SLAVERY, ISLAM AND THE JAKHANKE PEOPLE OF WEST AFRICA

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Islam did not originate the idea or the practice of slavery, but it does admit, and in certain specific instances it enacts, the institution of slavery and establishes it upon firm legal and social foundations. The Shari'ah, i.e. Islamic Law, takes a panoramic view of slavery in human societies and arrives at a cogent statement of slavery as a state endorsed by Divine Law. According to the legal authorities, the original condition of the race of Adam is freedom, but for their security one of two things is necessary: the religion of Islam, or the protection of the Muslim territory. This protection can be obtained by non-Muslims only on the condition of submission and since it is the duty of all men to embrace Islam this submission is incumbent on all non-Muslims. It is implied by this that non-Muslims (but not necessarily the ‘people of the book’, ahl al-kitāb) may have a state of war declared upon them by Muslims, and in the ensuing conflict captives may be taken. In the eyes of the Law unsubmitting non-Muslims are regarded as enemies (ḥurūb) living in dār al-ḥarb, i.e. the abode of warfare. They are judged to have refused the necessary conditions of freedom, i.e. submission to Islam or protection of the Muslim territory (dār al-Islām), and consequently they have forfeited the protection which would have secured for them the original freedom of the race of Adam.

The lawyers took this argument about the necessity of slavery one serious step further. All non-Muslims who are not dhimmīs, or protected persons of the Muslim state, have lost affinity with the race of Adam and have descended to the level of inanimate things and may be reduced to the state of property, ‘like things which were originally common by nature’. The rule regarding the three-fold invitation to non-Muslims to embrace Islam is to be respected with reference to people in dār al-ḥarb, but ‘no penalty is incurred by the neglect of this precaution’. Although the Law gives sweeping powers to masters over their slaves, including the right to put them to death, nevertheless the institution of slavery is rigorously controlled and regulated in Muslim Law, which is very specific on things like qualified slavery, licensed or inhibited slaves, and the complex rules on emancipation and concubinage.

These details are enlarged upon later in this article, but a few examples from the Qur’an may be briefly introduced at this stage. The Qur’an makes unequivocal statements about slavery and slaves. In one passage it enjoins imposing the bonds of servitude on the unbelievers who may be taken in war. In other passages the ransoming of slaves is reckoned among the good works a believer may perform, either as a freewill offering or as part of true piety (al-birr). In Islamic law a man may marry someone else’s slaves, and such slave-women are liable to half the chastisement of free-women if they contravene the marriage rules. Concubinage (surriyah) is recognised in the Qur’an, and one may adopt as many slave-women as concubines as one is able. However, in strict Islamic law one’s own slave-women cannot qualify as wives. The rule is that only someone else’s slaves may come into this category.
History and social practice have in many ways drastically altered the institution of slavery and the position of slaves in Muslim society, and there are numerous examples of an enlightened attitude towards slaves, who are often highly privileged members of the community. Slavery was—and in some places it still is—a pervasive and preponderant feature of community life, and it is crucial to our understanding of the history of Black Africa to try to arrive at a measured exposition of this social phenomenon. The more dramatic aspects of slavery in its trans-Atlantic dimension have almost completely dominated discussion in this topic so far, yet it is clear that the export of slaves to the Western hemisphere forms a significant part but by no means the whole extent of slavery and slave institutions in Black Africa. It may be possible, therefore, after more work in this field, to approach the question of trans-Atlantic slavery from the perspective of Black Africa.

Muslim Africa has been deeply involved in the slave traffic, for until very recent times slaves were the most valuable economic commodity in Africa. The origin of slavery itself is obscure and the date of its introduction to Black Africa is uncertain. At a very early date slaves formed an important part of tribute payment imposed by senior political rulers on their vassals or subordinates. Nubia, for example, had to provide as bagt, i.e. annual tribute, to Egypt numerous slaves, many of whom were obtained from Nubia’s southern neighbours. The black slaves supplied in this way were used as domestic servants, labourers and troops. The practice continued and was very important as a source of cheap labour during the first two centuries of Islam, giving rise to traditions (hadith), traced back to the Prophet, to the effect that ‘He who has no friend should take a friend from the Nubians’, and ‘Your best captives are the Nubians’.

The penetration of Islam into Black Africa seems to have encouraged the wide-scale distribution of slaves both as items of trade and as booty in wars and raids. Although slaves were also taken from other sources, as in the case of economic insolvency, theft and similar offences, by far the greatest number came from commerce and war. Islamic militancy, whether by the sword or through political subjugation, has thus accelerated the process whereby slavery was spread to many societies. But the contention of 19th century observers that many populations flocked to the Muslim standard in order to escape enslavement is difficult to substantiate with hard facts. It would be surprising if fear of enslavement were the overriding reason for adherence to Islam. People opposed to Islam would be unlikely to drop their opposition for fear of enslavement. On the Muslim side, it is improbable that Muslim leaders anxious to take slaves would encourage their enemies to embrace Islam, thus making themselves unable, in the eyes of the Law, to reduce them to slavery.

Much stronger evidence than the practice of the right of refusal to embrace Islam among non-Muslim groups is the one stressing leniency and kindness to slaves. There is also good evidence for liberated slaves adopting Islam. Although the condition of servitude as such seems to have been maintained as a distinct state in society, it was sometimes felt necessary to temper the just legal claims on slaves with a certain indulgence, including the extreme step of discretionary manumission as a mark of piety. Freeing a slave itself partakes of many different legal interpretations. In some cases slaves are ransomed for reasons of conscience, and in other cases as legal restitution for manslaughter committed by a Muslim against a fellow Muslim, while in still
other instances expiation for perjury can be obtained by setting free a slave. Tradition also commends ‘kindness to slaves’ as a practice which the Prophet Muhammad himself urged on his followers. This sentiment does not, as claimed by some writers, abolish the institution of slavery; it merely invests it with a certain humane direction and enables Muslims to ameliorate the condition of their slaves without renouncing their rights over them. It is therefore surprising to find Dr Edward Blyden saying that there was no slavery in Islam, i.e., that those who embraced Islam were immune from enslavement, and that many ethnic groups in Africa adopted Islam under pressure from slave hunters, whom he, still more doubtfully, identified as Pagans. Blyden himself carries a tradition from a local Muslim about how a slave-master must practice kindness towards his slave. Was this man a slave-dealer himself?

Among the Jakhanke people of Western Africa slaves were a very prominent part of clerical settlements. Who are the Jakhanke? Only a brief description can be attempted here. Ethnically they are the same people as the Serakhulle who are better known as Soninke, the founder-kings of ancient Ghana. The name Soninke has acquired pejorative connotations in the Senegambian context, and for that reason it has been found better to retain Serakhulle as another name for the same people. The Jakhanke are the clerical Islamic elite of the Serakhulle, and their origins as a professional caste go back to mediaeval Africa when they first lived in Diakha-Masina and then in Diakha-Bambukhu (Diakha-sur-Bafing in French sources). This Diakha-Bambukhu is sometimes called Diakhaba or, as in the Tā'rikh al-Fattāsh, Ja'ba. Under al-Ḥāj Salim Suwārē the Jakhanke splintered off from their Serakhulle cousins at Diakha-Masina and later, at Diakha-Bambukhu, which is on the Bafing River, a tributary of Upper Senegal River, they became subjected to a concentrated exposure to Islamic influence and the adjacent Manding cultural environment. The combination of these succeeded in weakening, though not completely eradicating, their original Serakhulle links. It was in Bambukhu, when that region was a province of Mali (c. 1250), that the Jakhanke became Manding-speaking and Islamic religious savants. But the name Jakhanke merely means ‘the people of Diakha (Jakha)’, and was an appellation attached to them by Manding and Fulbe peoples. In the French sources they are called ‘Diakhanké’. It is significant that the Jakhanke themselves perpetuate their links with Diakha-Masina not only by adopting that name for many of their centres, beginning with Diakha-Bambukhu, but also in describing themselves in Arabic as abi Diakha (‘Jaḥa’). This should act as a warning against imputing a racial origin to them. After the death of al-Ḥāj Salim the Jakhanke lived for a while in Bambukhu before they abandoned it and settled mainly in areas of Senegambia but also in Kankan and further east in Hausaland, beginning some time in the mid-fifteenth century. But dispersion did not weaken their solidarity and effectiveness as a clerical caste in West African Islam, and in the days when slavery was still a widely accepted institution slaves helped to consolidate and augment the clerical tradition among them.

Slaves of course never became clerics. Their role was confined to supplying the basis on which a fully-fledged clerical practice could be maintained. The Jakhanke clerics, like so many of their Muslim counterparts in other places, utilised the services of slaves and the institution of slavery to buttress the strength and power of Islamic learning and educational activity, to expand a clerical settlement and to institute and maintain a system of regular contact with other clerical centres. Slaves filled an
economic need by supplying labour on the clerical farms; they also acted as agents of contact with other centres as well as serving many social, ceremonial and other public functions. Slave-women in addition could be taken as concubines to boost a family stock. Thus the clerical enterprise came to depend on a good supply of slaves just as many clerics measured their success and prestige by the number of slaves they possessed to maintain the clerical community. But it must be stressed that the Jakhanke, to the knowledge of the present writer, have never identified the clerical cause or their own professional survival with the maintenance and continuance of the institution of slavery. When they have clamoured for the retention of their slaves against French administrative decrees directing the abolition of slavery, they have done so on the grounds that history and custom had made slavery deeply entrenched among them and anything except a gradual abolition of the system was bound to prove detrimental to their interests. This article is concerned with how and to what extent those interests depended on slaves and on the institution establishing, justifying and regulating them.

The Jakhanke founded their clerical vocation on the principles of political neutralism and the renunciation of the use of arms, so that as a community they have repudiated jihād, i.e. the employment of military measures in the propagation of Islam. It is partly for these two reasons that Jakhanke clerical centres are located away from political/secular centres. In view of this reputation for clerical pacifism, how did the Jakhanke become involved in the obtaining, ownership and use of slaves? The evidence suggests that they participated vigorously in obtaining and using slaves whilst successfully maintaining a neutral pacific tradition which the warriors and mujāhidān (leaders of jihād) of the 19th century by and large respected. The survival of this pacific clerical tradition in the atmosphere of the 19th century jihāds of epidemic proportions is an interesting problem but one which is outside the scope of this discussion. But slavery certainly proved the touchstone of the viability of clerical pacifism among the Jakhanke, and the fact that they took up no arms on its behalf suggests a tenacious fidelity to their clerical tradition.

The Jakhanke acquired slaves through straight purchase, pious gifts made to them, inheritance, and as rewards for clerical service. In their contacts with Samori for example, they obtained a substantial quantity of slaves, most of these the result of direct purchase. Samori would supply slaves and in return he received salt, strips of locally woven cloth, gold and cash. The Jakhanke also provided prayer support for Samori, and for this service they were rewarded with slaves. A Jakhanke cleric from Bundu, Bakari Jabi, visited Samori once. Samori gave him fifteen slaves as a reward for clerical services which Bakari Jabi rendered him, and the latter returned to Bundu with them. The slaves were in the end confiscated from him by Boubakar Sa’ada (d. Dec. 1886), the ruler of Bundu, who suspected Bakari Jabi of being a secret agent of Samori. Boubakar Sa’ada was an ally of the French who decorated him with the Legion of Honour. Samori’s contacts with Bundu seem to have been extensive, and the role slaves played in such contacts, particularly where Jakhanke clerics were involved, was substantial. Two prominent clerical centres in eastern Bundu in the district of Niokholo, namely, Samecouta and Sillakunda, flourished from captives that came from Samori’s wars.

Prayer support for a warrior in exchange for slaves need not be and was not conditional on a prior Jakhanke approval for the cause under which slaves could be taken.
A good example of this was the military movement of the Senegambian Fula leader, Musa Molo, from whom the Jakhanke received slaves. In this instance, it was generally known that Musa Molo was not fighting a jihad but, as a secular champion of Fulbe hegemony, he was waging a political war directed at anti-Fulbe populations, including Muslim groups. Indeed, two of Musa Molo’s implacable enemies were Fode Kabba and Momodou-Lamin, both from a Jakhanke background, and the stiffest resistance to Molo came from Muslim circles, while his own men were for the most part the staunchly anti-Islamic Fulbe. On one occasion Musa Molo came to ask for prayer support for a military expedition he was about to undertake. After the success of the expedition he returned to this particular clerical centre, Jimara-Bakadaji, and gave a number of slaves as payment. After his wars with Dikor Kumba at Patta, Musa Molo brought six slaves (three male, three female) to Fode Ansumana, the clerical leader of Jimara-Bakadaji. The Jakhanke went further than this in their relations with Musa Molo. The Silla qabizlah, a Jakhanke group who look to Fode al-Hasan Silla at Bani Isra’ila in Bundu as their clerical patriarch, assigned Fode Shaykhu Silla as clerical chaplain to Musa Molo. Fode Shaykhu followed Musa Molo’s military campaigns with prayer services, although later he broke with Musa Molo when he learnt of the latter’s plans to attack Jarra-Bureng which was at that time under a fellow Jakhanke cleric, Muhammad Sanusi Silla, the founder of the Kounti clerical centre.

The Jakhanke clerical position on the means and methods of acquiring slaves was stated in one account. In a situation where a Jakhanke cleric is approached by a party engaged in war and his clerical services are requested, he gets payment after victory in the form of 20 slaves, 10 of which are male and the others female. When such transactions take place, slaves are considered a staple economic commodity and an indispensable part of a prosperous community. It was not felt necessary to insist on a set of criteria which would define a raid or war as ‘just’ and from which slaves might be legitimately taken, although the Jakhanke are known to have repudiated wars aimed at Muslim populations. But it is not clear even here whether captives from such anathematised wars were also rejected as slaves. But the Jakhanke clerical position meant that they obtained by prayer and other types of clerical activity what was ordinarily obtained through warfare. They were able to continue to preserve their reputation for formal neutrality and pacifism.

One of the largest centres of slave concentration among the Jakhanke in modern times was the one at Touba in the district of Binani in Guinea. At one stage Touba’s slave population reached 11,000. Another source says it was 12,000. This is an incredibly large number, but there is no reason to suspect deliberate invention. Touba was founded by the namesake of al-Hajj Salim Suware, namely, al-Hajj Salim Gassama, who is better known in history as Karamokho Ba, an honorific given to him by his admiring Fulbe hosts. Born in c. 1730 in Bundu, Karamokho Ba belonged to the Jabi-Gassama clerical lineage and travelled extensively throughout the Western Sudan before settling first in Touba-Bakoni, also called Toubacoto, in c. 1802, and finally in Touba-Binani, called by him Toubacuta (‘New Touba’) in c. 1811/12. He died in c. 1823/4 at a great age.

The tradition of slave-ownership at Touba goes back to Karamokho Ba himself. Among the honours and presents his Fulbe hosts lavished on him were horses and
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slaves. 'Abd al-Qadir Bademba, the Futa Jallon leader of the Soriya faction, for example, made him a personal gift of a thoroughbred horse and seven slaves. A brother of Karamokho Ba, Muhammad Khayra, was honoured by the former after Khayra had turned over to Karamokho Ba a large number of slaves gathered from Karamokho Ba's friends and sympathisers during an extended tournée pastorale. Karamokho Ba, to express his great appreciation, is said to have bestowed a special blessing on Muhammad Khayra whose descendants formed a powerful clerical lineage in consequence. A good supply of slaves continued to flow into Touba under Karamokho Ba's successors, for apart from the voluntary pious gifts important rulers made to the Touba clerics, the standard practice of ex-students making annual donations was kept up. The cleric who undertook a tournée pastorale was likely to reap a rich harvest of slaves as presents, pious or votive gifts, and rewards and payment. Karamokho Qutubo (1830–1905), the grandson of Karamokho Ba, is a good example of one cleric who profited in this way. In 1860 he left Touba to go to Mauritania to receive confirmation as Qādirī muqaddam at the hands of Shaykh Sidiya al-Kabir (1780–1868) of the Kunta Arabs. On this trip he extended his journey and included religious itinerancy which took him to Pakao (Casamance), Jarra, Badibu, Niani, Wuli Sandu, Futa Toro and outlying regions. He collected a huge number of students and disciples, including slaves, and one account gives the figure of 780.

Karamokho Sankoung (1860–1928), the second son of Qutubo, also stands in this tradition of slave-owning alongside a strict clerical tradition of political neutralism and military pacifism. Sankoung owned some 1,200 slaves, most of them pious gifts from contemporary political figures. Alfa Yahya, the 19th century Fula leader from Labé in Futa Jallon, on one occasion gave him about 40 slaves. Another was Modi Sellou who gave him 17 slaves. Tcherno Dama, another Fula patron, at one time gave him 8 slaves. A successful fellow-cleric in Kankan, Daye Kabba, gave Sankoung 8 slaves as a personal gift. Another local patron was Alfa 'Alimu from Labé, who gave Sankoung numerous slaves over a period of time. A good number of slaves at any given time in Touba derived from inherited status: slave families increased from year to year and over a generation or two a significant increase in their numbers resulted. The Jankhanke clerics inherited the slaves of their fathers, and the possibility of a thinning out of the slave population was removed through the device of a rigid caste system out of which slaves and their descendants could not break. The rules of patrimony among the Jankhanke slave-owners were very rigid.

Slaves figure to a considerable extent in the founding and establishment of Jankhanke clerical centres. There is scant information on the founding of Sutukho, a clerical town of great antiquity in Upper Senegambia, but Jobson says that when he visited the place he found slave-quarters within which slaves were strictly segregated by their clerical masters. This was between 1620 and 1621. After describing the exclusive character of the clerical settlement at Sutukho (he spells it 'Setico'), he goes on to say that in the clerical quarter

‘no common people have dwelling, except such as are their slaves, that worke and labour for them, which slaves they suffer to marry and cherish the race that comes of them, which race remaines to them, and their heirs or posterity as perpetuall bond-men; they marry likewise in their owne tribe or kindred, taking no wives but the daughters of mary-buckes [i.e.,
Jobson says that the chief wealth of the nobility, including Muslim clerics, is slaves. The reference to the rules of endogamy among slaves will be taken up later, but it may be remarked here that his observation that the slave estate was strictly preserved is relevant to a possible slave basis of Sutukho at the time of its founding which, according to most traditional accounts, was by Mama Sambou Gassama who is himself a contemporary of al-Hājī Salim Suware. Didécoto, the clerical centre in Bundu where Karamokho Ba was born, featured caste families as well as slaves at its inception. Karamokho Ba went to Touba-Bakoni, i.e. Toubacoto, with a good supply of slaves, and these, and many more acquired later, transferred to Touba-Binani with him. These slaves were utilised in the practical task of helping to build the new clerical centre.

In a different situation slaves were prominent at Nata, founded near Touba-Binani by Ba Gassama after his split with the Touba clerical leadership. Nata does not appear to have become a clerical centre, and in fact Ba's reputation appears to have rested on his slaving exploits rather than his clerical stature. Nevertheless his decision to leave Touba-Binani and settle in Nata was facilitated by the large number of slaves he possessed. The main force he deployed to found the village consisted of slaves, in the manner and example of other Jakhanke centres.

The prosperous Darame Jakhanke centre in Senegambia, Jimara-Bakadaji, was founded with slave assistance. When the founder, Fode Ansumana Darame, came there in about 1883, he was accompanied by a number of slaves. The leader of the slave-quarter then was Bamba Sise, himself a slave. Other sections were Sidibekunda, headed by Tuman Sidibe, Jakhitekunda, Jallokunda, Dembelekunda, Sankarakunda, Konatekunda, Sisekunda (two compounds), Tarawarekunda, Sanekunda, Susokunda and Jallokunda (second group). Sectional heads of the slave-quarters reported directly to the general head, himself a slave, who co-ordinated efforts and organised slaves into task force units. Fode Ansumana continued to add to the number of slaves in Jimara-Bakadaji through pious gifts, rewards for clerical services and purchase.

The names which were given to slave-compounds differ according to the way they were given. In some cases, slaves bore the names of their captors, in others they were given the names of the dominant groups from which they were taken, and in still others the names of the most numerous captives among them. It is therefore perilous to try to infer too much ethnic data from nominal ascriptions.

One of the most successful clerical establishments in Senegambia in recent times was the one created by Karang Sambu Lamin, the great-great-grandson of Muhammad Khayra, who left Touba in about 1894 and came to the Gambia. He practised at a number of places but it was in Jarra-Sutukung that he made his name. When Karang Sambou moved to Jarra-Sutukung he had a number of slaves in his community. Dembele was the name of the senior slave, and Dembele's own children, Sara, Yahya and Mama, were also slaves. Karang Sambu's other slaves were Kali, Jaydatou, Nyimma, Fode Modu, Wonto and her son Muhammad Lamin (the latter was named after Karang Sambu Lamin) and a daughter whose name is not given. Sutukung was already a strong centre when Karang Sambu emigrated there, so his slaves were not instrumental in founding the community. His own clerical practice, however, was
strengthened through the services his slaves gave him. Indeed, when he was persuaded to come to Sutukung through what the sources describe as the unanimous and collective pressure of the Sutukung Muslim community, he was given extra slaves to facilitate his settling down, and possibly as an inducement, for he had turned down many requests in the past from Sutukung Muslims.60

The use to which slaves were put in Jakhanke clerical centres follows a standard pattern. A substantial proportion were employed in farm labour. One Jakhanke elder made an explicit point of this when he said that the Jakhanke traditionally acquired slaves in order to put them to work on the farms and in that way spare the children of clerics who were then given to full-time education.61 Jakhanke involvement in agriculture has been extensive, and the proportion of attention to this aspect of their work is in direct ratio to the size of their clerical establishments. Slaves provided the food base of such educational establishments until slavery was banned by colonial administrative decree, when a new form of bondage was grafted on to existing institutions to compensate for this.

There are numerous references in documentary sources to the use of slaves on farms. In 16th century Songhay, for example, a head-slave, called fanfa, was appointed to supervise the royal plantations of the askiya. On one plantation in particular near Dendi, called Abadan,62 there were 200 slaves employed, supervised by four fanfa (fanâfî). The royal granary would get by royal decree from this plantation 1,000 ‘sounnou’ of rice every year.63 A ‘sounnou’ of rice is estimated at between 200 to 250 litres, in sacks.

According to an 18th century source about threequarters of the population of Senegambia were slaves and most of these were employed in agricultural labour.64 In the Senegambia region of Niani one account estimates identical figures for slave and free and adds that most of the slaves were used on farms.65 In another instance slaves spent two-thirds of the working day on the farms of their masters, and the other third on their own farms.66 Another observer said that in one place where he was travelling twelve to fifteen slaves were employed on a farm at a time.67 A traveller in the Sokoto empire of North Nigeria in 1826 gives a detailed description of slave life and conditions there, and the account stresses the importance of agricultural labour among slaves.68 In more recent times the Baba of Karo paints a vivid picture of the agricultural regime among slaves, saying that slaves went out to work on the fields of their masters from about 9:30 in the morning till the late afternoon, i.e. at ṣalāt al-‘ārî,69 when they went to work on their own farms.70

The use of Qur’an school pupils on the farms of their Jakhanke teachers may be included here, although certain aspects of the question fall under a different rubric. It was normal practice in Jakhanke schools that when a student enrolled he was regarded as the domestic slave of the teacher. For all practical purposes he followed the same work schedule as the slaves of the teacher, with the difference that he received a modicum of education while in residence. This of course applied only to pupils of non-Jakhanke parentage. At the end of his term of schooling, which was decided by a number of factors, the student was redeemed by his parents who gave the cleric a slave in exchange, or the price of one. In the late 18th century a prime slave fetched anything from £18 to £20 sterling, but this fluctuated enormously depending on market forces.71
The school timetable was—and remains—closely connected with farm work. There are normally two categories of students: those resident in the compound of the schoolteacher and those who rank as day scholars and are resident outside the premises of the teacher, but usually in the same town or district. A head student presides over both categories and is responsible for the economic aspect of student life at the school. His chief symbol of office is the horn, usually a cow’s horn, which he sounds in the early morning to summon students who are then organised into work camps. The resident students, who may be loosely considered as boarders, gather at the town square before marching off to the farm of the teacher. Meals are normally served on the farm so that absentees are likely to go without food, in addition to having their names listed in the black book of the head student. Younger pupils are normally exempt from farm labour and meal restrictions.

On Thursday mornings the horn is sounded for day scholars to assemble on the farm of the school teachers. On Fridays, after the mandatory Congregation Prayer (about 1:30 p.m.) the students are allowed to spend the rest of the day on plots enclosed for their own use. Qur’an school is suspended on Thursdays and the boarders are expected to go to work on the farm of the assistant teacher or the eldest son of the schoolteacher. In some places students spend a part of the late afternoons on their own farms, and the more mature students who have families to support are allowed more time to cultivate their own fields. Such senior students are expected, however, to make generous contributions from their produce.

The slightly more theoretical issue of regarding Qur’an school students as being in a state of redeemable servitude gained more significance after the institution of slavery was abolished by imperial order. The Jakhanke clerics did not resist the law which forbade them to keep and maintain slaves, nor did they, contrary to French allegations, try to defy the law by organising a secret resistance movement. But while they complied with regulations suppressing the institution of slavery at the same time they fostered and exploited notions of servitude among some of the ex-slaves to whom they offered Qur’an schools. Under the innocent cover of their educational activity they maintained a degree of control over their ex-slaves while simultaneously increasing the range of their clientele to more distant areas. In this matter of regarding ex-slaves as bondmen the Jakhanke were in ostensible compliance with the law while at the same time benefiting from what the law had tried to deny them. Their tradition of cooperating with political rulers was maintained, but it was given a twist.

Paul Marty, a French colonial official in French West Africa, made similar observations at the time of the events he described. He writes that in all the local villages the old ties which bound slaves to their masters in the pre-emancipation days, i.e. before 1905, tended to renew themselves, but this time in the guise of familiar religious relationships. Marty says that many Jakhanke slave-masters kept in contact with their ex-slaves, and began operating Qur’an schools in those areas where liberated slaves went to settle. Whereas previously Jakhanke clerics made only token efforts to provide instruction for their slaves, this time they pursued this line of activity with energy and determination, and their services were rendered free of charge. But beneath the seemingly voluntary nature of such activity lies a set of obligations and binding considerations from which the Jakhanke clerics derived material gain and religious power. Marty continues:
'And it can be ascertained that the ex-captive has been transformed into a religious client and has taken the road to the house of his master in order to take presents to him. It is no longer a patron-proprietor that he obeys, rather it is to a Karamokho [i.e. religious teacher] that he renders homage.'

One specific example may suffice on what is clearly a rich topic. The practice of redeeming a tālib (pupil) at the termination of his studies with a slave or the price of one was no longer enforced in precisely the same terms. But the concept of ransom (fidan) has survived in another form in that parents are expected to give some remuneration to the cleric according to their means. The unspecified character of the transaction usually means that students, and/or their parents, live in continuous obligation to the cleric. It is not uncommon, for example, for students to render an annual homage to the cleric involving agricultural produce, livestock, cloth and cash. Karang Sambu Lamin benefited greatly from this arrangement when ex-students, some of them ex-slaves, continued to bring him tribute. In addition many send their own sons to their old teachers, and in this sense the bonds are passed from parent to child.

In spite of the extensive survival of traces of slavery in Jakhanke educational work, the comparison can be taken too far. There is no parallel, for instance, with the numerous legal and ritual restrictions imposed on slaves. As will presently be made clear, slaves constituted a class of deprived members of the clerical community, and the chains of caste inferiority were automatically riveted on their children. Slaves were denied civil status in a thoroughgoing fashion, and their exclusion from responsible office was reinforced by the entire weight of Islamic Law, Muslim social practice and traditional stigma. However oppressed the slave’s Qur’ān school counterpart might be, a wide chasm still divided him from the restrictions and ritual inhibitions with which the slave was burdened.

Islamic law and Muslim customary practice, i.e., Sharī‘a and ‘ādah, coincide at numerous points to define the position of the slave in the Muslim community. There are some generalised rulings, of which we have touched on a few above. Slaves as such do not inherit, and their property remains the property of the master. Under certain circumstances, as when a slave has signed a contract (kitābah) with his master stipulating payment of a fixed sum in exchange for freedom, a slave (he is called mukātab) regains some of his personal rights. In place of a kitābah a legal formula will suffice. Another category of slave is the mudabbar: his master has promised that after his death the slave can regain his freedom. This is qualified by the fact that if the slave is owned by more than one person (such a slave is termed musbiyarah), then compensation is to be paid to the co-owner. There is a difference between the two types of slaves: a mukātab slave, but not a mudabbar, is recommended to attend Friday Congregation Prayer. Also a mukātab, unlike a mudabbar, can make a vow and keep it provided it does not interfere with the payment for his freedom. The evidence of a slave is not admissible in court, but his confession, in certain matters, may be.

Among the Jakhanke similar restrictions traditionally apply. ‘Iddah, the required waiting period before a divorce nisi becomes absolute, is two months for slaves while for others it is three months. While the zākāt, the obligatory alms, is mandatory on all free-born Muslims it is not required of the slave in the same way. A slave’s property or the zākāt due on it is made over to his master. A slave master makes alms for his slave at the annual zākāt al-fitr. In Shafi’ite Law also the zākāt is not required of a slave.
At the Bayram Festival, commonly called "id al-aqda or "id al-kabir, the slave is disqualified from making the customary animal sacrifice. A slave is also barred from accomplishing the pilgrimage, although in strict Islamic law slaves can attend the pilgrimage in the company of their masters and be adorned with the pilgrimage vestments (al-ihram). Having accomplished the hajj they qualify automatically for enfranchisement. A slave cannot assume the office of imam, and this is a general rule in Islamic Law and practice, although some madhab, i.e., schools of thought, have different rulings on this, some allowing a slave to lead public prayers provided this function carries no juridical or similar responsibilities. Among the Jakhanke even the descendants of a slave emancipated before his death cannot fill any important religious office. Slaves are also excluded from leadership of a majlis, i.e., a clerical parish. The matter of the legal status of the oaths of slaves is inconsequential since among the Jakhanke there is a venerable tradition of refusal of oaths. But a slave cannot qualify as a competent witness before a consistorial assembly. He cannot substitute or deputise for a free-man. His word against that of a free-born is null and void. The tradition which makes the Friday Congregation Prayer compulsory for all Muslims except slaves is observed, and since the class of mukatab slaves exists only as a legal fiction, this ruling affects all slaves.

We have heretofore considered only two aspects of the matter: the position of the Law regarding slaves and Jakhanke knowledge and application of it in their clerical practice. A third aspect now is to consider how the structure of such disabilities is further reinforced by local custom and practice. In one Jakhanke clerical centre, where slaves have for more than three generations enjoyed a statutory emancipation, the appearance of a subservient slave ethos and heritage is carefully maintained. In this setting slaves provide labour on the farms of their masters. They pound the couss and thresh the rice of their masters. They undertake the building or repair of their masters' houses. They go on errands for their masters. The children of these slave-families go to study under their parents' (and now their own) masters. At the circumcision ceremony circumcised slaves look after the children of their master, constantly attending to their needs: bringing them food, presents and providing all the necessary equipment for the passing out ceremony. The ceremonial robes with which circumcised boys are adorned at the end of the circumcision confinement, are provided by slaves. These robes are modelled on the pattern of a hunter's distinguished ceremonial robe. The duration of the circumcision confinement varies, but the usual length is about two months. At weddings slaves head-carry the bridal trousseau. For this they may receive gifts. Slaves may also accompany their masters on long journeys and carry the luggage required for the trip. Slaves may not eat from the same dish as their masters, and sometimes this rule applies to free-born as well. After the slaughter of an animal in the community slaves and leather workers (Manding: garanke) do the flaying. The head of the animal and the skin are taken by them.

From a slightly different tradition, an equivalent set of conventions is observed towards slaves. After his master has been away on a journey, a slave goes out to meet him and, in the case of able-bodied slaves, he bears his master on his back and brings him home. If a slave is unable to do this he must nevertheless make a token offer and then carry his master's baggage. Upon reaching home the slave washes the feet of his master as a symbol of his subservience and brings him a calabash of fresh milk to
drink. Slaves cannot marry without first obtaining the authorisation of their masters. They own their own compounds and are Muslims.103

In discussions elsewhere with Jakhanke clerics some of these points were repeated. A marriage contract cannot be undertaken without prior authorisation from the master.104 A slave can apply for a special dispensation from his master which would alter his status. He can have an authorisation granting him special rights to conduct trade for his master. The permission is called idhn, and such a slave is called ma’dhin.105 A slave can also apply for the mukātab status, but here also is at the complete mercy of his master who determines the amount to be paid and the method of payment plus any conditions which may be attached. It can be a prohibitive price that he is asked to pay, which completely negates any advantages that the right was supposed to have given him.106

Marriage rules are different for slaves. The children of slave-parents inherit the slave status of their parents. If a slave man marries a free-born girl, the children of such a mixed marriage take on the patrimony of their father. If a slave woman marries a free man, their children are free.107 Jakhanke clerics have been known to emancipate their female slaves and marry them subsequently, a practice for which support is found in the Qur'ān.108 However, according to strict Islamic Law slave-wives must be someone else’s slaves, and one’s own slaves can be taken only as concubines.109 Although technically a slave-woman taken as wife stands on an equal footing with free co-wives, she occupies an inferior status in Muslim society. In theory she is separated from other wives by being made liable to only half the punishment of a free woman when she infringes the marriage law.110 In practice her position is similarly undermined, although it is fair to add that it is not unknown for slave-women to enjoy a position of power and influence in households.111 Normally slave-women are given menial duties in the home and they are supervised by the free women.112

Historical evidence on the religious basis of slavery, like the legal and social evidence, is equally strong and convincing, although only the most cursory attempt at presenting that evidence can be attempted here. Attention has already been drawn to the account of Richard Jobson. He observes that in one place a slave was used by his clerical proprietor to fetch water from a nearby river, and the cleric used the water to perform his ablution (wudu) before the salāt.113 Park gives a detailed description of the way slaves were magnificently attired and provided with lavish meals on the occasion of the ‘īd al-ṣaḥāḥa, called locally in Manding banna salee.114 It is not clear in this account whether slaves actually performed the salāt in connection with this festival, but it would be reasonable to suppose not. René Caillié, who also describes the ‘īd al-ṣaḥāḥa prayer celebrations, says that the chief attended with an escort of up to 300, but does not say explicitly that slaves formed part of the retinue or that they performed the prayer themselves.115

West African clerical leaders have also taken a prominent part in the institution of slavery. A few examples may suffice. Reference has been made to Jakhanke contacts with Samori on the basis of slavery. A similar basis characterised their relations with Fode Kabba who operated extensively against the Diola population of Casamance. A buoyant traffic in slaves flowed from Fode Kabba’s jihad,116 and although Jakhanke sources are shy of admitting this it is conceivable that they profited from Fode Kabba’s captive-taking.117 Momodou-Lamin was accompanied home from the ḥāj by 10
slaves who helped to carry the 300 copies of the ‘Qur’an’ he was given as gifts. Slave-women featured prominently in Momodou-Lamin’s relations with Ahmadou Sheikhu, sultān of Segu. One account says that Ahmadou, distrustful of Momodou-Lamin, tried to seize the slave-girl whom his rival at Hamdallahī, al-Tijānī, had given to Momodou-Lamin. Another account says that after Ahmadou gave Momodou-Lamin a rough reception in which he rebuked him for his Serakhulle connections, Ahmadou gave him a compound with six women-slaves, presumably as concubines.

‘Uthmān dan Fodio, the 19th century Sokoto theocrat, was similarly involved in the institution of slavery. His first wife, Adama Aisse, according to one source, gave her own slavewoman to ‘Uthmān in marriage because although ‘Uthmān desired a second wife he could not afford the brideprice of a free woman. In the same tradition, al-Ḥājj ʿUmar al-Futī (d. 1864), the mujāhīd from Dingiray, received the daughter of Muhammad Bello, the son of ʿUthmān dan Fodio, in marriage, and Bello also gave him a slavegirl, ʿAisha, in addition. Still on the subject of al-Ḥājj ʿUmar, in the large entourage which accompanied him on his ḥajj were 50 slaves. To return to ‘Uthmān dan Fodio, he was known to own numerous slaves, some of them women. One of his concubines, Mariyāḥ, was the mother of ʿUthmān’s posthumous son, Isa, one of his biographers. But ʿUthmān’s biographers are reticent about his relationships with his wives and concubines.

Jakhanke clerical involvement in slavery has been extensive and in some places profound. Touba-Binani, the pre-eminent Jakhanke clerical centre in the Western Sudan, was effectively dislocated as a teaching and educational centre after the French forced the clerics to release their slaves. Some accounts say in one day anything from 4,800 to 8,000 slaves were freed. Touba declined and lost its importance as a clerical establishment, although it may be observed here that the decline of Touba in fact led to the extension and consolidation of Jakhanke clerical practice in other parts of the Western Sudan. As they are people of the dispersion trail, contraction of clerical effort at one point can normally be compensated for by expansion at a different point. But the matter of slavery touches them at a fundamental level and follows them wherever they may be. Some centres continued to prosper not necessarily through slave-running but through the legitimate practice of using scholastic labour and exploiting notions of client status (mawlā) and patronage (riʿāyah) among ex-slaves and their descendants. Not only were the Jakhanke clerics justified in acquiring and utilising slaves within the broad tradition of Islamic Law, but they were also firmly secure within the much narrower focus of West African Islam. As to the meaning and significance of such slaving activity for their tradition of political neutralism and military pacifism, the Jakhanke defend themselves in words which provide a clue to the secret of their success with the champions of religious and secular militancy.

‘The king has asked us and given us a choice about taking up arms and joining battle, and, on the other hand, about building a fortress. We have said, if we are asked to build a fortress we shall build it, and if we are asked to take up arms and join battle, we shall build a fortress. We are entirely at his beck and call.”
NOTES

1 Baillie (1957: 363).
2 Tritton (1928).
3 Qur’an xlvi: 4–5.
4 iv: 60; ii: 172.
5 This is based on an explicit ruling in Qur’an iv: 30.
6 Qur’an iv: 29, xxxiii: 50, etc., also Baillie (op. cit.: 31).
8 Hasan, Yusûf Fadl (1967: 43, 45).
10 Park (1969: 222); Moore (1738: 29) for examples in Black Africa. Theft and insolvency as sources of slaves are themselves of great antiquity, for they were known and practised among the ancient Hebrews, Leviticus xxv: 39, Deut. xv: 12, where for insolvency a man may be kept in servitude for a week. Exodus xxii: 2–4 gives an example of slavery for theft.
11 ‘Slaves by peaceful means tended, from an early date, to compete with the forcible method.’ Brunschvig (32).
12 Qur’an ii: 172.
13 iv: 94.
14 v: 91.
15 Kindness to slaves (ihsâsan mâ malakat aymânânkum) is urged in the Qur’an iv: 40. Ibn Abî Zayd al-Qayrawâni (op. cit.: 323).
16 A modern Muslim commentator argues that the tenor of the Qur’anic verse viii: 68 amounts to a prohibition of slavery as a social institution. The verse speaks of the requirement of a Prophet to make wide slaughter in the land before taking prisoners. The commentary is given in Fisher and Fisher (1972: 23n). A less extreme but equally apologetic position is taken by Russell and Suhrwardi (1906: xiv).
18 Ibid.: 186.
20 Park (1969: 21, 301); Quinn (1972: passim). The name Sârakhîlû appears at an early time. Lange and Berthoud (1912). Muhammad Bello in his Infâq al-Mayyûr, refers to the same people as ‘Sârakhîlû’, Arabic text (Whitting) 208–9, English tr. Arnett (1922: 137–8).
22 See for example Quinn (op. cit.: 172).
23 This material is based on the thesis of the present writer: The History of the Jakhanke People of Senegambia: a study of a clerical tradition in West African Islam, Ph.D., University of London, 1974. A revised draft is being prepared for publication, of which Chapter One, ‘The Birth of the Jakhanke Islamic Clerical Tradition’ is relevant. The present article is based on Chapter Eight of the thesis where more details are given.
24 This problem is dealt with very briefly at the end of the article. For a detailed consideration see thesis, Chapter Seven, section on al-istikhdrah and the Senegambian jihâds, and also Chapter Nine.
26 Interview, al-Hâjj Shaykh Sidiya Jabi, a Jakhanke cleric of Senegambia, Brikama, October, 1972.
28 Interview, al-Hâjj Fode Jabi, Sandu-Jakhaba. Fodé Jabi is a grandson of Bakari Jabi. See also Thesis: 332.
30 For the career of Musa Molo see Quinn (1971: 427–40). Musa Molo’s father, Alfa Molo (d. 1881), was also a Fula warrior. See Marty (1915–16: 448–52).
31 Quinn (1971: loc. cit.).
33 loc. cit.
35 Interview, al-Hâjj Shaykh Sidiya Jabi, loc. cit.
36 Interview, al-Hâjj Soriba, Makka-Koliban-tang, Senegal, 9/12/72. Al-Hâjj Soriba is the second eldest son of Karamokho Sankoung, and is today the leading Jakhanke intellectual in West Africa. His elder brother, al-Hâjj Banfa Jabi, died in 1975, at Makka. Both of them emigrated from Touba following troubles with the French described below.
37 Interview, Ba Fode Jakhbi, ex-student at Touba, Georgetown, 2/12/72.
38 Thesis, Chapter Four. Other less critical versions occur in Marty (1921), and suret-Canale (1970: 53ff).
39 For the history of the Soriya and Alfaya factions in Futa Jallon Islam see Rodney (1968). Also Tauxier (1937), and Arcin (1911), and Trimingham and Fyfe (1960; passim.).
40 Interview, Shaykh al-Hâjj Shaykh Sidiya Jabi, loc. cit.
42 Interview, Shaykh al-Hâjj Sidiya Jabi, Brikôma, loc. cit. Al-Hâjj Shaykh Sidiya is a descendant of Muhammad Khayra, being the great grandson twice removed.
43 It is said that Karamokho Ba exclaimed: ‘nying mu khayraba ti’ (Manding: ‘this is a great blessing’), whence the nasab of Muhammad Khayra. Interview, al-Hâjj Shaykh Sidiya, loc. cit.
44 Interview, al-Hâjj M’balu Fode Jabi, the Maliki Mufti of Senegal. He is a Jakhanke cleric and a grandson of Karamokho Qutubo. Oral interviews at his home, Marssassoum in Casamance, southern Senegal, 18/1/73.
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46 Loc. cit.
47 Loc. cit. Also Thesis: 374-75.
48 Loc. cit.
49 Jobson (1623: 101).
50 Ibid.: 78-79.
52 On al-Hajj Salim Suware and Mama Sambou Gassama see revised MS. of Thesis, Chapters One and Two.
53 Thesis: 142, and revised MS. Chapter Three.
55 For the story of Ba Gassama see Thesis: 217ff.
56 In interviews with al-Hajj Soriba it was said that in one of Ba Gassama's confrontations with Touba he was escorted by 300 slaves. Thesis, p. 224. Ba Gassama, Sankoung and the other clerical leaders of Touba were eventually arrested by the French and exiled under imprisonment to Port Etienne, Mauritania, in March 1911. More details below.
57 Thesis: 376.
58 Interviews in Jimara-Bakadaji with alkali and others.
61 This point was explicitly made by a Jakhane cleric of Sutukung, Shaykh Faruqi Jakhabi, in a public interview, 16/11/72. He said also that the Jakhane used Kàkandi town as a base for receiving slaves from Samori, which slaves they employed in farm labour. On the general matter of using slaves in field labour see Chapter Eight of Thesis.
62 T/Fattash, I79. The name Abadan, Arabic for 'never ending', probably refers to the large size of the plantation.
63 T/Fattash, trans. pp. 314f.
64 Park (1969: 16).
65 Durand (1802: 44).
66 Reade (1864: 582).
67 Caillie (op. cit.: 312).
68 Clapperton (1829: 213-4).
69 The book gives the time as 2:30 p.m., but if the prayer it lists as 'Azahar' is 'asr, as we are assuming, then 2:30 is much too early for that, and for the prayer just before, salât al-zuhur, it is too late.
70 Smith, M. (1914: 41).
72 Thesis: 258-61.
73 Ibid.: 259.
74 Loc. cit.
75 Loc. cit.
76 Loc. cit.
77 This practice varies greatly from place to place. At Jimara-Bakadaji, for example, students spend Fridays on their own farms but in addition to that they may work on their farms in the afternoons of other week days. Interview, Kalamullah Sisé, Jimara-Bakadaji. Perhaps the result of a long period of conditioning, the slave-families of Bakadaji are claimed to be the most ardent defenders of their own low caste status. It was
78 Loc. cit.
79 Loc. cit.
80 The allegation is contained in a confidential report drawn up by Camille Guy, Governor of Colonies and Lt-Gov. of Guinea, Archives Fédérales de Dakar, 84, Session de 1911: 'Proposition d'Internement d'indigènes de la Guinée pour faits d'insurrection contre l'autorité de la France'.
81 Marty (1921: 135).
82 Interview, al-Hajj Shaykh Sidiya Jabi, his eldest son, loc. cit.
83 The crucial distinction of course is that a slave is the exclusive property of his master and is recognised in Islamic Law as such.
84 Ibn Abi Zayd (op. cit.: 280); Baillie (op. cit.: 707).
85 Ibn Abi Zayd (op. cit.: 222-24); Baillie (op. cit.: 371-76).
86 Ibn Abi Zayd (op. cit.: 226); Baillie (op. cit.: 387).
87 Khalil ibn Ishâq (1916: 87, 139); Fisher & Fisher (op. cit.: 47-8, 55-56).
88 Ibn Abi Zayd (op. cit.: 258, 262); Fisher & Fisher (op. cit.: 7).
89 Kalamullah Sisé, interview, loc. cit. Cf. R. Brunschvig, loc. cit. 28. Similarly the full number of repudiations for a slave is two, whether or not the other partner is free, and for a free person it is three. Baillie (op. cit.: 210-11).
90 Kalamullah Sisé, loc. cit.; Khalil ibn Ishâq (op. cit.: 114, 120). In Shâ'ite Law the zakat is similarly not required of a slave. Chodja', Abu (1935: 17).
91 R. Brunschvig, loc. cit.
92 Khalil ibn Ishâq, loc. cit.
93 Interview, Kalamullah Sisé, loc. cit.
94 Khalil ibn Ishâq (op. cit.: 142).
95 R. Brunschvig, loc. cit. 27.
96 Thesis: 386.
97 Monteil (1964: 110).
98 This is at Jimara-Bakadaji where, in interviews with the leading citizens, including some ex-slaves, this point was stressed by all.
99 The Jakhane have virtually succeeded in islamising the circumcision ceremony, but its pre-Islamic basis survives in matters like the ceremonial costumes worn by the initiates. Cf. Smith, P. (1961: 278).
100 Park says that at the ceremonies he had seen it took two months and more for full recuperation (Park 1969: 203-4). In a recent field-trip this writer has been able to collect some material on the circumcision ceremony from a past initiate.
102 This material comes from a public interview in which the subject of the interview was Kalamullah Sisé, Jimara-Bakadaji. Perhaps the result of a long period of conditioning, the slave-families of Bakadaji are claimed to be the most ardent defenders of their own low caste status. It was
clear that statutory emancipation had had little effect on slavery as a social institution in places like Bakadaji.

103 Notes taken from a conversation with Mrs Fatumata Sisé, Serrakunda, Feb. 1973. The example here refers to Bani-Kantora. Mrs Sisé is a family planning officer in the Gambia.

104 Interview, al-Hājj Soriba, loc. cit.; also Ibn Abī Zayd (op. cit.: 186). In Law a master may compel his slave to marry without the latter's consent, but if he is a qualified slave, i.e., mukātab, mudābar or umm al-walād, the master has no such power over him. A female slave may be contracted in marriage by her master's father or grandfather when he is a minor and other specified persons. Umm al-walād is the term used of a slave-woman who has a child by her master, acknowledged by him, and who is entitled to her freedom after his death and may not be sold or otherwise disposed of. Baillie (op. cit.: 159-168).

105 A slave is ma'dhun when he is 'licensed' by his master to undertake trade. The licence or authorisation is called idhn, and in Law involves a remission or abatement of right, without limitation in respect of time, place or kind of business. Baillie (op. cit.: 367-68), Brunschvig, loc. cit. The licence can be conferred by express words or it can be inferred from the master's conduct, as when he is silent over his slave doing business.

106 Loc. cit. (Al-Hājj Soriba, interview.) According to this source a slave master can compute on a daily basis and estimate the number of years a slave is likely to be in active service, and the sum arrived at that way is put to the charge of the slave. The manner of emancipation in Law is of two kinds, partial and for property. A slave is partially emancipated when his master emancipates a half, third or any other undivided share in him. The slave has to work out the remainder of his freedom by emancipatory labour. A slave is freed for property when his master says something like, 'You are free for 1,000 Dollars.' The slave is emancipated on the instant and the sum stipulated for becomes a debt against him, provided acceptance is made at the same meeting. Emancipation can be made conditional upon the payment and takes effect when the payment has been made, and there is no need for acceptance. Such a slave is only a ma’dhūn, i.e., authorised, not a mukātab. Baillie (op. cit.: 386-7).

107 Interview, al-Hājj Soriba, loc. cit. Al-Hājj M’balu Fode, loc. cit., gives the same figure, i.e. 4,800 slaves. Other people say it was 8,000: for example, Ba Fode Jakhabi, Georgetown.

108 Qur’an iv, passim.

109 Ibn Abī Zayd (op. cit.: 178). The position of the Law is that mere right of property is sufficient to prevent inception of marriage. Baillie (op. cit.: 164).

110 See note 5 above. A slave cannot marry more than two. Baillie (op. cit.: 30).


115 Caillière (op. cit.: 266–68).

116 Sitwell (1893).


118 Marty (1915–16: 280).


122 Ibid., 50. Loc. cit.

123 Hiskett (1973: 31–32, 77ff, etc.).


126 Interview, al-Hājj Soriba, loc. cit. Al-Hājj M’balu Fode, loc. cit., gives the same figure, i.e. 4,800 slaves. Other people say it was 8,000: for example, Ba Fode Jakhabi, Georgetown.


128 Interview, al-Hājj Soriba, loc. cit. Al-Hājj M’balu Fode, loc. cit., gives the same figure, i.e. 4,800 slaves. Other people say it was 8,000: for example, Ba Fode Jakhabi, Georgetown.

129 Sankoung’s two eldest sons emigrated to Senegal, his nephew, M’balu Fode went to Casamance, and many other clerical families settled in Sierra Leone at places like Kambia District, Kabala and Bo. Some went to Liberia.

130 This is a traditional Jakhanke saying and is current among them even today.

REFERENCES


développant la vocation religieuse en divers endroits. L’esclavage, pratique admise et reconnue par la loi islamique, devint un facteur important dans ce processus de dispersion: il permettait aux enclaves naissantes de former des centres d’éducation et de missionnaires et de maintenir une continuité dans les lignages éclésiastiques. Les Jakhankés préservèrent scrupuleusement leur réputation de neutralité politique et de pacifisme en matière militaire, mais ils continuèrent de recevoir des esclaves que leur envoyaient des chefs de guerre dont certains n’étaient même pas musulmans; ces esclaves représentaient des dons de nature religieuse, ils récompensaient les Jakhankés de leurs activités éclésiastiques; ils étaient aussi acquis par héritage ou tout simplement achetés. Les Jakhankés n’étaient pas eux-mêmes marchands d’esclaves ou racoleurs d’esclaves.

Les centres éclésiastiques des Jakhankés furent durement touchés par l’émancipation imposée par la loi. En effet, en raison de l’échelle à laquelle était pratiqué le sacerdoce, on en était venu à considérer les esclaves comme indispensables. De nombreux centres (comme Touba en Guinée) se mirent à décroître rapidement et le travail de formation déclina. Sans hésiter, les Jakhankés se soumirent à la loi qui interdisait l’esclavage, mais en même temps ils tirèrent parti de certains concepts de servitude que des siècles d’esclavage avaient introduits d’une manière permanente dans de nombreuses communautés. L’esclavage est pratiqué et reconnu universellement par la loi musulmane; ceci, faisant entrer en ligne de compte d’autres Musulmans non pacifiques d’Afrique Occidentale a pour résultat que les Jakhankés sont un cas spécial mais nullement unique.