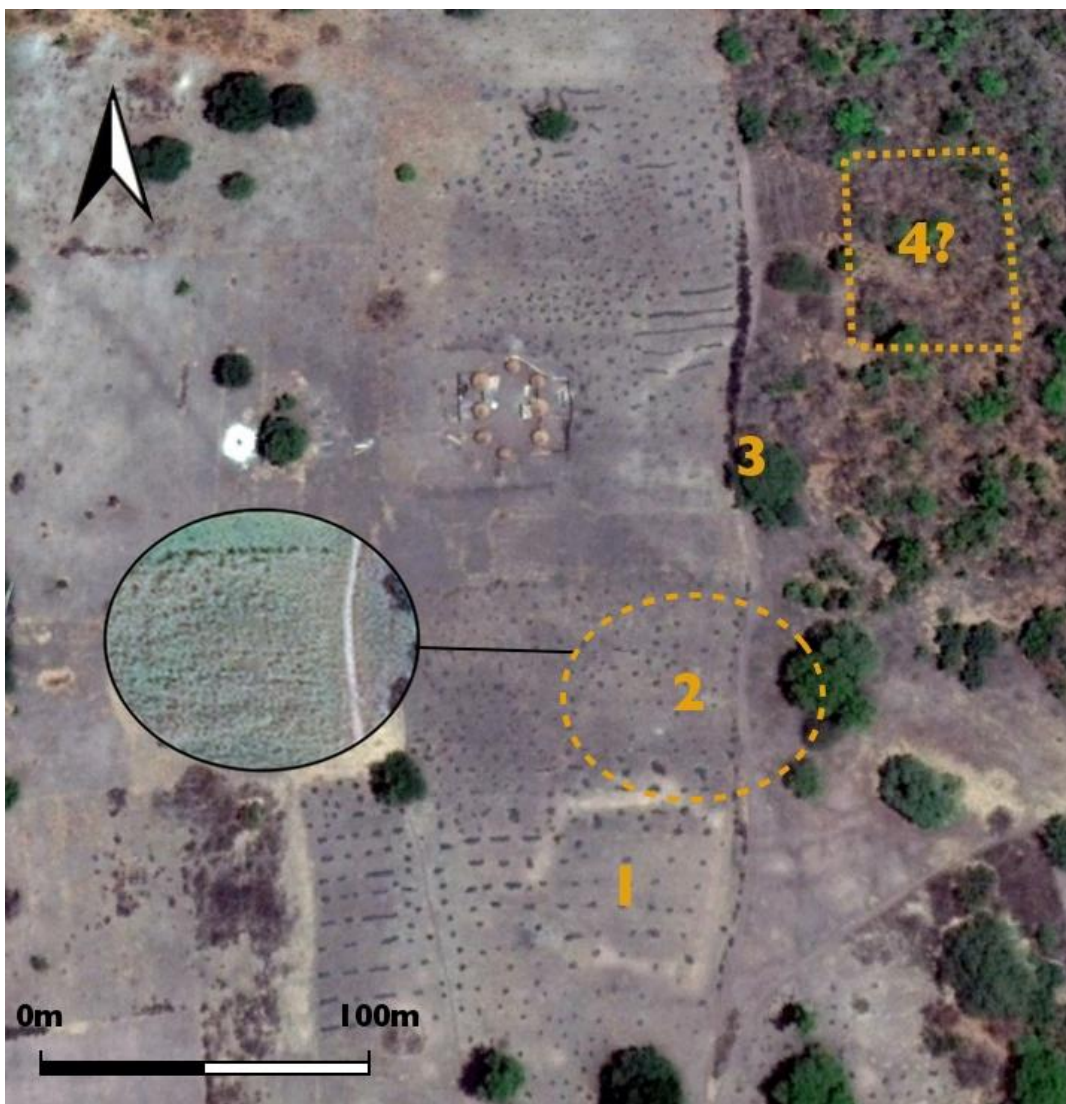


Fig. 7.4 Korop Tataji. Basemap: © 2015 Google

present location. This is supported by the presence of visible terrain elevations marking abandoned compounds and depressions indicating former wells. Two of these elevations were identified by the elders as Dansa Sadiel and Fanta Sadiel's house, respectively. The former, which was the largest of the two was a small mound (approx. 30cm high and under 30m in diameter) with the foundations of a square structure on top. The latter did not present any elevation. Between the two of them was a tree where the elders claim Fanta and Dansa's mother were buried, and north of it was Bakary Demba's *tata* (see Fig.7.5). Each of these residential structures had its own well, whose location was still visible.

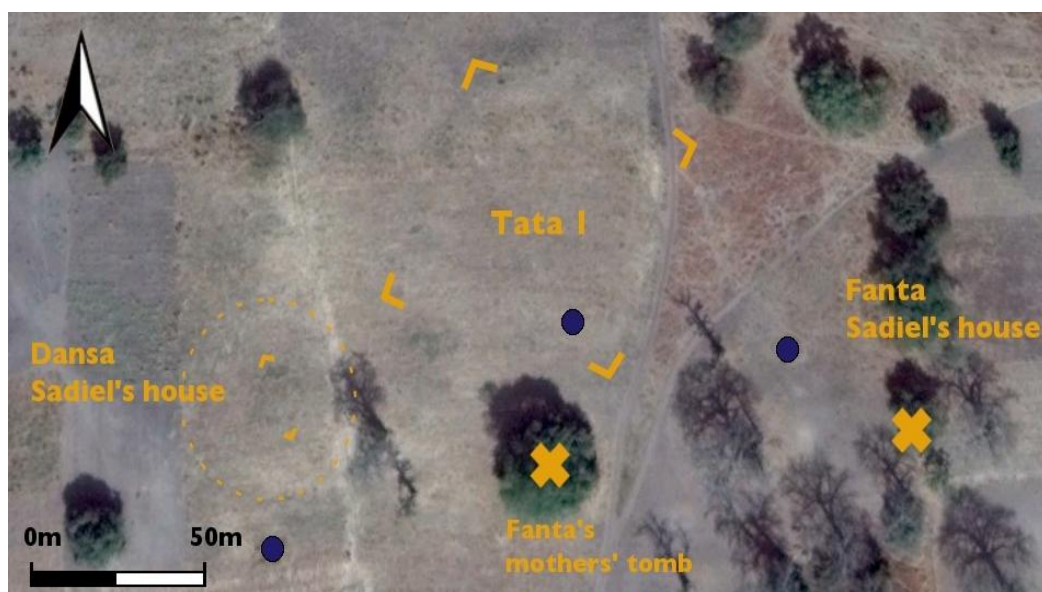


Fig. 7.5 Korop's Fulaadu abandonments and wells. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

The Bambara neighbourhood

To the east of Tata 2, at a distance of approximately 300m, was the area where the elders say the Bambara used to live before they left the town during the times of Fanta Sadiel. This information was only mentioned after we opened a unit in that area and found a burial (see KRP-B section).

Wells

In addition to the three wells associated with Bakary Demba's, Dansa Sadiel's, and Fanta Sadiel's compounds, we encountered two wells in the westernmost part of the site, in the area between the smaller baobab forest and the

rice fields (see Fig.7.6). They were 2 and 4 meters-deep, respectively, and one still had some of the supporting beams, indicating a relatively recent -probably Fulaadu-abandonment. The furthest of the wells was over 500 meters away from the limit of the cultivated area (and hence the limits of the site as defined on the evidence of surface pottery), suggesting ancient Korop might have been in fact substantially larger than indicated by surface finds alone. Nevertheless, wells are also sometimes located outside villages, and therefore are not an infallible indication of settlement size or boundaries.



Fig. 7.6 One of the abandoned wells near the rice fields

7.4 Excavations

Methodology

As for Payoungou. See Ch. 6, section 6.61.

Summary of results

Two seasons of excavations were undertaken in Korop, taking place in March (units A & B) and December (units C-E) 2013. A total of 5 units was excavated, ranging from 2x3 to 4x6m, covering a total excavated area of 44m². The occupational deposits found dated from the 13th to the 20th C (see Table 7.2). As in Payoungou, most units included only one or two occupational horizons, and

deposits were always less than a meter deep, with the exception of the rubbish pits in KRP-A (105cm) and KRP-D (121cm). All units except for KRP-E had features in them, including three refuse pits (KRP A, C & D) and a burial (KRP-B). Following fieldwork, three wood charcoal samples were submitted to Beta Analytic to be dated. As with Payoungou, only contexts without smoking pipes were chosen. The results (detailed in Table 7.2), were less useful than in Payoungou, as 2 out of the 3 samples were dated in the 'modern' 17th-20th C range. The third one, however, provided a much more helpful result (AD 1030-1210). Additional *terminus post quem* dates were provided by smoking pipe fragments, ceramic traits, and European imports (listed in Table 7.3).

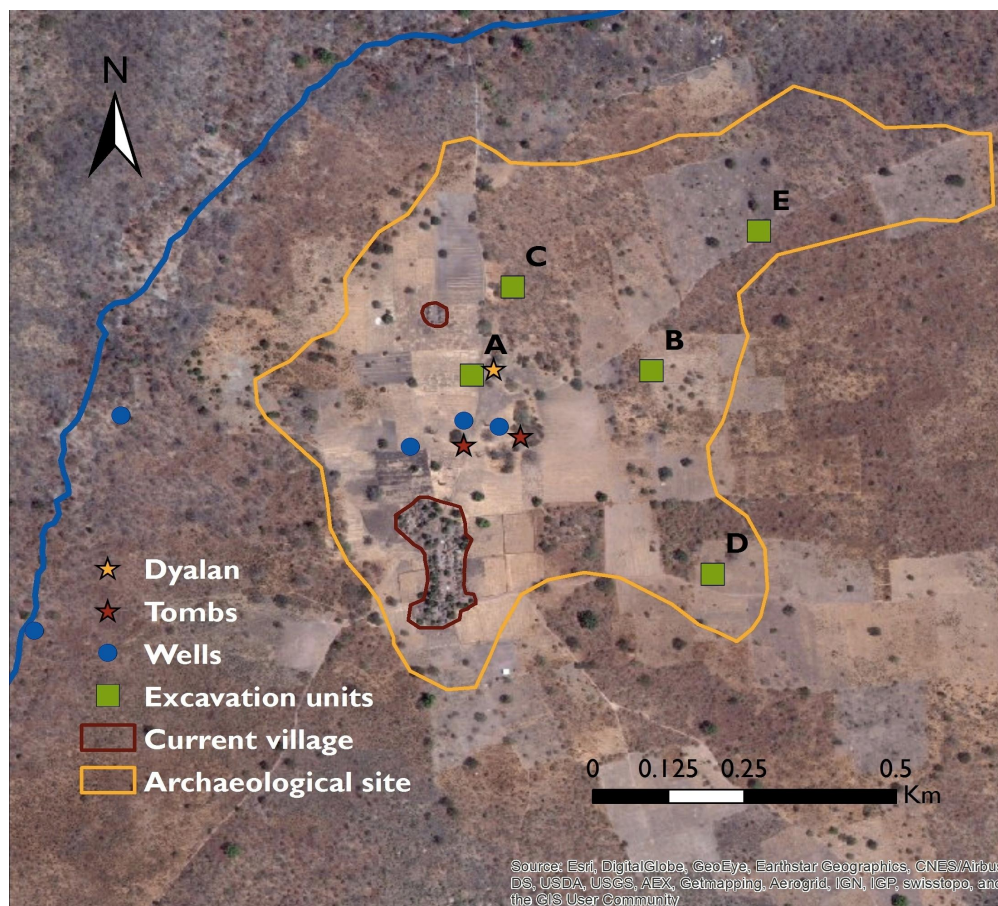


Fig.7.7 Excavations at Korop

Table 7.1 Excavated units in Korop

| Unit | Dimensions | Depth | Features | Periods |
|-------------|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| KRP-A | 2x3m | 64-107cm | Refuse pit | Fulaadu |
| KRP-B | 4x5m | 42-43cm | Burial | Fulaadu |
| KRP-C | 2x3m | 33-74cm | Refuse pit | Fulaadu Pre-Kaabu? |
| KRP-D | 2x3m | 55-121cm | Refuse pit | Early Kaabu Late Kaabu |
| KRP-E | 2x3m | 48-51cm | No | Pre-Kaabu Late Kaabu |

Table. 7.2 Radiocarbon dates for Korop

| Unit/Context | C14 date | Lab number | 1 Sigma Cal. | 2 Sigma Cal. |
|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|--|--|
| KRP-A, 11 | 80±30 bp | Beta-374188 | AD 1685-1730 AD 1810-1925 Post AD 1950 | AD 1695-1725 AD 1815-1835 Post AD 1950 |
| KRP-C, 4 | 120±30 bp | Beta-374189 | AD 1665-1780 AD 1795-1895 AD 1905-1950 | AD 1680-1695 AD 1725-1765 AD 1835-1880 AD 1915-1940 Post Ad 1950 |
| KRP-D, 4 | 740±30 bp | Beta-374190 | AD 1255-1290 | AD 1265-1285 |

Table 7.3 Datable small finds from Korop (excluding smoking pipes)

| Unit/Context | Date | Material |
|--------------|--|---------------------------|
| KRP surface | Late 19 th - 20 th C | #10: perfume bottle |
| KRP surface | Post late 19 th C | #11d: European ceramics |
| KRP surface | 19 th C | #11c: European ceramics |
| KRP surface | 19 th C | #11b: European ceramics |
| KRP surface | 19 th -20 th C | gin bottle fragments |
| KRP surface | 19 th C | #8: glass bead |
| KRP surface | First half 19 th C | #9: glass bead |
| KRP A-2 | post mid-19 th C | #47: glass bead |
| KRP A-2 | late 19 th C | #42: milkglass |
| KRP A-2 | First half 19 th C | #46: glass bead |
| KRP A-2 | 17 th -19 th | #51: glass bead |
| KRP A-2 | 17 th -19 th | #55: glass bead |
| KRP A-2 | 17 th -19 th | #56: glass bead |
| KRP A-2 | Post 17 th C | #40: flintlock trigger |
| KRP A-2 | Post 17 th C | #251: flint lock flake |
| KRP A-2 | Post 17 th C | #252: flint lock fragment |
| KRP A-2 | post 19 th C | #48: glass bead |
| KRP A-3 | 17 th -19 th | #65: glass bead |
| KRP A-3 | 17 th -19 th | #66: glass bead |
| KRP A-3 | 17 th -19 th | #67: glass bead |
| KRP A-6 | Post 17 th C | #255: gun flint fragment |
| KRP A-7 | 17 th -19 th | #75: glass bead |
| KRP A-7 | 17 th -19 th | #75: glass bead |
| KRP B-3 | 17 th -19 th | #82: glass bead |
| KRP B-3 | Post 17 th C | #249: gun flint |
| KRP C-2 | Post 17 th C | #221 gun flint |
| KRP C-2 | Late 19 th - 20 th C | #214: perfume bottle |
| KRP C-4 | 17 th -19 th | #216: glass bead |
| KRP C-4 | post 19 th C | #218: glass bead |

Korop A

The first unit excavated in Korop was placed inside Tata 2 (identified by the elders as the Manding *tata*), in its south-east corner next to the southern *tata* wall (N13.13869, W14.45187). The placement against the wall was not intentional, but resulted from the lack of visibility on the surface, and the erroneous contour of this particular side of the enclosure given by the elders. This unit measured 2x3cm and uncovered between 64cm and 107cm of deposits, the deepest measurement corresponding to a refuse pit, making this the deepest sequence encountered in the site, as well as the richest in material culture. Two different horizons were encountered:

Table 7.4 KRP-A horizons

| KRP-A | | | |
|---------|---------|--|-----------------|
| Period | Horizon | Context Aggregates | Max. depth (cm) |
| Fulaadu | B | 1.- Surface clearing. | 3 |
| | | 2.- Topsoil. | 23 |
| | | 3.- Living surface | 41 |
| | A | 5,7,11,14.- Rubbish pit fill | 107 |
| | | 4,6.- Living surface | 47 |
| | | 8, 9,10,12.-Bioturbated deposits & burrows | 67 |
| | | 15.- Wall melt | 66 |

Horizon A: refuse pit and living surface (19th C)

Sitting on top of sterile, the 30cm of deposits of this horizon were initially quite similar to sterile (very compact and orange), gradually becoming looser, browner, and with higher quantities of material culture. The top part of this horizon was very likely a compacted-earth living surface, but it had been heavily cross-cut by burrows which obscured its nature (see Fig.7.9). The central area next to the southern section was characterised by a clayey compact structure heavily disturbed by termite activity, most probably wall melt from the *tata* wall. Finds on the surface and in the bioturbated deposits included 1.25kg of pottery, 13.63g of glass, 145g of animal bone, one large piece of slag (440g), 2 glass beads (#72,74), a British gunflint (#255) and 3 smoking pipe fragments.

The main feature of this horizon was a round pit, 80cm in diameter and 60cm deep. It had been dug cutting through sterile soil, and initially filled with a layer of charcoal, followed by a variety of wild animals (antelope, turtle, civet) and cattle bones, as well as 5 smoking pipe fragments, a glass bead (SF#78), and large pottery sherds. The top of this layer was one dominated by cattle and ovicaprid bones, including also two glass beads (#75-6) found beside the two cow mandibles (see Fig. 7.8). The final part of the pit had been filled with fowl and small-medium bovid bones, broken 19th C case gin bottles, pottery, slag, as well as substantial amounts of ash. It is difficult to establish how quickly the filling on this pit would have taken, as it could be both the result of a single event or of two or three separate ones. The fact that no unburnt sediment accumulated between the different layers, however, would suggest that if these were separate events, they were not

segmented by a rainy season. This was the only complete refuse pit excavated during the project.



Fig.7.8 Refuse pit in KRP-A, Horizon B

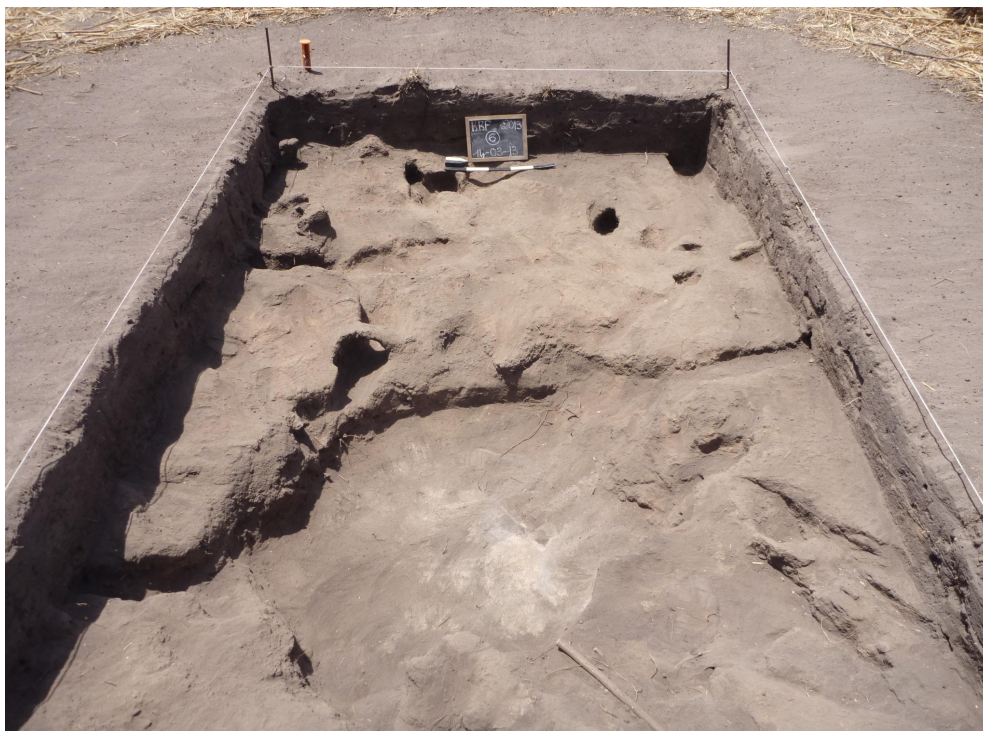


Fig.7.9 Burrows in KRP-A, Horizon B

Horizon B: open space (19thC)

This horizon included the top 30-40cm of deposits, characterised by a grey loose sediment and large amounts of finds, including 5.4kg of pottery, 170g of glass, 605g of bone, 260g of slag, as well as 24 glass beads and one stone bead (#53), 20 smoking pipe fragments, half a spindle whorl (#41), a fragment of 19th milkglass (#42), two British grey gunflints (#151-2) a small iron spoon (#62), multiple iron fragments, as well as isolated pieces of mudbrick. This horizon extended across the unit and was stratigraphically above the other horizon.

KRP-A overview

The first occupation of this area of the site dates to the 19th C and corresponds to the *tata* visible on satellite imagery and remembered by the elders. The living surface of this period was cut by the digging and rapid filling of a round refuse pit very near to the SE corner of the *tata* enclosure. The abundance of cattle and European imports, unparalleled by any other excavated unit in the site, together with the general wealth of material culture in both the pit and in horizon B, confirm this was in fact an affluent area.

If the oral tradition's identification as a Manding *tata* is correct (and most 19th C aspects tend to be), this unit would provide a unique insight into the transition from Manding to Fulbe dominance. First, it would suggest in Korop this transition occurred rather late. Secondly, it would indicate that the lifestyle of the Korop Manding elites did not decline towards the end of Kaabu, as they appear to have feasted, smoked, and bought European goods in quantity until the abandonment of the *tata*. Finally, it would mean that when Bakary Demba rose to power, instead of re-occupying the Manding *tata*, he chose to build a new one right next to it, which as will be discussed later, has interesting implications in terms of spatial conceptualisations of power.

Korop B

The second unit in Korop was placed in a harvested field 300m to the east of the first one, in an area that had shown different surface pottery during the survey and which the *jarga* identified as the 'Bambara neighbourhood' (Bokar Balde, fieldnotes). This was the shallowest of all four units in terms of deposits (40cm), and the largest in terms of horizontal exposure (5x4m), as it was twice expanded, first to encompass the burial, and later to better understand its context. It was also the unit

most affected by post-depositional processes, roots and termite disturbances in particular, which greatly obscured the stratigraphy.

Table 7.5 KRP-B horizons

| KRP-B | | | |
|---|----------------|---|------------------------|
| Period | Horizon | Context Aggregates | Max. depth (cm) |
| Fulaadu | C | 4, 8- Matrix surrounding the skeleton. | 31 |
| | | 10.- Skeleton. | 30 |
| | B | 1,5,13,14.- Surface clearing. | 5 |
| | | 2,6,15,16.- Topsoil. | 16 |
| | | 3,7,17,18.- Living surface | 26 |
| | A | 9.- Root marks. | 34 |
| 11.- Deposits underneath the skeleton. | | 43 | |
| 19.- Termite structure. | | 30 | |

Horizon A: open space (18th/19th C)

This horizon comprised the first 20cm after sterile, and was heavily disturbed by both roots and termite activity, the former concentrating on the NE quadrant, and the latter present throughout the unit. No features or structures were encountered. In terms of material culture, it included 1kg of pottery, a piece of British gunflint (#249), four glass beads (#82-3,85-6) –including a *galet rouge* and a *galet blanc*–, a brass bead (#90), and two smoking pipe fragments. The combination of these finds thus indicates a post 17th C date.

Horizon B: open space (19th C)

This horizon comprised the top 20cm across the unit, and it did not include any features or structures either. It did, however contain three isolated bricks which were used to define the surface separating Horizon A from B. Horizon B was also the richest in material culture, which included 1.6 kg of pottery, 13 smoking pipe fragments, 2 glass beads (#81-2), and a small fragment of European glazed ceramics (#97).

Horizon C: burial (19th C)

In the eastern end of the unit, cutting across Horizon B was a human burial. The individual had been buried lying on his/her left side on a south-north axis, facing west. He/she (sex could not be determined) had both lower legs flexed, and the left arm raised upwards and flexed so the head was resting on the left hand. Both the right arm, the feet, and the ribs were missing, and the pelvis and ribs were heavily damaged by both roots (a bush had grown through the chest) and termite activity. Additionally, fragments of teeth and vertebrae had been displaced upwards. No grave goods were found around the body, other than small pottery fragments, and one piece of slag next to the pelvis. The heavy disruption caused by the combination of the termite structure in the northwest quadrant and the bush growing right on top of the burial made it impossible to identify the limits of the burial pit. As the excavated pit was only 20cm (which would not cover a human body before decay), it is safe to assume that in addition to the termite and root disturbance, this area of the site has experienced significant erosion since the burial pit was excavated.

KRP-B overview

The first occupation of this area took place after the 17th C, most likely in the 19th C. These dates are entirely consistent with local oral traditions, which identify this area as the Bambara neighbourhood abandoned at the time of the rule of Fanta Sadiel (i.e. towards the end of Fulaadu at the beginning of colonialism). We do not know much about the nature of this first occupation, represented by Horizon A, as it included no features or structures. The scatter of material culture present, however, would suggest it was an open space in the vicinity of a residential area. This appears to have also been the case in the later horizon (B), where the quantity of material increases and isolated bricks appear, potentially indicating greater proximity to residential structures.

At some point in the late 19th C, a pit was dug and an individual was buried. Although the burial was heavily disturbed by roots and termites, it is clear from the position that it was carefully laid and non-Islamic. The presence of a burial, however, is not incompatible with the identification of the area as an open space next to a domestic area, as oral traditions include numerous instances of people

buried inside or next to their houses. In fact Fanta Sadiel herself was buried next to her compound, as was her mother, according to Bokar Balde, Korop's *jarga* (fieldnotes).



Fig. 7.10 Burial in KRP-B

Korop C

The third unit in Korop (N13.14005 W14.45127) was placed inside what elders identified as the *Soninké tata*. Although some villagers claim the area was cultivated at some point, it had not been so for years, as proven by the size of the trees present. The specific placement of the unit inside the *tata* area was chosen entirely on practical grounds, avoiding both termite mounds and fallen trees, and at a reasonable distance from larger trees in order to reduce root disturbances. KRP-C measured 2x3m in extension, and yielded a 33cm-deep sequence of deposits throughout the unit, and of 75cm in the refuse pit area. Three distinct horizons could be identified:

Table 7.6 KRP-C horizons

| KRP-C | | | |
|-----------------------|---------|---|----------------|
| Period | Horizon | Context Aggregates | Max. depth(cm) |
| Fulaadu | C | 1.-Surface clearing. | 1 |
| | | 2.- Topsoil. | 13 |
| | | 3.-Grey layer across the unit. | 22 |
| | B | 4.-Living surface | 27 |
| 6,7- Rubbish pit fill | | 74 | |
| Pre-Kaabu? | A | 5.- Charcoal pocket | 40 |
| | | 8.-Living surface cut by the rubbish pit. | 35 |

Horizon A: pre-pit deposits (pre-13th C?)

The earliest horizon in the unit consisted of 10cm of deposits, which as in both KRP-A and KRP-B, were initially very compact, orange and poor in material culture, gradually becoming less so. Out of the 17 sherds encountered in this horizon, 13 were Orange Gritty Ware (see Ch. 8), so far unknown in Korop. Other finds included small quantities of animal bone and two pieces of slag. No structures or features were encountered. The upper part of the horizon was cut by a small (20cm in diameter, 10cm deep) charcoal pocket against the northern section. Although no C14 dates were obtained for this horizon, the prevalence of OGW and the absence of finds belonging to later periods strongly suggest a pre-Kaabu occupation.

Horizon B: rubbish pit and living surface(19th C)

Cutting horizon A was a 60cm-deep refuse pit. The pit went into both the east and south sections, so no complete dimensions were present, but the area inside the unit was round and measured approximately 90x20cm. The deposits inside included substantial amounts of charcoal, present throughout but especially dense in two charcoal lenses, at 20cm and 40cm from the base, respectively. The finds inside the pit included very degraded animal bone, three smoking pipe fragments, a *galet rouge* bead (#216), a 19th *cornaline d'Aleppo* bead (#218), an iron bracelet fragment (#217), an iron earring (#239), 490g of pottery, small amounts of glass, a 100g of slag, and 300g of bone. No ash was present.

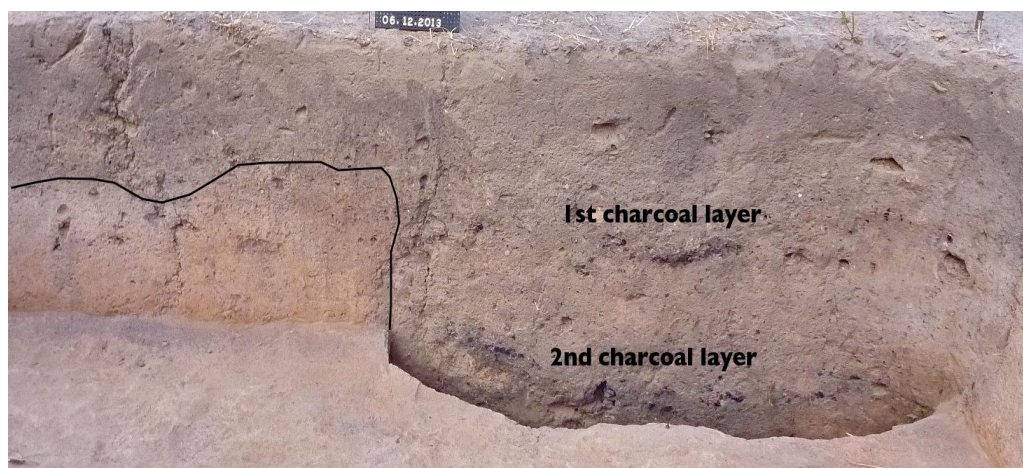


Fig.7.11 Pit in KRP-C, Horizon B

Horizon C: post-pit deposits (19th C)

The top 20cm did not include any features or structures, and were characterised by loose deposits, grey in colour, and relatively rich in material culture, compared to the rest of the unit. Finds included 690g of pottery, 80g of slag, and small quantities of glass and very degraded animal bone. The small finds featured a fragment of a 19th C French perfume bottle (#214), a British gunflint (#221), a piece of an iron bracelet (#215) and four smoking pipe fragments, which together consistently dated this horizon to the 19th C.

KRP-C overview

Although we have strong indications of a pre-Kaabu occupation of this area, further evidence –C14 dates in particular – would be necessary in order to confirm this interpretation, as the correlation between OGW and pre-13th C dates has been established for Payougou, but not for Korop. If confirmed, however, it would reinforce the elders' identification of this area as the 'Soninké tata' where local rulers notionally lived prior to the Manding arrival.

Following this initial occupation, this area was settled again in the 19th C when a refuse pit was dug and subsequently filled. Although the precise timing of its filling cannot be established, it would have been a matter of a few decades at most, as the finds at the bottom of the pit, and those that accumulated on top after its closure are of the same period. Although not comparable to that of KRP-A, the finds in KRP-C also indicate access to European goods, including perfume, glass beads, and guns. The rather rapid filling of the pit is also indicated by the fact that 15cm of living surface formed on top after its closure, also dated to the 19th C.

Korop D

This unit was placed in the southeastern-most part of the site, 400m to the east (N13.13561 W14.44830) of the current village, in an area currently used for peanut cultivation. It was 2x3m wide and had 55cm of deposits throughout, except for the refuse pit area, where deposits reached a depth of 121cm. As with KRP-C, this unit's main and only feature was a refuse pit, and the deposits were divided into three main horizons:

Table 7.7 KRP-D horizons

| KRP-D | | | |
|----------------|---------|---|-----------------|
| Period | Horizon | Context Aggregates | Max. depth (cm) |
| Late Kaabu | B | 1.- Surface clearing. | 2 |
| | | 2.- Topsoil. | 13 |
| | | 3, 4.- Living surface | 39 |
| Early Kaabu | A | 6.-Living surface cut by the rubbish pit. | 55 |
| | | 5, 7, 8- Rubbish pit | 121 |

Horizon A: Rubbish pit and living surface (13th C)

This horizon included the 15-20cm above sterile, which were very compact and poor in material culture (30g of pottery and a piece of slag). This horizon also included a 90cm-deep rubbish pit, adjacent to the western section. The part of the pit inside the unit measured 115x45cm, but like that in KRP-C, it was right against the corner, so neither of these measurements were indicative of the pit's total size. Unlike most of the other pits excavated, it did not gradually narrow down with depth, but instead presented an angular step approximately 40cm from the base. Connecting the step with the base of the pit was a layer of charcoal followed by one of ash (see Fig. 7.12).

The finds inside the pit included 580g of pottery, a smoking pipe fragment, and a piece of iron (#241). At the top, the pit had overspilt towards the south, covering the whole western third of the unit, and a C14 date of AD 1265-1285 was obtained from this overspill². This find is in principle at odds with the post-1500 AD

² Although the charcoal sample from which this date was obtained is registered as coming from context 4, it came from the lowest and westernmost part of the context, which was already part of the overspill, and should have been excavated as 5.

date indicated by the smoking pipe fragment also from the overspill. Nevertheless, the pit overspill had been affected by both a termite structure and a burrow big enough to have brought the pipe fragment in from the superficial deposits (horizon C). Therefore, my working assumption is that the C14 date actually dates the pit, and that the pipe is intrusive.

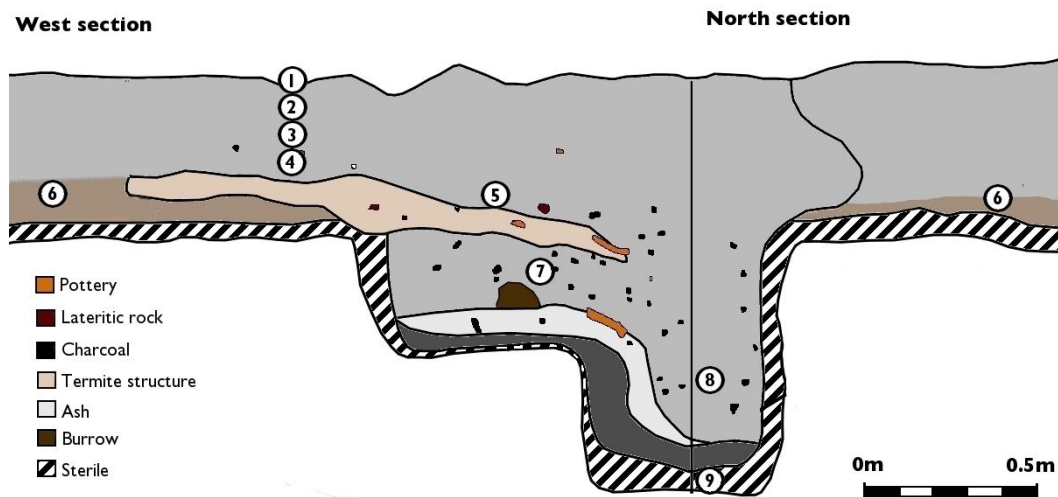


Fig.7.12 Pit in KRP-D, Horizon B

Horizon B: open space (post 16th C)

The top 40cm of deposits did not have any feature or structure, but were the richest in material culture. They included 17 smoking pipe fragments, a carnelian bead (#236), 1.97kg of pottery and 20g of slag.

Korop D overview

Although additional evidence would be required to make a solid case (as the present one is largely reliant on a single radiocarbon date); KRP-D tentatively contains evidence of an Early Kaabu occupation dating to the period of the first Manding arrival to the area. Remarkably, the features and occupational sequence, are almost identical to KRP-C (dated to the Fulaadu period): a first occupation consisting on a living surface and a rubbish pit, followed by a second one without any structures, lasting until at least the 16th C.

Korop E

The final unit in Korop was placed in the northeastern part of the site. (N13.14092 W14.44762), located 300m northeast of KRP-B, and over 400m from KRP-C. Like KRP-D, this area had no associated oral traditions but had both surface pottery and slag. The unit was located in a harvested cotton field, over an area of 2x3m, and uncovered 50cm of deposits. No structures, features, or stratigraphic changes were detected, and thus the unit was largely dug in spits. The sediment became grey and loose, and then progressively more compact, orange, and with less material culture, until it became entirely sterile. A total of 1.19kg of pottery was collected, and two small smoking pipe fragments were encountered in the top 10cm of deposits. Beyond this point, the pottery became significantly different to those of previous units, formed by a combination of OGW and undecorated sherds with very coarse grog temper. This was, together with the three sherds in KRP-C, the only occurrence of OGW in Korop. In this case, however, the higher numbers, together with the generally different nature of the pottery throughout the sequence and the complete absence of any material culture from later periods presented a stronger case for a pre-Kaabu occupation. The absence of structures or features, together with the scarcity of finds would suggest this was near an inhabited area, rather than inhabited itself.

Table 7.8 KRP-E horizons

| KRP-E | | | |
|---------------|----------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| Period | Horizon | Contexts | Max. depth (cm) |
| Late-Kaabu | B | 1.- Surface clearing | 3 |
| | | 2.- Topsoil | 13 |
| Pre-Kaabu | A | 3.- 2 nd spit | 29 |
| | | 4.-3 rd spit | 34 |
| | | 5.- 4 th spit | 45 |
| | | 6.-5 th spit. | 51 |

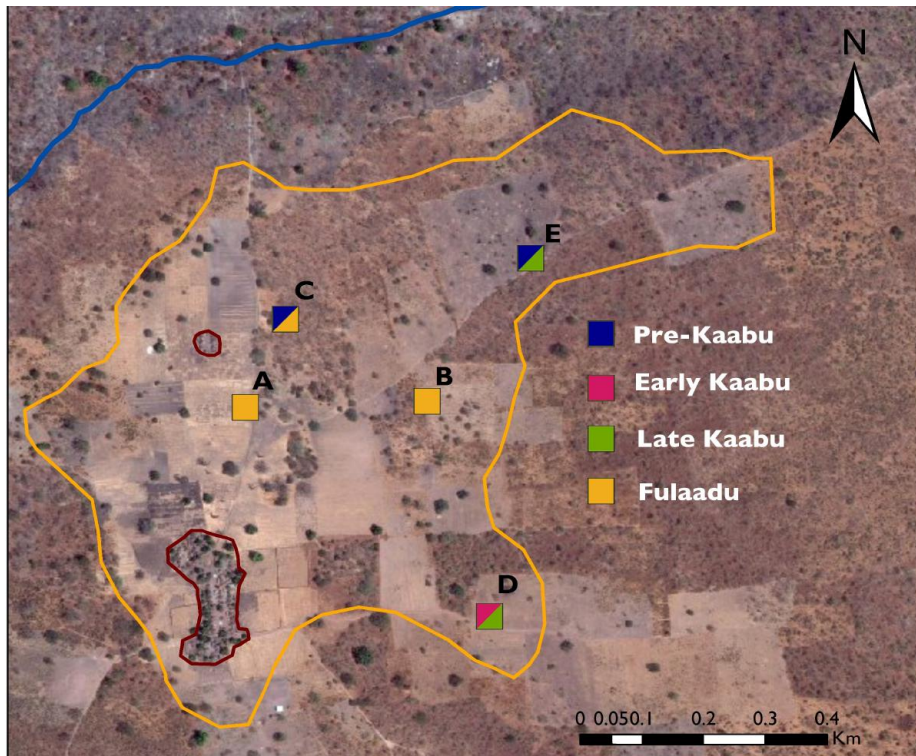


Fig. 7.13 Excavated units in Korop by period. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

7.5 Discussion

Pre-Kaabu

The evidence for early occupations of Korop was scarcer than in Payoungou. The only convincing pre-Kaabu occupation was found at KRP-E, but its dating is based exclusively on the presence of OGW and therefore should only be taken as provisional. Not much can be said about this occupation, other than it was located in the NE end of the archaeological site and that it was followed by Late Kaabu deposits.

Early Kaabu

As for early Kaabu, KRP-D yielded a late 13th C radiocarbon date, which although disputed by the presence of a smoking pipe from the same context, is consistent enough for a tentative date, as there is evidence suggesting the pipe might be intrusive. If this date is confirmed, KRP-D presents an interesting comparative sample, as its refuse pit is similar in both size and morphology, to that of KRP-C, which belongs to the Fulaadu period. Furthermore, as was the case in Payoungou, and will be further explored in Ch.10, the continuity between the Early

Kaabu, Late Kaabu, and Fulaadu ceramic traditions is remarkable at both Korop and Payoungou.

Late Kaabu and Fulaadu

As in Payoungou, the separation between Kaabu and Fulaadu is not a straightforward one, for while there are finds that positively identify deposits as 19th C (and hence belonging to the Fulaadu period as defined in Ch. 6), the distinction of Late Kaabu from Fulaadu deposits is largely based on absence of evidence, which is particularly problematic when the samples are small, as was the case in most units in Korop. One unit (KRP-D) had post-16th C horizons without 19th C imports and was thus attributed to the Late Kaabu period. Nevertheless, it was generally poor in material culture, and did not have any structures or features that could cast light on life in Korop during this period.

One additional horizon, the burial in KRP-B, also presented deposits which while definitely post-16th C, did not have the range of 19th C imports present in other Fulaadu period horizons. In this case, however, I believe that the combination of oral traditions linking the area to a Fulaadu/colonial occupation are sufficient to tentatively class this burial as belonging to the Fulaadu period. It is necessary to reiterate here, however, that the 'Fulaadu period' as defined in this thesis refers not just to the few decades when the Fulaadu existed as a fully-developed state dominating the whole Upper Casamance, but also includes the wider period of Kaabu's decomposition and the rise of Fulbe polities in the region to the onset of full colonial rule, a period which corresponds roughly to the 19th C.

Thus defined, this is the period to which most of the excavated evidence from Korop belongs, and consequently the one we have most information about. The three units with Fulaadu deposits (KRP-A, KRP-B, and KRP-C) are very different in nature and provide diverse insights into the nature of this transitional period. KRP-A, for instance, was located in the middle of what the elders defined as the Manding *tata*, which the excavations demonstrated was indeed an elite area, as indicated by the wealth of the finds, that included the largest concentrations of glass beads, gunflints, and European ceramics found in the whole project (see Ch.10). As is discussed in Ch.9, the faunal content of the refuse pit was also significantly richer than that of any other unit. Furthermore, the dates associated with the KRP-A deposits show how the Manding elites maintained these opulent consumption habits until the end of the *tata's* occupation, suggesting their loss of

power might have been rather sudden. It is also worth remarking that after the Manding overthrow, the Fulaadu rulers decided not to reoccupy the Manding *tata*, but instead built a new larger one right next to it.

The contribution of KRP-B was of a completely different nature. Although heavily damaged by both termites and roots, the burial in this unit was clearly non-Islamic, very shallow, and close to, if not inside, living structures, thus providing information about both burial practices and the very recent full Islamisation in Korop. Finally, KRP-C provides an insight into a non-royal area of the site. Both the general deposits and the refuse pit show access to both European imports (one perfume bottle, a piece of gunflint) and jewellery (iron bracelet and earring) but on a scale significantly lower to that of KRP-A. Interestingly, not one single glass bead was encountered in KRP-B, which highly contrasts with the 28 beads from KRP-A (see Fig.10.12).

Conclusions

The excavations in Korop confirmed some of the general observations derived from the work at Payoungou and added new information. In terms of similarities, they confirm that oral traditions are most accurate for the 18th and 19th C, as demonstrated by the precision in the identification of *tataji*. The consistent congruence of Korop and Payoungou's material culture over time, from OGW to recent wares, suggests the two sites (and therefore the rest of the Upper Casamance, as they are in opposite corners of the region) were part of a shared cultural sphere since before the Manding arrival. In terms of mobility and settlement patterns, all the excavated units at Korop had only one or two horizons of occupation, and when clear dates were available, all of them indicated an occupation under 200 years. This mobility was also reflected in the depth of the deposits, which were on average even shallower than in Payoungou.

Although at present we cannot assess whether the elders' claim that the site has never been abandoned for over a month is accurate (as all we have are largely unconnected snapshots of different moments in the site's history), the excavations indicate that Korop was occupied at some point during all four periods (pre-Kaabu, early Kaabu, late Kaabu, and Fulaadu). In terms of how the site has 'shifted' over time, all we can say for now is that the movements were not linear, as the units with pre-Kaabu and early Kaabu deposits were located at opposite ends of the site.

As for the differences between Payoungou and Korop, it is not surprising that

being so much closer to the Gambia trading ports, Korop had a greater range and quantity of European imports (see Tables 7.3 & 6.5). Particularly interesting, however, is the significantly greater presence of gunflints (5) across the site, for what it entails in terms of access to guns and its military implications. Finally, although based on a small sample, it is interesting to point out that while most of Payoungou's slag was smelting slag, all but one of the samples studied in Korop consisted of smithing slag (Campos 2014). These themes will be further explored in Ch. 10, after discussing the ceramics in Ch.8 and the rest of materials encountered in Ch. 9.

CHAPTER 8: LOCALLY PRODUCED CERAMICS

8.1 Introduction:

As the most ubiquitous, enduring, and readily available of archaeological finds, pottery has been a fundamental ingredient in archaeological discussions since the earliest days of the discipline. It has been the backbone of relative dating sequences, a way of evaluating interaction among sites, as well as a cornerstone in discussions about identity, production systems, social relations, exchange networks, and consumption practices. Nevertheless, while clearly one of the most useful tools we have to elucidate many archaeological questions, ceramic interpretation has not been devoid of problems. Once-ubiquitous 'common-sense' practices have been shown to contain inbuilt biases and assumptions which obscured more than they revealed. To avoid repeating these mistakes, it is necessary to be explicit about the theoretical and methodological frameworks employed, and to clearly state both the questions we are asking from ceramic assemblages and how we plan on answering them.

In the case of this particular ceramic assemblage, my goals are three-fold. First, to gain an appraisal of the nature of the pottery in the Upper Casamance and its changes over time and space. Second, to explore the patterns of this variability, in particular the temporal dimensions, to determine whether it can be used as a chronological indicator to pin-down survey assemblages to a historical timeline. Finally, to analyse intra-site variability with respect to possible functional and social structuring criteria that could explain divergences between units. With these considerations and objectives in mind, I now briefly review the main debates, theoretical and practical, in West Africa and more widely, that have shaped my methodology, before defining the methodology itself. I then proceed to describe the ceramic assemblage and to present the results of its analysis for both the excavation and the survey.

Issues of classification

Any analysis is at its root a classification, i.e. a process by which we group things based on similarities and differences among them. This is not particular to archaeology or to science, it is the basic mechanism by which humans make sense of the world: we divide it into manageable, meaningful, comprehensible bits. The difference when it comes to science and systematic research, is that these 'bits'

need to be carefully thought through, precisely described, and justified on the basis of their ability to reveal meaningful associations and directions in our data patterns (Dunnell 1971, 118). In the case of archaeology, this means telling us something about past human populations.

It is important to remember, however, that archaeological classifications are not *real* patterns discovered in empirical reality, but analytical *devices* imposed upon it (Dunnell 1968, 152). With this I do not intend to enter a deeper ontological discussion about the nature of reality and the concepts we use to describe it. Archaeology's general aim is to understand past societies and as such, our 'ultimate reality' is in the first place the social world of the people we are studying; and in the second, the abstract world of cross-cultural comparisons. Since in the absence of indigenous written texts, the former is rarely an unattainable goal, the focus has to be in most cases the focus on generating classificatory tools capable of exploring patterns of technical and stylistic diversity that appear to be meaningful and relevant for understanding past behaviours.

The best method for generating these classifications has been (and still is) a hotly debated topic (see O'Brien & Lyman 2002 for a review). In most areas of the world, the beginnings of systematic classification in ceramic analysis involved the definition of ideal 'types', often further subdivided into 'varieties' (e.g. Kidder & Sheppard 1936; Sabloff & Smith 1969). The type-variety system, as it came to be known, represented a great advance: by defining 'ideal types' (generally a combination of vessel shape, decoration, and other factors) and associating them to particular human groups and periods, it was possible to quickly identify temporal and social changes, as well as connections between sites and regions.

Unfortunately, as it soon became clear (cf. Spaulding 1953b & 1954 for an early critique), type-variety classifications also pose many problems. First of all, they tend to ignore a great deal of variability, for anything that does not fall into identified types is not taken into account (McIntosh 1995b, 5). Secondly, although occasionally types might have sociological meaning, this is not testable in a non-tautological manner (O'Brien & Liman 2002, 40). Thirdly, the construction of the types itself is problematic, and tends to be both unsystematic and *ad hoc* (Cowhill 1988, 326). Furthermore, although initially described as analytical constructs (e.g. Ford & Griffin 1938, 2), given their static nature, once defined the types quickly become reified into empirical realities (Dunnell 1971, 116). This reification has the additional problem of easily leading into 'pots-equals-people' assumptions, which

although not exclusive to type-variety systems, are particularly common in them. Finally, and related to the previous point, once a type has been created, it is quite difficult to adapt it as more evidence becomes available, hence making it a poor tool for gradual refinement.

The most common alternative to the type-variety system, and the one I have chosen to use, is attribute analysis. Instead of assigning artefacts to pre-defined classes, the different factors that characterise sherds are recorded separately, and their distribution is statistically explored in search of non-random associations (Cowhill 1988, 325-6). It is entirely possible that very clear types will emerge out of this analysis, but it is not presupposed, and indeed often not the case, for variation might take many forms, and separate variables might evolve in multiple directions responding to different causes (Mayor 2010, 33). Furthermore, unlike with typological approaches, data recording, classification, and analysis are not conflated, which makes it possible to modify the classification system as new data become available (McIntosh 1995a, 130-1).

Pottery in West African Archaeology

Any study is necessarily shaped and framed by those that came before it. Although the pottery of the Upper Casamance, like its archaeology, had never been studied before, my analysis owes much, both theoretically and substantially, to a wider range of studies conducted in West Africa over the last century, making a short review necessary.

Starting in the colonial period, the first documented collections of archaeological ceramics were characterised by grab samples, uncontrolled excavations, and a preoccupation for culture areas, and *fossiles directeurs* (Richard 2007, 509). This era served to document the diversity and similarities of ceramic traditions, both new and old, of the subcontinent, albeit at a very superficial level and with an extremely uneven geographical coverage. The advent of radiocarbon dating in the 1950s reduced the perceived need for chronological typologies and reinforced the focus on the definition of broad 'ceramic families' (*familles céramiques*), equated with discrete cultural and ethnic entities (Richard 2007, 510).

Since the 1980s, however, and due to a combination of a proliferation of ethnoarchaeological studies and the pioneering work of Susan McIntosh (McIntosh 1995a; McIntosh & McIntosh 1980) and others, the analysis of archaeological ceramics has received much more rigorous attention, leading to substantial

conceptual, analytical, and methodological advances. Paramount amongst these are the demonstrated absence of straightforward links between artefact styles and cultural identities, the suppleness of African social boundaries and identities over time and space, as well as the complex mutations affecting craft production (Richard 2010, 511). Ethnoarchaeological studies have explored the social and cultural relevance of stylistic variations and decoration (Gosselain & Livingstone-Smith 1995; Gosselain 2011b); clay selection and processing (Gosselain 2008a), tools (Gosselain 2010), and firing practices (Gosselain 1992), as well as the wider links between ethnicity and ceramics (Mayor 2010). Technological approaches to the study of past material culture have shown how technologies are dynamic systems bringing material objects and human actors together in networks of action, knowledge, social and cultural structures, implicating both individual agency and sociocultural structures (Gokee 2012, 500).

On the methodological front, the widespread advocacy and application of attribute analysis (e.g. Arazi 2005; Gokee 2011; MacDonald 2011; McIntosh 1995a; Richard 2007) has enabled a much more nuanced understanding of the nature and significance of change; while the emphasis on the need for a standardised terminology (McIntosh 1995b; Haour *et al.* 2010) is setting the base for future interregional comparative endeavours.

8.2 Methodology

Undertaking a pottery analysis in an area for which no prior information is available, based on a reasonable, but necessarily limited sample, obviously poses some challenges; but also offers great opportunities. Referring to her work at Jenne-Jeno, Susan McIntosh (1995a, 130) wrote 'I have enjoyed two distinct advantages: the lack of any existing pottery classification or culture-historical typology (...) and access to the abundant literature of the past twenty-five years that has criticized traditional typological approaches'. To these I must add a third advantage, which is the ever-growing literature on critical systematic ceramic studies in West Africa, pioneered to a large extent by Susan McIntosh herself, and described earlier on. In the methodology that I now outline, I have tried to incorporate the lessons, both positive and negative, learnt from these previous debates and experiences.

Collection and recording methodology

The project included two modes of pottery retrieval: excavation and surface survey. For the former, all pottery encountered was systematically collected and bagged. All the soil was sieved using a 1cm mesh, so sherds under this size were not retrieved. During survey, surface pottery was in most cases so scarce that no sampling strategy was required. In the very few instances where amounts were more substantial, rims and larger body sherds were prioritised, to a maximum of one full 30x40cm bag, and ensuring an even coverage of the different areas of the site.

All bagged material from survey and excavation was subsequently washed and air-dried in the field lab. Sherds were then sorted into body and feature sherds (consisting entirely of rims, since no handles or bases were retrieved). Sherds under 3cm² were discarded, and those that could be seen to belong together (regardless of whether the cut was fresh or old) were counted as one. Body sherds were arranged into groups with the same decoration and temper, and counted. Rims were recorded individually, and a larger range of variables was taken into account.

As it has been repeatedly noted, variable selection is the most crucial dimension of analysis building (Richard 2007, 518; McIntosh 1995a, 131). From the potentially infinite range of recordable variables, researchers need to select those that they expect to yield relevant information; and in areas like the Upper Casamance, where no prior information exists, this search for significant variability must be conducted from scratch. There are, however, general indicators that can be used as guidelines. Decorative variables and rim forms, for instance, tend to be helpful to elucidate space-time relationships, while elements like rim diameter and vessel size can illuminate functional matters; and temper, firing, and forming techniques may reveal relevant information regarding networks of production and distribution (McIntosh 1995a, 131).

Given the exploratory nature of my analysis, I chose to record a multi-dimensional dataset, including a variety of decorative, functional, and technological attributes. This system is based upon the one pioneered by Susan McIntosh and which has been commonly employed in West Africa since the 1980s (see discussion above). The variables/attributes recorded were:

Body sherds:

Number of sherds: quantity of sherds with a given temper and decoration.

Temper: non plastic inclusions added by the potter in order to increase clay workability and decrease the occurrence of fracturing during firing. They can also modify the vessel's properties, such as colour, strength, and/or thermal resistance. The temper was recorded by observation of a fresh break, using a magnifying glass when necessary. The different components encountered are described in Fig. 8.1.





| | | | | | |
|-------------|---|--|-----------------------|---|--|
| Grog | crushed fired clay, generally from old pots |  | Lateritic Grit | crushed lateritic rock |  |
| Sand | large grains of quartz |  | Chaff | vegetable matter, recognisable by the empty 'casts' |  |

Fig. 8.1 Temper components

Surface treatment:

- *Slip:* a fluid suspension of clay (and/or other materials) in water that, if applied before firing to form a thin coating, produces a shiny surface when fired (Rice 2005, 149). Although it can have several tonalities, all instances documented in this case were dark red, indicating the use of iron-rich clays (Gosselain 2008b, 38) or the addition of crushed/ground colourants such as hematite or ocher (K. MacDonald, *pers. comm*).
- *Burnish:* treatment by which the surface is finished by rubbing back and forth a small hard object, in order to produce a surface luster through the compacting and reorientating of fine clay particles (Rice 2005, 138).



Fig.8.2 Surface treatments

Decorative motif(s): includes all those techniques that enhance or modify the appearance of the vessel after primary shaping. They can be made with a range of tools, modified and applied in a variety of ways, as summarised in Table 8.1. The tools and motions encountered were the following:

Tools:

- *Cord*: fine twisted fibres of vegetal origin (Haour *et al* 2010,40). Some authors (Richard 2007, McIntosh1995a) refer to it as 'twine'.
- *Strip*: flat fibres of vegetal origin (Haour *et al* 2010, 40).
- *Inflorescences*: largely from the acanthus family, in particular the geni *Barleria* and *Blepharis* (K. MacDonald, *pers. comm*)
- *Comb*: toothed or serrated hard-edged tool.
- *Stick/stylus*: sharp implement.
- *Mat/fabric*: weaved fibers forming a coarse textile.
- *Added clay*.

Motions:

- *Rouletting*: rolling a tool along the surface, leaving a continuous impressed design (Rice 2005, 145).
- *Impression*: single or repeated imprint of a tool on the clay surface (Rice 2005, 144-5)
- *Incision*: cutting lines into the surface of a vessel with a pointed instrument (Rice 2005, 146).
- *Punctuation/Stabbing*: depressions punched into wet clay, usually with a sharp or pointed instrument (Rice 2005, 145).

Table 8.1 Decoration motifs

| Form of alteration | Tool | Tool treatment | Motion | Code | |
|----------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-----------|-----------------|------|
| Subtractive elements | Cord | twisted cord | rouletted | TCR | |
| | | | impressed | TCI | |
| | | multiple twisted cord | rouletted | MTCR | |
| | | cord-wrapped cord/stick | rouletted | CWR | |
| | | | impressed | CWI | |
| | | | impressed | MCWR | |
| | | braided cord | rouletted | BCR | |
| | knotted cord | impressed | KCI | | |
| | Strip | folded strip | rouletted | FSR | |
| | Inflorescences | | rouletted | NR | |
| | Comb | | stabbed | SC | |
| | Stick/stylus | | | impressed | SI |
| | | | | incised:channel | Ch |
| | | | | incised:waves | SI-I |
| | | | | incised:other | SI-4 |
| punctuate:triangular | | | | PNC-1 | |
| punctuate:round | | | | PNC-2 | |
| Mat/fabric | | impressed | FI | | |
| Additive elements | Extra clay | Plain bands | | AP3 | |
| | | Notched bands | | AP4 | |
| | | Pinched bands | | AP5 | |
| | | Flat nubbins | | API | |

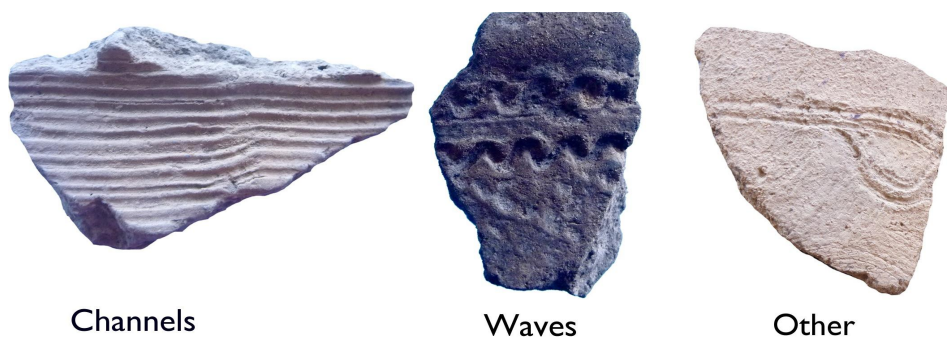


Fig. 8.3 Incised decorations. Left-to-right, sherds from PYG B-4, PYG F-9, PYG B-6)

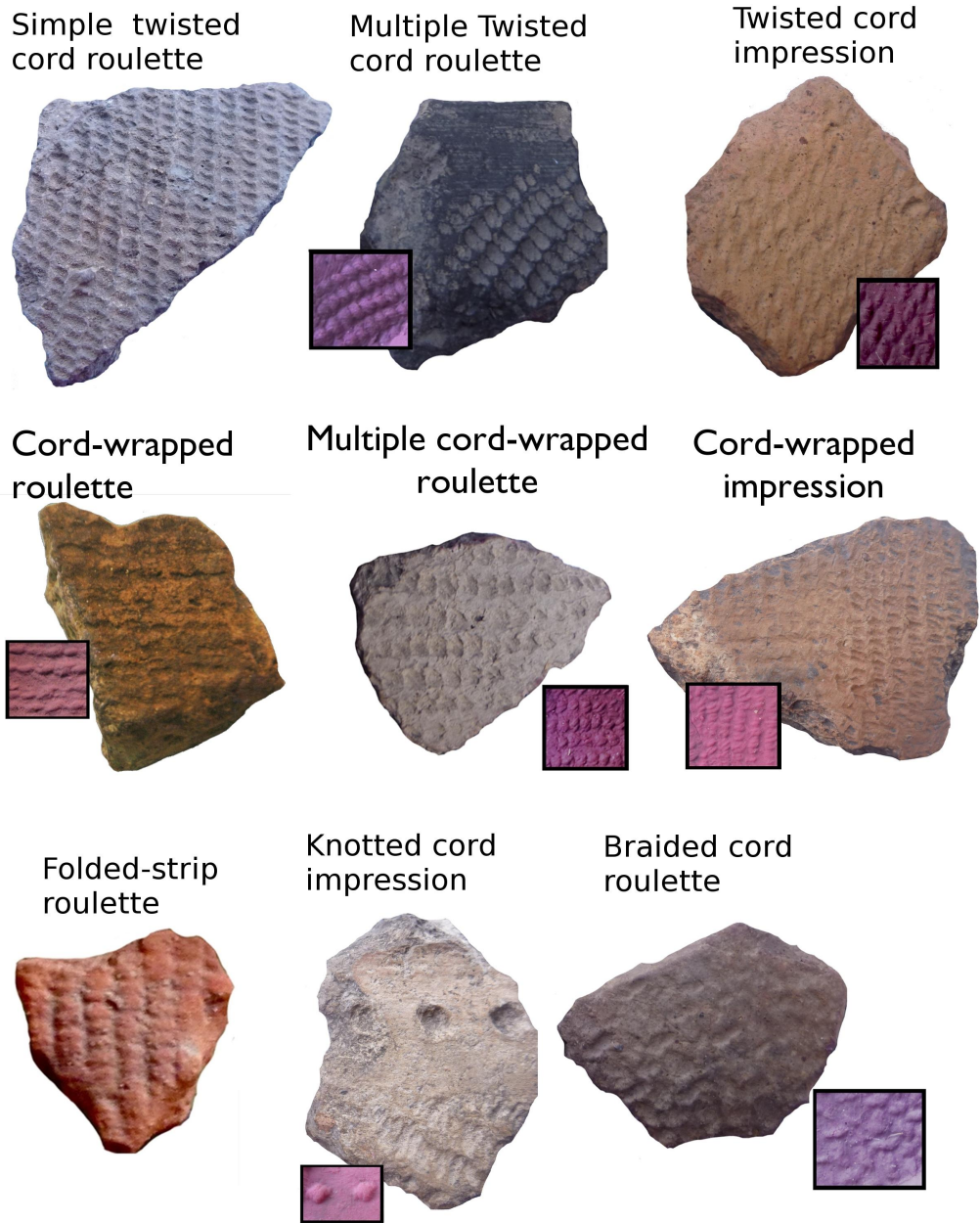


Fig. 8.4 Cord decorations. Left-to-right, top-to-bottom, sherds from KRP A-7, KRP A-2, KRP B-14, Korop surface, KRP A-2, Korop surface, PYG E-18, Korop surface, Korop surface, PYG B-4, PYG E-16, PYG B-8, PYG F-6)

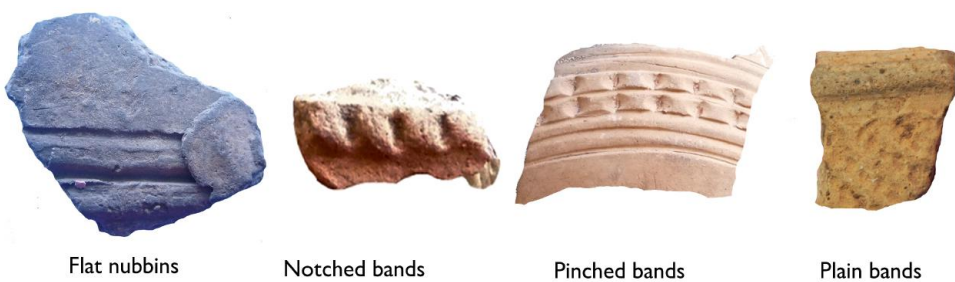


Fig. 8.5 Additive motifs. Left-to-right, sherds from PYG B-4, PYG E-16, PYG B-8, PYG F-6.



Fig. 8.6 Non-cord impressions and punctate decorations. Left-to-right, sherds from Koumambouré surface, PYG B-8, PYG B-5, Pachukiel surface, Korop surface.



Fig. 8.7 Vegetal inflorescence roulettes. Left-to-right, sherds from KRP A-3, PYG B-5

Rims:

Because of their greater potential for illustrating vessel form, a larger number of variables was recorded than for body sherds. These included:

Maximum thickness: measured with callipers. The thickness of the walls is related to the size of the container and thus can give clues regarding the vessel's function.

Minimum thickness: as above.

Rim angle: the angle was determined by placing the lip of the rim perpendicular against a hard horizontal surface (which represents the plane of the vessel mouth), and then rocking it until a position was found where no gaps were visible between the lip and the plane (which corresponds to the position of the rim in the original vessel). The angle was then coded with the aid of the drawing in Fig. 8.8.

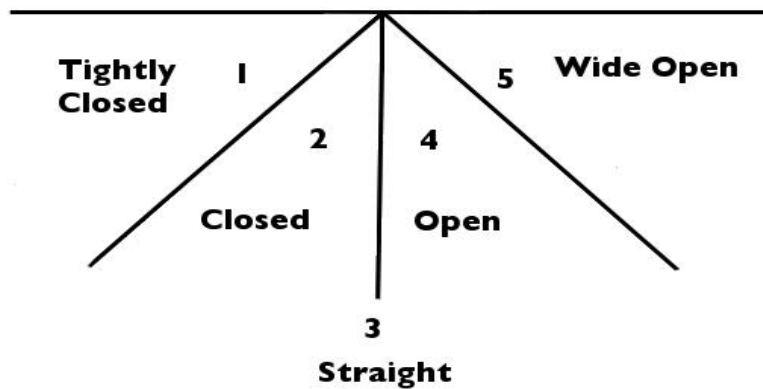


Fig.8.8 Rim angle coding system

Rim type: the shape of each individual rim was recorded, drawn, and numbered. Four general types were identified, each with multiple subtypes:

- *Simple rims*: straight, without inflected contours or terminal thickening (Fig. 8.9)
- *Everted rims*: with a outward and/or upward collar inflection (Figs. 8.11, 8.12)
- *Thickened rims*: extra clay has been added to enlarge the width of the lip (Figs. 8.13, 8.14)
- *Y rims*: wide rim with a depression for lid support (Fig. 8.10)

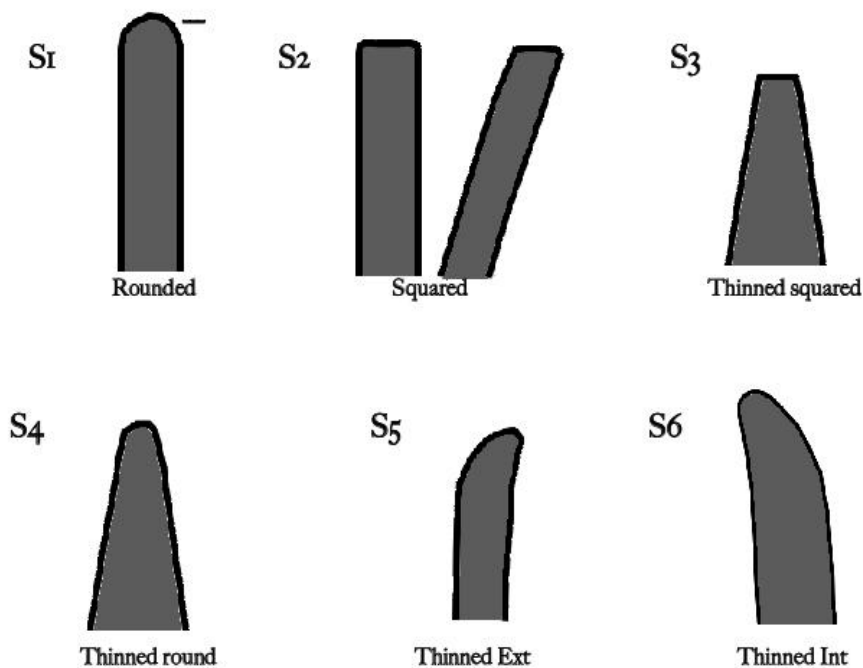


Fig. 8.9 Simple rims

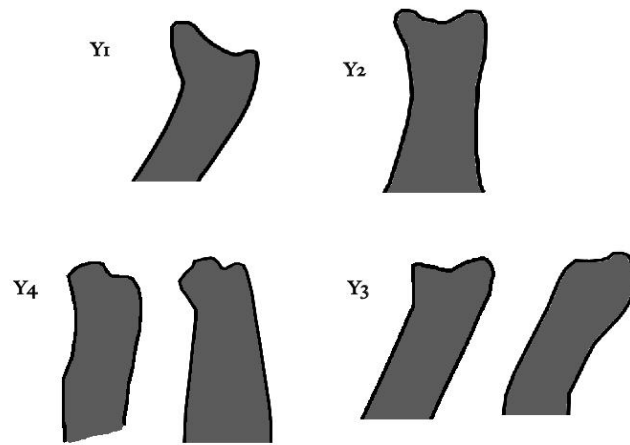


Fig. 8.10 Y rims

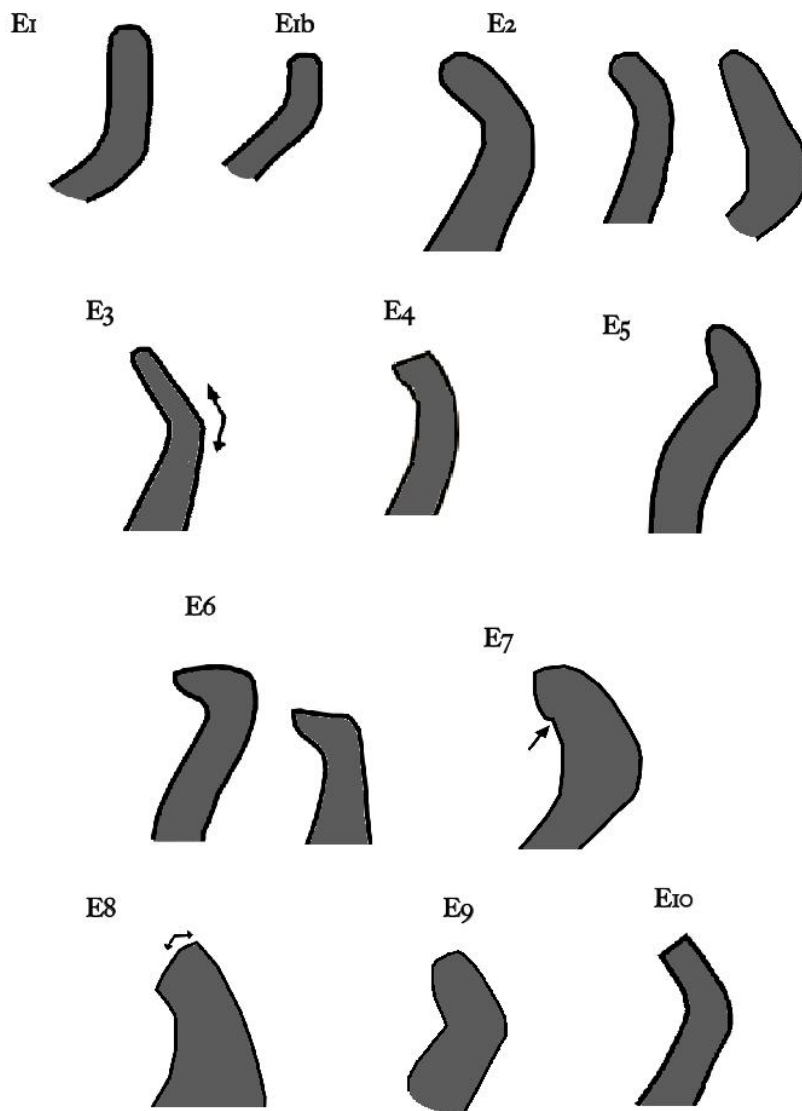


Fig. 8.11 Everted rims (1)

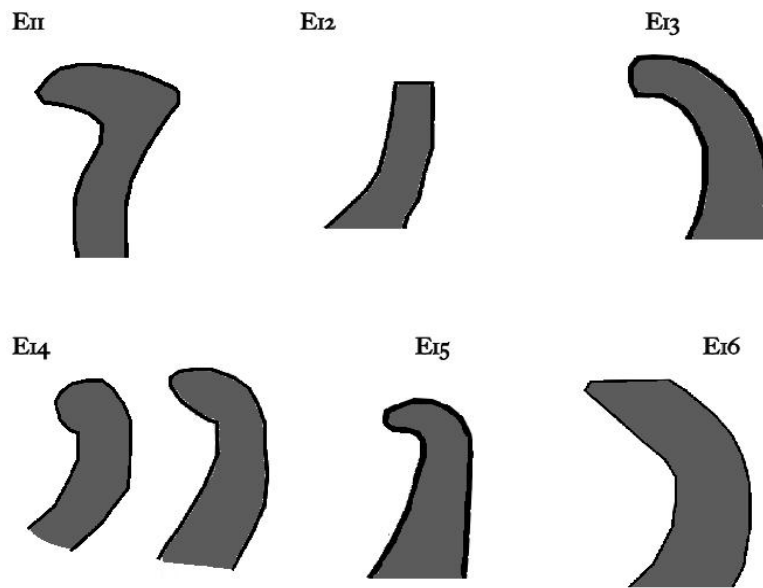


Fig. 8.12 Everted rims(2)

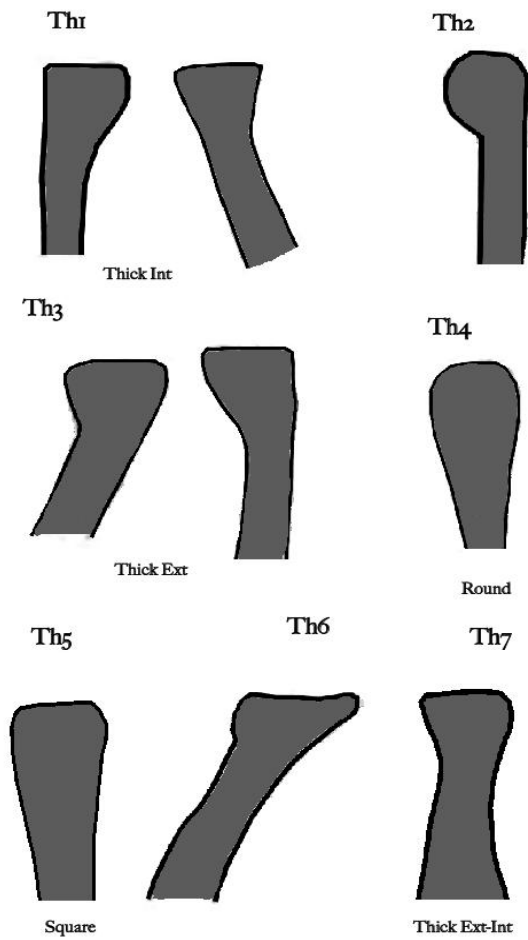


Fig.8.13 Thickened rims (1)

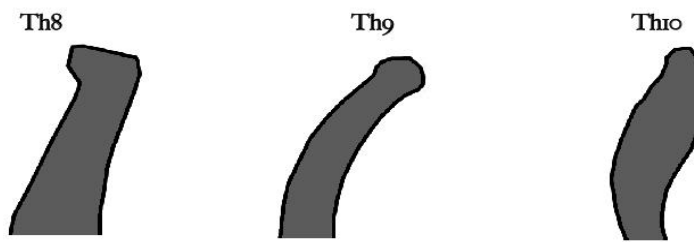


Fig. 8.14 Thickened rims (2)

Rim diameter: external diameter of the vessel rim, measured on the available arc (only on lips of over 5cm)

Temper: See above.

Motif(s): See above.

Motif(s) location(s): placement of a given motif in the vessel, consisting of six different categories: i=interior, C=collar, L=lip, N=neck, UB=upper body (2cm from collar), LW=lower body, B=base.

Firing core: the final stage of pottery production involves firing the vessel to permanently transform the crystalline structure of the clay (Gokee 2011, 546). The proportions of oxygen, carbon monoxide, and carbon dioxide in the firing atmosphere leave permanent colour variations visible in the sherd cross-section, which were recorded using the scheme in Fig. 8.15 (after Rye 1981).

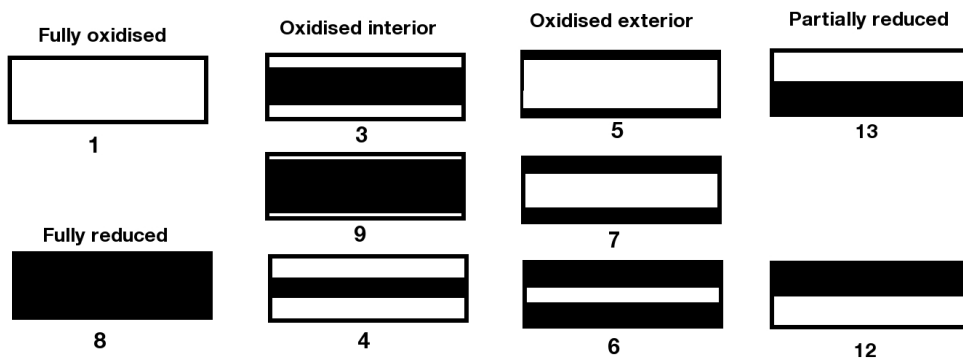


Fig. 8.15 Schematic firing core classification

Analytical Methodology

Having established the recovery procedures, the recording system, and the variables worth recording, it is necessary to devise a methodology to make sense of the data and detect relevant patterns in them. The first stage of the analysis will focus exclusively on the excavated material, which is more extensive, formed by unmixed chronological samples, and can be stratigraphically connected to absolute dates from both radiocarbon and datable artefacts.

Since the purpose of this exercise is to understand ceramic variability and what it can tell us about past populations of the Upper Casamance, it is necessary to briefly reflect on the drivers of such variation. There are many reasons why people decide to make and decorate pots in certain ways and not in others, as ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies have widely demonstrated. Unfortunately many (identity, function, personal taste, availability, gender, occupation, status) are not just beyond the scope of this analysis, but also above the possibilities of the current dataset. My focus has therefore been on the basic axes of time and space, i.e. determining which factors are chronologically sensitive, and whether any significant patterns of inter-site and (to a lesser extent) intra-site variability can be observed.

The study will draw from three overlapping datasets, resulting from the recording methodology: the largest, consisting of all the recorded sherds, includes data on provenance, temper, and decoration; the second, formed only by rims, incorporates information on firing core, thickness, and motif location. The final and smallest, restricted to the larger rims (those with lips of over 5cm), also includes information about rim diameter. Although the three datasets, and in particular the first two, will in some instances be used in combination, the different samples they are drawn from and its implications in terms of representativity will always be taken into account. Having analysed the excavated pottery, and established which factors are chronologically, spatially, and functionally significant, I will use this information to analyse the survey material.

The analysis of each data-set will consist of two stages: an initial univariate assessment of the variables from both sites, followed by a Correspondence Analysis (CA) to reveal further patterns of association. CA is one of the most commonly used multidimensional statistical techniques in archaeology, as it helps to reduce the dimensionality of complex data into two-dimensional representations showing trends and groupings. It thus presents the advantage of exploring the structure of the

data without presupposing or imposing any patterns (such as seriations or clusters), which is ideal for an assemblage like this, for which nothing was known in advance. Furthermore, contrary to other techniques like Principal Component Analysis, CA is suited to the analysis of both categorical and numerical data, which is particularly useful in an assemblage where presence/absence data might be as relevant as numeric measurements (Shennan 1997, 308). The analysis will be conducted in R and to facilitate interpretation, its results will be plotted as scatter graphs displaying both cases (horizons) and variables (proportions of different tempers, decoration, and rims). These plots will help to measure degrees of similarity between cases as well as to identify the variables defining them. Since univariate analyses showed the two sites followed similar but not identical ceramic progressions, the CA analyses will be conducted separately for each site.

8.3 The Assemblage

A total of 9050 sherds was collected, of which an 82.29% came from the excavation, and the rest from the survey. In both cases, the proportion of rims was just below 10%. Due to the depositional nature of the soil regime (with almost no erosion), surface pottery was limited to cultivated areas, which greatly limited the collection and biased the sample towards sites near currently occupied villages. Out of the 60 sites identified during the survey, only 21 had surface pottery, and out of these only 18 had sufficient amounts (20 sherds) to be included in the analysis (cf. Table 8.3).

Regarding the excavated assemblage, the majority of the sherds (70.51%) came from the site of Payoungou, and the rest from Korop (see Table 8.2). A substantial proportion of the excavated sherds (29%) came from rubbish pits, and 10% were directly associated with built structures. This second number, however, is very likely an underrepresentation given the poor preservation of architectural remains (see Ch.6-7). The large majority of pottery came from contexts associated to the Late Kaabu (46.35%) and Fulaadu (28.05%) periods, as defined in Ch. 6. Of the rest, 10.90% came from Early Kaabu contexts, a mere 3.45% from pre-Kaabu contexts, and 11.24% from horizons which could not be dated by C14 dates and chronologically diagnostic finds.

Table 8.2 Sherds from excavation

| | Body sherds | Rims | Total sherds | Weight (kg) |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| PYG-A | 278 | 24 | 302 | 2.56 |
| PYG-B | 958 | 135 | 1093 | 21.72 |
| PYG-C | 333 | 17 | 350 | 1.27 |
| PYG-D | 49 | 2 | 51 | 0.24 |
| PYG-E | 631 | 38 | 669 | 6.49 |
| PYG-F | 1756 | 170 | 1926 | 29.13 |
| PYG-G | 808 | 51 | 859 | 6.57 |
| <i>Total PYG</i> | <i>4813</i> | <i>437</i> | <i>5250</i> | <i>67,98</i> |
| KRP-A | 611 | 70 | 681 | 8.6 |
| KRP-B | 386 | 47 | 433 | 3.34 |
| KRP-C | 262 | 12 | 274 | 1.74 |
| KRP-D | 590 | 18 | 608 | 2.69 |
| KRP-E | 192 | 8 | 200 | 1.19 |
| <i>Total KRP</i> | <i>2041</i> | <i>155</i> | <i>2196</i> | <i>17.56</i> |
| TOTAL | 6854 | 592 | 7446 | 85,54 |

Table 8.3 Sherds from survey

| Site | Body sherds | Rims | Total sherds |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| UC-16 | 61 | 7 | 68 |
| UC-17 | 85 | 6 | 91 |
| UC-19 | 33 | 1 | 34 |
| UC-20 | 11 | 3 | 14 |
| UC-23 | 62 | 13 | 75 |
| UC-24 | 153 | 5 | 158 |
| UC-25 | 47 | 10 | 57 |
| UC-27 | 77 | 5 | 82 |
| UC-32 | 22 | 2 | 24 |
| UC-33 | 188 | 9 | 197 |
| UC-34 | 27 | 1 | 28 |
| UC-36 | 95 | 12 | 107 |
| UC-41 | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| UC-42 | 34 | 8 | 42 |
| UC-43 | 81 | 14 | 95 |
| UC-53 | 11 | 0 | 11 |
| UC-54 | 40 | 10 | 50 |
| UC-55 | 251 | 34 | 285 |
| UC-56 | 21 | 3 | 24 |
| UC-57 | 18 | 1 | 19 |
| UC-58 | 129 | 9 | 138 |
| Total | 1451 | 154 | 1605 |

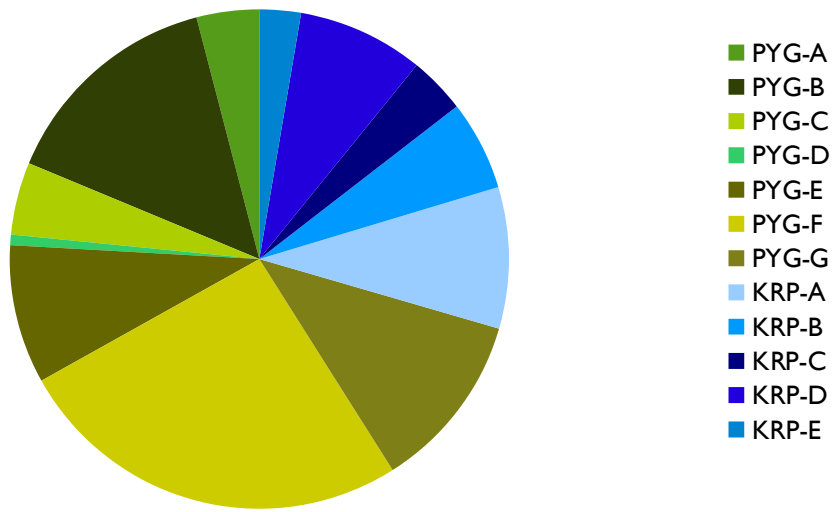


Fig. 8.16 Excavated sherds by unit

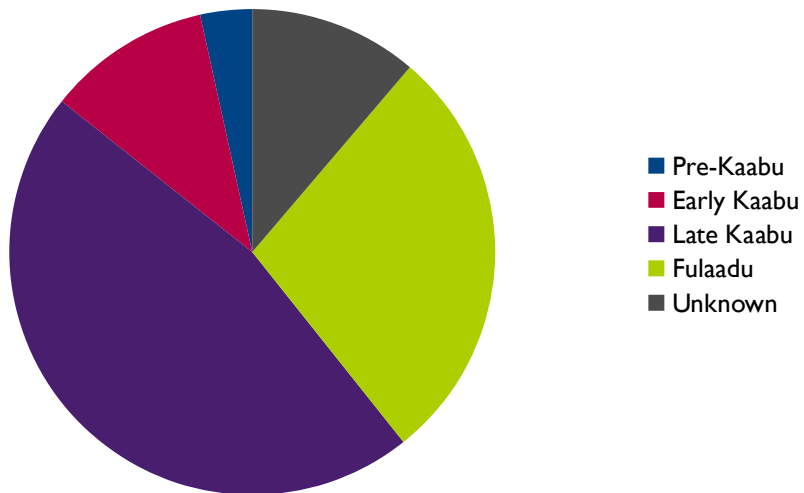


Fig. 8.17 Excavated sherds by period

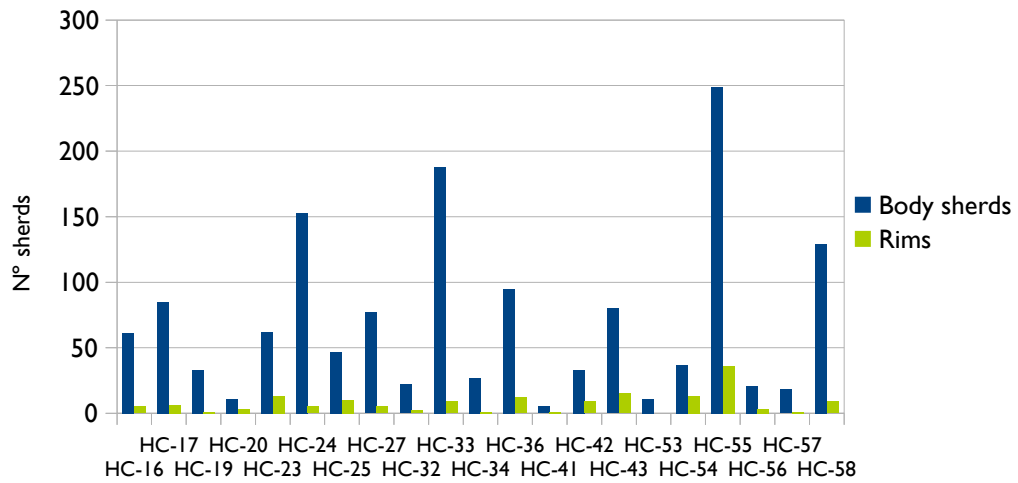


Fig 8.18 Total numbers of sherds from survey

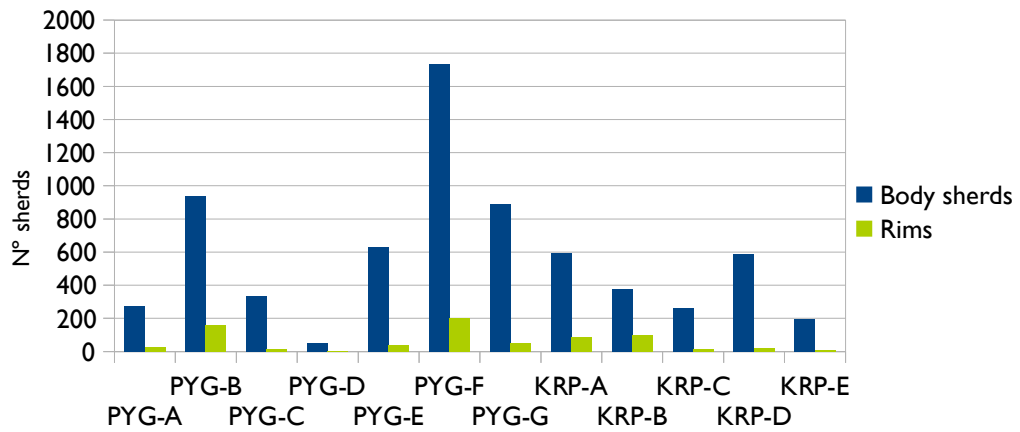


Fig.8.19 Total numbers of sherds from excavation

8.4- Analysis: the excavated material

In this section, I explore the variability of the excavated dataset. I start by looking at individual variables and their distribution, then proceed to examine patterns of association between variables, and the possible reasons that could account for them. My principal focus is on establishing patterns of temporal variation, which could be used to date the survey sites, but I also evaluate the possibility of non-chronological reasons for inter-site and intra-site variation.

Distribution of factors: univariate analysis

As the excavation was based on a Single Context Recording system, the raw data for the ceramic analysis defined the provenance of sherds in terms of their excavation context (as defined by MOLAS 1994, 1). Therefore, it is entirely possible that by grouping contexts into chronologically meaningful periods (following the criteria outlined in Table 6.2), some variability might have been obscured. To rectify this potential blurring, I have considered the Standard Deviation (SD) within each group for each individual variable. Where the SD was of a similar or higher range than the variation, that particular variable was dismissed. I have not included the SD numbers in the in-text tables to facilitate the reading.

Decoration and temper

As the two best documented variables, temper and decoration provide us with the strongest tools to explore variability within the assemblage. This analysis includes the data from both rims and body sherds, i.e. a total of 7446 sherds.

Pre-Kaabu ceramics

Although the sample of sherds associated with this period is rather small (77), it is very distinctive. Characterised by very coarse lateritic grog temper, consistent orange colour, and a restricted decorative range (all sherds are either plain or decorated with Folded Strip Roulette), this recurrent attribute cluster will be referred to as Orange Gritty Ware (OGW). Although 86% of sherds identified as OGW came from Pre-Kaabu contexts, OGW was also occasionally encountered in later periods, although in much smaller numbers (cf. Table 8.4)

Table 8.4: Presence of OGW in excavated horizons

| Site | Unit | Horizon | Quantity | % of horizon | % of total OGW | Period |
|------|------|---------|----------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|
| PYG | C | A | 7 | 13.73% | 8.75% | Late Kaabu/Fulaadu |
| PYG | C | B | 24 | 100.00% | 30.00% | Pre-Kaabu |
| PYG | D | A | 16 | 43.24% | 20.00% | Pre-Kaabu |
| PYG | E | A | 9 | 81.82% | 11.25% | Pre-Kaabu |
| PYG | F | B | 1 | 20.00% | 1.25% | Late Kaabu |
| PYG | G | A | 1 | 16.67% | 1.25% | Late Kaabu |
| PYG | G | B | 1 | 16.67% | 1.25% | Late Kaabu |
| KRP | E | B | 1 | 1.18% | 1.25% | Late Kaabu |
| KRP | E | A | 8 | 19.51% | 10.00% | Pre-Kaabu |
| KRP | C | A | 9 | 11.84% | 11.25% | Pre-Kaabu? |
| KRP | C | B+C | 3 | 3.95% | 3.75% | Late Kaabu |



Orange gritty ware

- Temper: coarse lateritic grit
- Paste colour: orange
- Decoration: plain or folded strip roulette

Fig. 8.20 Orange gritty ware

Early Kaabu onwards

For the three remaining periods, the pottery appears at first glance very homogeneous in both sites, but a closer statistical analysis reveals some differences, summarised in Table 8.5. In terms of purely spatial (i.e. consistent over time) differences, the proportion of cord is 3% to 9% higher in Korop throughout the sequence, while sand-based tempers are more common in Payoungou (between 11% and 30%). There are no fabric impressions, knotted cord roulettes or braided cord roulettes in Payoungou, and no twisted cord impressions in Korop, but these decorations are rare enough that their absence could be due to sampling issues.

Regarding chronological differences, while the use of chaff as temper is more common in Payoungou during the early Kaabu period, this trend reverses in subsequent periods (see Table 8.7). Except for channels, which occur on both sites, incised decorations are exclusive to the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu horizons of

Payoungou, and completely absent in Korop. There are also chronological variations common to both sites, like the presence of CWR and KI only in Late Kaabu horizons, and the appearance of punctate decors only from Late Kaabu onwards.

Table 8.5 Chronologically sensitive variables and their proportions in Payoungou and Korop

| | Early Kaabu | | Late Kaabu | | Fulaadu | |
|--------------------|-------------|--------|------------|--------|---------|--------|
| | PYG | KRP | PYG | KRP | PYG | KRP |
| CWR | - | - | 0,19% | 0,22% | - | - |
| KI | - | - | 0,03% | 0,11% | - | - |
| KCR | - | - | - | 0,11% | - | - |
| allcord | 3,55% | 11,73% | 4,98% | 14,24% | 4,47% | 7,62% |
| SI-1 | 2,07% | - | 0,56% | - | 1,92% | - |
| CDR | - | - | 0,25% | - | 0,06% | - |
| SI43 | - | - | 0,28% | - | 0,06% | - |
| SI5 | - | - | 0,34% | - | 0,32% | - |
| SI4 | - | - | 0,13% | - | 0,06% | - |
| SI41 | - | - | - | - | 0,19% | - |
| SI42 | - | - | - | - | 0,83% | - |
| SI-7 | - | - | 0,03% | - | 0,06% | - |
| SI8 | - | - | 0,03% | - | - | - |
| PNC | - | - | 0,19% | 0,22% | 0,38% | 0,37% |
| API | - | - | - | - | 0,06% | 0,19% |
| grog only | 9,45% | 61,20% | 66,03% | 57,88% | 61,98% | 59,40% |
| grog-sand | 66,67% | 26,64% | 30,36% | 18,32% | 28,97% | 15,79% |
| grog-chaff | 5,81% | 0,77% | 0,31% | 14,24% | 2,57% | 8,83% |
| total chaff | 14,98% | 0,77% | 0,50% | 17,85% | 6,10% | 9,02% |
| grit-sand | 0,92% | - | 0,08% | - | 0,45% | - |
| sand only | 3,67% | 27,03% | 0,27% | 0,58% | 0,77% | 0,38% |
| total sand | 84,10% | 54,05% | 32,13% | 21,24% | 33,14% | 21,99% |

Rims

A total of 592 rims was retrieved from excavation, including 437 rims from Payoungou, and 155 rims from Korop. Sets under 20 rims were not taken into consideration to avoid the potential distortion of unrepresentative samples. In the temporal analysis, this meant excluding the rims from the pre-Kaabu horizons in Payoungou (8 sherds) and the Early Kaabu contexts in Korop (15 sherds), as well as the 11 rims associated with undated contexts. Spatially, four units could not be taken into account, namely KRP C (12 sherds), KRP D (18), KRP E (8), PYG C (17) and PYG D(2). The rims from these groups, however, were taken into consideration as part of larger units of analysis, such as site or overall sample.

Rim types

In terms of the four general rim types previously defined (simple, everted, thickened, and Y-rims), the proportions are constant over time for each site (see Fig.8.22) and very similar for the different units (see Fig 8.23). The most common type for both sites is everted rims, followed by simple and thickened rims, and a small number of Y-rims . While the proportion of Y-rims is almost identical for both sites (4%), everted rims are a 20% more common in Payoungou, and simple and thickened rims occur more frequently (6% and 12%, respectively) in Korop.

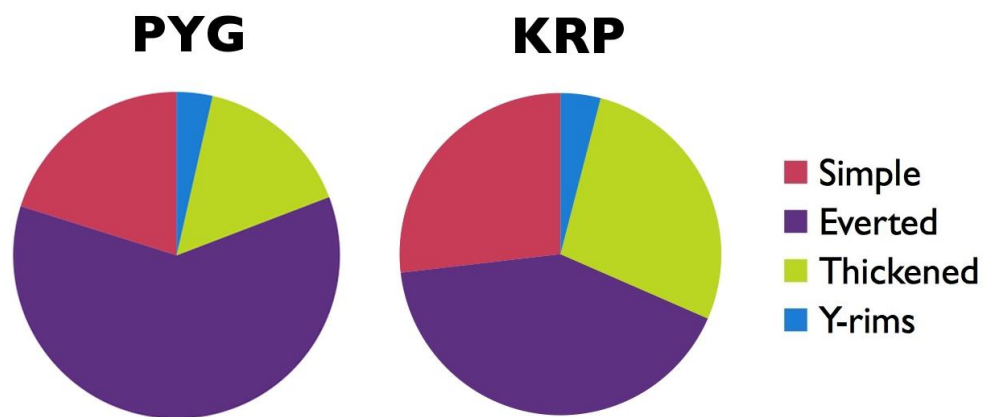


Fig. 8.21 Proportion of rim forms in each site

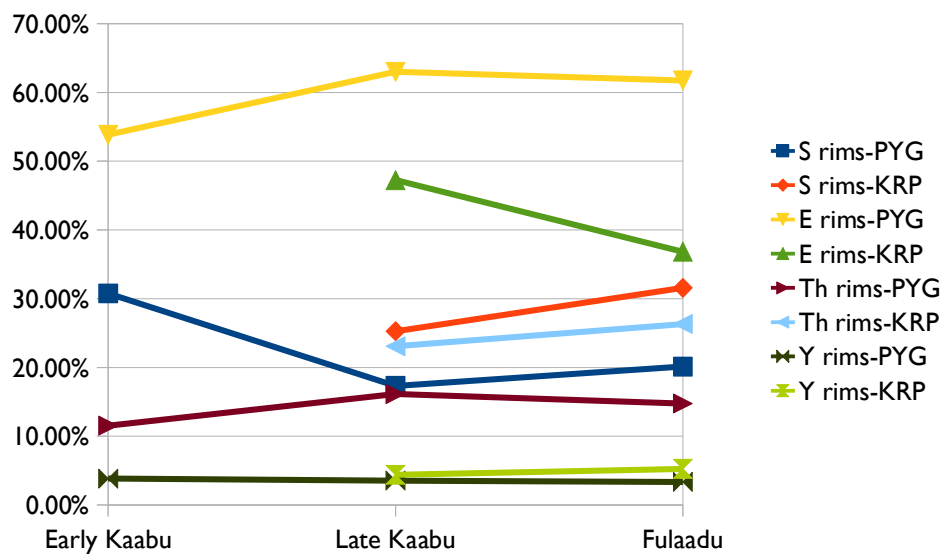


Fig.8.22 Proportion of rim forms in each site by period

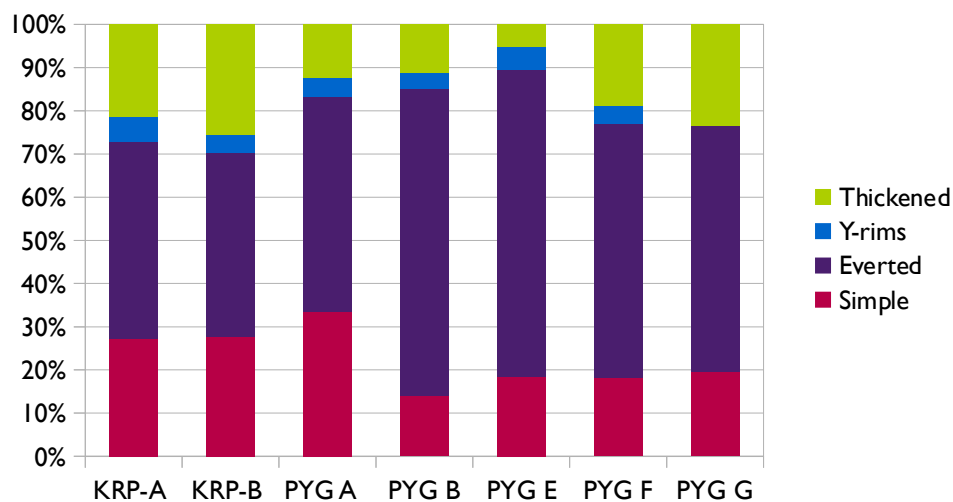


Fig.8.23 Proportion of rim forms by unit

Table 8.6 Chronologically sensitive rim types

| | Early Kaabu | | Late Kaabu | | Fulaadu | |
|------------|-------------|--------|------------|--------|---------|--------|
| | PYG | KRP | PYG | KRP | PYG | KRP |
| S2 | 7,69% | 21,43% | 9,52% | 24,00% | 12,08% | 22,58% |
| S3 | - | - | 1,59% | - | - | - |
| S4 | - | - | 1,06% | 1,33% | 0,67% | 3,23% |
| E3 | - | - | 0,92% | 1,33% | - | - |
| E4 | - | - | 0,46% | - | 0,67% | - |
| E6 | - | - | 5,16% | 5,33% | 0,67% | - |
| E8 | - | - | 0,45% | 1,33% | 0,67% | - |
| E9 | - | - | 1,59% | 1,33% | 0,67% | - |
| E10 | - | - | 0,46% | 2,67% | - | - |
| E11 | - | - | 0,53% | - | - | - |
| E13 | - | - | 3,21% | - | 1,34% | - |
| E14 | - | - | 1,38% | - | 0,67% | - |
| E15 | - | - | 0,53% | - | - | - |
| E16 | - | - | 2,65% | - | 2,68% | - |
| Y3 | - | - | 1,01% | - | 1,34% | - |
| Th1 | - | - | 1,01% | 4,00% | 0,67% | 3,23% |
| Th4 | - | - | 0,59% | 1,33% | 0,67% | - |

This relative homogeneity, however, disappears when we look at the popularity of the specific rim types over time. As illustrated in Table 8.6, the diversity of rim forms is significantly greater in Payoungou, in particular for the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu periods, but it is necessary to bear in mind that Payoungou's sample is also notably larger, which could account for some of the diversity. For both sites, Late Kaabu is the period with greatest diversity of rim forms, followed by Fulaadu. All rim types present in Korop are also present in Payoungou, but the opposite is not the case.

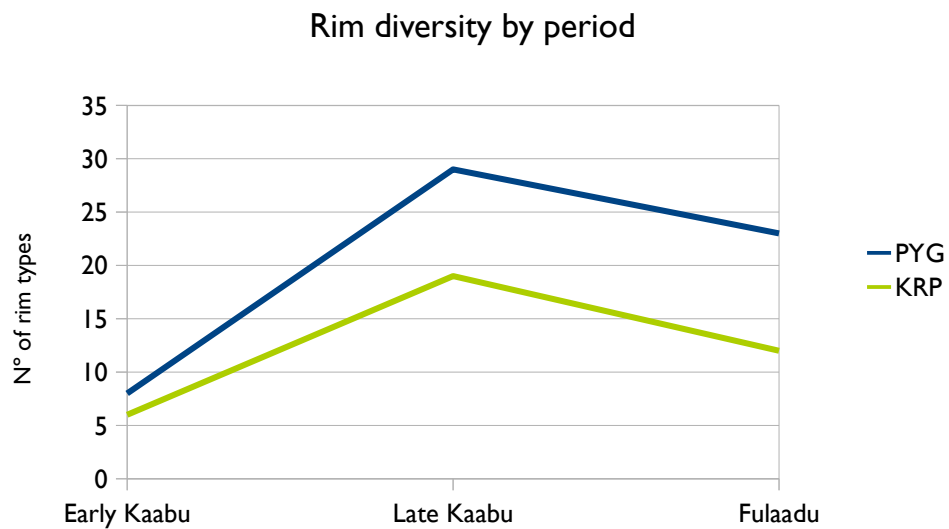


Fig. 8.24 Rim diversity by period

Firing cores

Regarding the nature of the firing atmosphere, again the proportions are quite similar for both sites, except for fully oxidised cores (which are a 12% higher in Korop), and profiles with an oxidised interior (which are a 14% more popular in Payoungou).

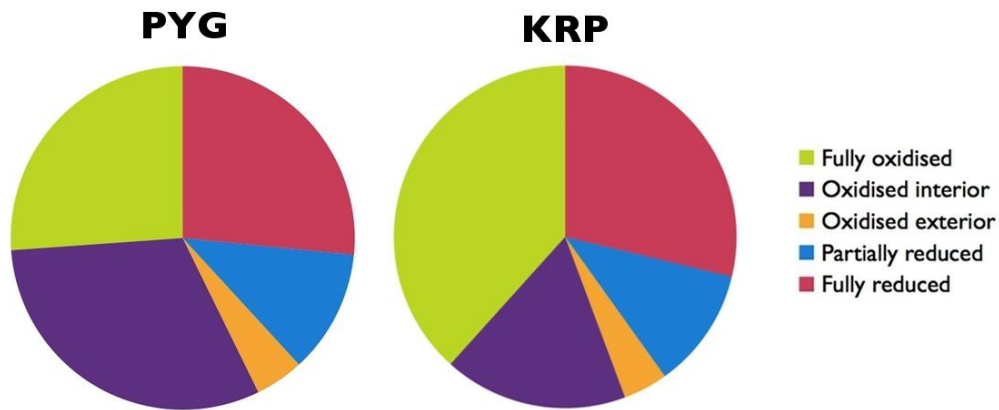


Fig. 8.25 Firing cores by site

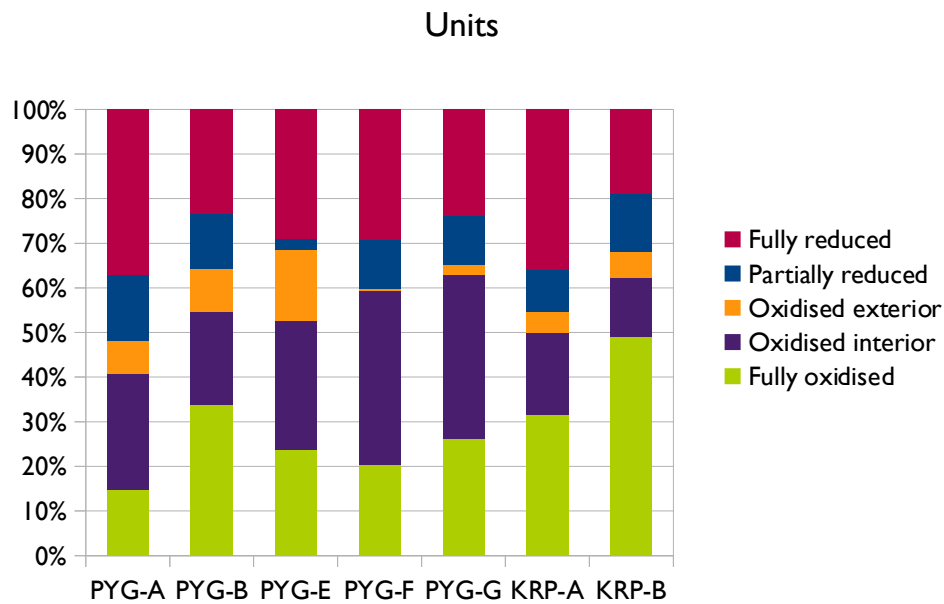


Fig. 8.26 Firing cores by unit

Table 8.7 Firing cores by site and period

| | Fully oxidised | | Oxidised interior | | Oxidised exterior | | Partially reduced | | Fully reduced | | Total PYG | Total KRP |
|--------------------|----------------|--------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|--------|---------------|--------|--------------|--------------|
| | PYG | KRP | PYG | KRP | PYG | KRP | PYG | KRP | PYG | KRP | | |
| Pre-Kaabu | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| % | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | | |
| Early Kaabu | 4 | 8 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 11 | 5 | 29 | 15 |
| % | 13,79% | N/A | 27,59% | N/A | 6,90% | N/A | 13,79% | N/A | 37,93% | N/A | | |
| Late Kaabu | 63 | 41 | 85 | 18 | 7 | 6 | 41 | 14 | 67 | 31 | 263 | 110 |
| % | 23,95% | 37,27% | 32,32% | 16,36% | 2,66% | 5,45% | 15,59% | 12,73% | 25,48% | 28,18% | | |
| Fulaadu | 56 | 15 | 55 | 10 | 12 | 1 | 11 | 4 | 48 | 12 | 182 | 42 |
| % | 30,77% | 35,71% | 30,22% | 23,81% | 6,59% | 2,38% | 6,04% | 9,52% | 26,37% | 28,57% | | |
| Total | 126 | 64 | 150 | 29 | 22 | 7 | 56 | 19 | 128 | 48 | 482 | 167 |

Thickness

Although rim thicknesses range from 2 to 33 cm, most rims (84%) are within the 6-12mm bracket. As shown by Fig. 8.27 and 8.28, the distribution of average thickness is almost identical for all periods, but there are two different trends for individual units: those with a majority (65-72%) of thick rims (9-15mm), namely PYG A, PYG G, KRP A and KRP B; and those where thick rims account for less than 42%, including PYG B, E, and F. The units at Korop also appear to have a larger proportion of very thick (>15mm) rims, but since due to total numbers only 2 out of the 5 units at Korop could be taken into account, it is problematic to extend this observation to the rest of the site.

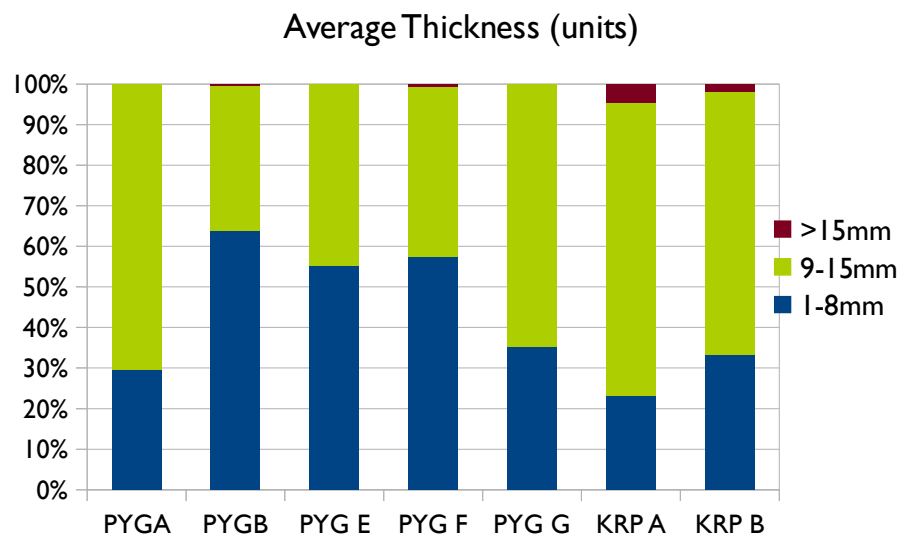


Fig. 8.27 Average thickness by unit

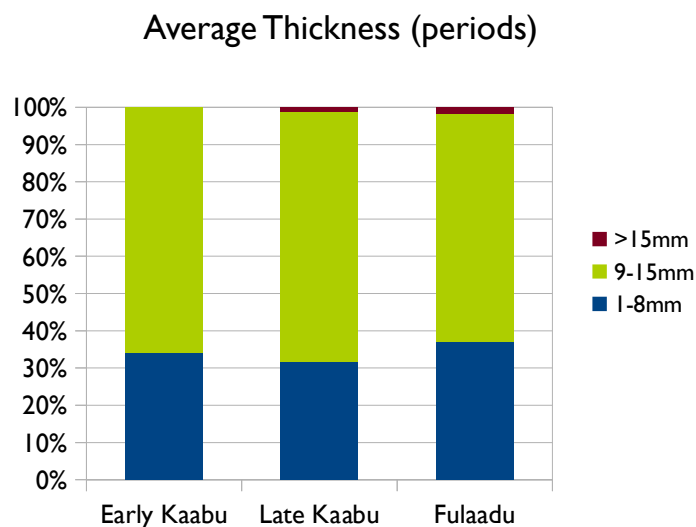


Fig. 8.28 Average thickness by period.

Correspondence Analysis

In addition to looking at single variables and their distributions, I have also conducted a Correspondence Analysis (CA) to explore possible relations between variables (different ceramic attributes) and cases (specific horizons or sites). To facilitate interpretation, the CA results are presented here as two-dimensional scatter plots, that show degrees of similarity between both cases (horizons) and variables (temper, rims, decoration) expressed as distances. The codes used for the variables are the same as in the univariate analysis, as listed in pags. 260-8. The CA for Payougou (Fig. 8.29) confirms the conclusions of the univariate analysis, in terms of the distinctiveness of the pre-Kaabu horizons, the gradual nature of change over time, and the similarities between Late Kaabu and Fulaadu assemblages.

Overall, the CA plot reflects a chronological ordering of horizons over the horizontal axis (which represents most of the variation) from pre-Kaabu to Late Kaabu/Fulaadu. While this is only preliminary – as there is only one Early Kaabu horizon– it is nevertheless interesting, for it may indicate change from pre-Kaabu to Early Kaabu might have been less drastic than suggested by the univariate analysis. Although one of the four pre-Kaabu horizons (PYG D) appears at a distance from the other three, almost no variables define that space, which indicates the separation results from the constraints of 2D-plotting a multidimensional result, rather than from an actual difference. Most importantly, the variables that connect these two horizons are exactly those identified in the univariate analysis: greater proportion of grit tempers and FSR decorations.

Additionally, the Payougou CA confirms the similarities between Late Kaabu and Fulaadu assemblages. These horizons appear clustered into two groups: a more numerous one at the top, characterised by a standardisation of tempers, the appearance of incised decorations, and a great diversity of new rim forms; and a looser group at the bottom, which presents greater diversity in tempers, more everted rims, and TCR decorations. Whether these groups have any archaeological significance (whether chronological or otherwise) cannot be determined at present.

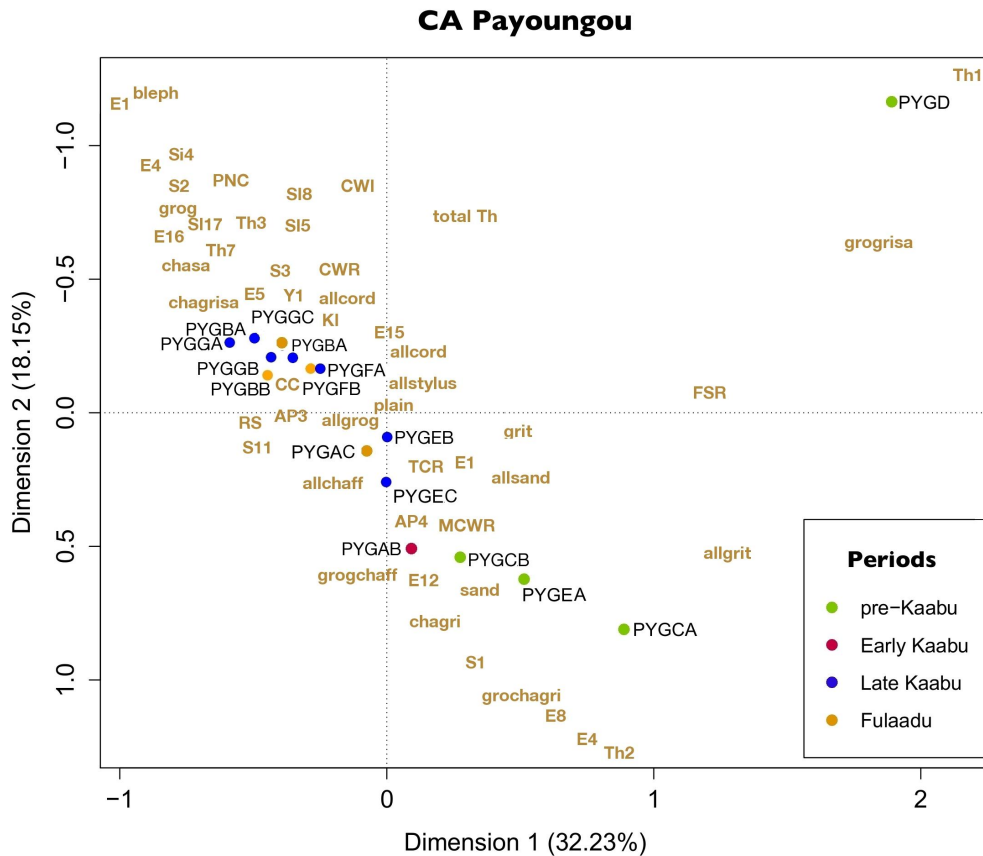


Fig. 8.29 CA for Payoungou's ceramics. Cases in black, variables in brown.

As for Korop, it necessary to bear in mind that the quantity and chronological diversity of the data available is smaller than that of Payoungou, as there were only 11 horizons (as opposed to 16 in PYG), and 72% of them were either Fulaadu or Late Kaabu. The resulting CA plot is less straightforward than that of Payoungou, but contains nevertheless some very relevant information. First of all, it presents an overall clustering of Late Kaabu and Fulaadu horizons in the left half the plot, and of the pre-Kaabu and Early Kaabu ones in the right half. There are two exceptions to this pattern: horizons KRP E-B and KRP C-B. Their position, however, can be explained by the distorting effect of a few OGW sherds (probably intrusive) in the context of two small samples.

Furthermore, if we look at the variables, they form a clear horse-shoe shape which is also chronologically ordered from right to left. The two key factors associated with OGW (grit tempers and FSR) appear at the right end, while sand only tempers –generally associated with Early Kaabu – occur towards the middle. Likewise, punctate decors, characteristic of pottery from the Late Kaabu period onwards, appear left of the central axis. Nevertheless, there are also some elements

that contradict this right-to-left chronological ordering, most notably the appearance of AP-1 – a decorative type not used until the Fulaadu period– at the very beginning of the sequence. Although it is likely that these inconsistencies are distortions related to the scarcity of Early Kaabu materials, it could also mean that there are non-chronological factors at play; neither option can be confidently ruled out at present.

Consequently, in Korop, as in Payoungou, the CA confirms a significant homogeneity in the ceramic traditions from the 13th C onwards, marked by a gradual evolution rather than sudden changes. This evolution coincides in general terms with that of Payoungou although with some local particularities previously discussed (such as different use of tempers in Early Kaabu and absence of incised decorations other than channels).

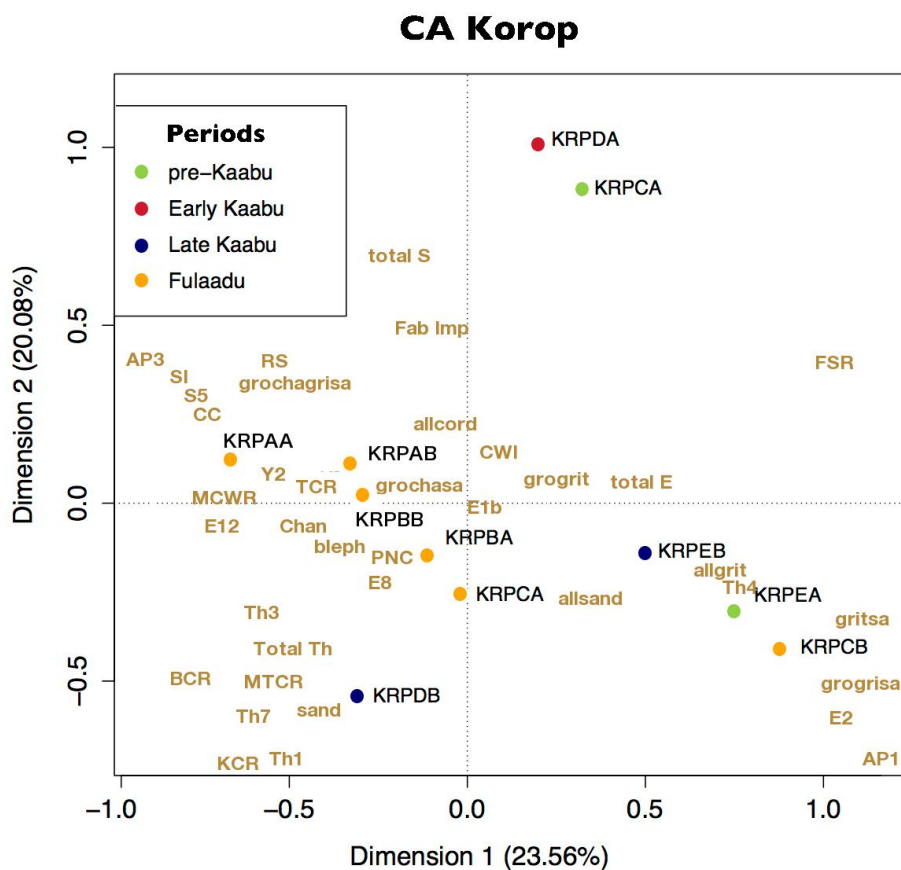


Fig. 8.30 CA of Korop ceramic assemblage. Cases in black, variables in brown.

Summary of results

As stated at the beginning, the main focus of this exercise was to determine which factors were chronologically sensitive, whether any cluster attributes could be identified, and whether any other significant patterns of inter-site and intra-site variability could be observed. Regarding the chronological dimensions, both the univariate analysis and the CA confirm the existence of a very clear attribute cluster, which I have referred to as OGW, characterised by coarse lateritic temper, orange paste, and a high proportion of folded strip roulette decorations. Although over 84% of OGW encountered during excavation comes from Pre-Kaabu horizons in Payoungou, OGW also occurs in small numbers in later contexts in both sites.

Nevertheless, as clear as the clustering of OGW material is, we know very little about its context and function: the two units in which it was encountered in substantial amounts (PYG C and D) had almost no architectural remains and limited material culture. It is therefore possible that OGW could be some form of specialised ware, and that the association with pre-Kaabu contexts resulted purely from sampling. But had this been the case, it is extremely unlikely that we had not encountered it in something other than residual amounts in later contexts. Consequently, I think it is reasonable and useful – pending future research that either confirms, disproves, or adjusts this proposition– to identify OGW as characteristic of the pre-Kaabu horizon, and interpret later appearances as either contaminations or remnants from earlier times.

Although this identification concerns mostly Payoungou –where 90% of OGW comes from–, it has also interesting implications for Korop, where OGW also occurs in small numbers. This occurrence could be interpreted as indicating the existence of a pre-Kaabu horizon at the site or in the vicinity, as well as suggesting some form of technical or cultural connection between the two sites in this early period.

Regarding the Early Kaabu period onwards, there are no clear types or attribute clusters, only gradual changes over time, and a remarkable degree of continuity. While a more distinct clustering would have been more convenient for dating purposes, the homogeneity of the pottery over the early and late Kaabu periods fits well with the history of social continuity described by oral traditions, and the continuity over the Fulaadu period suggests the social disruption of that period might have been overemphasised by both oral and written sources. Nevertheless, although gradual, the cumulative changes over time are such that

given a large enough sample, it should be possible to distinguish between periods, following the criteria outlined in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8 Pottery traits by period and site

| Dates | Historical events | Period | Payoungou | Korop |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------|--|--|
| 7 th C | <i>Bainouk rule (?)</i> | Pre-Kaabu | OGW: grit temper; orange fabric FSR | N/A |
| 13 th C | Foundation of Mali <i>Annexation of the Upper Casamance to Mali</i> | Early Kaabu | Grog + sand (>50%); total chaff (>10%), sand (80%) limited amount of rim forms | Grog only temper (>60%); sand only tempers (30%) limited amount of rim forms |
| 15 th C 1446 | Arrival of the Portuguese to the Senegambia First written mention of Nyumi | | | |
| 16 th C 1510s | First written mention of Kaabu | Late Kaabu | Greater presence and diversity of incised decorations Appearance of punctate decors Greater diversity of rim forms | Appearance of punctate decors Greater diversity of rim forms |
| 17 th C | Independence from Mali Reign of Biram Mansaté | | | |
| 18 th C 1720s | | | | |
| 19 th C 1860s | Battle of Kansala | Fulaadu | Continues trends of Late Kaabu; Appearance of AP-I | |
| 1874 | Alpha Molo's reign | | | |
| 1881 | Musa Molo's reign | | | |
| 20 th C 1903 | Colonialism | Recent | | |
| 1960 | Independence | | | |

8.5.-Analysis: the survey material

Having analysed the excavated ceramic assemblage, with its securely dated contexts, and established which factors are most chronologically sensitive, it is time to apply these guidelines to the surface material, to ascertain whether the results from the two sites are also applicable more widely. This enterprise presents several potential problems, which are far from inconsequential. First, although surface pottery can never be assumed to constitute an unmixed chronological sample, the case of the Upper Casamance presents some added difficulties. Firstly, that due to the intense depositional soil regime previously described, the only pottery found on the surface is that which has been brought up by ploughing or other disturbances. Aggravating this potential mixing is the vicinity of cultivated fields to currently occupied villages where ceramic pots are still occasionally used and discarded. Furthermore, if as I argue, most of these sites, and in particular the largest historical towns, regularly shifted a few hundred meters, the material collected on the surface will necessarily be an amalgam of different periods, regardless of ploughing or modern disturbances.

Another potentially distorting factor that needs to be considered is a possible bias for recently abandoned settlements, resulting from the low visibility of sites coupled with the reliance on local knowledge for identifying them. In fact, 11 out of the 18 sites with enough pottery for analysis (>20 sherds) were abandoned or shifted in the last three generations, according to local elders. Although this does not mean that such sites were not also occupied in earlier periods, it does imply we might have missed some of the early sites (especially pre-Kaabu and Early Kaabu) where occupation did not continue until recent times.

Finally, the gradual nature of the change between periods, which –with the exception of a few diagnostic variables– is only reflected in proportions, and thus requires of substantial samples to be reliably identified, means that we should not be too optimistic about the potential of surface material as a useful dating device.

Bearing these considerations in mind, I now explore the nature of the surface pottery collected during survey. As previously mentioned, 18 out of the 60 sites recorded had enough pottery (>20 sherds) for analysis, and out of these, only 2 had over 20 rims. Given the paucity of rim data, I have chosen to focus the analysis on decoration and temper, which were recorded for both body-sherds and rims. After an initial description of the distribution of variables and how it compares to that from excavation, I proceed to explore how the chronological variables

uncovered in the analysis of the excavation material relate to the survey data, both in terms of individual variables and through correspondence analysis. In this analysis, I have also included the surface assemblages collected from Payoungou and Korop prior to their excavation, in order to better understand the relationship between surface and sub-surface material. In two cases, Payoungou and Kabendou, different areas of the site were separately surveyed because elders stressed their conceptual separation. This split has been kept in the analysis as a way of exploring the homogeneity or dissimilarity of surface assemblages across sites.

Distribution of factors

Starting with temper, an initial look at the proportions of main components (Fig.8.31), reflects a large degree of homogeneity across sites, but if we focus instead on how these components are combined (Fig.8.32), new patterns of variation become apparent. Three aspects are remarkable: first, eight sites at the left of the graph present a clear predominance of three tempers (grog, grog+chaff, and grog+sand), while the remaining 10 are significantly more diverse. No straightforward reason, either geographical or chronological, seems to account for this division. Secondly, for those sites for which separate surface samples were recorded, the diversity between the different areas is remarkable. Finally, when the surface assemblages of Korop and Payoungou are compared to their sub-surface equivalents, the range of temper combinations present is fairly similar, but the proportions in which they appear are quite different.

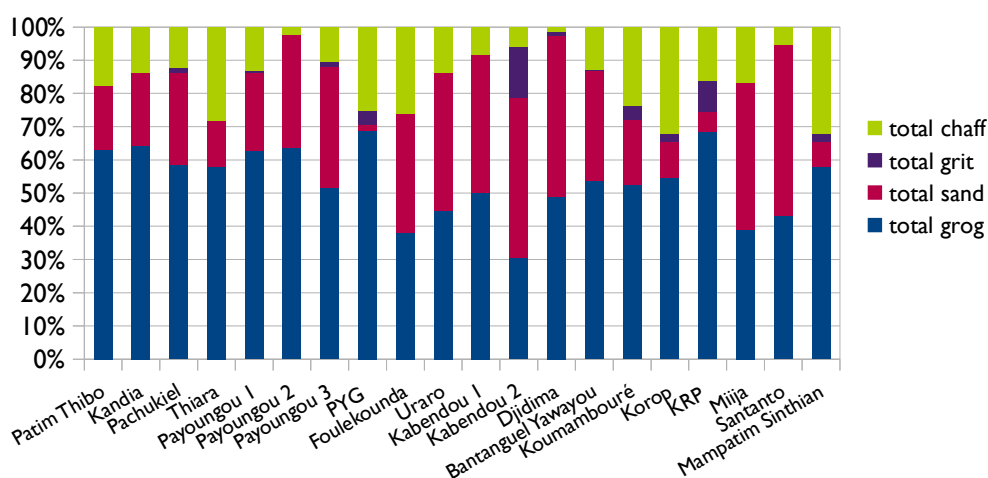


Fig. 8.31 Temper components in survey sites

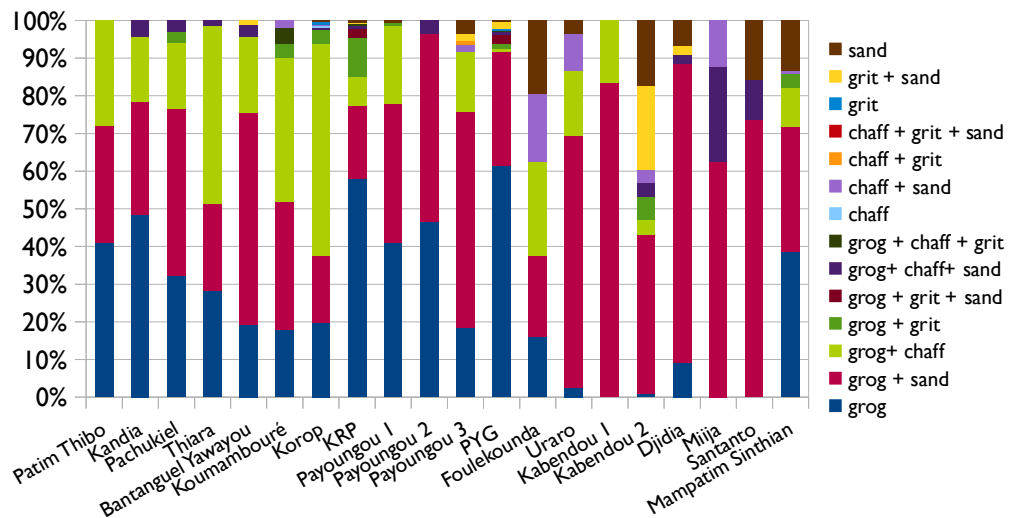


Fig.8.32 Temper combinations in survey sites

As for decorative motifs (Fig. 8.33), there is greater homogeneity across sites than for temper, but again the sites that were divided into different collection areas show a significant degree of diversity. For instance, Payougou 2 does not have any stylus decorations, while 1 and 3 do. The quantities of red slip and total cord are also rather different, and unlike the excavated assemblage from the site, there is no presence of FSR. In Korop, as occurred with temper, the factors present are the same in the surface and subsurface samples, but their proportions vary significantly. In Kabendou, the proportions of plain sherds and total cord are very similar for both parts of the site, but completely different with regards to the presence and proportion of red slip and total stylus.

In order to detect any patterns of association that I might have missed during the univariate analysis, I conducted a Correspondence Analysis (see Fig. 8.34). The most striking result is the distinctiveness of UC-33, i.e. the *tumbu* at Kabendou. Its separation, however, seems to be entirely due to the greater presence of grit tempers, which as Fig. 8.33 showed, is significantly higher than in any other site recorded. Kabendou 2, apart, the rest of sites appear grouped in an elongated cluster. Neither geographical location nor any information provided by oral traditions (estimated date of occupation, function) accounts for the distribution of sites within this cluster.

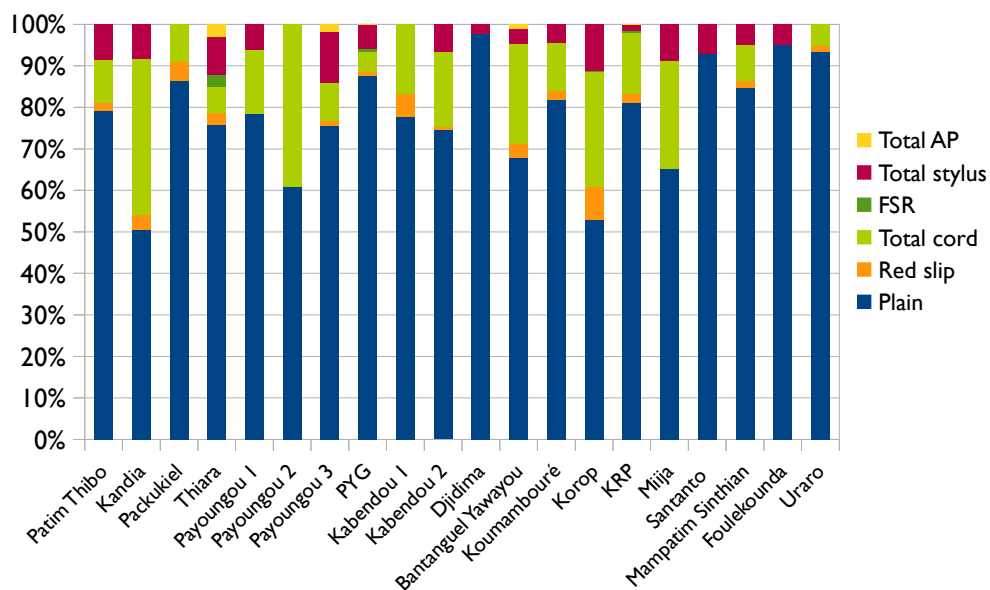


Fig. 8.33 Pottery decorations by site

Dating the survey sites

Correspondence Analysis

In order to conduct an initial assessment of the degree to which sites corresponded to given periods, I ran a CA including both the data from the dated excavated horizons and the survey sites. Rims were not included, since the absence of significant rim data on most of the survey sites would have distorted the result. Because Korop and Payoungou had been shown to follow slightly different paths, I tested the survey data against Korop and Payoungou separately. As expected, there is no correlation between dated horizons from the excavations and the survey sites. This is particularly clear for Korop (Fig 8.35), where the survey ceramics cluster towards one side, whereas the excavated horizons do so in the opposite direction. For Payoungou, the result is more intriguing, as there are three clearly separate clusters –corresponding largely to the three groups already identified in the Payoungou CA– and all the survey sites are located around the middle cluster. While the clustering is extremely clear, the reasons behind it are less so. One possibility, although for now it remains just that, is that the clustering results from the mixed nature of the survey assemblages: being a combination of several periods, it makes sense that they would cluster towards the middle of the curve, halfway between the oldest and the most recent materials.

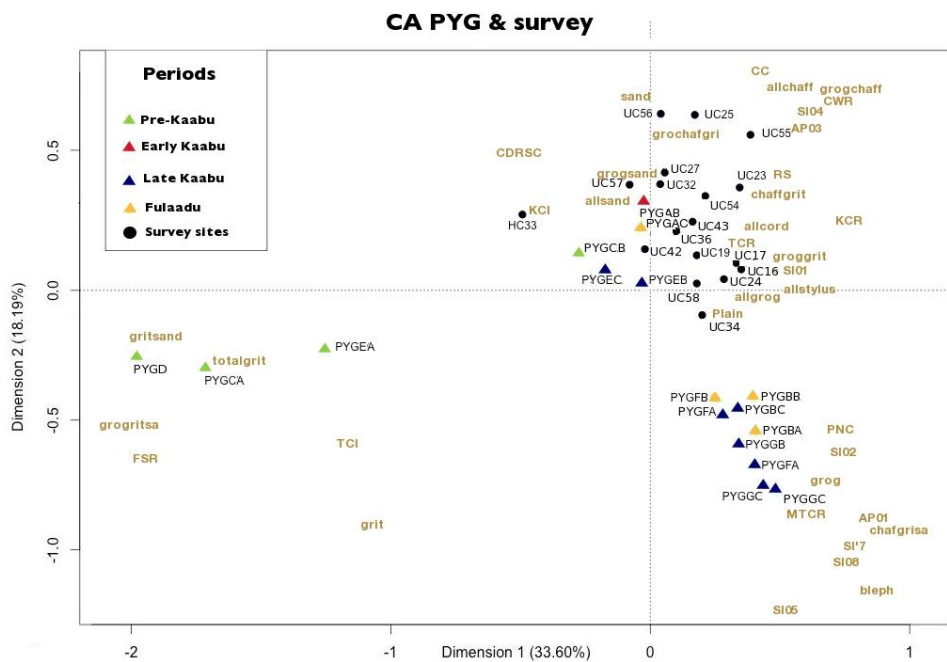


Fig. 8.36 Correspondence analysis of pottery from the survey and the Payoungou excavations.

Diagnostic variables

Although both the univariate analysis and the CA leave many unanswered questions, they both confirm the chronologically mixed nature of the survey assemblages, which makes the identification of periods by popularity of tempers or decors non-viable. What remains therefore, are the factors which define periods strictly by their presence or absence, which are, unfortunately, rather limited. The only exception to this rule is the presence of over 50% of grog+sand tempers as characteristic of Early Kaabu in Payoungou, which has been included because no other known period or site has a higher percentage, and therefore its presence can only be due to an abundance of EK material. The only trait which characterises the Fulaadu period, the presence of AP1 decors, could not be used simply because it does not occur in any of the survey sherds. Table 8.9 provides a list of the chronological indicators used and the sites that display them: two sites provide evidence of pre-Kaabu occupation, six display traits belonging to Early Kaabu, while eight include factors only occurring from the Late Kaabu period onwards. Four sites (Pathim Tibo, Payoungou 2, Foulekounda, and Mampatim Sinthian) do not show any of the distinctive traits and therefore remain undated, while 10 sites display traits from a single period, and 3 have indicators from two different periods.

It is important to stress, however, that here, even more than usual, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, as the case of Payoungou, which has revealed significant pre-Kaabu deposits during excavation, yet shows no evidence of them on the surface.

Table 8.9 Presence of chronologically diagnostic variables in survey sites with sufficient pottery for analysis

| Site code | Site Name | Pre-Kaabu | | Early Kaabu | Late Kaabu/Fulaadu | |
|-----------|--------------------|------------------|-----|----------------|---------------------|-----|
| | | grit only temper | FSR | Grog+sand >50% | Incised Decorations | PNC |
| UC-16 | PathimTibo | | | | | |
| UC17 | Kandia | | | | | |
| UC19 | Pachukiel | | | | | |
| UC23 | Thiara | | | | | |
| UC24 | Payoungou I | | | | | |
| UC25 | Foulekounda | | | | | |
| UC27 | Uraro | | | | | |
| UC32 | Kabendou (tata) | | | | | |
| UC33 | Kabendou (tumbu) | | | | | |
| UC34 | Payoungou 2 | | | | | |
| UC36 | Payoungou 4 | | | | | |
| UC42 | Djidima | | | | | |
| UC43 | Bantanguel Yawayou | | | | | |
| UC54 | Koumambouré | | | | | |
| UC55 | Korop | | | | | |
| UC56 | Mijja | | | | | |
| UC57 | Santanto | | | | | |
| UC58 | Mampatim Sinthian | | | | | |

Summary of survey results

I started this section with a series of caveats regarding the limited potential of the surface ceramic material for dating, including the environmental context, the presumed settlement patterns behind the formation of the archaeological record, as well as the small variation in the pottery itself. The univariate and CA analysis confirmed that survey assemblages represented chronologically mixed samples, and that therefore proportional changes in factor popularity would not prove to be useful pointers. Instead, the bulk of the dating effort would have to fall upon factors whose presence was unequivocally linked to a given period. Five such factors, from the six identified in the analysis of the excavated material, were applicable to the survey, and led to the identification of periods of occupation in 13 of the sites with surface pottery.

8.6 Discussion

To conclude this chapter, I review all the information generated during the pottery analysis, starting with the general description of both the excavation and survey assemblages, followed by a summary of their chronological implications, and a brief exploration of non-temporal reasons for variation. I conclude by comparing these results to those from culturally and geographically neighbouring regions.

It is necessary to state again, however, that this is a region that had never been studied before, and the analysis has been conducted on what is a reasonable, but nevertheless limited sample. The results that I now proceed to summarise therefore should be taken only as a preliminary classification, an initial framework and set of propositions for future research to test and build upon. In the almost blank canvas in which this analysis took place, I have aimed to strike a balance between the scope of the assertions and the reliability of the data they are drawn from; between being too descriptive and not advancing understanding, and trying to advance too much by making ungrounded assertions. I have also tried to be as transparent as possible in my reasoning, explicitly stating the process by which conclusions were drawn and the sort of evidence, qualitatively and quantitatively, upon which they are based.

Ceramics, time, and space

In terms of overall characterisation, the pottery of the Upper Casamance fits well within the general parameters of locally-made West African ceramics over the last two millennia. It is handmade earthenware, occasionally slipped, and decorated with a limited range of incised, rouletted, and impressed motifs. Other than Orange Gritty Ware, it presents no clear 'types' or attribute clusters, and its homogeneity over both time and space is remarkable. What follows is a brief review of the nature of ceramic change in the region and of its potential social implications.

The earliest dated ceramic material is the attribute cluster I have referred to as OGW. Although only known from a small sample (176 sherds), OGW has been found in both Payoungou and Korop, as well as on the surface of Kandia, suggesting it probably was present throughout the region. Most importantly OGW is markedly different from the subsequent pottery tradition, which first appears in the 13th C (as indicated by the C14 date in KRP-D). While it is necessary to bear in mind the

limitedness of the sample and to avoid simplistic equations between technical and sociopolitical changes; it must also be noted that the marked nature of the change, together with its specific timing (the period of the Empire of Mali's expansion into the region) is remarkably consistent with the oral narratives describing this period as one of population influx and drastic changes.

As for the homogeneity of ceramic traditions throughout the subsequent Early and Late Kaabu periods, it is consistent with the history of social continuity described by oral traditions, according to which the arrival of the Manding and the foundation of Kaabu were followed by 600 years of relative political and social stability. What is surprising, however, is the lack of change following the turmoil in the 19th C. After all, political power changes hands, and there are significant population movements, entailing both the displacement of Manding populations and the arrival of new groups, especially of Fuutanké from the Futa Jallon. And yet pottery traditions remain constant. Three (non-mutually exclusive) reasons could account for this stability: firstly, that the social impact of these events has been over-represented; secondly, that after centuries of coexistence, the Fulbe had largely acculturated to Manding technical practices; and finally, that regardless of the changes in the overall composition of the population, that of craftspeople remained stable, thus resulting in a continuity in material practices despite the social and political turmoil around them. While this is a question that cannot be fully resolved by ceramic evidence alone, it will be revisited in Ch.11 when considering the data as a whole.

Non-chronological variation and form

Even though so far the analysis of variation has been largely focused on the identification of chronologically sensitive variables, it is clear that time may not have been the only factor behind diversity. Elements like identity, function, gender, occupation, or status heavily influence pot form and decoration, and can lead to the simultaneous existence of multiple pottery traditions. Unfortunately, no such divisions of traditions could be identified in the Upper Casamance pottery, as contemporary units presented extremely similar ceramic assemblages. As for form, the large majority of sherds were too fragmentary to attempt any sort of vessel form reconstruction, and the correspondence analyses I ran did not flag up any consistent correlations between given rim forms, decoration, and/or temper. This is not to say that time was the only factor shaping variation; function and other

considerations most certainly did as well, but the existing data did not allow for a grounded exploration of their role.

Comparison with other known assemblages

Although the Upper Casamance had never been archaeologically studied, that is not the case of surrounding areas. Fig. 8.37 shows the archaeological sites with dated ceramic sequences within a 300km radius of the Upper Casamance, including both habitation sites, shell middens, and funerary megalithic circles. The closest available sequence, both geographically and culturally, comes from Amy Lawson's work at Niani (2003), in the northern bank of the Gambia, about 85km from Korop. Although Niani was a Manding state, described by Portuguese merchants as linked to Kaabu (De Lemos Coelho 1953[1684], 84-8), the temporal evolution of Lawson's ceramic sequence does not correlate with that of the Upper Casamance. The range of technical and decorative repertoire, however, is very similar, even in its omissions: elements like fish vertebrae roulettes or card wooden stamps, which are very common elsewhere in the Senegambia, but completely missing in the Upper Casamance, are also absent in Lawson's writings. It is therefore possible that part of this apparent disjuncture could be due to the different recording systems employed, the succinct nature of Lawson's descriptions, and the uncertain dating of her sequence, but it is difficult to say without access to the original materials.

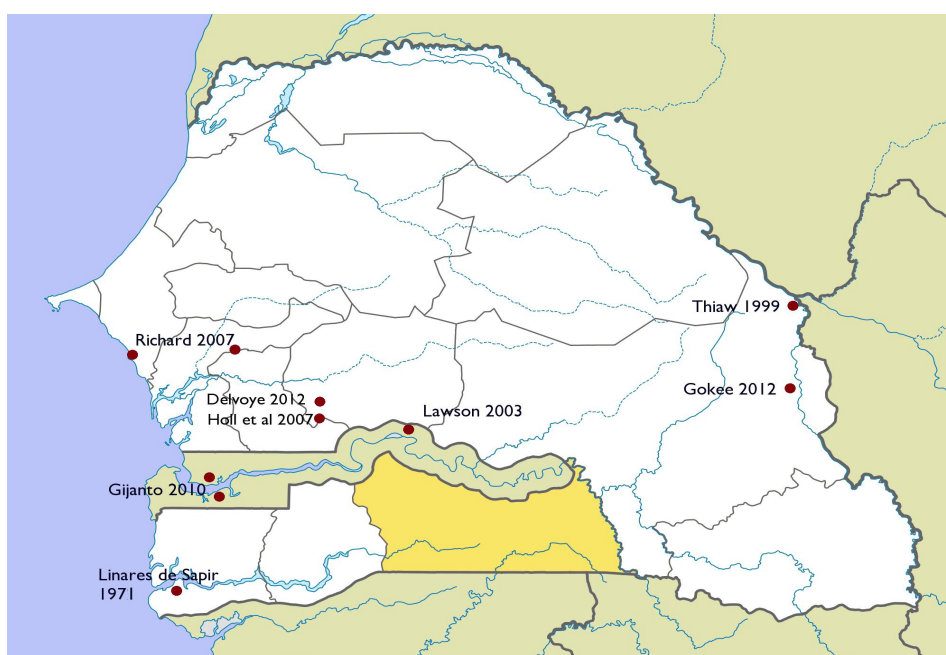


Fig.8.37 Sites with dated ceramic sequences within a 300km radius from the vicinity of the Upper Casamance

The two second closest sequences, those by Linares de Sapir in the Lower Casamance and Gijanto in the western Gambia, yielded equally negative results. In this case, I had the opportunity to look at the original materials, at the IFAN in Dakar and in St Mary's College in Maryland, respectively, and can confirm that their use of temper, decorations, and forms is completely different to that encountered in the Upper Casamance. As for the the pottery from the megalithic funerary sites of Wanar and Sine-Ngayene (Holl *et al* 2007; Delvoye 2012), just north of the Gambian border, the comparison was limited by the reliance of their sequences on intact pots and form, but their remarks about temper and decoration seem to suggest there is little correspondence.

Regarding the Falemé material, the only correlation I have encountered is in Gokee's 'Atlantic Phase', roughly corresponding to the Late Kaabu period, and which is characterised, among other things, by a greater diversity of rim forms, and an increase in incisions and punctate decors, as is the case in Payoungou (Gokee 2012, 555). It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that the socially, politically, and culturally closer areas to the Upper Casamance have never been excavated. The southern bank of the Gambia on its central and eastern sides, the Missirah area to the east, and most importantly, northern Guinea Bissau, would very likely yield more positive results. In fact, although there has not been any systematic archaeological project in Guinea-Bissau, a very limited range of published grab samples (see Fig 8.38) show remarkable similarities with Late Kaabu materials in Payoungou.



Fig.8.38 Pottery from the Nhampasseré Cave, GB (from Cardoso 1992)

Consequently, although the currently available evidence is too scarce and sparse to draw any grounded conclusions, or derive any political or social implications, it is a further step in our understanding of Senegambian culture dynamics, suggesting that the Upper Casamance's sphere of influence and contact might have lied further to the south and east, rather than to the north and west.

CHAPTER 9: FAUNAL ANALYSIS

In this chapter I analyse the faunal remains recovered from both Payoungou and Korop. I start with a description of the methodology employed, followed by an overview of the assemblage, a detailed description of the results for the different faunal types, and end with a discussion of the social and historical implications of the results.

9.1 Methodology

All animal bones encountered during excavation were systematically collected and bagged by context number. All the soil was sieved using a 1cm mesh, and any additional bones encountered during sieving were added to the corresponding bag. Each bag was then weighed to provide an indication of general volume. The identification of the assemblage was undertaken by Kevin MacDonald using the comparative collection of the UCL Institute of Archaeology, his personal comparative collection, and with reference to metric and morphological data from Peters 1986a & 1986b, Van Neer 1989, and Villiers 1958. All the fragments identifiable to part (except for ribs and sesamoids) were classified to the most precise level possible. Any elements which could not be confidently identified to subfamily, genus, or species were identified only to size class, following the size class system developed by MacDonald (1995), and described in Table 9.1. All elements were zoned and sided, and note was taken of any immature specimens, butchery marks, and evidence of burning. Unidentifiable fragments were divided into charred, calcined, and unburnt; and weighed separately.

The assemblage has been described both in terms of minimum number of individuals (MNI) and number of individual specimens present (NISP). MNI was obtained by checking for duplication of elements of the same side (if relevant) of all the elements identified to species level. The number of such duplications was treated as the MNI. NISP was calculated in a conservative manner whereby multiple fragments that were undoubtedly from a single bone were counted only once. For example, mandibles which had fragmented and shed their teeth were counted as only a single element.

Table 9.1: Bovid class system for West Africa. Reproduced from MacDonald (1995)

| Category | Weight (kg) | Largest species | Included species |
|--------------|-------------|---|--|
| Small | <25k | <i>Ourebia ourebi</i> ♂ <i>Gazella dorcas</i> ♂ | All cephalophinae except: <i>C. sylvicultor</i> - <i>Neotragus pygmaeus</i> -Dwarf ovicaprines |
| Small-medium | 25-90 | <i>Ammotragus lervia</i> ♂ <i>Kobus kob</i> ♀ | - <i>Tragelaphus scriptus</i> - <i>Cephalophus sylvicultor</i> - <i>Redunca redunca</i> - <i>Gazella rufifrons</i> -Non-dwarf ovicaprines |
| Large-medium | 90-270 | <i>Hippotragus equinus</i> ♀ <i>Kobus ellipsyprimnus</i> | - <i>Tragelaphus spekei</i> - <i>Tragelaphus euryceros</i> - <i>Kobus kob</i> ♂ - <i>Addax nasomaculatus</i> - <i>Oryx dammah</i> - <i>Alcelaphus buselaphus</i> - <i>Damaliscus lunatus</i> - <i>Gazella dama</i> -Dwarf cattle |
| Large | >270 | <i>Syncerus caffer caffer</i> <i>Taurotragus derbianus</i> | - <i>Hippotragus equinus</i> ♂ - <i>Syncerus caffer</i> (all sub-sp) -Non-dwarf cattle |

9.2 Overview of the assemblage

A total of 17.68 kg of animal bone was recovered, including 201 identifiable specimens. The large majority (77% in terms of weight) came from refuse pits and middens. Most of the identified specimens (62%) also came from such contexts. As Payoungou was the site with most refuse pits, it was also the best represented in the assemblage, accounting for 81% of the unidentified, and 59.20% of the identified bone. Preservation greatly varied from unit to unit, as shown by the rate between identifiable and unidentified bones (see Table. 9.2). The ratio of unburnt/charred/calced bones was slightly different for the identified (66.51%/22.75%/10.74%) and unidentified (81.22%/6.57%/2.21%) parts of the assemblage. Visible butchery marks were very rare due to the weathered nature of most of the

remains (only 3 were found), and no pathologies were encountered.

The assemblage was heavily dominated by domestic cattle (*Bos sp.*), which accounted for 42.29% of the identified bones, probably more, as large and medium-large bovids only identified to size-class (most of which are probably *Bos*), represented an additional 20.89%. The quantity of ovicaprine remains was remarkably low by Senegambian standards (5.47%), as was that of fish (1.49%).

In terms of dating, all of the horizons with identifiable faunal remains belonged to the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu periods (i.e. 16th C onwards), with the exception of a pre-13th C cattle molar from PYG-C-A. Additionally, several of the richest horizons could only be identified as post-15th C, rather than being allocated to a specific period. It was therefore decided to analyse the sample as a whole, rather than divided by period, as an assessment of the chronological evolution between Late Kaabu and Fulaadu would have had to rely on a very small, and hence not representative, sample.

In relation to provenance, faunal remains were very unequally distributed across both sites, as shown by Fig. 9.1 and Table 9.2. In fact, three units (PYG-B, PYG-F, and KRP-A) accounted for 78% of the identified, and 87% of the unidentified, bone. Preservation also varied substantially, as shown by the substantial differences between NISP and the quantity of unidentified bone in the different units.

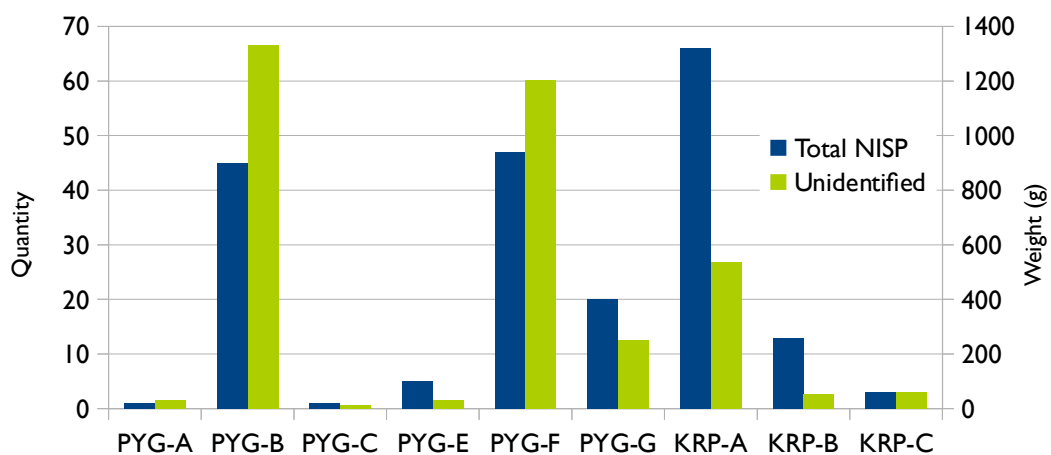


Fig.9.1 Faunal remains: NISP and weight per excavated unit.

Table 9.2 Total NISP and weight by unit

| | Total NISP | Unid(g) | Preservation rate* |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| PYG-A | 1 | 30.71 | 3.26 |
| PYG-B | 45 | 1331.98 | 3.38 |
| PYG-C | 1 | 11.79 | 8.48 |
| PYG-E | 5 | 29.95 | 16.69 |
| PYG-F | 47 | 1201.25 | 3.91 |
| PYG-G | 20 | 251.78 | 7.94 |
| KRP-A | 66 | 537.59 | 12.28 |
| KRP-B | 13 | 54.76 | 23.74 |
| KRP-C | 3 | 59.38 | 5.05 |

*Total NISP/unidentified

9.3 Results

Pastoral economy: cattle, sheep, and goat.

As previously indicated, the main defining trait of the assemblage as a whole is the unusually high proportion of cattle, which constituted 36.97% of the faunal remains from Payoungou and 50.00% of those from Korop. Only one case of clearly dwarf cattle was encountered in PYG, the remainder are of a medium size comparable to Ndama and slightly larger breeds. Additionally, large and large-medium bovids were in all cases the second most common type of bone. Interestingly, the quantities of cattle bone were substantially larger in pit and midden contexts (53.10%) than in other types of deposits (24.74%). The same applied to total quantities of large and medium large bovids (76.11% vs 46.39%).

As for ovicaprines, they represented only 5.04% and 6.10% of the assemblage in Payoungou and Korop, respectively. Out of these, 6 specimens could be identified confidently as *Ovis aries* (all from Payoungou), and one as *Capra hircus* (from Korop). In the case of ovicaprids, the rates for middens and refuse pits were the same as for the rest of contexts.

Other domestic animals:

Although much less prevalent than ovicaprids and cattle, domestic fowl were also present, as four specimens of *Gallus/Numida*, including two identifiable

as *Gallus gallus*). The assemblage also included some donkey (*Equus asinus*) tibia, and a dog (*Canis* sp) metapodial. All of these, except for the two *Gallus Gallus*, came from Korop, and were less common in rubbish pits and middens (1.77%) than in other contexts (7.22%).

Reptiles

Reptiles were the most common type of wild fauna encountered in both sites (5.88% in Payoungou, 6.10% in Korop). They included soft shell turtle (*Cyclarnobis* sp.), fresh water turtle (*Pelomedusidae*), crocodile (*Crocodylus* sp.), a python-sized snake (*Serpentes* sp.), and one case of monitor lizard (*Varanus* sp.). All of these, except for the later and one fragment of soft shell turtle carapace, came from non-pit contexts. The importance of reptiles was similar for both Payoungou (5.88%) and Korop (6.10%).

Fish

Remarkably, only three fragments of fish remains were encountered: two catfish species (*Clarotes laticeps* and an indeterminate silurid) and a Nile Perch (*Lates niloticus*), all from Payoungou and from non-pit contexts. This scarcity of fish is especially surprising given how both Payoungou and Korop are located in the proximity of substantial rivers and streams. Recovery was systematic and used fine mesh were possible, and preservation was not so uniformly problematic that there could have been systematic bias in this regard. Indications are therefore that fish was only rarely consumed at the sites, potentially for reasons of dietary taboo.

Wild birds

Only two instances of wild birds were recorded, a goose (*Anatidae* sp.) coracoid fragment from Korop, and a heron or egret (*Ardeidae* sp.) tibiotarsus from Payoungou, both from non-pit contexts.

Wild mammals

A limited but diverse sample of wild mammals was recovered from both Payoungou and Korop. It included small antelopes like red-flanked duiker (*Cephalophus rufilatus*) and Bohor reedbuck (*Redunca redunca*), warthog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*), African buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*), African civet (*Civettictis civetta*) and cane rat (*Thryonomidae*). Wild mammals were found in

both pit and non-pit contexts, and represented 6.72% of Payoungou's assemblage and 4.88% of that from Korop.

Mollusks

Only two instances of molluscs were recorded, both from Payoungou and from non-pit contexts. The only one identifiable to genus level was a *Lymnaea* shell, a medium sized freshwater snail.

Table 9.3 Faunal remains from Korop

| Taxa | KRP-A-A | | KRP-A-B | | KRP-A-C | | KRP-B-A | | KRP-B-B | | KRP-C-A | | TOTAL NISP |
|----------------------------|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|---------------|
| | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | |
| Bos sp. | 1 | 1 | 34 | 3 | | | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 41 |
| Bos sp. (dwarf) | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Capra hircus | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Ovis capra | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Ovicaprid | | | 4 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| Large bovid | | | 2 | N/A | 1 | N/A | | | | | 1 | N/A | 4 |
| Large medium bovid | | | 2 | N/A | 1 | N/A | | | | | 1 | N/A | 4 |
| Large medium bovid cf.wild | | | 1 | N/A | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| cf. Equus asinus | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Small medium bovid | 1 | 1 | 5 | N/A | 1 | N/A | 3 | N/A | | | 1 | N/A | 11 |
| Canis sp. | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Civettictis civetta | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Phacochoerus aethiopicus | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Syncerus caffer | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Cephalophus rufilatus | 1 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 2 |
| Redunca redunca | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Alcephinae sp. | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Thryonomidae | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Gallus /Numida | | | | | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | 2 |
| Gallus gallus | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Ardeidae sp. | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Anatidae sp. | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| Ind. medium bird | | | 3 | N/A | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Cyclanorbis sp. | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 3 |
| Pelomedusidae | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| Crocodylus sp. | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Varanus sp. | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Serpentes sp. | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Ind silurid | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Clarotes laticeps | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Lates niloticus | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Lymnaea | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Ind. Gastropod | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |

Table 9.4 Faunal remains from Payoungou

| Taxa | PYG-A-A | | PYG-B-A | | PYG-B-B | | PYG-C-B | | PYG-E-A | | PYG-E-B | | PYG-F-B | | PYG-G-A | | PYG-G-B | | PYG-G-C | | TOTAL NISP | |
|----------------------------|----------|-----|-----------|-----|-----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|-----------|-----|----------|-----|----------|-----|-----------|-----|------------|---|
| | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | NISP | MNI | | |
| Bos sp. | 1 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 20 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | 43 | |
| Bos sp. (dwarf) | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Capra hircus | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 6 | |
| Ovis capra | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | 5 | 1 | |
| Ovicaprid | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 1 | |
| Large bovid | | | 1 | N/A | 3 | N/A | | | | | 2 | N/A | | | | | | | | | 6 | |
| Large medium bovid | | | 5 | N/A | 2 | N/A | | | | | 17 | N/A | 2 | N/A | 1 | N/A | 1 | N/A | | | 28 | |
| Large medium bovid cf.wild | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | |
| cf. Equus asinus | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | |
| Small medium bovid | | | 1 | N/A | 4 | N/A | | | | | 3 | N/A | 1 | N/A | | | | | | | 9 | |
| Canis sp. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | |
| Civettictis civetta | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | |
| Phacochoerus aethiopicus | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 2 | |
| Syncerus caffer | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 2 | |
| Cephalophus rufilatus | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | |
| Redunca redunca | | | | | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | |
| Alcelephinae sp. | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Thryonomidae | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | |
| Gallus /Numida | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | |
| Gallus gallus | | | | | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | |
| Ardeidae sp. | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Anatidae sp. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | |
| Ind. medium bird | | | 1 | N/A | 1 | N/A | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | N/A | 3 |
| Cyclanorbis sp. | | | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 4 | |
| Pelomedusidae | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | |
| Crocodylus sp. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Varanus sp. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Serpentes sp. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Ind silurid | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Clarotes laticeps | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Lates niloticus | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Lymnaea | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Ind. Gastropod | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 1 | | 24 | | 21 | | 1 | | 2 | | 3 | | 47 | | 4 | | 2 | | 14 | | 119 | |

9.4 Interpreting the faunal assemblage

The faunal assemblage from Payoungou and Korop presented some limitations which need to be taken into account. First of all, it belonged entirely to the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu periods, thus providing no information about earlier animal consumption patterns. This lack of earlier remains could be due to preservation – as some badly preserved (chemically leached) and unidentifiable bone was encountered in early horizons – or to a question of sampling (there were less early horizons excavated overall).

A second limitation comes from the predominance of three units (PYG-B, PYG-F, and KRP-A), which together represented 78% of the identified assemblage (and KRP-A on its own accounted for 80% of Korop's faunal remains). These three units had in common their location inside a *tata*, comprising rubbish pits or middens; and their quantitative weight heavily affected the total numbers, making certain patterns look more common than they actually were. Bearing in mind these caveats, however, the assemblage presented relevant insights at three different levels:

Payoungou vs Korop

Despite the historical and geographical differences, the faunal assemblages in Payoungou and Korop were remarkably similar. Although slightly higher in Korop, cattle bones dominated both assemblages, followed by medium-large bovid remains, most of which were probably also cattle. The proportion of ovicaprines was practically identical for both sites, as was that of reptiles. The main differences between both sites appeared in relation to the presence or absence of minor dietary components, most notably fish and molluscs. As is often the case in food-producing societies, wild mammals were rare but persistently present, occasional products of the hunt.

Pits and middens vs other deposits

Contrasting with this homogeneity in the general assemblages from both sites, intra-site differences were quite significant. One of the most prominent was that between the faunal remains from refuse pits and middens and those from other deposits. First of all, cattle represented 53.10% of the identified bones in the former, but only 24.74% in the latter. When large and large-medium bovids are also taken into account, this proportion goes up to 76.11% in pits and middens, as opposed to

46.39% in other types of deposits. The second difference was regarding the proportion of wild fauna, which was much lower in pits and middens (8.85%) than in other deposits (25.77%). Taken together, these patterns tentatively suggest that pits and middens were the result of different consumption patterns, centred around cattle, and very likely connected to feasting events, as will be discussed in Ch. 11.

Table 9.5 Faunal remains in pits/middens and other contexts

| | Pits & middens | | Other | |
|------------------|---------------------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| | NISP | % | NISP | % |
| Bos sp. | 60 | 53,10% | 24 | 24,74% |
| Ovicaprids | 7 | 6,19% | 5 | 5,15% |
| All large bovids | 86 | 76,11% | 45 | 46,39% |
| Total wild | 10 | 8,85% | 25 | 25,77% |
| Fish | 0 | 0,00% | 3 | 3,13% |
| Reptiles | 2 | 1,77% | 11 | 11,46% |

Elite areas vs non-elite areas

Finally, there were also marked differences between the faunal remains in units located inside the *tataji* as identified by local elders and those elsewhere. These differences overlapped to some extent with those between pits and non-pit areas (as the three largest pits were located in these elite areas), but also had key distinctive features. The most notable difference between elite and non-elite areas was the amount of cattle present, which were much higher (44.94% as opposed to 28.33%) in the former. Ovicaprines, however, were more common in non-elite areas (16.67% as opposed to 3.80%), as were fish and wild animals in general. Thus, the results seem to indicate that access to cattle was not limited to the elites, but that cattle consumption was clearly higher amongst them. This is consistent with the patterns described by oral traditions, which describe how Fulbe herders bred cattle, but had to give most of them in tribute to the Kaabu aristocracy (cf. Ch.3). Additionally, all the rubbish pits and middens with substantial animal bone concentrations were located in elite areas, indicating that the distinctive consumption patterns that produced them were limited to certain social sectors.

Table 9.6. Faunal remains in elite and non-elite areas

| | Elite areas | | Non-elite areas | |
|-------------------|-------------|--------|-----------------|--------|
| | NISP | % | NISP | % |
| Bos sp. | 71 | 44,94% | 17 | 28,33% |
| Total L/ML bovids | 107 | 60,11% | 24 | 40,00% |
| Ovicaprines | 6 | 3,80% | 10 | 16,67% |
| Fish | 1 | 0,63% | 4 | 6,67% |
| Reptiles | 7 | 4,43% | 8 | 13,33% |
| Total wild | 19 | 12,03% | 15 | 25,00% |

Conclusions

The faunal assemblages from both Payoungou and Korop were very similar, both in terms of their overall proportions, and with regards to intra-site differences. Together with the rest of the material evidence described in previous chapters, they confirm that despite the geographical and political differences, Payoungou and Korop were part of a shared cultural and social sphere. Additionally, they reveal how between the 16th and 19th C, a common elite culture existed in both sites, characterised by higher levels of cattle consumption and perhaps feasting behaviour, contrasting with the more humble day-to-day animal consumption patterns elsewhere in the site. Finally, while arguments exclusively based on absence of evidence are problematic, the total lack of horse remains (which historical sources indicate were important during this period) is notable, and matches the oral tradition claim that horses were not eaten and buried separately.

CHAPTER 10 : Other artefact categories

10.1.-Introduction and methodology

In addition to the deposits and features described in Ch. 6-7, the ceramics analysed in Ch.8, and the faunal assemblage discussed in Ch.9, the survey and excavations uncovered a variety of small objects, or fragments thereof, which provide information about living conditions, social and political networks, nature of the occupation and dating. In this chapter, I analyse the different types of small finds encountered and their implications.

All small finds encountered during survey and excavation were systematically collected, assigned a unique number, and bagged. All soil was screened (using a 1cm or a 2mm, depending on the nature of the context). Ceramic, stone and glass finds were washed and air-dried, metal and bone ones were not. Back in the field lab, each object was individually recorded in the small finds log, including a sketch with its measurements, and a short description. The post-excavation analysis varied for the different categories of objects and will therefore be described in their respective sections.

10.2 Smoking pipes

The most ubiquitous type of small find as smoking pipes. Useful as chronological markers, as well as for exploring questions of economic and social change and variation, smoking pipes have been widely used to interpret historical archaeological assemblages across West Africa. Chronologically, the presence of pipes is generally accepted to be diagnostic of post-1500 assemblages, as there is no firm evidence for the smoking of native herbs prior to the arrival of tobacco from America (Ozanne 1969; Philips 1983, 304; Welling 2000/2001, 96-7; McIntosh *et al* 2003, 172). Nevertheless, in her excavations in the Central Gambia Valley, Amy Lawson (2003a, 266-7) claimed to have found local pipes in pre-16th C contexts. Although her claim rests entirely on a single C14 date, and is therefore problematic, because of the proximity of the Upper Casamance to the Gambia, it was deemed pertinent to date two of the horizons with pipes (PYG-B-B and KRP-A-B). The dates obtained, AD 1640-1660 and post-1685, confirm that the general consensus applies in this case.

Historical and ethnographic evidence

As for the social implications of tobacco pipes, two testimonies of British travellers to the Gambia in the 17th and 18th C are particularly enlightening. The first of them, that of the explorer Richard Jobson, who visited the Gambia in 1620-1621, described how:

'onely one principall thing, they canoot misse, and that is their Tabacco pipes, whereof there is few or none of them, be they men or women doth walke or go without, they do make onlye the bowle of earth, with a necke of the same, about two inches long, very neatly, and artificially colouring or grasing the earth, very hansomly, all the bowles being very great, and for the most part, will hold halfe an ounce of Tabacco ; they put into the necke a long kane, many times a yard of length, and in that manner draw their smoake, whereof they are great takers, and cannot of all other things live without it' (Jobson 1623, 122).

A century later, Francis Moore, a clerk and factor for the Royal African Company, gave a very similar description of pipes and smoking practices, noting how:

'their pipes are made of clay, very neat, and of a reddish colour, the stems are only a piece of reed, or small stick bored through with an hot iron wyre, some of which are six foot long. After they are bored they polish them with rough leaves till they are very smooth, white and handsome, and withal very strong ; they fasten the bowls and stem together with a piece of red leather, sometimes with a fine leather tassel hanging to it about the middle of the Stem ; and tho' the end of the reed goes into the bowl of the pipe, it fits almost as well as pipes that are made all in one ; they clean the reeds, when foul, by drawing long Straws thro' them with a small knife. The merchants which travel much, carry with them pipes of a great size, some of them holding lo less than half a pints : these are their traveling pipes' (Moore 1738, 76).



Fig.10.1 Two elders from Payoungou and Kandia, respectively smoking tobacco in 2013



Fig.10.2 Left: Woman from the Senegambia smoking a pipe (Boilat 1849). Right: Wolof woman smoking a pipe in the early 20th C (source: Archives du Sénégal).

Recording and typologies

Most archaeological and historical studies of smoking pipes in West Africa have focused on description, illustration, and creation of typologies. In addition to the problems presented by traditional typologies (cf. Ch.8), the schemes developed for smoking pipes present the added problem of being generally based on complete specimens, which render most retrieved materials (which tend to be fragmentary) unclassifiable and therefore useless (Welling 2001, 85). For this reason, instead of trying to group pipe fragments into types, I have described them using the same principles as outlined for the rest of the ceramic assemblage, recording them on the basis of a number of variables, listed in table 10.1. No size measurements were taken, as the fragmented nature of the assemblage meant no complete dimensions could be obtained from most specimens.

Table.10.1 Variables recorded for smoking pipes

| Variable | Attribute | Categories | Description |
|---------------------|-----------|--|--|
| Decoration | | RS | Red slip |
| | | Chan | Channel or Multi-Channel, horizontal or diagonal |
| | | AP-1 | Applied plastic ridge |
| | | I-1 | Line of crescent-shaped impressions |
| | | I-2 | Row of straight vertical impressions |
| | | I-3 | Incised crosshatch |
| | | I-4 | Vertical parallel striations (cf.comb) |
| | | I-5 | Zig-zag pattern with impressed circles at the corners and multiple incised lines connecting them |
| | | I-6 | Like I-7, but with crossed circles |
| | | I-7 | Punctate, simple circles |
| | | I-8 | Impressed spirals |
| | | I-9 | Punctate, two concentric circles |
| | | I-10 | Semi-circular tool, impressed |
| | I-11 | Stabbed comb: line of impressed rectangles | |
| | Undec. | No decoration | |
| Rim | shape | S1 | Simple square rim |
| | | S2 | Simple rim, narrows towards the top, flat. |
| | | Th1 | Thickened: Like S1 but with a 2mm difference between the thickest and thinnest parts |
| | | Th2 | Thickened, with collar. |
| | angle | 0 | Straight: 90° |
| | | 1 | Closed: >90° |
| | chamfer | 1 | Present |
| 0 | | Absent | |
| Stem | | ST-1 | Flaring collar, round end |
| | | ST-2 | Flaring collar, square end |
| | | ST-3 | Short square collar, no flaring |
| | | ST-4 | Short round collar, no flaring |
| | | ST-5 | No collar, short |
| | | ST-6 | No collar, long |
| | | ST-7 | Collar only slightly wider than stem, straight, circular |
| Base | shape | B-1 | Circular footed base |
| | | B-2 | Non-footed base |
| Completeness | | 1 | Bowl rim (2 cm) |
| | | 2 | Bowl |
| | | 3 | Base of bowl |
| | | 4 | Stem articulation point |

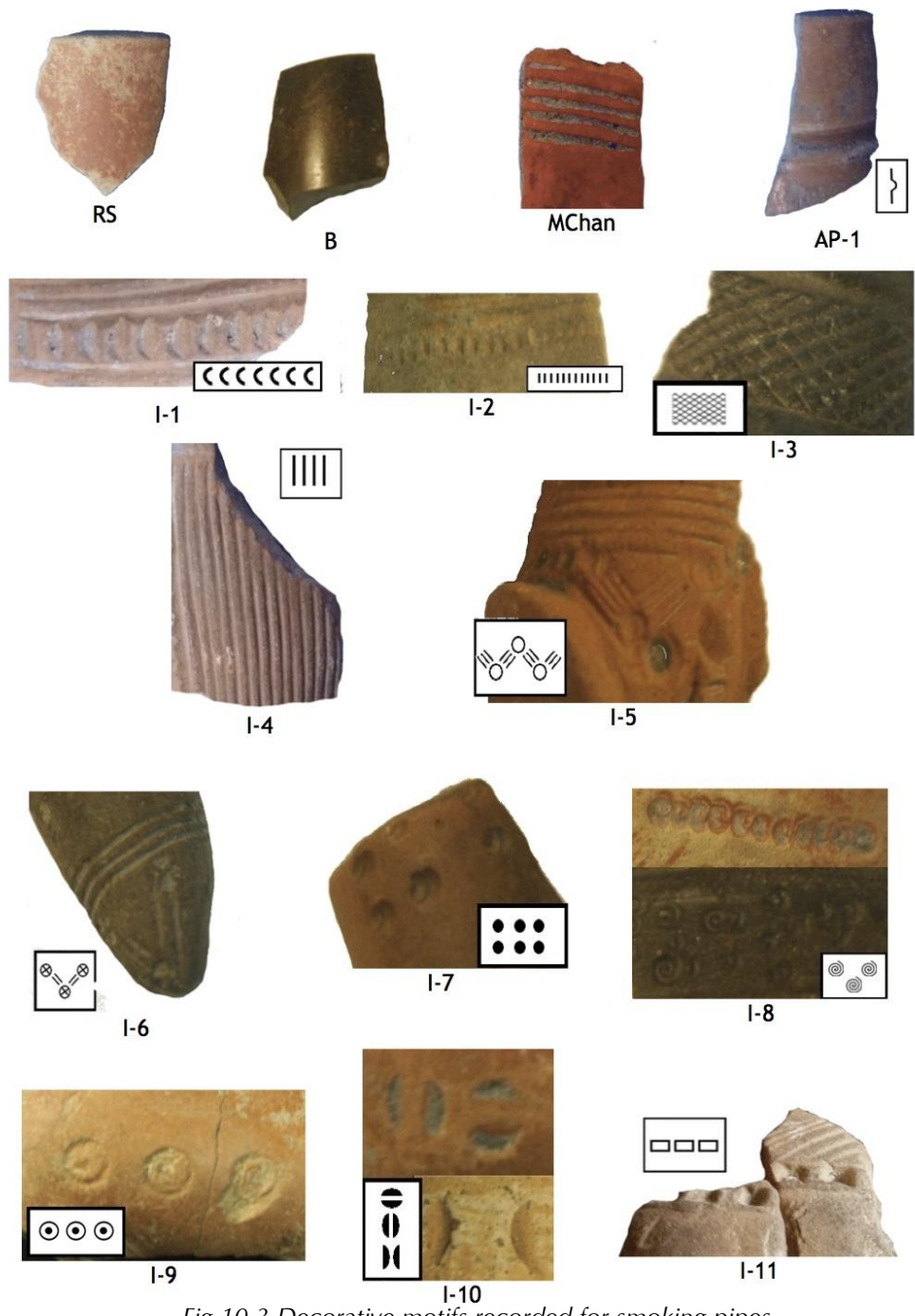


Fig.10.3 Decorative motifs recorded for smoking pipes



Fig. 10.4 Types of stem tips recorded

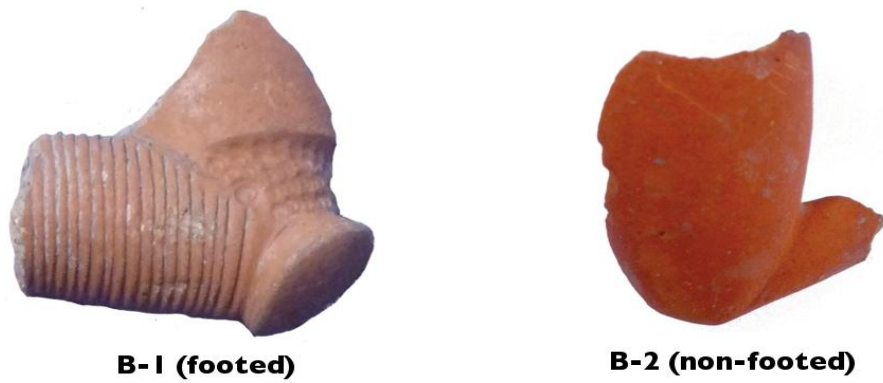


Fig. 10.5 Types of bases recorded

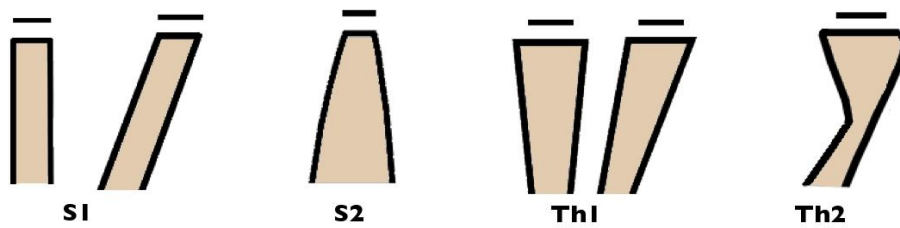
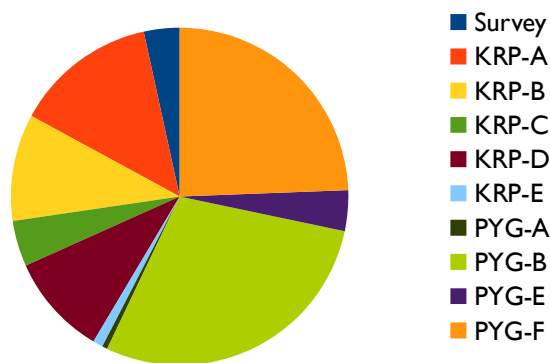


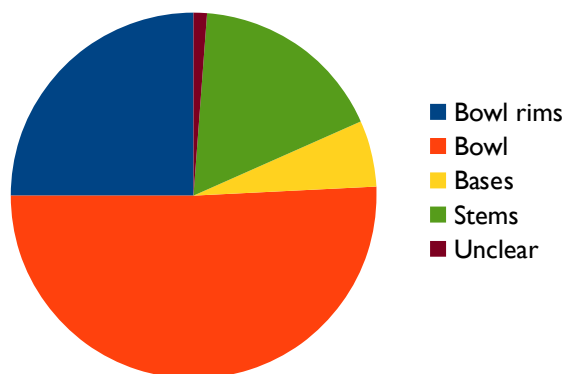
Fig. 10.6 Types of rims recorded

The Upper Casamance assemblage

We encountered a total of 220 pipe fragments: 7 from the survey, 133 from Payoungou, and 80 from Korop. The assemblage was very fragmentary, composed mostly of bowl fragments, and included no complete pipes. As it tends to be the case with other Senegambian assemblages (Lawson 2003, 267 ; Gokee 2012, 624), the pipes are much finer in texture and design than locally-made pottery. As for their provenance, contrary to faunal remains, only 29% came from refuse pits or midden contexts. The most common surface treatments in both Payoungou and Korop were red-slip, burnishing, and channels, although the proportions varied slightly depending on the site and unit (see Fig.10.7). As for less common decorative motifs, the numbers are too low as to derive any conclusions. The numbers for the different units and factors are summarised in Table 10.2.



10.7 Smoking pipes by site



10.8 Smoking pipes by part

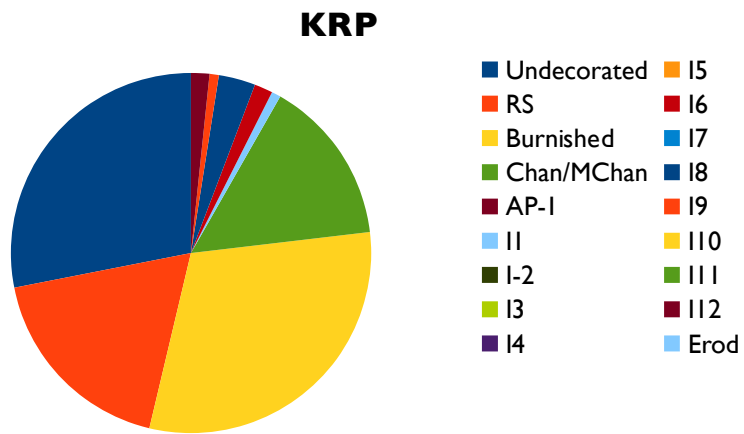


Fig.10.9 Smoking pipe decorative motifs in Korop

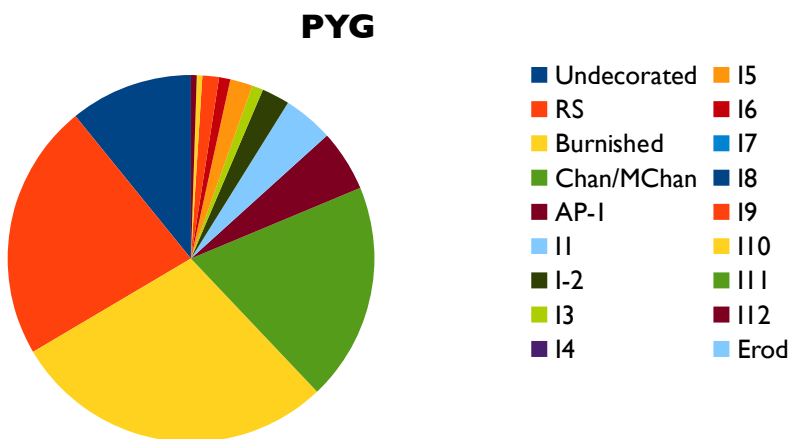


Fig. 10.10 Smoking pipe decorative motifs in Payoungou

Table 10.2 Smoking pipe traits by unit

| Origin | Total | Decoration | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Rim | | | Stem | | | | | | | Base | | Parts | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|------------|----|----|--------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|------|-----|---|----|----|----|----|------|----|-------|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|-----|----|----|----|
| | | RS | B | Ch | AP-II1 | I2 | I3 | I4 | I5 | I6 | I7 | I8 | I9 | I10 | I11 | I12 | SI | S2 | Th1 | Th2 | 0 | I | 0 | I | I | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | I | 2 | I | 2 | 3 | 4 | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Survey | 7 | | 2 | 4 | | - | | | - | - | | | - | - | - | | - | | - | - | - | | - | - | | - | - | - | | | | - | - | | 2 | | 2 | | 5 |
| PYG-A | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | - | | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | 3 | | - | - | - |
| PYG-B | 59 | 24 | 24 | 19 | 4 | 6 | 4 | | - | 4 | 2 | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | 12 | | 6 | 6 | 13 | 12 | 6 | 19 | 5 | 4 | | | - | - | - | - | - | - | 25 | 32 | 6 | 13 |
| PYG-E | 8 | 3 | 6 | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | - | | - | 2 | 2 | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | 3 | 7 | | - |
| PYG-F | 48 | 12 | 23 | 11 | 7 | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | | 13 | - | 4 | 2 | 11 | 8 | 3 | 16 | 2 | 6 | - | - | - | - | - | - | | 23 | 27 | | 10 | |
| PYG-G | 15 | 7 | 5 | 8 | - | - | | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | | - | - | - | | - | - | | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | 3 | 8 | | 3 |
| KRP-A | 34 | 16 | 29 | 8 | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | - | - | 6 | - | - | - | | 5 | | 6 | | | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | 5 | 18 | 3 | 7 |
| KRP-B | 16 | 4 | 4 | 7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | 2 | - | 2 | | - | | 2 | | | | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 10 | - | 3 |
| KRP-C | 10 | 2 | 3 | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | | | - | - | - | | - | - | - | - | | - | | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 6 | | 2 |
| KRP-D | 20 | - | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | - | | - | | | | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | 2 | 18 | | 1 |
| KRP-E | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | - |
| Total | 220 | 69 | 97 | 61 | 12 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 5 | | 4 | 4 | | | 3 | 39 | 3 | 13 | 8 | 32 | 31 | 12 | 51 | 12 | 11 | 2 | 2 | | | | 7 | 7 | 67 | 130 | 15 | 44 | |

Comparison with other pipe assemblages

It is quite difficult to compare and assess the degree of similarity or difference of the Upper Casamance's pipe assemblage to other West African ones, since different authors use very different classification systems – or none at all– and rarely publish detailed results. On the basis of qualitative assessments of published photographs and drawings, however, and I can discern clear parallels between the Upper Casamance's assemblage and that of Lawson (2003, 269) and Platt (2013) in the Gambia valley, and Richard (2007, 616) in the Siin region. As can be seen in Fig.10.11, both assemblages include some of the forms (ST-1, ST-2, ST-3, B-2) and decorations (I-5, Mchan, I-3) noted in the Upper Casamance. On the other hand, the assemblages from the Falémé (e.g. Gokee 2012, 624-6) appear to be very different.

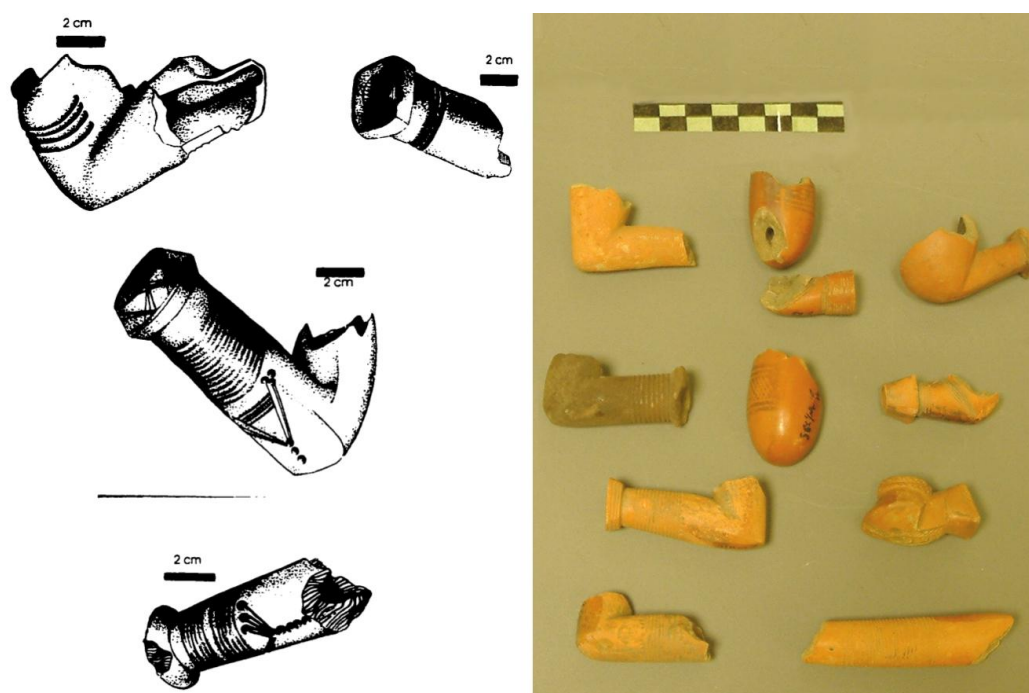


Fig.10.11 Left. Smoking pipes from the Central Gambia Valley (Lawson 2003, 269). Right: smoking pipes from the Siin (Richard 2007, 616).

10.3 Beads

The most common type of small find after smoking pipes were beads. Beads have long been part of local, regional, and long-distance exchange networks throughout West Africa. Stone, bone, shell, and ostrich-shell beads have been widely recovered from Late Stone Age and Iron Age contexts (DeCorse 1989,41);

and carnelian beads have been found in sites as old as 2000 BC (MacDonald 2011b). Although originally thought to have appeared only with the rise of trans-Saharan trade, glassbeads have now been found in pre-AD 800 contexts in sites like Kissi (Burkina Faso), Igbo-Ukwu (Nigeria), and Jenne-Jeno (Mali) (Brill 1995; Insoll & Shaw 1997; Magnavita 2003). Their importance, however, grew substantially with the development of established trans-Saharan trade routes, as documented by Arab chroniclers such as Yaqut and al-Idrisi in the 12th C and Ibn-Battuta in the mid-14th C (Levtzion and Hopkins 2000: 86, 107-108, 169, 287); and continued with the shift in trading axes towards the Atlantic coast from the 15th C onwards. The quantitative importance of the trade in glass beads at the height of the Atlantic era is reflected in the words of the Dominican missionary to Senegambia Jean Baptiste Labat:

'on se sauroit croire la consommation qui se fait dans toute l'Afrique de ces grains de verre ou des gros émail que l'on tire d'Hollande, de Venise, d'Alemagne & de quelques endroits de France. Ces grains ont des noms differens selon leur grosseur, leur couleur, leur figure. [...] Les Noirs, hommes, femmes & enfants s'en parent; ils en font des colliers, des bracelets & de petits ornements qu'ils appliquent sur les bords de leurs panes, de leurs bonnets & autres hardes & sur quelques petits meubles¹ (Labat 1728a, 241-2)

Observations which are confirmed a few decades later by another priest, Demanet, who during a voyage to Senegambia in 1763-4 noted how:

'beads of all types are the merchandise which works best for traders, and that which brings them the biggest profits : consequently, they must give out as much as it is demanded. Without beads the colony could not exist because without them it would not be possible to acquire food and other articles necessary to life which the country provides. It is inconceivable for inexperienced Europeans to imagine how many beads are consumed along all the coasts of Africa. Men and women alike wear prodigious belts of them, which are sometimes one foot wide by three or four rows thick. The finer beads are for those who are wealthy ; the common ones are for their slaves. A woman could not consider herself dressed if she didn't have a certain number of sufficient necklaces and belts of coral, amber loquis, galets, carnelian and crystal beads, and gold ear pendants which they make themselves (Walckenaer 1842, V, 182).

1 'One would not believe the consumption throughout Africa of these glass beads from Holland, Venice, Germany, and certain parts of France. These beads have different names depending on their thickness, colour, shape [...] The Blacks, men, women, and children wear them; they make necklaces, bracelets, and small ornaments which they attach to the edges of their clothes, of their hats, and other rags, and onto some small pieces of furniture'

Classification and dating

Although beads have often been used in West African archaeology as *fossiles directeurs*, their use as chronological indicators poses two main problems: firstly, not enough is known at present about trade patterns to confidently determine the time of introduction of particular bead types to the West African coast, which might be substantially later than their manufacturing date. Additionally, the social and ritual importance of beads keeps them in circulation long after their original purchase, which further muddles their chronological resolution (DeCorse 1989, 43-9). Bearing these limitations in mind, however, beads do offer reliable *terminus post-quem* which in the absence of prior chronologies can be extremely helpful for defining local chronologies.

Several classification systems have been suggested for glass beads (Beck 1928; Van der Sleen 1967; Kidd & Kidd 1983; Karklins 1985). For the description of the Upper Casamance beads, I have employed an attribute-based system similar to that delineated by DeCorse (1989) and DeCorse *et al.* (2003), recording variables for size, shape (see Fig.10.13), and structure, manufacturing techniques, colour, and decoration (see Table 10.3). Additionally, unlike other types of materials, for beads we have access to some of the typologies employed by the makers and traders, through trading logs and historical catalogues, so where possible, the archaeologically retrieved beads have been connected to these historical typologies.

The Upper Casamance Assemblage

We encountered a total of 70 glass beads, 4 from the survey, 26 from Payoungou, and 40 from Korop. In Korop, 75% of the beads came from a single unit (KRP-A), while in Payoungou they were more evenly distributed between units B, G, and F. Beads in Korop were not just more common but also more widespread, as 4/5 units had them, as opposed to Payoungou where only 3/7 did. Beads were predominantly European and made of glass, but the assemblage also included two carnelian beads (one from each site), a brass bead (which is discussed later in the metal section), two ceramic beads (one from each site), two bone beads (one from each site), and a stone bead from Korop. Out of the 70 beads recovered, 64% (45) could be attributed to a particular period. Of these, 50% (35) had been manufactured between the 17th and 19th C, and the rest (10) had been made and sold throughout the 19th C (see Table 10.3).

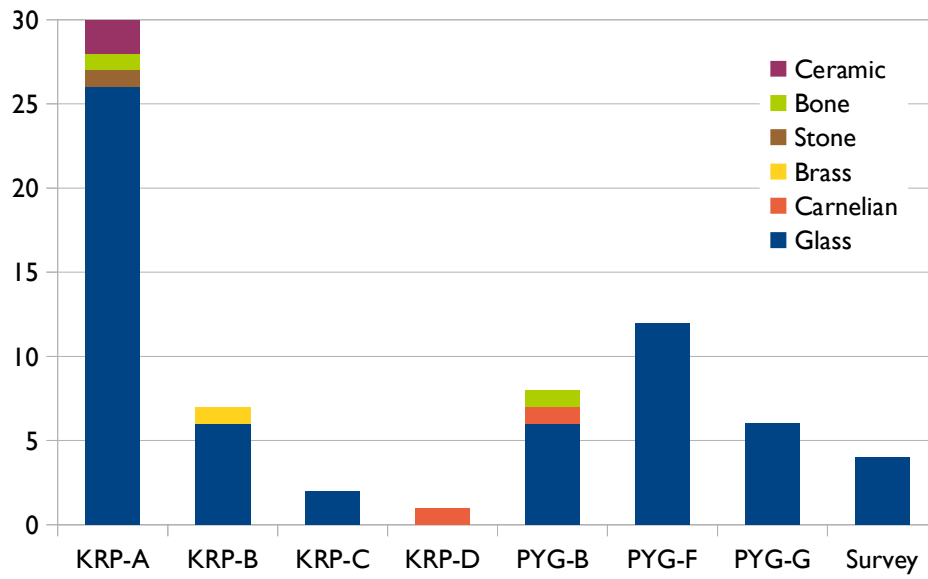


Fig. 10.12 Total quantities of beads

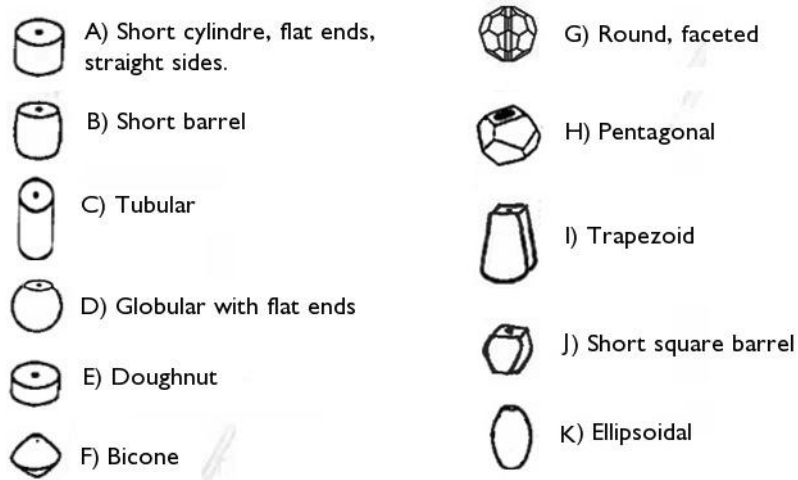


Fig. 10.13 Bead shapes

Table 10.3 Summary of bead data from survey and excavation

| SF # | Context | Material | Shape | Diameter (mm) | Length (mm) | Complete | General colour | Type | Origin | A speo tail ? | Date |
|------|-------------------|-----------|-------|---------------|-------------|----------|----------------|--------------------|------------|---------------|--|
| 2 | Survey-Kabendou | glass | H | 19 | 16 | | Blue | | | | |
| 8 | Survey-Korop | glass | ? | 16 | 11 | | Blue | | | | |
| 9 | Survey-M.Sinthian | glass | G | 11 | 7 | x | Blue | Blue Russian | Bohemian | | First half 19 th C |
| 16 | Survey-M.Sinthian | glass | K | 15 | 19 | | White | | | | |
| 24a | PYG-B-2 | glass | B | 8 | 8 | | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 24b | PYG-B-2 | glass | B | 8.5 | 9 | | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 24c | PYG-B-2 | glass | B | 8 | 7.5 | | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 25 | PYG-B-2 | glass | G | 12.5 | 9.5 | x | No colour | | Bohemian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 26 | PYG-B-2 | carnelian | I | 9 | 22 | x | Red | | | | |
| 29 | PYG-B-4 | glass | C | 4 | 12 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 30 | PYG-B-5 | glass | B | 8 | 7.5 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | x | 17 th to 19 th |
| 39 | KRP-A-1 | glass | D | 9 | 7 | x | Black | | | | |
| 44 | KRP-A-2 | glass | ? | 10 | 12 | | Yellow | | | | |
| 45 | KRP-A-2 | glass | A | 7 | 5 | x | Blue | | European | | Ca 1840 and later |
| 46 | KRP-A-2 | glass | G | 8 | 6 | x | Blue | Blue Russian | Bohemian | | First half 19 th C |
| 47 | KRP-A-2 | glass | A | 7 | 6 | x | Black | | | | 1840 and later |
| 48 | KRP-A-2 | glass | C | 4 | 6 | x | Pink/white | Cornaline d'Aleppo | Venetian | | 19 th C and later |
| 49 | KRP-A-2 | glass | A | 4 | 2.5 | x | White | | | | |
| 50 | KRP-A-2 | ceramic | D | 6.5 | 5.5 | x | Black | | | | |
| 51 | KRP-A-2 | glass | A | 7 | 5 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 52 | KRP-A-2 | glass | D | 5 | 4 | x | Brown | | | | |
| 53 | KRP-A-2 | stone | D | 10 | 7 | x | Brown | | | | |
| 54 | KRP-A-2 | glass | B | 9 | 6 | x | Black | | | | |
| 55 | KRP-A-2 | glass | B | 8.5 | 9 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 56 | KRP-A-2 | glass | B | 11 | 9 | | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | x | 17 th to 19 th |
| 57 | KRP-A-2 | glass | A | 6 | 6 | x | White | Galet blanc | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 58 | KRP-A-2 | glass | A | 6 | 7 | x | White | Galet blanc | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 59 | KRP-A-2 | glass | E | 8 | 4 | x | White | | | | |
| 60 | KRP-A-2 | glass | E | 7 | 4 | x | White | Galet blanc | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 65 | KRP-A-3 | glass | B | 8 | 6 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 66 | KRP-A-3 | glass | B | 7 | 4 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 67 | KRP-A-3 | glass | B | 7 | 4 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | x | 17 th to 19 th |
| 68 | KRP-A-3 | glass | B | 7 | 6 | x | Yellow | | | | |
| 69 | KRP-A-3 | glass | B | 8 | 6 | | White | | | | |
| 70 | KRP-A-3 | glass | J | 6 | 6 | x | White | | | | |
| 71 | KRP-A-3 | glass | I | 10 | 16 | x | Brown | | | | |
| 72 | KRP-A-4 | glass | B | 6 | 6 | x | Yellow | | | | |
| 74 | KRP-A-6 | ceramic | F | 8.5 | 7 | x | White | | | | |
| 75 | KRP-A-7 | glass | B | 8 | 6 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | x | 17 th to 19 th |
| 76 | KRP-A-7 | glass | E | 4 | 2 | x | White | Galet blanc | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 78 | KRP-A-11 | bone | A | 4 | 3 | x | White | | | | |
| 81 | KRP-B-2 | glass | B | 6 | 6 | x | Yellow | | | | |
| 82 | KRP-B-3 | glass | A | 5 | 6 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | x | 17 th to 19 th |
| 83 | KRP-B-3 | glass | G | 7 | 6 | | White | Galet blanc | Venetian | x | 17 th to 19 th |
| 84 | KRP-B-6 | glass | J | 9 | 7 | x | No colour | | | | |
| 85 | KRP-B-7 | glass | B | 10 | 7 | x | Yellow | | | | 19 th C |
| 86 | KRP-B-7 | glass | B | 9 | 9 | x | Blue/white | Dutch cane | Venetian ? | x | mid 19 th -mid 20 th C |
| 90 | KRP-B-11 | brass | D | 8.5 | 7 | x | Brown | | | | |
| 94 | PYG-B-8 | bone | B | | | | White | | | | |
| 111 | PYG-F-2 | glass | B | 9 | 10 | x | Blue/white | Dutch cane | Venetian ? | x | pre-1817 |
| 120 | PYG-F-3 | glass | B | 2.5 | 2.3 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 123 | PYG-F-6 | glass | E | 5.4 | 3.1 | x | Red | | | | |
| 126 | PYG-F-6 | glass | B | 6.3 | 0.5 | x | Yellow | | | x | pre-1817 |
| 131 | PYG-F-8 | glass | A | 3.7 | 3 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | x | 17 th to 19 th |
| 137 | PYG-F-9 | glass | B | 7.4 | 6 | | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 141 | PYG-F-10 | glass | C | 7.2 | 10 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 150 | PYG-F-14 | glass | A | 3.2 | 2.5 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 160 | PYG-F-19 | glass | C | 4.5 | 16 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 177 | PYG-F-26 | glass | B | 8.6 | 8 | | Red | | Venetian | | Mid to late 1800 |
| 190 | PYG-F-27 | glass | C | 4 | 9 | x | Red | | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 176 | PYG-G-3 | glass | D | 10.3 | 8 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 194 | PYG-G-3 | glass | A | 6.3 | 4 | x | White | Galet blanc | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 195 | PYG-G-6 | glass | B | 8.4 | 8.4 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | x | 17 th to 19 th |
| 196 | PYG-G-6 | glass | B | 6.3 | 4 | x | Black | | | | |
| 203 | PYG-F-29 | glass | B | 4.8 | 7.3 | | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | x | 17 th to 19 th |
| 207 | PYG-G-13 | glass | A | 8.3 | 8.4 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 211 | PYG-G-18 | glass | A | 3.3 | 3.2 | x | White | Galet blanc | Venetian | | 17 th to 19 th |
| 216 | KRP-C-4 | glass | B | 7.5 | 8.1 | x | Red | Galet rouge | Venetian | x | 17 th to 19 th |
| 218 | KRP-C-4 | glass | C | 4.6 | 5.5 | | Pink/white | Cornaline d'Aleppo | Venetian | | 19 th C and later |
| 236 | KRP-D-2 | carnelian | | 11.1 | 17 | | Red | | | | |

Venetian beads I: *galet rouge* and *galet blanc*

Out of the beads that could be identified to a type, *Galet Rouge* were the most common. Also known as 'green hearts', these are siena red on transparent green compound drawn beads; while *galet blanc* are white on white drawn beads. Both were made in Venice between the 17th and 19th C. In the 18th C, the archives of the British Royal African Company show how 1000 *galet rouge* were equivalent to £4 (Opper & Opper 1989, 8). They are mentioned as an important part of the trade with Africa as early as the 1680s (Cultru 1910, 107 in Opper & Opper 1989, 15). *Galet rouge* beads were also mentioned in Pommergorge's (1789) list of trade items for the coast of West Africa, and in the 19th C Hyacinthe Hecquard (1853, 195) described how:

'De même encore que leurs femmes, ils se ceignent les reins avec ces rangs de perles rouges our blanques qu'on nomme à Saint-Louis *galet*'²

A total of 24 *galet rouge* and 7 *galet blanc* beads were found at Payoungou and Korop, representing 34% and 10% of the assemblage, respectively. *Galet rouge* were more common in Payoungou than in Korop (15/9), while the opposite happened with *galet blanc* (2/5).



Fig. 10.14 *Galet rouge* and *galet blanc* beads (#75,#160,#216, #203,#60, #58)

Venetian beads II: *Cornaline d'Aleppo* and other 19th C beads

Cornaline d'Aleppo is the name used in bead catalogues for either drawn or wound two-layer compound beads with a white or yellow inner core and a red or pink exterior. They were produced in Murano (Venice) from the early 1800s to the 1960s, and commonly appear in 19th C bead sample cards as associated with the African trade (Picard & Picard 1988), as well as in trade descriptions by explorers

² 'Like their women, they gird their waist with rows of these red or white beads which in St Louis are called *galet*'

and traders (e.g. Pommegorge, 1729). Also known as 'white hearts', they are commonly found in Senegambian sites (e.g. Thiaw 1999, 336-69; Richard 2007, 622; Gokee 2012, 635). Two of them were found in Korop (units A and C), none in Payoungou.

Three other 19th C beads were encountered, two drawn cane beads with a dark blue exterior and 25 thin white strips parallel to perforation (SF #86 & #111), and one with alternating white-black white stripes on red with a transparent green core (SF #216), which correspond to DeCorse *et al*'s (2003) types 81 and 83, respectively.



Fig.10.15 19th C Venetian Beads (#86,#48, #177)

Bohemian beads: Russian blues and others

Bohemian beads of drawn and moulded manufacture, including the ones often called 'Russian blue', became common in the 19th C Senegambian trade. Made in factories in Bohemia (currently Czech Republic and eastern Germany), these beads were ground by hand at each angle creating a multi-faceted effect, and are a common appearance in historical bead sample cards (Picard & Picard 1989). Four instances were recorded, found during the survey (1), and in excavations in Korop (1), and Payoungou (2).

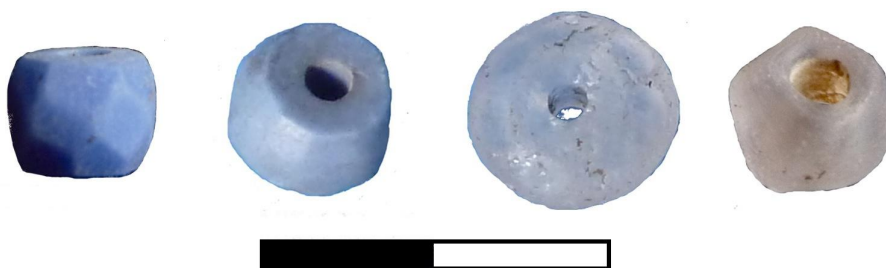


Fig.10.16 19th C Bohemian beads (#46, #09,#25,#84)

Non-glass beads

Carnelian is a form of red to reddish brown microcrystalline quartz, sometimes called agate when it presents bands. Carnelian beads are a relatively common occurrence in Senegambian sites from the late first to the late second millennium AD (Bocoum & McIntosh 2002, 179; Chavane 1985; Gokee 2012, 636-637; Thiaw 1999, 210). While no sources of carnelian are known in the Senegambia, there have been documented sources in Mali (in the Adrar des Iforas and near Gao), but imports from sources as diverse as Egypt and India have also been reported (Insoll & Shaw 1997, 15; Insoll *et al* 2004) .

Two carnelian beads were found during excavation, a complete one from PYG-B, and a fragmentary specimen from KRP-D, both with bands, and found in Fulaadu and Kaabu period deposits, respectively. Unfortunately, without compositional analysis, their origin cannot be determined. Finally, two ceramic, a stone, a brass, and two bone beads and one stone beads were recovered from Korop and Payoungou.



Fig.10.17 From left to right, carnelian (#26,#236), stone (#53), and ceramic (#74)beads found during excavation

10.4 Metals

A total of 37 metal objects were recovered from excavations, of which 29 (78%) were made of iron, 6 (16.22%) of brass, one of bronze, and one combined elements of iron and brass. They included 9 pieces of jewellery (including earrings, a chain, a pendant, a bead, and a ring), 3 gun parts (all from Payoungou), a braiding tool (SF#129), a small spoon (SF#62), as well as 18 objects which were too fragmentary to identify.

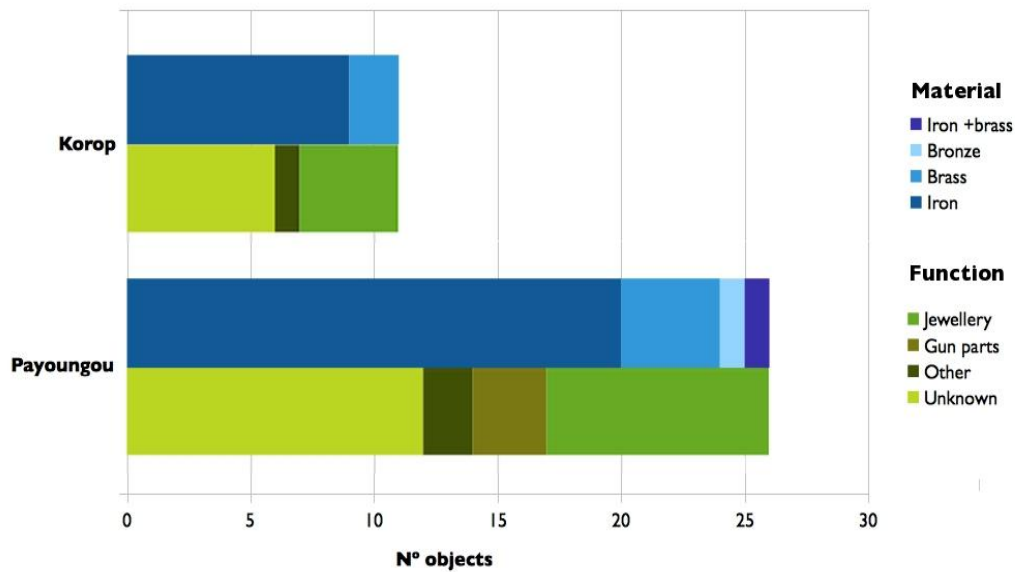


Fig. 10.18 Metal finds by type and site

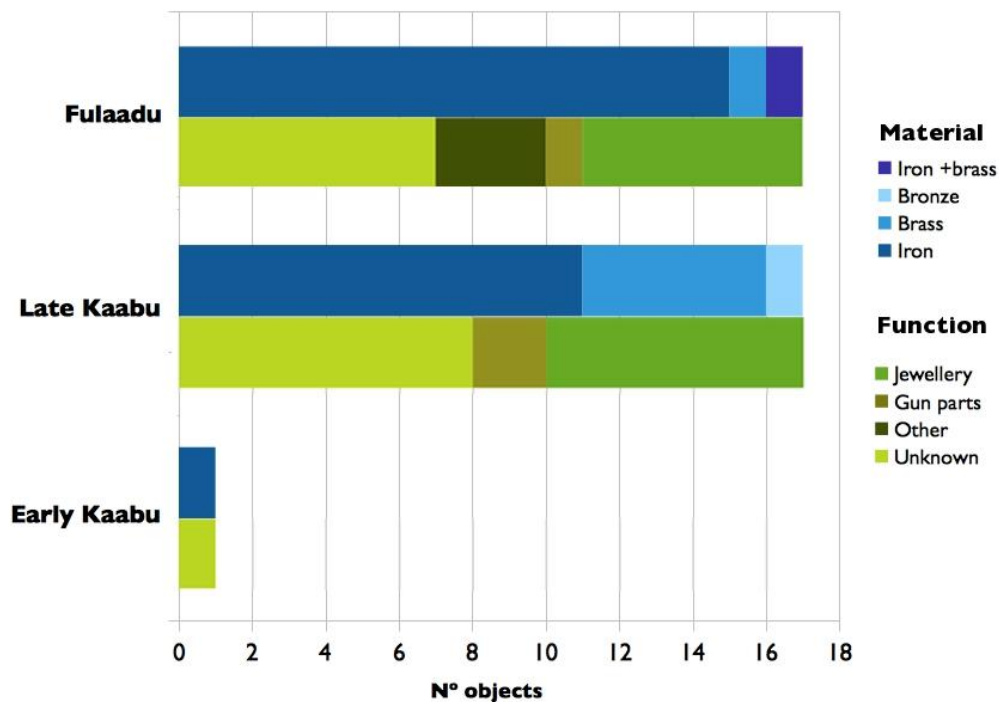


Fig. 10.19 Metal finds by type and period

Iron

Out of the 29 iron objects encountered, 69% (20), came from Payoungou. Overall, iron objects were more common in Fulaadu contexts than in Late Kaabu ones (11/15), but by a margin that could be down to sampling. Only one iron object was retrieved from Early Kaabu contexts and none from pre-Kaabu deposits. This temporal distribution differs markedly from that of iron slag (see Fig.10.20), which is most common in pre-Kaabu, Late Kaabu, and Fulaadu contexts, in that order. It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that all of the pre-Kaabu slag came from a single unit, PYG-A, which had also the only iron furnace encountered during excavation, and thus might not be representative of the period as a whole. What is clear, however, is that both quantities of slag and of iron objects were significantly higher in Payoungou than in Korop. In both sites, iron objects were not just the most common, but also the most diverse, including jewellery (7), gun parts (3), a hair braiding tool, and what elders interpreted as a tobacco measuring implement (see Fig. 10.25).

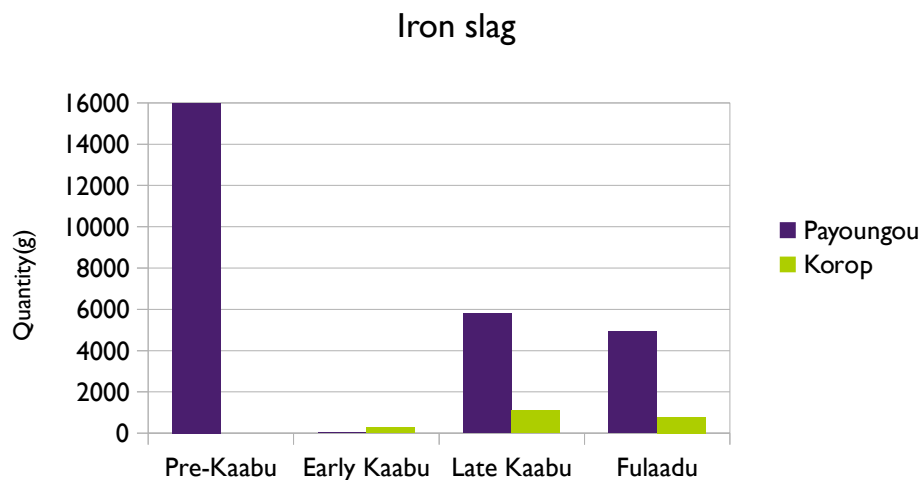


Fig. 10.20 Total quantities of slag by period

As was previously discussed, the analysis of the iron slag undertaken by Lina Campos (2014) revealed that iron was smelted in both Payoungou and Korop, in the pre-Kaabu and Fulaadu periods, respectively. This analysis, however, was based on 14 samples so it is likely that smelting occurred in other periods as well. In fact, we have historical confirmation that iron smelting was common in Early Kaabu, as the Portuguese Alvares de Almada, writing in the 16th C, noted how:

'Iron can be obtained in this river : (the ore) is dug locally. The blacks smelt it, and make bars one hand-span long, and three fingers wide at one end and two fingers wide at the other' (Almada 1594, 53)

It is possible, however, that some iron might have been imported, especially for the later periods, as three centuries later Dorchard reported that:

'the soil, for the most part, is an ochre-coloured clay intermixed here and there with small fragments of ferruginous stone, which, in several places, makes its appearance above the surface in the form of large rocks. Some small eminences are entirely composed of this rock, which the natives say contains a large proportion of iron, but, from the facility the river affords them of procuring an abundant supply of that metal from the English merchants, they do not now think it worth the trouble of extracting. The blacksmiths of the country say, that it is more malleable than English iron, and better suited to all their wants, were the process of obtaining it not so difficult' (Dorchard 1825, 57).

Although the available evidence is limited, and therefore all conclusions are tentative, a gradual decline in iron production due to availability of quality iron via Gambia trading routes is in accordance with the archaeological evidence, which presents a gradual decline in quantities of slag over time, as well as greater presence of slag overall in the site furthest from the Gambia (Payoungou).

One element which was definitely traded, at least initially, was fire-arms. While there are records of muskets obtained across the Sahara prior to the 17th C, firearms do not appear to have had an impact on patterns of warfare in West Africa until their arrival via the Atlantic trade (Law 1976, 122). In the second half of the 17th C, European traders started to bring large quantities of firearms for sale on the West African coast, and the development of cheaper and more reliable flintlocks in the 1690s, led to the real switch from spears and bows to firearms in West African warfare (Law 1976, 122; Richards 1980, 44). In fact, the number of guns imported to the Senegambia increased eightfold between 1718-1750, and their price decreased by over 40%. Quantities of gunpowder also doubled, while its price dropped to a quarter of what it initially had been (Richards 1980, 49). It is important bear in mind, however, that in this case there is no correlation between firearm sales and the slave trade; in fact the slave trade was already declining by the 1730s, when bulk firearm sales were starting, and the import of guns reached its height by the 1830s, when slave trade had practically ceased (Richards 1980, 49).

Although only three gun parts (see Fig.10.21) and five gunflints (see below) were encountered during excavation, firearms played a key role in oral traditions

about the last two centuries, and several elders still had their great-grandfathers muskets (see Fig.10.22) which reportedly were used in Kansala and other battles during the Kaabu-Fuuta war in the mid-19th C



Fig. 10.21 Excavated iron gun parts (#147,#112,#198)



Fig.10.22 Left: Samba Sane from Muntumba showing his grandfathers gun. Right: Racine Tall (Tukolor), head of the troops of El Hadj, in Mage 1868.



Fig.10.23 Flintlock mechanism kept by an elder in Payoungou

Copper-based alloys

Seven brass³ objects were retrieved during excavation, five in Payoungou and two in Korop. All but one were pieces of jewellery, including a bracelet, two pendants, a chain, and a ring. The remaining item was a small spoon (SF#62; see Fig.10.25) which the elders in Payoungou claimed served as a smoking pipe implement. Brass objects were more common in Payoungou than in Korop (5/2), but the absolute numbers were too low as to derive any significant conclusion from this difference. The manufacture of the brass items was finer and more intricate than that of iron objects.

The composition of the brass small finds was determined with an Innov-X System with a Delta XRF analyser using the Alloy Plus mode without collimator, and the results are summarised in Table 10.4. As for their origin, five of these objects came from royal *tata* areas, the ring was found next to the burial in PYG-G, and a bracelet fragment which contained both iron and brass elements was retrieved from the most recent horizon in PYG-C. Period-wise, five were found in Late Kaabu contexts, and two in Fulaadu ones. One bronze item was also encountered in PYG-A, a small (2x2x0.8cm) concave object with exterior striations probably made through lost wax casting, but whose function could not be determined.

3 The distinction between brass and bronze was made on the basis of the two principal components of the alloy: those which the pXRF showed to be made mainly of copper and zinc/lead were considered brass, while those whose main components were copper and tin were identified as bronze.

Table 10.4 pXRF results for copper-based alloys

| SF# | Object | Cu | Zn | Pb | Fe | Ni | Sn | Ti | Ag | Bi | As | Mn | Sb |
|-----|----------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 19 | unknown | 58.30 | 4.48 | 4.38 | 1.50 | 0.13 | 28.95 | 0.79 | 0.43 | 0.06 | | - | 0.96 |
| 62 | spoon | 71.96 | 14.41 | 6.10 | 0.78 | - | 0.55 | | 3.86 | - | | 0.01 | - |
| 90 | bead | 77.77 | 17.72 | 3.60 | 0.37 | 0.11 | 0.12 | - | - | - | 0.09 | - | - |
| 99 | bracelet | 78.40 | 9.05 | 7.88 | 2.66 | 0.03 | 0.86 | 1.02 | - | 0.08 | | 0.02 | - |
| 134 | pendant | 77.57 | 7.19 | 10.87 | 2.28 | 0.04 | 0.82 | 0.88 | - | 0.20 | | 0.02 | 0.10 |
| 149 | chain | 78.99 | 11.69 | 8.13 | 0.56 | 0.05 | - | 0.23 | - | - | 0.34 | - | - |
| 165 | pendant | 84.10 | 11.04 | 1.22 | 2.82 | 0.08 | - | 0.63 | - | - | 0.09 | - | - |
| 208 | ring | 70.79 | 12.53 | 12.68 | 1.82 | - | - | 1.69 | 0.24 | - | - | - | - |

Unlike iron, sources of copper were not available locally, and therefore copper ore or finished copper objects would have had to be imported. The closest known source of copper ore are the Akjoujt mines in Mauritania, from which artefacts in mid-1st millennium BC to late 1st millennium AD sites along the Senegal and Falemé rivers have been shown to come (Deme & McIntosh 2006; Thiaw 1999, 219-22). Additionally, copper was also imported from Europe, as documented by historical written sources, such as the 15th C Genoese trader Antonio Malfante, who reported how:

'The wares for which there is a demand here are many but the principal articles are copper, and salt in slabs, bars, and cakes. The copper of Romania, which is obtained through Alexandria, is always in great demand throughout the land of the Blacks' (Letter of Antoine Malfante in 1447, in Crone 1937, 89).

A century later, Alvares de Almada (1594, 47) cited copper bracelets and copper scrap as two of the most traded items in the Gambia; and in 1686, Dapper (1686, 240) added brass bracelets to the list. Consequently, and pending a detailed compositional analysis, the origin of the Payoungou and Korop copper cannot be determined, but it was doubtlessly the result of long-distance trade links, whether European or African. Overall, its imported origin, together with its lower numbers and the greater intricacy and finesse of the manufacture when compared to iron objects, the ornamental nature of the items, and the fact that it is largely found in royal areas, would indicate that copper was in fact a prestige good only accessible to some parts of the population.



Fig. 10.24 Jewellery. Top row: brass (#149,#165,#90, #208), bottom row: iron (#157,#122,#159)



Fig.10.25 Other metal objects. From left to right: brass spoon (#62), unidentified bronze object(#19), iron hair braiding tool (?)(#129)

10.5 Other imports

European ceramics and flasks

A very fragmentary collection of European ceramics was recovered from surface collections and excavation. The largest assemblage came from Korop's surface, and included pieces of magenta annular painted white ware, tin-glazed earthenware, brown-glazed alkaline stone-ware, as well as a fragment of semi-porcelain, all produced in the 19th C and too fragmentary to assess form (see Fig.10.27). The only other site with imported ceramics on the surface was Thiara (UC-23), with a sherd of 17th-19th C stoneware. Five European sherds were found during excavation: a piece of 19th C milkglass and a very small magenta painted white-ware sherd from Korop; and two pieces of Mediterranean alkaline-glazed stone ware (1775-1900), and a piece of Westerwald ceramics (1700-1780) from

Payoungou. This latter, appears to have belonged to a tankard, as indicated by its similarities with a complete example found in the cargo of a ship that sank off the coast of Stockholm in 1628 (see Fig.10.26 & 10.28). Additionally, a complete mould blown bodied perfume bottle dating to the second half of the 19th was found during the surface collection at Korop, and a matching but more fragmentary specimen was found in the upper horizon of KRP-C (see Fig.10.27)



Fig.10.26 Right: sherd encountered during excavation (#193). Left: Westerwald jug found in a 1628 shipwreck off the Swedish coast. Photo: The Vasa Museum/the Swedish National Maritime Museums.



Fig.10.27 Perfume bottles from Korop



Fig.10.28 European ceramics encountered during survey and excavation (#11d,#11c,#11b,#11a,#31,#34,#42)

Gin bottles

Although glass was relatively common in both surface and excavated contexts, in most cases it was so fragmentary it was impossible to determine the nature of the original vessel. The one exception to this pattern were case gin bottles. As with ceramic imports, the greatest and most complete concentration of case gin bottles was found on Korop's surface, in the central *tataji* area between Korop Maoundé and Korop Sinthian. These were dark/olive green bottles, four-sided and with a square base. The finds included bases, finishes, fragments of side panels, as well as one embossed seal, but no complete bottles. Some presented vertical striations (the so-called 'shingle mould' bottles) (Lindsey 2015), while others were plain or with embossed lettering on the side panels indicating the brand. In one case, enough lettering was present to reconstruct the brand, which corresponded to the Dutch manufacturer E. Kidderlen. All the bottle finishes recovered were tool-finished, which indicates a 1820-1920 manufacture (Richard 2007, 599).

The examples from excavation were significantly more fragmentary, and the only ones that could be confidently identified were a few shards in KRP-A and PYG-B which presented vertical striations characteristic of 19th C 'shingle mould'

case gin bottles (see Fig.10.30). It is probable, however, that some of the other glass shards encountered in Late Kaabu and Fulaadu contexts (no glass was found in pre-Kaabu contexts and only 10g in Early Kaabu ones) could also belong to wine or liquor bottles, but it cannot be established confidently due to the undiagnostic nature of the fragments.



Fig.10.29 Fragments of 19th C gin case bottles found in Korop's surface



Fig. 10.30 Left: complete late 19th C 'shingle mould' case gin (Photo: Bill Lindsey/BLM/SHA). Right: fragments found during excavation.

Gunflints

Four pieces of gunflint, and one gunflint retouching flake were found during excavation, all in Korop. Three came from KRP-A, one from KRP-B, and another one from KRP-C, all from Late Kaabu (2) or Fulaadu (3) horizons. Two of them had been burnt after being broken (and were therefore white), and the rest were grey, which would indicate a British origin (Kenmotsu 1990, 95-6). Contrary to other sites in the Senegambia (e.g. Richard 2007,627), no honey-coloured French gunflints were encountered. None of the gunflints were complete and most showed clear evidence of resharpening or 'rejuvenation', the practice by which the gunflint is rotated to

make use of all edges (Kenmotsu 1990, 106). As was previously discussed, flint-lock guns were one of the key trading items in the Atlantic trade from the second half of the 17th C, but grey British gunflints were only industrially produced and shipped from the 1790s onwards (Kenmotsu 1990, 95). This trade lasted up until the early 20th C, as documented by colonial reports (Roche 1985, 317). It is remarkable, however, that all of the gunflints came from Korop, yet all the gun parts were found in Payoungou.



Fig.10.31 Two gunflints from Korop

Cowrie shells

Cowrie shells (*Cypraea moneta* and *Cypraea annulus*) from the Indian ocean have a long history as trade items and currency in West Africa (Johnson 1970). Mentioned by 15th C Arabic traders (e.g. Almada 1594, 47), they have also been archaeologically documented in sites throughout West Africa from the late 1st millennium AD (e.g. Gokee 2012, 638; MacDonald *et al.* 2009-2011,62; Nixon 2009, 241; Togola 2008, 42). Four fragments of cowrie shell were encountered during excavation, all from the most recent horizon in PYG-G, dated to Late Kaabu, and which bear witness to the vast trading networks of which Payoungou formed a part.



Fig.10.32 Three of the cowrie shell fragments from PYG-G

10.6 Other locally-made small finds

Spindle whorls

Only three fragments of spindle whorls were encountered, two from Payoungou (PYG-G and PYG-B) and one from Korop (KRP-A), two from Fulaadu contexts and one from a Late Kaabu horizon. The only one whose complete shape could be determined (#192), was spherical. Although manual cotton spinning is generally no longer practiced, all older women and many young ones still know how to do it, and during the collection of oral traditions we were offered several demonstrations with spindle whorls they kept at home, suggesting the practice was only recently abandoned.



Fig.10.33 Spindle whorl fragments found during survey and excavation (#192,#41a, #41b).



Fig. 10.34 Woman from Koumambouré demonstrating how to spin cotton using a spindle whorl

Ceramic weights

A total of four ceramic weights was documented. Three of them, including the only complete one came from the surface of Bantanguel Yawayou (UC-43), and the remaining one from the bottom of the rubbish pit in PYG-E. This last had traces of red slip/pain on the surface (see Fig.10.35)



Fig.10.35 Ceramic weights encountered during survey and excavation (#05, #107)

Other finds

Finally, we also encountered four objects which do not belong to any of the previous categories. These include a retouched chert flake (probably LSA) from the top-soil of PYG-A (#250), a sandstone hand grinder with traces of ochre on the surface (#144) from the upper layer of the western pit in PYG-F, a small terracotta fragment with traces of red slip/paint, probably part of a figurine, from the topsoil in PYG-G, and a thimble-shaped ceramic object of unknown use from the most recent horizon in KRP-A, all pictured in Fig.10.36.



Fig.10.36 Other finds: retouched chert flake (#250), unidentified ceramic piece (#95), terracotta fragment (#246), handgrinder (#144).

10.7 Overview

In this chapter I have described the different types of small finds encountered during excavation and survey, from smoking pipes, to metal objects, gunflints, and cowries. In some cases, like beads and smoking pipes, their widespread presence warranted an analysis of distribution and attribute patterns, while in other instances, their reduced number did not allow for such considerations. Given the different nature of the data available for each category, as well as the diversity of object categories in terms of nature, origins, and implications, I will not undertake a joint analysis of the different categories here. Instead, the different categories and their temporal and spatial distribution will be incorporated into the discussion in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 11 : DISCUSSION

11.1 Introduction

Having described in the previous chapters the conceptual and factual frameworks on which my research is based, and explored the different types of data available and generated through fieldwork, in this penultimate chapter I bring all the different strands of information together to see how they relate to one another and how their combined analysis can cast light on the themes outlined in the introduction. This analysis will take place in two separate (but interrelated) blocks. In the first, I analyse how the combined data from the previous chapters build on, confirm or challenge the previously available information about the Upper Casamance's chronological evolution over the last 1500 years.

In the second block, I analyse how the evidence retrieved contributes to the understanding of the relationship between power, territory, and mobility throughout the region's history. More specifically, I analyse the nodes and networks that have characterised the configuration of human landscapes, as divided into three separate, but interconnected layers: settlement landscapes, political and military landscapes, and ritual landscapes.

11.2 The Upper Casamance: chronological review

Pre-Kaabu (pre 13th C)

Despite being in the vicinity of areas with documented MSA and LSA occupations, no unequivocal evidence of Stone Age sites was encountered in the Upper Casamance, but this might be due to methodological biases. As discussed in Ch. 5, some of the polishing marks found on lateritic outcrops resemble ceramic LSA sites in Mali (K. MacDonald, *pers.comm*), but 19th C accounts describe the contemporary use of these lateritic outcrops for tool-sharpening. As the sharpening and polishing marks occur in direct association, it is unlikely that their production was so distant in time. It is possible, however, that these outcrops might have been used for the polishing and sharpening of tools throughout the region's history, and that some of the marks do indeed belong to the LSA, but at present it cannot be confidently stated. The one other piece of evidence indicating a possible early occupation of the region is the LSA scraper encountered in PYG-A (see Ch. 10), but given its singularity and potentially intrusive nature, not much interpretive weight

can be put on it either.

What we do have, however, is strong evidence for occupation from the 7th C AD onwards at Payougou, with plausible indications of a similar time of foundation for Korop. This occupation pre-dates the Manding arrival in the region and the establishment of Kaabu, and therefore falls within what oral traditions consider 'the period of Bainouk rule' (*watu laamu Bainoukobe*). The pottery of this period is characterised by a very distinctive attribute cluster, which I have called Orange Gritty Ware (OGW), identifiable by its very coarse lateritic grog temper, orange colour, and frequency of certain motifs –Folded Strip Roulette in particular. Although pieces of OGW occasionally appear in later periods, they do so in very small numbers and as isolated occurrences, suggesting they are intrusive. OGW was found in both Payougou and Korop, as well as on the surface of Thiara (UC-23).

In total, six excavated units had pre-Kaabu horizons (see Fig. 11.1), four in Payougou (PYG-A, PYG-C, PYG-D, and PYG-E), and two in Korop (KRP-C, KRP-E). None of these included any small finds, and in fact the only pre-Kaabu material culture retrieved other than pottery was slag. While restricted in both material culture and features, these pre-Kaabu horizons did provide some relevant information about the period. In terms of material culture, the most remarkable aspect is how different its pottery is from that of later periods. While it is important

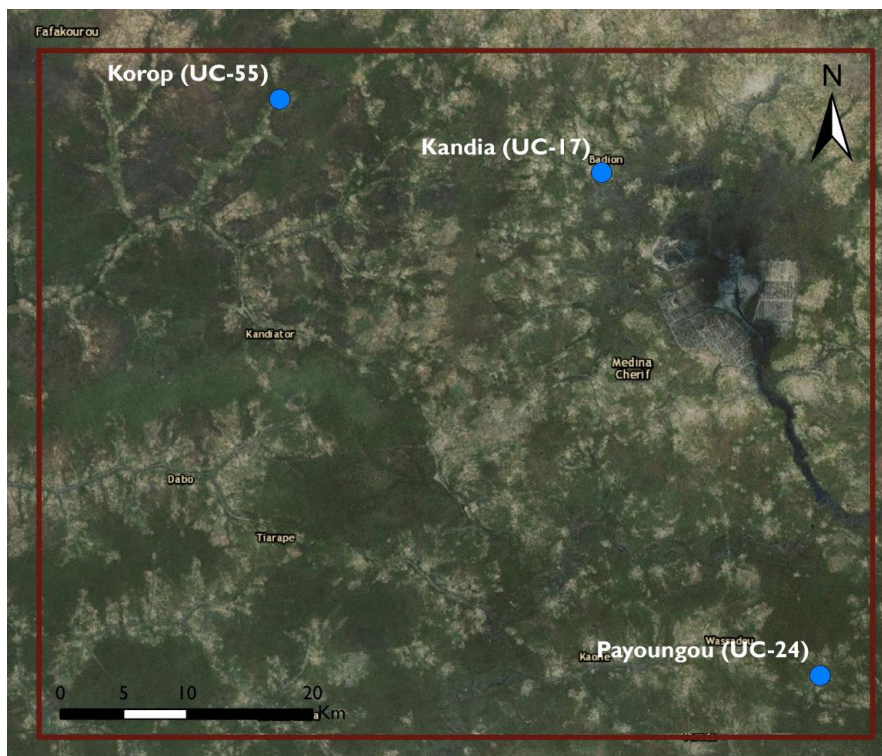


Fig. 11.1 Map with OGW sites. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe.

to avoid simplistic equations between technical, social, and cultural changes, it is nevertheless important to note that what is described by oral traditions as a period of population influx and drastic political changes, is also materially characterised by a clear change in pottery traditions.

Contrasting with this change, however, is the great degree of continuity in site locations, as the three sites with documented OGW (Payoungou, Korop, and Kandia) also went on to become important centres during Kaabu and Fulaadu, and are still occupied to the present day. On the other hand, it cannot be discounted that some 'Bainouk' sites were abandoned, and that we just simply did not encounter them due to a possible bias in our survey methods favouring Late Kaabu and Fulaadu sites (see discussion below). Additionally, the great geographical dispersion of OGW (as Payoungou, Korop and Kandia are located at the corners of the research area, see Fig. 11.1) indicates the whole region was already part of a shared cultural and technical sphere in the 7th C prior to the establishment of centralised polities in the area.

Finally, the study of the slag surrounding the 7th C furnace in PYG-A, demonstrates knowledge of a highly efficient bloomery technique (see Ch. 6 for details), and its location indicates that iron smelting spaces were located in the vicinity of living areas. As for the nature of the settlement, the geographical spread of the four units with pre-Kaabu deposits in Payoungou indicates either a large occupation, or an already shifting settlement, depending on whether the units were strictly contemporary or not, which cannot be established with the current range of C14 dates.

Early Kaabu (13th-15th)

Early Kaabu is by far the least well represented period in terms of material remains, as only two Early Kaabu horizons were identified during excavation (PYG-A and KRP-D). The PYG-A horizon was directly on top of pre-Kaabu deposits, but did not have any features or structures that could shed light on the nature of the occupation. As for the Early Kaabu horizon in Korop, it included a rubbish pit with a late 13th C radiocarbon date. Interestingly, this pit was very similar in size, morphology, and contents to that in KRP-D, which belonged to the Fulaadu period, thus reinforcing the general continuity in material practices from the 13th C onwards. Likewise the pottery from this period is very similar to that of later periods, only distinguishable by a limited variety in rim forms, and different

proportions of sand, grog, and chaff tempers. Only one small find was retrieved from Early Kaabu horizons – an iron stick of unknown function, found in the refuse pit in KRP-D. Nevertheless, given the very limited number of Early Kaabu deposits encountered, this paucity could result from the size of the sample.

While, as previously discussed, the identification of Early Kaabu remains far from ideal (as it is largely based on absence of traits belonging to earlier or later periods, rather than on positive evidence), the scarcity of Early Kaabu horizons cannot be accounted solely by identification issues. This is particularly true in Payoungou, which according to oral traditions would have been Kaabu's power centre during that period, prior to the transfer of the capital to Kansala, yet only yielded one unit with Early Kaabu deposits. Three different explanations could account for this apparent discrepancy:

- 1) *Payoungou was not a power centre during this period.* Although this cannot be fully dismissed with the available data, I do not think it is likely to be the case. The main reason for this is that oral traditions rarely 'make up' a capital; what they often do is to project the recent importance of a site into the deep past. Payoungou, however, has not played any significant political role in the last three centuries as proven by written sources (see discussion in Ch.3); and post 17th C oral traditions maintain that Payoungou's heyday predated the move of the capital to Kansala, which as discussed in Ch.3, most probably took place around the 17th C. After that date, Payoungou's political role would have been at most that of a regional centre. Consequently, the claim that Payoungou was an early Kaabu capital is unlikely to be based on a retrospective projection of more recent importance.
- 2) *Payoungou was a power centre but its remains have not been found due to limited/biased sample.* Even though the location of excavation units was guided by a concern for geographical spread and diversity in surface materials and associated oral traditions, large areas of the site remained unexplored, in particular its eastern third and some of the western and northernmost areas. It is possible, therefore, that the Early Kaabu settlement might have been centred in one of the unexcavated areas, and thus not found.

- 3) *Payoungou was a power centre but not a large settlement*: as shown by the case of the Ségou Empire (see MacDonald & Camara 2012), important historical power centres in West Africa need not be large. It is therefore perfectly possible that Payoungou was a key political and military actor in Early Kaabu, or even the Empire's capital, while being relatively limited in size.

Out of these three options, I believe a combination of 2 and 3 to be the most likely, but further research will be needed before a solid case can be made either way.

As for the survey, the only ceramic trait that could be used to unequivocally identify Early Kaabu occupations was a majority (>50%) of grog and sand temper. Six sites met this requirement: Uraro (UC-27), Kabendou (UC-32), Payoungou (UC-36), Miija (UC-56), and Santanto (UC-57) (see Fig.11.2). The problem of this criterion, however, is that being based on a proportion rather than on presence/absence of a trait, it is easily obscured by the presence of materials from other periods. Thus, sites like Korop, which are known from excavation to have an Early Kaabu occupation, cannot be recognised as such on the basis of their surface material alone. Additionally, since the identification of sites during the survey was based on a combination of local knowledge (best for recent periods) and surface pottery (only visible in cultivated areas, generally near current villages), it is possible that the survey methodology favoured continuously occupied or recently abandoned sites, at the expense of those abandoned during pre-Kaabu or Early Kaabu times.

Consequently, while our understanding of the Early Kaabu period is still limited and constrained by methodological caveats, a few general trends can be discerned: first, that at least in some cases, Early Kaabu occupation took place in sites which were already inhabited in the pre-Kaabu period, suggesting some degree of continuity with the previous period. At the same time, this transition is also marked by a notable change in pottery traditions across the region, suggesting a degree of cultural/social/demographic change. Finally, while the evidence is still limited in this sense, there are indications that early Kaabu political centres might have been significantly smaller, if not necessarily less important or powerful, than described by both oral traditions and European sources.

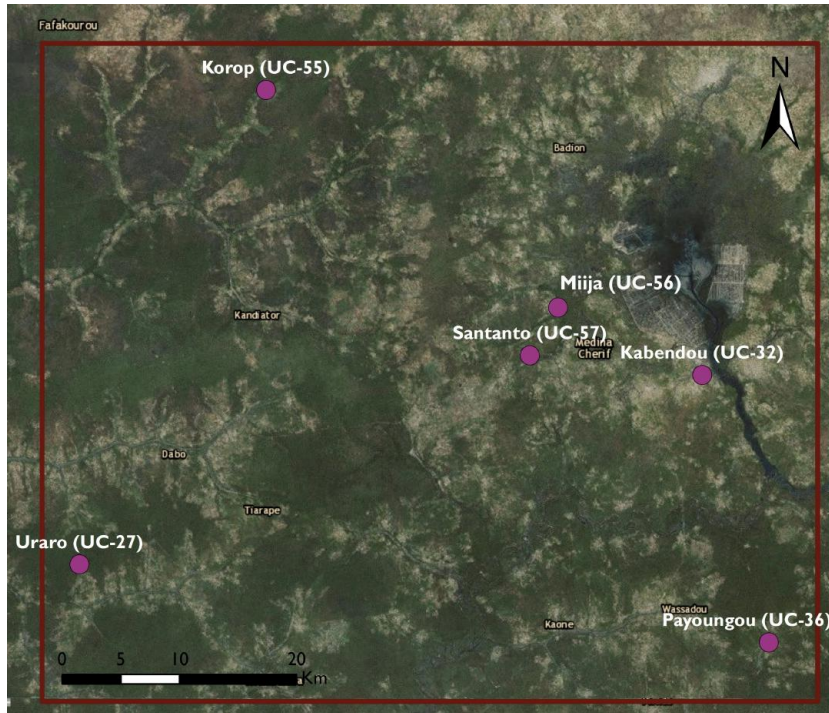


Fig.11.2 Sites with Early Kaabu occupations. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

Late Kaabu and Fulaadu (16th-19th C)

Contrasting with the limited evidence available for the pre-Kaabu and Early Kaabu periods, the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu evidence is abundant, both in excavation and survey. Although in some cases it was possible to clearly distinguish between Late Kaabu (16th-18th C) and Fulaadu (19th C) deposits, in many others (particularly in Payoungou and for the survey) it was not. Therefore, while the distinguishable cases provide enough information to discuss the similarities and differences between the two periods, those which could not be separated meant that at many levels the analysis had to be undertaken jointly.

Before I discuss the material changes between periods, however, it is necessary to briefly review the nature of the transitions between them. The separation between Early and Late Kaabu was initially defined with practical, rather than historical, concerns in mind. In the absence of any prior chronological sequence, the appearance of smoking pipes in the early 16th C provided an easily recognisable cutting point to divide Kaabu deposits into two equal-length periods, that would enable the study of changes over time. Nevertheless, this transition also coincides with two relevant historical events: the appearance of the first written mentions to Kaabu, and the beginning of the region's large scale participation in

Atlantic trade networks. As for the Late Kaabu-Fulaadu separation, the reason was in this case historical (the collapse of a state and the rise of another) but the cutting point (19th) was largely arbitrary, as the collapse of Kaabu was not a sudden event, but a long process with varied local manifestations.

Consequently, given the historically arbitrary nature of the defined transitions, some degree of continuity between periods was to be expected. Yet, the homogeneity encountered surpassed any expectations: Late Kaabu and Fulaadu ceramics are practically identical, and their only difference with respect to Early Kaabu pottery is the appearance of punctate and, in some cases, incised decorations, as well as slightly different temper proportions. The only significant departure from previous periods is that for the first time, there is a marked divergence between the Payoungou and Korop assemblages: incised decorations, which represent up to 7% of Payoungou's Late Kaabu/Fulaadu assemblage, are completely absent in Korop.

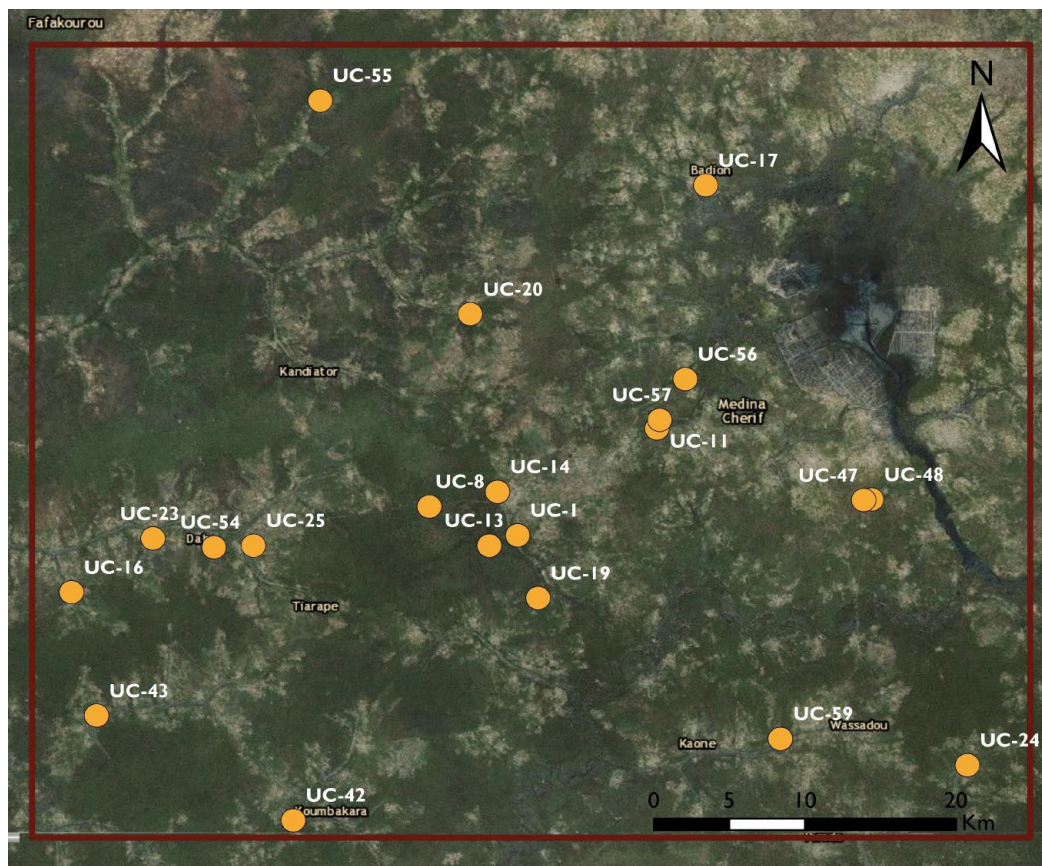


Fig. 11.3 Late Kaabu/Fulaadu sites. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

In relation to the survey, the appearance of punctate and incised decorations enabled the identification of 7 sites with Late Kaabu/Fulaadu occupations: Kandia (UC-17), Thiara (UC-23), Payoungou (UC-24), Kabendou (UC-32), Bantanguel Yawayou (UC-43), Koumambouré (UC-53), and Korop (UC-55). Additionally, 14 sites were identified as having been abandoned during the Fulaadu period by local elders, a period for which oral traditions are still chronologically reliable (see discussion in Ch. 5). The distribution of the sites identified as belonging to the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu periods by surface pottery and/or oral histories can be seen in Fig. 11.3.

Trade: smoking pipes and European imports

Pottery aside, there are some significant material differences that distinguish Early from Late Kaabu/Fulaadu. The first one is the appearance of smoking pipe fragments. Although more abundant in elite areas (see Fig.11.5), these appear in all post-15th C horizons, thus confirming the European historical descriptions concerning the widespread nature of smoking amongst local populations (see Ch. 10). As for the origin of these smoking pipes, they are all clearly African, albeit potentially not local, as their very close similarities with other pipe assemblages in the Senegambia suggests they might have been obtained through regional trade networks (see Ch. 10). Whether they were produced in the Upper Casamance and exported elsewhere or vice-versa cannot be determined at present, but either way they testify to the existence of internal Senegambian trade networks in both the Late Kaabu and Fulaadu periods.

The second difference is the appearance of long-distance imports. In both Payoungou and Korop, the transition to Late Kaabu is marked by the appearance of substantial quantities of such trade goods, including glass and carnelian beads, copper objects, glass containers, and gunflints. Despite having less excavated units, Korop had substantially more imports than Payoungou, especially in terms of glass beads, gunflints, and glass containers (gin and perfume bottles), which is to be expected given its greater geographical proximity to the Gambian trading ports. The one exception to this rule were brass and bronze objects, which were more common at Payoungou, tentatively suggesting copper was obtained through different trade routes. The current sample (8 objects), however, is too small to derive any reliable conclusions.

In terms of chronology, the earliest dated European imports in both Payoungou and Korop are the beads known as *galets* (produced from the 17th C onwards), but as many of the imports remain undated, the presence of 16th C elements cannot be ruled out, especially given how contemporary European documents record items such as beads and copper being traded in that period (cf. Ch 3). As for the evolution over time, there is a clear divergence between the two sites: while in Korop European imports appear only in the Fulaadu period, in Payoungou they are most common during Late Kaabu (see Fig.11.4). While not surprising (since Late Kaabu deposits predominated in Payoungou, while Fulaadu ones prevailed in Korop), this distribution is also noteworthy, as in both cases it correlates with the periods in which each site had a significant political role; thus indicating a direct link between political power and access to imported prestige goods.

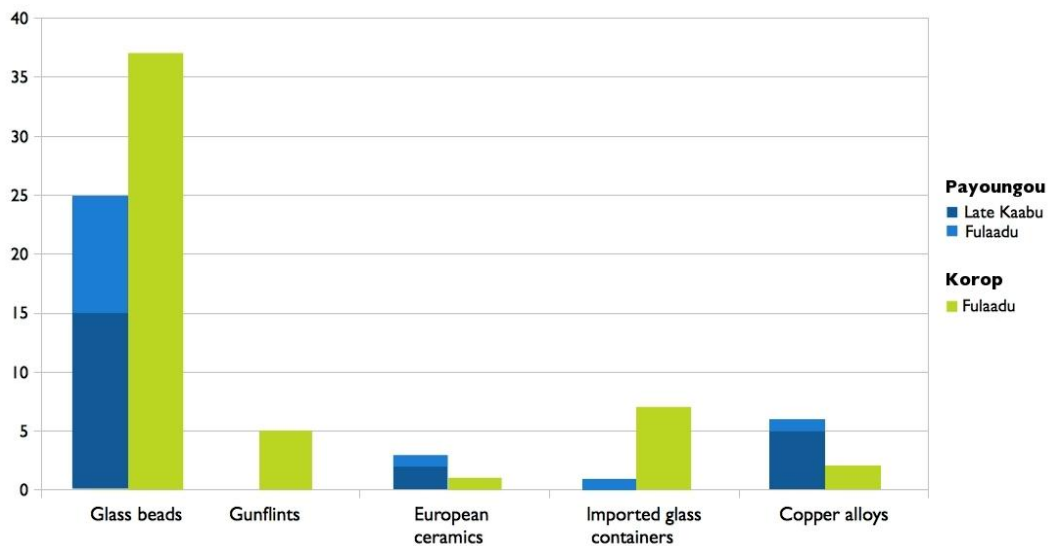


Fig. 11.4 Imports retrieved during excavation by site and period

Social inequality: elite areas and feasting

Together with the appearance of imports, another of the new features of the post-15th C era is the first clear evidence of an elite culture. As discussed in Ch. 3 and 4, the aristocratic nature of political organisation features prominently in the region's oral traditions for both Kaabu and Fulaadu. The social importance and lavish lifestyle of the *nyanthio* elites in Kaabu, as well as their Fulaadu equivalents, was also described by European travellers to the region, most notably in Andre Brue's account of the court of the Kaabu *mansaba* Biram Mansaté in the 17th C (see Ch. 3).

The main material expression of this aristocratic system was the network of fortresses or *tataji* which defined the political landscape. A total of twelve *tataji* was documented during the survey, demonstrating a remarkable level of homogeneity in terms of size, shape, and orientation (see discussion below). Three excavation units were placed inside *tata* areas, two in Payoungou (PYG-B and PYG-F), and one in Korop (KRP-A), dated to the 17th-18th C, and 19th C, respectively. Despite belonging to different periods, however, all three *tataji* were associated by local traditions with Manding *nyanthio* elites.

The results of these excavations fully confirm the existing historical narratives about the *nyanthio* elites and their lifestyle, while also adding new information. The most notable aspect of these units was their wealth of material culture: despite representing only 41% of the total number of excavated horizons from all periods, they contained over 70% of the pottery, 60% of the glass, 69% of the smoking pipes, 80% of the metal jewellery, and over 90% of the animal bone encountered, as shown in Fig.11.5. These materials, however, were not evenly distributed: while smoking pipes and European imports concentrated largely on living surfaces, the overwhelming majority of glass and animal bone came from refuse disposal areas (three pits and one midden), which remarkably were present in all three *tata* units. Furthermore, as discussed in Ch.9, the faunal assemblages in these pits and middens were not just quantitatively higher, but also qualitatively different, as they contained 80% of the the cattle encountered during excavation, but only 37% of the ovicaprines (see Fig. 11.5). In addition to animal bone, the pits contained large amounts of pottery, wood charcoal, and ash (the last two generally concentrated in clear layers). The most recent pit – that of KRP-A–, was slightly different in that its upper layer also contained substantial amounts of glass, most of which could be identified as belonging to gin bottles.

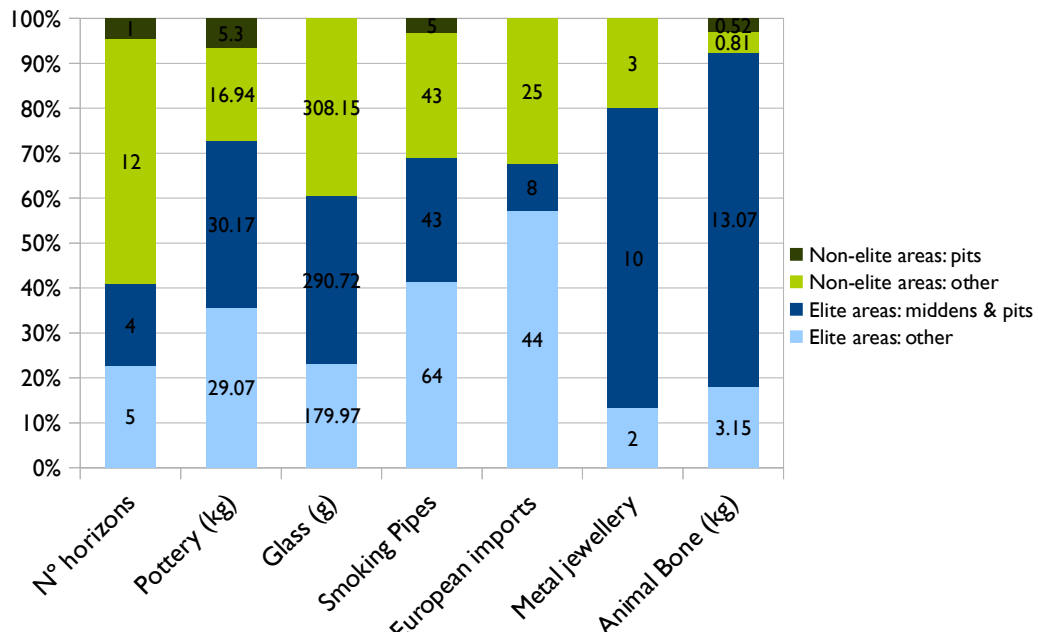


Fig.11.5 Material culture and prestige goods in elite and non-elite areas

Except for the midden in PYG-B, all refuse disposal areas were pits that had been purposefully dug and then filled with rubbish. In some cases (e.g. the western pit in PYG-F) the homogeneity of the fill indicated a single depositional event, whereas in others (e.g. the eastern pit in PYG-F), the presence of distinct layers with slightly different contents suggested a multiplicity of filling events. Regarding the nature of these events, the substantial quantities of material per filling event and the size of the animal carcasses involved suggests they were not the result of the accumulation of daily disposal practices, but of large communal events. Moreover, the nature of the material – in particular the great proportion of cattle bones and gin bottles (see Table 11.1) – as well as the location of these pits in elite areas, are highly suggestive of feasting behaviour.

Table 11.1 Pits and midden in elite areas

| | Depth (cm) | Period | Pottery (kg) | Animal bone (kg) | Glass (g) | Smoking pipes |
|------------------|------------|--------|--------------|------------------|-----------|---------------|
| PYG-B | 20 | LK | 5 | 1.67 | 0 | 5 |
| PYG-F (W) | 30-40 | LK | 7.93 | 2.98 | 70 | 8 |
| PYG (E) | 220 | LK | 15.31 | 6.23 | 70 | 30 |
| KRP A | 60 | F | 1.93 | 2.20 | 150.72 | 0 |

Although not explicitly mentioned in European written accounts or oral traditions, feasting events have been archaeologically documented elsewhere in the Senegambia. For instance, in his excavations in the Siin, Richard (2007, 459) encountered multiple pits where the clear delineation of levels, the absence of intermittent 'clean' sediment devoid of charcoal intrusions, and the close contemporaneity of remains across the pit suggested a rapid and limited sequence of filling episodes characteristic of feasting. Likewise, in the northern bank of the Gambia, Gijanto encountered 18th C rubbish pits associated with feasting activities at the trading ports of Juffure and San Domingo. These pits reflected a substantial consumption of oysters, and also included specific pottery types and an unusually high quantity of smoking pipes, suggesting smoking was also an integral part of these events. These feasts, Gijanto argues, were communal displays of wealth intended to assert status amongst elite groups (Gijanto 2011a, 23-32).

Much has been written in the anthropological literature about the social role of feasts (cf. Hayden & Villeneuve 2011 for a review). Feasts have been shown to be inherently political events, connected to processes of power construction, reproduction, and consolidation (Dietler 2001, 66; Richard 2007, 637). They can serve a variety of important structural roles in the broader political economy: as mechanisms of social solidarity to establish a sense of community, as displays that make and remake social boundaries, as competitive strategies to defeat rivals, or as a combination of the above, among other functions (Dietler 2001).

At present the evidence from the Upper Casamance is not sufficient to establish the precise role played by these feasting events, but some aspects are worth noting. Firstly, that all the feasting pits are located in elite areas (as identified by oral traditions and by the prestige goods in them), and are specifically associated with Manding rather than Fulbe aristocracy (according to local elders). Secondly, that the pits contain a much higher proportion of cattle than any other excavation area, either elite and non-elite. This emphasis on cattle is meaningful since as discussed in Ch. 3, Manding *nyanthio* elites did not keep cattle themselves, but relied on patron-client relationships with Fulbe herders to obtain it. Both Manding and Fulbe agree that towards the end of Kaabu these relationships had become exploitative, and that one of the key ways in which this exploitation manifested itself was through an increased and disproportionate demand for cattle by the *nyanthio* (cf. Int. 18, 25, 30, 31; Bertrand-Bocande 1849b, 58). In the case of KRP-A, the most recent of the pits, the abundance of cattle was complemented with a

large amount of broken case gin bottles, indicating imported alcohol was in some cases also a significant part of these events. Finally, it is important to note that feasting behaviours appear to have been common to elites across the region, as indicated by the similarity of the Korop and Payoungou deposits, which matches oral tradition notions of *nyanthioya*, or shared elite culture.

Therefore, we know that between the 16th and the 19th C, the *nyanthio* elites in both Payoungou and Korop – potentially also across the region – shared a common culture involving feasting events, based around substantial consumption of cattle, tobacco, and in some cases imported spirits, particularly gin. Based on ethnographic comparisons and evidence from neighbouring areas, it is safe to assume that these events served as power building strategies. Whether those strategies were based around coercion or persuasion, cooperation or competition, or inclusion or exclusion; and what particular social sectors were involved in them (the ruler's entourage, the aristocracy, wider networks) is at present unclear.

Turmoil and warfare

One aspect in which the archaeological evidence does not match the information of oral traditions and European accounts, and that is the level of change and insecurity. Both written and oral sources present the transition between Kaabu and Fulaadu as a period of turmoil, with constant shifts in power, increasing slave raids, great instability, and decentralisation. Nevertheless, as has previously been discussed, the archaeological evidence between the 17th and 19th C is characterised by a great degree of continuity. Three reasons could account for this stability: first, that the social impact of these events is over-represented by both written sources and oral traditions; second, that after centuries of coexistence, the Fulbe had largely acculturated to Manding technical practices; and thirdly, that regardless of the changes in the overall composition of the population, that of craftspeople remained stable, thus resulting in a continuity in material practices despite the social and political turmoil around them. These reasons are not mutually exclusive, and in fact, I believe the answer is probably a combination of the three, but the relative weight of each factor is unclear.

Another element which does not have a clear archaeological correlation is warfare. The presence of firearms is very limited (three metal gun parts and five gunflints), and there is no direct evidence for violence, either in the form of burnt layers, debris, or human remains. As will be discussed later, there is no evidence

either for greater mobility than in other periods, but this could be due to the combination of a limited chronological resolution on an already mobile baseline.

In Ch. 4 I discussed how despite being often represented as a case of straightforward replacement, the disintegration of Kaabu and the rise of Fulaadu was in fact a complex process with very different local manifestations. The archaeology of KRP-A provides a concrete example of this process. Located inside the late Manding *tata* in Korop, this unit illuminates three important aspects of the transition: first, it indicates the transfer of power from Kaabu to Fulaadu rulers took place rather late in the 19th C (as several of the imports encountered, such as milkglass and *Cornaline d'Aleppo* beads, were not manufactured until then), probably around the time of Kansala's fall (1860s). Secondly, it shows how the lifestyle of the *nyanthio* did not decline towards the end of Kaabu, as they appear to have feasted, smoked, and bought European goods in substantial quantities right until the abandonment of the *tata*. Finally, the fact Bakary Demba (Fulaadu ruler of Korop, and 2nd king of Fulaadu) chose not to reoccupy the Manding *tata* or to move the power centre elsewhere, but instead to build a new *tata* adjacent to the previous one, demonstrates perfectly the combination of change and continuity which characterised this period.

11.3 Landscape and mobility

Having discussed the information obtained for each of the different periods and how it contributes to reinforce, challenge, and expand on the previously available sources; in this second section I analyse how the data obtained contribute to answer the second set of research questions about the relationship between political power, territory, and mobility. In Ch. 4, I concluded (based on oral traditions and written sources) that five themes had characterised the evolution of the Upper Casamance's political landscapes over the last millennium: the extraordinary resilience of patterns at the local level, the adaptability of regional structures, a gradual trend towards greater centralisation, the political importance of sacred landscapes, and the centrality of mobility for settlement patterns.

I now discuss how the archaeological evidence subsequently presented complements or challenges those themes. I have structured this discussion through the notion of fragmented landscapes presented in Ch.2, seeing landscapes as constituted by a variety of interrelated but conceptually separate layers. More specifically, I have divided the discussion into three components: settlement

landscapes, military/political landscapes, and ritual landscapes. Although interrelated, in the Upper Casamance case, these three layers are defined by different dynamics, nodes, and networks, which justify their analytical separation.

Settlement landscapes : Shifting towns and ephemeral villages

I started this thesis with a premise: that the key to reconciling the apparent divergence between the apparent ephemeral nature of the archaeological record and the permanent towns of oral traditions and European sources lay in a very specific settlement pattern, shifting sedentism, by which towns and villages regularly moved a few hundred meters while maintaining the name, networks, and institutions of the community. In Ch. 4, I described the nature of settlement mobility in the Upper Casamance over the last millennium on the basis of oral traditions and written accounts. From this analysis it became clear that recent mobility patterns in the region are more complex than initially anticipated, as they include both shifts ($\leq 1\text{km}$) and relocations ($>1\text{km}$), and can involve both whole populations or only certain segments. The combination of these two dimensions results in two parallel phenomena: an ephemeral settlement landscape characterised by the continuous creation and abandonment of minor villages (usually named 'X's village' –*Sare X*– after the founder); and a permanent one of stable yet shifting historical towns. The shifts in the latter can be due to both new arrivals/departures, as well as to internal movements caused by a variety of issues (deaths, *djinn*s, change in river courses, field exhaustion, new roads). In exceptional cases, historical towns appear to have been briefly abandoned at the end of Kaabu and re-founded soon after by Fulbe migrants, who despite the break always retained the original name and identity of the town.

Ethnographic evidence and colonial documents confirm these patterns have been in operation for at least the last 200 years, and oral traditions and earlier European accounts strongly suggest they extend further back in time (see Ch.4 for a complete discussion). So does the archaeological evidence: during survey and excavation, the patterns encountered correspond very neatly to the two previously described phenomena (ephemeral villages and shifting towns). At the survey level, three aspects are relevant to this discussion: first, that all sites encountered (including those of historical towns mentioned by European accounts and oral traditions), were flat, or with very little elevation; and that no large tell sites exist in the region. Secondly, that most sites abandoned within living memory had

associated oral traditions directly connecting the remains with both shifts and relocations, thus strengthening the connection between the pattern and its material correlation. Finally, that the sites which oral traditions consider the oldest were also consistently the largest, thus indicating a degree of correlation between size and antiquity, which would be consistent with site shifting patterns. Unfortunately, the extent to which such correlation could be tested was restricted by the lack of reliable total sizes for most sites (as size was calculated on the basis of surface pottery, which was only visible in cultivated areas).

Excavations at Payoungou and Korop have confirmed these observations. Deposits were always very shallow, only exceeding a metre in three cases, due to the presence of rubbish pits. Out of the twelve units excavated, four had been occupied only during a single period, seven had occupations belonging to two different periods, and only PYG-A had evidence of three occupational periods (see Table 11.1). In four cases these occupations took place in consecutive periods, while in the remaining four they were clearly discontinuous. Unfortunately, even in instances where the horizons were undoubtedly discontinuous (on the basis of the material culture in them), there were no clear sterile abandonment layers.

Table 11.2 Periods present in each unit.

| | | Pre-Kaabu | Early Kaabu | Late Kaabu | Fulaadu |
|------------------|----------|-----------|-------------|------------|---------|
| Payoungou | A | | | | |
| | B | | | | |
| | C | | | | |
| | D | | | | |
| | E | | | | |
| | F | | | | |
| | G | | | | |
| Korop | A | | | | |
| | B | | | | |
| | C | | | | |
| | D | | | | |
| | E | | | | |

Connected to the issue of continuity between periods is that of the length of the occupations, and therefore of the frequency of the shifts. The chronological resolution currently available is limited, but it is clear that except for the iron production horizon in PYG-A, all horizons were occupied for less than 200 years, and there are indications that in most cases it might have been substantially less. For instance, in PYG-G, in less than 200 years, a building was constructed, lived in, abandoned, and subsequently used as a burial area. Likewise, occupations in KRP-

A, KRP-B, and KRP-C, were all under 100 years. Therefore, while the currently available chronological resolution cannot precisely determine how long each area was occupied, in most cases it appears to have been a matter of decades, rather than of centuries.

The third key issue to characterise the nature of the shifts is their direction and range. This is an aspect in which archaeology can provide a long term view not available to any other source, as oral traditions rarely remember more than two shifts (the most we recorded was three in Samasansan, UC-59), and written texts tend to provide only a snapshot of particular arrangements at a given time. Unfortunately, it is also a complex issue whose full elucidation would require far more evidence than that retrieved by this project, but some indications are available. Figures 11.6 and 11.7 summarise the archaeological evidence for each period in Payoungou and Korop. Two elements are apparent from these maps: first, that the pattern of shifts is not regular or linear –in Payoungou the settlement appears to contract and expand from a permanent core in the southern part of the

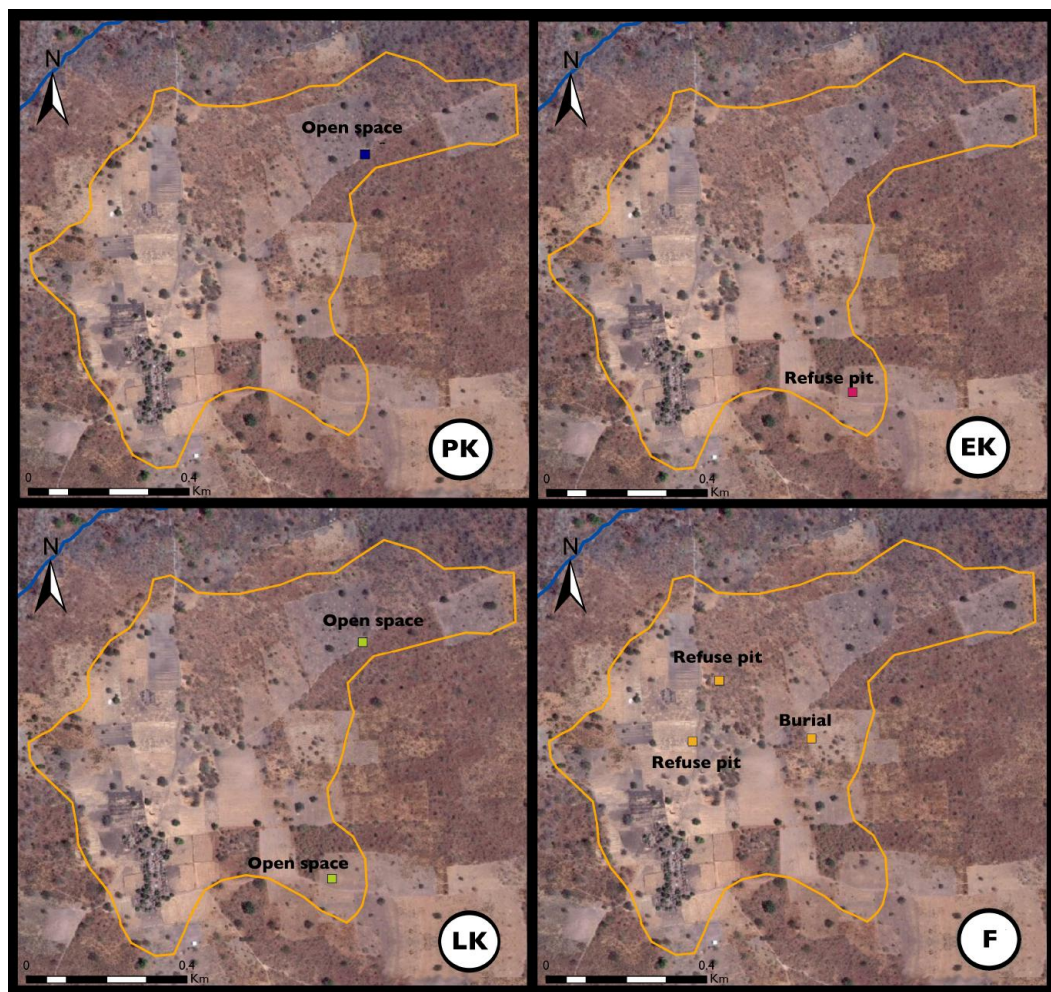


Fig.11.6 Korop over time: excavated evidence in the different periods. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe.

site, whereas in Korop the scarcity of evidence for the earliest periods makes it difficult to discern any patterns. Secondly, in both sites the current village is immediately south of the Fulaadu occupation, suggesting that at least for the most recent period the shifts were to adjacent areas, rather than to new parts of the site.

An important factor to take into consideration is whether areas were reoccupied, or whether shifts always sought new spots. The evidence is not conclusive in this respect: on the one hand, as was previously discussed, there are plenty of areas that contain horizons belonging to different periods; on the other, in most cases only one of those horizons indicates a primary occupation (including structures or other types of features) the rest being characterised by sparse scatters of material culture indicative of a peripheral open space. There are, however, three exceptions to this pattern: firstly in PYG-F, after the closure of the pits, the area became a passage space, as indicated by the compact earthen floor with very small inclusions. Secondly, in PYG-G, a burial was dug after the abandonment of the domestic occupation; and finally, in PYG-E, the abandonment of the coursed earth wall was followed by the digging and filling of a rubbish pit. Out of these three, only PYG-E represents evidence of two domestic occupations, which could

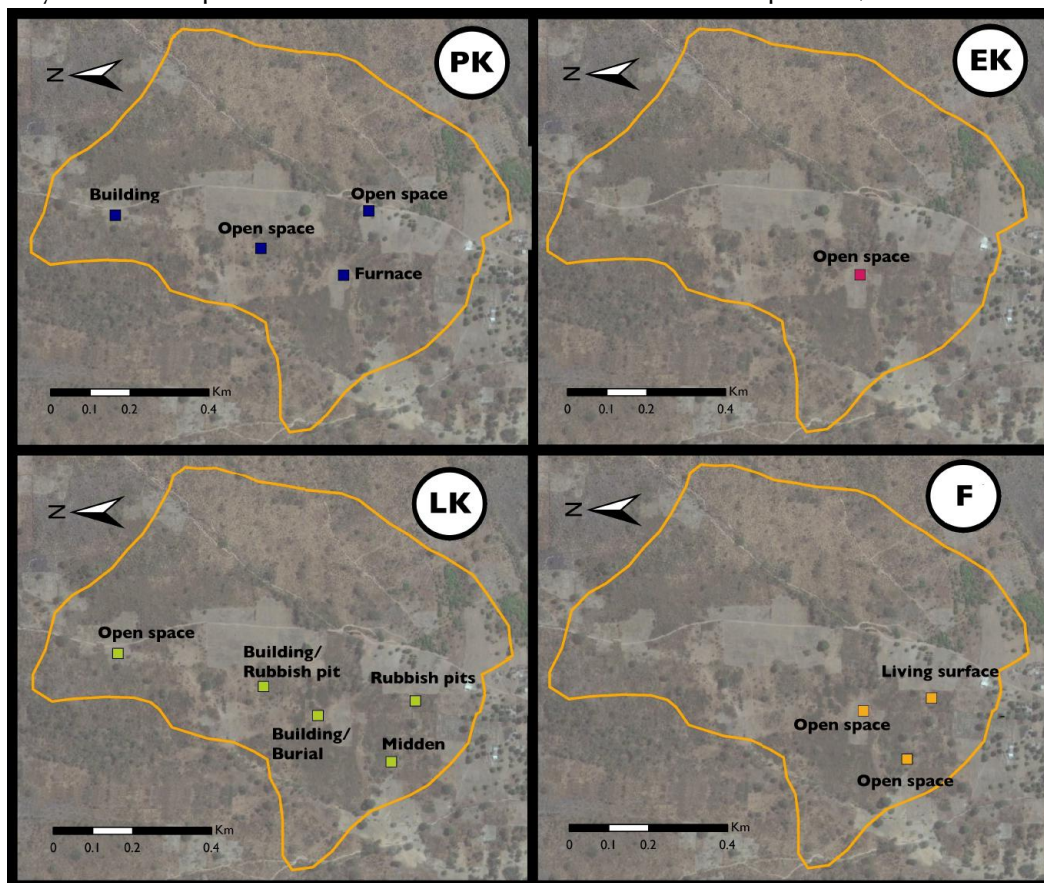


Fig. 11.7 Payoungou over time: excavated evidence in the different periods. Basemap: © 2015 ESRI, DigitalGlobe

potentially indicate a re-occupation of a previously abandoned area. The two horizons involved, however, belong to the same period (Late Kaabu), so it is possible that they might correspond to two immediately consecutive events, rather than to successive shifts. Consequently, at present all we can say is that reoccupations were not common, but that they might have occurred occasionally.

One final question remains: did all areas of the town shift, and if so, did they all shift at the same rate? Local elder traditions, as discussed in Ch.6, claim the *tata* did not shift, that it was fixed and the village 'orbited' around it. From the previously discussed evidence we know that was not the case, that the *tata* (as exemplified by units PYG-B, PYG-F, and KRP-A) did in fact move, but it is perfectly possible that it might have moved at a slower rate. Distinguishing between such rates, however, is beyond the possibilities of the currently available chronological resolution.

Political and military landscapes : fortresses and territories

In Ch. 4 I traced the evolution of military and political landscapes from the period prior to the establishment of Kaabu up until the present. From this review, it became clear that despite the multiple changes in power arrangements in the region, three key interdependent notions had characterised the political landscapes of the Upper Casamance over the last millennium: territories (*banco/leidi*), power centres or fortresses (*tataji*), and their respective rulers (*mansa/lamdo*). Territories were fluctuating and loosely defined political spaces, identified by a name, a ruler, and a power centre; and comprising the area/people from which a ruler could extract taxes, at any given point in time. The political centre of each territory was defined by a *tata* or fortress where the ruler lived. Both power centres and rulers – and thereby the territories they controlled – could be subordinate to other power centres and rulers, but the hierarchy of subordination fluctuated together with changes in regional power balances. The right to build a *tata* was centrally regulated; as a result, periods of stability were marked by a limited number of fortifications, while times of central weakness resulted in an upsurge in the quantity of *tataji*.

As unmarked spaces, territories cannot be traced archaeologically, but their central nodes, *tataji*, can. As previously discussed, a total of 12 *tataji* were identified during the survey, out of which 6 were visible on the surface or via satellite imagery, and the rest remembered by the elders but not traceable from surface

remains. Their shapes, sizes, and proportions were remarkably consistent, ranging from 40x40 to 80x90m. Except for the rectangular *tata* at Bantanguel Yawayou and the round one in Korop, all recorded fortifications were square or almost square, and with walls (more or less precisely) aligned with the cardinal points, a homogeneity which supports the existence of a shared political/military culture.

While the partial nature of the survey does not allow me to draw any conclusions regarding distribution patterns, three important remarks can be made about the location of *tataji*: first, all towns considered as historical power centres by oral traditions had a *tata* either visible or clearly remembered by the local populations. *Tataji*, however, also occurred in sites not mentioned in either oral traditions or written accounts, such as Bantanguel Yawayoli (UC-43). Finally, all sites with *tataji* had Manding names. In terms of their dating, the contribution of the survey was very limited. Three of the visible *tataji* were not cultivated and two were inside inhabited villages, which meant no surface pottery could be retrieved. Of the rest, only Kabendou had some time-diagnostic sherds, which indicated an early Kaabu occupation.

As for the excavations, we opened units inside or right next to the *tataji* in both Payoungou (PYG-B & PYG-F) and Korop (KRP-A). As discussed earlier, these units confirmed these were in fact elite areas, as evidenced by both the abundance of European imports and the quantities of cattle consumed. Interestingly, only half of the firearm fragments came from inside the *tataji* units, indicating access to them was not limited to the ruler's entourage. In terms of the length of the occupation, the case of Korop is particularly telling, for as previously discussed, unit KRP-A was placed inside the Manding *tata*, and showed this area had in fact been occupied *only* during the Late Kaabu period. Adjacent to it was a larger structure, visible in satellite imagery, which local elders identified as the Fulaadu *tata*. If this identification is correct (and most 19th C traditions appear to be), it would indicate that in some cases, even when a town retained its political role, a change in leadership would entail a new *tata* being built.

Consequently, the combination of the information from oral traditions, survey, and excavation indicates that despite the sturdy appearance of these fortifications (see 19th C French depictions in Ch. 3), *tataji* – together with the political and military landscapes they defined and reflected– were also relatively fluid and transitory, erected and destroyed depending on the balance of power between local, regional, and supra-regional forces.

Sacred landscapes : shrines and spirits

As discussed in Ch. 4, the sacred landscapes of the Upper Casamance have long been characterised by a combination of Islamic and non-Islamic notions, with a gradual shift in importance from the latter to the former. Among them, the most important and resilient are *dyalan*, powerful places inhabited by spirits or *djinns*, connected to particular ancestors and epic figures, which anchor myth and history onto the landscape and by doing so confer political gravitas to their associated settlements. The political importance of *dyalan*, now largely symbolic, was for most of the Upper Casamance's history very material, as they acted as oracles that decided upon matters such as the appointment of rulers and the launch of military expeditions.

During the survey, we visited many of the *dyalan* mentioned by epic narratives and elder traditions; 'famous' *dyalan* such as those in Mampatim, Payoungou, or Kabendou, which are still perceived as ancestral power hotspots and permanent markers of once powerful towns. Additionally, we also documented a second set of minor *dyalan*, not known beyond the local area, but which played a key role as embodiments and witnesses of the village's history. In most cases, *dyalan* took the form of trees, or more rarely, of caves and standing stones. For the most part, the trees were still present, either because the *dyalan* was relatively recent, or because the current one was a descendant grown from the seed of the original. In some instances, however, (e.g. Payoungou's Tamba Dibi), the location of the *dyalan* was remembered but the tree itself was long gone.

Thus, out of all the different nodes that have defined the historical landscapes of the Upper Casamance over the last millennium, *dyalan* are those with the least material imprint, yet paradoxically also appear to have been the most stable and permanent. Unlike ephemeral villages, shifting towns, and fluctuating fortresses, *dyalan* do not seem to have moved or varied with changes in political power. Although all great *dyalan* were initially linked to a political centre, their importance often outlived that of the latter, as clearly shown by the case of Payoungou, whose *dyalan* played a central part in the election of the Kaabu *mansaba* long after Payoungou's role as capital was over. Likewise, Mampatim – which according to oral traditions has not had any political importance since at least Early Kaabu–, had active *dyalan* cults up until the 1940s, and is still to the present day a key reference point for Kaabu's history and identity.

At present, however, this analysis is constrained by the absence of any

reliable dates for the antiquity of *dyalan*. While given the organic nature of many of its physical manifestations, in most cases it might not be possible to directly date the *dyalan* themselves, a possible solution lies in the offerings made to the *dyalan*. As discussed in Ch.5, there are reports of ceramic vessels found inside Guedi Nyanthio Be in Mampatim prior to the collapse of the cave's entrance, which if common to other cave *dyalan* could provide a way of dating those particular *dyalan* and the antiquity of their associated cults. For now, however, all we can say is that both epic narratives and local elder traditions consistently present *dyalan* as 'historical anchors', whose perceived – and possibly also factual – permanence greatly contrasts with the fluidity of settlements and political structures previously described.

Connecting fragmented landscapes

Despite being organised around different sets of nodes, networks, rationales, and temporalities, the three previously discussed landscape layers (settlement, political, ritual) were – and still are – also mutually constitutive and in constant interaction. Out of the three layers, *dyalan* are undoubtedly perceived (establishing whether this is also factual will require more research) as the most permanent and foundational landscape element, the ancestral source of power and legitimacy from which the other layers draw from. As such *dyalan* are also deeply political: it is no coincidence that all of Kaabu's – and some of Fulaadu's – major political centres had an associated *dyalan*. The presence of a *dyalan* is thus a mark of current or former political power, even if such power is more ephemeral than that of the *dyalan* itself.

The second most permanent feature of the Upper Casamance's human landscapes are shifting towns. Excavations in Payoungou and Korop have demonstrated that despite their ephemeral appearance, some of these towns were occupied for millennia. Additionally, the survey revealed a clear correspondence between the largest flat sites (which can be putatively identified as shifting towns) and those described as political centres by oral traditions (cf. Ch. 5). It is interesting to note, however, that in both Payoungou and Korop the town pre-dated and also outlived its role as a political centre. It is therefore plausible, that like the *marka* towns of Mali and Ségou (MacDonald & Camara 2012), the shifting towns of the Upper Casamance were independent of political structures but occasionally co-opted by them. In other words, that the more ephemeral political centres sought

historical and/or ritual 'powerful places' (*leydi lammu*), to legitimate their power.

The connection between political and settlement landscapes was not, however, limited to issues of legitimacy. As discussed in Ch. 2 and 4, control over people was a crucial aspect of state power in both Kaabu and Fulaadu, and that also meant controlling population movements and distributions. In fact, both written accounts and oral traditions recount how in Late Kaabu and Fulaadu regional rulers had to be consulted before a new village was established, and how they interfered with settlement patterns, forcing people to abandon existing villages or even actively relocating them for military or economic reasons (cf. Ch. 4). This influence, however, was not unidirectional, as settlement landscapes also shaped political structures. This was the case with shifting towns, as has already been discussed, but also with the more ephemeral landscape of moving villages, which often used mobility as a tool to escape state power (cf. Ch. 4). Thus, to be successful, political structures had to adapt to both the permanence of shifting towns and the ephemerality of moving villages.

11.4 Overview

In this chapter I have brought together the different strands of evidence discussed in the previous chapters to analyse their joint contribution to the themes outlined in the introduction. I have reviewed the information available for each of the different periods, from the 7th to the 19th C AD, and how it fits within existing historical narratives of the region. While the data for the earliest periods is still limited, that from the 16th C onwards allows for more in-depth analyses of elements like trade, social inequality, and warfare, which greatly contribute to our understanding of the region's history.

In the second half of this chapter, I have discussed the evolution of settlement, political, and ritual landscapes over time, and what the articulation and interaction of these can tell us about the relationship between mobility, power, and territory in the Upper Casamance's history. In the following and final chapter, I go back to the original research questions and evaluate to what extent I have been able to answer them, and possible directions for future research.

CHAPTER 12 : CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of this thesis, I set up two main objectives for this work: first, to document the archaeology of the region and understand how it compares to that of geographically or culturally related areas. Secondly, to explore the phenomenon of shifting sedentism, its evolution over time, and what it can tell us about the relationship between permanence/mobility and power more widely, and about the archaeological implications of its archaeological traces. In this final chapter, I assess to what extent the data and ideas presented in this thesis contribute to answering those questions, what methodological and conceptual lessons can be learnt, and what possible directions future research could follow.

12.1 Back to the research questions and objectives

The archaeology of the Upper Casamance: baselines and chronologies

The first goal of this research was to document the archaeology of this previously unstudied area, to compare it with that of other parts of the former Mali Empire and West Africa as a whole, and to understand how it fits with the information provided by other sources. In this sense, while a large number of gaps remain, the advance has been significant. The survey recorded a dense landscape of past occupations, including abandoned settlements or *tumbuji*, fortresses or *tataji*, subterranean structures or *guide*, stone marks, burials, one stone circle, abandoned colonial structures, and several *dyalan*, as well as their associated oral traditions.

The excavations at Payoungou and Korop uncovered a wide range of deposits, dating from the 7th to the 19th C, including burials, coursed earth walls, rubbish pits and middens, as well as an iron smelting furnace. These provided a significant amount of information regarding social differentiation, trade networks, refuse disposal practices, burial customs, as well as iron technologies. Combining C14 dates and chronologically diagnostic small finds, it was possible to generate a ceramic chronology for the region, characterised by a clear break in ceramic traditions in the 13th C; and gradual changes in the popularity of forms, tempers, and decorative motifs in subsequent periods.

As for the relationship to existing sources, the archaeological information retrieved reinforces narratives from oral traditions and written sources in several

aspects: firstly, it confirms there was a substantial material change in the 13th C, coinciding with what oral traditions say was the arrival of the Manding to the area, an event for which no independent confirmation existed before. Secondly, the material from the royal areas of Payoungou and Korop demonstrates there was indeed a clear elite (or *nyanthio*) culture operating between the 17th and 19th C – potentially earlier as well–, and that this culture and its associated behaviours were common to elites across the region. Finally, excavation confirmed the elders' identification of features not visible on the ground, such as the *tataji* at Payoungou and Korop, or Payoungou's 'traitor' burial area; which indicates a remarkable degree of reliability for spatially-anchored traditions, especially those referring to post-16th C elements.

Nevertheless, there are also aspects for which the archaeological evidence contradicts previously existing narratives; most notably, with regards to the nature of the Kaabu to Fulaadu transition. Presented by epic traditions as a period of turmoil, dramatic changes, and population replacement; this period's archaeology is characterised by a great degree of continuity and very limited evidence of violence. It should be noted, however, that the simple replacement narrative is exclusive to griotic epics; local elder stories (when considered together), present a much more complex picture, featuring Manding rulers that fought for Alpha and Musa Molo, Fulbe leaders that opposed them, and constant multidimensional power negotiations between the many actors involved. Together with the archaeological evidence, these elder traditions demonstrate that neither ethnicity nor religion constituted the main – let alone the only– dividing axes of this conflict; and that this period's main changes were in the balance of political powers, rather than in the social fabric of the population.

Finally, the information retrieved permits us to assess for the first time the material links of the Upper Casamance with the wider Senegambia and the rest of the former Mali Empire. Its ceramic sequence, although consistent with the general parameters of West African ceramics over the last two millennia, does not fully match any other known sequences, but presents similarities with materials from eastern Senegal (e.g. Gokee 2012) and Guinea Bissau (Cardoso 1992). The imports, metalwork, and smoking pipes encountered are also more consistent with those found in Gambian sites (Lawson 2003), the Siin Salum (Richard 2007) and Falemé areas (Gokee 2012), than to those from central Mali. As for settlement patterns,

although no other archaeological instances of shifting sedentism have been documented; overall the archaeological landscapes of the Upper Casamance present greater affinities with those of other areas in the southern Senegambia, (e.g. Gokee 2012; Lawson 2003; Richard 2007), with their generally flat sites, shallow deposits, and ephemeral occupations: than to the highly stratified tell clusters of the Middle Niger and Ségou regions of Mali. Consequently, while most historical narratives tend to emphasise the Upper Casamance's connections with the core of the Mali Empire; its material record tells a different story, one in which the closest technical and cultural links are not with Mali's interior, but with the surrounding regions.

Shifting sedentism: mobility, statehood, and territory

The research questions posed in the introduction addressed the relationship between political power, mobility, and statehood in general, and the phenomenon of shifting sedentism in particular. More specifically, I set out to answer three sets of questions:

1) What are the defining characteristics of shifting sedentism, when did it first emerge, and how has it evolved over time?

Shifting sedentism is, as indicated in the introduction, a settlement pattern by which villages and towns regularly shifted a few hundred meters while keeping the name, institutions, and networks of the community intact. In its most recent form (19th C-present), it is the result of two types of movements: shifts (of whole settlements or of groups within them) and relocations (family groups arriving or departing for other villages). The overall shifting therefore results, not from an intentional overall arrangement, but from the organic sum of a diversity of moves by different population segments. This combination of movements produces two parallel phenomena: a permanent landscape of stable yet shifting historical towns, and an ephemeral one characterised by the continuous creation and abandonment of minor villages. The reasons behind all these moves are as diverse as the moves themselves, ranging from environmental to social concerns; but they all have in common the use of mobility (whether short- or long-distance) as a problem-solving mechanism, while maintaining a fully sedentary lifestyle and a strong sense of the importance of historical towns as permanent anchors in the landscape.

Archaeologically, the results from both survey and excavation indicate shifting patterns are not a recent occurrence. Both Payoungou and Korop have been inhabited for over 1300 years, yet – with the exception of the iron smelting area in PYG-A– all occupational horizons were in use for less than 200 years. As for the nature of the shifts, it is clear they were not linear (which is consistent with shifting patterns as currently known), and that re-occupations of previously abandoned areas were rare. The fact that no tell-sites exist in the region, even in documented historical settlements, would indicate this pattern extended throughout the Upper Casamance.

In short, as a result of this project, we can now assert that shifting patterns have been a defining trait of the Upper Casamance since at least the time of Kaabu – perhaps earlier. We also have a solid, multi-disciplinary understanding of how this pattern has operated for the last 200 years. The present evidence, however, does not allow to confidently state whether some periods were more mobile than others, or whether the nature of the shifts changed over time.

2) How does shifting sedentism relate to the political structures in the region and their changing power balances over the last millennium?

Although it is a mistake to assume a direct correlation between a given set of settlement patterns and certain form of political organisation, it would be equally misguided to ignore the interconnections that exist between political and settlement landscapes (see Ch.2). For the last millennium, the settlement landscapes of the Upper Casamance have been characterised by a high degree of settlement mobility, both long- and short-distance; and an equally fluctuating –but also highly resilient– political landscape. While this political landscape might at first sight conform to traditional Eurocentric notions of territoriality (with its configuration around territories, fortresses, and rulers); in practice its articulation greatly differed from such notions.

First of all, territories were not fixed lines on a map, but fluctuating and loosely defined political spaces, comprising the area/people over which the ruler could extract taxes from, at any given point in time. Settlement mobility therefore was not an issue, as territories could easily adapt to such moves. Territories could be independent, part of federations, or subject to other territories; and their centre was marked by a fortress or *tata*, where the ruler lived. Although sturdy in appearance, *tataji* were equally fluid and transitory manifestations, erected and

destroyed depending on the existing balance of power between local, regional, and supra-regional forces.

Despite the material impermanence of its particular manifestations, the political system itself was very resilient, as proven by the fact that concepts and terms originally conceived for Kaabu are still being used to describe today's political realities. Part of this resilience stemmed from the system's capacity to adapt to new developments and situations, best exemplified by the substantial changes in the degree of centralisation over time. On the other hand, changes in political structures also had an impact on settlement landscapes. For instance, periods of central weakness, such as the Kaabu-Fulaadu transition, were characterised by turmoil and struggles between regional powers, which also led an increase in long-distance mobility and greater settlement instability.

3) What can we learn about the relationship between permanence/mobility and power more widely, as well as about their archaeological traces?

The articulation of the settlement and political landscapes described is not just fundamental for understanding the Upper Casamance history; but also carries wider implications for archaeology as a whole. As was discussed in Ch.2, in the last few decades archaeologists in sub-Saharan Africa have brought to light an incredibly diverse array of indigenous sociopolitical forms, contributing to a wider debate about the 'complexity of complexity'. The two states that have defined the political landscapes of the Upper Casamance for the last 800 years, Kaabu and Fulaadu, fit the traditional definition of 'state' at many levels: they were based around territories and strongholds with a defined regional hierarchy, had a centralised system of tax collection, and a ruling aristocracy which controlled access to prestige goods in general, and imports in particular. Yet at the same time, these states also significantly challenge traditional conceptualisations of statehood, most notably through their notion of fluid territoriality and their configuration around constantly moving human landscapes.

As discussed in Ch.2, archaeological studies of mobility have tended in the past to rely on binary sedentary/nomad divisions, or frameworks which present movement as a transitional response to moments of crisis. In the case of the Upper Casamance, however, movement is not a temporary phase between still moments, but an intrinsic and constant dimension of the articulation of social dynamics. Furthermore, this constant movement takes place in populations with fully sedentary

lifestyles, which also defies many traditional assumptions about mobility. The case of the Upper Casamance is not unique, as examples of shifting settlements have been documented elsewhere (see Ch. 2); but these cases remain generally under-theorised, rarely make it into discussions about mobility, and when they do, it tends to be with great doses of environmental determinism. Consequently, I believe that a well-documented, long-lived case of shifting towns within state/imperial structures like the one presented here, can effect a substantial contribution to these discussions.

Connected to the issue of mobility and territorial fluidity within state structures is the question of sources of power. One of the reasons why states are often presented as static polygons, rather than as the dynamic networks they are, is because their sources of power are often also conceived as fixed. Kaabu and Fulaadu provide a useful counterbalance to these rigid notions, as both states relied on a variety of sources of power, both material and symbolic, fixed and mobile. At some levels, they conform to Guyer's (1995) notion of 'wealth-in-people' and Goody's (1971) emphasis on the means of destruction, in that control over people (achieved partially via a strong military) was certainly more important than control over land for its productive potential. Nevertheless, the importance of specific spots of land should not be underestimated, as control over – and taxation of – trade routes was essential, as was access to the ritual power of given points in the landscape.

Additionally, the discussion about shifting sedentism here presented has important methodological implications, as shifting towns might be easily mis-identified as ephemeral settlements, if no historical evidence for the length of the occupation exists, or if no dated ceramic sequences (indicating a possible multi-period occupation) are available. It is therefore likely, given the traditional focus of West Africanist archaeologists on tell sites, that many of these sites might have been overlooked, misidentified as transient settlements, and deemed not worth excavating.

Finally, this project's second methodological contribution has been with regards to multidisciplinary. I hope to have shown how it is possible, through the notion of landscape to set up a productive dialogue between markedly different sources, like archaeology, elder oral traditions, griotic epics, and historical texts, while keeping in mind the limitations and biases of each individual source.

12.2 Future directions

While much has been advanced in our understanding of the Upper Casamance's archaeology and its wider implications as a result of this project, the results here presented are necessarily preliminary and present notable limitations and important blind spots. As there is a limitless range of directions future research could follow, in this final section I outline those which I consider to be most interesting and productive.

In terms of methodology, the greatest constraint of this project has been without any doubt the lack of a systematic method of assessing the elder-based survey, and in particular whether there was a bias favouring recently abandoned or still inhabited sites, as I suspect might have been the case. Given the dense vegetation cover and the lack of surface pottery in non-cultivated areas, a traditional transect survey would be, not just very time-consuming, but almost certainly also ineffective. A possible way around this problem could be the analysis of multi-spectral satellite imagery: the data from the current survey could be used to assess if sites in the region present a spectral signature different to that of their surroundings, which could help identify potential sites, to be subsequently checked on the ground through shovel testing.

In terms of excavation, it would be useful to increase the number of excavated units at both Payoungou and Korop, especially in areas which were not covered in the first two seasons; as well as to conduct lines of shovel tests across the sites to assess their true extent beyond non-cultivated areas. Beyond these two sites, excavations at Kansala (Guinea Bissau), could provide insights into the establishment of *nyanthioya* and the nature of Kaabu's political structures. Likewise, research at the Guide Nyanthio Bé cave in Mampatim could provide useful information about the antiquity of *dyalan* cults and their connection with Early Kaabu and pre-Kaabu traditions. Finally, some future archaeological project should target the other type of *guide*, the subterranean galleries documented by Girard (1992), to obtain enough data to accurately date and analyse the function of these structures.

Beyond archaeology, while this project made ample use of archival material at the Archives du Sénégal and the Library of Congress (Washington D.C.), lack of time and resources prevented the consultation of the materials in the Gambia Archives and the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon, which undoubtedly contain information directly relevant to the region, both in terms of historical

European sources and early recordings of oral traditions and epic narratives.

Finally, having documented the phenomenon of shifting sedentism for the Upper Casamance, it would be interesting to research it more widely, in order to assess its presence over time and space, its frequency, and the similarities between its different manifestations; as I suspect it might have been a far more widespread occurrence than the present literature on mobility would suggest.

As the previous paragraphs have made clear, there is no shortage of directions in which this work could be taken forward. In fact, for most paths of research followed, I have ended up with more questions than I started. These new questions, however, exist in a different space to the original ones: one in which the material and conceptual bases have already been laid; in which there is a defined ceramic chronology for the region, and a good knowledge of the range and nature of the sites present. I have no doubt that some of the analyses and ideas presented here will be proven wrong as new data become available in the future. Yet, I hope that this thesis, with all its limitations and deficiencies, can be the base upon which future research builds to illuminate the archaeology and history of this unjustly neglected and fascinating region.

REFERENCES

- Abbeville, S. 1679. *L'Afrique ou Lybie ulterieure ou sont le Saara ou desért, le pays des Negres, la Guinée et les pays circonv.* Paris.
- Alvares de Almada, A. 1984. *Brief treatise on the Rivers of Guinea.* Translated from Portuguese by P-E-H. Hair. Liverpool : University of Liverpool.
- Alvares de Almada, A. 1964. *Tratado breve dos Rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde.* Lisboa: LIAM.
- ANSD 2009. *Situation economique et sociale de la Region de Kolda. Service Regional de la Prevision et de la statistique.* Dakar: Ministere de l'Économie et des Finances.
- Anville. 1743. *La Guinée de même que la plus grande Partie du Pais des Nègres.*
- APS. 2012. 'Ces villages du Fouladou fatals aux fonctionnaires et politiciens'. Retrieved on 7 June 2015 from Word Wide Web:
http://www.seneweb.com/news/Societe/ces-villages-du-fouladou-fatals-aux-fonctionnaires-et-politiciens_n_59332.html
- Arazi, N. 2005.'Tracing history in Dia, in the Inland Niger Delta of Mali: Archeology, oral traditions, and written sources'. Unpublished PhD thesis, UCL.
- Aubert, A. 1923. 'Légendes historiques et traditions orales recueillies dans la Haute Gambie' . *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, 6, 384-428.
- Ba, O. 1981. 'Royaume du Kabou: enquetes lexicales'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
- Bah, T.A. 1981. 'Gimdhi Taarika fii Fuuta-Dyalon Ngaabu (Poeme Peulh)'.*Ethiopiennes* 29.
- Bahn, P. 1992. *Collins Dictionary of Archaeology.* Glasgow: Harper Collins.
- Ballin, T.B. 2012. "'State of the art" of British gunflint research, with special focus on the early gunflint workshop at Dun Eistean, Lewis'. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 46(1), 116-42.
- Banks, M. 1996. *Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions.* London: Routledge.
- Barnard, H. & Wendrich, W. 2008. *The archaeology of mobility.* Los Angeles: University of California.
- Barot, R., Bradley H. & Fenton, S. 1999. 'Rethinking Ethnicity & Gender' in R. Barot, H. Bradley & S. Fenton (eds). *Ethnicity, Gender & Social Change.*

London: McMillan.

- Barth, F. 1969. *Ethnic groups and boundaries: the social organization of cultural difference*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Bassani, E. 1979. 'Sono from Guinea Bissau'. *African Arts* 12 (4) 44-7.
- Bassène, A. 2011. *Histoire authentique de la Casamance*. Angeville: La Brochure.
- Beck, H. 1928. 'Classification and nomenclature of beads and pendants' *Archaeologia* 76, 1-76.
- Becker, C., Martin, V., Schmitz, J., Chastanet, M. 1983. *Les premiers recensements au Sénégal et l'évolution démographique. Partie I: Présentation de documents*. Dakar: ORSTOM.
- Bédau, R. 1986. 'Pottery variation in present day Dogon compounds (Mali): Preliminary results'. In R. Singer & J.K.Lundy (eds) *Variation, culture, and evolution in African populations*. Johannesburg: Witwaterstrand University Press, 241-8.
- Bédau, R, J. Polet, K. Sanogo and A. Schmidt (eds). 2005. *Recherches archéologiques à Dia dans le Delta intérieur du Niger (Mali) : bilan des saisons de fouilles 1998-2003*. Leiden : CNWS.
- Belcher, S. 1999. *Epic traditions of Africa*. Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press.
- Benoit, M. 1988. 'Espaces francs et espaces étatisés en Afrique Occidentale: remarques sur quelques processus de territorialisation et leurs fondements idéologiques en Haute Casamance et Haute Gambie. *Cahiers des Sciences Humaines* 4, 503-19.
- Bernardi, B. 1952. 'The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic peoples: a critical evaluation' *Africa*, 22(4), 316-32.
- Bernhardt, J.W. 1993. *Itinerant kingship and royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, 936-1075*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Bertrand-Bocande, E. 1849a. 'Sur la Guinée Portugaise ou Sénégalie Méridionale'. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 11, 265-350.
- Bertrand-Bocande, E. 1849b. 'Notes sur la Guinée portugaise ou Sénégalie méridionale' *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 12, 57-93.
- Bertrand-Bocande, E. 1851. 'Extrait d'une lettre de M. Bertrand-Bocandé, résident français à Carabanne (Cazamance). *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 414-8.
- Binford, L. R. 1990. Mobility, housing, and environment: a comparative study'.

Journal of Anthropological Research 46(1), 9-52 .

- Binger, L.G. 1892. *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*. Paris
- Bird, C.S. and Kendall, M.B. 1980: 'The Mande hero: text and context'. In Karp, I. and Bird, C.S. (eds) *Explorations in African systems of thought*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 13-26.
- Bocoum, H. and McIntosh, S.K. 2002. *Fouilles à Sincu Bara, un site de l'Age de Fer dans la Moyenne Vallée du Sénégal*. Dakar, IFAN/Ch. A. Diop/ Nouakchott: CRIAA.
- Bocoum, H. 1995. 'La métallurgie du fer au Sénégal des origines au XXe siècle: esquisses d'une evolution des techniques de réduction. In P. Benoit & P. Fluzin (eds). *Paleometallurgie du fer & cultures*. Paris: Vulcain.
- Bocoum, H. 2000. *L'Âge de Fer au Sénégal: Histoire et Archéologie*. Nouakchott: CRIAA.
- Boulegue, 1972. 'Aux confins du monde Malinké: le Royaume de Kasa (Casamance)' *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.
- Boulegué, J. 1981. 'Les pays Wolof et Sereer et le monde Mandé au Moyen Age'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
- Boutillier, J-L. 2011. *Extrait du Rapport de Monsieur Jean-Louis Boutillier*. Dakar: Université Cheick Anta Diop.
- Brasseur, P. 1975. 'Missions catholiques et administration sur la côte d'Afrique de 1815 à 1870'. *Revue française d'histoire d'outre mer* 62(228), 415-46.
- Braudel. F. 1981. *The structures of everyday life: the limits of the possible*. London: Harper & Row.
- Brigaud, F. 1962. 'Histoire traditionnelle du Sénégal'. *Études Senegalaises* 9.
- Brill, R.H. 1995. 'Chemical analysis of some glasses from Jené-jeno. In S.K. McIntosh (ed). *Excavations at Jenné-Jeno, Hambarketolo, and Kaniana (Inland Niger Delta, Mali), the 1981 Season*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Brown, P. 1951. 'Patterns of authority in West Africa'. *Journal of the International African Institute* 21(4), 261-78.
- Brue, A. 1723. 'Voïages du Sr André Brue au long des Côtes occidentales d'Afrique'. In J-P. Rousselot de Surgy (ed). *Histoire générale des Voyages*, 460-630

- Ca da Mosto, A. 1895 *Relation des Voyages à la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique*.
Translated from Portuguese by M.C. Schefer. Paris : Léroux.
- Camara, S. 2010. *The epic of Kelefaa Saane*. Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press.
- Camara, A. and Duboscq, 1990. 'La Fouille D'un Site Acheuléen À Djita (Basse Vallée De La Falémé, Sénégal)' *L'Anthropologie* 94(2), 293-304.
- Camara, A. and Duboscq, B. 1987. 'Contexte Chronostratigraphique des outillages du Paléolithique évolué dans l'est du Sénégal'. *L'Anthropologie* 91(2):511-520.
- Camara, A. and Duboscq, B. 1984. 'Le Gisement Préhistorique de Sansandé, Basse Vallée de la Falémé, Sénégal: Approche typologique et ttrigraphique'. *L'Anthropologie* 88(3):377-402.
- Cameron-Monroe, J. & Ogundiran, A. 2012. *Power and landscape in Atlantic West Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Campbell,R. 2009. 'Approach to Early Complex Polities' *Current Anthropology*. 50(6), 821-48.
- Campos, L.M. 2014. *Korop and Payoungou: Iron technology in the High Casamance Region in Senegal*. Unpublished MSc Thesis, UCL.
- Cardoso, L. 1992. 'A arqueologia na Guiné-Bissau- Passado e perspectivas'. *Leba* 7, 47-56.
- Caroço, J.V. 1948. *Monjur: O Gabu e a sua historia*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de Guiné Portuguesa.
- Carreira, A. 1938. *Vida, religiao e morte dos Mandingas*. Lisboa: Cosmos.
- Carreira, A. 1947. *Mandingas da Guiné Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa.
- Carreira, A. 1961. 'Organizaçao social e economica dos povos de Guiné'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 64, 641-736.
- Carreira, A.1964. 'A etnonímia dos povos de entre o Gâmbia e o estuário do Geba'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 19 (75), 254-75.
- Carreira, A. 1966. 'Aspectos historicos da evoluçao do Islamismo na Guiné Portuguesa' *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 21(84).
- Carreira, A. 1983. *Notas sobre ó trafico português de escravos*. Lisboa: Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Carreira 1984, A. *Os Portugueses nos rios de Guiné (1500-1900)*.Lisboa
- CEHLTO, 2008. *La chartre de Kurukan Fuga: au sources d'une pensée politique en*

Afrique. Paris: Harmattan.

- Chapman 2007 'Evolution, Complexity, and the State'. In S. Kohring & S. Wynne-Jones, S. (eds). *Socialising Complexity: Structure, interaction and power in archaeological discourse*
- Charry, E.S. 2000. *Mande Music: Traditional and modern music of the Maninka and Mandinka of Western Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chavane, B.A. 1985. *Villages de l'ancien Tekrour*. Paris: Karthala.
- Childe, V.G. 1950. 'The Urban Revolution'. *The town planning review* 21(1), 3-17.
- Cissé, Y. 1964. 'Notes sur les sociétés de chasseurs Malinké'. *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 34, 175-266.
- Cissé, Y. and Kamissoko, W. 1998. *La grande geste du Mali: des origines à la fondation de l'empire*. Paris: Karthala.
- Cissoko, S.M. 1968. 'Prophéties de roi Mandingue: Mansa dâli! *Notes Africaines*, 123-4.
- Cissoko, S.M. 1969. 'La Royauté chez les Mandingues Occidentaux'. *Bulletin de l'IFAN* 31, series B, 2, 325-338.
- Cissoko, S.M. 1972. 'Introduction à l'histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest; l'empire de Kabou (XVIè-XIXè siècle)'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.
- Cissoko, S.M. 1981. 'De l'organisation politique du Kabu'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
- Colson, E. 1969. 'African society at the time of the scramble'. In Gann, L.H. and Duignan, P. (eds) *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, Volume I, The history and politics of colonialism 1870-1914*. pp 27-65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Conrad, D. 1985. 'Islam in the oral traditions of Mali : Bilali and Surakata'. *The Journal of African History* 26(1), 33-49.
- Conrad., D.C. 1994: 'A town called Dakajalan: the Sunjata tradition and the question of ancient Mali's capital'. *Journal of African History* 35, 355-77.
- Conrad, D. and Frank, B. 1995. *Status and identity in West Africa: Nyamakalaw of Mande*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Corbeil, R., R. Mauny, and J. Charbonnier. 1948. 'Préhistoire et Protohistoire de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert et de l'extrême ouest Sénégalais. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* 10, 378-460.
- Cowhill, G.L. 1977. 'Albert Spaulding and archaeological method and theory'. *American Antiquity* 42(3), 325-9.

- Cowgill, G.L. 2004. 'Origins and development of urbanism: archaeological perspectives'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33, 525-
- Craig, N.M. & Chagnon, N. 2006. 'Locational analysis of Yanomamö gardens and villages observed in satellite imagery'. In F. Sellet, R. Greaves, & P-L Yu (eds) *Archaeology and Ethnoarchaeology of Mobility*. Gainesville/Tallahassee/Tampa/BocaTaron/Pensacola/Orlando/Miami/Jacksonville/Ft Myers: University Press of Florida, 44-74.
- Cribb, R.L.D. 1991. 'Mobile villagers: the structure and organisation of nomadic pastoral campsites in the Near East'. In C.S. Gamble & W.A. Boismier (ed) *Ethnoarchaeological approaches to mobile campsites: hunter-gatherer and pastoralist case studies* 1, 371-93.
- Crone, G.R. 1937. *The voyages of Cadamosto and other documents on Western African in the second half of the 15th C*. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Cros J.-P., Laporte L., Bocoum H., Delvoe A., Diallo M., Lejay M., Bernard R., Dartois V., Quesnel L. 2010. Wanar: pratiques funéraires dans le mégalithisme sénégalais. *Volet II – Etude anthropologique et comparaisons*. Actes du colloque international PANAF-SAGA de Dakar.
- Crumley, C.L. 1987. 'A dialectical critique of hierarchy. In T. Patterson & C.W. Gailley (eds). *Power relations and state formation*. Washington DC: American Anthropological Association, 155-69.
- Crumley, C.L. 1995. 'Heterarchy and the analysis of complex societies'. *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 6, 1-5-
- Cultr, P. 1910. *Histoire du Sénégal du X^e siècle à 1870*. Paris: E. Larose.
- Cuoq, J. M. (1975). *Recueil des Sources Arabes Concernant l'Afrique Occidentale du 8^e au 16^e siècle*. Paris: CNRS.
- Dapper, O. 1686 *Description de l'Afrique*. Amsterdam : Wolfgang, Waesberge, Boom & van Someren.
- David, N. and Sterner, J. 1999. 'Wonderful society ; the Burgess shale creatures, Mandara polities, and the nature of prehistory'. In S.K. McIntosh (ed). *Beyond chiefdoms: pathways to complexity in Africa*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- De Barros, A. 1947. 'Histórias interessantes sobre os primitivos régulos de Cossé, Bulolé, Camomba e Badora'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 2(7), 741-3.
- De Zurara, G.E. 1841. *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné*. Paris :

J.P. Aillaud.

- DeCorse, C. R., Richard, F.G. Thiaw, I. 2003. 'Toward a systematic bead description system: A view from the Lower Falemme, Senegal' *Journal of African Archaeology* 1(1): 77-110.
- DeCorse, C.R.1989. 'Beads as chronological indicators in West African archaeology: A reexamination' *Beads* 1: 41-53.
- Delvoye, A. 2012. *La céramique de l'aire mégalithique sénégalaise à travers le cas de la nécropole de Wanar (Sénégal). Etude des répertoires formels, décoratifs et approche technologique. Campagnes 2005-2011.* Unpublished MA thesis, Université Paris I.
- Demanet, A. 1767. *Nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique Française.* Paris.
- Descamps, C. 1979. Sites protohistoriques de la Sénégambie. *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Dakar* 9: 303-313.
- Descamps, C. and Thilmans, C. 1973. *À l'attention de M. le Directeur du Patrimoine National (suite à l'autorisation n° 1142 MC du 13 juin 1973)* [letter]. Dakar: Musée Historique de Gorée.
- Descamps, C. and Thilmans, G. 1979. Les tumulus coquilliers des îles du Saloum (Sénégal). *Bulletin de l'ASEQUA* 54-55: 81-91.
- Descamps, C., Thilmans, G J., Thommeret, Y and Hauptmann, E. 1977. Données sur l'âge et la vitesse d'édification de l'amas coquillier de Faboura (Sénégal). *Bulletin de l'ASEQUA* 51: 23-32.
- De Barros, J. 1778. *Da Asia.* Lisboa: Regia Officina Typografica
- De Lemos Coelho, E. 1953. *Duas descrições seiscentistas da Guiné.*Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da Historia.
- De Jong, F. 2007. *Masquerades of Modernity: Power and secrecy in Casamance, Senegal.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- De Torres, J. 2012. *La Tierra sin límites: territorio, sociedad e identidades en el valle medio del Tajo (S. IX-I a.C.).* Unpublished PhD Thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- De Zeltner, F. 1913. *Contes du Sénégal et du Niger.* Paris: Lérout.
- Deme, A. & McIntosh, S.K. 2006. 'Excavations at Walaldé: new light on the settlement of the Middle Senegal Valley by iron-using people'. *Journal of African Archaeology* 4(2), 317-47.
- Diallo, T. 1981. 'Le Gaabu et le Fuuta-Jalon'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.

- Diallo, A.O. 2009. *Épopée du Fouta-Djalon: la chute de Gabou*. Paris: Harmattan.
- Dieterlen, G. 1957: 'The Mande creation myth'. *Africa* 27, 124-38.
- Dietler, M. 2001. 'Theorizing the feast: rituals of consumption, commensal politics, and power in African contexts'. In M.Dietler and B. Hayden (eds) *Archaeological and ethnographic perspectives on food, politics, and power*. Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Diop, A. 2000. 'Les industries paléolithiques post-Acheuléennes'. In Vernet, R. (ed) *L'archéologie en Afrique de l'Ouest. Sahara et Sahel*, Paris: Sépia, 257-68.
- Donelha, A. 1977. *Descrição de Serra Leoa e dos rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde (1625)*. Translated from Portuguese by A. Teixeira da Mota. Lisbon, Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar.
- Dunnell, R.C. 1971 'Sabloff and Smith's "The importance of both analytic and taxonomic classification systems in the type-variety system"' *American Antiquity* 36(1), 115-8.
- Dunnell, R.C. 1986. 'Methodological issues in Americanist artifact classification'. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 9, 149-207.
- Durán, L. 2007. *Women and musical mastery in Mali*. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 70(3), 569-602.
- Earthquake Track. 2015. '6.4 magnitude earthquake 73km from Koundara, Guinea'. Retrieved on 29th July 2015 from World Wide Web: <http://earthquaketrack.com/quakes/1983-12-22-04-11-29-utc-6-4-11.3>
- Easton, D. 1959. 'Political Anthropology'. *Biennial Review of Anthropology*. 1, 201-262.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. 1959. 'Primitive political systems: A preliminary comparative analysis'. *American Anthropologist* 61(2), 200-20.
- Eriksen, T.H. 2002. *Ethnicity and nationalism: anthropological perspectives*. London: Pluto Press
- Es-Sadi, A. 1964 *Tarikh es-Soudan* (trans. O. Houdas)Paris: Maissonneuve.
- Fanchette, S. 1999. 'Migrations, intégration spatiale et formation d'une société peule dans le Fouladou (haute Casamance, Sénégal). In R. Botte, J.Boutrais, and J. Schmitz (eds). *Figures Peules*. Paris: Karthala.
- Fanchette, S. 2010. *Une région périphérique à l'épreuve de la décentralisation: le Fuladu, pays des Peul de Haute-Casamance (Sénégal)*. Retrieved on 20 April 2014 from World Wide Web: <http://www.enda-sigie.org/bases/sigie/ressources/edocs-fan-decent-fuladu-hte-casam.pdf>

- Fanchette, S. 2011. *Au pays des Peuls de Haute-Casamance: l'intégration territoriale en question*. Paris: Karthala.
- Faro, J.1957. 'Duas expedições enviadas à Guiné anteriormente à 1474 e custeadas pela fazenda de D. Afonso V'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 12(45), 47-104.
- Faro, J. 1959. 'A organização administrativa da Guiné de 1615 a 1676'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 14(53), 97-122.
- Fay, C. 1997. 'Les derniers seront les premiers : peuplement et pouvoirs mandingues et Peuls au Maasina (Mali). In M. De Bruijn and H. Van Dijk (eds). *Peuls et Mandingues : dialectique des constructions identitaires*. Paris : Karthala, 165-191.
- Feinman, G.M. & Marcus, J. 1998. *Archaic States*. Santa Fe (NM): School of American Research.
- Filipowiak, W. 1966.'Expedition archéologique polono-guinéenne a Niani (Guinée).*Africana Bulletin* 4, 116-27.
- Filipowiak, W.1970. 'L'expédition archéologique polono-guinéenne a Niani, en 1968. *Africana Bulletin* 11, 107-17.
- Filipowiak, W. 1979. *Études archéologiques sur la capitale médiévale du Mali*. Szczecin: Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie.
- Fleisher, J. & Wynne-Jones, S. 2010. 'Authorisation and the process of power: the view from African Archaeology' *Journal of World Prehistory* 23 (4), 177-93.
- Ford, J.A. 1952. 'Measurements of some prehistoric design developments in the southeastern states' *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 44(3).
- Ford, J.A. 1954. 'Letters to the Editor'. *American Anthropologist* 56, 109-12.
- Ford, J.A. and Griffin, J.B. 1960(1938). 'Report of the Conference on Southeastern Pottery Typology'. Reprinted in the *Newsletter of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference* 7(1), 10-22.
- Fortes, M. & Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1940. *African Political Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frachetti, M.D. 2012. 'Multiregional emergence of mobile pastoralism and nonuniform institutional complexity across Eurasia'. *Current Anthropology* 53(1), 2-38.
- Frank, B.E. 1998. *Mande potters and leatherworkers: art and heritage in West Africa*. Washington DC/ London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

- Fried, M. H. *The evolution of political society: An essay in political anthropology*. New York: Random House.
- Gaden, H. 1912. 'Légendes et coutumes sénégalaises (Cahiers de Yoro Dyao). *Revue d'ethnologie et de sociologie*, 1191-202.
- Gallagher, D. 2010. 'Farming beyond the escarpment: society, environment, and mobility in precolonial southeastern Burkina Faso'. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan.
- Gallay, A. 1970. 'La poterie en pays sarakolé (Mali, Afrique Occidentale): Étude de technologie traditionnelle. *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 40, 7-84.
- Gallay, A., Pignat, G, and Curdy, P. 1982. Mbolop Tobé (Santhiou Kohel, Sénégal): Contribution à la connaissance du mégalithisme sénégalais. *Archives Suisses d'Anthropologie Générale* 46(2): 217-259.
- Gallay, A. and Huysecom, E. 1989. *Ethnoarchéologie africaine: un programme d'étude de la céramique récente du Delta Intérieur du Niger*. Geneva: Université de Genève.
- Gallay, A., E. Huysecom, M. Honneger, and A. Mayor. 1990. *Hamdallahi, capitale de l'Empire peul du Massina, Mali ; première fouille archéologique, études historiques et ethnoarchéologiques*. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Galloway, W. 1980. 'A listing of some Kaabu states and associated areas: signposts towards state-by-state research in Kaabu'. Paper presented at *The First International Kaabu Colloquium*, Dakar.
- Gestrich, N. 2010. 'The archaeology of social organisation at Tongo Maare Diabal'. Unpublished PhD thesis, University College London.
- Geysbeek, T.W. 2002. *History from the Musadu epic: the formation of Manding power on the southern frontier of the Mali Empire*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Michigan State University.
- Giesing, C. & Vidrine, V. 2007. *Ta:rikkh Mandinka de Bijini (Guinée-Bissau): la mémoire des Mandinka et Sooninkee du Kaabú*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Gijanto, L. 2007. 'Contact and exchange during the era of the Atlantic Trade: preliminary findings from archaeological investigations in the Gambia' *Nyame Akuma* 68: 12- 20.
- Gijanto, L. 2010. *Change and the Era of the Atlantic Trade: Commerce and Interaction in the Niimi Commercial Center (The Gambia)*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Syracuse University.
- Gijanto, L. 2011a. 'Exchange, interaction, and change in local ceramic production

- in the Niimi commercial center on the Gambia River'. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 11(1), 21-48.
- Gijanto, L. 2011b. 'Personal adornment and Expressions of status; beads and the Gambia river's Atlantic trade'. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15(4), 637- 68.
 - Girard, J. 1992. *L'or du Bambouk : une dynamique de civilisation ouest-africaine*. Geneva: Georg.
 - Gokee, C.D. 2012. *Daily life in the land of Bambuk: an archaeological study of political economy at Diouboye, Senegal*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan.
 - Gomes, D. 1959 [transl. and ed. by T.R. Monod, R. Mauny, and G. Duval] *De la première découverte de la Guinée: récit par Diogo Gomes (fn XVe. siècle)* Bissau: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa.
 - Goody, J. 1971. *Technology, tradition, and the State in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 - Gosselain, O.P. and Livingstone Smith, A. 1995. 'The Ceramics and Society Project: an ethnographic and experimental approach to technological choices'. *KVHAA Konferenser* 34, 147-60.
 - Gosselain, O.P. 1992. 'Bonfire of the Enquiries. Pottery firing temperatures in archaeology: what for?'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 19,243-59.
 - Gosselain, O.P.1999. 'In pots we trust: the processing of clay and symbols in sub-Saharan Africa'. *Journal of Material Culture* 4(2), 205-30.
 - Gosselain, O.P. 2008a. 'Thoughts and adjustments in the potter's backyard'. In I. Berg (ed). *Breaking the mould: challenging the past through pottery*. BAR Int. Series 1861.
 - Gosselain, O.P. 2008b. 'Ceramics in Africa'. In Selin, H. (eds) *Encyclopedia of the History of Science, Technology and Medicine in non-western cultures*. Vol.1. Springer.
 - Gosselain, O.P. 2010. 'Ethnographie comparée des troussees à outils de potiers au sud du Niger'. *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* 107(4), 667-89.
 - Gosselain, O.P. 2011a. 'Fine if I do, fine if I don't. Dynamics of technical knowledge in sub-Saharan Africa'. In B.W. Roberts and M. Vander Linden (eds) *Investigating archaeological cultures: material culture, variability, and transmission*. Springer.
 - Gosselain, O.P. 2011b. 'Pourquoi le décorer? Quelques observations sur le décor

- céramique en Africa'. *Azania* 46(1), 3-19.
- Grandão, F. 1947. 'Uma peça histórica'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 2(6), 449-54.
- Gravrand, R.P. 1981. 'Le Gabou dans les traditions orales du Ngabou'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
- Gronenborn, D. 2001. 'Kanem-Borno: a brief summary of the history and archaeology of an empire in the Central 'bilad el-sudan' In C. DeCorse (ed) *West African during the Atlantic Slave trade; archaeological perspectives*. London and New York: Leicester University Press, 101-30.
- Guitat, R. 1970. Carte Et Répertoire Des Site Néolithiques Du Sénégal. *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, Série B* 32(4):1125-1134.
- Gutkind, P. C. W. 1963. *The royal capital of Buganda: a study of internal conflict and external ambiguity*. The Hague: Mouton & Co.
- Guyer, J.I. 1992. 'Wealth in People and Self-Realization in Equatorial Africa'. *Man* 28(2), 243-65.
- Guyer, J.I. 1995. 'Wealth in people, wealth in things' *Journal of African History* 36(1), 83-90.
- Hall, M. 1996. *Archaeology Africa*. London: James Currey, Cap Town: David Phillip
- Hanks, B.K. & Linduff, K.M. 2009. *Social complexity in prehistoric Eurasia: Monuments, metals and mobility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haour, A. 2005. 'Power and permanence in precolonial Africa: a case study from the central Sahel. *World Archaeology* 37, 552-65.
- Haour, A. 2011. 'Putting pots and people in the Sahelian empires' *Azania* 46(1), 36-48.
- Haour, A., Manning, N., Arazi, N., Gosselain, O., Guèye, N.S., Keita, D., Livingstone-Smith, A., MacDonald, K.C., Mayor, A., McIntosh, S.K., and Vernet, R. 2010. *African Pottery Roulettes Past and Present: techniques, identification, and distribution*. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Hayden, B. & Villeneuve, S. 2011. 'A century of feasting studies'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40, 433-49.
- Hecquard, H. 1853. *Voyage sur la côte et l'intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale*. Paris : Bernard et Co.
- Higgs, E.S. and C. Vita-Finzi, 1972. 'Prehistoric economies : a territorial approach. In E.S. Higgs (ed). *Papers in economic prehistory*. Cambridge : Cambridge

- University Press, 27-36.
- Hoffman, B.G. 1995. 'Power, structure, and Mande *jeliw*'. In D.C. Conrad and B.E. Frank (eds). *Status and identity in West Africa: Nyamakalaw of Mande*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 36-45.
 - Holl, A.F.C., Bocoum, H., Dueppen, S. and Gallagher, D. 2007. 'Switching mortuary codes and ritual programs: the double-monolith-circle from Sine-Ngayene, Senegal'. *Journal of African Archaeology* 5(1), 127-48.
 - Horvarth, R.J. 1969. 'The wandering capitals of Ethiopia' *Journal of African History* 10(2), 205-19.
 - Huysecom, E. and Mayor, A. 1993. 'Les traditions céramiques du delta intérieur du Niger: présent et passé'. In J. Devisse, J., Polet, & S. Sidibé (eds). *Vallées du Niger*. Paris : Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 297-313.
 - Innes, G. 1972. 'The Kingdom of Kaabu in Gambian Mandinka Oral Tradition'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.
 - Innes, G. 1974. *Sunjata: three Mandinka versions*. London: SOAS.
 - Insoll, T., Polya, D.A., Bhan, K., Irving, D. & Jarvis, K. 2004. 'Towards an understanding of the carnelian bead trade from Western India to sub-Saharan Africa: the application of UV-LA-ICP-MS to carnelian from Gujarat, India, and West Africa'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31, 1161-1173.
 - Insoll, T. & Shaw, T. 1997. 'Gao and Igbo-Ukwu: Beads, inter-regional trade, and beyond'. *African Archaeological Review* 14: 9-23.
 - Insoll, T. 1997. 'Iron Age Gao : An archaeological contribution'. *The Journal of African History* 38(1) , 1-30.
 - Insoll, T. 1998. 'Archaeological research in Timbuktu, Mali'. *Antiquity* 72, 413-17.
 - Insoll, T. 2006. 'Shine franchising and the Neolithic in the British Isles; some observations based upon the Tallensi, Northern Ghana'. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 16(2), 223-38.
 - Jabaté, J.K.M. 1987. *L'histoire du Mandé d'après Jéli Kanku Jabaté de Kéla*. Paris: SCOA.
 - Jackson, J.B. 1984. *Discovering the vernacular landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
 - Jansen, J. , Duintjer, E. and Tamboura, B. 1995. *L'épopée de Sunjara, d'après Lansine Diabaté de Kéla*. Leiden: CNWS.
 - Jansen, J. 1996. 'The younger brother and the stranger in Mande status discourse. In Jansen, J. and C. Zobel (eds). *The younger brother in Mande : kinship and*

politics in West Africa. Leiden : CNWS, 8-34.

- Jansen, J. 2009. 'The Bijini experience- A journey to the end of the editors' universe as we know it'. In S. Luning, E. de Maaker & J. Jansen (eds) *Traditions on the move: essays in honor of Jarich Oosten*. Amsterdam: Rozenberg, 137-46.
- Jensen, C.K. and Nielsen, K.H. 1997. 'Burial data and Correspondence Analysis'. In C.K. Jensen & K.H.Nielsen (eds). *Burial & Society: the chronological and social analysis of archaeological burial data*. Aarhus,Aarhus University Press.
- Jobson, R. 1968 [1623]. *The golden trade or a discovery of the River Gambia and the Golden trade of the Aethiopians*. London : Dawsons of Pall Mall.
- Johansen, P.G. & Bauer, A.M. 2011. *The archaeology of politics: the materiality of political practice and action in the past*. Newcastle-upon-Thyne: Cambridge Scholars.
- Johnson, J.W. 1986. *The epic of Sunjata*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Johnson, J.W & Sisòko, F-D. 2003 *Son-Jara: The Mande Epic*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press
- Johnson, M. 1970. 'The cowrie currencies of West Africa' Part I. *Journal of African History* 11(1), 17-49.
- Joire, J., and G. Duchemin 1955. Découvertes Archéologiques Dans La Région De Rao (Bas-Sénégal). *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Série B* 17(3):249-333.
- Jonckers, D. & Colleyn, J.P. 1974. 'La communauté familiale chez les Minyanka du Mali'. *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 44(1), 43-52.
- Jones, E.E. and J.W. Wood. 2012. 'Using event-history analysis to examine the causes of semi- sedentism among shifting cultivators: a case study of the Haudenosaunee, AD 1500-1700'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39, 2593- 2603.
- Jones, M. 1994. *Flowering plants of the Gambia*. Rotterdam: Balkema.
- Jones, S. 2002. *The archaeology of ethnicity: constructing identities in the past and present*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Kaba, L. 1981.'Des aspects de l'histoire du Gabu au XIXème siècle'. *Ethiopiques* 29.
- Kanouté, D. 1972. *Histoire de l'Afrique authentique*. Dakar: Impricap.
- Karklins, K. 1985. *Glass beads*. Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch Parks.

- Kâti, M. 1913 *Tarikh el-Fettach* (Trans. O Houdas and M. Delafosse). Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Keita, D. 2011. 'Le peuplement de la marge orientale du delta intérieur du Niger au premier millénaire après Jésus Christ'. Unpublished PhD thesis, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense.
- Kelly, R. L. 1992. 'Mobility/sedentism : concepts, archaeological measures, and effects' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21, 43-66.
- Kenmotsu, N. 1990. 'Gunflints: a study'. *Historical archaeology*. 24(2), 92-124.
- Kesteloot, L., Hale, T. & Bjornson, R. 1991. 'Power and its portrayals in royal Mandé narratives'. *Research in African Literatures* 22(1), 17-26.
- Kidd, K.E. & Kidd, M.E. 1983. 'A classification system for glass beads for the use of field archaeologists. In C.F. Hayes III (ed). *Proceedings of the 1982 glass trade bead conference research records* 16. Rochester: Rochester Museum and Science Center, 219-257.
- Kidder, A.V. and Shepard, A.O. 1936. *The Pottery of Pecos*, Vol II. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Klein, M. 2009. 'Slavery and the early state in Africa'. *Social Evolution and History* 8(1), 168-94.
- Knight, R.C. 1972 'Relations between the manding and the Fula as expressed in the Manding song repertoire'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.
- Kohler, T.A. And M.H. Matthews 1988. 'Long-term Anasazi Land Use and Forest Reduction: a case study from Southwest Colorado'. *American Antiquity* 53(3), 537-564.
- Kopytoff, I. 1987. *The African frontier*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Kouyaté, N. 1981. 'Conservation des traditions orales Sereer e Guelwar'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
- Labat, J.B. 1728a. *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale IV* Paris : Guillaume Cavalier.
- Labat, J.B. 1728b. *Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale V*. Paris : Guillaume Cavalier.
- Laforgue, P. 1925. 'État actuel de nos connaissances sur la préhistoire en Afrique Occidentale Française'. *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* 8(1), 105-171.

- Lambert, M. 1862. 'Voyage dans le Fouta Djallon. *Le Tour du Monde*, 373-400.
- Lame, M. 2000. 'Le Néolithique'. In R. Vernet (ed). *L'archéologie en Afrique de l'ouest: Sahara et Sahel*. Paris: Sépia, 269-275.
- Langle, F. de. 1872. 'Croisières à la côte d'Afrique' *Le Tour du Monde*, 305-52.
- Langle, F. de 1873. 'Croisières à la côte d'Afrique' *Le Tour du Monde*, 353-368.
- Langlois, O. 2001. 'La distribution des techniques de façonnage de la poterie au sud du bassin tchadien: un outil pour la recherche historique régionale. *Journal des Africanistes* 71, 225-56.
- Laporte, L., Bocoum, H. Cros, J-P., Delvoeye, A., Bernard, R., Diallo, M., Diop, M., Kane, A., Dartois, V., Lejay, M., Bertin, F. and Quesnel, L. 2012. 'Megalithic monumentality in Africa: from graves to stone circles at Wanar, Senegal'. *Antiquity* 86, 409-27.
- LaViolette, A. 1995. 'Women craft specialists in Jenne: the manipulation of Mande social categories'. In D.C. Conrad & B.E.Frank(eds) *Status and identity in West Africa: Nyamakalaw of Mande*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Law, R. 1976. 'Horses, firearms, and political power in pre-colonial West Africa' *Past & Present* 72, 112-32.
- Lawson, A. 2001. 'Recent archaeological research on Gambian Iron Age habitation'. *Nyame Akuma* 55, 32-35.
- Lawson 2003a. *Megaliths and Mande states: Sociopolitical change in The Gambia Valley over the past two Millennia*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan.
- Lawson, A. 2003b. The Central Gambia Valley archaeological project: Further results'. *Nyame Akuma* 59, 34-44.
- Leary, F.A. 1972. 'Gabu in the 19th century: a study of Futa Jalon-Firdu-French relations'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.
- Legrand, R. 1912. 'Le Fouladou'. *La Géographie* 26 (1-6), 241-53.
- Lertrit, S. 2003. 'On Chronology-Building for Central Thailand through an attribute-based ceramic seriation'. *Asian Perspectives* 42(1), 41-71.
- Levtzion, N., and Hopkins, J. F. P., (eds) 2000. [1981]. *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*, Princeton (NJ): Markus Wiener.
- Levtzion, N. 1980. *Ancient Ghana and Mali*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Linares de Sapiir, O. 1971. 'Shell middens of Lower Casamance and problems of

- Diola Prothistory. *West African Journal of Archaeology* 1, 23-54.
- Lindsay, I. & Greene, A. 2013. 'Sovereignty, mobility, and political cartographies in Late Bronze Age souther Caucasias'. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 32(4), 691-712.
- Lindsey, B. 2015. *Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website: Body & Mold seams*. Retrieved on 18 September 2015 from Word Wide Web: <http://sha.org/bottle/body.htm>.
- Lloyd, P.C. 1965. 'The political structure of African kingdoms'. In Bauer, *Political systems and the distribution of power*. In Banton, M. (ed) *Political systems and the distribution of power*. London: Routledge, 63-112.
- Lobban, R. 1979. *Historical dictionary of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde*. New Jersey/London: Scarecrow Press.
- Lopes, C. 1988. *Les Kaabunké: structures politiques et mutations*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Université Paris I.
- Lopes, C. 1990. 'Relações de poder numa sociedade malinké: O Kaabu do séc. XIII ao séc. XVIII. *Soronda* 10, 17-26.
- Lopes, C. 1999. *Kaabunke: espaço, território e poder a Guiné Bissau, Gâmbia e Casamance pré-colonais*. Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.
- Lopes, C. 2005. 'O Kaabu e os seus vizinhos: uma leitura espacial e histórica explicativa de conflitos'. *Afro-Asia* 32, 9-28.
- Lund, C. 2013. 'The past and space: on arguments in African land control' *Africa* 83(1), 14-35.
- Ly-Tall, M. 1981. 'Quelques précisions sur les relations entre l'Empire du Mali et le Gabou'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
- MacDonald, K.C. 1988. 'The pottery of Dia and Jenne-Jeno: a technical analysis'. Unpublished BA thesis, Rice University.
- MacDonald, K.C. 1995. 'Analysis of the mammalian, avian, and reptilian remains'. In S. McIntosh (ed) *Excavations at Jenné-Jeno, Hambarketolo, and Kaniana (Inland Niger Delta, Mali), the 1981 season*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 291-318.
- MacDonald, K. C. 1997. "Koroukorokale revisited: The Pays Mande and the West African microlithic technocomplex." *African archaeological review* 14(3), 161-200.
- MacDonald, K.C. 1998. Before the empire of Ghana: pastoralism and the origins

- of cultural complexity in the Sahel. In G. Connah (ed) *Transformations in Africa. Essays on Africa's Later Past*. London: Leicester University. Press, 71–103.
- MacDonald, K.C. 2011a. 'Betwixt Tichitt and the IND: the pottery of the Faïta Facies, Tichitt Tradition'. *Azania* 46(1), 49-69.
- MacDonald, K.C. 2011b. 'A view from the south: sub-Saharan evidence for contacts between North Africa, Mauritania, and the Niger, 1000 BC-AD 700'. In A. Dowler (ed). *Money, trade, and trade-routes in pre-Islamic North Africa*. London: British Museum Press.
- MacDonald, K.C. 2012. 'The least of their inhabited villages are fortified: the walled settlements of Segou'. *Azania* 47(3), 343-64.
- MacDonald, K.C. 2015. "'A chacun son Bambara", encore une fois: history, archaeology, and bambara origins'. In F. Richard & K.C. MacDonald (eds). *Ethnic ambiguity and the African past*. Walnut Creek (CA): Left Coast Press.
- MacDonald, K.C., S. Camara, S. Canós Donnay, N. Gestrich, D. Keyta. 2009-2011. 'Sorotomo : a forgotten Malian capital ? *Archaeology International* 3/14, 2009- 2011, 53-65.
- MacDonald, K.C. & Camara, S. 2012. 'Segou, slavery and Sifinso'. In Monroe, J.C. and Ogundira, A. (eds) *State and society in West Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MacDonald, K.C. & Hutton MacDonald, R. *In press*. 'Mammalian, avian, and reptile remains'. In R.J. McIntosh, S.K. McIntosh, & H. Bocoum (eds). *The search for Takrur, archaeological excavations and Reconnaissance along the Middle Niger Senegal Valley*. New Haven, Yale University Publications in Archaeology.
- McIntosh, R.J. 1988. *Peoples of the Middle Niger*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- McIntosh, R.J. 1998. *Peoples of the Middle Niger*. Malden, MA : Blackwell.
- McIntosh, S.K. 1995a. *Excavations at Jenné-Jeno, and Kaniara (Inland Niger Delta, Mali), the 1981 season*. Berkeley/LA: University of California Press.
- McIntosh, S.K. 1995b. 'West African Iron Age pottery studies from an Americanist perspective: a ceramic manifesto'. Paper presented at the 10th PanAfrican Congress, Harare.
- McIntosh, S.K. 1999. 'Pathways to complexity: an African perspective'. In McIntosh, S.K. (ed) *Beyond chiefdoms: pathways to complexity in Africa*, pp 31-8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- McIntosh, S.K., and R.J. McIntosh.1980. *Prehistoric Investigations in the Region of Jenne, Mali*. Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology No. 2. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- McIntosh, R.J. and S.K. McIntosh 1993a. 'Cities without citadels: Understanding urban origins along the Middle Niger'. In T. Shaw (ed) *The archaeology of Africa: Food, metals, and towns*. London: Routledge, 622-41.
- McIntosh, R.J. and S.K. McIntosh.1993b Field Survey in the Tumulus Zone of Senegal. *African Archaeological Review* 11:73-107.
- McIntosh, S.K, Gallagher, D., & McIntosh, R. J. 2003. 'Tobacco pipes from excavations at the Museum site, Jenné, Mali. *Journal of African archaeology* 1(2), 171-99.
- McIntosh, R.J., McIntosh, S.K. Bocoum, H. 2012. *Seeking the origins of Takrur: Excavations and survey in the Middle Senegal Valley*. New Have: Yale University Press.
- McNaughton, P.R. 1988. *The Mande blacksmiths: knowledge, power, and art in West Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Magnavita, S. 2003. 'The beads of Kissi, Burkina Faso'. *Journal of African Archaeology* 1(1): 127-138.
- Mage, M. 1868a. 'Voyage dans le Soudan Occidental'. *Le Tour du Monde* 17, 1-112.
- Mage, M.b 1868b. *Voyage dans le Soudan Occidental (Sénégal-Niger)*. Paris: Hachette.
- Mané, M. 1979. *Contribution à l'histoire du Kaabu, des origines au XIX siècle*. Dakar: IFAN.
- Mané, M. 1981. 'Les origines et la formation du Kaabu'. *Ethiopiennes* 28.
- Mané, M. 1989. 'O Kaabu: uma das grandes entidades do Património Histórico Senegambiano'. *Soronda* 17, 17-30.
- Mark, P. 2003. *Djinns, stars, and warriors: Mandinka legends from Pakao, Senegal*. Leiden: Brill.
- Martin, V. and Becker, C. 1984. *Inventaire des Sites Protohistoriques du Sénégal*. Kaolack: C.N.R.S.
- Mateus, A.M. 1953. 'Nota preliminar acerca da estação pré-histórica de Nhampasseré (Guinea Portuguesa)'. In *Conferência internacional dos africanistas ocidentais : 2ª conferência, Bissau, 1947 : trabalhos apresentados à 3ª secção (meio humano)*. Lisboa : Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 377-

- Mateus, A. 1954 'Acerca da Pré-História da Guiné'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 9(35), 457-79.
- Mattingly, D. 2004. 'Being Roman: expressing identity in a provincial setting'. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 17(1), 5-25.
- Mauny, R. 1963. 'Contribution à la préhistoire et à la protohistoire de la région de Kédougou (Sénégal Oriental)'. *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* 5, 113- 22.
- Mayor, A. 1996a. 'A la découverte d'Hamdallahi, capitale de l'Empire peul du Massina. In A. Gallay, E. Huysecom, A. Mayor, and G. de Ceuninck (eds) *Hier et aujourd'hui, des poteries et des femmes. Céramiques traditionnelles du Mali*. Geneva: Département d'anthropologie et d'écologie, 68-83.
- Mayor, A. 1996b. 'Hamdallahi, capital of the Fulani empire of Macina, Mali: a multidisciplinary approach' In G. Pwiti et R. Soper (eds). *Aspects of african archaeology. Papers from the 10th Congress of the Panafrican Association for Prehistory and Related Studies*. Harare : Univ. of Zimbabwe, 671- 680.
- Mayor, A. 1997. 'Les rapports entre la Diina peule du Maasina et les populations du Delta intérieur du Niger, vus au travers des traditions historiques et des fouilles archéologiques' In M. de Bruijn and J. van Dijk (eds). *Peuls et Mandingues: Dialectique des constructions identitaires. Actes du 3e Congrès international Mansa de Leiden*. Paris: Karthala, 33-60.
- Mayor, A. 2010. 'Ceramic traditions and ethnicity in the Niger Bend, West Africa'. *Ethnoarchaeology* 2(1), 5-48.
- Mayor, A., Huysecom, E., Gallay, A., Rasse, M. and Ballouche, A. 2005 'Population dynamics and Paleoclimate over the past 3000 years in Dogon country, Mali'. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 24, 25-61.
- Mendes Corrêa, A.A. 1947. *Uma jornada científica na Guiné Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colonias.
- MOLAS 1994. *Archaeological Site Manual*. London: Museum of London.
- Monteil, C. 1929. *Les empires du Mali: étude d'histoire et de sociologie soudanaises*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.
- Moore, F. 1738. *Travels into the inland parts of Africa: containing a description of the several nations for the space of six hundred miles up the river Gambia*. London: E. Cave.
- Morrison, K.D. 2001. 'Sources, approaches and definitions. In S.E. Alcock,T.T.

- D'Altroy, K.D. Morrison, and C.M. Sinopoli (eds) *Empires: Perspectives from archaeology and history*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Moser, R.E. 1974. *Foregrounding in the Sunjata: The Mande Epic*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Indiana University.
- Murdock, G.P. 1959. *Africa: Its peoples and their culture history*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Murdoch, P. 1967. 'The Ethnographic Atlas : a summary'. *Ethnology* 6(2), 109-236.
- Mveng, R.P. 1981. 'Considerations generales sur le Colloque'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
- N'Gaïdé, A. 1998. 'Strategies d'occupation de l'espace et conflits fonciers en Haute Casamance (Kolda, Sénégal)'. In G. Dominique & W. Annie (eds). *Le voyage inachevé...à Jöel Bonnemaïson*. Paris: ORSTOM, 185-90.
- N'Gaïdé, A. 1999. 'Conquête de la liberté, mutations politiques, sociales et religieuses en Haute Casamance. Les anciens *maccuße* du Fuladu (Region de Kolda, Senegal)'. In R. Botte, J. Boutrais, and J. Schmitz (eds) *Figures Peules*. Paris: Karthala.
- Niane, D.T. 1965. *Sundiata: an epic of old Mali*. London: Longmans.
- Niane, D.T. 1981a. 'Les sources orales de l'histoire du Gabu'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
- Niane, D.T. 1981b. 'Les derniers jours de Kansala' *Afrique histoire* 1, 34-6.
- Niane, D.T. 1989. *Histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest*. Paris: Khartala.
- Niang, M. 1981. 'Contribution à une esquisse bibliographique sur Kaabu'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
- Nyerges, A.E. 1996. 'Ethnography in the reconstruction of african land use histories: A Sierra Leone Example'. *Journal of the international African Institute* 66(1), 122-44.
- Nixon, S. 2008. 'The archaeology of Early Islamic trans-Saharan trading towns in West Africa: a comparative view and progressive methodology from the entrepot of Essouk-Tadmekka'. Unpublished PhD thesis, UCL.
- O'Brien, M.J. and Lyman, R.L. 2002. 'The epistemological nature of archaeological units' In *Anthropological Archaeology* 2(1), 37-56.
- Oliver, R.A. & Fage, J.D. 1962. *A short history of Africa*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Opper, M.J. and H. Opper. 1989. 'Diakhité : a study of the beads from an 18th-19th century burial site in Senegal, West Africa' *Beads* 1, 5-20.
- Ortelius. 1570. *Africae Tabula Nova*. Antwerp.
- Ozanne, P. 1969. 'The diffusion of smoking in West Africa'. *Odu* 2, 29-42.
- Pacheco Pereira, D. 1956. *Esmeraldo De Situ Orbis: Côte occidentale d'Afrique du*

- Sud Marocain au Gabon*. Selected and translated from Portuguese by Raymond Mauny. Bissau : Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa.
- Park, M. 1800. *Travels into the interior districts of Africa*. New York: J. Tiebout.
- Pauketat, T.R. 2007. *Chiefdoms and other archaeological delusions*. Lanham: Altamira Press.
- Péllissier, P. 1966. *Les paysans du Sénégal: les civilisations agraires du Cayor à la Casamance*. Sant-Yrieix: Imprimerie Fabrègue.
- PEPAM. 2011. *Plan local d'hydraulique et d'assainissement-PLHA. Communauté rurale de Fafacourou*. Dakar : Ministère de l'Urbanisme, de l'Habitat, de l'Hydraulique, et de l'Assainissement.
- PEPAM. 2014a. 'Localité de Kandia'. Retrieved on 13 June 2015 from World Wide Web: <http://www.pepam.gouv.sn/acces.php?idloc=10321018>.
- PEPAM. 2014b. 'Localité de Cabendou'. Retrieved on 13 June 2015 from World Wide Web:<http://www.pepam.gouv.sn/acces.php?idloc=10322013>
- PEPAM. 2014c. 'Communauté Rural de Dabo'. Retrieved on 13 June 2015 from World Wide Web: <http://www.pepam.gouv.sn/acces.php?idcr=10113>
- PEPAM. 2014d. 'Localité de Samassandang'. Retrieved on 13 June 2015 from World Wide Web: <http://www.pepam.gouv.sn/acces.php?idloc=10331038>
- PEPAM. 2014e. 'Communauté Rural de Kandia'. Retrieved on 13 June 2015 from World Wide Web:<http://www.pepam.gouv.sn/acces.php?idreg=10&idcr=10321>.
- Person, I. 1981. 'Problemes de l'histoire du Gabou'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
- Peters, J. 1986a. *Osteomorphology and osteometry of the appendicular skeleton of Grant's gazelle, Gazella Granti Brooke, 1872, Bohor Reedbuck, Redunca redunca (Pallas, 1767), and bushbuck, Tragelaphus Scriptus (Pallas, 1766)*. Ghent: Rijksuniversiteit Gent.
- Peters, J. 1986b. *Osteomorphology and osteometry of the appendicular skeleton of African buffalo, Syncerus caffer (Sparman, 1779) and cattle, Bos primigenius F. taurus Bojanus, 1827*. Ghent: Rijksuniversiteit Gent.
- Philips, J.E. 1983. 'African smoking and pipes' *Journal of African History* 24(3), 303-19.
- Phillott Almeida, R. 1980. 'An outline history of Pachesi drawn from oral traditions'. Unpublished paper presented at *The First International Kaabu Colloquium*, Dakar.
- Phillot Almeida, R. 2011. *A succinct history of the kingdom of Pachesi in the*

- Empire of Kaabu*. Banjul: University of the Gambia.
- Picard, J. & Picard, R. 1986. *White hearts, feather and eye beads from the West African trade. Beads from the West African Trade IV*. Carmel (CA): Picard African Imports.
 - Picard, J. & Picard, R. 1989. *Russian blues, faceted, and fancy beads from the West African trade. Beads from the West African Trade V*. Carmel (CA): Picard African Imports.
 - Pinkerton. 1813. 'Western Africa'. In *Pinkerton's Modern Atlas*. London: Cadell & Davies.
 - Platt, S. 2013. "Their pipes are made of clay, ver neat, and of reddish colour": *Local tobacco pipes during the Atlantic trade in the Senegambia*. Unpublished BA thesis, St Mary's College of Maryland.
 - Pommegorge, P. de. 1789. *Description de la Nigrité*. Paris: Maradan.
 - Porter, A. 2012 *Mobile pastoralism and the formation of Near Eastern civilizations: weaving together society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 - Prévost, A.F. 1759. *Histoire générale des voyages VI*. Paris: Didot.
 - Quinn, C. 1971. 'A Nineteenth Century Fulbe State'. *The Journal of African History* 12(3), 427-40.
 - Quinn, C. 1972. *Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia: Traditionalism, Islam and European Expansion*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
 - Quiquandon, F. 1892. 'Histoire de la puissance mandingue d'après la légende et la tradition'. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Bordeaux* 2/15, 305-18.
 - Raffenel, A. 1846. *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*. Paris: Arthus Bertrand.
 - Rafferty, J.E. 1985. 'The archaeological record on sedentariness : recognition, development, and implications' *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 8, 113-56.
 - Rasmussen, S. J. 1993. 'Joking in researcher- resident dialogue: the ethnography of hierarchy among the Tuareg'. *Anthropological Quarterly* 66(4), 211-20.
 - Ravisé, A. 1970. 'Industrie néolithique en os de Saint-Louis. *Notes Africaines* 128, 97-102.
 - Ravisé, A.1975. 'Recensement De Sites Paléolithiques Et Néolithiques Du Sénégal'. *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, Série B* 37(1), 234-245.
 - Reid, A. 1996. 'Ntusi and the development of social complexity in southern

- Uganda. In G. Pwiti and R. Soper (eds) *Aspects of African Archaeology. Papers from the 10th Congress of the PanAfrica Association for Prehistory and Related Studies*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Press.
- Renfrew, C. & Bahn, P. 2004. *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Rice, P.M. 2005. *Pottery Analysis: a sourcebook*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Richard, F. G. 2007. *From Coosan to Colony: exploring archaeological landscape formations and socio-political complexity in the Siin (Senegal), AD-500-1900*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Syracuse University.
- Richard, F.G. & MacDonald, K.C. 2014a. (eds) *Ethnic ambiguity and the African Past: materiality, history, and the shaping of cultural identities* Walnut Creek (CA) : Left Coast Press.
- Richard, F.G. & MacDonald, K.C. 2014b. 'From invention to ambiguity: the persistence of ethnicity in Africa. In F.G. Richard & K.C. MacDonald (eds) *Ethnic ambiguity and the African Past: materiality, history, and the shaping of cultural identities* Walnut Creek (CA) : Left Coast Press.
- Richards, W.A. 1980. 'The import of firearms into West Africa in the eighteenth century'. *Journal of African History* 21(1), 43-59.
- Roche, C. 1971. 'Portraits de chefs casamançais du XIXe siècle'. *Revue française d'histoire d'Outre-Mer* 58(213), 451-67.
- Roche, C. 1976. *Conquête et résistance des peuples de Casamance: 1850-1920*. Dakar: Nouvelles Éditions Africaines.
- Roche, C. 1985. *Histoire de la Casamance : conquête et résistance : 1850-1920*. Paris: Karthala.
- Rodney, W. 1966. 'African slavery and other forms of social oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the context of the Atlantic slave-trade'. *The journal of African History* 7(3), 431-43.
- Rodney, W. 1970. *A History of the Upper Guinean Coast, 1545-1800*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rodrigues, M.d.C. 2012. 'Missão antropológica e etnológica da Guiné: Objectivos e resultados'. In *Atas do Colóquio Internacional Cabo Verde e Guiné-Bissau: Percursos do saber e da ciência*. Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical/Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas de Universidade Técnica de Lisboa.

- Ronciere, C. de la. 1904a. *Historique du Fouladou, travail d'hivernage*. Dakar: Archives du Sénégal.
- Roncière, C. de la 1904b. *Renseignements sur la population du Fouladou*. Dakar: Archives du Sénégal.
- Rye, O.S. 1981. *Pottery technology. Principles and reconstruction*. Washington D: Taraxacum, Inc.
- Sabloff, & Smith. 1969. 'The importance of both analytic and taxonomic classification in the type-variety system'. *American Antiquity* 34, 278-86.
- Salvaing, B. 2006. 'Missions chrétiennes, christianisme et pouvoirs en Afrique noire de la fin du XVIIe siècle aux années 1960: permanences et évolutions'. *Outre-mers* 93(350-1), 295-333.
- Samb, A. 1981. 'L'Islam et le Ngabou'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
- Sane, M. 1981. 'Le Kukay ou l'initiation en milieu Mandinka du Kaabu'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
- Scarre, C. 2005. *The Human Past: World Prehistory and the development of human societies*. London: Thams & Hudson.
- Schmidt, A., Arazi, N., MacDonald, K., Cosme, F. and Bedaux, R. 2005. 'La potterie'. In R. Bedaux, J. Polet, K. Sanogo and A. Schmidt (eds) *Recherches archéologiques at Dia dans le Delta intérieur du Niger (Mali)*. Leiden: CNWS.
- Service, E.R. 1962. *Primitive social organization: an evolutionary perspective*. New York: Random House.
- Shennan, S. 1997. *Quantifying archaeology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Sidibe, B.K. 1972a. 'The story of Kaabu: its extent'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.
- Sidibe, B.K. 1972b. 'The story of Kaabu: Kaabu's relationship with the Gambia States'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.
- Sidibe, B.K. 1972c. 'The story of Kaabu: the fall of Kaabu'. *Proceedings of the Conference on Manding Studies*. London: SOAS.
- Sidibe, B.K. 1980. 'Tiramakang : Background to the migrations from Manding to Kaabu' *Proceedings of the First International Kaabu Colloquium*.
- Sidibe, B.K. 1984. *The Balde family of Fulaadu*. Banjul: Gambia Cultural Archives.
- Sidibe, B.K. 2004. *A brief history of Kaabu and Fulaadu: 1300-1930: a narrative based on some traditions of the Senegambia*. Torino/Paris: Harmattan.
- Skalnik, P. 1983. 'Questioning the concept of state in indigenous Africa. *Social*

dynamics 9(2): 11-28.

- Smith, A. 2003. *The political landscape: constellations of authority in early complex polities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Smith, M.G. 1956. 'On segmentary lineage systems'. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. 86(2), 39-80.
- Smith, M.L. 2005. 'Networks, territories, and the cartography of ancient states'. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95(4), 832-49.
- Soares Polini, R. 2012. *Expedições Arqueológicas nos territórios de Ultramar: uma visão da ciência e da sociedade portuguesa do período colonial*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Universidade do Algarve.
- SOAS. 1972. *Papers presented to the International Conference on Manding Studies, 30 June-3 July 1972*.
- South, S. 1971. 'A comment on alkaline-glazed stoneware'. *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 5 (171-185).
- Southall, A. 1999. 'The segmentary state and the ritual phase in the political economy'. In McIntosh, S.K. (ed) *Beyond chiefdoms: pathways to complexity in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp 31-8.
- Spaulding, A. 1953a 'Statistical techniques for the discovery of artifact types'. *American Antiquity* 18, 305-13.
- Spaulding, A. 1953b. 'Review of Ford's 'Measurements of some prehistoric design developments in the southeastern states' *American Anthropologist* 55(4), 588-591.
- Spaulding, A. 1954. 'Letters to the Editor'. *American Anthropologist* 56, 112-114.
- Spiers, S. 2012. 'The Eguafó polity: between the traders and the raiders'. In J.C. Monroe & A. Ogundiran (eds) *Power and landscape in Atlantic West Africa: Archaeological perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 115-41.
- Stahl, A.B. 2004. 'Political economic mosaics: Archaeology of the last two millennia in tropical sub-Saharan Africa' *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 33, 145-172.
- Stein, G. 2002. 'From passive periphery to active agents: Emerging perspectives in the archaeology of interregional interaction' *American Anthropologist*, 104(3), 903-916.
- Suret-Canale, J. 1966. 'La fin de la chefferie en Guinée'. *Journal of African History* 7(3), 459-93.
- Takezawa, S. and M. Cissé. 2012. 'Discovery of the earliest royal palace in Gao

- and its implications for the history of West Africa'. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 208(4), 813-44.
- Tamari, T. 1991: 'The development of caste systems in West Africa'. *Journal of African History* 32, 221-50.
 - Teixeira da Mota, A. 1947. 'Cronologia e âmbito das viagens portuguesas de descoberta na África Ocidental de 1445 a 1462'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 3, 483-88.
 - Teixeira da Mota, A. 1960. 'Descoberta de bronzes antigos na Guiné Portuguesa'. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 15 (59), 625-33.
 - Teixeira da Mota, A. 1981. 'Les relations de l'ancien Gabou avec quelques états voisins'. *Ethiopiennes* 29.
 - Thiaw, I. 1999. 'Archaeological investigation of long-term culture change in the Lower Falemme (Upper Senegal Region) AD 500-1900'. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Rice University.
 - Thilmans, G., Descamps, C. and Khayat, B. 1980. *Protohistoire du Sénégal-1: Les sites mégalithiques*. Dakar: IFAN.
 - Thilmans, G., and Ravisé, A..1980 *Protohistoire Du Sénégal, Tome II: Sintiou-Bara et les Sites du Fleuve*. Dakar: Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire.
 - Thomas, N.W. 1920. 'Who were the Manes?'. *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 176-88.
 - Togola, T. 2008. *Archaeological investigations of iron age sites in the Mema Region, Mali*. Cambridge: BAR.
 - Trigger, B. 1972. 'Determinants of urban growth in preindustrial cities'. In P.J. Ucko, R.Tringham, and G.W. Dimbleby (eds). *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*. London: Duckworth, 575-99.
 - Trigger, B. 2003. *Understanding Early Civilizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 - Tymowski, M. 1981. 'The army and the formation of the states of West Africa in the nineteenth century: the cases of Kenedugu and Samori state'. In H.C.Claessen & P. Skalnik (eds). The Hague: Mouton, 427-42.
 - Van der Sleen, W.G.N. 1967. *A handbook on beads*. Liège: Musée du Verre.
 - Van Neer, W. 1989. *Contribution to the archaeozoology of Central Africa*. Tervuren (Be): Musée Royal de l'Afrique Central.
 - Vansina, J. 1962. 'A comparison of African kingdoms' *Journal of the International African Institute* 32(4), 324-35.

- Vansina, J. 1985. *Oral tradition as history*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Vansina, J. 2006. *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*. New Brunswick: Transaction.
- Villiers, A. 1958. *Tortues et crocodiles de l'Afrique Noire Française*. Dakar: IFAN.
- Welling, M. 2000/2011. 'On the significance of local clay pipes for African archaeology: presenting new finds and a typo-chronology from Mali. *Newsletter of the Department of pottery technology, Leiden University*. 83-116.
- White, G. 1971. 'Firearms in Africa: an introduction'. *Journal of African History* 12(2), 173-84.
- Wirth, L. 1938. 'Urbanism as a way of life'. *American Journal of Sociology* 44(1), 1-24.
- Woodburn, J. 1982. 'Egalitarian societies'. *Man* 17(3), 431-51.
- Wright, D.W. 1980. *Kaabu and Nyumi: a study of the impact of peoples of Kaabu on a Gambian Mandinka state with implications for further work in Western Mandinka history*. Unpublished pamphlet, Bibliothèque de Recherches Africaines, Paris.
- Wright, D.R. 1987. 'The epic of Kelefa Saane as a guide to the nature of precolonial Senegambian society'. *History in Africa* 14, 287-309.
- Wright, D.W. 1997. *The world and a very small place in Africa*. New York; London: M.E. Sharpe.
- Wright, D.W. 1999. 'What do you mean there were no tribes in Africa?': Thoughts on boundaries and related matters- in precolonial Africa' *History in Africa* 26, 409-26.
- Yoffee, N. 2005 *Myths of the archaic state: evolution of the earliest cities, states and civilizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zobel, C. 1996. 'The noble griot-the construction of mande *jeliw* identities and political leadership as interplay of alternative values'. In J. Jansen and C. Zobel (eds). *The younger brother in Mande: kinship and politics in West Africa*. Leiden: CNWS.
- Zucarelli, F. 1973. 'De la chefferie traditionnelle au canton: évolution du canton colonial au Sénégal-1855-1960. *Cahiers d'études africaines* 13(50), 213-38.

APPENDIX A : ORAL TRADITION INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

- 1.-Mampatim Sinthian
- 2.-Mampatim Maoundé 1
- 4.-Pathim Tibo
- 5.-Kandia
- 6.-Koukane 1: Mory Diao
- 7.-Koukane 2 : Boydo Sabaly
- 8.-Koukane 3 : Ma Samba Baldé
- 9.-Koukane 4 : Aleth Diao
- 10.-Koukane 5 : Alpha Omar Diakité
- 11.-Pidiro
- 12.-Kabendou
- 13.-Sare Douel Sambalo
- 14.-Sare Pate Bouya
- 15.-Thiara
- 16.-Payoungou 1
- 17.-Tabassaye Manding
- 18.-Koulekounda 1
- 19.-Muntumba
- 20.-Diankankounda Mawdo
- 21.-Diankankounda Manding
- 22.-Coumbacara
- 23.-Temanto Tobo
- 24.-Koulekounda 2
- 25.-Kolda Molo
- 26.- Koumambouré
- 27.- Korop
- 28.-Sare Hogo/Medina Cherif
- 29.-Mampatim Maoundé 3
- 30.-Samasansan
- 31.-Missira Koutayel
- 32.-Payoungou 2 : Payoungou Seydi

1.-Mampatim Sinthian

Date : 08/01/13

Participants : Fally Mballo, Yéro Balde, Ibrahima Balde, Mamadou Mané, Araye Mané, Mamadou Danfa, Komalé Balde, Kouthia Balde (jaarga), Yéro Balde

Q : *Ko hobbo watu Mampatim Sinthian sinthia, ho ko watu Moussa Molo wala ko do e Moussa Molo lammadé ?*

Yéro Balde (YB): Ko Mampatim ko sinthiéré ko doum mi andda doum. Kono no dé bouri boyedé Mampatim Mawdé.

Q: *Ko hobbo sinthi Mampatim Sinthian?*

YB: Ko manti mi e Mamapatim Sinthian, ko jarga mbiré do Sama Balde wono ohn watu jarga saaré dé o.

Q : *Ho kagne sinthi saaré dé ?*

YB : Wona kagne sinthie saaré dé

Q : *Ko sinthiou do saaré dé o tigu meen falla anddou dé ?*

YB: Ko Jinéyel wawra doum anddou dé, Jinéyel alla do. Mawbé piwu koubbi ko doum addi ha doum yédjira.

Kouthia Balde (KB) : Premier chef de village de Mampatim Sinthian ko Samandjé Diabou

Q : *Ko hobbo watu mbo wono jarga watu lammu Kaabu, wala ko watu lammu Fulbé ?*

KB: Ko watu Fuladu o mbo wono jarga

Q: *Ho Mampatim i firti godoum ?*

KB: Mampatim ko firti Mampara palla djé, mbayri ko dén léddé bour no do héwude. Ko legaal jibbina nano gaal bibbe. Ko mbe soppi de ko le mbe sinyhi saare de.

Q: *Watu Samandje Diabou arii do de, ho mbo tawi do yimbe?*

YB: Alla mbo tawi ni do hayye goro.

Q: *Ko hodde jetodje e ledji ngone do e der Mampatim?*

Q : Quand est-ce que Mampatim Sinthian est-il fondé , au temps de Moussa ou avant de son regne?

Yéro Balde (YB) : Je ne sais pas quand est-ce que Mampatim est fondé mais je sais qu'il est plus ancien que Mampatim Mawde.

Q : Qui est le fondateur de Mampatim Sinthian ?

YB: Ce que je retiens de Mampatim Sinthian, c'est le nom du jarga, il s'appelait Sama Balde.

Q : Est-ce lui le fondateur du village ?

Yéro Balde : Ce n'est pas lui le fondateur du village.

Q : On voudrait savoir le nom du fondateur.

YB: C'est Jineyel qui peut savoir cela mais elle n'est pas là. De plus, tous les vieux sont morts, c'est pour cela qu'on a oublié.

Kouthia Balde (KB): Le premier chef de village de Mampatim Sinthian s'appelait Samandje Diabou.

Q : A quel période était-il jarga ? C'est durant la période du pouvoir Kaabu ou celui des Fulbe ?

KB: C'est à l'époque du Fulaadu qu'il était jarga.

Q : Est-ce que Mampatim signifie quelque chose ?

KB: Mampatim signifie *Mampara palla dje* parce que c'est l'arbre qui dominait dans la forêt et qui donnait des fruits. C'est pour cela que le village s'appelle Mampatim.

Q : Samandje Diabou, quand il est venu fonder le village, est-ce qu'il a trouvé des gens ici ?

YB: Non, il n'a pas trouvé des gens.

Q: Quels sont les noms de familles et les ethnies qui habitent actuellement à Mampatim ?

Notables: Balde, Mane, Danfa, Camara, Bodian, Mangal, Diatta, Sadio, Mballo, Diao

Q: Samandje Diabou ko hoddum wono?

Notable: Ko Pullo wono

Q: Lawu ko hoddi famille dji kono do?

Notable: Lawu ko Balde de be ran et Cisse Kunda na be

Q: Hono ledji ngar dii do hakuude Balanto be, Fulacounda be et Sebbe be?

Notable: Ko Fulacouda be guiddi do wono de abbi Sebbe be ontuma Balanto be wari nii.

Q: Watu hobbo Sebbe be dieyyi?

Notable: Doum boyyi de

Q: Ho ko watu Fualdu o wala ko watu Sebbe ?

Notable : Ko watu Fuladu o

Q : Saare de ko quartier dje dji diélu diogui e hodoum honni indde de ?

Notable: Quartier dji diddo raan gone do. Ko Mane kunda e Balde kunda.

Q: Ho saare de I djoguino quartier goddi lawu?

Notable: I wano Cisse kunda e Sane kunda.

Q: E di nayyi, ko hono de kecci diiri?

Notable: Ko Balde kunda, Cisse kunda, Sane kunda e Mane kunda

Q: Cisse e Sane ho ko Sebbe ?

Notable: Ha ko Sebbe

Q: Ho saare de I djoguino tatadji? Wala no wayyi ni no mahanterii ni?

Notable: Alla no tatadji.

Q: Ho saare de I djogui waylube?

Notable: Alla do

Q: Lawu wodde no?

Notables : Il y a Balde, Mane, Danfa, Camara, Bodian, Mangal, Diatta, Sadio, Mballo, Diao

Q : Samandje Diabou était quoi ?

Notable : Il était un Pullo

Q : Il y avait quels noms de famille avant ?

Notable : Il n'y avait que des Balde et des Cisse

Q : Quel est l'ordre d'arrivée entre les Balantes, les Fulacounda, les Manding ?

Notable : Les Fulacounda sont les premiers, ensuite les Sebbe, et finalement les Balantes.

Q : Quand est-ce que les Manding sont partis ?

Notable : Ça fait longtemps

Q : C'est au temps du Fulaadu ou au temps des Sebbe ?

Notable : C'est au temps du Fulaadu.

Q : Le village a combien de quartiers et quel est leur nom ?

Notable : Il y a que deux quartiers : Mane kunda et Balde kunda.

Q : Est-ce qu'il y avait d'autres quartiers avant ?

Notable : Il y avait Cisse kunda et Sane kunda.

Q : De ces quatre, quel est l'ordre de fondation ?

Notable : C'est Balde kunda, Cisse kunda, Sane kunda et Mane kunda

Q : Cisse et Sane sont-ils des Sebbe ?

Notable : Oui, c'est des Sebbe

Q : Est-ce que le village avait des tataji ? Où quelque sorte de fortifications ?

Notable : Non, il n'y avait pas de tataji

Q : Est-ce qu'il y a des forgerons au village ?

Notable : Il n'y a pas .

Q : Et avant ?

Notable: Ha wodge no. Ko Cisse kunda na be.

Q: *Fii hodoum addi ha be djeyyi?*

Notable: Mi adda fii hodoum addi ha be djeyyi. Sabouna ko meen ngarta do ko taa be djeyyi no. Ko kayyen sincci yo Saare Hogo bourra addiri de Medina Cherif.

Q: *Watu Balde be ngarta do o ho taa Cisse kunda be djeyyi?*

Notable: Alla ko Balde de be sincci saare de abbi Cisse kunda. Be ngoni do ha ko be goni ko be djeyyi sincci doula mouhen.

Q: *Ho saare de I djogui diouma?*

Notable: Non non alla.

Q : *Est-ce que lawu woddano ?*

Notable : Lawu woddano de

Q : *Est-ce que saare de ko saare diina Islam ka inno do kabire lawu wala ko boya ni diina ka arii ?*

Notable : Alla diina ka boya ni ka arii

Q : *Ko hobbo watu be tuubi ?*

Notable : Ko 1980 be tuubi

Q : *Si saare de ko watu Fuladu ô de ko hodoum de wono e dewo dedda hiae ? Ho saare de i djoguino jambaare be?*

Notable: Ha i djoguino jambaare be

Q: *Jambaare be ko hobo quartier kono?*

Y.B: Baba am ko *ancien combatant* woneno e der konu Moussa Molo gu?

Q: *Hono Baba ma wireno?*

Y.B: Ko Yaya Balde mbo wireno

Q: *Ho jambaare be Moussa Molo be kewu no e der saare de?*

Notable: Be kewuno e der saare de

Q: *Ko meen gar no do ko e thiediou gu, ohn naam no meen to guedj niantio be, ho ohn mawii meen fiila naade heen?*

Notable: I wono ko hewii ko wone toon. Sabou na yimbe gari no djeyyi ngon yii tone

Notable : Avant il y avait des forgerons. Ils étaient à Cissekunda.

Q : *Pourquoi ils sont partis ?*

Notable : Je ne sais pas, parce que quand nous sommes arrivés ils étaient déjà partis. Ils sont partis fonder Saare Hogo, connu comme Medina Cherif.

Q : *Quand les Balde sont arrivés, les Cisse étaient déjà partis ?*

Notable : Non, c'est les Balde qui sont les fondateurs du village; ensuite les Cisse sont venus et ensuite ils sont partis fonder leur propre village.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a une mosquée dans le village ?*

Notable : Non, il n'y a pas

Q : *Il y'en avait au passé ?*

Notable : Non il n'y en avait pas

Q : *Est-ce que le village a été toujours un village musulman ou l'Islam est venu tardif ?*

Notable : Non il n'y a pas longtemps que l'Islam est arrivé au village.

Q : *Quand est ce qu'ils se sont convertis ?*

Notable : Ils se sont convertis en 1980

Q : *Si ce village a été fondé au temps du Fulaadu, quel rôle avait-il ? Est-ce que le village avait une armée ?*

Notable : Oui, il y avait une armée au village.

Q : *L'armée était dans quel quartier ?*

Y.B : Mon père était un ancien combattant de l'armée de Moussa Molo

Q : *Comment s'appelait votre père ?*

Y.B : Il s'appelait Yaya Balde

Q : *Il y avait beaucoup de combattants de l'armée de Moussa Molo dans le village ?*

Notable : Ils étaient nombreux dans le village.

Q : *Quand nous sommes venus en été, vous nous avez conduit à Guedi Nyantio Be, est-ce que vous pouvez nous raconter plus sur cette histoire ?*

Notable : Il y avait beaucoup de choses qui se passaient là-bas. Et des immigrants se s'y sont installés à proximité du Guedi.

K.B: Diobandjo yara no to guedj ro si naa roum doubol. Si no mbo madiano. Diali be kirano to guide niandjo be

Q: *Doum ko touma waddi?*

Notable: boyi ko waddi de

Q : *Ko do e saare de sinthie de wala ko ta saare de sinthia ma ?*

Notable : Ko saare de sinthia haa gassi ko

Q : *Di pidji diidi i dioguidino e Kaabu dikidiral, ko goga wala wona goga ? Meen mbiyya maa yo woddi debbo tioudino do ko mboyii. Ho onone naani heen godoum?*

Notable : Ha doum ko goga sabou ko ohn indiira guide de. Ko ohn wiireno Niandjo be. Ko doum meen naano mawbé e piilo. Niandjo ko djinne debbo o wiireno no

Q: *Ho I woddi ko halla ko do filaa cosaan saare de wala toundou dou ko kandiran taa si windama haan waware hourarade?*

Notable: Kadulle mbatte no, cafouli, deewule e ciipiro dji

Q: *Ko touma doum athia?*

Notable: Doum e wadde hadjiloon

Q: *Kabire touma doum foudde wadde de?*

Notable: Doum ko kabiire saare de sinccia. Hakkude saare de e Mampatim mbeen doulo labbi di

Q: *Ko hodoum woni hakune Mampatim mawde e Mampatim sinthian?*

Notable: Ko musiidal e beldirgal parce que ko bibbe Fulbe ran sincci de hakkude.

Q: *Est-ce que Mampatim mawde ko be Mampatim sinthian be sincci doum?*

Notable: Doum alla no lawu

Q: *Fii hodumo tia e didi de i diogui indde wotéré né?*

Notable: cii ko sinccu be tia e piwu inditri piwu indde wotere de ko haworor taan

Q: *Oh waatu ko hodoum yimbe saare de be ligoro ?*

Notable : Ko demaale ran

Q : *Ko hodoum ndemoron ?*

K.B : On disait aussi qu'une nouvelle ne devait pas y aller avant d'avoir une année. Sinon elle risquait de se perdre. Les griots veillaient à Guide Nyanthio Be.

Q : *C'était quand ça ?*

Notable : Cela fait longtemps que s'est passé

Q : *Ça c'est passé avant ou après de la fondation du village ?*

Notable : C'est après la fondation du village.

Q : *On nous a dit que ces deux-là avaient une relation avec le Kaabu, est-ce vrai ? Parce qu'on nous a dit qu'il y avait une femme qui s'est cachée là pour beaucoup de temps. Est-ce que vous connaissez quelque chose ?*

Notable : C'est vrai parce que c'est son nom qu'on a donné au guide. Les anciens le racontaient souvent. Nyanthio était une femme djinn et elle s'appelait ainsi.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a quelque chose d'autre sur l'histoire du village ou de la région qui serait intéressant de mettre sur les archives?*

Notables : Il y a des cérémonies qu'ils organisaient en passant par celle d'initiation, des mariages et des luttes, entre autres.

Q : *Quand est-ce qu'on a arrêté ces pratiques ?*

Notable : Les pratiques continuent de nos jours.

Q : *On le fait depuis quand?*

Notable : Cela se passe depuis la fondation du village. On débroussaillait la route entre le village et Mampatim .

Q : *Quelle est la relation entre Mampatim Maounde et Mampatim Sinthian ?*

Notable : C'est une relation de parenté et d'amitié entre les deux villages parce que c'est des fils des Fulbe qui ont fondé ces villages.

Q : *Est-ce que Mampatim Maounde a été fondé par les gens de Mampatim Sinthian ?*

Notable : Cela n'a pas eu lieu.

Q : *Pourquoi les deux villages ont le même nom ?*

Notable : C'est par hasard que les deux village ont le même nom.

Q : *Les gens d'u village font actuellement quoi?*

Notable : L'agriculture uniquement

Q : *Vous cultivez quoi ?*

Notable : Gawri, maro, guerte, hottolo, tubanio, madia, guili, beene, bantara, pourere,

Q : *Lawu kala ko houdde wotere de wateno ?*

Notable : Ha di changi. Parce que lawu hottolo remera na ke. Ko heddi ko ta remero no.

Q: *Ho kabire saare de sincia ko dou taan wono golle moon de?*

Notable: *Ko demaale taan woni golle saare de*

Q: *Ho ohn dioguino jambaare be e der saare de?*

Notable: Alla ta wona douffa do service

Q: *Waatu Fuladu o, Mampatim Sinthian ko e hoddu tuundu twano?*

Notable: Ko e der Patim woneno

Q: *Hoore woneno capital Patim?*

Notable: Ko Dabo wono capital Patim gal

Q: *Ho de tiae bourno dioga de importance?*

Notable : Mampatim Sinthian, Thidely, Diattamine, saare Dembayel,

Q: *Do e waatu Fuladu o ko hodde tiae bourno do mawnoude?*

Notable: Meen ganda doum kay

Q: *Mbayyri liggue de ko do meen pouddori de, ho ohn mawi meen halaande dioula dji gondou di e cosaan e heen mbawraa yadde ?*

Notable : I woddi lekki ki soupera ke, sabouna ci ah soupi ki diemaa ko diendjito diendjitara djeGal legeel ko kahi wire

Q : *Legal gal ko e hobbo quartier woni ?*

Notable: Ko do galle Yero ohn do

Q: *Ho legal gal ko toura wala ko gal fouddan horre moun?*

Notable: Ko gal fouddane hore moun

Q: *Ho ko saare de sincie re ko ta galil do wala gantimoun gal foudde?*

Notable : Ko ta saare de sincia ma le gal fouddi

Notable : Du mil, du riz, des arachides, du coton, du maïs, du millet, du manioc, de la patate douce.

Q : *Au passé, c'était la même chose ?*

Notable : Oui cela a changé. Parce qu'auparavant on ne cultivait pas le coton. Mais le reste a été cultivé.

Q : *Est-ce que depuis la fondation du village, il y a eu que l'agriculture comme activité ?*

Notable : Oui, c'est la seule activité qu'on pratique dans le village.

Q : *Y avait-il des guerriers dans le village ?*

Notable : Non , seulement ceux sous travaux forcés.

Q : *Pendant la période du Fulaadu, Mampatim Sinthian se trouvait dans quel terroir ?*

Notable : Il se trouvait au Patim.

Q : *Où se trouvait la capitale du Patim ?*

Notable : Dabo était la capitale du Patim

Q : *Quels sont les villages les plus importants de la province du Patim ?*

Notable : Il s'agit entre autres de Mampatim Sinthian, Thidely, Sare Dembayel.

Q : *Avant la période du Fulaadu, quels étaient les gros villages de la province ?*

Notable : Nous n'avons point de connaissances là-dessous

Q : *Pouvez nous donner des indications sur où pouvons nous nous rendre pour avoir plus d'informations sur l'histoire de la région ?*

Notable : Il y a un arbre *kahi* que personne ne coupe, parce celui qui le coupe passera une nuit cauchemardesque.

Q : *Il se trouve dans quel quartier ?*

Notable : Il se trouve chez les Yéro.

Q : *Est-ce qu'on la planté ou c'est un arbre sauvage ?*

Notable : C'est un arbre sauvage.

Q : *Depuis quand il est là, est-ce après la fondation du village ou avant ?*

Notable : C'est après la fondation du village qui est apparu.

Q : *Hodde tiae tineton haa meen mawra yadde ha meen kebba ko bouri do e fiila cosaan o*

Notable: Pidiro, saare kanta, saare Dembayel, Kouthiake, saare Hogo .

Q: *Quels sont les villages que vous pouvez nous indiquer pour obtenir plus d'informations ?*

Notable: Pidiro, Saare Kanta, Saare Dembayel, Kouthiake, Saare Hogo.

2.- Mampatim Maoundé

Date: 15/02/13

Participants : Gagna Balde, Dello Balde (*jarga*), Ibrahima Diallo (aka Galle Tailleur), Moutarou Coulibaly, Malang Diamanka, Billo Sow, Bora Diallo, Amadou Seydi, Saouru Balde, Diahé Diao (aka Diahé Talara), Yero Balde, Djiba Diallo (aka Djiba Dianguiya), Aissatou Diallo (Aissatou Fereya), Bambe Balde, Souba Balde, Mama Balde (*jaarga* Madina Méta), Sisao Diao.

Q : *Ko hobbo sinci Mampatim ?*

Malang Diamanka (M.D) : Ko Yil Kannde sinci Mampatin, ko Saare Saamba Yero mboiwri ?

Q : *Homboo wattu dé sincaa ?*

M.D : Wattu lammu Sebbe

Q: *Ho Mampatin i fiirti godoum?*

M.D: Cerna djom bombo ardou no ô wimbo do ko saare mdodiou déwoone do, mbari demde fof indo, ko maa Patim ardo, doum fiirti Mampatin.

Q: *Ko Yil Kannde arta do ko hombo tawii do yimbee waalambo tawanii?*

M.D : Mbo tawaani

Q : *Yil Kande ho ko cerna djotaan mbo arddi waa lambo arddu no e woobe ?*

M.D : Mbo arddu no e yimbbe diido mbeen ko dioulabe : Samba Kumba Balde e Kekuta Diawo.

Q : *Ko hoddi ledji gone do et hono di ngardi e der Mampatim Maoundé ?*

M.D : Do premier hoddano saaki, mi routo mawo. Hodde no be do ko Sebbe mbire be Bainoukobe. Bainoukobe be be koddii do, sebbe soninkobe guimboyi hirngue, ko been wawi bainoukobe riwi be do fess woneti tunbum. Sebbe gari do.

Moutarou Coulibaly (M.C) : Ko Fulakunda be guiddi do woneno de, Balantobe, Koniangui, Bambarankobe, Bassaribe, Diolabe, Macangagne, Sérères, Oulof, Badiarankobe, Toubaccobe

Q : *Ho Soninkobe ngare be do be ko kayen e Tiramakhan ngari di wala ko do e doum ?*

Q : Qui est le fondateur de Mampatim ?

Malang Diamanka (M.D) : C'est Yil Kannde qui est le fondateur de Mampatim. Il vient de Saare Saamba Yero.

Q : Quand est-ce qu'il a fondé le village ?

M.D : C'est à l'époque du règne des Sebbe

Q : Est-ce que Mampatim veut dire quelque chose ?

M.D : Le marabout qui l'accompagnait lui a dit 'ce lieu serait un bon emplacement, parce qu'il y a toutes les langues. Il faut que Patim vienne'. C'est ça que Mampatim signifie.

Q : Est que Yil Kannde a trouvé des gens lorsqu'il est venu ?

M.D : Il n'y avait personne.

Q : Est-ce que Yil Kande est venu seulement avec le marabout ou avec d'autres personnes ?

M.D : Il est venu avec deux personnes qui étaient des commerçants : Samba Kumba Balde et Kekuta Diawo.

Q : Quels sont les clans qui habitent maintenant à Mampatin Maounde et quel est leur ordre d'arrivée ?

M.D : Le village a été occupé premièrement ensuite abandonné. Je reviens un peu en arrière. Ceux qui habitaient ici étaient des Sebbe d'origine Bainouk. Ces Bainouk ont vécu ici jusqu'à temps que les Sebbe qu'on appelait les Soninké qui ont quitté pour l'ouest, c'est eux qui ont chassé les Bainouk là. Les Sebbe sont venus ici.

Moutarou Coulibaly (M.C) : Les Fulakunda sont les premiers venus, ensuite les Balantes, les Koniangui, les Bambara, les Bassari, les Diola, les Sérères, les Oulof, les Badiara et les Blancs.

Q : Les Soninke qui sont arrivés ici, sont-ils arrivés avec Tiramakan ou avant ?

M.D : *Ko Tiramakhan woni mawbe Soninkobe be. Tiramakhan jibbini Soninkobe be. Tiramakhan felli Bainoukobe be.*

Q : *E Bainoukobe horo be ndiari ?*

M.D : Hou mawbe ameen be mbi meen ko less to be ndiari Sengo diyyam to.

Q : *Ho watu Fulakunda be ko ngarta do ko taa Soninkobe be diehi ?*

M.D : Tayyi be ndiehi de.

Q : *Ho ohn noone ngandi fi hodoum addi ha be ndiehi ?*

M.D : Hodoum waddi ha be ndiehi he ta wona Soninkobe e Bainoukobe. Meen bi ohn Soninkobe diwi do Bainoukobe. Soninkobe noone ko camp dji madeno yadde sabouna ko kambe lamino. Hedde ameen ga, ko hakudde do e Payoungou e gani ohn. Ko ontuma be ngarano guide niantio be.

Q : *Ko horo Soninkobe be ndiehi ?*

M.D : Soninkobe i keddi e der Mampatim do.

Galle Diallo (G.D) : Soninkobe be riwi Bainoukobe. Bainoukobe keddi be be wona ndun suudu, been wano disparaître complètement heddi ladde bolde.

Q : *Ho ko Soninkobe be ko diwi Bainoukobe be, be ngono do ?*

G.D : Be ngoni do quelques temps kahen kalla diehi ferin do wonti ladde wonti tumbun.

Q : *Mi jangui diali goddo mbo wiyyo Mampatim ko Tiramakhan sinci doum ontuma mbo athi doum mbido makko o. Ho ko noone wayyi ?*

M.D : Tiramakhan ko mbo Mali. Ko doon Sebbe be pouddi. Ko doum woni Saane Maane been ko do pouddi. Been noone kalla mbire Soninkobe. Been woneno be lamima haa be diwi Bainoukobe be, diati woneno be do be tongaki do hawri Alpha Molo lamima ohn kalla riwi kalla Sebbe woneno be do. Mbo hehti lamu Fulbe be. Tiramakhan mbo gandu mi ko mbo Mali.

Q : *Ho watu i wodeno ni leydi i tawano e Mali ?*

M.D : Lambe Sebbe be ko doula dji didi be ngoneno, be woneno to wire Payoungou, be ngoni do Kabendou. Ko been ngoneno be di doula dji didi be kippu no hedde ga o. Min ko naano no mi mawbe i pillo ko sabouna mbo wawra widude ko do halla do mbayri ko bidonle woni goga.

Bora Diallo (B.D) : Doum après l'indépendance woneno doum kalla wona Mampatim wireno ko la Confédération du Mali. Awa Mampatim tawano ka

M.D : Tiramakan est l'ancêtre des Soninke. Tiramakan est le géniteur des Soninkobe. Tiramakan a guerroyé les Bainouk.

Q : *Et les Bainouk où sont-ils partis ?*

M.D : Nos ancêtres nous ont dit qu'ils sont vers le bas près des eaux.

Q : *Quand les Fulakunda sont venus, est-ce que les Soninke étaient déjà partis ?*

M.D : Ils étaient déjà partis.

Q : *Pourquoi ils sont partis ?*

M.D : Pourquoi ils sont partis ? A part les Soninke et les Bainouk, on vous a dit que c'est les Soninke qui ont chassé les Bainouk. Les Soninke ont implanté des camps parce qu'ils dirigeaient. Dans cette partie, c'est entre Payoungou et de l'autre côté. C'est à cette période qu'ils allaient à Guide Nyanthio Be.

Q : *Les Soninke sont partis d'où ?*

M.D : Il y a toujours des Soninké à Mampatim.

Galle Diallo (G.D) : Les Soninke ont renvoyé les Bainouk. Les Bainouk qui sont restés ne sont pas de la même lignée que les autres. Les premiers ont disparu complètement et il n'en reste que la brousse.

Q : *Est-ce que les Soninke, après avoir chassé les Bainouk, se sont établis ici ?*

G.D : Ils sont restés quelques temps et ils sont tous partis et c'est devenu un *tumbu* et une brousse.

Q : *J'ai écouté un griot dire que Mampatim a été fondé par Tiramakan et que Tiramakhn a laissé son fils ici. Est-ce vrai ?*

M.D : Tiramakan est venu du Mali. C'est le berceau des Sebbe. Il s'agit des Saane et des Maane qui sont venus. C'est eux qu'on appelait les Soninke. Ils ont régné et ensuite ils ont chassé les Bainouk quoique ceux qui étaient là n'ont pas duré. Entre temps Alpha Molo avait pris le pouvoir et il a chassé tous les Sebbe qui restaient. Il a pris le pouvoir des Fulbé. Le Tiramakan que j'ai connu est venu du Mali.

Q : *Est-ce que dans une certaine période, cette région faisait partie du Mali ?*

M.D : Les rois Sebbe s'étaient établis sur deux lieux, ils étaient à Payoungou et à Kabendou. Ceux qui se sont établis dans ces deux lieux, s'occupaient de cette région. C'est ça que mes ancêtres m'ont raconté parce que je ne pouvais pas écrire et seul l'écrit constitue une preuve.

Bora Diallo (B.D) : Cela s'est passé après l'indépendance et on ne parlait de Mampatim, on parlait plutôt de la Confédération du Mali. Donc, Mampatim n'en faisait pas parti.

Q : *Ko hodoum Mampatim woneno e dow Kabendou e Payoungou ?*

M.D : Ko been lamino ga. Ko Sebbe Soninkobe lamino ga

Q : *Watu ko Fulakunda be ngariko horo Saane e Maane be ndiehi ?*

M.D : Sebbe be tiggui tigu ko Kansala ngoneno to Gaabu. Mbayri Fulbes be mbawri ma be, be saaki e der leydi di. Be mbadi doon thiae be diabi lamede. Be diabi fulbes be lami. Koneno lamdo mawdo o ko Kansala woneno.

Q : *Hakunde ko Tiramakhan areta do de e Fulakunda be ko doubbi dielu waddi ?*

M.D : Tiramakhan e Tenguella. Ko Tenguella jibini Koli ko be Mali. Dioni be kaboyi e Sebbe hedde Guinée. Mbayi be kabi toon ha be foli. Ko hadoon gandal am gal haddi. Ko no Sebbe mbire be Saane ni Maane be i saaki e der leydi be lami. Tenguella i jibini mbido wire do Koli. Tiramakhan yobibo diawdi yo diawdi ko yoneta témédéré : nayyi témédéré, yimbe témédéré, houde de houde mbo wadani doum témédéré. Ko doum mbo yobeno ohn. Tenguella jibini Koli Tenguella. Koli Tenguella rewi do yade ha Fuuta Tooro. Wa Salam.

Q : *Ho Tenguella ko Soninko woneno ?*

M.K : Ko been goni Fulakunda be be

Q : *Ko Tenguella wali Tiramakhan riwude Bainoukobe ontuma noone Tenguella wadi hodoum ?*

M.K : Koli Tenguella yili. Tenguella ko hedde Mali woneno.

Q : *Ho Fulakunda be ngareno be kebdu nu e Koli Tenguella relations dji ?*

M.D : Kambe piwu ko be Fulbes ngoneno.

Q : *Ko Tiramakhan yoti do ko kayen e armée moun doum o, ko hogole lawol mbo abbi ?*

M.D : Doon mi andda hono be ndiari doon yadde wa salam.

G.T : Mino diogui site dji nayyi. Do do kene do i waddie bate tepe mabe de lawu, ga di waddi weddu hayye do be mbalinano thiabi mouyen di ah yiyade doum tayyi kaddie ko loppe si ah danppi haan wadade madde. Doum dini do. E tumbun woneno do o wireno tumbun Abba e tumbun Wupugna mawo saare Samba Yero.

Q : *Hodoum woni tumbun ?*

M.D : Tumbun ko saare saaki de

Q : *Ho ko watu Fuladu, watu Gabou wala ko do e doum ?*

M.D : Ko watu Fuladu o

Q : *Quel était le rôle de Mampatim en relation avec Kabendou et Payoungou?*

M.D : C'est eux qui gouvernaient ici. C'est les Sebbe Soninke qui gouvernaient ici.

M.D : Les Sebbe étaient à Kansala au Gaabu. Dès que les Fulbés sont parvenus à se libérer, ils se sont dispersés dans tout le territoire. Ils ont fondé des villages et ils se sont soumis. Ils ont accepté que les Fulbés les dirigent. Mais le grand roi était à Kansala.

Q : *Combien de temps c'est passé entre l'arrivée de Tiramakan et celle des Fulakunda ?*

M.D : Tiramakan et Tenguella. C'est lui le père de Koli, ils sont originaires du Mali. Ils sont partis faire la guerre aux Sebbe près de la Guinée. Ils ont gagné. C'est là où s'arrête ma connaissance mais les Sebbe Saane et Maane se sont éparpillés dans le territoire qu'ils ont dirigé. Tenguella est le père de Koli. Tiramakan lui a payé toute sorte de richesses au nombre de cent par unité : cent vaches, cent personnes, toutes les choses cent. C'est ça qu'il a payé. Tenguella est le père de Koli qui a sillonné de là jusqu'au Fuuta Tooro. *Wa salam.*

Q : *Tenguella était-il Soninke ?*

M.D : Il était un Fulakunda.

Q : *Tenguella a aidé Tiramakan à chasser les Bainouk et après qu'est-ce que Tenguella a fait?*

M.D : C'est Koli Tenguella qui s'est aventuré. Tenguella était du côté du Mali.

Q : *Est-ce que les Fulakunda qui sont venus après ont eu des relations avec Koli Tenguella ?*

M.D : C'étaient tous des Fulbes.

Q : *Quand Tiramakan est arrivé ici avec son armée, quelle route a-t-il suivi ?*

M.D : Je ne sais pas comme ils sont arrivés ici, *wa salam.*

G.T : J'ai quatre sites à vous montrer. Aux alentours du village tu peux voir les marques de pieds d'antan. De l'autre côté, près du point d'eau, il y a des traces de leurs bâtons. À cette époque les pierres n'étaient pas en blocs et en marchant dessus, on laissait des marques de pieds. Ces choses sont là. Et aussi, il y a un tumbun qui s'appelait tumbun Abba. Il y a le tumbun de Wupugna derrière Saare Samba Yero

Q : *Qu'est-ce qu'un tumbun ?*

M.D : Tumbun est un ancien village

Q : *C'est au temps du Fuladu, du Gabou ou avant ?*

M.D : C'est au temps du Fuladu

Q : *Hodoum fiirti Mampatim ?*

G.T : Kawu ameen o halni ohn « *ko ma Patim ar* » mais « *ma Patim ar o* », il a prononcé par un arbre, legalle woneno ngal do ngal Fulbe mbiyyano doum « *Mampala pala dje* »

Q : *Watu Fuladu o Mampatim ko hodoum woneno, ko tuude wala ko capitale ?*

G.T : Mampatim ko siège commercial woneno temps colonial, Toubacco be woneno do waddi do yeyirde guerte. Ko temps cantons woni temps Moussa Molo.

Q : *Ho armée alla no do e der Mampatim ?*

G.T : Mino naanire mi ni, mbo atiani do Jambare be makko mais nakke do mbo rewano mbo fowro, deen ledde dinne do hadjillon hedde école ameen primaire do hakkude tabahi ki e thiekeyi ki.

Notables : Doon wadano tata, ko Sebbe be waneno doon tata.

Q : *Tata dji ko ndieulu poddeno ?*

G.T : Horo do ! Mineen ko o raan meen ngandi do

Q : *Douma ko watu Alpha Molo wala Moussa Molo wala ko watu lamu Gabou ?*

G.T : Ko watu Moussa Molo

Q : *Mampatim ko e hoddu tundu woneno e der Fuladu ?*

M.D : To Moussa Molo to Hamdallaye mbo fetiuno jambare be moun be hedde ga, goddo woni do wireno Pathe Bouya do saare Pathe Bouya e Lountan Boula to saare Lountan ohn woneno. Beddo kippu no hedde ga. Dioni noone ko Toubacco be ngari ko ontuma Mampatim wadda no tudde ni ta guerte i pese, commerçants be i ngoddi.

Q : *Ho Mampatim wonano capitale wala ko tuudde wadeno important ?*

M.D : Ko watu Toubacco be ngari do ko dieyi leydi di ko wadda do tuudde. Iwri ardde to Kolda, wada do Thiara pesirde, Mampatim wada pesirde, Kounkane wada pesirde. Hedde golto lawol Salikegne wada pesirde, Coumbacara, Wassadou. Ko ni ontuma wadirano pesire yadde. Mampatim ko watu Moussa Molo, ko Patim Thibo lamino.

Q : *Hodde saare boureno wadde important e der Patim Thibo ?*

M.D : Ko doon lamdo o woneno do Patim Thibo

Q : *Ko hedde horo Patim Thibo woniri do ?*

Notable : Ko hedde Saare Sandio

Q : *Que signifie Mampatim ?*

G.T : Notre oncle vous a dit qu'il signifie « *Il faut que Patim vienne* », ça a été prononcé par un arbre, un arbre que les Fulbe appelaient « *Mampala pala dje* ».

Q : *Quelle était le rôle de Mampatim au Fuladu? C'était une ville importante ou une capitale ?*

G.T : Mampatim était le siège commercial au temps colonial. Les blancs avaient installé un lieu de vente d'arachide. Le temps des cantons coïncide avec la période de Moussa Molo.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y avait une armée à Mampatim ?*

G.T : Ce que j'ai entendu dire, il n'a pas laissé ses guerriers mais le chemin qu'il empruntait et là où il se reposait, c'est près de l'école primaire entre le *tabahi* et *thiekeyi*.

Notables : *C'est les Sebbe qui ont construit un tata.*

Q : *Il y avait combien de tata au total ?*

G.T : Dans le village ! Nous on n'en connaissons que celui-ci.

Q : *Est-ce durant la période d'Alpha Molo ou de Moussa Molo ou au-delà durant la période de Gabou ?*

G.T : *C'est durant la période de Moussa Molo.*

Q : *Mampatim se trouvait dans quelle province du Fulaadu ?*

M.D : De Moussa Molo à Hamdallaye, il avait partagé son territoire à ses guerriers de ce côté. Il y a celui qu'on appelle Pathe Bouya qui a fondé Saare Pathe Bouya et Lountan Boula de Saare Lountan. Ce sont eux qui s'occupaient de cet côté. Lorsque les blancs sont venus, ils ont transformé Mampatim en une ville où on pesait des arachides et les commerçants y résidaient.

Q : *Est-ce que Mampatim n'était pas une capitale ou une ville importante ?*

M.D : *C'est quand les blancs sont venus occuper le pays que les villes ont émergé. Allant de Kolda, il y avait un lieu de pesage à Thiara, un autre à Mampatim, à Kounkane. De l'autre côté de la route, il y avait à Salikegne à Coumbacara et à Wassadou. C'est comme ça qu'ils ont installé les lieux de pesage. Au temps de Moussa Molo, le roi était à Patim Thibo .*

Q : *Quelle était la ville la plus importante de Patim Thibo ?*

M.D : Le roi se trouvait à Patim Thibo.

Q : *Où se trouve Patim Thibo ?*

Notable : *C'est près de Saare Sandio.*

Q : *Ho yimbe iniin doon hadjilon ?*

Notables : Yimbe iniin doon.

Q : *Ko diouliri ndieulu goni do e der Mampatim ?*

Notable : Quatre

Q : *Ko hobbo watu de daarna ?*

G.T : Dioulu de Pawounka de ko en 1951 daarna douma wadda hikka doubi thiappande diego e tati.

M.D : Ko watu lamu canton do e indépendance wadde de daarna.

Notables : Dioulu de maounde de ko en 1946 wadda.

Q : *Ko hobbo watu de daarna ko watu Fuladu wala ko yawri ko ?*

Notables : *Ko temps Fuladu o*

Q : *E deen dioulire nayyi, ko hodde hettie ndeda ?*

Billo Sow (B.S) : Ko de 1946 de hettie dedda.

Q : *Ko hobbo watu diina islam ka ari do e der Mampatim ?*

M.D : Ko Fulbe Fuuta be Guinée be gandii do diina islam. Mawbe noone ontuma ko kohe kohe mbadeno. Mawdo ngono do ko mawdo Tountoun gobbe mbihano mbo Alpha Saliou e Cerno Soununu, mawbe woneno be Cerno Hamidou ko ohn woddi Cerno Mamadou Saydou to Kounkane.

Q : *Ho islam o ko kayen e Fulakunda be ngardi ?*

M.D : Ko Fuuta Jallo addi do diina islam.

Q : *Ho Fulakunda be ngoneno be do be ko dioul be ngoneno wala ?*

M.D : Ko be Fuuta Jallo be ngandi do diina ta watu mawbe ameen kewani dioul be. Ontuma ta mawdo goro poulo Pathe Koly ohn dioul no e moussebe ameen gobbe wone be to Gabou been ko woeno be dioul be. Heddi be be dioula cedda mourta cedda. Fuuta Jallo o addi diina ka.

Q : *Mampatim Maounde ko quartier dji ndieulu diogui dioni ?*

D.B : Ko quartier nayyi.

Q : *Ko hono di wire ?*

Notables : To ko Carrefour wire, Afia, Mampatim nord tranquille e Centre.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il est toujours habité ?*

Notables : Il est habité.

Q : *Il y a combien de mosquées à Mampatim ?*

Notable : Quatre.

Q : *Quand est-ce qu'on les a construites ?*

G.T : La construction de la mosquée de Pawounka date de 1951, de nos jours, cela fait soixante-trois années.

M.D : Celle-ci est construite aux temps des cantons avant l'indépendance.

Notables : La grande mosquée est construite en 1946.

Q : *Elles sont construites durant la période du Fulaadu ou au-delà ?*

Notables : Au temps du Fulaadu.

Q : *Parmi les quatre mosquées, qu'elle est la plus ancienne ?*

Billo Sow (B.S) : Celle de 1946 est la plus ancienne.

Q : *Quand est-ce que l'islam est arrivé à Mampatim ?*

M.D : L'islam est venu avec les Fulbe Fuuta de la Guinée. A cette époque, les anciens avaient des têtes de files. Le notable qui était là s'appelait Tountoun, les autres l'appelaient Alpha Saliou et Cerno Soununu, un autre qui s'appelait Cerno Hamidou et lui c'est le père de Cerno Mamadou Saydou de Kounkane.

Q : *Est-ce que l'islam est arrivé avec les Fulakunda ?*

M.D : C'est les Fuuta Jallon qui ont amené l'Islam

Q : *Les Fulakunda qui étaient ici, étaient-ils islamisés ?*

M.D : C'est le Fuuta Jallon qui ont amené l'Islam, à cette époque, ceux de nos ancêtres qui avaient embrassé l'islam n'étaient nombreux. Il y avait un vieux pullo du nom de Pathe Koly, lui était un musulman et certains de nos parents du Gabou qui étaient aussi des musulmans. Le reste, ils prient dès fois, ou pas du tout.. C'est le Fuuta Jallon qui ont amené la religion.

Q : *Combien de quartiers a maintenant Mampatim Maounde ?*

Notable : Il a quatre quartiers.

Q : *Lesquels ?*

Notables : Il y a Carrefour, Afia, Mampatim, Nord tranquille et Centre.

Q : *Mampatim tari di : Mampatim Bainouck, Mampatim Soninke e Mampatim Fulakunda be o ko doula goro woneno ?*

Notables : fof ko doula goro woneno.

Q : *Ohn kalni meen fi doula dji nayyi e tata Moussa Molo, ho i woddi goddi ?*

Notables : I woddi tumbun Pakor o, tumbun lawol saare Ndiayla ko tumbun Yero Kumbel, tumbun Hadde Boula

Q : *Les trois Mampatim : Mampatim Bainouk, Mampatim Soninke et Mampatim Fulakunda étaient-ils au même endroit ?*

Notables : Ils se trouvaient sur le même endroit.

Q : *On nous a mentionné quatre sites anciens en plus du tata de Moussa Molo, est-ce qu'il y a d'autres sites ?*

Notables : Il y a le tumbun de Pakor, le tumbun sur la route de Saare Ndiayla qui s'appelait tumbun Yero Kumbel et le tumbun de Hadde Boula.

4.-Patim Thibo

Date : 10/10/13

Participants : Buraima Balde (jarga Patim Thibo), Delo Balde (jarga Mampatim)

Buraima Balde (BB) :Ein pori fudude,ko idi ko ci hobbe garii doula mbiire bisimillah, mi no welti garale gal garedo do gal. Oh doo maoudo mo gardou donne do o ko koro am wonini. Allah hodiri kayein diodi Mampatim. Ni leydi patim ko addi wiya patim tiibo ko kayre woni maoudede. Ko tiibo hetie doume addi de wiya tiibo (maoude). Faouri henne, mbii ho kalmi yoo mbo winda. Ko lamino do, baam ko wino mi ko,ko birre Sama Kendo won do lamdo, chef de canton onne diamano. Sama Kendo ko touma mayara oh tayi mbiido mou doume oh maounani.ohne diamanou ta maoubebe, taye dianfa ala miine lebodo nine oh ba am ko mamadi wire no, mamadi Yoba Salleh, ko Sama Kendo mayi ko ontouma Yoba Salleh kaye jibini ba am ontoumane tamna leydi ni. Mbo wiya ci oh bido moune maouno yi hanne, totaoume leydi ni, onsoumane ko onne ko maouni ko, ha mbo woni kambane ko, baa am baa moune iti leydi totimbo di bido Sama kendo o, o ko Oumar Biri wire noo. Ko Oumar biri maouni ko, Yoba Salleh totimbo leydi. Mine oone baa amko Yoba Salleh jibini oume. Baa am ko addi baa moune wire no Mamadi Yoba Salleh, Mamadi tiring jibini Dicori Balde, mine onne tiring ko Dicory woni baa am,mbay none onne diamoune Oumar biri hebbi leydi ni, totama ko baa moune wone ko, mbe giiboyi doo mbe dieyi sare kunda.doume addi sala inne tone, hakudde saare Dienoume e saare kunda sala dine tone, ko sala wire no sala (pont) Oumar biri,to sengoo kandal am to ni gandiri mi lamu gu woniri no.

Delo Balde (D.B): Ayi to heede tiagol to sourou gone tone, ko rone wone tara o wono.to cii mbe diehiyo rone , mbe garoyani nini,mbe kasoyate kala hayre mbe tawoyi rone mbe nabane de to laboratoire to, denne halnane mbe ko doumi nielou de wone do ,

BB: A waa bisimillah. Minone ko mine lonti baa am mine ko Buraima Balde mbire mi. Ko do kandou mi toni moune o mi anda, ci i wodi kandou mbe hanne kala.

DB: Minene ko mene cipirte nombe, ko cipro mben manti.

Q:-*Mboyo bo fala andu de ko hobo sinti sare de et diamounu ho mbo ho mbo sinti sare?*

BB: Mi nani baa am i wi yayo ko touma thibo sintiere o doume one watou ta ni leydi ta wone di fenda ki e ko nane daa ko mbaw ra filadee. Ko mama thierno maye dodo o filane toto men e, baye kanko mbo nini jangu no franci, ko one cifani mben no woniri ni. Minene menne ganda ko wone do ko.mi ya mbo ne sare doubi moune di ha,de bayri touma ni sintie re ta leydi fenda ki, de manka ni doubi temede tari.

Q: *Mboyo hoko Sama kendo sinti sare , ho ko godo?*

BB : Ala touma Sama Kendo sinti ra sare de, taye de hoda. ko ledji hodi gone do, ko fulacounda mbe, ko baynoukobe walwa sebbe ?

Buraima Balde (BB) : On peut commencer. En premier lieu si des étrangers arrivent dans une localité, on doit les souhaiter les bienvenues. Je suis content de votre venue. Le notable qui vous accompagne est mon aîné. Dieu a voulu qu'il soit le *jarga* de Mampatim. Cete *leydi*, la raison de son appellation Patim Thibo est du fait qu'il est le plus ancien. Thibo est le plus ancien c'est pour ça qu'il s'appelle Thibo. En plus, le roi, mon père, m'a dit qu'il s'appelait Sama Kendo. C'était un chef de canton à cette époque. Lorsque Sama Kendo mourrait, son fils n'était qu'un enfant. Il n'y avait pas de sentiment de trahison. Moi qui parle, mon père s'appelle Mamadi. Mamadi Yoba Saleh. Après la mort de Sama Kendo, Yoba Saleh l'a remplacé. Il est mon grand-père. On lui a dit de rendre le pouvoir une fois que le fils de Sama Kendo soit en âge de gouverner. Il respecta la clause et rendit le pouvoir au fils de Sama Kendo. Il s'appelait Oumar Biri. Une fois qu'Oumar Biri ait atteint l'âge adulte, Yoba Saleh lui donna les rênes du pouvoir. Yoba Saleh est mon grand-père. Il s'appelait Mamadi Yoba Saleh. Il avait comme fils Dicori Balde et c'est lui mon père. Oumar Biri reçut son héritage à cette période. Par la suite, ils ont quitté pour s'installer à Saare Kunda. Il y a un sala là-bas, entre Saare Dienoume et Saare Kunda. Il y a un sala et il s'appelait sala Oumar Biri. C'est de la sorte que je connais l'exercice de la royauté.

Delo Balde (DB) : Près de la rizière, il y a une petite forêt, c'est l'emplacement du *tata*. Si vous partez là-bas, vous pourrez ramasser des pierres pour étudier au laboratoire et savoir la période de leur fabrication.

BB : D'accord ! J'ai remplacé mon père et je m'appelle Buraima Balde. Mes connaissances se limitent là, au-delà, je ne sais rien. S'il y a des choses que vous pouvez ajouter, je vous en prie.

DB : Avant nous étions des lutteurs. On est grandi avec la lutte.

Q : *Qui a fondé le village et à quelle époque ?*

BB : J'ai entendu mon père dire que le village a été fondé à l'époque où la terre n'était pas encore habitable. C'est mon grand-père qui est décédé, Thierno, qui me racontait cette histoire. Parce qu'il a fait l'école française, c'est lui qui me racontait l'histoire. Nous on ne connaît pas ce qui s'est passé. Mais le village avoisine les cent cinquante ans.

Q : *Est-ce Sama Kendo qui a fondé le village ou c'est un autre ?*

BB : Non au moment où Sama Kendo a fondé le village, il y avait d'autres groups qui habitaient ici, les Fulacounda et les Bainouk.

Q: Sama kendo ko fulbe taw no do?

BB: Sama Kendo ko fulacounda wone no, ha ko poulo do de Sama Kendo arde ko hodi ledji gone do mi nani no maoube mbe biwa yo baynouko be gone do, taw di be e fulbe.

Q: Ko Sama Kendo are ta do ko, ko watou Alpha Molo, wala ko watu Moussa Molo?

BB: Watu Sama Kendo lamoro do o ko watu Moussa Molo, hide doume e hetie lamagol Sama Kendo gol

Q: ho ko Sama Kendo wono diodo ni do Moussa, wa hi ni diamanou hande o, gita godo mi ya mbo ya diodo name to leydi kari?

BB: Done mi famani done.

Q: Ci mbo fami ko modji ko watu sama kendo wono do ko de sare bour no dar ja do de oumar biri sotin de lamou gou to sare kunda?

BB: k;Ko no sare mbe da wone de tumbu, horo Patim hadono. Patim yano do ha to wire mballokunda (departement de Velingara) et horo kalane parin et mambua ker no do mbe ker do wodaki, mambua e leydi mounne sare in to wire Linkirinto ci ano yaha Kolda hanne heede antenne boure do dioude oheede done i wadi ladde dee soppaka jibah tiagol do ko do Parin heere no.

Q: Ko hodoume wone no hakude lamdo Parin e Moussa Molo. Moussa molo hodoume heere no mbe?

BB: Mbi anda duume hata.

DB: Harre alano hakudee mouhenne ko mbeldu gal tanne wono hakudee mouyeen. Sama kendo ko jaabare wone no.

Q: Mbo yo ho ko mbe yobane no impôt moussa molo wala ko mbe iminano jaabare be mbe kaboye?

BB: One diamanou mi nanani impôt yobere no, ko no ci harre wadi no mbe guimi nano jaabaree bee,bee kaboye. Ci harre wadino bee mbal lo dirano, sabouna mi nano baa i wiya yo ko tubakobe guidi arre de ni leydi ko,taba yel dini ga wone no ko tonne campouno ko tonne bee jipo rono ha taa beee niin faboyo biree do Lountan Boula o, to harre birre dee Paroumba.

Q : Hobo marche boure no maounou de e toundou e ?

BB : Marche comme no loumo ni e loumo ko joni arri,lawu marche ko kolda tan wono.

Q: Ko menne yano Mampatim Sinthian ko bee biyo yo Moussa Molo jogui no do feetiére wotere e jaabara bee mounne bee do, ko goga wala wona goga?

Q : *Est-ce que Sama Kendo a trouvé des Fulbe ici?*

BB : Sama Kendo était un Fulacounda. C'était un Pullo et il a cohabité avec d'autres groupes comme les Bainouk et d'autres Fulbe. C'est ça que j'ai entendu le vieux dire.

Q : *Quand Sama Kendo a fondé le village, c'est à la période d'Alpha Molo ou celle de Moussa ?*

BB : Sama Kendo regnait à l'époque de Moussa Molo. Mais cela dont je parle s'est passé avant le règne de Sama Kendo.

Q : *Sama Kendo était-il le représentant de Moussa Molo ?*

BB : Je n'en ai pas des connaissances là-dessous

Q : *Est-ce s'est durant l'époque de Sama Kendo ou à la période d'Oumar quand la capitale s'est déplacé à Saare Kunda?*

BB : Le village était devenu un tumbun et c'est le premier emplacement de Patim. Patim s'étendait jusqu'à Mballo Kunda et aussi Parin et Mamboua, qui marquait la frontière. Linkirinto se trouve dans le Mamboua en allant vers Kolda près de l'antenne le plus long. Il y a une forêt qui n'est pas coupée près de la rizière. C'est là la limite de Patim.

Q : *Quel relation entretenait le lamdo Patim et Moussa Molo ?*

BB : Je ne connais pas leur relation.

DB : Il n'y avait pas de conflits entre les deux. Ils étaient des amis. Sama Kendo était un guerrier

Q : *C'était lui qui percevait les impôts ou levait une armée pour aller à la guerre ?*

BB : Je n'en ai pas entendu parler de paiement d'impôts. S'il y avait la guerre ils allaient faire la guerre. Ils s'entraidaient pendant les guerres. Mon père disait que les blancs on été les premiers à faire la guerre. Il y a un arbre, ils se mettaient là-bas. C'est ce lieu qui faisait office de campement, même s'ils allaient aider le dénommé Lountan Boula à la bataille de Paroumba.

Q : *Quel était le plus grand marché du terroir ?*

BB : Un marché comme un *louma*, c'est récemment que cela est arrivé. Auparavant, seulement le marché de Kolda existait.

Q : *Quand nous sommes partis à Mampatim Sinthian, on nous a dit que Moussa Molo avait laissé ici la moitié de ses guerriers, avez-vous entendu parler de cela ?*

BB: Dii wawi wone de barri baa am wino mi ko mamaji am di maoura duu fila dee ci mi jangu hane mi andodo doume mbari mi jangani ko doume addi ko lamdo ro ne do ko, godidi mi anda di.

Q: *Ho dumme wone no liguee lamdo Patim?*

BB: Watu lamu canton ko service force wode no,

Q: *Hobbo fewu djano fii service force ko lamdo wala ko homo?*

BB: Ano andii one diamanou, wona a lamdi do fi Parin, di kalou ji di gni ja dji ko mbabee yimbee bee ligui duume, Parin foudaad to herii to foudi to haa to heri to oh kalou ko mbabee yimbee dee koli duume wona machine ji worou be yo pouda to leydi mou ein di foudi ro ha to di hadi ro on toumane mbeda bee kalan mbana.

Q: *Ho ko toubakobee forçano bee wala ko lamu canton doume fewu diano?*

BB: Ko lambee canton bee fewu diano

Q: *Ko watu fulbe mani lamu gu doume, ho no lamu gu fewu jire te no, ho i joguino peujir té nomé ji e ko wayi no?*

BB: Kala ko fewu diere ko lamu gu fewu djano e kalan ko ka ein yabirono noume ci ko bangale service ko lamdo mbano waru labee mouné bee diaha ligano ye lamdo canton o.

Q: *Ho ko lamdo tane fewu diano wala moo diogui no bee mo fewu djire ta?*

BB: Mbo nine jogui no mbé fewdidano ko no kagn fewdiano. Ta indépendant allano, sabou one watu, lamdo one diamanou minéne mi manti doume, cii dii windo yano niartaka hane, cii yotinoma é sarré hane, onsoumane héne windorano soldaribé douféfré bée, ah nani bé ko force namir téno one diamounou, ko doume wono légui mabé.

Q: *Ko Oumar Biri iwra do ko yaha Sane counda, ko watu khobo wadi: ci ko watu lamu canton wala?*

BB: Ko watu lamu canton wadi ndoume méne manti ki ndoume.

Q: *Ko hodoume yimbé ligoro no do, ci ko démal, wala ko waylubé, ko aynakoobé ?*

BB: Fuladu ko pidji didi, waylubé, wobé é mou én ko séébé ko mbé tafano ; ko fouladou o

Q: *Ko fi Parin lamdi mba mi ?*

BB: Do, ko démale tan ha dioni et ko doume woureno yimbé.

Q: *Ko wona démale, hodoume wono légué mouyé dé ?*

BB: Ci wona démale ligué godé ngala no. Démale

BB : Cela pourrait être parce que mon père disait que c'est mes ancêtres qui pouvaient en dire quelque chose. Si j'aurais été parti à l'école je pourrais le savoir, mais je ne suis pas parti à l'école et donc je ne peux rien dire.

Q : *Quel était le travail du roi de Patim ?*

BB : Au temps des chefs de canton, c'était le service forcé

Q : *Qui donnait les ordres sur le service forcé ? C'est le lamdo ou qui ?*

BB : Tu sais, à cette époque ce n'est pas le *lamdo* Patim. Les routes que tu vois c'est eux qui les ont construites d'un coin à l'autre. Ils n'ont pas utilisé des machines qu'ils ont utilisé. C'est par corporation de terroir. Chacune d'elles prenait départ chez eux et allait en direction d'une autre corporation.

Q : *C'était les blancs qui les obligeaient à faire le service forcé ou bien le lamdo ?*

BB : C'est le chef de canton qui prenait la décision.

Q : *Lorsque les Fulbe avaient pris le pouvoir, comment étaient les décisions prises ? Y avait-il des gens qui étaient spécialement concernés ?*

BB : Toutes les décisions étaient prises par le pouvoir. S'il s'agit du service forcé, c'est le lamdo qui recrutait les gens qui devaient aller travailler pour le chef de canton.

Q : *Est-ce le lamdo seul décidait ou il y avait des gens avec qui il prenait les décisions ?*

BB : Il y avait des gens avec qui il prenait des décisions mais il décidait seul. Il n'y avait d'indépendance, à ce moment nous n'étions encore des enfants. S'il allait percevoir les impôts, dès qu'il arrivait dans un village, il déléguait les soldats. On les amenait par la force à ces temps. Ça c'était leur travail.

Q : *À quelle époque Oumar Biri est parti pour Sane Kunda? C'est durant la période des cantons ou bien une autre ?*

BB : C'est durant la période des chefs de canton.

Q : *Quel travail faisaient les gens à cette époque: l'agriculture, la forge ou l'élevage ?*

BB : Il y avait deux choses dans le Fuladu: il avait les forgerons, certains d'entre eux étaient des Sebbe.

Q : *Je te demande à propos de Patim ?*

BB : Nous ne vivons que de l'agriculture.

Q : *Et avant, seulement l'agriculture était pratiquée ?*

BB : Il n'y avait que l'agriculture

DB : Gaynaka

Q : *Ho kabire dé sintia ko doume tan wono ligué dé ?*

BB : Minéne ko manti ko, mii an da doumi bawo, bayeri ka la ko hédima bawo ko doume hétima, hiddé minéne guila mén manti, Fouladou, ko ngale tane démale é rewbé ndiaha to faro dji to ligoyo.

Q : *Ko hodi lédji ngone do é hono di ngardi é yétodjé ngone di dodji, hono di ngardi ?*

BB : Do sarré do, minéne ko Baldé méne yétére, mbédo kambé ko Barry mbé yéta, odo o diodido do kambé Sall mbé yéta, mbé ko Kandé, mbé to ngombé to o gallé mbo guidore to o mbé go Cissé mbé yétére.

Q : *Seebé mbé din do ha djilone ?*

Barry e DB : Ha mbé dine do.

Q : *Ko hédi ko puyu ko foulacounda mbé?*

BB : Hédi ko puyu ko foulacounda mbé.

Q : *Ko hono mbé ngare di do?*

BB : Minéne coosan ambé o, ko do woni pyu amén o, ko Balde mbé kalifi sarré dé guila diamanoune maoubé amén mbé ha é mama dji amén di.

Q : *Ta baynouck bé ine no do ?*

BB : Baynouck bé, touma mbén maounara do ta bé ndiéyi

Q : *Ko Fulacounda bé ngari ko lé seebé bé ganbi ?*

BB : Ha.

Q : *Baynouk bé horo nane do bé dié hi ?*

BB : Baynouk bé ko to ley to bé kéti .

Q : *Ko quartier diélou sarré dé wadi ?*

BB : Ko gallé dji dé wadi dé maw nani.

Q : *Ho waylubé goni do ?*

BB : Waylu bé gala do.

Q : *Mbé médado wone dé ?*

BB : Ko bayelo goro wone do, ko no bo yéhi Tiara ko Mamadi Camara bo wiré no.

Q : *Ko touma mbo wono do ?*

DB : Et aussi l'élevage.

Q : Est-ce que depuis la fondation du village on n'a pratiqué que ces deux activités ?

BB : C'est ça qu'on a appris. Je ne sais pas ce qui s'est passé avant parce que tout ce que tu n'a pas vu est plus âgé que toi. Depuis notre adolescence, on a connu que l'agriculture et les femmes qui vont dans les rizières pour y travailler.

Q : Quels sont les lignages et les noms de famille qui vivent au village ?

BB : Dans le village, il y a des Balde, des Barry, des Sall, des Kande, et des Cisse.

Q : Y a-t-il des Sebbe dans le village ?

Barry et DB : Oui, il y'en a.

Q : Est-ce qu'il y a que des Fulacounda au village ?

BB : Il n'y a que des Fulacounda

Q : D'où viennent-ils ?

BB : C'est notre tradition. C'est là notre source. C'est les Balde qui dirigent le village depuis toujours, ils sont nos aïeux et nos parents.

Q : Il y avait des Bainouk avant ?

BB : Avant que nous grandissions, ils étaient déjà partis.

Q : Est que l'arrivée des Sebbe a suivi celle des Fulacounda ?

BB : Oui

Q : Les Bainouk, ils sont partis ou ?

BB : Ils sont partis vers le bas.

Q : Il y a combien de quartiers au le village ?

BB : Il y a que des concessions peu grandes.

Q : Est-ce qu'il y a eu des forgerons au village ?

BB : Il n'y pas a eu des forgerons au village.

Q : N'ont-ils pas vécu dans le village ?

BB : Il y a eu un seul forgeron mais il est parti à Thiara. Il s'appelait Mamadi Camara

Q : À quelle époque a vécu-il ici ?

BB : Ko diama nounou améne.

Q: *Ko hobo diamounou khawri ?*

BB : Diamanou amén ô ko diamanou chef de canton, boyani Allah it doume ko indépendant ô hébi.

Q : *Ho diama inido wala woni no do ?*

BB: Ko diama wone do.

Q : *Lawou wode no ?*

BB : Ha wode no.

Q: *Watu Sama Kendo lamino ô ta diama ine do ?*

BB: Mi ane da doume sabou wona no mi rimane do, ndiahone Dakar gni one ko wonani ta mi rima ni one, ta alla do.

Q: *Sama kendo horo iwi ?*

BB : Sama Kendo mi waw ra ma khalan dé, ko é leydi woda.

DB: Sama Kendo ko Koutabani Forea iwi.

Q : *Doume ko horo woni ?*

Barry: Ko kérolo La Guinée.

Q : *Ko Guinée Bissau wala Conakry ?*

Barry : Ko Guinée Bissau leydi ni woni mé ko kérole hé woni.

Q : *Dé saré ko gabire lamu seebé (Kaabu) dé wona ?*

BB: Ta dé ni wouri

Q : *Watu Kaabu ô, ho sarré dé ko marché wono, ho lamdo diodi no do, wala ho dé diogui no biring ?*

BB: Ha ko addi dé wiha Parin Thibo koko doume wono do. Mi haleni one kala ko mi anda mi halane ta one doume do. Cii ko jambé armée mbé lamdoro done ni kala mi hal na one. Mine baa am Dikori Balde, minirawo mouné ô Ali Balde yéhi ha one fayda wi ho mayhié guerre é, Thierno one kalan ko minirawoba am yéhi armée.

Q : *Ko hodé harré bé yano ?*

BB : Ali mbo miyabamiô ko Allemagne nangouno one diama nounou

Q : *Patim Thibo ko hodoume firti ?*

BB : C'est pendant la même période

Q : Cela s'est passé à quelle période ?

BB : C'est durant la période des chefs de canton. Cela ne fait pas longtemps que Dieu en l'ja aboli et on est devenu indépendant.

Q : Y a-t-il une mosquée dans le village ?

BB : Il y a une mosquée

Q : Et au auparavant ?

BB : Effectivement il y en avait.

Q : A l'époque de Sama Kendo, y avait-il une mosquée ?

BB : Je ne connais s'il y avait, je ne peux pas mentir. Pour cette période, il faut partir à Dakar pour avoir plus d'informations

Q : Sama Kendo, il venait d'où ?

BB : Je ne peux pas te dire cela, de quelle localité il venait.

DB : Sama Kendo vient de Koutabani dans le Foréa

Q : Cette localité se trouve où ?

Barry : C'est à la frontière de la Guinée.

Q : C'est à Guinée Conakry ou Guinée Bissau ?

Barry : C'est en Guinée Bissau, c'est là-bas que se trouve la frontière

Q : Le village existe-t-il depuis le règne des Sebbe ?

BB : Oui.

Q : A la période du Kaabu, le village était-il un marché ? Où c'était le siège royal et/ou il avait un aura ?

BB : C'est ça la raison de son nom, Patim Thibo. Je vous ai déjà dit tout ce que je connais a ce sujet. S'ils avaient des armée, ils allaient la demander, c'est ainsi qu'on m'a racontée l'histoire. Mon père s'appelait Dicori Balde, son petit frère Ali Balde est presque mort dans la guerre. Le petit à celui-ci Thierno son petit frère qui est parti dans l'armée.

Q : Il était parti à quelle guerre ?

BB : C'est Ali qui est parti el Allemagne et qui á été capturé .

Q : Que signifie Patim Thibo ?

BB : Mi anda ko firti é pulaar.

Q : *E Parin ko hodoume firti ?*

BB : Ko leydi ni inirano parin.

Q : *Hono iwri parin ha patim ?*

BB : Minén ko parin béne gandi, cii waylo rine hane ko to bindop rô

Q : *Bo yo cii bo fami ko mbodji, mbida yo watu Kaabu ô ta lamdo in do é jabarré bé ho ko none wahi ?*

BB : Dé ko sarré lmu wonine.

Q : *Mi da tata wone do, ko hobo wone no doume ?*

BB : Tara ô mi anda hoko Sama Kendo wodi noume ho ko lampole Moussa Molo én godi doume. Ko manti ko maoubé mbiyano ko Sama Kendo lamino do.

Q : *Ko watu lamu Fuladu doume wadi ?*

BB : Ha ko one watu.

Q : *Ho watu lamu seebé, lamu fulbé wala lamu canton, sarré diogui no wala hourelano madi wala barale sarré dé?*

DB : Ko Mousaa Molo yano lantioyno lamdo ceddo to wiré Kaabu.

Q : *ho do ala no tata ji é ko wayi none ?*

BB : Tara wone do é lamdo do ouba do dini do.

Q : *Ko hombo lamu ouba do ?*

BB : ko one woni Sama Kendo

Q : *Ho ano andi doula ji ta wona diouma o é tara o boyedi wayi no touboun dji ni ?*

BB : Mi adda ko bourri do.

BB : Je ne sais pas qu'est-ce que ça signifie en Pulaar

Q : *Patim* signifie quoi?

BB : C'est le terroir qui s'appelle Patim.

Q : *Pourquoi Parin et Patim ?*

BB : Je ne sais pas.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y avait un roi et des guerriers durant la période du Kaabu ?*

BB : C'est mon village

Q : *Vous avez dit qu'il y avait un tata ici ?*

BB : Le tata, je ne sais pas si c'est Sama Kendo et ses partisans qui l'ont construit ou c'est Moussa. Ce que je me rappelle est que mes parents me disaient que c'était Sama Kendo qui était le lamdo.

Q : *Est-ce à la période du Fulaadu que cela s'est passé ?*

BB : Oui c'est à cette période que cela s'est passé

Q : Durant la période des Sebbe, celle des Fulbe et celle des cantons, le village était entouré par une palissade.

DB : C'est Moussa Molo qui est parti faire la guerre au lamdo Ceddo du Kaabu

Q : *Y a-t-il des tata ou choses de la sorte ?*

BB : Il y avait un tata et un lamdo est y enterré.

Q : *Quel lamdo est enterré ?*

BB : C'est Sama Kendo

Q : *Est-ce que vous savez d'autres lieux à part le tata et la mosquée ?*

BB : Non je ne sais pas plus.

5.-Kandia

Date: 11/01/2013

Participants : Samba Sabaly, Ansou Balde (*jaarga* de Kandia), Dianguiya Mballo, Amadou Pullo, Chirifou Mballo, Aliou Seydi, Moussa Mane (Imam de Kandia), Mamadou Seydi, Bothie Sabaly, Bori Mane, Samba Mballo.

Samba Sabaly (S.S.): Cosaan Kandia ko fulakunda be be ngoni Cosaan Kandia o. Mawdo mbire no do Samban Tallo sinci saare de follo follo. Si wona doum ko Sebbe guiddi I di leydi. Fulakunda be ko bainoukobe tawi e di leydi. Sebbe be ngari guiti do Bainoukobe be hedde Ziguinchor hen Kolda hen toon be ngoniri yi toon.

Wonoyi noon Sebbe ngonoyi do ngonoyi do ha lamu Sebbe iddi e leydi he. Sebbe be lami, ko yawri ko Moussa Molo nati. Moussa Molo ko lami ko, lamu gu ko doubi témédère hebbi ko he mawbe be mbira ko. Hawri toubacco be ngari. Toubacco be ngari, Hawri dioni ko lamu canton dji.

Mineen ko meen manti do ko Moulaye Sourouyel, Yero Moulaye baba makko ko Moulaye Siranding Balde wireno. Ko ohn iddi wone de lamdo canton. Ohn ko mayyi ko bido o lonti ohn ko Yero Moulaye wireno.

Mamadou Seydi (M.S): ko mama dji ameen kalani meen ko doum meen kalan ta ohn ni. Di leydi Fuladu di ngone den do di, ko Bainoukobe ngon e di. Bainoukobe ngonoyi e di ha Sebbe wadiarabe kipoyi doum meen. Meen kipoyi be ha ko mbeen mawo yi doum meen ko, be dipoyi Basse Casamance to. Ontuma Allah e bawude moun, baba Moussa Molo o wireno Alpha Molo. De Alpha habi e Sebbe be ha foli dou meen. Ko mbo folli be ko mbo lami hakude Gambie e mayyo mbire go Dialiba go.

Awa ko ni woni ko Alpha nati, Moussa mbadini leydi ni. De wono Moussa mbadini leydi ni, kalla do habeno e Sebbe be ci woni wahi doum han, nanga hen wobbe wadoya dou meen maccube. Ci mbo mbadino ben mbo waddi be maccube han, mbo mbadana tioukalel be mbo yeyoya doum meen balebe to wire Tanda ro, Bassarinko be dinin toon. Ontuma ci mbo yeyi be mbo heba hen goudde leppi wona doum han mbo yeya doum behi. Tioukayel dieyano do guel rondo ohn bagage artira na doum Moussa.

Moussa I diogui ni moussido ohn I weldou no e toubabe. Ontuma Moussa wi dioni no ohn walu hum toubabe be, mbo hippo Fode Kaba mbo bana leydi moun di, mbo watidira di wada di leydi gotiri. Been none ngari mbali doum ha mbo hippo Fode Kaba Allah wadani ha be mbara Fode Kaba nden yolde, be ngarti toubabe be ngoki mbo délai, lewuru watu mango djé mbendara do, be ngarta nin touna ben noon ngartora ta riin Moussa imbini oya moun moussido cehele toubabe be o, wiyo ohn no hippoyo Fode Kaba, ben noon mbaroyi ohn toon.

Ontuma do de e been ngartu de, Moussa wi Yero Tacko no ya hippoyo Fode Kaba meen noon mbaroyi to Yero Tacko. Ko ni noon wonoyi mbo maari toubabe be ngartanin, goro iddi are de lamdi mbo Yero, touna wire yontere de arti, Moussa dogui djoltoriyi Gambie. Mbo houli beya toubabe e be tawara doum doon e der leydi Casamance, de ontuma mbo habedo e beya. Mbo houli wona toubabe mbare mbo sabouna Yero Tacko ko cehele mouhen o mayyi, mbo dogui mbo yari Gambie. Awa ko ni mama dji amen di pilorani meen. Ko mama am Asse mawdo filani kam doum ko ohn woni baba kawu am o e baba néné am o kalan.

Samba Sabaly (S.S): La tradition de Kandia, c'est les fulakunda. C'est un vieux du nom de Samban Tallo qui a fondé le village il y a longtemps. Ce sont les Sebbe qui sont les premiers à s'installer dans ce terroir. Les fulakunda ont trouvé les Bainouk dans ce terroir. Les Sebbe ont chassé les Bainouk vers Ziguinchor, Kolda ils sont partis s'y installer.

Par la suite les Sebbe ont demeuré, demeuré jusqu'à être les premiers à régner. Les Sebbe régnèrent, par la suite Moussa Molo régna. Le règne de Moussa dura une centaine d'années. Cela a coïncidé avec l'arrivée des blancs. Et le temps des cantons est arrivé.

On se rappelle du temps de Moulaye Sourouyel. Le père de Yero Moulaye s'appelait Moulaye Siranding Balde. C'est le premier chef de canton. Après sa mort, il fut remplacé par son fils Yero Moulaye.

Mamadou Seydi (M.S.): Je vais vous raconter ce que mes grands parents m'ont raconté. Le terroir dans lequel nous sommes est le Fuladu, c'est les Bainouk qui y habitaient. Ils y demeurèrent jusqu'à ce que les Sebbe wadiarabe les ont envahi. Lorsque ces derniers les ont vaincu, ils sont partis en Basse Casamance. Après, avec la bénédiction de Dieu, est arrivé le père de Moussa Molo, qui s'appelait Alpha Molo. Alpha a combattu les Sebbe et les a vaincu et a régné de la Gambie jusqu'au fleuve de Dialiba.

Après la mort d'Alpha, Moussa lui a succédé. Lorsque Moussa a pris le commandement des terroirs, là où il combattait les Sebbe s'il arrivait à les défaits, il capturait certains d'entre eux pour les réduire en esclaves. Une fois qu'il les réduit en esclaves, il prenait les enfants pour les vendre chez les Noirs du Tanda qu'étaient les Bassaris. Après avoir vendu ces derniers, il achetait des étoffes sinon il les troquait en chèvres. L'enfant qui était vendu, était chargé de ramener les bagages à Moussa.

Moussa avait un parent proche qui était ami des blancs. Moussa lui a demandé d'interceder auprès des blancs en sa faveur pour qu'il combatte Fode Kaba pour réunir les deux terroirs. Ces derniers l'aidèrent à combattre Fode Kaba et Dieu n'a pas voulu qu'il soit tué en ce moment, et ils sont revenus et ils lui ont donné un délai, à la lune où les mangues commencent à murir. Ils sont revenus mais avant qu'ils arrivent, Moussa avait déjà envoyé son parent, l'ami des blancs, pour qu'il aie combattre Fode Kaba et ils l'ont tué à cette occasion.

Avant leur retour, Moussa avait dit à Yero Tacko d'aller combattre Fode Kaba et il a tué Yero Tacko. Ainsi, dès qu'il supçonna que les blancs allaient revenir pour lui demander sur Yéro, avant que la semaine ne finisse, Moussa s'enfuit en Gambie. Il a eu peur que les blancs le trouvent sur place dans la Casamance et devoir se battre avec eux. Il avait peur que les blancs le tuent parce que leur ami Yero Tacko est décédé, c'est la raison pour laquelle il s'est enfuit en Gambie. C'est de cette façon que nos ancêtres nous ont raconté l'histoire. C'est mon grand père Asse mawdo qui m'a raconté cela, c'est le père de mon oncle et le père de ma mère aussi.

Chirifou Mballo (C.M): Kandia do, ko mbire Diara sinci do. Ko Pullo dimo. Ko Balde mbo yetere. Ko ohn iddi jaarga do. O ko ari do ko, woni do ha ohn watu lamu tanadji ko saare Boulel to woni.

Q: Ho ko Samban Dalan ko yawri ko ohn ari?

C.M : Alla mbima mi ohn watu lamu canton ko saare Boulel woni. Ohn lamdo canton ko Alonso wire.

Q : Ko hobbo watu Samban Dalan sinci saare de ?

C.M : Ko mbo pilani mi ohn do o ko ohn sinci saare de. Ko ohn chef de canton, . Alanso Balde jibini Moulaye. Ko kagn sinci saare Boulel. Ko ohn iwi ko le Baba Moulaye lonti. Moulaye habiri saka de saare. Ontuma jaarga Kandia o ko mama ameen redu. Ohn ko Kalako Balde wireno. Ohn guerdi do e Moulaye ha ta ko mbo wopat de saare. Andi ohn watu lamu tanaji, ci ah fewdiano no ma warede, ahn wareteno. Ko doum addi ha jaarga o yehi.

Kalako ko yehi ko, mama ameen goorko lami wireno Samba Tombon ko ohn mbadi saare. Lonti mbo wireno Keba mawdo ontuma Sana koleti ohn han ko Keita Sabaly. Koleti Keita han ko Assete Mawdo. Ohn ko iwi jaarga ya ko le Dembel Balde lonti doum. Ohn ko iwi ko mbido moun o lonti doum ko ohn wire Assete Balde. Ohn ko iwi ko Koutia Balde lonti doum. O do ko iwi ko le o do lonti doum Ansou Balde.

Dianguiya Mballo (D.M) : O wi ohn ko mbire do Datta Koumantio sinci Kandia, ko noon di celli ko Diatta Koumantio sinci saare de. Diaata ko daana holi doum do. Mawo de houbere woye dou in doon, hay goor assadi dou dou niin doon. Wono daana o di sarkoyi no, yéhi diodi da, dou piwu ko ladde. Diodi raan yihi wadounu folli, yihi wadounu folli, mbo yéhi mbo your niin raan mbo tawi ko woydu i waddi diyam.

Mbo yehi mboyo Diatta miin de mi yihi woydu e der ladde mbol mbol de ni tawu mi doum. Diatta ra noon ko souka Moussa Molo. Be dali saare Boulel ko Diatta dalani Kandia be gari be soupi do. Dou woydu wobbe guiwa Amérique, wobbe guiwa Allemagne, wobbe guiwa ro guiwwi ngara mbana diyam dam naba. Awa cossan o ko kounte kounte meen ngandiri mbo ba.

Notable : Ko tawami ko piloro mi wona ko mi tawaka ko. Lawu meen tapuno. Meen ndiahano sarvice meen diobera ke hay mouddi. Meen ligo kabire Velingara ha to wire bellal to. Meen mbada daam e kadie de e mbadede. Meen ndiobera ke haye mouddu meen ngarta ga.

Lawuno auto alla. Haye houdde alla. Ci letere widama Velingara han, ko e peccal wateno. Saare yo saare ci ndodama ha norima han, okke jaarga o. Ontuma be nganda doum ha Kerewane, okka doum o jaarga been kalla guita toum roon gadda doum ha do.

Be dioguino bargo ko he kering wateno hen fi gal wawa dogue de. Ko noone ko welo buro doum yawudde. Ko noone ah wawa no yadu e moun ha Velingara. Doum ko yawri ko le auto de pouddi do ardde doum kalla ko C45 iddi do ardde. Tampéré de, de saare do tempadde. Be ngarano do gaari wiye no di naabe Ziguinchor. Ko woni diomdi ma di ko diato dje. Awa ci ah yotini no doum haan be mbiyya ma horoye. Haye mouddu ah yobere naako.

Chirifou Mballo (C.M): Kandia a été fondé par Diara. C'est un Pullo noble. Il avait comme nom Balde. C'est le premier jarga. A cette époque, le pouvoir de canton était à Sare Boulel.

Q : Est-il venu après Samban Dalan ?

C.M : Non, je t'ai dit que c'était aux temps des cantons, le pouvoir était à Saare Boulel. Ce roi de canton s'appelait Alanso.

Q : A quelle époque Samban Dalan a fondé le village ?

C.M : Le fondateur du village est celui dont je vous ai parlé. C'est le chef de canton, Alanso Balde, qui est le père de Moulaye. C'est le fondateur de Saare Boulel. Il a été remplacé par Baba Moulaye. Moulaye a voulu détruire ce village. Le jarga de Kandia est notre propre grand père. Il s'appelait Kalako Balde. Il s'est affronté avec Moulaye et à la fin il a dû abandonner le village. Tu sais, au temps du des cantons, si on décidait de te tuer cela arrivait. C'est ça qui a amené la fuite du jarga.

Après le départ de Kalako, c'est un de nos grands parents paternels, Samba Tombon qui est devenu le jarga. Son remplaçant s'appelait Keba Mawdo. Puis est venu Sana qui fut remplacé par Keita Sabaly. Après Keita, c'est Assete Mawdo qui suit. Après son jarga ya, c'est Dembel Balde qui l'a remplacé. Il fut remplacé par son fils du nom de Assete Balde. Ce dernier fut remplacé par Koutia. Le remplaçant de Koutia est Ansou Balde.

Dianguiya Mballo (D.M) : Celui-la vous a dit que Diatta Koumantio a fondé Kandia, c'est vrai que c'est Diatta Koumantio qui a fondé le village. Un chasseur lui a montré le site. Il y a un puits derrière le bâtiment; personne ne l'a creusé, le puits a toujours été là. Le chasseur était parti à la chasse et dès qu'il s'est assis, il a vu un singe bondir de nulle part. Dès qu'il a vu le singe bondir, il est parti voir et il s'est rendu compte que c'était un puits qui avait de l'eau.

Il est parti voir Diatta et lui dit 'j'ai vu un puits. C'est en pleine brousse que je l'ai vu'. Diatta était un homme de Moussa Molo. Diatta a quitté Saare Boulel pour Kandia. Ils sont venus défricher le site. Il y a des gens qui viennent de l'Amérique, d'autres de l'Allemagne pour prendre l'eau du puits et l'amener avec eux. C'est par des morceaux que nous connaissons l'histoire.

Notable : Je vais vous raconter l'histoire que j'ai vécu et non celle que je n'ai pas vécu. Nous avons souffert au passé. On allait faire un service sans rien percevoir. On travaillait de Vélingara jusqu'au bellal. On faisait la dalle avec des pierres et le sable des termitières. On ne nous payait rien et on revenait avec les mains vides.

Auparavant, il n'y avait pas des voitures. Il n'y avait pas rien de ça. Pour écrire des lettres, on utilisait le bambou. Chaque village était appelé et le jarga répondait. On l'acheminait jusqu'à Kerewane et on le remettait au jarga qui de son côté l'acheminait jusqu'à Kandia.

Il avait une machine qui fonctionnait avec du charbon et le vélo était plus vite que cette chose. Mais tu pouvais voyager avec jusqu'à Vélingara. C'est à la suite de cela que les voitures ont commencé à arriver et la première voiture fut le C45. La souffrance, ce village l'a connue. On pouvait prendre ton taureau et te demander de le convoier jusqu'à Ziguinchor. Et ta paie était des insultes. Une fois à destination, on te demandait de rentrer d'où tu viens. Tu ne percevais rien et tu rentrais les mains vides.

Lamdo gono do Sourouyel o e mawdo godo, ci nodore yoni haan, ko nodore moun de bourano hewude ko ci lamdo o nodi. Ko ohn wireno Mbidou. Dioni ohn lamdo roon nelli goda arde mbire do Sada Imma o. Mboyo mi wadana ma ga tiuddi. Ci nialli han ngara diodo da do banta do ketoda ko be kalle ta ko.

Ohn arri do darnana tiuddi assana woydu. Ci niallano fori han, mbo ara mbo nialla do kalla ko bedda kalli mbo yaha mbo halle noya lamdo. Ontuma lamdo noddii yimbe be piwu no ndiahoyo toon, kewu be ndiahani toon ko yimbe daantandiehi be da piwu ngari do. Mbo mbo dalli do o Sada Imma ohn yehi wi doum he ci o mawdo nodi han ko nodore moun de burta hewude de.

Mbo lari ndialen de wotere mbo ari Kandia. Ayyi ko ro ki thiekeyi reunion wateno. Lamdo ari diodina roon. Mboyyo Mbidou ci mi noddii yimbe han be ndiara ro miin ko ro ahn be ngarta. Dalila hodoum ! Mboyyo Mbidou ahn ko ah falla yakoudde lamu am gu. Moulaye borti padal nanale gal mbo lappi Mbidou e hore. Ko doon mbo yaaki Mbidou. Mbo wawu no lamadde sabouna ci mbo noddii raan yimbe be notono mbo. Awa ko ngandou mi ko, ko ni forri. Ko pili mi do ko piwu ko mi nane sabouna ko mi yidoum.

Ansou Balde (A.B): E der der saare ko Bainoukobe guidi do wone de. Bainoukobe be diawri Sebbe be gari. Si hen ndiehi to han hen ndiehate he tiudi di gono he. Ko toon wire boulel sebbe. Indde kandia de ko ro Sebbe iwri. Ko wiyano daana di to woneno Kabendou Hakoude Kabendou e do ah yahano de hakoude balde didi. Haye saare allano de hakoude. Ohn noone daana imbi roon i ardda ga e rawanu moun dou. Be ngari ha be domedama. Anddi si yimbe domedama ko rawanu itto yidde diyam. Be ngabbi rawanu be ngabbi rawanu nu ha do bundu do. Mbayri noon rawanu yihi bundu nu e kalla metele wone bodewone ko i naata e diyam daam, dinin kalla kolirate do diyam woni. Doon ko thiekeyi woneno doone. Daana o yoti taan wanunu folli. Ontuma daana ruti wiyo lamdo Kabendou o mi yihi woynu.

Ontuma ohn ceddo addi Diatta Balde do Sourouyel do. Indde saare de no woudiri, wiya kalla ko gobe guiwi to Mali, be ngari ha be goddi be powri to bohe inne to. Ko toone wire tialle bohe di tiagui. Be powri doon ha djouri, koro o wi odda imbo dien. Oyya wiyo min mi yahani sabouna saare inne do. E cedde widoum « *kan wo dia* », daari do dande. Ko ni indde Kandia de woudiri.

Dou do woyenu no be mbihi do ni, ko banta gue kourelou no doum, ontuma mi holla ohn tata o. Si harre wadino han Sebbe guimbo raan naata ro tata ro. Si doum yawri han, doum mi maanti doum, si arino ha six heures, sept heures han haye goro sousse raano diogue de e der dou woynu. Hokko wadeno doum ko kouden dji diogano do. Ah wawa noon nande halla dji jinne dji. Ko naani mi ko mi yihani, si neddo nati no hakude mouhen han yirenoke.

Si ohn gawoyino lidji to Koukane han ko ga di moudiranao sabouna tiagol gol i wodoniri e woyenu nu e mayyo Basse gol to Gambie. Woyenu di yadie sabouna be piwu gassi dou ko saare wone toone. Cedde mou doumgal diardu gal ko toone kotiu mi doum. Actuellement si tu vas-tu trouveras des traces de cases, des perles. C'est comme ça qu'on m'a raconté l'histoire.

Le roi qui était à Sourouyel et un autre vieux, si ce dernier faisait un appel, il y avait plus d'affluence que si un roi faisait un appel. Il s'appelait Mbidou. Maintenant, il délégua quelqu'un du nom de Sada Imma. Il lui a demandé de construire des cases. Dans l'après-midi, il devait se rendre à la place publique pour écouter ce qu'on disait là-bas.

On lui a fait construire des cases et creuser un puits. Quand les gens se rassemblaient à la place publique, il venait écouter ce qu'ils disaient ensuite le rapporter au roi. Après le roi a convoqué les gens chez lui, mais la plus part d'eux on répondu à l'autre appel et pas à celui du roi. L'homme que Sada Imma avait laissé est parti trouver le roi et lui a dit 'il y a un vieux, s'il fait un appel et toi que tu en fais un autre, les gens vont répondre à l'appel du vieux plutôt qu'au tien'

Il a choisi un jour pour venir à Kandia. C'est au dessous du *thiekeyi* que les réunions se tenaient. Le roi s'est assis là-bas et demanda à Mbidou 'pourquoi les gens préfèrent ton appel que le mien? Quelle est la raison? Il dit à Mbidou qu'il voulait gater son pouvoir. Moulaye prit la sandale gauche et alla taper Mbidou sur la tête. C'est par ce geste qu'il a détruit les pouvoirs de Mbidou. Il pouvait devenir roi parce que s'il convoquait il y avait des foules de gens qui répondaient à son appel. C'est ça que je connais. Tout ce que j'ai dit je l'ai entendu et vécu.

Ansou Balde (A.B): Les Bainouk sont les fondateurs du village. Ils sont suivies par les Manding Si on part de l'autre côté on trouve les ruines de leurs cases. C'est là-bas qu'on appelle *boulel sebbe*. Le nom de Kandia est d'origine Manding. On disait qu'il y avait un chasseur qui était à Kabendou. Entre Kabendou et ici, il y avait deux jours de marche. Il n'y avait aucun village entre les deux. Ce chasseur quitta là-bas en direction à Kandia, accompagné de son chien. Ils étaient gagnés par la soif. Tu sais, quand des personnes ont soif, c'est le chien qui peut découvrir en premier lieu le point d'eau. Il a suivi le chien jusqu'au point d'eau. Et dès que le chien aperçu le point d'eau et que le chasseur a vu les fourmis rouges qui se plongeaient, il sut qu'il y avait de l'eau parce que ces choses indiquent de l'eau. Il y avait un arbre du nom de *thiekeyi*. En dégagant autour du point d'eau, un singe en surgit. Ensuite le chasseur est retourné pour aller dire au roi de Kabendou qu'il avait trouvé un puits.

Ensuite le Manding a installé Diatta Balde à Sourouyel. C'est comme ça que le nom du village est apparu: on dit que des gens précédents du Mali sont venus se reposer près des baobabs. C'est qu'on appelle *tialle bohe tiagui*. Ils se sont reposés pendant longtemps, et le grand-frère a donné l'ordre de partir. Le jeune frère lui a dit qu'il n'allait pas partir parce qu'il y avait un village sur place. En mandingue il lui dit « *Kan wo dia* », littéralement « quelqu'un de tétu ». C'est l'origine du nom de Kandia.

Le puits, c'est comme ils l'ont dit, il y avait des fromagers qui l'entouraient. Après je vais vous montrer le tata. S'il y avait une bataille, les Manding entraient dans le tata. En plus de ça, je me souviens de cela: entre six et sept heures personne n'osait d'aller ou de puiser au puits. Parce qu'il y avait des djinns. On pouvait entendre leurs paroles. Ce ça que j'ai entendu mais je ne l'ai pas vu: si une personne s'interposait entre eux, il disparaissait.

Si on allait pêcher à Kounkane, les poissons pouvaient sortir de la rizière parce qu'il avait des connections avec le fleuve de Bassé en Gambie. Le puits est large parce que tout le monde l'a creusé, c'était un village. Pour preuve, cette pipe je l'ai ramassée là-bas. Actuellement si tu vas-tu trouveras des traces de cases, des perles. C'est comme ça qu'on m'a raconté l'histoire.

Dianguiya Mballo (D.M) : Histoire dé saare i modji andu gol cono i saati, i saati. Ko saare cosaan re. Ko saare moladade sabouna deen diogui birin e der mawdo e der leydi he. Do ha Dakar kala mbo mbida Kandia, ah hebbade yidde mbidoma mino anddi Kandia. Ayyi takki men kalanani ma o cosaan sebbe ah bere bere, hay mawbe ameen hay goro fila nakki ameen ko hobbe sebbe goneno do, hono be bire, ko do Diatta meen gandi. Ah yihate tata mouhen ni kono hay baba dji ameen di nganda dou.

Q : *Ho watu Bainouckobe be ngono do, ho be dioguino lambe ?*

D.M : Ha i dioguino sabouna di leydi di wona no di alla no lamdo. Kono mbimami hay baddji ameen di ko mbi meen ko Bainouckobe kono do kono be mbiha ko ni mahi ko ni be cifori. Hata noone kalan lamdo do oh kalan.

Q : *E defte de mbo hessi diangu de de, e der deen defte i widda ho lamdo mbire do Faran Diabu woneno do. Ho ohn naani fi moun e xale ?*

D.M : Wona Kandia do, Kandiaye

Q : *E mbire do Souleymane Gassama ?*

D.M : Wona do.

Q : *Ho ohn noone ngandi hono be ngardi do e der saare do ?*

D.M : Beru be meen pili be, mi neen ngandi. Yeru do gandal ameen gal haddi do e der saare do mi neen ngandi. Moussa Molo ko ohn wone no leydi ni partout Gambia Koli. Mbo addi souka moun o ni i wire Diarra Koumantio. Diodini mbo do. Mi neen ngandal ameen ko doone fouddi de. Ayyi do gal legal do mbo habano do yimbe be. Haba dou meen lippe wala haba dou meen mbare.

Q : *Dioni sebbe be e bainouckobe be e fulakunda be ko hobbe guiddi do ardde ?*

D.M : Ko bainouckobe be guidi do ardde. Bainouckobe haye babadji ameen di ganda doumeen. Ko sebbe be diwi bainouckobe be. Sebbe be ko Moussa itti be do. Addi do lieutenant mou doum ari diodi do. Sebbe be diehi.

Q : *Ho waylube gono e der saare do ?*

D.M : Ha waylube gono do.

Q : *Hono be dietereno ?*

D.M : Kondjira

Q : *Ho ko fulakunda be wala ko sebbe ?*

D.M : Ko sebbe, Kondjira ko sebbe. Bene hadjilone iniin do.

Q : *Ho i woddi sebbe kedino be watu Moussa ko riware be ko?*

Dianguiya Mballo (D.M) : La connaissance de l'histoire du village est importante. C'est un village avec tradition. C'est un grand village qui a une grande importance dans le terroir. D'ici à Dakar, si tu demandes n'importe qui sur Kandia, tu auras quelqu'un qui te dira 'je connais Kandia'. Si tu vois qu'on ne s'est pas éloigné sur l'histoire des Manding, c'est parce qu'aucun de nos ancêtres ne nous a raconté les types de Manding qui étaient là, qui ils étaient, c'est à partir de Diatta que nous connaissons. Tu peux voir leur tata cependant, même nos parents ne les connaissent guère.

Q : *Est-ce que durant la période des Bainouk, il y avait des rois ?*

D.M : Certes, il y avait des rois au temps des Bainouk mais comme il l'a si bien dit, ses arrière grand parents et lui n'en connaissent point l'existence de ce pouvoir. Mais aussi tu peux demander à celui-là.

Q : *J'ai lu dans certains livres qu'il y avait un roi ici, qui s'appelait Faran Diabu, est-ce que vous connaissez quelque chose de lui ?*

D.M : Ce n'est pas à Kandia, c'est à Kandiaye.

Q : *Et Souleymane Gassama ?*

D.M : Ce n'est pas ici.

Q : *Je voulais savoir l'ordre d'arrivée des différents groups ?*

D.M : Pour ceux que nous venons de parler, nous savons. Le peu de connaissances que nous avons sur le village, on connaît. Moussa Molo était le roi des Gambie à Koli. Il a amené un de ses hommes du nom de Diarra Koumantio. Il l'a installé ici. Notre connaissance commence à partir de là. C'est sur cet arbre qu'il attachait les gens, soit pour les battre, soit pour les tuer.

Q : *Entre les sebbe, les bainouk et les fulakunda qui sont les premiers ici ?*

D.M : Les Bainouk sont les premiers à arriver. Même nos parents ne connaissent pas les Bainouk. C'est les Manding qui ont chassé les Bainouk. Moussa a chassé les Manding. Il a installé son lieutenant ici. Les Manding sont partis.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y avait des forgerons dans le village ?*

D.M : Il y avait des forgerons.

Q : *C'était quel son nom de famille?*

D.M : Kondjira.

Q : *Ils étaient des fulakunda ou des Manding?*

D.M : C'est des Manding, les Kondjira sont des Manding. Leurs descendants sont toujours là.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a des Manding qui sont restés après l'arrivée de Moussa Molo ?*

D.M : Alla kedano ki, sebbe gono be do be piwu niano.

Q : *Ho ko ontuma yete Kondjira ngari ?*

D.M : Ko Moussa addara Diarra ko mbo addoyi to bayelo. Ah no anddi neddo sincioyra doula han yo nabbate bayelo. Be ngadoyi oh mametur mou doum. Be gawriri do.

Q : *Ko hobbo watu doum waddi ?*

D.M : Watu Moussa Molo waddi.

Q : *Watu Moussa Molo ari do o, mbo riwi sebbe be, mbo diodini do lieutenant moun o, mi falla andou e fila guun lamu. Honore wonire no e honore lamorano ?*

D.M : Mineen lawu, lamu Moussa Molo gu, ci tawi mbo yehi doula mbo habama, ha mbo hebti doum hane, mbo naba roon pullo mou doum mbo diodina roon, mbo ya doum aynou do. Doum do na lamu canton ta ko lamu raan. Ta lamu welli meeti.

Ci mbo yehi mbo haboyama ha mbo hebti leydi do wayyi to Guinée Bissau, mbo hawrina sobuli di mbo adda pullo moun mbo ya doum ahn aynu do. Mbo naba oh do du sobundu do mbo ya doum ahn aynu do. Mineen ko wiyano no aynu meen babadji ameen, mamadji ameen ko Diarra Koumantio.

I waddi be Diarra souyrano. Kala Moussa mbo addi, kala diom ohn no foori wadde, mawbe dido iniin do ci be mbino mbo no mbo ndal han mbo ndalano. Manturu o e goddo iniin to woneno. Halla nana mi kalla miin do de.

Anddi di woddi ko franci wira capitaine, wore be be kelegana, ontuma ko kelegana wireno. Ta ko neddo kabero, taye haye houdde neddo wawanta doum. Kalla ko mbada marchara. Ko doum woni manturu o. Ko be Gambie.

Q : *Honore mbo fecciri no leydi ni mbo lamino ni ?*

D.M : He min ko nanate raan. Ko mamdji ameen pecca no, ko babadji ameen pecca no meen ngandi. Kono meen naani do no mbo fecciri no leydi ni. Di ko neddo makko diodi do. Be mbadi he tatadji, ko noon mbo diodiri no yimbe be. Mbo wadi Kabendou tata, mbo wadi do tata. Do ko sanie woneno do wona tata. Tata ko Boulel daadi woni. Muntuba do ko tata. Kono Moussa tawani be do. Hakunde do e Koli ko kagne wodeno do.

Q : *Kelegana be ndielu mbo dioguino ?*

D.M : Soubahanala ko mbo warano be, kono di mbouretuno. Ci addi ah hewi doole haan mbo yaha mbo wara ma. Ko mbo dioguino ko hewu no. Goddo woneno Sare Pate do. Be pelli ha be ngo di, be lippi ha be ngoni. Wi doumeen padde haa mi xola ohn honore mbaredere mi. Mbo soppi do mbo itti garalel guel mbo weddi. Tawi kalla no be mbadi be kori.

Q : *Ho i wodeno neddo hakudde kelegana be be e Moussa ?*

D.M : Non, tous les Manding qui étaient là, ils sont partis.

Q : *Donc les Kondjira sont arrivés après ?*

D.M : Lorsque Moussa installait Diarra, il avait amené avec lui un forgeron. Tu sais lorsque quelqu'un veut créer un village, il y allait avec un forgeron. C'est l'arrière grand père de celui-là. Ils se sont rencontrés ici.

Q : *A quelle période cela s'est passé ?*

D.M : C'est durant la période de Moussa Molo.

Q : *Quand Moussa Molo est venu ici, il a chassé les Manding, il a mis son lieutenant, je voudrais savoir un peu plus sur son pouvoir. Quelles étaient les différents types de pouvoirs et comment cela fonctionnait-il ?*

D.M : Auparavant, au temps de Moussa Molo, quand il partait en guerre et prenait un endroit, il amenait un Peul et lui disait : 'garde ici'. Ce n'est pas le cas durant le pouvoir des cantons, là c'était seulement du pouvoir. C'est le pouvoir pour ou contre.

S'il partait faire la guerre et il y avait une bataille comme en Guinée Bissau, il réunissait les frontières, y mettait son Peul et lui demandait de surveiller l'endroit. Il allait à l'autre bout et y amenait quelqu'un et lui demandait de surveiller aussi. Celui qui était chargé de surveiller nos grands parents, nos parents et nous-mêmes s'appelait Diarra Koumantio.

Diarra avait peur de quelques gens. Chaque foi que Moussa amenait quelqu'un ici, quoiqu'il soit, il y avait deux vieux, s'ils disaient de ne pas faire une chose, il exécutait l'ordre. C'est l'arrière grand-père de celui-là et il y avait un autre de l'autre côté. C'est des choses que j'ai entendu que je relate ainsi.

Tu sais il y a ce que les français appellent capitaine, des hommes du nom de kelegana, ils s'appelaient à cette époque des kelegana. C'était quelqu'un qui se battait, nulle ne pouvait rien contre lui. Rien ne l'atteignait quoi que tu fasses. C'est l'arrière grand parent de celui-là. Ils sont originaires de la Gambie.

Q : *Le territoire qu'il dirigeait, comment il l'a réparti ?*

D.M : C'est ce que j'ai entendu: ce que nos grands-parents ont reçu, c'est ce que je connais. Cependant, nous savons la manière dont il a partagé son territoire. Là, c'est son homme qui était là. Ils ont construit des tatas, c'est ainsi qu'il avait placé ses hommes. Il a construit un tata à Kabendou. Il a construit un autre ici. Mais il y avait un sanie et non un tata. Il y avait un tata à Boulel Daadi. A Muntuba, il y avait un tata. Mais Moussa ne les a pas trouvés là. D'ici à Koli, lui appartenait.

Q : *Combien de kelegana avait-il ?*

D.M : Soubahanala, il les tuait, or, ils étaient nombreux. S'il savait que tu avais une certaine puissance, il te tuait. Il y avait plusieurs. Il y avait quelqu'un à Sare Pate. Il lui ont tiré dessus tellement qu'ils se sont épuisés, il l'ont frappé jusqu'à se fatiguer. Il leur a dit 'attendez, je vais vous montrer la manière dont vous pouvez me tuer. Il s'est coupé, a sorti un talisman et l'a lancé. Ils ont tout essayé, ils n'ont pas pu.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y avait quelqu'un entre les kelegana et Moussa ?*

D.M : Moussa ko soufa ji moun di wala baroula ji moun di nelaan no.

Q : *Ko hodoum woni baroula e hodoum woni soufa ?*

D.M : Baroula ko lamdo, soufa ko maccudo.

Q : *Ko hodoum woneno liguey moun de ?*

D.M : Soufa kala do neleteno ko kagn neleteno ? Baroula ci lamdo o alla doon haan ko kagn woneta doon.

Q : *Ko baroula be dieulu mbo dioguino ?*

D.M : Been kewno. Sabouna Moussa lamino hakuude Gambia ha Koli. Doula yo mbo waddi doum baroula comme no communaute rurale ni, wihe no aynu do. Ko Diarra woneno do, goddo woni hedde Muntumba, goddo woddi hedde Kabendu, goddo woddi hedde Mamadi Thiagol, goddo woddi hedde Mamacounda, ko ni mbo wadeno yadde.

Notable : Mbo waddi do Diarra mbo waddi goddo Madina-Pakane, mbo waddi o to Kantora. Ko ni ontuma kaan mbo waddi goddo Thietty, Dialigue Mboderi diodina roon. Ko mbo iwi saare Pathe ko mbo ari Madina, Pathe Bouya diodina doone ayyi ko ni mbo wadiri yadde. Dansa diodina Korop, ko ni mbo wadir yadde, mbo fecciri yadde.

Q : *Ko hoddi tataji kelegana gandu da e der tuundu du du ?*

Notable : Mineen ngandi Diarra do Kandia, mineen gandi Oumar djila to Mballo kunda, Daba to Kantora. Mineen ngandi kallaan Mawde Ba Linkering. Tobo do Pakane do. Mineen ngandi Dialigue Mboderi to Marena. Mineen ngandi Dansa Korop. Mineen ngandi Pate Bouya ohn woneno saare Pate Bouya. Mineen ngandi mbire do Ndiobo to Saybanding hedde Kolda. Mineen ngandi mbireno Yero Tacko ko Dialaba woneno. Goddo kallaan woneno wireno Kolyel to Diaobe.

Q : *Ho ko baroula o lontoreno lamdo si mbo allano do haan ?*

D.M : Baroula ko neddo kende jo woneno si lamdo o allano do haan ko kagn fewdiano.

Q : *Ho di piwu doula dji dji di guinu doone do di i dioguino tata ?*

Notable : Alla ko doula dji didi meen ngandi i waddi tata sabouna wateno sagne ni wadde ledde wadde no cloture ni. To Korop wadeno tata, capitale gal kalla wadeno tata, Hamdallaye. Tata woneno to ko Sebbe be maddi toon tata. Ko Diarra woneno do ko ko sagne woneno do.

Q : *Ho di kelegana dji di kallaan doone meen do di ko watu Moussa Molo wala ko watu Alpha Molo ?*

D.M : Ko watu Moussa. Ko harre wateta kelegana.

Q : *Ho Alpha Molo i dioguino kelegana dji ?*

D.M : Moussa avait ses soufa ou ses baroula.

Q : *C'est quoi un baroula et un soufa ?*

D.M : Le baroula est un roi et le soufa est un esclave.

Q : *Quel était son travail ?*

D.M : Le soufa est un émissaire. Le baroula, il remplace le roi quand il est absent.

Q : *Combien de baroula avait-il ?*

D.M : Ils étaient nombreux. Parce que Moussa règnait entre la Gambie et Koli. Dans chaque lieu, il plaça un baroula qui était chargé de surveiller cette sorte de communauté rurale. C'est Diarra qui était ici, un autre était vers Muntumba, un autre vers Kabendu, un autre vers Mamadi Thiagol et un autre vers Mamacounda, c'est ainsi qu'il les avait répartis.

Notable : Il a installé ici Diarra, un autre à Madina-Pakane. Il a mis un autre au Kantora. C'est ainsi qu'il a installé à Thietty Dialigue Mboderi. Lorsqu'il a quitté Saare Pathe Bouya, il est venu à Madina, Pathe Bouya s'est installé sur place et c'est de la sorte qu'il est venu ici. Dansa a été installé à Korop. C'est ainsi qu'il a partagé son territoire.

Q : *Quel tata de kelegana connaissez-vous dans cette région ?*

Notable : On connaît Diarra à Kandia ici. Oumar djila de Mballo kunda. Daba de Kantora. On connaît aussi Mawde Ba de Linkering, Tobo de Pakane, Dialigue Mboderi de Marena. On connaît Dansa à Korop, on connaît aussi Pate Bouya de saare Pate Bouya. Et aussi Ndiobo de Saybanding près de Kolda. Et aussi celui qui s'appelait Yero Tacko de Dialaba. Il y avait Kolyel qui était à Diaobe.

Q : *Le baroula remplaçait le roi si celui-ci n'était pas là?*

D.M : Le baroula, c'était un personnage important et il prenait les décisions en l'absence du roi.

Q : *Est-ce que dans tous ces endroits, il y avait un tata ?*

Notable : À notre connaissance, il y a deux endroits qui avaient des tata parce qu'il dès fois on construisait des *sanye* qui sont un mélange d'argile enduite sur des piquets en forme d'une clôture. A Korop, il y avait un tata, il y avait un tata dans la capitale à Hamdallaye. Il y avait un tata Manding ici. Durant la période de Diarra, il y avait un *sanye* qui était là.

Q : *Est-ce que ces kelegana dont vous nous avez parlé sont-ils de la période de Moussa Molo ou celle d'Alpha Molo ?*

D.M : C'est durant la période de Moussa. C'est la guerre qui fait le kelegana.

Q : *Est-ce qu'Alpha Molo avait des kelegana ?*

D.M : I dioguino kay

Q : *Ho be be limodo do be ko watu Moussa wala ko watu Alpha ?*

D.M : Ko Alpha iddi hebde kelegana be ontuma Moussa abbi hen.

Q : *Di soufa dji ko hodoum ngoneno ?*

D.M : Kalla do nague gue wouli ko be soufa be nelteno. Kalla ko lamdo liganteno ko kayen guimbo ro no ligo doum. Kalla ko mbitini ko soufa ligoro doum.

Q : *Soufa ko neddo goro wala ko yimbe kewu be ?*

D.M : Neddo goro ko soufa wireno, yimbe kewu be ko soufa dji wireno.

Q : *I wodeno kelegana be, baroula be e soufa dji. Ho i wodeno wobe ?*

D.M : Anddi dioni enen diogui Présiend, Ministres dji, enen diogui députés dji e ko ni waneno lawu. Kalla ko lamdo o wadante ko soufa dji mbado no doum. Ci lamdo alla do han i diodi do galle do, ko rewbe lamdo liganteno han ko soufa wadano doum haaro tenu ledde.

Q : *Ohn watu horo marché dji mawdi di ngono e der tuundu du ?*

D.M : Ko do baroula be ngoni he mbourteno hawrire de.

Q : *Ho baroula be be ko kahegn e lamdo ngone dou no wala ko kahen e kelegana be ngone dou no ?*

D.M : Be baroula be ko cubano fila be ngayna tuundu. Do mbo habba ha mbo wawi yo mbo diodina doone baroula.

Q : *Ho be bourno fort de hakude kelegana be e baroula be ?*

D.M : Ah nani baroula haan ko kelegan, watake haye houdde ko kagne holora. Ci wouli taddi toki tako ko kelegan mbanete nabbe. Kono ci arti alla ko wate. Sabouna ohn ci alla jibaama ha ko goddo arta habama.

Q : *Ho kelegana be ko watu Moussa e baroula be ko watu lamu canton dji ?*

D.M : Kelegana ko watu Moussa wodeno. Baroula woneno to Moussa woneno to lamu cantons dji.

Q : *Ho kelegana be ko watu Moussa raan ngoneno ?*

D.M : Dioni kelegana alla. Doum gassi no. Kelegana ko watu hare dji raan ngoneno.

Q : *Ko diouma dji nieulu ngoni e der saare de e ko hobbo watu de daarna ?*

D.M : Il en avait certainement.

Q : *Est-ce que cette liste que vous nous avez donné est de la période de Moussa ou d'Alpha ?*

D.M : C'est ce dernier qui fut le premier à en avoir et Moussa a poursuivi l'œuvre de son père.

Q : *Et les soufa qu'on a mentionné, ils étaient quoi ?*

D.M : Quelque soit la chaleur du soleil, c'est le soufa qu'on envoyait. Tous les travaux du roi c'est lui qui les exécutait. Il faisait toutes les corvées.

Q : Soufa, c'est une personne ou plusieurs ?

D.M : Une seule personne, c'est soufa et plusieurs personnes, c'est *soufa dji*.

Q : *Il y avait des kelegana, des baroula et des soufa. Est-ce qu'il y avait d'autres ?*

D.M : Tu sais actuellement nous avons un Président, des Ministres et des députés. La même chose était valable auparavant. Tous les travaux du roi étaient exécutés par les soufa. Même si le roi était absent, il restait à la maison et faisait les travaux des femmes du roi, il allait même chercher du bois.

Q : *A cette époque, où étaient les grands marchés dans cette région ?*

D.M : C'est là où se trouvent les baroula que les gens se rencontraient.

Q : *Les baroula étaient-ils logés avec le roi ou avec les kelegana ?*

D.M : Les baroula étaient choisis pour surveiller un terroir. Chaque fois que Moussa Molo conquérait un terroir, il y plaçait un baroula.

Q : *Qu'est-ce qui étaient les plus importants entre les kelegana et les baroula ?*

D.M : Les baroula; le kelegana, on exigeait rien de lui, on lui faisait confiance. Dans une situation extrême, c'était lui la solution. Mais s'il revient, il était irréprochable. Parce que s'il n'est pas à ton côté, c'est quelqu'un qui va t'attaquer.

Q : *Est-ce que les kelegana c'est au temps de Moussa et les baroula c'est au temps des cantons ?*

D.M : Les kelegana ont existé durant la période de Moussa. Les baroula ont existé aussi bien qu'au temps de Moussa qu'à celui des cantons.

Q : *Est-ce que les kelegana n'ont existé qu'au temps de Moussa ?*

D.M : De nos jours, il n'y a pas de kelegana. Cette période s'est révolue. Les kelegana n'ont existé qu'en temps de guerre.

Q : *Il y a combien de mosquées dans le village et quand est-ce qu'elles ont été construites ?*

D.M : Mineen de kalla mbadeno do diouma mayano. Ko diouliri de didi ngone do lawuno allano.

Q : *Ko hobbo watu diina islam ka arii e der Kandia do ?*

D.M : Meen tawu doum do, mawdo ameen o wireno Demba Tacko, ohn ko waliwu mbo Allah fegniu no, mineen ko fouddi meen diangui de al curana tayyi ko meen soukabe. Konone tayyi diama watake do. Kono ohn ko diinayanke mbo Allah jippini diddo saare do ko meen thioukaloone. Mineen baba o ci meen ngayno yi haan meen diaha mbo widana meen. Ko mama o waddi walantere no diama wadde do le wada, kono waddeno maydode.

Q : *Doum ko watu Moussa Molo waddi wala ?*

D.M : Ouh ouh, doum ko watu ameen o waddi. Sabouna doum hebbi doubbi thiappande dierari e godoum. Ko watu ameen doum waddi. Watu Moussa hen o taa diina alla e ni leydi. Kalla mbo gnida i saligo ko koddo gare do.

Q : *Ohn kalli do fila are do Alpha e Moussa diodino lambe be yadde, ho ohn noone ganddi watu lamu Sebbe doula dji he lamu gu diodino he ?*

D.M : Ko Kansala kelegana be Sebbe diodino.

Q : *Horo lamu Sebbe gu diodino e der di leydi ?*

D.M : Mineen ko mawbe ameen be ko pila ni meen ko raan meen mawra ohn filanade. Ko yawri ro ko meen mawra ohn doum filana de. Do he Moussa lamade mino anddi hen sedda. Sayku Oumar ohn ko djil to. Ohn yehi ha do galle baba Moussa do Alpha Molo tawi ohn radohi. Debbo moun o ko Kumba wire, yehi addoyi guertogal mbofoyi gal gal ha warana Sayku Oumar. Sayku noone saali widoum daltu gal di wofi. Mboyyo ohn yo geddama arani sabouna diyyam moun daam houbbi kono di wari koulel. Alpha arti. Kumba i anddi o koddo ko diom gandal, koddo mawdo. Toujours mbonine hakude mawo bambe o do defaara do. Mbo yi gedda moun raan mbo ari doum. Widoum en kebbi koddo de. En kebbi koddo tedou do koddo satu do. Ohn natiri to mawo bambe ro. Toupani doum toon diyyam lori.

Ontuma ari salmini e douhodiri e Sahyku Oumar. Mbo yotima, mbo filani Sayku. Mbo widoum meen tamppi. Ayyi be Sebbe be meen keeri do be, meen neha nangue ha gue faya, be nabba mbe diakoya gue. Meen neha gari mbalou ha gu faya be naba be diaha be diakoya gu. Tayyi noon ohn watu be kewani.

Sayku widoum awa ko heri. Mbo yehi wi moossibe be yo mine mi goddi be Sebbe ko mbata en ko de. Widoum meen mi faala kebdeen e Sebbe be. Ayyi Moussa Molo ko wodda ko tawi ko goreko, iniira Annabi Moussa. Woni wiodoum be mbaynodiran ni. Okki doum koural gal loupapa, gal mbadiara. Ci ah fiddi haan gal areta. Widoum ko ma dowera mi. Dowri dou dowri doum ha do Koli widoum ko do kademi. Widoum Alpha ko do kadeda ? Widoum ha.

D.M : Ici, celui qui construisait une mosquée, mourrait. Il y a actuellement deux mosquées mais il y' en avait pas auparavant.

Q : *À quelle période, l'islam est arrivé à Kandia ?*

D.M : On l'a trouvé ici, un vieux qui s'appelait Demba Tacko, un sage qu'Allah a fait descendre, c'est le premier à nous apprendre le Coran quand nous étions jeunes. À cette époque la il n'y avait pas une mosquée au village. Le père de celui-ci et moi, dès qu'on revenait de suivre le bétail, on allait chez lui pour apprendre. C'est le grand-père de celui-ci qui a prié la volonté de faire construire une mosquée, et des hommes sont morts.

Q : *Cela s'est passé au temps de Moussa Molo?*

D.M : Non, non cela s'est passé à notre époque. Il y a 80 ans maintenant. C'est de notre période que cela s'est passé. Il n'y avait pas de l'Islam au temps de Moussa. Seul les étrangers prenaient des ablutions.

Q : *Vous nous avez parlé des endroits de pouvoir aux temps d'Alpha et de Moussa; est-ce que vous connaissiez les centres de pouvoir pendant le temps des manding ?*

D.M : C'est à Kansala où résidaient les kelegana des Manding.

Q : *Où était le pouvoir des Manding dans cette région ?*

D.M : On ne peut vous raconter que ce que nos ancêtres nous ont raconté. Au-delà de ça nous ne pouvons rien vous dire. Avant le règne de Moussa je connais une toute petite chose. Sayku Oumar était un aventurier ¹ Il est parti jusqu'à la maison du père de Moussa, mais Alpha Molo était parti à la chasse. Sa femme Kumba, est partie prendre la poule qui couvait ses œufs pour la tuer en honneur de Sayku Oumar. Sayku a refusé en disant que la poule couvait ses œufs. Il lui a dit 'ton mari est parti à la chasse mais il va revenir parce que il n'a pas de l'eau et parce qu'il a tué un animal qui est en état'. Alpha rentra. Kumba savait que son étranger était un sage, un grand étranger. Elle circulait toujours entre derrière la maison et sa cuisine. Dès qu'elle a vu son mari, elle est partie à sa rencontre. Elle lui a dit ' nous avons un grand étranger, un étranger pas comme les autres, quelqu'un d'exceptionnel'. Il est entré par derrière. Elle lui a donné de l'eau pour se laver.

Ensuite, il est venu à la rencontre de Sayku Oumar, l'a salué et a fait des prières. Il est parti rejoindre Sayku Oumar pour lui parler. Il lui a dit 'Nous sommes fatigués. Tu vois, nos voisins Manding, dès qu'on élève une vache grasse, ils viennent la prendre pour la manger. Si on élève un bélier, ils le prennent pour le manger aussi'. A cette époque, ils n'étaient pas nombreux.

Sayku lui a dit 'D'accord ça s'arrête là'. Et il est parti dire à ses parents qu'il est fatigué du traitement que les Manding leur infligeaient. Il leur dit 'j'aimerais qu'on se hisse contre les Manding'. Quand Moussa Molo est né et qu'il fut un garçon, on lui a donné le nom du Prophète Moussa. Et Sayky Oumar] lui a dit 'c'est le moment de partir.' Il lui a remis une balle qui ne rate pas et qui ne se perd pas. Si tu tires elle revient. Il lui a demandé de le raccompagner. Il lui raccompagna jusqu'à Koli et lui a dit 'je m'arrête là'. Alpha lui demanda: c'est ici que je m'arrête?' Il a dit 'Oui'.

¹ *Ko yileto do:* quelqu'un qui erre

Ta lamdo Ceddo i dioguino kagado. Sayku Oumar windi doon haa gassi okki souka moun o widoum naboye. Oyya Bouly Sirandu wire. Bido moun o i haga. Kono be ndiawni di doum be kori maa. Ko nii oyya nabi lettere o. Ohn yehi dioloyi e der woyenu roo, mboyoyi ohn yo ah yihate toon dare thiele ; Gol da i yari nano gol da i yari niamo. Dalta yaru gol nano gol ndiara gol niamo gol. Ko doone lamdo jinne dji o woni. Mbo moubbi lettere o ha do lamdo jinne dji o wone do. Ta ko Sayku widdi no be daltu kagn yehi.

Lamdo jinne dji o ouddide lettere raan wi ko Sayku widdi o. Sayku wiiyyo bidido Sirandu o no daltu doum. Kono hobbo sarkoyi no ha hawri e o ? Ohn ko ni celiri. Ko mbo arti ko mbo ndodiri mbeygu gu piwu. Widoum meen haba niin e Sebbe be. Bedda mbiyyo hay legal en kewra mbiyeen en kaba niin e Sebbe be ! widoum hodoum kolore daa ? Widoum miin ci ohn mbalna niim hare de haan ohn mbalkam dodu nu. Be mbidoum koni Alpha ah reah enin diawgkal, ah hum nanen enin en kewani. Widoumeen awa diode ha watu o yonaa go ohn mbali kam dodu nu didi ohn mbaldi kam hare de.

Be gari raan be nanguoyi gari mbaldi di tawi Alpha radoyi. Mbo areti raan debbo o wiyoyi doum beyhya ngarani gari mbalu gu de. Widoum boyyi ohn widoum alla. Mboyoyi boyyi, mboyoyi awa be diankara di. Mbo imbi mbo wayni moussidal moun gal. Mbo nuthi be tawi alla ko diaywara to maa be. Woneno ferele o ko ferele Allah okki doum. Ko ferele dokke Hum ni be ferrin. Keddi be diebili.

Ansou Balde (A.B) : Lorsqu'il accompagnait Sayku Oumar, Alpha était un chasseur. Il a dit à Sayku Oumar 'je m'arrête ici'. Ce dernier lui a dit ' tu t'arrêtes là, maist si tu aurais continué ton chemin, tu allais régner jusqu'à la Guinée.' Il lui a remis une bague et lui dit 'si tu rentres tu vas trouver que les Mandingues ont pris ton bélier. C'est en ce moment que tu vas utiliser la balle en s'approchant d'un arbre. Et que tant que tu t'accroches à l'arbre les balles vont partir'

De retour Alpha a trouvé que les Mandingues avaient pris le bélier. Et sa femme lui a dit ' les Mandingues ont pris le bélier mais ils ne l'ont pas mangé'. C'est avec la paille qu'il a incendié les cases des Mandingues. C'est ainsi qu'il a obtenu le pouvoir.

Q : *Ko hodde tiaie gono thiae kabade de ?*

Notable : I woddi Kansonko, lamdo ceddo ko Mo Faa Djenoung wireno.

Dianguiya Mballo (D.M) : Mo Faa ko mbaro wo yimbe e ceare.

S.S.: Ko kalla ni mi do ko hewani. Ko ba ama hallanimi kallanan maami ni do. Ba am wino kam Kandia do sinci gol doum ko mbire do Diarra Koumanthio Balde o e Dieidi Sira Sabaly sinci do. Diarra woni jaarga, Dieidi woni jonkung, adjoint.

Dieidi Sira baba am wino kam ko kambe gono baroula be Moussa Molo be. Ko kyeen ndiayano kaboye ko kayen ngono kelegana. Yeru do o baba am hallani mi. Ohn Dieidi kagn woneno koro Mori Cisse Sabaly. Ohn ko baroula Moussa Molo woneno.

Le roi Manding avait un fou. Sayku Oumar a écrit une lettre et l'a et remis à son disciple [Alpha] pour qu'il l'amène. Il s'appelait Bouly Sirandu. [le roi Manding] C'est son fils qui était fou. Ils ont tenté de le soigner en vain. C'est ainsi que l'autre [le disciple] a amené la lettre. Il est parti l'enterrer dans le puits. Il [Sayku Oumar] lui a dit 'tu vas rencontrer des routes qui se croisent. L'une va à gauche et l'autre va à droite. Tu laisseras celle qui va à gauche et prendras celle qui va à droite. C'est là où se trouve le roi des jinns. Il [Alpha] a amené la lettre au roi des jinns. 'C'est Sayku qui l'a écrit', il a dit, et ensuite il est parti.

Le roi des jinns a ouvert la lettre et a dit 'c'est Sayku qui a écrit la lettre. Sayku demande qu'on relâche le fils de Sirandu'. Mais qui avait rencontré celui-ci ? C'est comme ça qu'il est guéri. De son retour, il [Alpha] convoqua toute la famille. Il leur a dit qu'il allait affronter les Manding. Un s'est exclamé: 'Il ne peut même remplir l'ombre d'un arbre et il prétend se battre avec les Manding! Il [Alpha] lui demanda: 'c'est quelle ton assurance ? Si vous ne m'aidez pas à combattre les Manding vous allez m'aider à fuir. Ils lui ont dit: 'Alpha tu vas ruiner le peu de choses qu'on a et tu sais qu'on n'est pas nombreux. Il a répondu: 'soit vous m'aidez à me battre, soit vous m'aidez à m'en fuir au moment venu'.

Ils [les Manding] sont venus prendre un bélier quand Alpha était parti à la chasse. De son retour, sa femme lui informa qu'ils avaient pris le bélier. Il a demandé si'il y avait longtemps de ça. Elle lui dit 'non'. Il a dit 'donc ils n'auront pas le temps de le manger.' Il s'est levé et a pris congé de sa famille. Il les a tués avec un fusil. À cet temps, il n'y avait pas de lumière chez eux. Puisqu'il s'agissait d'un fusil venant de Dieu, un fusil qui lui est révélé, il les anéantit. Et le reste s'est soumi.

Ansou Balde (A.B) : Lorsqu'il accompagnait Sayku Oumar, Alpha était un chasseur. Il a dit à Sayku Oumar 'je m'arrête ici'. Ce dernier lui a dit ' tu t'arrêtes là, mais si tu aurais continué ton chemin, tu allais régner jusqu'à la Guinée.' Il lui a remis une bague et lui a dit 'si tu rentres tu vas trouver que les Mandingues ont pris ton bélier. C'est en ce moment que tu vas utiliser la balle en s'approchant d'un arbre. Et que tant que tu t'accroches à l'arbre les balles vont partir'

De retour Alpha a trouvé que les Mandingues avaient pris le bélier. Et sa femme lui a dit ' les Mandingues ont pris le bélier mais ils ne l'ont pas mangé'. C'est avec la paille qu'il a incendié les cases des Mandingues. C'est ainsi qu'il a obtenu le pouvoir.

Q : *Quelles sont les villes principales de la bataille ?*

Notable : Il y a Kansonko et le roi Manding s'appelait Mo Faa Djenoung.

Dianguiya Mballo (D.M) : Mo Faa veut dire 'celui qui tue les personnes' en mandingue.

S.S.: Ce que je vous ai raconté n'est pas tout. Ce que mon père m'a raconté, je vais vous raconter. Mon père me disait que la fondation de Kandia est l'œuvre de Diarra Koumanthio Balde et Dieidi Sira Sabalay. Diarra est devenu jarga et Dieidi est devenu son adjoint.

Mon père me disait que Dieidi Sira était l'un des baroula de Moussa Molo. C'est eux qui allaient faire la guerre et c'étaient eux les kelegana. C'est ça que mon père m'a dit. Dieidi était le grand frère de Mori Cisse Sabaly. C'était un baroula de Moussa Molo.

D.M : O ko Dieidi Sira woddi o. Ko Mori Cisse en gono Baroula be Moussa Molo be.

Q : *Ho Mori Cisse Sabaly ko baroula Moussa Molo ?*

D.M : Ha ko doum.

Q : *Ho ko baroula mbo woneno do e Dieidi Sira wala ko mbo woneno baroula e tuundu wone du ?*

D.M : Kayen piwu baroula be Moussa goneno.

Q :*Ho ko worebe ohn watu be wala ko baroula be raan ?*

D.M : Ko kayen piwu kubboro no.

S.S: Mbo wiyyo nene nene am mbo ko bido Dieidi Sira ko ohn woni Ma Sylla Sabaly. Ohn Ma Sylla Sabaly djibini nene am. Mboyoye ohn Dieidi ko sarokoyro to ladde ro, ta ko daana waroya kulle adda. Itti roon ciukalle moun nelli do Kandia do. Mboyoye bido Ma Sylla debbo o no mbo nabene mbo to Kessel Kunda.

Q : *Kessel Kunda ko horo woni ?*

D.M : Ko Gambie doum woni.

S.S: Been gari do be tawani do Diedi ta mbo sarkoyima, be baani Ma Sylla be nabi mbo. Dieidi ko artii ko debbo moun widoum bido ma o Moussa Molo nellani doum do mbo nabama. Ohn ta i hewri ha heddin moun di e kewi berede deen. Ko mbo dianta doum ko mbo baani pucciu moun gu, mbo wabbi, mbo abbi be. Be hawri ta natti Kessel Kunda mbo hewri be e ladde he. Mbo wi be daare been daari. Mbo wi be horo nabtanoni. Been mbiyyo ko Moussa wiyyo doon do bee nabbe. Mboyoye diahe mbiyone Moussa o yahani mi okki be maccube dieraro kambano be. Ontuma Dieidi nabetii bido moun. Beyya habano be dieraro nabana Moussa Molo.

D.M : Ko been soufa be ndieye reeno kono baroula be be ko lambe ngoneno. Ligorano ko.

Q : *Doula dji goddi meen mbiyya ma Cisse ko yetede Ceddo ho Mori Cisse Sabaly ko ceddo wala ko fulakunda ?*

S.S : Mori Cisse ko nene moun wireno Cisse.

Notable : Alpha i dioguino kelegana be moun, Moussa Molo kallaan i dioguino kelegana dji moun e Diarra kallaan.

Q : *Ho ko kelegana dji ko conseillers dji goneno wala ko gouverneurs dji goneno ?*

D.M : ha ko doum be goneno

Notable : I woneno do kelegana mbo Diarra ittano kalla do harre woneno. Ohn wireno Guiro Pullo.

D.M : Celui-la est de la lignée de Dieidi Sira. Les Mori Cisse étaient les baroula de Moussa Molo.

Q : *Est-ce que Mori Cisse Sabaly était le baroula de Moussa Molo ?*

D.M : Oui, il l'était.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il était baroula après Dieidi Sira ou il était baroula dans une autre région ?*

D.M : Tous les deux étaient des baroula de Moussa au même temps.

A.B : Ils étaient grand frère et petit frère; seulement ils se tressaient [les cheveux]

Q : *Les hommes de cette époque où les baroula seulement ?*

D.M : Ils se tressaient seulement le grand frère et le petit frère.

S.S : Il a dit que ma grand-mère est la fille de Dieidi Sira qui s'appelait Ma Sylla Sabaly. Elle est la mère de la mienne. Il a dit que Dieidi était un chasseur qui ramenait du gibier à la maison. Il a envoyé un de ses disciples à Kandia. Il lui demanda de ramener la fille de Ma Sylla à Kessel Kunda.

Q : *Où se trouve Kessel Kunda ?*

D.M : C'est en Gambie.

S.S : Ils sont venus en absence de Dieidi, qui était parti à la chasse, et ils ont amené Ma Sylla. Lorsque Dieidi est revenu de la chasse, sa femme lui a dit que Moussa avait demandé qu'on lui amène sa fille. C'était une jeune fille qui avait la poitrine pleine. Quand on lui a raconté l'histoire, il a pris son cheval et les a suivis. Ils étaient déjà dans la forêt de Kessel Kunda, il les a suivis dans la forêt. Il leur demanda de s'arrêter et ils se sont arrêtés. Il leur demanda où ils amenaient sa fille et ils lui ont répondu que c'était Moussa avait demandé de l'amener. Il a dit 'allez dire à Moussa que celle-ci n'irait pas , mais que je lui donne huit jeunes esclaves'. C'est ainsi que Dieidi ramena sa fille. On amena les huit jeunes à Moussa Molo.

Q : *Ailleurs, on nous a dit que les Cisse étaient de Manding; ce Mori Cisse Sabaly était-il Manding ou Fulakunda ?*

S.S : La mère de Mori Cisse s'appelait Cisse.

Notable : Alpha Molo avait ses propres kelegana, Moussa Molo en avait et Diarra aussi en avait.

Q : *Est-ce que les kelegana étaient-ils des conseillers d'Alpha Molo ou des gouverneurs de provinces?*

D.M : Ils remplissaient les mêmes fonctions.

Notable : Il y avait un kelegana que Diarra envoya en guerre. Il s'appelait Guiro Pullo.

6.-Koukane

Date : 12/01/13

Participants : Mory Diao, Amadou Diao, Boubacar Diao

Q : *Ko hoddé hirandé saaré dé sinthia ?*

Mory Diao : Doone ko naani mi bén kalla ko, ko Guinée Bissau bé guiwi no
Bé ngaari do, ko ranaadé
A naani !
Kambé dido, ko bén sinthie do
Bé ngaari do bé diniin ngassa kappé
Ben mbiyya kourou kappé ! kourou kappé !
Ko noone naani bé niine mbiyya meen niine kalla
Mi andda si ko goga walla wona noone wayyi
Mbiyya ko kanddu daa ko kalle taa
Wona miin taan héddi, saaré dé ko boni boni dé
Bouri témédé néddo e houdde ndiarou ré noone, mbayyri ko
doubbi thiappandé diérari e diégo

Q: *Bé guiwi no bé Guinée Bissau ngaari do asse dé kappé Ko Fulbé na walla ko Sébbé ?*

M.D. : Ko Fulbé diyaabé

Q : *Ho ano faami hiddé mbadé dé ?*

M.D. : Mi naana bé mbiyya ko Samba Dembou e Dembou Mohén

Q : *Ohn watu Guinée Bissau ko hoddé iddé dioguino ?*

M.D. : Guinée Bissau ko Guinée Bissau taan meen ngaandiri dé

Q : *Koukane ko hobbo watu sinthia ? Ho ko watu lammu fulbé walla lammu Sébbé ?*

M.D. : Watu dé sinthiéré o ko watu lammu Lébounkobé, mi andda ho ko goga walla Wona goga

Q : *Hodoum woni Lébounko ?*

Ibrahima Baldé (I.B) : Ko doum woni ndiaho bé e mayyo. Lébou wawi wone dé Sérère, Fulakunda.

Q: *Bé Lébounkobé horro guiwi no ?*

M.D. : Mi andda horro bé guiw no, ko mi naanate

Q: *Ho Lébounkobé bé i dioguino lammbé ?*

Q : *Le village a été fondé en quelle année ?*

Mory Diao : Ce que j'ai entendu dire que c'étaient des chasseurs qui étaient originaires de la Guinée Bissau.

As-tu entendu ?

Ils étaient deux, ce sont eux les fondateurs du village.

Ils sont venus ici en cherchant de la patate sauvage.

Et ils disaient « kourou kappé ! Kourou kappé ! »

C'est ainsi que j'ai entendu dire.

Je ne sais si c'est vrais ou pas.

Il faut parler des choses dont tu as la certitude.

Je ne suis pas le seul qui survit mais il y a à peu près deux personnes

Avec mon âge qui est de quatre-vingt-sept ans.

Q : *Ceux qui ont quitté la Guinée Bissau, étaient-ils des Fulbé ou des Sébbé ?*

M.D. : C'est des Peuls *diyaabé*

Q : *Est-ce que vous vous souvenez-vous de ses prénoms ?*

M.D. : J'ai entendu dire qu'ils s'appelaient Samba Dembou et Dembou Mohén.

Q : *Est-ce que la Guinée Bissau avait une autre appellation ?*

M.D. : C'est la seule dénomination que j'ai entendu de la Guinée Bissau.

Q: *Quand est-ce que Kounkane a été fondé ? C'est pendant la période du Fouladou ou celle des Sébbé ?*

M.D. : C'est au temps des Lébou, je ne sais pas si c'est avéré ou pas.

Q : *Un Lébou c'est quoi ?*

Ibrahima Balde (I.B.): C'est les pêcheurs. Ils peuvent être d'ethnie sérère ou même Fulakunnda.

Q : *Les Lébou, d'où sont-ils originaires ?*

M.D. : Je ne sais pas d'où ils viennent, j'en ai seulement entendu n'en parler.

Q : *Est-ce que les Lébou avaient-ils des rois ?*

M.D. : Ko nii naani raan mii niine, ko ngandou mi cédda, ko lammu Yéro Moulaye e Baba Moulaye

M.D. C'est les Lébou qui sont les premiers à habiter le village.
C'est après leur départ que les autres sont venus

Q: *Est-ce que quand les chasseurs sont arrivés, les Lébou étaient déjà partis ?*

I.B. : Ils étaient déjà partis

Q : *Moulaye Siranding, où s'était son village ?*

M.D. : C'est lui qui régnait dans tout ce territoire

Q: *Bén ko ngaarno ko, ho ko watu lammu Alpha Molo walla ko Moussa Molo ?*

M.D. :Taa bén ngoonani tawone

Q: *Ko hodoum wono naffaka saaré dé o watu lammu canton ?*

M.D. : Watu lammu canton ko ngaandou mi ko, ko Yéro Moulaye wono lammdo canton. Lammu wonani do, marché ko boyani wadda do

Q : *Woddi to meen ndiano, bé mi meen do ko saaré lammu wono watu lammu Sébbé, ho ahno wawi meen hallan dé hén godoum ?*

M.D. : Ci Sébbé lammino ma do haan mi naani

Q: *Ho Kounkané i diogui tata ?*

M.D. : Miin dé mi yiya ni, ko Guinée Bissau niemi tata, do Kounkane mi mbéda e Kabendou

Q : *Ho do baral saaré do wala e saaré dé alla mbadé dji ?*

M.D. : Doum mi andda doum

Q : *Ho saaré dé i diodui walla i dioguino waylubé ?*

M.D. : Mi maanti no do waylubé, ha handé

Q: *Ben hoggol légnol bé tawano ?*

M.D. : Ko hé Sébbé bé tawano

Q : *Hono bé yéttéréno ?*

M.D. : Ko Samoura bé ndiétéreno, Camara

Q : *Ko hobbo watu bé ngaari hé nder saaré dé ?*

M.D. : Ce que j'ai entendu, et ce que je connais ce sont les règnes de Yéro Moulaye et Baba Moulaye. Et c'est à partir de Moulaye Siranding que j'ai commencé à comprendre le pouvoir.

M.D. C'est les Lébou qui sont les premiers à habiter le village. C'est après leur départ que les autres sont venus.

Q: *Quand les chasseurs sont arrivés, les Lébou étaient déjà partis ?*

I.B. : Ils étaient déjà partis

Q : *Moulaye Siranding, où s'était son village ?*

M.D. : C'est lui qui régnait dans tout ce territoire.

Q : *Est-ce qu'ils sont venus au temps d'Alpha Molo ou de Moussa Molo ?*

M.D. : Ils n'étaient pas encore au pouvoir

Q : *Quelle fut l'importance du village au temps des chefs de canton ?*

M.D. : Ce que je connais du temps des cantons, c'est le regne de Yéro Moulaye. Kounkane n'était pas un lieu de pouvoir et le marché c'est recent.

Q : *Ailleurs, on nous dit que Kounkane était un lieu de pouvoir au temps des Sébbé, pouvez-vous nous en dire quelque chose ?*

M.D. : Le fait que les Sébbé ont régné, je ne suis pas au courant de cela.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a un tata à Kounkane ?*

M.D. : Je n'ai pas vu de tata à Kounkane, c'est en Guinée Bissau que j'ai vu un tata. Et à Kabendou.

Q: *Est-ce qu'il y a des choses anciennes au village ou aux alentours ?*

M.D. : Je n'ai pas connaissance de cela.

Q : *Est-ce que il y a eu des forgerons au village?*

M.D. : Ils y en a toujours.

Q : *De quelle ethnie sont-ils ?*

M.D. : Ils sont des Sébbé

Q: *Quelle est leur nom de famille ?*

M.D. : C'est des Samoura et des Camara

Q: *Quand sont-ils arrivés au village ?*

M.D. : Ko do mbadiri mi bé

Q : *Ho diali bé i niin do ?*

M.D. : Diali bé ko to thiaé to guiwano ngaara piyya

Q : *Ho di lédji ngooni do e ngoono di do di e hono di ngaardi ?*

M.D. : Ko lédji kéwu di ngaari , bé do mbiyya ko mi are yéyu dé, ko mi are diokoudé,...

Q : *Ko hoddi ngoone do ?*

M.D. : Légnol yo légnol woni do. Woni ko fulbé yo, ko Sébbé yo, ko Djolofoubé yo, Bambara, ko Soninké, Koniadji, Bassaris

Q : *Hono bé ngaare di ?*

I.B.: Ko fulakunda bé, ontuma Sébbé, Sarakollé, Soninké, Bambara, djolofoubé, Bassari bé, Sérère bé

Q : *Bamabarankobé bé e koniajebé hono bé ngaari di ?*

I.B.: Ko kahén e mbéda ngaar di

Q : *Watu lammu Alpha Molo gu e Moussa Molo gu, bén dioguino jabarébé mbirénobé kélégana, ho ahno meen hén halla dé godoum ?*

M.D. : Mi andda doum

Q : *Ho ah naani aré baroula ?*

M.D. : Dén ta lammdo yo i diogui baroula. Chef de canton i dioguino baroula, kalla ko waddi ko ohn hallan no doum.

Q : *Hodoum wono gollé baroula ?*

M.D. : Ko diamtou gol ta ko diamano pucci wona auro

I.B. : Ko baroula diodanino doone lammdo ô kalla palla do yiddé lammdo. Ko hé ohn réwano.

Q : *Ho baroula i dioguino légnol do fono iweddé ?*

M.D. : Ko mbo diom holli yo didina doum doula. Ko légnol yo. Mbo holli PulloFouta, mbo holli Céddo haan, ko mbo holli yo.

Q : *Ho ah fi aré soufa ?*

M.D. : Ko soufa woni baroula, ko ohn dowara lammdo ô. Naanga puccu doum ko ohn soufa

M.D. : Ils ont toujours vécu ici.

Q : *Y-a-t-il des griots ?*

M.D. : Les griots viennent des autres villages pour jouer.

Q : *Quelles sont les groups qui étaient ici avant et quels sont les groups actuels ?*

M.D. : Il y en a plusieurs. Les uns sont venus pour faire le commerce, les autres pour faire de la couture,...

Q : *Quelles sont ceux qui sont là actuellement ?*

M.D. : Tous les groups ont cohabité ici. Parmi eux, il y a les Fulbés, les Sébbé, les Wolofs, les Bambara, les Soninké, les Koniadji, les Bassari

Q : *Comment sont-ils venus ?*

I.B. : C'est les Fulakundas ensuite les Sébbé, Sarakollé, Soninké, Bambara, Wolof, Bassari, et Sérère.

Q : *Comment les Bambara et les Koniadji sont-ils venus ?*

I.B. Ils sont venus ensemble avec les autres.

Q : *Durant les règnes d'Alpha et de Moussa Molo, ils avaient des guerriers qui s'appelaient des »kélégana », pouvez-vous nous en parler quelque chose là-dessous ?*

M.D. : Non, je ne sais pas.

Q : *Avez-vous entendu parler des baroula ?*

M.D. : Chaque souverain avait ses baroula. Chaque Chef de canton avait aussi des baroula. Ils étaient des émissaires de ces derniers et aussi des porte-parole.

Q : *Quels étaient leurs travail ?*

M.D. : Ils étaient des émissaires à l'époque des chevaux.

I.B. : C'est eux qui introduisaient les audiences auprès du souverain

Q : *Est-ce que les baroula appartenaient à un groupe ethnique spécial ?*

M.D. : N'importe quelle ethnie pouvait accéder à ce titre. Parce que c'était quelque chose liée à la confiance. S'il avait confiance à un Peul Fouta, un Mandingue.

Q : *Avez-vous entendu parler aussi des soufa ?*

M.D. : Soufa et baroula signifient tous la même chose. C'est le compagnon du roi. C'est lui qui était chargé de l'entretien de son cheval.

Q: *Ho ko lammdo ô ran dioguino baroula mbéda galla no ?*

M.D. : Baroula bé ngalla soufa ko noone naano bé mbiyya

Q: *Ho soufa ko e légnol gorol iwano walla ko lédji piwu mbawano wone dé soufa ?*

M.D. : Ko kallan mbo mbo holli no e mbo wawi ligodadé. Ko ohn wonano soufa

Q: *Soufabé bé ko watu lammu Alpha Molo walla ko watu lammu Moussa Molo, walla ko chef de canton ?*

M.D. : Ko watu lammu canton

Q: *Projet o ko péthi » taari waddi, ko i iddi ko ko hall dou dé e mawbé bé, dimell mou guel ko wadde gol maddé dji lawu e carte, ho ahno wawi meen hallen dé godoum ?*

M.D. : Baba Moulaye ko Dabo woneno, ko Moulaye Siranding woneno baba mou hén
Niandouba, Seydou Kandiaye, ko Kabendou waddi tata, Guinée Bissau

Q: *Ho ahno anddi doula dji boydi ?*

M.D. : Tumbun dji di e kéwi. Tumbun dji ko lawu ngoone no, ko no dio piwu di ngoona mba. Niandouba, koddoo sinthiri mbo, saaré Bouraima, doone di waddi tumbun. To Mayyel foone kallan di waddi, saaré Doulo Sow, Niappo, Pierraba, Thianffara, saaré Samba Asséte. Temps de canton ko Doudou Dieng iddi do dianguin dé, ohn temps ko temps Yéro Moulaye hén.

Q : *Est-ce seulement les rois qui avaient des baroula ?*

M.D. : Les *baroula* n'avaient pas de soufa

Q : *Les soufa étaient-ils choisis spécifiquement dans une ethnie ou c'est tout le monde qui pouvait être soufa ?*

M.D. : Cet travail c'était une question de confiance. Si on avait la confiance, on pouvait devenir soufa.

Q : *Les soufa sont-ils de la période d'Alpha Molo, de Moussa Molo ou du temps des chefs de canton ?*

M.D. : C'est au temps des cantons.

Q : *Le projet comporte trois parties: en premier lieu recueillir la tradition auprès des notables et en deuxième position, faire la carte des sites anciens. Est-ce que vous pouvez nous en citer quelques-uns ?*

M.D. : Baba Moulaye était établi à Dabo et il avait comme père Moulaye Siranding, il y a Niandouba de Seydou Kandiaye. Il y a un tata à Kabendou et en Guinée Bissau.

Q : *Est-ce que vous connaissez des sites anciens ?*

M.D. : Il y avait beaucoup de tumbun auparavant mais ils ont tous été réoccupés. Il y a Niandouba mais il a été réoccupé, à Saré Bouraima, il y a un tumbun, à Mayyel, Saré Doulo Sow, Niappo, Pierraba, Thianffara, Saré Samba Assette. Au temps des cantons, le premier instituteur fut Doudou Dieng, c'est durant le magistère de Yéro Moulaye.

7.-Koukane

Date : 12/01/13

Participants : Al Hadji Boydo Sabaly, sa femme, Ibrahima Balde.

Q: *Ko hombo watu Koukane sinthia e ko hobbo sinthie dé ?*

Al Hadji Boydo Sabaly (ABS) : Ko Bara sinthie Koukane.

Q: *Ko Fulakunda walla ko walla ko céddo ?*

ABS : Mi andda ko inddé ran naano mi.

Q: *Ko diamano hombo Koukane sinthie ?*

ABS : Ko diamano Diahé Jarga.

Q : *Ko watu Alpha Molo, walla ko wat lammu Sébbé ?*

ABS : Alla doum yottaki roon, doum boyani ari

Ibrahima Balde: Doum ko diamano mama dji ameen

ABS : Ko lammu Seydou Kandiaye gandal am kalle fouddi

Q : *Ho Seydou Kandiaye ko lammdo Koukane do woneno ?*

ABS : Ha mi yahano toone sassi

Q: *Ko hombo wono Seydou Kandiaye ?*

ABS : Seydou Kandiaye ko lammdo wono. Ko Yéro Moulaye lontii Seydou Kandiaye

Q: *Ko hobbo watu doum waddi ?*

ABS : Ko watu lammu canton

Q: *Seydou Kandiaye hono canton mbo lammimo wiréno ?*

ABS : Ko Pakane, Parin ko Baba Moulaye to ko Pathiana

Q : *Ho dou toundou do i dioguino no wiré ?*

ABS : Ko Bissabor dou wiréno

Q : *Koukane i dioguino tata ?*

L'épouse d'ABS : Ko Kandiaye waddno tata

Q : Qui est le fondateur de Kounkane et a quelle époque a-t'il été fondé?

Al Hadji Boydo Sabaly (ABS) : C'est Bara qui a fondé Kounkane.

Q : Était il Fulbe ou Manding ?

ABS : Je ne sais pas, j'en ai entendu que son nom.

Q : Kounkane a été fondé à quelle époque ?

ABS : C'est au temps de Diahé Jarga

Q : C'est à l'époque d'Alpha Molo ou bien c'est au temps des Sébbé ?

ABS : Non, c'est récent.

Ibrahima Baldé: C'est à l'époque de nos grands-parents.

ABS : C'est à l'époque de Seydou Kandiaye que ma connaissance sur le pouvoir débute.

Q: Est-ce Seydou Kandiaye qui était le lammdo de Kounkane?

ABS : Oui, j'y allais pour des corvées.

Q : Qui est Seydou Kandiaye ?

ABS : Seydou Kandiaye était un lammdo. C'est lui qui a remplacé Yéro Moulaye.

Q : C'est à quelle époque cela s'est passée ?

ABS : C'est au temps des chefs de cantons.

Q : Comment s'appelait le canton que dirigeait Seydou Kandiaye ?

ABS : Le Pakane, le Parin, c'était Baba Moulaye 1ui était le chef de canton et de l'autre côté le Pathiana.

Q : Est-ce que ce territoire avait un nom ?

ABS : C'était le Bissabor.

Q : Est-ce qu'il y avait un tata à Kounkane ?

ABS's wife : Le tata était à Kandiaye.

Q : *Ho ahno anddi tata dji goddi e toundou hé ?*

L'épouse d'ABS : Alla mi andda ko oh raan mi siwrori

Q : *Kélékana, ho ah naani aré mouhén ?*

ABS : Ha mi naani bén nin kalla fi kélékana. Goro ô wiréno Jata Sabaly ko héddé Guinée Bissau to Alarba Kataba. Ho da ko Pathiana ga wono e Parin ko inddé dé diétimi dé

Q : *Hodoum wono ligué kélékana ?*

ABS : Ko harré wono gollé kélékana, ko kalla do harré waddi raan. Ko no Jidéré Sabaly ni.

Q : *Ho kélékana ko dianduéré walla ko jabaré gal tan fono noone ?*

ABS : Ko harré yaddéréno, kalla do harré waddi raan ko ahén ndiahano

Q: *Ho ko watu lammu Alpha Molo, lammu Moussa Molo walla ko watu lammu canton ?*

ABS : Ko watu lammu canton bour mi anddou dé. Bén kélékana hén ko Moulaye Balde woddeno bé.

Q : *Ho ah naani fi aré baroula ?*

ABS : Ha mi naani fi aré baroula

Q: *Hodoum wawora meen hallan dé e bé baroula bé ?*

ABS : Ko bén ngaboro no lammbé bé. Diam Sow e Assé Molo ko baroula bé mawbé ngono. Moulaye Balde woni Baba Yéro Moulaye. Yéro jibbini Baba Moulaye

Q: *Baroula bé ko hobbo watu ngono, ko watu lammu Alpha, ko lammu Moussa walla ko lammu canton ?*

ABS : Ko watu lammu canton

Q : *Bé horro ngono ?*

ABS : Assé Molo ko Sourouyel Moulaye wono e Diam Sow ko Koukane do wono

Q: *Dioni ko honé saaré guiwi da gaar ?*

ABS : Do ngandoumi tigui tigui do ko Baré Kunda

Q: *Hobbo diamanou gaar da Koukane ?*

ABS : Ko diamanou Moulaye Balde

Q : *Est-ce vous connaissez d'autres tata dans les environs ?*

ABS's wife : Malheureusement, c'est le seul que je connais.

Q : *Avez vous entendu parler de kélékana ?*

ABS : Oui j'en ai entendu parler. L'un d'eux s'appelait Jata Sabaly, il vivait dans le village d'Alarba Kataba près de la Guinée Bissau, les autres sont du Pathiana et Patim mais j'ai oublié leurs prénoms.

Q : *Le travail des kélékana consistait à faire quoi ?*

ABS : C'était la guerre, ils étaient présents dans tous les champs de batailles. L'un d'eux s'appelait Jidéré Sabaly.

Q : *Pour devenir kélékana, fallait-il être instruis ou c'est à travers du courage de l'individu ?*

ABS : C'était un guerrier, il est présent dans toutes les expéditions.

Q : *Ça c'était à l'époque d'Alpha ou de Moussa Molo ou bien c'est au temps des cantons?*

ABS : C'est au temps des chefs de cantons de ma connaissance. Les *kelengana* étaient à la cour de Moulaye Balde.

Q : *Avez-vous entendu parler des baroula ?*

ABS : J'en ai entendu parler des baroula.

Q : *Qu'est-ce que vous pouvez nous en dire ?*

ABS : C'est eux qui composaient la suite royale tels que Diam Sow ou Assé Molo, ils étaient de grands baroula. Moulaye Balde était le père de Yéro Moulaye. Yéro est le père de Baba Moulaye.

Q : *Les baroula sont de quelle période ? C'est au temps du règne d'Alpha ou de Moussa ou celle des cantons ?*

ABS : C'est au temps des cantons.

Q : *D'où étaient-ils originaires ?*

ABS : Assé Molo était de Sourouyel et Diam Sow de Kounkane

Q : *Vous êtes originaires de quelle localité ?*

ABS : Je suis originaire de Baré kunda

Q : *Vous êtes établi à Kounkane depuis quand ?*

ABS : C'est au temps de Moulaye Balde

Q : *Meen mawade anddou dé doubi ma di ?*

ABS : Ko doubi thiappandé diénayi e pawu di

Q : *Ho ahno anddi walla ahno siwrora doula dji boydi ko wayyi no tumbun dji ni fi waddé e carte dji ?*

ABS: Mi siwrorani tata dji

Q : *Fi tumbun dji lé ?*

ABS : Miin no anddi fi tumbun dji, ko di kéwu. To Sourouyel di waddi, Bonconto, Pakane, saaré Samba Raba, saaré Moudou, saaré Djigui

Q : *Peut-on connaître votre âge ?*

ABS : J'ai plus de quatre-vingts dix ans.

Q: *Est-ce que vous vous rappelez des sites anciens, comme par exemple des tumbun ou des tatas, pour les mettre sur une carte?*

ABS: Je ne me rappelle pas des tatas.

Q : *Qu'est-ce que vous savez des tumbun?*

ABS : J'en connais et ils sont nombreux tels que Sourouyel, Bonconto, Pakane, Saré Samba Raba, Saré Moudou, et Saré Djigui.

8 -Koukane

Date : 12/01/13

Participants : Mamadou Samba Balde (baker), Ibrahima Balde.

Q : *Koukane ko tuma sinthia e ko hobbo sinthie dé ?*

Mamadou Samba Baldé (MSB) : Mi andda hobbo sinthie Koukane. Ko waddi doum ko Parin to meen ngonon to wiré Ninkiji. Kabire meen ngaari do forri dubbii thiappandé diédi e diegom.

Q : *Ko toundou wiréno Parin walla ko saaré dé ?*

MSB : Ko Ninkiji héddé saaré Fountu

Q : *Ho ah naani ni mawbé bé walla yiddé maddé i halla fi ko fari e sinthiou gol saaré dé ?*

MSB : Mi naani sinthiou ô, bé kalle naani kam kallon sinthiou ô. Miin neen ko Diahé Jarga meen tawi do i jargui déyonddé

Q : *Hono lédji ngar di do e yéttodié mouhén dé ngone bé do bé o watu e Koukane?*

MSB : Mi anii da bé, ko di kéwu haa bourtii, mi addi da di. Fulbé di kéwi do, Sébbé di kéwi do, Fulbé e Sébbé pouddi ko di ngandou mi ngoono do follo.

Q : *Hoddi ngoni do dioni ?*

MSB : Wadjarabé diin do, Diolas bé. Badji ko Balde.

Q : *Wadjarabé e Diola bé ko hobbé guiddi do ardé ?*

MSB : Wadjarabé, Sébbé e mineen Fouladou ko mineen pouddi hé

Q : *Ko hobbo watu Fulbé e Sébbé bé ngaari do ko watu Alpha Molo, Moussa Molo walla watu lammu canton ?*

MSB : Alpha Molo ko diyaado. Ko lammu Abdoul Diallo. Sébbé e diyaabé piwu bé ko hé leydi hé pouddi, ko kambé ngoddi leydi ni.

Q : *Hobbo wono Abdoul Diallo ?*

MSB : Abdoul Diallo ko Korop wono.

Q : *Ko hogol légnol mbo wono ?*

MSB : Ohn ko diyaado wono

Q : *Quand est-ce que Koukane a été fondé et par qui ?*

MSB : Je ne le sais pas parce que je ne suis pas né à Koukane. Je suis originaire de Ninkiji dans la province du Patim et je suis venu ici il y a soixante-seize ans.

Q : *Est-ce la province qui s'appelait Patim ou le village ?*

MSB : C'est le terroir de Ninkiji dans le village de de Fountu.

Q : *Est-ce que vous n'avez pas entendu parler de la fondation du village même de vos proches ?*

MSB : Personne ne me l'a dit ni raconté. Notre arrivée à coïncidé avec la chefferie de Diahé Jarga à la tête du village.

Q : *Quelles sont les ethnies et les noms de famille qui vivent actuellement à Koukane ?*

MSB : Je ne les connaisse pas tous parce qu'il y en a plusieurs. Il y a beaucoup de Fulbé et de Sébbé. Les Fulbé et les Sébbé ont toujours cohabité sur place.

Q : *Ya-t-il d'autres ?*

MSB : Il y a aussi les Wadjara et les Diola. Parce que Badji ça veut dir Balde.

Q : *Entre les Wadjara et les Diola qui sont les premiers à arriver ?*

MSB : Qu'il soit les Wadjara, les Sébbé et les Peul du Fouladou, nous avons toujours vécu ensemble.

Q : *C'est à quelle époque que les Fulbé et les Sébbé se sont installés, c'est du temps d'Alpha, de Moussa Molo ou au temps des cantons ?*

MSB : Alpha Molo est descendant d'esclave, c'est au temps d'Abdoul Diallo. Les Fulbés et les Peuls esclaves sont tous du pays.

Q : *Qui est Abdoul Diallo ?*

MSB : Abdoul Diallo vient de Korop.

Q : *De quelle ethnie était-il ?*

MSB : C'était un Peul esclave

Q: *Kagne ko hodoum wono ?*

MSB : Abdoul Diallo ko lammdo wono

Q: *Ko horro mbo lamino ?*

MSB : Toone to Parin to, do mbo wono do wiréno Mouîraba jinbaa Korop. Mbi mbira toone saaré Abdoulaye

Q: *Ko hobbo watu Abdoul Diallo lami do ?*

MSB : Ko ohn warini lamadé Moussa Molo, doum ko watu lammu canton

Q: *Ho Abdoul, Yéro e Baba Moulaye Ko légnol gorol ?*

MSB : Doula yo e dana moun

Q : *Yéro leydi lamino ni hono wiré ?*

MSB : Bissabor

Q: *Horro lammdo ô dioni do e nder toundou Bissabor dou ?*

MSB : Ko Kabendou

Q: *Ho ko Yéro Moulaye wono Kabendou ?*

MSB : Ko Yéro Moulaye lamino Kabendou. Ko Sourouyel ga mbo diodi no

Q: *Sourouyel ko hodoum wono no doone ?*

MSB : Ko lammdo ô diodi no do, Moulaye ko do tawi Kabendou. Kabendou kalla ko lammu diodi no do.

Q: *Dé thiaé did ko hoddé bourno nou no déda mbirin ?*

MSB : Ko Kabendou bour nou no mbirin

Q : *Ho Parin e Bissabor ko canton didi ngono e watu lammu gorol*

MSB : Ko canton dji didi, Bissabor ko leydi Yéro Moulaye e Parin ko leydi Baba Moulaye

Q: *Ho Parin e Bissabor piwu ko houddé wotéré wono ?*

MSB : Alla leydi fof e dioma moun

Q : *Ko horro lammdo ô diodi no e Parin ?*

MSB : Ko Dabo mbo diodi no

Q : *Ko hodoum wono Mouitaba ?*

Q: *Était-il quelqu'un d'important ?*

MSB : Abdoul Diallo était un roi.

Q: *D'où était-t-il roi ?*

MSB : Il était originaire du Patim, du village de Mouiraba près de Korop près de Saare Abdoulaye.

Q: *À quelle époque était Abdoul Diallo roi ?*

MSB : Il est le successeur de Moussa Molo et cela s'est passé au temps des cantons.

Q: *Est-ce que Abdoul, Yéro et Baba Moulaye étaient de la même ethnie ?*

MSB : Chaque lieu de son côté.

Q: *Comment s'appelle le terroir de Yéro ?*

MSB : Bissabor.

Q: *Où s'était établi le pouvoir dans la province du Bissabor ?*

MSB : À Kabendou.

Q: *Est-ce que Yéro Moulaye était à Kabendou ?*

MSB : C'est Yéro Moulaye qui était le roi de Kabendou. Il était établi à Sourouyel.

Q: *A Sourouyel, il y avait quoi ?*

MSB : Le roi était établi ici. Moulaye l'a trouvé à Kabendou. C'est à Kabendou que le pouvoir s'était établi.

Q: *Entre ces deux villages, quel était le plus important ?*

MSB : Kabendou était le plus important.

Q: *Est-ce que Bissabor et Patim sont deux cantons de la même période ?*

MSB : C'est deux cantons: Bissabor était le terroir de Yéro Moulaye et Patim celui de Baba Moulaye.

Q: *Est-ce que Patim et Bissabor sont la même chose ?*

MSB : Non c'étaient des terroirs différents.

Q: *Où s'était établi le chef du Patim ?*

MSB : Il s'était établi à Dabo

Q: *Qu'est-ce qu'il y avait à Mouitaba ?*

MSB : Ko lammdo wono Mouitaba. Ko ohn iwi ko Mamadou Balédjo ari.

Q : *Doone canton wono walla ?*

MSB : Ko canton wono

Q : *Ho ko doone lammdo ô diodin o ?*

MSB : Ha ko doone mbo diodi no doone do Mouitaba saaré Abdoulaye

Q : *Ho ahno anddi no Alpha Molo arddi do e leydi ni ?*

MSB : Doum ko mawbé ameen mawura doum anddou dé

Q : *Watu lammu canton, ko horro lammu gu diodino ?*

MSB : Ko Sourouyel lammdo diodi no

Q : *Hobbo wono Sourouyel ?*

MSB : Ko Yéro Moulaye ohn ko Baba makko. Yéro woni baba Moulaye o

Q : *Hakuddé Yéro e Abdoul, ko hobbo wono bour do dioga dé doolé e mouhén ?*

MSB : Ko Abdoul iddi lamadé Yéro Moulaye e Baba Moulaye

Q : *Hoi wono canton goddi taa wona Parin e Bissabor e leydi hé ?*

MSB : Fafacour ko doone Mamadou Balédjo wono

Q : *Ho ko Fulakunda wono ?*

MSB : Ha ko fulakunda wono

Q : *Horro kalla gandou da ?*

MSB : Ga Yéro Mballo, toone bé mbira Mballo counda

Q : *Ko hoobo wono toone ?*

MSB : Ko Bothié Mballo

Q : *Ko horro lammdo ô diodi no e Fafacourou ?*

MSB : Ko nder Fafacour doone mbo diodi no

Q : *Hono toundou dou wiréno ?*

MSB ; Hé mi andda

Q : *Ho Mballocounda ko touné wono ?*

MSB : Le pouvoir y était établi et le roi s'appelait Mamadou Balédjo.

Q : *C'était un canton ou pas ?*

MSB : Oui c'était un canton.

Q : *Est-ce que le pouvoir s'y était établi ?*

MSB : Oui il s'y était établi à Mouitaba à Saré Abdoulaye

Q : *Comment Alpha Molo est-il arrivé dans le pays ?*

MSB : C'est nos aînés qui peuvent répondre à cette question.

Q : *Au temps des cantons, le pouvoir était établi dans quelle localité ?*

MSB : Le roi était établi à Sourouyel.

Q : *Qui était le roi à Sourouyel ?*

MSB : Il s'appelait Yéro Moulaye,. Yero c'est le père de Baba Moulaye.

Q : *Entre Yéro et Abdoul qui avait le plus de pouvoir ?*

MSB : Abdoul est le prédécesseur de Yéro et de Baba.

Q : *Avant ces deux cantons Patim et Bissabor, il y avait d'autres cantons ?*

MSB : Mamadou Balédjo était à Fafacourou.

Q : *Etait-il Fulakunda ?*

MSB : Il était Fulakunda.

Q : *Quel autre lieu aussi ?*

MSB : Chez Yéro Mballo dans le Mballo counda.

Q : *Qui était le roi ?*

MSB : C'est Bothié Mballo.

Q : *A Fafacourou, le pouvoir était où ?*

MSB : C'est à Fafacourou.

Q : *Comment s'appelle le terroir ?*

MSB : Je ne connais pas.

Q : *Est-ce que Mballo counda était une ville ?*

MSB : Ha ko toundou wono mbayyri ko doone lammdo ô diodi no

Q: *Ho dé peccé Parin e Bissabor ko do e watu lammu canton dou wadde no walla watu lammu canton ?*

MSB : Ha ko watu lammu canton doum wadde no e Bonconto

Q: *Hobbo wono doone ?*

MSB : Ko Aliou Sabaly

Q : *Ko horro lammdo ô wono ?*

MSB : Ko e nder Bonconto tigu mbo wono

Q: *Ko touma diina islam ka ari e toundou dou ?*

MSB : Hé boyyi

Q: *Ho watu lammu canton ta yimbé bé toubbi no ?*

MSB : Heyyi ta bé toubbi

Q : *Ho ohn watu tata taa innin e toundoun dou ?*

MSB : Tata ko Kabendou wono, ko ohn ngandoumi, to héddé Parin to mi naani e hallé.

Q: *Horro marché bour do mawnu dé o wono ?*

MSB : Hé doum ko Kounkane walla wona doum han Bassé (Gambie) wona doum haan Tamba

Ko di doula dji taari ngaadou mi. Usine o do, iwa do yaha Bassé yaha Tamba

Q : *Ho toundou dou wadde no denté diina ?*

MSB : Cerna bé mawu bé ta kéwani, ko cerno Mawdo hen sinthie Medina Gounass Ko ohn e fulbé Gabou sinthie doone Médina Gounass.

Q: *Ho ahno anddi ko touma doone sinthia ?*

MSB : Mi siwrora ni doum, mbayyri wona e toundou hé ngoone mi. Lontii naddo doone e saaré dé woni goré.

Q : *Ho ah naani fi aré kélékana ?*

MSB : Ha doum ko sousse no bé dédi, ko doum wiya kélékana

Q: *Ko hobbo watu bé kélékana bé ngodde no ?*

MSB : Ko watu guerre o ko watu harré taa ko no yiddi yo watta horré moun. Ko doum wiré kélékana

MSB : Oui, c'était une ville parce que le roi y était établi.

Q : *Est-ce que cette division Patim et Bissabor s'est produite au temps des cantons?*

MSB : Oui c'est au temps des cantons et aussi Bonconto.

Q : *Qui était là ?*

MSB : C'est Aliou Sabaly.

Q : *De quel terroir était-il chef ?*

MSB : C'est à Bonconto même qu'il était chef.

Q : *Quand est-ce que l'Islam est-il arrivé dans la région ?*

MSB : Cela a duré.

Q : *Au temps des cantons, les hommes étaient convertis ?*

MSB : Ils étaient convertis.

Q : *Est-ce que à cette époque, il y avait des tatas ?*

MSB : Celui que je connais, c'est celui de Kabendou, de l'autre côté ; il y avait dans le Patim mais je ne les connais pas.

Q : *Où se trouvait le plus grand marché ?*

MSB : C'est Kounkane, Bassé et Tamba. Ce sont les trois que je connais parce qu'il y avait une usine.

Q : *Il y avait des centres religieux ?*

MSB : Il y avait peu de chefs religieux, c'est les Fulbé du Fouladou et ceux du Gabou qui ont fondé Madina Gounass.

Q : *Vous vous rappelez de la date de fondation ?*

MSB : Je ne me rappelle pas puisque je ne suis de la localité. Le remplaçant et le village ne sont pas la même chose.

Q : *Avez-vous entendu parler des kélékana ?*

MSB : C'est quelqu'un qui a le courage qu'on appelait kélékana

Q : *Les kélékana datent de quelle période ?*

MSB : C'est en temps de guerre que les kélékana faisaient étalage de leur art.

Q : *Étaient-ils sous l'ordre du chef ou à leur propre solde ?*

Q: *Ho ko e fewdjouré lammdo bé ngoono walla ko e fansoun féré mounhén taan ngono ?*

MSB : Alla ko Bén ngoki bé doolé sabou kalla do lammbé bé diara, ko kayén kéddano yesso

Q : *Hobbo wonano kélékana ?*

MSB : Ko sousse do rédou wiré kélékana, goddo monora ko doum. Mbayyri ko no falla yo wata horré moun

Q : *Ho i woddi taa ko e gol taan legnol kélékana bé guiwad no walla ko piwu wawu no wone dé doum ?*

MSB : Ko legnol yo taa raan ahno soussi réddu,

Q : *Ta wona ah Fulkunda ?*

MSB : Ko legnol yo, woni Badjaranké, Sébbé, fulakunda, ko sousse do yo

Q: *Ho kélékana bé i dioguino jambaré bé ?*

MSB : Ha Bén niin ngando diri, kalla bour do soussal, ta ohn i diawdi

Q : *Fi hodoum addi ha kélékanaya athia ?*

MSB : Madiani dé, i woddi ko hoko wata doum. Taddi tokki tako yo bé poutate

Q : *Ho kélékana dji ngonoe toundou dou ?*

MSB : Ngono wou

Q : *Ho ah naani fi aré baroula ?*

MSB : Ha mi naani fira baroula, goddo inin do wiré Assé Molo ko do .Wono e Diam Sow ohn kaddi ko do wono. Saaré madia wadde no baroula ko Jidéré Mballo wiréno

Q : *Hodoum wono ligué baroula bé bé ?*

MSB : Ko kayen godou no e lammdo ô kalla ko lammdo wi waddé bé mbada doum

Q: *Ho ahno wawi meen hallan dé fira soufa ?*

MSB : Ko kalla ko lammdo wi no bé mbadde bé mbada doum. Bé jidate waddé kono ko Bén kalle ta

Q : *Hodoum itti diri baroula e soufa ?*

MSB : Ko gondo bé lammdo ô bé biré soufa, mbéda ngaaro bé bé wono baroula bé bé Sabou Bén ko barorobé

MSB : C'est eux qui constituaient la puissance d'un chef, ils étaient toujours au-devant de la scène et au nom de celui-ci.

Q : *Qui pouvait être kélékana ?*

MSB : C'est celui qui n'avait pas peur. C'est aussi celui qui était mystiquement fort, que personne ne pouvait surprendre.

Q : *On les choisissait dans une ethnie particulière ou toutes les ethnies pouvaient être des kélékana ?*

MSB : Cela dépendait du courage et n'importe qu'elle ethnie.

Q : *Même si tu n'étais pas Fulakunda ?*

MSB : C'est toutes les ethnies que ce soit les Badjaranké, les Sébbé, les Fulakunda. Je le répète encore: ce n'est rien que le courage.

Q : *Est-ce que les kelengana avaient-ils une armée ?*

MSB : Ils se connaissent entre eux et cela dépend de la force mystique de chacun.

Q : *Pourquoi il y en a plus de kélékana ?*

MSB : Il y a en a toujours. C'est en cas de force majeure qu'ils se manifestent.

Q : *Y'avait-il des kélékana dans le terroir ?*

MSB : Oui il y'en avait

Q : *Est-ce que vous avez entendu parler des baroula ?*

MSB : Oui, j'ai entendu parler des baroula. Il y a Assé Molo et Diam Sow. Ils étaient tous là. Et aussi à Saré Madia, le nommé Jidéré Mballo.

Q : *Quelle était la fonction des baroula ?*

MSB : C'étaient eux les émissaires des chefs et ils exécutaient tous les ordres émanant du chef.

Q : *Pouvez-vous nous parler de soufa ?*

MSB : C'était en quelque sorte ceux qui étaient en étroite collaboration avec le chef. Ils étaient des porte-parole de leur chef.

Q : *Quelle est la différence entre baroula et soufa ?*

MSB : Ceux qui étaient avec le chef qu'on appelait soufa et les autres étaient des sortes de bouc-émissaires

Q : *Si diwi soufa bé bé e baroula bé, hobbé kallon ngono hén ?*

MSB : Alla ko Bén Gabbi no e lammdo ô

Q : *Ho i wodde no dioma bé ganddé, kalley ; e ko wahi noone ?*

MSB : I wodde no, ko no ko gandou mi ko kalla mi ohn

Q : *Ko hodoum wono ligué lammdo ô ?*

MSB : ko kalla ko gouverneur ô wino. Ko doum mbo wadda no, mbayyri ko kagne wono horré dé. Ko kalla ko ohn wino, lammdo halle na baroula bé

Q : *Ho gouverneur bé bé ko watu toubacco bé ?*

MSB : Ha ko watu toubacco bé gaari ko

Q: *Ho do e toubacco bé gaar dé no béni i goddo no ?*

MSB : Hé mi andda doum

Q: *Ho ahno maddiri hé tata dji gooni, tumbun dji ko wayi noone ?*

MSB : Si yawri Kabendou haan ko Payoungou

Q: *A part les baroula et les soufa, y-avaient d'autres ?*

MSB : Je ne connais que ceux là.

Q: *Y-avait-il des chefs religieux, économiques et des choses semblables ?*

MSB : Je vous ai dit ce que je savais.

Q: *Quelle était la fonction du chef ?*

MSB : Tout ce que le gouverneur décidait, il l'exécutait puisqu'il était le chef . Ce dernier le transmettait aux baroula.

Q: *C'est au temps des blancs qu'on a des gouverneurs ?*

MSB : Oui c'est au temps des blancs.

Q: *Est-ce qu'il y avait des gouverneurs avant l'arrivée des blancs ?*

MSB : Non, je ne connais pas.

Q: *Est-ce que vous pouvez nous parler des choses anciennes comme les tata, les tumbun?*

MSB : Je me rappelle du tata de Kabendou et celui de Payoungou.

9.-KOUNKANE

Date : 12/01/13

Participants : Alette Diao, Ibrahima Balde, Bailo Diallo

Q: *Ko hobbo e touma Kounkane sinthia ?*

Alette Diao (AD) : Ko naani mi e wihé ko raadoye no bé dido, néné goro bé sinthie dé saaré

Q: *Ahno siwrora no bé mbiré no ?*

AD: Ko Demba Demoubé

Q *Ko kahén dido bé piwu mbiré no Demba Demoubé ?*

AD : Ouh ! ouh ! ko daana dawadi ô raan wiré no no

Q: *Ho bé rannabé ko Fulakunda bé, ko Sébbé walla ko Bainoukobé ?*

AD : Ko Fulakunda bé, bido moun ngandou mi ô ko Bassi Bara wiréno. Ko mbiré do Bara ô woddi Bassi. Ko Bassi sinthie saaré

Q : *Ho bé ranaa bé ko ngaari do ko, ho bé tawi do wobbé ?*

AD : Ko laddé boldé bé tawi do

Q: *Ho Kounkane é fiirti godoum ?*

AD : Mi andda ko firtii mbayri wora mi rimb

Q : *Ho ko saaré dé ko sinthia ko ho ahno maddiri do goddoum ?*

AD : Alla ko maddiri mi

Q : *Watu wonino mbén naani lammdo Cédde woni do, ho ahno anddi héne goddoum ?*

AD : Doum mi naani doum

Q : *H ahno maddiri inddé lammdo hé nder toundou dou?*

AD : Ko ohn jibbini baba am, ko ohn wiré no Faran Diabou. Ko Fulakunda wono ko kahén ngoddu no e Moussa Molo hén. Ko ohn sinthie Kandiaye e Niandouba

Q : *Faran Diabou ko hoddum wono e toundou hé ? Ko lammdo walla ko jambara ?*

Q: *Qui et quand a fondé le village de Kounkane?*

Alette Diao (AD) : J'ai entendu dire que s'est deux frères chasseurs qui ont fondé le village.

Q : *Vous vous rappelez de leurs prénoms ?*

AD : L'un d'eux s'appelait Demba Démoubé.

Q : *Est-ce que tous les deux s'appelaient Demba Démoubé?*

AD: Non ! Non ! C'est le chasseur qui s'appelait ainsi.

Q : *Etaient-ils des Fulakundas, des Sébbé ou des Bainouks ?*

AD: C'était des Fulakundas, et je connais le fils de l'un des chasseurs qui s'appelait Bassi Bara. C'est le nommé Bara qui est le père de Bassi et c'est ce dernier qui a fondé le village.

Q : *Est-ce que ces chasseurs ont trouvé des gens sur place ?*

AD: Il n'y avait que de la brousse.

Q : *Est-ce que Kounkane veut dire quelque chose ?*

AD: Je ne connais pas le signifiacat, pour ne pas mentir.

Q : *Vous-vous rappelez de quelque chose après la fondation du village ?*

AD: Je ne me rappelle de rien.

Q : *On nous dit qu'avant il y avait un roi manding ici. Est-ce que vous avez entendu cela ?*

AD: Je n'ai pas entendu parler.

Q: *Est-ce que vous vous rappelez des prénoms de rois ayant vécu dans le territoire ?*

AD: Il y a Faran Diabou, qui est mon grand-père. C'était un Fulakunda et c'était aussi un allié de Moussa Molo. C'est lui le fondateur de Kandiaye et de Niandouba.

Q : *Faran Diabou, c'était quoi? Il était un roi ou un guerrier?*

AD : Koutal, mbo yaddi ni no toone e Moussa fi bé niago Fourankobé bé. Balal fi no bé cerdda ra e Sébbé bé mbayrii kahén lammino leydi ni. Ta Pulaar o sommi fi bé mballa bé e Sébbé

Q : *Ho ahno wawi meen halandé harré hakou dé Moussa Molo e Sébbé bé ?*

AD : Dé harré mi andda dé, go bé ngaari ko toradé pabari Fouta Jallon, bé nondidiridi bé kawro yi Kansala, bé kabbi, bamadji Sébbé mbi kayén Pullo hafara dou méén. Di yolli e woydou dou ha boyli di kéwi béda kédiri bé bé soumi soudou mounkou dou.

Q: *Faran Diabou hoddoum wono e dow Moussa ?*

AD : Ko Faran Diabou lammino Bissabor. Mbayyri kambé bé kabba ka. Leydi mouhén di wiya Casamance, mbayyri bé kabbaka

Q : *Bissabor i fiirti goddoum ?*

AD : Alla mi andda doum

Q: *Faran Diabou ko Pullo wono ?*

AD : Ha ko Pullo wono

Q: *Hoddé thiaé bour nou no do biring e der Bissabor ?*

AD : Niandouba, saaré Labal. Niappo no ko sinthia ko ko Sébbé raan ngoone doone ha haan ko kayen ngono doone .

Q : *Faran Diabou ko horro mbo wono ?*

AD : Ko Kandiaye mbo wono

Q : *Ho ah wawi meen beydadé ngoddoum e Bassi Balla ?*

AD : Ko Bassi Bara,

Q: *Hono Moussa lamminoro leydi ni ?*

AD : Ko kagn taan lammino leydi ni, mbo dioguino do néddo. Mbiréno Mawdé Yoba ko kagne jibbini bab mou. Demb Pollé hén ko do ngoddono ko kayén ngara no do tawréde

Q: *Ho Moussa ko sinthiou no thiaé kessé?*

AD : Alla ko saaré sinthia dé yo, mbo wona jarga ô

Q: *Ho Moussa Molo thiaé dé mbo lammino dé hono dé wano e dédé ?*

AD: Il avait accompagné Moussa à Koutal pour solliciter l'aide des Fouta Jallonké. Pour combattre les Sébbé qui les brimaient sans cesse puisqu'ils étaient les souverains à cette époque.

Q: *Pouvez-vous nous parler un peu de la guerre qui opposa les Sébbé et Moussa ?*

AD: La guerre, je n'en sais pas, mais ils sont partis solliciter l'aide des Fouta Jallonké. Et ils se sont donné rendez-vous à Kansala pour affronter ensemble les Sébbé. Mais les filles des Sébbé se sont suicidées en disant qu'elles n'allaient jamais être les épouses des Fulakunda ou bien leurs esclaves.

Q: *C'était qui Faran Diabou en relation à Moussa ?*

AD: Faran Diabou était le lammdo de Bissabor. Puisqu'ils ne se sont pas battus, leur pays s'appelle la Casamance.

Q: *Est-ce que Bissabor signifie quelque chose ?*

AD: Non je ne suis pas sûr de cela.

Q : *Faran Diabou était-il un Peul ?*

AD: Oui, c'était un Peul.

Q : *Quels sont les villages qui avaient plus d'importance dans le Bissabor ?*

AD: C'est Niandouba et Saré Labal. Niappo était un village manding et il est habitait que par des manding.

Q: *Où s'était établi Faran Diabou ?*

AD: Il était à Kandiaye.

Q: *Est-ce que vous pouvez nous parler un peu plus de Bassi Balla ?*

AD: C'est Bassi Bara.

Q : *Comment dirigeait Moussa Molo son pays ?*

AD: C'était lui le chef suprême et il avait un représentant qui s'appelait Mawdé Yoba. Il est le père de Demb Pollé, qui est l'un des premiers occupants.

Q: *Est-ce que Moussa a fondé de nouveaux villages ?*

AD: Non, aux nouveaux villages, il avait des chefs.

Q : *Y'avait-il une différence entre les villages que Moussa a fondé et ceux qu'il a hérité ?*

AD : Hé mi andda. Moussa habaka, ko mbo dogeno, mbayri mbo yi i toubacco bé no ligore ta. Mbo dogui, mbo yéhoyi to anglais to. Mbo woppi diawdi ni piwu ga. Mbo néllano yi diawdi ni diéba, fayda bé salliri diawdo ni, mawdo salli. Moussa ohn ari, Mawdo wi debbo moun ô neelo yaa houbana mbo diardougal moun gal Ohn yéhi ko faala houbou dé yo, Moussa nieffa doum. Debbo ô dogui wi guédda moun ô goddo inn to soudou ro Mawdo ô imbi yéhi lamb di mbo ko ahn wo mbo woni Moussa wi doum ko miin woni Ohn widmou hé nayyi maddi nabbe ba, nabbe.

Q : *Ko fi hodoum Alpha e Moussa guimbi e kabba e Sébbé bé ?*

AD : Ko fi ndiam dé addi harré dé. Miin baba am ko Fodé Diao wiréno. Minirawo moun ohn wiré .Bé guiwi do bé ndiéhi Darou doum ko Pakane woni

Q : *Ko hobbé guiwi do ?*

AD ; Ko bibé mama dji am di guiwi do ndiéyi toone. Ko Koliyel woni korro mama am ho

Q : *Darou ko hédéhorro woni do ?*

AD : Hédé Bonconto

Q: *Ko Moussa wawi Sébbé bé ko, ko hodoum bé gontii ?*

Bailo Diallo (BD) : Anddou Moussa koyéhi Fouta ko anddo yi Fouta ko. Fouta walli bé ha bé diamti bé lammu gu, guila doum lammu gu artii ga Fulbé

Q : *Sébbé bé gonti hodoum ?*

BD : Sébbé bé gonti lamma ki, gonti rémobé raan

Q: *Bé ndiahé ho ko do bé kéddi ?*

BD : Bé ndiahi ni, ko do kéddi, héddé Payoungou, Takoudiala e Paroumba e der Pathiana piwu ko Sébbé maddi

Q : *Ho ahno maddiri hé toundou dou doulla dji mbaddi noone ?*

AD : Ha hé miin no doum wawi hallé dé. Saaré Koli Saleh, kalouyel sébbé ko hé Kansata.

BD : Kabendou wadano tata, Paroumba wadde no tata

Q : *Ho ohn ngadda do tumbun dji ngooni ?*

BD : Thiakayel di waddi tumbun e der Pathiana, saaré Moussa e der communauté rurale Paroumba, weliya, Soma Galoun.

AD: Je ne sais pas. Moussa ne s'est pas battu, au contraire il a fui à cause de la présence des blancs. Il est parti en Gambie du fait de la force de ces derniers. En partant il avait confié ses biens à un vieillard. Une fois installé, il a envoyé des émissaires pour récupérer ses biens. Le vieillard a refusé. Moussa y est allé lui-même, et chaque fois que la femme du vieux allumait la lampe, Moussa éteignit la flamme et la femme était prise de peur alla trouver son mari pour l'informer de la présence d'un individu. Le mari décida d'aller voir de plus près et il trouva Moussa assis qui tenait sa machette et réclamant ses biens. En voyant Moussa, le vieillard demanda qu'on lui rend tous ses biens sans rien demander.

Q: *Pourquoi Alpha et Moussa Molo ont combattu les Sébbé ?*

AD: C'est à cause de la gourmandise. Moi mon père s'appelait Fodé Diao, son petit frère s'appelle. Ces derniers sont partis à Darou dans la province du Pakane.

Q: *Qui sont partis ?*

AD: C'est les fils de mes grands-parents dont Koliyel l'un des grand-frères de mon grand-père.

Q : *Darou se situe de quel côté ?*

AD: C'est près de Bonconto.

Q: *Lorsque Moussa a vaincu les Sébbé, qu'est-ce qu'ils sont devenu ?*

Bailo Diallo (BD) : C'est les gens du Fouta Jallon qui ont aidé Moussa dans cette expédition pour arriver à bout des Sébbé et par la suite, les Peul ont pris le pouvoir.

Q : *Les Sébbé sont devenu quoi par la suite ?*

BD : Ils sont devenu des cultivateurs parce qu'ils ont perdu le pouvoir

Q : *Ils sont partis ou ils sont restés ?*

BD : Ils ne sont pas partis, ils sont du côté de Payoungou, de Takoudiala et à Paroumba dans la province du Pathiana.

Q: *Est-ce que vous vous rappelez dans le terroir de sites anciens ou quelque chose de la sorte ?*

AD: Sur ça je ne sais pas. Il y a Saré Koli Saleh, Kalouyel Sébbé et Kansata.

BD : Il y avait un tata à Payoungou et à Paroumba.

Q: *Et des tumbun vous en connaissez ?*

BD : Il y avait un tumbun à Thiakayel dans le Pathiana, Saré Moussa dans la communauté rurale de Paroumba, Weliya et Soma Galoun.

10.- Kounkane

Date: 12/01/2013

Participants : Alpha Oumar Diakité (**A.O.D**), Ibrahima Balde (I.B), frère du chef de village de Kounkane Balla Balde.

Alpha Omar Diakité (A.O.D) : Ko mi anddi ko, Fuladu follo o natta yalta fof alla. Dioni houdde yehi ha i woddi ko manki.

Q : *Hobbo sinci Kounkane ? E hono mbo wireno ?*

A.O.D : Hee sinciu do de saare o mi andda mbo. Guiddi do jaarga dje o ko ohn wireno Diae jaarga, o ko temps des colons watu Yero Moulaye en o. Ko ohn fecini ko Demba Koniadji rempli mbo. Ko ohn rempli ko Modiyel Diao rempli mbo.

Q : *Ho di ledji e djeto dje goni do saare e hono de ngardi do ?*

A.O.D : He mi andda doum sabouna gandal ko dioni hewi, ohn diamanou noon ko cippiro, yargol kondiam taan woneno.

Q : *Ho ohn noone mbawi meen wi de ledji ngone di e der Kounkane de di ?*

A.O.D : Diao counda, Balde counda e Mballo counda. Ko Fulakunda be e de saare ko saare Fulakunda be ko heddi ko Diallo, Barry, saare de piwu ko djilor diri. Camara be ko Sebbe. Diola be, Koniadji be, Fulbe, Fulbe Fuuta, Sebbe, Badjara be.

Q : *Hobbe guiddi do ardde ?*

A.O.D : Ko Fulbe guiddi do ardde.

Q : *Ho waylube iniin do e saare de ? E hono be djeterere no ?*

A.O.D : No ga e ko Sane be djeterere

Q : *Ho ko Sebbe gono ?*

A.O.D : Ha ko Sebbe be

Q : *Ha no siwrora ko hobbo watu be ngari e saare de ?*

A.O.D : Ah ah mi siwrora ni.

Q : *Ho diali be iniin e der saare de ?*

Alpha Omar Diakité (A.O.D) Ce que je connais, auparavant dans le Fuladu, il n'y avait pas ces entrées et sorties. Maintenant il y a un manque.

Q : Quand est-ce que le village a été fondé ? Et par qui ?

A.O.D : Non, je ne connais pas le fondateur de ce village. Le premier jarga s'appelait Diae Jarga, c'était au temps des colons, durant la période de Yero Moulaye. Il fut remplacé après sa mort par Demba Koniadji. Celui-ci fut remplacé par Modiyel Diao.

Q : Quels sont les noms des clans, des familles qu'habitent le village et leur ordre d'arrivée ?

A.O.D : Je ne connais pas cela parce que il n'y avait pas tout ce savoir, c'est maintenant qu'il s'est accru. A cette époque, c'était les séances de luttes et le fait de boire des liqueurs.

Q : Est-ce que vous pouvez nous dire les lignages qui vivent à Kounkane ?

A.O.D : Il y a Diao counda, Balde counda et Mballo counda. C'est des Fulakunda, c'est un village Fulakunda, c'est eux qui l'ont fondé. Le reste c'est des Diallo, Barry. Le village est un mélange. Les Camara sont les Sebbe. Il y a des Diola, les Koniadji, les Fulbe, les Fulbe Fuuta, les Sebbe et les Badjara.

Q : Qui sont les premiers à arriver ici ?

A.O.D : C'est les Fulbe qui sont les premiers à arriver.

Q : Est-ce qu'il y a des forgerons dans le village ? Quels sont leurs noms de famille ?

A.O.D : Il y'en a et leur nom de famille est Sane.

Q : Est-ce qu'ils sont des Sebbe?

A.O.D : Oui, c'est des Sebbe.

Q : Est-ce que vous vous rappelez du moment de leur arrivée dans le village ?

A.O.D : Non je ne me rappelle pas.

Q : Est-ce qu'il y a des griots au village ?

A.O.D : Diali be gono do kono be mayyi.

Q : *Hono be djetere no ?*

A.O.D : He mi yedjiri.

Q : Anddi dioni, lamu gu no woniri ni, heen diogui Président de la République, Ministres, Région ji, Préfets ji, Sous-préfets, watu lamu canton ko hono be goniri no ?

A.O.D : Lamu canton ji no woniri no, ndiamto wo niartanka ji, ci kalla ari yimbe fawe ligo kaluu dji, niartanka ji yoobe, hore yo hore yoba temedere e thiappande nayye, iwi doon haa temedidi.

Q : *Ho ko hiran yo hiran wala ko par lewru yo ?*

A.O.D : ko thiappande nayyi fouddi ari temedere e nogass ha temedidi. Ko par hirande yobiri tereno.

Q : *Hobbo yomere no niartanka o ?*

A.O.D : Ko chef de canton dji yobere no been yoba commandant o

Q : *Hobbe guitere no pour be ndiamta niartanka ?*

A.O.D : Ko batoula be be yahano kankari kunda ndiamta niartanka.

Q : *Ho batoula be be i dioguino liguee godde ?*

A.O.D : Be ngalla no liguee godde.

Q : *Hono toundou du lamorano ?*

A.O.D : *Anddi ga ko Yero Moulaye jibini Baba Moulaye kippu Bissabor, Pathiana ko Bayel woneno toon, gadda ro ko Ibou Diallo woneno toon chef de canton o hedde Kolda.*

Q : *Ho chef de canton e lamdo o ko houdde wotere ?*

A.O.D : Ko houdde wotere.

Q : *E hobbo canton Kounkane tawano ?*

A.O.D : Ko e der Bissabor Kounkane tawano

Q : *Yero Moulaye ko hobbo canton lamino ?*

A.O.D : Oui, il y'en avait mais ils sont morts.

Q : *Quel était leur nom de famille ?*

A.O.D : J'ai oublié.

Q : *Aujourd'hui, l'organisation du pouvoir est composé du Président de la République, des Ministres, des Régions, des Préfets et Sous-préfets, au temps des cantons comment marchait ça?*

A.O.D : Le pouvoir des cantons était la perception des impôts, le travail obligatoire sur les travaux des routes, les impôts étaient payés, chaque tête payait 700, et après ça a monté a 1000.

Q : *Est-ce que c'est chaque année ou par mois ?*

A.O.D : Cela a commencé de 200 jusqu'à 600 pour atteindre 1000 Le paiement se faisait par année.

Q : *A qui payait-on les impôts ?*

A.O.D : C'est aux chefs de canton qu'on payait les impôts et eux ils payaient au commandant.

Q : *Qui étaient les agents qui percevaient les impôts ?*

A.O.D : C'est les batoula qui allaient percevoir les impôts d'une localité.

Q : *Est-ce que les Batoula avaient d'autres fonctions ?*

A.O.D : Ils n'avaient pas d'autre travail.

Q : *Quelles étaient les terroirs des rois de cette époque ?*

A.O.D : Tu sais de ce côté, c'était Yero Moulaye le père de Baba Moulaye qui dirigeait le Bissabor, le Pathiana avec Bayel, de l'autre côté c'était Ibou Diallo qui était le chef de canton de Mamboua vers Kolda.

Q : *Est-ce que le chef de canton et le roi, c'est la même chose ?*

A.O.D : C'est la même chose.

Q : *De quel canton faisait partie Kounkane ?*

A.O.D : Kounkane faisait partir du canton de Bissabor.

Q : *Yero Moulaye était roi de quel canton ?*

A.O.D : Yero Moulaye lamino do. Baba Moulaye ko gadda weddu lamino

Q : *Canton gadda weddu o hono wireno ?*

A.O.D : Mi siwrora ni onton canton

Q : *Est-ce que ahno wawi men hallen de fi Alpha Molo et Moussa Molo ?*

A.O.D : Mi wawra hen haal de godoum sabouna mi andda.

Q : *Watu lamu canton hodde thiae mbournou diogade importance ?*

A.O.D : Mbour de mawounu de, Kounkane, Vélingara e Bonconto ko e der Pacane woni. I wodeno kallan usine guerte.

Q : *Ohn watu ho tataji gono e der tuundu du ?*

A.O.D : Tata ko Kabendou woneno do Fode Kaba e Guinée Bissau,

Q : *Ho i woddi duula ji mboy di gi gandan tan i pora holle de garoyo be ?*

A.O.D : Pullo mboy ta duula, dubbii didi, dubbii tari tan be guiwi doone.

Q : *Fi hodoum anddi ha be mboyara duula ?*

A.O.D : Ko Allah waddi be noon. Follo ko yargol raan, gabbi e cippiro. Lamu ta ko toubacco be raan baledjo lamoro na ko.

Q : *Ho i woddi ko meen gathie ko meen kalla ko fora halle de ?*

A.O.D : Mi alla ko mi halla sabouna ko do gandal am gal haddi.

A.O.D : Yero Mulai gouvernait ici. Baba Moulaye dirigeait l'autre côté de Gadda Weddu.

Q : *Le canton de Gadda Weddu se trouve ou ?*

A.O.D : Je ne me rappelle pas.

Q : *Est-ce que vous pouvez nous dire quelque chose sur Alpha Molo et Moussa Molo ?*

A.O.D : Je ne peux pas me prononcer là-dessous parce que je ne le sais pas.

Q : *A l'époque des cantons, quelles étaient les villes les plus importantes ?*

A.O.D : Les villes les plus importantes étaient : Kounkane, Vélingara et Bonconto dans le Pacane. Il y avait une usine d'arachide.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y avait des tatas à cette époque ?*

A.O.D : Il y a celui de Kabendou avec Fode Kaba et en Guinée Bissau.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a des sites anciens qu'il faudrait mettre sur la carte?*

A.O.D : Les Peul ne restent pas longtemps sur un site, deux années, trois années, et ils se déplacent.

Q : *Pourquoi ils se déplaçaient sans cesse ?*

A.O.D : C'est Allah qui les a faits ainsi. Auparavant c'était le vin, les séances de lutte et la danse qui existaient. C'est les blancs qui détenaient le pouvoir et pas les noirs. Après qu'il y ait morts d'hommes que les blancs leur ont donné l'indépendance.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a quelque chose d'important qui reste dire et qu'il vous voudriez compléter ?*

A.O.D : Je n'ai rien à dire parce que ma connaissance s'arrête là.

11.-Pidiro

Date: 13/01/ 2013

Participants : Galle Diallo, Mampatim, Bakary Balde (*Chef de village*), Bondou Balde, Aliou Balde, Samba Balde, Samba Balde, Yaya Balde, Balla Balde, Mamadou Samba M'ballo, Mamadou Samba Balde, Guinée Bissau, Gallé Mballo, Thigoli Kande, Seydou Balde , ASC Kansanto, Omar Balde , Wouta Gano .

Bakary Balde (B.B): De saare do ko mbire do Dendoula sinci do. Ko denda woneno. Mbo ari do mbo walii do o banta. Mbo yi do saare de mbo imbi do mbo yehi Goppe. Mbo yehi mbo Samba Diaba mi yi saare miin ko danda mi wawra lamade. Ko ni be ngari be sinci do. Cerno garodo mbo sincin de o wi mbo do ko saare lamu wone do. Lamodo canton o ko do diodino I wire Mamadou Macky Diallo. Jaarga ya ko Samba Dia o iddi mone de ko iwi ko, Ko Dembel abbi, Dembarou, Deme Macina Balde, Mbila Balde, Waly Balde, Hogo Balde e Bakary Balde.

Dioni de woni ko mawbe piloro histoire o, Moussa Molo imbi do e yaha Paroumba I nano kelegana I diodi Goppe mbo rewani mbo doon, tayyi ohn dogui. Be tawani mbo doon, be guiwi doon be diehi Kankéléfa be ndiali doon. Mbo iwi Kankéléfa mbo yehi Paroumba, mbo habbi doon e lamdo kaniado o Mo Fa Dienoug. Be kabbi e der diema e, do dountuga dji ndiogara do be certi. Be guimbi ron be mbali Payoungou.

Be guimbi doon be nionaani Boya Pathiana, be loubi Kayanga, be powri do wire Douggou hedde Goppe. Be guimbi doon be ngari do ciagol Saare Mbeydari, be bouddi doon bolli dji mouhen di diyam. Be diawry ciagol Saare Mbeydari taan be pella kuure, be gari be mayyi do guesse amen do be souri be doon, anndie diedi di doon. Be guimbi doon, be mbaloyi Dialakoumbi, communauté rurale de Coumbacara. Ko haddo do kadu de ko e baba am filani kam ko.

I woddi doula dji diogui di important, I waddi diawdi kono di yotantanke mbay alla no wadde. Thiangalle de, ko mayyo wone go to guide niantio be ro ko no gone ni woni do. Dioulun funtere hakude do e kenne dji Saare Yero di. Thiangalle inin do, kono ci ah felli de ah hebba ella, sabouna ko mbo andda fellara de.

Q: *Dioulun funtere I woddi ko firti?*

B.B: Ko funtate neddo sabouna wudinate horre raan ha diha doum taan natina horre moun de. Patiukuyel ko do woni

Q: *Dioulun funtere ko fulakundare wala ceare?*

Notables: Fulakundare e ceare ko nator diri. E pulaar, funtere fiirti funtu gol goddo e ceare Dioulun firti ko ngay ka. Pulaar o ceare ko jilordiri.

Bakary Balde (B.B): Le fondateur du village s'appelait Dendoula. C'était un chasseur. Il a passé la nuit au niveau du fromager. Il a vu le village et il est parti à Goppe. Il a dit à Samba Diaba 'j'ai vu un village mais je ne peux pas devenir *jarga* parce que je suis un chasseur'. C'est ainsi qu'ils sont venus fonder le village. Le marabout avec lequel il est venu fonder le village lui a dit que c'était un village de pouvoir. Le chef de canton Mamadou Macky Diallo résidait ici. Le premier *jarga* fut Samba Diao, suivi de Dembel Balde, Dembarou, Deme Macina Balde, Mbila Balde, Waly Balde, Hogo Balde et enfin Bakary Balde.

Les anciens racontaient que Moussa Molo, en allant à Paroumba, est passé par Goppe parce qu'il avait entendu qu'un *kelegana* y était de passage, mais ce dernier avait fui. Ils ne l'ont pas trouvé, ils ont poursuivi leur route jusqu'à Kankéléfa et ils y ont passé l'après-midi. Il a quitté Kankéléfa pour se rendre à Paroumba et de là, il a combattu le roi Koniadji Mo Fa Dienoug. Ils se sont battu toute la nuit jusqu'aux chants du coq, et ils se sont séparés. Ensuite, ils ont quitté pour passer la nuit à Payoungou.

Après ils ont pris la direction de Boya au Pathiana, ils ont traversé le Kayanga et ils se sont reposés à Douggu près de Goppe. Ils ont quitté pour traverser la rivière de Saare Mbeydari, ils se sont approvisionnés d'eau. Ils ont traversé la rivière de Saare Mbeydari. Il y avait certains d'entre eux qui étaient atteints par balles, ils sont venus mourir dans nos champs où il y a sept tombes. Après avoir enterré leurs morts, ils sont partis en direction de Dialakoumbi dans la communauté rurale de Coumbacara. C'est là que s'arrête l'histoire que mon père m'a racontée.

Il y a des sites qui ont de l'importance et des richesses mais on ne peut pas y accéder. Les porcs épics, la rivière qui est là est semblable à celle de Guide Niantio Be. Il y a Dioulun Funtere entre les champs du village et ceux de Saare Yero. Il y a des porc-épics mais tu ne peux pas les atteindre et si tu les tires dessus, tu auras des séquelles.

Q : *Est-ce que Dioulun Funtere signifie quelque chose ?*

B.B : C'est un animal qui dissimule quelque chose. Il peut te voir mais dès que vous faites face, il se cache.

Q : *Dioulun Funtere, c'est Fulakunda ou Manding ?*

Notables : C'est un mélange du fulakunda et du manding. En peul, funtere signifie duperie et en manding Dioulun signifie fossé, trou. Le pulaar et le manding sont des langues d'emprunts.

B.B: Pachukiel e Pakor ko gorum. To Pachukiel, bantan gui woneno kono dioni ki mayyi. Ci doungu fori, none ma ko maforte e ko niamere woneron ko no ko mawra mafora de ko ran nabara ci mbourtini ki wiyama hou. Terangue fili hedde Cayanga doum kallon ko ceara. Ci ah yadii ron e Terangue fi dioumoye gol ha, Terangue maddia. Ko doum woni terangue fili.

Ko mbi kam ko, djinne Pakor ko Pidiro do ndialade no kono galle moun o ko Bakor woni. Cedde moun o si ah mbire Pakor haan ci wona tubu do ciagol do han cosam dam fendora ko mbalde diohi. Tumbun ga didi inin do: tumbun Pathe Sibere e tumbun Yero Ba. Tumbun Pathe Sibere, tiale inin doon, mangoyi woni doon, karane de inin doon, lalle de in do daari.

Q: Fi are sinciu gol aare de, Dendoula e Samba Diao ko fulbe ngono wala ko Sebbe?

B.B: Ko fulbe

Q: Doum ko hobo diamanou waddi? Ho ko watu Alpha Mol wala ko watu Moussa Molo o?

B.B: Ko watu Alpha Molo waddi.

Q: Ho mbo hawri do e gobbe ko mbo ari do ko?

B.B: Mbo tawani do hayye goro ko makko soppi do. Ko kanko ran e guiddi moun ngari no do.

Q: Ho godoum inin toon?

B.B: Ha djinne inin toon, I wouri.

Q: Saare de watu Alpha Molo o, watu Moussa Molo e watu lamu canton dji o, hodoum woneno dierin saare, ho ko marché woneno do, wala ko saare lamuya?

B.B: Watu Moussa Molo ko lami ko ko meen madiri ko marche alla no do ko demale taan woneno liguee saare de. Ko lamu canton ko nati ko, ko tobacco be ngari diodino canton ko, Mamadou Macky diodi do. Ha doum ko iwoyi sous arrondissement ko wada ko, guila doon yimbe be ko demale ngonddi haa do yare do.

Q: Ho I wodeno tatadji e baral do?

B.B: Tata de hakunde ko Kabendou woni.

Q: Ho lawu wodeno tatadji?

B.B: Lawu alla no tataji.

Q: Ho saare de I diogui diouliri de lawu?

B.B: Ko watu lamu canton de wadda do.

B.B : Pachukiel est la même chose que Pakor. À Pachukiell, il y avait un fromager mais il est mort maintenant. Pendant l'hivernage, il y avait des légumes et fruits mais il fallait prendre seulement pour ta nourriture et pas plus. Terangue Fili près de Kayanga, c'est du manding aussi. Si tu y vas au Terangue Fili pour chercher du miel, le *terangue* disparaît. C'est ça que Terangue Fili signifie.

Selon ce qu'on m'a dit, le génie de Pakor passait la journée à Pidiro mais sa maison était à Bakor. La confirmation de ça est que si tu traits à Pakor, si tu n'as pas versé du lait au niveau de la rizière, le lait n'allait pas se former cinq jours durant. Il y a deux tumbun ici : le tumbun de Pathe Sibere et le tumbun de Yero Ba. Le tumbun de Pathe Sibere a un foyer, un manguier et des piquets. Les baobabs y sont aussi.

Q : *En relation avec la fondation du village, est-ce que Dendoula et Samba Diao sont-ils des Fulbe ou des Sebbe ?*

B.B : Ils sont des Fulbe.

Q : *Quand est-ce que cela s'est passé ? Durant la période d'Alpha Molo ou durant la période de Moussa Molo ?*

B. B : C'est durant la période d'Alpha Molo.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il a rencontré d'autres personnes quand il est arrivé ici ?*

B. B : Il n'a trouvé personne et c'est lui qui a défriché le site. Il est venu qu'avec son fusil.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a quelque chose là-bas ?*

B. B : Il y a un djinn là-bas. C'est vivant.

Q : *Quel était le rôle du village durant la période d'Alpha Molo, de Moussa Molo ou de celle des cantons, c'était un marché, un village royal ?*

B. B : Durant le règne de Moussa Molo de ce que je me rappelle, il n'y avait pas de marché. La principale activité du village était l'agriculture. Quand les cantons sont arrivés, les blancs ont mis en place les cantons, ils ont installé Mamadou Macky. Après ça, les arrondissements sont arrivés, les gens ne font que l'agriculture jusqu'à présent.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a eu des tatas aux alentours ?*

B.B : Des tatas, c'est à Kabendou qu'il y en a.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y avait des tatas auparavant ?*

B.B : Il n'y avait pas auparavant de *tataji*

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y avait une mosquée dans le village au passé ?*

B.B : La mosquée a été érigée aux temps des cantons

Q: Ho ohn ngandi ko hobo watu diina Islam ka ari e der saare de?

B.B: Ko lambe canton be diodi do ko le diina Islam ka nati e der saare do.

Q: Ho di ledji e djete djo goni e der saare do e hono de gardi do?

B.B: Do ko ledji didi gone do: ko fulbe e galle goro Sebbe wone do.

Q: Ho Sebbe be inin do ha dioni?

B.B: Ha be niin do.

Q: Hobbe guiddi do ardde?

B. B: Sebbe e fulakunda be ngari do.

Q: Cerna djo mbo be ngar dou no o e Dendoula e Samba Diao, ho ohn noon ngandi indde moun?

B. B: Ohn neddo hebba ni indde makko.

Q: Ko hodde djeto dje gone do?

B.B: Balde inin do, Mballo, Kande, Diallo, Camara, Boiro ko de djeto dje diegome ngone do.

Q: Ho Camara be be ko Sebbe?

B.B: Ha ko Camara be ko Sebbe.

Q: O watu hoddoum liguere e der saare do?

B.B: Ko demale, gaynaka e jardinage

Q: Ko doum wateno gabire lawu wala I woddi ko change hen?

B.B: Wona ko hewi changi

Q: Ho lawu waylube gono do saare de?

B.B: Ha woneno ko waylube be e fulbe be ngari di do.

Q: Ho be diehi?

B.B: Be do.

Q: Hono be djetera?

B.B: Ko Camara.

Q: Sinciu be saare de be horro be guiwiri?

Q : *Est-ce que vous savez quand est-ce que l'islam est arrivé dans le village ?*

B.B : L'islam est arrivé au village avec les chefs de canton.

Q : *Quels sont les noms de famille et clans qui habitent le village et leur ordre d'arrivée ?*

B. B : Il y a deux ethnies : il y a des Fulbe et une seule maison de Sebbe.

Q : *Est-ce que les Sebbe sont toujours là ?*

B. B : Oui, ils sont toujours là.

Q : *Qui sont les premiers en arriver ?*

B.B : Les Sebbe et les fulakunda sont venus au même temps.

Q : *Comment s'appelait le marabout qui était venu avec Dendoula et Samba Diaio ?*

B.B : Celui-la personne ne connais pas son nom.

Q : *Quels sont les noms de famille qui existent dans le village ?*

B.B : Il y a les Balde, Mballo, Kande, Diallo, Camara, Boiro. C'est les six noms qui existent au village.

Q : *Est-ce que les Camara sont des Sebbe ?*

B.B : Oui, les Camara sont des Sebbe.

Q : *Quelles sont les activités pratiqués au le village ?*

B.B : C'est l'agriculture, l'élevage et le jardinage.

Q : *Auparavant on faisait la même chose ou bien a-t'il-eu des changements ?*

B.B : Il n'y a pas beaucoup de choses qui ont changé.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y avait auparavant des forgerons au village ?*

B.B : Il y avait des forgerons parce qu'ils sont venus avec les Fulbe.

Q : *Où sont-ils partis ?*

B.B : Ils sont toujours là.

Q : *Quel est leur nom de famille ?*

B.B : C'est Camara

Q : *Les gens qui sont venus fonder le village depuis ou sont-ils venus?*

B.B: Ko Guinée Bissau.

Q : *Hodoum itti be Guinée Bissau ?*

B.B : C'est la chasse

Q: *Ho saare de i wadeno mur dji ?*

B.B : Saare de guili de sincia ko ni de woniri ta wona darnou do bâtiment

Q : *Est-ce que i woddi adda dji mbateno di hakunde doula dji di guinu doon di ?*

B.B : Ko meen mbadiri do e Pachukiel, sabouna lawu do Dioulu funtere si ndiema yoni han ah nano be ngouna. Pachukiel lawu kira bawdi ha dountu ga dje dioga. Ci saare Dembayel wino ko hiro no han Pidiro kalla noro.

Q: *Ho ohn no one ngandi tumbun Pathe Sibere o ko touma iwa?*

B.B: Do ko ni meen dieri doum. Ko mama dji ameen di ngonno doon.

Q: *Ho terangue fili ko tumbun woneno wala ko hodoum woneno?*

B.B: Terangue fili ko ciagol.

Q: *Ho godoum indoon?*

B.B: Sebbe be ko mbi terangue fili ci wi ko ah diouma niin han terangue madirima ko doum terangue fili.

Q: *Ari no watu lambe Sebbe ngonno do, ho ahno anddi hen godoum?*

B.B: No no doum alla no do

Q: *O watu ko quartier dje ndielu gone e der saare de ho lawu kalla woneno?*

B.B: Quartier dji galla no sabouna saare de ko do haddi.

Q: *Ho saare de I diogui pecco dje?*

B.B: Alla

Q: *Ho mineen diediri do lamdala wagal important fila histoire saare de?*

B.B: Tabayel do Moussa Molo fowrir no do guel yani, tial did pecci dida narti foudde naggue dida narti hire naggi. Gule walima doon ko bouri doubi temedere. Tubacco be be magasin mbo be mbadeno do o hadilon ciment in do. Ko di ngonni madde dji saare ni. I woddi kalla douy de do gassa e der ciagol do tumbun Mamadou Macky do.ma.

B.B : De Guinée Bissau

Q : *Pourquoi ils sont partis de la Guinée Bissau ?*

B.B : À cause de la chasse.

Q : *Est-ce que le village a eu des fortifications?*

B.B : Le village est tel qu'il est depuis sa fondation si ce n'est pas quelqu'un qui a construit un bâtiment.

Q : *Les sites que vous avez mentionnés, est-ce qu'il y a des connexions entre eux?*

B.B : Ce que nous retenons de Pachukiel, parce qu'à Dioulun Funtere si la nuit arrivait, on entendait des coups de pilons. A Pachukiel, il y avait des veillées de tambours jusqu'aux chants du coq. Si Saare Dembayel organisait une veillée Pidiro répondait.

Q : *Quand est-ce que le tumbun de Pathe Sibere a été abandonné ?*

B.B : C'est ainsi que nous l'avons vu. C'est nos grands-parents qui y résidaient.

Q : Est-ce que Terangue est un tumbun ou quelque chose d'autre ?

B.B : C'est une rivière.

Q : *Ya-t-il quelque chose là-bas ?*

B.B : Ce que les Sebbe disent terangue est que si tu veux chercher du miel et tu s'apprêtes à le faire, le terangue disparaît. Cela veut dire terangue fili.

Q : *Sur la période des rois mandingues, est-ce que vous savez quelque chose ?*

B.B : Non, il n'y avait pas.

Q : *Actuellement il y a combien de quartiers dans le village et était ils pareils au passé ?*

B.B : Il n'y a pas de quartiers parce que le village est tracé de cette façon.

Q : *Est-ce que le village a des divisions?*

B.B : Non.

Q : *Est-ce qu'on a oublié de demander quelque chose d'important sur l'histoire du village ?*

B. B : Le tabayel où Moussa Molo s'est reposé, est tombé et quelques branches sont tournées vers l'est et les autres vers l'ouest. Il s'est couché plus de cent ans. Le magasin que les blancs ont construit, le ciment est toujours là. Ce sont les choses anciennes du village. Il y a aussi des trous de piquets dans la rizière au tumbun de Mamadou Macky.

12-Kabendou

Date: 17/01/ 2013

Participants : Amadou Camara, Sankoun Sylla, Malang Sane, Omar Djikiné, Seni Camara, Meta Sanden, Batara Cisse, Tamba Diaby, Kekouta Camara

Q : Touma Kabendou sinthia e hobbo sinci Kabendou ?

Malang Sane (MS) : Sinciu do Kabendou o ko Yeronding wireno. Ko Yeronding iwi ko Tiamu ari. Tiamu ko iwi do ko le Djide Naffa ari. Ko Djide Naffa iwi ko le mama ameen ari Soboun Sane. Ko Soboun Sane ko iwi do ko le baba ameen ari Keba Sane. Keba Sane ko iwi ko Soriba Sane. Malang Sane ko doum woni miin ko miin abbi Soriba Sane.

Q : Ko touma Yeronding sinci saare de ?

M. S : He ta mi djibinaka tawone.

Q : Ho Yeronding ko Fulacunda woneno wala ko Ceddo ?

M.S : Ko Puulo mbo woneno

Q : Hobbo lonti Yeronding ko mbo iwi ko ?

M.S : Ko Thiabou Sane

Q : Thiabou ko Puulo wala ?

M.S : Ko Puulo

Q : Sane ko ceddo wala ko puulo ?

M.S : Sane ko ceddo

Q : Souboun Sane ko ceddo woneno wala ?

M.S : Ko badiara djo woneno

Q : Djide Naffa ko puulo woneno wala ko ceddo ?

Notable : Ko puulo

M.S : Djide Naffa ko jiyaado

Q : Ho ko Souboun Sane woni guiddi jaarga dje saare de o ?

M.S : Ceddo guiddi do wone de jaarga o ohn woni Souboun Sane. Kanko abbi Djide Naffa.

Q : Quand est-ce que Kabendou a été fondé et par qui ?

Malang Sané (MS) : Le fondateur de Kabendou s'appelait Yeronding. Il est suivi de Tiamu. Après Tiamu, il y a eu Djide Naffa. A la suite de Djide Naffa, est venu notre grand-père Soboun Sane. Après Soboun Sane est venu notre père Keba Sane. Après Keba Sane est venu Soriba Sane. Malang Sane, moi-même. C'est moi qui suit Soriba Sane.

Q : Quand est-ce que Yeronding a fondé le village ?

M.S : Je n'étais pas encore né.

Q : Yeronding était Fulacunda ou Ceddo ?

M.S : C'était un Peul.

Q : Qui a remplacé Yeronding lorsqu'il a quitté ?

M.S : C'est Thiabou Sane.

Q : Thiabou était-il un Peul ou bien quoi ?

M.S : C'est un Peul.

Q : Sane était-il ceddo ou Peul ?

M.S : Sane, c'est ceddo.

Q : Souboun Sane était-il un ceddo ?

M.S : C'est un badiara

Q : Djide Naffa était-il Peul ou ceddo ?

Notable : C'était un Peul.

M.S : Djide Naffa était un esclave.

Q : Souboun Sane était-il le premier à être jarga du village ?

M.S : Le premier ceddo à être jaaga fut Souboun Sane, le successeur de Djide Naffa.

Q : *Fi hodoum addi ha fulbe lonti sebbe e jaarga ya o ?*

M.S : Ko addi doum ko no meen ngoni ri ni, ci oddo alla do oddo lonto Yero Moulaye iddi do wone de chef de canton iwi Velingara ontuma, kambano be diddo ; ontuma baba be mawbe o ta kambane. Ko noone o diahanke mbire do Sisao Kebe o ta i hebbini kambano be kono ko kara kan mbo hebiri jaarga ya o. Ko aroyi ha mbo yo kayen ko be cerna be, be mawura jaarga de. Yero Moulaye wiyo okanin maama am Seni Camara. Mbo wi min ko mi koddo e ko e sarvice gone mi, parce que baba am Mama Keba nabano Velingara.

Kekouta Camara (K.C): Ko iddi sinciu de saare de ko Sebbe

Q : *Ko do e Yeronding ardde wala ?*

K.C : Ko do e Yeronding ardde. Bidolo toubacco be ko Fariman Kante iddi do sinciu de

Q : *Fariman Kante horo iwri ?*

K.C : Meen mawdo widde ko Manden mbo iwiri

Q : *Mbo hetima jali Jo gambien i wiyya Kabendou ko Tiramakhan sinci doum, ho naani ko wayyi noon wala ?*

K.C : Di ko Alpha Molo lami ko di wiyya Fuladu ko no ko Tiramakhan di wireno. Ko leydi wireno Tiramakhan be guiwi be gari be sinci do.

Q : *Mbari di leydi ko Tiramakhan wireno hoo ano wawi meen halan de ko bouri no e ohn watu ?*

K.C : Alla mi wawra hen halle de. Ko mawami halle de ko Sebbe guiwi be Tiramakhan be sinci do. Ontuma do di leydi ko Tiramakhan di wireno. Ko noon mam dji ameen di bimeen. Tayi ohn watu ko Sebbe raan lamino do. Lamu Sebbe ko iwi ko le lamu Fulbe naati. Ko fouddi lamade ko Alpha Molo. Alpha Molo iwi ontuma Moussa Molo houmniri lamu gu. Lamu Toubacco be ko Moussa tawi do. Diamanou be mbata do tata ko diamanou si ah wawi kam han mbara kam. Ta ohn watu Toubacco alla.

Q : *Di leydi mbire di Tiramakhan ko horo di fouddi e horo di haddi ?*

K.C : Ko mawmi halle de ko mawbe pillo ko mbayri ta ohn watu dianga

Q : *Pourquoi le changement entre le chef pullo et le chef ceddo ?*

M.S : C'est notre façon d'être, si quelqu'un est absent un autre le remplace. Yero Moulaye est le premier à être chef de canton depuis Velingara. Mais il y avait un diahanke Sisao Kebe qui avait plusieurs jeunes, mais il a devenu difficilement jarga. À un certain moment, il s'est dit qu'ils étaient des marabouts, ils ne pouvaient pas être des *jarga*. Yero Moulaye a donné la chefferie à mon grand-père Seni Camara. Il lui a dit 'je suis un étranger qui était en service, parce que mon père Mama Keba était envoyé à Velingara'.

Kekouta Camara (K.C) : Les premiers à fonder le village furent les Sebbe.

Q : *Ça c'est passé avant l'arrivée de Yeronding ?*

K.C : C'est avant l'arrivée de Yeronding. Sur les écrits des Toubacco, c'est Fariman Kante qui est le premier à fonder le village.

Q : *D'où vient Fariman Kante ?*

K.C : Les ancêtres m'ont dit qu'il venait du Manden .

Q : *J'ai écouté un griot gambien raconter que Kabendou a été fondé par Tiramakhan. Est-ce la réalité ?*

K.C : Ce territoire était gouverné par Alpha Molo et il s'appelait le Fuladu mais il s'appelait auparavant Tiramakan. Le leydi s'appelait Tiramakan et ils sont venus fonder ce territoire.

Q : *Puisque ce territoire s'appelait Tiramakan, est-ce que vous pouvez nous parler un peu plus sur cette période ?*

K.C : Non, je ne peux pas parler de cela. Tout ce que je peux dire c'est que c'est les Sebbe venus de Tiramakan qui ont fondé le village. A cette époque, ce territoire s'appelait Tiramakan. Or, mes ancêtres m'ont dit qu'à cette époque les Sebbe gouvernaient le pays. Après le pouvoir des Sebbe s'en est suivi celui des Fulbe. Il a débuté avec le règne d'Alpha Molo. Après Alpha Molo, il est suivi par Moussa Molo qui a terminé l'œuvre de son père. Le pouvoir des Toubacco a trouvé le règne de Moussa Molo. L'époque qu'ils construisaient les tatas c'était l'époque des guerres où le plus fort tuait son adversaire. C'est la période quand il n'y avait pas de blancs.

Q : *Où commence le territoire de Tiramakan et il s'arrête où ?*

K.C : Tout ce que je peux vous dire c'est seulement ce que les ancêtres m'ont dit parce qu'à cette époque, les gens n'étaient pas instruits.

M.S : Tiramakhan ko foudde nague iwi. Ko kagn e arabo be wondouno e ta mbo dioulani. Arabo be mbiwi mbo ko dioula. Ko mbo tawi ko tata ji thiappande tati e tati. Ontuma mboyoye tata yo tata no fabo mbo diawaringa goro. Ontuma mbo hawridiri thiappande tati e tati diawaringa. Ko ni Mbo ari hedde ga. Mbo fowrini to wire Kayes do. Ontuma mbo taari mayo go ha mbo tawoyi diyam dam di wadda ni mbo addi do ko lammu gu wone do. Mboyoye be mbo yadare be do ko leydi lammu wone do. Ontuma mbo halani lamdo Kayes o, ohn wi doum Bisimillah ko no noon soukabe be galaa do si be gari mi holaabe. Soukabe ko gari ko mbo lappi tamoulde de, leydi mako di piwu hawri mbo yo han bambaranko ari do i yaha ley ko no no diawde fori mbo ni faala do woni ha diawde de rawra, ontuma mbo yawra. Soukabe mbiyyo wona ah bisima mbo bassi alla.

Q : *Tiramakhan ko bambara woneno ?*

K.C : Ha ko bambara woneno. Dioni be mbaddi touri ha be gayni, ontuma mbo yehi to lamdo ro, mbo yo doum yo dioni si ahno yaha coonu han kalna kam mi fqbo ma souka yaha waloyama. Ohn souka mako yehi nagoyi yimbe dioye. Be gari ko be pecci mbo yimbe diddo. Be bidoum no mbo naabe to mawdo moun to kebbi ko niam doon. Mbo widoum bisimillah Dioni kohe maccube niami, goddo imb mi, mboyoye mineen thiukayel goro yaha. Ohn yehi mbo habba ohn kalla agui yimbe naayo. Ohn kalla ko be gari ko. Ontuma goddo yehi wi lamdo Kayes o iwadde do sina doum si ah wadoyi e o han mbo nangoya ma sabouna. Lamdo o widoum doum wawra wone de sabouna doungou ari ohn guimbi ma e nafigiya moone o.

Dioni lamdo Kayes widoum soukabe tampini doum, ohn no iwi do ohn no iwdo si wona doum han si na ah waddi e o han o nangama. Dioni ohn kalla waddi nella ne, wiyo no mbi koddo o no wadda ferre yawra. Dioni be kalla noyi koddo o e koddo wi be dioni tobbi horo meen keboye raa cuddi. Mbiyye lamdo mbone o yo no o mougna niam si diawde wouddi han mi yahan ni. Mineen wona meen ngono be do. Dioni be ngari be kalla ni lamdo o, soukabe be mbi wona ah ouman doum do, no mbo ya raan no mbo ya raan. Lamdo wi be dioni haku de soukunu, diaye gol e kural no mbo soubo gorol.

Ontuma be nabani Tiramakhan be mbi mbo lamdo wi cuboda do goro. Tiramakhan wi dou meen miin kalla mi mbani kural gal ko mbi doon yo mbadde noon Be ndieyi be kallani lamdo, lamdo wi be dioni larene diango ha ko meen kabarin ko. Kabire be hallani Tiramakhan, Tiramakhan noddii soukabe be wi be onoon ngandi ohn kewani si ohn nanguiri hore moon no guertode ni han be mbara ohn. Si goddo wi maa ohn kabaniin ha, ahn yahoye diemaa. Ontuma yimbe thiappande taro e taro be dieyi be nangui tata ha mbo houbi ohn diemaa. Do dountoun de diogaro do be pelli. Be kabaa ha nangue gue wouddi do, ontuma soukabe Tiramakhan djotanii lamdo o be tadjii mbo hore de ta dadene piwu ko kangue raan waddi e kaless. Be mbiyyo lamdo warama harede houbbi. Ontuma mboyoye be kawrire diango bimbi ndroon e nder mbo doon hobbo wawra hen lamado mineen ko meen ndiawro be. Be mii doum mouk goddo lamora ko do ko ahn tigui lamoro do. Ontuma doon wiyya Keita, doon ko yetere Keita, « Itela diang ke ta ».

Q : *Ho ko Tiramakhan Keita ?*

M.S : Tiramakhan vient de l'est. Il était avec les Arabes mais il n'était pas converti. Les Arabes lui ont demandé de se convertir. Il a trouvé trente-trois tatas. Après il a demandé à chaque tata de lui fournir un *diawaringa*² Ensuite, il a rassemblé ces trente-trois *diawaringa*. C'est ainsi qu'il est venu de ce côté. Il s'est reposé à Kayes. Après il s'est promené autour du fleuve et il a vu que l'eau lui montrait un signe de pouvoir. Il s'est adressé aux gens qui l'accompagnaient et leur a dit ' ce territoire est un territoire de pouvoir'. Ensuite, il s'est adressé au roi de Kayes, celui-ci lui a souhaité la bienvenue et lui a dit que ses enfants n'étaient pas présents mais que il allait leur en parler de son retour. Par la suite ses enfants sont venus, il a tapé le tambour et tout son territoire a répondu à son appel. Il a annoncé 'un bambara est de passage et demande de passer l'hivernage, après il va continuer sa route.' Ses enfants lui ont demandé s'il avait donné son accord à cette demande, et il a dit oui.

Q : *Est-ce que Tiramakan est un bambara ?*

K.C : C'est un bambara. Un fois ils ont fini de construire leurs gîtes et de s'installer, il est parti voir le roi de Kayes. Il lui a dit 'si tu pars en guerre, je te donnerais un de mes enfants pour t'aider'. Celui-ci est parti et captura cinq personnes. De leur retour, le roi lui a remis deux personnes et lui a demandé de les remettre à son maître pour qu'ils aient de quoi manger. Il l'a fait. Maintenant les têtes des *maccube* mangèrent et l'un d'entre eux demanda de partir avec la prochaine expédition. Ainsi il participa et captura quatre personnes. Et lui aussi on lui donna sa part. A la suite quelqu'un est parti voir le roi de Kayes pour lui dir 'l'étranger doit partir sinon il va prendre ta place quand vous vous querellez'. Le roi lui a répondu que ça c'était impossible puisque l'hivernage était déjà arrivé et qu'il avait déjà commencé à les opposer.

Ainsi le roi de Kayes lui a dit que ces enfants l'ont fatigué répétant qu'il devait partir, autrement ils allaient le faire prisonnier. Dès lors il envoya un message en disant que l'étranger devrait se préparer pour partir. Le message a été transmis et l'étranger a dit que puisque l'hivernage était déjà venu où pourra-t-il trouver d'abri. Le roi lui a dit d'attendre la fin de l'hivernage. Nous sommes de passage seulement. Les enfants du roi sont partis le voir et lui ont demandé qu'il refuse, il doit partir, il doit partir. Le roi les a remis des chevaux, du feu et une balle et a demandé qu'on l'amène à Tiramakhan pour qu'il fasse un choix.

Après on les a amené chez Tiramakan et ont lui dit que le roi lui demandait de faire un choix. Tiramakan leur a dit ' je prends la balle et on fera ce que vous voulez'. Ils sont partis rendre compte au roi. Le roi leur a dit de se battre le lendemain. Après avoir parlé avec Tiramakan, il a dit à ses enfants 'vous savez que vous n'êtes pas nombreux et si vous vous comportez comme des volailles, ils vont vous tuer. Si quelqu'un vous dit on va se battre, attaquez la nuit'. Ils étaient trente-trois, ils partirent prendre le tata la nuit. Par la suite, ils tirèrent. Ils ont bataillé jusqu'à l'aube. Les enfants de Tiramakan ont atteint le roi et ils lui ont coupé la tête. Elle était ornée d'or et d'argent. Ils ont dit 'la guerre est finie parce que le roi est mort'. Ils ont convoqué une réunion le lendemain matin pour choisir le nouveau roi, puisque ils n'étaient que de passage. Les gens ont dit qu'ils ne voulaient un autre roi que lui. Ensuite ils l'ont surnommé 'Keita', « itela diang ke ta³ »

Q : *Est-ce que c'est Tiramakan Keita ?*

²Jaawaringa est le nom des Peuls autochtones, plus connus comme Fulakunndaa.

³ « Itéla kedian ke ta » : C'est toi qui y résidera

K.C : Ko Tiramakhan Traore. Ontuma ko simti ko mboygo soukabe ndiehn, ontuma be ngardi ga ah naan, ontuma be gariga be habba, be habba, be habba ha mbo wawi gaa. Mbo dieti do ta ko bainouckobe ngono do. Ah naani, mboygo ga di heddi, sabouna serere mawdo iniin do wire Ndogou Sirwane. Ohn ko jambaare djo mawdo no. Oh wi di o wi haa. Ontuma mbo hebani do kalan. Mbo felli, mbo felli, mbo felli ha mbo wawi ohn. Be ngarti mboygo dioni ko hedda amo nabanmi ha mi lamini ohn toon, ontuma ohn widoum ahn ah yidda baylo mammo. O serere ci aranii o han sagara. Ontuma mbo itti dialan moun o mbo nabani mbo niaki moun di. Mbo yotani bayeloo mboygo ohn yo gardanam di. Di kala mbo di pididi ohn mayadde. Dioni kagn wonii do. Ko bibbe moun be taro wore be : ko Kaabu o woni mawdo o, Inglais e Berekolon. Dioni bibbe makko be mbo woni do, bibbe makko be mawni. Ci be kabanomaa haan, thioukale tokosse de piwu mbo nabe de to ameen. Ko soukade tokosogn koy be nafror ta. Dioni bada makko diniin toon. Biddo makko diniin toon. Soukabe be ko naaba ko, bada o wiyyo mbiyya kawu am yo, ko biddo makko debbo mii falla mare de. Ohn widoum ho mbonin dalani ma toon biddo makko ?

Q : *To be nabano yimbe be ro i diogui indde ?*

K.C : Saare Tiramakhan Ba. Dioni bada makko areddi di e wadji. Be diehi ha be djotani mawdo, ontuma ohn wi dou bada ma ari do wiyyo ko biddo ma debbo o falla mare de. O wi awa bisimillah. Be kabbi dewogaa. Be mbi bo kono ah wonta do galle do de. Mboygo ohn yah diododa to seera saare rom bada toon galle ma aneh biddo am gona toon. Be diodi toon. Dioni ci diali be ngari han toro mawdo wiyya doum mafee ameen ô, mawdo o itta okka. Dioni mawdo o widou meen ndiehe to biddo am debbo ohn kalla okka ohn.

Bada makko o ko Trawale yetere. Be ndjotti roon diali be be mbadji be mbadji debbo o, bi widoum ko babma wowi meen oku de mafee dioni noon handde ko ahn okka ra meen mafee. O wi be dioni gabbe thioukalel de be niin ngayna balli to be ngokka ohn balli goro ndiahone mbadoon mafee. Be gabbi thioukalel de, ko nene goro baba goro, tawi bediinini diodi kono thioukalel guel e yahi taro yi balli di ha ruuta di arede. Be jotani mawdo be mbidoum yo ko nene moon wiyyo yo meen ngare ngokon meen do balli ko meen madda mafee. Mawdo wi watta doum ko doum tan woni watta. Ontuma be guelti mbo, be guelti mbo ha thioukalel guel tawi been niin guelta mbo. Mboygo alla ko biyyo ko nene wiyyo ngokken be balli, Thioukalel guel widoum yo ahno anddi mama wohi be okkude, yanddi anka laan okku be. Ko ni thioukayel guel yehi nango yi mballou gu okki diali be, been ndieyi. Be ndieyi be djotani nene o, be mbiyyo ahn bibbe ma wona nianthio to de, ko nianthio ga. Be mbiyyo kono djeto dje mouhen de meen guitiri de. Nene wi dou meen dieh guitiri diroon nene goro baba goro be, been piwu ko Trawale djeterere mbiyyon be ngalla dioni yetode. Be mbiyyo mawdo ko Mane yetere sabouna ko meen gueeri moo ha meen ronkki, thioukayel guel ko guel okki meen mballou gu ohn ko Sane yetere.

K.C : C'est Tiramakhan Traore. Après la fin de l'hivernage il a ordonné de préparer le départ, ensuite ils sont venus ici et ils ont fait la guerre jusqu'à conquérir le territoire. C'est les Bainouk qui y habitaient. Après, il (Tiramakan) a dit qu'il devait rester de ce côté parce qu'il y avait un grand Sérère, Ndogou Sirwane. C'était un grand guerrier. On a dit d'accord. Ensuite il se prépara pour attaquer ce dernier aussi. Il a guerroyé, il a guerroyé, il a guerroyé jusqu'à combattre celui-ci. Ils sont rentrés et il lui dit à Ndogou Sirwane 'maintenant il faut que tu m'amènes pour que je sois roi' et il lui a dit qu'il n'aime pas son forgeron. Si ce Sérère le trouve ici, ça ne sera pas bon. Par la suite, il a prit son *dyalan* d'abeilles pour lui remettre. Il alla trouver le forgeron pour lui dire de lui garder ces abeilles. S'ils piquent quiconque, il meurt. Et lui il resta ici. Ses trois fils : l'un qui s'appelait Kaabu qui était l'aîné, Inglais et Berekolon. Ces fils sont restés ici jusqu'à atteindre l'âge adulte. S'ils faisaient la guerre, tous les enfants faites prisonniers étaient envoyés chez eux. C'étaient leur source de richesse. Les fils de Ndogou Sirwane ont resté. Son fils faisait parti de ceux qu'on avait pris. Le neveu leur a dit de dire à son oncle que c'était sa fille qu'il voulait épouser. Celui-ci lui demanda: est-ce qu'il avait réservé sa fille pour lui ?

Q : Est-ce que là où ils amenaient les gens avait un nom ?

K.C : Le village de Tiramakan Ba. Son neveu est venu l'accompagner. Ils rencontrèrent le *mawdo*, et il lui dit 'ton neveu est venu pour dire qu'il veut se marier avec ta fille'. Ce dernier lui a donné la bienvenue. Ils ont scellé l'union. Mais il lui a dit 'tu ne vas pas rester dans la maison'. Il lui a demandé d'aller à la fin du village pour y implanter sa maison, 'ma fille et toi vous y demeurez la bas'. Ils y demeurèrent. Les griots venaient demander au *mawdo* de leur donner de quoi faire de la sauce, le *mawdo* leur donnait. Un jour, le *mawdo* leur a demandé d'aller chez sa fille pour qu'elle leur donne de quoi faire leur sauce.

Le nom de son neveu était Trawalé. Les griots partirent voir sa fille, la tarit d'éloges, et lui dirent 'c'est ton père qui nous demande de venir te voir pour que tu nous donnes de quoi faire de la sauce parce que c'est la coutume de nous donner et aujourd'hui, c'est ton tour'. Elle leur a dit d'aller trouver ses enfants qui suivaient les moutons pour qu'ils leur donnent un mouton pour qu'ils aient de quoi faire de la sauce. Ils sont allés trouver les enfants, de même père et de même mère, ils les ont trouvés assis et ils ont dit 'c'est votre mère qui nous envoie vous dire de nous remettre un mouton pour avoir de quoi faire de la sauce'. Mais le cadet était parti ramener les moutons qui s'étaient séparés du troupeau. Ils s'adressèrent à l'aîné. L'aîné refusa de leur donner ce qu'ils demandaient. Ils l'ont dissuadé de leur remettre le mouton jusqu'à l'arrivée du cadet, et quand ce dernier est arrivé il les a trouvé en train de dissuader son frère. L'aîné lui a expliqué 'ils disent que notre mère les envoie pour qu'on leur donne un mouton'. Le cadet lui dit 'tu sais que notre grand-père avait l'habitude de leur donner, toi aussi donne-les ce qu'ils veulent'. C'est ainsi que le cadet est parti attraper un mouton et l'a remis aux griots. Ils sont partis. Ils sont partis trouver la mère, ils lui ont dit 'tes enfants ne sont pas des *nyanthios* de l'autre côté, ils sont des *nyanthios* de cet côté. Mais on a changé leur nom et nous les avons séparés'. Sa mère a dit 'comment vous pouvez changer les noms de ceux qui ont la même mère et le même père, tous les deux portent le nom Trawale et vous dites qu'ils ne portent plus ce nom?'. Ils ont répondu 'l'aîné portera le nom de Mane parce que nous l'avons tellement dissuadé et le cadet qui nous a donné le mouton portera le nom Sane'

Q : Kabendou ko touma sincia e hobbo sinciu doum ?

K.C : No be pillorata niin ko nodda holi be Kabendou ta been daaba doula do be diodio. Ko doum woni to wendu wirenu kokuru ro. Ko toon be tawi nodda ba i waddi cili dandan. Tayyi noon yimbe lawu e yimbe dioni ta wona gorum. Be kaldi noon e nodda ma. Ko do meen gona meen daaba rani. Mba wibbe ohn djota ki rawon, loubbee wendu. Ci ohn loumbi wendu kalla do diodi don doon ko xawrir de wire. E xala Sebbe : « dian ben be doula le ti » wole mou Kabendou ti. Ontuma be diehi toon. Ontuma ta ko ceddo raan wone do de ta pullo alla do. O tata lamino do doon o, waddo tata o ko Faramba Tamba wire no. Sane mbo yetere. Ko been wono do.

Dioni Sebbe lamu ain do haddi do ko ko Faramba Tamba iwi do. Hawri Alpha Molo lamima. Ko addi fulbe be ngoni do jaarga ko been lami. Serinbe be hallano Moussa Molo ci Kabendou woni tumbun taan mbo nangue re. Saare de woni do doubbi dieddi, hiran yo hiran yo jaarga o mayya Kabendou do. Moussa Molo ari sinciri do Kabendou. Ko mignian mu doum mbo addi do wire Yero Eggue. Yero Eggue mignira wo Moussa Molo wireno. Mboyoye Yero Eggue ahn ko ah lamdo ah wawra wonde jaarga. Kele jawara moun bire no Djide Naffa ontuma mbo addi ohn do. Mbo woni jaarga o Yero Eggue woni lamdo o. Ontuma jaarga woni mayya ra. Djide Naffa ko iwi ko, ko bidde makko lonti mbo e jaarga ya o ohn wireno Oumar Coly Balde. Xawri lamu felli dir gol hubbi. Dioni xaare hubbi, ko mayya ra mayyi.

Ko heddiri been, Oumar Coly iwi do yehi sincio yi saare to gadda boundu ro hedde Kounkane. Wire saare Oumar Coly. Jaarga ya ontuma ohn e jaarga ya handde o wona gorum. Ci lamu ari ko mawo do jippini de lamdo ko ohn wona ta jaarga. Ko doum addi ha jaarga ya rutti to Sebbe ro. Ko maw do jippini do koddokokka doum niama, okka doum suddu. Lonti di Oumar Coly ko Aldjina Mballo ko pullo. Dioni hobbo wawra jippini do koddokokka ko Soboun Sane. Soboun Sane woni jaarga ha mbo mayyi. Ta hobbo wawra jippini do koddokokka Keba Sane. Ontuma Soriba Sane, ko Keba jibini Soriba. Ko mbo okkara jaarga ya o Soriba, lamdo wino ko Keba lamini ta okkara ni saare de. Moulaye Siranding ko Soriba Kebe falla no okku de saare de. Ko Moulaye Siranding wono lamdo Bissabor o ta ko watu lamu canton dji wono.

Soriba Kebe wi Moulaye Siranding miin ko mi diaxanke ko diawdi ngar mi dabdu de. Mi wawra wone do jaarga kono mi wawde ma okku de jaarga maddo no mami ni. O widouml hono mbo wire ? Widoum ko Keba Sane. Ko doum itti to Soboun Sane ta ko wawra jippini dje koddokokka alla to Soboun Sane.

Q : Ho Soriba Sane ko do e Keba Sane ?

K.C : Ko Keba jibini Soriba. Ko Keba iwi ko Soriba lami. Ko Soriba iwi Malang lonti. Mbo widoum ci ahno falla mi lamo gancina mi sarvice ta kallaan ah nababi neddo am to angaci. O widoum mi neen meen cousara dou ci mi hebbi doum tan ta mi lamima. E seggo jaarga ya miin e gandal am ko do haddi. Be piwu jaargui be ko Soriba bouri be boyde e jaarga ya he. Ko hiran mbo Sénégal hebbi indépendance de ko deen hirande Soriba woni jaarga de saare. Ko rowandeya mbo mayyi.

Q : *Quand est-ce que Kabendou a été fondé et par qui ?*

K.C : Selon les ancêtres, c'est un hippopotame qui a leur a montré le site de Kabendou parce qu'ils cherchaient un site pour implanter le village. C'est au niveau du *wendu* qui s'appelait *Kokuru*. C'est là-bas qu'ils ont trouvé l'hippopotame qui se reposait. A cette époque, les gens étaient différents de ceux d'aujourd'hui. Ils ont parlé avec l'hippopotame. On cherchait là où s'établir. Il leur a qu'ils ne sont pas encore arrivés, ils doivent traverser le *wendu*. Si vous traversez le *wendu* là où vous serez établis, il s'appellera lieu de rencontre. En Manding: *dian ben be doula le ti*, c'est ça qui a donné Kabendou. Ensuite ils se sont installés. A cette époque, il y avait que des *ceddo* et il n'y avait pas de *Peuls*. Le roi qui occupait le *tata*, celui qui a construit le *tata* s'appelait *Faramba Tamba*. Son nom était *Sane*. C'est eux qui vivaient ici.

Maintenant le règne des *Sebbe* a fini lorsque *Faramba Tamba* est parti. C'est à ce temps qu'*Alpha Molo* est devenu roi. Les *Fulbe* sont devenu *jarga* parce qu'ils étaient au pouvoir. Les *marabouts* avaient dit à *Moussa Molo* que si *Kabendou* devenait *tumbun* il serait capturé. Pendant sept années, le *jarga* de *Kabendou* mourait chaque année. *Moussa Molo* est venu refonder *Kabendou*. C'est son frère, du nom *Yero Eggue*, qu'il a amené ici. *Yero Eggue* était le nom du frère de *Moussa Molo*. Il a dit 'Yero Eggue puisque tu est un roi tu ne peux pas devenir *jarga*. Son *kelejawara* s'appelait *Djide Naffa*, il est venu avec lui. Il devint *jaarga*, *Yero Eggue* lui devint roi. Depuis lors, la mort des *jarga* cessa. Après *Djide Naffa*, c'est son fils qui lui remplaça, il s'appelait *Oumar Coly Balde*. Ça a coïncidé avec la fin des guerres de pouvoir. Les guerres sont terminées, ceux qui devaient mourir, ont mort.

Oumar Coly est parti avec le rest fonder un village de l'autre côté de la rivière près de *Koukane*. Le village s'appelait *Saare Oumar Coly*. Le *jarga* d'hier et le *jarga* d'aujourd'hui ils sont différents. Avant c'était celui qui avait la possibilité de recevoir un roi qui devenait *jarga*. C'est pour cela que le *jarga* est retourné chez les *Sebbe*. C'est celui qui avait la possibilité de recevoir un étranger et lui donner un logement. Celui qui lui a remplacé *Oumar Coly* s'appelle *Aldjina Mballo*, il était un *Peul*. Ce qui peut recevoir un étranger c'est *Soboun Sane*. *Soboun Sane* devint *jarga* jusqu'à sa mort. Ce qui peut recevoir un étranger est *Keba Sane*. Ensuite *Soriba Sane*, *Keba Sane* est le père de *Soriba*. Lorsqu'il transmettait le *jargaya* à *Soriba*, le roi avait voulu couronner *Keba* et lui donner le village. *Moulaye Siranding* avait voulu donner le village à *Soriba Kebe*. *Moulaye Siranding* était le chef canton de *Bissabor*, ça était au temps des cantons.

Soriba Kebe a dit à *Moulaye Siranding* qu'il était *diaxanke* et qu'il était venu chercher de la richesse. Il lui dit 'je ne peux pas devenir *jarga* mais je peux te montrer quelqu'un comme moi qui peut devenir *jarga*'. C'est qui? Il lui a demandé. Il lui dit que c'est *Keba Sane*. Les conditions pour pouvoir accueillir un étranger n'étaient pas réunies chez *Soboun Sane*.

Q : *Soriba Sane c'est avant Keba Sane ?*

K.C : C'est *Keba* qui est le père de *Soriba*. C'est *Soriba* qui lui a succède. *Malang* succéda à *Soriba*. Il lui a dit 'si tu veux que je règne, il faut que tu me prives du service forcé et que tu n'envoyes pas mes gens à l'engagement'. Il lui a dit ' nous avons peur de ça et si j'obtiens cela moi je règne'. Sur le plan des *jarga* ma connaissance s'arrête là. De tous ces *jarga*, *Soriba* est celui qui a duré le plus comme *jaarga*. C'est l'année à laquelle le Sénégal a obtenu son indépendance que *Soriba* est devenu *jarga* du village. Deux ans sont passés depuis sa mort.

Q : Ho watu lamu canton e der canton Bissabor o ho ko Kabendou mbournou dioga de importance ?

K.C : Yolede de Moulaye Siranding lamoro o di leydi alla ko djoguino ci wona demaale. Djoguino be be ko Diaxankobe. Been kallaan wona kayen piwu, kowiredo Soriba Kebe ko ohn woneno dioula dio do. Ko leyde taari watida Moulaye lami doum. Do wire Bissabor, kadda Kounkane ro wire Patim-Kandiaye, hedde Velingara ni wire Parin Thibo. Parin Kandiaye ko lamino do ko Saydou Kandiaye. Moulaye Siranding ko lamino ko Parin Thibo. Après ta Moulaye dioguima doole, ontuma de leyde taari piwu watida mbo okka de mbo lami.

Dioni mbo watide Parin Thibo, Parin Kandiaye e Bissabor. Horo wire Bissabor ko to dou weddu dalti mayyo go ro gol narol doon wire Bissabor. Hedde saare Bourang o, toon wire Doganl. Doula be taa i woddi indde. To wire Namara ro tara in toon hedde Koulinto.

Q : Ko hobbo diamanou ?

K.C : Doum ko diamanou balebe. Ko diamanou Sebbe. Tata dji e di gone he ko Sebbe raan wono he. Pullo watano tata. E ko kabbe lamano ho mawado soussat wadate tata ? Ko nii maoube ameen be kalari ni ameen. Sabouna mi woddi ko mi halli do tayyi baba am djibinaka. Ayyi ci mi wawi doum halle de nene am ko Kabendou do djibina, kawu dji am iniin do. Ko kawu dji am di kalle ni kam ko siwrore mi do ko.

Q : Anddi Parin Kandiaye, Parin Thibo e Bissabor piwu hawrina wonti leydi wotiri, Moulaye Siranding lamini ko hono di leydi wireno ?

K.C : I woddi diamanou mbo ciffi deen doon ta ohn watu do ko Pathiana wireno. Do ha to frontière Gambie ro, do ha Guinée Bissau piwu ko Pathiana wireno. Ko mi ari mbalakam do mi faago ko doum addi de pecce-pecce. Goro yo wiyya walam do diodi ha wourena mbeygure am de. Kono hobbo lamdore tereno leydi ? Ko Alpha Molo Ko hobbo lamdore tereno leydi ? Ko Moussa Molo. Hobbo okereno leydi ? Ko mbalando be Moussa be felludue de ne ko meen okereno leydi. Ko been mbo diodini he yadde ko meen lami. Hey wona pour ahno weydi raan de alla ko pelleyano be be Moussa Molo.

Q : Do de e lamu canton, do de e Alpha Molo lamade, do e de Moussa Molo lamade, Kabendou ko hodoum woneno ?

K.C : Ta ko lamdo o woneno do Faramba Sane. Pirada ahno anddi rone, tata inne toon

Q : Ahno anddi ko Faramba Tamba lamino do, hono leydi di mbo lamino ni wireno ?

K.C : Niin leydi Tiramakhan Ba wireno. Tiramakhan noone horo mayyi ko Alpha Molo hebti leydi niin ko be jomti Sebbe be.

Q : Horo Alpha mbani lamu gu ?

Q : *Est-ce qu'au temps des cantons, dans le canton de Bissabor, Kabendou était-il le village le plus important ?*

K.C : Lorsque Moulaye Siranding dirigeait le canton, il n'y avait rien sur ce terroir à part des vaches. Ceux qui en avaient, étaient les Diaxanke. Ce n'était pas tout le monde qui avait des vaches, seul Soriba Kebe qui était le commerçant en avait. Trois terroirs réunis: Bissabor ici, de l'autre côté de Kounkane s'appelait Patim Kandiaye et Patim Thibo du côté de Vélingara dirigé par Moulaye. Saydou Kandiaye dirigeait Patim Kandiaye. Moulaye Siranding à Patim Thibo. Après que Moulaye Siranding a eu beaucoup de pouvoir, on a réuni ces trois terroirs sous son règne. Maintenant il réunit Patim Thibo, Patim Kandiaye et Bissabor. Bissabor commence là où le *weddu* se sépare du fleuve toute cette étendue s'appelait Bissabor. Vers Saare Bourang, c'est là-bas qu'on appelle Doganl. Chaque lieu avait son nom. Là où on appelle Namara avait un tata près de Koulinto.

Q : *C'était à quelle période ?*

K.C : C'est pendant la période des Noirs. Pendant la période des Sebbe. Là où se trouvent les tatas, les Sebbe habitaient. Les Peul ne construisaient pas de tatas. Ils étaient dominés; est-ce que quelq'un dominé a le courage de construire un tata ? C'est ainsi que nos ancêtres nous ont raconté l'histoire. Parce que j'ai parlé de quelque chose qui s'est passé avant la naissance de mon père. Si j'ai pu me souvenir de ce que je viens de vous raconter c'est parce que ma mère est native de Kabendou, mes oncles sont là. C'est eux qui m'ont raconté l'histoire que j'ai pu me souvenir et vous ai racontée.

Q : *Lorsque Patim Kandiaye, Patim Thibo et Bissabor ont été réunis et dirigés par Moulaye Siranding, comment s'appelait ce terroir ?*

K.C : Au temps dont on a parlé, ce terroir s'appelait Pathiana. De là jusqu'à la frontière de la Gambie, de là jusqu'en Guinée Bissau s'appelait Pathiana. On est venu chercher de quoi se nourrir, c'est ça qui nous a amené ces partages. Chacun disait aide moi à avoir là où nourrir ma famille. A qui demandait-on des terres ? À Alpha Molo. A qui demandait-on des terres ? À Moussa Molo. Qui à reçu des terres ? Ceux qui on combattu au côté de Moussa Molo. C'est ces derniers qu'il installa et qui ont régné. Ce n'est pas parce que tu est beau non, c'est ceux qui ont combattu avec Moussa.

Q : *Avant le pouvoir des cantons, avant le règne d'Alpha Molo et de Moussa Molo, Kabendou représentait quoi ?*

K.C : C'était le roi Faramba Tamba qui était là. Est-ce que tu connais Pirada ? Il y avait un tata là-bas.

Q : *Vous savez que c'est Faramba Tamba qui régné sur ce territoire, comment s'appelait ce territoire ?*

K.C : C'était le territoire de Tiramakan Ba. Tiramakan est mort lorsqu'Alpha Molo a pris le pouvoir et s'est vengé des Sebbe.

Q : *Alpha Molo a pris le pouvoir où ?*

K.C : Tiramakhan ko leydi ko ni wayyi taan no Pathiana ni.

Q : *Mbidda yo ko Alpha Molo mbani lamu gu do Tiramakhan mayyi do ?*

K.C : Alla mi wiyani doum de ! Mbi yo ko Alpha Molo jabti Sebbe be lamu gu, habbi be ha mbo wawi be sedda-sedda.

Notable : Tiramakhan mbo nane ta niin o ko mbatiu gol neddo raan.

Q : *Ho Tiramakhan kalla ko neddo woneno ?*

K.C : Ko neddo woneno, ko kagn kalla indira leydi ni.

Q : *Dioni ko Tiramakhan ko ari ko hono mbo fecciri leydi ni ?*

K.C : Ko mawdo godo yo lamo. Lamu lawe noon wa no.

Q : *Est-ce que Tiramakhan i atiu no jambaare be wala hono wano ?*

K.C : Ko been Alpha Molo habbi ha wawi be. Ko be Tiramakhan atiu no, Alpha Molo abbi goro-goro ha be kubbi, mbo fucci tata dji piwu. Ko no oddo tata do wonna Alpha Molo kalla wonna Moussa Molo fucci doum.

Q : Hono lambe be malinke be mbireno ?

K.C : Mansa kewo, ko doum woni lamdo gorgo

Q : *Horo Mansa kewo dji diodino ?*

K.C : Kabendou do, do tata do, Kandiyaye, Kountanto, Sinthian Pacha tata inedoo. Ci mi yédjira ni haan thiale in da, tata woneno doon ohn lamdo ngonon do doon, ko bada moun o woneno doon wire Tamba Kumba. E Payoungou, Samasansan, Namara. Kono to Namara i wuli de sabouna lamu yararoon.

Q : *Ho di piwu tata dji ko lawol gorol darna wala ko watu dji watu dji ?*

K.C : Be wii ko watu dji watu dji darna.

Q : *Ho doum piwu ko watu lamu Sebbe o waddi ?*

K.C : Ko watu Sebbe be lamu o doum waddi

Q : *Ho Faramba Tamba ko watu Dianke Waly mbo woneno wala ta ko après ?*

K.C : Ko watu Dianke Waly o, ko ohn addi mbo diodi ni mbo do. Ko kagn woni kalla koro moun. Dianke Waly ko do itta mbo lamina to Guinée Bissau do wire Kansala.

Q : *Ho Dianke Waly ko lamdo lambee ?*

K.C : Tiramakan est un terroir comme Pathiana.

Q : *Vous avez dit que la prise de pouvoir d'Alpha Molo coïncide avec la mort de Tiramakan ?*

K.C : Non je ne l'ai pas dit ! J'ai que j'ai dit c'est que Alpha Molo a détrôné les Sebbe, les a combattus jusqu'à les vaincre petit à petit.

Notable : Le Tiramakan que tu entends n'est rien d'autre que de faire les éloges d'une personne.

Q : *Est-ce que Tiramakan était-il une personne ?*

K.C : C'était une personne, et aussi il a donné le nom au territoire.

Q : *Comment a Tiramakan divisé le territoire ?*

K.C : C'était une question de rapport de forces et le plus fort prenait le pouvoir. C'est de cette sorte que le pouvoir était organisé.

Q : *Est-ce que Tiramakan a laissé ces guerriers, comment cela s'est passé ?*

K.C : C'est eux qu'Alpha Molo a combattu jusqu'à la victoire finale. C'est ceux que Tiramakan avait laissé qu'Alpha Molo a poursuivi un à un, il a détruit tous les tatas. Mais ce n'est pas Alpha Molo ni Moussa Molo qui ont détruit ce tata là.

Q : *Quel titre portaient les rois Mandingues ?*

K.C : C'est Mansa kewo, c'est comme ça qu'on appelle un roi.

Q : *Où était la résidence des Mansa kewo ici ?*

K.C : Le tata de Kabendou, Kandiaye, à Sinthian Pacha il y a un tata. Si je n'oublie pas, il y a un petit village, le roi qui y était, son neveu s'appelait Tamba Kumba. Et aussi Payoungou, Samasansan, Namara. A Namara, une autorité n'y va pas là parce que c'est chaud.

Q : *Est-ce que tous ces tatas ont été érigés au même temps où bien en périodes différentes ?*

K.C : Ils ont dit que c'est à des périodes différentes qu'ils ont été érigés.

Q : *Mais c'est toujours durant la période des Sebbe ?*

K.C : C'est durant la période des Sebbe que cela c'est passé.

Q : *Est-ce que Faramba Tamba a vécu au même temps que Dianke Waly ?*

K.C : C'est ici qu'on a pris Dianke Waly pour l'introniser en Guinée-Bissau, là où on appelle Kansala.

Q : *Dianke Waly était-il le roi des rois ?*

K.C : Ha ko none wayyi.

Q : *Ko hono mbo wireno ta wona Dianke Waly ?*

K.C : Ko Waly mbo wireno. Dianke ko indde nene moun de, ko doum addi ha mbo wiyye Dianke Waly.

Q : *Dianke Waly ko honu tundu lamino ?*

K.C : Ko to Kansala ha to Gambie ko kagn lamino doum. Ko kagn warini lamade.

Q : *Ho mbo alla no hen tundu dji e der di leydi di mbo lamino ?*

K.C : Di tata dji piwu di liman mami do di ci di djati nino nartanka han ko kagn be ngokka no doum.

Q : *O nartanka ko hodoum woneno, ho ko diawdi, ko koule ?*

K.C : Do e ko kaley yaltara ko tay ko koule wate nartanka, beehi, baali e nayyi

Q : *Ko hono leydi Dianke Waly di wireno ?*

Notables : Ko Manden di wireno

Q : *Mbo yo mbo hetima diali djo e wiyya go seggo ko e empire du Mali tawano di Soundjata Keita. Ho ko none wayyi ?*

K.C : Ha ko none wayyi, ko Soundjata Keita

Q : *I woddeno lambee dido. Lamino be tata dji e lambee mawbe wabe na Dianke Waly ? Ho i woddeno diogui be importants ta wona be ?*

K.C : Ko doum woni kele jawara dji ko been taan kebta place ko been kabereho. Ndiahano be mbo walu de hare de ko been kebno guedal.

Q : *Ho ohn noone ngandi lonti be Dianke Waly be ?*

K.C : Ko Dianke Waly warini lamade.

Q : *Ho o noon ngandi indde lambee lamibee do e Dianke Waly lamade ?*

K.C : Alla gandal am gal ko do haddi mbayye wida ka.

Q : *To tia e fulbe ro be kalla ni meen fii la kelegana, ho ko houde worere e kele jawara ?*

K.C : Piwu ko houde worere.

K.C : Oui, c'est vrai

Q : *Quel titre portait-il ?*

K.C : Il s'appelait Waly. C'est sa mère qui s'appelait Dianke, c'est la raison pour laquelle il s'appelle Dianke Waly.

Q : *Dianke Waly gouvernait quel terroir ?*

K.C : C'est des Kansala en Gambie⁴ qu'il gouvernait. Il est le dernier à régner.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il avait des provinces dans ce terroir ?*

K.C : Tous ces tata que j'ai énuméré, ils percevaient les impôts. C'est à eux qu'on remettait les impôts.

Q : *Quel sorte d'impôts, est-ce que c'était du bétail, de l'argent ?*

K.C : Avant qu'il ait de la monnaie, les impôts étaient de bétail, chèvres, moutons et vaches.

Q : *Comment s'appelait le territoire de Dianke Waly ?*

Notables : Il s'appelait le Manden.

Q : *On a écouté des griots qui disent que ce territoire faisait partie de l'empire du Mali de Soundjata Keita. Est-ce que c'est vrai ?*

K.C : C'est vrai, c'est Soundjata Keita.

Q : *Alors il y avait deux sortes de rois: les rois avec les tatas et les grands rois comme Dianke Waly. Est-ce qu'il y avait d'autres sortes de gens importants ?*

K.C : C'est les *kelejawara* qui avaient d'importance parce que c'est eux qui allaient aux combats. Ceux qui aidaient le roi lors de ces différentes expéditions, c'est eux qui étaient récompensés.

Q : *Est-ce qu'on connaît les noms des prédécesseurs de Dianke Waly ?*

K.C : Dianke Waly est le dernier à régner.

Q : *Est-ce que vous savez les noms des rois qui ont régné avant Dianke Waly ?*

K.C : Ma connaissance s'arrête là parce que ce n'est pas écrit.

Q : *Dans les villages peuls on nous a parlé de personnages appelés kelegana, est-ce que c'est la même chose que les kele jawara ?*

K.C : C'est la même chose.

⁴Probablement un erreur, le notable voudrait dire Guinée Bissau

Q : *Ho kele jawara be be ko watu lambe Sebbe o e kelegana be be ko watu Fuladu e Alpha Molo e Moussa Molo ?*

K.C : Kele jawara ko watu Sebbe be ko Alpha Molo felli ko be mbihaa kelegana. De piwu indde ko Sebbe.

Q : *Meen naani filla baroula. Ho doum ngandou doon e doum ?*

K.C : Ko woni baroula ko kagn yotinta halla lamdo o ka. Baroula noone wona to fulbe woni de ko ro Sebbe woni.

Q : *Dioni doum ko hodoum fiirti ?*

K.C : Ko baroro do.

Amadou Camara (A.C) : E demagal puular ko doum woni domowo.

Q : *Ho kele jawara ko watu Tiramakhan wono wala doum kalla contini ?*

A.C : Kalla lamido i djogui baroula hayye jaarga i diogui baroula. Baroula mawdo jaarga o ohn wire jonkun. Anddi jonkun kalla wona e puular. Wayyi no Bayel hen, Kandiaye e Aliou Sambere hen, Niampayo hen, ha yehi Patin hen been piwu i diogui baroula be.

Q : *Ho baroula ko diali woneno ?*

Notables : Baroula woneta diali, diali e lawol moun.

Q : *Ho di piwu tata dji di kalle do di hoko kele jawara be lamino roon ?*

Notables : Ko kele jawara be.

Q : *Horo marché ji bourno no di wadde important di watu Sebbe ?*

Notables : I woddeno doula dji mbadeno tata dji kono halla no important. Ko diniin bourdi no. Ci iwi Kansala ko Kankelefa (Guinée Bissau), Payoungou, Kabendou, Paroumba, Kopara ko di dioguino doole. Kono i wodeno tata wonie, di ko tata dji galle goro Koumamboure.

Q : *Hoddi ledji ngone do e hono di ngardi do ?*

K.C : Ontuma ko badjarabe gono do, Sebbe, Diaxanke, Fulbe Fuuta, Diola, Balantos be, Fulakunda be

Q : *Ho watu Sebbe be sinciara saare de o ta badjaranko be iniin do ?*

K.C : Sebbe be iddi do sinciu de pouramière, après wadde gol o tata ko wadjarabe waddi o tata.

Q : *Est-ce que les kelejawara existaient au temps des rois Sebbe et les kelegana durant la période du Fuladu avec Alpha Molo et Moussa Molo ?*

K.C : Les kele jawara c'est la période des Sebbe et quand Alpha Molo a vaincu, ils ont pris le nom de kelegana. Ce sont des noms mandingues.

Q : *On a aussi entendu parler des baroula. Qu'est-ce que vous savez sur cela ?*

K.C : Le baroula c'est celui qui transmettait le message du roi, il portait sa parole Baroula c'est mandingue, pas peul.

Q : Qu'est-ce que cela signifie ?

K.C : C'est celui qui supplée.

Amadou Camara (A.C) : Baroula c'est celui qui quémante en peul. C'est celui qui vit au crochet des autres.

Q : *Les kele jawara ont-ils existé au temps de Tiramakhan ou cela a continué après Tiramakhan ?*

A.C : Tous ceux qui ont dirigé avaient des baroula même le jarga à un baroula. Le grand baroula du jarga s'appelait jonkun. Tu sais jonkun c'est n'est pas puular. Les villages comme Bayel, Kandiaye avec Aliou Sambere, Niampayo jusqu'en Patin tout le monde avait un baroula.

Q : *Est-ce que le baroula est un griot ?*

Notables : Le baroula n'est pas un griot, le griot à son chemin.

Q : *Aux tatas que vous avez mentionné, est-ce que à la tête de ceux-ci, c'étaient les kele jawara ou d'autres gens ?*

Notables : C'étaient les kele jawara.

Q : *Où étaient les marchés les plus importants de la période mandingue ?*

Notables : Il y avait des lieux où il y avait des tatas mais qui n'étaient pas importants. Ils n'avaient pas la même importance. C'étaient les plus importants. Après Kansala, il y a Kankelefa, Payoungou, Kabendou, Kopara. Ceux étaient les plus puissants. Mais il y avait d'importance moyenne, des tatas d'une seule maison comme Koumamboure.

Q : *Quels lignages habitent maintenant Kabendou et quel est leur ordre d'arrivée ?*

K.C : A cette époque, il y avait les Badjaranke, les Sebbe, les Diaxanke, les Fulbe Fuuta, les Balantes et les Fulakunda.

Q : *Lorsque les Sebbe fondaient le village, est-ce qu'il y avait des Badjaranke ?*

K.C : Les Sebbe sont les premiers à fonder le village, après les wadjaranke ont construit le tata.

13.-Sare Doubel Sambalo

Date: 20/01/2013

Participants : Moussa Mballo (*jaarga*), Gallé Diallo, Mampatim, Ousmane Kande, Demba Balde, Malick Diao, Faly Mballo, Bouly Mane, (*jarga Sare Pathe Bouya*), Diabou Mballo.

Q : *Ho ahno wawi meen hallan de ko lemnda do dioni ko ?*

Moussa Mballo (M.M): Do meen gone do ko jinambe ameen ngari do sinciu de. Be guibori ko saare wire de Mamacounda. Ko toon be guibori. Ko be ngarta do ko ta neddo mawni ceeda sabouna ko saare ndiobo meen djibina. Baba am imbi roon wi e araa daban de bibe moun be do be gona. Be guimbi ron baba ameen bire do Sa Mballo o, mbo ari Diankancounda do do jaarga Bodio, mboyoyo ohn yo mboni falla dabou de do woni.

Bodio jaarga yabiri mbo, mbo bissi mbo. Be ngari noon ha do, be ngandi lalororo, tayyi ko hodande. Be guibi roon be mbayni o Ousmani, be ngari do. De woneno be jamodiri doum golle o foudda ma, be koliriyo meen mineen thioukalel. Ko too meen gondo to deeya mango dje to sinthian ko ro woneno. Ko ro meen ngone do do he meen ngari de ga. Tata o meen mbatino. Ohn diamanou ta wona ni wayyi, ci mawdo halli no han ko doum wadiri teno. Ko ni mbalori mawdo do. Ciou di inin to saare ndiobo ko toon di ndonda no di kabba ni.

Ci Bodio jaarga wineno ko doum wate ko doum wateno. Ci mbo wi diango thiou di gandoye saare Bodio. Ci niadde thiou di dondere o, ah tawano do galle do I deffe bewa I wara. Niande dou wateno han ah tawano thiou di diedi di ha dietati I rondaa adde do. Allah wadi mawdo yaddi e saare de tayi dourani tayi Allahdieti mbo.

Baba am djete, baba am yaddi e saare de ha dourri e Amadou Sidy lonti mbo mbo diodi doubbi dietati, ontuma babirawo am meen Dembayel sabouna ohn yadou e saare de doubbi dienayi de mbo natti. Onutma be calfini kam saare de. O watu mbo diodi den o ko miin woni califa saare de o.

Ousmane Kande (O. K): Sa Mballo ko fokiri daboy gol saare de ko miin ari sownade. Mbo wimi falla daboye de saare kono ahn mi falla ka ma ga ndalde. Mimi doum Mamadou mi falla kama rimande kono mino djogui sarcoyi do mi falla ka mbo arta ya do mbo ndanga yoya selleber. Meen ngatie ha mbo arti dabere kolu mbo. Mboyoyo kam eyyi. Doubbi no pori yo, kalla no mbidaa kalla no ndia da yo ko do ndiaha mi. Be ngari do noon e ko Moussa ko hall ni ohn ko piwu ko goga mbo feanin ohn mbo soudaki ohn.

Q: *Ho ohn noon ngandi fi histoire tata o?*

Q : Est-ce que vous pouvez reprendre ce que vous venez de nous dire tout de suite ?

Moussa Mballo (M.M): Là où nous sommes c'est mes parents qui l'on fondé. Ils sont venus du village de Mamacounda. Ils viennent de là-bas. Lorsqu'ils sont venus ici, nous avons grandi un peu parce que nous sommes nés à Saare Ndiobo. Mon père a quitté en disant qu'il allait partir chercher là où ses enfants pourrait s'établir. Ils ont quitté là-bas avec mon autre père qui s'appelait Sa Mballo et puis ils sont partis trouver le *jarga* de Diankancounda et lui ont dit 'on est venus chercher là où s'établir'.

Jaarga Bodio a donné son accord et lui a souhaité la bienvenue. Ils sont venus jusqu'ici, et ils ont amené quelqu'un pour savoir si ce lieu était propice à l'installation humaine. Il est parti avec Ousmani pour venir s'installer ici. Une fois qu'ils se sont convenus et le travail a commencé, ils sont venus rendre compte à nous les enfants. Nous nous sommes installés près des manguiers là-bas. C'est là-bas que se trouvait le site. C'est là-bas que nous nous sommes installés avant de venir ici. Nous étions près du *tata*. Ces temps ne sont plus pareils qu'aujourd'hui, si un vieillard décidait quelque chose, sa parole était respectée. On a transporté des cases de Saare Ndiobo jusqu'ici.

Tout ce que Bodio *jarga* voulait faire, tout le monde le faisait. S'il disait 'demain on va prendre les toits des cases', on le faisait. Le jour d'aller prendre les toits des cases, on préparait à la maison et on égorgeait un mouton. On pouvait déplacer six à sept toits le même jour. Dieu a fait qu'il n'a pas duré au village parce qu'il est décédé.

Mon père a pris la relève. Mon père a dirigé le village assez longtemps et il a été remplacé par Amadou Sidy, qui a dirigé pendant huit ans, ensuite le frère Dembayel est resté durant neuf années. avant de mourir. C'est par la suite que je dirige le village. Maintenant je suis le calife du village.

Ousmane Kande (O.K) : Quand Sa Mballo a décidé d'aller chercher un village, il est venu me le dire. Il m'a dit 'je veux aller chercher un village mais je veux que tu m'accompagnes'. Et je lui ai dit 'je ne veux pas te mentir, j'ai un fils qui est parti en aventure, je ne voudrais pas qu'il revienne et qu'il soit un vagabond'. On a attendu son retour et je lui ai fait part et il m'a donné son accord. 'Des années durant, là où tu mettras les pieds, je te suivrai'
C'est ainsi que nous sommes venus ici. Tout ce que Moussa vous a dit est vrai, il ne vous a rien caché ni vous a pas menti.

Q : Est-ce que vous connaissez quelque chose sur l'histoire du tata ?

M.M: Ko do meen tawi tata o. Tawi tiwlol moun gol I fori do ni diwure. Kono ci mi wi ohn mi sifan to ohn fi histoire tata o mi fenan. Doum mawobe doum sifa de ko Diankancounda be ngoni. Ko been mawura ohn fila na de histoire tata o. Ko mawa mi ohn hallan de ko meen guiwi saare ndiobo ko ha no meen ngar di do ni. Ko yawri do ko ci mi sifima doum rƙan mi sifi ma ko mi andda. Ci neddo sifima ko andda ran ah nanti e kassi.

Notable: Mawobe ohn sifana de are tata o piwu mayyi, kono mineen ko meen manti ko, ko meen ngarta do ko ta tata o ko no dared amen di fota. Sabouna meen diegano tata. Ko no Moussa wima ni. Meen kothiano ron nadjo dje sabouna ko men nialoyan no. Been djeyi doum dioula be ngaran no be do.

M. M : Le *tata* on l'a trouvé ici et il avait la même taille que ce banc de bambou. Mais si je vous dit que je peux vous raconter l'histoire du *tata*, je vais mentir. Les gens qui peuvent en dire quelque chose se trouvent à Diankancounda. C'est eux qui peuvent vous raconter l'histoire du *tata*. Je ne peux vous raconter que notre départ de Sare Ndiobo et notre arrivée dans le village. Je ne peux dire au-delà de ce que je viens de vous dire parce que si je dis autre chose, ça seront des contre-vérités. Si quelqu'un raconte ce qu'il ne sait pas, il dit des mensonges.

Notable : Les gens qui peuvent vous raconter l'histoire du *tata* sont tous morts. Mais on se rappelle quand nous étions encore jeunes on pouvait escalader le mur du *tata* parce qu'il avait notre taille. C'est comme Moussa t'a dit. On y ramassait des perles parce que c'est là-bas qu'on allait se reposer. Et ces perles nous les avons revendu à des marchands qui venaient en aquérir.

14.-Sare Pathe Bouya

Date: 20/01/2013

Participants : Galle Diallo, Sana Toure, Bouly Mané (jaarga), Bourama Mane, Ibrahima Diambang, Mamadou Sane, Malang Kante, Satou Cisse, Mamadou Gadiry Diallo, Diankankunda Oguel, Thierno Gadjigo, Mamadi Diambang , Djinku Kambaye .

Q : *Ko hobbo watu saare Pate Bouya sincia e ko hobbo sinci de ?*

Bouly Mane (B.M): Sinciu do Saare Pate o ko Pate wireno nene moun wireno Bouya. Saare de ko sincia ko en 1802. Pate ko mayyi ko, lonti do Pate o ko bido makko o Yoba Balde. Yoba ko mayyi ko, Arfang Kansou Mane lonti mbo. Ohn ko iwi ko Malang Mane lonti mbo. Nene moun ko Kumba Dian Sane. Lonti to mbo o ko Satio Mane wireno. Ko Bouly lonti satio Ontuma Mamadou Mane ko ohn woni koro Bouly. Ohn ko mayyi ko le Bouly Mane lonti mbo dimale. Ko di jaarga dji diego ngoni do guila saare de sincia en 1802.

Q : *Ko e hodoum basi da ha miida saare de ko en 1802 de sincia.*

B.M : Baba am Malang Mane ko kabee yetate no doum. Doum xawri e diamano Moussa Molo. Ohn diamano kaddi Moussa Molo ko woneno roi Fuladu ohn xawrou no e baba dji ameen di. Ko doum waddi ci mawbe i yewta meen naani. Ko doum waddi ha mi anddi.

Q : *Horo Pate Bouya iwri ? Ho ko mbo Ceddo noo ? Wala ho mbo tawi do goddo ?*

Bourama Mane (B.M) : Pate Bouya ko Puulo. Mama am e mama be, Moussa ndangui be he debbo mabbe. Be wi do Badji Kunda. Be abboyi Pate Bouya to Bakor halani be, ta be mama mouhen ko almoudo ameen. Miin ndianguini be tafougol.

De be yoti Bakor, Pate Bouya, Faran Bouya e Hella Bouya ko taro. De be yoti Bakor, be tawani doone Pate. Kote mabbe raan be tawi doon Faran Bouya. Ohn Faran Bouya be tawi mbo do Jenku do. Be djippi don le de. Be mbi mbo meen ndiaano hare Koniandje be, be ndangui debbo ameen, dioni ko ohn debbo meen ganddi kalla Puulo mbawo do meen ohn holude ko ohn meen ngonani. Faran wi be dioni djode ha thiuoukalel ngara.

De woneno Bakor ta Pate arri, Faran halla ni doum. Be ndiehi to Moussa. Moussa wi be debbo o ko be Gambie be totu mii mbo. Pate ko ni be arti be danti koro mabbe. Koro mabbe wi be ha haan ndiehe roon Be ndiehi be ngartiri debbo ha Bakor.

Ontuma be guiwi Bakor be ngari ta ohn watu ta Ceddo alla do de. Ceddo haye goro alla no do. Korace to be palano sinciu de. Puulo sincino be doum be to ko mbo Gadda Mayo. Be ngari ha be djoti do, mbo wi Pate yo do ko saare de ! Pate wi doum ouhou. Mboyo ko do bouri to. Pate widoum awa. Yahna bagages mbo arti, Pate tadjji nayyi di leride. Mbo ndelidi ndeda koro makko. Koro wi mbo hono mbada ? Mbo wi ohn ko guesse dabana mi ohn ni. Ohn widoum ah diafikam. Ah iwi e ley am Moussa nagama no guerto gal ni mbo warama.

Q : *Quand est-ce que Saare Pate Bouya a été fondé et par qui ?*

Bouly Mane (B.M): Celui qui a fondé Saare Pate s'appelait Pate et sa mère Bouya. Le village a été fondé en 1802. Lorsque Pate est décédé, Pate fut remplacé par son fils Yoba Balde. Quand Yoba est décédé, c'est Arfang Kansou Mane qui l'a remplacé. C'est Malang Mane qui l'a remplacé. Sa mère s'appelait Kumba Dian Sane. Sa mère s'appelait Satio Mane. Bouly Mane l'a remplacé. Ensuite il y a eu l'arrivée de Mamadou Mane, le frère de Bouly. Après lui, c'est moi Bouly Mane qui l'a remplacé. Voilà les six jaarga qui se sont succédés depuis la fondation du village en 1802.

Q : *Pourquoi vous affirmez que le village a été fondé en 1802 ?*

B.M : Mon père Malang Mane, c'est lui qui en parlait. Cela a coïncidé avec l'arrivée de Moussa Molo. A cette période, Moussa Molo était le roi du Fulaadu et à la génération de mes parents. C'est pour cela que nos parents nous ont raconté et on a écouté. C'est pour cela que j'ai connu cela.

Q : *Pate Bouya il venait d'où ? Etait-il un manding ? Est-ce qu'il a trouvé quelqu'un ici ?*

Bourama Mane (B.M) : Pate Bouya est un Pullo. Musa a capturé son grand-père, le mien, et sa femme. Ils ont appelé ici Badji Kunda. Ils ont suivi Pate Bouya à Bakor et ils lui ont rendu compte. A cet instant, leur grand-père était notre disciple. On lui a appris à forger.

Ils sont arrivés à Bakor chez les trois frères Pate Bouya, Faran Bouya et Hella Bouya. Ils ont allé chez Pate. Mais ils n'ont trouvé que son grand-frère Faran Bouya. C'est Faran Bouya qu'ils ont trouvé dans le *Jenku*. Il les a accueilli sur place. Ils lui ont dit 'nous sommes partis en guerre contre les Koniangui et ils ont capturé notre femme. Maintenant si un Pullo parvient à la ramener, on va se ranger à son côté'. Faran leur demanda de patienter parce que ses jeunes frères étaient absents.

Quand Pate est rentré à Bakor, Faran lui fit le compte rendu. Ils sont partis chez Moussa. Moussa leur dit qu'il a remis la femme aux gens de la Gambie. C'est ainsi que Pate revint rendre compte à son frère. Et leur grand-frère lui a dit de partir là-bas. Ils ont ramené la femme à Bakor.

Par la suite, ils ont quitté Bakor et ils sont venus par-là, à cette époque il n'y avait pas de Ceddo ici. Il n'y avait point de Ceddo. C'est à Korace qu'ils voulaient s'établir. Le Pullo qui leur a recommandé de fonder le village vient de Gadda Mayo. Ils arrivèrent jusqu'ici et il a dit à Pate 'ici c'est un village !' Pate acquiesça. Il a dit 'celui est meilleur que l'autre'. Pate a été d'accord. Il est parti prendre les bagages et revint. Pate partagea le troupeau en deux. Il envoya une partie à son frère. Son grand-frère lui demanda: 'qu'est ce que tu as fait ? Il lui a répondu qu'il était parti chercher des champs. Celui-ci lui a dit 'tu m'as trahi. Tu es parti mais Moussa va te capturer comme un coq et il te tuera'

Mbo sinci do, mbo noddii do Fulbe saare de nori. De mbo noddii fulbe be, Diarra Kandia, Koliyel Diao to Diaobe, Lountan Boula to saare Lountan. Mbo wi be eneen fulbe dioni madde kongol kabbe e Moussa. Ta mbo diodji e cerna djo ohn ligani ma Pate mbo oubi doum do. De fulbe iwdara e dianfaa. Been taan be diehi be mbiyyo ci en ngonni kongol gorol en kabi Moussa, hobo halfoyeraan en ? Be mbiyo Pate. Mbo yo he Puulo. Mbo he do e Puulo hono meen halfa en no jiyaado no halfu en. Ayi be diaki dianfa o. De Pate maari hudde de Pate iwi do yehi sincioyi Madina Samba Diallo.

Pate ko bido debbo goro mbo hebbi. Bedda be fof ko bido migniraw moun bido koro moun. Bibe wore be be. Bido debbo goro mbo hebbi. No nanira mi mama am filortani de. Ontuma mbo yehi Madina mbo sincio yi toone. Awa ko doone Moussa hebi do. De mbo wire ko fulbe dogui ko, fulbe dogou moun tawno felere yanino.

Abdoul Diallo ko lamoro do ko doum hawra ni e lamu Moussa. Mineen mama ameen reddu reddu ohn ko doubbi didi tabouru du mayyi de be lonti Toure Kunda. Be lamu mabbe ko Hamdallye woneno. Hamdallaye Moussa Molo. Ko Moussa iti mbo roon widoum no are ga dioda de. Ko Hamdallaye be ngoneno ko toon be habano. Ko Moussa itti be Hamdallaye fi Hella e Bakary ngara be dokka Pate ta Moussa hola ki Pate. Ngare gol mabbe be tawuno meen ga e fulbe be.

Q : Fi hodoum addi ha guiwi do do jaarga Puulo ha djoti doon e jaarga Ceddo ?

B.M : Fi ko fulbe be piwu dogui. Ko be dogui be sincio yi Diankankunda Oguel, be sincio yi saare Boydo, wobe diehi Pakane, saare Pate, ha hedde linkerinto kambe piwu be dogui toon. Be yehi be sincio yi toon be athie Sebbe be do.

Q : Ho ko lawol gorol kayen piwu be dogui ?

B.M : Kayen piwu ko lawol gorol be dogui tayi Moussa wari Pate ontuma be dogui.

Notable : Pate Bouya ko Bakor iwi. Koro makko ko Faran Bouya wireno. Be kalle di ron be ndieha sincio yo gol Korace to Diokunda ko takko saare Lountan ayida bantaguel ko doon koro mako sinci. Be ngari ha do taali di do takko thiagol do ko toon be mbaali. Be mbaali ha feccere djemaa ontuma cerna djo makko yi foyre do taan mbo wi Pate mii yi do saare kalla Puulo djodido ah lamoro.

Ontuma ko weri ko koto makko widoum yo andien ndiawrene. Mboyo ohn yo miino tampii dioni ndiawre. Ahno e yimbe ma be. Miin mi fowrero do ha diango sabouna mi tampi. Si mi fowri ma ha django, mi abboro ohn. Ko ni koro makko o yawri kanko e famille makko e maccube makko be. Kagne kalla e famille makko e maccube makko be be keddi. Ko koro makko o yehi taan kanko mbo ari do ta noone cerna djo holi di mbo djema ha gassi. Ko weri ko mbo fouddi haressoude do.

Mbo haressi balde tari, koro makko nelli maccudo makko o pour mbo ara larede ho mbo yahani. Ohn watu ko tambe pucci di ko ohn wire Soufa. Pate widoum ya wiya koro am miin kala mi no daba do guessa. Si hebbi kalla galle hadilon ko kagne wodi kalla. Mbiyya mbo dioni ko do mi wata niin saare. Awa ko nii mbo yehi mbo halla no yi koro makko.

Il fonda le village ici et il a appelé les Fulbe. Ces Fulbe ont répondu: Diarra Kandia, Koliyel Diao à Diaobe, Lountan Boula à Saare Lountan. Il a dit aux Fulbe de se coaliser pour combattre Moussa. Un marabout lui avait fait un talisman et il l'a enterré. Les Fulbe sont des traîtres. Ils partirent seuls et se sont dits 'si on se coalise et on se bat avec Moussa, qui sera à la tête ? Ça va être Pate.' Ils ont dit 'mais un Pullo! Nous préferons qu'un esclave nous dirige, avant qu'un Pullo'. C'est ainsi qu'ils l'ont trahi. Lorsque Pate s'est rendu compte, il a fondé Madina Samba Diallo.

Pate avait une seule fille. Tout le reste était des garçons. Il avait une seule fille. C'est ainsi que j'entendais mon grand-père le raconter. Il est parti à Madina fonder un village là-bas. C'est ainsi que Moussa a récupéré ici. Avant qu'on dise que les Fulbe ont fui, les armes ont été rangées.

La regne d'Abdoul Diallo n'a pas coïncidé avec le règne de Moussa. Nos grands-pères maternels n'ont vécu que deux ou trois ans avant de sa mort et que les Toure Kunda les remplacent. Leur pouvoir était à Hamdallaye. Hamdallaye Moussa Molo. C'est Moussa qui a dit à Hella et Bakary de venir ici. C'est à Hamdallaye qu'ils se sont battus. C'est Moussa qui est venu de Hamdallaye pour surveiller Pate parce que Moussa n'avait pas confiance à Pate. A leur arrivée, ils nous ont trouvé avec les Fulbe ici.

Q : *Pourquoi on est passé d'un jarga Peul à un jaaga Ceddo ?*

B.M : C'est du à la fuite des Fulbe. Quand ils ont fui, ils sont partis fonder Diankankunda Oguel. Ils ont fondé Saare Boydo, d'autres sont partis dans le Pakane, Mounigui, il y a aussi Saare Pate jusqu'à Linkerinto; ils ont occupé tous ces territoires. Ils sont partis fonder là-bas pour laisser les Sebbe sur place.

Q : *Est-ce qu'ils ont fui au même temps ?*

B.M : Ils ont tous fui au même temps mais avant de partir ils ont tué Pate et c'est ensuite qu'ils ont fui.

Notable : Pate Bouya vient de Bakor. Son grand-frère s'appelle Faran Bouya. Ils ont décidé d'aller fonder un village dans le Korace à Diokunda près de Saare Lountan. Il y a un petit fromager qui servait de place publique, c'est la que son grand-frère fonda le village. Ils sont venus jusqu'à un arbre qu'on appelle *taali* près de la rivière et ils ont passé la nuit. En pleine nuit, son marabout lui a dit 'j'ai vu une lumière près de nous'. Pate s'est sursauté et le marabout lui a dit 'quiconque s'établit sur ce site, il gouvernera'.

À la levée du jour, son frère lui donna l'ordre de continuer. Il a répondu qu'il était fatigué mais que eux ils pouvaient continuer. 'Moi je vais reposer jusqu'à demain parce que je suis fatigué. Si je me repose jusqu'à demain, je vous suivrai.' C'est ainsi que son grand-frère continua son chemin avec sa famille, ses esclaves et lui. Et lui aussi, il est resté avec sa famille et ses esclaves. Lorsque son frère est parti, il est parti sur le site mais son marabout lavait déjà indiqué le lieu la nuit. À la levée du jour, il est partit débroussailler le site.

Il a désherbé pendant trois jours. Son grand-frère envoya son esclave pour voir si Pate se préparait pour les rejoindre. A ce temps, on appelait les propriétaires des chevaux des *soufa*. Pate lui demanda d'aller dire à son frère 'moi aussi je cherche un champ. Si j'arrive à avoir une maison, elle sera la tienne aussi. Tu lui diras que c'est ici que je vais fonder mon village'. C'est ainsi qu'il est partie rapporter à son frère.

Ontuma mbo waddi galle o. Waddi tata. Tata o iniin do hadjilon do galle ameen do. Tata makko o ha do woynu makko dou piwu iniin do galle ameen do. Mbo woni doon ha mbo hebbi doole. Mawbe mbiyo mbo waddi mounku ciuddi diedi, mbo waddi kourre do ciuddi diedi. Fulbe guimbi diehi mbi Moussa yo Pate fallama dianfa de, mbo darni toon tata de e mbo waddi roon ciuddi mounku.

Ontuma koni be ngoniri do, ko ni be ngoniri do hawri mama ameen i iwri Guinée Bissau Soumacounda mbo ari hodide e Moussa. Si Moussa teddina na mbo, mbo warade Moussa. Mbo yaha mbo banna konu o mbo yaha mbo fella Moussa. Moussa noone teddi no mbo. Moussa wi mbo miino diogui do Puulo mi holaki mbo. Dioni ya diodano da kam to. Kalla ko mbo ebbi mbiyya mbo wata no wadde. Dokka nam mi mbo.

Q : Ho Soufa ko kabere e dioma pucci ?

B.M : Ko kabere no e joma pucci.

Q : Ko hodoum woneno hakou de Gansoumana Sira e Pate Bouya ?

B.M : Ontuma mbo wi Moussa, miin ko mi areno ma larede raan mi woneta do mi horan niin. Moussa widoum alla ah hotta miin no tami Puulo ohn hebbini de, mbo paari. Dioni ndiaha ayeno ya toon. Ontuma be kal di ha mbo horri mama am. Baba dji ameen di mbiyo niadde be pellara o galle be mbiyo ko ndiande wotere be didi ko ndiande wotere be darni galle o ha mbo hubbi. O noddi leydi ni fof ko kano e leydi gari do galle ameen do.

Ontuma ko ni mbo woneri haa. Mawbe be mbiyo Moussa si Pate iniin to saare Pate ah wawra mbo ware de. Sabouna mbo houmni kalla ko mbo watta. Sabouna be mbi, mawbe mbi mbo waddi mbo danpouran, mbo weddi mbo. Ontuma si mbo sinciyi raan do he madia dji waline de to leydi ro, si mbo no di Moussa raan mbo warambo. Moussa noon kallan no mawbe mbiri ni, mbo sousse raa doum wadde to leride leydi ro ko to frontiere to mbo wawra doum wadde. Sabouna si wadi doum to leride leydi ro doum modiara.

Ko ni mbo imbi mbo sinciyi Madina. Be ngoni roon ha mbaye dje pouddi bedude raan madia dji bendani tawone, ontuma mbo noddi mbo Gambisara. Fulbe wobbe mbiyo wona no mbo ya mboyo mbo yahde. Mboyo mbo yahate sabouna jiyaado nodara mbo mbo wassa yadde. Mawbe mbi mbo Goundaga o ko Dekumba e odda mi yedjiri indde makko. Ko been abbi mbo Gambisara. Mbo yoti mbo salminoyi Moussa to Gambisara. Ta Moussa wi keklegana be moun be si mbo salmodiri e Pate raan ben mbara mbo.

Be katie ha houdde diouri, mbo yo ohn yo dioni mi falla routade to ndiarigui be am to. Moussa widoum awa. Fadde be doum be tioussani mbo wardde, mbo yawri. Mawbe be mbi ha doum fori balde taari. Si Pate yehi ha ro galle raan, Moussa ndella na mbo. Mba areta kallan. Be gara tiring be katie ha be gayni, Pate wiyya Moussa dioni mi falla routadde to ndiarigue am to. Ta noone mbo niin pari de.

Par la suite, il a construit sa maison, il a construit un *tata*. Le *tata* est toujours là dans notre maison. Son *tata* et son puits sont tous là dans notre maison. Il s'est reposé jusqu'à récupérer sa force. Les vieux ont dit qu'il a rempli sept cases de poudre et sept cases avec des balles. Les Fulbes sont partis dire à Moussa que Pate voulait le trahir, puisqu'il avait construit un *tata* et rempli des cases de poudre.

Ils sont restés ainsi, ils sont restés ainsi jusqu'au départ de nos parents de la Guinée Bissau vers Soumacounda pour cohabiter avec Moussa. Si Moussa ne le respectait pas, il allait tuer Moussa. Il allait amener une armée et faire la guerre à Moussa. Moussa l'a respecté. Moussa a dit 'il a un Pullo là-bas, je n'ai pas confiance à lui, vous devez le surveiller. Il faut rester à son côté et le qu'il reste à votre côté. Il faut le dissuader de ses entreprises. Il faut le surveiller pour moi'.

Q : *Le Soufa est-il un guerrier et aussi un chevalier ?*

B.M : *C'est un guerrier et aussi un chevalier.*

Q : *Quelle était la relation entre Gansoumana Sira et Pate Bouya ?*

B.M : Par la suite, il dit à Moussa qu'il était venu lui rendre visite et qu'il devait partir. Il ne pouvait pas rester. Moussa lui a dit 'tu ne vas pas rentrer parce que j'ai un Pullo, il est fin prêt. Maintenant tu vas aller le surveiller pour moi'. Néanmoins, Moussa n'a pas convaincu mon grand-père. Mes parents ont dit que le jour qu'ils ont fait la guerre, c'est le même jour que qu'ils ont tracé et construit la maison. Il a fait appel à tous le terroirs et il est venu avec ce monde dans notre maison.

C'est ainsi qu'il est demeuré ici. Les vieux ont dit à Moussa que si Pate restait à Saare Pate, il ne pourrait le tuer, parce qu'il serait préparé. Les vieux ont dit qu'il devait prendre une fronde pour la lancer. Que s'il fondait un village avant qu'on récolte le millet, et il appelait Moussa, ce dernier allait le tuer. Selon les vieux, Moussa n'osait pas le tuer à l'intérieur du territoire, seulement sur la frontière. Parce que s'il le faisait à l'intérieur du territoire ça porterait du mauvais.

C'est ainsi qu'il est parti fonder Madina. Ils ont attendu le moment quand le sorgho était mur mais le millet n'était pas encore mur. Ensuite il l'a convoqué à Gambisara. Certains des Fulbes lui ont dit de ne pas partir. Il leur a dit qu'il allait partir parce qu'il fallait répondre à l'appel d'un *jiyaado*. Les anciens lui ont dit que l'affaire était entre Dekumba de Goundaga et un autre que j'ai oublié son nom. C'est eux qui l'ont accompagné en Gambisara. Dès son arrivée, il salua Moussa en Gambisara. Moussa avait dit à ses *kelegana* que dès qu'il aurait terminé de saluer Pate, il fallait le tuer.

Ils ont parlé longuement, Pate a prit congé de lui en lui disant qu'il voulait rentrer chez ses hôtes. Moussa a été d'accord. Ceux qui l'attendaient n'osèrent pas le tuer. Il poursuivit son chemin. Les vieux ont dit que cela a duré trois jours. Une fois que Pate rentrait à la maison, Moussa demandait qu'on l'appelle de nouveau. Ils reprenaient les discussions et une fois qu'ils terminaient, Pate demandait de prendre congé et rentrer chez son hôte. Alors qu'il était prêt.

Moussa widoum awa. Moussa wi jawaro djo makko si ohn mbarani o haan diango mi wara ohn piwu. Mbayri ko niwure, wiyya mbo wouddi arede to galle ro no o dabba ni, wobbe i Gnade balde tari de, fouturo Moussa nelani mbo. Mbo ari. Be dietodiri, be kiri be kiri ha fayda hiradde mbatima, mbo wi Moussa dioni mi falla ma routade to niarigui be am to. saffi fenqui, be lappi mbo do kono hawri mbo yani. Ko ni be mbarir Pate ko mawbe be mbira ko. daari ni wobbe i daari ni. Guidi narara, lami narar. Kalla houdde yo houdde si ko koural natara mbo. Ontuma kanbbe piwu be badine ounoule, mbo wouddi rek be lappi mbo. Hawri mbo

Dioni ko Pate warako be goubbi mbo do frontiere do, Dekumba wiyo artira kedji makko di do do koro makko. Ko Dkumba yotiniin bagage o taan Fulbe be louki. Ontuma Moussa iwi toon ari do mbobbi do diawedi piwu kalla diawdi ko Pate dioguino Moussa mbo di nabbi to Hamdallaye.

Q : Hodoum itti diri kelegana e kele jawara ?

Notables : Fof ko houdde wotere.

Q : Hodoum addi ha jaarga ya o iwi to Fulbe yehi to Sebbe ?

B.M : Ko Sebbe e Fulbe be ngone douno do. Sebbe be heddi do ko ma mbo okka be. Mawbe ko mbira ko ko mawbe be okkuno jaarga ya. Dioni be mbiyyo mineen kallan meen mbawra jaarga de Soninkobe sabouna mineen ko lamu meen tawi. Be mbiyyo dioni no be okku bido Gansoumana Sira doum woni Malang Kumba Diaye. Ko mayde Pate de nabbi be.

Ko Pate mayyi ko Fulbe be dogui. Sebbe be badini e der be Sebbe ko mama be ardu no e Pate ohn wire Bakary Toure. Ohn Bakary Toure wiyyo mbayri Fulbe piwu dogui miino ko gueno, miino wawra wone de jaarga ko ni mbo okkiri Malang Kumba Diaye e minira be moun be ko ohn woni baba ameen. Mineen mama ameen ko Moussa arano pour ha mbo hippa mbo. Moussa noone teddi ni mbo.

Q : Ho ko Yoba lonti Pate ?

Bourama Mane : Ha Yoba lonti Pate kono Yoba en ko dogue kallan. Ko lamu Abdoul Diallo itti do Fulbe be be mbiyyo Toorodo lamora ka doumeen. Ko doum doguini ga Fulbe be. Wobe gonoyi to Mballo Kunda kono gobe ndiawri.

Q : Hobbo woneno Abdoul Diallo ?

B.M : Ohn ko chef de canton woneno to Madina Abdoul.

Q : Ko hobbo canton Abdoul Diallo lamino ?

Bourama Mane : Ko Parin Thibo mbo lamino

Q : Ko horo mbo diodino ?

Bourama Mane : Ko Madina Abdoul mbo woneno

Q : Do e watu Alpha Molo o e watu Moussa Molo o, i wodeno watu meen mbiyya lambe Sebbe ngoneno do. Ho ohn noone ngandi hen godoum ?

Au troisième jour, au crépuscule, Moussa l'a convoqué et il a répondu. Ils ont parlé jusqu'au moment où on voulait servir le dîner et Pate dit à Moussa 'je veux aller maintenant chez mon hôte.' Moussa lui donna l'autorisation. Moussa dit à son guerrier 'si vous ne le tuez pas aujourd'hui, je vous tuerai tous demain'. Il faisait nuit quand il a sorti de la maison; à l'entrée les uns se tenaient d'un côté et les autres de l'autre. Rien ne le transperçait, qu'il soit un couteau, une balle, rien ne passait. Ensuite ils l'ont rué contre quelques piliers. Il a essayé de faire sortir sa machette mais il tomba. C'est ainsi qu'ils tuèrent Pate, c'est ça que disent les vieux.

Après avoir tué Pate on l'a enterré à la frontière de Gambisara, Dekumba a ramené ses bagages. Dès que Dekumba arriva avec les bagages, les Fulbes crièrent. Ensuite, Moussa est venu récupérer toute sorte de richesses et les amena à Hamdallaye.

Q : Quelle est la différence entre kelegana et kele jawara ?

Notables : Il n'y a pas de différence.

Q : Pourquoi le jaargaya est passé des Fulbe aux Sebbe ?

B.M : Parce que les Sebbe et les Fulbe cohabitaient. Les Sebbe sont restés et on leur a donné la *jargaya*. Les vieux disaient que c'est aux notables qu'il avait donné la *jargaya*. Ils dirent qu'ils ne peuvent pas eux aussi diriger les Soninke parce qu'ils ont trouvé la royauté. Ils décidèrent de donner la chefferie au fils de Gansoumana Sira qui s'appelait Malang Kumba Diaye. C'est à la mort de Pate qu'ils sont partis.

C'est à la suite de la mort de Pate que les Fulbe sont partis. Les Sebbe ont pris et parmi les Sebbe c'est le grand-père à celui-là qui est venu avec Pate, il s'appelait Bakary Toure. Ce Bakary Toure dit que tous les Fulbe avaient fui mais qu'il ne pouvait pas être *jarga* parce qu'il était un boisselier. C'est ainsi qu'il a donné la *jargaya* à Malang Kumba Diaye et ses frères C'est lui notre père. Notre grand-père était venu pour Moussa pour lui faire la guerre. Moussa l'honora.

Q : Est-ce que Yoba a remplacé Pate ?

Bourama Mane : Oui Yoba a remplacé Pate mais Yoba aussi a fui. C'est à cause du règne d'Abdoul Diallo que les Fulbe sont partis parce qu'ils disaient qu'un Toorodo n'allait pas les gouverner. C'est ça qui a fait fuir les Fulbe. Les uns sont restés à Mballo Kunda et les autres ont continué.

Q : Qui était Abdoul Diallo ?

BM : C'était un chef de canton à Madina Abdoul.

Q : Il habitait où ?

Bourama Mane : Il habitait à Madina Abdoul.

Q : Avant la période d'Alpha Molo et celle de Moussa Molo, on nous dit qu'il y a à une époque où il y avait des rois mandingues. Est-ce que vous connaissez quelque chose sur ça ?

Bourama Mane : Mineen ko heen meen tawa. Ko doum addi ha meen mbima meen kalla naama taarika Kaabu ka. No mawbe diangui taarik ka o ko noone kalla naani ma.

Mineen mama dji ameen di ko Tiramakan Traore. Mawbe be ko mbira ko, to Jolof, mineen ko dioudede meen mbira be. Lamdo Mande wiyyo Tiramakan dioni ya habbo da e makko ko ohn wireno Soundjata. Dioni mbo iwi toon be gari be kabbi. Be kabbi balde diidi ndiane taari de o watu ko kanko Tiramakan tiggii nagui lamdo mbo hirici ohn mbo badini horo de. Mbo wari mbo ontuma be routii. Be kotti Mande. Be dioti be koli lamdo, be mbimo meen mbari lamdo Jolfoube, horo d'iniin là. Maccudo Tiramakan o nabbi horro de. Ontuma nabbe do hore de o, maccudo makko wi be no be madda mbo jimole.

Tiramakan ko naane tdoum taan, mbo noddii kelegana be moun be, wi be no be gassano ye mbo gabure makko. Ontuma mbo yehi mbo waroyi ohn, mboyoyi ohn no oubbe. Sabouna mbo iwi Mande, mbo yehi mbo habboyi mbo wari lamedo djolof o, mbo aretiri hore ohn de. Dioni lamdo alla ko waddi si wona wi no maccudo makko no wadane jimol. Doum wawra wone de. Kanko mbo wawra diodorade e kan heressa e der Mande. Ontuma be dogui be mbi lamdo o Tiramakan i wara hore moun de. Ontuma ko ni mbo imbi mbo ari mbo yotti do yandande moun do. Mboyoyi Tiramakan ko hodoum ?

Mboyoyi dieh Soundjata, mi yaha habba e lamdo o, ko miin tiggii wari mbo wona kelegana be am be. Ko miin tiggii nagui mbo diougo e diougo. Dieh ah okka ni meen galouyel okka maccudo am o galouyel. Ane heressa mi wonedara ka e Mande. Ko doum addi ha mbi mbi wara hore am.

Mboyoyi ohn no imbo, ohn wi yo mbo. Mbo ndodi diali be, mboyoyi be dioni mbadane Tiramakan ngalol. Ko yimou galol gol taan berde makko de jippi. Mboyoyi ohn yo dioni yahoye mi okki ma cerna be yahoye lamoya to.

Ndiande de mbo iwi ra Mande ko djeto dje thiampane die di e die di. Ontuma ko nii be gaari be mbo habouduno to Djolof be, mbo wadi toon tata do mbo wareno lamdo ko ohn woni Kumba Ndoffene Diouf. Mbo iwi toon mbo ari Kantora Gambie. Mbo sinci roon, mbo waddi toon tata. Tiramakan ko toon weresara basse mbo walo ton ko doum addi ha wiya Basse.

Ta mbo naani fi arre Bainoukobe be to Mampatim Sinthian. Ontuma mbo iwi roon mbo ari mbo felli be ta been kalla been niin wadi toon tata. Mbo habbi he mabbe, mbo habbi mbo riwi be ha mayo Koli hakuude Guinée-Bissau et Guinée Conakry. Mbo bari be toon, mbo fouddi kalla guila doon ha to Ziguinchor. Guilla mbo mbaari be toon tan mbo ari mbo waddi tata toon Mampatim Sinthian.

Mbo waddi ohn tata, mbo rawri Soumacounda mbo waddi toion tata. Awa Tiramakan ko di tata dji nayyi mbo waddi e der hirnaggue ga. Ko heddi ko ko hakunde bido makko wala tanir raw makko waddi doum e doum hawri thiampane tari et tari.

B.M : Foudande Kaabu ko Bassamar yehi ni ha Guinée-Bissau. Ko doon Kaabu fouddi ha Kossemar Gambie. Ko leydi thiampane tatie tati woni e der Kaabu do Bassamar à Kossemar. Guila Kaabu fouddi lamade, be fow kalifa be de leydi thiampane tati e tati mabbe nododiri be daarni gouvernement mabbe o to Kansala. Guila doum be mbiyyo ko honi leydi fora diode de wona roi Kaabu. Be mbi dioni, okke meen departement kari mbiyyo ko o wona ni men do ohn diode Kansala.

Q : *Been ciubereno be ko hono be mbireno ?*

Bourama Mane : Nous en faisons partie. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous voulons vous parler du Tarik du Kaabu. Je vais te raconter l'histoire telle qu'elle m'a été racontée par mes ancêtres.

Nos ancêtres sont des descendants de Tiramakan Traore. Les ancêtres disaient qu'au Jolof, nous on les appelle *dioudede*, le roi du Mandé envoya Tiramakan à faire la guerre. Celui-ci s'appelait Soundjata. Ensuite il est partie faire la guerre. Ils ont fait la guerre pendant deux jours et au troisième jour, Tiramakan lui-même a égorgé le roi et a pris la tête. Lorsqu'il l'a tué, ils sont retournés. Ils sont rentrés au Mandé. Ils ont présenté au roi la tête du roi des Jolofs. C'est l'esclave de Tiramakan qui a amené la tête. Ensuite, celui qui a amené la tête demanda qu'on lui compose une chanson.

Dès que Tiramakan a entendu cela, il a fait venir ses *kelegana* et leur a demandé d'aller lui creuser une tombe. Par la suite, il demanda qu'on le tue et l'enterre. Parce qu'il était parti faire la guerre au roi, il a tue le roi du Djolof et il a ramené sa tête. Maintenant le roi décide qu'on compose une chanson pour son esclave?. Il est inadmissible. Il ne put plus vivre avec cette honte dans le Mandé. Certains d'entre eux ont accouru vers le roi pour lui dire que Tiramakan va se suicider. C'est ainsi qu'il est venu devant la tombe. Et il a dit: Tiramakan, qu'est-ce qui se passe?

Il a répondu: 'Soundjata, je suis parti me battre avec le roi, c'est moi-même qui l'ai tué et non mes *kelegana*. C'est moi-même qui l'ai attrapé de mes propres mains. Et pourtant, tu n'as pas demandé qu'on compose une chanson à mon honneur mais à ce de mon esclave. Je ne peux vivre avec cette honte dans le Mandé. C'est la raison pour laquelle je veux me suicider.

Il lui a dit: 'lève toi, l'autre a refusé. Il appela les griots et leur demanda de composer une chanson à Tiramakan. Dès qu'ils ont fini de composer la chanson, il s'est soulagé. Par la suite, Sunjata lui a dit 'je vais te donner des marabouts pour que tu ailles régner'.

Il a quitté le Mandé avec soixante-dix-sept noms de famille. C'est ainsi qu'ils sont partis et ceux avec qui ils avaient combattu les Djolof, ils y ont construit un *tata* là où il a tué le roi Kumba Ndoffene Diouf. Après il est venu au Kantora en Gambie. Il a fondé là-bas et y a construit un *tata*. Tiramakan y étalait ses nattes pour se reposer, c'est la raison pour laquelle on l'appelle Basse.

Il a entendu parler des Bainouk de Mampatim Sinthian. Ainsi, il est venu les attaquer. Eux aussi avaient construit un *tata*. Il s'est battu avec eux, il s'est battu et les a repoussé jusqu'au fleuve de Koli qui se situe entre la Guinée-Bissau et la Guinée Conakry. Il les repoussa encore jusqu'à Ziguinchor aussi. Lorsqu'il termina, il est revenu sur Mampatim Sinthian pour y construire un *tata*.

Lorsqu'il a terminé de construire son *tata*, il est parti à Soumacounda pour y ériger un *tata* la bas. C'est ces quatre *tatas* que Tiramakan a construit dans l'ouest. Le reste on été construits par ses fils ou ses petits-fils, jusqu'au total de trente-trois *tataji*.

BM : Le Kaabu commence du fleuve Bassamar jusqu'en Guinée-Bissau. De là, le Kaabu va jusqu'au fleuve Kossemar en Gambie. Le territoire du Kaabu est composé de trente-trois terroirs de Bassamar à Kossemar. Depuis que le Kaabu a commencé à régner, les califes de ces trente-trois terroirs se sont réunis pour former leur gouvernement à Kansala. Ils ont décidé que la s'installerait le roi du Kaabu. De ce fait, ils ont demandé à chaque département de choisir un représentant pour envoyer à Kansala.

Q : Comment on appelait ceux qu'on choisissait ?

B.M : Premièrement o ko Faran Sane, ohn lami ha mayyi. Leyde thiampane tati e tati kallaan kawri, be mbiyyo lamdo mayyi, dioni ciubane meen département kankari kunda lamdo. Tata o tata i dioguino indde, i woddeno Pathiana, Toumana, Berekolon,...

Bourama Mane : tata ko o wira to Kabendou ko Faramba Sane woneno toone. Kankelefa wone do toon mi yediri indde makko, Payoungou, Diankankunda ko Mama Kumba wone toon. O Mama Kumba e miin ko suudu mooturu meen ngoni. Tata iniin do Galiyel. Tata iniin Soumacounda, Jimara. Ko Soumacounda dji dido woddi : Soumacounda Jimara e Soumacounda Toumana.

Q : *Ho ko Kankelefa Guinée-Bissau ou Kankelefa Sénégal ?*

Bourama Mane : Ko Kankelefa Guinée-Bissau. Galein Sonko ko Sankolla Berekolon woneno. Tata goddo iniin Pathiana do kallaan doum der Guinée-Bissau woni. Addi toubacco be ari fecci leydi ni. Kono guila toon ha Kossemar fof ko Kaabu.

Q : *Ho ahno anddi indde lambe be gone be hakunde Faran Sane e Dianke Waly ?*

B.M : Mi andda indde maabe de piwu kono mino anddi hen wobe. Kono mino anddi ko thiampane nayyi e goh diodi Kansala e warini do o wireno Dianke Waly. Do Bassamar ha Kossemar de leyde thiampane e tati, Sebba be lami dou doubbi temede dioyi e doubbi sapo e goh. Ko Dianke Waly taan mi anddi ko ohn woni dernier roi. Mino anddi Galein Sonko e Mansa Bakary.

Q : *Ho ohn noone mbawi meen hallande godoum hakkude yotagol Tiramakan gol e ko mbo daarni tata dji nayyi e pouddel Kaabu gol ?*

B.M : Anddi Tiramakan ariddi e yimbe ko yara goulou dje diedi neddo. Legnol legnol ko doum mbo hawrini hakunde Guinée-Bissau, Casamance, Gambie ha Sine Saloum mbo waddi doum piwu tata dji. Ohn ko mayyi ko. Kaabu kan kallaan be maddi gouvernement mabbe o kaddi e der leydi thiampane tati e tati. Lamino be Mande ko Tiramakan, Soundjata Keita, Soumangourou Kante.

Bourama Mane : Ko Tiramakan sinci Kaabu. Sa ah naani Kaabu to Koli ha to mayyo to ko kanko lamino doum. Ko mbo mayyi ko bibe e taniri rawo be lontodiri kono ko kanko sinci do.

Q : *Faran Sane ko tuma woni lamdo ko do e Tiramakan mayyde wala ta mbo mayyi?*

B.M : A Tiramakan mayyi

Bourama Mane : Lamu Sebba ko do Faran Sane e do Dianke Waly gassi.

Q : *Ho leyde de piwu mbao no neldude wala dantandje raa ?*

B.M : Doum ko par secteur wateno si lamdo mayyi no haan ontuma been be ciubo lamdo o.

Q : *Ko hon Kaabu feccirano ?*

BM: Premièrement, c'est fut Faran Sane qui a régné jusqu'à sa mort. Les trente-trois terroirs se sont réunis de nouveau pour demander à l'assemblée de leur choisir un roi dans un département quelconque. Chaque *tata* avait un nom, il y avait Pathiana, Toumana, Berekolon....

Bourama Mane : Le *tata* dont il parle à Kabendou, c'est Faramba Sane qui y était. J'ai oublié le nom de celui qui était à Kankelefa, il y a Payoungou, et à Diankankunda, il y avait Mama Kumba. Nous sommes de la même lignée que ce de Mama Kumba. Il y a un *tata* à Galouyel. Il y a un *tata* à Soumacounda Jimara. À Soumacounda il y en a deux: Soumacounda Jimara et Soumacounda Toumana.

Q : *C'est Kankelefa Guinée-Bissau ou Kankelefa Sénégal ?*

Bourama Mane : C'est le Kankelefa en Guinée-Bissau. Galein Sonko était à Sankolla Berekolon. Il y a un autre *tata* dans le Pathiana, il se trouve en Guinée-Bissau. C'est les blancs qui ont partagé le territoire. Mais depuis là-bas jusqu'en Kossemar, tout cela formait le Kaabu.

Q : *Est-ce que tu connais les noms des rois entre Faran Sane et Dianke Waly ?*

BM: Je ne connais pas tous leurs noms mais j'en connais quelques. Il y a eut quarante-un rois qui ont régné à Kansala et le dernier s'appelait Dianke Waly. De Bassamar à Kossemar, c'est trente-trois terroirs qu'était dirigés par les Sebbe pendant 551 ans. Je ne connais que Dianke Waly qui est le dernier roi. Je connais aussi Galein Sonko et Mansa Bakary.

Q : *Est-ce que vous pouvez nous raconter ce qui s'est passé entre l'arrivée de Tiramakan avec la fondation de ces quatre tatas et la mise en place du Kaabu ?*

BM: Tu sais, Tiramakan est venu avec plus de soixante-dix mille personnes. Il a rassemblé différents ethnies entre la Guinée-Bissau, la Casamance jusqu'au Sine Saloum et il y a construit des *tatas*. Lorsqu'il est mort, le Kaabu a mis sur place un gouvernement dans les trente-trois terroirs. Ceux qui ont gouverné le Mandé, il s'agit entre autres de Tiramakan, de Soundjata Keita, de Soumangourou Kante.

Bourama Mane : C'est Tiramakan qui a fondé Kaabu. Si tu entends le Kaabu de Koli jusqu'à la mer, c'est lui qui y gouvernait. Lorsqu'il est mort, c'est ses fils et petit-fils qui l'ont succédé mais c'est lui qui a fondé le territoire.

Q : *Faran Sane est-il devenu roi après la mort de Tiramakan ou avant ?*

BM: C'est après Tiramakan.

Bourama Mane : Le pouvoir des Sebbe s'arrête avec Faran Sane et Dianke Waly.

Q : *Est-ce que tous les terroirs pouvaient envoyer des rois?*

BM: Cela se faisait par secteur, à la suite de la mort du roi, ils tenaient une assemblée et choisissaient un roi.

Q : *Comment était organisé le Kaabu ?*

B.M : Sama ko leydi, Pathiana ko leydi, Toumana ko leydi. Leydi yo leydi i diogui indde e tata. Diin tata dji wona Tiramakan daarni de ko bibe makko be e taniribe makko wadi de ha houbbi. Ontuma noone be pecci leydi ni ko ni woniri. Ko ni be lamori, be lamori diin. Dioni ha be dianfodira

Notable : Lamu Kaabu o ko famille goro woni Tiramakan i wondi e waylube, i wondi garankobe, i wondi e diali be e ledji fof.

Q : *Kansala e thiampande tati e tati leyde de, ho ko Mansa-ke lamino di ?*

Notables : Ha ko Mansa-ke lamino di.

Q : *Hono mbiyya no doon leydi e Cedde ?*

Notables : Banco Mansa-ke

Q : *Doum ko hodoum fiirti ?*

Notables : Leydi lamdo.

Q : *Wiya Tiramakan daarni tat dji taari, ko horo mbo woeno ?*

Bourama Mane : Ko Kantora mbo diodi no to wire Sokunda.

Q : *To Mampatim Sinthian yimbe be siwrora ni doum. Ho ohn ngandi ko hedde horo tata o wonirir no ko do der saare do woni wala ko ro mbawo woniri ?*

Bourama Mane : Miin mi yiha ni tata to Mampatim Sinthian kono to tarika ro i labbi poss.

Q : *Ko hoko tarikha ?*

Bourama Mane : Ko tarika Kaabu.

Q : *Horo diangu da doum ?*

Bourama Mane : Soumakunda.

Q : *Meen nabba ma to Guide Nianthio be, ho ohn none ngandi hen godoum ?*

Bourama Mane : Ko no taarika Soumakunda o no halire taani niin, be Guide Nianthio be ko Payoungou do be guiwi. Ko kan be dido iwi Payoungou no be biraa ni, ko reddu be kebbi ta ko be bamadji. Awa be kersi doum taan be gari ha to Guide Nianthio be.

Q : *Ko hodoum woni nianthio ?*

Bourama Mane : Ko Sane e Mane woni nianthio ta ko ah babirawo am, badda am ko doum woni nianthio.

Sana Toure : Nianthio ko neddo.

BM: Le Sama est un terroir, le Pathiana est un terroir, le Toumana est un terroir. Chaque terroir avait un nom et un *tata*. Mais les *tatas* ce n'est pas Tiramakan qui les a construits. Ce sont ses fils et petits-fils qui l'ont construit. C'est à la suite qu'ils ont partagé le territoire. C'est ainsi qu'ils ont gouverné ensuite pour se trahir.

Notable : Le pouvoir du Kaabu est de famille, celle de Tiramakan. Il ya des forgerons, des cordonniers, des griots, tous les métiers.

Q : *Nous avons Kansala et les trente-trois terroirs, est-ce qu'ils étaient dirigés par des rois Mansake ?*

Notables : Oui c'est le Mansake qui étaient les rois.

Q : *Comment on appelait les terroirs en Sebbe ?*

Notables : C'est le banco Mansa-Ke.

Q : *Qu'est-ce que cela signifie ?*

Notables : Le terroir du roi.

Q : *Tiramakan a fondé quatre tatas, où habitait-il ?*

Bourama Mane : C'est au Kantora qu'il habitait, là où on appelle Sokunda. .

Q : *A Mampatim Sinthian, les gens ne se rappellent pas de ça. Est-ce que vous savez où se trouve le tata, est-ce près du village ou à l'extérieur ?*

Bourama Mane : Moi je n'ai pas vu de tata à Mampatim Sinthian mais c'est écrit dans le tarikh clairement.

Q : *Quelle tarikh ?*

Bourama Mane : C'est le tarikh du Kaabu.

Q : *Où est-ce que vous l'avez lu ?*

Bourama Mane : Soumakunda.

Q : *On nous a amené à Guide Nianthio Be, vous le connaissez?*

Bourama Mane : Selon les tarikh de Soumakunda, ceux de Guide Nyanthio Be viennent de Payoungou. Elles étaient deux à quitter Payoungou, les gens disent que c'est à cause d'une grossesse. Elles étaient des jeunes filles qui avaient honte de cette grossesse. C'est pour ça qu'elles sont venues à Guide Nianthio be.

Q : *C'est quoi le nyanthio ?*

Bourama Mane : C'est Sane et Mane qui sont nyanthio, c'est une parenté, c'est comme être un neveu ou un oncle.

Sana Toure : Nianthio, c'est une personne.

B.M : Ko jambare be konu be mbire nianthio. Balaba Tinguida, ko debbo, ohn ko woneno bido lamdo. Ohn Balaba hebbi reddy. Mbayri mbo woni reddy, mboyyo yimbe e lamdo naana bido lamdo ko reddy, kagne mbo wawra doum wone dou de. Mbo banni woudere ranere mbo mourri hore makko de, mbo niagui Allah ta lamdo yihani dou makko reddy, Allah naba mbo to mbo yirake. Ohn ari do Guide Nianthio be do. O reddy mbo mbo ardi o mbo tawi doon lamdo jinne. Ohn marri mbo. Ko mbo jibini ko, ohn iddira nene makko o Tinguida. Nianthio be ko do puddi. Ko lassidi jinne dji.

Bourama Mane : Balaba ko Sane yetere ko Payoungou iwi. Hadjilon si diali be kora be diehi toon si been niin piyya taan ah naanate neen niin douka to der Guide ro. Ohn kalla ko badda Mane kunda. Sane e Mane ko minian e koro nene goro baba goro. Ontuma Sane e Mane ko Traore e Sagna. Dioni ta mineen ayna tan diali o gara mbiyya dioni okke kam mballou goro. Mi wiyya doum mbayri ko miin woni koro o faddama mi yaha doum yo fadam mi yaha mi lamedoyo mawbe be. Miin mi yehi touma mi yotade to saare to, tawi o okki doum mewa o.

Ko onian yetedo Sane ari e der leydi. Miin mi yehi holibe mi ari be mbi be diabi pour mi okka ohn. Kono minirawo ma o okki kam be wi mbo Sane, ahn kalla ah arri ah okki meen ah ko Mane. Tiramakan wiyyo kalla mbo jibini Kantora ko Sagna. Djolof kalla ko mbo jibini toon ko Ndiaye, Diop e do Kaabu ko Sane e Mane.

Q : Ko e ho gal debgal diangou da tarika ka ?

Bourama Mane : Ko e ceara doum windda. Tamdo livre o o watu mbo mayyi ko doum woni Cheikhou Kanima. Sabouna ko mbire do Keba Jan, ohn ko mayyi ko, ko ontuma yimbe naani are makko. Ko ohn toubacco be tawi. Ontuma be guiwi Guinée-Bissau ta Moussa felli ga o. Baba makko wireno Bakary Saratra. Ko ohn toubacco be tawi roon. Toubacco be maddi ni leydi ni ontuma be okki Bakary Saratra. Ko lebbi taari Bakary Saratra lami mbo mayyi. Keba Jan ko mayyi ko doon kalla ko lebbi taari yawti Sellu Koyada en ndewi do. Sellu Koyada e Moussa be kawri to hare to. Ko lamu Keba Jan ko gassiko ko le Sellu Mballo lami. Ontuma ko ni Keba Jan arire ga. Ontuma ta chef de canton dji i manki Niampayo, mbo falla diode toon, Abdoul Diallo en diabani awa ko ni toubacco be guiwi Guinée-Bissau gara ni mbo widoum awa ndieh.

Q : Ko hobbo Mansa-ke woneno do e der dou toundou ?

Bourama Mane : Ko Mama kumba ko ohn woneno Doubel Sa Mballo. Si ah naani Mamakunda ko Mama Kumba.

Q : Est-ce que ohn ganddi tata Sebbe o to woneno to ?

Bourama Mane : Mawbe ko mbira ko Moussa itti be doone

Q : Anddi ko Mamakunda tata o woneno, banco o le horo woneno ?

BM: C'est les guerriers d'une guerre qu'on appelle nyanthio. Balaba Tinguida était une femme et la fille du roi. Cette Balaba est tombée enceinte. Puisqu'elle était enceinte, elle s'est dit qu'elle ne pouvait rester et que les gens et le roi entendent qu'elle est enceinte. Elle a pris un voile blanc, elle s'est couverte la tête et elle a prié Dieu pour que le roi ne voit pas la grossesse et que Dieu la permettait d'avoir un refuge où personne ne la verra. C'est ainsi qu'elle est arrivé à Guide Nyanthio Be. Avec sa grossesse, elle a trouvé un roi djinn. Celui-ci l'épousa. Quand elle accoucha, sa fille porta le nom de sa mère, Tinguida. Les nyanthio ont commencé là. C'est une lignée de djinns.

Bourama Mane : Balaba avait comme nom de famille Sane et elle vient de Payoungou. Jusqu'à présent si les griots y vont jouer, tu entendras son bruit. Celui-ci est un neveu de Manekunda. Les Sane et Mane sont deux frères de même père et de même mère. A cette époque, les Sane et Mane étaient des Traoré et Sagna. On faisait paître les moutons et un griot arriva et demanda qu'on lui donne un bélier. Le frère lui a dit 'attend que j'aie vu mes parents parce qu'ils nous ont envoyé à faire paître les moutons'. Avant que celui rentre, l'autre frère lui avait déjà donné le bélier. De son retour le frère a dit 'je suis parti aviser les parents et ils ont donné leur accord pour que je vous le donne'.

C'est ce jour-là que le nom de Sane est venu dans le territoire. De son retour, l'autre frère a trouvé que son petit-frère avait déjà donné un bélier aux griots, et que ces derniers lui avaient donné le nom de Sane. Ils lui ont dit 'mais toi aussi puisque tu es parti aviser vos parents, tu auras comme nom de famille Mane'. Tiramakan dit que tous ses fils qui sont nés au Kantora porteraient le nom de Sagna. Dans le Djolof aussi, tous porteraient le nom de Ndiaye et Diop et au Kaabu c'est Sane et Mane.

Q : *Dans quelle langue vous avez appris le tarikh ?*

Bourama Mane : C'est écrit en mandingue. Celui qui a le livre est mort, c'est Cheikhou Kanima, Parce que Keba Jan est mort, c'est ensuite que les gens l'ont découvert. C'est lui que les blancs ont trouvé sur place. C'est par la suite qu'ils ont quitté la Guinée-Bissau C'est par la suite que Moussa a attaqué de ce côté. Son père s'appelait Bakary Saratra. C'est lui que les blancs ont trouvé ici. C'est lui que les blancs ont trouvé sur place et on lui a donné le pouvoir. Bakary Saratra est resté au pouvoir pendant trois mois. Lorsque Keba Jan est mort, il s'est passé trois mois, les Sellu Koyada ont passé là. Sellu Koyada et Moussa se sont rencontrés lors de la bataille. C'est après la mort de Keba Jan que Sellu Mballo gouverna. C'est ainsi que Keba Jan est venu là. Il y avait un manque de chef de canton à Niampayo et il a voulu y rester, mais Abdoul Diallo a refusé. C'est par la suite que les blancs ont quitté la Guinée-Bissau pour le ramener.

Q : *Qui était le Mansa-ke était dans ce terroir ?*

Bourama Mane : C'est Mama Kumba qui était à Doubel Sa Mballo. Si tu entends Mamakunda, c'est Mama Kunda.

Q : *Est-ce que vous savez où se trouvait le tata mandingue ?*

Bourama Mane : Les vieux disent que c'est Moussa qui les a chassés.

Q : *Mamakunda c'est où se trouvait le tata o bien le nom du banco ?*

Bourama Mane : Ci ah naani banco ko Mamakunda.

Q : *Ho ko Mamakunda woneno saare mboureno de wadde importante e der Kaabu ?*

Bourama Mane : Ontuma ko piwu ko Kaabu, ontuma be mbiyya o ko leydi kari, o ko leydi kari. Kono piwu ko leydi goro.

Q : *Ko hoddi toundi dji woneno e baral Mamakunda ?*

Bourama Mane : Korop, Kake (heede de Kabada),

Q : *Meen ndiehi Kandia, meen tawi doon tata, ho ohn tata ko watu Kaabu o ?*

Bourama Mane : Ta lamu Sebbe yawri de, ko ohn woni tata Diatta Kandia.

Q : *Ho i woddi doula dji mboy di e barral saare de ?*

Bourama Mane : Mampatim Sinthian i waddi tata, Guide Nianthio be, Koumamboure. Jalan iniin Demba Youmeh, i woddi kadje do hourral.

Q : *Ohn kalli fi tata Pate Bouya, horo mbo woni ?*

Bourama Mane : Tata Pate Bouya ko doon woni galle ameen o

Bourama Mane : Mamakunda, c'est le *banco*.

Q : *Est-ce que Mamakunda était la ville la plus importante du Kaabu ?*

Bourama Mane : Tout cela composa le Kaabu, on parlait de tel terroir, de tel terroir. Mais tous ces terroirs composaient le Kaabu.

Q : *Quelles étaient les terroirs voisins de Mamakunda ?*

Bourama Mane : Il y a Korop, Kake (près de Kabada).

Q : *On était parti à Kandia et nous avons vu un tata là-bas, est-il de la période mandingue ?*

Bourama Mane : A cette période, le pouvoir mandingue était disparu. C'est le tata de Diatta Kandia.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y avait d'autres sites anciens autour du village ?*

Bourama Mane : A Mampatim Sinthian, il y a un tata, Guide Nyanthio Be, Koumamboure, A Demba Youmeh, il y avait un *dylan*. Il y a un cercle de pierres dressés.

Q : *Vous avez parlé du tata de Pate Bouya, où est-il ?*

Bourama Mane : Notre maison se trouve dans le tata de Pate Bouya.

15.- Thiara

Date: 21/01/13

Participants : Gallé Diallo, Landing Diao (jarga Thiara Fulbe), Abdourahmane Balde (Imam Thiara Fulbé), Fodé Sama (Imam Thiara Manding), Gallé Seydi, Malang Camara (blacksmith), Adama Seydi, Oumar Seydi, Mamoudou Cissé, Balla Diao.

Problems with the recorder: only the last few minutes were recorded

Q : *Anddi ohn lébbi do fi aré tumbun dji e tata dji, ho ohno noone nganddi goddi e baral hé ?*

Notables : hayré iniin do wiré Tépél Sira Oulo, i waddi téppé mbayri noone mawubé mbiyya meen ko ni wahi.

Q : *E horro kallan ?*

Notables : Hakou dé do e thiagol gol kallan di waddi, piwu ko houddé wotéré dé. Meen tamno do kallan maddé do do tumbun Sébbé do. Banta gui wono do. Meen manti doone holthiéré puccu.

Q : *O tumbun Sébbé, horro ngono bé toone bé ?*

Notables : Ko been maati ga, dé hakkudé piwu go laddé wono, haye néddo goro souyrano do

Q : *Ho saaré dé di waddi quartier dji ?*

Notables : Thiara Peul e Thiara Manding

Q : *Ho ko lawol gol woni hakku dé dé ?*

Notables : Non ! parce que woddi Fulbé thiotu bé ga

Q : *Ho ohn noone mawi meen hallan dé thiaé thioossane ta meen ndiéhi toone haan bé mawad meen filanaadé thioossane o ?*

Notables : Coumambouré meen naani ko saaré thioossane, Thibo, Médina Noddi, Goppé, Korop, Toutuné,

Q : *Ho i woddi bérou ko halla do ko piwu, i woddi ko héddi ko fora hallé dé fila thioossane saaré dé ?*

Notables : Ohn mawadde yiddé Al hadji Alpha, Missira Koutayel ko hé legnol Moussa Molo hé mbo tawa

Q : *Vous avez parlé tantôt de tumbun et de tata vous en savez d'autres dans les environs ?*

Notables : Il y a des traces de pieds tout près du village à Tépél Sira Oulo mais on ne connaît pas la signification parce que nos aïeux ne nous ont pas dit de quoi il s'agit.

Q : *Ya-t-il d'autres que vous connaissez ?*

Notables : Il y a des traces de pieds entre et la rizière qui ressemble à celui de Tépél Sira Oulo. Il y avait un fromager mais il est tombé récemment, sur l'arbre il y'avait une marque d'une patte de cheval.

Q : *Où sont les gens qui habitaient le tumbun Sébbé ?*

Notables : Ils se sont approchés de l'actuel emplacement du village. Auparavant, c'était une forêt et personne n'osait s'aventurer seul là-bas.

Q : *Est-ce que le village a des quartiers ?*

Notables : Il y a Thiara Peul et Thiara Manding

Q : *Est-ce que la route sépare les deux quartiers ?*

Notables : Non ! Parce que il y a eu des Fulbé qui se sont déplacés de l'autre côté

Q : *Est-ce que vous pouvez nous parler des villages historiques, qui peuvent nous renseigner sur l'histoire de la région ?*

Notables : Coumambouré est des village les plus importants; aussi Thibo, Médina Noddi, Goppé, Korop et Toutuné.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a quelque chose à ajouter sur l'histoire du village à part ce qui a été dit jusque-là ?*

Notables : Vous pouvez rendre visite à Al hadji Alpha de Missira Koutayel, il fait parti de la famille de Moussa Molo.

16.- Payoungou

Date 21/01/13

Participants : Moussa Sané (jarga), Malang Dourbaly Mané, Malang Boulo Sané, Diallo Camara, Ousmane Camara, Yaya Seydi (Imam), Fodé Sané, Salif Camara, Gallé Diallo, Yéro Camara (blacksmith).

Ousmane Camara (O.C.): Lammu gu ko Payoungou do foudi, première ko doum naani naani mawbé bé i kalla. Lammu gu ko sakki Payoungou ko gu yéhii Kansala. Ko guun sakki ko ko lé Fulbé lammi é bé diodi do. Dimool gol ko Sébbé bé ngar tii ko, Fulbé okiirii bé saaré mou hén dé. Waatu ko Sébbé bé ko lammi no ko, sii ah yii i wi yé Payoungou Manding. Ko Tiramakan i wii Mandé ô arii haa do. Ko doum waddi bé mbiyaa Payoungou Manding. Ko Tiramakan Ba mbo wiréno. Fatamba woni bido folo folo Tiramakan. Tiramakan wii mbo no ô yaa diodio Paroumba kagne Fatamba. Ngaabi do e Fatamba ô wiré Tananké, mboyo ohn no yaa diodio yoo Kawaral to La Guinée. Ha han dé mawdo i diodio do.

Sii ah yii hii mbé mbiyaa Kankéléfa to ko bido taabo mawdo ô ko ohn Wiré Kéléfa, ko ohn sinthii Kankéléfa. Taa okn waatu Toubacco araa nii. Ohn Kéléfa ko daanena wono. Bayrii ko wono, mbo yéhii raaddo, Mbo waali mboni fowri nii e ley légalle. Daawadi kourre lii mbo. Ko diin kalli fii saaré dé. Ko ndén saaré wiré Kankéléfa. Ko rawaadu mawdu nu wii hé do ko saaré mawdé, saaré lammu Daawadi tokossi di mbiyo ah no halla kono ô ndanakii dé Kagne kallon ô mbeydii ndana gol moun gol. Ontuma diin daawadi mbiyo kalla lammu diodi gu do, xaré Foussara dé. Guilla daawadi dii gaye nii ko léba no ko raan

Kéléfa immby daari, taan mbo artii Ontuma ô wii mawdo ô mii kallon mii no yii doula mii faala. Toon sinthioye dé ? Mawdo ô wii mbo bismillah. Guilla ô sinthi saaré dé, boyaa nii Taan dé mawnii. Ö wii mawdo ô mbonii fala mawdo fethia mbo E leydi maani dii, miin kalla mii hebba do mii diodi e mbeyguré Am dé. Mawdo ô wii mbo é wadda dé ! Ö wii é wadda taa. Mawdo ô wii mbo é dii ? Mbo haa. Tiramakan wii mbo awa hodde, diango dawa ardé. Miin kalla mii Dawa kawou reen mii féthia maa e leydi nii. Guilla Kéléfa horii taan, mawdo ô hirtii raan fokirii. Kéléfa anthie Ha ko wérii ko fokirii. Ko mbo fokkite taan mbo haw rii e mawdo do bambé dji do. Ö baba kono wona doum kalle dou no dén ? Mawdo ô wii mbo ko Leydi maa dii haadi.

Ousmane Camara (OC) : La royauté a débuté à Payoungou il y a longtemps. Elle a débuté à Payoungou, et c'est par la suite qu'elle s'est installée à Kansala. Après la suite du Gabou, les Fulbé ont pris le pouvoir. Quand les Sébbé sont revenus, les Fulbé les ont rendus leur terroir. L'origine du nom Payoungou Manding s'est due au périple de Tiramakan qui a quitté le Mandé et il s'est installé à Payoungou. Il avait comme nom Ba. Son fils aîné s'appelait Fatamba et son père lui a demandé d'aller s'installer à Paroumba. Son deuxième fils se nommait Tananké, il est parti s'installer à Kawaral en Guinée. Tiramakan lui n'est pas parti.

Si tu entends Kankéléfa, il s'agit du troisième fils de Tiramakan. Kéléfa qui a fondé le village de Kankéléfa. A cette époque, les blancs n'étaient pas arrivés dans cette partie. Ce Kéléfa était un chasseur. Un jour il était parti à la chasse, il s'est allongé sous un arbre pour se reposer. Ceci étant, les chiens qui l'accompagnaient l'ont encerclé croyant qu'il dormait. Le plus âgé d'entre eux commença à faire des révélations sur le site: 'cet village s'appelle Kankéléfa' le chien dit, 'ici, c'est un bon emplacement pour un gros village, un village d'exercice du pouvoir'. Les plus jeunes interpellèrent le chien qui faisait les révélations: 'tu parles mais notre propriétaire ne dort pas'. Comprenant le soupçon des jeunes, il a continué à faire semblant de dormir. Ensuite, les chiens ont continué leurs révélations pensant que l'homme dormait. Ils dirent 'si un jour le pouvoir s'installait dans ce site, ce n'est pas une guerre qui allait le détruire'.

Des que les chiens ont terminé leurs prédications, Kéléfa s'est levé et est rentré. Il est parti voir son père pour lui dire qu'il avait trouvé un endroit et qu'il voulait fonder son propre village. Le vieux lui a dit d'accord. Il est parti avec sa famille pour fonder son village. Quelques temps après, son village s'est agrandi. Il est revenu auprès de son père pour lui demander de lui donner sa part dans son terroir pour qu'il puisse avoir là où exercer le pouvoir avec sa famille. Le vieux lui dit 'nous allons nous quereller !' Il lui a dit non. Tiramakan lui a demandé si c'était vraie ce qu'il disait. Il a dit oui. Son père lui ordonna de rentrer chez lui et de marcher le lendemain en direction du village et lui aussi, il fera la même chose. Leur lieu de rencontre serait la limite du territoire de Kéléfa. Ce dernier exécuta son objection et repartit en direction de son village. Mais Tiramakan n'a pas attendu le lendemain pour son départ. Après qu'il ait pris son diner, il s'est mis en route. De son côté, Kéléfa attendit comme convenu pour aller à la rencontre de son père. A peine qu'il arriva à la lisière de son village il aperçut son père et il lui a dit que ce n'était pas ce qui avait été convenu. Le vieux lui signifia que c'était la limite de son territoire.

Ko doum waddi ko le bé sinthio yii Kansala. Leydi Kansala dii,ko leyde thiappandé taari e didi. Ko dén leyde thiappandé taari e didi, leydi lammi nii . Yo okka wondii lammo. Ohn waatu ko kullé wono dialan dji mabbé, ko ontuma bé maddi léddé. Ko doum wonii Tamba dibi, dialan bantan. Dialan bantan gone do Kankéléfa e do Payoungou ô piwu ko gorum Kallan lambto do, ko do addé ré, sii mbo iwii do, bé ndiaha Kankéléfa Ontuma lé bé ndiaha Kansala. Ko dialan dji didi wono do ; Tamba Dibi et Dialan Bantan.

Moussa Sané (MS): Tamba dibi Payoungou et Tamba dibi Kankéléfa piwu ko gorro. Tamba dibi e dialan bantan piwu ko do woni thiossane ô. Kéléfa ko sinthiyo yii ko, mbo innitri dialan moun kallon dialan bantan.

Malang Dourbaly Mané (MDM) : Goro yo ko mawbé maa bé ko fiili ko maw Raa fiila dé. Mboyo fii dialan bantan ô, miin kalla mawbé woddi ko bé. Pilla ni kam héen no dialan dji wonirii. Dialan dji gone dii do e Gabou dii fof totalement, ko waddi dialan Payoungou ô wonii horéé, ko kalla ko waata e nder Gabou ko piwu Ko ô dialan halle taa doum. Ohn waatu cii kabaru i araa, mawbé ko kalli ko, Doutal dané wal pen Ko gal araa taa dioraa dé to dow banta ro. Yimbé niiya gal taan, bé diaha Bé kal naa mawbé. Bén mbiyaa haan dé Doutal dané wal gal diorima to banta Mawbé hawraa, cii bé hawrii haan, bé laraa souka gorko e debbo, bé naaba bé Ha to ley banta ro, bé hirçaa bé. Ontuma yimbé sakoo. Cii doum waddi raan, Doutal gal jippo, touffa berdé deé, gal diakka kédie dé Cii gal gaynii, gal diégan. Ontuma gal halla kabaru ngaro do ô, ko ar taa e leydi Nii, gal fiilo hono doum ardaata. Cii gal yé hii, gal yiré ké cii wona kabrou goddo, gal fourii halle dé Cii kabrou goddo kallon ci arii, gal araa. Bé wadda ko bé wadde no ko Ontuma gal dianto lawol. Mama am taaw maa xaaré Kansala dé.

Q : *Ho ko Tiramakan ko arii do ko mbo taawi do yimbé ?*

Malang Boulo Sané (MBS) : ö taawi do yimbé

Q : *Ho doum Payoungou fiirtii ?*

MS : Mbay rii Tiramakan riwii do Bainoukoubé, ko doum woni E thiédé riwii gol « ga bayi lé », ko doum fiirti Payoungou.

Q : *To saaré Pathé Bouya, bé mbiyo, Tiramakan ko tata dji naayii mbo daar nii, O da Mampatim sinthian, ô da Kantora, ô da Somacounda e ô da Djolof, est-ce que Ohn naani ko wa hii e none ko i hallé ?*

MS : Fulbé ko taawi Sébbé e nii leydi.

MDM : Ko ontuma Fulbé ngarii ko bé sinthi Fouladou.

Après cela, ils sont partis fonder Kansala. Le territoire de Kansala est composé de trente-deux terroirs. C'est entre ces trente-deux terroirs que le pouvoir était rotatif. A cette époque c'était les animaux qui faisaient office de dyalan. C'est à la suite qu'ils ont changé et ils ont commencé à adorer les arbres. Ceci a donné naissance à Tamba Dibi et Dialan Bantan. Le Dialan Bantan qui est à Kankéléfa est le même que celui qui est à Payoungou. Quiconque devait être intronisé comme souverain, devait venir à Payoungou, et continuer jusqu'à Kankéléfa avant d'arriver à Kansala. Il y'avait deux dyalan : Tamba Dibi et Dyalan Bantan.

Moussa Sané (MS) : Le Tamba Dibi de Payoungou et le Tamba Dibi de Kankéléfa sont la même chose. Le Tamba Dibi et le Dyalan Bantan sont tous anciens. Quand Kelefa est parti fonder son village, il a appelé son dyalan aussi Dyalan Bantan.

Malang Dourbaly Mané (MDM) : Chacun ne peut raconter que l'histoire que ses ancêtres lui ont compté. Il a parlé du Dyalan Bantan, moi aussi mes ancêtres me n'ont parlé. Ils m'ont dit quelque chose de la façon dont le dyalan est venu. De tous les dyalan qui sont dans le Gabou, le dyalan de Payoungou est l'aîné, parce que tout ce qui se fait dans le Gabou, c'est à ce dyalan qu'on soumettait tous les événements futurs. De tout ce qui devait arriver dans le Gabou, du parler des ancêtres, c'est un vautour blanc qui venait se poser au sommet du *banta*. Si les gens le voyaient, ils allaient le dire aux vieux. Ils leur disaient 'aujourd'hui, un vautour blanc s'est posé au sommet du banta'. Ensuite les vieux se rassemblaient, et choisissaient un jeune garçon et une jeune fille qu'ils sacrifiaient au pied du *banta*. Après le sacrifice les gens se dispersaient, et le vautour descendait pour percer la poitrine de ces jeunes pour en extraire les cœurs qu'il mangeait. Il remontait au sommet de l'arbre pour annoncer les événements futurs. S'il disparaissait, il ne revenait que pour les mêmes circonstances et le même processus reprenait. Mon grand-père a participé à la guerre de Kansala.

Q: *Est-ce que quand Tiramakan est venu, il a trouvé des gens ici?*

Malang Boulo Sané (MBS) : Il a trouvé des gens ici.

Q: *Que signifie Payoungou ?*

MS: C'est parce que Tiramakan a chassé les Bainounks que les Mandingues disent « ga bayi lé », voilà la signification de Payoungou.

Q: *A saré Pathé Bouya, ils nous ont dit que Tiramakan a construit quatre tata, l'un à Mampatim sinthian, le deuxième à Kantora, le troisième à Sonounda et le dernier au Djolof. Est-ce que vous en avez des connaissances là-dessous ?*

MS: C'est les Fulbé qui ont trouvé les Sébbé sur ce territoire.

MDM: C'est par la suite que les Fulbé ont fondé le Fouladou.

MS : Tata dji daar naani do ko, ko Kansala e Payoungou. Lambdo Waari nii do ô wiré Dianké Waly. Néné makko ko bé mbi hii ko do mbo i taa Bé mari yo yii mbo Kabendou. Ohn waatu, lammu gu ko lonto lonto. Mawbé néné Dianké Waly ô, ko kayen Guiwi do bé ndié hii Kabendou ko toon mbo jibbina. Ko kawdji di ko gassi ko Taa ko kanko taan forii lonta et lammo. Bé guitii mbo Kabendou, bé gandii mbo Payoungou do. Bé kolli mbo dialan dji, ho mbo wawade wone do lambdo ? Ontuma dialan dji mbii yii mbo wawade lamma dé. Bé guitii mbo do, bé naa bi mbo Kankéléfa bé kolli mbo kallan dialan dji, diin kallan diabii. Ontuma mbo yoti na yoya Kansala. Ko noone mbo foudirii lammu ya mbun gu Lammu dji e nder Gabou piwu ko mii naani ko, ko lammu dji Sappo é didi, ko kanko woni dernier. Guila ô diodi Kansala, ô wi Lammu yaa Sébbé é ko kagne haddi ohn diamano taa ko none Allah Waddirii. Kansala to mbo diodi towoni Turuban. Ko doum woni awedi Yimbé houbata.

MDM : Kallan guilla mbo lammii ko sabba taan mbo Haddoro.

MS : Tiramakan mbo bé Fulbé wii a ra ô, ko kambé taaro guiwirii Mandé, bé garii Soncounda (Gambie), odda woni toon. Ontuma bé ndiaw rii Tiramakan yotti do é Payoungou, mbo habbi do e Bainoukobé parce que Bén Guiddi do wone dé. Dé leyde thiappan taari e didi piwu sinthi dé. Ko bé yéhi ko lé Fulbé arii diodi cii. Mbo iwii do, taa ohn diamanou moun doum yaw rii. Goddo kallan araa, ko no wonirii Dioni guilla Fulbé gaari do diodadé bé mbiyo do Fouladou. Ko ohn Fouladou diodi dén do haddé. Do wona Fulbé wono no do ko Sébbé wono do Gabou, dioni Fouladou halla maa parce que Sébbé sakki ma.

Q : *Tata dji boure no di dioga dé importance ko horro dii gone do ?*

MS : Payoungou e Kansala

Q : *Hono Gabou féthirano ?*

OC : Pathiana, Sama, Toumana, Pathéssi (Kankéléfa), Kantora,...

MDM : Kossemar i woddi, Toumana, Nianthior.

MS : Dén leyde thiappandé taari e didi, kallan ko héwé no ko Kansala hawréno. Goro yo i diogui taa e dii leydii, way no Pathiana, Bissabor, Pakane, Kantor Kallan ko hébbi ko Kansala bé nonto no. Ko tonn wonii horré dé.

Q : *Ho no capitale gal wiré no e thiédé ?*

MDM : Tenda

Q : *Ko Kansala woni Gabou ô e Kankéléfa Tenda Pathéssi*

MDM : ah haa, justement.

Q : *Ho tenda dji piwu i diogui no tata dji ?*

MS: Les *tata* construits au Gabou sont Payoungou et Kansala. Le dernier roi du Gabou fut Dianké Waly. Sa mère est née à Payoungou et elle s'est marié à Kabendou. A cette époque, le pouvoir était rotatif. Les grands-parents de Dianké Waly sont originaires de Payoungou. C'est après cela qu'ils ont parti à Kabendou et Dianké y est né. Le tour de Pathiana arriva, et ils n'avaient personne pour régner, c'est ainsi que Dianké Waly arriva au trône. Ils l'ont amené à Payoungou pour présenter le nouveau candidat, pour savoir s'il était apte d'être roi. Les dyalan ont approuvé. Ensuite ils l'ont amené à Kankéléfa pour le soumettre aux dyalan aussi et quand ces derniers ont approuvé on l'a acheminé à Kansala. C'est comme ça qu'il a commencé à régner dans le Gabou. J'ai entendu dire qu'il y a eu douze rois et Dianké Waly en est le dernier. Depuis qu'il a prêté serment il a dit qu'il serait le dernier roi des Manding: 'après moi, il n'y aura plus de rois'. Kansala aussi avait un autre nom qui est Turuban, c'est à dire, la fin d'une lignée ou d'une race.

MDM: Aussi depuis son accession, il ne portait que de pagne.

MS : Le Tiramakan dont les Peul parlent, ils étaient trois à partir du Mandé, arrivés à Soncounda, l'un d'entre eux y est resté, et le deux autres ont continué leur chemins. Tiramakan lui est arrivé à Payoungou et il s'est battu avec les Bainouks, les autochtones. Il a fondé trente-deux terroirs, c'est par la suite que les Fulbé se sont installés dans le pays. A chacun son temps, les hommes se succèdent les uns aux autres. Le pouvoir est aussi flexible. Dès que les Fulbés ont pris les rênes du pouvoir, ils ont appelé le territoire qu'ils gouvernent le Fouladou. C'est le Fouladou d'aujourd'hui mais ce n'est eux qui ont sont les autochtones, c'est les Sébbé du Gabou. Le Fouladou existe à la suite de la dispersion de ces derniers.

Q: *Où étaient les tata les plus importants ?*

MS: À Payoungou et Kansala.

Q : *Comment le Gabou était-il réparti ?*

OC: Il y'avait le Pathiana, le Sama, le Toumana, le Pathéssi de Kankéléfa, le Kantora,...

MDM: Il y avait aussi le Kossemar, le Toumana et le Nianthior.

MS: Tous ces trente-deux terroirs, ils se rencontraient à Kansala pour tous les évènements. Chacun à sa part dans le Gabou comme le Pathiana, le Pakane, le Kantor. Tout le monde répondait à l'appel de Kansala.

Q: *Comment on appelait une capitale en manding ?*

MDM: Tenda

Q: *Kansala est la Tenda du Gabou et Kankéléfa celle de Pathéssi.*

MDM: Oui, justement.

Q: *Est-ce que tous les tenda avaient des tatas ?*

MDM : Wona fof diogui no tata dji. Wanoo Kankéléfa, Sama, Payoungou ko diin diogui no tatadji.

Q : *Dioni banco dji fof no gonire no nii i diogui no tata ?*

MDM : Ha no dioguino tata dji. Leydi yo i diogui no. Tata to lambdo o wona.

Q : *Hono lambé diodi no bé e tata dji wiréno ?*

MDM : mbi nén ko tato mbén mbira doum.

Q : *Gone bé hén bé hon bé wiréno ?*

MDM : Ko mansa ké

Q : *Lambdo debbo hono wiré no ?*

Salif Camara : Mansa mouso

Q : *ho allano ko certinirii lambdo Gabou e lambdo Pakessi ?*

MDM : Ko mansa ké taan woddi.

Q : *Ohn waatu hono yimbé ngo nii rii no, gobbé ko rémobé, waylubé,... ?*

OC : Kalla do lambdo woni, mbo nii diogui jambaré bé ko mbén Mbiré Kélé-jawara.

Q : *Ohn waatu bé mba da no dioula ya ?*

OC : Ohn waatu ko Kansala ko thiodi wourii. Doiulaya alla no dé ko kodium taan.

Q : *Portugais bé i mbidi deffeté bé mbiyo bé mbadano dioulay e kabunké bé Ho ohn ganddi ko wayi non ?*

Yéro Camara : Ohn waatu dioulaya alla, ko cii mii falaama yardé kodium, Mii yaa mii haboyo maa, cii mii naguimaa , mii ya ha mii yéyo yaa maa, mii Sodda kodium ?

OC : Ohn waatu ko maccubé yéyé réno.

MDM: Ce n'est pas tous qui avaient pourvu de tatas. Ceux qui en avaient, étaient Payoungou, Sama et Kankéléfa.

Q: *Est-ce que tous les bancos avaient des tatas ?*

MDM: Tous les bancos du Gabou avaient des tatas où se trouvait la résidence royale.

Q: *Comment s'appelaient les rois qui se trouvaient dans ces tatas ?*

MDM: On les appelait des tatas.

Q: *Les occupants, comment on les appelait ?*

MDM: *Mansa ké.*

Q: *Les femmes elles aussi, comment on les appelait ?*

Salif Camara: *Mansa mouso.*

Q: *Est-ce qu'il y avait une différence d'appellation entre le roi du Gabou et celui du Pakessi ?*

MDM: On les appelait uniquement *mansa ké.*

Q: *A cette époque, comment était composée la société, les uns étaient des paysans et les autres des forgerons ?*

O.C: Un roi était toujours accompagné de ses guerriers qu'on appelait Kélé-jawra.

Q: *A cette époque faisaient-ils du commerce ?*

OC: Il n'y avait pas de commerce. Kansala ne vivait que de farine et de vin de palme.

Q: *Ils y a des blancs qui ont écrit qu'ils faisaient du commerce avec les kabunké, avaient vous des informations là-dessous ?*

Yéro Camara : A ces temps, il n'y avait pas de commerce, c'était plutôt des guerres, le plus fort soumettait les autres. Ceux qui étaient fait prisonniers, étaient vendus comme esclaves et l'argent reçu était destiné à l'achat de vin de palme.

OC: Il n'y avait que des esclaves qui étaient vendus.

17.- Tabassaye Manding

Date : 23/01/13

Participants : Mamadou Kanté, Boukary Kondjira (Imam), Amadou Kondjira (Chef de quartier), Alassane Kondjira (blacksmith), Birama Kondjira (le plus ancien du village), Malanding Diatta, Bakary Kondjira (blacksmith), Gallé Diallo, Astou Kanté, Malang Kondjira (fils du jarga), Yero Diallo

Q: *Ko touma saaré dé sinthia e ko hobbo sinthie dé ?*

Birama Kondjira (BK) : Ko Sébbe ngare nodo ta ko tumbun wono, mbé ngoni do ha mawbé. Amen bé ngari do bé guiwri to Pakao, ta Fulbé e Sébbé bé ko haré ran wono Hakou dé mouhéne, bé mbéldano. Ta bèn ko tafobé, taa Fulbé falté teno bé tafanabé dialé . Awa bé gonoyi do ha tawi Sébbé e Fulbé ko haré taan wono hakundé mouhén Awa ta bé tempini Laly ohn ko Fulakunda wono Laly ko arta do ko tumbun bo tawno do. Mawbé amen bé ko Pakao guiwri. Ontuma ta soukabé Sébbé e Fulbé do bé kawri yo ko bé kabano. Doume none ta welani Laly Ko ni bo yéyi to thiagol to bo sopoyi guessa ontuma boa ri boyo mawbé amenbé kagne di fala sotoye dé to gougou moun to. Mboyo minen ko do bèn tawi ma dioni paléda meen do athiou de ! mboyo ha ko noone Sabou thioukalé mone dé e bé am bé mbéldaani. Ontuma Laly athie do mawbé amen bé. Ontuma noone ta mawbé i diekodiri. Mbayri ta ohn waatu fulbé ko lontodira, mbayri o mawdo mayyi dioni are lonto o. Ko ni mbé ndiadi to Abdoul Diallo mama jarga ko ni andodiri e Abdoul Diallo. Ko ni Abdoul wi bé yo mine mi anda ohn mama dji am di mbidoum mineen ngandi doum. Ko ohn wono imam, wiréno Fofana.

Q : *Ko watu Laly areta do o, ho ko watu Alpha Molo lami wala ko watu Moussa Molo Lami wala ko hobbo watu ?*

BK: Ko watu Abdoul Diallo ta mbéda piwu yawri. Ko watu lamu chefs de canton.

Q : *Est-ce que inddé Tabassaye dé i fiirti godoum ?*

BK: Ha Tabassaye i fiirti godoum. Go bé ngarno do ko, bé tawi to foude nague tabadjé nayyi e to hirnague tabajé nayyi, bé mbiyyo do ko Tabassaye wiré. Ko tabadjé diérari andi inddé Tabassaye.

Q : *Watu lamu chefs de canton, saaré dé ko hobbo canton wono ?*

BK: Tabassaye ko e canton Parin Tibo o tawano

Q : *Dioni mino falla anddou dé fi aré histoire saaré dé do é fi Fouladou watu lamu Sébbé bé ?*

BK: Mbayri adouna ko lonto lonto, mi naani mawbé i kalla doum kono bé pilla ki no woniri nii.

Q : *Quand est-ce que le village a été fondé et par qui ?*

Birama Kondjira (BK) : Les Sebbe ont trouvé un *tumbun*. Ils sont restés jusqu'à l'arrivée de nos grands-parents qui sont venus du Pakao. A cette époque, il y avait une guerre entre les Sebbe et les Fulbe. Nos grands-parents étaient des forgerons. Les Fulbes leur demandaient de fabriquer des outils aratoires. Par la suite, la guerre entre Sebbe et Fulbe s'intensifia. Les premiers fondateurs du village étaient des Manding. C'est par la suite que Laly est venu s'installer. Quand les Fulbes ont fatigué Laly, c'est quand les Fulakunda sont venus et ont trouvé un *tumbun*. C'est quand les Fulbes sont partis que nos grands-parents sont venus du Pakao. Dès que les enfants des Sébbé et ceux des Fulbé se rencontraient, ils se battaient. Cela ne plaisait pas à Laly, qui avait parti près de la rizière pour défricher un champ. Après avoir récolté, il alla trouver mon ancêtre pour lui dire qu'il aimerait aller s'installer près du champ qu'il avait défriché. Et mon ancêtre lui a dit 'on vous a trouvé ici et maintenant vous décidez de partir.?' Laly lui a répondu que cela c'était dû à la mésentente entre ses enfants et les siens. Ainsi Laly est parti. En ce moment, il y avait un respect pour les anciens, il y avait la succession chez les Fulbé et c'était le plus âgé qui devait succéder. Nos ancêtres ont appelé l'un d'eux pour qu'il assure la relevée en la présence d'Abdoul Diallo. Et ce dernier a dit qu'il ne connaissait celui-ci. Nos ancêtres ont répondu que chez eux, c'était le plus âgé qui devait régner. L'arrière-grand-père de l'actuel chef de village a été nommé par Abdoul Diallo. Ce dernier était l'imam et s'appelait Fofana.

Q : *Quand Laly est venu fonder le village, c'était durant la période d'Alpha Molo ou durant la période de Moussa Molo?*

BK : C'est durant la période d'Abdoul Diallo à la suite des autres. C'est au temps des chefs de canton.

Q : *Est-ce que le nom de Tabassaye veut dire quelque chose ?*

BK : Oui Tabassaye signifie quelque chose. Quand ils ont arrivé, ils ont trouvé quatre *tabadjé* à l'est et quatre *tabadjé* à l'ouest. Et ils ont dit que ce lieu s'appelle *Tabassaye*⁵ C'est la somme de ces huit *tabadjé* qui a donné Tabassaye.

Q : *Durant la période des chefs de cantons, ce village faisait partie de quel canton ?*

BK : Tabassaye faisait partie du canton de Patim Tibo.

Q : *Je voudrais savoir plus sur l'histoire avant la fondation du village, aux temps des rois manding et du Fouladou?*

BK : La vie est faite des successions j'ai entendu les anciens en parler mais ils n'ont pas expliqué la manière dont cela s'est passé.

⁵Huit' en Malinké

Q : *Ho tumbun bo Laly tawi do o i dioguino inddé ?*

BK: Bo andda doum.

Q : *Ho ohnoone ngandi fi hodoum addi haa Sébbé ngono bé do ndiéhi ?*

BK:Men ngandi ko hodoum itti bé do ho ko haré dé wala.

Notable: Anddi doulla ci wouli ran mawbé ko daya no, kono noone men ngandi ko itti bé do

Q : *Ko hoddi ledji e hoddé djétodjé ngoni e der saaré e hono dé ngaari di do ?*

BK:No bé ngardi do doum mi nganda doum dé. Ko Sébbé, Fulakunda e Fulbé Fouta ngono do. I waddi Diallo Fulbé Fouta e Balde Fulakunda e fi Sébbé ko Kondjira, Kanté, Diatta, Dramé.

Q : *Est-ce que saaré dé di waddi waylubé, diali bé, garankobé ?*

BK: Garanké wono do e bayello, diali bé taa wona ngaare bé, bé médda do wono do

Boukary Kondjira : Guila Laly yéhi ko wayoulubé sinthiri saaré dé, saaré dé ko saaré waylou bé.

Q : *Ho ko Laly yéhi ko, ko waylou bé ran ngono saare dé ?*

BK : Ta wona Fulakunda bé e Fulbé Fouta bé, Sébbé bé piwu ko wayloubé

Q : *Ho honoone ngandi tumbun dji i der toundou du ta wona tumbun ngono no do e saaré dé ?*

BK: Ko wayi no tata dji mi naani e tumbun dji ngala

Q : *Ho ohnone ngandi thiossane mawbé mo bé to Pakao doye bé ngardi do ?*

BK : Mama amen di ko Tanaf guiwri, bédo Kulékunda, Kanté kunda bédon ko Bakadian kunda. Ko bé ngarta ko, meen mbaydodiri i dioni mamadji amen di ko Koracé guiwri bé ngari hirnagué ga, dioni mbeygouré dé héwi ko ni péthiodiri, béda quibi ga béda quibi to ha bé jothi do,ko bé jothie bé tawi do Laly.

Q : *Hono Laly ndanguiri bé do ?*

BK:Mbayri go bé wayloubé kagn ko Poulo, ko pour bé féwunana bé ligoré

Q : *Ho Laly ko forcé bé wala ko bélé dé mouhen diodi bé do ?*

Q : *Est-ce que vous connaissez le noms du tumbun manding que Laly a trouvé ?*

BK : Je ne me rappelle pas.

Q : *Est-ce que vous savez pourquoi les gens qui habitaient le tumbun sont partis ?*

BK : On ne connaît pas les raisons de leur départ, si c'est à cause de la guerre, on ne sait pas.

Notable: Tu sais, auparavant quand un malheur frappait une localité, les habitants fuyaient, mais nous ignorons les raisons qui les ont poussé à partir dans ce cas.

Q : *Quels sont les noms de familles et les clans qui vivent dans le village et quel est leur ordre d'arrivée?*

BK : On ne connaît pas la manière dont ils sont venus, mais il y a des Sébbé, des Fulakunda et des Fulbé Fouta. Et il y a des Diallo qui sont des Fulbé Fouta, des Fulakunda et aussi des Sébbé, il y a des Kondjira, des Kanté, des Diatta et des Dramé.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a des forgerons, des griots et des cordonniers dans le village ?*

BK : Il y a des forgerons et des cordonniers mais les griots il n'y avait que les voyageurs. Il n'y a jamais eu de griots au village.

Boukary Kondjira: Depuis que Laly est parti, le village est devenu un village de forgerons.

Q : *Après le départ de Laly, est-ce que le village était habité que par des forgerons ?*

BK : A part les Fulakunda et les Fulbé Fouta, tous les Sébbé sont des forgerons.

Q : *Est-ce que vous connaissez d'autres tumbuns dans la région à part du tumbun du village ?*

BK : Parlant des tatas, je ne sais pas et les tumbun je n'ai pas y entendu parler

Q : *Est-ce que vous connaissez l'histoire de vos ancêtres avant le départ de Pakao ?*

BK : Nos grands-parents viennent de Tanaf, les uns ont quitté Koulékunda, les autres de Bakadian kunda. Avant leur départ ils se sont concertés à l'amiable et nos ancêtres sont venus de Koracé et les autres par l'ouest, et quand il y a eu une croissance de population, ils se sont séparés. Les uns ont quitté aussi pour se retrouver ici avec Laly.

Q : *Comment Laly les a retenus ici ?*

BK : Parce que ils étaient des forgerons et Laly était un Peul qui voulait qu'on lui fabrique des outils aratoires.

Q : *Est-ce que Laly les a retenus de force ou de leur plein gré ?*

BK: *Anddou hakouddé Poulou e Bayelo, si poulo o ndaguima ko modie anddi ah djoto. Ko doum waddi.*

Q : *Fi hodoum addi haa bé guiwi Bakadian Kunda e Tanaf bé gaari do ?*

BK: Ahno anddi kala do niami ma di woni wala archikéma do woni ko diara ko doum waddi ha bé gaari do.

Q : *Hodoum anddi ha bé paala yaddé Douradkiara ?*

BK: Ko bé palla no yaddé to mamadji mouhen to ko ontuma noone Laly nangui bé do.

Q : *Ko hodoum woni gollé saaré dé o watu ci ko liguén mbyala, démale, dioulaya, ci ko gaynaka ?*

BK: Ko ligué ré ko piwu men mbade doum.

BK: Tu sais c'est entre Peul et forgeron. Si un Peul te traite bien tu vas y rester. C'est la seule raison.

Q : Pourquoi ils ont quitté Bakadian kunda et Tanaf pour venir ici ?

BK: Tu sais là ou se trouve ta chance et ta nourriture, c'est là-bas que tu vas t'installer. Voilà l'explication.

Q : Pourquoi voulaient-ils partir à Douradiara, qu'est-ce qu'il y avait là-bas?

BK: Ils voulaient partir chez leurs ancêtres et y s'installer et Laly les a retenus.

Q : Qu'est-ce qu'on fait actuellement dans le village: la forge, l'agriculture, l'élevage ou le commerce?

BK : Nous faisons toutes les activités.

18.- Koulekunda

Date: 24/01/13

Participants : Galle Diallo, Dembo Diambang (Jaarga de Koulekunda), Bakary Kante, Mamadi Kante, Ousmane Drame, Oumar Kante.

Q : *Ko hobbo watu saare de sincia e ko hobbo sinci de ?*

Dembo Diambang (D.D) : Ko Koule Bayo iddi do sincio de imbi to Bijini.

Q : *Bijini ko horo woni ?*

D.D : Bijini ko Guinée woni

Q : *Saare ko watu lamu canton wala ko lamu Moussa wala Alpha wala ko lamu Sebbe saare de sincia ?*

D.D : Ko watu lamu Sebbe saare de sincia.

Q : *Koule Bayo était-il Ceddo ou Peul ?*

D.D : *Koule Bayo est un Ceddo.*

Q : *Ho mbo hawri do e goddo ko mbo ari do ko ?*

D.D : Mbo tawani do hay goro.

Q : *Fi hodoum itti mbo Bijini ?*

D.D : Ko gandal Allah wibo no mbo are ga kanko e miniri rabe makko be. O da wire Diankan. Be fodde do dobbi nayyi Fode yehi sincioyi Fode Bayo.

Q : *Fode Bayo ko hodoum woneno, ci ko bayelo, ko Diali wala ko jambare mbo woneno ?*

Notable : Ko bayelo mbo woneno

Q : *Ho saare de ko sincie re ko ta watu lamu Sebbe wala ?*

D.D : Diamanou mbo mbo siniara de saare o ko watu Dianke Waly,

Q : *Be kalla nii meen e deeda thiae fi are o watu, ho ohn mbawi meen hen filanade hen godoum ?*

D.D : Ko e lamuya mabbe mbo arii. Kono fi lamouya Sebbe be o mbi wawra doum halla de.

Q : *Ko hodde djetodje e ledji ngoni e der saare do e hono de ngardi ?*

D.D : Ko Sebbe ngone do, Fulbe Fuuta iniin do e Fulbe. Kante, Toure, Diambang, Drame, Dandio, Sande, Diallo, Camara.

Q : *Ho ko de djetodje goneno do kabire lawu ?*

Ousmane Drame (O.D.) : Ko de raan woneno do e Seydi, Diafoung, Balde, Aidara, Sama, Mane,

Q : Quand est-ce que le village a été fondé et par qui ?

Dembo Diambang (D.D) : C'est Koule Bayo qui a fondé le village. Il vient de Bijini.

Q : Où se trouve Bijini ?

D.D : Bijini se trouve en Guinée

Q : Quand est-ce le village a été fondé ? C'est au temps des cantons, de Moussa ou d'Alpha , ou au temps des Sebbe ?

D.D : C'est durant la période des Sebbe que le village a été fondé.

Q : Koule Bayo était-il Ceddo ou Peull ?

D.D : Koule Bayo était un Ceddo.

Q : Est-ce qu'il a rencontré quelqu'un quand il est arrivé ici ?

D.D : Il n'a trouvé personne.

Q : Pourquoi il est parti de Bijini ?

D.D : La sagesse d'Allah l'a amené ici avec ses frères. L'un s'appelait Diankan et l'autre Fode; ce dernier est resté pendant quatre ans et il est parti fonder Fode Bayo.

Q : Fode Bayo était-il un forgeron, un griot, un guerrier ?

Notable : C'était un forgeron.

Q : Est-ce que la fondation du village ça c'est passé aux temps des Sebbe?

D.D : Ça a été au temps de Dianke Waly.

Q : Qu'est ce que vous pouvez nous dire sur cette période?

D.D : C'est durant son règne qu'il est venu ici. A propos du pouvoir des Sebbe, je ne peux rien vous dire.

Q : Quelles sont les noms de famille, les clans qui habitent dans le village et leur ordre d'arrivée ?

D.D : Il y a des Sebbe, des Fulbe Fuuta et des Fulbe. Il y a les Kante, Toure, Diambang, Drame, Dandio, Sande, Diallo et Camara.

Q : Est-ce qu'au passé, il y avait les mêmes noms de familles que ceux d'aujourd'hui ?

Ousmane Drame (O.D.) : Il y avait les Seydi, Diafoung, Balde, Aidara, Sama et Mane

Q : Ho e der saare do i waddi wayelube, diali be e garankobe ?

D.D : Be be hall dado piwu iniin do lawu. Dioni ko wayelu be taan heddi do.

D.D : *Hono be wayelube jetereno ?*

D.D : Kante, Toure, Diambang, Drame, Sande, Camara, Kourouma, Kondjira

Q : Ho wone be do be piwu ko wayelube ?

D.D : Tout ko be wayelube kono Diallu be iniin do kono wona be wayelube.

Q: Koule Bayo wona bayelo woneno dioni ko hobbo watu wayelube gari do ?

D.D : Diamono Keita Seydi

Q : Ko horo Keita Seydi iwri ?

D.D : Keita Seydi ko Fulakunda, ko Macina mbo iwri. Koule Bayo ko iwi ko watu hare Moussa Molo, wi Puulo lamora ko mbo. Ohn yehi Keita Seydi ari sinci do.

Q : Kaye wayelube be ?

D.D : ouh ouh, ko do be tawi mbo.

Q : Ho ko watu Alpha Molo wala ko do e doum ?

D.D : Ko diamano Moussa Molo.

Q : Ko horo wayelube be guiwiri ?

D.D : Wayelube ko miineen ko Pakao meen guiwiri.

Q : Ko e horo e der Pakao ?

D.D : Diambassi

Q : Fi hodoum itti ohn Diambassi ?

D.D : Ko diyyam lame dam, si be ndemi han lame dam wara dialudi ontuma be guimbi be gari ga. Ko doum woni o galle do.

Q : Fi hodoum addi ha diodi doon do ohn ndiahani doula godo ?

D.D : Ko arissike ameen woni houbbani.

Q : Fi hodoum addi ha Keita Seydi iwi to Macina ?

D.D : E ko arissike makko woni do. Ko doum sinci ni doum do.

Q : Ho ko kagne taan ari do wala mbo areddi do e gobe ?

D.D : Ko mbo aredu e mbeygoure makko de.

Q : Ho Keita Seydi ko demowo wala ko jambare woneno ?

Q : *Est-ce qu'il des forgerons, des griots et des cordonniers au village ?*

D.D : Tous ceux que tu viens d'énumérer étaient là. Maintenant il n'y a que les forgerons.

Q : *Quel est le nom de famille de ces forgerons ?*

D.D : Kante, Toure, Diambang, Drame, Sande, Camara, Kourouma, Kondjira.

Q : *Est-ce que tous ceux qui sont ici sont des forgerons ?*

D.D : Tout le monde est forgeron. Cependant, il y a des Diallo qui ne sont pas des forgerons.

Q : *Koule Bayo n'était pas un forgeron; quand est-ce que les forgerons sont venus ?*

D.D : C'est au temps d Keita Seydi.

Q : *Keita Seydi venait d'où ?*

D.D : Keita Seydi est un Fulakunda qui est venu du Macina. Durant la période de Moussa Molo, Koule Bayo avait dit qu'un Peul n'allait jamais le diriger. C'est lorsqu'il est parti que Keita Seydi est venu fonder le village.

Q : *Avec les forgerons ?*

D.D : Non, non, ils l'ont trouvé sur place.

Q : *Est-ce que ça c'est passé à l'époque d'Alpha Molo ou avant ?*

D.D : C'est au temps de Moussa Molo.

Q : *Les forgerons sont venus d'où ?*

D.D : C'est nous les forgerons. On vient du Pakao.

Q : *Où dans le Pakao ?*

D.D : Diambassi.

Q : *Et pourquoi vous avez quitté Diambassi ?*

D.D : C'est à cause de l'eau salée. Si on cultivait les épis mouraient, c'est pour cela qu'ils sont venus ici. Sa maison c'est celle-la.

Q : *Pourquoi vous vous êtes arrêtés ici et pas dans un autre endroit ?*

D.D : Notre destin n'est pas encore finie.

Q : *Pourquoi Keita Seydi a quitté le Macina ?*

D.D : C'est son destin qui l'a poussé. C'est la raison pour laquelle il a fondé ici.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il est venu seul ou avec d'autres ?*

D.D : Il est venu avec sa famille.

Q : *Keita Seydi était-il un agriculteur ou un guerrier?*

D.D : Ko demowo woneno

Q : *Ho do Koule Bayo e Keita Seydi do sincio do piwu ko doula goro wala i certi ?*

D.D : Ha ko doum woni do

Q : *Est-ce que le village de Koule Bayo et de Keita Seydi était au même endroit ou dans des endroits séparés ?*

D.D : Effectivement, c'est là.

Q : *Meen ndiehi e de to thiae be mbi meen yo Dianke Waly ko feccino leydi moun di banco dji banco dji, Koulekunda ko he hobo banco tawano ?*

D.D : Mineen ko meen maddi ko Abdoul Diallo ko lami ko. Ko lamouya Abdoul Diallo leydi ni fecca. Do ko Patim, Niampayo, Korace, ko ni meen ngandiri. Mamakunda. Doum watu lamu canton.

Ousmane Mane (O.M.) : Koumamboure i wadi tata, ko Mansa Bakary lamino do. Do ko Patim.

Q : *Ho tata dji goddi i woddono ohn watu ?*

O.D.: Tata iniin Koumamboure hakkude saare de e thiagol gol to ko dioni mbo yani de. Berekolon kono ahno anddi dioni ko Guinée-Bissau woni, tata iniin toon. Tata iniin Kabendou, Payoungou (Pathiana)

Q : *Meen kale nama fi hare hakkunde Fulbe e Sebbe be. Ho ohn noone mawi meen hallan de hen godoum ?*

O.D: Fulbe e Sebbe be kabani. Sabouna ko Sebbe be e Fulbe Fuuta be kabbi. Ohn watu kalla ko Sebbe yiddi ko doum be wata Fulbe. Sabouna guila Dianke Waly lami, ko kanko warini lamude, Ndiande o lami, o diodi o wi ko houdde wotere o hallan ta Fulbe be, ci wali ma to mbali, o fewate, Fulbe be pallate. Ci diengui, be nella soukabe be ndara hono mawbe mbalori. Ci be tawi Fulbe i fewi to mbaldi ro ran be tadjji ma.

Ko Kelefa Sane habbi e Fulbe be. Ohn noone kallon ko Fulbe be togni mbo. Sabouna mbo yada e doubbi nogasse e doiyi. Mbo falla yade koyan, kawu makko wi no mbo ya wayeno yimbe makko be ko de balde mi falla yade koyan. Mbo madioyi. Ko madji ko none, mbo wali doon weri werani, ontuma mbo habbi pucciu makko gu mbo pari. Fulbe be ohn watu be nanguet lawol be nagan soukabe Sebbe be, be wada doum maccudo.

Ontuma kagn Kelefa mbo yawra mbo wabi pucciu, Puulo goro imbi wi mi hebbi lamedo, Kelefa larta bawo. Puulo wi mi hebbi maccudo. Kelefa lari bawo widoum baba ma woni maccudo, nene ma woni maccudo. Miin wona mi maccudo.

Be lari mbo, be mbiyyo nangué mvo jippi non mbo hircene mbo wala naben mbo ci mbo sali han. Hore djo mabbe ari lari Kelefa to hore koyede ha to hore to mboyo be yo dalte o. O ko Birikama dieya dalte mbo. Kelefa widoumen yo ohn nangani kam de. Mino faddi ohn hare kabene. Goro wi guel thioukayel madde prepare miin taan wawa naguel. Yesso djo mabbe wiyoyi o ci en gatia ni o e kabbate e moudoum ha wera.

Be yedi mbo. Be habbi e makko. Thiappande diedi do mbo wari. Mbo nangui yimbe nayyo mbo nabbi be Badiéba mbo yehi be kodiam. Badiéba ko saare to Guinée-Bissau. Be Fulbe ko Forea woda ko godo lamino toon mi yedjiri indde makko de. Guila Kelefa yeyi be soukabe ra ;, yimbe mabbe yehi to saare Kelefa e Birikama. Be tawani doone Kelefa ta mbo Badiéba yara kodiam.

D.D : C'était un agriculteur.

Q : *Est-ce qu'entre la disparition de Koule Bayo et l'arrivée de Keita Seydi, le village a été abandonné ?*

D.D : Oui, il a été abandonné.

Q : *Est-ce que le village de Koule Bayo et ce de Keita Seydi étaient au même endroit ou dans des endroits différents ?*

D.D : Effectivement, c'est là

Q : *On nous a dit dans les autres villages que Dianke Waly avait divisé son territoire en plusieurs terroirs, est-ce que vous savez duquel terroir faisait partie Koulekunda ?*

D.D : Ce que nous savons est sur le regne d'Abdoul Diallo. C'est durant la période d'Abdoul Diallo que le pays a été divisé. Ici, c'est le Patim, Niampayo, Korace voilà ce que nous savons. Mamakunda. C'est durant la période des cantons.

Ousmane Mane (O.M.) : Il y a un tata à Koumamboure. Mansa Bakary y a régné. Ce terroir s'appelait Patim.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y avait d'autres tatas à cette époque ?*

O.D.: Il y a un tata à Koumamboure entre le village et la rizière mais il s'est effondré. A Berekolon qui est en Guinée-Bissau, il y a un tata là-bas. Il y a un tata à Kabendou, Payoungou (Pathiana).

Q : *On nous a parlé d'une guerre entre les Peuls et les Sebbe. Est-ce que vous pouvez nous en dire quelque chose ?*

O.M.: Les Fulbe et les Sebbe n'ont pas combattu. C'est les Sebbe et les Fulbe Fuuta qui ont fait la guerre. Mais à cette époque, les Sebbe faisaient tout ce qu'ils voulaient des Fulbe. Puisque Dianke Waly est le dernier à régner. Le jour de son intronisation, il s'est assis, il a dit aux Fulbe qu'il allait se coucher normalement, tandis que les Fulbe pourraient se coucher seulement en travers du lit. Pendant la nuit, ils envoyèrent des jeunes pour voir la manière dont les Fulbe s'étaient couchés. Si on trouvait qu'un Peul s'était couché au long, on le coupait en deux.

C'est Kelefa Sane qui s'est battu avec les Fulbe. Ils l'ont attaqué. Il avait vingt-cinq ans. Il voulait entrer dans la case de l'homme et son père lui demanda d'aller demander la permission à ses oncles. En allant, il s'est perdu. Lorsqu'il s'est perdu, il a passé la nuit et au petit matin il a attaché son cheval et s'apprêta à partir. A cette époque, les Fulbe étaient des coupeurs de routes et capturaient les enfants des Sebbe en les réduisant en esclavage. Kelefa passait avec son cheval. Un Pullo s'est levé et il a dit 'j'ai un roi', Kelefa ne s'est pas tourné. Le Pullo a insisté 'j'ai un esclave'. Kelefa s'est tourné et lui a dit 'c'est ton père qui est un esclave. C'est ta mère qui est une esclave. Moi je ne suis pas un esclave'.

Ils l'ont regardé et ils ont dit : descendons pour le tuer, et s'il s'oppose on le prend. Leur chef regarda Kelefa de la tête aux pieds et leur dit de le lâcher. 'Il est de Birikama, lâchez-le'. Kelefa leur dit 'vous ne m'avez pas attrapé. Je vous attends pour se battre'. L'un d'eux dit 'cet enfant, je peux m'en charger, allez vous préparer'. Leur chef dit ' si on ne le laisse pas, on va se battre jusqu'au crépuscule'.

Ils ne l'ont pas cru. Ils se sont battus avec lui. Il a tué soixante-dix-sept. Il a fait quatre prisonniers, il les a amené à Badiéba et les a échangé contre le vin de palme. Badiéba est un village en Guinée-Bissau. Les prisonniers étaient des Fulbe de Forea et j'ai le nom du roi qui y régnait. Lorsqu'il a vendu les Fulbe, les autres Fulbe sont partis dans le village de Kelefa à Birikama. Mais ils n'ont pas trouvé Kelefa parce qu'il était à Badiéba en train de boire du vin de palme.

Ta wore be be piwu ndiehi Daaka yaroye gol kodium. Be tawi doon ko thioukalon koy ran rewbe be, be nabbi been Forea. Be nabbi thioukalon koy ontuma kawu Kelefa o ari wire Sanka, mboyoye wore be abbe be Forea. Be abbi be, be habbi e lamu Forea gu. Be tawi toon Sanka doum piwu Kelefa ari ni de. Mboyoye be ohn noone alla mbaw do ohn ci wona Puulo ? Adde ne kam dimagu gu. Hawri Kelefa yotima. Mboyoye kawu hokko ? Mboyoye bibe lamdedo be ndieye da Badiaba ko ohn lamedo ari hippa de saare de. Kono be abbi ma be kono Fulbe riwi be arede. Ko ohn Puulo mi yahan taanin. Kelefa widoum kawu doum foraz yagol ma foyro. O lamedo mi adda doum niin. Ci ko bimbi, defana mbo o woto ha mbo hara. Mbo hirto dalta mbo o yaha o wiyya yimbebe ko miin woni Kelefa. Ko miin woni jambare wota ware mbo de. Wona no ah wade mbo maccudo.

Soukabe be be mbiyo o heresata gore djo baba makko e lawu makko, yimbe korani mbo mboyoye kanko o yahana mbo o hersera. Kelefa natti ka suddu makko o wali. Be mbiyo ho ho o malubali yaha ni. Kelefa wali ha fana yoni o baani diyyam o loti alansara. O habbi pucciu makko o. O habbi kodium makko oto hirke to. Mboyoye kawu mi yahani Puulo o. Si mi addi mbo wona no ah wadde mbo maccudo. Teddi na mbo si mbo hori mbo haloya ko miin woni Kelefa.

Mbo yehi saare Forea, mbo tawi be dioula fouturo. Tawabe hare de naani dilere pouciu makko gu tan be ketti ni. Be bawo be, be yawri almame o. Mbo daari mbo faddi ha be pari dioule de. Kelefa wi be bagage o e yimbe am be no tawo yam to ameen. Lamedo o widoum mi memara ma ko mi jippina ma. Mi okka ma hiradde kirsoda. Ko min taan wareta ma. Yari Puulo o ko fere saki. Puulo o jippini Kelefa. Leri de jemma, Puulo wayeliri mbodi. Kelefa do wone do anddi mbo yalti. Mbo wayelir dioude. Mbodi ni natti nabiti Kelefa mbo yiha ni mbo. Mbo routi. Mbo woni ha quatre heures du matin, Puulo kallon wayeliri mbodi tine mbo natti taan Kelefa wayeliri wadou. Mbo nabbi Kelefa mbo yiha kelefa. Mbo hori alla ko mbo wawni Kelefa ha weri.

Puulo o lamedo Kelefa est-ce que ah pari, Kelefa widoum mi parani tawone. Ha mbo hodjiro kodium daam tawone. Mbo baani kaba o mbo dimbi mbo yari ha guire de mbodji. Mbo wi lamedo ah pari ohn widoum ha mi pari. Mbo daari lamedo dari e yimbe makko be. Lamdeo baroula makko garanke djo o widoum lamdo si ah diaba ni han miin diabani o Ceddo de. O djema ko keri da ko ah hori ma o, ho ko wawan ta o nalorema. Lamedo widoum ahn ah andda kam kono hadde ah andda kam.

Kelefa widoum pidji dandantan mi wada ma doum : go yirer madde mi youlan de, hodou ma doum mi tadjou dou e tamo o mi haba ma, mi maddana bagage am di e yimbe am be mi hora. Guila be waddi engage, pucci dji diessi koyde hesso dje. Be habbi, Kelefa youli mbo yitere. Puulo wadi diougo makko go do yitere do. Be habbi Kelefa tadjou nowru makko dou. Kelefa tadjou mbo hodou du. Mbo dogani guiddi o ta mbo yani. Kelefa habbi Puulo ha mbo yori keng keng mbo yo yimbe makko be e bagage piwu atia. Yimpe saare de yihi solaru dou taan be mbiyyo ho ko diaygol wala ko solarou dou.

Be dogui be tawi Kelefa i heddi yesso diama o abbi mbo. Mbo yoti, mboyoye kawu Puulo gore djo baba am iniin là. Teddina mbo, niamina mbo gatia mbo mbo hora mbo wiyyo ya ko miin Kelefa.

Q : Hono baba Kelefa o wireno ?

Tous les hommes étaient partis boire du vin de palme au Daaka. Quand ils [les Fulbe] sont arrivés, ils n'ont trouvé que les femmes et les enfants, et ils les ont amené à Forea. Quand l'oncle de Kelefa a découvert qu'on avait pris les enfants, il a dit aux hommes de les suivre à Forea. Ils les ont poursuivis, ils se sont battus avec le pouvoir de Forea et tout ce temps, Kelefa n'était pas venu. Il leur a dit 'est-ce qu'il n'y a une autre personne pour se battre, puisque vous vous battez avec un Pullo? Amenez moi la jument', et ils amenèrent la jument. Kelefa arriva. Il demanda à son oncle qu'est-ce qui se passait. Il lui a dit 'les fils du roi que tu as vendu à Badieba sont venus attaquer le village. On a poursuivi les Fulbe, mais ils nous ont chassé. Maintenant je vais chasser cet Puulo'. Kelefa dit 'ce n'est pas la peine que tu y ailles. Tu dois te reposer. Je vais ramener ce roi. Après le matin, tu vas lui préparer le déjeuner pour qu'il mange à sa faim.. Après tu vas le laisser partir pour qu'il dise aux gens que je suis Kelefa. Kelefa, le guerrier, qui n'a pas été réduit en esclave.

Quand les autres lui ont demandé s'il n'avait pas d'honte, de défier un roi de l'âge de son père ou son oncle, Kelefa est entré dans sa chambre pour se coucher. Ils ont dit 'le petit malin n'est pas parti'. Kelefa est resté couché jusqu'à quatorze heures et a pris son bain vers le crépuscule. Il attacha son cheval et son vin de palme sur la selle. Il est venu trouver son oncle et lui a dit qu'il allait chez le Pullo. Celui qui ne l'avait pas réduit en esclave. Tu vas voir comme quand il rentre il dira que je suis Kelefa.

Il est parti à Forea et il a trouvé que les gens faisaient la prière du crépuscule. Ceux qui avaient participé à son combat, dès qu'ils ont entendu le bruit du cheval, ils l'ont reconnu. Ceux qui étaient derrière ont dépassé l'imam. Il a attendu qu'ils finissent de prier. Alors Kelefa leur a dit que les bagages et son peuple, ils allaient rentrer avec lui. Le roi lui dit 'je ne vais pas me battre avec toi, je vais d'abord t'accueillir. Je vais te servir le diner. Je serais le seul à te tuer'. C'était pour le Pullo de se préparer. Le Pullo l'accueillit. En milieu de la nuit, le Pullo se transforma en serpent. Kelefa le suit et il est sorti. Il s'est transformé en un bout de bois. Et le serpent entra et chercha Kelefa mais ne le trouva pas. Il est rentré. Il est resté jusqu'à quatre heures du matin, il s'est transformé en serpent encore et il est rentré dans la chambre. Kelefa est sorti pour se transformer en singe. Il chercha Kelefa en vain. Il est rentré parce qu'il n'avait rien à faire contre Kelefa jusqu'au petit matin.

Le Pullo demanda à Kelefa s'il était prêt, Kelefa lui a dit 'non, il faut d'abord que je prenne le vin de palme comme petit déjeuner'. Il a pris la bouteille, la secoua, et but toute la bouteille jusqu'à ce que ces yeux devint rouges. Il demanda au roi s'il était prêt, le roi lui répondit qu'il était prêt. Ils se tinrent debout. D'un côté, Kelefa ; de l'autre côté, le roi et son peuple. Le chef des *baroula* et le cordonnier dirent au roi 'tout ce que tu as fait cette nuit contre ce Ceddo a été en vain. Qu'est-ce que tu vas faire le jour ?' Le roi lui a dit, 'toi, tu ne me connais pas mais aujourd'hui, tu vas me connaître'.

Kelefa lui a dit 'je vais te faire certaines choses : un, je vais cacher ton œil, je vais couper ton doigt je vais te ligoter, et je vais prendre mes bagages et mon peuple pour rentrer chez nous'. Dès qu'ils se sont engagés, les chevaux ont soulevé les pattes d'avant. Ils s'affrontèrent et Kelefa lui creva l'œil. Le Pullo a mis la main sur l'œil. Ils se sont battus et Kelefa lui a coupé l'oreille. Kelefa lui coupa le doigt. Il courut pour prendre le fusil, il est tombé. Kelefa l'a bien ligoté, et avec ses bagages et son peuple, il a pris le chemin du retour. Les gens de son village ont vu les nuages de poussière et commencèrent à se demander si l' s'agissait du feu ou bien de la poussière.

Ils se sont accourus, ils virent Kelefa suivit de son peuple. Il arriva et il dit à son oncle' le Pullo qui a le même âge que mon père est là. Héberge le, nourris le, après laisse-lui partir pour qu'il aille dire aux autres que je suis Kelefa'.

Q : *Qui est le père de Kelefa ?*

O.D: Be wiyabo Touban gobo wiya mbo Fali Sane. Ci mbo yehi hare do de mbo ware de ma ko touffa maa bandu nu fof ahn wira mbo touban ko doum woni atu ban, atu ban. Be wi mbo Touban kono noone ko Fali woni indede.

Q : *Ko horo Fali Sane woneno ?*

O.D: Fali Sane ko Payougou woneno. Kono mbo iwi Payougou mbo tawoyi kawu moun Birikama. Ko ohn okki mbo debbo kallan. Ohn debbo ko Mariama Nanki wire ko ohn woni nene Kelefa. Baba Mariama o woni Sanka ko ohn woni kawu Kelefa.

Q : *Ho ko kagne woneno lamedo Birikama o ?*

O.D: ko kagn woni lamdo Birikama.

Q : *Ho Kelefa e Sanka Nanki ko do e Dianke Waly lamade gono wala ko après ?*

O.D: Ko do e Dianke Waly lamade. Kelefa Sane, ko kawu makko lami kono Kelefa ko empereur. Godo lamani mbo, kalla ko mbo welana ko doum mbo watta.

Q : *Hono leydi di Kelefa lamino ni wireno ?*

O.D: Ko Birikama ko e der Guinée-Bissau woni. Do wire Badora ko e leydi kawu makko o diodi.

Q : *Ho ko watu Tiramakhan o wala ko doye doum ?*

O.D: Wawate wone de watu goro e Tiramakhan.

Q : *Ho Tiramakhan ari e der di leydi ?*

O.D: Non ! Non ! e ko mawube be ko pilara ko ohn arani e di leydi.

Q : *Hono lamdo Puulo mbo Kelefa habbi o wireno ?*

Ousmane Mane : Mi yedjire no mbo wireno. Ko Demba Forea. C'est un musulman. Be Forea be gari do wire Fass do.

Q : *Ho après de hare de Kelefa gagni de, woddi wone de watu Dianke Waly o hakunde Fulbe be e Sebbe be?*

O.D:Ha be kabuno ha be wawi Fulbe. Be ndiahate be bana nayyi Fulbe be boudjiri tari wala nayyi be wadda mafe botari e hiradde. Ci tewu doum wali meen memara doum.Dianke Waly ko kanko watini lamade e Sebbe be. I woddi hayre do be diodin ta diom moun be mbiyya mbo ah hallate. Mbo diodi mboyoye debbo makko o no ya to suudu makko ro mbo addana mbo woudere ranere. Touba ma mbo mborni no ma o mborti mbo haddi woudere ne. Be mbiyo doum le, mboyoye no be routu touba mama to suudu ro. Mboyoye mba touba ndiende mi mborenoo ma ohnnian do fousseye.

Mboyoye go rawone mi warinta do lamade. Mawube wobbe be liddji hore be diab ni. Doum wawra wone de. O lami leweru goto e lebbi sapo e go o noddi yimbe no be ndaroya cuddidi do mbo wada thioddi ni. Mbo laroyi ci coddui di i yoni, suudu guidi de dje dounu taan i hawri. Mbo laroyi pucci di mbayyri keddi di naywi di mbaw ra habbe de. Mboyoye banco dji sapo e did no kawr rir . Ndiala de yoti ontuma yimbe be gari be nori mbo. Mboyoye bez yo mi lari scuddi kono noone i woddi ko manki. Dioni mi okka ohn nii goure mbo ohn o ndiahon thiodo yon pucci to Fuuta.

O.D.: On l'appelle Touban mais son nom c'était Fali Sane. Quand il partait à la guerre et il mettait son adversaire à terre, il l'empoignait d'abord. Et en l'empoignant, ce dernier lui demandait d'arrêter. C'est pour cela que on l'appelle Touban mais son nom est Fali.

Q : *Fali Sane habité où ?*

O.D.: Fali Sane habitait à Payoungou. Mais il a quitté Payoungou pour aller rejoindre son oncle à Birikama. Ce dernier lui a donné une femme. Celle-ci s'appelait Mariama Nanki et c'est la mère de Kelefa. Sanka est le père de Mariama et l'oncle de Kelefa.

Q : *Était-il le roi de Birikama ?*

O.D.: Il était le roi de Brikama.

Q : *Est-ce que Kelefa et Sanka Nanki ont vécu avant Dianke Wali ou après ?*

O.D.: C'est avant du règne de Dianke Waly. Kelefa Sane, c'est son oncle qui était roi mais il était empereur. Personne ne lui dirigeait, il faisait ce qu'il voulait.

Q : *Comment s'appelait le royaume de Kelefa ?*

O.D. C'est à Birikama, en Guinée-Bissau. Là où on appelle Badora c'est le territoire de son oncle.

Q : *Ça a été au temps de Tiramakhan ou avant ?*

O.D.: Cela pourrait être au temps de Tiramakhan.

Q : *Est-ce que Tiramakhan est venu dans ce territoire ?*

O.D.: Non ! Non ! Selon les dires des anciens celui-ci n'est pas venu dans ce territoire.

Q : *Comment s'appelait le roi Peul que Kelefa a combattu ?*

O.D.: J'ai oublié son nom. C'est Demba Forea. C'est un musulman. Ceux de Forea sont venus à Fass.

Q : *Est-ce qu'après cette guerre que Kelefa a gagné, il y a eu une autre guerre au temps de Dianke Waly entre les Peuls et les Mandingues ?*

O.D.: Oui il y a eu une guerre qui a tourné à l'avantage des Sebbe. Ils prenaient les vaches des Fulbes pour leur sauce de déjeuner et du diner. Si le reste de la viande passe, le lendemain on ne le touchait pas. Dianke Waly est le dernier roi des Sebbe. Il y a une pierre, c'est là que le souverain s'assit pour faire son serment. Il s'est assis et a demandé à sa femme d'aller dans la chambre pour amener un pagne blanc. Il a enlevé le pantalon qu'il portait pour mettre le pagne. Ils se sont demandés sur le signification de ce geste, il a demandé qu'on ramène le pantalon dans la chambre. Il a dit 'le jour que je porte ce pantalon, ce jour-là on va disparaître'.

En premier lieu, il a dit qu'il serait le dernier à être roi. Certains vieux n'ont pas accepté cette prophétie. 'Cela n'est pas possible'. Il a régné pendant une lune et onze mois et il a demandé aux gens d'aller regarder les chambres. Il est parti vérifier si la poudre était suffisante. Il est parti voir la chambre des fusils, ils étaient suffisants. Il est parti vérifier les chevaux, mais il n'y avait pas suffisants. 'Les chevaux qui restent sont vieux et ne peuvent pas faire la guerre' Il a demandé aux douze terroirs de se réunir. Ce jour arriva et les gens répondirent à son appel. Il a dit 'j'ai vérifié les stocks et les chevaux manquent. Je vais vous donner de la nourriture et de quoi aller acheter des chevaux au Fuuta'

Be ndiehi ha e hakunde be tawai doon Sarakholles be i daarnu no dioulire de. Iwiddano do damale diouliri de do kalla mbo wi ahni « Lahi Lala Muhamadra Souroula » natara do. Sebbe natti to der diouliri de ro haye ta lamnaki. Sarakholles be lamdi be ko horo be guiwiri ? Be mbiyyo ko Gabou be guimbori e mbatti Fuuta. Be mbi be ci ohn ganda lawol gol han ko ohn lamdoro. Be mbi be ko meen ganda no. Ho ohn dihani ko winda do damougal diouliri de do kalla mbo wonani doum ko meen marambo. Be mbi be mineen meen dianga ni. Ko yimbe dido be gatie. Heddi be thiampan taro be piwu be mbari be. Dianke Waly do mbo diodi do e gouru diamalu mbo anddi. Mbo noddidiali makko o wireno diali Waly. Mbo wi diali Waly arena ! Mboyyo yimbe am be nelli Fuuta lawol mabbe gol boni de. Be warama ko dido pete artani. Kanko Dianke Waly o foddidiali nowuru makko ha yadie mbo mourru hore makko de. Mbo foddidiali nowuru makko dou ha dou djouri mbo diodi e makko. Mbo diali.

Diali Waly wi die Dianke Waly ahn yimbe mabbe warama ahn no diala. Mboyyo godo i wodini nidje kono mbo dialani. Mboyyo ko mi wata niin e down doum do aduna wadda doum tarika. Ta ko sus-préfet dji sapo e didimbo diogui woni e leydi makko. Mbo noddidiali be piwu de ndiala de garoon. Deen ndialade yotii. Ko bimi be gari Ko genre fête, hiro goro yo i halla ko falla. Be halli ha minuit djema o yoni. Goro iniin ko Berekolon dieya wire Galein Sonko. Dianke Waly lamdi ho mbo Berekolon alla doon na. Wiya mbone do de. Mboyyo ho ahn a alla ko halle ta, be do fof halli ha heddi ahn.

Mboyyo goreko si e yadda e debbo mouddum si goreko o dianti ma lawol debbo o forarini dantan de. Mboyyo kono ahn a hallate. Mboyyo kono si mbo halli meetate. Mboyyo est-ce que ah diatate inadji yimbe be. Mboyyo ah ah kono ko mi hal ta ko welanta ohn. Kalla gore ko wone do do ko miin taan nene am djibini gore ko heddi be piwu ko rewbe. Doum welani yimbe be, Dianke Waly widoum haye miin ? Mbo wiyyo doum yo ha sabouna ko woudere kadida.

Mboyyo do de mi halle de ohn wadate barigo temer kilos mi niama doum piwu ontuma mi halla. Be addi barigo cuddi, cent kilos mbo yabi doum ontuma mbo halli. Mboyyo kalla gore ko wone do do ko debbo ko miin tan woni gore ko. Mboyyo miino halla pidji dantan. Si mi yehi o barigo miin taan mi houmnate doum. Dimele guel si miino yaha ko thionthie danedji si mi arti si bawlani marokam. Galein Sonko wari woulure neddo. Mbo habbi woulure neddo mbo walini.

Onsan kanko Galein o waddi ko o wate ta ko, mboyyo kalla bitudo noddidiali kam. Mi taakkoror ma. Yimbe tato noddidiali mbo lawol gorol mbo takko o mbo takko. Kanko raan goro mbo wayito yimbe thiampande dioyi. Mboni diogui jinne dji temedere ko diin mbali mbo. Kele kuntiyo Dianke Waly. Dianke Waly widoum no be mbare be fof guertode, bali yimbe be fof wona no be dal haye houdde Sarankolles.

Hakke ko Dianke Waly ko heppi ko sabouna ko be halli ko metti mbo. Mboyyo be yo ho ko halli do do doum mbo watta niin. Be mbiyyo mbo meen mawra doum norra de. Ontuma general Famara Mane hewri. Dianke Waly widoum ho oyya ko wi ko ko doum wadoyi ? Mboyyo alla ko mbo wawra halle de. Mboyyo o ci en sakkani mbo plan ndiande kalla mbo mourti. Addi ko kambe woni dernier nianthio be Sane e Mane. Be do ko be jambare be.

Mboyyo ohn si ah okka ni ohn debbo ndiande kalla mbo mourti haye gorohedera ko. Mbo wara be piwu. Famara Mane widoum bido am mbo iniin to Sama Nianthiore. Be itti yimbe be addoya bido Famara Mane o to Sama. Wobe dihi bido makko e pucciu. Do ye tepere de meme de leydi ta Famara Mane nangui diougo debbo. Mbo nangui diougo souka debbo o mbo widoum mi okki ma o debbo ma woni niin.

Onsuma ohn wi pourquoi ça parce que o wawra wadet o marier sabouna be ko maccube. Dianke Waly lamdi mbo pourquoi ça ? O widoum ahn ah andda o ko mineen yadara ndiande yo ndiande. O si mbo okka ni o debbo ndiande mbo mourti mbo wara eneen fof. Ko doum wadi mi itti bido am mbo mi okki mbo. Anddisi neddo dabbi essiragal hersama.

Ils sont partis et à un moment donné ils ont trouvé des Sarakolés qui avaient construit une mosquée. Il est inscrit sur la face de la mosquée que celui qui ne prononce pas « Lahi Lala Muhamdara Souroula » n'entre pas ici. Les Sebbe sont entrés dans la mosquée sans demander. Et les Sarakholles leur demandèrent 'd'où sortez-vous ? Ils répondirent 'nous sommes du Gabou et nous allons au Fuuta'. Ils [les Sarakollés] répondirent 'si tu ne connais pas le chemin, il faut demander'. 'Nous ne le savions pas'. 'Vous n'avez pas vu ce qui est écrit ? Celui qui n'obéisse pas serait mis à mort'. Ils ont dit 'mais nous ne sommes pas instruit's. Ils n'ont laissé que deux personnes. Toutes les trente personnes furent tuées.

Dianke Waly s'est assis sur la peau d'un lion et il sut. Il appela son griot qui s'appelait Diali Waly. Il dit à Waly de s'approcher. Il lui a dit 'les gens que j'ai envoyé au Fuuta ont échoué. Ils ont été tous tués excepté deux. Dianke Waly tira une de ses oreilles aussi large qu'elle put couvrir sa tête. Il tira l'autre aussi longue qu'il put s'asseoir sur elle. Il ria.

Diali Waly lui dit 'Dianke Waly, tu apprends que tes gens ont péri et toi tu ris'. Il lui répondit 'il y a des dents qui sortent mais cela n'est pas un rire. Ce que je vais faire le monde va écrire ces évènements'. Il y avait douze sous-préfectures dans le territoire. Il fit appel à tout son territoire pour se réunir un jour et ce jour arriva et tout le monde répondit à l'appel. Ils sont venus le matin. C'était comme une fête et une veille et tout le monde racontait ce qu'il voulait faire. Ils ont palabré jusqu'à minuit. Celui de Berekolon s'appelait Galein Sonko. Dianke Waly a demandé si le roi de Berekolon n'était pas arrivé. Les presents ont répondu qu'il était là. Il a demandé 'alors pourquoi tu ne parles pas ? tout le monde a parlé sauf toi'

Il a dit 'si un homme est accompagné de sa femme, si l'homme délivre le message, la femme ne doit pas parler'. 'Mais toi tu peux parler', il a dit. Il lui a répondu 'si je parle cela risquerait de fâcher certains.' Il lui demanda 'est-ce que tu vas nous insulter de mère ?'. Il lui répondit 'non, mais cela risquerait de choquer certains'. Et il dit : 'de tous les hommes qui sont présents ici, je suis le seul fils de ma mère, tout le reste sont des femmes'. Certains n'ont pas aimé cela et Dianke Waly lui a demandé s'il faisait partir ? Il lui dit que tu portes un pagne non.

Il a dit 'avant que je parle, il faut que vous remplissiez un baril de cent kilos pour que je le vide, ensuite je vais parler'. Ils ont amené un baril de cent kilos, il l'a piétiné, et ensuite il a parlé. Il a dit 'de tous ceux qui sont là, je suis le seul homme. Je vais faire plusieurs choses : d'abord, j'ai vidé ce baril. Aussi, je vais porter des habilles blancs et à mon retour s'ils ne se sont pas noircis, tuez moi. Galein Sonko a tué cinq mille personnes. Il ligota cinq milles personnes.

Quand Galein a fini de se préparer, il dit 'quiconque sera dans les difficultés peut faire appel à moi. Je viendrais à son côté. Si trois personnes faisaient appel à lui il allait les secourir. Lui seul pouvait se transformer en cinquante personnes. Il avait cent *jinn*s qui l'aident. Il était le *kele kuntiyo* de Dianke Waly. Dianke Waly leur a demandé de prendre tout, le chèvres, les moutons, les coqs, et ne rien laisser aux Sarakholles.

Tellement Dianke Waly était pressé pour savoir si'l [Galein Sonko] avait fait ce qu'il avait dit. Il demanda aux rois s'il avait fait ce qu'il avait dit. Ils ont répondu qu'ils ne pouvaient pas répondre à la question. Entre temps arriva le general Famara Mane. Dianke Waly lui demanda 'est qu'il a fait ce qu'il avait dit ?' Il a répondu 'je ne peux me prononcer sur cette question. Mais si on ne se prépare pas, un jour il va se révolter. Vous savez que vous êtes l'un des derniers *nianthio* Sane et Mane. Lui c'est le dernier guerrier.

Il a dit 'si tu ne lui donnes pas une épouse, le jour où il se révoltera, il va tuer tout le monde et il n'y aura point de survivants'. Famara Mane lui a dit qu'il y avait une fille à Sama Nianthiore. Ils ont envoyé des gens pour amener la fille de Famara Mane de Sama. Ils ont envoyé des gens prendre la fille de Famara Mane à Sama. Elle était sur un cheval. Mais avant qu'elle ne met les pieds par terre, la main de Famara Mane a saisi le bras de la fille. Il a attrapé la main de la jeune fille et lui a dit 'voilà ma fille, je te la donne comme épouse'.

Quelqu'un demanda 'pourquoi ça ? celle-la ne peut pas le marier puisque lui est un esclave' Le roi Dianke Waly a demandé aussi 'pourquoi ça ? Moi je ne connais pas les raisons mais lui il le sait parce qu'ils sont ensemble tous les jours'. Il a dit 'si je ne lui donne pas une femme, le jour qu'il va se révolter, il va nous tuer tous. C'est la raison pour laquelle je lui ai donné ma fille. Tu sais si quelqu'un devient ton beau-fils, il aura du respect pour toi'

Dianke Waly wi mbo mbayri ahn ko ah maccudo, o do woni dimo ma o, mbayyri ahno diogui rewu be dido. Si o mbalandi makko yoni ko ahn walle to bawo. Mboyyo thioukayel falla mba indou wona ci mbo okka ma mbo yergatte. Ontuma Dianke Waly wi diali be tadiane be bogole.

Galein wayeni wi dioni miino falla diobandio ma naba mbo to saare ameen to ha diobaguya ambo tima. Ontuma be wari bali, nayyi fof ha mbo pari. Mboyyo Dianke Waly ah bouni kam do miin kallon mi dabayani bounia. Kallon mbo diougo am go nangui, ah hebbi maccudo. Kalla mbo mbo hawri ran mbo nangua doum. Do e mbo yade, mbo yehi e pucciu makko e barol thiagol do yadde. Galein arti mboyyo Galein yo to ndiara to Puulo inin toon, ndiande kawru doon han mbodiata de. Ta Puulo o ko Dietel Diao wireno. Ohn kalla ko lamedo e jambare jo. Ontuma Puulo i bane ta pucciu dji mbo taro yadde thiagol. Galein widoum niande kalla mi hawri e o Puulo mbo niami diambo yo lakara. Be halle ni Puulo, Puulo o wiygo diande kalla mi hawri e o Ceddo, mbo diakki tewu yo lakara.

Ha niande wotere be waddi karabe. Mbo doigui alladou ko doon mbo wata cuddi ni. Doon mbo nangui Puulo mbo hirci mbo. Mbo arti, dioni mbo falla ma yadde ha mbo daboya bounia Dianke Waly. Pakao do, saare inin do wire Sabore. Mbo tawi doon lamedo ohn ko Bainounke Bangniouck Biaye. Si bidoma wouli diema, ohn lamdo Bainounke hirca no bido ma. Si ohn wouli taan nene makko wiyga mbo yeregu yeregu. Galien hirci mbo. Mbo yehi Pakao Souma Karantaba. Jambare goddo kalla inin toon. Ohn ko nangante lawol, si mbo waddi mba e jalan makko raan mbo warama. Galein hawri e makko. Be yaddi dow touma be yota de leydi Galein habbi mbo. Galein herci mbo mboyyo mbo ah yara. Mbo ari ha saare Bakare been kallon ko jambare ree be sabouna been ko nata e der bohe. Be assi gayka be yaltini serddu guiddi ni. Mbayyri been wondi edjinne dji be anddi, kalla do neddo woni be houbba doon diaye gol. Mbo yawri.

Ko noone mbo aredi ha Tabajan. Goddo lami ro wire Moulaye Tabajan. So ko hare mbo fella si ko hare mbo diabo be. Ontuma djinne dji gari mbo, wi mbo Galein wora meme do de. Do ko mussibe am wone do. Noone si am memido meen mawra ma walou de oyya meen dalama. Mbo diodi doon yontere pour elta djinne dji ha mbo habba e been. Djinne dji diabani. Si rewbe be deffi be wadda do kalerin dji tokossi do be nabana yimbe Galein be.

Yimbe Moulaye be wi lamedo ayyi be rewbe be niin itta do niami e naba na ganobe ameen be. Dioni kalla debbo wi diogoyani be ndar ko rondi da ko si be tawi toon niami be routina di. Ko no Galein yawri ri Numo Berindin. Mbo fewi saare de taan mbo felli. Ontuma be itti soukabe be wi he Galein ko diamtan wonani ma do hare alla nama do. Ko ni Galein natiri. Mbo woni doon doubbi doubbi han diamto be l'imôpt be ari be iwri Nioro Mamoundari. Goddo iniin toon e wiye Ama Ba ohn ko lamdo.

Mbo tawi Galein i danin kini. Be mbi Biram Wudde ohn ko lamdo ko ohn djippini Galein. Galein imbi lamdi Biram Wudde ho lamdo goddo alla ga lameda de impôt ? Biram Wudde widoum ha ko noone wahi. Wire Ama Ba o hiran yo hiran mbo diamtan kam impôt mi yoba mbo. Galein wi bo ko yawri ko yawri ko dioni ko heddi ko yobera ke. Biram Wudde widoum o ko jambare de. O haye hare djema mbo wadate. Wona nalorema wona djema. Galein wi hobbe be diehe miyone Ama Ba yo wona lamdo saali ko miin koddoo saali. Been nouuti.

Dianke Waly lui a dit 'parce que tu es un esclave, celle est trop noble pour toi, tu vas avoir deux épouses. Le jour que tu passeras la nuit chez elle, tu seras derrière elle. Il lui répondit 'si un enfant pleure pour un sein, si on lui donne le sein, il se tait'. Dianke Waly demanda aux griots de composer une chanson pour lui.

Galein demanda à ce qu'il amena sa femme dans son village de s'assurer que les fiançailles soient complètes. Ils ont tué des moutons, des vaches, tout. Il dit à Dianke Waly 'tu m'as donné un cadeau de mariage moi aussi je vais aller te chercher ton cadeau. Toute personne que j'attrape, tu as un esclave'. Tout ce qu'il rencontre, il le capture. Avant de partir, il alla faire le tour de la rizière sur son cheval. Quand Galein rentra, il dit à Galein 'là où tu vas, il y a un Peul, le jour que vous vous rencontrez, ça sera dangereux. Le Peul s'appelait Dietel Diao. C'était un souverain et un guerrier. Le Peul souvent prenait ses chevaux et allait faire le tour de la rizière. Galein a dit 'le jour que je rencontre ce Peul, il mangera de la sauce qu'au-delà'. Ils en ont parlé au Peul et le Peul a dit 'le jour que je rencontre ce Ceddo, il ne mangera de la viande qu'au-delà'

Un jour, ils se rencontrèrent. Il avait une corne où il mettait la poudre. C'est là qu'il a égorgé le Peul. Il rentra et il est parti chercher le cadeau de Dianke Waly. Au Pakao, il y avait un village qui s'appelait Sabore. Là il a trouvé un souverain Bainouk du nom de Bainouk Biaye. Si ton enfant pleurait la nuit, il égorgait ton fils. Si ton fils pleurait, sa maman lui dorlotait. Galein le tua.

Il est parti aussi à Pakao Souma Karantaba. Il y avait un autre guerrier là-bas. Il était un coupeur de route. S'il te visait dans son autel, il te tuait. Galein le rencontra. Ils s'envolèrent avant d'atterrir, Galein le ligota. Galein lui barra la route et lui dit qu'il n'allait pas partir. Après il est parti jusqu'à Saare Bakare, où il y avait des guerriers qui entraient dans les baobabs. Ils ont creusé des trous dans les baobabs et on sorti des canons de fusils. Ils étaient avec des jinns, ils surent ce qui allait se passer, il brûla tous les endroits où les gens pouvaient se cacher. Il continua son chemin.

C'est ainsi qu'il est parti jusqu'à Tabajan. Il y avait un souverain là-bas qui s'appelait Moulaye Tabajan. S'il y avait une guerre, il répondait, et s'il y avait une bataille, il répondait aussi. Les jinns sont venus à la rencontre de Galein pour lui dire de ne pas toucher cet endroit. 'il y a nos parents ici. Si tu décides de te battre, on ne pourra pas soutenir l'un et laisser l'autre. Il est resté pendant une semaine pour convaincre les jinns de l'aider à attaquer le village. Les jinns n'ont pas accepté. Au même temps, quand les femmes du village finissaient de préparer le repas, elles l'envoyaient en petites marmites aux gens de Galein.

Les gens de Moulaye ont dit au roi 'nos femmes envoient de la nourriture à nos ennemis'. Si une femme allait au puits pour puiser de l'eau, ils vérifièrent ce qu'elle avait, et s'ils trouvaient de la nourriture, ils retournaient le repas. C'est ainsi que Galein a poursuivi sa route jusqu'à Numo Berindin. Dès qu'il s'approcha du village, il tira. Ils envoyèrent des jeunes qui dirent à Galein 'ici il n'y a que la paix pour toi, pas de la guerre'. C'est ainsi que Galein entra dans le village et y resta des années jusqu'à l'arrivée des percepteurs d'impôts de Nioro Mamoundari. Il y'avait parmi eux un certain Ama Ba, qui était un roi

Il trouva Galein en train de somnoler. Ils ont dit à Biram Wudde, 'c'est un roi qui a hébergé Galein'. Galein se leva et demanda à Biram Wudde 's'il n'y a pas de roi à qui tu payes l'impôt ?' Biram Wudde lui dit 'bien sûr il y en a. C'est le nommé Ama Ba à qui je paie l'impôt chaque année'. Galein lui a dit 'je ne sais pas ce qui c'est passé mais tu ne paieras plus de l'impôt'. Biram Wudde lui dit qu'il était un guerrier. Qu'il se battait même la nuit. Le jour comme la nuit. Galein lui dit d'aller dire à Ama Ba que ce n'est pas le roi qui dit qu'il ne va pas payer, c'est l'étranger qui le dise. Ils rentrèrent.

Dioni be nouiti be mbi be tawi toon Biram Wudde mbo saala ki kono meen tawi doon koddo ohn wi l'impôt yobera ke. Mbo itti yimbe tato pour be yaha to Biram Wudde. Be diamti mbo l'impôt o. Mbo noddii Galein Sonko. Mboyoy mbo be ko o affaire l'impôt addi be. Mboyoy attiu be si been niin korah mi dowra do meen. Be kati ha hobbe be wayniri mbo yo be yo diehe mbi yoon Ama Ba yo de balde si mi hebbi haan mi yoba mbo l'impôt o. Galein dowri yimbe taaro be. Mbo addi si mbo memi ni raan yimbe saare be naane ta mbo wari yimbe dido be mbo attie goro o. Mboyoy ohn yo si ah yehi mbiyya lamdo wona debbo wadi doum ko goreko wadi doum. Ko ni ohn neddo goro yehi wi Ama Ba mbo wari yimbe dido be.

Galein routi mboyoy ndiari gui makko mi dowri hobbe be. Mboyoy yimbe dido be mi waddi be ndiario de. Mboyoy dieh ah wari be. Kono ah sanani. Mboyoy de balde mbo arana nakam. Be doon be doon ha ndiande goro raan be naani fetel o to kene saare to. Ta soukabe be piwu saaki ma been niin hatia e rewbe. Mbo noddii wouto ho moun alaadou nu mboyoy ohn no woutou alladou nu. O wouti alladou nu ko yimbe makko be dogui arede. Mboyoy ko hodoum woni en do be mbiyyo ko hare be paddi.

Mboyoy be atia wadde prepare. Ontuma be waddi prepare. Be yalti. Galein yehi waddi preparer. Mbo addi pucciu makko gu. Mbo ari mbo timi BiramWudde, mbo wiyo Biram mi andda Ama Ba ci ko mbo baledjo wala ko dianedio. Si ko mbo dabo wala ko djoutu do. Mbiyya kam ko woni Ama Ba. Biram widoum o hetti na kam de. Galein widoum mi andda doum de kono ko ahn san pin to kam doum ko woni Ama Ba. Biram Wudde abbi bo, mboyoy mbo ahi o fil do hore makko yado e diali simboyo nianeru du o ohn wire Ama Ba.

Galein wi mbo si mi wari mbo be wiya eh jiguin mbo. Damou gal makko ro mi ware ta mbo. Yimbe Ama Ba be kalla mbo plan be waddi yimbe Galein be bona ohn plan. Ama Ba tawoyi ko o wawra kam di. Mbo folii dodou. Galein abbi mbo. Galein iwi to pucciu makko mbo tawoyi Ama to pucciu makko be habbi. Galein routi to pucciu makko Ama Ba madiri mbo. Mbo sikki mbo daddi ta mbo dadi. Mbo hoyni mbo dogga mbo tawoyi Galein do damougal galle moun do. Be hawri do pan Galein tadjie mbo hore de. Mbo nagui de ha Biram Wudde hewri. Mboyoy hobbo woni. Mbo tawi ko Ama Ba taan mbo jippi to pucciu makko ro mbo lappa foure o. Ko doon haddi.

Q : *Horo kebda di informations dji ?*

O.D : Ko mi athiri hakil le si mawbe e halla. Mi diangani de. Ko mi ti nim sedda ko puular. Si ko ceare mi filli mi filan to ohn ha sept heures. Kono puular o lambani.

Malang Toure (M.T.) : Mi foudda e halla Kelefa. Kelefa lamani fof ko Dianke Waly wadda. Kelefa, baba makko ko Fali Sane wireno. Fali ko rewbe tati mbo dabbi. Ko to Mari bantan o be nialoye ta. Si be nialoyi, be timi ma be biyya Fali ko tiddi yo ah hebba bido goreko. Be goli ha Fanta hebbi reddu. Ko ohn woni nene Kelefa. Guila ohn hebbi reddu be timi be wiyyo debbo ma hebbani bido kono denabo makko tawara ma. Be woni ha ohn mbeyni. Niande ohn beyni de, be diehi be tawoyi mbo to Mari bantan ko jalan wone toon. Be wi mbo debbo ma hebi bido. Mbo yo be ko hodoum mbo hebbi ? Be mbiyyo mbo ko bido goreko. Ta gobbe i diamtoyii kabangu. Mboyoy be dioni fadde kam mi yaha mi diamtoya kabangu o.

Q : *Horo Mari bantan woni ?*

Ils sont rentrés et ils ont dit qu'ils ont trouvé là-bas Biram Wudde, il n'a pas refusé de payer l'impôt mais on a trouvé là-bas un étranger, c'est lui qui a dit qu'il ne va payer l'impôt. Ils ont envoyé trois personnes chez Biram Wudde. Ils lui ont réclamé l'impôt. Il a fait appel à Galein Sonko. Il lui a dit 'ces gens sont là pour l'impôt'. Il lui a répondu 'laisse-les, s'ils rentrent je vais les accompagner'. Ils ont palabré, et enfin les envoyés se sont retirés et il les accompagna. Biram leur demanda de dire à Ama Ba de lui laisser du temps pour payer l'impôt. Galein raccompagna les trois personnes. Il a marché jusqu'à être sûr que s'il faisait du bruit les gens du village n'allaient pas l'entendre, et il tua deux et laissa l'autre. Il lui chargea de dire au roi 'c'est n'est pas une femme qui a fait ça, c'est un homme qui l'a fait'. C'est ainsi que le seul survivant alla dire à Ama Ba qu'il avait tué les deux autres.

Galein rentra pour dire à son hôte qu'il les a raccompagnés, et qu'il a mis deux sous terre. Il lui a répondu 'tu les as tués ? Ce n'est pas bon. D'ici quelques jours il viendra pour moi'. Après un jour, ils ont entendu un coup de feu à l'entrée du village. En ce moment tous les jeunes étaient en train de parler avec les femmes. Il appela celui qui avait la corne pour lui dire de lancer l'alerte. Il lança l'alerte et tout le monde accourut. Il leur demanda la raison de leur présence, et ils ont dit 'on attend la guerre'.

Il leur demanda d'aller se préparer. Ils sont partis se préparer. Ils sortirent. Galein est parti se préparer. Il est parti amener son cheval. Il est venu à la hauteur de Biram Wudde et il dit à Biram Wudde 'je ne connais pas Ama Ba, s'il est blanc ou noir, s'il est grand ou petit. Je veux que tu me dises qui est Ama Ba'. Biram lui dit 'mais il peut me reconnaître'. Galein lui a répondu 'peut être, mais il faut me montrer qui est Ama Ba. Biram Wudde l'a suivi et lui a dit 'c'est celui avec le turban sur la tête, celui qui est suivi du griot c'est lui Ama Ba'

Galein lui a dit 'si je le tue ici, on dirait qu'on s'est coalisé pour le tuer. Je vais le tuer à sa porte'. Tous les plans que les hommes d'Ama Ba mettent en place, les hommes de Galein les déjouaient. Ama Ba comprit qu'il allait être défait. Il s'en fuit. Galein l'a poursuivi. Galein a sauté de son cheval, a rejoint Ama sur son cheval, et ils se sont battus. Galein est retourné sur son cheval et Ama Ba a disparu. Il croyait qu'il avait échappé. Il a couru, mais en levant la tête il a vu Galein devant la porte de sa maison. Ils se sont rencontrés sur la porte et Galein lui a coupé la tête. Il tenait la tête jusqu'à l'arrivée de Biram Wudde. Il s'est demandé 'c'est qui ça ? Il a vu que c'était Ama Ba, il a descendu de son cheval et a frappé le corps. C'est là que l'histoire s'arrête.

Q : *Comment vous avez eu ces informations ?*

O.D.: Je suis attentif de ce que disent les vieux. Et je ne suis pas instruit. Ce qui m'a fatigué un peu c'est le puular. S'il s'agissait du mandingue, j'allais vous raconter jusqu'à sept heures. Mais le puular n'est pas clair.

Malang Toure (M.T): Je vais commencer par Kelefa. Kelefa n'a pas régné, le roi c'était Dianke Waly. Le père de Kelefa s'appelait Fali Sane. Fali avait trois femmes. Il y avait des gens qui se rassemblaient à Mari bantan. Ils se sont rencontrés et ont prédit l'avenir. Ils ont dit à Fali 'quel que soit la situation tu auras un fils'. Ils ont travaillé jusqu'à Fanta est tombée enceinte. C'est la mère de Kelefa. Depuis que Fanta est tombée enceinte, ils ont continué les prédications et ont dit à Fali 'ta femme va avoir un enfant mais tu ne participeras pas à son baptême'. Il resta jusqu'à l'accouchement. Le jour de l'accouchement, ils sont partis le trouver à Mari bantan qui était un autel. Ils lui ont dit que sa femme avait accouché. Il leur demanda sur le sexe de l'enfant Ils lui répondirent qu'il s'agissait d'un garçon. Il y avait des gens qui allaient percevoir l'impôt. Il a dit qu'il allait ramasser les impôts.

Q : *Où se trouve Mari bantan ?*

M.T.: Ko Mounigni. Doon ko tata woneno doon, Payoungou. Alla naho doon toon si wona hadjou diogui da. Sabouna ah yotoro raan be mbiyyama Mounigni. Guila o diamti kabangu raan mbo nati e suddu ah ta ko balde tari heddi ha denabo fora, kouro noddi nene makko wi mbo djema o ma bido ah yihara doum de. Ohn bido ko Badora iwi. Mbo yo ohn yo kouro e doniargal e mbodi arate mayede baba makko de. Diin fof taari, debbo yi di taan di yema. Be mbi debbo kalla ko nieda ta ah hallani. Mbo yehi bimbi pour mbo lotaya mbo kouro e dow bido makko Kelefa. Nene makko wi e kouro widoum wona no ah halle haye halla. Ho be mbiyya ni ma o wona anatan woddi mbo. O ko Badora iwi. Yimbe kewu areta mayde baba makko. Bewali ha bimbi mbo yehi mbo loro, mbo tawi mbodi molanani i wali takko Kelefa. Mbo falla dogoude, ohn wi mbo wona no ah dogou de. Ho be halani nani ma o wona antan wodi o.

Woni ha mboyi ta denabo ko balde taari heddi mbo yehi to bawo. Mbo tawi dognar gal i ndiemti bido makko o. Mboyi he donairgal guila mi hebbe none ma houdde mi yihi. Ohn wi mbo yergu yimbe kewu be arani mayde baba makoo de ta denabo yonani. Ohn yemi baba makko mayyi. Djinne ari mbayri be wino mbo be inira mbo baba makko mbayri ohn mayyi. Widoum wona iniri mbo Fali de o ko Kelefa wire. Debb makko yehi to kawu makko o wi mbo o ko Kelefa wire. Kawu makko widoum moun o wire ke Kelefa. Ko baba makko meen iniri ta mbo.

Dioni be febba Kelefa nene wi mbo ko Kelefa mbo wire. Kawu makko diabani. Yimbe be ko kawri ko mboyi ohn yo ko Kelefa Sane wire. Diali be loukki ha Kelefa febba. Woni doubbi taari. Jinne o wi Fanta Nanki ah dabba diawo kaless wadda e diougo bido ma. Fanta Nanki yehi falla doum soude kawu makko. Kono kalla ko Fanta haldi djinne o ta kawu moun i anddi. Mbo souddi diawo go ni mbo falla foumude kawu makko to banta ro. Kawu makko wi Fanta arega na. Ko woni e saba ma addu doum. Owi mbo ko hodoum wone doum. Ohn wi mbo ko diawo ko diogui da go. O wi doum ko diaw Kelefa daboye da. Kawu o maddi doum e diougo makko he nabi doum to Mari Bantan, to jalan dji woni. Walini toon diawo kalees go. Diawo kalees o madji yontere. Niande yontere de timi kawu o yehi addoyi diawo go. Mba waddi doum do diougo Kelefa do.

Kelefa yehi ha doubbi sapo e diohi thioukale saare de piwu ari wi mbo meen ari ma ndagou de lamodo. O wi be ohn nangui kam lamdo. Ohn nangui kam lamedo. Be mbi mbo ha. Mbo wi be ko kawu abbi e lamu he. Kono o nangui kam lamdo miin kalla mi woni lamedo. Mboyi be kalla thioukayel ya to galle mabbe o adda labi e guille e niami. Thioukale de piwu be addi labi, guile e niami. Thioukayel yo thioukayel mbo okki mbo bo ha be potti.

Mboyi be kore si weri goroyo adda guertogal nene moun gal. Thioukalon kogne gari be adda di guertogal. Mboyi be ohn adda di guertogal awa abbe kam. Mboyi be ko guerto dje kawu am de niamere ren. Mbo noddi thioukale saare de piwu mboyi be no be gare to galle kawu makko. Mboyi be hodoum wone to mboyi be ko guerte dje. Mboyi be yo nanguie guerte djo. Mboyi be ko hodoum heddi be mbiyyo mbo ko maro heddi. Mboyi be ko hodoum heddi be mbi yo mbo ko kodiam. Mboyi e hodoum kalla, be mbi yo mbo nebam. Mboyi be ohn gaddu kawu am ko lamedo awa miin kalla ko mi lamedo.

Kawu am i nialla to Mari Bantan eneen en niala ta ro en wadanen en doula meen dana. Ontuma be yehi doula goddo be niali toon. Guerto dje de, ohn wara guerto dje kono miin mi niamar guerto gal deyal de. Miin ko doun toun taan mi niamara. Si ohn wari debbo raan sagara.

M.T. : À Mounigni . Doon ko tata woneno doon, Payoungou. Alla naho doon toon si wona hadjou diogui da. Sabouna ah yotoro raan be mbiyyama Mounigni. Depuis qu'il est rentré du prélèvement d'impôts, il s'est retranché dans sa chambre. Trois jours avant du baptême, un hibou appela la mère la nuit et lui dit 'tu ne verras pas ton fils. C'est un fils de Badora'. Il lui a dit que 'le hibou, le caméléon et le serpent vont venir aux funérailles du père'. Tous ces trois dès que la femme les voyait, ils disparaissent. Ils lui ont dit 'tout ce que tu verras, tu le garderas pour toi'. Le matin elle est partie faire le linge, et à son retour, elle trouva le hibou près de Kelefa. La mère a exprimé son étonnement le hibou lui a demandé de se taire. 'Est-ce qu'ils ne t'ont pas dit que tu n'es pas la seule propriétaire de cet enfant ? Il vient de Badora. Beaucoup de monde viendra aux funérailles de son père'. Ils ont dormi jusqu'au matin, elle est partie prendre son bain. De son retour elle a trouvé un gros serpent près de Kelefa. Elle a voulu s'enfuir. Le serpent lui a dit 'ne t'enfuit pas. Est-ce qu'ils ne t'ont pas dit que tu n'es pas la seule propriétaire de cet enfant?'

Ils sont restés longtemps et il restait que trois jours pour le baptême, elle est partie derrière sa maison. De son retour, elle trouva le caméléon en train de bercer son fils. Elle a dit au caméléon 'depuis que j'ai mis au monde cet enfant j'ai vu toutes les choses'. Il lui a dit de se taire, qu'il y avait beaucoup de monde qui allait venir aux funérailles de son père avant le baptême, parce que le père allait mourir. Les jinns sont venus lui dire qu'il ne fallait donner à l'enfant le nom de son père parce qu'il va mourir. 'Ne lui donnes pas le prénom de son père Fali, il s'appellera Kelefa'. La femme est partie voir l'oncle et lui a dit que l'enfant s'appellera Kelefa. Son oncle lui dit 'non, il ne s'appellera pas Kelefa. Il va porter le prénom de son père'

Ils baptisèrent Kelefa et sa mère l'appela Kelefa mais son oncle n'était pas d'accord. Le jour du baptême arriva et tout le monde se rassembla. Elle a dit que l'enfant s'appellait Kelefa Sane et les griots ont crié jusqu'à ce que Kelefa ait fini d'être rasé. A l'âge de trois ans, le jinn appela Fanta Nanki pour lui dire de chercher un bracelet en argent pour Kelefa et le mettre sur le poignet de Kelefa. Fanta a voulu le cacher à son oncle. Tout ce que le jinn disait à Fanta, son oncle était au courant. Elle cacha le bracelet et voulu dépasser son oncle au niveau du fromager. Son oncle l'appela et lui demanda de s'approcher. Il lui dit qu'elle été partie chercher le bracelet de Kelefa. Son oncle prit le bracelet entre les mains de Fanta et l'amena au niveau de Mari Bantan, qui était un autel. Il déposa le bracelet d'argent. Le bracelet d'argent a disparu pendant une semaine. Le dernier jour de la semaine, son oncle alla ramener le bracelet. Il le mit sur le poignet de Kelefa.

Quand Kelefa avait quinze ans, tous les enfants du village sont allés lui prêter allégeance. Il leur a dit 'vous venez me designer comme roi'. Ils ont dit 'oui'. Il leur a dit 'c'est mon oncle qui est le roi, mais puis que vous voulez me designer comme roi je le serais. Il leur demanda que chacun amène un couteau, du piment et du manger. Tous les enfants partirent amener un couteau, du piment et du manger. Il remit à chaque enfant un pot autant qu'ils sont.

Il leur demanda de rentrer et que le lendemain chacun amène un poulet de sa mère. Les enfants rentrèrent mais ne ramenèrent pas de poulet. Il demanda 'pourquoi vous n'avez pas amené de poule ? On va aller manger les poulets de mon oncle. Tous les enfants du village sont allés chez l'oncle. Il demanda 'qui est-là ?', ils ont répondu 'des poulets'. Il leur demanda de les attraper tous. Il demanda 'qu'est qui reste ?'. Ils ont dit que du riz. Il leur demanda d'en prendre. 'Et quoi d'autre ?' Ils ont dit qu'il y a toujours du vin de palme. 'Et quoi d'autre ?' demanda Kelefa . 'De l'huile', ils ont répondu. Ils ont tout pris. Il leur a dit 'vous savez que mon oncle est un roi ?' Ils ont dit 'oui'. 'Moi aussi, je suis un roi'

Il a dit 'nous n'allons pas se rencontrer là ou se trouve mon oncle à Mari Bantan, on va chercher notre propre lieu de rencontre'. Ils ont cherché un autre endroit ils s'y ont installé. Il a demandé de tuer les poulets, mais lui il n'a mangé pas de poule, seulement du coq. S'ils tuaient une poule il ne la mangeait pas. Parce que ce n'est pas bon.

Kawu makko ari rewbe makko be wi be ko ah yakiri Kelefa ayyi han mbo holi ma. Ayyi mbo nangui guerto de ma de piwu mbo wari de. Mbayyri kawu anddi ko Kelefa wonendi mbo hallani haye houdde. Mboyyo ko miin dieyi Kelefa, Kelefa ko falla ko watta. Be nniami guerto de do piwu mbo baani leydi mbo ari mbo jori di galle kawu makko do. Mboyyo kawu ko miin wari guerto madde kalla ko welima wadde.

Kawu makko widoum yo ko antan mi hebbi bido goreko, ko hodmou wada ta kam ko mettara kam. Mbo sikou no kawu lobate. Ohn i anddi ko Kelefa wonedi ko. Mboyyo Kelefa kalla ko waduda i welanim mi ko antan ne mi woddi. Weri mbo noddi thioukale mboyyo be ohn yi mi wari guerto de kawu am mbo de, be mbi ha. Mboyyo handde kalla thioukayel guel adda ni guerto de nene ma diam niala e madda. Kalla thioukaye diakuno do galla guerto gal, addoyi guerto gal. Be wari be niamoyi. Be woni ha fori hiran, Kelefa hawrini be. Mbo yo dioni dianku gol guerto dje gassi dioni ko mewa meen niamara. Goro yo ah nangate mewa naba meen wara.

Kelefa fouddi ware de beyi di. Nene makko imbi yehi wi koro kabire Kelefa imbi do mbo wari guerto de dioni ko ware gol behi mbo imbani. Koro makko wi ko miin daali Kelefa. Dioni thioukalon koy piwu hawri do galle mabbe tirin. Kawu makko wi bo dioni ko ah gaynakobali. Si weri raan diaha aynoya bali di. Mbo noddi thioukale de, mbo wi be kawu am wiyo mi yaha mi ayenoya bali di. Miin noon kalla ko kawu halli mi yedara mbo. Niande mbo fouddi ayenou gol bali, suddu inin toon wire niantan ki, ko toon mbo wale toon. Mbayyri jinne i yeddi mbo ta wano moun alla. Jinne o wayeli neddo labudo posse. Mboyyo Kelefa mi ari ma nialan de. Mboyyo ohn awa bisimillah. Be woni doone ha faana, mboyyo Kelefa mi naani ah houle taa haye houdde koye, kono noone si mi pari haan ah soussa kam na ? Mboyyo ahn ko hodoum kolore da. Mboyyo ko mi lamdi.

Jinne o wayeli pidji taari, Kelefa i bari leggal gal. Mboyyo Kelefa yo miin noone ko mi jinne. Mi falla daba mi mi wona debbo ma. Kelefa widoum mi dabara jinne de. Sabou miin kalla mbo mi dabara ko mayede itti dir ta meen. Jinne widoum miin si ah dabi kam ko ha niande mayye da yo. Mboyyo si ah yedi mi holla ma nene am, baba am kambe piwu be anddi mi wayelima. Mbo nabi Kelefa ha be nati niin mbo e suddu. Kawu makko bibe makko be Kelefa ayenora dioni de. Bido makko wi mbo Kelefa ayeno yade solima fodde do ni wi ah ayenora. Mbo ayenoyade. Kelefa wali. Ko weri mbo Sali ayeno de. Bibe kawu makko be ari wi Kelefa ya boretoye bali di. Woni ha mboyyi, mboyyo ohn yo si ah bortani bali di mi lappa mba. Mbo dankani ohn bom. Boyi ran ohn baani lothiole, lappi Kelefa to baldini. Kelefa imbi raan baani fafe o. Bido kawu makko houddji raan Kelefa sopi mbo bawo go. Ohn yanoyi ro.

Saare de louki wi kawu makko yo ko ahn waddi ni ko ahn yakiri bada ma o ayyi mbo wari bidoma o. Kawu wi be mi wiyyi be no tenkin o. Be yeddi halla am ka. Allan ko o noone yiddi bada makko o. Ha dioni Kelefa ari doula kawu makko widoum hikka mi nanti ohn koyaan. Ohn koyan fori mbo hawrini soukabe saare de be piwu. Kawu makko wi mbo no mbo ya mbo wiyya mawube makko hikka mbo yahanni koyan. Kelefa weri raan fokiri mbo baani pucciu makko gu. Mbo yehi mbo madji e ladde de. Mbo yehi ha fouturo tawi mbo, mbo falla habudde pucciu gu mbo diega. Mboyyo si mbo wadi doum ta mbo houli. None houdde houl bi ni mbo mbo houliani.

Mawdo pobbi widoum Kelefa miin meen anddi ma ah houl ta. Pobbi widou meen gatie ohn ko kagne niamin taa en. Ko mbo wareta ko niamerin. Ontuma be dalti Kelefa. Weri raan be dalti Kelefa. Mbo yehi sedda ran mbo yi lawol gol. Mbo yaha ohn diamanu, ta Fulakunda be nangui neddo ran be wada doum maccudo. Mbo yawri kobbe to mawo mbo hettina bedda. Goro yo i wiyya mi hoci maccudo. Kelefa widoum hobbo woni maccudo ko baba ma woni maccudo. Ko nene ma woni maccudo. Goro wi ko o solima wire meen ni ko baba ma woni maccudo ko nene ma woni maccudo. Mboyyo ohn yo ko nene ma woni solima ko baba ma woni solima.

Quand son oncle est revenu ses épouses lui ont dit 'c'est toi qui as gâté Kelefa mais tu as vu ce qu'il t'a fait. Il a tué tous les poulets'. L'oncle a dit 'Kelefa est mon enfant. Kelefa peut faire tout ce qu'il veut'. Après avoir mangé tous les poulets, il a amené le sable et il l'a versé près de son oncle et lui a dit 'j'ai mangé tous les poulets'. Vous pouvez me faire tout ce que vous voulez'.

Son oncle lui a dit 'tu es mon seul fils, tu ne peux faire rien pour que je me fâche contre toi. Il avait cru que son oncle allait se fâcher contre lui. Il savait qui était Kelefa. Il dit 'tout ce que Kelefa fait me convient, puisque c'est mon seul fils' Le lendemain, il a convoqué tous les enfants et leur a dit qu'ils avaient mangé tous les poulets de son oncle, Ils ont dit 'oui'. Il leur dit que si chacun n'amène pas un coq de sa mère, il n'aura pas la paix. Chacun d'eux est parti attraper un coq et ils les ont tous tués. Et ils les ont mangés. Ils sont restés pendant une année et Kelefa les a convoqués. Il a dit 'le temps de manger des poulets est fini, maintenant c'est des chèvres qu'on va manger. Que chacun amène une chèvre et qu'il la tue'.

Kelefa commença à tuer les moutons. Sa mère est partie voir son grand-frère et lui a dit 'après avoir tué les coqs, maintenant Kelefa a commencé à tuer les moutons'. Son grand-frère, lui a dit 'c'est moi qui a laissé Kelefa'. Tous les enfants se réunirent chez lui encore. Son oncle lui a dit 'tu vas maintenant te faire paître des moutons. Dès demain, tu commences à faire paître les moutons' Il a convoqué tous les enfants et leur a dit que son oncle lui avait demandé de faire paître les moutons, et que lui tout ce que son oncle lui demande de faire, il le faisait'. Le jour qu'il commença à faire paître les moutons, il y a une case qui s'appelle niantan ki, c'est là-bas qu'il se couchait. Le jinn qui y était l'aimait beaucoup et elle s'est transformée en personne. Elle dit à Kelefa 'je suis venue te tenir compagnie'. Kelefa la souhaita la bienvenue. Après deux heures, elle a dit à Kelefa 'j'ai entendu que tu n'as pas peur. Est-ce que si je suis fin prête, tu n'auras pas peur de moi ?' Il lui a dit 'tu es qui devrait avoir peur de moi, pas moi de toi'. Elle a dit 'je demandait seulement'.

La jinn s'est transformée en trois choses différentes, Kelefa resta accroché à l'arbre. Elle a dit à Kelefa 'je suis une jinn. Je veux que tu m'épouses'. Kelefa lui a dit 'je n'épouserai pas une jinn. Parce que si je me marie c'est la mort qui va nous séparer'. La jinn lui a dit 'si tu te maries avec moi, c'est la mort qui va nous séparer. Si tu veux je vais te présenter à ma mère, à mon père, eux tous savent que je me suis transformée'. Elle amena Kelefa dans une case. Son oncle dit à ses fils que Kelefa n'allait plus faire paître les moutons. Son fils lui a demandé pourquoi. Kelefa s'est couché. Le lendemain, il refusa d'aller suivre les moutons. Ses cousins sont venus lui demander d'aller détacher les moutons. Il n'a pas répondu. L'un est reparti et l'autre lui a dit, si tu ne détaches pas les moutons, il va te frapper'. Il n'a pas répondu. Bientôt, l'autre est revenu avec un bâton et tapa Kelefa sur son lit. Kelefa se leva et prit sa machette. Dès que son cousin lui tourna le dos, Kelefa le découpa en deux et il tomba.

Tout le village cria en disant à son oncle, 'c'est lui qui a fait cela parce qu'il a donné trop de liberté à son neveu. Et celui-ci a tué son fils'. Son oncle leur a dit 'je lui avait demandé de laisser tranquille Kelefa. Ils n'ont pas écouté ma parole'. Et les gens ont dit 'voilà quelqu'un qui aime son neveu. Kelefa est grandi et son oncle lui a dit d'aller dire à ses parents qu'il va bientôt entrer dans la case des hommes. Le lendemain Kelefa a pris le chemin avec son cheval, mais il s'est perdu dans la brousse. Il chevaucha jusqu'au crépuscule. Il a voulu attacher son cheval et monter Toutes les choses lui ont voulu faire peur mais il n'a pas eu peur.

Mawdo Fulakunda be imbi lari Kelefa wi ko oindde moun de meen naano. O wona thioukayel de. Mboyoy o si houlanin o haan miin mi houla ni o. Ko diogo wora mi naguiru ta o miin jippina mbo e pucciu mi habba e makko. Odda wi mawdo fulbe be si ko ah houl o haan mineen meen loumam mbo ha mbo tidda. Goro yahin Kelefa, be yani. Mbo wari yimbe thiampane diedi di. Mbo haabi diedi o be mbo sodiriyi kodiam. Guila mbo yehi mbo sodoyi bedda kodiam, bedda hotti. Be wiyo yi lamedo be hawri e thioukayel goro ohn wari lampol gol piwu. Lamdo wi aboro Kelefa to saare mabbe ta noone Kelefa yahani to saare mabbe. Mbo baani debbo, goreko et thioukayel piwu mbo nabi. Kawu Kelefa artoyi mbo tawani haye goro do galle do.

Ontuma kawu Kelefa o ari wi aboroni yimbe makko be. E deen haaku de Kelefa yoti. Mboyoy mbo kawu horo diaranin ? Mboyoy mbo habbe da o lamdo mabbe ari nabi saare de fof. Mboyoy kawu doum wona yadu ma, o Puulo mi yahana mbo ni mi haba mbo mi adda mbo. Defana mbo botari si ko bimbi, si ko nialorema defana mbo hirande. Teddi nabo ta ah wadani mbo maccudo. Ontuma dalta mbo o yaha o wiyya ko miin woni Kelefa. Be kouri mbo, be mi mbo o ko goredjo baba goredjo nene ma goredjo kawu ma, wiyya ah yaha na mbo. Ah hersara. O wali ha weri, Kelefa pari, o dari e leride saare de owi, goredjo nene am, goredjo baba am, goredjo kawu am, mi yahana mbo ni mi houma bmo. Mi adda mbo saare de yiha mbo.

Ontuma mbo yehi, ko foututro mbo yoti ron mbo tawi been nii dioula. Be mbo habbeno, ko mbo yi be raan be hetini mbo. Been yawri be da ta been dioula. Kelefa yahani Puulo. Mbo widoum ko ahn mi arani. Ohn wi mbo ahn mi houmama. Na ko ahn wire Kelefa, ohn wi mbo ha. Mboyoy jippinoye o diango bimbi lawu mi habba e o ta wona e ma diagal e haye goro. Mboyoy yah wiyyo oyya mi pari, Kelefa widoum fada mi yara kodiam. O yari kodiam ha hari. Mboyoy ohn yo mi pari, lamdo widoum mi kallaan fadam ha mi yara kodiam. Ohn kalla yari ha gassi, mbo nelli mboyoy Kelefa no are.

Yimbe lamdo o be dari doula gotto, be woni Fulakunda be be. Kelefa baani pucciu makko gu. Djema lamedo woni moddi tawoyi Kelefa to suddu, Kelefa anddi doum ta yalti, moddi alla ko yih. Wendo go mbo wayli ma niantan, Kelefa mbo yihani Kelefa. Goddo iniin toon, wi lamdo wona no ah habbe e o. Ko herani da o djema ko piwu ah horani ma mbo. Miino yiha. O nialorema hodoum wawane ta o. Lamdo Fulakunda wi miin mi houman o. Ko ohn noone woni ohn ganda o. Kelefa widoum mi halle naam pidji tatai si doum fiirti raan ta wona miin wire Kelefa. Mboyoy premier mi tadjja nowru ma du, dimele mi foussa guire ma, tati mi tadjja hodou ma. Be habbi mbo tadjja nowru makko. Mbo youli guire o e mbo tadjja hodoudu.

Notable : saare de ko do fouddi to bowe to do Koule Bayo. Kono do alla tata, kambe ko be forgeron dji. Waliwu goddo ininn do wali.

Le chef des hyènes a dit à Kelefa 'on te reconnaît, tu n'as peur de rien'. Les autres hyènes ont demandé qu'on laisse Kelefa partir parce qu'il va les nourrir. Ce qu'il va tuer ils le mangeront. Le matin il libéra Kelefa. Il alla un peu, il retrouva son chemin. Il est parti, à cette époque les Fulakunda capturaient les gens pour les réduire en esclave. Il dépassa certains et les autres il ne les a pas reconnus. Quelqu'un est sorti et dit qu'il a ramassé un esclave. Kelefa lui demanda qui est esclave ? Il lui dit 'c'est ton père qui est un esclave et que c'est ta mère qui est une esclave'. Et un autre a dit 'c'est ce gamin qui nous dit que c'est notre père qui esclave et c'est notre mère qui est une esclave'. Il lui a dit 'c'est ta mère qui est une gamine et que c'est ton père qui est un gamin.'

Le chef des Fulakunda est sorti, a regardé Kelefa, et a dit 'on a entendu parler de toi. Ce n'est pas un gamin'. Un autre a dit 'peut-être tu as peur de lui, moi je ne pas peur de lui. Je vais le faire descendre de son cheval et me battre avec lui'. L'autre dit au chef 'si tu as peur de lui nous, nous n'avons pas peur, on va le ligoter très bien. L'un d'entre eux avança vers Kelefa et ce dernier le décapita et il tomba. Il tua soixante-dix parmi eux et ligota sept, après il est parti acheter du vin de palme. Il est parti vendre les autres pour acheter du vin de palme et les autres sont rentrés. Ils ont dit au roi qu'ils ont rencontré un enfant qui les a tous battu. Le roi a dit qu'il allait aller à la rencontre de Kelefa dans son village pour le tuer. Mais Kelefa n'était pas dans son village. Il a pris des femmes, des enfants et des hommes et les a amenés. De retour de l'oncle de Kelefa, il ne trouva personne chez lui.

L'oncle de Kelefa décida de suivre son peuple. Entre temps Kelefa arriva et demanda à son oncle où allait-il. Il lui a répondu 'ceux avec lesquels tu t'es battu, leur roi est venu et a pris tout le monde'. Il lui dit 'oncle, ceci n'est pas ta bataille. Ce Puulo, je vais aller le ligoter et le ramener. Tu lui donneras le déjeuner si c'est le matin et si c'est le soir, tu lui donneras le dîner. Tu l'honores mais ne le réduis pas en esclave, après tu le laisseras partir pour qu'il aille dire aux autres que c'est moi Kelefa. Les gens on dit 'il est du même âge que ton père, du même âge que ta mère et de ton oncle. Tu n'es qu'un vaniteux'. Le lendemain Kelefa se prépara et se mit au milieu du village et dit 'je vais ramener celui qui a le même âge que ma mère, le même âge que mon père, le même âge que mon oncle en le ligotant, et tout le monde le verra'

Et il s'en alla, il arriva à la prière du crépuscule, il les trouva en train de prier. Ceux avec qui il s'est battu dès qu'ils l'ont reconnu ont pris la fuite. Kelefa s'approcha du Puulo et lui a dit 'je suis venu pour toi'. Il lui a répondu 'Je vais te ligoter. Est tu celui qu'on appelle Kelefa ? Il a dit 'oui'. Il lui a demandé de rejoindre ses appartements, demain ils vont se battre à la sue de tout le monde. Le lendemain il demanda qu'on l'appelle Kelefa. Il lui demanda d'attendre qu'il boit son vin de palme. Il but son vin de palme. Et il dit à l'envoyé qu'il est prêt. Le roi lui demanda aussi d'attendre qu'il boit son vin de palme. Lui aussi but son vin de palme. Il appela Kelefa.

Le roi et son peuple se sont mis d'un côté, c'est les Fulakunda. Kelefa monta son cheval. Mais pendant la nuit, le roi s'était transformé en serpent et entra dans la chambre de Kelefa. Mais Kelefa était sorti. Il attendit jusqu'à l'aube, il se transforma aussi en paille, il n'a pas trouvé Kelefa. L'un d'entre eux dit au roi, 'tu t'es battu avec celui-là la nuit, et tu n'as rien pu faire contre lui ; qu'est-ce que tu pourras faire contre lui le jour ?' Le roi Fulakunda lui a dit 'tu ne sais rien je vais le ligoter. C'est ça que vous ne savez pas.' Kelefa lui a dit 'je vais te faire trois choses, et si j'échoue, je ne suis pas Kelefa. Je vais te couper l'oreille, je vais te percer l'œil et enfin je vais te couper le doigt. Ils se battirent, il lui coupa l'oreille, lui perça l'œil et lui coupa le doigt.

Notable : le village commence de l'autre côté des baobabs de Koule Bayo. Mais il n'y a pas de tata. Il y a que le forgeron. Il y a la tombe d'un érudit.

19.-Muntumba

Date 26/01/13

Participants : Souba Balde (jarga, SB), Samba Sané (S.S), Méta Balde, Diouldé Balde , Diouldo Mballo, Hamadou Balde, Aliou Mballo, Saré Mankoro, Chérif Diao, Demba Balde, Gounda Sané.

Q : *Ko touma saaré dé sinthia e hobbo sinthi dé ?*

Souba Balde (SB) : Ko Nionko Diao sinthi dé saaré, Nionko jibini Niako. Ko Niako noone meen mantii. Ko Nionko mayyi ko lé Niako lonti. Ko Niako wono baylo Moussa Molo. Nionko ko watu lammu Sébbé gu tawano.

Q : *Nionko ko Pullo wono wala ko Cédde ?*

SB : Ko Pullo

Q : *Nionko horro imborino ?*

SB : Ko saaré Souna mbo iwri no e der Niampayo

Q : *Hodoum itti mbo saaré Souna ?*

SB : Ko Allah wiyo doum no are do sinthia saaré

Q : *Nionko ko ari ko tawi do wobbé ?*

SB : Mbo tawani do néddo

Q : *Ko hoddi lédji ngone do e hono di ngardi do?*

SB : Ko Fulbé guidi do aredé, abbi hén Sébbé, Fulbé Fouta

Q : *Ko hoddé yétodjé ngoni e der saaré dé ?*

SB : Ko hakku dé Balde, Mballo, Sané, Sabaly, Diallo, Sow, Gano, Diao, Seydi Camara, Sagna.

Q : *Ho ko bé ngono do kabire lawu wala gobé ngono do ?*

SB : Wobbé ngono do, ko hakku dé Kondjira e Sané, Sy,

Q : *Bambarankobé bé e Fulbé Fouta bé ko hobbé guiddi do ?*

SB : Ko Fulbé Fouta bé guiddi do Bambarankobé bé

Q : *Ho Bamabrankobé inin do wala ?*

Q : Quand est-ce que le village est fondé et par qui ?

Souba Balde (SB): Le fondateur du village s'appelle Nionko Diao et il est le père de Niako dont nous avons connaissance. Après la mort de Nionko que la chefferie est revenue à Niako. Ce dernier était le forgeron de Moussa Molo. Nionko a vécu pendant le temps des Manding.

Q : Nionko était-il un Peul ou un Manding ?

S.B : C'était un Peul

Q : Nionko venait d'où ?

S.B : Il venait de saré Souna dans le Niampayo

Q : Pourquoi il a quitté saré Souna ?

S.B : C'est Allah qui lui demandé de venir fonder le village

Q : Nionko a-t-il trouvé des gens sur place ?

S.B : Il n'a trouvé personne

Q : Quels sont les groups qui vivent dans le village et quel est leur ordre d'arrivée ?

S.B : C'est les Fulbé qui sont les premiers suivi des Sébbé et les Fulbé Fouta

Q : Quels sont les noms de familles qui existent dans le village ?

S.B : Il y a des Balde, Mballo, Sané, Sabaly, Diallo, Sow, Gano, Diao, Seydi Camara, Sagna.

Q : C'étaient les seuls à exister ou il y avait d'autres auparavant ?

S.B : Il y avait d'autres que sont les Kondjira, les Sané, les Sy

Q : Entre les Bambara et les Fulbé Fouta qui sont les premiers à arriver ?

S.B : Les Fulbé Fouta sont arrivés avant que les Bambara

Q : Les Bambara sont toujours là, ou bien ils sont partis ?

SB : Bé korino

Q : *Ho lawu saaré dé i dioguino waylubé, garankobé wala dialibé ?*

SB : Garankobé ngala no do ko baylo wono ko ohn wiréno Kéba e Malang Kondjira

Q : *Fi hodoum addi ha bé diéhi ?*

SB : Bé sakki piwu, ô da diari Kandia, ô da yéhi saaré Dialo

Q : *Ko watu bé guiwi do ?*

SB : Mi mantii bé do

Q : *Sébbé ko hobbo watu bé ngari do, ko watu lammu Sébbé, wala ko lammu Alpha Molo, Moussa Molo wala ko lammu canton ?*

SB : Ko bé ngarta do ko ta watu Moussa en ô yawri, ko hawrara ko lammu canton

Q : *Bé Sébbé horo guiwi no ?*

Samba Sané (SS) : Ko watu lammu canton Sébbé ngari do

Q : *Hono chef wiré e pulaar ?*

SS : Ko mawdo wiré chef e pulaar

Q : *Watu lammu canton, Muntumba ko hobbo canton tawano ?*

SB : Ko e canton Patim o tawano e ko Abdoul Diallo wono lammdo canton o

Q : *Abdoul Diallo horro diodino ?*

SB : Ko saaré Abdoul mbo wono

Q : *Watu Moussa lammi, ko hono mbo féthiri leydi moun di ?*

SS : Ko par leydi, do wiyyé Parin, do Niampayo, to Pathiana,

Q : *Ko hoddé thiaé bour no mawnou dé lammu Moussa Molo e der toundou nou ?*

SS : Sourouyel Moulaye, Muntumba, Pithiana, Kéréwané

Q : *Lammdo Parin horro wono ?*

SS : Sourouyel Moulaye

Q : *Ko horro Sourouyel Moulaye woni do ?*

S.B : Ils sont partis.

Q : *Avant y avaient-ils des forgerons, des cordonniers ou des griots dans le village ?*

S.B : Des cordonniers, il n'y avait pas mais il y a eu des forgerons que sont Kéba et Malang Kondjira

Q : *Pourquoi ils sont partis ?*

S.B : L'un est parti à Kandia et l'autre à saré Dialo.

Q : *Quand est-ce ils sont partis ?*

S.B : C'est quand j'étais petit.

Q : *Quand est-ce que les Sébbé sont venus ici, c'est au temps du pouvoir Sébbé, d'Alpha Molo, de Moussa Molo ou des cantons ?*

S.B : Ils sont venus ici après le règne de Moussa Molo. Cela coïncide avec la période des cantons.

Q : *Ces Sébbé, sont originaires de quelle localité ?*

Samba Sané (SS) : C'est au temps des cantons qu'ils sont venus au village.

Q : *Comment on appelle chef en pulaar ?*

SS: On l'appelle le Mawdo, c'est-à-dire le chef.

Q : *Au temps des cantons, Muntumba faisait partie de quel canton ?*

SS: Il faisait partie du canton de Patim. Et c'était Abdoul Diallo le chef de canton.

Q : *Où était le siège d'Abdoul Diallo ?*

S.B : Il était à Saré Abdoul.

Q : *À l'arrivée Moussa au pouvoir, comment a-t'il divisé le terroir?*

SS: C'est par terroirs, il y avait Parin, Niampayo, Pathiana,...

Q : *Quels étaient les villages les plus importants durant le magistère de Moussa Molo ?*

SS: Sourouyel, Muntumba, Pithiana, Kéréwané.

Q : *Où vivait le chef du Parin ?*

SS: Sourouyel Moulaye.

Q : *Sourouyel Moulaye se trouve où ?*

SS: Ko yesso Kandia

Q : *Hono lammdo wiréno ?*

SS: Ko Moulaye Siranding

Q : *Harré waddi no hakku dé Sébbé e Fulbé, ho ohn watu taa saaré dé sinthia noma wala ta dé sinthia ka rawone ?*

SB : Ta bé kabbani tawano

Q : *Bidone Muntumba i dioguino importance watu Moussa Molo, ko importance mbado no hono hén ?*

SB : Ta Bén dioguino diawdi e yimbé ko fi doum

Q : *Ko hobbo wono to tata ro ?*

SS: Meen nganda ngono to ohn, kono meen manti ma lédédé no koureli no saaré né ni.

Q : Ho ohn watu ta tata ô yihéréno ?

SS: Ha mbo yiréno ohn watu

Q : *Ho ko leydi mahirano ?*

SS: Ko lédédé darna ha pari ko lé leydi ni maha e dow moun. Ko leydi yani ko, ontuma lédédé taan kéddi.

Q : *Horro tata dji ngoniri e baral ?*

SS: Tata wono Kessel Kunda (en Gambie), Payoungou, Dioulacolon, Fafacourou done Mamadou Balédjo

Q : *Ho Muntumba i firtii godoum ?*

SS: Koule laddé sincie Muntumba wona neddo.

SS: Après Kandia.

Q : *Comment s'appelait le roi?*

SS: Il s'appelait Moulaye Siranding.

Q : *Les Sébbé et les Fulbés se sont fait la guerre, est-ce que le village est-il fondé avant ou après la guerre ?*

SB: Avant la guerre.

Q : *Vous nous avez dit que Muntumba avait une importance au temps de Moussa Molo. Quel genre d'importance ?*

SB: Il avait du bétail en abondance et du monde.

Q : *Qui habitait dans le tata ?*

SS: On ne sait pas qui y habitait.

Q : *Est-ce que le tata était visible à cette époque ?*

SS: Oui il était visible.

Q : *Le tata était-il construit en banco ?*

SS: C'est après avoir implanté les piquets, ils l'ont enduit du banco. Par la suite, le banco est tombé et il est resté seulement les piquets.

Q : *Y-t-il des tatas aux alentours ?*

SS: Il y avait un tata à Kessel Kunda (en Gambie), Payoungou, Dioulacolon, Fafacourou d'où régnait Mamadou Balédjo.

Q : *Est-ce que Muntumba a une signification ?*

SS: Ce sont les animaux qui ont fondé Muntumba, pas une personne.

20-Diankankounda Mawdo Goundo

Date 27/01/13

Participants : Gallé Diallo (dit Gallé Tailleur), Saliou Diao, Chérif Diallo, Ibrahima Diallo, Yéro Camara, Bouly Mané (Chef de village de Saré Pathé Bouya), Kanté Samba, Bouyaké Balde, Amadou Diallo, Sadio Kanté, Thierno Diallo, Dian Balde, Kékouta Kindy, Djiby Balde, Seydou Balde, Binta Diallo, Sambalaye Balde, Mamadou Dian Diallo.

Q: *Saaré dé ko touma sinthia e ko hobbo sinthie dé ?*

Cherif Diallo (CD) : Doum meen mbadiraki doum, ko jarga ji di meen ngandi ben

Ibrahima Diallo (ID): Le village a été fondé bien avant l'indépendance, parce qu'à part Dabo, il y avait aucun village dans les environs que Diankankounda. Le village est du même âge que celui de Dabo. Il y avait qu'ici et Saré Pathé Bouya.

Q : *Dioni jarga ji mbida do di ?*

CD : Ko Mawdo Goundo Kande, Ndjobo Kande, Almamé Kande, bido Mawdo Goundo, Niako Balde ohn ko yawri ko, ontuma ari é bappa ameen, Samba Telli Balde, ohn ko iwi ko, ko bido mambé, Mamadou Balde, ko ohn jargui o watu

Q: *Ö wi ci ko Mawdo Goundo Kande sinthi saaré dé wala ko babirabé moun bé ?*

CD : Ha mineen ko ni meem mantori do

Q : *Ho ko watu Alpha Molo, Moussa Molo wala watu lammu Sébbé o mbo sinthie saaré ?*

CD : Doum ko watu Moussa Molo lammi o

Q : *Mawdo Goundo ko horro mbo iwri ?*

CD : Mineen ko meen mbadi mbo do dé, meen nganda horro mbo iwri

Q : *Mawdo Goundo ho ko démowo, ko gaynako, wala ko daana ?*

CD : Ko gaynako

Q : *Ko fi hodoum addi ha mbo soubi do, mbo yahani doula goddo ?*

CD : Guila ô sinthie do ô iwani do, meen nganda ko mbo sinthiani do. Mineen ko meen jibina do e ley koydé makko.

Q: *A quand remonte la fondation du village et qui en est le fondateur ?*

Cherif Diallo (CD): On ne se rappelle pas de cela mais on connaît la succession des Jarga

Ibrahima Diallo (ID): Le village a été fondé bien avant l'indépendance, parce qu'à part Dabo, il y avait aucun village dans les environs que Diankankounda. Le village est du même âge que celui de Dabo. Il y avait qu'ici et Saré Pathé Bouya

Q: *Quel est l'ordre de succession des jarga ?*

CD: Il y a Mawdo Goundo Kande, Ndjobo Kande, le fils de Mawdo Goundo, Almamé Kande. Après Niako Balde, c'est au tour de notre père Samba Telli Balde. Il fut succédé par son fils Mamadou Balde, actuel chef de village.

Q: *Est-ce que c'est Mawdo Goundo Kande qui est le fondateur ou s'est vos aïeux ?*

CD: C'est de cette façon que nous le connaissons

Q: *La fondation s'est passé au temps d'Alpha Molo, de Moussa Molo ou au temps des Sébbé ?*

CD: C'est au temps de Moussa Molo.

Q: *Mawdo Goundo est-il originaire de quelle localité ?*

CD: On ne sait pas d'où il est originaire.

Q: *Mawdo Gundo était-il un cultivateur, un éleveur ou un chasseur ?*

CD: C'était un éleveur.

Q: *Pourquoi il a choisi ce lieu et pas un autre ?*

CD: Depuis qu'il a fondé le village, il n'est pas parti. On ne connaît pas les raisons de son installation sur le site. Nous sommes nés sous son règne.

Q : *Fi hodoum addi ha dé saaré wi a Diankankounda ? Ho doum i firti goddoum ?*

CD : Diankankounda Mawdo, bé wi ko ndédo adda no sinthié dé dida Diankankounda dji

Q : *Ho Diankankounda i fiirti goddoum ?*

CD : Meen nganda ko Diankankounda fiirti, bé mbiyya meen ko doum dé fiirti

Q : *Ta wona Diankankounda Mawdo Goundo, hono dida Diankankounda dji mbiré ?*

CD : Diankankounda Soutukoun, Diankankounda Manding e Diankankounda Oguel

Q : *Ko hoddi lédji ngone do e hono bé djiétééré e hono bé gardi ?*

CD : O watu ko Fulbé Fouta taan ngoe do e saaré dé

Q : *Hana Mawdo Goundo ko Pullo Fouta wono ?*

CD : Ko Pullo Fuladu, Fulakunda

Q : *Ko watu Fulbé Fouta bé ngaari do ?*

CD : Gallé dji didi no do, ko dinne guidi do arre dé tawri do Mawdo Goundo. Ko Telli Baïlo Kanté, Thierno Sory Diallo

Q : *Ho ko Fulakundas bé bé e Fulbé Fouta bé ngardi do lawol gorol ?*

CD : Heyyi ko didone gallé didi doone ngaardi doone

Q : *Ta Mawdo Goundo sinthi no ha paari ko lé di gallé didi gaari do ?*

CD : Heyyi

Q : *Ko horro Fulbé Fouta bé guiwiri ?*

CD : Ko Fouta Jallon

Q : *Ko horro e Fouta Jallon ?*

CD : Ohda bé wi ko Senguéli région de Mali

Q : *Fi hodoum itti bé Senguéli ?*

CD : Ko dabéré bé arre no

Q : *Ko hobbo watu bé gari do, ko watu Moussa Molo wala watu lammu canton ?*

CD : Ko watu lammu canton mineen mi maditi

Q: *Pourquoi le village se nomme Diankankounda ? Ce nom a-t-il une signification ?*

CD : Diankankounda Mawdo est le village fondé parmi les autres Diankankounda

Q: *Quelle est la signification de Diankankounda ?*

CD : On ne connaît pas sa signification, on ne nous a pas dit que ce nom a une signification.

Q: *A part Diankankounda Mawdo Goundo, comment s'appelle les autres Diankankounda ?*

CD : Diankankounda Soutukoun, Diankankounda Manding et Diankankounda Oguel.

Q: *Quels sont les groups et les noms de famille qui vivent actuellement dans le village et quel leur ordre d'arrivée ?*

CD : Actuellement, il n'y a que des Peul du Fouta qui vivent dans le village

Q: *Est-ce que Mawdo Goundo est un Peul du Fouta ?*

CD : C'était un Peul du Fuladu, un Fulakunda

Q: *C'est à quelle époque les Peul du Fouta sont-ils venus ici ?*

CD : Il y a deux concessions dans le village, c'est eux qui sont venus rejoindre Mawdo Goundo. Il s'agit de Telli Bailo Kanté et Thierno Sory Diallo.

Q: *Est-ce que les Fulakundas et les Peul du Fouta sont arrivés en même temps ?*

CD : Oui, ce sont ces deux concessions qui sont les premiers à s'installer.

Q: *Est-ce que cela s'est produit après la fondation du village par Mawdo Goundo ?*

CD : Exactement.

Q: *D'où viennent les Peul Fouta ?*

CD : C'est au Fouta Jallon.

Q: *De quelle localité du Fouta Jallon ?*

CD : Ils ont dit que l'un d'entre eux vient de Senguéli dans la région de Mali.

Q: *Pourquoi ils ont quitté Senguéli ?*

CD : Ils étaient partis à la recherche de richesses.

Q: *Quand sont-ils venus, est-ce à l'époque de Moussa Molo ou celle des cantons ?*

CD : C'est au temps des cantons qu'ils sont venus.

Q : *Ohn watu ko hobbo jarguino ?*

CD : Ko kanko Mawdo Goundo

Q : *Ho saaré dé i dioguino lawu waylubé, garankobé, diali bé ?*

CD : Garankobé ngoni do, Kon Telli Baïlo wono, ko harri do taféra ké. Diali bé wono do

Q : *Ko hobbo watu bé guiwi do ?*

CD : Boyyi cédda

Q : *Hono bé yétéreno ?*

CD : Oh da garanké Sylla, odda yahani ko mbo mayyi

Q : Sylla ko Fulakunda ?

CD : Ko Pullo Fouta

Q : *Mayye do hono wiréno ?*

CD : Ko Alla Woury Balde

Q : *Ohn ko Baylo wono wala ko garanké ?*

CD : Ko garanké e diali piwu mbo wono

ID : Le garanké s'appelait Altening Balde

Q : *Fi hodoum bé tafara no do ?*

CD : Djinné saaré ô diabataano do taffé. Ko Gallouyel bé tafoyano

ID : Plus précisément à Diankankounda Manding qui est l'équivalent de Gallouyel

Q : *Ho doone no waddi haciloone wayloubé ?*

CD : Haciloone doone di waddi waylubé

Q : *Fi hodoum Fulakunda bé ndiéhi ?*

CD : Mawbé bé mayyi ontuma bibé dogui

Q : *Horro bé ndiéhi ?*

CD : wobbé ndiari Gambie, wobbé ndiari saaré Sambel, ko ohn woni Demba Mballo

Q : *Watu mbo bé ndiara ô ko hobbo wono jarga ô ?*

Q: *A cette époque qui était le chef de village ?*

CD : C'était Mawdo Goundo lui-même

Q: *Est-ce que le village avait-il des forgerons, des cordonniers et des griots ?*

CD : Il y avait des cordonniers et l'un d'entre eux s'appelait Telli Bailo. Mais on ne forgeait pas dans le village. Il y avait aussi des griots.

Q: *Quand est-ce qu'ils ont quitté ?*

CD : Ils sont partis récemment

Q: *Quel était leur nom de famille ?*

CD : L'un des cordonniers avait comme nom Sylla et l'autre n'est pas parti , il est décédé.

Q: *Est-ce que Sylla est un nom Fulakunda ?*

CD : C'est un nom Peul Fouta

Q: *Celui qui est mort, il s'appelait comment ?*

CD : Alla Woury Balde

Q: *C'était un forgeron ou un cordonnier ?*

CD : Il était à la fois cordonnier et griot

ID : Le cordonnier s'appelait Altening Balde

Q: *Pourquoi on ne forgeait pas au village ?*

CD : Les djinns du village refusaient qu'on fasse la forge. C'est à Gallouyel, qu'on faisait la forge.

ID : Plus précisément à Diankankounda Manding qui est l'équivalent de Gallouyel

Q: *Est-ce qu'il y a toujours des forgerons la bas?*

CD : Il y a toujours des forgerons sur place.

Q: *Pourquoi les Fulakundas sont partis ?*

CD : Une fois que les parents sont décédés, ils ont fui le village.

Q: *Ils sont partis où ?*

CD : Les uns sont partis en Gambie, à Saré Sambel et les autres à Demba Mballo.

Q: *Lorsqu'ils partaient qui était le chef de village ?*

CD : Ohn watu ko Samba Balde

Q : *Hodoum mbaw ra meen filanaddé é arré tata ô ?*

CD : Tata o, mineen ko do meen mantii doum, meen ndiégnano e dow moudoum

Q : *Mur o hono forano ?*

CD : Mbo toweno sabou thioukayel tokossel wawra no doum diégouddé. Damougal gal ko foudde nague wonire no.

Q : *Ho waddeno doydé ?*

CD : Alla ko mur bolo wono do e lékki gori wiré thiélen-thiélen ngayi, kiine ko hakkudé wono

Q : *Ho to der tata ro waddeno bâtiment dji ?*

CD : Meen maddaki doum do

Q : *Ho godoum kallon wono e der tata o ko bouri tata et légal gal ?*

CD : Ko thioudi houddo raan wono toone

Q : *Ohn watu ah wawono yiddé thioudidi ?*

CD : Ah wawono yiddé thiou di kaye

Q : *Ho gobbé ngono e der thiouddi di ?*

CD : Gallé jarga ô ko hé der tata o wono

Q : *Ho ko gallé jarga raan wono doone wala gallé dji goddi ngono héne ?*

CD : Ko gallé jarga raan e mbeygouré moun dé ngono toone

Q : *Ko hobbo watu jarga yaltii e der tata o ?*

CD : Jarga ô yaltani ko do der do mbo mayyi

Q : *Ko Mawdo Goundo ko mayyi ko, ngabbi do e moun o ko e der tata wono ?*

CD : Ha ko e der tata o wono, ko miniriyawo moun ô

Q : *Ho jarga bé Fulakunda bé ko e der tata o ngono ?*

CD : Ha kahen piwu ko e der tata bé ngono

Q : *Ko hobbo darni tata o ?*

CD : Meen nganda doum

CD : C'était Samba Balde.

Q: *Que peux-tu nous parler des tata ?*

CD : Le tata, je me rappelle qu'on pouvait l'escalader étant jeunes.

Q : *Quelle était la taille du mur ?*

CD : Il était haut parce qu'un enfant ne pouvait pas l'escalader. La porte était du côté est.

Q : *Y'avait-il des piquets ?*

CD : Il n'y avait pas de piquets cependant il y avait un arbre qui s'appelle Thiélen-Thiélen ngayi qui se trouvait au centre du tata.

Q: *Est-ce qu'il y avait des bâtiments à l'intérieur du tata ?*

CD : Je ne me rappelle pas de cela.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y avait autres choses à part le tata et l'arbre ?*

CD : Il n'y avait que des cases à l'intérieur.

Q : *A cette époque est-ce qu'on pouvait voir les cases ?*

CD : Oui, on pouvait voir les cases.

Q : *Les cases étaient-elles habitées ?*

CD : La maison du chef de village était à l'intérieur du tata.

Q : *C'était la seule maison ou il y avait d'autres maisons ?*

CD : Il n'y avait que la maison du chef de village et celle de sa famille.

Q : *A quelle époque le chef de village est-il sorti du tata ?*

CD : Il n'est pas sorti du tata, c'est là qu'il est décédé.

Q : *Après la mort de Mawdo Goundo, son successeur logeait-il dans le tata ?*

CD : Oui il logeait dans le tata et c'était son frère.

Q: *Est-ce que les chef de village Fulakundas vivaient dans le tata ?*

CD : Oui ils vivaient tous à l'intérieur du tata.

Q : *Qui a construit le tata ?*

CD : On ne connaît pas cela.

ID : Lorsque Moussa Molo était au pouvoir, il avait un représentant sur place. Comme le Président ou le Sous-Préfet. Quand Moussa Molo venait au village, il tenait ces réunions sous l'arbre dont on a parlé tout à l'heure, le thiélen-thiélen gayi ou kohi. Et on nous disait que c'était l'arbre de Moussa Molo. La question relative au départ des Fulakundas est liée à leur superstition. Parce que quand il y avait morts d'hommes, ils préféraient quitter les lieux pour aller s'installer ailleurs. C'est de cette façon qu'il y a aujourd'hui que les Peul Fouta qui habitent le village.

Q : *Pouvez-vous nous parler des représentants de Moussa Molo sur place ?*

ID : Mame Fatouma Sané était la représentante de Moussa Molo

Q : *Ko hono Mame Fatouma Sané nodirténo ?*

Notables : Meen nganda, néddo ko diamanou moun

Q : *Ho ohn noone ganddi godoum e Mame Fatouma ?*

Notables : Meen nganda

Q : *Ko watu saaré dé sinthia o wala ta saaré sinthia ka tawone doum waddi ?*

CD : Mi andda watu ko tata darna do ko, ko meen maddiri doum

Q : *Ho woddi ko her no tata e Moussa Molo ?*

CD : Doum meen ngandda doum

Q : *Meen ndiano laroye gol tata Mamacounda o, ho ohn mawi meen heen halandé godoum ?*

CD : Fi arre tata Mamacounda o mi andda doone godoum

Q : *Fi hodoum diodani no bé do Moussa bé ko Sébbé ngono, doum yawani ?*

CD : Mineen ko dioma tata o do meen halli halla makko

ID : Tu sais que Moussa Molo a trouvé ici le tata. Ce dernier a été construit par le roi Manding. Ce sont les Mandingues qui ont construit les tatas. Mame Fatouma était une femme brave et quand il a pris le pouvoir, il l'a laissée sur place parce que c'était une combattante.

Q : *Watu Moussa Molo laami ô, saaré dé ko honou toundou tawano ?*

Notables : Doum meen nganda doum

Q : *Watu lammu canton doum, Diankankounda ko hobbo canton tawano ?*

ID : Lorsque Moussa Molo était au pouvoir, il avait un représentant sur place. Comme le Président ou le Sous-Préfet. Quand Moussa Molo venait au village, il tenait ces réunions sous l'arbre dont on a parlé tout à l'heure, le Thiélen-Thiélen gayi ou kohi. Et on nous disait que c'était l'arbre de Moussa Molo. La question relative au départ des Fulakundas est liée à leur superstition. Parce que quand il y avait morts d'hommes, ils préféraient quittaient les lieux pour aller s'installer ailleurs. C'est de cette façon qu'il y a aujourd'hui que les Peul Fouta qui habitent le village.

Q : *Pouvez-vous nous parler des représentants de Moussa Molo sur place ?*

ID : Mame Fatouma Sané était la représentante de Moussa Molo

Q : *Comment on surnommait Mame Fatouma Sané ?*

Notables : Nous ne le savons pas parce que chacun doit parler de son époque.

Q : *Avez-vous des connaissances sur Mame Fatouma ?*

Notables : Nous ne savons rien.

Q : *Sa construction a-t-il eu lieu avant la fondation du village ou après cela ?*

CD : Je ne me souviens pas de la période de construction du tata.

Q : *Le tata avait-il une quelconque liaison avec Moussa Molo ?*

CD : On n'en a pas connaissance.

Q : *Nous étions partis regarder le tata de Mamacounda, pouvez-vous nous dire quelque chose sur ce tata ?*

CD : Pour ce qui concerne le tata de Mamacounda, je ne peux pas vous en parler.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a quelque chose d'importance sur l'histoire du village dont on n'a pas parlé ?*

Q : *Pourquoi le représentant de Moussa est-il un Sébbé, c'est pas évident ?*

CD : Nous on vous a raconté le propriétaire du tata.

ID : Tu sais que Moussa Molo a trouvé ici le tata. Ce dernier a été construit par le roi Manding Ce sont les Mandingues qui ont construit les tatas. Mame Fatouma était une femme brave et quand il a pris le pouvoir, il l'a laissée sur place parce que c'était une combattante.

Q : *A l'époque de Moussa Molo, le village se trouvait au niveau de quel province ?*

Notables : Cela on n'a pas connaissance.

Q : *Au temps des cantons, Diankankounda faisait partie de quel canton ?*

Notables : Ko Patim Baba Moulaye

Q : *Baba Moulaye ko horro mbo wono ?*

Notables : Ko Dabo mbo wono

Q : *Ho ohn noone mbawi meen halandé fi doula dji boydi, ko wahi ni e tumbun dji, tata, guidé E der toundou dou nou wala e baral gal ?*

Notables : Tumbun dji di piwu sintirama

Notables : C'est dans le Patim de Baba Moulaye

Q : *Baba Moulaye s'était établi dans quelle localité ?*

Notables : Il était à Dabo.

Q: *Est-ce que vous pouvez nous parler des lieux anciens comme les Tumbun, les guidé dans la province ou aux alentours du village ?*

Notables : Tous les tumbun ont été réoccupés.

21- Diankankounda Manding

Date 27/01/13

Participants : Gallé Diallo, Mamadou Touré, Danfa Touré, Aïssatou Kondjira , Sisao Sané, Gorko Sandé, Sona Dandio, Malang Sagna, Nfamara Camara, Bouly Mané (Jarga Saré Pathé Bouya), Faly Touré, Malang Camara, Malang Camara, Alpha Camara, Malang Touré, Sékou Touré, Dionkon Sagna, Bakari Touré, Maya Diaby, Sega Camara, Bouraima Diambang.

Q : *Ko hobbo watu saaré dé sinthia e ko hobbo sinthie dé ?*

Malang Touré (MT) : Sinthiou saaré dé ô mi andda doum. Ko Bouraima Touré e Mamadi Touré. Mamadi Touré jargui saaré dé, Mamadi Touré iddi woddé saaré

Q : *Ho ohn noone nganddi ko hobbo watu saaré sinthia, ko watu lammu Alpha Molo, Moussa Molo wala ko lammu Sébbé ?*

Notable : Ko watu Moussa Molo éne lammi o ko ohn watu saaré dé sinthia

Q : *Diankankounda dji ko nayyi, ho ko noone wahi, ko honé idda sinthié dé déda ?*

Notable s : Diankankounda Manding, Diankankounda Tabadjé, Diankankounda Mawdo Goundo , Diankankounda Oguel. Ko Diankankounda Manding idda sinthié dé

Q : *Mamadi e Bouraima Touré horro bé guimbi bé ngari do ?*

Notable: Mamadi ko Gambie iwi arri do

Q : *Ho ahno anddi saaré dé mbo iwi ha mbo arri ga ?*

Notable : Mi andda honé saaré

Q : *Ko hodoum bé ngono,ci ko bé dannan dji, ko rémobé wala ko guériers dji ?*

Notable : Ko rémobé e tafobé

Q : *Ho bé tawi do yimbé ?*

Notable : Bé tawani do yimbé dé

Q : *Ko laddé bé tawi do wala ko tumbun ?*

Notable : Ko laddé bé tawi do

Q : Qui est le fondateur du village et à quelle époque fut-il fondé ?

Mamadou Touré (MT) : C'est deux frères que sont Bouraima Touré et Mamadi Touré. Mamadi est le premier chef de village et le premier résident.

Q : Est-ce que vous savez à quelle époque le village fut fondé, est-ce au temps du règne d'Alpha, de Moussa Molo ou s'est au temps du règne des Sébbé ?

Notable : C'est durant le règne de Moussa Molo que le village a été fondé

Q : Il y a quatre Diankankounda, quel est l'ordre de fondation de ces derniers ?

Notable : Il y a Diankankounda Manding, Diankankounda Tabadjé, Diankankounda Mawdo Goundo, et Diankankounda Oguel. Et c'est Diankankounda Manding a été le premier à être fondé.

Q : Mamadi et Bouraima sont originaires d'où ?

Notable : Mamadi vient de la Gambie.

Q : Vous savez le nom du village d'origine ?

Notable : Je ne connais pas le nom du village.

Q : Etaient-ils des chasseurs, des cultivateurs, des guerriers ou autres ?

Notable : Ils étaient des cultivateurs et forgerons.

Q : Est-ce qu'ils ont trouvés des gens sur place ?

Notable : Ils n'ont trouvé personne.

Q : C'est la brousse ou un tumbun qu'ils ont trouvé sur le site ?

Notable : Ils ont trouvé la brousse

Q : *Fi hodoum bé guiwi Gambie bé ngari do ?*

Notable : Ko dabigol saaré anddi bé do

Q : *Ko hodoum woni hakou dé Diankankounda dji ?*

Notable : Ko hakouddé Bayolo e Pullo e djikké .

Q : *Ho Diankankounda i fiirti godoum ?*

Notable : Ah mii andda. Ko sinthiou do ô yéhi sinthio yi dédda Diankankounda djé

Q : *Ho ko Bouraima e Mamadi sinthi dédda Diankankounda djé ?*

Notable : Ko sinthiou do Diankankounda Tabadjé sinthio yi dédda Diankankounda

Q : *Mben naani ho Diankankounda Manding e Gallouyel piwu ko gorroum ? Ho ahno anddi héne godoum ?*

Notable : Ko saaré Sébbé Fulbé biraa Gallouyel

Q : *Ko hoddé lédji ngonni do o watu e Diankankounda Manding ?*

Notable : Do ko Sébbé raan ngone do,mbayri ko kahén sinthie saaré dé. Bé tawqni haye goro do.

Q : *Ko hoddé yétodjé ngonni do ?*

Notable : Ko Camara, Touré, Sandé, Diambang, Sagna

Q : *Hono bé ngar di do ?*

Notable : Ko Touré iddi arddé, abbi Camara, Diambang, Sandé, Sagna.

Q : *Ho hono piwu ko ohn waylubé ?*

Notable : Haa mineen piwu ko meen waylubé

Q : *Mbiida saaré dé ko watu Moussa Molo o dé sinthia ko ohn watu woni Fuladu, anddi Fulbé e Sébbé kabbi, ho ko watu harré dé wala ko ta harré dé houbi ?*

Notable : Ko watu harré dé houbbi o

Q : *Ko hobbo canton saaré dé tawano ?*

Notable : Ko Patim e ko Abdoul Diallo lamino

Q : Pourquoi ils ont quitté la Gambie ?

Notable : Ils sont partis chercher un village où s'établir.

Q : Quelle a été la relation entre les Diankankounda ?

Notable : C'est une relation de fraternité entre forgerons et Peul.

Q : Est-ce que Diankankounda signifie quelque chose ?

Notable : Je ne sais pas. Le fondateur de ce Diankankounda a après fondé les autres Diankankounda.

Q : Est-ce que s'est Bouraima et Mamadi qui ont fondé les autres Diankankounda ?

Notable : C'est celui qui a fondé Diankankounda Tabadjé qui est parti fonder les autres Diankankounda.

Q : On nous a dit que Diankankounda Manding et Gallouyel s'étaient la même chose. Vous en connaissez quelque chose ?

Notable : Gallouyel veut dire en pulaar le village des Sébbé.

Q : Quels sont les lignages qui vivent actuellement à Diankankounda Manding ?

Notable : Seuls les Sébbé qui vivent au village. Ils sont les fondateurs de ce village. Ils n'ont trouvé personne.

Q : Quels sont les noms de famille présents ?

Notable : Camara, Touré, Sandé, Diambang, Sagna.

Q : Comment ils sont venus ?

Notable : Les Touré sont les premiers venus, après les Camara, Diambang, Sandé et Sagna.

Q : Est-ce que vous êtes tous des forgerons ?

Notable : Oui, nous sommes des forgerons

Q : Vous avez dit que le village est fondé au temps de Moussa Molo et cela coïncide avec le Fuladu. Vous savez que les Fulbé et les Sébbé se sont fait la guerre, le village est-il fondé avant ou après la guerre ?

Notable : C'est après la guerre que le village est fondé

Q : Le village faisait partie de quel canton ?

Notable : C'est le canton de Patim et c'est Abdoul Diallo qui en était le chef.

Q : *Ho dé tiaé bour no mawnou dé e nder Patim ?*

Notable : *Do Diankankounda Manding wadeno important. Parce que ko do bé ngarano daboudé ligoré. Do ko saaré waylubé*

Q : *Ko hobbbo ngara no do daabouddé ligoré e ko hoddé diamdé bé ngarano daaboudé ?*

Notable : *Ko Fulbé bé ngarano do dabboudé ligoré ko wahi ni no Téran, Soombé, Déna, Dibon, Mouro, daboo, fango, loyih,*

Q : *Ho bé ngar no dabboudé do kourré wala guiddi djé ?*

Notable : *Bé ngar no kaye*

Q : *Ho watu lamu Moussa Molo e lamu canton, ko houddé wotéré bé garano dabboudé E saaré dé ?*

Notable : *Hé mi andda doum*

Q : *Watu lamu Moussa Molo gu saaré dé ko e honu toundu tawano ?*

Notable : *Ko e toundou e Patim Thibo*

Q : *Diankankounda Mawdo bé koli meen doone tata, be biyyo ko Mame Fatouma Sané Wono doone, ho ohn noone mbawi meen hen halandé hén godoum ?*

Notable : *Fi tata o meen mbaw ra hén hal dé goudoum. Ko meen nganddi ko Mame Fatouma Sané woddeno doum*

Q : *Mame Fatouma ko hodoum wono ?*

Notable : *Mi andda*

Bouly Mané: *Do tata do ko Mame Fatouma Sané wohno do. Diamanou lamu Sébbé Ko Sébbé e Fulbé ko kabara ko, doum tawi tata dji wadama, Alpha Molo lamii doubbi sapo e dioyyi, Moussa lamii doubii sapo e dioyyi, Toubacco bé dodii mbo, mbo yéhi Gambie Kessere kounda. Abdoul Diallo bé maddi mo lamedo canton Patim Thibo. Ohn Patim Thibo yadiono. Moussa wadi Mame Fatouma do. Ci Moussa i fori are dé han, wi doum kalna yimbé ma bé, ko ni woniri, ko ni woniri. Lamu Sébb é to fouddi ko Kossemar ha Bassamar. Wono leydi thiapandé taari e taari. De leydi thiapandé taari e taari dé fethia, kahen piwu diodji mbihi ko Kansala wono capitale Gabou. Dé leydi piwu, wotiri yo i diogui tata Kansala. Leydi yo leydi godo diodina doone Mansa la ké conseiller, Dianké Wali woni dernier mansa e Gabou banco.*

Faly Touré (FT) : *Dé saaré ko bé saaré Pathé Bouya sinthi do, ko mawbé kouubi ko, bé péthie, bé ngonki Diankounda Manding Kansou Touré, ohn Kansou Touré ta ô ala no mbeygouré. Ko ni bé ngari do bé ndihi saaré. Kono kalla sinthiou do ko doubi tari*

Q : *Ko hobbbo sinthi saaré dé ?*

Q: *Quels sont les plus grands villages dans le Patim?*

Notable : Diankankounda Manding, parce que c'est un village de forgerons et tout le monde y venait pour chercher des outils aratoires ou d'autres.

Q : *Qu'est-ce qui venaient chercher des outils chez vous et de quelle sorte ?*

Notable : C'est les Peuls qui venaient chercher des outils de différentes sortes, que sont Le Térán, Soombé, Déna, Dibon, Mouro, Daboo, Fango, Loyih,.

Q : *Est-ce qu'ils venaient chercher aussi des munitions et des fusils chez vous ?*

Notable : Oui, ils venaient en approvisionner

Q : *Au temps de Moussa Molo et celui des cantons, ils venaient chercher la même chose chez vous?*

Notable : Cela je n'en connais pas.

Q: *Au temps de Muusa Molo, le village se trouvait où?*

Notable : Le village était au Patim Thibo.

Q : *A Diankankounda Mawdo, on nous a montré un tata qui appartenait à Mame Fatouma Sané, vous pouvez nous en dire quelque chose là-dessous ?*

Notable : A propos du tata, je ne peux rien dire. On n'en a entendu parler qu'il appartenait à Mame Fatouma Sané

Q : *Qui était Mame Fatouma Sané ?*

Notable : Je ne sais pas.

Bouly Mané : Le tata était le propriété de Mame Fatouma Sané. Au temps du pouvoir Sébbé, lorsque les Sébbé et les Fulbé s'opposaient que le tata est construit, Alpha Molo a régné pendant quinze ans et Moussa, lui aussi pendant quinze ans. C'est par la suite que les Blancs sont venus et ont chassé Moussa qui s'est réfugié à Kessere Kunda en Gambie. De plus, Abdoul Diallo est nommé chef de canton de Patim Thibo. C'était une vaste province et Moussa a installé Mame Fatouma ici. S'il devait effectuer un déplacement, c'est à elle qu'incombe la responsabilité d'informer les gens sur le voyage. Le pouvoir des Sébbé s'étendait de Kossemar jusqu'au Bassamar. Et il comprenait trente-trois terroirs. Ces derniers se sont réunis et ont conclu que la capitale de l'empire du Gabou serait Kansala. Chacun de ces terroirs avait un tata à Kansala. Chaque terroir avait un conseiller après du Mansa. Dianké Wali, a été le dernier roi du terroir de Gabou,

Faly Touré (FT) : Ce village a été fondé par Kansou Touré qui venait de Saré Pathé Bouya. Cela fait suite à la disparition des ancêtres. Kansou n'avait pas de progéniture et il est parti à la recherche d'un site pour créer son village. Il lui a fallu trois ans pour s'installer sur les lieux.

Q: *Qui est le fondateur du village ?*

FT : Ko Kansou Touré sinthi saaré dé, wona Mamadi. Mamadi ko abbi Kansou.

Q : *Ko hobbo watu doum waddi ?*

FT : Ko diamanou lammu Moussa Molo

Q : *Ko fi hodoum itti Kansou saaré Pathé Bouya ?*

FT : Ko mawbé diodi kal di ha kawri, bé mbiyyo dioni no bé madde pethié didi Béda kéddo saaré Pathé Bouya, béda diaha daboya doula do bé ngonii. Ko noone ta mawbé bé kothi no doula. Ko ni bé ngar di do bé sinthi. Kalla jargui no do ko doubbi tari wouran no. Ko ni bé sinthi do mbayri Kansou allano mbeygouré mbo okka saaré dé. Ko mbo mayyi ko lé Mamadi lonti mbo. Après ohn ko iwi ko, Kéba Touré, abbi Malang Touré, Ansou Touré bido Kansou ô, ontuma Faly Touré.

Q : *Ho ohn noone ngandi tata dji ngone di e mbaral gal ?*

Notable : Tata inin Doubel (Diankankounda Oguel),

Q: *Est-ce que ohn noone ngandi thiaé nayédjé ngone dé é baral hé mbour dé naywoudé dé e maddé wone dé ta wona diamanou médeen wala ?*

Notable : Do i waddi kadjé do mawbé défano diamdé do guéssa jagan nabé

Q : *Ko hobbo watu doume waténo ?*

Notable : Mi andda ko watu hobbo doum waddi

Q : *E hodoum kalla ?*

Notable : di waddi kadjé mbalé djé

FT: C'est Kansou Touré qui est le fondateur du village et non Mamadi. Ce dernier a suivi Kansou

Q : *Cela s'est passé à quelle période ?*

FT: C'est durant la période du règne de Moussa Molo

Q : *Pourquoi Kansou Touré a quitté saré Pathé Bouya ?*

FT: C'est à la suite d'une réunion que les anciens ont décidé de se diviser en deux parties. Les uns devaient rester à Saré Pathé Bouya et les autres devaient chercher un site pour s'établir. Mais les anciens avaient déjà trouvé un site. C'est ainsi qu'ils sont venus fonder le village. Celui qui assurait la chefferie devait vivre que trois ans. C'est ainsi que Kansou puisqu'il n'avait pas de progéniture pour assurer sa succession, ils lui ont donné les rênes du village. Après sa mort, il fut remplacé par Mamadi Touré. Celui-ci est remplacé par Kéba Touré, ensuite Malang Touré puis le fils de Kansou qui a pris nom Ansou et enfin moi-même Faly Touré.

Q: *Est-ce que vous savez s'il y a des tatas aux environs ?*

Notable: Il y a un tata à Doubel (Diankankounda Oguel)

Q: *Est-ce que dans votre forêt il y a des marques ou des indices qui remontent aux temps des anciens ou d'anciens sites d'habitants dans les environs ?*

Notable: Il y en a de la roche sur laquelle on pratiquait la fonte du fer.

Q : *C'était à quelle époque ?*

Notable: Je ne sais à quelle période cela s'est passée

Q: *Et quoi d'autres ?*

Notable: Il y a aussi des marques de pierres dans la brousse

22.-Coumbacara

Date : 31/01/2013

Participants: Moutarou Mballo (jarga), Mamadou koubé (griot), Sakou Gano, Pathé Mballo (jarga's grandson), Poulou Balde (President of Coumbacara's Comité pour la Protection de l'Enfance), Fodé Mballo (2nd Vicepresident of the CR), Mamadou Mballo.

Q: *Coumbacara ko touthia e hobbo sinthi dé?*

Fodé Mballo (FM) : Coumbacara sinthia hiradé woulèrè e témédé diétati e thiappandé diedidi e diégo. Ko Kéwro Maran Baldé sinthi saaré

Q: *Ho mbo tawi do goddo ?*

Mamadou Mballo (MM) : Ko kagne iddi do sopou dé saaré , ko kagne iddi do wone dé, ko kagne iddi do wone dé jarga

Q : *Ko horro mbo iwri haa mbo arii do ?*

MM : Ko Pidiro mbo iwri

Q : *Ko fi hodoum mbo ari do ?*

MM : Haa ko mawbé mbirako ko daana hothini mbo saaré dé, daana ô i dioguino guidi moun ô e dawadi moun di. Ko do mbo mayyi Ko taa mboni daani, mbo naani dawadi i mbiya do ko saaré mawdé wone do. Saré dardio dé Ah faami ! Ko ni mbo woni haa ko dawadi koun ni ko, mbo hori taa mbo halnii yimbé makko bé Kagne faala sinthioye dé Ko noone bé ngaardi do bé thiopi do saaré dé mbo idiri dé « Coumbacara » Mbo yo saaré dé ko Coumbacara dé wiré. Ha noone mbo mayya diawré yawrara anière makko dé Dén noone ko do léridé saaré do dé woni Mi sikkou haye naggué médda doone réwudé.

Q : *Ho ko Kéwro wono daana ô ?*

MM : Ha ko Kéwro wono daana ô

Q : *Ho ko Coumbacara fiirti ?*

MM : Coumbacara alla ko fiirti

FM: Ko Coumba-cara. Ko dem dé kéwou dé kawri doone. Hén noone ko hén naane i wi é Coumbacara ko no hén firtanaka ko woni doum

Mamadou Koubé : Ko wono godoum haan ko welli meeti haan arté. Coumbacara ko areté fiirti

Q : *Ko hodoum woni naffaka Coumbacara ka ?*

Q: Qui est le fondateur de Coumbacara ? Quand remonte sa fondation ?

Fodé Mballo (FM) : Coumbacara à été fondé en 1876. Le fondateur du village s'appelait Kéwro Maran Balde.

Q: Est-ce qu'il a trouvé quelqu'un ?

Mamadou Mballo (MM) : C'est lui qui est le premier à défricher ici. C'est lui le premier habitant et le premier chef de village.

Q: Il vient d'où ?

MM : Il vient de Pidiro

Q: Pourquoi il s'est établi sur cet endroit ?

MM : De ce que disent les anciens, c'est un chasseur qui lui a indiqué le lieu. Ce dernier était accompagné de ses chiens. C'est les chiens qui ont révélé l'emplacement du site et c'est ici qu'il est mort C'est lorsqu'il somnolait qu'il a entendu les chiens de dire que ce site serai un grand village. Un village qui sera connu. Est-ce que tu as compris ? C'est ainsi qu'il est resté à l'état de veille jusqu'à ce que les chiens terminent leur révélation. C'est ainsi qu'il est rentré pour annoncer à ses proches qu'il voulait partir fonder son propre village. C'est par la suite qu'ils sont venus défricher le site et il lui a donné le nom de Coumbacara. Il l'appela Coumbacara. Personne n'a jamais marché sur sa tombe qui se trouve au milieu du village. Je crois même qu'aucune vache n'a pu traverser cette tombe

Q: Est-ce que Kéwro était-il un chasseur ?

MM : Oui c'était lui le chasseur

Q: Est-ce que Coumbacara a une signification ?

MM : Coumbacara ne signifie rien

FM : C'est Coumba-cara, c'est la rencontre de plusieurs langues mais personne ne nous a dit que ce nom signifié quelque chose

Mamadou Koubé : Cela voudrait dire que tu le veuille ou non, tu viendras. Coumbacara signifie la destination.

Q: Quelle est l'importance de Coumbacara ?

MM: ko kébaale e djidi

Q : *Do e lammu canton, watu Moussa lammi ô, ko hodoum wono dardia Coumbacara ka ?*

FM: Meen ngaanda doum

Q : *Ho tata wono do watu lammu Moussa gu ?*

MM : Tata alla no do

Q : *Ko lédji hoddi ngone do e yétodjé dé ngone dé do?*

MM : Ko lédji taari ngone do : Fulakundas bé, Fulbé Fouta e Fulbé wodébé dé Sébbé ngalla do, Mandjako bé ngala do

Q : *Hono bé ngaardi do ?*

Notable : Ko Foulakundas bé bé guidi do sinthiou dé, ontuma Fulbé Fouta bé e Pulaarin bé bé

Q : *Sébbé meedi do wone dé ?*

Notable : Haa meedi do wone dé

Q : *Ko hobbo watu bé ngono do ?*

Notable : Ko watu Salif Diao ô

Q : *Ko hobbo watu Sébbé bé guiwi do ?*

FM: Bé guiwi do en 1965

Q : *Fi hodoum bé ndiéhi ?*

Notable : Béguimbi taan bé thioti Kolda. Famille ô ko toone woni, mawdo kagne ko do wono

Q : *Ko hobbo Watu Sébbé bé ngaari do ? Ko watu Fulariin bé wala ko doone e doum ?*

MM : Sébbé bé ko do tawi bé

Q : *Ho lawu waylubé, Garankobé, Diali bé ngono do ?*

FM: Mème des tisserands

Q : *Bé niine do wala bé ndiéhi ?*

Notable : Alla dioni bé kawani do sabou ko Koubé raan wone do Diali djo

MM : C'est la fertilité et la fécondité.

Q: *Avant les cantons au temps de Moussa Molo qu'elle était l'importance de Coumbacara ?*

FM : On n'en a pas connaissance.

Q: *Est-ce qu'il y avait un tata au temps de Moussa?*

MM : Il n'y avait pas de tata.

Q: *Quels sont les clans et les familles qui existent dans le village ?*

MM : Il y a trois groupes : les Fulakundas, les Fulbés Fouta et les Peuls rouges. Il n'y avait pas de Sébbé ni de Mandjako.

Q: *Comment ils sont venus ici ?*

Notable : C'est les Fulakundas qui sont les fondateurs ensuite ils sont suivis des Fulbé Fouta et les Peuls rouges

Q: *Il n'y a jamais eu de Sébbé ?*

Notable: Si ! Ils étaient là.

Q: *Ils étaient là à quelle époque ?*

Notable: C'est au temps de Salif Diao.

Q: *Quand est-ce ils sont partis ?*

FM : C'est en 1965 qu'ils sont partis.

Q: *Pourquoi ils sont partis ?*

Notable: Ils ont décidé de déménager à Kolda, la famille est là-bas mais le vieux était là.

Q: *C'est à quelle période, les Sébbé sont venus ici ? C'est à la période des Peuls rouges ou bien c'est avant ?*

MM : Les Sébbé les ont trouvés sur place.

Q: *Est-ce que avant il y avait des forgerons, des cordonniers, des griots ?*

FM : Même des tisserands.

Q: *Ils sont là ou bien ils sont partis ?*

Notable: Non ils ne sont pas nombreux parce que c'est Koube seulement qui est griot.

Q : *Waylubé diniine do ?*

Notable : ah gallé o dé inn do kono thioukalé dé guékiraki taawone

Q : *Garanké bé lé ?*

Notable : Bé ngaala do

FM: Bé thioti

Q : *Diali bé ko Fulakundas bé ?*

Notable : haaa

Q : *Waylubé bé ko hodoum bé ?*

Notable : Ko Fulakunda bé

Q : *Ho saaré dé i waddi dioulirdé ?*

Notable : Ha ndénin waddi

Q : *Ko touma dioulirdé dé daarna ?*

Notable : Ko hikka waddi doubi thiappandé nayyi e diédidi.

Q : *Watu saaré dé sinthiré o ho ta Fulbé e Sébbé i kabba ? Ho anno wawi hén meen hallan dé hén godoum ?*

FM: Ta haaré houbbi. Ayyi kouloubole diniine do ko doone mbo hawri e Moussa Molo taa ohn dii abbi mbo fii nayyi moun di mbo dioguino di. Ohn wi mbo miin ko mi gaynako guel taan alla ko dioguimi ta mboni yahi Pidiro.

Q: *Les forgerons sont-ils toujours ici ?*

Notable: Il y a leur maison ici mais les enfants n'ont pas fait l'apprentissage encore

Q: *Et les cordonniers?*

Notable: Ils ne sont plus là

FM : Ils ont déménagé.

Q: *Les griots sont-ils des Fulakundas ?*

Notable: Oui.

Q: *Les forgerons sont de quelle group ?*

Notable: C'est des Fulakundas.

Q: *Est-ce que le village à une mosquée ?*

Notable: Oui, le village a une mosquée

Q: *Quand est-ce qu'elle est construite ?*

Notable: Il y a de cela quarante-sept ans.

Q: *Quand on a fondé le village, est-ce que les Peuls et les Sébbé étaient en guerre ? Est-ce que vous pouvez-nous en parler quelque chose là-dessous ?*

FM : A cette époque, la guerre était finie. Il y a un cours d'eau, c'est là qu'il a rencontré Moussa Molo qui le poursuivait à propos de ses vaches. Celui-ci lui a dit 'je suis un simple éleveur qui ne vive que de ses vaches'. Il n'était pas riche. Il revenait de Pidiro.

23.-Temanto Tobo

Date : 01/02/2013

Participants: Salif Balde (Thibo), Aliou Balde, Oumar Diamanka, Salarabo Balde, Dembel Balde, Kalidou Diamanka, Ibrahima Balde

Q: *Temanto ko touma sinthia e ko hobo sinti de?*

Notables : Adaan saare de wireno que Temanto. Ko baba am sintiri saare de. Baba am ko Yoba Balde wireno. Ko Guinée Bissau mbeen guiwiri. Ko hare Guinée Bissau addi mben do. Watu hare de, mbeygure de tougui. Ohn watu ta Yoba Balde lamdima gona to Kessere Kunda do wire Sinthian Kediang do. Baba am yehi tawo yi doum fi yiha doum mbé gara be ngodda ko ni mbo yiyo mbo: “hen koduno, ko mbouran no komam ko ndiehen daben neen horre mben tumbun cintiuren dodo de hen ndiade tawro nden gobbe.” Ko nii be ngar di be cinti ta ko tumbun wono do. Ko nii bé ngar di doum e dioni fori doubi thiappan nayyi e djérari (48 ans).

Q: *Ko hone saare guiwi doon e Guinée Bissau?*

Notable: Ko Sabaly Kunda mben guiwri hede frontière do

Q : *Ho Temanto Tobo i fiirti godoum ?*

Notable: Ha Temanto I fiirti godoum. Ko mbeen ngono Sabaly Kunda ko, saare amen de I mbatorino e saare mbire de Temanto, dé hereon cego Sénégal ga e minene de heti cego Guinée Bissau de. Ko no tiou di mbato direno e ko mbeen ngari ga sinciu de ko saare de initira Temanto.

Temanto fiirtii « leriide » e cedde. Fulbe ko ngari e di leydi ko Sebbe be tawi do. Ko doum waddi ah wawra halde demdeme didi wala tari ta wada ni doon ceare (adj. de Sebbe) oh ko waddi doum law ko Sebbe be lami no ni leydi.

Q: *Fi hodoum addi ha guinire do saare de indde Sebbe?*

Notable: Ko fi kodigal raan e souba de indde welan ne ma ko doum tan.

Q: *Ho ohn taweno wobbe wala ko tumbun bolo o tawu doon do?*

Notable: Alla mbeen tawani yimbe ko tumbun bolo o mbeen tawi do

Q: *Ko hodde djoto dje ngoni e der saare de e hono de ngardi?*

Notable: Do ko ledji did raan ngon do e saare de. Ko Fulbe Fuuta e Fulbe kono Fulbe bouri do hew de. Ko Fulacunda be be guidi do abbi Fulbe Fuuta be. Djetodje ngoe de do de ko Balde, Diamanka, Kande, Mballo e Sane.

Q: Quand est-ce que Temanto a été fondé et par qui ?

Notable : Auparavant, le village s'appelait Temanto. C'est mon père qui a refondé le village. Mon père s'appelait Yoba Balde. Nous venons de la Guinée Bissau. Nous avons fui la guerre de la Guinée Bissau. Durant la guerre, notre famille a décidé de partir. Entre temps, Yoba Balde avait demandé l'asile à Kessere Kunda au village de Sinthian Kediang. Et mon père est parti le retrouver pour lui demander de venir avec lui et lui s'adressa en ces termes : « on a vécu ensemble, il vaudrait mieux qu'on cherche un tumbun pour nous y installer avant d'aller rejoindre d'autres. » C'est ainsi qu'ils sont venus s'installer sur le tumbun. Et ils se sont installés là il y a environ 48 ans.

Q : Vous venez de quelle localité en Guinée Bissau ?

Notable : Nous venons de Sabaly Kunda près de la frontière.

Q : Est-ce que Temanto Tobo veut dire quelque chose ?

Notable : Oui Temanto Tobo signifie quelque chose. Lorsque nous étions à Sabaly Kunda, notre village jouxtait un autre du nom de Temanto qui était du côté sénégalais et le notre de celui de la Guinée Bissau. Nos cases s'entremêlaient et lorsque nous sommes venus, nous avons dénommé celui-ci Temanto en se référant à l'autre Temanto. Temanto veut dire « le milieu » et c'est en mandingue. Les Fulbe ont trouvé sur place les Mandingues dès leur arrivée. C'est pour cela qu'on ne peut dire deux à trois mots sans que tu utilise un mot mandingue. C'est les Sebbe qui dominaient le territoire.

Q : Pourquoi vous avez choisi un nom mandingue pour le village ?

Notable : C'était uniquement dans le rapport de bon voisinage et aussi la liberté de choisir n'importe quel nom.

Q : Est-ce que vous avez trouvé des gens ou le tumbun était abandonné ?

Notable : Ils n'ont trouvé personne et le tumbun était déjà abandonné.

Q : Quels sont les noms de famille qui habitent dans le village et qu'elle est leur ordre d'arrivée ?

Notable : Il n'y a que deux ethnies qui vivent actuellement dans le village. Il s'agit des Fulbe Fuuta et les Fulacunda. Mais c'est les Fulbe qui sont majoritaires. Les Fulacunda sont les premiers puis les Fulbe Fuuta les ont rejoints. Les noms de famille qui sont actuellement dans le village, il y a des Balde, des Diamanka, Kande, Mballo, Diallo et Sane.

Q: *Ho Sane ga mbe ko Sebbe ?*

Notable : Ha ko Sebbe kono noone mbe mbaylima Fulbe e ko ro Fulbe Fuuta ro mbe bouri mbata de.

Q: *Ho saare de di waddi wayelube, garankobe wala diali be wala I wodde no lawe?*

Notable: I woddi waylube gara no be do comme campagne ni mé be diodia ki do. Diali no wono no ha waddi do galle kono mbo yéhi no. Garankobe no one mbé da do wono de e saare de.

Q: *Hono waylube be gara no be do be djetereno?*

Notable: Ko Kondjira mbo yeterenno.

Q: *Diali no one hono yeterenoo?*

Notable: Diali o ko Balde yeterenno

Q: *Wona Fulacunda be be ko Sabaly Kunda guiwi e Fulbe Fuuta be no one horo guiwri?*

Notable: Ha Fulacunda be ko Sabaly Kunda guiwi e Fulbe Fuuta be ko Guinée Conakry be guiwi ko doum taan mbeen ganddki e mouyeen.

Q: *E Sebbe be le Sane ga dio o horo iwri?*

Notable: Sane ga o ko Poulo Fuuta kono mbi andda iwdi moun ni

Q : *Ho ohn noone ganddi godoum e tumbun dji di taw do do di ?*

Notable : Ha mino wawi hen hal de godoum. Tumbun o ko Bantaguel yawa yoli wireno. Ko addi ha wirano kpo do lamu canton doum wono. Lamdo canton wona no do ko tata mbo diogui no do e der saare de e conu moun gu do wono. Kala lamdo Ceddo woni do, kono ko kagn waw no one piwu ko doum addi ha tata wi e Bantaguel yawa yoli. Doum ko wata ko ta lamu canton arani tawone.

Q: *Ho ko Bantaguel yawa yoli wono indde lamdo o?*

Notable: ah ah ko hare dji mbo gagni di addi ha tata moun wiya Bantaguel yawa yoli.

Q: *Ho Bantaguel yawa yoli ko pulaar na wala ko ceare?*

Notable: Bantaguel yawa yoli ko pulaar.

Q: *Ko hodoum fiirti Bantaguel yawa yoli?*

Notable: Bantaguel yawa yoli ko fiirti ko kala konu gare no gu do armée gone no do wawa dou ko doum addi do wiya Bantaguel yawa yoli.

Q : *Est-ce que les Sane sont des Sebbe ?*

Notable : Oui c'est des Sebbe mais ils se sont fulanisés et ils sont apparentés au Fulbe Fuuta.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a des forgerons, des cordonniers ou des griots dans le village ou auparavant ?*

Notable : Il y a des forgerons qui étaient de passage de temps en temps comme des campagnes. Mais ils ne sont jamais établis sur place. A propos des griots, il y avait un qui avait galle mais il est parti depuis. Cependant, il n'y a jamais eu de cordonniers dans le village.

Q : *Quel nom de famille portait les forgerons qui venaient au village ?*

Notable : Il avait comme nom de famille Kondjira.

Q : *Et le griot quel était son nom de famille ?*

Notable : Le griot, son nom de famille était Balde.

Q : *Les Fulacunda viennent de Sabaly Kunda et les Fulbe Fuuta d'où viennent-ils ?*

Notable : Oui les Fulacunda viennent de Sabaly Kunda et les Fulbe Fuuta nous savons seulement qu'ils viennent de la Guinée Conakry.

Q : *Et les Sebbe notamment le Sane sont venus d'où ?*

Notable : Le Sane est un Pullo Fuuta mais je ne connais point ses origines.

Q : *Est-ce que vous savez quelque chose sur les tumbun que vous avez sur place ?*

Notable : Oui je peux en dire quelque chose. Le tumbun s'appelait Bantaguel yawa yoli. Cette dénomination est liée à la présence du canton. Le chef de canton ne résidait pas ici mais il avait un tata dans le village et son armée était logé ici. Mais aussi il y avait un roi Mandingue qui était invincible, raison pour laquelle le tata s'appelait Bantaguel yawa yoli. Cela s'est passé avant les cantons.

Q : *Bantaguel yawa yoli était-il le nom du roi Ceddo ?*

Notable : Non ce n'est pas son nom mais c'est du au nombre de batailles qu'il a gagné.

Q : *Est-ce que Bantaguel yawa yoli est un nom pulaar ou mandingue ?*

Notable : Bantaguel yawa yoli est un nom pulaar.

Q : *Que veut dire Bantaguel yawa yoli ?*

Notable : Bantaguel yawa yoli signifie l'invincibilité que faisait office le village, parce que toutes les batailles livraient dans le village ont été remportées par le village. C'est pourquoi on l'appelle Bantaguel yawa yoli .

Q: *Ko hodoum fiirti yawa yoli?*

Notable: Yawa yoli fiirti ko gala gar do wawe. Doum e missal ko ni wayi no kouragol mbo kaboye ra o. Lamdo ceddo o ko Koly Kondjira wireno. Kono ko mbo liga e ligge de mbati ndira e kolaga mba bo nehano. Ha niade worere raan mboyo no habane ba karafe. Ko kounte kounte mbo hothira. Mbayde houlbi dede.

Q: *Hobo falano fouce de tata?*

Notable: Mi andda hob falano fouce de tata o

Q: *Ho ko watu Koly Kondjira raan tata o wono wala mbo yano watu Moussa Molo ?*

Notable: Ala ko watu Koly Kondjira o raan tata o wono do, kabire dou mbo wata ka.

Q: *Hodoum addi ha Sebbe be guiwi do?*

Notable: Ko fi ndene hare addi ha mbe dieyi.

Q: *Ko hodde hare?*

Notable: Ko ha do gandal am gal haddi e fi tarika ka. Ko haredji hakou de Sebbe be e Fulbe be.

Q: *Ho ano wawi mbeen halan de e fi de hare ko bouri ni?*

Notable: Ala mi waw raa sabou gandal am gal do hadi.

Q: *Ah wi mbeen do yo ko hare gassi ko Sebbe be diehi e watu lamu canton konu wono do, hook no one wayi?*

Notable: Ha ko no one wayi

Q: *Hakude lamu Sebbe e lamu canton gu, Alpha e Moussa be lamima, ho ohn watu saare de wona no wala alla gon noo do?*

Notable: Alla de, de wona noo ka. Kabire de tata o fouca de wona ka ha no meen ngardi do nii

Q: *Ho ko watu Yoba Balde arido ko le saare de hebbi dardia e der lamu canton ?*

Notable : No anddi watu ko meen ngarta ko ta lamu canton yawri saabu ko e temps Senghor meen ngaari do

Q : *Ho watu lamu canton haye gooro allano do?*

Notable: Haye gooro alla no do

Q: *Mbi dodoon watu lamu canton taa saare de wona ka*

Q : *Que signifie yawa yoli littéralement ?*

Notable : Yawa yoli signifie être vaincu. C'est lié aussi au sous estime de l'adversaire. Le lamdo ceddo s'appelait Koly Kondjira. Mais il avait été marabouté pour qu'il soit vaincu. Ce maraboutage était mis en relation avec un zèbre qui avait domestiqué. Et un jour puisque sa fin était arrivée il monta l'animal et parti en chevauchée. Ce fut une fin tragique puis qu'il était en morceaux.

Q : *Qu'est-ce qui voulait conquérir le tata ?*

Notable : Je ne sais pas qui voulait la destruction du tata.

Q : *Est-ce que le appartenait seulement à Koly Kondjira ou bien il a continué jusqu'à la période de Moussa Molo ?*

Notable : C'est seulement durant la période de Koly Kondjira que le tata a existé. Depuis sa destruction il n'a pas été restauré.

Q : *Pourquoi les Mandingues ont abandonné le site ?*

Notable : C'est à la suite de cette bataille qu'ils sont partis.

Q : *Quelle bataille ?*

Notable : C'est ici que s'arrête ma connaissance de l'histoire. C'est les batailles qui opposaient les Sebbe et les Fulbes.

Q : *Est-ce que vous pouvez nous parler un peu plus sur cette bataille ?*

Notable : Non je ne peux me prononcer plus parce que ma connaissance s'arrête là.

Q : *Tantôt vous n'avez dit que les Sebbe sont partis après la bataille et qu'au temps des cantons il y avait une armée dans le village, est-ce vrai ?*

Notable : C'est affirmatif.

Q : *Entre le pouvoir des Sebbe et celui des chefs de cantons, il y a eu les règnes d'Alpha Molo et Moussa Molo, est-ce qu'il y a des gens qui vivaient dans le village, est-ce vrai ou non ?*

Notable : Non, personne n'habitait ici, depuis la destruction du tata jusqu'à notre arrivée

Q : *Quand est-ce que le village a eu son importance, est-ce durant l'arrivée de Yoba Balde ou bien durant la période des cantons ?*

Notable : Non, tu sais quand nous sommes arrivés ici, le temps des cantons étaient passée et durant la période de Senghor

Q : *Est-ce que durant la période du canton, il n'y avait personne dans le village ?*

Notable : Haa ta saare de wona ka

Q : *Dioni mbi dodoon yo chef de canton e konu moun gu ko do wono, ho ko noon wayyi?*

Notable: Lamu Alpha Molo gu ko taw lamu Sebbe. Ko lamu Alpha Molo gu itti lamu Sebbe

Q : *Miin ko lamdi maami bayri ah wi meen lamdo canoton i dioguino do konu*

Notable: Ha I dioguino kono ko watu lamu Sebbe saabu na ko lamu Moussa Molo itti lamu Sebbe. Ko lamu Sebbe iddi ontuman abbi lamu Moussa Molo gu lonti. Ontuma Sebbe guiwi heddi lamu Fulbe.

Q : *Dioni lamdo canton alla no do, konu kalan alla no do*

Notable: Alla no do

Q: *Ah halni meen do fiila tumbun e tata ho ko doula gooro di gon no wala ko di seertouno?*

Notable: Tata o wone ga, tumbun o won to. Addi lamu ci wonan ni e saare haan, lamu gu ko seera heerta, saare de hedda seggo. Ko ni woniri

Q: *Fii hodoum addi ha be tioubi do?*

Notable : Anddi lawu, maoube ci daboyano saare haan, ben dioguino alhali bo be daarita doula, be ndaara noku dji gona ndoni lawu be tioubino ontuma noon ne mbadda doon alhali mba be o. Saabouna be dioguino gandde. Dioni ta diomoun i woddi foori wone de e i woddi do forani wone de. Be tioubi ma nokule diddo ha be ndaara diomoun do foori dioda de e do doimoun forra nii diode do be ganda doum. Dioni ko noon be tiouboran noo.

Q : *Fii hodoum addi ha yimbe sincira tumbun dji?*

Notable: Ah no addi doula yo doula ci ah daarri doon souddu ha du daar to ko noon I woddi no alhali no nawri, I woddi do wonte taabire I woddi he wonte tabita. Saabuna noon I woddi diogui be deen gandee ko noon wonna piwu diogui de gandde. Handde ci faala daarnu doula haan ko no ben di gandara be daara na ci doon wonto wala wonta ko. Saabuna I woddi do gonta kebab diam I woddi do gonta ah hebara diam.

Q: *Watu maoube go gaarta to sinciu de saare doum waddi doubbi doubbi ta lamu Sebbe yawri, ah halni meen do information dji watu lamu Sebbe, horo kebdaa di information dji?*

Notable : Oui, il y'avait personne qui vivait dans le village

Q : *Vous venait de nous dire que le chef de canton et son armée était dans le village, est-ce vrai ?*

Notable : Le pouvoir d'Alpha Molo a succédé celui des Sebbe. C'est le pouvoir d'Alpha Molo a détrôné celui des Sebbe.

Q : *La question que je te pose est relative à la présence du chef de canton et de son armée, est-ce vrai ?*

Notable : Oui, il y avait une armée mais c'est durant la période du pouvoir des Sebbe parce que c'est le pouvoir de Moussa Molo qui a détrôné le pouvoir des Sebbe. C'est le pouvoir des Sebbe qui a précédé celui de Moussa Molo. C'est lorsque les Sebbe ont perdu le pouvoir que les Fulbe ont pris le pouvoir.

Q : *Maintenant il n'y avait pas de chef de canton et de son armée dans le village ?*

Notable : Non, il n'y avait pas.

Q : *Vous nous avez parlé tantôt de tumbun et de tata, est-ce qu'ils étaient sur le même emplacement ou bien ils étaient séparés ?*

Notable : Le tata était de l'autre côté et le tumbun de l'autre. Tu sais s'il y a un pouvoir dans un village, il se placés à l'extrémité et le village de l'autre. C'était la règle.

Q : *Pourquoi ils ont choisi cet emplacement ?*

Notable : Tu sais auparavant, les anciens s'ils allaient chercher un site d'habitat, ils effectuaient un rituel avec lequel ils cherchaient un site. Ils prospectaient les anciens sites d'habitats et c'est par la suite qu'ils choisissaient le site. C'est à la suite de tout cela qu'ils effectuaient le rituel. Parce qu'ils avaient une certaine connaissance. Maintenant, ils prenaient la décision de choix deux sites propices à leur établissement pour ensuite occuper le site retenu. C'est de la sorte qu'ils effectuaient leur choix.

Q : *Pourquoi les gens refondaient-ils les tumbun ?*

Notable : Tu sais, tu peux construire une case n'importe où, mais il y a une règle du rituel. Il y a là où on peut habiter et là où on ne peut pas habiter. Seul quelques prédicateurs ont ce savoir. Aujourd'hui si tu veux chercher un site pour y habiter c'est à ces gens là que tu feras appel pour qu'ils te disent s'il y a lieu de s'y installer ou pas. Parce qu'il y a des sites où tu peux trouver le bonheur et il y a d'autres sites où tu ne connaîtras pas le bonheur.

Q : *Avant l'arrivée de vos ancêtres pour fonder le village, il y a eu le pouvoir des Sebbe était passé mais vous nous avez donné des informations relatives à la période du pouvoir des Sebbe, d'où vous tenez ces informations ?*

Notable: Diin ko he maoube gandu no be histoire o mi naano I piilo raan ko no wona miino diangui wala dii windaano ko maoube ngonon he be piloroono be hetoo. Ko hen kebmii di information dji.

Q: *Lamde de meen dioguino de gassi, ci ahno diogui ko mbeydiraa hen fiila cosaan saare de wala région han, mineen keddima ?*

Notable : Faydaa ko dioguino mii ko gassi ci wona mino weltani ohn noon ngaar be do be. Dabbi gol cosaan doum ko modji, saabouna wodda ko yebbi maa ta doum nafoyade bibbe ma ko boyii. Haye ci naffa ni maa haan nafoyade bibe ma ta nafima. Sabouna neddo i diogui pouddi be diango de e mbodoyi bi, saabouna I woddi be gandara ko mama mouen goro ngandi. Generation ley o hewani gandu do mama dji moun diddi doum no ko waddi doum ko be bourni. Kabire diandde ecole o waddi doum; Dioni tioukalle lebdara wala hetora ka maoube. Miin ko mbi mi tioukalle de kalde e maoube moun be.

Notable : J'ai écouté les anciens qui connaissaient l'histoire la raconter.. Cela ne veut pas dire que j'ai été instruit ou bien que c'est écrit. J'ai écouté les anciens raconter l'histoire. C'est de cette manière que j'ai eu ces informations.

Q : Les questions que nous avons sont finies si vous avez d'autres choses à ajouter sur l'histoire du village, de la région, on n'est à votre écoute.

Notable : Moi aussi ce que j'avais à dire est fini, mis à part que je suis content de votre visite. Parce que faire la recherche de l'histoire est une bonne chose. Du fait, ce n'est pas une chose facile et en plus c'est quelque chose qui peut être utile à nos enfants. Cela peut servir à tes enfants même si tu t'en bénéficies pas. On a des enfants qui ont commencé à apprendre et d'autres qui sont loin. Puisqu'il y a des gens qui ne connaissent pas leurs aïeux, la future génération ne connaîtra qu'un seul de leur grands-parents. Cela est le résultat de l'arrivée de l'école. A présent les enfants ne parlent même pas ou ne les écoutent point. Ce que je recommande aux enfants est d'être à l'écoute des anciens pour savoir qui étaient leurs ancêtres.

25.-Kolda Molo

Date : 03/02/2013

Participants: Koliyel Baldé

Q : *Kolda Molo ko touma sinthia e ko hobbo sinthi dé ?*

Koliyel Balde (KB) : Kolda Molo ko sinthié rékko e handdé fori doubi thiappandé nayyi e doubi diégo. Sinthiou do dé ko Molo Balde wiréno, ko ancien combattant wono

Q : *Ancien combattant honné harré ?*

KB : Ko batté harré Andochine héddé watu De Gaulle

Q : *Molo Balde horro iwri ?*

KB : Ko Diawoubé mbo iwri, mbo yéhi Saré Yoba. Ko mbo iwi tonne ko mbo arri do sinthiou dé.

Q : *Mbo tawouno do yimbé ?*

KB : Hayye goro mbo tawani do

Q : *Molo ko are ta do ko, ko tumbun mbo tawi do wala ko laddé ?*

KB : Ko laddé mbo tawi do, ko tumbun dido mbo hérre, diine kalla wona do wono. Do ko kagn sopi do

Q : *Ko hoddi lédji ngonni do e saaré dé ?*

KB : Ko lédji didi raan ngone do, ko Fulakunda bé e Fulbé Fouta

Q : *Hobbé guiddi do are dé woroubé bé ?*

KB : Ko Fulakunda bé guidi do are dé Fulbé Fouta bé

Q : *Hoddé djétodié ngonni do der saaré do ?*

KB : Diallo, Balde, Diao, Mballo, Gano, Sabaly, Kanté

Q : *Ho saaré de dioguino lawu wayelubé, garankobé wala dialibé ?*

KB : Diamanou saaré dé ko sinyhiéré ko alla no ko wayyi none ko

Q : *Fulbé Fouta bé ko horro guiwi ?*

KB : Ko Guinée bé guiwi to wiré Labé

Q: Quand est-ce que Kolda Molo est-il fondé et par qui ?

Koliyel Balde (KB) : Depuis la fondation du village jusqu'à nos jours, quarante-six ans sont passés. C'est Molo Balde qui en est le fondateur, celui-ci était un ancien combattant.

Q: Il était ancien combattant de quelle guerre ?

KB : C'est lors de la guerre de libération d'Indochine au temps de De Gaulle.

Q: Molo Balde venait d'où ?

KB : Il venait de Diawoubé mais avant de s'établir il était passé à Saré Yoba. Une fois qu'il a quitté là-bas, il est venu fonder ici

Q: A-t-il trouvé quelqu'un sur les lieux ?

KB : Non, il n'a trouvé personne sur place.

Q: C'est de la brousse ou un tumbun que Molo a trouvé sur les lieux ?

KB : C'est de la brousse qu'il trouvé ici; les deux tumbun qui existaient à l'époque n'étaient pas dans les environs. C'est lui qui a défriché le site.

Q: Quelles sont les groups qui vivent actuellement dans le village ?

KB : Il y en a deux: les Fulakunda et les Fulbé Fouta

Q: Qui sont les premiers à arriver sur les lieux ?

KB : C'est les Fulakunda qui sont arrivé avant des Fulbé Fouta

Q: Quels sont les noms de famille qui sont au village ?

KB : Diallo, Balde, Diao, Mballo, Gano, Sabaly, Kanté

Q: Y'avait-il des forgerons, des cordonniers ou des griots dans le village ?

KB : Il n'y a pas eu des forgerons, des cordonniers ou des griots

Q: Les Fulbé Fouta venaient d'où ?

KB : De la Guinée, de la région de Labé

Q : *Ko touma bé ngari do?*

KB : Dioni doum forii doubbi nogace

Q : *Fulbé Fouta ko hono bé diétééré ?*

KB : Mbéda ko Diallo mbéda ko Kanté, ko Kanté dio woni bayelo ô.

Q : *Watu saaré dé ko sinthiéré ko watu lammu canton wala ?*

KB : Ko watu lammu canton saaré dé sinthia

Q : *Mbayri saaré dé ko watu lammu canton dé sinthia ko é hobbo canton dé tawano ?*

KB : Ko toundou wiré nou Bissabor mbo Yéro Moulaye

Q : *Ko horro Yéro Moulaye woneno ?*

KB : Yéro Moulaye ko Kéréwane woneno

Q : *Doum ko héddé horro woniri ?*

KB : Héddé Vélingara

Q : *Ko hodoum woneno gollé saaré dé watu dé sinthia ?*

KB : Ko demale woneno gollé saaré dé, Gaynaka e sarkoyagole

Q : *E dioni ko hodoum woni gollé moudoum ?*

KB : Dioni kalla ko démale e diangougol

Q : *Fi hodoum Molo,soubi do ?*

KB : Ko fi dabéré e ngonna doum anddi ha mbo arri do

Q : *Ko Molo Balde iddi do wone dé jarga, kabire done ko jarga ji niélou jargi do ?*

KB : Haa ko Molo, bidde moun o abbi mbiré do Samba Balde, ontuma Amadou Balde miniraw Samba, nini nini ko kagne woni jarga ô

Q : *Ho Molo i dioguidino e Moussa Molo hadiou ?*

KB : Alla ko bé mbaddi

Q : *Fi hodoum Molo iwi Diawoubé ontuma yéhisaaré Yoba do dé ardé sinthiou dé do ?*

KB : Ko fi dabéré itti mbo toone addi mbo

Q: *Quand est-ce qu'ils sont venus ?*

KB : Il y a de cela vingt ans

Q: *Quel était le nom de famille des Fulbé Fouta ?*

KB : *Les uns se nommaient Diallo et les autres Kanté. C'est Kanté qui était le forgeron*

Q: *C'est durant la période des cantons que le village est-il fondé ?*

KB : Oui, c'est durant la période des cantons que le village a été fondé.

Q: *Puisque le village a été fondé au temps des cantons, de quel canton faisait-il partie?*

KB : C'est dans le terroir de Bissabor de Yéro Moulaye

Q: *Où résidait Yéro Moulaye ?*

KB : Yéro Moulaye vivait à Kéréwane

Q: *Cela se trouve où ?*

KB : Vers Vélingara

Q: *Quelles étaient les activités du village ?*

KB : C'étaient l'agriculture, élevage et chasse

Q: *Et maintenant quelles sont les activités ?*

KB : C'est les mêmes activités qu'auparavant

Q: *Pourquoi Molo a choisi de s'installer ici ?*

KB : C'est à la recherche de richesse et terres.

Q: *Molo Balde est le premier Jarga, après lui il y a eu combien de Jarga qui a suivi ?*

KB : C'est Molo Balde qui est le premier Jarga, après lui, c'est son fils Samba Balde , et après son frère Amadou Balde.

Q: *Molo avait-il aucune relation avec Moussa Molo ?*

KB : Je ne le sais pas.

Q: *Pourquoi Molo est-il parti de Diawoubé en passant par saré Yoba pour finalement s'installer ici ?*

KB : C'est à la recherche de richesses.

Q : *Do é saaré dé sintiéré o, ho ahno wawi meen filanadé fi Alpha Molo ?*

KB : Alla mben mi andda bé

Q : *Ho ahno wawi meen filana dé fi harré hakouddé Sébbé e Fulbé bé ?*

KB : Ohn diamano, pullo sousara no fewu dé e dow mbaldi, hakké ko bé koul no Sébbé ko. Kalla gayyi paydi e Fulbé bé, bé nabba mbaro ya. Ko bé ndido ko bé mbadano

Q : *Watu lammu canton hoddé thiaé bourno do dardia ?*

KB : Ohn diamanou ta thiaé kéwani, Diawoubé, Kabendou, Takoudiala, Thioubouk Kounkane

Q : *Watu lammu Alpha e Moussa Molo, ko hoddé thiaé bourno no do diardia ?*

KB : Doummii rimanta ohn.

Q : *Ah wi do ko Molo are ta ko, ko tumbun didi mbo tawi do, ko hono dii wiré ?*

KB : Ko do baral do dii ngoni : ko tumbun Sambel Hari e odda ko Sambel Sambaya

Q : *Hobé ngono do tumbun Sambel Hari ?*

KB : K o mbiré do Halabarou e Mamadou Coumbel e Méta Koddi

Q : *E tumbun Samba Sambaya lé ?*

KB : Done ko Sambel Sambaya tane ngandou mi do e famille moun ô mbayri ta mbo hébbi nani bibé.

Q : *Di tumbun djie ko touma ngoni tumbun dji ?*

KB : Hé taa mi woda tawano parce que min ko no thioukayel ni ngardoumi do

Q : *Di thiaé ko ngone tumbun djie ko ho taa Molo sinthie saaré dé ?*

KB : Touma di sinthiéré o taa di saaki ma

Q : *Ho dé thiaé ko watu lammu Sébbé, lammu Alpha wala ko lammu Moussa dé ngontii tumbun djie ?*

KB : I wawi wone dé diamanou Moussa Molo

Q : *Ahno anddi fi hodoum addi ha bé guiwi do ?*

KB : Ah ah, mi andda fi hodoum

Q: *Est-ce que vous pouvez nous parler de l'histoire de la région avant la création du village et d'Alpha Molo ?*

KB : Je n'en sais rien.

Q: *Pouvez-vous nous parler de l'opposition entre les Sébbé et les Fulbé ?*

KB : A cette époque, un Peul n'osait pas s'allonger correctement sur le lit de peur que l'exécute. Et tous les beaux béliers et vaches, les Sébbé le pillaient.

Q: *Au temps des cantons, quels étaient les villages les plus importants ?*

KB : A cette époque, il y avait peu de villages : Diaobé, Kabendou, Takoudiala, Thioubouk, Kounkane.

Q: *Et à l'époque d'Alpha et de Moussa, quels en étaient les plus importants ?*

KB : Je ne le sais pas.

Q: *Vous nous avez dit tantôt qu'il y a deux tumbun que Molo aux alentours, comment s'appellent ces derniers ?*

KB : C'est aux alentours du village, l'un s'appelle Sambel Hari et l'autre Sambel Sambaya.

Q: *Qui habitait dans le tumbun de Sambel Hari ?*

KB : Ils s'appelaient Halabarou, Mamadou Coumbel et Méta Koddi

Q: *Et le tumbun de Sambel Sambaya ?*

KB : Là, c'est seulement Sambel Sambaya et sa famille qui y vivaient.

Q: *Ces tumbun on été abandonnées à quelle époque ?*

KB : C'est avant ma naissance parce que j'étais un gamin quand nous sommes arrivés ici.

Q: *Lorsque Molo fondait le village, est-ce que ces tumbun existaient ?*

KB : Lorsque Molo fondait le village, ils étaient déjà abandonnés

Q: *Est-ce que c'est au temps des Sébbé , ou d'Alpha Molo et Moussa Molo que ces villages sont devenus des tumbun ?*

KB : C'est au temps de Moussa Molo.

Q: *Est-ce que vous savez pourquoi ils sont partis ?*

KB : Non, je ne connais pas les raisons.

Q : *Halabarou, Mamadou Coumbel e Méta Koddi ho ko Fulakunda bé ngono ?*

KB : Ha ko Fulakunda bé ngono

Q : *Est-ce que tumbun djie di ko ngaretoon do ko yioro no ?*

KB : Ha doum yioro no

Q : *Doum ko lawu no wala i woddi hadioulon ?*

KB : Doum ko lawou wono, dioni di warkima

Q : *Ko yawri tumbun dji ko, ho tata dji ngala do e toundou du wala baral?*

KB : Do saaré do tata alla no do e toundou hé dé i woddi Kabendou.

Q : *Ho ohne diyani do maddé dji boydi e baral saaré dé ?*

KB : Peldé, kabadjé e tumbun, djoloufoutouré

Q : *Woddi toubacco widou do deffetré e der moun noon mboni halli fi Kolda Molo. Ho Ohne ngandi fi aré ohn toubacco ?*

KB : Woddi toubacco ngare noon do meen koloyi bo kayka

Q : *Ho kagn kayka i dioguino iddé ?*

KB : Ha ko Allan kolon wiréno

Q : *Ho Allan kolon i firti godoum ?*

KB : Haa ko kayka raan. Attention i woddi do kalan guidé, tiangalé ngona hén

Q : *Ho ohn taawani to der guidé to ko wayi ni e pelbé loddé ?*

KB : To guidé ro alla ko meen tawi rone

Q : *Ho ahno wawi beyddi dé godoum e fi thiossane saaré dé o ?*

KB : Ko fi démale, gaynaka, sagniogol, motougol

Q : *Hono dina ka woniri e saaré dé ?*

Q: *Est-ce que Halabarou, Mamadou Coumbel et Méta Koddi étaient-ils des Fulakunda ?*

KB : Ouit, ils étaient des Fulakunda

Q: *Est-ce que au temps de votre arrivée, les ruines de cases étaient-elles visibles ?*

KB : Oui, elles étaient visibles

Q: *Est-ce que les ruines sont toujours là où bien elles sont disparues ?*

KB : Maintenant elles sont disparues

Q: *A part les tumbun, est-ce qu'il y a d'autres choses comme les tatas dans le village ou aux alentours?*

KB : Il n'y a pas des tata aux villages mais il y en a un à Kabendou.

Q: *Est-ce que vous n'avez pas vu des traces anciennes autour du village ?*

KB : Il y a des morceaux de poterie et de la verroterie aux tumbun, dans les djoloufoutouré⁶

Q: *Il y a un blanc qui a écrit un livre et dans le livre il mentionne Kolda Molo. Vous vous rappelez de ce dernier ?*

KB : Il y avait un blanc qui était venu ici et on lui montré une fosse .

Q: *Est-ce que cette avait un nom ?*

KB : Oui, il s'appelait Allan kolon

Q: *Allan kolon veut-il dire quelque chose ?*

KB : C'est une fosse seulement. Attention il y a aussi des grottes de porc-épic près du village.

Q: *Est-ce que vous avez trouvé des restes de canaris ou d'autres choses dans les guidé ?*

KB : Dans les guidé non, on a rien trouvé.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a quelque chose que vous pouvez raconter de plus sur l'histoire du village?*

KB : Les anciens incitaient les gens à travailler la terre, les uns étaient des éleveurs, et les autres des tisserands.

Q: *Et comme se comporte la religion ?*

⁶ Djoloufoutoure : lieu de cache-cache

KB : Dina ka didine do, ko Fulbé Fouta bé gandi do dina ka

Q : *Ho saaré dé di waddi diama ?*

KB : Saaré dé di waddi diama

Q : *Ko touma diama dida ?*

KB : Doum boyi dé parce que doum e yara e doubbi thiappandé taari. Hiro dji, tamadji, déwoulé,e ko wahi noone

Q : *Fi hodoum saaré dé i wihé Kolda Molo ?*

KB : Saaré dé ko temps lammu canton dji sinthia, ko Yéro Moulaye wi dé Kolda Molo

KB : La religion est là et c'est les Peul Fouta qui l'ont amené.

Q: *Est-ce que le village a une mosquée ?*

KB : Il y a une mosquée au village

Q: *Quand est-elle construite ?*

KB : Il y a de cela longtemps parce qu'il y a de cela trente ans. Il y a des veillées, des séances de tamas, entre autres.

Q: *Pourquoi le village s'appelle Kolda Molo ?*

KB : Le village est fondé au temps des cantons et c'est Yéro Moulaye qui lui a donné le nom de Kolda Molo.

26.- Koumamboure

Date: 14/02/2013

Participants : Galle Diallo, Demba Balde (jaarga de Koumamboure), Mamadou Balde (Almamy de Koumamboure), Samba Gano, Thierno Gano, Amadou Oury Balde, Moussa Sakho (Conseiller rural), Gagna Balde, Sinthian Malang, Sadio Balde, Yéro Balde, Mamadou Doro Balde, Moro Sylla Balde.

Q : *Saare de ko touma sincia e ko hobo sinci de ?*

Demba Balde (D.B) : Ko gandoum mi ko, ko miin woni jaarga Koumamboure o kono miino andda touma saare de sincia. Kono noone mi no anddi hono jaarga dji gabodiri to maama am Sara Ada Balde, Bassi Balde, Talla Balde, Chirifou Balde, Boubou Balde e miin Demba Balde.

Q: *Hobo wono Sara Ada Balde?*

Demba Balde (D.B): Sara Ada Balde ko maama kono no one wona kagn since saare de. Ko kagn wono jaarga guiddi o e Koumamboure e gandal am.

Q: *Ko hobo watu Sara Ada Balde wono jaarga? Ho ko watu lamu Sebbe, lamu canton dji, lamu Alpha wala Moussa Molo?*

D.B : Ko watu lamu canton sabou ko kagn e Abdoul Diallo lamonido

Q : *Sara Ada Balde ko horo iwirou no?*

D.B: Ko foudde nagué, to Mali

Q: *Hodoum addi ha mo woni jaarga?*

D.B: I woddi doula dji goddi ko maadde dji neddo o addara ha yimbe saare de thioubo ma mbada jaarga.

Q: *Ho mbonin moussi daan e saare de?*

D.B : Ha, mboni moussi daano. Ko noone wona moussi dedaa raan ngona jaarga. Kono ko he ayagu neddo o wonta.

Q: *Ko hodde djeto dje e ledji goni e der saare de e ko hono di gaardi d?*

D.B: I waddi Sebbe, Fulbe Rimbe, Balanta to be, Fulakunda be, Fulbe Fuuta e Sarankoules be. E gandal am ko Fulakunda be guiddi do arddé abbi hen Sebbe, balanta be, Fulbe Rimbe, Fulbe Fuuta e Sarankoule be.

Q: *Ho ko Sara Ada Balde woni Fulakunda guiddi do won e der saare de?*

Q : *Quand est-ce que le village a été fondé et par qui ?*

Demba Balde (D.B) : Personnellement, je suis le jaarga de Koumamboure mais je ne connais pas la date de fondation du village. Mais je connais l'ordre de succession des jaarga de mon grand-père Sara Ada Balde, Bassi Balde, Talla Balde, Chirifou Balde, Boubou Balde mon grand –frère et moi-même Demba Balde.

Q : *Qui est Sara Ada Balde ?*

D.B : Sara Ada Balde est mon grand-père mais ce n'est pas lui le fondateur du village. Il fut le premier jaarga de Koumamboure à ma connaissance.

Q : *Sara Ada Balde a été jaarga à quelle période ? Durant la période des Sebbe, des cantons, d'Alpha ou de Moussa Molo?*

D.B : C'est durant la période des cantons parce qu'il a dirigé le village au temps d'Abdoul Diallo.

Q : *D'où venait Sara Ada Balde ?*

D.B : Il venait de l'est, dans le Mali.

Q : *Pourquoi il est devenu jaarga ?*

D.B : Dans certains endroits, il y a des caractéristiques qui poussent aux habitants de la localité à t'investir jaarga.

Q : *Avait-il des liens avec l'ancien jaarga ?*

D.B : Oui, ils avaient des liens. Il ne suffit pas d'avoir des liens pour devenir jaarga. Mais c'est aussi aux qualités de la personne.

Q : *Quels sont les noms de familles et les clans qui vivent dans le village et leur ordre d'arrivée ?*

D.B : Il y a des Sebbe, des Fulbe Rimbe, des Balantes, des Fulakunda, des Fulbe Fuuta, des Sarankoules. Je crois c'est les Fulakunda qui sont les premiers venus, suivis par les Sebbes, les Balantes, les Sarakoules, les Fulbe Rimbe, les Fulbe Fuuta et les Sarankoules.

Q : *Sara Ada Balde fut-il le premier Fulakunda à s'installer dans le village ?*

D.B: Ah ah mbo tawi do Fulakunda be. Ko jaarga Fulakunda be ko mayyi ko le mbo lontii ohn.

Q: Ho ohn noon ngandi Fulakunda guiddi dod ardde o?

D.B: Alla mi andda doum mbi wima ko Sebbe guiddi do sinciu de saare de ko doum addi o Koumamboure.

Q: Ohn mbi meen ko Sebbe be ganbi Fulakunda be?

Notable: Ko Sebbe be guiddi do wone de. Ko no one mawbé be biyyo Moussa Mol e Alpha Yaya ko do ley Bani be powirino ko pouussi Kansala ko. Ko Néré kourlou noo saare de.

Q: Ko hobo watu Sarankoulle be gari do?

Notable: Fori doubi thiappande dioyi e doiyi.

Q : E Balanto be be ko touma ben gari ?

Notable : Mbeen nganda ko touma ben gari do ko none be boyi e der saare de

Q : Ho ko ledji ngono do di ngoni do ha dioni wala goddi ngari hen mbeydadi ?

Notable : Alla woddi nga di hen mbeydadi no wayi no Sarankoules be. Mbeda do ngono no

Q : Ohn mbiyyi meen yo Sara Ada Balde ko e watu lamu canton dji ari do, e Koumamboure ko hobbo canton tawano ?

D.B : Koumamboure ko e canton Patim Thibo he tawano

Q : Hono lamdo canton o wireno ?

D.B : Ko Abdoul Diallo mbo wireno

Q : Horo mbo wono ?

D.B : Ko to wire Medina Abdoul to

Q : Hodoum wono golle saare de watu lamu canton dji ?

D.B : Ko demale wono liggue ko liguere no e der saare de ontuma gaynaaka foudda do mboya ni

Q : Ko hodoum wono place Koumamboure o e der canton Patim Thibo ?

D.B : Ko saare maounde e saare mboy de. Thiae maounde de ko Thibo, Koumamboure, Mballo Kunda e Korace

D.B : Il a trouvé des Fulakunda. C'est à la suite de la mort du jaarga qu'il lui a remplacé.

Q : *Est-ce que vous connaissez le premier Fulakunda à s'installer dans le village ?*

D.B : Non, je le connais pas mais je vous ai dit le village a été fondé par les Sebbe.

Q : *Vous nous avez dit que les Sebbe sont les deuxièmes à arriver après les Fulakunda ?*

Notable : Les Sebbe sont les premiers à habiter le village. Mais la tradition dit que Moussa Molo et Alpha Yaya se sont reposés sous le Ven (*Pterocarpus Erinacus*) après avoir détruit Kansala. Et le village était entouré de Néré (*Parkia biglobosa*) et ils entouraient le village.

Q : *Quand est-ce que les Sarakolles sont venus dans le village ?*

Notable : Il y a de cela cinquante cinq ans de nos jours.

Q : *Et les Balantes quand est-ce sont-ils venus ?*

Notable : On ne sait pas leur date d'arrivée mais ils ont duré dans le village.

Q : *Est-ce les mêmes lignages qui vivent dans le village qui étaient là auparavant ou il y a d'autres qui se sont venus ajoutés ?*

Notable : Non, il y a d'autres qui se sont venus tels que les Sarakolles. La reste ont toujours cohabité.

Q : *Vous nous avez dit que Sara Ada Balde est venu ici au temps des cantons, donc Koumamboure faisait parti de quel canton ?*

D.B : Koumamboure faisait parti du canton de Patim Thibo.

Q : *Comment s'appelait le chef de canton ?*

D.B : Il s'appelait Abdoul Diallo.

Q : *Où était-il établi ?*

D.B : Il s'était établi à Madina Abdoul

Q : *Quelles sont les activités que vous pratiquaient durant la période des cantons ?*

D.B : La principale activité était l'agriculture et la pratique de l'élevage n'est que récente.

Q : *Quelle était la place de Koumamboure dans le canton de Patim Thibo ?*

D.B : C'était un ancien et grand village. Les grands villages étaient Thibo, Koumamboure, Mballo Kunda et Korace.

Q : *Ho Koumamboure i diogui no marche wala loumo ?*

D.B : Hou mi sii ka ni doum ko no noone be mbino tata wodeno Koumamboure de

Q : *Doum ko hobbo watu tata woni do ?*

D.B : Ko watu lamu Sebbe e bire do Mama Dianke soubi no goddo ara wonana diodano bo

Q : *Ko hodoum wono importance Koumamboure watu lamu Alpha e Moussa Mologu ?*

D.B : Meen naani ho Moussa Molo e Alpha Yaya be dewi do ha be powrini do

Q : *Ho oh noon gandi watu dji dielu Alpha Yaya e Moussa Molo goni e der saare de ?*

D.B : Alla meen ganda doum

Q : *Watu Dianke Waly o, ohn mbiyyi meen yo goddo diodani mbo do, ho ohn noone gandi indde moun de ?*

D.B : Alla meen ganda indde moun de

Q : *Ho ohn noone gandi ho wobbe ngoni do do he Sebbe be ngare de do ?*

D.B : Alla ko Sebbe be guiddi do ardde abbi hen Fulbe Rimbe be ko noone saare de me da wone de tumbun de

Q : *Ho mbo indiri saare de?*

D.B : Ko Sebbe be guiddiri saare de Koumamboure

Q : *Ho Koumamboure i fiirti godoum?*

D.B : Ko yimbe dido Coumba e Boure kotiu no saare, goro kalan falla inddiri de hore moun saare de. Ko noone be kal di ha be kawri, be kawri niri indde mouhen de ko ni addi ha saare de wiyye Coumamboure.

Q : *Ko hobbe sinci saare de ?*

D.B : Ko Sebbe be sinci saare de

Q : *Ho ohn noon gandi hono Coumba e Boure djetoreno ?*

D.B : Alla meen ganda doum

Q: *Anddi ah halle ni meen fi hare Kansala de ho Moussa Molo et Alpha Yaya be ndewi do, doon ko hakunde Fulbe e Sebbe?*

Q : *Koumamboure avait-il un marché comme les louma ?*

D.B : Non, je ne crois pas mais ils disaient qu'il y avait un tata ici à Koumamboure.

Q : *A quelle époque le tata était-il ici ?*

D.B : C'est durant la période des Sebbe et Mama Dianke qui avait délégué quelqu'un pour qu'il administre le terroir.

Q : *Quelle était l'importance de Koumamboure durant la période d'Alpha et de Moussa Molo ?*

D.B : Nous avons écho seulement du passage de Moussa Molo et d'Alpha Yaya.

Q : *Est-ce que vous savez combien de temps Alpha Yaya et Moussa sont restés dans le village?*

D.B : Non je ne connais pas.

Q : *Au temps de Dianke Waly, vous avez dit qu'il avait délégué quelqu'un pour lui représentait ici, est-ce que vous connaissez son nom ?*

D.B : Non je ne connais pas son nom.

Q : *Est-ce que vous savez s'il y avait d'autres qui habités ici avant l'arrivée des Sebbe ?*

D.B : C'est les Sebbe qui sont les premiers à arriver ensuite les Fulbe Rimbe les ont suivi mais le village n'a jamais été un tumbun

Q : *Qu'est-ce qui a donné le nom au village ?*

D.B : C'est les Sebbe qui ont baptisé le village Koumamboure

Q : *Est-ce que Koumamboure veut dire quelque chose ?*

Notable : C'est deux personnes Coumba et Boure qui ont trouvé le site et chacun d'eux a voulu donner son nom au village. Ils ont parvenu à une entente de fusionner leur nom. Ce qui a donné Coumamboure

Q : *Etaient-ils des Sebbe ?*

D.B : Oui, c'était des Sebbe.

Q : *Est-ce que vous savez leurs noms de famille Coumba et Boure ?*

D.B : Non, on ne connaît pas leurs noms de famille

Q : *Vous nous avez parlé de la guerre de Kansala et le passage d'Alpha Yaya et de Moussa Molo, c'était entre les Fulbe et les Sebbe ?*

D.B : Ko be mbira ko, ko Moussa Molo e Alpha Yaya kaledi fi be diaha be pouso ya Kansala. Ko be poussi Kansala ko, be pecci leydi Sebbe di. Moussa Molo lami ha koudde Koli e Gambie. Ko hédi ko Alpha Yaya mbani doum ko doum woni leydi la Guinée di. Moussa ko hotta Firdu rewddi do e Alpha Yaya e der saare do.

Q : *Ko touna diina islam ka arii e der saare de ?*

D.B : Ko Fulbe Fuuta be ganddi do diina ka. Ko Thierno Sarifou wono do imam o ko noone mboni niin Dabo dioni.

Q : *Ko hobbo watu doum waddi, ho ko watu lamu canton, lamu Sebbe wala ko watu lamu Moussa Molo ?*

D.B : Ko watu lamu canton dji doum waddi.

Q : *Ko watu Thierno Sarifou artaa ko, ko hobbo wono jaarga saare de o ?*

D.B : Ko Sara Ada wono jaarga saare de o

Q : *Horo Thierno Sarifou iwrii?*

D.B : Ko La Guinée ro mbo iwrii

Q : *Ho ohn noon gandi ho de saare mbo iwri la Guinée ?*

D.B : Alla mbin horo am mi andda kono si ohn lamdi ma famille moun han to Dabo be mawade ohn diabade

Q : *Fii hodoum addi do Thierno Sarifou ?*

D.B : Ko Allah hodiri mbo yotodo

Q : *Ko dioulire dielou gone e der saare de ?*

D.B : Ko diouliri de wotero wone do e der saare de

Q : *Ko touna de sincia ?*

Moussa Sakho (M.S): Forii dioni doubbi thianppande dioyyi e go

Q : *Ho ko de iddi e der saare de ?*

D.B : E gangal ameen ko de iddi sabou na lawu ko doyde kourle no fi do dioule. Lawu diarteno daam boure noon.

Q : *Mbayri ah hal nii meen ko néré de kourlou no saare de, ho hadji lone ko noon wayyi ?*

D.B : Alla néré piwu mayyi. Woddi tiopa di e baral gal

D.B : Selon la tradition, ils disent que Moussa Molo et Alpha Yaya se sont coalisés pour détruire Kansala. Une fois Kansala détruit, ils se sont partagé le pays des Sebbe. Le territoire de Moussa Molo s'étendait de Koli en Gambie et le reste était entre les mains d'Alpha Yaya de la Guinée. En rentrant au Firdou Moussa et lui ont passé par le village.

Q : *Quand est-ce que l'islam est arrivé au village ?*

D.B : C'est les Fulbe Fuuta qui ont amené l'islam dans le village. C'est Thierno Sarifou qui était l'imam maintenant il a déménagé à Dabo.

Q : *Cela s'est passé durant la période des cantons, des Sebbe ou durant la période du Fula ?*

D.B : Non, c'est durant la période des cantons que cela s'est passé.

Q : *Quand Thierno Sarifou arrivait dans le village qui était le jaarga ?*

D.B : C'est durant le magistère de Sara Ada

Q : *D'où vient Thierno Sarifou ?*

D.B : Il vient de la Guinée

Q : *Est-ce que vous connaissez son village d'origine en Guinée ?*

D.B : Non personnellement je ne connais pas mais si vous à la famille de Thierno Sarifou de Dabo, ils pourront vous répondre.

Q : *Pourquoi Thierno Sarifou est venu ici ?*

D.B : C'est la volonté de Dieu qui lui a conduit ici

Q : *Il y a combien de mosquées dans le village ?*

D.B : Il y a qu'une seule mosquée dans le village

Q : *Quand est-elle construite ?*

Moussa Sakho (M.S) : Il y a de cela cinquante une années

Q : *Est-elle la première mosquée du village ?*

D.B : A notre connaissance, c'est la première puisqu'auparavant s'était des piquets qu'on encerclait à un lieu pour prier. Et aussi, à cette période, la religion n'était pas aussi ancrée chez la population. Il y avait plus de buveur de vin de palme que croyants.

Q : *Vous nous avez dit que le village était entouré par les néré, est-ce le cas toujours ?*

D.B : Non, les néré sont morts. Il y a d'autres qui étaient abattus aux alentours.

Q : *Ho waylu be, wala diali be, wala garankobe iniin e der saare do wala goni no do ?*

D.B : Tafo be ko dewano do raan ko noon be meeda do wone de. Diali be diniin do ko no noon garanko be ngala do.

Q : *Hono diali ngone do o yetere ?*

D.B : Ko Mballo, ko Moussa wire

M.S : Waylu be garano be do be o da ko Moussa Kondjira wireno o da ko Mane yeter no.

Q : *Ho Sebbe ngone no be do be ngono do ha dioni wala ko be ndiah be ngartii ?*

D.B: Ko Sebbe sinci saare de. Ko haare Kansala de waddi ko le be dogui. Be ngone be do be ko ngare be.

Notable: Ko Fulbe sinciu be Mballo kunda, Koumamboure e Thibo ko Maasinankobe. Ko taro be poneno. Odda sinci Mballo kunda, odda sinci Koumamboure e mbarini do sinci Thibo. Coumba e Boure ko indde Fulbe. Ko raanaba ngono, ko kaheen kotie saare de e be mbiyyo be mbawade hebde ko be dabara ko e de doulare. Ko addi haa be pecco diri goro yoo sincia noyyi hore moun e de tiaa taari. Ko no noon guiddi be do wone de be ko Fulbe maa si Sebbe be goni do e Koumamboure. Ko addi doum ko haredji haku de Fulbe e Sebbe be. Ontuma kaala mawoudo godo yo diodo e saare de.

Fi aree tata Dianke Waly o, Kélégana mbo mbo waddeno do o ko Koring Mane wireno. Tata o le ko fodde kilomètre wonii e haku de saare de. Lawu meen tawano heen pelbe lodde.

Lawu diamanou gandde wono. Ko fi gandal addano haa goddo sincia saare. Wala si goddo faala maa wawude mbo habano o ko fiila gandal addano haa diomoun wawa doum wadde. Kaala noon ko raana be sincian no thiaa de.

Waylube gone taa do saabuna wona saare mouwen, saabouna si ko saare Sebbe yo I diogui bayelo. Do noon wonaa wonire de mouyen ko doum addi haa be ngone taa do.

Q: *Be Sebbe be ngone be do hooro be guiwri?*

D.B: Ko Guinée Bissau be guiwri

Q: *Fi hodoum addi ha Coumba e Boure quiwi Maasina ben gari gaa ?*

Notable : Ko raana be dabanobe saare do ngonii

Q: *Fi aree doula dji boyddi, ko wahini tumbun dji, doula boyddi ohn noon mawi meen heen haalan de godoum?*

Q : Est-ce qu'il y a des griots, des forgerons ou des cordonniers dans le village où il y avait auparavant?

D.B : Les forgerons n'étaient que de passage mais ils ne sont jamais établis dans le village. Il y a des griots mais il n'y a pas de cordonniers.

Q : Quel est le nom de famille des griots ?

D.B : Mballo, et son nom est Moussa.

M.S : Les forgerons qui étaient de passage s'appelaient Moussa Kondjira et l'autre Mane

Q : Est-ce que les Sebbe qui sont dans le village, étaient là depuis la période des Sebbe ou bien ils sont partis et sont revenus ?

D.B : Les Sebbes ont fondés le village. C'est à la suite de la bataille de Kansala que les Sebbe qui étaient là sont partis. Mais les Sebbe qui sont là sont venus à la suite.

Notable : Les Fulbe qui ont fondé Mballo Kunda, Koumamboure et Thibo sont originaires du Maasina. Ils étaient trois : l'un a fondé Mballo Kunda, l'autre a créé Koumamboure et le dernier a fondé Thibo. Coumba et Boure sont des noms Fulbe. Ils étaient des chasseurs et ils ont trouvé le site. Ils se sont dit qu'ils pouvaient avoir ce qu'ils cherchaient sur ce lieu. C'est de cette façon qu'ils se sont dispersés en créant les trois villages précités. Or, les premiers occupants du site étaient des Fulbe quoique les Sebbes ont habité Koumamboure. Cela pourrait être lié aux différentes guerres entre les Fulbe et les Sebbes. Et que les périodes d'occupations soient alternatives des deux groupes. A propos du tata de Dianke Waly, le kelegana qu'il avait laissé ici, s'appelait Koring Mane. Et le tata se trouvait à l'extérieur du village à un kilomètre et d'antan, on trouvait des restes de canaris en surface.

Pour combattre un ennemi, il fallait trouver plusieurs stratégies pour vaincre son adversaire. A cette époque, la magie était vraiment redoutable et les gens fondaient leur village à travers les révélations mystiques et sorcières. Dans la plupart des cas, c'est les chasseurs qui en étaient les auteurs. Les forgerons ne s'installent jamais dans le village parce que ce n'est pas leur lieu de résidence. Dans la plupart des villages Sebbes, il y a des forgerons. Ce village n'est le leur raison pour laquelle ils n'y demeurent pas.

Q : Les Sebbe qui sont actuellement dans le village sont originaires de quelle localité ?

D.B : Ils sont originaires de la Guinée Bissau

Q : Pourquoi Coumba et Boure ont quitté le Maasina pour s'installer ici ?

Notable : Ils étaient des chasseurs à la recherche d'un site pour s'installer.

Q : A propos de sites anciens vous nous avez parlé du tata de Koring Mane, est-ce qu'il y a d'autres sites anciens ?

Notable: Tumbun Sinthian Souley o diinin do. Souley Poullo wono iwi Koumamaboure sinccoyi.

Q: *Ko hobo watu Souley iwi Koumamaboure?*

Notable: Ko watu Baba Moulaye bo iwi do

Q: *Ko hobbo watu Sinthian Souley woniitumbun?*

Notable: Doum foori dioni doubbi thiappande diego e diohi

Q : *Fi hodoum addi haa be dieyyi e horo be dieyyi ?*

D.B: Ohn watu si mayele kewi no e der saare yimbe mouhen be guegaa ndiaha doula goddo. Doum ko waddi ko haa paari gobbe e mou heen dieyyi sinciro yi, Sinthian Pathé e Samba Coumba. Tumbun Sinthian Souley e mbo Sinthian Koumamaboure.

Q: *Ho ohn noon ngandi tata dji goddi wala tumbun dji wala madde dji mboyddi e baral saare de wala e tuundu nu?*

D.B: Tumbun saare Hogo takko thiagol do

Q: *Hodoum wonii hakune de saare Hogo e ndeeda saare Hogo?*

Notable: Alla ko heddi hakune mouhen e lingueyi ki do Moussa Molo e Alpha Yaya do powiri no do. Ko kinn lekki wonii dioni banta saare de.

Q: *Eh ohn ndihani madde dji goddi?*

Notable: Mino siwrora mii mee di yidde kadje do kourrala to ladder o. Kono noon mi yeddiri to mii yino doum to. Ko noon gobbe I mbiyya ko kouddeni dji mbadi doum.

Q: *Ko touma tumbun saare Hogo o iwaa?*

Notables: *Mboyya yi ni ko de iwaa*

Q : *Hobbe ngono saare Hogo ?*

Notable: Ko Fulbe rimbe

Q: *Fii hodoum addi haa be guiwi tone?*

Notable: Ko mayele kewu de addi ha be guiwi toon

Q: *Horre be ndiehi?*

Notable: Gobbe e mouhen mayyi be daa diehi to Mamboua ro

Notable : Il y a le tumbun de Sinthian Souley, qui était un Peul qui a quitté Koumamboure

Q : *Quand est-ce que Souley a quitté Koumamboure ?*

Notables : Il a quitté Koumamboure au temps de Baba Moulaye

Q : *Quand est-ce que Sinthian Souley est devenu tumbun ?*

Notables: Il y a environ soixante cinq ans.

Q : *Pourquoi ils ont quitté et où est-ce qu'ils sont allés ?*

D.B : C'est à la suite de plusieurs décès qu'a connu le village qu'ils sont partis. C'était quelque chose de courante à cette époque. Après cela, ils sont partis refondés d'autres villages tels que Sinthian Pathé et celui Samba Coumba. Il y a aussi le tumbun de Sinthian Souley, et le village de Sinthian Koumamboure.

Q : *Est-ce que vous connaissez les tatas, les tumbun et les traces anciens qui sont aux alentours du village ou dans la région ?*

D.B : Il y a le tumbun de Saare Hogo près de la rivière,

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a une connexion entre le tumbun de saare Hogo et l'autre saare Hogo ?*

Notable : Il n'y a aucun lien entre ces deux localités. Et aussi il y a l'arbre où Moussa Molo et Alpha Yaya s'étaient reposés. Et cet arbre fait office de grande place du village.

Q : *Est-ce que vous ne vous rappelez pas d'autres choses comme des anciennes traces ?*

Notable : Je me rappelle d'avoir rencontré un cercle pierrier en brousse mais je me rappelle plus du lieu. Il y a des gens qui disent que c'est l'œuvre des djinns.

Q : *Quand est-ce que le tumbun de Saare Hogo est-il abandonné ?*

Notable: Il a été abandonné tout récemment

Q : *Qu'est-ce qui habitait à Saare Hogo ?*

Notable : C'était des Fulbe rimbe

Q : *Pourquoi ils ont quitté ?*

Notable : C'est à cause des décès répétitifs qu'ils ont quitté le village.

Q : *Où sont-ils partis ?*

Notable: Certains d'entre eux sont morts et les autres sont partis dans le Mamboua.

Q: *Mamboua ko hodoum fiirti?*

Notable: Ko tuundu comme Patim, Thibo,

Q: *Horo Mamboua hetii?*

Notable: heri Linkerinto ko heddi ko piwu ko he Mamboua he tawa ha Kolda. Ko Linkerinto Baba Moulaye e Tobo kerno. Mamboua ko canton wono, Korace, Bissabor, Niampayo, Pathiana, Kamako, Patim Thibo.

Q: *Ohn kaali no fii tata Koring Mane, tumbun dji Sinthian Souley e bo saare Hogo o e fii kadie de, ho alla godoum ko wahi no madde dji, e dow kadie de wala ko hawnini?*

Notable: I woddi do guidde do thiangale naatara, I woddi weddu kadial e guidde waruwal kalan e gaydde noddi.

Q: *Ho di doula dji I kodano wala I diogui taarika?*

Notable: gal lamdal diabama to dow

Q: *Si ohn noon diogui ko leboon ko diogui maana fi arre thiossane saare de, ko o waatu mawroon doum hae de ha meen mawa doum windu de. Mbari meen bihi ohn yo meen gada ohn kayddi ko lebodon do ko*

Notable: Mi neen sipiro ko adda amen, kaddu le e diambadong. Demaal e feefe doum dioni e maddia. Do ko saare raanabe. Saare de I diogui duddal, e diokke. Ko meen gartaa do ko ko galle goro wono do e der saare de.

Q: *C'est quoi Mamboua ?*

Notable: C'est un terroir comme Patim, Thibo.

Q: *Où se situe le Mamboua ?*

Notable : Au-delà de Linkerinto, le reste se trouve dans le Mamboua et aussi Kolda en fait parti. C'est à Linkerinto qu'était la limite entre le canton de Baba Moulaye et celui de Tobo. Mamboua s'était un canton, Korace aussi, Bissabor, Niampayo, Pathiana, Kamako, Patim Thibo.

Q: *En plus du tata de Koring Mane, des tumbun de Sinthian Souley et de saare Hogo et le cercle pierrier, il y a-t-il d'autres traces anciennes, des marques sur des pierres ou des choses bizarres que vous avez vu ?*

Notable : Il y a des guidde, c'est le lieu de refuge des porcs-épics, des sangliers, etc. Il y a les guidde comme weddu kadijal, guidde waruwal. Il y a des fosses d'hippopotames

Q: *Qu'est-ce que vous avez trouvé sur ces lieux ? Est-ce qu'il y a des gens qui vivaient là, des histoires?*

Q: *Si vous avez des choses importantes à dire sur l'histoire du village c'est le moment de le dire puisque nous vous ramener une copie de ce que vous venez de dire ?*

Notable: Nous connaissons la lutte qui est notre tradition, l'initiation suivie de la danse des feuilles. La culture avec la daaba qui tend à disparaître. C'est un village de chasseurs par excellence. Il y a une école coranique dans le village. Il y a aussi là où toute la famille se réunit pour prendre le repas familial. A notre arrivée, il y avait qu'une seule concession dans le village.

27.- Korop

Date : 06/02/2013

Participants: Daouda Balde, Al hadji Alpha Balde, Aliou Balde, Cheikh Moussa, Bokar Balde

Q: *Saaré dé ko touma sinthia?*

Daouda Balde (DB) : Saaré dé ko sinthia ko, foro héddé doubi téméde nayii é doubi thiapandé nayi é diédidi.

Q : *Hobbo sinthi saaré dé ?*

DB : Mbén nganda sinthiu do saaré dé ô.

Q : *Hobbo diamano dé saaré dé sinthia ?*

DB : Mine mi wawra doum filaadé. Mawbé bé ko mbiwoko saaré dé ko sinthia ko forri doubi téméde nayii e thiapandé nayii. Parce que Bakari Demba woni noo do, Fanta Sadiel woni do, waatu Moussa Molo, ô waatu ko mawbé manno do tata dji.

Q : *Waatu Moussa Molo ô ko lamoroo ko ho taa saaré dé sinthiano maa ?*

DB: Taa saaré dé sinthiano maa boy ii

Al hadji Alpha Balde (HAB): Taa ko Sébbé lamiino

DB : Ko héddé doubii témédéré é thiampan dé diédidi guiila dé sinthia

Q : *ô hobbé ngone noo é saaré dé ?*

HAB: Bainounko bé ngono do

DB: Ko kayéne ngono no do

Q: *Ö no one ngandii sinthiu no bé do bé no bé mbiréno?*

DB: Sinthiu no bé saaré dé mbén nganda doum men

HAB: Ko mawbé amène bé ngan dou nonn doum

DB: Haye béne nganda doum

HAB : Ko mawbé amène bé ko halanii amène ko, ko doum mbén kalant taa o ne

Q : *Ö nanii mawbé i mbi ya too bé Bainouko bé guiwrii ?*

DB : Mbé mbi yi ko héddé Soumacounda mbé guiwri bé ngari do

Q : Quand est-ce que le village est fondé ?

Daouda Balde (DB) : Il y a de cela 447 ans.

Q : Qui est le fondateur du village ?

DB : On ne le sait pas.

Q : A quelle époque est-il fondé ?

DB : Ce sont nos grands-parents qui peuvent le dire. Selon leur dire, le village a 404 ans. Parce que Bakari Demba a vécu ici, Fanta Sadiel et aussi Moussa Molo. Ils ont construit des tatas.

Q : Est-ce que au moment où Moussa Molo était au pouvoir, le village existait ?

DB : Le village existait déjà.

Al Hadji Alpha Balde (HAB) : C'est à l'époque des Sébbé

DB : C'est vers 470 ans depuis que le village est créé.

Q : Qui sont les premiers occupants du village ?

HAB : Les Bainouks ont été les premiers.

DB : Ce sont eux les occupants.

Q : Est-ce que vous savez le nom du fondateur du village ?

DB : On ne le connaît pas vraiment.

Al hadji Alpha : Ce sont nos ancêtres qui le savent.

DB : Même eux ne le savaient pas.

HAB : Ce que nos parents nous ont raconté, c'est ce que nous pouvons vous raconter.

Q : Vous ont-ils dit d'où venez ces Bainounks ?

DB : Ils ont dit que c'est vers Soumacounda qu'ils sont originaires.

Q : *Héddé Soumacounda ?*

DB : Ko noon bé ngarii di do, ko mbén naani mawbé i mbi. Ko raddo bé ngar noo do, mbén ngone dou noo é dawadii. Dawadii kalli fii saaré dé. Dii mbi. Yoo do ko saaré wonii do é ko saaré mawdé wone dé ha jourii. Ohn danena taa i naana ko koullé dé kal taa. Ko no one bé ngardii do.

Q : *Ohn danena ohn nganda hono mbo wire no?*

DB: Non mbén nganda hono bo wiréno. Ko nii taan naaniri mii bé piloranii

Q : *Mbén naani waatu Bainoukobé lamiino ko. Mbé ngala no lambé worbé, ko lambé réwbo mbé dioguino. Ho ohn ngandi hénne ngoudoum ko wayii noone ?*

DB : Mine dé mii waawra mba héné hallan dé godoum.

Q : *Waatu Bainoukobé diodji do ko kallaa a waawra héne filla dé godoum ?*

DB : alla mii waawra.

Q : *Bé Bainoukobé ko touma mbé guiwi do e fii hodoum addii doum ?*

HAB : Ko addi mbé guiwi do, taa houné dé fof i dioguii date, mbé kabbi é Sébbé bé, ko ontuma Sebbé bé, ko ontuma bé lontii ko doum addi Sebbé bé lontii ko doum addi Sebbé ndié yii. Ontuma lamu Sebbé bé arii, ontuma lamii.

Q : *Ho ohn ngandii inddé Sebbé, guidino bé do ardé bé e yéttodié mouhéne dé ?*

HAB: Sebbé guidino bé do ardé. Bé mbénen nganda no bé yéttéréno. Ko pilla naané daa ko, ko doum mawra filla dé

Q : *Ohn naani kalkan bé mbiha horo bé guiwrinino ?*

HAB: Sebbé bé ! mbé kalkan mbén naani mbé di kalla to bé guiwri mbé ngarri do. Ö waatu ko haaré dji. Ontuma ko bourdo doolé yo lamtono. Ko chef dji canton dji campténo. Sii mii wawi mba ko miin diotono, ahn dayaa, dogga, yimbé mba bé ko ni thiakodira, bé ndiarra senggo.

Q : *Waatu lamu Sebbé, ho Korop i dioguxwino importance é toundou dou ?*

HAB : Ko ohn waatu bé dioguino importance. Saabu ontuma Korop i woddu no ko diida ngalla noo. Houné kalla ko waaté no é leydi di, ko do hawrir té no.

Q: *Waatu lamu Sebbé ô, ho ohn ngandou no hono lambdo ô wiréno?*

HAB: Lambdo Sebbé ô mii anado no mbowiréno.

Q : Vers Soumacounda ?

DB : C'est ainsi qu'ils sont venus là. Ce que les vieux nous ont conté. Ils étaient venus pour faire la chasse. C'est ainsi que les chiens qu'ils avaient avec eux, ont fait des révélations concernant le village. Dans leurs révélations, les chiens ont dit que ce site était un bon emplacement pour un grand village et qui durera longtemps. Le propriétaire des chiens faisait semblant de dormir, et les chiens ont cru qu'il dormait profondément.

Q : Est-ce que vous connaissiez le nom du chasseur ?

DB : On ne le connaît pas vraiment.

DB : Non, on ne connaît pas. C'est ainsi que nous avons entendu parler.

Q : On a entendu parler lorsque les Bainouks étaient au pouvoir, ils avaient des reines et non des rois. Vous avez entendu parler de ça ?

DB : Moi je ne peux rien dire sur cette question.

Q : Est-ce que vous pouvez nous parler des Bainouks, lorsqu'ils étaient là ?

DB : Non, je ne peux pas le dire.

Q : Pourquoi les Bainouks sont partis et quelle est la cause ?

HAB : Parce que toute chose à une fin. Ils se sont battus avec les Sébbé et que ces derniers les ont vaincus. Et les Sébbé ont régné.

Q : Est-ce que vous connaissez qui sont les premiers Sebbe qui sont venus ici et leur noms de famille ?

HAB : Les premiers Sebbe, nous les connaissons pas et leurs noms de famille. On nous raconté c'est pour cela que nous ne pouvons rien dire.

Q : Connaissez-vous les noms des premiers Sébbé qui se sont installés dans le village ?

HAB :: Les Sébbé ! J'en ai entendu parler de leur origine. C'était le temps des guerres et les plus forts régnaient. Ce sont les chefs de cantons qui se battaient. Le vainqueur chassait les vaincus. C'est de cette façon que les gens se sont dispersés. Les uns sont partis d'un côté et les autres de l'autre.

Q : Korop joué-t-il un rôle important durant la période des Sébbé ?

HAB : C'est à cette époque, qu'il avait une importance. Parce que Korop avait quelque chose que les autres n'avaient pas. Toutes les choses se passaient à Korop.

Q : Durant le règne des Sébbé, est-ce que vous saviez le nom du roi ?

HAB : Je ne connais pas le nom du roi Sebbe.

Q: Leydi ni mbo lamiini hono dii wiréno?

HAB : Mamacounda.

Q : Mbén ndié yii do saaré wiré né Mamacounda héddé saaré Pathé Bouya, ho nén saaré i woddi ko héridoum é ô Mamacounda mbo kalla do ô.

HAB : Mamacounda ko toundou, Koraacé di woddi, Mamacounda di woddi, Parin héddé Dabo.

Q: Ho tata wone do waatu lamu Sebbé ?

DB: Ko Sebbé bé mbahi do tata. Ontuma Bakari Demba éne kallaan daar nii tata ko ohn warinii.

Q: Ko hobo waatu Sebbé bé guiwri do é fii hoddoum?

DB: Waatu Sebbé bé guiwi do, doum haye goro waawra doum éboudé. Kono mba ndé dji, ko héne ndiaren pour mbawon dou addoudé. Rowandéya, goddo arno dodo, mbokki didido, mbo yéyi toon, mboyo ko ki khalla nii mbo ko, ki hoddi do e yimbé ko forii témédé thiapandé naayi e godoum.

Mii wiyo hobbo halla ni maa doum, mboyo. Ko mboki ki halla nii mbo. Ki wi yo mbo guila ki darii do taa saaré dé sinthia ka.

Mboyo ki wi yoo kalla sinthiu do ko do ki tawii doum.

Q: Sebbé bé ko hodoum I tii bé do?

DB: Mii waawra maa doum done hallandé.

Aliou Baldé (AB): Mbinen kalla ko mène pillal taano mbén ko doum baba dji mou hén di pillal taano mbé nii, ohn waatu taa bèn maw naani, e kallaan janga no ka. Ko fila, ah wawra doum piwu siwore dé. Kalla ko mbén nganda mbé mbiya de ohn mbé nganda. Saabu baba dji amène dii mbiyo, kabire saaré dé sinthia ko lawol gorol dé wonii tumbun, léweru wotouru saaré dé tumbun ni guila dé sinthia.

DB : Ontuma lawno, ah yiyano méllé-méllé, tumbun nga dji tumbun nga dji. Rowaani godo oubiri do felgo do ngol lawol taa diyaam daam i tooba, taa ngol héwi no kadié, ko Mamadou Thiandoum mbo nabiri diim noone.

Q : Ko hobbo waatu dé tumbun nii ?

DB : Waatu mama dji amène ko bé dayyi taan, kambé mbé guimbi Maréwé bé ngaari dii do.

AB : Doum ko waatu baba dji amène di doum waddi. Bé daa ko guimbi doo ndiéyi, kayéne kallaan guimbi Maréwé, bé ngaari do. Dén hakou dé yonani léwrou.

HAB : Doum ko temps lamu Mamadou Balédio.

Q : Fii hodoum mama dji mbon di sotti ?

Q : Comment s'appelait le nom du territoire qu'il gouvernait ?

HAB : Mamacounda.

Q : On est parti dans un village qui s'appelle Mamacounda près de Saré Pathé Bouya. Est-ce que ce village à un lien avec celui dont vous venez de nous parler ?

HAB : Mamacounda est un terroir, Koracé en est un aussi et Patim vers Dabo.

Q : Est-ce qu'il y avait un tata ici au temps des Sébbé ?

DB : Ce sont les Sébbé qui ont construit le tata. Bakari Demba était là et lui a eu un tata aussi.

Q : Pourquoi les Sébbé sont partis et quelle en est la raison ?

DB : Le temps du départ des Sébbé de Korop personne ne peut le calculer. Mais ils on laissé des traces que nous pouvons vous montrer. L'année dernière, il y a eu un homme qui était de passage. Il y a un grand baobab. Le baobab lui a parlé. Il lui a dit que son cohabitation avec les personnes dure plus de 400 ans. Je lui ai demandé d'où il tirait cette information et il m'a dit que c'était le baobab qui lui avait dit. L'arbre lui a aussi dit qu'il était là avant la création du village. Toutes les populations qui se sont succédés l'ont trouvé sur place.

Q : Qu'elle est la raison du départ des Sébbé du village ?

DB : Je ne peux te le dire

Aliou Balde (AB): Tout ce qu'on te raconte là, on le tient de nos aïeux. A cette époque les vieux n'étaient pas instruits, et la mémoire ne pouvait pas le retenir intégralement. Parce que nos parents nous ont dit que depuis que le village est fondé, c'est une seule année qu'il a été abandonné en moins d'un mois.

DB : On pouvait voir les ruines de cases, les *tumbun*. L'année dernière, quelqu'un a trouvé un canari entier sur la route à la saison des pluies. Il était rempli de pierres. Ce dernier s'appelait Mamadou Thiandoum.

Q : Le village est abandonné à quelle époque ?

DB : Quand nos grands-parents sont partis. Après les autres ont quitté Maréwé pour venir s'installer sur place.

AB : Ça c'est passé au temps de nos parents. C'est à la suite du déplacement des occupants que nos parents ont quitté Maréwé. Entre ces deux évènements, il y a eu moins d'un mois.

HAB : C'est au temps de Mamadou Balédio.

Q : Pourquoi vos grands-parents se sont déplacés ?

DB: Anndou dou kaye wonate, haa godu sotti taan, godu araa sinthi ra. Kono do dou toundou do piwu mbo baba moun alla do, do haa Gambie, ko do dé saaré do woni. Do haa toniin Bansan, bé kéwani. Hii dé ko lamu Canton doum, ko wire service ko riwi bé do, doum ko Mamadou Balédio ohn, waatu lawol gol féwno ré ko. Godu bido moun nangué rouminé yé service. Ko doum riwi do yimbé bé. Yimbé héwoubé dogui, jipporo yi Gambie. Ko doum itii do yimbé héwoubé naabi bé.

Q: Mama dji moone dii ko done taawano?

DB: Bén wona do doum itii bé do. Ko mbé guimbini do ran bé dayi.

Q: Ko bé guimbi taan bé palla sotte tou dé taan bé sotti?

HAB: Mama dji amène di ko itii bé do, ko kambé ko kayén e lambdo debbo ngondou no Fanta Sadiel.

Q: Doum ko hobo waatu waadi?

HAB: Ko Sebbé bé guimbi ko, ontuma Bakari Demba éne lontii, doum Moussa Molo lontii. Ko Moussa Molo wawi leydi ni piwu ko, ontuma Moussa Molo diode Hamdallaye. Babirawo moun ô Bakari Demba arii dioda do. Bé ngonni do haaa mawdo nayewi. Ontuma noon Moussa lamu moun doum satti. Ontuma Moussa baye rii toubacco bé palla maa ar. Bé nabi doum. Mbo hallanano maa cii toubacco bé ngarii haan wora mbo habbe é mou yéne kagn Moussa. Ko bé ngoka bé.

Ontuma Moussa ahn dii doum wiyo Bismillah. Baabi rawo moun ô taa few dji no féré. Babira mou oh i dioguino bido wiréno Dansa, bé taabi konnu. Bé miyo no bé ndia bé poussaya to Guinée Bissau, to saaré mbiréno dé Kansala. Bé ndiéyi ronn, ontuma noone Moussa ohn yahadi saaré dé, ô noulli no ohn moussii do moun, minirawo moun Dansa ohn taabi konnu. Ohn yéhi foussi saaré artii. Ontuma gantii moun oh bé bé maddi nafiguiya gal hakou dé mammbé. Bé ndiéyi bé mii ô yii Moussa yo, sii ah rénaaki ô, ô bouri ma doolé, ô bouri ma soussal, ô bouri ma gandaal, sii ak rénaki ô, ô waramba hébtaa leydi nii.

Ontuma Moussa wi dou mén awa, bo noddii, ontuma ohn noroyi mbo Hamdallaye. Babira moun ô wi mbo, wora no mbo yaa, saabu saa yahii mbo warayamba. Mbo wi mbo mii yahat, ô wi mbo si ah yahii mbo warayamba. Dansa wi yahaat. Woni mbo yahaat. Mawdo wi mbo ko doum mii hallanano maa mii. Bakari Demba immi taa Moussa taabi Konnu arii foussi dé saaré oh félli bé do. Mawdo ô immi do jippoyi Gambie. Mboyo toubacco bé ngari mbo yéhi haarré bén dé, mbo habbara é bén no bé ndia bé jippo yo Gambie.

Ontuma noon mbo immi Hamdallaye mbo jipporoyii Kessel kunda. Hawrino ohn mawdo jipporoye tonn, I athiouno do bido mako oh wire no Fanta Sadiel. Önn noone I dioguino bido mbo mbo inniri korro moun Moussa. Ontuma mawdo nélani Fanta, ô wi doum andién jipporo dén Gambie.

Q: Dioni hono Bakari Demba waduno é Moussa?

DB : Cela arrive souvent. Quand quelqu'un déménage, un autre réoccupe. D'ici jusqu'en Gambie, tout le monde a un parent quelque part. C'était le principal village jusqu'à Bansan, il n'y avait pas beaucoup de villages. C'est au temps des cantons avec le service forcé qu'ont eu lieu les grands mouvements et les gens ont abandonné les villages. C'est Mamadou Balédio qui a instauré ça pendant la construction de la route. On prenait untel pour aller faire le service forcé durant une année. Ça a causé les mouvements de populations. La population était nombreuse. Tout le monde est parti en Gambie pour fuir le service forcé.

Q : *Le déplacement de vos ancêtres à été à cause de ça?*

DB : Ce n'est pas la raison de leur déplacement. Au moment de leur déplacement, il y avait de service forcé.

Q : *C'est parce qu'ils voulaient seulement quitter qu'ils sont partis ?*

HAB : La raison du départ de nos parents, c'est la reine Fanta Sadiel.

Q : *Cela s'est passé à quelle époque ?*

HAB : Ce sont les Sébbé qui les ont chassés d'ici. Par la suite, Bakari Demba les a succédé, après est venu Moussa Molo. Et Moussa Molo a dominé tout le pays. Il s'est installé à Hamdallaye. C'est le frère de son père, son oncle Bakari Demba qui était ici. Ils ont occupé les lieux jusqu'à la vieillesse du vieux. C'est par la suite que Moussa a pu régner sans partage. C'est à cette époque que les blancs sont venus et ont voulu l'amener. On l'avait prédit que si les blancs venaient dans son territoire, il ne devait en aucun cas se battre avec eux. C'est le destin qui a voulu cela. Moussa a approuvé cette prédication. Son oncle avait déjà mijoté un plan pour fuir. Et ce dernier avait un fils du nom de Dansa qui avait une armée. Il s'est convenu avec ses soldats d'aller détruire un village en Guinée Bissau. Ce village s'appelait Kansala. C'est ainsi que Moussa a envoyé des émissaires pour dire à son cousin de se préparer pour aller détruire Kansala. Ce dernier est parti détruire le village et est revenu. Quelques temps après, il y a eu un complot contre Dansa soit disant qu'il était plus fort que Moussa sur tous les plans. Et s'il ne faisait pas attention, ce dernier allait l'éjecter du fauteuil.

Ensuite, Moussa lui convoque à Hamdallaye mais son père lui conseilla de ne pas y aller parce que son cousin allait le tuer. Il a dit à son père qu'il allait s'y rendre même si Moussa le tuait Le vieux lui a dit 'c'est le conseil que je te donne'. Après il y a eu une armée qui est venue piller le village. Le vieux partit en direction de la Gambie. Il a dit que les blancs sont venus et que Moussa a vu leur façon de combattre, il ne va jamais se battre avec ces derniers. Il préféra partir vers la Gambie.

C'est par la suite qu'il a quitté Hamdallaye et est parti en Gambie plus précisément à Kessel Kunda. Cela fait suite de l'exil de son oncle en Gambie mais il avait laissé une fille du nom de Fanta Sadiel. Celle-là avait un fils qu'elle avait le prénom à son cousin Moussa. Une fois en exil, son père a envoyé des émissaires pour que Fanta les rejoigne en Gambie.

Q : *Qu'est-ce qui opposait Moussa et Bakari Demba ?*

HAB: Ko to baba, ko babirado moun tokosso. Ko baba Moussa ô miniri Bakari Demba. Ontuma noone mbari Moussa wadiri none, Fanta salli, wi yaara. Moussa lé jippo yi Kessel kunda, mbo noulli yimbé no ngar ndara sii Fanta jippi maa Soumacounda. Bé ngari nddarii bé kori, mbé mbi mbo Fanta araa ni dé mbo wihi awa, Mbo itii rone yimbé, mbo noulli e doow Fanta, no oh hébbo mbo nii arrana mbo niin. Noon wono mbo waddi noone e Fanta ni, ndaibé mbo noulli bé ko ndiéyi ko, Fanta noddii mama ah mène ô Sourra Gaara, oh wihi mama amène oh, ohn jibbini baba Amène.

Mbo wi Moussa noulli arra néni éhn, mino addi sii mbo arii han mbo wara endde. Mbo yo dioni ndien, bé mabibi do pucci bé ndiéyhi Kolda to Sédhiou, tonn commandant ô wono, bé ndiéhi Sédhiou, mbé jotti ronee ko, mbo jaanti wole dé noone mbo wadiri e Moussa.

Moussa jipporo yima Gambie é mbo nélli é doow makko, dioni kaanko ko mbo débbo, mbo arii mbolla dé. Commandant ô wi mbo ô souyara. Dioni ndién, Commandant ô itiiri mbo é gendarmabé mbé ngardii do, bé ngardi mbo. Mbé mbi mbo ndiadé kalla waatu mbo arii do mbo waatara ko wahi noone. Mbo yii no mbén kaabireté. Mbo souyra. Ontuma bé ngonni haa waatu yom nira ngol imôpt arii ko, Commandant ô nélli ndé bé jamtuu l'impôt kagn Fanta ô. Ko nii kanko é mama amène mbé jom nirri nartanka ô. Ko nii Fanta hébbri lammu gu. Ko noone mbo dioguiri leydi nii.

Q : Leydi nii Fanta Sadiel lamiino di hono wiréno ?

HAB: Ko niin wiréno Mamacounda

Q: Commandant ngone dod Sédhiou ô, hono wiréno ?

HAB: Mbén nganda no mbo wiréno. Ohn waatu mbo lamo rono oh, mbé nganda no mbo wiréno. Kallan ko mbén lamnaki ko dubbii niéllou mbo lamii. Guila no Fanta lamori, haa no lammu gu houbiri nii, ko nii woniri.

Q: Ko hobo nambno lammu gu?

HAB: Ko minirawo Fanta ô

Q: Fanta ko iwi ko hobbo lontii mbo?

HAB: Mii yédiri.

Q: Ho ko minira wo moun ô?

HAB: Haa ko minira wo moun. Woni ko nabbi lamu gu saaré Yéroyel taako Fafacourou. Mawbé salli mbé mbiyo saa itii do lammu gu , gu are taa .

Q: Bakari Demba ho ko Fulacounda wone no?

HAB: Haa ko Fulacounda wono.

HAB : C'est le petit frère de son père, et donc son oncle : Bakari Demba. Puisque Moussa avait agi de la sorte, Fanta a refusé de le suivre. Moussa, qui était parti à Kessel Kunda, a envoyé des émissaires pour être sûr que Fanta partait pour Soumacounda. Une fois la-bas, les émissaires ont constaté, ils sont repartis dire à Moussa que Fanta n'était pas venue. Ensuite il a envoyé d'autres émissaires pour dire à Fanta de se préparer, il est en route pour venir la chercher. Ayant reçu le message de Moussa, Fanta est partie trouver sa grand-mère avec laquelle elle vivait à Korop, du nom de Soura Gara. C'est notre grand-mère. Elle raconta que Moussa avait envoyé des émissaires pour lui dire qu'il arrivait très prochainement. 'Je suis sûre dès qu'il sera là, il va nous tuer toutes'. Cette dernière lui ordonna d'aller voir le Commandant de Sédhiou et elles ont pris leurs chevaux en direction de Kolda. Une fois à Sédhiou, elles ont tout dit au Commandant de Sédhiou de ce que Moussa avait l'intention de faire à leur égard.

Moussa est parti en Gambie, il a envoyé des gens pour nous avertir de sa venue, moi suis une femme je suis venue solliciter votre protection. Et le Commandant lui a répondu que Moussa n'osera pas mettre sa menace en exécution. Le Commandant a mis à sa disposition quelques gendarmes pour sa sécurité. Ce dernier lui dit 'dès que Moussa fera sa menace en exécution il aura à faire avec nous. Il en a connaissance de notre arsenal il nous a vu se battre. Il n'osera pas'. Et elles ont resté jusqu'au moment de la perception de l'impôt, le Commandant envoya des gens pour dire à Fanta de percevoir l'impôt. C'est ainsi que sa grand-mère et elle, ont perçu l'impôt. C'est de cette façon que Fanta Sadiel a pris le pouvoir.

Q : *Le terroir que Fanta gouvernait s'appelait comment ?*

HAB : Il s'appelait Mamacounda.

Q : *Comment s'appelait le Commandant de Sédhiou ?*

HAB :: Je ne connais pas son nom. A ces temps-ci, on ne connaissait pas le nom de ces gens-là. Et la durée de leur mandat non plus nous était inconnue. Depuis la prise de pouvoir de Fanta jusqu'à sa fin, les événements se sont ainsi déroulés.

Q : *Qu'est-ce qui avait déplacé le centre du pouvoir ?*

HAB :: C'est le petit frère de Fanta.

Q : *Qui a remplacé Fanta ?*

HAB : J'ai oublié.

Q : *Est-ce que c'est son petit frère ?*

HAB : Oui, c'est son frère qui a déplacé le pouvoir à Yéroyel près de Fafacourou. Mais, les vieux n'étaient pas d'accord de ce déplacement.

Q : *Est-ce que Bakari Demba était un Fulacounda ?*

HAB : Oui, c'était un Fulacounda.

Q: *Famille makko horro iwe no?*

HAB: Houdé d" dii yadji

DB: Taarikka ka dii yadji sii tawino ko bé mbiyaraako. Ko Mali bé quiw ri. Mama Bakari Demba ko Mali iw rii. Mallal mbo wiré no. Mbo taari haa do wiré Soulabaly. Done mbo taawi debbo taa ohn I niawi. Ko ohn jibbini Alpha Molo. Ko ohn Alpha félli Sébbé bé, haa mbo hébti lammu gu. Anddi Famille ô yadji, bibé bé saaki maa. Ko woni haa mbo mayyi ko. Bibé piwu dabbi noone mbé diwiri babira bé. Ko no one bé ngar dii gaa. Bibé piwu saaki, goro yo jamtti l'impôt. Ko nii addi hare dji di dé bé saaki, ha ko Moussa Allah okki mbo lammu gu. Héddi bé fof goro yo dabbi to hoddiro hi. Mbé daa ngarii koddi gaa. Moussa ohn woni Soulabaly ko bab moun mayyi ko Alpha Molo. Ko niin mbéda ngar dii gaa. Ontuma Moussa iwi toon, mbo arii Hamdallaye. Ko toon Toubacco bé tawii mbo. Mbé mbi I doum to Pakao, lambdo thiédo I salli diabanii Toubacco bé.

Q: *Ko Bakari Demba é Moussa Molo bokki famille goro?*

DB : Haa ko kayén bokki famille goro.

Q : Bakari Demba e Alpha Molo ho ko korro é miniang ?

HAB: Ko korro é miniang.

Q: *Ho Mallal ko Puloo wono?*

DB: Haa ko fulbé bayrii ko Balde bé ndié té réno.

Q: *Ko hoddi lédji ngonii do saaré do?*

DB: Ko lédji diidii rane wone do. Kono piwu ko famille goro ô. Fulacounda bé e yoro ro bé.

Q: *Lawu no one?*

DB: *Mbinén ko mbén manti ko, Sarakoulé bé, Bambaranké bé, Djolfoubé, Sebbé bé, Diaxankobé.*

Q: *Ko hono bé ngar di do?*

DB: Ko Fulbe guidii do ar dé, Sarankoulé bé, Sebbé, Djolofoubé, Diaxankobé, Bambaranké,.

Q: *Mbari dioni ko Fulbé taan ngonido, horro mbéda ngonii?*

DB : Bédin do ko Yoror bé, ko béda ndiéhi.

Q: *Béda lé?*

DB: Béda bé ndiéy hii. Ö waatu do ko Fulbé rane ngon nii do.

Q : D'où vient sa famille ?

HAB : La chose est trop large.

DB : L'histoire est longue. Le grand-père de Bakari Demba venait du Mali et il s'appelait Malal. Son voyage lui a conduit jusqu'à Soulabaly. C'est là qu'il a trouvé une femme malade, la future mère d'Alpha Molo. C'est ce dernier qui s'est battu avec les Sébbé et a pris le pouvoir. C'est une famille large mais ils se sont dispersés. À la suite de la mort de leur père, les uns sont partis d'un côté et les autres de l'autre. C'est pour ça qu'ils se sont installés ici. Chacun s'est taillé une part du territoire et a perçu l'impôt signe royauté. Cela est la cause de leur mésentente et se sont fait la guerre. Moussa a gagné et a pris le pouvoir. Les autres sont partis.. Quelques sont venus s'installer à Korop et Moussa est resté à Soulabaly dans le fief de son père Alpha Molo avant d'aller s'installer à Hamdallaye. C'est là-bas que les blancs lui ont trouvé. Ils sont du Pakao et ils lui ont dit qu'ils avaient un problème avec le souverain manding qui régnait dans ce territoire.

Q : Quel est le lien de parenté entre Bakari Demba et Moussa ?

DB : Ils sont de la même famille.

Q : Est-ce que Bakari Demba et Alpha Molo sont des frères ?

HAB : Ils étaient des frères.

Q : Ce Malal était-il Peul ?

DB : Oui ils sont des Fulbé puisqu'ils ont comme nom Balde.

Q : Quelles sont les groups qui habitent le village?

DB : Il y a seulement que deux groups dans le village mais tous sont de la même famille. C'est des Fulacounda et des Rorobé.

Q : Et auparavant ?

DB : De notre connaissance ce sont les Sarakolés,, les Bambaras, les wolofs, les Sébbé et les Diakhanké.

Q : Quels sont les premiers à arriver ?

DB : C'est les Fulbé qui sont les premiers à arriver, ensuite les Sarakolés, les Sébbé, les Wolofs, les Diakhanké et les Bambaras.

Q : Pour quoi c'est les Peuls qui sont là actuellement, où sont les autres ?

DB : Ils sont là, ce sont les Rorobé mais les autres sont partis.

Q : Et les autres ?

DB : Ils sont partis . Maintenant ce sont seulement les Fulbés qui habitent le village.

Q: *Hoddoum addi haa bé ndié hii?*

DB: Ko Gambie do bé guimbii, bé ngaari do. Bé ngonii do foldé doubi kéwodii cédaa, bé thiaki bé korii. Ko bé ngar no do roumdé. Ha ko noone bé guiwa ni do férin, bé pécci gallé dji moun hén dii. Dioni noone yimbé moun hén bé, mbaye bèn diogui no ndiabé, kalla kéb do raane araa na yimbé moun bé, taa i daar nii gallé, wi ah ndièn korrén. Ko nii bé korriri.

Q: *Dioni mbidon Wayelubé ngondo do, e hobbé kallon ngondo do ? Ho diali bé, garanko bé e ko wa hi no one alla nan do?*

DB: Garanko bé ngondo do, sékoobé lédde.

Q: *Oh waatu do ko hodoum woni ligué saaré dé?*

DB: Ko démaal, e diangui gol e ngaynaaka.

Q: *Wayelubé be hono jettéréno?*

DB: ko Mbo, Kanté, Kondjira.

Q: *Garankobé bé lé?*

DB : Soumboudou

Q : *Dialibé noone ?*

DB : Cissoko, Balde

Q : *Menuisier bé kallon ?*

DB : Kanté, Diallo e Camara.

Q: *Mbo ho ko Ceddo ?*

DB: Ko Pullo

Q: *Ho diouma I é saaré dé?*

DB: Haa innin do.

Q: *Touma dé daar na?*

DB : Haa taa mii dé mii jibbinaka.

Q : *Ohn ngandako diamano dé daar naa ? Ho ko waatu lammu Moussa wala ko lammu canton ?*

DB : Ko baba dji amène dii daar dii dé, wala mama amène.

Q : *Mbidon Sebbé bé daar nou no do tata, ho ko mbé ndié hi ko kallon mbo wonano ?*

Q : *Pourquoi les autres sont partis ?*

DB : Ils sont originaires de la Gambie. Ils se sont installés des années durant. Ils sont rentrés. Ils étaient navétanes. C'est ainsi qu'ils ont quitté le village et ils se sont partagés leurs maisons. Puisque certains d'entre eux avaient immigrés, ces derniers ont décidé de les repatrier. C'est de cette façon qu'ils sont partis du village.

Q : *Vous avez dit qu'il y avait des forgerons tantôt, est-ce qu'il y a d'autres corps de métiers comme les griots, les cordonniers ?*

DB : Il y avait des cordonniers et des menuisiers.

Q : *Quelle est l'activité du village actuellement ?*

DB : C'est l'élevage, l'enseignement coranique et l'agriculture

Q : *Quel est le nom des forgerons ?*

DB : C'est Mbo, Kanté et Kondjira.

Q : *Et les cordonniers ?*

DB : Soumboudou.

Q : *Y avait-il des griots ?*

DB : Cissokho et Balde.

Q : *Les menuisiers s'appelaient comment ?*

DB : Kanté, Diallo et Camara

Q : *Les Mbo sont-ils des Sébbé ?*

DB : Ce sont des Peuls.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a une mosquée dans le village ?*

DB : Oui il y en a une.

Q : *Quant-est qu'elle est construite ?*

DB : Je n'étais pas encore né

Q : *Vous ne savez pas à quelle époque est-elle construite ? Si c'est au temps de Moussa Molo ou au temps des cantons ?*

DB : Ce sont nos parents ou nos grands-parents qui peuvent le savoir.

Q : *Vous avez dit que les Sébbé ont construit des tatas, est-ce qu'ils étaient occupés après le départ de ces derniers ?*

DB: Haa mbo wonano.

Q: Ho mbo dioguino ligué go dé taa wona tata?

DB: Tata ko nii houliire té no, no gallé nii, wade mur do lambdo wona é mbeygouré mound é.

Q: Ho Fanta ko done wono?

DB: Ha ko don mbo wono. Tata ô iniin melded soudou ndé iniin do. Doum mbén mantti doum.

Q: Tata ô wonano ko fulbe bé ko lamii ko wala wonano ka?

DB: Wonano kaam.

Q: Ko fulbe lamii ko ho doum wono gollé tata?

AB: Ko gallé lambdo é mbeygouré moun dé hodde no done.

Q : Ho kabire saaré dé sinthia ô ko doula goro ndé wonii?

DB: Haa ndé sotti, sabou mama dji ameene dii ko daa gono.

Q: Ho tumbun dji iniin é baraal saaré dé?

AB: Haa dii woddi.

Q: Ho ohn tumbun diidiogui inddé?

DB : Diin tumbun dji dii goddi inddé. Gonddi ko sinthira maa Sinthian Fodé e Sinthian Sotto, didaa sinthira ka, Pinan

Q: Ho touma dii Sinthian dji nguiwaa?

DB: Doum boyya nii

Q: Waatu Fanta lamii ô, ko héddé horo saaré dé wonire no?

DB: Saaré dé ko doula goro dé woni. Ko yimbé bé beyddi haa dé yadjiri nii.

Q : Waatu Sebbé bé lamii ô, ko héddo horo saaré dé hétou no ?

DB: Ko tata ô to woniri no too. Do piwu ko saaré dé wonon do.

Q: Ho saaré Sebbé dé ko heure lou no tata?

AB: Haa

Q: Gallé Fanta ô koro nder tata roo wono?

AB: Ko é nder tata hé woni.

DB : Oui ils étaient occupés.

Q : *Est-ce qu'ils avaient d'autres fonctions que celles de tatas ?*

DB : Ils étaient clôturés comme des maisons. La clôture était en mur et le roi y résidait avec sa famille.

Q : *Est-ce que Fanta occupait le tata ?*

DB : Oui elle y habitait à proximité du tata parce que les ruines de sa case sont visibles.

Q : *Le tata a été occupé durant la période du Fouladou ?*

DB : Il était occupé.

Q : *Durant la période du Fouladou, quelle était la fonction du tata ?*

AB : *C'était la maison du roi et de sa famille.*

Q : *Est-ce le village est resté sur place depuis sa fondation ?*

DB : Le village a bougé puisque les concessions de mes grands-parents se situées là-bas.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a des tumbun aux environs du village ?*

AB : Oui, Il y a des tumbun.

Q : *Ces tumbun ont-ils des noms ?*

DB : Ils en ont. Il y a d'autres qui ont été refondé tel que Sinthian Fodé et celui de Sotto mais celui de Pinan n'a pas était réoccupé.

Q : *Quand est-ce que ces Sinthian ont été abandonné ?*

DB : C'est tout récemment

Q : *Quand Fanta régnait de quel côté était situé le village ?*

DB : C'est du côté du tata et tout le reste faisait partie du village.

Q : *Est-ce le village des Sébbé entouré-t-il le tata ?*

AB : Oui.

Q : *Est-ce que la maison de Fanta se trouvait à l'intérieur du tata ?*

AB : C'est à l'intérieur du tata qu'ell se trouvait .

Q: Ho i woddi do tumbun dji e maddé dji boydii i ngoddi e baral saaré hé ?

DB: I woddi no wayyi no tata ô nii.

Cheikh Moussa (CM): Guidé diin no do kono dé mbarkima, héddé wendu Tossoro.

DB: Boylii iniin do.

Bokar Balde (BD): Ayyii lambé dido ngonni do e dé saaré. Ko mbén dido guiddi Soninkobé. Goro wono nga dou do nii niakki do kii boyii. Dii niakki ko niakki konnu. Sii mbo habbo yaa maa ha ambo horimaa saaré dé haan, dii niakki guiwa do, ndiahaa kourro yo saaré dé. Waatii lambdo godo arii. Ko ohn iwi ko lé Soninkobé ngarii, Soninkobé ko Bainounkobé bé pélli bé bé doguii. Bainounkobé lamii. Bainounkobé kallaan ko Sébbé bé guitii bé do. Ontuma bé lamii. Sébbé kallaan ko Moussa Molo itii bé do. Tata dji iniin do e mii halani ohn dii.

Q: Dioni guidi do lamadé ko hodoum wodno?

BK: Bainounko wono.

Q: Saaré dé ko touma sinthia?

BK : Ko doubi témédé nay hi e doubi taari hikka.

Q : Ah naani ni mawbé be i mbiha ko kariii sinthi saaré dé ?

BK : Alla. Ko haddi doum andé, wona yimbé sinthi dé saaré. Ko dawaadi sinthi dé. Sii ah naani Korop, wona yimbé mbii dé saaré Korop. Ko dawaadi inniri dé Korop. Douma addi haa saaré dé innira Korop. Sii innira no ngoddo haan, dé wiré no sinthian kariii wala saaré kariii. Ko no ne ko dawaadi sinthini dé. Ko dawaadi kothi dé saaré taa ko laddé no. Ohn danena i woneddii e dawadi ko dinine kalli inddé saaré dé, sii dé sinthiama ko Korop dé wiré.

Q: Ho gol légnol iddi do wone dé?

BK: Ko fulacounda bé

Q: Ho tata iniin do?

BK: Tata Soninkobé, Bainounkobé e Moussa Molo

Q: Diin niakki diin do ?

BK: Diin niin do, dii guiwa nii do. Ko niakki konnu.

Q: Diin niakki ko dialan ngoe do?

Q : Y a-t-il des tumbun et des sites que vous pouvez nous montrer ?

DB : Il y en a comme les tatas.

Cheikh Moussa (CM): Il y a des abris-sous-roche mais ils se sont remblayés, et aussi Wendu Tossoro.

DB : Il y a aussi des puits.

Bokar Balde (BB): Il y avait deux rois dans ce village. C'est eux qui ont devançaient les Soninkés. L'un d'entre eux était le propriétaire des abeilles qui se trouvent dans le baobab qui se situe à l'entrée du village. Ces abeilles faisaient partir de l'arsenal de ce dernier. S'il devait perdre une bataille, il faisait appel à ces derniers et grâce à ces dernières, il remportait la bataille. C'est lorsque ce dernier a perdu le pouvoir que les Soninkés sont venus. Les Soninkés se sont les Bainounks qui les ont chassés d'ici. Après ils ont pris le pouvoir. Ce sont les Sébbé qui ont éjecté les Bainounks. Et les Sébbé aussi, c'est Moussa Molo qui les a guerroyés. Ce sont eux qui ont construit les tatas.

Q : De quelle group était-ce le premier roi ?

BB : C'était un Bainouk.

Q : Quand est ce que le village est-il fondé ?

BB : Cela fait 403 ans aujourd'hui.

Q : Vous n'avez pas entendu les anciens dire c'est untel qui a fondé le village ?

BB : Non. Tu sais pourquoi ? C'est parce que ce n'est pas une personne qui a fondé le village. C'est des chiens. Si tu entends le nom de Korop, ce n'est pas des personnes qui l'ont dénommé ainsi. ? C'est les chiens qui lui ont donné ce nom. C'est pourquoi le village s'appelle Korop. Si c'est quelqu'un qui l'avait fondé, on lui aurait dit le village d'untel. Mais c'est des chiens qui lui ont donné le nom. Ce sont les bêtes qui ont trouvé l'emplacement du site en plein brousse. C'est un chasseur qui était parti à la chasse avec ces chiens et ces derniers lui ont révélé le site. Ils ont dit que si quelqu'un venait à fonder le village, il aura comme nom Korop.

Q : De quelle group était-il ?

BB : C'était un Fulacounda.

Q : Est-ce qu'il y a un tata dans le village ?

BB : Le tata des Soninkés, celui des Bainouks et de Moussa Molo sont là.

Q : Est-ce que les abeilles sont toujours dans le village ?

BB : Ils sont toujours là, ils n'ont jamais quitté le village. C'est des abeilles de combat.

Q : Est-ce que ces abeilles faisaient office de dialan ?

BK: Hé ko hobo anddou no doum.

Q: *Ko hodoum wohno é dé?*

BK: Ko thiagalé e pobbi.

Q: *Yimbé ngon no hén?*

BK: Lahi lallah, ko dogaa

Q: *Ho anoo anddi inddé lambdo diodji no do ô dii tata dji?*

BK: Ko tata minirawo baba Moussa ô, Bakari Demba. Moussa diodi Hamdallaye, bab moun diodi Soulabaly.

BB : C'est ça qui les a amenés ici.

Q : *Ils ont dit qu'il y avait abris-sous-roche, qu'est-ce que vous pouvez nous en dire ?*

BB : Il y en a beaucoup à la forêt, mais ils sont comblés.

Q : *Qu'est-ce qu'il y avait à l'intérieur de ces abris-sous-roche ?*

BB : Des hyènes et des porcs épics.

Q : *Les personnes y habitaient ?*

BB : Non, ils s'enfouissaient.

Q : *Est-ce que savez le nom du roi qui résidait dans ces tatas ?*

BB : C'est le tata du frère du père de Moussa qui est Bakari Demba. Moussa était à Hamdallaye et son père à Soulabaly.

28.-Medina Cherif (Sare Hogo)

Date : 13/02/2013

Participants: Moro Kéba Cissé, Diango Balde (Jarga), Daba Balde, Dienaba Kodja Balde, Tidiane Balde (PCR), Madiwe Kande, Koba Balde.

Q : *Ko touma saaré dé sinthia e ko hobbo sinthie dé ?*

Diango Balde (DB) : Ko Hogo Balde sinthie saaré dé, ko diamanou yargo kodjama, ontuma bo yéhi bo touboyi bo woni diouldo, ko Sirifadio toubini di bo iniri bo Sirifou. Mboyo ohn ci ah hoori haan guinira saaré dé Médina Chérif ko doum woni bidol gone. Saré Hogo i inné kono ko Médina Chérif ô yara niin.

Q : *Ko touma bo sinthie saaré dé ?*

DB : Boyyi dioni sabou yoni doubbi témédéré.

Q : *Ho ko watu lammu Sébbé wala ko lammu Alpha Molo, wala Moussa Molo wala ko lammu canton ?*

DB : Ko watu lammu canton.

Q : *Ko horo Hogo Balde iwno do dé mbo sinco dé saaré dé ?*

DB : Mballo kunda.

Q : *Ko hodoum itii mbo Mballo kunda ?*

DB : Taa mbo goni di dioda gold one gol

Q : *Hogo ko hodoum ligorono ?*

DB : Ko démooyo wono

Q : *Ho mbo tawno no do godo watu mbo areno?*

DB : ouh ouh mbo tawani do godo

Q : *Ho mbo tawi done tumbun ko mbo ari ko ?*

DB : Ko laddé mbo tawi

Q : *Ko hoddé djétodié e lédji gone do e saaré dé e ko hono di gardi ?*

DB : O watu ko lédji taari ngone do : ko fulbés, sébbé e fuurankobé. Ko fulbé sinci saaré ontuma sébbé bé gari taw ri bé e fuurankobé.

Q : Quand est-ce que le village est fondé et par qui ?

Diango Balde (DB) : C'est Hogo Balde qui a fondé le village, c'est au temps que les gens buvaient du vin de palme. C'est à la suite qu'il s'est converti et est devenu musulman. C'est un Chérif qui lui est converti, c'est pour cela qu'il a pris le nom de Sirifou (Chérif). Et il lui a dit : « si tu rentres donne ton village le nom de Médina Chérif » voilà le récit. On parle de Saré Hogo mais on l'appelle maintenant Médina Chérif.

Q : Quand est-ce qu'il a fondé le village ?

DB : Il y a longtemps, presque cent ans.

Q : Quand est-ce qu'il a fondé le village, est-ce durant la période des rois Sébbé ou de la période d'Alpha Molo ou Moussa Molo ou c'est durant la période des chefs de canton ?

DB : C'est à la période des chefs de canton.

Q : D'où venait Hogo Balde avant de fonder le village ?

DB : Mballo Kunda.

Q : Pourquoi il est parti de Mballo Kunda ?

DB : Il avait eu assez de rester la bas.

Q : Quelle activité exerçait Hogo, était-il éleveur, agriculteur ou autre ?

DB : C'était un cultivateur.

Q : Il a trouvé quelqu'un quand il est arrivé ?

DB : Non ,non, il n'a trouvé personne.

Q : Est-ce qu'il a trouvé un tumbun quand il est arrivé ?

DB : Il a trouvé la brousse.

Q : Quels sont les noms de famille et les clans qui existent au village et quel est leur ordre d'arrivée ?

DB : Actuellement, il y en a trois : les Fulbés, les Sébbés et les Fuutanké. C'est les fulbé qui ont fondé le village, ils sont suivis des sébbés et des fuutanké.

Q : *Saaré dé ko waatu lammu chefs de canton dé sincu, ohn watu ko e hobbo canton saaré dé tawano ?*

DB : Ko e canton Patim ohn waatu ko Abdoul Diallo lammino e kop Médina Abdoul mbo diodino.

Q : *Ko touma sébbés gaari do ?*

DB : Ko kayne e fulbés gaari lawol gorol.

Q : *Sébbés ko hooro guiwri ?*

DB : Ko Pakessi bé guiwri.

Q : *Ho ohn gandi saaré dé bo iwe no dé hono dé wiré ?*

DB : Ko Thiari mbo iweno

Q : *Thiari ko hooro hétti ?*

DB : Hédé Dialadiang.

Q : *Ko Sénégal woni wala ko Guinée Bissau ?*

DB : Ko Sénégal

Q : *Sébbés ngono bé do bé ko démobé gono wala ko wayloubé ?*

DB : Ko fi dioulaya addi ha bo tawoyi mawbé ameen bé Mballo kunda ko nii bé gardi e mouhén bé sincu saaré dé.

Q : *Ko outma fulbés fuurabé gaari do ?*

DB : Hé doum boyii dé, ko fuuta é guiwiri to wiré Badiar to

Q : *Ko hoddé djétodié gone do saré do?*

DB : Fulbés ko Balde, sébbés ko Bayo e Cissé e Camara, fuurankobé ko Diallo

Q : *Saaré do wayloubé inin do ?*

DB : Ho inin do

Q : *Hono bé djétééré ?*

DB : Bacary Camara

Q : *Ho dialibé inin e der saaré do ?*

DB : Ah, ah bé gala do.

Q : *Le village a été fondé aux temps des chefs de canton, à cette époque, le village faisait partie de quel canton ?*

DB : C'est dans le canton du Patim et c'est Abdoul Diallo qui était le lammdo, il s'était installé à Médina Abdoul.

Q : *Quand est-ce que les sébbés sont venus ici ?*

DB : Ils sont venus en même temps que les fulbés

Q : *Les sébbés venaient d'où ?*

DB : Ils venaient du Pakessi.

Q : *Est-ce qu'on connaît le village ?*

DB : Il vient de Thiari.

Q : *Où se trouve Thiari ?*

DB : Près de Dialadiang

Q : *C'est au Sénégal ou en Guinée Bissau ?*

DB : Au Sénégal.

Q : *Les sébbés qui sont venus, étaient-ils des agriculteurs ou des forgerons ?*

DB : C'est à cause du commerce que le premier ceddo est venu trouver nos parents à Mballo kunda et ils ont ensemble fondé le village.

Q : *Les fulbés fuuta sont venus quand ?*

DB : Cela a duré et ils viennent du Badiar dans le Fuuta

Q : *Quels sont les noms de famille présents dans le village ?*

DB : Les Fulbés sont Balde, chez les Sébbés on a Bayo, Cissé et Camara et chez les Fuutankobé, il y a que des Diallo.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a des forgerons au village ?*

DB : Oui, il y'en a.

Q : *Comment il s'appelle?*

DB : Bacary Camara

Q : *Y a-t-il des griots dans le village ?*

DB : Non, non il n'y en a pas

Q : *Yoldé ko meen diano Mampatim sinthian, bé bimeen i wood no quartier sébbés e der saaré dé djétorénodé Cissé kono dioni ko gaa bé gaari. Hono ohnone ganddi heen godoum ?*

Moro Kéba Cissé (MKC) : Ha ko mawbé ameen bé gono roon

Q : *Ho ohn noone ganddi hobbo watu bé guiwi roonn ?*

MKC : Doum meen ganda doum, doum tako doubbi didi kemi lé bé guiwi toone

Q : *Hodoum itti bé roon ?*

MKC : Taa saaré dé di wouli, taa mayélé dé i roukii ontuma lé mawbé dogui gaari

Q : *Fi hodoum addi bé saaré Hogo/ Ménina Chérif ?*

MKC : Ta mawdo gone do ko sehel moun, ko ohn yahani bé roon itti bé roon addi bé Malang Bayo.

Q : *Dialibé bé kéwu bé lebbi fi Mampatim sinthian, comme saaré dé boydé comme saaré dioguiné thioossane kono dioni ngone bé Mampatim sinthian bé gadda hay houdé e fi are Mampatim. Est-ce que ohn mbawi meen widdé hén godoum waatu lammu sébbé ?*

MKC : Ko woni do ko mbawu bi fiila dé kono ko woni Mampatim sinthian ko mi wawra doum fila dé.

Q : *Ko meen diano saaré Pathé Bouya ko, bé kallon no meen fii aré tata ngoe do Mampatim Sinthian*

MKC : Babirawo am gono do o wino kam dé tata wono toone

Q : *Ahno anddou no ko héddé hoooro hétou no e Mampatim Sinthian ?*

MKC : Ah, ah mine mii andda doum dé, mii maanta ki doum ko ko siiffa raan. Kono no missalani, wiy yo ko hirragué Mampatim Sinthian to woniri. Wona tata ko kadié wadda doone e gayka.

DB : Dé gaydé dé ô wira do dé ko doum meen bira guidé e koulé naatari ni

MKC : Kono bé Soninkobé biyo Nianthio kolon.

Q : *Ho ohn noone ganddi fiila tumbun dji, tata dji wala maddé dji e dow kadjjé ?*

DB : Mineen dé mawdo ameen ô biréno Sirifou ô sincu do saaré dé ko Mballo kunda iwerii. Mballo kunda noone biré do Lounta Boula ô ko roon wono ohn ko lammedo wono kayen e Moussa Molo hen lammedino. Lountan Boula wodeno Hogo. Lountan Boula e Moussa Molo lammidino leydini. Lountan Boula wadeno tata do Mballo kunda.

Q : *Quand on a fait l'entretien à Mampatim Sinthian, on nous a dit qu'il y avait un quartier des Cissé qui se sont installés ici. Est-ce qu'il en connait quelque chose ?*

Moro Kéba Cissé (M.K.C) : Oui c'est nos parents qui y habitaient

Q : *Quand est-ce ils sont partis et pourquoi ?*

M.K.C : On ne connaît pas cela, parce que lorsqu'on quitté là-bas, j'avais que deux ans.

Q : *Pourquoi ils sont partis ?*

M.K.C : Le village était chaud, il y a eu beaucoup de morts, ce pour ça que nos parents ont quitté pour s'installer ici.

Q : *Pourquoi ils sont venus à, Saré Hogo/Médina Chérif ?*

M.K.C : Le vieux qui était là, c'était son ami et ce dernier parti les prendre pour les ramener avec Malang Bayo.

Q : *Beaucoup de griots ont parlé de Mampatim Sinthian, un village très important et ancien à la période des Manding et pourtant les populations actuelles ne nous disent rien là-dessous. Est-ce que vous pouvez nous dire quelque chose sur le pouvoir des Sebbe?*

M.K.C : Je peux parler de ce qui s'est passé ici mais concernant Mampatim Sinthian, je ne peux rien dire.

Q : *Quand on était à Saré Pathé Bouya, on nous parlé du tata de Mampatim Sinthian. Est-ce que vous en connaissez quelque chose ?*

M.K.C : Il a dit que son parent qui était là, parlait souvent sur le tata.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il sait de quel côté se situait le tata ?*

M.K.C : Non, non je n'en sais rien là-dessous parce qu'on me la racontée seulement. C'est comme une supposition uniquement, il se trouvait à l'ouest de Mampatim Sinthian. C'est pas un tata mais plutôt des amas de pierre dans une fosse.

DB : Les trous dont il parle, nous l' appelons guidé, les animaux y entrent.

M.K.C : C'est ce que les Soninké appellent Nianthio Kolon

Q : *Est-ce que vous connaissez des sites tels que les tumbuns, les tatas, des marques sur les pierre ?*

DB : Notre parent qui a fondé le village et qui s'appelait Sirifou, vient de Mballo Kunda. A Mballo Kunda, c'était Lountan Boula qui y était. C'était un roi au temps de Moussa Molo. Lountan Boula était le père de Hogo. Et Lountan Boula et Moussa Molo ont exercé le pouvoir ensemble dans le pays. Lountan Boula avait construit un tata à Mballo Kunda.

Q : *Ko hodoum wonni tata ?*

DB : Ko diwré léddé e kadjé wadané sakette nii wayyi raan ko hourla raan mahée ha houbta.

MKC : Tata alla no Mballo kunda. Tata mbadano ah yotima raan ah anddate tata wadama do. Ko Kopara en, Payoungou en, yooti ma do tata mbabé yo ah anddate tata wadama do.

Mory Cissé : Tata iniin Kabendou

Q : *Ko hodoum seertidinri tata e sanié ?*

Tidiane Balde(TB): Sanié ko léddé hourilli té e kadjé ontuma maahé. Tata noone ko ci hourella ma haa parii haan, gayddé gassé e mbaral gal coom no militaire bé nii. Ko héén yimbé bé dogara ci haaré di waadi haan

Q : *Ko hoobo woneno Lountan Boula ?*

DB : Ko Samba Kendo wono baba mou doum. Samba Kendo ko Guinée Bissau iwri to wiré Kountanbani ro. Ahno anddi do histoire haakoudé Alpha Molo e Sébbé bé ittii Samba Kendo Guinée Bissau anddi bo Hamdallaye ga. Ko Alpha Molo fuudi haab dé e Sébbé bé, kambbé fulbés piwu ko doone noori kalla Pullo. Dioni bé pélli haa Thibo bé ngonki Samba Kendo leydi bé biyyo bo noo bo docc leydi nii. Kalla do mbareno lammdo ceddo bé mbada doone Pullo.

Hawri Alpha Molo mayyi, bé kedodi e Lountan Boula. Samba Kendo diodi, dioni ko Lountan Boula félol dir taani niin e Moussa Molo. Ko Samba Kendo jibbini Lountan Boula, Alpha Molo jibbini Moussa Molo. Ko béén gonii goré dioni ko kaheen pélitaniin leydi niin. Ontuma bé pélli ha guitti lammdo ceddo ô Kabendou e ontuma ko konu Moussa Molo wiréno. Ko kagne wono mawdo o e ko kagn wono kalan chef d'Etat-major ô.

Q : *Ko hono lammdo ceddo gono do Kabendou ô wiréno ?*

DB : Ko Bamba Dallah wono Kabendou. Dioni mbayri bé mawi bo, bé biyyo Lountan Boula noo arre wona Mballo kunda ha bo lammo do ha Kabendou. Ko fulbés diéta bé Mballo gono Mballo Kunda, fulbés diogui bé nayyi ko been sincie saaré doum addi ha doon wiyya Mballo kunda. Mbayri kaheen ko fulbés bé mbawra wonedou dé e lammu, bé boppi saaré dé. Bé dogui bé diéhii Gabou kàò been goni fulbés Gabou. Ko nii Lountan Boula wodiri Mballo kunda. Ko been goni baba dji ameen di ko ohn djibini Hogo sincu do o. Lountan Boula i dioguino bibé nogace e gohe. Dioni bé ngoni ha bé gandi bé kébti do ha Hamdallaye, ta fulbés raan laami, ontuma noone bé ndiehi haboya dé e Sébbé bé Paroumba. Ko néne harré fuucci konu Moussa Molo gu ko doone bé koubbi fayda : Lountan Boula, Yéro Tacko, Bodio Dembo ko bèn gono kohé maako konu dé, bèn piwu ko Paroumba mayyi.

Q : *Qu'est-ce qu'un tata?*

DB : C'est un assemblage de pierre et de piquets qu'on assemble en forme de cercle plus un enduit.

M.K.C : Il n'y avait pas de tata à Mballo Kunda. Là où on a construit un tata, si tu arrives, tu verras il y a eu un tata. Les tatas s'est Kopara, Payoungou, si tu y arrives tu verras bien les ruines.

Mory Cissé : Il y a un tata à Kabendou

Q : *Quelle est la différence entre un tata et un sanié ?*

Tidiane Balde: Le Sanié est construit à la base de piquets et de pierre plus de l'enduit. Le tata est construit avec le même matériau et en plus on creuse aux alentours des tranchées comme le font les militaires. C'est dans ces tranchées que les gens vont se réfugier s'il y a une guerre. Le tata est un lieu de refuge

Q : *Qui était Lountan Boula ?*

DB : Son père s'appelait Samba Kendo. Samba Kendo venait de la Guinée Bissau du village de Kountanbani. Tu sais c'est l'histoire entre Alpha Molo et les Sébbé qui a poussé Samba Kendo à quitter la Guinée Bissau pour Hamdallaye. Lorsqu'Alpha a commencé la guerre contre les Sébbés tous les Fulbés ont répondu à son appel à Hamdallaye. Et ils ont guerroyé jusqu'à Thibo ils ont confié ce terroir à Samba Kendo pour qu'il le surveille. Là où ils tuaient un roi Ceddo, ils mettaient un Pullo.

Entre temps Alpha Molo mourut, ils sont restés avec Lountan Boula. Samba Kendo s'est retiré et Lountan Boula continua la guerre avec Moussa Molo. Samba Kendo est le père de Lountan Boula et Alpha Molo de Moussa Molo. Lountan Boula et Moussa Molo sont de la même génération et c'est eux qui vont faire la guerre ensemble après la disparition de leurs pères. Et ils ont guerroyé jusqu'à détrôner le roi ceddo de Kabendou. A cette époque on disait l'armée de Moussa Molo. Il était l'aîné et le chef d'Etat-major.

Q : *Qui était le roi ceddo qui était à Kabendou ?*

DB : Il s'appelait Bamba Dallah. Dès qu'ils ont vaincu ce roi ceddo, ils ont demandé à ce que Lountan Boula reste à Mballo kunda pour diriger ce terroir jusqu'à Kabendou. C'est des Fulbés qui se nommaient Mballo qui habitaient Mballo kunda et qui avaient beaucoup de vaches. C'est eux qui ont fondé le village s'est la raison pour laquelle le village s'appelle Mballo Kunda.

Puisque c'étaient des fulbés, ils ne pouvaient rester avec le roi et ils sont partis dans le Gabou et c'est eux qu'on appelle fulbés Gabou. C'est ainsi que Lountan Boula a hérité de ce village. C'est nos parents et c'est lui qui est le père de Hogo le fondateur du village. Lountan Boula avait vingt-un fils. Puisqu'ils ont assuré le contrôle de là à Hamdallaye, ils entreprirent de faire la guerre aux Sébbé de Paroumba. C'est cette bataille qui a détruit l'armée de Moussa Molo; c'est là où ses hommes ont tombé: Lountan Boula, Yéro Tacko et Bodio Dembo, ils ont périés lors de cette bataille.

Q : *Lountan Boula, Yéro Tacko e Bodio Dembo ko hodoum gono e Moussa Molo ?*

DB : Ko Bén gono gouvernement mako. Ko Moussa Molo dioguino lammu gu kono kahén direction o.

Q : *Ohn waaatu kahén hono bé biréno ?*

DB : Ko lammdo raan wiréno. Ko béén kono baroula bé moun bé. Ko baroula bé raan.

Q : *Lountan Boula, Yéro Tacko et Bodio Dembo qu'est-ce qu'ils représentaient pour Moussa Molo ?*

DB : Ils représentaient son gouvernement. C'est qui avait le pouvoir et eux ils avaient la direction.

Q : *A cette époque comment on les appelait ?*

DB : On les appelait que des rois. Ils étaient ses baroula.

29.- Mampatim Maounde 3

Date: 15/02/2013

Participants: Dello Balde (*jaarga* de Mampatim), Malang Diamanka (*Almoudo*), Diahé Diao, Souba Balde, Mama Balde (*jaarga* Madina Méta), Moutarou Coulibaly, Sisao Diao

Q : *En pouddura de doula dji boydi di Galle holi meen, ho i woddi ko paladoon beydou de mbayri mbo holli meen tumbun Bounia Bourdo ?*

Mama Balde (M.B): Bounia Bourdo ko saakoro ko wata ko ta ko Baba Moulaye Lami.

Q : *Fii hodoum addi ha be guiwi roon ?*

MB : Ontuma ci yimbe ngonni no doula ta Allah i addi gouledi, yimbe mayano raan be dogga be mboppa saare be diaha.

Q : *Hobbe ngoneno toon ko Fulakunda wala ko Sebbe ?*

M.B : Ko Fulbe ngoneno do

Q : *Horo be ndiehi ko be guiwi e saare de ko ?*

M.B : Wo be ndiehi to Diourbel, wo be saare Ndiayla, wobe ndiehi to Goppe.

Q : *Ko hodoum ligue mouhen de ko demale wala ko ngaynaka ?*

M.B : Ko demale e ngaynaka e daanaya.

Q : *Ho ohn wawi meen hallande godoum fiila Bounia Hadde Boula ?*

Dello Balde (D.B) *jaarga* de Mampatim : Ko Hadde Boula sinci doon. Ko ohn watu Moussa Molo yehi Gambie to wire Kessere Kunda ro. Moussa yehi toon Toubaccobe Gambie be naabi mbo Gabon.

Q : *Do école do, hodoum mawroon meen fiila na de hen ?*

Malang Diamanka (M.D): Si ko naanire mi ni taarika Alpha Molo e Moussa Molo ni han, mbo rewani do. Ohn ko tooni Kolda o mbo rewi mbo yehi Guinée Bissau. Do wire Bafata do mbo haddi doon Alpha haddi doon fellu gol. Lamdo wi mbo hadde do ko ohn wire Shayku Oumar. Sayni Toubacco be be ngari pecci leydi ni to Portugais be ngonni ga o Français ketti ga. Ho Moussa ari do wala konu moun doum mi naani. Do ko gahe makko ngoneno do Lountan Boula, Pate Bouya e Koliyel Ndiawro e goddo woneno to wiré Dekka. Ko been woni kelegana be makko be si wona o ngono wo Patim Thibo o Samba Kenndo.

Q : *Fi hodoum addi ha been mbiyya Moussa Molo e konu moun gu dewi do ?*

Q : On va parler de sites anciens que Galle nous a montré, est-ce que vous voulez ajouter quelque chose autour du tumbun de Bounia Bourdo ?

Mama Balde (M.B): Bounia Bourdo a été abandonné au temps de Baba Moulaye.

Q : Pourquoi ils sont partis ?

M.B : A cette époque, s'il y avait des personnes dans un endroit et Allah avait amené de la chaleur, dès qu'il y a quelques qui meurent, ils désertaient le village et partaient.

Q : Qu'est-ce qui habité au village est-ce les Fulakunda ou les Sebbe ?

M.B : C'est les Fulbe qui y habitaient.

Q : Où sont-ils allés après avoir quitté le village ?

M.B : Les uns sont partis à Diourbel et les autres sont partis soit à Saare Ndiayla soit à Goppe.

Q : Faisaient-ils de l'agriculture, ou bien de l'élevage ?

M.D : C'est de l'agriculture, de l'élevage et de la chasse.

Q : Est-ce que vous pouvez raconter quelque chose sur Bounia Hadde Boula?

Dello Balde (D.B): C'est Hadde Boula qui a fondé le village. C'est à cette époque que Moussa Molo est parti en Gambie à Kessere Kunda. Moussa est parti là-bas et les blancs de la Gambie l'ont amené au Gabon.

Q : Sur le site de l'école, est-ce que vous pouvez nous raconter quelque chose ?

Malang Diamanka (M.D): Si c'est de la manière que je l'ai entendu l'histoire d'Alpha Molo et de Moussa Molo, le dernier n'est passé par là. L'autre est passé de l'autre côté de Kolda pour aller en Guinée Bissau. Là où on appelle Bafata c'est là où Alpha il a arrêté de guerroyer. Le roi lui a demandé de s'arrêter là, il s'appelait Shayku Oumar. Quand les blancs sont venus, ils ont divisé le territoire, de l'autre côté les Portugais et de ce côté les Français. La question de savoir si Moussa est venu ici ou son armée était là, je ne l'ai pas entendu. Il y avait ses hommes de confiance ici tels que Lountan Boula, Pate Bouya et Koliyel Ndiawro et un certain Dekka. C'est eux qui étaient les *kelegana*, aussi Samba Kenndo de Patim Thibo.

Q : Pourquoi on nous a dit que Moussa Molo et son armée sont passés par là ?

M.D : Fi lamu moun gu mi yeddani doum, kalla do lamdo woni mbo wadano doon kelegana moudoum, kono fi mbo arri ga o ah ah miin ko gandu mi fi o tata do ko, ko Bainoukobe ngoneno do, Saane niin Maane itoyi be do. Been Saane niin Maane Alfa Molo itoyi be do. Toubacco be guitoyi lamu Alfa Molo gu, ontuma noone be mbadoyi yadde lambe canton dji.

Q : *Ho ko Bainoukobe ngoneno do do hedde ecole do e ko Moussa ari ko doon iwa ?*

M.D : Ha ko Bainoukobe ngoneno do, alla ko Sebbe guiti be do. Si ohn ndiehi Payoungou, ohn ndiehate do Dianke Waly ko doon soudano ko mbo kambani no podda no do, hoddere makko de yihama. Mawbe makko be ko ga ngareno mbo soudde. Ahno addi kambe lamu mbabe gu ko be lontodiran no Saane niin Maane. Lamido doubbi cedda yo ohn itte goddo lamo. Dioni noone kanko ko mbo jibina, mbo itta roon mbo nabba Kabendou. Ko Payoungou woni jibinane de moun de. Mbo soudde doon ha mbo mawni. Lamu lonta gol ari ko, be ngarani mbo do be nabbi mbo.

Notables : I waddi to Biyaro bantague diogui de enddi kono de ndiani piwu

Q : *Biyaro ko horo hetti ?*

Notables : Ko lawol Vélingara gol woni e dow goudron he woni. Bantague didi ngoneno do mbadi heddi no yimbe ni

Q : *Ho Patim e djidi e godoum e Mampatim ?*

M.D : Ko cerna djo Yil Kande wiyo yo « ko ma Parim ar do » ko doum widoum Mampatim.

Q : *Meen ndiehi to tumbun Bounia saare Ndiayla, ho ohn noone mbawi meen hallan de hene ggodoum, ko touma de iwa hobbe ngoneno toon ?*

Sisao Diao (S.D) : Doon ko Tumbun Yero Kumbel wona tumbun Bounia.

Q : *Addi ko tumbun dji didi ngone toon, ngone do hedde foudde nague o et o da mbado mbohe de o. Ko hobbo he mouhen ?*

S.D : Ko odda raan meen ngandi diogui do mbohede o. ko Pidiro raan mawu roon hebbe sinciu no be doon e. Lamu gu woni doon do Pidiro.

Q : *E ko woni e fiira tumbun Yero Kumbel o ko hodoum mbawroon meen hen halland ?*

Notables : Ko Fulbe ngoneno doon. Fulbe ngoeno be doon be ko Pidiro ndiano.

Q : *Meen ndiehi Wupugna, ho ohn noone gandi hen godoum ?*

S.D : Ko toon Yil Kande iwi ari ga sinciu de.

M.D : A propos de son règne je suis d'accord. Là où il installait un roi, il y laissait son *kelegana*. Mais à propos de sa venue, moi ce que je connais c'est à propos de son *tata*. C'est les Bainouk qui y étaient mais c'est les Sane et Mane qui les ont chassés. Ces Sane et Mane, c'est Alfa Molo qui les a chassés ici. Et c'est les blancs qui ont mis fin au pouvoir d'Alfa Molo à la suite, ils ont mis en place des cantons et à leurs têtes des chefs.

Q : *Est-ce que le site tout près de l'école a été habité par les Bainouk et il fut abandonné quand Musa est arrivé ?*

M.D : Oui c'est les Bainouk qui étaient là-bas, mais c'est les Sebbe qui les ont chassés. Si vous allez à Payoungou, vous allez voir là où Dianke Waly était caché lorsqu'il était jeune parce que son étoile avait prédit son avenir. Ses parents sont venus le cacher. Tu sais, ils ont un pouvoir rotatif entre les Sane et les Mane. Chacune de ces familles régnaient un certain temps et l'autre régnait à son tour. Dès qu'il est né, on l'a amené à Kabendou. Il est né à Payoungou. Il était caché jusqu'à ce que son tour de régner arriva et ils sont venus le prendre pour l'introniser.

Notables : Il y a des fromagers à Biyaro qui ont la forme humaine et des seins mais ils sont tous morts.

Q : *Où se trouve Biyaro ?*

Notables : Il se trouve sur la route de Vélingara près du goudron. Il y avait deux fromagers qui avaient la forme humaine et qui avaient des seins.

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a une relation entre le terroir de Patim et Mampatim ?*

M.D : C'est le marabout avec qui Yil Kande qui lui a dit « qu'il faut que Parim vient » ce qui a donné Mampatim.

Q : *On a visité le tumbun Bounia saare Ndiayla, est-ce que vous pouvez nous dire quand est-ce qu'il a été abandonné, qui y vivaient ?*

Sisao Diao (S.D) : Le tumbun Bounia c'est le tumbun de Yero Kumbel.

Q : *Il y a deux tumbun là, celui qui est à l'est et celui qui a les baobabs. C'est lequel d'entre eux ?*

S.D : On ne connaît que celui avec les baobabs. C'est à Pidiro seulement que vous pourrez avoir des informations relatives aux fondateurs. Il y avait un pouvoir à Pidiro.

Q : *En relation au tumbun Yero Kumbel qu'est-ce que vous pouvez nous dire ?*

Notables : C'est des Fulbe qui y habitaient. Ces Fulbe sont partis à Pidiro.

Q : *On nous a amené à Wupugna, est-ce que vous connaissez quelque chose de ce lieu ?*

S.D : Yil Kande vient de ce village.

Q : *Ko hobbo watu de saaka ?*

S.D : Do sincira no de mbo Kounkane ohn i diodi Kounkane cerna djo o

M.D : Be mbi Bainoukobe ngoeno do. Been lami kono mi siku ko kayen tan lamodiri no. Been ko guiwi ko Sebbe be ngari. Been Alpha Molo itti doumen. Alpha Molo ko itti been do ko, toubacco be ngari guitti do Moussa Molo. Moussa Molo e toubacco be ko kebti leydi ha be lami ko ontuma be mbadi canton dji ko wire lamu canton dji ko. Eneen hedde do Abdoul Diallo lami do mbo woni Madina Abdoul. Ohn lami di ha mboyi, Baba Moulaye mbadi leydi nii. Baba Moulaye lami di ha indépendance o ari.

Q : *Quand est-ce qu'il a été abandonné ?*

S.D : Il a été refondé par quelqu'un de Kounkane. Il est actuellement à Kounkane et c'est un marabout.

M.D : Ils ont dit que c'est les Bainouk qui vivaient dans le pays. Ils avaient dirigé le pays. Ils sont suivis des Sebbe. Ceux-ci, c'est Alpha Molo qui les a chassés. Une fois qu'il les a chassés, les blancs sont venus chasser Moussa Molo. Lorsque les blancs et Moussa Molo ont pris le contrôle du pays, ils ont mis en place des cantons, ça c'est passé pendant la période des cantons. De ce côté, Abdoul Diallo était le chef de canton et il s'est installé à Madina Abdoul. Il a dirigé longtemps le terroir et Baba Moulaye l'a remplacé. Baba Moulaye a dirigé le terroir jusqu'à l'indépendance.

30.-SAMASSANDANG

Date : 09/03/2013

Participants: Lamine Sané, Abdoulaye Balde (jarga), Ansou Sané, Malang Sané, Malang Keita Mané, Mamadou Diallo, Yoba Camara, Ganlouko Camara, Mamadou Sané, Yaya Mballo, Bintou Camara.

Note: the official name of the village is Samassandang, but it is locally known as Samasansan.

Q : *Samasansan ko touma sinthia ?*

Abdoulaye Balde(AB) : Ko diamanou Moussa Molo

Q : *Sinthiou do saaré dé ô ko hono mbo wiréno ?*

Lamine Sané (LS): Samasansan veut dire « la clôture de demain », *Sama* veut dire en manding « demain » et *Sansan* « la clôture » d'après notre grand-père. C'est à la chute de l'empire manding du Mali que le royaume de Kansala a été fondé en Guinée Bissau. Lorsque les soldats ralliés Kansala, à chacune de leur escale, ils donnaient un nom à ce lieu. A cette époque, il n'y avait pas de village dans le Pathiana et les devins qui avaient prédit que ce lieu deviendrait un gros village. C'est les Mandingues qui ont fondé le Pathiana. C'est lorsque les Manding sont partis que les Peul sont venus. Ko watu Kansala saaki ko lé saaré dé sinthia Saaré dé ko to fouddi héddé faro to, to foudde nague Banta gui diino toone ko toone bé maddeno biré o Toone bé ndiarad no, toone bé maddeno piwu ko toone Samasansan Woddeno.

Q : *Est-ce qu'on sait les noms des fondateurs ?*

AB: Ko Molo Saba baba Aldiouma Molo sinthiri saaré dé ko Sébbé saaki ko. Ko watu Moussa Molo o doum waddi

Q: *Ko hobbo jarguino saaré dé ko ohn iwi ko?*

AB : Ko Aldiouma Saba

Q: *Watu mbo sinthian no saaré ho ta Sebbe didine do doula do?*

Mamadou Diallo (MD) : Ta mbé ndiéhi

LS : Ho ohn no nganddi Sébbé gaaro no bé do ko Kansala saaki hono bé mbiréno ?

Yoba Camara (YC): Yiri kuntuba Sané est le père de Bidji Sané

LS : Et les fils de ce dernier s'appelaient Duwa Sané, Malang Sané, Numudion Sané

Q : Quand est-ce que Samasansan a été fondé ?

Abdoulaye Balde (AB): Au temps de Moussa Molo

Q : Qui est le fondateur du village ?

Lamine Sane (LS) : Samasansan veut dire « la clôture de demain », *Sama* veut dire en manding « demain » et *Sansan* « la clôture » d'après notre grand-père. C'est à la chute de l'empire manding du Mali que le royaume de Kansala a été fondé en Guinée Bissau. Lorsque les soldats ralliés Kansala, à chacune de leur escale, ils donnaient un nom à ce lieu. A cette époque, il n'y avait pas de village dans le Pathiana et les devins qui avaient prédit que ce lieu deviendrait un gros village. C'est les Mandingues qui ont fondé le Pathiana. C'est lorsque les Manding sont partis que les Peul sont venus. C'est après la chute de Kansala que le village a été fondé. Le village se situait à l'est près de la rizière. C'est sous le fromager qu'ils buvaient du vin. C'est sous cet arbre qu'ils buvaient, et c'est aussi que se faisait tout. C'est là-bas qu'était Samasansan.

Q : Est-ce qu'on sait les noms des fondateurs ?

AB : C'est Molo Saba, le père d'Aldiouma qui a refondé le village. C'est à la suite de l'éclatement des Sebbe, durant la période de Moussa Molo.

Q : Qui a été le jarga qui lui a remplacé ?

AB : C'est Aldiouma Saba

Q : Lorsqu'il fondait le village, les Manding étaient-ils toujours sur les lieux ?

Mamadou Diallo (MD): Ils étaient déjà partis.

Q: Est-ce que vous connaissez les noms des Sebbe qui sont venus après la chute de Kansala ?

Yoba Camara (YC): Yiri Kuntuba Sane est le père de Bidji Sane.

LS : Et les fils de ce dernier s'appelaient Duwa Sané, Malang Sané, Numudion Sané

Q: Est-ce que ko watu bé Fulbé bé ngaari taa Sébbé bé dinido ?

YC : Ko Touba bé ndiéhi.

LS : A la suite de la disparition d'un ou de deux personnes dans un même endroit, les gens se déplaçaient. Notre grand père est parti à Médina Kunsan et a trouvé sur place un certain Al hadji Sané. Il est resté là pendant un bout de temps et il venu à Samasansan

Q : *Ho ko ohn taniraabe mouyeen*

LS : Effectivement

Q : *Ho famille ô ko Kansala iwi arii do?*

YC : C'est leur origine. Ce sont les descendants qui sont nés à Samasansan mais le reste de la famille est venue directement de Kansala.

LS : Parce qu'après la chute de Kansala, certains Manding sont venus ici mais d'autres sont repartis à Kansala.

Q : *Qui est Souman Coly?*

LS : Souman Coly Kanté est notre arrière-grand-père. Notre grand-père s'appelait Al hadji Sané et le père de ce dernier s'appelait Souman Coly Sané.

Q : *Quel était le travail de vos grands-parents, étaient-ils des Kélé-jawra, des rois ou des agriculteurs ?*

YC : Wo tempo kelo lo doron wole hadio. Wo kelo nati dian. Wo diandianind fo Madina, Nata Madina wo touta dje fo dimbaya lafta dje a ye banta dje. Borta ah ye nata Diatel, dje a ye sandi kilin ya touta fulandian a ye nata dian a ye molo Sabaya. Saane Kunda be follo ta Kansala

Après la chute de l'empire Manding, tous les Manding sont sortis de Kansala. Ils étaient venus ici. Notre grand père a accueilli pas mal de gens. Kansala veut dire quelqu'un qui tient ses promesses ou respecter sa parole. A l'entrée de Kansala, à gauche, il y a un tato qu'on appelle Jimara, C'est là-bas que s'installaient les gens qui venaient de la Gambie. Et il y a une ville qui s'appelle Jimara en Gambie. Après Jimara, on entrait dans la ville des rois, notre ancêtre, qui s'appelait Dianke Wali. Ce tata s'appelait Muning. Personne n'a le droit d'entrer là-bas s'il n'est pas descendant de cette famille.

Muning veut dire : « Qu'est-ce que tu est venu chercher ? » et tu ne vas pas sortir sans dire ce qui t'a amené là-bas, les raisons de ta visite. Quand vous allez à Kansala, il y a Berekolon.

Q : *Dian ni Dianke Wali sii ta, mansa diouma lé lorin dje li ?*

YC : Ye moy le Diawara le sita

LS : Il y a cinq rois qui sont venus avant Dianke Wali

Q: *Est-ce que lorsque les Fulbe sont venus, ils ont trouvé des Sebbe sur place ?*

YC : Ils sont partis à Touba.

LS : A la suite de la disparition d'un ou de deux personnes dans un même endroit, les gens se déplaçaient. Notre grand père est parti à Médina Kunsan et a trouvé sur place un certain Al hadji Sané. Il est resté là pendant un bout de temps et il venu à Samasansan.

Q: *Vous êtes leur descendants ?*

LS : Effectivement

Q: *Est-ce que la famille à quitté Kansala pour s'établir là ?*

YC : C'est leur origine. Ce sont les descendants qui sont nés à Samasansan mais le reste de la famille est venue directement de Kansala.

LS : Parce qu'après la chute de Kansala, certains Manding sont venus ici mais d'autres sont repartis à Kansala.

Q: *Qui est Souman Coly?*

LS : Souman Coly Kanté est notre arrière-grand-père. Notre grand-père s'appelait Al hadji Sané et le père de ce dernier s'appelait Souman Coly Sané.

Q: *Quel était le travail de vos grands-parents, étaient-ils des Kélé-jawra, des rois ou des agriculteurs ?*

YC : A ce temps, ils ne faisaient que la guerre. C'est à cause de la guerre qu'ils sont venus ici après avoir passé par Madina, où il [Souman Coly Sane] s'est marié et sa femme [Sabaya Sane]est morte après une année de noces. Il a fui à Diatel. Il y est resté pendant une année et durant la deuxième, il est arrivé à Samasansan pour se réfugier chez Sabaya. Toute la famille des Saane est originaire de Kansala.

Après la chute de l'empire Manding, tous les Manding sont sortis de Kansala. Ils étaient venus ici. Notre grand père a accueilli pas mal de gens. Kansala veut dire quelqu'un qui tient ses promesses ou respecter sa parole. A l'entrée de Kansala, à gauche, il y a un tato qu'on appelle Jimara, C'est là-bas que s'installaient les gens qui venaient de la Gambie. Et il y a une ville qui s'appelle Jimara en Gambie. Après Jimara, on entrait dans la ville des rois, notre ancêtre, qui s'appelait Dianke Wali. Ce tata s'appelait Muning. Personne n'a le droit d'entrer là-bas s'il n'est pas descendant de cette famille. Muning veut dire : « Qu'est-ce que tu est venu chercher ? » et tu ne vas pas sortir sans dire ce qui t'a amené là-bas, les raisons de ta visite. Quand vous allez à Kansala, il y a Berekolon.

Q: *A Kansala, est-ce qu'on connaît les noms de rois qui sont venus avant Dianke Wali ?*

YC : Elle dit qu'elle entendait que c'est un certain Diawara qui y était.

LS : Il y a cinq rois qui sont venus avant Dianke Wali

Q : *Ô wi do e Kansala waddé dé, ko Payoungou capitale gal wono. Ho I wodi I mbodono ngandu do ko wayi e noon do e Kansala sinthie de?*

Notable: Mansaya folo taale Payoungou, a ye folo lale Kabendou, Samasansan après a ye futa Nianawo. Non! Tout ce qu'il vient de raconter, notre grand père qui est décédé nous raconté l'histoire. C'est dire que tous les soldats qui quittaient le Mali, la Gambie se rencontraient à Kabendou. Kabendou était le lieu de rencontre. Kabendou en manding veut dire « se regrouper ». Ils suivent un trajet qui mène sur Payoungou. Le nom de Payoungou veut dire des lianes de lamoudde. Les soldats ont obtenu leur grade à Payoungou. Une fois la cérémonie terminée, certains venaient se reposer parce qu'ils prédisaient que le lieu serait un grand village. Et à Nianawo, ils transporté du vin de palme. Nianawo veut dire : « on mélange ». C'est la particularité de Nianawo. C'était le lieu de la transformation du vin.

Q : *Watu Dianke Wali diodino Kansala, hodde wono do toudde mawde de ?*

Notable : Madina, Diatel, Basse (Gambie), Bafata (Guinée Bissau). Ohn watu toudde galano, ko thiae mawde ngonno.

Q : *Hono Dianke Wali fétiri no leydi moun di?*

YC: Fayda ko Pathiana ran mbo lamino

Notable: Kansala ko Portugais woni. Ko watu dji hare ngonano, ci ah dogani hare han ko hedde diyam ngonano do. E Kansala ko e der faro he woni.

Q: *Ho doum addi hare hakunde Sebbe e Fulbe? Ho doum addi hare de Kansala e ko fi hodoum addi ha Dianke Wali folaa?*

Notable: Ko fi lamu addi ha Fulbe e Sebbe kabbi.

Notable: Ko Alpha wono baba Moussa Alpha Molo ko ndana no. Ko wanioye de raan wono hadioumoun. Ta ben dioguino diawdi ko wahii no naahi, beehi et baali, Sebbe be gathia ha be diaha ladde ran, be gara be mbiya ko Dianke Wali nouli meen meen ngarana naahi di. Be mbagga be diaha.. Be mbanddi no, be mbanddi no ha El Hadji Omar aroyyi. Ko ohn woni dalilah moun ô Ohn ko yahaan no niin, haa mbo arroyi mbo tawi ohn yehi tawi doon debbo makko ô. Ta mawdo I faaki haaa taa wona diedio mbo yo falle mbo djipine dé. Debbo Alpha Molo yehi toupani mbo diyyam mbo yehi mbo mbo loroyi. Mboyyo Bismillah, goreko am I yehi ladde ci mbo ari ohn jetodiran. Ohn diode doone haa Alpha Molo diébba artoyi. Diema ko mbo artii ko mboyyo koddoo no hirtaane garii mbaldoune. Ohn walii done ha weri, mbo lamddi ohn ko hodoum woni thiadele moun de Alpha wi mbo ha mino diogui thiadélé sabouna Sebbe be garta do mbanta to diawdi ni dioguimi naba.

Q : *Avant l'avènement de Kansala, c'est Payoungou qui était la capitale. Est-ce que vous en avez entendu parler ?*

Notable : La royauté a commencé à Payoungou, il a échoué à Kabendou, puis Samasansan et enfin à Nianawo. Non! Tout ce qu'il vient de raconter, notre grand père qui est décédé nous raconté l'histoire. C'est dire que tous les soldats qui quittaient le Mali, la Gambie se rencontraient à Kabendou. Kabendou était le lieu de rencontre. Kabendou en manding veut dire « se regrouper ». Ils suivent un trajet qui mène sur Payoungou. Le nom de Payoungou veut dire des lianes de *lamoudde*. Les soldats ont obtenu leur grade à Payoungou. Une fois la cérémonie terminée, certains venaient se reposer parce qu'ils prédisaient que le lieu serait un grand village. Et à Nianawo, ils transporté du vin de palme. Nianawo veut dire : « on mélange ». C'est la particularité de Nianawo. C'était le lieu de la transformation du vin

Q : *Pendant que Dianke Wali était à Kansala, c'était lesquels les endroits les plus importants?*

Notable : Madina, Diatel, Basse (Gambie), Bafata (Guinée Bissau). C'étaient des gros villages et non des villes, parce qu'il en avait pas.

Q : *Comment Dianke Wali avait réparti son territoire ?*

YC : Il ne dirigeait que Pathiana.

Notable : Kansala se trouve en Portugais⁷. C'était la période des batailles, s'il arrivait de s'en fuir, il fallait s'établir tout près des points d'eau. Même Kansala se trouve sur une rizière.

Q : *Qu'est-ce qui est à l'origine de la guerre entre Manding et Peul et de la bataille de Kansala. Et pourquoi Dianke Wali a été défait ?*

Notable : C'est pour le pouvoir que les Sebbe et les Fulbe se sont fait la guerre.

Notable : C'est Alpha qui est le père de Moussa. Il était un chasseur. Il avait de la richesse de vaches, moutons et chèvres. Les Sebbe attendaient qu'il partait à la chasse pour venir dire que c'est Dianke Wali qui les a envoyés pour prendre un taureau et ils s'en allaient. C'était devenu la routine. C'est El Hadji Omar qui serait le messager. Il était en pérégrination et il est arrivé chez Alpha mais il a trouvé que sa femme. Le vieux était vraiment sale et personne ne voulait l'accueillir. La femme d'Alpha prit le soin de s'occuper de son hôte en allant puiser de l'eau pour qu'il se lave. Elle lui dit que son mari était parti à la chasse et qu'il était le bienvenu. Que de son retour il pourrait le recontrer, Dès son retour Alpha fut informé de la présence de l'étranger dans sa demeure. Il avait un bélier, il a demandé qu'on le tue à l'honneur de son hôte. Alpha lui dit qu'il a des soucis parce que les Sebbe viennent toujours prendre se biens vaches, moutons, et chèvres.

⁷Guinea-Bissau

Ohn wi mbo ah holikam labal min kalan mi faboro ohn. Winani doum nassi, mbo yo mbo ki nassi ah okat doum di gari mbaldi. Ohn wi mbo wona ko kala ko nee ran be naba, yarnou ki nassi gari di. Ontuma mbo neyyi di haa di mawdi, ha di fayyi.

Un jour, mbo yehi wanioye gol Sebbe garoyi done, be tawoyi don debbo makko be nabbi baligui. Be djotoyi tanbe mbari gui be ndiami di. Alpha artoyi tan lamdi debbo makko, horo gari mbaldi di woni, debbo wi mbo Sebbe nabbi di Awa ko nii hare de foudori. Mbo yehi to banta mouyen to, mbo diegui, mboyoyi yimbe saare mambe guimbo de darede Ka ben e Sebbe be, kalla mbo walani kam hare de waloyo kam dodounu Mini mi agacement habde e Sebbe be, mbo wala na ni kam hare de, waloyo kam dodunu de Mbo yehi moloyade Fuuta Jallon, mbo ben no mballou bobo parri hawdde he Sebbe be, ben no mballou bo.

Alpha Yaya, lamdo Fuuta Jallon o, mboyoyi ohn mi arii ma molado sabou paari habbe dé e Sebbe. Ben ta ko be gartani ko be gartinin ko hew ha bourti Dianke Wali, ta cerno makko fenara, Ohn weddi tiedde moun de e wi Dianke Wali, thiedd i am de colikam lamu Sebbe gassi.

Dianke Wali no hebbir no doole ni piwu doum nata hé noppi makodi. Mbo imbini soukabe pour be ndaroya konu fuutanke ko be Be ngarti, be garti be mbaddi leydi be lamdi Dianke Wali ci mboni wahi comptou de leydi ni Sabou Fuutankobe ko ni be potta. Fuuta piwu di araa en habbade. Ko labbi taari mbo nella be Alpha Molo iddi wadde de attaque. Mbo yaddi e Moussa, Dianke Wali en riwi be be garti. Ohn tuma be taari be kawri e konu Funtanke, ontuma be natti toder tata Kansala to. Heddi ko mbaro rir gol taan. Souka be rewbebe mohen be piwu djoli e der woydudu sabou be biyyo kayen be mbontaa maccube Puulo. Baba am wiyo ko sabbu doum addi ha souka bé rewbebe piwu mbartii. Douma addi haa Sebbe be koubbi. Lahwu Sebbe kew no. Keddi be diehi hedde Seju.

Ko be sakki ko Moussa Molo, Alpha Molo e Sadio Firdou Sadio Firdou bour no doole. Moussa Molo dianfoyii Alpha Molo. Ko be ceddi leydi ko Moussa Molo hippoyi Alpha Molo

Moussa Molo hertoyi be to boundou to, be pihi lampaa gadjé, be joridiri de ha toowi. Deen karta haye ci koural tiraama gal wawra yawru de. Dioni Alpha gonoyii haa be domedaa. Kalla mbidde ara ga mbana diyam dam, be mbara bo Sadio Firdou wono to doula bour do wodade ô Be gonoyi do ha hare de imbi hakou de mouhen Moussa e Alpha Molo. Be kabbi haa soukabe Moussa be ndangoyi Alpha, ontuma be mbari Alpha.

Be ndieyyi be mbiyyo yi Moussa be mbaari Alpha Moussa woulli, mboyoyi ohn fotano bo warded Sadio Firdou naani dou mbo iwi Pakane, bo arii bo yo Moussa a waari Alpha Haa forii labbi taari. Moussa wi bo ha mbi waari pac. Mbo lamddi Moussa e bémaa soukabe, kalla tiouche dod no aboom Taanon haye goro souchera mbo abadde. Ko ha do gandou nomii

Q: *Ko hobo place Samasansan dioguino watu lamu Moussa Molo?*

Notables : Ohn watu taa Samasansan sinthia ka tawone. Ko mawdo goddo imbino Diatel ko arii sinthi de saare de. Ko no saare de ko to woneno. Do ye de no sottut de, de araa ga. Lamdo canton ngono Kahoune falla na ka Sebbe be ndiawara do

Celui-ci lui répond : je vais t'aider parce que même tu m'as honoré et je vais moi te rendre les honneurs. Il écrit quelques versets et lui demanda de le donner à boire au bélier. Tout ce que tu élèves, ils le prennent, fait boire au bélier cette eau bénite. Il a élevé le bélier qui est devenu maintenant gros.

Un jour, il parta à la chasse, les Sebbe sont venus trouver sa femme et lui ont dit qu'ils vont prendre le bélier et ils l'ont pris. Dès leur arrivée, ils ont égorgé le bélier et l'ont mangé.

De retour, Alpha demanda à sa femme où était son bélier. Celle-ci lui a répondu que les Sebbe l'avait pris. C'est ainsi que la guerre a commencé. Il est parti à la place publique et à monter sur l'arbre et fait appeler à tout le village et leur dit qu'il fallait qu'ils se battent avec les Sebbe, « celui qui m'aidera pas à combattre les Sebbe m'aidera à m'en fuir » Il est parti demander de l'aide au Fuuta Jallon. Pour leur dire qu'il était prêt pour se battre contre les Sebbe. Le nombre de guerriers qu'ils ont déplacé était impressionnant. Le marabout de Dianke Wali ne se trompait jamais. Il lança ses cauris et dit à Dianke Wali 'mes cauris me disent que c'est la fin du règne des Manding'.

Dianke Wali était tellement puissant qu'il n'a pas écouté. Mais il a envoyé des enfants pour estimer l'armée Fuutanke, ceux de retour ont pris du sable et ont demandé à Dianke Wali s'il pouvait compter les grains. C'est la même chose avec l'armée des Fuutanke. Tout le Fuuta vient nous faire la guerre. Il les a envoyés à trois reprises. Alpha Molo est le premier à attaquer. Il était accompagné de Moussa. Mais Dianke Wali les repoussa et ils sont revenus. Après, ils ont contourné l'armée de Dianke Wali pour aller faire jonction avec celle des Fuutanke. Ils entrèrent dans le tata de Kansala. Ils s'entretenaient. Toutes les filles qui se considéraient comme des reines, se sont jetées dans le puits pour ne pas être les esclaves des Peul. Et pour honorer leur lignée. Mon père me disait que c'est pour cette raison les filles des manding se sont suicidées. Et cela a occasionné la disparition de la race manding. Et le reste est parti vers Seju.

La guerre terminée, entre Moussa Molo, Alpha Molo et Sadio Firdou, Sadio Firdou était le plus puissant. A la suite Moussa a trahi Alpha Molo. Après avoir partagé le territoire, Moussa est parti faire la guerre à Alpha Molo. Moussa Molo est parti poser une embuscade à Alpha Molo auprès d'une mare. Ils ont construit des palissades qui ne pouvaient être traversés par des balles. Dès que la soif ait gagné les gens Alpha, ils se sont approchés de la mare. Quand ils allaient puiser de l'eau, on les abattait. Sadio Firdou était éloigné. Ils ont resté jusqu'à ce que la guerre éclate entre Alpha et Moussa Molo. Ils se sont battus et les enfants de Moussa ont capturé Alpha et l'ont tué.

Ils sont partis dire à Moussa qu'ils avaient tué Alpha. Moussa a pleuré et leur a dit qu'il ne fallait pas le tuer. Quand Sadio Firdou a entendu cela, il a quitté le Pakane. Il s'est déplacé et a demandé à Moussa Molo : est-ce que tu as tué Alpha ? A trois reprises, Moussa a répondu qu'il l'avait vraiment tué. Et il a demandé à Moussa si l'un des jeunes avait le courage de le suivre pour se battre avec lui. Mes connaissances s'arrêtent là.

Q : *Quel place avait Samasansan durant la période de Moussa Molo ?*

Notable : A cette période, Samasansan n'était pas encore fondé. C'est un vieux qui a fondé le village et il venait de Diatel. Le village s'est déplacé de l'est vers l'ouest. Le chef de canton de Kahoune ne voulait pas que les Sebbe quittent la localité.

LS: Saare idda de sinthie de do ne ko Diatel taa hare Kansala de gassi, Moussa Molo. Kalla saare wonde sinthia de ko Diatel iwri. Baba ameen wi palla nokka arde do. Baba Molo Saba en ko arii do sinthiu de ko, cerna djo widoum saare de wawra tabite de tant ko ah addani do ceddo, saabu saare de ko saare Sebbe. Lamu canton falla no ka be djodo do, sabou ko taniraabe jibinande Kansala wone do. Te ben ngandi hare dji diawrou no dji.

Q: *Samasansan ko e hobo canton tawano?*

Notable: ko e canton Kahoune he tawano

Q: *Lawu leydi ko e toundou feccira, Samasansan ko e hodou toundou tawano?*

Notable: Ko e Pathiana ô

Q: *Hono lamdo canton ô wireno?*

Notables: Ko Deme Monde Mballo ohn wodeno Bayel et Nia monde. Ontuma Bayel Mballo lonti baba moun Niamonde yehi hede Badiou Bantan bo lamoyi ton. C'est Bayel qui était chef de canton, il a pris Sam Bothie et l'a installé de son côté. Il a envoyé Nia monde à Paroumba

Q: *Ko hoddi lédji ngoni do e saare de e hono di ngarddi do?*

Notables: Ko ledji taari ngone do: Fulacounda be, Sebbe e Fulbe Fuuta. Ko Fulacounda be be guidi do are de, abbi Sebbe be e warini Fulbe Fuuta be

Q: *Hodde djeto dje gonii e saare de?*

Notables : Balde, Sane, Mballo, Diao, Diallo, Sow, Camara

Q: *Ho bayelo be inine e der saare do?*

Notables: Waylube ngala e der saare de

Q: *Ho wodde no lawu ?*

Notables: Medda do wone de. I y avait une cérémonie qu'on organisait sous le fromager qui est mort à l'honneur des femmes stériles pour qu'elles fécondent et toutes sortes de prières pourraient être formulées. A l'occasion, il fallait préparer de quoi manger et les vieilles dansées jusqu'à la prière de 17 heures.

Q: *Ho honone nganddi e baral saare de madde dji boyddi?*

LS : Après les guerres de Kansala et de Moussa Molo, le premier village fondé est Diatel. Tous les fondateurs des villages environnants sont venus de Diatel. Mon père disait qu'il ne voulait pas venir ici. C'est le père de Molo Saba quand il a fondé le village, le marabout lui a dit pour que le village perdure il fallait qu'il ait un Ceddo parce que c'est un village Sebbe. Les chefs de canton ne voulaient que ces derniers s'installent sur place parce qu'ils avaient des souvenirs des guerres passées. De plus, c'est la descendance de Kansala qui était question. Parce que s'il y a deux sortes de pouvoir qui se rencontrent sur un même territoire, cela amène des problèmes.

Q : *Samasansan faisait partie de quel canton ?*

Notable : Il faisait partie du Canton de Kahoune.

Q : *Dans quelle terroir était Samasansan avant?*

Notable : Dans le Pathiana.

Q : *Comment s'appelait le chef de canton ?*

Notable : Il s'appelait Deme Monde Mballo. Il avait deux fils Bayel et Nia monde. À la mort de Deme Monde, Bayel Mbayo le remplaça et Nia monde est parti à Badiou Bantan pour y être chef de canton. C'est Bayel qui était chef de canton, il a pris Sam Bothie et l'a installé de son côté. Il a envoyé Nia monde à Paroumba

Q : *Quels sont les lignages qui habitent dans le village et quel est leur ordre d'arrivée ?*

Notable : Ils sont trois : les Fulacounda, les Sebbe et les Fulbe Fuuta. Les Fulacounda sont les premiers venus, ils ont fondé le village ensuite les Manding et enfin les Fulbe Fuuta.

Q : *Quels sont les noms de famille qui existent au village ?*

Notable : Balde, Sane, Mballo, Diao, Diallo, Sow, Camara

Q : *Est-ce qu'il y a des forgerons dans le village ?*

Notable : Il n'y a pas de forgerons dans le village

Q : *Y'avait-il auparavant ?*

Notable : Il n'y a jamais eu de forgerons. Il y avait une cérémonie qu'on organisait sous le fromager qui est mort à l'honneur des femmes stériles pour qu'elles fécondent et toutes sortes de prières pourraient être formulées. A l'occasion, il fallait préparer de quoi manger et les vieilles dansées jusqu'à la prière de 17 heures.

Q : *Est-ce que vous connaissez des choses anciennes aux alentours du village?*

YC: Ci thietiel yoni haan wala ci meen mbelti maa haan, mbeen mbiyya haan enon piwu ko ro tiagol to, meen pihaameen gaam. Mawdo ameen ô wiya mbayrii ko mbeyddo no meen dja meen gaamana bo. Ko no jalan ji ni wayino. Ko Tening Ba wireno, odda ro ko Dado wireno kallon. Odda ngone to tiagol to ko Salimarou wireno

LS: Ayi doum piwu atie haan ko fii dina Islam ka. Ci ayii haade Kansala won aka, ko doum addi

Q: *Ho guide I joguino indde wone dé?*

Notables: ko tynpakolon (e cedde) e joloun founture (e Fulacounda)

YC : Pendant la saison des pluies ou que nous soyons contents, on convoque tout le monde à la rizière, on va chanter et danser. Notre aîné nous disait puisque c'est une mère, il fallait qu'on y aille lui faire la fête. C'était semblable aux jalan. L'une s'appelait Tening Ba, l'autre s'appelait Dado et aussi il y avait une troisième du nom de Salimarou.

LS : C'est à cause de l'Islam que ces pratiques ont cessé. Même, s'il n'y a pas de gens Kansala, c'est en grande partie pour la même cause.

Q : *Est-ce que les guides avaient un autre nom ?*

Notable : Ils s'appelaient Tynpakolon (en manding) et jounloun fouture (en Fulacounda)

31.-Missira Koutayel

Date : 23/03/2013

Participants: Al hadji Alpha Molo Balde

Ko miin woni Al Hadji Alpha halan ta ohn do o histoire. Miin neen ko meen legnol Alpha Molo. Alpha Molo woni koro Bakari Demba. Bakari Demba woni koro Boulou Eggue. Ah naani. Bakari Demba woni mama am.

Q: Hono mbo wireno?

AMB: Ko ohn wireno Kourayel Bakari Demba

Q: Hono de saare wireno?

AMB: Ko Missira Koutayel. A naani? Communaute rurale de Fafacourou, departement de Medina Yoro Foula. Ko doubi temedere e dienayyi. Di leydi ko Sebbé soninkobe lamino di doubi témédéré e thiappandé dioyi e dioyi. Houddé yo i diogui do foti hadde dé, mbayri ko Allah ô diogui houddé fof ko Sebbé tan lamino. Doum ko foti ko, Allah addi ohn lonto i doum. Ohn woni jibbine do mama dji ameen di, din ameen mama dji jibbini baba dji ameen di, ko ohn wiréno Malal, ko foudde nagué mbo iwri, ko Bamabaranké woneno. Ko mbo iwira foudde nagué ko, ta ko Niebbi (Elephants) bé raddara. Doum none wiya yo Niebbi ko hirnagué di ngoni. Ta mawbé tessirinoma ô kallon do mbo wawi wone dé e leydi mbo hebta di. Ko ni bé mbédi mbo. Mbo arddi e guiddi makko , mbo arddi ni arddé ha Fouta Jallon

Ta sernabé e waliyabé bé nouli é Almamé Oumar wi yama no goddo i ara, mbo souwa arddé kono ngathirone mbo hakilé. Ko néddo mawdo, no kétéron mbo, lébbi noppi di di nialtti, ah wawate di nangou dé kabadi si ohn nié i no ohn ni, maddé féré ha jontinombo ga, sabou kallon leydi ni mbo wono yi mbo dié yaa di. Waliyabé Fouta bé, wono yi doubbi diédidi mbo fégnó yi. Mbo ardayi Mali, mbo nantiri Fouta Jaloon. E leydi Fouta Jallon, bé nie i mbo ran, bé mbiyyo hou, ohn nié i ô no cifori ! mawbé none kalino fi ô. Haddi naben mbo kollo yen mbo Almamé.

Bé mbihi mbo dioni niéhen to Fouta Niébbi ko tone bouri hewédé. Tayyi ko bé kolli yoran mbo niin. Haa bé jotti to Fouta, bé salmini, bé mbiyyo minéen no mben payi neddo ko none mben ngarddi e makko do mbiyire no daani. Mbo yo awa ngaddé yé mbo, mbo féwu mbo ran mbo oti. Ta din gotali, saaré dé piwu nano di ontuma bé nganda woddi ko waddi, kayén piwu bé rentaa doula goro. Té wono bé ndendi, bé salmodiri, mbo yo awa mbi yihi koddo ô awa jippinoyo yé mbo. Mbé jippinoye hi mbo. Bé ngarti, mbo yo bé yo ko ohn tiguí. Ko ohn tiguí wonine. Awa jippino yé mbo. Mbayri bé jippinoye hi mbo, gobbé mbi hi bé palle té mbo warddé ! Kono debbo godó dewri hiradé ran adani mbo, wi mbo mawdo ci a hircii ma ran ya hoy dé sabou wone ko halla do dé wono doum taw ma do. Mawdo wi yi mbo i di ! debbo ô wi hi ha, mbo yo awa diarama

C'est moi Al hadji Alpha qui raconte cette histoire. Nous sommes de la lignée d'Alpha Molo. Alpha Molo est le grand-frère de Bakari Demba. Bakari Demba est le grand-frère de Yéroyel. Yéroyel est le grand-frère de Boulou Eggué. As-tu entendu ? Bakari Demba est mon grand-père.

Q: Comment il s'appelait ?

A.M.B: : Il s'appelait Kourayel Bakari Demba

Q: Comment s'appelle cette localité ?

A.M.B: C'est ici Missira Koutayel As-tu entendu ? Communauté rurale de Fafacourou, département de Médina Yéro Foula. Je suis âgé de 109 ans. Les Sébbé ont régné sur ce territoire durant 150 ans, pareil pour les Sonninkés. Toute chose à une fin puisque c'est Dieu qui En est le Détenteur de toute chose. Ils ont régné sans partage durant tout ce temps. Allah a décidé que le moment avait moment de les succéder arriva par la volonté divine. C'est le père de notre arrière-grand-père : c'est lui Malal. Il est venu de l'est et il était un Bambara. Lorsqu'il quittait l'est, il était un chasseur d'éléphants et on lui a dit qu'ils étaient nombreux à l'ouest. Mais les anciens avaient prédit que là où il s'établira sur un territoire, il y régnera. C'est ainsi qu'on lui a envoyé sur cette direction et il est venu avec son fusil de chasse. C'est ainsi qu'il est venu jusqu'au Fouta Jallon.

Entre temps, les érudits du Fouta Jallon étaient allés auprès d'Almamy Oumar pour lui avertir de sa venue. Il n'était pas encore venu mais il devait y prêter attention. C'est un homme de grande taille, la manière dont ils devaient le reconnaître étaient de la manière suivante : les cheveux de ses oreilles sont longs, on peut les tenir et les tresser. Si vous voyez ce genre d'homme, faites tout pour l'amener auprès de nous parce que là où s'installera, il y régnera. Sept années se sont passées, c'est à ce moment que les érudits l'ont vu. C'est du côté du Mali qu'il est entré au Fouta Jallon. Dès qu'ils l'ont aperçu, ils ont commencé à parler de son aspect, les anciens avaient parlé de lui. Et si on allait le montrer aux Almamy ? Et ils lui ont dit 'il faut aller au Fouta, les éléphants y abondent'. Or, ils voulaient le présenter aux Almamy.

Dès qu'ils sont arrivés au Fouta, ils saluèrent et ils ont exprimé leur étonnement vis-à-vis d'un homme et on est venu avec lui comme l'aviez voulu. Et il leur a demandé de l'amener et dès qu'il l'a aperçu, il a fait du bruit Ce bruit était le signe d'un évènement et aussi de convocation d'une assemblée. Dès qu'ils se sont rassemblés, ils se sont salués. Il leur a demandé d'installer l'étranger. ils ont exécuté l'ordre. Après ils se sont retournés auprès de l'Almamy et ce dernier leur a dit 'c'était l'homme dont il parlait'. Après cela, certains d'entre eux ont voulu qu'on le tue, mais il y avait une femme. Après avoir terminé de préparer le diner, elle est parti servir l'étranger et lui a demandé s'il a fini de prendre son repas de s'en aller parce qu'il y a quelque chose qui se prépare à son encontre. L'étranger lui a demandé si ce qu'elle disait était vrai. La femme lui a répondu affirmativement ce dernier la remercia.

Mbo hirti ha mbo haari, mbo tadjiri to mbawo bambé to, mbo wouddi. Mbayri mbo wouddi, djéma bé ngaro yi bé tawani mbo done. Bé niéhi bé mbiyi yo Cerno ô bé tawani mbo done. Cerno wiyi bé dioni wona gnabé do mbo yabi do dé, maddé réré ha mi yiha tépéré makko dé. Bé niahi bé mbi mbo tépéré dé inine ko doum woni Malal dé. Mbo nagui tépéré dé mbo yo awa Bismillah. Mbo yo ngandé dé kam danpouuran, mbayri ko waliyabé mbo diangui e nder leydi tépéré dé mbo waddi e lantine ô mbo wérli.

Ta mbo wihi, di leydi kalla do ni yano yi ko nine leydi mbo halfoyra. Ko ni mbo weddi ni to Fouta Jallonni yani Soulabaly ga ga Sénégal. Soulabaly ko ni mbo ardi doone tawi doone Samba Eggué pullo kardo. Wondi doone e ohn ta none ko dioma céddé. Mbayri mbo yottima doone bé nine naanda. Mbo tawi Samba Eggué i jibbini bido debbo ohn kabire jibbina é moussou koykanlle Ngardi Cernabé nguéri ma nguéddima korima Mbayri mbo yi hi Malal mbo yo Malal ah yi iô am bido ko ni jibbina diawdi yo diawdi wadda ma e moun mbo horima celoudé. Dioni none mbo holla mba doum ndaara, mbo yo addoum mbo, ohn addi mbo mbo laari Mbo yo awa hén guerro ro ci Allah diabi hén guerro ro. Mbo yo mbo ko e dow dalilou dé ! Ci Allah waddi ko miin woni cerno makko mbayri alla ko woni wadda ka ! Ci tawi mii cellini koygal gal ha gal celli ha anddi kal celli ah okara mbo Ah okaram mbo. Mbo yo alla ci ah cellini mbo ha mbo celli mi anddi mbo celli ah hébbi beygoum. Ko nii mbo waddi céddé mbo taapi céddé mbo werli mbo yo dioni hén guerro ro. Ko nii mbo natiiri mbo diin niawda koygal Coumba gal. Ko Coumba Eggué mbo wiréno

Q : *Bido debbo Samba Eggué ko Coumba wiréno ?*

AMB: Ha ko Coumba Eggué ko ohn jibbini Alpha Molo hén. Ah naani ?

AMB: Ko Coumba Eggué . Mbo niaw ni koygal hagal celli. Ba gal celli bé palla mbo dianfa dé, bé ngara daboudé debbo ô Samba Eggué wiyo mbo yo cii ah athiani mii okira debbo ô ? Malal wi hi mbo ko hodoum kal dou no dén ? Samba yiyi mbo ko miino da ci ah cellini gal celli na gal cellani ? Malal wiyi mbo gal celli. Awa ko kaldou no dén ko mbaata. Mbo yo awa Bismillah ko mbi okiri mba Coumba Eggue. Ah naani ! Ko naana ko ni mbo réciiri Coumba Eggué.

Q: *Malal ko daanan wono ?*

AMB: Ha ko daanan mbayri mbo récii Coumba Eggué bé ngondi doone Bé ngondi doone bé ngondi doone ha mbo jibbino yi Alpha Molo, jibbini Bakari Demba. Jibbini Yéroyel Eggué, jibbini Boulou Eggué, Demboye Eggué ko ohn jibbini baba ameen Ko ohn wono Korop. Di tata dji do ngone do ko ohn diamanou mabbé wono Korop. Ah naani ! Mbaye bé ngondi doone mbo oki ohn gallé bé ngono yi toone

Une fois qu'il a fini de manger, il est passé par la route qui mène aux champs et quand ils sont venus la nuit, ils ne l'ont pas trouvé. Ils sont partis avertir le maître que l'étranger était parti, qu'il n'était plus sur les lieux. Le maître leur a demandé de l'amener pour voir les pas de ce dernier. Et ils l'ont amené jusqu'au niveau des pas de Malal Et il a ramassé le sable sur lequel il y avait toujours les pas de Malal Il a demandé qu'on l'amène un chasse d'oiseaux parce que c'est des érudits, il a prononcé des formules sur le sable et il a lancé le sable.

Avant il avait dit 'là où ce sable allait tomber, c'est sur ce territoire qu'il allait gouverner'. C'est ainsi que le sable fut envoyé de Fouta Jallon et il est venu tomber sur Soulabaly du Sénégal. C'est ainsi qu'il est venu à Soulabaly et il a trouvé sur place Samba Eggué, un Peul bien bâti. Il est resté avec ce dernier puisqu'il avait des cauris. Il a continué à chasser, il a trouvé que Samba avait une fille qui souffrait d'une maladie du pied. Elle est née avec cette maladie. Les marabouts ont tout fait pour la guérir mais rien n'a marché. Lorsqu'il a parlé avec Malal, il lui a présenté sa fille en lui disant « ma fille est née avec cette maladie et j'ai dépensé beaucoup de fortune pour la faire soigner mais il n'est pas guéri. Maintenant je te la présente pour que tu l'auscultes. Ce dernier lui a demandé de l'amener et on l'amena. Et il a dit qu'il allait essayer avec la volonté divine. Mais c'est à une condition: si je parviens à la guérir puis que tout a été fait, si je parviens à guérir son pied et que tu constates que le pied est guéri, tu me la donneras comme épouse'. Samba a dit qu'il y avait pas de problème là-dessus si elle guérit vraiment il l'a une épouse Ensuite il a consulté ses cauris et il a haussé la tête et a dit qu'on allait essayer . C'est ainsi qu'il a entamé le traitement du pied de Coumba. Elle s'appelait Coumba Eggué

Q: *La fille de Samba Eggué s'appelait Coumba ?*

A.M.B: Oui elle s'appelait Coumba Eggué, c'est la mère d'Alpha Molo. As-tu-entendu ?

A.M.B: C'est Coumba Eggué. Il a soigné le pied et ils ont voulu le trahir. Les gens ont commencé à demander sa main, Samba Eggué lui a dit qu'il n'allait pas lui donner sa fille en mariage. Et Malal lui a rappelé leur accord. Samba lui a dit 'si tu parvenais à la guérir, c'est fait ou pas ?' Malal lui ai répondu 'le pied est guéri, maintenant tu dois respecter notre accord .Et celui-ci lui a étiait d' accord en lui a donné la main de Coumba Eggué. As-tu-entendu ? Que tu entends, c'est ainsi qu'il a épousé Coumba Eggué.

Q: *Malal était-il chasseur ?*

A.M.B: Oui, c'était un chasseur. Une fois qu'il a épousé Coumba Eggué, il est resté avec celle-ci sur place. Ils sont restés ensemble jusqu'à la naissance d'Alpha Molo, de Bakari Demba, de Yéroyel, de Boulu Eggué et Demboye Eggué. Ce dernier est mon grand-père paternel.C'est lui qui s'est installé à Korop. Les tata de Korop leur sont contemporains. As-tu entendu ? Puisqu'ils ont décidé de s'installer, Samba leur donna une maison.

Allah no waddara, Saykou Oumar ko Makka iwri, ohn naani Saykou Oumar. Allah wi doum yah hirnagué wadji goror naane toon ohn okkama. Ndia ha thiakita madda é dioudé makko. Hawri mbo iwiri Makka mbo arti . Mbo ari ha e leydi Inglaï. Ah naani ! Mbo jippi doone e djéma mbo waddi do tilis makko mbo natti kalwa. Ah naani ! Mbayri mbo woni done hakou dé mayyo go e saaré dé ko do mbo waddi tilis makko. Yimbé bé i pouma, Sébbé i pouma. Ko do Goundoul mbo waddi tilis makko ô. Ko doone mbo naati kalwa. D o Goundoul tiguï. Mbayri mbo naati kalwa, Sebbé bé ngari i mbira « I mallon nien kewo ah maan kendéya, ah thiaffarta lé. Souwo félinti ah maan fouta dié, niin ah maan kendéya »

Ha debbo goro taawi mbo doone. Mbayri fori dioni baldé didi yiha ni ô i yaara, ô i niama, mbo celli. Mbayri mbo celli mbo salmini mbo ; wi mbo « salam alaykum » Saykou wi doum « mallé kum salam » « I yé mandinka moylé » debbo lam ni mbo Saykou wi mbo halla yo halla ka kal da do mi naane ka. O wi saykou dioni ko fallimin, miino yiyama é dé laddé alla ko niam da alla ko ndiare da Dioni ci ah niamade niamélé ameen dé haan woni hiraadé, botaari e kathirari mii adda na ma.

Saykou wiyo mbo ko mi néddo no mani taan, kalla ko ngokou dakam mi niamade. No houddé dé foudori ni i jourri. Ah naani ! Awa mbo widoum bismillah ! Ko doone mbo ligui ha gndé mbo gayni dé ko oniane mbo okka wi ya no mbo are Soulabaly. Ko do ô gore ko woni. Tawi none adadé so gore ko noone Samba Eggué, cernabé halifabé ngari yo mbi ya mbo do lamu inn do ; Awa sikki ko kagne ; djéma e nialorema rewubé i deffa. Haye taako cernaabé dji raan bé dogaa ta bé taampi e deffu. Rewubé fulbé taampi. Mbayrti bé tampi. Go ka do mbayri ara, taa wona kagne okka. Ko ni Saykou Oumar lamdori to Soulabaly woniri ? wiya ko yesso. Ko do ko ; ko do ko ha mbo yoti Soulabaly. Mbayri mbo yotti ma Soulabaly taay ontuma ta jébéren, Ah naani !

Hénen mbi dén jenku Saykou Oumar wi i salamaleykoum raan mbo yéthiri taa rewubé i nio ah tiinko cerno djoari miin dé haan mi fawani, min dé han mi fawani. Fof i houli imi nédé Mbayri ohn wi salamaleykoum, mbo yiha ni ô mbayri ko to ley jébéren to mbo wono e mbo niin nana rewubé bé i mbiya min dé haan mi fawani mbo yo ohn ya salamou ma alla do. Mbo wi ni Saykou Oumar

Q: *Ko Samba Eggué wi mbo yo salamou ma da alla do ?*

AMB: Ha ! Ontuma Saykou Oumar wi mbo salamou aleykoum. Samba Eggué wi mbo salamou ma alla do. Ontuma Saykou Oumar wi mbo mbaye taan wona ah Pullo. Anddi charia ko taari : ko mbo yo bismillah, wala salamou am alla e gallé ma kono e nano e wourro do. Nano e wouro ma do. No harré dé ardi rani Awa tawi ko Molo Eggue mbo wiré.

Q: *Ko Alpha Molo ?*

Avec la bonté divine, Saykou Oumar est revenu de son pèlerinage Vous avez entendu parler de lui ! Muni d'un message divin, il est envoyé à l'ouest pour le transmettre à un homme. Tu lui remets ce message. Cela s'est produit de son retour de la Mecque, et il est venu jusqu'en Anglais⁸ As-tu entendu ? C'est ainsi qu'il s'est installé là et c'est là qu'il est entré dans sa retraite spirituelle As-tu entendu ? Il s'est installé entre le village et le fleuve, c'est là qu'il est entré en retraite spirituelle Les gens font des va-et-vient, les Sébbé aussi passent. C'est à Goundoul qu'il s'est installé et à effectuer sa retraite spirituelle. C'est à Goundoul même Puisque c'est là qu'il s'est retiré, les Sébbé disaient « on ne sais pas ce que cet homme cherche ici. Il n'est pas saint, il s'est pas installé dans les maisons, ce n'est pas normal »

Une femme est venue auprès de lui, parce pendant deux jours, ils ne l'ont pas vu boire ni manger et elle a décidé de lui rendre visite. Sur place, elle lui a salué en disant 'salam alaykum'. Saykou lui a répondu: 'malle kum salam'. La femme lui a dit ' est-ce que tu comprends le mandinka?' Saykou lui a répondu 'je comprends n'importe quelle langue'. Elle dit à Saykou, ' tu est dans cette brousse sans manger ni boire. Maintenant si tu manges notre nourriture qu'il soit le diner, le déjeuner et le petit déjeuner je peux t'en amener.

Saykou lui a dit 'je suis une personne comme vous, je peux manger tout ce que vous mangez'. L'histoire est longue. As-tu entendu ? Elle lui dit que s'est bon ! C'est ainsi qu'il est resté sur ce lieu durant sa retraite jusqu'à son terme. Et le jour qu'il devait partir pour Soulabaly. C'est ainsi qu'il est venu. Les marabouts avaient dit à Samba Eggué que cette localité était destinée à devenir un centre de pouvoir. Et ce dernier avait pensé que s'était lui, matin et soir les femmes préparaient sans cesse. Même si elles entendaient l'arrivée d'un marabout, elles fuyaient parce qu'elles étaient fatiguaient de préparer pour ces étrangers interminables. Les femmes peules étaient épuisées, elles étaient fatiguées, et que le messie était annoncé et puisque c'était pas lui. C'est ainsi que Saykou Oumar demanda la direction qui mène à Soulabaly et les gens lui ont répondu 'c'est devant'. Il a suivi les indications jusqu'à arriver à Soulabaly. C'était l'époque des tentes. As-tu entendu ?

Nous le disons Jenku. Saykou Oumar leur a dit 'salam alaykum' il (Samba Eggué) s'est retourné entre temps les femmes faisaient leurs commérages disant que c'est un autre marabout. Moi je ne me sens pas bien aujourd'hui. Toute une chacune avait peur qu'on la choisit. Puisque quand Saykou a dit salam alaykum Samba Eggué ne l'a pas vu puisqu'il était sous la tente et qu'il avait reçu les échos de l'état de forme des femmes, il lui répondit que ta paix n'était chez moi .Il répondit ainsi Saykou Oumar

Q: *Est-ce Samba Eggué qui lui a dit que ta paix n'était pas chez lui ?*

A.M.B: Oui ! C'est ainsi que Saykou Oumar lui a adressé ses salutations. Et Samba Eggué lui a dit qu'il n'était pas le bienvenu. Et Saykou Oumar a dit 'puisque tu n'est pas un peul, tu sais la loi divine c'est à troisième reprise ! Il a dit d'accord, je ne suis pas le bienvenu chez toi mais je le suis dans le village. Je suis le bienvenu dans le village. C'est les début de la guerre. Il s'appelait Molo Eggué

Q : *C'est Alpha Molo ?*

⁸Gambie

AMB: Tawi ko Molo Eggué mbo wiréno. Molo Eggué e minie rawo moun ô Dembel Eggué baba baba ameen ô. Kahéne ontuma cii thiédu waddi han ranabé ko to guidi djie makkoro no ndiaha to laddéro bé madda toon touri bé madda toon gaddiré ta wéri haan. Thié e de piwu ko toon daboye ra mafé. Awa houri done mben to laddé Mbo tawo yi do gallé do Coumba Eggué. Mbo yo salamaleykoum ta Coumba Eggué i ounna. O wi maley koum salam jotté dé bismillah kissan. Ko ni mbo laari mbo tawi ko cerno. Ta yi ontuma sabba dji mou héne ko léppi nayyi. Ko doum bé kadoro no. Ah naani !

Ko ni mbo tari, mbo anddi ô ko Cerno woni. Ontuma korlodé lawdié rénio bé madda doum dow damugal soudou do. Dén ko korelodjé coré. Ta wona kodo tédudo bé ndiarda den. Ko koddó tédudo ari haan dé mbilto yé. Okiré koddó yaara Mbo mbiltoyi dén mbo addi, mbo okki Saykou Oumar. Saykou Oumar toubi yaari cedda mbo yo Coumba no wadde do tassaldé do ohn waddi. Mbo yi ahn to joma gallé ma woni ? Héto dé ba, ko mawbé kallani mi ni dé, kambé jibbini meen Ah naani! O wi horro joma gallé ma woni ? Ö mbé din to laddé ko toon mbé ngoni. Mi nélanin mbo ara Saykou Oumar wi mbo hay ah nelani mbo haan mbo aradé Ko doum mbo hallani Coumba Eggué. Addadé doum none Coumba Eggué yéhi to baba moun wi doum yo

Mino jippini hombé. Allah waddi kossaam ngondam do dam piwu hourré Kay hén dowdow dé naba né Saykou Oumar. A yi mbo wino salamou ma alla do ô. Allah wouré tii doum kalla ko wone do gallé do nabé né Saykou Oumar. Ha djéma Molo horri ndanadé, mbo tempi ni mama ameen Bakari Demba. O wi Dembel mi horri to thiou di mi horri ma ndanadé. Mi yi i gallé meen ô piwu i houbba, mi andda ci mii taw ra ci mbo souma ni. Mbo yo ci mi wi i mi dane toon taan mi yiyah ndiaygol gol. Dembel wi mbo ya.

Ko ni mbo fokiri ko do ko ha mbo yotti. Coumba naani kibire damou gal taan mbo anddi Molo ari, ko ni mbo addi diyam. Molo wi Coumba min dé mi yaar taan ni tawon. Ko min e taadlam bérédam mawdam ngardou mi do. Sabou galle o piwu ko diaygol waddi ha mbi mi Dembel mi yaahi mi lara. Ko matti mi saaré dé ko nie mi gallé o souma ni. Ko doum artirimi Ko doone Coumba Eggué wi mbo yo gallé ô soumani kono ah tawri koddó dé. Sabou ndo bo andiri ta niin ô ko Allah oki mbo. Allah ndiogui doum e tendugal, sabou debbo moun ndiabi mbo ô ndiogui oum e tenduggal. Mbo wadani doum tenduggal o ko goreko fori waddan dé koddó moun. Mboni diogui guerto gal gal di walnino, mbo wari gal. Mbo yo ko Saykou wadané botaari gal hirça. Mbo din def gal mbo nin defa gal, ha do mbo faala sahoye dé mbo taawi gala guerto gal mbarano gal di mbouppi. Mbo taawi gal di mbouppi. Mbo dogui mbo yi e cerno min dé mi hébi hawdé, gal guerto gal défano mi gal ha pii pari sahoye dé gal di mbouppi kalan e dow bothio dé moun dé Ko doone Saykou wi doum ko ah modjo, waata houl Allah lontiini.

Coumba Eggué wi mbo ko koddó taw da, Saykou anddi mbo artii. Coumba waddi tassala ha mbo héwi nabbi di to mbawo soudou ro. Saykou yéhi mbo salligoyi yi, mbo arii mbo diouli Ontuma mbo ari mbé salmodiri, o wi Coumba ho diom gallé ma arani ?Mbo yo mbo ari kaye, mbo yo ko ahn mbo faddi cii ah gayni mi wadda mbo hiro Mbo ara salmodiron Mbayri mbo gayni mbo yo Coumba wi Molo ara si mbo gayni Mbaye damougal moun gal i oudiri mbo wouddi to soudou moun taan mbé kawri Mbo yo kagne mbo arantinin salmin dé mbé kawri ga yaye.

A.M.B: Oui c'est Alpha Molo. Le petit-frère de Molo Eggué s'appelait Dembel Eggué notre grand-père. Quand la saison sèche arrivait puisque ils étaient des chasseurs, ils prenaient leurs fusils de chasse et se retiraient dans la forêt et ils construisaient des tentes, le matin venu, les villages allaient chez eux pour s'approvisionner en viande pour leur consommation. Et ils y restent. Il (Saykou Oumar) y trouva Coumba Eggué chez elle. Il le salua pendant ce temps elle pillait Elle lui répondit veiller arrivée. C'est par la suite qu'elle s'est rendue compte que s'était un marabout à cette époque, leur pagne était fait à la main. C'est ce qu'elles portaient. As-tu entendu ?

Ensuite elle fit le tour et à constater que c'était un marabout. A cette époque il y avait des pots mis à l'entrée de la chambre. C'était des pots de Calebasses. Seulement les étrangers avaient le droit d'être servis avec ces ustensiles et ce n'était pas n'importe quel étranger aussi. C'est ainsi qu'elle alla prendre le pot pour servir Saykou Oumar. Ce dernier prit le pot et bu une gorgée et demanda à Coumba de mettre le reste dans le bouilloire. Et l'a demandé auprès de son mari. Ecoute mon fils ! C'est les anciens qui me l'ont conté, c'est eux qui sont nos parents. As-tu entendu ? Il lui a demandé une fois de plus son mari ? Il est en brousse, c'est là-bas qu'ils se sont installés. Je vais envoyer un messenger auprès de lui. Saykou Oumar lui a dit 'ce n'est pas la peine d'envoyer quelqu'un, il va venir' C'est ça qu'il a dit à Coumba Eggué. Avant cela, Coumba Eggué était partie voir son père pour lui dire qu'il y avait un étranger

Allah avait fait qu'il y avait du lait caillé et tout le beurre pour servir à Saykou Oumar. Tu vois, celui dont on avait dit que sa paix n'était pas là. Dieu en a fait tout ce que s'était préparé chez Samba, une partie était amenée à Saykou Oumar. La nuit tomba et Molo n'a pas pu dormir et il a secoué notre grand-père Bakari Demba. Et il dit Dembel « je vais rentrer au village puisque je n'ai pas pu dormir. Je vois notre maison en flamme, je ne sais pas si je vais trouver qu'elle n'a pas brûlée » Dès que je commence à fermer les yeux, je vois du feu. Dembel lui a demandé de partir. C'est ainsi qu'il a pris départ pour le village.

Coumba entendit le bruit de la porte et comprit que Molo était de retour. C'est ainsi qu'elle apporta de l'eau, et Molo lui a dit 'moi je ne vais pas boire tout de suite. C'est avec une peur au ventre que je suis arrivé. Parce que toute la maison était à feu et j'ai dit à Dembel qu'il fallait que je vienne voir. C'est quand je me suis approché du village que j'ai vu qu'il n'y avait rien à craindre. C'est la raison de ma venue'. Coumba lui a rassuré que rien ne s'était produit mais qu'il y avait étranger et qu'elle savait il s'agissait d'un envoyé de Dieu. Celle-là lui a honoré par son accueil chaleureux. Elle lui a reçu avec tous les honneurs qu'un homme réserve à son invité. Elle avait une poule qui couvait ses œufs, elle l'a tuée en son honneur Pour que le prépare un déjeuner copieux. La poule s'amollissait jusqu'au moment de servir le repas, elle aperçut la poule égorgeait sur ses œufs. Elle a retrouvé la poule qui couvait ses œufs. Elle courut vers le maître pour lui annoncer son étonnement en ces termes : 'la poule que j'ai préparé dont je m'apprête à servir, je l'ai retrouvé couvrir ses œufs' C'est ainsi que Saykou lui a dit ' tu es une bonne personne, ne crains rien, Dieu l'a remplacé'

Coumba Eggué a rappelé son mari de la présence de l'étranger et Saykou a su qu'il était de retour. Coumba a rempli le bouilloire et l'amena derrière la case Saykou est parti prendre ses ablutions et pria Et il est venu saluer Coumba et lui a demandé si son mari était de retour. Elle a répondu 'oui, et il t'attend pour te saluer'. Puisqu'il avait fini, il demanda à Coumba de dire à Moussa de venir Sa porte était entre baillée, il a sorti de sa chambre et ils se sont rencontrés.

Saykou okki mbo diougo. Mbo wi mbo hono mbi héré daa ? O wi mbo ko Molo Saykou wi mbo alla mi wi mba Alpha. Ko doum woni Alpha Molo. Mbo yo mi wi mbo Alpha ah woni kam talibé, ah diabi na ah diabani ? Molo wi doum mi diabi. Mbo yo doum ndiéne to soudou, mbo hathiri ha mbo hari Alpha Molo i dioguino ngari mballou mbo ndagui di mbo yo cerno teduggal ma Din hirça, mbayridi hirça ma, ko doon mbé ngoni ha timi baldé didi.

Ci mbo din do han, mbo yaha to mbawo gallé ro mbo toone réwa Allah, ontuma mbo douho mbo fewra gallé dé. Ko ndén hakkoudé lamdo Cédde i jibbino bido kabire ko guel thioukayel guel cellirani none, guel haggá. Noone cerno arii i ndiawda guel kono wawani. Ohn e Coumba Eggué ta ko ceylabé, Coumba Eggue nélli e dow makko wi doum mino diogui do koddó dé. O cii ohn niedano e moun han ohn kollano thioukayel guel. Ö ko cerno dé !

Ohn nelli ardé Saykou Oumar, ohn wi doum bismillah kono haa mi diodo Avant ko lammu Sebbé. Tirine touma wéta ta mbo nioulli, mbo addi puccu, mbo yo dowrékam. Mbo yo awa bismillah dioni ndiéhen cerno. Ko ni mbo yaadi e Alpha Molo e Saykou Oumar ha Katié. Katié Niampanpou do.

Ta ontuma lamdo ô ko Mo Fa Djenoug wiréno. Mo Fa Djenoug ! Alpha widoum cerno ari dé ! Mbén ngari ko min noula no mi ardou e cerno ô Ohn wi mbo awa ko addi ohn ko sabou ano anddi ko fi bido ô . O ronkanama, noné diawdi mbi waddi alla ko sotti. Ano naana ! Mbé kollo yi mbo ta mboni doumba Saykou Oumar wi mbo ko kari mbo yo ko hono mbo wiré ? Mbo wi doum yo ko kari mbo wiyéré Saykou nangui kourici ô noddí Allah cinq minutes, souka ô wi e baba ko ni ngathiou dom kam ! Haye goudde ohn mbore naani kam, mino e bandou meyrou Mo Fa Djenoug wi « al wouli ta fano naati ! » Alhamdoulillah !

Bé gandoyi goudé ta ben pori témédéré cerno ko sabou ohn addi bé ndiawda ô ta mbo cellara Donn tiri mbo noddí goudde kallon adda Ko donn Saykou wiyó bé wora nagué doum mbo arate widoum are norom ba Mbo arddi koydé moun dé ha, Saykou Oumar okki doum diougo Wi doum awa hono mbandou ma ? Mbo yo Alhamdoulillah !

Mbo yo awa routo ! Cernabé kalla bé donn bé. Mo Fa Djenoug wi awa « ô ko barou ro woni \$o wona cerno ô ko barouto diogui » Saykou Oumar naani doum, wi yo Allah arti do naddé no da doum do. Bido arti taan louki Mo Fa Djenoug wi Saykou douma tin arti Saykou widoum yo kongol gol naani mi Ci ko baroura diogui mi haan sabou mi naani cernabé i mbiya ko baroura dioguimi ha houdédé yawri ni, mbadire mi ni mbadire mi ni Ah naani ! Doum no jourri dé ! Ah naani !

Lamdo Mo Fa Djenoug ô widoum cerno mi toubi. Widoum bismillah awa mbo celli. Ohn widoum kalla diawdi di mbida fow ko témédéré foiudara. Ci ko témédéré goreko mi okima. Ci ko témédéré debbo mi okima. Ko kallon diawdi mi okama doum. Ci ko naggué mi okama wouléré.

Alpha wi mbo ah naani cerno ? Dioni woddi ko héddi, ô wiyó paddé kam sédda. Mbayri bé paddi mbo mbo yéhi mbo wiyó talibabo makko ô mino diol. Nayya ma to dou woydou. To dou woydou diola toon, ci ah yotima to nder han do diyaam do haddi haddé do, ah tawate donn mbéda ah yihat moto i dogá, wara ah houlédé ! Widoum ô letter ah tawate mawdo i diodie sirangue ngoka doum letter ô

Saykou a dit que c'était à lui de se déplacer pour le saluer et ils se sont salués au véranda Saykou lui salua. Il lui dit bonsoir. Molo lui a dit son prénom et Saykou lui a dit ' je te baptise Alpha'. C'est comme ça qu'il est devenu Alpha Molo. Il lui demanda s'il acceptait de devenir son disciple. Molo lui a dit qu'il acceptait, l'a invité dans la chambre et les deux hommes ont pris le petit-déjeuner ensemble. Alpha Molo tua un bélier en son honneur et sollicita ses prières. Et on l'égorgea et ils sont restés deux jours ensemble.

Le temps qu'il est resté avec eux, il allait derrière la maison pour faire ses prières et envoyait ses bénédictions en direction de la maison. À cette époque, le roi manding avait un enfant qui était malade depuis sa naissance Par la suite il est devenu fou. Beaucoup de marabouts se sont succédé pour traiter l'enfant mais ils ne sont pas parvenus. Sa mère était une amie de Coumba Eggué. C'est ainsi que Coumba Eggué envoya auprès d'elle pour l'informer de son hôte. Si vous le rencontrez vous alliez lui présenter l'enfant. C'est un marabout!

Il a envoyé auprès de Saykou Oumar et ce dernier lui a dit qu'il devait s'asseoir. Ça c'est passé pendant le pouvoir mandingue. Avant le lever du jour, il envoya un autre émissaire et il décida de partir avec un compagnon sur des chevaux affrétés pour la circonstance. Ce compagnon était Alpha qui lui donna son avertissement C'est ainsi qu'ils se sont mis en route pour Katie dans le Niampanpou.

Le roi s'appelait Mo Fa Djenoug. Mo Fa Djenoug. Alpha lui a présenté le marabout. 'C'est moi qui est désigné pour l'accompagner . La raison de votre voyage est l'affaire de mon enfant. On a dépensé beaucoup d'argent mais rien n'a marché. As-tu entendu ? Ils lui ont montré l'enfant qui était isolé. Saykou Oumar a demandé le prénom de l'enfant. Ils ont répondu qu'il s'appelait unel. Saykou prit son chapelet pendant cinq minutes et l'enfant a dit à son père 'c'est ainsi que vous m'avez laissé sans un seul habit, je suis nu comme un ver'. Mo Fa Djenoug a dit 'allez lui chercher une pagne!'Alhamdoulilah !

Ils sont partis amener les habits, ils étaient cent marabouts qui se sont déplacés pour la guérison de ce dernier avec des dépenses mais il ne guérissait pas. Il demanda à nouveau qu'on lui apporte des habits Saykou leur a demandé de le laisser venir auprès de lui Il s'est jusqu'à la hauteur de Saykou Oumar celui-ci lui donna la main Et lui a demandé comment il se portait. L'enfant lui a répondu: Alhamdoulilah !

Les marabouts commencèrent à discuter sur Saykou Oumar et ils dirent à Mo Fa Djenoug 'ce vendeur d'illusions que ce n'est pas un marabout , il est un vendeur d'illusions » Dès que Saykou a entendu cela, il pria Dieu pour qu'il ramène l'enfant comme il était. De son retour, l'enfant cria. Mo Fa Djenoug d'interpellé Saykou sur l'état de son fils. Saykou a dit j'ai entendu des paroles. J'ai entendu les marabouts dire que je suis un marchand d'illusions jusqu'à la fin de la situation' As-tu entendu ? La chose est longue. As-tu entendu ?

Le roi Mo Fa Djenoug lui a présenté ses excuses. Il accepta et lui dit qu'il allait enlever ce qu'il avait fait. Celui-ci lui dit 'tu auras tout ce dont tu auras besoin, le chiffre commencera par cent: Si c'est cent hommes, il lui donnera. Si c'est les femmes aussi, il devait seulement demander. De n'importe quelle riche qu'il voudra. Si c'est des vaches il allait lui remettre mille têtes. Alpha lui a demandé s'il avait entendu l'offre. Il leur a dit qu'il restait quelque chose, ils devaient patienter. Il demanda à son disciple d'entrer dans le puits. 'C'est dans le puits que tu vas entrer, tu entreras jusque-là où s'arrête l'eau. Tu y trouveras une route et tu verras des motos passées n'ait pas peur. Voici cette lettre, tu trouveras un vieillard assis sur un banc tu lui la remettras

Ko ni mbo yotti raan mbo yihi moto dji raan haaaa. Do diyam dam haddi haddé do lawol gol fouddi donn ko ni mbo yéhi ha mbo tawoyi djinné ô i diodi e sirangue, mbo oki mbo letter ô, Tayko Saykou ko winddi to letter do ko leydi, leydi ni dalta ni, mi oki Alpha Molo wi i djinné ô.

Lammu Sebbé ta houbbi. Mbiya yo mbo ko ahn paddi mi, mbo dalta dioni dioni leydi ni. Djinné ô winddi mbo yo mbiya mbo mi diabi. Mi diabi ko mbo yiho ko. Mbo ari taan mbo yo ndialti né mbo, mbo yo touguiné kam. Mbo ari taan mbo oki letter o Saykou Oumar. Wi Alpha Molo mbaye no dén, ko ni bé mbaynori Mo Fa Djenoug. Mo Fa Djenoug wiyo mbo ah wawra ni yaradé. Saykou Oumar widoum mi yafima. Alpha Molo wi mbo mbayri mbo yafima miin kalla mi yafima.

Ko ni bé ngartiri Soulabaly. Doum fof alla ko mbo wiyo Alpha ko ni wayyi, ko ni wayi, ko ni nangama . Mbayri bé ngarti Soulabaly, bé mballi doone baldé taari. Widoum Alpha, cerno ma wayeni ma. Mi dowrama ! Mbo mbani saasa o, ko ni bé ndiari Bé ngari ha do Kolda, kahi mawki in doone, ko donn bé mbaali ha wéri Ci ari ha diyam saati do donn rewbé e bibé bé ngarta bé madda « Dimbaa Toulou » Do kahi do, kalla ko bé niagui donn bé kébaano doum

Mbayri bé mbaali donn ha wéri ô wi Alpha hokko naan da do ? Alpha widoum alla ko naani mi do kono mino naana ah sikaat ko thiolli sikaara nin donni Wi i doum di ! mbo yo awa nganda wona thiolli ko saaré wone do. Nooné halla douné dé doumou Adama hallo yéré do. Mbo yo nooné halla e douné baba Adama ko Allah tagui halloye ré do. Mbayri mbo wi doum noon, bé loumbi bé ngaroyi ha Dandu. Mbayri bé yottima Dandu, mbo lari kéné ô, mbo yo Alpha andién !

Hakkou dé e faro go mbo didi donn, kagne Saykou Oumar. Mbo wi mbo ngournam kalla no fori ko do ngoubeyero da, ko do ngaboure ma ô woni . Ko niin leydi didemi do. Kane kalla mbayri yonti ko toon mbo yéhi mbo mayyo yi toon mbo ouba. Bé diawri ha to kolli, mayyo mbiré go kolli go, kérole hakouddé Sénégal e Fouta Jallon Mbayri bé yotima do mayyo do, mbo yo cerno min mi haddi do. O wi esken ! O wi ko do kadaa ! \$o wi mbo bismillah Mbo yo bane o tassala, mbo waddi ni ran diyam dam soupiri, ô wi wadde do tassala. Wi doum ya saligo ! Mbo saligui, bé diouli donn daaredé didi. Mbo yo ko do kadda ? Foudi do ha to mayyo Gambia go ko ahn woddi. Djinné ô bantra mbo okima. Ci tiimi ah fellal nin si Allah diabi. Wi doum kono nganda debo ma dii sowi ko bido goreko, touma kalla mbo jibbini yi mi wi mbo Moussa Molo. Ko Saykou ini mbo ta mbo jibbinaka. Ta bénin mayyo kolli.

Mbo yo dioni ci ah horri, niewa mawba wiré ma Mamadi niewa ba Houlla ba féllé dé mba, ya felloye mba, kouré moun dé inin la, mbo waddi Hidjila moun doum oh. Mbane wiréno Mamadi niewa Mbane fella noréké. Ci mba yaltino haye goro hollénanoké noné koulél soudou dida ko do noppi do. Di malina ha di thioda ontuma di diwa. Ci mba di yaha, rewbé mbiya Mamadi niewa ndin la yaha, mbayri mba féllaraké

C'est ainsi qu'il descendit dans le puits et suivi les instructions de son maître. Là où s'arrête l'eau c'est là où commence la route et il est parti vers la direction indiquée et a trouvé le djinn assis sur un banc et il lui a remis la lettre C'était Saykou l'expéditeur et le contenu de la lettre demandait à ce dernier de libérer le pays, désormais c'était à Alpha Molo de régner

Le pouvoir des mandingues est révolu. Tu lui diras que c'est toi que j'attends, qu'il libéré le pays le plus vite qu'il soit possible. Le djinn a agréé à sa demande en libérant le pays. Dès qu'il rentrait il a demandé qu'on le fasse sortir du puits. Quand il est sorti il a remis la lettre à Saykou Oumar. Ce dernier demanda à Alpha de prendre congé auprès de Mo Fa Djenoug. Mo Fa Djenoug lui a dit qu'il ne pouvait pas partir ainsi. Saykou Oumar l'a remercié. Et Alpha Molo a suivi la même décision que Saykou Oumar.

C'est ainsi qu'ils sont revenus à Soulabaly . Durant tout ce temps il n'a rien dit à Alpha de que ce soit Ils sont restés trois jours à Soulabaly. Saykou à son tour a décide de prendre congé d'Alpha. Il le remercia. Et il prit son sac en bandoulière et ils cheminèrent ensemble. Ils sont venus jusqu'à Kolda ils se sont installés sous le grand cailcédarat et ils passé trois nuits sur place. Si l'eau se raréfiait c'est en ce lieu que les femmes se réunissaient pour prier pour le retour des pluies avec leur *Dimbaa Toulou*⁹ Toutes leurs prières étaient exaucées

Au réveille il a demandé à Alpha qu'est-ce qu'il avait entendu. Alpha lui a répondu que rien à part des cris des oiseaux. Est tu sûr? Il lui dit que ce n'était pas des cris d'oiseaux, c'est l'emplacement d'une localité N'importe quelle langue serait parlée sur ce lieu. Après lui en avoir parlé de cela, ils continuèrent après avoir traversé le fleuve, ils arrivèrent à Dandu.

Une fois qu'ils ont regardé la clairière, Saykou Oumar demanda à Alpha de poursuivre leur route. Entre la clairière et la rizière il a tracé un ligne. Et lui dit 'quel soit la durée de ta vie tu seras entré sur ce lieu, c'est là où se trouve ta tombe C'est sur cette terre que j'ai tracé la marque. Sentant sa fin approchée, c'est dans ce lieu qu'il est parti finir ses jours et il y est entré. Avant cela, ils avaient poursuivi leur route jusqu'à Kolli, le fleuve du même nom et qui marque la limite entre le Sénégal et le Fouta Jallon. C'est sur ce lieu qu'il décida de prendre congé de son maître. Ce dernier lui a dit 'd'accord'. Et lui a demandé encore un foi 'c'est ici que tu t'arrêtes? Et lui donna sa permission. Il lui demanda de prendre la bouilloire, aussitôt l'eau jaillit de la terre, lui dit de remplir le bouilloire et lui demanda d'aller prendre ses ablutions. Après avoir pris ses ablutions, les deux hommes se sont prosternés deux fois de suite. Il reposa la question 'c'est en ce lieu que tu t'arretes? Et il a indiqué qu'à partir de là jusqu'au fleuve Gambie, ce territoire lui appartenait.. Le djinn lui a donné et il n'allait pas le reprendre. 'Le moment venu tu vas guerroyer selon la volonté de Dieu'. Il lui a annoncé aussi la grossesse de sa femme et que l'enfant serait mâle. 'Il aura comme prénom Moussa Molo, c'est ce prénom que je lui donne'. C'est Saykou qui l'a baptisé avant sa naissance lorsqu'ils étaient sur le fleuve Kolli

'Je te donne un conseil: 'une fois de retour, il y a un éléphant du nom de Mamadi. L'éléphant que tout le monde a peur d'abattre, de le tuer, voici les balles pour le touer. Et il a fait ses prières là-dessous Cet éléphant qui s'appelait Mamadi. Personne ne tirait sur lui. Quand il sortait, c'était un spectacle dont personne ne ratait, tous les animaux de la forêt le suivaient, les oiseaux s'installaient dans ses oreilles pour le transformer en nid et une fois que les œufs éclosent ils volaient. Quand il sortait, les femmes criaient et le signalaient. puisque personne ne le tuait pas.

⁹Danse traditionnelle réservée aux femmes

Ndékkété ko dalilou ha Saykou Oumar ara. Mbo yo mbo dé kouré naani ko dé fellara mba. Ci ah fellima ran mba yanate. Adadé yimbé taw dé ma donn céka rédou nou ah tawate toone kouffiné e hoddéré. To sengueldou ro. Mba ga ko ahn woddi. Mbo yo bismillah ! ko nii mbo artii, mbayri mbo artii, mbo yergui dé. Mbonin naata e laddé né, mboni adda mboni taffané kouré, yimbé nganda. Ohn waatu ta godo midjantako doum pullo.

Ohn widoum wona no ah fellou ha Moussa héwa hirké, nélla mbo to mounkou. Mbo addana maKagne tiguu Moussa adda ohn mounkou. Mbo wi Samba Eggué, mba niewa to jaroumi yo mba abo kam. Ko ni mi fellani mba, touma bé ngarta ô ta mbo ceeki rédounou, mbo bani. Kouffouné o e hoddéré, mbo waddi to hanacéré moun to, haye goro yiha ni doum. Samba Eggué ari raan wiyo mbo ahn da wari Mamadi niewa ? Samba Eggué okki mbo diougo, wi mbo dioni khalifa Allah khalifa ma. Mi halfini ma horé am sabou ahn woddi ko Allah waddi e ma. Wiyyo mbo alla ko ahn woni mawdo

Samba wi mbo naane ko kalla maami ko, bé goudir noone ha mboyi Bakari Demba yo. Ko ohn woni baba baba ameen ô, ko ohn woni miniarawo makko ô. E nder konnu mouyen gu piwu ko ohn wawi. Houddé kallon dé mbo sappini den datteta. Ko doum diali bé Sebbé bé mbiyo « Bakari Demba la kesso yiro kan ». Koural gal taranto mbo haa gal meema. Haaké ko mbo fewi diougo ko

Alpha Molo wiyo yi mbo minon falla pellen. Ohn wi mbo seytané nangui mba mbayri ko ah danda, ko djinné fountara ma nin. Pellen Sebbé mawen doumen ahn djinné fountii ma. Ohn wi mbo andou lé ci ah walani kam mi fellanin, ci walani kan mi fellanin. Wi ni Bakari Demba, miniam makko dioni hono mbatén ko hén sodatte baasé. Mbadén toone lonkadjie dji, nabanén lamdo Ceddo ô.

Mbaye ohn waatu ta bassal i saati ba. Ta lambé bé i nieddi bassé. Mbayri bé soddi dé bé ngari bimbi ta ko balagueyrou lamdo wadaté. Kalla ngare do ko dé balagueyrou do diotono. Bé mbadi guidi djé dé e baasé dé bé tagui dé lamdo Ceddo o ko yihi bé tan. Wiyo « mouno mo nieting ? » Bé mbiyo ko lamdo Ceddo o bé ngandanin dé baasé. Bé mbiya diodé dé ha mbo imbo ci mbo imbi mba ohn yotoro

Ontuma féllé sebbé wona guerlé ko nayyi fulbé di bé niahano bé mbiya ko féllé. Ci bé kawri e mouhén bé guirça hircoudé ha ci bé goni han bé kohra. Ho mbo halla ta ko kayen goddi. Poulo ci i fiha karta djé han hawrin ta nougou dji fi hébba do yournori. Ha hébba no doguiri, soudou noppu ta di héndi mbo wawate yiddé ko arta ko. Tiring Poulo fewra foud nagué, ko hirnagué, ko mbo falloro no, ko doum bé ngandou no.

Hakké ko lamdo ko fayyi ko ko niégué nayya bé mbadanta réddou nou. Réddou moun nou ko niégué nayya wadanté no o da harfa to o da kallon houffou to. Bé diodina mbo Bakari Demba niémti mbo wiyo Alpha wona fellou mbo ko miin. Fellara mbo. Wona fellou ko mine ga fellara mbo, ta mboni diodina réddou nou koga. Touma wiré bé tini ta mbo waddi taa. Mbo yo niadé kallon fiyandé yalti mi wata bé fof rewbé. Kalla worebé di kéllara, bé mbira ko « alli foulo ! alli ko foulo ! alli ko foulo ! » Ta haye goro wawra nangou dé féllére. Fiyandé waddi, Fouladou piwu im bi wiyo Alpha fellu ! Wiyya Alpha fellu ! Fouladou finti !

Parce que ça allait se passer seulement après l'arrivée de Saykou Oumar Il lui dit 'voilà les balles pour le tuer. Une fois que tu tires sur lui, il va s'écrouler. Avant que les gens ne viennent, tu ouvriras le ventre et tu sortiras un chéchia et une étoile dans le ventre, c'est pour toi'. Il a été d'accord. C'est ainsi qu'il est retourné et il l'a tué. Il a continué à chasser comme autrefois, et on lui fabriquait des balles. A cette époque personne n'avait pensé qu'un Peul pouvait entreprendre une telle entreprise.

Saykou l'avait dit de ne pas guerroyer avant que Moussa ne puisse monter à cheval, et tu l'enverras pour te chercher du poudre. C'est Moussa lui-même qui lui apporta du poudre. Et il fit une remarque à Samba Eggué du fait que l'éléphant lui suivait dans ses différentes sorties en brousse. Je (Alpha Molo) vais l'abattre, chose dite, chose faite et avant leur arrivée, il ouvrit le ventre de l'éléphant et il a pris ce qui lui revenait de droit et l'a mis dans son sac et personne ne la vu. Samba Eggué a exclamé 'tu as tué Mamadi !' Il l'a salué et lui a dit 'je me soumetts à ta volonté. Je me confie en toi parce qu'il y a quelque chose que Dieu a fait en toi ». Alpha lui a retourné les honneurs parce que s'était lui l'aîné

Samba lui a demandé d'entendre ce qu'il lui avait dit et ils sont resté ainsi ensemble jusqu'à l'arrivée de Bakari Demba ,notre grand-père; c'est le petit-frère d'Alpha. C'était le meilleur dans leur armée. Tout ce qu'il visait, il ne le ratait pas. C'est pour ça que les griots Sébbé disent 'l'armée de Bakari Demba est unique'. Il ne rate jamais sa cible, et sur n'importe quoi, cobaye et bouclier. Tellement qu'il était un bon tireur

Alpha Molo l'a interpellé sur son ambition de faire la guerre aux Mandingues. Et celui-ci lui a dit 'Satan t'a gagné parce que tu es un chasseur. C'est un djinn qui est entrain de te malmenér. Guerroyer les Sébbé et les vaincre, tu rêves'. Alpha a répété, que même s'il ne l'aide pas, il va faire la guerre aux Sébbé dit cela à Bakari Demba. Celui-ci lui a conseillé sur la manière de faire ça, en achetant des nattes, y introduire les fusils et d'aller les offrir au roi mandingue

A cette époque les nattes étaient rares et chères. Lorsqu'ils ont acheté les nattes ils sont partis de bonheur. Le roi Manding avait un *balagueyrou*¹⁰ qui lui servait de chaise et de salle de réception. Tous les hôtes étaient arrivés. Ils ont camouflé les fusils dans les nattes et dès que le roi les a aperçu. Il s'est sursauté en a demandé ' C'est quoi ça ? ' Ont lui a répondu que c'était un présent pour lui. Avant cela on les installa et demanda de patienter jusqu'au réveille du roi.

En ces temps la chasse des Sébbé n'était rien d'autre que les vaches des Peuls. Quand ils rencontraient les troupeaux de ces derniers, ils en abattaient beaucoup. Personne ne disait rien, c'étaient eux qui dominaient. Quand les Peuls confectionnaient les palissades, ils en faisaient de telle sorte qu'ils pouvaient voir le danger et s'enfuir à temps, les chambres étaient transparentes. De plus les Peuls ne s'allongeaient pas correctement sur le lit, ils se couchaient à moitié du lit de la position de l'ouest, c'est de cette façon qu'ils se mettaient au lit.

Tellement le souverain mandingue était gros, ils lui plaçaient une oreillette pour son ventre. C'est ce qu'on mettait au-dessous de son ventre, et deux personnes tenaient chacun de son côté pour l'aider à s'asseoir. Et Bakari Demba a fait signe à Alpha de ne pas tirer, c'était à lui de le faire. 'Ne tire pas, c'est moi qui va tirer', le roi était assis. Avant même qu'ils n'aient le temps de découvrir leur entreprise, Bakari Demba tira. Et il enchaîna les tirs en transformant les hommes en femmes. Et les autres ont applaudi en disant 'c'est les Peuls ! C'est les Peuls ! C'est les Peuls !' Personne n'a pu prendre d'arme et tirer. A chaque coup de fusil, tout le Fouladou se levait pour dire qu'Alpha se bat. Ils disaient 'Alpha se bat'. Le Fouladou s'est réveillé.

¹⁰Chaise traditionnelle

Wiyaa ndiaha né to soudou mounku nou, mbaguén puuci di. Cinq minutes adouna fof fotti, mbayri bé ngari, bé wi bé awa lammu ari. Ko ni kébiri leydi ni. Mbayri bé pelliri none ha houbbi, ontuma mbo nodid bé, mbo wi bé dioni hén pelli. Dioni héddima Kansala, Ndiahen Kansala, ko toon lammu gu piwu woni. No

Président ô woniri Dakar ni, lamdo ô ko Kansala wondeno. Bakari Demba, bido makko ô Dansa. Dansa taa ohn ko kélékana. Moussa nataara e fiyandé e mbawo makko, hakké ko mbo habéré no ko. Wiyaa ndiahén doum bé ndiéhi. Ko none Dansa iwi Korop mbo taboyi konu to wiré Dioum to. Mbo yéhi mbo hippoyi Kansala, mbo salli tinoun dé mawdam moun Moussa. Mbo yéhi Kansala, lawol yo lawol mbo waddi doone témédéré goreko. Mbo ouddi saaré dé, debb yaltara thioukayel yaltara, goreko yaltara. Doum woni ha mbitti, gonedo bé nialtou yo nangué addé Fouladou.

Waréra ké dé, mbo nodoyi Fouta Jallon, mbo yo ngaré mballé kam fiyandé mi ouddi Kansala. Fouta Jallon, Almamy Oumar tappi tamouldé ndé, Fouta Jallon nohri, mbayri bé ngari noradé Kansala. Bé kabbi, bé pelli, bé pelli ha konu o naati to tata ro. Ha konu o watindiégu dé i thripo e nder tata o. Sébbé to ngandi ko pellade no bé mbani faguéllé, ta tacciri ta yimbé bé ha bé gonoyi. Yimbé i thripporan, bé ndiéhi bé mbiyo yi Mo Fa Djenoug, fulbé bé kéwi tata o. Bé naati dé ! Sébbé rewbé bé naani doum bé mbiyyo dién ngono yén maccubé fulbé ? Bé dioli e boyli hé ha ci godo yoliima hanhédia ra. Ah naani !

Awa bé mbiyyi mbo dioni ô nelli e konu ô wi mi niagui mama ohn. Mben ngandi gassi, kono no bé nganthia nam mino daboya awddi. Mino wouddina yimbé wona bé mbaré. Hay cii mi alla diango, ben mbadoyate legnol, wonoyate awddi. Ko ni bé loumbi arddé, bé ngari ha gani hén. Yété Sané, fulbé yété Sané hén wona fulbé ko Sébbé. Kalla do nanoye da bé ko bé Sébbé. Mbayri bé wouddi, mboyoye awa bismillah Mboyoye nouthié soudou mounku nu. Dén foyré piwu nangui ha ga. Nangui adouna fof, mbayri soudou mounku nu nouthiama Kansala. A no naana na !

Ontuma none ta bé mawii, ta ko Dansa oudoye toone, mbo nelli e Moussa No mbo are, mbo oudi Kansala, mi waddi bé tenaille. Mboyoye bé ko koro am woddi harré dé, mi wadoyaate e Moussa. Ko ni Moussa wabbi pucci makko gu mbo tawwoyi bé. Bé pelli ha lamdo ô mayyi.

Ontuma bé ndiého to Alpha Yaya, bé lamdo Fouta hodoum woni diarama moun o. Mbayri bé gari hén waludé Kansala. Ohn wi bé bismillah haa wéra mi diaboro ohn. Wéri dé bé ndendoyii, kayen fof bé ndendoyi bé mbihi mbo dioni hayye houddé. Ah yénara kam ko kalifa Allah kalifa mba e mbeygguré am. Minén e Fouta Jallon ko mbén ndiaho bé wona meen diodi bé, kalifa ma e leydi di. Mineen ha do meen kabara e Fouta Jallon ha do. Ko dendiragal raan woni hakuudé ameen O wi kalifa ma kalifa mbeyguuré am dé mi halfini ma bé. Ko ni bé pelliri leydi ni, Moussa diogoyi horé lamoré bé bé. Goro yo mbo yo doum ahn lamodo, ahn lamoda do ahn lamo do ha yahi hi Guinée Bissau.

Q: Ahn no ciwerora innddé mouhén dé sedda ?

Et ils se résilièrent d'aller prendre la case où était stocké la poudre et de prendre aussi les chevaux. En cinq minutes tout le monde s'est réuni puisqu'ils sont réunis, il leur annonça qu'il avait prié le pouvoir. C'est ainsi qu'ils ont pris le pouvoir. Et ils poursuivirent la guerre et il les réunit de nouveau pour leur dire qu'il restait Kansala. Allons-y à Kansala c'est là où se trouve le trône. De la manière que le Président est à Dakar, le roi était à Kansala.

Le fils de Bakari Demba s'appelait Dansa. C'était un *kélékana*. Moussa n'allait pas en bataille sans lui, tellement qu'il se battait. Ils décidèrent d'aller l'amener et ils partirent. C'est ainsi que Dansa quitta Korop pour aller former une armée à Dioum. Et il est parti assiéger Kansala et il n'en a pas parlé à son grand frère Moussa. En route pour Kansala, il installa sur chaque route cent hommes. Il installa le siège de la ville et personne ne sortait qu'il soit homme ou femme ni enfants. Le siège persista et dès qu'un individu pointe son nez au dehors, il était automatiquement capturé et envoyé au Fouladou.

On ne le tuait pas et il fit appel au Fouta Jallon pour solliciter leur aide parce qu'il avait instauré le siège à Kansala. Au Fouta Jallon, l'Almamy Oumar tapa le tambour royal Et le Fouta Jallon a répondu à Kansala. Ils guerroyaient en tirant jusqu'à ce que les soldats commencèrent à griffer et entrer dans le tata. Les Sébbé ont su que les tireurs avaient entré dans la fortification et ont décidé de prendre les manchettes et de découper les gens jusqu'ils soient épuisés. Les gens continuaient à entrer dans le tata et ils se sont résolus d'en parler à Mo Fa Djenoug que les Peuls sont dans le tata. Qu'ils sont entrés. Quand les femmes mandingues ont entendu cela, elles se sont demandées: 'est-ce que nous allons être les esclaves des Peuls? Elles ont décidé de se suicider, et elles se sont jetées dans les puits jusqu'à remplir les puits. As-tu entendu ?

Le roi envoya des émissaires pour leur dire qu'il fallait se rendre, qu'il laisserait les gens sortir pour pouvoir perpétuer la race mandingue et former la future génération. C'est pour ça qu'il les laissa vivre et qu'ils ont pu traverser le fleuve. Les noms Sané, les gens qui ont pour nom Sané sont des Sébbé et non des Peuls. Là où tu les entendras c'est des Sébbé. C'est ainsi qu'il a agréé à sa demande Et ils ont brûlé la case qui contenait la poudre et la lumière de cette explosion est arrivée jusqu'ici. Cela a éclairé le monde parce que la case a explosé. As-tu entendu ?

Après qu'ils ont remporté la victoire, Dansa, puisque c'était lui qui avait organisé le siège, a envoyé des émissaires auprès de Moussa pour qu'il aille, il a encerclé Kansala. Il leur a dit 'cette guerre est pour mon frère sinon je vais me quereller avec Moussa'. C'est par la suite que Moussa est parti avec son cheval pour le retrouver. Et ils ont continué à se battre avec ces derniers jusqu'à la mort du roi.

Après ils sont partis à la rencontre de Alpha Yaya, le roi de Fouta Jallon pour le remercier de sa contribution à la victoire sur Kansala. Celui-ci les a reçus et leur demanda d'attendre le lendemain pour les répondre. Quand ils se sont réunis le lendemain, il (Alpha Yaya) a dit 'vous ne me devez rien sinon que je vous confie ma famille. Nous les gens du Fouta Jallon, nous sommes des aventuriers nous ne sommes pas venus pour occuper le trône nous te confions le pays'. Jusqu'à présent on est en parfaite entente avec les gens du Fouta Jallon. Nous sommes des parents à plaisanterie. Il leur a dit encore qu'il les confiait sa famille. C'est ainsi qu'ils ont conquis le territoire tout entier et Moussa est devenu le roi. Et après il a partagé le territoire et a mis sur la tête de ces terroirs ses proches

Q: Est-ce que vous vous rappelez des prénoms de ces derniers ?

AMB: Bén lamino bé mi yédjiri bé ba. A no naana ! Bén goro fof diodio yi done

goro fof diodo yi done. Goro ko ga Anglais, ohn ko Bodio Dembo wiréno to Anglais Saaré Bodio, ohn ko pullo. Doula yo okki doum wiyo madda do saaré, ko ni bé lamori leydi ni. Ontuma noone wi mbo yo ci tawo yi akirijamano aroyi. Toubacco bé i aroya ko bèn ngoni anasara, wora no mbo habbé é bèn. Mi dowani mama, wona goro ko ware taama ko dow mbaldi ma do mayra. Cii ah habbi e bèn han bé mbaroyamma ta none mi welta ki. Goro ko waretaama nganda doum. Cii bé ngarii han dayya Anglais. Ko mbo arti ko mbo yéhi Banjul. Mbo yo bé mi halfinima Moussa kagne Alpha Molo. Kalifa Allah, kalifa mba, mino ndamini ko jourii yo mbo aroyate ga. Ci mi alla diango kalifa ma. A naani !

Dé ben garoyi toubaccobé bé ngari. Toubacco hooroi piwu iddi are dé e nder Sénégal ha wada soudou ko Sédhio. Ko bé guiwi Gorée ko ta bé ngari no han ko toone bé jipporo. Bé guiwi Gorée bé ngari ko Sédhio, ko doone toubacco piwu iddi wadda gallé doone do Sédhio. Bé mbi hi dioni pounten ô, mbiyen mbo hén ngari mbo waloudé haré mbayri ko goreko kabérédé. Mbinen diogui kourré, ah daro do pella Kolda poussadoum. Bé mbihi ni Moussa mbayri ko kabérédo. Moussa wi bé awa bismillah, ko ni bé mbadiri poste o Hamdallaye. Mbayri bé darnii poste o Hamdallaye, bé mbadiri palentére o nette nette e damougal tata o gal. Taabé mouddan ni han bé ndiyatte tata o. Kallan ko Moussa ko wata ni taa bèn longo bo. Ahno naana !

Mbayri bé mbadi noone watu goro bé palla mbo felloudé mbo taa mbo tiinaani. Bé poussa doone niouk-niouk kalla ko wono doone héddo doone. Ben ngoudouno e soldaro bé, soldaro goro mbori wiyoyi Moussa yo anddu ko mbata dé Bé woddi ko bé pewdji mbadda féére ndiaha, mbada féére ndiaha. Sabou bé palla ma féllouddé, bé kalli dé ! Moussa widoum di ! Moussa imbi raan mbo hoyni assamane o mbo diali. Mbo yo dié toubacco cono mi nangara raan mi habba ran mi billa é léddé. E mi dio Saykou Oumar wi mbo ko hodoum kalla no mami ? Ko doone ari e hakilé moun dé ô wi yano wona ah habbe e bé ! Mbo wi bé yayo awa guimbé paré yagol Anglais yooni. Nooné diawddi ko wono hén ko arka bé ndioli doum e boyli dinine do hé Hamdallaye. Ci mbo yéhi mbo longuima doone han nooné diawddi dinine doone. Boyeli Hamdallaye di fof yolla done ko ni Moussa jipporiyi Anglais.

Ko do ko do ko do ha Kessel Kunda. Mbo yaddoro yi kaddi e adouna, ko témédéré debbo ko bèn kobara faro. Ci bèn ndiaha faro han gardien yen dji nabara bé ô do bangué o do bangué o do yesso o do bawo. Bour Banjul naano yi doum wi yo hacin ô ko lammu arddi ? To Anglais ko lammu ha handdé mbo arddi.

Mbo yo awa bismillah ko ni mbo imbino yi soldaro bé, djéma Kessel Kunda bé mbarori mayyo go. Soldaro bé naati ha bé kéwi lanaka, bé naati saaré dé ha bé kéwi téppe, ta mbéda nganda. Pinedoo yo tawa goro ko i daari e feetel moun ô. Pinedo yo tawa goro ko i daari e feetel moun ô. Ha ko wéri ko wiyya ndiéne salmodiroyo dén. Gobbé dogui mbiyyo yi Moussa yo saaré dé piwu e waddi guidi djé, ko solda yorobé ran. Doum piwu waddi gouddé balédjé. Moussa wi bé awa wora ohn koullé ! bé pella wono ko bé ngara ni mi yidda e mbadé. Ko ni bé ngari bé mbiyo mbén salmine no ohn, bour Banjul yo salminima. Wiyo i soolimaa, ndiaha ndjiooni. Moussa wiyyo e awa bismillah mbone. Wi yo padden diango ndiene .

A.M.B: Ceux qui ont regné, j'ai oublié leur prénoms. Tu entends ? Chacun a régné

dans une partie du territoire, ainsi de suite... Un était en Gambie, celui-ci s'appelait Bodio Bembo qui s'installé à saré Bodio en territoire gambien. Il a partagé le territoire entre ses proches, c'est de cette manière qu'ils ont régné. Quand le moment viendra où les hommes renient Dieu Des blancs viendront, ils sont les alliés de Satan, ne les combattes pas. J'ai prié pour toi, ce n'est pas un homme qui va te tuer, tu vas rendre l'âme sur ton lit. Si tu les combats ils vont te tuer, je ne serais pas content Ce n'est pas un homme qui sera la cause de ta mort. S'ils viennent exile-toi en Gambie. C'est ainsi qu'il est parti BanjulAlpha les a confié Moussa avant sa mort. Je les confie à toi et je crois bien quel que soit la durée qu'il faudra, il viendra un jour ici. Si je meurs demain je te les confie. As-tu entendu ?

Et les blancs arrivèrent enfin. C'est à Sédhiou que les blancs ont pour la première fois construit un poste quand ils sont venus au Sénégal. S'ils quittaient Gorée s'est là qu'ils s'installaient. Quand ils ont quitté Gorée ils ont résidé à Sédhiou et c'est là qu'ils ont un bâtiment. Ceux-ci ont décidé de le trahir. C'est ainsi qu'ils décidèrent de le soutenir dans ses entreprises guerrières puisque c'était un combattant. Pour ce faire ils lui disent qu'ils avaient des balles qui peuvent détruire Kolda. Ils ont dit 'puisque c'est un combattant, on lui donne notre aval', c'est ainsi qu'ils ont construit le poste de Hamdallaye. Puisqu'ils ont construit le poste à Hamdallaye, ils ont placé leur fenêtre en face du tata. Pour pouvoir observer les faits et gestes de Moussa. As-tu entendu ?

Une fois qu'ils se sont installés, ils ont voulu l'attaquer sans qu'il ne sache rien. Puisqu'ils étaient avec un soldat qui est parti avertir Moussa de ce qui se manigançait. Et il conseilla Moussa de partir sans attendre. Parce qu'ils veulent l'attaquer. Moussa a gémi et ensuite regarda le ciel en riant. Si j'attrape un blanc, je vais le prendre sur un arbre. Et il se mit à penser à Saykou Oumar ce qu'il avait dit sur les blancs. C'est ainsi qu'il a pris la décision de partir sans ce battre avec ces derniers Il a demandé à sa famille de se préparer pour partir en Gambie parce qu'il était temps de partir. Ils ont jeté tous leurs biens dans les puits de Hamdallaye. Si elle¹¹ regarde avec un appareil, elle verra toute cette richesse dans tous les puits de Hamdallaye et Moussa s'en est allé en Gambie.

D'un lieu à un autre jusqu'à Kessel Kunda. Il est parti avec un monde; parmi ceux-ci, il y avait cent femmes qui travaillaient dans les rizières. Quand elles partaient aux rizières, elles étaient gardées sur tous les côtés. Le roi de Banjul a entendu l'histoire de Moussa et il s'est posé la question 'est-ce qu'il est toujours avec l'intention de gouverner ? Il est venu avec cet idée de gouverner la Gambie

C'est ainsi qu'il envoya des émissaires et des soldats qui ont longé le fleuve jusqu'à Kessel Kunda. Les soldats ont pris une pirogue et ils ont mis Kessel en siège sans que les autres ne soupçonnent que ça se passait. A leur réveille, ils les trouvèrent devant leur concession fusil à la main. Ça est arrivé dans toutes les concessions du village. Jusqu'à l'aube, ils ont décidé d'aller saluer Moussa. D'autres étaient déjà partis pour prévenir Moussa de la présence de soldats avec leur fusils. Il n'y a que des habits sombres. Moussa les a rassuré et qu'il allait entrer en contact avec eux qu'ils n'allaient pas tirer. C'est ainsi qu'ils sont venus auprès de Moussa pour lui expliquer la raison de leur présence et que le roi de Banjul lui demande de partir. 'Pour que tu partes le plus vite qu'il soit possible'. Moussa les a dit ' je suis à votre disposition'. Et leur a demandé d'attendre le lendemain.

Diango wéri mbo baani diogoré moun dé, ben dioloyi too lana ro, bé dioli

¹¹Sirio Canós, l'archéologue présente.

Lana ka saali houbou dé Hétodé ba !Bé guéroyi lana ka hoori yadé ô da wiiyo mawdo waalu hén e ka lana. Moussa wi bé awa mbaddé diawdi. Bé mbadi sacuudji did kangué, taan mboyoyi ndiene.

Taan ka yéhi ha ka yotoyi Banjul. Mbayri ka yotoyima Banjul bé mbiyo Bour Banjul Moussa ari !Mbo yadoyi e bour, bour yiyo mbo o wi mawdo wona haaré wona daara. Neldoumami, ko ha mi yihama. Kono dioni wona mbina nodima ko mawdo ameen ô nodima Toone kala wi ya mawdo yafó meen ha lana ka yaha Mbo yo mbadé diawdi. A naani !

Ko ni bé niari, mbayri bé yotoyima taa ontuma yimbé pora nii faam dé. Bé ndiaho yi ha toubacco wi doum mawdo ayyi ga di boubi. Mbén mbino meen okka mba lekki mbayri ohn nganda boubol doum tampi na maa. Bé pingui mbo mbandu du mahi. Touma artara ta mbandu du mahi, ta wawra nangu dé feetele, bé ngaarti Banjul. Mbo yo bour ah yihi no bé mbadi kam !Ohn wi awa, mbo yo mbayri dioni mi wawra ligadé Ko mbadoone dioni dioni gallé am o Kessel Kunda piwu koubbé djé. Ko ni gallé o diida wada mur hagassi, ko ni bé ngaartri Kessel Kunda Ko doone mbo mayyi Kessel Kunda. Awa ko nii wayyi

Le lendemain il s'est préparé et a pris place dans la pirogue. Mais la pirogue

refusa de démarrer. Ecoute mon fils ! A maintes reprises ils ont tenté d'allumer la pirogue sans succès et un membre de l'équipage a sollicité l'aide de Moussa. Celui-ci leur a demandé de lui payer. Ces derniers lui ont donné des sacs remplis d'or. Il a donné l'alerte et la pirogue a pris départ jusqu'à Banjul.

Une fois à Banjul ils ont présenté Moussa. Et il est parti avec le roi et le roi lui a dit 'mon frère, la raison de ma venue n'est rien d'autre que de te voir. Parce que tu es notre aîné' Et là-bas aussi, la pirogue refusa de démarrer et Moussa a aussi demandé de l'argent. As-tu entendu ? C'est ainsi qu'il est parti.

À cette époque, les gens n'étaient pas aussi instruits. Ils sont partis jusqu'à à arriver là où il faisait froid. Les blancs lui ont proposé de lui donner des médicaments contre le froid puisqu'il n'était pas habitué à ce genre de climat. Ils lui ont donné une injection et son corps lui a lâché. De son retour son corps lui a lâché, il ne pouvait plus tenir un fusil et ils lui ont ramené à Banjul. Il a interpellé le roi de Banjul en lui a montré a manière dont il a été traité. Il lui a dit 'puisque je ne peux pas travailler, Il faut que vous construisiez ma maison de Kessel Kunda en dur plus des bâtiments' C'est ainsi que sa maison fut construite en dur. C'est là-bas qu'il est mort. Voilà l'histoire

32.-Payougou 2

Date : 27/11/2013

Participants: Payougou Seydi (Père), **Sana Seydi** (Fils) et **Moussa Sané** (Jarga)

Payougou Seydi (PS): Gning question wolému gning ka. Nga domon din nié moylou é wolému kéba lému. na katia na question moun. Payougou, bi saaté néh saaté tin. Saaté moum mé né yaloko moun maama loun. Moll bé woulountan saaté dian. Saaté gnin dé wollé gnintin ko. Saaté moun lé thiossane lé moun yalonké gning. Bé thiossane moun mérin

Allah niantan lé mou démma fanan. Kouup diama mbé Kaabu banco kan A follo tallé Payougou lé. Na sinna nata doula dotto. Parce que Payougou dianné Kansala woulou Kansala, Kansala ah follo too Payougou lé. Kébba gning taata ninia la. Tato follo follo Payougou. Foula é tato foulodian boyta lé sama ti Tato sabandian wolo mou Kansala. Bari gning banco tan saaba nin foulo mou bé Kaabu banco kan. Kaabu lé commando nia. Payougou danman né Wulufaa Wulun Mban sotto. Payougou danman lé Solindioyé sotto. Parce que Kaabu banco niin ya dié secret. Secret moun yalon moun mérimba létii. E na benté koullou ké. Moun té mo koullou té, banco lé kou wo tii

Nii n alliyé ta lé sitta alli katia tii yaa sitii. Niin founto kéta dié momo moun taata lé sita. Alii katia moun na la sitii, ndin founto kéta dié. Moo moun secret fountii din banta I ka lé fooli. Alla samba faa Wulufa Wulun Mban to. Ali yé bade Solindioyé. Wulunfa Wulun Mban mbo wola question bii aliin. Solindioyé. Allah nata ké alla gning saabandian i natta dié dioubé. I yé taata exactema nga gnin foo. Wolé bidié. Parce que féndo moo dioubé moul yalén ko. Inté lé man wolé moun yitté la, mbari ité ying. Illa dondo yiya yita mbo bé dié comme mé Payougou Saaté moun lé saaté mérimba. E wolon moun alla tentu laa mbé kila tentu nié tentu madame wo Anin Thierry. Parce que bi yén na saaté bondii dinko kono lé singue wo fonolé Koup moul yaa kounoug, bi fountalé ngué dié. E niin momo yé dé makoy fayé foutindin a yaa yitandin la. Vraiment mbé alla tentula, mbe kila tentula mbo tentula bakké. Parce que yiin niadin fantola aya lonné moumou nétii a ya yitandila.

Ka foké ité i da niaa bé niaa miningue. Aning sina bé dia méningue. Aning tara la bé niamingue a dilé. Yo ka kouma kan dou é yen questionné lé. Wolé a doung kan moun lon dié. Wolé moun woté in té fanan nié lon dié fo a danta wol to. Wolo moun Salli Allah Muhammadu.

Payougou lé Tamba dibi lé sotto Kaabu banco kan Kankéléfa, Kansala. Gning Tamba dibi saaba gning lé bé quéring. Payougou wolé Dialan bantan sotto. Dialan bantan a danta saaté foula wolé moun Payougou tii Kansala. Nga gning lé lone Dialan bantan Kaabu banco kan. Niin Allah nata quéndérin inata dian gning ka lé question la. Ah kéba lé saaté lé yitarana wolé moun gning ting. Inté fanan nga domondin lon wolé moun question tii. Eh nia kalamouta niama intel dé, bi alla ké tentula baké Nga diéy man siya dawma.

Sana Seydi (S.S): Wolé moun Dialan bantan natii

Payoungou Seydi (PS): Cette question que vous m'avez posée. Je vais vous en dire un peu de ce que les anciens m'ont raconté sur cette question. Payoungou, cet village, est un ancien village. Cet village, ce que mes grand parents m'ont dit c'est que tout ce qui vit dans le village n'était pas encore né. Ce qu'on m'a dit sur le village. C'est qu'il est un village historique .

La parole de Dieu n'était pas encore d'ordre. Toutes les décisions des territoires de Kaabu ont débuté à Payoungou, avant d'aller ailleurs. Parce que Kansala vient de Payoungou. Kansala. Oui Kansala vient de Payoungou. C'est les anciens qui l'ont dit. Le premier tata est construit à Payoungou. Le second tata s'est effondré durant la saison des pluies. Le troisième tata est construit à Kansala. Mais ces trente-deux terroirs qui constituent le Kaabu et le commandement du Kaabu, seul Payoungou a Wulufa Wulumban, seul Payoungou a Solindioyé. Parce que le Kaabu que vous voyez là, tous les secrets qui se sont élaborés concernant l'ossature, ils se réunissaient ici. Qu'il s'agit de secret, de n'importe quel terroir, ils se réunissaient ici pour en discuter

Dès qu'une décision fut prise lors de l'assemblée, celui qui en dévoile le secret ficelé lors de l'assemblée. Celui qui en dévoile le secret à la place publique, il sera pris, acheminé et exécuté à Wulufa Wulumban et enterré à Solindioyé. Wulufa Wulumban et Solindioyé sont les questions du jour. Dieu est présent qu'en allant voir le squelette. Vous allez trouver exactement de ce que je vous dis. C'est ça. Parce que nul part de ce que je vais dire, c'est moi qui vais vous le dire, vous ne le trouverez qu'à Payoungou. Le village qui est le village le plus ancien. C'est pour cela que je vous remercie la dame et toi Thierry. Parce qu'aujourd'hui vous allez sortir mon village du trou. Et il va être connu. Tous les secrets vont être mis au jour Et chacun sera au courant et pourra en parler. Vraiment je vous remercie beaucoup. Parce que vous êtes les seuls à savoir ce que vous êtes venus chercher.

De mon côté je vais en parler de ce que mes ancêtres m'ont raconté. Je vais vous parler de ce que j'ai vu de mes propres yeux. De mes propres yeux. C'est ce que je vais vous donner. De ce que je vais parler sur cette question. De ce que je sais de ce que j'ai vu, c'est ça- Louange à Dieu et de son Prophète Muhammad.

Payoungou a Tamba Dibi, Kankéléfa en a et enfin Kansala, ces sont les trois Tamba Dibi qui existent dans le terroir de Kaabu. Payoungou a aussi Dialan Bantan Le Dialan Bantan se situe à la limite du village. Après Payoungou vient Kansala. Ce sont les Dialan Bantan que je connais dans le territoire de Kaabu. Seul Allah l'Unique sait les raisons de cette question là. Et c'est les ancêtres du village qui me l'ont dit. Moi aussi, le peu que je connais de la question. Ce que je vous raconte, je vous remercie beaucoup de la précision

Sana Seydi (SS): Qui a amené Dialan Bantan ?

PS : Moun yé Dialan bantan natii. Woto moun kéba folo i manh toubi. I ka dollo lé ming. Gning taata eh kou moun yalo ko ayé. Dia ka dii, I bita dialan wo gning ka la. Gning yé dianlan ba yé gning ka, dialan wo.

Ba fola yé, kou wo kou na kounita Kaabu. Banco kan, wo dialan bo fola yéné. Ya loné ko mé ka fo ké koun né mé quéring. Wolé ka ding boum moumé kataba manh féya. Gnin ya dié Kaabu banco mouné . Gnin Dialan bantan lon . Dialan yé la yitanding ka fo ko é mouné kouding. Kaabu yéla, mouné kounita Kaabu. Dialan bantan kan yitanding. Tamba dibi wo, wo moumou néti, gning momo lafita

Mansaya la, I lafita momo tolo kaké mansa ké. Hani ya ta Sankorlla lé, wala yé ta Kossémar lé, wala é ya ta Kantor lé. Yé gning lon ko atte lé mansaya fa yé na Payoungou saaté woto Tamba dibi wo moun bé Payoungou. I bé fola lé kou la wole to. Gning a bota a bita Kankéléfa a yé kou woto. Nga si mansaya doto a bé fouta nola Kansala. Minh nata la mansaya la nolé, nin ya koula dian. Tamba dibi woto, até sita nola é Kankéléfa .Donc a yé woto lé yitanding la ko minh. Gning sa mansaya la nola. Bari momo lé mansaya nola nin ya

Tollo béro to dian moun kéta Tamba dibi to. Woya yitanding la ka fo ko nin dé. Incha Allah nin bé mansaya lél, nin ya kou lé dié. Yé ban dii, I sa lon ké I ya tamba ka ta Kankéléfa. Ni futa Kankéléfa, Tamba dibi to fanan nin siwo fanan. Gning ka, wo fanan dié, a ya yitandiong la yé. Kou la a yé tambin ding I si ka kata Kansala. Kansala. Gning futata wo dié loumou la fin woto. Gning futata wo doron nin yak ou lé to doron I ba samba kata tollo béro to. Nin ya tollo to doron, in yé kata samba Mouningue. Wolémoun mansaya ké si doula ti. Wolémou mansaya ké couro do ti

S.S: Tollo béro to woula ta minhto

PS: Tollo béro to a bé Kansala

S.S: Mouningue a bé minhto

PS: Mouningue a bé Kansala

Moussa Sané (M.S): Dialan bantan woulémou fo dian. Dialan bantan wo Payoungou é wo. Diamano la, wo dialan bantan karo lé . Sambanan dian a té lé bé kéba ma tout. Nin banco kou ka mina niama. Mouné moun ya sambanan wo tempo. I ko doiwa forocouno dié bantan santo to. Loun mé wonouné bita saloon ké kibaaro. Na ta lé ka Kaabu banco kan. Wo doiwa forocouno no wole kibaaro folo yé. Ni yé founcourou kerfa fa wala kambano mérin. A bé djilanan a bo disoo domo nala ya domo fo

Q: *Wulufa wulumban?*

PS : Qui a amené le Dialan Bantan? A cette époque les ancêtres n'étaient pas encore convertis. Ils buvaient du vin. S'ils devaient entreprendre une entreprise quelconque, ils se donnaient rendez-vous sous le dyalan. Et tout ce que le dyalan disait, ils le faisaient. Le *dyalan* a existé depuis la fondation du territoire du Kaabu, C'est pour ça que personne ne nous attaque. Si tu vois tout le Kaabu ainsi, c'est à cause du Dialan bantan. C'est pour protéger le Kaabu à d'éventuels attaques. C'est le Dialan bantan qui le protège. Tamba dibi aussi, pour celui qui essayera de l'attaquer.

Pour la royauté, celui qui veut être roi. De Sankolla à Kossémar jusqu'au Kantor. En émettant le choix de la royauté. Payoungou c'est le village où se trouve Tamba Dibi. Tu prendras le bain royal là, Après tu iras te laver à Kankéléfa Avant d'accéder à la royauté qui se trouve à Kansala. Une fois tu as la royauté, tu prends le bain. Au Tamba Dibi, et aussi à Kankéléfa. C'était le même processus. C'est la royauté. C'est de la sorte qu'on intronisait la royauté.

Les pierres que tu vois près de Tamba Dibi. dont je t'ai parlé tantôt Si Dieu le souhaite, si la royauté est effective, si le bain est pris là-bas, tu dois partir sur Kankéléfa. Une fois sur Kankéléfa et à Tamba Dibi aussi, on fait la même chose que les précédentes étapes. Il doit prendre le bain et en fin il continue sur Kansala. Kansala! Une fois sur place, cette étape constitue la fin. Une fois à Kansala et que l'annonce est faite. On l'amène sur les pierres, arrivée sur ledit endroit, on l'amène à Mouningue. Là où le roi s'assoit. Là où se trouve la cour du roi

S.S : Les blocs de latérites se trouvent où ?

PS : Les blocs de latérites se trouvent à Kansala

S.S : Mouningue se trouve où ?

PS : Mouningue se trouve aussi à Kansala

Moussa Sané (M.S) : Le Dialan Bantan qu'il vient de dire là. Ce Dialan Bantan se trouve à Payoungou. À cette époque, celui-ci décréait autel ici, est l'aîné de tous les autres terroirs dont il vient de parler. Tout ce qui se décidait à ces temps. S'il voit le vautour blanc sur le haut du fromager. Qu'importe le jour, il va livrer l'information. Qui prévaut à sa présence sur le sol du Kaabu. Ce vautour blanc pour qu'il annonce les événements, il faut qu'on sacrifie une jeune fille et un jeune garçon vierges. Une fois le sacrifice accompli, le vautour descend pour manger. Kaban, ai cèllé onsuma ayé kibaaro fo minh. Nata Kaabu banco a sa fo, wolé yantina. Kaabu bancobé dialan kéba tii. Nin Dialan bantan, nin dialan bantan nata Wo dallilo lon. Wolé niou ya kafu diyamoto doron. Les cœurs de ces personnes, après il remonte sur le toit de l'arbre. Pour enfin livrer le message qu'il doit livrer aux Kaabunke. Parce que ce dialan est l'aîné de tous les autres dialan du Kaabu. Ce Dialan Bantan, s'il est aîné, voilà-les raisons. Ce que j'avais seulement à dire.

Q: *Wulufa Wulumban?*

PS: Wulufa Wulumban ngo follé. Wo wulunfa Wulumban wolé moun faniya Follalé, faniya folé, parce que koulo lo lonSecret lon moun, secret moun ko Kaabu banco. Tan saaba a nin fula nin bé bé bena lé. Ina kulo fo bouncono , ni dounta bouncon. Moun nin nianta nin kéla. Nin wo kulo yita, I ya nieta niola. Nin wo diandian ta haa bitin momo bé daa mouta. La dé, pour que kata fo do nion tidié dé I saloon ko bé bé sita lé i bé kanta lé kou wolalé. Ya mouta xakilo to, haa bari ia inata futi kafo kono. I taata yé fo secret fo do ya moy doron. I bé fila lé yé sambanan fo sindi man foya. Wo tempo la dian, kéba moun nié moun bé. Siring dian wolé moun Yiri kountouba Sané. Wolon mansa ké woti, wolé bé siring dian

Q: *Payoungou ?*

PS: Payoungou dian, Yiri Kountouba Sané. Nin faniya fola ya mouta I ba samba lé diéto. A yé gning ka mounou ya ti lé koulo kou wo. Ité taata wo fo banto la, ah moun ba koun dié. I bé mouta woloto dié, nié samba I ko alé yé. Samba a ngué ta fa Na yé wulu fa wulumban kono. Wulufa wulumban, alli ya wulo fa

Alli yé ta badé Solindioyé. Wo Solindioyé alli yé dié singue fa taa talla wuWulo lé laran daming alli wo dié. Silla mo man yita dé. Alfa la London wolon lé a siyalé ban. Bari bé lé a diali bé la sélé yata fan. Ka fo koumo moun ka mo fo tonia lé mou. Ah bé saaharin

Awa ko faniya fo lé souho lé badé doula tidié. Parce que Kaabu banco douho bou ka souho dommo. Douho wo bou ka souho dommo. Wo tempo diawaro nin moun la souho faata. Iko taa dinko singue comme khadama dingue wo Singue ka badé niamiin. I bita dinko singue naa. Nin wo dinko singue I souho lé boula dié. Yaa célé. I ko douho bou ka souho dommo la. Wolé moun Nianthio ti Woléti mounmoun ti. Yoo London kéba lé mou. Katia wolé soupo yitandala

Q: *si Kaabu fof diondinoma fi la goundji moun dii ko khombo tawténo é doum kafu ?*

PS: Wolé kéba wol mou kéba . Koumbadin lon mou niaton ko loum. Parce que i ta taraa commando wo . Commando i taraa niatianko lé bidié. Wo niatianko lou wolé kiliro ké. Ni kiliro ké baa dioubé kéba kalifu wo Niin moun yalon ko wolé mou kulo ké. I bé wo kilé nin doun yé kulo ké. Han bari wo kulo doula to moo é hanila Hanii moo té hanila mo kulo kumo yé fuuti dé

Wo bé dana boun kon, na bé fuuti fanan sataa la . Kélo kouwo lo moun Kélo. Nin kélo programmé, ni fuuti ta woto mu féndin ko Loum informé yalla. Ha bari té secret kati taa foo dé. Nin ah foo doron, faa kumo fuuti taa. Doron Nin ya bilan tinia doron, kelo tinia boulo. Doron , I bé té falalé. Ya loné ké bita faa lél, parce que ité moun. Ité moun kafu tinia nia lé. Wo tembo nio mo la kéring, diya kuya . Bé bé kéring

Q: *Bén wirtano no bé goundo dji Kaabu Di hono bé wardé réno?*

PS: No bé warder no?

Q: *Haa, ho ko bé lipéré no ha bé maya. Wala ko bé kircérono?*

PS: Wulufa Wulumban je l'ai dit, c'est le traître, le menteur. Le menteur, parce que tout ce qu'il sait, le moindre secret, n'importe lequel dans les trente-deux terroirs du Kaabu. Ce qui a été arrêté dans une chambre, les gens qui étaient présents Ne doivent pas divulguer ce secret avant la date échue. Celui qui rompt et brise ce pacte pour aller l'étaler sur la place publique. Il faut le mettre dans l'esprit mais s'il y a quelqu'un qui dévoile le secret sur la place publique et si quelqu'un venait à l'entendre, e coupable va être mis aux fers et amener pour subir un interrogatoire. En ce moment ici, le vieux Yiri Kountouba Sané était le roi. C'est lui Qui régnait ici.

Q: Ici à Payoungou ?

PS : Ou, i ici à Payoungou de Yiri Kountouba Sané.. Si tu mentais, on t'attrapait et t'acheminait chez lui. Il allait te demander: 'est-ce toi qui a dévoilé le secret, c'est toi qui est parti le dire à la place publique et que les autres l'ont su et t'on arrêté et l'amène là pour t'exécuter?' Il faut tuer le chien là où on tue les traîtres. Wulufa Wulumba, on le tue là.

Par la suite on l'enterrait à Solindioyé. À Solindioyé, on lui creusait sa tombe. Et on l'enterre comme on enterre un chien. Tout le monde en parle. C'est la mémoire des anciens qui est ainsi. Mais les griots l'on récupérait vraiment. Tout ce que tu viens d'entendre est vrai. C'est connu

De même que les traîtres, les chevaux aussi sont enterrés là. Parce que dans tout le territoire du Kaabu, les vautours. Ne mangent pas la viande de cheval Les vautours ne consomment pas de la viande de cheval A cette époque, si le cheval d'un guerrier mourrait. Il ordonnait qu'on creuse un trou à l'image. D'une tombe de personne et allait enterrer le cheval. De la même manière qu'on enterre une personne là-bas. Ils vont creuser la fosse. S'ils terminent de creuser, ils exhument le cheval en place. J'ai dit que les vautours ne mangent pas de la viande de cheval. C'est un Nianthio. Puisque c'est un animal. C'est le savoir des anciens. C'est en causant avec eux qu'ils m'ont dit cela

Q: Si le Kaabu se réunissait pour débattre des secrets, qu'est-ce qui participait à cette assemblée ?

PS : C'est les vieux qui étaient aux pouvoirs. C'est la traduction la plus correcte Parce que tu les trouveras aux commandements. C'est les seuls qui y prennent part. C'est aussi les seuls qui sont convoqués. Si l'appel est fait, on va regarder que les têtes de fil. S'il est au courant de l'affaire et de sa finalité. Il les convoque pour partager l'information. Mais personne ne doit être au courant. Cela doit être tenu au secret. Si quelqu'un divulguait l'affaire conclut

Lors de l'assemblée et que ça venait d'être mis à la place publique. Que la bataille soit connue. La bataille. Si la bataille est programmée, personne ne doit révéler l'affaire, même à Dieu. Personne ne doit parler du secret. Si quelqu'un en parle, et cela était seulement. Si les conclusions sont ficelées et que la guerre est arrêtée seulement. Tout le monde est tenu de garder le silence. Tu sais celui qui va en parler, parce que tu es l'instigateur lors de l'assemblée. A cette époque, celui qui faisait des commérages. Celui qui le faisait

Q: Ceux qui divulguaient les secrets, comment ils étaient tués ?

PS : La manière dont on les tuait ?

Q: Oui, on les battait à mort ? Ou bien on les égorgeait ?

PS: no ko bé lipambo sawourou A yé lapi doko fo yé faa. Iké fo wulu fa. Wayi no ahno lapa rawadou. Ko none bé padir ta bé. Iyé wola fa niamin wolé moun wulo fa niamain. Parce que wulu ya fololé moy tii. Wolé naké wulu fa. Nin wulu fa fanan, i ké ta diobadé lé. Wo diobadé mouno nio mi nintin. Wo yé ta doron wo dinko kodoun. Ika souho saaré niamin. Parce que faniya fololoun, wulu loumou. Secret tinian la lon. Wol la tinia i bouka fa sotola doron. Dinko kono I ma dié a li yo moun do dié mo taala .A bé bitirin ha Fo domo bade foné ka bitirin né. Ya ko ya landin boulo kan. Yo bari I ma dié yé ta lone ah bitrindi. Wotumo ya wulu saaré lé. Wolé ya bitindin

Q: *dDoni cii bé mbari bo wulu fa wulumban, pourquoi bé soubi solindioyé?*

PS: Solindioyé, Solindioyé doum ko koudole- Wo niamo solin solin wo falindin Woto doula béla, Nia bé cour bé moun solin yé moutu. Niama fanan do tidié nin solin yé ti

Q: *Solindioyé tan woni done?*

PS: Solindioyé ranne woni done. Solindioyé ran wo solindioyé kata wulu lé bade diéli. Faniya fololu ya badé dié to. Wolé dié solindioyé. Bari solin daman falin dié wo tembo la

Q: *Si adaari emplacement tata o ha, Wulu fa wulumban é solindioyé piwu Go doula goro woni, fi hodoum doune?*

PS: Ko addi doume. Silan méya tara, mé taradian kordaa dian. E mbé tato kono dian, nin moun faniya dian. Nin lafita nin ya faa, mbé folalé nié samba. Mbédo to dianan. Aliyé ta fa dié, na ya fa dié aliyé ta mbédo. Ko ya bako doula kari alyia saaré dié tato kan. Awa kéba tara tato kono wolé niaman. I yalla niamaro bé tamaran. Nin kéwo wuluta kékendo mouna yé larine. Kan nay é wo kewo mouta ya samba. Wulumban kono ya fa kata bade solindioyé. Woto

Q: *Si mbé wara noma wulufa wulumban ko to solindioyé mbé goubérono, Mé hanki ah wiwi mbén yo solindioyé kalan puucci di ko tone goubérono?*

PS: Woye

Q: *Dioni to puucci é wulo dji goubiténo doula goro?*

PS: kan mbé goubi téno doula goro Ika daman dé saaré dié. Faniya folalé ani souho loun aliyé na saaré diéli

Q: *Dioni kan bé hono bé goubirano puucci mabé di par rapport é bé yinbé fénobé? Ho i wodi go bé goubire téno, si lari énéni diullu bé no pewniri tén maydo mbén bé?*

PS : Non on le battait avec du bâton. On les frappait avec le bâton jusqu'à la mort. Comment un chien. C'est ainsi qu'on les tués. De la même manière. Parce que tu es un chien, .C'est vraiment un chien, Si on tuait le chien aussi, on n'allait l'enterrer Comment se faisait cet enterrement ? C'est d'aller seulement et le jeter dans le trou, c'est la manière qu'on enterre le cheval. Parce que c'est un menteur, c'est un chien, c'est quelqu'un qui ne peut pas garder un secret. C'était la sentence, si tu es exécuté on t'expédiait directement dans le trou. Tu ne vois pas la façon dont le squelette est allongé? Il est couché sur le ventre. Est-ce que si on enterre une personne correctement, il se couche sur le ventre ? Il s'est couché sur la main. Cependant tu sais qu'il s'est couché sur le ventre, c'est ainsi qu'on enterrait les chiens. C'est pourquoi vous l'avez trouvé sur cette position.

Q: *Pourquoi si on l'exécutait à Wulufa Wulumban ils allaient l'enterrer à Solindioyé ?*

PS : Solindioyé ! Solindioyé, c'est de l'herbe. C'est de l'herbe qu'on appelle « *solin* » C'était-la seule espèce d'herbe qui poussait sur les lieux. Sur toute cette surface, seule le *solin* y poussait. Il n'y avait pas une autre espèce autre que le *solin*

Q: *Seulement le Solindioyé ?*

PS : Seulement. C'est au niveau de ces herbes qu'on enterrait les traitres. C'est le cimetière des traitres. C'est à Solindioyé. Mais à cette époque, seul le *solin* y poussait

Q: *En regardant l'emplacement du tata, Wulufa Wulumban et Solindioyé sont côte à côte, pourquoi cette cohabitation ?*

PS : La raison de cette cohabitation Ils se trouvent à la limite des concessions, près du tata. Si on capturait un traître ici, si on voulait le tuer, ils disaient 'amene-le au niveau de la route là-bas' et on le tuait le sur place si on le tuait sur la route, ils leur disaient de transporter à tel lieu pour l'enterrer. C'est ce que disaient les vieux établis près du tata. Si un homme était reconnu comme traître comme le géant qui est couché là-bas,ils ordonnaient son arrestation et de le conduire à Wulufa Wulumban pour le tuer et l'enterrait à Solindioyé.

Q: *S'il est exécuté à Wulufa Wulumban, c'est à Solindioyé qu'on l'enterrait.Mais vous nous avez dit hier qu'à Solindioyé aussi on y enterrait des chevaux.*

PS : Oui.

Q: *Donc on enterrait sur le même endroit aussi bien les traitres que les chevaux?*

PS : On les enterrait sur le même site. C'est les traitres et les chevaux qu'on enterrait là-bas

Q: *Comment ils enterraient les chevaux par rapport aux traitres ? Est-ce qu'il y avait une particularité vis-à-vis des rites Musulmans ?*

PS: I bouka kuwu té é bé lolara. I ko wo bé dollo lé yén min wola bali wo moun bé . Dollo ti. Wolal bali dollo ti nin wolouma ma Allati. Nin Allah kumo foti nin a fo nin mouno. Ninting, wo tembo wo dollo daman yé lolon anin la manso. Nin wolu yé fa souho lé bade niamain wolé moun. Yé bade wolo fo, ité moun. Nin wulu fa i kata fayii fewu léti ika fayilé. Womoun fayi féwuw léti

Q: *Puucci nono hono goubire téno?*

PS: Souho. Souho na fata I ba dinko singu na lé, nin ya singue. Na lé fo yi bandi, I bé souho bé sambanan ka tiki taka. Na ka fayi dinko kono, nin ya fayio dinko kono ayi saa. I ko douwo kati souho lé domo

Q: *Dioni puucci di si mayino ko di gassétono goubé*

PS : Ha

Q: *Fénobébé kayén kala ko bé gassétono bé goubé Wala ko bé mbédéréno*

PS : Ika souho la saaré niamin, ika lé fayi niamin. Ika faniya folalé saaré niama iké faye saaré lé. Moun ta faye fenwo doron, i faye dinko kono. Doron yé faye dié yé fili dié ta

Q: *Hankin halan no mbén ko puucci ma bé di Bourano bé fof parce que puucci di dioguino valeur E yésso ma bé. Dioni no hono goubire ta houdé diogui Dé valeur é tako houdé dé alla valeur ?*

PS : Parce que wona houdé niaméré dé a manké domo fénti. Souho, nin ya kata badé, i kana saaré comme. Yé moo saaré daming parce que souho ni ya. Important yé soto a yé nafa soto ké yé ika séllé. I déma kélo kono i bé souho sélla i bita kelo la. Silan wo souho bé nafa wo souho wo kata fa la. Iya lon ité fo yé dounta histoiro woul kono. Nié yé déma histoiro kono fo niamin fa alla yé. Kana din wo histoiro kono wo souho nin nata. Kuranta na fata wula balla na soto la yindé. Pour wo ya diélé nin douwo jita wo souho Domo la i nia balé ya loné ya balla fa lon dé. Ka yé nafa lé, wolé la wo dinko singue. Nin souho ta ya boula dinko kono, ya saaré. I koto kana souho domo, parce que nafa lé ya Soto lé, won nin souho ni ya saaré dian wolému. Nafa wow faniya folalé ya saaré dié

Q: *Dii doula dji di halada do di, fi tamba dibi Dialan bantan, fi Wulufa wulumban, ah hali fi Solindioyé ah hali fi tata o mais minén ko mén Gari do rowani ko bé mbi mén ko tata dji wono Do. Goro ô bé mbiyi mén ko Yiri kuntuba wodi mo*

PS: Tata, est-ce que tata didi no wodi ? Miin do go tata goro mii handi é Payoungou do, Woni Yirikuntuba Sané, onne tata mii andi. Kéba ka min satan niala, wolé moun ninto. Ko nin tato nin moun Payoungou tato tii. Birin kata dianban fo dié Dialaba, parce que Saaté man folo dian,ka folo nialaban fo fayda Saaré Ansou ban nin bé moun saaté lon, mais nin dingaté Wulufa wulunban ani Solindioyé. Woyé man sii woto, parce que mansa kéwo là tata doula woto, wola tata wolé bé siiring tato Lo kono

PS : Ce n'était pas pareil. C'était des buveurs de vin de palme, ils enterraient à leur manière. Comme des buveurs de liqueurs. C'est la façon de faire des buveurs de vins, ce n'est pas comme les gens qui croient en Dieu. Si on les disait de faire comme les croyants, ils se demandaient la raison. À cette époque, ils ne connaissaient que du vin de palme et leur roi, si on tuait un traître on l'enterrait comme un cheval. Tu es un traître qui mérite la mort et on allait le jeter comme une ordure.

Q: *Comment on enterrait les chevaux ?*

PS : Les chevaux . Si un cheval mourait, on allait creuser pour lui. Après avoir fini de creuser, on ligotait le cheval pour l'amener au niveau du trou, pour le jeter et remplir le trou. Je t'ai dit que les vautours ne mangent de la viande de cheval

Q: *Donc si les chevaux mouraient on les enterrait?*

PS : Oui

Q: *Les traîtres ont été enterrés de la sorte ou bien on les jetait ?*

PS : La manière dont les chevaux sont exhumés, c'est de la même manière qu'on enterrait les traîtres. On les jetait dans le trou et on le remplissait. Et on l'oublie. C'est si s'était une ordure. On le jette et on s'en va .

Q: *Vous nous parlez hier de la valeur qu'avaient les chevaux à leurs yeux. Maintenant comment tu peux réserver le même sort quelque chose qui a du valeur à côté de quelque chose qui ne représentent rien pour toi ?*

PS : Parce que wona houdé niaméré dé a manké domo fénti. Souho, nin ya kata badé, i kana saaré comme. Yé moo saaré daming parce que souho ni ya. Important yé soto a yé nafa soto ké yé ika séllé. C'est lui qu'amène à la guerre, il est indispensable à la bataille. Si le cheval est d'utilité, pourquoi le tuer. Tu vois, c'est comme l'histoire de la brousse. Si tu me demandes cette histoire de la brousse, seul Dieu la connaît. N'entre pas dans cette histoire du cheval. Si le cheval t'ai été utile pourquoi le laisser pourrir au soleil. Pour voir un vautour descendre pour manger de la viande de cheval, si tu as sa connaissance la mort le sait. Du fait de sa valeur, qu'on creuse une fosse pour l'enterrer. Personne ne consomme de la viande de cheval à cause de son importance et de sa valeur, c'est la raison de son enterrement. L'importance qu'a le traître lui vaut d'être enterré sur le même endroit

Q: *Ces endroits dont vous nous avez parlé, à propos de Tamba Dibi, Dialan bantan, à propos de Wulufa Wulumban, de Solindioyé, du tata, Or quand nous étions venus l'année dernière, on nous a raconté qu'il y avait deux tata ici. L'un était pour Yiri Kuntuba.*

PS : Tata, est-ce qu'il y a en eu deux tata ? Moi je connais qu'un seul tata à Payoungou. C'est celui de Yiri Kuntuba Sané, c'est le seul que je connais. Là où les vieux vous ont montré, c'est là-bas, c'est ce tata qui est celui de Payoungou. De là jusqu'à Dialaba, parce que c'est le premier village. Qui est né a proximité, parce que Saré Ansou est dans le village de Payoungou. Mais entre Wulufa Wulumban et Solindioyé, personne n'a habité dans cet espace, parce que c'est l'emplacement du tata et la résidence du roi,

Q: *Saaré dé héddé saaré Ansou foudii*

PS : Héddé Saré Ansou to dé foudii

Q: *Hakoundé Saré Ansou é Solindioyé é Solindioyé é tata ô é Wulufa wulumban Haye goro alla no done?*

PS: haye goro alla no done

Kaabu hooré é hooré ah nanta Solindioyé, ah Nanata Wulufa wulumban sii wona Payougou. Ita ta moylaban Kaabu banco Wulufa Wulumban. Kankari kunda, Solindioyé kankari kunda naa manké Payougou dian. Payougou danman lé ya soto Kaabu banco hanin faniya. Sankorlla lé ibé samba lé falé yé badé lé dié Solindioyé . Wulufa wulumban ah mahn soto Kaabu banco. Nin bancu taan saba banco foula, ah man soto. Hani Payougou dian. I fanan Kaabu banco ita moylé fanan

Q: *Mbida Kaabu ko banco ji tianpan tati é did diogui?*

PS: Ha ko doum mawbé mbiyo

Q: *Dioni kala fénoho woni I dér Kaabu si warama Sankorlla, Kolla,*

PS: War taa ké. I ta fa diéli, nin ya faniya fo ah kéta. Tiniarala doron I ba samba lalé directement. Ah ta natila dian Payougou. I ba fala Wulufa wulumban to, ya bade Solindioyé

Q: *Lambé Payougou bé horo bé goumba? Ko to bérédo wala ko doula godo bé goumba?*

PS: Mii waw rama fémandé doum. Nié londé folo folo badé ko bé damin wolé moun. Dispensaire moun ya lo damin, wa tilibo caro. Wo coutandi damin mo bé moun kaburu koto lé moun

Q:: *Hédé antenne to?*

PS: Voila, hédé antenne to, do dispensiare ô wone do. Do poste de santé ô wone do, to founaguié moun do. Ô ya hottolo ko do gawdial ngal wone do, doi piuwu Ko béréde.

Q: *Haku dé Wulufa wulumban, Solindioyé é tamba dibi Presque houdédé piuwu ko done woniri quoi, ahndi do ko, séngo nano woniri?*

PS: Houdédé piuwu wona tonn woniri Parce que dié saaté lé moun ya lon a wartalé Payougou bé saaté baa lé tii, a saaté konu fanu talé Wotumo Kaabu banco kan é Payougou han Saaté lé mou dé, saaté moun lé ya warta Ka bonan tamba dibi fo kana Solindioyé wo bé saaté Lé moun i santanan Solindioyé boula, wo Wulufa, Wulumba boula wo tato lo. Wo tato é mansa kéwo darta wolto ka fa Yiri Kuntuba Sane a bé tato wolé moun, wolé bé bota kotoké ayilé na Dian wo bé moun saaté tii, wo bé saaté tii Haa kéba lé moun nié fo.

Q: *Saaré dé pourquoi dé sotiri ni ?*

Q: *Le village commence-t-il vers Saré Ansou ?*

PS : Il commence près de Saré Ansou.

Q: *L'espace compris entre Saré Ansou et Solindioyé, entre Solindioyé et le tata et Wulufa Wulumban, y avait-il des habitations ?*

PS : Il n'y avait pas d'habitations. Dans tout le Kaabu, tu n'entendras pas Solindioyé, Wulufa Wulumban qu'à Payoungou. Tu n'entendras dans tout le territoire du Kaabu Wulufa Wulumban. Solindioyé n'est qu'à Payoungou. Tu ne trouveras ces lieux nulle part dans le territoire du Kaabu qu'à Payoungou. Si le traître était de Sankorla, on l'amenait pour le tuer à Wulufa Wulumban et était enterré à Solindioyé. Wulufa Wulumban ne se trouve qu'à Payoungou dans tout le terroir du Kaabu. De tous les trente-deux territoires du Kaabu, il n'y a qu'à Payoungou. Et aussi de tout le Kaabu, tu ne l'entendras parler.

Q: *Vous avez dit que le Kaabu avait 32 terroirs.*

PS : Oui, c'est ça que les vieux ont dit.

Q: *Donc s'il y avait un traître au Kaabu, par exemple à Sankorlla ou Kolla, on l'exécutait où ?*

PS : On ne le tuait pas là-bas. Si une personne était accusée de trahison, on le ligotait seulement. On l'acheminait directement à Payoungou. On l'exécutait à Wulufa Wulumban, on l'enterrait à Solindioyé.

Q: *Où étaient enterrés les princes de Payoungou ? C'est à l'intérieur du cimetière ou bien dans d'autres endroits ?*

PS : Je ne peux pas le garantir. À ma connaissance, le cimetière était à l'est du dispensaire. Là on se trouve le champ de coton.

Q: *Tout près de l'antenne ?*

PS : Voilà, c'est près de l'antenne, là où se trouve le dispensaire, à l'est du poste de santé. À partir du champ de coton jusqu'au niveau des tiges de mil. C'est tout cet espace qui était le cimetière.

Q: *Entre le Wulufa Wulumban, Solindioyé et Tamba dibi. Presque tout est concentré du côté gauche, pourquoi cela ?*

PS : Toutes les choses ne se situent pas de ce côté. Parce que c'est un village vaste. Qui n'a pas connu de bataille; au temps du Kaabu, Payoungou s'était un village, un vaste village. Du Tamba Dibi jusqu'à Solindioyé, tout cet espace faisait partie du village. Aussi de Solindioyé à Wulufa Wulumban jusqu'au tata royal de Yiri Kuntuba Sané. Et de là jusqu'ici¹², c'est tout cet espace qui faisait parti du village, c'est les vieux qui me l'ont dit.

Q: *Pourquoi le village s'est déplacé ainsi ?*

¹²Le village actuel

PS : éyi doum ko no wayi, andou ko saaré ko yahate. Areta nin saaté ka sembo kata ah mourou taalé Ka taara doula é wato do bidié mo siyya Ah sinna talla moy doya é Payoungou. A toutalé mole lou botaa lé dian I dian ta I dian ta parceque birin dian fo Sitor, fo Guinée Bissau, fo kata Gambie, Payoungou Din bé sirin bé cotton doula fa kata Alla ya kino bondii saaté to wo bita lal

Bari moun domo kino bidian moun wolé Ah bidian hani bi Ah mira kabire touma dian bidié fo saaté Ten lé nin loum lo dian I bita talla bari Domo tulla la dian awa wolé moun saaté Kan wo talla, noun kéba lon, nou diamno Mawbé bé sendiri diri ta bé diokin diri endam Wolé moun badiya kanu parce que ah bouka lafi Diandiada nin diandaita moumé lounalé bari ka Kafata nioma mouné ka diara lé, wo tembo la Nin kano bé kéring kankiliya bé kéring. I saa taara kéba kilin ayé kumo moun saaté Bé wow yé kéla mo kilin, ya lone wolé moun Alfa tii kono I ya kuma kan foyo doron momo wo Moutalél wo tembo bo kabén wo kérin Nin ya kétala bi nin déwo an man fan woulu Inata tarola nié tilin ka, ité kunin até kunin E wolé diandian nati mais Payoungou manta Saaté dindin tii Kaabu banco kan

Q: *Est-ce que tata ô ko doula goro médi Wone dé, é ko saaré dé wono é tournu dé ?*

PS: Tata ô ko doula goro wono

Q: *Wayelubé bé ko kahéne é lambdo Ngondouno wala ko kahéne é béda yimbé Ngondouno? Wala kahéne kala I dioguino Doula féré do bé ngondono?*

PS: Dou mo mounto nata, parce que nin noumolu Parce que Noumolu wolému tuunkan naléti. Moun nou alfa lon, mo wo mo nin yaa Sindii manso, sindii mo diyaa, gaaranké Di yaa, yé Noumolu wolé bé kesso Tuunkan na wolé kan dioran dada Fo yéré falo yé mansa ké taara doula dilé A nianta taara damin mo bé ké dokuwo Kéla damin bari lonta londoman yitadin. Na dé adoun kéba lé ma fo fanan Numolé Kampéring na dian néto, bari koko. Fonié ba fola tonia fo Gaaranké loun, dawo da nin sindii manso. Lou nin bé sindii manso dawo da gué Gaaranké lou di Dawo da nin sindii manso da bé i ka: I ka Noumolu dilalé I la Noumo féfé, I la Gaaranké féfé.

Q: *Kan bé piuwu kampri ta doula goro?*

PS: Ah doum mbii andaa

Q: *Ah famanii doum?*

PS: Mi famani doum ci fow wonade Gallé goro Man dié kalamouta, ité man dié fonola Bari nin londo féwo few nii baa cindila Nii baa cindila ko nin Kaabu banco taan Saaba ni foulo bé dawo daa nin manso Sindii fo Noumo diyala yé Gaaranké diyala Nin Noumo wolé bé kesso tuunkan nan, wolé Bé dioran nan tuunkan la Wole Gaaranké lé kari safe la baraa Wolému kaafé lé baraan dian

Q: *Andii ko mbén garii doo ko, ko hédé. Saaré Ansou mbén guidii asse dé, jarga ô wi Mbén ko tonn saaré dé foudi. Dioni hono saaré dé iwri tonn haa dé jotii do Hono doula ji kétiediring?*

PS : C'est vrai, tu sais le village bouge constamment. Si quelque chose arrive et qu'il le trouve dans un lieu, il s'y établit. C'est la raison pour laquelle les gens se sont établis à Payoungou. Si tu quittes un lieu, tu t'établis dans un autre. Et ainsi de suite. Parce que d'ici en passant par Sitior par la Guinée Bissau jusqu'en Gambie, ce sont les fils de Payoungou qui y établirent leurs champs jusqu'au jour que Dieu décida de mettre fin à leur bien-être et qu'ils s'en aillent.

Cependant ce sont les gens qui trouvent leur compte sur place qui ont resté. Imagine depuis la fondation du village, ceux qui sont nés ici, ils partent mais tant que leur repas est servi ici, ils y resteront. C'est derniers qui sont là, ils ne vont pas partir, à ces temps, les vieux étaient solidaires. Parce qu'ils ne voulaient pas la dispersion des uns et des autres. Mais c'est le climat social qui comptait le plus. A cette époque, il y'avait l'amour et la solidarité. Ceci étant dit, si un vieux interdisait quelque chose d'un village, tout le monde se demandait de quoi il s'agit, et tout le monde était au courant. Il suffit qu'un vieux décrétait quelque chose seulement, pour que tout le monde l'applique . À cette période la parole des anciens avait de la valeur. Celui qui dérogeait à la règle, était considéré comme un chien. Et si cela était connu, tu te suffiras à toi-même. C'est ça ce qui amenait .

Q: *Est-ce que le tata est toujours resté sur place et c'est le village qui bouge constamment ?*

PS : Le tata n'a jamais bougé.

Q: *Les forgerons habitaient ensemble avec le souverain ou bien ils étaient avec le reste de la population ? Ou bien ils habitaient seuls à l'écart ?*

PS : Ils sont partout, parce que ces forgerons, ce sont eux qui ont créé la forge, ce sont eux les maîtres. Si on intronise un roi, on lui donne un cordonnier. Ce sont les forgerons qui fabriquent les munitions et des outils. Là où se trouve un roi, tu trouveras un forgeron à son côté. Entraîne de travailler mais il ne va te montrer son savoir. Cependant les vieux ne m'ont pas dit que les forgerons ont campé ici. Mais je ne vous dis rien que la vérité. Les cordonniers sont partis prenant dans les intronisations des souverains. Là où on intronise un roi, on note la présence d'un forgeron. Et le chargé de la cérémonie dit : voilà ton forgeron et ton cordonnier

Q: *Est-ce qu'ils habitaient ensemble ?*

PS : Là je ne sais pas

Q: *Vous n'en avez pas connaissance ?*

PS : Je ne sais pas s'ils habitaient ensemble oui ou non. Mais je sûre d'une chose, là où on intronisait un roi dans les trente-deux terroirs du Kaabu, on donnait au souverain un forgeron et un cordonnier. C'est le forgeron qui fabriquera ses outils et ses munitions et c'est le cordonnier qui fera ses amulettes, ses boucliers,

Q: *Lorsque nous sommes arrivés, on a commencé à fouiller près de Saré Ansou. Le Jarga nous a dit que le village commençait là-bas. Comment le village s'est déplacé jusqu'ici ? Quel est l'ordre d'occupation ?*

PS : kéba folo lou nii ya taara kampé té dian Comme niin Payougou couro bé niamin I man danta Allah niin wolélun dialan tii Nii bé kampérian dian nin saaya natal la mo bé la fa la doron ké kolon fata Doula to doron a ka bondii dian all na Saounté dian I bé bolalé kotonké a yé Déplacé tata kampé doula doté Bariii tato wolé baa nolé to wo man ta dé Tato wo ba note ah mann ta dé molle bé Bodian na saounté tato wo djéla I sii bé Bodian a yé saouna a ya nan dian la Yo barii tato wo ba nolalé yo Payougou inté nga lone nialon Saaté nin ka fo bodian I yé taa diéli Ya kanan bodié I ya nata dianan kéba Lé fo nian dian I ka fonié lé Parce que bii saaté foutata dian mouna. A yé moul mantara diéli noun mol bé Siring ka bona tato data kana dian la kanan ko Mbétoto fo kanan nin wudu wandoto mol bé Siring dié molu man Foutata ten Yo barii I ka déplacé dé I ka bona dian I yé bonadian I ya na dian I bé sotalé, kata kéba . Lé ya folalé ha

Q: *Tata ô hono darirano?*

PS: hé tato no darirano mii waw taa maa filandé doum

Q: *Est-ce que ko kartadjié wadano, wala ko madii wadano ?*

PS: Non, wonaa kartadjié. Kartaa ah ah I bouka karta ké Tato I bé dada lé comme hin lé muro dada Niamin, I ba entouré niamin wo tato I gaa mira ko yé diélé woto bite kaye Mansa ké tata doula fo tato danta damin I sala Woto kan I bo dada lo é itala kéro la I sémbo la Bariii karta kéla la dié parse que nia bélalé fan fo Yiro loun fo yiro loun barii karta fo wonté.

Q: *Ho ko do tata ô hadi do ko donn saaré mawdé dé hadii wala dé arii haa hédé gaa?*

PS: Miimi tata ô do hadi donn gallé ji pouda Tato danta damin koda commencé télé diélou. Kata naa diana nun Bariii kan bonan tamba dibi wo damin woto moun Saaté lémoun a bé saaté wolé tii i ko saaté lé foula Léé yé tato boula témaa Payougou saaté foula léé yé tato boula témaa Nin bé mou Payougou lé mais tato léé bé témaa léé Wulufa wulumban wo bidié, Solindioyé wo bidié Wolu bé léé témaa léé,wolu mantaraa saaté bantaraa Parce que molé ba yé tin molé ba yé diana lala Silan mansa ké wo sédio wolémoun

Q: *Saaré ko continue hédé ga go ko horo gallé ji Kadoyi ko to dialan bantan to dii kadoyi wala dii Continue kala?*

PS: Dii continue parce que minén ko mén mantiri ko Ko mén woni thioukayel ko dén gallé ji ô ancienne routé gallé goro woni hédé ron doum woni ô gallé Ni ô piuwu ko laddé Diana ma fan saaté lé bidié kata tato danta damin Itanna nia fano wolé diélé dié nata fo fana sitanan Woleto doto saaté nin talata bay mole kata nan Mole bitaa toujours saaté kata la a yé na Bariii nin saaté wato hadama din bidié lé dé Dian ni fan mansa saaté koto léé tii

Q: *Ho bo waatu yimbé diodi do do saaré dé Won do ô waatu?*

PS: Haanin ité lé fono, woto kay ité fo nola bari faniya ah maan bétaya

PS : Les premiers habitants qui ont occupé Payoungou, le village ne s'arrêtait pas au niveau du dialan. S'ils s'installaient dans un endroit et il y avait beaucoup de morts, ils se déplaçaient en faisant un saut de quelques mètres. Et il n'y retournait jamais. Le tata que je connais ne s'est jamais déplacé pour d'autre lieux. C'est les gens qui se sont déplacés vers le tata et tout autour. Donc le tata que je connais et qui est à Payoungou est resté sur place. C'est le village qui se déplaçait d'un lieu à l'autre. Cette rotation était constante. C'est les vieux qui me l'ont dit. Parce que le village a commencé là-bas et s'arrêta ici et tous ceux qui s'y étaient installés, se sont déplacés vers la route jusqu'en bordure de la forêt. Tous ces gens n'étaient pas encore nés. Or, pour ce qui concerne le déplacement du village d'un endroit à un autre, les vieux n'en ont pas raconté.

Q: *Comment le tata était construit ?*

PS : La manière dont le tata était construit, je ne saurai pas te le dire

Q: *Est-ce qu'il était entouré de palissade ou bien en dur ?*

PS : Non, il n'était pas entouré de palissade. Pas de palissade. On clôture le tata en dur. Ce tata que je connais et celui que tu as vu, le tata du roi, là où il s'arrête, il était clôturait en dur comme de la pierre. La palissade n'était pas appropriée parce que c'est du bois. On peut utiliser les piquets pour élever le mur. Mais pas de palissade.

Q: *Est-ce que, c'est là où le tata s'arrête, c'est la limite de l'ancien village ?*

PS : C'est là où s'arrête le tata, c'est là-bas que les concessions commencent et se sont avancés par là. De tamba dibi jusqu'ici, tout ça s'est le village. Le village est séparé en deux par le tata, qui est au milieu. Dans cet espace on y retrouve Wulufa Wulumban, Solindioyé. Ils se trouvent au milieu du village. Parce que ceux qui vous ont montré le tata, c'est le lieu exacte.

Q: *De ce côté, les concessions continuent pour s'arrêter où ? Ou bien elles continuent toujours ?*

PS : Elles continuaient de cet côté, au temps de notre jeune âge. Ces concessions sont construites sur l'ancienne piste. Au-delà d'elles, il n'y avait qu'une seule concession et le reste c'était la brousse. De l'autre côté, le village continue jusqu'au tata et se termine, là où nous sommes aujourd'hui. Mais ce village était peuplé plus qu'il ne l'ait de nos jours C'est un village royal ancien.

Q: *Là où les gens se sont établis actuellement, est-ce que c'était habité ?*

PS : Je n'en suis pas sûr, te dire des contrevérités n'est pas bon.

Q: Rowanin ko bé kolan nomén ko bé koluno mén Tumbun ô, ano anndii kol lawol ndiaho gol Saaré Ansou Gol gongol é hétii séngo foud nagué, ho saaré continue tonn?

PS: Mi halanima won déma tamba dibi dén ô waatu gol lawol Saaré Ansou fountanii, ayhi si yéhi haa do diardé do ayi na lawol Gol séli ni go gol yéhi directement Saaré Ansou, ayi gol lawol Haybori Saaré Ansou é saaré Ansou ko dioni sinthia Ko guéssi dji amen saaré Ansou sinthia do bé diodi do ko guéssé. Amen lwadé ma tamba dibi ari ha do diadé do, piwu ko Payoungou Haye do foundagué do, do darkassi dié do di gawado piwu ko Payoungou Héy kono awdii houbii, awdii yimbé houbii, awdii Seebé houbii Kono Seebé héwono, ko hare de houmdi bé Thierry I ko ya dié nia banto silo nin toumo mina woto to kéring Salin fouto kéring kikalo siounta wo silo bota lé nin dian fo dounta Kabendu siwo lé banco fo wulumban tataa fo dounta Kabendu Wo silo nata lé fo dounta fo tato to dian hani saama sita Ga silo yitandin ya fo gaa dié, souho kata silo la I ka sélé Souho kata fo Thiayanga ba counto yé taa Kabendou.

Q: *L'année dernière quand nous étions là, on nous a montré le tumbun. Vous savez la route qui mène vers Saré Ansou, à l'est, le village continu aussi de ce côté ?*

PS : Je te le répété, à cette époque la route qui passe près de Tamba Dibi, n'était pas encore empruntée, à l'hauteur du tas de sable, il y a une déviation, cette route menait à Saré Ansou. Saré Ansou est une création récente. Cet village est fondé sur nos champs et c'est là qu'ils se sont installés. De Tamba Dibi jusqu'au niveau du tas de sable, tout cet espace faisait partie de Payoungou, à l'est près des anacardiens jusqu'au niveau du champ. Tu vois, il n'y a plus d'hommes, les hommes sont finis, la race mandingue est exterminée. La population mandingue était importante mais c'est les guerres qui en sont les causes. Thierry, tu vois la route qui mène à la place publique, c'était l'ancienne route. Les gens se sont installés sur la route qui allait jusqu'à Kabendou. C'était une piste sableuse du tata en passant par Wulufa Wulumban jusqu'à Kabendou C'est la même route qui mène jusqu'au tata même durant la saison des pluies. Tu peux voir les traces de la route que les chevaux empruntaient du grand fleuve. De Thiayanga jusqu'à Kabendou.

APPENDIX B : SITES ENCOUNTERED DURING SURVEY

UC-1 : Cissé kunda (Mampatim Sinthian)

Coordinates: N12.86623, W 14.33353

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 1.3ha

Material Culture: no pottery found (not cultivated)

Associated interviews: 1

Associated periods: colonial (oral histories)

UC-2: Guide Nyantio Bé

Coordinates: N12.86578 W14.32669

Nature of site: guide and polishing marks.

Total surface: unknown, entrance currently blocked.

Material culture: none found.

Associated interviews: 1,14,19.

Associated periods: Kaabu (oral traditions)

UC-3 : Mampatim Pete

Coordinates: N12.89382 W14.33809

Nature of site: Polishing marks

Total surface: 0.1ha

Material culture: none found

Associated interviews: none

Associated periods: unknown

UC-4 : Wendu Pete

Coordinates: N12.93327 W14.34356

Nature of site: polishing, sharpening, and cup marks.

Total surface: 0.7 ha

Material culture: None found.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: unknown

UC-5 : Gallé Diallo's field

Coordinates: N12.90590 W14.34201

Nature of site: slag concentration.

Total surface: most slag is found within a 6m radius circle, but some is scattered further away as well.

Material culture: slag, one potsherd.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: unknown.

UC-6 : Residence Baba Moulaye Balde

Coordinates: N12.88457, W14.39922

Nature of site: Colonial building.

Total surface: 0.8ha

Material culture: None found.

Associated interviews: Baba Moulaye mentioned in interviews 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 18, 19, 20, 25,26, 29,

Associated periods: colonial (oral histories, nature of structures)

UC-7 Bunya Burdo

Coordinates: N12.88291, W14.39647

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 0.5 ha

Material culture: None found.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: colonial (oral histories)

UC-8 : Bunya Hade Bula

Coordinates: N12.88421 W14.38603

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: could not be calculated

Material culture: none found.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: Fulaadu (oral histories)

UC-9 : Losalu

Coordinates: N12.93729 W14.07673

Nature of site: Well and *dyalan*

Total surface: <10m²

Material culture: None found.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: pre-colonial (well morphology), still in use.

UC-10 : Musa Molo's soldiers' grave

Coordinates: N12.82479 W14.31465

Nature of site: grave.

Total surface: approx. 13 x 8m.

Material culture: None found

Associated interviews: 11

Associated periods: Fulaadu (oral histories)

UC-11 : Woupuñian

Coordinates: N12.93282, W14.25036

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 5.5ha

Material culture: 1 sherd

Associated interviews: 28

Associated periods: Fulaadu, colonial (oral histories)

UC-12 : Tumbu Yero Kumbel /Buña

Coordinates: N12.85837 W14.35723

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 5.5ha

Material culture: none found

Associated interviews: 29

Associated periods: colonial (oral histories)

UC-13 : Unknown tumbu

Coordinates: N12.85984 W14.35032

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: could not be calculated.

Material culture: None found

Associated interviews: none

Associated periods: Fulaadu (oral histories)

UC-14 : Tumbu Abba

Coordinates: N12.89343 W14.34542

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 6.3ha

Material culture: none found.

Associated interviews: 2

Associated periods: Fulaadu-colonial (oral histories)

UC-15 : Mampatim tata

Coordinates: N12.89014 W14.34005

Nature of site: unclear, elders say it was a *tata*.

Total surface: 1.6 ha

Material culture: 1 sherd, contemporary rubbish.

Associated interviews: 2

Associated periods: Late Kaabu/Fulaadu (oral traditions)

UC-16 : Patim Tibo

Coordinates: N12.83058 W14.59940

Nature of site: tumbu & tata

Total surface: 54ha

Material culture: ceramics, bone, glass, one piece of slag.

Associated interviews: 4

Associated periods: Early Kaabu (oral traditions), Late Kaabu/Fulaadu (oral histories)

UC-17 : Tata and tumbu Kandia

Coordinates: N13.08474 W14.22141

Nature of site: tumbu + tata

Total surface: >11.3 ha

Material culture: ceramics, bone, slag.

Associated interviews: 5

Associated periods: Early Kaabu (oral traditions); Late Kaabu/Fulaadu (pottery).

UC-18 : Diouloung Fountéré

Coordinates: N12.86038 W14.29008

Nature of site: Polishing marks and *guide*.

Total surface: unknown, entrances blocked.

Material culture: None found

Associated interviews: 11

Associated periods: unknown

UC-19 : Pachukiel

Coordinates: N12.82699, W14.32119

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 2ha

Material culture: none found.

Associated interviews: 11

Associated periods:

UC-20 : Mamakounda

Coordinates: N13.00433 W14.36158

Nature of site: tata

Total surface: 0.3ha

Material culture: Very limited pottery, some slag.

Associated interviews: 14

Associated periods: Early Kaabu/Late Kaabu (oral traditions), Fulaadu (oral histories)

UC-21 : Teppel Sira Ulo

Coordinates: N12.84568 W14.55253

Nature of site: polishing and sharpening marks

Total surface: 0.5ha

Material culture: none found

Associated interviews: none

Associated periods: unknown

UC-22 : Berberoto

Coordinates: N12.86818 W14.54521

Nature of site: polishing marks .

Total surface: 0.4ha

Material culture: None found

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: unknown

UC-23 : Tumbu Thiara

Coordinates: N12.86421, W14.55082

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 4.7ha

Material culture: Some pottery, one piece of slag.

Associated interviews: 15

Associated periods: Pre-Kaabu (pottery), Late-Kaabu (pottery)

UC-24 : Payoungou 1

Coordinates: N12.72236 W14.06419

Nature of site: tumbu and polishing marks.

Total surface: 66 ha

Material culture: pottery, substantial amounts of slag.

Associated interviews: 16,32

Associated periods: Pre-Kaabu, Early Kaabu, Late Kaabu, Fulaadu (excavation)

UC-25 : Tumbu Koulekounda

Coordinates: N12.85987 W14.49093

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 6.4ha.

Material culture: some pottery.

Associated interviews: 18

Associated periods: Kaabu (oral traditions), Fulaadu (oral histories)

UC-26 : Sansankoro

Coordinates: N12.79899 W14.53709

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 0.4ha.

Material culture: one sherd.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: colonial-recent (oral histories)

UC-27 : Uraro

Coordinates: N12.78120 W14.59411

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 5.1ha

Material culture: Some pottery, some bone.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: Early Kaabu (pottery), Late Kaabu (oral traditions)

UC-28 : Tata Muntumba

Coordinates: N13.06281 W14.17272

Nature of site: tata

Total surface: 0,1ha.

Material culture: none found.

Associated interviews: 19

Associated periods: Fulaadu (oral histories)

UC-29 : Tata Diankankounda Mawdo

Coordinates: N13.01196 W14.38933

Nature of site: tata

Total surface: 0.3ha

Material culture: some pottery, but probably modern.

Associated interviews: 20

Associated periods: Fulaadu (oral histories)

UC-30 : Tumbu Diankankounda Manding

Coordinates: N13.00297 W14.38429

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 0.7ha.

Material culture: one potsherd.

Associated interviews: 21

Associated periods: Colonial (oral histories)

UC-31 : Wulumbau

Coordinates: N13.00374 W14.38810

Nature of site: polishing and sharpening marks.

Total surface: 0.3ha

Material culture: slag

Associated interviews: none.

Associated periods: unknown

UC-32 : Tata Kabendou

Coordinates: N12.92362 W14.11643

Nature of site: tata

Total surface: 0.3ha

Material culture: pottery, iron fragments

Associated interviews: 11

Associated periods: Late Kaabu/Fulaadu (oral traditions)

UC-33 : Tumbu Kabendou

Coordinates: N12.92168 W14.11310

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 29.7ha

Associated interviews: 11

Material culture: pottery, spindle whorl/bead.

Associated periods: Early Kaabu (pottery, oral traditions), Late Kaabu (oral traditions)

UC-34 : Payougou 2

Coordinates: N12.72101 W14.06575

Nature of site: tata.

Total surface: 0.5 ha

Material culture: some pottery.

Associated interviews: 16, 32

Associated periods: Late Kaabu/Fulaadu (excavation)

UC-35 : Payougou 3

Coordinates: N12.71988 W14.06562

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 1.8 ha

Material culture: could not collect due to absence of owner.

Associated interviews: 16,32

Associated periods:

UC-36 : Payougou 4

Coordinates: N12.72178, W14.06693

Nature of site: tumbu/tata

Total surface: 1.0 ha

Material culture: pottery, some quartz and glass.

Associated interviews: 16,32

Associated periods: Early Kaabi (surface pottery), Late Kaabu Fulaadu (excavation)

UC-37 : Dembayumine

Coordinates: N12.95857, W14.37168

Nature of site: polishing and sharpening marks

Total surface: 0.5ha

Material culture: None found.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: unknown.

UC-38 : Dembayumine II

Coordinates: N12.95614 W14.37562

Nature of site: polishing marks, stone circle

Total surface: 0.3ha

Material culture: None found.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: unknown

UC-39 : Tumbu Arfa

Coordinates: N12.95488 W14.37486

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 2.5ha

Material culture: none found.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: Colonial (oral histories)

UC-40 : Perlel

Coordinates: N12.71072, W14.48020

Nature of site: polishing marks

Total surface: approx. 20 x 5m

Material culture: None found

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: unknown

UC-41 : Tumbu Sare Sambaru

Coordinates: N12.71931, W14.48033

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 2.6ha

Material culture: 6 sherds, two pieces of slag, pieces of concrete.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: colonial (oral histories)

UC-42 : Tumbu Djidima

Coordinates: N12.68814 W14.46699

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 1.8ha.

Material culture: some pottery, slag, glass.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: Early Kaabu (pottery), Fulaadu (oral traditions)

UC-43 : Tata Bantanguel Yawayou

Coordinates: N12.75365, W14.58436

Nature of site: tumbu and tata.

Total surface: 1.1ha

Material culture: pottery, slag, loom weights.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: Late Kaabu/Fulaadu (pottery, oral traditions)

UC-44 : Tumbu Mawdo Gundo

Coordinates: N12.82452 W14.58976

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 1.4ha

Material culture: 6 sherds, glass.

Associated interviews: 20

Associated periods: colonial (oral histories)

UC-45 : Alalan Kolon

Coordinates: N12.87599 W14.13715

Nature of site: rectangular depression on the ground.

Total surface: 10m long, 5m wide, 2m deep.

Material culture: None found.

Associated interviews: 25

Associated periods: unknown.

UC-46 : Guide Changale

Coordinates: N12.88579 W14.12100

Nature of site: guide

Total surface: approx.15 x 15 area, dimensions of subterranean galleries unknown.

Material culture: None found

Associated interviews: None.

Associated periods: unknown

UC-47 : Sambel Hari

Coordinates: N12.88816, W14.12720

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 1.1ha

Material culture: None found, but locals report frequently finding beads.

Associated interviews: 25

Associated periods: Fulaadu (oral histories).

UC-48 : Sambel Sambaya

Coordinates: N12.88859, W14.12261

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 0.5ha

Material culture: 2 sherds, 2 pieces of slag, some glass.

Associated interviews: 25

Associated periods: Fulaadu (oral histories)

UC-49 : Ferlo

Coordinates: N12.87801 W14.13165

Nature of site: 4 polishing marks

Total surface: 0.1ha

Material culture: None found

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: unknown

UC-50 : Sinthian Soulé

Coordinates: N12.84838 W14.51551

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 4.7ha

Material culture: 1 sherd.

Associated interviews: 26

Associated periods: colonial (oral histories).

UC-51 : Wendu Kadijal

Coordinates: N12.93673 W14.50721

Nature of site: polishing marks, *guide*.

Total surface: 2 ha

Material culture: None found

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: unknown

UC-52 : Guide Warva

Coordinates: N12.94427 W14.50117

Nature of site: *guide*

Total surface: access to galleries blocked. Six rectangular openings, about 1m x 50cm, between 1m and 1.7m deep, with several tunnels (1-3) opening at the base.

Material culture: None found.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: unknown

UC-53 : Tata Koumambouré

Coordinates: N12.85337 W14.51683

Nature of site: tata (?)

Total surface: <1ha

Material culture: Some pottery, slag.

Associated interviews: 26

Associated periods: Kaabu (oral traditions)

UC-54 : Tumbu Koumambouré

Coordinates: N12.85880 W14.51439

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 24.3ha

Material culture: Pottery, glass, slag.

Associated interviews: 26

Associated periods: Early Kaabu (oral traditions), Late Kaabu/Fulaadu (pottery)

UC-55 : Korop tumbu

Coordinates: N13.13810 W14.45184

Nature of site: tumbu & tata

Total surface: 60.6ha

Material culture: Pottery, glass, beads, European ceramics, perfume bottle.

Associated interviews: 27

Associated periods: Pre-Kaabu, Early Kaabu, Late Kaabu/Fulaadu (excavation)

UC-56 : Miija

Coordinates: N12.96384 W14.23364

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: could not be calculated

Material culture: some pottery, slag, glass.

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: Early Kaabu (pottery)

UC-57 : Tumbu Santanto

Coordinates: N12.93832 W14.24883

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: could not be calculated.

Material culture: some potsherds

Associated interviews: None

Associated periods: Early Kaabu (pottery), colonial (oral histories)

UC-58 : Tumbu Mampatim Sinthian

Coordinates: N12.87057 W14.33324

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: 62.9ha

Material culture: pottery, slag, pipe fragment, bead fragment, glass

Associated interviews: 1,2

Associated periods: Early Kaabu-Late Kaabu (oral traditions)

UC-59 : Samasansan

Coordinates: N12.73623 W14.17464

Nature of site: tumbu

Total surface: could not be calculated

Material culture: none found

Associated interviews: 30

Associated periods: Late Kaabu-Fulaadu (oral histories)

UC-60 : Timpo Kolon

Coordinates: N12.74630 W14.18145

Total surface: <10 m² on the surface, galleries not accessible.

Nature of site: guide

Material culture: None found.

Associated interviews: 30

Associated periods: unknown

**APPENDIX C : DOCUMENTS ABOUT THE PAYOUNGOU
CANNON AT THE GORÉE MUSEUM**

Projet de regroupement de pièces d'artillerie anciennes

1973

La plupart des Musées Historiques dans le monde possèdent une exposition d'armes anciennes, et principalement de canons, qui par leur valeur émotive et muséographique constituent toujours un des "clous" du Musée.

Une enquête menée depuis quelques temps au Sénégal a permis de recenser plusieurs pièces d'artillerie des siècles passés, et leur regroupement à Dakar pourrait donner lieu à l'aménagement d'un local spécial où elles seraient exposées.

A l'exception de la pièce de Mbalamsone, la plus intéressante par son ancienneté (XVe siècle) dont la sacralisation rend le déménagement plus délicat, il n'y aurait aucune difficulté à transférer les autres pièces actuellement recensées, à savoir :

- un canon gisant près de la prison d'Oussouye (Casamance) ; une réponse favorable a été donnée par le Ministre de l'Intérieur à la demande du Directeur de l'IFAN.
- un canon repéré près de Ouassadou, Département de Vélingara, par la Direction du Patrimoine National.
- un canon gisant à Vouropana (Département de Kolda) signalé par C. Becker.
- un canon abandonné près de Merimaghem (Département de Dagana) photographié en 1970 par C. Descamps.

La récupération de ces diverses pièces pourrait donner lieu à une mission conjointe DPN - IFAN à laquelle participeraient, pour l'IFAN, G. Thilmans, chercheur et D. Badiane, aide-technique.

Le déplacement, en Land-Rover, durerait 8 jours, avec un kilométrage prévisible d'environ 2 000 km. Cette mission pourrait avoir lieu fin mai ou début juin, avant les premières pluies d'hivernage.



10 juillet 1973

A l'attention de M. le Directeur du Patrimoine National
(suite à l'autorisation n° 1142 MC du 13 juin 1973)

La tournée en Casamance du 14 au 17 juin 1973 a permis de ramener à Dakar les 4 pièces anciennes d'artillerie suivantes :

- 1 petit canon de fer avec fourchette
poids 54,5 kg, longueur totale 80 cm, calibre 45 mm.
provenance PAYONGON par WASSADOU (déprt. de Vélingara).
- 1 petit canon de fer avec fourchette
poids 69,5 kg, longueur totale 102 cm, calibre 50 mm
provenance VOUROPANA (dépt. de Kolda).
- 1 petit canon de fer sans fourchette
poids 103 kg, longueur totale 109 cm, calibre 63 mm
provenance VOUROPANA (dépt. de Kolda).
- 1 canon de fer
longueur totale 184 cm, calibre 95 mm, poids supérieur à
200 kg - provenance OUSSOUYE (prison civile).

Ces pièces sont ou vont être transportées au Musée Historique de Gorée, où il est envisagé d'aménager une pièce pour leur exposition et celle des huit autres canons que possède déjà le musée.

Pour compléter cet ensemble, il serait souhaitable d'y joindre

- le canon de Merinaghem (dépt. de Dagana)
- le canon de Mbalamsone (arrondissement de Fissel), pièce la plus intéressante par son ancienneté (XVe siècle) dont le transfert rendu délicat en raison des croyances qui s'y attachent, devra être soigneusement préparé.

C. DESCAMPS

G. THILMANS

MINISTÈRE DE LA CULTURE

DAKAR, LE 13 Juin 1973

Direction du Patrimoine National

*La pièce n° 1 est à Ouassadou
à été emmenée le 16 juin 1973
Les 2 pièces situées à Vouropana l'autre
a été le 16 juin 1973
La pièce D'oumouye
a été emmenée le 15 juin 73*

/-) AUTORISATION DE DEMENAGEMENT DE CANONS ANCIENS

Je soussigné, Amadou Lamine SY Directeur du Patrimoine national, autorise M. Thilmans du Département de Préhistoire de l'I.F.A.N. à retirer pour le compte du Patrimoine culturel national, deux vieux canons dont l'un est situé près de Ouassadou dans le Département de Vélingara et, l'autre à Vouropana dans le Département de Kolda.

En foi de quoi cette autorisation lui est délivrée pour servir et valoir ce que de droit./-

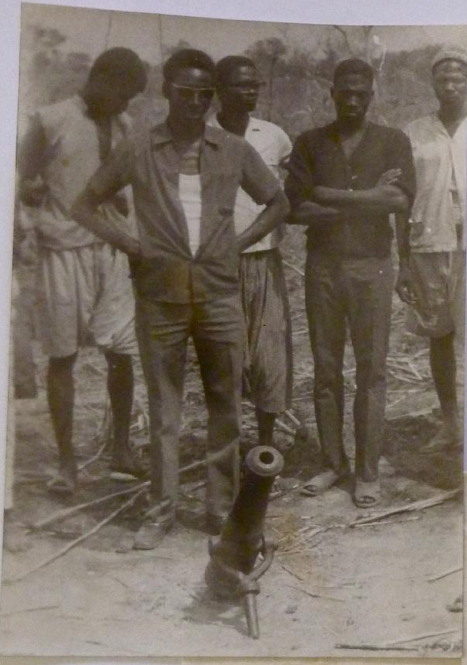


Amadou Lamine SY

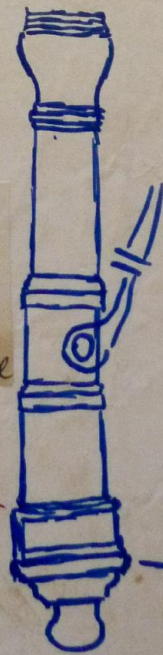
DIRECTEUR DU PATRIMOINE
HISTORIQUE, ETHNOGRAPHIQUE
ET ARTISTIQUE

PAYOUNGOU - WASSADOU

Payougon par Wassadou
dép^t Vélingara.
54.5 kg. - fonte
lg. totale 80 cm
φ 45 mm.



village Wassadou
Hameau Payougon
Ariet Koumbani
Dép^t Vélingara
Photo Dir. Patrimoine National



61 x 83

mm 61.5

61 x 83

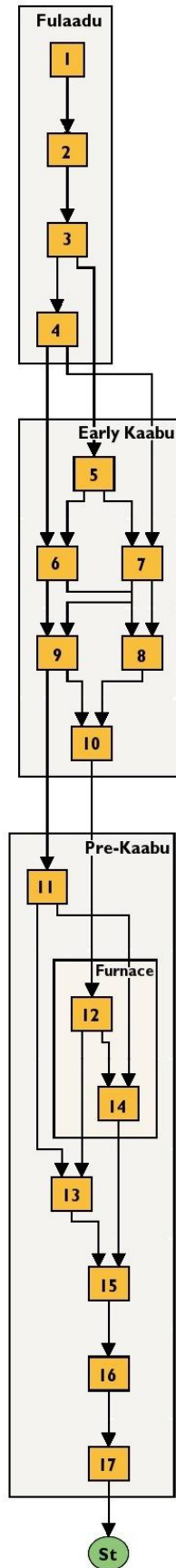
61 x 83

chapeau de l'homme

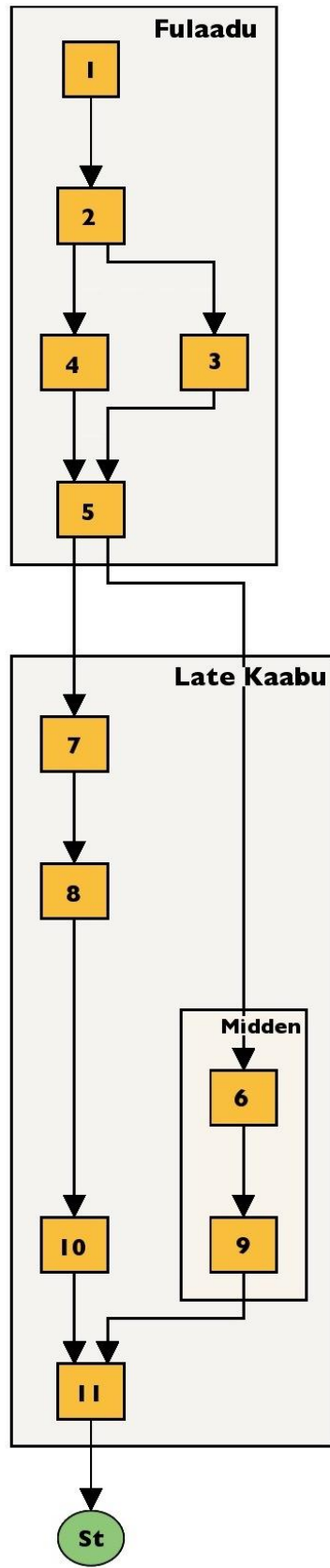
Payougon

APPENDIX D: HARRIS MATRICES FROM EXCAVATION

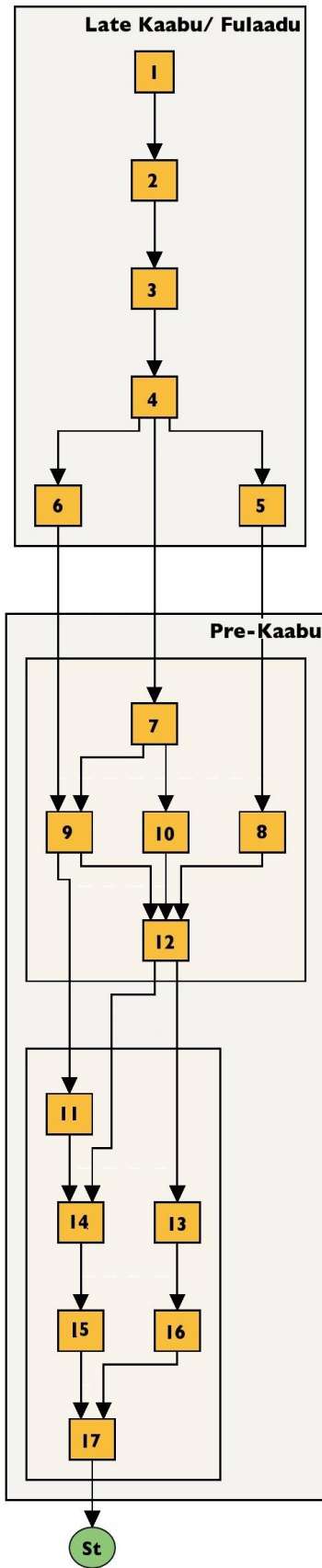
PYG-A



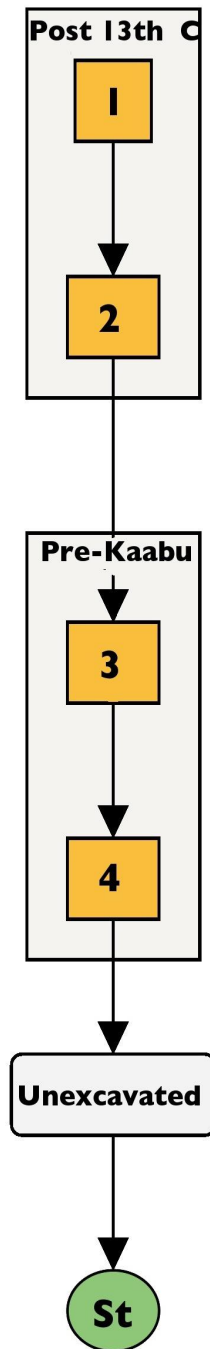
PYG-B



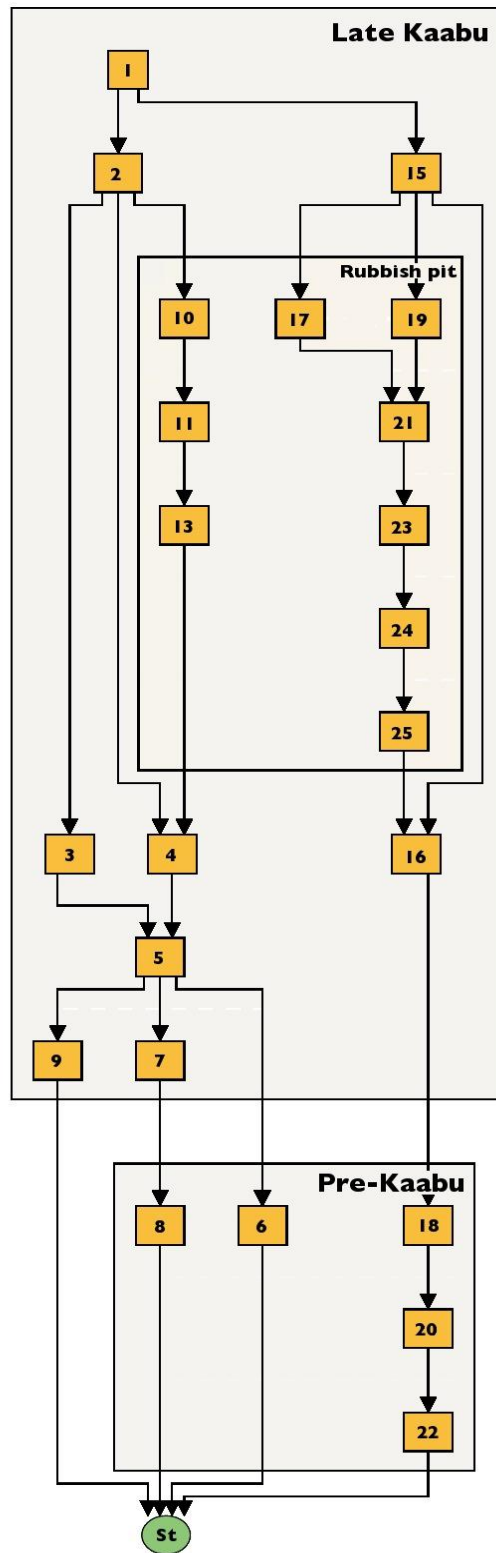
PYG-C



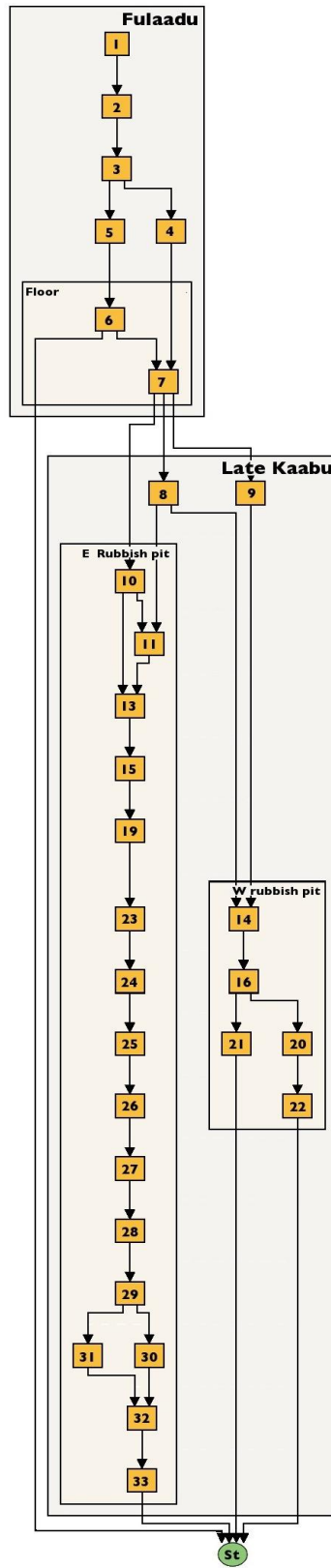
PYG-D



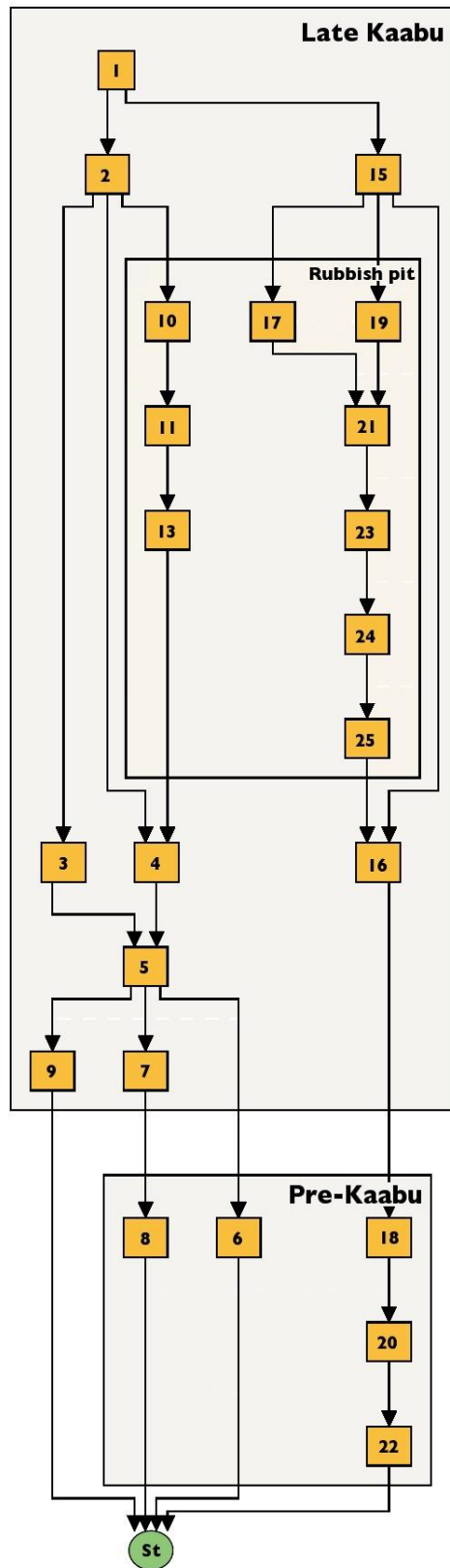
PYG-E



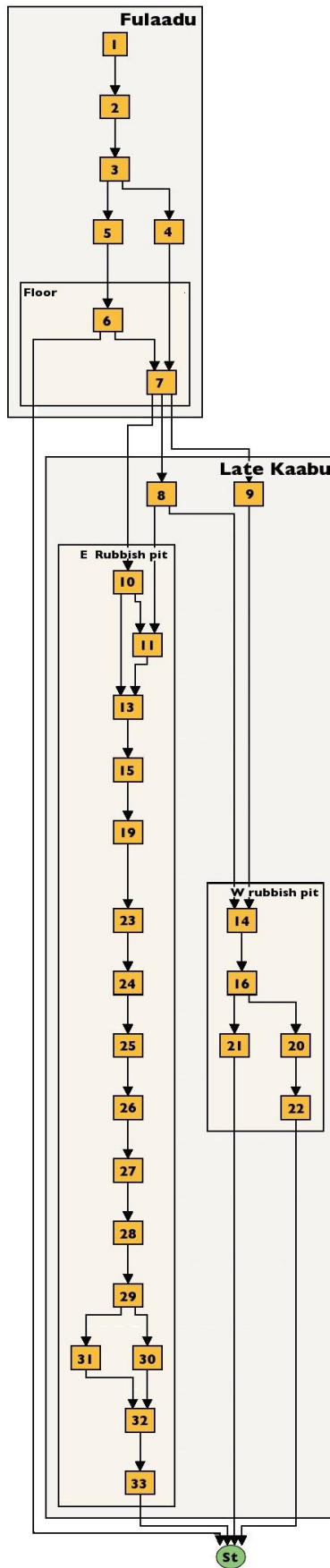
PYG-F



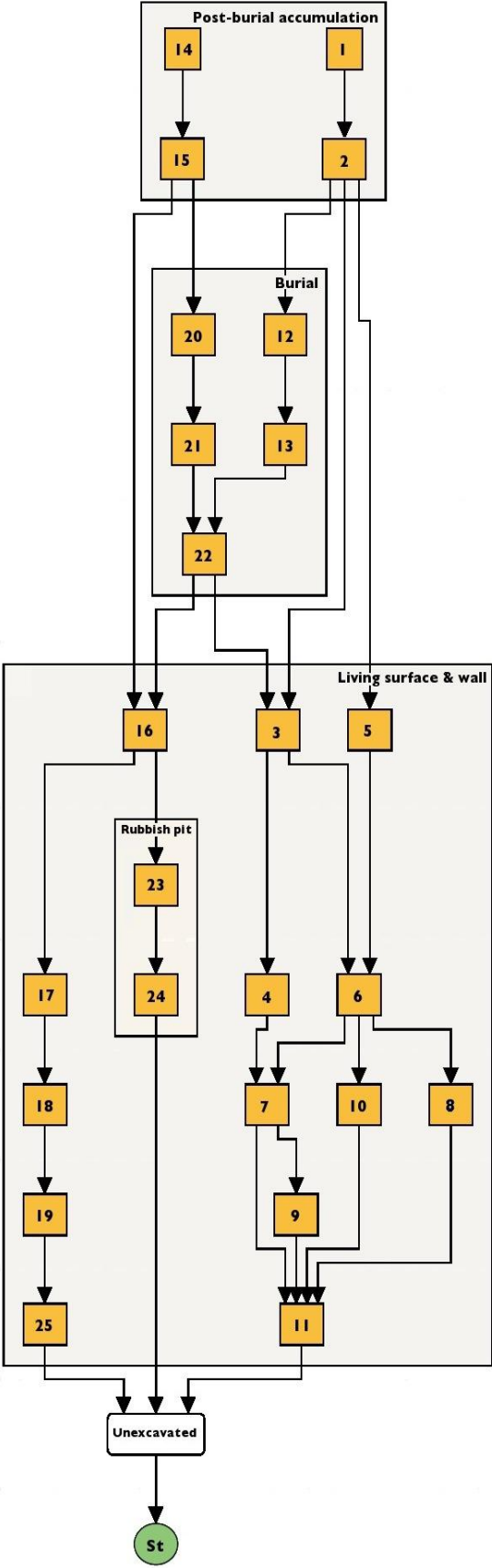
PYG-E



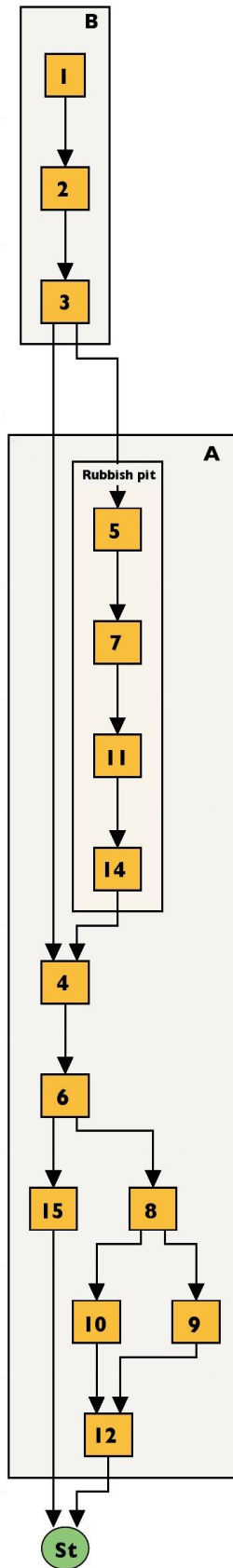
PYG-F



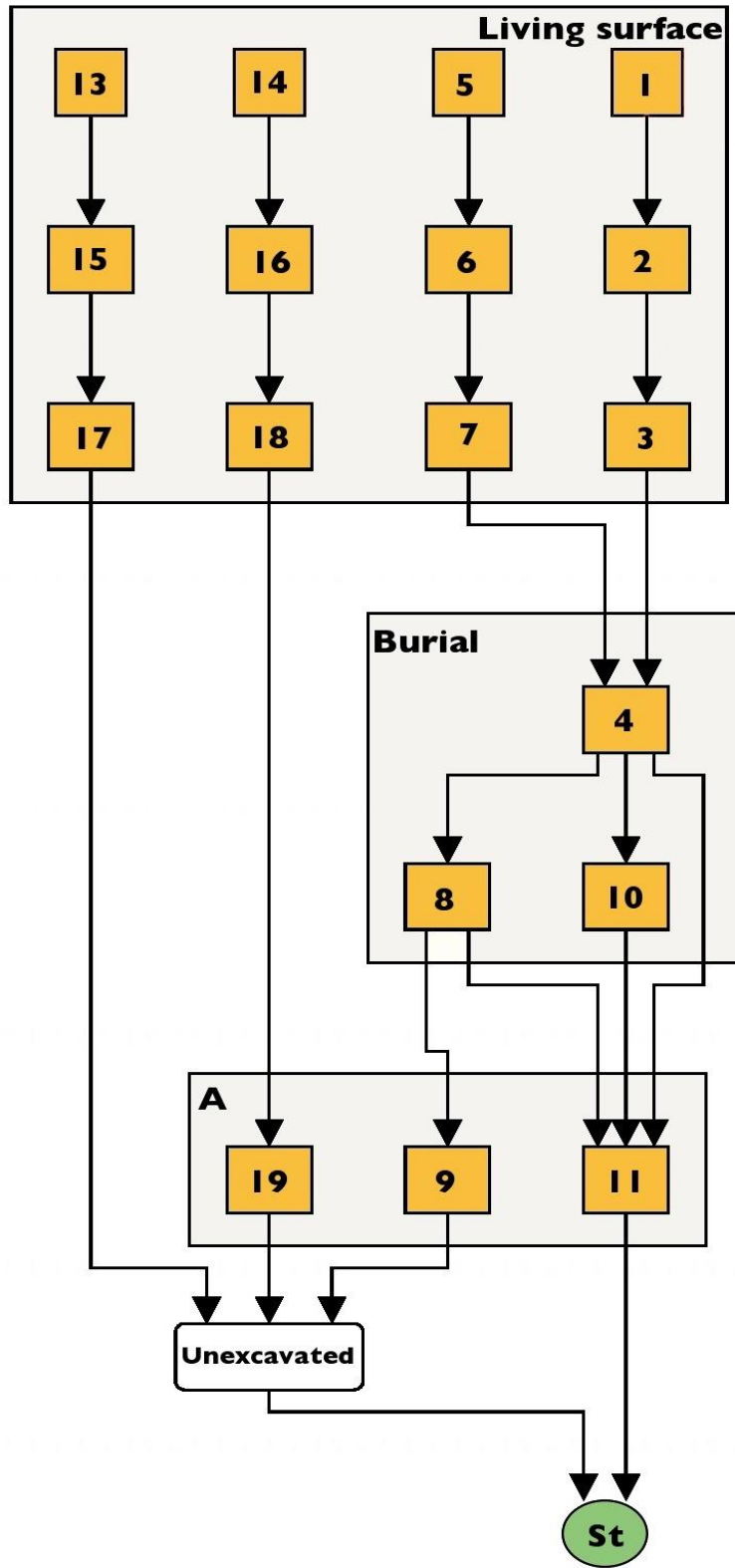
PYG-G



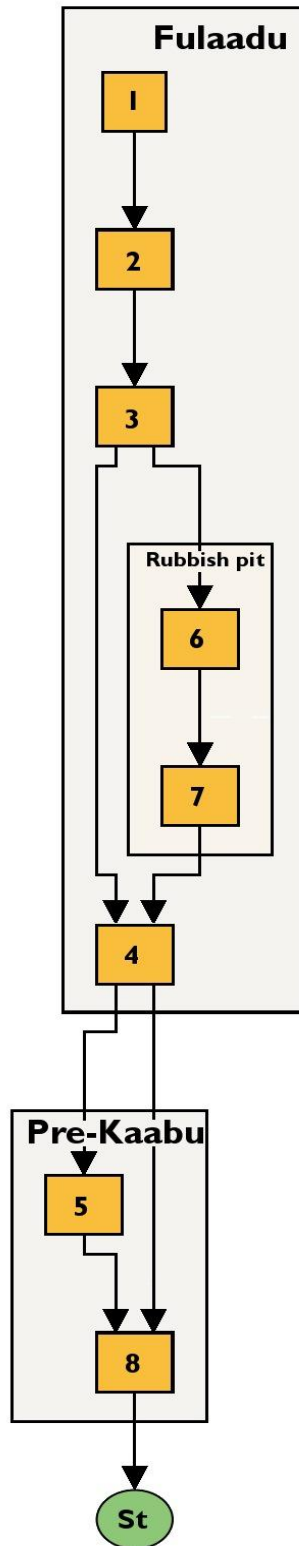
KRP-A



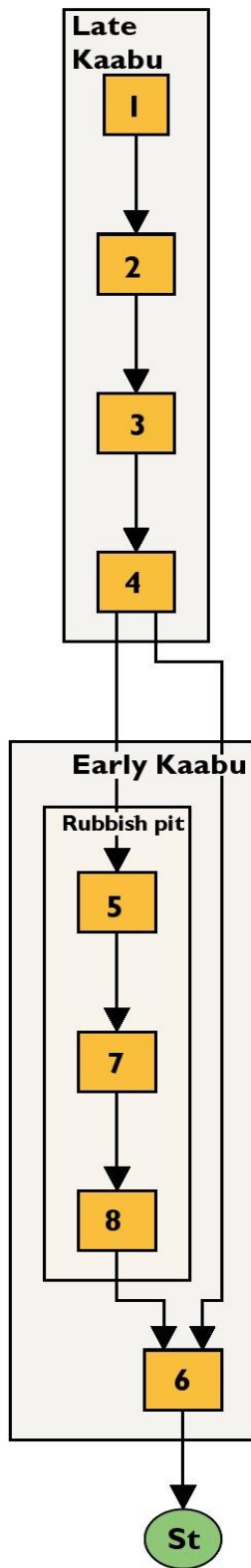
KRP-B



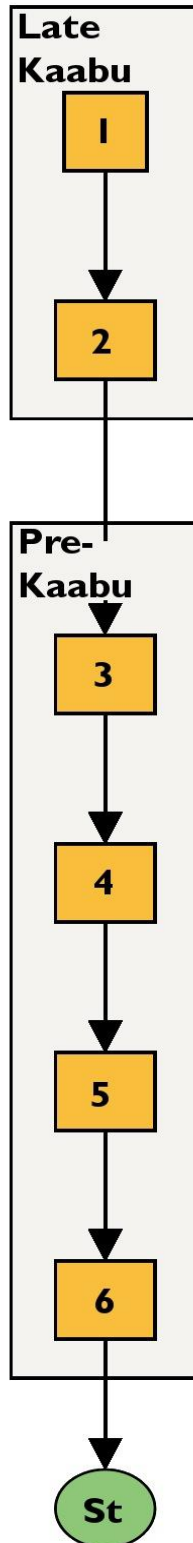
KRP-C



KRP-D



KRP-E



APPENDIX E: SKELETAL ANALYSIS OF THE PYG-G BURIAL

Skeletal Analysis
Project: Kolda 2013
Excavator: Sirio Canos

January 5, 2014

Jamie Inwood
Yale University
IFAN

1. Report Summary

1.1. Introduction & Overview

This report outlines skeletal analysis conducted in the winter of 2013, on the skeletal remains of an individual exhumed during the Kolda project excavations, excavated by Sirio Canos in the field season of 2013.

1.2. Materials

The following materials were required for this analysis:

Field lab; work table; Skeletal remains; brushes, bamboo picks, aluminum foil and reference materials as cited.

1.3. Initial Analysis and Preparation

Analysis commenced with cleaning of the remains. All bones were dry and easy to clean, and there was no soft tissue adherence or other associations present. The interior of the cranium was left filled with soil matrix due to disintegration of the interior cranial bones upon cleaning attempts.

1.4. Methods

The initial lab work was dedicated to preparation and cleaning. The next step was to articulate the skeleton in anatomical supine position and complete the inventory. Most of the skeleton was complete, but fragmentary in portions. Preservation was overall good. After inventory, analysis was performed to ascertain determination of sex, followed by age, trauma and pathology.

2. Results

2.1. Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI)

The minimum number of individuals is 1. There are no extra bones present to indicate a comingled burial.

2.2. Condition of the Body

2.2.1. Trauma: Ante-mortem

There are no indications of ante-mortem trauma from interpersonal violence or other trauma associated with physically stressful life events.

2.2.2. Trauma: Peri-mortem

The frontal bone of the cranium exhibits sharp force trauma with a fracture that extends approximately 5 cm from the lateral aspect of the right orbit to 2cm from the supra orbital margin of the left orbit. The injury is consistent with one sustained by a heavy, likely hafted, object with an edge, such as an ax. This trauma is determined to be the cause of death. This can be said with the highest level of confidence due to the placement of the fracture and lack of evidence of healing along the fracture margins.

The individual exhibits a crush fracture to the occipital bone of the cranium consistent with striking the back of the head against a flat surface, most likely a fall to the ground or being thrown to the ground or against a flat surface with force. The degree of confidence for the peri-mortem nature of this injury is not as high as the trauma to the frontal. It is possible that this fracture was sustained while interred. However, lack of healing, coloration of the bone and the shape of the fracture are consistent with a peri-mortem blow to the back of the head.

An examination of the photographs of remains in situ reveals the placement of the clavicle in a position consistent with dislocation. If this is the case, the dislocation was most likely peri-mortem, as the bone shows no disfigurement or fusion consistent with a healed dislocation in this area. However, the bone exhibits post mortem gnawing marks by rodents, and could have been carried off by scavengers or been displaced by taphonomic phenomena. There is insufficient data to effectively determine if the clavicle was dislocated or was displaced due to ante-mortem processes.

The left humerus exhibits a peri-mortem complete fracture through the proximal diaphysis caused by a blow from a heavy object with a sharp edge, most likely hafted.

The individual was found in a prone position consistent with pinioning of the feet and hands anterior to the body. No burial goods or other material remains were found with the individual. It is not clear from the photographic evidence whether or not the individual was interred.

2.2.3. Post-mortem

There is little weathering of the bones as they were in a burial context, which created to little to no delaminating or fossilization. Archaeological collection damage is minimal, consisting of trowel marks on the head of the right humerus, the diaphysis of the left ulna diaphysis, left tibial epiphysis, left femoral lesser trochanter and small marks on parietal bones of the cranium.

Lab analysis damage consists of samples taken of the epiphysis and proximal portion of the diaphysis. A hacksaw was used to separate the epiphysis, metaphysis and the proximal portion of the diaphysis. These samples were shipped to Yale

University Archaeological laboratory in order to be analyzed for the presence of molecular indicators of *Plasmodium falciparum* infection. The remainder of lab analysis was minimal. Small scrapes from a bamboo pick are present on bones comprising the left orbit and the nasals and lachrymals were damaged during cleaning. At this point the remaining matrix was left in the calvera in order to prevent any further damage to the more delicate bones in the cranium.

Postmortem fractures were numerous in the cranium, pelvis and long bones. The right radius and right ulna were given special attention, as they exhibit complete fractures to the diaphysis approximately mid shaft. The break pattern is consistent with a defense wound, but on closer analysis the coloration and edges of the fractures are consistent with post mortem trauma. The damage can be ascribed to taphonomic phenomena, and most likely resulted from crushing pressure of the soil. The head of the right clavicle is damaged, with multiple fractures, but it cannot be determined whether this was sustained peri-mortem or post mortem at this time.

2.3. Identification of Human Remains

2.3.1. Sex

Analytical methods to determine sex were applied using morphological comparisons from standard male and female populations. Non-metric traits were scored for the cranium. The pelvis was too badly fragmented to analyze or score for sex traits. (White and Folkens, 2004).

The nuchal crest of the cranium were scored as a 2 while the mastoid process and the supraorbital margins are scored as 3 and 3 respectively, and the glabella and mental eminence scored a 2 and a 3 respectively giving an overall score of 13/25. This scoring measures general robusticity, with higher scoring traits associated

with more gracile females and lower scoring traits associated with more robust males. Based on this information, we have determined the sex to be most likely male (White and Folkens, 2004).

2.3.2. Age at Death

The methods used to determine age were the vault, sutural age and lateral anterior sutural age scores from Lovejoy (1985). With a scores of 18 and 13 respectively, age at death was determined to be between 51.5 – 56.2 years of age (White and Folkens, 2004).

2.3.3. Stature

Stature was not calculated for this individual due to time constraints. It is recommended that stature calculations be performed in future analysis.

2.3.4 Occupational Markers and Personal Traits

Identifying traits such as occupational markers or other skeletal features specific to a population or individual can result from either genetic makeup or environmental changes occurring later in life. This individual did not exhibit any traits or occupational markers.

2.3.4.1. Pathology

The cranium is heavy, even when considering the soil remaining within the calvera. The fractured edges of the frontal bone reveal cortical thickening, which explains the added weight of the bones (Personal Communication, Gary Aronson, Yale

University Biological Anthropology Laboratory, February 2, 2014). This is not evident in the mandible or axial skeleton. The thickening is evenly distributed throughout the entire cranium, ruling out metastatic diseases, tumors, and hyperostosis frontalis interna (Aufderheide and Rodriguez-Martin, 2011).

This calvarial thickening of the cortical bone could be indicative of Paget's disease, however, the individual does not manifest the common skeletal markers of the disease in the pelvis and femora. Additionally, the lumbar vertebrae exhibit pathology consistent with osteoarthritis rather than Paget's. There is insufficient data to make a conclusive diagnosis (Aufderheide and Rodriguez-Martin, 2011).

The individual exhibits lipping of the lumbar vertebrae, particularly the 5th, and the 3rd and 4th Thoracic vertebrae are fused. This is consistent with osteo-arthritis. This is most likely due to age, as the skeletal material does not exhibit signs of occupational stress such as healed fractures or exaggerated muscle attachment sites (Aufderheide and Rodriguez-Martin, 2011).

2.4 Context

2.4.1 Archaeological material remains

No associated archaeological material remains were excavated with this individual.

3. Conclusions

Through analysis of the cranium, it was determined that this skeleton has traits indicative of a male individual. This individual was most likely at a biological age between 50 and 56 years. He exhibits pathological features in the frontal bone of the cranium as well as arthritis in the thoracic and lumbar vertebrae. He exhibits peri-mortem sharp force trauma to the left humerus and frontal bone of the skull. He exhibits a compression fracture to the occipital that is also most likely peri mortem. Cause of death is determined to be the result of sharp force trauma to the frontal bone of the cranium with a heavy and most likely hafted object with a sharp edge. Measurements for stature were not taken and it is recommended that this skeleton be analyzed for stature during any follow up investigations.

4. References

Aufderheide, Arthur C. and Rodriguez-Martin, Conrado. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Human Paleopathology, 2011. Cambridge, UK.

Aronson, Gary, Yale University Biological Anthropology Laboratories, Personal Communication, February 2, 2014, Pathological cortical thickening in human cranial remains.

White, Tim and Folkens, Pieter. A. The Human Bone Manual, 2004. Burlington, MA.