

A Day in the Mind of the Malê: Ecopoesy of Muslim Slaves and Free Persons in Nineteenth-Century Salvador, Brazil

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Abstract: This paper utilizes an interdisciplinary approach---combining history, anthropology, sociology and gender studies---to rediscover the lives of African Muslims, free and slave named the Malês, in nineteenth century Salvador, province of Bahia, Brazil. It is an attempt to read the mind of the Malês as a book of poems, chronicling everyday struggles for liberty, what the Muslim labels jihad. The disservice done to the Malês by most historians is based on a profound misunderstanding of jihad. Political and military insurrection---commonly understood as synonymous with jihad---was actually the ultimate and exceptional method of dissenting from the white master's rule. Maintaining a Muslim identity was the true test of faith and toughest form of jihad. Cultural resistance, in the form of recreating Islam in a New World setting, kept the Malês as part of Dar-us-Salam, (the House of Islam) which besides Africa, by the nineteenth century included the Caribbean and North American Muslim slave communities. Yet, the Malês lived physically in Dar-ul-Harb (the House of War), where politico-religious authority was absent or actively hostile to Islam. In Brazil the two Houses coexisted and clashed, every day in the slave quarters of the planter estate and streets of Salvador.

Key words: Diaspora • Brazil • Jihad • Slavery • Malê

“What if we read history the way we do love poems?”

Francisco Goldman, *The Divine Husband*.

“A fact is not a truth until you love it.” Shelby Foote

INTRODUCTION

What is it like to live Islam under the most painful and obtrusive of conditions, chattel slavery? Not only to believe, worship and practice the faith but take it as the source of reference for all a man's doings, from the seemingly trivial to the sublime? The Muslim lives a separate reality, always has and always will. For him, another world exists and it lies inside the Quran. This *dunya* (world of men and spirits) is filled with signs, symbols and magnets pointing toward another dimension, the *ghaib* (the unseen). Rocks, rivers, stars, sun and moon, trees, birds, plants and animals are themselves a book, containing hidden messages. The man who relies solely on reason stares at these things and sees one thing, while the Muslim Believer beholds a multitude,

contained in pages from a script written before time by Allah, telling a man's destiny yet granting him the wisdom to choose between truth and falsehood. For him time flows simultaneously in two opposite yet complementary directions: forward toward the Day of Judgment and backward through the centuries, so that his every act echoes and revives that of the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions, *al-qadam al-sharif*, or “following the footsteps of the Prophet. His world is ecopoetic [1]. He does not live in the city, countryside or nation but the *ummah*---“the greatest community ever raised for mankind”, as the Quran has taught him. Every Believer must begin and finish his own epic with the *shahada* (the profession of faith: “*Laa ‘ilaaha ‘illallahu* (There is none worthy of worship but Allah) on his lips that he may enter Paradise [2].

In order to rediscover the lives of African Muslims, free and slave, named the Malês, in nineteenth century Salvador, Brazil the historian must read the mind of the Malês as a book of poems, chronicling everyday struggles for liberty, what the Muslim labels jihad. What did the Malês desire from life, before, during and after the January 1835 rebellion in Salvador? [3]. Typical answers such as “freedom”, “an end to slavery”, or “escape from the *kaafirun* (Disbelievers)”, do not suffice in distinguishing this slave uprising from the many others in nineteenth-century Brazil. The disservice done to the Malês by most historians is based on a profound misunderstanding of jihad, of how the Muslim, even in chains, is commanded to fight oppression and every obstacle, until all religion is for Allah. Historians, anthropologists and sociologists, both Brazilian and foreign, have treated the Malês before, but the focus has been almost entirely on the slave uprising of 1835 and the subsequent judicial trials of the rebels; to cite two prominent examples, João José Reis in *Slave Insurrection in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* and Paul Lovejoy in his essay “Background to Revolution: The Origins of the Muslim Slaves in Bahia” have dissected the political goals and military strategy of the Malê revolt. Roger Bastide, in his magnum opus, *The African Religions of Brazil*, grants Islam short-shift, assuming the Muslim slaves contributed little to the culture of Brazil because their religion could not be assimilated by the Catholics, or even by their fellow slaves [4]. But these distinguished scholars hardly delve into the cultural and religious *weltanschauung* of the Muslim slaves, assuming they had the same grievances and motivation for freedom as any other men and women held in bondage in Brazil, with perhaps a bit of Islam thrown into the mixture; just enough to give the rebels a temporary common identity [5]. In contrast to both environmentalist and parochial interpretations on the rebellion of 1835, which prioritize elements and events particular to Bahia, reading the Malês requires diving into their symbol-ridden world by looking at their rituals and ceremonies comparison to the symbols that are held dear in the modern materialist world.

There can be no doubt that the European Catholics feared the Malês because they detected in their manner and appearance the portents of a cosmological battle: “They {the Malês} aimed at the destruction of our religion and Glory {sic}. They instruct their adepts in the beliefs, vestments and writings prepared by the God of their faith”, one prosecutor of the rebels announced to the

court in 1835 [6]. Africans who testified against the Malê rebels in 1835 also stressed the great importance of dress and jewelry to the unique identity of the Muslims and took great pains to disassociate themselves from such suspicious types. During the testimony against the slave Joaquim, of the Nagô {Yoruba} nation, one of the alleged ring leaders told prosecutors of “a white American {sic} cotton shirt and blue bonnet found inside a chest” belonging to one of the other suspects, while Ellena, a former slave, claimed to have knowledge that the same Joaquim kept esoteric “rings inside a box to which only he had the key” [7]. The Malê did in fact possess such a key, but not in a literal sense. The prisons of this world, which may range from chattel slavery to forced religious conversion, are opened through jihad with the mercy of Allah. Daily jihad, the struggle against one’s baser self and the creation and if necessary recreation, of the ummah in any setting the Muslim encountered was ordained by the Quran and Sunnah on all Muslims physically capable of performing this task. How feasible was this goal in Bahia? One scholar maintains that “the situation of the Malês was different from the Muslims of the Old World. They had been driven violently to *Dar-al-Harb* (the House of War) and had not slightest contact with *Dar-us-Salam* (the House of Islam)” [8]. In fact, cultural resistance, in the form of recreating Islam in a New World setting, kept the Muslims part of *Dar-us-Salam* in both South and North American Muslim slave communities [9]. The Malês lived physically in *Dar-al-Harb* where politico-religious authority was absent or actively hostile to Islam. Theoretically and theologically the two Houses are separate spheres. But in Brazil they coexisted and clashed every day, not just in the world of the estate or the city of Salvador but in the mind of the Malê. Conducting daily jihad was a duty and the probability of real war, physical jihad, always present. Slavery did not wrench the Malês from *Dar-us-Salam* but forced them to forge a new ummah in Bahia. In principle, but less often in practice, the Portuguese and after 1824 Brazilian state, required conversion of African slaves to Christianity. For some students of the Malês, such as Bastide, this could only mean that at best a revealed, proselytizing religion such as Islam could have existed only underground or between the interstices and on the margins of Brazilian society. But is this hypothesis correct? Both the historians of African resistance against slavery and of African-derived religions in Brazil suffer from myopia. They assume once in Brazil African Muslim

slaves retreated into an enclave, cut off from their peers in the New World and Africa. Yet the surreptitious copying of passages from the Quran, the display of amulets by slaves and free persons with inscriptions in Arabic and the constant arrival of new slaves from the West Coast of Africa after 1800, bearing news of wars between Muslims and non-Muslims in Hausaland and Yorubaland (both in present-day Nigeria) provides tantalizing evidence that the Malês still planned and conducted their lives around Africa and Islam. The Malê mind was the construct and intermingling of centuries of African, Arab and Atlantic ways of knowing and acting upon the world.

Muslim Salvador at Prayer: The Malê walks the streets of Salvador briskly before dusk, just before the pre-sunset prayer, *magribh*, to drop in on the house of a shopkeeper friend. In his eyes the city serves a triple function: a marketplace to sell and buy earthly goods; a “tent of miracles,” to borrow a phrase from novelist Jorge Amado, where men and materials possess magical powers; and a mosque, both in the literal sense, for the city contains at least dozens of homes that serve for the Believers to gather and in a broader connotation, as the Prophet had declared that “the whole world, except for graveyards and toilets, is a mosque” [10]. Here the religious and profane comeingle. The purchase of a talisman in the form of an amulet, for example, is simultaneously an economic exchange and transaction with Allah and the *jinn* (spirits good and evil). While walking he lowers his gaze while passing any *haram* (forbidden) objects such as alcohol or women not related to him. On his head bears proudly the prayer skullcap which most Muslims call a kuffy, but the Malês rechristened *filá*; atop of which rests a long white tassel, waving in the wind. His beard is long and left untrimmed, for under no circumstances will he shave, following the Sunnah. He will speak his own language amongst members of his African nation, but all written communication, whether transcribing verses memorized from the Quran or composing a note to be delivered to the house of a coreligionist, will be done in Arabic, or at least as much as he can remember being taught as a child on the other side of the Atlantic. Arabic must be used in prayer and sermon. Allah is uncompromising in this regard. He sent down his Revelation, the Quran, in only one language, “plain Arabic”, so all might understand. A cruel but inescapable irony: the Malê has no access to the *Karim* (rich, bountiful) Quran in Brazil, hence he must become a

“walking Quran” just as Aisha, one of the wives of the Muhammad, described her husband, the “Illiterate Prophet” mentioned in the Holy Book. This quasi-literacy imparted on the Malês a certain respect and even awe from fellow Africans, but also jealousy and disdain. So too did their austere personal habits and choosing to live in only certain parts of the city, giving other blacks the impression that the Muslims deemed themselves a higher caste.

He has come to visit the *marabout*, which Christians took for head priest. But, unlike priest or rabbi, whose authority is conferred from some central organization, he is *imam* (prayer leader) by virtue of scholarship and faith, recognized as the leading political figure of the community through consensus (*shurah*) and holds other-worldly powers, such as healing the sick. The marabout is the most venerable of men in the culture of Muslim West Africa. He is skilled in the manufacture of every type of salve medicine and magical filter; from him destiny can be known and reality twisted---to pour revenge on some enemy, or to persuade a woman to become the fiancée of a Malê. The immanent quality of a marabout is charisma. He is the intercessor with the supernatural, connecting Allah, the Prophet and the spirits to the Believer. The marabout prays for divine favors for his followers and punishments for the pagans and the wicked, employing the techniques of West African divination---esoteric designs on the sand, bird bones and shells covered with calligraphy from verses of the Quran.

The shop serves as the *masjid* (mosque) for the five daily *salat*(prayers) and the *jumma* congregational prayers on Sunday. Friday is the day ordained by the Sunnah, but slavery and the Catholic regime of the city makes this impractical and even dangerous. Using his *tecebá*, the imam made gestures indicating what point he had reached in the liturgy. This “Muslim Rosary”, as the Christians interpreted it to fit their cosmology, is made of wood and contains ninety-nine beads, each one representing one of the names of Allah cited in the Quran. The men remained silent while the women shouted “*Bismillah!*” (In the name of Allah). The Malê is dressed in the *abadá*, or chemise worn in Mecca and Timbuktu; white pants, white shirt and white cap or turban. He hangs from his waist his own *tecebà* or in the Hausa lingua franca *themisba*. These meetings and greetings are an essential part of the faith, for the sake of re-forging community ties, forgiveness of sins and chasing away Satan. This day, like every other day, is built around

prayer. Time on earth, the Malê knows, is but sport and preparation for eternal time in the Hereafter. A Muslim must use all his time for *dhkir* (remembrance of Allah). Time outside work should be used for learning and reciting the Quran. This puts him in conflict with European capitalist notion of time---the regulation of hours by labor regime, or time measured by productivity---as well as Catholic time, e.g., the feast days of Saints [11]. The war of cosmologies in Salvador is waged in both time and space and while the Europeans are the apparent winners in the outside world inside the mind of the Malê the battles has already been won for Islam.

Islam and the Moral Ecology of Salvador: Nineteenth-century Salvador presented a Janus face to the Africans it enslaved and housed. “The Brazilian Virginia” abolitionist Joaquim Nabuco labeled the city, but he had in mind not so much slavery as the putative charm of its master class with their “urbanity, politeness, gentleness, religiosity, tenderness, civic mindedness and intelligence.” Gilberto Freyre, writing a century later, named Bahia the “Brown breast of Brazil” and the “mistress of conciliation”, where for centuries an equilibrium of races, customs, routines and natural resources made for a tradition of harmony, “a culturally passive zone” for the majority of its inhabitants while political violence was confined to clashing commercial and landowning clans who constituted the city’s elite. Those elites had to pretend to the rest of Brazil that their domain was “monotheistic and Christian”, lest Bahia be taken for granted by the “elegant, dignified and solemn” rulers of Rio de Janeiro. Perhaps for that very reason Nabuco and Freyre conceded that Salvador had another side; it had always been at the forefront of “political movements, campaigns and underground resistance” in times of turmoil in Brazil [12]. Though neither author was willing to say so, the Malês were part of that underground tradition. It is impossible to conceive of Bahia without religion, from Franciscan brothers on a proselytizing mission to Muslims blending with other Africans and trying to keep out of sight of the white authorities.

The Malês maintained, on a daily basis, a fairly high degree of moral distance and even isolation from the white Christians because both the free persons and even many slaves among them were employed in professions that granted them autonomy from the master class. The “*Negros de ganho*” (free blacks who sold their services) could be found in occupations ranging from “masonry to

carpentry, carriage and cabinet makers, printers, sign and ornament painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers and merchants.”

[13] What these occupations bought the Malês was two things crucial to jihad: physical, cultural and emotional distance from their masters; and free time to contemplate rebellion, both everyday resistance and the long-term goal of insurrection. The amount of free time allotted a significant number of Malês on account of their professions and the fact that many lived where they worked, had no parallel in the world of non-Muslim slaves. The field slaves were deprived of nearly all free time and many other African slaves and free persons used their idle hours mainly for physical recuperation, but the Muslims, following the instructions of the Quran to hold *al-Asr*(Time) holy, counted and exploited the minutes of each day for the sake of jihad. Bahia’s reputation, fostered by Freyre and other Brazilian authors as a “sleepy city” for both blacks and whites, breaks down when applied to the Muslims. The Malês, by literally buying time through their work, isolated themselves, up to a point, from the rest of the urban environment and reinforced their ummah. This moral isolation in time would give way to politician and military confrontation.

Muslims have been accustomed by their religion to bend space and time by overcoming the geographical and temporal dimensions set by outsiders. The ummah does not recognize man-made boundaries. In A.D. 570, the year of the birth of the Prophet, the Red Sea was not considered a chasm between Africa and Arabia. The Middle East is a modern, European invention [14]. We may speak rather of Africarabia, a very real and not simply imagined community of shared religion, language and economy. The first migration for the sake of the religion, or *hijra*, when Muslims fled to Ethiopia to escape persecution in Arabia in 616 A.D., proved this point. The Believers took Mecca and Medina, the latter the site of the second *hijra* and home to *al-muhajiroun* (the emigrants from Mecca) and *al-ansar* (the helpers born in Medina), the hub of Islam and axis of Africarabia. The hajj reinforced the notion of supra-national loyalty and identity. Leaving his home for Mecca the Muslim rediscovered his *deen*, re-discovered Allah and saw his small village or city in the glow of a global civilization. This sense of home, of belonging to a global community, remained sacred to the Malês. The creed of Mohammed flowed from the Arabian Peninsula to West Africa to Bahia. Wars between Africans and among the Muslims

themselves, kidnappings by Europeans, shipment across the Atlantic, chattel slavery and forced conversion to Christianity all plagued, perplexed and challenged the Believers, just as the followers of the Prophet had been tested, but surrender to kaafr authority was not an option [15].

These trials only served to strengthen their allegiance to the Quran and Sunnah. Holy warriors, saints and healers crossed first the African continent in the seventh century. Islam came to West Africa by way of trade, commerce and labor migration. Indigenous proselytizers, not Arab warriors or immigrants, spread news of the One God. European slavers and merchant traders who might have raised the banner of Christianity mostly staid put on the coasts, hence Islam faced little competition for prestige among converts and this reinforced the notion of the deen as native to Africarabia. The transatlantic slave trade did not break but perpetuated the status of Islam as a global religion and brought two new continents into the ummah [16]. Thus the term Malê, rather than referring to one specific ethnic group, connotes a shared experience of conversion and constant communication of the faith between interlocked African peoples in Bahia [17]. The Hausa were estimated by contemporaries to constitute the most numerous Muslim group in Bahia, yet Hausa referred more to a language group than an ethnic conglomeration or place of origin. Among the Malês we can count the Mandinga, a Sudanese people who occupied territory between Senegal and Upper Niger, the Peuhl or Fulani of North Africa, occupying territory from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Chad, the Yoruba or Nagô nation, many brought to Islam through conquest by the Hausa and minor Islamized groups in Bahia such as the Tapa, from north Nigeria and well known for proselytizing, the Bornú or Kanuri, from Northeast Nigeria, who had their own language, unrelated to Hausa or Nagô, but still considered themselves Malê, the Ewe from Nigeria and Gurunsi from Senegal. All formed part of a large but flexible and negotiable community of first-generation Muslims in Bahia which negotiated Muslim identity through simultaneous co-existence and struggle with the whites and Non-Muslim Africans [18].

Men made up the vast majority of the Malê community, though exact figures are not available. Among the Africans shipped from the Central Sudan, principal source of slaves for Brazil, females accounted for less than five percent, according to some estimates [19]. But back in the motherland African women readily and

regularly converted to Islam because the religion gave them greater rights of inheritance and a higher status than in animist societies. Both of her identities, African and Muslim, served the Malê woman well. Marriage was usually voluntary and consensual rather than arranged and female circumcision rare. The dowry guaranteed to her by the Quran gave her property separate from her husband and at the same time was regarded as a gift to the spirits of the animist tradition who protected the bride. Matrilineage was maintained by many African peoples who converted to Islam and the wife, in principle if not always in practice, had to be consulted on all important decisions. We may assume that she was the prototype of the Bahiana---the strong, self-assured, independent woman from Bahia celebrated in Brazilian folklore since colonial times [20]. Polygamy, though allowed by the Quran, was exceptional in an urban setting, since the usual, non-religious justification of putting female hands to work on agricultural labor, was absent. Malê women added a colorful and distinctive touch to a community already marked as mysterious by their co-residents. They painted their lower eye lashes with blue ink imported from Africa and dressed in white from head to toe, including the famous white turbans nowadays associated with Bahian women who practice candomblê and other Afro-Brazilian religions. The dress was made of the same linen worn by women back in the Costa da Mina where the Portuguese raided for slaves. Lace skirts were not unusual and most Muslim women in Bahia walked in sandals. Females often wore the prayer bead, *tecebá*, around their necks rather than clinging from the waist in masculine fashion. Some were veiled in the hijab and others covered their bodies in cloth head to feet in shawls or multi-layered skirts. The counterpoint to these shows of female power was the Malês following the Islamic injunction of not permitting their wives or daughters to leave the home unaccompanied except by a *mahram* male, meaning a relative or trusted and elderly friend and then only at night. The move from countryside in West Africa to Salvador had apparently highlighted, though not entirely enthroned, more patriarchal and domestic values among the Afro-Muslims [21].

Daily Jihad in Salvador: A most profound irony surrounded the Muslims of Bahia. *Tawheed* (Islamic monotheism) and the Arabic language ensured cohesion and order, while multiculturalism led to syncretism and Muslims adapting to new circumstances, no matter how

harsh the surroundings. In matters of cultural preference the Muslims remained committed to individual choice, informality and negotiated accommodation to the ways of others. This dual identity, a critical condition which broke the spirit of many a non-Muslim slave, actually helped the Malês. Curiously, one of Europe's most notorious racists was among the first to take note of this Muslim hardness. Visiting Rio de Janeiro in 1869, Joseph Arthur, Conte de Gobinenau, wrote of the "Minas" (slaves from the Coast of Guinea): "The majority are Catholics on the outside and Muslims de facto; however, since this religion would not be tolerated in Brazil they hide it and most are baptized and carry names taken from the {Catholic} calendar. Yet, they nevertheless guard and faithfully transmit the opinions they brought from Africa, because they study Arabic rather thoroughly, or enough to understand the Quran" [22]. Through the Quran another world could be created that could match and at times overcome, the Euro-Catholic hegemony over Bahia.

The purity of the Muslim, his constant battle against the intrusion of disbelief, struck some Christians as bordering on violence. Francis de Castelnau, the French Consul in Bahia in 1850 wrote of one Fulani Muslim: "This old man, Mohammad –Abdullah {sic}, has been in Bahia for thirty years and currently works as a carpenter. He is well-educated, knowing how to read and write in his own language but also Portuguese. He is very intolerant, very fanatical and is trying in every way to convert me; and even though I had received him in the best manner possible and even given him money, he refuses to pay me a return visit, telling another black that he will not call on a Christian dog. He must be about seventy years old. He had been a marabout and made the pilgrimage to Mecca. The Hausa {sic} blacks staying at my house have the greatest veneration for this man and, following his example, pray by reciting the Quran out loud" [23]. In point of fact, this "fanaticism" was the product of a constant battle, what the Prophet termed the Greater Jihad, against corruption of the breast, where knowledge, wisdom and power reside but also the place where satanic insinuations penetrate the believer. At the base of jihad was maintaining the five pillars of Islam in the land of the kaafirs:

Salat. The five daily prayers: the pre-dawn prayer, *fajir*, *Zuhr* around noon; *Asr*, called *Ay-a-sari* or *Allasari* by the Malês, in the late afternoon; *Magribh*, known variously in Salvador as *Alimangariba* or *Alumagariba*, after sunset; and *Isha*, termed *Adixá*, *Vitri*, or *Lixari*, at

late night. The five obligatory prayers might be performed at the master's house, in public ceremonies, usually with the knowledge of the authorities and attended by both slaves and free persons, or at the *misillah*, typically the residence of the marabout.

Ramadan. The mandated month of sacrifice and purification by abstaining from food, drink and conjugal relations from dawn to dusk. Known as *assumy* by the Malês, a corruption of the Arabic word *saum*, Ramadan was followed fairly strictly by the Muslims of Bahia. The thirty days of fasting would be followed by sixty days of normal activity and then ten days given over to penitence. There may have been, according to some sources, an additional thirty days of fasting just for the marabouts. Ramadan, with its lunar calendar and precise observation of dawn and dusk, countered European solar and clock time. Although the Malês followed the lunar cycle in chronicling the start and finish of Ramadan, there is some evidence they tied this sacred month to the forty days of fasting for Lent practiced by Catholics, perhaps to evade public scrutiny. Yet even here an African element can be detected, as the pre-dawn and post-sunset meal, *iftar*, typically consisted of yam cooked with oil of dende (oil-palm commonly used in Bahian cooking), rice with water and a drink of sugar, milk and honey, just like on the mother continent.

Zakah, is the third pillar of Islam and was practiced by both slaves and free persons. The word "zakah" in Arabic means purification, in this case through charity. There are two types of zakah: *zakat al-mal* (charity paid on one's wealth) and *zakatal-fitr* (charity paid before breaking the fast of Ramadan). The ceremony the Malês called *sakasee* seemed to the whites to be a mere exchange of gifts among friends at the festival of Eid-al-Fitr, which marks the end of Ramadan, but was in fact the payment of obligatory charity to the community---an excellent example of dissembling a Muslim practice under Christian principles.

Hajj, the once in a lifetime obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca, for those physically and financially capable of performing it, still held a special meaning for the Malês, though the obstacles to fulfilling this duty were obviously immense in a slave society. But, quite a few freed Africans made the hajj and then returned to Salvador to proselytize among the non-Muslims, thus reinforcing the axis of Africarabia. Those forced to stay in Bahia celebrated hajj in a ceremony named the *bairan*, which involved the sacrifice of a lamb followed by public prayer.

Although not officially a pillar of Islam, *amurè* the Malè marriage ceremony must be considered another obligation, for how else was this small community to stick together and pass on the faith? Endogamous marriage solidified ties among families, clans and ethnic groups in Bahia. Parents from both families were in attendance. The bride dressed all-white, of course, while the groom put on what the Portuguese termed “Turkish” garb, presumably a long garment of pants which, by the Sunnah of the Prophet, reached only to the ankles. An exchange of gifts made of silver started the ceremony. The bride placed a ring on the groom’s finger, while he gave her a chain. The pair said simultaneously, “*Sadaqa do Alambi*”, meaning “I offer you in the name of Allah.” The imam first asked both parties if the union was consensual, then pronounced the duties of both spouses under *Shariah* (Islamic law), read relevant passages about marriage from the Quran and finally announced the marriage had taken place. Afterwards, all retired to a makeshift banquet hall, owned by a free person in most cases, but men and women, including the new husband and wife, sat in different compartments. He with his mates, talking of family to come and she among her Muslim sisters, clapping hands and singing songs from the other side of the Atlantic [24].

Jihad of the Supernatural: Many fellow Africans feared the Malès’ potent admixture of beliefs and rituals. One Creole black, working at the medical school of Bahia asseverated in 1896, eight years after abolition and during the waning days of the Malè population, that “he did not believe in candomblé but feared the magical powers of the Malès” [25]. Some Malès themselves dared not reproduce or translate Arabic documents without the permission of the imam, recognizing his power to do harm through magic. A substantial number of Bahians, black and white, believed that prayers and supplications written or memorized by the Malès constituted “strong prayers” that granted the believer access to magical sources, as opposed to the “weak prayers” of the Catholic Church or animism, which required the use of intermediaries such as saints or the orixá deities of the Yoruba religion [26]. Bahians, black and white, respected the Malès for their ability to transgress the line between the living and the dead, this world and the next. Some Malès of Mandinga and Fulani heritage maintained a belief in necromancy, which they conflated with passages from the Quran referring to the jinn---those spirits that Allah made from

fire to serve Him, but who also interfered in the dunya, for good or evil ends. The Hausa held a belief in evil spirits called *ishoki*, which they made compatible with the jinn. In fact, the Hausa word for jinn, *adjan*, is taken from the Arabic *janna*. The jinn are concealed from mankind and are to be shunned by men per Quranic injunction (with the exception of certain prophets, notably Solomon, who could put them to work), yet there is substantial evidence the Malès practiced witchcraft, magic, the use of talismans and numerology, all involving the jinn. West African animism features a continuum between man and nature and a supernatural world-spirit who inhabits his own creation; indeed we may say that for the animists God exists in degrees, not as an absolute Being [27]. This idea, of course, is completely the opposite of tawheed. Yet for the Malès, monotheism was compatible with henotheism and animism in enabling cultural jihad. The Malès continued to engage in magic and the casting of spells invoking the *adjan* against their enemies. Spells were written on a tablet (Arabic *aliwa*), with ink made from rice burnt for this ceremony. The water used to clean the tablet was then drunk, granting the writer and spell-maker, magical powers; an enemy, including the master, might be poisoned or a piece of machinery might break down if interfered with by the *adjan* [28]. This Muslim Salvador of the spirits, put at the service of man, paralleled the Bay of All Saints of the Catholics and in the mind of the Malès overrode both its secular and Christian regulations.

The Malès borrowed from the Mandinga theological elements and oblations seemingly at odds with tawheed. Among the Mandinga the use of shells or conches for augury was quite common; by tossing the shells a man’s destiny came into view. Interestingly, the Malès not only engaged in fortune-telling, explicitly forbidden in the Quran, but utilized the left hand in throwing shells, though the south paw is cursed as the Devil’s hand in Islamic custom. Counter-magic or reverse witchcraft took the form of a small purse worn around the neck, the *bolsa demandinga*, (purse of the Mandinga) a talisman which contained papers inscribed with Quranic verses written in broken Arabic. The talisman protected the wearer from every peril, including spells, bullets and the evil eye. Some were said to contain the “Sign of Solomon”---the six-star symbol the Hebrew prophet utilized to command and subdue the jinn. Rings displaying the Sign were also worn to bring blessings upon any undertaking [29].

The Malês profoundly influenced non-Muslim Africans in Bahia, particularly the Yoruba, who borrowed from the Muslim cosmology and even nomenclature [30]. The Yoruba belief in one universal spirit, named *Oxalá* by some and *Olorum* by others, was to some extent compatible with Islamic monotheism. Several Candomblé temples, known as *terreiros* or “centers”, were devoted to a chief god, *Orixá-alun*, the suffix possibly a corruption of “Allah”. White observers of Candomblé ceremonies heard chants of “*Alá, “Alá, de Deus!”* (Allah, Allah of God) and “*Maió é Deus*” (God is Great! or *Allahuakbar!*) The head priest of Candomblé sometimes took the title of *alufá*, just like the Muslim imam. On occasion the believers invoked a spirit named “Allah” for personal favors or to take possession of someone present in the *terreiro* in need of help. This did not fluster the Malês. As in Africa, the *kaafirs*, in this case the Yoruba, could be partially Islamized without taking the *shahada* by invoking the name of Allah, accepting customs such as male and female circumcision and respecting the authority of the *alufá*. In the opposite corner, the Yoruba devil, *Exu*, acted in the manner of a mediator and intercessor between humans and the gods residing in the next world; hence he did not exactly fit the description of the sneaking Shaytan of Islam who whispers evil suggestions in the ears of mankind. But he could be taken for one of the nefarious *jinn* who cause mischief yet have no power other than what Allah grants them [31].

Co-existence and competition in the spirit world marked relations between the Malês and their neighbors. Some Brazilian reporters and historians of religion accused the Malês, the Yoruba and other African peoples of engaging in witchcraft and counter-witchcraft. Writing under the pseudonym of João do Rio a self-described expert on the non-Christian religions of Rio de Janeiro asserted that the Muslims of the capital city, most of whom had migrated from Bahia after abolition, “...sacrificed oxen in a giant bonfire during the night, while reciting prayers and waving the *teçeba*; the dead animal representing the intended victim of the curse. This was usually done when a Muslim felt he had fallen ill due to the invocations of another person...the spirit of the dead animal would arise and tell the witch-doctor-*alufá* what disease the petitioner suffered from and how to kill the victimizer” [32]. Yet, the tendency of Brazilian Catholics to accuse all non-Christian cults of criminal activities makes the historian chary. Even João do Rio was forced to admit, “{The Malês} study their religion every day, so that even *malandros* {outlaws, vagrants} who

usurp the title of *alufá* are much more knowledgeable than the {worshippers of} the *orixas*... Thus, their religious and judiciary administration are entirely independent of the land they inhabit” [33]. The Shaytan---the white devil---brought Muslim bodies to Brazil, but their minds were safe and settled in Africarabia.

Jihad against the Disbelievers

The Political Community: What is termed in modern times “Political Islam”, the sewing of political and religious authority and causes, was more prevalent among the Hausa than Yoruba or other ethnic groups, both in Africa and Bahia. This came from a Hausa tradition of applying Shariah after accepting Islam, whereas others tended to maintain pre-Islamic laws and customs. Among the Mandinga and Peuhl-Fulani, the two chief groups constituting the Malê population, a patriarchal caste system prevailed, in which the political chief was also the religious leader of the community. Islam had always granted this double authority to the imam, whom the Malês called the *alufá* [34]. He had to be vetted by the community, after years of learning, especially through becoming a *hafiz* or memorizer of the entire Quran. The *xerifês* or *sharifs* in Arabic composed a council of elders who advised him. The imam appointed an authority in matters of judicial decisions (*al-Khadi*) and the fiscal system, primarily taxation for al-zakat. His chief aide, the *ladano* served him in both tasks [35]. This patriarchal political system, though it may have been the norm in Africarabia, functioned in a more fluid manner in Bahia. The *alufa* did not hold absolute authority but, by the precedent of the Sunnah, had to make decisions in consultation (*shurah*) with the community, or at the very least the *xerifês*.

The commitment to politics has led some students of the Malês to speak of their “intolerance” and even “fanaticism” in their dealings with other Africans, which may have resulted in both the failure of the 1835 revolt and the demise of Islam in Brazil after abolition [36]. Yet there is no evidence of Malê persecution of other Africans in Bahia and the spread of Islam in West Africa, which occurred during the living memory of both the Malês and their fellow Africans, suggests that compromise and adaptation to African customs is how the Muslims dealt with the *kaafirs* in Africarabia. The European slave trade and intrusions into the interior of West Africa by missionaries and other colonists had shattered the cosmology of many animists and delegitimized their deities. The simplicity of the message

of tawheed---the earth-shaking but non-violent call of “la illahailallah”--- brought conversion in many cases when Muslims encountered kaafirs. The predominance of one Islamic school of jurisprudence in West Africa, the Maliki, which emphasizes the Sunnah and the practices of the Companions of the Prophet over a strict interpretation of the Quran, highlighted the importance of brotherhood between Muslims and prospective converts [37]. The definition of jihad in West Africa in the nineteenth-century was highly flexible and might refer to any confrontation between Muslims and non-Muslims, resistance to slavery and the moral cleansing of already existing Muslim societies, such as the jihad of ShehuOsman danFodioagainst the Hausa at the start of the nineteenth century [38]. Islam was simply one of many religions professed by the peasantry of West Africa, without discrimination or privilege of one faith or ethnic group over another. Since many of the Malês had been shipped to Bahia just after the triumph of this jihad it is highly doubtful they brought over the zeal to eradicate all admixtures of Islam and other faiths as demanded by the Shehu.

The Muslim, by design of Allah is thrust into confrontation with the power of the kaafir to test and try the Believer. How must he respond? Bastide designated the Malês “passive Muslims” who expressed their politics through occasional outbursts of violence and spent the rest of their time in “mystical isolation” [39]. However, there is another way to examine Malê politics and that is by going to the model set by the life of the Prophet, known as the *seerah*. Once having received the message of tawheed he could not dilute it, but neither was he prepared, morally or militarily, to entertain the notion of war against the pagans and the creation of an Islamic state, or what might be termed hard power. Instead, for the first thirteen years after the first revelation, A.D. 610-643, he wielded soft power by teaching his small band of followers the Quranic verses as they came and then calling on the Muslims to proselytize: “Islam cannot function or operate in a subservient role; it must create its own system rooted in the soft power of Islam” [40]. The soft power of the Malês lay in strategies of survival, or what may be termed daily jihad, from the Five Pillars to memorizing the Quran. They wielded this power sometimes under the very nose of state and Church. One informant told anthropologist Nina Rodrigues in 1896 that he had known practicing Muslims who had been the slaves of Catholic priests who never discovered their secret [41]. The clear speech of the Quran, recited in the same manner as in the seventh century, a plain guide to

warn and admonish the Believers, comfort their souls and strengthen then breasts against the kaafirs, pitted the soft power of the Muslims against the hard power of the Brazilian state; a state that to the Malês resembled the Quraish pagans who had persecuted the Prophet. What success did this soft power yield? By one estimate, perhaps one-third of the Africans living in Bahia in 1905, seventeen years after abolition, were still practicing “Mohammedans”, destroying the myth that Islam in Salvador died out with emancipation [42]. Some had made the hajj to Mecca, while others went back to Hausaland and then voluntarily returned to Brazil to continue preaching. Though the majority of Muslims in Bahia by then had been born in Africa, Creole converts were well represented in significant numbers in the Malêcommunity [43]. If Islam vanished, for all practical purposes, in Bahia in the twentieth century the explanation must lie elsewhere than putative fanaticism and self-imposed isolation on the part of the Malês.

Jihad and the Power of the Word: The Malês left behind no accounts of their lives and the “Arabic Documents” of passages from the Quran are the only documents composed by their own hands. After abolition some Muslims conceded to speak of days gone by to journalists and anthropologists. Nevertheless, *Kratophany* or “revelation of power”, which according to MirceaEliade marks every religion, was experienced and expressed by the Malês through the written and oral word [44]. African religions, including Islam in Africarabia, assigned enormous power to sound, with some sects going so far as to “deify noise.” The very utterance of certain numbers, particularly seven and seventy, could induce fear [45]. Language, from Africa to Bahia, constituted another terrain of struggle for power, what is termed in Islam *jihad bil-lisan*, the jihad of the tongue. The use of African languages in Bahia may have deepened tribal divisions in some cases, but Hausa and Nagô, both functioning in the capacity of lingua franca, served to politically unite and in religion, at least to some degree, to fuse two peoples frequently at war in the motherland. Members of these two nations were often employed by the whites in their homes as domestics or in other chores, such as shoe repair or transportation, that granted them the chance to forge a common language and communicate ideas. African-born slaves held deep suspicions of the Creole or *Ladino*, born in the New World, who spoke only Portuguese and traversed, by means of a European language, between black and white, slave and master [46].

The spoken word also kept the Malês inside the African Diaspora, not merely as spectators but active participants in jihad. New slaves brought from West Africa, particularly the coast of Benin, refreshed the memory of old cultures and religious practices. The Atlantic proved only a larger, but no less traversable, barrier than the Red Sea in keeping the connection to Africarabia alive. In fact, an Islamic Atlantic existed in the nineteenth century, with Muslim slaves and free persons being crossing between Africa, Europe, North and South America [47]. The bolsa de mandinga, as we have seen, remained a potent magical force on both sides of the ocean. News of the jihad of danFodio reached Brazilian shores while it was still in progress. Hausa and Yoruba in Bahia received updates from their newly arrived brothers on clashes between the two back peoples in Africa. Slaves were not the only source of transatlantic information for black Bahia. Black sailors, usually slaves but sometimes freemen, divulged secrets of wars, politics and religion to dockworkers in Salvador, who would then pass it on to porters, carriage drivers and others, forming a communication network that crossed the city [48]. Yet, it is doubtful, as some scholars have suggested, that hearing such news, Africans in Salvador simply perpetuated the wars being fought back home. Fights between Africans in Brazil were more likely sparked by an oppressive white supremacist regime bent on fostering already existing ethnic divisions. Nor are there grounds for supposing Bahian blacks aimed to recreate a lost African kingdom or caliphate. Slave uprisings in Bahia, where the African-born slaves at the start of the nineteenth century made up an estimate sixty-percent of the entire slave population, tended to originate within one ethnic group, but any number of other nations normally joined any revolt against the master class. When the call to rebellion was issued oral communication through a lingua franca overrode ethnic rivalries [49].

The goal of universal literacy and education stressed in the Quran and Hadith strengthened group bonds among different Muslim ethnic groups in Bahia, particularly in times of rebellion. Those Africans who learned to read and write in Arabic were held in highest esteem and literacy was essential to social mobility among the Hausa and other Islamized peoples. Being recognized as a marabout required a knowledge of Arabic, if only in rudimentary form. The written language of the Hausa and Peuhl used Arabic characters, but for those few who could afford it a Portuguese translation of the Quran was available for purchase in Salvador after the abolition of slavery in 1888 [50]. The Muslims of Africarabia, particularly during the Sokoto caliphate established after

the jihad of Osman danFodio, esteemed and encouraged literacy and scholarship among women as well as men. In their biography of the Fulani intellectual Nana Asma'u, danFodio's daughter, Beverly B. Mack and Jean Boyd write, "{The} chain of women scholars originated long before Asma'u's lifetime and stretched over a wide geographic region from the Middle East to West Africa. The network of women's scholarship contemporaneous to Asma'u is but the tip of the iceberg...Asmau's efforts to promote reconciliation, education and justice helped change forever the Muslim culture in which she lived. This was her personal jihad..." [51]. Educational opportunities for Malê women were severely limited not only by slavery but also the low-level of literacy of Muslim men in Bahia, but it would be wrong to conclude that Muslim law or custom forbade them from learning to read and write. The Fulani and Hausa both expected females and males to be familiar with the Quran and Sunnah.

Literacy was promoted among the Malês not for the sake of rote learning but, as Mack and Boyd note, to achieve social justice. The "Arabic Documents" from the State of Bahia archives contain Surah al-Fatiha and the last ten surahs (revelations) of the Quran, copied and re-copied by the Malês [52]. Why these ten? A telling sign is that they deal with protection from evil and deliverance of the Believers from both physical and spiritual dangers. Can this be labeled a Muslim theology and eschatology of liberation, much as slaves in the English-speaking world recited the bible to seek divine sanction for freedom from fear? Let us examine these ten, all revealed in Mecca during the early years of the Prophet's education in Islam, for clues on how the Malês may have interpreted them to suit their own condition as muhajiroun. Surah 105, "The Elephant" is a reminder of how Allah can crush the most fearsome of enemies using the smallest of his creatures, in this case birds whose droppings of germs destroy an invading army. This chapter also alludes to the Arabs coming together as one people, putting aside their tribal differences, to defeat the invading Ethiopians marching through Yemen to seize Mecca [53]. The Malês are reminded of Africarabia and that Islam began in a multicultural and often threatening, environment. Surah 106, "Quraish" evokes the Mecca-centric universe, but also admonishes that only those who have washed themselves clean of paganism will enjoy the bounty of Allah [54]. Surah 107, "Mâ'un" or "Neighborly Needs", offers a surprising definition of a kaafir, with important political implications: "Have you seen him who denies Our religion? It is he who harshly repels the orphan and does not urge others to feed the needy." The Muslim himself

may fall into a state of kaafir if he does not fulfill his obligations to the community [55]. In that case even performing the Five Pillars would not be sufficient to be counted among the Believers; one must, with equal vigor, act upon the Quranic injunctions to free the captive and wage jihad against all forms of fitnah. Since the Hausa and other Muslim slaves purchased their own freedom collectively by drawing lots and rebelled almost continuously from the moment they arrived in large numbers on the shores of Bahia in 1803, the political reading of this Quranic verse must have been ingrained in them back in Africarabia [56]. Surah 108, "Abundance", promises relief and bounty to the Believers and a harsh punishment for the enemies of the Muslims; "Surely, he who hates you is the one cut off {from prosperity and progeny}." What could be of greater reassurance to slaves cut off from all ties to family, kin and home back in the motherland than the guarantee of victory and seeing their enemies deprived of all they held dear? Surah 109, "The Disbelievers" again takes up the subject of kaafir, but in this instance to warn the Muslims to stick closely to tawheed and not mix their faith with that of others: "You have your own religion and I have mine." In light of this passage, historians need to revise their definitions of syncretism and abandon binary thinking on this subject for, while certainly borrowing from other faiths, the Malê community never abandoned the Quran and Sunnah and the testimonies of their enemies, whites and Africans, attests to the fierceness of their devotion to tawheed [57].

Surah 110, "Victory", is a foretelling of the eventual triumph of Islam over the kaafirs but also an admonition to show mercy to the defeated; a clear rebuke to those commentators, from the nineteenth-century to today, who assert the Malês planned a bloodbath for whites, Creoles and mulattoes had they seized power in Bahia in 1835 [58]. But woe to those who persecute the inheritors of the Prophet's nation! Surah 111, "Fire Flames" is a prophecy of damnation in this world and the next for anyone who prevents propagating the message of Allah. A condemnation of the Prophet's uncle and chief enemy in Mecca, Abu Lahab---"May the hands of Abu Lahab perish; he is doomed"---this surah sends Muslims a reassurance that no villain with his plot can defeat the Believers [59]. The Prophet himself proclaimed that reciting Surah 112, al-iklâs or "Purity of Faith" was worth one-third of rehearsing the whole Quran. These four verses announce the doctrine of tawheed and condemn both anthropomorphism and the Christian doctrine of Father and Son: "He begetteth not nor is he begotten" [60]. The worship of *al-Ahad*, "The One and Only God,"

is the basis of political Islam. Since Allah is the only true and ultimate reality whatever power is claimed by earthly authority is derived from God and must be excised if it is not in keeping with tawheed. The Muslim is in a state of permanent rebellion against the kaafir-dominated world. The Malês clung to a universal monotheistic religion, which promoted the brotherhood of all Believers through birth, conversion, *bayat* (swearing of allegiance to the imam) and jihad against Disbelievers. The rebels of 1835 thus had no need, as many students of the uprising have asked of them, to "proclaim jihad" or give their conspiracy a religious flavoring [61].

The last two surahs of the Quran and thus among the earliest verses, constitute a kind of Islamic exorcism. In Surah 113, "The Daybreak" Allah is invoked to grant the Muslim refuge "from the evil of what he has created; from the evil of darkness when it gathers; from the evil of from the conjuring witches; from the evil of the envier when he envies." This dunya is a place filled with evil---in the natural sphere, the supernatural world of the jinn and among the kaafirs who envy the steady faith of the Believers [62]. The Malês encountered all four kinds of evil in Bahia and this Surah served as an escutcheon in dealing with those forces, of the seen and unseen world, that would lead them into the Hellfire. The terminus of the Quran, Surah 114, "The Men", is a call for "The Lord, King and God of men" to protect the Muslim from insidious ideas: "from the mischief of the slinking prompter, who whispers in the hearts of men, from among the jinn and men." The corruption of Muslim society always begins from within and while Satan is "the slinking prompter", it is men and the jinn who are the source of the evil thoughts, that grant him power [63]. The Muslim community in Bahia could only remain anummah of true service to Allah if it resisted and overcame the process of acculturation---the spread of evil whispers coming out of the mouths of the kaafirs.

Could such temptation be resisted through Islamic education? Plentiful evidence exists of Islamic schools in Salvador operating in the year of the great rebellion of 1835 and perhaps earlier. Although some Muslims feared the power of the police to persecute those who spoke of Islam, many others did not. Emancipated blacks proselytized for the deen by teaching slaves and non-Muslim free blacks of many nations how to make the five daily prayers and read those Quranic passages they had copied themselves [64]. Sometimes marabouts led the lessons, other times lay persons. At these gatherings the Quran was usually recited by hafizes, but books of religious instruction were found in Malê homes by the police. The city contained dozens, if not more, private

homes that functioned as masjids. Salvador's famous "Chapel of the Fifteen Mysteries" originally served the Muslim faithful in offering a place for prayers and political discussion. The number of imams in Bahia in the first half-of the nineteenth century was much greater than most historians are willing to admit. Many a private residence housed an imam and sometimes several. These *tios* (literally "uncles", but figuratively "elders"), men of influence in the Malê community, included Tio Assobá-Oju, who enjoyed a reputation for clairvoyance; Tio Obá-Loju, known as the great soothsayer of Salvador; and Tio Roberto de Içaba, an imam from the Tapa nation highly regarded for his use of plants in medical cures and divinations. Other imams taught everything from mathematics to piano-lessons to earn a living [65]. However, these were all African-born free persons serving other Africans and communicating orally. The transmission of explicitly political messages among Africans under a white slave regime posed difficult, but not insurmountable, obstacles.

The use of Quranic Arabic to pass messages to the literate presented a tremendous challenge, as it often had to be done surreptitiously to avoid detection by the police. The Malês found a temporary solution to this dilemma by inventing a *sub rosa* written language. The numerology in the "Arabic Documents", for instance, is a kind of code for the faithful. The number twenty is a reference to Surah al-Fatiha and the number seventy indicates any long measure, whether of time or weight. Other documents are composed simply of lines, circles, rectangles, stars and other geometric designs, apparently a guide to geomancy but also an effective way to contact only the *cognoscenti* while avoiding detection from the whites [66]. Yet over time this device bounced back on its creators. This coded language aroused fear among some of the free Malês of translating the messages into Portuguese, or even reading them out loud to strangers. It also made it next to impossible to transmit the Quran to the next generation of slave children born in Bahia for fear of retribution; a premonition and possible cause, of the slow demise of Islam in Bahia after abolition. Nevertheless, the Malês managed to do more than "symbolically {subvert} the dominant order" [67]. They created an alternate universe of laws, customs, rituals and signs that steered the Believers towards the confrontation of 1835, not so much through military or political preparation but by cosmologically dividing Bahia into Dar-us-Salam and Dar-al-Harb. If the numerical presence of the Muslims in more dramatic kinds of struggle against the slave power, from individual runaways to physical violence against the master, collective violence, runaway

communities and organized uprisings to overthrow the Europeans was proportionally small, the cosmological power wielded against the white, Catholic world was great. The Malês were "the 'indomitable nation' who 'won ideologically' over the whites by making Bahia an Afro-Creole city and a significant locus of the Afro-Islamic Atlantic [68].

Towards a New Perspective on the Uprising of 1835: The thesis purported by most students of the Malê uprising, viz. that it was not a Holy War, is impossible to maintain, for the simple reason that jihad is not and never has been understood by Muslims as "Holy War". The struggle to defend, maintain and extend the faith need not be by the sword (*jihad al-saaf*) or physical fighting (*jihad-al-quittal*) to qualify as jihad. This school of thought fails to recognize that Islam at its core is jihad and that jihad exists and is practiced in a continuum. The great rebellion of 1835 was neither strictly a political insurrection nor a race war but a more like a "night battle"---a war waged on both the spiritual and material fronts against demonic forces, in this case the kaafir cosmology [69]. The rebellion was as much a question of Muslim honor and purity as class struggle and the two overlapped. Religion, literacy and "high status" among Africans in Bahia made the Malês prone to overt forms of rebellion, culminating in political jihad. Political struggle does not negate but subsume and coexist with other forms of jihad. In an ironic manner, Quiring-Zoche is right in asserting that "Islamist authors find it quite easy to imagine that Muslims could fight against the exploitation and racial prejudice of the Christians without, at the same time, not engaging in jihad" [70]. There is no struggle of any sort for a Muslim that does not fall under one of the categories in the spectrum of jihad. Osman dan Fodio, a contemporary of the Malês, felt compelled to author a lengthy treatise justifying, in Quranic terms, his jihad against the Hausa and Yoruba, *Wathiqat Ahl al-Sudan wa man Sha' Allah min al-Ikhwan* ("A Letter to the People of Sudan and who so ever Allah Wished among the Brothers") [71]. By his reasoning, all people must be living Islam and have a Muslim understanding of the world. The Malês held onto and developed such an understanding in their transatlantic Islamic cosmology. Jihad in nineteenth-century Brazil constituted a revolt against the modern world of private property, commodification and the European notion of how the universe is ordered. As the former slave Mohammed Abdullah declared to Francis de Castelnau, "The faith of Mohammed is the only thing in this world that is worth dedicating one's life to" [72].

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26. Rolf Reichert, "Documentos árabes", *Afro-Ásia*, Number 4-5 (1967), 111.
27. Roger Bastide, *Sociologia do folclore brasileiro* (São Paulo: Editora Anhambí, 1959) pp: 142.
28. Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil*. Vol. II. 2nd edition (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1817) p. 94; D.S. Margoliuth, *Islamismo* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, n.d), cited in Lopes, Bantos, Malês, p. 44. This practice can still be found in Saudi Arabia. The Ministry of Religion of the Kingdom maintains a subdivision dealing with witchcraft and sorcery which punishes offenders for invoking the spirits. See <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/babylonbeyond/2009/11/saudi-arabia-kingdom-steps-up-hunt-for-witches-and-black-magicians-.html>
29. Edison Carneiro, "O mundo religioso do negro na Bahia", Paper presented to the Afro-Brazilian Congress (1937), 72-73; Luis da Câmara Cascudo, *Dicionário do folclore brasileiro*, 3d edition (Rio de Janeiro, Editora Technoprint, 1972) pp: 42, 106.
30. One student of Brazilian religion sees a parallel between Malê rituals and Brazilian Freemasonry, in the use of secret codes and esoteric writings, though there is no indication that one sect influenced the other. See A. Tenório de Albuquerque, *A maçonaria e a libertação dos escravos* (Rio de Janeiro: Aurora, 1970).
31. Edison Carneiro, *Religiões negras/Negros Bantos*, 2nd edition (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1981) pp: 137-138.
32. João do Rio, *As religiões do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Organização Simões, reprint, 1951), p: 38.
33. *Ibid.*, pp: 16-18.
34. "Marabout" was used interchangeably with alufá, but the stress lay on the theological knowledge and ceremonial, as opposed to political, duties and prerogatives of the imam. The authority of the marabout, stemming from his spiritual and healing powers, was so great that the marabout-alufá was often taken for an imam, regardless the level of his knowledge of the Quran.
35. Artur Ramos, *O negro e a civilização brasileira* (São Paulo: Casa de Estudante, n.d.) pp: 103-104.
36. Kátia M. De Queirós Mattoso, *Bahia século XIX: uma província do império* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1992) pp: 426-427.
37. See Nehemia Levtzion, *Islam in West Africa: Religion, Society and Politics to 1800* (London: Valerium, 1994).
38. Bruce Mouser, 2007. "Rebellion, Marronage and Jihad: Strategies of Resistance to Slavery on the Sierra Leone Coast, c. 1783-1796", *Journal of African History*, 48: 27-44.
39. Bastide, *African Religions of Brazil*, pp: 153.
40. Zafar Bangash, 2002. "Power: the neglected dimension of the Seerah". Paper presented at the International Seerah Conference in Colombo, Sri Lanka.
41. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, *O animismo fetichista dos negros baianos* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1935) pp: 33.
42. Nina Rodrigues, *Osafricanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, n.d. 1932) pp: 93-94.

43. Pierre Verger, *Oslibertos: setecaminhosnaliberdade de escravos da Bahia no século XIX* (Salvador, Bahia: Corrupio, 1992) pp: 27-41.
44. See Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. Rosemary Sheed. Lincoln: (University of Nebraska Press, 1958).
45. Francisco Elias de Tejada, *Sociologia da África negra* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1956), esp. chaps. one, two and four.
46. Yeda Pessoa de Castro, *Falares africanos na Bahia: um vocabulário afro-brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Academia Brasileira de Letras, 2001) pp: 45, 63.
47. For two biographies that illustrate life in the Islamic Atlantic see João José Reis, Flávio dos Santos Gomes and Marcus J.M. de Carvalho, "Rufine José Maria (1820s-1850s): A Muslim in the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Slave Trade Circuit", in *The Human Tradition in the Black Atlantic, 1500-2000*, eds. Beatriz G. Mamigonian and Karen Racine (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010): 65-76 and Paul Lovejoy and Robin Law, eds. *The Biography of Mahommah Gado Baquaqua; His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publisher, 2007).
48. Abu Alfa Muhammad Shareeff bin Farid, *The Islamic Slave Revolts of Bahia, Brazil: a Continuity of the 19th Century Jihad Movements of Western Sudan* (Pittsburgh: Sankoré Institute of Islamic-Africa Studies, 1998) pp: 22.
49. See Stuart B. Schwartz, "Cantos e quilombos numa conspiração de escravos haussás: Bahia, 1814", in João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes, eds. *Liberdade por um fio: história dos quilombos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996): pp: 373-406.
50. Nina Rodrigues, *O animismo fetichista*, pp: 33.
51. Beverly B. Mack and Jean Boyd, 2000. *One Woman's Jihad: Nana Asma'u: Scholar and Scribe*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000) pp: 2, 6.
52. The Quran is not a narrative and therefore the translation of surah into the English word "chapter" is misleading. I have chosen "revelation" because that is how the first generation of Muslims regarded a surah. The upper case is employed when discussing an individual Surah and the lower in case of the plural. See Michael Cook, *The Koran: A Very Short Introduction* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000).
53. Sayyid Qutb, *In the Shade of the Qur'an*, Volume 30 (London: World Assembly of Muslim Youth, 1979) pp: 304-305
54. *Ibid.*, 311.
55. *Ibid.*, 317.
56. Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil*, 39
57. Qutb, *Qur'an*, 322, 329.
58. Mattoso, *Bahia século XIX*, 427. See also José Carlos Ferreira, "As insurreições dos africanos na Bahia", *Revista do Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia* 10, No. 29 (1903): 103-119 and Décio Freitas, *A revolução dos mûles* (Porto Alegre, Brasil: Movimento, 1985).
59. Qutb, 345.
60. *The Qur'an. Text, Translation and Commentary* by Abdullah Yusuf Ali. (Elmhurst, New York: Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an, 2001), 1806.
61. For an opposing view see Quiring-Zoche, pp: 236-238.
62. Qutb, 358.
63. *Ibid.*, 364.
64. Mattoso, *Bahia século XIX*, 426.
65. Antônio Monteiro, *Notas sobre negros mûles na Bahia*, Salvador (Salvador, n.d. 1987) pp: 33-34, 43-46.
66. Rolf Reichert, "Os documentos árabes do arquivo público do estado da Bahia", *Afro-Ásia*, No. 1 (Dec. 1965), pp: 127-132.
67. Reis, *Slave Rebellion*, 113.
68. Afrânio Peixoto, *Breviário da Bahia*, (n.d. Livraria Agir, 1945) pp: 183-184.
69. Carlo Ginzburg. *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).
70. Quiring-Zoche, 238.
71. Usman Bugaje, <http://islamandafrica.com/hausaland.html>, (October 1997) esp. "Beyond the Sokoto Caliphate," on how Dan Fodio's teachings on Islam spread to the New World, including Brazil and the Caribbean.
72. Verger. *Oslibertos*, pp: 28.