Ahmed b. Idris 010965
02 Kasım 2018 MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜM

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KELLY TUTTLE

Idrīsiyya, in Indonesia

The **Idrīsiyya** of **Indonesia** is a Ṣūfī order belonging to the intellectual and spiritual tradition associated with the North African master Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d. 1253/1837, in Ṣabyā, Yemen), which is generally known as the Aḥmadiyya-Idrīsiyya. The teachers of the Indonesian order claim that their primary affiliation is with the Sanūsiyya but there are also considerable similarities with the Dandarāwiyya branch of the Aḥmadiyya-Rashīdiyya, which is active in Malaysia.

The first Indonesian *shaykh* of the Idrīsiyya, ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ (1884–1947), was born into a religious family in Tasikmalaya (West Java) that claimed descent from Sunan Drajat, one of the Nine Saints (*wali sanga*) credited with the Islamisation of Java in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. He had a basic traditional education, studying Islamic doctrine and Shāfiʿī *fiqh* (law) with the leading local scholar, Ajengan Sujāʿī, and received an initiation into the Shaṭṭāriyya order in Cirebon. In the mid-1920s he undertook the journey to Mecca, where he is said to have spent seven or eight years and to have found in Sayyid Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī (d. 1933) the spiritual master he was looking for. He frequented the Sanūsī *zāwiya* on the Abū Qubays hill, overlooking the Great Mosque at Mecca, and was granted an *ijāza*, or license, to teach the *ṭarīqa* in Indonesia. Aḥmad al-Sharīf had been the spiritual and military leader of the Libyan Sanūsiyya and was widely regarded as a paragon of the anti-colonial struggle. Towards the end of the First World War, Aḥmad al-Sharīf took refuge in Istanbul at the invitation of the Ottoman government. Here he later took the side of the nationalists in the ensuing Independence War. He parted ways with Mustafa Kemal (1881–1938), who was to become the first president of the Republic of Turkey, over the abolition of the caliphate and in 1924 or early 1925 resettled in Mecca, where he remained until his death, in 1933.

ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ was not the first or the only Indonesian to be initiated into the Sanūsiyya in Mecca. Consular reports from Jidda from the 1890s onwards mention initiates returning to Java, Borneo, and, especially, South Celebes. Only ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, however, who returned to Java in 1932 with an *ijāza* from Aḥmad al-Sharīf, organised his followers into a new Ṣūfī order, with its main centres in Batavia (present-day Jakarta) and the province of Tasikmalaya. Aware of the colonial authorities' suspicion of the Sanūsiyya, he decided to name the order Idrīsiyya.

His son Muḥammad Daḥlān (d. 2001), who succeeded him at the height of Indonesia's war of Independence in 1947, further consolidated the order and united its

Ahmad b. Idris (010965)

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ERSILIA FRANCESCA

Aḥmad b. Idrīs

Abū l-'Abbās **Aḥmad b. Idrīs** (1760–1837) was an influential Moroccan mystic and scholar, to whom more than fifty works are attributed. His students have established several Ṣūfī orders.

1. Biography

Aḥmad b. Idrīs was born in Maysūr, near Fez, in Morocco, in 1173/1760. He studied at the university of al-Qarawiyyīn, in Fez, and later taught there, as may be inferred from a remark he made later in life. Although he does not mention his theology teachers by name, they are known to us from other sources, for instance, from his disciple Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī (on whom, see below). It is clear from his writings that he had received a solid theological training and was thus familiar with the methods of scholastic disputation. Precise biographical data are available only for the last decade of Ibn Idrīs's life. The preceding shadowy period includes the forty years from his birth until his journey to the East, which began in 1213–4/1799. Equally little is known of the next twenty years of his life, during which he resided in Mecca, in Sudan, and in Ṣabyā, in the district of 'Asīr (now a province of Saudi Arabia), where he died, in 1837.

When, why, and in what manner he eventually turned to Ṣūfism is unknown. The names of his Ṣūfī teachers, on the other hand, have been recorded; they were all affiliated with the Shādhiliyya, although Ibn Idrīs never describes himself as a Shādhilī. These teachers were Muḥammad Limjaydrī b. Ḥabīballāh, Abū Muḥammad (Abū l-Mawāhib) 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Tāzī (d. 1206/1792 or 1213/1798), and Abū l-Qāsim al-Wazīr. In the concise work *Kunūz al-jawāhir* ("The treasures of the Jewels"), Ibn Idrīs offers two versions of his Shādhiliyya affiliation. The first or "normal" version links the order to the Prophet via Ibn Idrīs's teacher Abū l-Qāsim al-Wazīr al-Shādhilī and the well-known Shādhilī *shaykh*s Aḥmad Zarrūq (ninth/fifteenth century), Abu l-'Abbās al-Mursī (d. 686/1287), and others. Of greater interest is the shorter version: it begins with his teacher 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Tāzī and continues with 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dabbāgh (d. 1131/1719), the disciple of (al-)Khaḍir, whence the chain of transmission extends directly to the Prophet.

In the *Kunūz al-jawāhir*, Ibn Idrīs also mentions that he was admitted to the

دراسات في تاريخ
عسير والمخلاف السليماني
(١)

حدائق الزهر
في ذكر الأشياخ أعيان الدهر

(تراجم مجموعة من علماء عسير والمخلاف السليماني واليمن)

تأليف
الحسن بن أحمد عاكش الضمدي
١٢١٩ - ١٢٩٠هـ
١٨٠٤ - ١٨٨٣م

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi
Kütüphanesi
Dem. No: 90328
Tas. No: 922.97 DAM.H

حققه ودرّسه وعلّق عليه
د/ إسماعيل بن محمد البشري
عميد كلية اللغة العربية والعلوم الاجتماعية بالجنوب
١٤١٣

في المعاني ، والبيان ، و« المطلع » و « التهذيب » في المنطق . وحضرت دروسه ، وأسمعت عليه شطرًا من الحديث ، واستفدت منه كثيرا ، وأسانيده في الحديث كلها آيلة إلى السيد سليمان بن يحيى ، وإلى الشيخ عبد الله بن عمر الخليل ، وهي معروفة مما سلف في ترجمة شيخنا الحافظ عبد الرحمن بن سليمان ، وقد أجازني بإجازة بديعة ، وهي مثبتة في مجلد الإجازات .

وكانت[١] وفاته [٣١ ب] سنة ثمان[٢] وأربعين بعد المائتين والألف ، وقد جاوز الثمانين من السنين ، الله يغفر له ، ويرحمه ، ويجزيه عنا أفضل الجزاء ، بحوله وفضله ، ويجمعنا وجميع الأحباب في جنة المأوى ﴿ مَعَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمَ اللهُ عَلَيْهِم مِّنَ النَّبِيِّينَ وَالصِّدِّيقِينَ وَالشُّهَدَاءِ [وَالصَّالِحِينَ][٣] وَحَسُنَ أُوْلَـٰئِكَ رَفِيقًا ﴾[٤] .

(١) في الأصل : وكان .
(٢) في الأصل : ثمانية .
(٣) الإضافة من المحقق حيث سقطت الكلمة في الآية الكريمة من الأصل .
(٤) النساء : ٦٩ .

010965
Ahmed b. Idris

١٠ - السيد أحمد بن إدريس[١]
١١٧٢[٢] هـ - ١٢٥٣ هـ

الحسني نسبا ، المغربي مولدا . هو من ذرية الإمام إدريس بن عبد الله المحض ، من السادة الإدريسية الساكنين بالغرب ، وهم أشهر من أن تنشر أخبارهم . هو العابد الإنساني ، المتأله الرباني ، المتحلي السالك الناسك ، من فهّمه الله أسرار البدايات ، وأطلعه على عالم النهايات ، بحر الحقائق ، وموضح الطرائق ، صاحب الأسرار الصمدانية ، والدعوة الرحمانية ، واللطائف القرآنية ، والمعارف الفرقانية ، والمواعظ اللقمانية ، والفتوحات الربانية[٣]* .

ماذا أقول لمن تكامل وصفه فالمدح فيه وإن تطاول قاصر

هو ذو أنوار فضلٍ زاهرة ، وكراماتٍ باهرة ، قد اتضحت فضائله للخاص من الناس والعام ، والمأموم من الناس والإمام ، وعلى الجملة فإنه ملك العلم بأزمته ، والعرفان بجزئيته وكليته ؛ على أنّا علمنا الفضائل ، وما نرى[٤] أجرى منه في ميدانها ، ولا أحسن تصرفًا منه لعنانها . صفاء قلبه على وجهه يلوح ، ونوافح مسك الحكمة من فيه يفوح ، رقيق القلب ذو سكينةٍ ووقارٍ وحياء . إذا خرج ازدحم الناس على تقبيل يديه وركبته ، والتشبث بأهدابه ، والتبرك برؤية وجهه . ما وضع يده على قلبِ قاس إلّا رقّ ، إذا تلا القرآن سمعت في جوفه الأزيز ، إذا رآه[٥] العلماء تواضعوا

(١) له ترجمة في «النفس اليماني » (١٦٠) ، و « الديباج الخسرواني » (٢١٧) ، و « أبجد العلوم » (١٨٢) ، و « الأعلام » (٩٠/١) ، و « ملوك العرب » (٢٩٣ - ٣١٠) ، و « عقود الدرر » ، مخطوط (٩ ب) ، و « التاج المكلل » (٤٣٢) .
(٢) لم يورد المؤلف تاريخ الولادة وأضافها المحقق من الأعلام ٩٠/١ .
(٣) المؤلف هنا متأثر بأسلوب الصوفية ، وهو يترجم لشيخ الطريقة الأحمدية الصوفية ، أحمد بن إدريس .
(٤) في الأصل : نرا .
(٥) في الأصل : راه .
* البيت من الكامل .

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Ahmad b. Idris

08 KASIM 1993

21 THOMASSEN, Einar and RADTKE, Bernd (eds.), *The Letters of Ahmad Ibn Idris.* Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1993, 192pp.

Ahmed b. Idris

08 KASIM 1993

Ahmed b. Idris

249. al-HAJRASĪ (a. l-Futūḥ M. b. Khalīl al-Shafiʿī), *al-Jawhar al-nafīs fī ṣalawāt Ibn Idrīs*, Le Caire, Maktabat al-Kulliyyāt al-azhariyya, Dār al-Nadwa al-islāmiyya, 1987-88 (*sic*!), 117 p.; 17 x 24 cm.

Pour l'A., m. 1328/1910, *v.* Sarkīs, 332; l'ouvrage, imprimé à Būlāq, 1310, 79 p., est un abrégé de son com. composé à Médine et intitulé *al-Futūḥāt al-madaniyya al-hajrasiyya* sur *al-Ṣalawāt al-qudsiyya al-idrīsiyya*.

Pour Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ḥasanī al-Fāsī al-Shādhilī a. l-ʿAbbās, m. 1253/1837, *v.* Sarkis, 39-40; Kahh, I, 158. Les textes commentés ici par al-Hajarasī sont: *al-Maḥamid al-thamāniyya*, *al-Aḥzāb al-khamsa*, *al-Ṣalawāt al-arbaʿ ʿashra* et *al-Ḥuṣūn al-manīʿa al-nabawiyya*.

Introd., 5-11, sur A. b. Idrīs. Ni index, ni table des matières, aucune note.

2442

MADDE VE SÜRELİ YAYINLARDAN
SÖNMEYEN GEÇİCİ DOKÜMAN

Claude GILLIOT, "*Textes Arabes Anciens Édités en Égypte au Cours Années 1987 à 1990*" MIDEO (Melanges Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales du Caire), Vol.20, 1991 Louvain. pp.301-504.

27 EYLÜL 1995

mutandis, to the encounter with any other non-Islamic civilization. Here islamism can but give way to mainstream Islam since it declines to offer anything but rejection playing hide and seek with a craving for material profit. The modernist effort, such as ᶜAbduh's or Iqbal's,[56] which, for reasons remaining to be clarified, has deviated into islamism, waits to be resumed and pursued on its proper course.

56 Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore: Ashraf, repr. 1954.

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
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İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN
05 TEMMUZ 1995

VON IRAN NACH WESTAFRIKA ZWEI QUELLEN FÜR AL-ḤĀĞĞ ᶜUMARS *KITĀB RIMĀḤ ḤIZB AR-RAḤĪM*: ZAYNADDĪN AL-ḤWĀFĪ UND ŠAMSADDĪN AL-MADYANĪ

VON

BERND RADTKE

Utrecht

Eines der zahlreichen Werke des bekannten marokkanischen Mystikers Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1749–1837)[1] trägt den Titel *Kunūz al-ǧawāhir an-nūrāniyya fī qawāᶜid aṭ-ṭarīqa aš-šāḏiliyya*.[2] Im Gegensatz zu manchen anderen scheint dieses Werk von Ibn Idrīs selbst und nicht von Schülern niedergeschrieben zu sein. Es hat nur einen geringen Umfang und behandelt, etwas abweichend von der Titelangabe, nicht nur die Grundlagen der Šāḏiliyya, sondern auch der Ḫalwatiyya. Von den sechs Kapiteln sind die ersten fünf durchaus traditionell zu nennen, und nur das abschliessende sechste, in dem Ibn Idrīs seine ,,Berufung'' erzählt, fällt aus dem herkömmlichen Rahmen der sog. Ordenshandbücher oder *šurūṭ*-Literatur. Für näheres sei auf Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar der Schrift verwiesen.[3]

Die ersten fünf Kapitel behandeln 1. die *silsila*; 2. die Aufnahme in den Orden und das Einsprechen des *ḏikr*s; 3. die Wandlungsformen der Seele; 4. den *ḏikr*; 5. das Verhalten der Ordensangehörigen untereinander und gegenüber den Mitmenschen. Gerade wegen der Kürze der Schrift entschloss ich mich, bei der Bearbeitung möglichst viel Parallelliteratur heranzuziehen. Dabei stiess ich auch auf das berühmte *Rimāḥ* al-Ḥāǧǧ ᶜUmars, das uns hier im weiteren beschäftigen soll. Zunächst etwas zum historischen Rahmen.

In der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts lebte und wirkte in der

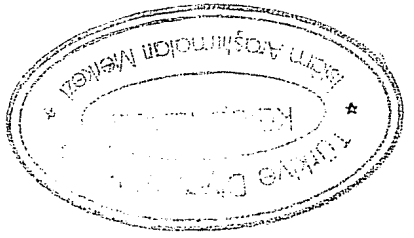
1 Grundlegend ist O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*. ALA 1,124f.
2 ALA 1,129, nr. 20.
3 *Two Sufi Treatises*.

© E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1995 s. 37-69

دار شيخه البوزيدي، وذلك يوم الأربعاء سابع شوال سنة ١٢٢٤، في حياة شيخه البوزيدي وشيخ شيخه مولاي العربي، وبهذه القرية دفن ثم نقل بأمر من شيخه لقبيلة أنجرة لقرية الزميج بعد مدة ووقعت في السفر به ليلاً كرامات شاهدها أصحابه الحاملون له حينما تبعهم أهل قبيلة بني سلمان، فلم يحصلوا على طائل رحم الله الجميع ورضي عن سيدنا أحمد بن عجيبة وشيخه وشيخ شيخه ونفعنا بمحبتهم وحشرنا معهم في زمرة الحبيب المصطفى ﷺ.

* * *

Abdullah b. Abdülkadir et-Telidi
el-Mutrib bi-mesahiri evliyai'l-Magrib,
Rabat 1421/2000, s. 227-228
DN: 79835



MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN
05 MART

Ahmed b. Idris

سيدي أحمد بن إدريس

ومنهم العلامة الإمام أبو العباس سيدي أحمد بن إدريس الإدريسي صاحب الطريقة الإدريسية، العارف الكبير والولي الشهير القطب الكامل الجامع بين الشريعة والحقيقة.

وُلد بنواحي فاس سنة اثنتين وسبعين ومائة وألف. ولما حفظ القرآن الكريم التحق بمعهد القرويين واشتغل بطلب العلوم الإسلامية حتى برع فيها وحصل ما قدر له منها من عربية وفقه وتفسير وحديث، وحضر على كبار علماء وقته وأصبح من النوابغ المدرسين بالقرويين، ثم أخذ الطريقة الشاذلية عن العارف بالله المربي الكامل سيدي عبد الوهاب التازي أحد كبار تلامذة العارف سيدي عبد العزيز الدباغ مع خموله وعاميته.

ولما اجتمع به وأخذ عنه انقطع لديه ولازمه وكان قبل أن يلتقي به قال لبعض شيوخه: إيتني به أجمعه برسول الله ﷺ، وكان يقول له: قصدي أن تعرفه يا أحمد ولو جاءك في صورة كذا وكذا. وبقي في خدمته وتحت تربيته إلى أن توفي. ثم صحب العارف سيدي أبا القاسم الغازي، فقال له: إن شيخي سيدي علي بن عبد الله ترك لك أمانة فهي وديعة عندي، وبقي في صحبته إلى أن توفي أيضًا، فتاقت نفسه لمن يصحب بعده فقيل له من الحضرة الإلهية: لم يبق على وجه الأرض أحد تنتفع به إلا القرآن، قال فجلست سنين عديدة لا أشتغل بغير القرآن العظيم، ثم آخى رسول الله ﷺ بيني وبين القرآن وقال: أبدله ما فيك من العلوم والأسرار. وفتح عليه

طبع بأمر من صاحب الجلالة أمير المؤمنين الحسن الثاني نصره الله

82092

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وزارة الأوقاف والشؤون الإسلامية

العقد المنظوم في الخصوص والعموم

لأبي العباس شهاب الدين أحمد بن إدريس
الصنهاجي القرافي (ت: 684هـ)

دراسة وتحقيق
الأستاذ محمد علوي بنصر

الجزء الأول

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2002
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The Letters of

Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs

رسائل
أحمد بن إدريس

EDITED, TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY
ALBRECHT HOFHEINZ, ALI SALIH KARRAR, R.S. O'FAHEY,
BERND RADTKE AND EINAR THOMASSEN

GENERAL EDITORS
EINAR THOMASSEN AND BERND RADTKE

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Elizabeth Sirriyeh, SUFIS AND ANTI-SUFIS, Richmond-1999, s.5-8.

Messiah for them (the Christians) is a name denoting divinity and humanity combined and this is what some extreme Sufis and Shīᶜīs say, speaking of the union of divinity and humanity in the prophets and holy men, just as the Christians say of the Messiah.'[8]

However, the voices of criticism also came from within Sufism. Thus a letter from a prominent shaykh, Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1760?–1837), to his disciple travelling to the Sudan warns him of the dangers to his spiritual state from the ordinary people around him:

> Know, my son, that the people of your time, even if they flatter you outwardly, yet they are faint-hearted and this will bring them no benefit with God. And what God, may He be praised and exalted, ordered the Prophet was that he have patience only with "those who call upon their Lord morning and evening desiring His face" (Qur'ān 18.28). The companionship of rabble, who in their companionship have no desire for God and His Prophet, is a lethal poison which instantly destroys faith unless God preserves it. So be wary of the people of your time, for they are not sincere in their love of God. And may God preserve you from the people.[9]

It seems that the shaykh has a low opinion of many African Sufis, although he recognized the existence of the genuinely pious among the Sufis of the Sudan.

In North Africa similar feelings are expressed by his contemporary Aḥmad al-Tijānī (1737–1815) in a letter to one of his disciples in Fez: 'And know that nobody in these times can keep away from sin since it falls on human beings like heavy rain.'[10] On another occasion he lamented: 'This time is one in which the bases of divine ordinance have been destroyed . . .; and it is beyond the capacity of any person to carry out God's command in every respect in this time. . . .'[11]

The mood of the times is one of gloom, for the common people, in the reformers' eyes, were failing to achieve true spirituality. The picture is less black than that painted by the Wahhābīs, but it is black enough and the understanding is that illumination is rare, that this age is particularly sinful and the unenlightened masses bear a heavy burden of shame owing to their inability to live up to Sufi ideals.

Sufi Reformers: Shāh Walī Allāh and Aḥmad b. Idrīs

Among the most forceful voices pressing for change were two outstanding eighteenth century Sufis: Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi, a

major Indian intellectual Sufi whose influence has been deeply felt to the present among the Muslims of South Asia and more indirectly further afield, and Aḥmad b. Idrīs of Morocco, already noted, who was to play a key role in inspiring the foundation of new reforming orders in Africa.

Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (1703–62)

A critical event that shaped Shāh Walī Allāh's commitment to reform took place in 1731–32. This was his journey from India for a fourteen-month stay in the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. Once in the Ḥijāz, he studied Ḥadīth with some of the senior scholars of his day and received guidance in Sufism and initiation into four Sufi orders from the noted mystic Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad (d. 1733).[12] But in addition to his exposure to different legal schools and a variety of scholarly views on religious questions, he experienced visionary dreams which were to affect the pattern of his life. On 14 August 1731, he records how the Prophet's grandsons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, appeared to him in a dream:

> Ḥasan carried in his hand a reed-pen, of which the point was broken. He stretched out his hand to give it to me, and said: "This is the pen of my grandfather, the Messenger of God." Thereupon he (withdrew his hand and) explained: "Let Ḥusayn mend it first, since it is no longer as good as when Ḥusayn mended it the first time." So Ḥusayn took it, mended it and gave it to me.[13]

Ḥusayn then proceeded to clothe him in the Prophet's mantle. Through this and other dreams Shāh Walī Allāh developed a deepening spiritual relationship with the Prophet, spending much time in Medina in contemplation at his tomb and on his return journey to India underwent a vision of him, in which the Prophet personally clothed Shāh Walī Allāh in a mantle.

Through his experiences, his external journey to the Ḥijāz and his internal spiritual journey, he was awaking to an awareness that not all was well with the contemporary state of Islam, as symbolized by the broken reed-pen of Prophet Muḥammad, but also that he had a major role to play in rectifying that state of affairs, being the recipient of the mended pen and the Prophet's mantle. His belief in his own very special position is in ample evidence from his writings, for he

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Elizabeth Sirriyeh, Richmond – 1999, s. 8–11.

DN: 87838

Qādirī, Chishtī and Suhrawardī, noting with respect the latter's strict adherence to the Qur'ān and Sunna. However, the culmination of the process of bringing together many competing visions, as exemplified in the many orders and sub-orders, is closely tied to Shāh Walī Allāh's conviction of his own special role in ushering in a new and better age of mysticism. In his own words:

> God blessed me and my contemporaries by granting a path (*ṭarīqa*) which of all paths affords the closest proximity to God.... And my Lord revealed to me: "We appoint you as leader (*imām*) of this path and We will show you its most lofty aspects. "Because of the introduction of this *ṭarīqa* all other *ṭarīqas* and methods of traversing the path (*madhāhib*) can be abolished. This will produce a beneficial effect, since the existence of various *madhhabs* in mystical practice gives rise to factionalism among the people.[17]

In this way he reflects growing trends from this period towards exclusive allegiance to an order as well as the urge to build a super-ṭarīqa to be witnessed in the obvious spectacular case of the Sudanese Mahdiyya. Shāh Walī Allāh's vision for the new mystical order inspired a line of distinguished followers, although the dream of his new way superseding all other ṭarīqas remained unrealized.

Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1750 or 1760–1837)

Unlike Shāh Walī Allāh, Aḥmad b. Idrīs might not be classed as an outstanding intellectual Sufi. He was not a prolific scholarly writer and would surely not claim attention for any brilliant theosophy. Yet recent scholarship has focused on him as a seminal figure for the emergence of the new dynamic Sufi organizations that would come to prominence in the nineteenth century.[18] Three of his closest students would go on to become the founders of such orders: the North African Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī of the Sanūsiyya in Libya, the Meccan Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī of the Khatmiyya in the Sudan, the Sudanese Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd of the Rashīdiyya and its offshoots in the Sudan and Somalia.[19]

Ibn Idrīs seems to have made his greatest impact through his personal contacts and oral communication rather than through his writings, which are mainly compilations of his students' lecture notes and survive in the form of short Sufi treatises and fragments of

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commentary on Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. To the followers of those ṭarīqas influenced by him, he is most familiar through his prayers and litanies. The following short prayer is characteristic of his style:

> O God, cleanse me of every impurity, every error, every malady, every sickness, every sin, every act of disobedience, every negligence, every transgression, every veil, every estrangement; indeed, of everything of which Thou cleansed Thy Prophet, Muḥammad, May God bless him and grant peace to him and his family, outwardly and inwardly, O Lord of the Worlds.[20]

Many particulars of Ibn Idrīs's long life remain unknown, despite the substantial efforts to investigate them.[21] His date of birth is uncertain, but he was probably born at Maysūr near Fez in Morocco in either 1750 or 1760. At an early age he seems to have been noted for his piety and renunciation of worldly affairs and to have been taught within the family by two of his brothers. At about the age of twenty, he moved to Fez to begin higher education in the famous Qarawiyyīn Mosque and remained in the city for the next twenty or thirty years until his journey to the East around 1798 to 1800.

The reason for Aḥmad b. Idrīs travelling to the East was ostensibly to perform the *ḥajj*, but resulted in his permanent settlement in Arabia, for fourteen years in Mecca and the last part of his life in Yemen. During his stay in Mecca he was aided by the friendship of the Hāshimite Sharīf Ghālib, ruler of the Holy City until its conquest by the Wahhābī religious reformers in 1803. Ibn Idrīs's relationship with the anti-Sufi Wahhābīs is a matter of some interest. Despite his position as a prominent Sufi, he remained in Mecca under their rule and only moved to Yemen in 1827–8, after the Wahhābīs lost control of the Holy City to the Egyptians and Ibn Idrīs experienced rising opposition from the Meccan *ʿulamā'*. They resented his criticism of the fanaticism and factions of the law schools and his insistence on returning beyond the medieval formulations of the jurists to the original Islam of the Qur'ān and Sunna. Whatever the exact circumstances occasioning his departure from Mecca, Ibn Idrīs was to spend the last ten years of his life in Yemen, for a short while in Zabīd before taking up residence in the village of Ṣabyā in ʿAsīr where the local ruler was an enthusiastic Wahhābī. Not long after he arrived there, a famous debate took place between him and the Wahhābī scholars, who were allegedly worsted in the encounter. Questioned about his regard for Ibn al-ʿArabī, whom the Wahhābīs classed as an unbeliever, he maintained his acceptance of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings

-Mirgani
-Ahmed b. Idris
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LEHRER – SCHÜLER – ENKEL
Aḥmad b. Idrīs, Muḥammad ʿUṯmān al-Mīrġanī, Ismāʿīl al-Walī

von

Bernd Radtke

Utrecht

MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DÖKÜMAN
2 6 AGUSTOS 199

Fritz Meier zum achtzigsten Geburtstag

I

Die Islamwissenschaft verdankt Fritz Meier und seiner Schule grundlegende Werke zur Geschichte und Lehre der Sufik. Wenn Meiers grosse Monografien zwar allein Persönlichkeiten des persisch-sprachigen Ostens zum Gegenstand haben – Kāzarūnī, Kubrā, Abū Saʿīd und Bahāʾ-i Walad – so hat er nichtsdestoweniger in kleineren Aufsätzen auch unsere Kenntnis der westlichen, arabisch-sprachigen Sufik erweitert, in manchem erst auf eine wirkliche Grundlage gestellt. Aus der Schule Meiers ging auch Richard Gramlichs *Schiitische Derwischorden Persiens* hervor, die grundlegende Darstellung von Geschichte, Lehre und Praxis der persischen Sufiorden der Neuzeit. Eine entsprechende Arbeit für die arabisch-sprachige Welt fehlt, vor allem für die Lehre. Ansätze finden sich bei Trimingham[1]. Die Geschichte und Organisation ist weitaus besser erforscht[2]. Trotz der fehlenden filologischen und ideengeschichtlichen Vorarbeiten wird in der Diskussion eine Reihe von Generalisierungen, ja Schlagworten benutzt, deren Gebrauch oft mehr als fragwürdig erscheint[3]. An sich ist dieser Befund erstaunlich, da vom 18. und 19. Jahrhundert geradezu als einem Modegebiet islamwissenschaftlicher Studien gesprochen wird[4].

Diese kleine Arbeit macht es sich nun zur Aufgabe, Material für eine bessere Urteilsgrundlage zu schaffen. Auf eine geistesgeschichtliche Analyse und Zusammenschau soll hier jedoch vorerst weitgehend verzichtet werden. Dafür scheint die Zeit noch nicht gekommen zu sein. Es sollen drei Mystiker vorgestellt werden, deren Leben von der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts in die erste des 19. Jahrhunderts reicht. Dabei handelt es sich um Persönlichkeiten, die einen aussergewöhnlichen Einfluss ausübten und dies durch die von ihnen gestiftete Tradition teilweise heute noch tun.

Es sind dies: Aḥmad b. Idrīs, sein Schüler Muḥammad ʿUṯmān al-Mīrġanī und dessen Schüler Ismāʿīl al-Walī, also Lehrer, Schüler und Enkelschüler. Über Leben und Werk dieser drei Persönlichkeiten ist bereits gearbeitet worden, kaum jedoch über ihre Lehre. Es gibt Monografien über Aḥmad b. Idrīs[5], Mīrġanī[6] und Ismāʿīl[7].

Am besten sind wir jetzt durch die jüngst erschienene Arbeit von O'Fahey über Ibn Idrīs unterrichtet. Er stammte aus Marokko, wo er in der Nähe von Fez 1749–50 geboren wurde. Seine Ausbildung als Theologe erhielt er an der Qarawiyyīn; hier wurde er auch in die Sufik eingeführt. Als schon reifer Mann und Meister verliess er 1798 Marokko für immer und reiste über Ägypten nach Mekka, wo er 1799 eintraf. Hier hielt er sich fast dreissig Jahre auf. 1827 verliess er Mekka und zog in den Jemen, um sich endgültig in Ṣabyā in ʿAsīr niederzulassen. In Ṣabyā starb er 1837 in hohem Alter. Seine Hauptschüler waren Muḥammad as-Sanūsī, der Gründer der Sanūsiyya[8], Muḥammad ʿUṯmān al-Mīrġanī, der Gründer der Ḫatmiyya und Ibrāhīm ar-Rašīd (1813–1874)[9], von dem sich die Orden der Rašīdiyya, Ṣāliḥiyya und Dandarawiyya herleiten. Weiter muss der Sudanese Muḥammad al-Maǧḏūb (1796–1831)[10] genannt werden.

Trotz mancher Vorarbeiten sind wir über Mīrġanī weniger gut als über Ibn Idrīs unterrichtet[11]. Er stammte aus einer in Mekka ansässigen, šarīfischen Familie, die aus Mittelasien, aus Buḫārā, zugewandert war. Der Grossvater von Mīrġanī, ʿAbdallāh al-Maḫǧūb al-Mīrġanī, war ein bekannter Theologe und Sufi[12] (hier II, 2.2.). Mīrġanī wurde 1793 in einem Dorf bei Ṭāʾif geboren, wohin sein Grossvater 1752–53 gezogen war. Er erhielt eine theologische und sufische Ausbildung. In die Sufik wurde er durch Naqšbandī-Scheiche eingeführt. Die Naqšbandiyya-Affiliation sollte er auch später als seine Haupt-

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1 *Sufi Orders*, Kapitel V.
2 Popovic-Veinstein, *Ordres mystiques; Naqšbandis*; De Jong, *Ṭuruq*.
3 Radtke, *Projection*, O'Fahey/Radtke, *Neo-Sufism*.
4 Schulze, *Achtzehntes Jahrhundert* 140 ff.

5 O'Fahey, *Enigmatic*.
6 Voll, *Khatmiyya*.
7 Ibrahim, *Ismāʿīliyya*.
8 Eine Monografie von Knut Vikør (Bergen) über ihn ist abgeschlossen.
9 O'Fahey, *Enigmatic* 154 ff.
10 ibid. 177 f.; eine Monografie über Maǧḏūb bereitet Albrecht Hofheinz (Berlin) vor.
11 Biografie bei Voll, *Khatmiyya*; weiter die Arbeiten von Grandin; zuletzt Karrar, *Brotherhoods*. Karrar verwendet auch die Briefe von Aḥmad b. Idrīs an Mīrġanī und das *Kitāb al-ibāna* (hier 2.5.1.), die beide noch nicht von Voll und Grandin herangezogen wurden. Weitere biografische Angaben können aus Mīrġanīs eigenen Angaben in seinen Schriften gewonnen werden (hier 2.1.1. ff.).
12 GAL, S II, 523; Voll, *Khatmiyya* 105 ff., O'Fahey, *Khatmiyya*.

Oriens, c. 33, 1992 Leiden, s. 24-132
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ISLAMIC HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

STUDIES AND TEXTS

EDITED BY

ULRICH HAARMANN

AND

WADAD KADI

VOLUME 31

THE EXOTERIC AḤMAD IBN IDRĪS

A Sufi's Critique of the Madhāhib and the Wahhābīs

Four Arabic Texts with Translation and Commentary

by

BERND RADTKE, JOHN O'KANE,

KNUT S. VIKØR AND R.S. O'FAHEY

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provide a systematic study of an institution. In so doing, she provides a much broader picture of Sufi buildings than existed previously and some idea of how religious and political jealousies were played out via these charitable institutions. By constructing and reproducing charts of the salaries of those employed by the khaṇqah she has also provided valuable information on the economic significance of the institution. To add a further dimension to her study, she also studies the structure, arrangement, and location of the buildings, using this information to argue that the khanqah, which was increasingly incorporated into building complexes and became a large elaborate structure by the end of the Mamluk period, shared many of the functions of madrasas and other buildings.

As a whole, the book argues that the khanqah was "a powerful tool for the assimilation of sufism" in Mamluk Egypt (p. 19). This argument is based on what Fernandes believes was the uniqueness of the khanqah as an institution which promoted state doctrine and orthodoxy. According to Fernandes, the khanqah was distinct from all other Sufi institutions in practice and form. She concludes that the Mamluk period witnessed the khanqah's development from a small institution for foreigners into one that organized Sufism under the control of the state in order to foster a more acceptable form of Sufism.

What is missing from her discussion of these khanqahs, however, is a sense of how her sample of information on these buildings was chosen. It is unclear whether or not the documents she read were representative of all khanqahs from Cairo or only those from the royal realm. This is especially true of the buildings associated with the khanqah. Her examination would have been greatly strengthened if she had examined how other Sufi buildings, zawiyas, and ribats were integrated into other areas of Cairo, such as Darb al-Ahmar, which, according to Maqrizi's *Khiṭaṭ*, contained a large number of Sufi buildings constructed in the Circassian period.

Her concentration on royal khanqahs is especially problematic when it comes to the question of terminology. While she clearly supports her point that specific khanqahs listed salaried Sufis in the khanqah while specific zawiyas had non-salaried Sufis, she would have to cite a broader selection of waqf documents, including those outside of the royal realm, to answer more convincingly why her distinction between khanqah and zawiya was often ignored. For example, travelers commonly list khanqahs as zawiyas or ribats and, of the twenty-two buildings that Maqrizi lists as khanqahs, only seven of those still extant include the word khanqah on their inscriptions. These questions bring up many important issues about the purpose of terminology in documents and on buildings—which was not always the same—and require a wider reading of sources outside of the royal realm. Instead of the distinction Fernandes makes between the khanqah and zawiya, paralleling the difference, also coined by Fernandes,

between "Sunni Sufism" and popular Sufism, the different terminologies more likely reflected not the purpose of the building but the extent of the user's/writer's initiation into certain practices. The choice to use the word "zawiya" or "khanqah" may also have been a formal/informal distinction again reflecting more upon the source of the term than the function of the individual building.

Fernandes has proven that waqf documents are essential to the study of religious institutions. This book assembles important information from the variety of archival and archæological sources still intact for Mamluk Cairo. Fernandes has provided the reader with a significant contribution to the use of waqf documents through her reading of these difficult texts and her interpretation and presentation of the data on salaries and administration. Her handling of these documents is careful and, as is shown in her bibliography and appendices, based on her reading of a wide range of sources. She is also to be thanked for providing a glossary of commonly used terms. While some of her interpretations may rest on a too static view of Mamluk society and Sufi orders and while there is a more serious need for her to discuss the relation between her choice of utilized sources and her conclusions, questions raised by this study provide valuable directions for scholars in a wide range of fields who are interested in the function of Sufi institutions in an urban environment.

ETHEL SARA WOLPER
National Gallery of Art

Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition, by R. S. O'FAHEY. (Islam & Society in Africa.) 261 pages, indices, bibliography. Northwest University Press, Evanston, Illinois 1990. $42.95/$17.95.

R. S. O'Fahey offers here a study of Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs, a central figure in the reform movement in North Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The study begins with a discussion of "Neo-Sufism," distinguishing between its intellectual aspect (centered around mystical encounter with the prophet Muhammad) and organizational aspect (involving the network of tariqas, or brotherhoods—Khatmiyya, Sanusiyya, Rashidiyya, Salihiyya, Ahmadiyya, and Dandarawiyya—that trace their origins back directly or indirectly to Ibn Idrīs).

The book then follows Ibn Idrīs from his initiation into Sufism in Morocco (with two differing chains of transmission), through his journeys to Upper Egypt and Mecca, to his final years in Yemen. Each move of Ibn Idrīs's travels is detailed with meticulous attention to the sources. At times the non-specialist reader feels lost among the lists of shaykhs, disciples, and journeys. In the account of Ibn Idrīs's role in the controversy over Ibn 'Arabi in Ṣabyā (pp. 92–106), however, the biography intersects revealingly

The Letters of Ahmad Ibn Idrīs, edited, translated and annotated by Albrecht Hofheinz, Ali Salih Karrar, R.S. O'Fahey, Bernd Radtke and Einar Thomassen, General Editors E. THOMASSEN and B. RADTKE. Hurst & Co., Londres, 1993. 184 p., index.

Les lettres éditées ici en langue arabe, et traduites et annotées en anglais par un groupe de chercheurs du département d'histoire de l'université de Bergen, sont celles adressées à ses disciples et élèves par le réformiste soufi Aḥmad ibn Idrīs, né au Maroc en 1750 ou 1760 et mort à Ṣabyā en ʿAsīr en 1837. Comme le rappelle Einar Thomassen dans son introduction, l'importance d'Aḥmad ibn Idrīs dans l'histoire des ordres mystiques au XIX[e] siècle est largement reconnue. Son influence a été considérable sur la pensée soufie de l'époque, ses disciples ont été nombreux et divers ; deux d'entre eux ont fondé des ordres majeurs sur le continent africain, la Sanūsiyya en Libye et la Ḫatmiyya au Soudan, tandis que d'autres, directement ou indirectement, s'inspiraient de ses enseignements pour fonder la Rašīdiyya, la Ṣāliḥiyya et la Dandarāwiyya, et que ses fils maintenaient la Idrīsiyya de leur père. Un bref aperçu de la doctrine d'Ibn Idrīs, du contenu et de la forme de son enseignement, précise que celui-ci se considérait avant tout comme un guide spirituel et un enseignant (Introduction, p. 6-7). Dans ces conditions, les lettres à ses disciples n'en prennent que plus d'intérêt car elles expriment, sans doute mieux que tout autre texte, l'essence même de sa vocation.

Une préface de B. Radtke et E. Thomassen précise les conditions dans lesquelles l'édition et la traduction des *Lettres* ont été réalisées. Il s'agit d'un travail collectif entrepris par plusieurs chercheurs de Bergen au milieu des années quatre-vingt. Mais c'est au Soudanais ʿAlī Ṣāliḥ Karrār, à l'époque Senior Archivist of the National Records Office de Khartoum, que revient le mérite d'avoir attiré l'attention du groupe sur l'importance historique d'Ibn Idrīs et d'avoir permis la consultation de l'essentiel des sources reproduisant ces lettres ou permettant de les annoter. Une liste des manuscrits et textes imprimés qui ont été consultés et utilisés pour l'édition des différentes lettres est donnée p. 8-9. Celles-ci sont regroupées en huit chapitres. Chacun de ceux-ci, concernant un même destinataire, est précédé d'une courte introduction, rassemblant les informations connues sur le personnage concerné. Parmi les lettres les plus intéressantes, il faut retenir celles qu'adressa Ibn Idrīs à son disciple Muḥammad ʿUṯmān al-Mīrġanī, le fondateur de la Ḫatmiyya, pendant le voyage de ce dernier au Soudan (chap. 2, introduction de A.S. Karrar et E. Thomassen, avec, en annexe, une lettre de Muḥammad ʿUṯmān al-Mīrġanī à son *šayḫ* Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs). Les autres chapitres contribuent également à éclairer la personnalité de celui qui a été qualifié de « Enigmatic Saint » par B.G. Martin (*Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteen Century Africa*, 1976) et à sa suite par R.S. O'Fahey [56], notamment le chapitre 3, consacré au soufi soudanais Muḥammad al-Maǧḏūb, dont la relation avec Ibn Idrīs, apparemment très différente de celle que le maître entretenait avec Muḥammad ʿUṯmān al-Mīrġanī, est encore mal connue (introduction de Albrecht Hofheinz).

The Letters of Ahmad ibn Idrīs qui associe le texte arabe à la traduction, page par page, a le grand mérite de rassembler en un seul volume une correspondance disséminée, donc d'accès difficile, et de mettre à la portée des chercheurs, arabisants ou non, une source importante pour la compréhension de l'histoire du réformisme islamique et du soufisme au début du XIX[e] siècle, notamment sur le continent africain.

Nicole GRANDIN
(EHESS, Paris)

56. Cf. *Bulletin critique*, n° 8 (1992), p. 55-58.

IBN AṬ-ṬAYYIB, Proclus' Commentary on the Pythagorean Golden Verses. Arabic Text and Translation by Neil LINLEY, Arethusa Monographs X, s. l. n. d. 106 p.

On se rappelle que Franz Rozenthal a publié en 1978 (*Recherches d'Islamologie*, Bibliothèque philosophique de Louvain (26), p. 274-283) l'édition et la traduction d'un petit commentaire du médecin-philosophe nestorien de Bagdad, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṭayyib (m. 1043), sur la *Tabula Cebetis*, dont le texte est conservé dans le manuscrit arabe 888 de la Bibliothèque de l'Escorial. Or c'est un autre commentaire du même auteur sur les *Dicta aurea* de Pythagore, contenu dans le même manuscrit, et dont Neil Linley, décédé prématurément en 1982, avait préparé l'édition et la traduction comme thèse de doctorat, que le directeur de la collection *Arethusa Monographs* publie dans l'ouvrage recensé.

En fait, les préceptes moraux connus sous le nom de « Vers dorés » et mis sous le nom de Pythagore ne sont pas de lui, et ils ont été attribués à Lysis par les uns, à Philolaüs ou à Empédocle par les autres. Objets de commentaires de la part de Hieroclès, Jamblique et Proclus, les « Vers dorés » (*al-alfāẓ al-ḏahabiyya*) ont été traduits en arabe, avec ou sans commentaire.

Selon le procédé de l'*istiṯmār* qu'il utilise à la suite de Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq pour résumer l'essentiel des œuvres médicales d'Hippocrate et de Galien, dans cet opuscule, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṭayyib a extrait le « fruit » (*ṯamara*) du commentaire des « Vers dorés » par Proclus, et non par Hieroclès comme l'a suggéré R. Walzer (*EI*[2], t. I, p. 1380-1381). On notera que, dans ce commentaire, les « Vers dorés » sont attribués à Empédocle.

Grâce à cette publication, l'importance de l'œuvre philosophique de ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṭayyib, longtemps méconnue, apparaîtra mieux aux historiens de la philosophie.

Gérard TROUPEAU
(EPHE, Paris)

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books as a resource in a case involving international private law, would have to go back to an expert. The *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* has regularly carried articles summarising new Arab legislation in this field, and none of this material is cited here. A couple of marginally useful articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* are quoted, while many more useful ones are omitted, as is Prof. Coulson's classic *Succession in Islamic Law*. I shall refrain from commenting on the 'system' of transliteration.

CSIC, SELLY OAK COLLEGES — J.S. NIELSEN

AN OVERVIEW OF MODERN ARABIC LITERATURE. By P. CACHIA. Islamic Surveys no. 17. Edinburgh: University Press, 1990. 241pp. Hb., n.p. ISBN-0- 7486–0132–5.

Modern Arabic Literature was up until the 1970s a seriously neglected field. The last twenty years or so have seen the appearance in translation of a large number of books which have drawn attention to the vast literature which had begun to emerge in the second half of the 19th century. The present book answers an urgent need for a compact yet rounded overview of Modern Arabic Literature.

The book, which partly consists of previously published, now revised and updated materials, primarily pertaining to Egypt, begins with a survey of the changes in the cultural climate within which the literature has developed. This is followed by an analysis of the role that translations from European languages have played in the shaping of Modern Arabic Literature. Chapter three takes up the development of the modern prose style. Perhaps most interesting is chapter four dealing with the use of the colloquial in Arabic literature where the author shows the hesitation and long drawn-out struggle involved in introducing this genre into the literature, a genre which gives it an authentic and realistic tone. Chapter five appropriately takes up the issue of literary criticism and its reorientation in the new situation. This is highlighted when the author turns in chapter six to the narrative genres in which he draws attention to the stimulus from the West in the development of the short story, novella and novel. There follows an analysis of the role of the theatre in the development of the new literature. Chapter eight takes up themes pertaining to the Christian and Jewish traditions. This material would have benefited from the solid doctoral work by H. Goddard, which will be available in the near future in monograph form. Chapter nine is a case study of the work of Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm. It is intriguing to note that poetry, which for so long has been considered the supreme art form among the Arabs appears almost at the end of the book. The author suggests that this has been done deliberately since poetry has developed in a different way and can best be understood against the background of the previously discussed developments. Under the title 'Unwritten Fiction and Drama' the author draws attention to the paucity of literature for mere entertainment, dealing with science fiction, sport etc. The final chapter takes note of the lack of Islamic inspiration in much of Modern Arabic Literature against the background of the Islamic renewal that has taken place.

There can be no doubt that this book will serve as a basis for academic courses in literature. It is also a rich source of information for the non-specialist. The identification in each chapter of the original sources and the quite exhaustive list of books on the subject in European languages makes it an eminently useful book to

-Ahmed b. Idris

a wide readership and should stimulate the growing interest in Modern Arabic Literature.

CSIC, SELLY OAK COLLEGES — S.V. SICARD

ENIGMATIC SAINT: AHMAD IBN IDRIS AND THE IDRISI TRADITION. By R.S. O'FAHEY. London: Hurst and Company, 1990. 261pp. Hb. £25.00. ISBN 1–85065–087-X.

The importance of Aḥmad ibn Idrīs(d.1837), known in Western sources as al-Fāsī, in the *sūfī* revival of the 19th century has been recognized for some time. Lack of sources has hitherto hampered a more careful and scholarly analysis of his role. New sources from Sudan and Egypt have made the present biography possible.

The first four chapters detail his life and travels in North Africa, Egypt and Arabia. There follows an examination of his relations to his main disciples, particularly Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Sanūsī(d.1859), the founder of the Sanūsiyya order in Libya, shown to have been very close to his master; Muḥammad ʿUthmān Mīrghanī(d.1852), founder of the Khatmiyya order in Sudan where it continues to play an important role in contemporary politics, who seems to have caused his master considerable concern (See J. Spaulding, 'The fall of a wayward saint', *Northeast African Studies*, vol.5, no.3, 1983/84); and Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd(1874), founder of the Rashīdiyya order. It incorporates many of ibn Idrīs' litanies and prayers. It is noteworthy that although his students founded a variety of orders, ibn Idrīs himself did not do so. Through his students ibn Idrīs' influence is shown to stretch from Morocco in the west to Malaysia in the east, from Yugoslavia in the north to East Africa in the south. Two states, Libya and Somalia are shown to have emerged partly as a result of his influence.

The final part of the book analyses ibn Idrīs' writings and teaching. As far as the material is available it reveals an independent approach to the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth. There are few references to other writers or mystics, although the material reveals an acquaintance with and influence by the classical tradition represented by Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d728), Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d.1073), Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d.1258) and Ibn ʿAtā' Allāh al-Iskandarī (d.1309). There are still a number of unanswered questions pertaining to his teaching, e.g., the relationship between ibn Idrīs and the Farā'iḍī movement in Bengal; his attitude to ibn al-ʿArabī's theosophy of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, etc. The materials in Yemen where he spent the last years of his life may give answers to these questions once they have been traced and studied.

The book contains a clear bibliography which shows as far as is known today separate listings of ibn Idrīs' writings on *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *taṣawwuf* and other subjects. In addition there are lists of other primary sources in Arabic, Turkish and European languages, as well as listings of reference works, theses and secondary sources. Two indices cover terms, topics, place and personal names.

The work reflects a thorough scholarly approach to a subject that has demanded considerable patience and tact in order to obtain the materials presented. It is a major contribution to a proper understanding of a major strand in Islam during the 19th century.

CSIC, SELLY OAK COLLEGES — S.V. SICARD

BADDS YAPIM-LAUDRY MAN SONRA GELEN DOKUMAN
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sources. For the *Thousand and One Nights* he relied on the French translation by Mardrus published about ninety years ago, and has not benefited from the excellent and reliable edition prepared by Muhsin Mahdi (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1984). His style in footnotes is most unconventional – he has found it easier to mention the title of the work and not provide further details – a practice from which no-one can derive much benefit.

No uniform system of transcription has been consistently followed through the book. Non-English words are romanized in a haphazard way, sometimes with misvocalization which makes a familiar term or name unfamiliar. For example, 'Basrah' became 'Bassorah', 'Ja'far' became 'Jaffar', 'Jahshiyārī' became 'Jashiyari', 'Layth' became 'Layt', '*Siddhanta*' became '*Siddharta*'. Manṣūr's uncle 'Abdallāh ibn 'Alī became Abdallah Ali. Following the system of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* the Arabic letter *jīm* is transcribed as 'dj' without subscript bar. Given that other letters were simplified, the use of 'dj' will confuse many readers not familiar with the system.

The second 'Abbasid caliph was 'Ja'far the Victorious' not 'Mansour the Victorious' (p.19). *Zakāt* is not a voluntary contribution (p.59); on the contrary, unlike *ṣadaqa*, it is compulsory. The nomination of 'Abbās by the Prophet himself as his successor (p.26) was never a popular claim among the 'Abbasids.

Printing errors are numerous: to mention a few – 'diqan' for 'dihqān' (p.11); 'al-Duwaneek' for 'al-Dawānik' (p.17); '776' for '766' (p.33); 'Giafar' for 'Ja'far' (p.35); 'rules' for 'rulers' (p.38); 'ibn Nuwairah' for 'Ibn Nuwairah' (p.39); 'Adl' for 'Adud', 'hatib' for 'hājib' (p.43); 'Djuma' for 'Djumāda II' (p.139).

Notwithstanding the criticisms we have made, Clot has produced an interesting monograph which will be useful to general readers to help familiarize them with the world of the *Thousand and One Nights*, and distinguish between fact and fiction.

University of Dhaka,
Bangladesh

Muhammad al-Faruque

AHMED b IDRIS -IDRISIYYA

ENIGMATIC SAINT. AHMAD IBN IDRIS AND THE IDRISI TRADITION (12th Century Tradition). By R.S. O'Fahey. C. Hurst & Company, 38 King Street, London WC2E 8JT, UK, 1990. Pp.261. £25.00 (HB).

A new Muslim brought up in the Western context, while well-informed about Western history, may be unaware of his own heritage. Many Muslim historians may be unfamiliar with the name of Ahmad Ibn Idris though his contribution to the 19th century Islamic revival and his impact on North Africa, Sudan, Yemen, the non-Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, South Asia, Java, Malaysia, ranks him highly as a pioneer in the art of building the 'true' Muslim, beside his accomplishments as a supreme Sufi master.

The author reminds us that Ibn Idris saw himself as a *shaykh* or *murshid* to those who came to him as aspirants. He was primarily a preacher and missionary, as well as being a scholar and teacher. Ibn

Idris interpreted the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* 'as they are', on his own authority; he regarded *ijtihād* as a real, living process, not an abstract ideal. The author tries in vain to portray the personality of Ibn Idris. What traits comprised that personality are now beyond recall; one may guess at extraordinary learning and sanctity, at a profound humanity and largeness of spirit, at the centrality of the love of God – and of man – in his life; originality of thought and action was not a necessary trait. Ibn Idris' originality lay in his spiritual humility, in his unwillingness to institutionalize his spiritual status even among those who accepted it, in his obligation as a spiritual master to restate the truth, in his utter unworldliness, 'we are guests of God in His World'.

Ibn Idris' major students are al-Mirghānī, the originator of Khatmiyya way and 'liturgy' in Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia, and Al-Sanusi of North Africa, who established his authority through a chain of Zawiyas in Libya, Chad, Hijaz and Sudan. Apart from his own descendants and his major students who established orders, affiliations and traditions of greater or lesser magnitude, there are a number of less well-known figures, students of his students, students of his prayers, who together represent a significant if relatively unknown substratum within what he termed the Idrisi tradition.

Ibn Idris was born in Morocco into a prominent Sharīfan family. He was about forty years of age when he left his native land for good in about 1213/1798 to spend the rest of his life doing *da'wa* work between the Ḥaramayn, Upper Egypt and Yemen. Although O'Fahey has put a lot of effort into tracing the tradition of Ibn Idris, he does not elaborate on what Ibn Idris had in mind. What sort of mission was he after? What was his programme? How successful was he in accomplishing that? Would it be true to say that Ibn Idris was working in a vacuum unaware of the major challenges, and unaffected by the developments, of his time, such as Western encroachments which were working ever more insidiously in shaping the Muslim. O'Fahey suspects that Ibn Idris was driven by some pan-Islamic impulse, but there is no evidence to sustain this thesis and much to make it doubtful. He seems to confuse the role of Sufis and Sufism in motivating people for *Jihād* and unity. For the Sufi – *khalwa* – retreat is essentially for *jalwa* manifestation. Many *Jihād* movements can be identified as Sufi movements. Many of Ibn Idris' direct and indirect students can be defined both as Sufi and *mujāhid* (Muslim fighter), such as Sudanī Mahdi, Somali Mahdi and the Sanusi movement.

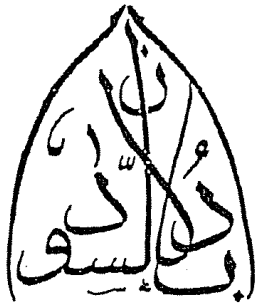
For Ibn Idris one can be a good Muslim whether he is a Sufi or he rejects Sufism. Sufism is merely a means, and not an end in itself. It is not clear what the writer means by saying that 'Ibn Idris' position seems to have been the opposite of those fundamentalists who by rejecting Sufism sought to revive Islam by reducing it to the narrowest possible interpretation'.

However the study will be of great help to researchers and students of Islamic history, especially the chapter on sources and the bibliography which provides the fullest information to date about location, publication and study of Ibn Idris' writing.

Khartoum

Hasan Makki

Sudanic Africa
A Journal of Historical Sources



We would like to introduce a new journal concerned with studies in the historiography of Sudanic Africa.
We define this area in the broadest sense, as covering the area from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, including both the regions of Islamic penetration and the non- or pre-Islamic regions and periods. The main emphasis will however be on the belt from Mauritania to the Republic of Sudan.

Why another publication in this field? There are already a number of journals that cover historical studies in Africa and the Islamic World. However, our focus is intended to be more specific. We want this to be a journal devoted to the study of written *sources* on the history of Sudanic Africa.

Thus we want to present source material, and discuss problems in collecting them and treating them. The articles will vary from the preliminary study to the final survey. We hope also to provide contributions that may fall outside the established publications in the field.

While the Journal is new, it stands in the tradition of the *Fontes Historiae Africanae* Information Bulletin, which has been published by the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University. This journal is edited across the Atlantic, with its editorial board partly in the USA and partly in Norway. The practical aspects of publication are, however, now taken over by the University of Bergen, and the journal is distributed from there. Editorial correspondence may be directed to any of the editors, while subscribers should contact the address overleaf.

John O. Hunwick, Northwestern University
R.S. O'Fahey, University of Bergen
Jay Spaulding, Kean College of New Jersey
Knut S. Vikør, University of Bergen

(editors)

Dergi / Kitap
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24 AGUSTOS 1993

BASIM TARIHLERINDEN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Ahmed b. Idris

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Volume 1, 1990

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BSOAS, vol: LVIII /1 (1995) s. 126-127

author himself (p. 17) can only provide a partial explanation for Ibn 'Arabī's impact:

> 'Obviously no one can claim to have a historically provable global response to a question of this type. Certainly there are precise factors that help answer the question; for example, the patronage that the Ottoman dynasty accorded the Shaykh al-Akbar. Ibn 'Arabī is said to have predicted ... the coming of the Ottomans and, more specifically, their conquest of Syria. The prediction brought him particular veneration by numerous sovereigns and a status that undoubtedly considerably limited the effect of attacks against his doctrine. ... However, one must not overestimate the importance of this imperial protection; it is not sufficient to explain Ibn 'Arabī's influence on Indian, Malaysian, or Chinese sufism, for example.'

H. T. NORRIS

ALBRECHT HOFHEINZ and others. (ed. and tr.): *The letters of Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs, Rasā'il b. Idrīs. General editors Einar Thomassen and Bernd Radtke.* viii, 184 pp. London: Hurst and Company, 1993. £35.

This book marks a significant step forward in the format for the publication of documents which shed light on the life, literary style and method of teaching of eminent Ṣūfīs, their disciples and their contemporaries. The letters, with great clarity, reveal the exchanges that took place in the past (and to a degree it is still true of the present time) between members of conflicting, competing, allied or interrelated *ṭuruq*. All of this may be observed in the rulings which were given within the Ṣūfī orders for the resolution of pressing practical issues (for example, legal or medical). We are here remote indeed from an exchange over such issues as 'Oneness of Being'. Yet this is in all probability only a half-truth. Earthly problems have a habit of surfacing, whatever may be the spiritual level of attainment of the greatest Ṣūfī minds. How rare it is that quite mundane issues are resolved satisfactorily and simply in strictly legalistic, literalistic or spiritually intuitive terms.

The joint translators (five in all, of various nationalities) point out at the start of this short book that it will provide 'primary materials that further illustrate themes dealt with' in other works (namely, R. S. O'Fahey's *Enigmatic saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi tradition*, London, 1990, reviewed in *BSOAS*, LVI, 1, 1993, 151; and A. S. Karrar's *The Sufi brotherhoods in the Sudan*, London, 1992). This statement is certainly true, but the content of these letters ought to be recommended to an extended readership who take a keen interest in Islamic reform in the nineteenth century and the history of Islam in Africa and not merely Ṣūfism there.

The eight chapters cover the correspondence between Aḥmad b. Idrīs and eminent men of faith in the Sudan and in Arabia (not all of them are Ṣūfī Shaykhs; ch. vii is a letter addressed to 'Alī b. Mujaththal, the ruler of 'Asīr), and all are printed in full here. The collection involved journeys between Bergen and Khartoum. The Arabic texts are clearly printed and edited, occasionally vocalized, and are presented with a facing-page translation. The translation is close to the original and flows with admirable fluency. Despite a multinational translating team, there is a unity of style which helps to bind the chapters together. The book ends with a bibliography and an index of proper names and Arabic terms. Footnotes and introductions provide comment where needed and full biographical information.

The topics which are raised here are sometimes unusual and almost naïve. Several examples are listed on page 12. They are included in the correspondence with Makkī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz; topics such as the lawfulness of amputating an otiose finger (polydactylism), or the lawfulness and usefulness of eating burnt date stones, or the lawfulness of leaning a *lawḥ* upon which verses from the Qur'ān are written against a wall. On occasions, the criteria for status and office in the saintly hierarchy seem, in our eyes, somewhat bizarre. Between pages 65 and 67, for example, the *sanad* of the chain of initiation of the master of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Mujaydrī (Limjayderī, in *Ḥassāniyya*) al-Ya'qūbī (from the Tashumsha of Mauritania, the Īdayqub) makes strange reading. Aḥmad b. Idrīs met him in Morocco, although the latter had stayed for some time in the Middle East, Egypt in particular. In a letter to Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mirghānī, concerned especially with the dangers of becoming absorbed with matters 'of the world', Aḥmad b. Idrīs remarks that Limjayderī 'received the Way (*ṭarīq*)' from 'the pole of the jinns' (*quṭb al-jinn*), who is specifically named as Muḥammad al-Qaqawī (vocalization uncertain). This *nisba* defies attempts at identification. It looks vaguely Maghribī or Sahelian and one thinks of such *nisbas* as al-Qalqamī, or al-(Tin) Wajīwī (both from the area of the Hodh), or looking further to the east, to Gao, Kawkaw, etc. The pole (*quṭb* or *badal*) of the *jinn* is puzzling. Was Muḥammad human or not? If one turns to the pages of Aḥmad b. al-Amīn's *Kitāb al-Wasīṭ fī tarājim udabā' Shinqīṭ* (Cairo, 1958), one observes that Ṣūfism was a preoccupation of several amongst the Īdayqub. One great poet, al-'Atīq b. Muḥammad (p. 221) would have earned a poet's prize amongst his peers had his preoccupations with Ṣūfism been less time-consuming. According to Aḥmad b. al-Amīn (pp. 214–16), Limjayderī was one of four who were unsurpassed; namely, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-'Alawī, known as Ibn Rāzga, Sīdī 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī, and Muḥammad al-Yadālī al-Daymānī, that is, 'two 'Abdallāhs and two Muḥammads'.

This group of four, was preceded by another, similarly named (Muḥammads and 'Abdallāhs) if Aḥmad b. al-Amīn is correct (pp. 578–9). There is some lineal linkage (see my 'Sanhāja scholars of Mauritania', in John Ralph Willis (ed.), *The cultivators of Islam: studies in West African Islamic history*, London, 1979, 148–9). They were taught by a mystic *quṭb*, seemingly

a *sharīf* from Fez (descended from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), who appeared in a blaze of light in a date grove and who bade farewell to his disciples, not from a mountain top, but from a carpet which vanished above the waves of the Atlantic. The missing link would appear to be al-Khaḍir (pp. 64–6 in these letters), and the *Khaḍiriyya* (on al-Dabbāgh and his school, see p. 4 of the 'General introduction'). The acts of al-Khaḍir in a parallel universe (like the descent of Jesus to preach to those in Hell before the Resurrection) indicate a belief amongst such Ṣūfīs as Aḥmad b. Idrīs and among his correspondents in a parallel community of *jinn* wherein *talqīn* and *sanad* and *ṭarīq* were an accepted part of the universe which the Almighty had created in His wisdom.

It would be interesting to learn to what degree Aḥmad b. Idrīs absorbed such ideas, which were common to Mauritanian members of the Zwāya class such as Limjayderī. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥanshi was half human, half serpent, and the *jinn* were at hand to inspire the great scholar of the Ahlbarikalla, relations of the Īdayqub, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Māmī al-Bukhārī. In regard to the latter's *Kitāb al-Bādiya*, one leading Mauritanian scholar is reported to have remarked, 'There is no other book like it, except the *Rulings of the jinn* by 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rānī, and between the desert and the *jinn* there is a kinship. As al-Mutanabbi says: "We are a party of riders among the *jinn* in the guise of humans, on birds in the form of camels".'

Aḥmad b. Idrīs was a man of his times. Talking to close friends through these letters, he speaks of matters that are pertinent to his spiritual world which is more frankly revealed and more cogently laid bare than in the tomes of weighty theological issues.

In some respects, these letters are paralleled by those of the Sanūsī, which were translated by Jean-Louis Triaud in his *Tchad 1900–1902, une guerre Franco-Libyenne oubliée? Une confrérie musulmane, la Sanusiyya face à la France* (Paris, 1987; reviewed in *BSOAS*, LII, 3, 1989, 555). Since Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī was an outstanding disciple of Ibn Idrīs this is not surprising (there are a number of references to him in Triaud's book) although, it must be said that there is little common ground in the more mundane topics discussed. It is on the religious plane that one notes similarities. Triaud remarks (p. 72):

> 'Cette correspondance est assurément fragmentaire, et il serait aventuré d'en tirer trop de conclusions. De même, une correspondance fonctionnelle n'est pas toujours le lieu où prospère le discours proprement "religieux". Cependant, il faut peut-être voir dans cette discrétion des références cultuelles la marque d'un style propre à la Sanūsiyya. En dehors de la réflexion mystique et eschatologique, qui n'a pas été oubliée dans l'histoire de la Sanūsiyya, on a l'impression que, pour cette confrérie "réformiste" née au XIX^e siècle, le service de Dieu trouve sa consécration principale dans un activisme concret: construction de zāwiya, éducation des fidèles, conversion des païens, pacification des pays et des routes, renforcement du mouvement et protection de ses intérêts et de ses biens. C'est de tout cela qu'il est en effet question dans ces lettres, comme si la capacité d'organisation et de gestion devenait le signe majeur de la foi.'

To sum up, this collection of letters is well printed and translated, well annotated and analysed. It would be a pity if others engaged in research to which they have some relevance do not follow in their path and, for a while, explore Ṣūfism at its most warmly personal, alongside the social significance of the *ṭuruq* and flights into a 'Cloud of Unknowing', or indulgence in the opalescent and Scriabinesque and sweetly-perfumed verses which occupy so much time and the space in current Ṣūfī studies.

H. T. NORRIS

ANDREW RIPPIN: *Muslims: their religious beliefs and practices. Vol. 2: The contemporary period.* (The Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices.) x, 171 pp. London and New York: Routledge, 1993. £12.99.

This is the second part of a work on Islam (Vol. I is on 'The formative period') in a series intended to give a scholarly and readable introduction to various religious traditions. Given the political emphasis of many works on modern Islamic thought, this book helps to redress the balance by focusing primarily on the internal Muslim debate, without neglecting contributory external factors. The fact that such a work can now be written relying almost entirely on works in European languages, whether secondary sources, translations, or indeed primary sources, is encouraging from the point of view of Western scholarship, and illustrates the point which I have heard expressed by Islamists that English has now become an 'Islamic language'.

Chapters. i and ii are concerned with establishing a theoretical framework for understanding modernity and Muslim responses to it. While ch. i briefly presents definitions of modernity by two prominent sociologists and outlines ways in which it has affected Muslims, ch. ii provides a taxonomy of Muslim ideological positions, expanding the common traditionalist/fundamentalist/modernist paradigm primarily along lines suggested by William Shepard's work.

The rest of the book explores more fully Muslim responses to modern conditions, by documenting evolving attitudes to the basic sources of the faith (Muḥammad and the Qur'ān), and by giving selected perspectives on the status of Muslim women and the significance of the central religious rites. Chapter iii shows how Muslim apologetic concerns and contemporary ideals are reflected in recent biographies of Muḥammad, while ch. iv provides a welcome discussion of contemporary attitudes towards the Sunna, highlighting the difficulty of drawing any clear distinction between that which is legally or practically

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(1986), 318-43.

(24) Aderbal Jurema, *Insurreiçoes negras no Brasil*, Recife, Mozart, 1935 ; Freitas, *Insurreiçoes escravas*, op. cit. ; Clovis Moura, *Rebelioes da senzala*, 3rd revised ed., Sao Paulo, Ciências Humanas, 1981 (orig. 1959), pp. 17-18 and *Os quilombos e a rebeliao negra*, 4th ed., Brasiliense, 1985, pp. 59-61. See also Luiz Luna, *O negro na luta contra a escravidao*, Rio de Janeiro, Leitura, 1968, esp. p. 136.

(25) Raymond Kent, "African Revolt in Bahia : 24-25 January, 1935", *Journal of Social History*, 3:4 (1970), 334-56, esp. 355 ; Howard Prince, "Slave Rebellion in Bahia, 1807-1835", PhD Thesis, U. of Columbia, 1972, esp. 234-35 ; Renato da Silveira, "La force et la douceur de la force", Doctorat 3ème cycle, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1986, chapter 3. For a longer review mentioned in this article and many others : J.J. Reis, "Um balanço dos estudos sobre as revoltas escravas da Bahia", in Reis (ed.), *Escravidao e invençao da liberdade*, 87-140.

(26) See F.H. El Masri (editor & translator), *Bayân Wujûb al-Hijra 'ala 'l-'Ibad ('The Exposition of the Obligation of Emigration upon the Servants of God') by Uthman Dan Fodio*, Khartoum, Khartoum University Press & Oxford University Press, 1978, chapter 20 and p. 89, n°1.

(27) Smith, "A Little New Light on the Collapse of the Alafinate of Yoruba", esp. pp. 51-53 ; and H.O. Danmole, "The Frontier Emirate : A History of Islam in Ilorin", unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham, 1980, pp. 63-68, 246-47 ; Samuel Johnson, *A History of the Yoruba*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1921, pp. 234-35, 386.

(28) Reis, *Rebeliao escrava*, p. 157.

(29) Arquivo Publico da Bahia, *Correspondência Presidencial*, vol. 679, fol. 140.

(30) On the post-revolt repression and punishment, Reis, *Rebeliao escrava*, pp. 235-82 and Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, *Negros, estrangeiros : os escravos libertos e sua volta à Africa*, Sao Paulo, Brasiliense, 1985, also the best study of the repatriated freedmen in Lagos, Nigeria.

(31) Francis de Castelnau, *Renseignements sur l'Afrique Centrale et sur une nation d'hommes à queue qui s'y trouverait, d'après le rapport des nègres du Soudan, esclaves à Bahia*, Paris, P. Bertrand, 1851, passim. Rodrigues, *Os africanos* and *O animismo fetichista dos negros baianos*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilizaçao Brasileira, 1935 ; Manoel Querino, *A raça africana e seus costumes*, Salvador, Progresso, 1955 ; Joao do Rio, *As religioes do Rio*, Rio de Janeiro, M. Garnier, 1906.

(32) Antonio Monteiro, *Notas sobre negros malês na Bahia*, Salvador, Ianama, 1987.

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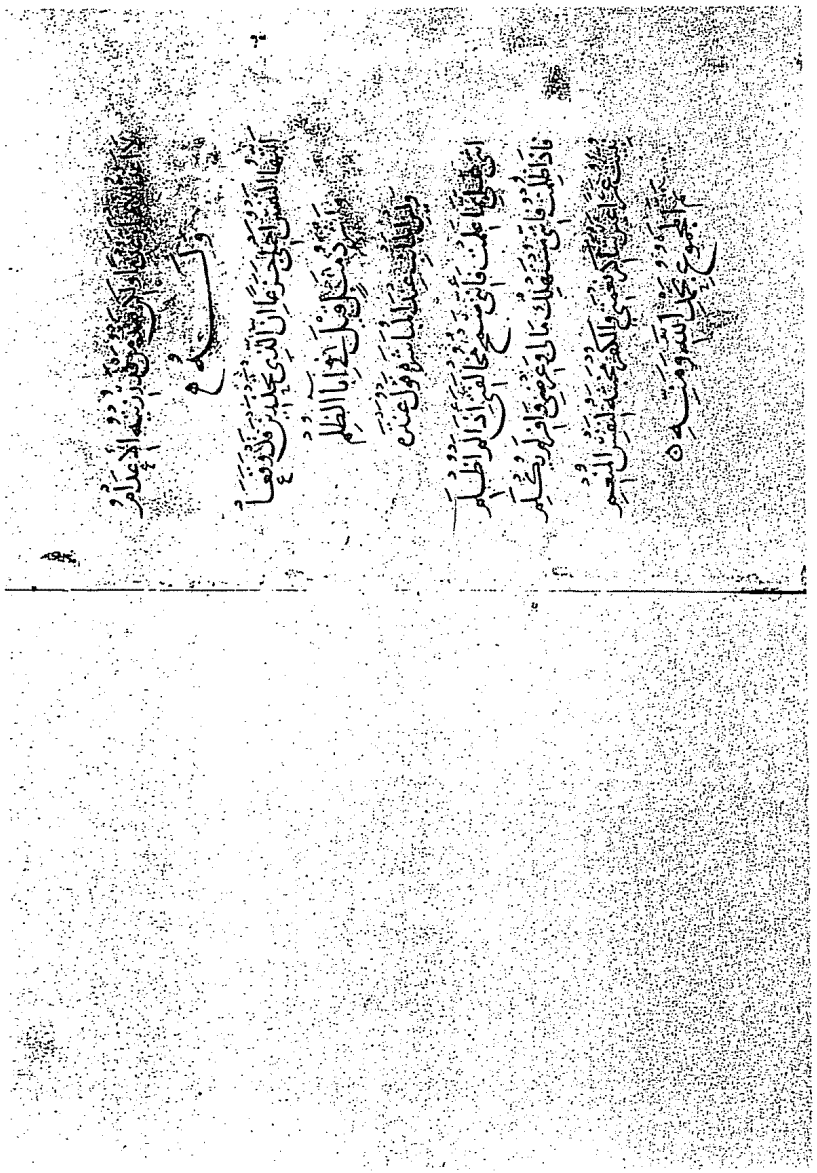
SOMALIE, SOUDAN

AHMAD IBN IDRIS AND NORTHEAST AFRICA* Notes on a Theme

par R.S. O'Fahey

INTRODUCTION

One of the great themes in Islamic African history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the impact on African Muslims of the various mystical reform movements usually, if somewhat controversially, described as "Neo-Sufi" (1). The significance of these movements lay not only in the challenges they posed to Muslim African societies but also because in certain areas they came to lead the indigenous resistance against the encroachments of the West. Two key figures in these movements were the North Africans, Ahmad al-Tijânî (1150-1230/1737-8 - 1815) and Ahmad b. Idrîs (1163-1253/1749-50 - 1837). The former founded the Tijâniyya brotherhood that was to become a major force in West Africa and elsewhere, the latter



20. Leiden Or. 1073: *Šawārid al-amṯāl*, Bl. 103b, s. S. 112 u. 120

ORIENS, vol: 35, Leiden-1996, s.143-178
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TWO SUFI TREATISES OF AḤMAD IBN IDRĪS

by

Bernd Radtke, *R. Seán O'Fahey*, and *John O'Kane*

(Utrecht) (Bergen) (Amsterdam)

For Franz Rosenthal on his eightieth birthday

I. Introduction

The two brief works we present here are of interest both because of their subject matter *per se* and in particular as a specimen of the spiritual teachings and practices of their author. The author, the mystic and traditionist Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1163-1253/1749-50-1837), was one of the most influential figures of nineteenth-century Islam.[1] During a long lifetime devoted to teaching and preaching first in his native Morocco, then in Egypt and the Ḥijāz and finally in the Yemen, he made a considerable and longlasting impact on his contemporaries. Among his principal students were Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (1202-76/1787-1859),[2] founder of the Sanūsiyya order; Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī (1208-68/1793-1852),[3] founder of the Khatmiyya; and Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd (1228-91/1813-74),[4] from whom stem the Rashīdiyya, Ṣāliḥiyya and Dandarāwiyya. One branch of Ibn Idrīs' family established a state in the ʿAsīr region of the Arabian peninsula that survived until its incorporation into Saʿūdī Arabia in 1932,[5] while another branch based in Egypt and the Sudan eventually established an Idrīsiyya order.[6]

The Texts

1. Kunūz al-jawāhir al-nūrāniyya fī qawāʿid al-ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya

The translation of the present text[7] is based on three manuscripts. A: which is a section taken from an unpaginated *majmūʿa* or miscellany in the posses-

[1] On the life and works of Ibn Idrīs see O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*; ALA I, 124 f.
[2] ALA I, 166 ff.
[3] ALA I, 187 ff.
[4] ALA I, 153 ff.
[5] *Enigmatic Saint* 119-25.
[6] *Enigmatic Saint* 125-9.
[7] ALA I, 129, no. 20.

ISLAM ET SOCIÉTÉS AU SUD DU SAHARA,
no: 1 (1987) Paris, s. 70-82.

Ahmed b. Idris
06 EYLÜL 1996

IBN IDRIS AND AL-SANÛSÎ: THE TEACHER AND HIS STUDENT

By Knut S. VIKØR & R.S. O'FAHEY

"A true likeness of us". (1)

The Sufi tradition has always laid great emphasis on the need of the aspirant (*murîd*) to seek a guide (*murshid*) for the way, "He who has no shaykh, his shaykh is Satan"(2). Equally, no text has been read until it has been read by someone qualified to expound it; the book without the spoken word is as unread.

Several accounts have appeared, in both Arabic and western languages (3), of the career of Muhammad b. 'Alî al-Sanûsî (b. 1202/1787; d. 1276/1859), the founder of the Sanûsiyya *tarîqa*. All these accounts stress the importance for his intellectual and spiritual development of al-Sanûsî's association with the Moroccan mystic, Ahmad b. Idrîs (b. 1163/1749-50; d. 1253/1837) (4). However, none of these accounts give much detail as to the nature of the relationship between the two men, who between them had a profound influence within the Muslim world both in their day and after, especially in Muslim Africa. We would emphasise that it is very much a preliminary account.

Al-Sanûsî arrived in Mecca, probably for the first time, from Cairo in Dhû 'l-Qa'da 1241/March-April 1826 (5). He studied there with a number of scholars, among the Shâfi'î specialist in *hadîth*, Abû Hafs 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rasûl al-'Attâr (d. 1249/1833) (6) and the then *muftî* and *qâdî* of Mecca, Abû Sulaymân 'Abd al Hafîz al-'Ujaymî. From both he took the *Muwattâ'* of the imam Mâlik (7). But it was in Mecca that he found, "his long-sought goal", *dâllatahu al-manshûda*, or as Martin puts it, "The supreme sufi master whom Muhammad 'Alî had always sought but never before encountered" (8). Al-Sanûsî himself ascribed his meeting with Ibn Idrîs to a miracle; in Cairo, where he was seeking a guide, a saint unknown to him had spoken to him by name and said, "The man you want is in Mecca, and you must go there to meet him", whereupon he went (9). The rapport that sprang up between them and the humility al-Sanûsî felt towards his master is vividly described by his grandson,

*On the fifteenth day of (al-Sanûsî) taking from (Ibn Idrîs) the latter said to him, "You are we and we are you (*anta nahnu wa nahnu anta*)". (Al-Sanûsî) replied, "O Master! What has the best mansion of the moon in common with the moist earth; what has the dim star, Suhâ, in common with the midday sun?" (Ibn Idrîs) answered, "This is a favour of God, Who disposes as He wishes" (10).*

Before exploring the nature of the relationship between the two men, there is the question of chronology to consider. The problem is how much time did the two spend together and where. One source says that Ibn Idrîs was forced to leave Mecca by the hostility of the '*ulama*' there already in 1241/1825-26, the year al-Sanûsî arrived, and it is virtually certain that by 1243/1827-28 he was in the Yemen where he travelled for at least a year before finally settling at Sabyâ in 'Asîr in Sha'bân 1244/October-November 1828 (11).

Al-Sanûsî is said, together with the other brethren, to have seen the master off from the port of al-Lîth, south of Mecca, but to have stayed behind in the holy city as the latter's *khalîfa* or representative (12). Thereafter, al-Sanûsî seems to have commuted between Mecca and 'Asîr. This is confirmed in an intimate letter from him to Ibn Idrîs describing a series of visions and

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Enigmatic Saint

Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition

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Stephen Cory

MADRA[illegible]ISLAMÎ ARAŞTIRMALAR
SÜNRA[illegible]ELLİ DOKÜMAN

AHMAD IBN IBRAHIM AL-GHAZI (1506–1543)

Ahmad b. Ibrahim al-Ghazi is known in Ethiopian Christian literature as Ahmad Gran, "the left-handed," political leader of an Islamic jihad movement in sixteenth-century Ethiopia. He rose to power in the context of a century-old struggle for domination in Ethiopia between the Christian emperors who reigned in Ethiopia's central and northern highlands and the rulers of a number of Muslim emirates in that region's eastern high- and lowlands. In the 1510s and 1520s, the emperor Libna Dingil (r. 1508–1540) had managed to overcome the resistance of the Amir of Adal, Garad Abun, as well as of Iman Mahfuz, the Amir of Zaila.

Ahmad b. Ibrahim al-Ghazi grew up in the province of Hubat south of Adal's capital city of Harar and had married Bati Del Wanbara, a daughter of Imam Mahfuz. In the desperate situation of 1527, he was able to unite, under his leadership a number of Somali war bands as well as the forces of the Muslim emirates to defeat an Ethiopian army. With the support of Ottoman artillery, al-Ghazi's army was subsequently able, in 1529, to inflict a crushing defeat upon Ethiopia's united army. Thereupon, he decided to embark on a jihad with the aim to conquer Ethiopia as a whole.

Al-Ghazi led a number of campaigns, recorded by his companion, the Yemenite scholar Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Qadir, under the title *Kitab Futuhat al-Habasha al-Musamma Bahjat az-Zaman.* Al-Ghazi's Muslim armies were able to conquer, between 1529 and 1535, almost all the Ethiopian Christian territories, from Showa in the south to Tigray in the north. Ethiopia's transformation into a Muslim imamate was, however, preempted by the intervention of the Portuguese in 1541. Also, Ethiopia's new emperor, Galawdewos (r. 1540–1559), managed to reorganize the Christian forces and to stop al-Ghazi's advance.

In a battle near Woyna Dega, in Dembya province, al-Ghazi was killed by a Portuguese fusilier. The Muslim empire of Ethiopia subsequently disintegrated as quickly as it had been conquered, and most Christians who had converted to Islam after 1529 converted back to Ethiopian Christianity. In the aftermath of al-Ghazi's death, Emperor Galawdewos was able to advance as far as Harar, where he was stopped in 1559 by Imam Nur b. al-Mujahid, al-Ghazi's nephew and successor. Al-Mujahid ruled Adal-Harar until his death in 1568.

See also **Africa, Islam in; Ethiopia; Jihad.**

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Roman Loimeier

AHMAD IBN IDRIS (1750–1837)

Ahmad b. Idris was a Sufi teacher who influenced the formation of many reforming Sufi brotherhoods in the nineteenth century.

Although he never formed *tariqa* (brotherhood) of his own, Ibn Idris was a key figure in the development of Sufi thought in the nineteenth century. Being firmly based in traditional Sufism, in the line from Ibn 'Arabi, Ibn Idris promoted the idea of *tariqa* Muhammadiyya—focusing the Sufi experience on following the example of and having mystical encounters with the Prophet—while vehemently rejecting blind imitation (*taqlid*) of earlier scholars. According to his teaching, it is the responsibility of each generation of Muslim scholars to discover the Muslim path by relying directly on the sources of divine revelation and not be restricted to what earlier and fallible human authorities have decreed.

Ibn Idris was born in Maysur, a village near Larache in Morocco, and received his basic training in the reformist scholarly milieu in Fez of the late eighteenth century, before moving through Egypt to Mecca in 1799. He stayed in Mecca during the Wahhabi occupation, unlike many colleagues, and had an ambivalent relationship to the Wahhabis; he shared some of their reformist views but rejected their recourse to anathema and violence against other Muslims. After a later disturbance in Mecca, he left in 1828 and settled in Sabya, the capital of 'Asir, then a part of Yemen, where he stayed for the remainder of his life. Several of his students formed important Sufi brotherhoods to disseminate his ideas, among them the Sanusiyya of the Sahara, the Khatmiyya and Rashidiyya/Dandarawiyya of Sudan, Egypt, and the Indian Ocean regions, and the Salihiyya of Somalia.

See also **Africa, Islam in; Tariqa; Tasawwuf; Wahhabiyya.**

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Edit. Richard C. Martin, Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World, vol. I, New York 2004. pp. 29-30 .İSAM 130385.

ben (34-37), sodann eine theoretische Position in Sachen metaphor cluster umrissen, die in einer Position mündet, die mit dem Stichwort „root-metaphor" umrissen werden kann: eine Art Grundmetapher mit funktionalen Beziehungen zu verschiedenen sachlichen Bereichen, die dann auch untereinander Verbindungen eingehen können[28]).

In Kap. 4 („Daniel 7 and 8 and the Animal-Apocalypse", 43-60) wird nun diese Wurzelmetapher erarbeitet. P. findet sie in dem Konzept des „Hirten", in dem Verf. sozusagen eine metaphorische Einheit findet, in dem sich metaphorische Bezüge treffen (das sind bei Dan 7 und 8, 11 unterschiedliche Konzepte, vgl. Liste 40f; es sind im Vergleich mit der Tierapokalypse 1 Hen 85-90 dann noch 9 solcher Konzepte, die gemeinsam sind, vgl. Liste 48 und Auflistung der Parallelen dann 48ff.). Der Vergleich mit der Tierapokalypse ergibt dann auch eine gemeinsame Basis in der Welt des Hirten, in Hinsicht auf die Tierbilder in Dan 7f u. Parallele.

Im längsten Kap. 5 „Daniel 7 and 8 and the OT lamentation literature" (61-120) versucht Verf., die einzelnen ‚Zweige' der Wurzelmetapher ‚Hirte' in Dan 7f auf dem Hintergrund mesopotamischer und alttestamentlicher Tradition zu interpretieren. Eine Zwölferliste dieser Metaphernkette. S. 61.

M.E. sind hinter dieses Kapitel die größten Fragezeichen zu setzen. Das beginnt schon bei der mit der Kapitelüberschrift ausgedrückten Frage der Beziehung von Dan 7f zur atl Klageliteratur. Die Brücke bildet hier die Frage Dan 8,13 (Wie lange?), die dann auf dem Hintergrund von Kap 9(ff) auf die Dauer der Länge des „Exils" Israels bezogen wird. Damit wird mithilfe einer formgeschichtlichen Isolierung der Frage aus ihrem konkreten literarischen Zusammenhang (himmlische Frage nach der Dauer der Entweihung des jerusalemer Tempels, die dialogisch auf Beantwortung hin angelegt ist) ein Klageliedtopos formuliert. Da dieser wenig sinnreich für die Auslegung von Dan 7f scheint, wird er mithilfe von Kap 9 aufgefüllt. Von daher legt P. sehr viel Gewicht auf den Zusammenhang von Dan 7f zu der Topik der (Volks-)Klagelieder des Psalters, gerade auch unter der Leitfrage nach der „Wurzelmetapher" des Hirten.

Wie schon gesagt, vollzieht sich diese Darstellung anhand einer zwölffachen Auffächerung der Wurzelmetapher. Diese „external metaphors" (119 nochmals aufgelistet) werden nun eingearbeitet in ein zweites Darstellungsschema, bei dem es (A) um proto-apokalyptische Quellen, (B) um prophetische und endlich (C) um psalmenartige Quellen geht, die P. (63f) als klageartige Voraussetzungen von Dan 7f versteht. Aber dabei wird der Unterschied zwischen (A) und (B) doch ziemlich hinfällig (im einen Fall ist Sach (2,1-4), in zweiten Dtr. jes (59; 63f) Bezugspunkt): es geht jeweils um prophetische Vorgaben.

Wie immer das verstanden werden mag, der Verf. führt eine Unmenge an Zeugnissen an, um seine These des Metaphernfeldes Hirte zu erhärten: zu den 12 Punkten wird vieles aufgelistet. Dennoch scheint mir vieles rein assoziativ verbunden, was bei einer Analyse schon der verwendeten Einzeltexte nicht unbedingt so synthetisch verstanden werden muß. V.a. scheint mir die konzeptionelle Logik übertrieben. Zwar kann man nicht leugnen, daß Dan 7f sich im Bildfeld von Herde/Tieren/Feinde der Herde usw. bewegt. Aber es fragt sich, ob es dazu eine in Dan 7f nachweisbare Wurzelmetapher „Hirte" geben muß. Sie scheint mir nämlich gerade in Hinsicht auf Gott nicht belegbar in Dan 7f. Was P. dazu aufführt, bleibt denkbar unwahrscheinlich: in 7,10 sollen die aufgeschlagenen Bücher auf Usancen zurückgehen, die mit der Hirtenpraxis in Verbindung stehen (vgl. 103ff). Doch bleibt für die himmlische Schriftführung ein anderer Belegzusammenhang wahrscheinlicher (den P. überhaupt nicht anspricht)[29]). Ebensowenig scheint es naheliegend, Dan 8,14 mit dem metaphorischen Zug „The ruler is the SHEPHERD of the temple" (89ff) zu verbinden[30]). So fällt die zentrale Metapher "Hirte" für den Gott Israels in Dan 7f aus und es bleiben eher aspekthafte Gesichtspunkte, die mit Herde/Herdentieren zu tun haben. Vielleicht ist das Hauptproblem, ob die Logik einer „Wurzelmetapher" auf Dan 7f überhaupt anwendbar ist. Oder aber, ob diese Konstruktion zu logisch geschlossen ist.

Insgesamt, soviel sei zum Schluß noch gesagt, kann man feststellen, daß das Interesse an der Sprachgestalt alttestamentlicher Texte sehr unterschiedliche Wege gehen kann.

Bonn, März 1986 PETER HÖFFKEN

[28]) Zu den herangezogenen Metapherntheorien vgl. 37ff.

[29]) Vgl. Mal 3,16; Ex 32. 32f; Jes 4,3; 65,6; u.a.m.

[30]) Es reicht völlig, den Gedanken der Tempelentweihung mit der Metaphorik des niedertrampelnden Tieres zu verbinden. Die Tempelrestitution kann davon freibleiben.

* * *

The Writings by, Attributed to, or on Ahmad Ibn Idris

Introduction[1])

There has for long been recognition of the importance of the life and teachings of the Moroccan mystic, Aḥmad b. Idrīs, for an understanding of Sufism in the nineteenth century. Hitherto, research on Ibn Idrīs and his teachings has been hampered by the relative inaccessiblity of writings by or about him. As a contribution to research, the present article lists all the writings known to the writer by, attributed to, or on Aḥmad b. Idrīs in Arabic.

Ibn Idrīs was born in 1163/1749-50 in the district of al-ʿArāʾish (Larache) on Morocco's Atlantic coast[2]). He studied at the Qarawiyyīn mosque-school in Fez and in 1212/1797-8 set out on the pilgrimage. After travelling along the North African coast and visiting Egypt, he settled in Mecca where he stayed, except for a number of visits to Upper Egypt, until his enforced departure in 1243/1827-8. He then moved to the Yemen, settling in ʿAsīr where he spent his remaining years. His importance may be illustrated by listing some of his more significant pupils; Muḥammad al-Sanūsī (d. 1859) founder of the Sanūsiyya; Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī (d. 1852) founder of the Khatmiyya; Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd (d. 1874), founder of the Rashīdiyya and, through his students, of the Ṣāliḥiyya and Dandarāwiyya. Ibn Idris also taught, initiated or corresponded with many of

[1]) The present article has its genesis in the research on Ibn Idrīs, his teachings and pupils. being undertaken by a group at the Faculty of Arts, University of Bergen. It could not have been written with out the material and information freely made available by Dr. Ali Salih Karrar of the National Records Office, Khartoum, and Professor F. De Jong of the University of Utrecht. Because of limited resources, it is generally not possible to supply copies of material held in Bergen, although it may be freely consulted there.

[2]) What follows is based on R.S.O'Fahey & Ali Salih Karrar, "The Enigmatic Imam. The influence of Ahmad ibn Idris". *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (forthcoming).

DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ (1)

Int. J. Middle East Stud. **19** (1987), 205–220 *Printed in the United States of America* (s. 2) CAMBRIDGE

Rex S. O'Fahey and Ali Salih Karrar

THE ENIGMATIC IMAM: THE INFLUENCE OF AḤMAD IBN IDRĪS

"THE LIFE OF AL-FASI IS AN ENIGMA"[1]

Despite his importance, no substantial study has been devoted to the career of Abū 'l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ḥasanī al-ᶜArāᵓishī al-Fāsī (d. 1837); most accounts of him appear by way of a preface to studies of his pupils.[2] And yet through his teachings, pupils, and family, he was undoubtedly one of the key religious figures of the early 19th century Arab Muslim world. Indeed, his influence, direct and indirect, appears to have stretched from North Africa to Indonesia. Three of his pupils from his immediate circle established major brotherhoods, the Sanūsiyya, Khatmiyya, and Rāshidiyya, from which stemmed several other orders. Of his descendants, one branch established a local dynasty in southern Arabia that survived until 1933 when it was incorporated into the Saᶜūdī state,[3] while another branch, somewhat belatedly, established an Idrīsiyya *ṭarīqa* in Upper Egypt and the northern Sudan. Also significant is the influence exercised by Ibn Idrīs through those of his pupils who founded not major orders but local schools propagating his teachings such as the Egyptian *al-ḥājj* ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Qūṣī, or, who under his influence, founded or revitalized local or family orders, such as the Majdhūbiyya and Ismāᶜīliyya in the northern and western Sudan respectively. Finally, his influence was not confined to his family and pupils; in the course of his travels, he initiated or gave *ijāzas*, both general and for specific texts, or corresponded with many scholars, including such figures as Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Madanī (d. 1847) and Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Shawkanī (d. 1834).

Yet Ibn Idrīs remains an enigma. That he was very influential is beyond doubt; why, is less easy to explain. His doctrinal position was not unique; others held the same or similar positions. He wrote relatively little; his teachings are known largely through the writings of his students and contemporaries, his few surviving letters, and through his litanies and prayers. The explanation must lie in his personality; not so much what he taught, but how he taught it. That, rather than doctrinal originality, best explains the enormous authority he exercised over his students and contemporaries and why established scholars so eagerly sought ijazas from him. While the several accounts we have of him simply take his spiritual authority for granted, his letters underscore its pastoral nature. In letters to his closest pupils, such as his near contemporary, al-Sanūsī, or the much younger al-Mīrghanī, he writes as a wise and loving master guiding them

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Ahmed b. Idris
MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DÜ...MAN

اینکه روزی او را با ثروتی کلان به اتهام آنکه قصد گریز از فاس را دارد، دستگیر کردند (همانجاها). بدین‌سان ابن ادریس برای بار دوم به زندان افتاد و تحت شکنجه قرار گرفت، و در اثنای اسارت قصایدی در بی‌گناهی خویش می‌سرود و آنها را برای سلطان می‌فرستاد. سرانجام چون آزاد شد، آهنگ آن کرد که بقیهٔ عمر را به عبادت و زیارت قبور اولیا بگذراند (همانجا). با آنکه از طریقه‌های صوفیانهٔ معروف آن زمان کناره می‌گرفت، با اولیای بزرگ مغرب چون شیخ عبدالقادر علمی و شیخ طیب کتانی مصاحبت داشت (غریط، ۴۴). به صلاح دید همین شیخ طیب بود که عاقبت فاس را با اینکه از خشم سلطان بیم داشت، ترک گفت و به ضریح مولای اسماعیل در مکناسه، پناه برد (همو، ۴۱).

در ۱۲۵۱ ق /۱۸۳۵ م که نفوذ ودایا فروکش کرده بود و مولای عبدالرحمن از مکناسه دیدن می‌کرد، دوستان ابن ادریس وقت را غنیمت شمردند و از سلطان خواستند که از وی درگذرد. سلطان هم پذیرفت و او را نخست به شغل دیوانی و کتابت، سپس به وزارت برگزید (فاسی، همانجا). در ۱۲۵۹ ق ابن ادریس قصیده‌ای به مناسبت حملهٔ فرانسویان به شهر وجده سرود و در آن مردم را به جهاد درراه خدا و بیرون راندن فرانسویان از دیار اسلام فراخواند. چند سال پس از این تاریخ، وی که همچنان در مقام وزارت بود، درگذشت.

ابن ادریس اسلوب نامه‌نگاری را در مراکش حیاتی نوبخشید و در نوشته‌هایش نثر مسجّع را بدون اغراق و به دور از مغلق نویسی به کار برد. شعر او مورد توجّه بزرگان مراکش بود و در بدیهه سرایی نیز دست داشت و اشعار او در مدح حضرت پیامبر (ص) و سلطان و طبیعت از زیبایی و ظرافت برخوردار است.

وی مجموعهٔ شعری در دو مجلد دارد که فرزندش به امر حسین بن محمدبن عبدالرحمن فراهم آورده است و از جلد اوّل آن نسخه‌ای در خزانهٔ رباط موجود است (زرکلی، ۲۷/۶ ـ ۲۸). نیز قصیده‌ای از او در همان خزانه (شم ۱۵۳۹) وجود دارد (علوش، ۲(۱)/۳۰۴). همچنین کنون (۲۴۳/۲ ـ ۲۴۹) از ابن ادریس یک مقامه و یک مقاله دربارهٔ القاب و نعوت آورده است.

مآخذ: زرکلی، خیرالدین، *الاعلام*، بیروت، ۱۹۸۶م؛ علوش، ی. س. و عبدالله الرجراجی، *فهرس المخطوطات العربیة*، رباط، ۱۹۵۴م؛ غریط، محمد، *فواصل الجمان*، فاس، ۱۳۴۶ق/۱۹۲۷م؛ فاسی، ناصر، «محمدبن ادریس وزیر مولای عبدالرحمن و شاعره»، *البحث العلمی*، س ۱، شم ۱، ۱۳۸۳ق/۱۹۶۴م؛ کنون، عبدالله *النبوغ المغربی فی‌الادب العربی*، بیروت، ۱۳۹۵ق/۱۹۷۵م؛ ناصری، احمدبن خالد، *الاستقصاء*، دارالبیضاء، ۱۹۵۶م؛ نیز: EI²

کبری سپهری

اِبْنِ‌اِدْریس، احمد بن ادریس حسنی ابوالعباس (۱۱۷۲ـ۱۲۵۳ ق / ۱۷۵۹-۱۸۳۷ م)، مفسّر، محدّث، عارف و صوفی فاسی، رئیس طریقهٔ ادریسیّه. او از سادات حسنی است و نسب وی از طریق ادریس ابن‌عبدالله بن حسن (عبدالله محض) به امام حسن (ع) می‌رسد. احمد درآبادی میسور، در نزدیکی فاس واقع در مغرب (مراکش) زاده شد (حسنی یمنی، ۲۲۳/۱) و پس از فراگیری علوم مقدماتی به فاس سفر کرد و در آنجا به آموختن علوم متداول آن روزگار پرداخت. در آنجا با علاّمه مُجَیْدری، یکی از عالمان شنقیط، آشنا شد و از وی دانش فرا گرفت و با وساطت او به دیدار عبدالوهّاب تازی، از پیشوایان تصوف مغرب رفت و از او و ابوالقاسم غازی طریقهٔ تصوف شاذلی را آموخت. پس از آن ابن ادریس مجلس درسی تشکیل داد که گاه استادش عبدالوهّاب از روی احترام در درس وی حاضر می‌شد (نَبهانی، ۳۴۲). با اینکه احمد به شدت تحت تأثیر اندیشه‌های عبدالوهّاب بود، پس از مرگ استادش از یکی دیگر از مشایخ تصوف به نام ابوالقاسم وزیر غازی پیروی کرد. گفته‌اند که پس از مرگ آخرین پیشوایش از خدا خواست تا شخص دیگری را به عنوان قطب و پیشوا به او بشناساند، اما به او الهام شد که دیگر در پهنهٔ زمین کسی نیست تا وی از او چیزی فرا گیرد، مگر قرآن که می‌تواند راهنمای او باشد. چنانکه خود گوید، پس از آن فقط با قرآن انس گرفت و تا مرگ از او جدا نشد، از این رو سخنان و آموزشهای او عمدتاً صبغهٔ قرآنی یافت (همو، ۳۴۳).

ابن ادریس به مکه سفر کرد و مدت ۱۴ سال در آنجا اقامت گزید و با عالمان مذاهب مختلف اسلامی آشنا شد و با آنان به بحث و تبادل‌نظر پرداخت و براساس بینش وحدت گرایانهٔ صوفیانه‌اش کوشید تا اختلاف نظرهای فرقه‌ای میان عالمان و پیروان مذاهب موجود اسلامی راکاهش دهد (ریحانی، ۲۹۷/۱-۲۹۸). سید احمد سنوسی، از پیشوایان فرقه «شاذلیه» و از عالمان مغرب، در مکه با ابن‌ادریس دیدار کرد و از وی دانش آموخت (همو، ۳۰۱/۲). پس از آن، ابن ادریس به دعوت سیداحمد سنوسی به مغرب بازگشت و آنگاه به دعوت محمد مجذوبی سواکنی، از عالمان سودان، به آن دیار سفر کرد و مدتی در آنجا ماند (همانجا). سرانجام به یمن رفت. وی ابتدا به شهر حدیده و سپس به زبید مهاجرت کرد و در آنجا با حافظ عبدالرحمن بن سلیمان اهدل، مفتی زبید، آشنا شد و مدتی در خانهٔ او سکنیٰ گزید، و در ۱۲۴۵ ق / ۱۸۲۹ م به شهر صبیا رفت و در آنجا به نشر افکار و تبلیغ طریقهٔ خود پرداخت و در همانجا درگذشت (حسنی یمنی، ۲۲۴/۱). با اینکه ابن ادریس در سرتاسر یمن پیروانی یافت و در برخی از شهرها و مناطق کوشش بیش‌تری در جهت گسترش عقاید خویش کرد، اما به گفتهٔ ریحانی (۳۰۲/۱) شهر زبید مرکز فعالیت او به شمار می‌آمد.

چنانکه از منابع احوال و افکار ابن ادریس برمی‌آید، او در روزگار خود در مغرب و یمن، و در میان اهل تصوف و عرفان از شهرت و نفوذ قابل ملاحظه‌ای برخوردار بود. با اینکه طریقهٔ اصلی او «شاذلیه» بود، خود طریقه‌ای را پایه‌گذاری کرد که به «احمدیه» یا «ادریسیه» (ریحانی، ۲۹۹/۱، ۳۰۱) شهرت یافت. برخی از صوفیانِ بنام مغرب و یمن در سدهٔ ۱۳ ق / ۱۹ م، از آرای او بسیار تأثیر پذیرفتند و براساس تعلیمات او طریقه‌هایی را در سیر و سلوک صوفیانه بنیاد نهادند. احمد سنوسی

دائرة‌المعارف بزرگ اسلامی، جلد دوم، تهران ۱۳۶۸.

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3.014 Samaria Ostracon 14 (8th cent.)
G. A. Reisner, *HES*, 234, 239.
bšt[.] ḥtš[ᶜt.] mᵓ[ ]
ṫ {*or* mgṫ} p̊rᵓn. lšmryw.
nbl. yn. yšn.

The circle above a letter indicates a partial restoration. No translations accompany the texts, but no doubt they can be looked up in the sources, such as *Harvard Excavations in Samaria 1908–1910*. Likewise in Davies' concordance the words are not glossed but only identified as v. (verb), adj., PN (proper name), and so forth.

Old Hebrew angular lettering is to be taken for granted, unless something to the contrary is specified as on p. 250:
"**106.005** *têt*; 'Yehud' Stamps (plene spelling) (Aramaic script) (4th cent.)." In the one-letter inscribed ivories that were found in Samaria (pp. 58–63), I am puzzled by the notation "(Phoenician script)"; several inscriptions from Hazor, not much longer, also carry this notation (pp. 102–5). Given the close link between Phoenician and Hebrew in script as well as language, how can anyone state that these very brief texts have Phoenician rather than Hebrew lettering?

This raises a further question. Is there any real line that distinguishes Hebrew from Phoenician? It seems arbitrary to include as Hebrew the many inscriptions from Samaria (e.g., 3.014) in which 'wine' is the two-letter word *yn* (whereas those from Lachish, Arad, and Hebron have *yyn*, like the Bible), but to exclude as Phoenician the ones from sites considerably north of Samaria that agree with it on this phonological detail. Davies does not challenge the practical—albeit unjustified—consensus of his predecessors that Hebrew inscriptions can be treated separately from Phoenician. But it is merely a convention of scholarship to restrict the term "Hebrew" to the language of the Israelites, as though the shifting borders of the Kingdom of Israel ever constituted a boundary of some kind between dialects.

To be sure, the inclusion of the Phoenician corpus would have entailed a much longer book. I do not censure Davies for limiting his scope; but since this book is in essence a printout of his computerized database, I suggest that when he reissues it to add the most recent finds, he would add greatly to its usefulness by incorporating everything Phoenician that fits within his chronological definition of "ancient." Meanwhile scholarship in general is weakened by the lingering notion (seldom articulated) that since the Hebrew Bible is a uniquely precious heritage from the monotheists of ancient Israel, we can also make a valid distinction between the secular archaeological remains of that nation and those of its neighbors that shared the "Canaanite" language.

On the contrary, the epigraphic material proves how deeply the Israelites were involved in the regional culture. Above all, the recent discoveries at Kuntillet ᶜAjrud (catalogued on pp. 80–81) depict the God of Israel himself—identified by name—as a manifestly sexual being with a female companion. The non-Biblical evidence should be an indispensable help for us to envisage the background against which the Bible's authors strove so earnestly to educate and elevate their people, the patriarchal "house of Israel."

R. S. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition*, Series in Islam and Society in Africa (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1990). Pp. 278.

Reviewed by Vincent J. Cornell, Department of Religion, Duke University, Durham, N.C.

Since its introduction by the late Fazlur Rahman more than twenty years ago, the term "neo-Sufism," first coined in order to clarify apparent differences between classical Islamic mysticism and its early-modern counterpart, has proven to be of limited conceptual utility.

International Journal of Middle East Studies, c. 25/1 (1993) USA, s. 170-172.

EDITOR IN CHIEF JOHN L. ESPOSITO,
THE OXFORD ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE MODERN ISLAMIC WORLD, Volume, II.
NEW YORK - 1995, s. 162-164 İSAM KTP:

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placed it with *Al-shihāb* (The Meteor), in which he maintained a more moderate tone.

In 1931, Ibn Bādīs and other religious scholars formed the Association of Algerian ʿUlamā', which he headed and which promoted the Arab and Islamic roots of the Algerian nation, the reform and revival of Islam, and criticism of the Ṣūfī orders and the assimilationists. The Association demanded religious freedom, restoration of the *ḥubūs* (religious endowment, *waqf*) properties, and recognition of Arabic as the national language. It opened hundreds of free schools and mosques to teach Arabic, Islam, and modern subjects, published its own papers to spread religious, cultural, and social reform, campaigned against the marabouts' (local venerated men) corrupt practices, and sent delegations to France and opened branches to involve Algerian residents there. In 1938, the Association issued a formal *fatwā* (legal opinion), which declared naturalized Algerians to be non-Muslims. Its activities disturbed the French administration, which tried to restrict the conduct of its members.

Ibn Bādīs perceived his mission as "not to produce books, but educated people." His thought is discernible in the numerous articles that he wrote and in his interpretation of the Qur'ān. He shared many viewpoints of the Salafīyah movement, blaming the deterioration of the Muslims on internal weakness, disunity, despotism, and the spread of non-Islamic practices.

Ibn Bādīs stressed education to purify Islam from popular accretions and improve the condition of the individual as a step toward reviving the entire society. He offered a modernist interpretation of the Qur'ān and emphasized reasoning and free will. His major contribution lies in linking reform and education with the promotion of an Algerian nationalism. He identified Islam, Arabism, and nationalism as the three components of the Algerian national character.

Ibn Bādīs and the Algerian ʿUlamā' laid the foundations for the national identity of the Algerian people. Throughout the Algerian war against France (1954–1962), the Association aligned with the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), and was later represented in the provisional government of the Algerian Republic after independence.

[*See also* Algeria; Salafīyah.]

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EMAD ELDIN SHAHIN

IBN IDRĪS, AḤMAD (1749/50-1837), Moroccan Ṣūfī and teacher and founder of the Idrīsīyah tradition. Despite his importance within nineteenth-century Islamic history, very little is known of the life of Ibn Idrīs, and contemporary accounts are sparse.

Ibn Idrīs was born near Larache in Morocco into a family of Idrīsī *sharīf*s. He studied for some thirty years at the Qarawyyīn mosque/school in Fez. Among his teachers there in the formal Islamic sciences was Muḥammad ibn Sūda (d. 1795), while his principal Ṣūfī master within the Shādhilīyah tradition was ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Tāzī (d. 1792). Ibn Idrīs left Morocco in 1798 and spent the next thirty years in and around Mecca and Medina, also making several extended visits to Luxor in Upper Egypt. He was in Mecca during its occupation by the Wahhābīs (1803–1813), only leaving for Upper Egypt when the town was conquered by the Egyptians. In 1828 he was forced by the hostility of the Meccan *ʿulamā'* to leave the Hejaz, although the exact circumstances are unclear. He moved to the Yemen and after a period of travel along the coast came to Asir, where he settled in Sabya at the invitation of the local ruler. He died and was buried at Sabya.

DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ (2)

İ.J. of ES, 19 (1987) s. 205-220 Cambridge

Anlaşılması Zor İmam: Ahmed İbn İdris'in Etkisi

El-Fasi'nin Hayatı bir muammadır.[1]

s. 205 Ehemmiyetine Rağmen, Ebû'l-Abbas Ahmed b. İdris el-Hasanî el-Araşi el-Fasi'nin Cv.t. 1837) ilmi hayatına vakf edilmiş önemli bir araştırma bulunmamaktadır; kendisiyle ilgili bilginin birçoğu, talebelerine ait eserlere yazılan önsözlerden anlaşılmaktadır[2] ve buna rağmen öğretisi, öğrencileri ve âilesi vasıtasıyla oynadığı rol kendisinin ondokuzuncu asrın ilk döneminin müslüman Arab dünyasında önde gelen dini bir şahsiyet olduğu hususunda hiç bir şüpheye yer bırakmamaktadır. Gerçekten de kendisinin doğrudan ve dolaylı etkisi Kuzey Afrika'dan Endonezya'ya kadar uzanmış gibi görünmektedir. Yakın çevresinden olan üç talebesi büyük (Tekkeler) kardeşlikler kurmuşlardır. Sanussiye, Hatmiyye ve Raşidiye, Bunlardan da başka tekkeler neşet etmiştir. Ahfadından bir kol Güney Arabistan'da 1933'e kadar süren[3] ve o tarihte Suudi devletine katılan bir mahalli hanedan kurdu. Diğer bir kol biraz geçikmeyle, Yukarı Mısır'da ve Kuzey Sudan'da birer İdrisiyye tarikatı (tariqa) kurdu. Ayrıca, İbn İdris'in Mısırlı el-Hacc Ali Abdül Hakk el-Kusi gibi büyük tekkeler kurmayan fakat kendisinin öğretisini yayan mahalli okullar açan Yahut da İbni İdris'in etkisi altında, Mechubiyye ve İsmailiye gibi aile tekkelerini Kuzey ve Batı Sudan'da kuran veya onlara yeniden hayatıyet veren öğrenci-

Bibliotheca Orientalis, XLII/5-6, 1986 Leiden

ben (34-37), sodann eine theoretische Position in Sachen metaphor cluster umrissen, die in einer Position mündet, die mit dem Stichwort „root-metaphor" umrissen werden kann: eine Art Grundmetapher mit funktionalen Beziehungen zu verschiedenen sachlichen Bereichen, die dann auch untereinander Verbindungen eingehen können[28]).

In Kap. 4 („Daniel 7 and 8 and the Animal-Apocalypse", 43-60) wird nun diese Wurzelmetapher erarbeitet. P. findet sie in dem Konzept des „Hirten", in dem Verf. sozusagen eine metaphorische Einheit findet, in dem sich metaphorische Bezüge treffen (das sind bei Dan 7 und 8, 11 unterschiedliche Konzepte, vgl. Liste 40f; es sind im Vergleich mit der Tierapokalypse 1 Hen 85-90 dann noch 9 solcher Konzepte, die gemeinsam sind, vgl. Liste 48 und Auflistung der Parallelen dann 48ff.). Der Vergleich mit der Tierapokalypse ergibt dann auch eine gemeinsame Basis in der Welt des Hirten, in Hinsicht auf die Tierbilder in Dan 7f u. Parallele.

Im längsten Kap. 5 „Daniel 7 and 8 and the OT lamentation literature" (61-120) versucht Verf., die einzelnen ‚Zweige' der Wurzelmetapher ‚Hirte' in Dan 7f auf dem Hintergrund mesopotamischer und alttestamentlicher Tradition zu interpretieren. Eine Zwölferliste dieser Metaphernkette. S. 61.

M.E. sind hinter dieses Kapitel die größten Fragezeichen zu setzen. Das beginnt schon bei der mit der Kapitelüberschrift ausgedrückten Frage der Beziehung von Dan 7f zur atl Klageliteratur. Die Brücke bildet hier die Frage Dan 8,13 (Wie lange?), die dann auf dem Hintergrund von Kap 9(ff) auf die Dauer der Länge des „Exils" Israels bezogen wird. Damit wird mithilfe einer formgeschichtlichen Isolierung der Frage aus ihrem konkreten literarischen Zusammenhang (himmlische Frage nach der Dauer der Entweihung des jerusalemer Tempels, die dialogisch auf Beantwortung hin angelegt ist) ein Klageliedtopos formuliert. Da dieser wenig sinnreich für die Auslegung von Dan 7f scheint, wird er mithilfe von Kap 9 aufgefüllt. Von daher legt P. sehr viel Gewicht auf den Zusammenhang von Dan 7f zu der Topik der (Volks-)Klagelieder des Psalters, gerade auch unter der Leitfrage nach der „Wurzelmetapher" des Hirten.

Wie schon gesagt, vollzieht sich diese Darstellung anhand einer zwölffachen Auffächerung der Wurzelmetapher. Diese „external metaphors" (119 nochmals aufgelistet) werden nun eingearbeitet in ein zweites Darstellungsschema, bei dem es (A) um proto-apokalyptische Quellen, (B) um prophetische und endlich (C) um psalmenartige Quellen geht, die P. (63f) als klageartige Voraussetzungen von Dan 7f versteht. Aber dabei wird der Unterschied zwischen (A) und (B) doch ziemlich hinfällig (im einen Fall ist Sach (2,1-4), in zweiten Dtr. jes (59; 63f) Bezugspunkt): es geht jeweils um prophetische Vorgaben.

Wie immer das verstanden werden mag, der Verf. führt eine Unmenge an Zeugnissen an, um seine These des Metaphernfeldes Hirte zu erhärten: zu den 12 Punkten wird vieles aufgelistet. Dennoch scheint mir vieles rein assoziativ verbunden, was bei einer Analyse schon der verwendeten Einzeltexte nicht unbedingt so synthetisch verstanden werden muß. V.a. scheint mir die konzeptionelle Logik übertrieben. Zwar kann man nicht leugnen, daß Dan 7f sich im Bildfeld von Herde/Tieren/Feinde der Herde usw. bewegt. Aber es fragt sich, ob es dazu eine in Dan 7f nachweisbare Wurzelmetapher „Hirte" geben muß. Sie scheint mir nämlich gerade in Hinsicht auf Gott nicht belegbar in Dan 7f.

[28]) Zu den herangezogenen Metapherntheorien vgl. 37ff.

Was P. dazu aufführt, bleibt denkbar unwahrscheinlich: in 7,10 sollen die aufgeschlagenen Bücher auf Usancen zurückgehen, die mit der Hirtenpraxis in Verbindung stehen (vgl. 103ff). Doch bleibt für die himmlische Schriftführung ein anderer Belegzusammenhang wahrscheinlicher (den P. überhaupt nicht anspricht)[29]). Ebensowenig scheint es naheliegend, Dan 8,14 mit dem metaphorischen Zug „The ruler is the SHEPHERD of the temple" (89ff) zu verbinden[30]). So fällt die zentrale Metapher "Hirte" für den Gott Israels in Dan 7f aus und es bleiben eher aspekthafte Gesichtspunkte, die mit Herde/Herdentieren zu tun haben. Vielleicht ist das Hauptproblem, ob die Logik einer „Wurzelmetapher" auf Dan 7f überhaupt anwendbar ist. Oder aber, ob diese Konstruktion zu logisch geschlossen ist.

Insgesamt, soviel sei zum Schluß noch gesagt, kann man feststellen, daß das Interesse an der Sprachgestalt alttestamentlicher Texte sehr unterschiedliche Wege gehen kann.

Bonn, März 1986 PETER HÖFFKEN

[29]) Vgl. Mal 3,16; Ex 32, 32f; Jes 4,3; 65,6; u.a.m.

[30]) Es reicht völlig, den Gedanken der Tempelentweihung mit der Metaphorik des niedertrampelnden Tieres zu verbinden. Die Tempelrestitution kann davon freibleiben.

MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DÖKÜMAN
12-3-90

* * *

The Writings by, Attributed to, or on Ahmad Ibn Idris

Introduction[1])

There has for long been recognition of the importance of the life and teachings of the Moroccan mystic, Aḥmad b. Idrīs, for an understanding of Sufism in the nineteenth century. Hitherto, research on Ibn Idrīs and his teachings has been hampered by the relative inaccessiblity of writings by or about him. As a contribution to research, the present article lists all the writings known to the writer by, attributed to, or on Aḥmad b. Idrīs in Arabic.

Ibn Idrīs was born in 1163/1749-50 in the district of al-ʿArā'ish (Larache) on Morocco's Atlantic coast[2]). He studied at the Qarawiyyīn mosque-school in Fez and in 1212/1797-8 set out on the pilgrimage. After travelling along the North African coast and visiting Egypt, he settled in Mecca where he stayed, except for a number of visits to Upper Egypt, until his enforced departure in 1243/1827-8. He then moved to the Yemen, settling in ʿAsīr where he spent his remaining years. His importance may be illustrated by listing some of his more significant pupils; Muḥammad al-Sanūsī (d. 1859) founder of the Sanūsiyya; Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī (d. 1852) founder of the Khatmiyya; Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd (d. 1874), founder of the Rashīdiyya and, through his students, of the Ṣāliḥiyya and Dandarāwiyya. Ibn Idris also taught, initiated or corresponded with many of

[1]) The present article has its genesis in the research on Ibn Idrīs, his teachings and pupils, being undertaken by a group at the Faculty of Arts, University of Bergen. It could not have been written with out the material and information freely made available by Dr. Ali Salih Karrar of the National Records Office, Khartoum, and Professor F. De Jong of the University of Utrecht. Because of limited resources, it is generally not possible to supply copies of material held in Bergen, although it may be freely consulted there.

[2]) What follows is based on R.S.O'Fahey & Ali Salih Karrar, "The Enigmatic Imam. The influence of Ahmad ibn Idris", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (forthcoming).

tarda cependant pas à se segmenter[40] en branches familiales, sur le mode des implantations qâdirî et shâdhilî des siècles précédents, notamment dans la Jezîra. Deux d'entre elles ont été historiquement importantes : l'une dominée par la famille du shaykh al-Tayyib à Tâbat[41], l'autre par celle du shaykh al-Qurashî wad al-Zein à al-Tayyiba, près de Masallamiya sur le Nil Bleu.

Dans les années 1860, ces deux branches étaient devenues rivales; le shaykh al-Qurashî, bien qu'il n'appartînt pas à la famille du fondateur soudanais de l'ordre, ayant été initié par celui-ci, était considéré comme plus proche spirituellement de l'origine de la *tarîqa* que le leader de la branche héréditaire. Le conflit entre elles ne prit l'allure d'une véritable scission que lorsque Muhammad Ahmad, le futur Mahdî, disciple de Muhammad Sharîf Nûr al-Dâ'im (1841-1908), petit-fils du fondateur de la Sammâniyya au Soudan, critiqua ouvertement son shaykh[42] pour son manque de rigueur religieuse (en 1878) : exclu de l'ordre par Muhammad Sharîf à la suite de cet incident, Muhammad Ahmad transféra son allégeance à la branche rivale du shaykh al-Qurashî qui se rallia plus tard au mouvement mahdiste, alors que la branche héréditaire s'engageait aux côtés des Turco-Égyptiens.

Aujourd'hui, la Sammâniyya (avant-garde au Soudan des ordres centralisés et réunissant dans un même enseignement plusieurs *turuq*) est toujours représentée au sommet par les deux branches familiales rivales et politiquement opposées, auxquelles se rattachent, plus ou moins, diverses maisons religieuses situées pour la plupart sur les rives du Nil Blanc. Elle est encore la *tarîqa* principale de quelques tribus nomades comme les Baqqâra Sulaym, les Hamar du Kordofan et les Fadniyya (Ja'aliyîn) de l'est du district de Shendi.

Mais c'est une branche devenue *tarîqa* indépendante, la Hindiyya, d'obédience mahdiste à l'origine, dont le centre religieux est situé depuis 1913 dans les environs de Khartoum, à Burrî al-Lamâb, qui a été, sous le Condominium et depuis l'indépendance, la plus engagée dans la vie politique soudanaise. Fondée par un Sammânî d'origine sharifienne dont la famille venait du Hejâz, Yûsuf Muhammad al-Amîn al-Hindî (1865-1942), la Hindiyya (ou Sharîfiyya) devint une *tarîqa* nouvelle — et non plus une branche de la Sammâniyya — lorsqu'il fut évident que le Sharîf Yûsuf, auteur de nombreuses *karâmât*, avait lui-même la *baraka*. Il composa alors un *wird* et un *dhikr* pour ses disciples et écrivit un *mawlid* propre à sa *tarîqa*. Il fit du prosélytisme chez les Kawâhla, dans la province du Nil Bleu, autour de Khartoum, dans l'ouest de la province de Kassala et dans la région d'al-Rahad au Kordofan. Quand le Sharîf Yûsuf mourut, en décembre 1942, après s'être engagé dans des activités nationalistes, il fut enterré à Burrî où sa *qubba* est devenue le centre des activités religieuses de la *tarîqa*. Conçue sous le Condominium, la Hindiyya est d'une facture plus moderne que la Sammâniyya, plus adaptée à un rôle politique : elle est très centralisée (la place de chacun dans la hiérarchie est déterminée en fonction de ses liens avec la famille du fondateur) et elle anime un mouvement de jeunes (*shabâb*). Son rituel est plus

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sobre et plus formalisé que celui de la Sammâniyya[43], moins orienté vers la recherche de l'extase mystique. L'engagement politique de ses leaders (Sayyid Siddîq Yûsuf al-Hindî, mort en février 1982, était un des principaux opposants au régime Nemeiry) a limité l'emprise religieuse de la Hindiyya et celle-ci apparaît aujourd'hui davantage comme un groupe politique que comme une véritable *tarîqa* : à Burrî même, siège de la confrérie, 10% seulement des hommes en seraient membres, la majorité étant restée fidèle à la Sammâniyya.

b. Les *turuq* héritières de Ahmad ibn Idrîs al-Fâsî

L'influence d'Ahmad ibn Idrîs (1760-1837), relayée par ses héritiers et disciples, a été considérable au Soudan : en effet, quatre *turuq* nouvelles, se réclamant de son enseignement, s'y sont développées dans le courant du XIX[e] siècle, sous l'occupation turco-égyptienne : la Idrîsiyya (ou Ahmadiyya) et la Rashîdiyya, deux branches implantées au Soudan de la *tarîqa* de Ahmad ibn Idrîs lui-même, la Majdhûbiyya d'al-Dâmir, reconstituée en *tarîqa* nouvelle après sa destruction en 1821 par les forces turco-égyptiennes, la Mîrghaniyya (ou Khatmiyya) fondée par un des principaux disciples de Ahmad ibn Idrîs, et la Ismâ'îliyya, branche de la Mîrghaniyya à l'origine, constituée en *tarîqa* indépendante en 1842.

Ces *turuq* ont été d'importance très inégale dès leur fondation, mais elles ont toutes reflété, à des degrés divers, les aspirations réformistes de Ahmad Ibn Idrîs. Né près de Fèz en 1760, celui-ci[44] avait été formé dans les sciences religieuses classiques avant d'être initié dans la Khadiriyya, une branche maghrébine de la Shâdhiliyya et l'une des *turuq* les plus activistes et puritaines d'Afrique du Nord[45], et dans la Nâsiriyya, confrérie du sud marocain à l'esprit missionnaire. Lorsque Ahmad ibn Idrîs quitta le Maroc et vint s'installer à la Mekke en 1799[46] pour y enseigner, il était déjà connu comme un réformiste et un ardent partisan de l'expansion missionnaire d'un Islam revivifié et unifié. À la Mekke, son enseignement — commencé probablement bien avant 1799 — acquit une grande réputation et rassembla autour de lui des étudiants de toutes les régions du monde musulman — ce qui lui valut l'hostilité des *'ulamâ'*, comme des *shuyûkh* de confréries de la Mekke. Il quitta alors la ville (1827) et voyagea avec ses disciples en 'Asîr et au Yemen, avant de s'installer à Sabya en 'Asîr, où il demeura, avec un groupe de ses fidèles disciples, jusqu'à sa mort en 1837.

L'influence du mouvement wahhabite sur les idées d'Ahmad ibn Idrîs a été très discutée. Quoi qu'il en soit, s'il adhéra au courant puritain qui fondait l'Islam exclusivement sur le Coran et la Sunna, il ne suivit pas le wahhabisme dans le rejet du soufisme. Au contraire, il voyait dans les *turuq* unifiées[47] un instrument pour la propagation et le développement de ses idées sur le renouveau de l'Islam; et il concevait ces *turuq* comme des organisations centralisées, activistes et missionnaires, véritables mouvements de masse fondés sur une large

MARDİN YEŞİLLENDİRİLİŞİ
SONRA ALAN DOKÜMAN

A. Popovic et G. Veinstein
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MASUL ... SONRA GELEN DÖKÜMAN

-Ahmed b. Idris
-Senusi, Muh b. Ali

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Knut S. Vikør, "The Shaykh as Mujtahid: A Sufi Conception of Ijtihad", s. 351-375.
11 EKIM 2006

ijtihād means primarily a rejection of *taqlīd*, of 'blind' acceptance of established opinion in law, while that of the *ṭarīqa Muḥammadīya* meant the *shaykh* taking his spiritual authority directly (or near-directly) from the Prophet himself, short-circuiting the lengthy lines of authority transmission in the *ṭarīqa silsilas*.[4] So are what they are arguing that they themselves, as lofty *shaykhs* with direct access to the Prophet, have the freedom and authority to give rules of law without recourse to 'external' or 'rationalist' means of evidence and argumentation? Or are there other means of explaining this coincidence of anti-authoritarianism in two fields of the religious sciences? To answer this, a look will be made of four central figures within this tradition and how they argue for *ijtihād*.

Ibn Idrīs and al-Sanūsī

Two of these were two Moroccans, teacher and student, who were so close that the student always claimed merely to be a transmitter of his teacher's teachings, but yet wrote with a different style and possibly different content. They are Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d. 1839)[5] and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (d. 1859),[6] two of the more influential figures of the nineteenth century, whose names often tend to appear when discussion is made of nineteenth-century reformist Islam. Their views on *ijtihād* have already been presented in greater detail before,[7] so here only the main gist of their arguments as a basis for comparison with two earlier teachers in what might be candidates for a 'Sufi tradition' for *ijtihād*.

Ibn Idrīs presented his ideas in a short work called *Risālat al-Radd ʿalā ahl al-raʾy biʾl-ṣawāb li-muwāfaqat al-sunna waʾl-kitāb*, probably edited after his death.[8] Its main argument is against *raʾy* in law, that is, using the personal opinion of a scholar instead of the Qurʾān and *Sunna*. This is idolatry, because it places the scholar in a position where only God

[4] Cf. e.g. Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar on the Desert Edge: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī and his Brotherhood*, London/Evanston 1995, 232-5 & *idem*, *Sources for Sanūsī Studies*, Bergen 1996, 80-1 & 227.

[5] On him, in particular R.S. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition*, London/Evanston 1990; also Yaḥyā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *Madrasat Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Maghribī wa-atharuhā fī ʾl-Sūdān*, Beirut 1993.

[6] See, in particular, Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar*, and studies quoted there.

[7] Vikør, "To follow a *madhhab* is *shirk*". For earlier contributions to this topic, see in particular Rudolph Peters, '*Idjtihād* and *taqlīd* in 18th and 19th century Islam', *Die Welt des Islams*, xx, 1980, 132-45.

[8] Text and translation of this work is published in Bernd Radtke, John O'Kane, Vikør and R.S. O'Fahey, *The Exoteric Aḥmad b. Idrīs: A Sufi's Critique of the Madhāhib and the Wahhābīs*, Leiden 2000, 47-130.

should be; giving a man an authority that should be vested directly in God's revelation. In this he refers to those who go beyond the word of God and try to make rules through individual opinion, *raʾy*, or through *qiyās*, in order to ban or make compulsory what God has been silent about.

All legal rules, *aḥkām*, must refer explicitly to citations from the Qurʾān or *ḥadīth*, not to wider generalizations that later scholars have made. This was also the view of the founders of the schools of law, the four *imāms*; every one of them said that 'if a statement of me is found to conflict with a verse of the Qurʾān or a *ḥadīth*, then leave what I have said and stick with the Qurʾān and *Sunna*'; that is, they rejected that later scholars should use *taqlīd* of their sayings.[9] Ibn Idrīs rejects *ḥadīth* criticism through the study of *isnāds*, a *ḥadīth* can only be rejected by *naskh*, when its text contradicts that of other *ḥadīth* or the Qurʾān.[10] This work can, he says, be done by anyone who has *taqwā*, that is God-fearing, because God teaches him what he needs to know.[11]

Al-Sanūsī wrote several longer works on the subject, at least one on the theory of the necessity for *ijtihād* and rejection of *taqlīd*, and several others where he related this to the field of law that was of greatest concern for him, the ritual of prayer. The most detailed is his *Īqāẓ al-wasnān fī ʾl-ʿamal biʾl-ḥadīth waʾl-Qurʾān*,[12] a treatise of some 150 pp., large parts of which are made up of quotes from scholars such as Ibn Taymīya, Ibn al-ʿArabī and other classical authors, Sufi and non-Sufi. This in clear contrast to Ibn Idrīs's work, but long passages of the *Īqāẓ* are identical or near-identical to those of the *Risālat al-Radd*, without this being acknowledged in either work.

The unschooled must follow the scholars, Sanūsī quotes Ibn Taymīya to say.[13] But the scholars are not infallible, and may through ignorance or misinterpretation of *ḥadīth* give erroneous answers. By uncritically accepting one and only one *imām's* view, he may block what correct *ḥadīth* the other *imāms* may have used, thus putting the authority of *imām* above that of the *Sunna*.[14] Sanūsī repeats, like all four authors here, the stories of the four *imāms* all demanding their followers to leave any statement they made

[9] Exoteric Aḥmad b. Idrīs, 106-8.

[10] *Ibid.*, 103-4.

[11] *Ibid.*, 98 & 104.

[12] Published in several editions, thus in al-Sanūsī, *al-Majmūʿa al-mukhtāra*, Beirut 1968, and edn. Cairo: Mṭ ḥijāzī 1938. Cf. Vikør, *Sufi and Scholar*, 221-3 & *Sources for Sanūsī Studies*, 57-66.

[13] Quoting his *Rafʿ al-malām min aʾimmat al-aʿlām*, in *Īqāẓ al-wasnān* (Cairo 1938 edn.), 9-22.

[14] *Īqāẓ al-wasnān*, 17.

SUFISM IN THE 18TH CENTURY: AN ATTEMPT AT A PROVISIONAL APPRAISAL*

BY

BERND RADTKE

Utrecht

It is not my intention in the present article to repeat what I have said elsewhere or to engage yet again in old polemics. Rather, I propose to take stock of the work on 18th-century Sufism which has appeared since the late 1980's or is about to be published in the near future. It will thus become clear what has been done to date in this area of study, and an indication will be given of what may be taken as firm knowledge beyond all polemic and controversy. At the same time, I will attempt to present a general sketch of the intellectual world of 18th-century mysticism, drawing exclusively on relevant primary sources of the period.

Since my efforts are of necessity based on a limited selection of sources, this undertaking might well appear overly bold. On the other hand, I hope in my general conclusions to exercise a degree of reserve appropriate to justify such an approach. Neither Ottoman sources nor the Persian or Indian Sufi literature of the period will be consulted. The authors I have chosen to focus on are a select group of representative figures of Sufism in the Arabic-speaking world. Moreover, it did not seem reasonable to confine my examination rigidly within the chronological boundaries of the 18th century. The intellectual roots of the Sufi personalities here dealt with are clearly traceable to the second half of the 17th century, and as spiritual leaders their influence extends well into the 19th century, in many respects up until the present day. We consider this period from the second half of the 17th to the middle of

* I would like to extend my warmest thanks to John O'Kane for having translated my German draft of this article into English. I should like also to thank Seán O'Fahey and his Sufi and other contacts in the Sudan for supplying much of the material used here.

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the 19th century to constitute a natural sub-unit of development within the greater long-term tradition of Sufism.

I

Our knowledge of Sufism in the 18th century has been set on a new footing thanks to Seán O'Fahey's monograph on Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1163-1253/1749-50-1837) and his school, which was published in 1990: *Enigmatic Saint. Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition*. A few personalities from this school and its offshoots had already been treated in smaller preliminary studies. For instance, Knut S. Vikør and O'Fahey had written on Ibn Idrīs' disciple Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī,[1] and Nicole Grandin had dealt with another of Aḥmad b. Idrīs' disciples, Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī.[2] In *Enigmatic Saint*, along with Aḥmad b. Idrīs' biography and the history of his family and his "order", O'Fahey presents a portrait of the latter's chief disciples Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanusi (1202-76/1787-1859),[3] Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī (1208-69/1793-1852)[4] and Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd (1228-91/1813-74).[5] O'Fahey's detailed bibliography[6] offers an overview of all the materials relevant to the founder and his school, that had been published up until that time.

One may view Vol. I of *Arabic Literature of Africa*, which appeared in 1994, as a continuation of the same efforts. Along with a revised bibliography on Aḥmad b. Idrīs,[7] this work contains a detailed, up-to-date bibliography on his disciples Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī,[8] Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī,[9] Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd,[10] and Muḥammad Majdhūb,[11] as well as on Mīrghanī's disciple Ismāʿīl al-Walī.[12]

The spiritual portrait of Aḥmad b. Idrīs sketched in *Enigmatic*

[1] *Teacher*; for the full titles consult the bibliography at the end of this article.
[2] *Lecture*.
[3] *Enigmatic* 130 ff.
[4] *Enigmatic* 142 ff.
[5] *Enigmatic* 154 ff.; ALA I, 153 ff.
[6] *Enigmatic* 210 ff.
[7] ALA I, 123 ff.
[8] ALA I, 166
[9] ALA I, 187 ff.
[10] ALA I, 153 ff.
[11] ALA I, 244 ff.
[12] ALA I, 228 ff.

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of Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak al-Lamaṭī (d. 1742), which to date has not been the object of an analytical examination. In my "Studies on the Sources of the *Ibrīz*",[11] as in the case of the *Rimāḥ* a list of direct sources is presented, whereas in "Der *Ibrīz* Lamaṭīs"[12] a description of the work's contents is given, as well as a discussion of its chief concepts. The introduction to the most recent edition of the *Ibrīz* is the subject of my "Zwischen Traditionalismus und Intellektualismus".[13] Here the history of the work's reception is also dealt with.

The polemic around the historical evaluation of more recent Sufism – it is sufficient merely to refer to the debated term Neo-Sufism – was initiated by O'Fahey in the foreword to his *Enigmatic Saint*.[14] The controversy was continued in parts of my "Between Projection and Suppression",[15] and then once again dealt with in all its aspects in "Neo-Sufism Reconsidered"[16] by O'Fahey and myself. The role of the Sufi preacher during the early nineteenth century in transmitting Islamic norms of behavior is examined by Albrecht Hofheinz in "Der Scheich im Über-Ich".[17] I have addressed the views of Reinhard Schulze in my "Erleuchtung und Aufklärung";[18] R. Peters had already done the same before me.[19] The position of the so-called Neo-Sufis *vis-à-vis ijtihād* is described in my "Ijtihād and Neo-Sufism".[20] On the basis of what contemporary Muslim critics themselves said against Sufis, I have attempted a more detailed characterization of the Sufi position in terms of the history of ideas in my "Kritik am Neo-Sufismus".[21]

II

Qāsim b. Salāh al-Dīn al-Khānī (1028-1109/1619-1697), the author of *al-Sayr wa l-sulūk*,[22] the first of the primary sources I wish to consider, belongs completely to the 17th century. His book was widely read and quoted from by succeeding generations, for exam-

[11] *Sources Ibrīz*.
[12] *Lamaṭī*.
[13] *Traditionalismus*.
[14] *Enigmatic* I. H.
[15] *Projection*.
[16] *Neo-Sufism*.
[17] *Gewissen*.
[18] *Erleuchtung*.
[19] *Quest*.
[20] *Ijtihad*.
[21] *Kritik*.
[22] *Sayr*; GAL, G II, 344; S II, 472.

ple by Aḥmad al-Dardīr,[53] Muḥammad al-Sanūsī and Muḥammad Majdhūb.[54] It describes the progressive stages of the mystic path,[55] following the framework of the seven forms of the soul.[56]

With ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh (d. 1132/1719) from Fez we enter the 18th century. His disciple Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak al-Lamaṭī recorded his life and collected together his sayings in a work entitled *al-Ibrīz min kalām sayyidī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*. This work is now available in a new two-volume edition published in Damascus.[57] The frequent quotations one finds from the *Ibrīz* in later authors, as well as the numerous editions the text has gone through up until today, attest to the great influence the book has exerted.[58]

Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (1099-1162/1688-1749), who belongs to the same generation as Dabbāgh, was active in the center of the Islamic world, i.e. in Syria and Egypt. He was a member of the Khalwatiyya and has left us a sizeable *oeuvre*[59] which for the most part still awaits scholarly investigation. GAL attributes 62 titles to his authorship, while Bakrī's son, Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn, states that his father wrote over 220 works.[60] Here I will only mention a single work of Bakrī's, the *Bulghat al-murīd wa-mushtahā muwaffaq al-saʿīd*.[61] This is a *shurūṭ*-handbook[62] composed in the form of an *urjūza*, on which Bakrī's son Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn has written a lengthy commentary entitled *al-Jawhar al-farīd fī ḥall Bulghat al-murīd*.[63] I will have occasion to quote from his commentary later in this article.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān (1130-1189/1718-1775),[64] Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī's disciple, though not as prolific an

[53] See here 333.
[54] Majdhub's *Risālat al-Sulūk* for the most part reproduces the text of Khānī. However, it does contain some important omissions and deviations from the original. In this connection see ALA I, 247, no. 4 and the detailed comparison of the two texts found in *Majdhūb*, Chpt. 6.
[55] Cf. also Trimingham, *Sufi Orders* 152 f.
[56] The seven forms or stages of the soul are *nafs ammāra*, *nafs lawwāma*, *nafs mulhama*, *nafs muṭmaʾinna*, *nafs rāḍiya*, *nafs mardiyya*, and *nafs kāmila*. This is the system adopted by the Khalwatiyya, as Khānī 180a explicitly notes (in this regard see here 348 f.). Was Khānī really a member of the Qādiriyya as Murādī maintains?
[57] The editor's introductions are discussed in *Traditionalismus*.
[58] On this point see also *Sources Rimāḥ* 85 f.
[59] GAL, G II, 349 f.; S II, 477; and see de Jong, *Bakrī*.
[60] *Jawhar* 6.
[61] GAL, G II, 349, no. 2.
[62] See *Two Sufi Treatises* 146 f.; and p. 342 f. of the present article.
[63] *Jawhar*.
[64] ALA I, 91-94.

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should have been noted as such. Others are anomalies like, for example, *min* in 'Mu 'izz al-Dawla Arslān Ṭikīn *min* Abū 'l-Faḍl al-'Abbās Mu'ayyad al-'Adl' which is translated without comment as if it were *bin*, though van Berchem and Wiet showed that *min* in such circumstances, as in later Mamlūk epigraphy, does not introduce a patronymic.

Passages from the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth* are not transcribed but, as, for example, on the Western tomb tower at Kharraqan (no. 65), are translated in full, without any indication of whether they really reproduce complete texts or, as is so frequent in Muslim epigraphy, truncate them to fit the space available. Some of her claims are unconvincing. It is not clear, for example, that the inclusion of the *isti'ādha* in the Khargird inscription of Niẓām al-Mulk (no. 57) bears out Herzfeld's claim that the foundation was a *madrasa*. The translations are often inaccurate. *Abū'l-Ma'ālī* (no. 65) is not 'father of eminences' but something like 'the doer of exalted deeds'; and *Dawāzdah Imām* (p. 3) is not 'the Twelfth Imam'. As for the use of full diacriticals, which Blair announces will be confined to the translations, to the geographical locations (where those are identifiable medieval sites) and to words italicized in the text, that would have been defensible, if irritating, had anything like consistency been observed. But even in the italicized texts their use is capricious in the extreme and there are some fearful monstrosities like *hādhā mā binā* (p. 4) or *mu' aẓim* (sic), p. 33, for *mu 'aẓẓam*. Much of this may be blamed on the copy-editing, but it also gives a clear impression of excessive haste.

As the concentration here on the historical background shows the traditional role of Islamic epigraphy has been to provide texts of inscriptions, which may then be quarried for the information they give on prosopography, architectural patronage, the political, social and religious background and the monuments themselves. That is, they have been seen as historical documents, not written words. Where the inscription is positioned, how it is laid out and how its lettering is adapted to the space available, has generally been ignored. Generalization on the basis of such scattered and disparate material is of course extremely difficult. And the considerable differences in contemporary scripts and lettering in different media (cf. Pīr-i 'Alamdār at Damghau (no. 34) with inscriptions in cut brick, stucco and paint) virtually rule out even a provisional chronology on palaeographic grounds.

Drawn-out alphabets (e.g. fig. 132) may help in the reading of damaged inscriptions, but they may be seriously misleading if they give the impression of being an available bank of letters. The relevance of the well-known studies of the inscription-wares of Nishapur and Afrasiyab by Lisa Volov-Golombek and V. A. Krachkovskaya is also difficult to assess because, unlike the majority of early architectural inscriptions, both in execution and in letter forms they are closely related to manuscript hands. Blair's claim that the lead plaque from Old Urgench dated 401/1010–11 (no. 28), for example, betrays the hand of a Chancery scribe thus begs the question of who actually wrote it. These hands, moreover, remained popular as display scripts, for headings, etc., long after forms of *naskhī* had displaced them in the body of the text, and we cannot eliminate the possibility that inscription wares with forms of almost archaic Kufic were still being made when the terra cotta inscription in bold rounded script from Nishapur from the reign of Malikshāh (no. 64) was erected.

There are, unfortunately, no studies of Islamic inscriptions to compare with analyses of lettering and lay-out like Stanley Morison's *Politics and script* (ed. Nicholas Barker, Oxford, 1972) or Nicolète Gray's *Lettering as drawing* (London, 1971), for they would have much to teach the Islamic epigrapher. As the former has demonstrated, Chanceries have played an essential role in the diffusion of epigraphic styles, though in Islam, for want of surviving material, this is frequently an imponderable. The decidedly heterogeneous inscriptions discussed here can scarcely all show the style of the 'Abbāsids' court at Baghdad, or that of their masters at Buwayhids at Shiraz. Practice at different times and in different parts of the Caliphate very probably varied. But, in general, central edicts must principally have governed Royal titulature which, for example, on a change of reign might need to be rapidly amended: the craftsmen would then have been issued with the required texts which they drew themselves to the required format and dimensions, or else employed a local scribe to do the lay-out. Sometimes, indeed, editing might be necessary (a well-known case is the foundation inscription of Süleymaniye in Istanbul, which was forty words too long for the space available): cuts presumably would not have been left to the craftsman or the draughtsman but would have had to be approved by the local *qāḍī*.

Against this preponderance of local epigraphic fashion one may cite striking similarities between scripts widely separated by distance, as with Ribāṭ-i Māhī and the more or less contemporary mosque of Manūchihr at Ani. These cases were probably exceptional, for the acceptance of a centrally determined vocabulary in no way entailed centrally determined lay-out or scripts. Blair suggests that in such cases they could have copied *ṭirāz* inscriptions from the central manufacturies; but where comparison is possible the parallels are not very convincing, and a more probable source of diffusion, which she only intermittently considers, would have been the coinage. There is the obvious problem that most coins are far too small for a long or elaborate inscription, and sheer lack of space must often have kept ornament down. But the *sikka* was the ruler's absolute prerogative and nothing else in the way of official scripts can ever have circulated so widely.

The principal utility of Dr. Blair's compilation is that it collects together secondary material which is scattered and difficult to locate. It is regrettable that it was necessary to incorporate so many defective texts and that so few of the feasible improvements to them were attempted. But doubtless the opening up of Central Asia and renewed access to Iran will stimulate her and a new generation of scholars to record inscriptions in the field.

J. M. ROGERS

BASIM TATMİNLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DÖKÜMAN

SAYID GHULAM MUSTAFA SHAH and ASKO PARPOLA: *Corpus of Indus seals and inscriptions. 2: Collections in Pakistan.* (Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae, Ser. B, Tom. 240 = Memoirs of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, Vol. 5.) xxxii, 448 pp. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1991. $250.

The appearance of this second volume of the *Corpus of Indus seals and inscriptions*, following soon after the first in 1987 (reviewed in *BSOAS*, LII, 3, 1989, 567–8), represents a considerable triumph at once of technological effort and of scientific diplomacy and organization. As in the case of the previous volume, the substance of the work resides in the 432 numbered pages of photographic illustrations, including 36 in colour. The aim has been once more to provide within a single series new and excellent photographs of all the traceable evidence for Indus writing and iconography, and this is to an impressive extent achieved. The brief introduction covers, *mutatis mutandis*, similar ground to that of the preceding volume. On pp. xiv-xix there is extensive and up-to-date documentation of relevant find-sites in Pakistan, and indeed, some in India. (Noteworthy is R. S. Bisht, 'Dholavira: new horizons in Indus civilization', *Puratattva*, 20, 1990, 71–82 'including a unique (Indus) inscription in monumental size, with signs inlaid with crystalline rock'.)

Subsequent sections contain text largely identical with that of Vol. 1, with updated and extended footnotes. (The two volumes will not, of course, necessarily go to the same readership). Attention, however, will focus on the plates, which, together with Vol. 1, for the first time, besides their iconographic interest, place serious evidence for the decipherment of Indus script on a single table. A reviewer scanning such treasures is drawn to search for some detail promising entry to a decipherment. Here inscriptions *on the back* of the stone (cf. Vol. 1, H-102 and M-318; *BSOAS*, LII, 3, 1989, 568), do not catch the eye, apart from the single sign of M-1203. In this case, the character on the reverse is the second, not the first of the obverse inscription. However, the intriguing 'trident' character  , typically terminating 'numeral' groupings is often attested (M-712, M-822, M-872, M-909, M-984, M-987, M-1098, M-1200, H-407, H-585, NS-7—a seal almost identical to Vol. 1, M-177). Elsewhere (M-710, M-1224), again with numerals, the 'trident' occupies the *penultimate* place, succeeded by the upright 'comb'  —a 'post-terminal' character, seemingly a suffix or postposition. The 'trident' also comes terminally after 'verbal' groups (M-662, M-724); and even medially in such groupings (M-734, M-735, M-813, M-878, M-882, M-933, M-965, M-998, M-1017, M-1058, M-1089, H-449, H-454, H-466, H-510, H-597) where it may indicate a word-end. Granted the script is syllabic, and the 'numerals' rightly interpreted, one inference could be that the 'trident' represents *inter alia* the termination of the ordinal number. Such hints will need to be tested.

Another interesting lead might be suggested (cf. A. Parpola, *JRAS*, 1975, 183) by cases where an inscription consists only for a single character. For example an 'enclosed fish'  occurs alone on M-1084 and M-1110, suggesting the two had a similar function. So brief a text, if not a genuine monosyllable, could be an abbreviation. Two-sign and three-sign groups also merit examination. The interpretation of inscriptions in unidentified language, and in wholly unknown script, remains a formidable enigma. Yet with the appearance of these two, and the third volume keenly awaited, it is now at least one becoming accessible for study.

At the same time, preoccupation with decipherment should not override attention to the iconography of the plates. This forms the (prominent) seventh criterion of classification. Various bovines, rhino and elephant are conspicuous, but once more the 'anthropomorphs' represent the most interesting category. The 'buffalo-horned deity' ('Siva'), M-1181, and the 'lion-strangler' (Gilgamesh ?) M-1182-3, re-appear. Yet without doubt the most remarkable composition is the ritual scene (M-1186) where a worshipper brings a 'human-faced markhor' before a lunar (?) deity, and in the lower register process seven attendants with ibex-horn headgear.

The eminent sponsors of this project, UNESCO, the CIPSH, the Government of Pakistan (Directorate of Archaeology and Museums), the Finnish Academy of Sciences and Letters, and the University of Helsinki, can be well content with the outcome of their endeavours.

A. D. H. BIVAR

R. S. O'FAHEY: *Enigmatic saint: Aḥmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi tradition.* xviii, 261 pp. London: Hurst & Co., 1990. £25.

This original, lucid and fact-filled book on the life, times, teaching, thought and influence of that widely-respected 'saint' (O'Fahey fights shy of describing him narrowly as a 'Ṣūfī'), Aḥmad b. Idrīs, is a pioneer work for several reasons.

First, there is the man himself. Moroccan-born, he well illustrates the fact that the two wings of the Arab world are joined as one, by the fraternity of saints and of Ṣūfīs in particular. There is no such study in any other language. The sources that tell of him are scattered and often inaccessible (illustrated here by the ample bibliography, as well as the list of primary and secondary sources). This book could well serve as a model for the study of other key figures in neo-Ṣūfism, and in other regions, and one thinks of several of those who were highlighted in B. G. Martin's *Muslim brotherhoods in 19th-century Africa*

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MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

THE LETTERS OF AHMAD IBN IDRIS. (Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs.) Edited, translated and annotated by Albrecht Hofheinz, Ali Salih Karrar, R.S. O'Fahey, Bernd Radtke and Einar Thomassen. General Editors: Einar Thomassen and Bernd Radtke. C. Hurst & Company: 38 King Street, London, WC2E 8JT, UK, 1993. Pp.184. £35.00 (HB). ISBN 1 85065 158 2.

A great many studies about Sufism have been carried out in the West. Most of these focus on the Eastern regions of the Muslim world, to the extent that very few examine African *taṣawwuf*, in general, and North African *taṣawwuf* in particular. In fact, until very recently, Western readers knew very little about North African and African Sufism, especially as represented by less well known and smaller orders. Consequently, the efforts of the likes of R.S. O'Fahey, Ali Salih Karrar, Bernd Radtke and Albrecht Hofheinz fill a long-felt need in this respect. The most important of these recent works are O'Fahey's *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition*, and Karrar's *The Sufi Brotherhoods in the Sudan*. Thanks to O'Fahey, we can now read a detailed study about one of the most interesting and important nineteenth-century Sufi Shaikh's whose importance and impact remained, until recently, almost unnoticed.

Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad was born in Morocco around 1749–50, a descendant of Imām Idrīs Ibn 'Abd Allāh of the famous Idrīsī family. Following the custom of the time, Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs memorized the Qur'ān and studied under many Shaikhs before moving to the city of Fez where he received his advanced studies. By the time he left Fez when he was 36–37 years old, he was a well recognized Sufi and scholar who tried both to restore Islam's initial purity and to combat the bad innovations of his time. In Makka, where he stayed for 14 years, he founded his own *ṭarīqa* called al-Muḥammadiyya al-Aḥmadiyya. His was a sober *ṭarīqa* which admonished strict adherence to the *sharī'a* and which called for direct involvement in reversing the decay that badly affected Muslim society. After moving to Yemen and Egypt where he had many followers, and a life-time striving for knowledge, Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs died in a small village near 'Asir in about 1837.

As Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs did not nominate a successor, his senior deputies and close *murids* on the one hand, and his sons on the other, were unable to agree about who should succeed him. This disagreement was behind the formation of five orders: al-Sanūsiyya founded by al-Sanūsī, al-Khatmiyya founded by al-Mirghanī, al-Madaniyya founded by al-Madanī, al-Rashīdiyya founded by Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd, and al-Idrīsiyya founded by Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs' sons. If we consider the importance of just some of these *ṭarīqas* and the role they have played in the contemporary history of many African countries, then the importance of Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs becomes self-evident.

The book under review is a compilation of letters which Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs wrote to some of his *murīds* and to other people. The letters deal with different subjects ranging from simple *fiqh* issues to the most subtle of spiritual states. In this context, these letters constitute a document which will further our knowledge of the man, and also give us a glimpse of the political, social, legal and spiritual conditions prevailing at that time.

The book is divided into eight chapters of unequal length. Each chapter is

accompanied by a brief introduction which provides information about the letters' contents and their recipients. There is also a small bibliography, an index of proper names and another of Arabic terms.

As we are told in the preface, the editing of the original Arabic text, and the translation and editing of the book have been a collective effort. However, what was, *a priori*, intended as the strongest feature of this endeavour has, nevertheless, resulted in its main weakness. Perhaps the blame for this lies with the general co-editors whose task it was to check the work, compare the different translations and add a cohesive touch, to produce a coordinated and well-balanced work. For while some of the translations are excellent (Chapter III, for example), some are good (for example, letters X, XI, XII in Chapter II), others are, regrettably, poor. So much so that sometimes the original texts are completely distorted and sometimes quite different.

The following are just a few examples:

Page 16, line 15, *'wa qaṭ'uhā mutayassir bilā ta'ab'*, which means: [knowing] that cutting it off is feasible and [done] without hardship, is translated as 'if cutting it off is easy'; line 17, *'Ahlika'* which means your family or relations, is translated as 'your people', whereas on page 24, line 2, *'Ahlihī'* is rendered as 'his house'.

Page 18, line 6, *'wa sa'alta ayyuha'l-akh 'an al-Ashyā' allatī sa'alta'* is borrowed from the Qur'ān (*al-Shu'arā'* 26: 19). It means, you have asked, O brother!, about the things (matters) of yours. This is translated as 'you asked, O brother, about certain matters about which you asked (*sic*)'; line 15, *'falā ihāna fī dhālika'*, meaning, then, there is no offence in [doing] that, is translated as 'there is no unworthiness in that'.

Page 20, line 3, *'faqad kafara jihāran'*, which means . . . has declared openly his disbelief, is translated as '. . . is an unbeliever in public'; line 5, *'falā yajūzu al-ṣalātu 'alayhi'*, which means, then, prayer is not allowed on him, is translated as 'then no prayer is permitted'; line 12, *'lā yadrī bi ayyi shay'in yakhtimu Allāhu lahū'*, means, does not know in what state Allah will end his life (i.e., whether one dies while Allah is pleased with him or not), is translated as, 'one does not know how God will deal with him'.

Page 22, line 2, *'Janāza'* should be read as *'janāba'*. In *fiqh*, it is said *ghasl al-mayyit* not *ghasl al-janāza*.

Page 26, line 15, *'ma'īyya'*, which could be rendered as 'with-ness' or closeness or nearness is translated as 'companionship'.

Page 30, line 1, *'faṣārū idhā qāmū li-amr qāmū fīhi billāhi lillāh: wa idhā qa'adū 'an amrin qa'adū 'anhu billāhi Lillāhi'* means: they became such that if they do something, they do it with the help of Allah and for His sake, and when they abstain from doing something, they do so with the help of Allah and for His sake. Instead, it has been translated as 'their state has become such that when they stand, they stand because of God and for God; they do nothing, except they do so because of God and for God'; line 8, *'wa an yarzuqanā al-shawq ilā liqā'ihī'* which means: He may grant us the longing (strong desire) to meet Him, is translated as 'and that He may grant us the desire to be united with Him'.

Page 84, line 9, *'li ajl talqīṭ mā baqiya lakum min al-rizq hunā'* means: in order to collect what remains of the goods that you [still] have here, is translated as 'because you still had to collect all that you need for the journey'.

should have been noted as such. Others are anomalies like, for example, *min* in 'Mu 'izz al-Dawla Arslān Tikīn *min* Abū 'l-Fadl al-'Abbās Mu'ayyad al-'Adl' which is translated without comment as if it were *bin*, though van Berchem and Wiet showed that *min* in such circumstances, as in later Mamlūk epigraphy, does not introduce a patronymic.

Passages from the Qur'ān and *Hadīth* are not transcribed but, as, for example, on the Western tomb tower at Kharraqan (no. 65), are translated in full, without any indication of whether they really reproduce complete texts or, as is so frequent in Muslim epigraphy, truncate them to fit the space available. Some of her claims are unconvincing. It is not clear, for example, that the inclusion of the *isti'ādha* in the Khargird inscription of Nizām al-Mulk (no. 57) bears out Herzfeld's claim that the foundation was a *madrasa*. The translations are often inaccurate. *Abū'l-Ma'ālī* (no. 65) is not 'father of eminences' but something like 'the doer of exalted deeds'; and *Dawāzdah Imām* (p. 3) is not 'the Twelfth Imam'. As for the use of full diacriticals, which Blair announces will be confined to the translations, to the geographical locations (where those are identifiable medieval sites) and to words italicized in the text, that would have been defensible, if irritating, had anything like consistency been observed. But even in the italicized texts their use is capricious in the extreme and there are some fearful monstrosities like *hādhā mā hinā* (p. 4) or *mu' azim* (sic), p. 33, for *mu 'azzam*. Much of this may be blamed on the copy-editing, but it also gives a clear impression of excessive haste.

As the concentration here on the historical background shows the traditional role of Islamic epigraphy has been to provide texts of inscriptions, which may then be quarried for the information they give on prosopography, architectural patronage, the political, social and religious background and the monuments themselves. That is, they have been seen as historical documents, not written words. Where the inscription is positioned, how it is laid out and how its lettering is adapted to the space available, has generally been ignored. Generalization on the basis of such scattered and disparate material is of course extremely difficult. And the considerable differences in contemporary scripts and lettering in different media (cf. Pīr-i 'Alamdār at Damghau (no. 34) with inscriptions in cut brick, stucco and paint) virtually rule out even a provisional chronology on palaeographic grounds.

Drawn-out alphabets (e.g. fig. 132) may help in the reading of damaged inscriptions, but they may be seriously misleading if they give the impression of being an available bank of letters. The relevance of the well-known studies of the inscription-wares of Nishapur and Afrasiyab by Lisa Volov-Golombek and V. A. Krachkovskaya is also difficult to assess because, unlike the majority of early architectural inscriptions, both in execution and in letter forms they are closely related to manuscript hands. Blair's claim that the lead plaque from Old Urgench dated 401/1010–11 (no. 28), for example, betrays the hand of a Chancery scribe thus begs the question of who actually wrote it. These hands, moreover, remained popular as display scripts, for headings, etc., long after forms of *naskhī* had displaced them in the body of the text, and we cannot eliminate the possibility that inscription wares with forms of almost archaic Kufic were still being made when the terra cotta inscription in bold rounded script from Nishapur from the reign of Malikshāh (no. 64) was erected.

There are, unfortunately, no studies of Islamic inscriptions to compare with analyses of lettering and lay-out like Stanley Morison's *Politics and script* (ed. Nicholas Barker, Oxford, 1972) or Nicolète Gray's *Lettering as drawing* (London, 1971), for they would have much to teach the Islamic epigrapher. As the former has demonstrated, Chanceries have played an essential role in the diffusion of epigraphic styles, though in Islam, for want of surviving material, this is frequently an imponderable. The decidedly heterogeneous inscriptions discussed here can scarcely all show the style of the 'Abbāsids' court at Baghdad, or that of their masters at Buwayhids at Shiraz. Practice at different times and in different parts of the Caliphate very probably varied. But, in general, central edicts must principally have governed Royal titulature which, for example, on a change of reign might need to be rapidly amended: the craftsmen would then have been issued with the required texts which they drew themselves to the required format and dimensions, or else employed a local scribe to do the lay-out. Sometimes, indeed, editing might be necessary (a well-known case is the foundation inscription of Süleymaniye in Istanbul, which was forty words too long for the space available): cuts presumably would not have been left to the craftsman or the draughtsman but would have had to be approved by the local *qādī*.

Against this preponderance of local epigraphic fashion one may cite striking similarities between scripts widely separated by distance, as with Ribāt-i Māhī and the more or less contemporary mosque of Manūchihr at Ani. These cases were probably exceptional, for the acceptance of a centrally determined vocabulary in no way entailed centrally determined lay-out or scripts. Blair suggests that in such cases they could have copied *tirāz* inscriptions from the central manufactories; but where comparison is possible the parallels are not very convincing, and a more probable source of diffusion, which she only intermittently considers, would have been the coinage. There is the obvious problem that most coins are far too small for a long or elaborate inscription, and sheer lack of space must often have kept ornament down. But the *sikka* was the ruler's absolute prerogative and nothing else in the way of official scripts can ever have circulated so widely.

The principal utility of Dr. Blair's compilation is that it collects together secondary material which is scattered and difficult to locate. It is regrettable that it was necessary to incorporate so many defective texts and that so few of the feasible improvements to them were attempted. But doubtless the opening up of Central Asia and renewed access to Iran will stimulate her and a new generation of scholars to record inscriptions in the field.

J. M. ROGERS

BSOAS, LVI/1 (1993) London)

SAYID GHULAM MUSTAFA SHAH and ASKO PARPOLA: *Corpus of Indus seals and inscriptions. 2: Collections in Pakistan.* (Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae, Ser. B, Tom. 240 = Memoirs of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, Vol. 5.) xxxii, 448 pp. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1991. $250.

The appearance of this second volume of the *Corpus of Indus seals and inscriptions*, following soon after the first in 1987 (reviewed in *BSOAS*, LII, 3, 1989, 567–8), represents a considerable triumph at once of technological effort and of scientific diplomacy and organization. As in the case of the previous volume, the substance of the work resides in the 432 numbered pages of photographic illustrations, including 36 in colour. The aim has been once more to provide within a single series new and excellent photographs of all the traceable evidence for Indus writing and iconography, and this is to an impressive extent achieved. The brief introduction covers, *mutatis mutandis*, similar ground to that of the preceding volume. On pp. xiv–xix there is extensive and up-to-date documentation of relevant find-sites in Pakistan, and indeed, some in India. (Noteworthy is R. S. Bisht, 'Dholavira: new horizons in Indus civilization', *Puratattva*, 20, 1990, 71–82 'including a unique (Indus) inscription in monumental size, with signs inlaid with crystalline rock'.)

Subsequent sections contain text largely identical with that of Vol. I, with updated and extended footnotes. (The two volumes will not, of course, necessarily go to the same readership). Attention, however, will focus on the plates, which, together with Vol. I, for the first time, besides their iconographic interest, place serious evidence for the decipherment of Indus script on a single table. A reviewer scanning such treasures is drawn to search for some detail promising entry to a decipherment. Here inscriptions *on the back* of the stone (cf. Vol. I, H-102 and M-318; *BSOAS*, LII, 3, 1989, 568), do not catch the eye, apart from the single sign of M-1203. In this case, the character on the reverse is the second, not the first of the obverse inscription. However, the intriguing 'trident' character  , typically terminating 'numeral' groupings is often attested (M-712, M-822, M-872, M-909, M-984, M-987, M-1098, M-1200, H-407, H-585, NS-7—a seal almost identical to Vol. I, M-177). Elsewhere (M-710, M-1224), again with numerals, the 'trident' occupies the *penultimate* place, succeeded by the upright 'comb'  —a 'post-terminal' character, seemingly a suffix or postposition. The 'trident' also comes terminally after 'verbal' groups (M-662, M-724); and even medially in such groupings (M-734, M-735, M-813, M-878, M-882, M-933, M-965, M-998, M-1017, M-1058, M-1089, H-449, H-454, H-466, H-510, H-597) where it may indicate a word-end. Granted the script is syllabic, and the 'numerals' rightly interpreted, one inference could be that the 'trident' represents *inter alia* the termination of the ordinal number. Such hints will need to be tested.

Another interesting lead might be suggested (cf. A. Parpola, *JRAS*, 1975, 183) by cases where an inscription consists only for a single character. For example an 'enclosed fish'  occurs alone on M-1084 and M-1110,  , suggesting the two had a similar function. So brief a text, if not a genuine monosyllable, could be an abbreviation. Two-sign and three-sign groups also merit examination. The interpretation of inscriptions in unidentified language, and in wholly unknown script, remains a formidable enigma. Yet with the appearance of these two, and the third volume keenly awaited, it is now at least one becoming accessible for study.

At the same time, preoccupation with decipherment should not override attention to the iconography of the plates. This forms the (prominent) seventh criterion of classification. Various bovines, rhino and elephant are conspicuous, but once more the 'anthropomorphs' represent the most interesting category. The 'buffalo-horned deity' ('Śiva'), M-1181, and the 'lion-strangler' (Gilgamesh ?) M-1182-3, re-appear. Yet without doubt the most remarkable composition is the ritual scene (M-1186) where a worshipper brings a 'human-faced markhor' before a lunar (?) deity, and in the lower register process seven attendants with ibex-horn headgear.

The eminent sponsors of this project, UNESCO, the CIPSH, the Government of Pakistan (Directorate of Archaeology and Museums), the Finnish Academy of Sciences and Letters, and the University of Helsinki, can be well content with the outcome of their endeavours.

A. D. H. BIVAR

R. S. O'FAHEY: *Enigmatic saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi tradition.* xviii, 261 pp. London: Hurst & Co., 1990. £25.

This original, lucid and fact-filled book on the life, times, teaching, thought and influence of that widely-respected 'saint' (O'Fahey fights shy of describing him narrowly as a 'Ṣūfī'), Aḥmad b. Idrīs, is a pioneer work for several reasons.

First, there is the man himself. Moroccan-born, he well illustrates the fact that the two wings of the Arab world are joined as one, by the fraternity of saints and of Ṣūfīs in particular. There is no such study in any other language. The sources that tell of him are scattered and often inaccessible (illustrated here by the ample bibliography, as well as the list of primary and secondary sources). This book could well serve as a model for the study of other key figures in neo-Ṣūfism, and in other regions, and one thinks of several of those who were highlighted in B. G. Martin's *Muslim brotherhoods in 19th-century Africa*

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he should reply to the French advances. Whatever the validity of this information describing French desires — it clearly was not the policy of the French government — the suspicious Hamerton was troubled. "I see plainly," he said, that "the French are seeking a cause of quarrel with the Imam [Said bin Sultan]"; he continued, "I . . . assure your Lordship that something of this kind is most positively in contemplation by the French and expected by the Imam." The sultan, who was planning another visit to Muscat, capped Hamerton's fears by requesting that the British official remain in Zanzibar during his absence to "advise and assist" his son Khalid. In a private discussion, the Arab ruler openly stated that this request was due to his fears of the French.[75] Hamerton agreed to remain; doubtless both the sultan and the consul remembered the previous quarrel between Khalid and Belligny when they were away from Zanzibar.

Although the next year passed without major incident in Zanzibar, the fears about the conduct of the French remained when Belligny left for a new assignment in March 1855.[76] During his years in Zanzibar, this active French consul had generally been successful in upholding the interests of France. On the political front, Belligny had maintained his country's position as a concerned but not actively involved nation; in commercial matters he had presided over an increase in French trade. And despite the frequent friction with Hamerton, Belligny had followed his instructions to avoid the occurrence of any major crises between Britain and France.

The second part of this article will appear in volume VII, number 1 (1974) of the International Journal of African Historical Studies.

[75] Hamerton to Aberdeen, 15 April 1854, in Hamerton to Malet, 18 April 1854, E.S.L.R.B., 119.

[76] Belligny to M.A.E., 1 March 1855, Kuhlmann to M.A.E., 10 March 1855, C.C.Z., 2.

The International Journal of African Historical Studies c.6 (s.4), s. 633-645, 1973 (NEW YORK)

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

TWO BIOGRAPHIES OF AHMAD IBN IDRIS AL-FASI (1760-1837)

Translated and edited by John Voll

Ahmad ibn Idris has recently been described as one of the major inspirers of the spread of Islamic brotherhoods in Africa.[1] As a prominent teacher in Mecca early in the nineteenth century, he is credited with inspiring a number of men who subsequently established orders of importance to the modern history of African Islam. The best known of these is the Sanusi order. Western scholars writing in the late nineteenth century placed great emphasis on his role in arousing an activist spirit in Islam. Le Chatelier, for example, called the group of orders resulting from Ahmad's teachings the most powerful school of modern Islam.[2] However, scholars in the twentieth century tended to shift their attention to other groups and teachers. The dramatic revival of the Wahhabi movement in this century captured scholarly imagination, and much of the early modern Islamic activism came to be interpreted in terms of the Wahhabis and their impact. Recent scholarship, however, has begun to view Islamic revivalism in more comprehensive terms. Of particular importance to the study of African Islam has been a renewal of interest in Ahmad ibn Idris, as exemplified in the works of J. Spencer Trimingham.[3]

[1] J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Influence of Islam upon Africa* (New York, 1968), 76.

[2] A. Le Chatelier, *Les Confreries Musulmanes du Hedjaz* (Paris, 1887), 97. Similar evaluations can be found in O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les Confreries Religieuses Musulmanes* (Alger, 1897), 176-177, and L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan* (Alger, 1884), 403-407.

[3] See, for example, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (London, 1971), 114-121; *Islam in the Sudan* (London, 1965), 228-235; *A History of Islam in West Africa* (London, 1962), 159.

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SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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حلية البشر

في

تاريخ القرن الثالث عشر

تأليف
الشيخ عبد الرزاق البيطار
١٢٥٣ - ١٣٣٥ هـ

الجزء الأول

حققه ونسقه وعلق عليه حفيده
محمد بهجة البيطار
من أعضاء مجمع اللغة العربية

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
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الشيخ احمد بن بكري البغال الشافعي الدمشقي

العالم الصالح ، والعامل الناجح ، والورع الزاهد ، والناسك العابد ، ولد بدمشق سنة الف ومائتين وتسعين ونشأ بها وأخذ عن علمائها منهم المحدث الكبير الشيخ عبدالرحمن الكزبري ومنهم الشيخ صالح الفلاني والشيخ عبدالله الكردي وعن كثير من السادات الكرام والاكابر العظام ، وقد اذن له شيخه الشيخ عبد الرحمن المذكور بالتدريس في جامع سنان باشا واخذ فيه يفيد الخواص والعوام ، الى ان شرب كاس الحمام ، في شهر ربيع الاول سنة سبعين ومائتين وألف ودفن في مقبرة باب الصغير قرب مقام الصحابي الجليل سيدنا بلال الحبشي رضي الله تعالى عنه .

السيد الشيخ الامام احمد بن ادريس المغربي الحسني نسباً الادريسي

من ذرية الإمام ادريس بن عبد الله ، قال العلامة السيد حسن بن احمد البهكلي في الديباج الخسرواني : هو شيخنا امام المفسرين ، ومقدام المحدثين ، جعل الكتاب والسنة امامه ، وجعلها الدليل الذي لا يعتمد في عبادته الا عليه ، فليس له مذهب يقلده ، أو منهج يقويه ويشيده ، سوى السنة والكتاب ، فيعمل بهما بلا شك ولا ارتياب ، وكان يكافح أهل التقليد ، بالملام والانكار الشديد ، ويعلن لهم بان قصر الحق على هذه المذاهب المعروفة من البدع ، وان الجزم بتعذر الحكم من دليله لا مستند له ، وانه من باب تضييق الواسع لأن فضل الله غير مقصور على شخص دون شخص ، والفهم الذي هو شرط التكليف قد منحه الله تعالى كل احد ولو كان مختصا به احد دون أحد أو زمان دون زمان ، لما قامت الحجة على العباد بكتاب الله العزيز والسنة البيضاء ، وهذا لا يرتضيه احد ، وهذا الصنيع من كفران النعمة ، وقد تكلم في هذه المسألة جماعة من أهل العلم وافردها الشيخ صالح الفلاني بمؤلف ، وأجاد في الكلام على هذه المسألة الامام الحافظ

محمد بن ابراهيم الوزير في عواصمه ، نعم انحرف عنه علماء مكة لهذا السبب ولله در القائل :

الا قل لمن بات لي حاسدا اتدري على من اسأت الأدب
اسأت على الله في فعله لأنك لم ترض لي ما وهب

ومع هذا فهم اذا اشكلت عليهم مسألة دسوا اليه من يسأله فيجليها لهم ؛ وقد نشر الله تعالى له من الصيت وحسن الذكر ما ملأ الآفاق ، وما ضره حسدهم ولا تمالؤهم على غمط فضائله والاتفاق ، على انه طاهر السريرة صافي القلب من داء الحسد ، والحقد وكان عند ملوك مكة هو العين الناظرة ، منزولا عندهم في ارفع المنازل ، ملحوظا بعين الاجلال في جميع المحافل ، وفي آخر مدته خرج من مكة الى اليمن وكان وصوله الى زبيد سنة الف ومائتين وثلاث واربعين ، وتلقاه شيخنا الحافظ السيد عبد الرحمن بن سليمان الأهدل وجعل نفسه له مقام التلميذ واجله غاية الإجلال ، ثم ترجح له المسير نحو الشام وأنشد لسان حالهم قول بعض الأنام :

ايها السائر عنا عجلا انما سرت فما عنك خلف
انما انت سحاب هاطل حيثما صرفه الله انصرف
ليت شعري أي قوم اجدبوا فأغيثوا بك من بعد التلف

وكانت ولادة المترجم سنة عشر ومائتين وألف .

وقد ذكر صاحب النفس اليماني لصاحب الترجمة ، ترجمة حافلة قد ذكرت حاصلها وهو : شيخنا السيد العلامة الامام ذو المعارف الربانية ، والمواهب الرحمانية ، صفي الإسلام احمد المغربي الحسيني ، وفد الى مدينة زبيد سنة الف ومائتين واربع واربعين فاشرا فيها ما منحه الله من علوم أسرار الكتاب والسنة ، وكاشفا عن اشارتها الباهرة ، ولطائفها الزاهرة ، بعبارته الجلية المشرق عليها نور الاذن الرباني ، واللائح عليها أثر القبول الرحماني ، كما قال ابن عطا : من اذن له في التعبير ، فهمت في مسامع الخلق عبارته ،

İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi
MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

The Sufi Brotherhoods in the Sudan

ALI SALIH KARRAR

Ahmed b. İdris 5,49-55

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الطُّرُقُ الصُّوفِيَّة فِي السُّودَان

علي صالح كرار

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founded by Aḥmad al-Baṣīr (d. 1830). Finally, a third emerged under Muḥammad Sharīf Nūr al-Dā'im (d. 1327/1908-9), a grandson of Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib.[24] This branch, which was known as the Ṭayyibiyya Sammāniyya Bakriyya, gained a considerable number of followers not only in the Sudan but also in Egypt.[25]

The Sammāniyya came to the Sudan as a "reformist" *ṭarīqa* but was soon assimilated into the local social order. Like the ancient orders, it split up into a number of autonomous branches, characterized by personal disputes between their heads. The Sammāniyya broke up because of clashes of personality, and ethnic and regional loyalties. Thus during the disputes over the succession, Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī was supported by the Surōrāb and ᶜAwaḍāb clans of the Jummūᶜiyya sub-section of the Jaᶜaliyyūn, whereas his brother Nūr al-Dā'im was backed by the Jimiᶜāb, another sub-section of the Jaᶜaliyyūn who live north of Omdurman and Khartoum North. A further example of ethnic and regional division is the case of al-Qurashī and Aḥmad al-Baṣīr, who won the support of the Ḥalawiyyīn of the Gezira.[26]

In conclusion, it was because of these rivalries and lack of central leadership that the Sammāniyya failed to become a geographically widespread *ṭarīqa* as the Khatmiyya later became. The Sammāniyya may be considered a "halfway house" between the older orders and the new centralized ones.

married a daughter of al-Qurashī by whom he had ᶜAlī al-Mahdī (1881-1944); see Hill (1967), 49, and Holt (1970), 45 and 104.

24 Muḥammad Sharīf was the Mahdi's first Sufi teacher, before the former expelled him from the *ṭarīqa*; see Hill (1967), 247; Abū Salīm (1969), 31, and Holt (1970), 21. Thus, when Muḥammad Aḥmad declared himself the Mahdi in 1881, he was supported by the Sammāniyya branches of al-Qurashī and al-Baṣīr, but opposed by that of Muḥammad Sharīf; see Hill (1967), 274, and al-Ṭāhir Muḥammad ᶜAlī, *al-Ādab al-ṣūfī fī'l-Sūdān*, Khartoum 1970, 89.

25 F. de Jong, *Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked Institutions in Nineteenth Century Egypt*, 179. This branch should not be confused with the Moroccan Ṭayyibiyya which derives its name from Mawlay al-Ṭayyib (d. 1767); see Trimingham (1971), 276.

26 Nūr al-Dā'im (1954), 274, 356 and 358.

DIAGRAM 2. *Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib w. al-Bashīr.*

Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib w. al Bashīr*
(known as al-Shaykh al-Ṭayyib)
(1155/1742-3 to 1239/1824)

Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī	Nūr al-Dā'im
(Aḥmad's eldest son d. 1269/1852-3)	(d. 29 Shawwāl 1268/ 7 August 1851)

* For Aḥmad's numerous sons see, Nūr al-Dā'im (1954), 351-67.

The School of Aḥmad b. Idrīs

Aḥmad b. Idrīs b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. Aḥmad was born into a holy family at Maysūr in the district of al-ᶜArā'ish near Fez in Morocco probably in 1163/1749-50.[27] He was a descendant of the *imām* Idrīs b.

27 Muḥammad ᶜUthman al-Mīrghanī, *Manāqib ... al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs*, Wad Madanī, 1391/1971, 7, says he was born at Qāra near Fez. The sources disagree on the date of his birth; according to Ṣālih b. *al-ḥājj* Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Jaᶜfarī al-Madanī, *al-Muntaqā al-nafīs fī manāqib quṭb dā'irat al-taqdīs sayyidinā wa-mawlānā al-ṣayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs*, Cairo 1380/1960, 2; Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd, *Aᶜṭār azhār aghṣān ḥaḍīrat al-taqdīs fī karāmāt... al-sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs*, Cairo 1394/1974, 34, and ᶜUmar ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Bayyāḍī, *Nasab al-sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs*, al-Zayniyya/ al-Uqṣur: published privately by the sons of al-sayyid Muṣṭafā b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜĀl al-Idrīsī, (1979), 1 and 5, he was born in 1163/1749-50. A Sanūsiyya source gives the date as 1173/1760-1; al-Rashīd (1394/1974), 55. Although this latter date is widely given in Western sources (see, for example, Trimingham (1949), 229; *idem* (1971), 114; J.O. Voll, "A History of the Khatmiyya Ṭariqa in the Sudan", Ph. D. thesis 1969, 90 and de Jong (1978), 111), the head of the Idrīsiyya in the Sudan claimed that 1163 was correct; interview 15. See further, R.S. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint. Aḥmad ibn Idrīs and the Idrīsī Tradition*, London 1990, 27-32.