

Is the presence of a tomb desacralizing the Mosque? A Wahhabi-Sufi Controversy in Senegal

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Abstract

The Mosque, a sacred place in Islam dedicated to the worship of God, holds a pivotal role in the lives of Muslims. It hosts the five daily prayers and religious festivals, embodying the essence of sacredness. The debate on whether the Mosque loses its sanctity when it houses a tomb has ignited fervent discussions among Muslim scholars, particularly the Wahhabis and the Sufis. This article delves into one such controversy, a clash of perspectives in Senegal between a Wahhabi author, Ahmad Lô, and a Sufi writer, Cheikh Tidiane Gaye. Their literary works shed light on the contrasting views of the sacred and the profane, using the Mosque as a potent example.

The Muslim world is a tapestry of diverse cultures, religious doctrines, theological-legal schools, and mystical orientations. This rich diversity, a testament to the complexity and depth of Islamic thought, sets the stage for the varied approaches of Muslim authors and scholars to subjects related to their faith and practice.

One of the most contentious subjects in Islamic studies that is the presence of a tomb in a mosque. Can a person's body be buried in a prayer hall? Can a mosque be built where a grave exists? Can one pray in a mosque with a buried body? These questions have sparked intense debate among Islamic scholars, and they are closely related to the "Cult of saints," a subject well-documented in scientific research (Dermenghem, 1982; Mayeur-Jaouen, 2024). The "Cult of saints" highlights the veneration of saints in Islam and the various doctrines and rituals surrounding it (Chodkiewicz, 1995; Goldziher, 1971). In this Cult, it is essential to emphasize that the saint's body and burial site, by extrapolation, are blessed and attract intercession prayers (Amri, 2006; Fortier, 2006; Hamada, 2004; Terrier, 2019). The mosque housing a saint's tomb becomes a kind of *zāwiya* for spiritual practice (Mayeur-Jaouen, 2000). All these questions have been controversial among Islamic scholars (Gaborieau, 1994).

This article will delve into the mosque-tomb debate, which has sparked intense scholarly discourse. This debate, which took place between eminent Senegalese scholars Aḥmad Lô and Cheikh Tidiane Gaye (d.2010), is of significant importance for Islamic thought. Lô, a Wahhabi, and Gaye, a Sufi, engaged in a debate that has profound implications for our understanding of the sacredness of mosques. Lô argued in his *Taqdīs al-ašḥāṣ fī l-fikr al-šūfī* that the presence of a tomb in a mosque desacralizes it and leads to associationism (*širk*). On the other hand, Gaye, in his *Kitāb al-taqdīs bayn al-talbīs wa-l-tadlīs wa-l-tdnīs*, believed that there was no religious prohibition against praying in a mosque with a tomb. This subject also includes the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, which focuses the protagonists' arguments on both sides.

By delving into their writings, we will underscore the rich tradition of Islamic scholarship in West Africa, as manifested in literature, and gain a deeper understanding of the evolution of Islamic thought rooted in the historical context of their literary controversy. This historical context is crucial for understanding Islamic thought's development and the implications of the mosque-tomb debate.

Finally, this debate can only be understood in the context of Senegalese Islam, strongly dominated by Sufi brotherhoods, whose hegemony was challenged by Wahhabism from the 1950s onwards (Niane, 2017). This discussion is, therefore, part of the manifestation of ideological conflicts between Wahhabism and Sufism in West Africa as the two movements continue to intersect (Niane, 2021). Lastly, this article is a follow-up to another already-published paper on the controversy between these two Senegalese scholars (Niane, 2023).

Aḥmad Lô's *Taqdīs al-ašḥāṣ fī l-fikr al-šūfī* and the desacralization thesis

The 1955 native of Tawfek, near Touba, where he attended primary school, Aḥmad Lô, has traveled extensively outside Senegal. The first stop on his student journey was Sudan. Following this stage, he went to Egypt before reaching Saudi Arabia in 1975, where he met the famous Wahhabi scholar Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (d.1999), who mentored Mr. Lô and helped him enroll at the Islamic University of Medina (Niane, 2017, 242). On August 3, 1997, Dr. Aḥmad Lô returned to Senegal with a doctorate in Islamic studies; he is the most influential figure in Senegalese Wahhabism today.

Public speaker, founder of an Islamic university in Dakar, and author of numerous articles on issues relating to Islam in Senegal and West Africa, Aḥmad Lô owes his fame to *Taqdīs al-*

aṣḥāṣ fī l-fīkr al-ṣūfī (The Sanctification of Men in Sufi Thought), his two-volume work on the criticism of Sufism.¹

As the book's title (The Sanctification of Men in Sufi Thought) suggests, *Taqdīs al-aṣḥāṣ fī l-fīkr al-ṣūfī* is a critique of Sufism centered on the place saints occupy therein. Lô argues that Sufis sanctify their spiritual masters, and this sanctification leads them to assign sheikhs a place beyond their merits. According to Aḥmad Lô:

“Sanctification (taqdīs) consists in placing a person beyond the status that God has attributed to him, thus believing that he has a natural or acquired sanctity that requires us to submit to him and his orders without looking at their conformity with the Holy Qur'an and the Sunna. This is how one approaches the 'sanctified,' whether living or dead, with forms of worship that only God deserves.” (Lô, 2002, vol. I, 45)

Aḥmad Lô's criticism of our subject is based on this theoretical framework. By an excess of sanctification, the attachment of Sufis to dead spiritual masters could give way to their worship, especially when their tombs are the site of spiritual practice. This approach places Lô's thinking within the Wahhabi tradition, which has not hesitated to label Sufis as grave worshippers (*qubūriyyūn*) at every opportunity (Knysh, 2001, 404; Niane, 2019, 61; Thurston, 2018, 801). From Lô's point of view, the place of the dead is in cemeteries, not in a *zāwiya*, let alone a mosque, where disciples go in search of intercession.

The question of tombs in worship places is addressed in the second volume of *Taqdīs al-aṣḥāṣ fī l-fīkr al-ṣūfī*, more specifically, its second chapter. This latter deals more broadly with “the manifestations of the sanctification of the dead in Sufi thought (*maẓāhir al-taqdīs al-ḥāṣṣ bi-l-amwāt fī l-fīkr al-ṣūfī*)” (Lô, 2002, vol. II, 6-169). It comprises four sections; the second particularly interesting to us is entitled “Construction of domes and shrines on the tombs of the sanctified (*iqāmat al-maṣāhid wa-l-qibāb 'alā qubūr al-muqaddasīn*)” (*ibid.*, 53-93). It comprises four subsections, the first two of which will be the subject of our analysis.

The first question raised by Aḥmad Lô is about the construction of tombs. This digression was necessary in order to appreciate better the situation of mosques containing the bodies of the dead, insofar as most of the time, the graves of the deceased are built on. Lô goes on to say that this construction on the graves themselves is forbidden by religion. His first argument is that the origin of this would be “an old practice invented by Satan the accursed (*sunna qadīma sanna-hā al-Ṣayṭān al-la'īn*)” (*ibid.*, 54). What is the invention for? According to Lô, Satan did

¹ For more details on Aḥmad Lô's biography, see: <http://www.soninkara.org/forum-soninkara/religions-soninke-f3/topic367.html>. [Accessed 11/11/2024]

so when confronted with a believing society exclusively versed in the Oneness of God. He deployed his strategy to face them:

“This reality hurt Iblīs; may God curse him. So he labored to pervert their belief [...]. He found no better way than by pushing them into sanctifying the pious (taqdīs al-ašḥāṣ al-ṣāliḥīn) so that they would worship the religious instead of God. Building on tombs could be the source, and he got what he wanted (ibid.).

Since Satan is the inventor of this practice, the direct consequence would be to say that all those who build on graves, especially Sufis, are on the path of the Devil and not on that of God. Moreover, that is what Lô is saying:

“Those who do this follow Iblīs. He is their guide and reference (imāmu-hum wa-matbū’uhum). They are his followers and soldiers, whether they want to be or not, until they repent and return to the community of belief and good deeds (hum atbā’u-hū wa-ḡunūdu-hū; sā’ū am abaw ḥattā yatūbū wa-yarḡī’ū ilā ḥazīrat al-īmān wa-l-’amal al-ṣāliḥi)” (ibid., 56).

Lô’s position deserves a closer look. To justify his thesis, he refers to the Qur’an 71:23-24 about Noah and his detractors who refused to follow his path. The verses say:

“Noah said, ‘My Lord, they disobeyed me and followed those whose wealth and children increase them in naught but loss.’ And they devised a mighty plot, saying, ‘Do not leave your gods; do not leave Wadd or Suwā’, or Yagūth, Ya’ūq, or Nasr.’ Many indeed have they led astray; and it increases the wrongdoers in naught but error.”¹

Taqdīs al-ašḥāṣ fī l-fīkr al-ṣūfī’ author comments on these verses by saying that:

“These five were pious worshippers of God. When they died, Satan whispered to their people the idea of putting stones on their graves and worshipping them. He led them to believe that this would remind them of their good deeds so that they would imitate them. Satan then urged the next generation to worship them instead of God, making them believe that their ancestors worshipped them. They thus followed him, and God sent Noah to call them to the exclusive worship of God.” (Lô, 2002, vol. II, 55)

The truth is that Lô exaggerates his interpretation compared to classic treatises on *tafsīr*, one of the oldest and most famous of which is the *Ĝāmi’ al-bayān ‘an ta’wīl āy al-Qur’ān* by Muḥammad b. Ĝarīr al-Ṭabarī (d.923). In his monumental commentary on the Qur’an, Ṭabarī says the five mentioned in the verse were pious men with disciples. However, when they died, there was no question of building on their graves, but instead of making statues that resembled them so that these would be the disciple’s sources of motivation in the worship of God. The next generation began to worship them (Ṭabarī, 2001, vol. XXIII, 303). On the other hand, it is essential to note that nothing in the verse suggests building on tombs, undermining Lô’s extrapolation.

Aside from the thesis that building on tombs is Satan’s idea, Lô mobilizes several hadiths from the Prophet forbidding such construction before arguing that it is strictly prohibited and

¹ We refer here to the translation of the Qur’an edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Cf., (Nasr et al., 2015).

that it is obligatory to demolish any tomb on which there is a construction (Lô, 2002, vol. II, 59).

What about the Mosque with a tomb in it? Lô's position is self-evident. Since only God deserves worship, and building on the grave is a prohibition, it is unacceptable to pray in a mosque with a grave. This argument is firmly rooted in several hadiths, including the one narrated by the companion Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥudrī, which states that "the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him, forbade building on graves, sitting on them or praying over them (*nahā an yubnā 'alā l-qubūr aw yuq'ad 'alay-hā aw yuṣallā 'alay-hā*)" (*ibid.*, 61). Another hadith, reported by Muslim b. Ḥağğāğ (d.875) in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, reinforces Lo's opinion. According to Muslim, the Prophet said, "Do not sit on graves and do not go to them in your prayer (*lā tağlisū 'alā l-qubūr wa-lā tuṣallū ilay-hā*)" (*ibid.*). Lô comments on these two texts, saying, "We can deduce from these direct and straightforward hadiths the prohibition of building a mosque on the tomb, praying on or towards a grave" (*ibid.*).

Lô's ban on praying in a mosque with a tomb is based on the same arguments as his warning against construction: criticism of sanctification. For him, sanctification leads to associationism, as we have already seen. Since the Mosque is the place to worship God, Lô judges that:

"it is forbidden to build mosques on tombs, be they the tombs of prophets and saints, to avoid falling into širk (taḥrīm binā' al-masāğid 'alā l-qubūr wa law kānat qubūr anbiyā' aw ṣāliḥīn tawqīyan li-l-wuqū' fī l- širk). Furthermore, taking graves as places of worship is a practice of the accursed Jews and Christians (ittiḥād al-qubūr masāğid min fī l-al-yahūd wa-l-naṣārā al-mal'ūnīn)." (ibid., 64)

According to Muslim texts, the Mosque is a sacred place, the House of God. With Lô, it loses its sanctity when it houses a tomb. From Aḥmad Lô's point of view, Sufis are the only ones who handle these sanctuaries "in a way that resembles the actions of idolaters (*bi-ṭarīqa tušbih ṭarīqat 'ubbād al-awṭān*)" (*ibid.*, 72-73). This comparison serves as a weighty critique of the Mosque, which houses tombs.

It is important to emphasize, before concluding this section, that Aḥmad Lô's position on the subject is, in fact, that of all Wahhabi authors, as shown by several opinions, including that of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Bāz (d.1999)¹ and Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-'Uṭaymīn (d.2001)², two leaders of modern Wahhabism.

¹ Cf., <https://binbaz.org.sa/fatwas/18692/>, هل تجوز الصلاة في المسجد الذي فيه قبر (Accessed 14-11-2024).

² Cf., <https://ar.islamway.net/fatwa/76025/>, حكم الصلاة بمسجد به قبر (Accessed 14-11-2024).

Cheikh Tidiane Gaye's *Kitāb al-taqdīs bayn al-talbīs wa-l-tadlīs wa-l-tadnīs* and the rehabilitation thesis

Cheikh Tidiane Gaye (d.2011), the author of the response to Aḥmad Lô's book, was born in 1957 in Louga, Senegal. He was initiated into the Tijāniyya Sufi order at an early age, and became a *muqaddam*, a role in which he was responsible for the spiritual education of many young people in his locality. Gaye furthered his studies in Egypt and Libya, where he spent much of his university career. He was also an Arabic language inspector and the author of eighteen books on Sufism, the Tijāniyya, and the teaching of Arabic in Senegal. His *Kitāb al-taqdīs bayn al-talbīs wa-l-tadlīs wa-l-tadnīs* (Sanctification, a book between feint, intellectual fraud, and profanation) is the one which concerns this article. This book is a critique of *Taqdīs al-aṣḥāṣ fī l-fikr al-ṣūfī* by Aḥmad Lô, providing insight into his scholarly work.

While Aḥmad Lô says his book was written to warn against sanctification in Sufism, as we saw above, for his part, Cheikh Tidiane Gaye claims he penned it to protect against the dangers of *Taqdīs al-aṣḥāṣ fī l-fikr al-ṣūfī*:

“Recently (1996), the Riyadh-based publishing house *Dār al-ḥijra li-l-naṣr wa-l-tawzī‘* published a book entitled *Taqdīs al-aṣḥāṣ fī l-fikr al-ṣūfī*, signed by a Senegalese named Muḥammad Aḥmad Lô. I had skimmed the book before throwing it into the basket of repetitive insults that appear here and there [...] written by people who hate Sufism [...]. However, the new edition and its rapid spread herald a great danger. Immature youths and pure intellects could be sullied and impured by aberrations, falsifications, and delusions that cannot be excused. Nevertheless, silence is even more dangerous in the face of these highly dangerous offenses. Besides, he who is silent when the truth must be told is a dumb Satan (*al-sākit ‘an al-ḥaqq ṣayṭān aḥras*). For this reason, I have taken up my pen to dispel the slightest doubts and shed light on the lies that, in the eyes of the reader, dance between the lines of this strange work.” (Gaye, 1997, 2–3)

Gaye replies, point by point, to Lô's various criticisms. The subject that concerns us in this article is addressed in the ninth chapter entitled “Necessary lessons (*durūs lā budda minhā*)” (Gaye, 1997, 207–247). In this chapter, Cheikh Tidiane Gaye sets out to teach six lessons to his detractor. The sixth defends the thesis that the example of the “Prophet's tomb is proof of the legality of building on graves and the existence of mausoleums in mosques (*al-dars al-sādis fī anna qabr al-Nabī ṣallā Allāh ‘alay-hi wa sallam yuḡīz al-binā’ fī l-qubūr wa-l-ṣalāt fī masḡid fī-hi qabr*)” (Gaye, 1997, 238–247). It is then a response to Lô's thesis saying “it is forbidden to build mosques on tombs, be they the tombs of prophets and saints” (Lô, 2002, vol. II, 64).

Gaye's central thesis is that it is permissible to build on graves and that a mosque housing a tomb is still sacred. Was he unaware of the hadiths cited by Lô? No, Gaye knew them well and even said many were authentic. The existence of the texts, he says, is “a reality we must admit

(*hādī-hī ḥaqīqa yağib an nuqarrira-hā*)” (Gaye, 1997, 238). The way he approaches them distinguishes him from Aḥmad Lō.

While Lō prioritizes hadiths, Gaye attaches greater importance to how Muslim scholars have dealt with these texts. For him, therefore, “the issue is not about the authenticity or otherwise of the hadiths, but rather the attitude of the Muḥammadian Umma towards those dealing with the question” (*ibid.*). Thus, Gaye says the relevant hadiths did not prevent the Prophet from being buried in a constructed room (*ibid.*). However, it is surprising that no companion ever asked for it to be demolished. This fact invites us to think more deeply about interpreting these texts. Hence,

“If it were prohibited to build on tombs and to demolish them were mandatory, as the Wahhabis state, the Companions would have dismantled the room before burying the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him. (fa-law kān al-binā` alā l-qubūr muḥarraman wa-wāğib al-hadm, kamā taqūl al-wahhābiyya, la-hadam al-ṣahāba al-ḥuğra qabl dafni-hī ṣallā Allāh `alay-hi wa sallam” (*ibid.*, 238-239).

Here, Gaye introduces an argument that differs from Aḥmad Lō’s book. Lō emphasizes the construction of graves after the burial of a body, while Gaye’s approach is to burial in a pre-existing space. This contrast in their approaches raises the question: How does Gaye reconcile these two perspectives in his *Kitāb al-taqdīs bayn al-talbīs wa-l-tadlīs wa-l-tadnīs*? His response is,

“There is no difference between a priori and a posteriori construction (lā farq bayn binā` sābiq wa-lāḥiq [...]); Moreover, no scholar is known to differentiate between the two (lā nadrī anna aḥadan min al-`ulamā` fārraq bayn al-binā` al-sābiq wa-lāḥiq)” (*ibid.*, 239).

The basic argument is that if construction a posteriori were forbidden, “people would have buried their deceased in tombs already built before their deaths and spared themselves the criticism of dissenters (*la-dafan al-nās mawtāhum fī qubūr buniya `alay-hā qabl mawti-him wa-`starāḥ-ū min i`tirāḍ al-mu`taridīn*)” (*ibid.*).

Gaye summons the history of the Prophet’s tomb through the ages to corroborate his thesis. The Prophet’s companions, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (d.634) and `Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb (d.644), are buried there. The latter even replaced the grate over the tomb with a wall (*ibid.*). Later, `Abd Allāh b. Zubayr (d. 692), then leader of the Meccan State in the early days of the Umayyad Empire, built another wall that would be refurbished by the Umayyad `Umar b. `Abd al-`Azīz (d.720). Shortly before the latter, the sixth Umayyad caliph al-Walīd b. `Abd al-Malik (d.715) had enlarged the Prophet’s Mosque, which finally encompassed the tomb. There were then several refurbishments by the Abbasids, and it was Abū Ğa`far al-Manṣūr (d.775), the second

caliph, who built the first blue-colored dome over the tomb (*ibid*). All the dynasties that came afterward added their touches until its current form.

What does Cheikh Tidiane Gaye have to say about all this history? The fact that it was all done without any dispute. Gaye judges that throughout all these centuries, Muslim scholars were intransigent concerning religious rules, and none declared that construction and reconstruction were prohibited (*ibid.*, 240). This silence did not only concern the Prophet's tomb. *Kitāb al-taqdīs bayn al-talbīs wa-l-tadlīs wa-l-tadnīs* recalls that the Abbasid caliph 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn (d.833) "had built a dome over the tomb of his father al-Rašīd" (*ibid.*). The time of al-Ma'mūn was that of great jurists and theologians who let him do this and yet opposed him on other matters:

"There were the two Imams al-Šāfi'ī and Aḥmad as well as Sufyān b. 'Uyayna and others. No source has reported that any of them opposed this construction, and yet they fought al-Ma'mūn on the thesis of the creation of the Qur'an and endured flogging and imprisonment [...]. So why did they keep silent about the construction of al-Rašīd's tomb and the dome? The truth is that if this were ḥarām, they would not have remained silent." (*ibid.*)

Cheikh Tidiane Gaye, therefore, dismisses the hypothesis of prohibited construction. What about texts? According to Gaye, if scholars throughout history have not opposed it, it is because hadiths advise against rather than forbid building on tombs (*ibid.*, 241).

This unwillingness to prohibit construction prompts Gaye to reject Lô's thesis that mosque housing mausoleums should be desecrated. *Kitāb al-taqdīs bayn al-talbīs wa-l-tadlīs wa-l-tadnīs* gives several examples to support his argument. The first is that, as we have already said, the Prophet's tomb, which was in his wife 'Ā'īša's room, was ultimately incorporated into the Mosque at the time of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. This fact was never disputed by scholars, who even continued to pray in the Mosque.

Another example Cheikh Tidiane Gaye mentions is Jerusalem, one of Islam's holy places, known as the center of several Prophets' tombs, such as those of Abraham, Jacob, Isaac, and Joseph. These graves are built on, and Islamic scholars have never called for their demolition (*ibid.*, 244). Even the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb did not touch them when he conquered Jerusalem and found the constructed tombs (*ibid.*). Similarly to how these mausoleums never affected the sacredness of Jerusalem (*ibid.*), a place of prayer and recollection for Muslims, Cheikh Tidiane Gaye argues that the tombs do not call into question the sacredness of the mosques. Otherwise, no one would have the right to pray in the Prophet's Mosque. Indeed, for Gaye, the fact that the Prophet is buried in the Mosque makes it more sacred and better than before it housed the tomb (*ibid.*, 247).

In Islam, the Mosque is sacred because it is God's place, as stated in the 18th verse of Sura *al-Ġinn*: "The mosques are for Allāh, so do not call upon another alongside God." All Muslim scholars recognize this sacredness, but there may be debate about its preservation as a place exclusively reserved for God, acknowledging the differing perspectives within the Islamic community.

This is the background to the controversy, we have analyzed in this article, between Aḥmad Lô and Cheikh Tidiane Gaye through their *Taqdīs al-aṣḥāṣ fī l-fikr al-ṣūfī* and *Kitāb al-taqdīs bayn al-talbīs wa-l-tadlīs wa-l-tadnīs*. The Mosque remains sacred for Aḥmad Lô as long as it stays only a mosque. In this sense, as soon as a grave is housed within it, it ceases to be a place of worship dedicated to God. This means that the burial desecrates it, especially since, from Lô's point of view, the presence of a tomb in a place of worship leads to the sanctification of the person buried there. In this way, the grave can become an object of worship in a place where only God is supposed to be venerated.

Cheikh Tidiane Gaye's position runs counter to that of Aḥmad Lô. For Gaye, there is nothing to prevent a tomb from being built in a place of worship. However, this does not mean that the latter loses its sacredness. The historical perspective, including the Prophet's Mosque and the attitude of Muslim scholars, provides a rich context for understanding this question and supports Gaye's opinion.

Beyond the controversy between Gaye and Lô, we are dealing with a different approach. Aḥmad Lô is attached to the literal reading of Islamic texts to give his point of view. For his part, Cheikh Tidiane Gaye focuses more on the attitude of Muslim scholars towards these texts. While Lô considers that a mosque with a tomb loses its sacredness because the texts say so, Gaye replies that throughout the history of Islam, there have been tombs in mosques and that Muslim scholars have not denounced this. Aḥmad Lô is a literalist, Cheikh Tidiane Gaye a realist.

Lastly, this controversy is a concrete illustration of the ideological conflict between Wahhabism and Sufism in West Africa, which has given rise to what we might call a literary or text battle.

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Seydi Diamil NIANE est chargé de recherche titulaire en islamologie, il a soutenu une thèse en islamologie au Département d’études arabes de l’Université de Strasbourg en septembre 2017 sur « *Le conflit idéologique entre le wahhabisme et la confrérie soufie Tijāniyya au sud du Sahara : le Sénégal en exemple* ». Il a ensuite entamé sa carrière professionnelle en tant que Chargé de recherche à l’Observatoire des Radicalismes et Conflits religieux en Afrique de Timbuktu Institute (2017-2019). Après un Postdoctorat au Laboratoire Population-Environnement-Développement (LPED) sous tutelle de l’Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD) et Aix-Marseille Université (AMU), il a servi au Maroc en tant qu’enseignant à l’Institut Œcuménique de Théologie Al Mowafaqa et chercheur associé à la Chaire cultures, sociétés et faits religieux de l’Université Internationale de Rabat.

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