# REVUE D'HISTOIRE MAGHREBINE

(NORTH AFRICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW)

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REVUE Am Araştırmalun D'HISTOIRE MAGHREBINE

(Epoque moderne et contemporaine)



Janvier/January 1975

N° 3

TUNIS

pu penser à lui lorsqu'il suggère au Sultan de « nommer un savant » (1). Mais il sait qu'un homme de guerre serait plus à sa place et c'est Hadi 'Ahmed qui devient son candidat, peut-être à cause de liens de parenté (Ḥādj 'Aḥmed serait son gendre), plus probablement parce qu'il espère de... Hamdan. Par suite, si Clauzel est l'ennemi déclaré, c'est non seulele dominer, gouverner derrière lui pour le plus grand profit des Turcs et ment pour des raisons personnelles, mais parce que, plus que tout autre, il est favorable à une implantation définitive.

Ce ne sont pas les conclusions auxquelles aboutit A. Temimi mais nous les croyons plus exactes parce que nous avons considéré que les documents nouveaux, qu'il a le grand mérite de nous faire connaître, s'ajoutaient à ceux que nous possédions déjà sans toutefois les remplacer. Pour acquérir en solidité, la construction historique doit reposer sur une sédimentation dont toutes les couches ont été soignement analysées. Ainsi les jeunes historiens, particulièrement bien armés, pourront-ils confirmer, infirmer ou compléter les travaux de leurs devanciers et essayer d'approcher cette vérité historique dont la destinée est d'être toujours remise en cause.

> Xavier YACONO Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Toulouse

## THE CAREER OF AHMED AL-BAKKAY IN THE ORAL **EVIDENCES AND RECORDED DOCUMENTS (\*)** By A. ZEBADIA

## 1. The Shaykh of Timbuctu

Timbuctu was under the Fulani Caliphate of Macina with its capital Hamdullāhī from 1824. From 1833 the Kunta Arabs were the most influential local notables in the city but still under Hamdullähi.

The Shaykh of Timbuctu meant the religious head of Timbuctu. The career of the Shaykh At-Bakkay does not, however, reflect only religious involvement. Prior to his succession to the Kādiri leadership of the Western Sudan in 1847, Al-Bakkāy assisted his older brother, Sidi Al-Mukhtar Aş-Şaghır (1826-1846). Some time before 1837, Al-Bakkay visited Sokoto in the company of his younger brother, Sīdī Ammār, and met Ai-Hadj Umar Al-Futī there. During Ai-Bakkay's years of training for leadership, c. 1829-1846-7, the policy of the Kadiri leadership of the Kunta was to get the policy of the rulers of Hamdullähi flexible in order to appease the Tuareg and to gain peace for the area of Timbuctu. Shaykhu Ahmadu I of Macina (1817-1845) dit not respond to the Kādirī leadership's aim. After he succeeded to the government of Macina, Ahmadů II (1845-52) agreed to Al-Bakkāy's proposals for internal independence for the district of Timbuctu. This was such a major concession that Hamdullahi under the rule of Ahmadu II could not tolerate any further flexibility for the Kunta leaders. The treaty of 1846 between Al-Bakkäy and Ahmadū II for internal independence marked an end of perpetual cycles of violence, under which the tribes of the area of Timbuctu had lived for more than ten years. (2) In the following year, Al-Bakkay visited Ḥamdullāhī in a vain attempt to persuade Shaykh Ahmadū II to show flexibility and tolerance in freedom for the Tobacco trade; in less taxes, Kharadi on lands, especially those taxes which were livied from certain places and imposed only on certain categories of people; and in cancelling the requirements of the veil for women, particularly the women of peasants, « Al-Fallāhīn ». (3)

Al-Bakkay was amongst those leaders in the Western Sudan, like Sa'īd b. 'Ibrāhīm of Jenne and others who saw no need for Islamic reform to be implemented through fighting. The Shaykh was against the Jihād movements of his time. He detested completely the Tīdjānī Jihād of Al-Hadj Umar, and preferred the rather « mature » (4) Jihad of Bornu and Sokoto, to the more zealous Jihad of the Lobbos of Macina. Contrary to some rumours, Al-Bakkay was not against the Lobbos all the time,

<sup>(\*)</sup> This is an outline on the conclusion of a 1974 P.H.D. Thesis a 'Ahmad Al-Bakkay Al-Kunti of Timbuctu — An historical study of his potical and religious role (1847 - 1866) ». Presented recently in the London University by Abdelkader Zebadia of Alglers University (history department). Abbreviations as follows:

I. - BNP — Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris.

II. - BIF — Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France.

III. - IFAN — Institut Fondamentale or Français de l'Afrique Noire.

IV. - BBN — Bakkâtya Books of Timbuctu.

V. - BNA — Bibliothèque Nationale d'Alger.

VI. - PRO — Public Record office, London.

VII. - BCEHAOF — Bulletin du Comité des études historiques er scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Françaisc.

VIII. - AGR — Archives générales de Rabat, also known as Al-Kbizāna Al-'Ahmas.

(1) Cf. Al-Bakkāy to Al-Ḥāḍi Umar in BNP (Paris); Barth, Travels... 1857 - 8, V. 163.

Barth, op. cit. IV, 435 F.

(3) Cf. Ahmadū II's report to the Amir Ghuruba said, in BIF; Ba and Daget, l'Empire Peul du Macina, I, 1962, 284.

(4) Cf. Al-Bakkāy to Shykh Umar of Bornu in (IFANDAKAR); to Aḥmadū III of Macina, in BNA (Algiers); and to Muhammad Ibn 'Aḥmad As-sūgi, in BNP.

# The Development of Islam in West Africa

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#### TEACHERS AND MESSENGERS OF ISLAM

general rise in Ineslemen/Zwāya militancy that seems to have come about as a result of resentment against the Imajaghen. Some Ineslemen/Zwāya at this time also began to entertain ideas of Tuareg empire, based on Islamic egalitarianism and opposed both to the Imajaghen and to the Agades sultanate. This militancy resulted in a so-called jihād against the Sultan of Agades between 1049-61/1640-50, led by Ḥadāḥadā, an Inesleman of obscure origin. It had no decisive result. From this time on there was a distinct shift by the Ineslemen/Zwāya groups away from their earlier pacific role, towards more vigorous, activist and aggressive attitudes associated with Islamic reform and even jihād.

It is important to note that there were groups of Ineslemen/Zwāya settled in the area of Gobir and Zamfara at least by 1163/1750, if not earlier. They surely contributed to the reforming zeal of the Muslim Fulani in that area, to whom

they were linked by marriage and common interest.

It is also important that Mahdist ideas had become widely accepted among the Ineslemen/Zwāya during the 12/18 century. These ideas that the world of time is about to end and that before that divine event the Mahdī, the Islamic Deliverer, will appear to impose true Islam and reign in justice over all mankind, must have coloured the views of Islamic reformers as they gradually built up their presence in Hausaland.

#### The Kunta:

The Kunta are a family group of Saharan Arabs who married on the male, but not normally the female, side, with the Sanhaja. They usually term themselves Zwāya. As merchants and scholars, they were wealthy and pious. From the 9/15 century on, their devotion to Islam, to say nothing of their search for honest profit, carried them from the shores of the Atlantic to the Niger Bend and on as far east as Borno.

It is said that their ancestors first left Ifrīqiya, the eastern half of North Africa, as a result of the troubles there of the Fatimid period and that they eventually settled in Tuwāt. This is said to have happened c. 789/1387, although the family's traditions concerning the chronology of their movements at this early period are somewhat confused. Whenever it took place, the move was the first episode in the family's southward penetration into the Sahara.

C. 802/1400 a certain Sīdī ʿAlī al-Kuntī emerged as a qutb, 'Axis' or 'Pole' of the Qādiriyya order of Sufis. He also began what then became the standard practice among the Kuntī shaykhs. This was the undertaking of siyāḥa, extended touring in the Sahara for the purpose of preaching and trade. Sīdī 'Alī's son, Sīdī Muḥammad al-Kuntī also a Qādirī qutb, led the family out of Tuwāt on the next stage of their migration into the Sahara in about 853/1450. This Sīdī Muḥammad lived at a time when there was considerable rivalry between the Berber Lamtuna and the Ḥassāniyya Arabs for supremacy in the western Sahara. At one point this broke out into open warfare and Sīdī Muḥammad allied himself with the Ḥassanids in an attack on the Lamtuna. As a result of this the Ḥassanids became dominant. With their support Sīdī Muḥammad then laid the foundations for Kunta pre-eminence in the western Sahara, although he also earned the enmity of the Lamtuna.

Sīdī Muhammad's son was Sīdī Ahmad al-Bakkā'ī, Ahmad the Weeper', so named because of his God-fearing habit of weeping for the sins of men. Sīdī

Che Tijaniyya Asuf Older
The Modern Morld, London 1967
5, 30-31, 35-36

Azavad in Figosloviche id bir Range Kereva Kaderyan wedom sapety buMS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 3593.

5. al-Ṭarā'if al-ṣughrā
See Brown (1967a), no. 1.

## BĀBĀ AḤMAD b. AL-MUKHTĀR AL-ṢAGHĪR

1. *Q. fī 'l-radd 'alā 'l-Ghalādī* MS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 994.

°UMAR b. MUḤAMMAD b. AL-MUKHTĀR al-Kuntī b. c. 1820, d. c. 1895.

Marty (1920), i, 116-17.

He settled in Adrar-n-Iforas where he built a fortified village and  $z\bar{a}wiya$ . His eldest son  $S\bar{\imath}$ . Muḥammad preached  $jih\bar{a}d$  against the French, but died in 1896 and was buried next to his father at In Settefen.

1. Manzūma fī dabṭ al-nafs MS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 2440.

#### °URWA b. MUHAMMAD b. AL-MUKHTĀR al-Kuntī

1. *al-Manhaj al-qawīm ilā 'l-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* MS: Timbuktu (MMHT), 476.

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AḤMAD al-BAKK°Ī (or -BAKKĀY) b. MUḤAMMAD b. al-MUKHTĀR al-Kuntī al-Wāfī b. c. 1803, d. 15 Ramaḍān 1281/12 February 1865

Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Tijānī, Tarjamat Mawlānā al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hāshimī, 7; Izālat al-rayb, 47-8; Marty (1920), i, 85-97; Zabadia (1975); EI (2), v, 393-5; Barth (1965), iii, 308 ff.; Ould Ely (1985); Charles C. Stewart, art. "al-Bakkā"ī al-Kuntī" in Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World, i, 182-4.

He studied with his grandfather  $S\overline{\imath}$ . al-Mukhtār and with his father  $S\overline{\imath}$ . Muḥammad. He succeeded to the religious and political leadership of the Kunta of Azawād on the death of his elder brother al-Mukhtār al-Ṣaghīr, but was challenged by his nephew Ḥammad who continued to lead a portion of the Kunta in opposition to al-Bakkā $^{\circ}$ ī's leadership. He

negotiated a pact with the Fulbe of Māsina in 1846 under which the administration of Timbuktu remained in Songhay hands, but with a Fulbe  $q\bar{a}d\bar{t}$  and tax-collector who supervised the payment of the tribute agreed upon.

Al-Bakkā°ī established a zāwiya in Timbuktu, but later moved it to the nomadic encampment known as al-Hilla, due to some discontent with the institution in Timbuktu. He then divided his time between al-Hilla and Timbuktu. In September 1853 he received the German traveller Heinrich Barth and gave him his protection against both local elements and the demands of Sh. Ahmad III (Āmadu Āmadu) of Māsina to hand him over to him. When Barth left Timbuktu eight months later al-Bakkā°ī accompanied him to beyond Gao and gave him a safe-conduct document (see Barth (1965), iii, 764-7) which served to protect him all the way to Bornu. Although he at first corresponded diplomatically with the Tijānī conqueror al-hājj cUmar, in 1861 al-Bakkā i went on the attack and joined forces with contingents of the defeated Fulbe of Māsina to besiege Ḥamdallāhi. Al-Tijānī, son and successor of al-hājj <sup>c</sup>Umar at Bandiagara turned the tables on the Kunta-Fulbe alliance. Al-Bakkā°ī died during an attempted counter-attack at Sarédina, and was buried there.

1. Ad<sup>c</sup>iya

MSS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 514, 515, 4041.

2. Ad<sup>c</sup>iya manzūma

(i) Opens: Allāhu Allāhū rabbī lā sharīka lahū \* Man ahsan al-khalqa taqdīr<sup>an</sup> wa-ajmalahū. 38 vv.

MSS: MAMMP, 8.4, 281-2; Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 307(i),

Also: Timbuktu (CEDRAB) 338 (2 poems), 2423, 2803 (2 poems).

3. Bughyat al-alf fī jawāb Ibn Yirkoy Talfi

Reply to the attack on al-Bakkā°ī in a poem called  $Tabkiyat\ al\text{-}Bakkā°ī$  by al-Mukhtār b. Wadī°at Allāh [Yirkoi Talfi], q.v.), a former Qādirī shaykh who had joined the Tijāniyya.

MSS: MAMMP, 8.4, 228 (table of contents only); Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 4860 (20 ff., lacks beg.).

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for leadership, c. 1829-1846-7, the policy of the Kadiri leadership of the Kunta was to get the policy of the rulers of Hamdullahi flexible in order to appease the Tuareg and to gain peace for the area of Timbuctu. Shaykhu Ahmadu I of Macina (1817-1845) dit not respond to the Kādirī teadership's aim. After he succeeded to the government of Macina, Ahmadu II (1845-52) agreed to Al-Bakkāy's proposals for internal independence for the district of Timbuctu. This was such a major concession that Hamdullahi under the rule of Ahmadu II could not tolerate any further flexibility for the Kunta leaders. The treaty of 1846 between Al-Bakkay and Ahmadu II for internal independence marked an end of perpetual cycles of violence, under which the tribes of the area of Timpuctu had lived for more than ten years. (2) In the following year, Al-Bakkay visited Hamdullahi in a vain attempt to persuade Shaykh Ahmadu II to show flexibility and tolerance in freedom for the Tobacco trade; in less taxes, Kharadi on lands, especially those taxes which were livied from certain places and imposed only on certain categories of people; and in cancelling the requirements of the veil for women, particularly the women of peasants, « Al-Fallāhīn ». (3)

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<sup>(2)</sup> Cf. Sidi Al-Mukhtar Ap-Baghir Al-kunti to Shaykh Ahmada I, in Bir (Paris);

Barth, op. cit. IV, 435 F. Cf. Ahmadu II's report to the Amir Churuba said, in BiF; Ba and Daget, l'Em-

pire Peul du Macina, I, 1962, 284. CI. Al-Bakkay to Shykh Umar of Bornu in (IFANDAKAR); to Ahmadu III of Macina, in BNA (Algiers); and to Muhammad Ibn 'Ahmad As-sogi, in BNP.

-ibn Malik et-Jac
-Ebn Haygan el-Endrehmis 566
- Mekkuda 566
- ibna 1- dirman: 566-567
- ibn 23kir 567
- Muhtar et-Kanti 567

# تحفة الودود في المقصور والمدود

لجمال الدين محمد بن عبد الله بن مالك الطائي الجياني المتوفى سنة ٦٧٢هـ (سبق في الألفية).

## منظومة أولها :

بدأت بحمد الله فهو سناء ولنطق منه بهجة وضياء

خ مع شرحها الآتي .

**ጥጥ** 

حيان الأندلسي المتوفى سنة ٧٤٥هـ (سبق) .

أبو زيد عبد الرحمن بن على المكودي المتوفى

\_شرح تحفة الودود لابن مالك

(هدية العارفين ١ :١٥٣).

٨٠٧هـ (سبق في الآجرومية)

\_شرح المقصود والممدود (الاعلام ٣١٨: ٣١٨)

## \_شرح تحفة الودود للناظم

خ جامعة محمد بن سعود برقم ۲۸۳۸ وأخرى برقم ۲۰۱۵ وثالثة بدار الكتب الوطنية بتونس برقم ۲٤۷ ورابعة بباريس ۲۲۰۷ وغيرها . طبع بمصر سنة ۱۸۹۷ بتصحيح إبراهيم اليازجي .

أبو حيان محمد بن علي بن يوسف المعروف بأبي الميحيي بن محمد بن يوسف الكرماني المتوفى سنة

۸۲۳هـ (شـ ذرات الذهب ۲۰۷: ۱۰۸، الضوء اللامع ۱۰: ۲۰۹، کحاله ۱۳: ۲۳۰). مشرح تحفه الودود.

أبو عبد الله محمد بن قاسم بن محمد بن عبد الواحد المعروف بابن زاكور الفاسي المتوفى سنة العارفين ٢ : ٢٠ ٢ ، كحالة ( ١٤٥: ١١ ) .

## \_شرح تحفة الودود

خ باریس ۲۲۶۹ (بروکلمان ۳ :۲۹۶) .

محمد المختار بن أحمد بن أبي بكر الكنتي الوافي (بروكلمان ٣ : ٢٩٤) . المتوفى سنة ٢٢٤هـ (بلاد شنقيط: ٥٦١)

\_شرح تحفة الودود خ باريس ٥٣٧١ .

سيديا الكبير المتوفى ١٢٨٤هـ (بلاد شنقيط: ٥٦٣)

\_شرح القصود والمدود

(بلاد شنقيط: ٥٩٢)

ـ المقصود المحمود على المقصود والممدود البشير بن مبارك البدمسي المتوفى ١٣٥٤هـ (بلاد شنقيط: ٥٠٠)

ـ تعليق على المقصود والمدود أحمد بن محمود بداده الحسنى (بلاد شنقيط: ٤٥٥)

١٤٥)

ـ شرح تحفة الودود في المقصود والممدود

سيد محمد بن حبت الغلاوي المتوفى ٢٨٨ هـ

أحمد بن حبت الغلاوي (بلاد شنقيط: ٥٤٠)

محمد بن عبد الله القناني (القرن الثالث عشر)

ــ شرح تحفة الودود في المقصود والمدود

\_شرح المقصود والممدود لابن مالك

(بلاد شنقیط :٥٥٧)

عبدالله محمد الحبشي, جامع الشروح والحواشي, (معجم الشامل السماء الكتب المشروخة في التراث الا سلامي و بيان شروحة), الجزء الأول, 130564 ISAM 130564. 560-67 ابو ظبي, ص. - 63-66-15

(22)

al-Bakkā³ī, who took up residence in Timbuktu, and worked to retain the city's independence in the face of attempts at domination by Ahmad Lobbo and his successors, and of the Tijānī shaykh *al-ḥājj* 'Umar, who established a state based on Segu in the early 1860s.

CHAPTER THREE

In the closing years of the nineteenth century, two grandsons of  $S\bar{\imath}$ . Muḥammad distinguished themselves by their differing reactions to French colonial overrule. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn declared a jihād against the French, following their occupation of Timbuktu in 1894, and continued to present a menace to them in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Sh. Bāy b.  $S\bar{\imath}$ . °Umar, a scholar and man of saintly repute, took up residence in the Adrar-n-Iforas, and encouraged both the Iforas and the Ahoggar Tuareg to avoid conflict with the French. He came to be recognized by the French as a judicial authority in the region, though he did not hold a designated post.

The Kunta produced numerous scholars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, of whom the best-known and most prolific were direct descendants of *Sh. Sī.* al-Mukhtār al-Kabīr. Their Qādiriyya disciples carried the *ṭarīqa* widely over western Sudanic Africa, though the Tijāniyya became a powerful rival to it in the twentieth century.

al-MUKHTĀR b. AḤMAD b. ABĪ BAKR al-Kuntī al-Wāfī, Abū Zayn al-°Ābidīn, b. 1142/1729, d. 1226/29 May 1811

Fath, 152-3; Marty (1920), i, 27-62; Batran (1971, 1974, 1979, 2001); McDougall (1986); EI (2), v, 393-5; CCIM, art. by Mahmoud Abdu Zouber, pp. 215-8. See also Missions to the Niger, ed. E. M. Bovill, Cambridge, 1964 i, 301, n. 3.

He was born in the region of Kathīb/Erg Oralla a large dune just north of Mabrūk. His father died when he was ten, and he was educated by his brothers Muḥammad Abū Ḥāmiya and Abū Bakr, and by his maternal grandfather Bādi b. al-Ḥabīb. He also spent time living with and studying among the Kel Inalbash branch of the Kel al-Sūq, and the Kel Ḥurma. His principal teacher, however, was Sī. Alī b. al-Najīb of Arawān, a leading shaykh of the Qādiriyya in the region. He spent the years 1754-7 studying in Morocco, and on his return married a distant cousin of his, a pious and learned woman simply known as al-Shaykha (d. 14 January 1810).

On the death of  $S\bar{\imath}$ . °Al $\bar{\imath}$ , he succeded him as shaykh of the Q $\bar{\imath}$ diriyya, and established a  $z\bar{a}wiya$  at B $\bar{\imath}$  'l-Anw $\bar{\imath}$ r in Azaw $\bar{\imath}$ d, some 400 km. NE of Timbuktu [15-20 km NE of the well of Aneschchag, 18° 42' N - 1° 02' W]. From there he exercised his intercessory powers over various inter-tribal disputes, especially those of his own tribe with the Bar $\bar{\imath}$ bīsh. He was on especially good terms with their chief Muḥammad b. Raḥ $\bar{\imath}$ land supported the succession of the latter's son °Al $\bar{\imath}$ . Relations with the Kel Antasar, however, deteriorated, and hostility remained between them and the Kunta until the early twentieth century. Nevertheless,  $S\bar{\imath}$ . al-Mukht $\bar{\imath}$ r retained good relations with clerical clans such as the Kel Inukundar. He was also a spiritual advisor to Kawa Ag Amma, the amenokal of the Ullimiden.

Sī. al-Mukhtār maintained a wide range of contacts with other Islamic leaders of the region and a network of discipleship that extended from southern Mauritania to Bornu and southwards to the forest zones of Ivory Coast and Guinea. Among those who traced their Qādirī wird through him were Sh. "Uthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye (see ALA II, 55), and Sh. Aḥmad Lobbo of Māsina. He was buried at his zāwiya at Bū 'l-Anwār.

## 1. Ad<sup>c</sup>iya wa-aḥzāb

Some collections of prayers exist without title, while several individual prayers circulate independently. These are listed first:

i) Da<sup>c</sup>wat āyat al-kursī MS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 5624.

ii) Du ca al-awliyā

Opens: Allāhumma laka al-ḥamd bi-kulli shay<sup>əin</sup> nuḥibbu an tuhmada bihi.

MSS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 611.

iii) Du<sup>c</sup>ā<sup>3</sup> al-basmala See also no. (v) below. MS: Timbuktu (CEDRAB), 3072.

iv) Hizb al-asrār

MSS: Rabat (KhA), D2257, pp. 614-26, J962, pp. 1-9.

Compiled: John O. Hunwick, Arabic Literature of Africa IV: The Writings of Western Sudanic Africa, Leiden 2003,pp. ... IRCICA 43974

iconography. The crown of Islamic epistemology, however, lies in a unique application of the notion of unity (tawhid), which integrates persons with God, or the ultimate being of philosophers. Similarly, Judaism and Christianity seek an authentic encounter with the Divine, but Islamic mysticism seeks an identity beyond any duality. It follows the theme that the soul seeks no "otherness" from the One.

See also Ghazali, al-; Ibn Sina; Mulla Sadra; Tasawwuf; Theology; Tusi, Nasir al-Din.

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Parviz Morewedge

#### **KOMITEH**

The Komiteh-ha-ye Enghelab, or Revolutionary Committees, were created immediately after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran in February 1979. The Komiteh substituted for some of the governmental institutions that no longer functioned after the shah was deposed, such as social services, security, and police. The Komiteh were more widespread and active in cities than rural areas and were located in captured police centers, in the houses of former government officials, and in some public places such as the parliament. Before the establishment of the Revolutionary Guard Corps (Sepah-e Pasdaran-e Enghelab) in 1979, these committees were responsible for eliminating counterrevolutionary elements within Iran. During the Iran-Iraq War, the revolutionary committees served on the front alongside Iran's Army, Besiege and Revolutionary Guard Corps. In cities, they fought against the narcotics trade and worked as agents of the judiciary and security systems. The members of these committees were mostly uneducated, undisciplined revolutionaries.

After the death of Ayatollah Khomeini and during the first period of 'Ali-Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani's presidency, Iran's police, gendarmerie, and revolutionary committees were merged, and a new organization, called the Disciplinary Force (Niru-ye entezami), was established. With this change, members of the the revolutionary committees received formal ranks in the police staff, based on their experience.

See also Revolution: Islamic Revolution in Iran.

Majid Mohammadi

## KUNTI, MUKHTAR AL- (1729-1811)

Al-Shaykh Sidi-Mukhtar al-Kabir al-Kunti was born in 1729 near Arawan north of Timbuktu. He was a descendant of a highly ramified Arabic-speaking tribe, the Kunta, that has become widely dispersed over the Southern Sahara, from Mauritania to the Adrar-n-Ifoghas in Eastern Mali and beyond. The Kunta tribe claims descent from noble origins, specifically from the celebrated Qurashite Muslim commander 'Uqba b. Nafi' al-Fihri, who was the stepbrother of 'Amr b. al-'As al-Sahmi, the first governor of Muslim Egypt.

According to the so-called *ta'rikh*, Kunta Sidi 'Ali, a descendant of 'Uqba b. Nafi', married the daughter of Muhammad b. Kunta b. Zazam, who was chief of the Ibdukal (also called Abdukal), a subgroup of the Lamtuna Berbers, allegedly in the early fifteenth century. Their son, Muhammad, married into another Lamtuna group, as did also his son, Ahmad al-Bakka'i. Ahmad al-Bakka'i then had three sons of his own, from whom all the later branches of the Kunta were derived.

After the death of Sidi Ahmad-al Bakka'i in the second half of the sixteenth century, a quarrel broke out between two of his sons, which is said to have caused the Kunta to split into two groups. The Western Kunta lived in and around the Hawd, today the southern part of Mauritania, and the Eastern Kunta lived in and around Azwad, the area of the Sahara immediately southwest of Tadmakkat.

While a young man, Sidi al-Mukhtar gained a wide reputation as greatly gifted, intellectually, and as an outstanding Muslim scholar. When only twenty-five years old he was given the title of Shaykh al-tariqa al-Qadiriyya, making him a spiritual leader within the Qadiri order of Sufis. In this position he attracted many students, who came to study in the zawiya he established at al-Hilla in Azwad. His camp at al Hilla rapidly became not only the center of studying the Qadiriyya teachings, but also the center from which a new Qadiri suborder was spread throughout the Sahara regions. This new suborder bore the name of Sidi al-Mukhtar, and its followers came to be known as al-Mukhtariyya.

Al-Kunti achieved a high degree of social and political influence among the active political players in the Sahara arena. He succeeded in healing the rift between the eastern and western branches of the Kunta, and he did much to help conclude a peaceful settlement between the Tuareg chiefs and Arab warrior groups in the area. He also mediated

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Edit. Richard C. Martin, Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World, vol. I, New York 2004. pp.  $\zeta_0 = \zeta_0 = 0.15$  . iSAM 130385.

#### 182 **BAHRAIN**

120,000 (figures from the Canadian Bahā'ī Office of Public Information, March 1994.) The largest Bahā'ī community is in India.

[See also Bābism; and the biographies of the Bāb and Bahā' Allāh.]

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B. TODD LAWSON

BAHRAIN. See Gulf States.

BAKKA'İ AL-KUNTİ, AHMAD AL- (c. 1803– 1865), Sudanese religious and political leader. Ahmad al-Bakkā'ī inherited the religious and economic influence of the Kunta confederation in the Timbuktu region of the West African Sudan in the years 1847-1865 and was titular head of the Qādirīyah tarīqah in West Africa during that period. He was a grandson of Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d. 1811), patriarch of the Kunta Awlād Sīdī al-Wāfī to whom most strains of the Qādirīyah in West Africa are traced. He worked closely with his elder brother, Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Saghir ibn Sīdī Muḥammad, who succeeded at his father's death in 1824 as principal shaykh of the Kunta until his own death in 1847. During this period the autonomy of Timbuktu and environs

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# AL-SHAYKH SIDI AL-MUKHTAR AL-KABIR

(1729-1811)

#### SON NOM COMPLET

Al-Mukhtar b. Ahmad bî Abî Bakr b. Hayb-Allâh b. al-Wâfî b. Umar al-Shaykh b. Ahmad al-Bakkây b. Mohammad al Kuntî. Il naquit, selon la version communément admise, en 1729 à Kathîb Wughalla au Nord-Ouest d'Arawân.

Le Shaykh Sîdî al-Mukhtár est, sans conteste, l'une des figures les plus marquantes du Sahara et du Soudan Occidental au milieu du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Aux dires de ses biographes, il était un très saint personnage, un lettré de première valeur, un homme politique avisé qui; de 1760 à 1811, joua dans la vie saharienne un rôle des plus importants.

#### SES ETUDES

Son fils Sîdî Mohammad, l'auteur du fameux Kitâb al-Tarâ'if, nous retrace les étapes de celles-ci. D'abord, un séjour dans le campement Kel-al-Sûq Kel-Inelbouch, puis un autre chez les Kel al-Horma lui permirent d'étudier la grammaire, la réthorique et les principaux ouvrages du fiqh Malikite. Ensuite, il séjourna quelque temps à Tombouctou où il ne semble pas avoir reçu un bon accueil. Mais, montrant surtout une âme ardente et mystique, il ne tarda pas à quitter cette ville pour aller chercher un maître initiateur qu'il trouvera plus tard en la personne du Shaykh Sîdî Ali Ibn al-Najîb, le grand maître de l'Azawâl à cette époque.

«Avec ce maître, écrit Sîdî Mohammed, mon père se livra aux exercices de la discipline des Soufis: contrainte de la solitude, de la faim, des veillées prolongées, pratiques surérogatoires, récitation des dhikrs rituels transmis, et il s'en acquittait avec zèle ce qui lui valut la préférence du Maître » (Tarâ'if, folio 63 a).

Sîdî al-Mukhtâr étudia également sous la direction du Shaykh Sîdî Ali l'exégèse du Coran, les traditions du Prophète (Hadîth) et les sciences annexes.

Il acquit ainsi un savoir très étendu et devint le plus grand savant de la contrée, au point d'être considéré par ses pairs comme l'un de ces régénérateurs de l'Islam au douzième siècle de l'Hégire.

#### SON ENSEIGNEMENT

Devenu, après la mort du Shaykh Sîdî Ali en 1757, le maître incontestable de la Qâdiriyya, Sîdî al-Mukhtâr donnera une nouvelle impulsion à la confrérie. Il créera à Bûlanwâr (400 Km au Nord-Est de Tombouctou) une Zâwiya dynamique à partir de laquelle se fera, 50 années durant, la diffusion du Wird qâdirî dans presque toute l'Afrique Occidentale, au Sahara et, en partie, au Maghreb.

Concernant l'enseignement du Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtâr, Sidi Mohammad nous dit que son père réunissait les qualités requises pour ce double enseignement qu'on pourrait distinguer en enseignement théorique extatique.

«Il déployait, note-t-il, dans les deux voies de son enseignement une pareille maîtrise et un zèle égal, obtenant de ses disciples une soumission totale qui les mettait entre ses mains comme le cadavre dans les mains du laveur des morts». (Tarâ'if folio 215 a).

Sur la manière d'enseigner du Shaykh, Sidi Mohammad écrit : «Le plus souvent, il laissait ses élèves qui étudiaient la grammaire et la littérature, travailler sous la direction du plus autorisé parmi eux, tandis qu'il se consacrait à ceux qui étudiaient l'exégèse du Coran, le Hadith et la doctrine des Soufis. Il professait alors en personne, laissant ses auditeurs libres d'en tirer le profit qui leur convient» (Ibid., folio 215).

Dans la description des relations du Shaykh avec ses élèves, Sidi Mohammad parle d'une douceur constante alliée à une grande fermeté quant aux principes d'éducation spirituelle. «Ils (les élèves) vivaient, fait-il remarquer, constamment dans son intimité, tenant à lui comme des enfants mineurs à leur père; ils partageaient son genre d'existence, s'adonnaient avec lui aux rudes besognes de la vie saharienne» (ibid, folio 216 a).

#### SON ŒUVRE LITTERAIRE

Shaykh Sîdî al-Mukhtâr est un auteur très fécond. Il composa selon certains biographes, 314 livres et opuscules dont les plus importants sont :

- Hidâyat al-tullâb ou (la bonne direction des étudiants). Précis de droit Malikite. Il en fit un volumineux commentaire intitulé: Fath al-Wahhâb alâ Hidâyat at-tullâb ou (l'ouverture des esprits, par Dieu libéral sur la bonne direction des étudiants). Cet ouvrage comprend quatre énormes volumes qui totalisent 3600 pages de grand format.
- Nuzhat al-râwî wa bughyat al-hawî ou (l'agrément du conteur et le plaisir de l'acquéreur) en deux volumes. Il traite des sujets variés : théologie, droit, soufisme, etc...
- Al Jura al-sâfiya wa l-nafha l-kâfiya ou (la gorgée pure et l'inspiration suffisante). Ouvrage remarquable en un volume traitant du soufisme.
- Kashf al-labs fi mâ bayn al rûh wa nafs ou (la mise au clair de l'ambiguïté en ce qui concerne la différence entre l'esprit et l'âme). C'est un excellent traité de théologie et de mysticisme.
- Nudâr al-dhahab fi kull fann muntakhab ou (l'or pur sur toute science choisie) en deux volumes. Cet ouvrage inachevé traite de divers sujets d'ordre mystique, littéraire, historique et juridique.
- Al-Burd al-muwashshâ fî tahrîm al-rashâ ou (le vêtement bigarré sur la cessation des pots-de-vin et des cadeaux) en deux volumes. C'est un long texte où l'auteur s'en prend violemment aux juges et cadis corrompus.
- Al-Minna fi i tiqâd Ahl al-Sunna : important traité de théologie selon le point de vue traditionnel, en un volume.

P. Iradiel, Evolución de la industrie textil ... ss. XIII-XVI ... en Cuenca, Salamanca 1974, 44-5; S. Cirac Estopañan, Registros ... Sto. Oficio de Cuenca, Cuenca-Barcelona 1965; B. Loupias, La pratique secrète de l'Islam dans ... Cuenca, in Hésp.-Tamuda, vi (1965), 115-31; M. Garcia-Azenal, Inquisición ... de Cuenca, Madrid 1978. (MARIA J. VIGUERA)

KUNSUL [see consul]. KUNTA (sometimes pluralised as Kanāta), a highly ramified Arabic-speaking tribe widely dispersed over the southern Sahara from Taganit in Mauritania to the Adrar-n-Ifoghas in eastern Mali and beyond. Their own genealogies claim descent from 'Ukba b. Nāfi' al-Fihrī [q.v.], to whom they attribute a series of exploits in and beyond ancient Ghāna as far as Takrūr. According to the so-called Ta'rīkh Kunta (tr. in I. Hamet, Notice sur les Kounta), SIdI 'AlI, a descendant of 'Ukba, married the daughter of Muhammad b. Kunta b. Zazam (or Zam), chief of the Id Oukal (Ibdūkal/Abdūkal) fraction of the Lamtuna Berbers, allegedly in the early 9th/15th century. Their son, Muhammad, married into another Lamtūna group, the Tādjakānt, as did also his son Ahmad al-Bakka I. It is from the latter's three sons that all the branches of the Kunta derive. Thus, even by their own accounts, the Arab element in Kunta stock would appear small, and, significantly, their eponym is Berber. Their zawāyā (non-warrior) status, too, is indicative of Berber origin and, like most such groups in the western Sahara, they probably acquired an Arab pedigree along with the Arabic language during the period of Hassaniyya ascendancy in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

The period from the mid-10th/16th century, when Ahmad al-Bakkā T's son SIdī 'Umar al-Shaykh is said to have died, until the early 12th/18th century seems to mark the emergence of the Kunta as a distinct and relatively large tribe, their numbers no doubt being augmented by the acquisition and eventual integration of tributaries and slaves. They appear to have roamed over a wide area from the Hodh (al-Hawd) in the south to al-Sāķiya al-Hamrā' in the north and Tuwāt in the east. Some members settled in Walāta and in a village in Tuwāt known as Zāwiyat Kunta where Sīdī 'Umar's son, Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Shaykh, is said to have been buried.

In the early 12th/18th century a rift occurred. The clans descended from Sidi Muḥammad al-Şaghir b. Aḥmad al-Bakkā'ī hived off to roam the western Sahara from the banks of the River Senegal to al-Sāķiya al-Ḥamrā' (the Kunta al-Ķibla), while those descended from Sidi 'Umar al-Shaykh combined pastoralism with commerce, establishing a network of camps and trading posts from the Wādi Dar'a through Tuwāt and the Azawād region north of the Middle Niger to Timbuktu in the west and Katsina in the east.

Among the latter, the Awlād Sīdī al-Wāfī established a position of pre-eminence in the second half of the 12th/18th century, due to the role of their leader Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kabīr b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr (1142-1226/1729-1811), who combined qualities of sanctity with political astuteness and commercial acumen. In ca. 1167/1753-4 he established his camp at al-Hilla in Azawād, which rapidly became a centre of study and of the propagation of the Kādiriyya Order. It is from the sub-order which he established, the Mukhtāriyya, that most of the Kādiriyya

