

el-Hac Ömer
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- 9259 SYED, Amir. Poetics of praise: love and authority in al-Hājj 'Umar Tāl's *Safinat al-sa'āda li-ahl du'f wa-l-najāda*. *Islamic Africa*, 7 ii (2016) pp. 210-238. In 1852, al-Hājj 'Umar Fūṭī Tāl completed his panegyric of the Prophet Muḥammad (*Safinat al-sa'āda* ...). Through an analysis of this work, the article explains Tāl's creative use of two older poems that were widespread in West Africa: *al-'Ishrīniyyāt* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāzāzī (d. 1230), and its *takhmīs* (pentastich) by Abū Bakr ibn Muḥīb (n.d.).

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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opened a new channel for religious contestations that fueled Fulbé jihads throughout the region, until the colonial conquests:

Hajj Umar Tall al-Futi

Among the religious scholars whose activism is important for understanding West African traditions of religious reform and renewal, none seemed to have pursued a larger political ambition than Sheikh Umar Tall (1797–1864). Another Fulbé scholar and a jihadi comparable to dan Fodio, Umar Tall's attempt to create a Muslim state stretching from the Senegal Valley to the Niger bend was frustrated by a combined force of Muslims and non-Muslim rulers, as well as by French imperial expansion. His powerful spiritual and intellectual influences, however, have remained up to the present. He is also different from the rest in two major respects: his religious and political missions coincided with French colonial expansion from the Senegal Valley into the Niger bend, thus contributing to his demise, and he belonged to a different Sufi brotherhood, the Tijaniyya order.

Born in 1797 in Fouta Toro (present-day Senegal), Umar Tall is remembered today as the first propagator of the Tijaniyya order in West Africa. Having been initiated into the order at a young age, Umar Tall assumed the responsibility of not only diffusing it by initiating followers attracted to him by his charisma and erudition, but also by creating a new state comparable to the Sokoto Caliphate. Umar Tall resided in Sokoto on his way from Mecca, and even married one of dan Fodio's granddaughters.⁹² Here, he was influenced not only by the historical dynamics and religious argumentation that brought Sokoto into existence, but also by a desire to apply Uthman dan Fodio's success in creating an Islamic state comparable to Sokoto. His political ambition challenged both the hegemony of the Qadiriyya and the increasing penetration of the French from Senegal into the interior of West Africa. This poor timing, along with a number of military miscalculations, ended Umar Tall's political ambition. He initially achieved significant military victories between 1848 and 1857, and these brought, albeit very briefly, almost the entire Niger Valley under his control; but in 1864, Umar Tall succumbed to the combined military might of the various ethnic groups in the region—Tuaregs, Fulbé, and

⁹² Robinson, *The Holy War*.

Bambara—who besieged his army as they waited for the arrival of French forces from Senegal.⁹³

While his military campaigns and his attempt to create a Tijaniyya state are important for historians, it was his diffusion of the Tijaniyya that left an enduring historical mark on West African Islam. The Tijaniyya was still incubating when Umar Tall became its main evangelist in West Africa. His branch of the order, which I will return to in relevant sections of this book, is known in the literature as the Umarian-Tijaniyya, or the Twelve-Bead Tijaniyya (chapter 2). By the time of the imposition of formal colonial rule, the Umarian-Tijaniyya had already begun to compete for religious influence with the much older Qadiriyya. And by the first decade of the twentieth century, the Tijaniyya, through a quietist evangelism of scholars associated with the order, had become the largest *tariqa*. The oral sources consistently argue that the founder, Sheikh Ahmad Tijani, never endorsed violent jihad, and insist that Umar Tall's wars emerged from a specific historical context and not from the disposition or ideology of the Tijaniyya. Umar Tall's writings continue to serve as the central spiritual manual for many Tijanis, including those of other branches. Today, the Tijaniyya is the largest *tariqa* in Ghana and Burkina Faso, as in other parts of West Africa. The extent to which Umar Tall was influenced by the radical teachings of al-Maghili through his relationship with Sokoto scholars is an interesting question, one which unfortunately cannot be addressed here. However, the parallels between the Sokoto jihad and that of Umar Tall are evident, except that as a Tijaniyya scholar and mystic, Umar Tall may not have traced his intellectual genealogy to al-Maghili, a Qadiriyya scholar.

Although several branches of the *tariqa* emerged throughout West Africa during the colonial period, most of them trace their genealogy to Umar Tall. Only one, the Hamawiyya, developed its own *silsila* (chain of transmission) independent of Umarian influence. Also called the Eleven-Bead Tijaniyya, this branch gained influence throughout French West Africa starting from the 1920s, and became the main branch of the order in Burkina Faso (chapter 2). The French erroneously associated this branch with militancy, despite the peaceful disposition of its leader, Sheikh Hamaullah of Nioro (in the French Sudan, now Mali).⁹⁴ In Ghana, the

⁹³ Ibid., 248–49.

⁹⁴ For a more recent discussion of the erroneous interpretation of the Hamawis belligerence, see Sean Hanretta, *Islam and Social Change: History of an Emancipatory Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) and Benjamin Soares, *Islam and Prayer*

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THE JIHAD OF AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD

was apt to exploit it. So, while his movement owed its immediate origin to a confluence of local causes, a number of important aspects of it fit into the broader pattern which encompasses the jihad of Shehu Usuman dan Fodio before him, and that of al-Ḥājj 'Umar b. Sa'id, who followed him.

THE JIHAD OF AL-ḤĀJJ 'UMAR B. SA'ID B. 'UTHMĀN
AL-FŪTĪ AL-TIJĀNĪ

The jihad of al-Ḥājj 'Umar b. Sa'id, sometimes known as al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tal, differs from those of the Shehu Usuman dan Fodio and Ahmad b. Muḥammad in one important respect. It took place during the full tide of French colonial penetration into West Africa. In consequence, it has often been presented as a movement of African resistance against European colonialism. Such an interpretation, although not entirely invalid, is too simple, as this section will seek to show.

Al-Ḥājj 'Umar b. Sa'id was born in Futa Toro about 1794. He spent many years in Mecca and Medina, where he was appointed *khalifa*, vicar, of the Tijāniyya order in the Sudan by a certain Muḥammad al-Ghālī. He then returned to the Sudan via Egypt and in or about 1848 founded an Islamic theocracy in Dinguiray. From here, with Tukolor support, he launched a jihad against the pagan Bambara in 1852 or 1853. By 1862 he had destroyed Masina, taken Hamdallahi and set up a substantial empire, at the same time clashing with the French who were advancing into the Sudanese interior from Senegal.

Hac önel

THE PILGRIMAGE OF AL-ḤĀJJ 'UMAR

Pilgrimage was important for several West African jihadists. The Shehu Usuman dan Fodio was never able, for family reasons, to perform the great pilgrimage to the Hejaz, in Arabia, although he is said to have performed a lesser pilgrimage to Agades, in the Sahara, to visit the tombs of certain *walīs*, or holy men, enshrined there. But his inability to perform the great pilgrimage seems only to have intensified its significance for him. He composed a number of poems, some in classical Arabic and some in Fulfulde, in which he describes it in passionate and imaginative language that shows how it had become for him a visionary ideal equivalent to an actual, physical meeting with the Prophet Muḥammad. This poetry makes it clear that he contrasted an ideal of Islam, as he fervently pictured it unfolding before the pilgrim

When the Fulani pastoralists rose in *jihad* against the sultanate of Borno, they quickly seized control of the western regions and even drove the *Mai* from his capital of Birni Ngazargamu. But Borno was not another Hausaland. It had a long and deep Islamic tradition and was not ripe for religious revolution. Also the Kanuri of Borno were not prepared to accept Fulani domination. Militarily Borno was saved by a remarkable religious leader from Kanem known as Muhammad al-Kanemi. (In fact al-Kanemi was reputed to have been born in Fezzan, once the northernmost province of Borno-Kanem.) Al-Kanemi organised resistance and protested to the caliph of Sokoto that Borno was already an Islamic state, so there was no justification to wage *jihad* against it. At the same time he backed up his protests by introducing religious and legal reforms in Borno.

Al-Kanemi ruled the sultanate of Borno in all but name while the *Mai* remained little more than figurehead. On his death in 1837 al-Kanemi was succeeded as *shehu* (religious leader) by his son Umar. In 1846 Mai Ibrahim tried to regain control by organising an invasion of Borno from the central Sudanic sultanate of Wadai, but his attempt failed and he was captured and executed. Ibrahim was last in the Saifawa line and with his death ended one of Africa's longest ruling dynasties.

Shehu Umar now became undisputed ruler, though Borno never regained its former position of wealth and prominence. In the west it had lost its hold of eastern Hausaland to the emirs of Sokoto. In the north and east it lost much of its access to the trans-Saharan trade to the sultanate of Wadai, which opened up direct links to Benghazi in north Africa. Within Borno itself this further emphasised the division between wealthy rulers and oppressed peasantry. With the loss of trading income, the Shehus of Borno demanded ever higher taxes from the already hard-pressed peasantry.

In the final decade of the nineteenth century, as Borno was about to fall to European imperialism, it was conquered by a military genius from the eastern Sudan named Rabiḥ ibn Fadl Allah. It was he who organised seven years of resistance to French imperial conquest.

*The Tukolor empire
of al-Hajj Umar*

Meanwhile to the west of Sokoto, Usman dan Fodio's *jihad* had inspired further Muslim revolutions. In 1818 in the upper Niger region pagan and Muslim Fulbe waged a *jihad* and established the Fulbe-dominated Islamic state of Masina. This was later to become part of the Tukolor empire which rose from further west. The Tukolor *jihad* was led by a Muslim preacher from Futa Toro named al-Hajj Umar.

Earlier Fulbe *jihads* had been primarily spontaneous local risings against local pagan rulers. Umar's Tukolor *jihad*, on the other hand, followed a much more positive pattern of deliberate military conquest and Islamic state-creation. Umar was strongly influenced by the jihadist movements further east. In 1826 he set off on a lengthy pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return he passed through al-Kanemi's Borno and spent several years at Muhammad Bello's court, during which time he married at least one of the caliph's daughters.

During the 1840s Umar built up a large following on the borders of Futa Jalon. From there he traded non-Muslim captives in exchange for firearms with which to modernise his army. Unable to capture his home region of Futa Toro because of the French presence at Medina on the Senegal, Umar

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Al-H'âjj 'Umar, mission et guerre sainte en Afrique occidentale

Henri MONIOT

Il s'appelait 'Umar, était fils de Sa' id, de la famille des Tâl ; il avait fait le pèlerinage, et quand il fut célèbre, on le précisa natif du Fouta. Ce qui donne, en arabe, al-H'âjj 'Umar ibn Sa' id Tâl al-Fûtî. Dans sa propre langue, le peul, avec une translittération simple : Oumar Seydou Tall. Et, dans la graphie française tôt fixée par l'usage : El Hadj Omar.

Figure majeure de l'islam soudanais sur le plan intellectuel et moral, conquérant redoutable dont l'action a modifié profondément la carte politique, ethnique et sociale du Soudan occidental, enfin, après sa mort, représentation historique dominante qui habita et habite encore l'esprit de tant de fidèles : voilà, certes, un homme qui tient de la place.

Si les grandes lignes et les points tournants de sa vie sont bien établis, maints détails en sont inégalement assurés, portés par une tradition foisonnante qui ne peut pas toujours être maîtrisée par la critique, ou qui ne l'a pas encore été. Il est d'ailleurs bien possible que ce qui a été dit, pensé et cru de 'Umar soit historiquement plus important que la matérialité, le contenu ou la date des faits évoqués.

Il naquit sans doute en 1794 — sinon c'est en 1795 ou en 1797 — au village de Halwar, un peu à l'est de Podor, dans la moyenne vallée du Sénégal, un des *Fouta* ou pays de parler peul : le Fouta-Toro, partie du peuple toucouleur qui partage en effet la langue des Peul, contrée de longue date active, peuplée et islamisée. La génération de son père avait accompli une vigoureuse révolution de l'ordre social et politique : en 1776, le groupe des *Torobe* (sing. *torodo*), pieux et lettrés, avait mobilisé les gens pour renverser la dynastie peul plus ou moins païenne qui dominait le pays depuis deux siècles et demi, et fondé un

Etat musulman, prosélyte, mené par un *almamy* (*al-imâm*) fidèle gérant de la loi divine, la *chari'a*, en même temps qu'enfin soucieux de protéger le peuple toucouleur des incursions de ses voisins et des aspects menaçants du commerce de traite animé par les Français depuis Saint-Louis. La redistribution des pouvoirs et des biens confirmait en position de couche sociale supérieure ces *Torobe* déjà détenteurs, pour leur savoir et leur piété, d'une direction morale reconnue. Une fois installé, le nouvel ordre entretenait son idéal authentiquement islamique, mais témoignait d'un fractionnement politique de fait autour de grandes familles, ainsi que d'une hiérarchie sociale manifestée notamment dans le contrôle des précieuses terres de culture — donc d'une faiblesse externe potentielle et, à l'intérieur, de frustrations réelles et de tensions qui renforçaient les effets anciens de la pression démographique sur le sol.

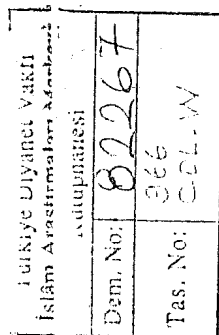
Rencontre de la Tijâniyya

'Umar naît dans le groupe *torodo*. Son père, marabout localement renommé et riche d'enfants, a fait, bien sûr, le *jihâd* de 1776 et les traditions nous disent qu'il a aménagé une petite mosquée dans son enclos pour prier dans de meilleures conditions qu'à la mosquée publique (cf. encadré). C'est lui qui donne à son fils un premier niveau d'instruction islamique et arabe très honorable, et déjà 'Umar excelle : ne savait-il pas le Coran par cœur à douze ans ? Il va donc, de façon classique, poursuivre des études ambulantes en fréquentant divers maîtres comme il n'en manquait pas depuis des générations dans tout le Sahel et le Soudan. Ainsi aurait-il été à Pire, près de Tivaouane, en pays wolof, et chez les Maures. Il rencontre un


Représentation française, non de 'Umar,
mais de Racine Tall, chef de son armée.

WESTERN AFRICAN HISTORY

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Text and Readings



by
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University of California, Santa Barbara

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odious. I have had everything bad said of me except that I was "pregnant with a bastard." The biological impossibility for a man to give birth is the only reason I have been spared that calumny.

Some traditions do in fact make al-Hajj Umar a sublime sheik; some depict him as a sanguinary despot who burned and pillaged everything in his path. If slander is the ransom of greatness, then incontestably, al-Hajj Umar was a great man. When he left Medina, he firmly decided never to become a king or courtesan of a king (that is to say, an official marabout). The proof of this decision is found in this declaration attributed to him: "I have not kept company with kings and I do not like those who do."

Al-Hajj Umar, sheik of the Tijaniyya, journeyed to the lands of West Africa. He passed by Cairo where the savants of the celebrated university tried vainly to catch him in a mistake. This new success further augmented his prestige. A reputation for knowledge and piety preceded him but awakened the defiance of pagan kings and local marabouts. In Bornu al-Hajj Umar miraculously escaped the criminal plotting of the sultan, who gave the traveler one of his own daughters, Mariatu, who was to be the mother of Makki, Seydu, Aguibu, and Koreichi, to make up for his own abortive attempt. Finally the indefatigable pilgrim reached Sokoto, where Muhammad Bello, son of Sheik Uthman dan Fodio, succeeded his father as sultan.

Leaving Sokoto, al-Hajj Umar headed for Hamdullahi. He was accompanied by students, partisans, servants, women, and children—about a thousand people altogether. On the road, he initiated the inhabitants of the countries they crossed into the Tijaniyya belief and assured himself of their sympathy. Although he could not count on this allegiance to even the score with Atiq, at least his [al-Hajj Umar's] son, Ahmadu, when he fled the French in 1893, was cordially received in Hausaland.

Western and Central Sudan

At Hamdullahi, Sheik Ahmadu gave al-Hajj Umar the same welcome as he did on the occasion of his first passage. But Ahmad al-Bakkai [Sheik of the *Kunta*] had made arrangements and had given orders to all his vassals to create difficulties for the *Tukulor* pilgrim. The religious supremacy of the *Kunta* had everything to fear from a Fulani union between al-Hajj Umar and the *Sangare* [the family of Sheik Ahmadu]. When he discovered that al-Hajj Umar had arrived at Hamdullahi, Ahmad al-Bakkai sent him a very praiseworthy poem that ended with these words: "You are the most learned of the sons of slaves of whom I have ever been given to tell." This insidious fashion of insulting him irritated al-Hajj Umar, who answered by sending a harsh letter to the *Kunta* chief. The latter took a piece of paper and wrote at the top: "In the name of God the Clement and Merciful. Oh God! Pour out Your grace and accord salvation to our Lord Muhammad." In the middle of the page appeared the word "Greetings," and at the bottom appeared the word "End." When he had received this letter, Ahmad al-Bakkai understood that it was a spiteful puzzle intended for him. He showed it to one of his companions, the wise Abd al-Halim, of the *Ida* or *Ali*. "Sheik Ahmad al-Bakkai," said Abd al-Halim, "is calling you a *d'ahil*—that is to say, ignorant, without law." "On what do you base your interpretation of this puzzle?" [questioned al-Bakkai]. "On the following Quranic verse: 'The servants of the Benefactor are those who walk modestly on earth and who, challenged by those without laws, answer: Greetings.'"⁶

Al-Hajj Umar wrote a second letter that was more violent than the first and addressed it to Sheik al-Bakkai. He took a new sheet of paper and wrote only: "In the name of God the Clement and Merciful." Once again Abd al-Halim explained the meaning of this missive to Ahmad

Mohammadon Allon Tyam

al-Bakkai. "Sheik al-Bakkai," he said, "thinks you are like Satan. He is basing his opinion on the tradition of the Prophet: The dog is chased away with a cudgel; Satan is a dog and the formula 'in the name of God the Clement and Merciful' is the cudgel that must be used to chase him away." Then Sheik Yerkoy Talfi, a disciple of Sheik al-Bakkai who was adept at handling al-Hajj Umar, said to him: "Do not continue this polemic with al-Bakkai—he will succeed in making you say foolish things and will depreciate you in the eyes of important people. Let me answer in your place. I know the eccentricities of my old disciple." Then Sheik Yerkoy Talfi composed a satirical poem that he entitled "To Make Bakkai Cry," because when he read it, he could not keep himself from crying.

Ahmadu Ahmadu often frequented the room where his grandfather stayed. But al-Hajj Umar never succeeded in caress-

ing the child, who ran away everytime he saw his grandfather. One day Ahmadu Ahmadu, occupied with a game, did not notice the arrival of al-Hajj Umar. The latter grabbed him by the arm before he had time to flee and took him to Sheik Ahmadu, saying, "Oh Sheik Ahmadu, would you like to parley between my *nawli* [rival] and me?" Sheik Ahmadu took the hand of his struggling grandson, and when the child was calm, the sheik said to al-Hajj Umar, "The prayers that you formulated going around the Kaaba and in which you asked God to give you Hamdullahi will be answered of Ahmadu Ahmadu. How can you wish him to see you with pleasure? But let occur what can. Here is my grandson. I entrust him to you and repeat what I said a few years ago when you were present at his baptism." Al-Hajj Umar took Ahmadu Ahmadu's hand and said, "I repeat, Sheik Ahmadu, my first statement concerning our grandson."

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MADDE PATRULANCIKTAN
SONRA GELN KIRKMAN
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15 MOHAMMADON ALION TYAM THE LIFE OF AL-HAJJ UMAR

The Life of al-Hajj Umar is a long eulogistic poem written in Fulani by Mohammadon Alion Tyam, who studied at Lao in present-day Senegal. He was one of Sheik Umar's earliest disciples (having joined him in 1846) and one of his most loyal followers. Umar ibn Said Tal was born in 1794 at Halwar in Senegalese Futa. The son of a cleric, he received a religious education and in 1826 set off on his pilgrimage to Mecca, where he was initiated into the Tijaniyya tariqa and was appointed Caliph of the Sudan. He extended the length of his return journey, residing in Bornu and Sokoto and then in Masina in 1838. He was expelled from Segu but finally settled at Dingiray, where the Futa Jalon, Bambuk, and Bondu regions join. He consolidated his power here between 1845 and 1850 and then proclaimed his jihad to spread his teachings and control over Futa Toro, Bambuk, and Karta. By 1854 the jihad was directed against French encroachment, in the face of which al-Hajj Umar turned eastward to establish his control over the Bambara kingdoms. Segu fell to his armies in 1861, and he then moved against the Islamic state of Masina. Despite his contempt for Ahmadu III, he was never able to justify his jihad against another Muslim state, and although his forces took Hamdullahi, he failed to impose his authority on Tijani ideas upon the Masinians, who supported a rival brotherhood, the Qadiriyya.

⁶ The Quran, XXV, 63-64.

CHEIKH MOUSSA KAMARA

LA VIE D'EL HADJI OMAR

Traduit de l'arabe par
Amar SAMB



923.1663
KA.V

Editions HILAL
1975

La vie d'El-Hadji Omar par Cheikh Moussa KAMARA

traduite et annotée par AMAR SAMB.

« Quiconque essaie de comparer ce Cheikh
aux autres marabouts, c'est comme s'il vou-
lait mettre en parallèle un sabre fort tran-
chant et un canif » (1).

Cheikh Muhammad KAW.

PRÉSENTATION DE L'AUTEUR ET DE SON LIVRE

Que sait-on de la vie de ce Cheikh qui brilla à Ganguel comme
un soleil de midi ? Pour la première fois, on a plus de chance :
on a trouvé à Matam un acte de notoriété daté du 7 février 1930
et ainsi libellé :

« Le nommé Cheikh Moussa KAMARA est bien le fils de feu
Ahmed el-Habib et de feu Mariam DADÉ, né vers 1864 à Gouriké-
Samba-Diom, canton de Damga, cercle de Matam (Sénégal). »
Cet extrait de naissance est signé par l'Administrateur DUPONT.
De plus le Cheikh Moussa a écrit son autobiographie, intitulée
*Tabšir el-Hā'if el-Hā'irān wa taḍkīruhū bi sa'a rahmat Allāh
el-Karīm-el-mannān* ou « Biographie pour contenter l'effrayé,
l'inquiet dans la grâce étendue de Dieu, le Généreux, le Bienfai-
teur ». On possède enfin la presque totalité de ses écrits à l'IFAN.

SA FORMATION.

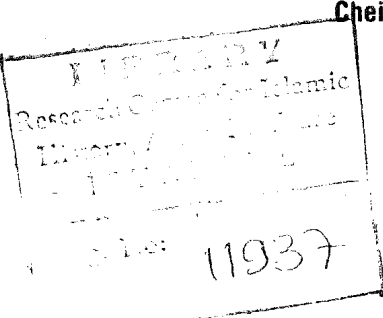
On s'inspirera bien sûr de son autobiographie, en tête de laquelle
on trouve ce propos : « J'ai dit donc que ce qu'on dit de soi est

(1) Voir l'autobiographie manuscrite de Cheikh Moussa KAMARA à l'IFAN. Cahier n° 1,
66 feuillets, ici le mètre est un *ḥasīf*, la rime en *sā* ; ces vers se trouvent à la page
34 du *Tabšir el-hā'if* (Apaisement de l'effrayé).



Cheikh Moussa Kamara

923.1663
KA.V



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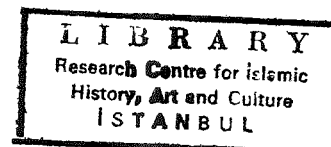
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GENERAL HISTORY OF AFRICA · VI

Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s

EDITOR J.F.ADE AJAYI

16 ARALIK 1994



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PLATE 24.1 Coastal chief of the Mandinka in Gambia in 1805

States and peoples of Senegambia and Upper Guinea

Namur Ndari, Maba's successor, extended his influence over Niani and Wuli, further up the Gambia, though his interventions south of the river were unsuccessful. The French had no difficulty in occupying the region in 1887.

Upper Guinea and Futa Jallon

The Gambia river, navigable over hundreds of kilometres, had for centuries provided the outlet to the sea for the gold mines in the Joola countries of the upper Senegal and upper Niger. Further south it was a different world, that of Upper Guinea, where decentralized farming peoples, speaking mostly West Atlantic languages, had long occupied the sea coast. From Monrovia to the Gambia, the Sudanic zone only began to have contacts with the sea coast in the eighteenth century. This region was also one of the earliest centres of European influence in Guinea-Bissau, home of Creole culture, and later Sierra Leone and Liberia. Like Senegambia, this region was important for the slave trade in the sixteenth century, though, in the eighteenth century, its role declined.

Outside the coastal area, the two most important peoples were the Mandinka and the Fulbe (Fulani, Peul). The Mandinka empire of Kaabu (Gabu) dated back to the thirteenth century and had been independent of old Mali since the sixteenth. The Fulbe had been in the area since at least the fifteenth century but had founded the Muslim state of Futa Jallon only after 1727.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Portuguese influence was in decline, but the clandestine slave trade was to continue for quite a time on both sides of the anti-slavery centre of Sierra Leone. Mandinka Kaabu had trouble maintaining its influence as far as the southern shores of the Gambia, and failed altogether with its former vassals the Bainuk, on the coast. The Foa (Balanta), non-centralized peasants, destroyed the Bainuk capital in 1830, and most of the survivors joined the Mandinka or else the Joola (Dyula), the hardy 'anarchic' traditionalist rice-growers who occupied the whole coastal area to the north. In the east, the Fulbe of Futa Jallon dominated the Mandinka as far as the Gambia in Kantora. In Kaabu and its dependencies, a Fulbe minority was growing increasingly impatient with its subordinate position.

At this period, the French set up trading posts in the Casamance, at Karabane in 1836 and then at Secju (Sediou) in 1838. The groundnut trade soon grew, with predictable economic and social consequences.⁴

But the overthrow of the old order began in 1859, when Futa Jallon, and in particular the great Alfa Mo Labe, Yaya Maudo, began a decisive

4. For the Casamance, see C. Roche, 1976; F. A. Leary, 1969. For Guinea-Bissau and Kaabu, A. Teixeira da Mota, 1954; M. Mane, 1974-5; A. Carreira, 1947; J. Vellez Carço, 1948.

THE TIJANIYYA

A Sufi Order in the Modern World

JAMIL M. ABUN-NASR

el-Hac. Omer

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The Tijaniyya

who had connived at the murder in 1905 of Coppolani, whose mission was to prepare for the conquest, opposed the French; whereas the Tijanis of Adrar, faced by the successes of the French column under Colonel Gouraud, hastened to make submission.¹⁰

Hajj 'Umar's Early Career

The Tijaniyya gained a foothold in the Western Sudan through Muslims who joined it through the Idaw 'Ali; but it became widely known in this area and gained a multitude of followers through the work of Hajj 'Umar b. Sa'id al-Futi. Like the two other important Muslim warriors in the area, 'Uthman Danfudiu (d. 1817), upon whose conquests the kingdom of Sokoto was founded, and Shaikh Ahmadu Lobbo (d. 1845), who in 1818 founded the Muslim kingdom of Massina, Hajj 'Umar was a Fulani. This ethnic group, which is also called Peul, and often referred to erroneously as Tukolor,¹¹ is distinguished from the Negro population in West Africa both in colour (the Fulanis are bronze-skinned rather than black), and language. The origin of the Fulanis is a point of dispute; and without trying to resolve it, it is sufficient for our purposes to note that members of this ethnic group looked upon themselves, and were viewed by the peoples among whom they lived, as being both different from and superior to the Negroes. Hajj 'Umar was born in Halwar, a village in Futa-Toro (Senegal) about twenty-five miles from the town of Podor. His family belonged to the Torodbe aristocratic class of religious warriors who had seized power in Futa-Toro from its pagan rulers and established themselves as its oligarchy nearly a generation before Hajj 'Umar's birth in about 1794.¹²

'Umar b. Sa'id showed signs of exceptional intelligence early in his life, and after learning the Qur'an and rudiments of the Muslim

¹⁰ Arbaumont, f. 13.

¹¹ According to Prof. Vincent Monteil of the University of Dakar, the Fulanis call themselves 'Fulbe', the singular form of which is 'Pullo'. 'Peul' is a Wolof corruption of 'Pullo', and the synonymous word 'Peuhl' is a French loan-word from Wolof. The appellation Tukolor (Tucolor), on the other hand, is a Wolof corruption of the word Takrur, which is a nomadic name referring to a country not clearly specified. The Tukolors, unlike the Fulanis, are black; and Prof. Monteil maintains that Hajj 'Umar could have been a Tukolor since he was darker than the average Fulani. However, Hajj 'Umar is generally referred to in Tijani literature as a Fulani.

¹² The date of Hajj 'Umar's birth cannot be fixed with any certainty, but the author prefers this date, more or less established by H. Gaden in his commentary on M. A. Tyam's biographical poem published under the title *La vie d'El-Hadj Omar, qacid en Poular* (1935), pp. 5-6.

In West Africa during the Nineteenth Century

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faith under his father Sa'id (Sa'idu) Tall, who was a man of learning, he travelled in Mauritania, Futa-Toro, and Futa-Jalon (Guinea) in search of learned scholars under whose guidance he could further his studies. It was when he was on one of these journeys that he met Shaikh 'Abdul-Karim al-Naqil, a Tijani scholar from Futa-Jalon, who initiated him into the Tijaniyya order and instructed him in its doctrines.¹³ Al-Naqil had himself been introduced into the Tijaniyya through Mawlud Fal. Shaikh 'Abdul-Karim and his young disciple then decided to undertake the arduous pilgrimage to Mecca. 'Umar b. Sa'id went to Futa-Toro to prepare for the journey; and while he was there Shaikh 'Abdul-Karim went to Hamdallahi, the newly founded capital of Massina, by invitation of its ruler, who desired to assemble in his capital the religious scholars within easy reach to make Hamdallahi a permanent centre for Islam and learning in the Sudan.

'Umar b. Sa'id left Futa-Toro on his journey to Mecca in 1826,¹⁴ accompanied by his brother 'Aliyu; and after passing through Futa-Jalon he followed his master to Massina. Before his arrival in Hamdallahi Shaikh 'Abdul-Karim had fallen ill and had died; nevertheless 'Umar was received well in Hamdallahi, on account of his learning and the recommendation of his deceased master. His relations with the royal family during his short stay in the town were sufficiently good for the old king to confide to 'Umar's spiritual care a young grandson of his, also named Ahmadu after his grandfather. It was this child that 'Umar b. Sa'id was to defeat and kill when the former had become King of Massina, and the latter was at the height of his reputation and power as a religious warrior. Setting out again from Massina, 'Umar b. Sa'id went to Sokoto, where he spent about seven months, and then travelled on by way of the Touareg territory, the Fezzan, and the Egyptian Sudan. He arrived

¹³ Salenc, in *Bull. Con. d'Et. AOF*, 1918, p. 406; and A.-H. Ba & J. Daget, *L'empire peul du Macina*, I. 1818-1853 (IFAN en Sudan, 1955), p. 234.

¹⁴ In the entry in his diary for 7 Nov. 1826, the English traveller Hugh Clapperton, writing in Sokoto, says: 'In the afternoon I was visited by three Fellatas, Hadj Omer from Fouta Tora . . .', and that 'The Hadji had just returned from Mecca, and wished to go there again. . .'. As Clapperton also mentions that Hajj 'Umar was coming from Ségou, which was on his way to Sokoto not from Mecca but to it, it seems possible to assume that Clapperton interpreted the fact that 'Umar was already called Hajj (a title which is sometimes given to people on their way to Mecca) to mean that he had just come from Mecca. All other evidence available suggests that Hajj 'Umar went on the pilgrimage only once, and in view of the inconsistency in Clapperton's own account, it does not seem possible to accept the implication that he had done so before 1826 (see H. Clapperton, *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa* (London, 1829), pp. 202-3).

MUSLIM BROTHERHOODS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AFRICA

B. G. MARTIN

el-Hac ōmer

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CHAPTER 3

Al-Hajj 'Umar Tal and His Jihad in Guinea, Senegal, and Mali

The career of al-Hajj 'Umar offers great contrasts (with some similarities) to that of Usuman dan Fodio. Both were mystics and intellectuals of Torodbe origin, but each man belonged to a different sufi order. Like Usuman, 'Umar drew his inspiration from the eighteenth-century sufi revival in the Middle East. Yet he was a "neosufi," a Tijani, not a Qadiri. 'Umar also became a Futa Toro leader and hero; some writers have even called him a "Tukolor imperialist." Successful in military affairs, 'Umar developed the doctrinaire side of his thinking to the point that he became a Tijani "ideologue," as Hiskett calls him. Like Amir 'Abd al-Qadir, 'Umar collided with the French. Yet unlike the Amir or Shehu dan Fodio, who survived their wars and political activities with credit, 'Umar became enmeshed in political and military entanglements, finally falling victim to a coalition of hostile Muslims whom he had provoked. 'Umar had a drastic impact on many West African Muslims and non-Muslims, particularly the Bambara. Some of his contemporaries believed that he might even be a mahdi or the agent of a mahdi. Personally, 'Umar combined self-confidence, zeal, and intellectual brilliance with other interests; his interests oscillated between spiritual commitment, mysticism, and theology on one hand, and political aspirations of major dimensions on the other. 'Umar's interests were mutually incompatible; if 'Umar was a suicide, his two conflicting roles probably contributed to it.

Usually, 'Umar's birthdate is taken to be 1794.¹ His full name, arabicized as it appears in his writings, was 'Umar ibn Sa'id ibn 'Uthman al-Futi al-Turi al-Kidiwi ("of Guédé"). He was born at Halwar near Podor, in the Gidi or Guédé district of northern Senegal. Situated on the Senegal River in Futa Toro province, Halwar and Podor are still important towns, across the stream from Mauritania and so open to influences from that country and Morocco. The seventh son of his father, 'Umar came from a Muslim clerical family. 'Umar's father Sa'id was not a man in wealthy circumstances, yet he was rich enough to support two wives.² By profession, Sa'id was a religious teacher.

'Umar studied Arabic and Islamic subjects under his father. A good student, he memorized the *Qur'an* and two famous books of tradition by Muslim and al-Bukhari.³ When he was about fifteen, he left Halwar

Al-Hajj 'Umar Tal

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to study under various local masters, first in Futa Toro and then elsewhere. He was more attracted to mysticism than Islamic law, yet he read many legal texts. Having adopted his father's calling, he set off about 1814 for Satina in Futa Jallon, several hundred miles south of Halwar. Here he was fed and lodged by the townspeople in return for teaching their children the *Qur'an* and elementary religious subjects. At Satina, Karamoko 'Umar became popular. Here he stayed for about twelve years, until he was close to thirty-one, when he set off on a pilgrimage to Mecca. By this time, 'Umar evidently had a small following of his own. Yet the local people were disturbed for some reason by 'Umar's popularity, which led to differences between him and them and perhaps hastened his departure for Arabia.⁴

During his twenties, 'Umar had met representatives of a new sufi organization that was just starting to penetrate West Africa from Mauritania. Very popular because of its fresh opinions and because it was a reforming order, unlike the more conservative Qadiriya, the neosufi Tijani brotherhood had been founded only about a decade (1781) before 'Umar's birth. 'Umar's first teacher in the Tijaniya was a man from Timbo in Futa Jallon, 'Abd al-Karim ibn Ahmad al-Naqil. At the time, Timbo was the site of an important imamate, a center of Islamic proselytization in the "Far West" of Africa adjacent to Futa Toro, the "Takrur" of medieval Arab writers.⁵

'Umar soon joined the Tijaniya. The chronological distance from him to the founder of the order, Ahmad al-Tijani (d. 1815), was short. 'Umar's lineage of teachers included 'Abd al-Karim, Sidi Mawlud Fal, and Muhammad al-Hafiz wuld Mukhtar of the Mauritanian clan of the Idaw u 'Ali, a pupil of al-Tijani. Known also as "Baji," Muhammad al-Hafiz had been instructed by the order's founder to proselytize for the Tijaniya in Senegal.⁶ Until his death about 1830, Baji did this with great success. After he had studied Tijani doctrine under Baji's pupil 'Abd al-Karim for "a year and some months," 'Umar convinced his teacher that they should go on the pilgrimage to the Hijaz. This was a difficult and expensive undertaking for a West African at this time; 'Umar set about raising money. It is claimed that he went to the French town of St. Louis to ask well-to-do Muslim traders there for funds; it is also possible that he obtained money from French sources.⁷

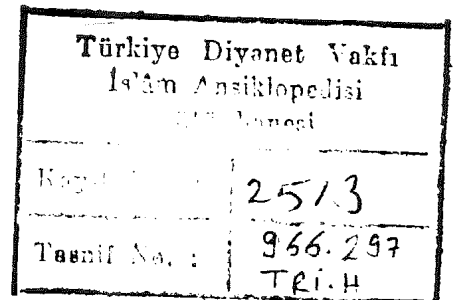
According to al-Shinqiti, 'Umar left home for the east in December 1825.⁸ He was accompanied by his younger brother 'Ali (Aliyu) and a small group including fifteen slaves. The slaves were sold at intervals along the route to provide cash for the journey. 'Abd al-Karim was unable to join the group, but he promised to do so at Masina after he had recovered from an illness. When 'Umar's slow-moving party reached Hamdallahi (the capital of Masina), 'Abd al-Karim did not appear.⁹

A HISTORY OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

By

J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM

el-Hajj Ömer



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162 THE RECRUDESCENCE OF ISLAM IN THE

of Timbo, divided into nine provinces under the authority of clerics having a kind of feudal relationship to the *almāmi*. This was followed in 1776 by the triumph of the Tōrodhē of Futa Toro led by Sulaimān Bāl over the pagan Fulbe dynasty of the Denyankē, where a similar elective state in which divine law was sovereign was created by *almāmi* 'Abd al-Qādir. In this state the *almāmi* was elected from Tōrodhē families descended from the 'companions' of the leader of the *jihād*. Its influence deepened the Islam of nominal Muslims and led to the conversion of other peoples of the region including many Wolof. In Bondu also the head of a clerical family, founded in the seventeenth century by a Tokolor cleric called Mālik Si, was affected by the new ideas of militant Islam and adopted the title of *almāmi* about 1775.

From the ramifications of the Tōrodhē clans came the next three conquerors, 'Uthmān ḍan Fodio, Ḥamadu Bari, and al-ḥājj 'Umar Tal. The country between the Niger and the Chad has always been divided into many little states, more often than not in mutual enmity, at times paying allegiance to the greater states to the east and west. This region was for the first time given a semblance of unity through an Islamic movement inspired by 'Uthmān ḍan Fodio, who from 1786 preached the *jihād* in such a way that it became a racial as well as a religious war, and differs from the other *jihāds* on account of the number of nomads who joined in. These conquests, and later those of 'Umar, though not inspired by nomads, are closely linked with pastoralism as is shown by the use made of cavalry. 'Uthmān and his brother 'Abd Allāh founded the dual empire of Sokoto and Gwandu which led to the definitive conversion of the Hausa to Islam. This empire disintegrated into a large number of separate and often hostile states loosely acknowledging the titular suzerainty of the ruler of Sokoto. When in full decline they were given a new lease of life by the British after their occupation at the beginning of this century. One current stemming from the same initial impulse led to the formation of a different type of emirate, more Pulo than the others, where the Fulbe had become culturally Hausa, on the plateau of Ādamāwa which dominated the numerous weak pagan tribes of the region. Bornu did not escape the attentions of the military theocracy of Sokoto, but it was able to check its forces owing to the fact that the clerical leaders had to rely for military power upon nomads who were only interested in raiding and dispersal with their booty, and also through the resistance of a Kānemī cleric, Muḥammad al-Amīn, who was the effective ruler from 1810 in a less radically based clerical state.

NINETEENTH CENTURY: WESTERN SUDAN 163

Next came a revolution in Māsina where the Fulbe, whose migrations began in the fourteenth century, had become the predominant population, though tributary at that time to the Bambara. The prophet was the Pulo cleric, Ḥamadu Bari, who freed the Fulbe from Bambara overlordship, overthrew the old pagan Pulo dynasty, suppressed the other Pulo leaders, and founded a short-lived state which lasted from 1810 to 1862 when it was overthrown by al-ḥājj 'Umar, though it was maintained as a successor-state by his nephew at-Tijānī until the French conquest in 1893.

This formidable conqueror, al-ḥājj 'Umar, inaugurates a new type of Islamic adventurer whose vast conquests threw western Sudan into a state of complete anarchy. The imposition of military régimes upset the balanced life of many Negro societies, undermined their social fabric, and undiluted slave-raiding reduced many areas to unproductive steppe. 'Umar was killed in 1864 before he had been able to lay down solid foundations for a state, whilst the rule of his successors coincided with the gradually expanding French conquest of the interior. It is noteworthy that 'Umar made use of firearms bartered for the human booty of his wars and at the same time tried to boycott products of European origin. Through the resistance of these adventurers Islam came to personify resistance and reaction to European penetration, a legacy which continued to characterize the earlier period of European rule.¹

In 1853 'Umar began a series of proselytizing expeditions which aimed at spreading the Tijānī allegiance among Muslims as well as Islam among pagans, and brought vast regions between the Senegal and Niger under his control. His death in 1864 let loose rivalries within his own family, and his empire split into a number of regions ruled by sons or nephews who paid titular allegiance to the eldest, Amadu Sēku, ruler of Segou. Their position steadily deteriorated in consequence of revolts of the subjected and the advance of the French who finally destroyed their power. Although 'Umar is responsible for the vast expansion of the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa*, his methods of conversion kindled a hatred of Islam among Bambara and others which led to their casting off allegiance once they were freed from fear. In its Islamic effect his work may be contrasted with that of Ḥamadu Bari of Māsina with his

¹ None of the great leaders claimed to be the Mahdī, but the revolution in Islamic political atmosphere, subsequent anarchy, and resentment against the encroachment of European powers provided end-of-the-world conditions favourable for messianic expectations. It is significant that manifestations were largely confined to Senegal and Northern Nigeria during the period which saw the whole of West Africa fall under European control.



ÉTUDES
SUR
L'ISLAM AU SÉNÉGAL

PAR
PAUL MARTY

TOME I
LES PERSONNES

PARIS
ERNEST LEROUX, ÉDITEUR
28, RUE BONAPARTE (VI^e)

—
1917

CHAPITRE II

LES GROUPEMENTS TIDIANIA,
DÉRIVÉS D'AL-HADJ QOMAR
(TIDIANIA TOUCOULEURS)

I. — AL-HADJ QOMAR ET L'ÉMIETTEMENT DE SON TIDIANISME.

Le Fouta Sénégalais, berceau du fondateur de l'empire tidiani et patrie de ses contingents toucouleurs, tomba, à la mort du grand conquérant (1864) dans la plus profonde anarchie.

Dès cette époque, le Fouta était foncièrement islamisé. La religion du Prophète s'y était solidement implantée vers 1776, année où la dynastie nationale des Siratik, ou Satigui, fétichistes tiédos, fut renversée par le marabout Abdoul-Qader et remplacée par la souveraineté élective et religieuse des almamys. Cette forme, à la fois théocratique et oligarchique, de gouvernement, se conserve avec plus ou moins d'éclat dans le Fouta depuis Abdoul-Qader, le premier des almamys, jusqu'en 1891.

Ce sont les trois provinces Irlabés, Ebiabés et Bosséa, qui constituent le Fouta central ou Fouta proprement dit, et c'est des Torodbés, hommes libres et nobles, musulmans de la première heure, que se compose le corps électoral ina-



وقائع ومحاضرات

المؤتمر العالمي لتاريخ الحضارة العربية الإسلامية

بمناسبة الاحتفالات بحلول القرن الخامس عشر الهجري

وزارة التعليم العالي
جامعة دمشق - كلية الآداب

من ١٦ إلى ٢٢ جمادى الآخرة ١٤٠١
من ٢٠ إلى ٢٦ نيسان ١٩٨١



MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

10 6 EKİL 2009

قافلة الحج الشامي وأهميتها في الدولة العثمانية

الدكتور عبد الكريم رافق
(جامعة دمشق)

كانت قافلة الحج الشامي إحدى قافلتين رئيسيتين في الدولة العثمانية ، أما القافلة الأخرى فهي قافلة الحج المصري . وقد أوجلت في عام ١٥٥٦/١٦٦٣ قافلة ثالثة ، هي قافلة الحج اليمني ، ولكن وجودها كان متقطعاً ، وألغيت في عام ١٦٣٥ ، عندما استقل اليمن ، بزعماء الأئمة الزيديين ، عن العثمانيين . وكان اليمن بذلك أول ولاية عربية تخرج عن السلطة العثمانية .

وقد لعبت قافلة الحج الشامي دوراً هاماً في تاريخ دمشق وبلاد الشام بعمامة ، من النواحي السياسية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية والثقافية والدينية . وكانت لها أهمية خاصة في الدولة العثمانية لأن السلطان العثماني ، منذ فتحه حلب في عام ١٥١٦ ، اتخذ لقب حامي (أو خادم) الحرمين الشريفين ، واقتضى ذلك تأمين سلامة الحجاج لزيارة الحرمين الشريفين . كما أن انتقال العلماء والأفكار ، وكذلك التجار ودروس الأموال ، من دمشق إليها ، إبان فترة الحج ، كانت له آثاره الواضحة محلياً وفي الدولة العثمانية ككل .

تشكل القافلة :

أم دمشق ، في موسم الحج ، عدد كبير من الحجاج ، من المناطق الشمالية والشرقية ، من داخل الدولة العثمانية وخارجها . ووصل الحجاج إليها جماعات عرفت حسب مناطقها . وكان أبرزها الحج الرومي ، والحج الحلبي ، والحج العجمي ، والحج الشامي (١) . ولم تكن هذه التقسيمات الجغرافية ضيقة المعنى ، إذ التحق بهذه الجماعات حجاج من خارج مناطقهم . وكان أكثر هذه الجماعات عدداً الحج الرومي لأن كلمة روم أطلقت على المناطق ما وراء طوروس والفرات (٢) .

ولم يمر الحج الرومي في الغالب بمدينة حلب ولهذا لم يندمج مع الحج الحلبي . أما الحج العجمي فكان يأتي إلى دمشق إما عبر حلب أو مباشرة عبر بغداد والطريق الصحراوي برفقة قافلة التجارة ، للافادة من الحماية المتوافرة لها . ووصل بعض



MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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el-Hac Ömer (611-633)

Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s

1853, however, both the domestic and the foreign difficulties arose again in heightened form.

Ahmadu mo Ahmadu, last ruler of Massina (1853-62)

Ahmadu mo Ahmadu's reign began with a major succession crisis, involving the various members of Seku Ahmadu's family. The custom had already been established of selecting the head of the *dina* from among the descendants of Seku Ahmadu. Balobbo, admittedly a prestigious military leader, knew that he did not meet all the requirements, particularly that of learning, to be chosen. So he intrigued with the young Ahmadu mo Ahmadu, the dead ruler's son,³² and managed to get him nominated as ruler, hoping of course to keep him in leading reins,³³ thus sowing the seeds of discord in Massina. The candidate who met all the requirements for election, Abdulaye Seku, the dead ruler's brother, did not admit defeat:

He decided with the support of the Kunta and the armies of Kunari and Hairé to march on Hamdallahi, to which he laid siege. The capital was split between supporters of Ahmadu mo Ahmadu and Abdulaye Seku. Feelings ran high, and the collision could come at any time; but the worst was avoided thanks to the aged Adya's intervention with her son, Abdulaye Seku.³⁴ But from then on Massina was split into hostile camps, which waged cold war on each other.³⁵

Ahmadu mo Ahmadu's reign only deepened these divisions. He lacked both the education and the political breadth of his predecessors. When he came to power he made radical changes in the very foundations of the *dina*: the venerable marabouts were replaced by young men of his own age and liberalized outlook.³⁶ Forty years after the foundation of the *dina*, Ibrahima Barry tells us, enthusiasm had declined; 'rivalries, intrigues and self-seeking got the upper hand again';³⁷ and the same author reports an anecdote which is indicative of the atmosphere that prevailed among the Massina ruling class. One of the members of Balobbo's conspiracy, who had been arrested by al-Hadjdj 'Umar, said one day to his gaoler, who was making fun of him, 'Whatever punishment I suffer [he was to be shot], I prefer it to being ruled by the baby'. The baby was Ahmadu mo Ahmadu.³⁸

32. Different informants put his age between 18 and 24.

33. I. Barry, 1975, pp. 29-30; N. Waigalo, 1977, pp. 1-2; see also A. H. Ba and J. Daget, 1962, p. 286.

34. She was also the deceased's mother and Ahmadu mo Ahmadu's grandmother. She was said to have a soft spot for her grandson.

35. N. Waigalo, 1977, p. 2.

36. I. Barry, 1975, pp. 32, 36, 38-41; N. Waigalo, 1970, p. 34. See also F. B. S. Diarah, 1982, pp. 321-32.

37. I. Barry, 1975, p. 42.

38. *ibid.* On the internal divisions within Massina during Ahmadu mo Ahmadu's reign, see also E. Mage, 1868, p. 263, and al-Hadjdj 'Umar Tal, 1983, pp. 52-3.

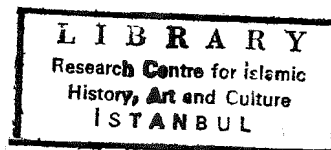
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Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s

EDITOR J.F.ADE AJAYI

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Massina and the Torodbe empire until 1878

It is easy to understand that Massina, sapped by these internal divisions, could not put up effective resistance to al-Hadjdj 'Umar's movement.

The Torodbe (Tukuloor) empire

In both the Western and the Central Sudan the slave trade, by upsetting the traditional foundations of society, had created a situation of permanent crisis and helped states to spring up on all sides whose viability depended on a continuation of the trade. In Futa Jallon, Futa Toro, Sokoto and Massina, where there was a sizeable Muslim community, Islam's reaction to this situation took the form of a national revolution led by the most oppressed people of the age, the Fulbe. Slavery was not abolished, but was governed by legal provisions, namely the *Ku'rān*. West of the Niger, between Massina, Futa Jallon and Futa Toro, a myriad of little states more or less dependent on Segu or Kaarta still escaped Muslim law. Disunited and a prey to internal divisions, they were to fail to offer effective resistance to the militant proselytism of an infant Muslim sect, the Tijāniyya.³⁹

Al-Hadjdj 'Umar's *djihād* and the birth of the Muslim empire of Segu (1852-62)

After the successes of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Islamization was marking time on all sides. The new theocracies were also riven by succession crises; and in the case of the Western Sudan there was also the danger posed by French power, a resolute enemy of the Muslim religion. Thus in Futa Toro, in the first half of the nineteenth century, Islam was threatened from within, from the east and from the west. Al-Hadjdj 'Umar's movement was a reaction to this situation.

Outline of 'Umar Saidu's life

'Umar Saidu (al-Hadjdj 'Umar) was born in about 1796⁴⁰ at Halwar, in Toro, the province closest to the French colony of Saint-Louis. He came from a family that had played an active part in the great Muslim revolution of the late eighteenth century, and his whole childhood was steeped in Islamic culture. Through his exceptional intelligence and perspicacity he

39. From the name of its founder, Ahmad al-Tijāni (1737-1815). This brotherhood was born in southern Algeria in about 1782. It spread rapidly throughout North Africa and especially in Morocco, where the *zāmiyya* of Fez became the biggest centre. It was relatively more liberal in nature and its basic principles were more simple than those of the other brotherhoods. It was first introduced south of the Sahara by the Ida or 'Alī but it only became widespread there through Sheku 'Umar.

40. According to Futa traditions he was born on the eve of the battle of Bungowi, which Almami Abdul Kadri fought in 1796 to convert the Damel of Kajor, Amari Ngone Ndella, to Islam. It was 'Umar's imminent birth that stopped his father, Saidu 'Uthmān, a disciple of Sulaymān Bal, taking part in that battle. See, among others, M. Kamara, 1975, p. 154, and F. Dumont, 1974, p. 4.

The Development of Islam in West Africa

el-Hac Ömer

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Jihāds and revolutions during the early colonial period

The *jihāds* and revolutions described in this chapter differ from those described in chapter 10 in that they took place during the full tide of French colonial penetration into the interior of the western Sudan. This had a number of unsettling consequences that were not necessarily connected with Islam. It thus becomes necessary to distinguish between what was strictly Islamic *jihād*, what was simply secular conflict between Africans, and what was anti-colonial resistance.

The *jihād* of al-Hājj ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī

Al-Hājj ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī was born in Futa Toro c. 1209/1794. After a conventional Islamic education he went on Pilgrimage, according to tradition, in the year 1241/1825. He had by this time become a member of the new Tijāniyya order of Sufis, founded by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Tijānī c. 1195/1781. On his way to Mecca he spent some time in Sokoto and Gwandu, where he preached the new Tijānī doctrines. When he arrived in Mecca, he came under the influence of the Tijānī mystic, Muḥammad al-Ghālī. After a period of training, al-Ghālī appointed him *khalīfa*, caliph, of the Tijāniyya in the countries of the Sudan. This is the key to what happened later; his experience on Pilgrimage, especially the teachings of al-Ghālī, formed in his mind a picture of Islamic perfection only to be realised through the doctrines of his spiritual master, Aḥmad al-Tijānī. He was now al-Tijānī's *khalīfa*, charged with the duty to impose this state of perfection on the imperfect Islam of the Sudan. Perhaps this could be done by *jihād al-qawl*, 'Preaching *Jihād*'; if not, it must be done by *jihād al-sayf*, '*Jihād* of the Sword'. Thus the course of al-Hājj ʿUmar's career was largely determined from that point on, so too were his enemies. They were, first, the imperfect Muslims and misbelieving African polytheists in and around his homeland. Second, those local rulers who appeared to stand in the way of his grand design. Others who became his enemies, for example the French, did so for incidental reasons, not because he set out to make war on them from the start.

Al-Hājj ʿUmar left Mecca to return to the western Sudan sometime in 1246-7/1831. He passed by way of Egypt and Borno, where he founded Tijānī communities. By 1251/1835-6, he was back again in Sokoto, as the guest of the Caliph Muhammadu Bello. From Sokoto he set out on a preaching mission that resulted in the establishment of Tijānī cells among the hitherto solidly Qādirī 'ulamā' of Hausaland. He left Sokoto in 1253/1837 and travelled north-west, passing through Masina and Segou, where he received an unfriendly reception; from there he moved on towards the Senegambia. By 1256/1840, he had gathered a religious community around him in Diaguku, in Futa Jalon. Once

NOTES

* Ce texte est extrait d'un mémoire de D.E.A. présenté sous la direction de Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch (Université de Paris 7, 1988, 142 p.)

- (1) Tawset (pl. tiwsaten) : groupe social fondé sur la parenté lignagère.
- (2) Un homme étranger à leur groupe pouvait par exemple, s'il le désirait, avoir des rapports sexuels avec une Inhadan. Mais il devait ensuite se laver sept fois avant de retourner dans son propre groupe...
- (3) Bourgeot A., "Les mouvements de résistance et de collaboration en Ahaggar (Algérie) de 1880 à 1920", *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Ed. du CNRS, 1984, p. 479.
- (4) Lettre reçue le 3 novembre 1903 par le capitaine Métois, chef de l'annexe d'In Salah. (Rapport du cpt. Métois du 9 novembre 1903, Archives nationales (ANSOM), série géographique A.O.F. IV 4).
- (5) 16 avril 1904 (Dépêche du 19 mai 1904, n° 98, Archives nationales (ANSOM), *ibid*).
- (6) Gautier E.F., "La traversée du Sahara, mission Gautier", *Bull. Com. Afr. Fr.*, 1905, pp. 399-401.
- (7) Archives nationales, (ANSOM), H.S.N., rapports politiques trimestriels, 1907, 2G7-3, microfilm 200 MI 1641.
- (8) Bétrix, *La pénétration touareg*, Paris, Lavauzelle, 1911, 63 p.
- (9) 25 décembre 1909-10-janvier 1910 (rapport du chef de bataillon Bétrix, Archives nationales du Mali, Bamako, 1 N 114, Fonds anciens, 1909-1910).
- (10) Bourgeot A., "L'herbe et le glaive : de l'itinérance à l'errance (la notion de territoire chez les Touaregs)", *Bull. de liaison ORSTOM*, dpt. H. n° 8, octobre 1986, pp. 145-162.
- (11) Baye Cheikh ag., Bellil Rachid, "Une société Touareg en crise : les Kel Adrar du Mali", *Awal* (Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme), 1986, n° 2, pp. 49-84.

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AU SUD DU SAHARA

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SÉNÉGAL, MALI, GUINÉE

NOTE DE LECTURE :

LES MERITES DE LA TIJANIYYA D'APRES "RIMAH" D'AL-HAJJ 'UMAR

par Saïd Bousbina

Depuis sa fondation par Ahmad Al Tijânî (1), la *tariqa* (2) Tijâniyya n'avait cessé de connaître un essor spectaculaire. Ses adhérents croissant de jour en jour, elle rivalisa avec les grandes confréries de l'époque en Afrique du nord, telles la Qâdiriyya (3), la Darqâwiyya (4) et la Nâsiriyya (5), puis elle réussit à s'imposer comme la voie ayant le plus grand nombre de disciples (6). La Tijâniyya allait connaître, au XIXe siècle, un essor encore plus spectaculaire, mais cette fois-ci vers le sud du Sahara. Al-Hâjj 'Umar porta le flambeau de la diffusion de cette nouvelle confrérie dans cette région.

Né en 1797, Al-Hâjj 'Umar fit ses premières études au Futa Toro, puis au Futa Jalon, où il reçut sa première initiation à la Tijâniyya, entre 1820 et 1825. Vers 1826, il entreprit le pèlerinage à la Mecque. Il revint au sud du Sahara en 1831, auréolé du titre du *khalîfa* (7) de la *tariqa* qui lui fut attribué par Sidi Muhammad Al-Ghâlî (8). Ce voyage en Orient avait fait d'Al-Hâjj 'Umar un personnage très célèbre en Afrique de l'ouest à l'instar d'Uthmân Dan Fodio ou de Muhammad Bello, auprès de qui il fit un long séjour entre 1831 et 1837. Après avoir rassemblé une communauté de disciples à la limite du Futa Jalon, il entreprend en 1852 un *jihâd* (guerre sainte) qui le conduit, au

- Heyi dewdo Nulaado Aamadu Maasima
(Amadou du Macina a été l'exemple de celui qui a suivi la souna de l'Envoyé)
- Alfa Umaru Alhajji Seyku ko sellina
(C'est le cheikh Elhadji Alfa Oumarou qui s'est rendu incontestable)
- Usmana Fodiya, Bello hakhan ko ardina
(C'est Ousmane Fodio, Bello en vérité qui ont été les premiers)
- Ghawsu gihyasun Seyku Bakkay ko anndina
(C'est le Cheikh Bakkay, Ghawsu gihyasun qui a été instruit)
- Ley sirru Alla, be fuu be yilliibe Aamada
(Dans le secret de Dieu, tous ont été des chers d'Ahmed).

Malgré toutes ses qualités Sékou Amadou a toujours redouté le pouvoir et à Hamdallahi, le véritable pouvoir était entre les mains du Grand Conseil et Sékou n'avait pas le droit de gracier un condamné.

L'action de Sékou Amadou a été si considérable qu'il est très difficile de la résumer sans laisser de grands pans dans l'ombre.

Mamadou DIALLO
Professeur d'Enseignement
Secondaire Général.
Projet Audiothèques Rurales - Bamako

MAZIRAN 1996

EL HADJ OMAR TALL

El Hadj Omar TALL naquit vers 1794 ou 1795 selon les sources, dans un petit village du Fouta Sénégalais appelé Halwar. Son père Saïdou Ousmane Mouctar appartenait au clan des Torobés qui avait remplacé au pouvoir la dynastie des Déniankés en 1776. Saïdou Ousmane père du Cheikh Omar a eu douze enfants : Fatimata, Ibrahima, Oumakala, Djenaba Siré (disparu), Moktar (mort jeune), Tafsirou Antouamé, Alfa Ahmadou, Tyerno Habi ou Tyerno Bocar le Cheikh Omar, Aliou et Ousman. Les premiers classés par rang d'âge avaient pour mère la Sokna Adaama première épouse de Saïdou. Aussi le Cheikh Omar est-il souvent appelé «Kodda Adaama» c'est-à-dire le dernier né de Adaama.

Issu de famille maraboutique et très pieuse, Cheick Omar reçut sa première initiation aux versets du Coran auprès de son père. La tradition nous dit qu'il se distingua dès sa tendre enfance par sa grande intelligence, son honnêteté sa force de caractère et sa volonté inébranlable d'approfondir à chaque occasion ses connaissances.

Après cette première éducation reçue dans sa famille, Omar alla poursuivre ses études à Walata, chez le grand marabout Saïd Mawloud FALL. Là il reçut sa première initiation à la voie tidianite. En 1827 Omar entreprit un pèlerinage qui le conduisit aux Lieux Saints de l'Islam. Il profita de ce voyage pour visiter de nombreux pays et rencontrer de nombreux souverains et érudits. Ce fut une phase importante dans la vie du jeune Sheick. En effet à la Mecque, Omar rencontra le fameux Mohamed El Ghaali que le Cheick Ahmed Tidiani avait désigné, avant de mourir comme son Khalife. C'est de ce dernier qu'il obtint le titre de Khalife pour le pays des Noirs. Il lui enseigna en même temps des formules spéciales appelées «istikhaara». Ayant reçu l'ordre de retourner «balayer le pays» des Noirs du paganisme, Omar retourna dans son Fouta natal.

De là il s'installa d'abord à Djegoungo, puis à Dinguiray. A Dinguiray le Cheikh Omar se prépara minutieusement à l'accomplissement de sa mission. Il acheta des armes dans les comptoirs européens de la côte, le Sierra Léone, le Rio Pongo, le Rio Nunez. Il faisait stocker les vivres et entreprit une campagne de recrutement qui le conduisit jusqu'au Fouta Toro en 1846.

«Le Cheick était un homme grand et mince. Ce qui frappait surtout, c'était son visage, rigoureusement immobile, qui contrastait avec l'acuité du regard. Personne ne l'avait jamais vu sourire. Un collier de barbe soulignait l'extraordinaire finesse des traits.

Le Cheick était simplement vêtu, mais le boubou, le burnouss, le turban étaient d'un blanc immaculé. El Hadj Omar ne portait pas d'armes. Il tenait entre les mains le chapelet Tidianite et une canne en bois de 1,25 m de long⁽¹⁾ :

(1) Tiré de l'histoire générale de l'Afrique, brochure El Hadj Omar le Prophète, p. 14.

الحاج عمر تال الفوتي El-hadj Omar Tall (1212هـ/1797م - 1281هـ/1864م) :

فقيه مالكي، وصوفي تجاني، وشاعر فصيح، ومجاهد مغوار، في السودان الغربي. ينتمي إلى عشيرة " تال Tall " الفولانية التكلورية ، بالسنگال، غرب إفريقيا.¹

نشأته : ولد في قريته (حلوار Halwar) شرق (بودور Podor) ، قرب محضرة (كدي Cady) الشهيرة، بفوتاتورو Fouta-Toro، من والدين شريفيين : سعيد بن عثمان تال، وأدم² سُخْنَة التي كانت عمر أصغر أولادها العشرة³. حفظ القرآن الكريم على يد الإمام قري حماد في الثامن من عمره في حلوار، وجوّدَه على يد شقيقه ألفا أحمد ، وأخذ العلوم الفقهية واللغة من لمين بسمور ساخو. ثم زار محاضر (اندروبس) و(سنو بالل) عند أحمد حليلة وجامعة بير التي أسسها القاضي عمر فال في كجور منذ القرن السابع عشر الميلادي، والتي تخرّج فيها أبوه.⁴

رحلاته : بدأت رحلاته بزيارة محاضر موريتانيا حيث درس العلوم العقلية. ثم عزم على الحج، فودّع ذويه عام 1242هـ/1826م متوجّهاً نحو جنوب الصحراء، بدلاً من المغرب العربي الذي لم يزره قط خلافاً لنعيم قدام⁵. زار أولاً أحمد بن حمّد لُبو أمير دولة ماسينا Macina الإسلامية بمالي، ثم مرّ بإقليم آهير في النيجر، قبل أن ينزل في نوفمبر 1826م (صكتو Sokoto) عاصمة الدولة الإسلامية — بشمال نيجيريا Nigeria — التي أسسها عثمان بن فودي (ت 1817م). وبعدها مرّ بأمير إمبراطورية برنو، محمد الأمين قنو، فوصل مصر، فناظر علماءها. ومنها دخل الحجاز بحراً فالتقى بشيخه محمد الغالي المغربي، وقضى في خدمته ثلاث حجج، ثم ودّعه في مكة عام 1245هـ/1829م ميمّماً صوب مصر، ومنها زار بيت المقدس، ودمشق، قبل أن يؤوب إلى فزان، فبرنو، حتى وصل صكتو سنة 1832م فاستضافه أميرها محمد بللو بن عثمان الذي أكرمه بتزويج بنته مريم منه ، وأشركه في نشاطات الدولة سياسياً ودينياً وجهاداً⁶، خلال سبع سنوات، فغادرها سنة 1838م إلى غرب إفريقيا عازماً على إقامة إمبراطورية إسلامية تجانية. مرّ بالنيجر، فسيغو، فماسينا، فكنكان، مقيماً في فوتاجلون مدة، قبل أن يؤسس بشرق غينيا زاويته في دينغراي Dinguiraye ، مقابل جزيرة سنوية يقدمها للوثني بمبا ساخو Yimba Sako، الذي كان يسيطر المنطقة. وظل ثلاث سنوات 1265هـ/1849م-1268هـ/1851م في تربية أتباعه، ونشر طريقته، وشراء الأسلحة لفتح المدن الوثنية.⁷

¹ - ينظر: جوف، محمد : أعلام الهدى بغرب إفريقيا، ط 1، 1999م، دكار، السنغال، ص 183-223.

² - اشتهر لدى بعض القبائل الإفريقية اشتراك البنات والأولاد في اسم " آدم " .

³ - KA, Thierno : Ecole de Pir Saniokhor, GIA , Dakar, Sénégal.

⁴ - لي، محمد أحمد : رحلات الحاج عمر طال إلى الأقطار الإسلامية، ندوة ذكرى مرور مائتي سنة على ميلاده، دكار، السنغال، 1998م، ص 2.

⁵ - ينظر: قدام، نعيم : إفريقيا الغربية في ظل الإسلام، الجزائر، لا.ط، 1975م، ص 119.

⁶ - تال، محمد المنتقى : الجواهر والدرر في سير الشيخ الحاج عمر، دار البراق، ط 1، سنة 2005م، بيروت، لبنان، ص 47-150.

⁷ - صمب، د. عامر : الأدب السنغالي العربي، الشركة الوطنية للنشر، لا.ط، 1398هـ/1978م، الجزائر، ج 1 ، ص 48.

حول منطق الخطاب السياسي

"الجهادي" عند الحاج عمر¹

خالد شكر اوي
معهد الدراسات الإفريقية
جامعة محمد الخامس السويسي - الرباط

ملخص : تعتبر مرحلة حكم الحاج عمر تال في السودان الغربي مرحلة مهمة في تطور الفكر السياسي بغرب إفريقيا. فمن خلال إنتاجاته العلمية الغزيرة التي تبرر مبادئه السياسية، نجح الحاج عمر في إبداع خطاب سياسي - ديني شكل ثورة في ميدان الفكر الإسلامي في منطقة حوض السنغال والنيجر.

ويرتكز هذا الخطاب السياسي على إعادة النظر في العلاقة التي أوصى بها الإسلام بين الرعايا والسلطة كمؤسسة. فيمكن القول أن الحاج عمر قد خلق نموذجا لتدبير الشأن العام يربط بين مفهوم السلطة السياسية على المستوى المدني من جهة والإيديولوجية الدينية المبنية على الميتافيزيقا والخطاب الإلهي والنبوي من جهة أخرى. تحاول هذه الدراسة تحليل الخطاب السياسي الذي أنتجه الحاج عمر وكذا أتباعه، والموجه أساسا إلى المجموعات المستهدفة، الإسلامية منها وغير الإسلامية.

Résumé : L'ascension d'al-Hajj Omar Tall au Soudan occidental représente une séquence importante de l'évolution de la pensée politique ouest africaine. En produisant une littérature qui tend à légitimer l'acte politique, al-Hajj Omar a formulé un discours politico-religieux à même de révolutionner la situation de l'Islam dans les bassins Sénégal et Niger. Ce discours repose sur une relecture de la relation préconisée dans la conception islamique entre les sujets *R'ayya* et le pouvoir en tant qu'institution. Al Hajj Omar en ce sens a produit un modèle de gouvernance reliant le concept de pouvoir et de l'autorité politique sur le plan civil basé sur l'acte autoritaire régissant les relations entre le sujet et le groupe social et une superstructure mythico-religieuse basée sur la métaphysique et la projection prophétique et divine.

Cet article tend à analyser le discours politique produit par Al-Hajj Omar en plus de celui de ses disciples, ce même discours est adressé en priorité aux groupes conquis, déjà islamisés, et aux futures espaces de conquêtes généralement des espaces islamiques. Quand aux espaces animistes al-Hajj Omar n'a produit qu'un seul discours celui de l'autorité et de la force.

¹ - "Le saint est alors une métaphore qui renvoie à une histoire de groupes mobiles, insuffisamment fixés au sol, et à une société où des critères ordonnés d'accès à l'autorité font défaut" Hammoudi, Abdallah, "Sainteté, pouvoir et société", *Annales E.S.C.*, XXXV, 1980, p. 636.



مراسلات تجارية

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ألهمة الأخ أبو السعود؛ 19 - هواتف أسرار
البسملة في إحاض استنباط المسيحي
المهلهلة؛ 20 - ديوان شعر.

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1 - أحاديث البلاد؛ 2 - ما ورد في الفصد
والحجامة؛ 3 - المولد النبوي؛ 4 - الإسراء
والمعراج؛ 5 - أسرار البسملة، ناقصة ورقة؛
6 - حسن التبيان في معنى مدلول القرآن؛
7 - الصلح بين المجتهدين؛ 8 - القهوة
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تال، الحاج عمر بن سعيد بن عثمان

(1213هـ/1797م - 1280هـ/1864م)

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ولد عمر بن سعيد بن عثمان تال في بلدة
«هلوار» بفوتاتورو (السنغال) عام
1797م. وكان عاشر إخوته الاثني عشر من

ونظائر هذه المسائل مع الرهبان كثيرة، وهي
مبسطة في مضامينها.

ثم يقول المترجم له: «ولما رأي صغير السن
وكان سني إذ ذاك نحو تسع عشرة سنة قال
لي: تصلح أن تكون مثل ولد ولدي، فمن أين
جاءتك هذه المعرفة التامة؟ فقلت له: جميع
ما سألتني عنه هو من علوم البداية، ولو
خضت معي في علوم النهاية لأسمعتك ما
يصم أذنيك، وفي هذا القدر كفاية؛ فترك
المناظرة ورجع القهقري، وشاع صيتي في
مالطة بين الرهبان والكبراء، وكنت إذا مررت
في السوق يحترمونني وما خدمت كافرا قط.
وكان سبب خلاصي رؤيا مبشرة؛ ومن يومها
ركبت سفينة النجاة متوجها للإسكندرية، ثم
منها إلى القاهرة بمصر، ثم سافرت للحجاز
مرارا، ودخلت اليمن وعمان والبحرين
والبصرة وحلب ودمشق وتوجهت للروم، ثم
ألقيت عصا التسيار في بيت المقدس،
وسكنت بها، وتأهلت سنة 1172هـ/
1758م». وبقي بها إلى أن توفي لايسا ثوب
الأبرار الصالحين، وتلقاه أهلها بالتكريم
والإجلال والتعظيم، وأقام بها عاكفا على
درس التفسير والحديث النبوي الشريف
بالحرم القدسي داخل القبة الصخراء المشرفة
فأقبل عليه الناس من جهة، وازدحموا حول
دروسه.

وكان يفر من الموالي والحكام، ويتباعد عنهم
وهم يترجون التقرب منه ويقفون على بابه
مرارا ولا يجتمع عليهم، ولا يلتفت إليهم،
فزاد مقامه عند الناس، وارتفع قدره عندهم.
وقد قدم الوزير عبد الله بن إبراهيم الشهير
بالجنجي إلى القدس الشريف وأراد الاجتماع

بالشيخ، وجد في ذلك وترجاه أعيان هنالك،
فلم يقبل وامتنع وردع الوسائط ومنع.

وجاءته الفتيا وهو لها كاره، وأنشد قول من
قال:

إذا أنت لم تنصف أخاك وجدته
على طرف الهجران إن كان يعقل
ويركب حد السيف من أن تضيمه
إذا لم يكن عن ساحة السيف مزحل
أما نظمه فهو رائع جيد كقوله مذيلا على بيت
امرى القيس:

قفا نبك من ذكرى حبيب ومثزل
بشقط اللوى بين الدخول فحومل

قفا برربوع العامرية إنني
كلفت بها من حين عهد التحمل

ولوذا بها ثم أنشقا طيب عرفها
وقصا حديثا لالاسيف المعلل

فيا سائق الأضغان يطوي فدا
إلى دوحة الجرعى رويدك فانزل

بحيرة نجد سادة الحي كم روت
ثقا لهم طيب الحديث المسلسل

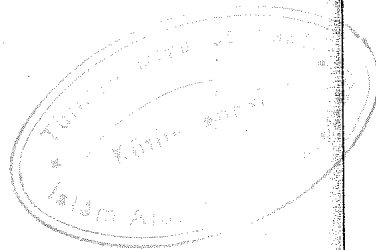
فديتهم من جيرة لا عدمتهم
حما زمام للنزول المملل

لنارهم تعشو السراة وترتوي
بحوضهم الأصفى على كل منهل

سقتهم غريقات التهاني كرامة
وأخصب واديهم بندق ومنديل

ونادى بشوق مذ غدا الركب سائرا
قفا نبك من ذكرى حبيب ومثزل

10 AĞU 2007



MADDE YAYINLANDIYAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

el-Hac Omar

EL-HADJ OMAR FOUTIYOU TALL ET LA COLONISATION OU LE MARTYR D'UN RÉSISTANT AFRICAIN

*Pr. Iba Der THIAM **

Cette communication du Pr. Iba Der THIAM fait partie des Actes du colloque du Bicentenaire de la naissance d'El Hadj Omar Foutiyou TALL, qui s'est tenu à Dakar du 14 au 19 décembre 1998 et que l'Institut a accepté de publier.

N'étant pas parvenue à temps, le comité scientifique de la Revue de l'Institut des Etudes Africaines a jugé utile de l'insérer dans ce numéro d' "Al-Maghrib Al-Ifriqî".

Le 11 octobre 1921, parlant au nom du Conseil Général de la colonie du Sénégal, devant le Ministre Albert Sarraut en visite officielle dans le pays, le Président Louis Guillabert avait déclaré, pour célébrer les liens anciens de coexistence commune unissant les deux peuples : "au Sénégal, il n'y a qu'un parti : le parti français".

Ces propos, que des décennies écoulées depuis n'ont nullement altéré, prouvent à l'évidence, que l'amitié entre le France et le Sénégal est une réalité ancienne et tenace qu'il ne viendrait, à l'esprit de personne, de nier ou de remettre en cause.

L'ambassadeur de France et le Président Abdou DIOUF ne l'ont-ils pas, chacun à sa manière, magnifié, hier, à l'ouverture du colloque ?

* Professeur titulaire, Historien, ancien ministre de l'Education nationale du Sénégal député à l'Assemblée nationale.

Africa, and as a precautionary measure against the Shī‘ī threat.

Eventually, Ibn Ḥafṣūn sought peace (303/916) from the amīr, who entrusted the task of negotiating peace terms to his Christian physician and wazīr, Yahyā b. Ishāk, and to his ḥāḍib, Badr b. Aḥmad. It would seem that Ibn Ḥafṣūn was pressed to take this step by his Christian supporters, led by Dja‘far b. Maḥsim (Maximo), bishop of Bobastro.

The terms agreed upon seem to have been quite favourable to Ibn Ḥafṣūn, for he and his descendants after him were to retain Bobastro as well as 162 other fortresses (*Muktabas*, v, 115).

Unvanquished, ‘Umar b. Ḥafṣūn died in Bobastro on 16 Sha‘bān 305/1 February 918, after a rebellious career which spanned almost forty years. He was survived by four sons, three of whom—Dja‘far, Sulaymān and Ḥafṣ—successively ruled Bobastro and intermittently rebelled against the amīr of Cordova. Eventually, Ḥafṣ surrendered and joined the amīr’s expedition in Galicia. Bobastro finally fell on 23 Dhu ‘l-Ḥa‘da 315/19 January 928. Two months later, ‘Abd al-Rahmān entered Bobastro; ‘Umar’s body was disinterred and it was found that he had been buried according to Christian rites, a point which was taken as clear evidence of his apostasy. His body was removed to Cordova and crucified between the bodies of two of his sons.

The great mosque built by Ibn Ḥafṣūn at the outset of his rebellion was demolished, as it had allegedly been built with the proceeds of Muslim spoils. New mosques were now built in Bobastro while existing churches were demolished. Fortresses throughout the province of Reiyo were likewise destroyed and their Christian occupants deported to the lowlands which they had occupied prior to Ibn Ḥafṣūn’s rebellion.

‘Umar b. Ḥafṣūn appears to have been an adventurer, an opportunist and man of ambition who aspired to achieve independence. His real aim throughout was to achieve for himself in al-Andalus what had been achieved by the Aghlabid amīrs of Ḳayrawān, i.e. *de facto* independence with nominal allegiance to a remote caliphate. Initially, circumstances were favourable to him, but after his defeat at Poley (278/891), his power steadily declined.

Al-Nāṣir’s conciliatory but firm policy, the blockade of the Straits, the incessant attacks on Bobastro and its district, the recurrent famines and epidemics, the divisions within the ranks of his followers and the exhaustion of the people by the long-running struggle—all these factors combined led to the eventual failure of the rebellion. Yet, under the peace agreement concluded with al-Nāṣir, ‘Umar b. Ḥafṣūn retained Bobastro and quite a large number of fortresses for himself and his descendants. He was not beaten in battle nor was Bobastro captured by force. Al-Nāṣir probably saw fit to conciliate ‘Umar b. Ḥafṣūn by keeping him in control of Bobastro as his vassal so that he could free himself to deal with the other rebels and to concentrate on the new Shī‘ī power which posed a far greater threat both to the Maghrib and al-Andalus.

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(AMIN TIBI)

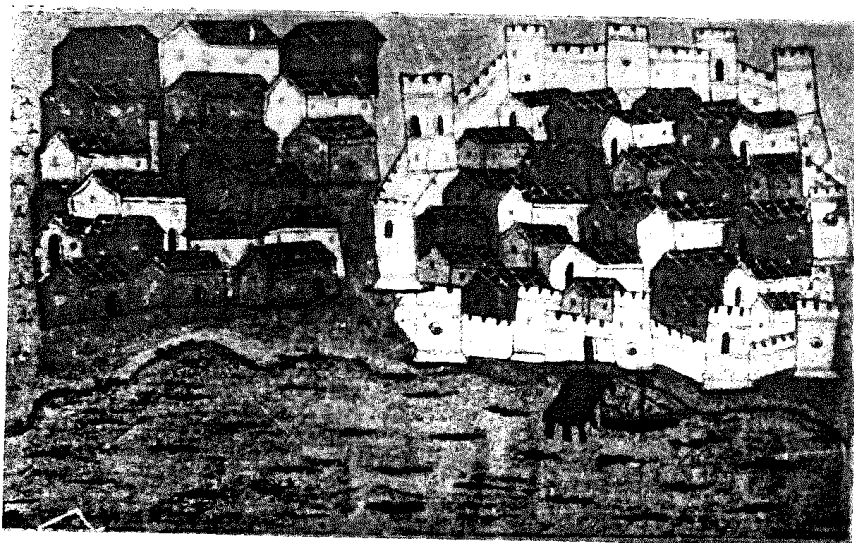
‘UMAR B. HUBAYRA [see IBN HUBAYRA].

‘UMAR B. IBRĀHĪM AL-KHAYYĀMĪ [see ‘UMAR KHAYYĀM].

✓ ‘UMAR B. SA’ĪD AL-FŪTĪ (ca. 1796-1864) a distinguished scholar and muḡāhid of the Tidjāniyya *ṭarīqa* [q.v.] in the western Sudan. ‘Umar was born in Halwar in Futa Toro (present-day Senegal) to a modest scholarly family of the Fulbe [q.v.] ethnic group. He was initiated into the Tidjāniyya in Mauritania by ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Nākil. A turning point in ‘Umar’s life was his pilgrimage to Mecca, on which he set out, according to traditions cited by Ly-Tall (*Un Islam militant*, 83), in 1825. While in the Ḥidjāz (1828-30) ‘Umar was attached to Muḥammad al-Ghālī, the Tidjānī *khalīfa* for al-Ḥidjāz. In his book *Rimāḥ hizb al-raḥīm* (i, 194-5) ‘Umar relates that besides instructing him in the special teachings of the Tidjāniyya, Muḥammad al-Ghālī appointed him *khalīfa* of the Tidjāniyya for the western Sudan. On the way back from Mecca, ‘Umar spent about six years (1832-8) in Sokoto [q.v.], during which he had very close contacts with sultan Muḥammad Bello, whose daughter he married.

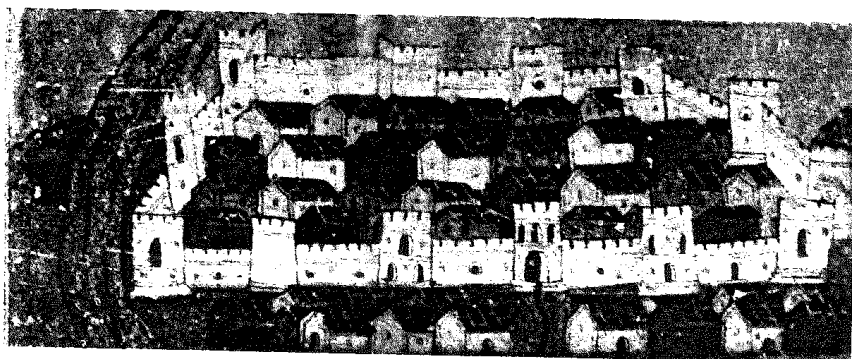
‘Umar b. Sa’īd’s career as a muḡāhid was related to the self-esteem which he developed as a result of his relations with Muḥammad al-Ghālī and Muḥammad Bello and to his acquaintance with the ḡihād tradition of Sokoto, but it did not result directly from these. For after leaving Sokoto and spending some time in Masina, ‘Umar settled down to the life of a religious teacher in a community of his own which

Has Emer
modèles
papefne
(Elle mū-
lennedon)
lors. III, 38-39



Kilia

Archives de Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul-Revan 1272 fol. 8r°



Cetatea Albă

Archives de Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul-Revan 1272 fol. 8v°

DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ
7

NOTES SUR L'ORIGINE DE LA *ṬARĪQA* DES *TIĠĀNIYYA* ET SUR LES DÉBUTS D'AL-ḤAĠĠ 'UMAR

PAR

B. G. MARTIN

Bien que l'ordre des *Ṭiġāniyya* soit l'un des plus récents ordres soufis ou confréries musulmanes (*ṭarīqa*), il est aussi l'un des plus répandus en Afrique Occidentale. Son expansion dans cette région est liée au nom d'al-Ḥaġġ 'Umar Tal (1794-1864), dernier des grands chefs de *ġihād* au xix^e siècle. 'Umar en effet donna une impulsion et une extension nouvelles à la *ṭarīqa* des *Ṭiġāniyya* qui existait depuis 1196/1781, date de sa fondation en Algérie par Sidī Aḥmad al-Tiġānī.

Jusqu'ici les historiens qui avaient étudié le *ġihād* du xix^e siècle avaient manifesté moins d'intérêt pour le chef tiġānī que pour le trio important et attachant formé par 'Uṭmān dan Fodio, son frère 'Abd Allāh et Muḥammad Bello, fils de 'Uṭmān. Le nombre considérable de textes que ces trois hommes ont laissés (presque 300 en tout) a contribué à diffuser leur renom. Leurs écrits sont largement répandus à travers l'Afrique Occidentale et la lecture en est très accessible. On ne peut en dire autant de la majorité des textes de leurs contemporains : Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kanemī de Bornou, Šehu Aḥmadu de Masina ou al-Ḥaġġ 'Umar, dont l'importance n'est cependant pas moindre.

Al-Ḥaġġ 'Umar en particulier est une figure qui mérite d'être analysée. Il ne serait pas inexact de le présenter comme un des chefs musulmans les plus influents qui se soient jamais manifestés en Afrique Occidentale. Après

Revue des Etudes Islamiques c. 37 (sag. 2), s. 267-230
1969 (PARIS)

MUṢṬAFĀ b. AḤMAD ḤAMMĀD

1. *Jawāb li-risāla mursala ilā Aḥmad Sīkū*
MS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 866.

°UMAR b. JA°FAR b. AL-MAHDĪ

1. *R. ilā Aḥmad Sīkū*
MS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 857.

MUḤAMMAD b. AḤMAD al-Sāyawī al-Jaljāwī al-Ṣanbayātī, known as *Gidāḍo Modibbo*

Since he dates his treatise by the reign of *amīr al-mu°minīn* Aḥmad III [of Māsina], he may have been from that region; his *nisba* al-Sāyawī indicating place of residence, might refer to Say in Niger.

1. *al-Minaḥ al-mufīda li-ahl al-ḥukm wa°l-ma°rifa*
Replies to a series of *fiqh* questions in about 100 pp.
MS: Niamey, 1294.

ANON

Q. fī madḥ Aḥmad Sīkū
MS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 868.

AL-ḤĀJJ °UMAR, HIS DESCENDANTS, AND FOLLOWERS

°UMAR b. SA°ID b. °UTHMĀN b. MUKHTĀR b. °ALĪ b. MUKHTĀR al-Fūtī al-Ṭūrī al-Gidiwī al-Tijānī, known as *al-Ḥājj °Umar*, or *°Umar Tall*, b. c 1210/1794-5, d. Ramaḍān 1280/9 February-9 March 1864

Anon (1918); Tyam (1935); al-Tijānī (1383/1963-4); Abun Nasr (1965); Holden (1966); Willis (1967), (1970), (1989); Marquet (1968); Martin (1969); Mūsā Kamara (1970, 1975); St Martin (1970), (1976b); Samb (1972), 41-72; Dumont (1974); : Jah (1979); Ba (1980); Robinson (1985); Schmitz (1985, 1988); al-Zuwāri (1989); Ly-Tall (1991); Bousbina (1995-6), 61-7; Dieng (1997); Caam (c. 2000).

Born c. 1794 at Halwar, the principal town of the province of Futa Toro, some 50 km. south-east of Podor in the central Senegal river valley, he

was educated first by his father and older brothers (he was the seventh son of his mother), and other teachers, and then by his brother-in-law Lamin Sakho, "an authority on Arabic grammar" (Robinson (1985), 70). At some time during his youth he visited Futa Jallon, and was initiated into the Tijānī Path by °Abd al-Karīm al-Nāqil whose *silsila* went back to the founder Aḥmad al-Tijānī through Mawlūd Fāl and the great Idaw °Alī *muqaddam* Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiz.

In c. 1826 he left his homeland to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca, perhaps passing through Hausaland and Bornu on the way. In Mecca he came in contact with Muḥammad Ghālī, a *khalīfa* of Aḥmad al-Tijānī, became his devoted disciple for three years, and was finally designated by him as a *khalīfa* and given the authority to initiate sixteen *muqaddams* who in turn could each initiate four others.

On his way back to western Africa he passed through Bornu, where he tried to patch up the quarrel between Bornu and Sokoto, and then spent about seven years (c. 1831-8) in Sokoto, participating in some of Muḥammad Bello's *jihād* campaigns, and proselytising for the Tijānī Path. Bello evidently had high regard for him and gave him his daughter Maryam in marriage. After Bello's death in 1837, he left for Hamdallāhi, where he spent a while as guest of Shaykh Aḥmad Lobbo, passing on to Segu, where he was imprisoned for several months by its non-Muslim ruler, and finally to Futa Jallon, where he was well received by Almami Bakar. The latter gave him lands at Jegunko (Diegounkou) and it was there, in the *zāwiya*-like community he established, that he completed the writing of the *Kitāb al-rimāḥ* in early Ramaḍān 1261/early September 1845. In 1849 he moved to Dinguiraye, from where he launched his first *jihād* against the kingdom of Tamba to the west of Futa Jallon.

Much of the rest of his life, until his mysterious death in 1864, is a story of conflict and conquest leading to the establishment of a large but fragile state based on Segu with regional capitals at Dinguiraye, Nioro and Bandiagara. In 1861 *al-ḥājj* °Umar's forces conquered Segu, and its ruler fled to Hamdullāhi to seek the protection of Aḥmad III, ruler of the Māsina Muslim state founded by his grandfather Aḥmad Lobbo. This led *al-ḥājj* °Umar to make a move against Māsina, and in 1862 he took Hamdallāhi and put Aḥmad III to death. In the following year the Kunta chief Aḥmad al-Bakkā°ī joined forces with the Bari clan of Masina and

meetings and studies in the Holy Cities, on the way there, and on the way back. The wandering scholar is a familiar feature of medieval societies: the pilgrimage ensured that the wanderers met, at a determined time and place. It provided the Islamic world as a whole with a centre and a forum, which contributed greatly to the formation and maintenance of an Islamic consensus—almost, one might say, an Islamic public opinion. The Almoravid and Almohad revolutions in the Maghrib were started by returning pilgrims, made aware through travel of the religious backwardness of their own peoples. Indian pilgrims brought the revived Naqshbandi movement to the Middle East; other Indian pilgrims brought back the stimulus of Wahhābism.

The effect of the pilgrimage on communications and commerce, on ideas and institutions, has not been adequately explored; it may never be, since much of it will, in the nature of things, have gone unrecorded. There can, however, be no doubt that this institution—the most important agency of voluntary, personal mobility before the age of the great European discoveries—must have had profound effects on all the communities from which the pilgrims came, through which they travelled, and to which they returned.

(B. LEWIS)

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the *Hadjdj* of the Shi'a see Kazem Zadeh in *RMM*, xix (1912), 144 ff.

— **HADJDJ**, *Hādjdj*, one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca [see **HADJDJ**].

— **AL-HADJDJ HAMMŪDA** b. 'ABD AL-'AZİZ (d. 1201/1787), secretary to 'Ali b. al-Husayn, Bey of Tunis (1172–96/1759–82), and then of his successor Hammūda b. 'Alī (1196–1229/1782–1814), composed a *Kitāb al-Bāshā*, a history of the Hafṣids and the Turkish governors of Tunis, which is still largely in manuscript. A portion dealing with the wars of Khayr al-Dīn and 'Arūdī was published by Houdas, *Chrestomathie maghrébine*, Paris 1891, 14–96; two other portions were translated by A. Rousseau (Algiers 1849) and Cherbonneau (*JA*, July 1851).

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(R. BASSET*)

— **AL-HADJDJ 'UMAR** b. SA'ID b. 'UTHMĀN TĀL, a celebrated Toucouleur conqueror who founded a short-lived kingdom in west Sudan where he imposed the *Tidjānī wīrd*; he was also called al-Shaykh al-Murtaḍā, at the time when he was preaching. The son of the *tyerno* Saydu Tāl, who was a fervent Muslim, he was born in about 1797 at Halwar (Aloar on the maps), a village in Fūta Toro, 40 km. from Podor (Senegal); he belonged to the Torobe caste, of the Toucouleur race.

At the age of eighteen, after considerable study of the *Kur'ān* he devoted himself to study and meditation, and then received the *Tidjānī wīrd* of Sidi (Sayyidī) 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad Nagel, through the intermediary of Sidi Mawlūl Fal and the Moorish *shaykhs* of the Id-aw 'Alī. When 23 years old he set out for Mecca by way of Kong, Sokoto, Fezzān and Egypt. There he was once more initiated by Sidi Muḥammad al-Ghābī Abū Tālib who made him a *Tidjānī mukaddam* and even *khalīfa* for the negro countries. He visited Medina and Jerusalem, returned to Mecca three times, then stayed at al-Azhar, where he had discussions with the *shaykhs* of the *Khalwatiyya* [q.v.]. From there he returned through Fezzān and Bornu, after performing several miracles, according to the legend. He escaped from the assassins sent by the sultan al-Kanemi of Bornu who nevertheless had given him his daughter Maryatū in marriage, and also numerous slaves whom he made his *talibes* (*talaba*). For seven years he remained in Sokoto with Muḥammad Bello, the son and heir of 'Uthmān dan Fodio, and married his daughter Maryam. He travelled through Hamdallahi, the capital of Macina, to Segou where he was arrested by king Tyefolo at the instigation of *shaykh* Amadou (Aḥmad) the king of Macina, who looked on him as a dangerous agitator; on being liberated, he returned to Fūta in 1838. At that period he was for the most part regarded as an informed and inspired religious leader.

After being received with great deference by the *almamy* (*imām*), he settled from 1838 to 1848 in Fūta Dījallon, at Diegounko near Timbo, where he founded a *zāwiya*; he instructed a large number of disciples and worked the Boure gold-mines. In 1846 he returned alone to preach the *Tidjānī wīrd* at Fūta Toro, in his own country, with only moderate success; he also visited Gambia, Saloum, Sine, Baol, and Cayor and made friendly contacts with the governor Caille. In 1848, alarmed by his growing power and the number of his devotees, the *almamy*

The document is almost certainly a conflation, with only the fiscal and religious provisions properly belonging to 'Umar's time.

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DAVID WAINES

'UMAR TĀL (1794/7–1864), known in Fūta as al-Ḥājj 'Umar ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Uthmān of Gede; intellectual and military leader in the central and western Sudanic region. Born in Fūta Tōro, a Fulbe state in the middle valley of the Senegal River, 'Umar first achieved prominence during the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, which he completed three times in the years 1828–1830. At the same time he obtained an appointment as the chief representative (*khalīfah*) in West Africa for the Islamic order called the Tijāniyah, which had been founded in North Africa in the eighteenth century. With these credentials 'Umar returned to West Africa, visited the capitals of the principal Islamic states, attracted a following of disciples, wives, and slaves, and established a reputation as a brilliant scholar, miracle worker, and military strategist. Much of his reputation emerged during a stay of seven years in Sokoto, the capital of the Islamic confederation of northern Nigeria. In 1839 'Umar traveled through the inland delta of the Niger River, where another Fulbe-dominated Islamic state called the caliphate of Hamdullāhi held sway. In 1840 he settled in Fūta Jalon, yet another Fulbe polity in the mountains of Guinea. In the small town of Jegunko he taught, formed his growing community, and completed his major work, *Rimāḥ*, which serves as an important guide for Tijāniyah clerics today.

Beginning in 1846 'Umar moved in the direction of a military *jihād*, or war against unbelievers. He recruited in his original homeland of Fūta Tōro. He moved his rapidly expanding community to Dingiray, a settlement east of Fūta Jalon under the control of the Mandinka king of Tamba. In Dingiray the Umarian forces collected arms, built fortifications, and created the conditions of conflict with the Mandinka. Their victories over Tamba in 1852–1853 launched the *jihād*, established

'Umar's reputation as a military leader, and attracted thousands of new recruits.

'Umar subsequently directed his forces to the north, to the upper valley of the Senegal River. With an army of about 15,000 he defeated the Bambara kingdom of Kārta, which had dominated the upper valley for decades. In 1857 'Umar laid siege to Medine, a new post established by the expanding French, but he suffered heavy casualties when Governor Louis Faidherbe arrived with new troops from the coast. 'Umar then led his survivors to the east to regroup, then back to the west in 1858–1859 in a bold recruiting campaign along the river valley. With his predominantly new army he defeated the renowned Bambara kingdom of the Middle Niger, Segu, and made the city of the same name the capital of his far-flung but poorly organized state.

In 1862 'Umar led most of his troops against the caliphate of Hamdullāhi in retaliation for Hamdullāhi's assistance to Segu against the *jihād*. He achieved an initial victory, but the Hamdullāhi Fulbe, aided by the Kunta clerics of Timbuktu, revolted in 1863, destroyed the Umarian forces, and killed 'Umar in 1864. The Umarian *jihād* ended at this point, but the fragile polity it created endured until the French conquest some thirty years later. The principal leader of the state was 'Umar's oldest son, Aḥmad, commonly called Amadu Sheku, and its principal capital was Segu.

The basic structure of the Umarian *jihād* consisted of recruitment of men and weapons in the west, in the regions of Senegal and Fūta Jalon, to wage war in the east, against the Mandinka and Bambara. 'Umar relied particularly on the Muslims of the west who, like himself, were dissatisfied citizens of the Fulbe states of Fūta Jalon, Bundu, and Fūta Tōro. He fought against people who could be generally classified as non-Muslims and who blocked the emergence of Islam in the western Sudan. The Segu Bambara were regarded as particularly notorious "pagans." The campaign against Hamdullāhi was not part of the original design of the *jihād*. When 'Umar decided to undertake it he wrote a long apologia to justify his actions, and the dissension produced by the conflict of Muslim against Muslim, and Fulbe against Fulbe, helped produce the revolt of 1863–1864.

The basic structure of the Umarian *jihād* contrasts with the experience of earlier Fulbe-led *jihāds* and the states (Sokoto, Hamdullāhi, and the two Fūtas) that resulted from them. The earlier pattern consisted of internal revolutions against "pagan" or nominal Muslim ruling classes, followed by expansion to the exterior. This pattern was codified in the writings of the Sokoto leadership and adopted by 'Umar himself in his own writings. 'Umar could not, however, lead a second internal revolution in his native land, and he decided to recruit

The NCD theorists' fourth assertion is that nationalization in Egypt completely undermined the foundations of private ownership and prepared conditions for liquidation of capitalist relations. Hosseinzadeh correctly points out that nationalization did not change capital-labor relations. While improvements were made in working conditions, workers participated neither in ownership nor control. Moreover, private property was not undermined by these regulations. Indeed, a new class, composed of top state bureaucrats and a managerial and technocratic elite, disproportionately benefited from the new order (pp. 135-54). Unfortunately, the author does not discuss other social classes and their relationship to the state.

Finally, NCD theorists state that it was Anwar Sadat who reversed Egypt's "socialist orientation." According to Hosseinzadeh, increasing budget deficits coupled with the demands of the new bourgeoisie for economic liberalism led Nasser to appoint a new prime minister to undertake austerity measures. After that, although Nasser used leftist phraseology, "socialist" measures were abandoned in practice. Sadat simply continued Nasser's policies on a larger scale (pp. 157-77).

Hosseinzadeh concludes that Nasser's Arab socialism, like socialism in the NCD theory, amounts to nothing more than state capitalism. He argues that the rise, the rule, and the decline of Nasserism were primarily due to internal socioeconomic changes and not Nasser's adoption of scientific socialism. Unfortunately, the author does not address the question of whether a different theory of NCD may be more "plausible." He fails to mention any of the different versions of the theory, not does he discuss how these might have provided a better theoretical framework. Subsequently, the large question, whether developing countries can "leap over a capitalist stage" to socialism, remains unanswered.

Despite its shortcomings, Hosseinzadeh's work offers extensive historical and theoretical analysis that may prove to be helpful for those interested in development. Moreover, the strength of the book lies in the application of the analysis to Egypt. By utilizing Western, Arabic, and especially Soviet sources, the author offers a completely revised history of Nasser's Egypt.

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KHALIL DOKHANCHI

JOHN RALPH WILLIS, *In the Path of Allah: The Passion of al-Hajj 'Umar. An Essay into the Nature of Charisma in Islam* (London: Frank Cass, 1989). Pp. 268.

This book has long been announced. In 1985 it was advertised, as if published, on the dust-jacket of *Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa* edited by J. R. Willis and also published by Frank Cass. After such a long wait it is all the more disappointing to find that behind the lofty-sounding title of the book there is a poverty of scholarship—indeed, a perversion of scholarship—coupled with what almost seems like a pastiche of 19th-century "Orientalism" that leave this reviewer, at least, dumbfounded. Reading this book I found myself feeling as if I were in a time warp. In the first place, although Professor Willis refers in his bibliography to some of the more recent scholarship on al-Hajj 'Umar, the great 19th-century Tijani propagandist and *mujāhid* of West Africa, such as David Robinson's *The Holy War of Umar Tal* (Oxford, 1985) and F. Dumont's *L'Anti-Sultan ou al-Hajj Umar combattant de la foi* (Dakar, 1974), it would appear that he has not read them, since nowhere in his text or footnotes does he refer to them, much less take them into account in his discussions of his subject. The same is true, *pari passu*, for the rest of his bibliography, which is very thin on work

published in the past twenty years. The reason for this seems to be that, in essence, the book is little more than the publication of the author's 1970 University of London Ph.D. thesis, whimsically dressed up in a language of studied archaism, strained metaphors, and grandiloquent dramatics. It is written as a hagiography and as such suffers from all the failings of the genre: an overblowing of the charismatic genius of its subject, an "inevitability" about the path of his career (his "passion"), and a clichéd presentation of all those who opposed the hero or obstructed his progress as malicious or villainous. In the manner of a hagiography it "tells the story" of al-Hajj 'Umar's life, his dreams, his visions, his trouncing of "the pagans," his struggle for the establishment of God's law on earth. In like manner it largely ignores social and economic context and has no thesis to it and, hence, no conclusions.

A few illustrations may help to make the point. In the world inhabited by al-Hajj 'Umar and Professor Willis, Segu, the capital of a powerful state on the Middle Niger (in modern Mali) for almost two centuries is seen as nothing more than "the great Bambara bastion of infidelity" (p. 2, cf. p. 98) or "one of the last redoubts of Sudanese [sic] unbelief" (p. 8). It is a world where al-Hajj 'Umar "made inroads into the domain of kufr" and "swept away most of the conceits which had puffed the pride of animist practice" (p. 145). It is also a world where (to quote the preface) "through a primary inspiration [al-Hajj 'Umar] became the momentum of Islamic revival—leaves the trodden path of *imitatio nabi* as the guidance of his mission is subsumed under a beautifying principle." Among al-Hajj 'Umar's enemies were two Muslim leaders of the area: Ahmadu Shaykhu, leader of the small state based on Hamdallahi in Masina, founded by his father, and Ahmadu Shaykhu's ally the Qadiri shaykh of Timbuktu, al-Bakka'i. We find that Ahmadu Shaykhu's side of the polemics with al-Hajj 'Umar was "soiled by specious lower qualities" (p. 145) and that his father was guilty of "the most deplorable excess" arising from "a boundless ambition barely concealed" (p. 45). As for al-Bakka'i, his alliance with Ahmadu Shaykhu brings forth the comment, "Thus the villain and his accomplice prepare their trickery" (p. 169) and we are warned that we shall "savor more of [al-Bakka'i's] cunning as the narrative proceeds" (p. 98). Thus is the opposition trashed.

Moving now to the substance of the book itself, let us start with the title, or at least the two subtitles. The subtitle, *The Passion of al-Hajj 'Umar*, clearly invites a comparison of al-Hajj 'Umar with al-Hallaj (and perhaps of J. R. Willis with Massignon!). There is little basis for the comparison of the two Muslim figures, apart from the fact that both al-Hajj 'Umar and al-Hallaj were strongly sufi-oriented. But there the comparison ends. Al-Hallaj was a deeply ascetic, creatively imaginative mystic only marginally involved in politics and strongly oriented towards martyrdom. Al-Hajj 'Umar, on the other hand, though a skillful exponent of sufi doctrines, many of which originated in the creative imagination of Ibn 'Arabi, himself contributed little or nothing original to them. He was strongly drawn to political action and the implementation of a *zāhir/shar'i* vision of Islam and died as a defeated warrior fleeing his pursuers, not as a martyr to ecstatic mystical excesses.

The second subtitle, *An Essay into the Nature of Charisma in Islam*, also calls for comment. In fact, there is absolutely no discussion of what charisma might be, or what it might mean "in Islam," let alone how the term might be applied to al-Hajj 'Umar. Weber, the great exponent of the concept in modern sociology, is ignored. Even Bryan Turner, who has useful chapters on "Charisma and the Origins of Islam" and "Saint and Sheikh" in his *Weber and Islam* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974) is bypassed. Despite this, the word "charisma" is splashed about at various places in the book, e.g. "[al-Hajj 'Umar's] persona and charisma provided the binding element of this great [administrative] edifice" (p. 146); he has "amazing force and charisma" (p. 147); "cannons were put to good effect . . . impregnating [sic] the Shaykh's charisma" (p. 175); the "mystic-mujaddid" notion "becomes the starting point for the transmission of the charismatic quality as an hereditary faculty

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HISTORY OF ISLAM

(Classical Period 1206–1900 C.E.)

Volume II

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Al-Haj Umar Tajana
1793–1898 C.E.

Muslim revival movements

During the nineteenth century when the affairs of the Muslims were at a low ebb, and the European imperial powers poised to occupy Muslim lands as colonies, many Muslim leaders appeared in various parts of the Muslim world to lead Muslim revival movements. Some leaders claimed to be Mahdi or Mujadids ordained by destiny to purify Islam, and restore to the Muslims their lost glory. Some leaders rose to exhort the Muslims to undertake Jihad against the enemies of Islam. One of such leaders who rose in the Senegal region of West Sudan was Al-Haj Umar Tajani.

Al Haj Umar Tajani

Umar b Said Tal was born in 1793 C.E. at Halwar in Futa Toro. He was a Yokolor of the Torodbe religious clan. He received religious education. After completing his education he went on a pilgrimage to Makhah. There he was initiated into the Tajani order of Sufism, and was declared as the "Khalifa" of the order in West Sudan. On return from the Hajj, he stayed at Skoto, and married Muhammad Bello's daughter Maryam. He took part in election of Bello's successor. Returning to his country he began as a teacher and a preacher. He was an eloquent speaker, and succeeded in making many followers. He exhorted his followers to undertake Jihad in the name of God. His call bore fruit, and he was able to build an army of his followers. Because of his growing strength, the authorities of his home country Futa Jallon imposed restrictions on his movements. In 1848 C.E. he shifted to Dinguiray east of Futa Jallon and made it his headquarter. Here more people gathered round him. In 1852 C.E. he launched his "Jehad". His first campaign was against the ruler of the principality of Karta. The campaign

References :

1. *Cambridge History of Islam.*
2. *A History of Islam in West Africa* : J. Spencer Trimingham.
3. *Islam in Africa* : Prof. Mahmud Brelvi.

619 -621

un secteur d'activité qui avait été longtemps la « chasse gardée » des francophones. Pour illustrer cette question soudanaise, nous avons choisi de reproduire ici les extraits d'un article publié dans *Contact*, « journal indépendant d'informations et d'opinion » paraissant à N'Djaména. Ce texte a été rédigé sous le couvert d'un pseudonyme, par une personnalité tchadienne qui connaît bien le monde arabe et qui est restée longtemps dans l'opposition avant d'occuper un poste ministériel important à la fin du régime Habré :

« La politique d'infiltration du FNI soudanais.

Depuis sa création, l'organisation des Frères musulmans au Soudan, qui est devenue le Front national islamique, a eu pour politique d'avoir des satellites dans les pays de la région (Tchad, Somalie, Ethiopie en particulier). Cette tendance est devenue très forte sous la direction actuelle de Hassane Al-Tourabi, qui maîtrise le français et l'anglais, et qui est, entre autres, un brillant universitaire et un fin tacticien. Pour ce qui est du Tchad, sa politique est simple : recruter des Tchadiens nés au Soudan, ou carrément des Soudanais appartenant à des groupes ethniques qui ont une présence au Tchad, les endoctriner idéologiquement, et les injecter dans la scène politique tchadienne. Et, depuis la création du FROLINAT, il n'y a pratiquement pas eu de tendances ou d'organisations tchadiennes qui ne se soient pas vu injectées dans ses rangs ce genre d'éléments. Si les éléments de l'époque du FROLINAT sont maintenant à bout de souffle, il y a une nouvelle génération plus dynamique qui a investi le MPS. Pendant le séjour du MPS au Soudan, un certain nombre de militants du FNI, en particulier ceux de l'ethnie zaghawa, ont eu pour directive de leur chef al-Tourabi d'infiltrer le MPS et d'y faire un travail d'agitation, de propagande pour créer un climat propice à la naissance d'un mouvement intégriste au Tchad. L'opération a assez bien réussi, dans la mesure où ces éléments ont pu parvenir à des postes sensibles dans le MPS, l'Armée et l'Etat²⁶. »

Jean-Louis Triaud

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE TIJANI PATH:
BEING AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION
OF THE CHAPTER HEADINGS
OF THE KITĀB AL-RIMĀH OF AL-HĀJJ 'UMAR

John O. Hunwick
with the assistance of Robert Kramer,
Richard McGrail and Daniel Shaw*

INTRODUCTION

The annotated translation which follows is the product of a seminar on Islamic texts led by Hunwick at Northwestern University in the winter and spring of 1988. Kramer, McGrail and Shaw were at that time graduate students pursuing research into Islamic topics. McGrail had a particular interest in Tijānī doctrines and has gone on to do research on the Niassène Tijāniyya in Senegal. There were reasons other than the purely 'local' for choosing this text to work on. Although the body of literature on Sūfism in sub-Saharan Africa has continued to grow, most of it has focussed on the political, social or economic roles of the 'brotherhoods'.¹ Although one must admit that such roles have been of considerable importance in modern African history, a focus solely on such roles overlooks the essential fact that these Sūfī 'brotherhoods' are first and foremost religious movements. It also ignores their intellectual underpinnings as well as their links with wider and deeper streams of Islamic thought. The translation of the chapter headings of al-Hājj 'Umar al-Fūtī's *Kitāb al-rimāh* presented below is therefore a conscious attempt

* We are grateful to Vincent Cornell, whose deep knowledge of Sūfī terminology saved us from some of the more serious errors of translation in the first draft. Bernd Radtke later brought to bear on the translation his profound understanding of the Sūfī tradition and we are deeply indebted to him for the enlightenment he provided. We also acknowledge with thanks the comments of Muḥammad Sani 'Umar on an intermediate draft of this paper. The numerous remaining imperfections and infelicities are, of course, entirely our own responsibility.

1. Notable exceptions are Fernand Dumont, *La Pensée Religieuse d'Amadou Bamba*, Dakar-Abidjan: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines, 1975 and Louis Brenner, *West African Sufi: the Religious Heritage and Spiritual Search of Cerno Bokar Saalif Taal*, London: C. Hurst & Co., 1984. More recently R. S. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad b. Idrīs and the Idrīsī Tradition*, London: C. Hurst & Co.—Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1990, has examined the spiritual legacy of a Sūfī shaykh whose disciples formed tariqa s in north-east Africa. For an overview of research and publication on Sūfism in West Africa, see Jean-Louis Triaud, 'Le thème confrérique en Afrique de l'Ouest : essai historique et bibliographique' in A. Popovic & G. Veinstein, *Les Ordres Mystiques dans l'islam : cheminements et situation actuelle*, Paris, Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1986, pp. 272-82.

26. Khalil Jameh, « Y a-t-il un danger intégriste au Tchad? », *Contact*, n° 6, juillet 1991 (extrait).

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST COMPASSIONATE, THE
MOST MERCIFUL

THE STATE IN ISLAM:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL IDEALS OF
AL-HAJJ UMAR AL-FUTI: 1794-1864 A.C. (1209-1281 A.H.)

Omar Jah,
M.A., Ph.D.

BACKGROUND:

Al-Hajj 'Umar al-Futi was born and brought up in Futa Toro, a region in the Southern Senegal. As a member of a well learned Fulani family, al-Hajj developed a keen interest in Islam and the study of Islamic Sciences. He was known to have memorised the Qur'an and mastered many Islamic Sciences in an early age. After completion of his studies, Umar had spent many years in teaching and research. In the year 1825 (1241) al-Hajj 'Umar was known to have embarked on a long journey to perform pilgrimage in Mecca. It was during his travel to, and long sojourn in the Holy-land, that al Hajj 'Umar developed interest in undertaking reform. Hence his Jihad by which he succeeded in establishing an Islamic State in the Western Sudan. Though short-lived the State al-Hajj 'Umar established (1852-1893 /1269-1311) was one of the most powerful Islamic States in the region. This paper attempts to analyse al-Hajj 'Umar's political ideals in order to see to what extent did they influence the development of the social, religious and political history of the region.

AL-HAJJ 'UMAR'S JIHAD AND ITS OBJECTIVES

Like many reform leaders in Islamic History, al-Hajj 'Umar al-Futi began his reform movement peacefully and continued to do so for over twenty years. From 1830-1852 / 1246-1269 the year he launched his militant jihad, al-Hajj 'Umar was known to have wandered from one region to another within and outside the Western Sudan; calling for reform in the Muslim Religious and

Mecelle-i Merkez-i Buhus, sayı: 1
(1403/1982) Riyad, s. 7-21.

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14 NİS 1981

MUṢṬAFĀ b. AḤMAD ḤAMMĀD

1. *Jawāb li-risāla mursala ilā Aḥmad Sīkū*
MS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 866.

°UMAR b. JA°FAR b. AL-MAHDĪ

1. *R. ilā Aḥmad Sīkū*
MS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 857.

MUḤAMMAD b. AḤMAD al-Sāyawī al-Jaljāwī al-Ṣanbayātī, known as *Gidado Modibbo*

Since he dates his treatise by the reign of *amīr al-mu'minīn* Aḥmad III [of Māsina], he may have been from that region; his *nisba* al-Sāyawī indicating place of residence, might refer to Say in Niger.

1. *al-Minah al-mufīda li-ahl al-ḥukm wa'l-ma'rifa*
Replies to a series of *fiqh* questions in about 100 pp.
MS: Niamey, 1294.

ANON

Q. fī madh Aḥmad Sīkū
MS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 868.

AL-ḤĀJJ °UMAR, HIS DESCENDANTS, AND FOLLOWERS

°UMAR b. SA°ID b. °UTHMĀN b. MUKHTĀR b. °ALĪ b. MUKHTĀR al-Fūtī al-Ṭūrī al-Gidiwī al-Tijānī, known as *al-Ḥājj °Umar*, or *°Umar Tall*, b. c 1210/1794-5, d. Ramaḍān 1280/9 February-9 March 1864

Anon (1918); Tyam (1935); al-Tijānī (1383/1963-4); Abun Nasr (1965); Holden (1966); Willis (1967), (1970), (1989); Marquet (1968); Martin (1969); Mūsā Kamara (1970, 1975); St Martin (1970), (1976b); Samb (1972), 41-72; Dumont (1974); : Jah (1979); Ba (1980); Robinson (1985); Schmitz (1985, 1988); al-Zuwārī (1989); Ly-Tall (1991); Bousbina (1995-6), 61-7; Dieng (1997); Caam (c. 2000).

Born c. 1794 at Halwar, the principal town of the province of Futa Toro, some 50 km. south-east of Podor in the central Senegal river valley, he

was educated first by his father and older brothers (he was the seventh son of his mother), and other teachers, and then by his brother-in-law Lamin Sakho, "an authority on Arabic grammar" (Robinson (1985), 70). At some time during his youth he visited Futa Jallon, and was initiated into the Tijānī Path by °Abd al-Karīm al-Nāqil whose *silsila* went back to the founder Aḥmad al-Tijānī through Mawlūd Fāl and the great Idaw °Alī *muqaddam* Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ.

In c.1826 he left his homeland to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca, perhaps passing through Hausaland and Bornu on the way. In Mecca he came in contact with Muḥammad Ghālī, a *khalīfa* of Aḥmad al-Tijānī, became his devoted disciple for three years, and was finally designated by him as a *khalīfa* and given the authority to initiate sixteen *muqaddams* who in turn could each initiate four others.

On his way back to western Africa he passed through Bornu, where he tried to patch up the quarrel between Bornu and Sokoto, and then spent about seven years (c. 1831-8) in Sokoto, participating in some of Muḥammad Bello's *jihād* campaigns, and proselytising for the Tijānī Path. Bello evidently had high regard for him and gave him his daughter Maryam in marriage. After Bello's death in 1837, he left for Hamdallāhi, where he spent a while as guest of Shaykh Aḥmad Lobbo, passing on to Segu, where he was imprisoned for several months by its non-Muslim ruler, and finally to Futa Jallon, where he was well received by Almami Bakar. The latter gave him lands at Jegunko (Diegoukou) and it was there, in the *zāwiya*-like community he established, that he completed the writing of the *Kitāb al-rimāḥ* in early Ramaḍān 1261/early September 1845. In 1849 he moved to Dinguiraye, from where he launched his first *jihād* against the kingdom of Tamba to the west of Futa Jallon.

Much of the rest of his life, until his mysterious death in 1864, is a story of conflict and conquest leading to the establishment of a large but fragile state based on Segu with regional capitals at Dinguiraye, Niore and Bandiagara. In 1861 *al-ḥājj* °Umar's forces conquered Segu, and its ruler fled to Hamdullāhi to seek the protection of Aḥmad III, ruler of the Māsina Muslim state founded by his grandfather Aḥmad Lobbo. This led *al-ḥājj* °Umar to make a move against Māsina, and in 1862 he took Hamdallāhi and put Aḥmad III to death. In the following year the Kunta chief Aḥmad al-Bakkā°ī joined forces with the Bari clan of Masina and

HAJJ See Pilgrimage: Hajj

HAJJ SALIM SUWARI, AL- (C. 1300)

Al-Hajj Salim Suwari is a name that appears in a number of scholarly lineages in West Africa. He is credited with transmitting a significant Maliki teaching tradition to a region stretching from Ghana and Burkina Faso to Senegal and Gambia in West Africa. This tradition included jurisprudence, exegesis, and the biography of the Prophet. Historians are divided between his provenance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the early fifteenth century. Those who support the latter believe that he played a leading role in the cultivation of extensive trade in gold between West African kingdoms and North Africa. According to them, al-Hajj Salim Suwari laid the foundation for a Maliki tradition that fostered trade and accepted the authority of non-Muslim rulers. It is this tradition that played a leading role in relations between Muslims and other religious groups until the Fulani Jihad states emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But it is also a tradition that continues today in countries like Senegal and other regions in West Africa.

Following the local hagiographies more closely, S. O. Sanneh believes that al-Hajj Salim Suwari should be situated in the twelfth century. Al-Hajj Salim Suwari performed the pilgrimage seven times, and on returning from the last one, he began a migration from Diakhe-Masina on the Niger River to Diakhe-Bambukhu further southwest on the Senegal River. There he founded a city-state with his many followers, and established the scholarly tradition that flourished for the next several generations. Sanneh also believes that al-Hajj Salim Suwari and his followers, the Jakhanke, were not directly engaged in the gold trade. Rather, they were engaged in agriculture (through the extensive use of slaves) and were devoted to travel and study. The Diakhe-Babukhu of al-Hajj Salim Suwari became a model for many similar city-states in the long history of Islam in West Africa.

See also Africa, Islam in; Islam and Other Religions; Networks, Muslim.

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Abdulkader Tayob

1-2 SUBAT 2007

HAI 'UMAR AL-TAL, AL- (1797-1864)

The last revolutionary in the *jihad* tradition of Western Sudan, Shaykh 'Umar al-Tal was born in Futa Toto, in the Senegambia region, where he received his religious training. While in Mecca for pilgrimage in 1826 he was appointed the caliph of the Tijaniya brotherhood in the Western Sudan. He lived in Mecca and Cairo, and eventually settled at the court of the Sokoto Caliphate. After almost a decade away from home he decided, in the late 1830s, to return to the Senegambia region. He settled first in Dingirai, a town on the frontiers of the Futa Jalon imamate. There he began to preach and build his own following. For the next decade, his focused primarily on writing and teaching. He used his authority to challenge the leaders of the locally powerful Qadiriya Sufi order.

In his efforts to forge a large Muslim state, 'Umar declared a jihad around 1852 or 1853, when he began to widen his military operations north toward the upper Senegal River through non-Muslim, Malinke-dominated areas. By then he had acquired firearms and was proving to be a formidable force in the region. By the mid-1850s he had established the Tukolor Muslim empire, with his capital at Niuro. His activities in the Senegambia eventually led to a confrontation with the French, who were seeking to establish absolute control over the region. 'Umar's military operations further east in the Muslim state of Massina were largely successful, until he was killed in 1864 during a counterattack. His successors divided up the empire and continued to challenge the French over the next couple of decades.

See also Africa, Islam in; Caliphate; Ibadat.

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Abdin Chande

HALLAJ, AL- (858-922)

The mystic and martyr Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallaj was born in 858 in Bayda, Persia. An Arabized Iranian whose

التجاني، الحاج عمر الفتوي

(1206هـ/1791م - 1281هـ/1864م)

كانت حركة الحاج عمر الفتوي هي آخر الحركات (الجهادية) في أفريقيا الغربية والوسطى. وقد بدأ حركة الجهاد هذه الشيخ عثمان بن فودي، في عام 1802م. وأسس بذلك دولة إسلامية في سوكوتو في نيجيريا الحالية، ثم مد نفوذه بعد ذلك على مدن وجهات أخرى في الشمال النيجيري، وقد تبعه في حركة جهادية مماثلة الشيخ أحمد الماسيني (شيخو أحمادو) في عام 1818م، والذي اتخذ من مدينة (حمد الله) الواقعة على نهر النيجر الأعلى (في منطقة ماسينا الحالية بجمهورية مالي) عاصمة له، وفي تلك الفترة كانت منطقة تشاد - بورنو تحكمها أسرة الكانميين على الطريقة القادرية بمثل ما هو الأمر في إمارتي سوكوتو وماسينا.

ولقد كانت الطريقة القادرية (نسبة إلى الشيخ عبد القادر الجيلاني الصوفي المعروف)، قد انتشرت في بلدان السودان عن طريق الدعاة القادرين في وقت مبكر، أما الطريقة التجانية فقد كانت فكرتها جديدة، وكان التجانيون يعتبرون أنفسهم، لهذا السبب مجددين ومصلحين، كما هو الحال بالنسبة للطريقة الخلوتية في مصر والطريقة الوهابية في الجزيرة العربية، ومن هنا كانت حركة الشيخ عمر الفتوي (الجهادية) بمثابة ثورة على الدول القائمة في المنطقة، وذلك لاستبدال الطريقة القادرية التي تقوم على أساس الذين

الإسلامي «الصحيح» كما كان في عهد الخلفاء الراشدين، والذي لا يقوم على أقوال الفقهاء فقط، وإنما يفتح المجال واسعا للاجتهاد الشخصي الذي يقوم على تصفية القلب واستحياء الضمير.

ولد الحاج عمر الفتوي (نسبة إلى منطقة فوتا في السنغال الحالي) في عام 1791م على الأرجح في قرية «هالوار»، وكان أبوه متعلما فاستفاد عمر من ذلك في البداية، وحفظ القرآن الكريم وهو في الثانية عشرة من عمره، ثم تنقل بعد ذلك في طلب العلم إلى جهات عديدة بالسودان الغربي وفي موريتانيا أيضا وفي عام 1822م التقى في فوتاجالون بالشيخ عبد الكريم التافلي مقدم الطريقة التجانية في تلك المنطقة وتلقى منه دروسا في الصوفية، والشيخ عبد الكريم هو الذي كان له في البداية الدور الأكبر في اختيار الشيخ عمر للطريقة الإصلاحية الجديدة هذه، فقد صاحبه عمر لمدة تزيد عن السنتين وتلقى على يده أذكار التجانية وأورادها، كما بدأ الرجلان معا التحضير للحج، إلا أن المنيّة عجّلت بالشيخ عبد الكريم، فقام عمر بالحج دون أن يكون الشيخ عبد الكريم في صحبته.

أخذ الشيخ عمر طريقه للحج في عام 1824م. فمرّ أولا بماسينا ثم مرّ بسوكوتو قبل أن يذهب إلى مصر مارّا بقرآن، وفي هذه الأثناء كان يراقب أنظمة الحكم (السنية -

(القادرية) بدعوته وعمله للطريقة التجانية، وذلك قد يؤدي إلى إحداث الاضطرابات والشغب، فعزم بعض أفرادها على قتله، فغادر «حمد الله» في طريقه إلى بلاده «فوتا»، ومرّ بمملكة «سيغو» الوثنية، فلم يجد الاحترام منذ البداية، ولكنه لم يبق بها إلا وقتا قصيرا، وفي بلاده «فوتا» اتخذ الحاج عمر مقرا لاتباعه المتكاثرين ولعبيده، وذلك في بلدة «ديقونكو» فعمل هناك مدة على تثقيفهم وتمكينهم من مبادئ التجانية وأهدافها واعتمادها على حصافة الرأي والإيمان بالأولياء الصالحين، ثم حدث أن هذا المقر لم يعجبه. فاشترى قرية «دينقيراي» من ملك «تامبا» ليأخذ منها قلعة عسكرية له ولأتباعه، وهذا على غرار ما فعله الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم حين هاجر إلى المدينة المنورة وأخذ منها قاعدة عسكرية وبدأ منها هجماته على الكفار، ففي دينقيراي كوّن الحاج عمر جيشه ونظم تجارته مع المراكز التجارية الأوروبية في سان لوي وفي غمبيا لاقتناء الأسلحة، ومن دينقيراي هذه بدأ الحاج عمر حركته «الجهادية» هذه في عام 1854م. فاكتمح بسهولة منطقة الوثنيين في الغرب، ثم اتجه إلى الشمال عند مجرى نهر السنغال، فوجد الفرنسيين أمامه فترجع، وبعد ذلك اتجه نحو الشرق ففضى على دولة سيغو أولا في عام 1858م. ثم احتل ماسينا في عام 1862م وبعد هذا اتجه نحو تمبكتو فدخلها جيشه ويقال إنه غاث فيها فسادا كما فعل في بقية المدن التي احتلها في السابق، غير أن زعيم تمبكتو الشيخ البكاي استطاع أن يجمع بعد ذلك حوله الأنصار وخاصة من التوارق، ويخرج جيش الحاج عمر منهزما من تمبكتو،

القادرية) في كل من ماسينا وسوكوتو وبورنو - تشاد، والتي هي نتائج لحركات جهادية كانت قد قامت بها الأسر الحاكمة في تلك البلدان. وفي المدينة المنورة بقي الحاج عمر ثلاث سنوات إلى جانب الشيخ محمد الغالي ممثل التجانية في الحجاز، فتعمقت معارفه أكثر بهذه الطريقة وأذكارها، ثم أعطاه الشيخ محمد الغالي تفويضا ليكون ممثل التجانية في بلاد التكرور كلها، وأثناء عودته إلى القاهرة أكثر الشيخ عمر لقاءاته بعلماء الأزهر، وكانت الطريقة الخلوتية آنذاك لها أتباع كثيرون بين علماء الأزهر، وهي قريبة في أهدافها العامة من حيث فكرة التجديد، مع الطريقة التجانية كما هو معروف.

وبمجرد العودة إلى بلاد السودان بدأ الحاج عمر بالدعوة للتجانية، ففي بورنو - تشاد جمع حوله مجموعة صغيرة إلى حد ما، وبدأ التهجّم على الجهل والجمود وانضمّ إليه بعض أفراد العائلة المالكة الناقمين على الحكم، ممّا أدخله في خلاف أيديولوجي شديد مع الشيخ محمد الكانمي حاكم تلك البلاد، فانتقل إلى سوكوتو وبقي بها عدة سنوات، ويبدو أن أخذ درسا من الهجوم المباشر الذي قام به في بورنو - تشاد، وكذلك قبله محمد بلو بن عثمان فوديو واتّخذ صديقا له، وفي سوكوتو تزوج الشيخ عمر للمرة الرابعة وكوّن له مريدين، وكتب وهو في سوكوتو عددا من الرسائل في أوراد الطريقة التجانية وأذكارها ومفاهيمها.

وعند مغادرة سوكوتو كان صيته قد ذاع وكثر أتباعه، ولكنه لم يستطع البقاء في ماسينا إلا تسعة أشهر فقط، حيث ضاقت العائلة المالكة

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
THE SOKOTO JIHĀD AND THE JIHĀD OF
AL-ḤĀJJ 'UMAR: AN ASSESSMENT¹

Omar Jah

One of the remarkable features of the development of Islam in Western Sudan has been the life and thought of al-Ḥājj 'Umar al-Fūti, who dominated the scene during the middle of the nineteenth century through his attempt to rally Muslims to his Sufi-oriented ideology against political corruption, blind adherence to a rigid system of Muslim juridical practice, and the impinging force of European colonialism.

The purpose of this paper is to assess the jihād of al-Ḥājj 'Umar al-Fūti (1830–1864) within the general framework of the nineteenth century reform movements in Western Sudan. In order to do this, one must de-emphasize the traditional approach of excessive historical narration and focus on the ideological basis of the movement. It is our belief that to understand the fundamental objectives of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's reform and to be able to assess its achievements and shortcomings, one must analyse al-Ḥājj's concept of reform, his understanding of leadership structures and the methods he used to realise his objectives. Such an analytical approach, we hope, will help determine how far al-Ḥājj's jihād conforms to or differs from the pattern of earlier jihāds, especially those of Shaykh 'Uthman dan Fodio and Ahmadu Labbo, which seem somehow to have influenced the development of al-Ḥājj 'Umar's concept of reform.

¹ This paper was originally presented at THE SOKOTO SEMINAR held at Sokoto, Nigeria from 6th to 10th January 1975, which was jointly sponsored by the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Bayero University, and AREWA House of Kaduna, Nigeria.

Al-Shajarah, 6/1, 2001 Kuala Lumpur



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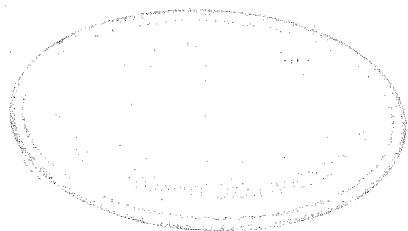
MADDE YATIMLANDIRGAN
SONRA GELİP HAYATMAN

repay you from the flood of His abundance with that which is a joy to the eyes on the Day of Reckoning.

What is requested from your noble person is that as soon as this letter arrives you dispatch to us our son Aḥmad al-ʿĀyariyya and our son Bashīr, for we are awaiting them with great anticipation. May God lengthen your existence and give you victory over your enemies. May He with your sword cut the throats of the faction of the depraved, deceitful unbelievers. For truly the unbelievers are pouring in everywhere; these days there is not a king on the face of the earth except for you. You have proclaimed the religion and defeated the apostates; may God reward you with the best of rewards.

What is asked of your noble person is to send to us with Brother Ghayth three pretty slave girls.

Your beneficence is comprehensive and with us you have never, and will never, fall short. May peace embrace your excellency and the most noble offspring at the beginning and the end.



MADDE YATIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

9 MART 19

FALKEIANA I: A POEM BY IBN AL-ŞABBĀGH (DAN MARINA) IN PRAISE OF THE AMĪR AL-MUʾMINĪN KARIYAGIWA

HAMIDU BOBBOYI AND JOHN O. HUNWICK

Introduction

Under a project partially funded by the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities, a machine-readable catalogue of all the Arabic manuscripts and pamphlets housed in the Melville J. Herskovits Africana Library at Northwestern University is being prepared by the writers of this paper. Approximately 85% of the manuscripts preserved there originated in the library of a single Tijānī scholar of Kano, *al-ḥājj* ʿUmar Falke (d. 1962) and for much of this collection there has not hitherto been even a checklist. Our examination reveals that although much of the content of this library is what may be called 'standard works' there is a not insignificant number of unique items, including some whose very existence was previously unknown. We are therefore planning to publish the shorter of such items through the pages of *Sudanic Africa* under the general title of *Falkeiana*, in memory of the scholar who originally collected or copied them. The 'Poem of Ibn al-Şabbāgh (Dan Marina) in praise of the *amīr al-muʾminīn* Kariyagiwa' reproduced and translated below is the first of such endeavours.

In the section on the *ʿulamāʾ* of Katsina in his *Infāq al-maysūr*, Muḥammad Bello makes reference to the celebrated scholar Ibn al-Şabbāgh, describing him as *al-ustādh* ('the teacher'), *al-mukāshaf* ('the one illuminated') and *dihlīz al-ʿilm* ('the hall-way of learning') and listing works of his including what was evidently a major composition, a commentary on the *ʿIshrīniyyāt* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yakhlāftan al-Fāzāzī (d.

Sudanic Africa, ii, 1991, 125-138, Bergen

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his bedroom,⁶⁵ and on occasion he used Arabic salutations.⁶⁶ 'I know that the book is strong', he said of the Qur'ān, 'and I like it because it is the book of the great God; it does good for me...' ⁶⁷

To the Muslims in Kumase in the early nineteenth century it must have seemed that ignorance—unbelief—was surely giving way to enlightenment: that all the signs indicated that the time set by Allāh for the conversion of the Asante was near. The Suwar-ian praxis was working. *Hijra*, withdrawal from Asante, could only deprive the king and his councillors of that very example of the Muslim way of life—*qudwa*—that was essential in such changing times. With the advantage of hindsight we know that the Kumase Muslims were unduly optimistic, but to follow the fluctuating fortunes of the community in the later nineteenth century is beyond the scope of this article.⁶⁸

Sudanic Afrika
A Journal of Historical Sources
vol. 6, 1995, s. 73-113.
O. 1677.



65 Bowdich, *Mission*, 308.

66 Dupuis, *Journal*, 109.

67 *Ibid.*, 161.

68 But see Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century*, 238-42, 277-8, 313-18; Owusu-Ansah, *Talismanic Tradition*, 165-86.

STUDIES ON THE SOURCES OF THE *KITĀB RIMĀḤ* *ḤIZB AL-RAḤĪM* OF AL-ḤĀJJ °UMAR

BERND RADTKE*

Introduction

Aḥmad al-Tijānī (1737-1815), the founder of the Tijāniyya order, left no writings behind when he died, apart from a few letters. His student °Alī Ḥarāzim Barrāda (d. 1856) collected information about his master's life and teachings, some of his *fatwās* and his letters, and published them in the *Jawāhir al-ma°ānī*.¹ On the margins of the *Jawāhir* is normally printed the other basic work of the Tijāniyya, the *Kitāb Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm °alā nuḥūr ḥizb al-raḥīm*: 'The Lances of the Party of the Compassionate against the Throats of the Party of the Accursed Satan'. The author of this work is °Umar b. Sa°id al-Fūtī (1793-1864), known generally as *al-ḥājj* °Umar. This scholar, mystic, religious combatant, founder and leader of a state, is considered to be one of the most remarkable and important personalities in nineteenth-century West African Islam. His life has been described in the works of David Robinson, Bradford Martin, John Ralph Willis and Jamil Abun-Nasr.² It is not least because of the work of *al-ḥājj* °Umar and his successors that the Tijāniyya today is an important factor in the religious and socio-political life of West Africa, with many millions of followers.

After his death in 1864, the state founded by *al-ḥājj* °Umar

* I wish to express my warmest thanks to Knut S. Vikør who translated most of the German parts of this article, and to John O'Kane for having patiently proof-read and revised its final English version.

1 Bernd Radtke, 'Was steht in den *Ġawāhir al-ma°ānī*? Versuch einer Ehrenrettung' (forthcoming).

2 Bibliographical information about these authors is given in my 'Von Iran nach Westafrika', *Die Welt des Islams*, xxxv, 1995, 66-9.

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David ROBINSON, *The Holy War of Umar Tall. The Western Sudan in the mid-Nineteenth Century*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985. 434 p.

Spécialiste de l'histoire du Futa sénégalais, bon connaisseur de l'arabe, du peul et du français, David Robinson nous offre un ouvrage, mûri par des œuvres antérieures⁽¹⁾ et un long dépouillement des documents, sur al-Ḥaǧǧ 'Umar Tall (El Hadj Omar), figure de proue de l'islam ouest-africain au milieu du XIX^e siècle.

Comme le montre bien David Robinson, al-Ḥaǧǧ 'Umar est un personnage tout en contrastes. Pèlerin, leader *tiǧānī*, meneur de *ǧihād*, il a été tour à tour présenté comme un rénovateur de la foi en Afrique de l'Ouest et comme un diviseur de la communauté musulmane, comme un ennemi juré des Français et comme un homme qui recherche le compromis avec eux, comme un bâtisseur d'empire et comme le contempteur de tout pouvoir d'Etat (« l'anti-sultan »), comme un héros anti-colonialiste au Sénégal et comme un conquérant cruel au Mali.

L'ouvrage de David Robinson est le premier qui, à partir d'une récapitulation systématique de l'ensemble des sources, propose une vision globale de l'homme et de son rôle politique et social. Jusqu'alors, les travaux des « umarologues » mettaient en valeur tel ou tel paquet de sources, ou bien telle séquence particulière du cycle 'umarien. David Robinson s'est, au contraire, attaché à une mise en perspective qui ne sépare aucun moment privilégié de l'ensemble de la trajectoire.

Le premier travail critique de l'auteur porte sur l'analyse des sources. Rompant avec une représentation simpliste qui distinguait entre sources écrites et sources orales, textes en langues européennes, arabe et africaines, David Robinson reconstitue plutôt les chaînes de transmission et délimite ainsi des faisceaux de sources qui peuvent emprunter les différents supports. Chacun de ces faisceaux est lui-même rattaché au point de vue ou au rôle d'un témoin ou d'un acteur du mouvement 'umarien à une époque donnée. Ce reclassement méthodique, accompagné d'une évaluation des différents gisements de sources, ouvre la voie aux développements ultérieurs.

Contrairement à d'autres auteurs, Robinson a refusé de privilégier l'œuvre écrite de 'Umar et, par là, une vision livresque et purement idéologique de la geste 'umarienne. L'ambition est ici celle d'une « histoire totale » qui s'efforce de rendre compte du mouvement 'umarien dans ses dimensions économiques, politiques et sociales, plus encore que dans ses dimensions religieuses.

A partir d'une récapitulation minutieuse des faits et des événements, David Robinson propose au lecteur une reconstitution du phénomène 'umarien qui lui permet de mettre en avant un certain nombre de thèses centrales. Nous avons choisi de numérotter les différents points de cette démonstration par commodité.

1) Le système 'umarien est un mécanisme complexe qui associe trois démarches fondamentales : le recrutement de troupes en Sénégambie, à l'ouest, notamment dans le pays d'origine de 'Umar, le Futa; l'approvisionnement en armes perfectionnées dans les comptoirs français

⁽¹⁾ Voir notamment *Chiefs and Clerics. Abdul Bokar Kan and Futa Toro (1853-1891)*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1975.

et anglais de la côte atlantique; la conquête des terres situées plus à l'est, dans le Mali actuel, et peuplées de païens Bambara et Mandinka. C'est ce mécanisme qui se met progressivement en marche à partir du déclenchement du *ǧihād* en 1852 jusqu'à la mort de 'Umar en 1864.

2) Contrairement à Sokoto et aux autres *ǧihād* ouest-africains, le mouvement 'umarien n'est donc pas l'accoucheur de contradictions internes. Il surgit de l'extérieur et reste, pour l'essentiel, un corps étranger dans les territoires qu'il conquiert. Au sommet de sa puissance, toujours fragile, l'empire 'umarien n'est finalement qu'un réseau de garnisons implantées par la force en pays vaincu.

3) Contrairement, encore, à Sokoto — qui fut pourtant le modèle étudié sur place par 'Umar pendant plus de sept ans —, le mouvement 'umarien ne débouche pas sur la constitution d'un Etat. C'est, de l'avis de l'auteur, l'échec majeur d'al-Ḥaǧǧ 'Umar.

Selon David Robinson, ce refus de l'Etat serait constitutif du projet 'umarien, tourné vers la destruction du paganisme et non vers l'instauration d'un califat. Sur ce point, cependant, la démonstration de l'auteur n'emporte pas complètement notre conviction. L'écrasement du paganisme est difficilement séparable de l'instauration d'un Etat juste conforme à la *šarī'a*, selon les différents modèles connus dans la région. L'échec dans la construction de l'Etat nous paraît davantage être le résultat des circonstances, de l'enchaînement des conquêtes et des résistances — que l'auteur décrit fort bien —, de cette fuite en avant, de ce *ǧihād* ininterrompu, de cette suite de glissements et de dérives, que d'un refus conscient et délibéré. L'attention que porte 'Umar à la désignation de son fils aîné Amadu comme successeur est bien le signe, parmi d'autres, de cette conviction qu'avait 'Umar de fonder dans cette partie de l'Afrique de l'Ouest un pouvoir légitime répondant aux besoins et aux attentes des Croyants.

4) La meilleure analogie que l'on puisse trouver pour le mouvement 'umarien, estime l'auteur, ne se trouve ni à Sokoto, ni dans les autres *ǧihād* ouest-africains, mais dans les croisades chrétiennes en Terre Sainte au Moyen Age : même projet venu de l'extérieur des terres conquises, même échec à transformer l'occupation en Etat indigène durable. Pour cette raison, David Robinson envisagea d'appeler son livre *Crusaders and Defenders* (Croisés et Résistants) afin de souligner cette caractéristique fondamentale de l'entreprise 'umarienne.

5) Dans ces conditions, le rôle islamisateur du *ǧihād* 'umarien apparaît — sauf dans quelques régions — pratiquement nul, voire négatif. A cause d'al-Ḥaǧǧ 'Umar, l'islam est perçu, dans l'ouest et le centre du Mali actuel, comme la religion d'un oppresseur et il faudra attendre la période coloniale pour qu'il soit identifié par les populations comme une référence positive, chargée d'africanité, face à la culture des colonisateurs.

6) Echec dans la construction d'un Etat stable et cohérent, échec du projet islamisateur, échec complet également dans la tentative de remise en route des circuits économiques : le bilan du mouvement 'umarien est donc l'objet d'un sérieux examen critique. Dans des régions entières, les effets destructeurs du mouvement sur la démographie et sur l'économie sont observés par l'auteur. Le caractère implacable des combats, la cruauté des massacres qui les accompagnent, les épreuves subies par les partisans d'al-Ḥaǧǧ 'Umar eux-mêmes dans la longue marche qui les mène du bassin du Sénégal à celui du Niger : tout cela contribue à faire de l'aventure 'umarienne une entreprise coûteuse, dans laquelle le génie politique et militaire de 'Umar (qui était âgé de 56 ans quand il déclencha le *ǧihād* et de 68 ans quand il mourut) doit

être constamment mis en balance avec les effets singulièrement destructeurs de cette épopée impériale.

On sait comment les choses se terminèrent. Au fur et à mesure que s'approfondissait la lutte avec les Bambara du Karta, puis de Ségou, 'Umar entra dans la zone d'influence de deux puissances islamiques de la vallée moyenne du fleuve Niger : la *Dina*, Etat islamique du Māsina, et la confrérie Qādiriyya Kunta (dont le leader se tenait près de Tombouctou). La croisade contre le paganisme dérapa en une guerre implacable entre Musulmans. 'Umar qui avait rédigé toute son œuvre, ou presque, avant le *ḡihād*, reprit la plume pour essayer de justifier l'injustifiable (c'est le *Bayān mā waqa'a* dans lequel il qualifie ses adversaires d'infidèles et d'apostats). Les deux principaux antagonistes périrent dans cette lutte fratricide : Amadu Amadu du Māsina en 1862, 'Umar réfugié dans une grotte deux ans plus tard. Toute la région du Moyen-Niger fut durablement dévastée par cette épreuve.

Après une telle lecture, il ne reste de l'aventure 'umarienne que l'image violente d'un *ḡihād* haletant, frayant difficilement sa voie dans des pays jamais consentants. Les centres successifs du mouvement : Dinguiraye, Nioro, Ségou jalonnent ces déplacements dans un mouvement tournant qui mène des marges du Futa Djallon (en Guinée) à la vallée du moyen Niger, en passant par le bassin du fleuve Sénégal. C'est dans l'ouest du Karta seulement (Mali occidental), à proximité du Futa sénégalais, que le mouvement 'umarien a laissé des traces durables, sous la forme d'une colonisation peul qui a transformé la carte technique et sociale de la région.

Les Etats successeurs de l'Empire (autour des héritiers de 'Umar, à Nioro, Ségou et Bandiagara) sont mal connus et doivent faire l'objet d'une recherche particulière. Ils ne pèsent pas très lourd face à la conquête française qui s'avance à partir du Sénégal en cette fin du XIX^e siècle. Reste cette geste 'umarienne qui a frappé tous les contemporains et les générations suivantes. Nombre de leaders ultérieurs, en Sénégambie ou dans d'autres régions, chercheront à asseoir leur légitimité sur une rencontre réelle ou mythique avec al-Ḥaḡḡ 'Umar. Sous la colonisation française, la famille 'umarienne, en charge de la Tiḡāniyya, joua encore un rôle non négligeable dans les affaires de l'A.O.F. et encouragea une historiographie plutôt complaisante du mouvement. Aujourd'hui, al-Ḥaḡḡ 'Umar a pris place dans la galerie des héros anti-colonialistes du Sénégal (l'image du personnage restant au contraire très négative du côté malien).

Le livre de David Robinson vient donc à son heure pour donner le point de vue de l'historien ... en attendant peut-être quelque fresque filmée qui confirmerait la place de cette épopée dans l'imaginaire historique ouest-africain. Les francophones se réjouiront de la prochaine édition en français (Paris, Karthala) de cet ouvrage fondamental.

Jean-Louis TRIAUD
(Université de Paris VII)

André WINK, *Land and Sovereignty in India. Agrarian Society and Politics under the Eighteenth-century Maratha Svarājya*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press,

Oriental publications n° 36. In-8°, xviii + 417 p.; glossaire, bibliographie, index; 7 cartes et 2 diagrammes.

Cette thèse d'un orientaliste et historien de l'Université de Leyde est importante à deux titres; comme une interprétation de l'histoire du XVIII^e siècle en Inde; et surtout comme une réinterprétation globale des mécanismes de la domination musulmane en Inde.

L'histoire du XVIII^e siècle indien subit aujourd'hui une révision complète. Cette période vit la désintégration de l'empire moghol qui venait à peine d'achever l'unification de l'Inde sous Aurangzeb (1658-1707) : elle est traditionnellement vue par les historiens sous le signe de la décadence et de l'anarchie, en écho aux lamentations des chroniqueurs et des poètes de la cour moghole décrépite; une telle vue arrangeait les historiens coloniaux car elle justifiait par contraste les Britanniques comme restaurateurs de la prospérité et de l'ordre; les historiens de l'école d'Aligarh, avec Irfan Habib, y ajoutèrent un zeste de marxisme : la désintégration apparaissait comme la conséquence justifiée d'une « exploitation excessive ». Dans les dernières décennies, une nouvelle génération d'historiens a montré que l'on pouvait avoir une interprétation tout autre si l'on considérait les mêmes événements d'un autre point de vue : non plus celui du centre qui avait comme idéal un empire centralisé, mais celui des leaders locaux des provinces qui avaient un rôle essentiel dans la prospérité de l'empire. Ainsi C. Bayly et M. Alam ont pu montrer, en étudiant les marchands et les paysans de l'Inde du Nord⁽¹⁾, que le XVIII^e siècle, loin d'être marqué par la décadence et l'appauvrissement, fut une période de croissance et de prospérité; c'est cette prospérité accrue qui a permis aux leaders régionaux d'affirmer leur autonomie par rapport au centre : le XVIII^e siècle n'est plus une période de régression, mais de déplacement du pouvoir du centre vers la périphérie, vers la « noblesse » (gentry) montante des provinces.

André Wink reprend cette thèse révisionniste pour en faire une théorie générale plus ambitieuse. Son point de départ n'est plus l'Inde du Nord, mais le plateau du Deccan dans le Sud qui vit l'émergence de la dynastie régionale la plus puissante, celle des Mahrattes, hobereaux parvenus hindous qui, sortis de l'ombre au XVII^e siècle, se construisirent localement une base de pouvoir pour établir au XVIII^e siècle leur hégémonie sur la presque totalité de l'Inde ... avant de laisser la place aux Britanniques. Nous avons la chance de posséder sur eux de longues séries de sources dans plusieurs langues (qu'André Wink lit toutes, en plus de l'arabe) : chroniques et documents administratifs en persan, documents administratifs en marathi, ouvrages idéologiques en marathi et en sanscrit ... sans compter les témoignages des marchands et des voyageurs occidentaux et des premiers administrateurs britanniques.

Une première partie, intitulée « Brahmane, roi et empereur » replace la saga des Mahrattes dans l'histoire de l'Inde d'abord brahmanique, puis musulmane. Les trois autres parties étudient la politique agraire des Mahrattes en analysant successivement l'étagement des droits sur la

(1) Bayly, C.A., *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars : North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870*, Cambridge University Press, 1983. Alam, Muzaffar, *The crisis of Empire in Mughal North India : Awadh and the Punjab, 1770-1870*, Oxford University Press, 1987.

IN THE PATH OF ALLAH

THE PASSION OF AL-HAJJ 'UMAR

An Essay into the Nature
of Charisma in Islam

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of Near Eastern Studies
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19 ŞUBAT 1996

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FRANK CASS

1989
London.

ISLAM IN SENEGAL

DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZ
7

JOHN D. KESBY

I. LINGUISTIC GROUPS

As a background to the study of Muslims in Senegal it is important to stress the linguistic diversity of the country. Most of the people are negroid in physical type and speak languages of the Sudanic group; but there are also two important non-Sudanic languages—French and Arabic. The relative numerical importance of the largest language groups can be quickly shown by a list.¹ Out of a total population of 2,260,000 there are:

Wolof	.	.	.	.	.	.	709,000
Serer	.	.	.	.	.	.	304,000
Tokolor	.	.	.	.	.	.	246,000
Peuls	.	.	.	.	.	.	323,000
Sarakole	.	.	.	.	.	.	31,000
Mandinka	.	.	.	.	.	.	84,000
Dyula	.	.	.	.	.	.	111,000
Moors (Arabic)	.	.	.	.	.	.	25,000
Europeans (largely French)	.	.	.	.	.	.	47,000

The distribution of these language groups is complicated by the great mobility of the population within Senegal, and between it and neighbouring territories. Wolof, for instance, occur in most parts of Senegal as well as beyond it; while Mandinka and Dyula, like the allied Bambara, are found in Mali and Haute-Volta as well as in Senegal. Even so, it is possible to recognize areas of marked concentration for the different groups.

The Wolof are especially numerous in the north-west, between the Senegal River mouth and the railway between Dakar and Diourbel. Serer are dominant in Sine-Saloum, between the Wolof and the Gambia River. Tokolor and Peuls speak the same language, Fulbe, but are differentiated by their histories. The cultivating Tokolor are especially numerous in the Futa Toro, along the banks of the Senegal, from the eastern part of Dagana Cercle to the Cercle of Matam; while there are concentrations of pastoral Peuls in the Ferlo (Matam and Northern Tambakunda) and south of the Gambia (Kolda Cercle, for instance). Mandinka and Dyula,

¹ Ambassade de France, Service de Presse et d'Information, N.Y. (1960).

— Hacc Ömer
— Cihad
— Muradkiye
— Kadriyye
— Ticankiye
— Moritanya

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Sufism and the study of Islam in West Africa: The case of Al-Hājj 'Umar*

John Hunwick (Evanston)

The field of Islamic Studies in Africa south of the Maghreb and Egypt — that is the study of the evolution of Islamic ideas and the development of social and political institutions influenced by Islam — has had a hard time bringing itself to the attention of both Africanists and Islamicists. Africanists, often still influenced by essentially colonial ideas about how humanity should be divided up, tend to see Africa as being only that part of the continent where 'indigenous' religion and 'traditional' societies held sway until overtaken by Christianity and 'modernity', and have often behaved as if African societies that fall (to a greater or lesser extent) within Islam's cultural domain are extrinsic to 'real' Africa and hence not worthy of the Africanist's attention. Islamicists on the other hand, still often under the influence of an 'Orientalism' that was not free of racist overtones, have tended to assume that south of the lands of the Mediterranean there was no Islamic culture worthy of the name and no intellectual tradition fit for their study.

Rejected by both camps, the study of Muslim societies south of the Mediterranean fringe and their intellectual and spiritual traditions has had to struggle for recognition as something more than a merely exotic or peripheral field. French scholars, with their long-standing interest in predominantly Muslim areas of West Africa, have perhaps been quicker than others to take seriously the study of Islam in the non-Berber-Arab African world. In 1984 a project entitled 'La transmission du savoir dans le monde musulman périphérique' was initiated in Paris dedicated to bringing the study of Islamic learning in eastern Europe, central Asia, sub-Saharan Africa etc into the mainstream of Islamic studies¹⁾ and in 1987 a specialist journal began publication — *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara*.²⁾

While there have been a number of historical studies of islamized societies in Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa over the past twenty-five years, there have been relatively few that have examined the intellectual and spiritual heritage of Islam in these regions and attempted to relate this to the heritage of the wider Islamic world. Of these few, one can number on the fingers of one hand the books that have been concerned directly with the Sufi legacy: Jamil Abun-Nasr's *The Tijāniyya* (Oxford University Press, 1965) — in fact rather more of a political history than an intellec-

tual or spiritual one, B. G. Martin's *Muslim Brotherhoods in 19th-century Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 1976), Fernand Dumont's *La pensée religieuse de Amadou Bamba* (Dakar-Abidjan, 1975), Louis Brenner's *West African Sufi: the Religious Heritage and Spiritual Search of Cerno Bokar Saalif Taal* (London: Christopher Hurst, 1984) and, more marginally C. C. Stewart's *Islam and Social Order in Mauritania* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973). Most recently, we have the collective volume of essays edited by Donal Cruise O'Brien and Christian Coulon, *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), some of which (notably those of Brenner and Triaud) focus on intellectual and spiritual aspects of Sufi brotherhoods, while others continue to place the emphasis on social and economic functions. Finally, as this article was being written, there appeared the excellent study by R. S. O'Fahey of Ahmad b. Idris whose teachings inspired the creation of Sufi orders in the Sudan, Eritrea and Somalia: *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition* (London: Christopher Hurst/Evanston (Ill.): Northwestern University Press, 1990). Surprisingly, to date there is not, to my knowledge, a major study in English of the intellectual and spiritual antecedents of Shaykh 'Uthmān b. Fūdi, the great *mujāhid*, *faqih*, theoretician and practitioner of the Islamic state, let alone a study of the Sufi currents (Qādiri, Shādhili and Khalwati at least) which infused his thought and that of his brother 'Abd Allāh and his son Muḥammad Bello. Nor yet is there any book-length published study of the great Qādiri shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtār al-Kunti (d. 1811) or his son and inheritor of his spiritual and intellectual mantle, Sidi Muḥammad (d. 1836)³⁾.

Al-Hājj 'Umar b. Sa'īd al-Fūti, the Tijāni propagandist and *mujāhid* (c. 1794–1864) is another major figure whose teachings are ripe for study. A scholar of wide learning from Futa Toro (modern Senegal) who spent five years at the feet of Sidi Ahmad al-Tijāni's disciple Sidi Muḥammad al-Ghālī in Mecca and returned to West Africa as a *khalīfa* of the Tijāniyya, he not only carved out a large but rather fragile state in what is now Mali, but, perhaps more importantly, wrote a number of substantial books outlining his notions of Islamic reform and elaborating the teachings of al-Tijāni. His major work *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm 'alā nuḥūr ḥizb al-raḥīm* whose title might suggest a handbook on *jihād*, is in fact a defense of the Tijāni Way and a detailed exposition of its teachings.⁴⁾ This book still lies unstudied by Africanists and Isla-

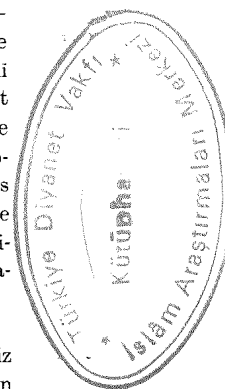
³⁾ Two unpublished doctoral theses deserve mention: those of Abd al-Aziz Batran, 'Sidi al-Mukhtār al-Kunti and the recrudescence of Islam in the Western Sahara and the Middle Niger, c. 1750–1811', University of Birmingham, 1971, and Zahra Tamouh, 'Le Maroc et le Soudan au XIX siècle. Contribution à une histoire régionale', thèse de 3^e cycle, Université Paris I, 1982. A critical edition of the *Kitāb al-tarā'if wa 'l-talā'id min karāmāt al-shaykhayn al-wālid wa 'l-wālid* of Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār al-Kunti was presented as a Mémoire de D. E. S., Faculté des Lettres, Département d'Histoire, Université Mohamed V, Rabat, 1991 by Chafic Arag.

⁴⁾ He did write on *jihād* and in particular to defend his own attack on the Muslim state of Masina. This treatise has been carefully translated and edited by J.-L. Triaud and M. Mahibou, *Voilà ce qui est arrivé. Bayān mā waqa'a d'al-Hājj 'Umar al-Fūti*, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982.

* This review was originally written in 1990. A shorter version was published in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 23, iv (1991), 672–6.

¹⁾ The project publishes a twice-yearly 'Lettre d'Information'.

²⁾ Described as 'cahiers annuels pluridisciplinaires', it is directed by Jean-Louis Triaud.



DAVID ROBINSON



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LA GUERRE SAINTE D'AL-HAJJ UMAR

Le Soudan occidental
au milieu du XIX^e siècle

Dergi / Kitap
Kütüphanesi

24 OCAK 1994

Traduit de l'anglais
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el-Hajj Umar

‘ulamā’ and Ayatollah Khomeini on the matter of *wilāyat al-faqih* (*vilāyat-i faqih*).

Mallat, Chibli. *The Renewal of Islamic Law: Muhammad Baqer as-Sadr, Najaf and the Shi‘i International*. Cambridge and New York, 1993. Intellectual biography of a leading Shi‘i clergyman of the second half of the twentieth century, whose ideas in the areas of education, law, and economics have had important resonances in the Shi‘i world.

Moaddel, Mansoor. *Class, Politics, and Ideology in the Iranian Revolution*. New York, 1993. Examines the Iranian Revolution of 1979 through the prism of contemporary collective protest literature and stresses the importance of ideology as its constitutive feature.

Momen, Moojan. *An Introduction to Shi‘i Islam*. New Haven, 1985. Comprehensive survey of developments in Shiism, focusing on doctrinal as well as historical trends.

Mottahedeh, Roy P. *The Mantle of the Prophet*. New York, 1985. Iranian Revolution of 1979 as captured by an illuminating exploration of the world of the Shi‘i seminary, blending fiction, historical analysis, and philosophical analysis to follow the lives of one religious and one secular student.

SHAHROUGH AKHAVI

‘UMAR AL-MUKHTĀR. See Mukhtār, ‘Umar al-.

‘UMAR TAL (c.1794–1864), more fully al-Ḥājj ‘Umar ibn Sa‘īd, Senegalese Islamic militant leader and thinker. Al-Ḥājj ‘Umar ibn Sa‘īd deserves recognition as one of the towering figures of West African history in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It is to his efforts that we can ascribe the success of the Tijāniyah brotherhood which, with the ‘Umarian brand of militant Islam, swept like a flame over much of modern-day Mali, Senegal, Guinea, and Mauritania—an area of some 150,000 square miles at its widest geographic extent. Never before and never again did so much territory in this region submit to a single Islamic authority.

For al-Ḥājj ‘Umar, the model of Muḥammad presented the perfect frame in which to pattern his *jihād* fervor. The peaks and valleys of the Prophet’s life were imitated with pious frequency in the career of Shaykh ‘Umar. He broke off relations with his kinsmen around 1849/50 and referred to this action as *hijrah* in imitation of the Prophet’s move under similar circumstances. In 1852, he launched his *jihād* at the same age at which Muḥammad had commenced his struggle for the diffusion of Islam. Indeed, the shaykh was to state explicitly:

I was faced with enmity as he [Muḥammad] was faced by it during his difficulty at al-Ḥudaybiyah. . . . I had suffered

harm in Allāh’s way, and yet I had stood patiently—the same way that the Prophet had suffered harm and had stood patiently in the face of it. . . . Religion, in its infancy, begins as a stranger; and during this phase it will be maintained by *hijrah*, as had happened before. For in most cases no prophet has been supported by his people.

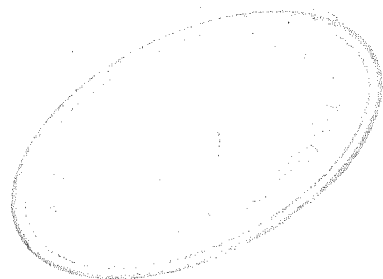
Even in a century of so many great individualists as the nineteenth, ‘Umar Tal was no ordinary figure. Indeed, the western Sudan of this period was profoundly stirred by his views. As the Qādiri movement of the first quarter of this period failed to clothe its senile form with any new attraction, excitement passed to the Tijāniyah brotherhood. Coming as it did between the *jihād* of Shehu Usman dan Fodio in northern Nigeria and that of Muḥammad Aḥmad (the Mahdi) in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the movement of al-Ḥājj ‘Umar maintained its rank absolutely. The mystic shaykh was the peer of the Sudanese Mahdi in his capacity to raise controversy. For his detractors, his struggle in the path of God was a pretext to sanctify political and economic expediencies: *jihād* and the excessive claims of charisma made dangerous allies. The reputation of al-Ḥājj ‘Umar gained in scope what it had lost in definition as he assumed the guise of an apocalyptic figure. Through a primary inspiration the mystic shaykh became the momentum of Islamic revival, leaving the path of an edifying *imitatio nabī* (imitation of Muḥammad) as the guidance of his mission was subsumed under a beatifying principle. Having lifted himself onto this exalted plane, the shaykh, perceptibly, was in a position to create the taste by which he was to be relished—to rule not by the *shar‘ah* alone, but by divine inspiration.

The Senegalese militant is no less regarded for his role as a writer and thinker, as one who shaped the content and direction of Tijānī thought during his lifetime and left on it an indelible imprint for posterity. His *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-Raḥīm ‘ala nuḥūr ḥizb al-rajīm* (composed in AH 1261/1845 CE) stands in near parity to the *Jawāhir al-ma‘anī* (Cairo, 1927), and together these two great works constitute a complete body of laws for the order and a guide to conduct for its members.

Al-Ḥājj ‘Umar brought to his writings a perspective rich in experience gained from travel throughout much of the Muslim world and study in many of the leading centers of Islamic thought. He made the pilgrimage to the Muslim holy places in 1825, remaining away from his homeland until the late 1830s. On his return, his preaching and teaching culminated in a *jihād* effort, the

not confined to economic and scientific affairs only. Many Muslim communities still face political difficulties, injustice and repression. Thus, although the Jakarta meeting focused more on economic, religious and scientific discussions, it could not avoid discussing political issues. At the end of the meeting, the participants made a political statement to call for thorough and just solution of the Middle Eastern crisis and for an end to unjust treatment of Muslim minorities throughout the world. The statement is understandable in light of the fact that some Muslim communities have yet to free themselves from political problems.

The burden of overcoming political strife should be the responsibility of not only the community immediately affected, but also the concern of other Muslim as well as non-Muslim communities. This is in line with the spirit of the age that all communities in the world should be interdependent. It seems that the OIC Conference in Jakarta is on the right track. Many basic issues such as eradication of poverty, improvement of education, and building cooperation were on the main agenda. Thus, the meeting is expected to enlarge the horizon of the ummah and enhance mutual understanding between Muslim communities, and between Muslim and non Muslim communities.



MADDE KATILAN
SONRA GÜLEN DAĞMAN

23 800 1999

Agus Salim Daulay

Al-Hajj 'Ūmar Sa'īd Shukrū Amīnūtū: Hayātuh wa Kifāhuh wa Afkārūh

Abstract: HOS Tjokroaminoto, to this day, tends to be considered as a Sarekat Islam (Islam Union) important figure only, whereas he was one of the actors who contributed to the formation of Indonesian modern history.

Tjokroaminoto was born in the village of Sunyi, Bakur, in the Ponorogo Regency, East Java on 16 August 1882 at the time of the Krakatau eruption. When he was still a child, he was named Raden Mas Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto. His father's name was Raden Mas Tjokroamiseno, a district chief from Kewedanan Kleco, Madiun, East Java. His grandfather Raden Mas Tjokronegoro was the Regent of Ponorogo, son of Kiyai Bagoes Kasan Besari, a famous religious leader of the Islamic boarding school (pesantren) in Tegalsari, Ponorogo. This means that in Tjokroaminoto flowed the blood of priyayi (aristocratic ruling class) and santri, pious Muslim.

Tjokroaminoto's background as a priyayi and santri gave him at the same time a Western model of education at school and an Islamic one at home. When he was small, he was known as a naughty child causing him to be moved from school to school. Yet, owing to his intelligence, he progressed well and was received at the Dutch school OSVIA (Opleidings School Voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren), a school for indigenous civil servants at Magelang. After he graduated in 1902, he worked in the pamong praja (civil service corps), as a writer for the vice-regent of Ngawi. He could not endure this work, which lasted three years from 1902 to 1905.

After this period, he used his time to roam, searching for something new. He went to Semarang working as a coolie, and then on to Surabaya to work for the firm Cooy & Co. He also attended an evening course in machinery at Burgelijke Avendschool Afdeling Wertuigkundige (1907-

many Muslim parents early in the century. In his opinion one could be a good Muslim regardless of the nature of one's formal education, and being a good Muslim was the ultimate goal to which all others were secondary.

In short, Cerno Bokar was a non-political man living in a highly charged and turbulent political world. Proclaim as he might his lack of interest in politics, politics was interested in him. For much of his adult life he managed to remain isolated from direct political engagement, but he could never completely separate himself from the heritage of his own family nor could he escape the nervous attention of French colonial authority. We therefore begin with an examination of the complex interrelationship between two of the thematic patterns which shaped Cerno Bokar's life: the wave of religious renewal initiated by al-Hajj Umar and the expansion of French imperial domination. Indeed, these were two powerful transforming forces which deeply affected all the western Soudan in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Al-Hajj Umar and the forces of Islamic renewal

Al-Hajj Umar Taal al-Fūtī al-Tūrī¹ is one of the most prominent Muslim figures in West African history. Born in the last decade of the eighteenth century in the Senegal River valley, he devoted his life to religious study from an early age. In about 1825 he undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, and remained for about three years in the environs of the Holy Cities where he received instruction and guidance in the doctrines of the Tijaniyya Sufi order which he had joined in West Africa. His instructor in Mecca, one of the most elevated leaders of the order, appointed Umar a *khalīfa* in the Tijaniyya order, a position which gave him effective spiritual authority over all Tijani adherents in West Africa.²

Although the Tijaniyya order was not yet very widespread in West Africa, al-Hajj Umar began actively proselytizing on its behalf as soon as he had returned from Mecca. His enthusiasm was not welcomed in all quarters and he occasionally found himself engaged in serious disputes, especially with the Shehu of Borno and with the Qadiri Sufi leaders of Timbuktu and Masina. On the other hand, he got on well with the Qadiri Caliph Muhammad Bello of Sokoto, with whom he remained for some years and whose daughter he married. During these years Umar also wrote quite extensively, and the subject to which he increasingly warmed was the explication of Tijani doctrine, an interest which culminated in 1845 in the completion of what must be considered his major work, *Rimāḥ hizb al-rahīm 'alā nuḥūr hizb al-raḥīm* (The Spears of the Party of the Merciful against the Throats of the Party of the Damned).³ Despite its militant title, the book is a detailed explanation

and defense of Tijani ideas and teachings and is considered by members of the order to be one of their most authoritative doctrinal works. It must be one of the most widely read books ever written by any West African Muslim scholar and has been published in Cairo, Tunis, and Beirut.

Although upon his return to West Africa al-Hajj Umar put most of his effort into spreading the doctrines of the Tijaniyya order, this was not the only subject about which he wrote, nor the only issue which attracted his attention. He was also very disturbed about factional strife and disunity among West African Muslims, about the widespread distribution of what he considered prohibited or misguided practices by Muslims, and generally about the sea of unbelievers which often surrounded West African Muslim communities. He was extremely outspoken on all these matters. In Futa Jallon, where he finally settled fifteen years after setting out on his pilgrimage, he attracted a growing number of Muslims to his following and very soon he was himself the leader of a burgeoning Muslim community. As this community grew, relations worsened with local political leaders who began to fear a threat to their own authority. The increasing tension culminated in 1852 with an attack by a non-Muslim chief against al-Hajj Umar, who consequently declared *jihād*, or religious war, against the "unbelievers." Local success by the Muslims was followed by more far-reaching campaigns northward toward the Bambara⁴ kingdom of Kaarta, conquered in 1857, and where a new Muslim administrative centre was established at Nioro. An unsuccessful confrontation with the French in 1858 turned Umar's energies eastward toward a second Bambara kingdom, Segu, the conquest of which in 1861 led to conflicts with the neighbouring Muslim state of Masina. Masina had aided Segu against the Umanian forces, and even though he now found himself in the midst of the kind of intra-Muslim conflict he had so often condemned in the past, Umar refused to seek a compromise with his adversary. In 1862 the Masina capital, Hamdullahi, was captured and its ruler subsequently put to death.

Umar and a large contingent of his forces settled in Hamdullahi. Geographically, the fruits of the *jihādi* conquests had been extensive. Umanian lieutenants were established over a wide territory as local rulers; nascent Muslim administrations were functioning in many formerly non-Muslim districts. But the position was far from secure. Bambara rebellions were widespread, and the defeated Fulbe of Masina were not idle. By 1863 they had formed an anti-Umanian coalition of Muslim groups in the Niger valley which counterattacked Hamdullahi. Warfare continued for months and Umar was besieged in Hamdullahi. Early in 1864 he managed to escape eastward, only to be surrounded again among the hills and rocks near a village called Degembere, and

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MARTIN, B. G.
(1976b) - *Al-Hajj Umar*
- *Cihad*

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Senegal and Mali". In Martin (1976a), 68-98.

MAJLIS TAIKUNAN
SUNRA GELIN DOUTRE / S

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(1976) xxxviii. *Delele ai, cl-Hac Smu*

MADDE YATIRI 1407

شمال تبریز - به کشاورزی می‌پردازند. بر تخته و خوبیات از مهم‌ترین محصولات کشاورزی این طایفه است. همچنین تیره تراکمه از این طایفه در زمینه تولید ورنی (نوعی گلیم) شهرتی بسیار دارند (شاه‌حسینی، ۱۳۳، ۱۷۰، ۱۸۰).

مآخذ: بامداد، مهدی، شرح حال رجال ایران، تهران، ۱۳۵۷؛ بایوردی، حسن، تاریخ ارسباران، تهران، ۱۳۴۱؛ خاماچی، بهروز، فرهنگ جغرافیای آذربایجان شرقی، تهران، ۱۳۷۰؛ سرشماری اجتماعی - اقتصادی عشایر کوچنده (۱۳۷۷)، نتایج تفصیلی کل کشور، مرکز آمار ایران، تهران، ۱۳۷۸؛ شاه‌حسینی، علیرضا، درآمدی بر شناخت ایل قره داغ (ارسباران)، تهران، ۱۳۸۴؛ عمران منطقه آذربایجان (شرقی و غربی)، سازمان برنامه، تهران، ۱۳۴۴؛ شه ۱۶، کسروی، احمد، تاریخ هجده ساله آذربایجان، تهران، ۱۳۵۳؛ مجتهدی، مهدی، رجال آذربایجان در عصر مشروطیت، به کوشش غلامرضا طباطبایی مجد، تهران، ۱۳۷۷؛ مشکور، محمدجواد، نظری به تاریخ آذربایجان و آثار باستانی و جمعیت‌شناسی آن، تهران، ۱۳۴۹؛ مفتون، دنبلی، عبدالرزاق، مآثر سلطانی، به کوشش غلامحسین صدری افشار، تهران، ۱۳۵۱؛ هدایت، مهدیقلی، خاطرات و خطرات، تهران، ۱۳۴۴؛ نیز:

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حسن موسوی‌زاده

حاج عمر تال (۱۲۰۸-۱۲۸۱/ق ۱۷۹۴-۱۸۶۴م)، عمر بن سعید تال فوتی توری گدیوی، مشهور به شیخ المرتضی، از مشایخ نامدار طریقه تیجانیه در غرب افریقا و بنیان‌گذار بزرگ‌ترین حکومت اسلامی در آنجا.

عمر تال در هالوار (الوعار)، نزدیک پُذُر، در فوتاتوری سنگال به دنیا آمد. پدر وی معلمی از خاندان توگُر، و وابسته به سلسله مرابطون بود. عمر پس از کسب آموزشهای ابتدایی، در جست‌وجوی دانش بیشتر در ۱۵ سالگی خانه را ترک کرد و چندی بعد، در فوتاتالون (بخشی از کونیاکاری در گینه امروزی) به حلقه مشایخ تیجانیه همچون عبدالکریم بن احمد ثقیل و مولود احمد فال پیوست و از ایشان تلقین ذکر یافت. او در ۱۲۴۰/ق ۱۸۲۵م از طریق مصر راهی سفر حج شد و پس از دیدار از الازهر، در ۱۲۴۳/ق ۱۸۲۸م به جده رسید و از آنجا به مکه رفت. پس از به‌جای آوردن حج، مدتی در مکه و مدینه ماند و در آنجا با شیخ محمد غالی، یکی از مریدان نزدیک احمد تیجانی و خلیفه او در حجاز دیدار کرد و طی ۳ سال مصاحبت با وی، تعالیم تیجانیه را از او فراگرفت و سرانجام از سوی شیخ به عنوان خلیفه تیجانیه، مأمور ترویج این طریقه در افریقای غربی شد (امیای، ۵۰، ۴۹/III، ۴۳۰/۱؛ ویلیز، «در راه ...»، ۱؛ کلارک، ۱۳۱؛ EI², III/38، تریمنگام، ۱۸۱؛ بدوی، ۱۸۴؛ ابونصر، ۱۰۷-۱۰۶).

حاج عمر تال در ۱۲۴۸/ق ۱۸۳۲م به سوکوطو آمد و با دختر محمد بلو - که خود امیر سوکوطو، و پسر عثمان دن فودیو

علیلو در منطقه سهند ۵۶۷۹ تن یا ۷۰۴ خانوار ذکر شده است (سرشماری ...، ۳۲).

تاریخچه: در دوره صفویه تمامی طایفه‌های منطقه ارسباران شاهسون خوانده می‌شدند، اما از دوره قاجار نام هر کدام از این طایفه‌ها، از جمله طایفه حاج علیلو به صورت مستقل به کار رفته است (برای آگاهی بیشتر، نک: ابرلینگ، ۷۲-۷۳). طایفه حاج علیلو در دوره فتحعلی شاه قاجار و پیش از آغاز جنگهای ایران و روس در شمال رود ارس، واقع در منطقه قفقاز می‌زیسته‌اند. این طایفه به سبب شرکت در جنگهای ایران و روس شهرتی بسیار یافتند؛ چنان‌که در ۱۲۲۹/ق ۱۸۱۴م افراد این طایفه در رکاب عباس میرزای ولیعهد در برابر سپاه روس رزم‌آوری کردند و در این نبرد ۹ تن از پسران و ۱۲ تن از نوادگان اسدالله سلطان حاج علیلو - جد این دودمان - کشته شدند (همو، ۷۵-۷۴؛ خاماچی، همانجا؛ بایوردی، ۱۳۹؛ مفتون، ۳۰۶-۳۰۷). پس از انعقاد پیمان ترکمانچای در ۵ شعبان ۱۲۴۳/ق ۲۱ فوریه ۱۸۲۸م، افراد طایفه حاج علیلو به جنوب رود ارس [امروزه منطقه ارسباران] مهاجرت کردند (ابرلینگ، ۷۲).

طایفه حاج علیلو در نهضت مشروطیت نیز نقشی مهم ایفا کرده است. در آن روزگار رئیس طایفه حاج علیلو، سام‌خان امیر ارشد همراه برادرش، محمدحسین‌خان سردار عشایر، از حامیان این نهضت به‌شمار می‌آمدند (ایرانیکا، ۵۴۹/XI). در زمستان ۱۳۲۷/ق ۱۲۸۸ش، آنها پیرم‌خان از آزادی‌خواهان ارمنی منطقه قفقاز را در نبرد با رحیم‌خان چلیانلو که از حامیان عمده سلطنت محمدعلی شاه و از مخالفان سرسخت مشروطیت بود، یاری کردند و رحیم‌خان را شکست دادند (تایر، ۲۵۹-۲۶۰؛ بایوردی، ۱۴۰-۱۴۱). پس از این واقعه قدرت و نفوذ امیر ارشد در منطقه ارسباران فزونی یافت (مجتهدی، ۳۰۷؛ کسروی، ۷۳۴-۷۳۹). در ۱۳۰۰ش امیر ارشد از جانب مخیرالسلطنه - حاکم نظامی وقت ایالت آذربایجان - به همراه شماری از چریکهای محلی و ژاندارم مأمور سرکوب اسماعیل آقاسمیتقو - از رهبران شورشی کرد ایل شکاک - شد، ولی در این جنگ امیر ارشد در نزدیک مرند کشته شد (تایر، ۲۷۹؛ بامداد، ۵۶۲/۵۷؛ هدایت، ۳۲۶).

پس از امیر ارشد، برادرش سردار عشایر جانشین وی شد، اما پس از مدتی کوتاه با روی کار آمدن سردار سپه (بعداً رضاشاه) نفوذ و قدرت سیاسی حاج علیلوها در منطقه ارسباران روبه کاهش نهاد (مجتهدی، ۳۰۸). بیشتر افراد طایفه حاج علیلو از دوره سلطنت رضاشاه به بعد تحت قاپو شده‌اند (مشکور، ۱۸۱).

معیشت: اقتصاد معیشتی حاج علیلوها براساس دامداری، کشاورزی و صنایع دستی استوار است. ۶۰٪ این طایفه به دامداری مشغول‌اند. برخی از تیره‌های این طایفه از جمله باغ بستلو و مقدمها در بیلاق و در ارتفاعات مشک عنبر - واقع در

1. In the Path ...