

## Text 12: Hammadi Saayaande Njaay, THE TRIAL OF CEERNO FAALIL

Hammadi Saayaande gave this interview in Kanel on 25 April 1968. He comes from a lineage of maabo griots attached to certain toorobbe lineages of eastern Fuuta and to the small group of jaawambe who served as counselors to toorobbe chiefs. He has a vast repertory. He here provides a dramatic account of the way in which Shaykh Umar made his case for participation in the jihaad. He also provides, at the very end, the view of eastern Fuuta in relation to the coercive recruitment of 1858-9.

The second and massive recruitment mission then forms the background for this account. Umar was desparate for new recruits on a massive scale to save the holy war after his defeat at the hands of Faidherbe and the French at Medine in 1857. He marched boldly into Fuuta in 1858, sharply criticized the local establishment and its practice of Islam, and perused and coerced tens of thousands of Fuutaṅkoobe to leave with him for the east. This text provides Umar's detailed criticism in the form of a trial; it is interesting here as a commentary on the evolution of Islamic life in the middle valley since the days of the early toorobbe.

Archival references suggest that the encounter described below actually did occur in September 1858, and that the loser, Ceerno Faalil, was punished by beating and died of his wounds (Robinson, The Holy War, chapter 6). Faalil was a member of the Talla lineage of Siñcu Bammambe, a lineage which has often served as the patron of the Njaay family. The setting is appropriately Hoore Foonde, the ceremonial capital and important town of central Fuuta, where the hostility to Umar and his mission was greatest. The confrontation begins as a trial between the critic Umar and the defender of the status quo, Faalil. It quickly becomes Umar's sermon punctuated by audience affirmation that his accusations are just. The assembly at this point replaces the judge as arbiter of the conflict. At the end the encounter shifts again to a contest of spiritual power. In each case Umar is the victor. He uses the heritage of Fuuta to persuade many of its citizens to join him as the true successor to the vision of the early toorobbe.

## 12. Hammadi Saayaande Njaay, NAAWOORE CEERNO FAALIL

1. O ruttanii ga Fuuta gaa.  
Ndeen woni nde o ari, o wi'i yoo Fuuta koo e per.
2. O ruumdi e mum'en Hoore Foonde,  
o ruumi doon haa kawle naati.  
Tawi ebe puunta mo,  
be mbelaama jamfaade mo.
3. Kanke ne, omo joodii, omo naagoo Alla e mabbe,  
haa do o naawdi e Ceerno Faalil doo.  
Ndeen woni nde o naawdi e Ceerno Faalil, o libi dum.
4. Tawo o wi'i o tawii e leydi hee Fuutaŋkoobe,  
seerembe e humambinneebe fof, na ngoofa Alla laabi sappo.  
Gede sappo na ngoopda dum Alla.
5. Be noddii mo e sarya.  
Be mbi'i mo jooni maa o haala gede sappo de o wi'i de.  
Soo libii be, be nehee;  
so be libii mo, o nehee.  
O wi'i: "Hattee!"  
O wi'i yo be cubi naawoowo. Be cubi naawoowo.  
O wi'i yo be cubi naawdeteebe. Be cubi naawdeteebe.  
Ceerno Faalil wi'i kaŋum naawdetee.  
Be cubi Ceerno Aaŋam Siwolnaajo oo, kaŋum woni naawoowo.  
Be mbi'i jooni yoo haal.  
Be tellii, be kofii.
6. O wi'i o tawii e leydi hee  
ebe ngacca neddo gorko haa daŋa duubi noogaas,  
wiyee yoo bam tuuba.  
Tawi haŋkadi so gorko daŋii duubi noogaas, bamnude dum tuuba,  
gorko goddo yellitaade e mum.
7. O wi'i so ebe mbaɗa dum. Be mbi'i ebe mbaɗa.  
O wi'i: "Ena harmi?" Be mbi'i: "Ena harmi."
8. O wi'i o tawii e leydi hee

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1. per, > ferde, "to go out." Fergo Sayku Umar has become synonymous with the emigration from Fuuta to participate in the Umarian jihaad.
  2. kawle is the hot humid season after the rains, about October.
  2. mbelaama, literally "were pleased."
  3. libi, > libde, "to throw down, pin." The image comes from wrestling.
  4. humambinneebe, literally "those who are attached, unlettered, untrained." See alternate spelling in Texts 1.16 and 7.10.
  4. ngoofa, ngoopda, > woofde, "to miss the target."
  5. sarya, > Arabic sharii'a, "divinely revealed law," here "justice."
  5. nehee, > nehde, "to educate, punish by being firm."
  6. bam tuuba, literally "take the pants," synonymous with becoming a male adult.
  7. harmi, > Arabic haram, "forbidden."

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1. He (Umar) headed back to Fuuta.  
This was when he came and told Fuuta to emigrate.
2. He spent the rainy season among them in Hoore Foonde,  
he stayed there until the hot humid season started.  
It happened that they were trying to deceive him,  
they had resolved to betray him.
3. He however stayed, he was praying to God for them  
until the arbitration between him and Ceerno Faalil.  
That was when he sued Ceerno Faalil and won his case.
4. He said he had found in the country that the Fuutankooɓe,  
learned and followers alike, failed God in ten ways.  
In ten things they were disobeying God.
5. They called him to justice.  
They said that now he must tell them the ten things he spoke of.  
If he won the case against them, they would be punished.  
If they won the case against him, he would be punished.  
He said: "All right!"  
He said they should choose a judge. They chose a judge.  
He said they should choose defendants. They chose defendants.  
Ceerno Faalil then said he would be the defendant.  
They chose the cleric of Aaŋam Siwol, he was the judge.  
They said now he should speak.  
They (Umar and Ceerno Faalil) got down and knelt (before the judge).
6. He said that he had found in the country  
that they would allow a male (to wait) until the age of twenty  
to be told he should be circumcised.  
In fact, once a man is twenty, (he should no longer) be circumcised  
or be stripped before another man.
7. He asked whether they did it that way, they said they did.  
He said: "Is it forbidden?" They replied: "It is forbidden."
8. He said that he had found in the country

2. betray. According to some traditions, the Fuutankooɓe at Hoore Foonde tried to undermine Umar's recruitment. See Text 13.9.
4. ten ways. The informant in fact only gives six accusations.
5. Ceerno Faalil. Faalil was a Talla from Siŋcu Bammambe in the highlands of eastern Fuuta.
5. cleric of Aaŋam Siwol. The Kan of this Booseya village, ancestors of the informant Maajakite Siisee of Texts 7 and 15, often supplied judges to the Islamic regime.
7. "Is it forbidden?" This line acts as a refrain throughout the text; the audience in effect becomes judge and jury.

- neddo na daccee suka debbo, haa daña duubi sappo e joyi,  
ummo doo, yaha haa doo e Seeno Paalel.  
Yimbe cura dum, nawa dum galle heeño,  
njippina dum toon, ene mbara toon ndammiri,  
haa kaljita mbaddina dum puccu, nawta galle mum'en.
9. Yimbe wuro ngoo mettintaa, ceerno wuro ngoo mettintaa,  
baaba mum ne mettintaa, wiya yoo kosam adde,  
tufam wadee joomum yara.
10. O wi'i: "Dum na harmi walla na dagii?" Be mbi'i na harmi.  
O wi'i: "Odon mbada walla on mbadataa?" Be mbi'i ebe mbada.
11. O wi'i o tawii e leydi hee  
neddo laarta biye, ndokkaa dum e sunna annabiijo.  
Mbadon dewgal ngal, humee, dewgal ngal dagoo,  
seedeeji mbadee heen, gorko oo rokkee debbo mum.  
So fayi e yaade, yaada e giyum'en bee.  
So fayii e yettaade debbo oo, tawa giyum'en bee na tawaa.
12. "Ne harmi, walla na dagii?" Be mbi'i ene harmi.  
O wi'i: "Odon mbada?" Be mbi'i ebe mbada.
13. O wi'i o tawii e leydi hee  
so neddo jinii e leydi, bamii reedu haram,  
fotnoo ko wareede walla fiyeede.  
So tawii ko mboomri, fiyee; so tawii ko canjiido, waree.  
Kono be ngara, be njiyra galle oo,  
be nawa kaake dee, tawa jinnoodo oo alaa ko wiyaa.  
Be nawa jawdi ndagiindi ngonnoo ndi e galle hee ndii, be pecca.
14. O wi'i: "Odon mbada dum?" Be mbi'i ebe mbada.  
O wi'i: "Ne dagii, walla ne harmi?" Be mbi'i ene harmi.
15. O wi'i o tawii e leydi hee  
Alla limtiino asakal, haali joomum'en,  
wi'i ko bee doo njeyi asakal.  
Kala limtinanoodo, wiyaa ko ceerno  
yo jogo dum doo renndina.  
Nde maayi ndee, biyum wiya yonii,  
be Alla wi'inoo be ittii dum heen, kañum bamata hanjadi.
16. O wi'i: "Odon mbada dum?" Be mbi'i ebe mbada.  
O wi'i: "Ena dagii walla ene harmi?" Be mbi'i ene harmi.
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11. sunna annabiijo, > Arabic sunna al-naa'ib, "the way of the Prophet,  
the orthodox way."  
11. seedeeji, > Arabic shahada, "to witness."  
13. bamii reedu haram, literally "take belly unlawfully."  
15. limtiino, literally "count out entirely."  
15. asakal, > Arabic zakaat, "alms."  
15. ko bee doo njeyi asakal, literally "it is these persons here who are  
the owners of alms."

- that a person would allow a young woman, even at the age of 15, to leave her place and go (as far away as) Seeno Paalel. The men would urge her to stay, take her to the home of a casted person, and have her stay there while they slaughtered a sheep. Only when it was finished did they let her mount her horse and go home.
9. The men of the village do not get angry, the cleric does not get angry, (even) her father does not get angry but asks that milk be brought, that tufam be prepared for the person to drink.
10. He asked: "Is that forbidden or permitted?" They said it was forbidden. He asked: "Do you do this or do you not?" They said that they did.
11. He said that he had found in the country that someone asks for your daughter, you give her according to the law. You celebrate the marriage, it is sealed, the marriage is lawful, the witnesses chosen, the man is given his wife. When it comes to go, he goes with his age mates. When it comes to approaching the woman, his age mates are there watching.
12. (He asked): "Is it forbidden or permitted?" They said it was forbidden. He asked: "Do you do this?" They said that they did.
13. He said that he had found in the country that if someone committed adultery, and got pregnant out of wedlock, she should normally be killed or beaten. If she were a virgin, beaten; if she were married, killed. But (instead) they come, survey the house, take the goods away, while nothing is said to the adulteress. They take away the lawful property of the house and divide it up.
14. He asked: "Do you do this?" They said that they did. He asked: "Is it allowed or forbidden?" They said it was forbidden.
15. He said that he had found in the country (in which) God had given instructions about alms, designating the recipients, saying that these people deserve alms. (But here), for any one named as an inheritor, it is said that the cleric should possess it and do the collection. If he should die, his son says that it is enough, those God designated he had eliminated, he would consume it from now on.
16. (He asked): "Do you do this?" They said that they did. He asked: "Is it allowed or forbidden?" They said it was forbidden.

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8. casted. The implication is that the aristocracy could do whatever they wished at the home of a person of caste.
9. tufam, a drink made of sour milk, fresh water and sugar and used to welcome strangers to the house.

17. O wi'i Alla wi'ino:  
 "Misiddaaji dii ko miin jeyi.  
 Galleeji mon bamee. Gese mon bamee. Jawdi mon bamee.  
 Galle foo noon mo mbadan-don mi, ko miin jeyi.  
 Kala biido na rennda e am galle oo, soo maayii,  
 mi naatna dum jeyngol.  
 Kala biyaado yoo juulnu, soo juulnii, haljitii,  
 soo jibinii biido, biido juulnaani, jaŋgaani,  
 wiya: 'Miin, jamaa kaa ko jamaa baabam,  
 maa ko jamaa taanam.'"   
 Alla noon wi'ino hay gooto woto wi' noon.
18. "Odon mbada dum?" Be mbi'i ebe mbada.  
 O wi'i: "Ene harmi walla ene dagii?" Be mbi'i ene harmi.
19. O wi'i: "Duum noon, wonaa e laawol ngon-don."
20. Ceerno liḅaa.  
 O wi'i yoo hippo, fiyee.  
 O hippii, noddii ngaari jinne hippii e dow mum.  
 Be pi'i dum heen boggi didi.  
 Tatabol ngol o wi'i: "Addu gaa boggol ngol!"  
 O tottaa. O wi'i ngaari jinne oo: "Ummo doon!"  
 Ngaari jinne ndii ummii.  
 O fi'i oon boggi didi. Haaci.
21. O wi'i: "Joom'am, ko aan o yeddi. Hollu mo jahannama!"  
 Leydi ndii seekii, o yi'i jahannama, o luuki.  
 Be mbi'i mo: "Ko dum woni?"  
 O wi'i: "Mi yi'ii jahannama. Alla holli kam jahannama."
22. O wi'i: "Ummo, hooyno!"  
 O hooyinii, o yi'i illiyiina aljanna.
23. O wi'i: "Mbiid-ḁaa mi dadaani ma?"  
 O wi'i: "Aan dadi mi Taal!"
24. O haftii, o bayii, o rokki mo juŋngo.  
 Capande njeetato e yimbe tato mbaayii doon.  
 Moni fof, doon galle mum tawi dum.
25. Duum woni fuddoore fergo ngoo.  
 Feri yimbe bee na ngara haa o ari e Nabbaaji.  
 Caggal Nabbaaji hankadi ko waawnere.

17. biido, literally "one who says, claims."

20. ngaari jinne, literally "a bull jinn, big jinn."

21. jahannama, > Arabic jahannam, "hell." Cf. Gehenna.

22. illiyiina aljanna, probably > Arabic alyinaa' al-jann, "the softness of heaven." Cf Elysian fields.

24. bayii, > Arabic baya'a, "to swear allegiance."

25. waawnere, literally "the ability to cause to act."

17. He said that God had declared:  
 "The mosques belong to me.  
 Your homes, keep them. Your fields, keep them. Your wealth, keep it.  
 But every house that you build for me belongs to me (forever).  
 Anyone who would pretend to share that house with me, when he dies,  
 I will make him enter the eternal fire.  
 Anyone called to lead prayer, when he has served as imaam and finished,  
 and if he has fathered a son who has not led prayer nor studied,  
 (this son) will claim: 'This mosque is the mosque of my father,  
 or it is the mosque of my grandfather.'  
 But God has said that no one should claim that.
18. (He said): "Do you do this?" They said that they did.  
 He asked: "Is it allowed or forbidden?" They said it was forbidden.
19. He said: "Therefore it is not the (right) path that you are on."
20. The cleric had lost.  
 He (Umar) told him to lie down and be beaten.  
 He (Faalil) lay down, but called in a great spirit who lay on his back.  
 They whipped him twice with cords.  
 The third time, he (Umar) said: "Bring me the cord!"  
 It was given to him. He told the great spirit: "Get out of there!"  
 The great spirit left.  
 He whipped the man twice. He (Faalil) screamed.
21. He (Umar) asked: "My Lord, it is you that he denied, show him Hell!"  
 The ground split, he (Faalil) saw Hell and cried out.  
 They asked him: "What is it?"  
 He replied: "I have just seen Hell. God just showed me Hell."
22. He (Umar) said: "Stand up and look at the sky."  
 He looked at the sky, he saw the reflection of heaven.
23. He continued: "Do you still say that I do not surpass you?"  
 He replied: "You do indeed surpass me Taal!"
24. He (Faalil) stood up abruptly, swore allegiance and gave him his hand.  
 Eighty-three persons submitted on the spot.  
 Each one there was joined by his family.
25. That was the beginning of the migration.  
 People came in steadily until he arrived in Nabbaaji.  
 From Naabaaji on it was a matter of coercion.
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23. Taal, the patronymic, is a way for Faalil to show his respect for Umar.  
 24. swore allegiance. In fact, archival reports from September 1858 indicate that Ceerno Faalil died as a result of a beating inflicted by Umar. See Robinson, Chiefs and Clerics, p. 46.  
 25. Nabbaaji, a village in the highland zone of eastern Fuuta.  
 25. coercion. As the column of migrants swelled on the movement to the east, an increasing number of people were forced to go with it.