

Ahmadou Bamba of Senegal

The Mourides

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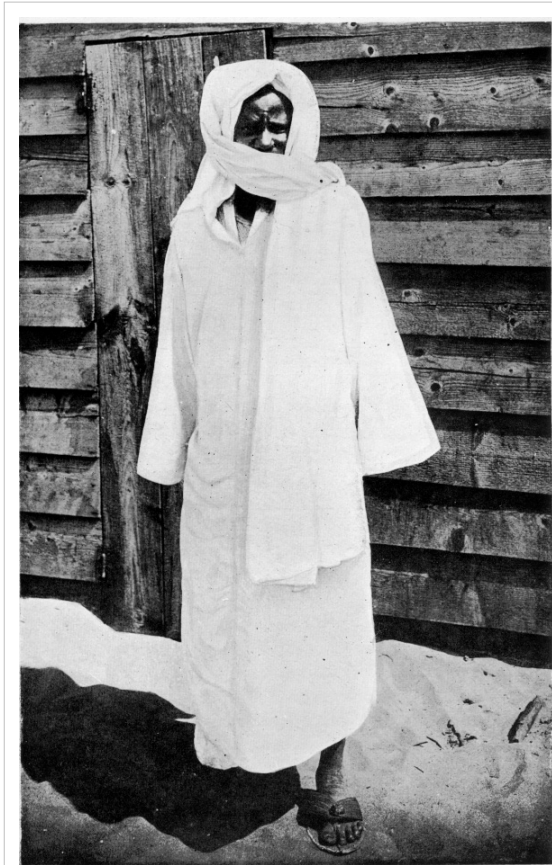
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Mouride

The **Mouride brotherhood** (*yoonu murit* in Wolof, *أبيديرملة قيرطال*, **At-Tarīqat al-Murīdiyya** or simply *مريدية*, **Murīdiyya** in Arabic) is a large Islamic Sufi order most prominent in Senegal and The Gambia, with headquarters in the holy city of Touba, Senegal. The followers are called **Mourides**, from the Arabic word *murīd* (literally "one who desires"), a term used generally in Sufism to designate a disciple of a spiritual guide. The beliefs and practices of the Mourides constitute **Mouridism**.

History



Amadou Bamba.

Amadou Bamba

The Mouride brotherhood was founded in 1883 in Senegal by *Shaykh Aḥmadu Bàmba Mbàkke*, commonly known as **Amadou Bamba** (1850–1927). In Arabic he is known as *Aḥmad ibn Muhammad ibn Habīb Allāh*, or *Khadīmu r-Rasūl*, "Servant of the Prophet". In the Wolof language he is called *Sëriñ Tuubaa*, "Holy Man of Touba". He was born in the village of Mbacké in the Kingdom of Baol, the son of a marabout from the Qadiriyya brotherhood, the oldest of the Muslim brotherhoods in Senegal.

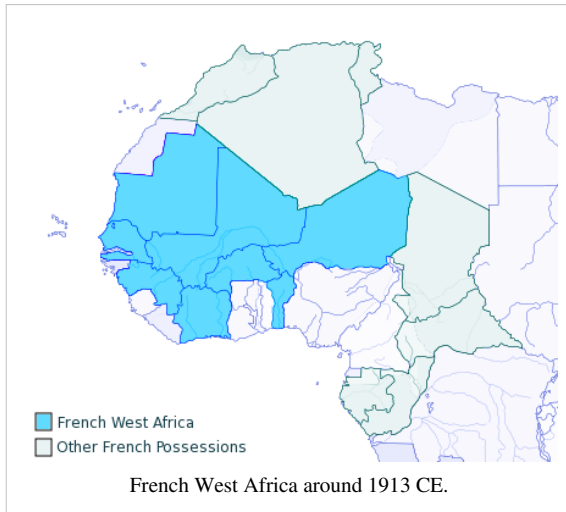
Amadou Bamba was a Muslim mystic and ascetic marabout, a spiritual leader who wrote tracts on meditation, rituals, work, and Qur'anic study. He is perhaps best known for his emphasis on work, and his disciples are known for their industriousness. Although he did not support the French conquest of West Africa he did not wage outright war on them, as several prominent Tijaan marabouts had done. He taught, instead, what he called the *jihād al-'akbar* or "greater struggle," which fought not through weapons but through learning and fear of God.

Bamba's followers call him a "renewer" (*mujaddid* in Arabic) of Islam. Bamba's fame spread through his followers, and people joined him to receive the salvation that he promised.

Salvation, he said, comes through submission to the marabout and hard work, a departure from conventional Islamic teaching.

There is only one surviving photograph of Amadou Bamba, in which he wears a flowing white robe and his face is mostly covered by a scarf. This picture is venerated and reproduced in paintings on walls, buses, taxis, etc. all over modern-day Senegal.

French colonial rule



At the time of the foundation of the Mouride brotherhood in 1883 the French were in control of Senegal and most of West and North Africa, as their empire continued to expand. Though it had shared in the horrors of the pre-colonial slave trade, French West Africa was managed relatively better than other African regions of the colonial era, enjoying small measures of self-rule in many areas. However, French rule still discouraged the development of local industry, preferring to force the exchange of raw materials for European finished goods, and a large number of taxation measures were instituted.

At the end of the 19th century the French colonial rule began to worry about the growing power of the Mouride brotherhood and their potential to wage war against them. Bamba had converted various kings and their followers and probably could have raised an army if he had wanted. The French sentenced him to exile in Gabon (1895–1902) and later in Mauritania (1903–1907). However, these exiles fired legends about Bamba's miraculous survival of torture, deprivation, and attempted executions, and thousands more flocked to his organization. For example, on the ship to Gabon, forbidden from praying, Bamba is said to have broken his leg-irons, leapt overboard into the ocean, and prayed on a prayer rug that miraculously appeared on the surface of the water. Or, when the French put him in a furnace, he simply sat down in it and drank tea with Muhammad. In a den of hungry lions, the lions slept beside him.

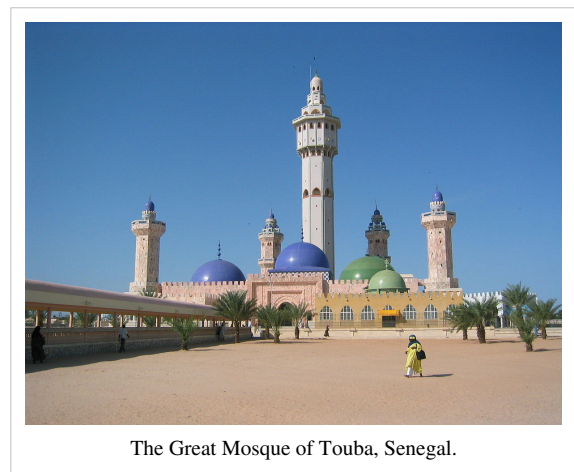
By 1910, the French realized that Bamba was not waging war against them, and was in fact quite cooperative. The Mouride doctrine of hard work served French economic interests. After World War I Amadou Bamba was awarded the prestigious French Légion d'honneur for his help in recruiting soldiers from West Africa for the war. The Mouride brotherhood was allowed to grow and in 1926 Bamba began work for the great mosque at Touba where he would be buried one year later.

Mouride brotherhood

Leadership

Amadou Bamba was buried in 1927 at the great mosque in **Touba**, the holy city of Mouridism and the heart of the Mouride movement. After his death Bamba has been succeeded by his descendants as hereditary leaders of the brotherhood with absolute authority over the followers. The leader (caliph) of the Mouride brotherhood is known as the *Grand Marabout* and has his seat in Touba. The caliphs up to Serigne Saliou Mbacke have all been sons of Bamba, starting with his oldest son:

- Serigne Mouhamadou Moustapha Mbacké (1927)
- Serigne Mouhamadou Fallilou Mbacké (1968)
- Serigne Abdoul Ahad Mbacké, (1988)
- Serigne Abdou Khadre Mbacké, (1989)



The Great Mosque of Touba, Senegal.

- Serigne Saliou Mbacké (born in 1915), caliph from 1990 until his death on 28 December 2007
- Serigne Mouhamadou Lamine Bara Mbacké, (1925–2010) first grandson of Ahmadou Bamba to become caliph

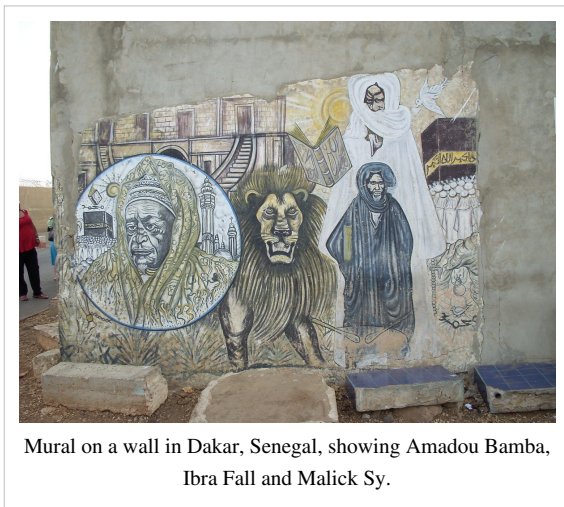
The *Grand Marabout* is a direct descendant of Amadou Bamba himself and is considered the spiritual leader of all Mourides. There is a descending hierarchy of lower-rank marabouts, each with a regional following.

Mouride beliefs

Amadou Bamba is considered a "renewer" (*mujaddid* in Arabic) of Islam by his followers, citing a hadith that implies that God will send renewers of the faith every 100 years. The members of all the Senegalese brotherhoods claim that their founders were such renewers. The Mouride beliefs are based on Qur'anic and Sufi traditions and influenced by the Qadiriyya and Tijaan brotherhoods, as well as the Islamic scholar Al-Ghazali.

Mourides sometimes call their order the "Way of Imitation of the Prophet". Parents sometimes send their sons to live with the marabout as *talibes* rather than giving them a conventional education. These boys receive Islamic training and are instilled with the doctrine of hard work.^[1]

Modern following



Mural on a wall in Dakar, Senegal, showing Amadou Bamba, Ibra Fall and Malick Sy.

Senegal

Because of their emphasis on work the Mouride brotherhood is economically well-established in parts of Africa, especially in **Senegal** and The Gambia. In Senegal the brotherhood controls significant sections of the nation's economy, for example the transportation sector and the peanut plantations. Ordinary followers donate part of their income to the Mouridiya.

The Mouride brotherhood has been courted by Senegalese politicians over the years. Recent prominent Mourides include Abdoulaye Wade who is the current president of Senegal and a devout Mouride. The day after his election in 2000 Wade travelled to Touba to seek the blessing of the

Grand Marabout, Serigne Saliou Mbacke.

Influence outside Senegal

The brotherhood has a sizeable representation in certain large cities in Europe and the United States. Most of these cities with a large Senegalese immigrant population have a *Keur Serigne Touba* (Residence of the Master of Touba),
a seat for



Ibra Fall.

the community which accommodates meetings and prayers while also being used as a provisional residence for newcomers. In Paris and New York City, a number of the Mouride followers are small street merchants. They often send money back to the brotherhood leaders in Touba.

In 2004 Senegalese musician Youssou N'Dour released his Grammy Award winning album *Egypt*, which documents his Mouride beliefs and retells the story of Amadou Bamba and the Mouridiya.

Baye Fall

One famous disciple of Bamba, **Ibra Fall**, was known for his dedication to God, and considered work as a form of adoration. Amadou Bamba finally decided that Ibra Fall should show his dedication to God purely through manual labor. Ibra Fall founded a sub-group of the Mouride brotherhood called the Baye Fall (*Baay Faal* in Wolof), many of whom substitute hard labor and dedication to their marabout for the usual Muslim pieties like prayer and fasting.

Sheikh Ibrahima Fall was one of the first of Amadou Bamba's disciples and one of the most illustrious.^[2] He catalysed the Mouride movement and led all the labour work in the Mouride brotherhood. Fall reshaped the relation between Mouride "talibes" (disciples) and their guide, Amadou Bamba. Fall instituted the culture of work among Mourides with his concept of *Dieuf Dieul*, ("you reap what you sow").^[3] Ibra Fall helped Sheikh Amadou Bamba to expand Mouridism, in particular with Fall's establishment of the Baye Fall movement. For this contribution, Serigne Fallou, the 2nd Caliph after Amadou Bamba, named him "Lamp Fall" (the light of Mouridism).^[4] In addition, Ibrahima Fall earned the title of *Babul Mouridina*, "the entrance in Mouridism."

The members of the Baye Fall dress in colorful ragged clothes, wear their hair in dreadlocks which are called *ndiange* or 'strong hair' which they decorate usually with homemade beads, wire or string. They also carry clubs, and act as security guards in the annual *Grand Magal* pilgrimages to Touba. Women usually are covered in draping coverings including their heads and occasionally are known to wear highly decorative handmade jewelry made from household or natural items. In modern times the hard labor is often replaced by members roaming the streets asking for financial donations for their marabout. Several Baye Fall are talented musicians. A prominent member of the Baye Fall is the Senegalese Musician Cheikh Lo.

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- *This article incorporates information from the French and German Wikipedia articles on this subject.*

External links

- The Online Murid Library (DaarayKamil.com) (<http://www.daaraykamil.com>)
- wikimouridia.org (<http://www.wikimouridia.org>)
- majalis project (<http://www.majalis.org>)
- Article on Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba as Peacemaker (<http://www.intlpeace.org/lit-bamba.htm>)
- A modest tribute from Tidjani Négadi (Oran University, Algeria) (http://www.au-senegal.com/art_en/religion.htm)
- A rare book bridging Touba, Senegal and NYC by Peter Bogardus (Khelcom Press, 2004) (http://blogs.princeton.edu/graphicarts/2008/03/amadou_bamba_day_in_little_sen.html)

- photo documentary about Baye Fall in The Gambia (Lisa Van Damme) (http://www.lisavandamme.be/baye_fall.php)

Amadou Bamba

Ahmadou Bamba, Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké (1853-1927) (**Aamadu Bamba Mbàkke** in Wolof, **Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb Allāh** (Arabic: أحمد بن محمد بن أبي يحيى بن محمد بن إدريس بن هارون بن موسى بن عيسى بن عبد الله بن أحمد بن محمد بن عيسى بن علي بن أبي طالب بن عبد المطلب بن هاشم بن عبد مناف بن قصي بن كلاب بن مرة بن كعب بن لؤي بن غالب بن فهر بن مالك بن النضر بن كنانة بن خزيمة بن مدركة بن إلياس بن مضر بن نزار بن معد بن عدنان) also known as **Khadīmu 'l-Rasūl** (Arabic: مَدَاخِلُ) or "The Servant of the messenger", and as **Sëriñ Tuubaa** or "Cheikh of Tuubaa" in Wolof), was a Muslim Sufi religious leader in Senegal and the founder of the large Mouride Brotherhood (the *Muridiyya*).

Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba was a mystic and religious leader who produced a prodigious quantity of poems and tracts on meditation, rituals, work, and Qur'anic study. Politically, Ahmadou Bamba led a pacifist struggle against French colonialism while not waging outright war on the French as several prominent Tijaan marabouts had done.

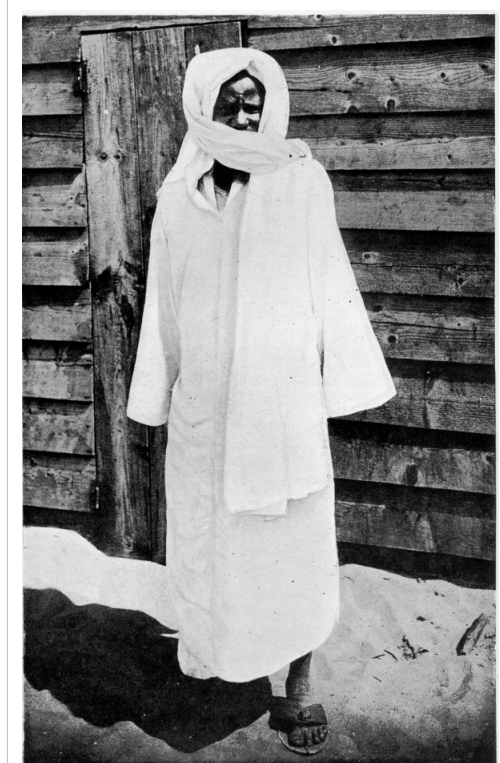
Biography

Shaykh Aḥmadu Bàmba Mbàkke was born in the village of Mbacké (*Mbàkke Bawol* in Wolof) in the Kingdom of Baol, the son of a marabout from the Xaadir (Qadriyya) brotherhood, the oldest in Senegal.

A religious prayer leader, poet and monk, Ahmadou Bamba founded the Mouride brotherhood in 1883 and the city of Touba. In one of his numerous writings, *Matlabul Fawzeyni* (the quest for happiness in both worlds), Sheikh Ahmadou Bamba describes the purpose of the city which he founded in 1887. In his concept, Touba should reconcile the spiritual and the temporal. Sheikh Ahmadou Bamba intended to have the spiritual capital of his brotherhood showing all the characteristics of a Muslim city.

Facing colonial rule

As his fame spread, the French colonial government worried about Bamba's growing power and potential to wage war against them. He had converted a number of traditional kings and their followers and no doubt could have raised a huge military force, as Muslim leaders like Umar Tall and Samory Touré had before him.



Shaykh Aḥmadu Bàmba Mbàkke

The French sentenced him to exile in Gabon (1895–1902) and later in Mauritania (1903–1907). However, these exiles fired stories and folk tales of Bamba's miraculous survival of torture, deprivation, and attempted executions, and thousands more flocked to his organization. On the ship to Gabon, forbidden from praying, Bamba is said to have broken his leg-irons, leapt overboard into the ocean and prayed on a prayer rug that appeared on the surface of the water, so devout was he. Or, when the French put him in a furnace, he simply sat down in it and drank tea with Muhammad. In a den of hungry lions, the lions slept beside him, etc.



Wallpainting of Amadou Bamba in Saint Louis, Senegal

By 1910, the French realized that Bamba was not interested in waging war against them, and was in fact quite cooperative, eventually releasing him to return to his expanded community. In 1918, he won the French Legion of Honor for enlisting his followers in the First World War and the French allowed him to establish his community in Touba, believing in part that his doctrine of hard work could be made to serve French economic interests. His movement was allowed to grow, and in 1926 he began work for the great mosque at Touba where he is buried. After his death in 1927, he has been succeeded by his descendants as hereditary leaders of the brotherhood with absolute authority over the followers.

Importance to Islam and anticolonialism

As the founder of Mouridism, Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba is considered one of the greatest spiritual leaders in Senegalese history. Mouridism is today one of Senegal's four Sufi movements, with four million devotees in Senegal alone and thousands more abroad majority of who are emigrants from Senegal. Followers of the Mouridism movement, an offshoot of traditional Sufi philosophy, aspire to live closer to God, in emulation of the Prophet Muhammad's example.

Amadou Bamba's teachings emphasized the virtues of pacifism and the importance of hard work, became in the 20th century one of the biggest influences on contemporary Senegalese life and culture.

As an ascetic marabout who wrote tracts on meditation, rituals, work, and Qur'anic study, he is perhaps best known for his emphasis on work, and his disciples are known for their industriousness.

In the political sphere, Ahmadou Bamba led a pacifist struggle against French colonialism while trying to restore a purer practice of Islam insulated from French colonial influence. In a period when successful armed resistance was impossible, Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba led a spiritual struggle against colonial culture and politics. Although he did not wage outright war on them as several prominent Tijaan marabouts had done, he taught what he called the *jihād al-'akbar* or "greater struggle," which fought not through weapons but through learning and fear of God.

Respected by Mourides

Bamba's followers call him a "renewer" (*mujaddid* in Arabic) of Islam, citing a hadith that implies that God will send renewers of the faith every 100 years (the members of all the Senegalese brotherhoods claim that their founders were such renewers).

Meeting with the Islamic Prophet

Cheikh Abdoul Ahad Mbacke, the third Caliph and son of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba declared that Amadou Bamba had met the prophet Muhammed in his dream, a tale that has become an article of faith for Mouride believers. During the month of Ramadan 1895 Muhammed and his companions appeared to him in a dream in Bamba in Touba to confer upon him the rank of *mujaddid* of his age,^[1] and to test his faith.^[2] From this, Bamba is said to also have been conferred the rank of "Servant of the Prophet."^[3]

Salvation through work

As Bamba gathered followers, he taught that salvation comes through submission to the marabout and hard work, a departure from conventional Islamic teaching. The Mouride order has built, following this teaching, a large economic organisation, involved in many aspects of the Senegalese economy. Groundnut cultivation, the primary cash crop of the colonial period, was an early example of this. Young followers were recruited to settle marginal lands in eastern Senegal, found communities and create groundnut plantations. With the organisation and supplies provided by the Brotherhood, a portion of the proceeds were returned to Touba, while the workers, after a period of years, earned ownership over the plantations and towns. The modern Mourides contribute earnings to the brotherhood, which provides social services, loans, and business opportunities in return.

Image

Amadou Bamba has only one surviving photograph, in which he wears a flowing white robe and his face is mostly covered by a scarf. This picture is venerated and reproduced in paintings on walls, buses, taxis, etc. all over Senegal.

The Magal pilgrimage

Every year, millions of Muslims from all over the world make a pilgrimage to Touba (Magal), worshipping at the mosque and honouring the memory of Sheikh Amadou Bamba.^[4] On one occasion during the pilgrimage, Mouride believers honour Amadou Bamba by facing the Atlantic ocean, to commemorate Bamba's legendary prayer on the water.

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External links

- Toubatoulouse.org to download khassaides, audio sounds and pictures (<http://www.toubatoulouse.org>)
- The Online Murid Library (DaarayKamil.com) (<http://www.daaraykamil.com>)
- wikimouridia.org (<http://www.wikimouridia.org>)
- Passport to Paradise: Sufi Arts of Senegal and Beyond (<http://www.fowler.ucla.edu/paradise/tour.htm>): exhibition and educational program from the Fowler Museum of Cultural History of the University of California at Los Angeles.
- Mouride.com (<http://www.mouride.com/>)
- daaramouride.asso.ulaval.ca (<http://www.daaramouride.asso.ulaval.ca/>)
- Majalis.org (<http://www.majalis.org/>)
- La Non Violence de Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba (<http://www.cheikhahmadoubamba-nonviolence.com/>)
- International Sufi School Khidmatul Khadim (<http://www.murid.net/>)
- Article on Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba as Peacemaker (<http://www.intlpeace.org/lit-bamba.htm>)
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- A modest tribute from Tidjani Négadi (Oran University, Algeria) (http://www.au-senegal.com/art_en/religion.htm)
- A rare book bridging NY and Touba, Senegal by Peter Bogardus. (http://blogs.princeton.edu/graphicarts/2008/03/amadou_bamba_day_in_little_sen.html)

Ibrahima Fall

Sheikh **Ibrahima Fall** (1855–1930) was a disciple of Sheikh Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke, founder of the Mouride Brotherhood movement in West Africa. Well known in the Mouride Brotherhood, Ibrahima Fall established the influential Baye Fall movement.

Neil Savishinsky (1994) contends that Sheikh Ibrahima Fall is “one of the first and most illustrious of Ahmadu Bamba’s disciples”.^[1] The Bimestriel Islamique (2000, December) claims that French West Africa called him the minister of economic affairs in the Mouridism.^[2] Ibrahima Fall catalysed the Mouride movement. Fall led all the labour work in the Mouride brotherhood. Fall reshaped the relation between Mouride Talibes (Mouride disciples) and their guide, Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke. Fall instituted the culture of work among Mourides with his concept of *Dieuf Dieul* “you reap what you sow”.^[2]

Serigne Bassirou Mbacké, son of Sheikh Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke, claims that Ibrahima Fall renovated the Mouride Brotherhood.^[3] According to Mbacké, Ibrahima Fall introduced giving money to Aamadu Bàmba.^[3] Mourides follow this practice of giving money to their sheikh. Serigne Moussa Kâ understands that “Fall initiated devoting ones life to his Sheikh in search of aura (Wolof *tarbiya*).^[4] Sheikh Diop (1980) confirms the great importance of Ibrahima Fall to Mouridism, stating that “Sheikh Ahmadou Bamba and Sheikh Ibrahima Fall realise the symbiosis of Mouride values, pray and work” .^[5]



Ibrahima Fall

Origins

Scholars have some general agreements about Ibrahima Fall’s origins. Neil Savishinsky (1994) states that Fall was descendant of a “tyeddo (animistic) lineage”.^[1] Another scholar confirms that Fall came out of an animistic tradition, but believes Fall’s family was prosperous and formerly powerful in Cayor. Other sources confirm that Fall’s grandfather, Damel Dethialaw, was a ruler of the Cayor state.

Family and education

Ibrahima Fall was born around 1855 in a northern village, Ndiaby Fall, Cayor. His original *tyeddo* name was Yapsa Khanth Fall. Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke gave him later the name Ibrahima Fall. Ibrahima Fall was a son of Amadou Rokhaya Fall and Seynabou Ndiaye. At an early age, Ibrahima Fall learned the Qur’an in a neighbouring village, Ndiaré.^[2] Fall achieved major Arabic sciences such as theology, fiqh, tafsir, grammar and rhetoric. Savishinsky (1994) tells us that Ibrahima Fall had “reputation for ferocity and extraordinary strength” ^[1] (p. 212). Another scholar claims that Fall was viewed as a troubled man who seldom went with his peers and often remained alone in the bush.^[2] However, all agree that the turning point of his life was Fall’s search for Shaikh Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke.

In Search of Aamadu Bàmba

One major study of Ibrahima Fall reports that two versions exist of his search for Shaikh Aamadu Bàmba. In the first version, Fall is rich merchant who travelled in Cayor, Jolof and Saloum. But after meeting Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke in Mbacké Bari, Fall gave up business to become Bamba's disciple.

In the second version, which is more commonly believed in Senegal, Ibrahima Fall in 1882 went on looking to Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke. Scholars state that Ibrahima Fall knew that his destiny dictated him to search for him. Without any knowledge of him, Ibrahima Fall went on looking for the best Muslim teachers. Ibrahima Fall tested Serigne Massamba Syll and after Serigne Adama Gueye. Adama Gueye conducted Ibrahima Fall through mystic ways to Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke in 1883.^[2]

Pact with Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke

The encounter between Ibrahima Fall and Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke defined the beginning of Mouridism.^[2] Savishinsky claims "Fal (Ibra Faal) performed his obeisance to Ahmadu Bamba in crown-slave style disrobing and falling forward to the ground."^[1] Serigne Bassirou (1995) narrates the famous speech that Ibrahima Fall and Ahmadou Bamba exchanged:

Ibrahima Fall: "If I found only your gravestone, be aware that the force of my intention would satisfy my objective"

Sheikh Ahmadou Bamba: "If I found only the stars and the sky that Muhammad watched at, I'm sure that I could attain my objective with my strong love of the prophet [...] Know that from this life, I'll neither protect you from sun nor provide you material goods. I accept you if you follow God recommendations".^[3]

In this way, the contract started between Fall and Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke. Ibrahima Fall became his 40th disciple. From this moment, Fall followed the *Ndiguel* "orders" of the Shaikh until Fall's death.

Introduction of Mouride Values

Within this contract called "Diebelou", Savishinsky claims that Ibrahima Fall displayed an absolute, slave-like devotion to his master.^[1] His "paste" (courage and devotion) served example for all Mourides. In fact, Fall started "growing food, cutting firewood, fetching water and building shelters and mosques" (p. 213). Likewise, Serigne Moussa Kâ tells us that Fall reshaped quickly the relation between a disciple and his guide. Ibrahima Fall instituted five rules of deference to the Sheikh:

1. Never stand at the same level than Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke
2. Never greet the Shaikh with your hat on your head
3. Never walk in front of him
4. Always do the "sudio" (kiss his hands) with the Shaikh
5. Always lower your voice in front of him

Ibrahima Fall himself supervised these rules.^[4]

Physical Description

In appearance, Ibrahima Fall had matted locks. Fall carried a black cudgel especially for making people respecting these rules. Fall also smoke a Western African plant called "pone". Moussa Kâ claims that Fall often begged in neighbour villages with a wood bowl, which was an unorthodox practice. When Mame Chiekh Ibra Fall was taking a haircut, S.Touba told him not to take a haircut today, because it is not a day to take a haircut and he didn't take a haircut because he didnt have permission.^[4]

Contribution to Aamadu Bàmba's mission

In 1890, Shaikh Aamadu Bàmba nominated Fall the third responsible in the Mouride Brotherhood. Fall had to supervise all manual works. With the exile of Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke, Fall's life changed. He moved to Saint-Louis, Senegal, to defend the innocence of his Shaikh. During Fall's negotiations with the French, Paul Marty recognised that Fall hid great intelligence.^[2] Another scholar cites the multiple Arabic poetries of Ibrahima Fall to prove Fall's intellectualism. Fall wrote also an Arabic book, *Jazbul Mouride*.

Exile of Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke

On 21 September 1895, the French exiled Aamadu Bàmba to Gabon.^[6] Aamadu Bàmba ordered Ibrahima Fall to work for Sherif Hassan. He did so until 1901, when Sherif Hassan died. In this interval (1895–1901), Fall kept sending money (in Wolof "Adiya") to the Shaikh until his return in 1902. On 11 November 1902, Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke returned to Senegal and awarded Ibrahima Fall the degree of Sheikh.

Return of Aamadu Bàmba

In June 1912, the French kept Aamadu Bàmba under house arrest in Ndjarèem, Diourbel.^[7] Consequently, Sheikh Ibrahima Fall followed him to Diourbel. In Diourbel, Fall created a famous district, Keur Sheikh. In Keur Sheikh, the Baye Fall movement consolidated and expanded very quickly. Many *tyeddos* became his disciples. In 1925, the French banned construction of the Touba Mosque. Sheikh Ibrahima Fall enclosed the area of the mosque with timbers Fall carried from Ndjarèem to Touba.

In 1927, at the death of Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke, Sheikh Ibrahima Fall performed among the first obeisance to the Shaikh's son, Serigne Moustapha Mbacké. Sheikh Ibrahima Fall participated in the difficult creation of the railroads between Diourbel and Touba. Sheikh Ibrahima Fall died 9 June 1930 after helping the succession of Aamadu Bàmba. He lies in Touba.^[8]

Recognition by the Mouride Brotherhood

Sheikh Ibrahima Fall obviously helped Shaikh Aamadu Bàmba Mbàkke to expand Mouridism, particularly with Fall's establishment of the Baye Fall movement. For this contribution, Serigne Fallou (2nd Caliph after Aamadu Bàmba) named him "Lamp Fall" (the light of Mouridism).^[9] In addition, Ibrahima Fall earned the title of "Babul Mouridina", meaning "Gate of Mouridism".

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Marabout

A **marabout** (Arabic: طوبّرَم [marbūṭ] or Arabic: طِبَارُم [murābiṭ], *one who is attached/garrisoned*) is a Muslim religious leader and teacher^[1] in West Africa, and (historically) in the Maghreb. The marabout is often a scholar of the Qur'an, or religious teacher. Others may be wandering holy men who survive on alms, Sufi Murshids ("*Guides*"), or leaders of religious communities. Still others keep alive syncretic pre-Islamic traditions, making amulets for good luck, presiding at various ceremonies, telling the future, and in some cases actively guiding the lives of followers. The common practice of receiving gifts or money for this service is disapproved of by orthodox Muslims.^[1]

The Maghreb

The term Marabout appears during the Muslim conquest of North Africa. It is derived from the Arabic word "*Mourabit*" or "*mrabet*" (*one who is garrisoned*)^[2]: religious students and military volunteers who manned the Ribats at the time of the conquest.^[3] Today marabout means "Saint" in the Berber language, and refers to Sufi Muslim teachers who lead lodge or school called a zaouïa, associated with a specific school or tradition, called a Tariqah (طريقه Ṭarīqah: "way", "path").

The pronunciation of that word may vary according the spoken Berber dialect, for example it is pronounced as "Amrabadh" in the Riff dialect. The "marabout" is known as "Sayyed" (ديس) to the Arabic speaking Maghribians. Many cities in Morocco got their names from local "marabouts", and the name of those cities does usually begin with "Sidi" (يديس) followed with the name of the local "marabout." The standard Arabic for "saint" would be "Waliy" (ولو).

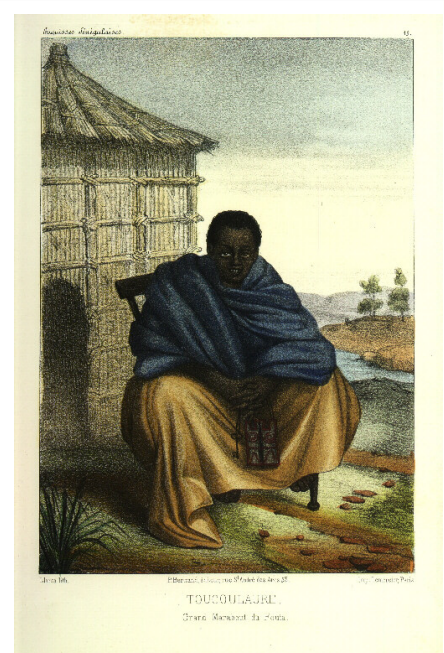
Syncretic holy sites

A marabout may also refer to a tomb (Arabic: قُبّة [qubba]) of a venerated saint, and such places have become holy centers and places of pious reflection.

The roots of this tradition can be traced back to ancient times when the Berbers believed in the polytheistic religions. Herodotus mentioned the tradition too, when he has spoke of the Nasamones bringing animal sacrifices to the tombs of holy men.



Marabout's tomb, southern Morocco



A toucouleur marabout, (1853)



Sénégalaise Marabout, (1890)

Some Zawiyas linked with specific marabouts

Note that these are not places of formal pilgrimage (limited in Islam to religious pilgrimages of the Hadj and Jerusalem), but are rather places of reflection and inspiration for the pious.

- Morocco
 - Sidi Ali el Goumi
 - Sidi Allal el Behraoui
 - Sidi Abdelah ben Hassoun
 - Sidi Moulay Idriss
 - Sidi fath
 - Sidi el Arbi ben sayyeh
 - Sidi Ahmed Tijani
 - Sidi Moulay Ali sherif
 - Sidi Hajj Hamza Qadiri Boutchichi
 - Sidi Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani
 - Sidi Abdel Kader el Alami
 - Sidi Moulay Ibrahim
 - Sidi Mohammed Ben Aissa
 - Sidi Ahmed Ben Idris Al-Fassi (Idrissiya and Sanoussiya)
 - Sidi Abu Lhcen Shadili
 - Sidi Abdeslam ibn Mchich Alami
 - Sidi Muhammad al-Arabi al-Darqawi
 - Sidi Muhammad ibn Sulayman al-Jazuli al-Simlali
 - Sidi Abu Abdallah Mohammed Amghar
 - Sidi Abu Abdallah al-Qaim bi Amrillah
 - Sidi Muhammad ben Issa al-Barnusi al-Fasi Zarruq

Or

- zawiyas:
 - Zaouïa Naciria
 - Zaouïa Cherqaouia
 - Zaouia Aïssaouia
 - Zaouia Tidjaniya
 - Zaouia Idrissiya
 - Zaouia Sanoussiya
 - Zaouia Al Qadiriya
 - Zaouia Al Alamiya
 - Zaouia Jazouliya semlaliya
 - Zaouia Hamdouchia
- Algeria
 - Sidi Ahmed Tidjani de 'Ainou Mahdi proche de Laguouate fondateur dela Tidjaniya
 - Sidi M'hamed Bou Qobrine Founder of the Rahmaniya (Algiers and Bounouh)
 - Sidi Abderrahmane Thaalibi Founder of the Thaalibiya (Algiers)
 - Sidi M'hend oumalek (Tifrit nait oumalek)
 - Sidi Moh'Ali oulhadj (Tifrit n'Aït el Hadj)
 - Sidi Harrat Benaïssa El Idrissi (Zemmora, Relizane)
 - Sidi Abd-Allah ben Mançour
 - Sidi Abid Echerrif (Guentis)

- Sidi Abou AbdAllah Ech Choudi El Halloui
 - Sidi A'hmed el Mejdoub
 - Sidi Bel Abbes (namesake of Sidi Bel Abbès)
 - Sidi Ben-Ali (Aïn el Hout - Tlemcen)
 - Sidi Ben-Ali (Nédromah)
 - Sidi Ben-Azzouz (Borj Ben Azzouz)
 - Sidi Bicinti el basco
 - Sidi Bou Adjami
 - Sidi Boudarga
 - Sidi Boudjemaa
 - Sidi Brahim
 - Sidi Daoudi
 - Sioud anta' El-Eubbad es-Saffi
 - Sidi En-Naceur
 - Sidi Et Toumi
 - Sidi Hamadouche
 - Sî ibn 'Alî Sharîf (Akbou)
 - Sidi Mohammed Ben Omar El Houari
 - Sidi Mohammed bou Semah'a,
 - Sidi Moh'amed Ou'l Il'afian.
 - Sidi Moulebhar
 - Sidi Qadir
 - Sidi Bel-Ezrag
 - Sidi Serhane
 - Sidi Soumeymane Ben Abdallah
 - Zaouia de Sidi Benamar (Fillaoussenne)
 - Sidi-Wahhab
 - Sidi Yahia el Aidly (Akbou)
 - Sidi Yakkout
 - Tunisia
 - Zaouïa de Sidi Ben Azzouz. Nefta
 - Zaouïa de Sidi Bouteffaha. Béja
 - Zaouïa de Sidi Salah Zlaoui. Béja
 - Zaouïa de Sidi Abdelkader. Béja
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 - Zaouïa de Sidi Abdel Hamid. Sousse
-

West Africa

Muslim religious teachers

Muslim religious brotherhoods (Tariqah in the Sufi tradition) are one of the main organizing forms of West African Islam, and with the spread of Sufi ideas into the area, the marabout's role combined with local practices throughout Senegambia, the Niger river valley, and the Futa Jallon. Here, Sufi believers follow a marabout, elsewhere known as a Murshid ("*Guide*"). Marabout was also adopted by French colonial officials, and applied to most any imam, Muslim teacher, or secular leader who appealed to Islamic tradition.

Today marabouts can be traveling holy men who survive on alms, religious teachers who take in young talibes at koranic schools, or distinguished religious leaders and scholars, both in and out of the sufi brotherhoods which dominate spiritual life in Senegambia.^[4]

In the Muslim brotherhoods of Senegal, marabouts are organized in elaborate hierarchies; the highest marabout of the Mourides, for example, has been elevated to the status of a Caliph or ruler of the faithful (Amir al-Mu'minin). Older, North African based traditions such as the Tijaniyyah and the Qadiriyyah base their structures on respect for teachers and religious leaders who, south of the Sahara, often are called marabouts. Those who devote themselves to prayer or study, either based in communities, religious centers, or wandering in the larger society, are named marabouts. In Senegal and Mali, these Marabouts rely on donations to live. Often there is an traditional bond to support a specific marabout that has accumulated over generations within a family. Marabouts normally dress in traditional West African robes and live a simple, ascetic life.

Child exploitation schemes

Some Senegalese marabouts have been accused of exploiting young students, recruiting young boys from all over Senegal and neighboring countries to enroll in their schools. These children are then forced to beg on the streets for money under threat of physical harm, while their teachers take the profits, leaving the children without proper clothing, food or shelter.^[5] This exploitation is in stark contrast to the tradition of Marabout-led koranic schools which have operated across West Africa for centuries.

Syncretic spiritualists

The spread in sub-saharan Africa of the marabout's role from the eighth through 13th centuries CE created in some places a mixture of roles with pre-Islamic priests and devines. Thus many fortune tellers and self styled spiritual guides take the name marabout (something rejected by more orthodox Muslims and Sufi brotherhoods alike). The recent diaspora of West Africans (to Paris in particular) has brought this tradition to Europe and North America, where some marabouts advertise their services as fortune tellers.^{[6] [7] [8]}

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Example flyer for a French-African "marabout"

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Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba was a mystic and religious leader who produced a prodigious quantity of poems and tracts on meditation, rituals, work, and Qur'anic study. Politically, Ahmadou Bamba led a pacifist struggle against French colonialism while not waging outright war on the French as several prominent Tijaan marabouts had done.

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