

SAKI OLAL N'DIAYE

The Story of Malik Sy

translated and edited by A. Neil Skinner and Philip D. Curtin

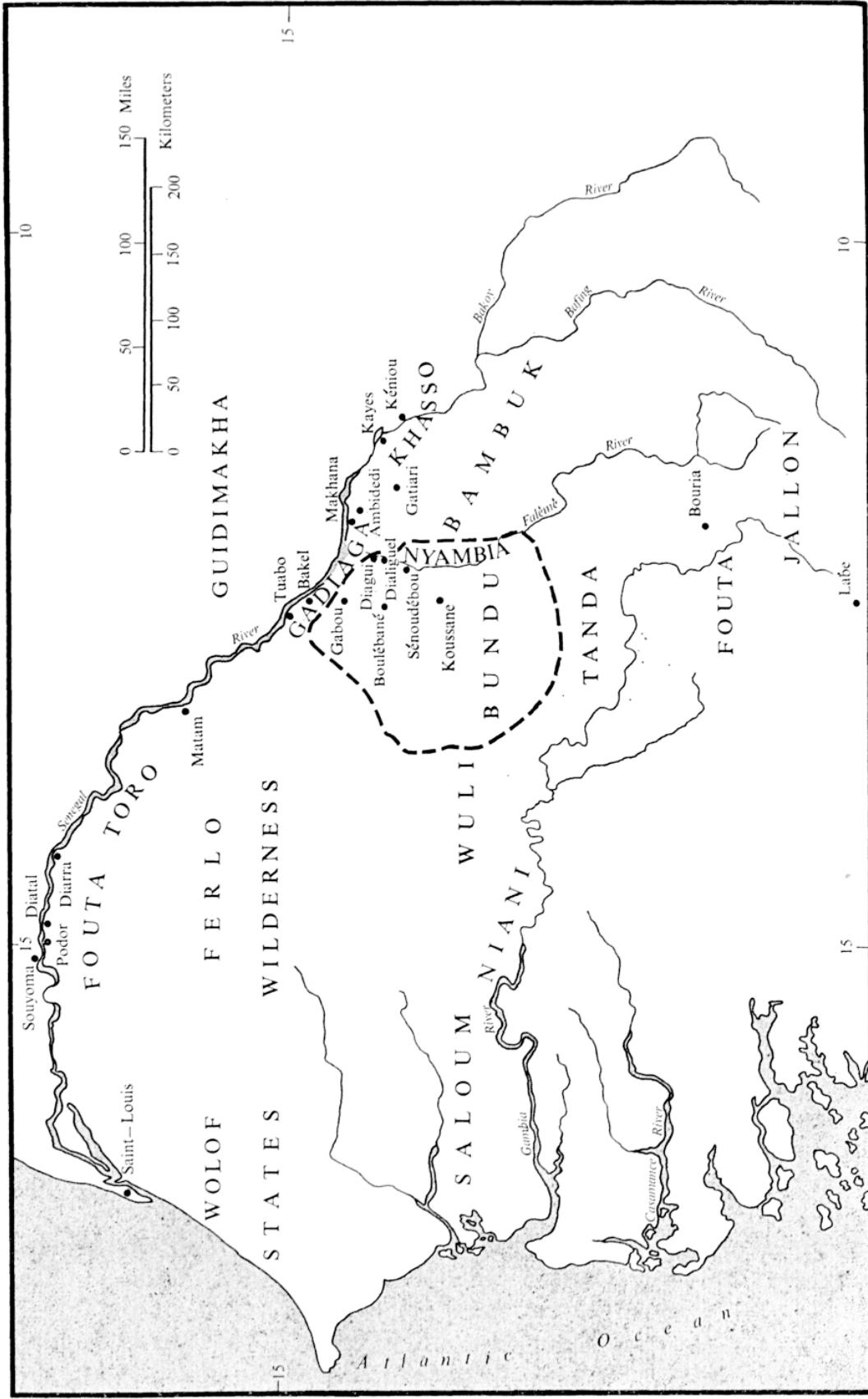
with the assistance of Hammady Amadou Sy

The story that follows is one of the best known of all the traditions remembered in the Senegambia and its hinterland. Several different versions have been published, though none of them in the original language. They have been collected as far east as Nioro in present-day Mali and as far west as Dakar. The story is most widely known, however, in department of Bakel in Senegal, the modern administrative unit made up of the two former kingdoms of Bundu and Goye, which figure in the account.

The present version was given in Dakar on May 5, 1966, by Saki N' Diaye, a *gaulo* (griot or minstrel) by descent and tradition, about seventy years of age at the time, and a resident of Dakar, though formerly of Bundu. One of his ancestors was *farba*, or chief of the minstrels, at the court of Almamy Sada of Bundu in the 1840s. The recording was made by P. D. Curtin, with the assistance of M. Hammady Amadou Sy, Professeur de CEG, who was present during the recording session. M. Sy, as a direct descendent of Malik Sy and a member of the aristocracy of Bundu, was thus in the position of a social superior to the narrator, who in this instance performed his traditional function of preserving and repeating the history of a noble family.

This version is slightly rearranged to preserve the chronology, and it is selected from a somewhat longer narration that dealt with other aspects of the history of Bundu. Otherwise, it is reproduced without editing.

The original text is transcribed and annotated by A. Neil Skinner. He wishes gratefully to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Leslie Stennes and of Saki N' Diaye in clearing up points of uncertainty in the translation. Copies of the original tape are on deposit at the Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire at the Université de Dakar and at the African Studies Association's Center for African Oral Data at the Archives of



Traditional Music.¹ It is identified in both depositories as tape C10P (side 2) and C11P (side 1) of the Curtin Collection of Historical Traditions of Bundu. The Center for Oral Data is able to supply copies at cost.

The orthography of the transcription is that established by the Bamako Conference of 1965 under the sponsorship of UNESCO.

The following abbreviations have been used in the notes to the transcription:

- Ar Arabic
- B Bundu
- G H. GADEN, *Le poular*, Paris, 1914, vol. II.
- H Hammady Amadou Sy
- L H. LABOURET, *La langue des Peuls ou Foulbé*, Dakar, 1952.
- L2 H. LABOURET, *La langue des Peuls ou Foulbé ; lexique français-peul*, Dakar, 1955.
- MS Malik Sy
- P Poular
- SNJ Saki N'Diaye

Genealogies, when repeated, are usually shortened to the first letter of each name.

The translation that follows was made by A. Neil Skinner. Annotation is supplied by Philip D. Curtin, based in part on taped, spoken annotation supplied by Hammady Amadou Sy. Identifiable place names are spelled in the style of present-day Senegalese maps, with the exception of Bundu—spelled phonetically, though it appears on maps as Bondou. Personal names are spelled in that of modern usage in Senegal. Unidentified place names are in italics and are spelled phonetically, following the same orthography as the Poular text. Paragraphs are numbered as in the Poular version.

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POULAR TEXT

SNJ 1. *Ee — Ko min Sakki Oolal Moodi Hamadi¹ Mbada e Birom Mbada e Birom Mbada haaldata do e tuubaak bi'eteedo monsieur Curtin, ko professeur d'histoire to Amérique. Nde kaalammi nde non, mi de wondi e Hamadi Aamadu — o(n) don ngandiko bii Aamadu Isaaga Hamadi Eeli Tumaane Hamadi Makka Bummaalik Si, puddinoodo laamu B'undu. D'um non mi do andi ko kaalantumi on do ko ne, ko ko jogori laabde : nga(m)² sabu ko do laabi bamaa.*

H 2. *Mi de lamdoo ma B'undu no woruno, haa³ nde Maalik Si ari nde :⁴ e Maalik Si kadi, no ariri B'undu haa no hebiri B'undu, haa B'undu, wi'aa B'undu. D'um don ni mi don lamdoo ma, ko nganduda e dum don.*

SNJ 3. *Ee-Aamadu, mi nani ko lamdida ko. Ko lamdiido na ko poddo lamdaade B'undu, nga(m) sabu ko Maalik Si lamdii B'undu.⁵ So a lamdiima kadi, ko mo foti lamdaade.*

4. *B'undu ko leidi pamardi wonno, ndi nganduda jeyino dum ko Faddube. Kanko Maalik Si non, ko bii Daudu Bukar Jam Hammi*

1. *Hamadi* and *Hammadi* seem to be used indifferently throughout.

2. SNJ tends to omit nasals, or they appear as vowel lengthening (as in *waliyaagal* below). Another tendency—perhaps because he is old and toothless—is to palatalise his *s*. His *Si* is heard, for example, as [ši].

3. *Ha* and *haa* used indifferently throughout. *Haa* has been written.

4. Note repetition of *nde* (*cf. supra*, paragr. 1, l. 3, and *infra*, paragr. 7, l. 1).

5. Lit.: "The asker is the right one to ask [about] Bundu, because it is Maalik Si who is asking [about] Bundu."

a. The narrator gives his own name following a rather formal version of the convention of Poular nomenclature. The given name, Saki in this case, is followed in succession by the names of his ancestors in the male or female line. In ordinary usage, however, only the father's or mother's name would be second in order, followed by the family name (*yetoode*), in this case N'Diaye. The N'Diaye family and the Sy family are considered to be cousins (*dendiraaŋe*), because both families have the lion as their totemic animal, which is considered to be a relative and may not be harmed.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

SNJ 1. I am Saki Olal Modi Hammady M'Bada Birom M'Bada,^a who is speaking here with the European called Mr. Curtin, Professor of History over in America. And with me, while I am speaking, is Hammady Amadou—as you know—son of Amadou Isaga Hammady Eli Toumané Hammady Maka Boubou Malik Sy, the founder of the kingdom of Bundu.^b And I know that what I am going to say here will be quite accurate because it has been properly handed down.

H 2. I am asking you one thing in particular, about Bundu, how it was at the time when Malik Sy came: and about Malik Sy, how he came to Bundu; how he obtained Bundu and how Bundu came to be called Bundu. These are the things that I am asking you, [to hear] what you know about them.

SNJ 3. Amadou, I understand what you are asking me. It is right that these questions should be asked about Bundu, because it is as though Malik Sy asks them.

4. Bundu was a little country, which, as you know, was owned by the Fadoubé.^c Now this Malik Sy was the son of Bokar Diam Hamet

b. The late Amadou Isaga Sy was *chef de canton* of Southern Bundu in the last decades of the French administration, thus filling the traditional role of kingship under a form of indirect rule. His name is thus given with a full list of his ancestors in the male line back to the founder of the kingdom, Malik Sy. Precise chronology has not been established, but Malik Sy's reign can be dated to approximately 1690-1707. He should not be confused with the recent and famous Tijaniyya leader in Western Senegal, Hajj Malik Sy, descended from another branch of the Sy family of central Fouta Toro.

c. That is, the plural form of the *yetoode*, or family name, Pado. The family still exists in Bundu. Other traditions hold that the Fadoubé of the late seventeenth century were not then Poular-speaking, as they have since become. They are sometimes associated with an earlier migration from the Wolof-speaking regions to the west, and sometimes with a local ethnic group similar to the present Coniagui of the Senegal-Guinea frontier. Later a branch of the family with the *yetoode* N'Daw migrated to the Serer-speaking country of Saloum where they became rulers.

Miisin Habii Ballai. O jibinaa ko¹ Suyumma, o woni don, haa o jangi don Qur'aano,² wi'aa cerno. O rewi don Alla, ha o hokkaa kasfu,³ o woni waliyu. Bibbe baa makko⁴ njogi e makko kiram, njogi e makko ngangu. O ummii Suyumma, o yehi Jaatal. Kabaaru oo waliyaagal ngal ni beidii lollude. B'en na kadi njogi e makko ton kiram.

O ummii Jaatal, o yehi Podor. Haa hande nde waliyaagal ngal ni beidi lollude, kanko M D B J H M H B. O ummii Podor, o lumbi maayo, o reuri ko Jaara, o yaari koingal makko, omo rewa Alla, omo nyaagoo Alla, haa o yettii Makka. Nde o yettii Makka, o hajji o gaini, o nyaagii don. Alla jogido hunde fuf, mo ronkaani hai batte oo, hokki mo laamu. Kono hollii mo non 'Laamotoda ko leidi ni mbi'ata,⁵ wi'eteendi « B'undu ».

Kanko, Maalik Daudu nde o ummii ton, o reuri ton, o aari⁶ ko haa'e⁷ Kaa'ba. Nde o ari Kaa'ba, o tawi don ko gorko bi'eteedo Sunjata. O wonaa cerno, o wonaa waliyu, kono ko jom gandal. O yeewi⁸ ina⁹ wondi e gandal. O yeewi M D B ina wondi e bure.¹⁰ O yeewi M D B ina wondi e waliyaagal. O yeewi M D, laamu ne a muudum. O joodini¹¹ dum don dumunna, omo wada e muudum ko be poti wadude, e be kaalda ko be poti haaldude, e be njaada ko be poti yaadude. Nde yehi haa dumunna yonti,

1. The ubiquity of *ko* is noteworthy. As L says (p. 46), "Ko remplit des fonctions variées." SNJ often uses it as an identifier when he is introducing a proper name for the first time.

2. SNJ tends to pronounce Ar. words better than he does French. Here he makes the Ar. velar *q*.

3. ? from Ar. *ḥ ṣ f* "have sound judgement." Neither G nor L have this word.

4. The tendency to pronounce CVVC as CVCC is marked. Thus *baa makko* is heard as *bammakko* and *Buu Maalik* as *Bummaalik*.

5. Sc. *be* (before *mbi'ata*), the pronoun, as so often, omitted. Or is this inverted form of second person? In which case, it should be rendered, "the country you speak of." Was it God or MS who first brought B into the conversation?

6. ? = *ari*. G gives *aari* "entr'ouvrir". However, *ari* in the next sentence seems to give support to the suggestion that here the length is non-phonemic.

7. G gives *haaire*, pl. *kaa'e*, which is normal in the eastern dialects.

8. G and L give the P version of this word as *'deewi*, which includes a dental consonant that has two additional features. Thus, whereas for the labial *b* there are the two variants, for the dental they posit three. I am not clear how the pronunciation of the second differs from that of the third. In fact what SNJ makes here is a strongly glottalised palatal 'y, and I have so written it.

9. Following L, I have so written it, but SNJ is nearer *ene* throughout.

10. G, however, gives *'burngo* as "noblesse de naissance", making *'bure* (pl.) pejorative as "force, abus de pouvoir". In GADEN (*Qacida en poular*, Paris, 1935), however, it has the meaning given to it here.

11. SNJ makes this more like *jo' ini* (cf. *supra*, n. 4).

Misin Habiballah. He was born at Souyouma, and he remained there until he had studied the Koran, and won the title of *tierno*. He led a holy life, and it was granted him to become a *waliyu*.^a The sons of his father conceived jealousy and hatred for him. He left Souyouma and went to Diatal. His reputation as a *waliyu* increased greatly, and there too the people became jealous of him.

He left Diatal and went to Podor. His reputation as a *waliyu* continued to increase—Malik Dauda Bokar Diam Hamet Misin Habiballah. He set off from Podor and crossed the river [Sénégal] and went by way of Diarra. He went on foot, continuing in his godly ways, and continually praying to God. Eventually he reached Mecca. When he got there he performed the complete pilgrimage. He made his prayers there, and God, who controls all things and for whom nothing is impossible, gave him the kingship. But he also showed him that the country he was to rule over was the country that is called Bundu.

He set off from there and travelled until he came to the Kaaba stone. When he reached the Kaaba, he found there a man called Soundiata.^b He was not a *tierno*, he was not a *waliyu*, but he was a wise man and perceived that Malik Dauda Bokar was possessed of wisdom. And he perceived that Malik Dauda Bokar had the quality of greatness. He perceived that Malik Dauda Bokar was a *waliyu*, and he perceived the quality of kingship in Malik Dauda. He made him stay there for a long time, and they did the things that had to be done, and they spoke the words that had to be spoken, and they took

a. *Tierno* (phonetically *cerno* and pl. *seernabe*): it is both the generic word for priest, whether Muslim or not, and the ordinary title of a Muslim cleric or of a man who knows the Koran. More formally, it is the lowest of the hierarchy of Islamic clerical titles—the higher titles being in order *alfa* and *tapsir*. The distinction of *waliyu*, an Arabic word, is completely separate from the hierarchy of clerical titles. In Bundu, it means a great cleric with a profound knowledge of the Koran—but much more than that. The *waliyu* is thought to have been granted the power of direct contact with God, to be able to predict the future, and (since God will always answer his prayers) to have some degree of supernatural control over events.

b. This may well refer to the great Soundiata, founder of the empire of Mali in the thirteenth century. The chronological misplacement and Soundiata's presence in Mecca are a device often found in the traditions of Bundu. The sense of passage would be to endow Malik Sy with the benediction of a great leader of another West African kingdom.

Maalik hankadin yaagol¹ mum yonti, wainitii mo. Nde wainitii mo, kanko Sunjata o waddi mo ko worbe tato.

Gorko gooto oo, wi'etee ko Tamba Kante. Oon ko bailo. Gorko didabo oo, wi'etee ko Keeri Kafo. Oon ko maccudo. Gorko tatabo oo, wi'etee ko Layal. Oon ko jaareejo, ina yettee Kuwaate : ko e ben Demba Sembelu'-en njalti.

5. *Ko kambe ngummodii ton, Sunjata na feunani mo cengalal, ina wi'ee Dantuma, ina wada nyaundagal wi'etee ko Sige Jinne Jolof, palgal cukel kecel, ko leggal kiirimeewal, kedde kasanke maayido.*

Nde o ari² e-B'undu, ko hakkunde Jaagi e Jaalingel, ko don o lumbiri, do wi'etee Juude Bodogal. Nde o yeegi³ koingal makko nyaamal e ndiyam, o fawi e eleidi, o wi'i ko « Bismillaahi—almaami, Maaliki haa e Maaliki. » Nde o yeegi koingal makko nanal e ndiyam, o fawi e leidi, o wi'i ko « Bismillaahi—waliya'illaahi min Maaliki ila Maaliki.⁴ Waliyaagal Allaa ummiima e Maaliki, ina faayita⁵ e Maaliki. »

1. Failure to permute, not uncommon among speakers of eastern dialects. Length for nasalisation (*cf. supra*, p. 470, n. 2).

2. SNJ meant to end his sentence with *ari*, changed his mind, and so introduced *Bundu* with *e*. Contrast *Nde o ari Kaa'ba* in paragr. 4, *supra*.

3. G and L do not note this word used transitively as it is here.

4. Lapsing into Ar. for the repetition of the formula: *awliya'illaahi* "saints of God".

5. Another Ar. word.

a. The three castes represented by the three companions of Malik Sy include two of the *nyeenyo* or occupational castes and one representative of the *maacube* or former slaves, who traditionally ranked separately from, and below, the *nyeenyo* castes. Families descended from all three companions still exist in Bundu and retain a pride in their ancestry and in their traditional connection with the reigning family. The word used here for minstrel is the common Malinké root for the caste that would normally be called *garulo* (pl. *aulube*) in Poular. In Bundu, it is used of minstrels who are not originally from Fouta Toro, even though they may have been resident for many generations in Bundu. It is also used for those who play the Malinké harp (*kora*), as opposed to those who play the guitar-like *hoodu* of Fouta Toro. Of the three subgroups of the caste of minstrels, the *jareebe* have the highest status, followed by the *vaambabe* (minstrels of the pastoral Fulbe), and last of all by the *aulube*, though all three groups may intermarry.

b. *Nyaundagal* is the generic term for charms and medicines of all sorts. The significance of the wood from a bier, and of the frequent use of wood and bark in charms, is derived from the traditional pre-Islamic religion which emphasized the worship of tree spirits, particularly those of the baobab tree.

c. The title taken by the rulers of Bundu. It is derived from the Arabic, *al-īmam*, leader of prayer at the mosque, and the leader of the Friday prayer in each mosque still bears the title, *Almamy*, for that mosque. Originally the

the steps that had to be taken. A long time passed, and the time for Malik's departure was come. When he said goodbye to him, Soundiata brought him three men.

One of the men was called Tamba Kante, and he was a blacksmith [*bailo*]. The second man was called Keri Kafo, and he was a captive [*maccudo*]. The third man was called Layal, and he was a minstrel [*jaareejo*]. He was surnamed Kouyate, and the family of Demba Sembelou is descended from him.^a

5. When they set off from there, Soundiata bestowed on him a basket called *Dantuma*. This consisted of a *nyaundagal*, called *Sige Jinne Jolof* [lit.: "feather of the jinn of Jolof"], which was a tiny container made from the wood of a bier, on which the shroud of a dead man had rested.^b

When he was on his way to Bundu, it was between Diagui and Dialiguel, at a place called Juude Bodogal, that he crossed over. When he lifted his right foot out of the water, he put it on the ground and said, "*Bismillahi*, Almamy from Malik to Malik."^c When he lifted his left foot from the water and put it on the ground, he said, "*Bismillahi*, *waliyu* from Malik to Malik, sainthood from God arose with Malik and will pass away with Malik."^d

Sisibé Almamy was conceived as having a similar religious function for the whole country, the early Sisibé rulers bearing the title *Eliman*, a variant slightly closer to the original Arabic. The Almamate, as a religious office become political, was first used in this part of Africa by Naṣīr al-Dīn, the leader of the *zwāya* or clerical tribes in the war of Charr Baba in Southern Mauritania in the 1670s. Naṣīr al-Dīn used the title of *Imam*, sometimes in the form *Imamna* (our *Imam*), as a part of his effort to unite the *zwāya* against their enemies, the Hassaniya (cf. G. M. DÉSIRÉ-VUILLEMIN, *Histoire de la Mauritanie*, Nouakchott, 1964, pp. 132-133; Ismael HAMET, *Chroniques de la Mauritanie sénégalaise*, Paris, 1911, p. 173). It may or may not have been used in the renewed *jihād* under Moorish leadership in Fouta Toro in 1673-74. French observers on the coast, however, report the use of the title *Bourguli*, which appears to be a Wolofization of the Poular *lamido julbe* (commander of the faithful), the usual Poular translation of the Arabic title, *al-amīr al-mu'minīn*, used in the great Islamic *jihād* in the nineteenth century Western Sudan (Chambonneau, in I. A. C. RITCHIE, "Deux textes sur le Sénégal (1673-1677)", *BIFAN*, sér. B, XXX (1), 1968, pp. 289-353, esp. pp. 338-340). After the establishment of the Almamate in Bundu, the title was used in both Fouta Toro and Fouta Jallon, as these countries passed through their religious revolutions later in the eighteenth century.

As the narrative will show, the meaning of this passage is that the Sisibé were to rule as Almamy of Bundu from Malik Dauda to Malik Hammady Sy (d. 1905). This is still another device for legitimizing the rule of the Sisibé by citing a prophecy, a feature very common in the historical accounts remembered in the Western Sudan—and one that is found throughout the Bible.

d. Saki N'Diaye allows himself a poetic extension on this point. In fact, only Malik Sy, among the rulers of Bundu, is considered to have been a *waliyu*. In spite of their use of a religious title, the later Sisibé rulers were not well educated in the Koran, and they prided themselves on their military prowess rather than their religious prestige.

6. *Nde o ari B'undu, oon sa'a tawi B'undu, Faddube bee wonbe don jeyibe leidi ndi. Ko nder gasde be ngoni, be njogii ko laaceeje,¹ e be njogii bundu: bundu ndu asaama, kono ndu bannaaka. Debbo mabbe mo nganduda ko kanyum woni maudo mabbe oo, wi'etee ko Kumba. Oon jiimi e bundu ndu, oon jogi kalifaandi bundu ndu. Ko hadi bundu ndu bilaade,² ko oon sa'a ladde B'undu, lekki fuf ki njiida, so a fyi hen jambere, jinne yaltan, feenya³ ma, fiya ma hello.*

7. *Kanko M D, nde o ari nde, o yi'i dum, o yeutidi e mabbe, o wi'i be « Onon kam, ko hadi on bilde woindu mon ndu ? » B'e kaalanii mo ko hadi be bilde. O wi'i « Jooni non mi de windana on aaye, ina wicce e ledde de : jinneji di ina ndoga, eden coppa de. Kono so lewaama, bundu ndu jeyaa-ma, hebaama, feunaama,⁴ min Maalik jeyata ndu. Min jeyata bundu. »*

8. *B'e mbi'i be njabi, be kaaldi e makko dum. O windi aaye, kanko M D, wicca e ledde B'undu. Ledde de njoori o libi de fuf, be kebi hen ledde ko be mbanniri bundu ndu. Wi'aa « B'undu Kumba », kono ko bannandu Bummalik. Ko dum addi wi'ede « B'undu Kumba Bannandu Bummaalik. »*

9. *Nden dum, wadi, tawi ko nder gasde be ngoni. O wi'i be « Onon, ko ngondonno ko feewaani. Ngaree ! Mi ta'ya⁵ laaceeje moodon de. Njaltonne e gasde, peunonne cuudi ! » B'e mbi'i « Hol no dum wadirte non ? kibaaru⁶ so min maayi ? » O wi'i « Maayide alaa hen. Ma mi safru on. » B'e yeewi burdo famdude habaaru e mabbe, be totti mo. O tayi laaci mum, o safri*

1. G has *laace* as the plural.

2. Neither G nor L appear to know this word for putting a top on (and? lining) a well.

3. An intransitive verb. Normally one would expect before *ma* the *-an-* infix.

4. The order of these three passives appears the opposite of the logical order in which the actions would occur (*cf.* Shelley's "I die, I faint, I fail"). The three fold repetition of the *'aama* ending is very effective.

5. *Cf.* p. 472, n. 8; and p. 482, n. 1, where SNJ uses a simple glottal stop. The existence of *tayi* and *ta'i* in eastern dialects is recognised in L2 (p. 83).

6. Apparently a variant of the Ar. loanword, *kabaaru/habaaru*. Normally this means "news, information". Perhaps the semantic connection is: news, happening, what will happen.

a. The implication is more serious than it sounds. The spirits or jinn in Bundu are mainly tree spirits. Even today, it is believed that a blow from one will cause immediate insanity.

6. When he came to Bundu, at that time he found Bundu with the Fadoubé in possession of the land. Their abodes were holes in the ground and they had tails. Now they had a well [*bundu*], and this well was dug, but it had not been lined. One of their women whom you know of, called Koumba, was their leader. This well was hers; she was responsible for it. What prevented the well from being completed was that throughout the bush of Bundu at that time, wherever you saw a tree, if you cut it with an axe, a jinn would jump out and strike you and buffet you.^a

7. So, when Malik Dauda got here and saw this, he conversed with them and said, "You there, what prevents you from finishing off your well?" They told him what was stopping them finishing it. He said, "Well, now, I'll write an *aaye*^b for you, to be strinkled on the trees, and the jinn will run away. Then we will cut the trees down, but when the bush has been cleared and the well has been owned, and received, and contrived, then I Malik, will own it. I shall own the well."

8. They said that they agreed, and they told him so. So he wrote an *aaye*, Malik Dauda, and sprinkled it over the trees of Bundu. He cut down all the dead [dry] trees. So they got wood with which they finished the well, which was called Koumba's well. But the one who completed it was Boubou Malik. Hence the name *B'undu Kumba Bannandu Bumaalik* [lit.: Koumba's well completed by Boubou Malik].^c

9. Now at that time they used to live in caves. Malik Sy said to them, "Your way of life is not right. Come and I will cut off your tails, and [you may] come out of your caves and build huts." They said, "How can that be? What if we die?" He said, "You will not die, I will take care of you." They looked for the least important of their number and handed him over. Malik cut off his tail, treated him, and put clothes on him, and he came on out. And then all of them gathered and built huts. He cut off their tails—they were the

b. The type of *nyaundagal* made by writing verses of the Koran (Arabic: *'aaya*) on a board used as a slate. The verses are then blessed and the board is washed in water. The water containing the dissolved ink acquires special religious power, becoming a form of holy water called *aaye* in Poular.

c. This passage is of special importance in establishing the legitimacy of the Sisibé line of rulers. In the Senegalese Fouta and in present-day Bundu, the right to occupy land belongs to the first man to clear it and build a well, and to his descendants after him. The unfinished well can thus be understood as an incomplete Fadoubé title to the country. The reason for the Fadoubé failing is shown to be religious. As non-Muslims, they were unable to control the tree spirits, but these were easily defeated by Malik Sy's religious superiority as a Muslim and a *waliyu*. Thus, his title to rule was ultimately derived from his religious powers, but through the intermediary act of having the well finished by his son, Boubou Malik.

dum, o wadani dum comci. Oon yalti boowal. B'e ndendi, be peuni cuudi, o tayi laaceeje mabbe. Kambe be ngoni Faddube. B'e mbi'i mo « Joonin non haade min ndanyii ma, a da jeya bundu. Kono dee¹ so a jeyi bundu, hunde fuf ko iwi e ma, wadataa min hai batte. Minen ne, hunde fuf ko iwi e amin wadataa on hai hunde. » B'e nangondiri oon aadi, be nangondiri oon jongu,² ina B'undu gila 1812 ha do ngondenna do, dum iwaani.

10. *Nden o jodiima don non. Oon sa'a tawi o heerondiri ko e Gajaaga o heerondiri ko e Bambuku ; heerondiri ko e Uul : o heerondiri ko e Ferlo. B'undu ina woni leikal seeda. Oon sa'a tawi Gajaaga, jeyi dum ko Bacilankoobe. B'en Bacilankoobe, jeyibe Gajaaga be ni, woni do be ngiwi — be ngiwi ko e leidi mbi'eteendi Sokolo, to funaange. Nde be ngummi Sokolo, be kodoyi ko do wi'etee Banamba. Nde be ngummi Banamba, be ngari be kodi ko Keenyu, caggal Haayi. Nde be ngummi e ton, be ngari, be njoodi Tiyaabu. B'e ngoni Tunka Tiyaabu'en.*

11. *O haaldi e Tunka Tiyaabu, hono³ Ali Winji Wanja, o wi'i dum « Min, leikal njogimi kal ko seeda. To a da jogii leidi maundi, mi da yidi beidanakam. »*

Oon wi'i mo « Mo' 'i.⁴ Nyalngu kaari, so a hacitiima, ngummoda galle ma, min mi ummo ga gallam ga. D'o pottudenna fuf, wona keerol hakkunde men. »

12. *Nden be kaaldii dum, jemma nyande o jogori daude nde, M D hiirti, fawi ndimaangu muudum hirke. Ali Winji Wanja waali daanaade.*

1. Apparently a particle strengthening *Kono* (L, p. 98, paragr. 298).

2. The word does not seem to be in G or L.

3. *Hono*, normally the interrogative "how" (G, p. 51), here seems to be "that is to say, i.e."

4. An interjection said with considerable force. H offers the French "attention" as a rendering.

a. The probable meaning of this passage is that the Fadoubé were non-Muslim and hence uncircumcized. The cutting off of tails could be understood as the rite of circumcision, and the acceptance of houses and clothing would be part of the general acceptance of Islam.

b. The relationship of *jongu* is a link of amity between two families, similar to the relationship of *dendiraaabe* between the N'Diaye and Sy families, or to the traditional alliance between the Poular-speaking peoples and the Serer of Western Senegal. This story therefore serves to reinforce social solidarity between the Sisibé and the Fadoubé, as well as legitimizing the rule of the Sisibé over Bundu.

c. The original tape says 1812, but the narrator later corrected this to 1512. The dating of the coming of Malik Sy to 1512 or so is very common among the *aulube* of Bundu today, though it was apparently not so in the late nineteenth century, when the oral traditions of Bundu were first recorded (cf. A. RANÇON, "Le Boundou", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Bordeaux*, 17, 1894, pp. 434.

Fadoubé.^a Then they said, "Now that we accept you; you are the owner of the well. But now that you are going to be owner of Bundu, let no descendant of yours [lit.: nothing that comes from you] do us harm, nor will any of our descendants do you or yours any harm." So began a mutual relationship, the relationship of *jongu*.^b This relationship has continued at Bundu since 1512 and has still not disappeared in our own day.^c

10. So he was established. At that time, he had as neighbors: Gadiaga, Bambouk, Wuli, Ferlo.^d Now Bundu was a tiny country, and Gadiaga then was ruled by the Bathily family. These Bathily, the rulers of Gadiaga, came from the country of Sokolo, away in the east. When they emigrated from Sokolo, they settled at Banamba. When they left Banamba, they moved and settled at Kéniou, beyond Kayes. When they left there they came and settled at Tuabo. They became the *tunka* of Tuabo.^e

11. Malik Sy spoke with the *tunka* of Tuabo, who was Ali Windji Wandja, saying, "My country is small. Since your country is very large, I want [you] to make mine bigger."

"Good," said Ali, "on a certain day, when you have had your breakfast, set out from your town and I will set out from mine. Wherever we meet, let that be the boundary between us."

12. They agreed to this, but on the night before the appointed day, Malik Dauda had his supper and saddled his stallion. Ali Windji

465-484, 497-548, 561-591, 593-647; E. Roux, "Notice historique sur le pays de Boundou", Archives du Sénégal, Dakar, 1 G 78). One possible reason for the shift may be an effort to give the Sisibé dynasty a chronological priority to that of the Denianké of Fouta Toro. In any event, the evidence for placing Malik Sy almost two centuries later is conclusive on the basis of European records as well as that of older oral traditions.

d. Bambouk and Ferlo are regions, rather than political entities. Wuli and Gadiaga, however, have had a long history as states. The greater Gadiaga, from which Bundu broke off in the seventeenth century, was again broken into two separate Soninké-speaking kingdoms in the early part of the nineteenth—Goye, with its capital still at Tuabo and stretching along the south bank of the Sénégal as far as the junction with the Falémé, and Kaméra, continuing along the south bank from that point almost to Kayes.

e. Many different traditional accounts of this westward movement by Soninké-speaking peoples are to be found in the Western Sudan. Most of them mention Sokolo as a point of origin, and the date of the movement was well before the sixteenth century. The Bathily and their followers conquered and absorbed the earlier inhabitants on both sides of the Sénégal for some distance downstream from Dembakané, though that town later came to be the traditional dividing point between Soninké Gadiaga and the Senegalese Fouta. The title of *tunka* remained in the Bathily family in both Goye and Kaméra until the colonial period, and the present village chief of Tuabo is still recognized as a kind of honorary *tunka*.

Ha fini subaka be kauri tawi o nyaami leidi fuf, o takkoyiima e muudum. Ni o wi'i mo « An, non no dum woori ? » O wi'i « Wadi non, ko ndimaan-gam ngu ko keungu doole, ko ngu njaungu. »

O wi'i dum non « Min ne ko mi dimo, so mi rokkii, mi hebtataa. Kono ngandaade, a gainii leidam. Leidam alaa do remi. Mi de nyaagi ma non—hun!—ko leidam ko min jeyi : yimbe leidam, kala gummido, so ari, naatii B'undu, do tawi neddo remaani fuf, so yidi, yo rem, wata hai gooto had dum. » Oon aadi ina hakkunde mabbe haa hande.

13. *Mi fudduriinoma wi'ide on leidi B'undu ko leidi pamardi. Huufi¹ ndi ko Gajaaga. Leidi B'undu, huufi dum ko Bambuku : leidi B'undu, huufi dum ko Uul: leidi B'undu huufi dum ko Ferlo. Holno no ndi yaajiri ? Nde M D laami, woni almaami, o jibini Bummaalik, o neli dum Yajoya, jangoya Fuuta Jalon to wi'etee B'urweya. Kanko o heddi 'don e laamu he. Ndeye haa hunde juuti, sebbe mbi'i « ngandeede—Malik o do mo nji'ata so en peutanaani dum fere, ko to kodo hebtudi leidi men ndi. »*

Oon sa'a Tunka Tiaabu moobi konu, yanoyi e makko do wi'etee Gudumbai. Ko don felli mo. Nde felli mo nde, kure jowi njani e reedu makko, jowedidi njani e ndimaangu makko. O yanii hen. Nden dum wadi, tawi Bummaalik ina jangoyino to B'urweya. Bummaalik yalti B'urweya, ari, tawi baa mum maayi. O wi'i omo wadana dum sadak. O asi woindu ndu darde jowedidi, ndu wadaama e gauri. Woni kodde, o wi'i omo sakkanoo baa mako.

14. *So caggal ton, kanko Bummaalik, o difti Kalaatye, o diftorii e tikkere, o idii haurude ko Kooraamo Koora. Kanko Bumaalik, o wari*

1. G has *huufi*. L does not have it.

a. This pattern of long-distance travel for study had been common in the Western Sudan among Muslims for several centuries, where noted Koranic schools attracted students from a radius of five hundred miles and more. Bouria in Fouta Jallon is the burial place and sometime residence of *tierno* Samba who also taught at Fougoumba. He was a noted Muslim teacher at the turn of the seventeenth into the eighteenth century, being the teacher of Karamoko Alfa, the religious leader of the Fulbe *jihād* in Fouta Jallon (c. 1725) (cf. M. BAYOL, "La France au Fouta-Djalou", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 54, 15 Déc. 1882, p. 917).

Wandja lay fast asleep. Morning came, and they met. Ali found that his whole country had been seized and that the border was right on top of him. So he said, "How did this happen?" "It was because my stallion is full of strength and fast."

Ali answered, "I am of noble birth. When I give, I do not take back again. But as you know, you have finished off my country, and there is nowhere left to farm. I beseech you, as for the country that was mine, if any of my people move and come into Bundu and find a place that is not being farmed, and wish to farm there, let them and let no man stop them." And that custom has continued between them until today.

13. I began by saying that Bundu was a small country surrounded by Gadiaga, and by Bambouk, and by Wuli, and by Ferlo. How did it come to expand? Well, when Malik Dauda was chief, when he became Almamy, he begat Boubou Malik and sent him away to study in Fouta Jallon at a place called Bouria.^a But he himself, Malik Dauda, stayed behind and continued to rule. This situation continued for a time, and the Soninké [*sebe*]^b said, "Look here. This Malik—whom you see—if we do not do something, he—a stranger—will take all our land."

It was at this time that the *tunka* of Tuabo collected an army and attacked Malik Dauda at a place called Gudumbai. There he [the *tunka*] shot him, firing five bullets into his stomach and seven bullets into his stallion. And so Malik Dauda fell. Now at that time Boubou Malik was away studying in Bouria. He left Bouria, and coming home found that his father was dead. So he said that he could give alms in remembrance of him. He dug a well to the depth of the stature of seven men. Milk and millet were put in it. So there was *kodde*,^c which he said was alms for his father.

14. After that, Boubou Malik jumped onto Kalaatye, jumped up in anger, and first joined battle with the Koramokora. Boubou Malik killed him, cutting his throat and tearing up his war drums. Next he closed with the *tunka* of Tuabo, shot him, cut his throat and tore

b. The Bunduke usage of *cedo* (pl. *sebe*; French or Wolof, "Thieddo") is different from that in Western Senegal, where it refers to a warrior class within Wolof society and is historically associated with traditional, non-Muslim religious beliefs. In Bundu, the term is often used for foreigners in general, that is, non-Poullar speakers and particularly the Soninké. More specifically, it can also refer to a particular group of families of Wolof origin, who are classed with the *nyengbe* or occupational castes but nevertheless enjoy certain of the rights of nobles, such as intermarriage with local noble families and even with the Sisibé. From the context, it is clear that, in this case, the Soninké of Gadiaga are meant.

c. A thick broth made of milk and millet and considered to be especially nourishing.

*dum, o ta'i¹ daande mum, o seeki junjunaaji² mum. Kanko Bummaalik o hauri e Tunka Tiaabu, o felli dum, o ta'i daande mum, o seeki junjunaaji muudum. Kanko Bummaalik, kanko felli Ali Winji Wanja, kanko ta'i daande muudum. Tunka mo³ Makanna, ko kanko ta'i daande muudum. Tunka mo Makadugu, ko Bummaalik Si wari, o seeki junjunaaji muudum. Tunka mo Makkala Kare, ko Bummaalik Si wari, o seeki junjunaaji muudum. Tunka mo Ambi Deedi, Bummaalik Si wari, o seeki junjunaaji muudum.*⁴

15. *Oon sa'a tawi reube jargankoobe, be memataa boru. B'e cuwataa. Ko non ni be njoodi, comci cuwaadi. B'e keeri e makko. Reube Jargankoobe ngummi e Kusang Almaami Tumaane Hamadi Makka Bummaalik Daudu Bukar Jam Hame Miisiin Habi Balai. Reube Jargankoobe ngummi e B'ulebani Umar Saada H M B D B J H M H B. Reube Jargankoobe ngummi Sendebu Bookar Saada H M B D B J H M H B. Reube Jargankoobe ngummi Gaabu Hamadi Saada H M B D B J H M H B.*

1. Contrast the pronunciation in paragr. 9, *supra*.

2. Neither G nor L seem to have this word, which is the Soninké *junju*. In GADEN (*Qacida en poular, op. cit.*), "war drums" is usually the Ar. loanword *tabalde*.

3. Neither G nor L recognise this eastern copula as P. Perhaps it is only used in titles.

4. The stylistic effect of repetition, so much a feature of oral art, is especially noticeable here (*cf.* "we shall fight them on the beaches, we shall fight them in the streets", etc., of Churchill in 1940).

a. Koramakora is a title borne by a high official in the kingdom of Gadiaga and its successor states. The *tunka*, other than the *tunka* of Tuabo, would be political officials at the town level. Although Makana and Ambidédi still exist, the other Gadiaga towns mentioned are no longer significant enough to appear on the standard modern maps. "Makkalakare" is apparently Saki N'Diaye's Poular pronunciation for the town that would normally be spelled Makhalkhare, and Makana would be "Maxaana" in Soninké.

The royal war drum (*tabalde*) was an important part of the royal regalia in Bundu. It contained a collection of charms—both Muslim and non-Muslim. At the death of an Almamy, one of the first acts incumbent on those present was to rip the head off the war drum. The charms were then renewed and a new drum head for the next reign was made with appropriate ritual from the skin of an ox, which had to be reddish-brown in color, never either black or white.

b. This reference to the branches of the reigning family in Koussane, Sénou-débou, Boulébané, and Gabou is an interesting example of the minstrel's style in a narration of this type. The four towns are the four towns in which the Sisibé are now represented—not those where they would have been found at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Koussane is no doubt mentioned first

up his war drums. Then Boubou Malik shot Ali Windji Wandja, and cut his throat. Next the *tunka* of Makana, cutting his throat. Next the *tunka* of Makadugu. Boubou Malik Sy killed him and tore up his war drum. Next the *tunka* of Makkalakare [Makhalakhare], whom Boubou Malik killed and whose war drums he tore up. Then the *tunka* of Ambidéi. Boubou Malik killed him and tore up his war drums.^a

15. Now at that time the women of the reigning house [*jargankoobe*] were not allowed to touch indigo. They were not allowed to dye cloth, and they had to wear their clothes without any color. They were his neighbors and they came to him, the women of the reigning house of Koussane—Almamy Toumané Hammady Maka Boubou Malik Dauda Bokar Dian Hamet Misin Habiballahi. The women of the reigning house came also from Boulébané—Oumar Sada Hammady Maka Boubou Malik Dauda Bokar Diam Hamet Misin Habiballahi. Other women of the reigning house came from Sénoudébou—Bokar Sada Hammady Maka Boubou Malik Dauda Bokar Diam Hamet Misin Habiballahi. Others again [came] from Gabou—Hammady Sada Hammady Maka Boubou Malik Dauda Bokar Diam Hamet Misin Habiballahi.^b

because Hammady Amadou Sy, of that branch (*suudu*) of the family, was present at the recording session. After each town, Saki N'Diaye gives the name of the member of the Sisibé most closely associated in recent memory with that town. Almamy Toumané Hammady (also called Toumané Modi) ruled from Koussane in 1827-1835, and his reign reestablished the power of that branch of the family after several decades of weakness. Oumar Sada (or Oumar Penda) ruled from Boulébané in 1885-86. He was killed in the sack of Boulébané by the forces of the religious revolutionary Mamadou Lamine in 1886. Bokar Sada (1857-1885), Oumar Sada's older brother, made his capital mainly at Sénoudébou, and his military successes are still the town's chief sources of pride. Sénoudébou, however, was a recent town, founded only in the 1840s. Gabou is represented by Hammady Maka, a third son of Sada, who moved there from Boulébané with his personal following in 1853. One later Almamy, Sada Hammady Sada (1886-1888), was descended from this branch of the family. Saki N'Diaye tends to emphasize the sons of Sada, perhaps because his own family was closely connected with that ruler. It is unlikely, however, that he intended these references to be taken literally. The passage should be interpreted as his way of using a passing reference to the Sisibé women as an opportunity to insert praises for the family at large—hence the mention of present-day, rather than past branches of the family.

16. *B'e mbi'i mo, Bummaalik Dauda Hamme Manta Ali Eeli Bana. « Dacca min ni reube, reube sebbe wata min kadda din jooruuji,¹ min memataa boru. »*

O waati, o wi'i « Mi accata be. Ma be kaalanam ko junjunaajam di piyata, mi darnidi fijirde. Aset ha aset arta, subaka e kikiide, debbo e gorko, suka e maudo, e be ngama e be kaalanam ko junjunaajam di fiyata. »²

17. *Nden dum wadi o darnidi fijirde balde jowetati, subaka e kikiide, jemma e nyalauma, sebbe Sarakuleebe ina piya junjunaaji muudum'en, ina mbi'a « Bummaalik Tabo xaase be ga ro oi ke tabo tuge. Ke be ga nyaana a na(nya) maxa na keeta. »³ Be mbi'i mo, « Bummaalik 'Nyamaande nyamlanuda fuf, a yobii. Jooni kai⁴ nyaagotoden na ko(a) wadano ko, ko wata wattu. Ko dum Bummaalik Daudu Bukar ari, jooti e B'undu ; tawi bernde muudum uubi e yottaade holko be umbarano mo. »⁵*

18. *E caggal dum don non, woni ko be lamdiikam do. Kanko Maalik Bummaalik, nde wonno Nyambiya (ko e Bambuk jeya), kono ko kanko B M kanko felli⁶ Nyambiya, o wari lamdo Nyambiya. O itti leidi Nyambiya, woni gada maayo Fallemme, hedde Sendebu'en faade Gac-caari'en—dum don hebtaa ko e Bambuku, o watti e B'undu. A andi kai oon beidii B'undu. Ko felluno⁷ e Baccilankoobe ko. E ko hebno e juude Ali Winji Wanja ko, gila e baa mako Maalik Si, yanti e B'undu. Oon ni beidii B'undu.*

19. *Kanko Maalik Dauda oon non, o jibini ko Bummaalik. Buubu jibini ko Makka Bummaalik. Kanko Maalik o woni almaami, o jeyii*

1. *Kadda din jooruuji* seems to mean "wear them (sc. *comci*) clothes dry (i.e. undyed)." Under root *had*, G has *haddaago* (Bagirmi) "mettre un pagne". The extension of meaning from "prevent, forbid" to "wear" (with the *-d-* infix) is interesting. *Qacida en poular* has *njooreeji* "undyed clothes."

2. Cf. p. 474, n. 10.

3. Soninké, of which a P version follows.

4. *Kai* seems to be a particle of emphasis (L, p. 98, paragr. 298).

5. Lit.: "His heart has buried in the end whatever they had done to him." For *uubi*, G gives *ubbi* (contrast p. 472, n. 4), but L gives *ubbude* or *uwude*.

6. *Fellude* is given by G and L only its meaning of "fire (a gun)", but is standard for "conquer" with SNJ, and in *Qacida en poular*.

7. Here one would expect *fellaano* or *fellaama*. And we have then *hebno* where we would expect *hebaano*.

16. These said to Boubou Malik Dauda Hamet Manta Ali Eli Bana,^a "We ask you to spare the Soninké. For otherwise we shall not be able to wear colored clothes, since we may not touch indigo."

He delivered a speech in answer, thus: "I will spare them, but they must tell me what my war drums are beating out. I will arrange a big dance for them; and from Saturday to the next Saturday, morning and evening, men and women, children and adults, let them dance, and let them [the Soninké] tell me what my war drums are saying as they beat."

17. And so it was that he caused a dance to be held for seven days, morning and evening, day and night, and the Soninké beat their own drums and said "[In Soninké:] *Tabo xaase be ga ro oi ke tabo tuge. Ke be ga nyaana a na(nya) maxa na keeta.*" [In Poular:] "Boubou Malik, the debt between us is settled. Now we beseech you not to continue doing what you have done to us, for Boubou Malik Dauda Bokar has come to Bundu and is established there, and his heart has at last buried what they did to him."

18. After this there is another question that I have been asked. Boubou Malik when he was at Nyambia (which belonged to Bambouk)—it was he, Boubou Malik, who conquered Nyambia and killed the chief of Nyambia. So he acquired the land of Nyambia which is beyond the river Falémé, that is, between the people of Sénoudébou and those of Gatiari. It had been taken away by Bambouk, and he restored it to Bundu. So, indeed, as you know, he increased the territory of Bundu [by retaining] what had been conquered by the Bathily—had been taken from Ali Windji Wandja—which from the time of his father, Malik Sy, had belonged to Bundu. So he increased the size of Bundu.^b

19. Now it was Malik Dauda who begat Boubou Malik. Boubou Malik begat Maka Boubou Malik. Malik was Almamy and ruled

a. The alternate genealogy given here appears to be that of the female line. Other traditions trace this genealogical line in slightly different ways. See the narration of Farba Sek in Alfa I. Sow, *Chroniques et récits du Fouta Djallon*, Paris, 1968, p. 55.

b. Precise dates have not yet been fixed for the reigns of the early Almamy of Bundu, but the death of Malik Sy can be placed between about 1700 and 1710 (cf. RANÇON, p. 480; A. KANE, "Histoire et origine des familles du Fouta-Toro", *Annuaire du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF*, 1, 1916, p. 341). These events would therefore have taken place during the first or second decade of the eighteenth century.

B'undu, hono no wiirano « Almaami Maalik haa e Maaliki » ni. Kanko Maalik,¹ o jibini Bummaalik, woni almaami jeyii B'undu. Kanko Maalik, o jibini Makka Bummaalik, woni almaami, jeyi B'undu. Sire Bummaalik, oon wonaani almaami. Makka Bummaalik, oon jibini Hamadi'en dido Makka Bummaalik. Gooto hen kala woni almaami. Oya Hamadi, ko Hamadi Gai Jeliya Hawo Binta Bulkasum Mairam Malaado Samba Caagan. O woni almaami. Oya Hamadi, ko Hamadi Asata Belal Jasaadi Jaasa Ngille e Jambur Ngille, oon ni woni almaami.

20. *Hamadi Asata oon jibini Saada Hamadi, o woni almaami. Saada jibini Hamad Saada, woni almaami. Saada jibini Bookar Saada, woni almaami. Saada jibini Umar Saada, woni almaami. Bookar jibini Usman Bookar, woni almaami. Hamad Saada jibini Malik Hamadi, woni almaami—Maalik Hamadi Makka Bummaalik Daudu Bukar Jam Hame Miisiin almaami puddinoodo e Maaliki o ari haa e Maalik Hamad Saada Hamadi Makka Bummaalik, almaamiyaagal B'undu ko don haadi.*

1. A slip for *Bummaalik*.

Bundu. As it had been predicted, "Almamy Malik even to Malik." Malik begat Boubou Malik, who became Almamy and ruled Bundu. Boubou Malik begat Maka Boubou Malik, who became Almamy and ruled over Bundu. Siré Boubou Malik was not Almamy. Maka Boubou Malik begat two sons named Hammady. Each of them became Almamy. One of them was called Hammady Gaye Diélia Hawa Binta Bulkasum Maryam Maladu Samba Thiagan. He became Almamy. The other one was called Hammady Aysata Belal Diasadi Diasa N'Guillé and Diambour N'Guillé. He also became Almamy.^a

20. Hammady Aysata begat Sada Hammady, who became Almamy. Sada begat Hammady Sada, who became Almamy. Sada begat Bokar Sada, who became Almamy. Sada begat Oumar Sada, who became Almamy. Bokar begat Ousman Bokar, who became Almamy. Hammady Sada begat Malik Hammady, who became Almamy. So the first Almamy, Malik, continued through to Malik Hammady Sada Hammady Maka Boubou Malik. With him ended the office of Almamy of Bundu.^b

a. The quarrels between Hammady Gaye and Hammady Aysata in the mid-eighteenth century began the division of the Sisibé into the branch of Koussane (Hammady Gaye) and Boulébané (Hammady Aysata). The genealogies given here are those of the two wives of Maka Boubou—designed to show the eminent ancestry of the two branches of the Sisibé.

b. This genealogy is clearly not intended to be complete—either in naming all of the Almamy of Bundu, or in giving the correct order of their reigns. Instead, it is a special-purpose genealogy designed to show the relationship between Malik Dauda and Malik Hammady (also called Malik Touré). Malik Hammady (1891-1905) was the last Almamy before the French changed the Sisibé title to *chef de canton* and divided the former kingdom into two cantons, one ruled by the Sisibé of Koussane and the other ruled by the branch of the family from Boulébané, now established at Sénoudébou.