S U F I
C I T Y

URBAN DESIGN AND ARCHETYPES IN TOUBA

Eric Ross

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Touba in Senegal.

Quickbird satellite image of center of Touba [DigitalGlobe #1010010001962B05, 26 January 2003 ©DG distributed by Eurimage/Infoterra. Reproduced with permission of the distributor.]

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

APPENDIXES

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Ifrane, Morocco
January 2006

NOTE ON TRANSLATION, SPELLING, AND TRANSLITERATION

This study draws on sources in several languages, including Arabic, Wolof, and French. The author translated all the French- and Arabic-language texts cited here, including the writings of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké, unless otherwise indicated.

Determining unified criterion for spelling and transliteration of non-English terms and names has been difficult. The toponym "Touba" itself is indicative of the problems involved. The term is Arabic in origin. Literary Arabic is widely used among educated Mourides, and the term appears often in its Arabic form in Touba. Using the U.S. Library of Congress system, this term should properly be transliterated as "Ṭûbâ" in English. "Tuba," the simplified form of Ṭûbâ, has been adopted in some English-language literature. Yet, like so much other religious vocabulary, the Arabic term ṭûbâ has long since passed into Wolof. Senegal's official Wolof alphabet, adopted in 1974, would require that Touba be written "Tuubaa," with long vowels indicated by duplication but without marking of the emphatic "t." However, few in Senegal, including government officials, use this "official" system. The "old" Wolof alphabet, in use since the French colonial era, is still more common and "Touba" is effectively the colonial-era French spelling of the Arabic term. This is how it appears in the French-language sources, and, more importantly, it is still how it is spelled on modern topographical maps. This spelling has taken on a life of its own. "Touba" appears as such on countless documents: tracks, newspapers, websites, billboards, and store signs, not just in Senegal but the world over, wherever Mourides have settled. All these factors explain why Touba is the spelling preferred in this study. A similar analysis of the term "Mouride," *murîd* in U.S. Library of Congress system, *murit* in official Wolof, would lead to a similar conclusion. "Mouride" is the French-Latinized form of the Arabic term. It is firmly established in the textual sources and is the most common and recognizable form of the term in current usage.

Under these conditions, where the Arabic, Wolof, and French languages overlap to a great extent, and where commonly written forms become embedded in every type of written expression, a commonsense approach to spelling and transliteration has been adopted in preference to a strict "purist" pursuit of correct transliteration. All proper names will be spelled according to common

Senegalese practice. Toponyms such as Touba and Darou Mousty (Dâr al-Mu'tî in Arabic) will be spelled as they appear on official topographical maps. Thus *kër* (meaning "compound," also "house of . . ." in Wolof) will be written "Keur" if it is part of an official toponym, for example: Keur Goumak, Keur Niang, but will be spelled *kër* if it relates to someone's house. Homonyms such as Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké and Abdoulaye Niass will be spelled according to common practice in Senegal; i.e., colloquial Wolofized Abdoulaye rather than purist Arabic 'Abd Allâh or the official Wolof Abdulahi. On the other hand, personal titles such as Shaykh and Al-<u>H</u>âjj will appear as transliterated Arabic rather than the more common Senegalese-French usage (Cheikh and El-Hadj), except when these titles are used as actual names, as in Cheikh Guèye; Cheikh Guèye is not a *shaykh* in the religious sense, Cheikh is his first name. In the case of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké, on the contrary, *shaykh* is a religious title, not a proper name, and Mourides commonly refer to him in French as "le Cheikh."

Common nouns and technical terms in Arabic and Wolof (but also a few terms in Mandinka and Pulaar), *italicized*, will be spelled according established norms of transliteration, slightly modified U.S. Library of Congress system in the case of Arabic, and the official Senegalese system in the case of Wolof. Exceptions to this rule occur when Arabic words, such as "Koran" and "Sufi," are common enough in English that a strict transliteration, *al-Qur'ân*, *<u>s</u>ûfî*, would constitute a distraction for the reader.

Arabic Transliteration

Long vowels appear accented: â, î, û, as opposed to short vowels without accents.
The letter *'ayn* is written as an inverted apostrophe: ', followed by its vowelization.
The *hamzah* is written as an apostrophe: ', following the preceding vowelization.
Emphatic consonants are underlined: <u>d</u>, <u>h</u>, <u>s</u>, <u>t</u>, <u>z</u>.
The *ta marbû<u>t</u>ah*, or final silent "h" that often marks the feminine, will be written "ah," or else "at" if in construct with the following word: *sidrah* (lote tree) and *sidrat al-muntahâ* (lote-tree of the extremity), respectively.
Though there are no uppercase letters in Arabic, proper nouns will appear in uppercase: *<u>t</u>ûbâ*! (a blessing) and *<u>T</u>ûbâ* (the name of the Tree of Paradise).
Because Arabic plurals can be complicated and confusing to readers not familiar with them, the plural of Arabic terms is marked by the English "s": *shaykhs* rather than *shuyûkh.*

Official Wolof Spelling

(Also used for Sereer, Pulaar, and Mandinka.)
Long vowels appear doubled: aa, oo, uu, etc.

Flat vowels appear with an *umlaut*: *kër, sëriñ.*

The vowel "ñ," pronounced "ny" or "ni," is similar to the identical Spanish vowel: *béntéñe* (kapok tree).

The vowel "c" represents a sound halfway between the English "ch" and a softer "ti" or "thi." Thus, the old Franco-Wolof "tieddo" (slave-soldier) is spelled *ceddo,* but *pénc* (public square) corresponds to old-style "pentch" or "penthie."

The vowel "x" represents the "kh" sound, similar to the Spanish "j." The "Gouye Tékhé" (Touba's "Baobab of Bliss") is spelled *Guy Texe.* The Arabic term *khâtim* (seal) has passed into Wolof as *xaatim.*

INTRODUCTION

Sufism and cities. There is no obvious relationship between these concepts. Do Sufis have any special interest in cities? Do cities contribute to Sufism in any particular way? The story of Sufism is well-known. Its most common themes include the intellectual speculations of theosophists, the spiritual intoxication of poets, and the diffusion of various institutionalized Sufi orders.[1] Therein, the relationship between Sufis and cities is an ambiguous one. Sufi practice commends detachment from worldly affairs, abstinence, and renunciation (*zuhd*) of appetites for things other than God. The material world, its physical and social requirements, and its corporal temptations constitute obstacles on the Sufi path to love of God alone. City life especially, characterized by a plethora of mundane social encounters, economic transactions of dubious quality, distractions and temptations hardly seems conducive to spiritual detachment. Yet, while ascetic retreats in the wilderness are not unknown to Sufi practice, Sufi thought clearly argues that spiritual detachment is possible *in this world*. It is precisely in situations of greatest compromise, when the soul is most bogged in matter, that detachment is most necessary.

Far from turning their backs on city life, Sufis have set out to tame it. Sufism seems to be anchored in the city. The great figures who founded or institutionalized Sufism as a social phenomenon were most often urbanites who focused their activities in cities: Ḥasan al-Baṣrî (d. 728) and Râbiʿah al-ʿAqawiyyah (d. 801), both from Basra; Husayn b. Mansûr al-Hallâj (d. 922) and ʿAbd al-Qâdir al-Jîlânî (d. 1166) in Baghdad; Abû Bakr Muhammad Muhyî al-Dîn ibn ʿArabî (d. 1240) in Seville, Ceuta, and then Damascus; Abû-l-Ḥasan al-Shâdhilî (d. 1258) in Tunis and Cairo; Abû al-ʿAbbâs Ahmad al-Tijânî (d. 1815) in Fez, and so forth. Moreover, since their emergence in the twelfth century, Sufi "orders," "paths," or "ways" (Arabic *ṭarîqah*, pl. *ṭuruq*)[2] have historically been among the most dynamic urban institutions, providing basic education, social services and charity, and patronizing the arts in all major Muslim cities. Today, certain cities are renowned internationally as Sufi centers. This is the case, for example, of Konya in Turkey, the city of Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî (d. 1273) and metropolis of the Mevlevi order, and of Tanta in Egypt, home to the very popular Badawiyyah order.

The historical record seems to indicate a correlation between Sufi activity and urban life. Does this mean that there is a relationship between Sufism as a spiritual

and intellectual practice and the city as a built environment and as a form of social organization? Have Sufis "imagined" or theorized the city? Have Sufi activities deliberately favored or targeted cities? Is there a Sufi understanding of the city? Does the Sufi city exist? This present study does not aim to provide generally valid answers to these questions. Rather, it will argue that in at least one case, that of Touba in Senegal, Sufism, understood here as both a phenomenology and as social action, has created a distinctly Sufi city.

Touba is a Sufi city first of all because it was founded by a Sufi *shaykh* and has been entirely built up and managed by a Sufi order, and second, because the design of the city is the product of the application of Sufi principles and concepts. Touba was founded by Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké (1853–1927). It is the spiritual center of the Mouride order. The Mouride order (also spelled Murid and Murîdiyyah) was established by Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba late in the nineteenth century and it is one of contemporary Senegal's most important religious institutions. The city is named for T̲ûbâ, the "Tree of Paradise" of Islamic tradition. This paradisiacal tree is a symbol that articulates Islamic conceptions of righteous life on earth, divine judgment, and access to the Hereafter. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké founded Touba during a moment of mystic illumination, in an isolated place in the wilderness, on a spot marked at the time by a large tree. Though he settled on the site for a time, the French colonial authorities, fearing civil disorder, sent him into exile on several occasions and then kept him under house arrest until his death. The actual construction of Touba—first of the mosque and then of the city—was the work of Ahmadou Bamba's sons and successors, the Caliph Generals of the Mourides, who have headed the order's complex hierarchy of constituent lineages and associations since his death. Indeed, Touba has been central and essential to the order. The construction and promotion of the spiritual metropolis has been the principal objective of most of its initiatives and Touba has served as the rallying point for it in times of crisis.

Touba is a new city. Founded in 1887, it only really emerged as a city after Senegal's independence in 1960. Since then, its growth has been phenomenal, even by African standards; from less than 5,000 inhabitants in 1964, its population grew to 30,000 in 1976, 125,000 in 1988, about 350,000 in 1997, and was estimated at approximately 500,000 in 2005, making it the country's second largest urban agglomeration after Dakar. Moreover, Touba has autonomous legal status, being officially designated as an "autonomous rural community"—though with half a million inhabitants it definitely qualifies as a city, not as a rural place. Since its foundation, Touba, often designated as "capital of the Mourides," has remained under the effective and nearly exclusive jurisdiction of the order, to the exclusion of the usual administrative structures and civil agencies of the nation-state. It is the order that has managed the entire urbanization process, including such fundamentals as the laying out of streets and thoroughfares, the creation of housing allotments, the distribution of water, the management of markets, schools, and hospitals, and so forth. These urban and civic activities have involved a multiplicity of actors and agents, lineages and associations, which operate both within Touba and beyond.

That a Sufi order has initiated and implemented such a total urban project is in itself noteworthy. Since at least the thirteenth century, Sufi institutions have been powerful cultural and social agents in a great variety of historical and political contexts throughout the Muslim world, and they have impacted urban processes in various ways. For instance, the patronage of Sufi shrines (*tekke* in Turkish) by local elites in late Seljukid Anatolia led to a significant reorientation of public space in towns such as Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya,[3] while the patronage of the tombs (*ḍarîḥ*) of certain Sufis by successive Moroccan dynasties (and their dynastic rivals) has given rise to shrine towns such as Moulay Idriss Zerhoun and Ouazzane. In some cases, the orders have themselves been the principal agents of urbanization, creating entirely new power bases from which they could project themselves politically and socially. This is the case for the Chistiyyah shrine-town of Khuldabad in the Deccan.[4]

Yet these cities are not Sufi cities in the same sense Touba is. Sufi orders may have marked their evolution and spurred their growth, and in some cases even founded them *ex nihilo*, but they did not *design* them. While it can be demonstrated that Sufi spiritual constructs have influenced the architecture of many Sufi shrines, and that these shrines have had an impact on the surrounding urban fabric, there is no indication that the city as a whole has ever been regarded as an object of design by Sufis or their orders. The closest equivalents to Touba in the Muslim world are the great Shiite shrine cities: Najaf and Karbala in Iraq, and Mashhad and Qom in Iran. Each of these cities is built around the tomb of a Shiite *imâm* or of some other important member of the Husaynid lineage. These large tomb-shrines are at the origins of these cities and stand at the center of the urban fabric.[5] In turn, these cities owe their growth as urban centers to the Shiite clerical institutions: schools, colleges, charitable foundations, and so on, which have coalesced around the shrines. In Touba's case though, it is a Sunni institution, namely the Mouride order, which has powered the urban process. Touba is also noteworthy in that it has not risen in the heartland of Sufi theosophical expression; there is no such Sufi city in Iraq or Iran, for example, or in the Mughal or Ottoman empires, or in sharifian Morocco. This great Sufi metropolis has risen in Senegal, in what is considered the periphery of the Muslim world, and this has occurred in modern times.

Touba is a *modern* city. Its construction has occurred within the colonial and postcolonial contexts. The building of Touba's mosque was initiated in 1926 and completed in 1963. The laying out of a city to surround this shrine is an even more recent phenomenon, marked by three successive planning schemes: 1958–63, 1974–80, and 1993–99, with a fourth currently in preparation (2005). In architectural terms, both the central shrine and the city have been built using modern methods and materials, exemplified by such things as the use of reinforced concrete, recourse to building contractors, and, more recently, the creation of a Geographic Information System (GIS) to manage real-estate transactions and the distribution of public utilities. Touba's rise as an urban center has also been conditioned by such modern social processes as the creation and mobilization of a

mass movement of national scale,[6] the expansion of a cash-crop economy, railway construction, rural-urban migration, and, most recently, monetary remittances from international migrants. The Mouride order is an international institution, with members and affiliates in many cities around the world, and principally throughout West Africa, Western Europe, and North America. Much of the city's recent growth has been financed with funds raised by this growing Mouride diaspora. The administratively autonomous capital of the Mourides is thus becoming an increasingly global city, thriving in part on its international connections.

Although Touba is exceptional in many regards, it is especially exceptional in that it remains today fundamentally a Sufi city in terms of both urban design and social purpose. Touba's urban design is understood here first as the product of a Sufi phenomenology that recognizes a plurality of modes of reality. In chapter 1, the relevance of the paradisiacal tree construct, or *archetype*, to Touba's urban design is explained. Following Henry Corbin's reading of Ibn Sînâ and Ibn 'Arabî, the concept of archetype will be explained within the context of the Neoplatonic emanationist philosophy that underlies Sufi cosmology. This cosmology postulates a hierarchy of worlds, descending in order from the most ethereal to the most material, all of which are divine emanations. The manifestation of Touba as a city in the phenomenal world is contingent on its existence as T̲ûbâ the Tree of Paradise, an archetypal entity in the higher world of "formal essences." Sufi archetypes such as this are important to artistic creativity, including creativity in architecture. Touba's urban landscape is to be understood at the metaphysical level as well as in utilitarian and functional terms. Although modern in terms of construction technologies and social organization, the city's configuration corresponds to a multidimensional, nonutilitarian understanding of reality.

Chapter 2 explores the essential, ontological, and formal relationships between the Sufi archetype called T̲ûbâ and the design of the city of that name. Urban design is defined as the product of the multifarious agents and processes responsible for building and transforming inhabited space. It will be argued that Touba's construction amounts to the Mouride community's acting out of a shared spiritual desire on the landscape. Touba's higher, or essential, reality is reflected in the city's topography and toponymy, discernable in the vertical and horizontal alignment of its central shrine complex, the layout of neighborhood squares, and the system of radiating avenues and ring roads. Moreover, a variety of actual living trees have played a significant part in this process. Readers are advised that this is not an architectural study; the author is not trained in architecture. Rather, the approach is that of a cultural geographer and the method is semiotic. The objects of study are not so much buildings—mosques, monuments—and trees, as urban *landscapes*. Surely, the buildings and trees studied here are intrinsically significant but, for the purposes of this study, their main significance as artifacts lies in their physical and metaphysical contexts.

Chapter 3 analyzes the role of Muslim institutions in the urban history of Senegambia.[7] Autonomous Muslim centers, or *marabout republics*, first emerged in the seventeenth century in response to the political and economic conditions of

the time, characterized by insecurity, endemic warfare, and (from an Islamic point of view) the arbitrary exercise of power. With the onset of colonial rule, late in the nineteenth century, many new Sufi centers, with varying degrees of internal administrative autonomy, were created by the Qâdirî, Tijânî, and Layenne orders, as well as by the Mourides, and this was in part a response to the alienating economic, political, and cultural conditions of that time. This modern network of Sufi towns represents an alternative form of urbanization, one based on the initiatives of civil society rather than on those of the state, and it reflects a distinct social project. The very tools of colonial modernity, exemplified by its railroads and the peanut cash crop, were co-opted by the Sufi orders to promote alternative projects: mosque construction, pilgrimage to Mecca, and the creation of enclaves of the *sunnah*. Since independence, two of these centers, Touba and the Tijânî city of Madina Gounass, have been designated *autonomous rural communities* and have seen their autonomy officially recognized in law—a significant departure from the unitary nation-state model so hegemonic in former French African colonies. This constitutional innovation may be rooted in traditional Senegambian conceptions of governance but it is also indicative of the current state of civil society in Africa and more specifically of the ability of social and religious institutions to manage phenomena such as urbanization, rural-urban migration, and international, south-north migration. Effectively, Touba constitutes the most accomplished node in a network of more or less autonomous religious centers, both past and present. The comparative method adopted here is important as most past studies of the Mouride order have not taken into account parallel processes in Senegal's other orders. What in Touba is especially Mouride, as opposed to characteristic of Senegalese Sufism more generally? What in Senegalese Sufi cities is specifically Islamic and Sufi, as opposed to characteristic of Senegambian urban life more generally?

   Chapter 4 deals with the indigenous West African urban design practices evident in Touba as well as in Senegal's other contemporary Sufi cities. First, the Mouride urban design "model," which consists of a central public square, called the *pénc*, with a mosque in the center and the founder's compound on the west side, is compared to the similar designs of other Sufi centers. Second, these modern Muslim settlements are compared to the configurations of two historical precedents: precolonial marabout republics and the *ancient régime* royal capitals. The continuity between the historic and the contemporary urban designs can be attributed to the social and spiritual role of trees in the landscape. Historically, palaver trees, or monumental civic trees, have functioned as central symbols and institutions, embodying such concepts as foundation, identity, and unity. They have physically marked the layout of numerous settlements and surviving specimens are now classified as protected historic monuments by the state. These historic Senegambian arboreal concepts and practices were essential to the process of creating a modern city based on the Sufi concept of Ṭûbâ, the archetypal Tree of Paradise. Spiritual, social, and political concepts traditionally represented as, or associated to, palaver trees were progressively transferred to the mosques and

public squares of Muslim polities. Touba's Sufi-inspired design, which reflects an Islamic cosmic and paradisiacal reality, is also rooted in West African spirituality and conceptions of the public sphere.

Readers are cautioned that the purpose of this study is not to write an urban history of Senegal. The author is not an historian. The process here is more akin to archaeology; starting with the current "layer of occupation" in Touba, the investigation will proceed backward in time to discern possible deeper layers of social and spiritual meaning to the city's design. Nor is the study intended to be teleological. It is not argued that Touba is the *outcome* of previous urban practices but, rather, that the significance of Touba's topographic configuration today lies partly in its creative redevelopment of established modes of inhabitation, and this creativity can be explained through Sufi phenomenology.

A Note on Sources

This study straddles a number of disciplines. It is a crossover linking Islamic studies, and specifically the study of Sufism, cultural geography and urban studies, which are divisible into the study of urban design (forms and processes internal to the city) and urban networks (relations between cities). It draws upon a variety of literatures in Senegalese and West African historiography in both English and French, including the "Islam in Africa" subfield, and it necessitates recourse to primary sources in Arabic. These bibliographic sources constitute only half the picture; much of the data presented here has been collected in the field, by direct observation and interviews, and from the analysis of cadastres, topographic maps, and satellite images. Fieldwork was conducted in Touba and other places in Senegal on a number of occasions over a seventeen-year period: in 1988, 1994, 2000, 2001–2, and 2004–5. Additional field observations of Sufi centers and tree shrines have been made across Morocco since 1998 and in Tunisia (1999), Egypt (1999–2000), Turkey (2001), Mauritania (2003–4), and Algeria (2004).

Because Touba is a modern phenomenon, the documentary record of its creation and growth is rich and readily accessible. This corpus includes colonial administrative records, newspaper reports, official documents, including topographical maps and urban plans, eyewitness accounts, and oral histories. These sources can be categorized as primary or secondary and as either internal or external to the Mouride order. Sources produced internally, within the Mouride order, are especially important to this study because they conform to the same Sufi phenomenology that has guided Touba's urban design, i.e., recognition of the multiplicity of realities and transcendence of Euclidean space and linear time. They express reality as it is understood by those most intimately involved in the life of the city, and this reality differs from ones constructed from the outside, be they colonial-administrative or academic-analytical in nature. Arguably, the reality perceived through the internal sources constitutes a *counter narrative*, in contrast

to the *master narrative* of Western discourse, and being "internal," it is a more valid representation of the *reality* of Touba than that of the master narrative.

The most important internal primary sources for Touba are the written works of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké himself. This Sufi was a prolific composer of Arabic *qaṣîdahs*, or "odes." Along with the holy city of Touba, his written work consti-tutes his most important legacy. The odes circulate massively among the Mouride faithful as they are recited (*samâ'*) on many occasions. One ode in particular, entitled *Maṭlab al-Fawzayn* ("In Pursuit of the Two Accomplishments"), was written by the shaykh in thanks to God for having permitted the establishment of the holy city. It reveals much about his expectations concerning Touba and its divine purpose, and it is considered by Mourides as something of a conceptual "blueprint" for the city.

A second category of internal sources consists of Ahmadou Bamba's Arabic hagiographies, of which *Minan al-Bâqî al-Qadîm fî Sîrat al-Shaykh al-Khadîm,* written by his son Sëriñ Bassirou Mbacké (ca. 1936–37), is by far the most important. This work, translated into French by Khadim Mbacké of IFAN-UCAD,[8] is primarily con-cerned with the ethical and spiritual qualities of Touba's founder: his unqualified commitment to God, to the Prophet Muhammad, and to the Prophet's sunnah. A later biography, a short work entitled *Hayât al-Shaykh Aḥmad Bamba* written by Mamadou Moustafa An in 1961, has been translated and published in German.[9] Yet a third biography, *Irwâ' al-Nadîm min 'Abd Ḥubb al-Khadîm* written by Mamadou Lamine Diop Dagana in 1967, has yet to be translated into a European language. These biographies and the corpus of qaṣîdahs are important sources because they are living and present texts. For Mourides, Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba is not part of the "past." He inhabits the present. The recitation of his qaṣîdahs especially helps bring Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba into the *presence* of those reciting and listening, but even the hagiographies of the shaykh, accessible to those literate in Arabic, are read in order to reflect on the relevance of the shaykh to present concerns.[10] Moreover, the meaning of life in the city of Touba depends at least as much on the present perception of Ahmadou Bamba's mystic experiences there as it does on any objective historic reality.

Useful as the corpus of internal written sources may be, many traditions con-cerning Touba and its founder are informal, or "popular," in nature. For example, the various episodes of Ahmadou Bamba's career, as a youth and in adult life, have found iconographic representation in illustrations and his travails with the colo-nial authorities feature in popular song. The Mourides have a dynamic visual cult-ure, which includes painted glass *sous-verre*, calligraphy, wall murals, commercial billboards, clothing and accessories, as well as architecture.[11] Other oral and pop-ular traditions relating to Touba and its founder have been recorded in the sec-ondary, external, and academic literature. These popular traditions, like the texts discussed above, are important because they express the meaning the Mourides themselves attach to Touba. Moreover, there is effectively no contradiction between this popular mythology and the order's official hagiography as expressed in the canonical Arabic language hagiographies listed above; they simply express different *levels* of reality. They are complementary.

Two additional internal written sources related directly to Touba's urban design. The first is Cheikh Abdoulaye Dieye's self-published semiotic analysis of Touba, *Touba: Signs and Symbols,* which exists in both French and English versions.[12] Dieye was an architect by training and a practicing town planner. A follower of the Mouride way, his insights into Touba's urban design are informed by his Sufi outlook. The second is a pamphlet entitled *Guide du Pèlerin,* originally produced in 1986 by the Dahirah des étudiants mourides, which describes the holy city and the significance of its various monuments.[13] The Dahirah des étudiants mourides constitutes one of the most intellectual currents within the order. Founded by students at the University of Dakar in 1975 under the patronage of Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad Mbacké, caliph general at the time, this *dahirah,* or association, was renamed Hizbut Tarqiyyah in 1992 and it moved its headquarters to Touba in 1995. The Hizbut Tarqiyyah center, in the northern suburbs of the city, maintains a well-managed and informative Web site on current events in Touba.[14] Like other Mouride associations, Hizbut Tarqiyyah is committed to exalting Ahmadou Bamba's memory and to promoting his holy city. The association also sees itself as an educational institution with the mandate to diffuse Bamba's "authentic" message to both the Mouride masses (especially in the face of more "popular" traditions) and to the outside world, a mission reflected in the content of its Web site. Hizbut Tarqiyyah promotes the written sources, and Ahmadou Bamba's works in particular, over oral traditions and it promotes the "authoritative" discourse of the Mouride caliph general over "unauthorized" expressions. In its effort to always provide the source of information, it is exceptional among Mouride associative Web sites. In effect, many other Mouride associations and lineages, in Touba and abroad, also maintain Web sites, mostly in French but some in the English language, where Mouride historiography is presented, and where the "holy city" of Touba is always given prominence. These too constitute important internal sources as they emanate from some of the very agencies involved in the urban process under study.

There is large body of secondary literature concerning the Mourides.[15] Since the very start, the emerging Mouride ṭarîqah was of great interest to the French authorities. Beginning with Paul Marty's inquiry,[16] administrative reports were periodically published as research papers until the very end of the colonial regime.[17] The late 1960s and the 1970s saw a flurry of academic research on the Mourides.[18] Most of this research dealt with the ṭarîqah's contribution to the peanut cash-crop economy and its involvement in national politics. Touba at that time was still a very small place with only a few thousand inhabitants, often referred to as a "village" in these studies, so it did not attract much attention from researchers. Paul Marty gives us the first textual description of the incipient sanctuary as it was circa 1912.[19] Forty years later, A. Bourlon describes the shrine and especially the annual pilgrimage (called Grand Màggal) which had by then been instituted.[20] This description is repeated and refined by Amar Samb following four years of research in the 1950s.[21] Cheikh Tidiane Sy has also devoted several sections of his monograph on the Mourides to Touba and its màggal.[22] Though the city of Touba did not entirely escape the attention of these early academic studies

of the Mouride phenomenon, the spiritual metropolis was rarely accorded prominence. Neither Fernand Dumont nor Donal Cruise O'Brien, for instance, recognized in Touba the spiritual core of Ahmadou Bamba's legacy or the social basis of the Sufi order he established.

In recent decades, however, Touba has grown into a large city and has become difficult to ignore. Senegal's peanut cash crop no longer sustains the Mouride order's demographic base, with the result that the order now increasingly concentrates development efforts in its urban "capital." Touba has thus emerged as a powerful node in Senegal's social, economic, and political landscape, and the city has begun to be researched for its own sake, by students of geography,[23] urban studies, public administration, and economics.[24] Only recently has a full-length academic monograph of the city been published in French.[25] Moreover, there has been renewed scholarly interest in the Mouride order as a second generation of academics, many of them Senegalese and even Mourides themselves, has looked anew at the ṭarîqah.[26] No longer viewed as a rural phenomenon, conceptualized in terms of "resistance" to colonialism, and of "modernization" (or "tradition and change"), this new research on the Mourides has focused on the internal *production* of history and geography and on the transcolonial, urban, postmodern, and global dynamics of Senegal's Sufi orders.

Senegal's other Sufi orders are less well documented than the Mourides. Significantly, it is the country's other "home grown" order, the small Layenne order concentrated in the Cape Vert peninsula, which is best endowed in this regard. A major Arabic-language hagiography, Cheikh Mahtar Lô's *Buṣarâ' al-Muḥibbîn wa Tayqîẓ al-Jâhilîn*, is available in French translation,[27] as are some of Seydina Limamou Laye's Wolof-language sermons,[28] and the order maintains an official Web site accessible in four languages.[29] There are no similar translations of primary and internal sources for the various branches of the "imported" orders, the Qâdiriyyah and the Tijâniyyah, though the secondary literature is abundant.[30] Likewise, with regard to Senegal's Sufi shrines, apart from Touba, few have been the object of any kind of academic study. The very short list of these includes two brief study notes on Cambérène, one of the major Layenne centers,[31] and an unpublished doctoral dissertation on the Tijânî city of Madina Gounass.[32]

It is Cheikh Guèye's research on Touba which has made it possible for this author to revise and complete research undertaken in the field periodically since 1988, and to present it here in a fresh light. In *Touba: la capital des mourides*, Guèye analyzes the territoriality of the Mouride order, demonstrating how space has been appropriated and produced by the institution and its various agents. He then proceeds to describe the urbanization process, dealing in turn with issues of planning and land allocation, local administration, and urban sociodemographics. Cheikh Guèye is himself a follower of the Mouride *path*. His social-scientific analysis is thus informed not only by a deep familiarity with internal sources but also by an ability to understand Touba's *essence*, its meaning for Mourides.[33]

Although some of the data and analysis presented here have been previously published, the text of this present book constitutes a complete rewriting of the

material, with entirely new illustrations. An early version of chapter 2 on Touba's urban design was first published in 1995.[34] Other sections of this study, namely parts of chapter 3 on autonomous Muslim towns[35] and of chapter 4 on the pénc[36] have also been previously published.

The illustrations, and especially the plans of Touba and the other Sufi settlements, have been redrawn according to the latest available data. Census cadastres (1:2,000 and 1:5,000 scales) from 1988 for cities across Senegal, obtained from the Bureau National du Recensement, were used to establish base maps of shrine neighborhoods. The Census Bureau also produced "historical calendars" for every municipality (*commune urbaine*) and county (*arrondissement*) which list important events in local history, including the careers of religious figures, the construction of major buildings and the allotment of neighborhoods. A blueprint (1:5,000 scale) of Touba's 1999 master plan and cadastre maps (1:2,000 scale) of Yoff and Cambérène (1981) were also used. This data was supplemented by a variety of older cartographic sources obtained in the National Archives in Dakar and the archives of the Service Géographique National. These include a 1:100,000 scale map of Touba published in 1908 (to the author's knowledge, the oldest map of the place) as well as a 1:50,000 scale topographic series of western Senegal prepared between 1945 and 1950 by the U.S. Army Map Service. Finally, four Quickbird satellite images at sixty-three to seventy centimeters resolution have served as bases for the new mapping. These include Tivaouane-Ndiassane taken on December 31, 2002,[37] Touba-Mbacké taken on January 26, 2003,[38] Darou Mousty taken on April 8, 2003,[39] and Kaolack-Kahone taken on March 31, 2005.[40] In all cases, the plans drawn up from these sources were verified in the field.

Inevitably, after over fifteen years of data collection, the problem was one of having too much data, rather than not enough of it, and decisions had to be taken as to what to leave out of this book. Only in one important case, that of the autonomous Tijânî city of Madina Gounass, was there a problem of insufficient data.[41] Full data write-up was undertaken twice, the first time in 1989 in fulfillment of the requirements of a Master's degree in geography, and the second in 1996 for a PhD thesis in Islamic studies.[42]

1

ARCHETYPES

SUFI PHENOMENOLOGY AND THE
SEMIOSIS OF LANDSCAPE

The city of Touba is named for T̲ûbâ, the Tree of Paradise of Islamic tradition. The term *t̲ûbâ*, usually translated as "bliss," felicity," or "prosperity," appears once in the Koran, where it describes Divine recompense in the Hereafter for the righteous: "Those who believe and do the right, for them is bliss (*t̲ûbâ lahum*), and an excellent resting place" (13:29). It is also used as a blessing, *t̲ûbâ!*, indicating an invocation of God's grace. Its use as a designation for the Tree of Paradise is not, however, Koranic; it is based on *h̲adîth* reports.[1] In Ibn Hanbal's *Al-Musnad*, T̲ûbâ is used as a proper noun, as a name for "a tree in the garden [of Paradise] one hundred years wide."[2] Concepts related to this paradisiacal tree inform every aspect of the city: its legendary foundation, its spiritual and social mission, and its spatial configuration.

Touba was founded beneath an actual tree where Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké experienced a transcendent moment of mystic illumination. In the Mouride understanding of the event, God guided Ahmadou Bamba to the site so that he could establish a "straight" community there. Touba is an actualization of the "Straight Path" of Islam, the *s̲irât̲ al-mustaqîm* cited in the opening chapter of the Koran. This is the path of righteous life on earth. From an eschatological perspective, it leads to favorable judgment on the Day of Resurrection, and then on to eternal bliss (T̲ûbâ) in Paradise. God's promise of eternal bliss for the righteous (*t̲ûbâ lahum*) was one of Ahmadou Bamba's foremost preoccupations. He wished to lead the way to the promised gardens for all those who would follow him along the Straight Path of Islam. This desire first found expression in his written compositions; his most popular odes have titles such as *Passages to Paradise*, *Opening of Paradise and Closing of Hell*, and *Provisioning Youth for the Journey to God's Gardens*.[3] The eschatological nature of these works is evident. Yet, not withstanding the

importance of this *oeuvre*, Ahmadou Bamba's life work was not limited to litera-ture. It found expression in the configuration of the landscape, in the creation of a city intended as an earthly manifestation of the paradisiacal tree named T̲ûbâ.

As in many other religious traditions, the paradisiacal tree of Islam is a cosmic or celestial symbol which has been used to express a variety of eschatological, cos-mogonic, and cosmological concepts. This spiritual construct underpins much of Touba's urban design. Before we begin to analyze this design, we need to explain how a symbolic entity like the Tree of Paradise can be relevant to urbanization. This, in turn, requires an understanding of the Sufi conception of reality, which is derived from Neoplatonic "emanationism."

Theosophical Sufism emerged from the legacy of the philosopher Ibn Sînâ (d. 1037). Ibn Sînâ (Avicenna in many Western sources) was an exponent of Neoplatonic emanationism, a theory that postulates that the created universe con-sists of a multiplicity of worlds, conceived of as "celestial spheres," all of which *emanate* from God. These worlds are organized in hierarchic layers of "realness" which descend in order from the highest and most ethereal to the lower world of matter. The theory holds that the Creator, though ultimately transcendent and beyond all time and space, nonetheless *inhabits* his multilayered creation, and He does so in multifarious ways. God is One (the key Islamic principle of *tawhîd*, or "oneness") but His "thought" in the created universe is multiple. As it emanates like light through the celestial spheres it becomes fractured. By the time it reaches the lowest world of dark matter, God's single thought has taken on multiple forms known as *attributes*: God's Will, Mercy, Power, Grace, etc. Ibn Sînâ explains this in terms of cosmic *intellegences*, otherwise conceived of as "angels" and "souls," which relay God's thought "down" through the spheres into the material world.[4] We might say that each intelligence acts as a neuron as it transmits God's impulse from one sphere to another.

God is ultimate Reality (al-H̲aqq, one of the Divine Names) and the source of all reality. Multifarious phenomena in the material world, at the receiving end of divine emanation, are also *real* but only to the extent that they reflect some por-tion of God's Reality. Some aspects of reality are explicit or manifest. This is the layer of *z̲âhir*, which is visible, evident, perceptible, and external. Z̲âhir reality, however, is never total or complete. There are many "hidden" dimensions to real-ity. These are the *bât̲in*, the concealed, intrinsic, inner, and sometimes even the "secret" aspects of reality. In many cases, the bât̲in may be closer to the "truth" of a thing than its z̲âhir because, being less manifest and material, it is closer to its first reality in God. For example, the Koran is God's word. The words are explicit and the book can be read. Yet much in the Koran needs to be explained in order to be understood. Islamic scholarship recognizes two types of explanation: *tafsîr*, which is commentary and elucidation based on rational demonstration, and *ta'wîl*, which is a "return" to the "first" essence of the text, its meaning in God, from which it originates. While tafsîr (the z̲âhir of the Koran) is necessary to all, so that all may understand God's explicit word, ta'wîl represents the bât̲in of the Koran, its inner-most "secret" meaning, and it is reserved for those able to comprehend such

higher truth. Reality is multilayered and complex. Not all truth is (or can be) explicit. Some truth is concealed and needs to be revealed, "discovered" (*kashf*); its veil of darkness removed. Moreover, some truths are best left unexplicated. They are not demonstrable and can only be hinted at, alluded to allegorically, or represented symbolically.

To the Neoplatonic emanationism of Islamic philosophy there is a corresponding epistemology, which was fully developed by both the *ishrâqî*, or "illuminationist," school of philosophy and by theosophical Sufism. Knowledge, like all reality, originates in God and, like light (*nûr*), it comes down to humanity through the ever-thicker veils of separation represented by the heavenly spheres. The knowledge we acquire of the phenomenal world is entirely based on the Divine Light this lower world receives and reflects. At the lowest level, phenomena perceptible to the senses are but pale reflections of their ultimate state of realness in God. At the highest level, God, origin of all knowledge, is ultimately unknowable. All we can know of Him is the knowledge that He allows to filter down to us through the cosmic layers. The founding figures of theosophical Sufism, Suhrawardi (d. 1191) and Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240), determined that there are three manners of knowing. First, there are the human senses, which we use to navigate the perceptible world, the *mulk* or the *'âlam al-shahâdah* (the world of evidence). Then there is the human intellect, which gives us access to the cognitive universe of pure ideas, the *jabarût*; this is the classical Platonic *ideational* realm of immutable entities responsible for transitory material manifestations. However, between these two levels—substantive reality and the reality of ideas—lies an intermediary universe, the *malakût*, also known as the *'âlam al-mithâl* (the world of similitude) or the *'âlam al-khayâl* (the world of the imagination).[5] This is the realm of "refined entities," of "archetypal figures," of "idea-images," accessible through the active imagination.[6] This *imaginal* world of "immaterial matter" is where the essence of perceptible and transitory phenomena, as it emanates down from its source in Divine Reality, is first *form*ulated, where it begins to take on body and shape. It is the realm of forms and images, of symbols or *archetypes*. Just as pure ideas exist as "fixed entities" in Plato's ideational upper world, so too are these pure forms fixed in the Neoplatonic imaginal realm, where they are designated as *al-a'yân al-thâbitah*, or "fixed essences."[7]

The modern usage of the term *archetype* in European languages is closely associated with the work of Carl Jung, for whom archetypes are "instinctive trends" which reside in the subconscious of all humans and which manifest themselves in impulses.[8] Without wanting to enter the debate on the validity of Jung's conception, the term *archetype* is used here because it is the best English-language approximation of the "fixed essences" or "idea-images" of Sufi theosophists. The Greek prefix *arkhe* refers to the *principle*, that which "comes before." An *arkhetypon* is a primordial form or idea that serves as model, an original form, a *prototype* as well as a *perfect* example of something. The archetype of Islamic theosophy is an expression of one layer of realness within a hierarchy of such layers. It is *formal* essence at a stage or level of reality "before" or "above" material, contingent, or accidental

manifestations. The existence of these archetypes is just as "objective" as that of pure ideas in Plato's upper realm. Just as human intellect, through reason, is a valid means of approaching the ideational reality of a phenomenon, so too does the faculty of imagination constitute a valid conduit to understanding its formal or imaginal essence. In pursuit of the "truth" of a thing, of its reality in God, two routes can be followed, the intellect and rational demonstration, on the one hand, and the imagination with its recourse to allegory, parable, metaphor, and symbolism, on the other.

The postulation of an imaginal realm consisting of fixed essences helps explain the importance of symbols to Sufi expression. Symbols convey essential truths about God. Classical Sufi poetry in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu, for example, is an endless interplay of rose, nightingale, wine, moon, sun, mirror, reed, etc.[9] These are symbols because they express truth through their forms. Their forms, known to the senses and then "imagined," evoke some fundamental idea. Together, these symbols constitute a "lexicon," a vocabulary available to those versed in their meanings. Some of the most important symbols of the imaginal realm of the Sufis are those mentioned in the Koran that relate directly to God: the Divine Throne and Divine Pedestal, the Preserved Tablet and the Pen, the Scales, etc. These entities are understood to be key tools of taw<u>h</u>îd, or the "Science of Oneness." God is One, yet His relationship to creation is multifarious. God has Will, Power, Mercy, Omniscience, etc., and each of these attributes takes on symbolic form in the imaginal realm, the Scales for example symbolizing Justice, the Throne symbolizing Power, etc.

Other entities named in the Koran, like the Pool of Kawthar (108:1–3), the Mountain called Qâf (50:1), the Fish that swallows Jonah (37:142), and the Lote-Tree at the Extremity (53:14), are best understood as fundamental forms or archetypes. Rather than relating directly to God, as fixed forms in the malakût, they convey cosmological, cosmographic, or eschatological notions related to the structure and meaning of God's creation. They are essential forms that transcend the particular material manifestations of pools, mountains, fish, and trees. In social scientific terms, we might say that they represent the universal values articulated through culturally specific expressions. These archetypes have been built up over many generations of theosophical explanation, poetic speculation, and commentary. Like the rose and the nightingale, they have become part of the Sufi vocabulary of symbols.

The Tree as Archetype

Among the fixed essences of the imaginal realm is the tree. For Umberto Eco, the tree is a "natural sign."[10] Trees are perceptible elements of the material world. They are common occurrences and, not withstanding their great physical diversity, their form tends to be prototypical: roots in the ground, vertical trunk, branches in the sky. This tree form, or rather its image in the mind, can be easily

evoked at the mere mention of the word "tree," which exists in virtually every language. The strength of the relationship between material form (known to the senses) and image (understood intuitively through the imagination) explains the power of the tree as an archetype. This is exactly the kind of archetypal figure that inhabits the intermediary "world of images" discussed above. Between the *idea* of the tree in the Platonic upper world, and the material manifestation of particular trees in the sensual world, there is the essential *form* of the tree in the Sufi realm of archetypes.

The tree is a ubiquitous religious symbol. It is to be found in mythologies, religions, and traditions on all continents since the most ancient times. One can briefly refer to the following well-known occurrences: it appears as the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil which grows in Eden (Genesis 2:9), as the Tree of Life in the celestial Jerusalem (Revelations 22:2), and as the pipal tree beneath which the Buddha attains Enlightenment. Not only does the tree symbol inhabit the scriptures and literatures of the world, it is prominent in its visual arts and architecture as well. The worldwide ubiquity of the tree symbol has been the object of study for over a century.[11] The meaning which the tree form conveys—though it varies from one religion to another—revolves around its essential physical property, i.e., the fact that it rises from earth to sky. In cosmological terms, the tree stands at the "center" of the world; it also transcends the world as an *axis mundi*, linking this earth to that which is above and below it. The tree form creates an immanently geographical three-dimensional space within which a number of interrelated notions have evolved. It is the transcendent attribute of the form that attracts many religious meanings. As cosmic link, the tree functions as a channel to heaven, thus we find it associated with illumination, divine knowledge, and ascension to gnosis. It can also signify notions of fertility and immortality. These notions are common to all religious experience and this inclines us to include the tree among that small number of symbols that can genuinely be classified as universal.

In Islamic tradition, the tree archetype has a variety of designations. It appears as the Sidrat al-Muntahâ (the "Lote-Tree of the Extremity") in the Koran (53:14), a designation that alternates with Ṭûbâ in a wide range of Islamic texts: ḥadîth, *miʿrâj* narratives, Sufi treatise and poetry, and in popular piety. We are told in numerous Koranic verses that Paradise consists of many gardens with rivers and streams, palatial abodes and pavilions, and all kinds of excellent trees: thornless lote-trees (56:28), arrayed acacia (56:29), date palms and pomegranates (62:68), whose fruit "hang low within reach" (69:22). Yet it is in ḥadîth, and not the Koran, that we are told of a singular "tree in Paradise," a great tree with shade "one hundred years wide" and many other marvelous attributes besides: extraordinary fruit, eternal leaves of silk brocade, roots of pearl, trunk of ruby, branches of chrysolite, etc.[12] These ḥadîth reports about Ṭûbâ, usually attributed to Abu Hurayra and Kaʿb, but sometimes also to ʿAli, are cited time and again in Sufi literature. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké refers to many of them in his own short treatise entitled *Silk al-Jawâhir fi Akhbâr al-Sarâʾir*.[13]

The paradisiacal tree called Ṯûbâ is a well-known symbol in classical Sufi litera-ture. One of the earliest Sufis, Dhû-l-Nûn al Miṣrî, used Ṯûbâ to represent eschato-logical desire: "Obedient men have earned their presence in the shade of (the Tree) Tûbâ and proximity to their Lord the Most High."[14] In the third volume of his *Futûhât al-Makkiyyah*, or "Meccan Illuminations," Ibn 'Arabî makes the follow-ing claim: "The Real, with His Own Hand, planted the tree Ṯûbâ in the paradisi-acal garden of eternity called Eden and spread it out so that its branches reached the top of the wall which encloses the Paradise of Eden. He made it a shady place for all the other paradises."[15] From the multiplicity of trees mentioned in the Koran as gracing the paradisiacal gardens, Ṯûbâ emerges in Sufi texts as the essen-tial, all-encompassing tree of Paradise.

In the Koran, the archetypal tree is not designated as a tree of Paradise. Rather it is designated as a cosmic, celestial "lote-tree" at the "extremity" of the universe, the Sidrat al-Muntahâ:

> He [the Prophet Muhammad] saw Him [*Shadîd al-Quwâ*, the Supreme Power] indeed another time, By the Lote-tree of the Extremity, Close to which is the Garden of Refuge, When the Lote-Tree was covered over with what it was covered over. Neither did sight fal-ter nor exceed the bounds. Indeed he saw some of the greatest signs of his Lord. (53:13–18)

These verses from *sûrah* "the Star" are understood as referring to the Prophet Muhammad's mi'râj, his ascension through the heavens, in the company of the Archangel Gabriel, into God's presence. The Lote-Tree of the Extremity is a cos-mic tree, not a paradisiacal one; it stands "close to" (*'ind*) the Garden of Refuge but not in it. It stands at the uppermost limit of the heavens, at the extremity of the universe, and it symbolizes Muhammad's metaphysical contact with God, the Supreme Power. According to this verse, the Prophet "saw" the Supreme Power at this tree and he was shown some of His "signs." The correct manner of interpreting Muhammad's night journey (*isrâ'*) from Mecca to Jerusalem, his cosmic ascension (mi'râj) and his "seeing" of the Lord has been the subject of much debate among commentators down to the present time.[16] Yet, whatever the interpretation, the Lote-Tree of the Extremity is understood to be a point of contact between the cre-ated universe and the Creator. This interpretation is supported by many ḥadîths (attributed to Mas'ud, Al-Nawawi, and Anas b. Malik) where the Koranic Lote-Tree marks the limit "beyond which none may pass." Even the Archangel Gabriel, who accompanies Muhammad in his cosmic ascension, stops at this tree; only Muhammad, "the most perfect of creatures," proceeds beyond this point into God's presence.[17]

Because it marks the furthest extremity of creation, i.e., the closest point to God, the Sidrat al-Muntahâ features prominently in Sufi theosophical works and poetry, where it symbolizes the soul's desire for ultimate union with God. This is the case in a poem by Hâfiẓ for instance, where the Sufi's "soul bird" builds a nest on the boughs of the sidrah, "high up in the heavenly fields."[18]

Like Tûbâ, the Sidrat al-Muntahâ is vividly described in hadîth reports, where it shares many of the very same attributes as the great Tree of Paradise: shade one hundred years wide, delicious fruit, and marvelous scent, etc.[19] Moreover, Tûbâ and the Sidrat al-Muntahâ are conflated further in the popular mi'râj narratives which abound in the Muslim world.

A mi'râj narrative is an epic that recounts in imaginative detail the Prophet's night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and his subsequent cosmic ascension.[20] The narratives are intended to be both pedagogical and entertaining and are recited publicly, during Ramadan nights for instance. Although they do contain passages from the Koran and cite reliable hadîth reports, they also embellish these with many noncanonical elements. Invariably, Tûbâ or the Sidrat al-Muntahâ (or both) are mentioned in these narratives, where they are described in fantastic detail and where their cosmographic locations—in the *center* of Paradise for the first, at the *extremity* of the universe for the second—are often confused. Yet the confusion between the two trees is only apparent. What we are dealing with here is a *subsumation*, a conjoining of complementary principles. The malakût, the realm of archetypes, is not confined by the Euclidean geometry that governs the material world. In the malakût, a center can simultaneously be an extremity[21] and Tûbâ in the center of Paradise can simultaneously be the Lote-Tree at the extremity of the universe. These are simply different layers of its reality. On one plain of reality, the archetypal tree rises from the center of Paradise and covers "all the gardens" with its foliage.[22] At another layer of reality, it stands at the uppermost extremity of the universe, which spreads out below it.

Popular mi'râj narratives are not alone in conflating the paradisiacal Tûbâ and the cosmic Sidrat al-Muntahâ. Both have been understood by theosophists as manifestations of a single tree archetype. Given the verticality of the tree form and the three-dimensional space it creates for itself, the archetypal tree in the imaginal realm of malakût is simultaneously manifest as the great tree in the center of Paradise—symbolizing eternal bliss for the righteous—and as the tree at the extremity of the universe—symbolizing the pivot where creation connects with God, where direct knowledge of God might be accessed and where union with God might be hoped for. Note how Hâfiz's verse about the Sidrat al-Muntahâ (cited above) resembles Suhrawardî's verse about Tûbâ: "Sîmorgh [the bird of gnosis] has her nest at the summit of the tree Tûbâ. At day-break she leaves her nest and spreads her wings over the earth."[23] The human soul (symbolized as the bird) strives simultaneously for knowledge of God and for recompense in the Hereafter, both symbolized by the tree.

For the Sufi theosophist Ibn 'Arabî, the archetypal tree was a totalizing tree of Being; it is the Shajarat al-Kawn, the Tree of Existence, the Tree of the Universe. In a treatise entitled *Shajarat al-Kawn*, attributed to him, the Tree of the World is an all-encompassing symbol of creation.[24] The use of the tree form to express simultaneously the plurality of worlds and the transcendent unity of the universe stems from the form's verticality (its trunk) and its multifarious circular ramifications (its living boughs, limbs, branches, twigs, leaves, flowers, and fruit). Ibn 'Arabî's World

Tree grows from the seed of God's first command: "Be!" It is an "inverted" tree, that is to say, that its roots are in God, above, and its trunk extends "down" through the layers of reality so that its farthest ramifications light up the phenomenal world. It is a tree "of light," light symbolizing knowledge; knowledge originates in God, at the root, and shines down through the multiplicity of the World Tree's ramifications. The inverted tree of light, designated as Ṭûbâ, figured in a number of Sufi treatises. Sometimes it has even been depicted graphically, as in the illustration from an eighteenth century Turkish prayer book reproduced by Moynihan.[25] All the manifestations of the archetypal tree: Ṭûbâ the Tree of Paradise, the Lote-Tree of the Extremity, Zaqqûm, the "cursed tree" in Hell (mentioned in the Koran 56:52), the Biblical Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, are subsumed within this singular World Tree construct.[26] This is certainly how Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba understood Ṭûbâ, not simply as the Tree of Paradise but as a World Tree, an inverted Tree of Light. Citing a ḥadîth attributed to Ka'b, in *Silk al-Jawâhir*, he explains: "The sun in this world is similar to it (Ṭûbâ) for its roots are in heaven and its light irradiates all the places on earth."[27]

Touba as Quṭb

Touba in Senegal is a material manifestation of the Sufi tree archetype variously identified as Ṭûbâ or as the Sidrat al-Muntahâ. There is no discontinuity between the earthly city and the celestial, paradisiacal, and cosmic symbol. The dichotomy between Ṭûbâ (archetype) and Touba (toponym) present on the written pages of this book is misleading. In Arabic, there is a single spelling, Ṭûbâ, for a single entity. The physical city (spelled "Touba" for convenience) represents one layer of the reality of Ṭûbâ, which exists simultaneously on many different plains (figure 1.1).

In Sufi terms, Touba is a quṭb, a "pole" or axis mundi. It is at the same time an earthly place and a reflection of an entity in the malakût. The concept of quṭb is primarily an astronomical one. It designates the "celestial pole," a hypothetical spot in the sky around which the heavens revolve.[28] Given the hierarchical and emanationist structure of Neoplatonic cosmology, Sufism has invested this astronomical term with several related spiritual meanings. The term *quṭb* is used to designate *transcendence*. It can be applied to any being, moment, event, or place which connects the various layers of reality to each other. In Islam, the Holy Koran is the greatest quṭb; it is the Word of God. Ultimately, the Word resides in God, inaccessible and unknowable to humans. As an archetypal entity, in the imaginal realm of the malakût, it is *form*alized as the Lawḥ al-Maḥfûz, the "Preserved Tablet" mentioned in the Koran (85:22), where God's Word is *written*, where it begins to take a form accessible to human understanding. On Earth, it is materially manifest as a book. God's Word exists in all three dimensions of reality, with God, as the archetypal book in the malakût and as "recitation" on Earth, where it takes oral and written form. The Koran is all of these at once. However, it is the *act* of
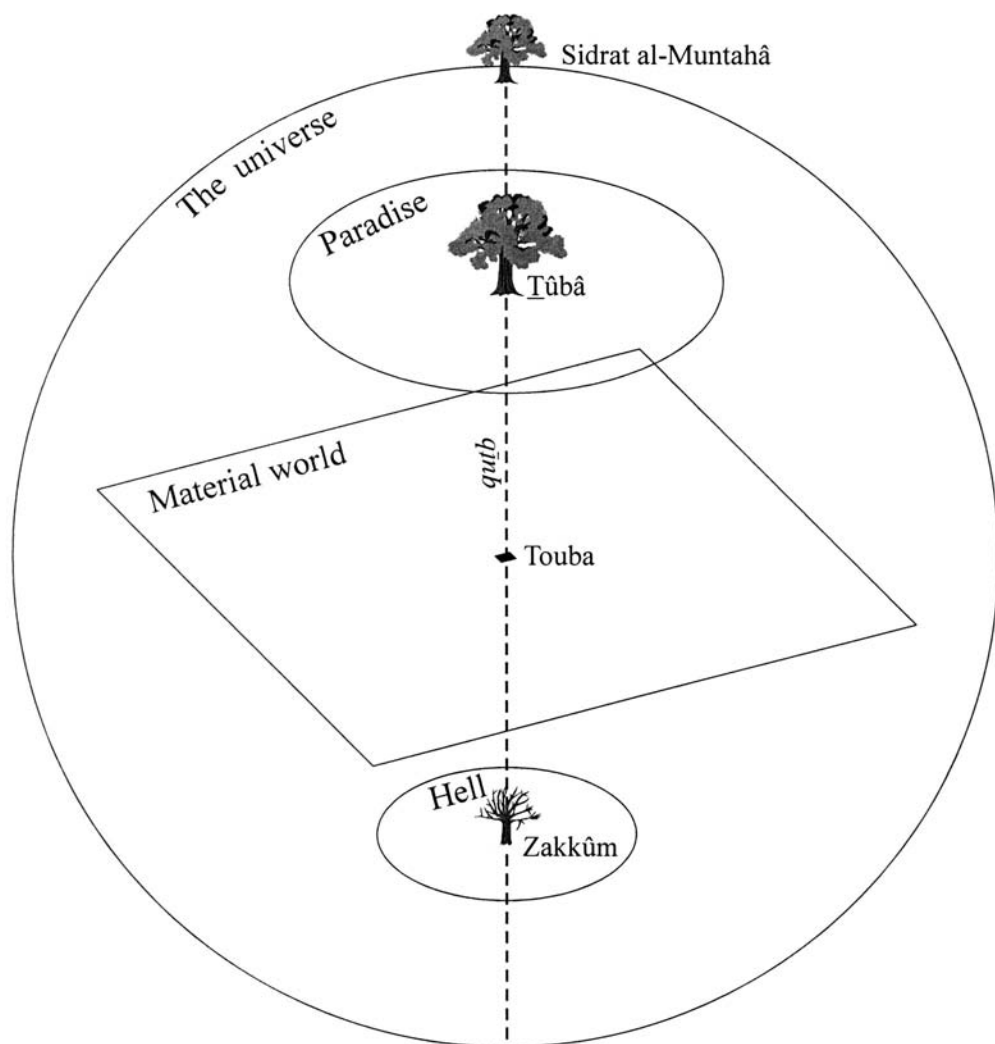
Figure 1.1. Cosmology of the World Tree. T̲ûbâ the tree of paradise is but one manifestation of the Tree of the World postulated by Sufi theosophists. The World Tree is a cosmological construct that aims to explain the created universe and its relation to the Creator. This diagram attempts to situate the Sufi city of Touba within this cosmology but it can only begin to approximate the spatial relationships involved. Space in the imaginal realm of the malakût is not confined within the Euclidean geometry of this diagram.

reciting (*qirâ'ah*) the Koran (al-Qur'ân, "the Recitation") which permits transcendence of these layers of reality. It is through recitation that God's Word is released to energize the phenomenal world.

A qutb can be manifest in a *person*, in an *act*, in a *moment*, and in a *place*.[29] Qutb is used, for example, to designate the most perfect human (*al-insân al-kâmil*), the saint of the highest order of enlightenment, the one "who exists by virtue of the cosmic *qutb*."[30] By extension, the term has been used as an honorific title for many saints, including Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké.[31] Ahmadou Bamba's mystic illumination beneath the tree was also a qutb. The moment of transcendence, of cosmic alignment, marked both the man and the place as qutb. In his semiotic study of Touba, the Mouride urban planner Cheikh Abdoulaye Dieye expresses this as follows. Upon discovering the site of Touba, marked by the *mbéb* tree, "the Shaykh did his prayers. Then the mysteries of the visible world (Mulk) and the invisible world (Malakut) were unveiled to him. In that great light he discovered the epicenter of Touba."[32]

Finally, Touba is a qutb in the sense that Mircea Eliade distinguishes sacred places from homogenous profane space:

> A sacred place constitutes a break in the homogeneity of space; this break is symbolized by an opening by which passage from one cosmic region to another is made possible (from heaven to earth and vice versa; from earth to the underworld); communication with heaven is expressed by one or another of certain images, all of which refer to the axis mundi, pillar (cf. the universalis columna), ladder (cf. Jacob's ladder), mountain, tree, vine, etc.; around this cosmic axis lies the world (= our world), hence the axis is located "in the middle," at the "navel of the earth"; it is the Center of the World.[33]

A qutb of this sort is a rare place. Many places around the world are considered "sacred" or "holy." Often, as in the case of numerous Sufi shrines, this sacred status arises from the tomb of the holy person buried there. Very few places, however, constitute qutbs in the sense that they mark cosmic transcendence, transcendence of the various levels of reality.

It is important at this point to define Touba's holy status according to the internal Mouride view of the city. Touba is a holy place not because Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba is buried there but because God chose the site and protects it. God guided the Sufi shaykh to Touba in order that he establish a refuge in the material world for those who hope to be received into God's promised gardens in the Hereafter. The sanctuary is called Tûbâ after the paradisiacal tree of that name. The two entities are ontologically linked. Touba as an earthly city is the physical locus of a multidimensional entity. The place is thus transcendent. It is a qutb and as a qutb, Touba is a member of a small category of holy places, a category that includes some of the greatest and most ancient sacred cities in the world.

In Hindu tradition, Varanasi (Benaras), also called Kashi (the "Luminous," the "City of Light") is preeternal. It existed before creation and it continues to exist outside of creation, outside of time itself.[34] Kashi transcends the universe. It is Shiva's *shaft*, piercing the three worlds. It is a beam of light with neither bottom

nor top. It is also the metropolis of death. People come from all over to die in Varanasi because this will release them from the nearly infinite cycle of rebirth. Because it is a cosmic pivot, the city is an existential threshold. Death and cremation in Varanasi constitute *moksha*, "liberation," passage to a qualitatively entirely different state of being. Life and death are thus transcended there and this is manifest in the city's topography. Cremation grounds, which elsewhere are considered the vilest of places and are banished to the outskirts of cities, occupy the privileged sacred center of Varanasi. They take the form of *ghats* commanding the embankment of the holy River Ganges.

In Jewish tradition, Jerusalem is the center of creation. Jerusalem was the first dry place to emerge when land was separated from water, and it was the "navel" around which all other land coalesced.[35] Jerusalem's qut̲b is manifest in the *rock*, an archetype, and it has taken architectural form as the Dome of the Rock. The Foundation Stone on Mount Moria, i.e., the rock beneath the *dome*, where the Temple once stood, comes from the Divine Throne and it contains the Divine Name. Jerusalem is a qut̲b for Christians and Muslims as well. It is in Jerusalem that the Christian Messiah was resurrected and it is from there that he ascended to Heaven, as directly above the earthly city is the Celestial Jerusalem of Christian eschatology. It is from Jerusalem too that the prophet Muhammad ascended the heavens into God's presence during his mi'râj. As qut̲b, Jerusalem serves an eschatological function in all three Abrahamic religions. At the end of time, Jerusalem (understood as both an earthly and a cosmic place) will be the locus of Divine Judgment. On the Day of Resurrection, the deceased shall rise up and gather beneath its walls, and it is precisely beneath Jerusalem's walls, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat and on the Mount of Olives, that some of the most exalted Jewish, Christian, and Muslim cemeteries can be found. Jerusalem functions as gate to the Afterlife.

In Islam, Mecca al-Mukarramah, "Mecca the Blessed," is the quintessential qut̲b. In the Koran, Mecca is called "the first sanctuary appointed for mankind" (3:96). It is the Umm al-Qurâ, the "Mother of Settlements," the *Metropolis*. Pilgrimage (*h̲ajj*) to Mecca is one of the five pillars of the faith. Mecca is the center of the world as Muslims the world over face it in prayer. In a sense, Mecca focuses all the prayers of the world and channels them, "up" to God. Mecca's qut̲b is manifest in the ka'bah, the archetypal *cube*, which is the projection on earth of God's Throne.[36] According to tradition, Adam built the first ka'bah, an earthly replica of the Celestial Ka'bah beneath the Divine Throne around which the angels worship. Later, Abraham and Isma'il built a new ka'bah on the site of Adam's original edifice, which had been withdrawn to save it from the Deluge.[37] It is through the acts of praying toward and circumambulation (*al-t̲awâf*) of the cubic structure that the ka'bah becomes fully dynamic as the earthly manifestation of its celestial archetype. Moreover, as a qut̲b, Mecca is closely associated with Jerusalem, and the ka'bah with its Black Stone is closely associated with the Dome of the Rock. Jerusalem was the first *qiblah* of Islam—it was in his second year in Medina that Muhammad was commanded through revelation to turn instead to Mecca in prayer—and it is from the

ka'bah in Mecca (*al-masjid al-ḥarâm*, the "sacred mosque") that Muhammad was carried off to the Rock in Jerusalem (*al-masjid al-aqsâ*, the "furthest mosque") during his night journey in order that he ascend the heavens.

Medina al-Munawwarah ("the Radiant," "the Luminous") is the second holy sanctuary (*ḥaram*) of Islam. It is Madînat al-Nabî, "the City of the Prophet." It is the first home of the *ummah*, the universal community of believers, where Islam was first practiced under Muhammad's enlightened guidance. Muhammad was *light* (al-Nûr al-Muḥammadiyyah) radiating Divine Knowledge, the purist possible knowledge of God. Therefore, his guidance in this world is considered to have been perfect. This perfect man of light, an earthly representation of the archetypal Man (al-insân al-kâmil), which contains the complete potentiality of humanity, also has an eschatological role, as "intercessor" (*al-shafî'*) for his ummah on the Day of Judgment. Medina is his final resting place and his tomb, the *ḥujrah* or "room" in the Ḥaram al-Nabawî, is the focus of intense devotion as people go there to ask for his intercession.

These holy cities: Varanasi, Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medina are all quṭbs in the sense that they constitute cosmic "poles" where the physical world connects to overarching, metaphysical levels of reality. They are also places of eschatological transcendence, connecting life and death. Because cosmological constructs underlie eschatological ones, quṭbs are "openings," points of passage from one level of existence to another. Burial or cremation in these places has special significance, as do prayer and pilgrimage. Moreover, these openings function through powerful archetypes: Light in the case of Varanasi (Kashi) and Medina "the Luminous," the Rock in the case of Jerusalem, and the Cube in the case of Mecca. These archetypes are *fundamental* forms. They articulate basic principles relating to the structure of the universe and of human destinies in it. The Sufi city of Touba, a material manifestation of the archetypal Tree, belongs to this category of holy city.[38] Yet, unlike these ancient holy cities, Touba is a contemporary phenomenon. Its theosophical Sufi underpinnings may be Medieval but the city is still being configured on the ground today and it has risen in a material landscape otherwise marked by the capitalist world system, colonialism, postcolonialism, and, now, by globalization.

Archetypes and Creativity

References to archetypes such as the tree called Ṭûbâ are quintessential to the expression of Sufi concepts. They imbue Sufi poetry, prose, music, song, dance, and calligraphy, as well as various aspects of architecture, from the form and structure of buildings to their decorative overlays.[39] The frequency of recourse to archetypes in Sufi arts stems from the fact that certain aspects of reality are best represented through forms and images, through their reality in the malakût, rather than through rational demonstration. Yet this Sufi worldview, which apprehends the phenomenal

world in terms of higher essences, is by no means limited to Sufis. In the pre-Enlightenment world, this view was commonly held among the educated and the pious in nearly all cultures, and it was especially determinant to artistic creativity.

In a traditional society—that is, in a society that does not entirely subscribe to the post-Enlightenment rejection of the metaphysical dimensions of reality—design is *total*. The design of ordinary household objects and apparel is just as in*formed* by higher reality as that of objects designated as *religious* or *sacred*. Created objects are never simply aesthetically pleasing. The aesthetic value of an object derives from that part of Divine Reality it represents. As explained above, the imaginal realm is considered an objective part of reality and the faculty of imagination is a legitimate path to knowledge of the ultimate truth of things. Artisans are inducted into an understanding of the imaginal realm through a process of apprenticeship, where their imaginative faculty is trained. Apprenticeship in a craft is both a technical and a spiritual process. The forms master artists and artisans (called *mu'allim*, or "masters," in Arabic) manipulate are significant and meaningful. Far from being personal expressions of an aesthetic, they are informed by archetypes because these masters of art, through their apprenticeship, have learned how the imaginal world relates to materiality.[40]

What holds true for artists and artisans is equally true for architects, planners, and engineers—called *muhandis* in Arabic, those who "geometricize."[41] Houses, streets, walls, gates, bridges, markets, and irrigation schemes are never simply utilitarian works; their locations and configurations also relate to the metaphysical dimensions of space and they are meant to contribute to the proper ordering of a multidimensional world. Historically, the term *architect* in European languages connoted an idea of the practice quite similar to this. The architect—constructed from the same Greek root, arkhe ("principle," "primordial state") discussed above—was the one who built (*tecton*) according to the primordial essence, or the principle of the building.[42] Architects are distinguished from mere "builders" because they possess knowledge of the arkhe, the principles, ideas, and essential forms that must underlie the building. The "beauty" and "harmony" that modern tourists, scholars, and architecture enthusiasts admire in premodern or non-Western built landscapes stems largely from this total design, whereby all manufactured objects partake in the metaphysical dimensions of reality. In contrast, the modern world is characterized by the hegemony of utilitarianism and materialism (not to mention the profit motive). Design decisions reflect these imperatives first and foremost. The little room left for esthetics is then filled with personal acts of creativity, more or less detached from any consensual understanding of the essential or eternal truth of the building. The traditional artists, artisans, architects, and engineers (the mu'allim and muhandis) do not create in the *modern* sense of personal fulfillment and originality of expression. Rather, their specialized knowledge and skill are practiced in order to *form*alize or *material*ize essential truths. They are helping to order the world, and people's lives in it, in accordance with a higher reality which infuses it. From the smallest household objects to the greatest buildings, everything is built or manufactured according to the same

phenomenology, hence the sense of "harmony" that permeates such landscapes. Objects are in harmony with each other because they are first of all in tune with the arkhe of the imaginal realm.

This understanding of architectural and urban design characterizes many traditional cultures, including Muslim ones. Innovative studies of two historic South Asian cities: Kandy in Sri Lanka and Jaipur in Rajasthan, have dealt with similar spiritual foundations to city building and architecture in Indian civilization. Duncan argues that medieval Kandy's urban morphology was configured allegorically, as a representation of a divine cosmic order. The allusions in the city's landscape are to the narratives of the world of the gods, which is considered to be "real" and to have real relations to the world of humans. The structural similarity between Kandy and the city of the gods was created in order that Kandy "partake of the power of its allegorical representation."[43] For their part, Sachdev and Tillotson demonstrate how, before the modernization of the architectural professions in India in the late nineteenth century, Jaipur's urban design, as well as the architecture of individual buildings, relied on an methodology whereby both theoretical principles and the practice of building conformed to ideal spiritual configurations, known as *shastras*, described in texts. A shastra is a concept. It can be figured as a diagram but it is not a plan. It is a "conceptual model" whose rendering on the ground will depend, among other things, on the way it is perceived at any given time and on the preexisting features of the building site.[44]

In traditional African cultures too the configuration of settlements corresponds to overarching spiritual conceptions of the proper ordering of life in the material world. Historic Hausa cities, for example, were conceived of in geometric terms and stemmed "from a view of man and his relationship to the cosmos."[45] Their invisible axes were aligned to the cardinal points and crossed at the center. The center points of these cities were considered vertical axes, "linking heaven and earth" at those places.

Kandy, Jaipur, and the Hausa cities were the products of traditional societies and building methods. The term *traditional* is used here to designate what are effectively spiritual worldviews. A "traditional" society or culture is one that views the material world in relation to spiritual or metaphysical realms. The term is used in opposition to "modern," which designates a post-Enlightenment view of the material world as distinct from the metaphysical and complete in and of itself. Someone who subscribes to a spiritual worldview does not understand the material world in the same way as someone who views this world solely in terms of its physical materiality. Moreover, that person will not *act* upon the material world in the same way. In most places and at most times in history, architecture and city building have occurred within spiritual worldviews. Part of their purpose was to reflect or express some part of a divine or cosmic reality. They were never *simply* utilitarian.

Early in the twentieth century, Modern art broke with the episteme of arkhe. Creativity was released from the constraints of the "canon." At the same time, the practices of architecture, building construction, and city planning became ever more codified and bureaucratic, through professional associations, municipal

zoning laws, and national building codes. Due to increasing divisions of labor and degrees of bureaucracy in the building professions, the guiding principles of construction have ceased being those of *essence* and have increasingly become those of *contingency*. This process has affected architecture and city building the world over and constitutes part of the "master narrative" of modernity. *Modernity* thus defined is the product of secular and scientific paradigms derived from the Enlightenment, but it is also the product of the very material global processes of imperialism, colonialism, capitalism, and the hegemony of the sovereign territorial nation-state. Post-modernity, which began as an architectural movement, has not challenged these modern conditions under which cities are being built today.

Given the conditions under which contemporary cities are built, the creation of spiritually inspired cities such as Kandy and Jaipur no longer seems possible, yet Touba constitutes just such a paradox, a spiritual metropolis in the modern world. Modernity and tradition are not binary, mutually exclusive human conditions. The usual cultural typology, which distinguishes traditional, modern, and postmodern modes of being, cannot adequately take into account the complexities of this contemporary Sufi city. Touba is discrepant in this regard. *Discrepant* modernity is a form of modernity at variance with the hegemonic modernization project, which is "the unfolding of a singular master imperial logic, the universality of being, and the teleologies of history."[46] According to Rofel, the "forced and violent interaction" between the traditional and modern modes, provoked by colonialism, permits the emergence of "an imaginary space that produces deferred relationships to modernity."[47] In Touba's case, the space was certainly *imagined*, and specifically by reference to the imaginal realm of the Sufis, but it was by no means *deferred*; it was built. Touba is the product of a modern mass social movement mobilized in favor of a spiritual project. It is a Sufi city in origin and inspiration but its architects and planners are working with the modern methods and materials typical of their professions worldwide. More to the point, those who have built Touba: its spiritual leaders, its artisans and builders, its architects, planners, and surveyors, are all members of the Mouride order. They are all on the Sufi *path*. This means that they are not inclined to subscribe to a one-dimensional, utilitarian, and functional worldview that excludes the metaphysical. On the contrary, by building Touba, they are consciously contributing to the realization of a spiritual project. Built with modern methods and materials, Touba is configured according to the Sufi understanding of reality as multidimensional and infused with God's unity.

Spatial Semiotics

To the untrained naked eye, the sensible landscape is a chaotic construct resulting from the reflection and refraction of light from innumerable rays, many layers removed from their Divine origin. For Sufis, the landscape is a *mirror*, an imperfect reflection of the imaginal world above it. The imaginal and the sensual worlds

in-form each other. Forms in the perceptible world, apprehended by the senses, con*form* to their archetypal essence, apprehended by the imagination. Taken one step further, the sensible world, like a reflection in a mirror, is an illusion. Reality lies beyond it. Only a fool would take the reflection to be the real thing yet this reflection is the best conduit to the reality being reflected. For those who have mastered the technique, the essence of this reality can be seen through the "eye of the imaginative conscience."[48] Material reality is coded; it contains *signs* of higher truth. Sufi phenomenology views the landscape as a matrix of such signs, to be analyzed or interpreted for what it can reveal of the higher truth of things.[49] A special human faculty must be developed to practice this manner of knowing; this is *basîrah*, "insight," "discernment," mental perception as opposed to mere *vision*.[50] The Koran itself recommends such a semiotic reading of the sensible world; the phrase "Surely in this are signs (*âyât*) for those who discern" (15:75) is recurrent. The best signs are those in the Koran itself, which contains about 6,200 âyât (verses, literally "signs"). Sufi exegesis of landscape consists of "an ascension from the sensible to the spiritual. This ascension does not exceed sensible data but transfigures it into spiritual data. [. . .] One must ascend from the surface of the mirror to the model which it reflects, yet without abandoning the image in the mirror for this is what makes insight into the invisible possible."[51] Discernment starts with the z̲âhir, the explicit and evident, and builds up to the bât̲in, or hidden essence.

Yet, for a geographer, the landscape cannot simply be a passive reflection. It is an arena for human agency. People, individually and in groups, act on it, use it for a multiplicity of purposes, and, in turn, are affected by its social configurations.[52] The sensible world is always in the process of being, of *becoming*. Archetypes may be "fixed entities" of the imaginal realm, their material reflections on earth are in a state of trans*form*ation. While, as far as possible for an uninitiated interloper such as myself, Sufi phenomenology (multiple layers of reality, decipherment of signs, reference to symbols and archetypes) will be employed in the analysis of the city of Touba, social scientific methods of approaching phenomena shall not be abandoned. One qualitative method in particular, semiotics, is particularly relevant to this case, as it resembles the Sufi method discussed above.

The semiotic analysis of landscape is now an established method within cultural geography and in urban geography in particular. In *The City and the Sign*, Gottdiener and Lagopoulos argued that urban form can be understood as primarily a set of signs.[53] By analyzing the signifier, one gains understanding of the signified. This semiotic approach is particularly appropriate to the study of cities and places of similar scale. It is at the scale of direct observation and personal experience of "being in the world" that the semiotics of landscape is most effective. At this scale, we are dealing with perceptible physical forms as signifiers. Even though these topographic signs are products of culture, they are also cultural agents; they contribute, along with other artifacts, to the construction of culture, and this concerns all human artifacts in the landscape, even such profane ones as suburban shopping malls.[54] Though the semiotic approach compares the earth's

surface to a *text*, where elements of the *topos* have been *written* (by men, by nature, or by God), we will not limit ourselves to the textual analogy. We can consider the surface of the earth to be a dynamic three-dimensional *canvas*, rather than a fixed text, where elements are formed rather than written, and where the formative process is a continuous one. The landscape is continuously being transformed. The codes it contains are constructed; they benefit from some degree of social consensus. Although certain symbols, such as the tree, may be universal and constitute archetypes, the corresponding signs in the landscape exist as part of a specific vocabulary. They constitute a *code* and, like any code, they must be learned. In order to decipher the code, one must first learn its vocabulary of signs. Thus, even though tree shrines in Goshonai (Japan), Oshogbo (Nigeria), and Jabal El-'Alam (Morocco) all contain trees as signs, the arboreal referent in each case is different.[55] These shrines have been constructed within specific cultural contexts and can only be understood within their respective cultures.

Trees in the Landscape

An understanding of the archetypal tree of Sufi theosophists is essential to understanding the contemporary Sufi city in Senegal which bears its name. For instance, the facts that the site of the city was first marked by a great tree and that Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba discovered this site through a mystic vision are essential to Touba's significance as a place. These are considered by Mourides as God's "signs." The great tree in the wilderness figures prominently in Touba's foundation legend, of which there are a number of versions. Two versions were recorded by Cheikh Tidiane Sy in the course of his research. According to the 1948 version of the legend, recorded in Diourbel:

> It is the Creator Himself who revealed to Sëriñ Bamba his duty to found a City of Touba at a place which He would make known to him through the intermediary of the Archangel Gabriel. [. . .] One day, the Angel revealed to him that he should start out in search of the "sacred place" which would become the pilgrimage site where Mourides, and later the whole world, would come for penance and sanctification, where he would be buried so that the faithful might obtain on his tomb the graces they went to get in Medina on the tomb of Muhammad. For a long time—the tradition says thirty years—he searched in vain. One day he set out northward from Diourbel. He felt within himself a guiding force. Submitting to what he knew was divine will, he passed Mbacké by and continued on to Darou Salam. Off and on he became blinded by a light while a tongue of fire licked at the brush around him (traces of this are still visible). For forty days he wandered through a land inhabited by wild beasts: lions, panthers, hyenas. He had passed the location of Touba when the Angel Gabriel came to him to tell him to turn back. He returned until he reached a baobab tree and then he stopped to accomplish his prayers. While he was bent down in prayer, forehead against the ground, he had a vision of "the fish that upholds the world." There was a great light, and he knew then that he had found the place he had been commanded by God to search for: Touba.[56]

The 1963 version of the legend was recorded in Touba and goes as follows:

> Often, he [Ahmadou Bamba] would roam the surrounding forests. He would sometimes be gone for entire days, lost in the forest. As he was returning one day from one of these retreats, a revelation informed him that the place he was seeking for his meditations, the place which would be the spiritual hearth of the religious movement he was to create, was located somewhere, in the brush, between the provinces of Baol and Jolof. [. . .] Like Medina for the Prophet, Touba was also chosen by God to serve as the religious capital of Mouridism. As with the Prophet, Ahmadou Bamba did not know the exact location of this point of contact with the Divine, which for him was Touba, as Mount Sinai had been for Moses. For years, the marabout had to wander about in search of the predicted site. He let himself be guided by intuition [. . .] had several false alarms, settled for a time in several corners of the brush, waited in vain for the promised revelation, was never called upon by any celestial voice and moved around several times. [. . .] After a patient search his attention was drawn, one day, to a tree which stood out clearly from the others by its size, its importance and its peculiar location. The tree, known as a "bepp" [*sic*] in Wolof, stood on a plateau on the spot where the dome of Touba Mosque now stands. Ahmadou Bamba prayed in the shade of the tree, and that is where he had his long awaited revelation.[57]

This second version, publicly narrated in Touba in 1963, can be considered as benefiting from official endorsement. Its narrator, Dame Dramé, was the general secretary and designated spokesperson of Sëriñ Falilou Mbacké, caliph general of the Mourides at the time. As for the earlier, anonymous version of the legend recorded in Diourbel in 1948, no source is cited. However, this same *jolie légende populaire* is also reproduced by Fernand Dumont, who cites as source an unpublished text by Paul des Îles dated 1949.[58] Lieutenant Paul des Îles, like Sy, may well have been informed by Dame Dramé. Dame Dramé worked closely with the colonial administration and then with the administration of President Leopold Sedar Senghor until his dismissal by the caliph general in 1965. Many subsequent authors such as Coulon have recounted the same story, though without attributing a source.[59]

Like all hagiographic narratives, Touba's foundation legend incorporates common tropes of religious significance: thirty years, forty days, angelic revelation, ferocious beasts, flaming visions of light, and parallels with the lives of the prophets. Although these have been toned down somewhat between 1948 and 1963, the epic and legendary nature of the narrative is still dominant. Also typical of hagiographies is its "sacred present" geography.[60] Diourbel and Darou Salam were well-known localities to Mourides in the mid-twentieth century, but would not have been relevant toponyms during the mid-1880s, when Touba's foundation occurred. On the other hand, the spirit of the legend is clear. Touba is a sacred place chosen by God. At His command, Ahmadou Bamba had to search for it. This search was a mystic quest, involving much prayer and great patience. In the end, Touba's location was revealed to him through an illumination, and its sign was a tree. The 1948 version identifies the tree as a baobab (*Adansonia digitata*, *guy* in Wolof), which it later identifies as the Guy Texe, or "Baobab of Bliss," in Touba's cemetery. The 1963 version, more correctly as we shall see in chapter 2, identifies

the tree as an mbéb, or gum plane (*Sterculia setigera* or *tomentosa*) and places it on the spot now marked by the Great Mosque.

The use of an actual tree in the material world to signal transcendence (qutb) and the foundation of a shrine or holy city is yet another of the widely attested practices related to the tree archetype. It is attested across Senegambia and West Africa, as will be discussed in chapter 4. It is also attested in the scriptures of the Abrahamic religions, and principally in the Torah. For example, when Abram (not yet called Abraham) arrives in Canaan, his first halt is in Sheshem "at the terebinth of Moreh" (Genesis 12:6). It is there that the Lord appears to him and assigns the land to his descendants, after which Abram builds an altar on the spot. Abram then moves on to dwell "at the terebinths of Mamre, which are in Hebron" (Genesis 13:18), where he builds another altar. These two terebinths (also called turpentine trees, *Pistacia terebinthus*) mark the initial loci of the great pre-Davidic sanctuaries, the first holy places of the Abrahamic tradition. Jacob buries the "alien gods" still in the possession of his family beneath the Sheshem terebinth (Genesis 35:4) and, by the time of the Judges, Sheshem had become a "sacred precinct of the Lord" (Joshua 24:26). It contained the tomb of the patriarch Joseph and an oak beneath which Joshua erected a stone altar; in Judges 9:37, this tree is called Allon-meonenim (Oak of the Soothsayers). Hebron too became a holy city known for the tombs of the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) and of their wives (Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah). Flavius Josephus reports that in his day (first century CE) Abraham's terebinth in Hebron, "which has continued ever since the creation of the world," was still flourishing.[61] The third great pre-Davidic sanctuary, Bethel, was also marked by a tree, an oak called Allon-bacuth (Oak of Weeping) beneath which Jacob buried Deborah, Rebecca's nurse (Genesis 365:8). Bethel was founded when Jacob had a vision of the "ladder" or "stairway," an axis mundi whose top "reached to the sky" (Genesis 28:12). In the *Book of Jubilees* (an "apocryphal" text still considered canonical by the Ethiopian Church), this cosmic vision occurs beneath an oak tree.[62]

Thus in the Torah, there is a significant pattern whereby trees (terebinths and oaks, but also the occasional tamarisk) mark theophany and the foundation of sanctuaries.[63] This tradition is continued in subsequent religious practice. According to Ibn Ishâq, the biographer of the Prophet Muhammad, the haram around the ka'bah in Mecca was originally a grove until Qusayy had the trees cut down and allotted urban quarters in their stead.[64] Likewise, many of the ancient sanctuaries of Ethiopia initially consisted of an enclosed grove. As the Christian faith progressed, churches were built within these enclosures.[65] For example, the twelfth-century emperor Lalibela had the sacred tree on the holy mountain of Amba Geshena replaced by a church.[66]

For Sufis especially, actual trees continue to be the locus of pious or devotional acts, including spiritual retreat and burial, and these have much to do with their relation to the archetypal tree discussed above. The association of certain trees with spiritual retreat is especially common in Sufi hagiographies. Shaykh El-Alaoui Bentounès (d. 1942), for example, is known to have sought peaceful retreat

beneath a tree in a garden outside the Algerian city of Mostaghanem and this tree still thrives in the ʿAlâwiyyin *khalwah* in the Valley of the Gardens.[67] In Persian tradition, the tree of preference for Sufi meditation is the *chinâr*, or oriental plane tree (*Platanus orientalis*), a tree similar in aspect to Ahmadou Bamba's gum plane, the mbéb. In Persian miniatures, the paradisiacal tree of Paradise called Ṭûbâ is often represented as a chinâr, and Sufis have been represented in spiritual retreat within their trunks.[68] In Touba today, there is still a huge baobab tree in the trunk of which Ahmadou Bamba is believed by some to have prayed. Chinârs are common features in Persian shrines. In Istanbul too there is a very large chinâr at the tomb-shrine of Sultan Eyüp and another one at the Shehzade Mosque.[69]

The use of trees to mark important tombs and cemeteries is widely attested in the Muslim world. In Egypt, the tombs of many venerated saints are marked by venerable trees, doum-palms, and sycamores.[70] Acacias (e.g., *Acacia seyal*, *Acacia senegalensis*) are a feature of Sufi cemeteries throughout Saharan areas, where they constitute virtually the only arboreal species. In Wadân, one of the caravan cities of the Adrar (Mauritania), the tomb of a descendant of the Qâdirî shaykh Sidi Mukhtar al-Kunti consists of a rectangular mausoleum beneath a very large (now dead) acacia in the middle of the cemetery.[71] Likewise, in Boutilimit (Mauritania), the encampment of the Qâdirî shaykh Sidiyya Baba in Trarza with whom Ahmadou Bamba spent four years in exile, the cemetery of the Sidiyyah lineage consists of a grove of small acacia trees dispersed along a sand dune. Most recently, in 2003, Shaykh Yaʿqûb Sidiyya was buried there, under one of the largest of the acacias.[72]

In Morocco, the sanctuary of ʿAbd al-Salâm b. Mashîsh (a very important early thirteenth-century Sufi) is called Al-Rawḏah al-Mubârakah (the Blessed Garden).[73] It consists of a large oak tree, reputed to be a thousand years old, which stands within a whitewashed enclosure at the summit of a mountain called Jabal al-ʿAlâm (Mountain of the Standard). This tree marks the saint's tomb, which otherwise has no physical marker.[74] The tombs of Morocco's Jewish saints can likewise be marked by trees; Rabbi Amram b. Diwan and Rabbi David Hacohen are both buried beneath trees in the cemetery-shrine of Azjèn, near Ouazzane.[75] The tomb of Sîdî ʿAlî ʿbû Liffah in Tozeur (Tunisia) consists of a domed mausoleum beneath a large and ancient lote tree. This lote tree is designated by a proper name, ʿÂʾishah,[76] and the shrine is surrounded by the graves of other members of the Abû Liffah lineage.

Lote trees (the *Ziziphus lotus* and also the *Ziziphus spina Christi*, sidrah in Arabic) are particularly attractive to Sufis because of their association with the "Lote-tree of the Extremity" mentioned in the Koran. Morocco's Gnawî consider the Sidrat al-Muntahâ as the inverted World Tree, the Tree of Light, assimilated to a lamp or chandelier hanging from the constellation of Turiya (Orion); its roots hidden in the sky and its multiple lights hanging down over the earth.[77] The Gnawa (or Gnaoua) are descendents of West African slaves brought to Morocco during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to serve in the army. As a ṭarîqah, they trace their spiritual chain to Bilâl b. Rabah, the first *muʿadhdhîn* (the one who calls to prayer) of Islam and himself a former black slave from Abyssinia. For Pâques, the

practices of the Gnawa conform to a West African cosmogony and cosmology whose overarching structure is conceived of as a tree.[78] Until recently, Tamesloht, the main Gnawa shrine south of Marrakech, was configured around seven lote trees, each one planted on a mound of stones (*karkur*) representing the Cosmic Tree crowning the Cosmic Mound. Some of these trees were associated with mausolea, another grew on the town's *muṣallâ*, where the *'aid* sacrifices take place. They were all under the special care of women devotees.[79] Since Viviana Pâques conducted fieldwork there, the local *'ulamâ,'* or religious scholars, have had these trees removed.[80]

Touba's foundation legend records that the holy place was "unveiled" to Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, through spiritual retreat and mystic vision, and that the spot was marked by a tree. Though this occurred in modern times, at a periphery of the Muslim world, it nonetheless accords with a long tradition of Sufi practice and has some prestigious precedents in Abrahamic scripture. It is apparent that the tree archetype has been a relevant force in the establishment and configuration of enumerable shrines and sanctuaries, and not just in the Muslim world. In Touba's case, however, the archetypal tree has become materially manifest to an unprecedented extent, through the laying out not just of a shrine but also of an entire city. Moreover, the relationship between the holy place and its transcendent imaginal namesake has been developed to an extent not previously attested in arboreal shrines.

Writing on the Tree of Paradise and Jonah's Fish

The city of Touba represents the earthly locus of a transcendent archetypal entity, Ṯûbâ the Tree of Paradise, which itself is but one manifestation of the cosmic or universal World Tree postulated by theosophists since the twelfth century. In Touba's case, this archetype has been given two very specific attributes that have helped determine what the city represents for Mourides. One of these attributes is writing; the Tree of Paradise is conceived of as a written register of individuals. The other attribute relates Ṯûbâ to Nûn, the cosmic "fish" at the base of the universe. Both of these attributes of Ṯûbâ are based on "popular" Mouride traditions; that is to say that they are not expressed in Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's written works, and they do not appear in his Arabic hagiographies. Yet the significance of these popular traditions related to the meaning of Touba and to its foundation is not lessened by lack of canonical foundation. Given the fact that they are generally known to Mourides as identifying what Touba is, these attributes contribute to its status as a quṯb.

A commonly held belief among Mourides is that the Tree of Paradise for which Touba is named is the celestial register upon which the names and deeds of individuals are recorded. In the 1948 version of Touba's foundation narrative, Cheikh Tidiane Sy recorded it as follows:

> In Islamic tradition, Touba also designates a tree of Paradise on whose leaves are inscribed each human's good and evil acts. Each leaf, as it falls, inexorably provokes the death of the individual whose acts have been recorded. The leaf is then preserved for the Day of Judgment.[81]

For his part, Amar Samb reports how Mouride pilgrims act upon this belief by writing their names or those of their loved ones on the trunk of the Guy Texe, the "Baobab of Bliss," which stood until recently in Touba's cemetery. In this way, they "registered" themselves "on the list of those who will go to Paradise."[82] Touba's Guy Texe embodied the arboreal archetype to which it was related. By acting on the earthly manifestation, people were reaching out to the higher reality, registering themselves on the Tree of Paradise in the shade of which they hope to attain eternal bliss. Likewise, when people are buried in Touba, in the center of the city, at the foot of the "Baobab of Bliss," this too is an *act*, an ultimate act through which they hope to favorably affect their destiny in the Hereafter. Both these acts are possible because Touba is a qu_tb, a fixed link between the physical and metaphysical realms, a link mediated by the tree archetype.

What Sy calls an "Islamic tradition" whereby the leaves of the paradisiacal _Tûbâ serve as individual registers of the names and acts of mortals is not in fact traceable in _hadîth (the "authentic" traditions of the Prophet). It is referred to neither in Ibn Hanbal's *Al-Musnad* nor in Al-Bukhârî's *Sa_hî_h.*[83] Yet it is recurrent in "popular" Islamic traditions, not just in Touba. For example, this is how the Sidrat al-Muntahâ, or "Lote-tree of the Extremity," is described in some standard modern sources on Islam:

Jane Smith and Yvonne Haddad in *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection*: "When exactly forty days of a person's life are left, *say many reports* [emphasis added], a leaf on which is written the name of the soul who is to die falls from the tree located beneath the Throne of God. By that sign 'Izrâ'îl [the Angel of Death] knows that the time of death has come."[84]

Andrew Rippin and Jan Knappert in *Textual Sources for the Study of Islam*: "It is the tree of life and death. Each of its leaves has a name written on it. As long as the leaf lives, the bearer of that name lives; as soon as it falls, that person dies."[85]

Jamal Eddine Bencheikh in *Le voyage nocturne de Mahomet*: "On each leaf of this tree [. . .] there is inscribed the name of a human being, a man or a woman. When the term of life of this person reaches its end, the leaf bearing his name yellows and falls."[86]

None of these scholarly texts offers any reliable source for this tradition. While Smith and Haddad mention an anonymous *Kitâb A_hwâl al-Qiyâmah* and refer cryptically to "many reports," they do not in fact cite a single _hadîth.

It is likely that the origin of the foliar tradition with regards to the Lote-Tree of the Extremity, at least as far as the contemporary academic literature cited above is concerned, ultimately lies with Edward Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern*

Egyptians, first published in 1836. While describing periodic public festivals in Cairo, Lane has this to say about the Night of Mid-Sha'bân:

> The "Night of the Middle of Shaabân," or "Leylet en-Nusf min Shaabân," which is the night of the fifteenth (that is *preceding* the fifteenth day) of that month, is held in great reverence by the Muslims, as the period when the fate of every living man is confirmed for the ensuing year. The Sidr (or lote tree) of Paradise, which is more commonly called the Shegeret el-Muntahâ (or the Tree of the Extremity), probably for several reasons, but chiefly (as is generally supposed) because it is said to be at the extremity or on the most elevated spot in Paradise, is believed to have as many leaves as there are living human beings in the world; and the leaves are said to be inscribed with the names of all those beings, each leaf bearing the name of one person, and those of his father and mother. The tree, we are taught, is shaken on the night above mentioned, a little after sunset; and when a person is destined to die in the ensuing year, his leaf, upon which his name is written, falls on this occasion. If he is to die soon, his leaf is almost wholly withered, a very small portion only remaining green. If he be to die later in the year, a larger portion remains green. According to the time he has yet to live, so is the proportion of the part of the leaf yet green.[87]

Lane then proceeds to record the special *du'â'*, or "plea," recited on the occasion, "a little after sunset." It is clear that Lane is describing a popular Caireen tradition. By "Muslim" in the paragraph cited above, he means the Muslims of Cairo, as opposed to the Copts and the Jews of Cairo whose periodic public festivals he also describes. The author is not claiming to report an "Islamic" tradition, securely sourced and universally valid throughout the Muslim world. He is describing a local Egyptian belief.

Jan Knappert too reports the following popular cosmogony from Egypt:

> God first created Paradise, i.e., the seven layers of Heaven, with the cosmic tree *sidrat al-muntahâ* whose roots feed the four great rivers of the then known world [. . .] and whose leaves have the names of all living people written on them, you and I each have our own leaf and when it falls we die [. . .]. Each time a leaf falls from the Tree of Life in heaven, the Angel of Death flies up to read the name on it, then flies down to Earth to find the owner of that name.[88]

It appears that descriptions of a popular Caireen tradition have found their way into the standard academic literature relating to the Sidrat al-Muntahâ, including, for example, in Hans Wehr's *Arabic-English Dictionary*, where the Laylat ni_s_f al-Sha'bân is described as "the night between the 14th and 15th of Shaban, when, according to popular belief, the heavenly tree of life is shaken, shedding the leaves of those who will die next year."[89]

That the destinies of mortal humans are determined each year on the Night of Mid-Sha'bân is supported by at least one ḥadîth, attributed to 'Ata' b. Yasar and cited by Al-Ghazali in his *I_ḥ_yâ'*: "On the middle night of Sha'bân the Angel of Death receives a scroll and is told 'This year you are to take the people whose names are recorded on this scroll.' A man may sow crops, marry women and raise up buildings, while his name is upon that scroll and he knows it not."[90] Yet there is no mention here of the Sidrat al-Muntahâ.

The assimilation of the celestial lote tree with the celestial register of names and deeds has no sound foundation in the Koran or in the books of the sunnah. Therefore, it is categorized as a *popular* tradition, a tradition lacking foundation in canonical Islamic texts. It is also popular in the sense that it is found in popular religious practices. The fact that this tradition is a popular one does not however preclude it from expressing "hidden" truths of the highest order. For Sufis, who are as equally familiar with the imaginal realm of essential forms as with discursive demonstrations, the lack of a sound textual basis for the tradition does not necessarily disqualify it; certain truths are best expressed imaginally rather than through rational demonstration.

For the theosophists Suhrawardi and Ibn ʿArabi, among others, the cosmic tree, be it Ṭûbâ or the Sidrat al-Muntahâ, marks a threshold. Knowledge of God emanates *down* through it, but the particulars of earthly existence also rise *up* to God through it. In both directions, this knowledge is mediated through transcription, through writing. Both the Sidrat al-Muntahâ and the Lawḥ al-Maḥfûz, the "Preserved Tablet," a cosmic register, exist together, conjoined at this threshold between creation and the Creator, where knowledge of each is transformed in order to pass from one realm to the other. This is expressed in Ibn ʿArabi's *Shajarat al Kawn*, where the Sidrat al-Muntahâ, one of the "shoots" of the World Tree, is the cosmic locus of the Preserved Tablet where particulars are written.[91] This spiritual construct is of relevance both to gnosis—to the Sufi's desire for proximity to God's Light which radiates down through the tree—and to eschatology—to the recording of particular human destinies and subsequent entrance to Paradise. It is recurrent also in miʿrâj narratives. Haafkens has come across it in a Pulaar version of the miʿrâj, where the prophet Muhammad, upon arriving at the Sidrat al-Muntahâ, is immediately shown the Preserved Tablet.[92] Furthermore, that the "pages" of the celestial register are also so many "leaves" on the celestial tree is an image easily arrived at given that the same Arabic term *waraqah* designates both "leaf" and "page."[93]

Whatever the case, the image of the celestial tree and ledger operating together is recurrent across Muslim Africa. A tradition about the shaking of the Tree of Life on the Night of Mid-Shaʿbân, identical to the one Lane reports in early nineteenth century Cairo, is reported in Morocco by an eighteenth century Spanish priest. While describing the Naskhah festival, held annually at the shrine of Mawlay ʿAbd al-Salâm b. Mashîsh on the Night of Mid-Shaʿbân, the priest comments: "Moroccans believe that on that day the Angel of Death shakes the Tree of Life on whose leaves are written the names of all creatures. The leaves that fall on the 15th of Sha'bân are the ones of those who will die before the 15th of Sha'bân of the following year."[94]

Ibn Mashîsh (died c. 1228) was one of Morocco's foremost Sufis. He studied under ʿAbd al-Rahmân al-Madanî al-Zayyât (who was also Ibn ʿArabi's spiritual master), and he was in turn spiritual master to Abû al-Hasan ʿAlî al-Shâdhilî, founder of the Shâdhiliyyah order. Ibn Mashîsh was the quṭb of his age and his name figures in the spiritual *silsilah* of nearly all subsequent Maghrebi Sufis. His

oak-shrine on Jabal al-'Alâm (described earlier in this chapter) is the locus of an annual festival, on the Night of Mid-Sha'bân, called Al-Naskhah (from *nasâkhah*, "transcription" or "abrogation"). Al-Naskhah signifies the transcription and abrogation of the particulars of individual existence on the heavenly registers of life and death[95] and it has special significance for Morocco's Gnawa order as well. For the Gnawa, the Night of Mid-Sha'bân, which falls forty days before the twenty-seventh of Ramaḏân, the Night of Power when the Koran descended to earth, commemorates the primordial sacrifice which marked the creation of the world.[96] A major festival is held on the occasion in Tamesloht.

Although the popular tradition that the leaves of the celestial tree represent the lives and deeds of individuals lacks legitimating foundations in Islamic scripture, it nonetheless has an ancient pedigree in the realm of archetypes, especially in Africa. The cosmic tree on whose leaves are written the "names and years" of pharaohs was known to the ancient Egyptians, and this ancient Egyptian cosmic tree, identified as an *ished* (or *åsheṯ*), may very well be the source of the popular Islamic tradition attested throughout the continent to this day. That ancient Egyptian concepts may have contributed to the formation and development of Islamic ones no longer seems so improbable is it once did. I have argued elsewhere[97] that Africa has always been *in* Islam, part of its cosmopolitan universalizing civilization, while Cheikh Anta Diop and Al-Assiouty have demonstrated that ancient Egyptian eschatological concepts, along with their symbolic expressions (Scales of justice, Pen and Tablet, Throne upon the Water), are especially closely paralleled by Koranic ones.[98]

The ancient Egyptian cosmic tree of inscription is known especially from New Kingdom funerary texts and illustrations. Major temples of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Dynasties, mostly located in the Thebes area, carry large mural engravings of gods writing the "names and years" of pharaohs on the leaves of this tree (figure 1.2). This was obviously an important representation for pharaohs of the time. Thutmoses III (r. 1485–1482 BCE) had himself represented enthroned in front of the ished tree while the gods Atum and Hathore wrote his names and years on its leaves under the supervision of Amon.[99] More commonly, Thot and Seshat would perform this service, as in the illustration of Sethi I (1318–1278 BCE) in the great temple of Amon in Karnak or that of Ramses II (1278–1217 BCE) in the Ramesseum.[100] During a brief field trip through Abydos and Thebes in January 2000, the author was able to establish the following, probably nonexhaustive, inventory of engraved murals of this type. The mural figures twice in the Temple of Sethi I in Abydos, once on the right side of the entrance portico and again on the end wall of the second Hypostyle Hall. In the great temple of Amon in Karnak the mural is on the wall of the Hypostyle Hall. On Thebes' West Bank, a small mural can be found in Madina Habu, on the right wing of "Pylon 0." Rameses II's depiction (reproduced in figure 1.2) is located on the right wall of the Inner Sanctuary of the Ramesseum, while a very large one of Rameses IV exists on the right side of this sanctuary's "Pylon II." Clair Lalouette provides a complete French translation of the hieroglyphic text that accompanies
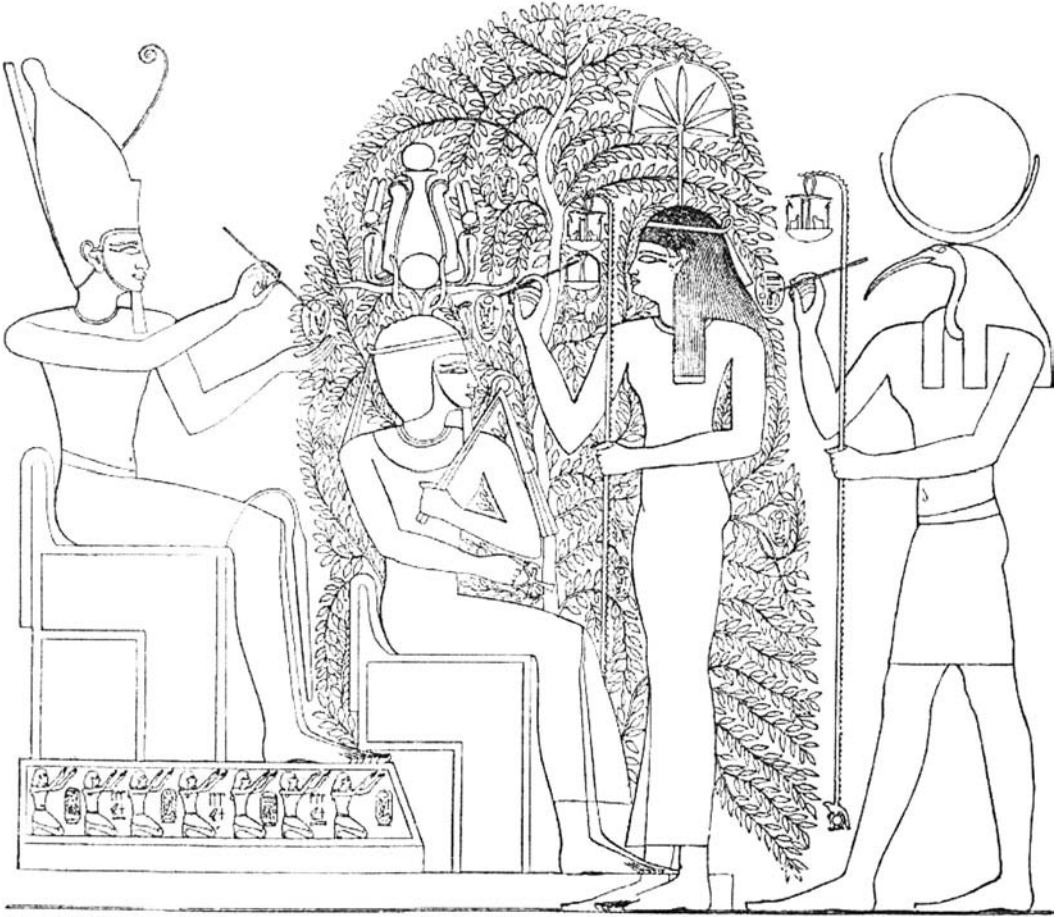
Figure 1.2. The Ancient Egyptian ished tree. This mural from the Ramesseum in Thebes shows Ramses II seated before the cosmic ished tree while the gods Atum, Seshat, and Thot write his "names" and "years" on its leaves. [Adolph Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971): 346.]

the depiction of Rameses IV's ished in the Ramesseum. Therein, the gods Atum, Amon, Ptah, Thoth, and Seshat variously claim to be writing the pharaoh's "name," "years by million," and "jubilees" on the sacred tree in order to bestow his "valor," "strength," and "rule" for "infinity" and "eternity."[101]

In these ancient Egyptian murals, unequivocally, the image of a cosmic tree is *graphically* associated with inscription. It is the act of writing on this tree that guarantees the perpetuation, infinite and eternal, of that which is being created: victories, power, and rule. The fact that Rameses IV reigned for only six years

(1162–1156 BCE) is irrelevant to the infinite and eternal nature of his rule as inscribed by the gods on the leaves of this tree.

There is no consensus on the modern botanical identity of the ancient ished,[102] but it is depicted in tomb paintings as a small tree bearing nuts or olives or possibly berries. In the New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* (spell 17aS15), it is a cosmic tree which marks the victory of light (Râ, the sun, represented as a cat) over darkness (represented as the *âpep* serpent): "I am this cat beside whom the ished-tree was split in Ånnu, on this night wherein the enemies of the Lord of the Universe were annihilated. . . ."[103] This cosmic act, symbolizing the daily victory of light over darkness, occurs in Ånnu, the biblical "On" or "Beth Shemesh," the "Heliopolis" of the Greeks, the "Abode of the Sun." Ånnu rose to prominence during the Old Kingdom and was home to the "Heliopolitan" theology of nine principles, the Ennead, known from the Sixth Dynasty Pyramid Texts.[104] Ånnu was one of the principal Egyptian holy cities, and it was a qutb. The toponym "Ånnu" translates as "pole" or "pillar."[105] This qutb is expressed as a pillar or obelisk in the city's hieroglyph and it was manifest architecturally in the obelisk—or *benben* stone, prototype also of the pyramid—which stood in the city's main temple. The Hut-Benben, or "Sanctuary of the Obelisk," stood on the "High Sand" and was regarded as the primeval hill of Egyptian cosmogony.[106] This shrine was most likely created around a predynastic era sacred stone and it was around this omphalos that the cult of Râ was first organized.[107] Also in Ånnu's main sanctuary grew an actual ished tree,[108] a living manifestation of the cosmic ished on whose leaves New Kingdom pharaohs had their years and jubilees written by the gods for all eternity.

We can recognize in the ancient Egyptian ished, with its inscribed leaves, an antecedent to the later popular Islamic tradition, attested in modern Egypt, Morocco, and Senegal. Budge, writing in 1911, was convinced that the ished was the precursor of the Islamic Lote-Tree: "In the celestial Heliopolis stood the sacred tree on the leaves of which Thoth and Sesheta wrote the names of kings and of the blessed dead. This is, of course, the original of the Sidr, or Lote tree of Paradise, which Muslims say contains as many leaves as there are human beings in the world, and that on each leaf the name of one human being is written."[109] The Senegalese scholar Cheikh Anta Diop, though he does not mention Touba by name, is for his part equally emphatic. When commenting on an image of Thoth writing the name of Sethi I on a leaf of the ished tree in the temple of Amon in Karnak, he claims: "We know that this sacred tree which grows in paradise plays a major role in the Muslim mythology of Senegal."[110]

In Touba, the association of cosmic tree and inscription of the particulars of individuals is affirmed to an unprecedented degree. The city has subsumed the attributes of its paradisiacal namesake as well as those of Koranic Lote-Tree of the Extremity and the Preserved Tablet. Moreover, these entities have been fused within the basic Islamic eschatological system: righteous life on earth, Divine Judgment, and access to Paradise. While each of these elements, taken separately, is grounded in Islamic sources (Koran and hadîth), their fusion into a single

construct seems to be specific to Muslim traditions in Africa, attested in modern Senegal, Morocco, and Egypt. Finally, there is strong evidence that this construct was first expressed in ancient Egypt as the ished tree—though the overarching eschatological and cosmographic systems are quite different. That such a construct can survive the major cultural rupture points of history and resurface in a new guise, in the form of a Sufi city, attests to the power of archetypes. These fixed essences of the malakût transcend their transient and culturally specific expressions in the material world.

There remains now to be explained the second popular tradition relating to Touba, that of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's mystic vision of the "fish which upholds the world." Paradoxically, rather than piercing the celestial spheres upward, toward Heaven, during his moment of illumination this Sufi had a vision of the cosmic depths. Why was the mystic experience at the origin of the city a chthonic one? Cheikh Guèye is of the opinion that the "fish" in Ahmadou Bamba's vision (which is only attested in the mid-twentieth century traditions disseminated by Dame Dramé) can be explained through etymology of the Wolof term *jën*, which designates both "fish" and a wooden pole, about two meters in length with its top end in the form of a fishtail, used as a roof support.[111] According to Guèye, Ahmadou Bamba had a vision of the quṭb, or "pole," and this was misinterpreted as the "fish." Yet this etymological and architectural explanation of jën does not preclude an alternate understanding of Touba's cosmology.

The fish that upholds the world is known in Islamic cosmology as Nûn and constitutes yet another archetype of the imaginal realm. Nûn is the twenty-fifth letter of the Arabic alphabet and is equivalent to the Latin letter "n." It is used in the Koran (21:87) to identify Jonah (Yûnus) as Dhû-l-Nûn, "He of the Nûn." Jonah, of course, is the prophet who was swallowed by the fish which, in the biblical Book of Prophets, takes him down to the "bottoms of the mountains" (Jonah, 2:7). With Jonah's fish, we are dealing with the lowest depths of the world. Islamic cosmology has come to identify these chthonic depths as Nûn and to represent them symbolically as the fish.[112] Furthermore, Jonah's fish can be related to the archetypal tree by textual association. In the Koran (37:146), God's "sign" to Jonah, upon releasing him from the fish and casting him ashore, is a "gourd tree" which He causes to grow over him. Touba was first signaled by a tree and its "sign," through Ahmadou Bamba's vision, was the fish.

That Nûn has come to represent the foundation of the world in Islamic cosmology may constitute another borrowing from ancient Egypt. In Egyptian cosmology, the created universe was figured as an egg surrounded by an aquatic, undifferentiated, and infinite entity called nûn. The Egyptian nûn was formless matter. It was cosmogonic, in the sense that it preceded creation, and it was cosmological, in the sense that it continued to surrounded creation. Even the realm of the gods was inside the egg. Ultimate infinity and eternity lay beyond the threshold, in the chaotic and formless nûn. Yet, at the same time, the nûn was a *vital* place, a place of regeneration, of rebirth. It was the life-water without which the cosmic egg could not exist.[113] This watery aspect is expressed cryptographically as multiple waves in the hieroglyphic

form of nûn, its defining characteristic being "water" or "ocean," and this in turn is linked to the ancient Egyptian letter "n," represented graphically as a wave.

That ancient Egyptian concepts such as nûn and the ished tree could be introduced into Sufi thought is supported by the career of one of the early Sufis, the Egyptian Dhû-l-Nûn al-Miṣrî (771–860 CE). Dhûl-l-Nûn al-Misrî was born in Akhmîm, in Upper Egypt, and was of Nubian origin. He is an important figure in Sufism because he is credited, by Ibn 'Arabî among others, with having introduced the notion of mystic "states" (*aḥwâl*) and successive "stations" (*maqâmât*), as well as other "Pythagorean" and gnostic concepts, into Sufi practice.[114] He was a native speaker of Coptic and Nubian and is purported to have been able to read ancient Egyptian inscriptions. Ibn 'Arabi reports that Dhû-l-Nûn used Upper Egypt's abandoned temples as spiritual retreats and would cite inscriptions from the Temple of Hathor in Dendera.[115]

Whether or not it was Dhû-l-Nûn al-Miṣrî who introduced it, the ancient Egyptian concept of nûn is attested in Islamic theosophy. Late in the seventeenth century, the Persian ishrâqî philosopher Qâdî Sa'îd Qummî produced a theosophic explanation of the Ka'bah whereby this earthly manifestation of the Divine Throne effectively stabilizes the world—the Throne being "upon the water" according to the Koran (11:7).[116] The water here is understood as primordial Water, the first entity to form in the material world. This primordial matter (Qummî aparently does not use the term nûn to designate it) is ontologically equivalent to Light, the first entity to emanate in the ethereal upper world of intelligence. The material world is surrounded (*muḥît*) by the Water whereas Light constitutes the center to which it turns. Both entities emanate simultaneously from the Supreme Principle and are ultimately two aspects of a single structure for the world. According to Qummî, it is the ka'bah in Mecca which stabilizes the world because it is a manifestation of God's will. Without the Ka'bah, Light would have no hold on matter and the material world would be chaotic and formless; matter without purpose. Qummî's explanation approaches the ancient Egyptian conception of nûn, as it postulates undifferentiated formless matter surrounding creation.

Though Qummî does not use the term nûn, it has been used by other theosophists. For the fourteenth-century Persian Ismailî thinker Ḥaydar Âmulî, who cites Ibn 'Arabî, Nûn is an angelic entity of the malakût and the epiphany of Divine science.[117] Based on the Koranic verse "By the *Nûn* and by the Pen,[118] and by that which they write" (68:1), the archetypal Nûn represents the Divine Name "the Knowing" (al-'Alîm) and it operates in conjunction with the archetypal Pen (al-Qalam) and Tablet (al-Lawḥ) to transmit knowledge down the cosmic hierarchy of intelligences. Once again then, the archetypal or angelic entities of the malakût to which Touba's traditions refer lead us to a nexus of cosmic transcription. For the Mouride *semiotician* and theosophist Cheikh Abdoulaye Dieye, Nûn symbolizes "a receptacle of spiritual knowledge gathering the sum of past, present and future knowledge."[119] It is manifest not only as Jonah's "fish" but also as Noah's "ark" and the "holy cave" which hid the Prophet Muhammad from his Meccan pursuers. All of these "receptacles" have chthonic characteristics.

Through Ahmadou Bamba's mystic vision of Nûn, Touba's quṭb can be said to extend both up and down, transcending the entire universe from the Lote-Tree of the Extremity to the Fish that upholds the world. For Sufi constructs, it should be remembered, binary concepts like *up* and *down*, *center* and *extremity*, *tree* and *fish* are not mutually exclusive; they complete each other. Up and down are two directions along a single axis, and both must necessarily lead to God as God is the ultimate reality to which everything returns. Classical Islamic astronomy also contributes to placing the cosmic fish *up*. The astronomical quṭb, the celestial "pole" around which the heavens revolve, is not the North Star but is said to lie "in the middle of the figure of a fish formed by two curved lines of stars."[120] It should be remembered that in Neoplatonic cosmology, though God infuses creation through His emanations, ultimately God resides beyond the universe (finite in terms of both time and space). While the upper and lower extremities of the universe may be significant places to those within it, these places have no spatial characteristics in relation to God. They are both simply thresholds.

Touba is a shrine, a sanctuary and a quṭb. It is also a great metropolis, a spiritual metropolis created in modern times, in the modern world. Touba is a materialization of Ṭûbâ, the Tree of Paradise, which is itself but one reflection of the World Tree, the Tree of Divine Light, the Tree of Life, the Tree of Knowledge, of *transcribed* knowledge. Ṭûbâ is the quintessential Tree of Paradise, standing in lieu of all the paradisiacal trees mentioned in the Koran. It is the Tree of Bliss (ṭûbâ), the desired destiny of mortals in the Hereafter. It is the promise of eternal recompense iterated by God in the Koran (ṭûbâ lahum). It is also the Lote-Tree of the Extremity, a cosmic threshold, named in the Koran as the place of Divine communion, where ultimate union with God might be achieved. It is thus a penultimate destination on the Sufi *path*, associated to the Preserved Tablet, the archetypal Book. Both are cosmic thresholds, where God's Word is written, and where the particulars of individual mortals are recorded. The association of cosmic tree and ledger appears to be a consistent tradition throughout Africa and it can be traced back to the ancient Egyptian depictions of the ished tree. The archetypal fish designated as Nûn is another cosmic threshold related to inscription. It too may be at least partly derived from ancient Egyptian cosmology. Finally, beyond even these peculiar manifestations of the paradisiacal and celestial tree, Ṭûbâ represents the World Tree, the all-encompassing cosmic Tree of Light. The World Tree is an inverted tree. Its roots are in God and its limbs and branches extend down through the various cosmic layers, connecting material manifestations to their essential, higher reality. In Touba, this archetypal tree of theosophical speculation has been actualized to an unprecedented degree. First, the World Tree has been given a proper name, Ṭûbâ; the "part" which is the Tree of Paradise has given its name to the whole construct. Second, it has materialized as a city. Touba is now a reality in the material world as Ṭûbâ has never been before.

Touba is a "sign" in the landscape, one of God's signs "for those who discern." The Hizbut Tarqiyyah Web site puts forth the claim baldly, citing the Koran: "God

has established on earth precincts promoted (to the rank of) cities of God where He manifests His signs and which He entrusts to His servants through whom He upholds His religion."[121] For Cheikh Abdoulaye Dièye too, "Touba as a whole is a sign and symbol of Allah."[122] It is a *khâtim*, or "seal," the *imprint* of the arboreal archetype on the surface of the earth. Without the Sufi city of Touba, Ṭûbâ would be one of the more obscure products of Medieval Sufi speculation. It is because Ṭûbâ is now clearly reflected in the mirror of matter that we are better able to understand its higher reality. The foundation and construction of the Sufi city serves to make the theosophical reality legible.

Because Ṭûbâ is now an earthly place, it has acquired a social and cultural "body" which can be analyzed in social scientific terms. A city is principally a social phenomenon. It concentrates and amplifies public life, the ability of people to live together even if they do not know each other and are not related in any other way. The materialization of Ṭûbâ as a city, rather than as a poem, or as a garden,[123] or as a tree shrine—all perfectly plausible manners of representing Ṭûbâ in the material world—reveals an essential "truth." Salvation is social as well as individual. How individuals relate to each other in this life determines their fate on the Day of Resurrection. This is a universal human and religious value and it is part of Touba's claim to be of universal significance. The universality of Touba is a recurrent theme in Mouride historiography. Sëriñ Falilou Mbacké, the second caliph general of the Mourides, is said to have claimed: "Ahmadou Bamba calls to Touba not only Mourides, not only Muslims, but all the sons of Adam."[124] It is a place "where the entire world" will come in penitence to seek salvation and where "both blacks and whites" can be assured of eternal bliss in the Hereafter.[125]

Touba is a sanctuary. God has willed that it exist on the face of the earth and He protects it. It is through the materialization of Ṭûbâ as a city that God's will is accomplished. The earthly city serves to remind believers of the eschatological and cosmological reality of life and creation. Touba is a bastion of the "Straight Path" of Islam. It is an enclave of the sunnah, a refuge from the temptations of material existence which surround it. This is Touba's mission in this world, a precondition for its facilitating access to the next one, and it is often expressed officially, as in the following recommendation of Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad Mbacké, third caliph general of the Mourides, delivered during the Grand Màggal of 1973: "We Mourides live in a compound. Our lives are ruled by the teachings of Ahmadou Bamba, by work and by prayer. Beyond this enclosure we see Satan and all his works."[126] The city's purpose is to facilitate a proper life in this world, represented as the Straight Path of Islam, so that the believer might attain eternal recompense in the next one. Touba is a place of accomplishment in this world and the next.

Touba is very much a spiritual metropolis "in the world." Truly a Sufi city, it has been imprinted on the surface of the earth to affect it, to illuminate it. It has been inserted onto the modern global landscape, a landscape otherwise characterized by colonialism, the hegemony of the capitalist world economy and, more recently, by the transnational flows of people, goods and ideas which is supposed to herald the emergence of a postmodern, globalized human condition. Thus, Touba's

significance as a place is not just intrinsic, in its relation to the imaginal reality it reflects. It is also significant to the ambient material, social, cultural, and political environments. As Semou Pathé Guèye, professor of philosophy at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar, has insightfully remarked: "Touba is one of the only African cities to export values."[127] The toponym itself is exported. Everywhere Mourides settle, in Africa, Europe, and America, they bring Touba with them, establishing associations such as Touba-Chicago and institutions called Kër Sëriñ Touba in every city they live in. Touba, an earthly manifestation of the World Tree, is a global city, a World City.

2

URBAN DESIGN

THE SPATIAL CONFIGURATION OF A SPIRITUAL PROJECT

Cities concentrate a multitude of cultural, social, political, economic, and artistic activities and permit these to cross-fertilize each other in dynamic and creative ways. Moreover, cities are both the products and the agents of these processes. This is partly what makes them such attractive phenomena to study; urban geography, urban history, urban sociology, urban planning, and architectural history are among the myriad of disciplines and specializations that focus on some aspect of the city. Among these is the study of urban design, which aims at understanding the physical configuration of cities within broader human and social contexts. Housing, the layout of streets, the use of open spaces and monuments, building typologies, the relationship of public to private space, and other elements of city form are studied for what they reveal of the cultures and societies which have created them and which infuse them with meaning.

As the purpose of this second chapter is to analyze Touba's urban design to discern the city's essential, ontological, and formal relationship to the imaginal realm, some discussion of the cultural dimensions of urban design is necessary. For the architectural historian Spiro Kostof, urban forms are expressions of cultures and societies, but not in an immediately transparent sense: "we 'read' form correctly only to the extent that we are familiar with the precise cultural conditions that generated it. [. . .] The more we know about cultures, about the structure of society in various periods of history in different parts of the world, the better we are able to read their built environment."[1] For example, the grid plan is intrinsically *neutral* as a form. It conveys no universal meaning in itself, but, rather, has historically accommodated a variety of social structures on many continents: Chinese imperial cities, Greek colonies, Roman army camps, U.S. frontier towns, etc. In Senegal too, the grid plan was first used to lay out precolonial royal capitals

43

and then again to configure the railroad trading towns of the colonial period, without any evidence that these two urban types were related in any other way. "City form is neutral until it is *impressed* with specific cultural *intent* [emphasis added]."[2] The intent that is impressed upon urban form can be assessed by analyzing the urban *process*. The urban process consists of the people, forces, and institutions that bring about the form. It relates to those individuals and institutions who design cities, to political, legal, and administrative procedures, and to the interests, economic and other, of all these actors. As these various agents usually operate within a common cultural and social framework and are embedded within a common economic and political system, shared values and attitudes, as much as conscientious decisions about building underlie the form the built environment takes.

For the architectural theorist Habraken, urban forms result from multifarious "acts of inhabitation" ranging in scope from the placing of furniture in individual rooms to the laying out of streets, sewers and public lighting, and the creation of schools and bus routes.[3] The scope of an act will depend on the amount of control a given agent has over space. A lodger, for example, who rents a room may rearrange furniture and display decorative objects in the interior but would not start replanting the garden outside. Someone who rents a detached house has larger scope for action, including hanging pictures and fixtures on walls and gardening rights, but may not start pulling down walls or making extensions to the house. These acts are the prerogative of the proprietor. A proprietor can make fundamental modifications to the internal layout of a building but may not pierce party walls or build out over the sidewalk. These acts are regulated by a higher order of inhabitation, commonly the municipality with its zoning bylaws and building codes. Although municipalities have prerogatives over many aspects of built form, even their acts are limited by such things as national building codes and the legal protection of property rights. These constitute Habraken's hierarchic "agents of inhabitation."[4] Various agents control levels of inhabitation equivalent to the scope of their actions. This is important to urban form because cities, unlike individual buildings (and even here only sometimes), are never finished. Even cities that are planned at the start undergo continuous transformation. More than anything else, it is these multifarious acts of inhabitation that produce urban form.

For Edmund Bacon, architect and urban planner, some acts can be decisive for city form. These are "acts of will," fundamental orientations, alignments, and movement systems that express a "design idea."[5] Design ideas are purposefully imparted to a city through specific "acts of will," usually by a powerful agent or agency at some historical juncture, and they determine subsequent urbanization. This top-down approach to urban form is best exemplified by Pope Sixtus V. During his brief papacy (1585–90), this pope conceptually restructured Rome by positioning a number of obelisks, fountains, and chapels at specially determined points related to the city's principal gates and places of pilgrimage. In the three centuries that followed his death, Sixtus's "design idea" for the city, plotted on the

ground through these few "acts of will," was fulfilled by other popes and architects.[6] A design idea is not a plan. It is an architectural conceptualization of urban space that is enacted through targeted intervention on the ground. If the idea is clearly enough expressed in the initial "acts of will," and if there is consensus among subsequent actors and agents, the design will be fulfilled. Even though the design of Baroque Rome is exceptional in its citywide grandeur, such acts of will have determined the design of many smaller entities such as public squares, urban waterfronts, and city gates.

"Acts of inhabitation" and "acts of will" are not mutually exclusive urban processes. Acts of will are only successful if they are followed by the plethora of ordinary acts of inhabitation responsible for most building. Until the emergence of top-down urban planning as a field of expertise in the early twentieth century, most urban form was the product of "ordinary" acts. "Acts of will" were reserved for symbolically or politically important spaces, places directly related to faith or power. Everywhere else, local technological and financial considerations and cultural consensus about the built form largely determined how individuals and groups acted. Builders and clients, lodgers and proprietors, engineers and municipal officials each had roles to play in determining what got built and how, but little of this urban process required "planning." Cities were built up from the bottom, through a shared understanding of what a house, a street, or a sewer "should be." Because of this shared understanding of the form things needed to take at any given level of inhabitation, key aspects of the urban form were never explicitly stated or verbalized; they were not spelled out or mapped beforehand. They were built up, empirically and collectively.

Today, throughout most of the world, this is no longer the case. Construction and transformation of the built environment is modern. It occurs in a highly technocratic, professionalized and legally codified context exemplified, on the one hand, by building codes, zoning bylaws and master plans and, on the other, by a segmented field of action consisting of civil servants, professional planners, architects, civil engineers, construction contractors, etc. Each is legally bound to play a precisely determined role in the building process. Yet in much of the developing world, the "ordinary" urban process described by Habraken is still relevant. Entire neighborhoods, often designated as "illegal," "substandard," "underequipped," "informal," etc. continue to be built up by ordinary acts of inhabitation, in the absence of any preconceived master plan, and without urban planners. Far from being anarchic or chaotic (or necessarily squalid), these neighborhoods are configured by the various actors according to common understandings of what form things should take.[7] Shared values and attitudes, *culture* in effect, serves in lieu of a plan.

Touba's urban form is the product of all the processes described above. At the outset, a clear "design idea" was imparted to the place by its Sufi founder. Later, at critical junctures in the urbanization process, the landscape was ordered through "acts of will" decided by the Mouride order's highest authority. Throughout, ordinary acts of inhabitation have insured a cohesive urban fabric.

Touba is foremost an act of will. For Mourides, God *willed* that Touba should rise as a city, and He revealed the site to Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba for that purpose. From a purely materialist perspective, it is Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba who enacted his will on the place through his spiritual retreats, the settlements established at his command, and the toponyms he bestowed on the land. These acts occurred early on, during the foundation years. They constitute a "design idea" that only began to be fulfilled decades later and, indeed, is still being fulfilled today through occasional acts of will and continuous acts of inhabitation. Touba qualifies as a Sufi city in great part because of its Sufi-inspired design. Sufi conceptions of space, matter, and levels of reality underlie the city's design idea and have guided the acts of will and of inhabitation necessary to configure it on the ground.

Yet, in terms of urban processes, this Sufi city is also a modern city. Professional architects, engineers, construction contractors, and urban planners have been involved in its construction. They planned and implemented the Mosque project through its various stages, and they have been involved in all the subsequent phases of the city's urban expansion. However, these master plans, as so often with such plans, have limited themselves to setting up a framework, or spatial structure (streets and lots), and to providing basic amenities (mostly drinking water). Most of the construction, especially of housing, has not been regulated by the plans. It is subject to the voluntary acts of inhabitation of stakeholders, households, and other local agents such as lineage and village heads, who fill in the interstices of the plan in accordance with relevant cultural norms. In Touba's case, the relevant culture is both Senegalese in general and specifically Mouride. This cultural consensus is relevant far beyond "ordinary" acts of inhabitation. All the actors involved in the urban process, starting with the caliph generals of the order and the great Mouride shaykhs; including the architects and civil engineers who draw up the plans; the wage-earning artisans, masons, carpenters, and smiths who do the building; and the hundreds of thousands of ordinary disciples who inhabit the city are operating within a powerfully self-conscious cultural and social framework, that of the Mouride order. This order is a highly structured religious institution with an explicit ideology (including a work ethic), a founding mythology (the popular and official hagiographies of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké), a strong attachment to place (Touba), and it commands significant resources: land, manpower, finance, political influence, etc. Touba's construction has always been consensual, not just in the political sense of unifying the order around a concrete project, but also in the cultural and spiritual sense. For Mourides, Touba is a spiritual metropolis of universal scale. God wills it; Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba established it on the ground. All those who have helped to build it share a common desire to see it rise as a city, in accordance with God's will and in fulfillment of their shaykh's design. The city is the product of shared values and of a shared desire, a desire which is primarily spiritual, and it is this collective desire that propels the entire urban process.

As a city, in terms of built form and the building process, Touba is the product of the collective acts of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké and the Mouride order.

The Sufi founder, his sons and successors, the various clerical lineages, the associations of disciples and a number of important institutions within the order constitute the major actors; those who have conceived, conceptualized, financed, and built the city. Even though the state (first the colony and then the independent nation-state) is not completely absent from the narrative of the city's growth, its role has been extremely muted. Part of Touba's unique quality is that it is a rare example of a contemporary city whose *raison d'être* is principally spiritual, rather than economic or political-administrative. The state, so hegemonic to urban processes in the modern world, is almost entirely absent from the story of this modern Sufi city.

Touba's Founding

Touba's origin and growth must be understood first of all in terms of the Mouride worldview and societal project, which begins with the life and career of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba himself. Ahmadou Bamba's life is well documented. His hagiographers, principally his son Bassirou Mbacké,[8] have provided detailed descriptions of his life. In addition, beginning in the late 1880s, French colonial reports provide a solid "paper trail" of his career, but clearly from the colonial perspective. These archival sources form the basis of most of the scholarly accounts published in European languages, starting with Marty and culminating with Sy and Cruise O'Brien.[9] To these sources, Babou and Searing have added the internal Mouride oral traditions that continue to shape Mouride understanding of their history.[10] The brief narrative that follows is based on all of these published sources. The purpose, however, is not to retell the history of Ahmadou Bamba and of the Mouride order, but to present the chronological and spiritual background necessary to understanding how Touba has been built.

Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké was a member of an influential Foutanké[11] clerical lineage that had been active as teachers and jurists in the kingdoms of Djolof, Baol, and Kayor for about a century prior to his birth. He was born circa 1853 in Mbacké, a town established in eastern Baol by his great grandfather in the late eighteenth century.[12] In 1864, when Maba Diakhou lead his jihad into Baol, the family was forced to relocate to Maba's headquarters in the Rip (south of the Kingdom of Saloum), where Ahmadou Bamba's father, Momar Anta Saly, met Lat Dior, the exiled king of Kayor. When Lat Dior was restored to the throne of Kayor in 1870, he appointed Momar Anta Saly Mbacké as his *qâḏî*, or "chief justice." During this period, Ahmadou Bamba lived with his father in Patar, next to Lat Dior's court in Thilmakha (in Kayor's Guet province), where he pursued his studies in jurisprudence, law, Arabic grammar, etc. It was during this period that he was introduced to Sufism (*taṣawwuf*) by some of his father's friends and that he began writing his own poems. He is known to have developed a highly critical attitude toward power and involvement with princes at this time. His son and biographer,

Sëriñ Bassirou, records how he refused prince Samba Laobé Fall's offer to become his shaykh.[13] He is then credited with having convinced his father to resign from the position of qâdî in the aftermath of Lat Dior's war against the jihadist Ahmadou Cheikhou (1874–75) by leaving a note for him which read: "The most honest of *qâdîs* will need to settle his accounts with God."[14] Following this resignation, the family moved to a new establishment, Mbacké Kayor, in Kayor's Mbacol province, where Momar Anta Saly died circa 1882–83.

Following his father's death, Ahmadou Bamba, who had inherited responsibility for the family school and its students, definitively broke with the family's tradition of political service. He left Kayor for his native Baol, taking his following of students with him. This constitutes something of a *hijrah*, a "migration" away from iniquitous rule on the model of that of the Prophet Muhammad at the outset of the Islamic era. The period 1883–86 saw the final phase of the colonial conquest of Kayor, with the deaths of its last kings and the establishment of a French "protectorate," a form of indirect rule whereby the kingdom was broken up into confederations of provinces administered either by "loyal" princes or by former royal slave soldiers (the *ceddo*).[15]

On the cusp of colonial conquest, Ahmadou Bamba saw the need for fundamental social reform. Compromises with iniquitous rule, be it that of "pagan" kings or of Christian colonizers, brought only strife and grief to believers and constituted obstacles on the path to everlasting recompense in the Hereafter, the only valid purpose for life on earth. This was clearly expressed during Ahmadou Bamba's last conversation with Lat Dior, just before the latter's final military engagement with the French at Dekhlé (1886). According to Sëriñ Bassirou, the Sufi shaykh is reported to have told the former king: "In order to dominate this world, I have found no better solution than to turn my back to it."[16] Muslims should live according to God's precepts as revealed in the Koran and as codified in the books of the sunnah. Education of Muslims, therefore, must be the cornerstone of social reform and Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, scholar and teacher, developed an original program consisting of instruction in the fundamentals of Islam (*ta'lîm*), the learning of responsible social behavior (*tarbiyyah*) and the acquisition of a useful occupation (*tarqiyyah*, "improvement" or "development").[17] The program also emphasized the importance of collective self-reliance and independence. The celebrated Mouride "work ethic" derives from this comprehensive approach to education, which, in late-twentieth century terms, would be designated as "development":

> "Study to distance yourself from ignorance. Work to be independent" Ahmadou Bamba said. "If you want to be happy in this lower world, you need to work. If you want to be happy in the Hereafter you need to adore [God]. He who wants joy in the two worlds must combine work and adoration."[18]

Ahmadou Bamba is also purported to have said "work as if you will never die and pray as if you will die tomorrow." Youth were especially targeted by Ahmadou

Bamba's program, but some form of education could be had by any who requested it, be they princes, former warriors and slave soldiers, impoverished peasants or self-emancipated slaves.[19]

Although the origins and growth of the Mouride movement have often been understood in terms of political economy (colonial conquest, peanut estates, and cash cropping), internal Mouride sources emphasize the spiritual nature of the phenomenon. Ahmadou Bamba's project for social reform, through education, aimed ultimately at creating a new type of individual, scrupulous in religious observance, socially productive and conscientiously walking the "Straight Path" of Islam. This Sufi made it his life's work to "renovate" the faith—he is called a *mujaddid*, or "renewer" of the faith[20]—so that believers can live a proper life in this world and be appropriately recompensed in the next. The term mujaddid refers to the social aspect of the mission, just as the term qu_tb, or "pole," refers to the spiritual status of its architect.

Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba returned to his native Mbacké in 1883 and lived in the vicinity, in a variety of locations, until the beginning of his travails with the colonial administration in 1895. It is during these years that he founded Touba and that he began ordering the surrounding landscape through ascetic retreats and mystic encounters as well as through toponymy, by naming of the places where these acts occurred. The marking and naming of this landscape by acts of piety and devotion constitute the initial "design idea" of the future city, an idea that has determined subsequent urban processes (figure 2.1).

Eastern Baol in the 1880s was still a wilderness. It lay beyond the area of continuous agricultural settlement (which became known as the "Peanut Basin" as the cash crop diffused in the late-nineteenth century). Called alternately "desert" and "forest" in the sources, the Ferlo frontier was an area of sahel vegetation, characterized by low and unpredictable precipitation and covered by dry brush with dispersed trees. Access to water was the principal constraint on settlement. The Ferlo was mostly used as cattle grazing land by Fulbe pastoralists.[21] Mouride historiography presents this area, which Ahmadou Bamba's mystic quest and subsequent Mouride colonization completely transformed, as a desert inhabited by ferocious beasts. It is clear that the emptiness of the area is a necessary myth to situate the mystic character of the quest and to justify later settlement. Deserts of one type or another, i.e., places devoid of human habitation, are commonly associated with ascetic retreat and mystic revelation. Ahmadou Bamba's experience is classic in this regard. What distinguishes it is the role of the tree. The only real landmarks on this otherwise featureless plain (neither hill, nor stream, nor rocky outcrop) were the trees (acacias mostly, but also many baobabs and occasional gum planes and kapoks), individually or in groups, which stood out here and there. One of these, an mbéb, marked the spot chosen by God for Touba and revealed to Ahmadou Bamba after much ascetic prayer. Yet other trees marked some of his other retreats and continue to mark the urban landscape today.

Although extreme scarcity of water was the main physical constraint Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba faced during his quest in the wilderness, this was compounded
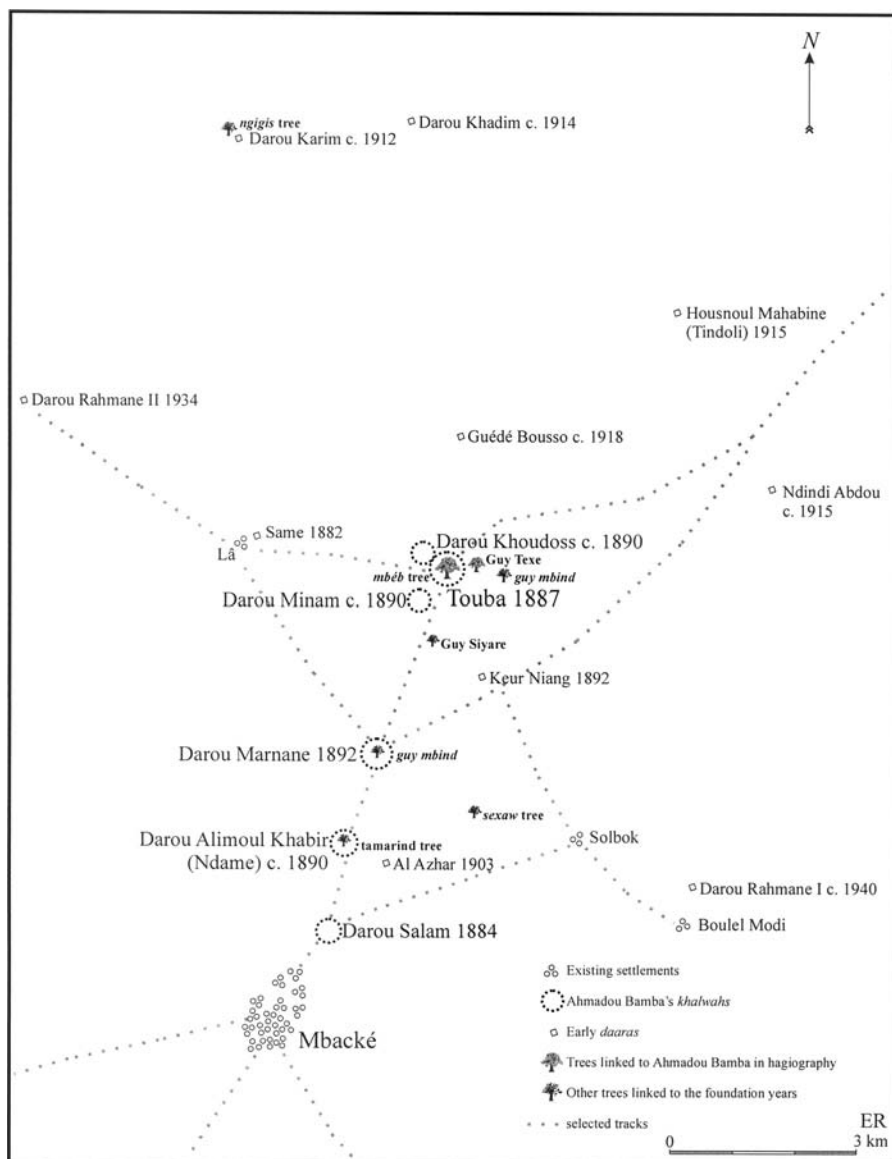
Figure 2.1. Touba during the foundation years (1884–1926). Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba returned to his ancestral home, Mbacké, in the forested wilderness of Eastern Baol, in 1883. For the next eleven years, he pursued his mystic quest for Touba, isolating himself in spiritual retreats (khalwahs). Many of these places, including Touba itself, were marked by specific trees. During the following period of exile and house arrest, he mandated some of his closest confidents, sons, brothers, and disciples, to settle the area by creating daaras, combinations of schools for religious instruction and agricultural villages for the production of cereals, vegetables, and peanuts. It is Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba who named the various khalwahs and daaras that constitute the oldest layer of

by the throng of disciples who attempted to follow him wherever he went. Ahmadou Bamba's renown as a teacher and Sufi shaykh was already established by the time of his father's death. His move back to Baol precipitated the beginning of a mass movement as people from many different walks of life were attracted to him and began seeking him out. Along with the traditional group of students attached to their teacher, these other categories of disciples—former soldiers, self-emancipated slaves, landless peasants, etc.—constituted the social and demographic foundations of what would become the Mouride order.

As the social dislocation and economic woes that accompanied colonial conquest deepened, the town of Mbacké became flooded by would-be disciples looking for their shaykh. Both the spiritual quest for closeness to God and the desire to distance himself from this crowd led Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba to isolate himself progressively deeper in the wilderness. These spiritual retreats, called khalwahs in Arabic, were what eventually led to the foundation of Touba and are a recurrent theme in the city's foundation narratives:

> Soon after [moving to Mbacké Baol] men found his house in Mbacké and it was invaded by crowds. He then built another house in Darou Salam, next to the village of Mbacké Baol. This house too was invaded by the crowds. Thus in 1305 [1887], three years after building the house in Mbacké and the one in Darou Salam, he was led to found the village of Touba located in a waterless desert with no agriculture, a place which could only be reached with great difficulty and which could only be inhabited if one wished to detach oneself from men.[22]
>
> For years Ahmadou Bamba roamed the forest expanse, isolating himself for days on end in certain special spots, called *khalwahs* [spiritual retreats], where he could devote himself entirely to prayer, sensing all the time in this wilderness the immanence of Touba, finding the roots of the Tree of Paradise surfacing everywhere.[23]

The khalwahs constitute the first *acts* in the process of transforming a largely uninhabited forested wilderness into an urban agglomeration. They were "acts of inhabitation" in that the Sufi shaykh established homesteads in these places, clearing some of the land and building houses for family members and students. They were also "acts of will" through which he purposefully and indelibly imprinted his spiritual desire onto the landscape. Each of these places participated in the spiritual foundation of the city. Today, they are greatly respected as *lieux de mémoire*, "places" or "sites of memory,"[24] where Ahmadou Bamba is purported to have experienced significant spiritual *states*, or else to have imparted important instructions to close disciples, or even to have buried some of his most potent writings.[25] To each of these khalwahs, Ahmadou Bamba himself gave a name. These

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inhabitation of the present urban agglomeration. See figure 2.18 for the same area today. [Based partially on the 1:100,000 topographical map Kaël-XI, Service Géographique de l'AOF, 1908.]

toponyms are an intrinsic part of Touba as they reproduce Divine Names and Attributes or else refer to Koranic eschatological symbols and concepts.

Darou Salam, named for al-Salâm, "the Peace," one of the names of God (Koran 59:23),[26] was Ahmadou Bamba's first khalwah (established 1884). He sought to isolate himself there from the growing throng of followers and disciples who were flooding into his hometown. Though he soon left Darou Salam for more isolated retreats, finally settling in Touba, it is in Darou Salam that he returned to live, briefly (1902–3), between his exiles in Gabon and Mauritania.

The khalwah of Darou Marnane, deformation of al-Mannân, "the Benefactor," an attribute of God, was founded by Ahmadou Bamba midway between Mbacké and Touba sometime between 1886 and 1892. During his exiles, it was in Darou Marnane that many of his personal effects, mostly books, were kept, the site of Touba being virtually abandoned at the time. These now constitute an important *lieu de mémoire*, enshrined in the main compound, called Kër Sëriñ Touba (figure 2.8).

Darou Alimoul Khabir, named for al-'Alîm al-Khabîr, "the Knowing Well-Informed," a combination of Divine Names (Koran 2:29, 6:18), was established as a khalwah circa 1890. Better known today as Ndame, Darou Alimoul Khabir grew in importance during Ahmadou Bamba's years of exile in Gabon (1895–1902) as that is where most of his young sons (the future Mouride caliphs) resided. Assigned by Ahmadou Bamba to the scholar and disciple Sëriñ Abdourahmane Lô, Ndame was an important center of schooling in the order's early period and the vestiges of that period can still be visited today in the Kër Sëriñ Touba compound (figure 2.9). Among the constituent elements of this lieu de mémoire are the tamarind tree beneath which Sëriñ Lô gave his lessons and the cemetery where some of the shaykh's children are buried.[27]

Darou Minam, from *minan,* or Divine "Graces," one of Ahmadou Bamba's early khalwahs established circa 1890, was reestablished by his son Sëriñ Bassirou Mbacké in 1936, after a period of abandonment,[28] and remains under the jurisdiction of his descendents. It is Sëriñ Bassirou who wrote "Benefactions of the Eternal," the best known hagiography of Ahmadou Bamba.

Darou Khoudoss, named for al-Quddûs, "the Holy," a Divine Name (Koran 62:1) was a very important khalwah. It was there that Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba experienced the epiphany that consolidated his spiritual status as well as that of his city. According to his hagiographies, it was in Darou Khoudoss during the month of Ramadân in the year 1311 (1894), that the Sufi shaykh, then "three months short" of his fortieth year, was granted access to the Prophet Muhammad. He first saw the Prophet "behind a transparent veil," then "without the veil," and finally was "immersed in [the Prophet's] holy light."[29] In what became known as the "Pact of Exile," the Prophet, accompanied by "his legions of virtuous companions" from Badr, informed Ahmadou Bamba that he had reached the station of qutb, or spiritual "pole." He also assured the Sufi that Touba was firmly under God's protection and that no evil would come to it or to those who took refuge in it. Finally, the Prophet informed the shaykh that to be elevated to the rank of "companions" who had fought at his side in the Battle of Badr,[30] he would have to

submit to a life of trials.[31] In effect, he would be exiled from Touba starting in 1895. The "Pact of Exile" confirmed Ahmadou Bamba's status as quṭb and elevated Touba to the rank of places "protected" by God. Darou Khoudoss, located near the center of Touba, is thus an important lieu de mémoire today. The site where the Pact of Exile is believed to have occurred is now marked by the Darou Khodoss Mosque (figure 2.7). Facing this mosque is a large compound, known as Baïti, where Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba had lived prior to exile. Beginning in 1912, it was inhabited by Sëriñ Mamadou Moustapha Mbacké (1886–1945), Ahmadou Bamba's eldest son and first caliph of the Mourides, whose descendants still have jurisdiction there. It too is a lieu de mémoire as some of Ahmadou Bamba's personal effects are enshrined there.

Ahmadou Bamba's project for the city was first expressed through topographic acts of spiritual retreat and through a toponymy that relates directly to God, by way of His Names and Attributes. It is clear that Ahmadou Bamba saw the connection between the names of his spiritual foundations and the Names of God, and that he considered the former to be an extension of the latter. The Divine Names and Attributes are crucial to the Islamic science of tawḥîd, or "Oneness" of God. God transcends the human capacity to know Him. All that humans can know of God is that which He Himself discloses. The best source of this discloser is the Koran, God's revealed word, in which His ninety-nine Names and various Attributes are mentioned. These Names and Attributes are thus the surest tools for understanding God, and this explains their importance for Sufis. By naming his khalwahs in this way, Ahmadou Bamba was affirming the link between the material world of generation and corruption and the Divine, effectively projecting God's Oneness onto the earth through the multiplicity of His Names and Attributes.

After having *discovered* the site of Touba (literally, having removed the veil which had covered it until then), Ahmadou Bamba settled there with his family. The initial homestead is reported to have consisted of a number of houses arranged around the base of the mbéb tree and enclosed by a wattle fence.[32] As in the case of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, the hallowed spot where Touba's mosque now stands was first occupied by the house of its founder. This first act of inhabitation was typical of isolated rural homesteads anywhere in the semiarid Savannah-Sahel zone. What distinguished it were the activities of its chief inhabitant. There was little access to drinking water and there is no indication of cultivation of crops at this time. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba was entirely absorbed in prayer and supererogatory devotion. Oral tradition records that he moved around a lot, settling first in one khalwah and then in another depending on his mystic state.[33] These outlying khalwahs allowed him to get as far away from other people as possible and to compose his poems in solitude.

Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's literary oeuvre is of great importance to Touba's foundation and growth as a Sufi city. One ode in particular, *Maṭlab al-Fawzayn*, is believed to have been written shortly after having discovered the site.[34] Best translated as "In Pursuit of the Two Accomplishments" (in this world and the next),

Maṯlab al-Fawzayn is considered by Mourides to be the founding "charter" of the city, containing references to the sacred status of the place and all the graces God has bestowed on it.[35] In this ode, Touba is called a sanctuary (*al-ḥimâ*), a sacred precinct (*al-ḥarîm*), a place for the proper practice of the sunnah, protected by God (*al-maḥrûsah*) from blameful innovation (bid'ah), and from Satan. Touba is clearly intended as a protected refuge where Muslims can live the "good" life, in peace and sincerity, and where they might approach God in this world and the next:

> Many treasures lie in this land. Sustain it and protect it from misery. Fix in it a straightened community. (vv. 153–55)
>   Strike the pavilions of Your protection upon my abode and the entirety of those who are registered in it. Let them all enter into Your hidden concealment. (vv. 423–25)

In the view of Mourides, the ode sets out some explicit, and many "hidden," recommendations for building Touba: its Mosque, its dwellings ["Forgive those who erect its buildings, Exalted One. Forgive those who command them in it as well, and all those who assist them in its construction," (vv. 405–8)], its schools ["Make it an abode of piety, of science and religion," (vv. 385–86), "Make it indefatigably the home of education, a locus for thought and understanding, the home of guidance and instruction," (vv. 435–38)], and its wells ["Bestow blessings upon the people by flowing water," (v. 144)]. *Maṯlab al-Fawzayn* occupies an important position in Mouride historiography as this ode constitutes Ahmadou Bamba's conceptual plan for Touba. It is thus an important source of inspiration. For example, following an outbreak of cholera in the city in 1996, expatriate Mourides, through an organization called "Matlaboul Fawzaïni," mobilized resources to finance, build, and equip a hospital.[36]

Another of Ahmadou Bamba's qaṣîdahs, *Ṯûbâ Dâr al-Salâm*, also relates directly to Touba. Darou Salam was his first spiritual foundation, and Touba marked the culmination of his quest. According to Sëriñ Bassirou, these two foundations were the closest to Ahmadou Bamba's heart:

> The reason why I love them [Darou Salam and Touba] more than other villages lies in the sincerity of the intention which inspired the idea of building them. I did not go there to follow the steps of an ancestor, or to look for agricultural or grazing land. Rather I settled in them solely in order to adore God, the One, with His authorization and His approval.[37]

Cheikh Abdoulaye Dieye supports the argument that Touba and Darou-Salam were of special importance to Ahmadou Bamba by citing another of the shaykh's works, the *Du'â' al-Kabîr*, or "Great Invocation":

> O Lord, You have led me to a land, which You have chosen for me. On this land I have constructed two houses where I worship You in conformity with faith, actions and behavior. By Your grace I have named these two houses Darou Salam and Touba. By Your

generosity and by the name of my guide to You, Prophet Muhammad, I ask You to make these two houses places of peace and purity.[38]

The two Divine attributes cited in this passage, "Grace" (al-Minan) and "Generosity" (al-Karîm), happen also to be toponyms Ahmadou Bamba applied to the landscape he was establishing: Darou Minan and Darou Karim, repectively. This is the case also in the qaṣîdah entitled *Ṭûbâ Dâr al-Salâm*, where Darou Minan (the Abode of Graces) and Darou Khouddos (the Abode of the Most Holy) are both mentioned and where God is called, among other Names, "the Peace" (al-Salâm), "the Benefactor" (al-Mannân) and "the Generous" (al-Karîm), all of which the shaykh used as toponyms.

An additional link between Ahmadou Bamba's Sufi practice and Touba's topography is provided by the recurrent tradition that claims that he buried some of his writings in particular places in and around the site. Ahmadou Bamba's prolific oeuvre is often assessed in terms of "tons" of writings, seven metric tons according to some, four and a half according to others.[39] Some of this work is purported to contain potent esoteric formulations of a proscriptive or protective nature. Other texts are said to forecast future events, such as the allied bombardment of Dakar in 1942,[40] the presidency of Senghor, or the victory of the Senegalese soccer team over the French during the opening match of the 2002 World Cup.[41] These were the types of writings that the shaykh is believed to have concealed in the ground beneath Touba. Such burials constitute "acts of will" in that they aimed to fix the orientations and modes of inhabitation of the city prior to its construction.

In 1895, following the Pact of Exile, Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's creative acts on the emerging landscape of Touba came to an abrupt halt when he voluntarily left for Mbacké Bari, Jolof. There followed thirty-two years of exile and house arrest which only ended when his body was brought back to Touba for burial in 1927. The story of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's travails with the colonial regime is well known and lies beyond the scope of this study. Only the basic outline of events, and of the issues at stake, need to be recalled here to better situate Touba's subsequent emergence as a city.

The growth of an independent Muslim community on the frontier of colonial administration was an issue of concern to the French authorities and they began to collect information about Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba and his "mourides."[42] The French were not the only ones concerned. James Searing argues that the vested landed interests in the Wolof heartland, consisting of nobles and former royal slaves (ceddo) recycled as loyal "chefs de canton" in the colonial system, were upset by the hemorrhage in labor as their peasants and slaves left their peanut estates for Ahmadou Bamba's establishments in eastern Baol.[43] Playing on the French fears of jihad, they conspired to have the shaykh arrested and tried for insubordination. From his self-imposed exile in Jolof, Ahmadou Bamba was arrested by a French expeditionary party, taken to Saint Louis, the capital of the colony, and tried for fomenting armed resistance to colonial rule. He was then sentenced to exile in the penal colony of Mayumba, in Gabon (1895–1902). When

he was allowed to return to Senegal seven years later, he took up residence in Darou Salam (1902–3). In 1903, he was again arrested and tried in Saint Louis on similar charges. This time the administration exiled him to Mauritania, to the encampment of the Qâdirî shaykh Siddiyya Baba (1903–7). In 1907, he was brought back to Senegal and kept under house arrest, first in the Jolof village of Thiéyène (1907–12), and then in the new colonial town of Diourbel, in Baol, where he died.

These are well-known events in contemporary Senegalese history. They are fully documented in the colonial archives and they are part of the living oral traditions of the Mouride order. While they are usually understood in terms of the implementation of colonial rule and of French colonial attitudes toward Islam, it is important to remember that Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba himself understood his exile and travails as part of Divine will, as a consecration of his elevated spiritual status and as fulfillment of the Pact of Exile. It is noteworthy in this regard that on returning from exile in Gabon, he chose to take up residence in Darou Salam, not in Touba itself. Moreover, his caliphs and the rest of the Mouride leadership, who have inherited his legacy, understand his exile in the same light, as a "pact" which "sealed" the destiny of the city of Touba. The importance of exile is best illustrated by the fact that the principal religious celebration of the Mouride order, the Grand Màggal or pilgrimage to Touba, commemorates Ahmadou Bamba's departure for exile. Exile was the consecration of both the Sufi and his city. Touba's elevated status as a city protected by God is a direct consequence of Ahmadou Bamba's trials. The founding shaykh had to endure hardships equivalent to those of the great martyrs, the Prophet Muhammad's early companions, in order that he may join their rank in the Afterlife and in order that Touba fulfill its mission as beacon of the sunnah and gateway to eternal recompense.

During his exiles, developments in Touba were frozen. Ahmadou Bamba's brothers and principle disciples took charge of various activities related to family business and the schooling of students. Some of his khalwahs, such as Darou Salam, Darou Marnan, and Darou Alimoul Khabir, remained active settlements, but others, including Touba itself, seem to have been abandoned.[44] A 1:100,000 topographical map of the Touba-Mbacké area, established by colonial surveyors and published in 1908 (figure 2.2), indicates three homesteads called "Touba" in what is today the center of the city. These probably correspond to Ahmadou Bamba's three central khalwahs: Touba, Darou Khouddos, and Darou Minam. To the southwest, a village with outlying homesteads, called simply Darou, corresponds to Darou Marnane.[45] It is surrounded by agricultural lands. Same, to the northwest, also has agricultural lands. Mbacké (spelled "N'Bakhé") is represented as a large village which seems to already have incorporated Darou Salam to its northeast. Darou Alimoul Khabir (today's Ndame), where Sëriñ Abderahmane Lô had been put in charge of instructing Ahmadou Bamba's younger children, does not appear on the map. The entire area is represented as an agricultural frontier, characterized by clearings in the brush, yet the principle road axis of the current agglomeration—a main road to Mbacké, extending to Darou Marnane and on to Touba—is already discernable.
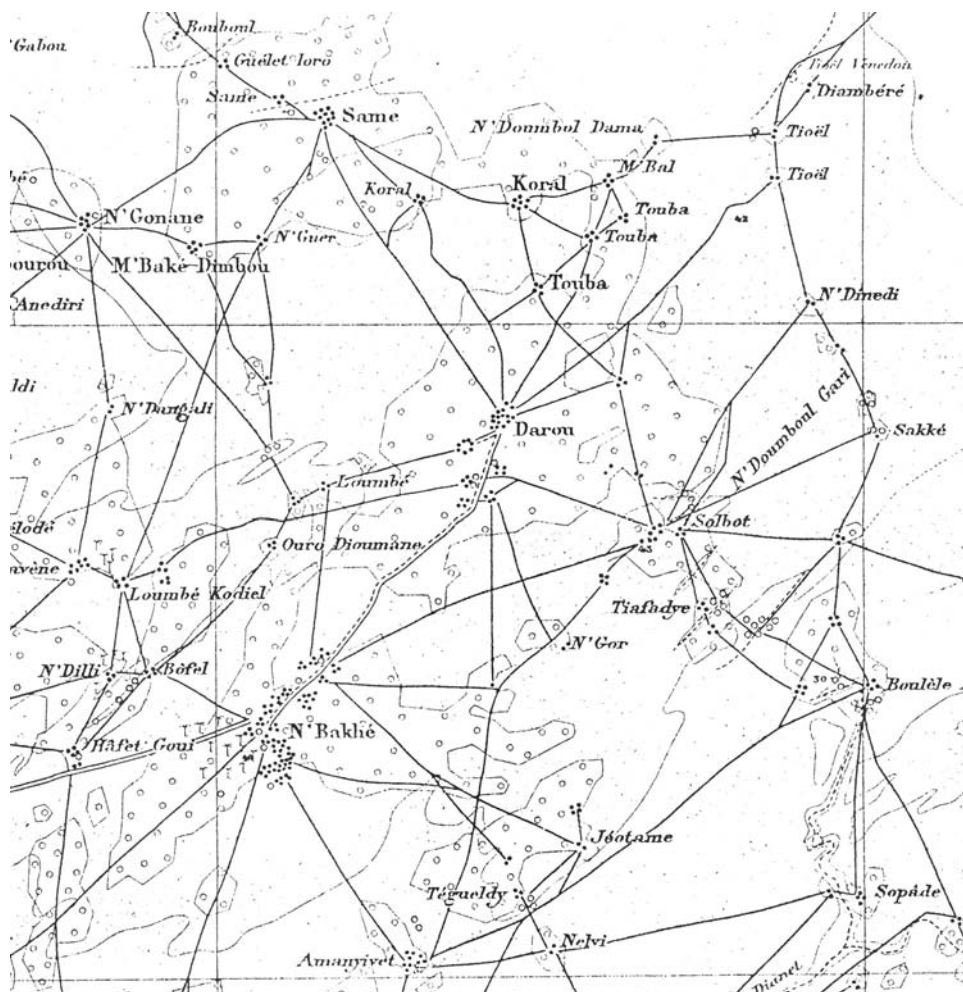
Figure 2.2. Touba in 1908. This is the oldest known topographical map of Touba. It was established by the colonial cartographic service after Mouride settlement had transformed the forested pastureland into a prosperous agricultural zone. "Touba" is represented as three separate homesteads, possibly the khalwahs of Darou Khoudoss, Darou Minam, and Touba proper. Darou Marnane appears as a major settlement, called simply "Darou," with a number of outlying homesteads. It is surrounded by fields. The daara of Same is also represented in this fashion. Mbacké (N'Bakhé) is clearly the largest settlement, already stretching to Darou Salam. The main axis of the future urban agglomeration, stretching from Mbacké to Darou Marnane and on to Touba, is already evident. [Service Géographique de l'AOF, Kaël-XI, 1:100,000 scale, 1908, Archives Nationales du Sénégal, #1Fi-1100.]

It is only when Ahmadou Bamba was brought back to Baol in 1912 that new impetus was given to the development of the sanctuary. Kept under a strict regime of house arrest in Diourbel and forbidden to travel or to visit Touba, Ahmadou Bamba, nonetheless, was able to initiate a second phase of topographic activity. He mandated his brothers, sons, and closest disciples to settle the land, sending them out, one at a time, to establish villages, called *daaras* (from the Arabic *dâr*, "house" or "abode"), in a large area surrounding Touba. This area, which stretched north from Diourbel to Mbacol, with Darou Mousty, east as far into the Ferlo as rain-fed agriculture would allow and south into the Ndoucoumane, thereafter became the heartland of the order (figure 2.17), culturally an extension of the old settled Wolof provinces but with a strong Mouride imprint, typified by the daara.

A daara was not only a place of education, where disciples were taught the Koran and memorized Ahmadou Bamba's qasîdahs, it was also a place of agricultural production, characterized by a combination of millet for subsistence and peanuts for cash. Daaras were thus central to Ahmadou Bamba's social project—a form of social and economic development *avant la letter* based on education and upbringing—where the first generation of Mourides were inducted into Mouride culture and socialized into the order. This Mouride pedagogy was implemented on the ground by all the shaykhs who settled the heartland:

> Besides theoretical instruction, Mame Thierno [Ahmadou Bamba's brother, who founded Darou Mousty and many other daaras] found in the course of his efforts to create cities and clear fields, that this was an opportunity to teach proper land use, construction and agricultural methods as well as good management techniques. These were notions that the colonizers of the time jealously taught the natives. He turned the *daaras* into places of initiation and training, linking in this way operational planning, intellectual work and manual activities. The *daaras* thus became an arena for human and religious formation. He wanted to turn the Murîdiyyah into a productive force [. . .]. Agricultural labor became the key to acquisition of capital.[46]

These first daaras of the order's "heroic" period—like Ahmadou Bamba's khalwahs—are important to understanding Touba's significance as a Sufi city. From their inception, they were intended as part of the larger project and they remain essential spatial markers today, providing the spiritual and organizational matrix for an expanding urban agglomeration.[47]

As in the case of Ahmadou Bamba's khalwahs, the names he gave to the daaras are essential to his larger project of creating a new society based on proper religious practice as a condition for access to Paradise. As with his khalwahs, all the toponyms he bestowed on the daaras are Divine Names or else refer to Koranic eschatological symbols:

Darou Mousty, named for al-Mu'tî, "the Giver," a Divine Name (Koran 20:50)
     was founded in 1912 by Mame Tierno Birahim Mbacké, one of Ahmadou
     Bamba's brothers, in a grove of baobab trees some 25 kilometers northwest of

Touba. It has emerged as the "second city" of the Mourides and constitutes an important religious observance is held there annually on the Night of Mid-Sha'bân.

Darou Karim, named for "the Magnanimous," a Divine Name (Koran 27:40), was also founded circa 1913–14, in this case by Massamba Mbacké, Ahmadou Bamba's youngest brother.[48]

Housnoul Mahabine, better known today by the designation Tindoli or Tindody, was originally named for *husn mâab*, or "excellent resting place,"[49] the line which directly follows the single occurrence of the term ṭûbâ in the Koran (13:29). It was founded in 1915 by Mouhamadou Moustapha Mbacké, Ahmadou Bamba's eldest son and, later, first caliph of the Mourides.

Other Mouride toponyms of this sort include:

Darou Rahmane, named for "the Merciful," a Divine Name. This is a common Mouride toponym. Two daaras of that name exist in the arrondissement of Ndame (which surrounds Touba): Darou-Rahmane I, founded to the southeast of Touba by Sëriñ Abdoullahi Mbacké (another of Ahmadou Bamba's sons) in the 1940s, and Darou Rahmane II, founded northwest of Touba by a shaykh of Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha in 1934.[50] Another Darou Rahmane I, also known as Darou Naar (in the arrondissement of Darou Mousty, northwest of Touba), was founded by Sëriñ Souhaïbou Mbacké, another of Ahmadou Bamba's sons, circa 1945.

Darou Rahim, named for "the Compassionate," a Divine Name.

Darou Khafor, named for al-Ghafûr, "the Forgiver," a Divine Name (Koran 2:235).

Kaossara, named for al-Kawthar (Koran 108:1), the celestial "Basin of Prophet" described in ḥadîth. It was founded in 1926 on the site of a baobab tree about 15 kilometers to the west of Touba by Assane Fall, a son of Shaykh Ibra Fall.[51]

Darou Naïm, named for Jannât al-Naʿîm, "the Gardens of Felicity" (Koran 10:9).

Tawfekh (*tawfîq*), "success," prosperity in the Afterlife.

All the informants consulted in the field were in agreement with the oral tradition according to which it is Ahmadou Bamba himself who named these daaras. He would mandate individuals to go out to some specified location and to establish a daara of a specified name. This toponymic endeavor continues today, though now it is the caliph general of the Mourides who bestows place names.

The allocation of land for the daaras was top-down. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba would instruct senior disciples and members of his family to settle in certain places. These great shaykhs, in turn, would allocate land to each of their sons, who would settle it with their own *taalibes*, or disciples. For instance, Shaykh Ibra Fall, the founder of the Baye Fall branch of the Mourides, was assigned land some 15 kilometers due west of Touba:

The great marabouts shared the land between them. From Touba Fall to Guèb and Darou Rahmane Fall, the whole area belonged to Shaykh Ibra Fall. . . . The marabout marked out the limits between Kawsara and Guèb, Kawsara and Touba Fall, Kawsara and Darou Rahmane Fall, etc. Each village was assigned land; each son [of Shaykh Ibra Fall] received a village.[52]

The settling of daaras, an arduous physical act in this semiarid zone, was a religious, educational, and economic experience, and this is still how it is rememberd today within the Mouride order:

It was Sĕriñ Amsatou Diakhaté [one of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's brothers-in-law] who delivered Ahmadou Bamba's message to Mame Tierno Birahim Mbacké ordering him to found the village of Darou Mousty (the Abode of the Giver). The message contained complete instructions. Mame Tierno prepared himself to leave Mbacké Kayor where he had been living peacefully for the past five years. At dawn on a beautiful day in 1912, after dawn prayer, Mame Tierno left in search of the spot. His master recommended that he establish the village closer to Diourbel and that he should let his horse gallop, meaning neither trot too slowly nor too quickly. He was to found the village at the place he reached by the time of noon prayer: "It will be your abode," Bamba told him, "It will be the house of the Giver because you will find everything there except that which I do not have." The place was found in the same province of Kayor, 28 km from Touba. This is the number of letters in the Arabic alphabet, the language of Muhammad. The tree beneath which Mame Tierno prayed stood where the market place of Darou Mousty currently stands. Mame Tierno ordered Mor Diakhaté to recite the poem *Jadhb al-Qulûb* ["Attraction of the Hearts" one of Ahmadou Bamba's odes] to bless the spot. Then he built a few make-shift straw huts. Mame Tierno stayed there with his family and only a few disciples. At the beginning of the 1912 agricultural season he selected thirty young men, aged between twenty-five and thirty-five, from each of his seven daaras between Daroul Manâne, Mbacké Kayor and Daroul Rahmâne, for a total of two hundred and ten disciples. One afternoon they departed for the site of the future village of Darou Mousty to prepare the land for the rains. [. . .] The place chosen for the field was called Thincoly. It was about five kilometers away, on a great plain. After that, Bamba sent him a contingent of young disciples from Fouta Toro. He recommended that they be kept apart from the others because they would be the nursery destined for complete mastery of the religious sciences. Their daara was called Kank.[53]

In Touba proper, Ahmadou Bamba's project was furthered by specific verbal instructions that he imparted to individuals of his entourage. Such instructions were given in 1912 when he mandated his youngest brother (Massamba), his two eldest sons (Mamadou Moustapha and Falilou) and ten other close disciples to resettle the site.[54] Ahmadou Bamba was determined that work in Touba be resumed, albeit by proxy, despite his restricted movements. The settlers were asked to rebuild his Darou Khoudoss house, now called Baïti, and to prepare the ground for construction of the Mosque, which was deemed imminent.

Paul Marty, the well-informed colonial administrator and expert on Islam who had access to all the *fiches de renseignement* related to the activities of marabouts, provides us with the earliest textual description of Touba. Originally published in

the *Revue du monde musulman* in 1913, the description is probably based on the internal reports of Senegalese informants, as Marty is not known himself to have traveled to Touba. The settlement is first of all characterized by education. Marty describes it as a "tiny university" and a "zaouïa" (zâwiyyah or Sufi lodge for instruction and devotion):

> A small oratory, set up especially for him [Ahmadou Bamba] rises a few hundred meters from the central agglomeration, which itself consists of a Friday Mosque (a large sandy area enclosed by a double wattle fence) and the three main compounds, which are contiguous: those of Ahmadou Bamba's two eldest sons: Mohammed Mostafa and Mohammed Fadel, and that of Masemba, his youngest brother. These three persons constitute the teaching staff at the zaouïa and are true professors (*lettrés*). Shaykh Mbacké Bousso, Doctor of Islamic Sciences (*docteur ès letters islamiques*), and who has Ahmadou Bamba's complete confidence, often comes from his village of Darou [Darou Marnane] to supervise studies in Touba. [. . .] Darou, about five kilometers from Touba when coming from Diourbel, is a village of between seven and eight hundred inhabitants. It is under the spiritual and material authority of Shaykh Mbacké Bousso. [. . .] He has in Darou a well-endowed Arabic library and also writes from time to time. He dispenses instruction to about sixty pupils. [. . .] Mbacké (Baol), a village located about five kilometers from Darou, has about eight hundred to one thousand inhabitants dispersed in separate hamlets. It has a small adobe (*pisé*) mosque, large spacious houses and a school where about twenty pupils receive Koranic instruction. Its chief is Momar Diara, an older uterine brother of Ahmadou Bamba [. . .]. Mbacké has artisans, smiths, tailors and woodworkers. There is a merchant's shop (*boutique de traitant*). The three villages of Mbacké, Darou and Touba constitute the very center of Ahmadou Bamba's brotherhood. All the inhabitants are affiliated to the sect and work for the Master. One feels renewed activity here. There has been much deforestation, too much perhaps. Market gardens of manioc, potatoes and onions surround the villages and the millet and peanut fields spread out as far as the eye can see.[55]

The impression given by this description is very positive. What is already perceived to be the Mouride conurbation (Mbacké, Darou Marnane, and Touba) is principally a center of advanced Islamic studies, with "doctors" and "professors." It is noteworthy that this description was written only one year after Ahmadou Bamba had renewed the impetus for its development. Moreover, the area is described as a prosperous agricultural enterprise with a variety of produce. The positive assessment provided in this description is all the more noteworthy as Paul Marty was suspicious of Ahmadou Bamba and was not positively inclined toward his "sect."

Also noteworthy is the fact that, so far, the "inhabitation" had occurred with very little construction beyond the requirements of rural life. Marty mentions only one "built" institution, a pisé (adobe or rammed earth) mosque in Mbacké, which was by far the oldest settlement in the area. The "small oratory" set up especially for Ahmadou Bamba (though he was not living in Touba at the time and was forbidden to visit the place) a few hundred meters from the central agglomeration is in all likelihood the Darou Khoudoss mosque. The locus of the Sufi shaykh's vision of the Prophet, and locus of the Pact of Exile, was thus already set aside and marked as a lieu de mémore. The oratory, like the other buildings of the agglomeration,

was probably constructed of some combination of wattle, adobe, planks, and thatch. Touba's "Friday Mosque" consists of a carefully fenced off space (double wattle fence) covered over in what one expects is fine clean sand (there is no mention of the mbéb tree). Even though some of the houses of Mbacké are described as "spacious," one does not get the impression that there is a lot of building going on. The main activities, teaching and instruction, are not situated. Presumably they were conducted, as they still are so often today, in the courtyards of the houses of the teachers, or under arbors (*mbaar* in Wolof), or in the shade of some tree as is purported to have been the case in Ndame.[56]

Local oral tradition in Touba today records how the settlement at this time (1912–27) consisted of dispersed rural homesteads with attendant garden plots.[57] Many of these original homesteads, now urban compounds, still belong to their founder's descendants and constitute the cherished possessions of these lineages. Large lineage compounds, belonging to shaykhs and important disciples, were the most important elements of the emerging built landscape. These "compounds" (*concession* in French, *kër* in Wolof) consisted of numerous courtyards that housed not only the extended families and students but most of the collective or public life of the community. For example, a French report, dating from 1903, describes Ahmadou Bamba's compound in Darou Salam, where he lived briefly between his exiles:

> It was instantly recognizable as that of a major Wolof notable. It covered 100 square meters,[58] and consisted of a series of enclosed courtyards with a residence "larger and more comfortable than that of the great chiefs of the Fleuve." There was a large library and a mosque, and the inner courtyard was filled with hundreds of chests that contained money, cloth, and other gifts.[59]

The compound of the shaykh served as central institution not only of the family, but of the community. It contained the mosque (probably a small structure capable of accommodating only the shaykh and his immediate entourage, most people would have prayed outside, in the courtyard around the mosque), a library and the equivalent of a "treasury" (*bayt al-mâl* in Arabic) where the community's movable assets were stored in chests.

Later, while under house arrest in Diourbel, Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba lived in a very large compound which still exists today as a major lieu de mémoire. Ahmadou Bamba called the place Al-Buq'at al-Mubarakah, the "blessed spot" mentioned in the Koran (28:30) in connection with the prophet Moses.[60] The place is better known today under the designation Kër gu-Mak (also spelled Keur Goumak), the "First" or "Senior" house, the "Great House," but also the "House of the Senior One." The place and the period are part of the order's "heroic" era and have had a significant impact on the primary sources. It is in this house, for instance that the famous photograph was taken, showing Ahmadou Bamba in a white caftan, his face half veiled, standing in front of a wall of rough wooden planks. This is the only known photo of the shaykh. It was taken as a "mug shot"

by the French for their files and was first published by Marty in 1917. It has acquired iconic status among Mourides and is reproduced in a great variety of media and contexts.[61]

Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's great compound was about four hectares in size (approximately 300 meters by 180 meters). It consisted of numerous buildings, courtyards, houses, and rooms built of wooden planks and thatch which were continuously being added to and transformed as need and Sufi practice required. Sëriñ Bassirou Mbacké, who lived in Kër gu-Mak with his father at the time, left the following description of the great house:

> One of his [Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's] nocturnal activities consisted of strolling through the alleys of his house which he had neatly laid out for this purpose. He would recite the Koran and was careful to recite it in every part of his vast house so that it would be entirely imbibed by the Koran. This house consisted of groups of huts. In each hut rooms were built closely one next to the other. The grouped huts were separated by wide pathways and by sheltered shady sheds filled with precious copies of the Koran, as were the rooms in the huts. The ground of this house had become smooth and level due to the Shaykh's incessant strolling and Koranic recitation. Dozens of men were assigned the task of maintaining cleanliness in the house, of cleaning the lavatories and of provisioning the kitchen with jars of water. Moreover, one never saw filth of any kind in the courtyards of the house. In respect for God's book, one would rarely were shoes there. [. . .] One day [Ahmadou Bamba's brother] Muhammad Diarra was a guest of his brother. Ahmadou Bamba set him up in a sumptuous house specially constructed for him and told him: "Please know that I have put you up in this house only because my own house, though it is large and contains numerous rooms (in fact it contained 50 rooms and an equal number of rooms roofed with corrugated sheet metal, not counting the sheds which, together, constituted a complete house) is entirely reserved for copies of the Koran." [. . .] His house was furnished with sumptuous carpets, exquisitely crafted, some of which were worth one or several thousand francs and others worth hundreds of francs, all laid out for the purpose of holding copies of the Koran. [. . .] Moreover, rarely would the Shaykh enter one of the rooms of this house without first praying two *rakʿahs*. Nor would he start building a new structure without first ordering that the Koran be recited in its entirety day and night. Likewise it was rare that he would spend the night without rearranging some part of his house or building a new hut.[62]

For Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, acts of inhabitation were always framed within acts of devotion, prayer, and Koranic recitation. Though the entire house was considered a prayer space, kept scrupulously clean and lived-in barefoot, mosques were also built. A French official's report dated 1914 claims that the "largest wooden thatched hut" served as a mosque.[63] Sëriñ Bassirou Mbacké records how his father's wives had their own mosque situated directly behind the place where he would pray so that they could "hear his voice without seeing him."[64] The hagiographer adds:

> I remember that the last order he [Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba] gave his *murîds* whose task it was to build and renovate the structures in his house concerned the laying out of a corridor right across the house, which was comprised of numerous shacks and courtyards,

permitting him access to the door he used to enter the mosque. That was the day, after *'aṣr* prayer, that he gave his last sermon . . .[65]

Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba died in this house, on 19 July 1927. His body was immediately taken to Touba for burial. His desire for Touba, impeded in life, was fulfilled in death—yet another indication of Touba's eschatological significance. Only after this burial, which marked the end to his exile, did construction of the city get under way.

Who Designed Touba?

Mouride historiography places Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké in the role of Touba's "conceiver." Touba was the central preoccupation of the last forty years of his life. This is reflected in the Wolof sobriquet Sëriñ Touba, or "Lord of Touba," by which Mourides prefer to call him.[66] However, Sëriñ Touba did not "plan" Touba in the sense of devising a graphic plan "on paper," a plan to which the subsequent builders of the built city had to conform. Ahmadou Bamba's project for Touba was conceptual. It was a "design idea" expressed in three types of activity: in written works such as *Maṭlab al-Fawzayn*, in topographical and toponymic activities on the ground, and in his verbal instructions to his sons and close disciples.

Even though Ahmadou Bamba is undoubtedly the city's founder and is acknowledged as its "conceiver," Touba is really the product of the continuous creative efforts of the entire Mouride order. The crucial initiatives and decisions with regard to the city's construction have been taken by the caliph generals, i.e., Ahmadou Bamba's sons who have succeeded each other in order of primogeniture: Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha Mbacké (1927–45), Sëriñ Falilou Mbacké (1945–68), Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad Mbacké (1968–89), Sëriñ Abdou Khadre Mbacké (1989–90), and Sëriñ Saliou Mbacké (figure 2.3). The caliph generals[67] are the supreme leaders of the order and ultimately are those most responsible for their father's legacy. As construction of Touba has progressed, these caliph generals have repeatedly insisted that they are accomplishing specific tasks (construction of the Mosque, the library, the university, organization of religious events, provision of drinking water, creation of markets, etc.) assigned to them by their father before his death. These instructions, reinforced by the genealogical transmission of the founder's *barakah* (Divine "grace"), are still a powerful source of legitimacy for those who initiate such projects.

Yet the caliph generals are by no means the only agents acting on the city's landscape; a host of others do so as well. These include the caliphs of the principal Mbacké lineages (direct descendents of Ahmadou Bamba's sons and brothers); the maternal families such as the Lô, the Boussobé, and the Diakhaté, who have been closely related to the Mbacké clan for generations; the great shaykhs (descendents of Ahmadou Bamba's principal disciples such as the lineage of Shaykh Ibra Fall,

Figure 2.3. Genealogy of the Mbacké showing principal lineages. The Mouride order is an institutionalization of the Mbacké clan, which remains central to nearly every aspect of the organization. Since Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's death, supreme authority has been exercised by his sons, who have become the caliph general in order of primogeniture. Moreover, the Mbacké are divided into a large number of subsidiary lineages, principally those of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's brothers and those of his sons. Each subsidiary lineage has its own recognized caliph and is based in one or more settlements, the main one often being one of the early khalwas or daaras. Other important Mouride lineages include those of the maternal families, especially the Bousso shown here, and those of Ahmadou Bamba's disciples, such as Shaykh Ibra Fall, who have caliphs and daaras of their own. (Topographic seat of lineages in *italics*.)

the Niang, the Dieng, etc.); ward heads (*chefs de village*) appointed by these shaykhs and caliphs; the hybrid structure of the municipal administration (or *Conseil Rural*) responsible to the caliph general; and the various associations of rank-and-file Mourides, called dahiras in Wolof (from the Arabic *dâ'irah* or "circle"), including Hizbut Tarqiyya and the various Matlaboul Fawzaini associations. Other actors include powerful Mouride business interests active throughout Senegal, and the increasingly important initiatives of the expatriate Mourides who are now powering Touba's urban growth with substantial new financial resources from abroad.[68] According to Cheikh Guèye, Touba has always been the locus and object of political contention between these competing groups and interests, and as the city grows in size and population, the competition only becomes fiercer. Yet centripetal forces far outweigh centrifugal ones. Touba is mostly the object of consensus within the order. All actors are committed to building the city, in accordance with the desire of its founder. The city we observe today is a collective work, the result of a multiplicity of acts of will and of inhabitation undertaken within the overarching social and spiritual project bequeathed by its founder.[69]

Configuration of the Central Shrine Complex

Touba is a great religious shrine. At the center of the city is the main shrine complex, consisting of the Great Mosque, connected mausolea, and a cemetery, as well as ancillary shrines and sacred sites: the Darou Khoudoss Mosque, the well called Aïnou Rahmati, etc. (figure 2.4). This religious complex marks the spot where Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké experienced the mystic vision which established the holy city, a spot originally signaled by a mbéb tree, as well as his subsequent mystic experiences, culminating with the Pact of Exile. At the heart of this shrine complex is the Great Mosque. For Mourides, Touba and its Great Mosque are indistinguishable. Until 1963, "building Touba" meant construction of the Mosque; since that date, "building Touba" has meant building the city, especially its infrastructure (roads, water supply, etc.) but also its monuments (library, university, hospital). The conceptual identification of Touba as both Mosque and city in the minds of Mourides is very strong. When Touba was still a small village, consisting of hamlets and compounds surrounding the construction site of the Mosque, the faithful would remove their shoes upon nearing the place, just as they would on entering a mosque. Moreover, the city which began to grow around the Mosque did so on what was effectively the property of the Mosque. In 1930, the first land deed for the Mosque covered an area of 400 hectares (or four square kilometers). Likewise, the 2001 land deed, which extends this property to nearly 300 square kilometers (or 30,000 hectares), makes no distinction between the Mosque and the city; all of it is simply "Touba," covered by a single property title.

   Both the Mosque and the city are considered as God's "signs" and as a blessing. A well-known episode in Ahmadou Bamba's hagiography—which dates to the

Figure 2.4. Quickbird satellite image of Touba's central shrine complex. Mausolea: (a) Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, (b) Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha, (c) Sëriñ Falilou, (d) Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad, (e) Sëriñ Abdou Khadre, (f) Sëriñ Mourtada (under construction), (g) Soxna Maïmouna, (h) Sëriñ Bara, (i) Shaykh Ibra Fall. [DigitalGlobe #1010010001962B05, 26 January 2003. © DG distributed by Eurimage/Infoterra. Reproduced with permission of the distributor.]

time of Sëriñ Falilou and which has become a favorite theme for artistic representations of Ahmadou Bamba's life—recounts how the Archangel Gabriel came to him while he was on the French ship taking him to exile in Gabon.[70] Gabriel informed him that God had granted him "a building which will be huge, imposing, large and beautiful. In this world, people will be impressed by that building; and in the next, it will be erected right in the middle of Heaven."[71]

The construction of the Mosque, like so much else that occurred in the early period of Touba's history, has an epic quality. It was a major endeavor and it was instrumental in allowing the Mouride order to weather numerous storms, including the death of the founder, two succession disputes, the economic depression of the 1930s, World War II, and the political stress preceding Senegal's accession to independence. Ahmadou Bamba launched the Mosque construction project in the 1920s while under house arrest in Diourbel. He mandated his closest confidents to start preparing the ground in Touba. Funds were raised among Mouride disciples across the country and a French civil engineer with close ties to the colonial administration was awarded the contract to begin construction. However, the terms of this contract proved detrimental to the interests of the client and the contract was terminated before work on the Mosque could begin.[72] Ahmadou Bamba's death and the subsequent turmoil within the order (which included a succession dispute and charges of embezzlement of Mosque funds) delayed the start of construction. It was undertaken only briefly (1931–39) during the caliphate of Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha Mbacké.

In the dispute over leadership of the order which followed Ahmadou Bamba's death, the colonial administration supported the candidacy of his eldest son, Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha, against that of Cheikh Anta, Ahmadou Bamba's wealthy brother. They even exiled Cheikh Anta for a while (1930–34) to give Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha time and space to consolidate his leadership. A registered land deed for a four-hundred-hectare area around the Mosque site was emitted by the authorities in order that construction begin. Three French civil servants, including one architect, were assigned to the Mosque project by the colonial administration.[73] A stone quarry at Ndok, eight kilometers south of the Mosque site was opened. Other infrastructure was also put in place; a well was sunk in Darou Marnane capable of supplying the construction workers, and a thirty-kilometer-long railway line was extended from Diourbel to Touba in order to transport construction materials to the site. Labor at the quarry, at the construction site and on the railroad was entirely dependent on the approximately thirty thousand volunteers from among rank and file members of the order.[74] Many of these volunteers were members of the Baye Fall, followers of Shaykh Ibra Fall (1858–1930), Ahmadou Bamba's most fiercely devoted disciple and an example of devotion for all Mourides.[75] Collective memory and oral traditions within the order tell of how the Baye Fall volunteers formed a human chain to convey stone by hand from the Ndok quarry to the construction site, eight kilometers away.[76] Along with the clearing of the wilderness and the establishment of the first Mouride daaras, this early phase of the Mosque's construction is remembered as

part of the "heroic" age of the order, when its people and resources were at last completely mobilized in an effort to fulfill the founder's dream.

The outbreak of the Second World War placed great demand on Senegal's finances and brought the Mosque's construction to a halt. It resumed in 1948, under Sëriñ Falilou Mbacké, after the order's second succession crisis had been resolved. When Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha died in 1945, his eldest son Cheikh Mbacké attempted to claim leadership of the order. However, Sëriñ Falilou, Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's oldest surviving son supported by most of the Mouride leadership, put forth his own claim. The colonial administration sided with Falilou and helped him establish authority over the Mosque construction site, the deeds to which were in the hands of his nephew. A new land deed was issued and a French architect and a civil engineering firm from Dakar were awarded the building contract.[77] This second phase of construction was more "professional" than the first in the sense that it involved major building contractors and wage labor, yet it still took fifteen additional years to complete the project. The Mosque was officially inaugurated, in the presence of President Leopold Sedar Senghor, in 1963. By then Senegal had become an independent country.

The epic of the Mosque's construction was seen at the time—and it is still largely seen this way today—as a victory over colonialism. At the outset of the project, the colonial press was outraged by the "waste" that constructing the "mosque in the bush" represented: "It seems regrettable that instead of using their money to improve their living conditions, they [our black populations of Senegal] devote a great part of it to the building of a mosque."[78] The Mouride shaykhs were vilified for "exploiting" credulous peasants whose income would better be spent elsewhere, possibly consuming imported French goods. For Mourides, the Mosque is a sign of God's special grace, one of His favors and a sign of Ahmadou Bamba's elevated spiritual status. That they built it during the heyday of hegemonic colonialism is seen by Mourides as the victory of Ahmadou Bamba's project over the colonial one.

The Mosque is a large (one hundred meters by eighty meters), modern building of reinforced concrete on a stone (laterite) foundation. It consists of five minarets and three domes (figure 2.5). The large central dome crowns the main prayer hall, rising just in front of the *mihrâb*. The Mosque's northeast dome rises above Ahmadou Bamba's tomb chamber, which is preceded by an antechamber built directly behind the mihrâb. Though they constitute separate entities and are usually accessed independently of each other, the Mosque and the mausoleum nonetheless constitute a single structure from an architectural point of view, as they were planned and built together as a single edifice. Similar mosque-mausoleum complexes, though much smaller in size, characterize other Mouride sanctuaries: Darou Minam, Darou Salam, Guédé Bousso, and Darou Rahmane Mbacol among others. In Touba's case, other mausolea have been added to the complex as successive caliph generals have been buried in proximity to their father. When Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha died in 1945, the Mosque was far from completion. A mausoleum was built for him on the exterior of the qiblah wall, to the right of the mihrâb, and this is where his two eldest sons have also been buried. In 1968,
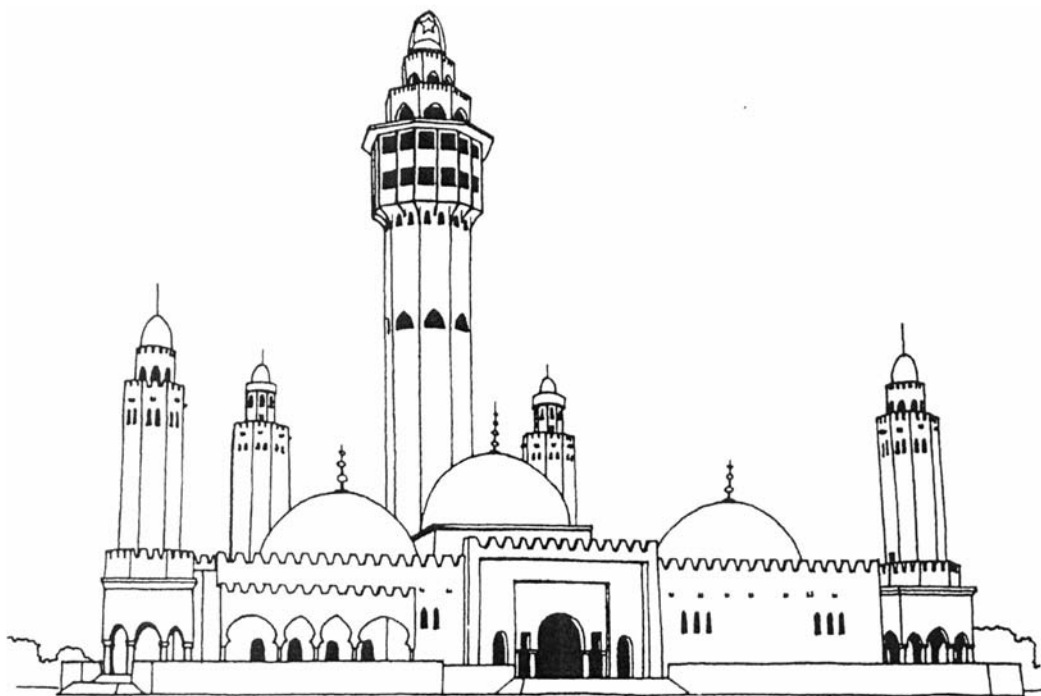
Figure 2.5. Sketch of *qiblah* façade of the Great Mosque circa 1963. This sketch depicts the qiblah façade of Touba's Great Mosque as it appeared shortly after its completion. Since then, a number of mausolea have been erected in the vicinity obstructing such a view. The main doorway in the center of the façade leads to Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's tomb chamber, under the dome to the right. The main prayer hall of the mosque, marked by the large central dome, is entered from the other façades. Lamp Fall, the mosque's central minaret, towers above the building and can be seen from as far away as fifteen kilometers. Lamp Fall has become an icon. Though its physical aspect has changed somewhat since the 1996 renovation, the minaret is often depicted as shown here in Mouride art and on artifacts.

Sëriñ Falilou was buried in a freestanding mausoleum on the open square to the east of the Mosque. Other freestanding mausolea were built next to it for Sëriñ Abdou Khadre (d. 1990) and Sëriñ Mourtada (d. 2004), while Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad's mausoleum (d. 1989) was built in the inner court of the library.

Touba's Mosque is famous throughout Senegal and the Mouride diaspora for its commanding central minaret. This minaret has been personalized in popular discourse by the name Lamp Fall. "Fall" is for Shaykh Ibra Fall, Ahmadou Bamba's most devoted disciple and founder of the Baye Fall movement, an important subgroup within the Mouride order. The prefix "Lamp" is from the French *lampe*, and thus this minaret's association with illumination is rendered doubly explicit.[79] Like

Shaykh Ibra Fall himself, Lamp Fall "proclaims" Ahmadou Bamba (who is buried at its base). The minaret stands eighty-seven meters tall, one of the tallest structures in Senegal, and it has mostly a symbolic function. In the unrelenting flatness of the Senegalese countryside, this minaret can be seen clearly from over fifteen kilometers away. Its distinctive form is immediately recognizable and it figures prominently in Mouride iconography, on murals and illustrations, on store signs, on the sides of buses and minivans, etc., and on tomb stones. The image of Lamp Fall symbolizes Touba both as a city and as the embodiment of Ahmadou Bamba's life's work. According to the oft-repeated words of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba himself: "The Eternal One has honored me for eternity with an indestructible edifice which will rise to Paradise."[80] The distinctive minaret represents all that the city signifies for Mourides, but it also stands as a physical, tangible, concrete manifestation of the paradisiacal Ṭûbâ. It points toward the heavens from its location at the center of the city. It incarnates Touba's transcendent quality, its quṭb, indelibly marking the landscape with Ahmadou Bamba's mystic illumination beneath a tree, at the point where the imaginal Ṭûbâ connects with the material world.

Along with the single known portrait of Ahmadou Bamba (the photograph taken in Diourbel by the French and used to illustrate Paul Marty's 1917 publication), Lamp Fall is the most ubiquitous Mouride icon. In fact, the two images: the shaykh and the minaret, are often juxtaposed one on the other[81] and this is a good indication of how the man, the mosque, and the city are understood as constituting a cohesive entity, Touba. Clearly, the intent of the designers of the eighty-seven-meter high minaret was to create a monument, i.e., it was a conscious effort to symbolize an idea (or an ideal) with a building. Yet its subsequent development in popular Mouride iconography was not *manufactured* to the same degree. The minaret, personalized with a proper name by popular usage, has taken on a life of its own and has come to *incarnate* far more than its designers had probably planned.

The Mosque rises from the center of a large public square, or pénc in Wolof, at the heart of the city. This square serves a number of urban functions. It is the city's central hub, where its main arteries converge. It serves as esplanade to the Mosque and, during Friday and *'ayd* prayers it serves as muṣallâ (or outdoor prayer ground)—the Mosque, large as it is, can no longer contain all those who want to pray there.[82] Surrounding the square are the large compounds (kër in Wolof, more commonly written keur) of Ahmadou Bamba's sons and successors. Also on the square are other important institutions, such as the library (called Maktabah Shaykh al-Khadîm,[83]) completed in 1977, the caliph general's official "residence" and audience hall, called Kër Sëriñ Touba (or "House of Lord Touba," alternately called the Résidence in French, or Maskan al-Shaykh al-Khadîm in Arabic) completed in 1980, and the caliphal mbaar, or arbor.[84] Akin in function to the *maqṣûrah* of classical Islamic mosque architecture, this mbaar is a fenced-in shelter from which the caliph general addresses the crowd of worshippers that gathers on the square during public events and major religious celebrations. It is at these times, and in this place, that the caliph general will make public declarations on points of

principle. Speaking in a low voice, the declaration will be relayed to the assembly on the square by an official spokesman through powerful loudspeakers.

To the east of the square, along the qiblah axis, is Touba's cemetery, an important institution in its own right. Touba, named for the Tree of Paradise, functions as a "gate" to the Hereafter. Like some of the well-known ancient holy cities discussed in chapter 1, burial in Touba is believed to amount to passage through this gate. It was Ahmadou Bamba's mission to lead believers along the Straight Path of Islam and on to the eternal recompense promised by God. His holy city actualizes this social and religious project by linking our life in the horizontal world of matter with the paradisiacal promise above, symbolized by the tree called Ṭûbâ. Physical burial in Touba brings one nearer to the existential passage from one plane to the other. This has been alluded to in numerous official declarations, not least in the following statement by Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad Mbacké:

> Touba being our supreme heritage—we must hope to live here during our entire earthly sojourn, to finish our days here and to rise here in the Afterlife. And surely those to whom the favor of residence in the city has not been granted desire above all else to be buried and to resurrect here.[85]

Mourides from all over, even those who do not live in Touba, desire to be buried there.[86] Consequently, Touba's cemetery is densely crowded with graves and mausolea of all sizes. To alleviate the congestion, a large new cemetery has been laid out on the eastern outskirts of the city, but people still insist on being buried in the overcrowded central one. Burial in Touba is a central city function and constitutes a highly significant, final "act of inhabitation" for Mourides.

The cemetery's high eschatological function finds material expression in the baobab tree (Adansonia digitata, guy in Wolof) which, until it died in 2003, stood in its center (figure 2.6). Like Lamp Fall, Touba's great minaret, this tree was personalized by a proper name, Guy Texe, or "Baobab of Bliss." *Texe* in Wolof denotes "felicity," "beatitude" or "bliss"[87] and is thus directly equivalent to the Arabic term ṭûbâ. Like Lamp Fall, the Guy Texe was a material manifestation of Touba's quṭb, essentially identified with Ṭûbâ, the Tree of Paradise, and it actualized one important aspect of Touba's eschatological meaning, that of *inscription*:

> The "Goui Tékhé" [is] the baobab of beatitude, the baobab of prosperity, "the tree of Touba," which many Mourides consider to be the Tree of Paradise, claiming that eternal happiness is assured to all those, black or white, who make pilgrimage to it, and to all those who will be buried around it.[88]

Pious visitors to the cemetery would actually engrave their names, in either Arabic or Latin script, on the bark of the Guy Texe's massive trunk and in this way become "registered on the list of those who will enter Paradise."[89] By this act, people connected with the archetypal Ṭûbâ, "on whose leaves are inscribed the names and deeds of each mortal in view of the Day of Judgement."[90]
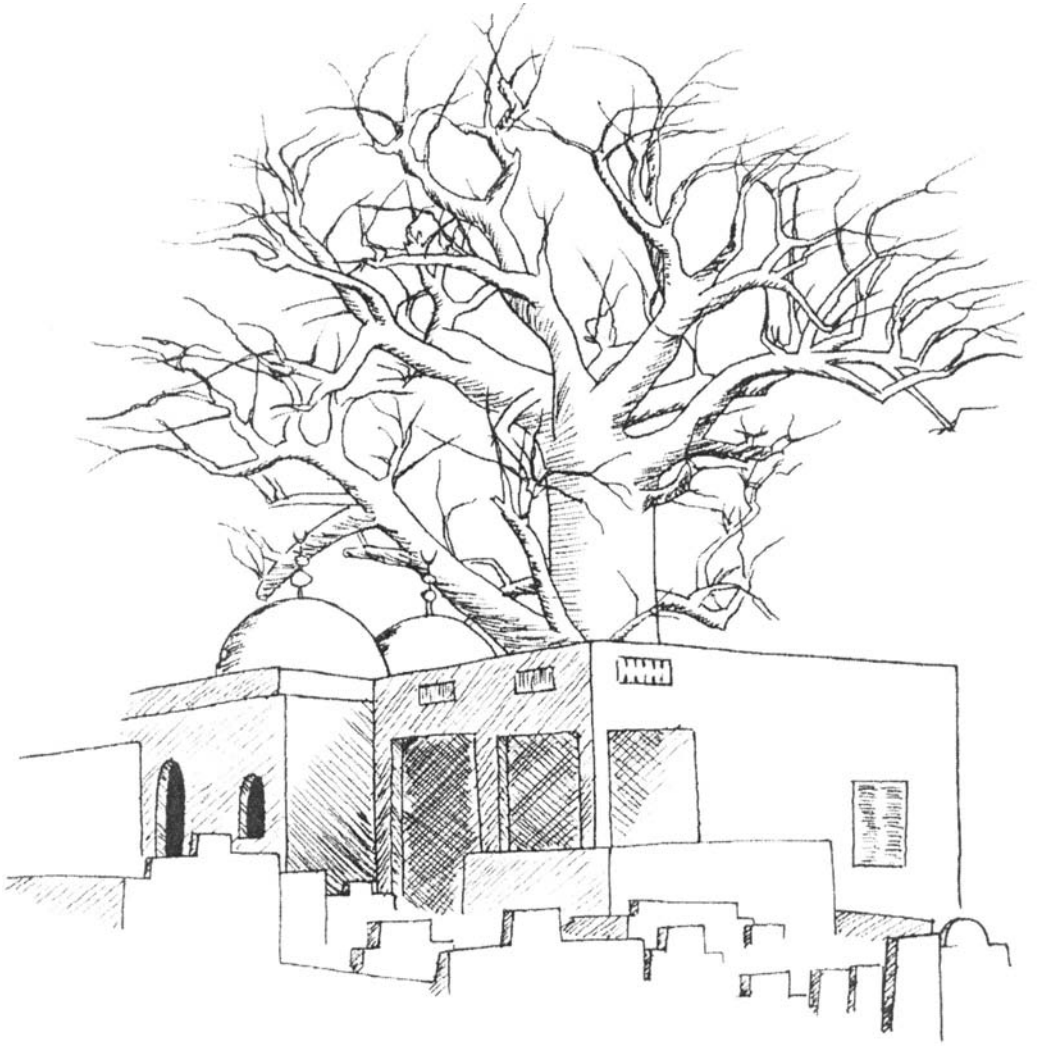
Figure 2.6. The Guy Texe, or "Baobab of Bliss" in the cemetery. Until it died and collapsed in 2003, the Guy Texe, shown here amid surrounding mausolea and tombs, was an important element in Touba's spiritual topography. Locus of the first burial in the city, the baobab represented Touba's claim to be a "gate" to the Hereafter, a place of accession to Paradise. To express their desire for eternal bliss, pious visitors and pilgrims would write their names on the bark of its trunk.

The baobab tree as a support for writing is not at all unusual in Senegal and the issue will be fully explored in chapter 4. There are several such baobabs associated with Mouride sites. For instance, to the southeast of the cemetery, in Gouye Mbind ward, there used to be a large baobab tree, designated as *guy mbind*, or "baobab of writing." Popular local tradition, unsubstantiated by the major hagiographies, maintains that Ahmadou Bamba used this baobab as a khalwah. As with the Guy Texe nearby in the cemetery, there was a belief that those who wrote their names on this baobab would be redeemed in the Hereafter and saved from hellfire.[91] In fact, so many people visited this tree and inscribed their names on it, occasionally driving nails, or wooden pegs with names attached, into its trunk, that the guy mbind of Gouye Mbind ward succumbed under the weight of popular devotion and collapsed in 1983. The spot in the street where the tree once stood is now marked by a low enclosure.[92]

The Guy Texe is Touba's second "foundation" tree, after the mbéb. Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké himself selected this site as cemetery. Shortly after moving to Touba with his family, Ahmadou Bamba's first wife, Sokhna Aminata Lô, died of a snakebite. He designated the spot under this baobab tree, a short distance to the east of his homestead, for his wife's burial. Subsequently, upon their deaths, Ahmadou Bamba's other wives, who are referred to today as the "Mothers of the Mourides," were also buried at the foot of this tree. Other important mausolea include that of Shaykh Ibra Fall and his lineage, as well as those of Sëriñ Bara, Sëriñ Abdoullahi, Cheikh Abdou Samat, and Cheikh Ibrahima, all sons of the founder. In 2000, Soxna Maïmouna, Ahmadou Bamba's youngest daughter, was buried in a pretty mausoleum adjacent to the cemetery wall.

A number of other important lieux de mémoire are found in the area of Touba's central shrine, and several of them are marked by trees. On the qiblah side of the Mosque, right on the plinth adjacent to Ahmadou Bamba's mausoleum, stands a palm tree. This tree marks the spot where the first birth in Touba took place. In 1888, shortly after coming to Touba with her husband, Sokhna Aminata Lô, who would shortly be buried beneath the Guy Texe, gave birth to a son, named Lamine Bara. After the birth, it was discovered that a *ngigis* tree (*Pilliostigma reticulatum*) was growing in her house, beneath the bed where the birth had occurred. The ngigis was later cut down to permit construction of the Mosque, but a date palm was planted to mark the spot once again.[93] Thus the loci of both the first birth and the first burial in Touba are marked by trees. A second tree that grows within the Mosque precinct, again on its qiblah side, is a lote tree (*Ziziphus jujuba, siddéem* in Wolof). This tree is believed to mark a spot where Ahmadou Bamba buried some of his most potent writings.[94] As with the Guy Texe in the cemetery, we find here an association of cosmic tree (in this case an allusion to the Sidrat al-Muntahâ, the Lote-Tree at the Extremity of the universe) with writing. About one kilometer south of the Mosque is a very large baobab, called the Guy Siyare (Baobab of Pious Visit) or Guy Jakka (Baobab Mosque), where, according to popular legend, Ahmadou Bamba used to pray during his ascetic retreats. Contrary to the arboreal memorials listed above, this site and its legend

are not considered as authentic by the Mbacké establishment. Yet the tree is well known to Mouride faithful, who include it in their visitations, and it has been developed as a lieu de mémoire.

One city block north of the Mosque is Aïnou Rahmati ('Ayn al-Rahmah), the "Well of Mercy." This well, established early on by Ahmadou Bamba himself when Touba was still an arid wilderness, possesses spiritual power, as it is believed that those who are repentant of their sins may purify and enlighten their hearts by drinking its water. This belief is inscribed, in Arabic, French, and English, on the walls of a little pavilion in the middle of the well's garden. Aïnou Rahmati is regularly visited by residents and pilgrims alike. In Mouride sources, it is sometimes compared to Zamzam, the well next to the ka'bah in Mecca. The current configuration of this well, with pavilions in a shady garden, dates from 1978 when the older installation was completely refurbished and equipped with a powerful pump.[95]

By far Touba's most important lieu de mémoire, outside of the Great Mosque itself, is the Darou Khoudoss Mosque. This mosque marks the site of the Pact of Exile, which established Touba's status as a sanctuary protected by God in exchange for Ahmadou Bamba's exile. Consequently, the Mosque of Darou Khoudoss is a major lieu de mémoire. It was entirely rebuilt and refurbished in 1980 by the lineage of Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha, which has authority over Darou Khoudoss ward.

The construction of Touba is a continuing endeavor, and this applies also to the Great Mosque and the rest of its central shrine complex. Beginning in the late 1970s, much of this complex was revamped or rebuilt through Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad's initiatives. First came the library, inaugurated in 1977, followed by Kër Sëriñ Touba, the official "residence" and audience hall of the caliph general, and Aïnou Rahmati, in 1978. Next, the Darou Khoudoss Mosque (1980) was refurbished and a perimeter wall was built around the cemetery. The effect of these various projects was to "harden"[96] the center of the city, giving it a much more urban appearance than it had hitherto had. Furthermore, in 1988 Touba's Great Mosque was considerably enlarged by Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad, who had a chain of large prayer halls built along three of its sides, raising the Mosque's capacity from four thousand to six thousand worshippers.[97] In the 1997, the Mosque edifice itself was refurbished by Sëriñ Saliou, who has had it completely resurfaced in white and pink marble imported from Italy and Portugal. Sëriñ Saliou also had Ahmadou Bamba's mausoleum renovated. Work was executed by a North Korean firm and the design of the new catafalque is said to have been inspired by the shrine of Fatima Ma'suma in Qom, Iran,[98] which Sëriñ Moustapha Saliou, the caliph general's son, had just visited.

Touba's central shrine complex is monumental in design and in scale. This monumentality, exemplified by the size and esthetics of the Mosque, is part of the original design. It would be an error to think that Touba started out as a small shrine and by some accident of history grew from a village into a city. Touba was intended to be a great spiritual metropolis, in keeping with the elevated status of its founder and its own status as one of God's "signs." Furthermore, in its internal

traditions, Touba is often compared to Mount Sinai, chosen by God as locus of Moses' revelation, and to Medina the Fragrant (Al-Ṭayyibah), the Luminous (Al-Munawwarah), selected by God as home to the perfect Muslim community. From the outset, the construction of the city reflected these universal pretensions.

Touba's monumentality and universality are displayed most powerfully during the annual pilgrimage, called the Grand Màggal. This is a *mass* event and has been the object of study in its own right.[99] This research has mostly focused on the politics of the event, both the *internal* politics of the order and those of the order's relation to the state. The Grand Màggal is the Mouride's most important religious celebration and is the biggest religious event in Senegal. The Wolof term *màggal* means "celebration." The Grand Màggal, a three-day event held around the eighteenth day of Ṣafar, *celebrates* the date in 1895 when Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké was exiled to Gabon by the colonial authorities. It is the best indication of the importance of this exile to Mourides and to the Sufi city they have created. Since its inception in 1928, a year after the death of the founder, the aim of the event has been to gather all Mourides together in Touba.[100] It is a manifestation of the collective personality and destiny of the order. While the Mosque was still under construction, the Grand Màggal was an occasion to renew commitment to the project, as even the frailest of pilgrims would contribute in some physical way to its construction. By the 1950s, as the Mosque neared completion, the event was already attracting up to one quarter of a million pilgrims. The urban planning decisions being made at the time, when the layout of the center of the city was established, reflect the vocation of Touba as locus of this mass public event. Since then, the Grand Màggal has continued to grow in importance and it currently attracts between one and two million pilgrims, some from as far away as Western Europe and North America. Current urban planners are made acutely aware, once a year, of the special character the city acquires at that time, and they act accordingly.

From an urban design perspective, the Grand Màggal has had, and continues to have, great impact of Touba. First, there are the logistical requirements of accommodating the ever-larger crowds of pilgrims. These include issues of transportation and traffic control, supply of drinking water, health and sanitation, and security. No effort is spared by the order to ensure a successful Grand Màggal each year. The Hizbut Tarqiyyah association in particular plays a major role in terms of logistics and organization (food, shelter, transportation, audio equipment). The Senegalese state also contributes, more discreetly, to the organization (security, transportation, health services).[101] The second impact of the Grand Màggal on Touba has been symbolic. The central shrine complex serves very much as a "stage" for the event, which is effectively *staged* for the benefit of the mass of participants and of outside observers. All the pilgrims necessarily visit the Great Mosque and Ahmadou Bamba's mausoleum. Most will then also visit the mausolea of the various caliph generals, the cemetery, the mausolea of other shaykhs (in Darou Minam, Darou Khouddos, etc.), Aïnou Rahmati, and other lieux de mémoire. Pilgrims will visit the home of their personal shaykh, as well as those of other shaykhs further up the hierarchy, including the caliph general, if they are

able to get in. The main constraint is the sheer volume of people. Hundreds of thousands of people are crowded into Touba's central shrine complex at any given time during the event, and especially when the caliph general addresses the pilgrims from his mbaar. On top of this mass event are the elite components of the Grand Màggal; government ministers, opposition party leaders, senior civil servants, generals and police chiefs, governors, foreign diplomats, representatives of Senegal's other Sufi orders, all come to Touba in motorcades to pay their respects to the caliph general, ensconced in Kër Sëriñ Touba, and to receive his blessings. For a brief period each year, Touba becomes the center of Senegalese public life. The event is given extensive coverage in the media, where the holy city appears very much as an "anticapital," the opposite of Dakar (a worldly city of power and corruption):

> It is in this sense that the *grand màggal* may be considered as a ceremonial rite which affirms the identity and power of the brotherhood in the context of Senegalese society and also in regard to the state. Touba is presented as a model, the example of a society which exists in perfect form, and the pilgrimage can be considered as a festival of Utopia, the celebration of a model of social and urban organization. [. . .] Touba is the ideal city and the *grand màggal* is the celebration of a new society.[102]

The event is called the Grand Màggal to distinguish it from other, lesser, màggals. These smaller events are organized throughout the year by Touba's various lineages. For example, the lineage of Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha organizes a màggal in Darou Khoudoss on the nineteenth day of Muḥarram, the date of Ahmadou Bamba's death. This date was first commemorated in 1928 and during the caliphate of Mouhammadou Moustapha it remained the only Mouride màggal. When Sëriñ Falilou acceded to the caliphate, he changed the date and the meaning of the màggal, creating the Grand Màggal we know today. The lineage of the former caliph nonetheless continues to commemorate the first date and it holds another annual commemoration, on the third day of Sha'bân, date of Mouhammadou Moustapha's death. For its part, the lineage of Sëriñ Falilou holds a special màggal on the twenty-seventh day of Rajab, a date which commemorates the Prophet Muhammad's Night Journey and Cosmic Ascension but which is also said to be Sëriñ Falilou's birthday. It attracts many thousands of pilgrims to Sëriñ Falilou's compound in Touba as well as to Darou Salam on the night that precedes the celebration. The Laylat al-Qadr, the "Night of Power" when the Qur'ân descended from heaven (the concept of *tanzîl*) is also celebrated in Touba. Traditions about the date of the Laylat al-Qadr vary; many Muslims celebrate it on the night of the twenty-seventh of Ramadân. The date of its celebration in Touba is fixed through a special calendar devised by Ahmadou Bamba in one of his qasî-dahs. From 1950 until her death in 2000, this night vigil was presided over by Soxna Maïmouna Mbacké, Ahmadou Bamba's youngest daughter.[103] Other major celebrations in Touba include the two big feasts: Tabaski ('Ayd al-Kabir or 'Ayd al-Adḥâ in Arabic, the Feast of the Sacrifice, on the tenth day of Dhû-l-Ḥijjah) and

Korite ('Ayd al-Fiṭr, the Breaking of the Fast at the end of Ramaḏân), and the Gàmmu (Mawlid, the Prophet Muhammad's "birthday," on the twelfth day of Rabi' Awwal). Touba is fundamentally a religious city. Religious activities—night vigils, religious celebrations, periodic pilgrimages great and small—along with enumerable ordinary acts of religious instruction are among its most important urban activities.

Configuration of the Urban Agglomeration

Although Touba constitutes an important shrine, great in both size and spiritual meaning, it is not *just* a shrine. It is a city. Indeed, along with its "mother" city of Mbacké, it constitutes an urban agglomeration of approximately half a million people and a built-up area currently in excess of ten thousand hectares (or one hundred square kilometers). Beyond the central shrine, Touba's Sufi-inspired configuration also extends to this larger urbanized area (figure 2.18).

The creation of a great Mouride metropolis has involved a number of parallel processes fully described and analyzed by Cheikh Guèye. On the one hand, the Mouride order is a coherent and hierarchically structured institution, and this is reflected in the strongly centralized overall configuration of the city. On the other hand, the Mouride order is not a bureaucracy, with central command and control relayed faithfully down the echelons. It is a complex web of interrelated lineages, associations, and interests. Even though a directive or "act of will" from the caliph general may constitute a powerful impetus, nothing can be accomplished on the ground without the cooperation of these local or lower order branches of the Mouride order that also have their own interests at heart. The repercussions of this organizational structure for Touba's urban plan are reflected in the multiplicity of wards and neighborhoods that comprise the city. These various wards have very strong identities of their own, based on local histories and local lineages. Consequently, Touba's urban plan is both strongly centered and multinuclear. The main shrine complex described above has been erected at the center of a constellation of lesser spiritual "centers," the various khalwahs and daaras of the foundation era, in fulfillment of Ahmadou Bamba's original conception of the place. Each of these subsidiary centers serves as a lieu de mémoire for a more or less specific segment of the Mouride order. It is Ahmadou Bamba himself who assigned these places to his various brothers, sons, and disciples, each of whom developed his own personal following of students and clients. Over the course of several generations, these followings have developed into distinct communities with identities of their own.

Each of the main Mouride lineages, under the authority of its own caliph or shaykh, has become "grounded" geographically in specific localities: villages (daaras) and neighborhoods. Touba's central wards, for example, are closely associated with the lineages of Ahmadou Bamba's eldest sons (figure 2.7). Darou

Khoudoss is the oldest neighborhood of the city. Virtually abandoned during Ahmadou Bamba's exiles, it was reoccupied by Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha in 1912. Its lieux de mémoire include Darou Khoudoss Mosque, where Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's Pact of Exile was sealed, Baïti, the large compound where the first caliph general lived and where many of his father's personal possessions are literally *enshrined*, Aïnou Rahmati, and the compound and mosque-mausoleum of Sëriñ Souhaïbou Mbacké. The ward remains under the jurisdiction of Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha's lineage. Darou Miname, another of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's khalwahs, was reestablished by Sëriñ Bassirou Mbacké in the 1930s and remains under the jurisdiction of his lineage. Likewise, Gouye Mbind was established by Sëriñ Abdoul Aziz Bara in the 1940s and Touba Bagdad (also called Sourah) by Sëriñ Abdou Khadre in the 1960s.

Khalwahs further away were assigned by Ahmadou Bamba to some of his brothers: Cheikh Anta received Darou Salam while Mame Tierno Birahim received Darou Marnane (figure 2.8). Yet other wards and neighborhoods were assigned to disciples, for example, Ndame (originally Darou Alimoul Khabir) was assigned to Sëriñ Abdourahmane Lô (d. 1942) who ran an important school there (figure 2.9). Since 1978, Ndame has harbored the Al-Azhar Institute, a center of Islamic instruction founded and funded by Sëriñ Mourtada Mbacké. It now has branches throughout Senegal and abroad. The early daaras have also become important to their founding lineages: Guédé Bousso (established 1918) to that of Cheikh Mbacké Bousso (d. 1946), and Keur Niang (established sometime before 1895) to the lineage of Ahmadou Fadiama Niang. These lineages, and the communities they represent, gain great legitimacy from the association of these places with Ahmadou Bamba's activities or directives. Darou Salam (figure 2.10), Ahmadou Bamba's first foundation and second only to Touba in his heart, is remembered for the shaykh's brief sojourn there between his exiles (1902–3). It is at that time that he held the famous "second *Tabaski*,"[104] the first religious celebration in Mouride history. This event is commemorated annually, on the twentieth day of Dhû-l-Qa'dah, by the lineage of Cheikh Anta Mbacké. Since 1963, another annual màggal has been held there on the twenty-seventh of Rajab to commemorate the Prophet Muhammad's night journey (isrâ') and cosmic ascension (mir'âj).[105] Cheikh Anta Mbacké and some of his sons, the caliphs of his lineage, are buried in a mausoleum on Darou Salam's central square, adjacent to the large compound still inhabited by his descendents. Other members of the lineage are buried in the nearby cemetery, which also serves the city of Mbacké. The neighborhood's new mosque is nearing completion (January 2005).

Guédé Bousso (figure 2.11), in the northern part of the city, is home to the Boussobé, the lineage of Ahmadou Bamba's mother. Mariama Bousso (1833–66), also known as Mame Diarra Bousso or as Diaratoullah (Jârat Allâh, "Neighbor of God"), is given an elevated place in the hagiographies. She was a member of the Bousso clerical family, long established in Fouta Toro, which has had close links to the Mbacké clan for many generations. Mame Diarra's brother, Mor Muhammad, had been a close collaborator of Momar Anta Saly Mbacké and one
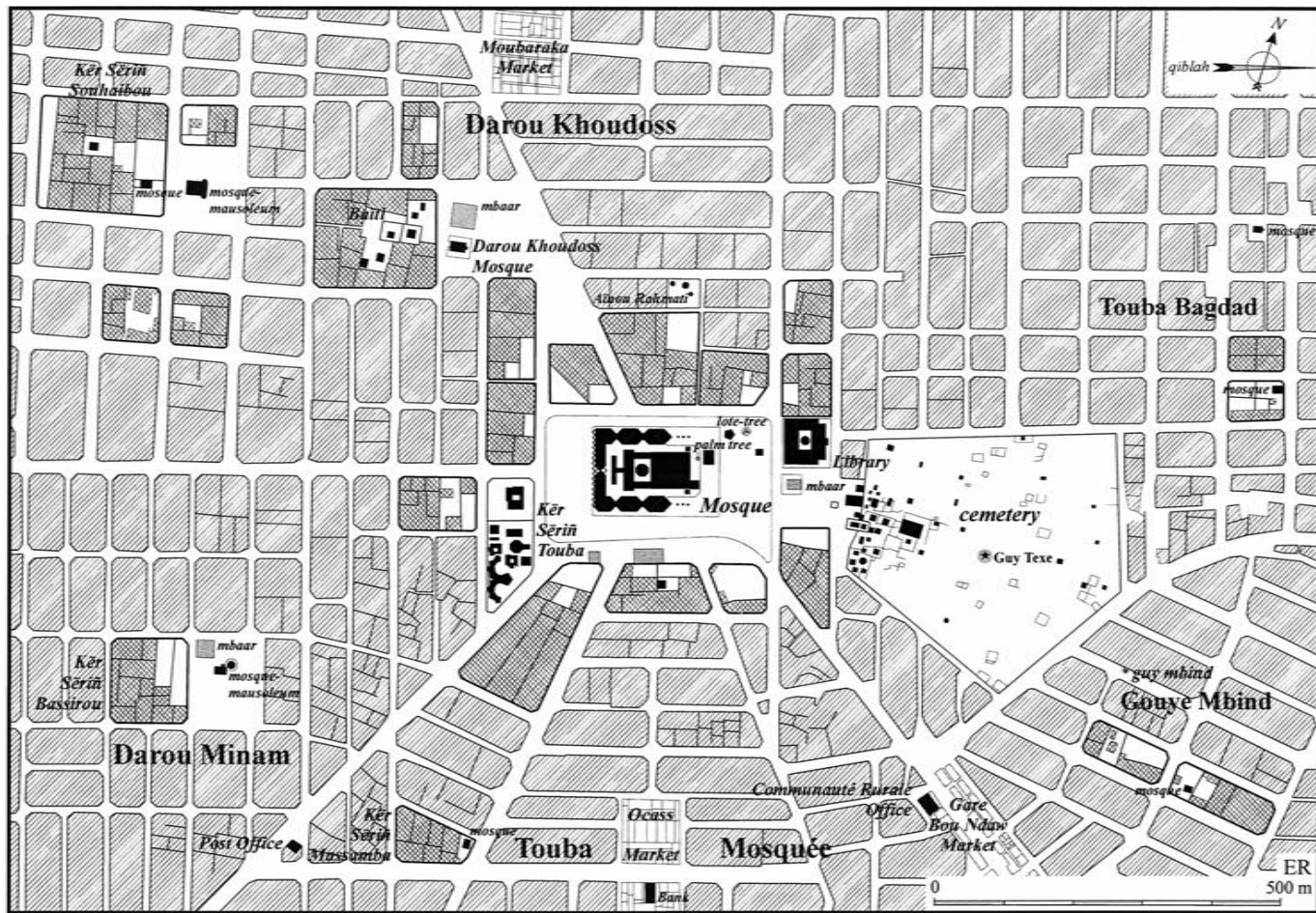
Figure 2.7. Touba's central wards. Touba's central shrine complex is surrounded by residential wards, each originally a separate settlement, for the most part centered on a public square, with its own grid of allotments. The integration of these settlements into a unified urban grid was decided in 1958, when Touba started to grow as a city. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

Figure 2.8. Darou Marnane. Darou Marnane was one of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's khal-was and is an important lieu de mémoire for Mourides. Some of Bamba's personal effects are enshrined in its Kër Sëriñ Touba compound, on the pénc around which the settle-ment has grown. Ahmadou Bamba assigned Darou Marnane to his brother Mame Tierno Birahim, whose lineage continues to manage it. The neighborhood lies just beyond the Rocade, which has been interpreted as the limit of Touba's special religious status, and it has attracted many state institutions: the office of the sous-prefecture, a public school, the "special" brigade of the gendarmerie, and the fire department. It is also an important transportation hub at the main entrance to Touba. This entrance is now also marked by one of the large new Kër Sêriñ Toubas, built by the Hizbut Tarqiyya association, which consists of a palatial "residence" and a monumental mosque. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]
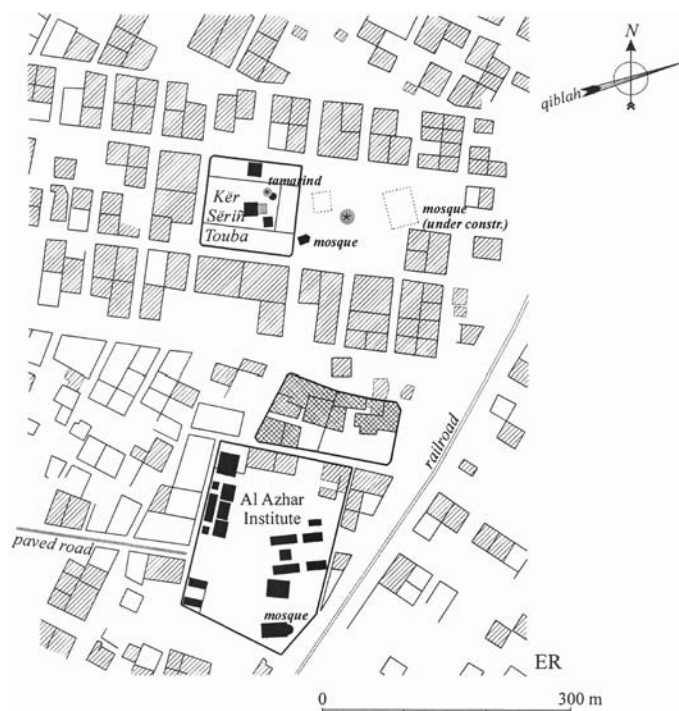
Figure 2.9. Ndame. Another of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's khalwahs, and an important lieu de mémoire, Ndame was assigned to his disciple Shaykh Abderrahmane Lô, instructor to his children. Although Ndame gave its name to the arrondissement, the office of the sous-prefecture was actually established in Darou Marnane, closer to Touba. In 1978, Sëriñ Mourtada Mbacké selected Ndame as the site for the Al Azhar Institute. The Lô lineage continues to manage the ward, which is now almost completely urbanized. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

of Ahmadou Bamba's teachers. Shaykh Mbacké Bousso (1864–1946), Mor Muhammad's son and, therefore, Ahmadou Bamba's first cousin, was a major figure of the Mouride movement during the foundation years. A great scholar and teacher, he was an industrious and influential intellectual.[106] In 1902, on returning to Darou Salam from his exile to Gabon, Ahmadou Bamba called on Shaykh Mbacké Bousso to run the school in Darou Marnane. By 1913, Shaykh Mbacké Bousso was already described as the rector of Touba's "tiny university," overseeing studies there as well as in Darou Marnane.[107] It is during this period that he established his own daaras, in accordance with Ahmadou Bamba's directives, first (ca. 1903) in Al Azhar near Ndame (which is named for Cairo's celebrated mosque-university) and then in Guédé (1918),[108] which is named for a celebrated center of Islamic studies in Fouta Toro, original home of the Boussobé. By the 1930s, Shaykh Mbacké Bousso's school in Guédé Bousso had established a reputation for
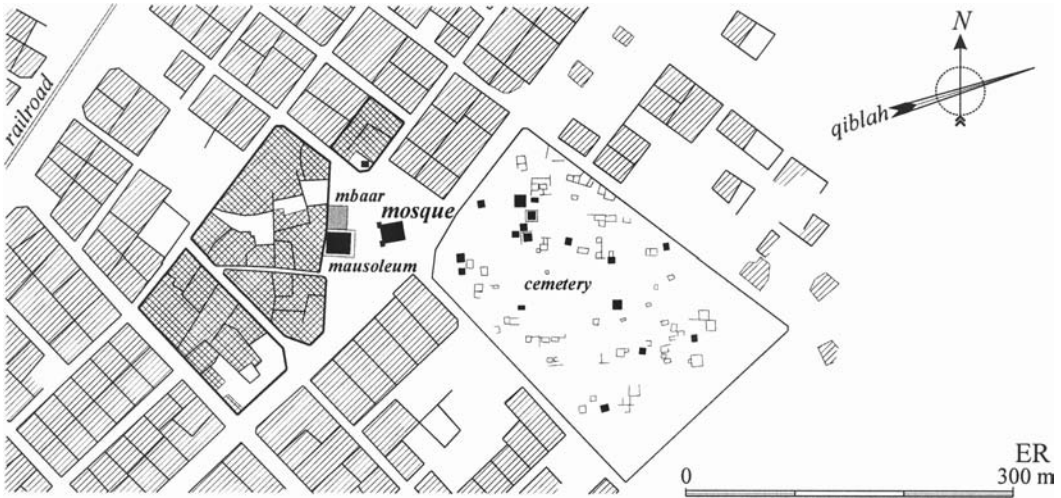
Figure 2.10. Darou Salam. Darou Salam was Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's first khalwah, established in 1884. It is remembered for having hosted the first major Mouride celebration, in 1903, when Ahmadou Bamba returned from exile. Since then, Darou Salam has remained under the jurisdiction of Shaykh Anta Mbacké's lineage. Màggals are held there annually, on the twenty-seventh day of Rajab and the twentieth day of Dhû-l Qaʻdah. Darou Salam is part of the municipality of Mbacké and its cemetery is a favored place of burial for the inhabitants of that city. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

excellence. Cheikh Anta Diop, Senegal's greatest modern intellectual, described it as follows:

> In the Mouride community, the school of Guédé, with Mbacké Bousso as professor, was researching mathematics, applied mechanics, certain problems related to thermodynamics (steam engines) and especially the exact measurement of time. [. . .] This school, in the 1930s, was creating a scientific current equal in quality to that of the Renaissance, based exclusively on Arabic sources, without direct European influence.[109]

Shaykh Mbacké Bousso conducted research on the calculation of solar time, essential for establishing the times of the five daily prayers with exactitude, and on the calculation of the qiblah to Mecca, essential for proper orientation of prayer. When construction of Touba's Great Mosque began, in 1931, it was Shaykh Mbacké Bousso who established its qiblah orientation.[110] Both Touba's Mosque and the mosque of Guédé Bousso are equipped with Shaykh Mbacké Bousso's original sundials. Moreover, the Boussobé are still in charge of the administration of Touba's Great Mosque. When the Shaykh Mbacké Bousso died, in 1946, he was buried in a mausoleum on Guédé Bousso's central square. A mosque, now
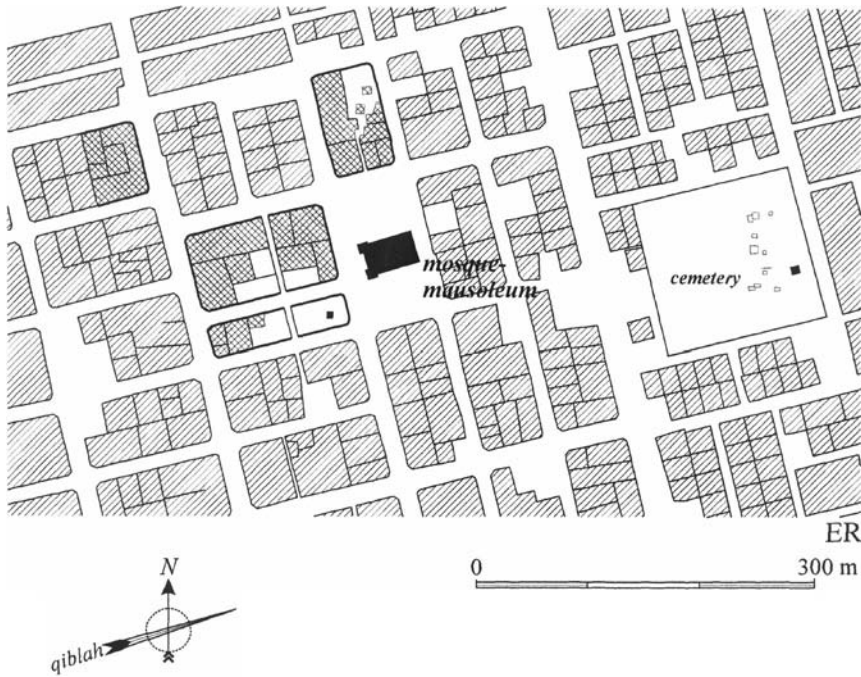
Figure 2.11. Guédé Bousso. Guédé Bousso, named for the famous clerical town in Fouta Toro, was established in 1918 by Shaykh Mbacké Bousso, Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's maternal cousin and brother-in-law. Shaykh Mbacké Bousso was one of the major intellectuals of the early period of the order. His daara in Guédé Bousso became famous for its advanced level of scholarship and instruction. It was integrated into Touba's expanding urban grid in 1974. The large mosque-mausoleum complex where Shaykh Mbacké Bousso is buried, under construction for decades, was very near completion in 2005. Its towering needle-thin twin minarets mark the northern skyline of the city. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

nearing completion (January 2005), incorporates this funeral monument. Other members of the community are buried in the nearby cemetery.

Each of these neighborhoods is configured like a Touba in miniature, centered on a public square (a pénc), with its own lieux de mémoire, the large compounds of the main shaykhs, perhaps a mausoleum next to a little mosque. The principle of the pénc, or central public square, is the dominant design idea at the neighborhood level, at the level of local communities, as well as at the central-city level. A pénc is not just a public square; it is a "stage." It is the object of monumental design, where a community's identity, coherence, and power are *staged*, especially during local màggals organized by specific lineages within the order. Cheikh Guèye calls this the "commercialization" of memory.[111] Just as Touba's central shrine is essential to the identity of the Mouride order as a whole, each neighborhood

pénc is central to the collective or community identity of its ward and to the legitimacy of its commanding lineage; each constitutes a node within the complex web of the city's social fabric. One of the qualities of Touba's overall plan lies in the progressive integration of these "satellite" communities into a unified fabric in a manner that preserves the integrity and originality of the former while strengthening the centrality of the latter.

This design principle can first be discerned in the first phase of Touba's growth as a city, which corresponds to the period 1958–63. While the Mosque was under construction, little else was built in Touba. For decades, the construction site had been surrounded by a number of hamlets and the large compounds of a few of the principal shaykhs, with an overall permanent population of only a few thousand. Domestic architecture, even in the case of the houses of the caliph general and the other great *sëriñs,* was of a makeshift and temporary nature, built of light and perishable material. Sëriñ Falilou, in particular, had ordered that no permanent structure be built in Touba until the Mosque was finished, so that all resources could be allocated to its construction. However, as the Mosque neared completion, he instructed his nephew Cheikh Mbacké[112] to proceed with a general reorganization of the surrounding space. Some areas were cleared to make way for the large public square, and several wide radiating arteries were laid out. When necessary, families were relocated to make way for these spaces.[113] The settlements of Darou Khoudoss, Darou Minam, and Gouye Mbind were also "regularized" at this time. An urban grid of straight streets, mostly aligned like the Mosque toward the qiblah, was superimposed on these existing settlements and the existing pénc at the heart of these early khalwahs were transformed into urban squares. This restructuring is evident in the interior layout of some of the city blocks closest to the Mosque, where some of the old alignments are still evident.

The principles of Touba's urban design were thus established as an "act of will" at a critical juncture in the history of its growth. These principles consisted of the maintenance of public squares (pénc) at the neighborhood scale, a general orientation of the urban fabric along the qiblah axis, a homogenizing grid of straight wide streets, and radiating arteries, which converged on the central shrine complex. The generalization of this plan since then has allowed Touba, as it grows, to absorb and integrate other surrounding villages, transforming them into urban neighborhoods in the process. The pénc, the central public square of any Mouride community, has proven to be one of the most important tools of urbanization, as it has permitted the evolution of these communities from rural to urban.

This is also the period when Sëriñ Falilou revamped the area south of the Mosque, creating Touba Mosquée ward. This ward, contrary to others that are under the jurisdiction of particular lineages, remains under the direct jurisdiction of the caliph general, whoever he may be. Also contrary to the other wards, Touba Mosquée is not centered on its own public square but rather on a large market, called Ocass (after 'Ukâẕ, an annual fair in Arabia mentioned in ḥadîth). Though the Moubaraka Market in Darou Khoudoss is older, Ocass Market, created by Sëriñ Falilou in 1956 on a site that had been "designated" to him for that purpose by his father,[114] played

an important role in positioning Touba at the center of Senegalese commercial and financial life. In the decades following independence, Ocass Market became synonymous with contraband of all types, including fire arms. In 1976, Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad called in the Gendarmerie Nationale for a "clean up" operation. The market building was torn down and a new one built in its place.[115] The new market has continued to grow, expanding into surrounding streets and linking up with Gare Boundaw Market[116] to the east. This commercial area, the most important one in a city now established as Senegal's second commercial hub, has also attracted the post office, the bank branch, and the first administrative office of the rural community (though this office has since moved to a new location in Ndamatou).

The next major "act of will" following the initial reconfiguration of central Touba described above was a master plan for the city devised in 1974 for Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad. This caliph general is remembered today as *le batisseur* (the builder). He is responsible for much of the monumentality of the central shrine complex (described above). He also decisively marked the second phase of Touba's urban expansion. He was the first caliph general to publicly call Mourides to come and settle in the city—a policy pursued by his successors—and he set about creating the requisite infrastructure. At his invitation, the Department of Urban Planning (Service d'Urbanisme) in Diourbel[117] conducted an initial survey of the existing fabric and proposed an action plan for development (*schema directeur d'urbanisme*).[118] It is significant that Ahmadou Ndiaye, Chef de service of Diourbel's Cadastre Department, and Mr. Seck of Diourbel's Urban Planning Department, who were instrumental in conceiving and implementing the 1974 master plan, are both members of the Mouride order.[119] Under this plan, the city quadrupled in population in just 12 years, from under 30,000 in 1976 to over 125,000 in 1988.[120] Vast new housing subdivisions, with house plots of a minimum of five hundred square meters each, ordered along straight wide streets which crossed at right angles, were laid out around the original urban core. Seven powerful new wells were bored at the outskirts of the city, the radial roads were paved, electricity and water distribution networks were generalized, and a new cemetery laid out to the east, along the qiblah axis.[121] By 1989, sixty thousand house plots had been allotted and a ring of outlying daaras: Guédé Bousso, Touba Guédé, Keur Niang, and Darou Marnane had been integrated to the city (figure 2.12).

This first phase of mass allotments in the late 1970s and 1980s created an urban fabric significantly different from that which prevailed in other Senegalese cities and it helped establish Touba's reputation for alternative urban planning. The most important characteristic of the fabric of this period was its very large housing allotments. Touba's standard house lots of 625 square meters contrasted with the 150 square meters or less usually allotted to households in government housing projects elsewhere in Senegal. Through its generous housing policy, the Mouride order gave clear priority to the comfortable accommodation of the kinds of extended families and the diversity of household activities typical of Senegalese urban society. This is especially relevant given the nature of Touba's population, which is in continuous flux. Many of Touba's residents maintain agricultural

activities in their home villages and only live in Touba in the "off" season (November to May). These households will continue to raise chickens, guinea hens, sheep, and goats, not to mention the occasional head of cattle and beast of burden, in their Touba houses. Touba's large plots are meant to accommodate these rural activities which are problematic in Senegal's other cities. The allocation of such large plots means that densities in Touba's residential neighborhoods are currently very low—ranging from twenty-six to forty-two persons per hectare in the older neighborhoods.[122] Buildings typically have only a ground floor and occupy only a small portion—less than one third—of the plots. This means that there is a lot of room for densification in the future. As households grow over generations, the plots can be conveniently subdivided among members while additional floors are added to buildings. Households in Touba will thus be able to expand over generations in the same house and this strengthens the sense of community that characterizes its residential neighborhoods. This is important because of the role Touba plays in the lives of all Mourides, even those who do not live in the city. For urban Mourides based elsewhere in Senegal, a house in Touba is a second home, occupied at specific moments throughout the year (mostly during religious festivals). For extended households and "satellite" families, some of whose members live and work abroad, the house in Touba can serve a variety of functions, as a retirement home for the parents, for example, or as a place to send the younger school-age children for their primary education.[123]

Finally, the generous width of city streets, where even small residential streets are ten to fifteen meters wide, has also distinguished Touba's urban fabric. Much household activity in urban Senegal actually takes place in the street *in front of* the house. This includes housework (laundry, food preparation, cottage industries, child's play), as well as family celebrations ("baptisms," weddings, funerals). The public space of the street is in fact *inhabited* by the households who face it. In working-class neighborhoods elsewhere in Senegal, the narrowness of residential streets constrains these activities. In Touba, the wide streets are especially important during the Grand Màggal when all the houses are packed with visitors. Temporary arbors consisting of tents and awnings are set up in the street in front of houses to accommodate the overflow of houseguests.

Another important feature of Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad's master plan was the encircling boulevard, called the Rocade (figure 2.12). The Rocade consolidated Touba's urban design symbolically, functionally, and politically, and its construction between 1976 and 1980 can serve to illustrate how the spiritual worldview shared by members of the order has guided their acts on the ground. The idea of creating an encircling ring road for the city first came to Ahmadou Ndiaye, the chef de service of the Urban Planning Department in Diourbel, when confronted with the increasing number of people arriving for the Grand Màggal. As it happened, this civil engineer and civil servant is also a member of the Mouride order and he broached the idea to his caliph general.[124] The idea materialized as two distinct roads: an inner, unpaved street thirty meters in width (which does not quite encircle the city) called the Trente-bi, and the outer paved Rocade some seventy meters
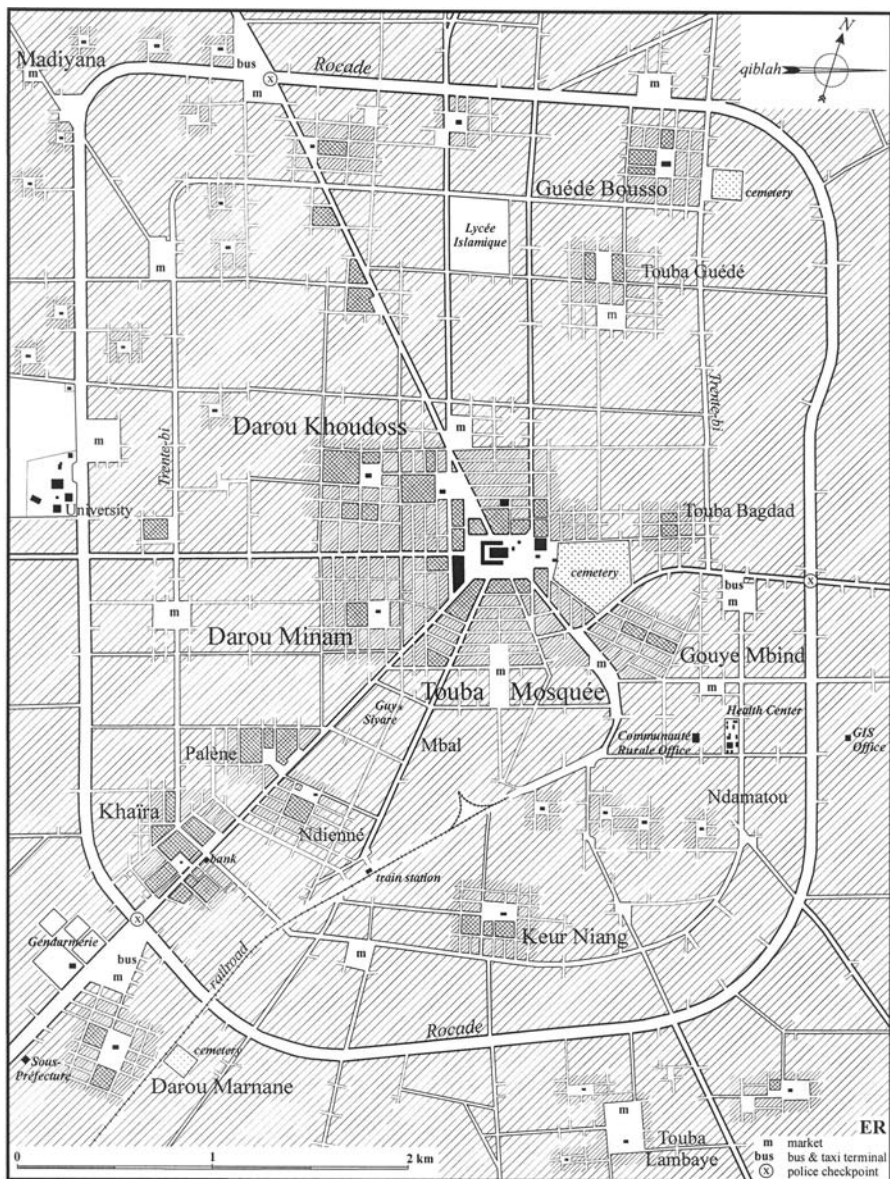
Figure 2.12. Touba within the Rocade. The first stage of Touba's urban growth was consolidated in 1980 with the completion of an encircling boulevard called the Rocade. The Rocade has served to define the holy city, spatially, legally, and spiritually. It has also given the city a distinctive design, that of a khâtim. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

in width lined with a row of trees on each side. The function of facilitating traffic during peak pilgrimage days was clearly at the origin of the intervention—a similar road was built at the time to bypass the town of Mbacké. Yet to this utilitarian function was conjoined a powerful symbolic and political one, that of marking Touba's "enclosure." The Rocade is a clear spatial marker for the city. Though Touba sprawls in all directions beyond this boulevard, the Rocade nonetheless constitutes a spiritual threshold and a politico-juridical limit. It defines the sacred enclosure (al-ḥarîm), the protected zone (*al-ḥurm*) from which "Satan and all his works" are excluded.

Touba is a bastion of the Straight Path of Islam. It is an enclave of the sunnah, a refuge from the temptations of material existence which surround it. Consequently, alcohol, tobacco and other narcotics are forbidden in Touba. So too are the playing of music, partying, dancing, and the playing of games of chance, including Senegal's national lotteries. In effect, all secular and worldly entertainment and pastimes are proscribed in the city. Even politicking and electioneering are proscribed; those of Touba's citizens who wish to exercise their democratic right to vote must do so outside its precinct, in the *sous-préfecture* of Ndame, beyond the Rocade. The Mouride leadership has always striven to maintain the city's purity by monitoring the activities of its inhabitants and by controlling access. Touba's status as a sanctuary is not just a spiritual concept. It has been translated into an ill-defined yet very real political autonomy for the city within Senegal. In 1976, Touba and the rural areas in its vicinity were given the status of "Autonomous Rural Community," which means that the institutions of local civil administration, and the elected "Rural Council," are effectively responsible to the caliph general of the Mourides rather than to the state apparatus (an issue discussed in chapter 3). Yet even before this legal arrangement, the city was effectively under the exclusive control of the order, an arrangement dating back to the French colonial period. Since obtaining autonomous status in 1976, access to the city has been monitored by a "special" brigade of the Gendarmerie Nationale. It is the Gendarmerie that enforces the ban on proscribed substances such as alcohol and tobacco from checkpoints along the Rocade, where the main roads enter the city. This tree-lined boulevard, therefore, effectively marks the recognized limit of Touba's special autonomous status, even though the built-up city extends well beyond it, as do the injunctions against the satanic temptations listed above, and as does the jurisdiction of the "autonomous" rural council, responsible to the caliph general.

The Rocade is also the expression of an even higher symbolic design. It marks Touba out in a dramatic way in the landscape, and on topographical maps (figure 2.13). It has given Touba a clear and distinct form, that of a *mandala*. The mandala figures prominently in the Sufi vocabulary of symbols, where it expresses "unity through multiplicity."[125] Though derived from the Sanskrit word for "circle," the mandala consists of the conjoining of both circle and square. Its value as a symbol arises from this union of contrary principles—or, rather, in the Sufi conception of geometry, the circle and the square are not contrary but complementary forms;
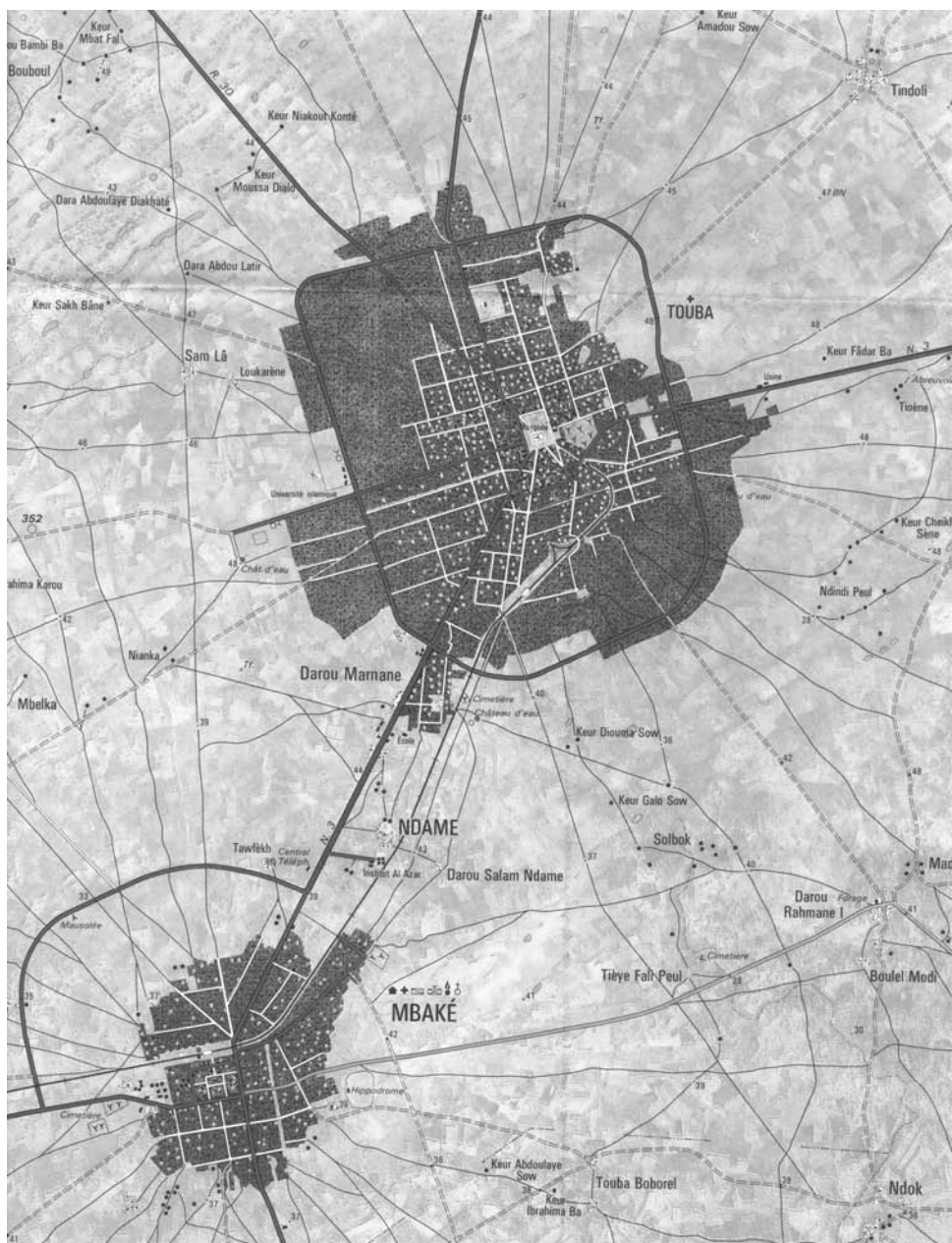
Figure 2.13. Touba in 1986. [Service Géographique National du Sénégal, photocarte 1:50,000 scale, ND-28-XV Kaffrine 3c, 1986.]

each completes the other. According to Ardalan and Bakhtiar: "The square of earth is the base upon which the Intellect acts in order to reintegrate the earthly into the circle of heaven."[126] Cheikh Abdoulaye Dieye, Mouride semiotician and urban planner, expresses this idea as follows. The square implies the idea of "stagnation" or "solidity," or indeed of "stabilization within creation" and it is best represented by the ka'bah, whereas the circle represents the sky. Conjoined, circle and square represent "unity and divine manifestation."[127] This, in essence, is the principle of taw<u>h</u>îd, of the Oneness of God and the multiplicity of His attributes.[128]

Touba's urban mandala design results from the city being laid out as a "concentric grid" (figure 2.14). The square component of the configuration, the grid, is determined by the qiblah axis, the direction of Mecca. It represents the warp and woof of the holy city's temporal mission, the alignment of the particulars of earthly existence onto the sunnah, onto the Straight Path of Islam. On the other hand, Touba's concentric component, represented by radiating arteries and encircling ring roads, marks the holy city as a transcendent place, a qu<u>t</u>b; a place where the material world connects with ultimate reality. It imparts unity and centrality of purpose to the grid of life on earth. The grid alignment to Mecca is a general condition of life on earth. It is horizontal. The circle with its center expresses a vertical, transcendent quality that, moreover, is physically marked by Lamp Fall, Touba's great minaret, which rises to heaven at the center of the plan and which serves as a manifestation of qu<u>t</u>b, or cosmic axiality.

The mandala as an architectural template is evident in the design of many religious buildings throughout the Muslim world, most notably in the design of mausolea where spherical domes often crown cubic tomb chambers. Moreover, according to Ardalan and Bakhtiar, beyond the mandala's intrinsic value as cosmographic symbol, lies its function as *sign*. A mandala signals the presence of a qu<u>t</u>b, of a transcendence of the layers of reality.[129] For example, when worshippers circulate counterclockwise around the cubic structure of the ka'bah in Mecca, or when they form concentric circles of prayer around it, they effectively conjoin circle and square and the ka'bah becomes fully dynamic as an earthly manifestation of a transcendent reality. Finally, in Sufi creations the mandala is used to signal the presence of an archetype; it is the *mark* or *imprint*—the "seal," or khâtim in Arabic—of an archetype. Khâtims (*xaatim* in Wolof, *hatumere* in Pulaar) are common to many West African artistic mediums. Labelle Prussin has studied the uses to which khâtims are put in esoteric Muslim practices; these include the "magic squares" composed of words, letters, and numbers used for divination and as amulets, as well as various templates designed by Sufis to illustrate the proper order of things. Such khâtims can appear on funeral shrouds, in the pages or on the cover of books of piety, embroidered onto clothes, or integrated into architecture.[130] The purpose of the khâtim is to place the user (whatever the particular context) in a proper position with regard to the overarching mechanisms of the emanationist universe, its angelic intellects, and its empowering archetypes. This

qutb of Tūbā

Concentric plan

qiblah to the Ka'bah

Grid plan
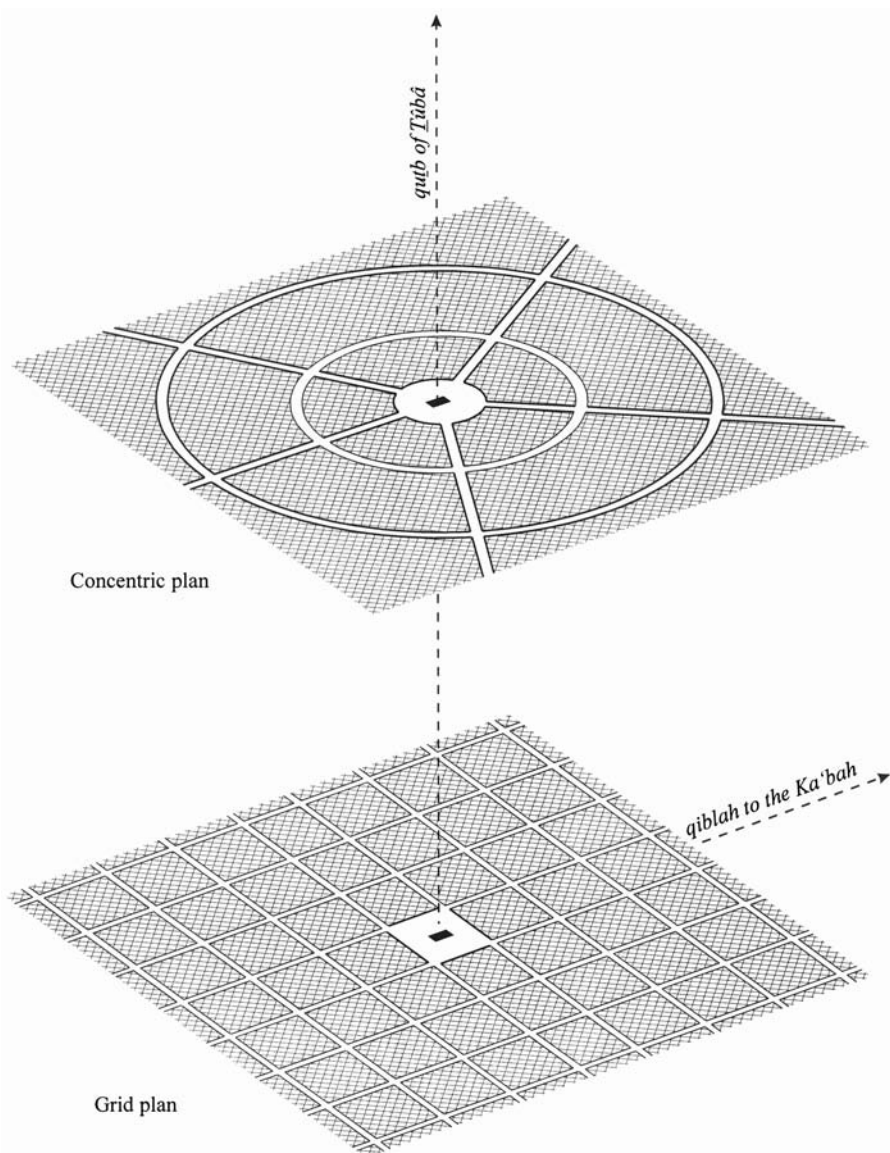
Figure 2.14. Touba's khâtim design. Touba within the Rocade has a distinctive design characterized by the conjoining of elements of the square and the circle. The square element consists of a grid more or less aligned to the qiblah. It signifies Muslim space, where earthbound quotidian acts are aligned along the Straight Path of Islam. The circular element, which consists of radiating avenues and encircling ring roads, adds a vertical dimension to the design. It signifies Touba as qutb, as a place of transcendence where life on earth connects to an overarching cosmological reality represented by the World Tree (see figure 1.1). The centrality of the Great Mosque to this design, and of Lamp Fall as a vertical marker, is evident.
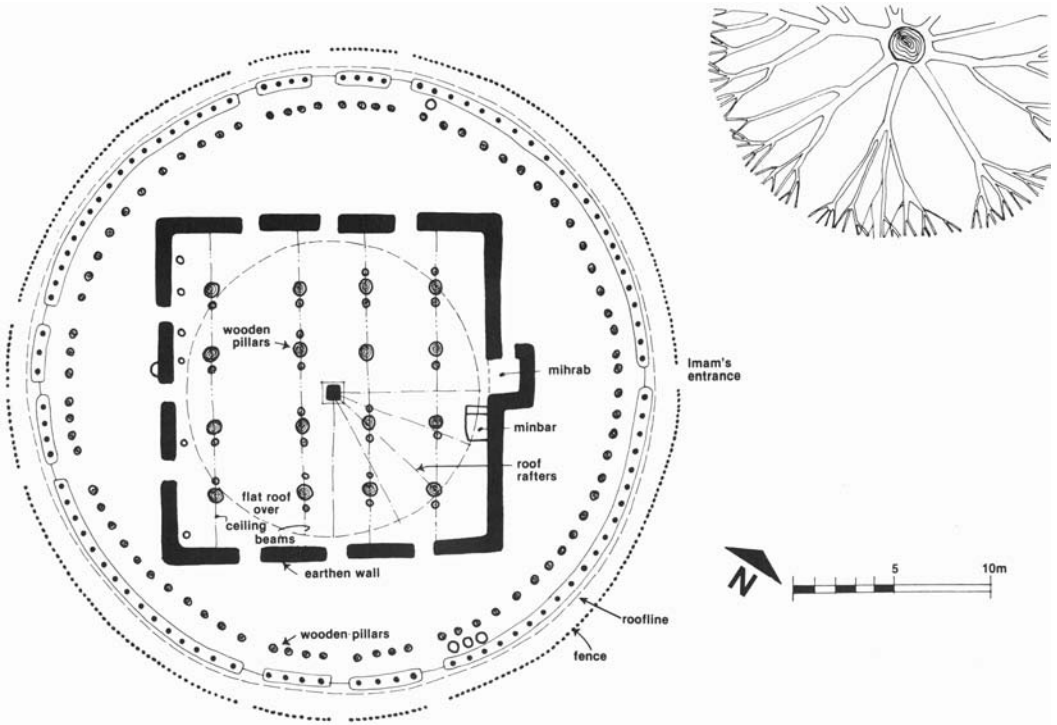
Figure 2.15. Plan of Dingueraye mosque, Fouta Jallon (Guinea). [Labelle Prussin, *Hatumere* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986): 229. Reproduced with permission of the author.]

is accomplished through the numerical and geometrical properties intrinsic to the khâtim, properties which are microcosmic reflections of the macrocosm. A khâtim is thus a diagrammatic expression, with or without writing, of the relationship between levels of reality. Khâtims are power devices. By linking multiple layers of reality, the higher or essential reality is "activated to move on and to have an effect in" the material world.[131]

A khâtim, whatever medium it might be created in, is always a work of *architecture*.[132] It is "built" (tecton in Greek) according to a prior or higher ideal (arkhe).[133] Although khâtims are most often confined to small artifacts such as manuscripts and talismans, there are important instances where khâtims have actually taken architectural form. For example, a khâtim underlies the design of the Great Mosque of Dinguiraye in Fouta Jallon (modern Guinea), built in 1883. Labelle Prussin has demonstrated how this mosque, configured as a square prayer hall surmounted by an all-encompassing conical thatch roof (figure 2.15), conforms to a khâtim template drawn up by the famous Tijânî shaykh Al-Ḥâjj 'Umâr Tall himself circa 1850 and preserved in the *Ta'rîkh Dingueraye*.[134] The use of the
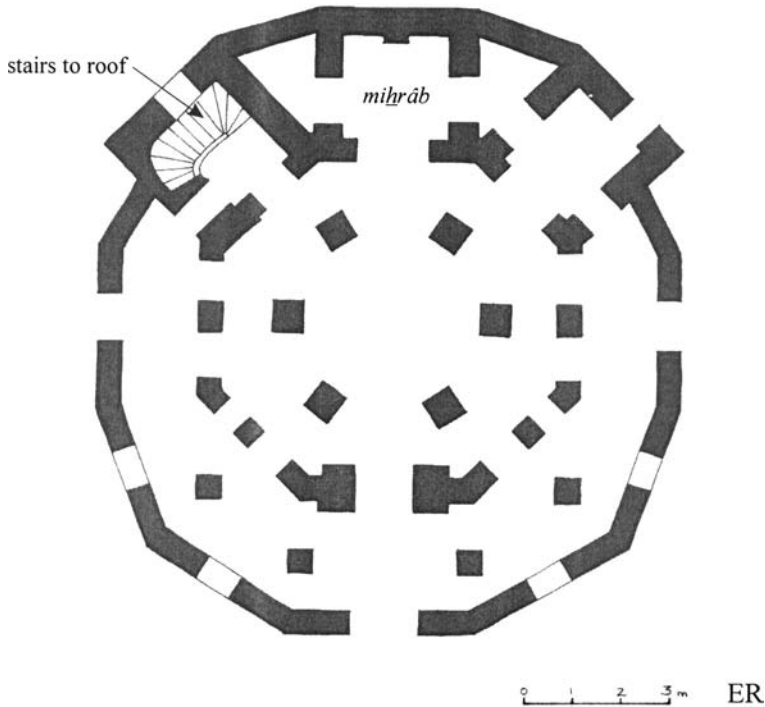
Figure 2.16. Plan of Bogué mosque, Fouta Toro (Mauritania).

khâtim in mosque design appears to be rather common in Pulaar-speaking areas.[135] Jean-Paul Bourdier and Trinh Minh-Ha have drawn the plan of a small Fulbe mosque in Hamdallai, Boundou (Eastern Senegal).[136] Like the mosque in Dinguiraye, though smaller, it consists of a square prayer hall, seven meters across, enclosed within a conical building, seven and a half meters in radius. A different khâtim design characterizes the mosque of Bogué in Fouta Toro (modern Mauritania). This small flat-roofed mosque was built of *banco* (a form of adobe construction) in 1922 on a site formerly occupied by a "large tree."[137] It has a concentric plan consisting of a small six-sided central hall surrounded by an eight-sided gallery, enclosed within a ten-sided perimeter wall (figure 2.16). The Bogué mosque, like the one in Dinguiraye, is affiliated to the Tijâniyyah order. It is no longer used for statutory prayer (a large new concrete mosque built next to it in 1962 serves that purpose) but is still used daily for supererogatory prayer, Koranic recitation, and Sufi *dhikr*.

Shaykhs of the Qâdiriyyah order are also known for using khâtims in their architecture. In the Qâdirî center of Maka Coulibantang (in Senegal's Tambacounda region), established by the Jakhanké shaykh Al-Hâjj Soriba Ibrahim Jabi in 1956, there is a special prayer room which is configured as a khâtim.[138] Ed Van Hoven

calls it the "da'ira hut," where the "circle" (dâ'irah in Arabic) of Sufis congregates every Thursday night for supererogatory prayer. The dâ'irah hut is:

> . . . located at the founder's compound, just in front of the mosque. Its circular form is oriented to the eight compass points, which are represented by the eight pillars that constitute the framework of the wall. The interior of the hut consists of four ascending circles. The congregation sits in the three outer circles, whereas the innermost (and lowest) circle is "hidden" by a mosquito net attached to the straw roof. [. . .] The direction chosen by the congregation depends on the day of the lunar month. [. . .] This is done with the help of a compass calendar in the form of a circle arranged according to the eight directions which corresponds to certain days of the Islamic lunar calendar. The days of the calendar are also marked on each of the eight pillars that constitute the wall of the *da'ira* hut.[139]

While Van Hoven provides a drawing of the circular calendar, he does not provide a plan of the corresponding dâ'irah hut. The author does however tell us that the "inner core" of the calendar is called the qu<u>t</u>b, "pole," "pivot," or "axis." Presumably, this qu<u>t</u>b is also represented by the innermost circle of the hut. It is clear from his description that the physical layout of the building is closely related to notions of time and space and this is essential to the acts performed within it.

Yet another case of an architectural khâtim, much closer to Touba, can be found on the outskirts of Diourbel, where a Mouride shaykh, the late Sëriñ Omar Sy (1913–2004), built a large compound entirely of reeds, sticks, and bundles of straw. This compound, described fully by Roberts and Nooter Roberts, is called "Yaminoullah" (Trust in God, *amîn allâh*).[140] It has been entirely rebuilt on several occasions following acts of arson, and thus is always in the *process* of being built—never finished, always *becoming*. Although no plan of the compound is available for reproduction here,[141] its Sufi architect was quite clear about the relationship between the compound's spatial configuration and its spiritual function as a place of healing. Sëriñ Omar Sy chose to build of reeds because of the reed's archetypal dimension.[142] In the imaginal realm of Sufi understanding, the reed represents the "pen" (*qalam* in Arabic, *calamus* in Latin) used to transcribe God's Word into written form as the Koran. Yaminoullah effectively materializes God's Word in such a way that it can be *inhabited*. Its architect ordered the courtyards, gateways, and chambers in a manner that permits its inhabitants (and visitors) to benefit from God's Grace: "in effecting the layout of his compound, Sëriñ Sy elevated a two-dimensional mystical square into the three-dimensions of a sacred environment."[143] At the heart of the first structure (no longer extant) was a room Sëriñ Omar called the Babou Salam (Bâb al-Salâm or "Gate of Peace"), which he described as a room for healing. The act of inhabiting this khâtim compound is existential. It is intended to affect the spiritual, mental, and physical health of the being.

The use of khâtims as an architectural design template is thus attested in the contemporary Islamic architecture of Senegambia: in Dinguiraye, Hamdallai, Bogué, Maka Coulibantang, and Yaminoullah. Yet in Touba, the diagrammatic khâtim has been applied to the configuration not of a single building or

compound but to that of an entire city. It is the city itself we should recall, and not simply its Mosque, which is intended to be the imprint, *seal*, or projection on earth of the archetypal T̲ûbâ for which it is named and which gives it its essential meaning. Touba's circular urban form is understood by Mourides to be a manifestation of its role as one of God's signs:

> The city of Touba is ordered in a radio-centric manner with regard to the Great Mosque which represents the heart of the city. The center of this circular scheme, *preconceived by the Will of God* [emphasis added], remains the principal religious consideration. [. . .] The Mosque has projected His Will (*a imprimé sa Volonté*) unto the *rocade* which is the principal circular marker.[144]

Touba's khâtim is a three-dimensional design template. The relationship between the Tree of Paradise in the imaginal realm and the lives of believers in the material world, which itself is but one dimension of a greater eschatological program, is articulated vertically, through qut̲b, or transcendence at this place. It is projected horizontally, onto the earth's surface, by the concentric street layout. This design principle first became evident in Cheikh Mbacké's initial urban scheme (1958–63), when a common street grid was established and generalized across the wards and when radiating arteries were laid out from the center. This had the effect of reinforcing the symbolic function of Lamp Fall, Touba's manifest qut̲b, the construction of which was just being completed. It is, however, the construction of the Rocade in the late 1970s that consolidated the khâtim plan, making it explicit both on maps and on the ground, where the sense of "crossing the threshold" is palpable when one reaches the city. Moreover, Mourides are keenly aware of the mystic or metaphysical quality of the Rocade. Cheikh Guèye reports that during his field work in the mid-1990s, one resident expressed the opinion that "Touba will have seven rocades" and that this was predicted by Ahmadou Bamba.[145] A "second *rocade*," though far from circular in form, was in fact decided in 1999 (see below).

Not withstanding the limit marked by the Rocade, Touba continues to grow, in both size and population, at a rapid pace (figure 2.17). In 1993, the current caliph general, Sëriñ Saliou, initiated a new phase of planning. Once again, the Department of Urban Planning in Diourbel was asked to help. A master plan (*plan directeur*) was devised which called for the creation of 105,000 new house lots, of 625 square meters each, grouped in 49 new neighborhoods, able to accommodate 1,000,000 inhabitants.[146] This plan was never formally approved by the caliph general.[147] Instead, Sëriñ Saliou turned to one of his disciples, Ahmadou Fall, who was working as a private land surveyor in Dakar, and asked him to create the new subdivisions. There followed a period of accelerated sprawl as, one after another, large sectors of outlying land were subdivided into plots and allocated to various shaykhs and lineages. This expansion was managed at the political and administrative level by the caliph general's son, Sëriñ Moustapha Saliou Mbacké, one of the most important members of his administration. In June 1996, Sëriñ Moustapha Saliou headed a delegation from Touba

Date	Population	Average annual increase (%)
1912	300	
1945	1,750	5.48
1958	2,127	1.51
1964	4,604	13.73
1970	6,427	5.72
1976 census	29,738	29.07
1988 census	125,127	12.71
2002 census	421,748	9.07

Recent estimates and projections	Touba-Mbacké Conurbation*	Hypothetical average annual increase since 2002 (%)
2002 census	474,898	
2004 (officials estimate)[1]	600,499	12.45
2015 (official projection)[2]	912,927	5.15
2019 (projection of 1994 urban plan)[3]	1300,00	6.10

*includes the rural community of Touba-Mousquée and the municipality of Mbacké

1. Républiqe du Sénégal, Ministére de l'Economie et des Finances, Service Régional de la Prévison et de la Statistique de Diourbel, *Situation économique et sociale de la region de Diourbel en 2004*, August 2005.

2. Républiqe du Sénégal, Ministére de l'Economie et des Finances, Direction de la Prévison et de la Statistique, *Projections de population du Sénégal issues du recensement de 2002*, January 2004.

3. Républiqe du Sénégal, Ministére de l'Equipement, des Transports et du Logement, Direction de l'Urbanisme et de l'Architecture. *Plan directeur d'urbanisme de Touba: etude urbaine*, Dakar: Cabinet d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme du Sénégal, 1993

Figure 2.17. Growth of Touba's population since 1912.

at the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) Habitat II Conference in Istanbul. At the conference, the delegation presented Touba as a "model" of urban planning and a success in terms of African urbanization. It was claimed that housing construction had kept pace with demand, public lighting and storm sewers had been introduced, and the city had no shantytowns.[148]

Two significant events have marked the most recent expansion of the city. First, in 1999, a revised version of the 1993 master plan was again drawn up. Though this plan, like its predecessor, was never formally approved by the caliph general, one of its main proposals was implemented on the ground. This was the "second rocade." Touba's "second rocade" consists of a 120-meter-wide band forming a loosely quadrangular perimeter about 4 to 6 kilometers beyond the first Rocade (figure 2.18). Although there were no plans to pave this strip, creating a second encompassing traffic boulevard, the directive to leave it *non aedificandi* has been respected.[149] This second rocade encloses a number of outlying daaras: Darou

Figure 2.18. The Touba-Mbacké conurbation. Touba's growth beyond the Rocade has been irregular in form. The orientation of the allotments varies from one subdivision to the next. Master plans were proposed in 1994 and again in 1999, but were not implemented. The 1999 master plan called for a "second Rocade," a 120-meter-wide strip that was to encircle the city without, however, including Mbacké, which is a separate municipality. [Based partially on 1:50,000 topographical map ND-28XV Kaffrine 3c (1986) and on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

Rahmane I and II, Same, Touba Bagdad, Tindody, Ndindi Abdou, and Ndame, but it circumvents Darou Salam and the town of Mbacké.

The second major event in recent years occurred in June 2001 when the city of Touba was given a new land deed to replace the one dating from 1930. The new deed, officially promulgated by the state, extends the property of the mosque (effectively the city limits) to nearly thirty thousand hectares, or three hundred square kilometers. These new limits were clearly based on the 1999 rocade as they extend approximately two kilometers beyond it in every direction except that of Mbacké (figure 2.19). Moreover, the limits have been demarcated on the ground by concrete markers[150] and they have taken symbolic form as two monumental gates erected in 2004: one at the southern end of the main highway where it leaves Mbacké, the other to the north, on the Darou Mousty road as it enters Touba. It is the caliph general who is said to have selected the verses of Ahmadou Bamba's *Maṯlab al-Fawzayn* which are inscribed on the gates.[151] Also, as in the case of the first Rocade, the National Gendarmerie has begun setting up new checkpoints on the main roads entering Touba's newly defined perimeter.

As always in Touba, toponymy is an important part of the urbanization process. It is the caliph general who bestows all toponyms, and there have been many in recent decades. For example, Djannatoul Mahwa ward gets its name from the "Garden of Refuge" (Jannat al-Ma'wâ) mentioned in the Koran (53:15) as being close to the Lote-Tree of the Extremity. Djannatoul Naïm (Jannât al-Na'îm, the "Gardens of Comfort") is named for another of the gardens of Paradise mentioned in the Koran (56:89). Darou Tanzil is named for tanzîl, the "sending down" of the Koran from the celestial realm to the material one, which is a fundamental Koranic concept appearing many times, notably at the very beginning of chapters 32, 39, 40, and 41. The names of other new neighborhoods include Touba Madiyana and Boukhatoul Moubaraka. Both these toponyms derive from the Koran, and more specifically from the story of Moses. In the Koran (7:85, 20:12), Madyan (the Midian of the Old Testament) is where God sends Shu'ayb (Jethro, Moses' father-in-law) and it so happens that Touba Madiyana ward was created for Sëriñ Souhaïbou (Shu'ayb) Mbacké. As for Boukhatoul Moubaraka (*al-buq'at al-mubarakah*, 28:30), it is the "blessed spot" of the burning bush where Moses receives God's commandments. This very large neighborhood is subdivided into thirty-six districts, each one of which has also been given a name. Many of these lower-division toponyms are also based on the Koran and some of them convey eschatological notions: Djannatoul Firdawsy (*jannat al-firdaws*, the "Garden of Paradise"), Souboulou Salam (*subul al-salâm*, the "Paths of Peace"). Other toponyms repeat Mouride place names already in use: Housnoul Mahape (husn mâab, the "excellent resting place," original name of Tindody), Darou Salam, Darou Khafor, Aïnou Rahmati, Tawfekh. Yet other places are named for Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's poems: Massalikou Djinane (*masâlik al-jinân*, "Passages to Paradise," one of his most well known qaṣîdahs), Mawahibou Nafihou (*mawâhib al-nâfi'*), and Diazeboul Khouloub (*jadhb al-qulûb*, "Attraction of the Hearts"). Also,
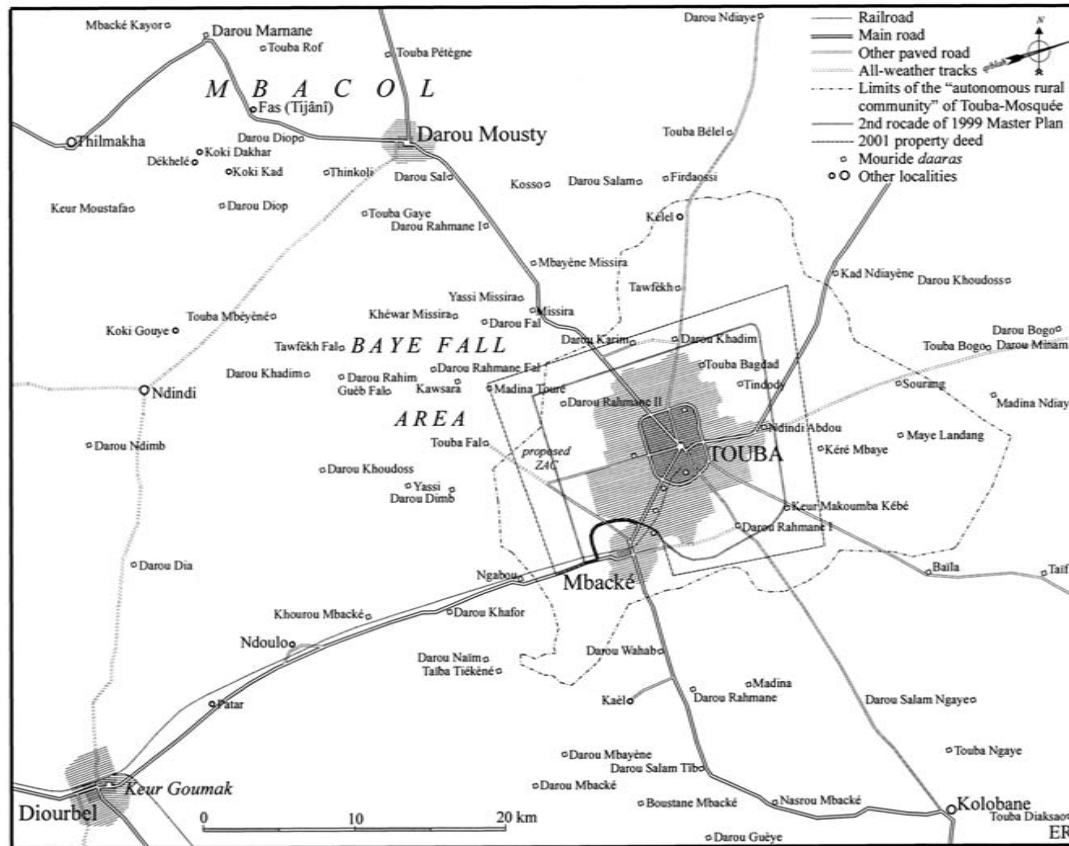
Figure 2.19. Touba and the Mouride heartland. Touba continues to sprawl across the Mouride heartland, an area colonized during the order's foundation years where land is still effectively managed by the Mourides. The limits of the autonomous rural community of Touba Mosquée, created in 1976, extend from ten to twenty kilometers from the Great Mosque but exclude the municipality of Mbacké. In 2001, Touba was given a new land deed that extended about two kilometers beyond the limits of the 1999 master plan. Darou Mousty, the premier urban center of Mbacol, is the "second city" of the Mouride order and Keur Goumak, in Diourbel, constitutes yet a third major Mouride urban center.

the theme of light, illumination, and radiance is recurrent: Madinatoul Mounawara (the "City of Enlightenment") is one of the names of Medina in Arabia. Next to this new suburban subdivision is Nauroul Mounir ("Flowering of Radiance") and Mounawirou Soudaure ("Enlightenment of the Chest" or "of the Heart"). There is also a neighborhood called Oumou Khoura (Umm al-Qurâ, "Mother of Settlements") one of the names of Mecca in Arabia. Several toponyms are prefixed with Taïba (Tayyibah, "delightfully fragrant") another of the names of Medina. Minatoul Ahla (*minnat al-aḥlâ*, "Best Grace"), and Al Makheraussaty (al-maḥrûsah, "The Protected") are also among the new place names.

Throughout Touba's new suburban neighborhoods, large reserves of land have been set aside for future use. Greater Touba will thus be able to accommodate public infrastructure and new projects even though these have not yet been determined. Some of these reserves have been given the designation Kër Sëriñ Touba. The term *Kër Sëriñ Touba* was first used to designate the historic compounds in Darou Marnane and Ndame where Ahmadou Bamba had actually lived. These compounds are important lieux de mémoire, where some of his personal effects are enshrined, and they are visited by pilgrims. In 1978, the term was used, informally, to designate the caliph general's official new residence facing the mosque in central Touba. Since then, the term has been used officially to designate Mouride community centers abroad. For example, there is a Kër Sëriñ Touba in Taverny, in the northern suburbs of Paris, and others in Harlem and Brooklyn, New York,[152] as well as in many of the other cities where Mourides now live. These institutions of the diaspora are important to maintaining religious and community bonds among expatriates, where they serve for meetings, vigils, dhikr recitations, etc. It is the 1993 master plan that called for the generalization of this institution in Touba's new neighborhoods. Twenty-six new neighborhood squares (pénc) were proposed, each one hectare in size, each to be equipped with its own mosque, a large lineage compound (two hectares in area), and a Kër Sëriñ Touba.[153] Contrary to the Kër Sëriñ Touba of the early khalwahs, or to those of the diaspora, these new compounds have yet to be put to any use. Although considerable resources have been allocated to constructing monumental perimeter walls and gates, most of them currently stand completely empty, forms without content. In the one instance where a new Kër Sëriñ Touba has been developed, by Hizbut Tarqiyya in Darou Marnane next to the main entrance to Touba, it consists of a large official "residence" for the caliph general and of a large mosque. What use will be made of this monumental complex is not clear. For Cheikh Guèye, these new Kër Sëriñ Touba represent a "redeployment of the sacred" away from the center toward increasingly distant suburbs which have yet to construct any identities of their own. They may also represent supreme authority, that of the caliph general, in neighborhoods under the jurisdiction of ancillary lineages and local shaykhs.

Monumental new neighborhood mosques are another very recent addition to Touba's landscape. It is the caliph general in the early 2000s who authorized the construction of "hard" mosques throughout the city. Many of the old public squares, such as that of Ndienné, which had no mosque or which had only a

makeshift one, now have beautiful new concrete mosques. During fieldwork in 2004–5 it proved difficult to quantify or map the phenomenon, but it was clearly going on on a massive scale across the city. The field survey conducted in 2003 for Cheikh Guèye's GIS project (discussed below) inventoried a total of 268 mosques in the agglomeration (not counting Mbacké and Darou Salam), including the Great Mosque and six other Friday Mosques.[154] It is believed by at least one of Touba's resident Sufis that the city will have a number of mosques equivalent to the mystical numerical value of the four letters in the word "T̲ûbâ."[155] As with the new Kër Sëriñ Touba, monumentality is a feature of the new mosque construction.

Since obtaining the new land deed from the state, urbanization has accelerated. Mamadou Fall, the caliph general's surveyor, is still (January 2005) the main engineer in the field,[156] and in the absence of an agreed upon master plan, the result has been a decline in the overall quality of urban subdivision over the past fifteen years. Whereas the great allotments of the late 1970s and 1980s were characterized by clarity of design and coherence, recent allotments are confused in comparison. For example, the orientation of the street grid according to the qiblah is no longer universally maintained. Various subdivisions have acquired grid orientations of their own, independently of each other. Moreover, the size of individual plots has been reduced, from a minimum set size of 500 square meters to 400 square meters (or 20 meters by 20 meters, still far larger than the norm for new subdivisions in Dakar for instance, which is 150 square meters), as has the width of residential streets. The nature of grid itself has also changed. The uniform gridiron—almost American in its uniformity—has been abandoned in favor of "groupings" of lots around small squares (*placettes*) (figure 2.20). This "tighter" fabric is said to have been "imported" from Dakar, where Mamadou Fall was practicing.[157] Finally, apart from the seven paved roads that enter the city, no clearly discernable traffic system was provided for the new ring of suburbs. Consequently finding one's way through these neighborhoods is difficult as the allotments provide little sense of direction or orientation. It seems that the lack of an officially recognized and accepted master plan contributed to the incoherence. The caliph general's surveyor has proceeded on a case-by-case basis, respecting the unapproved plans at times, overriding them at others.

In 2003, the caliph general seems to have come to the realization that a more professional and institutionalized system of urban expansion was required. First he called upon a disciple, Mouhamadou Tafsir Guèye, a civil engineer who had been working for the Ministry of Urban Planning and Housing in the cities of Kaolack and Dakar. A special office of the Ministry was set up in Mbacké[158] and Mouhamadou Tafsir Guèye began the arduous task of assembling the "tools of intervention" (*outils d'intervention*) necessary to plan and regulate expansion. This includes trying to obtain the master cadastre of allotments from the surveyor Mamadou Fall and ordering aerial photographs of the agglomeration from the Ministry of Public Works in Dakar, neither of which have yet been accomplished. His first objective is the development of yet another master plan to chart growth over the next twenty-five years, until the year 2029. Pending this, his department

Figure 2.20. Change in type of residential allotments. A fundamental shift in type of allotment occurred in the 1980s. The eastern part of the area mapped here is a section of Darou Khoudoss allotted in the mid 1970s. It is characterized by wide streets and large lots organized as a standard grid. The western part corresponds to a section of Touba Madiyana allotted in the mid 1980s. The grid has become irregular, with a few wide streets and many more short narrow ones. On average, the house lots are also smaller, though small open squares have been provided for residents. Many of these squares have now come to be occupied by small neighborhood mosques. All the new allotments beyond the Rocade are of this type. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

has already launched the call to tender for its first project, a ZAC (*Zone d'Aménagement Concerté*) to the west of the 120-meter second rocade, extending to Touba Fall and Kaossara. The centerpiece of the ZAC, which requires partnership between the public sector and private investors, is to be an international airport,

ostensibly to cater to the needs of pilgrims during the Grand Màggal. There are also 120,000 new housing lots planned for the area.

Concomitantly with the creation of the urban planning office in Mbacké, the caliph general also initiated a GIS-based real-estate management program for the city.[159] In November 2003, he asked three Mouride intellectuals: Cheikh Guèye (a geographer), Mactar Sourang (an economist), and Ibrahima Dia to start building a GIS database for the city. Cheikh Guèye had just had his PhD dissertation on Touba published. The book focused public attention on Touba's urban growth as never before. Guèye was interviewed by major Senegalese media and was received by the president of the Republic.[160] Among the issues raised were health and sanitary conditions in Touba, chaotic taxation, and growing real-estate speculation. In conjunction with STC (Scientific and Technical Corporation, an Arizona-based information technologies provider for healthcare services) the trio created a GIS land management system called SIGGIL.[161] The team purchased the same Quickbird satellite image used in this study (dated 26 January 2003), and obtained the census maps prepared in 2001 in view of the 2002 national census. With these cartographic supports, the team supervised a street-by-street, lot-by-lot, field survey of the urbanized area within the 1999 second rocade. The data was then taken to the Centre de Suivie Ecologique (the government's environmental monitoring agency, which is equipped with the appropriate hardware and software) in Fann, Dakar, where the task of processing began.[162] The first concrete accomplishment of SIGGIL was the numbering of lots, completed in 2004; each lot in Touba now has its GIS reference number posted on its front door. Eventually, the occupant of each lot will receive an official document or "inhabitation permit" (*permis d'habitat*). This will not be a land deed; Touba constitutes a single indivisible property and no subdivisions of this property are recognized. The intention is to monitor impending conflicts over user rights, subdivision of houses due to inheritance, etc., and to have some control over land speculation. Eventually, a fixed "inhabitation tax" will also be implemented and managed by the system. In early 2005, the SIGGIL system left Dakar for Touba, where it was installed in new office space in Ndamatou. During the Grand Màggal in April of that year, it was presented to the caliph general and officially launched.[163]

Although this is not the first use of information technologies for land management in Touba—Cheikh Guèye reports that Sëriñ Cheikh Saye Mbacké, caliph of Madiyana ward, headed a team of technicians and created a computerized land registry for his ward starting in the mid-1990s[164]—the SIGGIL system is the first complete urban management GIS in Senegal, ahead even of Dakar. It is important to note that the initiative came from within the Mouride order, from its supreme authority in fact, and that it was created by members of the order, by Mouride technicians, engineers, and intellectuals.

It is too soon to tell how effective SIGGIL will be as a management tool. This will largely depend on how well it is integrated to the caliph general's new administrative tool, the Department of Urban Planning in Mbacké. It is the order as an institution, under the authority of the caliph general, which promotes Touba's

growth. Yet this institution is not a corporation or a rational machine with a single mind and, paradoxically, the same caliph general is currently implementing urban expansion through at least three different means: his personal surveyor who is a disciple, the Department of Urban Planning in Mbacké, which is headed by another of his disciples, and the SIGGIL system that he initiated. Moreover, the three organs maintain no relations with each other.

On the ground, urbanization is also promoted and enacted locally by individual shaykhs or lineages. The usual process of allotment involves the caliph general *giving* sectors of land to various shaykhs and lineage caliphs. The notion of "gift" is important since all of Touba belongs to Sëriñ Touba, represented by the caliph general. The gift of land in Ahmadou Bamba's city is a great source of legitimacy for those who receive it. Some of these shaykhs may already have jurisdiction over existing wards or neighborhoods. In which case, they may delegate one of their disciples to represent them and manage the new suburban neighborhood. They may themselves move to the new neighborhood, finding room there for their growing family and entourage—though they will never abandon their old neighborhood, especially as it is closer to the center of Touba, which is the source of legitimacy and prestige. In other cases, sectors of land are allocated by the caliph general to new shaykhs, those who do not already possess a neighborhood of their own. This is especially the case of grandsons and great grandsons of the founder. These are the up-and-coming cadres of the Mouride order who are seeking topographic recognition.

Once they have been given allotments, the shaykhs are responsible for creating the necessary infrastructure in their sectors. They must arrange for the distribution of water and electricity, preconditions for settlement. In some cases, they also help establish the matrix of streets, allotments, public squares, and land reserves, in conjunction with the surveyor. Once housing allotments have been surveyed on the ground, they are distributed to individuals, usually the disciples of the shaykh or members of his lineage. These lots too are *gifts*, often received in compensation for many years devoted service. People who receive such lots are under an obligation to start building. A lot left undeveloped will eventually revert to the shaykh. A shaykh will often launch effective construction of a neighborhood by beginning construction of its mosque. This very public act of inhabitation serves as a signal to his clientele. Individual households will begin the process of construction as best they can given their resources. Typically, the first act of inhabitation will consist of the erection of a perimeter wall around the lot. This must be a "hard" wall, built of cement blocks reinforced with steel-girded imposts—a wattle fence lacks the permanence to establish unequivocal rights of occupancy and needs to be replaced with a "hard" wall as soon as possible. Houses will then be built within the perimeter according to means and need. In rare cases, if the household disposes of income from abroad or is otherwise wealthy, a large, sometimes ostentatious, house can rise from a lot very rapidly. In most cases, however, the construction process takes many years and constitutes a lifetime's achievement. Most of Touba's new residents have moved there from villages.[165] The rural-urban

migration is an extended process as people may still spend each growing season working in their fields and then come to Touba after the harvest. In many cases, the rural architecture also "migrates." People will build parts of houses, such as wattle walls and even entire roofs with frames and thatch covering, in their villages, with the traditional rural materials, and then transport these prefabricated pieces to Touba.

Some of the areas currently being absorbed into the city, such as Touba Bagdad, Tindody, Ndindi Abdou, Ndame, and Darou Rahmane I and II, are old daaras with strong community identities and established local leadership. In these cases, the central squares (pénc) of these former villages are being transformed into the public squares of new urban neighborhoods, in accordance with the urban enlargement practice initiated in 1958–63 and further implemented in Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad's allotments of the 1970s. In many other areas, however, no daara exists. These are the areas where the laying out of public squares ex nihilo and the construction of new Kër Sëriñ Toubas and mosques is most crucial to the configuration of the emerging cityscape.

The densest urbanization has occurred in the southwest quadrant, along the main road to Mbacké (figure 2.21). Between the Rocade and the Mbacké bypass, this road constitutes a divided highway. It is the oldest thoroughfare of the agglomeration, already evident on the 1908 map (figure 2.2). The railroad (built 1929–31) runs parallel to it and connects four historically important settlements between Mbacké and Touba: Darou Salam, Ndame, Al Azhar, and Darou Marnane. These first khalwahs and daaras have great symbolic value and continue to develop as religious and spiritual subcenters within the Mouride agglomeration. Most of Touba's most important secular institutions have been built along the divided highway. These include the offices of the sous-prefecture for the administrative arrondissement of Ndame, the headquarters of the "special" brigade of the Gendarmerie Nationale, the Civil Protection agency (fire station and ambulance), and Sonatel (the national phone company). Major commercial establishments, such as industrial bakeries, gas stations, and travel agencies, fill in most of the remaining space, creating a "strip" development. Since 2001, the Mbacké bypass forms Touba's administrative limit (the town of Mbacké with Darou Salam lies outside this limit). It too has attracted major development, such as Senelec (the state owned electric company), a heliport (of use mostly to the president of Senegal when he comes to Touba) and the headquarters of Matlaboul Fawzayni, an important international association of Mouride disciples and expatriates, built next to where the bypass connects to the Diourbel road, west of Mbacké.

The expansion of the city westward has been almost as rapid and sustained in recent decades (figure 2.22). The process began when new neighborhoods were established "behind" Darou Khoudoss by Caliph General Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad for his brothers Sëriñ Souhaïbou and Sëriñ Saliou. As younger sons of Ahmadou Bamba, they had not received neighborhoods during the first period of Touba's settlement in the 1930s. Sëriñ Souhaïbou received Madiyana ward in 1978 and
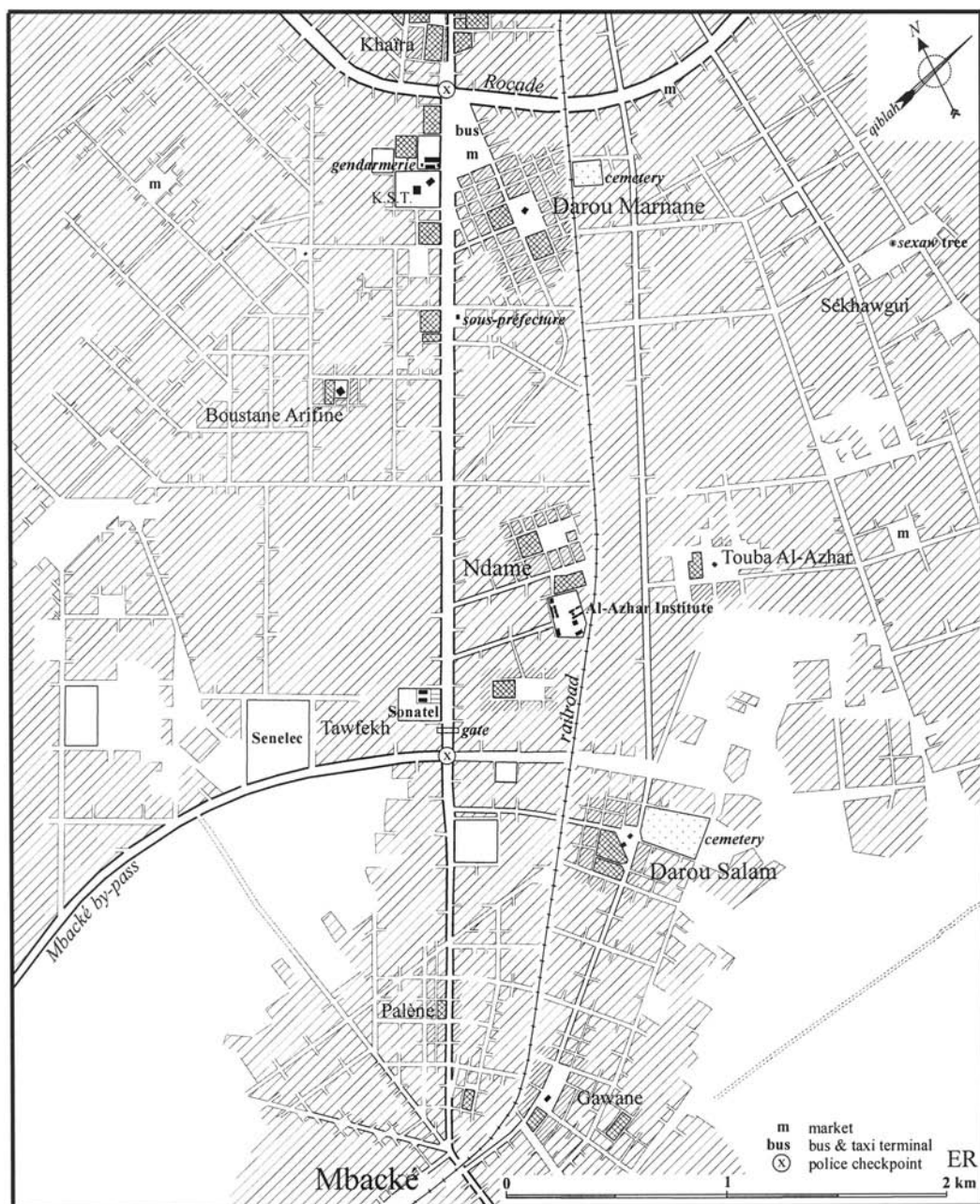
Figure 2.21. Southern suburbs. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]
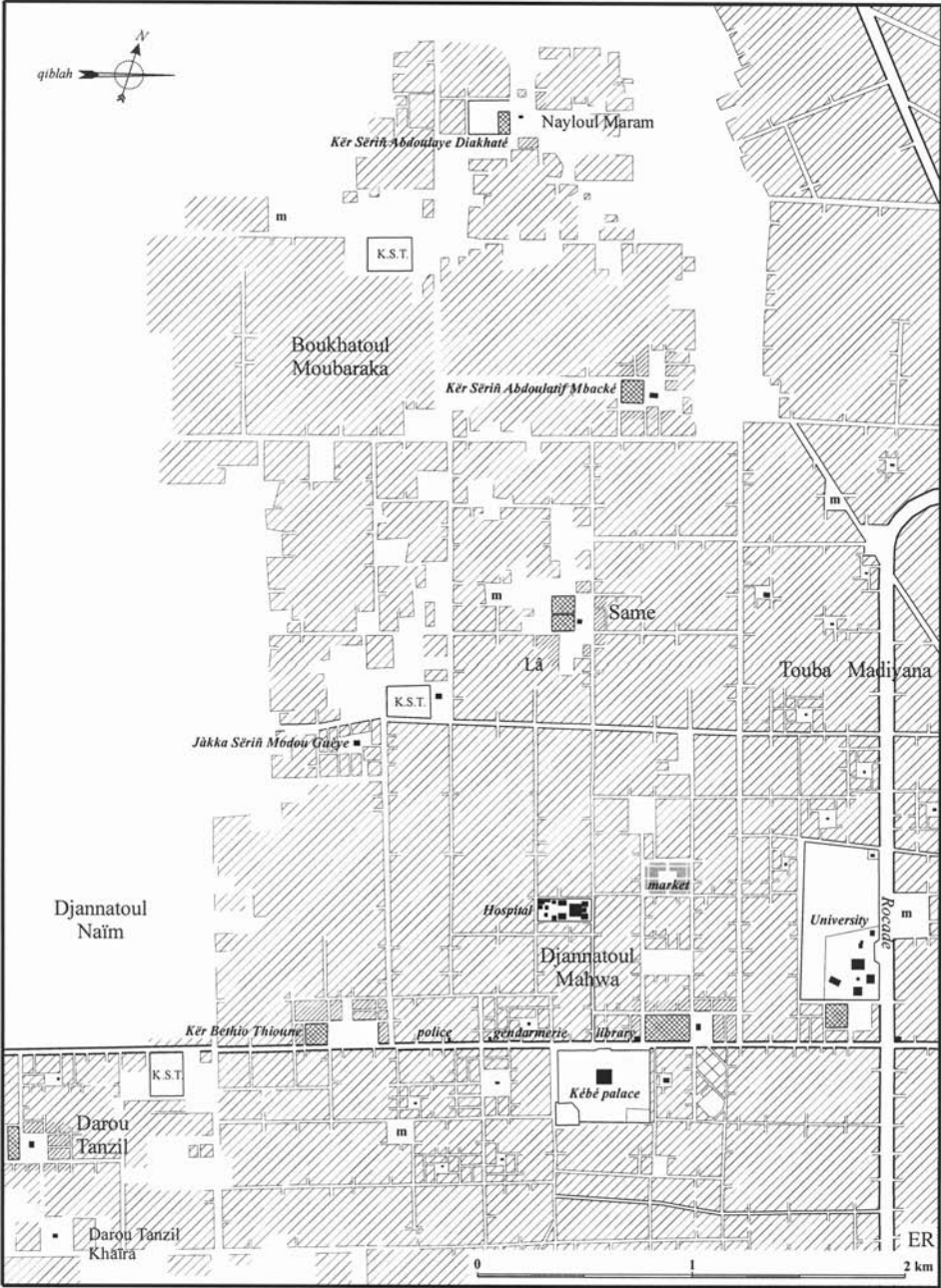
Figure 2.22. Djannatoul Mahwa and the west end. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

Sëriñ Saliou received Djanatoul Mahwa in 1981.[166] The area was slated for presti-
gious development from the beginning, being chosen to house Touba's Islamic
university.[167] Also, Ndiouga Kébé, one of the wealthiest men in Senegal who made
very public displays of his affiliation to the Mouride order, began building his mas-
sive "palace" there in the early 1980s. Since his death, the hulk of the unfinished
palace has continued to tower over Touba's western outskirts as a reminder of the
fleetingness of existence in the material world. According to the chef de village at
the time, it is only after piped drinking water was made available in 1991 that
urban development in Djannatoul Mahwa really got underway.[168] Sëriñ
Saliou's large compound on the pénc was built in 1995, and the mosque which
faces it followed two years later in 1997. Under the caliphate of Sëriñ Saliou,
Djannatoul Mahwa has become an important ward, attracting new institutions
such as Sëriñ Saliou's library (2004) and new infrastructure such as the Matlaboul
Fawzaini Hospital (not yet operational) and a large market (nearing completion
in 2005). In certain respects, it can be called the city's "West End."[169] The most
important members of the caliph general's entourage, such as the Diakhaté (his
relatives on the maternal side) and Shaykh Bethio Thioune (former president of
the rural community, his pénc is the largest in the city) have established them-
selves there. Also indicative of the importance of Djannatoul Mahwa is the estab-
lishment there of a police station and an office of the gendarmerie. Like Darou
Marnane, Djannatoul Mahwa lies outside of the Rocade, which is still considered
as marking the limit of Touba's special juridical status. The local police coverage
has been deemed necessary by the caliph general to ensure the security of what
has become one of the city's wealthiest neighborhoods.

   Touba's westward growth has been so important that Djannatoul Mahwa has
become centrally located with regard to other, newer neighborhoods: Darou
Tanzil, Djannatoul Naïm, and Boukhatoul Moubaraka. Should it see the light of
day, the proposed ZAC with its international airport on the western outskirts of the
city will only reinforce this trend. Darou Tanzil and Darou Naïm were first allotted
to the west of Djannatoul Mahwa in 1993. Darou Tanzil was given to Sëriñ
Moustapha Abdoul Aziz Mbacké, a grandson of Sëriñ Bara. Both piped water and
electricity were introduced in 1995, at which point the shaykh moved into his large
new compound. Since his death in 1998, the ward has passed to his son Sëriñ Aziz
Moustapha Mbacké, who started construction on its mosque in 2000.[170] The ward
has absorbed an older settlement, now called Darou Tanzil Khaïra and contains a
Kër Sëriñ Touba (marked K.S.T. on figure 2.22) built in 1996. Development of
Djannatoul Naïm, north of the main road, has been slower, perhaps because of the
absence of a major shaykh to promote it. Part of the allotted sector was given to the
caliph of the Baye Fall, who, in 2000, built a Kër Shaykh Ibra Fall—the Baye Fall
equivalent to the Kër Sëriñ Touba of other Mouride neighborhoods.

   Development of Boukhatoul Moubaraka, on the other hand, has been pro-
ceeding by leaps and bounds. The ward covers a very large area north of
Djannatoul Mahwa and includes a number of older settlements such as Same
(established by Sëriñ Mame More Diarra Mbacké, one of Ahmadou Bamba's uterine

brothers ca. 1882)[171] and Darou Rahmane II (founded in 1934 by Sëriñ Ahmadou Ba Sylla, a shaykh of Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha),[172] which have their own pénc. There are also a number of smaller pénc dispersed throughout the area, such as Nayloul Maram (established by Sëriñ Abdoullaye Diakhaté in 1974) and the pénc of Sëriñ Abdelatif Mbacké, a son of Mame More Diarra. Both of these were already in existence in the 1980s as they figure as isolated homesteads on the 1986 topographical map of Touba (figure 2.13) as "Dara Abdoulaye Diakhaté" and "Dara Abdou Latif," respectively. The first new allotments in Boukhatoul Moubaraka were surveyed by Mamadou Fall in 1996. While Saliou Dieng, the chef de village, claims that 27,512 lots have been surveyed, he admits that a local census conducted in July 2004 found only 30,389 inhabitants.[173] Eventually, the ward is to consist of thirty-six distinct sectors, or subneighborhoods. This is clearly an urban frontier zone. Many of the lots have yet to be fenced in, the first step toward inhabitation. Moreover, though six new Kër Sëriñ Touba have been built in Boukhatoul Moubaraka and others are planned, this "mega" neighborhood lacks a clear center with a major public square or civic nucleus of its own. It appears that this new ward, with its thirty-six subdistricts superimposed on the older settlements, may be a temporary measure. It remains under the jurisdiction of the caliph general, rather than of any particular lineage. Once this northwestern suburb has been settled, it may well be broken up into smaller administrative entities.

In many respects, expansion on the southeastern outskirts of Touba represents contrary currents of urbanization. These are among the poorest of the city's neighborhoods. No powerful shaykhs live there and there are no "palaces" or libraries, universities or hospitals. Apart from Darou Rahmane I (established by Sëriñ Abdoullahi Mbacké in the 1940s) at its southeastern extremity, the area has no clear identity of its own. It is administratively subdivided between the wards of Touba Mosquée, Darou Marnane, and Ndame Al Azhar, whose centers lie elsewhere. Local popular tradition has attempted to create an identity in Sékhawgui neighborhood, where it is claimed that Ahmadou Bamba used a *sexaw* tree (*Combretum micranthum*) as a khalwah.[174] The tree, which stood in a large open square, has been cut down and the lieu de mémoire is now marked by a tiny makeshift mosque. It nonetheless gave its name, informally, to the neighborhood, which started as a shantytown in the early 1990s.[175] Lambaye neighborhood, just beyond the Rocade, houses a large livestock market. A slaughterhouse and meat packing plant are planned on the Khelcom road.[176] Khelcom, fifty-five kilometers southeast of Touba, is the order's vast new agricultural estate. The new paved road, opened in 2003, was partially financed by the People's Republic of China through its international cooperation agency.

Recent urban expansion east and north of Touba has been characterized by a number of land-consuming institutions and has been structured by well established daaras. Touba's new cemetery, intended to relieve the pressure on the central one, was laid out east of the Rocade, directly along the qiblah axis, in the 1980s. An ice factory and a peanut oil plant were later built along the Jolof road, creating a neighborhood known simply as "Usine." North of the Rocade, in Touba
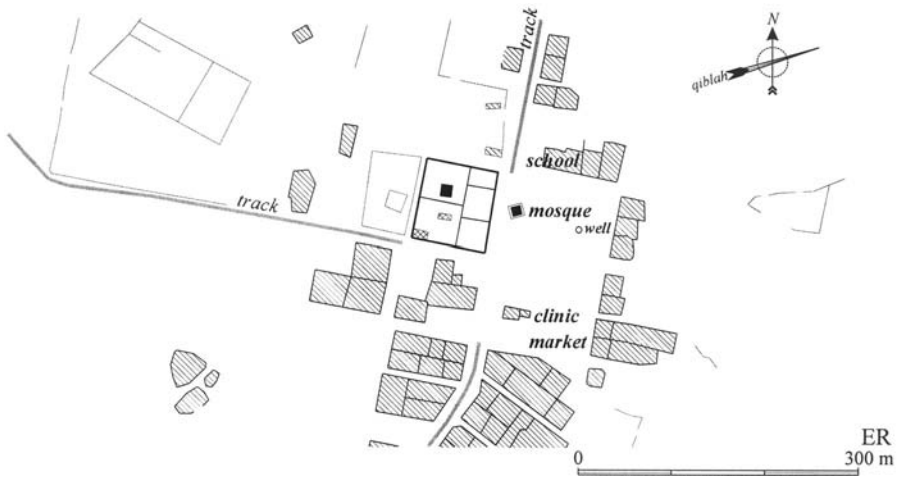
Figure 2.23. Tindoli. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

Massar neighborhood, is the headquarters of Hizbut Tarqiyyah, the influential cultural and educational association formerly known as the Dahira des étudiants mourides. Hizbut Tarqiyyah moved to the new center in Massar in 1995 and started broadcasting Radio Touba (95.6 FM) from there in 2004. Beyond these institutions, urbanization is coalescing around five formerly rural daaras between three to five kilometers distant from the Rocade. The daara of Ndindi Abdou was established cicra 1913–14 by Sëriñ Falilou, on instructions received from his father, near a pond called Ndindi. His son, Sëriñ Abdou Fatah, still has authority over it. Until 1993, it remained a rural daara, characterized by a communal well and a makeshift mosque on the public square. In that year, piped water was introduced, the communal well was closed, and construction began on a "solid" mosque. The village nucleus was surrounded by new urban allotments in 1998.[177]

Tindody (or Tindoli, originally called Housnoul Mahabine), like Ndindi Abdou, was founded on the instructions of Ahmadou Bamba (figure 2.23). Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha began clearing the brush "all the way from the *Guy Texe*" in 1912. A communal well was dug in 1913. A solid mosque was not built until the mid-1980s. New allotments were surveyed in 1998 and the pénc was enlarged, receiving a community clinic and a primary school.[178]

Touba Baghdad (figure 2.24) was established in 1969 by Sëriñ Abdou Khadre Mbacké, who was imam of Touba's Great Mosque and would later become fourth caliph general (1989–90). The daara was named for Baghdad, in Iraq, home to the Qâdiriyyah order, founded by 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jaylânî (d. 1166), Sëriñ Abdou Khadre's namesake. Touba Bagdad's founder was able to have water piped in immediately upon creating the daara and he was keen to develop orchards there. First allotments beyond the pénc and shaykh's compound were surveyed in 1984, and a second expansion occurred in 1996, with new lots and a market place.[179]
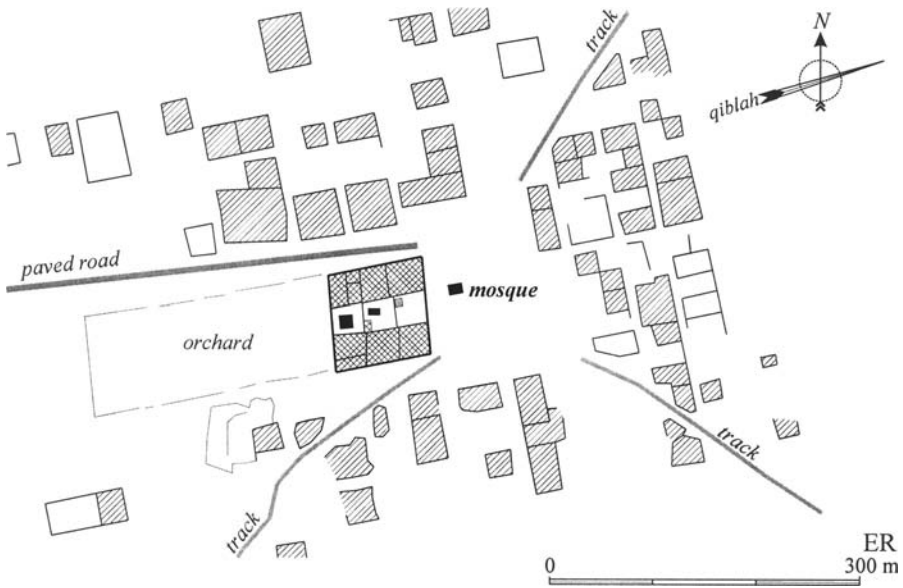
Figure 2.24. Touba Bagdad. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

Darou Khadim was established in 1914, on the instructions of Ahmadou Bamba, by Sëriñ Massamba Kani Bousso (d. 1935), a brother of Sëriñ Mbacké Bousso. Until 1994, the daara did not have a well; water had to be trucked in from Touba. Consequently, little development occurred. In 1994, the daara was equipped with a well and a motor pump. Darou Khadim lies beyond the 1999 second rocade. It was only included within Touba in 2001, with the new land deed. Urbanization got underway in 2004, when the caliph general's surveyor, Mamadou Fall, created three hundred lots. Construction has begun on a mosque. A medical dispensary, a primary school, and a market are also scheduled.[180]

Like Darou Khadim, Darou Karim (figure 2.25) lies beyond the second rocade and thus has only recently been touched by Touba's urban sprawl. Darou Karim was founded circa 1913–14 by Sëriñ Massamba Mbacké, Ahmadou Bamba's youngest brother. Sëriñ Massamba was one of his closest disciples. He is remembered today for the diligence with which he copied Ahmadou Bamba's works and is called the shaykh's "calligrapher." The pénc of Darou Karim contains a lieu de mémoire related to this tradition. It consists of an ngigis tree (Piliostigma reticulatum) beneath which Sëriñ Massamba is said to have sat to copy his brother's qasî-dahs. Since the extension of Touba's land deed in 2001, the urbanization process has gotten under way. Each hivernage (or summer agricultural season) has brought new development: piped water arrived in 2002, electricity in 2003, and the first surveyed residential allotments in 2004. It has also been connected to the paved Touba-Darou Mousty road by a graded dirt road.[181]
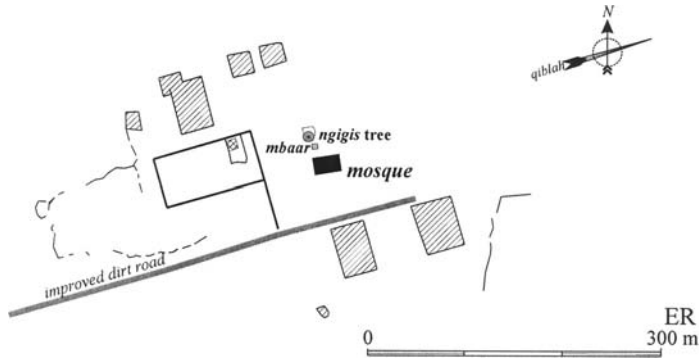
Figure 2.25. Darou Karim. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

Touba is a Sufi city to the extent that Sufi thought and Sufi institutions have been responsible for its foundation, construction, and continued growth. The circumstances of its foundation, of its selection by God, and of its being revealed to Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké in a transcendent moment of illumination are Sufi in character. Touba is also a Sufi city in that Sufi concepts have played, and continue to play, a significant role in its design. The city is named for the Tree of Paradise and eschatological concepts have largely inspired its toponymy. Key elements of the city's topography, such as the minaret called Lamp Fall and the "Baobab of Bliss," which used to stand in the cemetery, are also related to eschatology. Moreover, the overall configuration of the city's street plan constitutes a khâtim, serving to imprint the Sufi archetype onto the canvas of the earth.

As regards the urban process, Touba is the collective creation of the Mouride order. Touba started out as a social project inscribed within a metaphysical worldview. Ahmadou Bamba aimed to bring believers to the Straight Path of Islam and this project was conceived of in terms of a multidimensional reality where matter is informed by higher Truth. It is Ahmadou Bamba who called this project Ṭûbâ and it is he who is credited with having ordered the space, physically and figuratively, and with having given directives, explicit and hidden, about how Touba "should be." This is his legacy, the "design idea" he bequeathed to his successors. Those who act on his behalf share this ideal. As it has developed, Touba's design has continually being informed by this common understanding of what Touba "is" and how it "should be."

However, Touba is not an "ideal city" in the European tradition. Ideal cities are technocratic devises, planned and implemented by *illuminati* to order society according to a philosophical ideal.[182] Such cities were first proposed by philosophers, namely by Plato in *The Republic*, Saint Augustine in *The City of God*, and Al-Farâbî in *The Virtuous City*, and they served as literary metaphors for ideal societies. During the Renaissance, architects, artists, and engineers began designing ideal

cities. It was thought that perfect societies could be engineered on the ground with the right planning. For the most part, however, these designs reflected the claims of emerging absolutism. With the Enlightenment and then the Industrial Revolution, social reformers such as Claude Nicolas Ledoux, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen designed ideal cities to promote alternative, utopian social projects. This culminated in modern times with Ebenezer Howard's proposals in *To-Morrow, a Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. Ideal cities tend to be *utopic*, divorced from any particular place. Few such cities have ever actually built. Those that have been, such as Palmanova, laid out by the Venetian Republic as a military camp in 1593, tend to be stillborn.[183] They suffer from an excess of "acts of will," leaving no room for "acts of inhabitation." Inflexible, the perfect geometry of their predetermined design is the antithesis of urban *process*, of *becoming*. Moreover, while ideal cities attempt to conform to an objective *idea* of the perfect society or polity, configured as a city in the imaginal realm, this is not the case of Touba. Touba's urban form does not conform to a preconceived idea of the form a Sufi (or an Islamic) city should take. The ideal society Touba aims to promote is not figured as a city in the malakût. It is figured as a tree, as the World Tree.

A multiplicity of actors, individuals, lineages, and institutions, working with a more or less coherent set of principles, has contributed to Touba's construction. The crucial decisions in the city's configuration, the major "acts of will," have been taken by the caliph generals and their closest associates. Other agents within the order fill in the interstices of the plan. While, during the colonial period, French architects and civil engineers were involved in construction of the mosque, these contractors were following the design specifications of their client. Since independence, Mouride civil engineers, architects, and planners, many of them government civil servants, have worked to build the city. Yet, there is no contradiction between the spiritual worldview that underwrites the plan and the modern methods and materials deployed to implement it. A consensus among these agents, based partly on their personal commitment to Ahmadou Bamba and partly on a shared desire to see the founder's project take form, explains the great coherence of Touba's design. Yet, while it is unique in many regards, not least in its size and universalistic claim, it is not alone. It is the most accomplished of a constellation of Sufi cities, great and small, which has marked Senegal's topography for centuries.

The following are selected excerpts from Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's *Matlab al-Fawzayn*, believed to have been written shortly after his discovery of Touba:

> O You who are elevated above wife and child
> Settle me and settle all the people of this land
> O God, make Ṭûbâ my home for ever (vv. 111–13)

> Make my edifice one exempt from evil
> Which draws pure blessings
> Make my edifice an edifice of knowledge

or acts according to the *sunnah* and discernment.
Make my edifice a rightly guided edifice (vv. 127–31)

Preserve my home from debauchery
Bestow blessings upon its people with flowing water
Make it, Lord, immediate blessings
That will occasion deferred blessings (vv. 143–46)

Many treasures lie in this land
Sustain it and protect it from misery
Fix in it a straightened community (vv. 153–55)

And my home, make it a blessed home
Induce me along an open and ascetic course
I call upon You to make it an abode of piety
Of science and religion, an abode of ascension
A garden in the path of the aspirant
A garden of disclosure for the one who strives
A benefit to all well-guided Muslims
A rebuttal to all recidivist criminals
Proof for those who are clothed in weakness
Evidence against those who contradict tomorrow
A pursuit of obedience to the Beneficent
A refuge from obedience to the lapidated one
A course to paths of compliance
A forswearing of paths of innovation
A home attracting all the best
A home repelling all harm
An occasion for disclosing the best of what is hidden
An occasion for repelling the most injurious of deficiencies
Be satisfied with it. Make it a land of subsistence and security
Of compassion and unlimited hospitality (vv. 383–402)

Let down Your veil as an eternal shelter
Upon me along with my kin, o Everlasting
Strike the pavilions of Your protection upon
My abode and all of those who are registered in it
Let them all enter into Your hidden concealment (vv. 421–25)

Make my home an abode of forgiveness
Of sound, acknowledged and sanctioned conduct

An abode of sincere devotion, truth and piety
An abode of the *sunnah* and preserved from innovation

Make it indefatigably the home of education
The locus for thought and understanding
The home of guidance and instruction
The home of rectification and comprehension
Make it a home exempted from inequity
Through light. Spare it from all those who would do wrong
Make it indefatigably a place of observance
Of the *sunnah*, not a place of innovation
Make it, o Lord, a desired place
In Your world which You own and will extinguish
Guard my abode against deprivations
Against depravities and temporal futility
Purify it of both infection and plague
Render its drink and food agreeable
Make our sanctuary an inviolable place
Its preservation is sufficiently guaranteed
Obtain for it the best part of
The six direction and protect it from harm
Protect me from Satan, o Sublime One
And my home and all who have not deviated
O God, o Defender, o Possessor of authority (vv. 431–55)

3

MARABOUT REPUBLICS THEN AND NOW

AUTONOMOUS MUSLIM TOWNS IN SENEGAL

Touba has not emerged in the Senegalese landscape alone. It is the largest and most spectacular node in a network of Sufi towns and centers, and it marks the leading edge of a long and dynamic process of Muslim urban practices in that country. Moreover, Senegal has a long-established practice of autonomous Muslim towns. The aim of this third chapter is to situate Touba within this broader context and to argue that Senegal's modern network of Sufi towns represents an alternative form of urbanization, one based on the initiatives of civil society rather than on those of the state.

Several issues will be raised in turn. First, what constitutes a city? Historically, Senegambia is not recognized as an urban region, or else urbanization is seen as mostly a foreign, European, and colonial phenomenon. How can the history of Islamic institutions in Senegambia be placed in an urban perspective? Second, how can a Sufi institution like the ṭarîqah contribute to urbanization and to the emergence of urban networks in particular? Third, what is the significance of the autonomous status, *de facto* and *de jure*, of several of Senegal's contemporary Sufi cities? Can this form of governance be explained from the historical precedence?

What Is a City?

Touba is by far the largest and most dynamic of Senegal's modern Sufi cities. With about 500,000 inhabitants, Touba-Mbacké is the country's second largest urban agglomeration—after Dakar (estimated population 2,476,400 in 2003). Yet the capital of the Mouride order hardly figures at all on maps of Senegal. In an apparent

117

paradox, Touba is usually marked as a tiny place, whereas many smaller towns are given greater cartographic representation. This discrepancy is partly due to Touba's newness. Until about 1970, Touba was effectively a tiny place in terms of population and area. Yet even recent maps of Senegal, such as the official road map, for instance, which in every other respect is continuously revised and updated, show Touba as an insignificant place, much smaller than neighboring Mbacké or even Ndame. The reason for this is that the official maps are faithful reflections of the legal status of central places. These places descend in hierarchic importance from capitals of regions (such as Diourbel) to chef-lieux of *départements* (Mbacké) and arrondissements (Ndame), down to the seats of communautés rurales (Touba Mosquée) culminating at the lowest level with simple villages. Only in the first two cases, the capitals of regions and departments, do the central places necessarily have municipal status. They are called *communes*. Virtually all other places, even those with well over ten thousand inhabitants, are legally defined as "villages," have rural status, and are administratively grouped into "rural communities." Touba, as we have seen, is not legally constituted as a municipality. It is a "rural community," albeit an "autonomous" one and, therefore, is hardly discernable on national maps. The rural bias of Senegal's local authorities can be in part explained by the financial advantages that accrue to villages, or, rather, by the *disadvantages* incumbent on municipal budgets.[1] Places may feel no compunction, therefore, to have themselves incorporated as municipalities if their village status provides them with more advantageous access to public funds.

However, beyond the problem of the legal definition of urban places lies the problem of their functional definition within the social sciences. What is a city, and more specifically, what constitutes a city in an African context? Even though a few areas of sub-Saharan Africa, such as the Niger River bend, the Yoruba and Hausa regions, the Nile Valley, the Ethiopian Plateau, and the Swahili Coast have a recognized history of precolonial urbanization, this is not the case of Senegambia. A domestic tradition of urbanization seems to be absent from Senegambian historiography. The islet-towns of Saint Louis and Gorée are European in origin and Eurafrican in culture,[2] while the various trading *factories*, the coastal *comptoirs* and river *escales*, are not usually qualified as "towns" in the literature. With regard to the interior of the country, which consisted of kingdoms (such as Walo, Jolof, Kayor, Baol, Sine, Saloum, etc.) and Islamic "imamates" (Boundou, Fouta Toro), the primary sources of Africanist literature, the oral chronicles and traveler's accounts, tend to designate all settlements as "villages," rarely as "towns." Only the earliest texts, the eleventh- and twelfth-century Arabic geographies (Al-Bakrî and Al-Idrisî) mention "cities"—Takrûr, Sanghânâ, Sillâ, Qâlânbû, Barîsâ—for the most part located on the Senegal River bank. However, not only do these texts make little distinction between a *town* and a *country* or a *state*, these supposed towns are not mentioned in local oral traditions and have not been located in the archaeological field. One must wonder then if these early "cities" are not the cartographic misconceptions of poorly informed Arab

geographers.[3] Prior to the intervention of Europeans, it would seem, Senegambian culture and society were entirely rural in nature. Undoubtedly, it was a settled land, yet without cities.

Without wanting to rewrite history, the "problem" of the absence of urbanity in precolonial Senegambia may be rooted in semantics. What is a city and how can one be recognized in the landscape, in historical text or in oral tradition? Independently of the term's origins in the Latin language and in Roman and Medieval practice, most current definitions of the city are based on sociological criterion; a city is a type of social organization that usually involves a degree of complexity and hierarchy. Two definitions proposed in 1938 are illustrative of this approach: for L. Wirth, a city is "a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogenous individuals"; for Lewis Mumford, it is a "point of maximum concentration for the power and culture of a community."[4] To these sociological criteria is added a quantitative variable, cities are *larger* in population than other types of settlements, though there has never been a consensus on *how* large a place must be to qualify as a city. Finally, beyond these analytical categories lie a number of assumptions related to *form*. A place needs to *look* like a city in order to qualify as one.

It is the architectural form of historic settlements in precolonial Senegambia, rather than their sociology or their size, which lies at the core of the "problem" of the lack of urbanity there. The architecture of the precolonial period was characterized by use of perishable building materials (adobe, pisé, reeds, wattle, etc.). With few exceptions, it was neither permanent nor "monumental" according to the prevailing European understanding of that time, based on the use of "hard" materials such as baked brick, stone, and tile. Moreover, precolonial towns tended to be much more spatially diffused, with lower population densities and more open space in relation to built-up surface than was the case of urban settlements further north, in the Mediterranean region and Europe. Many towns were multi-nucleated, consisting of a number of neighborhoods separated by fields and open space. Agriculture was often an important activity in settlements, regardless of other functions, and this must have contributed to their "rural" aspect. Also, typically, sub-Saharan towns (with the exception of those regions mentioned above) tended to be small in size and population, perhaps five thousand to ten thousand inhabitants.[5] To Western European travelers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, all Senegambian settlements appeared to be "villages," regardless of their sociological functions or importance. In their wake came nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colonial administrators, imbued with the prejudices of their class and era, who routinely called all native settlements "villages" and all houses "huts" (*cases* in French). It may be then that the lack of cities in these sources reflects an aesthetic appreciation of settlement form, rather than the sociological reality on the ground. Many of the "villages" described in historical accounts had urban functions. This was certainly the case of the royal capitals and other princely seats of power. This was also the case of the centers of Islamic education described below. These places qualify as towns or cities first because of the

tertiary activities (social, political, economic, and/or religious) which they housed and, second, because of the relations they maintained with other towns and cities, which distinguished them from morphologically similar settlements without such relations. Villages, in opposition to cities, might be characterized by primary or secondary activities such as agricultural, pastoralism, fishing, or smelting, but also by their comparatively limited links to other places. Towns, on the other hand, thrive on their links with other towns. There is no definite threshold between a *village* and a *town*; these categories are indispensable tools but the reality they attempt to circumscribe is far messier.

Beyond issues of morphology, which relate to the form of settlements in the landscape, an important qualifier to urban status is provided by the concept of *network*. Even though a village might exist in an isolated state,[6] living in autarky entirely on local resources, no city can do so. Cities always exist in the plural, within an *urban network*. Their tertiary activities are built on exchange, not only with an immediate agricultural hinterland, basis of Walter Christaller's *central place* theory, but also with other cities. These exchanges are both material (trade in goods) and immaterial (exchange of ideas, of services, relations of power). The resulting networks of exchange are more or less hierarchic, more or less extensive. Networks create cities at least as much as cities create networks. No city has ever existed in isolation. Peter Taylor calls this the "second nature" of cities; "it is the 'second nature' of cities to be connected to one another,"[7] their first nature being their internal goings on. Intercity connections are not ancillary, they are the raison d'être of cities. "There is no such thing as a single city operating on its own; cities come in packs. . . ."[8] This "network" conception of the city has come to the fore of urban studies in recent decades largely because of the process called globalization. As the sovereignty that territorial states, or nation-states, have historically exercised over their "national" territories continues to erode in the face of liberalized global markets, it is becoming increasingly apparent that capital accumulation is structured by a worldwide network of interconnected cities.[9] The wealth of a city is no longer extracted from its agricultural hinterland, or from the regional hierarchy of market towns under its influence, or even from its insertion within a national market. It is now apparent that the economy of a city lays in its links with other cities often quite distant from it geographically, hence the concept of *global urban networks* or *world city network* in the singular. As economic geography models abandon *territorial* and *central place* models in favor of *links* and *flows*, cities have been conceptualized as "nodes" of exchange within a worldwide network.[10] Though obviously all nodes in the network are not equally important, the quality or importance of a node has more to do with its *connectivity* than with any intrinsic hierarchy.

An urban network is not a *structure*. It is fixed neither in time nor in its spatial configuration. Networks are produced and continuously recreated by a variety of human and nonhuman agents and actors through "a multiplicity of different materials (e.g., machines, money, documents, texts, mobile technologies) that are enrolled and mobilized to form the very relations and connections of the

heterogeneous activities that make up the network."[11] Just as Habraken's multiplicity of ordinary *acts of inhabitation* is largely responsible for the form a city takes, so too is the multiplicity of everyday acts of exchange responsible for the momentary configuration of city networks. What is proposed here is to view Senegambian history through this *agency-oriented* perspective to highlight the role of a variety of Muslim agents in the urbanization process. These agents include clerical lineages, individual Sufis, and entire orders, which are themselves made up of a multiplicity of individuals, lineages, and associations.

Ancien Régime Marabout Republics

Islam has been a historical factor of change in Senegambia for about one thousand years. In that time, the people of the area have moved from being overwhelmingly rural and religiously traditional to being increasingly urban and majority Muslim. A variety of Islamic institutions and agents have contributed to both processes. Two crucial institutions in particular have fostered urban networks of one sort or another: the clerical lineages of the early modern period (seventeenth to nineteenth centuries) and the Sufi orders that emerged in the late nineteenth century and which are among the most important institutions of civil society in Senegal today.

A network of identifiably Muslim towns first emerged in the Western Sudan in the seventeenth century. These towns were created by clerical lineages. Muslim clerics (sëriñ in Wolof, *ceerno* in Pulaar, *karamoxo* in Mandinka) were virtually the only literate group at that time.[12] Literacy and religious scholarship distinguished them as a group and determined their social and political functions. For example, they served in royal courts as diplomats and judges, even though the structures of these states were traditionally African rather than Islamic. They were involved in both local and international trade, where they had privileged access to Muslim traders from many horizons—hence the Dyula/Wangara and Hausa trading diasporas.[13] They also rendered "magical" service to other segments of the population, and particularly to the warriors (ceddo in Wolof, *gelwaar* in Mandinka and Serer) who, though they were often openly hostile to Islam, nonetheless considered Muslim charms and talismans to be efficacious weapons in combat. Though Muslims constituted a minority of the population in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, clerics were an important elite group, commanding loyal followings of students and clients and having privileged access to other important social groups: rulers, warriors, and traders.

In exchange for services rendered to these groups, the clerics were able to negotiate a measure of autonomy for themselves. They could, for example, obtain land grants (*lew* in Wolof)[14] from rulers on which they settled with their families and their students, where they taught the Islamic sciences, and where they could lead a good Muslim life somewhat separate from the un-Islamic practices of the societies in which they saw themselves embedded. These clerical establishments

served primarily religious functions; they were centers of Islamic education. Students from many different countries would come to the school of a reputed cleric to acquire a religious education. After their studies, these students might return to their homes as imâms or *faqîhs*, or they might set up schools of their own. In either case, they were likely to maintain strong links with their *alma mater*. Moreover, these links were often sealed through matrimony as students would wed their masters' daughters and then send their sons back to their masters' schools to study. Hence, over a period of several centuries, an integrated network of Muslim establishments was created across West Africa.

The creation of these Muslim towns was also a response, in part, to the insecurity and exaction brought on by the slave raiding and trading that characterized the period. The reigning insecurity, where states either victimized their neighbors or victimized their own populations, led many communities and segments of society to seek security in new forms of organization, each according to its means and resources. Muslim clerics, who commanded a certain number of key resources, including all-important manpower in the form of student labor, succeeded in setting up strong autonomous communities. The autonomy of clerical towns was manifest in such things as exemption from state taxes and inviolability during armed conflict:

> The *sëriñ fakk-taal* [teacher-clerics] were masters in their villages and in their compounds. They paid no taxes on their lands, even though these were only given to them on a temporary basis. Upon their deaths their successors, usually the senior male of the family, would be elected by the community they ruled. As long as they did not intervene in the affairs of the country and did not foment religious agitation, the *buur* [landholding nobles] and local chiefs would ignore them. However, as soon as they overstepped these bounds, they were subjected to merciless repression.[15]

Clerical settlements could also constitute sanctuaries for fugitives from justice and, as far as possible, Islamic law, or *sharî'ah*, rather than local customary law, was applied in internal affairs.

A number of such clerical towns played important roles in precolonial Senegalese history (figure 3.1). Pire and Koki were the most famous establishments of this sort. Both were founded by clerics who had close relations with the kings of Kayor and, together, they dominated Muslim intellectual life throughout the eighteenth century. The clerical center of Ndogal, in Baol, may also have been attracting students as early as the seventeenth century.[16] Pire, in Saniokhor, was founded by Khâli (qâdî) Amar Fall, also known as Hammat Fall, a member of the royal family of Kayor. Khâli Amar Fall founded Pire following a mystic practice known as *istikhârah*, where, through prayer, he asked for divine guidance in choosing a location for his school.[17] The king of Kayor is reported to have granted him the land for his scholarly establishment on the condition that "he not interfere in other matters,"[18] meaning the political affairs of Kayor. Pire flourished as a center of Islamic studies and attracted many students who later went on to political careers. These
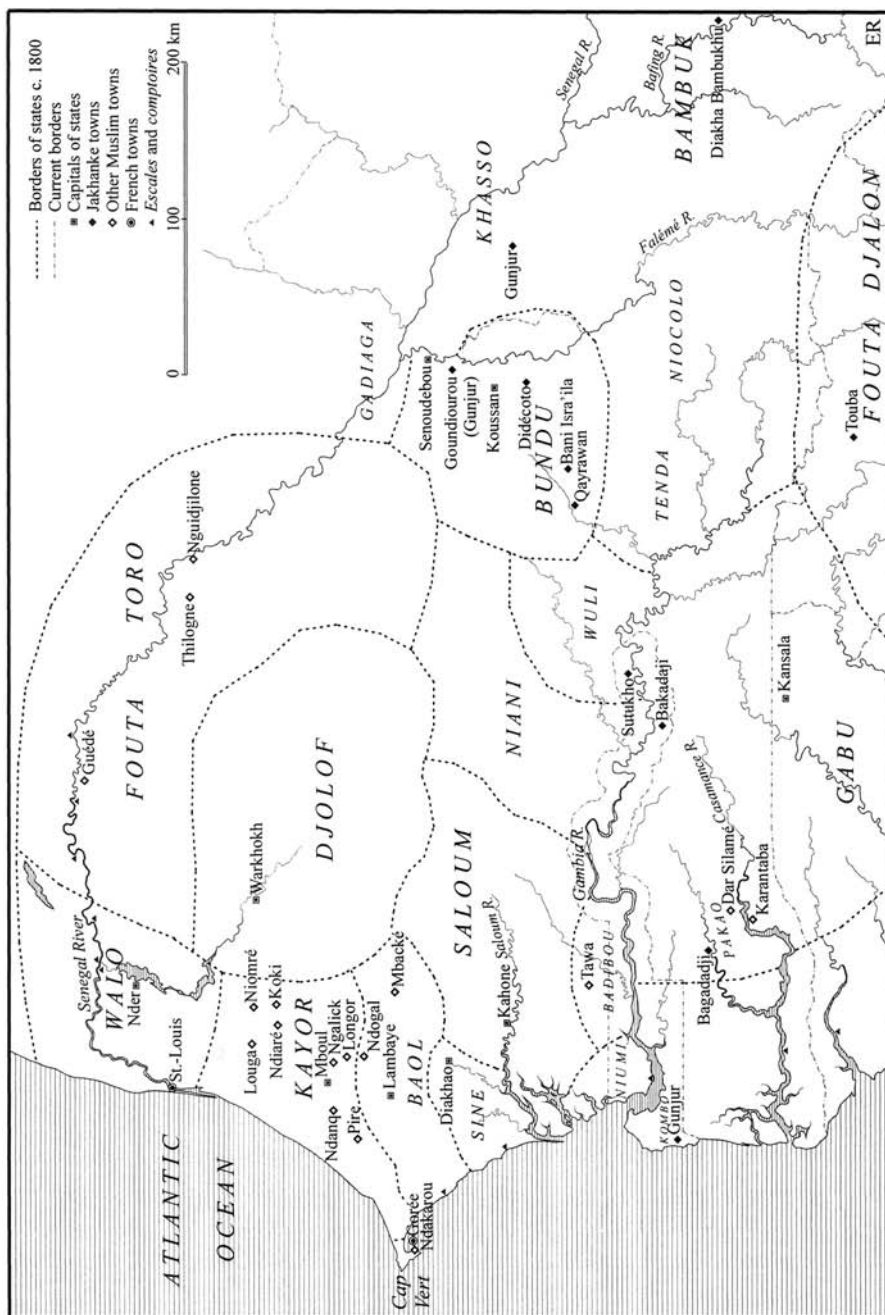
Figure 3.1. Muslim towns in precolonial Senegambia.

included Malik Sy, the founder of the Islamic state of Bundu in 1699, and Abdoul Kader Kane who led the clerical revolution in Futa Toro in 1776. Many of Pire's other graduates went on to establish clerical centers of their own. These centers include Niomré (or Njumré) in Ndiambour, founded by Matar Naar Lô in the eighteenth century; Longor (or Longhor), founded by Sëriñ More Mbaye in the early nineteenth century; and Tawa, in Badibou (Rip), founded by Ndiogou Bâ, Maba Diakhou's father.[19] Longor is remembered for having been the school where both Maba Diakhou and then later Lat Dior had studied as youths.[20]

Another major clerical center was Koki, in Ndiambour, founded by Mukhtar Ndoumbé Diop during the reign of Maïssa Demba Wajj (1719–48). Koki was so active as a center of learning that "branch" schools: Koki-Ndimb, Koki-Mbep, Koki-Kad, Koki-Dakhar, and Koki-Gouye (each designated according the types of trees which grew in the area) were created in the province of Mbacol.[21] In the late eighteenth century, Sëriñ Koki Masamba Diop and Sëriñ Malamine Sarr contracted an alliance with the new Islamic leadership in Fouta Toro. A bitter civil war resulted in Kayor (1793–96) which culminated in the defeat of the Muslim party. Sëriñ Masamba Diop and other members of his entourage were obliged to seek refuge in Kayor's Cape Verde peninsula where they established a new autonomous town, Ndakarou.[22] Ndakarou remained an independent Muslim polity until the French occupied it in 1857 and started building their city of Dakar on the site.

This civil war also led to the founding of Mbacké in Baol. Around the year 1796, Mame Marame, Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's great-grandfather, received a land grant in eastern Baol from Amari Ngoné, king of both Kayor and Baol, in exchange for services rendered at court:

> In a poem written in Wolof, Sëriñ Moussa Kâ sheds light on the circumstances of this event. After the assassination of Maharam Mbacké's colleague Sëriñ Malamine Sarr, in 1795, the marabouts banded together to avenge the death. They were decisively defeated by the king's army. Maharam [Mame Marame] did not participate in the war ignited by the marabouts because, in his judgment, it did not qualify as a holy war but was rather a settlement of scores. He went to see the king and asked him to free the marabouts he had captured and restore their properties to them. The king agreed and honored Maharam by giving him a land concession where Mbacké was built.[23]

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Mbacké was an important center of Islamic scholarship. It maintained close ties with other clerical establishments, and principally with Koki in Ndiambour and its branches in Mbacol. For instance, Momar Anta Saly Mbacké, Mame Marame's grandson and Ahmadou Bamba's father, was sent to Koki for instruction as a youth and it is there that he met Mor Muhammad Bousso,[24] whose sister, Mame Diarra, he eventually married. He later left Koki for a clerical center called Bamba, in the Saloum, where he studied under Sëriñ Muhammad Sall. When Ahmadou Bamba was born, the infant was given the name of his father's master's school.

Not all clerical establishments became centers of learning. Some clerics, known as the *sëriñ lamb*, became closely attached to the court and had essentially political,

administrative, and even military functions.[25] A good example of this type of cleric is the Khouma lineage of Ngalick:

> Originally from Walo, this family settled in Kayor [. . .]. Immediately, the first representative of the lineage became very friendly with the king of that time, who settled him in Ngalick and placed him under his protection. As a result of this situation, the sëriñ of Ngalick enriched himself and placed himself exclusively in the service of the court. He would only "work" for members of the royal family. He would bless the king at sunset and at sunrise and he had financial relations with the queen-mother, custodian of crown properties.[26]

Like the sëriñ fakk-taal, the sëriñ lamb too received land grants. For example, Shaykh Bounama Kounta, an Arab cleric from the Sahara who became attached to the court of Kayor during the reign of Birima Fatma Thioub (1809–32), was given a lew at Ndanq (also spelled Ndankh and Ndanke Nar), near Nguiguis where the court was in residence at the time.[27] In these cases, the clerical estates were not exempt from taxation. Nor were they politically autonomous. On the death of the sëriñ, it was the king, rather than the clerical family, who would designate a new lord. The estates of the sëriñ lamb, those of Sëriñ Louga and Sëriñ Ngalick, for instance, were agricultural and perhaps commercial settlements, but they did not become centers of religious study. They were organized like the estates of any of the other courtiers and warrior chiefs.

Virtually all the centers of Islamic scholarship, on the other hand, had some form of special autonomous status. They were exempt from taxation, governed independently of the state, and were considered inviolable sanctuaries so long as they did not "interfere in the country's affairs."[28] Pire, for example, remained "inviolate in war" from its foundation until the French captured the place and burned it in 1869.[29] As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, contemporary French observers began designating these autonomous Muslim towns as "marabout republics."[30] This use of the term "republic" demands some elucidation. Prior to the French Revolution, this term was used to designate any non-monarchic polity. The most famous republic in Europe at that time was Venice, a city-state ruled by an oligarchy of nobles. This ancien régime usage of the term survived well into the nineteenth century, when Ndakarou, the autonomous clerical polity of the Cape Verde Peninsula, was called the "Lebou Republic" by the French. Similarly, a French explorer in the Casamance in 1855 wrote, "each [Muslim] village forms a sort of republic, governed by an imam, directing religion, and by a chief in charge of dispensing justice."[31]

The autonomy of clerical towns was an established feature of governance in West Africa by the time Senegabian clerics began establishing their towns. In the fourteenth century, the clerical town of Diaba, for instance, was off limits even to the *mansa* of Mali. It was a "city of God, an asylum for fugitives."[32] So too was this the case of Diakha, an important clerical town visited by Ibn Battûta in 1352.[33] According to Al-Ka'tî's seventeenth century *Ta'rîkh al-Fattâsh*, Diakha was under the direct political jurisdiction of its qâḏî (or judge). It served as sanctuary for any who

sought refuge in it.[34] This may also have been the case in Ndiaré, one of Kayor's clerical towns.[35] The autonomous status of Diakha (Zâgha, or Dia), in Masina, on the Middle Niger, is especially important to subsequent history because this is the original home of the Jakhanke clerics, and it is the Jakhanke who institutionalized the autonomous status of their network of towns throughout a much wider region. The term Jakhanke designates a Sarakhole professional group, an order of Muslim clerics who originally hailed from the town of Diakha; Jakhanke (or Jaxanke, also Diakhanké in French sources) means "people of Diakha." Over the space of many centuries, the Jakhanke dispersed in successive migrations across much of the Western Sudan. Lamin Sanneh has provided a definitive historical account of the Jakhanke clerical tradition based largely on internal written and oral sources.[36] According to Sanneh's account, the dispersion of Jakhanke clerics followed a cyclical pattern. Typically, clerics would arrive in a new country. They would offer their services to the court and to other elite segments of society. In exchange for these services, the clerics would obtain permission to establish autonomous communities where they could teach and conduct other activities independently of the state. Eventually, through wars, civil strife, or economic decline, the autonomy or viability of a given Jakhanke community would be jeopardized, and the clerics would move on to some other place where they had influential connections and could start the cycle over again. In this way, Sanneh has been able to chart the Jakhanke dispersion from one autonomous Muslim town to another over several centuries.

Sometime in the twelfth or early thirteenth century, clerics from Diakha emigrated from Masina to Bambukhu, where they established a new Diakha (Diakha-Bambukhu) and, later, the town of Gunjur. Later still, due to civil strife in Bambukhu in the late seventeenth century, Jakhanke clerics emigrated to the neighboring state of Bundu, then under a clerical regime, where they established towns such as Bani Isra'ila, Didécoto, and Gunjur (Goundiourou).[37] Later still, in 1822, Jakhanke clerics establish the town of Touba, in the Imamate of Futa Jallon, a Fulani jihad state. This Touba, the namesake of the modern Mouride metropolis in Senegal, was founded by Al-H̲âjj Sâlim Gassama, better known as Karamokho Ba ("Great Shaykh"). In its heyday, in the mid to late nineteenth century, this first Jakhanke Touba attracted students from many surrounding countries and became a reference, a marker of Islamic learning throughout West Africa. This explains why a number of other Jakhanke towns came to be called Touba; for example, in 1875, a Jakhanke cleric by the name of Yûsuf Fadiga founded a "Touba" in what is today the Ivory Coast.[38] Other towns called Touba can be found in modern Mali as well as in the Gambia and Casamance, and they can generally be linked to the Jakhanke dispersion. The toponym "Touba" (or rather the Arabic form T̲ûbâ) had thus been disseminated widely across the Western Sudan by the Jakhanke and their students for about half a century prior to Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké founding his own Touba in Senegal.

All Jakhanke towns enjoyed some degree of political neutrality and autonomy vis-à-vis the states they were located in. Al-Ka'tî describes the autonomous status of the Gunjur in Bambukhu:

The supreme authority there was the *qâḏî*, assisted by an assembly of *"ulamâ."* No one represented the secular authority and the power of the king was limited to the observance of certain religious ceremonies. Every year in the fast month of Ramaḏân the king of Kaniaga visited the town as the guest of the *qâḏî*, taking with him appropriate presents and offerings.[39]

The situation was similar in Bani Isra'ila, the principal Jakhanke town of Bundu, where "in return for recognizing the king's rule (the town's) political neutrality was accepted and it was allowed to exist without secular interference in its internal affairs."[40] Gunjur was an important commercial and diplomatic center when it was visited by European travelers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. André Brüe, the French commander of Saint Louis who is purported to have visited Gunjur in 1698, was assured by its qâḏî that the town's neutrality was "guaranteed" in its relations with representatives of State authority.[41] It is the French cleric Père Labat in 1728 who described Gunjur as the "capital" of a "marabout republic."[42]

The internal governance of these Jakhanke "republics" was based on, and legitimized by, classical Islamic models. Typically, the town would be divided into four wards (designated by the Arabic term qabîlah, or "tribe"). Each ward would include a certain number of clerical lineages and their attendant artisan castes (leather workers, smiths, weavers, etc.) and would have a recognized ward head responsible for administering its internal affairs. The town itself would be administered by the *karamokho*, the shaykh, head of the principal Jakhanke lineage (always a direct descendant of the town's founder), who was usually qâḏî (or chief justice) of the town and imâm of its Friday mosque. The karamokho would be assisted in his administrative tasks by the ward heads. This "assembly of 'ulamâ' " would be responsible for the common assets of the town, and its central mosque in particular, and for its relations with the outside world. This arrangement characterized Diakha Bambukhu, where the assembly was called the *rijâl al-sâliḥîna*, or "upright men";[43] the heads of the four wards would meet in the mosque to deliberate on the town's affairs. The Jakhanke town for which there is the most data is Touba in Futa Jallon. Like other Jakhanke towns, Touba was divided into four wards, each home to a certain number of Jakhanke lineages and their client artisan castes.

The population [of Touba] was divided into four principal wards or sections, each one being assigned specific tasks concerned with the maintenance and upkeep of the mosque. The mosque, after its erection, became the focus around which the clerical community lived. [. . .] Presiding over all these families was Karamokho Ba, technically head of the Karambaya ward, who occupied the position of supreme pontiff. His jurisdiction extended over all the free clerical families, although the dependent castes were directly subservient to their respective clerical patrons. [. . .] The *sharî'ah* rules were uniformly applied by sittings of *qabîlah* representatives, on such questions as, for example, *zakât* (alms), imâmate and divorce and inheritance. These *qabîlah* representatives were also responsible for insuring that their respective wards discharged their communal obligations, such as services in mosque maintenance, and providing a fair quota of the common granary. [. . .] Consistorial deliberations disposed of community disputes, settled individual grievances

and awarded penalties and compensation where necessary. The care of the individual educational institutions, called by the Jakhanke *majâlis* (sing. *majlis*), was left to the respective heads of the qabâ'il, but general standards of educational performance, curriculum and discipline were matters very much within the province of the council of elders.[44]

After Karamokho Ba's death, overall leadership in Touba was assumed first by his sons, each in turn of primogeniture, and then by the grandsons, with the assistance of the assembly of ward representatives. Decisions were usually taken unanimously.

Much less is currently known of the inner governance of the non-Jakhanke clerical towns. This may possibly be due to lack of research or else by a dearth of the types of internal sources that Sanneh has been able to exploit. Yet, the idea that local entities such as clerical settlements could constitute distinct polities, i.e., autonomous political units in their own right, is in keeping with current historical research on West African urban governance. A paradigm is now emerging which is moving the study of localities away from the concepts of *chiefdoms* and *village chiefs*, inherited from anthropological research of the colonial era, toward the classical political concepts of *polis* and *republic*. Jean Schmitz, whose research has focused on the Fouta Toro, has proposed that the classical understandings of the polis, republic, and city-state are much more apt at explaining the politics of local communities (*leydi* in Haalpulaaren) than the "segmentary lineage" model that has dominated Africanist literature.[45] Similarly, in his analysis of Akan settlements, Tarikhu Farrar equates the precolonial concept of *oman* with the classical Greek concept of polis.[46] The autonomous clerical settlements dispersed across precolonial Senegambia were self-governing political entities where the mode of government was institutionalized along Islamic lines. Moreover, they can be considered as *urban* because they were integrated into networks of similar settlements and because they maintained political and economic relations with other urban places.

Senegambia's ancien régime Muslim republics represent attempts at creating explicitly Islamic polities, distinct and separate from what were seen by the clerics as the dubious religious, social, and political practices of the wider societies in which they were embedded, states characterized by the arbitrary exaction of peasants by the soldier caste. In the eyes of the clerics, these political regimes constituted *dâr al-kufr*, the abode of unreligion, of godlessness. Of special concern to them was the legitimacy of taxes, the justification for war, and the administration of justice, issues dealt with at length in Islamic jurisprudence. By setting up autonomous republics or city-states, these clerics were able to constitute alternative communities where taxes and justice were administered according to God's recommendations and injunctions and where unjustified warfare (always accompanied by booty and enslavement) could be kept at arms length. The clerical towns were places of *dâr al-sunnah*, or *dâr al-islâm*, enclaves of God's law embedded within the dâr al-kufr.

The political attitudes of Muslim clerics toward the non-Muslim political elites—the buur (nobles) and the ceddo (royal slave warriors)—could vary greatly. Some clerical lineages, exemplified by Pire and the Jakhanke, strove to maintain distance

and isolation from politics. Others, exemplified by Koki, actively sought to overthrow the traditional regimes. Yet, in the case of both Pire and Koki, the clerical centers acquired importance as regional capitals within the kingdom of Kayor. The king of Kayor always chose the *jaaraf* (governor) of Saniokhor province from within the family of Sëriñ Pire.[47] In fact, eighty villages in the surrounding plain were considered to be within the jurisdiction of the *tund* (terrain, territory) of Khâli Amar Fall.[48] For their part, the sëriñs of Koki were rewarded with extensive land grants and jurisdiction over a large part of the province of Ndiambour when Lat Dior acceded to the throne for the first time in 1861.[49] Subsequently, Ndiambour in its entirety became virtually an autonomous Muslim province of Kayor, governed by its major clerics: Sëriñ Koki and Sëriñ Louga.[50]

The relationship between the clerical centers and the state was more ambiguous in the case of officially Islamic states. For example, though the rule of the Sissibe clerical dynasty in Bundu was nominally exercised according to sharî'ah, political pragmatism reigned. Consequently, the Jakhanke clerics scrupulously maintained the political and religious autonomy of their towns.[51] The situation of Muslim establishments in Fouta Toro (middle Senegal Valley) after the successful clerical revolution of 1776 was different. Fouta Toro became an officially Islamic state, yet power was extremely decentralized. All but nominal sovereignty rested in "village republics," called leydi in Pulaar, where power was exercised by councils consisting of all the elite lineages. Clerics were included in these councils but power was shared with other lineages.[52] Consequently, there were no separate Muslim enclaves, though a number of towns: Guédé, Thilogne, and Nguidjilone, continued to distinguish themselves by the quality of Islamic instruction.

Senegambia's precolonial "marabout republics" were theocratic enclaves. They functioned independently of the states in which they were embedded, administering their own internal affairs according to Islamic precepts. They were foremost centers of Islamic education, but they also had an agricultural basis as students labored in the fields during the growing season. Produce from these estates permitted the clerics to be economically self-sufficient, an important condition of their political and administrative autonomy. Although many clerical centers remained small in size and population, and attracted students only locally, it is clear that other schools—Pire and Koki in Kayor, Mbacké in Baol, Guédé in Fouta Toro and Touba in Fouta Jallon—acquired national and international renown. Moreover, all these clerical centers, large and small, maintained close relations with each other based on teacher-student relations, genealogy and marriage, travel and scholarship, and sometimes trade. They thus constituted a scholarly and commercial network that crossed political borders and that extended eastward across the Sudanic belt[53] and north into the Sahara, where they linked up with yet other Muslim networks of scholarship and trade.[54] Today, though Senegal's contemporary Sufi centers now dominate the country's religious geography, several of the older clerical towns, including Koki, Pire (now Pire Gourey), Louga, and Longor are still active as centers of Islamic instruction and Longor has been classified as a national historic site.

The autonomous clerical polities of the precolonial period were temporarily eclipsed by the jihads of the nineteenth century. Yet they can be seen as the precursors of a subsequent phenomenon: that of the new urban foundations of Sufi orders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Islamic revolutions, or jihads, swept across Senegambia with increasing frequency during the period under study. Nearly all of them failed in their principal objective: the establishment of "just" rule. A common theme throughout these political upheavals was slavery, and particularly the conditions under which Muslims were enslaved and sold to Christians. Another theme these revolutions had in common is that clerics faced the opposition not only of traditional "kufr" forces such as nobles and warriors, but also of French commercial interests in Saint Louis.

The first revolution (1673–77), known as the "Shur Bubba" or the "Toubenan" movement, was ignited on the Saharan side of Fouta Toro by a Berber cleric, Nasr al-Dîn. With the support of local clerics, it spread to Jolof, Walo, and Kayor, where the monarchic regimes were overthrown. However, backed by the French in Saint Louis, the traditional aristocracy orchestrated a well-armed repost. The remnants of this first clerical revolution eventually joined Malik Sy's regime in Bundu,[55] Senegambia's first Islamic state. Jean Boulègue argues that both Pire and Ndogal were already active clerical centers at this time.[56] A second Islamic revolution engulfed Senegambia in 1776–96. This one too was initiated in Fouta Toro, this time by local clerics who succeeded in overthrowing the aristocratic ancien régime but who failed to replace it with anything substantially better. The revolution spread to Kayor in 1793–96, where it suffered a serious defeat, yet one of its spin-offs was the establishment of a theocratic clerical state in Ndakarou, on the Cape Vert peninsula. Armed conflict between Kayor clerics and royal forces erupted again in 1827–30, this time involving the neighboring kingdom of Walo. In 1854, Al-Hâjj Umar Tall embarked upon an extensive jihad in the upper Senegal Valley which failed there (defeated by the French at the Battle of Madina in 1857)[57] but which had repercussions in Kayor, in the revolt of the Ndiambour clerics in 1859–61. In all these cases, the sëriñs of Koki played significant roles. Moreover, Umar Tall's spiritual disciple, Maba Diakhou, launched his own jihad in Badibou (1862–67), which temporarily overthrew the aristocratic regimes in Saloum and Baol and which eventually led to Lat Dior's regime in Kayor (1869–83), which James Searing describes as an uneasy compromise between the "Muslim party" of Ndiambour and the traditional aristocracy.[58] Finally, short-lived and unsuccessful jihads erupted in Jolof in 1874–75, under Cheikhou Ahmadou Mahdiyou (also known as shaykh Ahmadou Ba),[59] and in Tenda under Mamadou Lamine Dramé in 1885–86.[60]

These cycles of jihad, which marked the entire Sudanic belt in the nineteenth century, did not produce significant urban processes in Senegambia. Though the early clerical revolutions in Bundu (1698–99), Fouta Jallon (1725–47), and Fouta Toro (1776–96) were nominally successful, they failed to produce the type of politically stable regime conducive to urban life. There was no Senegambian equivalent to the great Muslim capitals further east, cities like Sokoto and Hamdallay. Nineteenth century jihads in Senegambia were military and political failures.

They only contributed to the general crisis of precolonial societies and states which preceded and accompanied the eventual imposition of colonial rule.

Sufi Orders and Senegal's Modern Urban Network

It is during the extended process of colonial conquest, initiated by the French administration in Saint Louis 1854 and only completed in 1890, that a new type of Islamic institution, the Sufi ṭarîqah, began to emerge as a social phenomenon. It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the origins of this institution in the Muslim world or even its development in the Senegal.[61] What is important here is that the old clerical lineages, whose settlements and networks are discussed above, adopted the institution of the ṭarîqah in response to the new social and political conditions. The orders that now dominate Senegalese society (the various branches of the Qâdiriyyah and the Tijâniyyah, the Mourides and the Layennes) were built up in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on the foundation of the old clerical lineages and networks.

Sufism has been an integral part of Islamic practice since the eighth or ninth century, meaning that it probably entered Senegambia along with the other aspects of Muslim practice sometime in the eleventh or twelfth century. Prior to the 1880s, all the Sufi orders present in Senegambia were "imported," via Mauritania and the Sahara, from North Africa and Middle East. For most of this period, it is the Qâdiriyyah, originally diffused from Baghdad, which constituted the only Sufi path practiced in Senegambia. The Kunta lineage of shaykhs is reputed to have diffused this order from their desert encampment schools, or *mahadras*. The Qâdiriyyah seems to have been the Sufi order of preference among the leaders of the nineteenth century Islamic states: the Sokoto Caliphate, the Dina of Masina, and the Imamates of Fouta Toro and Fouta Djallon.[62] There are indications, however, that the Shâdhiliyyah-Nâṣriyyah, based in Southern Morocco, was also practiced in Adrar (modern Mauritania),[63] and Fouta Jallon[64] starting in the eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century, the Tijâniyyah order, based principally in Fez, Morocco, made a stunning entry onto the religious scene. Al-Ḥâjj Umar Tall, who was designated as khalîfah of the order for West Africa while on pilgrimage to Mecca, was responsible for its diffusion to Sokoto, Masina, and Fouta Toro prior to his declaration of jihad in 1854. Maba Diakhou and Cheikhou Ahmadou Ba, who subsequently lead jihads in 1862–67 and 1875–76, respectively, were also shaykhs of the Tijâniyyah order. Yet, even during these manifestly political and social movements, Sufism remained an elitist pursuit, reserved for an educated few within the ranks of the clerics. With the exception of Cheikhou Ahmadou, affiliation to the order does not seem to have been a matter of public policy during the jihads. Sufism, taṣawwuf in Arabic, was a personal and intellectual matter, of relevance mostly to scholars, and it was pursued and practiced like other forms of scholarship. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, for instance, was first introduced to Sufism by one of his father's cousins, Samba

Toucouleur Ka, who was a member of the Qâdiriyyah and who had studied under the Qâdiriyyah-Sidiyyah shaykhs in Trarza (modern Mauritania).[65] Ahmadou Bamba later visited the Sidiyyah shaykh himself and then learnt the Shâdhilî and Tijânî mystical traditions from yet other shaykhs.[66]

The role of Sufism changed radically in the last decades of the nineteenth century, when it became a mass phenomenon. This transformation was the result of shifts in the dominant political culture, where the traditional elite of nobles and warriors was first defeated and then co-opted by the colonial regime, and of the transformation to Senegal's economic geography brought on by peanut production. Until the mid-twentieth century, access to labor was the chief constraint on economic growth in West Africa. To overcome this constraint, those who had access to land, such as the buur (landlords) and ceddo (royal slave soldiers), resorted to the acquisition of slaves or to the constitution of large extended households. The clerical elite, for its part, could also conscript its student body into agricultural labor. Such student labor provided the economic foundation of the clerical towns mentioned above; students paid their annual "tuition fees" by toiling in their master's fields during the agricultural season. This rural economy was transformed in the mid-nineteenth century with the expansion of peanut cultivation.

Peanuts were a "cash crop" in the simplest definition of the term. The industrial revolution in France had created a market for industrial supplies of peanut oil. Consequently, peanut estates made their appearance in western regions of Kayor and Baol in the 1860s, especially in areas accessible to Atlantic ports.[67] These estates were most often owned by ceddo, but sometimes also by buur lineages, and they employed mostly slave labor—of which the various jihads and colonial wars further east were generating a ready supply despite official French prohibitions against slave trading. By the 1880s, the more entrepreneurial clerics were also setting up estates of this sort. Around 1890, however, the period of colonial conquest was ending and the ready supplies of new slaves dwindled sharply. The peanut estates of the ceddo started to experience a labor shortage and this shortage was compounded by the growth of the Ahmadou Bamba's Mouride movement, which was settling new lands in eastern Baol and which welcomed people with agricultural skills.

James Searing has argued that the early Mouride movement was a movement of peasants and slaves. For slaves especially, migration to eastern Baol to join Ahmadou Bamba or one or his brothers constituted a form of self-emancipation. The cash crop economy meant that slaves who left their masters could get easy access to land and make a viable living of their own, even if this meant "submitting" voluntarily to a shaykh. Based on colonial archival sources, Ahmadou Bamba's exiles have usually been interpreted as the result of the French administration's suspicion of his political intentions given the entourage of disaffected princes and warriors who were said to be assembling under his spiritual guidance. However, Searing has shown how, in fact, it was the traditional ceddo and buur landholders of the Wolof heartland, now metamorphosed into loyal *chefs de canton*

responsible to French administrators, who fabricated the evidence against the shaykh because their peanut estates were hemorrhaging.[68]

The Mourides, known for using student labor to produce the cash crop, are often cited as the most successful example of integration into the new colonial economy.[69] The Mourides effectively opened up large areas of new land for cultivation throughout Senegal's expanded peanut basin, first in eastern Kayor and Baol and in the Ferlo (1890s–1920s), then in the "new lands" of Ndoukoumane, in southern Saloum and in Rip (1930s–60s). We saw in chapter 2 that the principal tool of this "internal" colonization was the daara. In some important respects, the daara resembles the clerical estates of the precolonial period. It was first a place of learning, where students (taalibes in Wolof, from Arabic *ṯâlib*) were sent to study under their shaykh. However, it was also an agricultural estate, as the taalibes would work in the fields for their shaykh. In the Mouride case, peanut cultivation in the daaras has been overemphasized. The daaras were tools of self-reliance within Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's larger social and spiritual project. Peanuts were cultivated for the colonial monetary economy, but so were a variety of other crops intended for domestic consumption or the internal Mouride economy of exchange of gifts and solidarity. Paul Marty notes how the Mouride settlements of Mbacké and Darou Marnane were surrounded by market gardens of manioc, potatoes, and onions, and that not only peanuts but millet fields "spread out as far as the eye can see."[70] Later, in 1930, another French administrator reporting on Darou Mousty and surrounding daaras, noted the overflowing granaries of millet: "thirteen granaries, each of which held twenty tons of millet" in one village and "seven more granaries of the same size" in another.[71] Beginning in 1912, Mame Tierno Birahim Mbacké had created a great many daaras in the area around Darou Mousty and they quickly became the "bread basket" of the Mouride order, supplying Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's extended compound in Diourbel with "one hundred donkey loads" of millet (about 100 kilograms per load) and 200,000 francs in cash from peanut sales each year.[72] Clearly, the cash from peanut cultivation was important—it is what ultimately financed the construction of Touba's Great Mosque—but Mouride agriculture was not a form of plantation agriculture characterized by monocropping. The cultivation of millet, the staple grain for domestic consumption, was essential to the autonomy and self-reliance of the order.

Moreover, while the Mouride order is seen as the most successful in terms of its integration into the colonial economy and in terms of capital accumulation, this same agricultural system with its peculiar student-master labor relations was just as characteristic of the Kounta Qâdiriyyah of Ndiassane, the Sy Tijâniyyah of Tivaouane, and the Niassenne Tijâniyyah of Kaolack. The materially deterministic view holds that at the end of the nineteenth century, the progressive decline of slaveholding in Senegal meant that the clerical elite, and more specifically the emerging ṯarîqahs, capitalized on their comparative advantage in access to cheap labor. The Sufi orders organized a new peasant society around a cash crop. The resultant capital accumulation was concentrated within these religious institutions.

The internal sources of the orders suggest a different interpretation, one of social reform and spiritual revival. In the face of an alienating colonial regime and the economic dependency it fostered, the clerical elite took it upon themselves to spearhead a complete realignment of society. The compromised traditional political elite, tainted by slavery, impiety, and submission to the French, was incapable of creative thinking or action and abdicated its leadership role; in fact, many princes, nobles, and slave soldiers joined the Sufi orders as subaltern cadres. Opportunities for social and economic fulfillment in the colonial order meant assimilation to a "Christian" and increasingly atheistic foreign culture; this was impractical for all but a very small minority of French-educated urbanites in the coastal cities. The leading clerics of the time—Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké, Al-H̲âjj Malick Sy, Al-H̲âjj Abdoulaye Niass, Amary Ndack Seck, Shaykh Bou Kounta, and Seydina Limamou Laye—each in his own way and in his chosen field of action, initiated a cultural revolution, realigning society with Islamic norms capable of resisting and then overcoming the hegemonic colonial project. Between 1880 and 1930, they laid the foundations of mass organizations of national scale. To build these new institutions, they subverted the very tools of colonialism and capitalist penetration: the peanut cash crop and the railroads with their trading posts.

Sufi orders throughout the Muslim world share a similar organizational structure which has broadly been adopted in Senegal. At the summit of the spiritual hierarchy is a khalîfah, or caliph, spiritual head of the order and representative of its founding shaykh. In Senegal these caliphs, or caliph generals, are always direct male descendents of the founder. The sons of the founder inherit the spiritual mantle, in order of primogeniture, until the last of the generation, and then the mantle passes to one of the grandsons. Beneath the rank of caliphs, Senegal's Sufi lineages are subdivided into numerous branches, each with its own head, often also called a "caliph." Although spiritual succession in these subgroups usually passes from father to son and then from brother to brother, there are a number of cases where daughters have exercised spiritual leadership. These include the Yakhine Baye Fall of Thiès (a branch of the Mourides),[73] as well as daughters of Al-H̲âjj Ibrahima Niass in Kaolack.[74] Below these subcaliphs are the shaykhs or *muqaddams*, literally "elders," who have various responsibilities and are often far more involved in the day-to-day running of affairs than the caliph who is absorbed in pious pursuits. Depending on the Sufi order, there may be various levels of shaykhs in a more or less explicitly recognized hierarchy, but these too are most often inherited positions; one passes the title of shaykh from father to son. Below these again are the rank-and-file members of the order, the adherents called taalibes (from Arabic t̲âlib, "student") or murîds ("aspirants," "seekers").

To this rather standard traditional Islamic organizational structure, the Sufi orders of Senegal have grafted a number of modern administrative organs, mostly borrowed from the civil administrative structures of the modern nation-state, including sometimes its practice of territorial subdivision, or else modeled on the structures of political parties or trade unions. These modern forms of organization

include a large number of voluntary associations which are generally designated as dahiras (from Arabic dâ'irah, "circle"), associations of rank-and-file taalibes, sometimes under the patronage of a shaykh, which concern themselves with organizing religious events, fund-raising, dissemination of information, charitable services, etc.

Senegal's Sufi orders are first and foremost religious institutions, serving educational and devotional purposes. Yet, especially because they are mass institutions, with hundreds of thousands if not millions of affiliated members, they are also social institutions. They regulate relations between individuals and between families, facilitate relations with authorities and administrative agencies, mobilize resources, etc. They are major institutions of Senegal's civil society in that they function outside of state structures yet are in perpetual relations with them. These orders are quintessential *networks*. Proportionately very little of their activity is institutionally structured. Mostly, agency is channeled through personal relationships, and principally that between the taalibe and the shaykh. The taalibe "submits" voluntarily to a shaykh, who himself is the taalibe of a shaykh higher up the mystic chain (silsilah). The taalibe owes his shaykh fidelity and gifts or offerings (*hadiyyah*). In return, the shaykh educates his taalibe along the Sufi path. Each taalibe is unique and the shaykh will determine the appropriate spiritual path he or she will follow. The shaykh will also help the taalibe with personal, family, or professional needs as these arise over the course of this long-term relationship. This relationship has been idealized in accordance with such well-known sayings as: "a person without a *shaykh* has Satan for a *shaykh*," and "submit to your *shaykh* like a corpse in the hands of a mortician." Many researchers, famously Cheikh Tidiane Sy, Donal Cruise O'Brien, and Leonardo Villalón, have called this relationship a "social contract."[75] It is the foundation of a complex social system. It would be a mistake, however, to view Senegal's Sufi orders solely in terms of hierarchic relationships. The horizontal relations within the orders, those between the taalibes themselves, independently of their shaykhs, sometimes institutionalized within voluntary associations sometimes not, are just as important to the functioning of the networks.

As Senegal's Sufi orders have developed and grown during the colonial period and since independence, acquiring ever-larger interests in a variety of sectors (economic, social, political), their networks have developed as well. This in turn has greatly stimulated the growth of the cities that serve as their "capitals,"[76] cities like Touba, but also Tivaouane, Kaolack, Diourbel, Darou Mousty, and Madina Gounass among others. The emergence and growth of these Sufi centers has been integral to Senegal's modern urbanization process.

The creation of a modern, national urban network in Senegal is usually seen as a product of French rule. Beginning in the seventeenth century, the French created a number of coastal towns which, by the 1880s had become known as the "four communes." These four towns—Saint-Louis, Gorée, Rufisque, and Dakar— were legally assimilated to French territory and operated like any other French municipality, or commune, with elected councilors and a mayor. Moreover,

collectively, they sent a deputy to the National Assembly in Paris. French trade was further served by *factories* and escales scattered along the coast or up the Senegal, Gambia, and Casamance rivers. A *factory* was a trading center where a European company had a permanent resident "factor" to conduct its business. Trading facilities might consist of a fortified compound on the shore where some precautions were taken against theft and fire.[77] The "permanence" of the factory was relative; many were abandoned after only a season or two. Only a very few, Portudal, Joal, and Albreda for instance, were serviced by factors continuously over decades and, for the most part, these factories were attached to existing African towns: Albreda to Juffure, Joal to Fadhiout. The escales along the rivers were even less permanent. An *escale* literally means a "landing." It was an agreed-upon place on the bank where *traitants* (traders) from Saint Louis arrived each year to trade locally (for slaves, grain, hides, wax, and gum arabic). Some escales, such as Dagana and Podor, were effectively river towns, and others, such as "Escale du Désert," "Escale du Coq," and "Escale du Terrier Rouge," were seasonal fairs. In no case did the trading rights of Europeans or their agents translate into sovereignty. Whether designated as factories or escales, these posts were under the sovereignty of African states, not of European merchants. Indeed, African kings maintained close control of the trade conducted at these places, which they taxed.

The colonial conquest of the interior inaugurated a new type of urbanization. The maritime-riverine network was supplemented by a rail one, first the Dakar-Saint Louis (built 1882–86) and then the Dakar-Niger (1906–23), with a few spur lines to each. Apart from military logistics, the railroads were designed principally for the purpose of extracting the peanut harvest and transporting it from the interior to the ports for shipment to France. By analogy with the Senegal River, these railroads were equipped at regular intervals with escales of their own. The *escales ferroviaires* were rail stops where peanuts from surrounding areas were marketed. Laid out according to the prescriptions of military engineering manuals, the escales had gridiron street plans, aligned with the railroad and centered on the rail station and market (figure 3.2).[78] Most of the business in these towns was concentrated in the hands of a few large French firms operating out of the coastal ports: Rufisque and Dakar principally. As colonial rule evolved, the rail escales also served to anchor embryonic colonial civil services and administration: the tax office, the court house, the medical dispensary, eventually a primary school, etc.

In the colonial system, the four communes and the escales were "urban" places. They were centers of European trade and administration, where colonial authority was exercised directly. Everywhere beyond this network of urban centers linked to the railways was considered "rural." Authority in "rural" areas was exercised locally by chefs de village, and chefs de canton, members of the traditional nobility appointed by the French to implement policies, collect taxes, etc. This administrative system, consisting of direct rule over an urban network and indirect rule over rural areas, was inherited by the Republic of Senegal at independence, and it helps to explain the rural bias of its local administrative system. Most of Senegal's economically or administratively important cities originated as colonial
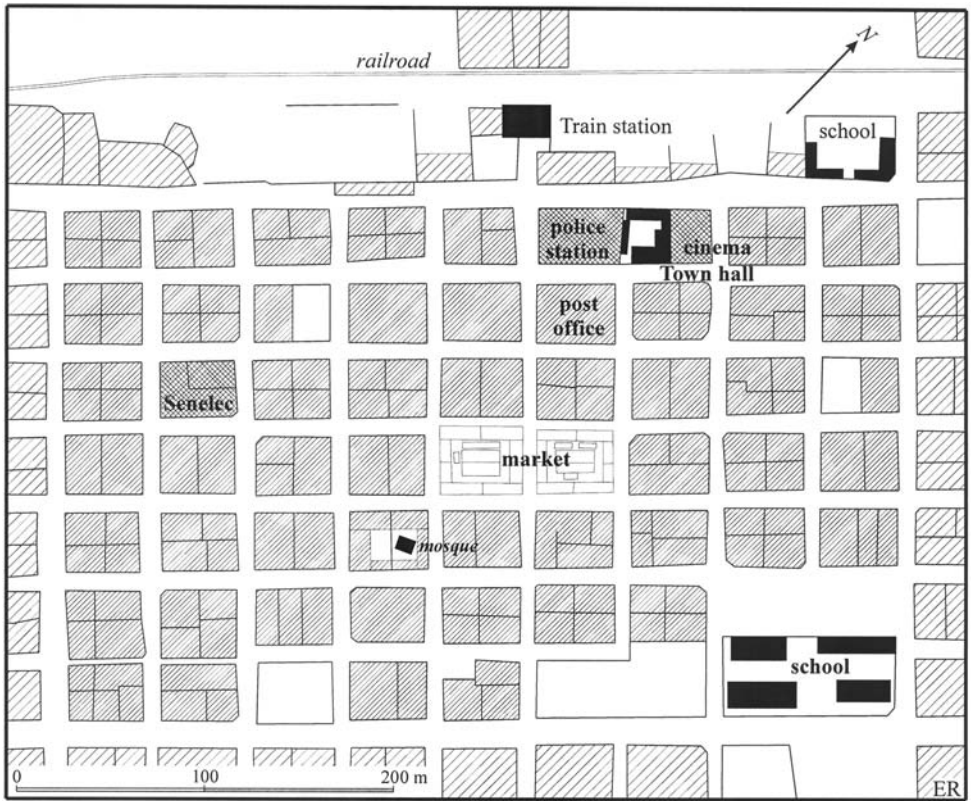
Figure 3.2. Escale of Tivaouane. Tivaouane was one of the first rail "landings" to be allotted in 1888. The Escale neighborhood, centered on a market, was the center of peanut trading for the surrounding villages. It also housed local colonial administrative institutions and, following independence, became the seat of a départment. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Tivaouane-Ndiassane.]

ports, rail escales, or rail heads. Today, even though several of the rail lines have been closed, the urban structure created by the colonial rail network is still discernable in the county's urban and politico-administrative hierarchy. Moreover, the link between territorially based civil administration and urban status is still a strong one in Senegal today and helps explain why the capitals of administrative regions and départements are always urban communes but most other places tend to have rural status.

Even though the colonial system was instrumental in creating Senegal's modern urban network, this network was not so one-sidedly determined by French agency. The emerging Sufi orders contributed greatly to the process, either by investing the nodes of colonial network or else by creating nodes of their own. The religious activities of the orders: pious visits and pilgrimages, mosque construction, the

running of Islamic primary and secondary schools, the marketing of produce from order-owned agricultural estates, ṭarîqah administration, and the provisioning of religious and charitable services, were all part of the urbanization process during the colonial period. Modern Senegal's urban network cannot be understood without taking into account the Sufi orders that helped configure it (figure 3.3).

The process of erecting modern Sufi cities and centers within the emerging colonial urban network was not linear; no single model can be discerned. Various ṭarîqahs pursued different urbanization strategies. First, the established system of royal land grants (lew) to court clerics seems to have continued to operate until the very end of the ancien régime. The sëriñs who led or joined the Sufi orders and who possessed settlements of this type were able to develop them under new conditions. This was the case of Ndiassane, capital of the Kounta-Qâdiriyyah, and of the Tijânî centers of Fass and Tiénaba. Second, all of the orders, not just the Mourides, created entirely new shrine centers ex nihilo, on their own terms and according to their internal logic. In some cases, these shrines have developed into full-fledged towns and cities in their own right, with commercial and administrative functions. This is the case of the Mouride towns of Darou Mousty, Darou Marnane Mbacol, and Porokhane, and of the Layenne shrine center of Cambérène. In two cases, i.e., the autonomous rural communities of Touba and Madina Gounass, such Sufi towns have been officially recognized as administratively autonomous territorial entities. In many other cases, the autonomy, real enough, is exercised informally.

Another strategy of the orders consisted in deliberately investing the colonial centers, the escales but also the capitals: Saint Louis and Dakar. This was the policy especially of the Tijâniyyah, but the Mourides and the Qâdiriyyah also found a foothold in these colonial cities. Consequently, today, a number of Senegal's most important second- and third-rank cities, the seats of its administrative regions and départements, effectively serve two masters. As civil administrative seats, they harbor the usual state apparatus and civil services: courthouses, police commissariats, national gendarmeries, governor's residences, public high schools, hospitals, etc. Yet, as the capitals of major Sufi orders, they also harbor the peculiar religious and administrative structures of these institutions. This is notably the case of Tivaouane and Kaolack, two Tijânî capitals, but also of the Mouride centers of Mbacké and Diourbel. Cheikh Guèye calls these types of cities "hybrid."[79] As seats of civil administration, they have official status and rank within Senegal's urban network, but their real relevance is increasingly dependent on their religious functions. As the state continues to disengage itself economically and socially (through structural adjustment policies for example), the Sufi orders have become the most dynamic actors in these cities.

To some extent, all of these places, from the capitals of the orders down to small shrine centers, including hybrid cities and the autonomous rural communities can be considered *Sufi* cities as Sufi shaykhs and orders have been determinant to their formation and continued growth.

Figure 3.3. Muslim towns in contemporary Senegal.

Lesser Sufi Shrine Centers

The Qâdiriyyah order (figure 3.4) had long been practiced among Senegambia's clerical elite. Most of the shaykhs of this order were affiliated to the Saharan Kûntî lineage which was established in Timbuktu by the late eighteenth century. A different branch of this lineage settled in Kayor during the reign of Birima Fatma Thioub (1809–32). Shaykh Bounama Kounta (d. 1843) was attached to the court, which at that time was residing at Nguiguis. In exchange for his clerical services, the king gave him slaves and a land grant nearby, at Ndanq, where Bounama settled.[80] It is Shaykh Bounama's posthumous son, Shaykh Bou Kounta, however, who created a Qâdirî institution of national scale in Senegal (appendix 1).

   According to both the archival sources and oral traditions, Shaykh Bou Kounta (1844–1914) was much less of a scholar and more of a political entrepreneur than most clerics of his day. He worked closely with the French colonial administration in Saint Louis and participated in a number of its military expeditions between 1860 and 1886, acquiring land, slaves, and former ceddo (royal slave soldiers) clients along the way.[81] His relations with Samba Laobe Fall, the last king of Kayor (r. 1883–86) and a French client, were also close. It is Samba Laobe Fall who gave him the lew of Ndiassane in 1884.[82] Ndiassane, in Saniokhor, was located only two kilometers from the Dakar-Saint Louis railroad, whose construction had just begun. Bou Kounta turned Ndiassane into the headquarters of an agricultural and commercial network of national scope. He was the first cleric on record to have put his students and slaves systematically to work cultivating peanuts in the seventeen daaras he set up in the surrounding area.[83] The labor, provided by slaves and students, was overseen by the former ceddo. The location of Ndiassane next to the railroad also allowed Bou Kounta to take full advantage of other sectors of the colonial economy, namely real estate in the colonial port cities of Saint Louis and Dakar and rural estates in the fertile Niaye depressions along the Atlantic coast.[84] Moreover, by 1890 a Kûntî-Qâdiriyyah zâwiyyah had been established in Dakar,[85] not yet the capital of the French West African Federation (AOF) but already a rising administrative and commercial city. Finally, Shaykh Bou Kounta maintained close links with Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba; his daughter Aïssatou was wed to Ahmadou Bamba's eldest son Mouhamadou Moustapha.

   The construction of the Dakar-Niger line permitted Shaykh Al-Bacaye, Bou Kounta's son and first caliph (1914–29), to extend the network by recruiting numerous new adherents among the mainly Bambara railway workers. Branches of the order were opened in the new escales all along the line (and in neighboring agricultural estates such as Khayane Bambara and Bil Dabo), and especially in the city of Thiès, Senegal's new rail hub less than twenty kilometers from Ndiassane. By the 1920s, Ndiassane had become an important religious center of national scope, home to an annual pilgrimage. However, the urbanization of Ndiassane began much later, during the caliphate of Al-Hâjj Mouhamadou (1973–75), when the first residential subdivisions were surveyed around the

Figure 3.4. Qâdirî centers.

central shrine. His brother and successor, Shaykh Sidi Yahya (1975–87) proceeded with a second series of allotments. More recently, in 2002, an Islamic studies institute (the Al-Kountiyou Institute, partially funded by Senegal's Lebanese community) has been established and Tostan, a women's empowerment NGO, has opened a community education center for the functional literacy of women and for the eradication of the practice of female excision. This community center is managed by one of the caliph's daughters.[86]

Today, mainly due to migration, the order has members dispersed throughout the subregion, in the Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, and Mauritania, as well as overseas, in France, Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States.[87] This international Sufi order comes together annually, during the Gàmmu and the Ngénte Gàmmu, which celebrate the prophet Muhammad's birthday (twelfth day of Rabî' al-Awwal) and his "naming" eight days later.[88] Yet the Qâdirî capital remains a small town, with about four thousand permanent residents, and it thrives in the shadow of the Tijânî capital of Tivaouane, the outskirts of which lie only two kilometers to the north (figure 3.10).

There are a number of much smaller Qâdiri centers to be found throughout Senegal. Most of them are affiliated to the two major Mauritanian branches of the order: the Fâdhiliyyah-Qâdiriyyah of Nimjat and the Sidiyyah-Qâdiriyyah of Boutilimit, which themselves derive from the Kûntî-Qâdiriyyah. The Fâdhiliyyah was established in various South-Saharan emirates (Hawdh, Adrar, Trarza) by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fâdhil (1797–1869), who left forty-eight sons to carry on his work (appendix 2).[89] It is Shaykh Sa'ad Bûh (1850–1917) who expanded the order's activities southward into Senegambian territories.[90] Following the French conquest of the emirates, to which Sa'ad Bûh contributed in a variety of ways, the Qâdirî shaykh settled in Nimjat. From there, he mandated several of his sons and numerous nephews to set up Qâdirî communities in Kayor and the Casamance. Known locally as the Aïdara, or Haïdara lineage, they opened a major zâwiyyah in the city of Thiès and others in the escales of Tivaouane and Guéoul,[91] as well as establishing settlements in rural Casamance: Darsilamé, Daroul Khaïri, Binako, Banguère, Tanaf, and Kerevan.[92]

The Sidiyyah-Qâdiriyya was first established in Boutilimit, Trarza, by Shaykh Sidiyyah al-Kabîr (1780–1868) in the 1820s[93] but it was his grandson Shaykh Sidiyya Baba (1862–1924) who was responsible for expanding the order (appendix 3).[94] Sidiyya Baba was instrumental to the French conquest of Mauritania. For example, it is to his zâwiyyah encampments at Suat al-Mâ' and elsewhere that the French exiled Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba from 1903 to 1907. Ahmadou Bamba had been originally introduced to the Qâdirî way by his father's cousin, Samba Toucouleur Ka, who had studied under Shaykh Sidiyya al-Kabîr.[95] By exiling him to their desert maḥadrah, the French administrators may have hoped that Ahmadou Bamba would somehow submit to the spiritual authority of the Sidiyyah, or perhaps see the benefits of peaceful collaboration with the colonial regime. Whatever the case, the Sidiyyah-Qâdiriyyah has maintained close links with the Mbacké family and the Mouride order ever since.

During the colonial period, Boutilimit became an important seat of power. The French considered Mauritania to be too poor to warrant a capital of its own. Apart from military posts, the French had no administrative presence in the colony, which was administered from Saint Louis, the capital of neighboring Senegal. Boutilimit became a kind of unofficial capital, receiving French civil infrastructure, such as a military post, a telegraph line, a medical center, a Franco-Arabic school, etc. By the time of its independence, most of the political and administrative cadres of the nascent Islamic Republic of Mauritania had been educated by the Sidiyyah of Boutilimit.

Not all Senegalese Qâdirîs are affiliated to the Kûntî-Qâdiriyyah. The Jakhanke clerics in particular maintain distinct filiations to the Qâdirî mother-zâwiyyah in Baghdad. Today, Touba in Fouta Jallon, Guinea, is still the principal Jakhanke center, but the clerics are active throughout the Gambia and the Casamance, where they have established many small centers: Nibras, Bakadaji, Gunjur, Kerewane, etc. Maka, for instance, was established near the village of Coulibantang in Senegal's Tambacounda region by Al-H̲âjj Soriba Ibrahima Jabi (Diabi) in 1956, after he returned from a visit to the tomb of 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jîlânî in Baghdad. Maka Coulibantang is now the chef-lieu of an administrative arrondissement and the seat of a "rural community" (population 27,919 in 2004). Known officially as the Dahiratoul Khadriyah Ibrahimaya, the order established by Al-Hâjj Soriba and currently led by Al-H̲âjj Abdoulaye Jabi has become "internationalized" through migration and most of its resources now come from abroad.[96] Though Maka is a relatively small Sufi center, its spiritual significance is seen as transcendent and universal. Its khâtim-inspired dâ'irah hut, which marks the place as a qut̲b, was described in chapter 2.

Perhaps the best cases of small places with universal pretensions are the religious centers of the Layenne order: Yoff-Layène and Cambérène. The Layenne order is the legacy of Seydina Limamou Laye (1845–1909), born Libasse Thiaw (appendix 4), who is believed by members of the order to be the *mahdî* (the messianic leader who some Muslims believe will come at the end of time) and the reincarnation of the Prophet Muhammad. The story of this order's foundation, well documented in the hagiographies[97] as well as in the colonial archives,[98] is a truly "marvelous" one. Libasse Thiaw was born in the Lebou fishing village of Yoff, on the night of the fifteenth day of Sha'bân[99] during an earthquake.[100] He had been resting there "for over a thousand years," in a cave at the western extremity of Dâr al-Islâm. Contrary to the other founders of Senegal's Sufi orders, Libasse Thiaw was not born into a clerical family and does not seem to have had much religious instruction; as with the Prophet Muhammad, Libasse was illiterate. He gave all his sermons in Wolof, not in Arabic.[101] As a young man, Libasse Thiaw showed no overt signs of a spiritual calling. Like most other men of Yoff, he worked as a fisherman, calling at ports all along the Atlantic coast from Saint Louis to Banjul (then called Bathurst). However, when he was in his fortieth year, he announced to the world that he was the mahdî. This announcement occurred on the first day of the month of Sha'bân 1301 (24 May 1884), shortly after the death of his

mother.[102] Many in Yoff thought he was mad but other people farther away, including members of the Sylla, Diakhate, and Lô clerical lineages, heard of him and began flocking to Yoff. In response, Libasse Thiaw, now known as Seydina Mouhamadou Limamou Laye,[103] established himself and his followers in a new neighborhood called Yoff-Layène, on the beach outside of the village.

The foundation of Yoff-Layène, like much else in Seydina Limamou's life, was miraculous and replete with some of God's signs:

> One day during high tide the waves flooded Limamou's house. When the tide went out, he went down to the water's edge and drew a line in the sand with his foot. He then declared "Never again shall the sea cross this line. It only entered my house in order to purify it. If it pleases God it won't come back. The sea will do as I say because it does not want to offend me. It is a creature like you. You don't know me but it does. It knows my high rank with God. It will not disobey my orders." After that the sea never again entered his house.[104]

Moreover, a miraculous spring of fresh water appeared on the beach—"with his foot he removed the sand and water sprang forth"[105]—giving Limamou Laye's community some autonomy vis-à-vis Yoff proper.

As more and more disciples began arriving in Yoff-Layène, local Lebou leaders and the French authorities in Dakar decided to take action against the "troublesome marabout." In 1887, he was arrested on charges of possessing arms with a view to inciting public disorder. Moreover, to disperse his followers, police forces burned the houses at Yoff-Layène. However, it became apparent to those preparing the trial that the charges against Limamou Laye were spurious and he was released from prison three months later. Having come to an accommodation with the political authorities, Seydina Limamou Laye rebuilt Yoff-Layène. However, members of his entourage who were not native to the town were forbidden to reside there. Consequently, Seydina Limamou Laye set up a second village called Cambérène, a reference to the city of Medina,[106] three kilometers east of Yoff. He lived out the rest of his years in relative peace, residing alternately in Yoff-Layène and Cambérène. When he died in 1909, it was in Yoff-Layène that he was buried.

His son and successor, Seydina Issa Rohou Laye (1876–1949) is believed by the Layennes to be the reincarnation of the prophet Jesus.[107] Prior to his father's death, Seydina Issa had spent several years studying the Islamic sciences under Diakhate clerics in Ngakham, in Saniokhor province.[108] During his forty-year caliphate, the Layenne order, despite its extremely heterodox foundations, became a respected and influential institution on the Cape Verde peninsula. For example, Seydina Issa was a guest of honor at the Colonial Exhibition in Vincennes (Paris) in 1931, and he was the recipient of several civic medals from the French Republic. It is Seydina Issa Laye who reestablished Cambérène following the plague epidemic of 1914 that had decimated the village. Abandoning the old site, still known today as Guentaba,[109] the Layenne caliph moved Cambérène to a new location on the beach, endowing it with a "solid" mosque in 1937. He also had the Yoff-Layène mosque rebuilt in 1925. When he died in 1949, he was buried in Cambérène.

The Layenne order is more regionally and ethnically based than Senegal's other Sufi orders. Its estimated twenty thousand to thirty thousand members[110] are mostly concentrated in Lebou neighborhoods and villages of the Cape Verde peninsula (Dakar, Thiaroye, and Rufisque). There are Layenne dahiras further afield, in Kayar, Mboro, Thiès, and Mbour, and as far away as Saint Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor, but these are the result of internal migration. It is the second caliph, Seydina Mandione Laye (1949–71), who encouraged his taalibe to become farmers in the order's estates in Kaolack, Thiès, and Louga regions.[111]

The geography of the Layenne order is bipolar, with the major sanctuaries of Yoff-Layène and Cambérène only four kilometers apart (figure 3.5). These sanctuaries are the loci of a variety of annual festivals. Some mark main holy days in the Muslim and Christian calendars, such as Seydina Issa Rohou Laye's birthday, celebrated on twenty-fifth day of December, while others commemorate specifically Layenne events such as the *wooteba* festival which is held in Yoff-Layène on the first day of Sha'bân to mark Seydina Limamou Laye's public appeal as mahdî in 1884. Other lieux de mémoire and lesser Layenne sanctuaries are strung out along the north coast of the Cape Verde peninsula. These sites include Khoutoum Ngor (the cave near Almadies Point, at "the confluence of the two seas" where Seydina Limamou Laye waited "more than a thousand years" before returning); Ndingala (also called Guentaba, the original location of Cambérène, marked today by a baobab tree and a sacred spring); Nguédjaga (a bush near Malika where Seydina Limamou was arrested in 1887); Ngakham in Saniokhor (the school where Seydina Issa studied); and the prison on the island of Gorée where Seydina Limamou was imprisoned for three months. Since the mid-1980s, annual pilgrimages have been organized at Khoutoum Ngor, Nguédjaga, and Ndingala.[112]

Like Ndiassane, Yoff-Layène and Cambérène are relatively small Sufi establishments. Less than ten hectares each, they have populations of ten thousand and six thousand, respectively.[113] Moreover, though originally separate villages, both are now completely imbedded in Dakar's sprawling urban fabric. The history of Dakar's urban growth has been marked by struggles over land ownership involving the peninsula's original Lebou inhabitants. In the case of the Layenne shrine centers, Cécile Laborde enumerates repeated incidents of negotiation and compromise between the order's leaders, the traditional Lebou establishment (represented by the Sëriñ Ndakarou who is still a recognized political leader),[114] the colonial authorities and then the Senegalese government. For instance, in 1945, Seydina Issa Rohou Laye tried to obtain official land titles for what he claimed were Layenne lots. The local jaraaf (mayor elected by the villagers), who was himself a Layenne taalibe, refused to proceed with what he believed to be alienation of collective land. The third caliph, Seydina Issa Rohou II (1971–87) later ceded 364 hectares of land (now known as the Parcelles Assainies neighborhood) to the Ministry of Urban Planning under the condition that the coastal strip between Yoff-Layène and Cambérène remain non aedificandi and that 150 lots in the new subdivision be made available to Layenne taalibes. In 1980, the order successfully
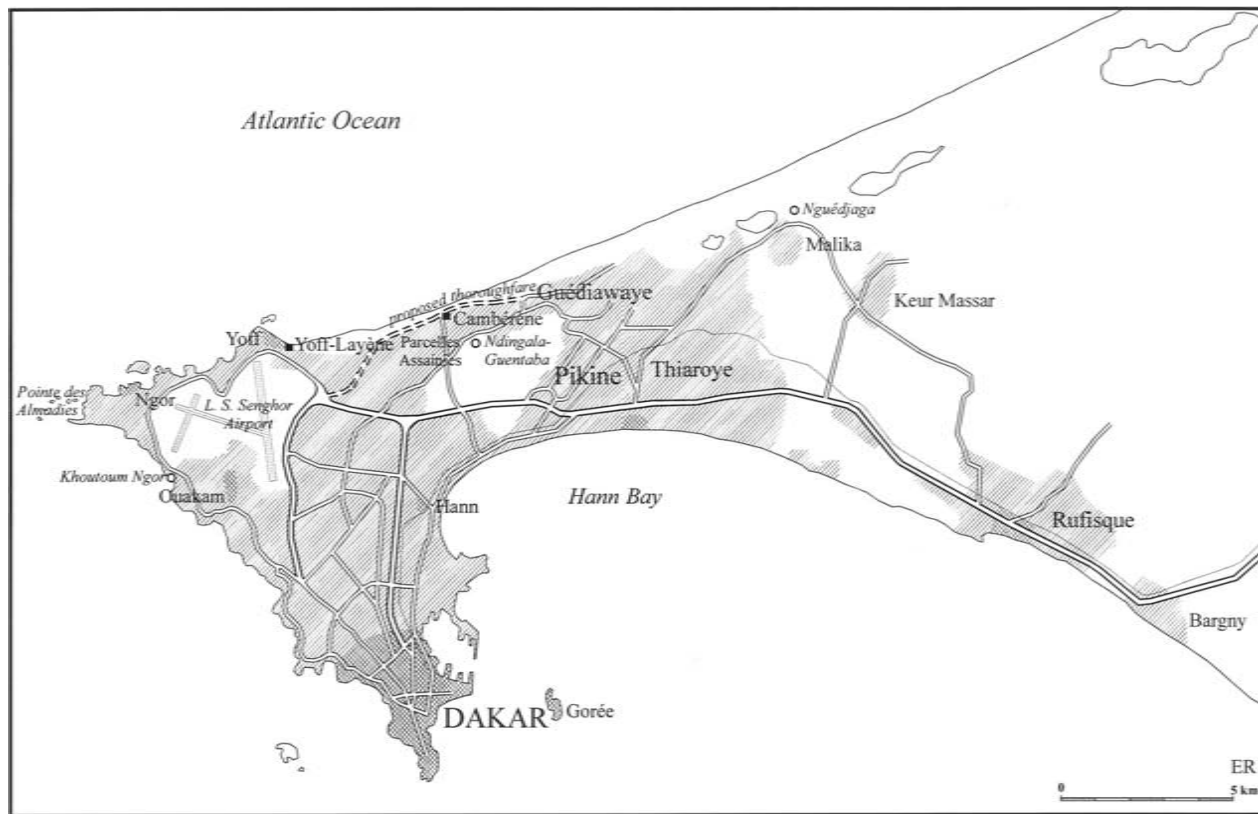
Figure 3.5. Layenne shrines. [Based partially on 1:200,000 topographical map ND-28-XIII Dakar (1966) and 1:50,000 topographical map ND-28-XIII-ouest Dakar (1983).]

blocked the Ministry's plan to urbanize Ndingala (Guentaba), which it still uses as a shrine and lieu de mémoire.[115]

Yoff-Layène and Cambérène seem to benefit from a kind of de facto autonomy even though they lie within the municipal boundaries of Dakar and Guediawaye, respectively. Life in the two centers is lived according to proper Muslim codes; as in Touba, neither alcohol nor tobacco may be consumed there. The moral authority of the Layenne caliphs over members of the order is sufficient to ensure that residents and visitors comply with the proper prescriptions and proscriptions, without the need for policing. The order has also been successful in ensuring that municipal authorities do not intervene in these sanctuaries, or else that they do so only with its consent.

The Tijâniyyah order (figure 3.6) has also fostered a number of small centers. For example, Fass in Mbacol was established by Sëriñ Tit Touré in 1894.[116] Named for Fez (Fâs) in Morocco, where the mother-zâwiyyah of the Tijâniyyah is located, it is known today for the Arabic-language Islamic high school (called the *madrasah*) which the Touré operate.

Tiénaba (sometimes spelled Thiénaba or Cénaba), near Thiès, established by Amary Ndack Seck (1831–99) in 1882, is another small Tijânî center (appendix 5). Amary Ndack, also called Ahmadou Massaer, descended from a line of Mauritanian clerics on his father's side and was a member of the noble Fall lineage of Kayor and Baol on his mother's. Born in Tiénaba Kayor in 1831, he joined the jihad of the Tijânî Cheikhou Ahmadou Mahdiyou in Jolof in 1871–76. Following the defeat of the jihadists, Amary Ndack Seck was able to settle with the remnants of Cheikhou Ahmadou's entourage in a new clerical concession, Tiénaba, in western Baol, which he received as a grant from Thiéyacine, the last king of Baol.[117] Like the Qâdirî shaykh Bou Kounta in Ndiassane and the early Mouride establishments around Touba at the same time, the Tijânî shaykh of Tiénaba adopted a social program that combined agricultural production and religious instruction. A number of daaras were established in the surrounding area. In 1908, at the time Tiénaba's first "solid" mosque was built, the Thiès-Diourbel railroad, which passed through the order's agricultural lands just to the south of the settlement, opened for service. In 1929, Sëriñ Momar Talla Seck, caliph of Tiénaba (1899–1946), granted land along this rail line to the colonial authorities for the construction of a station, Tiénaba Gare.[118] Though no escale neighborhood was allotted, a certain number of commercial and administrative services were built there.

Tiénaba is a small Tijânî town. The settlement itself has about 3,000 inhabitants, but it is also the central place of a rural community of 18,625 (2004) and the seat of an administrative arrondissement.[119] Eleven of the surrounding villages are daaras linked directly to this Tijânî order. Many provisions of the sharî'ah, or Islamic legal code, are enforced in Tiénaba, including corporal punishment for adulterers, restrictions on the activities and clothing of women, and the banning of entertainment such as traditional wrestling and dances. Also, alcohol, tobacco, and dogs are forbidden in the town.[120] The central shrine consists of the mosque, the official residence of the caliphs (called Kër gu-Maak or Kër Magg Moom)
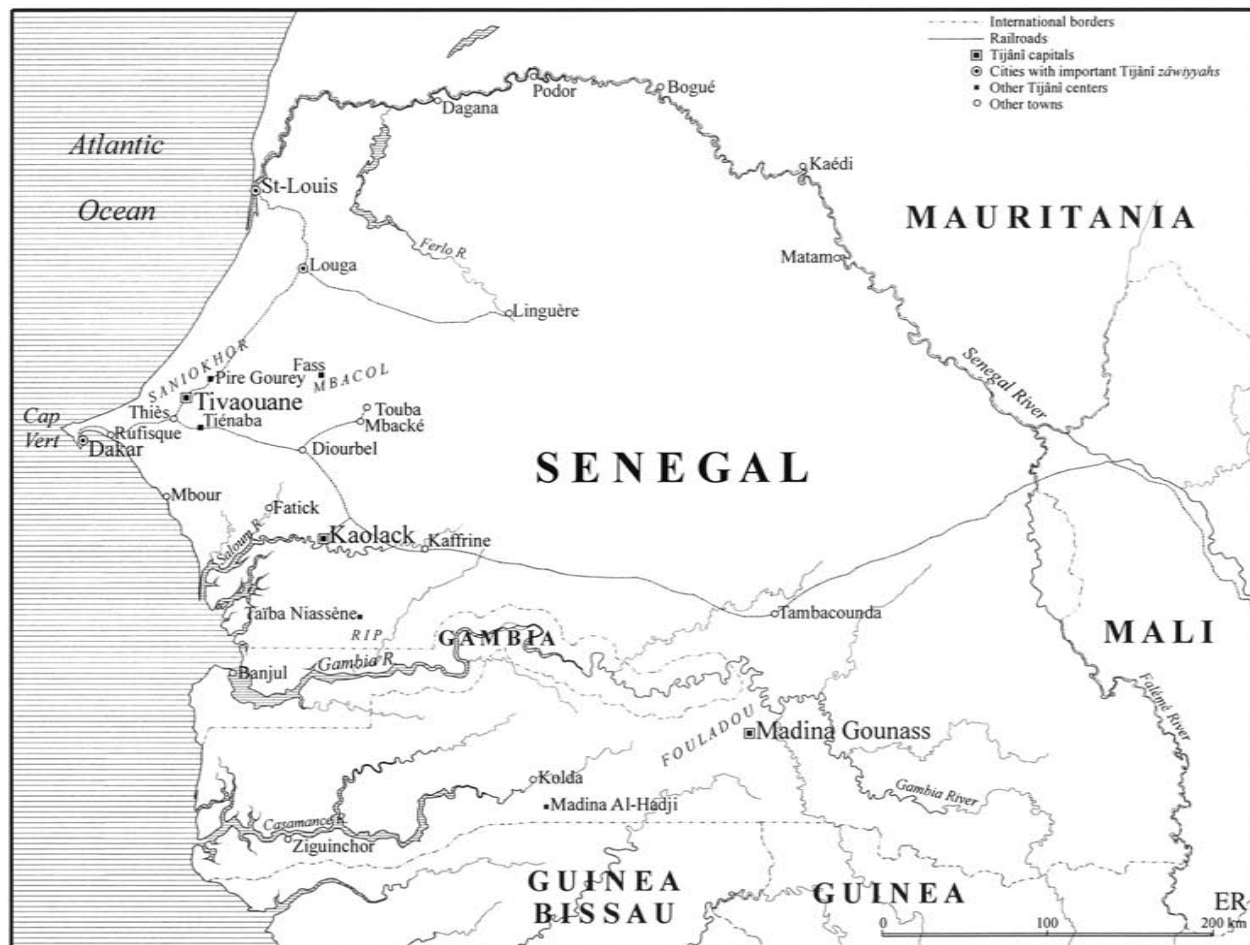
Figure 3.6. Tijânî centers.

which faces it across the square, and a number of cemeteries and attendant mausolea. Tiénaba-Tiénaba muqaddams are present in a small number of localities elsewhere in Senegal, including Louga, Diayane, and Gossas.

As for the Mouride order (figure 3.7), though it is responsible for Touba, Senegal's largest Sufi city, it also maintains a large number of smaller shrines, places like Darou Marnane in Mbacol, and the neighboring town of Mbacké Kayor where Ahmadou Bamba's father lies buried,[121] or Porokhane, in the Rip, where his mother is buried. Porokhane is where Momar Anta Saly Mbacké, Ahmadou Bamba's father, settled with his family and students in the 1860s. It is located near Nioro, which was the jihadist Maba Diakhou's capital. Ahmadou Bamba was a child at the time. He pursued his studies there, but he also lost his mother, Mame Diarra Bousso, who was buried there. Porokhane has recently experience significant growth as many Mouride associations, and especially the approximately one thousand women's dahiras that bear her name, are strongly attached to her memory. The process began in 1952 when Sёrign Bassirou Mbacké first organized a màggal there.[122] Mame Diarra Bousso's mausoleum was refurbished in 1971 and again in 1983, at which point a new mosque was attached.[123] Porokhane also has a Kёr Mame Diarra, the equivalent of the Kёr Sёriñ Touba of other Mouride shrine centers. Among the other features of this sanctuary are the "blessed well," where Mame Diarra was able to draw water for her husband's ablutions and the remnants of a shade tree beneath which her young son learned the Koran. Sёriñ Moustapha Bassirou Mbacké plans to open a large girl's school in Porokhane that will combine religious instruction and practical home economics. The town is the seat of a rural community (population 22,660 in 2004). Its main access road is paved and it is connected to the national electric grid.

Darou Mousty in Mbacol, twenty-eight kilometers northwest of Touba, is often referred to as the "second city" of the Mourides. It was founded in 1912 by Mame Tierno Birahim Mbacké (1863–1943), Ahmadou Bamba's younger brother and close confidant and a Sufi in his own right. Mame Tierno's lineage constitutes an important subgroup within the order. Like Touba, Darou Mousty lies at the center of a dense concentration of daaras established in the order's early period (1912–27), places like Thinkoli, Kosso, and Yabal, each headed by a son or disciple of Mame Tierno. Darou Marnane,[124] fifteen kilometers northwest of Darou Mousty, assigned to Mame Tierno's son Cheikh Awa Balla Mbacké (d. 1976), is an important ancillary center for this lineage. Life in Darou Mousty during the first three decades of its history was particularly harsh (figure 3.8). No drinking water was available on-site and the land had to be violently wrested from its original pastoral Fulbe inhabitants. Despite these hardships, Darou Mousty and its attendant daaras constituted one of the most successful instances of Mouride colonization, which combined subsistence production, cash cropping, and religious instruction. By the early 1930s, the area was considered the "granary and bank of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba" by the Mourides[125] and the "breadbasket of Kayor" by the French.[126] It also benefited from a great degree of autonomy from both French colonial and local Wolof authorities.[127] Development of the town proper got

Figure 3.7. Network of Mouride shrines.
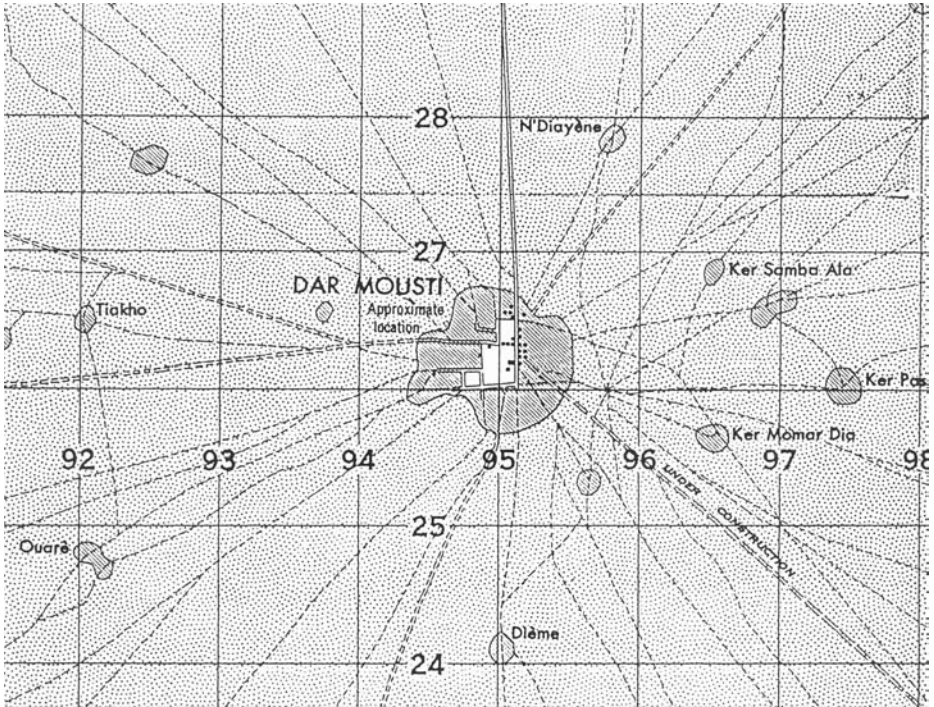
Figure 3.8. Darou Mousty in 1945. By 1945, a little over thirty years after its founding, Darou Mousty was the largest town in the Mbacol region and was the central place of a prosperous area of Mouride agricultural colonization. As the colonial authorities built no railroads or escales in Mbacol, Darou Mousty became its commercial and administrative center as well. [U.S. Army Map Service, G721-1337-II, 1950, 1:50,000 scale, Archives du Service Géographique National du Sénégal, Dakar.]

underway after Mame Tierno's death when, in 1949, a first well and pump were installed.[128] Once the Great Mosque in Touba had been completed, preparations got underway to build a solid mosque in Darou Mousty. Today, Darou Mousty is the central place of a rural community (population 27,341 in 2004 of which probably 15,000 inhabit the town proper) and is the seat of an administrative arrondissement. Mame Tierno Birahim's lineage holds an important màggal in Darou Mousty on the fifteenth day of Sha'bân.

Hybrid Cities

Along with the establishment of autonomous rural centers, some of which subsequently have become towns and cities, Senegal's Sufi orders also pursued a policy

of investment of the country's growing colonial urban network. This was a particularly explicit policy of the Tijâniyyah order but it was also adopted, less single-mindedly, by the Qâdiriyyah and the Mourides.

The Tijâniyyah, originally from North Africa, is probably the largest of Senegal's orders in terms of numbers of adherents.[129] However, this order is effectively subdivided into several distinct, and often rival, branches, which are often divided internally, creating a very fractured system. In some cases, Tijânî initiatives have lead to the creation ex nihilo of new religious centers, such as Thiénaba, Fass in Mbacol, Taïba Niassène in the Rip and Madina Al-Hadji, for example (and, exceptionally, the city of Madina Gounass discussed below), but for the most part, during the colonial period, this order aimed at investing the country's emerging network of colonial cities. Consequently, the Tijâniyyah is seen today as Senegal's most urban, and *urbane*, Sufi order, the order of the Senegalese bourgeoisie.

The Tijâniyyah of Tivaouane is the largest branch of the order in terms of number of Senegalese adherents and the national scale at which it operates. This branch is the legacy of Al-Hâjj Malick Sy (1855–1922), whose descendents continue to manage its affairs (appendix 6). Malick Sy was born in Gaé near Dagana, on the border of Walo and Fouta Toro. He was a member of the Sy clerical lineage, of Toroodbe origin, and was distantly related to the imams of Bundu.[130] At eighteen years of age, Malick Sy was initiated into the Tijâniyyah by his maternal uncle, Alfa Mayoro Welle, who was one of Al-Hâjj Umar Tall's muqaddams.[131] Even though Malick Sy studied for a time with the Tijânî shaykhs of the Ida ou 'Alî tribe in the Saharan emirates, early on he was attracted to Saint Louis, the colonial capital, where he was introduced into elite Muslim circles, married, and opened a Tijânî zâwiyyah.[132] He also established an agricultural estate on the mainland, at Ngambouthilé in the Gandiol. It is revenue from agriculture, presumably peanut production, which enabled him to finance his hajj pilgrimage to Mecca in 1889.[133]

Upon returning to Saint Louis, Al-Hâjj Malick Sy was able to finance the construction of a "solid" zâwiyyah, in the capital's mainly Muslim Nord neighborhood,[134] but in 1895, he made the decision to leave the city for Saniokhor province, heart of the immerging Peanut Basin, where he set up two large agricultural estates: Ndiarndé and Diacsaw.[135] This move marks a significant break for the cleric and the beginning of his attempt to organize his own branch of the Tijâniyyah. The students and professors, who gathered on these rural estates, sharing their time between scholarly and agricultural pursuits, were personally trained and inducted into the order of Al-Hâjj Malick. This was the origin of his zâwiyyah, "a real popular university where he trained a spiritual elite."[136] This preparatory process culminated in 1902, when Al-Hâjj Malick took his family, disciples, and zâwiyyah to the rail town of Tivaouane.

Tivaouane, southwest of Pire, was the first "boom-town" of Senegal's peanut economy. Founded as a village by one of Khâli Amar Fall's grandsons,[137] and thus part of Pire's traditional "terrain," it became a fortified French post in 1869. In 1886, Tivaouane became an escale ferroviare, with a grid of surveyed lots (figure 3.2), and it was designated as the chef-lieu of an administrative *cercle*. Its population

grew from about 300 in 1895 to 4,300 by 1904. The town was attractive to many Sufi shaykhs; the Fâdhiliyyah-Qâdiriyyah of Nimjat had already opened a zâwiyyah there before Sy's arrival[138] and the Kûntî-Qâdiriyya center of Ndiassane was located nearby.

When Al-<u>H</u>âjj Malick Sy arrived in Tivaouane in 1902, he settled in the African quarter (referred to at the time by the French as the "African" or "indigenous" village), just outside the escale allotment. He had a large "solid" zâwiyyah constructed there in 1907 from which the order was organized on a national and urban basis. Al-<u>H</u>âjj Malick was a well-known and respected figure among Senegal's clerical circles. Moreover, he was in personal contact with all of the most important Tijânî shaykhs. Many of them recognized his seniority in matters of erudition and spiritual credentials and joined his particular path. Some of these muqaddams remained where they were and others were advised by Malick Sy to move to strategic locations. Sëriñ Malick Sall, for example, was already settled in Louga, a rail escale. Al-Hâjj Abdou Kane (d. 1932) was asked to move to Kaolack and Al-<u>H</u>âjj Tafsir Abdou Cissé settled in Pire, which had become the escale of Pire Gourey. Likewise, Al-<u>H</u>âjj Aghwane Ngom of Mbal and Ndiaye Mabeye became muqaddams of Saint Louis. Al-<u>H</u>âjj Malick's maternal family, the Welle, remained in Dagana; Abdoulaye Ndour was designated muqaddam of Dakar (where a zâwiyyah was built in 1912); and Ahmadou Mokhtar Sakho held the position in Bogué (not yet on the Mauritanian side of the border).[139] Rank-and-file membership in Sy's order came largely from among merchants and the new class of civil servants created by the colonial regime. By the 1920s, it was a national institution, with major zâwiyyahs in downtown Saint Louis and Dakar and others in virtually every port and rail escale. This urban order was centered on Al-<u>H</u>âjj Malick Sy's zâwiyyah in Tivaouane, where an annual pilgrimage, the gàmmu or *mawlûd*, had already been instituted and which senior shaykhs from the Tijânî mother-zâwiyyah in Fez visited in 1914.[140]

National in scope and urban in nature, Al-<u>H</u>âjj Malick Sy's branch of the Tijâniyyah had as yet no instituted administrative organs; these were only created following his death in 1922. Before he died, Al-<u>H</u>âjj Malick Sy had designated Al-<u>H</u>âjj Seydou Nourou Tall as his successor. Seydou Nourou Tall (d. 1980) was a grandson of Al-<u>H</u>âjj Umar, the famous Tijânî jihadist. He had many followers in Fouta Toro and had forged close links with the AOF administration in Dakar. Wishing to maintain his Sufi filiation distinct from that of Tivaouane, Seydou Nourou declined the offer to lead the Tivaouane branch and it was Malick Sy's eldest surviving son,[141] Khalifa Ababakar Sy (r. 1922–57), who became khalîfah instead. Khalifa Ababakar oversaw the creation of an organizational structure to institutionalize the network that had coalesced around his erudite father. The impetus for this came from the Dakar taalibes:

> It is one year after the death of Al-<u>H</u>âjj Malick Sy, that is to say in 1923, that a dozen Dakar disciples created the first official conduit for relations with Tivaouane. The initiative of the Dakarois was favorably received by the new *khalîfah* Ababakar Sy. He instructed Sëriñ

> Ndioba, a great *muqaddam*, to guide the young association in its first steps; this *sëriñ* is the one who named it Dâ'irah al-Kirâm Tijânî.[142]

This was the first dahira to be created. The dahira subsequently became the basic mode of organization for urban members of all of Senegal's Sufi orders, being adopted, for example, by the first urban Mourides in the 1940s.[143] The first Tijânî dahira was a bottom-up initiative and constituted a form of voluntary association. It is perhaps not surprising that this new institution was created in Dakar. By the 1920s, Dakar was a modern administrative center and a highly politicized city where political parties and other forms of civil associations flourished. Dozens of similar dahiras soon sprang up on a piecemeal basis among Tijânî disciples in cities and towns across Senegal.

During World War II, urbanization in Senegal accelerated and the Tijânî dahira system was reformed. The new structure was as follows:

> Each *dahira* delegated its Administrative Council, consisting of its president, secretary and treasurer, to the Federation. The Director of the Federation was chosen from among the *dahira* presidents. In turn, the Federations would send three of their members to represent them on the Coordination Committee. The Coordination Committee met once a month in Tivaouane. [. . .] All is centralized and recorded in Tivaouane, which permits the central authorities to have the entire organization of the brotherhood in hand and which gives it the added advantage of being able to reach any disciple of Al-H̲âjj Malick Sy at any moment.[144]

The Tijâniyyah of Tivaouane thus created for itself a very modern organizational structure, modeled on that of political parties and trade unions, types of civil association well established at this time. It had federated local chapters operating under an umbrella coordination committee responsible to a central authority. Moreover, this mass organization adopted the urban-based territorial structure of the modern nation-state, as the various "federations," in fact, conformed to the existing administrative cercles of the colony.

Despite its formalized structure though, the Sy Tijâniyyah became deeply divided. Divisions arose during the first succession dispute in 1922, but again and more acutely during a second succession in 1957. The 1950s was a decade of intense political activity in Senegal as the way to independence was being prepared and competition for power within an expanding electorate became fierce. As mass social movements, both in urban and rural contexts, Senegal's Sufi orders, the Mourides and the Tijâniyyah in equal measure, were deeply involved politically and the phenomenon has been well studied.[145] In Tivaouane, however, the political cleavages tore through the fabric of the Sy family and of the central authority of the order. Violence between opposing political partisans erupted in the town on several occasions, notably on 13 June 1951 and 6 March 1956.[146] In 1957, when both Khalifa Ababakar and his brother and likely successor Al-H̲âjj Mansour (leader of the "opposition" within the order) died within a week of each other, the order was plunged into a severe succession crisis. As in Touba in 1945, the caliphate

was contested between the founder's eldest surviving son, Al-Hâjj Abdoul Aziz Sy (1904–97), and Khalifa Ababakar's own sons: Sëriñ Moustapha Sy, Sëriñ Mansour Ababakar Sy, and Cheikh Tidiane Sy. In the end, Abdoul Aziz Sy's claim was recognized, but he was never able to exercise complete authority over the order.

Divisions within the order are now entrenched in the topography of Tivaouane (figure 3.9). Al-Hâjj Malick Sy's zâwiyyah, erected in 1907, is overshadowed by the mosque-mausoleum complex of Khalifa Ababakar Sy, built in 1957. Starting in 1984, large areas around these two religious edifices were cleared and entire city blocks were razed to make room for a new Great Mosque (still under construction in 2005), which is set to become Senegal's principal Tijânî monument once it is completed. All three religious edifices stand within two hundred meters of each other in a single neighborhood, called Hadji Malick, where most of the senior members of the Sy lineage have built palatial multistory townhouses. During the annual pilgrimage, the gàmmu, pilgrims will congregate around whichever of the edifices their shaykh is directly affiliated to. Divisions within the order are thus quite public. Yet, despite these deep divisions, this order is still a powerful force in urban Senegal, where most of its members are active, and Tivaouane thrives because of it. Tivaouane (population 27,100 in 1988, estimated 39,000 in 2004, figure 3.10) is the seat of an administrative département. Public administration is its most important urban function, as the local peanut economy has long since declined to insignificance. Yet, increasingly, its religious function, as capital of a national order, is the city's most dynamic sector. Moreover, there is no necessary disjunction between public service and Sufi obligations; most of the civil servants assigned to the town are taalibes of Al-Hâjj Malick Sy.[147]

Similarly urban, though international rather than national in scope, is the Niassene Tijâniyyah of Kaolack. This branch of the order is the legacy of Al-Hâjj Abdoulaye Niass (1845–1922) and of his son Al-Hâjj Ibrahima (1902–75) (appendix 7). Abdoulaye Niass' father, Mamadou, was unusual as a Muslim cleric as he was of "casted" blacksmith origin and not from a recognized clerical lineage.[148] When he left the province of Guèt in Kayor to join Maba Diakhou's jihad in the Rip in the 1860s, his son Abdoulaye followed him. During the reign of Maba's son, Saër Maty Ba (off and on Elimane of Rip from 1867 until 1887) Abdoulaye held the position of qâdî (chief justice). The family seems to have invested in agricultural estates like Niassène in Saloum and Taïba Niassène in the Rip.[149] At the age of about thirty, Abdoulaye Niass was initiated into the Tijâniyyah by a muqaddam from Fouta Jallon.[150] In 1890, one year after Malick Sy, Abdoulaye made the hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, stopping to visit the Tijânî mother-zâwiyyah in Fez on his return. He seems to have run into trouble with the emerging French colonial regime in Saloum and with their client Mandiaye Ba, newly appointed Elimane of the Rip. In 1901, he fled with his followers to the Gambia territory, then under British rule.[151] In 1903, he made a second visit to the Fez zâwiyyah, this time accompanied by his eldest son Ahmadou Momar, and then returned to the Gambia.[152]

In 1910, Al-Hâjj Abdoulaye Niass was persuaded by Al-Hâjj Malick Sy to move back to Senegal, and more specifically to Kaolack.[153] Kaolack at the time was an
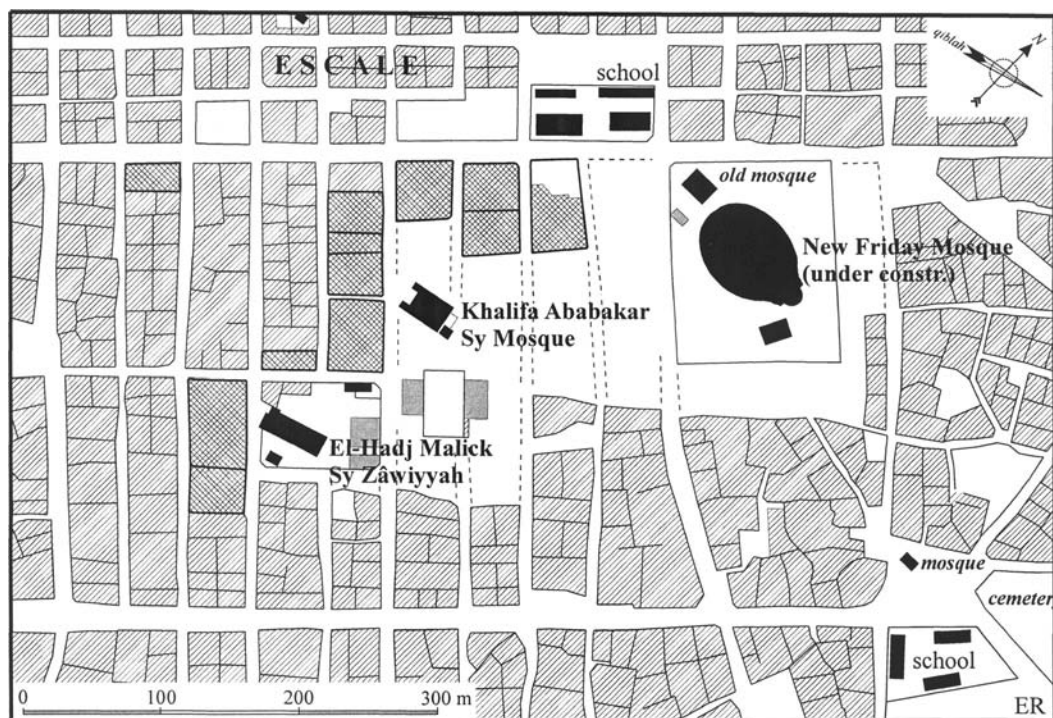
Figure 3.9. Hadji Malick, Tivaouane's Tijânî neighborhood. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Tivaouane-Ndiassane.]

emerging peanut-trading city, as well as being the new administrative and commercial capital of the "cercle" of Saloum. The French had taken an interest in the place, effectively a downstream suburb of Kahone, Saloum's historic capital, as early as 1859, when they obtained permission from the king of Saloum to build a factory there. The escale on the riverbank was allotted the next year. Growth was slow at first, even after the French took effective control of Saloum in 1887 and turned Kaolack into the administrative chef-lieu of the district in 1897. By 1910, the European escale had a population of about 1,500 but an African neighborhood called Léona was already starting to grow just beyond its northern limits. It was when a railroad spur off the Dakar-Niger line was built to Kaolack's harbor in 1923 that the city became a peanut processing and exporting boomtown; its population rising to 5,700 in 1925, 13,300 in 1930, and 44,200 by 1934.[154]

It was in Léona neighborhood in 1910 that Al-Ḥâjj Abdoulaye Niass settled with his extended family and entourage of students, and it was there that he opened his Tijânî zâwiyyah (figure 3.11). At first, the Niassene zâwiyyah operated in close conjunction with Sy's Tivaouane-based order, but Al-Ḥâjj Abdoulaye Niass was determined that his spiritual credentials, based on personal contact with the mother-zâwiyyah in Fez, be acknowledged in their own right. Abdoulaye Niass

Figure 3.10. Tivaouane in 1989. The hybrid city of Tivaouane, originally a quintessential escale, is now dominated by the Tijânî neighborhood of Hadji Malick, with its three mosques. The railroad, originally the raison d'être of the city, has been closed for a decade. South of this Tijânî city is Ndiassane, the Qâdirî capital. [Service Géographique National du Sénégal, photocarte 1:50,000 scale, ND-28-XV Thiès 3c, 1989.]

Figure 3.11. Zâwiyyah of Al-<u>H</u>âjj Abdoulaye Niass in Leona, Kaolack. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Kaolack-Kahone.]

died in 1922, the same year as Malick Sy. To affirm his independent authority, Niass' eldest son and successor, Ahmadou Momar (caliph from 1922 to 1957), attached the title khalîfah to his name. The challenge to Ahmadou Momar Khalifa Niass' authority, however, did not come from Tivaouane; it came from his younger brother Ibrahima.

It is Ibrahima Niass who began transforming the Niassenne-Tijâniyyah into an international institution. Sometime between 1928 and 1930, Ibrahima Niass, known affectionately as Baye Niass (Father Niass), had a sufficiently large following of his own to break out of Léona and establish a new neighborhood, Madina Baye, along the rail lines one kilometer north of town. In 1936–37, he embarked upon a <u>h</u>ajj pilgrimage to Mecca that took him first through Fez, in Morocco, where he had his authority recognized by the muqaddams there. While in Mecca, he met the Emir of Kano, Abdullahi Bayero. Upon his return to Senegal, Al-<u>H</u>âjj

Ibrahima Niass traveled on to Kano, in British-ruled northern Nigeria, where he was received by the Emir and his court.[155]

This marked the beginning of his international career. From his zâwiyyah in Madina Baye, he established branches of the order, which he called alternately Jama'at al-Fay<u>d</u>ah al-Tijâniyyah (the Congregation of Tijânî Abundance)[156] or simply Al-Tarbiyyah (Instruction), throughout West Africa. By the 1950s and 60s, Al-<u>H</u>âjj Ibrahima Niass had become a global figure. A great exponent of nonalignment, pan-Africanism, and pan-Islamism, he met with such world leaders as Kwame Nkrumah, Gamal Abdel Nasr, Marshall Tito, and Nikita Khrushchev, and he traveled to the People's Republic of China. He was also an active force within the World Muslim Congress (based in Karachi, Pakistan), the Islamic Congress (based in Cairo) and the Muslim World League.[157]

It was Al <u>H</u>âjj Ibrahima Niass who set up an administrative structure for his international network. By the late 1960s, the order was directed at the top by a board of four *kutubai* (from Arabic qu<u>t</u>b) who, along with his three senior sons, assisted him in all his endeavors. In addition, there were three "language-liaison secretaries" to handle correspondence in Arabic, French, and English. Moreover, each national unit, i.e., Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia, etc., had a representative responsible directly to Al-Hâjj Ibrahima Niass.[158] The headquarters of the Niassène-Tijâniyyah in Madina Baye thus resembled the secretariat of one of the international organizations its founder was so active in.

Today, the Niassene Tijâniyyah has zâwiyyahs in most West African countries, including Mauritania, as well as in such U.S. cities as Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Memphis, New Orleans, New York, Oakland, Philadelphia, and Washington D.C. where there are mostly African American disciples.[159] Moreover, the order has created its own international NGO, the African American Islamic Institute (AAII) headquartered in both Kaolack and Detroit, which, according to its Web site, has been recognized by the United Nations.[160] The Niassène-Tijâniyyah is famous for the important role women have within the order. For example, Roqaya Niass (b. 1931), one of Ibrahima's daughters, is a well-known Islamic scholar and author of many Arabic-language books.[161] Other women have been appointed *muqaddamât* in Senegal and Nigeria.[162]

More even than the Sy of Tivaouane, the Niass of Kaolack are a divided family. Since the death of Al-Hâjj Ibrahima in 1975, spiritual and administrative authority has been dispersed among several major figures. The senior branch of the family continues to operate Abdoulaye Niass' original zâwiyyah in the Leona neighborhood while the junior "Ibrahima" lineage occupies the religious neighborhood of Madina Baye (figure 3.12), which is dominated by the Great Mosque (begun in 1958), the Islamic Studies Institute inaugurated in 1967,[163] and enumerable other schools of religious instruction. Authority here is further divided between the Khalifa—a son of Baye Niass—and a "lieutenant" (this French term is used), Cheikh Assane Cissé, who is imâm of the Madina Baye Mosque and who manages the Al-Fay<u>d</u>ah organization internationally. Moreover, since the 1980s, both the Leona and Madina Baye branches of the lineage have become heavily
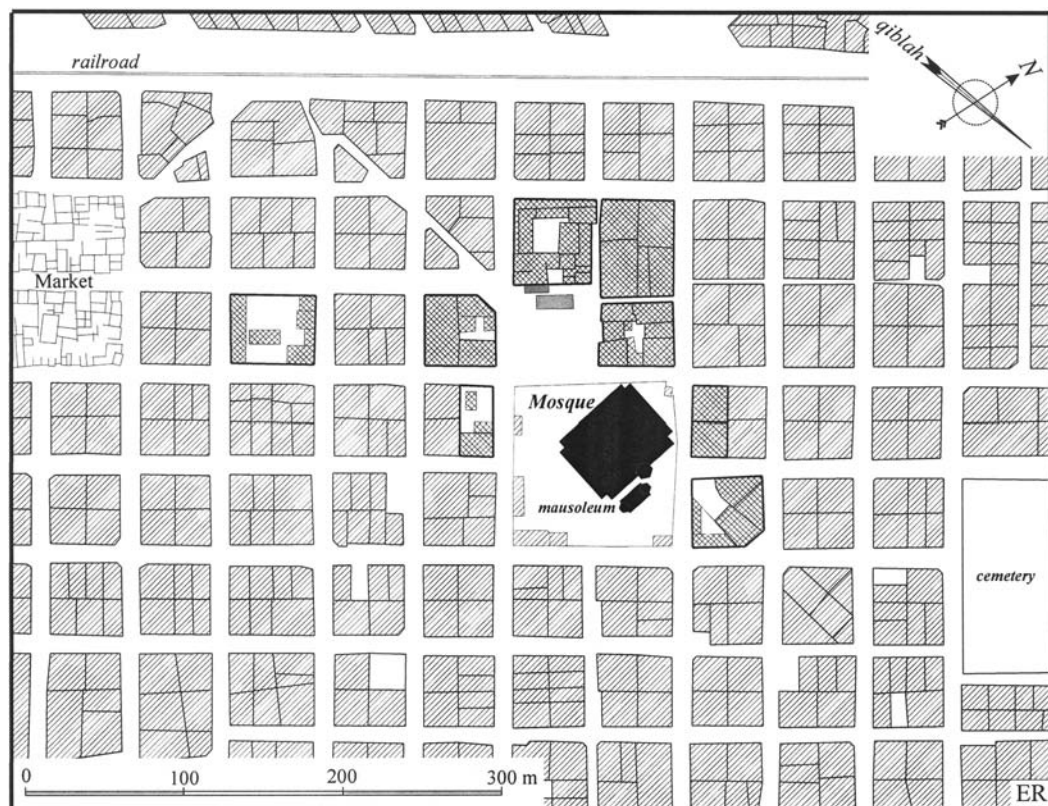
Figure 3.12. Madina Baye, the Niassene neighborhood of Kaolack. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Kaolack-Kahone.]

involved in political life, at the national as well as the local scale. Some members of the lineage are active in opposition political parties and newspapers and one of Al-Ḥâjj Ibrahima Niass' sons was elected mayor of Kaolack in 2004.

Kaolack (population 151,000 in 1988, estimated 233,300 in 2003) is a large diverse city (figure 3.13). Apart from the two Niassene zâwiyyahs, some of the city's Tijânîs are affiliated to the Sy branch of Tivaouane, through the local Kane lineage, rather than to either of the Niassene ones. There is also a sizable Mouride presence in the city, based in Ndorong neighborhood. Yet these latter institutions operate at the neighborhood level. It is the Niassene Tijâniyyah of Madina Baye that operates an international religious network.

The Mouride order is also characterized by hybrid cities, principally Mbacké and Diourbel. Mbacké is the ancestral home of the Mbacké lineage and the "mother" of Touba. It was founded circa 1796 by Ahmadou Bamba's great-grandfather and

Figure 3.13. Kaolack in 1989. Kaolack is one of the largest of Senegal's regional capitals. Successor city to Kahone, the historic capital of the kingdom of Saloum, Kaolack has a diverse religious profile, with major Tijânî zâwiyyahs in Leona and Madina Baye and a strong Mouride presence in Ndorong ward. [Service Géographique National du Sénégal, 1:50,000 scale, ND-28-XIV Thiès 2b, 1989.]

was an important center of Islamic instruction through the nineteenth century. Paradoxically, ever since the creation of Touba, only eight kilometers to the northeast, Mbacké has experienced a process of increasing "secularization." Though it has a majority Mouride population and major Mouride lineages and associations are very active there, Mbacké is legally constituted as a municipality, or commune, and is theoretically administered like any other Senegalese city.

The secularization process in Mbacké began in the early 1930s when construction of Touba's mosque got underway and the spur of the railroad was built. It is the Mouride order, under the leadership of Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha, which planned and financed the construction of the Diourbel-Touba line. The French colonial authorities saw this endeavor as the occasion to bring the Mouride heartland of eastern Baol into the territorial-administrative structure of the colony and they proposed to create an escale in Touba itself, at the railhead next to the mosque site. Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha was successful in blocking this project, which would have fundamentally determined the nature of the future city, but he did agree to have an escale allotted next to historic Mbacké instead.[164] Mbacké thus became the seat of an administrative cercle and began attracting the type of businesses typical of any rail escale. Until the 1970s the city was a much bigger place than Touba, with government services and public schools. Given Touba's spectacular growth, however, Mbacké now functions very much as an annex to the Mouride "capital." Many of its commercial establishments, including banks, have relocated to Touba.

Significantly, Mbacké is considered by all to be "outside" Touba's sacred precincts. The municipality (population 38,800 in 1988, estimated 58,045 in 2004) effectively constitutes an enclave within Touba as all the villages on its outskirts are included within the autonomous rural community of Touba Mosquée.[165] Mbacké is the seat of an administrative département and has government-run schools, as well as bars, clubs, cigarette vendors, lottery kiosks, a cinema, and other forms of entertainment proscribed in Touba.

While Mbacké, originally a Muslim town, became increasingly secularized with the coming of the rail and the escale, Diourbel experienced a contrary process. Diourbel, also called Ndiarème, is the administrative capital of Diourbel region with jurisdiction over most of the Mouride heartland. Located in the center of Baol, it was originally an important Serer settlement and thus had no Muslim population. Its colonial career began in 1895 when it became the chef-lieu of the cercle of Eastern Baol. In 1903, both administrative cercles, Western and Eastern Baol, were united into a single entity with Diourbel as capital. The Dakar-Niger railroad reached it 1908 and an escale neighborhood was allotted next to the train station in 1911. Peanut production in the surrounding area boomed and the town's population grew from 2,200 in 1914 to 11,300 in 1930. It was to this typical colonial urban creation that the authorities assigned Ahmadou Bamba to house arrest in January 1912. Ahmadou Bamba's arrival unwittingly began the process of turning the place into a hybrid Sufi city.

At first, Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba was assigned a house in the escale. His arrival in the city, so close to his homeland, immediately precipitated a movement of his disciples, brothers, and associates. By mid-February 1913, the authorities had decided to assign the shaykh a place outside of town, to the east across the shallow Sine valley, in a loop of the railroad, so that his large and growing community would not overwhelm the nascent colonial district.[166] Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba called the new locale Al-Buq'at al-Mubarakah, the "blessed spot" mentioned in the Koran (28:30), a toponym recently given to one of Touba's newest neighborhoods, but the place is better known today under the designation Keur Goumak (Kër gu-Maak) after Ahmadou Bamba's great house, described in chapter 2. Large as it was, the shaykh's compound could not contain all the people and activities that coalesced around him. Soon an entire Mouride neighborhood was emerging in the vicinity while a second neighborhood, Keur Cheikh Ibra Fall, was created north of the escale, across the tracks, where Shaykh Ibra Fall settled with his own entourage.

It is in Keur Goumak neighborhood that the first Mouride mosque was built. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba received authorization to build it in 1916, in recognition of the cooperation of Mouride shaykhs in the drive to recruit soldiers for the war in Europe. This mosque is significant in many regards. Despite the fact that France was at war with the Ottomans, it was deliberately built in the "Ottoman" style, with a central dome over the prayer hall and minarets at the four corners. This was the first domed mosque in Senegal, where until then (and, to a large extent, even since) mosque construction has followed the Maghrebi plan of the hypostyle hall. It was also the first material manifestation of the power and means at the disposal of the order. Despite the war and its impact on finances and labor, the Mourides were able to mobilize the resources and capital necessary to what at that time was a gargantuan undertaking. It was also a foretaste of what was to come during construction of Touba's Great Mosque, begun a decade later. By the time of his death in 1927, Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba had managed to transform Diourbel, or at least one significant portion of it, from a wholly colonial creation into a Muslim place.

Today, Diourbel (population 76,500 in 1988, estimated 98,866 in 2004) is truly a hybrid city (figure 3.14). It is characterized by a decrepit "west end" consisting of the old colonial escale neighborhood with its dilapidated administrative and commercial buildings, and a thriving "east end" in Keur Goumak, centered on Ahmadou Bamba's "Great House" and mosque. Many Mouride shaykhs continue to live in Keur Goumak and the neighborhood is dotted with Koranic schools. Sëriñ Saliou Mbacké, the current caliph general of the Mourides, maintains a house there and regularly "holds court" in the city. Keur Goumack resembles the great Tijânî neighborhoods of Hadji Malick in Tivaouane and Madina Baye in Kaolack. Each of these neighborhoods, dominated by great mosques and dotted with religious schools, have "re-centered" their respective cities. The old escale neighborhoods are still politically and administratively dominant and continue to harbor the principal urban markets. Yet, increasingly, the national and international connectivity of these cities flows through their Sufi neighborhoods.
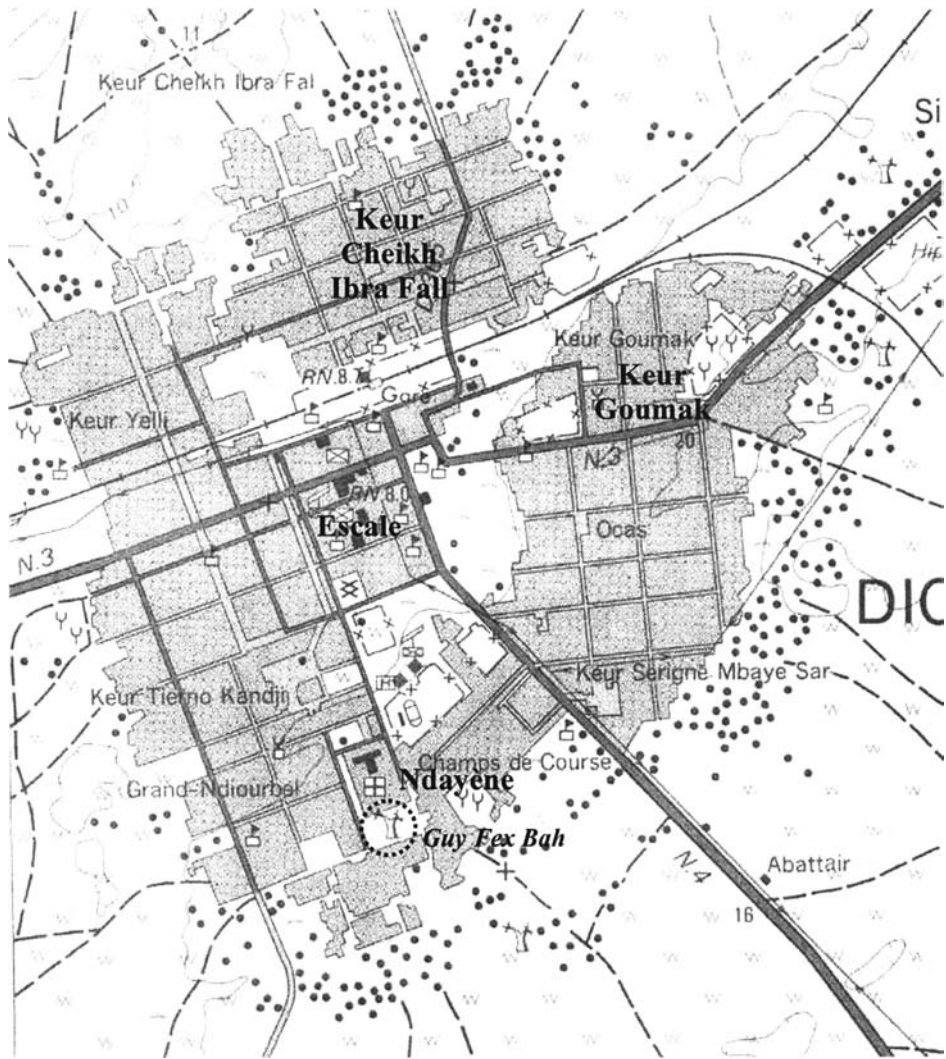
Figure 3.14. Diourbel in 1989. Prior to colonization, Diourbel was a Sereer settlement and a center of traditional religion. In the early colonial period, it was transformed into a colonial city, with a railroad and an escale. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's house arrest in the city changed it once again. The new neighborhoods of Keur Goumak and Keur Cheikh Ibra Fall had exclusively Mouride inhabitants with a strong attachment to Islamic practice. Today, the Escale neighborhood retains its administrative functions and Keur Goumak, across the dry valley of the Sine, retains its strong Mouride mystique. [Service Géographique National du Sénégal, 1:50,000 scale, ND-28-XIV Thiès 4b, 1989.]

Senegal's Two Autonomous Rural Communities

Several of the Sufi establishments discussed above, notably the Layenne centers of Yoff-Layène and Cambérène, the Tijânî town of Tiénaba and the Qâdirî town of Ndiassane benefit from some sort of de facto autonomy. They are for the most part managed by the orders that created them. This management includes the construction of religious and educational infrastructure but it also extends to urban processes such as the allotment of residential neighborhoods. Moreover, the orders are able to prescribe and enforce specific Islamic legal injunctions, such as the banning of alcohol, tobacco, and secular entertainment. In the case of Tiénaba, the Tijâniyyah-Mâhdiyyah even prescribes corporal punishment for adulterers and monitors the public life of women. Moreover, the implementation of proper Islamic conduct is not limited to distinct Sufi centers like Tiénaba and Ndiassane, it also occurs to some extent in the Sufi neighborhoods of the hybrid cities: Léona and Madina Baye in Kaolack, Keur Goumak in Diourbel, etc.

The local authority exercised by the Sufi orders on these urban spaces seems to jar with Senegal's constituted political and legal systems. Senegal is a secular republic and a unitary state on the French model. In theory, all its citizens abide by a common law. Tobacco and alcohol are legal substances and are commercially available. Moreover, dancing and traditional wrestling are very popular national pastimes. How then can they be banned in these Sufi centers and how can such bans be enforced, either by the state, as is the case at the entrance to Touba, and/or by the local Sufi authority? The peculiar Islamic local governance in Senegal's contemporary Sufi cities recalls that of the ancien régime "marabout republics." During the precolonial period, the Muslim clerics succeeded in creating enclaves of the sunnah within the broader matrix of dâr al-kufr, the world of unbelief and compromise with traditional social and political norms. During the colonial period, the Sufi orders created enclaves of the sunnah within the matrix of secular modernity which the regime was attempting to impose. Since independence, this form of Sufi local authority has become institutionalized in practice and, in the case of the autonomous rural communities of Touba and Madina Gounass, in law as well.

In most cases, the autonomy of the Sufi enclaves is exercised informally, meaning that it is practiced outside the official political, administrative, and legal systems. During the colonial era and in the first decades after independence, this autonomous local governance was conducted on an *ad hoc*, de facto basis. It does not seem to have been codified in any law. Even Touba's ill-defined special status, real enough on the ground, was not spelled out in any legal document. By the late 1970s, however, with the creation of two autonomous rural communities, local Sufi governance was being officially recognized in law. The "rural community" is Senegal's smallest legally constituted administrative entity. Villages, whose "village heads" (chefs de village) also have official recognition, are not in themselves incorporated legal entities, meaning they have no budgets or legally constituted institutions. Rather, since the early 1970s, villages have been grouped together, up

to several dozen at a time, to form rural communities. This policy was implemented by the government of the day to pursue agricultural and social development in rural areas where the cash-crop peanut economy was in crisis. However, the "rurality" of many rural communities is questionable. Many small towns such as Darou Mousty (about fifteen thousand inhabitants) have this status, as do the immediate outskirts—the dynamic rural-urban fringe—of larger towns and cities. The creation of rural communities progressed across Senegal, one region at a time, through the latter half of the 1970s and it presented the government with the opportunity of regulating the status of Sufi settlements, rural or otherwise. Two "autonomous" administrative entities were thus created, one for Touba and the other for the Tijânî city of Madina Gounass.

Though Touba's de jure status as an autonomous rural community dates from 1976, in practice, from its creation, it has always been administered by the Mouride order independently of state structures. According to internal sources of Mouride historiography, the basis of Touba's autonomy lies in its spiritual distinction. Touba is foremost a holy city. It is a holy city because God chose the site. God guided Ahmadou Bamba to this spot in the wilderness so that he could establish his community of murîds in a sanctified place. In *Maṭlab al-Fawzaîn*, Ahmadou Bamba calls Touba a "protected" place (maḫrûsa); it is a "sanctuary" (ḥimâ) and a "sacred precinct" (ḥarîm). It is a pure place chosen by God to harbor a "straightened" community, a community of believers set on the Straight Path of Islam. For Mourides, Touba's sanctity is divinely ordained and divinely sustained. The city's special legal status derives from this religious imperative. Having this status codified and recognized in law may be beneficial, but it is not *essential*. Essentially, Touba's status resides elsewhere, at a higher level of reality.

Yet, in the material world, Touba's autonomy as a city is indicative of the encounter of the spiritual world view with *modernity*, and particularly with its political expression, the sovereign territorial state. The nineteenth and early twentieth century colonial project can be said to have consisted of two main objectives. On the one hand, colonial policies aimed to create the conditions for the hegemony of the capitalist system over other types of economic relations, for instance, by favoring private property and wage labor, by monetizing exchanges, etc. We have already explored how Senegal's Sufi orders responded to this challenge. The second grand objective of the colonial project was to establish the hegemony of the sovereign territorial state (i.e., one government monopolizing power and use of force over its territory) over other types of social and political relations. Paradoxically, this second objective can be said to have been achieved, at least officially, with independence, when forty-five sovereign African states emerged on the international scene. Neither of these colonial projects have had particularly happy outcomes for Africa. Economically, the continent is more or less in shambles. The extraction of its wealth and resources on a massive scale has not permitted it to adequately meet even basic human needs: food and water, health, education, and housing. Politically, the "sovereignty" and the "territoriality" of its states have in many cases been more fictitious than real. For Jean-François Bayart, the postcolonial

sovereign territorial state has been a necessary "legal fiction," "piously maintained" to "freeze" Africa during the Cold War.[167] Beyond the legal façade, societies have been relating to the state in manners quite outside the norms of modernity: "law," "citizenship," etc. One component of this relationship is what Michel Ben Arrous has called "territorial dissidence." Territorial dissidence occurs whenever a group's activities results in the removal of territory from the top-down processes (political, technocratic, military, administrative, financial, etc.) through which geography is officially produced. This top-down production of geography is contested from below, on the ground, through bottom-up processes (clientelism, patronage, trafficking, community-based organizations, local NGOs, religious associations, lineage networks, etc.) which produce a different geography.[168] Viewed in this light, the creation of two autonomous Sufi enclaves in Senegal in the 1970s was a brave step indeed. The modern nation-state recognized the territorial dissidence that the bottom-up activities of the Sufi orders had produced, at least in the two instances discussed below. This innovative legal arrangement is thus not just a throwback to ancien régime practices of governance. It constitutes a rare acknowledgement by a modern territorial state of a process it does not control, as well as an attempt on its part to *include* the dissident territory.

From a legalist perspective, Touba's first status was that of a private rural estate, leased and then permanently ceded by the colonial state to an individual. In 1928, the year following the death of its founder, a fifty-year lease (*bail*) for four hundred hectares around the site of the Great Mosque was issued to Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustafa Mbacké.[169] The lease was issued by the colonial authorities who were then theoretically in legal possession of all unsettled land. Two years later, these same authorities issued a second document, a land deed, certifying Mouhamadou Moustafa's ownership of the four hundred hectares. This was the *titre foncier* #528 dated 11 August 1930.[170]

It appears that the ceding of land to clerics may have been part of a larger policy on the part of the colonial authorities. For example, sometime after 1918, they ceded agricultural land in the cercle of Kolda (Upper Casamance) to Al-H̱âjj Tierno Aliou Thiam (1885–1935), a Toroodbe cleric who set up what the French called an "experimental farm" which combined agriculture and religious instruction.[171] Thiam had established Madina Al Hadji following a khalwah in the wilderness. Prayers were said at its foundation, before the first "chop of the ax."[172] The "right of the ax" (*droit de la hache*) was part of customary law; those who cleared brush land for cultivation could acquire rights to its use. The colonial authorities seem to have been willing to confirm registered land ownership to individual clerics if these were actively promoting agricultural production. This is in some ways similar to the well-attested precolonial system whereby certain clerics received lew (land grants) from sovereigns. In practice, the colonial authorities had neither the ability nor the inclination to attempt to control Senegal's rural population. Civil administration was reserved for the urban network, arranged along the railroads. Elsewhere, the authorities relied on local "chiefs" of various stature selected from the ranks of the traditional landholders. As long as public order was not

troubled and a reasonable quantity of peanuts was being produced, these chiefs managed affairs according to local conditions, with little interference from an overstretched and distant colonial administration. When the administration did intervene in rural affairs, it usually did so to promote production of the cash-crop. It is under these conditions that enterprising clerics like Tierno Aliou Thiam could acquire titles to land.

In the case of Touba, however, the land deed did not arise from its initial settlement "by the ax" but from the beginning of the construction of its mosque. The authorities had sought, by recognizing the claim of the Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha over the site, to strengthen the latter's hand vis-à-vis his wealthier and more powerful uncle Cheikh Anta Mbacké, who was seeking to take command of the order.

Touba's legal status was transformed in 1945, during the second succession crisis of the Mouride order. When Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustafa died, Sëriñ Falilou Mbacké, the founder's second son and choice of the council of family elders, became caliph. Yet he was opposed by Cheikh Mbacké, the first caliph's eldest son who, as principal inheritor, had possession of all the legal documents pertaining to the mosque and its construction. The French were once again instrumental in securing the victory of the new caliph. The status of Touba was revised from that of personal estate, which the son of the original owner had the right to inherit, to that of collective ownership.[173] Touba's four hundred hectares was to belong collectively and indivisibly to all the descendants of the founder, and it was to remain under the ultimate authority of their representative, the caliph general. Moreover, "Touba-Mosquée" was recognized officially as an administrative "village," with Sëriñ Falilou as its "chief." The other villages, and principally Darou Khoudoss under Cheikh Mbacké, could have their own chiefs.

Guèye argues that there is no necessary connection between the land deed, be it personal or collectively indivisible, and Touba's autonomous status, i.e., the ability of the Mouride order to enforce prescriptions and proscriptions there.[174] The land registry simply provided a legal basis for construction of the mosque. The city's autonomous status, though recognized implicitly since the colonial period, had no legal basis until 1976. The two attributes, land ownership and special status, were simply, and conveniently from the viewpoint of the order, confused. There is no evidence that the four hundred hectares were ever delimited as such on the ground. Rather, they served symbolically, and then even cartographically, to actualize the claim to autonomy. At some point (it is not clear exactly when), through elementary geometry, the four hundred hectare allotment of the 1928–30 documents was creatively reconfigured (by whom is not clear) as a circle, two kilometers in radius from the mosque, which marked the sacred precinct, the limits of Touba's special status. This conception of Touba's autonomy was then given cartographic legitimacy in an atlas of Senegal produced by Jeune Afrique publishers in 1980 (figure 3.15).[175] This "circular" conception may also very well have contributed to the layout of the Rocade from 1976 to 1980. Though not precisely circular in shape, this Rocade does *encircle* the city at about a two kilometer radius
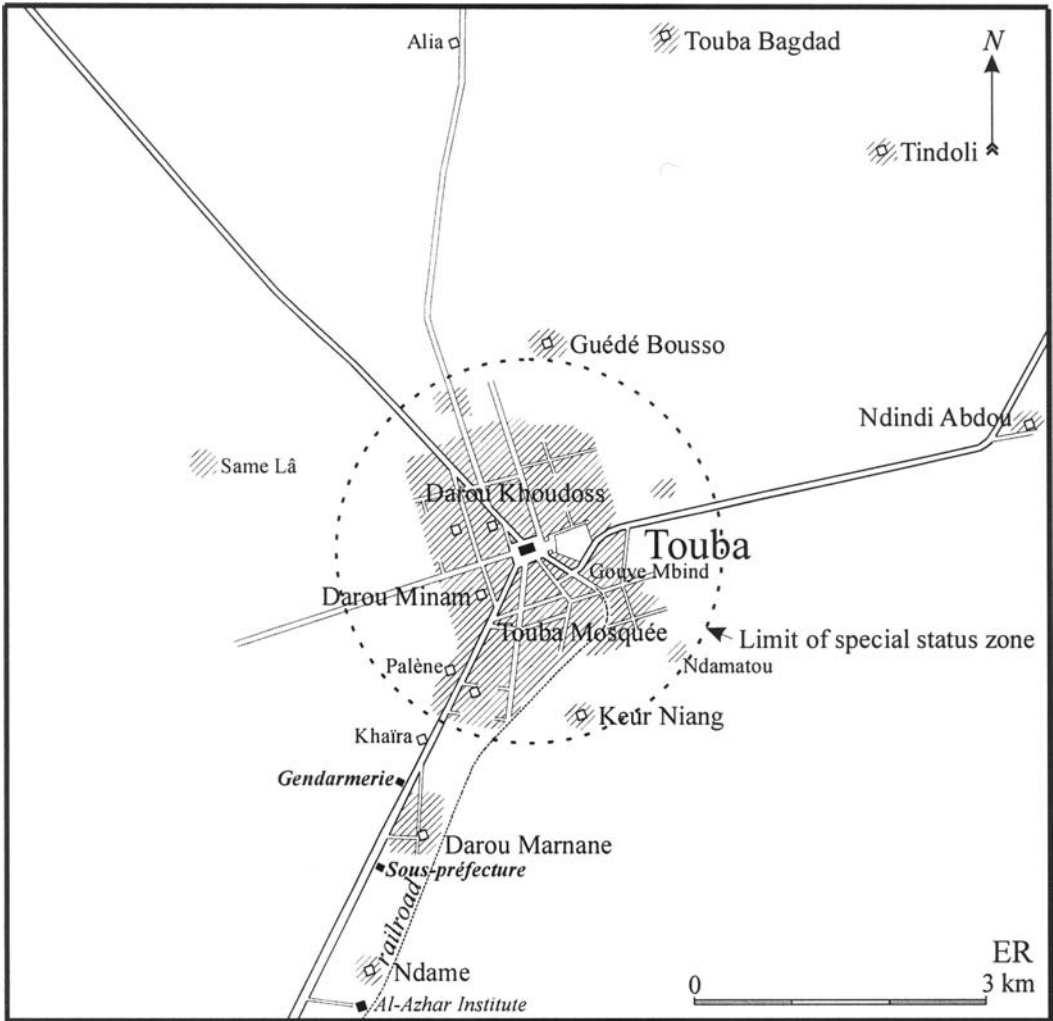
Figure 3.15. Touba's autonomous zone as represented in 1980 atlas. [Adapted from Paul Pélissier, *Atlas du Sénégal* (Paris: Editions Jeune Afrique, 1980), 45.]

from the mosque and it, therefore, delimits an area of approximately four hundred hectares. As we have seen, the Rocade with its police check points effectively marks the limits of Touba's special status on the ground, as gendarmes will confiscate tobacco, alcohol, and other proscribed goods before they enter the holy city. Significantly, the gendarmes were positioned there in 1976, the year of the "clean up" of Ocass Market, to stop contraband merchandise from entering the city, as until 2005 there was no policing of goods in Touba's markets themselves.[176]

Ironically, by the time Jeune Afrique was publishing the map of Touba in its *Atlas du Sénégal* and that the Rocade was being laid out on the ground, Touba's autonomous status had already taken another form. In 1976, the Senegalese government began implementing its policy of administratively grouping villages into rural communities, managed by an elected council. Touba, with thirty thousand inhabitants at the time, was considered a collection of villages and was integrated into this lowest level of civil administration as an autonomous rural community. The area of the technically "indivisible" four hundred hectare land deed was divided into eight "villages" for administrative purposes.[177] These correspond to Touba's central wards, seven of which are under the jurisdiction of specific lineages (Darou Khoudoss, Darou Minam, Touba Khaïra, Keur Niang, Gouye Mbind, Touba Baghdad, and Guédé Bousso) and the eighth, Touba Mosquée, remaining under central caliphal authority.

The autonomous rural community of Touba Mosquée is, however, far larger in area than Touba's original four hundred hectares. It covers an area of 553 square kilometers and includes about forty Mouride villages and daaras, which extend anywhere from ten to over twenty kilometers from the mosque.[178] Moreover, it completely surrounds the municipality of Mbacké (figure 2.18). The status of autonomous rural community is a legal fiction. With a population estimated at over 450,000 in 2004, Touba is a city in all but name. This legal fiction has permitted the Mouride order simultaneously to maintain control of the city's affairs and to enlist the state and its various agencies (such as the electric company, the urban planning department, real-estate and housing financial institutions, etc.) in its accelerated expansion. In addition, the expansion, as we have seen in chapter 2, has proceeded by leaps and bounds. From just under 30,000 (1976 census) contained within a 2 kilometer radius of the mosque, by the end of the century Touba had grown to well over 300,000 (conservative estimates) and was sprawling some 7 kilometers from its religious epicenter. The successive urban plans in 1974, 1994, and 1999 took no account of the supposed limits of the four hundred hectare land deed, nor even of the hypothetical limits of the authority of the "autonomous rural community." This is because the legal fiction of the autonomous rural community is compounded by that of the "national domain." According to the *loi du domaine national*, passed by the Senegalese parliament in 1964, all agricultural land *not* officially registered with the national cadastre became property of the state, theoretically extinguishing all previous forms of property rights, usage, customary rent, etc. In practice, Mouride agricultural estates, including all the land on Touba's rural-urban fringe extending in most cases more than forty kilometers from the mosque, remained effectively under the control of the order. Touba was thus able to expand according to the order's own priorities, unhindered by any legal restrictions. Moreover, for the Mouride order, at the conceptual level, Touba can have no limits.

Nonetheless, following the election of Abdoulaye Wade as president of the Republic[179] and the victory of his centrist Parti Démocratique Sénégalais (PDS) party in legislative elections in 2000, Touba obtained a new land deed. The new

deed, registered in June 2001, covers an area of nearly thirty thousand hectares, or three hundred square kilometers, and extends approximately two kilometers beyond the second rocade of the 1999 allotments (figure 2.19).[180] For years prior to this, there had been talk of extending Touba's precinct out from the first Rocade to a seven or even a fifteen kilometer radius.[181] The new deed is largely orthogonal rather than circular in conception and it has already been demarcated on the ground.[182] It is supposed to place Touba's growth within a firmer legal context, but there is still considerable confusion between the land deed and the special status it is somehow supposed to confer.

Touba is not the only autonomous rural community in Senegal. Madina Gounass in Fouladou (Upper Casamance) also has this status. This Sufi town is home to a branch of the Tijâniyyah order. It was founded in 1935 by a shaykh named Al-<u>H</u>âjj Tierno Mamadou Seydou Baa (1898–1980).[183] Like Ahmadou Bamba half a century earlier, this Sufi too was seeking to establish a "pure" community in an isolated place, far from the corrupting influence of French administration. Tierno Seydou Baa was a Toroodbe cleric from Fouta Toro who had studied in Thilogne.[184] He and a number of his Foutanke compatriots went to the Fouladou to bring its "wayward" Fulbe inhabitants (Peul or Peulh in French) back to the Straight Path of Islam. This mission first brought him to Al-<u>H</u>âjj Tierno Aliou Thiam's town of Madina al-Hadji, where he settled in 1927.[185] It is only after Tierno Aliou's death in 1935 that Tierno Seydou Baa founded his own settlement, called Madina Gounass, where the familiar program of agricultural production and religious instruction was adopted.[186]

Though Tierno Seydou Baa was a Tijânî shaykh, his social project was far more akin to Wahhabism than to Sufi spiritual fulfillment. Tierno Seydou Baa set out to establish "pure" Islam through strict application of the sharî'ah. Presence at mosque for all canonical prayers is obligatory for all able-bodied adults. Alcohol and tobacco are forbidden, as are all forms of secular entertainment. Corporal punishment is implemented by the city's religious leaders and, as in Tiénaba, women are veiled in public and their movements are restricted. When the order holds its annual eight-day pilgrimage, or khalwah, at a place called Daaka nine kilometers outside the city, women and government officials are pointedly excluded.

Madina Gounass is quite unlike Touba in terms of its social project. Yet, like Touba it has managed to maintain its autonomy from the state, first during the colonial era and then after independence. In 1978, when the policy of rural administrative reform was implemented in the Casamance region, it became an "autonomous" rural community with an elected "rural council" responsible to the caliph. Yet Madina Gounass is a full-fledged city, not a rural place. Already in the early 1970s (figure 3.16), it had about five thousand inhabitants living in eleven neighborhoods (most equipped with their own local mosques) and spread over six hundred hectares.[187] The town was connected to the national electric grid in 1984 and a post office was opened. By 1988, with 17,000 inhabitants, it occupied approximately 1,200 hectares.[188] In 2004, the population of the rural community
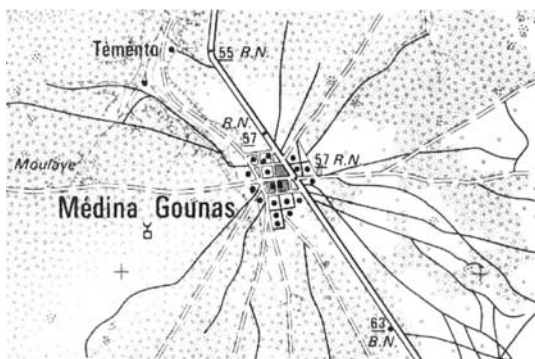
Figure 3.16. Madina Gounass in 1973. [Institut Géographique National-France, République du Sénégal, carte au 1:200,000, ND-28-XI Tambacounda, 1973.]

was estimated at 34,488, of which probably up to 25,000 reside in the town itself. As in Touba, urbanization has been implemented by engineers and civil servants affiliated to the order. The 1988 master plan, for example, was drafted by Al-Ḥâjj Ahmadou Abdoulaye Diagne, civil engineer, civil servant, and member of the order.[189] This plan was drafted and implemented under the auspices of the order's current caliph, Al-Ḥâjj Tierno Ahmed Tidiane Baa. The same plan also called for the urbanization of the khalwah at Daaka, where housing allotments were laid out.

Like the other major Tijânî capitals, Tivaouane and Kaolack, Madina Gounass is a city divided. The arrival of partisan politics in Madina Gounass produced violent political conflicts that espoused the underlying ethnic cleavages of the city between the Foutanke (or Toucouleur in French) religious elite and the majority Foulakounda (Peulh) population. Though they share the same language, i.e., Pulaar, the Foulakounda and the Foutanke constitute two different ethnic groups. The established clerical elite consists of migrants from Fouta Toro but the city's population consists essentially of local pastoral people who have voluntarily settled into urban or agricultural life. According to Magassouba, the Foulakounda are led by an emerging entrepreneurial class and have access to a new source of revenue, cotton production.[190] Violence between the two groups erupts repeatedly, especially during elections, and the Senegalese government has had to set up a "special" brigade of the gendarmerie at a place called Khalifour, twenty-five kilometers away, to deal with it. Divisions in Madina Gounass are topographic as well. There is now a "Toucouleur" (Foutanke) Friday mosque and a "Peul" (Foulakounda) Friday mosque less than two hundred meters from each other in the city's center.[191] The khalwah at Daaka too now seems to have split into two different celebrations, with a separate Foulakounda celebration.[192] Since the late 1980s, this religious festival is also celebrated, by Halpulaaren Tijânî expatriates, in the Parisian suburb of Mantes-la-Jolie.[193]

Whereas historically Senegal was not one of the most urbanized areas of West Africa, it does have an urban history that transcends the colonial experience. The emergence of states in the early modern period produced the first royal capitals and aristocratic centers. The concomitant opening of the Atlantic trade routes and the creation of European factories on the coast stimulated trading networks across the entire breadth of the country. Muslim clerics were attracted to these seats of power and flows of trade, but they tended to set up their own towns independently of them. The first Muslim urban network, which consisted of relatively autonomous centers of learning, was severely undermined during the period of civil strife, jihad, and colonial conquest. With the colonial "peace," Senegal's modern urban network was created. This was a network suited to the imperatives of the extraction economy, exemplified by the peanut cashcrop and the railroads. Yet it also served as a basis for an incipient colonial civil administration—the foundation of the modern Senegalese state. New Muslim institutions, the Sufi orders, actively contributed to this urbanization, either by investing the colonial nodes or by creating alternative nodes of their own. These modern Sufi towns were able to negotiate a certain measure of autonomy for themselves within the colonial structure, an autonomy that has, in two cases, been formalized since independence. Today, Senegal's various Sufi orders continue to actively contribute to the growth of the country's towns and cities, not least through their connections to global networks.

Muslim clerics and Sufis have thus been transforming and ordering Senegambia's landscape for centuries, long before Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba began exercising his own creativity on it. The landscape itself, part of the material world, is seen by Sufis as a medium through which higher purpose is expressed. The act of establishing a new settlement is never seen in purely utilitarian terms. Settlements are created to further what Sufis understand to be God's will and they follow a method in doing so. One of the most common methods is khalwah, retreat or isolation, to devote oneself entirely to God. Complete detachment from material pursuits places the Sufi in a better *state* (*ḥâl*) from which to affect the material world. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's numerous khalwahs were essential to the configuration of Touba as a Sufi city. Several Tijânî shaykhs are also known to have practiced this method, including Amary Ndack Seck in Tiénaba,[194] Tierno Aliou Thiam in Madina El-Hadji, and Tierno Seydou Baa in Madina Gounass. Another common method is istikhârah, asking God for guidance before deciding on a site. Istikhârah often occurs during a khalwah or else it comes during a dream. Thus, Karamokho Ba founded Touba in Fouta Jallon following a dream his senior wife had.[195] After several istikhârahs in the Rip produce no sign from God, Tierno Aliou Thiam's father, Bokar, moved on to the Casamance and Guinea. His son later founded Madina El-Hadji following a successful series of khalwahs and istikhârahs.[196] Sometimes, an accident or event, discernable in the landscape, is taken as a "sign." After imploring God for guidance during an istikhârah, Khâli Amar Fall discovers a cow that has just given birth and founds Pire on the site.[197] On the instructions of his brother, Mame Tierno Birahim Mbacké allows his horse to trot in a certain direction until midday prayer. The

place where the horse stopped became Darou Mousty.[198] Very often, as we will see in chapter 4, a tree has served as sign for a foundation. Yet a third method employed by Senegambia's Sufis has been toponymy. The name of a place is believed to convey an essential aspect of its higher truth. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba bestowed the Names of God across the entire Mouride heartland at the outset of his project for it. The fact that Touba is named for the archetypal tree is clearly essential to its meaning in the landscape. Yet he did not invent this toponym, nor was he the first West African Sufi to use toponymy in this way. He was preceded in this by the Jakhanke, whose toponyms such as Bagadadji (Baghdâd in Iraq), Kerewane (Qayrawân in Tunisia), Touba (Ṭûbâ), and Bani 'Isra'île (a chapter in the Koran) are all meaningful to these places in some essential way.

The creation of a number of Sufi cities and towns, of various sizes, and of a number of Sufi networks, varying in scope, is a fundamental characteristic of modern Senegal's geography, one which constitutes something of a challenge to the "master narrative" of colonialism and modernity. It provides an example not only of *discrepant* modernity—a form of modernity which furthers other ends[199]—but also of *transcolonialism*, in that the colonial experience as "master narrative" is substantially tempered. Although the usual world-historical tritopology of precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial has some explanatory value, Senegal's Muslim urban networks have dynamics of their own. *Transcolonialism*, as proposed by Françoise Lionnet, refers to the fact that social projects and group strategies can transcend the great historical divide that colonialism is thought to represent.[200] Touba and its sister Sufi cities were created during the colonial period but they can hardly be called "colonial" entities. In fact, many Mourides view Touba and Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba in anticolonial terms. Touba exists despite colonialism, not because of it. It constitutes an instrumental case of the networks and sites "marked differentially by the imperial project and the colonial will to power."[201] The very tools of colonial alienation, the peanut cash crop and the railroads with their escales, were co-opted by the orders for their own purposes. The Tijâniyyah structured its national organization on that of trade unions and political parties, the very hallmarks of *modern* civil society and the public sphere, and peanut production became wedded to mass religious instruction and helped finance a number of religious projects, such as mosque construction and pilgrimage to Mecca.

Perhaps nowhere is the co-option of the colonial project more evident than in the configuration of the Diourbel-Touba railroad. Railroads were an important element in the colonial discourses in Africa generally. Railroads represented progress and the opening up of the continent to commerce. The facts that railroad construction across the continent required various forms of forced labor and that they served mainly to extract wealth were not allowed to spoil their image as agents and symbols of colonial-era *modernity*. Yet the Mourides were able to subvert the railroad to their own ends. The purpose of the Diourbel-Touba line was to build the mosque, not to export peanuts. Not only did Mourides finance construction, they provided the labor—voluntary, not forced. Moreover, the new rail line was designed in such a way as to link up a string of major Mouride settlements,

khalwahs, daaras, and lieux de mémoire. It left Diourbel precisely at Kër gu-Maak, the great compound where Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba had lived under house arrest during the last fifteen years of his life. It then passed by Khourou Mbacké and Mbacké, his place of birth and ancestral home, and went on through his most important khalwahs—Darou Salam, Ndame, and Darou Marnane—before reaching the construction site in Touba itself. This railway was built along the Sufi path.

4

THE PÈNC

TREES AND URBAN DESIGN IN WEST AFRICA

Touba's spatial configuration, as described in chapter 2, is clearly well ordered. The layout is neither accidental nor arbitrary and is certainly not "organic" in the sense of having developed incrementally on the ground without overall coordination or planning. On the contrary, the city has develoxped through the consistent and coordinated efforts of a hierarchic and ideologically motivated institution and its design corresponds to a coherent set of planning principals. Foremost among these principles is use of the pénc, or central public square, as a "design idea," both at the scale of the entire city and of its various wards and neighborhoods. This chapter aims to demonstrate that the pénc is an indigenous Senegambian urban design model and that it is closely connected to the use of trees as civic monuments and institutions. Furthermore, it aims to demonstrate that the very same Sufi-inspired "acts of inhabitation" and "acts of will" that created urban form in Touba are operative also in Senegal's other Sufi centers.

The Wolof term pénc designates the central public square of a community. Yet, significantly for our understanding of the relationship between the city of Touba and the arboreal archetype for which it is named, the first meaning of the term *pénc* is "palaver tree."[1] A palaver tree is a political institution, part of the public sphere. It is the tree beneath which a community's business is discussed and decisions taken. Typically, a palaver tree is a large shade tree and it stands in the middle of a community's central public square. It marks a public space for political assembly and has long been viewed as both the symbol and the embodiment of an intrinsically African practice of governance. It is by extension that the term pénc has come to designate the village assemblies themselves, as in the *jaambur-y-pénc* of precolonial Lebou villages,[2] as well as the central public squares where these assemblies were held. Today, the term pénc can designate any assembly, particularly a public assembly, including the National Assembly in Dakar. Moreover, the

176

term *péncum Yalla* even designates the Day of Judgment, when the resurrected shall assemble before their Lord. It is important to stress here that the term pénc does not designate a species of tree. It designates an institution that takes the form of a tree—of whatever species.

This chapter will approach the pénc through reverse chronology, working backward from the design of contemporary Sufi settlements to the earliest recorded references to monumental palaver trees, exploring historic settlement designs in the process. It will also explore the metaphysical dimensions of traditional Senegambian arboreal practices, especially those that have marked the public sphere, and will relate these to the Sufi tree archetype as it has been materialized in Touba.

The study of settlement design is a rather neglected area of investigation within African Studies. For the most part, architects and art historians have tended to concentrate on buildings and building practices, and particularly on domestic spaces such as family compounds or palaces.[3] Cultural and historical geographers, on the other hand, have focused on the study of settlement *patterns*, on typologies of settlements, their relations to rural land use, and their distribution across the landscape.[4] The study of settlement design, the configuration of villages, towns, and cities, falls between these two analytical scales and such studies have been few and far between.[5] Part of the problem of placing West African settlement design in historical perspective is the dearth of sources. Historical archaeology is considered far less necessary to understanding African history than its prehistoric counterpart, and its practice is fraught with problems in West Africa.[6] Little excavation and even less publication on historic sites exist. Moreover, there is a dearth of images dating from periods prior to colonial conquest. As a result, much of our knowledge of the architecture and design of places in past centuries is based on the textual descriptions bequeathed by Arab and European travelers, local Muslim scholars, and, occasionally, references in the oral record of communities. That said, much valid data could still be obtained in the field. Locally, knowledge about the historic configuration of places is still alive, as are many of the historic trees discussed in this chapter. In some cases, the spatial order of places has changed little over the centuries and current configurations can be read historically.

The Mouride Pénc

Like Touba itself, all Mouride settlements are well ordered spaces. This characteristic of Mouride spatial practices has been noted by many Senegalese and foreign observes:

> The arrangement of compounds, or concessions—*keur* in Wolof, is one of the peculiar characteristics of Mouride villages when compared to the traditional villages of Kayor. The basic principle is that of a large rectangular public square, *mpentye* [*sic*], around which are arranged the various compounds. The *keur* of the marabout is always on the west side of the square, facing east [. . .]. Thus, for Mourides, the geometric organization

of space prevails [. . .]. All streets meet at right angles [. . .]. Mouride villages "look good" and we were often touched by the charm of a well ordered *mpentye*, shaded by one or two trees. The center of this square is usually occupied by the mosque.[7]

The outer appearance of the village [of Darou-Rahmane 2] is clean and pleasant; houses are arranged around a large square (*mpentye*), covered in sand and shaded by trees. The compound of the marabout occupies the greater part of the western side of the square. In the center are a small mosque and the *secco* [the cooperative peanut warehouse].[8]

Mouride villages are usually well laid out: straight streets, a well or a pump in the village center, neatly fenced-in houses. Present here is a conscious will to modernize housing. This consciousness, had it been generalized, could have contributed to a type of village organization which no longer reflects traditional organization but rather a new type of settlement, one adapted to the sociological needs of the rural world.[9]

Clearly, these authors give evidence that the practice of building Mouride settlements is informed by a consistent set of principles. There is a specific configuration to Mouride villages, a configuration that differs from that of the older, traditional villages of Kayor and Baol. This configuration is most clearly distinguished by the pénc—a clean, shaded, geometrically regular public square with a mosque at the geographic and social center of the community.

As seen in chapter 2, the pénc configuration characterizes Touba's central shrine complex as well as some of its central wards, such as Darou Khoudoss and Darou Minam (figure 2.7). It also characterizes other Mouride settlements, starting with khalwahs such as Darou Salam (figure 2.8) and daaras such as Tindody (figure 2.22). The pénc is the settlement form most closely associated with Mouride places. The typical pénc consists of a central public square, open at the corners. It will contain the community's mosque and its well or water pump—an important feature given that access to water has been the main constraint of settlement in this semi arid zone. The compound of the founding shaykh invariably occupies the west side of the square, but other important compounds may be found on the north and south sides as well. These elite compounds consist of a series of inner subdivisions, courts and lesser compounds, according to the semi-public, semiprivate, and fully private activities that occur there. The rest of the settlement, that is to say, the residential compounds of its inhabitants, is ordered as a grid centered on this nucleus of pénc and founder's compound. The streets are wide and straight and they cross at right angles. Moreover, this grid is often, though by no means always, oriented along the qiblah axis. This configuration characterizes such urban neighborhoods as Keur Niang (figure 4.1) and Darou Marnane (figure 2.19) as well as rural (or newly urbanizing) ones such as Ndame (figure 2.20) and Darou Rahmane I (figure 4.2). If the settlement possesses its own cemetery, as in Darou Marnane, Guédé Bousso (figure 2.9), and Darou Salam, this will invariably be to the east, aligned along the qiblah.

However, there are variants to this model. In some cases, the community's mosque may not be on the pénc but rather in the first court of shaykh's compound. This is the case for example in two of Touba's central wards: Touba Bagdad[10] and Gouye Mbind (figure 2.7) as well as in Darou Rahmane I. This was
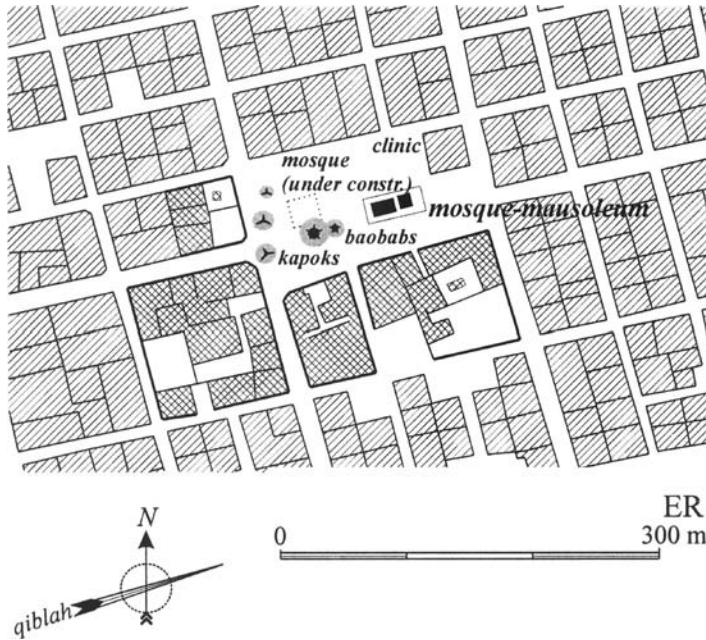
Figure 4.1. Keur Niang. The original architecture of the pénc of Keur Niang, established by Shaykh Ahmadou Fadiama Niang circa 1892, consisted of its great trees, which still stand today. The pénc harbors the founder's mosque-mausoleum complex as well as a community clinic. It is fronted to the south and west by the compounds of important members of the Niang lineage. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

also the case of Sëriñ Souhaibou's compound in Darou Khoudoss ward until the construction of a mosque-mausoleum complex on the pénc following his death in 1991. The mosques found inside compounds are small and tend to be makeshift. In effect, until the completion of Touba's mosque in 1963 no other mosque construction occurred anywhere. People in the daaras prayed in small mosques constructed of reeds, planks, and sheet metal. Since 1963, the secondary Mouride settlements, Ahmadou Bamba's khalwahs, the daaras of the main Mbacké lineages, and those of the principal shaykhs, have been acquiring permanent mosques. Some of these sanctuaries—namely Darou Mousty (figure 4.12), Darou Marnane in Mbacol, and Porokhane—are now important shrines in their own right, second only to Touba itself.

In other cases, the pénc may harbor lieux de mémoire, places linked to Ahmadou Bamba, or to the settlement's founder. These memorials can include a mausoleum connected to the mosque, as in Darou Minam, Darou Salam, and Darou Marnane in Mbacol. They may also take the form of built kiosks within the compounds, as with Baïti in Darou Khoudoss and the Kër Sëriñ Touba
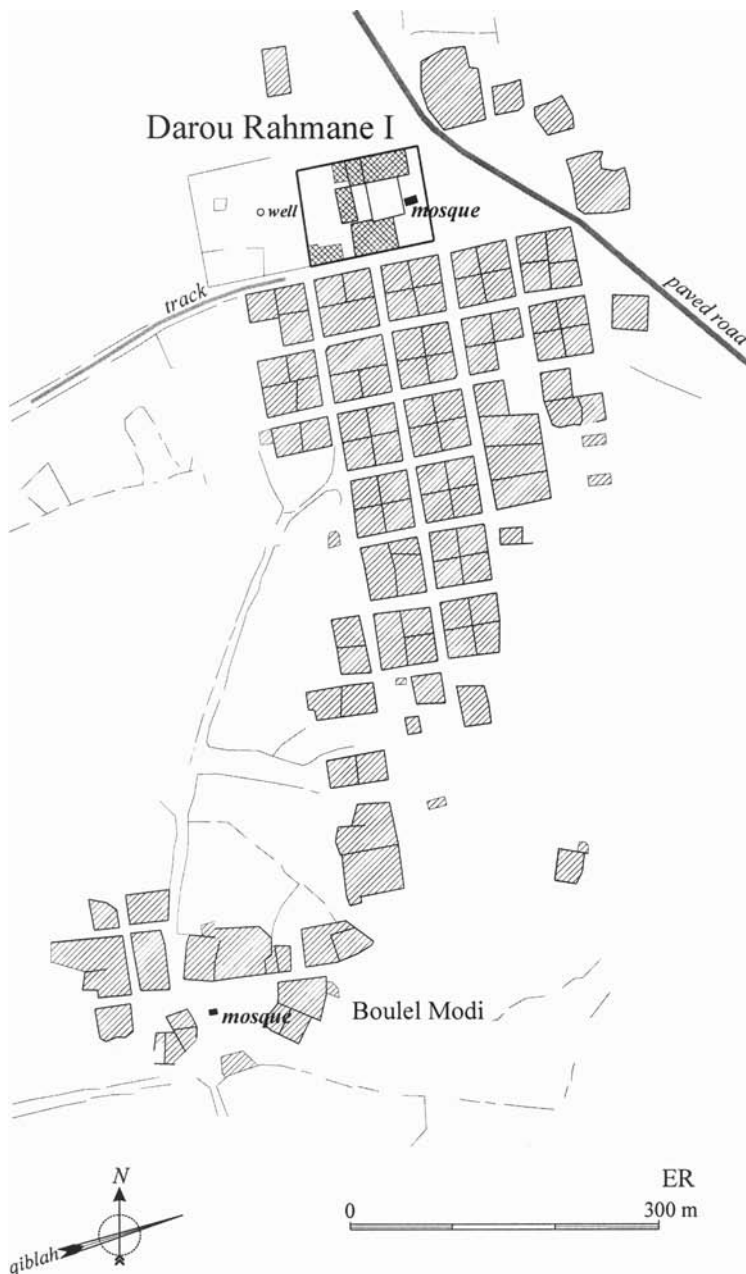
Figure 4.2. Darou Rahmane I. Darou Rahmane I was founded by Sëriñ Abdoullahi Mbacké near the preexisting village of Boulel Modi. The well-ordered grid plan of the Mouride settlement contrasts with the informal plan of the older village, though it too is centered on a pénc. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Touba-Mbacké.]

compounds of Darou Marnane and Ndame. Yet other "sacred sites" are marked by trees—as with the guy mbind of Darou Marnane, the tamarind in Ndame, and the ngigis tree in Darou Karim—which can stand either on the squares or in the courtyards of the compounds.

The large compound of the founding shaykh, invariably placed on the western side of the pénc, facing the entrance to the mosque, is integral to the design. These compounds serve many purposes, some of them private (residence of the shaykh, his numerous wives, and extended family) but others are public or communal, principally teaching, the housing of pupils and visitors, acts of collective Sufi devotion and meetings. They are thus often equipped with a variety of arbors (mbaar), small mosques and prayer spaces. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's large compounds in Darou Salam and Diourbel were described in chapter 2. Other historic compounds of this type are called Kër Sëriñ Touba, as in Darou Marnan and Ndame (though this designation is now put to other purposes by the Mourides), and Baïti ("my house" in Arabic), as in in Darou Khoudoss and Darou Mousty. Such compounds have high symbolic value for the communities that have grown up around them as they are closely linked to the life of the saintly founders. Mame Tierno Birahim's compound in Darou Mousty, for example, resembled his brother's large compound in Diourbel:

> In Darou Mousty, Mame Tierno had a place set up which he called Baïty. There were two rooms some 50 meters apart. He used one as a place to recite holy scripture and the other was his library where he would go for spiritual retreat. Not a day would pass without the whole of the Koran being recited in each of these rooms by disciples. Each evening poems in praise of God and His messengers, written by Mame Tierno's master and brother, would be chanted out loud. In his big house he had his own private place which he called the *maqâmah* in honor of the prophet Abraham's "station" in Mecca.[11] This is where he kept the objects given to him by Bamba. These included copies of the Koran, an ablution jug, prayer beads and the famous sheep skin his brother used when he prayed on the ocean while on route to exile.[12]

So long as they are still inhabited by the great shaykh, such compounds remain the living heart of the community, focusing and concentrating religious activity far more than the often makeshift mosques they face. Later, after the deaths of the founders, many of these religious and collective activities relocate to the surrounding compounds of the successor shaykhs. The great compounds of the founders then tend to become official spaces, lieux de mémoire with representational functions that are progressively monumentalized through the construction of kiosks and halls, courts and perimeter walls, all built of "hard" materials.

Other Contemporary Senegalese Sufi Towns

The pénc configuration, which consists of a public square with mosque (sometimes also a mausoleum), the founding shaykh's large compound to the west,

surrounded by a residential grid, is widely recognized in the literature as typically "Mouride." Yet it is by no means confined to the Mouride order. It characterizes the establishments of all of Senegal's modern Sufi ṭarîqahs. For example, the village of Tabakali (figure 4.3) was founded by two Tijânî shaykhs in the "New Lands" of the Ndoucoumane (eastern Saloum region) in 1957:

> The village [Tabakali] is laid out at the center of the agricultural estate. Though the founders were Tijânîs, it resembles villages produced through Mouride agricultural colonization. The large central square is determined by the rigorous alignment of compounds. It is open at the corners, has a make-shift mosque in its center and is kept scrupulously clean [. . .]. The founders created the plan. When newcomers arrive, they conform to it.[13]

Likewise, the phenomenon of the founding shaykh's large compound is more widespread than the Mouride order. For example, in the Tijâni town of Tiénaba, the founder's large compound is called Kër gu-Maak, like the one in Diourbel, or alternately Kër Magg Moom.[14] In Senegal's newest Sufi shrine centers, these compounds are still the active loci of Sufi practice, just as the Kër gu-Maak of Diourbel and Thiénaba were a century ago. Ed van Hoven provides the following description of the great compound in the Qâdirî ward of Maka Coulibantang:

> The lodge [*zâwiyyah*] of the Jakhanke Jabi in Maka is commonly called "Karambayya," meaning literally "at the great teacher." The impressive minaret of the mosque proudly indicates the place of residence of the *marabouts* who populate the ward immediately surrounding the mosque. Al-Ḥâjj Abdulaye Jabi, whom the students call "Mooroo," is the leader of Karambayya. In contrast to most of his relatives, who have constructed modern housing facilities for themselves, Mooroo still lives in a traditional straw hut, which he rarely leaves. Mooroo's married sons have houses on their own and each has his own group of students, most of who live on their teacher's compound. An enclosed space situated in the middle of their teacher's compound is where the students pursue their studies in the late afternoon. Next to Mooroo's house are a number of compounds inhabited by praise singers/musicians and other specialist groups. A facility for visitors is located in the compound next to the house of one of Mooroo's sons. Some of the visitors hope to find solutions to their personal problems while others simply feel that attendance at Karambayya is beneficial to them.[15]

The pénc configuration, though greatly developed and diffused by the Mouride order, is thus of equal relevance to Senegal's other Sufi orders. It will be argued here that this so-called "Mouride" spatial configuration, emblematically incarnate in the pénc, originally characterized West Africa's most important settlements, its royal capitals. It was later adopted and adapted, principally by the Jakhanke clerics, for the configuration of their "republics." In modern times, the Sufi orders have generalized its use for their settlements, not just in the configuration of great shrine complexes such as Touba, but in that of lesser shrine centers such as Ndiassane, Yoff-Layène, and Cambérène, and in numerous agricultural villages like Darou Rahmane I and Tabakali as well.
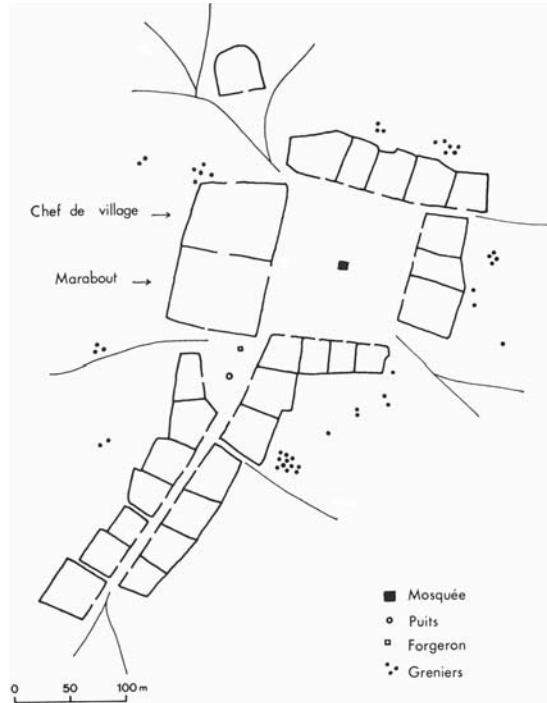
Figure 4.3. Sketch plan of Tabakali. The pénc design, often characterized as "Mouride" in the literature, is evident in the Tijânî settlement of Tabakali, founded in 1957. The founders, who built their large compounds on the west side of the square, created the plan. The settlers conformed to it. [J.-P. Dubois, "Les Serer et la question des Terres Neuves au Sénégal," *Cahiers de l'ORSTOM* 12, no. 1 (1975): 104. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.]

Ndiassane (figure 4.4) is the main settlement of the Kounta-Qâdiriyyah order. It was established in 1884 by shaykh Bouh Kounta on land granted by the last king of Kayor, and it was built up in the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1915, Paul Marty described the place as follows:

The buildings of the *zâwiyyah* stand in the shade of large baobabs and leafy kapok trees at the center of the settlement, which consists of several hundred huts arranged in compounds according the custom of the Blacks. The intimate life within the *zâwiyyah* is protected from the view of strangers by a thick inner wall solidly built of wattle, tree trunks and tightly intertwined branches doubled by an outer fence of reeds. [. . .] The *zâwiyyah* itself consists of a series of four or five little houses, built low and long, in the European fashion, with crude verandahs. With its whitewashed walls and tiled roofs, its fragrance and cleanliness, it could be compared to Sicilian villages found between Messina and

Figure 4.4. Ndiassane. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Tivaouane-Ndiassane.]

Trapani, or those along the Algerian-Tunisian coast. Around it, in between straw huts, are small compounds built of European masonry, roofed in corrugated sheet metal.[16]

Today, shade trees continue to characterize the central square of the settlement. Beside these trees, the pénc harbors a mosque, a mausoleum with enclosed burial ground, and a "sacred" well.[17] On the west side stands the large compound of the founder. The central part of this compound was rebuilt as an imposing hostel for pilgrims in the 1920s, when the Kounta-Qâdiriyyah order was in full expansion. The irregularly shaped three-story structure is organized around a court and houses all the facilities necessary to host thousands of visitors during the annual

gàmmu pilgrimage.[18] The building presents an imposing façade of screened verandas and was described as follows by a newspaper journalist in 1988:

> Cheikh al-Bacaye [Caliph from 1914 to 1929] was a great builder. This is evident from the imposing building, consisting of three hundred rooms and seventeen reception areas [*salons*], enthroned in the heart of the village. [. . .] Within this abode he laid out a high courtyard for his gamous. Everything was provided for: circular central tables for himself and the guests of honor participating in the celebration, podiums for the envoys sent by the French occupying authority, cement benches for the faithful and even a patio for prayer. Hundreds of people could settle on mats between the cement benches to listen to his sermons, drinking thus from the font of Muhammad. This building was added to the group of single-story structures which had been the residence of Shaykh Bou Kounta at the time he was supreme guide of Ndiassane.[19]

It is important to note here that the construction of Ndiassane, with its pénc configuration, is earlier than that of Touba. Whereas Touba might have had an influence on urban design elsewhere in Senegal after its mosque had been completed, this was certainly not the case in the period 1884–1930 when the Kounta-Qâdiriyyah was flourishing and Ndiassane was being built.

The Layenne centers of Yoff-Layène and Cambérène (figure 4.5) can also serve to illustrate the point that the application of the pénc design to Sufi settlements predates the construction of Touba. The sanctuary of Yoff-Layène was founded by Seydina Limamou Laye in the late 1880s just outside of the fishing village of Yoff (Yoff-Mbenguène), where he had been born. The sanctuary consists of a small central public square, a pénc roughly aligned toward the qiblah. At the eastern end of the square is the Friday Mosque, and on its western side is the small compound Seydina Limamou Laye occupied until his death in 1909. Most of the open space between the two is taken up by a large mbaar, which serves to shelter the hymn-singing sessions that groups of Layenne men, women, and children hold before prayer. Surrounding this central religious space (constituted by the pénc with its the mosque and mbaar) are the compounds of important members of the Layenne order, sons and disciples of the founder, some already laid out in the "U" shape which would later characterize Cambérène. Just beyond the outer perimeter of Yoff-Layène, on the beach facing the Atlantic Ocean, is the community's muṣallâ or prayer ground, called Diamalaye (or "Peace of God"), with a sacred well.[20] It is in a mausoleum on the Diamalaye that Seydina Limamou Laye is buried, near the entrance to the cemetery, and it is here that members of the Layenne ṭarîqah assemble for morning prayer on religious holidays.

The configuration of the second Layenne sanctuary, Cambérène, is similar to that of Yoff-Layène. Cambérène was founded in 1914 by Seydina Issa Rohou Laye, son and successor of Limamou, after the plague had decimated his father's village of the same name.[21] Cambérène too is ordered around a small pénc, aligned toward the qiblah, with the mosque at its center and Seydina Issa Rohou Laye's compound to the west. As in Yoff-Layène, Cambérène's pénc is mostly occupied by a large mbaar and it is surrounded by the "U" shaped compounds of Layenne
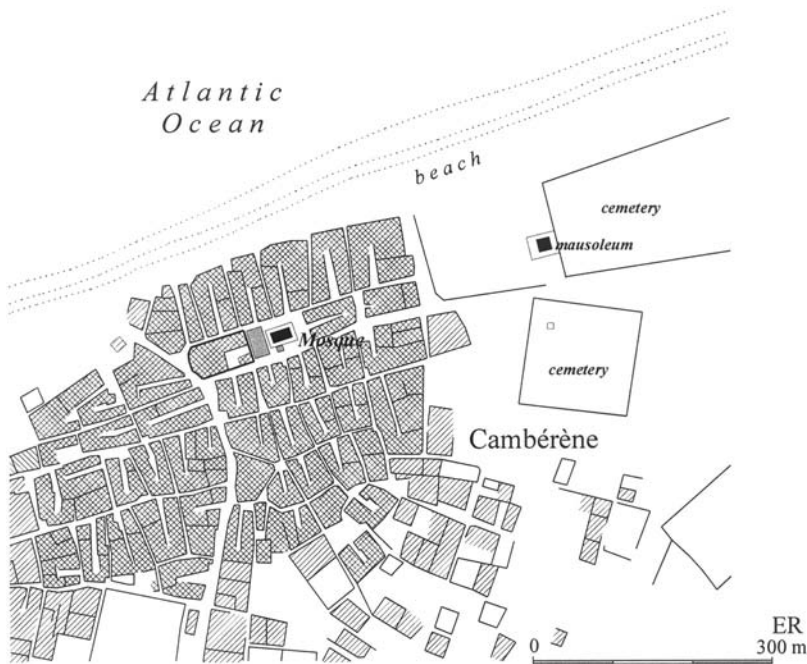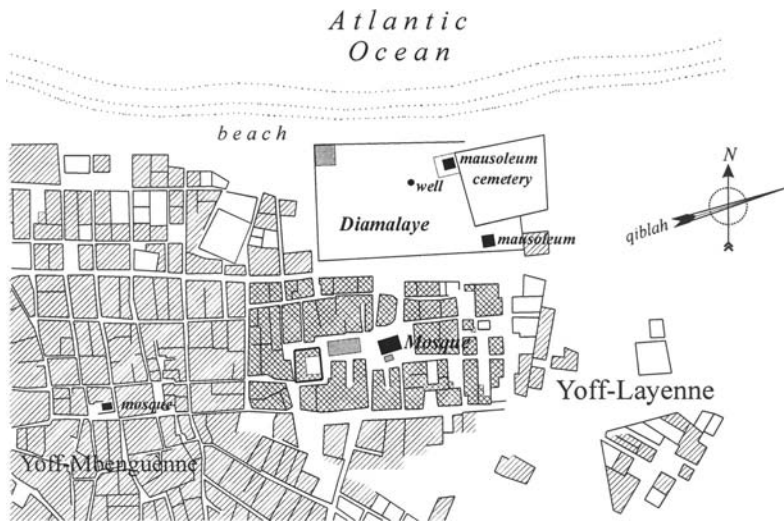
Figure 4.5. The Layenne centers: Yoff Layène and Cambérène. The two Layenne shrine centers have nearly identical plans. In each case, a densely settled neighborhood is centered on a public square on which has been built a mosque and a mbaar. The founder's compounds front the squares to the west. An informal grid characterizes the settlements, as it does that of the neighboring ward of Yoff Mbenguène, which is much older. On the beach adjacent to each of the Layenne settlements is a complex consisting of prayer ground, mausoleum, and cemetery. [Based on cadastre maps of the Cap Vert region at 1:5,000 (1981): #58-253 (Yoff) and 59-253 (Cambérène).]

notables. Seydina Issa Rohou is reputed to have personally overseen the erection of houses in Cambérène, making sure that they were properly aligned.[22] Beyond the precincts of the village, on the beach facing the Atlantic, is Cambérène's prayer ground, where Seydina Issa Rohou is buried, next to the community's cemeteries.

The configuration of the two Layenne sanctuaries is distinct and significantly different from that of Touba and other Mouride settlements. Yet one can discern some common underlying principles: the central pénc with its mosque, the grid of compounds which surround it, alignment with the qiblah, and the juxtaposition of musॣallâ, mausolea and cemeteries. One might then be permitted to hypothesize that the Mouride, Kounta-Qâdirî, and Layenne settlements, all established in the 1880s, were developed from some common prototype. The Sufi shaykhs who founded and built Senegal's contemporary religious centers were operating with a common set of design principles. For example, the Qâdirî center of Banguère, in Pakao (central Casamance), established by Sharîf Younous Aïdara (d. 1917) in 1910, had a regular and ordered plan from its inception. This is how Paul Marty described it only a few years after its foundation:

> Banghère is a large village with regular, clean streets running perpendicular to the main thoroughfare. Its compounds are well aligned. Younous created this. Palm trees, kapoks, papaya trees and other types shade the houses. It is the Shaykh who had them planted and he shows them off with pride. [. . .] Younous lives in a large compound in the middle of which he built a two-story house in "poto-poto" [rammed earth and wattle]. It is not his best innovation. The house shakes and rattles dangerously. On very windy days it feels like a ship at see. The walls are all painted blood red with patches supposed to resemble flowers. These esthetics are completed by a ceiling painted in the purest blue. [. . .] The dependencies of the house include granaries stocked full of millet, *seccos* of peanuts [sacs of peanuts stacked in pyramids], stables full of barnyard animals, large and small, and even two horses, very rare in this part of the Middle Casamance infested with the tse-tse fly.[23]

All these modern Sufi centers, clean, orderly, with neat shady compounds defining a grid of streets, are contemporaneous with each other. There is nothing in the historical record to indicate that the emergence of one influenced the design development of others. Rather, the contrary will be argued. There is substantial evidence that Muslim communities in Senegambia, past and present, have always stood out as special places, places with distinct configurations.

On topographical maps of Senegal at the scale of 1:200,000 (a scale at which only the most fundamental characteristics of a place can be represented), specific Muslim communities stand out as distinctly ordered places (figure 4.6) clearly distinguishable from more "ordinary" neighboring villages. First, such places are designated as Muslim communities as in each case a point symbol representing a mosque is prominent. Taïba Niassène (in the Rip) is a late nineteenth century establishment founded by Al-H̲âjj Abdoulaye Niass. The map depicts it as a well-ordered village, represented as a grid of straight streets aligned according to

Figure 4.6. Muslim towns at the scale of 1:200,000. At this scale, only the most basic features of a settlement's design can be represented. Diawara Alkali, Taïba Niassène, and Boudouk are clearly identified as Muslim settlements by the use of a mosque symbol. In each case, they are also characterized by grids, which is not the case of neighboring villages. See also Madina Gounass (figure 3.16) at the same scale. [Institut Géographique National-France, République du Sénégal, carte au 1:200,000, ND-28-VIII Sokone, 1971 (Diawara Alkali); ND-28-IX Nioro du Rip, 1971 (Taïba Niassène and Boudouk).]

the qiblah. Diawara Alkali (from Arabic *al-qâḏî*), also in the Rip, although smaller, is similarly represented as a grid of straight streets, though in this case not aligned with the qiblah. The ṭarîqah affiliation (if any) of the well-ordered town of Boudouk, in the Middle Casamance, is not known to the author, but this place too is clearly represented as a Muslim town with a discernable configuration: a grid of straight streets centered on a large public square. Likewise, the gridiron plan with its central square, oriented to the qiblah, is evident at 1:200,000 scale in the case of the Tijânî town of Madina Gounass (figure 3.16).

That contemporary Muslim communities in Senegal share a common spatial configuration, centered on the pénc, is evidenced from the textual descriptions and from topographical maps and satellite imagery. They are "well ordered" places, distinguishable from the more ordinary designs of neighboring villages. One French observer, Duchemin, who in 1948, by chance, was able to view Cambérène from the air as his plane was landing at Dakar's airport, was struck by its neat orthogonal plan. Typically, Duchemin attributed the neatness of this plan to the diffusion of modern (French) urban principles from Dakar.[24] Clearly, this is not the case. If the orthogonal plan and the central square, often designated as "Mouride" by observers and researchers, were the result of diffusion of modern urban planning principles during the French colonial period, why did these principles effect Sufi communities like Touba and Cambérène so completely, rather than more secular settlements that should have been far more open to French influence than Muslim ones? Certainly, the technologies and the social and economic contexts in which the Sufi centers emerged are modern and colonial, but the underlying principles of urban design were developed internally, by the orders themselves, and these design practices are evident long before the imposition of colonial rule.

The Configuration of Precolonial Clerical Centers

If there is substantial topographic and cartographic evidence to suggest that contemporary Senegalese Sufi establishments share common principles of spatial configuration, there is also evidence in the historical record which attests to a similar configuration in precolonial clerical centers. From the little data available concerning the configuration of these historic places, it seems that they were centered on their mosques, which is not surprising given their functions. The clerical center of Pire, for example, consisted of a mosque, the compound of Sëriñ Pire, and the daara (or school). Significantly, the first thing to be built in Pire following its foundation was the mbaar, the shady arbor beneath which Khâli Amar Fall began teaching.[25] The daara consisted of "several rooms ordered around a courtyard," some reserved for older pupils and others for the young children. The senior classes were conducted in the mbaar, while other classes were held in the mosque or in the cleric's own compound. Khâli Amar Fall's compound is the earliest

example of the great shaykh's compound, essential to the pénc design, and, according to Thierno Ka, oral tradition claims that it was modeled on the houses of the religious scholars of "the Sudan" (i.e., the scholars of Timbuktu, Jenne, and the Jakhanke towns). The compound contained a large room that was used as an audience hall and for teaching. Near the compound's entrance was another class-room, used for beginning students still learning the Koran. Even today in Senegal, in Touba in particular, religious instruction is still conducted in this manner. Some classes are held in the shaykh's compound, either in rooms or in the shade of a mbaar or a tree in an inner courtyard. Other classes are held outside, in the mbaar found on the pénc in front of the compounds of the major shaykhs. Although Ka's description of the early settlement of Pire, based on interviews with elders of the Fall lineage, does not mention a pénc, nonetheless, one can hypothe-size that the mbaar, the mosque, the daara, and the sëriñ's compound related to each other on some kind of public square.

The existence of a pénc is more explicit in the case of Jakhanke settlements. Jakhanke towns shared many common traits in terms of their spatial layout. According to the descriptions contained in their own internal sources, the typical Jakhanke town was centered on a public square, occupied in its center by a mosque. The town was then subdivided into four wards. The configuration dis-cernable in textual sources is confirmed by one sketch map of Touba in Futa Jallon produced for a 1909 colonial police report about an incident that had occurred there the previous year and reproduced by Jean Suret-Canale.[26] The sketch map (figure 4.7) indicates that the "village" of Touba was centered on a rec-tangular public square, oriented toward the qiblah, and occupied in its center by the mosque. Even though too much cannot be made of this police sketch map in isolation, it does seem to confirm the written sources in presenting Touba as an ordered space—especially considering that colonial officials were not prone to seeing much spatial order in the African "villages" under their jurisdiction.

The Jakhanke sources make it clear that the mosque was Touba's central insti-tution. Although each of the four wards was assigned specific tasks for its mainten-ance, the mosque itself remained under the ultimate jurisdiction of the town's qâdî who also served as its imâm, or prayer leader.[27] Attached to this mosque were a number of mausolea. Al-Hâjj Karamokho Ba was buried outside the mosque's qiblah wall, to the left of the mihrâb,[28] just as is the case with Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's mausoleum in Mouride Touba. According to Sanneh, this burial was in keeping with "a tradition which was prevalent among Jakhanke."[29] Also, as in contemporary Touba in Senegal, the successors of Karamokho Ba in nineteenth century Jakhanke Touba were buried in separate domed mausolea (qubbah in Arabic) on the qiblah side of the mosque.[30] It appears that modern Senegalese Sufi centers share a number of common topographical elements with their Jakhanke predecessors. These elements include central public squares and mosque-mausoleum complexes (both aligned to the qiblah), and the lineage sub-division of residential wards.
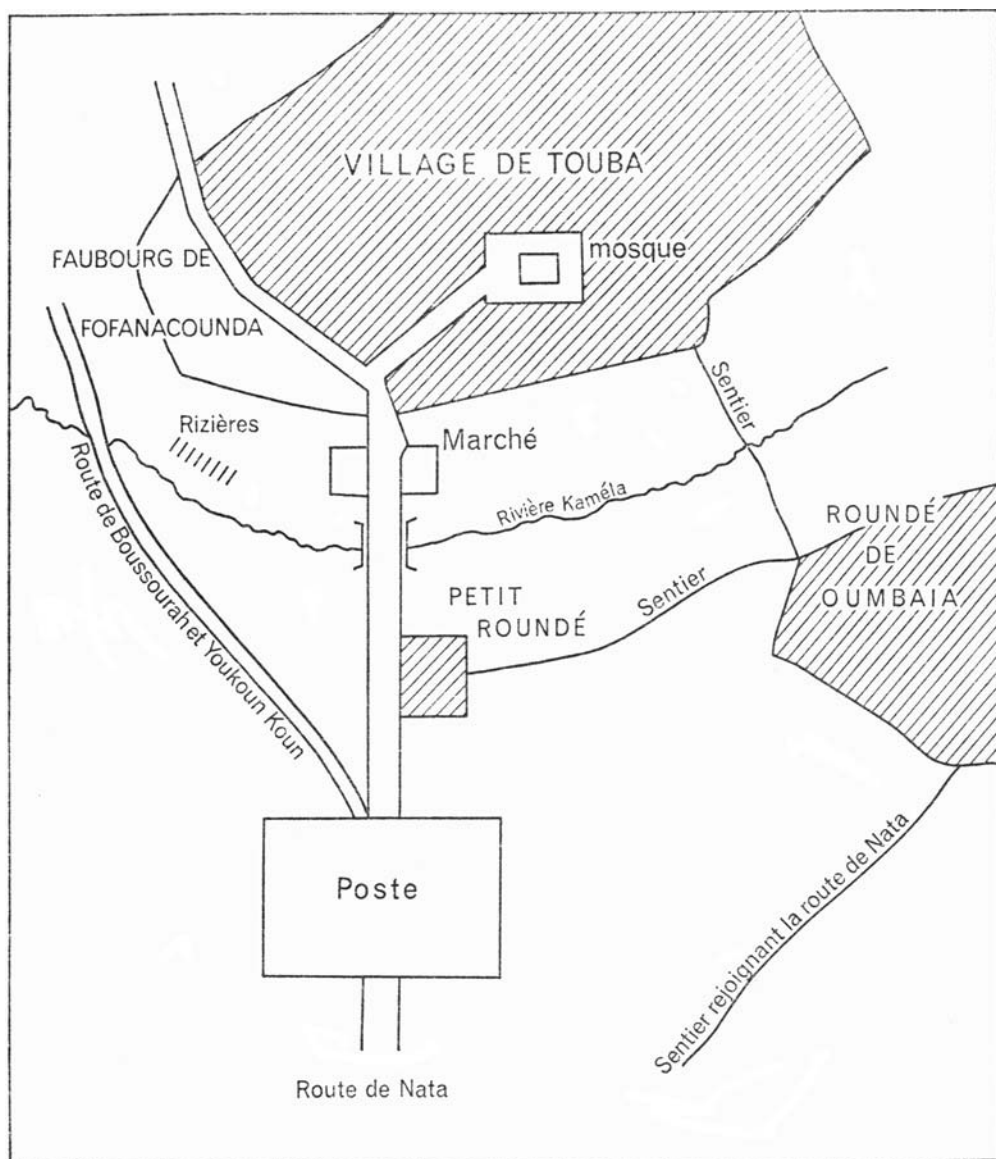
Figure 4.7. Sketch plan of Touba in Futa Jallon (Guinea) from 1909. [Jean Suret-Canale, "Touba in Guinea: Holy Place of Islam," in *African Perspectives*, ed. Christopher Allen and R. W. Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970): 69. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.]

The Islamic City

To some extent, these urban principles are grounded in classical Islamic practice. Urban processes in Medina (the first Muslim city), Baṣra, Kûfa, and Baghdâd have left a strong imprint in the Islamic canon, especially its legal texts. As a highly educated clerical elite, the Jakhanke karamokhos would have been familiar with this legacy. Moreover, some of the karamokhos had performed the ḥajj and thus had transited through the great Arab metropolises and would have had personal experience of the "Islamic" city (however this might be conceived). One might expect then that the Jakhanke clerics would try to implement this Islamic model in their own settlements.

Much has been written, in over a century of Islamic and Middle-Eastern Studies, about the "Islamic city," and it is beyond the scope of this present study to discuss the continued relevance of this concept.[31] What needs to be said here is that contrary to the widely held perception whereby Muslim cities are unplanned, arbitrarily configured labyrinths, there is an urban planning tradition within Islamic civilization which was first manifest in the establishment of the *miṣrs*, or "metropolitan camps," of Baṣra and Kûfa in Iraq, Fustât in Egypt, and Qayrawân in Tunisia, and which thereafter continued to develop.[32] Also, it is readily acknowledged that both *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and sharî'ah (Islamic law) have played and continue to play an important role in urban planning. This role, however, pertains mostly to domestic architecture, neighborly relations, and property rights.[33] In terms of general guiding principles for laying out a city, books of fiqh and sharî'ah are not the most helpful sources.

The most important texts for the Arab/Islamic tradition of city building are the historical accounts of the founding of the first miṣrs. These encampments were established within decades of the death of the prophet Muhammad by the first generation of Muslims and they were essential to the subsequent development of Islamic civilization for several related reasons. First, it was in the miṣrs that the mostly pastoral Arab tribespeople, who had constituted the bulk of the conquering Muslim armies, settled, offering a rare example in history of the voluntary sedentarization of a large nomadic population. Second, Baṣra and Kûfa especially played important roles, second only to Medina, in the early elaboration of the Islamic sciences (grammar, Koranic exegesis, ḥadîth compilation, fiqh, sharî'ah, theology, Sufism, etc.) as well as of art and literature generally. Third, these new cities played an increasingly important political role in the first centuries of Islamic history, a role which culminated in the 'Abbâsid Revolution and the establishment of Baghdad—the foundation of which in 762 CE was itself a seminal event for the Islamic city.

The Jakhanke clerics, given their broad Islamic education, would have been familiar with this literature and what it tells of spatial configuration. Certainly the Jakhanke tradition of administering their communities through four "righteous" men (the ward heads) was inspired by the four "Rightly Guided" caliphs who succeeded the prophet Muhammad. Moreover, other West African clerics are known

to have drawn inspiration directly from the classical Islamic tradition. Upon completing his jihad and setting up a new Islamic state in northern Nigeria, Muhammad Bello, for example, adopted a policy of settling the Fulani pastoralists based on the examples of Baṣra, Kûfa, and Fusṭât.[34]

Several spatial characteristics of the early miṣrs are of relevance to the configuration of the Jakhanke settlements. The early configuration of Kûfa has been meticulously reconstructed from the written sources by Hichem Djaït and, therefore, can best represent the early Islamic city tradition.[35] Kûfa was built around a vast public square (called the *raḥabah*) in the middle of which stood the city's Friday Mosque (figure 4.8). The mosque shared this space with the governor's palace (the *qaṣr*) which was built on its qiblah side. According to the literature, Baṣra, and to a lesser extent, Fusṭât and Qayrawân shared a similar configuration in their early years. When the 'Abbâsid Caliph Al-Manṣûr built his new palace-city in Baghdad, the large central square, completely free of any structure save for Friday Mosque and palace, was retained as the basic element of its configuration—the major difference being that Baghdad was round, whereas the early miṣrs were all square in form.

Within a couple of generations of Kûfa's founding, the large public square had been greatly encroached upon by powerful individuals and by market stalls, leaving a much smaller public space (which, nonetheless, continued to serve as the city's muṣallâ, or prayer ground). We have here then an early instance of the characteristic configuration of subsequent Arab/Islamic/Middle-Eastern cities, i.e., the juxtaposition of Great Mosques and central markets.[36] Yet it is important to realize that the initial plan, elaborated by Kûfa's founders, called for a large square for public assembly (military, civic, and religious) surrounding the mosque, not a market. The encroachment of stalls and private mansions was a subsequent development that the civic authorities were unable to prevent.

The second element of Kûfa's configuration that might be relevant to the Jakhanke tradition is the organization of its residential wards, called *khiṭaṭ* ("lots"), and *qaṭa'i'* ("properties"). These wards were first allotted on a tribal basis and were an important component of the sedentarization of the Bedouin. Each tribal allotment was administered through the usual tribal structures, leadership, and assemblies, which were adapted to the new urban setting. Moreover, the tribal wards had their own neighborhood mosques, public squares, markets, cemeteries, etc. This urbanized tribal configuration remained operative for many generations, well into 'Abbâsid times. In Jakhanke towns, wards (which they call qabîlah or "tribe") have also been allocated according to lineage. West African and Senegambian societies have never been tribal in the sense that Arab ones were. Historically, the fundamental social divisions have been those of *caste* and *order*, not tribe, and there are no tribal structures or identities. Nevertheless, extended lineages, matrilineal and patrilineal, structure social interactions generally and they structure the internal organization of Senegal's Sufi orders in particular, where, for example, they determine the allocation of space in Touba's neighborhoods today. It would seem that this lineage structure was subsumed by the Jakhanke into the
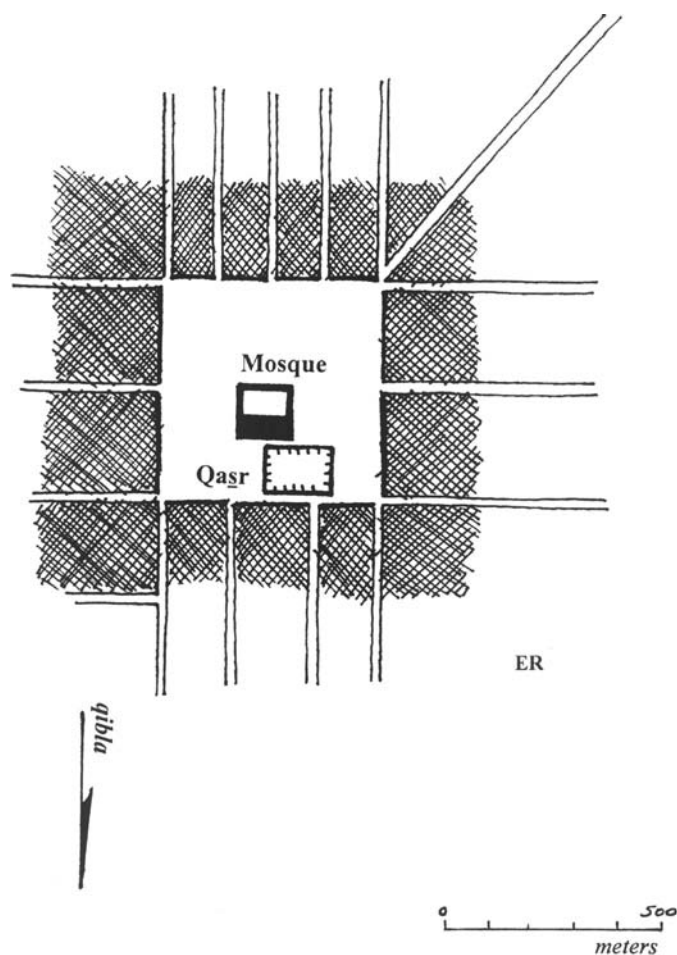
Figure 4.8. Sketch of the original configuration of the misr of Kûfa (Iraq). [Adapted from Hicham Djaït, *Al-Kûfa: naissance de la ville islamique* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1986): 302.]

prestigious antecedents of Arab tribes (qabîlah) and of the tribal allotments of the first misrs.

It is then possible that the clerics of the ancient régime deliberately followed the misr model in configuring their towns: a central public square with a mosque (but no "palace") surrounded by distinct tribal (lineage, qabîlah) wards. Of relevance to this argument is the fact that other ancien régime Sufi clerics also seem to have found inspiration in the classical Islamic urban model. For example, Al-Ḥâjj 'Umar Tall, built his first capital, Dinguiraye (modern Guinea) established in 1849, as follows:

[Al-Hâjj 'Umar Tall] divided his *taalibe* into three large work groups. The first group was given the task of clearing the land. The second was put in charge of building the *tata* [fort], while the third group was assigned the task of building the mosque. This group was placed at the disposal of Samba Ndiaye Bathily, a polyvalent architect.[37] [. . .] Thanks to this rational organization of work, by the end of the year Dinguiraye was equipped with the two monuments indispensable to its security and its piety: the *tata* and the mosque. At the same time, as soon as the first group had finished clearing the land in the center of the city, east of the mosque ['Umar Tall] built himself a new and strong fortress, the *junfutun*, which was to be his residence.[38]

Dinguiraye resembles the Islamic model exemplified by the misr of Kûfa. The new capital was centered on the mosque and the junfutun, the shaykh's residential compound. As in Kûfa, this residence (equivalent to Kûfa's qasr) was situated on the qiblah side of the mosque (south in the case of Kûfa, east in the case of Dinguiraye). The two entities, mosque and palace, shared the space at the center of the city. This arrangement also characterized many of the Fulani capitals of the Sokoto Caliphate further east (northern Nigeria and Cameroon). Mike DeLancey has shown how the setting up of power by Fulani clerics in cities like Zaria and Ngaoundéré involved reorienting the central squares, with the palace compounds placed east of the mosques, on their qiblah side, which the author argues was done in accordance with the Kufan model.[39]

Even though the prestigious example of the first Muslim cities, described in canonical texts, certainly exerted influence on urban design among the educated clerics, there was a closer model at hand that they could use, that of existing West African capital cities.

West African Royal Capitals

At the time the clerics were actively setting up their autonomous centers throughout the Senegambia and the Western Sudan, these territories were already enmeshed in a network of towns and cities. The most famous ones were the great commercial and scholarly centers of the Niger Bend: Timbuktu, Jenne, and Gao. Less spectacular but of greater relevance to our analysis of spatial configuration were the royal capitals. Though smaller than the trading cities, Western Sudanic capitals were more symbolically charged. Precisely because these places were loci of power, rule, and statecraft, their spatial configurations, far from being arbitrary, were carefully controlled. West African and Senegambian historical sources offer some descriptions of the layout of these capitals. Much as we have attempted to discern the spatial and architectural characteristics of the clerical towns from historical accounts, we will attempt here to reconstruct a typical Senegambian royal capital. Moreover, as will be demonstrated, the two settlement types are remarkably similar in design.

Typically, West African royal capitals were centered on a large public square adjoining a royal palace. This arrangement goes back to the earliest recorded

descriptions. According to the oral traditions of Mali, Dakajalan, the first capital of that empire (established ca. 1222) was built around such a palace/square complex. The square was the scene of major political events like the coronation of Mansa Sunjata and harbored in its midst the royal throne podium, from which the mansa administered justice.[40] It is reported that master builders from Dia and Jenne were brought to Dakajalan to build Sunjata's palace. The empire of Mali at this time was by no means a Muslim state in terms of its political *modus operandi*. Yet both Dia and Jenne were Muslim cities and the master masons they sent to Dakajalan would have been Muslim. Niani, Mali's second capital, was also centered on a large public square, which Ibn Battûta, a Moroccan scholar who visited the city in the early fourteenth century, called a *mashwâr*, a term which leaves no doubt that we are dealing here with a fundamentally political space.[41] According to Ibn Battûta, the mansa's throne podium in Niani stood in the center of the square, under a large shade tree. This is the first indication of the role great trees, often designated as palaver trees in subsequent European literature, were to play in the configuration of West African towns and cities.

The provincial capitals of the Malian Empire and those of its successor states were similarly configured. In Kansala, the capital of Gabu, the public square extended east of the palace compound. In the middle of the square was a tree, the *tabadjou*, "with dense foliage."[42] It was on this central square, beneath the tabadjou (most likely a cola tree), that young princes would congregate with their retinues for drinking parties and amusement. In Soumacounda, a district capital of Gabu, the central square was also shaded by a great tree. The royal family would meet beneath it, amid much drinking of palm wine and millet beer, to settle accounts and resolve disputes.[43] Ostentatious public displays of drunkenness and dueling were a hallmark of the soldiering orders (gelwaar in Mandinka, ceddo in Wolf). The capital's central square was a stage upon which these political performances were conducted in public—or at least in front of a limited public, certain castes were excluded from these cities. For example, only noble families were allowed, indeed were obliged, to reside in Maka, the eighteenth-century capital of the united kingdoms of Kayor and Baol.[44] Provincial nobles who did not reside there had to delegate a proxy to represent them at court. At the center of Maka was a public square and royal compound. Its streets, lit at night with oil lamps, were straight and crossed at right angles. They were wide enough to permit cavalry to romp wildly through the city—another public display of power and caste prerogative:

> Established on sandy soil on the border between the two countries [Kayor and Baol], Maka was a village of about one hundred houses arranged like the allotted *escales* of today, with its public square and the royal residence in the center. It had wide streets where the rowdy mounted escorts of the nobles could circulate freely. [. . .] It was a political village especially created for the government of the two countries, a royal village, a village of princes and princesses who did no manual labor. The *kàngam* [officials of state] were obliged to build compounds where they would house their representative at court. Some *kàngam* liked living there, as they could keep close watch over political developments in

the capital, so they sent their younger brothers or nephews to represent them in their home provinces. Whenever there was a change of king everything would change in Maka. The *kàngam* were replaced and so too were the heads of the compounds.[45]

The author, Tanor Latsoukabé Fall, who wrote this description in 1955, was a member of the royal Fall lineage of Kayor and Baol. His comparison of this pre-colonial capital "village" to the escales of the colonial period is revealing. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century trading settlements established along the railways were configured as grids of straight streets that crossed at right angles. The orthogonal configuration of Maka predates these colonial establishments. Moreover, while an escale is always centered on the train station and a market place, Maka was centered on its pénc, consisting of public square and royal compound.

Like Maka, Kahone, the capital of the kingdom of Saloum since the sixteenth century, had an orthogonal street plan. On a 1:50,000 scale topographical map dated 1950 (figure 4.9), this old capital (now a suburb of Kaolack) is still represented as a well-ordered town, with a grid of straight streets crossing at right angles.[46] Since then, many of the old compounds have been abandoned or are no longer actively inhabited. Yet traces of the grid plan are still discernable in high-resolution satellite imagery (figure 4.10). Kahone's royal pénc is surrounded by the compounds of former princely lineages, though some of these stand abandoned.

The combination of central square and royal compound is recurrent in the textual sources as well. In Sereer, this square is called the *ngel maak*, or "great square."[47] South of the Gambia River, in the acephalous, or "stateless," societies along the Atlantic coast, we find a similar configuration of a chief's compound facing a public square. This is how one French observer, de la Courbe, described the king's compound at Bolole in 1685:

> The house of the king is one of the prettiest I have seen in this country; there was a large square (*grande place*) with an avenue neatly planted with two rows of trees. The house is like a labyrinth, planted with banana trees, like that of the king of Bissau, with many huts dispersed about for his wives and slaves. After many turns you reach the middle [of the compound] where his house is. Before it is a covered vestibule where he holds his palavers. . . . We found him sitting on a chair given to him by the Portuguese.[48]

The large compound facing the square was the determining element of the place. The planting of trees seems to have been important to the configuration, part of the design. The "covered vestibule" where the king holds his palavers is clearly equivalent to the mbaar of contemporary Senegal, which often precedes the entrance to a compound or a courtyard. According to Peter Mark, this type of "grande place" for public gatherings, i.e., the Wolof pénc, characterized the layout of villages and wards through out the region.[49]

Based on the above evidence, we are in a position to reconstruct the spatial configuration of Senegambia's royal capitals. These capitals were centered on a public
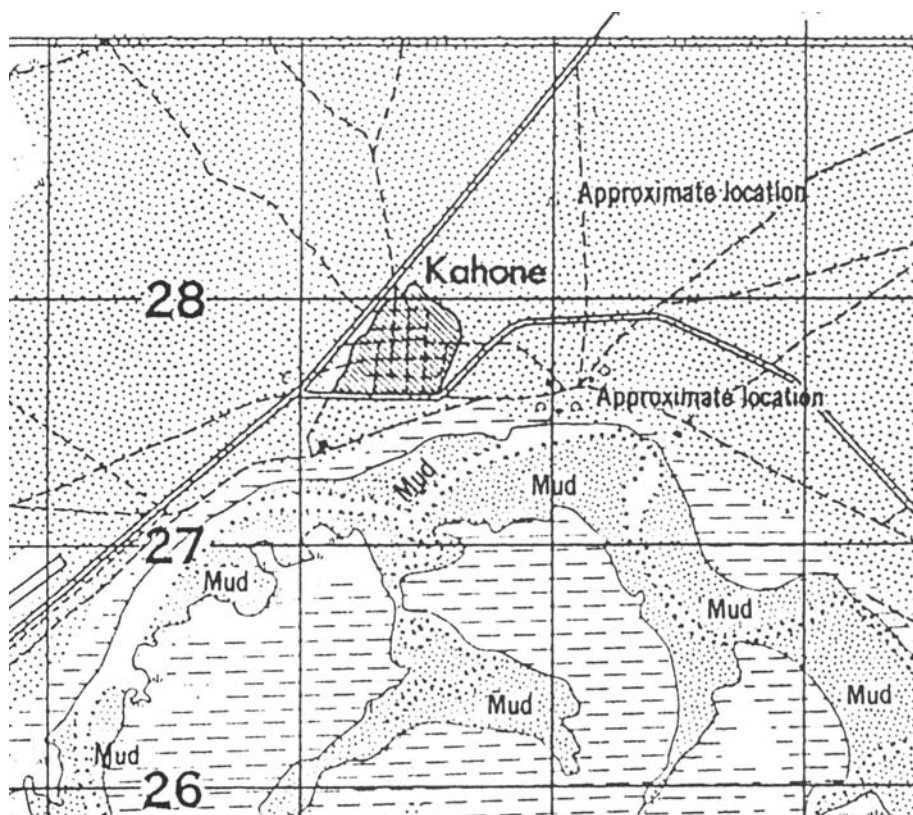
Figure 4.9. Kahone in 1945. The grid plan of the historic capital of the Kingdom of Saloum is still visible on this topographical map established through aerial photography following World War II. Compare with figure 3.13. [U.S. Army Map Service, G721-1337-II, 1950, 1:50,000 scale, Archives du Service Géographique National du Sénégal, Dakar.]

square—a place for public displays of authority. In the middle of the square would have stood a palaver tree, combination throne room, town hall, and courthouse. The square would be bounded to the west by the royal palace, itself a complex of courtyards and covered spaces. The rest of the capital would consist of residential compounds organized loosely into a grid. There are clear similarities between the configuration of Senegambian royal capitals and that of the clerical towns. Regardless of the prestigious Islamic tradition exemplified by Kûfa, to create an explicitly Muslim town, the clerics had only to adapt an existing locally available city plan, that of the royal capitals. Of relevance to this argument is the fact that the capitals of some of the precolonial jihad states seem also to have adapted the configuration of the older royal capitals. For instance, the city of Hamdallay was

Figure 4.10. Kahone. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Kaolack-Kahone.]

founded in 1819 to serve as capital of the new Fulani jihad state of Masina. The center of the city consisted of the Friday Mosque and the compound of Shaykh Ahmadou, the founder of the state. The rest of the city was organized around this nucleus.[50] The royal capitals were places specially designed for the exercise of political power, whereas the clerical centers were specially designed for the purpose of Islamic instruction and the practice of the sunnah. Yet, at the core, the same basic design—a grid of compounds centered on a public square—served both purposes.

It appears that the principal difference in configuration between the royal capitals and the Muslim towns of the precolonial period lies in their central institutions, the monuments at the center of their public squares. The palaver tree in the middle of the square in royal capitals, beneath which the king sat enthroned, where he administered justice in full view of the public, where courtiers and

provincial officials would come to pay him homage, where princes and soldiers would gather for loud and equally public displays of their caste prerogatives, was replaced by the mosque in the middle of the public square at the center of Muslim towns. The institution that served for public displays of authority in royal capitals was replaced by the Muslim clerics with an institution conducive to promoting Islamic conceptions of authority, God's authority over a rightly guided community. In the process, many spiritual, social, and political concepts traditionally represented as, or associated to, civic trees in West Africa were transferred to its mosques.

Palaver Trees Reconsidered: the Tree as Civic Monument

In precolonial Senegambian settlements, trees often assumed the functions of monumentality and permanence more usually associated with buildings. Polities and communities were marked topographically by certain individualized trees that served political, social, and religious functions. Many of these historical and monumental trees still stand today; thirteen of them are even classified by the Senegalese state as historic monuments.[51] Many others are named in the oral chronicles. Given the importance of actual trees to Touba's foundation and configuration, a discussion of this historical precedent is justified.

Palaver trees are the large shade trees that serve as loci for political gatherings from Senegambia to Madagascar. They have long been recognized as embodiments of traditional political practice in sub-Saharan Africa. The term "palaver" derives from the Portuguese *palavra*, "speech," "parley," "discussion," as does *palabre* in French. Portuguese mariners and traders were the first Europeans to observe the practice of palaver beneath trees in the coastal communities where they transacted business. At the time, the practice was seen by these observers to be essential to public life, including to the management of the community's economic affairs. For example, in Mbanza Congo, capital of the kingdom of Congo, sixteenth-century Portuguese diplomatic and commercial missions were received publicly by the king, surrounded by his entourage of courtiers, beneath a great fig tree which grew in the city's central square.[52] Similarly, circa 1685, Alexander Cleeve, the Royal Africa Company's chief agent along the Gambia River, records having parleyed with the mansa of Niumi "at the foot of a great tree" in the capital of Juffure.[53] Palaver trees of this sort were symbols of authority and sovereignty.

The term *palaver tree* as used in European languages is misleading. It designates what is in reality a number of different phenomena that make political, social, or religious use of individualized trees. Historically, in Senegambia and the Western Sudan, specially designated trees served for the public administration of justice, or for public displays of royal or princely prerogatives, as in Kansala and Soumacounda mentioned above. Other trees served specifically for coronations, or for the administration of oaths. Yet others had religious functions, being used

by *griots* (oral traditionalists, *géwél* in Wolof), for sacrifices, for burial, or else by Muslim clerics, for instruction and prayer. Rather than a single palaver tree serving as locus of public debate, polities were marked by a number of different trees, of various species, which served a variety of public or collective functions, only one of which might be a palaver. These trees often had proper names, which could be descriptive (such as the "Baobab of Circumcision" in Kahone for instance), or they could be known generically, as in the "Baobab of Writing" and the "Baobab of Griots," which are recurrent. The palaver tree as a place of public assembly for political debate should be understood within this wider context whereby a plurality of monumental trees served a community's public life. For want of a better generic term, *palaver tree* will be used here to designate the individualized trees which served public, social, and political functions, as opposed to the more strictly "sacred" type of trees or groves that were used for initiatic or secluded religious rituals, such as masquerades, circumcisions, royal burials, altars, etc., though the distinction between "public" and "secluded" is not always so easily made.

There is already considerable literature, theoretical and empirical, relating to the religious and spiritual functions of trees in West Africa.[54] What becomes clear from this corpus is that the tree form has been developed in traditional West African thought as an image for the universe, where it represents cosmic order and unity of purpose. These West African conceptions of the cosmic tree are actually quite close to the World Tree of Sufi theosophy, described in chapter 1, and this tends to confirm the spiritualist understanding of the tree archetype; it has an objective existence in the imaginal realm, from where it informs the culturally specific expressions of specific places and eras. In West Africa, the conception of the cosmic tree has influenced the uses to which actual trees are put. What will be attempted below is an assessment of the public functions of trees and principally of their role as civic *monuments,* i.e., spatial markers of collective memory and identity. The monumentality of these palaver trees is not only conceived symbolically. The trees in question are considered in architectonic terms; their physical configurations in the landscape, individually and as species, have helped determine the symbolic uses to which they are put.

Senegalese oral traditions and historical sources mention palaver trees as important elements of political life at the origin of the first Wolof and Serer states, in the fifteenth century. The traditions of the empire of Mali and of satellite Mandinka polities, such as Gabu, indicate that this was the case even earlier, as of the thirteenth century. In the Mandinka countries, the palaver tree tended to be a kapok (*Ceiba pentandra, mbudaay* in Sereer, béntéñe in Wolof). This was also the case in Sereer areas (Sine and parts of Saloum and Baol). The kapok is one of the tallest trees in the West African flora, with heights of forty meters being quite common in the mixed forest-savanna belt.[55] The towering monumentality of kapok trees is further emphasized by the prominent "buttresses" which help support what are otherwise very slender trunks.

Further north in drier Wolof countries, the palaver tree was more likely to be a baobab (Adansonia digitata, guy in Wolof, *baak* in Sereer, *sito* in Mandinka, *boki* in

Pulaar). Baobabs are extraordinary trees in many regards, their most distinctive attribute being their enormous girth. Though the trees are not very tall (between twenty and twenty-five meters for mature specimens), their massive trunks can reach up to nine meters in diameter, while circumferences of over twenty-five meters have been measured.[56] The second distinctive feature of these trees is their great longevity—well over one thousand years by radiocarbon dating.[57] There is even reason to believe that certain specimens are far older still, but as these ancient baobabs are invariably hollow—the growth at the center having disintegrated to create a cavity—this is impossible to verify through radiocarbon dating or by the reading of growth rings. The cavities within the trunks of old baobabs are sometimes as large as rooms and, depending on individual configurations, they can be put to a variety of uses, both religious (as altars or tomb chambers, for example) and profane (as in roadside booths or workshops). Due to their girth and longevity, baobabs are important landmarks in Senegal's dry savanna plain, which has a dearth of other types of spatial markers (such as hills or streams). Some of the most venerable baobabs are true landmarks in that they have stood since the beginning of collective memory. Their physical presence defies human notions of time and they are often known by proper names. One may find them cited by name in the oral chronicles, as marking international borders or as loci of battles. Moreover, these monumental baobabs are represented on maps, and on Senegal's 1:50,000 topographical maps, in particular, where they have a distinct symbol.

Historically, individual baobabs and kapok trees, but also cola trees (*Cola cordifolia*, *taba* in Wolof and Mandinka), acacias (*Acacia albida*, *kàdd* in Wolof), tamarinds (*daqaar* in Wolof, *soob* in Serer) and *mbul* trees (*Celtis intergrifolia*), have played important roles in the construction and maintenance of collective identities—identities which were conceived in spiritual terms as much as in political ones. Trees were often the "souls" of the polity; they were their *genii loci*.[58] They represented the community as a whole, its unity and its destiny. They actualized notions of foundation/creation, duration/continuity, and harmony/order, both cosmic and temporal.

The tree as *genius loci* represents first of all the notion of foundation. With regularity, one finds kingdoms and their capitals right across the continent being founded beneath trees. There is the case of the *linke* tree (*Afzelia africana*) which grew in the sacred grove called Kouroukan Fougan in the holy city of Kangaba (Mali). This tree marked the great assembly that had witnessed the foundation of the kingdom.[59] The first king of Baguirmi (modern Chad) established his kingdom by sacrificing a bull beneath a *mbaya* (a type of fig tree).[60] Likewise, in every newly founded Rwandan capital, a tree would be planted over the remains of a sacrificial cow.[61] The founding legend of Timbuktu relates the sacrifice of a woman named Buctu under a tree named Garboyña, after which the city emerged from the waters.[62] A more recent foundation is that of Segou, capital of the Bambara kingdom of the same name. Early in the eighteenth century, this city was founded when the king came to live beneath a *karité* tree (*Butyrosperum parkii*) on

the banks of the Niger River.[63] In the Senegambian kingdoms of interest to us, we find that Kahone, capital of Saloum, gets its name from a tree venerated by its first Serer inhabitants,[64] whereas Mboul, capital of Kayor, gets its name from the mbul tree that marked its foundation.[65]

Foundation trees, such as those mentioned above, were regarded as the spiritual guarantors of their communities. As the embodiment of polities, they also played key roles for the institution at the very summit of West African social organization, the monarchy. Kings were crowned beneath certain trees, they held court and administered justice beneath others, and would be buried beneath yet others. Trees were destinations along the routes of coronation processions. They would be circumambulated and sometimes physically ascended by newly crowned monarchs. Oaths would be taken beneath them. In Djilor (in the delta of the Saloum River), since the thirteenth century, every newly crowned chief has circumambulated the tree on the town's central square seven times.[66] Likewise, kings of the Asante, upon enthronement, would take oaths beneath certain trees, where they would swear before the assembled people to rule wisely.[67] In Ouidah's Tové ward is a tree-shrine called Kpasséloko (possibly at an *iroko* tree, *Chlorophora excelsa*), in a sacred grove called Kpassézoumé created to commemorate King Kpassé's parley with Portuguese traders in the sixteenth century. Every new head of the local Adjovi lineage was obliged to spend several weeks in seclusion at the foot of this tree prior to his enthronement ceremony.[68]

Trees might also symbolize justice, as in Niani where the affairs of state were attended to in the shade of a great kapok tree that stood in the city's central square.[69] According Ibn Battûta, the mansa sat enthroned upon a dais set up directly beneath this tree.[70] This was also the case in Ouagadougou, where the *mogho-naba* rendered justice beneath a tree,[71] and in Ouidah, where the *yovogan*, or governor, rendered justice beneath a tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*) that still stood there in the 1950s.[72] In other cases, monumental trees could represent state sovereignty. For example, Juffure, the capital of the Mandinka kingdom of Niumi at the mouth of the Gambia River, though it lay slightly inland from the shore, was identifiable from ships at sea by two tall trees (most likely kapoks) which rose "higher than the surrounding vegetation. The largest tree was known as the ensign ('pavilion') of the mansa, who was said to insist that passing vessels fire a salute; if they neglected to do so, he supposedly forbade trade and caused all the trouble he could."[73]

Palaver trees could be the objects of popular political celebrations. The Guy Njulli (Baobab of Circumcision) in Kahone, for instance, was visited each year by representatives of all of the provinces of the kingdom of Saloum. They arrived in the capital ostensibly to renew homage to the king beneath the great tree, but the ceremony was also the occasion for very popular public gàmmu festivities that lasted for days.[74] In Diourbel, it was a large kapok named Doumbe Diop that was the object of a great festival by the town's Serer population.[75] In other cases, trees could mark politically important tombs. It is believed that Samba Sarr, the founder of the kingdom of Sine (d. ca. 1286), was buried next to the mosque that

he had erected in Djilor's Ngaraf ward. He is said to have predicted that a tree would grow over his tomb, the fruits of which should be forbidden to his descendants. The mosque of Ngaraf has long since disappeared but a great baobab still marks Samba Sarr's tomb there.[76]

So far, our discussion of palaver trees has relied on the existing literature related to precolonial polities. To supplement these sources, an inventory of historic trees was undertaken during a rapid tour of four of Senegal's old royal capitals in December 2001 to January 2002 (figure 4.11). Wherever possible, the most senior informants were interviewed in the field, i.e., as close as possible to the actual historic trees. These informants included senior members of old political lineages and local officials.[77]

A variety of monumental trees marked the configurations of Senegal's precolonial capitals. These included coronation trees, constitution trees, tree alters, and tree cemeteries, and, most importantly, pénc trees—trees which marked the central public squares of these capitals.

Mboul, Kayor's first capital, was founded ca. 1550 when a Muslim cleric named Amadi Dia, at the behest of the first *damel* (king), attached a talisman to a pigeon that he then set loose. The first tree on which the pigeon would alight was to be designated as the palaver tree in the center of the public square of the intended capital. The bird landed on a mbul tree, situated in the corn field of a certain Ndasmi Lô. The new city was called Mboul after the tree.[78] Mboul is now a small village, listed as a national historic site, and the original mbul tree no longer exists, but the spot where it stood, in the center of the former capital's pénc is still known to residents. During a brief visit on 3 January 2003, the wife of the chef de village provided a guided tour of Mboul's major civic trees.[79] First of all, there is the Kàddu Pallu Kay, an acacia beneath which kings were crowned.[80] Next, there is the Guy Weru Ngen. This baobab was used during coronation ceremonies to measure the height of the new king. Its trunk still caries numerous incised marks consisting of vertical and oblique strokes and aligned dots. Another great baobab whose trunk is incised with horizontal strokes is the Guy Sanar Akanan, or "idol tree," which was used by traditional priests. There is also the Guy Géwél, the "Baobab of the Griots," which the author was shown from a respectful distance as no one would approach it. Mboul also had a Muslim neighborhood that is now abandoned but where the Njangu Kàdd Laye-Laye still stands. This acacia gets its name from the Muslim recitation "Allâh Allâh" and was also designated in French as *l'arbre du marabout.*

Lambaye was the royal capital of the kingdom of Baol. It is now a large village consisting of a number of distinct hamlets, each of which marks a neighborhood of what was formerly a much larger urban complex. During a visit on 3 January 2003, Dame Diaw, the chef de village, identified eight of its historic trees. The Guy Ndenge—Martin and Becker call it the Guy Ndenguy[81]—is one of two great baobabs (the second has collapsed from age) still marking the capital's first, or oldest, public square. Its trunk is incised with many short vertical and horizontal strokes. Lambaye's second public square is marked by a third baobab, still called
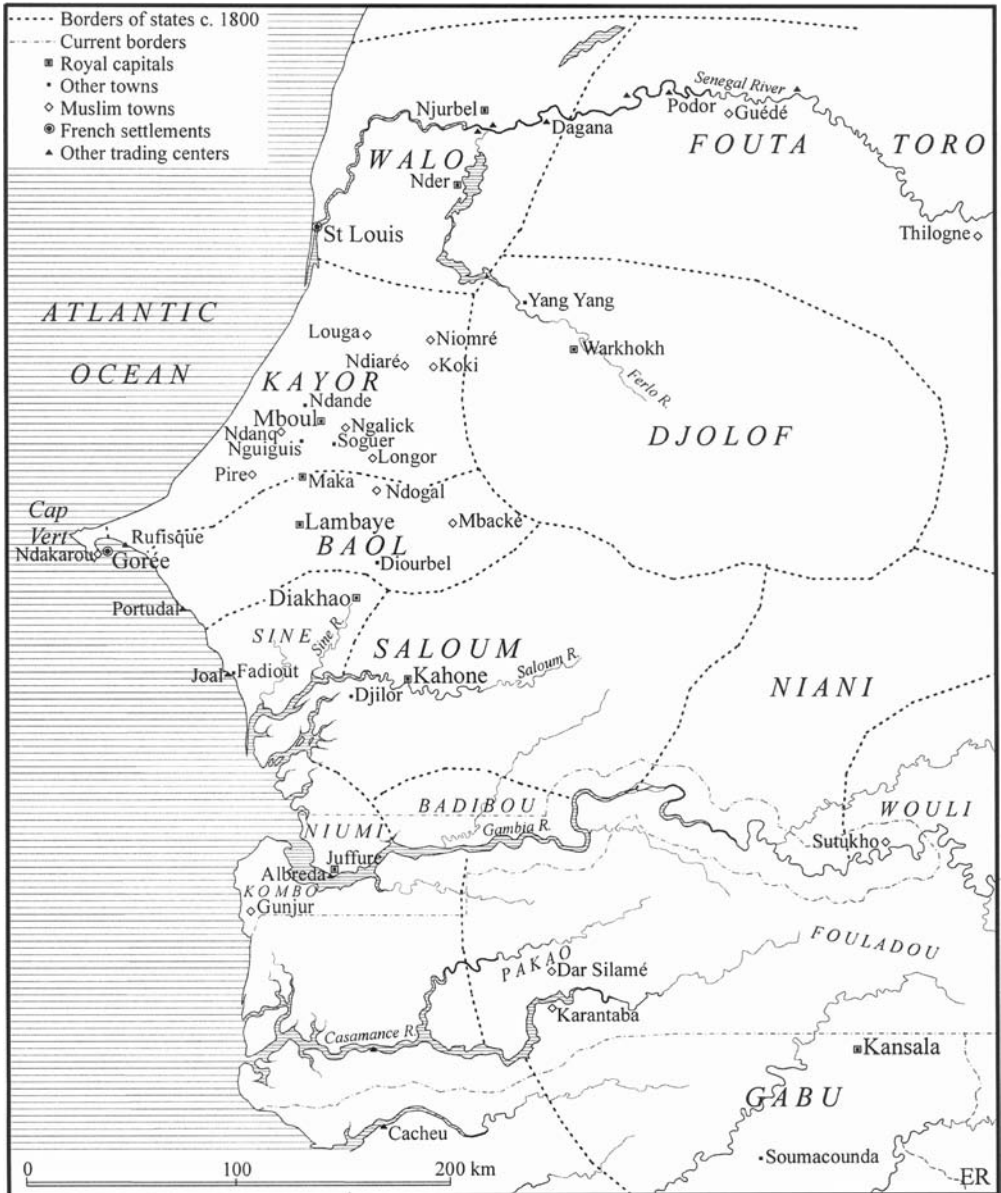
Figure 4.11. Senegal's historic capitals.

the Guy Pénc. Yet another large baobab nearby marks the location of the former royal compound. Another tree, the Ngici Bàkku (species unidentified), was where nobles and soldiers would take an oath before departing for battle. Several other baobabs in Lambaye are associated with the activities of the priests and griots

attached to the court. The Guy Tan was where priests would leave sacrifices for vultures. It has a large inner cavity that is accessible at ground level through a high open "doorway." The Guy Bateñ marks the neighborhood where the griots lived, while another baobab, the Guy Géwél, is also associated with their religious activities. This latter tree has a large inner cavity that opens widely to the outside, and which gives the tree a semicircular architectural form conducive to its use as alter. Its trunk is incised with numerous vertical strokes. Added to these centrally located trees, the Web site of Senegal's Ministry of Culture[82] lists the Guy Ndĕñ, somewhere on the outskirts of Lambaye, as a national historic site, locus of the Battle of Sanghay (ca. 1720).

Diakhao was the capital of the kingdom of Sine. With about ten thousand inhabitants, it is still an active administrative center as seat of an arrondissement, though it does not have municipal status. Moreover, the old capital's pénc is still the town's principal public square. During an interview with Dieng Sarr, village elder, and with Hadi Diouf, daughter of the last *bour* (king) of Sine, on 5 January 2003, only the central pénc and the royal compound were visited. Originally, four mbul trees stood on the pénc. These were used during coronation ceremonies. Only one of these trees still stands. The royal compound, on the west side of the pénc, is classified as a national monument and is still occupied by the descendents of the former royal family.[83] It is dominated by a towering baobab. The Ministry of Culture has also classified as historic Diakhao's Guy Kanger, a secluded baobab where the kings would offer libations.

Kahone was established as the capital of the kingdom of Saloum in the sixteenth century. It is a great tree, venerated by the local Serer, which gave its name to the city.[84] Today, it is the seat of an arrondissement and is incorporated as a commune (municipality). With 5,605 inhabitants in 2004, Kahone is now an industrial suburb of the city of Kaolack, which has replaced it as capital of the Saloum region. During a visit on 1 January 2003, Al Ḥâjj Malik Sarr, *farba* of Kahone[85] and member of its municipal council, explained the city's configuration (figure 4.10). The capital's original pénc still exists; it harbors the remnants of an old shade tree, next to the mausoleum of the last king. The former royal compound, flanking the square to the south, is entirely abandoned. All that really remains of Kahone's past glory as royal capital are two baobab trees which stand on its eastern outskirts (figure 3.13). The Guy Géwél, or "Baobab of Griots," is truly huge and towers over the landscape. Its large inner cavity can only be reached through narrow apertures high up in its trunk and, because of this, it may have served as burial chamber for griots, as this is the case with similarly designated baobabs elsewhere (see below). The Guy Njulli, or "Baobab of Circumcision," is equally monumental. This is the tree that was the locus of an annual festival, called the *gàmmu*, during which representatives of all the kingdom's provinces would renew their homage to the king.[86] One part of this very ancient baobab towers skyward and the other grows horizontally along the ground for some distance before rising. Its trunk has no incisions or marks. Kahone's Guy Njulli is classified as a national historic monument. It is fenced off and carefully tended.

Two phenomena of relevance to our analysis of Touba emerge from this incomplete inventory of some of Senegal's most important historic trees. One is the use of the baobab as locus of burial (the *guy géwél*) and the other is its use as medium for inscription (the guy mbind). Certain ancient baobabs were used as sepulchers, particularly for griots, or "oral traditionalists" (géwél in Wolof). Griots constituted a caste both feared and revered for the power and magic which it could command, i.e., the power of the uttered word. As a consequence, griots were not buried in soil lest they render it sterile.[87] When the morphology was right, if the cavity at its core was accessible through a suitably narrow aperture, an ancient baobab could be used as a burial chamber, thus constituting a "natural" mausoleum. On the outskirts of Dakar in the 1950s, one such sepulcher-baobab, named Bok (boki equals baobab in Pulaar), was discovered to contain the remains of no less than thirty individuals.[88] Trees of this type, known generically as guy géwél (baobab of griots) in Wolof, are found throughout the region. We inventoried one each in Mboul, Lambaye, and Kahone. Similar burial-baobas are known to exist as far away as East Africa and Madagascar.

The association of baobabs with burial and cemeteries more generally is ubiquitous. Many historic Senegambian cemeteries are overshadowed by great baobabs. To a certain extent this might be an accidental association, or rather an involuntary one, as baobabs may grow up from seeds present within the stomachs of those buried.[89] However, whatever the origin of the association, baobabs and cemeteries have been inextricably linked since ancient times. Serer cemeteries especially have the aspect of extensive baobab forests. Muslim and Christian cemeteries are equally marked by such trees. Moreover, cemeteries that have been abandoned for centuries can still be discerned in the landscape by observing the configuration of baobabs. The two examples below will serve to illustrate this relationship. The famous cemetery of Fadhiout is dominated by baobabs. Fadhiout lies in the maritime delta of the Saloum River, an area characterized by numerous seashell middens, the remains of fishing villages dating back to the seventh century CE. As baobabs thrive in calcareous soil[90] these middens are invariably crowned by one or several baobab trees. Fadhiout, which served as main port for the kingdom of Sine, is built on one such island midden and the public square in its center is dominated by an enormous palaver tree called the Baak no Maad, or "King's Baobab."[91] Fadhiout's cemetery, on a separate island midden called Jot Yoo one hundred meters away, is crowned by as many as a dozen baobabs in the midst of which a tall iron crucifix has been erected. This cemetery is remarkable in that it contains both Christian and Muslim graves.[92] The islet-town of Fadhiout and its insular cemetery are listed as a national historic site. The second example is from Dakar. In the 1930s, Dakar's Catholic cathedral was built in what had formerly been the cemetery of the precolonial clerical town of Ndakarou. The two mature baobabs that had overshadowed that Muslim burial ground still rise above the cathedral garden today.

The second phenomenon of interest to our discussion of Touba is the use of baobabs as mediums for writing. The trunks of certain great baobabs have been

used to support inscriptions, which consist of a variety of incised strokes and aligned dots, as well as rebuses and ideograms. These inscriptions are not based on Arabic or Latin scripts and were most probably used by various types of priests and griots. Such baobabs are known generically as guy mbind, "baobabs of writing," and we have inventoried them in two of the historic capitals described above: the Guy Weru Ngen and Guy Sanar Akanan in Mboul, and the Guy Ndenge and Guy Géwél in Lambaye. Cheikh Anta Diop and Raymond Mauny had a long scholarly debate about the significance of this phenomenon, and of one such baobab in particular, the Guy Kojuuf in Diourbel's Ndounka neighborhood.[93] There is also the Fek Bah, alternately called the Xel bu-Gaal, in Diourbel's Ndayène ward. This huge baobab rises in a forest of only slightly lesser baobabs, and its trunk is covered all over, higher than arms reach, in a multiplicity of overlapping incisions.[94] Such guy mbind are invariable of great age and the writing is evidently quite old as well. Moreover, the significance of the messages inscribed in this way seems to have been completely lost as it appears that no one alive today understands them any more. However, although they represent an "un-" or "pre-" Islamic cultural layer, the trees are greatly respected by local Muslim inhabitants.

It is clear from this analysis that monumental civic trees have played a significant role in Senegambia's social landscape. They have marked the topography of settlements, constituting their principal institutions and monuments. They have embodied concepts of authority, sovereignty, and governance. It is important to stress that palaver trees were not "worshipped." They were the locus of public political acts similar to those the modern secular age orchestrates around national monuments such as cenotaphs, commemorative columns, triumphal arches, and tombs of unknown soldiers. Moreover, Africa's longevous palaver trees regularly survived the more fleeting rise and fall of its cities and states, to the point where great kapok trees and solitary giant baobabs are often the last remaining traces of almost forgotten settlements.[95] A good example of this is Niani in Mali, which has shifted its location four times since the fall of that empire at the close of the fifteenth century. Each successive site is still marked by a great baobab.[96] In Wolof, an abandoned settlement is called a gent; great trees mark many of these places today, such as the gent of Ndingala, the original location of the Layenne shrine of Cambérène, which is marked today by a baobab.[97]

Arboreal embodiments of political concepts are still relevant to Africa's cultural landscapes and political culture today. The city of Dodoma, for example, which was planned as Tanzania's new national capital in the mid-1970s, was supposed to be centered on a monumental abstract metallic acacia tree constructed in the middle of the city's central square.[98] This abstraction of the palaver tree, never actually built,[99] was to serve as the capital's chief monument. The continued relevance of the palaver tree to contemporary Africa resides in its capacity to symbolize the continent's intrinsic tradition of democratic governance. Ideally, all members of society, regardless of age or gender, wealth or status, are present at a palaver, and everyone has the right to speak and to be heard. Simon Obanda argues that the palaver constitutes one of Africa's contributions to the global

culture of dialogue.[100] As such, it retains all of its political and social potency to this day and is readily applied to contemporary political and social processes, not just in Africa but the world over. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), for example, has used the term palaver to promote the building of grass-roots democracy, particularly in Mali where a successful process of national consensus building was undertaken in the mid-1990s.[101]

Trees in Muslim Settlements

In Senegal, political and social functions associated to monumental civic trees are directly relevant to Muslim settlements, and to contemporary Sufi ones in particular. Foundation trees, for example, are common to many of these settlements. We have already seen how a large mbéb tree figures in Touba's founding legend, marking Ahmadou Bamba's moment of transcendent illumination. Other Mouride settlements marked by foundation trees include Missirah, founded by Mame More Diarra Mbacké on a site marked by a baobab called Ndeglu[102] and Darou Mousty, founded in a grove mature baobabs by Mame Tierno Birahim Mbacké. Another Mouride shaykh, Assane Fall son of Shaykh Ibra Fall, founded Kaossara (named for the Koranic kawthar, the "Basin of the Prophet" mentioned in Sûrah 108) beneath yet another baobab characterized by the reservoir of fresh water it contained within its hollow trunk.[103] The phenomenon of foundation trees is not exclusive to the Mourides. The clerical centers of Pakao (Casamance), studied by Schaffer and Cooper, established in the eighteenth century, show a similar pattern. Dar Silamé was founded after a hunter slept under a linke tree and dreamed of building a village, while the neighboring town of Karantaba takes its name from the cola tree (taba) where the founder, Fodé Heraba Dramé, taught Koran to his students. In another case, a single great baobab (sito in Mandinka) in the village of Soumboundou marks the grave of Mankoto Ba Camara, the settlement's saintly Muslim founder.[104] Similarly, the Tijânî Shaykh Amary Ndack Seck founded Tiénaba on the spot revealed to him through a "luminous sign" at a *sambam* tree.[105] It is only after having spent three days in spiritual retreat at this tree that the shaykh left to obtain a land grant for the place from the king of Baol. The founding of Tiénaba occurred in 1882, five years *before* Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba experienced a similarly luminous vision beneath the mbéb tree.

Numerous trees in Senegal's contemporary Muslim landscape mark lieux de mémoire. This is the case of the tree stump in Porokhane, which is all that remains of the shade tree beneath which Ahmadou Bamba memorized the Koran as a child.[106] There is also a tamarind tree in the Kër Sëriñ Touba of Ndame beneath which Abderahmane Lô held class[107] and the ngigis tree in Darou Karim beneath which Sëriñ Massamba Mbacké diligently copied his brother's poetry. Other arboreal lieux de mémoire include Bara's palm tree and the lote tree beneath which are buried some of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's most potent writ-

ings, both located in Touba's central shrine complex. More apocryphal is the sexaw tree (Combretum micranthum) which gave its name to the neighborhood of Sékhawgui. Local popular legend, unsubstantiated by the accepted hagiography, recounts that Ahmadou Bamba used this tree as a khalwah.[108] The tree, which stood in a large pénc, has lately been cut down and replaced by a tiny makeshift sheet-metal mosque pending the construction of a solid one. Similarly apocryphal is the gigantic Guy Siyare in Touba's Mbal neighborhood. The large inner cavity of the Guy Siyare (from Arabic *ziyârah*, or pious visitation), also called the Guy Jàkka (or "Baobab Mosque"), is configured like a mosque, replete with a doorway at ground level and a properly aligned mih̠râb. It is popularly believed that Ahmadou Bamba used to pray in this tree during his ascetic retreats in the wilderness.[109]

Also significant for contemporary Muslim practice in Senegal is the tradition of the guy mbind, or "baobab of writing." The guy mbinds of modern Mouride shrines serve to express eschatological desire and they are often located in or near cemeteries. By writing their names on the trunks of these trees, pious visitors express their desire for a favorable judgment on the Day of Resurrection and for access to the paradisiacal gardens promised to the righteous by God. This was the case with the Guy Texe in Touba's cemetery[110] and of the baobab that formerly stood in Gouye Mbind ward and to which it gave its name. There is a guy mbind on the pénc of Darou Marnane (figure 2.8) and another one in the central cemetery-shrine of Darou Mousty.

Darou Mousty, the "second city" of the Mourides, was established in a small grove of baobab trees. On finding the site, following instructions received from Ahmadou Bamba, Mame Tierno Birahim Mbacké is reported to have prayed beneath one of the trees there.[111] Darou Mousty's central shrine complex (figure 4.12) is still dominated by the mature baobabs. The greatest concentration of these occurs within Mame Tierno Birahim's large compound, called Baïti. Other specimens stand in the surrounding compounds of Darou Mousty's great shaykhs. It is clear from the age of the baobabs that Mame Tierno Birahim established his settlement in an existing grove and that the great trees sheltered his founding acts of inhabitation. As in Keur Niang (figure 4.1) and Ndiassane (figure 4.4), subsequent buildings constitute additions to the original arboreal architecture. Baïti, with its trees, constitutes the spiritual heart of the shrine. Before the entrance to Baïti, at the foot of a large baobab on the pénc facing the mosque, is an mbaar and a hall specially built for mawlid celebrations. The mawlid, or Prophet's birthday, is celebrated in this hall every Monday night with the chanting of qas̠îdahs written in praise of the Prophet by Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba. Within the Baïti compound lays the necropolis of the lineage, which is laid out as a series of three courts. Burial is a central city function in Darou Mousty because, as in Touba, it is believed that burial there safeguards the deceased from being consigned to hellfire in the Hereafter.[112] The founder's mausoleum, called "Baïtil Mahmour" (Bayt al-Ma'mûr, the "House of Fulfillment" which is mentioned in some of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's works), and those of other members of his lineage lie in the third and last
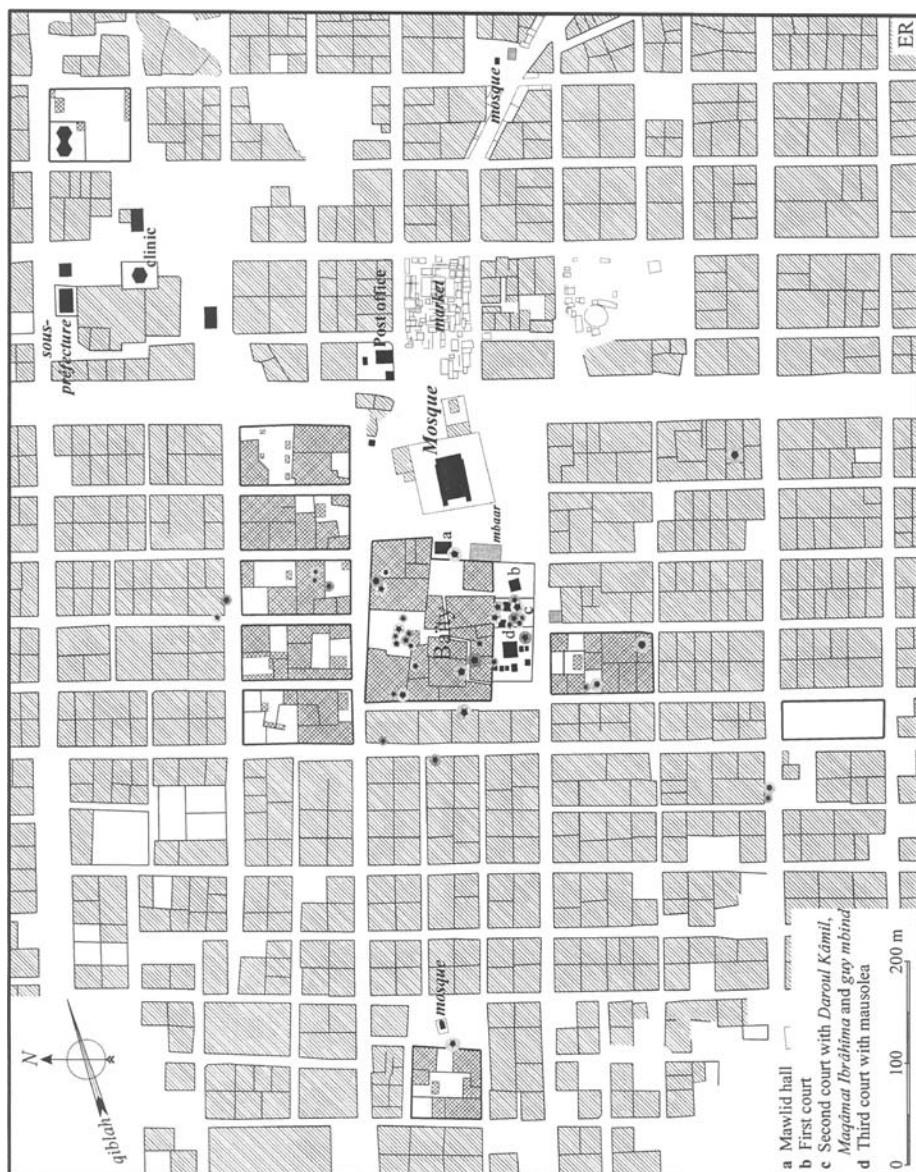
Figure 4.12. Darou Mousty. Darou Mousty, the "second city" of the Mourides, is one of the most successful of the early daaras. It was established in 1912 by Mame Tierno Birahim Mbacké in what was a grove of mature baobabs. These great trees still dominate the center of the city today. Most of them are included within the confines of Mame Tierno Birahim's great compound called Baïty. The southern portion of Baïty serves as a necropolis for the founder's lineage and contains a number of shrine kiosks and a *guy mbind*. A wide avenue separates the shrine neighborhood with its pénc from the more profane institutions that have been established in the town: the post office, sous-prefecture, government schools, clinic, etc. [Based on the Quickbird satellite image of Darou Mousty.]

of the courts. The second court, which precedes it, consists of a dense cluster of eight baobabs, one of which is a guy mbind used for the inscription of names. It is also in this second court, among these baobabs, that one finds two shrine-kiosks: the Maqâmat Ibrâhima (after the "Station of Abraham" in the <u>h</u>arâm of Mecca) and the Daroul Kamil (Dâr al-Kâmil, the "perfect" or "consummate" place). The Maqâmat Ibrâhima marks Mame Tierno Birahim's private prayer room where his personal objects of piety (Korans, prayer beads, prayer rugs, etc.) are still preserved. The Daroul Kamil marks the founder's experience of consummate fulfillment in God.[113] Effectively, it is a place of Sufi transcendence, a qu<u>t</u>b.

Tree and Mosque

The shift in meaning of the Wolof term *pénc*—which originally designated the palaver tree in the central square of a settlement but which now designates the public square with its mosque—can be understood functionally as well as at the symbolic level. As Islam came to be the dominant religion in many parts of West Africa, rulers and ruled alike abandoned older religious practices and sought legitimacy in new Islamic symbols and institutions. Consequently, mosques began competing with palaver trees for dominance of the public sphere. This transition, which developed over a period of centuries, may have created a hybrid institution in the sense that the mosque subsumed some of the symbolic and morphological aspects of the palaver trees analyzed above.

Ever since the Prophet Muhammad's hijrah to Medina (which marks the beginning of the Muslim era), the Friday Mosque (also called the Congregational Mosque, or the Great Mosque, *al-jâmi‘* in Arabic, *jumaa* in Wolof)[114] has been the foremost place of public assembly for any Muslim community. Prayer being the single most conspicuous practice of believers, the mosque was the earliest locus of the ummah, or "community of believers." During the earliest period of Islamic history, the mosque was the political, social, and geographic center of any Islamic community. It served not only for prayer but for palaver, public debate, and the settling of disputes, and it harbored in its midst the ummah's treasury. Moreover, many activities that eventually found space in their own, separate institutions, such as the administration of justice and instruction in higher education, were once conducted in Friday Mosques.

The Friday Mosque is thus an apt repository for the concepts of "assembly" and "community governance" already expressed in Senegambian settlement design through its civic trees, and designated by the Wolof term pénc. When the mosque, already charged with intrinsic functions, came to replace these trees as the primary institution of African communities, it took on some of the tree's representational functions as well, standing literally in place of the tree in collective consciousness. This is especially the case of the minaret, which has inherited many symbolic significations, such as foundation, constitution, and sometimes even burial, which in ante-Islamic times had been expressed by monumental civic trees.

The minaret can also be said to have largely replaced the tree as physical incarnation of a community's qu<u>t</u>b, symbolizing its vertical alignment.

In West African settlements as elsewhere, the Friday Mosque acquired central functions for communities. It symbolized the community's unity, its religious and social identity, and its alignment with universal order, represented by its qiblah orientation to the ka'bah in Mecca. Proper alignment of a mosque is always a determining factor of its configuration as improper alignment of prayer will nullify it. However, proper Islamic alignment, i.e., the qiblah, concerns the horizontal dimension alone, leaving the mosque's vertical dimension free from any obligatory configuration. Consequently, each part of the world has evolved its own traditions and preferences as to the architectural treatment of the mosque's vertical dimension, through the use of minarets, domes, and great portals, alone or in combination. West African mosques have long been characterized by the use of a single great minaret. Although single minarets are typical of mosques modeled on the Maghrebi design—the dominant model in West Africa—they can also be linked to the legacy of monumental civic trees.

Historically, West African mosques were relatively low structures. They were built on the Maghrebi model, which consists of a hypostyle prayer hall whose roof is supported by evenly spaced rows of columns, a model directly derived from the Umayyad- and Abbasid-era mosques of the first centuries. This model is characterized by a single minaret. The centrally domed prayer hall, which began to characterize mosques in the central and eastern parts of the Muslim world in the Sejukid era, is a new architectural element in Africa, appearing in Senegal for the first time with the Mouride mosque in Diourbel's Keur Goumak ward.[115] Previously, the main vertical architectural element of West African mosques was the minaret, and indeed, we find that this element has been fashioned in a manner that effectively accentuates its vertical transcendent qualities. Singular tapering adobe minarets have characterized the mosques of the Western Sudan for centuries, probably since the fifteenth century.[116] It seems that they did not so much mark the mosques within the towns as they served to mark the town in the surrounding countryside. They were monumental. They towered over the rooflines and the foliage to signal the presence of the settlement from afar, fulfilling one of the representational functions of civic trees. The use of tall kapok trees, or of stouter baobabs in the drier areas, to mark the skyline of towns and villages is attested in the literature and in the field. The "King's Baobab" on the central square of Fadhiout and the "ensign" of the mansa of Niumi in Juffure are representative examples of this phenomenon. Touba's towering Lamp Fall, which stands where the city's foundation tree stood, and the thin spiral minaret of Tivaouane's new Friday Mosque can be seen in continuity with this practice of "marking" the skyline.

That the shift in function from tree to mosque in West Africa was deliberate is indicated by traditions from across the region. For instance, late in the sixteenth century, a peripatetic Jakhanke scholar named 'Abd al-Ra<u>h</u>mân Jakhite established himself in the city-state of Kano. He convinced the king to have the sacred

tamarind tree "used for pagan worship," which stood behind the palace, cut down and replaced with a mosque.[117] Kano's Friday Mosque still stands on that spot today. The mosque of Kano's Madabo ward is also said to mark the spot where a sacred tree once grew.[118] Similarly, it is reported that Timbuktu's famous Sankora Mosque was erected circa 1300 on the site of a great tree.[119] So too was this the case in Bogué where the small Tijânî mosque with the khâtim design (figure 2.16) was erected on the site of a large tree in 1922.

The filiation between tree and mosque is also evident in the idiosyncratic histories of a number of West Africa's most famous minarets. For example, the minaret of Timbuktu's Dinguerebe mosque was erected on the site of a tree and was, until a few decades ago, the object of circumambulation, especially by women, during *mawlid al-nabî* observances.[120] It was also claimed that the proper upkeep of this minaret affected the prosperity of the entire city,[121] a belief often associated to great civic trees in the past. Some of these minarets, like trees formerly, even mark important tombs. The minaret of Timbuktu's Sîdî Yâhyâ Mosque, for instance, is said to contain the tomb of that mosque's founder,[122] while the "step pyramid" minaret of Gao is purported to mark the tomb of Askia Muhammad (d. 1538).

In many cases, mosques have physically and symbolically replaced trees, and in others, the mosque and the tree function together, sharing public space. For example, foundation trees are important to the configuration of contemporary Muslim towns in Pakao. In their analysis of these settlements, Schaffer and Cooper show how these trees have been spatially integrated into Muslim practice. In Karantaba, a large prayer house (separate from the town's mosque) called the *misero* has been built over the tomb of the founder, Fodé Heraba Dramé. In front of this mosque is the taba (cola tree) beneath which the act of Karantaba's founding occurred. Moreover, another cola tree stands in front of the town's Friday Mosque, about half a kilometer away. This is the case also in Soumboundou, where a kapok tree stands in the middle of the town's pénc. The mosque has been built on its east side.[123] Another interesting case is that of Guédé, in Fouta Toro. Guédé is one of the oldest continuously inhabited towns in the Fouta. It was an important political capital and center of Islamic instruction, and its mosque— associated with a venerable tamarind tree—is one of the oldest in Senegambia and is listed as a national historic monument. Before it died in 1996,[124] Guédé's tamarind was estimated by forestry officials to be over one thousand years old.[125] Oral tradition records how starting in the fifteenth century, the Fouta's Muslim Denianke kings were crowned beneath the great tamarind before proceeding to the riverbank for a sacrifice. By the 1670s, a Friday Mosque had been built next to the tree. This mosque was rebuilt in 1776, in the 1850s, and again in 1942.[126] Like the mosque of Bogué and other preconcrete mosques of the Fouta, The Guédé mosque is built in the "Sudanic" style, of adobe (sun-dried mud brick).[127]

The central squares of several modern Senegalese Sufi centers are also shared between mosques and trees. In Ndiassane, "large baobabs and leafy kapok trees," were there first.[128] Shaykh Bou Kounta's pénc was built around them. In Mbacké's

Gawane ward, two large kapok trees with characteristic buttress trunks used to cast their shadow over the pénc. The one at the western end, in front of the shaykh's large compound, sheltered the small makeshift mosque. This kapok was cut down and replaced by a solid mosque sometime between 1988 and 2001. The kapok at the eastern end of the pénc used to shelter the neighborhood market until a new market place was built elsewhere. It was cut down in 2004. In Touba's Keur Niang ward, the mosque-mausoleum complex of Sëriñ Ahmadou Fadiama Niang continues to share the pénc with two corpulent baobabs and three towering kapok trees (figure 4.1). These mature trees must have determined Ahmadou Fadiama Niang's decision to settle on the spot. Originally, they were the only architecture on the pénc; the mosque-mausoleum, the community clinic, and a new mosque under construction are later additions to the original arboreal architectural composition.

Trees have been important to settlement design in Senegal for many centuries, long before Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké founded Touba in Senegal, before the Jakhanke's first used the name of the Tree of Paradise as a toponym, and indeed before the agency of any Muslim cleric. These deeply rooted indigenous arboreal traditions may explain why the Sufi World Tree, designated as T̲ûbâ, found such a fertile environment in which to develop. Great trees, functioning as social and political institutions, as spiritual symbols, and as civic monuments, were already essential to public life and to the configuration of places. They were important to the layout and functioning of royal capitals, and they are still important to contemporary Senegalese Sufi urban design today. As in the past, trees continue to play important roles at the symbolic and spiritual levels, as well as in the built landscape. In the entire process of transforming the forested wilderness of eastern Baol into a Sufi metropolis, great trees have effectively been the only fixed points, just as elsewhere, in older human landscapes, they constitute the last physical reminders of historic places and events. Trees continue to serve as markers and as toponyms. They have marked foundations and they continue to be used as lieux de mémoire. Moreover, West African arboreal traditions underlie the pénc, the single most important design principle, the essential "design idea," of its Sufi cities.

CONCLUSION

This study of Touba has revolved around two key questions. How does Sufism relate to urbanization and urban design? How do the contemporary Sufi urban processes in Senegal relate to modern urban processes? Recourse to a Sufi phenomenology was adopted to answer these questions. By looking at the world through Sufi eyes, with a mind equipped with Sufi concepts and methods, the agency of individual Sufi masters and of Sufi institutions can be explained.

Sufism postulates multiple layers of reality. The material world is not complete in and of itself. Matter is inert and purposeless. It has no intrinsic meaning. Matter is relevant to life only insofar as it is infused with some part of the Divine. God wills the contingencies of generation and corruption through which matter acquires meaning. The essential truth of things resides in God, beyond (and before) any perceptible or knowable expression or manifestation. Truth, which is "one" in God, is discernible through an analysis of multifarious manifestations of things in the material world. This analysis relies on both the faculties of the intellect and of the imagination. The imaginative faculty makes extensive use of metaphor and symbols. Some of these symbols, those that constitute ideal forms such as the tree, have been referred to in this study as *archetypes*. By using the active intellect and the active imagination, Sufis analyze the perceptible world to discover the essential truth of things. Moreover, equipped with these faculties, Sufis *act* in the material world in such a way as to promote God's will in it. References to archetypes, which have an objective existence as fixed entities in the *imaginal* realm, are important to these actions.

Most studies of Sufism have looked either at the creative and artistic works of individual masters, expressed in poetry and theosophical treatises, or at the social and political agency of Sufi orders. In the case of Touba, these two strands are combined, if ever they were separate. As a city in the landscape, Touba amounts to a work of *art*—understood in the original Latin sense as a means or manner of achieving some purpose. It has been created by Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba and those who follow him to further a spiritual and social agenda, that of leading believers along the Straight Path of Islam to a favorable judgment on the Day of Resurrection and then on to eternal recompense in Paradise. The design of the city, characterized by the horizontal and vertical alignments of its monumental shrine complex, the khâtim produced by its radial avenues and encircling Rocade,

toponomy, and the use of the neighborhood pénc as a building block for an expanding agglomeration, are integral to this purpose. In Touba, matter has been arranged in a manner that expresses its *higher* purpose, its essential truth, which is otherwise represented as Ṭûbâ, the Tree of Paradise for which it is named.

The Islamic conception of the Tree of Paradise is demonstrably based on Koranic descriptions of the paradisiacal gardens and on the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad. It is also partly based, at the imaginal level, on the idea of the cosmic or celestial tree. As an idea, the cosmic tree figures in the symbolic vocabulary of a great many religions. In the Abrahamic traditions, it appears as the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil that grows in Eden, as the Tree of Life in the celestial Jerusalem, and as the Lote-Tree at the Extremity of the universe. Sufi poets and theosophists such as Dhû-l-Nûn al Miṣrî, Suhrawardî, Ibn ʻArabî, and Ḥâfiẓ built upon these sources and developed a conception of the World Tree. The World Tree of Sufi speculation is an all-encompassing symbol of the created universe, which combines eschatology (Divine Judgment, desire for eternal bliss in Paradise) and cosmology (knowledge originating in God and descending through the celestial spheres, desire for spiritual union with God at the threshold of creation). It is a Tree of Light, where light represents knowledge, and it is "inverted," with its roots in God and its ramifications growing down. While the World Tree is variously described in Sufi literature, where it goes by a variety of designations, it seems to have eventually been subsumed under the name Ṭûbâ. This is how Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba conceived of Ṭûbâ in *Silk al-Jawâhir*, not just as the tree of eternal bliss in Paradise but as the luminous World Tree, the Tree of Knowledge, the Tree of Light.

An additional characteristic of the cosmic Ṭûbâ is expressed in the popular tradition of the city of Touba. The celestial and paradisiacal tree is figured as a place of inscription, where the names and deeds of individuals are recorded on leaves. This mid-twentieth-century tradition of Touba is also attested in the Sufi practice of nineteenth century Cairo and of eighteenth century Morocco. In all these cases, inscription is eschatological; it represents mortal destinies. This association of the cosmic tree with the recording of particular destinies on leaves is not based on canonical Islamic sources. However, it can be traced back to an important ancient Egyptian precedent. New Kingdom pharaohs regularly had themselves represented next to the cosmic tree upon whose leaves the gods inscribed their eternal rule. The continuity of such a conception, despite the great ruptures of history, is indicative of the power of the archetypes of the imaginal realm to inspire both thought and acts in the material world.

In West Africa itself, independently of Islamic or other external textual sources or traditions, the tree archetype has long inspired collective action. Here too the cosmic tree has historically been seen as an all-encompassing structure for the universe within which collective destinies are ordered. Political concepts such as foundation, unity, justice, and just governance were commonly figured as trees in accordance with the cosmic arboreal structure. Furthermore, this relationship was configured on the ground by monumental civic trees. Quite apart from the sacred

trees and groves of traditional religious practice, the trees of the public sphere, which have been called palaver trees in this study for want of a better term, helped determine the design of settlements, and of royal capitals especially. This urban design concept, designated as the pénc in Wolof, consisted of a public square, dominated by some great tree, and a large royal compound. The carefully orchestrated public life of the polity would be centered on this unit.

This pénc model then became pertinent to explicitly Muslim polities. As Islam grew in importance within West African societies, Muslim clerics began establishing autonomous towns where they could organize public (and private) life according to proper Islamic precepts. These clerics saw their foundations as very different in nature from the ceddo or *kufr* places that surrounded them, yet their designs were actually quite similar; a central public square with the large compound of the founding shaykh served as the political, social, and religious nucleus for these settlements. Only the institution at the center of the square was changed, with the mosque standing in lieu of the civic tree. In many cases, the mosque and the civic tree even shared the space. Moreover, the designation pénc continued to apply equally to the public squares of both the ceddo capitals and the marabout republics. The continuity of this term and of the urban design it designates, despite the historical rupture represented by the implementation of Islam, is once again indicative of the power of archetypes such as the tree to guide acts in the material world. The idea that life in this world should be configured according to an overarching cosmic structure was shared by both the traditional kings and the Muslim clerics. In each case, this structure was conceived in the form of a tree. Insofar as the World Tree of Sufi theosophy already expressed the complete Islamic eschatology and cosmology, there was nothing to preclude the adaptation of the tree-centered pénc design to the new purpose of promoting the sunnah on earth.

Muslim clerics had been acting on the Senegambian landscape for centuries prior to colonization of the country. Colonization, however, changed the scope and scale of their practice. The defeat and decapitation of the old royal and soldiering elite, and the subversion and discrediting of their remnants, who found rehabilitation as local authorities in the colonial administration, opened the way for the clerics to emerge as the only legitimate elite throughout most of the country. In the face of the alienation caused by the new economic order, exemplified by the peanut cash crop and the railroads with their escales, a number of key clerics took it upon themselves to restructure society. They combined spiritual revival with a more-or-less common program of religious instruction twinned with agricultural production. In so doing, they created a number of mass movements of national scales. These are Senegal's contemporary Sufi orders. Each has distinct origins and a distinct geographical and social configuration. Yet they are all part of the wider historical process that affected the country during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth.

Through these organized mass movements, Sufi conceptions of the universe and of men's destinies in it were able to affect a much wider area and population, and in far more ways, than had been possible under precolonial conditions. The

founding shaykhs and their orders began acting upon the emerging colonial land-scape. In the process, both modernity and the colonial condition were trans-cended. Colonial towns acquired Sufi neighborhoods. Railroads connected shrines. Cash from industrial crops built mosques.

This study has demonstrated that in Senegal, in Touba especially but not exclusively, Sufi phenomenology is still proving to be a valid and viable worldview on which to base action. The post-Enlightenment, utilitarian, and materialist world-view, which seems to serve the capitalist world economy so profitably as all matter, including land, becomes a commodity whose value is measured against that of other commodities, is not hegemonic. In contemporary Senegal, space, and particularly urban space, is also being configured according to what is perceived by Sufis to be its real value, its value in the realm of malakût. Nor is there any contradiction between this spiritual worldview and its implementation through modern means and methods. Early in the twentieth century, the technologies and institutions of modernity, such as cashcrop revenues, railroads, political parties, and trade unions, were adapted by the Sufi orders to further their projects. Today, rural-urban migration, remittances from a global network of migrants, NGOs, and GIS are being put to the same purpose.

As for the urban processes currently at play in Touba and in some of Senegal's other Sufi cities, they too are modern. Professional architects and planners, civil servants, and building contractors (some of them foreign) are involved in construction and public works. What distinguishes these Sufi cities from other cities is the Sufi worldview that has guided urbanization. These cities are seen by those who build them as part of God's will on earth, and they are configured accordingly. Their foundings and names are either guided by God or else divinely inspired. In the case of Touba, the founding "design idea" was established through mystic methods: khalwahs and istikhâras and the discernment of "signs" in the landscape so that the layout of the earthly place be aligned with a higher order of reality. The subsequent "acts of will" which have determined its urban topography: the architecture of religious monuments, the layout of streets and squares, etc., have also been inspired by the imaginal realm. Equally importantly, the enumerable ordinary "acts of inhabitation" are also grounded in the malakût above. Like the inverted Tree of Light, these multifarious acts are rooted in God, in a common understanding of God's will, and of Touba's ultimate purpose as a material place.

APPENDIX 1

GENEALOGY OF THE KOUNTA LINEAGE OF NDIASSANE

Shaykh Bounama Kounta 1780–1843 *Ndanq* ═══ Macodou Diop

Khady Dioumel
Fatou Diouf
Lalla Magassa
Aïssatou Ndiaye

Shaykh Bou Kounta 1844–1914 *Ndiassane*

Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha Mbacké 1886-1945 ═══ Aïssatou Kounta

Shaykh Al-Bacaye Kounta 1878–1929 **1914–1929**

Sëriñ Abdou Bacaye Kounta

Sidi Lamine Kounta 1887–1973 **1929–1973**

Al-Hâjj Mouhamadou Kounta 1905–1975 **1973–1975**

Shaykh Sidi Yahya Kounta 1915–1987 **1975–1987**

Al-Hâjj Cheikh Bou Kounta 1915– . **1987– .**

Topographic seat of lineages in *italics.*
Al-Hâjj Cheikh Bou Kounta died on April 30, 2006. Al-Hâjj Mame Bou Mamadou Kounta, a son of Al-Hâjj Mouhamadou Kounta (caliph from 1973 to 1975), became caliph of Ndiassane.

APPENDIX 2

GENEALOGY OF THE FÂDHILIYYAH-QÂDIRIYYAH LINEAGE OF NIMJÂT (MAURITANIA)

Shaykh Muhammad Al-Fâdhil
1797–1869
Jraïf

Shaykh Sîdî 'Uthmân Bûya
–1870
1869–1870

Taqiyyu Allâh
1826–1893
1870–1893

Shaykh Hadrami
–1894
1893–1894

Shaykh Taleb Khiar Abba
–1905
1894–1905

Shaykh Mâ' al-'Aînîn
1838–1910
Smara
1905–1910

Shaykh Sa'ad Bûh
1850–1917
Nimjât
1910–1917

Casamance

Sharîf Mahfûd Aïdara
1855–1919
Darsilamé

Sharîf Bakay Aïdara

Sharîf Hadrami Aïdara

Sharîf Shams al-Dîn Aïdara
Daroul-Khaïri

Shaykh Sîdî Bûya
1869–1918

1917–1918

Shaykh Sidaty
1878–1933

1918–1933

Shaykh Taleb Bûya
1880–1965
Mededra
1933–1965

Shaykh Sidaty Aïdara
–1988
1965–1988

Shaykh Muhammad Mâ' al-'Aînîn
–1991
1987–1991

Shaykh Sa'ad Bûh
1991–   .

Shaykh 'Abd al-Azîz Aïdara
Thiès

Topographic seat of lineages in *italics*.

APPENDIX 3

GENEALOGY OF THE SIDIYYAH-QÅDIRIYYAH LINEAGE OF BOUTILIMIT (MAURITANIA)

Shaykh Sidiyyah Al-Kabîr
1780–1868

Shaykh Sidiyyah Al-Mukhtâr Al-Khalîfah
1830–1869
1868–1869

Shaykh Sidiyyah Baba
1862–1924
Boutilimit
1869-1924

Shaykh Muhammad Sidiyyah	**Shaykh 'Abd Allâh Sidiyyah**	**Shaykh Harûn Sidiyyah**	**Shaykh Ya'qûb Sidiyya**
1888–1927	1892–1967	–1978	1907–2003
1924–1927	**1927–1967**	**1967–1978**	**1978–2003**

Topographic seat of lineages in *italics.*

APPENDIX 4

GENEALOGY OF THE LAYE-THIAW LINEAGE

Alassane Thiaw ═══ Mame Coumba Ndoye (d. 1884)

Fatima Mbengue
Seynabou Gnigue
Mame Alassane Ndiaye
═══ **Seydina Mouhamadou Limamou Laye 1844–1909** *Yoff-Layène*

Seydina Issa Rohou Laye 1876–1949 *Cambérène* **1909–1949**

Seydina Oumar Madione Laye 1881–1971 **1949–1971**

Seydina Ababacar Laye –1966

Al-Ḥâjj Abdoulaye Thiaw 1926– . **2001– ..**

Seydina Madione Laye Thiaw

Chérif Ousseynou Laye

Al-Ḥâjj Seydina Issa Laye II 1914–1987 **1971–1987**

Al-Ḥâjj Mame Alassane Laye 1917–2001 **1987–2001**

Mouhamadou Bassirou Laye

Topographic seat of lineages in *italics*.

APPENDIX 5

GENEALOGY OF THE SECK LINEAGE OF TIÉNABA

Massaer Seck ══ Ndack Fall

Amary Ndack Seck
1830–1899
Tiénaba

Sëriñ Momar Talla Seck
1868–1946
1899–1946

Penda Mbaye Seck
1879–1939

Madické Seck
–1918

Al-Ḥâjj Ibrahima Faty Seck
–1973
1946–1973

Sëriñ Alfa Mamadou Seck
–1988
1973–1988

Sëriñ Amar Ndar Mouhamadou Seck
–1992
1988–1992

Sëriñ Ousseynou Khoudia Seck
–1999
1992–1999

Sëriñ Ousseynou Khar Seck
1999–   .
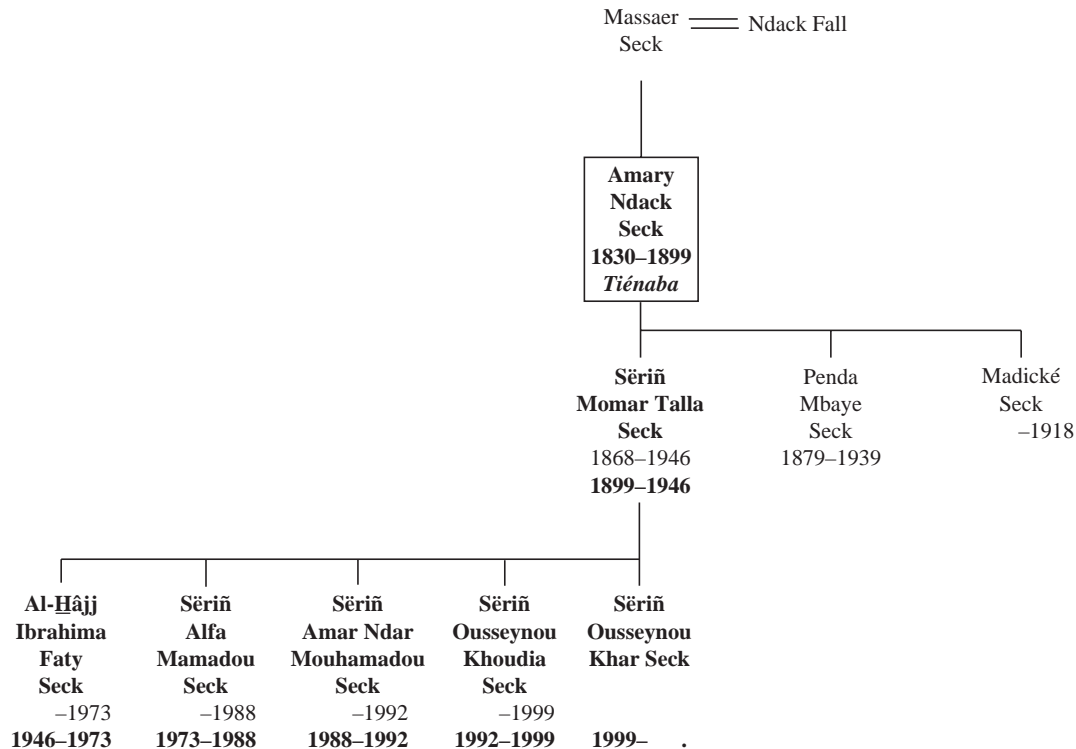
Topographic seat of lineages in *italics*.

APPENDIX 6

GENEALOGY OF THE SY LINEAGE OF TIVAOUANE

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                                                   Ousmane ═══ Fa Wade      Alfa
                                                   Sy          Welle        Mayoro
                                                   –1855       –1895        Welle

         Rokhaya Ndiaye                   Al-Ḥâjj
                                          Malick
         Safiétou Niang    ═══════        Sy
                                          1855–1922
         Yassine Dieng                    Tivaouane

         Sokhna Guèye

Al-Ḥâjj  ═══ Khadijatou   Ahmet      Al-Ḥâjj       Al-Ḥâjj      Al-Ḥâjj
Seydou       Sy           Tidiane    Khalifa       Mansour      Abdoul Aziz
Nourou                    Sy         Ababacar      Sy           Sy
Tall                     1879–1916   Sy            1895–1957
–1980                                1884–1957                  1904–1997
                                     1922–1957                  1957–1997

              Sëriñ        Cheikh      Sëriñ        Ababacar     Mawdo
              Mansour      Tidiane     Abdoul Aziz  Mansour      Malick
              Ababacar     Sy          Sy Jr.       Sy           Sy
              Sy           1926–    .

              1997–    .

                          Sëriñ
                          Moustapha
                          Sy
```

Topographic seat of lineages in *italics*.

APPENDIX 7

GENEALOGY OF THE NIASS LINEAGE OF KAOLACK

Mamadou
Niass
Niassène

Aïssatou Dianka ══ **Al-Hâjj Abdoulaye Niass 1844–1922** *Taïba Niassène Léona*

Leona   *Madina Baye*

Al-Hâjj Ahmadou Momar Khalifa 1880–1957 **1922–1957**

Al-Hâjj Oumar Niass

Tamsir Boubacar Niass 1890–1974

Al-Hâjj Ibrahima Niass 1900–1975 *Madina Baye*

Sëriñ Mbaye Niass 1905–1973

Tafsir Assane Cissé

Al-Hâjj Abdoulaye Khalifa Niass

Al-Hâjj Ahmet Khalifa Niass *Niaga Niassène* 1946- .

Sidi Lamine Niass

Al-Hâjj Abdoulaye Ibrahima Niass 1925–2001 **1975–2001**

Al-Hâjj Ahmed Ibrahima Niass 1929– . **2001– .**

Rokhaya Niass 1931– .

Al-Hâjj Ahmet Tidiane Niass 1932– .

Mouhamadou Nazir Ibrahima Niass 1937–1998

Sëriñ Hady Niass 1939–2005

Khalifa Ahmed Niass 1945– . *Mayor of Kaolack since 2004*

Fatimatou Zahra Niass ══ Sëriñ Alioune Cissé (Imam) 1905–1982

Cheikh Assane Cissé (Imam) 1945– .

Topographic seat of lineages in *italics.*

NOTES

Introduction

1. For an introduction to Sufism read Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975).

2. The Arabic term *ṭarîqah* translates literally as *path* or *way* to God. While the term "way" conveys well the spiritual essence of Sufism, it does not adequately convey the institutional character of the Sufi ṭarîqah. *Turuq* are organized associations of Sufis, more or less hierarchical in structure. The term is often translated as *brotherhood* in English (*confrérie* in French). Yet, the Arabic term *ṭarîqah* does not carry with it the gender bias of these European-language terms. The Sufi path to God has always been open to women and in Senegal and sub-Saharan Africa, generally, women can have elevated rank within the institutions. The gender-neutral term "order" is thus preferable.

3. Ethel Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

4. Carl Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992).

5. Mashhad, the largest Shiite shrine city, with well over one million inhabitants, has a concentric urban plan similar in some respects to Touba's, with radial avenues converging on the central shrine complex. This plan was superimposed by government planners in the 1960s onto an older radial plan.

6. Though no official statistics are published to this effect, it is generally accepted that the Mouride order has about two million adherents (men, women, and children) out of a total Senegalese population of approximately ten million.

7. The toponym "Senegambia" refers to a geographical area larger than the states of Senegal and the Gambia. For the purpose of historical analysis, Senegambia can include the right bank of the Senegal River (Trarza, Brakna, Guidimakha, Bambuk, etc.) and parts of the Guineas (Guinea Bissau, Fouta Jallon).

8. Khadim Mbacké, trans., *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel ou la biographie de Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké* (Dakar: Institut fundamental d'Afrique noire-Université Cheikh Anta Diop, 1995).

9. Rüdiger Seesemann, *Ahmadou Bamba und die Entstehung der Murîdiyyah* (Berlin: Klaus Schwartz Verlag, 1993).

10. Allen A. Roberts and Mary Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City: Sufi Arts of Urban Senegal* (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History and the University of California Press, 2003), 38.

11. In 2003, this was the object of an exhibit at UCLA's Fowler Museum. The exhibit, called *A Saint in the City: Sufi Arts of Urban Senegal*, ran from February to July 2003. It was curated by Mary (Polly) Nooter Roberts and Allen Roberts and was accompanied by the publication cited above. The exhibit has also toured other museums in the United States.

12. Cheikh Abdoulaye Dieye, *Touba: Signs and Symbols* (n.p.: self-published, n.d.).

13. Dahirah des étudiants mourides de l'Université de Dakar, *Guide du pèlerin à l'occasion du grand-magal de Touba* (Dakar: self-published, 1986).

14. *Hizbut Tarqiyyah* can be translated as the "Party of Improvement," "Development" or "Progress." The URL of its Web site is www.htcom.sn.

15. See Momar Coumba Diop, "La littérature mouride: essai d'analyse thématique," *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 41, no. 2 (1979): 398–439.

16. Paul Marty, "Les mourides d'Amadou Bamba," *Revue du monde musulman* 25 (1913): 3–163; and *Etudes sur l'islam au Sénégal* (Paris: Editions Ernest Leroux, 1917).

17. A. Bourlon, "Mourides et mouridisme 1953," in *Notes et études sur l'islam en Afrique noire*, Centre de hautes études administratives sur l'Afrique et l'Asie modernes (Paris: Peyronnet and cie., 1962): 55–74.

18. These major studies of the Mouride order and its founder include (in chronological order): Cheikh Tidiane Sy, *La confrérie sénégalase des mourides: un essai sur l'islam au Sénégal* (Paris: Présence africaine, 1969); Lucy Behrman, *Muslim Brotherhoods and Politics in Senegal* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970); Donal Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal: The Political and Economic Organization of an Islamic Brotherhood* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) and *Saints and Politicians: Essays in the Organisation of a Senegalese Peasant Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Jean Copans et al., *Maintenance sociale et changement économique au Sénégal,* vol. 1. (Paris: ORSTOM, 1972); Fernand Dumont, *La pensée religieuse d'Amadou Bamba* (Dakar: Nouvelles éditions africaines, 1975); Jean Copans, *Les marabouts de l'arachide* (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1980); and Christian Coulon, *Le marabout et le prince: islam et pouvoir en Afrique noire* (Paris: Pedone, 1981).

19. Marty, "Les mourides d'Amadou Bamba," 16–19.

20. Bourlon, "Mourides et mouridisme 1953," 56–66.

21. Amar Samb, "Touba et son 'magal,'" *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 31, no. 3 (1969): 733–53.

22. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalase des mourides*, 110–11, 313–18.

23. Eric Ross, "Cités sacrées du Sénégal: essai de géographie spirituelle" (master's thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1989), and "Ṯûbâ: an African Eschatology in Islam" (PhD diss., McGill University, 1996); Cheikh Guèye, "L'organisation de l'espace dans une ville religieuse: Touba" (PhD diss., Université Louis Pasteur, Strasbourg, 1999).

24. Ahmadou Bamba Diop, "Croissance et originalité de Touba dans l'armature urbaine sénégalaise" (memoire de fin d'études, Ecole normale d'économie appliquée, Dakar, 1989).

25. Cheikh Guèye, *Touba: la capitale des mourides* (Paris: Karthala, 2002).

26. The most recent studies of the Mourides and of Senegal's other Sufi orders include (in chronological order) Khadim Mbacké, *Soufisme et confréries religieuses au Sénégal* (Dakar: Institut fundamental d'Afrique noire-Université Cheikh Anta Diop, 1995); Leonardo Villalón, *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal: Disciples and Citizens in Fatick* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Cécile Laborde, *La confrérie*

layenne et les Lébou du Sénégal (Bordeau: Centre d'études d'Afrique noire, 1995); Cheikh Anta Babou, "Autour de la genèse du Mouridisme," *Islam et sociétés au sud du Sahara* 11 (1997): 5–38, and "Educating the Murid: Theory and Practice of Education in Amadou Bamba's Thought," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33, no. 3 (2003): 310–27; David Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation: Muslim Societies and French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880–1920* (Athens, OH/Oxford, Ohio University Press and James Currey, 2000); John Glover, "'The Mosque is One Thing, the Administration is Another': Murid *Marabouts* and Wolof Aristocrats in Colonial Senegal," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 351–65; James Searing, *God Alone is King: Islam and Emancipation in Senegal, the Wolof Kingdoms of Kajoor and Bawol, 1859–1914* (London: Heinemann, 2002); and Roberts and Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City.*

27. Assane Sylla, trans., "La vie de Seydina Mouhamadou Limâmou Laye" of Cheikh Mahtar Lô, *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 34, no. 3 (1972): 497–23.

28. Assane Sylla and El-Hadji Mouhamadou Sakhir Gaye, "Les sermons de Seydina Mouhamadou Limâmou Lahi et de son fils Seydina Issa Rohou Lahi," *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 38, no. 2 (1976): 390–410.

29. *Nurul Mahdi*, Communications division of the Layenne order, http://www.layene.sn/. This Web site has French, English, Italian, and Arabic versions.

30. In the second decade of the twentieth century, Paul Marty, in *Etudes sur l'islam au Sénégal*, provided descriptions of the major Tijânî *shaykhs*, lineages and *zâwiyyahs*. Chronologically, Ibrahima Marone provides the next major study of this order, with "Le Tidjanisme au Sénégal," *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 32, no. 1 (1970): 136–215. More recent studies include Christopher Gray, "The Rise of the Niassene Tijaniyya, 1875 to the Present," *Islam et sociétés au sud du Sahara* 2 (1988): 34–60; and Daouda Diop, "La Tidjannyat Mahdiste de Thiénaba Seck: son implantation et son évolution (1875–1973)," (memoire de maîtrise, Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar, 2003).

31. G. J. Duchemin, "Urbanisme rural: le village de Cambérène," *Notes Africaines* 39 (1948): 17–18; and Abdourahmane Sow, "Monographie du village de Cambérène," *Notes Africaines* 94 (1962): 51–60.

32. The author has been unable to obtain a copy of Cheikh Ba's "Un type de conquête pionnière en Haute Casamance: Madina-Gounasse" (PhD diss., Université de Paris, 1964).

33. Cheikh Guèye is currently a senior official at ENDA-Tiers Monde, an international nongovernmental organization (NGO) headquartered in Dakar. He is involved in a variety urban development projects, both in Senegal and abroad. He has also helped set up Touba's new GIS program, at the behest of the caliph general, and is thus now as much an *actor* in Touba's growth as he is an analyst of it.

34. Eric Ross, "Touba: A Spiritual Metropolis in the Modern World," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 29, no. 2 (1995): 222–59.

35. Eric Ross, "From *Marabout Republics* to *Autonomous Rural Communities*: Autonomous Muslim Towns in Senegal," in *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*, ed. Steven Salm and Toyin Falola (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2005), 243–65. A French version of this section, "Villes soufies du Sénégal: Réseaux urbains religieux dans la longue durée" was published in 2005 as an offprint by the Institut des Etudes Africaines in Rabat, Morocco.

36. Eric Ross, "Marabout Republics Then and Now: Configuring Muslim Towns in Senegal," *Islam et sociétés au sud du Sahara* 16 (2002): 35–65. Research on Senegal's

historic civic trees may also have been published by the time this book is distributed: "Le *pénc*: élément du patrimoine et modèle d'aménagement urbain," in *Actes du colloque international Anthropologie, Archéologie, Muséologie en Afrique de l'Ouest, Hommage à Guy Thilmans*, December 13–16, 2004 (Dakar: Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire-Université Cheikh Anta Diop, forthcoming); and "Palaver Trees Reconsidered: Arboreal Monuments and Memorials in the Senegalese Landscape," in *African Ethnoforests: Sacred Groves, Culture, and Conservation*, ed. Michael Sheridan and Celia Nyamweru (Athens, OH: James Currey Publishers/Ohio University Press, forthcoming).

37. Tivaouane-Ndiassane, DigitalGlobe archive #1010010001866B05.

38. Touba-Mbacké, DigitalGlobe archive #1010010001962B05.

39. Darou Mousty, DigitalGlobe archive #1010010001C93504.

40. Kaolack-Kahone, DigitalGlobe archive #1010010004231206.

41. No high-resolution satellite image of Madina Gounass is commercially available. Neither was the author able to obtain any cadastre or cartographic representation finer than 1:200,000 (1973). Furthermore, I was never able to arrange a visit to the city, which is at some distance from the other Sufi settlements under study.

42. Ross, "Cités sacrées du Sénégal," and Ross, "T̲ûbâ: an African Eschatology in Islam," respectively.

Chapter 1

1. H̲adîth are reports of the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad. Transmitted orally by the first generations of Muslims, these reports were sorted and compiled into books of the *sunnah,* or "tradition," which constitute the second textual source of verifiable knowledge for Muslims, after the Koran itself.

2. Cited in Maurice Gloton, trans., *L'Arbre du Monde d'Ibn 'Arabî* (Paris: Les deux océans, 1990), 130.

3. Dumont, *La pensée religieuse d'Amadou Bamba.*

4. Henry Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 242.

5. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), 9.

6. Henry Corbin, *L'Imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabi* (Paris: Flammarion, 1958), 36. It is Corbin who coined the term *imaginal* to describe the realm of archetypes. In *Face de Dieu, face de l'homme: herméneutique et soufisme* (Paris: Flammarion, 1983), 7–9, he argues that the term "imaginary" in contemporary usage is inappropriate as it connotes "unreal" entities. The entities of the imaginal realm are real and objective.

7. Corbin, *L'Imagination créatrice*, 138; Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, 25.

8. Carl Jung, *Man and his Symbols* (New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing, 1968), 58–68.

9. Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975).

10. Umberto Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 117.

11. In chronological order, one can cite J. H. Philpot, *The Sacred Tree or the Tree in Religion and Myth* (New York: McMillan & Co., 1897); Arnt Wensinck, *Tree and Bird as*

Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1921); Viviana Pâques, *L'Arbre cosmique dans la pensée populaire et dans la vie quotidienne du nord-ouest africain* (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1964); E. O. James, *The Tree of Life: An Archeological Study* (Lieden: E. J. Brill, 1966); Jacques Brosse, *Mythologie des arbres* (Paris: Plon, 1989); and Roger Cook, *The Tree of Life: Image for the Cosmos* (London/New York: Thames & Hudson, 1992).

12. O. Houdas and W. Marçais, trans., *Les traditions islamiques* (*Ṣaḥîḥ*) of Al-Bukhârî, vol. 2 (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1906), 441.

13. Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké, *Silk al-Jawâhir fî Akhbâr al-Sarâ'ir* (*Strings of Jewels in Matters of Consciences*) (Touba: Maktabah Shaykh al-Khadîm, 1977).

14. Cited by Ibn 'Arabî in Roger Deladrière, trans., *La vie merveilleuse de Dhû-l-Nûn l'Egyptien* (Paris: Sindbad, 1988), 284.

15. Maurice Gloton, trans., *L'Arbre du Monde d'Ibn 'Arabî*, 130–31.

16. Ghulam Murtaza Azad, "Isrâ' and Mi'râj: The Night Journey and Ascension of Allah's Apostle Muhammad (S.A.W.S.)," *Islamic Studies* 22, no. 2 (1983): 63–80.

17. 'Abd Allah Hajjaj, *The Isrâ' and Mi'râj: The Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension into Heaven*, trans. Huda Khattab (London: Dar Al Taqwa Ltd., 1989).

18. Cited in Cook, *The Tree of Life*, 28.

19. Al-Hajj Maulana Fazlul Karim, trans., *Mishkat-ul-Masabih* of Al-Tabrîzî, vol. 4 (Dacca: Islam Mission Library, 1963), 170; Hajjaj, *The Isrâ' and Mi'râj*, 38.

20. Jamal Eddine Bencheikh, *Le voyage nocturne de Mahomet* (Paris: Editions de l'Imprimerie nationale, 1988).

21. Henry Corbin, *Temple et contemplation: essais sur l'islam iranien* (Paris: Flammarion, 1980), 232.

22. In the Islamic conception, Paradise (Al-Jannah, literally "the Garden") is multiple. It consists of numerous gardens. Those mentioned by name in the Koran are 'Adn (Eden), Firdaws (Paradise), Dâr al-Salâm (the Abode of Peace), Dâr al-Muqâma, Dâr al-Ḥayawân, Jannat al-Ma'wâ (the Garden of Refuge), Jannat al-Khuld (the Garden of Eternity), and Jannat al-Na'îm (the Garden of Comfort).

23. Henry Corbin, trans., "Le Récit de l'Archange empourpré" of Surawardî, in *L'Archange empourpré*, ed. Henry Corbin (Paris: Fayard, 1976), 195–220.

24. Ibn 'Arabî's *Shajarat al-Kawn* has been translated into English by Arthur Jeffery, "Ibn al-'Arabî's Shajarat al-Kawn," *Studia Islamica* 10 (1959): 43–77; 11 (1960): 113–60; and into French by Maurice Gloton, *L'Arbre du Monde d'Ibn 'Arabî*. Ibn 'Arabî's authorship of this treatise has been questioned, by Shams Alibhai, "*Shajarat al-Kawn* Attributed to Ibn 'Arabî" (PhD diss., McGill University, Montreal, 1990).

25. Elizabeth Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden* (New York: George Braziller, 1979), 43.

26. Ibn 'Arabi was not the only theosophist to expound upon the World Tree, nor to use it as an explanative model for the universe. Early in the eleventh century, the Andalucian thinker Abu 'Uthman Sa'id b. Fathun wrote an introduction to the philosophical sciences entitled *Shajarat al-Ḥikmah* (The Tree of Wisdom). This was followed two centuries later by the works of three other Iberian mystics: Ibn 'Arabi's *Shajarat al-Kawn* (ca. 1234), Moses of Léon's *Book of Zohar* (ca. 1280), and Ramon Lull's *Arbre de Ciencia* (ca. 1295). Shahrazuri, an Iranian theosophist, likewise produced circa 1282 an encyclopedia entitled *Rasâ'il al-Shajarah al-Ilâhiyyah wa al-Asrâr al-Rabbâniyyah*, or "Treatise of the Divine Tree and of Theosophical Secrets." Nor is the tree form absent from our modern, post-Enlightenment, rational conceptions of reality; there are linguistic "trees," evolutionary "trees," organizational "trees," genealogical "trees," etc.

27. A. B. Mbacké, *Silk al-Jawâhir*, 82.

28. P. Kunitzsch, "Ḵuṭb as an astronomical term," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Lieden: E. J. Brill, 2001).

29. Cyril Glassé, *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1989), 327.

30. F. de Jong, "Ḵuṭb in mysticism," in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001).

31. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 96.

32. Dieye, *Touba: Signs and Symbols*, 36.

33. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard Trask (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1959), 37.

34. Diana Eck, *Banaras: City of Light* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

35. Zev Vilnay, *Legends of Jerusalem* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1973).

36. Corbin, *Temple et contemplation*, 218.

37. Francis Peters, *Mecca: A Literary History of the Muslim Holy Land* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

38. Islamic tradition, based on the Koran, recognizes only three legitimate sacred cities: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, in that order. Official Mouride discourse has always carefully avoided placing Touba in the same category as these *ḥaramain* (sanctuaries, holy places) as this would constitute *bid' ah* (a blameful innovation, or heresy). Yet Touba is nonetheless considered *maḥrûsa* (protected by God), a *ḥimâ* (sanctuary) and a *ḥarîm* (sacred precinct), and it is often compared with Medina in internal sources.

39. Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

40. Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, 7–9.

41. Ardalan and Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity*, 9.

42. Roberts and Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City*, 213.

43. James Duncan, *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 20.

44. Vibhuti Sachdev and Giles Tillotson, *Building Jaipur: The Making of an Indian City.* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 26–29.

45. J. C. Moughtin, *Hausa Architecture* (London: Ethnographica, 1985), 34.

46. Lisa Rofel, "Discrepant Modernities and their Discontents," *Positions* 9, no. 3 (2001): 643.

47. Rofel, "Discrepant Modernities," 638.

48. Corbin, *Face de Dieu*.

49. Schimmel, *Deciphering the Signs of God*.

50. Christian Jambet, "Pour une esthétique de l'espace en islam," in *Lieux d'islam: cultes et cultures de l'Afrique à Java*, ed. Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, Collection monde 91/92 (Paris: Autrement, 1996), 15.

51. Jambet, "Pour une esthétique de l'espace en islam," 20.

52. Don Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 101–4.

53. M. Gottdiener and Alexandros Ph. Lagopoulos, *The City and the Sign: An Introduction to Urban Semiotics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

54. Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, 129.

55. For studies of these tree shrines scattered across the world see: Nold Egenter, "The Sacred Trees around Goshonai, Japan," *Asian Folklore Studies* 40, no. 2 (1981): 191–212; Betty Laduke, "Susanne Wenger and Nigeria's Sacred Osun Grove," *Woman's Art Journal* 10, no. 1 (1989): 17–21; and Zakia Zouanat, *Ibn Mashîsh: maître d'al-Shâdhilî* (Casablanca: Imprimerie Najah El Jadida, 1998).

56. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalase des mourides*, 314–15. This excerpt is dated Diourbel, 1948.

57. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 110–11. This text is dated Touba, 19 November 1963.

58. Dumont, *La pensée religieuse d'Amadou Bamba*, 48–49. Dumont cites as his source: Paul des Îles (1949), "Contribution à l'étude du Mouridisme" (inédit), 45 pages.

59. Coulon, *Le marabout et le prince*, 85–86.

60. Searing, *God Alone is King*, 93.

61. William Whiston, trans., "The Wars of the Jews," in *The Works of Flavius Josephus,* book 4 (London: George Routedge and Sons, n.d.), chap. 9:2, p. 607.

62. R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917), 146.

63. According to Barnabé Meistermann, *Nouveau guide de Terre Sainte* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1907), 248, the interrelation of terebinths and oaks in the Torah may arise from confusion during the translation of the Hebrew terms into Greek. The terebinth (*elah* in Hebrew) may have been confused with the "oak" (*allon* in Hebrew).

64. Alfred Guillaume, trans., *The Life of Muhammad* of Ibn Ishaq (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 53.

65. Jean Doresse, *Ethiopia: Ancient Cities and Temples* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publisher, 1985), 22.

66. Doresse, *Ethiopia*, 95.

67. Shaykh El-Alaoui's tree-khalwah at the "Vallée des Jardins" on the outskirts of Mostaghanem was visited in April 2004.

68. On the cover of the paperback edition of Corbin's *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (1986) is a sixteenth-century Persian miniature of a Sufi meditating within the trunk of a chinâr. The miniature belongs to the Rezâ-ye Abbâsi Museum in Tehran.

69. Both these chinârs were visited in March 2001.

70. Winifred Blackman, "Sacred Trees in Modern Egypt," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 11 (1925): 56–57.

71. Wadan was visited in December 2003.

72. Boutilimit was visited in January 2004.

73. Zouanat, *Ibn Mashîsh*, 224.

74. The shrine of Ibn Mashîsh was visited in March 2002.

75. The Jewish cemetery shrine at Azjèn was visited on several occasions between 2000 and 2003.

76. 'Â'ishah (616–78), daughter of Abû Bakr, was one of the Prophet Muhammad's wives. At the root of this name is the concept of "life" or "living." The lote tree called 'Â'ishah in the middle of the Sufi cemetery in Tozeur may well be conceived of as a "tree of life." The Sîdî 'bû Liffah's shrine was visited in March 1999.

77. Viviana Pâques, *La religion des esclaves: recherches sur la confrérie marocaine des Gnawa* (Bergamo: Moretti and Vitali, 1991), 102.

78. Pâques, *L'Arbre cosmique.*

79. Pâques, *La religion des esclaves*, 186.

80. Tamesloht was visited in March 2003. Trees at Moroccan shrines are "feminine" entities. They are often named for 'Â'ishah Kandishah, a female *jinn*, and are used by women devotees who will tie ribbons to their branches as they implore God to fulfill some request. Male shrine attendants and guardians interviewed during field investigations in 2002 were very dismissive of these trees and of women's devotional practices in general. There are numerous examples in recent years of such trees being cut down by the local religious authorities, which consist entirely of men. On the practices of women at Moroccan shrines see Fenneke Reysoo, *Pélerinages au Maroc* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1991).

81. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 314.

82. Samb, "Touba et son 'magal,'" 743.

83. While conducting research in Touba in November 1994, the author was assured by Sëriñ Modou Mahmoune Niang, Arabic secretary to the late Caliph General Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad Mbacké, that the tradition of foliar inscription is *not* supported by ḥadîth.

84. Jane Smith and Yvonne Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany, State University of New York Press, 1981), 35.

85. Andrew Rippin and Jan Knappert, *Textual Sources for the Study of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 198.

86. Bencheikh, *Le Voyage nocturne de Mahomet*, 28–31.

87. Edward Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London: East-West Publications, 1989), 465–66.

88. Jan Knappert, *Islamic Legends: Vol. 1 Histories of the Heroes, Saints and Prophets of Islam* (Lieden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 24–26.

89. J. M. Cowan, ed., *The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Ithaca, NY: Spoken Language Services, Inc., 1976), 887.

90. T. J. Winter, trans., *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife* of Al-Ghazâlî (Cambridge, UK: The Islamic Texts Society, 1989), 54.

91. Gloton, *L'Arbre du Monde*, 59.

92. J. Haafkens, *Chants musulmans en peul* (Lieden: E. J. Brill, 1983), 353.

93. This is also the case in French, where *feuille* can designate the leaf of a tree as well as a sheet of paper.

94. Cited in Zouanat, *Ibn Mashîsh*, 156.

95. Zouanat, *Ibn Mashîsh*, 311.

96. Pâques, *La religion des esclaves*, 172.

97. Eric Ross, "Africa in Islam: What the Afrocentric perspective can contribute to the study of Islam," *International Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies* 11, no. 2 (1994): 1–36.

98. Cheikh Anta Diop, *Civilisation ou barbarie: anthropologie sans complaisance* (Paris: Présence africaine, 1981), 416–19; Sarwat Anis Al Assiouty, *Origines égyptiennes du christianisme et de l'islâm* (Paris: Letouzey and Ané, 1989).

99. C. A. Diop, *Civilisation ou barbarie*, 419.

100. Adolf Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt,* trans. H. M. Tirard (New York: Dover Publication, 1971), 348.

101. Claire Lalouette, *L'Empire des Ramsès* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995), 347.

102. The ished was translated as a *persea* tree (*Persea gratissima,* avocado or alligator pear) by classical authors, namely Pliny. In *The Ancient Egyptians: Their Life and Customs* (London: Senate, 1994), 28, Sir J. Garner Wilkinson identified it as the *Balanites*

aegyptiaca (*hijlil* in Arabic) which bears ricinous olive-type fruit called *lâlawb* in Arabic. The *Cordia sebestena,* of which there are several varieties (*gharaf, mukhait, gimbil* in colloquial Egyptian Arabic), has also been proposed as a likely identification of the ished by Brosse in *Mythologie des arbres,* 174. Cordias are small trees which bear edible nuts, valued for medicinal purposes but also for the confection of sweets. Finally, the ancient ished as also been identified as the *Mimusops schimperi,* which produces "monkey-face" flowers as well as a fleshy red fruit whose seeds are ricinous [Jean Vercoutter*, L'Egypte et la vallée du Nil,* vol. 1 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1992), p. 46].

103. Ordering and numbering of spells from the Book of the Dead follows Thomas George Allen [*The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in their Own Terms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 30] but I have used Ernst A. Wallis Budge's text [*The Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Papyrus of Ani* (New York: Dover Publications, 1967), p. 42] as it is more complete, offering the original hieroglyphic text, transliteration, and English translation.

104. The ancient Egyptian Ennead of Ånnu was to exert considerable influence on subsequent philosophical constructs. According to the Book of Genesis (41:44), the patriarch Joseph was married to the daughter of Poti-phera, High Priest of On. According to Strabo, it is in the temples of Heliopolis that Greeks (Plato, Pythagoras, Archimedes, and Eudoxes) were first initiated into the sciences.

105. Pierre Deffontaines, *Géographie et religions* (Paris: Gallimard, 1948), 145.

106. Hermann Kees, *Ancient Egypt: A Cultural Topography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 155.

107. Barry Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 87.

108. Manfred Lurker, *The Gods and Symbols of the Ancient Egyptians: An Illustrated Dictionary* (London/New York: Thames and Hudson, 1974), 71.

109. Ernst A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection,* vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1973), 260.

110. C. A. Diop, *Civilisation ou barbarie,* 419.

111. Cheikh Guèye, *Touba: la capitale des mourides* (Paris: Karthala, 2002), 77.

112. Jewish cosmology also designates the chthonic fish as Nûn and associates it with the Hebrew letter "n," see Ruth Reichelberg, *L'Aventure prophétique: Jonas, menteur de Vérité* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995). Nûn also means "fish" in Aramaic.

113. Erik Hornung, *Les dieux de l'Egypte: l'Un et le Multiple,* trans. Paul Couturiau (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), 145–68.

114. Deladrière, *La vie merveilleuse de Dhû-l-Nûn,* 13. Dhû-l-Nûn was the Sufi's sobriquet. His real name was Abû al-Fayd b. Ibrâhîm. His choice of sobriquet has not been explained.

115. Deladrière, *La vie merveilleuse de Dhû-l-Nûn,* 194.

116. Corbin, *Temple et contemplation,* 215–16.

117. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique,* 73.

118. The Arabic letter nûn is shaped like an ink well, thus its imaginal relationship to the Pen and the Tablet.

119. Dieye, *Touba: Signs and Symbols,* 108.

120. Kunitzsch, "Kutb as an astronomical term."

121. http://www.htcom.sn, Web site of Hizbut Tarqiyyah, accessed 16 July 2003.

122. Dieye, *Touba: Signs and Symbols,* 7.

123. The Islamic garden tradition is strongly linked to representations of Paradise, its shady trees, its sweet rivers, and its delightful pavilions. Islamic gardens emerged as an architectural genre in the early Abbasid period, with the Khuld Palace in Baghdad, and adapted the ancient Persian imperial garden design. Designed as earthly representations of Paradise, Islamic gardens were often attached to palaces and were important to court life. Examples include the twelfth-century Agdal Gardens in Marrakech and the famous seventeenth-century Mughal gardens. On occasion, the Islamic garden model has also been applied to city design. This is the case of the city of Hyderabad, in the Deccan, which was created in 1591 as a "replica of Paradise on Earth" [Jan Pieper, "Hyderabad: A Qur'ânic Paradise in Architectural Metaphors," *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Center*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (n.d.): 46–51]. The Islamic garden model is also said to have inspired the creation, though not the design, of the Chishtiyyah shrine-town of Khuldabad, also in the Deccan (Ernst, *Eternal Garden*).

124. Amadou-Bamba Diop, "Lat Dior et le problème musulman," *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 28, nos. 1/2 (1966): 538.

125. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 314.

126. Cited in Christian Coulon, "Paroles mourides: Bamba, père et fils," *Politique Africaine* 4 (1981), 104.

127. Semou Pathé Guèye, personal communication, Conference on "Urban Generations: Post-colonial Cities," Rabat October 3, 2004.

Chapter 2

1. Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (London/New York: Thames & Hudson, 1991), 10.

2. Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 11.

3. N. J. Habraken, *The Structure of the Ordinary: Form and Control in the Built Environment* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998).

4. Habraken, *The Structure of the Ordinary*, 16–20.

5. Edmund Bacon, *Design of Cities* (New York: Penguin Books, 1976).

6. Bacon, *Design of Cities*, 130–57.

7. Habraken, *The Structure of the Ordinary*, 303–6.

8. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*. Sĕriñ Bassirou Mbacké (Bashîr in Arabic, 1895–1966), fourth son of Ahmadou Bamba, was born the year his father was first sent into exile. As a young man, he lived with his father during the period of house arrest in Diourbel (1912–27). He started writing the biography immediately after his father's death, completing it in 1932. It was published in Arabic in 1936–37.

9. Paul Marty, "Les mourides d'Amadou Bamba," 3–163, and *Etudes sur l'islam au Sénégal* (Paris: Editions Ernest Leroux, 1917); Cheikh Tidiane Sy, *La confrérie sénégalase des mourides*; Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, and *Saints and Politicians*.

10. Cheikh Anta Babou, "Autour de la genèse du Mouridisme," 5–38, "Educating the Murid" 310–27; Searing, *God Alone is King*.

11. Foutanké: people from the Fouta Toro, an ancient state which occupied the middle valley of the Senegal river. Also called Toukouleur, they are speakers of Pulaar. Foutanké clerics, known as the Toroodbe, played an important role in the dissemination of Islam in Wolof speaking countries.

12. Mbacké is also called Mbacké Baol, to distinguish it from the family's establishments elsewhere (Mbacké Kayor, Mbacké Bari). Though the published sources listed above are unanimous in establishing Ahmadou Bamba's place of birth in Mbacké, Cheikh Anta Babou has recorded a living oral tradition which places his birth and early childhood in the village of Khourou Mbacké, eighteen kilometers west of Mbacké (e-mail message to author, 28 March 2005).

13. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 35. Samba Laobé Fall would later become king of Kayor (1883–86) before being deposed and killed by the French.

14. Amadou-Bamba Diop, "Lat Dior et le problème musulman," 525.

15. Searing, *God Alone is King*, 57–63.

16. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 62.

17. Babou, "Autour de la genèse du Mouridisme," 5–38.

18. Ousseynou Cissé, *Mame Thierno Birahim (1862–1943), frère et disciple de Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001), 79. Maître Abdoulaye Wade, president of Senegal since 2000 and himself a Mouride taalibe, wrote his master's thesis on the Mouride work ethic ("La doctrine économique du mouridisme," Université de Dakar, 1969). For a more recent study, see Fatoumata Sow, "Les logiques de travail chez les mourides" (master's thesis, Université de Paris I-Sorbonne, 1998).

19. Searing, *God Alone is King*, 77.

20. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 314.

21. The Fulbe (also Fulani, speakers of Pulaar, Peul or Peulh in French) were progressively dispossessed of their grazing rights as Mouride agricultural colonization got under way during the early colonial period. Mame Tierno Birahim Mbacké's colonization around Darou Mousty in particular caused a number of bloody incidents (see Cissé, *Mame Thierno Birahim*).

22. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 44.

23. This geopoetic understanding of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's quest was related to the author, in French, by *Sharîf* Abderrahmane Fall, of the Iyakhine Baye-Fall (Thiès), in Parcelles Assainies neighborhood, Guediawaye, Dakar, interviewed in December 1994.

24. The concept of lieu de mémoire has been developed by Charles-Robert Aqeron and Pierre Nora in a three-volume work entitled *Les lieux de mémoires* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), which deals with the construction of collective historical memory in France, and particularly with the fixation of this memory in the landscape. Buildings, monuments, battlefields, ceremonies, commemorations, festivals, etc., all contribute to the symbolic production of collective memory. In the Mouride landscape, any site that can be linked to Ahmadou Bamba can be turned into a lieu de mémoire. In a telling case, the Council Chamber in the Governor's Headquarters (*la Gouvernance*) in Saint Louis, where Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba was tried and sentenced to exile in 1895, has become a lieu de mémoire for Mourides. A commemorative pilgrimage is held annually there in the course of which a "two *rak'ah* prayer" is conducted within the chamber. A highly symbolic and historical colonial space, still used by the secular Republic of Senegal, has thus been subverted and, once a year, becomes Mouride space.

25. Christian Coulon, "Touba, lieu saint de la confrérie Mouride," in *Lieux d'islam: cultes et cultures de l'Afrique à Java*, ed. Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, Collection monde 91/92 (Paris: Autrement, 1996), 230.

26. That Darou Salam was named for the Divine Name "Al-Salâm," and not for "Dâr al-Salâm," one of the gardens of Paradise named in the Koran, was explained to the author by Al-H̲âjj Sĕriñ Mor Mbacké, Touba Mosquée ward, October 1994.

27. Guèye, *Touba*, 61.

28. Guèye, *Touba*, 74.

29. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 155.

30. The Battle of Badr occurred in the second year after the hijrah and was the first victory of Muslims over the Meccans. Fourteen Muslims died in the battle. "Sound" ḥadîth report that God sent legions of angels to fight by the Prophet's side.

31. Various versions of the exchange between the Prophet Muhammad and Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba can be found in internal Mouride sources. One of these versions was publicly narrated in Wolof by Sëriñ Abdoul Ahad Mbacké in Touba at the beginning of the month of Ṣafar 1399 (1979). This is the version that is posted, in French translation, on the Hizbut Tarqiyyah Web site: http://www.htcom.sn

32. This description of Ahmadou Bamba's house was related to the author by Sëriñ Matar Sylla in October 1994. At the time, this shaykh was well over ninety years old and blind. He claims to have lived in Touba all his life, though he was not born there. He was a resident of Touba Mosquée ward, living two blocks from the Mosque, and was president of a local cultural association called the Association culturelle et religieuse islamique Mouride.

33. Guèye, *Touba*, 79.

34. Guèye, *Touba*, 79.

35. There is no published English version of *Maṯlab al-Fawzayn*. The verses cited in this chapter are the author's own translation of the Arabic qaṣîdah. *Maṯlab al-Fawzayn* consists of 472 verses, preceded by a 70-verse introduction and followed by a 52-verse concluding supplication, which makes it far to long to reproduce here in its entirety. Excerpts of the poem which relate most directly to Touba as a place are provided at the end of this chapter.

36. Guèye, *Touba*, 249–58.

37. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 44–45.

38. Dieye, *Touba: Signs and Symbols*, 27.

39. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 315.

40. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 316.

41. Roberts and Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City*, 41.

42. Based on the concept of *râda* (to seek, to wish for), the Arabic term murîd refers to an "aspirant," one who "seeks" God. Although this technical term is quite common in Sufi circles, where it designates those who are engaged on the path under the guidance of a shaykh or *murshid* (S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 60), the French started using the term to designate Ahmadou Bamba's growing following of disciples, and it eventually became a label for his movement.

43. Searing, *God Alone is King*, 85.

44. Guèye, *Touba*, 96.

45. Today, when the simplified toponym "Darou" is used, as in Boroom Darou, it refers to Darou Mousty, not Darou Marnane.

46. Cissé, *Mame Tierno Birahim*, 78.

47. There is an indication that the process of "colonizing" Touba's hinterland was initiated even before Ahmadou Bamba returned to Mbacké. Mame Mor Diarra, Ahmadou Bamba's elder uterine brother, had already established the new village of Same, near the existing village of Lâ, by 1882 (Guèye, *Touba*, 64).

48. Guèye, *Touba*, 65.

49. Guèye, *Touba*, 64, 82.

50. Jean Copans, *Les marabouts de l'arachide*, 94.

51. Copans, *Les marabouts de l'arachide*, 89.

52. Chef de village of Kaossara, cited in Copans, *Les marabouts de l'arachide*, 89.

53. Cissé, *Mame Tierno Birahim*, 107–8.

54. Guèye, *Touba*, 97. Ahmadou Bamba's youngest brother, Massamba (born 1881), and his two oldest sons, Mouhamadou Moustapha (b. 1886) and Falilou (b. 1887), were approximately the same age. They would have been between 25 and 31 years old at the time.

55. Marty, "Les mourides d'Amadou Bamba," 16–19.

56. Guèye, *Touba*, 61.

57. Guèye, *Touba*, 97.

58. This measurement is certainly erroneous. One hundred square meters (ten meters by ten meters) would make for a very small compound. Perhaps the informant meant one hundred meters square (one hundred meters by one hundred meters), which would be more consistent with the type of great noble house he is describing. The large central compound in Darou Salam (figure 2.8) currently is larger than this by half.

59. "Rapport de tournée de Prempain," August 14–20, 1903. Archival reference: 2 D 13–14, Cercle de Thiès. Cited in Searing, *God Alone is King*, 252.

60. The story of the Ahmadou Bamba's arrival in Diourbel and the establishment of Boukhatoul Moubaraka is discussed by Cheikh Anta Babou in a soon-to-be-published article entitled "Contesting Space, Shaping Places: Making Room for the Muridiyya in Colonial Senegal, 1912–1945" forthcoming in *the Journal of African History*. The author thanks Cheikh Anta Babou for making this article accessible in advance of publication.

61. Roberts and Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City*, 43–67. See also David Hecht and Maliqalim Simone, *Invisible Governance: The Art of African Micropolitics* (Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, 1994).

62. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 247–48.

63. Cited by Babou in his forthcoming "Contesting Space, Shaping Places" article.

64. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 320.

65. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 378.

66. Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké's other most common sobriquet is the Arabic *Khadîm al-Rasûl*, or "Servant of the Messenger (of God)," colloquially transliterated as "Khadimou Rassouli" in Wolof, "Xadiimu Rasuuli" in official spelling.

67. The term *caliph general* is an innovation devised in order to resolve a succession dispute. Sëriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha had been simply *caliph* (*khalîfah* in Arabic) of the Mourides. When he died in 1945 there was a dispute between his eldest brother, Sëriñ Falilou, and his eldest son, Cheikh Mbacké. In order to resolve the dispute, Sëriñ Falilou was recognized as caliph general of the Mourides and Cheikh Mbacké was recognized as caliph of his father. This solution was modeled on the political structure of French West Africa, which had a governor general in Dakar and governors in each of the federated colonies. Henceforth, the heads of each distinct Mbacké lineage (descendants of Ahmadou Bamba's sons and brothers) are called caliph, while the term caliph general is reserved for the supreme head of the order. Moreover, Senegal's other Sufi orders have adopted the term caliph general even though they may have a much simpler internal hierarchy than that of the Mbacké clan.

68. On the role of expatriate Mourides and especially the Mouride community in New York City, see Scott Malcomson, "West of Eden: The Mouride Ethic and the Spirit

of Capitalism," *Position* 71 (1996): 26–45; Victoria Ebin, "Making Room versus Creating Space: the Construction of Spatial Categories by Itinerant Mouride Traders," in *Making Muslim Space in North America and Europe*, ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf, 92–109, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Serigne Mansour Tall, "Un instrument financier pour les commerçants et émigrés mourides de l'axe Dakar-New York: Kara International Exchange," in *Les opérateurs économiques et l'état au Sénégal*, ed. Laurence Marfaing and Mariam Sow, 73–90 (Paris: Karthala, 1998); Papa Demba Fall, "Ethnic and Religious ties in an African Emigration: Senegalese Immigrants in the United States," *Studia Africana* 13 (2002): 81–90; Cheikh Anta Babou, "Brotherhood Solidarity, Education and Migration: the Role of the Dahiras among the Murid Muslim Community of New York," *African Affairs* 101 (2002): 151–70; Olayinka Fadahunsi "Senegalese Progress Evident in Harlem," *The African*, August 1, 2002 (accessed online, http://www.indypressny.org/); Susan Sachs, "In Harlem, a Link to Senegal," *New York Times*, July 28, 2003.

69. The idea that a city is a collective artistic creation is advanced by Ian Bentley in "Urban designers as artists," *Urban Design International* 7 (2002): 143–52. For Bentley, urban design should be *reimagined* as a form of "performance" art. In his perspective, urban designers resemble choreographers, who orchestrate events involving many other participating artists, far more than they resemble painters or sculptors who produce singular fixed "works."

70. A connected story recounts how the French forbade the shaykh to pray on the ship. In response, he laid his prayer rug out on the ocean and prayed there instead. That is when Gabriel appeared to him with a vision of the mosque, and this is how the scene is usually depicted in artwork (Roberts and Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City*, 36).

71. From the official Web site of the Murid Islamic Community of America, responsible to Sëriñ Mourtada Mbacké, http://www.micasite.org/touba.htm, accessed 16 July 2003.

72. Dieye, *Touba*, 41–42.

73. Dieye, *Touba*, 45.

74. Guèye, *Touba*, 190. By this time, the Mouride order had become a mass movement of several hundred thousand (mostly rural) members.

75. In a controversial move, the Baye Fall have replaced the canonical obligations of prayer and fasting with work. Working for Sëriñ Touba is considered by them to be an equivalent form of worship to prayer and fasting. The Baye Fall, more than any other group, exemplify the celebrated Mouride work ethic.

76. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 316.

77. Dieye, *Touba*, 48.

78. *La dépêche coloniale*, October 3, 1924, cited in Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des Mourides*, 126.

79. The term minaret, *minârah* in Arabic, is etymologically derived from nûr, or "light," Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), 51.

80. http://www.htcom.sn, official Web site of Hizbut Tarqiyyah, accessed 16 July 2003. This verse was first cited by the Dahirah des étudiants Mourides de l'Université de Dakar in their *Guide du pélerine à l'occasion*, 18.

81. Hecht and Simone, *Invisible Governance*, 112.

82. Attendance of Friday prayer is estimated at ten thousand (Guèye, *Touba*, 364).

83. A reference to one of Ahmadou Bamba's two sobriquets: the Arabic *Khadîm al-Rasûl.*

84. The Wolof term mbaar designates an arbor, a built shelter which offers shade yet is open to the breeze. Such arbors can be used for a variety of purposes (reception of guests, teaching of classes, household tasks, etc.). They are important fixtures of West African architecture and can be found in the courtyards of private homes, before the entrances to important compounds as well as on public squares.

85. Cited in Coulon, "Paroles mourides," 105.

86. Touba is similar in this respect to Najaf, in Iraq, as devout Shiites, no matter where they live, desire to be buried near Imâm 'Alî in Najaf. Similarly, devout Muslims have often desired burial in Medina, in proximity to the Prophet Muhammad, and members of all three Abrahamic faiths, but Jews especially, have desired burial in Jerusalem, an axis mundi of great eschatological significance.

87. Aram Fal et al., *Dictionnaire wolof-français* (Paris: Karthala, 1990), 222. Guy Texe is pronounced "Gouy Tekhe."

88. A 1948 tradition cited by Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 315.

89. Samb, "Touba et son 'magal,'" 743.

90. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 314.

91. Guèye, *Touba*, 74, 318.

92. The story of this guy mbind was related to me in Touba by Cheikh Oumy Mbacké Diallo of Gouye Mbind ward in October 1994. The marking of this spot by an enclosure constitutes a case of the researcher affecting the object of study. It is after I had inquired about the guy mbind that the woman in the house next to the spot where the tree had stood, who showed me a photograph of the tree in its heyday, decided to mark it on the ground, creating a lieu de mémoire where none had previously existed. The little enclosure marking the spot was still there in January 2005. Time will tell whether the spot survives as a place of memory or not. In any case, this tree survives in the city's toponymy.

93. The tradition of Bara's tree was narrated to me in Touba by one of his grandsons, Cheikh Oumy Mbacké Diallo of Gouye Mbind ward in October 1994.

94. Guèye, *Touba*, 371.

95. Guèye, *Touba*, 196.

96. In French the term *durcification* is used to designate the process of replacing "soft" materials, such as mud brick, wattle, and thatch, with "hard" ones like cement blocks and concrete with steel reinforcement.

97. Guèye, *Touba*, 196.

98. Guèye, *Touba*, 366.

99. Samb, "Touba et son 'magal.'" Also Leonardo Villalón, "Religious Rituals and Rallies: Religious Ceremonies in the Politics of Senegalese State-Society Relations," *Comparative Politics* 26, no. 4 (1994): 415–37; and Christian Coulon, "The Grand Magal in Touba: a Religious Festival of the Mouride Brotherhood of Senegal," *African Affairs* 98, no. 391 (1999): 195–210.

100. Under Sĕriñ Mouhamadou Moustapha, the Grand Màggal was held on the nineteenth day of Muḥarram in commemoration of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's death. It is Sĕriñ Falilou who changed the date and significance of the event.

101. Public health has become a major concern in recent years. A serious outbreak of cholera occurred in Touba in 1996. The disease broke out again in 2005 and it is believed that the Grand Màggal contributed to its spread to other Senegalese cities. See Nafi Diouf,

"Officials struggle to contain cholera epidemic in Senegal city where hundreds of thousands expected." Associated Press, 21 March 2005, http://www.mercksource.com/pp/us/cns/cns_news_article.jspzQzidzEz355961, retrieved 14 April 2005; Afrol News, "Cholera at Pilgrimage event in Senegal," 30 March 2005, http://www.afrol.com/articles/16017, retrieved 14 April 2005; "Cholera epidemic spreads nationwide after Touba pilgrimage," Reuter Foundation, 5 April 2005, http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/IRIN/065d67bc4e21cdbaa17889c3e7fead4d.htm, retrieved 14 April 2005; Gabi Menezes, "Cholera Outbreak Hits Senegal, Other Countries," Voice of America, 5 April 2005, http://www.voanews.com/english/2005-04-05-voa56.cfm, retrieved 14 April 2005; Ba, Diadie. "Cholera Outbreak Kills 61 in Senegal," Reuters India, April 11, 2005, http://www.reuters.co.in/locales/c_newsArticle.jsp?type=worldNews&localeKey=en_IN&storyID=8146075, retrieved 14 April 2005.

102. Coulon, "The Grand Magal in Touba," 206, 210.

103. Hizbut Tarqiyya site: http://htcom.sn, accessed 22 November 2003.

104. Tabaski is the Wolof term for 'Ayd al-Kabîr (Great Feast) or 'Ayd al-Adhâ (Feast of Sacrifice). It is celebrated by all Muslims on the tenth day of Dhû-l-Hijjah. It corresponds to the culmination of the hajj and requires every household to slaughter an animal, preferably a young ram.

105. Hizbut Tarqiyyah Web site, http://www.htcom.sn, accessed 26 September 2003.

106. Khadim Mbacké, "Deux traités politiques d'un lettré religieux sénégalais: Serigne Mbacké Bousso (1864–1945)," Web site of Khadim Mbacké, Dakar, Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire-Cheikh Anta Diop, http://www.islamafriqueouest.org/, accessed 25 March 2004.

107. Marty, "Les mourides d'Amadou Bamba," 17.

108. Interview with Sëriñ Tierno Bousso, sëriñ of Touba Al-Azhar (also called Darou Salam Ndame or Ndame Al Azhar), December 2004.

109. Cheikh Anta Diop, *L'Afrique noire précoloniale* (Paris: Présence africaine, 1960), 171.

110. http://www.micasite.org/touba.htm, Web site of MICA, the Murid Islamic Community in America, accessed 16 July 2003.

111. Guèye, *Touba*, 202.

112. Cheikh Mbacké was the first caliph's eldest son, and though he failed in his bid to succeed to the caliphate following his father's death in 1945, he remained an important charismatic figure in the order until his own death in 1978.

113. Guèye, *Touba*, 166, 324.

114. Guèye, *Touba*, 322. Ocass Market was built over a pond, called Mbal. During the rainy season, the market still floods.

115. Guèye, *Touba*, 194.

116. Gare Boundaw Market occupies the site formerly occupied by the "small" rail station. The station and the tracks leading to it, necessary for the construction of the Mosque, were removed in the 1970s.

117. Touba lies in the administrative region of Diourbel, hence the recourse to government services in that city.

118. Guèye, *Touba*, 327.

119. Cheikh Guèye, e-mail message to author, 24 July 2003.

120. Official census results. Also, see figure 2.17.

121. Guèye, *Touba*, 194–95.

122. République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'équipement, des transports et du logement, Direction de l'urbanisme et de l'architecture, *Plan directeur d'urbanisme de Touba: étude urbaine* (Dakar: Cabinet d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme du Sénégal, 1993), 30.

123. Touba has always had a reputation for excellence in Arabic-language instruction and religious education. There are a large number of schools of various types distributed throughout the entire city.

124. Guèye, *Touba*, 335.

125. Ardalan and Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity*, 29–31.

126. Ardalan and Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity*, 29.

127. Dieye, *Touba*, 77.

128. Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, 28.

129. Ardalan and Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity*, 31.

130. Labelle Prussin, *Hatumere: Islamic Design in West Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 74–100.

131. Roy Dilley, *Between Mosque and Termite Mound: Islamic and Caste Knowledge Practices among Haalpulaar'en in Senegal* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 188.

132. Dilley, *Between Mosque and Termite Mound*, 187.

133. Roberts and Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City*, 213.

134. Prussin, *Hatumere*, 228.

135. Pulaar speakers, called Haalpulaaren, include the Fulbe, Peul (Peulh) or Fulani of Fouta Jallon, and Boundou as well as the Toucouleur of Fouta Toro.

136. Jean-Paul Bourdier and Trinh T. Minh-Ha, *Drawn from African Dwellings* (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 70, 148.

137. The Bogué mosque was surveyed and measured, in the company of Labelle Prussin, on 7 January 2004. Additional information about its construction was obtained from Tierno Sada Lam, Grand Imâm of Bogué, in an interview on January 4.

138. Ed van Hoven, "Saint Mediation in the Era of Transnationalism: the *Da'ira* of the Jakhanke *Marabouts*," *Africa* 73, no. 2 (2003): 299.

139. Van Hoven, "Saint Mediation in the Era of Transnationalism," 299.

140. Roberts and Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City*, 212–29.

141. Sĕriñ Omar Sy was interviewed in his compound in January 2002. The compound houses an extended family as well as the sĕriñ's students and, therefore, constitutes domestic space. The author did not survey it or attempt to draft its plan.

142. For Rûmî, the archetypal reed is manifest in the flute, the music of which permits transcendence of the celestial spheres.

143. Roberts and Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City*, 223.

144. http://www.htcom.sn, official Web site of Hizbut Tarqiyyah, accessed 16 July 2003.

145. Guèye, *Touba*, 339.

146. Guèye, *Touba*, 336, 445.

147. Interview with Mouhamadou Tafsir Guèye, *Chef de service*, Département de l'urbanisme, Mbacké, December 2004.

148. United Nations press release dated 7 June 1996, www.un.org/Conferences/habitat/eng-pres/3/habist15.htm, retrieved 11 July 2005.

149. Interview with Sĕriñ Méoundou Diakhaté, currently chef de village of Touba Mosquée ward, December 2004. He was president of the rural community of Touba Mosquée when the 1993 and 1999 master plans were being produced.

150. Interview with Cheikh Guèye, Dakar, January 2005.

151. http://www.htcom.sn/, Web site of Hizbut Tarqiyyah, accessed 26 August 2004.

152. P. D. Fall, "Ethnic and Religious ties in an African Emigration," 81–90.

153. Guèye, *Touba*, 336–37.

154. Cheikh Guèye admitted that this inventory may be incomplete as data on mosques, especially those within compounds, was not systematically collected during the street-by-street survey.

155. Comment by Aliou Sène, headmaster at the Keur Asta Waalo Mbacké School, Mbal-Gare Boumak neighborhood, January 2005. According to Aliou Sène, the total numerical value of T̲ûbâ is 115. There are already more mosques than that in the city.

156. During field work, I was unable to obtain an interview Mamadou Fall, who devides his time between Touba and his practice in Dakar.

157. Interview with Mouhamadou Tafsir Guèye, chef de service, Département de l'urbanisme, Mbacké, December 2004.

158. Mbacké is not the capital of an administrative region, as is Diourbel. It is the *chef-lieu* of a department and, as such, would not normally house a department of urban planning.

159. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) are computerized databases containing georeferenced information. Any information that can be located geographically can be entered into the system. Over the past twenty-five years, GIS has become an indispensable tool of urban management as it permits rapid access to, and analysis of, data related to real estate, tax roles, public services, utilities, policing, etc.

160. Interview with Cheikh Guèye, Touba, December 2004, and Dakar, January 2005.

161. See http://www.stchome.com/, Web site of STC, the Scientific and Technical Corporation.

162. Interview with Ibrahima Almamy Wade, geographer at the Centre de Suivie Ecologique, Dakar, January 2005.

163. Cheikh Guèye, e-mail message to author, 30 April 2005.

164. Guèye, *Touba*, 222.

165. According to Guèye's data (*Touba*, 403), depending on the ward, anywhere from 76 to 97 percent of heads of household moved to Touba from villages.

166. Guèye, *Touba*, 221.

167. The university campus has been built, but the institution has not started functioning yet.

168. Interview with Saliou Dieng, Touba, December 2004. Saliou Dieng, currently chef de village of Boukhatoul Moubaraka, was chef de village of Djannatoul Mahwa in the 1990s.

169. The well-attested geographical distinction between patrician/aristocratic/bourgeois "west ends" and plebian/proletarian "east ends" is thus confirmed in Touba as well. Touba is no egalitarian utopia. It is home to the same social inequalities found in cities the world over.

170. Based on an interview with one of Sëriñ Aziz Moustapha Mbacké's *bëkk-néeg*, or "managers," Darou Tanzil, December 2004.

171. Guèye, *Touba*, 64.

172. Copans, *Les marabouts de l'arachide*, 94.

173. Interview with Saliou Dieng, Touba, December 2004.

174. Guèye, *Touba*, 78, 466.

175. Contrary to the situation elsewhere, shantytowns around Touba are short-lived. They arise as villagers arrive in Touba before house lots have been made available. As soon as the house lots have been attributed, the houses in the shantytown are dismantled by their inhabitants and transported to the new site and construction of the permanent house begins.

176. Interview with Mouhamadou Tafsir Guèye, Urban Planning Department, Mbacké, December 2004.

177. Based on an interview with village elders, on the pénc of Ndindi Abdou, December 2004.

178. Based on an interview with a village elder, on the pénc of Tindoli, December 2004.

179. Interview with Sëriñ Touba Mbacké, chef de village of Touba Bagdad, December 2004.

180. Interview with Sëriñ Abderahmane Bousso, son of Sëriñ Massamba Kani and *chef de quartier* of Darou Khadim, December 2004.

181. Interview with Sëriñ Cheikh Mbacké, grandson of Sëriñ Massamba and chef de village of Darou Karim, January 2005.

182. Ruth Eaton, *Cités idéales: l'utopisme et l'environnement (non) bâti* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 2001), 12–17.

183. Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 160–61.

Chapter 3

1. Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, introduction to *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*, ed. Stephen J. Salm and Toyin Falola (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), xxxix.

2. George Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003).

3. Jean-Louis Triaud, "L'islam en Afrique de l'Ouest: une histoire urbaine dans la longue durée," *Islam et sociétés au sud du Sahara* (16) (2002): 67–84.

4. Cited in Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 37.

5. Christopher Winters, "Traditional Urbanism in the North Central Sudan," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 67, no. 4 (1977): 513–18.

6. *The Isolated State* was the first model of economic geography to have been developed, proposed by Johann Heinrich von Thünen in 1826. The model postulates an isolate market in the center of a homogenous plain. Although attractive from a purely mathematical perspective, the model is fundamentally flawed; no market exists in isolation from others.

7. Peter Taylor, *World City Network: A Global Urban Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 2004): 1.

8. Taylor, *World City Network*, 1.

9. Already in 1969, in *The Economy of Cities* (New York: Vintage Books) Jane Jacobs argued that cities, not states, are the real units of economic analysis. Cities "create work" and they grow when they create "new" work.

10. Manuel Castells, *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989).

11. Richard Smith, "World City Actor-Networks," *Progress in Human Geography* 27, no. 1 (2003): 34.

12. For an analysis of the emergence of Muslim clerics as a distinct *order* within Wolof society, see Abdoulaye-Bara Diop, *La société wolof: tradition et changement* (Paris: Karthala, 1981). For Dilley (*Between Mosque and Termite Mound*, 4), the specificity of this social order, or "class," rested in its "acquisition, control and reproduction of a form of knowledge-power," or *xamxam* in Wolof.

13. Mervyn Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa* (London: Longman, 1984).

14. Abdoulaye-Bara Diop, *La société wolof*, 237.

15. Yahya Dyâo, cited in Abdoulaye-Bara Diop, *La société wolof*, 237–38.

16. Jean Boulègue, "Sur la participation possible des centres de Pire et de Ndogal à la révolution islamique sénégambienne de 1673," *Notes Africaines* 182 (1984): 27–29.

17. Thierno Ka, *Ecole de Pire Saniokhor: histoire, enseignement et culture arabo-islamiques au Sénégal du XVIIe au XXe siècle* (Dakar: Fondation Cadi Amar Fall, 2002), 39. There is no consensus on the date of Pire's foundation. For Thierno Ka, it occurred during the reign of Makhouredia Diodio (1684–93), whereas Jean Boulègue ("Sur la participation possible des centres de Pire et de Ndogal") and El-Hadj Demba Lamine Diouf (*Khaly Amar Fall: fondateur de l'université de Pire* Dakar: n.p., 1988) date it to the reign of Makhouredia Khouli (1600–1610). Based on local sources, the journalist Amadou Fall ("A Pire, les princes au service de l'Islam," Dossier spécial "Maouloud: la Oumah islamique à l'unisson," *Le Soleil*, Dakar, 21 April 2005) also reports 1603 as the date of foundation.

18. El-Hadj Demba Lamine Diouf, "De l'oralité à l'écrit," *Le Soleil*, Dakar, 18 August 1988, 9.

19. Ka, *Ecole de Pire Saniokhor*, 320.

20. Amadou-Bamba Diop, "Lat Dior et le problème musulman," 497.

21. C. A. Diop, *L'Afrique noire pré-coloniale*, 72.

22. C. A. Diop, *Civilisation ou barbarie*, 229.

23. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 24.

24. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 25.

25. Abdoulaye-Bara Diop, *La société wolof*, 241.

26. Amadou-Bamba Diop, "Lat Dior et le problème musulman," 495–96.

27. Tanor Latsoukabé Fall, "Recueil sur la vie des damels," *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 36, no. 1 (1974): 127.

28. Abdoulaye-Bara Diop, *La société wolof*, 237.

29. Lucie Gallistel Colvin, *Historical Dictionary of Senegal* (London: Scarecrow Press, 1981), 243.

30. Lamine Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics: A Religious and Historical Study of Islam in Senegambia* (New York: University Press of America, 1989), 51.

31. Cited in Matt Schaffer and Christine Cooper, *Mandinko: The Ethnography of a West African Holy Land* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980), 44.

32. C. A. Diop, *L'Afrique noire précoloniale*, 73.

33. Paule Charles-Dominique, trans., *Voyages* (*Rihlah*) of Ibn Battûtâ, in *Voyageurs arabes: Ibn Fadlân, Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Battûta et un auteur anonyme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), 1030.

34. Cited in Djibril Tamsir Niane, *Le Soudan occidental au temps des grands empires: XI–XVIᵉ siècles* (Paris: Présence africaine, 1975), 13.

35. C. A. Diop, *L'Afrique noire précoloniale*, 123.

36. Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics.*

37. Jakhanke toponyms are recurrent. Diakha (Jakha), Gunjur (Goundiour, Goundiourou), Touba (T̲ûbâ), Bakadaji (Bagadadji), Kerewane (Kerevan), etc., appear in many different countries and sometimes several times within the same country, which can cause confusion in understanding sources.

38. Marty, *Etudes sur l'islam en Côte d'Ivoire*, 139.

39. Cited in Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 32.

40. Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 57.

41. Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 59.

42. Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 51.

43. Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 38.

44. Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 103–5.

45. Jean Schmitz, "Cités noires: les républiques villageoises du Fuuta Toro," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 34, nos. 1–3 (1994): 419–60; and "Cités incomparables: *polis*, médina, cités-Etats africains," in *Islam et villes en Afrique au sud du Sahara: Entre soufisme et fondamentalisme,* ed. Adriana Piga, 149–73. (Paris: Karthala, 2003).

46. Tarikhu Farrar, *Building Technologies and Settlement Planning in a West African Civilization: Precolonial Akan Cities and Towns* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen University Press, 1996). 11.

47. Ka, *Ecole de Pire Saniokhor*, 65.

48. A. Fall, "A Pire, les princes au service de l'Islam."

49. Amadou-Bamba Diop, "Lat Dior et le problème musulman," 511. Lat Dior was related to the sëriñs of Koki on his mother's side.

50. Searing, *God Alone is King*, 31–42.

51. Michael Gomez, *Pragmatism in the Age of Jihad: the Precolonial State of Bundu* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 175–76.

52. Dilley, *Between Mosque and Termite Mound*, 37.

53. Jakhanke clerics were active as far east as the Hausa cities, and Winters, in "Traditional Urbanism in the North Central Sudan," reports how, during this same period, royal land grants given to Muslim clerics led to the establishment of schools and, eventually, to the immergence of full-fledged towns in the Nilotic Sudan.

54. Constant Hamès, "Islam et urbanization dans l'espace nomade ouest-saharien," in *Islam et villes en Afrique au sud du Sahara: Entre soufisme et fondamentalisme,* ed. Adriana Piga, 194–206. (Paris: Karthala, 2003).

55. Gomez, *Pragmatism in the Age of Jihad*, 50.

56. Boulègue, "Sur la participation possible."

57. David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

58. Searing, *God Alone is King*, 49–55.

59 Eunice Charles, "Shaykh Amadu Ba and Jihad in Jolof," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8, no. 3 (1975): 367–82.

60. Ivan Hrbek, "The Early Period of Mahmadou Lamin's Activities," in *Studies in West African Islamic History, vol. 1: The Cultivators of Islam*, 211–32 (London: Frank Cass and Co, 1979).

61. See Khadim Mbacké, *Sufism and Religious Brotherhoods in Senegal*, trans. Eric Ross, ed. John Hunwick (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005).

62. Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa*, 248.

63. Pierre Bonte, "Egalité et recherche: jeux et enjeux depuis un siècle, des mouvements confrériques dans le sud de l'Adrar mauritanien," in *Confréries soufies d'Afrique: nouveaux rôles, nouveaux enjeux.* Rabat: Institut des Etudes Africaines (2004): 31.

64. Bernard Salvaing, "Une ténébreuse affaire: la question confrérique au Fuuta Jaloo et au Macina," in *Confréries soufies d'Afrique: nouveaux rôles, nouveaux enjeux.* Rabat: Institut des Etudes Africaines (2004), 71.

65. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 142.

66. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 37, 143.

67. Searing, *God Alone is King*, 62.

68. Searing, *God Alone is King*, 101.

69. This was one of the main arguments of both Sy (*La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*) and Cruise O'Brien (*The Mourides of Senegal; Saints and Politicians*), and has been repeated since by Copans (*Les marabouts de l'arachide*) and Coulon (*Le marabout et le prince*).

70. Marty, "Les mourides d'Amadou Bamba," 19.

71. Cited in Glover, "'The Mosque is One Thing, the Administration is Another,'" 362.

72. Cissé, *Mame Thierno Birahim*, 109.

73. Christian Coulon, "Women, Islam, and Baraka," in *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam*, ed. Donal B. Cruise O'Brien and Christian Coulon, 113–34 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), and Rose Lake, "The Making of a Mouride Mahdi: Serigne Abdoulaye Yakhine Diop of Thies," in *African Islam and Islam in Africa: Encounters between Sufis and Islamists*, ed. David Westerlund and Eva Evers Rosander, 216–53 (London: Hurst & Co. 1997).

74. Dilley, *Between Mosque and Termite Mound*, 210; Elaine Hutson, "Women, Men, and Patriarchal Bargaining in an Islamic Sufi Order: the Tijaniyya in Kano, Nigeria, 1937 to the Present," *Gender and Society* 15, no. 5 (2001): 734–53.

75. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 171–84; Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, 83–100; Villalón, *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal.*

76. The use of the term "capital" to designate the spiritual centers and administrative seats of Senegal's Sufi orders is generalized in the literature. Cheikh Guèye used it in the title of his monograph *Touba: la capitale des mourides*, and, as far back as the eighteenth century, Père Labat designated Gunjur as the "capital" of a "marabout republic."

77. Raymond Wood, "An Archaeological Appraisal of Early European Settlements in the Senegambia," *Journal of African History* 7, no. 1 (1967): 39–64.

78. Paul Pheffer, *Railroads and Aspects of Social Change in Senegal 1878–1933* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975).

79. Guèye, *Touba*, 117.

80. T. L. Fall, "Recueil sur la vie des damels," 127.

81. Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation*, 88.

82. J. M. Diouf, "Portrait de famille," *Le Soleil*, Dakar, 4 November 1988, 8.

83. Habib Demba Fall, "Ndiassane, Tivaouane, Thiénaba et Pire: les bâtisseurs d'un pont entre l'homme et son Créateur," Dossier spécial "Maouloud: la Oumah islamique à l'unisson," *Le Soleil*, Dakar, 21 April 2005.

84. Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation*, 200.

85. This zâwiyyah, known as the "Mosquée des Khadres" on the corner of Avenue Blaise Diagne and Rue Félix Faure, is classified as a national monument.

86. Moussa Diop, "118*e* édition du Gamou de Ndiassane," *Sud on line*, 22 May 2003.

87. M. Diop, "118*e* édition du Gamou de Ndiassane."

88. The ngénte (*'aqîqah* in Arabic) is an important Muslim celebration in Senegal. It takes place on the seventh or eighth day after the birth of a child. On that day, the child's head is shaved and he is given a name.

89. Rahal Boubrik, *Saints et société en islam: la confrérie ouest-saharienne Fâdiliyya* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 1999).

90. Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation,* 161–77.

91. Amadou-Bamba Diop, "Lat Dior et le problème musulman," 527.

92. Christian Roche, *Histoire de la Casamance: conquête et résistance 1850–1920* (Paris: Karthala, 1976); Peter Mark, "The Rubber and Palm Produce Trades and the Islamization of the Diola of Boulouf (Casamance), 1890–1920," *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 39, no. 2 (1977): 341–61.

93. Hamès, "Islam et urbanization dans l'espace nomade ouest-saharien," 200.

94. Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation,* 178–93.

95. S. B. Mbacké, *Les Bienfaits de l'Eternel,* 142.

96. Ed van Hoven, "Saint Mediation in the Era of Transnationalism: the *Da'ira* of the Jakhanke *Marabouts,*" *Africa* 73, no. 2 (2003): 290–308.

97. The main hagiography of Seydina Limamou Laye was written in 1931–32 by his muqaddam Shaykh Mahtar Lô. Originally entitled *Buṣarâ' al-Muḫibbîn wa Tayqîz al-Jâhilîn* (Discernment of the Friends and the Awakening of the Wayward), it was translated by Assane Sylla and published as "La vie de Seydina Mouhamadou Limâmou Laye," *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 34, no. 3 (1972): 497–523.

98. These archives were explored by Assane Sylla, "Les persécutions de Seydina Mouhamadou Limâmou Laye par les autorités colonials," *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 33, no. 3 (1971): 590–641.

99. Laborde, *La confrérie layenne,* 15.

100. Lô, "La vie de Seydina Mouhamadou Limâmou Laye," 500.

101. Laborde, *La confrérie layenne,* 20.

102. Nurul Mahdi, official Web site of the Layenne order, http://www.layene.sn, retrieved 2 September 2005.

103. The name Limamou derives from *al-imâm* in Arabic, while Laye comes from "Allâh." Seydina Mouhamadou Limamou Laye thus translates as "Our Lord Muhammad Imam of God."

104. Lô, "La vie de Seydina Mouhamadou Limâmou Laye," 504.

105. Assane Sylla and El-Hadji Mouhamadou Sakhir Gaye, *Le Mahdi Mouhamadou Seydina Limamou Laye du Sénégal* (Rufisque: Imprimerie nationale, 1985), 20.

106. Sylla, "Les persécutions de Seydina Mouhamadou Limâmou Laye," 628.

107. Seydina Issa Rohou Laye translates as "Our Lord Jesus, Spirit of God."

108. Laborde, *La confrérie layenne,* 19.

109. The Wolof term *gent* refers to an abandoned settlement.

110. Laborde, *La confrérie layenne,* 9.

111. Laborde, *La confrérie layenne,* 78.

112. Laborde, *La confrérie layenne,* 28. See also http://www.layene.sn, the official Web site of the Layenne order.

113. Laborde, *La confrérie layenne,* 10.

114. Assane Sylla, *Le peuple lébou de la Presqu'île du Cap-Vert* (Dakar: Novelles éditions africaines, 1992).

115. Laborde, *La confrérie layenne,* 72.

116. Ka, *Ecole de Pire Saniokhor,* 221.

117. D. Diop, "La Tidjannyat Mahdiste de Thiénaba Seck," 48.

118. D. Diop, "La Tidjannyat Mahdiste de Thiénaba Seck," 51. This constitutes a surprising reversal of the norm. Usually it is the political authority (the king and then colonial administration) that grants land to clerics for the purpose of setting up a school or an agricultural estate. Here the cleric is granting land to the colonial authorities for the purpose of setting up a "rail stop" (*halte ferroviaire*).

119. The sous-préfecture is in Tiénaba Gare, one kilometer southeast of the shrine center.

120. D. Diop, "La Tidjannyat Mahdiste de Thiénaba Seck," 51; also Habib Demba Fall, "La vie et l'œuvre du vénéré Amary Ndack Seck, fondateur de Thiénaba Seck: les champs et la prière," Dossier spécial "Maouloud: la Oumah islamique à l'unisson," *Le Soleil*, Dakar, 21 April 2005.

121. The lineage of Sëriñ Bara Mbacké (based in Touba's Gouye Mbind ward) organizes an anuual pilgrimage in Mbacké Kayor.

122. Sëriñ Bassirou's lineage, based in Touba's Darou Miname ward, continues to organize this pilgrimage on the twenty-fifth day of Rabî' Awwal.

123. Hizbut Tarqiyya Web site, http://www.htcom.sn/, accessed 25 January 2004.

124. The population of the rural community of Darou Marnane Mbacol was 14,146 in 2004.

125. Cissé, *Mame Thierno Birahim*, 108.

126. Glover. "The Mosque is one Thing, the Administration is Another," 362.

127. Glover. "The Mosque is one Thing, the Administration is Another," 361.

128. Hizbut Tarqiyya site, http://www.htcom.sn/, accessed 14 October 2003.

129. Data on Sufi affiliation is not gathered officially. However, various authors and officials agree that Tijânîs outnumber Mourides. In the words of Leonardo Villalón ["Islamism in West Africa," *African Studies Review* 47, no. 2 (2004), 63]: "The demographically dominant Tijaniyya order is divided into several different branches. The dynamic and cohesive Mouride order, though not a majority, is larger than any one of the branches of the Tijaniyya."

130. Ka, *Ecole de Pire Saniokhor*, 197.

131. Ciré Ly, *Le message de Seydi El Hadj Malick Sy* (Dakar: Union culturelle musulmane, 1982), 9.

132. Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation*, 197.

133. Ly, *Le message de Seydi El Hadj Malick Sy*, 9.

134. Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation*, 199.

135. Marone, "Le Tidjanisme au Sénégal," 148–49.

136. Marone, "Le Tidjanisme au Sénégal," 151.

137. Ka, *Ecole de Pire Saniokhor*, 197.

138. Amadou-Bamba Diop, "Lat Dior et le problème musulman," 527.

139. Abdoulaye-Bara Diop, *La société wolof*, 293; Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation*, 203–4.

140. Jamil Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 144.

141. Malick Sy's oldest son, Ahmadou Sy, had died in Salonika in 1916, fighting under the French flag.

142. Marone, "Le Tidjanisme au Sénégal," 171.

143. Donal Cruise O'Brien, "Charisma Comes to Town: Mouride Urbanisation 1945–1986," in *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam*, ed. Donal B. Cruise O'Brien and Christian Coulon, 135–56. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

144. Marone, "Le Tidjanisme au Sénégal," 172–73.

145. Behrman, *Muslim Brotherhoods and Politics*.

146. Marone, "Le Tidjanisme au Sénégal," 199, 204.

147. Tivaouane also has a Mouride neighborhood, called alternately "Tivaouane Mouride" or "Keur Cheikh," after Cheikh Modou Awa Balla Mbacké (d. 1982) of the Darou Mousty lineage who established the community there.

148. Dilley, *Between Mosque and Termite Mound*, 207.

149. Martin Klein, *Islam and Imperialism in Senegal: Sine-Saloum 1847–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), 233.

150. Gray, "The Rise of the Niassene Tijaniyya," 35.

151. Klein, *Islam and Imperialism in Senegal*, 224.

152. John Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973), 95.

153. Marone, "Le Tidjanisme au Sénégal," 199, 167.

154. Pheffer, *Railroads and Aspects of Social Change*.

155. Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*, 97.

156. Adriana Piga, "Un survol sur la dialectique entre soufisme et anti-soufisme au Sénégal contemporain," in *Islam et villes en Afrique au sud du Sahara: Entre soufisme et fondamentalisme*, ed. Adriana Piga (Paris: Karthala, 2003), 317.

157. Gray, "The Rise of the Niassene Tijaniyya," 50–51.

158. Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*, 123.

159. Fatima Harrak, "Le soufisme face à la mondialisation: cas des confréries d'origine africaine aux USA," in *Confréries soufies d'Afrique: Nouveaux rôles, nouveaux enjeux* (Rabat: Institut des Etudes Africaines, 2004), 186.

160. See the AAII Web site: http://home.earthlink.net/~halimcisse/aaii-2.html

161. Ka, *Ecole de Pire Saniokhor*, 269.

162. Dilley, *Between Mosque and Termite Mound*, 21; Hutson, "Women, Men, and Patriarchal Bargaining," 735.

163. Ka, *Ecole de Pire Saniokhor*, 271.

164. The story of the escale project for Touba and its eventual creation in Mbacké is discussed by Cheikh Anta Babou in a soon-to-be-published article entitled "Contesting Space, Shaping Places: Making Room for the Muridiyya in Colonial Senegal," forthcoming in *Journal of African History*. The author thanks Cheikh Anta Babou for making this article available prior to its publication.

165. The administrative and legal definition of municipalities in Senegal has not kept pace with urban growth. Municipal limits have not been extended in decades and de facto jurisdiction extends only as far as regulated urban allotments. Everything beyond, including industrial parks, land-consuming institutions, and unregulated housing lays in rural areas under the jurisdiction of rural communities. Interview with Mouhamadou Tafsir Guèye, chef de service, Département de l'urbanisme, Mbacké, December 2004.

166. The story of the Ahmadou Bamba's arrival in Diourbel and the establishment of Boukhatoul Moubaraka is discussed by Cheikh Anta Babou in "Contesting Space, Shaping Places: Making Room for the Muridiyya in Colonial Senegal," forthcoming in *Journal of African History*.

167. Jean-François Bayart, *L'Etat en Afrique: la politique du ventre* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 312.

168. Michel Ben Arrous, *L'Etat, ses dissidences et leurs territoires: la géographie par le bas en Afrique* (Dakar, Codesria, 1996), 16.

169. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 276.

170. Guèye, *Touba*, 286.

171. Abderrahmane N'Gaïnde, "Islam, charisme et ordres en Haute Casamance coloniale: Ceerno Al Hajji Aali Caam," *Al-Maghrib al-Ifrîqî* 5 (2004): 205.

172. N'Gaïnde, "Islam, charisme et ordres," 203–4.

173. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 219.

174. Guèye, *Touba*, 287.

175. Paul Pélissier, ed., *Atlas du Sénégal* (Paris: Editions jeune Afrique, 1980), 45.

176. A small post of the gendarmerie was built in Ocass Market in 2004, at the same time as the surrounding streets were raised above flood level and paved. The post was not yet in use in 2005.

177. Guèye, *Touba*, 286.

178. Guèye, *Touba*, 342.

179. Abdoulaye Wade is member of the Mouride order, a taalibe of Sëriñ Mourtada Mbacké (d. 2004).

180. The 1999 second rocade was already represented (very schematically) as marking Touba's limits in the 2000 revised edition of the Jeune Afrique atlas, Mamadou Moustapha Sall, ed., *Atlas du Sénégal: nouvelle édition* (Paris: Editions jeune Afrique, 2000), 47.

181. Guèye, *Touba*, 160, 295.

182. Cheikh Guèye, personal communication, December 2004.

183. Yaya Wane, "Ceerno Muhamadu Sayid Baa ou le soufisme intégral de Madiina-Gunaas," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 14, no. 56 (1974): 671–98.

184. Racine Oumar N'Diaye, "Le role du Fouta Tooro dans l'enseignement, l'essor de la civilization et de la pensée islamique: le foyer de Thilogne dans la longue durée," *Maṣadir* 4 (2004): 45.

185. N'Gaïnde, "Islam, charisme et ordres," 208.

186. Moriba Magassouba, *L'Islam au Sénégal: demain les mullahs?* (Paris: Karthala, 1985), 50.

187. Wane, "Ceerno Muhamadu Sayid Baa," 672.

188. Interview with Al-Ḥâjj Ahmadou Abdoulaye Diagne, Dakar, November 1988.

189. Interview with Mr. Diagne, Dakar, November 1988. As the author has have not visited Madina Gounass and has been unable to obtain either relevant cartographic documents or satellite imagery of it, it is not possible to ascertain the extent to which Sufi principles are discernable in its urban design.

190. Magassouba, *L'Islam au Sénégal*, 52.

191. Guèye, *Touba*, 123.

192. "Tensions entre Peulhs et Toucouleurs: La gendarmerie en état d'alerte à Médina Gounass," *Wal Fadjri*, 3 January 2004.

193. Abdoulaye Kane, "East and West: The Experience of Islam in an Expanding Europe," (paper presented at the Center for European Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, March 2004).

194. D. Diop, "La Tidjannyat Mahdiste de Thiénaba Seck," 47.

195. Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 103.

196. N'Gaïnde, "Islam, charisme et ordres," 191, 203.

197. Ka, *Ecole de Pire Saniokhor*, 39.

198. Cissé, *Mame Tierno Birahim*, 107. The precedent here is the prophet Muhammad who, when he arrived in Yathrib (Medina), allowed his she-camel to wander until it settled on the site of the future mosque. Peters, *Mecca: A Literary History*, 65.

199. Rofel, "Discrepant Modernities and their Discontents," 637–49.

200. Françoise Lionnet, "Transnationalism, Postcolonialism or Transcolonialism? Reflections on Los Angeles, Geography, and the Uses of Theory," *Emergences* 10, no. 1 (2000): 25–35.

201. Lionnet, "Transnationalism, Postcolonialism or Transcolonialism?" 31.

Chapter 4

1. Fal et al., *Dictionnaire wolof-français*, 168.

2. Laborde, *La confrérie layenne*, 65.

3. Excellent studies of this kind include Suzanne Blier, *The Anatomy of Architecture: Ontology and Metaphor in Batammaliba Architectural Expression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and Bourdier and Minh-Ha, *Drawn from African Dwellings.*

4. See Brian Roberts, *Landscapes of Settlement: Prehistory to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 1996); and Jean-René Trochet, *Aires culturelles et civilizations traditionnelles* (Paris: Editions Ellipses, 2000).

5. These include Afolabi Ojo's study of Yoruba cities, *Yoruba Culture: a Geographical Analysis* (London: University of London Press, 1966); Labelle Prussin's study of the design of northern Ghanaian towns, *Architecture in Northern Ghana: a Study of Forms and Functions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); and the first section of Moughtin's *Hausa Architecture*. In their ethnography of Pakao, Senegal, Schaffer and Cooper (*Mandinko)* provide brief analysis of a number of Muslim settlements. More recently, Mark Dike DeLancey ["Moving East, Facing West: Islam as an Intercultural Mediator in Urban Planning in the Sokoto Empire," in *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*, ed. Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 3–21] has analyzed the relationship of palaces to mosques in the Sokoto Empire.

6. Ibrahima Thiaw, "Archeology and the Public in Senegal: Reflections on Doing Fieldwork at Home," *Journal of African Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (2003): 215–25.

7. Copans, *Les marabouts de l'arachide*, 70–71.

8. Copans et al., *Maintenance sociale et changement*, 96.

9. Sy, *La confrérie sénégalase des mourides*, 179.

10. Touba's Bagdad ward (figure 2.7), also called Sourah, and the daara of Touba Bagdad, northeast of Touba (figure 2.24), are, in fact, part of a single spiritual-administrative territory, that of the lineage of Sëriñ Abdou Khadre Mbacké, though each has its own chef de village.

11. The prophet Abraham (Ibrâhîm in Arabic) was Mame Tierno Birahim's namesake.

12. Cissé, *Mame Thierno Birahim*, 158.

13. J.-P. Dubois, "Les Serer et la question des Terres Neuves au Sénégal," *Cahiers de l'ORSTOM* 12, no. 1 (1975): 103.

14. D. Diop, "La Tidjannyat Mahdiste de Thiénaba Seck," 66.

15. van Hoven, "Saint Mediation in the Era of Transnationalism," 293–94.

16. Paul Marty, "Le groupement de Bou Kounta," *Revue du monde musulman* 31 (1915–1916): 422.

17. Ndiassane was visited in October 2000.

18. Ndiassane hosts an annual commemoration, on the nineteenth day of Rabî' al-Awwal, to mark the Prophet Muhammad's 'aqîqah, or the traditional shaving of an male infant's hair seven days after birth. See J. M. Diouf, "Portrait de famille," 8; M. Diop, "118*e* édition du Gamou de Ndiassane"; and H. D. Fall, "Ndiassane, Tivaouane, Thiénaba et Pire."

19. J. M. Diouf, "Portrait de famille," 8.

20. "With his foot he [Seydina Limamou Laye] removed the sand and water sprang forth." Sylla and Gaye, *Le Mahdi Mouhamadou Seydina Limamou Laye du Sénégal*, 20.

21. Sow, "Monographie du village de Cambérène," 51–60.

22. *Nurul Mahdi*, http://www.layene.sn, retrieved 2 September 2005.

23. Paul Marty, "Chérif Younous de Casamance," *Revue du monde musulman* 31 (1915–1916): 473–74.

24. Duchemin, "Urbanisme rural, 17–18.

25. Ka, *Ecole de Pire Saniokhor*, 39–41.

26. Jean Suret-Canale, "Touba in Guinea, Holy Place of Islam," in *African Perspectives*, ed. Christopher Allen and R. W. Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 69.

27. Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 104.

28. Lucy Quimby, "History as Identity: The Jaaxanke and the Founding of Tuuba," *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 37, no. 3 (1975): 616; Thomas Hunter, "The Jabi Ta'rikhs: Their Significance in West African Islam," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9, no. 3 (1976): 444.

29. Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 111.

30. Quimby, "History as Identity," 617; Hunter, "The Jabi Ta'rikhs," 446.

31. Janet Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19 (1987): 155–76.

32. Nezar Al Sayyad, *Cities and Caliphs: on the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991).

33. Besim S. Hakim, *Arabic-Islamic Cities: Building and Planning Principles* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1988).

34. John E. Philips, "Wurno, Caliph Muhammad Bello's Personal Ribat and Sometime Capital of the Sokoto Caliphate" (paper presented at the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam, Tokyo, Japan, 22–28 October 1989), vol. 1, 253.

35. Hichem Djaït, *Al-Kûfa: naissance de la ville islamique* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1986).

36. The governor's palace, on the other hand, would soon move out of the center of Arab cities to a citadel, usually an elevated and fortified position along the city's walls, designated as the *qaṣabah* or the *qal'ah*.

37. This 1849 mosque must have been the forerunner of the Dinguiraye mosque (built 1883) whose khâtim design (figure 2.15) was described by Prussin, *Hatumere*, 228. It is noteworthy, however, that the tradition presented by Dieng has retained the

name of the architect of Dinguiraye's first mosque, Samba Ndiaye Bathily. Very rarely do we know the names of the architects of West Africa's historic buildings.

38. Samba Dieng, "Islam et urbanisme en Afrique de l'Ouest: La contribution de la Tijâniyya Umariyya," in *Islam et villes en Afrique au sud du Sahara: Entre soufisme et fondamentalisme,* ed. Adriana Piga (Paris: Karthala, 2003), 224.

39. DeLancey, "Moving East, Facing West."

40. Youssouf Tata Cissé and Wa Kamissoko, *Soundjata, la gloire du Mali, tome 2: La grande geste du Mali* (Paris: Karthala, 1991), 51–53.

41. Charles-Dominique, trans., *Voyageurs arabes*, 1033. The Arabic term mashwâr designates a place of assembly (possibly for "consultation," *shûrâ*). In Moroccan urban tradition, the mashwâr is a large walled court adjacent to the royal palace where the king revues his cavalry, receives ambassadors, etc. It is not a public square (*sâ<u>h</u>ah*, or *maydân*) in the civic sense, a place where citizens might meet and interact, nor is it a market square. It is a space specifically created for public displays of authority.

42. Djibril Tamsir Niane, *Histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest* (Paris: Karthala, 1989), 64.

43. Niane, *Histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest*, 44.

44. T. L. Fall, "Recueil sur la vie des damels," 117.

45. T. L. Fall, "Recueil sur la vie des damels," 117.

46 U.S. Army Map Service, coverage of western Senegal at 1:50,000, sheet G721-1337-II, 1950.

47. V. Martin and Charles Becker, "Lieux de culte et emplacements célèbres dans les pays sereer," *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 41, no. 1 (1979): 133–89.

48. Cited in Peter Mark, "Constructing Identity: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Architecture in the Gambia-Geba Region and the Articulation of Luso-African Ethnicity." *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 322.

49. Mark, "Constructing Identity," 322.

50. Amadou Hampaté Ba, *L'empire peul du Macina* (Paris: Mouton, 1962), 45.

51. The list of Senegal's registered historic sites and monuments is available online at http://www.culture.gouv.sn/, official site of the Ministry of Culture.

52. Joseph Ki-Zerbo, *Histoire de l'Afrique noire* (Paris: Hatier, 1978), 184.

53. Donald Wright, *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa* (London: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), 109.

54. See Pâques, *L'Arbre cosmique;* Alma Gottlieb, *Under the Kapok Tree: Identity and Difference in Beng Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); and Blier, *The Anatomy of Architecture.*

55. J. M. Dalziel, *The Useful Plants of West Tropical Africa* (London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1937), 119.

56. J. G. Adam, "Le Baobab," *Notes Africaines* 94 (1962): 35.

57. Bayard Hora, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Trees of the World* (Oxford: Equinox Books, 1981), 267.

58. G. Parrinder, *West African Psychology* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1951), 149.

59. Prussin, *Hatumere*, 117.

60. Enrico Guidoni, *Primitive Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 170.

61. Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *Histoire des villes d'Afrique noire: des origines à la colonisation* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993), 87.

62. Pâques, *L'Arbre cosmique*, 237.

63. Ki-Zerbo, *Histoire de l'Afrique noire*, 241.

64. Abdou Bouri Ba, "Essai sur l'histoire du Saloum et du Rip," *Bulletin de l'IFAN* 38, no. 4 (1976): 830.

65. T. L. Fall, "Recueil sur la vie des damels," 105.

66. Alioune Sarr, "Histoire du Sine-Saloum," *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 46, nos. 3–4 (1986–87): 231.

67. Robert Farris Thompson, *Face of the Gods: Art and Altars of Africa and the African Americas* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1993), 116.

68. Alain Sinou, *Le Comptoir de Ouidah: une ville africaine singulière* (Paris: Editions Karthala, 1995), 68.

69. Niane, *Histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest*, 21.

70. Charles-Dominique, trans., *Voyageurs arabes*, 1033.

71. Ki-Zerbo, *Histoire de l'Afrique noire*, 251.

72. Hachette, *Afrique Occidentale Française et Togo* (Paris: Les guides bleus, Librairie Hachette, 1958), 512.

73. Mid eighteenth-century French cleric Abbé Demanet, cited in Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 264.

74. Badara Diouf, "Le Gamou de Kahone: mythe ou réalité," *Le Soliel*, Dakar, 11 August 1989: 12–13. The wolof term gàmmu, which currently designates the celebration of the prophet Muhammad's birthday, originally designated any public celebration.

75. Marone, "Le Tidjanisme au Sénégal," 155.

76. Sarr, "Histoire du Sine-Saloum," 231.

77. Accompanied by Cheikh Oumy Mbacké Diallo, research assistant and resident of Touba, we were able to visit Mboul, Lambaye, Diakhou, and Kahone, as well as a number of other historic sites in the Wolof-Sereer heartland. The data collected during this field session remains fragmentary. What is really needed, given the lack of published research on the topic of Senegal's old royal capitals, is a proper study conducted by a team which would include a historian specialized in oral traditions, an archaeologist, and a cartographer. On site there is a great deal of local knowledge about the history and configuration of these places.

78. T. L. Fall, "Recueil sur la vie des damels," 105.

79. Moussa Dieng, the village head, was absent that day. His wife was kind enough to take us into the field and tell us of Mboul's historic trees.

80. The author was not shown this tree. It is Mamadou Diouf, in *Le Kajoor au XIXe siècle: pouvoir ceddo et conquête coloniale* (Paris: Karthala, 1990): 224, who provides a photograph of it.

81. Martin and Becker, "Lieux de culte," 165.

82. See http://www.culture.gouv.sn/, accessed 21 May 2005.

83. The last Bour Sine, Mahecor Diouf, died in 1969. By that date, his title was honorific and his duties entirely ceremonial. His mausoleum lies in the first court inside the royal compound.

84. Ba, "Essai sur l'histoire du Saloum et du Rip," 830.

85. Historically, the farba of Kahone was the commander in chief of the army, chosen by the Bour Saloum from among the oldest free families of the capital (Ba, "Essai sur l'histoire du Saloum et du Rip," 818). Today, the title is honorific and is bestowed on a senior elder among these lineages.

86. B. Diouf, "Le Gamou de Kahone."

87. Cheikh Anta Diop, *Antériorité des civilisations nègres: mythe ou vérité histotique?* (Paris: Présence africaine, 1967), 93.

88. Raymond Mauny, "Baobabs—cimetières à griots." *Notes Africaines* 97 (1955): 72–76.

89. This botanical explanation was provided to the author by M. Bocoum, Département de la préhistoire, IFAN-UCAD, Dakar, December 1994. The contents of baobab gourd fruit are used in Senegalese cuisine, which explains why seeds might be present in the stomachs of the deceased.

90. Adam, "Le Baobab," 39.

91. Martin and Becker, "Lieux de culte," 161.

92. Personal observation, August 1988.

93. Cheikh Anta Diop, *Nations nègres et culture: de l'antiquité nègre égyptienne aux problèmes culturels de l'Afrique noire d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Présence africaine, 1954), vol. 2, 352; and *Antériorité des civilisations nègres*, 246; J. Gard and Raymond Mauny, "Découverte de tumulus dans la région de Diourbel." *Notes Africaines* 89 (1961): 11.

94. Visited on 5 January 2002.

95. Djibril Tamsir Niane, *Soundjata ou l'épopée mandingue* (Paris: Présence africaine, 1960), 149.

96. H. Hervé, "Niani: ex-capitale de l'empire manding," *Notes Africaines* 82 (1959): 53.

97. Laborde, *La confrérie layenne*, 28.

98. Lawrence Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 152.

99. Gregory Maddox, Texas Southern University, e-mail message to author, 7 August 2004.

100. Simon Obanda, "La Palabre, un apport à la mondialité," *Géopolitique africaine* 14 (2004): 219-226.

101. http://capacity.undp.org/cases/. See also *Consensus and Peace* (UNESCO, 1980), and a study on "The palaver in Ethiopia" published in the UNESCO quarterly [*Cultures* 4, no. 3 (1977) http://www.unesco.org/courier/1999_05/im_all/flecheh.gif, retrieved 8 October 2003]. Several Web-based programs have also adopted the palaver tree as central theme: a Senegalese discussion forum http://forums.absolut-touba.com/ uses the *arbre à palabre* theme to organize its various discussions and activities, and the Georgia Institute of Technology has created *Palaver Tree Online*, http://www.cc.gatech.edu/elc/palaver/, a forum that links community elders with children for the purpose of fostering a shared sense of community history through the narration of life stories and oral histories.

102. Copans, *Les marabouts de l'arachide*, 91.

103. Copans et al., *Maintenance sociale et changement économique*, 140.

104. Schaffer and Cooper, *Mandinko*, 69

105. Amadou-Bamba Diop, "La Tidjannyat Mahdiste de Thiénaba Seck," 47.

106. S. B. Mbacké, *Les bienfaits de l'Eternel*, 106. See also Hizbut Tarqiyyah Web site, accessed 25 January 2004.

107. Guèye, *Touba*, 61.

108. Guèye, *Touba*, 78, 466.

109. Dieye, *Touba*, 75. The Guy Siyare has recently been developed by private initiative as a pilgrimage site.

110. Samb, "Touba et son 'magal,'" 743; Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*, 314.

111. Cissé, *Mame Thierno Birahim*, 107.

112. Cissé, *Mame Thierno Birahim*, 151–52.

113. Interview with guardian of Darou Mousty cemetery, 30 December 2001.

114. The root of the term al-jâmi' connotes a gathering or assembly and relates to Friday (*al-jum'ah*), the day of congregational or collective prayer, hence the Wolof term jumaa.

115. The Tijânî Friday Mosque in Tivaouane, under construction since 1984, is the second major occurrence of the dome plan in Senegal.

116. For architectural studies of the adobe mosques of the "Sudanic" or "Malian" style, see Jean-Louis Bourgeois and Carollee Pelos, *Spectacular Vernacular: the Adobe Tradition* (New York: Aperture Foundation, 1989); and Sergio Domian, *L'Architecture soudanaise: vitalité d'une tradition urbaine et monumentale* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1989).

117. Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics*, 34.

118. John Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973, 48.

119. Domian, *L'Architecture soudanaise*, 72.

120. Pâques, *L'Arbre cosmique*, 257.

121. O. Houdas, trans., *Tarikh es-Soudan* of Al-Sa'dî (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1964), 100.

122. Pâques, *L'Arbre cosmique*, 258.

123. Schaffer and Cooper, *Mandinko*, 39–49.

124. Personal communication, Ibrahima Thiaw, Archaeologist at IFAN-UCAD, Dakar, January 2005.

125. Bruno Chavane, *Villages de l'ancien Tekrour: recherches archéologiques dans la moyenne vallée du fleuve Sénégal* (Paris: Karthala, 1985), 65.

126. Bourdier and Minh-Ha, *Drawn from African Dwellings*, 144, 153–55.

127. Jean Boulègue, "Mosquées de style soudanais au Fouta Tooro," *Notes Africaines* 136 (1972): 117.

128. Marty, "Le groupement de Bou Kounta," 422.

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INDEX

ROCHESTER STUDIES in AFRICAN HISTORY and the DIASPORA

Toyin Falola, Senior Editor
The Frances Higginbotham Nalle Centennial Professor in History
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Sufi City: Urban Design and Archetypes in Touba is a geographical study of the modern Muslim holy city of Touba in Senegal, capital of the Mouride Sufi order. Touba was founded in 1887 by a Sufi shaykh in a moment of mystic illumination. Since the death of the founder in 1927, the Mouride order has designed and built the entire city. Touba is named for Tûbâ, the "Tree of Paradise" of Islamic tradition. This archetypal tree articulates Islamic conceptions of righteous life on earth, divine judgment, and access to the Hereafter; the city of Touba actualizes this spiritual construct. Important aspects of its configuration, such as the vertical and horizontal alignment of its monumental central shrine complex, its radiating avenues and encircling ring roads, and the actual trees that mark its landscape relate directly to the archetypal tree of Sufi theosophy.

The relationship between the spiritual archetype and its earthly actualization as a city is explained by recourse to Sufi methodology. The book employs a semiotic analysis of urban form, cartography, hermeneutics, field investigation and analysis of satellite imagery in order to relate contemporary urban design issues to overarching metaphysical concepts. *Sufi City* also explores the history of urban networks in Senegal since the emergence of autonomous Muslim towns in the seventeenth century. Finally, the layout of Senegal's modern Sufi cities is related to the monumental palaver trees that marked that country's historic settlements.

"Combining his geographic and historic background with his intimate knowledge of Wolof history and society acquired over years of field research, with Muslim theology and his familiarity with Sufism and its Judaic predecessors, Ross has developed an innovative conceptual-cum-physical model for understanding the nature of the urban phenomenon in sub-Saharan Africa. His insights have carried the study of African Islamic urban history and morphology to a new level of understanding, one which goes far beyond those that have dominated Africanist literature to date. This study is a must for anyone interested not only in the morphology of the Islamic city, but in the African fabric of settlement design-at-large."

—Labelle Prussin, architect; author of *Hatumere: Islamic Design in West Africa* (UC Press, 1986)

"Touba may be unique in the world of Islam, as a twentieth-century urban complex of wholly Sufi design and social purpose. With signal clarity, intellectual fervor, and exceptional sensitivity, Eric Ross introduces readers to the mystical depth and vibrancy of Touba, the second largest city of Senegal. *Sufi City* deserves broad attention, for its many contributions disprove any sense that sub-Saharan African achievements are peripheral to Islam or Islamic Studies."

—Allen F. Roberts, professor of world arts and cultures and director of African studies at the University of California, Los Angeles; and co-author of *A Saint in the City: Sufi Arts of Urban Senegal*

"A new and fresh look at African cities that bridges the all too frequent gap between African and Islamic studies, *Sufi City* will be of great use for researchers, professors, and students in urban studies, African studies, and Islamic studies."

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