

1793

DIENG, Balla Nar. *Cheikh Mourabi Khawsou*

Dramé: un pèlerin éternel. Dakar:

L'Harmattan-Sénégal, 2016. 192 pp. "En l'espace
d'un siècle, il a fréquenté deux grands saints
inspirateurs de deux courants spirituels qui ont pris
racine en Afrique et comptent parmi les plus
importants du soufisme: son guide Cheikh Ahmadou
Bamba (fondateur du Mouridisme) et Cheikh
Hamahoullah (fondateur du Hamallisme)."

Mouridisme

133015

Hamallisme

080408

30 Nisan 2013

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA SELN DOKÜMAN

LES AFRICAINS

sous la direction
de
Charles-André Julien
et
Magali Morsy,
Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch,
Yves Person

TOME IX

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	79789
Tas. No:	92.0.960 AFR

Paris - 1990

LES EDITIONS DU
jaguar

Le cheikh Hamahoullah ou la résistance pacifique d'un chérif mauritanien

Alioune Traore

L'évocation du seul nom de Cheikh Hamahoullah soulève après tant d'années questions et passions. Elle suscite selon les milieux, sympathie ou haine. Nul n'est indifférent. Vénére ou adoré par les uns, ignoré volontairement ou détesté par les autres, comme tous les grands hommes, Cheikh Hamahoullah connut non seulement les oppositions les plus acharnées mais aussi les fidélités les plus légendaires. Ces diverses réactions souvent opposées constituent à nos yeux un témoignage de l'importance historique du personnage.

Résistant farouche au maintien du système colonial, Cheikh Hamahoullah n'avait d'arme que la spiritualité et la dignité, et de programme politique que son comportement de tous les jours. Or, il est difficile de venir par la répression à bout d'une résistance spirituelle, pacifique, celle qui tire sa force de la foi, comme le tentèrent les colonisateurs français. Les déportations, les humiliations, les menaces de mort ne changèrent en rien l'attitude hostile du Chérif Hamahoullah à l'égard des tenants du système colonial français au Soudan et en Mauritanie. Il n'est donc pas étonnant de lire dans les rapports politiques de la période qui nous intéresse (1909-1943) ce qui suit : « Chérif Hamallah est un agitateur soudanais » (gouverneur général Boisson) ; « Chérif Hamallah est un marabout dangereux » (commandant Chazal).

Chef d'une véritable confrérie religieuse refusant la collaboration avec les autorités coloniales, Cheikh Hamahoullah ne connut que la persécution. Une quarantaine de ses fidèles et deux de ses fils furent sommairement exécutés après une parodie de justice à Yélimané (Mali actuel) sur les ordres du gouvernement français.

Tous ceux qui ont écrit peu ou prou

sur le hamallisme n'ont pas toujours saisi la réalité hamalliste. Ils nous ont laissé dans l'école historique française un visage déformé du Cheikh. C'est plus que jamais le mot du professeur Vincent Monteil : « Il est une branche de la voie Tijâne sur laquelle on a beaucoup écrit, pas toujours avec discernement. Il s'agit du hamallisme. »¹

Il nous paraît donc urgent de tenter de présenter Cheikh Hamahoullah sous un visage nouveau, son visage naturel et vrai, débarrassé du masque monstrueux que lui modelèrent les correspondances officielles et les écrits d'historiens d'inspiration administrative. C'est aussi le moment de lever le voile de merveilleux dont le couvrirent la légende et l'hagiographie africaines.

Qui est Cheikh Hamahoullah ?

Ahmedou Hama-hou-llah (littéralement Ahmedou que Dieu a protégé), plus connu sous le nom de Cheikh Hamallah est de la tribu des Ahel Moh'ammad Sidi Chérif de Tichitt en Mauritanie. Il est d'ascendance chérifienne. En effet, sa généalogie fait remonter ses origines à la fille du Prophète de l'islâm².

Son grand-père Seydna Oumar quitte la limite septentrionale de l'Aouker³ pour s'établir à Djigué-Diarisso, hameau situé à 60 km au nord de Nara (Mali actuel).

Son père, Mohamedou Ould Seydna Oumar, fin lettré, réputé pour son rigorisme en matière de religion, s'installe, pour

1. V. Monteil, *l'Islam noir*, Paris, 1964, éd. du Seuil, p. 128.

2. Pour la généalogie de Hamahoullah, cf. notre thèse de doctorat de 3^e cycle (sous presse) intitulée : « Contribution à l'étude de l'Islam en Afrique occidentale : le mouvement tijanien de Cheikh Hamahoullah. » (Université de Dakar, 1975.)

3. La région de Tichitt en Mauritanie.

Hamaliyye
- Ticaniiyye

S. 83 - 107

MADDE YATIRLANDIETAN
SONRA GELIN DOKÜMANI

Il ne saurait être question de présenter la figure du cheikh Hamahoullah.
La photographie de la page précédente ne peut qu'évoquer
l'homme du désert mauritanien ou le Sahel que le saint a traversé
pour atteindre la Côte d'Ivoire
où il a connu la détention.



OIA 1910-1911

A HISTORY OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

By
J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM

2-2

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi Kütüphaneleri	
Kayıt No :	2513
Tasnif No. :	966.297 TRİ:H

Published for the UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW by the
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Oxford New York
1962

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to the Cayor, Walo, and Jolof regions, but security under French rule completely changed the situation and they burst out of their confines. Stimulated by the impulse of the Murid movement they have colonized and exploited arid lands in Ferlo, forcing the Fulbe—who had reduced it to desert to withdraw. They colonized the no-man's-land lying between the various Serer groups, and have become numerous in Sin, Salum, and even Gambia.¹ Small groups of peoples have been absorbed. Many became active traders, founding colonies in all the towns of Senegal. The Islam of the ordinary people, based as it is on Murdism, is unique in Negro West Africa, whilst the *évolués* exhibit another type of secularized Islam and are very scornful of the saint worship of the *murids*. Wolof traders in Nyoro in the Sahil supported Muhammad b. Ahmad and his disciple, Hamāhu 'llāh, against the persecution of the 'Umarian Tijānt shaikhs.

The spread of Islam in western Guinea, French Soudan, and the central Mande regions, although not so spectacular, has been none the less steady. Islam had already been accepted by many Mandinka, and even though large numbers were pagans in practice it was inevitable that under the new conditions most of them would be ready to claim it as their religion. Even the Bambara in French Soudan have been influenced and at least 20 per cent. would claim to be Muslim.²

Although Mande traders were active everywhere throughout western Guinea the primary impulse had come from the Fulbe of Futa

¹ Wolof in the Gambia numbered 36,200 in 1950. The Gambia must be linked with the Senegal so far as the spread of Islam is concerned. It is an obvious political anomaly, cut off from its natural hinterland where the main bodies of its people live. The official figures of religious profession are as follows:

Protectorate	Animists	Muslims	Christians	Total
1947	46,907	178,000	451	225,358
1948	48,045	180,695	544	229,284
1949	49,236	197,150	500	246,886
1950	19,382	230,649	1,530	251,561
<i>Bathurst</i>				
1946	291	15,866	4,995	21,152

Soudan Français	Animists	%	Muslims	%	Christians	%	Total
1921	1,413,589	57	1,061,000	43	2,474,589
1940	1,580,000	53	1,370,700	46.5	11,700	0.5	2,962,400
1949	1,438,700	44.5	1,782,750	55	16,230	0.5	3,237,680

Jalon which led to the conversion of the whole of the Susu¹ and smaller peoples during the nineteenth century, but since then the progress of Islam has been steady and has reached the coast. In Sierra Leone it has gained half the Temne and Mende, the two largest tribes. All over this vast area (Portuguese Guinea,² independent Guinea,³ and Sierra Leone)⁴ we find today an extraordinary picture of religious change. Hundreds of villages are a mixture of pagans, Muslims, and Christians. The break-up of traditional religions is apparent everywhere, as is the fact that the abandonment of their African religious heritage is only partial and that the springs of conduct of those who have joined one or other of the two available world religions is still that of the old animistic heritage.

Nigeria under British occupation witnessed one of the greatest advances.⁵ In the north the traditional confessional neutrality of the British had given way to partiality. Islam appealed to the administrators who were fascinated by the Fulbe state system, and wherever Muslims were found in authority, even over a pagan majority, they recognized Islam as the religion of the state. Through the policy of indirect rule vast numbers of pagans were left under Muslim rulers and insulated against influences such as Christian missions which, though they would not have converted Muslims, would have intro-

¹ The Susu number 320,000 in Guinea and 50,000 in Sierra Leone. The branch known as the Yalunka (Jalonkè) was the centre of Susu resistance to the Futa Jalon theocracy and today the real penetration of Islam among them is relatively moderate. From the Susu Islam is rapidly gaining the Mani on the coast of southern Guinea and Sierra Leone.

² In Portuguese Guinea (pop. 510,777 in 1950) the Muslims are mainly Fulbe (known as Fula, 108,000), Mandinka (64,000), Susu, and the majority of the Biafada (12,000). The Manjaco, Balante (except for the Manè who are Muslim), island Bijago, and smaller peoples remain pagan.

Guinea	1911		1952	
Muslims	899,400	51%	1,381,000	65%
Total population	1,763,000		2,131,000	

⁴ In Sierra Leone the 1931 census gave 193,650 Muslims out of a total of 1,667,790, or 11.6 per cent., but the proportion of those who would claim Islam as their religion today would seem to be nearer 25-30 per cent.

Northern Nigeria	Animists	Muslims		Christians	Total
1921	3,278,068	6,686,362	67%	13,685	9,978,122
1952	4,616,000	11,661,000	69%	558,000	16,835,000

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THE TIJANIYYA

A Sufi Order in the Modern World

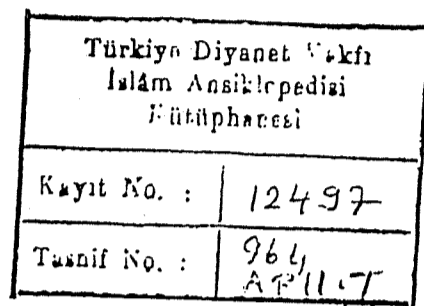
JAMIL M. ABUN-NASR

MIDDLE EASTERN MONOGRAPHS

IN order to illuminate the background to international relations in the area, the Royal Institute of International Affairs proposes to publish from time to time under this general title studies of the modern society of the Middle East—its ideas and beliefs, its economic activities, its social and political institutions and important aspects of its recent history. All will be based on first-hand investigation or original thought, and all will be concerned, in their different ways, with a single theme: the vast, rapid, and continuing change in Middle Eastern society in modern times, and the problems it poses for the Middle Eastern peoples and for those who have interests among them.

The following have already been published in the series:

- 1 *The Labour Movement in the Sudan, 1946-1955*. By the late Saad éd din Fawzi (1957, out of print).
- 2 *Egypt in the Sudan, 1820-1881*. By Richard Hill (1959).
- 3 *The Intellectual Origins of Egyptian Nationalism*. By Jamal Mohammed Ahmed (1960).
- 4 *A History of Landownership in Modern Egypt, 1800-1950*. By Gabriel Baer (1962).
- 5 *The Kurdish Republic of 1946*. By William Eagleton, Jr.
- 6 *The National Income of Iraq, 1953-61*. By K. Haseeb.



Issued under the auspices of the
Royal Institute of International Affairs
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON NEW YORK TORONTO
1965

Ahmad al-Tijani could live in the town in great comfort. As he promised Paradise to every person who did him a favour, or gave him something to eat,³⁵ his income from the contributions of his followers, in Fez and elsewhere, was substantial. The Sultan Mawlay Sulaiman paid him a salary;³⁶ and besides the donations of his followers in Fez, who were rich if only few, Ahmad al-Tijani had a regular income from followers who were scattered on the fringe of the Algerian desert. He had a herd of camels which were reared for him in Abi Samghun,³⁷ and one of Ahmad al-Tijani's most trusted lieutenants, a man called Sidi Mahmud al-Tunisi, was responsible for bringing to Fez the money which accrued to the founder of the Tijaniyya from his property in the southern districts of Algeria. It is related that al-Tunisi brought to Fez a considerable sum of money every year from the sale of sheep, wool, butter, and dates.³⁸ During Ahmad al-Tijani's lifetime the people in the town of Gummar (Guemar), in the valley of Suf (Souf) in south-eastern Algeria, started to make offerings to him in the form of palm trees, the dates of which they gathered and put aside for his agents to collect.³⁹

Stillling as the atmosphere of Fez was to the new order, it succeeded nevertheless in striking root there. Its followers in the town remained few, but the friendliness of the Sultan to the Founder was an inducement to many of the high government functionaries to attach themselves to the order. While in Fez Ahmad al-Tijani's missionaries preached the Tijaniyya in neighbouring countries; he sent a man called Abu Hafz 'Abdul-Rahman to spread the order in Oran and Algiers,⁴⁰ and sent another trusted follower, 'Abdul-Salam al-Wadghiri, to preach it in the district of Constantine, south of Algeria, and other parts of this country.⁴¹ When Ahmad al-Tijani succeeded in winning to the order a trustworthy man from a distant town or country, he usually appointed him *muqaddam* of the order so as to preach it to his home people. By this means the Tijaniyya spread in the Algerian and Tunisian Jarid districts through the efforts of Muhammad b. Fuwaidir al-'Abdallawi (d. *circa* 1821);⁴² and in Mauritania, through Muhammad al-Hafiz (d. *circa* 1830), both of whom met the Founder in Fez.

³⁵ *Jawahir*, i. 109. ³⁶ al-Nasiri, *Kitab al-istiqa'*, viii. 104-5.

³⁷ Sukairij, *Raf' al-niqab*, iv (in MS.), f. 46. ³⁸ *Bughyat*, p. 191.

³⁹ Sukairij, *Kashf al-hijab*, pp. 359-60.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* and Sukairij, *Raf' al-niqab*, i. 221. ⁴¹ *Raf' al-niqab*, i. 170.

⁴² Sukairij, *Kashf al-hijab*, p. 175.

Of Ahmad al-Tijani's male children only the two mentioned above, both called Muhammad, survived him; but before he died he had appointed to succeed him as supreme head of the order Sidi 'Ali al-Tammasini (from the town of Tammasin in the valley of Suf), whose piety and devotion he had always extolled. On appointing Sidi 'Ali as his successor, Ahmad al-Tijani stipulated that the leadership of the order after him should be held by the eldest male member of his own family and that of Sidi 'Ali alternately. As will be seen later this stipulation was not followed, and a quarrel between the descendants of Sidi 'Ali and those of Ahmad al-Tijani took place and resulted in rupturing relations between the branches of the order, the one directed from 'Ain Madi and the other from Tammasin. After the Founder's death Sidi 'Ali persuaded his two sons to leave Fez and to take up residence in 'Ain Madi, in spite of the opposition of the other leaders of the order,⁴³ who probably feared that their *zawiya* would thereby lose its importance. When six months after the Founder's death his sons returned to Fez to carry their father's body for interment in 'Ain Madi and had it exhumed, the chiefs of the *zawiya* of Fez, especially one called Musa b. Ma'zuz, intervened so as to avert the complete loss of the prestige of their centre and prevailed upon them to return the body to its mausoleum.⁴⁴

Although Ahmad al-Tijani's body remained in Fez, to make the *zawiya* there the object of veneration and pilgrimage for devout Tijanis all over Africa, the titular leadership of the order shifted to Algeria, and the *muqaddams* of the *zawiya* of Fez could not claim jurisdiction over the entire order. At the same time the widespread diffusion of the order, the rivalry between the chiefs of the *zawiyas* in Tammasin and 'Ain Madi which will be discussed below, and the appearance of important branches of the order in distant lands, especially in the Western Sudan (under Hajj 'Umar Tall) and in the Senegal (under Hajj Malik Si and his descendants), as well as the appearance of such dissident Tijani movements as the Hamalliyya, prevented the appearance of one central authority to direct the general affairs of the order after its Founder's death.

The Founder of the Tijaniyya did not leave on his death any treatise on the general subject of Sufism which his followers could

⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 339. ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 365.

8 OCT 2011

MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOZUMLAN

حمالیه

۱۰۲

فاسد نظمیة را در گرفتن انواع باج از ایشان بر می‌انگیخت (شهری‌یاف، ۱۳۸۱ ش، ج ۲، ص ۱۴).

از مداخلات گروهی یا فردی حمالان در امور سیاسی نیز شواهدی وجود دارد. در سال ۱۵۲، هنگامی که منصور عباسی مشغول حج گزاردن بود، حمالان از حاکم مدینه نزد وی شکایت بردند و حکم عزل او را از خلیفه گرفتند (ابن جوزی، ج ۸، ص ۱۵۵). به نوشته مقریزی (ج ۱، ص ۱۶۰)، حمالان در کنار دیگر اصناف و پیشه‌وران، از نیروهای عمده‌ای بودند که به دعوت ابوسعید جتایی^۳، داعی قرمطی بحرین، پاسخ مثبت دادند.

برخی حمالان هم، به تدریج، به رده‌های بالای حکومتی رسیدند، از جمله ابوعبدالله بن بطائنی که در ۵۱۹ به وزارت الأمر باحکام‌الله، خلیفه فاطمی، رسید (ابن اثیر، ج ۱۰، ص ۶۲۹). در دوره خوارزمشاهیان نیز امین‌الدین ابوبکر، که در ۶۰۴ به حکومت شهر زوزن رسید، پیش‌تر به حملالی اشتغال داشت (همان، ج ۱۲، ص ۲۶۰).

با وجود دگرگونیهای نظام حمل و نقل تجاری در شهرها، هنوز در بازارها و بازارچه‌های سنتی جهان اسلام، حمالان به کار مشغول‌اند و فریادهای هشداردهنده آنان، از قبیل پناه راه‌بده (در عربی: رأسک، ظُهرک، جَنبک، ← در اسلام، همانجا)، و هیاهوی رقابتشان در به دوش کشیدن بار مشتریان (برای ترکیب «جنگ حمالان» - مولوی، ج ۱، دفتر ۲، بیت ۱۸۳۴-۱۸۳۵، ج ۲، دفتر ۳، بیت ۳۷۵۵-۳۷۵۶) به گوش می‌رسد.

منابع: ابن اثیر؛ ابن بطوطه، رحلة ابن بطوطه، چاپ محمد عبدالمنعم عربان، بیروت ۱۹۸۷/۱۴۰۷؛ ابن قری بردی، النجوم الزاهرة فی ملوک مصر و القاهرة، قاهره [۱۳۸۳؟] [۱۳۹۲؟] / [۱۹۶۳؟] [۱۹۷۲؟]؛ ابن جوزی، المتظم فی تاریخ الملوک و الامم، چاپ محمد عبدالقادر عطا و مصطفی عبدالقادر عطا، بیروت ۱۹۹۲/۱۴۱۲؛ ابن عماد؛ اسناد تجارت ایران در سال ۱۲۸۷ قمری، به کوشش اصغر مهدوی و ایرج افشار، تهران: انتشارات علمی و فرهنگی، ۱۳۸۰ ش؛ حسین‌بن محمدابراهیم تمویلدار، جغرافیای اصفهان، چاپ منوچهر ستوده، تهران ۱۳۴۲ ش؛ عبدالرحمان جبری، تاریخ عجائب الآثار فی التراجم و الاخبار، بیروت: دارالفارس، [بی‌تا]؛ محمدعلی جمال‌زاده، فرهنگ لغات عامیانه، چاپ محمدجعفر محجوب، تهران ۱۳۸۲ ش؛ اسماعیل‌بن حماد جوهری، الصحاح: تاج اللغة و صحاح العربیة، چاپ احمد عبدالغفور عطار، بیروت [بی‌تا]؛ چاپ افست تهران ۱۳۶۸ ش؛ دمخدا؛ ذهی؛ حسین زنگویی، هنگامی به پیشه‌های سنتی بیرجند، خراسان پژوهی، سال ۱، ش ۱ (بهار و تابستان ۱۳۷۷)؛ سلیمه عبدالرسول عبد، «ملابس العمل لذوی المهن و الحرف (من خلال النصوص التاريخية و اللوحات الاثرية) فی

العصر الاسلامی»، سومر، ج ۳۷، ش ۱ و ۲ (۱۹۸۱)؛ جعفر شهری‌یاف، تاریخ اجتماعی تهران در قرن سیزدهم، تهران ۱۳۶۷-۱۳۶۸ ش؛ همو، طهران قدیم، تهران ۱۳۸۱ ش؛ صباح ابراهیم سعید شیخی، الاصناف فی العصر العباسی: نشأتها و تطورها، بغداد ۱۳۹۶/۱۹۷۶؛ فرهنگ بزرگ سخن، به سرپرستی حسن انوری، تهران: سخن، ۱۳۸۱ ش؛ اوژن ناپلئون فلاگدن، سفرنامه اوژن فلاگدن به ایران، ترجمه حسین نورصادقی، تهران ۱۳۵۶ ش؛ ویلم فلور، جستارهایی از تاریخ اجتماعی ایران در عصر قاجار، ج ۱، ترجمه ابوالقاسم سری، تهران ۱۳۶۶ ش، ج ۶، ترجمه ابوالقاسم سری، تهران ۱۳۷۱ ش؛ عبدالله بن مصطفی قلی قره‌گزلو همدانی، مجموعه آثار حاجی عبدالله‌خان قره‌گزلو امیرنظام همدانی، چاپ عنایت‌الله مجیدی، تهران ۱۳۸۲ ش؛ لوی آفریقای، وصف آفریقا، ترجمه عن‌الفرنیة محمد حجی و محمد اخضر، بیروت ۱۹۸۳؛ احمدبن محمد مقری، نفع الطیب، چاپ احسان عباس، بیروت ۱۹۶۸/۱۳۸۸؛ احمدبن علی مقریزی، اتعاط الحنفا، ج ۱، چاپ جمال‌الدین شیال، قاهره ۱۹۶۷/۱۳۸۷؛ جلال‌الدین محمدبن محمد مولوی، کتاب مثنوی معنوی، چاپ رسول‌آلن نیکلسون، تهران: انتشارات مولی، [بی‌تا]؛ یعقوبی، تاریخ؛

Eugène Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui: Iran, Mésopotamie*, Paris 1908; Amnon Cohen, *The guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, Leiden 2001; *Et*, s.v. "Ḥammāl" (by Cl. Huart - [Ch. Pellat]), "Ma ḥba kh. 2: in Ottoman Turkey" (by Halil İnalcık); Mehmet Kanar, *Büyük Türkçe-Farsça sözlük*, Tehran 1374; Bernard Lewis, "The faith and the faithful", in *The World of Islam: faith, people, culture*, ed. Bernard Lewis, London: Thames and Hudson, 1977.

/ افسانه متفرد /

حَمَالِيَّة، جنبشی سیاسی و دینی در غرب آفریقا منشعب از تِجانیه^۳.

حمالیه^۱، جنبشی اسلامی در آفریقا که پس از شریف حَمَالَاه^۲ به این نام خوانده شد، و نخستین نویسندگان فرانسوی نیز آن را به این‌گونه نوشته‌اند (مارتی^۳، ص ۷)؛ برخی دیگر آن را به صورت حَمَالَلَه^۴ یا حَمَلَه^۵ ثبت کرده‌اند. پیروان وی خود را إخوان می‌خوانند و به عنوان حَمَالَتین نیز شناخته می‌شوند. میخالفان تِجانیه‌ای ایشان، آنان را به زبان تِگَلَری^۶، ساپو^۷ گو (یازده دانه‌ای) می‌خوانند و آنان را بدعت‌گذار می‌دانند.

این آیین در اوایل سده چهاردهم / آغاز سده بیستم در مالی شکل گرفت؛ البته نه به عنوان انجمن اخوت جدید، بلکه به مثابه تلاشی برای اصلاح تعلیمات تِجانیه، به‌ویژه در مورد

1. Ḥamāliyya/ Ḥamāliyya/ Hamallism

2. Ḥamāliyah

3. Marty

4. Ḥamā Allāh

5. Hamala

6. Tukolor

7. Sapo e gô

Hamalliyya

THE SUFI TEACHING OF TIERNO BOKAR
SALIF TALL

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I.

Although numerous studies of West African Sufi orders have appeared in recent decades, the spiritual dimensions of Sufism have received relatively little attention from scholars. This situation has resulted in an unfortunate gap in our knowledge and understanding not only of Sufism itself, but also of the nature of a broad spectrum of West African Islamic belief and practice. This paper represents an effort toward beginning to fill this gap. Two primary themes are developed here: the first centres on efforts to define, conceptualize and understand Sufism both as a set of ideas and as a method of spiritual training. The second theme centres on one specific example of Sufi teaching in West Africa, that represented by Tierno Bokar Salif Tall, a Tijani *shaikh* who died in Bandiagara, Mali, in 1910. Born in 1875, Tierno Bokar was a great nephew of al-Hajj 'Umar Tall and was therefore an established member of the leadership of the Umarian branch of the Tijaniyya order.¹⁾ But late in his life, in 1937, Tierno Bokar publicly 'converted' to the Hamalliyya, or reformed, branch of the Tijaniyya which had been introduced into West Africa in the late nineteenth century by Sidi Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Abdullah al-Akhḍar. At the time of his 'conversion,' the Hamalliyya was led by Hamallah b. Muhammad b. Sidna Omar, the shaikh from whom the new order derived its name.²⁾ Tierno Bokar

1) See A. Hampaté Ba and M. Cardaire, *Tierno Bokar, le Sage de Bandiagara* Paris: Présence Africaine [1957]. According to Ba and Cardaire, Tierno Bokar was the son of Salif b. Tierno Bokar b. Seydou Tall (father of al-Hajj 'Umar). On the maternal side he was the grandson of Tierno Seydou Hami, a Qadiri scholar who accepted Tijani initiation from al-Hajj 'Umar and was appointed a *muqaddam* of the order. The background of Seydou Hami is vague; Ba and Cardaire say in one place he was of Torodbe background; in another they call him a Hausa. They also suggest that his first wife, the grandmother of Tierno Bokar, was a daughter of 'Uthman b. Fodiye; this statement requires confirmation. See Ba and Cardaire, 14-18; 121.

2) For background information on the Hamalliyya order, see J. M. Abun-

made this conversion after considerable agonizing over the issue, and only after travelling to Nioro to meet Shaikh Hamallah for himself. After offering his allegiance, Tierno Bokar made no effort to proselytize for the Hamalliyya, nor to criticize persons for continuing to adhere to the 'Umarian form of the Tijaniyya; but because of the highly politicized context of competition among the adherents of the two branches, Tierno Bokar was ultimately ostracized by the Umarian leadership of Bandiagara, that is by his own family. A few loyal followers continued to attend him, but he lived out the remaining months of his life virtually alone, no longer a centre of religious and spiritual attention that he had once been, forbidden even to pray in the mosque.

This, in any case, is the picture portrayed by the major published source on Tierno Bokar's life, co-authored by Amadu Hampaté Ba and Marcel Cardaire.³⁾ One should be aware that Hampaté Ba, himself a member of the Hamalliyya, may well have written this book for its propagandist value. A number of scholars who have read the book have dismissed it as a highly idealized and therefore not very useful portrait of a Muslim holy man. The spiritual qualities of Tierno Bokar are certainly very much emphasized in the book, and other aspects of his life are ignored. But because of this, the text and even organization of the book can lend insight into Sufi values. However, this paper does not rely on the text of the book as written by Ba and Cardaire for its data and interpretations. Rather, the ensuing analysis rests almost exclusively on traditions about, or quotations attributed to, Tierno Bokar, as collected and recorded by Ba and Cardaire in Bandiagara.⁴⁾ One major argument in this paper is that these traditions are vehicles for Sufi teaching. The justification for this contention should become more clear as the paper proceeds: various local traditions will be interspersed with references to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, whose work appears to have been a fundamental influence

Nasr, *The Tijaniyya*, London: Oxford University Press 1965, 150-155; and P. Alexandre, *A West African Islamic Movement: Hamallism in French West Africa*, in R. I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and Power in Black Africa*, New York: Oxford University Press 1970, 497-512.

3) Ba and Cardaire, *Tierno Bokar*; see also: T. Monod, *Un Homme de Dieu: Tierno Bokar, Présence Africaine*, 8-9, 1950, 149-157; and T. Monod, *Un poème mystique soudanais, Le Monde non-chrétien*, 2 1947, 217-228.

4) Professor William A. Brown, University of Wisconsin, has commented in personal communication that he considers these traditions to have been accurately recorded by Ba and Cardaire. His opinion derives from his own field work in Mali and his personal contact with Hampaté Ba.

Istanbul 1298/1880, Beirut (ed. Muḥammad 'Abduh) 1889, 1908 (?), 1924, 1958, Cairo (ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd) 1342/1923; translations by S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, iii, 78 ff. (6 *Maḥāmāt*), by Grangeret de Lagrange, *Anthologie arabe*, 153 ff. (3 *Maḥāmāt*), by O. Rescher in *Beiträge zur Maqamen-litteratur*, v, Leonburg 1913, by W. Prendergast, *The maqāmāt of Badī' az-Zamān*, Madras-London 1915, by F. Gabrieli in *Rend. Lincei*, 1949 (1 *Maḥāma*). Studies on the genre and the author: Z. Mubārak, *La prose arabe au IV^e siècle de l'Hégire*, Paris 1931, 148 ff.; R. Blachère, *Étude sémanique sur le nom Maqāma*, in *Machriq*, 1953, 646 ff.; R. Blachère and P. Masnou, *Choix de maqāmāt, traduites de l'arabe avec une étude sur le genre*, Paris 1957 (with the rest of the bibliography); cf. Brockelmann, I, 93 ff. and S I, 150 ff. (R. BLACHÈRE)

HAMĀ'IL [see *SHR*, *TAMĀ'IM*, *ṬILASM*].

AL-HAMĀL [see *NUDJŪM*].

HAMĀLIYYA, or ḤAMĀLIYYA, Hamallism, an African Islamic movement which is named after *Sharif* Ḥamāllāh, whose name was thus transcribed by the first French writers (P. Marty, *Étude sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan*, Paris 1920, v); others have rendered it as Ḥamā Allāh, or Hamala. His followers call themselves *ikhwān*, and they are also known as Ḥamāliyyīn; their *Tidjāni* adversaries call them "eleven beads", *sapo e gó* (in Tukolor), and regard them as heretics.

This doctrine made its appearance in Mali at the beginning of this century, not as a new confraternity but as an attempt to reform the teaching of the *Tidjāniyya*, especially in regard to the recital of the prayer *djāwarat al-Kamāl*; according to the Ḥamālists, this has to be recited eleven times and not twelve, as the *Tidjāni wīrd* lays down.

The founder of this movement was *Shaykh* Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, known as *Sharif al-akhḍar*, a native of Touat, who is said to have received the *Tidjāni wīrd* from Ṭāhīr b. Abū Ṭayyīb (Thaar ben Bou Tayeb), *wakīl* of the *Tidjāni zāwiya* of Tlemcen (Algeria). He settled at Niōro in 1904 and determined to restore the *Tidjāniyya* to its pristine purity; he caused the chaplet with eleven beads to be adopted, but he died in 1909 without being able to spread his doctrine, despite the help of some Wolof merchants in Niōro.

His disciple, *Sharif* Amadou Ḥamā Allāh Ḥaydara, born in 1886 and 26 years of age when his master died, took over the teaching with much greater success. Ḥamā Allāh belonged to the tribe of the Ahl Sīdī *Sharif* of Tichit. His grandfather and his father Muḥammad ūld (*walād*) Sayyidna 'Umar, of a *Sharifian* family, were traders who had settled in the town of Niōro at the end of the 19th century; his mother Aissa Diallo was a Fulani from Niamina. *Shaykh* Ḥamā Allāh traced back his genealogy to 'Alī, the Prophet's son-in-law, through 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. He was thus a descendant of the Ḥasaniyya *Sharifs*. He studied at the *Kur'ān* school of his tribe with *Shaykh* ūld Sīdī, and then with al-Ḥādīdī Muḥammad ūld Mukhtār who later became his enemy, and finally with *Shaykh* Sīdī Muḥammad. Seldom going out and always wearing white, he dedicated himself to devotions, mortification and ecstasy; he was a mystic who had ecstatic visions which, it was said, put him in direct communion with Allāh or the Prophet and on which his reputation was based; he was visited by large numbers of mystics who shared his ideas and, at the beginning, by some Moors from the locality.

In about 1925, he took the title *Shaykh* and appointed *muḥaddams*. Without leaving his *zāwiya*, he was able to employ zealous propagandists who spread his teaching to Niōro, Walata, Kiffa, Kayes, Timbreda, Nara and Nema. In a few years his doctrine, which had not had much success with the Moors, had spread over a wide area among the negroes inhabiting the river basins of the Senegal and Middle Niger; he also had *muḥaddams* among the Awlād Zayn, Ahl Terenni, Ahl Togba, Ladoum, Awlād Nāṣir, Awlād Mbārek, Ahl Sīdī Maḥmūd and Laghlal. He preached the purified *Tidjāni wīrd*, his followers vowed themselves for life and could not adopt any other creed; the obedience of his *ikhwān* had to be absolute. He was reputed to be a *walī*, and by some regarded as *mahdī*. Among his disciples he had officials of the administration and some of the local police. His prestige spread throughout the Sahel, but he lost control over the most turbulent of his followers.

The preaching of Ḥamā Allāh soon came up against very lively resistance from *Tidjāni* circles, especially among the Kaba Diakité and the Silka, disciples of al-Ḥādīdī 'Umar [*q.v.*]; it was also challenged by the *Kādiriyya* and several Moorish tribes. The origin of this hostility, apart from the matter of the eleven beads, lay in the fact that his preaching was given in Niōro, the fief of powerful 'Umariān families, and that it revealed a social aspect that was opposed to the structure of society of that period.

Shaykh Ḥamā Allāh granted the *wīrd* to women, prisoners (*Ḥarātīn* [*q.v.*]) and young people, releasing them from paternal authority or that of their masters; finally, he authorized women to take part in ceremonies which brought men together without any distinction of caste. He criticized the depravity of women and recommended the wearing of decent garments; secular and social problems he ignored.

It is certain that although Aḥmad al-*Tidjāni* had prescribed the recital of the prayer *Djāwarat al-Kamāl* eleven times on the instructions of the Prophet whom he saw in a dream, which was in conformity with the mystique of numbers, he had the same prayer recited twelve times, for reasons not explained, at a period when he was compelled to struggle against the Turks ('Ayn Maḥdī was captured by the Turkish forces in 1197/1783 and in 1201/1787); it is possible that the innovation derives from his son Muḥammad al-Kabīr. The Ḥamālist chaplet consists of eleven beads on each side, counting from the pendant.

Al-Ḥādīdī 'Umar Tall, initiated in 1835, practised the eleven recitations until the moment when he received the *wīrd*, for the second time, from *Shaykh* Muḥammad Ghālī, in Mecca; but, in his work *al-Rimāh*, he wrote that the true number of recitations was eleven.

Ḥamā Allāh's disciples preached the equality of castes, and of men and women; they made recruits among the opponents of the Tall clan, among people of caste, slaves, and also certain families with mystical tendencies. The doctrine was exalted by the *muḥaddams*, some of whom disturbed public order by extravagant hero-worship of the *Shaykh*; one of the most active was Yacouba (Ya'kūb) Sylla of Kayes. The conflict passed swiftly from the social sphere to the political. The French administration tried to temporize and to avoid becoming involved in a religious quarrel, but was compelled to intervene when incidents became more serious: in 1923, politico-religious conflicts broke out between the Laghlal and Tenouadjou tribes, starting a vendetta which lasted for several years. In 1924, the Ḥamālists attacked