

CHAPTER 8



BEYOND BROTHERHOOD

GENDER, RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY, AND THE GLOBAL CIRCUITS OF SENEGALESE MURIDIYYA

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THE PROMISE OF PARADISE?

Donal B. Cruise O'Brien wrote in his 1971 monograph, *The Mourides of Senegal*, that "the Mourides present their own system as one in which they labour unremittingly in return for nothing more than the promise of paradise, but it would (I think) be an error to take them at their word."¹ Cruise O'Brien, like many scholars of the Muridiyya of this period, sought to understand the disciples' devotion in body, spirit, and purse to the will of the spiritual hierarchy and the emergence of the Murid way as an economic force in Senegal.² He was among many scholars of the Sufi order who privileged an analysis of the state noting the ways Murid leaders have wielded their control over their largely agricultural base to extract favors from the postcolonial state and how the relationship between the state and the Sufi orders has contributed to what came to be called, not uncritically, *Senegalese exceptionalism*.³ Tariqa Murid emerged in the late nineteenth century in colonial Senegal around the Sufi scholar and *wali*, or friend of God, Amadou Bamba (1850–1927). Today, Tariqa Murid includes the devotees of the descendants and great *talibe*, or disciples, who have since inherited the *baraka*, or grace, and the ever-growing band of Bamba's devotees. Although a spiritual guide may be a central feature of Sufism, for Murid adepts, the significance of the sheikh derives from his or her genealogical claim of descent from Amadou Bamba and his (Bamba's) "redeeming power."⁴ This emphasis on the relationship to a sheikh as the surest path to salvation has distinguished this Sufi path from the Qadr and Tijan congregations to which many men and women in the region have belonged.⁵ Cruise O'Brien observed that the hierarchical organization of the Murid order—each branch

led by a *khalifa*, or head of each important family with connections to Bamba, who in turn would submit to the *Khalife General*, or supreme leader of the order, and succession determined by birth order—had roots in the endogamous hereditary occupational orders, or castes, which structured Wolof kingdoms in the precolonial era and continue to have a bearing on Wolof interpersonal, economic, and political relations.⁶ Many early converts to the Murid way came from the casted sectors of society including slaves (*jaam*) and warriors (*ceddo*).⁷ Although the disciples' deferential demeanor toward their masters had as much to do with the early intermarriage of the saintly families and those of high status (*géer*), that is, those belonging neither to the artisan (*ñeeño*) nor to the slave groups of Wolof society,⁸ caste is not absolute; and although it is determined by birth, it is relational such that relations of high to low come to configure all Wolof social interactions.⁹ The disciples' deferential bodily comportment and devotion to their leaders in the form of labor and offerings of crops, livestock, and cash were not indicative of the reinstitution of slavery, Cruise O'Brien argued, as the colonial Arabist Paul Marty suggested in his 1913 monograph.¹⁰ Rather, as Cruise O'Brien's interpreter Thierno Sow reminded him, disciples were often "boasting" of their offerings to the religious clergy.¹¹ Disciples were not "laboring in return for nothing but the promise of paradise";¹² disciples hoped to gain not only salvation, a position argued by Cheikh Tidiane Sy, but also security, social welfare, and a buffer between the colonial powers and later the postcolonial state in return for labor and economic devotion.

The Murid tariqa has become one of the most studied Sufi congregations on the continent, and some posit it has come to define scholarly understandings of Muslim thought and practice in West Africa.¹³ Cruise O'Brien's emphasis on the political and economic contexts in which disciples were purported to submit to their religious guides "like a corpse in the hands of the embalmer"¹⁴ offering labor, cash, and rights in persons (such as daughters for marriage) has been criticized for not giving enough weight to the religiosity of his interlocutors¹⁵ and for focusing more on structure than meaning.¹⁶ Recent scholarship on the Murid way has sought to mitigate the view of the absolute authority of the Murid caliphate.¹⁷ A new generation of scholars of the Murid order, most notably Cheikh Anta Babou and Cheikh Gueye, has sought to complicate the disciple–sheikh relationship, suggesting that the view of the extreme hierarchy between sheikh and disciple is a misnomer and pointing to recent events indicating a crisis of khalifal authority.¹⁸ If indeed the spiritual authority of the sheikhs might have been, or is currently, more restricted than described in the Murid literature, what do we make of Cruise O'Brien's insistence that Murid disciples "ham it up"?¹⁹ They have done so, he argues, because they have received tangible worldly benefits from the spiritual hierarchy; the disciple–sheikh relationship is one of reciprocal rights and obligations.²⁰ Although this may be in part a meaningful assessment of the disciple–sheikh relationship, I also argue based on my own field-based research that if disciples *ham it up*, they do so to mask what they keep back from the pressure to give. That disciples may not have practiced total devotion on the financial plane suggests that perhaps their Sufi guides were not the only persons in whom they were investing value.

The Murid order may be the most studied and most well known of the Sufi orders of West Africa. But the extant scholarship, focused as it has been on the state, the economic power of the Murid way, and the ability of the clergy to command offerings from disciples, threatens to fall into the kind of exceptionalism that dominated French colonial views of Islam in Africa as an African Islam, as a derivation from a supposed center—a view to which many Muslims in Africa, indeed many Murid

adepts, as Benjamin Soares rightly argues, would not agree.²¹ Has the effect of Murid studies on the study of Islam in West Africa led scholars to overemphasize the significance of the *tariqa* and its forms of authority in the lives of ordinary Muslims across West Africa as Soares argues?²² The literature offers little insight into the broader and considerably more complicated lives of ordinary Muslims, of men and women, young and old, of varying educational and occupational backgrounds in West Africa. The scholarship has been so focused on analyzing the disciple–sheikh relationship as pertaining between men and *brotherhood* as the paramount value that it tells little of the lives of its followers beyond the *tariqa*. Here I seek to dislodge the pervasive, and mistaken, emphasis on *brotherhood* by focusing on relations of hierarchy and difference among members of the *tariqa* and the role of women in particular in producing socio-cultural difference.²³ I look beyond disciples' narratives of total devotion by focusing on what disciples do not give to their religious leaders, and how the circulation, or keeping out of circulation, of particular forms of value produces sociocultural difference among followers. In so doing, I argue that attention to the forms of wealth and value that women control, and keep out of circulation, may produce a more complex view of the limits of spiritual authority and the significance of the *tariqa* to the lives of ordinary Muslims in West Africa. The extant literature on the Murid way with its focus on initiation (*njebbel*) and grace or religious blessings as the basis of religious authority has maintained that women participate little in the life of the *tariqa*. My female interlocutors disagree, however, not only do they contribute to the *tariqa*, they further emphasize the centrality of Islam to their lives through their search for religious merit, or *tuyaaba*,²⁴ which is often achieved through offerings of cooked food on ritual and religious occasions including pilgrimage, Tabaski (Eid al-Adha), Ramadan, birth, matrimonial and mortuary rituals, acts of charity and hospitality and *ndawtal*, or gifts given during life cycle rituals. The degree to which women participate in the *tariqa* and how their ritual practices during life cycle ceremonies are central to their articulation of what it is to be a *good Muslim* are under debate by Muslims in West Africa, and they are little reflected in scholarly literature.

In the late 1990s Cruise O'Brien's prediction that the outward migration of many male disciples away from Touba in search of wage labor and trading opportunities would lead to tenuous relations between these disciples and their leaders manifested itself instead in calls (*ndiggeel*) on behalf of the spiritual hierarchy to build a home in Touba; and eager to expand their following, many clergy sought to grant land, extending the domain of Touba to these willing disciples.²⁵ As the state implemented a series of neoliberal reforms, life in Senegal became all the more tenuous. Male disciples who had gone abroad in search of employment as wage laborers and traders congregated into prayer circles and organized contributions to build clinics and schools, extend the mosque, and provide infrastructure for the annual pilgrimage to Touba, which garnered the notice of their leaders centered in the sacred city. Individually, these disciples aimed to build a home in Touba where their eventual burial would further secure their salvation.²⁶ Touba grew to become Senegal's second largest city with an advanced infrastructure developed largely through the social projects of the prayer circles abroad. Yet, many women who remained in Senegal, particularly Touba, and its neighboring village, Mbacke, as wives, sisters, and mothers of Murid disciples abroad observed this housing boom with some derision. Abandoned for many months or even years on end, in half-completed structures, women complained of receiving a paltry sum of remittances, or none at all, which barely afforded daily meals, much less education and medical services, in the dry interior of the country. According to Fatou Sow²⁷, many of these rural women were to bear the brunt of globalization and

the reduction in state services including education, healthcare, and infrastructure, especially the provision of water and electricity. Women eked out a living selling street food such as mangos, millet beignets (doughnuts), and roasted peanuts; they served a single meal to their extended family at midday consisting of millet, black eyed peas, manioc, and small bits of dried fish when they longed for rich red rice, fresh ocean fish, and buttered loaves of French bread.

In addition to compelling followers to build homes and contribute to the extension of the mosque complex and infrastructure in and around Touba, the spiritual hierarchy also sought to encourage women to contribute to the order's social projects. Although many women suffered the financial loss of male kin and affines abroad who were unable or unwilling to send remittances, some women were the beneficiaries of men's efforts to secure processes of social production, at home in Senegal, through remittances of cash and cloth for birth, marriage, and mortuary rituals. Many women migrated abroad as traders, hair braiders, and restaurateurs, and invested at home and in homes in Senegal.²⁸ Some women became leaders in their communities through their stewardship of rotating credit unions and other financial schemes organized by nongovernmental organizations, which sought to fill the gap in social services created by the re-envisioning of the state. The vast organizational and financial potential of these women was sought after by a spiritual hierarchy claiming that women's demands for valued objects for family ceremonies drew resources away from the developmental and spiritual mission of the Murid way.²⁹ Both men and women gave offerings to the Murid way, invested in real estate, and financed their respective obligations related to family ceremonies. Yet prompted by the spiritual hierarchy, men complained that women diverted funds sent for medications, school fees, and the upkeep of homes and parents toward ostentatious display in family ceremonies, during which they displayed on their bodies vast amounts of cloth wealth, and participated in competitive gift exchange of cloth. Despite their concerns, as men boasted of their offerings to the spiritual hierarchy, they continued to draw discreetly on their social relations to obtain cloth for wives, mothers, and sisters. Men needed to negotiate the forms of value and wealth controlled by women to contract marriages, name their children, participate in the Hajj, and die with dignity.³⁰ Men helped women accumulate cloth wealth because they were concerned about the creation of wealth, or *alal*, and its connection to the continuity of collective identities based on descent relations. How then did men manage to *boast* that they gave generously to the point of penury to their spiritual masters and to secure processes of social production that cast individual and collective identities into the future? Attention to the ritual and reproductive activities of women, men's role in assisting women in these endeavors, and the efforts of the spiritual hierarchy to limit these expenditures by locating them outside of Islam, reveals a set of limits on what disciples can give to their spiritual leaders and the limits of spiritual authority within the Murid way.

ISLAM BEYOND *BROTHERHOOD*: WOMEN'S RITUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE PRACTICES

Cruise O'Brien maintained that his Murid interlocutors did not attach as much importance to the prayer formulas, or *wird*, and litanies, or *dhikr* that differentiated congregants of other Sufi *turuq*.³¹ Rather, his interlocutors emphasized initiation, or *njebbel*, a Wolof word that he defined as "the gift of a person without conditions," as the act that defined Murid affiliation.³² He reasoned that his interlocutors emphasized the

act of *njebbel* because Amadou Bamba was said to have promised paradise to those who submitted themselves to the will of a spiritual master. Cruise O'Brien's insistence on *njebbel* as the act defining membership in the Murid way was not reflected in previous scholarship. For example, Cruise O'Brien noted that Paul Marty's 1913 monograph denied the existence of rites of initiation and that Cheikh Tidiane Sy's work downplayed *njebbel* as a promise on behalf of the sheikh to assist the disciple in discovering religion.³³ It was Cruise O'Brien's insistence on *njebbel* that led him to claim that women were marginal to the *tariqa* because they did not perform this ritual of initiation. He wrote, "women do not normally submit themselves directly to a shaikh. A wife is considered to be attached to a shaikh through her husband . . . this makes their position marginal, as the Mourides clearly insist that to do the *njebbel* is a necessary condition of membership."³⁴ There were exceptions to this statement, which Cruise O'Brien pointed out as well; he observed that daughters of a sheikh would often *njebbel* to their father and that widowed women might also *njebbel* to Sufi masters. Yet it was Cruise O'Brien's position concerning women that contributed to the scholarly standpoint that largely focused on the disciple-sheikh relationship as between men.³⁵ Such a conclusion was further justified by pointing out that women did not lead public prayer; did not serve as imams in the mosques; and often lacked spiritual education and the requisite ritual purity (*tahara*), such as during menses and bleeding after childbirth,³⁶ to engage in religious practices including approaching prayer, the mosque, and reading the Quran.³⁷

Scholars of Islam based in Senegal have rightly criticized the lack of leadership roles open to women in the Sufi orders. Although acknowledging the contributions of feminist readings of the Quran by scholars interested in gender and Islam, Codou Bop argues that in Senegal, given the "ideological construction of notions of divine grace or *baraka*, of impurity, and of the image of the ideal Sufi woman, most women remain in unequal positions of power."³⁸ Fatou Sow argues that leadership of religious rites, including healing practices, in which women once held leadership roles, have largely been taken over by Muslim holy men.³⁹ Yet it has also been suggested by Christian Coulon, Penda Mbow and Eva Evers Rosander that Sufism may offer women more opportunities for participation than previously assumed by scholars of Islam.⁴⁰ Coulon argues that the lack of attention to gender by scholars of Islam is reflective of a pervasive association of men with public and women with private. To overcome this split, Coulon suggests a focus on *baraka* "even if women are excluded from public places of worship, nothing prevents them from having *baraka*, worshipping saints, or becoming agents of a particular marabout."⁴¹ The *baraka* of Amadou Bamba is considered to be transmitted through his daughters as well as his sons, and thus daughters also have the potential to act as spiritual leaders (or *sokhna*, as they are called).⁴² In addition, attention to gender reveals that women are enormously important in the configuring of genealogies that are the basis of men's claims to the status of sheikh and the inheritance of *baraka*, political office, and inheritance of land in and around Touba. Leadership positions are transmitted through men; but the mother's rank (in relation to hereditary occupational orders and her ties of descent from Bamba) plays a role in designating the highest positions within the *tariqa*.⁴³ The importance of women is further reflected in that the mother of Bamba, Mame Diarra Bousso, is remembered annually through the pilgrimage to Porokhane, her place of burial.⁴⁴ The wives of religious clergy also have privileged positions within the *tariqa*; they often have their own agricultural fields on which disciples offer their labor and prayer circles or, *dahira*.⁴⁵ Rosander argues that the pervasive emphasis on the political economic organization of the Murid order by scholars led them away

from attending to women's practices⁴⁶ including participation in Quranic schools, pilgrimages, and *ziyara*, or visits to masters, some of whom are female descendants of Bamba.⁴⁷ Lucy Creevey argues that although women do not make the *njebbel* to a sheikh, this does not preclude them from visiting religious leaders in search of advice, offering labor and cash, and generally proclaiming membership in the *tariqa*.⁴⁸ Moreover, as I mentioned, the spiritual hierarchy has sought out women for their financial contributions.⁴⁹

Arguments pertaining to women's exclusion from the *tariqa* and Islam more generally are equally inconsistent with my own observations and interviews with Murid women in Senegal and their statements about themselves. During my fieldwork, women began to participate in the rural work groups, or *daara* (*house or place*), such as that in Khelcom, a forest preserve signed over to the Murid clergy by the state for cultivation, which they were not doing in the 1970s according to Cruise O'Brien. I observed that *tariqa* affiliation was enormously important to women; and many women kept the *tariqa* affiliation of their father, or even that of their mother, even when they married a husband belonging to another *tariqa*. I witnessed both men and women prostrating to Sokhna Gedde Bousso in Touba daily in her home where she received her disciples as well as to Sokhna Mai Mbacke during the annual pilgrimage to Porokhane. Women also took a leading role in organizing pilgrimages, all-night prayer sessions, *dahira* meetings in their homes, and life cycle ceremonies to mark the passing of individuals from birth to marriage to childbirth to death. It was clear that women were enormously important to the order for their economic potential and ability to mobilize and organize followers often to provide visual effect for televised events. In the *dahira* women organized regular contributions to gain an audience with a sheikh and to support particular pilgrimages, religious visits, and all-night prayer sessions; they shared food and admired each other's dress. Women used the organizational structure of the *dahira* to support politicians, advance their interests, and finance businesses. As Coulon argued, these are not activities associated with the domestic sphere.⁵⁰ Thus it was not women's participation in Sufi rituals; it was not their visibility or viability that was the subject of debate among my Murid interlocutors.

It was the practices surrounding the rituals associated with reproduction that fueled fiery debates among Murid disciples. It is on this point that I suggest, contrary to Rosander, that the disciple-sheikh relationship does not "[cut] through family ties and ethnic and regional belonging."⁵¹ In particular moments in the life cycle, it may be the most significant social relationship; for example, the Murid way provides an important interstitial space for young men outside of marriage that is socially and morally valued. In the colonial era, answering the call of the sheikh afforded young men the means to obtain the necessary cash for bride wealth for marriage; often in return for ten years of service they were also accorded land on which to establish their own household. Even today, many young men escape the charge of being idle by devoting themselves to clearing the land at Khelcom for the *tariqa* or by assisting senior women in their ritual endeavors. For example, Rosander's substantial research shows how young men in particular seek to fulfill a wider set of social obligations beyond the disciple-sheikh relationship; they help women in the Mame Diarra Bousso *dahira* and in return receive cash and cloth to help finance their own marriages.⁵²

That marriage, birth, and funerary rituals have not been the subject of the extant literature on Islam in West Africa is striking considering how intensely it has been debated since the 1990s and how fiercely women defend their practices as a means of achieving religious merit, or *tuyaaba*.⁵³ I suspect that scholars of Islam did not

inquire into these debates in part because there has been a longstanding tendency in the West to associate women with biological reproduction, which is often assigned a negative value. Furthermore, scholars of Islam associated women's reproductive rituals with pre-Islamic practices and artificially presented two worlds: the pre-Islamic world under the control of women and the Muslim world under the control of men.⁵⁴ David Ames and David Gamble perpetuated the assumption that "in general rites which involve women seem to comprise more pre-Islamic elements, those involving men are more influenced by Islamic practice."⁵⁵ To purport that women are excluded from the world of Islam, or relegated to the realm of *popular* Islam or *African* Islam, is to promote an idea of Islam based largely on the normative and legalistic aspects of Islam⁵⁶ (e.g., textual practices). It is to bypass religious practices inconsistent with orthodox thinking and disregard or underanalyze our interlocutors' statements about their worlds. I make this last point, because at no point in my own field based research did women suggest that they were *less* devout, pious, or devoted Muslims or disciples of the Murid way. Women's practices have rarely been noted in the major monographs of Muslim West Africa because these works have sustained a focus on religious scholars and leaders, on the lineages of the Sufi masters and not on the mass of disciples; the latter may serve to broaden our understanding of Muslim thought and practice in West Africa.

The devaluing of rituals associated with reproduction by assigning them to the private and profane, another Western assumption that does not pertain to West African social and political formations, does not acknowledge the importance of these ritual practices in terms of how they connect individuals to the divine. As the anthropologist Annette Weiner has argued, a focus on the forms of value and objects of exchange enables one to move beyond a narrow focus on oppositions between male and female value systems, private/public, or profane/sacred, toward a commingling: "Women's control over political and cosmological situations and actions can be beneficent or malevolent, matching the ambiguous potential of men's control and power . . . Reveals sociopolitical ramifications of how women and men are, at the same time, accorded and deprived of authority and power. Men's autonomy is held in check, undermined, supported, confounded, or even, at times, superseded by women's economic presence."⁵⁷

Why should scholars relegate life cycle rituals to the domain of the private and the profane and assume them to be associated with pre-Islamic practices? What is the relationship, if there is one, between these seemingly non-Islamic practices and those of Islam proper as it has been defined by scholars of Islam? Throughout the 1990s Murid male talk associated women's cloth wealth, which was exchanged during family ceremonies, with *cosaan*, or history or tradition (not *ceddo*, or pagan) and opposed this practice to Islam. Scholars of Islam in Senegal often took these male categories of *traditional* and *Muslim* at face value; they dismissed women's gift giving practices and objects of adornment as "women's business" and folk beliefs and claimed, according to Cruise O'Brien, that Islam hardly touched the world of women. Women's devotional practices were not external to mainstream religious thought; they were not relics of pre-Islamic or traditional practice. Moreover, neither were their rituals associated with reproduction; despite the widespread conversion to Islam in the region in the late twentieth century and the incorporation of African subjects into capitalist modernity, the persistence of gift exchange during these events should not be taken as a sign of the persistence of tradition. It should be understood as a modern, dynamic, and critical phenomenon.⁵⁸ In fact, Soares argues that such seemingly local practices are often informed by supralocal discourse of Islam.⁵⁹ In focusing on women's moral

and material practices, we might understand the basis of khalifal authority differently by seeing that men do not entirely submit to their spiritual guides; they turn to women to help them conserve certain forms of value, such as those relating to lineage identity like land and cloth, in the face of the pressure to give generously to the clergy. As Weiner argues, although keeping some forms of wealth back from the pressure to give creates the illusion of conservatism, of something one might refer to as traditional or pre-Islamic in the Murid case, “the problems inherent in ‘keeping’ nurture the seeds of change.”⁶⁰

Women’s search for religious merit through the exchange of wealth in family ceremonies has become an intense subject of debate among Murids, because through these rituals and their control over biological and social reproduction women challenge forms of authority: the state and the Muslim leadership that excludes or devalues their participation and its particular vision of the Muslim here and hereafter. Women’s circulation of cloth in the ritual sphere of family ceremonies checks the potential for men’s offerings in the religious sphere to spin out of control.⁶¹ Here then I focus on the social labor and economic resources invested in the process of reproducing social relations of kinship and spiritual community. Kinship relations in particular are legitimated in each generation through the transmission of inalienable possessions such as right to land, cloth, and knowledge. This process is not without debate, because the exchange of wealth objects, whether between a sheikh and disciple or kin, is ultimately competitive and creates difference, hierarchy, and power.

BETWEEN THE CONCRETE AND THE CORPORAL: THE POLITICS OF VALUE AND THE GLOBAL CIRCUITS OF SENEGALESE MURIDIYYA

If Murid traders weave cargo and currency through official and unofficial spaces of the global economy, they also circulate the media of social production along these same routes: religious texts and images, cloth and clothing, and portraits and videos from life cycle ceremonies. They contribute to processes of social production, marriages, naming ceremonies, and the establishment of new households, made all the more tenuous by re-envisioning the state through structural adjustment programs and economic liberalization. Men and women construct and adorn domestic interiors and exteriors, bodies and fashions, to defy the potential for loss inherent in the desire to circulate valued objects and invest value in others to project themselves and their vision for their community into the future.⁶² They do so through their control of the circulation of valued objects; some of which are controlled by men (such as land) and others of which are controlled by women (including genealogies as regards birth, rank, and hierarchy, often expressed in the medium of cloth). Focusing on the global circulation of objects of value, such as money and cloth, and the relations they engender brings into relief Murid insertion into the global economy as well as the consequences for the politics of social production and the nature of religious authority at home in Senegal.⁶³

Neoliberal economic reform in Senegal in the 1990s spurred debates among Senegalese men and women over local social and moral orders: on life cycles and households, on gendered and generational bonds and struggles, and on the politics of value. In the 1990s the state and Muslim clergy attempted to reform the competitive circulation of gifts taking place during family ceremonies by reforming the *Code de la Famille* (*Family Code*), which regulates social payments. The 1972 *Code de la Famille*

au Sénégal, which legislates many aspects of domestic life including capping payments at family ceremonies, came under scrutiny by a new organization seeking to render the family code compatible with Muslim law, the *Comité Islamique pour la Reforme du Code de la Famille au Sénégal* (CIRCOFS, Islamic Committee for the Revision of the Family Code).⁶⁴ The Murid central hierarchy resisted the intrusion of the state into family matters, such as marriage, divorce, and inheritance, and sought to limit large social payments at family events that could erode the disciple–sheikh relationship signified by offerings, called *addiya*, already made tenuous by overseas migration in the 1990s. The debate over women’s prestations, and family law more generally, signaled that fundamental changes in cycles of domestic production and reproduction were underway, wrought, in part, by the 1990s overseas migration of Senegalese men and, increasingly, women.

Concrete Wealth: Cementing Social Relations

Murid men and women participate in two interlocking circuits of exchange. The first is the circuit of blessings into which disciples enter through offerings to Murid hierarchy: blessings that are both spiritual and material at once, because through them disciples gain access not merely to eternal prosperity but also to this-worldly wealth. Male disciples often make offerings of labor, cash, livestock, or crops as *addiya* to the spiritual hierarchy on the occasion of personal visits known as *ziyara* and during the numerous pilgrimages or *magal* that take place throughout the year. Offerings during pilgrimage serve to renew one’s vow of submission and contribute to the event. Initially, *addiya* contributed to building the impressive Murid mosque in Touba, and these offerings have since contributed to expanding Touba’s infrastructure as it has been transformed from a small rural village into a “spiritual metropolis.”⁶⁵ As previously mentioned, disciples are exhorted to build a home in Touba and may even receive a parcel of land near Touba from their sheikh to facilitate their efforts and expand the spiritual domain of Touba. Whether or not women give *addiya* is a subject of some debate; but it is clear that female *dahira* members do organize collective contributions of cash and cooked food, usually for the support of annual pilgrimages, especially the *Magal de Porokhane*. Offerings also reflect substantial difference of rank and wealth and can range from several hundred heads of cattle to a small envelope with a 500 or 1,000 CFA note.⁶⁶ Religious leaders convert their disciples’ cash offerings into the material forms of the spiritual metropolis Touba: a feat of architectural and economic development that aims to realize the vision of the order’s founding “friend of God” (*wali*), Amadou Bamba.

During the real estate boom of the 1990s, Murid men and women abroad sought to build at two strategic nodes in the Murid circuit: the capital city of Dakar—urban, cosmopolitan, and consumer oriented with vast markets, shopping, and nightclub districts as well as the major shipping port and home to the national airport—and Touba—with a colonial legacy as an independent administrative district and thus a tax- and duty-free zone and the holy center of the Muridiyya.⁶⁷ According to Cheikh Gueye Touba’s population doubled between 1988 and 1998 and its developed area has expanded from 575 hectares in 1970 to 3,900 hectares in 1990, and finally surpassing 12,000 hectares in 1997; more than 300,000 Senegalese out of a national population of 9.5 million inhabited or maintained a home in this rural region plagued with the weekend traffic of urban disciples seeking respite in the country, a visit with their sheikh, or a long holiday weekend and family reunion.⁶⁸ By 1990 Touba was

the second largest city in Senegal and a hub of rural–rural migration. As increasing numbers of disciples migrated abroad in search of wage labor and capital, between 1988 and 1989 Touba's annual growth rate was more than 19 percent. Much of this growth was artificially sustained by the remittances of those from abroad.⁶⁹

The spectacular growth of Touba at a time when most rural areas were in decline could be understood as the product of the purposeful activity of the Murid clergy to ensure its dominance. Not merely an agricultural town, Touba's very existence depended on its connection to globalized economic processes. Unlike the ad hoc growth of other African cities, Touba's rationalized development is iconic of the Murid clergy's view of their role in the global economy. Touba's development proceeded from the Murid clergy's control over circuits of production and exchange at local, national, and transnational levels and from their disciples' submission to this authority through their cash or kind offerings to the clergy. Touba homes, and the materials garnered for their construction, told of a vast array of international networks of exchange, of circuits of merchant goods imported through this village metropolis—ceramic tile, Italian marble, and European toilets and basins. They also revealed the financial linkages through which these merchants transacted commercial arrangements involving procuring, shipping, and remitting cash and merchant goods to fulfill filial obligations and spiritual duties. The fact that the builders of these homes lived their lives elsewhere—in overseas and urban locals—reveals the centrality of Touba as a spiritual center for these vast circuits of globalized exchange.

Securing land and homebuilding in Touba and Dakar for young men reflected the desire to invest in and create inheritable and inalienable forms of value. Touba has become not merely a representation of paradise; it is how disciples access paradise⁷⁰ through their industrious efforts to expand this Muslim community, the sacralization of work and interment in Touba. These homes gave both shape and meaning to spiritual endeavors. Aspiring homebuilders laid the foundation of their dwellings on the land in and around Touba to stake a claim to the property in this rapidly growing *spiritual metropolis*, or to benefit from free, although salty, water (an exceptional benefit given the drying up of rural villages as the Sahel expands) but also to generate an eternal sacred connection to the land and the collectivity that it signifies. Touba homes expressed a concern with death and final destiny; a devotee buried in Touba avoids intercession by the angel *Jibril* and thus ascends directly to paradise.

Corporal Wealth: Unraveling Social Production

The second circuit is the circuit of *honor* (*kersa*), into which men and women entered through their participation during family ceremonies. The legal functions carried out during marriage and naming ceremonies involved a male imam, or head of the mosque, and were often stated by men to be the central and essential Muslim practice to take place during the life cycle ritual. Coulon argues that the Sokhna or female religious leaders were prohibited from performing these legal functions.⁷¹ Women were also largely excluded from observing these legal rites, unless the child was to be the namesake of a senior woman, who would then be present. During the naming ceremony for example, men gathered in a room designated in the home as the *men's room* for the ritual naming the child, which was carried out by the imam. Men often gathered and paid the imam a nominal symbolic amount of money and then distributed kola nuts after the ritual, which they explained was an expression of baraka. Men also brought symbolic objects such as millet, *ruy* (a cooked millet porridge, which

might also be offered as cash by the same name), bottled sodas, tea, and kola nuts to family ceremonies. Commonly, a man provided a sheep or a cow for ritual slaughter, the meat of which would be distributed to kin and clients and often served during the afternoon feast. Gifts of food, of ruy, meat, milk, and millet porridge called *lakk* and kola circulated as hospitality, or *terranga*, and worked to bring new persons into relations of reciprocity and to create kinlike obligations with non-kin. Other exchanges were merely reciprocal, such as the gifts of sugar and soap given by women to the mother of a newborn or the millet brought by men (or symbolic sum of cash in its place) to a naming ceremony. These items tended to invite reciprocity but never compelled an exact replacement to the donor at the same event or to his or her relation at a later point in time.

The part of the life cycle ritual that the religious hierarchy opposed involved the ritualized exchanges of cloth and other objects of value that women exchanged, often following the afternoon prayer, and the ostentatious way they accused women of dressing to shine or *sañse*.⁷² Women countered that the clean and properly prepared body was beautiful in Islam, as were displays of hospitality, mutual aid, and generosity; such practices were expressions of religious merit, or *tuyaaba*. As an object of *baraka*, cloth embodied the relation of the person to the sacred. As Gillian Feeley Harnick has shown so beautifully in Madagascar, women in Senegal also bound the living and the dead through gifts of cloth to swaddle newborns and to shroud the deceased.⁷³

When women donned cloth, when they dressed well, they incorporated their ancestors' fame, authority, and rank into themselves; this was their *cosaan*, their history. While men invested in cement bricks and the land they claimed throughout the 1990s to defy the potential for loss through circulation, women invested in cloth, clothing, objects of adornment, and items to furnish their domestic interiors, objects that symbolized their productive and reproductive potential through their circulation. Unlike offerings made to the religious clergy, or items expressing hospitality during family ceremonies, gifts of cloth to female kith and kin ensured an eventual replacement, to themselves or their offspring, that formed the basis of future wealth and lineage continuity. Unlike other forms of wealth, cloth defied loss (of honor, of lineage continuity) through its circulation.

As men boasted of their offerings to the Muridiyya in the form of crops, livestock, and even cash, during my fieldwork I came to appreciate the ways men discreetly drew on their social networks to acquire cloth for wives, sisters, and mothers. Clearly, men and women were not individual agents, as Deborah Heath has argued, they achieved honor through investments made in them by each other.⁷⁴ In distributing resources to women, men were not merely giving money away, although some certainly complained that this was the case; they were ensuring a replacement in the future, either to themselves, through women, or to future generations. As far as women's worlds were underanalyzed by scholars of this Muslim order, so too were the forms of wealth they controlled. Textiles are thought to be ephemeral forms of value because of their potential to decay; yet as Weiner has noted, these soft objects often circulate in relation to precious metals, coins, and other hard objects. In the context of gifts to religious leaders, hard objects signified submission, whereas soft objects indicated the desire to keep something back from the pressure to give.⁷⁵ As Weiner has so brilliantly shown, by keeping some objects out of circulation women were "keeping-while-giving."⁷⁶

During feasts, women demonstrated largesse in the provision of food as hospitality, in payments to *griots* who amplified their reputation in these public fora, and in gifts of cloth to nondependents (such as other persons of high social status and kin). They aimed to create relations of inclusion and difference, to control persons, and to define

who they were in the present by reference to the past. Women gave, or *maye*, gifts of clothing as payment for labor at family ceremonies to cross-cousins and casted griots and slaves. During the family ceremony, more substantial and visible gifts of cloth and more scrutinized gifts were given to peers along the axis of kinship and filiation and increasingly along the lines of neighborhood, religious, and political affiliations. These gifts were classified as *ndawtal*.⁷⁷ Women said that they *gave* *ndawtal* (*maye ndawtal*), and *ndawtal* was loaned, expressing its inalienable qualities.⁷⁸ These competitive exchanges were recorded in ledgers, because to fall short in exchange was not a matter of individual deficit but of a lineage's loss of "its power to sustain itself for future generations."⁷⁹ Cloth gifts compelled a replacement because of their association with generational continuity.⁸⁰

Cloth embodied the reproduction of essential ties of kinship by its close association with the female body, especially as an underskirt, wedding veil, baby blanket, and funeral shroud and for this reason it was considered an inalienable possession. An ideal gift of cloth during a family ceremony would be strip woven cloth underwraps, or *ser-u-rabb*. Wolof women wore these wrappers as undergarments on the lower half of the body, never as an outer garment and never covering the upper body. It was only married women and usually senior women who wore these garments. During a naming ceremony, a baby would be swathed in woven skirts and later laid on a bed on top of a woven skirt. Similarly, a woven cloth would cloak the head of the paternal grandmother who held the newborn in preparation for its naming by an imam.⁸¹ When a new bride entered her husband's compound for the first time, her head would be covered with a woven skirt. Women also gave gifts of sewn cloth garments called *boubous*, which consisted of ten meters of hand dyed brocade cloth called *tuub*. Women would also substitute cash for cloth, which would also be called *ndawtal*; in fact, early on in my research, *ndawtal* was explained to me as cash given at a family ceremony by women. In consulting several ledgers of gift exchange, most of the gifts were recorded in cash rather than lengths of cloth, but the latter appeared occasionally as well.

Although strip-woven cloth endures as the central form of prestation for women, it is often supplemented by cash. Cash contains what David Graeber calls "hidden capacities for action." Cash, unlike cloth, more directly conveys potential for future exchanges because it is so easily hidden outside of ritualized exchange. As an object of adornment, a form of display, cloth persuades: "[B]y covering themselves with gold, then, kings persuade others to cover them with gold as well."⁸² A woman would give not only strip cloth as a prestation at family ceremonies; she would also wear as many as five layers of strip cloth under her boubou, creating quite a bulk. Not only was she like a king, covering herself with gold, she was keeping something back from the pressure to give and "the things kept allow a person to circulate other things."⁸³

Underpinning contests of ritualized exchange were ideas about high status, or a beautiful birth (*rafet-u-juddo*), thought to confer moral character including honor (*kersa*) and wealth (*alal*) expressed as generosity and hospitality. Family ceremonies were the ideal occasion to configure genealogies, which were important for Wolof persons seeking to maintain a society based on rank and patronage relations. Configuring genealogies was crucial because blood relations were held to determine one's status as well as one's social and moral qualities. Griots publicly praised genealogies in the context of feasts for Muslim holidays and life cycle ceremonies, oftentimes to aid women in the distribution of their cloth wealth during the latter. Therefore, refusal or inability to bestow cloth during family ceremonies was considered suspect.

The debate about cloth among Murid adepts appeared to be a debate about conspicuous consumption and the push for austere dress and demeanor among Murid

faithful. However, the debate was also about the nature of religious authority and the character of history, which manifested itself in a debate concerning women's authority in the ritual sphere. Cloth was an ideal medium through which to discuss the production of social futures and fortunes in contemporary Senegal given its role as a visual substitute "for history, ancestors and the immortality of human life."⁸⁴

This was not a debate about Islam and pre-Islamic traditions, or custom, but a dynamic debate about the nature of the present: the conjuncture of neoliberal reform, the rise of a religious elite, and the predicaments of social production amidst fiscal austerity. It was a debate about Islam in Senegal, and Islam elsewhere, in history, globally, in bodily memory and practice, and in texts. As Soares has suggested, rather than focusing on the normative and legalistic universe of Islam, we might "treat Islam as a discursive tradition that relates to a broader scriptural tradition of Islam."⁸⁵ In the debate over the circulation of cloth wealth, the categories of locally contextualized forms of Islam and global Islam were never fixed. That men and women debated whether the practice of exchanging cloth wealth was consonant with the broader scriptural tradition of Islam was itself a critical Islamic practice. In part, the debate about cloth was also a debate about gifts to spiritual masters as the essential act of submission and a particularly onerous obligation practiced largely by Murid disciples. The circulation of cloth in family ceremonies held the potential to be transformative of relations of gender and generation and most importantly of the boundaries of the Muslim community. Through the ritualized exchange of cloth and clothing with kin and affines during family ceremonies where the relations between high and low, asking and giving were amplified, women sought to generate new centers of authority and produce sociocultural difference. They employed a strategy of at once concealing and revealing their sources of wealth. This is why cloth exchange became the center of a contentious debate about the boundaries of the Muslim community and the state.

CONCLUSION

Although women accused men of long stays abroad, of not sending remittances to support the family, only to return home to invest in the construction of the house and to display their wealth through grandiose gifts to spiritual leaders, men accused women of squandering their (men's) wealth on flamboyant dress and displays of generosity at family ceremonies. Clearly, this was a battle over a particular vision of a Muslim hereafter based on submission to Sufi masters in contrast to women's control over the continuity of the lineage, its honor, wealth and nobility based on descent. Though Bamba opposed caste hierarchy, Islam never succeeded in doing away with caste-based distinctions, and the Muridiyya succeeded in transposing notions of hierarchy based on descent, such as *rafet judo*, onto the religious hierarchy. So although hereditary occupational castes continued to be recognized within the order, a new nobility emerged in the figure of the sons and brothers of Bamba known as the *Mbacke Mbacke*; and thus descent and difference, not brotherhood, persisted as a paramount value, and these relations of descent were to be worked out in family ceremonies among the religious elite as well as the mass of followers.

Attention to gendered forms of value, objects that women withhold from circulation, reveals that the disciples cannot be deemed an undifferentiated mass of followers; in fact, these objects of value are the means of generating sociocultural difference. Focusing on these caste-based aspects of individual and collective identities complicates our understanding of the Murid way where aspects of solidarity and brotherhood

are all too often emphasized at the expense of deepening our knowledge of the social basis of allegiance and the broader lives of Muslims beyond their membership in particular Sufi congregations. Moreover, attention to gendered practices reveals the ways in which women's practices often restrain male authority, particularly in the role as reproducers of the lineage, and mitigate khalifal authority to command the productive and reproductive potential of their followers.

NOTES

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1. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, 82.
2. Scholarship on the Murid way between the 1960s and 1980s included works by Ane, *La vie de Cheikh Amadou Bamba*; Copans, *Les marabouts de l'arachide*; Coulon, *Le Marabout et le prince*; Creevey, "Amadou Bamba 1850–1927"; Diop, "Fonctions et activités des dahira Mourides urbains (Sénégal)"; Dumont, "Le Mouridisme Sénégalais"; Vincent Monteil, "Une confrérie musulmane"; Cheikh Tidiane Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*; Wade, *La Doctrine Economique du Mouridisme*.
3. Cruise O'Brien, "The Senegalese Exception." For examples privileging the state see, for instance, Beck, "Reining in the Marabouts?"; Cruise O'Brien, *Saints and Politicians*; Diop, *Senegal. Essays in Statecraft*; Villalón, *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal*.
4. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, 84n4. Whether or not female disciples may perform initiation rites (*njebbel*) or whether male and female disciples may perform the *njebbel* to female descendants of Amadou Bamba is a subject of some debate; see Coulon, "Women, Islam and Baraka." Cruise O'Brien (*The Mourides of Senegal*, 109) indicated that adepts would rather recognize the daughter of a sheikh, in cases where the direct male line is distinct, than submit to a male figure whose genealogical claims were more diffuse.
5. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, 83–84.
6. For a discussion of Wolof caste see Irvine, "Caste and Communication in a Wolof Village" and Diop, *La famille Wolof*.
7. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, 84; Marty, *Les Mourides d'Amadou Bamba*; Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa*; Searing, *God Alone is King*.
8. Concerning marriages between Murid leaders and the noncasted aristocracy see Bop, "Roles and the Position of Women in Sufi Brotherhoods in Senegal" and Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, 84. On this point Cruise O'Brien remarks that Pélissier (*Les Pay-sans du Senegal*, 122) hypothesized that the Tijaniyya tariqa was more egalitarian due to the balance of its adherence's origins in the noncasted social orders.
9. Irvine, "Caste and Communication in a Wolof Village."
10. Marty, *Les Mourides d'Amadou Bamba*.
11. Cruise O'Brien, *Saints and Politicians*, 62n8.
12. Cruise O'Brien, *Saints and Politicians*, 82.
13. See Soares, "Rethinking Islam and Muslim Societies in Africa."
14. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, 85.
15. Robinson, "Beyond Resistance and Collaboration"; Rosander, "Mam Diarra Bousso"; Sy, *La confrérie sénégalaise des mourides*.
16. Soares, "Rethinking Islam and Muslim Societies in Africa."
17. Though it is apparent from Cruise O'Brien's monograph that he did not hold this view. Villalón (*Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal*) has also shown how disciples may not obey the leadership's ndiggel.
18. Babou, "Brotherhood Solidarity, Education and Migration," 153n7; Cheikh Gueye, "Touba: the New Dairas and the Urban Dream."

19. Cruise O'Brien, *Symbolic Confrontations*, 9.
20. Cruise O'Brien, *Saints and Politicians*, 63.
21. Soares, "Notes on the Anthropological Study of Islam and Muslim Societies in Africa." See Triaud, "Islam in Africa Under the French Colonial Rule," 169–89. For examples of these approaches to African, black, or popular Islam, see Bravman, *African Islam*; Stewart and Peel, "Popular Islam South of the Sahara"; Westerlund and Rosander, *African Islam and Islam in Africa*.
22. Soares, "Rethinking Islam and Muslim Societies in Africa."
23. For instance, Babou, "Brotherhood Solidarity, Education and Migration"; Coulon, "The Grand Magal in Touba"; Cruise O'Brien and Coulon, *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam*; Knut, "Sufi Brotherhoods in Africa"; Monteil, "Une confrérie musulmane"; Sy, *La confrérie Sénégalaise des Mourides*.
24. Rosander ("Women and Mouridism in Senegal") has also noted that her female interlocutors emphasized the importance of their quest for "tiyaba," which she defines as a Wolof word; I use "tuyaaba" based on the *Dictionnaire wolof-français et français-wolof* by Jean-Léopold Diouf, which defines the word as "Grâce divine à la suite d'une bonne action." Though I suspect it may be related to the Arabic *tayyib*, meaning all that is good such as things, deeds, beliefs, persons, or foods.
25. Cruise O'Brien suggests that it was Abdou Lahat Mbacke who initiated the call to disciples to return to Touba and build a home in *Symbolic Confrontations*, 44–45, and on land donated to disciples by the clergy see *Symbolic Confrontations*, 64. Scholarship on globalization of Murid networks includes work by Babou, Bava, Bredeloup, Carter, M. Diouf, Diop and Michalak, Ebin, Riccio, Rosander, and Tall; of West Africans more generally see, for instance, D'Alisera, MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga, Reynolds and Youngstedt, Soares, and Stoller.
26. See Ross, "Tuba: A Spiritual Metropolis in the Modern World" and Cruise O'Brien, *Symbolic Confrontations*, 65.
27. Sow, "Fundamentalisms, Globalization and Women's Human Rights in Senegal."
28. Tall, "Les investissements immobiliers d'émigrants sénégalais à Dakar"; Babou, "Brotherhood Solidarity."
29. Cruise O'Brien (*Symbolic Confrontations*, 46) noted that Abdou Lahat Mbacke was exceptional in that he encouraged disciples to meet their familial obligations first and then donate to the Murid clergy; In contrast, Gueye ("Touba: The New Dairas and the Urban Dream," 120) discusses the pressure experienced by members of the dahira Hizb al-Tarqiyya to give offerings, even at the expense of family obligations.
30. For further discussion of the relationship between cloth, kinship identity and life cycle rituals see Feeley Harnick, "Cloth and the Creation of Ancestors."
31. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, 87.
32. Cruise O'Brien (*Ibid.*, 85n2) notes that this word is also used in instances of slavery and with regard to a wife who is given by her parents to her husband; See also Copans, *Les marabouts de l'arachide*.
33. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, 86n2.
34. *Ibid.*, 85–86.
35. On this point, Creevey ("Islam, Women and the Role of the State in Senegal," 281) reversed her earlier position in "The Impact of Islam on Women in Senegal" that "women were not members and counted for nothing officially."
36. Bop, "Roles and the Position of Women in Sufi Brotherhoods," 1114.
37. This would not include postmenopausal women; Rosander, "Women and Mouridism in Senegal," 151.
38. Bop, "Roles and the Position of Women in Sufi Brotherhoods in Senegal," 1102. She cites for example, Hassan, "Théologie Féministe et les femmes dans le monde musulman"; Mernissi, *The Veil and the Male Elite*; and Mir-Hosseini, "Stretching the Limits."
39. Sow, "Fundamentalism, Globalization and Women's Human Rights in Senegal," 70.
40. Coulon, "Women, Islam and Baraka," 116; Mbow, "Les femmes, l'Islam et les associations religieuses au Senegal"; Rosander, "Women and Mouridism in Senegal."

41. Coulon, "Women, Islam and Baraka," 116. On this point, Rosander ("Women and Mouridism in Senegal," 151) argues that women obtain "less social recognition for the blessing they have inherited from the maraboutic lineage through descent."
42. Coulon, "Women, Islam and Baraka"; Rosander, "Women and Mouridism in Senegal"; Creevey, "Islam, Women and the Role of the State in Senegal," 291.
43. Bop, "Roles and the Position of Women in Sufi Brotherhoods," 1107.
44. See Rosander, "Women and Mouridism in Senegal."
45. Bop, "Roles and the Position of Women in Sufi Brotherhoods," 1111.
46. Here she cites the work of Cruise O'Brien (*The Mourides of Senegal*), Copans (*Les marabouts de l'arachide*), Coulon ("Women, Islam and Baraka"), and Villalón (*Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal*).
47. See also Coulon, "Women, Islam and Baraka," 117.
48. Creevey, "Islam, Women and the Role of the State in Senegal," 283.
49. Coulon ("Women, Islam and Baraka") attributes the increasing interest of the clergy in recruiting women to the increasing number of clergy members and their need to recruit new disciples to build their base.
50. *Ibid.*, 124.
51. Rosander, "Women and Mouridism in Senegal," 153.
52. *Ibid.*, 164.
53. Rosander (*Ibid.*, 152) suggests that women may in fact be more in search of religious merit because "their possibilities to get baraka through the mediation of the marabouts are more limited."
54. Coulon, "Women, Islam and Baraka," 114. Scholars who have argued that women are the maintainers of pre-Islamic practices include Trimmingham, *Islam in West Africa*; also *The Influence of Islam upon Africa*; Bovin, "Muslim Women in the Periphery"; Sow, "Muslim Families in Black Africa."
55. Gamble and Ames, *A Wolof Naming Ceremony*, 153.
56. Coulon, "Women, Islam and Baraka," 115.
57. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions*, 3.
58. See for example, Charles Piot, *Remotely Global*.
59. Soares, "Notes on the Anthropological Study of Islam and Muslim Societies in Africa."
60. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions*, 8.
61. *Ibid.*, 7.
62. For further discussion of debates concerning reciprocity see Weiner, "Reproduction: A Replacement for Reciprocity"; and Foster, "Dangerous Circulation and Revelatory Display."
63. For a discussion of the relationship between persons and things and how the meaning of objects shift at different moments in their circulation see for example, Foster, "Tracking Globalization," 285; and Comaroff and Comaroff, "Goodly Beasts and Beastly Goods."
64. For further discussion of this debate see Villalón, "Senegal. Islamism in Focus," 67.
65. See Ross, "Tuba: A Spiritual Metropolis in the Modern World."
66. The equivalent of one or two U.S. dollars.
67. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*; Gueye, "Touba: The New Dairas and the Urban Dream," 107.
68. Gueye, "L'organisation de l'espace dans une ville religieuse: Touba (Sénégal)."
69. Gueye, "Touba: The New Dairas and the Urban Dream," 107–8.
70. Ross, "Tuba: A Spiritual Metropolis in the Modern World," 223.
71. Coulon, "Women, Islam and Baraka," 131.
72. For further discussion of women's dress practices, see Heath, "Fashion, Anti-Fashion and Heteroglossia in Urban Senegal"; Mustafa, "Practicing Beauty: Crisis, Value and the Challenge of Self-Mastery in Dakar 1970–1994."
73. Feeley Harnick, "Cloth and the Creation of Ancestors."
74. Heath, "Fashion, Anti-Fashion and Heteroglossia in Urban Senegal."
75. Weiner, "Why Cloth? Wealth, Gender and Power in Oceania," 62. In Senegal, cloth, and in particular heirloom strip cloth, is not among the typical items offered to the clergy.

76. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions*.
77. I have yet to come across a description of ndawtal in the literature on Senegal with the exception of Mottin-Sylla (*L'argent et l'intérêt*), who describes this category of gift as that which is given at a family ceremony.
78. Some persons even suggested that gifts given by men at family ceremonies were also ndawtal, though they were never returned and were not recorded in a ledger or given publicly.
79. Weiner, "Inalienable Wealth," 212.
80. See for example Weiner on Mauss, "Inalienable Wealth," 213.
81. Ames and Gamble, "A Wolof Naming Ceremony," 150.
82. Graeber, "Beads and Money," 9.
83. Weiner, "Inalienable Wealth," 222.
84. Weiner, "Inalienable Wealth," 224.
85. Soares, "Notes on the Anthropological Study of Islam and Muslim Societies in Africa," 281.

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