

The Parkia Fruit

INTRODUCTION TO A JOURNEY TO AFFINIAM

Hans Georg Tangemann



***Far from you, I knew you better,
Africa.***

***Far from you, I loved you better,
Africa.***

*On the cover: buniek, Parkia biglobosa,
Écoparc de Jemberëng, Casamance
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Foreword

SERENGETI, SÉNÉGAL, CASAMANCE, AFFINIAM



Borassus aethiopum
Borasse d'Éthiopie, le rônier
Casamance 2016, HGT

Serengeti must not die (1959)

These last witnesses of African animal life are a cultural heritage shared by all humanity, just like our cathedrals, like the buildings of antiquity, like the Acropolis, St Peter's and the Louvre in Paris. It all began with these famous words at the end of Bernhard and Michael Grzimek's documentary, which was released a few days before my tenth birthday. Fascinated and thoughtful, I watched this film made in Tanzania by the director of the Frankfurt am Main Zoo and his son, who died during filming. The images, the music and the message went straight to my heart. I left the cinema convinced that one day I would set foot on land somewhere in Africa. Years later, in 1972, the World Federation of Sister Cities organised a congress on bilingualism in Paris, which I attended as a student of Romance languages. At the end of the congress, participants were invited to sign up for the next congress in Senegal 'under the baobabs'. I was convinced then that I would one day set foot on Senegalese soil. Also in the 1970s, the Senegalese civil servant Adama Goudiaby and the French sociologist Christian Saglio created a group of large traditional huts as an invitation to integrated tourism under the 'Borassus aethiopum'. I finally set foot in the Casamance in 1983. Three years later, on my second visit to Senegal, I met the extraordinary musician, nurse and botanist Françoise Badji, eldest daughter of the famous village doctor of Affiniam. We married and since then she has never stopped opening my eyes to the wonders of her country.

The Parkia biglobe fruit

PARKIA BIGLOBOSA (JACQ.) R.BR. EX G.DON, FABACEAE

Eniyek - Buniyek



These days, in the course of our conversations about African medicinal plants, my wife and I came to talk about *Parkia biglobosa*, known in Affiniam (Casamance) as buniyek, its fruit as eniyek.

No sooner have the red, spherical heads, which hang from long stalks, shed their fine threads with anthers, than light green pods sprout from the inner white ball, in which a kind of yellow powder ripens. The ripe pods, now grey on the outside, can be opened to harvest this flour. As a surprise, they

*To the left:
eniyek, the fruit of Parkia biglobosa, named after the
Scottish naturalist Mungo Park, 1771-1806*

Arboretum Willy Weri, Jibelor

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Le fruit biglobe

contain individually wrapped grains. Separated from the husk and flour, then cooked and fermented, these grains are a popular ingredient in many African dishes. In the markets they are sold under the catchy name of netetou. And so we come to a recipe for a highly nutritious dish: Peanut sauce (triglycerides from *Arachis hypogea*) poured over rice (carbohydrates, minerals, vitamins, amino acids from *Oryza sativa* L.) and scattered *Parkia* seeds (proteins), which have a strong smell but taste very good to many people. And the yellow flour? Another surprise: mixed with honey and water, *Parkia biglobosa* also makes a



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NETETOU / SUMBALA: HEALTHY AND NUTRITIOUS



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African medicinal plants...

...AND MEALS: PEANUTS, RICE, ENIYEK

Meals and medication

delicious breakfast for children. Curious as you are, you're probably wondering what the secret is behind the woven basket in the photo below. Good question! It's woven by skilled hands from the fibres of our friend *Borassus aethiopum* - another very useful tree from Mother Nature's supermarket with an even longer history.

Not surprisingly, *Parkia* also provides useful medicines. Half an hour's walk from our home near the capital, Dakar, at the Hôpital Traditionnel de Keur Massar, it is touted as a remedy for constipation, gingivitis (inflammation of the gums), malaria, fever and loss of appetite. The *Prélude* database even lists 83 references for the legume and mentions 101 symptoms.

On the other hand, the huge scientific database Researchgate (25+ million researchers, 160+ million publications) brings us back to the kitchen, as one of the many entries on *Parkia* presents the "optimal conditions and procedures for developing maximum protein yield



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African plants - A Photo Guide.
www.africanplants.senckenbergq.de

from fermented *Parkia biglobosa* seeds". On our website you will find some examples of traditional African medicinal plants. The plants presented were found in the Jemberëng Ecopark. <https://tangbad.de/biodiversity.html>:

- *Borassus akeassii* / *aethiopum* (Arecaceae)
- *Ceiba Pentandra* (Fabaceae), *Carapa procera* DC. (Meliaceae)
- *Ficus glumosa* (Moraceae)
- *Parinari excelsa* (Chrysobalanaceae)
- *Parkia biglobosa* (Fabaceae), *Kigelia africana* (Bignoniaceae)
- *Saba senegalensis* (Apocynaceae)
- *Terminalia macroptera* (Combretaceae)

It would not occur to anyone not to take care of Mother Nature's infinitely rich supermarket.

But *Homo sapiens*, carved from 'twisted wood', must be reminded time and again, despite his decorative nickname.



fil afu, *Kigelia africana* (Lam.) Benth., cucumber tree
Bignoniaceae. Écoparc Jemberëng, ©HGT 2016,

Gureng gaha ubun

Casamance is often described as a poor province in a generally disadvantaged part of the world. Added to this pessimistic picture are the environmental dangers, such as deforestation and the salinisation of water and fields, with an increasing trend towards desertification. If we take this view from a perspective marked by the disasters of the recent or distant past, we run the risk of verging very quickly on unconstructive alarmism.

Yet journalists still like to call Casamance the 'granary of the country'. They should add another, that of 'natural pharmacy' or better still 'clinic with natural pharmacy'. Anyone familiar with the wealth of traditional pharmacopoeia and the effective



*Gusontena - tradipraticiens (or traditional doctors) - at Affiniam
2017 with Françoise Badji and Hans Georg Tangemann*

care provided by traditional practitioners would paint a rather positive picture of the still very green region in the south of Senegal.

So how should we react when faced with such ambiguity? By adopting a realistic outlook, we will reject all doom and gloom - while admitting

Village doctors

that the dangers highlighted by the pessimists really do exist and are likely to get worse in the near future. However, the same pragmatic view also leads to the observation that Casamance still harbours many riches rooted in its ancestral traditions and natural resources.

The idea for the “gureng gaha ubun” project in Jóola was born from this cross-fertilization of ideas: to preserve a large area where plants for therapeutic use are protected, in a rural setting that may be poor, but is still steeped in effective and affordable medicinal traditions.



Traditional Affiniam doctors at the GURENG GAHA UBUN medicinal plant forest

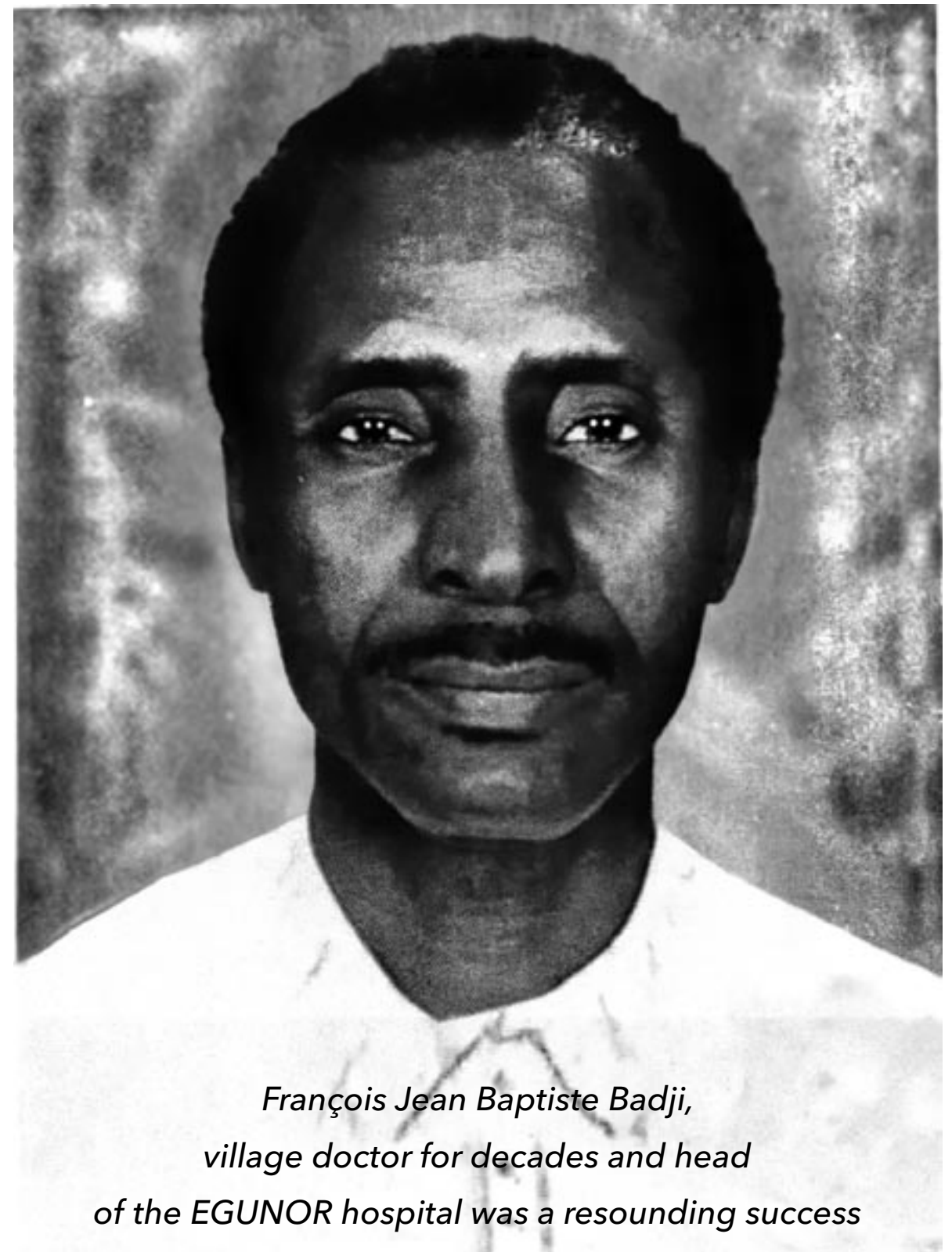
What our ancestors are still teaching us today can be summed up in a few crucial points:

✱ Consolidate traditional pharmacopoeia, and thus the biodiversity and resilience of medicinal plants

Following the fruitful trail of our ancestors

- * Preserve the knowledge of traditional practitioners, both individually and collectively within the medical profession.
- * Facilitate access to existing care, particularly for the weak: mothers and their children, the elderly, the disabled, etc.
- * Strengthen the population's confidence in the medicinal heritage.

The village doctors, botanists, foresters, horticulturists and pharmacognosists we spoke to in the village of Affiniam and in other parts of Casamance, reinforced our resolve to create a medicinal-botanical garden and to seek partners for this project, which could grow in the future thanks to its cultural, scientific and biodiversity impact.



*François Jean Baptiste Badji,
village doctor for decades and head
of the EGUNOR hospital was a resounding success*

THIS IS NOT A KIWI

Let's leave kiwis to New Zealand, in botany (**Actinidia chinensis**) as in zoology (**Apteryx mantelli**). To avoid any confusion. And yet many European visitors crossing the African forest from Senegal to Sudan are tempted to exclaim "But you've got kiwis too!" While visitors from the north of Senegal are more inclined to rejoice at having met an old acquaintance: "There's our good Cayor apple tree!" (**Neocarya macrophylla**) Congratulations to the northerner who gets half a point for having found the right family after all, the **Chrysobalanaceae** with some 400 species. Well, prima vista, we often think we're seeing what we already know.

Let's take a closer look at what's in Luca Badji's hands on the right, below. We set the record straight by explaining that what you're looking at are the fruits of the **buwel** tree (**Pari-nari curatellifolia**), the tree above, with the whole fruit (**guwel**) on the right and the nut (**sipikay**) on the left. Thanks Luca!

Because of their honeyed taste, the fruits are very popular with children. But what to do with the hard nut inside? Yes, guwel nuts are also "biglobed" like Parkia nuts. As the nut is not at all easy to open, children tend to throw it away. The endocarp, however, contains a valuable interior that the par-



Kiwi Fruit? Cherry apple? No: gourd



Harmony between parents and children

ents or older siblings extract with machete blows. In this way, they obtain two precious almonds divided into two compartments, where they are wrapped in fine, velvety, brownish fibers. They are much appreciated by parents who have found that giving their children these sipikay seeds protects them from diseases caused by all kinds of parasites that live in the soil and to which children who walk barefoot are constantly exposed.

A beautiful example of harmony between parents and children in the service of health. Once again, nature provides us with a versatile fruit. Sipikay almonds can also be used to make a delicious sauce.



*Knowledge and know-how are passed down from generation to generation:
Françoise Badji, eldest daughter of François Baptiste Badji, with her nephew Luca Badji,
foraging for medicinal plants at gureng gaha ubun*

And a person who has walked in dirt uses **sitih**, unripe **guwel**, to heal his skin if he notices itching on his feet.

Romélia's leg injury

Romélia still lives in Affiniam with her family. Every time we meet her, a happy smile shines on this child's face. Even today, Romélia still thinks about the serious leg injury she suffered a few years ago. At the time, mother and daughter had gone to the village medical post - and received only a quarter of an aspirin tablet as medicine, nothing more. The nurse had apologised for the inadequate care; at the moment, she had explained, there was a shortage of medicines and bandages everywhere. She felt very sorry for the little girl, who wasn't even three at the time.

Thank goodness we had come to visit Romélia and her mother on just such an unfortunate day. After greetings, we immediately asked about the leg injury, which could not have gone unnoticed, and so learned of the double setback. After



The health post declares forfeit...

examining the wound, my wife asked the mother to wait for us with her daughter; we'd be back soon. My wife would quickly find the medicinal plant that could help in this case. Meanwhile, I went to get our emergency pharmacy to speed up the treatment. Of course, Mother Nature's kit could have provided everything.

And then we moved on to the traditional style of medical care. Reassuring Romélia with gentle words, we explained that the wound would be carefully cleaned and a good balm applied. The whole thing would be covered with a pretty white bandage, we promised, and tomorrow she'd be much better because she'd be able to sleep well at night again. Half worried (because of the wound and the presence of a white man), half reassured, Romélia watched my wife prepare the balm from the leaves of the medicinal buño hiëk plant, with shea butter (*butyrospermum Parkii*) and extra leaves from the baobab tree (*Adan-*

*Kaputa- buño hiëk: -
Senna occidentalis
with its miniature
pharmacy is part of
our database*

sonia digitata), in a small mortar, then heat it briefly. (In fact, to comply with all the instructions, some bark should have been added, but this mixture would have burned too much on the toddler's wound). Before applying the balm, we disinfected the wound with tincture of iodine. Finally,

the wound was carefully bandaged to ensure safety. And lo and behold, after two days, the wound had taken on a healthy red color, the pus having been absorbed by the balm.

The mother also watched us and was amazed that it was possible to prepare a life-saving remedy from the not-so-rare 'buño hiëk' plant. Her amazement was even greater when she learned from our conversation that 'buño hiëk' (or 'kaputa') is used by traditional doctors for conjunctivitis of the eye (seeds), also for influenza or malaria, for coughs or diarrhoea as well as headaches (leaf-based medicines in these cases). Each case has its

...the natural pharmacy presents its profusion of medicines

own specific method of treatment, and if necessary, the buñu hiëk elements are combined with other plants.) In this way, Cassia or Senna occidentalis alone represents a pharmacy in miniature. And who knows, maybe one day the great Romélia will tell us with a happy smile on her face that she has become a pharmacist, botanist or doctor...

It's not just in the village that a health post fails. Our friend Bitel, for example, ran from post to post asking in vain for treatment for the large ulcer on his foot (in the late stages of chronic venous insufficiency) which

Ulcère veineux



prevented him from moving about without crutches. Finally, with the energy of despair, he listened to the advice of our eldest daughter, who suggested that he take his last money and go to Casamance. In fact, it was in southern Senegal that he found a group of women healers who cured him with traditional medicinal plants. These women, in con-

stant contact with traditional biotopes like our healers in Affiniam, are capable of remarkable feats. Our daughter Gina d'Affiniam proudly sings: **'Truly, it's great, my village of Affiniam...'** (Do Affiniam / Au coeur d'Affiniam / In the heart of Affiniam). (Do Affiniam / In the heart of Affiniam). A village where it's fun to be an ant and a cicada at the same time.

Let's return to the subject at hand. It goes without saying that Senna occidentalis is included in our database of medicinal botanical tropical plants, so that traditional doctors can exchange experiences with 'buñu hiëk', Parkia biglobosa, Parinari curatelliforma and hundreds of others at national and international level. More on this later.

Truly, my village is great

*Tinak ti kahene ti foholore
Uyin uhoge « cocorico »
Bugan gulioye
Usigen uwelle do esug om
Silëb siyihe si waloye
Usigen uwelle do esug om
Silëb siyihe si waloye
Usigen uwelle do Affiniam
Esuk elioye elioye
Bugan guyuhoe gu je-e-e
Esuk elioye elioye
Bugan guyuhoe gu je-e-e
Bugagu jelip, bugagu enaf
Bugagu burok, bugagu eparen
Esuk elioye elioye
Bugan guyuhoe gu je-e-e
Bugagu gatjumpen, bugagu buyajet
Bugagu japang, bugagu gawa
Usigen uwelle do esug om
Silëb siyihe si waloye
Usigen uwelle do esug om
Silëb siyihe si waloye*

Do Affiniam

*Mahagen esukay
yœmœk Affiniam*

*Mahagen goroga
gom do n’esug om*



Usigen uwelle do Affiniam

*Gugnil guje l'école,
Amaha alagene sibeh ol
Ware guje enaka
Unomena gutebe utegel il bun Sigitjor – l'école, sibe ol –*

*Mahagen esukay yœmœk Affiniam
Mahagen goroga gom do n’esug om*

Do Affiniam – In the heart of Affiniam

It's dawn and the day is dawning.

Roosters crow «cock-a-doodle-doo»

People wake up

Mortars sound in my village

Doves fly and land

Mortar fire in my village

Doves flying and landing

Mortars sound in Affiniam

The village has woken up

People get up and leave

Some go fishing

Others go to the farm

Here they go to plant

Over there they go to harvest.

The village is awake

People get up and leave

Some prepare fruit juice

Others are looking for wood

Some go fishing

And over there, we go to the wine harvest

Children go to school

Shepherds follow their oxen

Women go to their gardens

Traders carry their baskets to Ziguinchor -

the school, the oxen - truly, my village of

Affiniam is great.

They're real workers in my village, really!



A well-balanced village is born

THE SECRET OF THE TRIPLE BALANCE

Our life is rice

Affiniam has always been a well-balanced "ecological" village. Like all the villages of the Lower Casamance, its inhabitants, whose origins lie in the Bandial (see map), have managed to preserve the continuity of their economic, cultural and spiritual practices in a favourable environment. Thanks to good rainfall and fertile soil, farmers have been able to cultivate several varieties of rice, millet, maize and peanuts, as well as a wide range of vegetables and fruit. Cultural practices have kept pace with the agricultural and social calendar. Above all, the covenant between God and man

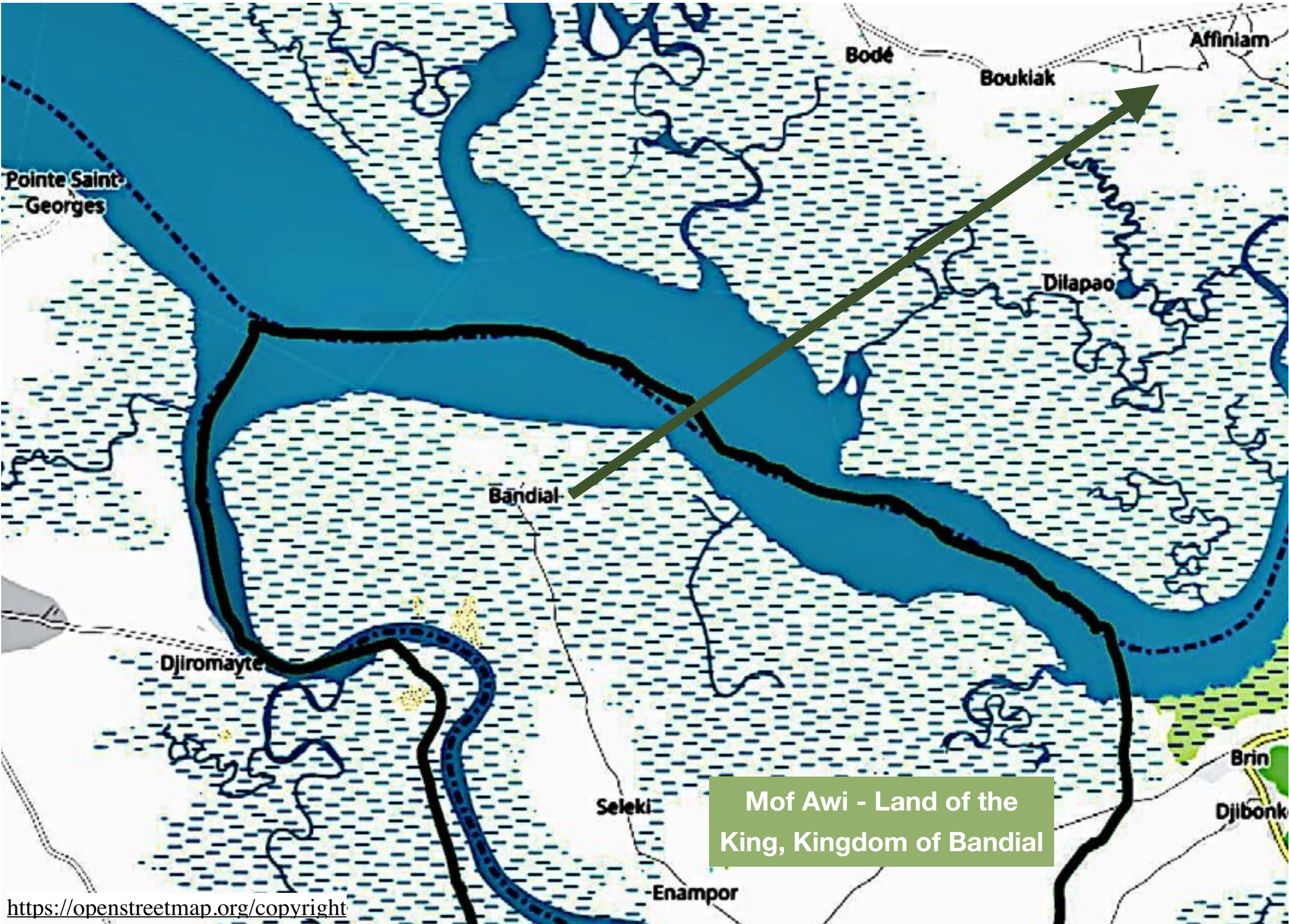
was reflected in religious ceremonies. In this way, the people of Casamance have been able to develop a tripartite balance between God, nature and man.

Constant Vanden Berghen and Adrien Manga gave us a detailed picture of this delightful traditional civilisation in their 'Introduction à un voyage en Casamance, Enampor, un village de riziculteurs en Casamance



Rice fields in the village of Affiniam

au Sénégal, L'Harmattan 1999'. In their work, the authors highlight the economic, cultural, religious and political aspects of life in the village of Enampor, a village close to the south bank of the Casamance River in the



<https://openstreetmap.org/copyright>

Cultivating rice

small territory of 'Mof Awi' (oeyi, the 'King's Land' or 'Bandial Kingdom' in French). To this day, the inhabitants of Affiniam are aware of the fact that their roots lie in these Bandial origins. So let's call this first stratum Affiniam 1.0, a designation that refers back to the origins of the village while highlighting the fact that the author of these lines is speaking at a time of the globalisation of communication. Later, we will sketch out the appearance of the other three strata to complete the overview of its history before getting to the heart of the matter, namely the new concept of the balanced village.

As we have just said, Affiniam has its roots in the Bandial. Growing rice required efficient water and soil management, while respecting the requirements of the climate and preserving biodiversity. Of course, rice also had to be protected from predatory animals: 'The rice fields must be watched over as soon as the rice grains begin to ripen and

arouse the greed of granivorous birds, in particular weaverbirds or mange-mil'. (Vanden Berghen / Manga, page 90) And our authors go on to explain that 'other enemies threaten the rice fields: several species of insects and mites, herbivorous fish that like young rice, and, until recently, hippopotamuses' (op. cit. page 91).

Affiniam has its roots in the Mof Awi region.

Rice cultivation required efficient management of water and soil.

Constant Vanden Berghen and Adrien Manga have the merit of having shown in great detail how an ardent population living in a traditional environment has maintained for centuries the triple balance between God, nature and man mentioned

above. We could therefore call Affiniam 1.0 the stratum of sustainable balance, on a peninsula (like Enampor in Bandial), with a self-sufficient economy. Nota bene: Alex Haley's novel *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* won the Pulitzer Prize in 1977, the year Adrien Manga was born among the living roots of his ancestors in Enampor.

Affiniam's charm

The Jóola of Affiniam were lucky enough to be able to take with them their roots in the Mof Awi, the Kingdom of Bandial, unlike the slaves. They were absolutely certain of this after the explorations that preceded their crossing to the northern bank of the Casamance river: not one, but two sources of fresh water! Land for future rice fields! A habitable area that is not flooded during the winter! Accessibility by pirogue! Forests with timber, fruit and medicinal plants! Soil for building dykes and clay houses! The famous poto-poto!

I could go on and on! Affiniam had so many attractions!

Lucie Sagna, mother of Françoise Badji: She was an incredible farmer, the oldest midwife, a dedicated catechist and a talented composer of religious songs. In her life, she managed to strike a threefold balance between God, people and nature, and she did it all with grace and joy!



THE ANCESTRAL PATH

Remains

In the early days, the Jóola d’Affiniam made their home in the Jilogir district, right near the Bignona marigot - what a fantastic place to settle! An American visitor would undoubtedly be reminded of the first settlements in Virginia, the Pilgrim Fathers and Chesapeake Bay! But the traditional Jóola have a very different story to tell! The marigot was salty, which made it a great source of drinking water, in principal! This meant that the Jóola only had to get close to the living spring located to the north of the present-day village. Amazingly, broken earthen vessels known as canari (borrowed from the Spanish *canario* and the *Caribbean canáli*, Antidote dictionary) provide evidence of these early activities! This doesn’t mean that the Jilogir district was abandoned later. In fact, it’s still very much alive and kicking! The activities of Imam Oustaz Mamadou Lamine Sambou (photo) and the women of the Bonkete market garden bear witness to this. Unfortunately, the living, medicinal spring that our ancestors discovered has been neglected in the more recent past. But who knows what the future holds? Perhaps one day, this mess will inspire the young people of the village to return to the original model of their ancestors.



From Jilogir the ancestors moved to the spring north of Affiniam



GROUP OF WOMEN FROM TOBOR DURING THE 2016 RICE HARVEST
(THE VILLAGE WHERE F. J. B. BADJI WAS BORN)



The traditional Jóola

Just picture it! The traditional Jóola is on the move, crossing the Bandial towards the Buluf,	which is located to the south-west of Bignona. Let's hear from Gina d'Affiniam, who has gained	invaluable insights from in-depth conversations with the village elders.
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Jóola ha nanang 1
© Gina d'Affiniam
2016

Gu lin om!

Woo Woo yee woo woo yee

Ji wen ul bu sana mun u jaal

Manter ji gñarul lo gñar mu

pot cigeret ul ?

Di ba kolong ul ro ?

Maha bo u mirutal bo

Wan bo me: gu lin om

oh yee oh yee woo wah

My brothers!

Woo Woo yee woo woo yee.

Row the canoe so we can leave!

Have you brought enough food?

And provisions too?

How can we know what awaits us there?

My brothers!

Oh yee oh yee woo wah.

And so he is, the traditional Jóola

***A joola ha nanang mo na noeh
A joola ha nanang mo na mire
A joola ha nanang a robo me ejaw ga jaor
Mat a jaw waror ol
Maha a joola nanang a mang ut gu kumen ol***

***The traditional Jóola has this habit.
The traditional Jóola is like this.
The traditional Jóola, when he travels,
He doesn't leave empty-handed.
The traditional Jóola does not want to be
to be fed.***

Jóola ha nanang 2
© Gina d'Affiniam
2016



The Foreigner – a Stranger?

A JAWRA

The arithmetic of conviviality

“Did you come with a good portion of food? And also with the victuals?” The question asked before setting off into the unknown reflects more than just a banal precaution. No one could come to the rescue of the piroguers who are about to embark on a grueling adventure.

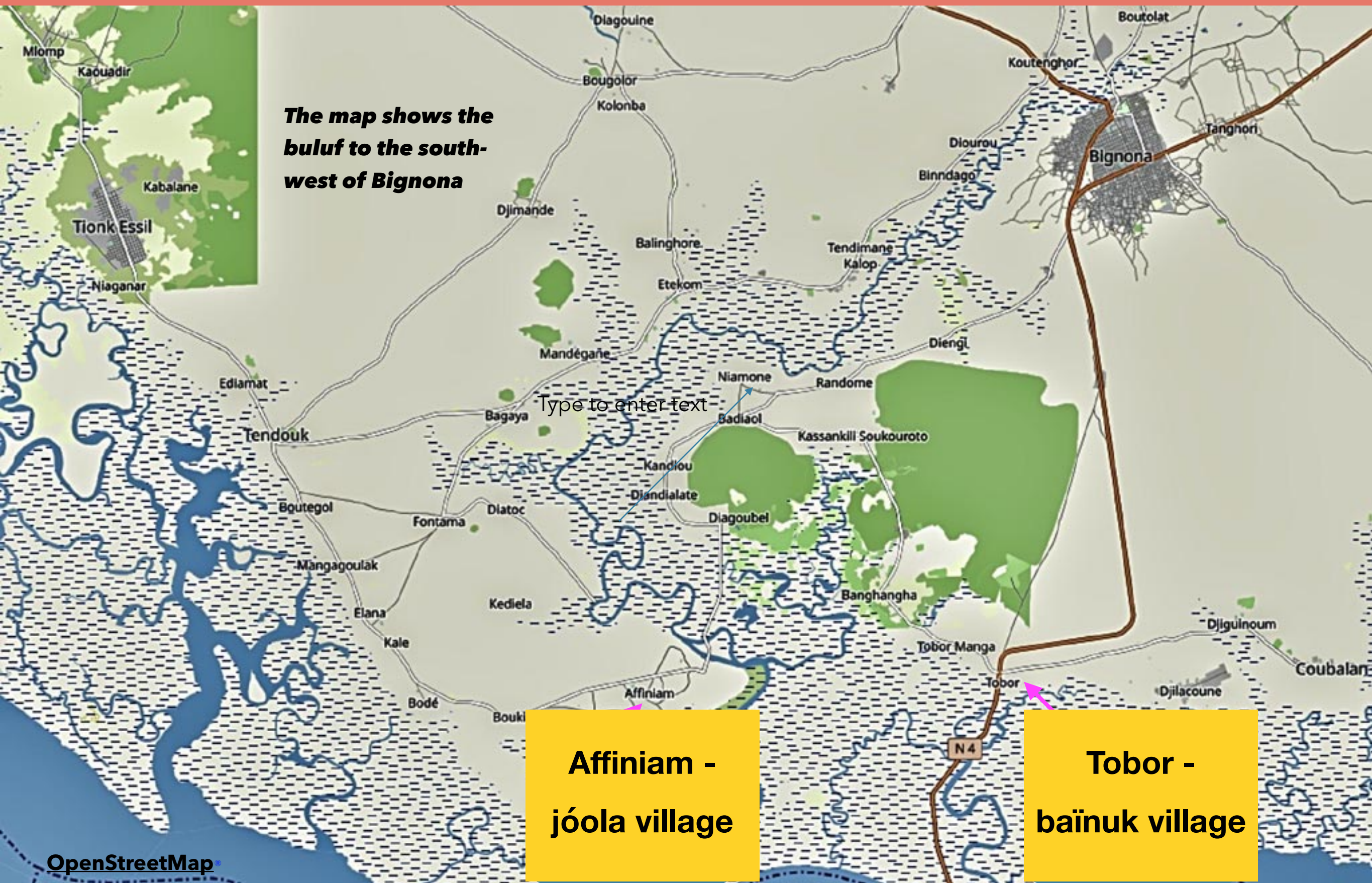
They are self-sufficient travelers, and have taken the law of self-sufficiency with them. The traditional Jóola has conquered his autonomy at the risk of his life. “The traditional Jóola has this habit. The traditional Jóola is like this. The traditional Jóola, when he travels, he doesn't leave empty-handed. The traditional Jóola doesn't want to be fed.” Yet Jóola ha nanang has not left the world altogether. At any given moment, a hamlet or concession may appear on the horizon, with no way of knowing what conditions its inhabitants are living in. Perhaps a series of poor harvests has caused a famine, or they have taken in sick people. The strangers the traditional Jóola

It's amazing how even a child can grasp the arithmetic of conviviality! It's a fantastic way to strengthen the reciprocity of human relationships.

might meet on his journey would in any case be human beings, born under the same sky, nourished by the same rain and the same earth, believing in EMITAY YAKONAY, the one God of their ancestors, who gives life and peace, this year as well as in the past and the future. And so, it goes without saying, one would greet the unknown in all serenity with the well-known Jóola greeting: “gasumay”,

only to hear the response “kasumay keb”. What's clear is clear. The exchange of these first words, of this first mutual wish, is a lovely moment that shows how much they care for each other. Even a child can understand this simple arithmetic of friendship and kindness, just as they quickly grasp the arithmetic itself in the Jóola way. 'Ganien / futok': one hand; 'Gunien': two hands; 'Butigen': two hands plus one foot; it takes twenty to complete the person: 'Gaban an'. *Guti olal di gulin olal*, our brothers and sisters, our sisters and brothers

(according to your and our respective genders), welcome to the wonderful world of traditional Jóola!



**The map shows the
buluf to the south-
west of Bignona**

Type to enter text

**Affiniam -
jóola village**

**Tobor -
baïnuk village**

"Stranger" is not "ajawra"

When we entered the world of Jóola, we left behind not only the world of Indo-European languages, but also a very specific worldview. A brief reflection will prove the point. Let's imagine for a moment that a courageous writer ventured to translate Nobel Prize winner Albert Camus' famous novel 'L'Étranger' into Jóola. Our writer would be faced with the word family 'étrang*', with its members 'étrange, étranagement, étrangeté, étranger (noun and adjective)'. Secondly, he would have to make an effort to find situations in everyday life in Casamance that would correspond not only to the denotation of the word family 'étrang*.' I'm sure he'll do a great job! (not part of the country, of the group), but also to the connotations of the term. And since he knows the country so well, he'd remember a lovely walk he'd taken in the Buluf. He passed a small concession on his way, which he'd love to tell you about! Behind the leafy fence that surrounded a potopoto house, he saw a woman surrounded by a few little ones, all hard at work. She was washing clothes and pre-



paring food. The woman greeted him with a beautiful smile and asked where he was from. They had a lovely chat, and she kindly invited him to dine with the family. He was a stranger in these parts, but she welcomed him like a friend. That 'Jol mohal! Let's eat together!' was not just words; it was a heartfelt invitation. He was not just a stranger to her; he was family.

Much as we regret it, we have to leave this scene to get back to the plot of our reflection. The word 'foreigner' could be translated as 'ajawra' in Jóola, someone who has come from elsewhere, who has therefore left his family. And as for a traditional or modern Jóola - we're getting into the realm of connotation - no one could live without a family, so of course they have to be looked after. So what could be more natural than to offer them a convivial atmosphere? One day, we could all be on the road, far from our family, and we would be happy to hear a saving 'Jol mohal'. Conviviality rhymes with reciprocity. And for our fictitious translator, the matter is settled: impossible to translate 'l'étranger' by 'ajawra'. But what a headache it would be to get a Jóola to understand

the French saying 'L'hôte et la pluie après trois jours nous ennuiant' (Host and rain get on our nerves after three days)? Throughout its history, the Casamance has seen the arrival of foreigners who have refused every friendly invitation to eat. It was impossible to establish reciprocal relations with these newcomers. To touch the edges of this period, let's take the "bu sana", the pirogue that bears the same name as the tree from which it was carved (*Ceiba pentandra* - L. - Gaertn. for botanists, fromager or kapokier in French). Let's row out of Affiniam and cross the river to 'Sinta bu chora'. The name of the capital of the south, Ziguinchor, comes from the Creole-Portuguese 'Sinta bu chora', which means 'sit down and weep'. In Jóola, this sad name contrasts diametrically with that of the Buluf village 'Tionk Essil', which translates as 'tahe ni tjonge mun i noh esiil', meaning 'I have just crouched down to cook'. The tragedy that has befallen the Casamance since the arrival of the Portuguese under Dinis Diaz in the 15th century could not be better illustrated. The people of Casamance wanted nothing more than to cook in peace, but they were forced to bend their backs under the yoke of the Portuguese and later the French. In his film 'Emitai', Ousmane Sembene depicted the massacres suffered by the population. It must be said, however, that the ethnic groups of



busana - canoe carved from the tree of the same name

the Casamance were far from living in open serenity before the arrival of the colonisers. The novel 'Ô peuple, mon beau pays', by the same author, shows the malice that could take over everyday life in Casamance. The presence of foreigners in Casamance also had a direct impact on the presence of plants, including rice. Constant Vanden Berghen and Adrien Manga explain that "Asian rice was introduced to West Africa by Portuguese navigators" and add that "the spread of this rice was mainly achieved by itinerant Mandingo traders" (p. 55). Later, the

influence of the Mandingo Muslims on Casamance agriculture would extend to the entire agricultural sector: 'The large-scale cultivation of peanuts to earn cash, as well as the presence of millet and sorghum fields, transformed the landscape in just a few years' (p. 206). Nous sommes donc en face d'une nouvelle strate qu'on appellera « *Affiniam 2.0* » en adoptant la terminologie déjà introduite plus haut (page 22). Elle était marquée par de grands bouleversements. The presence of foreign civilisations with their troops, administrations and economic needs; the expansion of the Jóola domain, confrontation with the Mandingues, but also partial assimilation, and finally the arrival of the evangelising mission of the Alsatian Spiritans, symbolised by the construction of the cathedral of Ziguinchor. Saint-Antoine de Padoue, built in 1888, bears

Libermann and the Spiritan Fathers

witness to the educational and health activities that have always been an integral part of the Christian mission.

The evangelisation of the Spiritan Fathers deserves to be studied in depth, because colonisation and evangelisation cannot be presented in the same breath. Indeed, Father François Paul Marie Libermann (1802-1852) exhorted the missionaries to work in a spirit of perfect "kenosis", to strip themselves naked in order to better receive in the attitude of the perfect servant. His words are crystal clear: "Do not listen too readily to what people who travel along



125 ANS DE LA CATHEDRALE SAINT ANTOINE DE PADOUE DE ZIGUINCHOR 1888 – 2013 LISTE DES CURES	
P. INGWEILLER GEORGES,	1888 - 1890
P. LACOMBE	1890 - 1893
P. SENE GABRIEL,	1893 - 1895
P. ROPARS GABRIEL,	1895 - 1902
P. ESVAN JEAN-MARIE	1902 - 1912
P. LE HUNSEC LOUIS,	1912 - 1914
P. ESVAN J. M.	1914 - 1939

*The first priests of the cathedral
Saint Anthony of Padua of Ziguinchor*

the coast have to say when they tell you about the peoples they have visited, even if they have lived there for several years. Listen to what they say, but do not let their words influence your judgement. These men see things from their own point of view, with their own prejudices; they would distort all your ideas. *Take a moment to hear everything and be at peace within yourselves. Then, examine things in the spirit of Jesus Christ. Don't let any impressions or prejudices get in the way. Instead, fill your hearts with the charity of God and the pure zeal that his Spirit gives you.* (Joseph Lécuyer, *Cahier spiritains*, 1980)

Father Gandener set a great example during his mission in Affiniam, following the spiritual

tradition of Libermann. Don't let your judgement cloud your judgement! This is a golden rule in the tradition of Saint Paul, and from an epistemic point of view it closely resembles the phenomenological rule formulated half a century later by the German philosopher Edmund Husserl. He gave a new meaning to a well-known term in Greek

philosophy, 'epoché'. A number of Greek philosophers had already given some excellent advice to the enlightened of antiquity, urging them to exercise restraint before judging. This exhortation was close to the classical virtue of moderation (sophrosyne), which is something we can all learn from! For Husserl, 'epoché' is a truly invaluable concept, offering a methodological value that is nothing



Saint Antoine de Padoue de Ziguinchor, since 1888

MAKE YOURSELVES NIGGERS WITH NIGGERS!

short of revolutionary. To truly understand the essence of a thing, it's essential to remove any knowledge acquired indirectly or that is purely individual from our reflections. The philosopher and the missionary are in perfect agreement when it comes to the question of what rules to apply when meeting a stranger. Libermann develops these new rules, which are reminiscent of René Descartes' Regulae ad directionem ingenii (Rules for the Direction of the Mind) – a truly inspired piece of work! Don't make the mistake of judging at first glance! Don't let what you've seen in Europe influence you. Strip yourselves of Europe, of its customs, of its spirit. Make yourselves Negroes with the Negroes and you will judge them as they should be judged. Make yourselves Negroes with the Negroes in order to form them as they should be formed! Let's form them in a way that's unique to them! Let's embrace their customs, kind and habits. Let's perfect them, sanctify them, elevate them from lowliness and, in time, transform them into a people of God! This is what Saint Paul calls making himself all things to all people, in order to win them all to Jesus Christ' (to the Community of Dakar

and Gabon, 19/11/1847). And it's a wonderful thing to do!

Libermann formulated his advice before the abolition of slavery in the French colonies in 1848. The Europe to which he refers in his letter to the Communities of Dakar and Gabon was at that time still part of the slave-owning colonisers and merchants.



The Communauté Spiritaine de Ziguinchor's pirogue

Universal ethics

As we continue to explore the concept of the "foreigner", we come across the colonisers on the one hand and the Spiritan missionaries on the other. Surprisingly, another famous Alsatian went to Africa. Albert Schweitzer can be considered a 'jawra', a foreigner in the sense of Jóola. Schweitzer fought for respect for life, Libermann for respect for the negroes. He overcame all the pejorative connotations of the term, as Léopold Sédar Senghor would do a century later in his 'Anthology of Black and Dark Poetry'. The Alsatians Libermann and Schweitzer developed and practised a universal ethic in which others became brothers or



*Albert Schweitzer (*Kaysersberg 1875, †Lambarene 1965), Nobel Peace Prize winner.
Photo taken at the Albert Schweitzer Museum in Kaysersberg; HGT 2006*

sisters, gu ti om, gu lin om. Gone are the days when schoolchildren were made to sing 'Africa where God does not reign'. The way is now open to a universal horizon where the whole of humanity must find solutions to the great challenges facing

schoolchildren around the world: building peace, protecting biodiversity, feeding the hungry, healing the sick, ensuring justice. We'll see later how universal ethics and the protection of biodiversity go hand in hand.

On the road to cooperation

CROSSING FROM ZIGUINCHOR TO AFFINIAM

There's something new in this little film: engines, life jackets, plastic buckets, glasses, metal sheets, hotels...

'Jóola ha nanang' already knew the basics: bu sana, the river and its bolongs, fish, fishing, mangroves...



The mangrove is a nursery for fish... Constant Vanden Bergen gives a scientific explanation:

A mangrove is a forest or thicket made up of a small number of woody species - mangroves - adapted to grow on a more or less muddy substrate, water-logged with salt or brackish water.

Adapted to grow on a more or less muddy, saline or brackish substrate, subject to regular or occasional flooding by salt water'. (op. cit. 18) In addition to fish, the population also appreciates molluscs, crustaceans, shrimps and the imputable wood of rhizophores.

SINAKA - MARKET GARDENS



capsicum
annuum
bajente

*Market
garden at
the south-
ern en-
trance to
the village-
The secret
to success?
Watering.
The sun is
free.*



allium cepa
esoble



Hibiscus
sabdariffa
bages

Cooperation in the gardens

As we crossed the mangroves, we were reminded of the cardinal exchange between Adrien Manga and Constant Vanden Berghen. Now that we've arrived in Affiniam, we'll come across other traces of cooperation in its many forms in the four corners of the village. After leaving the domain of the red mangroves (of the *Rhizophora* genus) with their large, branched roots, the traveller sees women working in their gardens at the entrance to the village, often assisted by their daughters. A few years ago, the German Embassy gave them a helping hand by financing solar panels to pump water for their vegetables.

It's the same story at the eastern entrance to the village, in the Jilogir neighbourhood, where GIE BONKETE ('Thank you for taking pity on us')

runs another market garden. It was funded in 2014 by the R.C. Maagdenhuis Foundation in the Netherlands (which no longer supports new initiatives in Senegal). The mini-drill and solar pump make the women's work easier.



East of the village: GIE BONKETE



***Capsicum annum* L. - ba jente**

Peppers, different varieties First of all, we'd like to welcome this classic 'stranger' from the Solanaceae family, which has come to us from Mexico. It has found its way into many dishes, often as a condiment, but is also used in non-food applications. It contains substances that provide local relief from the pain associated with various complaints. These include rheumatism, arthritis, itching, lumbago and cramps, particularly in the arms, shoulders and spine. A search of the Prélude database on the website of the Société Française d'Ethnopharmacologie reveals 216 references with 135 symptoms, 143 vernacular names and 18 illustrations. Among other things, we learn that in Benin, Capsicum annum (or frutescens) is also used to treat hepatitis. An orally transmitted

Capsicum annum L.

Famille: Solanaceae - 1 synonyme - 216 références - 135 Symptômes

VK 11 : Kasonia, K. & K.M. Yamolo

VK 17 : Koumare, F.

VD 02 : Dalziel, J.M.

HH 05a : Hulstaert, G.

VM 11 : Mkangare, M.M.J.

VN 02 : Nwude, N. & M.A. Ibrahim

VC 03 : Cihyoka, M. A.

VD 03 : Defour, G.

HC 18 : Chifundera K.

HA 02 : Adjanooun, E, M.R.A. Ahyi, L. Ake Assi, K. Dramane, J. A. Elew
C.L. A. Johnson, A. Keita, O. Morakinyo, J. A. O. Ojewole, A. O. Olatunji

HA 03 : Adjanooun, E., V. Adjakidje, M.R.A. Ahyi, L. Ake Assi, A. Akoeg
Chadare, G. Gusset, K. Dramane, J. Eyme, J. - N. Gassita, N. Gbaguidi, B
A. Keita, H. V. Kiniffo, D. Kone - Bamba, A. Musampa Nseyya, M. Saadou,
Zinsou Dossa, TH. Zohoun

VA 17 : Assogba, M.N.

VB 14 : Byavu, N., C. Henrard, M. Dubois & F. Malaisse

VN 08 : Nacoulma - Ouedraogo, O., J. Millogo - Rasolodimby & S. Guinko

VL 01 : Larrat, M.

VB 17 : Bekalo, I., M. Keengwe, E. Mathias, P. Mundy & al.

VM 17 : Mtambo, M.M.A., E.J. Mushi, L.D.B. Kinabo, A. Maeda-Machang'u

capsicum annum

bajente

extract from the list of
216 references

recipe states that the traditional doctor combines several elements: Bark, stem, twig, trunk of *Tamarindus indica* (Tamarind), ripe fruit of *Capsicum frutescens*, powder, decoction (H₂O). *Allium cepa* - e soble / *Allium sativum* – e laji

Onions and garlic

A proverb from Auvergne says 'Garlic in the evening, in the morning onion/It's the doctor's misfortune'. In Casamance, we ignore this saying even though the Casamance population has just as much difficulty paying for prescriptions and bills as the Auvergnats did at the time when Savoyards, Normans and Auvergnats sent their sons to Paris as 'little chimney sweeps' to sweep chimneys or do other arduous work. A traditional doctor did not ask to be paid for his treatment. A small token contribution or a gift after recovery was not out of the question. But the idea of impoverishing his doctor by refraining from consulting him could not occur to a Jóola. Rather, he knew that an 'asontena' knew the richness of the natural world that he shared with the people of the village. Nevertheless, the poor but hospitable Auvergnat sung by Georges Brassens would of course be welcome to share a fish dish with plenty of Asian vegetables such as onions and garlic. And should our guest fall ill with acute rhinitis or inflammation of the respiratory tract, or suffer alternately from colicky flatulence, neuralgia or phantom pain, he would also be treated with 'e soble'.

ay, tongologasy, ayuu (Okeigbo), qulubi adi, garlic, touma, thoum (Anglais), ail cultivé; ail commun (Français local), tûm, tûma (Aral), (Koma), knoffel, garlic, thoum, toum, tûma, (olo)vayu (Umbundu), umu, etebe owoinu(Ibibio), enregistré par l'auteur, knoffel (La), alho ordinario (Portugais), qubbi (dialecte du Borana), haem (al), kitungu saumu, (Luganda), saumu (Suba), alubosa-elewe (neko), ayu (Yoruba), a (offa), tûma, kitunguu (Tigrigna), lai (Sana), an Oromo), thoum (Hango), tuummuwaa (Ko), tthoum, tsami shinkur (an Oromoo), ayi, hayi, aayu(Yoruba), ayo-ishi (Fulani), garlic (ruguais), garlic (Anglais), enregistré par les auteurs, dongol (Malgache), ail (Français), garlic (Anglais), lail (language local), ail (Créole), yeullay-poundou (Tamoul), aile (Créole mauricien)

allium sativum

elaji

104 vernacular

As far as garlic is concerned, we don't even dare broach the subject because its antibacterial, antimycotic, lipid-lowering and antiviral effects are proverbial. Finally, let's thank Djibril Ba from the Hôpital Traditionnel de Keur Massar for another proverb. 'To be healthy, you need garlic! *Hibiscus sabdariffa* L. bages / la roselle

On their website, 'African Plants - A Photo Guide', researchers from the German Senckenberg Institute for Natural Research present twenty-eight beautiful photos of roselle from nine African countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Congo, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Nigeria, Sudan and Tanzania. We can include Senegal in this list without worrying. Hot day, sweltering heat. Everyone is thirsty. You want to quench your thirst with a refreshing, caffeine-free drink. Well, we take the dried, fleshy inner and outer calyxes of the flowers with water. And by



quenching your thirst with ba ges (or bissap) you get a good portion of vitamin C to boot. Organic acids, in particular citric acid, hibiscus acid and ascorbic acid, do the job. Word of honour. Disgusting without sugar? Try liquid honey or Synsepalum mirificum, the miracle fruit! - It goes without saying that many of the references (57) in the Prelude Medicinal Plants Database at the Africa Museum in Tervuren (Belgium) point to the traditional use of Hibiscus sabdariffa in medicine.



***Solanum aethiopicum* - ejakato**

African aubergine

The generic name of the African aubergine 'solanum' may make us think of consolation or a tranquilliser. But to avoid the risk of looking for something else, let's begin our search under the auspices of cooperation. We took the photo at the Centre National de Formation des Techniciens en Agriculture et Génie rural (CNFTAGR, formerly EATA) in Ziguinchor, now adjacent to Assane Seck University. During the visit, guided by teachers and a group of future technicians, we admired the impressive work being done in market gardening and arboriculture. This work takes us back to the time of Senegal's independence. In this context, the name of Émile Badiane (1915 - 1972), the bearer of renewal in Casamance, must be mentioned without hesitation. Thanks to the memorable work of this farmer and politician, the Centre National de Formation des Techniciens des Eaux et Forêts, Chasses et autres Parcs Nationaux (CNFTEFCPN) in Djibélor (5 km west of Ziguinchor) and the CNFTAGR began teaching very soon after Senegal's independence in 1962. So here we have an example of successful cooperation at national level, which gives us an idea of the energies deployed in Casamance after independence.





first glance it may be difficult to see how they are related. Indeed, who would be inclined to think of the potato when they see a tomato? But since potatoes, tomato sauce and peppers go so well together in the kitchen, let's be brave and go into the details.

1st characteristic of Solanaceae: the leaves of the crown are fused.

2nd characteristic: floral organs in multiples of 5 (on Capsicum annum a total of 15 = 3 x 5).

We leave this beautiful and useful garden with a basket full of leguminous gifts, as is always the case when we visit Affiniam or Tobor. Everywhere in this region, generosity overwhelms people who are passing through.

In the very large Solanaceae family, with well over 2,000 genera, Solanum aethiopicum has many sisters who are well known in the culinary arts. At the forefront are three species from the New World: the potato (*S. tuberosum* L.), the tomato (*S. lycopersicum*) and the pepper or chilli (*Capsicum annum* L.). Solanaceae can be distinguished from other families by a whole group of traits, so that at

Wiki Commons, André Karwath aka Akau

Solanum lycopersicum



Wiki Commons Shizhao

Capsicum annum



Wiki Commons
Keith Weller



Fourth, fifth and sixth characteristics: the stems are round, the fruits are berries or capsules, the leaves are alternate or spiral. The seventh and final test: the crushed leaves have an un-

pleasant odour.

What a pretty bouquet of properties!

To conclude, let's repeat the question from above: "Who, indeed, would be inclined to think of the

Wiki Commons
H. Zell



Wiki Commons
Victor M. Vicente Selvas



tomato when looking at... the fruit of the potato? Answer: anyone in the know.

The winner will receive a list of warnings as a bonus. Capsicum contains capsaicin, which is what makes it hot. This colourless substance cannot be broken down by boiling or freezing. Precautions should also be taken with solanine, which is found in some parts of tomatoes and potatoes. Fortunately, it is harmless in small amounts. Be very careful with toxalbumin in beans, which is poisonous uncooked.

That's it, we haven't found the answer to the question of what the word 'solanum' means.

So let's have a look at the 'Dictionary of Medicinal Plants and Drugs' by Karl Hiller and Matthias F. Melzig. According to them, the Dominican monk Theodoric reported in the 13th century that nightshade (*S. nigrum*) was made into a mixture that was used to put patients to sleep before surgery.

In this way they were calmed and perhaps even comforted.

In honour of Olga F. Linares, J. David Sapir and Robert M. Baum

The close collaboration between people from Casamance and foreigners from all over the world has created some amazing synergies. We have already seen this at Enampor, in Bandial, with the example of the fruitful cooperation between Belgian professor Constant Vanden Berghen and Adrien Manga. Similarly, every rice field in Affiniam and elsewhere in Casamance invites us to reflect on Olga Francesca Linares' (1936 - 2014) groundbreaking book *Power, Prayer and Production* (1992/2007), in which the anthropologist presents her research on the Jóola. Earlier, we presented Lucie Sagna as a woman who 'knew how to unite in her life the triple bal-



Imagine the thoughtful look on Luca Badji's face as he crosses one last rice field before entering the village. Through the fence, at the foot of the trees, we can see the roof of Affiniam's camp, with the large aerial in the middle. In a setting where time seems to have no hold, a few elements of modernity can be seen.

ance between God, men and nature'. Olga Linares has had similar encounters with other women since she be-

gan her African investigations in 1960.

With Leica and microphone: J. David Sapir

Similarly, another name immediately springs to mind with every photograph or film, with every sound recording or comment on the Jóola language in this book, that of the famous anthropologist and linguist from the University of Virginia, J. David Sapir. The scientist has published many of his documents online. We can easily enter the Jóola world of the 1960s by looking at interior scenes in the concessions (fank, in Kujamaat Jóola); admiring the hard work of men and women, old and young, boys and girls, in the rice paddies and groundnut fields (ewañ). The breathtaking photos of the boys' circumcision festival (futamp/bukut) introduce us to the wonder of the sacred woods, while the photos of the bugáar dance (accompanied by music, as in all the other categories) invite us to follow the fervent movements in a hilarious atmosphere, orchestrated by a rousing choreography in which male and female dancers alternate fearlessly in the round, only to withdraw after a performance at an accelerated pace. Other fruits of half a century of research and cooperation with the Jóola Kujamutay (Diola Fogny): the Jóola grammar and dictionary, research on phonology and phonetics, on African languages, legends presented by the Jóola themselves.



Bukut in Bakunum, 2016



Olga F. Linares of the Smithsonian Tropical Institute in Panama City has conducted an in-depth study of the culture and work of the Jóola in three regions of Lower Casamance: southwest of Pointe St. Georges among the Jóola Esudadu, and north of Bignona. In addition, Linares conducted research among the Jóola Kujamat (Sapir's area of interest, whom Linares knew as a colleague) and east of Bignona at the village of Fatiya in the Kalunay among the "Mandingized" Jóola. What is the optimal approach for reading these comprehensive studies? It is recommended that the index entitled "Power, Prayer and Production" be consulted in order to ascertain which notions are absent. The result is that two well-known concepts, animism and fetishism, are conspicuous by their absence in this ethnographic context. A scientific work that eschews these two pervasive concepts on the grounds that they may prove misleading must, by definition, represent a novel contribution to the field. Indeed, the reader will find that the notion of "spirit-shrine(s)" is referenced on a dozen occasions in the index. The future ethnographer translates the term as "sacred wood," a translation that unfortunately omits the element "spirit." Another pitfall to watch out for is the absence of a druid with a golden sickle, as seen in the world of French comics. The sacred Jóola wood lies at the crossroads of power, prayer, and production.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO RICE CULTIVATION BY GENDER IN SAMBUJAT



Rice-growing: Types of work and their distribution between the sexes (according to Olga F. Linares, 2007: 60)

Women's equality with men

Significantly, among the traditional Jóola, men and women contribute equally to rice-growing work. But numerical equality does not mean identical distribution of types of work. Olga Linares has observed two obvious absences: the women do not prepare the land or bring in the bundles of rice; the men, on the other hand, do not take part in the harvest (Linares 2007: 60). The photo taken in 2016 in Tobor (with Françoise Badji, in a blue dress in the middle, as a 'special guest star') highlights this. But there's more. The whole family, both small and large, pivots on the rice-growing axis, as can also be seen in the photos by J. David Sapir. The division of labour is part of a wide-ranging cooperation across the village that leaves no one behind, including the lonely women, widows or otherwise, who always find a son to help them. Older relatives are also present in the rice fields at harvest time, even if they can no longer work as hard. Vice versa, unmarried sons and daughters have the necessary strength to help the generation that gave birth to them. So much for solidarity and production.

What about power and prayer? To understand these other two aspects, let's go to Casamance at the start of the fujam, the winter rainy season. Olga Linares was able to observe the details of the rites, songs and prayers. (op. cit. p. 47 sq) 'As soon as the first rains fall, the women must bring a small quantity of rice seed to the ehuh shrine to ask for abundant harvests. And before the harvest can be brought home, the women gather again around an ehuh, where the officiants make an offering of the first fruits. Without these rites, neither the transplanting nor the transport of the harvest to the granaries can take place. Without prayers at the shrine there will be no rain, and without rain there will be no rice production. So the women have the power, through their prayers in the sacred grove, to successfully ask Emitay Yakonai, the only God who gives rain. They have indispensable power in determining fertility and in social life and work in the rice fields. Linares sums it up: 'It doesn't take much imagination to deduce that women's shrines affirm feminine power. They establish women's equality with men. In fact, the women officiating at sihu shrines have been given a broad mandate'. (2007 : 48)

A Prophet Named Diatta - Robert M. Baum

In every village, there are several sacred woods, obviously including those of men. Regarding the functions of the sanctuaries, there is a permanent fluctuation, and the respective spirits are also more or less powerful. Those attributed with the most important interventions (abundant rain, good harvests, large herds, health, pregnancy of women) possess the greatest power.

Olga F. Linares compared her research findings with the studies of Robert M. Baum of the renowned Dartmouth College in the United States. Linares quotes extensively from Baum's doctoral thesis on the history of religion and social life among the Jóola: "Almost all of the community's economic activities are associated with a sanctuary, whether it be palm wine production, fishing, blacksmithing or agriculture." (Linares 2007: 25; Baum 1987: 389-390)

In 2016, Baum published a book that presents another aspect of the traditional power of women in Lower Casamance entitled: "West Africa's Women of God". Among these women of God is Aliin Sitooye Diatta (1920-1944)



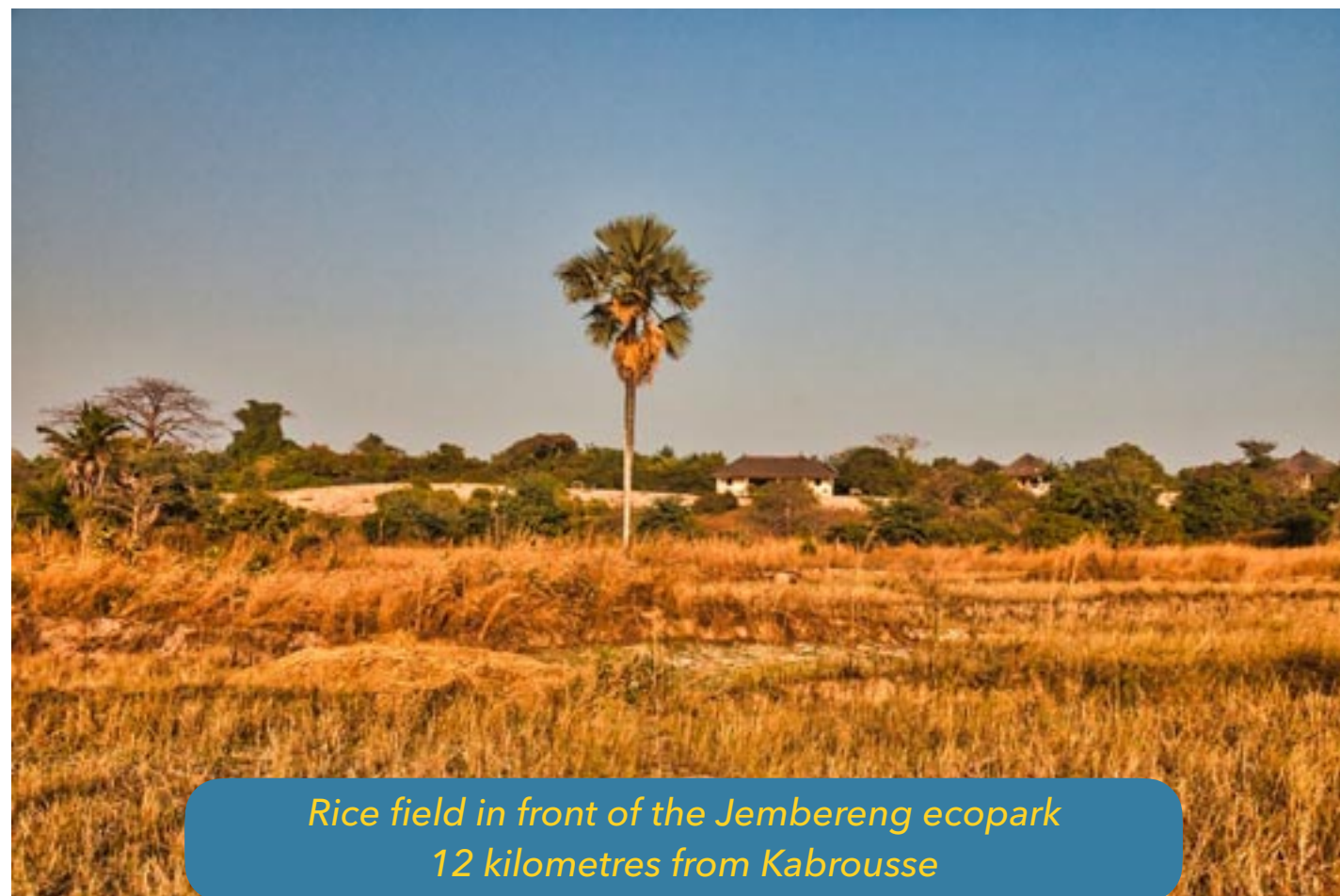
The "Aline Sitoe Diatta" ferry (Ziguinchor - Dakar route) bears the name of the Casamance heroine.

from the border town (with Guinea-Bissau) of Kabrousse. She bears the name of one of the great traditional families of Casamance, Diatta, being a sister or cousin—aliin in Joola—of her brother Sitooye. The Joola considered her a woman of God because she received messages from God, which earned her the ambiguous designation of "prophet" outside Casamance. The term used in Joola, Emitai dabog-nol, "God sent her", does not encompass this polysemy.

Rice or groundnuts?

Emano manter emankara ? (Affiniam)

One might inquire as to whether Emano maintains a positive attitude. Aliin Sitooye Diatta's principal prophecy pertains to the cultivation of rice. Given the centrality of rice cultivation to the economy and culture of Casamance, an oracle pertaining to this region is likely to shed light on the identity of the Jóola. From the perspective of the French, the venture was primarily an economic one; however, for the Jóola, it was a matter of cultural survival. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the colonial powers initiated a project to connect the River Niger to the port of Dakar. This would facilitate the transportation of raw materials, including groundnuts, over a distance of approximately 1,300 km. The production and sale of peanut oil and butter promised consider-



*Rice field in front of the Jembereng ecopark
12 kilometres from Kabrousse*

able profits. Aliin Sitooye Diatta was aware of the potential risks associated with this economic transition. The Jóola subsisted on a barter economy; money was therefore not a concept they engaged with. If they cultivated groundnuts, they would purchase the rice they had previously produced themselves. Their exten-

sive expertise in rice cultivation would become obsolete, and women would revert to domestic labour, reducing the workforce in the fields by half and ultimately undermining gender equality. Olga Linares later observed the relevance of these prophecies among the Manding Jóola.



Robert M. Baum confirms this analysis by extending the problem to the whole continent. 'Alinesitoué feared that this break-up of a family farming unit would spread wherever groundnut cultivation became important. In many parts of Africa, the collapse of a family mode of production and the spread of cash crops have marginalised women.' (Baum 2016: 168)

Génie, esprit, spirit, boëkin, buinum

Let's return to Affiniam to provide some clarification regarding the shrines to which women owe their power. In Vanden Berghen and Manga we read: 'Sometimes the "batchin", in the material sense, is more elaborate and is formed, for example, of

stakes bearing a small thatched roof... or of metal as in the photos opposite. According to Linares, the Jóola word for spirit and sanctuary is the same: bekin (békin, boekin, bakin, baxin in Guinea-Bissau, batchin in Enampor), pl. ukiin. (Linares 2007:24 ff.) And Vanden Berghen and Manga confirm: 'The same word designates the genie (a Force!) And they add: 'Among the Diolas, the presence of a "batchin" is never materialised by a statue or an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representation of the Genie, who always remains abstract.' Ukiin always remain abstract. (1992 :173).

In Affiniam, the sacred woods called *siwat* (sg. *ewat*) are under the exclusive care of women. The guardians of the *ukiin* see the presence of a literal spirit called *buinum banabe*, the holy spirit. Of course, it's neither the place nor a sacred object in the same place. People with health problems, for example, go to an *ewat* official to ask the local *buinum banabe* to intervene on their behalf. The advocate is not supposed to see the spirit. It remains 'abstract' to him – as it does to any scientist who must automatically limit his field of research to empirical investigation. It goes without saying that a holy spirit can never be called upon to do harm. But evil spirits do exist. The opposite of *ewat* is called *fo-engug*, an incommunicable name on which the Jóola cast anathema in both etymological senses of the term, borrowed from the Christian Greek *anathēma*, 'curse,' and the Christian Latin *anathema*, 'public excommunication' (see Antidote Dictionary). *Boekin* and *buinum banabe* are concrete for both ministers and faithful.



Regarding the choice of officiants for a shrine, the role can be considered to be assigned to a distinguished and experienced person. In this area, among the traditional Jóola '... both sexes have important and authoritative resources. Both have access to the religious life of the community.' (Linares 2007:50)

The scourge of drought

Casamance has experienced several periods of drought in its history. Robert M. Baum cites incidents as far back as the 1783-1784 eruption of the Laki fissure in Iceland, which caused worldwide fallout. In the late 19th century, Casamance also experienced years of drought. The harvest of 1941-1942 was the worst during a period of extremely low rainfall. The audience that Aline Sitoyee Diatta attracted with her prayers for rain could not have been wider, not only in Basse-Casamance, but in all the surrounding regions.

Gina d’Affiniam was born in the ’70s of the 20th century, when other periods of drought appeared. The danger of aridity has been well known to her since childhood. At the ‘Festival international des Cultures urbaines et traditionnelles (Zig’Fest)’ in 2015, she shone brightly and re-



ceived strong encouragement from her peers. Her aim is to reconcile modern life with Jóola traditions. In her

Pass ul song there is a verse – ‘Buyik eliba elib ut’ – that could have crossed Aline Sitoyee Diatta’s lips as it was: ‘Catastrophe, the rain is not falling!’ Drought brings other tribulations, such as disease. Gina d’Affiniam knows the same remedy as Kabrousse’s heroine: prayer. Where to pray? U jaal, let’s go to the churches, mosques or sacred groves! Let’s go where we know we can find the place of our faith! Given the tensions that prevailed at the beginning of the last century between Jóola, the colonizers and religions from outside the African continent, such an invitation was inconceivable. The achievements of

modernity, religious freedom and tolerance, enabled the singer and her friends to go out together for prayer, while keeping their respective faiths: ‘anosan na jaw bon na manj jime...’. Container and content go hand in hand. As a modern woman, she sings in French and Jóola.

Pass ul - Gina d'Affiniam at ZigFest 2015

***Eliba elib, u bonket u lib
Sawari u lib
Diatta u lib, Diatta u lib,
Diatta, Diatta, Diatta u lib
Aline Sitooye Diatta aw lob elib
Eliba elib, bugana gurok
Adocteur u sonten
Adocteur u sensibilisez
Bugan agu***

Uh-uh-uuh-uuh uhuh uh
Esuk elambajore buyik
Eliba elib ut u somut
Wëh-wëh-wëh-wëh

It's the disease
It's the drought
Esuk elambajore
Buyik eliba elib ut
U somut

Cancer, malaria, AIDS, Ebola
Wëh-wëh-wëh-wëh

It's the disease
Wëh-wëh-wëh-wëh
It's the drought
Anosan na jaw bon na manj mi
To gayinen ol gom me
Anosan na jaw bon na manj mi
To gayinen ol gom me

*Pass ul, ji pass ul, pass ul, mun u jaal
Pass ul, ji pass ul, pass ul, mun u jaal*

Anosan na jaw bo na manj mi
To gayinen ol gom me
Anosan na jaw bon na manj mi
To gayinen ol gom me

U jaal, u jaal, u jaal, u jaal, u jaal
Église, ou mosquée, ni bois sacré
Église, ou mosquée, ni bois sacré
...
To gayinen ol gom me ...

©Gina d'Affiniam 2015



*After months of drought, the children sing
with Gina d'Affiniam: Diatta u lib!*

How many varieties of rice: two, nineteen or 100,000?

The answer depends on the focus. Vanden Berghen gives the first answer: 'Two types of rice are grown in the Lower Casamance: the indigenous African rice, etuhal, and the Asian rice, essoboro. The first has pale pink grains surrounded by blackish 'glumes'. It is considered sacred; old farmers even believe it has a soul, like humans. Asian rice grains are white; when ripe, they are surrounded by two yellowish 'glumes'' (1999 :53).

In 1965, Olga F. Linares collected a sample of all the varieties grown in the village of Jipalom in Kajamutay. Like Vanden Berghen, R. Portères, a famous rice expert, divided this sample into two species, *O. sativa* and *O. glaberrima*, and then named their various subspecies and types, totalling 19 varieties and 27 types.

The IRRI genebank in Los Baños, Philippines, holds the world's largest collection of rice diversity, with more than 127,000 accessions of cultivated rice and wild ancestors.



Source: Google Earth

© 2020 Google - Image © 2020 Maxar Technologies

From dike to levee: rice fields south of Affiniam

(12°39'06.56 N 16°21'32.96 W)

***Oryza glaberrima* Steud.**

For an extended period of time, those engaged in hunting and collecting activities in the past sustained themselves through the utilisation of the flora and fauna with which they had a shared geographical distribution. In his book *Seeds, Sex and Civilisation*, Peter Thompson presents a compelling account of the radical transformation that marked the end of this primordial era. The alliance between humans and plants, which we refer to as 'culture', has resulted in significant changes for both parties. (2010, p. 22) Subsequently, three grasses transformed the traditional way of life and have been



***Oryza glaberrima* Steud. Photographed in 2008 in Burkina Faso by Thomas Janßen; Senckenberg database**

of unparalleled importance for millennia: wheat, maize and rice. Nevertheless, rice is the most significant cereal crop globally. The Asian rice plant, *Oryza sativa* L., was domesticated approximately 9,000 years ago. Conversely, African farmers domesticated rice from another ancestor, *Oryza barthii* A. Chev., approximately 3,000 years ago. This event gave rise to a species that is now recognised as *Oryza glaberrima* Steud. We have just cited a very revealing study. In 2019, four researchers published a major survey of African rice under a Creative Commons licence. The authors of this study were Margaretha A. Veltman, Jonathan M. Flowers, Tinde R. van Andel and M. Eric

Two climate changes in question

Schranz, and the title of their paper was Origins and geographic diversification of African rice (*Oryza glaberrima*). Using sophisticated statistical methods to re-evaluate 206 whole genome sequences of domesticated and wild African rice, the authors confronted two competing hypotheses, the protracted transition model and the rapid transition scenario. They published their research in the online journal Plos One and concluded: 'Diversity analyses unequivocally demonstrate that *O. glaberrima* has undergone an extreme bottleneck. To our knowledge, this bottleneck was most likely associated with domestication, which supports the rapid transition model.' This geographically locatable domestication would have occurred along the Niger River '... followed by two secondary diversification events: one along the coast of what are now Senegal and Gambia, and the other in the highlands of Guinea.' It should come as no surprise that investigations into African rice should lead to Casamance, even if access via genetics was only to be expected to a lesser degree. However, the last quote from the study on the origins and geographical diversification of African rice (*Oryza glaberrima*) is a guaranteed surprise: 'According to a particular theory that

supports this last hypothesis, domestication was triggered at a precise moment when climate change began to transform the forests into savannahs around 4,000 years ago'.

To fully understand the situation of rice cultivation, we now need to consider two climate changes, the one we are currently facing and another in the past when hunter-gatherers in the forests already had to cope with a sudden drought. The researchers' investigation also allows us to look to the future: 'Even if Asian rice has higher yields, the reduction in the genetic diversity of African rice may lead to the loss of other important agronomic characteristics (such as salt tolerance or resistance to mildew) that are not represented in *O. sativa*. The loss of these characteristics from the gene pool is irreversible and limits the species' ability to resist climate change and breeders' ability to produce more resistant varieties. *Understanding the evolution of O. glaberrima and its adaptation to different natural environments is therefore an important step in characterising the agronomic potential of this species, whose protection will be essential to maintain the genetic diversity of crops and ensure a future food supply.*

Everything is converging towards the concept of biodiversity

'Understanding the evolution of *O. glaberrima* and its adaptation to different natural environments is therefore an important step in characterising the agronomic potential of this species, the protection of which will be essential to preserve crop genetic diversity and ensure future food supplies.'

This summary of the publication by Veltman/Flowers/van Andel/Schranz (op. cit.) sounds like a determination. The term 'genetic diversity' is dropped, an expression towards which everything converges. Indeed, all the other authors we had the pleasure of reading and quoting would have signed this vibrant declaration for the protection of crop diversity: the botanist Constant Vanden Berghen in his knowledge of diversity in Bandial, J. David Sapir who took so many authentic photos of work in the fields, Robert M. Baum in memory of the struggle of the heroine of Kabrousse for indigenous rice, Olga F. Linares, who painted a picture of the egalitarian

role of women in the traditional political and economic framework of rice-growing, Peter Thompson, who in 1980 suggested the creation of the Kew Gardens seed bank in London, not forgetting, of course, the scientists at the Senckenberg Institute in Germany and the Afrikamuseum in Belgium. And all the traditional growers and doctors who have already embarked on this ship that has done the work would also subscribe to this ardent plea. Participatory

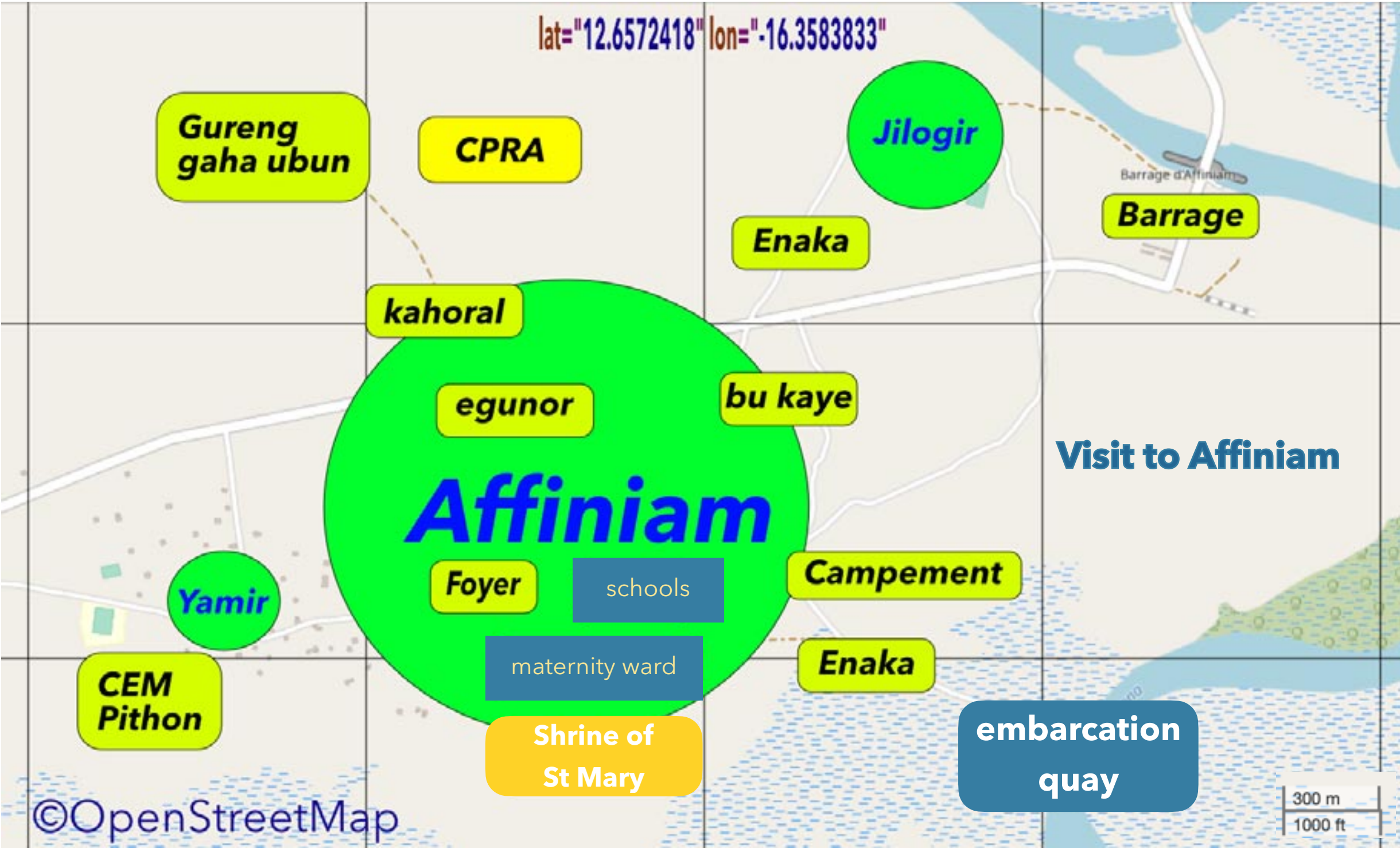
protection of biodiversity has become a priority worldwide. (Details on the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services website).

So when we enter the village of Affiniam, we are by no means in a landlocked area, but in the middle of a global challenge.

Sinaka and the women's gardens we have already visited are also part of it. All that remains is to highlight all the other places where Affiniam and its various partners work together: camps, hostels, schools, maternity wards and the medicinal plant garden, gureng gaha ubun.

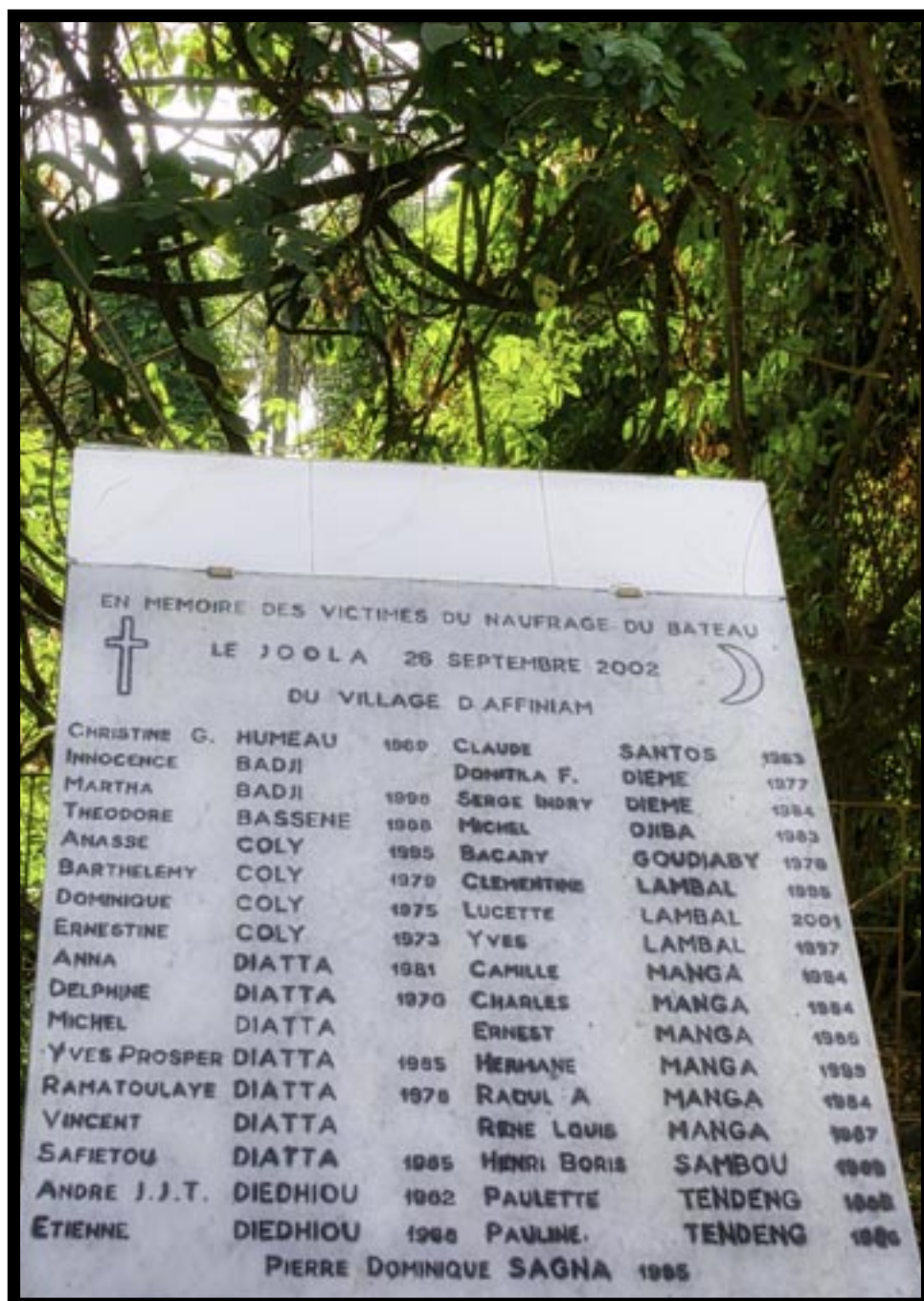
A titanic task and a global challenge: protecting biodiversity has become a priority throughout the world.

AFFINIAM PENINSULA



Meetings in the village

BUYIK: THE SHIPWRECK DISASTER



Any visitor to the Affiniam camp will see a tombstone that reads like a register of the great families of Casamance: Badji, Bassene, Coly, Diatta, Dhiedhiou, Dieme, Djiba, Goudiaby, Lambal, Manga, Sambou, Sagna and Tendeng. The Cross and Crescent invites people to meditate and pray in memory of the victims of the sinking of the boat Le Joola. In every town and village, people are honouring the most traumatic memory of Casamance, the sinking of the combined ferry (passengers, goods, cars) Le Joola on 26 September 2002, with an estimated death toll of over two thousand, many of them young people, schoolchildren and students, returning to their families after the summer holidays. The greatest maritime disaster Africa has ever known left a trail of martyrs that Casamance is still suffering from. The search for a 'resting place' was futile, as almost all the victims were trapped in the hull of the boat. This boat had been built in 1990 in a shipyard on the banks of the Rhine in Germany for 580 passengers including the crew. A well-intentioned cooperation, unfortunately poorly executed.

At the top of the gravestone is the name of Christine Humeau, a young woman from the village of Allonnes in the Loire Valley near Saumur, France. The villages of Affiniam and Allonnes remain forever united in the joy of cooperation and the pain of mourning.

Buyik

Oh oh oh ohe / Oh oh oh / Buyik

Buyik bu loh o lo

Di mof Senegal

Di bu fang man bu rembor

Di bussus bata Casamance

Buyik bu loh o lo

Di mof olal burom

Di bu fang man bu fum

Fukow fata Casamance

Oh i gnay om

Oh oh oh ohe

Eeh kuti om e kulin om

Eeh kupal om e kuñol om

Eeh bukan om

Kata Casamance burom ul

Olal ka kin mi fang di tut silëm asu

Ni wonke ma burom olal

Olal ka kin mi fang di tut silëm asu

Ni safe ma burom olal

Casa di Mansa aw ni niesse mi

Aw ni wonke mi

Aw ni gnane ma

Bu nu kane fang

Wa nu kane kugñoli

Ni keng i mumel bu

Nu sene kugñoli kuran

Bu beben bu nu posse kugñoli

Man ku kin mi di silëm sœmoek

Oh ignya om oh oh oh ohye

Oh ignya om oh oh oh ohye

Olal kugñol kata Casa di Mansa

Nu lagna le u buko al ka buko al

Katier ba sontenti ba koyut

Man u kanal bu

Oh ignya om oh oh oh ohye

***Oh i gnay om
Oh oh oh ohe***

**Oh oh oh ohé
Oh oh oh
Buyik
Disaster has struck
on the land of Senegal
like a heavy burden
on the chest of Casamance
Disaster has fallen
on the land of Senegal
to really break
the head of Casamance
oh my mother
Oh oh oh ohé, alas**

**ÉÉÉÉh my brothers, my sisters
ÉÉÉÉh my friends, my children
ÉÉÉÉh everyone
of the whole of Casamance
who live in the midst of suffering
I call you all
who live in the midst of suffering**

**I greet you all
Casa di Mansa it's you I'm looking for
It is you that I call
it is you I weep for
what grave fault have you committed
what have you done to your children
What water did you give
your children to drink
What medicine
for their ablutions
that they live
this great suffering
oh my mother
Oh oh oh ohé
oh my mother oh oh ohé, alas
We the children of Casamance
are wounded again
because the first wound
is not healed
What should we do,
oh my mother**

**What should we
do
oh my mother**

Part Two

*Buyik is a bilingual song in Jóola and French.
Françoise Badji links the drama of the present
with that of the past.*

***Casa di Mansa ampa olal
(‘Our Father...’ prayer)***

***Have mercy Lord of the overturned boat
Stuck in the sands
Under the waves
In whose waves
slowly
The muffled cries
As once the cries
the cries of our ancestors
Carried in the slave ships***

Part three

*In the next part, we return to the present. We
find ourselves in the port of Dakar. With the
families and friends of the shipwrecked, we
stare in vain towards the south, where we
should have seen the boat appear...*

***Kinship
friends
remain vainly focused
on the horizon
Where will never appear
ever again
The silhouette of our Joola***

Part four

***Our hearts squeezed in the mortuary
Searching for relatives
That the divers
Were able to remove
Or that the sea had washed up
We trust in you Lord
Our only help***

Operations to evacuate the bodies trapped on the ship were halted. And how many victims did the sea throw back? It was later revealed that only sixty-four passengers had survived. Ten years after the Joola tragedy, historian and anthropologist Charles Becker is to publish 'Chants pour les morts et les survivants' (Songs for the dead and the survivors) with Karthala.

Part five and end

***Sumut emandj
Sumut elob
Sumut ejuk
Sumut ejam
Sumut ereg
Sumut emat***

***This suffering
is unbearable
It is unbearable...
... to know about it
... to talk about it
... to see it
... to listen to it
... to say it
... to attend***

Fifth part and end (bis)

***Sisigir si bolie fang
Sisigir si yoke fang
Sisigir si lëme fang
Sisigir si sime fang***

***And our hearts suffer
... they are too hot
... they are too exhausted
... they suffer too much
... bleed too much***

***In a sublime effort, the singer's vibrant voice
hammers out the staccato end of the buyik
song.***

***Botenie
Botenie
Botenie***

***Pitié
Immense pitié
Nous éprouvons de la pitié***

***At Emit
Seigneur, prends pitié***

***Sumut – Sisigir – Botenie : Insufferable –
Hearts – Compassion. French (German, Eng-
lish...) cannot faithfully render the Jóola words
or the emotions they evoke.***

Let's listen to the song.

The Joola in the port of Ziguinchor in 1991 (Photo: Wikimedia Commons)

In 1990, 'Le Joola' (build number 847, IMO 9019901) was launched at the Neu Germersheim shipyard in Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany. It was intended for ferry service on the coast of the Republic of Senegal. The vessel, 76.50 m long (overall) and 12.50 m wide, designed to carry 536 passengers and 44 crew, was considered at the time to be one of the largest ships built on the Upper Rhine. She reached a speed of 14 knots. The shipwreck occurred on 26 September 2002.



Fassmer - a company based in Berne downstream from Bremen...

... on the banks of the River Weser (Northern Germany) is a renowned specialist in SHIPBUILDING. It is also known for its BOATS AND BOSAR, DECK EQUIPMENT, WIND ENERGY and COMPOSITE TECHNOLOGY divisions. Together with Polish shipbuilder Odys of Gdansk, Fassmer built the successor to Le Joola, the Aline Sitoë Diatta ferry (IMO: 9383132), in 2006 - 2007. Regarding this construction, Tom Todd - in Maritime Journal on 24 January 2008 - states: 'In the light of the *La Joola* tragedy, special care has been taken with safety, ease of manoeuvrability and on intact and damage stability to guarantee safe operation in all conditions. A tank stabilisation unit is installed to reduce rolling.' (Photo: © HGT 2020)



INTEGRATED RURAL TOURISM SINCE 1978



Wall paintings by Frédéric Badji



Traditional impluvium hut



The network of camps

In the 1970s, Senegalese civil servant Adama Goudiaby and French sociologist Christian Saglio created a network of large traditional huts in Abene, Affiniam, Baïla, Elinkine, Dioher, Enampor, Koubalan, Oussouye, Sito-Koto and Tionk-Essil. A new form of tourism, Integrated Rural Tourism, was born, perfectly in tune with the demands of the ecological paradigm emerging in industrialised countries.

Goudiaby and Saglio were pioneers who wanted to steer Casamance towards a better future. So here we are in the Affiniam 3.0 stratum, a stratum of renewal and unfortunately also of decline. This decline began in terms of climate, with the drought that began in 1968, and continued in terms of a no less catastrophic political chapter. Very early on, the centralism



of the Dakar administration, inspired by both the French model (with its origins in the policies of the father of colonisation, Cardinal Richelieu) and the model of the great African empires of the past, came up against egalitarianism, particularly in Jóola. Unfair expropriation of land shocked the population, and is still remembered today. Separating a Jóola

from his land (mof) is tantamount to uprooting an organism in order to dry it out in the merciless rays of incomprehensible centralism. The sad example of the Toucouleur politician Mamadou Abdoulaye Sy, mayor of Ziguinchor between 1977 and 1985, contributed to the birth of Casamance 'irredentism'.

Historian Mohamed Lamine Manga elaborated on many details of the Casamance conflict in his book 'La Casamance dans l'Histoire contemporaine du Sénégal' (2012). The memory of these 'events' persists as a kind of disruptive cosmic background noise in the background of all debates, no matter what project the Senegalese state puts forward.

ENAMPOR: PERMANENT ADAPTATION



Adrien Manga



2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012-13
Alimentaire	Rénovation Toiture Ecole	Rénovation de 3 Puits	Clôture Jardin	La boutique de la Solidarité	Prise en charge 2680 élèves
Medicaux	Prise en charge 423 élèves	Prise en Charge 1195 élèves	Prise en charge 2330	Prise en charge 2555 élèves	Projet de puits en court : Poste de santé du village de ENAMPOR
scolaires	Frais scolaires cantine	Frais scolaires	Tentative de rénovation de la conduite d'eau du village Eloubolize	Frais scolaires	
	Fournitures complètes		Adduction d'eau Ecole de BANDIALE		
ages	Parrainages 13 élèves	Parrainages 18 élèves	03 nouveaux Puits au niveau scolaire	Parrainages 27 élèves	
èves			Facture d'eau Village Eloubolize		
			Parrainages 23 élèves		

According to Jean Piaget, adaptation is a two-way process: assimilation and accommodation. The village of Enampore has incorporated innovative elements into its village life every year since 2007 and welcomes its partners to the camp, especially at the time of the duck festival in February. A fond memory of Constant Vanden Berghen's visits.

The 2016 ecofestival

Permanent adaptation to Affiniam is envisaged by ACCA, the Casamance association Casa Coeur d'Ange. Founded in 2013 by a group of local people, ACCA has adopted a long-term ecological perspective. The 2016 ecofestival took place under this banner for the first time, spreading the idea of combining the cultural and the ecological in a commitment to peace. According to the principle of synergy envisaged, the festivals are intended to attract the attention of the younger generation in particular to the theme of ecology, to identify areas for concrete action and to invite young people to share their own experiences. Under the motto: 'I ngar gajandub om be thiokor essug om' (I take the kajendo to help my village). She has already been 'present' at the primary school, the public school, the CEM Christian Pithon and the gureng gaha ubun, the garden with medicinal plants. We have thus entered the Affiniam 4.0 stratum, marked by new efforts (see also École publique and CEM Christian Pithon).



The kumpo dance at the 2016 festival on the perimeter of the camp.

FESTIVALS D'ACCA 2013 – 2016



2014 Festival

From right to left: Ousmane Dhiedhiou, (mayor of Mangagoulak) Moustapha Lô Diatta (minister & patron), Jean Gabin (ACCA president)



2013 Festival

Centre: Abdoulaye Balde, mayor of Ziguinchor & patron, on his left Jean Gabin (ACCA President)



2016 Festival

From right to left: Bernard Sagna (village chief, Affiniam) Ousmane Dhiedhiou (mayor of Mangagoulak),

Père Benoît Diémé: Le sacrifice expliqué aux enfants



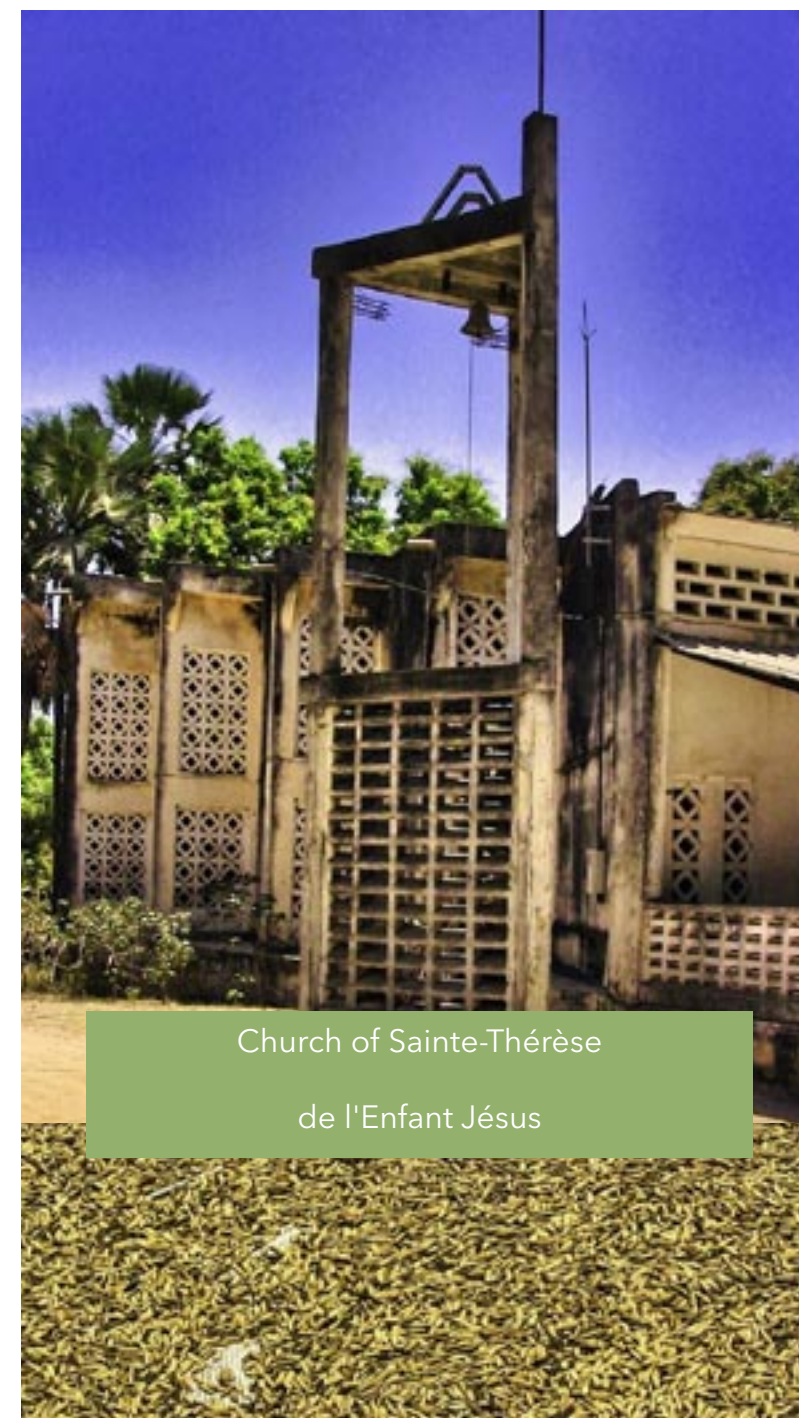
no yama gama no
gamire etamay
ulalat eketai

aw bu pan kan gafium olal gurupen
ji langn mussis
mussis etamai
ji kan ji baj
nanonan gayegor
to mahugne, mahugne dunie
burom yo
mokane ji robo gupalom
inje ome nanonan di tutul

Rice drying near the church of Sainte-Thérèse de l'Enfant Jésus in Affiniam. An agricultural activity used in the catechism taught to children: Jesus calls us to sacrifice ourselves just as a rice seed sacrifices itself so that a new plant can grow. From the sacrifice of the seed will grow our hope.

If the rice seed
that falls to the ground
refuses to die
how can you expect
our hope to blossom
become
the salt of the earth
act in such a way
that there is always
good understanding
from which will spring
light, light
throughout the world
that is how you will remain
my friends
and here I am always
in your midst

The person who sacrifices is like the salt of the earth, giving the flavour of good understanding. He is a source of light and will remain a friend of the Lord.



Church of Sainte-Thérèse
de l'Enfant Jésus

SHRINE OF THE VIRGIN MARY

Prayer on the way to the rice fields

A devotee from afar donated the shrine of the Virgin Mary to the village. To get there, leave the church and head towards the rice fields. The shrine is not far from the place where, in the past, celebrations and feasts were held on the days of a priest's ordination. Affiniam is the fruitful land where in almost every generation young people have heeded the call of the 'beatitudes': ON THE MOVE the humiliated, the bereaved, the humble, the hungry and thirsty for justice, the pure of heart, the peacemakers, the persecuted for justice!



Sisters of the Presentation of Mary

'This is your mother's house! Everyone remembers Lucie Sagna! The Sisters of the Presentation of Mary in Affiniam have not forgotten Françoise Badji's mother. Sister Emma confirmed this in the summer of 2021, full of energy and gratitude. Lucie Sagna was the oldest midwife in Affiniam. She was also a regular visitor to the maternity hospital run by the Sisters of the Presentation of Mary. She worked there for the love of God. - The village nurse, Albert Coly, has worked for many years in the maternity clinic and dispensary.



Maternity ward, dispensary and school run by the Sisters of the Presentation of Mary



ABRACADABRA IN KINDERGARTEN



ACCA lends a hand
to AFRODANSE and its ABRACADABRA

Gina d'Affiniam (left), Stéphane Bassène, Salif Badji (standing), 'Pape' Diémé, Luca Badji and Émilie Sambou lend a hand to Afrodanse. Right: a nun from the Presentation of Mary and Jean Gabin Coly among the children at the pre-school, which is a kindergarten: Kindergarten.

Une Malle pour l'Afrique: this is the promising and emblematic title that the French association Afrodanse has chosen for its generous action in 2014. Thanks to this wonderful donation, children are learning to read, write and do arithmetic: ABRACADABRA!



ANAFA - Los amigos de Ziguinchor

Don Tomas Diande Da Costa Lopes, born in Affiniam, chairs the Spanish NGO Anafa Los amigos in Ziguinchor. In this role, he has added another element to the village house. It was the Catalan town of El Masnou that answered his call. On its website, it gives the details: 'In Affiniam, a town of 5,000 inhabitants, ANAFA and ADA are focusing their activities on helping to rebuild the ruined primary school. We are designated partners of this primary school, which has a very limited capacity in an environment where families cannot afford to pay for the pupils' education.' Success was not long in coming. In 2008, El



Masnou's partners awarded grants of around €6,000 to the village of Affiniam. Finally, in 2013, a group of doctors carried out research into indigenous medicinal plants.

The school courtyard where the pupils now spend recess or physical education classes is in the middle of the village in the Thiamang district. It's easy to imagine that

this was once a dense forest, where the inhabitants were wary of snakes dropping from a branch when prey passed by? -

It's also worth mentioning that it's thanks to Tomas Diande's fruitful activities that the village of Affiniam now has electricity.

PAINTING WORKSHOP - IDEA: LUCE JOTTER (FRANCE)



Once upon a time, there was a calabash...

Homo ludens in the workshops

We were able to observe the children's concentration, their dedication to their work and their joy at the end of their time in the Atelier sans Frontière (Workshop without Borders) set up at the public primary school. French trainer and facilitator Luce Jotter is behind this project. Initially, in 2014, she collaborated with the school's headmaster, Youssouf Diedhiou, and teachers Édith Gina Badji and Abba Sane. Building on this momentum, other teachers continued to create workshops on painting, puppetry and shell painting.

The desire of children to express themselves through art is a universal gift. Even in a village located far from major transport routes, children are never "isolated". The restraint of spirit observable in the two photos of children occurs in an atmosphere conducive to their development. On the other hand, when they venture onto the aforementioned main roads, children often lose their creativity and spontaneous richness. Luce Jotter was inspired by the German (later French) artist, educator and researcher Arno Stern. These ideas refer to the reflections of the Dutchman Johan Huizinga (1882-1945) on *Homo ludens*. According to him, play contributes to the development of culture because it takes a playful form in children. Play must be considered a serious task.



Rewarding work

On our website (<https://botabad.de>), interested parties can explore workshop sessions in greater depth. We first present an interview with the teachers, followed by scenes showing the children's various activities. They start by choosing models from a wide variety of books (sailboats, drawings in a maths textbook, comics featuring "Joséphine la coquine", etc.). Once they have chosen their starting materials, the children return to their places in the circle to make their final choice of inspiration. The teachers do not intervene until they invite the group to gather around the "palette table," which has 18 paint pots and as many cups filled with water, each with three brushes of different sizes. After a few explanations, the young artists set to work, which is a rewarding task.

It should be noted that the atmosphere is calm throughout. Each painter concentrates on their work, but it would be simplistic to say that they are working individually. Everyone accepted the invitation, took off their shoes so as not to dirty the room, listened attentively to the master's words, respected the rules of the workshop, tidied up the equipment

and benches after the session, and thanked the benefactor, Mrs Jotter, with a song of gratitude. Everyone experienced and shared the joy of painting in complete freedom, aware that this activity was also greatly appreciated by important adults, namely the artist, the teachers, and the reporter who had come from abroad. Through their fruitful cooperation in harmony, these young hopefuls reached the pinnacle of the human condition. We have already seen monkeys painting. We have never seen a simian go to a painting workshop.



If you'd like to see this beautiful country

At the beginning of 1987, two Spiritans launched the sponsorship between Allonnes, near Saumur in the Loire Valley, and Affiniam: Christian Pithon (1936 - 1985) from Anjou and his friend Father Benoît Dieme from Affiniam. A few months later, her cousin Françoise Badji's future husband, Hans Georg Tangemann, tipped the balance in Affiniam's favour with a convincing slide show presentation that highlighted the beauty and diversity of the Casamance village. One of the fruits of this cooperation is the CEM Christian Pithon, which was officially opened on 16 February 2013 under the tutelage of Robert Sagna, former mayor of Ziguinchor and former Senegalese minister. In December 2016, Luca Badji and Hans Georg Tangemann paid a visit to the teachers and pupils of this secondary school.



A warm welcome to CEM Christian Pithon, founded in 2006, with around 220 pupils in 2015, boys and girls in classes 6 to 3^e; languages: French, English, Portuguese. Plus: computer room and library.

Enfants du Sénégal soyons unis
C'est le moment de l'indépendance
C'est le moment de la libération
C'est mon pays le Sénégal

Si vous voulez voir ce beau pays
Si vous voulez voir ce doux pays
Allez vite visiter la Casamance
C'est le port du Sénégal

THIAMANG CEMETERY

The death of a deceased person tears many threads in the social fabric of the family. On the day of the funeral, the eighth day, and after a year, the maternal and paternal sides of the family are reunited, after which life can continue in a modified social fabric. This is the perspective of those who are still here on earth.

On the day of Jean Marie Manga's funeral, 7 December 2015, at Affinam cemetery, the faithful lent their voices to the soul of the deceased: 'Inje ni mamang kapare...' The soul of the poor man before God yearns to leave at last. 'Brothers and sisters, I want to go to Jerusalem, our home'. This is the perspective of the deceased, who passes beyond our earthly horizon. Father Ernest Amana Manga † 2012, who ran the Foyer de Charité in Sidone, was the son of Jean Marie Manga.



**Inje ni mamang kapare
kapare fang ni mange
inje asukaten
kapare keb ni mange
gutiom be jaw Jerusalem
sindo olal**

**kupotre aku
ku yis oli burung abu
ku martyr aku...
ku nab aku burom...
ku malaka aku
ku yis oli burung abu**

Why Casa Cœur d'Ange?

The Casa Cœur d'Ange Association, known by its acronym ACCA, was founded in 2013. It was established by a group of local people led by Jean Gabin Coly (chairman, trained in event management), Régina Maria Sambou (secretary, music), Francine Badji (treasurer and musician, trained by her father in pharmacognosy during her youth), Bassène Luca Badji (member of a family of traditional doctors, ACCA representative in Affiniam) and Hans Georg Tange-mann (public relations, responsible for the Association's relations with partners in Europe), husband of Francine Badji. This non-profit association is committed to creating synergy between nature (botanical garden with medicinal plants) and culture (festivals). With this commitment, ACCA works both in the tradition of Casamance and with a view to a new effort towards sustainable development. In doing so, ACCA justifies its presence through three considerations. – We were asked, "Why Casa Cœur d'Ange?" We respond by asking, "Who has the heart of an angel: someone who is content with a simple armistice, a truce in hostilities, or someone who seeks true peace? A heart of

stone may be satisfied with an armistice, but a heart of flesh will always aspire to deep and lasting peace. The name of the Casa Cœur d'Ange Association therefore underlines our conviction that there can be no development without a spiritual component. The Casamance population remembers the region's decline in the recent past. However, a change of course cannot be achieved through technical, financial and economic solutions alone. The NGO ACCA emphasises the imperative of its motto in French and Joola: "We need hearts of angels"! Kuti om, kulin om di kugnol om, sisigir sata kumalaka fok si badj! »

We were also asked: "Why a festival?" Our answer is simple: because the development of Casamance will require a new awareness that will lead to a new direction, a real change of course. Casamance is not poor; on the contrary, "Casamance is rich and culturally strong!" (Moustapha Lô Diatta, former director of ANRAC) And it is precisely artists who can play a key role in this awareness. The festival provides them with a platform from which they can present their ideas and visions, including their ecological concerns.

The road to peace and health

Affignam or Affiniam? Neither! But '*an atafugnam*'. The cacophony can be explained. In the old days, the people who lived in the village called it '*egunor*', the nucleus of the indigenous Badji settlement, the medicinal spring, the clinic. And that was that. The colonisers enter the scene. They ask the locals for the name of the village. In a neat jóola, they were told: an atafugnam. But the ears of the colonisers were not the most discerning, and Affignam was born. Later, they thought they could improve the name by adopting the corrected spelling of Affiniam. But it's kif-kif bourricot (a nice mix of North African Arabic and Spanish) because an atafugnam means 'the one who doesn't give up'. Don't mess around with these people, they're 'nervous'.

We're giving up now to talk about serious things. The second photo shows a group of gusontena and chefs exploring the medicinal plant forest, on the road to health. The third photo shows the same group on the border between Affiniam and Diatok to the north of the village, giving a good view of the surrounding area. Gusontena and the chiefs are on the road to peace, inviting all villages of goodwill to participate in the work of the gureng gaha ubun. This four-hectare (expandable) forest of medicinal plants will serve the whole region, just as it did in the past when egunor did not ask for a pass for the sick. Together, the road to peace and the road to health lead to a friendly future of mutual understanding and help.



The medicinal spring

Once upon a time, there was a village on a peninsula. At the southern and northern entrances to the village were two springs. The one to the south was very useful in the dry season because it was used to water the vegetables. But during the rainy season, it was in danger of being flooded by the water from the river entering the village. The water from the north, on the other hand, always remained pure. Soon the villagers realised that it possessed a rare virtue. When the sick drank water from this spring, they soon began to recover. 'I'm getting better here', they thought, before proclaiming out loud: 'Tahe, inje egunorom! The EGUNOR clinic was born.

Renewal also came a decade later in Affiniam, where in 1973 Canadian Brothers - notably Brothers Guy and

Richard - founded the Centre d'Animation Rurale d'Affiniam (CARA, now the CPRA, Centre de Promotion Rurale d'Affiniam) and carried out their work often with the support of the Sisters of the Presentation of Mary. Once trained at this centre, the young graduates returned to their home villages, sometimes maintaining ties of solidarity and sharing among themselves.

We discovered a pineapple plantation at the Centre a long time ago.



Botanists tell us that these fruits belong to the C4 plants. These plants are adapted to a hot, dry climate, a climate that reduces the availability of CO₂ for the chloroplasts because the stomata are partially closed. These small organs contain 'a green pigment, chlorophyll, which absorbs solar energy and uses it to make plant food (glucose)', explains the Antidote dictionary.

THE SECRETS OF PHOTOSYNTHESIS IN PINEAPPLES



But if the stomata, the mouths of the leaf so to speak, are partially closed, they would not be able to guarantee the gas exchange necessary for the production of glucose - if nature wasn't so creative. Nature has invented an enzyme that adds a CO₂ molecule to a C₃ compound in specialised mesophyll cells, creating a C₄ product. This enters the Calvin Cycle and increases the concentration of CO₂. Melvin Calvin was awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1961 for his discovery of CO₂ fixation in chloroplasts. Brilliant: an inorganic gas becomes an organic substance! Sugar cane and maize have also found this C₄ solution to improve their metabolism. However, pineapple (*Ananas*

comosus) and sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) have adopted different timetables. Pineapple uses the C₄ pathway at night, while sugar cane uses it during the day. Pineapple is one of the plants known as CAM (for crassulacean acid metabolism). In other words, crassulacean acid metabolism at night and consumption during the day of the concentrated (malic) acid produced at night. Result: the stomata remain closed on hot days and precious water does not evaporate. Mission accomplished. The botanists go on to explain that researchers discovered this process for the first time in plants that live in the desert, the Crassulaceae (Crassulaceae), hence the epithet crassulacean.

It's worth remembering that the pineapples at CARA close up shop in the middle of the day, while the owner works inside, where his hard-working employees have left him some work to do after their night shift. Another memorable moment: does it really take so little to create life? Water, light, earth (with its minerals) and an inorganic gas are enough! It doesn't matter how little, that's already the essential! And anyone who has water, light, earth and carbon dioxide has already found a goldmine.

The tragedy of the commune

When you enter a forest in Affiniam with a traditional doctor, it's not long before you hear the expert exclaim with joy: 'Ah, there it is, the plant I told you about still exists! But a few steps further, the opposite happens: 'But it's really a pity; I can't see it any more, and yet this is its biotope.

What a pity!' Perhaps, our doctor goes on to explain the disappearance of the plant as follows: 'There are people who know a plant that they use to prepare a bubun, an effective medicine to treat a sick member of the family. Often, these people simply tear off parts of the plant without showing any consideration for its survival. Sometimes they even uproot the entire plant. At the next opportunity, they do the same thing, and so on. Of course, as time goes by, the search for the plant will take longer and longer until one day the search is abandoned. Even if the person misses the good old days of easy picking, there's no going back. The plant is lost and the useful medicine is no longer available'. With the explanations of the asontena, the traditional doctor, we have entered into the 'tragedy of the commons'. Isn't it rational and ethically responsible

to exploit a free common good in order to do something good for a needy person? However, this first approach leads us into a dilemma, since the care provided causes the resource to disappear.



Kaput erabang (jóola Fogny), buño hiëk (jóola Buluf), banta mare (wolof) - so useful for treating malaria and so many other illnesses. Yet Senna occidentalis is often referred to as 'mafos' or 'weed'.

A Nobel Laureate finds a third way out

Until the publication of the scientific work of Elinor Ostrom (1933 - 2012), the first woman to win the Nobel Prize in economics, we thought we had two simple answers to the tragedy of the commons: either the state would take care of it, or privatisation would resolve the conflict between individual and common interests. In Jibelor, on the outskirts of Ziguinchor, we found two examples of a possible success story in the commons sector: the CNRF (Centre national de recherches forestières) of the Institut Sénégalais de Recherches Agricoles (ISRA) and the Arboretum Willy Weri of Kèba Aïdara, horticulturist and owner of Florikunda. Obviously, no one enters the estates managed publicly by ISRA or privately by Kèba Aïdara to remove a medicinal plant without control or reward. So both public and private solutions can work. But in the course of his research in several countries around the world, the economist from Bloomington (Indiana, USA) has discovered a third way to avoid the tragedy of the commune. Whether we are looking at mountain pastures in Switzerland or Japan, irrigation systems in Spain or the Philippines, fisheries in Indonesia or forests in Nepal, everywhere meticulous observations have shown that there is a third way to



JIBELOR: FORÊT, ÉCOLE, VILLAGE DES LÉPREUX



The Jibelor botanical garden is located in the local Classified Forest, close to the National Training Centre for Water, Forestry, Hunting and National Parks Technicians. The ISRA and the Florikunda Arboretum are nearby. Opposite, behind the Jibelor chapel, is the entrance to the leper vilage.

avoid the tragedy of the commons: the joint management of a public good shared by a community. So there are no traps that would necessarily close on a population as soon as it opted for common property in grazing, fishing, irrigation or forest management activities. There is no inevitable trap, but no guarantee of success either. In short, we would be looking in vain for a panacea. The result of scientific analysis has thus created a vast field of research. The foundation of all scientific inquiry is the clarification of its fundamental concepts. Elinor Ostrom has provided significant clarifications to the concept of the commons. It is essential to differentiate between resources in themselves and the system of ownership. From this perspective, it is necessary to distinguish between the right of access to a clearly defined domain, the right to withdraw property, the right of management, the right to exclude a group of people and the right of alienation (the transfer of property or rights to another person). These rights can be combined.

The combination of resource types and legal regimes has already resulted in the development of a comprehensive classification system for field observations, which serves as

the empirical foundation for scientific inquiry, complementing the conceptual framework.

A sabbatical at the University of Bielefeld in Germany enabled Elinor Ostrom to extend the scope of her research. During her walks through the Teutberg Forest (Teutoburger Wald, in German), she contemplated the potential inclusion of game theory as a component of her theory. In the course of her discussions with Professor Dr Reinhard Selten, who was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics for his research into game theory in 1987, she discerned a means of broadening her theory by incorporating a dimension from the behavioural sciences. Consequently, her empirical research was to be grounded in laboratory experiments.

Interdisciplinarity thus represents the next pillar of modern science, as conceptualised by Ostrom within the framework of a socio-ecological system that emphasises sustainability. It encompasses almost fifty plans and enables research to be formalised at a global level. The concept was refined in 2014 by a group of researchers.

Socio-ecological system

With a differentiated research protocol in place, we are well equipped to analyse the microsituational context of gureng gaha ubun in Affiniam. This common-pool resource is one of the great natural resources of Casamance. Like other common-pool resources around the world, it is exposed to a wide range of threats. In the Jóola tradition, both in Bandial and Affiniam, the socio-ecological system was characterised by a series of features presented alphabetically below. In most cases, these characteristics closely resemble those developed by Elinor Ostrom.



Françoise Badji and her colleagues pay a visit to the Affiniam commons



Apprenticeship In the past, Affiniam used to host an annual academy of traditional doctors. The doctors exchanged their experiences with plants and their use in treating the sick.



Authorities, local leaders, Local chiefs, who are highly respected by the villagers, play a decisive role in maintaining a sense of community. The traditional doctors of the Badji family and others have given their all.

Autonomy The Jóola villages enjoyed a high degree of autonomy at all levels in the management of social and economic affairs.

Confidence The relationship between patients and doctors was imbued with trust. The traditional doctor would say 'i sen i bubun mun Emit eson-ten i', I'm giving you the medicine so that God will cure you. This triangular relationship between men and God was the rule, with repercussions in many areas of social life.

Communication *Sharing common understanding*, was an essential objective of the meetings to which the district chiefs and doctors regularly invited the population. 'Jambul ugor ji nunugen jaju' (don't touch such and such a plant) was a warning by which the authorities tried to ensure that the population considered a matter from a common denominator. These rules developed social capital.

Carbon Anyone who has ever lit a fire to cook knows that wood provides the energy needed for cooking. And every child already understands

that this wood has been able to grow thanks to the presence of sun, earth, air and water. That the storage of carbon in carbon sinks is a worrying problem for humanity is quickly understood at school. Traditional knowledge is expanding. The socio-economic and ecological balance in Casamance has always been a dynamic balance.

Cooperation Rice growing in the Esudadu region south of Pointe St. Georges (Linares), at Kabrousse (Baum), Bandial (Vanden Berghen, Manga) and Buluf (Badji) has always been based on a cordial understanding between rice growers. The reciprocal nature of the work already provided them with a common ground for resolving conflicts.

Diversity Traditional pharmacopoeia covered a wide variety of plants. The same applies to rice in particular. Protecting the great diversity of varieties as far as possible is another global challenge. Senegal's Ministry of the Environment and Sustainable Development has published a non-exhaustive list of threatened endemic plants. See also the red list of globally endangered plants (*Taxonomy: Plantae – Kingdom*).

D **urability** In Casamance, the major long-term rice-growing systems are organised into several levels of interlocking organisations (men, women, age, etc.).

E **quilibrium, balance** Socio-economic and ecological balance requires coordination at nested and complementary levels: resources, activities, players and rules. Among the Jóola, religious ceremonies have helped to develop a three-way balance between God, nature and man.

É **tat, state** For the public domain economy to succeed, the state must recognise in principle the right of the public domain to exist. Ostrom (1992: 60) has pointed out that a society is not limited to two types of institutional arrangement: the market and the state, but can be seen as comprising a rich mix of private and public institutions, including self-managed local public economies.

É **tendue, area** Large forests with robust biotopes are more resilient than small ones. In addition, they provide essential means of subsistence such as fruit, livestock and medicines.

I **nstitutions** Ostrom defines institutions as Rules-in-Use, rules in use, applied. In the Jóola tradition, institutions were designed and developed continuously (→ crafting institutions). This involved the activities of ownership, provision, monitoring, enforcement, conflict resolution and governance. These design principles are organised into several levels of interlocking undertakings (→ design principles) as Elinor Ostrom and other researchers have been able to demonstrate through numerous case studies around the world.

P **anacea** There is no miracle solution for successfully and sustainably managing an economically and socially complex system, not even a self-managed community project, especially as we live in an uncertain world. It is possible, however, to identify the attributes of successful models and the conditions for their existence.

Predict A theory can achieve three levels of adequacy: descriptive relevance, explanatory relevance or even projective relevance. Ostrom sets out to formulate a theory at the highest level of adequacy.

Principles of design, Principles of long-term self-managed cropping systems (Ostrom 1992: *Crafting Institutions*, chapter 4)

- ✿ *Clearly defined limits*
- ✿ *Proportional equivalence between benefits and costs*
- ✿ *Collective choice arrangements*
- ✿ *Monitoring*
- ✿ *Graduated sanctions*
- ✿ *Conflict resolution mechanisms with a search for compromise*
- ✿ *Minimum recognition of organisational rights*
- ✿ *Interlocking companies → sustainability*

Property In Bandial, '... all land belongs to the fathers of the family, who own it outright. Unmarried men and women are never owners. On the death of a father, his property was divided equally between all his sons, with daughters being excluded. However, a distinction must be made between ownership and use of the plots' (vanden Berghen, Manga, p. 166). In Affiniam, on the other hand, the women owned rice fields (biit), certainly because the large surface area of around 60 km² made this possible. Nevertheless, ulak (groundnut fields) remain off-limits to them too.

Resilience *Overuse*: l'abus des ressources menace la biodiversité, surtout en temps de changement de climat. Une forêt robuste, étendue, à riche diversité, peut prévenir l'effondrement du système écologique. En plus, une forêt résistante constitue des puits de carbone et améliore les réservoirs d'eau.

Sucker Among the design principles, the principle of close control is essential. 'Coercion reinforces confidence in the fact that free-riding is not allowed and that those who contribute to it are not suckers' Ostrom (1992: 72, quoting Levi, Margaret, 1988).

S*ystem* (socio-ecological system) Ostrom describes robust socio-economic and ecological systems that can be broken down into several interlocking levels. These complex systems are not at all chaotic. On the contrary, their self-organisation creates multiple synergies. This polycentric system externally (Esudadu, Kabrousse, Bandial, Buluf etc.) as well as internally (restricted and extended family, concessions, work and prayer groups) with → autonomy at each level strengthens the system of interactions and guarantees sustainability and resilience → cooperation. The time horizon widens → durability, sustainability (at the expense of the cyclical conceptions of time prevalent in the past).

S*urveillance* Constant monitoring of the forest by the traditional doctors who go there daily is essential. → Principles of design They need no special incentives to take on this work because the intrinsic benefit of monitoring for their work compensates them.

T*raditions* At first glance, we might be tempted to regard traditions in an agrarian society as immutable. Wouldn't the success of culture depend on faithful adherence to the precepts handed down by

ancestors? The same goes for the practice of traditional medicine, even though it has already undergone adaptive changes through → learning. Robert M. Baum has shown, however, that Jóola traditions changed profoundly during the three decades before the First World War. 'It was precisely at this time that women prophetesses made their first claims to lead Emitai revelation and became an important force in Diola society.' (Baum 2015:60). The shrines under the leadership of male priests were proving incapable at this time of covering the population with their aegis against the interventions of the colonizers. This response to the loss of political and economic influence first emerged among the Jóola Kasa.

V*aleurs...* or ideal principles that serve as a reference for the members of a community. At the top of a scale of universally applicable values, we certainly find love and friendship, law, justice and fairness, loyalty, freedom, responsibility, civic sense, life and survival, and the like. The → village cooperation already requires not only a detailed understanding of the work to be done, but also a differentiated social perspective. The Golden Rule is applied in diverse and different societies all over the world. But from the moment we turn the pro-

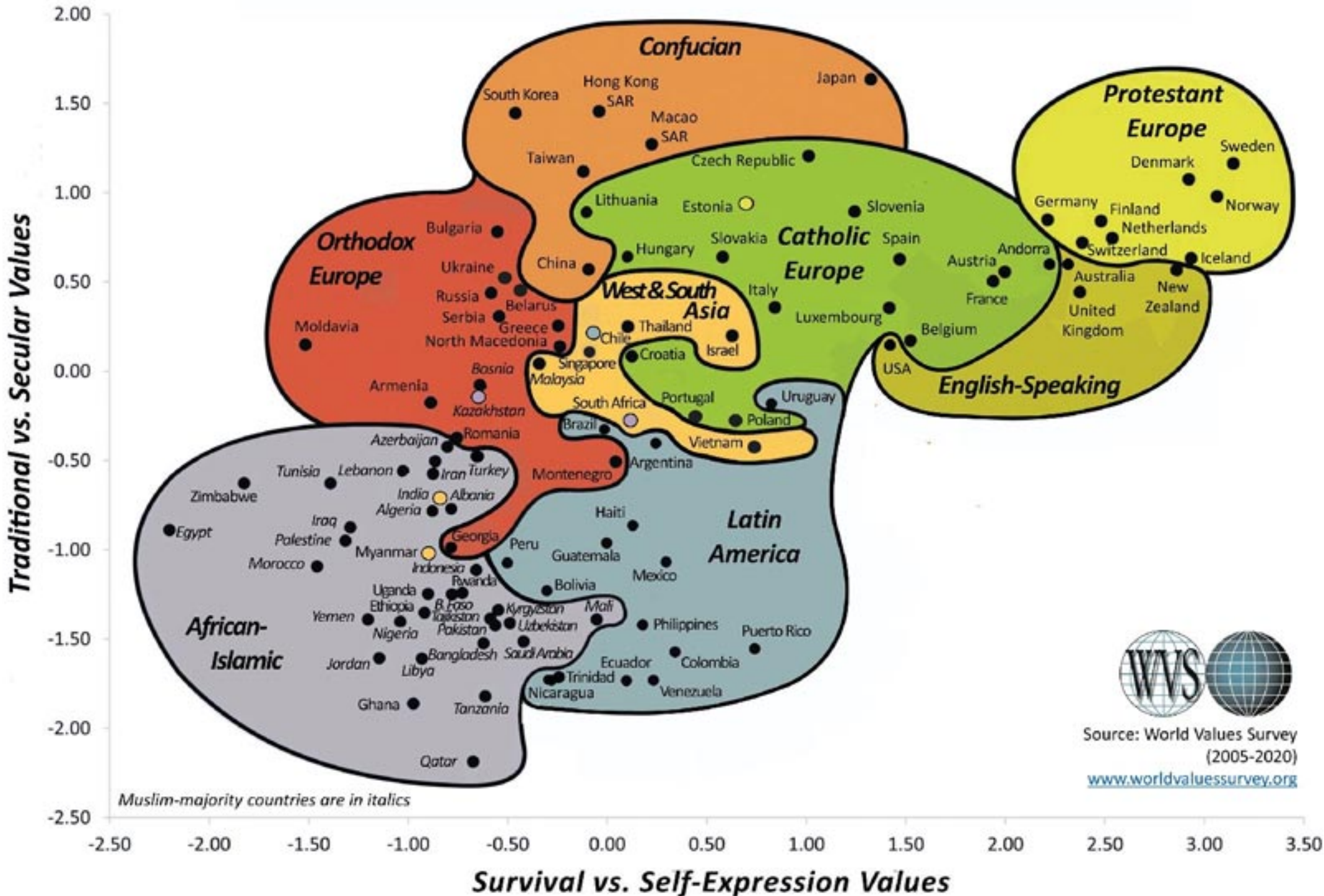
hibition it expresses into a commandment, the social perspective is greatly broadened: 'Whatever you would have men do for you, you also must do for them, for this is what the law and the prophets teach.' (Matthew, 7:12). The → village authorities thus do not impose arbitrary rules, but open a door to wider horizons – even if the gate is narrow: '... but narrow is the gate, narrow the way leading to life, and there are few who find them.' (Matthew, 7:14). Especially when there is conflict between high-ranking values. → cooperation

Another approach to value analysis that could be classified as macroscopic is the cultural map of the world developed by political scientists Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel and continually updated. It depicts closely related cultural values that vary from society to society in two predominant dimensions: traditional values versus secular rational values on the vertical axis, and survival values versus self-expression on the horizontal axis. According to this map, most African countries tend towards traditional and survival values.

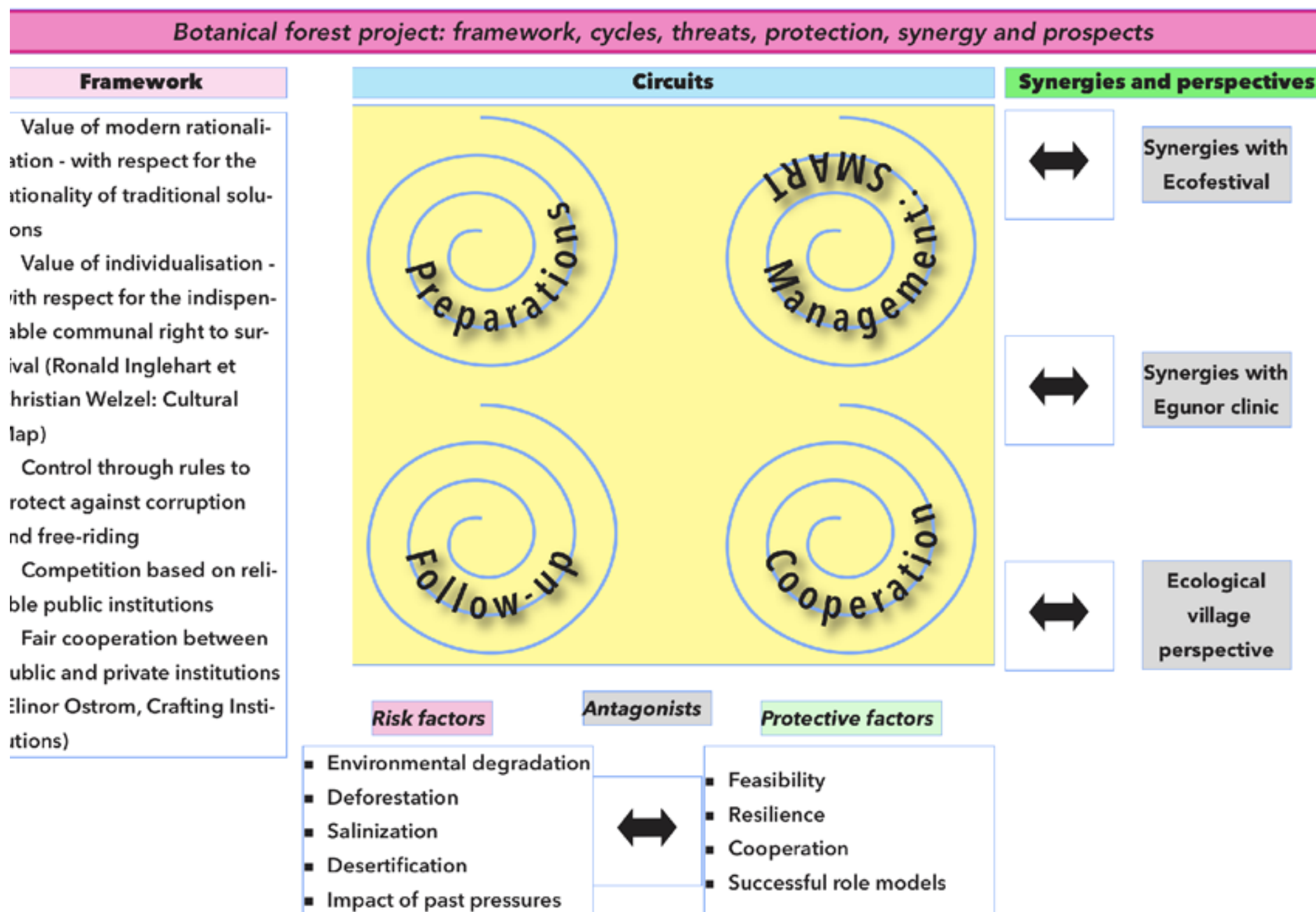


Invited children share the meal - ©HGT 2016

The Inglehart-Welzel World Cultural Map (2020)



FRAMEWORK, CIRCUITS, THREATS, PROTECTION, SYNERGIES AND PROSPECTS



Peace in Casamance: mediation by Sant'Egidio

« Du 9 au 11 juillet 2014, une délégation du gouvernement sénégalais, sous mandat de S.E. le Président Macky Sall, et une délégation du MFDC, sous mandat de son chef Salif Sadio, se sont rencontrées à Sant'Egidio, à Rome, dans le cadre des négociations pour le retour de la paix en Casamance.

... Les pourparlers se sont déroulés dans un esprit constructif, fruit de l'application des Mesures de confiance réciproque approuvée lors de la dernière session des négociations.

Les parties ont convenu de la nécessité de collaborer à une action commune visant à atténuer les souffrances de la population, victime du conflit en Casamance. Un document relatif aux questions humanitaires a été approuvé par les parties.



Dove of peace at the Jean-Paul II roundabout in Ziguinchor

English Version: <https://archive.santegidio.org/pageID/3/langID/en/itemID/6137/Hostages-freed-in-Casamance-thanks-to-Community-of-Sant-Egidio.html>

Les délégations ont salué l'esprit constructif et la franchise qui ont prévalu durant les négociations de ces derniers jours, organisées par la Communauté de Sant'Egidio, laquelle, comme à l'accoutumée, n'a négligé aucun effort pour assurer le bon déroulement des pourparlers.

Les parties ont convenu de la nécessité de continuer les négociations à Rome, avec la médiation de la Communauté de Sant'Egidio, selon des modalités et un rythme fixés d'un commun accord par les délégations.

Pour sa part, la Communauté de Sant'Egidio exprime sa satisfaction devant ce nouveau pas en avant important vers une solution durable et juste au conflit, et attend avec confiance la poursuite de la négociation.

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St. Josef and St. Lukas à Düren

Since 2017, the parishioners of St. Josef in the parish of St. Luke in Düren, Germany, have been supporting the development of a botanical garden with medicinal plants. The NGO 'Association Casa Coeur d'Ange' has obtained the agreement of the village to prepare four hectares of common village land for this purpose: the Affiniam Gureng gaha ubun medical botanical garden. The land already contains many medicinal plants. More plants will be planted. The botanical garden will be maintained mainly by the village doctors and will be used mainly for local medical care. Once a fence has been erected, ACCA plans to build a reception building to receive visitors. At a later stage, a small clinic (EGUNOR 2) could

be built following the example of EGUNOR 1 under the direction of Jean Baptiste François Badji.

*Ezekiel 11, 26 I will give you a new heart and put a new spirit within you; I will remove your heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. 27 [And I will put My Spirit within you and cause you to walk in My statutes and to carefully observe My ordinances.](#) 28 Then you will live in the land that I gave your forefathers; you will be My people, and I will be your God....

In Casamance, this verses evoke
EMITAY YAKONAY



The parish priest E.-J. Stinkes blesses a statue of the Virgin Mary in front of the painting of the Consoler of the Afflicted. The statue is now in Africa.



Bu kaye invites you to a palaver

TRISTES TROPIQUES, HEUREUSES TROPIQUES 1

I'm as old as my village...

... and I have a lot to tell, if people still want to listen to me, the soul of the tree, who can communicate with the friends of plants. Affiniam was founded when brave people from the Jóola tribe left the Bandial region to settle on the opposite north bank of the Casamance river. They chose my peninsula where they found forests, bushes and mangroves. Enough space and water to grow rice and fruit in abundance. There are also two springs to the south and north of the peninsula. The northern spring in particular soon surprised them with something they hadn't expected: it was a medicinal spring. Over time, they learnt to use many medicinal plants, preparing medicines for common illnesses from roots, bark, juice, leaves and flowers. And the water from the healing spring has always played an important role. The Badji family were among the first settlers. They provided the village doctors. And

*Young doctors flocked from
the
to be trained by the
Badjikunda
in the rules of the art*

one good day, the time had come: a large round house for the Badjikunda, the Badji family, was built, with imposing walls and a laterite floor, with small windows on the outside and a large courtyard on the inside, the first few metres - seen from the building - covered with roofs, then in the centre a large space with small trees, which in the rainy season were watered by the water running in rivulets from

the thatched roof. The Whites later called this construction method 'Impluvium', houses in which the rain fell. Water from the healing spring, a large family of doctors, a sturdy round house - there was just one thing missing: a building where seriously ill patients could be treated. Over time, Affiniam developed into a medical village. Young doctors from other villages were attracted to Affiniam, where they

were trained by the Badjikunda in the rules of the art.

Once a year, the region's doctors then organised a symposium at Egunor, the village clinic, to share their experiences.

And the old, but still strong and powerful Khaya that I had become in the meantime, was very proud of her wonderful village of brave, strong and helpful people.

A lot of water has flowed into the Casamance riverbed over the years. Village doctors had to fight an unpaid war in Europe for the colonial power. There was independence within dubious borders, the restriction of Jóola autonomy by the central state power, periods of drought. Warlike attacks on the population of Casamance. A partnership with a village in Europe that was initially successful, but later went off course. The rural exodus of many young people, the loss of biodiversity... I could hardly recognise my Affiniam. Sad tropics. - But now you are welcome



Khaya senegalensis (Desr.) A.Juss., acajou du Sénégal, cailcédrat)
le triste tronc d'un arbre jadis impressionnant

around my mighty trunk, at my feet so to speak. There, where you once placed metal sheets, I would have protected you with the roof of my thick foliage carried by my immense branches. You have come together to talk about life in Africa after the

'suns of independence'. The first speaker agreed with the analysis of Ivorian writer Ahmadou Kourouma in the novel that is often read in class.

"Listen," he said, "it seems to me that we are at an impasse, like the hero of the novel *Les Soleils des Indépendances*, Fama Doumbouya. Firstly, he sees no way to prolong the existence of his dynasty. What's more, he obviously doesn't want to return to the colonial era either. Thirdly, it goes without saying that the current political regime does not reassure him. He doesn't know which way to turn." Then another voice piped up: "But we are Jóola, not Dioula. (Laughter) Our children and friends in Europe and America haven't forgotten us; they help us substantially. We still know how to grow rice. Many of you own peanut fields and fruit plantations. And our *gusontena*, our traditional doctors, have also preserved the knowledge of our ancestors. Things aren't so bad!

"But look around you! How are we sitting here? On these poor plastic chairs that will only last a season at most! Where is the refreshing foliage that the *bu kaye* tree once spread from its 30-metre height? Now we're sitting under metal sheets that heat up like an oven at midday. And *bu kaye* isn't the only tree that's disappeared, as you well know. Don't forget that along with the trees, many medicinal plants have also disappeared. I really appreciate the care provided by our *gu-*

sontena. But without medicinal plants, there's no *bubun*, no medicine."

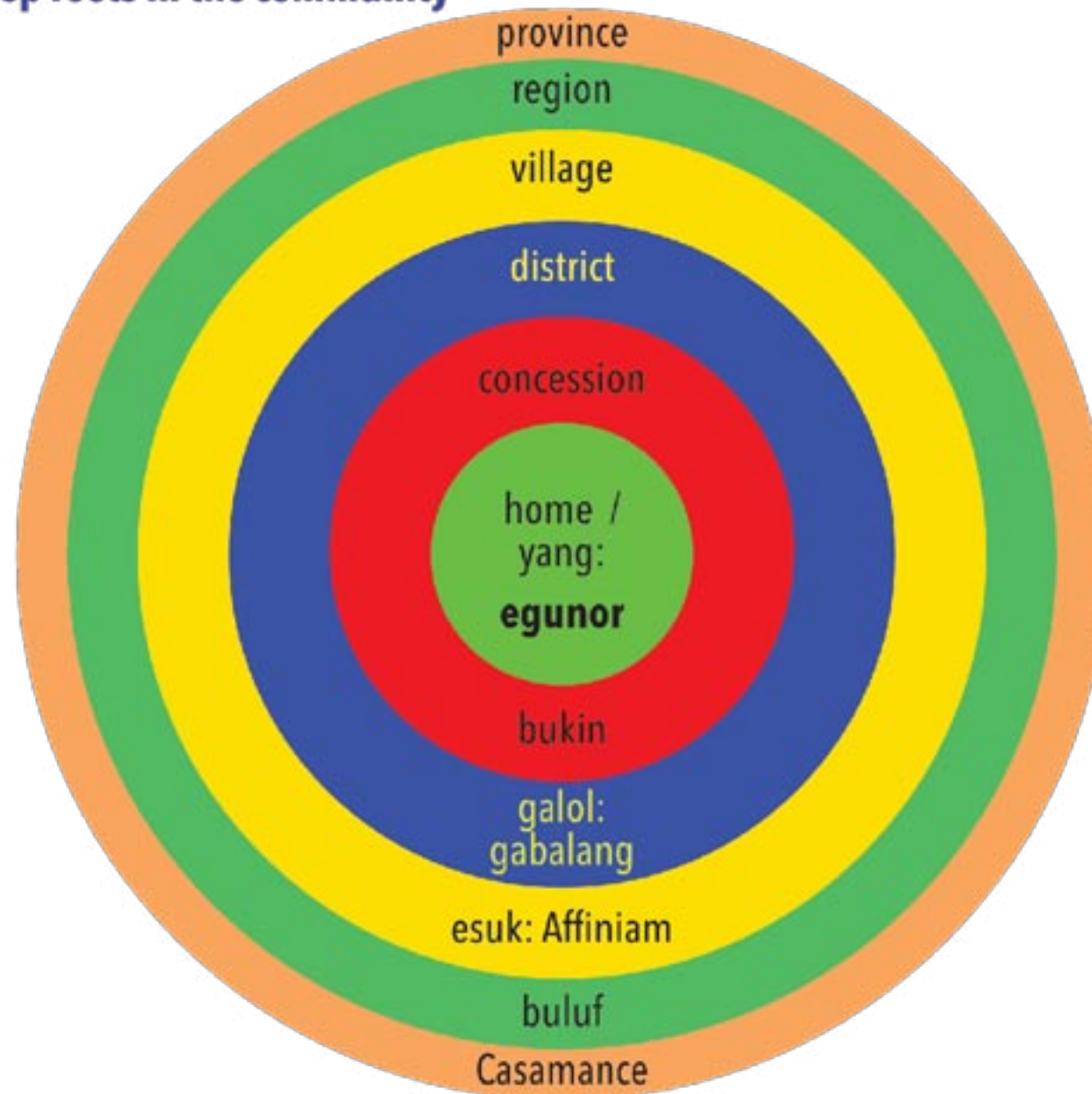
"I too am concerned when I think about the loss of biodiversity. On the other hand, the diversity of speech is still alive and well."

With sparkling eyes, Gina from Affiniam has just joined the circle. "In Affiniam, to this day, women still have the right to speak. They participate in the cultivation of rice, millet and peanuts, tend vegetable gardens and enter their sacred woods. And on top of that, when night falls, they sing lullabies to the children, breastfeed them and watch over them when they are sick.

Gina also talks about her grandmother, Lucie Sagna, who was already a woman of many talents. She was a catechist and member of the *Legionaries of Mary*, composed religious songs, educated her children, worked in the rice fields and at home, and was the midwife who was called upon in difficult childbirth cases. A welcoming and calm woman, her tranquillity brought peace.

"You see, modern women can find their identity in village traditions. That's why I sing *Jaal bubalo!* Return to the country! And *Do Affiniam*, to my home in the village I love."

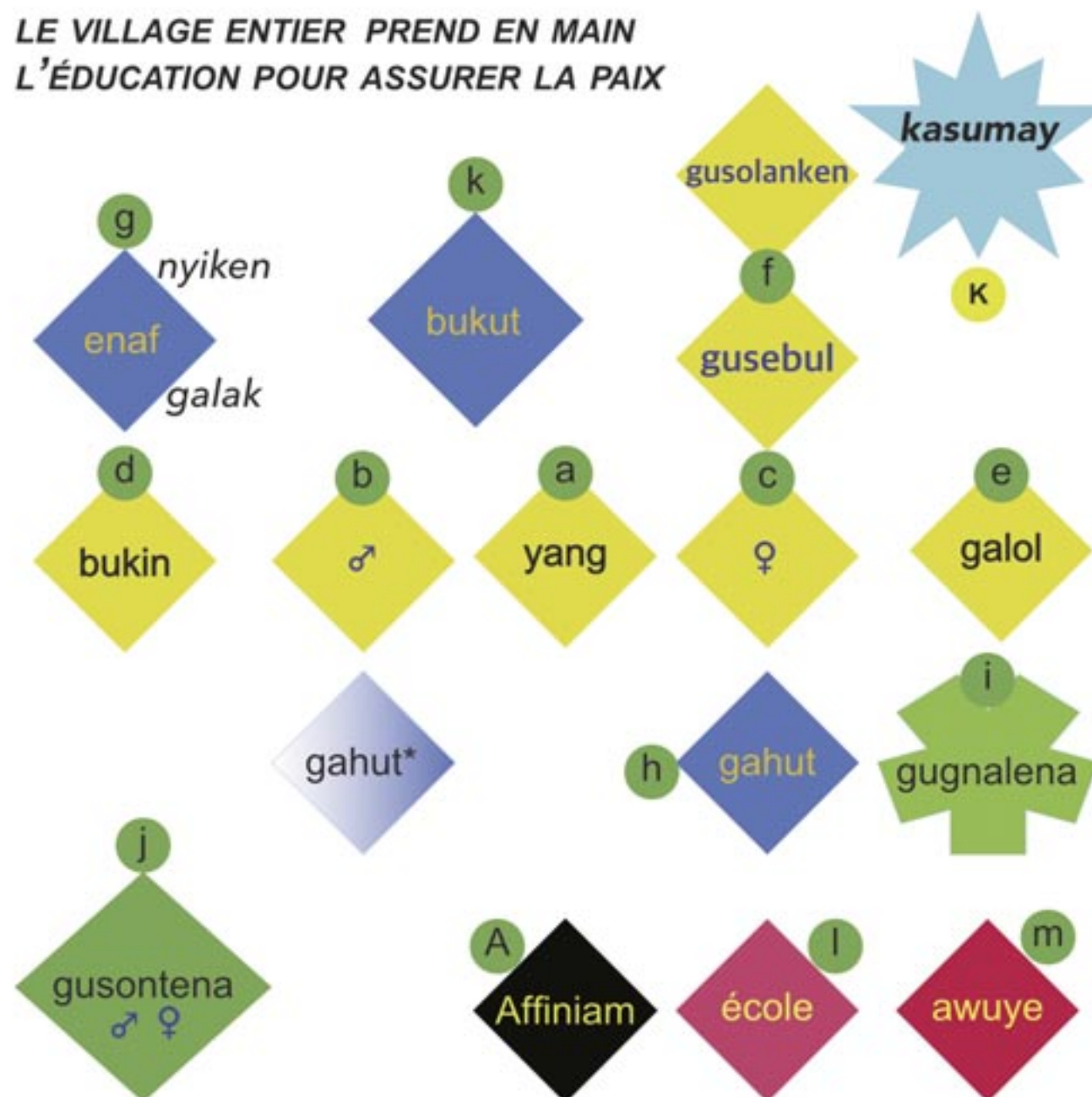
deep roots in the community



So, young man, are you serious? You want to get married? And you've already got the consent of the bride-to-be? She's from Casamance, from the Buluf region? From the village of Affiniam, ah! Congratulations! And now you want to take your fiancée out to dinner, go to the cinema, go on holiday with her and so on? Well, you should know that you have now entered the home of the Jóola and that you must respect their customs and traditions. The first step on the road to marriage is the sharing of wine, bunuk, palm wine. You bring the first wine to the family at home, which we call yang. Then a second wine is brought to the concession, to the bukin. If all goes well, you'll bring wine and galogos (hydromiel) for the whole village.

Yes, we are all deeply rooted in our culture. It's our identity, our strength.

LE VILLAGE ENTIER PREND EN MAIN
L'ÉDUCATION POUR ASSURER LA PAIX



Let's hear some greetings from somewhere in Casamance: 'Bu, kasumay? - Kasumay keb! - Kasaf? - Saf om Sagna. - Sagna bey? - Affiniam. Affiniam n'i kine.' - 'Ah, i mimir Affiniam. Asekom apalol n'akine Affiniam.' - 'Kasaf i bu?' - 'Kasaf om Manga.' - 'Aw, bey n'u kine?'... Let's follow our two interlocutors closely. The most important thing in life is peace. So our caller asks if the person he's talking to lives in peace: Kasumay? Fortunately, everyone lives in peace at home. Kasumay keb! Second place on the list of values: family. So what's his name? Kasaf? As his surname Sagna exists in several places, the dialogue partner (who knows Affiniam because a friend of his wife lives there) asks for clarification: Bey?

Now we know how the greeting goes: **K - a - A**. Then the addressee takes the same route...

After this already dynamic greeting, we're going to show the benevolent reader some other dynamics in the community. The starting point is a, *yang'*, the house where the extended family lives. The head of the family is called Sagna, Manga, Badji, and so on. His wife shares her father's name. The members of two families (b, c) live under the same roof (a). Parentage is based on paternal kinship, and is patrilineal. In general, the couple live in monogamy, unless they have had no children. (see Genesis, 16:3) Neighbourhood, both near (d: *bukin*) and far (e: *galol*), is of prime importance. There are no police, fire brigade or undertakers in the village. '*Gukinor ola fil futihe*'. Neighbours are the first family outside the home. The Jóola language is more picturesque when it speaks of the 'first breast'.

Let's stop now to try and understand the dynamics that maternal filiation generates around gusebul and *gusolanken* (f). First of all, let's avoid any possible misunderstanding. Some misguided people might speak of servants or even slaves. Nonsense in the pejorative sense. And yet, a visitor might swear to having heard a Jóola say 'These are my slaves'. Yes, a Jóola may well say '*Gumigel obu gei?*', 'Where are my slaves? But what does he mean by that?

Well, suppose you have to prepare a funeral, wedding or christening ceremony. This requires an enormous amount of work which will be done by the *gusebul*, the nephews and nieces of the mother of the family in a house. The *gusebul* will come themselves if they hear that there's going to be a party, which is easy to

learn in the village. The *gusebul* will never refuse a job on the grounds that it is too hard or too exhaustive. At the end of the feast, they will take away all the leftovers from the meal. That's their right, but it would be wrong to talk about a reward. There is no calculation, there is kinship, in this case maternal kinship.

However, we can speak of reciprocity. Another day, when *asebul* visits his maternal uncles, he is invited to help himself in the barnyard or the pigsty. But the uncles will never say that *asebul* has taken too many chickens, pigs or goats. With the exception of cows, which nowadays often provide the cash for school fees.

On yet another day, a person from the ascending maternal line visits *asebul*. She greets her gently and explains that she has come to choose some clothes. Again, the giver, now *asebul*, lets her do this without intervening to say that she has taken too many clothes. The rule of reciprocity is sacrosanct. It is not a matter of calculation, but of parental logic. That's why the people involved in this relationship never say 'Stop it' or 'I deserve more'. This rule also extends to the second, third... generation. In this case, we talk about *gusolanken* (f). For those who like formulas, double reciprocity can be summed up as follows:

give ⇔ receive, 2 x

work ⇔ meal +

clothing ⇔ livestock.

By categorising the elements of this reciprocity, we obtain the formula :

activity ⇔ food.

L'activité peut être productrice ou consister en un apport de service, la nourriture crue ou cuite. We can see from this dynamic in the maternal line that Jóola society is patrilineal, but not patriarchal. This characteristic is then confirmed by the dynamics of *gahut* (h). Let's take the example of an intelligent and ardent teenager who already possessed sovereign moral authority at an early age. One day she gathered a group of friends around her and suggested that from then on they should form a *gahut* in the Jóola tradition. A permanent, autonomous group that would embrace socially useful ob-

jectives. One day, this *gahut* learned, for example, that a woman in the village had fallen ill and was unable to help with the rice harvest. So the *gahut* went to work for the sick woman. On another occasion, a woman who was being mistreated by her husband asked the *gahut* to intervene on her behalf. The *gahut* then summoned the husband to give him a strong admonition, telling him that if he didn't listen to reason, the women would have it out with him. That his behaviour was unacceptable because it threatened peace in the family. In this case, the *gahut* exercised the authority that restored this essential peace. The group's leader - if I may use an expression from another culture - has retained her authority over the years, and the *gahut* remains united even when far away.

Guñalena (i) women have established an extraordinary reputation. They're instantly recognizable by their dress, manner of speaking and uninhibited gestures. Their obscenities would be shocking elsewhere, but in their case they make you laugh. Unlike the madmen - to refer again to other European and African cultures - they don't act alone, but in a group, and don't stand within the perimeter of an authority (like Tiécoura in Ahmadou Kourouma's novel "En attendant le vote des bêtes sauvages", who indulges in everything and is forgiven everything). The *guñalena* have left the usual family framework because they lack offspring, either through sterility or mortality. The husband may even join his wife in the *guñalena* group to fight together against the painful experience that obsesses them. Infertility had

laid siege to them, and entry into the *guñalena* entourage enabled them to free themselves from this state of siege. The *guñalena* group doesn't promise wonders, but effectively takes charge of the couple's lives. Members may seek medication, contact *gusontena* (j), ask an experienced woman for help, or relocate the expectant mother to another village.

Another element of *guñalena* therapy is insults directed at the brothers and cousins of the woman's father. In stages of exclusion, they identify the problem. During pregnancy, birth and up to the age of two, the child is closely observed. When the long-awaited child is finally born, there is great joy and celebration. The child is christened with a traditional name chosen by the *guñalena*, and the family keeps the memory of

its recovery. The group presents the successfully treated *añalena* with a *funyalen*, a carved stick whose upper part is bent by a fastener. The *funyalen* is inscribed with the child's name, and the mother takes it with her wherever and whenever she goes. Someone who meets her asks: "Agnoli gajaol bu?" (What's your child's name?) And *añalena* asks her for an obolus so that she can say: "U tjamom mun i lobi." specifying that the asker owes her a small lemon, 100 FCFA or a small clod of earth. If he gives a silver coin or a handful of earth, *añalena* will seize the opportunity to dance, shouting, "I'm going to build a house! Ah, thank you!"

Guñalena activities are always accompanied by dancing and laughter.

Their institution is of the utmost importance, and cheerfulness is no contradiction. Each galol takes care of at least one añalena who can't find the time to work in addition to her social obligations. The neighborhood contributes to providing for the needs of the women's group. The resulting independence enables them to move freely over a wide area. The Jóolas have always travelled long distances, on foot to egunor for medical treatment, by pirogue (without motor) to Ziguinchor, and again on foot to Bignona to attend Sunday mass, departing on Saturdays. No wonder, then, that furige (translation to follow) from Affiniam went to Tendouk one day wearing furob (work clothes that leave the legs free) and gajuwo (shirt with beads) that her group had prepared for her. She danced so

well that the sub-prefect applauded, handing her a national flag. Furige means "it cries out", meaning "because she's losing her children". Other names are no less telling, such as "ku mantire" (people doubt whether she'll succeed this time) or "beng par baye" (in Creole), "the child has come to return" (to the

The guñalena institution is essential. Without it, no flower can bloom in an infertile couple.

Lord). "Deum" means 'in vain' (I feed him). His mother *far enyaru* (monkey belly, monkeys rarely lose a baby) sang "*Inje Deum pan i num ol emunguno esof ol mata munyal*." English: "I'm going to curse Deum so that the hyena will come and devour him because he's a sorcerer." These examples show that traditional

guñalena baptism apparently includes an antidote which, through the expression of the opposite, expresses the event one does not wish to take place. A Catholic or Protestant will remember that his or her Christian baptism includes an exorcism.

Given the way she dresses, speaks and dances, someone unfamiliar with *añalena* might be frightened. In front of an old man or woman, she will kneel to express her respect for the *gunafan*. An unfamiliar person will be invited by large gestures of drawing towards heaven not to take her for a fool, but to pray for her. The institution of the *guñalena* is essential: a family without children would have no future.

COMMUNITY DYNAMICS: BUKUT

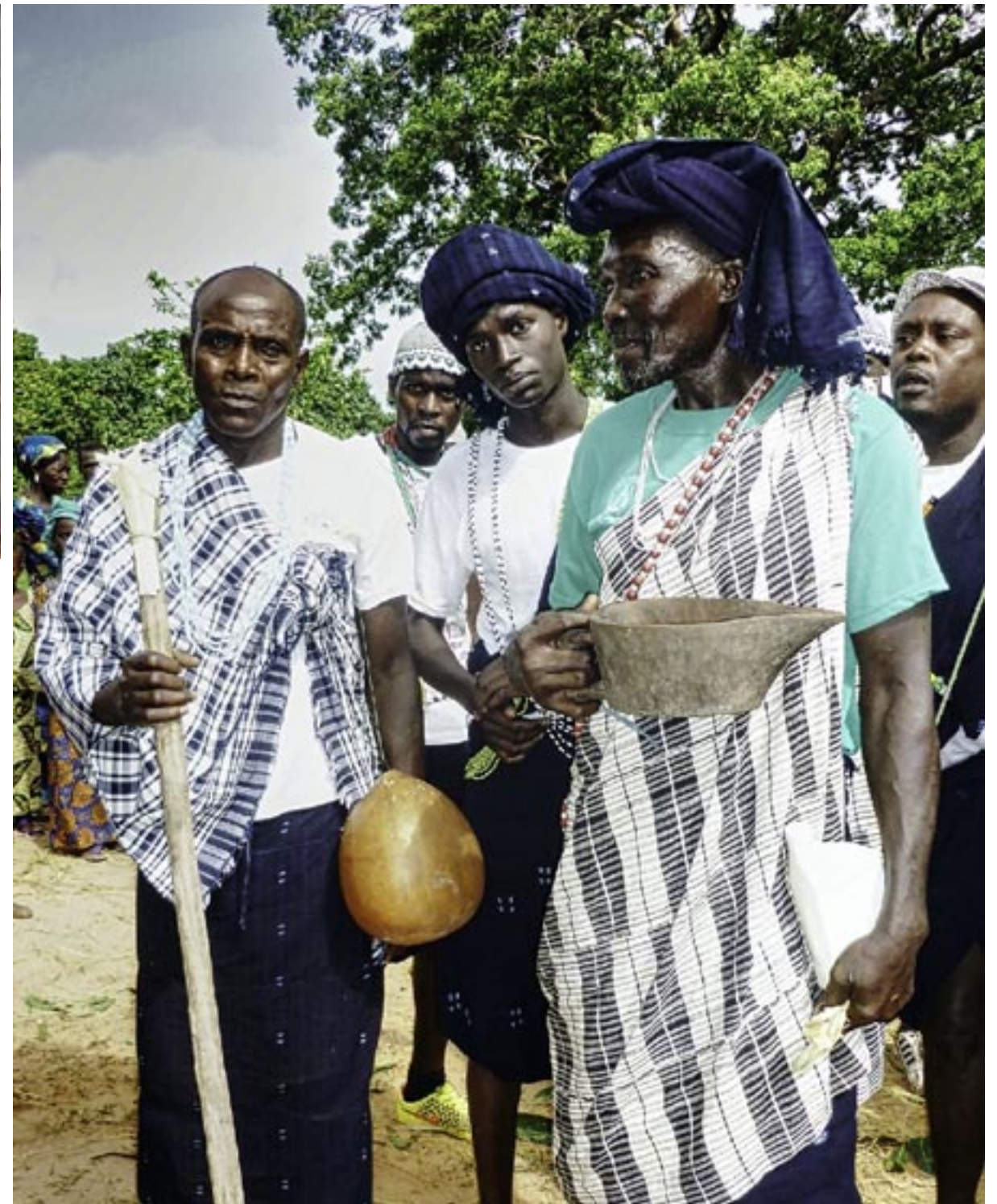
Clockwise: añalena - anafan bukut in women's dress, anafan bukut with sisafi (grey) - anafan bukut with small child (Tendimane bukut in 2014)





©Ralf Biechele Nigeria 2006 African plants -
A Photo Guide. www.africanplants.senckenberg.de

"*Akuhe omei!*" shout the children when they discover *buniek*, the partly plucked flower of ***Parkia biglobosa***. They immediately think of the boy's shaven head at the edge of the sacred forest where he will enter for his initiation. With this plant, we plunge into the midst not only of botany and culinary art, but also of culture. In the front row we see *gunafan bukut*, fathers of bukut. *Anafan* on the right is carrying a *gahut*, a container that is wedged between the thighs when milking a cow. The milk falls into the *gahut* and, thanks to the spout, can be easily poured into the *gafem*, the calabash designed to hold the milk.



Left: etuhen, calabash bottle with palm wine - Right: gahut



Left: gemit akuhe (shaving) - Right: exit from the sacred grove

In one photo, a *bukut* father presents a *gahut*, the container used when milking cows (**bukut 2**), another *gungadapo* (**bukut 7**), a large ring made from a palm leaf, cut in half, to which a woven rope is attached, closed with a sturdy knot. The first *bukut* father thus shows pride in having cows, the second *anafan bukut* underlines the skill of the palm tree climber and palm wine harvester, the famous *bunuk* obtained during *gawa*, the wine harvest. In both cases, the aim is not to highlight an individual feat, but to present the achievements of a culture to the next generation. With these impressive demonstrations, the *gunafan bukut* invite the younger generation of *gukuhe* to follow them on the vertical axis of social relations. As they leave the sacred wood (*gureng baha bukut*), initiates from the same family display their identical new clothes, ostentatiously acknowledging that the message has been received on the horizontal axis. Social relationships intertwine.

The shaving of the *gutuhe* (*gemit*) prior to initiation is carried out by a man, yet women not only attend to watch, they also participate on a kinship level. Either a brother (*alin*) or nephew (*asebul*) of the mother, or a brother or great-nephew (*asolanken*) of the grandmother, is entitled

to the *gemit* operation. And the deeper meaning of *gemit* goes even further. No later than one week after giving birth, the Jóola remove the newborn's first hair. This act is also called *gemit*. *Gukuhe* undergo the same treatment as newborn babies. They enter the *gureng baha bukut*, leaving behind not only their hair and clothes, but all the character they have developed over the years. *Gukuhe* emerge from the sacred grove as newborn babies emerge from the womb. This is their second birth, a social birth this time. Through intense education, traditionally lasting a year, they have become new people, cleansed of any flaws. A Christian will remember Jesus' conversation on birth with Nicodemus (John 3:3).

Let's get back to *gahut*. We now know that this word designates both a container at milking time and a permanent social group. *Gahut* educates its members through the truth that must gradually come out. Truth comes out like milk at milking time, in spurts and drops. All its members know it and are bound by it.



Bukut is an extraordinary event in the life of the Jóola people. It traditionally takes place every twenty years, and takes years to prepare. Large quantities of rice are needed to feed thousands of people, and many places are prepared to house them. The future initiates take care of the beads for their fugal *akuhe* (the stick carved for the *bukut*). Laymen invent the most eccentric get-ups, underlining the fact that customary decorum is suspended for the duration of the initiation party. The temporary suspension of external decorum is matched by the reinforcement of norms through education within the sacred grove. Christians who come as European tourists tend to remember the alternation that marks carnival (from the Italian *carne levare*, to remove meat), escapades and bombast followed by Lent. Even if carnival and *bukut* have only a superficial resemblance, the two lines of tradition lead to the respective fundamental values of the two cultures.

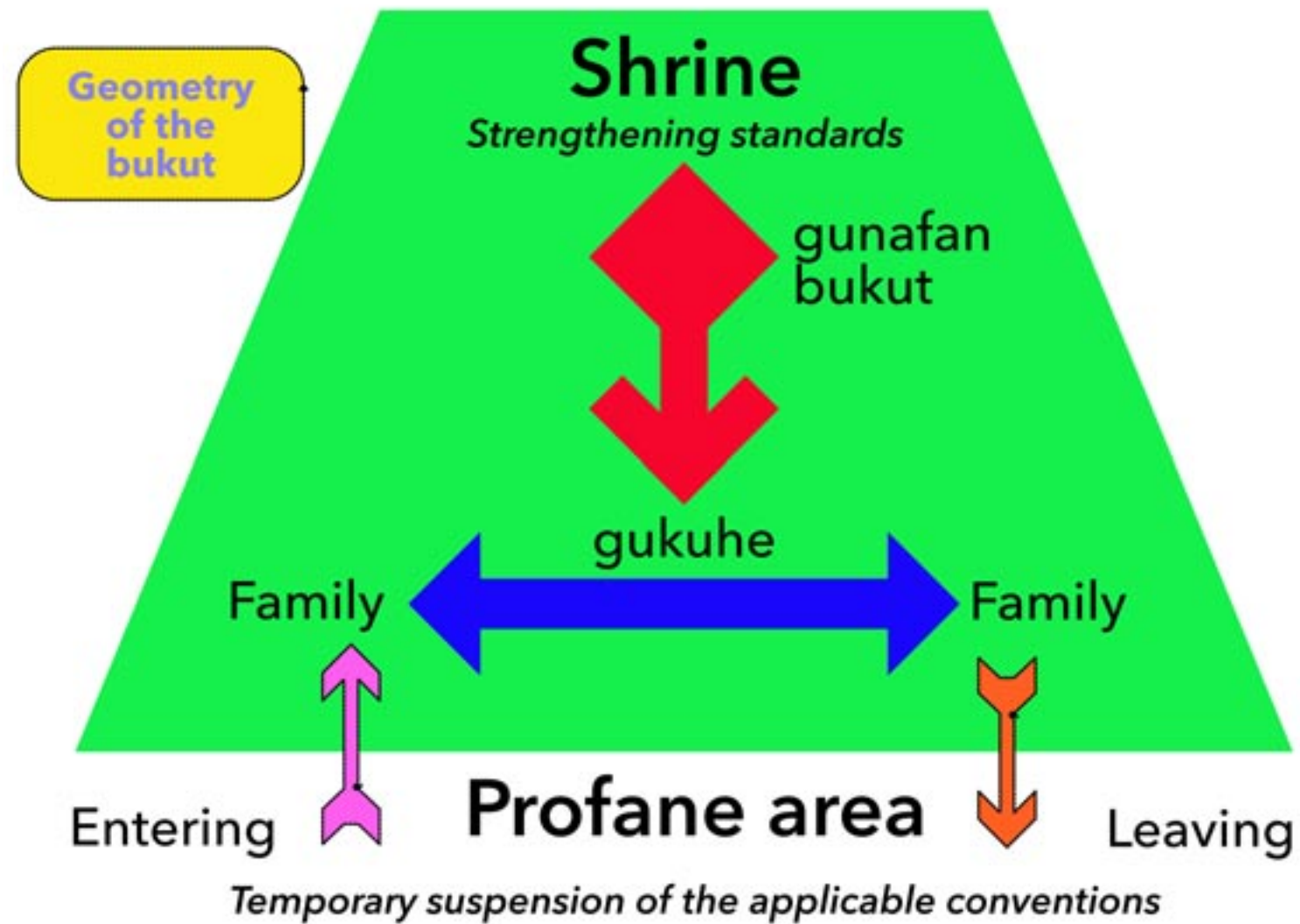
On the Jóola side, the highlight is the initiation of young people into the heritage of their ancestors. They believed in EMITAY YAKONAY, the one God who gives life and peace. From these supreme values stem the norms of respect for ancestors and nature. Christian Lenten traditions culminate in Easter, when the LAMB OF GOD takes away the sin of the world (John, 1:29).



Fugal akuhe: the initiate's stick that the family keeps



Pure joy: tossing handfuls of rice





Gungdapo: palm wine harvesting ring and rope (right)



Emano: thanks to my family who fed me with their rice



Entry and exit

Bukut celebrates entry into the community. The exit through death is called *bubalo*, the return. An old man or woman is a person who will soon return to the sphere from which he or she came. If the person has led a righteous life, they will enter the revered bosom of the ancestors; if not, they will wander the bush, where it's best not to enter alone, lest they be attacked by an unrighteous ghost. Having died, the returnees will nevertheless remain among the members of the community, even if they are invisible. Depending on the state of their health, the old will continue to look after the family, like centenarian Aïssatou, who went to the hospital to visit her sick daughter. Others are getting weaker and need to be cared for like a baby. Family members take it in turns to care for the weakened elderly.

Iñam, the mother, over a hundred years old, also grandmother and great-grandmother, lived with her family. - Right: group of women at the funeral



The death of a member of the community generates a very special, intense dynamic. The whole family mobilizes, whether they live nearby or far away. The whole village knows about it and supports the family of the deceased. Traditional funeral rites also mobilize the deceased. In front of the men's assembly, the ceremonial men (*gunafan nyikul*) wrap him in loincloths (*ubileye*) and wrap him in mats (*upek*). He is then placed on his stomach (here in Bandial, in Affiniam on his back) on a stretcher (*bukogen*) made locally for the occasion. The dead man on the stretcher is then carried around the house, stopping at the main entrance. The stretcher is sprinkled with palm wine (*bunuk*) and stuffed with soaked rice (*babugen*). These two gestures express both thanks for his laborious life and wishes for his passage to the afterlife. After these gestures, the bearers make great efforts to enter the house, but are each time forcefully pushed back and fail in their efforts to the point of falling. It is the dead man himself who makes them realize that he no longer belongs to the living who enter. So the path to burial at the end of the day is clear.

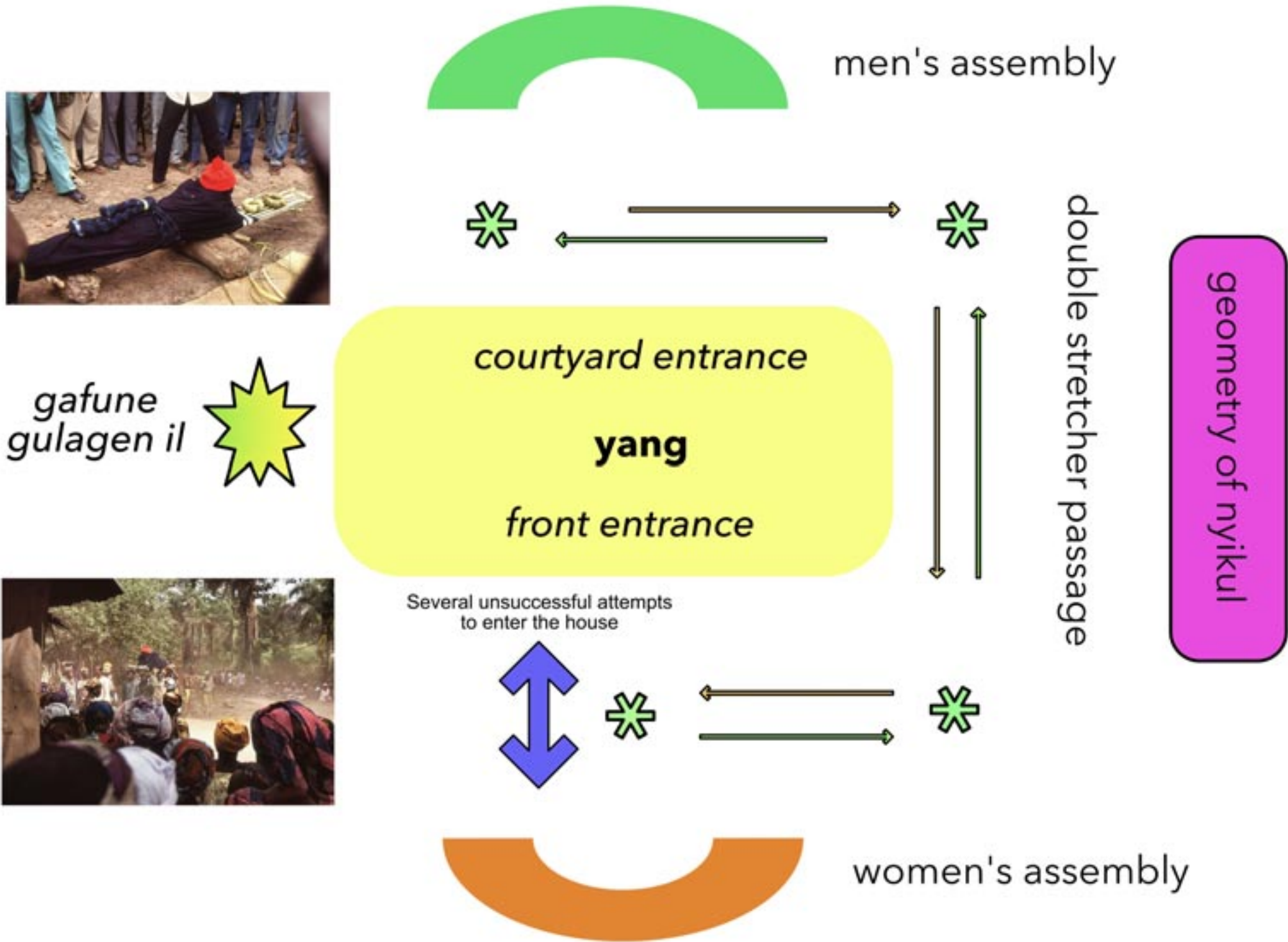
Throughout the ceremony *gafune ata EMIT*, the breath of GOD, follows him. *Gafune gulagen il*, may GOD's breath follow him and may he rest in peace: *u jaw u yello gasumay!*



Above: Placed on a stretcher, the dead man has walked around the house. The stretcher is sprinkled with palm wine (*bunuk*) and flour (*babugen*).

Below: Many people came to mourn the old man. They spent the night on mats (*upek*).





Never leave the bereaved alone

Whether widowed or widower, the family never leaves the person who has lost their marital partner alone. A grieving home is always a meeting place for family, neighbors and friends. Traditionally, the women of the family stay for a week (or more) with the widow who is mourning her husband. With the necessary adaptations, the golden rule of never leaving a mourner alone also applies to widowers. The eighth day marks the end of the first phase of mourning, which continues for another year. During this period, widows wear black clothes. After a year, the mourning ends and gives way to a joyous family celebration. Life has re-



One year later, a big family party marks the end of the mourning period.

turned to normal. However, the deceased may find in the afterlife that some unfinished business has been left undone. Then *afugar* comes into play, the soul of the dead person present in the mind of a living person, who begins to speak the deceased's message of truth. This mes-

sage may concern the family at the heart of the community, or it may extend to the whole of Casamance. It sheds light on a matter that has remained obscure. The *afugar* host transmits the message faithfully, but does not remember it after the visit.

two-fold social articulation

*parental
articulation*



*non-parental
articulation*

multiple imbrications

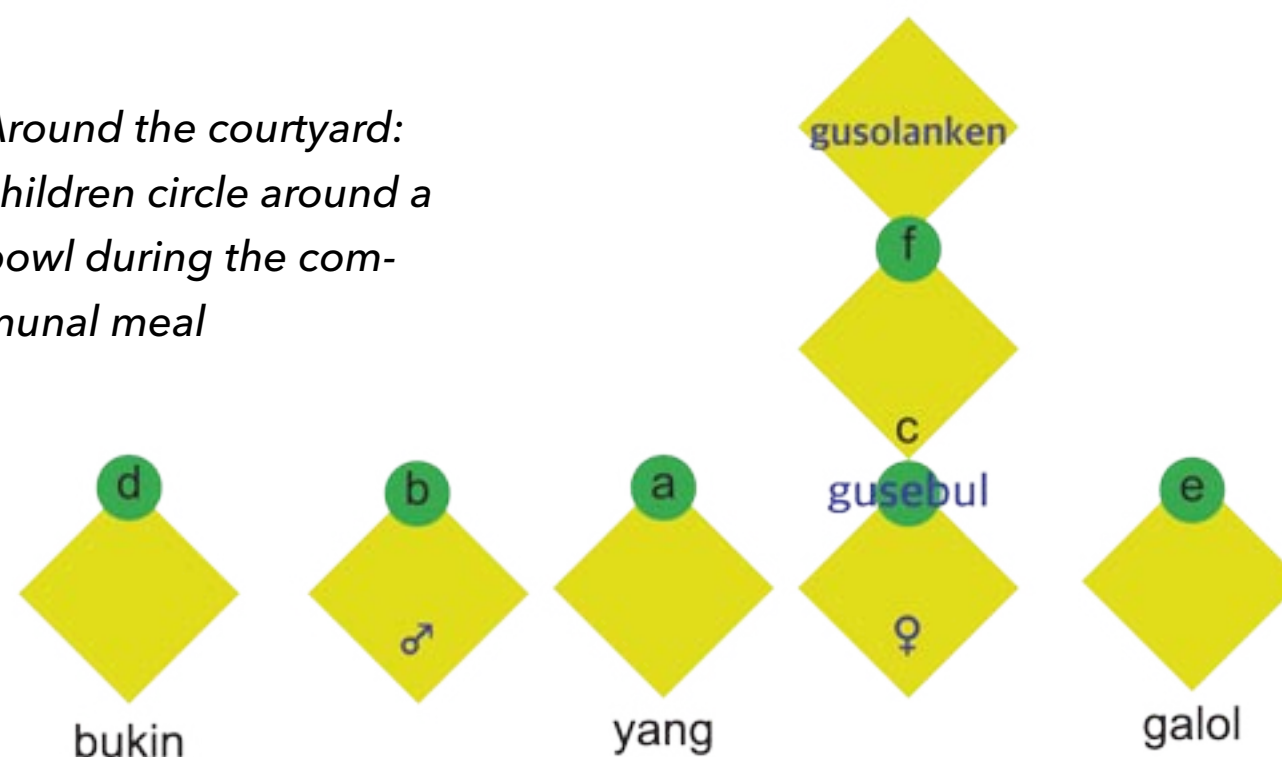
DOUBLE SOCIAL ARTICULATION AND BASIC STRUCTURES

We dare to use the well-known linguistic term of double articulation to highlight the social structures within which the dynamics of the community are established. The two social articulations, parental and non-parental, are as different as they are in linguistics. At the centre of the family is *yang*, the home, with the father's and mother's families. The mother's family branch extends into *gusebul* and *gusolanken*, as explained above. The close (*bukin*) or distant (*galol*) neighbourhood comes into play when the family living in *yang* needs help: in the absence of the parents, the neighbours are the first relatives. Sapir photographed a series of eloquent family scenes 'around the courtyard', around the inner courtyard where daily life takes place. We did the same.

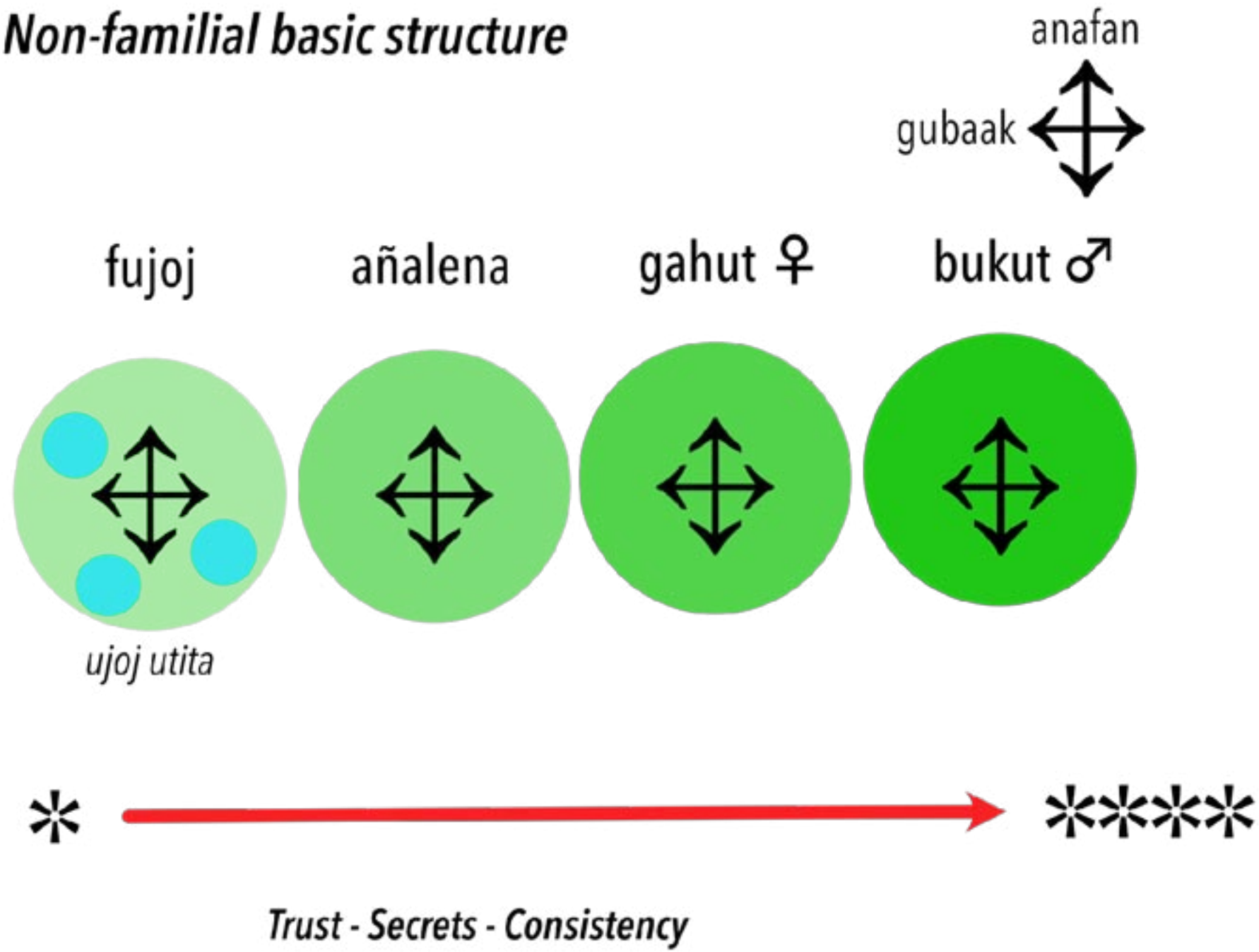
PARENTAL STRUCTURE



*Around the courtyard:
children circle around a
bowl during the com-
munal meal*



Non-familial basic structure



Authority and equality

Traditionally, every twenty years, a young generation retired with their educators to the sacred grove for a year. The cohesion in this group became very strong, secrets were strict and mutual trust was enormous. Within the *bukut* group there was a dual structure of authority and equality. The *gunafan*, the 'old men', exercised uncontested but not absolute authority. The authority they claimed for themselves derived from the ancestors to whom they aspired after their return to their origins. They could be called the proxies of the ancestors to whom they referred during their teachings during the initiation year. The *gunafan bukut* advised the younger generation, which included the same age group, *gubaak*, and answered their questions (double arrow). Equality prevailed between the new initiates. Equality and authority generated strong group cohesion. This basic structure can be found in all the other non-parental institutions of the double social articulation. *Gahut* and *guñalena* also preserve it. On the cohesion axis, they could be given only three or two asterisks instead of four in the case of *bukut*. *Fujoj*, translated as 'society' for want of a better word, represents the same characteristics with a single asterisk be-

cause it is the least strict of the four institutions. On the other hand, it is the most flexible and even allows for small sub-structures, *ujoj utita*.

The double social articulation allows multiple interweavings within and between parental and non-parental categories. In every way, everything is intertwined in the sphere of work. In the non-parental paradigm - *bukut*, *gahut*, *añalena*, *fujoj* - it's all about work, not exclusively, but work plays a very important role. The same goes for the vertical parental paradigm *gusebul*, *gusolanken* and the horizontal parental paradigm *yang*, *bukin*, *galol*. **Olga F. Linares** described the details in 'Power, prayer and production', as did **Robert M. Baum** when he talked about family production. A working syntagm - if I dare say so - is made up of elements from the parental and non-parental paradigms. To the question *Aw ejaw enaf?* (Are you going to farm?), the farmer, *gajandub* on his shoulder (a kind of long wooden spade with ring-shaped metal tip), answers in the affirmative, choosing from the elements of the paradigms of rice fields and types of rice to specify his work *enaf* (*nyiken* for rice). In this way, a phrase from the language of work is created.

In conclusion

LOOKING BACK, LOOKING FORWARD

Becoming human

How did we become human? According to Michael Tomasello, looking back at our phylogenesis sheds light on our ontogeny. Together with his team at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig (Germany), the emeritus director has been conducting comparative research for twenty years with, on the one hand, young anthropoids such as the children of bonobos and chimpanzees (in English, in the great apes category) and, on the other, human children. (*Michael Tomasello, Becoming Human. A Theory of Ontogeny. London, 2019*).

To better understand the difficulty of the task undertaken by the researchers from the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, we could imagine a questionnaire in which we had to tick the correct answer concerning the following presumed faculties of anthropoids: Using tools? Communicate by sharing an intention? Attribute mental

states to a partner ('theory of mind')? Acquire behaviour through social learning, leading to a 'culture'? Hunting together in a group? Having friends? Actively helping someone? Returning the favour?

In all cases the answer is simply 'yes'. (op.cit. 4) But if chimpanzees and bonobos are so close to humans, how do they differ? Tomasello develops his theory by taking four routes twice. Firstly, the four routes in the section on the ontogeny of the uniqueness of human cognition (social cognition, communication, cultural learning and cooperative thinking); secondly, the four routes in the section on the ontogeny of the uniqueness of human sociality (collaboration, prosociality, social norms, moral identity). In each of the eight chapters the reader first learns how far anthropoids have gone before glimpsing the uniqueness of human sociality.

Step by step, we learn how we became human.

The ontogeny of human cognitive and social uniqueness reflects the stages of its phylogeny, its evolutionary history.

Prosociality - Helping

We will now take a great leap forward in Tomasello's book by skipping over the section on human cognition and the chapter on collaboration in the second section, which deals with human sociality. Let's follow the work of the researchers by examining with them a small sample of the many experiments that form the basis of the Max Planck Institute's scientific work. In the chapter on prosociality, Tomasello first highlights the achievements of simians. In a natural environment, chimpanzees pamper their equals, give support to a member of their group and share food with them, even though in general 'great apes are not very inclined to share food' (op. cit. 222). All this takes place at the level of mutual sympathy between members who are dependent on each other in a context of rivalry. This sympathy is supported by an outpouring of the social hormone oxytocin.

However, it does not at all involve a 'we' with a common perspective. We shall see later how shared attention and perspective-taking - two cognitive abilities that great apes lack - play an essential role in prosociality. First of all, it should be noted that even very young children (infants)

spontaneously help someone in difficulty, as long as the help does not cost them too much. If, on the other hand, these children have observed that the person in need has previously shown antisocial behaviour, they avoid helping him or her. Later in their development, children take social norms into consideration (is there an obligation to help?) before deciding whether or not to help someone. It is also well established that help from a child is intrinsically motivated (op. cit. 224 ff). A small child sees another child in need of help. The mother doesn't encourage him? He helps. Is the mother absent? He helps spontaneously. Someone offers him a reward for his help? Well, this is how we undermine the child's prosocial tendency, because from the moment the rewards stop, the help diminishes (overjustification paradigm). A good negative verification of the intrinsic nature of child help.

On the other hand, praising the child (social praise) neither increases nor decreases the strength of the child's attitude. What's more, the child seems to be just as happy with the help if it's administered by someone else, the main thing being that the helper gets out of his unfavourable condition.

Prosociality - Sharing

The first result of the research carried out by the scientific group led by Professor Tomasello is that children help each other in an extraordinary way from a very early age. Other results complete the picture of children's prosociality, this time in the area of sharing (op. cit. 235 ff). Let's first take a look at the influence of the arrangement of experiences. How will children behave when invited to play the dictator game? They are told that they have the right to share a resource as they see fit. Until they reach school age and even beyond, they will do so with no regard for fairness. Other researchers have invented a situation in which children are faced with a costly alternative: either they accept sharing between two children carried out by an adult (using a device constructed for the occasion), or they reject it, accepting that in this case no child will get his share, with the profits falling into an inaccessible bin. Normally, children accept unequal sharing until they reach school age. But in the current scenario, the costs are excessive. It is therefore difficult to detect the progress in fair play that children make between the ages of three and six. The two arrangements presented distort the results. Third-

ly, we must also avoid situations where children already own something to share (endowment effect).

Tomasello explains a situation that is well suited to the needs of research as follows: 'A particularly favourable situation - which seems perfectly natural from an evolutionary point of view - consists of collaborating to produce resources, which must then be distributed among the collaborators. (op. cit. 435) A comparative study between chimpanzees and children aged two and three produced a very clear result. The scenario involved a very simple cooperative task: simultaneously pull both ends of a rope attached to a platform to obtain a reward in the form of food. The chimpanzees were not at all prepared to share two piles of food, even though all the arrangement required them not to block the other's access to the coveted items. The same was true of two-year-olds. Three-year-olds, on the other hand, were prepared to give up an advantage in order to equalise unequal piles. It was as if they were thinking: 'We've worked together to get the loot, now let's share it!

Maturation and shared intentions in cooperation changed everything.

Prosociality - Maturation and socialisation

'Tomasello had already noted the existence of a normative turning point at the age of three in a previous chapter, where he showed that making and keeping shared promises becomes possible at this threshold. Studies on sharing confirm this result. But the essential finding about sharing is not that children begin to correctly determine the numerical equality of goods. Rather, what is essential is that they feel they must treat others as equals, that the obligation to share fairly lies in mutual respect for another person (second-personal agents). Sharing is therefore based on a morally grounded sense of fairness.

Having followed the research carried out by Tomasello's team, we now know that the chimpanzees and bonobos so closely related to humans are strikingly different from human beings when we look closely at their different behaviours in the field of prosociality. Other examples of fair sharing such as drawing lots, drawing straws, throwing dice or playing rock-paper-scissors underline the above results. In all these scenarios, children develop not only a sense of distributive fairness but also a sense of pro-

cedural fairness, for which the wheel of fortune is emblematic.

There are two crucial aspects to the ontogeny of prosociality. Firstly, socialisation does not create behaviour such as early prosociality. Secondly, early prosociality can be influenced to some extent by socialisation. In the laboratory, in front of three- to five-year-olds, researchers played two sharing scenes with a puppet. In the first scene, the puppet took out five sweets from a pile of ten and, in the control phase, the children did the same. In the second scene, the puppet took five sweets from a shared pile and left them with the child. Sharing means taking and giving using an understandable procedure, which is not the case in the second scene and consequently the children do not react to the same extent. Let's move on from the laboratory to reality.

In vivo, we were able to observe two four-year-old girls at the time of the second peanut harvest, which consists of gleaning the remains in the fields. It's a fairly simple job that most young children enjoy because it gives them a social reward for their help.

Full table

Let's give the pseudonyms Ateме and Jandi to the two girls who returned their packets of peanuts to Jandi's father, who was in charge of selling the harvest. Unfortunately, Ateме was a 'swallow', a free-rider who also took from Jandi's harvest to get rewards from Jandi's father. As the father was unaware of the cheating, he encouraged his daughter to work harder to obtain Ateме's score. As the scene was often repeated, Jandi was deeply disappointed by her father's remarks. Yet he had always been an unquestioned authority whose word was respected. The situation was made worse by the fact that the free-rider's mother didn't like Jandi at all and congratulated her daughter on her cheating.

The result: two social rewards for Ateме for distorting the harvest results, triple penalisation for Jandi, mainly from her father, but also from the two injustices committed by Ateме and her mother. Fortunately, Jandi was morally more developed than Ateме and did not return the favour, but asked her mother to find a solution to this inextricable tangle. This real-life example highlights the truth

of the argument that fairness is not a frill, but a guarantee of social cohesion. Needless to say, Tomasello (op. cit. 237) states that research has shown that monkeys and children under the age of three do not distinguish between free-riders and collaborators. Tomasello also confirms that it is not numerical inequity that leads to a disadvantaged child's discontent, but inequity relative to another person. One day, as an adult, Jandi found Ateме's mother seriously ill in her house. The neighbours thought she had gone on a trip, the door having been locked. Once again, Jandi did not return the favour, but washed her and accompanied her to the clinic. Later, she gave her a gift of clothes and shoes. Love your enemies.

Finally, Tomasello maintains that his theory takes nothing away from the profound influence of culture and socialisation on the process of developing children's attitude of sharing and helping, but completes the picture by inserting its evolutionary basis as well as the ontogenetic starting point (op. cit. 244).

Moral identity

Maturation between the ages of one and three, manifested in prosocial skills and shared intention motivation (and culminating in the normative turning point of three years) precedes sensitivity to culture and socialisation (op. cit. ibidem), which will increase as ontogeny takes its course. For social *learning at school (l), in the buhut (k), in the gahut (h), in the gusontena (j), guñalena (i) and working in the fields (g)*, there is still a lot of ground to cover (see the Community Dynamics graph). The whole village is not too big for the education of children and youth at the latest when it comes to the development of moral identity. According to **Tomasello**, it comprises a *quadruple core* formed by the interests of a *self* that wants to survive and flourish, of a *you* for whom one feels sympathy and whom the self is willing to help, of *third parties* regarded as people deserving of equal respect and fair behaviour, and finally of a *shared we* born in face-to-face relationships in the desire to conform to the social norms created by us for us. (op. cit. 288) After the second moral turning point at the end of pre-school age, this understanding governs children's moral judgements and persists against a back-

ground dominated by the moral authority of the community.

Education has always been about the future, that of the child, the family, the village and the region. Nowadays, this field of vision extends to the whole of humanity, whether we like it or not, because our survival is at stake. And once again, we have to face a decisive turning point. In recent years, climate change has proved to be a turning point that leads beyond the classic division between in-group and out-group. Recently, the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic has begun to lead humanity to the same overview. Using **Lawrence Kohlberg's** notions in his '*Theory of Moral Development*', we could say that humanity needs to move beyond the conventional level to reach the post-conventional level at the stages of Social Contract or - even more demanding - Universal Ethical Principles.

This new turning point is an enormous challenge, not only morally but also technically and economically. ISIMIP, an international network of climate impact modellers, is helping to build a comprehensive and coherent picture of the world under different climate change scenarios.

ACCA

Permanent adaptation to Affiniam is envisaged by ACCA, the Casamance association Casa Cœur d'Ange, as we have already mentioned (see ecofestival 2016). Adaptation does not mean abandoning traditions, as Gina from Affiniam explained when speaking to the *guwuye* (see Dynamique m), the villagers who have taken the path of rural exodus. '*Jaal bubalo*', return to the village at least for the *fujam* period, the rainy season with its essential work. The school (see Dynamics I) has systematically trained and educated children and young people to the point of developing in them the ability to adapt to another environment. But wherever they go, they take with them their dual evolutionary and cultural heritage. The Jóola culture has contributed to epigenesis, to the expression of their genes in a phenotype thanks to its particular environment and interactions within the village. If the *Guwuye* cut their roots in the village, they would no longer be able to pass on the legacy of their ancestors to their children. Nor would they be able to show their gratitude to the people of the village. And their children would grow up without this model of recognition, which would not guide them into the future (op. cit. 23 ff.).

The entire adult generation must be grateful too. Six million years ago, our species left behind the branch of the last common ancestor with the great apes. Four hundred thousand years separate us from early humans, one hundred thousand years from the first human cultures (op. cit. 11). Over this long period, we have become ultra-cooperative, and every child born among us with a uniquely human heritage is a gift of evolution. How can we preserve both our global environment and our cultures? Two thousand six hundred years ago, Ezekiel gave a vision to his people in distress: '22 [This is what the Lord GOD says: 'I will take a shoot from the lofty top of the cedar, and I will set it out. I will pluck a tender sprig from its topmost shoots, and I will plant it on a high and lofty mountain.](#) (Berean Standard Bible)

It's up to us to find a new reading for this vision. What mountain comes to mind, what tender branch? At Affiniam, we pray 'At Emit, Lord, have mercy on us' for the success of the global moral, economic and technical ultra-cooperation we need.

The whole world is not too big to educate us.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to...

... to the women of Affiniam who explained and showed us their work in sinaka

... Gina d'Affiniam and her impresario Jean Gabin Coly for the songs Do Affiniam, Jaal bubalo, Jóola ha nanag, Passul and a series of photos

... Françoise Badji for her songs Africa and Buyik

... the women of Tobor who welcomed us during the rice harvest

... Jean Baptiste Nyafouna for his photos and songs from the Bakunum bukut

... to the parishioners of St. Lukas with St. Josef in Düren (Germany) for their support

... Pierre Badji and the other Affiniam gusontena for their explanations about medicinal plants

... the Sisters of the Presentation of Mary who gave us free access to the Affiniam maternity hospital

... all the Affiniam teachers who opened their classrooms to us, and all the pupils who painted, drew and sang for us

... to the faithful who sang at the Affiniam cemetery in mourning for Jean Marie Manga

... to the villages of Tendimane and Thionk Essil who invited us to their Bukut celebrations

... to the family of Nicole Bassen for their invitation to the mourning of their father in Bandial

... to the Djiba family for their invitation to their father's mourning anniversary in Ziguinchor

... to the Deep-L translation programme and the Antidote editing system (Canada)

Make a donation

Donation account

Donations for the medicinal botany project in Senegal can be transferred to one of the following accounts:

Pfarre St. Lukas, Annaplatz 8, D-52349 Düren

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More information on our website:
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Stichwort: Senegal – Keyword: Senegal - You will receive a donation receipt if you provide your address.**

Affiniam medicinal botanical garden (Senegal)

In summer 2016, the parish of St Joseph decided to become active in Africa with the GURENG GAHA UBUN project. The aim is to establish a MEDICINAL BOTANICAL GARDEN in southern Senegal in order to provide the local

population with proven naturopathic care quickly and cost-effectively.

However, as it has not yet been possible to reach an agreement with the local population in the village of Affiniam, the St. Josef management group and the St. Josef 2024 support association have decided to donate the donations collected so far to the Arbeiter-Samariter-Bund (ASB) clinic in Serekunda. With the TEETH and FACE projects, the ASB 'reaches patients of all ages who urgently need surgery. Surgery is mainly performed on cleft palates and various facial tumours as well as joint malpositions'. For some time now, the 'ASB Clinic - The Gambia - German Clinic' has also been working in the field of orthopaedics as part of the JUMP project. A total of over 1,000 operations were carried out during the OPERATIONS WEEKS. Other fields of activity include gynaecology and the treatment of serious wounds (<https://www.facebook.com/asbclinic>). The local contacts are Mr and Mrs Tangemann, who have lived in St Luke's Parish and St Joseph's Parish with their children for 20 years. They have got to know both the patients and the doctors who work in the projects.

This is also true of the third aid project of the parish of St Joseph, the Soeurs de St Joseph clinic in Ziguinchor (<https://www.stjosephlyon.org>). They work right next to the church of St Augustine. Their work, like that in Gambia, has a far-reaching impact.

AFRICA, THE CONTINENT OF SMILES

EH... AFRICA

Eh... Eh... Africa mon bel amour

Eh... Eh... Africa mon cher humour

**Eh... Eh... Africa tes enfants blancs, bruns,
noirs chantent en chœur**

**Ta beauté, l'amour et l'infinie bonté de ton
cœur.**

Eh... Eh... Africa mon grand bonheur

Eh... Eh... Africa ma vraie douceur

**Eh... Eh... Africa sur la brune peau de ton
dos je m'endors**

**Et dans tes bras c'est mon plus grand et vrai
réconfort**

Africa forêts très secrètes

Africa portes bien ouvertes

**Africa quand j'accours vraiment Africa vers
toi**

**Ma mère reçois-moi à l'immense abri de ton
joli toit**

Africa continent du sourire

Africa terre des grands rires

**Africa j'attends retentir le son de tes tam-
bours**

**Pour que je puisse sauter joyeusement et
danser à mon tour**

Africa concessions regroupées

Africa enfants bien rassemblés

**Africa le soir les petits et les grands autour
du feu**

**Écoutent les anciennes histoires racontées
par tes vieux**

Africa parenté bien liée

Africa famille enchaînée

Africa même au plus profond des déserts

**Tes pensées virent et restent à jamais au
vert.**

Eh... Eh... Africa dans les profondeurs

Eh... Eh... Africa sur les grandes hauteurs

**Eh... Eh... Africa je crierai toujours et partout
ton nom**

**Et je le récrierai dans le monde entier à par-
tir des monts.**

Africa !

Françoise Badji, 2004

