West African *ʿulamāʾ* and Salafism in Mecca and Medina

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West African *'ulamā'* and Salafism in Mecca and Medina

Jawāb al-Ifrīqī—The Response of the African

By

Chanfi Ahmed

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Introduction

This book aims to study the lives of a number of West African *ʿulamāʾ* from northern Nigeria, Mali, and Mauritania, who, after seeing the defeat of the Muslim *jihād* against European colonizers, chose to undertake the *hijra* (emigration) to Mecca and Medina. In doing so they seized the opportunity to perform the *ḥajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca), and later settled there as *mujāwirūn*/*mujāwir* (residents of the neighborhoods of the two holy mosques of Mecca and Medina). In this *hijra*, the majority of people took the Sudan route (rather than the Maghrib route to Cairo and then to the Hijaz), which in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century was the more common route of most West African pilgrims to Mecca and Medina.

Some of these pilgrims who were fleeing colonization were also, to a lesser extent, attracted by opportunities to work in agriculture (especially cotton cultivation) or in the army in Sudan, first under the rule of the Mahdī and then under English colonial rule. The descendents of these migrants now form a significant proportion of the population in Sudan, where they are often called *Fallāta*; in Saudi Arabia they are called Takārira or Takkāra (sing. Takrūrī).[1] Some of these West African *ʿulamāʾ* who arrived in the Hijaz after the conquest of the region by Ibn Saʿūd (1925–26) embraced his Wahhābī-Salafī doctrine and helped spread it through the Hijaz and elsewhere in Saudi Arabia by teaching and preaching in mosques and schools.

In this book, I argue that these *ʿulamāʾ* from Africa (and also those from India) in Mecca and Medina were not working for an international Islamic project, but were rather performing the Islamic duty of *daʿwa* (missionary work or propaganda), which for them was to spread the Wahhābiyya—the version of Islam they came to embrace and that they regarded as the only correct and valid doctrine. They did not identify themselves with the Saudi nation state, but with the *daʿwa* aspect of the policy of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the

1 Takrūrī refers to the kingdom of Takrūr that historians situate in the eleventh century and which extended along the Senegal River between today's Senegal and Mauritania. (See Abdourhmane Ba, *Le Takrur, des origins à la conquête par le Mali* (*VI^ème^–XIII^ème^ siècle*) (Dakar: IFAN/UCAD, 2002); ʿUmar al-Naqar, "Takrur, The History of a Name," *Journal of African History* 10, no. 3 (1969): 365–373. The Wolof use the term "Tocolor," which the French transformed into "Toucouleur." In the Middle East, Takrūr or Ahl at-Takrūr or Takārira or Takkāra has become a generic name that refers to all people originating from West Africa. *Bilād al-Takrūr* seems to have been in use prior to *Bilād al-Sūdān*. While the first term does not have any racial meaning, the second means "land of black."

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Saudi kings who succeeded him. They identified themselves only with their respective ethnic groups (their names indicated their countries of origin: al-Fūtī, al-Fallāta, al-Takrūrī, al-Shinqīṭī, al-Timbuktī, etc.) and with the tradition of the *salaf al-ṣālih* (pious predecessors). The Saudi nation state, the nostalgia for the Ottoman Islamic caliphate, and the idea of the *umma* as a national entity of all Muslims were far from the minds of these *ʿulamāʾ*. For these *ʿulamāʾ*, the *umma* was not a political entity but rather a spiritual community that shares the same religion. And for this community to be true, they thought, it should adhere to the Wahhābiyya doctrine. This is reflected in their writings, in which they do not question the politics of colonialism or the political institutions that were meant to defend the interests of Muslims.

Second, these *ʿulamāʾ* did not have an anti-colonial agenda in their countries of origin, contrary to what the colonial administration believed and propagated. And third, I show that the project of Ibn Saʿūd was successful particularly because of the support provided by the *ʿulamāʾ* from outside the Arabian Peninsula. Ibn Saʿūd presented his Wahhābi-Salafī project as a revival of Islam, and thus as a project of all Sunnī Muslims who follow the four schools (*madhāhib*) and not only as a revival of the people of Najd, as is so often propagated.

Apart from these arguments, I address the religious debate and practice of *hijra, ḥajj*, and *jihād* in the specific historical context of colonialism, pan-Islam, and nationalism, as well as the potential role of biography and autobiography in the history of the spread of Wahhābī teaching in Saudi Arabia and West Africa. In this way, the present book is also intended to be a contribution to this part of the history of the colonization of Africa, which has not been well studied.

I have utilized a method based on interviews with students and relatives of these *ʿulamāʾ* in Saudi Arabia and in West Africa and; my research is largely dependent on private archives and the private libraries of these *ʿulamāʾ*. Thus, the method followed here is both historical and anthropological.

By Salafism I mean a doctrine of Islam that claims to refer solely to the example of the *salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, that is, the first three generations of Muslims. According to the proponents of this doctrine and according to the *ḥadīth* (in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim*) of the Prophet Muḥammad, the best human beings are the people of his generation and then those of the two succeeding generations. Thus, the Salafī consider that these generations of people had the truest understanding of Islam and should therefore be the role model of all Muslims. This doctrine involves a full rejection of the schools of law (*madhāhib*) (as is the case of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth) or a partial rejection of them (as is the case of the Wahhābīs who follow the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*) and a complete

dependence, or in the second case, a heavy dependence on the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*s. Popular rituals such as the *mawlid* (celebration of Muḥammad's birthday), visiting the tombs of saints, and *dhikr* ceremonies of the Sufi orders (*ṭuruq*, sing. *ṭarīqa*) are considered un-Islamic practices and blameworthy innovations (*bidaʿ*, sing. *bidʿa*).

Although the words *salaf, salaf al-ṣāliḥ, salafiyya, madhhab al-salaf, al-ṭarīqa al-salafiyya, salaf al-umma, aʾimmat al-salaf, al-jiha al-salafiyya, al-ṭarīqa al-ʿaqlīyya al-salafiyya al-sharʿiyya, ḥanafiyyan salafiyyan, ʿaqīda al-salaf*, and *athar al-salaf* appear in the writings of many classical authors, they and the Salafiyya doctrine were first popularized in the writings and teachings of the Ḥanbalī scholar of Syria, Taqī l-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya (661–728/1263–1328), particularly in his *Fatāwā*.[2] The modern ideological meaning of the term Salafism, which developed to a large extent since the nineteenth century—the century of ideologies and of all the other "isms" with their tragedies, can be attributed to Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, and especially Rashīd Riḍā.

By Wahhabism, I mean the Islamic doctrine of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1703–92) of the Najd (central Arabia). The name Wahhābī (or Wahhābiyya), with which we refer to those who adhere to this doctrine, was given by their opponents; they called themselves Muwaḥḥidūn (Unitarians), that is to say those who believe in and adhere to a strict monotheism and do not associate anything or anyone with God. But over time, some of those who claimed the doctrine of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb have accepted the term Wahhābī or Wahhābiyya for this Islamic doctrine. Wahhabism is, therefore, a branch of Salafism, as is the Indian Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement.

To better understand the historical and political evolution of Wahhabism, we confine ourselves here to mentioning four dates in the history of the Wahhābī movement.

In 1746, after struggling against superstitions (*khurāfāt*), idolatry, and innovation, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb took refuge with some of his disciples in Darʿiyya, the seat of the Āl Saʿūd. The *amīr* of this principality, Muḥammad b. Saʿūd, responded to the intervention of his brothers and his wife, who embraced the cause of the shaykh very early, and agreed to help ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. In 1747, they concluded a pact of allegiance, in which they pledged reciprocal loyalty in order to establish the Islamic vision of the shaykh, if necessary by force. This pact thus established a theocratic state based on the Wahhābī doctrine. The pact inaugurated and organized a new model of "service exchange" between

2 Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmūʿ fatāwā shaykh al-islām Ibn Taymiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Wafā, 2008), particularly vol. 5.

the religious and the political in contemporary Sunnī Islam, in a paradigmatic way similar to the implementation of the theory of "the government of the Islamic jurist" (*wilāyāt al faqīh*) established by Khomeini in Iran in 1979. This system of government inaugurated and organized among the twelver Shīʿa a new paradigmatic model of the relationship between religion and politics. In the original Wahhābī model, religion, in the form of the Wahhābī *ʿālim*, provided the political leader (the Saʿūdī prince) with a doctrine that legitimized his territorial expansion and solidification of power; at the same time, the political leadership of the Saʿūds provided ʿAbd al-Wahhāb the military force to impose its doctrine on the conquered territories. This "holy alliance" between the two families, the Āl Saʿūd and the Āl al-Shaykh, still governs the Saudi kingdom, with the difference that the political entity of the state (the Saʿūdī family) no longer needs the religious justifications of the Wahhābī scholars for territorial conquests, rather they serve to give the kingdom a religious legitimacy. Thus the custodians of the Wahhābī doctrine (the Saʿūdī *ʿulamāʾ*) were relegated to a subordinate position. When Muḥammad b. Saʿūd died in 1766, his successor, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, emerged as the true founder of the kingdom. Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb continued to perform his duties as adviser to the prince until his death at the age of 89 in 1792.

Shortly after his ascension, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz became the victim of the three powers in the region at that time: Persia, England, and the Ottoman Empire. In 1803, the Persians sent a Shīʿī assassin to kill him. The second sent a squadron that bombed Ras al-Khaima, where the Wahhābis were hiding. The third sent the Egyptian army against the kingdom of Najd and destroyed Darʿiyya completely. The Amīr ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿūd and the descendants of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb were brought to Istanbul, where they were all killed.

A branch of the Āl Saʿūd family led by Amīr Turkī restored the kingdom and took Riyadh as their capital, and by 1833 the kingdom extended over a large part of the Persian Gulf. But interclan conflicts decimated the kingdom to the advantage of the Banū Rāshid, the leaders of the Shammār confederation. The few survivors of the Āl Saʿūd clan fled to Kuwait and took refuge with Shaykh Mubārak b. Ṣabāḥ al-Ṣabāḥ (1844–1915), an ally of England.

With ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Faiṣal Āl-Saʿūd, the state was reborn. In the month of Ramadan in 1901, at the age of just 22, he marched at the head of forty men and retook Riyadh. This point marks the beginning of the Wahhābī kingdom that still flourishes today.[3]

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3 There are many works on the early history of Wahhabism. Among them, the following should be mentioned. Maḥmūd Shukrī Alūsī, *Ṭārīkh Najd al-Ḥanbalī* (Mecca: Salafiyya, 1349); Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī, *Āthār al-daʿwa al-wahhābiyya fī al-iṣlāḥ al-dīnī wa-l-ʿumrānī*

In chapter 1 I examine the role of the Sudan Road (*ṭarīq al-sūdān*) for the *ʿulamāʾ* undertaking the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*). The *ʿulamāʾ* discussed in this book came to the Hijaz (western Saudi Arabia, where Jedda, Mecca, and Medina are situated) by this route, which was used by thousands of West African pilgrims before and after them. This route, which had been used by Muslims since the eleventh century, had grown in importance since the sixteenth century, when the Moroccans conquered the empire of Songhay (Mali), thereby rendering the pilgrimage route through North Africa more dangerous for West African pilgrims. In the sixteenth century pilgrims began to take the route through Sudan; the flow of people taking this route to the Hijaz increased during the period when the region was occupied by European powers, particularly England and France. Many Muslims fled the rule of non-Muslims, and moved eastward, especially to Sudan and the Hijaz. In these trips to the East, the doctrines of *jihād, ḥajj, hijra*, and the *mahdī* were often mixed and used to motivate mass migrations, which led to the formation of diasporic groups along the road, found to this day in Chad, Sudan, and the Hijaz. However, the historical event that marked this road is the Battle of Burmi (1903) and the exodus to the East that it resulted from it.[4]

In addition to dealing with the sociopolitical and historical role played by the Sudan Road, this chapter also precisely explains the meaning of *hijra* in Islam and discusses its significance in nineteenth-century West Africa as a movement of people, ideas, and hope. It also explains the conceptual and practical relationship between *jihād, ḥajj, hijra*, and the *mahdī* in Islam in general and Islam in West Africa in particular. In these migratory movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as people fled colonizers, who were often identified as the *Dajjāl* (Antichrist), they naturally followed the instructions of a *mahdī*, who was generally also identified as a *mujaddid* (reformer, restorer). Here, millennial eschatology and politics mixed.

I conclude this chapter by addressing the ways in which the colonizers, especially the elite, reacted to the eastward migration of West African Muslims.

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fī jazīrat al-ʿarab wa-ghayrihā (Cairo: al-Naḥḍa, 1354); J.B. Philby, *Arabian Days: An Autobiography* (London: Robert Hale Limited, 1948); Ḥāfiẓ Wahba, *Jazīrat al-ʿarab fī l-qarn al-ʿishrīn* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Nashr, 1375/1956).

4 Three major studies show how this route of the *ḥajj* impacted the formation of the West African diaspora throughout the countries along the route: C. Bawa Yamba, *Permanent Pilgrims: The Role of Pilgrimage in the Lives of West African Muslims in Sudan* (London: Edinburgh University Press, 1995); John A. Works, Jr., *Pilgrims in a Strange Land: Hausa Communities in Chad* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976); ʿUmar al-Naqar, *The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa* (Khartoum: Khartoum University Press, 1972).

The colonizers wanted to prevent a mass exodus of people, which would mean the loss of their work force (i.e., cheap labor). In addition, every adult male—Muslims and non-Muslims—paid a poll tax, so migrations meant a direct loss of liquidity for the colonial administration. Thus, in the eyes of the colonizers, this movement had to be stopped. One method to discourage pilgrims was for the colonial administration to control the organization of departures for the pilgrimage by forcing pilgrims to use ships or airplanes. Travel expenses thus increased, and this limited the number of pilgrims; fewer pilgrims also discouraged others from making the journey. The colonial administration offered a few free places to carefully chosen notables, who were then expected to monitor the behavior of the pilgrims in Mecca as well as that of ordinary Muslims in West African towns and villages. Those who did not or could not make the pilgrimage following the routes of the colonial administration took the Sudan Road, but faced many difficulties along the way, among them avoiding the multiple checkpoints established by the colonial administration. In the Hijaz, the intelligence services of the colonizers kept the *ʿulamāʾ* that I discuss in this work under close surveillance. These *ʿulamāʾ* were suspected of inciting pilgrims to rise against the colonial power upon their return to West Africa. These suspicions were never proven.

Again, the central concern of this book is to show the contribution of the West African *ʿulamāʾ* of the Hijaz to the spread of the Wahhābī teaching in Saudi Arabia, as well as in their countries of origin in Africa. They were not alone in this endeavor, but worked together with the *ʿulamāʾ* of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, an Indian Salafī movement, and with the *ʿulamāʾ* of the Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, an Egyptian Salafī movement. Thus, Wahhabism spread in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere not only as a result of the efforts of the *ʿulamāʾ* from Najd (the birthplace of Wahhabism), but also with the help of the *ʿulamāʾ* from all parts of the Muslim world, including West Africa.

In this book, I do not deal at length with the historical question of the *hijra* as an important response of West African Muslims to colonization. Nor do I focus on how the colonizers reacted to the mass migration toward Mecca and Medina. There is a substantial literature on the various responses of West African Muslims to the colonial military conquest, most of which focus on resistance and cooperation as the only two responses. New works examine African agency vis-à-vis colonizers and point out that there were in fact many kinds of responses to the colonial conquest. But do these new works really represent a breakthrough? We know that Africans mustered military resistance against colonial occupation, but we also know that without African soldiers fighting under the command of European officers, the colonial conquest probably could not have occurred. In either case, the agency of Africans does not

need to be demonstrated: it is obvious. There are two important works on the responses of the Muslims of West Africa. The first is the book by David Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation: Muslim Societies and French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880–1920* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000). In it, Robinson shows that the Muslim leaders of these two countries, who were also the leaders of Sufi brotherhoods, adopted a position of "accommodation" toward the colonial authorities—they neither resisted nor collaborated. This means that they agreed to leave matters of foreign policy to the colonial authority; in exchange for this, they were granted autonomy in religious, social, and economic affairs.

The second book is Muhammad Sani Umar's *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). The author demonstrates and discusses the different responses adopted by the *amīr*s and people of northern Nigeria, according to the legal and theological standpoint provided to them by their *'ulamā'*. Muhammad Sani Umar identifies the following four positions adopted by the *amīr*s and the people: (1) confrontation or resistance, (2) alliance, (3) submission, and (4) *hijra* (avoidance, flight, mass migration eastward). The situation can also be seen as follows: At the time of the colonial conquest, some resisted the colonial forces (resistance), while some worked with the colonizers (working alliance). After the victory of the colonial forces, some submitted (submission or accommodation), while others emigrated to eastward (*hijra*), namely to Mecca and Medina. My book discusses those who made the *hijra*. We must also bear in mind that the *hijra* was not only a West African phenomenon; it has occurred in all parts of the Muslim world that were subjected to colonial conquest.

Chapter 2 discusses the history of the *'ulamā'* that I present as forerunners of the *hijra*, and who were influential teachers at the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina. This chapter primarily concerns two men: the Fullānī shaykh, Alfā Hāshim al-Fūtī, and the Tuareg shaykh, Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Madanī (Ag Maḥmūd Abdullahi).

The nephew of Ḥāj ʿUmar Tall, Shaykh Alfā Hāshim al-Fūtī was the religious authority of Aḥmadu b. Ḥāj ʿUmar. He fought the French alongside Aḥmadu and his forces in Mali. When they lost the battle, they made the *hijra* en masse to northern Nigeria, where they fought against the British alongside Sultan al-Ṭahiru of northern Nigeria. After the defeat at Burmi, Shaykh Alfā Hāshim went with others to Sudan and then to the Hijaz, where he settled in Medina. There, while teaching at the Prophet's Mosque and at the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya, he served as the *muqaddam* (spiritual leader) of the Tijānī in the Arabian Peninsula and in the Arab world. At the same time, he remained the

representative of the black Africans in the Hijaz under the political power of the Ashrāf and Ibn Saʿūd. His relations with these two powers was tumultuous; he managed to survive with his principles, his dignity, and his authority, thus I describe him as having a *genius for survival*. We may also note that Shaykh Alfā Hāshim was the teacher and initiator (the first link) of a chain (*silsila*) of *ʿulamāʾ* whom we still find today in Saudi Arabia and in West Africa.

The Tuareg Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Madanī (Ag Maḥmūd Abdullahi) also initiated a chain of *ʿulamāʾ* that continues in Saudi Arabia and in West Africa. Ag Maḥmūd Abdullahi made the *hijra* in 1905 with his father and a group of Tuareg Kel es Suq when he was a small child. After spending thirty years in Arabia and a few years in India with the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, in 1938 he returned to West Africa to spread the Salafiyya *daʿwa* (mission) and encourage other Tuaregs to undertake the *hijra*. The biography of this shaykh in West Africa shows the beginnings of the Wahhābiyya *daʿwa* in the region and illustrates how the French colonial power managed to break it up. This shows how the colonial context and the colonial administration managed the Islamic religion, particularly how it was used by traditional Muslims against the Wahhābīs.

While the generation of the *ʿulamāʾ* forerunners transmitted their knowledge in the mosques (the Prophet's Mosque in Medina and al-Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca) and private schools (*madāris ahliyya*), the following generation of *ʿulamāʾ* (the subject of chapter 3) were among the first teachers of the first public institutions established by the Saudi state. Thus, while continuing to teach in the mosques as before, they inaugurated new places in which they transmitted their knowledge; these were the institutions founded by the state: institutes (*maʿāhid*) and universities and their faculties. Therefore in chapter 3 I examine two scholars from among the heirs of the first generation of *ʿulamāʾ*: Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, who descends from the chain (*silsila*) of Shaykh Alfā Hāshim, and Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, who descends from the line of Shaykh Ag Maḥmūd Abdullahi al-Madanī.

The career of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī is exceptional. Indeed, before becoming one of the heirs of the *ʿulamāʾ*, he belonged to the first francophone elite in Mali, his native country. He found himself at odds with his French colleagues, who criticized him and insulted Islam, so he left Mali to perform the pilgrimage and learn more about Islam. Though his intention was to return to Mali, fate decided otherwise and he established himself in Medina permanently. When he first came to Medina in 1926, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī knew nothing of Islam; he could read the Qurʾān, but did not understand its meaning. In Medina, he learned Arabic, then the religious sciences; in just a few years, he had become a well-known scholar and a teacher in the Prophet's Mosque

in Medina. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī was endowed with a strong will and an acute intelligence. When the Wahhābīs came to power, he had already become a Salafi of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth trend, and so rallied quickly to Wahhabism. King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz sent him as *dāʿī mutajawwal* (itinerant missionary) to the region of Yanbu near Medina to propagate Wahhabism among the Bedouin tribes. He then became director of the Madrasa Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina. When the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī (the first institution of higher learning opened by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz) was founded, he was appointed a teacher there.

Unlike Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī was already an *ʿālim* when he arrived in the Hijaz. He continued, however, to take courses in the mosque of Mecca and later in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. He then became a teacher in the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya and in the Prophet's Mosque. When the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī was opened, he was appointed a teacher there like his colleague Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī. When the Islamic University of Medina was founded, he was appointed a teacher in this university.

Chapter 4 deals with the Dār al-Ḥadīth and with the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī, two institutions in which Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī taught. Concerning the Dār al-Ḥadīth, I discuss not only the institution but also the doctrine that underlies it, that is to say the Salafiyya of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of India and its convergences with the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya.

The history of the establishment and evolution of the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī (like that of the Dār al-Ḥadīth) is accompanied by a historical overview of the educational institutions founded in the Hijaz by the Ottomans and by the Ashrāf.[5] To place the chapter in its historical and political context, I also offer a brief summary of the political history of the Hijaz in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Having covered the forerunners (the scholars who emigrated), and their heirs who became teachers in the first public educational institutions in Saudi Arabia, in chapter 5 I address the *ʿulamāʾ* of the third generation: teachers and administrators at the first Islamic universities of Saudi Arabia. The two key personalities I focus on are Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta and Shaykh Āb Wuld Ukhtūr (Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī).

ʿUmar Fallāta was born in Mecca of parents who had come from northern Nigeria to perform the *ḥajj*. In northern Nigeria, his parents were among the descendants of those who came from Mali and emigrated with Aḥmadu b. Ḥāj

5 *Ashrāf* (plural of *sharīf*) refers to the descendants of the Prophet. These descendants of the Prophet ruled in the Hijaz under the protection of the Ottomans until the conquest of the Hijaz by Ibn Saʿūd in 1925–26.

ʿUmar Tall (together with Shaykh Alfā Hāshim) and who fought at Burmi in 1903 alongside Sultan al-Ṭahiru. The biography of Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta illustrates two important aims of this book.

(1) It is a reminder of the *hijra* en masse of many Muslims who moved from Mali to northern Nigeria and then to the Hijaz through Sudan; this mass emigration was caused by the colonial invasion of the region. The Muslims opposed this invasion with armed resistance, but when they lost the war, they preferred to take refuge in the two holy cities of Islam (Mecca and Medina) over living under the political power of non-Muslims. This aspect of the colonial history in Africa, despite its importance, has been neglected by scholars.

(2) His biography demonstrates that the *ʿulamāʾ* (and the contribution they have made in Saudi Arabia to the spread of education and of Wahhabism) is a product of and a benefit of these emigrations, as is the formation of West African diasporas along the Sudan Road to the Hijaz.

ʿUmar Fallāta was raised and educated in Medina. He was the student of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, whom he considered also his spiritual father (*al-abb al-rūḥī*). The two figures are closely linked, as is clear from the continuous chain (*silsila*) of West African scholars that began with Shaykh Alfā Hāshim. Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta was the director of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina for more than thirty years after the death of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, his predecessor in this function. At the same time, for over ten years he was assistant secretary of the Islamic University of Medina and then secretary general of the same university for an additional ten years. He taught at the Islamic University and at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. He was undoubtedly one of the Saudi *ʿulamāʾ* who contributed most to the spread of education and the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya doctrine both inside and outside Saudi Arabia.

The Mauritanian Shaykh Āb Wuld Ukhtūr (Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī) followed almost the same professional itinerary as that of the other scholars examined here. He taught in the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya and in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, then in the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī in Riyadh and the Islamic University of Medina. He was also a member of the Hayʾat Kibār al-ʿUlamāʾ (Board of the Senior *ʿulamāʾ*) and a founding member of the Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī (Muslim World League) and a member of the advisory council of the Islamic University of Medina.

Because both of the scholars who are the subject of chapter 5 (and also Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī) were, on many levels, active in the Islamic University of Medina, in chapter 6 I discuss the history and evolution of this university, which is important for its role in training missionaries of the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya doctrine in and especially outside Saudi Arabia.

In chapter 7 I address the issue of *tarjama* (biography or biographical notice) and *tarjama dhātiyya* (autobiography) in the Islamic tradition, then discuss in more detail, in the three sections that follow, the meaning of *tarjama* (biography) according to some *ʿulamāʾ* examined in this book: Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta (a student of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī) and Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim (a student of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and Shaykh Muḥammād al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī) who both wrote biographies of their teachers.

An examination of these works leads to a consideration of the history of the Islamic tradition of writing biographies (*tarjama*) and autobiographies (*tarjama dhātiyya*) and the veracity of the commonly accepted idea that biography and autobiography are an invention of the western cultural tradition associated with the discovery of the individual and individualism in the West. In this final chapter I raise the question of how best to read these biographies and furthermore, how objective can this type of text be, when written by a disciple about his master. Indeed, the apologetic tone is part of the nature of the *tarjama*, which, aside from presenting a historical view, is mainly designed to extol the person as a role model for generations to come. Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta writes, "the biographies of important personalities are a school for future generations" (*tarājim al-rijāl madrasa al-ajyāl*).

It is equally legitimate to ask about biographies written in western countries, as these biographies are not really more objective than *tarājim* (sing. *tarjama*). A biographer generally writes about someone who fascinates him (with all the meanings of fascination), thus what is important is less the veracity of the facts constituting the biography as such than the historical picture that the biography presents. How much sympathy, antipathy, or empathy should or can the writer of a biography have toward the person he writes about? This is the kind of scientifically-oriented question often raised about biography. Doubt about the objectivity and the historical truth of a biography long made many historians suspicious of them. They favored the study of social, economic, and political structures and neglected the actors. But for the study of structures to be alive, we must take into account the actors who make the history. We must bring the human actors back to the stage. Thus, biography can be the main subject of study or simply a means to elucidate a period and a historical activity. In undertaking this study of the lives of these *ʿulamāʾ*, the facts of their biographies as such interested me less than the role they played in spreading the Wahhābī teaching first in Saudi Arabia and then from Saudi Arabia. Yet, we cannot discount the historical period in which they acted. Their biographies are thus a means and not the goal.

We must also note that in the Islamic tradition, *tarjama* does not pretend to be exhaustive, rather it is restricted to a brief intellectual history of the person,

a history that focuses on his role as a transmitter of and contributor to knowledge and a spirituality that the biographer shares. This fits the translation of *tarjama* as "biographical note" well. Thus, although the *tarjama* is an inaccurate and imperfect reflection of the person's life, it is nevertheless a key to explain his activities and accomplishments to coming generations. In fact, the basic content of a *tarjama* consists of the following components: the person's name and date of birth and a list of his teachers (*mashāʾikh, muʿjam*, or *thabat*), then bibliographic works on the person, accounts of travel and the pilgrimage (*riḥla*), which are clearly more verifiable. Other parts of the *tarjama*, like *karāmāt* (account of miracles) and *manāqib* (virtues) that can be attributed to the person are naturally difficult to verify and this aspect of the *tarjama* is doubtless subjective.

CHAPTER 1

Hijra on the Sudan Road (*Ṭarīq al-Sūdān*)

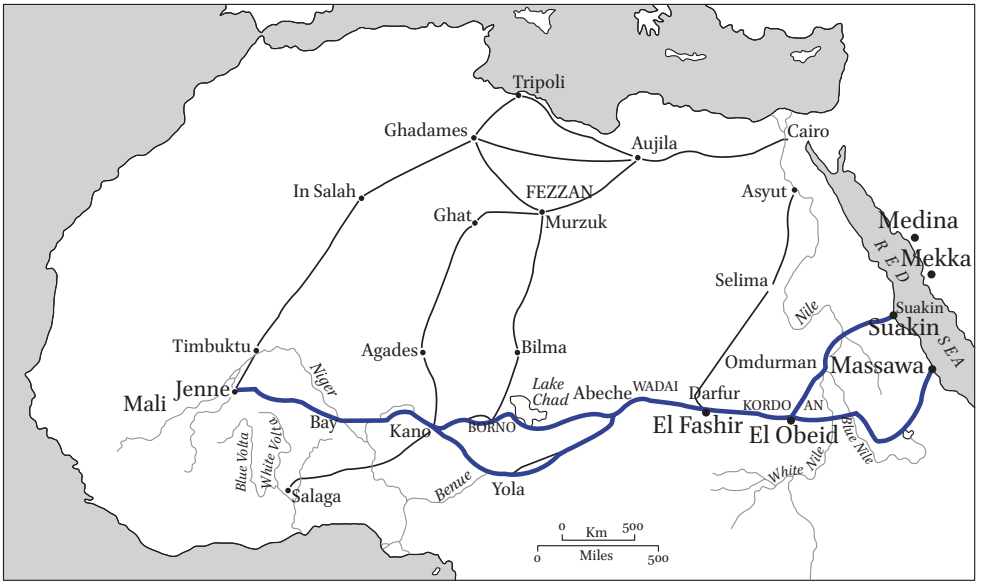

ILLUSTRATION 1 *Map of Sudan Route, from 'Permanent Pilgrims', p. XIV, by C. Bawa Yamba.*

West African Muslims responded in various ways to the colonial conquest of the region. Some groups collaborated while others resisted militarily in accordance with the Islamic obligation of *jihād*. When those who resisted lost the war, they either accommodated to the new circumstances or left the area, choosing not to live under the domination of non-Muslims. This latter group emigrated eastward to the two holy cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina. Some traveled via the North African route, while others chose the Sudan Road. In so doing, they revived the Islamic tradition of *hijra* of the Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions from Mecca to Medina in 622. They were also acting in adherence to the Qurʾān, which prescribes the *hijra* and reminds Muslims that God's earth is vast, and that they can move around; to claim that one is weak and unable to do so is unacceptable (Qurʾān 4:97). Another verse recalls that the security of anyone who comes to Mecca is guaranteed (Qurʾān 3:97).

Since the Islamization of West Africa, people used to take the North African route to Mecca through Cairo. Then they, together with North Africans,

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Egyptians, and some Sudanese, followed the *maḥmal* to Mecca and Medina.[1] From the sixteenth century on, when the Moroccans conquered the Songhay Empire (now Mali), the West Africans began to take the so-called Sudan Road to Mecca. This route started in Mali (and present-day Mauritania) then led to Hausaland, Chad, and Darfur. From there, pilgrims continued either along the *darb al-arbaʿīn* (the 'forty-day path,' well-known in the oriental slave trade) to Cairo, or continued eastward to Jinayna, al-Obaid, Omdurman, and then Sawākīn, Port Sudan, or Masāwa. From there they took a ship or a dhow to Jedda and Yanbu. Although the Sudanese route to Mecca was used from the sixteenth century on, it was in the nineteenth century that it gained in significance. In 1893, when Aḥmadu b. Ḥāj ʿUmar Tall (the son and successor of Ḥāj ʿUmar) and his troops were defeated by French colonial forces, they undertook a *hijra*, which led them into Hausaland. There, they joined the army of al-Ṭahiru (1891–1903; the grandson of ʿUthmān dan Fodio and sultan of northern Nigeria), and fought with him against the British colonial forces of Captain Lugard. After losing the decisive battle at Burmi in 1903, many Muslims involved in the campaign decided, under the leadership of Shaykh Alfā Hāshim, to emigrate. They moved further eastward to Sudan, Mecca, and Medina.[2] Thousands of people made the trip with all their belongings, including their livestock. The British explorer Captain Boyd Alexander met some of these groups of Muslims during his expedition of 1905 and described the situation as follows:

> The caravan Which now comes into my story had originally started from Timbucto, and, increasing its following as it went along from all countries on the way, now numbered seven hundred souls and one thousand heads of sheep and cattle . . . Its leaders were Hausa and Fulani Mallams . . . It was a wonderful organization, this slowly moving community, with its population of varied races and cattle and sheep and forming a column that stretched for miles along the way . . . Whole families were there,

1 Jacque Jomier, *Le Mahmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque* (*XIII–XX siècles*) (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1953). The *maḥmal* is a kind of wooden statue that was paraded through the streets of Cairo for three days each year during the period of the *ḥajj*; it was believed that people who touched it could gain *baraka* (divine grace).

2 On this battle and the emigration (*hijra*) to Sudan and Mecca and Medina, see David Robinson, "The Umarian Emigration of the Late Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 20, no. 2 (1987): 245–270; G.J. Lethem "Report on a Journey from Bornu, Nigeria, to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Jeddah and Cairo" in G.J.F. Tomlinson and G.J. Lethem, *History of Islamic Political Propaganda in Nigeria* (London: Waterlow and Sons Limited, 1927), pp. 12–27.

> carrying all their belongings, and perched upon the back of oxen were little children, some of whom had been brought forth on the road . . . Thus for fifteen hundred years (sic) this river of life has run out, and very likely I was looking at a picture that was true of the age of an even earlier Prophet than Mohamet, when Moses led Israel out of Egypt.[3]

One of the best works on this emigration is the article by David Robinson,[4] which is based on a text written by Shaykh Alfā Hāshim (*Hijratu Aḥmad b. Shaykh*) and translated from Arabic into Bambara and French.

Generally, the pilgrimage was made on foot, on camels, horses, or oxen. From about 1920, when cars began to be imported, some pilgrims traveled by car to Darfur and from there by train (or by car) to Omdurman, Sawākīn, Port Sudan, and Masāwa. At a later date, despite the fact that the use of aircraft for the *ḥajj* was available, many West African pilgrims continued to take the Sudanese route. This trend continued at least until the 1970s. During my field research in March–April 2008 in Saudi Arabia, I met pilgrims who had taken the Sudanese route to Medina and Mecca. Many of them did not intend to return to West Africa, and either settled in Saudi Arabia (where they are called Takkāra or Takārira)[5] or in Sudan, where they are still referred to today as Fallāta.

Thus, the *hijra* in question here is intimately linked with the period of colonial conquest in northern Nigeria and Mali, and the mass migration eastward (to Sudan, Mecca, and Medina) was largely a means of escape from the rule of non-Muslims.[6] This is, indeed, the period during which the Islamic scholars

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3 Captain Boyd Alexander met these fleeing hordes in about 1905, see E. Alexander (1908): *From the Niger to the Nile* (1908), vol. 2, pp. 1–5, as cited by ʿUmar al-Naqar, "The Historical Background to the Sudan Road," in *Sudan in Africa*, ed. Yūsuf Fadhl Ḥasan (Khartoum: Khartoum University Press, 1971), p. 105.

4 Robinson, "The Umarian Emigration."

5 See al-Naqar "Takrur."

6 In his book *Permanent Pilgrims*, Bawa Yamba traces precisely the story of a woman named Hajiya who left northern Nigeria in 1921 to settle permanently in Sudan after making the *ḥajj* to Mecca. Hajiya, who was the daughter of the Sarki (*amīr*) of her village, remembered when she was small the defeat of the armies of the *amīr*s of Hausaland by British troops (1903, 1904) and the *hijra* to the East (Mecca and Medina) of masses of Muslims fleeing the power of the European colonization. In doing so, they were at the same time fulfilling the recommendation (prediction) of Shehu ʿUthmān dan Fodio. It was indeed reported that ʿUthmān dan Fodio said that when Muslims are invaded by infidels, they should abandon the Hausaland and migrate eastward (in the direction of Mecca and Medina), where the *mahdī* will appear before the end of the world. The colonizers often stopped the masses making the *hijra* to the East. Some were even deported. This policy of containment and repression intensified

who are the focus of this book lived. Thus, the pilgrimage to Mecca by the Sudanese route that these Islamic scholars undertook was neither an isolated incident nor a special event. What was special, however, was what happened to them after they had settled in Mecca and Medina.

Hijra in Islam and West Africa: A Movement of People, Ideas, and Hope

The word *hijra* is mentioned several times in the Qur'ān with the meaning of to "reject" (23:69), to "avoid" (74:5), to "leave" (19:46), and to "ban" (4:34). It is often associated with the term *jihād*.[7] The *hijra*, in its Islamic signification, is rooted in the Islamic emigration from Mecca to Medina in 622, which Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions undertook when the repression that the majority of the Meccans had launched against them became unbearable. Thus, the year 622 has become established in the Islamic tradition as the starting point of the Islamic calendar.[8] Certain *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet Muḥammad encourage Muslims to undertake the *hijra*. For example: "There will come a time when he who professes his religion will not be secure unless he flees from one corner of the earth to the other for the sake of his faith."[9] This explains, at

during World War II. Long after this period, Hajiya (with her brother and son) accomplished the pilgrimage to Mecca. The route started from her village in the region of Burmi, Kano, and Maiduguri, where she joined a caravan of a hundred people (on horses, on camels, and on foot), Fort Lamy (from where she was able to take a truck), el-Fasher (Darfur), Khartoum, Omdurman, Suakin (by train), and Jedda (by boat). The journey to Mecca lasted three and a half years and of the 75 people traveling together with her, only 15 arrived in Sudan; 10 died en route. The rest remained in the various Zongo (Hausa villages) when they stopped to work to refinance the trip. Before returning to Sudan after the *ḥajj*, Hajiya remained in Mecca for three years.

7 Muhammad Khalid Masud, "The Obligation to Migrate: The Doctrine of *Hijra* in Islamic Law," in *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination*, ed. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 29–49.

8 However, before the emigration to Medina, there was the emigration to Ethiopia (al-Ḥabasha). Indeed, the Prophet Muḥammad advised those of his Companions who wanted to emigrate to go to Ethiopia. He said to them that there was a Christian king who treated everyone with fairness and tolerance whatever his religion.

9 John Ralph Willis, "Jihad fi Sabil Allah: Its Doctrinal Basis in Islam and Some Aspects of Its Evolution in Nineteenth-Century West Africa," *Journal of African History* 8, no. 3 (1967), p. 397. Willis writes that Ḥaj 'Umar Tall mentions this *ḥadīth* in his book *Rimāḥ hizb al-Raḥīm 'alā nuhūr ḥizb al-rajīm* (written in the margins of 'Alī Harāzim's *Jawāhir al-ma'ānī* (Cairo: 1927), vol. 2, p. 223, quoting Ibn Abū Jamra's *Bahjat al-nufūs, sharh al-Bukhārī*).

least in part, the *hijra* of Muslims who have found themselves in situations of repression and claim to be following the example of the Prophet.

Hijra, Jihād, the *Mahdī*, and *Ḥajj* in Islam and in West African Islam

After being defeated by the European invaders, many local Muslims preferred to make the *hijra* to Mecca and Medina than to live under the rule of the colonizers who were designated by the term *Naṣāra* (Christians). Other *hijra* movements related to *jihād* had already occurred in West Africa, even before the European colonization; examples include the *hijra* and *jihād* launched by Shehu ʿUthmān dan Fodio (in the eighteenth century) and those initiated by Ḥāj ʿUmar Tall (in the nineteenth century).

In 1890, when the French occupied Segu in Mali (the capital of Shehu Aḥmadu, son and successor of Ḥāj ʿUmar), Aḥmadu troops undertook a *hijra* that led them, in 1893, to northern Nigeria. After losing the Battle of Burmi in 1903, in which they fought together alongside al-Ṭahiru (the Sultan of northern Nigeria) against the British, many Muslims undertook a *hijra* en masse toward Sudan and then to Mecca and Medina.[10] The *hijra* of West Africans to Sudan during the period of the Mahdī of Sudan (1881–98) and the *hijra* launched from 1903 are two major *hijras* undertaken by West Africans to Sudan and then to Mecca and Medina. The desire to perform a *hijra* to Mecca and Medina went along with the desire to perform the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*), and often involved remaining in the holy cities until the end of the pilgrims' lives as *mujāwirūn* (sing. *mujāwir*), that is, as inhabitants who live in the vicinity of the Kaʿba and the two holy cities. This is how, in West Africa, the concept of *ḥajj* was linked to the concepts of *hijra* and *jihād*.

The *Hijra* Related to the *Mahdī*

While in the nineteenth century, the principal reason for the Muslim *hijra* in West Africa was the colonial invasion, a second reason was the Muslim belief in the approaching end of the world, which, many believed, would be preceded by the appearance of the *mahdī* in the thirteenth century of the Islamic calendar, which corresponded to the nineteenth century, specifically the period between 1786 and 1883. Thus, 1881–98, the period of Mahdism in

10 Muhammad S. Umar, *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

Sudan (the years of the uprising of Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī and of his exercise of power) was the first period during which the great mass movements of West Africans making a *hijra* to Sudan and to Mecca and Medina took place. This *hijra* was reinforced by a policy developed by the Mahdists to attract the inhabitants of West Africa (the *gharrāba*) to Sudan. The policy was encouraged by the assistant and future successor (*khalīfa*) of the Mahdī, ʿAbdallāh al-Taʿāyush, himself a son of a West African immigrant in Sudan.[11] Thus, the mass *hijra* of Muslims to Mecca and Medina via Sudan that occurred after the French and English conquest was also motivated (like many earlier emigrations) by the Muslim belief in the approaching end of the world, which, it was believed, would be preceded by the appearance of the *mahdī* (lit., 'the rightly-guided one').[12] In Islamic eschatology, the *mahdī* is a figure who will appear at the end of the time to fill the world with justice, after it has been filled with injustice. This injustice is embodied by *al-Masīḥ al-Dajjāl*, or the false messiah, the Antichrist. The *Dajjāl* was, in the eyes of the West African migrants, embodied by European colonizers. The *hijra* itself, wherein Muslims were forced to leave their lands to escape tyranny, was also considered a sign of the approaching appearance of the *mahdī*. The concept of the *mahdī* is not mentioned in the Qur'ān, nor does it appear in the two famous collections of *ḥadīth*s, namely those of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. But it can be found in the four other collections of *ḥadīth* (those of Ibn Māja, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Dāwūd, and al-Tirmidhī). There is no consensus among Sunnī Muslims about belief in the *mahdī*. Some reject it. Those who believe in the *mahdī* (perhaps a majority) are divided into two groups. The first and larger group believes that the *mahdī* will appear as a normal person, but by virtue of political and religious acts—he will perform the functions of the last caliph (successor) of the Prophet—he will effect a revival (*tajdīd*) of Islam. Thus while the *mahdī* and *mujaddid* (reviver or renewer, reformer of Islam) are two distinct concepts, there is a link between the two. The second group believes that the *mahdī* mentioned in the Islamic tradition is ʿĪsā (Jesus) who will defeat the Antichrist (*al-Masīḥ al-Dajjāl*), end injustice and tyranny in the world, strengthen Islam, and return

11 Some people posit the hypothesis that it was ʿAbdallāh who, when he met Muḥammad Aḥmad, convinced him that he was the expected *mahdī*. See al-Naqar, *Pilgrimage Tradition*, p. 85; S. Biobaku and M. al-Hajj, "The Sudanese Mahdiyya and the Niger-Chad Region," in *Islam in Tropical Africa*, ed. I.M. Lewis (Oxford, 1966), pp. 425–442.

12 al-Naqqar, *Pilgrimage Tradition*, pp. 77–91; A. Smith, "A Neglected Theme of West African History: The Islamic Revolutions of the 19th Century," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2, no. 2 (Dec. 1961); Biobaku and al-Hajj, "Sudanese Mahdiyya"; M. Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa* (London: Longman, 1984), p. 180.

justice to the world.[13] And in fact, Islamic doctrine gives Muslims hope when it teaches them that every hundred years God sends a *mujaddid*.[14] But it is also clear that these aspirations and beliefs in a *mujaddid* could open the door to totalitarian leaders with repressive political systems. Thus, the *hijra* and all that it represents in the collective imagination of Muslims who undertake it is not only a movement of people, but also a movement of ideas, expectations, and hopes; hopes to change individual lives and the life of the group to which one belongs, the life of the country left behind, and the life of the country in which one wants to settle.

Although the migrants who performed the *hijra* and the *ḥajj* formed diaspora communities along the road[15] (from Chad[16] and Sudan[17] to the Hijaz in Saudi Arabia) and have strongly marked, in one way or another, the societies in which they lived (and still live), they have also been subject to discrimination and marginalization from the populations of the host countries. This marginalization is evident today in the places where many of them have settled and also in the names they have been given. For instance, in Sudan, Mecca, and Medina, people call them Fallāta or Fullānī, Takkāra or Takārira (sing. Takrūrī).[18] In Sudan, they are also called Gharrāba[19] (westerners), a term used

13 This Sunnī understanding of the *mahdī* is quite different from that of the Shīʿa Ithnā ʿAsharī (Twelver Shīʿa). The latter believe that the *mahdī* (who is in hiding) will return and be their twelfth imam and he alone, because he is infallible, has the power to give the only correct explanation of the fundamental texts of Islam.

14 Elie Kedourie, *Afghani and ʿAbduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam* (New York: Humanities Press, 1966), pp. 49–50. On the belief in the *mahdī*, see, among others, J. Darmesteter, *Le Mahdi depuis les origines de l'Islam jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1885); Paul Casanova, *Muhammad et la fin du monde* (Paris, 1911); E. Blochet, *Le Messianisme dans l'hétérodoxie musulmane* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1903); Bernard Lewis, *The Origins of Isma'ilism* (Cambridge: W. Hoffur and Sons, 1940); Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*: *An Introduction to History*, trans. F. Rosenthal (New York, 1958), esp. vol. 2, pp. 157–200; C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Der Mahdi," in *Verspreide Geschriften* (Leipzig: K. Schroeder, 1923–27), vol. 1, pp. 145–183. See also the *ḥadīth* of the apparition of the *mujaddid* (renovator) in Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān, *Kitāb Sunan* (various editions).

15 J.S. Birks, *Across the Savannas to Mecca: The Overland Pilgrimage Route from West Africa* (London: C. Hurst, 1978).

16 Works, *Pilgrims in a Strange Land*.

17 Yamba, *Permanent Pilgrims*.

18 For the Takrūr, please see the introduction.

19 For meanings of the term "*gharrāba*" (including pejorative meanings), see ʿAbdallāh ʿAbd al-Mājid Ibrāhīm, *al-Gharrāba: al-Jamāʿāt allatī hājarat min gharb ifrīqyā wa-stawṭanat sūdān wādi al-nīl wa-dawruhum fī takwīn al-huwiyya al-sūdāniyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Ḥāwī, 1418/1998), vol. 1.

also to describe the people of Darfur and those from West Africa. Over time, all of these terms have acquired a pejorative meaning. In Mecca and Medina, instead of being called *mujāwirūn* (sing. *mujāwir*), residents of the holy places, migrants were called *baqāya al-ḥajj* (the remnants of the pilgrimage), a pejorative term. But in fact, most of the population of these two holy cities are, indeed, people who have remained behind after the pilgrimage.

Three major ethnic groups of West Africa were more involved in the *hijra* than others: the Fullānī, the Tuaregs, and the Moors. In particular, it was largely the literate among these three groups who undertook the pilgrimage or who urged people to leave the area and actually "guided" them toward Mecca and Medina. Some common features characterize these three groups and may explain why they were the first to opt for *hijra* after colonization. Here I would note three characteristics. (1) These are all people from a nomadic tradition and therefore they were accustomed to long journeys and travel, to moving around when their material circumstances deteriorated. (2) Many claim that their ancestors originally came from the East, especially from the Arabian Peninsula. (3) They were among the first in the region to embrace Islam and to propagate it through *jihād*, commerce, and teaching.

In order to leave the area, they seized the occasion of the *ḥajj* period; without this rationale for leaving, the colonizers would not have let them go. Apart from discussing the *hijra* of these three communities as a reaction to the colonization, I also try to show the reaction of the colonizers to the *hijra*.

To illustrate the phenomenon, I present the biographical outlines of six personalities who made the *hijra* through the Sudan Road: (1) The Fullānī Shaykh Alfā Hāshim from Futa Tooro. He arrived in Medina in 1904 and died there in 1931. (2) The Tuareg Shaykh al-Madanī (Ag Maḥmūd Abdullahi) from what is today Mali. He arrived in Medina in 1906 and returned to Mali in 1938, where he died in 1951. (3) Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, the other Tuareg of the same group and a student of al-Madanī. He arrived in Mecca in 1947 and died in Medina in 1997. (4) Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī (Āb Wuld Ukhtūr) from what is today Mauritania, who arrived in Medina in 1947 and died in Mecca in 1973. (5) Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Yūsuf al-Ifrīqī, a Fullānī-Sonrai from what is today Mali. He arrived in the Hijaz in 1926 and died in Beirut (but was buried in Medina) in 1957. (6) Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta, a Fullānī born in Mecca in 1926 but raised in Medina by his parents, came from northern Nigeria. He died in Medina in 1998.

Each of these six *ʿulamāʾ* could be considered a central figure of the *hijra* to the Ḥaramayn (Mecca and Medina) among their respective ethnic groups in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These *ʿulamāʾ*, from the very beginning of the Ibn Saʿūd regime, contributed greatly to the spread of knowledge

and religious education (particularly instruction in Wahhābī doctrine), both in Saudi Arabia and beyond. They did not do this alone but in collaboration with other *ʿulamāʾ* from Najd, India (especially *ʿulamāʾ* from the Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement), and Egypt (particularly those from the Anṣār al-Sunna movement). This reality contradicts the "local Islam" notion that many who study Islam in Africa still identify with Islam in Africa or, as they say, "African Islam." This also contradicts the belief that the spread of the Wahhābiyya doctrine at the beginning of Ibn Saʿūd's regime took place solely at the instigation of the Najdī *ʿulamāʾ*.

The adoption of the Wahhābiyya doctrine and the Ḥanbalī school of law by these actors, once they arrived in the Hijaz, raises the question of the sincerity of their conversion to the Wahhābiyya; until their arrival in the Hijaz, they were all Mālikī and Sufi. Until his death, Shaykh Alfā Hāshim remained the *muqaddam* for the Tijānī in the Middle East and eastern Africa; he was also close to the Āl Saʿūd family, as he had been close to the Ashrāf, their opponents and predecessors in power. Shaykh Ag ʿAbdullahi Maḥmūd, Shaykh Shinqīṭī, and Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī adopted Wahhabism when they first arrived in the Hijaz, probably out of pragmatism. We know that in Mecca Shaykh Shinqīṭī was first received by the Sufi *ʿālim* and opponent of Wahhābi *ʿulamāʾ*, namely Shaykh Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī l-Mālikī. In his book *Riḥlat ilā l-ḥajj*, in which Shaykh Shinqīṭī recounts his journey to Mecca, we may not notice any Sufi learning, but we do see clearly the influence of the Ashʿarī doctrine. However, we should not thereby conclude that their conversion to Wahhabism was not sincere, but purely pragmatic, if not opportunistic. In many conversions the convert's motivation is initially pragmatic or even opportunistic; but over time it becomes sincere. These *ʿulamāʾ*, perhaps with the exception of Shaykh Alfā Hāshim, all became convinced Wahhābīs, judging by the works they have left, their teachings, their writings, and their commitment to the Wahhābī *daʿwa*.

The Reaction of the Colonizers to the *Muhājirīn*

The colonial powers (the English and French) reacted to the phenomenon of the *hijra* in two ways: control and co-optation, although the French focused more on control and supervision than on co-optation. Both the English and French controlled the Sudan Road to the pilgrimage through administrative restrictions. The French required pilgrims to carry passports or other similar official documents that would indicate that they had been authorized to cross the borders of the countries under French control along the route to Mecca. Another measure involved the infiltration of agents to spy on other pilgrims

and report to the colonial power the activities of the pilgrims in Mecca and Medina, especially the activities of the *'ulamā'* from West Africa. The English used co-optation successfully in connection with the person of Shaykh Alfā Hāshim, whom they used to counter Mahdist propaganda in Sudan. In the West African communities in Sudan, they disseminated letters he had written denouncing Mahdist ideology. In 1925, they even sent him to Sudan to denounce the Mahdist movement.

Two written reports illustrate the attitude of the British and French colonial administration. One was written by the English colonial civil servants G.J.F. Tomlinson and G.J. Lethem; it was entitled *History of Islamic Political Propaganda in Nigeria*.[20] The *History of Islamic Political Propaganda in Nigeria* consists of two reports bound in one. The first, by Tomlinson, deals mainly with the Mahdist movement as it affected Nigeria between 1923 and 1925. The report was written using information collected in the country. Tomlinson was then Secretary for Native Affairs in Northern Nigeria. The second was written by Lethem, who was then British Resident in Bornu (northern Nigeria). It deals with the same subject, but the information was collected by the author following "fieldwork" among the communities originating in West Africa in 1925 in Sudan, Jedda, and Cairo. The report written by the French civil servant Marcel Cardaire was entitled *L'Islam et le terroir africain* (*Islam and the African Soil*).[21]

From the 1930s on, the French became increasingly concerned about the expansion of pan-Islamist and Islamic anti-colonial ideas in West Africa. In January 1950, the French Overseas Minister (Ministre de la France d'Outre-mer) wrote to the governors general of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa and asked them to adopt a policy to control the spread of Islam in these regions and appoint only civil service experts on Islam. These should be

> the best-informed administrators on Islamic matters, and definitely not those who are seduced by the external aspects of Islam or by the relative learning of certain black Africans or who are interested only in aesthetic or intellectual satisfaction, but those who really perceive in Islam an eminent danger and are capable of denouncing and combating it.[22]

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20 Tomlinson and Lethem, *History of Islamic Political Propaganda in Nigeria*.

21 Marcel Cardaire, *L'Islam et le terroir africain* (Dakar: Institut français d'Afrique noire, 1954).

22 CAOM, Affaires Politique, 2158, dossier 4, quoted from J.L. Triaud, "Le Crépuscule des *Affaires Musulmanes* en A.O.F. (1950–1956)," in *Le temps des marabouts: Itinéraires et stratégies islamiques en Afrique occidentale française, v. 1880–1960*, ed. Robinson and Triaud

This was called "la politique d'endiguement de l'Islam en Afrique de l'Ouest" (the policy of containment of Islam in West Africa). The first measure was the surveillance of prominent religious figures; this was done with the assistance of the Bureau des Affaires Musulmanes (Office of Muslim Affairs). It was in this climate that Captain Marcel Cardaire was appointed in January 1952 to the Bureaux des Affaires Musulmanes and attached to the branch of IFAN (Institut Français en Afrique Noire/French Institute of black Africa). In 1952, he accompanied pilgrims from West Africa on the pilgrimage to Mecca. He stayed in Jedda, progressed to Lebanon, and then moved on to Cairo before returning to West Africa. His mission was to collect information "on the origins of Wahhābī propaganda in French West Africa and the contacts which might exist between active movements in the Middle East and the Islamic community in French West Africa."[23] As we have seen, the report on this trip and other reports delivered to him by his undercover informants disguised as pilgrims were published in his 1954 book *L'Islam et le terroir africain*. In this book we find the names of Wahhābiyya *'ulamā'* from West Africa, among them the Malian 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and the Mauritanian Āb Wuld Ukhtūr (Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī).

(Paris: Karthala, 1997); quoted by Louis Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge: Religion, Power and Schooling in a West African Muslim Society* (London: Hurst, 2000), p. 87.

23 Quoted from AMI, "Rapport du Capitaine Cardaire, Commissaire du Gouverneur de l'AOF au Pèlerinage à la Mecke en 1952." Information from this report is also found in Cardaire, *L'Islam et le terroir africain*, and in Alliman Mahamane, *Le mouvement wahhabite à Bamako* (*origine et évolution*), *mémoire de fin d'études* (Bamako: École Normale Supérieure, 1995), p. 39; quoted by Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge*, pp. 94–95.

CHAPTER 2

The *'Ulamā'* Forerunners of the *Hijra* and Teachers in the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina

Shaykh Alfā Hāshim al-Fūtī (c. 1866–1931): A Genius for Survival

Shaykh Alfā Hāshim al-Fūtī was a nephew of Shaykh Ḥāj ʿUmar Tall al-Fūtī and the *muftī* and adviser of Aḥmadu Shehu, who was the son and successor of Shaykh ʿUmar.[1] When the French conquered Aḥmadu Shehu's empire (which stretched from Kayes in the West to Arbinta, east of Mali), Alfā Hāshim emigrated with Aḥmadu Shehu and his partisans to northern Nigeria. They joined the armies of the Sultan of Kano in their resistance against the English. When Lord Lugard and his forces defeated the Muslims at the Battle of Burmi[2] (1903), Alfā Hāshim and others migrated to Sudan and the Hijaz.[3]

Alfā Hāshim became a teacher at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina and at the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya. He was, at the same time, the *muqaddam* of the Tijānī *ṭarīqa* in Medina and the figure that linked the Tijānī from West Africa with those from the Mashriq, Arabia, and East Africa. Under the rule of the Hashemites, he was responsible for the black Africans (*takārira*)

1 Aḥmadu Shehu was the son of Shehu ʿUmar and Saturu. Saturu's father was Sultan Muḥammad Bello, who was the son and successor of ʿUthmān dan Fodio.

2 On the different reactions of the Muslims of northern Nigeria to British colonization, see Umar, *Islam and Colonialism*, especially ch. 2 "Responses to the Challenges of British Military Superiority," in which the author analyzes these different responses in the form of different arguments: Arguments for Hijra; Arguments for Submission; Arguments for Surrender; Arguments for Armed Confrontation, etc., pp. 64–103.

3 For the emigration of Alfā Hāshim and the whole history of the emigration of Aḥmadu Shaykh ʿUmar and his partisans, see Robinson, "Umarian Emigration"; David Robinson, "Between Hashimi and Agibu," in *La Tijāniyya: Une confrérie musulmane à la conquête de l'Afrique*, ed. J.L. Triaud and D. Robinson (Paris: Karthala, 2000), pp. 101–123; Rüdiger Seesemann, "Alfa Hashim," in *EI*^{3} (forthcoming); Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiz al-Tījānī al-Miṣrī, "Tarjamat Mawlānā ash-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hāshim," in *Ṭarīq al-ḥaqq*, 31 (3–4), (1981), pp. 40–5; Majdhūb Mudaththir al-Ḥajjāz, "Nubdhatun yasīra min tārīkh shaykhinā l-ʿAllāma Muḥammad al-Hāshim b. Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Fūtī," foreword to Alfā Hāshim al-Fūtī, *Imtāʿ al-ahdāq wa-l-nufūs bi-muṭālaʿat ahkām awrāq al-fulūs* (Khartoum, 1351/1933), p. 23; al-Naqar, *Pilgrimage Tradition*, pp. 21, 89.

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in the Hijaz. Later, Alfā Hāshim was reconciled with the English,[4] who used him against the Mahdiyya in Sudan (the English even sent him to Sudan to preach against the Mahdiyya propaganda). In 1349/1931, he was nominated by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to be a member of the first (and not yet official) Hayʾat Kibār al-ʿUlamāʾ of Saudi Arabia, but he died before taking his post.

Though we know about the emigration of Shaykh Alfā Hāshim from West Africa to Medina, especially based on what the shaykh himself wrote on the subject (*Hijratu Aḥmadu*, a document from which D. Robinson and others based their work on Alfā Hāshim), we know almost nothing about his life in the Hijaz. This is the episode that I tried to research more closely. Among the documents I collected in Medina on Alfā Hāshim, the most interesting in this regard was what Muḥammad Ḥusayn Zaydān, a prominent Saudi who had been his student,[5] wrote about Shaykh Alfā Hāshim's life in Medina. He was among the first Saudi journalists to use modern media—both written and audiovisual—in the country. In his autobiographical notes[6] we can learn a great deal about the life of Shaykh Alfā Hāshim in Medina. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Zaydān was indeed one of his students at the Mosque of the Prophet and at the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya.

On the life of Alfā Hāshim in Medina, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Zaydān reported on how this *ʿālim* transmitted Islamic knowledge and interacted with other *ʿulamāʾ*, including those from the same region as himself, such as Ibn Māyābā,[7] who is especially well-known for his polemic against the Tijānī *ṭarīqa*. Ibn Māyābā left Mauritania in the early twentieth century when the French invaded this country. Because he did not want to live under the domination of non-Muslims, he undertook the *hijra* by way of North Africa to Mecca and Medina in the company of other people, including his brother Lhabīb b.

4 In 1919, Shaykh Alfā Hāshim issued a manifesto in which he definitively rejected the pretensions of the Mahdiyya (Mahdism) and advised the faithful to support the British and King Hussein of the Hijaz, see Tomlinson and Lethem, *History of Islamic Propaganda in Nigeria*, pp. 16–17; see also Awad al-Sid al-Karsani, "The Establishment of Neo-Mahdism in the Western Sudan, 1920–1936, *African Affairs* 86, no. 344 (July 1987), p. 402.

5 He was born and brought up in Medina, but his parents came from Upper Egypt (Saʿīd).

6 Muḥammad Ḥusayn Zaydān, *Dhikrayāt al-ʿuhūd al-thalātha* (Jedda, 1408/1988), vol. 1, p. 35 and esp. pp. 47–49, where he tells the story of a time (1342/1923) during which he passed an oral examination before the well-known *ʿulamāʾ* of Medina, which included Alfā Hāshim, al-Khiḍr b. Māyāba al-Jakanī, and Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib Isḥāq al-Anṣārī (all from West Africa).

7 Muḥammad al-Khiḍr b. Māyāba, *Mushtahā l-khārif al-jānī fī radd zalaqāt al-Tījānī l-jānī* (The realization of the aspirations of the megalomaniac criminal or refuting the errors of the criminal al-Tijānī) (Jerusalem, 1344/1925, repr. Jordan, 1985).

Māyābā.[8] This brother stayed in Mecca, where he became a famous *ʿālim* (especially in the science of *ḥadīth*s, like many *ʿulamāʾ* from West Africa) in the Ḥaram in Mecca. When ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz conquered the Hijaz in 1925–26, Lhabīb, being very close to the Ashrāf, moved to Cairo, where he became a teacher at al-Azhar. His brother, Muḥammad, who was the Mālikī *muftī* in Medina, went to settle in Jordan, where he and his sons came to occupy important state positions (his son was a long-time ambassador of Jordan in Saudi Arabia during the reign of kings Saʿūd and Faiṣal). Although he was an opponent of the Tijānī *ṭarīqa* (and probably of the Sufism of the *ṭuruq*), Muḥammad b. Māyābā was not pro-Wahhābiyya.

Shaykh Alfā Hāshim could have followed the Ashrāf as Ibn Māyābā did and fled to Jordan, as he was very close to them. He also could have gone to Sudan, then under British administration, since he had made peace with them. But he preferred to stay in Medina, which was conquered by the Wahhābiyya forces of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Again, he accommodated himself to the new situation. Although he did not adhere to the Wahhābiyya doctrine, the new *amīr* of Medina, Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh, esteemed and respected him because he was the representative of the West Africans in the Hijaz. According to Shaykh ʿUmar Ḥasan Fallāta[9] (the only *ʿālim* of West African origin teaching in the Prophet's Mosque), Shaykh Alfā Hāshim was appointed a member of the first Hayʾat Kibār al-ʿUlamāʾ (Council of the Higher *ʿulamāʾ*), at the time still an unofficial institution. When I asked him whether Shaykh Alfā Hāshim had remained a Tijānī, he said no.[10] Then he added, "What we are sure about is that he rejected many of the Tijānī doctrines. He did that before Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykh, the new chief of the *quḍāt* [Muslims judges] in the Hijaz and the western province at the time." Indeed, the Moroccan Salafī Shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī writes in his autobiography[11]

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8 Muḥammad Ḥabīballāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad Māyāba al-Jakanī (1295–1363/1878–1943). Among those who studied under him in Mecca were Shaykh Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Mshāt and Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Kurdī (the famous author and calligrapher (*khaṭṭāṭ*) of Mecca). He is the author of the well-known and detailed *Tārīkh Makka* (History of Mecca) and *Muṣḥaf makka* (Qurʾān of Mecca), which he wrote by hand; see ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Muʿallimī, *Aʿlām al-makkiyyīn min al-qarn al-tāsiʿ ilā l-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar al-hijrī* (Mecca: Muʿassasat al-Furqān li-l-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1420/2000), vol. 1, pp. 574–575.

9 Interviews with Shaykh (Dr.) ʿUmar Ḥasan Fallāta in Medina (14, 15, and 16 March 2008).

10 Interviews with Shaykh (Dr.) ʿUmar Ḥasan Fallāta in Medina (5 April 2008).

11 Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī, *al-Daʿwat ilā Allāh fī aqṭār mukhtalifa* (Medina: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1391/1971).

that in the 1920s Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan (chief of the judges in the Hijaz and the western province) sent him, together with the Egyptian Salafī Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ḥamza (member of the Egyptian Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya), to Medina, among other things to monitor the teaching in the Prophet's Mosque and to prevent the non-Salafī *ʿulamāʾ* from continuing to teach there. Shaykh al-Hilālī writes that he managed to induce Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī[12] (a Tuareg *ʿālim*, also from the Kel es Suq group) to renounce his affiliation to the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa* and to embrace the Salafiyya doctrine. He wanted to do the same with Shaykh Alfā Hāshim, that is to say, to push him to renounce his affiliation with the Tijānī *ṭarīqa*, but in vain. Shaykh Alfā Hāshim, with the support of the *amīr* of Medina, was able to escape the "plot" that al-Hilālī had launched. Ultimately, the *amīr* of Medina, exasperated by the Salafī zeal of al-Hilālī, returned him to Mecca and Shaykh Alfā Hāshim was able to end his days in peace.

In his teaching function at the Mosque of the Prophet, Alfā Hāshim was succeeded by his student Shaykh Saʿīd b. Ṣiddīq (born in 1310/1892 in Gabero[13] in northern Mali and died in 1353/1934 in Medina). Shaykh Saʿīd b. Ṣiddīq married the daughter of Alfā Hāshim. He continued his teaching in the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina. When the Saʿūd family assumed power in the Hijaz, they confirmed him as teacher in the Prophet's Mosque after the Ashrāf dismissed him because they considered him to be in favor of Wahhābiyya doctrine. This conversion story of Shaykh Saʿīd to Wahhābism may have been constructed retrospectively to justify his favorable position during the regime of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd. Regardless of the veracity of the story, it confirms that even before the conquest of the Hijaz by the Wahhābiyya in 1926, the Wahhābiyya doctrine had support among the *ʿulamāʾ* of the Hijaz. Besides his function as teacher at the Prophet's Mosque, Shaykh Saʿīd b. Ṣiddīq was named a member of the first Hayʾat al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa al-nahyi ʿan al-munkar[14] (lit.: Office for the commanding of good and forbidding of evil) in Medina.

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12 He is also the uncle and adoptive father of ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Anṣārī, the founder of the Saudi magazine *al-Manhal*. For his biography, see Aḥmad Amīn Ṣāliḥ Murshid, *Ṭayyibat wa-dhikriyyāt al-aḥibba* (Medina and Jedda, Sharikat al-Madīna al-Munawwara li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 1416/1995), vol. 1, p. 66.

13 A commune in the Cercle of Gao, in southeastern Mali. Villages of the commune of Gabero along the south coast of the Niger River include Marga, Traoré, Banikane, Borno, Zinda, Kardjimé, Koissa, Dongomé, Boya, and Gaina; along the north coast of the Niger River: Haoussa-Foulane, Gouthine, Gargouna, Todjel-Gargouna, and Todjel-Gabero.

14 Often known solely by the name Hayʾa.

Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Madanī (Ag Maḥmūd Abdullahi): The "Intransigent" Salafī Missionary

The other *ʿālim* of the nineteenth century was the Tuareg of the Kel es Suq group, ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Maḥmūd al-Madanī (al-Tessi al-Timbuktī), who arrived in Medina in 1324/1906, when he was just five, with his father Shaykh Maḥmūd al-Timbuktī and other members of the Kel es Suq group. ʿAbdallāh studied first with his father, an *ʿālim* who was considered the initiator of the *hijra* of the people of the Grand Sahara (*al-Saḥrāʾ al-kubrā*) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[15] His father died in Medina before ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz took power in the Hijaz. After the death of his father, ʿAbdallāh studied with several *ʿulamāʾ* in the Prophet's Mosque and in the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya in Medina. One of the teachers from whom he learned a great deal was Shaykh al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī, who also came from the Kel es Suq Tuareg group and had made the *hijra*. After finishing his studies, he began teaching in the same Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya and in the Prophet's Mosque. In 1343/1924, he was appointed *imām* of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, a position he shared with Shaykh Ṣāliḥ al-Zaghībī, a well-known *ʿālim* in Medina at that time. In 1353/1934, he resigned from his position as *imām* at the Mosque of the Prophet and went to India, apparently to deepen his knowledge of the science of *ḥadīth*s (*ʿilm al-ḥadīth*). This shows that the West African and North African *ʿulamāʾ* of the Hijaz were influenced by the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of India and had been in contact with them earlier. These *ʿulamāʾ*, who are the focus of this book, were all influenced by the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of India.

When ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Maḥmūd al-Madanī arrived in India, he went directly to join the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of Benares (exactly as the Moroccan Shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī did in the same period). In Benares, he learned by following *muḥaddithūn* (*ḥadīth* specialists): Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Mubārakpūrī, the author of *Tuḥfat al-aḥwadhī*; Shaykh Shams al-Ḥaqq al-ʿAẓīm Ābādī, the author of *ʿAwn al-maʿbūd*; and Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ Zakariyyā l-Kandahlawī, the author of *Awjaz al-masālik*. He spent about a year in India, then returned to Saudi Arabia; he stayed first in Abhā for more than one a year, married a woman from Abhā, and became a teacher in the mosque and *madrasa*. He even worked for a few months as a *qāḍī* there. At the same time, he began trading between Abhā and Sanaa in Yemen. According to Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, he met with Imām Yaḥyā several times.[16] Throughout his

15 Ḥammād b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, *Daʿwat al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Madanī fī l-ṣaḥrāʾ al-kubrā wa-atharuhā* (unpublished), p. 6.

16 Ibid., p. 11.

travels, Shaykh al-Madanī made his living from commerce. His trading activities, which he carried out even when he was in Africa, assured him not only his livelihood but also his independence; he did not depend on the largesse of any political authority to earn his living. Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī mentions that some former students of Shaykh al-Madanī in Sanaa told him that they asked the Shaykh why he, as a Salafī *ʿālim*, continued to engage in trade and the shaykh answered, "It is exactly because I am an *ʿālim* and know therefore what is allowed and what is forbidden in trade that I am better placed than anyone else to do this work."[17] Shaykh al-Madanī came back to Medina briefly at the beginning of the year 1357/1938, then returned, some days later, to Mali, his homeland in West Africa. He was the only African *ʿālim* who had been a teacher and, at the same time, *imām* at the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina (if we exclude the Moroccan Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī in the 1970s). When he was in Medina, Shaykh al-Madanī worked hard to persuade many people of West African origin (including the Tuaregs) to convert to the Wahhābiyya Salafiyya doctrine. Among them, we should mention his teacher Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī, who was then one of the well-known *ʿulamāʾ* in Medina. Both al-Madanī and Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī took part in the *hijra* of 1324/1906, first performed by Tuaregs (after the French colonization), which was led by al-Madanī's father. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī is the one whom the Salafī Shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī had urged to reject the *ṭarīqa* Qādiriyya and embrace Salafism, in particular by using the intermediary of al-Madanī discussed here. In the history of this *hijra* we find numerous illustrations of how much the biography of each of these *ʿulamāʾ* is linked with and completes the biographies of the others.

When al-Madanī returned to Africa in 1357/1938, he taught in mosques and schools and disputed with the Sufi *shuyūkh* (sing. *shaykh*) of the Gao and Tillaberi region (a border region between Mali and Niger) in an effort to promote Wahhābiyya *daʿwa* in Mali and Niger. He also encouraged the people to emigrate to the Hijaz. A colonial report of 1949 on the Gao region identifies al-Madanī as a "Saoudite" who was inciting people to emigrate (make a *hijra*) to Saudi Arabia by taking the occasion of the *ḥajj*.[18] And this report confirms the information reported by Shaykh Ḥammād, that Shaykh al-Madanī urged people to make the *hijra* to Mecca and Medina. Shaykh al-Madanī had been engaged in trade (as he did on the Arabian Peninsula) and simultaneously spread the *daʿwa* Wahhābiyya in Mali, Niger, northern Nigeria, and

17 Ibid.

18 A.N.M. (Archives nationals du Mali), 1-E- 17 I FR, Gao, Rapport de tournée, 1er trimestre, 1949, cited by Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge*, p. 146.

Ghana. When he arrived in West Africa, he moved to Tessi in Mali on the west bank of the Niger River, very close to the border with Niger and Burkina Faso. According to Mūsā Shaddād, his relatives of the Kel es Suq were the first people to accept the doctrine preached by Shaykh al-Madanī; they were followed by the *ʿulamāʾ*, and the allied tribes, such as the Imghad and Imdadghen.[19] Lansiné Kaba wrote that al-Ḥāj Abdullahi (i.e., al-Madanī) even managed to convert to his Wahhābiyya doctrine the people of Timbuktu, who were, like most people there, members of the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*. Similarly, some *ʿulamāʾ* of the Kunta family (who were the spiritual leaders of the Qādiriyya) followed Shaykh al-Madanī. Kaba wrote that the moderation of Shaykh al-Madanī's discourse helped him to spread, albeit gradually, the Wahhābiyya doctrine in the region. According to Kaba, the spread of the Wahhābiyya did not cause a violent reaction from other Muslims or from the colonial administration because it spread slowly over time. This would seem to contradict what was reported by Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī about what he called the "intransigence" of Shaykh al-Madanī, which he states was the reason why al-Madanī's *daʿwa* was not very successful. Yet as the first to spread the Wahhābiyya *daʿwa* in the region of the great bend of the Niger toward Nigeria and Ghana, al-Madanī "deserves to be considered the *forerunner* of the Wahhābī movement" in this region.[20] Al-Madanī died in 1951.

Thanks to Shaykh al-Madanī's efforts, Gao (in Mali) and its region were a starting point for the spread of Wahhabism; in the 1950s, through the efforts of al-Ḥāj Shaykh Tiekodo Kamagaté, Bouake, Ivory Coast became the second outpost of the spread of Wahhabism. Shaykh Tiekodo Kamagaté returned to Bouake in 1944 after performing the *ḥajj* and remaining in Mecca and Medina for five years to study. Unlike his predecessor Shaykh al-Madanī, Shaykh Tiekodo Kamagaté was uncompromising and tended to polarize communities. This certainly helped spread the Wahhābiyya *daʿwa*, but it also created fierce opponents.[21] The following two facts are worth recalling.

Like his predecessor Shaykh al-Madanī, Shaykh Tiekodo Kamagaté was both an *ʿālim* and a trader. This way of life was consistent with the tradition of Prophet Muḥammad, who was a trader, and it also allowed him to live independently without compromising with the political authorities, in this case the French. Interestingly, Shaykh Tiekodo Kamagaté was placed under house arrest by the

19 Mūsā Shaddād, *Awwal ḥaraka salafiyya fī junūb al-ṣaḥrāʾ*, p. 2 [copy of a manuscript provided to me by the author in Gao (Mali)].

20 Lansiné Kaba, *The Wahhabiyya: Islamic Reform and Politics in French West Africa* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1974), pp. 30–32.

21 Ibid., pp. 34–45.

French, at the initiative of the traditional anti-Wahhābiyya *ʿulamāʾ*, who were his opponents. The anti-Wahhābiyya *ʿulamāʾ* saw Shaykh Tiekodo Kamagaté as a threat to their authority in society. And to get rid of him, they denounced him to the French colonial administration as anti-French and an opponent of the colonial state. The first French-speaking elite who began to fight for independence sought the support of Shaykh Tiekodo Kamagaté and of the young people around him. This strengthened the idea that the Wahhābīs were fighting against the colonial presence. They were, of course, against colonization, but this struggle was secondary for them. Their first priority was the spread of the Wahhābiyya doctrine in the region. Ultimately, the more the colonial administration opposed them (at the instigation of the traditional *ʿulamāʾ*), the more radical their position against colonization became.

CHAPTER 3

The *ʿUlamāʾ* of the Second Generation, Heirs of the *Hijra* and Teachers in the First Islamic Institutes in Saudi Arabia

ILLUSTRATION 2
Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, courtesy of ʿAbd al-Bārī al-Anṣārī, son of Ḥammād al-Anṣārī and head and caretaker of the library and archives of Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī in Medina.

Ḥammād al-Anṣārī (1344–1418/1925–97)

Ḥammād al-Anṣārī was a Tuareg from the Kel es Suq group, like his teacher al-Madanī (Ag Maḥmūd Abdullahi). He was among those who followed the advice of al-Madanī and emigrated to Arabia; he arrived in Mecca in 1367/1947. In his autobiography[1] he wrote about his shaykh, Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Madanī, whom he describes as an uncompromising person. He notes that he saw him in 1366/1946 spreading the Salafī teaching in Kano (northern Nigeria) and in Ghana: "If it were not for his intransigence, which he himself recognized as an obstacle, many would have benefited from his teaching."[2] Ḥammād al-Anṣārī was a *muḥaddith* (an expert in the science of *ḥadīth*s); he first taught in the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya in Medina, then at the Madrasat al-Ṣawlatiyya in Mecca, then at the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī in

1 al-Anṣārī, *Daʿwat al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Madanī.*

2 Ibid., p. 12.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004291942_005

Riyadh,[3] and later at the Islamic University of Medina. At this university, he was also in charge of Arabic manuscripts, which he acquired by traveling throughout the world on behalf of the university. Today, his personal library, which is accessible to the public, is one of the best private libraries of the Islamic sciences in Medina. Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī died in Medina in 1418/1997.

"Riḥlat min Ifrīqyā ilā bilād al-ḥaramayn" [Traveling from Africa to the two holy cities]

In a series of long interviews[4] entitled "Riḥlat min Ifrīqyā ilā bilād al-ḥaramayn" [Traveling from Africa to the two holy cities] he gave to a journalist, Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī related his *hijra* from Africa to Mecca and Medina via Sudan. He recounted his origins; his *hijra* in all its aspects; the Islamic knowledge he received in Africa (Mali), in comparison to what he observed in Asia (the Arabian Peninsula, the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent); and finally, he offered advice to young students of the Islamic sciences.

Shaykh Ḥammād's mode of exposition includes many digressions, yet, whatever their length, he does not lose the thread of his speech. His memory for the precise dates of events that occurred during his travels is also remarkable. He had a keen sense of history (real or mythical). We see this especially when he talks about the emigration of Arabs from the Arabian Peninsula to North Africa and Andalusia at the time of Islamic conquest, a history that he intimately binds with that of the Tuaregs of Tadmakka, with his own history (his autobiography), and with that of his family. By telling these histories, he highlights his own life story. The travel accounts and other texts in which Shaykh Ḥammād speaks for himself strike one as somewhat grandiloquent; perhaps this is a result of his very talkative character. We can also see Shaykh

3 Also known as Maʿhad al-ʿIlmī bī-l-Riyāḍ (The Institute of Sciences at Riyadh). The sciences in question here are the sciences of the *sharīʿa* (*al-ʿulūm al-sharʿiyya*), these include commentary on the Qurʾān (*tafsīr*) and the teaching of *ḥadīth*s. For the history of this institute, see e.g., Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Rashīd (ed.), *al-Shaykh ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh Muftī al-Diyār al-Suʿūdiyya* (*1311–1389/1893–1969*) (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī, 1416/1996); Ḥamad al-Jāsir, "Fī maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿilmī," *al-Majallat al-ʿArabī* 204, no. 18 (Muḥarram 1415/June–July 1994).

4 See the two-volume collection of his interviews and the comments that his colleagues and students have written about him. The collection was compiled by his son ʿAbd al-Awwal b. Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, under the title *al-Majmūʿ fī tarjamat al-ʿallāma al-muḥaddith al-Shaykh Ḥammād b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, wa-sīratihi wa-aqwālihi wa-riḥlātihi* (Medina, 1422/2002), see especially "al-Riḥlat min Ifrīqyā ilā bilād al-ḥaramayn," vol. 2, pp. 781–851.

Ḥammād's acute understanding of history and the role of the *hijra* in his periodization of history. He presents World War II as an important break in the history of French colonization in West Africa and notes that the post-World War II period was very different from the world before it. He also understood that the Hijaz after its conquest (1926) by Ibn Saʿūd became very different from the Hijaz before this conquest.

Shaykh Ḥammād called himself Ḥammād al-Anṣārī l-Ifrīqī l-Mālī l-Tādmakkī l-Menakī. Menakī refers to the city of Menaka in northeastern Mali, his birthplace, and Tādmakkī to Tadmakka, an ancient town (no longer in existence), according to legend, the original home of the Kel es Suq Tuaregs. Tadmakka had been formerly called Sūq (both were market towns). Shaykh Ḥammād notes that he is a descendent of the Kel es Suq of Tadmakka and the Arab Anṣār of Medina; he also mentions his African and Malian identity.

In contrast to his Mauritanian colleague Shaykh Āb Wuld Ukhtur (Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī), who, in his travel account, compared the Africans he met in Mali and Chad to animals and made other racist remarks, Shaykh Ḥammād shows no racism in regard to the Africans he met on the *hijra*. On the contrary, Shaykh Ḥammād thanks the Africans who helped him and his companions throughout the trip, especially those in Nigeria and Sudan. The Mauritanian Shaykh al-Shinqīṭī evokes only Sudan, and then only to discuss the theological questions that were posed to him and to which he responded well, at least in his own opinion. Shaykh Ḥammād also recalls that during his early days in Mecca and Medina, it was Africans who provided the support they needed.

Interestingly, Shaykh Ḥammād did not identify himself, here or elsewhere, as a Tuareg. He said he was from *al-Ṣaḥrāʾ al-Kubrā* (the Great Sahara). When he mentions the Tuaregs (e.g., in his shorter book on the biography of Shaykh al-Madanī), he refers to them as "bad Muslims and bandits." It is a discourse similar to how the Mauritanian *zawāyā* speak about the *ḥassān*.[5]

Menaka, according to Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, was established after the destruction of Tadmakka, whose inhabitants had gone there to live with their camels. For a long time, Menaka was just a place populated by camel drivers and other Bedouins; it only later became a city. Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī tells the mythical history of the creation of Tadmakka, which is at the same time an important part of the history of the formation of the Kel es Suq identity. Tadmakka, he wrote, was a well-known commercial city mentioned by histo-

5 In the traditional social stratification in Mauritania, the *zawāyā* are the tribes of Muslim scholars opposed to the Ḥassān tribes, which specialize in raids and wars. See, among others, C.C. Stewart, *Islam and Social Order in Mauritania: A Case Study from the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

rians. It was previously called Sūq (lit., market) because it was a famous as a place where local people came to trade. Its central position in northern Mali, between current-day Libya, Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania, destined Sūq to play a leading role in trade in the region. But Sūq, according to Shaykh Ḥammād, later took the name of Tadmakka. He tells the following story: During their pilgrimage trip to or from Mecca, the *shanāqiṭa* (today's Mauritanians), who were called at that time *qiblāwiyyūn* (sing. *qiblāwī*; all those who lived west of the Tuaregs was a *qiblāwī*) stayed at Sūq for a time to trade. Shaykh Ḥammād noted in passing that these *qiblāwiyyūn* used to take the road to Tunisia and to Egypt and then to the Hijaz; or they took the road to Libya and Egypt and then to the Hijaz. But because they remained for a long time in Sūq, the Tuaregs began to ask them if they were planning to go to *ḥajj* or if they had come to Sūq only to trade or even to settle there permanently and whether the *ḥajj* was actually a pretext. *The qiblāwiyyūn* responded and said Sūq was indeed blessed like Mecca because they could find all they wanted, and "*tā dmakka*" (lit., here is Mecca). That was when people began to call this city Tadmakka and the ancient name Sūq was forgotten.

According to Shaykh Ḥammād, this story is mentioned both by al-Bakrī[6] in his history (*kamā dhakarahu al-Bakrī fī tārīkhihi*) and by al-Nāṣirī[7] in his history (*al-Nāṣirī fī tārīkhihi*) known as *al-Istiqṣāʾ fī akhbār al-maghrib al-aqṣā* [A meticulous study of the history of the Western Maghrib]. When Tadmakka was destroyed in 9 AH by the African Emperor Soni Ali, who was known for his lust (*fisq*) and debauchery (*fujūr*), Shaykh Ḥammād stated, the survivors of Tadmakka dispersed and some of them went to live in the place that later became the town of Menaka. Shaykh Ḥammād explained in his own way the story of the emperor Soni Ali, who ruled Gao, the capital of eastern Mali. Gao was on the banks of the Niger-Nile (*al-nīl nījir*). Tadmakka was north of Gao between what is today Mali and Algeria. Shaykh Ḥammād said that many *ʿulamāʾ* had written about the history of Soni Ali, including the Algerian of Maghribī origin (*al-Maghribī l-aṣl, al-jazāʾirī l-istiʿṭān*) ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī, and ʿUthmān dan Fodio. Shaykh Ḥammād said that this book by ʿUthmān dan Fodio was edited and published by his friend and colleague Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta, who, he wrote, was from the *qabīla Fallāta* (*Fulbe*), like ʿUthmān dan Fodio. Here we see how the question of origins was important in the eyes of Shaykh Ḥammād. Shaykh Ḥammād wrote that he came from a family of *ʿulamāʾ* and judges, some of whose biographies have been written. For

6 Abū ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Andalusī (d. 1094) (*al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*).

7 Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī (d. 1897) (*al-Istiqṣā li-akhbār duwal al-maghrib al-aqṣā*).

example al-Sakhāwī, in his book *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ*, wrote a biographical note on Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Anṣārī, an ancestor of Shaykh Ḥammād. Thus, Tuaregs see Soni Ali as an enemy—the one who drove them from their homes and left them a people with no fixed territory.

Shaykh Ḥammād wrote that the origins of his family go back to the Companion of the Prophet (*ṣaḥābī*) Saʿīd b. Saʿd b. ʿAbāda al-Anṣārī (his name indicates that he was from the Anṣār in Medina),[8] who was in the army sent by Muʿāwiya to North Africa. Saʿīd fathered many children there. One of them, from whom Shaykh Ḥammād's family is descended, moved to Arnata (Granada) in Andalusia, where he fathered many children. The great-grandfather of Shaykh Ḥammād is one of those children who had emigrated to North Africa after the *reconquista*. In short, Shaykh Ḥammād wanted to show that his ancestors began in Medina, moved to North Africa, then to Andalusia, and back to North Africa. As he passed his last days in Medina, he spoke as if he had returned to his ancestral origins. This also indicates that to show that one originates from the Arabian Peninsula (and that one is a real Arab) was a constant obsession of the Moors and the Tuaregs, especially the scholars among them.[9]

Shaykh Ḥammād's *hijra* began after World War II, or more precisely in 1366/1946, when he left Mali, which was still under French occupation, with three friends. According to Shaykh Ḥammād, after World War II, France adopted a new, rigid policy in relation to the Tuaregs. For example, again according to Shaykh Ḥammād, the French required the Tuaregs to send their children to the French school, whereas before World War II this was not mandatory for Tuaregs, but only for the Songhay and other black populations. Shaykh Ḥammād and his three friends decided to go to Mecca and Medina the day they saw officials (whites and blacks) of the colonial administration come to Menaka to take young people to the French school.

Actually while the French imposed many obstacles on people, Tuaregs as well as non-Tuaregs, who wanted to make the *ḥajj*, it does not seem that they required Tuareg children to attend the French school. Non-Tuaregs, for example the Songhay, were obligated (this began with the children of chiefs and then became the policy for all Songhay children) to attend. This was confirmed by Mohamed Ali Ataher Insar, the Kel Intisar chief at that time. According to

8 The Kel es-Suq are not alone in claiming descent from the Anṣār of Medina (the Prophet's helpers), the Kel Intissar make the same claim.

9 The maraboutic groups (whether Kel es-Suq, or other) among the Tuaregs are organized and define themselves in the same way as the *zawāyā* groups (i.e., maraboutic groups) of Mauritanian Moors. Moreover, on the whole the Tuaregs and the Moors are historically linked and have similar customs and material culture.

his statements, in 1945–46, the French administration tried to impose compulsory schooling on the Tuaregs only after he made a request in Dakar to the Haut Commissaire or Gouverneur Général of the OAF for compulsory schooling for Tuaregs. According to Mohamed Ali Ataher Insar, the French tried this after his request, but in reality they did not want that because the French were afraid to provide Tuaregs (whom they regarded as rebels and more intelligent than others) with modern education. They believed that if they educated the Tuaregs, the latter would seek independence. When Mohamed Ali Ataher Insar understood the real intention of the French, he ended his cooperation with them and went into exile in the Arab countries, where he tried to provide school and university training to many young Tuaregs.[10]

Mohamed Ali Ataher Insar's discourse on what he regarded as the deliberate policy of the French not to educate the Tuaregs and instead promote the education of black non-Tuaregs is based on the following racist argument that he advanced in his article, which states that the French had promoted the education of black children and neglected that of the Tuareg children because the French thought that the Tuaregs were smarter than black non-Tuaregs. They believed that if they taught the Tuaregs, the latter would demand their independence and expel the French from the Sahel and Sahara regions. According to Mohamed Ali Ataher, they favored the education of blacks, who are less intelligent and more docile, as this would enable them to remain in the region indefinitely.[11] Although odiously racist, many Tuaregs to this day maintain this discourse, which feeds their refusal to recognize the authority of the states of Niger and Mali. Many westerners who support the Tuareg cause have internalized this discourse of the Tuaregs' racial superiority to black non-Tuaregs.

Mohamed Ali Ataher Insar was not the only Arab or Tuareg of northern Mali and Niger to engage in such a racist discourse. A certain Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ould Shaykh, a competitor and opponent of Mohamed Ali Ataher Insar who was at that time a judge in Timbuktu, held the same views. In 1956 he supported a bill, passed in France, that aimed to create the Organisation

10 See Mohamed Ag Ali Ataher Insar (or Mohamed Ali Ag Taher Insar), "La scolarisation modern comme stratégie de résistance," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 57 (1990): 91–98. Hawad recorded this story in Morocco on 21 May 1989. Mohamed Ali was then 90 years. The events he recounts began in 1920. Shortly before the independence of Mali, he went into exile in Saudi Arabia, then Egypt, Libya, and finally, in 1960, in Morocco. Being suspected of leading the Tuareg rebellion, he was extradited from Morocco to Mali. He remained in prison from 1963 to 1977. On his release, he returned to settle in Morocco.

11 See also Bruce C. Hall, "The Racial Separatism of Muhammad 'Ali Ag attaher," in *A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600–1960*, ed. B.C. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 306–311.

Commune des Régions Saharienne (OCRS), a political entity that would bring together Mauritania, southern Algeria, the northern regions of Mali, Niger, and Chad. This project followed another law passed by the French parliament that was intended to create a new entity called "l'Afrique Saharienne française." This project was motivated mainly by the discovery of oil in Hassi Messaoud in the Algerian Sahara in 1956. More broadly, this project aimed to retake from Algeria, Mali, Niger, Mauritania, and Chad areas believed to be rich in mineral resources—for the benefit of the colonial powers. These areas correspond precisely to those occupied by the Tuaregs. The scheme involved gaining the support of "white" ethnic groups by promising them that they would not be "commanded by the black ethnic groups." In this political unit, the French wanted to bring together the "whites" of the Sahara-Sahel region. Here, the political maneuvering of the French, who wanted to preserve their economic interests after independence (early 1960), was combined with the racist prejudices of the Tuaregs and Arabs (the "whites") to oppose the future independent state that would be dominated by blacks.

The project failed, but the seeds of division were sown. The question of racial conflict in northern Mali and Niger continues to be intensely debated; this is especially true after the 1963–64 conflict between the Tuaregs of Mali and the Malian state and that of 1990–95 between the Tuaregs of Niger on one side and the states of Mali and Niger on the other. The books by Baz Lecocq[12] and by B.C. Hall[13] are, I believe, the best documented among the recent works on the issue. Both point out that while, from the outside, the conflict is seen as an ethnic struggle like most African conflicts, the protagonists in the field see it and explain it in terms of race. And while it is true that, for political purposes, the French colonizers manipulated and sometimes encouraged this racism, it nonetheless existed before colonization and remained after decolonization. In any case, saying that "blacks" on one hand, and "whites" on the other have exercised racism toward their opponents with the same intensity in the past and in the present, is like saying everyone is wrong and everyone is right.

If we follow the argumentation of Mohamed Ali Ataher Insar, this would mean that Shaykh Ḥammād and his three friends left Mali in the same year (1946) that the French were "pretending to force" the Tuaregs to send their children to French schools. This being said, Shaykh Ḥammād relates his *hijra* in a short manuscript entitled "*I'lām az-zumra bī aḥkām al-hijra*" (The group's opinion on the *hijra*) in response to his friends' request for such a book. His

12 Baz Lecocq, *Disputed Desert: Decolonisation, Competing Nationalisms and Tuareg Rebellions in Northern Mali*, Leiden: Brill, 2010.

13 Hall, *A History of Race*.

discussions on the theme of *hijra* show that he was already an accomplished *ʿālim* before his emigration to Saudi Arabia. He and his companions left Mali secretly, without passports, on camels. They hid during the day and traveled by night. They passed through Niger, always on camels, and after a month and a half arrived in Nigeria. In Nigeria, they sold their camels and proceeded by car. If they had wanted to travel by camel to Port Sudan and take a boat to Jedda from there, previous accounts indicate that they would probably have needed two years. In the city of Yarwa, Nigeria, they purchased forged passports from the passport administrator, and paid 20 pounds sterling (British West African Pounds) each. He issued them Libyan passports because he (rightly) thought that this would improve their chances of not being stopped and ultimately reaching Jedda. He told them that they looked like Libyans, and Libyans are well respected in Chad and Sudan (two countries that they would have to cross en route to Saudi Arabia). They thanked the officer responsible for passports, took them and went quickly through Cameroon to Chad, where the border police were very strict, but did not find the money they had hidden in a water-skin. With this detail, Shaykh Ḥammād wanted to point out the difference between the strict control and treatment the French imposed on pilgrims and the pilgrims' treatment at the hands of the British, whom he found friendly and humane. They continued their journey to Sudan by car; the road was difficult and their cars sank into the sand, so it took them six days to arrive in al-Genaina, the first Sudanese city one reaches coming from Chad.

Shaykh Ḥammād and his companions had received from Shaykh al-Madanī (who had passed through Sudan on his return to Mali from Saudi Arabia) written and oral recommendations to contact certain people in Sudan and Saudi Arabia—people whom they could ask for support if necessary. So, when Shaykh Ḥammād and his companions arrived in al-Genaina, they asked to meet the chief judge recommended by Shaykh al-Madanī. This man received them and accommodated them in one of his houses. They stayed there a few days and then went by car to the town of El Obeid, which they reached after six days. In El Obeid, they were welcomed by a Salafī Shaykh named Muḥammad Ismāʿīl, a member of the Sudanese Jamāʿat Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya movement, who lodged them in a house.

The Anṣār al-Sunna in Sudan

The group Jamāʿat Anṣār al-Sunna in Sudan began its *daʿwa* in 1935 with a small group led by Shaykh Aḥmad Ḥassūn, Shaykh Aḥmad Abū Daqn, and Shaykh Yūsuf Abbū (who had been a Tijānī). All three were former students

and disciples of the Algerian Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Ḥajar, who lived in Sudan. The latter, together with Shaykh Aḥmad Ḥassūn were appointed preachers (*wāʿiẓ*) and teachers (*mudarris*) in the Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd. In 1939, Shaykh Aḥmad Ḥassūn and his two companions and others, including Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fādhil al-Taqlāwī, officially founded the Jamāʿat Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya of Sudan[14] as a branch of the Jamāʿat Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya of Egypt, which had been created in Cairo in 1926 by Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī, a disciple of Rashīd Riḍā.

After founding this movement, Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī and other members (such as Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir Abū l-Samḥ) went to the Hijaz to support Ibn Saʿūd in spreading the Salafī teaching, first in the two mosques in Mecca and Medina and then in the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī (founded in Riyadh in 1950; the first higher education institution founded by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz). The year 1926 was crucial. This is the year in which ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz conquered the Hijaz and the year in which the Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement of India began their teaching activities in Medina and Mecca in collaboration with members of the Egyptian Anṣār al-Sunna movement.

Influenced by the teachings of Shaykh Maḥmūd al-Madanī, who was in turn influenced by the teachings of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth and the Anṣār al-Sunna, Shaykh Ḥammād continued to gain deeper knowledge of the two main disciplines in which each of these movements are best known: the science of *ḥadīth*s (for the Ahl al-Ḥadīth) and creed (*ʿaqīda*) (for the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya). In his teaching career, though he taught in other disciplines, the science of *ḥadīth*s and the Salafiyya *ʿaqīda* were his two specialties.

Shaykh Ḥammād and his companions stayed for about fifteen days in El Obeid. From there they went by train to Khartoum. All their travel expenses not only to Khartoum, but as far as Port Sudan were paid for by Shaykh Muḥammad Ismāʿīl. He phoned the leader of the Anṣār al-Sunna in Omdurman and asked him to meet Shaykh Ḥammād and his companions when they arrived on the train in Omdurman. And indeed when they arrived in Khartoum a delegation was there waiting for them; they were brought to Omdurman and accommodated in a large house belonging to the Anṣār al-Sunna. The house, which was on the Nile next to that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mahdī, had two floors reserved for guests; the ground floor was the public library of the Anṣār al-Sunna in Omdurman.

14 See Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir, *Jamāʿat anṣār al-sunna al-muḥammadiyya: Nashʾatuhā, ahdāfuhā, manhajuhā, juhūduhā* (Riyadh: Dār al-Hadyi al-Nabawī, 1425/2004), pp. 251–272, esp. chap. 2: "Aʿlām jamāʿat anṣār al-sunna fī-l-Sūdān wa-juhūduhum."

During the two months they remained in Omdurman, Shaykh Ḥammād spent most of his time in the library. It was in here that he began to read Salafī books and books on the science of *ḥadīth*s. (These books had been sent to the Sudanese Anṣār al-Sunna in Omdurman where they had their headquarters by Shaykh Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī, the founder of the Egyptian Anṣār al-Sunna.) After two months in Omdurman, Shaykh Ḥammād and his companions took the train to Port Sudan. Again, the Anṣār al-Sunna of Omdurman covered their travel expenses. When they were in Chad, Shaykh Ḥammād and his group had moved what money they had by bank transfer to Jedda, so they did not have enough money for the boat trip from Port Sudan to Jedda. The leader of Anṣār al-Sunna, Shaykh Ṭāhir al-Kurdī, advised them to ask, on his behalf, for financial support from the Sufi leader Shaykh ʿAlī l-Mirghānī, which they did. This shows that at that time, good relations existed between the head of the Anṣār al-Sunna and the head of the Khatmiyya Sufi *ṭarīqa*.

With this support, they went to Port Sudan by train. Once again, the leader of Anṣār al-Sunna in Omdurman contacted the leader of Anṣār al-Sunna in advance, and Shaykh Wakīʿa Allāh met them at the train station. They brought Shaykh Ḥammād and his companions to a house they had reserved for them; the travelers stayed in Port Sudan for a month, during which time Shaykh Ḥammād lectured both in the main mosque of the city and in the Anṣār al-Sunna mosque.

On the fifth day of Ramadan 1367/1947, Shaykh Ḥammād and his companions went by boat to Jedda. When they arrived, the police who came on board to routinely check the passengers' passports immediately recognized that their Libyan passports were forgeries. The police permitted everyone on the boat to disembark except Shaykh Ḥammād and his three companions, whom they wanted to take back to Port Sudan, as was customary in such cases. The next day, a port official came onto the boat and asked if they knew anyone in Mecca or Medina who could stand as their guarantor (*kafīl*). They said they had an oral recommendation from Shaykh al-Madanī to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ibrāhīm Āl Shaykh. The authorities accepted this guarantee, because this shaykh was from the family of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. The shaykh was contacted by phone, and he declared himself guarantor (*kafīl*) of Shaykh Ḥammād and his companions. Thus, after twenty-four hours of detention in the boat, they were released and went to Jedda.

The influence of the Salafī Anṣār al-Sunna movement in Sudan at that time confirms one of the arguments that we make in this book, namely that, from the beginning, the spread of Wahhābī-Salafī doctrine in the Arabian Peninsula and elsewhere was not supported only by Najdī *ʿulamāʾ*, but also and especially by *ʿulamāʾ* from other parts of the Muslim world, who had embraced

this doctrine even before Ibn Saʿūd's conquest of the Hijaz. This shows the strong support offered by the Anṣār al-Sunna of Sudan to the West African *muhājirūn* in the Ḥaramayn. We can assume that the support they gave to Shaykh Ḥammād and his companions was similar to the support they offered others from West Africa who shared the same Salafī doctrine.

After Shaykh Ḥammād and his companions rested for two days in Jedda, they went by car to Mecca. At that time, it took a day to travel there, as the road was in bad condition and filled with sand. They performed the *ʿumra* (lesser pilgrimage) in Mecca, then Shaykh Ḥammād and his companions found a home with a Malian family (*Badja*) in the Jarwal district. Houses in Jarwal then were not solid and constructed of clay or cement, rather they were huts built of odds and ends. They stayed with the Malians in Jarwal for six months. Shaykh Ḥammād wrote of the very poor road conditions on the *ḥajj* and the poverty in the city of Mecca, where neighborhoods like Jarwal were common; he presents a vision of Mecca as a miserable town.

After six months in these conditions in Mecca, they went to Medina, but because they did not have passports, they had to travel in secret. They paid for transport in a wooden cart driven by a Meccan of African origin. Every time they approached a checkpoint, they got out and walked with their luggage; then, beyond the checkpoint, they got back on the cart. (Only people in vehicles were monitored at the checkpoints.) They arrived in Medina at the time of the evening prayer (*ṣalāt al-ishāʾ*) and went to the Mosque of the Prophet (*masjid al-nabawī*) for the prayer. But when they arrived and wanted to enter with their luggage, the guards at each door refused to let them enter to the mosque. They asked a guard if he knew Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī or Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Timbuktī, but he did not know them. While they were trying to convince the guard to let them enter the mosque with their luggage, an African passed by. They urged the African to help them and he agreed to show them where Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī lived. They followed the African, who showed them the house and left them. They waited on the stairs until Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān returned from the mosque; when he saw them, he received them in his house and gave them a room for the night. The next day they went to Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Timbuktī, a Kel es Suq Tuareg like themselves. Here, ethnicity took precedence over regional belonging. After their long journey they had finally found a place to leave their luggage, which was mostly books they had purchased in Omdurman and Mecca.

Although the house where Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Timbuktī lived was some distance from the Mosque of the Prophet and the center of Medina, Shaykh Ḥammād and his companions had come to Medina to pray in the Prophet's Mosque and to attend religious courses from the *ʿulamāʾ* there so they left

their luggage at Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Timbuktī's house and went to live near the Prophet's Mosque. They spent days at the mosque, praying and studying, and in the evening when the mosque was closed, they spread out their prayer rugs and slept outside in front of the mosque. They lived this way for four months after arriving in Medina. After these four months, the leader of Anṣār al-Sunna in Omdurman invited Shaykh Ḥammād to revisit Sudan, and he accepted. The shaykh went by boat to Port Sudan and then to Omdurman, he stayed there two months, then returned to Medina. In the meantime, the three companions of Shaykh Ḥammād returned to Mecca and each followed the course of their own lives. Shaykh Ḥammād remained in Medina and lived in the *ribāt al-ʿujum*, one of the *arbiṭa* (sing. *ribāt*)[15] that still existed at that time. Shaykh Ḥammād notes that ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Anṣārī (who later founded the Saudi magazine *al-Manhal*) had lived in this *ribāṭ* and suggested that he come live there too. ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Anṣārī, also a Kel es Suq Tuareg, later became a well-known Saudi journalist.

But this *ribāṭ* was so crowded that Shaykh Ḥammād asked Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Timbuktī to help him find another *ribāṭ*. The latter finally found one for him where he felt at ease, where Shaykh Ḥammād could have a small room alone. Every morning he opened a room next door that served as a library; he spent his time reading in this library and the remainder of the time he spent at the Prophet's Mosque. This went on for four years. At the same time, Shaykh Ḥammād was taking courses at Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya and at the Prophet's Mosque. Later, he taught in the same *madrasa* and in the Prophet's Mosque. In 1371/1951, his three traveling companions,[16] who had been teaching in the Madrasat al-Sawlatiyya in Mecca, found him a better teaching position there, and Shaykh Ḥammād went to Mecca to teach in the Madrasat al-Sawlatiyya. He worked there for four years.

During these four years in Mecca, Shaykh Ḥammād became acquainted with the major *ʿulamāʾ* who were close to those who wielded power, such as Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Āl al-Shaykh, and others. At that time, the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī was opened and these Saudi *ʿulamāʾ* asked him to teach there. Thus, in 1374/1954, he became a teacher in Riyadh. He taught the *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, the *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, the *Rawḍat al-nāẓir*, and the *Bulūgh al-marām*. Two years later, Shaykh Ḥammād

15 A *ribāṭ* was a hostel for students and voyagers on major trade routes; they also served as retreats for mystics. *Ribāṭ*s no longer exist today in Mecca or Medina.

16 Two of them died a long time ago. Shaykh ʿAmmār b. al-Ḥasan b. Khudhayfa al-Anṣārī worked in the administrative service of the two mosques of *al-ḥaramayn* (Mecca and Medina). He died in 1419/1998, one year after the death of Shaykh Ḥammād.

was transferred to the faculties (*kulliyyāt*) created from the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī, faculties that later formed the beginning of the University Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya. He remained there from 1376/1956 until 1385/1965, when he was transferred to the Islamic University of Medina, where he finished his teaching career.

The Legacy of Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī in West Africa

Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī had two students who were also Tuaregs. Both lived in Saudi Arabia with their parents, who had initially come to the region to fulfill their *ḥajj* obligation. These two students completed their education in Saudi Arabia, then moved back to Africa and settled there (one of them returned in 1960, the other in the early 1970s). One of these former students is Mūsā Shaddād, of the Gao region in Mali. For many years he was responsible for the Arabic language curriculum in Mali's public secondary school institutions. At the same time, he taught in the *madāris*, particularly in the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Bamako. Today, although retired, he continues to teach at the Madrasa Askia bin Muḥammad in Gao (northern Mali).[17] The second student is Muḥammad Aḥmad Yaḥyā, who also originally came from Menaka, the city close to the Niger border (in the Gao region) where Shaykh Ḥammād was from. He had been a missionary representative (*mabʿūth*) of Dār al-Iftāʾ (Saudi office of fatwas); he left his position because his salary was not paid regularly and he sometimes went months without receiving any salary at all. Like Mūsā Shaddād, he became responsible for all Arabic language teaching in the public schools in Niger.[18] Today, retired, he continues his *daʿwa* activities in the non-governmental organization (NGO) he helped to found. This NGO works to improve teaching and medical treatment for the Tuareg population of Menaka and the surrounding region. Here, again, we see the lineage from master to disciple from the beginning of the twentieth century till today.

When they studied in the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī, Muḥammad Aḥmad Yaḥyā and Mūsā Shaddād lived with their shaykh, Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī. They knew that Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī (a former student of Shaykh Alfā Hāshim), Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī (a former student of Shaykh al-Madanī), and Shaykh Āb Wuld Ukhtūr (Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī) worked together in the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī. Mūsā Shaddād told me[19] that

17 Interview with Mūsā Shaddād on 28 February 2009, Gao, Mali.

18 Interview with Muḥammad Aḥmad Yahyā on 5 March 2009 in Menaka, Mali.

19 Interview with Mūsā Shaddād on 2 March 2009 in Gao, Mali.

when Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī and Shaykh (Āb Wuld Ukhtūr) Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī wanted to send a letter to West Africa, they used to send him with an envelope to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, since the latter could write to them in good French, the language of the recipient, while they could write only in Arabic. Muḥammad Aḥmad Yaḥyā told me a similar anecdote. When Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī or Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī had guests for dinner, they used to ask Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī's wife to come to help their wives prepare the meals because, as he said, "unlike the Mauritanian and Tuareg nomad women who could cook only meat, the wife of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, who came from the urban culture of the Songhay, knew how to cook a variety of delicious dishes."

Unlike Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī, who was a specialist in and teacher of *tafsīr al-Qurʾān* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī were both *muḥaddithūn*. Although they also taught other subjects (al-Ifrīqī taught *tafsīr al-Qurʾān* and *fiqh*), it was the science of *ḥadīth*s in which they excelled. And this had become a tradition; Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī had learned this science in Medina from the Indian Shaykh Aḥmad al-Dihlāwī, the founder and director of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina. As for Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, he learned this science, among others, from his shaykh, Shaykh al-Madanī, who had learned it from the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of Benares, India when he arrived there in 1353/1934.

Besides the work of these two students of Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, the latter remained in the memory of the people in West Africa, especially in northeastern Mali (the region of his origin), as I have personally observed. I visited Menaka, his hometown, after visiting Saudi Arabia and speaking at length with his son ʿAbd al-Bārī. After my return from Mali to Berlin, I received a phone call from ʿAbd al-Bārī in Medina, during which he recounted for me everything I had done in Menaka. He told me that the people of Menaka told him all this by phone because they wanted to be sure that ʿAbd al-Bārī really knew me. This shows that the contacts between the family of Shaykh Ḥammād in Medina and the people in Menaka in Mali are still active.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Yūsuf al-Ifrīqī

African and Indian ʿUlamāʾ in the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Yūsuf al-Ifrīqī was among the first of the francophone elite of Mali, his native country. He was a Sonrai (or Fullānī-Sonrai) born in Mali in 1326/1908–09 in a village named Fafa, which was on a small island in the Niger River, close to Assongo in the region of Gao, northern Mali, near the border


لمحات من حياة الشيخ عبد الرحمن الأفريقي

بقلم: أنس يعقوب كتبي

illustration 3 *Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, courtesy of Haj Mimouni, a nephew of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqi and caretaker of the archives of the family of the latter in Mali.*

with Niger. As I noted in March and April 2009 during my fieldwork, the inhabitants of the island have since abandoned it and there are only traces of the old village. It is not known exactly why the people left the island to go set up their village in the east bank of the river. According to Muḥammad Yūnus, a 90-year-old I interviewed in Fafa,[20] the island was home to only about ten families. When the number of residents continued to increase, some began to leave the island and went to settle on either the east or the west bank of the river. Most people went to settle on the east bank, where the village was finally reborn. The colonial administration in turn encouraged people to leave the island and settle on the bank so that it would be easier to control them properly; the colonial administrators were located in Gao on the road to Niger, which is almost parallel to the river. The village is therefore now on the left or east bank of the river. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and his older brother were the only survivors among many children (girls and boys) of their parents, who died at an early age. His

20 Fafa, northeastern Mali, 22 February 2009.

parents belonged to the important families, if not the most important family of the village. I realized the importance of this family in the village during my research stay there for a week. I was the guest of the family of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, but in reality I was the guest of the whole village because I was the guest of the family of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī. And the *imām* of the main mosque of the village, the young Alfā Ibrāhīm Nuhu Maiga, always made me feel that I was indeed the guest of the whole village. Ibrāhīm is the son of one of the three nephews of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī. He is a *ḥāfiz al-Qurʾān*, which means he knows the Qurʾān by heart. He was educated at Maʿhad Imām Ibn Saʿūd al-Islāmī in Nouakchott, Mauritania, a Salafī school that closed after the attacks of 11 September 2001 in New York. Ibrāhīm left Nouakchott to study at the Islamic University of Say, Niger and then at Muḥammad Bello University in Sokoto, northern Nigeria. Ibrāhīm spoke very little French and English, so we spoke in Arabic, a language he has mastered perfectly.

Upon my arrival in the village, I was greeted by a delegation, who led me to the river, where we went by canoe to the family of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. On Friday, during the prayer in the mosque, the village *imām*, Alfā Ibrāhīm Maiga, introduced me to the other villagers. He asked me to say something about the project that brought me to the village, which I did immediately. I spoke in Arabic and Ibrāhīm translated into Sonrai. During the week I spent in the village, I performed the daily prayers at the main mosque and was often asked to recite the final prayer after the *ṣalāt*.

During my field research in Saudi Arabia, I also met Yūsuf Diallo in Jedda, who worked as a translator in the OIC (Organisation of Islamic Conference) and had run, unsuccessfully, in the presidential election in Mali in the 2000s. He is also from the family of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī in Fafa. Yūsuf Diallo has Niger citizenship and came to work for the OIC as a citizen of Niger. Later he regained Malian citizenship in order to run for president, but he received very few votes. I met him in Jedda in 2008 during my first field research, and he told me a great deal about Fafa and the surrounding region.

To describe the environment in which Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī grew up, Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta rightly mentions the impact that the Sahara, which extends to the village of Fafa, and the immensity of the impression the Niger River made on the young ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Shaykh ʿUmar suggested that the pure air of the great Sahara that the young ʿAbd al-Raḥmān breathed and the vastness of the view he had of the Niger River necessarily contributed to the breadth of his view, his intelligence, his longing for what is great, and the extraordinary career he had. "He grew up," Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta writes, "with

the youth of his generation, in this village where he breathed the pure air of the Sahara, [and] the extent of the view, which was limited only by the Niger River, pleasantly filled his eyes."[21]

Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta was born in Mecca and raised in Medina; he visited Africa as Secretary General of the Islamic University of Medina, where he was responsible for its *daʿwa* activities. He was captivated by the African continent, the history of the European colonization of Africa, the history of Islam in the continent, and Africa's beautiful scenery. This is apparent when he describes the social and historical period in which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī grew up.

> It was, he wrote, a period of misery and depression, because in that time the French colonizers seized this country . . . Other European countries, England, Belgium, Portugal, etc., had done the same to other African countries. That is because they knew how 'Green Africa' (*Ifrīqya al-khadrāʾ*)[22] was full of fertile land, abundant water, natural beauty, and an abundance of food, goods, and raw materials. They began, therefore, to plunder and commit acts that no right or healthy mind in the world can accept.

One contemporary traveler[23] who wrote on Africa notes: "This is the Green Africa, the nicest of all continents; deposit of many treasures and raw materials, source of virility and heroism."[24] From Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta's perspective, God not only gave Africans a rich soil and scenic beauty, but also salvation in Islam. This is demonstrated, according to him, by the fact that the first *hijra* made by the small community of Muḥammad from Mecca was to Ethiopia (al-Ḥabasha). When the first group of Muslims could no longer bear the repression they were subjected to from the inhabitants of Mecca, including the city's

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21 ʿUmar Fallāta, *Lamahāt ʿan al-madīnat al-nabawiyya: Buhūth wa-muḥāḍarāt wa-maqālāt* (Some notes on Medina: research, lectures and articles) (Medina: Maktabat Ahl al-Ḥadīth, 1428/2007), p. 206.

22 This is an expression of Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-ʿUbūdī, former secretary general and one of the founding members of the Islamic University of Medina. He left this post to his deputy Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta and became secretary general of the *daʿwa* in the Saudi government and then deputy secretary general of the Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī (Muslim World League). In both of these positions al-ʿUbūdī traveled a great deal, especially in Africa. He wrote a considerable number of travel books, including one entitled *Fī Ifrīqya al-ḫaḍrāʾ* (In green Africa) (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2010).

23 Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-ʿUbūdī.

24 Fallāta, *Lamahāt ʿan al-madīnat al-nabawiyya*, p. 206.

aristocracy, the Prophet Muḥammad ordered them to emigrate to Ethiopia to seek refuge with the king of Ethiopia, Najjāshī (Negus). This was the first *hijra* in Islam. The Prophet told them: "Go to Ethiopia, a large and benevolent country, where there is a king under the authority of whom no one is unfairly treated. He will protect you until God gives you better days, that is, when He gives me the means to solve your problems."[25] The group went to Ethiopia and was indeed welcomed and protected by Najjāshī, the king of Ethiopia. When Muḥammad was preparing to make his *hijra*, he brought them back to Mecca so they could emigrate with him to Medina. According to Islamic tradition, the group of Muslims who found refuge with Najjāshī was able to convert a few people, including Najjāshī himself. So when Najjāshī died, the Prophet ordered his companions to pray for him. Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta relates the event as follows:

> The companions of the Prophet were able to sow there the seeds of the faith (*an yazraʿū budhūra al-īmān*) and spread Islam, so that the Ethiopian king Najjāshī was himself converted to Islam. And when he died, the Prophet Muḥammad ordered the companions to come together to perform the prayer for the dead.[26]

Thus, notes Shaykh ʿUmar, "After Mecca, Islam came to Africa before going anywhere else." Then Shaykh ʿUmar mentioned the Islamic conquest (*fatḥ*)[27] of North Africa and West Africa, from the period of the third caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān to that of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān. Shaykh ʿUmar periodized this conquest as follows. In the year 27/647, 20,000 companions (*ṣahāba*) and followers (*tābiʿūn*; those of the generation following the companions) under the command of ʿAbdallāh b. Abī al-Sarḥ began to conquer Africa. This group conquered the region from Egypt to Tunis. This conquest is also known by the name of *ghazwat al-ʿAbādallāh* (lit. "The military expeditions of the ʿAbdallāh"), because seven of the companions bearing the name ʿAbdallāh participated in it. They are ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar; ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr; ʿAbdallāh

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25 "Ukhrujū ilā arḍ al-Ḥabasha fa-innā bihā malikan lā yuḍlamu al-nāsu bi-bilādih, fī arḍi ṣidqin fa-tuḥrazū ʿindahu, yaʾtīkum Allāh ʿazza wa-jalla bi-farajin minhu wa yajʿal lī-lakum makhrajan," in Ibn Isḥāq, *al-Siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, p. 213, cited by Fallāta, *Lamahāt ʿan al-madīnat al-nabawiyya*, p. 207.

26 Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1334; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 952, cited by Fallāta, *Lamahāt ʿan al-madīnat al-nabawiyya*, p. 207.

27 *Fatḥ* (opening, liberation) is the way Muslims generally refer to the early conquests.

b. ʿAbbās; ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar; ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿAṣ; ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd; and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sarḥ. During his reign, in 45/665, Muʿāwiyya sent an army there under the command of Khudayj al-Kindī. Then Muʿāwiyya (or his son Yazīd) appointed ʿUqba b. Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd Qays al-Fihrī, who conquered North Africa to the Atlantic and part of West Africa. Shaykh ʿUmar notes that ʿUqba b. Nāfiʿ was killed in 63/682 on his return to Qayrawān. He left children, one of whom was the founding father of the Fullānī people, as Shaykh (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad) Alfā Hāshim mentions in his book.[28] Here, Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta wants to show the long presence of Islam on the continent, not only in East Africa, the first country Muslims emigrated to, but also in West Africa. Here he presents the Islamic conquest (*fatḥ*) of North Africa as occurring simultaneously with that of West Africa, though this is not entirely true, and states that one of the famous commanders of the conquest, namely ʿUqba b. Nāfiʿ, was the founding father of the Fullānī. The great contribution of the Fullānī in the history of the Islamization of West Africa is well known. The Fullānī are known as a nomadic people whose livelihood is based on their livestock; they are also known as Muslims strongly attached to Islam, authorities of religion who have produced numerous scholars, and propagators of Islam through *jihād*. Names like those of ʿUthmān dan Fodio and Ḥāj ʿUmar Tall illustrate this.

This sense of belonging to such a continent and to such an ethnic group necessarily boosted Shaykh ʿUmar's self-esteem, which in turn contributed to his successful career in Saudi Arabia. Shaykh ʿUmar recalled this long presence of Islam in Africa to show that this religion formed a large part of the personality of the Muslims in West Africa, such that the colonial conquest of the region by European Christians was seen as the ultimate disaster for Islam and for the people. Shaykh ʿUmar also pointed out that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī was born and raised in this situation of Muslim submission to colonial rule.

Some elements of what Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta describes do not correspond to historical truth as understood by historians and therefore can be dismissed. One example is his presentation of ʿUqba b. Nāfiʿ as the founding father of the Fullānī. This is a common mythical history told by the Fullānī, and as such can be a much more powerful foundation of and play a much more important role in the identity and history of nations than a factual history may do. This is what matters in the history of ʿUqba recalled here by Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta, and that is how it must be understood. Moreover, by writing about his shaykh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, ʿUmar Fallāta rediscovers himself. He

28 Alfā Hāshim, *Taʿrīf al-ʿashāʿir wa-l-khalān bi shuʿūb wa qabāʾil al-Fulān* (Mecca: Maṭbaʿat al-Mājidiyya, 1354/1935).

is certainly Saudi, but Saudi Fullānī African; as he says, his origins are in the second continent that Islam reached, after Mecca. He therefore opposed the European colonizers who came to plunder the property of "green and Islamic Africa." Here we see the anti-colonialism of ʿUmar Fallāta, an anti-colonialism found in a number of writings in his library on the history of the colonization and decolonization of Algeria, Egypt, and Nigeria. He gave his library to the library of Dār al-Ḥadīth as a gift.

Prior to his pilgrimage to Mecca, al-Ifrīqī worked for the meteorological service in colonial Mali. Besides performing the pilgrimage, he intended to stay for a while in Mecca and Medina in order to learn more about Islam before returning to Mali. This decision was triggered by one of his colleagues, a Frenchman who continuously criticized Islam as being a backwards religion. Al-Ifrīqī's knowledge of Islam was not sufficient to answer his colleague's criticism properly, so he wanted to learn more about Islam to be able to do so. Thus, initially, his *hijra* was not directly, but only indirectly related to the colonial conquest. Over time, colonialization became a more direct cause, particularly when he came under the surveillance of the French intelligence services, which suspected him of indoctrinating West African pilgrims to rise against the French colonial authorities in West Africa. The case of Āb Wuld Ukhtūr (Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī) and Ḥammād al-Anṣārī was similar.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī arrived in the Hijaz via the Sudanese pilgrimage road in 1345/1926. Unlike other West African figures, who were accomplished *ʿulamāʾ* before their arrival in Arabia, the young ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī (who was then about twenty years old) learned everything, beginning with the Arabic language, from the *ʿulamāʾ* who were teaching at the Mosque of the Prophet, such as Shaykh Alfā Hāshim, Shaykh Saʿīd Ṣiddīq (both from West Africa), and of course from Shaykh Aḥmad al-Dihlāwī (from India). After completing his studies, he began to teach at the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina. In 1364/1944, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[29] sent him as a "traveling missionary" (*dāʿī mutajawwal li-l-waʿẓ wa-l-irshād*) to the city of Yanbu al-Nakhl and its surrounding region to spread the Wahhābiyya doctrine. We can see another indication of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī's commitment to the Salafiyya *daʿwa* in his request to put a group of his students in charge, in each period of *ḥajj*, of guiding pilgrims in how to perform the *ḥajj* according to the Salafiyya doctrine. This responsibility was later assumed by his student ʿUmar Fallāta, who then joined the Islamic University of Medina (first as deputy secretary and then as general secretary of the university), which annually organizes students to

29 King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz died in 1953 after ruling for fifty-one years.

fulfill this mission.[30] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī was appointed professor in the first Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī[31] (founded in 1371/1951) and then in the first faculty of *Sharīʿa* at the University of Imām Muḥammad Ibn Saʿūd (founded in 1953).[32] He also taught at the Mosque of the Saudi *muftī* Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh in Riyadh.[33]

After the director of the Dār al-Ḥadīth, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Dihlāwī, passed away, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī became his successor. By implementing modern teaching methods at the Dār al-Ḥadīth, he became a central figure in the modernization process of this institution. During his vacations, he also taught in Riyadh, at the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, and at the Dār al-Ḥadīth. In 1957, he grew seriously ill and was sent to a hospital in Beirut, where he died. His funeral took place in Medina.

To the same extent that he was esteemed by the Saudi authorities, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī was hated by the French colonial authorities of the former AOF/French West Africa. From the 1930s at the latest, the French colonial authorities had become increasingly concerned about the expansion of pan-Islamist and Islamic anti-colonial ideas in West Africa. In January 1950, the Minister of Overseas France (France d'Outre-mer) wrote to the governors-general of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa and requested that they adopt a policy to control the spread of Islam in these regions and to appoint only experts on Islam. These experts were to be

> the best-informed administrators on Islamic matters, and definitely not those who are seduced by the external aspects of Islam or by the relative learning of certain black Africans or who are interested only in aesthetic or intellectual satisfaction, but those who really perceive in Islam an eminent danger and are capable of denouncing and combating it.[34]

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30 ʿAṭiyya Muḥammad Sālim, "Min Aʿyān *ʿulamāʾ* al-Madīna al-Munawwara fī l-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿashara," p. 392, in *Min ʿUlamāʾ al-Ḥaramayn*, ed. ʿAṭiyya Muḥammad Sālim (Medina: Dār al-Jawhara, 1426/2005), pp. 371–395.

31 This institute was founded in Riyadh in 1370/1950 and was officially inaugurated in 1371/1951 by Crown Prince Saʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, then minister of education. On the history of this institute see al-Rashīd, and al-Jāsir.

32 This university, which concentrates on religious sciences, was the first university in Saudi Arabia. The second was the King Saʿūd bin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz University in Riyadh, founded in 1957. The latter focused, and still focuses, on secular sciences.

33 This mosque, named Masjid al-Shaykh (the Shaykh's Mosque), is in Hayy al-Dukhna, a district in Riyadh.

34 CAOM, Affaires Politique, 2158, dossier 4, cited by Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge*, p. 87, who quoted it from in J. Triaud, in Robinson and Triaud (eds.), *Le temps des marabouts*, p. 494.

This was what the French called at the time "la politique d'endiguement de l'Islam en Afrique de l'Ouest" (the policy of containment of Islam in West Africa). The first measure was the surveillance of prominent religious figures, undertaken with the assistance of the Bureaux des Affaires Musulmanes (Office of Muslim Affairs). It was in this climate that Captain Marcel Cardaire was appointed, in January 1952, to the Bureaux des Affaires Musulmanes and attached to the branch of the Institut Français en Afrique Noire (IFAN), the French Institute of Black Africa Research Center). In 1952, he accompanied pilgrims from West Africa on their pilgrimage to Mecca. He stayed in Jedda and then went to Lebanon and Cairo before returning to West Africa. His aim was to collect information "on the origins of Wahhābī propaganda in French West Africa and the contacts which might exist between active movements in the Middle East and the Islamic community in French West Africa."[35] His report on this trip, together with other reports delivered to him by undercover informants disguised as pilgrims, constitute the bulk of his 1954 book *Islam et le terroir africain* (Islam and the African soil). In this book we find the names of Wahhābiyya *'ulamā'* from West Africa, for example the Malian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and the Mauritanian Āb Wuld Ukhtūr (Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī). Cardaire wrote:

> The Wahhābī of all backgrounds are sure to be warmly welcomed in Saudi Arabia. Besides the countless pilgrims lost in Arabia who no longer have the financial resources to pay for their return, a number of defectors from French West Africa settled in the holy cities and immediately found a function. The most famous among them is Abdurahman Ben Youcef il Ifriki [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī], originally from Ansongo, director of 'Médersah of Hadith [Dār al-Ḥadīth] in Madinah, and professor at the school' Euloum ech Chrah (Law School) [Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī] in Riyadh. At the second level, you find more French West Africans, all professors in Medina or in Riyadh. The well-known among them are: Hamadou Lamin Abba or Abba Ould Khtor [Āb Wuld Ukhtūr], of the Tadjakant people from Boutilimit; Mohamed Lamin Ould Salem of the people of Ouled Bieri; Cheikh Bin Yousuf of Dossa. Around these

35 Quoted from AMI, "Rapport du Capitaine Cardaire, Commissaire du Gouverneur de l'AOF au Pèlerinage à la Mecke en 1952." Information from this report is also to be found in Cardaire, *L'Islam et le Terroir africain*, and also in Alliman Mahamane, *Le mouvement wahhabite à Bamako. Origine et évolution*, Mémoire de fin d'études, l'ENESSup (Bamako, 1995), pp. 39ff. Cited in Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge*, pp. 94–95.

> people one could find a group of French West Africans, generally black people.[36]

The French suspected that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī was accommodating pilgrims from West Africa in order to teach them the Wahhābiyya doctrine and incite them against the colonial power in West Africa. While it is true that he worked to spread the Wahhābiyya doctrine in West Africa, there is no evidence that he engaged in political propaganda against the French colonialists.[37]

In the last years of his life, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī chose about a dozen of his students and took them to Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣāliḥ, at the time chief *imām* and *khaṭīb* at the Mosque of the Prophet and also responsible for the court of justice in Medina. He asked Shaykh Ṣāliḥ to engage them during the *ḥajj* to guide the pilgrims by teaching them the rituals of the *ḥajj* and other teachings of Salafī Islām. Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz immediately accepted the proposition and put it into practice. These students began teaching the pilgrims at the Mosque of the Prophet during the pilgrimage period. Some of these students thereafter became permanent teachers at the same mosque. Thus, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī initiated a tradition that has remained in practice until today. Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī was among the *ʿulamā'* who taught at the Mosque of the Prophet at this time and was highly committed to teaching pilgrims. Moreover, he stayed in touch with them and responded in letters to their religious questions.

Among the books published by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, we can cite the following:

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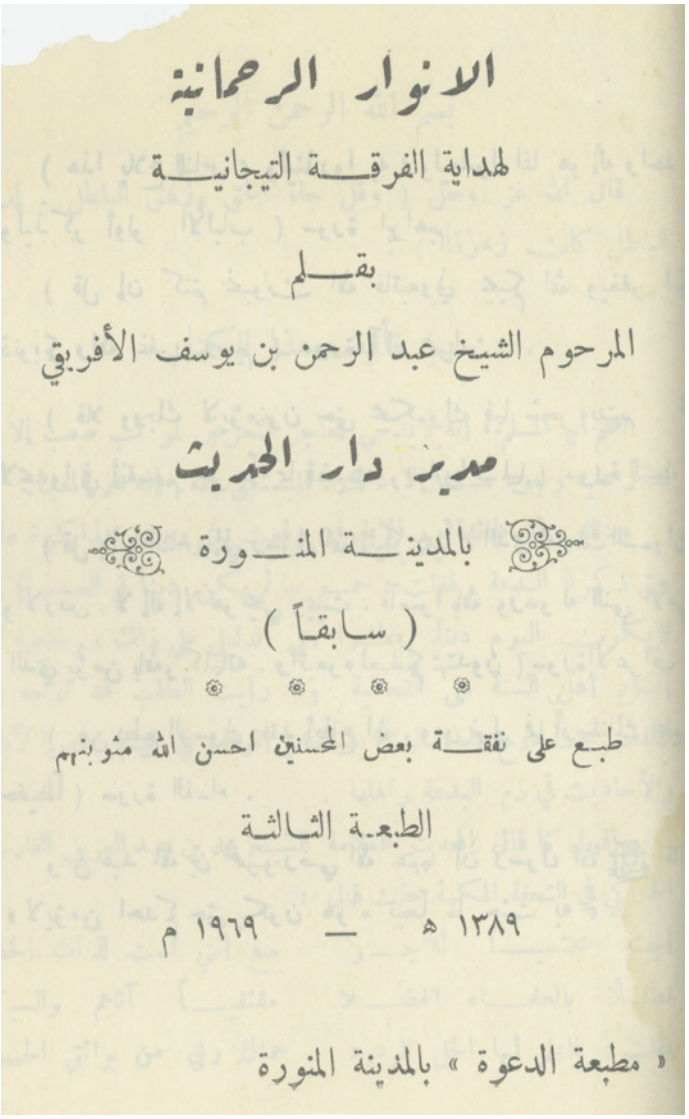
36 Cardaire, *L'Islam et le Terroir africain* (pp. 80–81): "Les Wahhabites de toutes origines sont assurés de trouver le meilleur accueil au foyer saoudien. À côté des innombrables pèlerins perdus en Arabie, privés de moyens financiers pour payer leur retour, un certain nombre de transfuges originaires d'A.O.F., se sont installés sur les lieux saints et y ont trouvé immédiatement une fonction. Le plus fameux d'entre eux est Abdurahman Ben Youcef il Ifriki, originaire d'Ansongo, directeur de la 'Médersah des Hadith' à Médine, et professeur à l'école 'Euloum ech Chrah' (Ecole de Droit) de Riyadh. Au second plan se dressent d'autres Aofiens, tous professeurs à Médine ou à Riyadh; ce sont parmi les plus connus: Hamadou Lamine Abba, ou Abba Ould Khtor, des Tadjakant de Boutilimit, Mohammed Lamine Ould Salem des Ouled Biéri, Cheickh Abdelkarim Ben Youssouf de Dossa. Autour de ces gens gravite toute une clientèle, venue de l'Ouest Africain francais et généralement noire."

37 Curiously, the situation of that time was very similar to that of today. Indeed, today Wahhābīs and Salafis are everywhere suspected of fomenting hidden plots to overthrow the political system to establish an Islamic state governed by the *sharīʿa*.

al-Anwār al-raḥmāniyya li-hidāyat al-firqa al-Tijāniyya [The divine lights to save the Tijāniyya sect];[38] a book against the doctrine of the Tijāniyya Sufi *ṭarīqa*.


الانوار الرحمانية

لهداية الفرقة التيجانية

بقلم

المرحوم الشيخ عبد الرحمن بن يوسف الأفريقي

مدير دار الحديث

بالمدينة المنورة

(سابقاً)

طبع على نفقة بعض المحسنين احسن الله مثوبتهم

الطبعة الثالثة

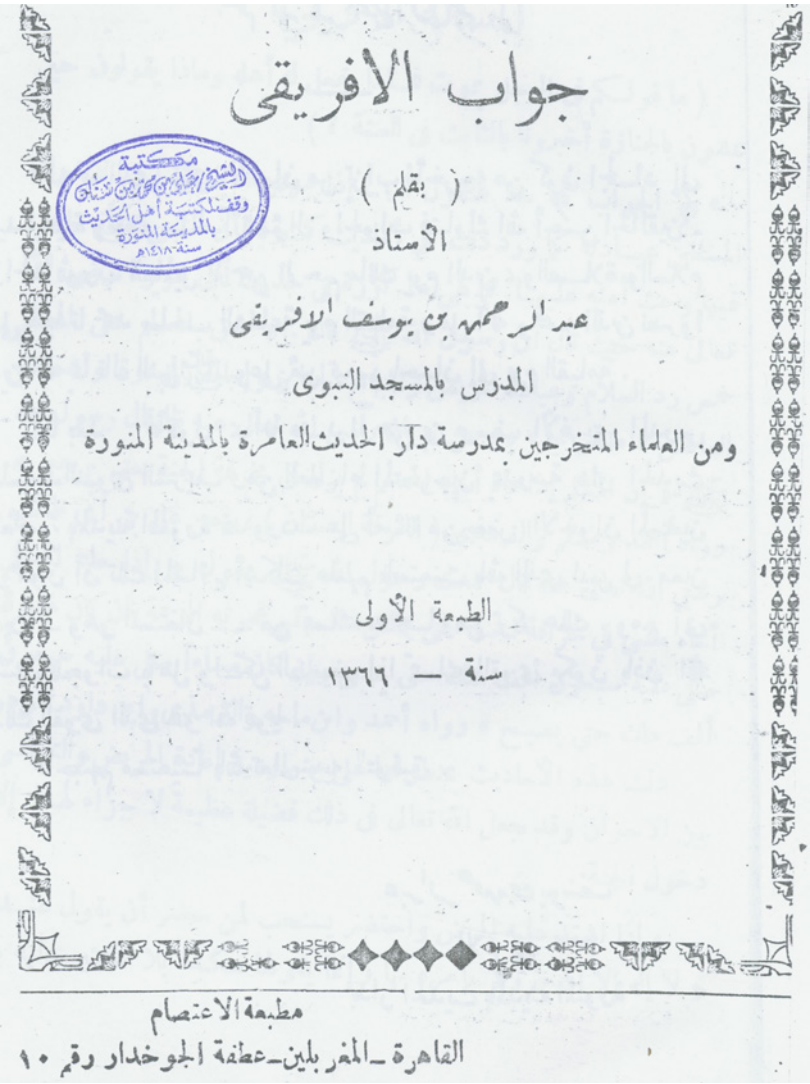
١٣٨٩ هـ — ١٩٦٩ م

« مطبعة الدعوة » بالمدينة المنورة

ILLUSTRATION 4 *al-Anwār al-raḥmāniyya, title page, photo by Chanfi Ahmed.*

38 *al-Anwār al-raḥmāniyya li-hidāyat al-firqa al-Tijāniyya* (Medina: Maṭbaʿat al-Daʿwa, 1389/1969); the book is 32 pages.

Jawāb al-Ifrīqī [The response of the African],[39] a collection of legal rulings (*fatāwā*) in response to religious questions sent to him by Muslims from the Malabar Coast in India.


جواب الافريقى

(بقلم)

الأستاذ

عبد الرحيم بن يوسف الافريقى

المدرس بالمسجد النبوى

ومن العلماء المتخرجين بمدرسة دار الحديث العامرة بالمدينة المنورة

الطبعة الأولى

سنة — ١٣٦٦

مطبعة الاعتصام

القاهرة ـ المغربلين ـ عطفة الجوخدار رقم ١٠

ILLUSTRATION 5 *Jawāb al-Ifrīqī, title page, photo by Chanfi Ahmed.*

39 *Jawāb al-Ifrīqī* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Iʿtiṣām, 1366/1946); the books is 85 pages.

Tawḍīḥ al-ḥajj wa-l-ʿumra kamā jāʾa fī l-kitāb wa-l-sunna [The explanation of the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* according to the Qurʾān and the *sunna*],[40] a posthumous publication intended to teach West African Muslims in particular and Muslims in general how to perform the *ḥajj* rituals in accordance with the stipulations of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*.

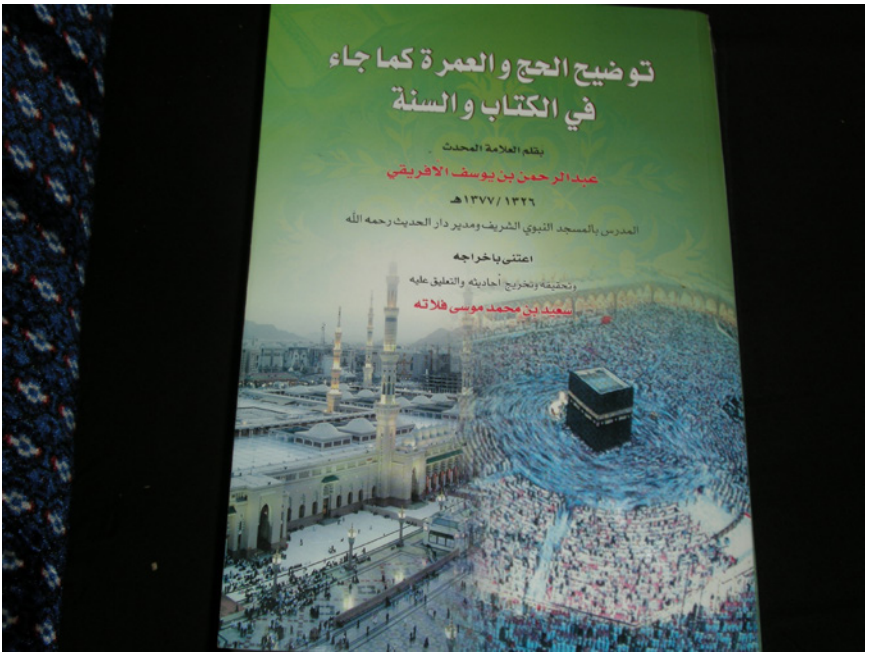


ILLUSTRATION 6 *Tawḍīḥ al-ḥajj wa-l-ʿumra, title page, photo by Chanfi Ahmed.*

Below I offer a brief explanation of the themes of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī's books:

> ***Al-Anwār al-raḥmāniyya li-hidāyat al-firqa al-Tijāniyya* [The divine lights to save the Tijāniyya sect]**

The title of this book indicates the ways in which people were talking about the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa* at that time in West Africa.[41] The author addresses his book

40 *Tawḍīḥ al-ḥajj wa-l-ʿumra kamā jāʾa fī l-kitāb wa-l-sunna* (Riyadh: Saʿīd b. Muḥammad Mūsā Fallāta and Abūbakar Ismāʿīl Muḥammad Maiga, 1428/2007); this book is 432 pages.

41 Even today, the *ṭarīqa* Tijāniyya is a frequent cause of controversy in West Africa.

to the Tijānī of the region. The book was published and distributed with the financial support of institutions and individuals (mostly Saudis) committed to the dissemination of the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya *daʿwa*; the book was reprinted at least four times. The first edition must be from 1356/1937, judging by the date (1356/1937) the author gives at the end of pages 3–4, where he explains his reasons for writing the book. My copy, which I consulted for this work, is from the third edition of the year 1389/1969. This third edition was financially supported by a *daʿwa* publishing house with the name Maṭbaʿat al-Daʿwa. The fourth edition was published in 1394/1974 by the Islamic University of Medina.[42]

There were, in fact, many works published in North and West Africa against the Tijāniyya. The two that are well written in style and argument and therefore remain the most famous are the one mentioned above by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and a book by Muḥammad al-Khiḍr b. Sayyidī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Māyābā l-Shinqīṭī entitled *Mushtahā l-khārif al-jānī fī radd zalaqāt al-Tijānī l-jānī* [The object of desire of the criminal, or The refutation of the slippage of al-Tijānī, the criminal].[43] In one of his writings, the Egyptian Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ, who was for a long time the guide of the Tijāniyya in the Mashriq, harshly criticizes ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and Ibn Māyābā. This suggests that he recognized that the criticism in the works of these authors posed a danger to the Tijāniyya. In research conducted in the West about the Tijāniyya, the book by Ibn Māyābā (who was not a Wahhābī) is frequently discussed, but

42 The other anti-Tijānī pamphlet published by the Islamic University of Medina was written by the Moroccan Salafī Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī, who in the 1970s was a teacher at the same university and imam in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. His pamphlet is entitled *al-Hadiyyat al-hādiyat ilā al-ṭāʾifat al-tijāniyya*.

43 This book was published for the first time in Cairo in 1927. It was republished in Amman (Dār al-Bashīr, 1985), 599 pages, with 52 pages of appendices. Ibn Māyābā, the author of this book, was from the Tajakant Moorish tribe. He left his country in the early twentieth century after the French conquered it. He went with a group of his family first to Morocco, then he moved to Medina, where he was the Mālikī *muftī*. Later, he left Medina and settled in Jordan, where he and some of his descendants occupied important state positions. According to Ibn Māyābā himself, he finished his book in Jerusalem on 21 Muḥarram 1344/11 August 1925. This would mean that he left the Hijaz some time before it was taken by the Āl Saʿūd. Perhaps, knowing that the end of the power of the Hashemites, his benefactors who had appointed him Mālikī *muftī* of Medina, was near he went with them to Jordan. In the same period, his brother Lḥabīb b. Māyābā l-Jakanī al-Shinqīṭī was among the *ʿulamāʾ* close to King Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca. He taught at al-Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca; his brother taught in Medina in the Prophet's Mosque. When ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd took the Hijaz, Lḥabīb b. Māyābā fled to Cairo, where he became a teacher at al-Azhar University. At that time, relations between King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the Egyptian state were not good, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz did not want to have the *maḥmal* procession in the Hijaz.

the writing of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, which first appeared ten years after Ibn Māyābā's work is seldom mentioned. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī's short book (just 32 pages), written from the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya perspective, was distributed to many pilgrims (*ḥujjāj*) from West Africa by the institutions of the Saudi *daʿwa*. The clear and direct style of the book was appealing; nevertheless, researchers in the West (though not the majority of Muslims of West Africa) still discuss the book by Ibn Māyābā more.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī based his refutation of the Tijāniyya (*al-Anwār al-raḥmāniyya li-hidāyat al-firqa al-Tijāniyya*) on his careful reading of the major works of the Tijānī, namely:

(1) *Jawāhir al-maʿānī* (*Jawāhir al-maʿānī wa-bulūgh al-amānī fī fayḍ sayyidī Abī l-ʿAbbās al-Tijānī*). This is a hagiography written in 1799–1800 by ʿAlī Ḥarāzim b. al-ʿArabī Barrāda al-Fāsī on the orders of Aḥmad al-Tijānī. (2) *Kitāb al-ifāda al-Aḥmadiyya li-murīd al-saʿāda al-abadiyya*, written by Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Ṣufyānī (d. 1259/1843). This is a compilation of Aḥmad al-Tijānī's sayings, or those that the author considered important. It is, in a way, like the *ḥadīth* compilations. (3) *Al-Jaysh* (*al-Jaysh al-kafīl bi-aʾkhdh al-thaʾr minmmā ṣallā ʿalā l-Shaykh al-Tijānī*), written in the nineteenth century by the Idaw ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr b. Anbūja al-Shinqīṭī, to defend the Tijāniyya and especially in response to Idayj b. al-Kumlailī, a contemporary and opponent of Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ, who introduced the Tijāniyya to the Moors. (4) *Bughyat al-mustafīd*, written by Muḥammad al-ʿArabī b. al-Sayyāḥ (1813–92). This is one of the main sources of Aḥmad al-Tijānī's biography. It is, in fact, a commentary on a biographical poem entitled *Munyat al-murīd*, composed by Aḥmad b. Sīdī Bābā l-Shinqīṭī l-ʿAlawī (d. in Medina around 1845). (5) *Kitāb al-rimāḥ* of Ḥāj ʿUmar al-Fūtī.

In *al-Anwār al-raḥmāniyya li-hidāyat al-firqa al-Tijāniyya*, it is clear that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī has read the Tijānī books mentioned above. In treating them, he cites the page containing the text he refutes, along with the book's publisher and date of publication. This method of argumentation, which is familiar to us, was not common among the *ʿulamāʾ* of his generation. After discussing the first theme of his book—the definition of the concepts of *bidʿa* and *sunna* (pp. 5–20)—al-Ifrīqī addresses the second and final theme of his book, namely his criticism of Tijānī texts. Before starting his critique of the 10 articles of the Tijānī creed, al-Ifrīqī addresses his readers with the following short introduction (p. 20):

> I would like to remind you, dear brothers, what we, Ahl al-Sunna, do not accept in the Tijānī creed. In so doing, I will mention in what book I took the passage on which I rely to rebut the Tijānī. I will also mention the

> page number of the Tijānī book that I will refute (. . .) In any case, what I reveal here from their books is either unbelief (*kufr*) or lies they utter against God and His Prophet.

Al-Ifrīqī also mentions the references to Qur'ānic verses, *ḥadīth*s, and texts of well-known *'ulamā'* upon which his argumentation relies. Among the well-known works al-Ifrīqī carefully read and mentions are *al-I'tiṣām* of al-Shāṭibī; *Ghunyat al-ṭālibīn* of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī; the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī; the *Tafsīr* of al-Shawkānī; and the *Tafsīr* of Ibn Kathīr.

On the third page of his short book, al-Ifrīqī explains his reasons for writing it.

> I was discussing with friends among the pilgrims (*ḥujjāj*) various religious issues including that concerning the *bida'* (blameworthy innovations). I told them that what was not a part of Islam during the first generation of Muslims could not be a part of it today. They asked me for scriptural evidence of what I had said, especially with regard to the rejection of the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa* by the Ahl al-Sunna. So I returned to the *'ulamā'* of the Ahl al-Sunna to remind them of what they wrote in their commentary on the Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīth*s condemning *bida'* and those who practice them.

It seems that, after they performed the *ḥajj* and returned to West Africa, the pilgrims sent him a letter to remind him of their questions at this meeting. For al-Ifrīqī continues, "I received your letter. I have read and understood what you have said. And here is the answer . . ." This shows that the majority of al-Ifrīqī's writings were answers to questions that the Muslims of West Africa (and elsewhere) sent to him by mail. Throughout his life in Saudi Arabia he was in communication with those of his home region whom he wanted to convert to the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya doctrine.

The book can be divided into two parts: (1) General scriptural evidence against *bida'* and Sufi orders, and (2) a critique of some key passages from the books of the Tijānī.

1–General scriptural evidence against bida' and Sufi orders. Under the title *al-Muslim al-ḥaqīqī* [The true Muslim] al-Ifrīqī wrote:

> One cannot be a true Muslim unless he complies with the Qur'ān and the *Sunna* in the faith (*'aqā'id*), the obligatory acts (*farā'iḍ*), the non-obligatory acts (*sunan*), and the invocations (*adhkār*). The true Muslim must follow

> first the Qurʾān and then the *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet Muḥammad. What the latter said or did should be for him the first model to be followed. The invocations (*adhkār*) of the Prophet must have priority for him over those prescribed by the spiritual leaders (*mashāʾikh*, sing. *shaykh*) of the orders. As for the invocations (*adhkār*) and litanies (*awrād*, sing. *wird*), they should be compared with the Qurʾān and the *Sunna*. If they are in accordance with the latter two, they should be practiced. If they do not comply with them, they should be rejected.[44] God says in the Qurʾān: *Follow what God has sent to you and do not follow as a protector someone other than Him*.[45]

This expression is the concise argument the Wahhābī use against Muslims who perform practices that the Wahhābī doctrine deems un-Islamic. This argument has become common in the Wahhābī literature. We must recognize that although it is simplistic, it has its logic.

Next the author defines *bidʿa* (innovation). He writes that a Muslim should know what belongs to the category of *bidaʿ* and what belongs to the *sunna* in order to be able to distinguish one from the other. He first defines the *sunna* semantically (*al-sunna lughatan*) as the way (*al-ṭarīq*). He notes that the *sunna* according to the *sharīʿa* (*al-sunna sharʿan*) is the explanation of the Qurʾān made by the Prophet either in word or deed. Whatever is not part of these explanations is *bidʿa*. So the *sunna* is the way (*ṭarīq*) that we must follow. This is Islam, he notes, the way that no one should deviate from, unless he is ignorant, lost, and a *mubtadiʿ*, someone who practices *bidʿa*. Al-Ifrīqī goes further in his explanation and writes that semantically (*lughatan*) *bidʿa* is the act of inventing something completely new without reference to anything that existed before. When this concerns matters of religion, it is not acceptable. According to the *sharīʿa*, *bidʿa* takes place when someone adds something new to Islam after it was established in its entirety by the Prophet and his rightly-guided caliphs (*khulafāʾ al-rāshidīn*). Al-Ifrīqī defines two kinds of *bidʿa*: a *bidʿa dīniyya* (*bidʿa* in relation to the Islamic religion) and a *bidʿa dunyawiyya* (*bidʿa* in relation to the affairs of this world). Any *bidʿa* to Islam is a sin (*ḍalāla*) as the Prophet and his companions established in the scriptural text (*naṣṣ*). It is not permissible for any Muslim to change (*yughayyiru*) or interpret (*yuʾawwilu*) the words of the Prophet, just as he is forbidden to do or say anything or practice a *wird* that the Prophet did not prescribe. It is likewise forbidden for him to join a *ṭarīqa* other than the *ṭarīqa* of the Prophet (*an*

44 "Wa yuʿraḍ tilka al-awrād ʿalā l-Kitāb wa-l-Sunna, fa in wāfaqathā ʿumila bihā wa illā falā."

45 Qurʾān 7:3. See al-Ifrīqī, *al-Anwār al-raḥmāniyya*, pp. 6–7.

yadkhula fī ṭarīqin ghayra ṭarīqi al-nabiyyi). All this belongs to the *bidʿa* that conducts someone to sin, and whoever commits such a *bidʿa* will undoubtedly go to hell. All this is in accordance with what the Prophet has said: "Whoever does a practice that we have not prescribed, it will not be accepted."[46] He also said: "Any *bidʿa* is a sin and any sin leads to hell."[47] As for the *bidʿa* concerning the affairs of this world (*al-bidʿa fī l-maṣāliḥ al-dunyāwiyya*), there is no harm in it (*falā ḥaraj fī dhālika*) as long as it is useful, does not contain a prejudice to the religion, does not incite to illicit acts, and does not destroy a foundation of the religion. This is in accordance with what the Prophet said:

> I am a human being. If I order you to do something that relates to your religion, take it. If, on the authority of my personal opinion, I order you [to do] something that does not relate to the religion, you have the choice to follow the order or not, because I am a human being.[48]

Then al-Ifrīqī poses to the reader the following question, which is actually the central theme of his book:

> O my brother, you have to think very well, to which one of the two types of *bidʿa* (*bidʿa dīniyya*) or a *bidʿa dunyawiyya* can you rank the Tijānī *wird*? If you rank it in the first category, as the Tijānī do, know that God says in the Qurʾān: "Today I have completed the religion, and completed My favor on you and have granted to you Islam as the true religion" [5:3]. And what was not part of Islam at the time of the Prophet cannot be part of Islam today.

Al-Ifrīqī follows the polemicist's logic by relying on the reference books of his opponents. He does this, for example, when he mentions the words of Imām Mālik, the founder of the legal school (*madhhab*) that bears his name and the *madhhab* of the Muslims in West and North Africa, including the members of the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa*. And indeed, al-Ifrīqī mentions the following statement of Imām Mālik on the issue of *bidʿa*: "Whoever, in Islam, creates a *bidʿa* and considers it a good thing, it is as if he claims that the Prophet Muḥammad did not

46 "Man ʿamila ʿamalan laysa ʿalayhi amrunā fa huwa raddu" (rawahu Muslim ʿan ʿĀʾisha).

47 "Kullu bidʿatun ḍalālat wa kullu ḍalālatun fī l-nār."

48 "Innamā anā basharun. Idhā amartukum bi shayʾin min amr dīnikum fa khudhūhu, wa idhā amartukum bishayʾin min raʾyī fa innamā anā basharun," in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.

accurately transmit the message of God."[49] Then al-Ifrīqī adds that al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388) mentions this tradition in his book *al-ʿItiṣām*.[50] We see here that al-Ifrīqī not only mentions a tradition attributed to Imām Mālik to strengthen his argument, but he also adds that it was reported by al-Shāṭibī, a Mālikī jurist well-known in North and West Africa. Al-Ifrīqī mentions a *ḥadīth* often cited by the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya to claim that they are the group of the only true Muslims. The *ḥadīth* is: "My community (the Prophet said) will be divided into seventy-three groups. All will go to hell except one group: that is those who follow the path that I and my companions follow."[51]

Al-Ifrīqī continues, and ultimately argues that the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa* (and other Sufi *ṭarīqa*s) are among the groups that will go to hell. He continues:

> It necessarily follows, and is well-known (*wa-maʿlūm bi l-ḍarūra*), that the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa* and what resembles it (*wa mā shākalahā*) did not exist either in the period of the Prophet or in that of the rightly-guided caliphs (*khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn*). And whoever worships God together with something other than what the Prophet has ordered us belongs to the groups that will go to hell.

Al-Ifrīqī then reinforces the statement with the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, in which he spoke to his companions:

> He among you who will live after me will see many divisions (*ikhtilāfan kathīran*). Therefore, follow my tradition and that of the rightly-guided caliphs who will come after me. Hold tight to the tradition (*ʿaḍḍ alayhā bi-l-nawājidh*).[52] Beware of blameworthy innovations, because each blameworthy innovation is a sin and each sin brings one to hell.[53]

Al-Ifrīqī interprets *ikhtilāfan kathīran* (several divisions) with *ṭuruqan kathīran* (several *ṭuruq*) and *fa ʿalaykum bi sunnatī* (hold tight to the tradition) with *fa*

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49 "Man ibdtadaʿa bidʿatan fī l-islām yarāha ḥasanatan faqad zaʿama annā Muḥammadan (ṣ. ʿa. w. s.) khāna al-risālat."

50 al-Shāṭibī, *al-ʿItiṣām*, ed. Rashīd Riḍā (Cairo: Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, 1332/1915).

51 To be found in the *ḥadīth* books of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Ibn Dāwūd.

52 Lit.: "Bite it very well; keep it well with your teeth."

53 "Man yaʿish minkum fa sayarā khtilāfan kathīran. Fa ʿalaykum bi sunnatī wa sunnati al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidīn min baʿdī. Tamassakū bihā wa ʿaḍḍū ʿalayhā bi-l-nawājidh. Wa iyyākum wa muḥdathāt al-umūr fa innā kullu muḥdathatun bidʿa wa kullu bidʿatun ḍalālatun wa kullu ḍalālatun fī l-nāri" (rawāhu Abū Dāwūd wa-l-Nasāʾī wa ghayruhumā).

ʿalaykum bi ṭarīqī (hold tight to my *ṭarīqa*). In other words, al-Ifrīqī maintains that the divisions to which the Prophet was referring to are the Sufi orders, while the *sunna* of the Prophet mentioned here is the only *ṭarīqa* that the Muslim should follow. The discursive strategy pursued by al-Ifrīqī to persuade the Tijānī goes further. Al-Ifrīqī does not rely only on Imām Mālik, the founder of the Mālikī *madhhab* and the *madhhab* followed by the Tijānī, or al-Shāṭibī, a well-known jurist of the Mālikī *madhhab*, but he also involves other famous Sufis like ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (the founder of the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*). According to al-Ifrīqī, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī wrote (in *Ghuniyat al-ṭālibīn*, lit., The perfect state sought by the seeker of the truth) the same thing that Mālik and Shāṭibī wrote on the question of the *bidʿa*.

To show the duty incumbent on the *ʿulamāʾ* to fight against *bidaʿ*, al-Ifrīqī cites the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "When *bidaʿ* appears in my community, when my companions are insulted, the *ʿālim* must show his knowledge. Whoever does not do that, the curse of God, that of the angels, and that of all human beings will be on him."[54] In his argumentation against *bidaʿ* in general and the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa* in particular, al-Ifrīqī sometimes adduces a sociological reasoning such as: "In addition, innovations create misunderstandings and animosity between people. For each group believes its order is better than the other orders. They hate each other. The Tijānī, for example, went so far as to refrain from visiting non-Tijānī."

In pursuing this strategy of discourse, which consisted of relying on authorities accepted by the Tijānī, al-Ifrīqī mentions the *Risāla* of Abū Zayd al-Qayrawānī. Then, addressing the Tijānī he writes:

> You read the *Risāla* of Abū Zayd al-Qayrawānī every morning and evening and you do not understand the meaning?! How would you explain the words of Abū Zayd al-Qayrawānī in his *Risāla* when he writes that Muslims must abandon the reprehensible innovations (*bidaʿ*),[55] and should not follow anything that is not in accordance with the *sunna*?[56]

Nonetheless, we should remember that, despite the excessive and sometimes accusatory tone that al-Ifrīqī used here against the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa*, he did not consider them *kuffār* (non-Muslims) or apostates (*murtaddūn*), but people who have gone astray from the right path and must therefore be guided back

54 "Idhā ḥuditha fī ummaṭī al-bidaʿ wa shutima aṣḥābī fa l-yaẓhar al-ʿālim ʿilmahu. Faman lā yafʿal fa ʿalayhi laʿnatu Allāh wa-l-malāʾikati wa al-nāsi ajmaʿīn."

55 "Tark mā aḥdathahu al-muḥdathūn."

56 "Ilā bi muwāfaqat al-sunna."

on track. His moderate tone can be seen, for example, in his frequent use of the expression "Yā Ikhwānī" (O my brothers), when he addressed the Tijānī.

2–al-Ifrīqī's critiques of key passages of the important Tijāniyya books. Al-Ifrīqī simply mentions and then refutes ten basic principles of the Tijāniyya doctrine. He extracts these principles from the main texts he has read of this *ṭarīqa*. I have mentioned the titles of these books above. These ten principles of the Tijāniyya doctrine, according to al-Ifrīqī, are the following:

(1) The Tījānī believe that Prophet Muḥammad kept the Tijānī *wird* secret in order to give it (only) to Aḥmad al-Tijānī, the founder of the Tijānī *ṭarīqa*. He did not even teach his companions (*ṣaḥāba*) this *wird* because he knew that none of them was yet able to receive it. According to al-Ifrīqī, this statement is found in two well-known Tijānī books, *Jawāhir al-maʿānī* and *al-Jaysh* (p. 92).

Al-Ifrīqī responded by stating that to believe and say that the Prophet hid the *wird* in order to give it only to Aḥmad al-Tijānī, that he did not reveal it to any of his companions, is contrary to what God says in the Qurʾān: "O Prophet, transmit to the people what God has revealed to you" (5:67). In addition, he states that it is unimaginable that the prophets would hide a revelation, because this would mean they acted in an unfair manner toward the gift God has given them (*khiyānat li-l-amānat*). And according the consensus of the *ʿulamāʾ* (*ijmāʿ al-ʿulamāʾ*), to believe that a prophet can act in this way is infidelity (*kufr*). When Aḥmad al-Tijānī said that none of those around the Prophet were able to understand the *wird*, this means that Aḥmad al-Tijānī considered himself better than Abū Bakr, the prominent companion of the Prophet. And that would be the ultimate corruption (*fasād*) of manners and complete idiocy.

(2) Reciting the *ṣalāt al-fātiḥ* one time is equivalent to any *tasbīḥ*, to any *dhikr*, and to any kind of supplication (*duʿāʾ*) recited in the world. In addition to that, reciting the *ṣalāt al-fātiḥ*, they believe, is equivalent to reciting the whole Qurʾān 6,000 times. (*Jawāhir al-maʿānī*, p. 96 [first edition, Maṭbaʿat al-Taqaddum al-ʿIlmiyya]).

Al-Ifrīqī responded that this is infidelity (*kufr*) and apostasy (*ridda*). Are there Muslims who would not consider anyone who would say and believe such a thing an infidel (*kāfir*)? Rather, whoever would not stand up against this kind of statement and belief would be considered an infidel (*kāfir*). For there is nothing more important than the Qurʾān.

(3) He who does not believe that the *ṣalāt al-fātiḥ* is a part of the Qurʾān will not receive the reward (*thawāb*) normally given to anyone who recites the Qurʾān (*al-Ifāda*, p. 80).

Al-Ifrīqī responded that the *ṣalāt al-fātiḥ* is neither in the Qurʾān nor in any *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, not even in an apocryphal *ḥadīth* (*ḥadīth mawḍūʿ*). Is the one (Aḥmad al-Tijānī) who claims to have received the *ṣalāt al-fātiḥ* by revelation a prophet or a saint (*walī*)? If he is a saint, he should recognize that God sends a revelation only to a prophet, not to a saint (*walī*).

(4) Aḥmad al-Tijānī said: "On the Day of the Judgment, God will keep for me a pulpit (*minbar*) of gold. And someone will make the following call: 'O you who are here, here is your *imām* whom you ask assistance without knowing him!' " (*al-Ifāda al-aḥmadiyya*, p. 73 and *Bughyat al-mustafīd*, p. 173).

Al-Ifrīqī responded that he who makes such statements raises himself to the status of the Prophet. For it is the Prophet who will make this kind of call to everyone. Moreover, the statement of Aḥmad al-Tijānī includes the prophets. This would mean that the prophets will also request the assistance of Aḥmad al-Tijānī, and this is something that is impossible. Therefore, he who makes such statements claims to be God.

(5) It is forbidden to read the *Jawharat al-kamāl* (*Jawāhir al-maʿānī*) without having made ablutions (*wuḍūʾ*) with water (*ṭahāra māʾiyya*) (*Jawāhir al-maʿānī*, p. 105).

Al-Ifrīqī responded that this would be a new law (*tashrīʿ jadīd*) not established by God and the Prophet. For it is possible to read even the Qurʾān with or without having made ablutions (*wuḍūʾ*) by water (*ṭahāra māʾiyya*).

(6) Aḥmad al-Tijānī said: God has forbidden him to address Him (*al-tawajjuḥ ilayhi*) by His beautiful names (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*); he is only permitted to address Him through the *ṣalāt al-fātiḥ* (*al-Ifāda al-Aḥmadiyya*, p. 57).

Al-Ifrīqī responded that this is infidelity (*kufr*) and sin (*ḍalāl*). For how is it possible that the Prophet prohibits what God commands in the following Qurʾānic verse: "God has beautiful names, pray to God with them" (7:180).[57]

(7) A Tijānī holy man (*walī*) often met the Prophet Muḥammad who taught him poetry (*Jawāhir al-maʿānī*, p. 145).

Al-Ifrīqī responded: How would this be possible, when God says in the Qurʾān to the Prophet: "We have not taught him poetry, because poetry does not suit him" (36:69).[58]

(8) He who looks at me (Aḥmad al-Tijānī) on Friday or Monday will enter Paradise without being judged by God beforehand (*bi ghayr ḥisāb wa lā ʿiqāb*) (*Jawāhir al-maʿānī*, p. 170). In the *Bughyat al-mustafīd* it is written: "If he was a *kāfir* he will become de facto Muslim."

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57 "Wa li-Llāh al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā faʾdʿūhu bihā."

58 "Wa mā ʿallamnāhu al-shiʿra wa mā yanbaghī lahu" (36:69).

Al-Ifrīqī responded: So, Aḥmad al-Tijānī considers himself better than the Prophet! The Prophet remained for years alongside his uncle Abū Ṭālib, but the latter died a *kāfir*. Abū Jahl looked at the Prophet many times, yet he died a *kāfir*. The son of the Prophet Noah is a dead *kāfir*. The father of the Prophet Ibrāhīm died a *kāfir*. All these people were relatives of prophets, yet this fact and the fact that they looked at these prophets did not made them believers.

(9) The Tijānī receive their religious duties (*al-aḥkām*) directly from God and the Prophet Muḥammad (*al-Rimāḥ*, p. 152).

Al-Ifrīqī responded: Are what is ordered and what is forbidden by the Qur'ān not enough for them? But God says in the Qur'ān: "Is there anyone more unjust than one who lies about God or one who claims to have received a revelation of God but he did not receive any?" (6:93)

(10) Someone who wants to join the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa* and therefore wants to receive the Tijānī *wird* should not be a member of another *ṭarīqa*. And he who is a member of another *ṭarīqa* must first abandon it if he wants to join the Tijānī *ṭarīqa*. He should not be afraid of the authorities of his former *ṭarīqa*, whether the authority in question is a *walī*, whether alive or dead. For he will be protected from evil, wherever it comes from, whether from his former shaykh or from God or from the Prophet (*al-Rimāḥ*, p. 211).

Al-Ifrīqī responded that this kind of talk encourages people to believe they are immune to the power God has to punish his creatures. God says in the Qur'ān: "Are they immune to the power God has to punish? Those who believe they are immune to this power are in fact among the lost" (7:99). It also encourages Muslims to compete against each other, and thus to divide themselves, even though they have the same God, the same prophet, the same Qur'ān. And God especially forbids division between Muslims. He says, indeed, in the Qur'ān: "Do not be like those who have divided themselves after the truth was revealed to them. For God provided them a great punishment" (3:105). Then al-Ifrīqī addressed his readers with the following words, which rhyme in Arabic: "Look, my brother, at this new law, this big lie on God, this rush to the destructive fire."[59] Even worse than this, al-Ifrīqī wrote, is their belief that the division they create among Muslims has only one purpose: to assure heaven for the Muslims. In the Qur'ān God refers to such people:

> Tell them: do you want us to tell you who are the ones whose actions will be for nothing, those whose lives were a waste of time even though they thought to do good? They are those who deny God's signs and the

59 "Unẓur yā akhī ilā hādhā al-tashrīʿ al-jadīd, wa-l-iftirā' ʿalā Allāh bimā lā mazīd, wa-l-musāraʿa ilā nārin ʿadhābuhā shadīd," p. 29.

> encounter with Him. Their acts are void. On the Day of Judgment, We will not give importance to their actions. They will go to hell as a reward for their unbelief and for having made fun of My signs and My prophets (18:103–106).

Then al-Ifrīqī recalls the importance of *naṣīḥa* (advising someone; guiding someone to the right path). For him, *naṣīḥa* is the true meaning of Islam, the true meaning of the *daʿwa* (Islamic mission). And it is this meaning of *naṣīḥa*, he notes, which has urged him to write his book. Al-Ifrīqī quotes the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "Our religion means *naṣīha*. To whom should I give advice, asked the companions of the Prophet? And the Prophet answered: for God, his Book, his Prophet, the *imāms* of the Muslims, and all Muslims."[60] Al-Ifrīqī appealed to the Tijānī to repent (*tawba*), to ask God for forgiveness (*istighfār*), and to return to the right track. He reiterates that his goal in writing his books is the hope that, "by this book, God will bring back even one person to the right path." He quotes the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, who was speaking to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib before he sent him on an Islamic mission (*daʿwa*): "If, by your effort, God guides even only one person, this is better for you than a herd of camels."[61] He then mentions the word *dhikr* (reminder),[62] which, like the term *naṣīḥa* in the understanding of al-Ifrīqī, contains all the meaning of the *daʿwa* (Islamic mission) or even the whole meaning of Islam. To support his argument, he first cites the following Qurʾānic verse: "Remind the people to be good Muslims, because to remind them is good for them" (51:55). Another verse with the word *dhikr* that al-Ifrīqī did not mention, but which I believe reflects better the meaning of *daʿwa*, is "You have only to remind people to adhere to Islam, for this is only your duty. You should not impose anything at all. He who refuses your message and turns back from you, God will punish him, for His punishment is the strongest one."[63]

From this exposition we have a good grasp of how al-Ifrīqī understood Islam in general and *daʿwa* (Islamic mission) in particular, as well as how he saw his duty as a scholar (*ʿālim*). This can be summarized in two concepts: *al-tadhkira*

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60 "Al-dīn al-naṣīḥa, qulnā: liman? qāla li-Llāh wa-li-kitābihi wa-li-rasūlihi, wa-li-aʾimmati al-muslimīn wa-ʿāmmatihim" (*rawāhu* Muslim).

61 "Li an yahdiya Allāh bika rajulan wāḥidan khayrun laka min ḥumrin al-niʿam."

62 Not to be confused with the other meaning of *dhikr*, namely the repetition of litanies common in the Sufi practice.

63 "Fa dhakkir innamā anta mudhakkir lasta ʿalayhim bi-muṣayṭirin illā man tawallā wa kafara fayuʿadhdhibuhu Allāhu al-ʿadhāba al-akbar innā ilaynā iyābahum thummā innā ʿalaynā ḥisābahum" (88:21–26).

wa-l-iblāgh (reminding and sending the message of Islam). He, or any Muslim, does not have any other power. He does not—and should not—have the power to impose anything on others. This is a moderate comprehension of *daʿwa*. He ends his book with this sentence: "This is the result of what I have gathered for you from the Tijānī writings, as advice (*naṣīḥa*) for you."[64]

The last two pages consist of an advertisement for his institution, the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina. Here, we see that al-Ifrīqī was not only a competent teacher and a very active missionary, but also interested in public relations and advertising. He wrote the following:

> Know that the purpose of the creation of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina is to spread the reality of Islam, the pure *tawḥīd*, the true doctrine, and to encourage people to comply with all that. We have established that teaching, housing, clothing, books, and other supplies should be free for the student, without asking for [anything in] return. Small grants are accorded to students, depending on funding available to the Dār al-Ḥadīth. You see, the Dār al-Ḥadīth is the best initiative. This is a *jihād* in the way of God (*jihād fī sabīl Allāh*). Supporting this institution, which is in the country where Islam began, where the Qurʾān was revealed, is the best action for God. God will reward with His blessings in this world and in the next every Muslim who helps this institution, who advertises it among his brothers and friends (*wa-l-diʿāya bihā bayna ikhwānihi wa aṣdiqāʾihi*), or even as much as possible among all Muslims. This advertising of the Dār al-Ḥadīth could be in newspapers (*jarāʾid*) and periodicals (*majjallāt*). Every reasonable Muslim who wishes the best for Islam should encourage the young generation to come and study in the Dār al-Ḥadīth (. . .). May God grant us His assistance, improve the situation of Muslims (*yarfaʿ shaʾn al-muslimīn*), grant the Muslims His glory (*yaʿizza kalimatahum*), give them back their prestige of yesteryear, and strengthen their position on earth (*al-tamkīn lahum fi l-arḍ*). And that is not something difficult for God (*wa mā dhālika ʿalā Allāh bi ʿaẓīz*).

Al-Ifrīqī ends this two-page advertisement with his signature as secretary of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina (Sikritīr bī Dār al-Ḥadīth bi al-Madina al-Munawwara).

64 "Wa hadhā ḥāṣilun mā jamaʿtuhu lakum min kutubihim naṣīḥatan lakum. Wa-l-Salām" p. 30.

Jawāb al-Ifrīqī [Response of the African]

As its name implies, this 58-page book is a collection of responses that al-Ifrīqī gave to questions sent to him by a group of Muslims of the Malabar coast of India. He received these questions in 1366/1946[65] and wrote his book in the same year (according to the last page, on 3 October 1366/1946). The first edition of the book was that of 1366/1946 (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Iʿtiṣām). Al-Ifrīqī begins his book with the following brief introduction.

> I, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Ifrīqī, teacher of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina and one of the *ʿulamāʾ* who has graduated from the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina, have received questions sent to me by some brothers asking me to give them responses. They said that these questions became difficult for them and they could not find the responses. Therefore, I prayed to God to grant me assistance so I could answer these questions.

In fact, it was a group of questions sent to him by one Salafī of Malabar in India named Atān Kawā l-Mālibārī. The latter had collected the controversial religious questions of the Muslims in his community. It may be that this Malabar Salafī had already responded to these questions orally and he merely wanted official written responses—particularly from a scholar teaching in the Mosque of the Prophet and the director of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina—in order to persuade his opponents. Or perhaps he really could not answer or was not sure of his responses. In either case, the Malabar shaykh was a Salafī. This is manifest in the way in which the questions were asked. For instance, each question is followed by the formula: "What is the evidence according the *sunna* and the opinion of the *salaf*?"[66] The focus of the questions is on what is allowed and what is not, according to Salafī Islam, particularly on the following topics: death, *ṣalāt* (prayer and the Friday prayer in particular), the non-compulsory fast (*ṣawm al-taṭawwuʿ*), the *mawlid* (commemoration of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad), medical care, Jesus (ʿĪsā), the *miʿrāj* (ascension of the Prophet Muḥammad to heaven), and the *madhāhib* (schools of jurisprudence). These are the main issues of practices and beliefs that are most often disputed between Salafīs and their opponents, particularly the adherents and supporters of Sufi orders. In this book, al-Ifrīqī responds to a total of seventeen questions. Given that these seventeen questions all revolve around the themes

65 Fallāta, *Lamahāt ʿan al-madīnat al-nabawiyya*, p. 237.

66 "Mā al-dalīl ʿalā dhālika min al-sunna wa min ʿulamāʾ al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ?"

noted above, we can extract nine questions. Below I report the responses of al-Ifrīqī and the arguments he advanced to support his views.

(1) Question: After someone's death, what should his family do for him? What should the people who follow his coffin say or recite? Tell us what is right according to the *sunna*.

Response: When a Muslim falls ill, it is recommended that Muslims visit him. This is mentioned in several *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet, such as the following:

> A Muslim owes to his fellow Muslims five obligations: to return his *salām* when he says to him "al-salām ʿalaykum"; to visit him when he falls ill; to follow the coffin of the deceased; to accept the invitation when he is invited; to say *yarḥamuka-Allah* [may God bless you] to someone who sneezes."[67]

If someone is dying, it is recommended that those who visit him pronounce, at irregular intervals and without emphasis, the formula "Lā Ilāha illa Allāh" (there is no God but Allah). One should not force the dying to pronounce this formula, but only remind him so he can pronounce it, so that his last words in this world will be this testimony. This is because the Prophet said, "He who his last word in this world is 'Lā Ilāha illa Allāh' will enter Paradise."[68] He should also ensure that the face of the person dying is oriented toward the *qibla*. After he passes away, we must close his eyes. This is all according to a *ḥadīth* that al-Ifrīqī quotes.[69]

Before the funeral, his heirs must pay his debts if he left property. The washing of the dead should be carried out by a trustworthy person who will not disclose the intimacy of the body of the deceased. This is one of the reasons why the washings of the dead must be performed by a member of the family of the deceased. If there is none among them who can do that, they should designate someone whom they trust who can do it. If it is a wife who has died, it is up to her husband to do it. If he is not able, he should delegate it to a woman he trusts. Al-Ifrīqī writes that Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter, recommended that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, her husband, should be the one who would wash her body if

67 This is an authentic *ḥadīth* of Bukhārī and Muslim, on which there is consensus (*muttafaqun ʿalayhi*).

68 This *ḥadīth* is narrated by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Abū Dāwūd.

69 "When you are in front of a deceased person, you must close his eyes because the eye follows the soul. Say good things about your dead, because God gives credence to what is said by family and friends of the deceased" (*Aḥmad and Ibn Māja*).

she died before him. This, al-Ifrīqī notes, is evidence against the teachings of the Ḥanafī in the matter of washing the body after death.

The shroud must be a simple white cloth and an inexpensive fabric. Al-Ifrīqī writes that the Malabar tradition of placing the coffin at the door of the house before the burial so that people can come here to say good things about the deceased (*li-yastashhadū*) is a reprehensible innovation (*bidʿa*). It is also a *bidʿa* to raise one's voice and say anything when one bears the coffin to the cemetery. Even the recitation of the Qurʾān or pious formulas is prohibited. Indeed, the Prophet said, "God appreciates silence in three things: during the recitation of the Qurʾān; when Muslims attack the enemy; and when the coffin (*janāza*) is carried to the cemetery for burial."[70] Al-Ifrīqī notes that if even the recitation of the Qurʾān is forbidden during the funeral procession, then certainly reciting the *Burda* of al-Būṣurī is also prohibited. It is recommended that Muslims prepare food for the family of the deceased. For, being struck by the sadness of the death of their loved one, it could be that they are not be able to prepare food for themselves. It is forbidden for the family of the deceased to prepare food for those who come to their home on visits of condolence. Condolences to the relatives of the deceased should be made only at the cemetery or in the street after the funeral. Al-Ifrīqī speaks of each of these burial practices that are forbidden from the Salafī perspective, and introduces each of them with a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet.

(2) Question: After the congregational prayer (*ṣalāt al-jamāʿa*), is it allowed for Muslims to remain in the same place to make supplications (*adʿiyya*, pl. *duʿāʾ*)?

Response: When the *imām* has finished the prayer (*ṣalāt*), he must turn to the faithful who have made the *ṣalāt* behind him. It is recommended but not mandatory that everyone recite three times the formula "*astaghfiru Allāh*," then recite two prayers that the Prophet recited in a similar case.[71] Al-Ifrīqī notes that some people's habit of shaking hands after the prayer is an innovation (*bidʿa*).

(3) Question: In what language should the preacher give his sermon during Friday prayers? Can he use languages other than Arabic?

Response: If we consider the reason the Friday sermon is prescribed, namely to remind the faithful what Islam orders (*amr*) and prohibits (*nahy*), as the

70 "Innā Allah yuḥibbu al-ṣimt fī thalāth: fī tilāwat al-qurʾān wa ʿinda liqāʾ al-ʿaduwwi wa fī l-janāza."

71 The first prayer is: "Allahumma anta al-salām wa minka al-salām tabārakta yā dhā l-jalāl wa-l-ikrām." The second prayer is: "Allahumma lā māniʿa limā aʿṭayta wa lā muʿṭī limā manaʿta wa lā yanfaʿ dhā l-jidd minka al-jidd."

Prophet did, it is clear that the sermon must be in a language understood by those to whom it is addressed. If the preacher addressed people in Arabic and the faithful do not understand this language, the aim of the sermon, which is to remind (*dhikr*), to exhort (*waʿẓ*), and to give guidance (*irshād*), would not be fulfilled. It would be like talking to inanimate things (*jamād*). So if the whole or the majority of the faithful who are present understand Arabic, the sermon should be given in Arabic. Otherwise, it should be given in the language understood by the majority of the faithful who are there. But in this case the preacher should first recite in Arabic Qurʾānic verses and formulas praising God and Muḥammad. As for the four Sunnī schools, there is a divergence of opinion. The Ḥanafī say that it is permissible to give the Friday sermon in a language other than Arabic, even if those who listen understand Arabic, whether Arabs or non-Arabs.

According to the Ḥanbalīs, the preacher must give his sermon in Arabic if he knows this language well. Otherwise, he should give it in the language he knows well, regardless of whether or not the faithful who listen are Arabs. Only the mandatory Qurʾānic verse should be spoken in Arabic. If he cannot recite it in Arabic, he should recite in Arabic a similar verse. If he cannot, he should keep a moment of silence equal to the time he would take to recite the verse in question.

The Shāfiʿīs claim that it is only the so-called pillars of the two sermons (*arkān al-khuṭbatayn*) that should be delivered in Arabic. The preacher should, therefore, learn them. But they add that even that is not an obligation. These pillars of the sermon could be delivered in another language, even if those who listen are Arabs. If they are not Arabs, it is not required to deliver them in Arabic, with the exception of the Qurʾānic verse, which must be delivered in Arabic. If the preacher cannot recite it in Arabic, he must speak in Arabic something equivalent, such as a prayer. If he is also unable to do this, he should keep a moment of silence equivalent to the time it takes to recite the Qurʾānic verse in Arabic. He should certainly not translate the verse in question. With regard to the pillars of the two sermons, it is good to recite them in Arabic, but it is not compulsory. This can be done in other languages.

The Mālikīs consider it mandatory (*sharṭ*) to deliver the Friday sermon in Arabic, even if the faithful are non-Arabs. If no one among the faithful of a locality is capable of preaching in Arabic, the Friday prayer is not obligatory for them.

Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, with his love of method and accuracy, added that, in writing on this subject, he relied on the book *al-Fiqh ʿalā l-madhāhib al-arbaʿ* (pt. 1, p. 339, from the chapter on *ʿibādāt*). Then he advanced his personal opinion by writing:

> In truth, if someone considers this with sincerity (*bī ʿayn al-inṣāf*), he will understand that the purpose of the Friday sermon is for listeners to understand what the preacher tells them, in Arabic or in any other language. Those who are against this view of the Friday sermon do not have any argument, either from the Qurʾān or from the *sunna*.

(4) Question: Is it permissible to recite a *mawlid* text? Is it possible to make *ṣadaqa* (alms, charity) with the intention that God's reward return to the Prophet Muḥammad? How should we express our love for the Prophet?

Response: We must remember that celebrating the *mawlid* is a *bidʿa*. It is not a *ʿibāda* (a form of worship) and does not conform to the *sunna* of the Prophet. To read a *mawlid* text is not a good deed that God will reward. However, if an *ʿālim* reads the book *al-Shamāʾil al-muḥammadiyya* of al-Tirmidhī in a course (*dars*), in order to explain to listeners how the Prophet behaved so that they can imitate him, it is considered a good action that God will reward. But Islam does not allow one to give alms (*ṣadaqa*) with the intention that God's reward for it will go to the Prophet. The Prophet is the first person for whom God has reserved paradise; he does not need a good deeds from anyone.

(5) Question: Does the Prophet Jesus (ʿĪsā) have a father?

Response: No. The Prophet Jesus had no father, like "Adam, who did not have a father or mother," as the Prophet Muḥammad stated. Just as this does not mean that Adam was the son of God, so the situation is the same with regard to Jesus (not being the son of God). Above all, being created without a father and mother is more unusual than having only a mother without a father.

(6) Question: Is the Prophet Jesus (ʿĪsā) still alive or not? If so, where does he live? And what kind of life is it? Is it a life like our life or a *barzakh* (in the realm between death and the Day of Resurrection)?

Response: The Prophet Jesus is currently alive, according to the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet speaking to the Jews: "Jesus is not dead. He will return to the Jews before the Day of Resurrection." The same idea can also be found in the following Qurʾānic verse: "O Jesus, I will make you die after having made you ascend to me and I will purify you from all the stain of the infidels" (3:55).[72]

In fact, al-Ifrīqī replies, if you want to translate this verse in a literal way, the meaning would not make sense. For in this verse the word phrase "Yā ʿĪsā innī mutawaffīka" (O Jesus I will make you die) precedes that of "wa rāfiʿuka ilayya" (and I will make you ascend you to me). Al-Ifrīqī, as a good commentator of the Qurʾān, makes sense of this by saying that one should understand the verse in the opposite direction, that is to say: "Innī rāfiʿuka ilayya wa mutawaffīk"

72 "Yā ʿĪsā innī mutawaffīka wa rāfiʿuka ilayya wa muṭahhiruka mina alladhīna kafarū" (3:55).

(Jesus I will make you ascend you to me and then I will make you die). Thus, he wrote how Ibn Kathīr, Qatāda, and others have explained this verse. Al-Ifrīqī continues by mentioning that other commentators of the Qur'ān, such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and al-Baghwī, explain that the meaning here of *mutawaffīk* (I will make you die) is metaphorical and means "fall into a sleep." So, in this sense, sleep is a kind of death and, according to al-Baghwī, Jesus was in a state of sleep when God made him ascend to Him. In the Qur'ān, God says of Jesus's killing by the Jews: "They did not kill him, but killed one who looked like him." Al-Ifrīqī then recalls that Ibn Kathīr, in *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, tells how Jesus was raised up to God and how He (God) transformed the individual who guided the Jewish enemies of Jesus to a double of him. Thus, Jesus's enemies believed they had captured Jesus, but in reality they captured and killed their guide, not Jesus. Al-Ifrīqī notes that Jesus is now in heaven and lives a life like that of the angels, because God has taken away from him any desire for food. When the expected time (i.e., the Day of Judgment) will come, God will send Jesus to earth to accomplish the rest of his divine mission, and then God will cause him to die. Muslims will be praying for his death and will bury him in Medina. Al-Ifrīqī stresses that this is what Ibn Ḥajar wrote in his book *Fatḥ al-bārī*. Others, like al-Tirmidhī, wrote the same thing.

(7) Question: When the Prophet Muḥammad made the *isrā'* and *mi'rāj* (ascension and night journey to Jerusalem and then to heaven), it is said that he met some of the earlier prophets, like Moses, and spoke with them. Was this meeting and their conversations physical or spiritual (*bī jasadihi aw rūḥāniyyatihi*)? Give us an effective and adequate explanation (*bayyin lanā bayānan shāfiyan kāfiyan*).

Response: Al-Ifrīqī begins his response by quoting the following Qur'ānic verse referring to the *isrā'* and *mi'rāj*:[73] "Glory to God: He who has to send his servant by night through the air from the Holy Mosque of Mecca to the sacred mosque of Jerusalem, which We have blessed with its surroundings. We wanted to show the signs of God: He who sees everything and knows everything" (17:1). Al-Ifrīqī notes that the fact that God used the *tasbīh* (*subhāna*) in relation to this issue shows the importance of the *isrā'* and *mi'rāj* in Islam. For God employs the *tasbīh* in important matters. Al-Ifrīqī says that among the *'ulamā'* there are two different views on the manner in which the Prophet made the *isrā'* and *mi'rāj*. According to the first opinion, the Prophet made this trip with his spirit (*bi-rūḥihi*) without his body (*bi dūn al-jasad*). But this

73 According to Islamic tradition, the *isrā'* is the night journey made by the Prophet through the air from Mecca to Jerusalem; and the *mi'rāj* is the Prophet's ascension to heaven from Jerusalem.

opinion should be rejected (*mardūd*). The second view holds that the Prophet traveled with both his body and his spirit (*asrā bi-rūḥihi maʿa jasadihi jamīʿan*). This is the just and dominant opinion supported by the majority of Muslims and by the scriptural evidences. After a long explanation, al-Ifrīqī ends this topic by noting, "The night journey (*isrāʾ*) and the ascension into heaven (*miʿrāj*) are accepted as truth by Muslims but the *zanādiqa* (heretics) and atheists (*mulḥidūn*) consider it a lie."

(8) Question: Is it permissible for a Muslim to be cured of disease by something illicit (*hal yajūz al-tadāwī bi-l-ḥarām*)?

Response: On this subject, there are two different opinions. One maintains that it is permissible in case of dire need (*ḍarūra*) to cure by means of something otherwise illegal. This is the opinion of Shāfiʿī. Those who are in favor of this opinion argue, in fact, that it is allowed to heal by impure things (*najāsāt*) with the exception of intoxicating things (*muskir*). They justify their opinion with the following story related by al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The Prophet advised a Bedouin tribe whose people had fallen victim to a disease that had swelled their bellies to drink not only a lot of milk but also a lot of camel urine. They were healed after drinking both milk and camel urine, although drinking camel urine was forbidden. The others support the opinion that to be cured with something illegal is illegal (*al-tadāwī bi al-ḥarām ḥarām*). They sustain this view with the following *ḥadīth*: "When God creates a disease, He creates at the same time its remedy. Cure yourself, but not with something illegal."[74] Al-Ifrīqī stresses that this is the opinion of the majority (*wa ilayhi dhahaba al-jumhūr*). And to show the strength of this opinion, he said that it is the opinion al-Shawkānī promulgates in his book *Nayl al-awtār*.[75]

(9) Question: Is it permissible for a Muslim to identify himself in a sectarian manner (*mutaʿaṣṣib*), for example, to identify himself as member of a particular legal school (*madhhab*)?[76]

Response: It is not permissible for a Muslim to be a sectarian adhering to any *madhhab* because *madhāhib* (sing. *madhhab*) did not exist at the beginning of Islam and Muslims were one *umma*. They remained so until the death of the Prophet. After the death of the Prophet, his companions and other Muslims were scattered all over the Muslim world. Each one was subsequently attached to a particular *ʿālim*. In some cities, some *ʿulamāʾ* have established themselves as guides, for example Abū Ḥanīfa in Iraq, Mālik in Medina, Shāfiʿī in Egypt,

74 "Inna Allāh anzala al-dāʾ wa al-dawāʾ wa jaʿala li kulli dāʾ dawāʾ fatadāwū wa lā tadāwū bi ḥarām" in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.

75 "Wa dhakarahu al-shawkānī fi naylihi."

76 "Hal yajūz li-l-muslim an yakūna madhhabiyan mutaʿaṣiban?"

and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in Baghdad. But these *ʿulamāʾ* discouraged people from imitating them blindly (*taqlīd*).

The creation of the *madhāhib* (sing. *madhhab*) and the blind imitation (*taqlīd*) of their founders manifested by many Muslims is the one question, among the seventeen, that al-Ifrīqī treats most in his book. As just quoted, al-Ifrīqī addresses the issue of the *madhāhib* in two parts. One is titled "Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-arbaʿa wa-l-sabab fī dhālik" (History of the four schools and the reason for them).[77] It is a historical exposition that begins with this sentence: "Know, you who ask, that the reason for the creation of these *madhāhib* is political power (*al-mulk wa-l-sulṭa*)." Al-Ifrīqī writes that the first *madhhab* that appeared was that of Abū Ḥanīfa. Yet, the latter had banned *taqlīd* to his followers, such that he used to say, "It is not permitted to comply with any of my opinions without knowing in advance whence I took that view." Al-Ifrīqī continues, and states that the *madhāhib* appeared in the third and fourth centuries (ninth and tenth centuries CE) and that these schools appeared in obedience to the will of the *amīr*s, judges (*quḍāt*, sing. *qāḍī*) and others who held political power. This is how many *ʿulamāʾ* explain the issue. Al-Ifrīqī mentions some of these *ʿulamāʾ* who are experts on this and other Islamic sciences: al-nāṣir al-sunna al-muḥammadiyya ("the defender of the sunna of Muḥammad"), Imām Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī in his book *Īqāẓ al-himam*,[78] shaykh al-muḥaddith ("the guide of the experts in *ḥadīth*s") Walī Allāh Shāh al-Dihlāwī, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaq al-Dihlāwī, and other *ʿulamāʾ*. In fact, together with al-Shawkānī, these are the scholars who inspired the Indian Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement.

According to these *ʿulamāʾ*, al-Ifrīqī writes, the *madhāhib* developed during the ʿAbbāsid period, especially during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The latter appointed Abū Yūsuf, a friend of Abū Ḥanīfa, as chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*). Abū Yūsuf in turn began to appoint only followers and supporters of the *madhhab* of Abū Ḥanīfa to be judges. He did this in Iraq, Khurāsān, Shām, Egypt, and the remote part of Africa (*aqṣā* Ifrīqyā). This is how the Ḥanafī *madhhab* spread in the east (*mashriq*). Al-Ifrīqī writes that Ibn Khaldūn reported this opinion in his *Muqaddima*. Similarly, the Mālikī *madhhab* was propagated in Andalusia under the reign of al-Ḥakam b. Hishām, who only appointed those proposed by Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (d. 848) as judges. Al-Ifrīqī tells the story of the development of Mālikī *madhhab* in Andalusia and in the Maghrib: "Muslims in Africa were primarily attached to the traditions and the *sunna* until the Ḥanafī came." In this historical exposition, al-Ifrīqī mentions sources from al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*

77 "Tārīkh al-madhāhib al-arbaʿa wa-l-sabab fī dhālik," *Jawāb al-Ifrīqī*, p. 43.

78 Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, *Īqāẓ himam ūli al-abṣār* (Cairo and Beirut: Maṭbaʿat al-Munīriyya, 1398/1978).

(2:332), Ibn Kathīr's *Kāmil*, and the *Tārikh* of Ibn Khallikān. Then he writes that when Muʿizz b. Bādīs died, the Mālikī *madhhab* predominated. Al-Ifrīqī writes that the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* spread first in Egypt and Khurāsān, then in Shām, Yemen, the Hijaz, and so on after 300/912. Ibn Ḥajar in his *Rafʿ al-aṣr*, al-Sakhāwī in his *Iʿlān bi-l-tawbīkh*, and Ibn Tulūn in his *Thughr al-bissām* all write that ʿUthmān al-Dimashqī l-Qāḍī (d. 303/915) was the first to introduce the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* in Shām. Al-Ifrīqī cites other sources on the history of development of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, like al-Samʿānī in his Kitāb al-ansāb, al-Subkī in his *Ṭabaqāt*, and Ibn Khallikān in his *Tārīkh*. Al-Ifrīqī writes that Ibn Khallikān, in his *Tārīkh*, relates that when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn conquered Egypt in the fifth/twelfth century, he began to build schools (*madāris*) for jurists (*fuqahāʾ*) and other *ʿulamāʾ*. He made sure that most of his schools were run by Shāfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ* and the vast majority of judges appointed were of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* because the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* became the official *madhhab* of the state. Al-Ifrīqī continues, quoting al-Maqrīzī:

> When the Ayyūbid state was succeeded by that of the Turks, the latter, being also of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, continued to promote the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, naming the judges (*quḍāt*) almost exclusively from this *madhhab* and creating schools for *ʿulamāʾ* of this *madhhab*. The situation remained as it is until al-Malik al-Ẓāhir officially recognized the four *madhāhib* (Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī, and Ḥanbalī), and appointed for each *madhhab* a chief judge (*qāḍī*) who had the responsibility to appoint the judges (*quḍāt*) of his *madhhab*. This system lasted up to 665/1266. Until this time, all *madhāhib* other than these four and the Ashʿariyya theological school were fought and removed. Those who followed *madhāhib* other than these four were rejected, their testimonies were not accepted, and they were not appointed to functions like *khaṭīb*, imām, and teacher.

Because he was closer to the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*, al-Ifriqī strove to distinguish it from other *madhāhib*. He wrote that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal did not base his teaching on *raʾy* (personal opinion). His *madhhab* was based on the *ḥadīth* (*fa madhhabuhu al-ḥadīth*). Thus, he continues, anyone who follows the Ḥanbalī *madhhab* today is de facto following the doctrine of the *salaf al-ṣālih*.

We have already seen the analytical capabilities of al-Ifrīqī in the discipline of *ʿaqīda*, which he defended with his skills as a *muḥaddith* (*ḥadīth* specialist) and *mufassir* (specialist on the commentary on the Qurʾān). In this book, one discovers that he was a specialist on the four *madhāhib* of *fiqh* among the Sunnī Muslims. In addition, he is a historian of the emergence and development of these *madhāhib* in the history of Islam. He cites a large number of

classical works he has read and on which he bases his argument, he shows how each of these *madhāhib* was favored by those who wielded political power and how other *madhāhib* completely disappeared because they did not gain the support of powerful political leaders. In other words, he shows how these *madhāhib* evolved along with the evolution of the relationship between religion and politics in Islam. And here a question comes to mind: was al-Ifrīqī himself aware that the situation of the Wahhābī-Salafī doctrine that he propagated and defended and on which the legitimacy of Ibn Saʿūd was based resembled that of the *madhāhib* whose history he describes?

Tawḍīḥ al-ḥajj wa-l-ʿumra kamā jāʾa fī l-kitāb wa-l-sunna [**Explanation of *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* according to the Qurʾān and the Sunna**]

This is a posthumous work edited and published by Saʿīd b. Muḥammad Mūsā Fallāta in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia in 2007/1428. On the last page of the book, with his usual precision, al-Ifrīqī notes that he finished writing this book on Sunday night in the month of Safar 1367/1947. The book discusses the practices of the *ḥajj*; in this, it is not original, because there are dozens of books on the same theme. What is original is its application of a method based on two pillars, the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*. Indeed, al-Ifriqī reports what the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth* say and the opinion of each of the four Sunnī *madhāhib* about each mandatory practice of the *ḥajj*.

CHAPTER 4

The Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina and the Ahl al-Ḥadīth

ILLUSTRATION 7 *Dār al-ḥadīth in Medina, photo by Chanfi Ahmed.*

In this chapter I address the role played by the scholars of the Dār al-Ḥadīth College (named after the Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement in South Asia)[1] in Medina

1 For the history and doctrine of Ahl al-Ḥadīth in South Asia, see Martin Riexinger, *Sanāʾullāh Amritsarī (1868–1948) und die Ahl-i-Ḥadis im Punjab unter britischer Herrschaft* (Wüzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2004); Jan-Peter Hartung, *Viele Wege und ein Ziel: Leben und Wirken von Sayyid Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī Nadwī 1914–1999* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2004). What is now the Ahl al-Ḥadīth started in Mecca and Medina in the eighteenth century. The principal aim of this school of thought was to restore the precedence of the *ḥadīth* (after the Qurʾān) over the *madhāhib*. On the main figures of this movement who influenced the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of South Asia, see J.O. Voll, "Muḥammad Ḥayyā l-Sindī and Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb: An Analysis of an Intellectual Group in Eighteenth-Century Madīna," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 32–39; J.O. Hunwick, "Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī (1752/3–1803): The Career and Teachings of a West African *ʿālim* in Medina," in *In Quest of an Islamic*

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ILLUSTRATION 8 *Library of the Dār al-ḥadīth in Medina, photo by Chanfi Ahmed.*

and its branch in Mecca in the consolidation of Āl Saʿūd power. The Indian *ʿulamāʾ* of the Dār al-Ḥadīth would not have succeeded without the support they received from the West African and Middle Eastern *ʿulamāʾ*, particularly the *ʿulamāʾ* from the Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, a Salafī movement founded in Egypt in 1926 by Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī. The collaboration among these three clusters of *ʿulamāʾ* best illustrates the encounters in question.

The main argument of this chapter is that the *ʿulamāʾ* of the Dār al-Ḥadīth did not help Saudi Arabia as a political entity, but rather as an Islamic *umma* (the worldwide community of believers). And for the Dār al-Ḥadīth, the Islamic *umma* was not a political entity, it was a spiritual entity. The second aim of the chapter is to show how this institution, originally established in South Asia,

Humanism: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Mohamed al-Nowaihi, ed. A.H. Green, pp. 139–154 (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1984); J.O. Hunwick, "Ṣāliḥ al-Fulānī of Futa Jallon: An Eighteenth-Century Scholar and *Mujaddid*," *Bulletin IFAN* 10 (1978): 879–885; Bernard Haykel: *Revival and Reform in Islam: The Legacy of Muhammad al-Shawkānī* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Qāsim Aḥmad Ghālib, *Min aʿlām al-Yaman: Shaykh al-islām al-mujtahid Muḥmmad b. ʿAlī l-Shawkānī* (Cairo: Maṭābiʿ al-Aḥrām al-Tijāriyya, 1969); Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAmrī, *al-Imām al-Shawkānī rāʾid ʿaṣriḥi* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1990).

came to be directed in Medina by *'ulamā'* from West Africa. This will be done by tracing a biographical outline of two West African scholars, namely Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and his student Shaykh 'Umar Fallāta, successive directors of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina, from the 1940s to the end of the 1970s.[2] This also shows the role the West African *'ulamā'* played in the broader Islamic reform movement, which many *'ulamā'*, organized in networks throughout the Muslim world, promoted during this period. This study demonstrates the fallacy of the Orientalist tradition, which focuses almost exclusively on Islam of the Arab world or an Arab, Turkish, and Iranian Islam and marginalizes the role of Islam in Africa south of Sahara, in South Asia, and in Southeast Asia. This compartmentalization of Islam and Muslims, though certainly dominant in the Islamic studies, produces an incomplete understanding of Islam.

While there was a Dār al-Ḥadīth movement in Baghdad since the eleventh century (a result of what G. Makdisi calls the victory of traditionalism over rationalism),[3] one should remember that the Dār al-Ḥadīth movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is an offshoot of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of al-Ḥaramayn in the eighteenth century. This is a religious reform movement that originated in the eighteenth century in Mecca and Medina, but especially in Medina. The ideas of this movement were then propagated in Yemen, North

2 The primary source in European languages on 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī is the article by J.L. Triaud, "'Abd al-Rahman l'Africain (1908–1957). Pionnier et précurseur du wahhabisme au Mali," in *Radicalismes Islamiques*, vol. 2: *Maroc, Pakistan, Inde, Yougoslavie, Mali*, ed. O. Carré and P. Dumont (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1986), pp. 162–180. This article is essentially a biographical note. J.L. Triaud (with the collaboration of Sidi Mohamed Mahibou) based it on Shaykh 'Umar Fallāta's article, "al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī: Ḥayātuḥu wa āthāruhu" (Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī: His life and his work). The article was initially a conference paper given by 'Umar Fallāta at the Islamic University of Medina on 13/04/1397 (1976). It was then published in the journal of the University (in *Majallat al-Jāmi'a al-islāmiyya*, in volume 5 of the six volumes of the papers given at conferences held at the university between 1394 (1974) and 1399 (1978). The same text is also found in 'Umar Fallāta, *Lamahāt 'an al-madīnat al-nabawiyya*, pp. 201–240. Triaud also based his article on the book by the colonial officer and bureaucrat Marcel Cardaire (*L'Islam et le terroir africain*), which mentions 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and other personalities from West Africa. My research on 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī began with this information, to which I added material taken from another biographical note on 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī written in Arabic. I gathered these biographical notes during two fieldwork studies in Saudi Arabia (in 2008 and in 2010) and during fieldwork in Mali in 2009. I conducted interviews in Saudi Arabia and in Mali with the relatives of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, some of his students, the relatives and students of Shaykh 'Umar Fallāta (particularly his sons), and former colleagues and students of these two well-known twentieth-century *'ulamā'* of Saudi Arabia. I also rely on the writings of these two *'ulamā'*.

3 G. Makdisi, *L'Islam hanbalisant* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1983), p. 37.

and West Africa, Asia, and particularly South Asia. In the nineteenth century, the movement was infiltrated by the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya, which adopted its ideas. Only in South Asia was the movement able to maintain its organizational independence, even though its doctrine was close to that of Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Despite the apparent dominance of the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya on the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, the situation allowed the latter to operate in other parts of the Muslim world, even in Mecca and Medina. However, it was completely aligned with the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya doctrine, so much so that today nothing distinguishes these two schools of thought, except that the Wahhābīs follow the Ḥanbalī *maddhhab* while the Ahl al-Ḥadīth reject all the *madhāhib* (sing. *madhhab*) and follow only the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*. Moreover, the legacy of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of the eighteenth century is now the backbone of the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya doctrine.

The Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina is a Salafī Islamic teaching institution founded in 1350/1931 by an Indian *ʿālim* named Aḥmad al-Dihlāwī. He immigrated to Medina in 1345/1926 from Delhi, his hometown, where he was educated and trained in the Salafism of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth until he become an *ʿālim* activist of this movement. After ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd took power, Dihlāwī was among the Indian Muslims who engaged in the campaign in India in favor of the new king of Saudi Arabia against his rival, Sharīf Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī of Mecca. When Dihlāwī arrived in Medina, he began the work for the *daʿwa* in teaching at the Mosque of the Prophet until he established the Dār al-Ḥadīth, with the approval of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. In 1350/1931, he founded the Maktabat Ahl al-Ḥadīth (Library of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth) and in 1364/1944 the Madrasa Dār al-Ḥadīth.[4]

Dakhilullah ʿAbdallāh al-Khaydarī, the author of *al-Taʿlīm al-Ahlī fī l-Madīna al-Munawwara min 1344/1925 ilā 1408/1987: Dirāsa tārikhiyya waṣfiyya* [The non-state education system in Medina from 1344/1925 to 1408/1987), mentions that

4 Dār al-Ḥadīth, *Madrasa dār al-ḥadīth, niẓām aʿmāl madrasat dār al-ḥadīth bi-l-madīna al-munawwara maʿa bayān bi-l-wāridāt wa-l-mutaṣarrafāt 1357/1358* (typed report) (1938/1939), pp. 3–7 and pp. 23–24; Saḥr bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muftī al-Ṣiddīqī, *Athar al-waqf al-islāmī fī l-ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya bi-l-madīnat al-munawwara* (Medina: Markaz Buḥūth wa Dirāsāt al-Madīna al-Munawwara, 1424/2003), pp. 346–377; Dakhīlullah ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥaydarī, *al-Taʿlīm al-ahlī fī l-madīna al-munawwara min 1344 ilā 1408: Dirāsa tārikhiyya waṣfiyya* (Medina: Nādi al-Madīna al-Munawwara, 1412/1996), pp. 119–144; al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya, *Maḥḍar al-manhaj al-dirāsī li-shuʿbay al-ḥadīth bi-makka wa-l-madīna* (typed report) (Medina, 1400/1979); al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya, *al-Niẓām al-dākhilī li-shuʿbay al-ḥadīth bi-makka wa-l-madīna* (typed report) (Medina, 1400/1979); al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya, *al-Kitāb al-wathāʾiqī ʿani al-Jāmiʿa al-islāmiyya bi-l-madīna al-munawwara al-ṣādira bi-munāsabat al-iḥtifāl bi murūr miʾat ʿām ʿalā taʾsīs al-mamlaka al-ʿarabiyya al-saʿūdiyya* (Jedda: Maṭbaʿa Muʾassasat al-Madīna li-l-Ṣaḥāfa wa-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 1419/1998), pp. 361–374.

> what probably prompted King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to accept the opening of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina is the fact that he was reassured of the Salafī doctrine, to which the founder of the Dār al-Ḥadīth adhered, because, on the one hand, he knew that the Dār al-Ḥadīth belonged to the movement of Ahl al-Ḥadīth of Delhi in India. Second, at the time, the kingdom had a serious need for people well trained in the sciences of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* who would be able to support the new government in fighting superstitions (*khurāfāt*) and blameworthy innovations (*bidaʿ*), which were numerous at that time. So that Medina could become again the source of light and goodness that had spread among the Muslims, as was the case during the period of the Prophet.[5]

This passage, which is also referred to in *al-Jāmiʿa al-islāmiyya: al-Kitāb al-wathāʾiqī*[6] shows clearly the mission entrusted to the Dār al-Ḥadīth and its *ʿulamāʾ*, namely, to support the new Saudi regime. It also confirms that the Salafiyya doctrine of Muḥammd b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was already embodied in the movement of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth in India and elsewhere.

In the mission statement of the Dār al-Ḥadīth (*Niẓām aʿmāl Madrasat Dār al-Ḥadīth*),[7] the founder, Dihlāwī, states that the principal objective is:

> To teach the sciences of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*; revitalize these sciences in the Hijaz by teaching and publishing books based on the principle of *daʿwa*, namely wisdom and good preaching—just as the *madrasa* has to train the *ʿulamāʾ* who will be at the same level as that of the *muḥaddithūn* (experts in *ḥadīth*) and of the *ʿulamāʾ* of the past. Such *ʿulamāʾ* will be able to call people to comply with authentic Islam and to spread the doctrine (*ʿaqīda*) of the Ahl al-Sunna wa-l-Jamāʿa (lit. people of the Sunna and the community). The *madrasa* will also teach secular subjects such as grammar, mathematics, geography, and other sciences not prohibited by Islam. The *madrasa* is forbidden to teach logic (*manṭiq*), chemistry, geometry, the science of *kalām* (Islamic speculative theology), and other sciences prohibited by Islam.[8]

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5 al-Ḥaydarī, *al-Taʿlīm al-ahlī fī l-madīna*, p. 120.

6 al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya, *al-Kitāb al-wathāʾiqī*, p. 361. This book was published by the Islamic University of Medina on the occasion of the commemoration of the centenary of the founding of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

7 Cited by al-Ḥaydarī, *al-Taʿlīm al-ahlī fī l-madīna*, pp. 121–122.

8 It could be that Dihlāwī banned the teaching of these subjects for religious reasons that were salient at that time. Geography was especially suspect because of the Copernican theory of

With regard to the teaching of *fiqh*, the Dār al-Ḥadīth, despite the anti-*madhhab* tradition of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth from which it emerged, complied with the imposition by the Āl Saʿūd of the Ḥanbalī *madhhab* as the official *madhhab* of the kingdom—but not completely: the Dār al-Ḥadīth also taught the jurisprudence of the others schools (*madhāhib*). Later the Islamic University of Medina and other educational institutions in Saudi Arabia taught the jurisprudence of the four schools (through *Fiqh al-sunna*[9] or *al-Fiqh ʿalā l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*[10] or *Fiqh madhhab al-muḥammadiyya*), though they focused on the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*. Since its inception in 1350/1931, the course of study at the Dār al-Ḥadīth has comprised ten years at three levels: four years of primary education (*ibtidāʾiyya*), four years of high school (*mutawassiṭ*), and two years of upper level (*ʿāliyā*).

ILLUSTRATION 9 *Dār al-ḥadīth in Mecca, photo by Chanfi Ahmed.*

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the rotation of the earth on its axis and around the sun. Logic was criticized because of its connection to philosophy, which was regarded as contrary to Islam. Chemistry was frowned upon because it involves the transformation of matter into another substance, which some regarded as an interference with God's creation. Geometry, especially that used to forecast the weather, is a prediction of the unknown that is reserved unto God. *Kalām* was banned because of its relation to philosophy.

9 al-Sayyid Sābiq, *Fiqh al-Sunna* (Sidon and Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 1391/1972; 1427/2006).

10 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Juzayrī, *al-Fiqh ʿalā l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa* (Sidon and Beirut, 1426/2005).

The Dār al-Ḥadīth in Mecca

In 1351/1932, one year after the opening of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina, its founder Shaykh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Dihlāwī, after performing the pilgrimage, opened a branch in Mecca called Dār al-Ḥadīth li-Jamāʿat Ahl al-Ḥadīth fī Makka al-Mukarrama (Mecca's Dār al-Ḥadīth of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth).

Dihlāwī advanced the funding to begin the project and called upon ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Dihlāwī and ʿAbdallāh al-Dihlāwī to support Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir Abū l-Samḥ (an *imām* and preacher in the al-Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca) to realize the project. The establishment of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Mecca could only take place with King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's permission; this he granted on the condition that any teaching at the Dār al-Ḥadīth would put particular emphasis on Ḥanbalī *fiqh*, without denigrating the other *madhāhib*.[11]

The participation of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir Abū l-Samḥ in the foundation of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Mecca demonstrates that King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was supported by Salafiyya movements and personalities outside Arabia. Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir Abū l-Samḥ came from the Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya—the Salafī movement founded in Cairo in 1926 by Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī.

Reinhard Schulze attributes, incorrectly, the initiative of the creation of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Mecca to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir Abū l-Samḥ; Guido Steinberg and Stéphane Lacroix repeat this error.[12] Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir Abū l-Samḥ and Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Rāzzāq Ḥamza, his successor as director of the Madrasa Dār al-Ḥadīth in Mecca, were members of the Egyptian Salafī movement Jamāʿat Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya. Almost immediately after Ibn Saʿūd's conquest of the Hijaz in 1925–26, Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī came to Mecca to support Ibn Saʿūd, who appointed him a teacher at the al-Ḥaram Mosque and head of the government printing house in Mecca. Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī's two colleagues from the Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir Abū l-Samḥ and Shaykh Muḥammad

11 "... Fa idhā kānat al-madrasa allatī turīdūna fatḥahā anhu yuʿallamu fīhā l-ḥadīth wa-l-fiqh wa bī-l-akhaṣṣ fiqh al-imām Aḥmad wa ʿadam al-iʿāba ʿalā aḥadin mina al-aʾimma fahādhā naḥnu muʾminūna fīhi wa nuwāfiq ʿalayhi," see the response of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya, *al-Kitāb al-wathāʾiqī*, pp. 369 and 368–373.

12 R. Schulze, *Islamischer Internationalismus im 20. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Islamischen Weltliga* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), p. 143; G. Steinberg, *Religion und Staat in Saudi Arabien. Die wahhabitischen Gelehrten, 1902–1953* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2002), pp. 285–85; S. Lacroix, *Les islamistes Saoudiens. Une insurrection manquée* (Paris: Presses Universitaire de France, 2010), p. 108.

ʿAbd al-Rāzzāq Ḥamza, soon followed him to Mecca. Schultze, Steinberg, and Lacroix forgot to consider that since 1926, members of the Egyptian Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya worked together with members of the Indian Ahl al-Ḥadīth to support the Salafiyya-Wahhābiyya doctrine of Ibn Saʿūd, which they all shared. In fact, these authors forgot the fundamental role of the Indian Salafīs (such as Ahl al-Ḥadīth) and West African Salafīs; they focus exclusively on the role of Arab Salafīs like the Anṣār al-Sunna. This tendency, I believe, arises from the tradition that gives sole credit to the Arabs for spreading the teachings of Islam.

In addition, it would appear that Lacroix did not understand the nature of the curriculum of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina and Mecca. He understood it to be an institute for research on *ḥadīth*s. In fact it was (and still is) a school that includes both elementary and secondary levels (i.e., a level below that of a university), one that teaches all the subjects taught in public schools in Saudi Arabia. The only difference is that the Dār al-Ḥadīth dedicates more attention to the teaching of *ḥadīth*s than public schools do.

When the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina was founded in in 1350/1931, there were only a few schools in the Hijaz. The most important were the al-Ḥarām Mosque in Mecca; the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina (Masjid al-Nabawī); the Madrasat al-Falāḥ in Jedda, Mecca, and Medina;[13] the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya[14]

13 On the history of this school, see, among others, Aḥmad al-Sibāʿī, *Tārīkh Makka: Dirāsāt fī l-siyāsat wa-l-ʿilm wa-l-ijtimāʿ wa-l-ʿumrān* (Mecca: Nādi Makka al-Thaqafī, 1414/1994), p. 582. It was Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAlī Zaynal who had the idea of establishing the first *madrasa* in Jedda. The name of Madrasat al-Falāḥ was suggested by al-Ḥabīb Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭās, a well-known Ḥadramī *ʿālim*. The first founding of the *madrasa* was guaranteed by Khadīja ʿAbdallāh Zaynal, the wife of Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAlī Zaynal. The first Madrasat al-Falāḥ in Jedda opened its doors in 1323/1905. After seven years, teaching began at the first Madrasat al-Falāḥ in Mecca. Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAlī Zaynal opened other *madāris* al-Falāḥ in Medina, in India, in Bahrain, in Dubai, etc. See Abkar, *Turāth Makka*, pp. 106–107.

14 This *madrasa* was founded in 1340/1921 by the Indian as-Sayyid Aḥmad, also known as al-Faydh Abādī. He was the brother of Shaykh Ḥusayn Aḥmad, the shaykh of the Madrasa Deoband in India. See Zaydān, *Dhikrayāt al-ʿuhūd al-thalātha*, p. 36; al-Ḥaydarī, *al-Taʿlīm al-ahlī fī l-madīna*, pp. 202–242. We must distinguish this *madrasa* from another *madrasa* that had almost the same name, i.e., Madrasa Dār al-ʿUlūm as-Salafiyya al-Ahliyya. The latter was founded in 1367/1947 by an Indian *ʿālim* Shaykh Rashīd Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Anṣārī al-Muẓaffir Naqrī. He had studied at Deoband before immigrating to Medina, where he began to teach in the Madrasa al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya and at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. When he wanted to found his *madrasa*, the Saudi state gave him permission, provided that his *madrasa* would be supervised by the same council of *ʿulamāʾ* that was also responsible for overseeing the Madrasa Dār al-Ḥadīth. This

in Medina; the Madrasat al-Ṣawlatiyya[15] in Mecca; and the Madrasat al-Fakhriyya (1298/1880). Most of these schools (*madāris*, sing. *madrasa*) were founded and financed by Indian benefactors who came on pilgrimage (*ḥajj*). Some of them completed a *hijra* (emigration) and settled permanently in the Hijaz while others returned to India after spending a long period in the Hijaz, during which they completed the *ḥajj*, studied with *ʿulamāʾ*, and conducted business.

The founder of the Dār al-Ḥadīth established his institution as a private (not governmental) institution, to be financed by donations from within and outside of Medina. Most of its benefactors were Indian pilgrims (*ḥujjāj*). To attract donations, Dihlāwī likened the establishment and support of the Dār al-Ḥadīth to a *jihād*. In the statutes of the Dār al-Ḥadīth written by the founder we read, "Let those who love the Sunna of Muḥammad (*muḥibbu al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya*) . . . involved in this great and good work by their financial means, because this is the greatest *jihād* of our time."[16]

Thus, in Medina, after the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya was founded in 1340/1921 by the Indian Deobandi Sayyid Aḥmad al-Faydh Abādī (the brother of Shaykh Ḥusayn Aḥmad, the Shaykh of Deoband Madrasa in India), the Madrasa Dār al-Ḥadīth occupied second place. Therefore, we can say that the Indians of the Deoband School and those of Ahl al-Ḥadīth, both of which taught the Salafī doctrine, supported King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz against his rival Sharīf Ḥusayn.

Dihlāwī died in 1375/1955. But before his death, he appointed his student ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Yūsuf al-Ifrīqī as his successor. As he had already assisted Dihlāwī in the management of the Dār al-Ḥadīth, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, was

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council consisted of the following personalities: Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣāliḥ (imām and preacher of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina and also President of the Sharīʿa Courts (al-Maḥākim al-Asharʿiyya)); Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-Kharbūsh (imām of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and responsible for Islamic education in Medina and its region); Shaykh ʿUmar Muḥammad Fallāta (Director of the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina); Aḥmad Bū Shannāq (Director of Madrasa al-Ṭayyiba Secondary School); and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Rabīʿ (Director of the National Education System in Medina and its region). See, among others, al-Ḥaydarī, *al-Taʿlīm al-ahlī fī l-madīna*, pp. 278–282.

15 The *madrasa* was built in 1290/1873 and teaching started in 1291/1874. The idea and design of the *madrasa* was the work of an Indian *ʿālim*, Shaykh Muḥammad Saʿīd Raḥmatallāh al-Hindī. An Indian woman named Ṣawlata al-Nisāʾ provided the funding, hence the name Madrasa al-Ṣawlatiyya. See, among others, ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad Abkar, *Turāth Makka al-mukarrama fī l-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar al-hijrī* (Riyadh, Mecca, Beirut, Damascus: Muʾassasa ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān, 1425/2004), pp. 103–106.

16 al-Ḥaydarī, *al-Taʿlīm al-ahlī fī l-madīna*, p. 124.

the ideal successor; he was able to implement his reforms, his vision, and his commitment to modernize the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina.

The Establishment and Expansion of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth Movement in the Eighteenth Century

We do not know much about the establishment and expansion of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement in the eighteenth century, yet it left a fundamental, indelible mark on the evolution of Islamic revivalism and reformism in the Muslim world. On the history of this movement in al-Ḥaramayn (Mecca and Medina) in the eighteenth century, I have used the works of two authors: John Voll[17] and J.O. Hunwick.[18] Voll relies mainly on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī,[19] Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Muḥibbī,[20] and Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī.[21] In early eighteenth-century Medina, the first group of the movement was formed by *ʿulamāʾ* such as ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī (1040–1134/1640–1722), Muḥammad al-Nakhlī (1044–1130/1634–1717), Ḥasan b. ʿAlī l-ʿUjaymī (1049–1113/1639–1701), Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī (1025–1101/1616–89, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl al-Barzanjī (1040–1103/1630–91), and Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Hādī l-Sindī (d. 1138/1725). These scholars studied the science of *ḥadīth* from the man who was considered the great *muḥaddith* (expert of *ḥadīth*) of the time, the Egyptian Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Bābilī (1000–1077/1591–1666). He represented the teaching tradition of the *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* (science of *ḥadīth*s) in the Mashriq. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Maghribī, a *muḥaddith* of al-Ḥaramayn from the Maghrib, also greatly influenced this group. He represented the teaching tradition of the *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* in the Maghrib, a tradition based on the teaching of *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Imām Mālik b. Anas. The third major influence in Medina were the scholars from South Asia, represented by Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d. 1163/1750), originally from Sind. His teaching

17 J.O. Voll, "Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs: An Ulama Group in the Eighteenth Century Haramayn and their Impact in the Islamic World." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 15, nos. 3–4 (1980): 264–273; Voll, "Muḥammad Ḥayyā l-Sindī and Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb."

18 Hunwick, "Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī"; idem, "Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī of Futa Jallon."

19 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār fī l-tarājim wa-l-akhbār*, ed. Ḥasan Muḥammad Jawhar, et al. (Cairo: Lajna al-Bayān al-ʿArabī, 1958–67), 1: 208–210.

20 Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1248/1867–8), 4: 39–42.

21 Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar* (Baghdad, 1301/1883–4), 1: 171–172.

and that of his colleagues at the time was spread in India by members of the first nucleus of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, including Shaykh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1703–63). Thus, a network of cosmopolitan *ʿulamāʾ* who wanted to spread their teaching of *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* around the Muslim world was established in Medina. The legacy of this movement has in fact been carried on by the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of India, which since the nineteenth century was influenced by the following persons: Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d. 1163/1750), Shaykh Walī Allah Dihlawī (1703–63) (both from India), the Medinan from West Africa, Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī (1752/3–1803), the Yemeni Muḥammad b. ʿAlī l-Shawkānī (1173–1250/1760–1832), Ṣādiq Ḥasan Khān (1834–1890), and Nadhīr Ḥusayn Dihlawī (1805–1902). In the nineteenth century in India, the last two figures were the first leaders of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement who gave it a structured formal organization. In the twentieth century, Ṣanāʿullāh Amristarī (1868–1948) was the true representative of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth in India.

Shaykh Walī Allāh Dihlawī, Ṣādiq Ḥasan Khān, Nadhīr Ḥusayn Dihlawī, and Ṣanāʿullāh Amristarī were the first to influence the movement of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth regarding the dissemination of its teaching in the *madāris* (sing. *madrasa*) and mosques. With their writings, Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī l-Shawkānī, and Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī were the thinkers of the movement.

Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d. 1163/1750)[22]

Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī was born in a village in the Sind region, which is in Pakistan today. There, he gained a basic knowledge of Islam before going to perform the pilgrimage in Mecca and Medina and settling permanently in the latter city in order to study. He later became a renowned teacher in the Mosque of the Prophet Muḥammad in Medina. Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Hādī l-Sindī, also a native of Sind, was among his teachers in Medina. After the death of the latter, he succeeded him in the teaching in the Prophet's Mosque. Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī was one of the leaders of *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* in al-Ḥaramayn at that time, and among his students was the famous Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī taught the young Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to refuse to imitate and follow blindly (*taqlīd*) the classical commentators and the writings of other *ʿulamāʾ*, including the founders of the four Sunnī schools of law (*madhāhib*). He taught him to use *ijtihād*, to reject popular Sufi practices such as visiting the graves of saints, and to follow

22 Voll, "Muḥammad Ḥayyā l-Sindī and Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb."

only the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth*s. He taught him the importance of the texts (*naṣṣ*), especially of the *ḥadīths*, as the basis of Islamic knowledge. Thus, as we see, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Ibn Taymiyya were not the only inspiration for Wahhābism. The teaching of *'ilm al-ḥadīth* by Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī and the group that gravitated around him also greatly contributed.

Although Muḥammad Hayāt al-Sindī influenced Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, their relationship to Sufism differed. While the latter rejected Sufism absolutely, the first kept an affiliation, though not very close, to the Khalwatiyya order (*ṭarīqa*). Moreover, some of his students became founders of other orders. This is the case with Muḥammad al-Sammānī, founder of the Sammāniyya order.

In addition to his influence as one of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb's teachers, Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī's writings continued to influence—even a century later—the precursors of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement in India, such as Nadhīr Ḥusayn and Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān.

Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1703–63)[23]

Though many historians attribute the beginning of Islamic reformism in India to the teachings of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (Sirhind) in the seventeenth century, in fact it was the teaching of Shaykh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1703–63) that really marked the beginning of this movement. He was born into a family descended from the Prophet (*shurafā'*, sing. *sharīf*). By the time of the death of his father (1718), who was his first teacher, Walī Allāh had already acquired sufficient knowledge to make him an accomplished scholar in the Islamic tradition of India; he also remained tied to the tradition of his second teacher, Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī.

He set out to make the pilgrimage to Mecca when he was twenty-seven years old. He remained there for one year to study mainly Malikī and Shafi'ī *fiqh*, two schools of jurisprudence that were not familiar to him, as his studies to that point were limited to that of Ḥanafī *fiqh*. In addition, he realized that these two schools of *fiqh* attach greater importance to *'ilm al-ḥadīth* than does the Ḥanafi school. While in Medina, he was influenced by the teaching of Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī, particularly by his teachings related to the importance of

23 Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizwi, *Shāh Walī-Allāh and His Times* (Canberra: Ma'rifat Publishing House, 1980); Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1979), pp. 202–206; Riexinger, *Sanā'ullāh Amritsarī*, pp. 71–81; J.M.S. Baljon, *Religion and Thought of Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī 1703–1762* (Leiden: Brill, 1986).

*ḥadīth*s and the rejection of the sectarianism of the schools of law. It was at this time that Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī introduced him to the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya. After his return to India, he began to spread, through his teachings, the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya and the sciences of *ḥadīth* (*ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*). Dihlawī's ideas corresponded to that of other specialists in *ḥadīth*s who believed that if a Qurʾānic verse or *ḥadīth* contradict something from one of the four schools of law (*madhāhib*), on any matter, the *naṣṣ*—the Qurʾānic verse or *ḥadīth*—must prevail. Dihlawī wrote a considerable number of books in Arabic and Persian in which he explained his particular understanding of *ijtihād*, *taqlīd*, and the importance of the science of *ḥadīth*s. But his most important work remains his translation of the Qurʾān into Persian.

Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī (1752–3/1803)[24]

This is the person that Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī in his book *Jawāb al-Ifrīqī* calls "al-nāṣir al-sunna al-muḥammadiyya, al-Imām Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī," when he refers to the book of the latter entitled *Īqāẓ himam uli al-abṣār*.

In the article that J.O. Hunwick devotes to Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī (1752/3–1803), a scholar of the sciences of *ḥadīth*, he shows that this leading figure was presented by the Indian Muḥammad Ashraf al-Ṣiddīqī l-ʿĀẓīmābādī (d. 1905) in his book *ʿAwn al-maʿbūd ʿalā sunan Abī Dāwūd* as the *mujaddid*[25] (renewer, regenerator) of Islam in the twelfth century (eighteenth century). Hunwick notes that al-ʿĀẓīmābādī, a member of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, lists among the *mujaddidūn* (sing. *mujaddid*) of Islam, after Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, the names Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān al-Qinnawjī (d. 1307/1890) and Sayyid Nadhīr Ḥusayn (d. 1320/1902) as the two regenerators (*mujaddid*) of the thirteenth century (twentieth century). The latter are considered the founders of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement in

24 Hunwick, "Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī" (1752/53–1803); Hunwick, "Ṣāliḥ al-Fulānī of Futa Jallon"; Muḥammad Ashraf al-Ṣiddīqī l-ʿAẓīmābādī, *ʿAwn al-maʿbūd ʿalā sunan Abī Dāwūd* (Delhi, 1323/1909–7; repr. Beirut, n.d.), vol. 4, p. 181; ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Dāghistānī (Ms., Cambridge University Library, Add. 785, ff 56r–57v); Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1402/1982), vol. 1, pp. 209–210, vol. 2, pp. 267–268; al-Jabartī, *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 414–415; al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, vol. 3, p. 206; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shajarat al-nūr fī ṭabaqāt al-mālikiyya* (Cairo, 1349/1930–1, repr. Beirut, n.d.), biography no. 1351; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* (Beirut, 1389/1969), vol. 5, p. 65; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* (Beirut, c. 1958), vol. 7, p. 30.

25 According to a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, "God sends to the Muslim community at each turn of the century someone who regenerates the Islamic religion."

India. Thus, al-Fullānī appears on a level with the founding figures of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth in India.

Hunwick refers to the primary source on Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī as the biography written by the Moroccan, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī (d. 1962), in his *Fihris al-fahāris*. The Moroccan scholar was intellectually linked to al-Fullānī through chains of transmission (*sanad*) dating back to many scholars authorized by al-Fullānī to transmit his knowledge. One of these chains produced two branches: one contains the name of Aḥmad al-Madanī (d. 1914) and his father Ismāʿīl, the former *muftī* of Medina. The other branch includes four generations of *ʿulamā'* of a Mauritanian family that begins with Muḥammad al-Hāfiẓ al-ʿAlawī (d. 1830), the propagator of the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa* among the Idaw ʿAlī. Other chains of transmission from al-Fullānī include branches that list Indian scholars. Thus, from Mauritania to India through Medina, we see the extent to which the teachings of al-Fullānī spread.

Al-Fullānī was born in the small village of Futa Jalon in what is today Guinea. He learned his elementary knowledge in his village with his maternal uncle. He began his travels in search of knowledge at the age of twelve. He spent one year with the famous grammarian Shaykh Muḥammad al-Mukhtār b. Buna in the south of Mauritania and then four years with Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sinna al-Fullānī l-Shinqīṭī (d. 1186/1772–3). This last scholar, who had traveled throughout the region of Sudan (*bilād al-Sudān*) and to Morocco in search of knowledge, is seen by Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī as the best of all his teachers. Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī left this scholar in 1770, and after studying one year in Timbuktu, another in the main Tamgrut *zāwiya* of the Nāṣiriyya *ṭarīqa* (a branch of the Shādhiliyya), and six months in Marrakesh, he stayed for a long time in Tunis and Cairo. In Cairo he met and learned from several *ʿulamā'*, including Murtaḍā l-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791), who is considered, like Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, to be a *mujaddid* of the thirteenth century. Zabīdī granted his colleague from West Africa a general *ijāza* to transmit his work and the works of the other *ʿulamā'* from whom he received *ijāza*. Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī left Cairo in 1187/1773–4 for the Hijaz, where he finally settled in Medina and remained until his death in 1218/1803.

Before becoming a renowned *ʿālim* and above all an unparalleled scientist of *ḥadīth*s (*muḥaddith*), Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī studied with the *ʿulamā'* of the Hijaz including Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Muḥammad Ṣafar (d. 1192/1778) and Abū l-Ḥasan al-Sindī, the commentator of the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal. Another teacher who strongly influenced Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī was Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī (1213/1799), a Yemeni from Sanaa but residing in Mecca, where he also died. Though Zaydī, he spoke against *taqlīd* or blind acceptance of the *madhāhib* and called the faithful to comply (*ittibāʿ*) with the *Sunna* of the Prophet. This is also the main theme in the teachings of Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī and

of Muḥammad al-Shawkānī. Both (especially al-Shawkānī) had a remarkable influence on the movement of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth in India. It seems that around 1203/1788–9, Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī developed the conviction that he had completed his studies. So he started writing a large register (*thabt*) of works that had been transmitted to him (that is to say, the books he learned from different teachers) and their chains of transmission. This large register is divided into two parts: a long version (*al-Thabt al-kabīr*) also known as *al-Thamar al-yānīʿ* [lit., the ripe fruit], which has not yet been published, and an abridged version (*al-Thabt al-ṣaghīr*) also named *Qaṭf al-thamar* [lit., fruit picking], which was published in 1328/1910 in Hyderabad, like other works of the same nature, for example the *Ithāf al-akābir* of al-Shawkānī.

The *Qaṭf al-thamar* deals with several books of all specialties of Islamic religious sciences and Arabic. But the sciences of *ḥadīth* are, of course, the most represented. This book gives the reader a sense that Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī had read all the major Islamic writings of his time—and in all disciplines. Another important book by Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī is the *Īqāẓ himam ūlī l-abṣār* [Waking the ardor of sensible people] (Cairo: Maktabat al-Munīriyya; reprinted in Beirut, 1398/1978). According to Hunwick, the *Īqāẓ* is Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī's major work and summarizes his opinions about and opposition to the schools of law. The full title of the book reflects its content:

> Waking the ardor of the sensible people to follow (Muḥammad) the guide of the emigrants (*muhajirūn*) and helpers (*anṣār*) and to warn them against the blameworthy innovations so prevalent among the jurists (*fuqahāʾ*) of our time in cities and towns, blameworthy innovations which consist in following the schools of law with zeal and narrow-mindedness.

The introduction, titled: "The obligation to obey God and His Messenger, to comply (*ittibāʿ*)[26] with the Qurʾān and the Sunna, to refrain from following *raʾy* (personal opinion) and *qiyās* (analogical reasoning), except those supported by the first two sources (Qurʾān and Sunna)," gives an explanation of the *fasād* (iniquity) that results from blind acceptance of others' opinions on religious issues (*taqlīd*), the invalidity of *taqlīd*, and the difference between *taqlīd* and *ittibāʿ* (acting in accordance with) to the Qurʾān and the Sunna of the Prophet.

In the primacy he gives to the authority of the text of the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*, Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī says that the four *ʿulamāʾ* founders of the four Sunnī *madhāhib* (*al-aʾimma al-mujtahidūn*) each condemned *taqlīd*. He appealed

26 The term *ittibāʿ* is occasionally replaced by *iqtidāʾ*. Both mean "acting in accordance with" rather than imitating (*taqlīd*).

to anyone who joins one of the four schools to exercise his duty of *ijtihād* to seek, to the extent possible, the *naṣṣ* (the text of the Qurʾān or the *ḥadīth*s) on which all religious acts should be based. If he finds a Qurʾānic text or *ḥadīth* contrary to the opinion of the school of his *imām*, he must reject the view of his *imām* and adopt that of the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*. This is what he calls *ijtihād al-naṣṣ* (exercising personal effort to find a text of the Qurʾān or *ḥadīth* to justify religious acts) as opposed to *ijtihād al-raʾy* (finding a justification for one's act based solely on reason). If he is not able to make this personal effort, he must, according to Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, ask the opinion of an expert on the Qurʾān and the Sunna. This kind of opinion is not new among Muslims. This is a recurring theme in the history of Islam. Of the four *madhāhib*, that of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is the closest to this opinion. Ibn Taymiyya and his student Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya developed this opinion to make it acceptable to a wide audience among the Sunnīs. In his *Īqāẓ*, Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī often refers to Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya, and particularly to their respective books *Talbīs Iblīs* and *Iʿlām al-muwaqqiʿīn ʿan rabbi al-ʿālamīn*. Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī also refers to Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī, who was a teacher of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and several scholars who were teachers of Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī himself. It is clear that the teachings of Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī are congruent with his other books, among them his two unpublished works: *Taqwīm al-kaffa fī mā li-l-ʿulamāʾ min ḥadīth al-janna wa-l-kaffa* and *Jamʿ al-aḥādīth al-qudsiyya*, which influenced movements such as the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya in Arabia and the Ahl al-Ḥadīth in India.

When he arrived in Medina, Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī was twenty-one years old; he began teaching at the age of thirty-six, though he continued to learn from other colleagues throughout his life, as is the Islamic tradition. Among the students and disciples of Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī we should mention the Meccan and Medinan students like ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿUjaymī (d. 1820), who became a judge (*qāḍī*) in Mecca; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, two Ashrāf of the Jamal al-Layl clan; and Muḥammad ʿAbīd al-Sindī (d. 1257/1841), who was also a student of al-Shawkānī. Among his students in the Mashriq was Wajīh al-Dīn al-Kuzbarī (d. 1846), whose father had taught Ṣāliḥ. Among his students in the Maghrib were the Moroccan grammarian Ḥamdūn b. al-Ḥajj al-Fāsī (d. 1857) and a well-known Shinqīṭī, namely Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ, the Idaw ʿAlī propagandist of the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa*. He also had students from Sudan (*bilād al-Sudān*), including some of the Fullānī ethnic group.

In order to understand how the views of Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī influenced the Ahl al-Ḥadīth in India, we must look to his students. The influence of al-Shawkānī on this movement is clear, since one of his students, ʿAbd al-Ḥaq b. Faḍl al-Hindī, taught Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān. Al-Shawkānī taught other Indian students

who were also students of Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, for example Muḥammad al-ʿAbīd al-Sindī. Though we do not have evidence of it, it is possible that Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī and al-Shawkānī met or at least corresponded through the same Indian students they taught. Perhaps their students exported a synergism between the teachings of the two teachers to India. We do know with certainty that the *Īqāẓ himam ūlī l-abṣār* of Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī exerted a great influence on the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of India. This book and his *Qaṭf al-thamar* were published in India by members of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, and Ṣiddīq Ḥasan considered Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī the *mujaddid* of his time.

We may also note that an important book (the author of which remains unknown) that summarizes the Ahl al-Ḥadīth doctrine confirms the influence of Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī. This work, written on the margins of Ibn Taymiyya's book *Iktifāʾ al-ṣirāṭ* by a member of the movement of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, was published in Delhi in 1301–02/1884–85. It contains the opinions of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth on *tawḥīd* and on the primacy of the text of the Qurʾān or the *ḥadīth* (*naṣṣ*) as the only final proof for deciding any religious act. In addition, in several passages of the four volumes of the book, there are recurrent attacks against *taqlīd* and *bidʿa*. According to Hunwick, this book, in its discussion of *taqlīd* committed by the followers of *madhāhib*, undoubtedly bears the mark of the opinions of Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī. Although we have no evidence that Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī was directly influenced by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the similarity of their teachings is clear, with two exceptions: their relationship to Sufism and their relationship to *madhāhib*. While Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb rejected any form of Sufism, Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī was introduced to the Sammāniyya *ṭarīqa* and maybe to other *ṭuruq*, though he was not formally initiated into a Sufi order. With regard to their relationship to *madhāhib*, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb actually followed the *madhhab* of Ibn Ḥanbal through the school of Ibn Taymiyya, while Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī did not adhere to any school and was strongly opposed to the *madhāhib*.

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī l-Shawkānī (1173–1250/1760–1832)[27]

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī l-Shawkānī was born and grew up in a Zaydī-Hādawī family of Hijrat Shawkān village, not far from Sanaa. He came from a family of

27 Haykel, *Revival and Reform in Islam*; Ghālib, *Min aʿlām al-Yaman*; al-ʿAmrī, *al-Imām al-Shawkānī*; Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Balḥāj, "al-Taharrur al-fikrī wa-l-madhhabī ʿinda al-imām al-Shawkānī," *Dirāsāt Yamaniyya* 40 (1990): 247–259; Ibrāhīm Ibrāhīm Hilāl, *al-Imām al-Shawkānī wa-l-ijtihād wa-l-taqlīd* (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍa al-ʿArabiyya, 1979); Riexinger, *Sanāʿullāh Amritsarī*, pp. 71–81; Baljon, *Religion and Thought of Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī*.

scholars; his father was judge (*qāḍī*) at Khawlān and served the imamate for forty years. Muḥammad al-Shawkānī also entered the legal profession, first as *qāḍī*, then *qāḍī l-quḍāt* (head judge). Al-Shawkānī was certainly influenced by his father, but later he influenced his father. Al-Shawkānī's second and most important teacher was Sayyid ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad al-Kawkabānī, who traveled through Yemen on his way to Mecca and Medina to study and perform the *ḥajj*. Al-Shawkānī, by contrast, did not study beyond Sanaa and did not perform the *ḥajj*, yet he was well aware of the reformist ideas current at the time, through his teacher and his own reading.

At the age of twenty, he gave several *fatwa*s in response to queries sent from throughout Yemen, including regions where the dominant *madhhab* was the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. He taught both at the mosque and in his home, and was a prolific author who wrote in defense of Sunnī Islam against the Zaydī-Hādawī *madhhab*. He gave precedence to the *naṣṣ* (text of the Qurʾān or *ḥadīth*) over *taqīd*. In his teaching he gave priority to the teaching of *ḥadīth* and its sciences. In this sense, he followed the tradition of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement in Mecca and Medina in the eighteenth century, which had also influenced his teachers. He himself later became a reference for the Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement that appeared in India in the nineteenth century. Many Indian *ʿulamāʾ* who were going on or returning from the *ḥajj* spent time in Sanaa to learn from him. For example, in 1822, a large group of Indians who were returning from the *ḥajj* remained in Sanaa; among them were Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Banārsī (d. 1276/1860) and ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Shahīd Badhanwī (d. 1828). This group was led by Ismāʿīl Shahīd (a grandson of Shaykh Walī Allāh) and Sayyid Aḥmad Barelwī (b. 1786 and d. 1831), the founder of the Muḥammadiyya *ṭarīqa* that led a *jihād* in Afghanistan and the region against the Sikhs. The Muḥammadiyya *ṭarīqa* lost the war against the Sikhs in 1831 and Sayyid Barelwī died fighting there. After this defeat, the Muḥammadiyya split into two groups, one remained attached to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, while the second group around Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Banārsī and other *ʿulamāʾ* influenced by the teachings of al-Shawkānī founded the Ahl al-Ḥadīth. But it was only in 1864 that the movement in the person of Nadhīr Ḥusayn Dihlawī dared to publicly reject the tradition of following the *madhāhib*.

Among the works of al-Shawkānī, the best known are *Nayl al-awṭār min asrār muntaqā l-akhbār* [To reach the goal in the explanation of the best chosen traditions]. This is a book of *fiqh* based on *ḥadīth*s. It is still commonly studied even by Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī scholars. *Fatḥ al-qadīr* [Triumph of the most powerful] is a commentary on and explanation (*tafsīr*) of the Qurʾān.

In his conception of *ijtihād*, al-Shawkānī did not differ from Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, except that al-Shawkānī found himself in an environment very hostile to his ideas. Al-Shawkānī claimed that the door of *ijtihād* was still open; he believed

that *ijtihād* should not be based on *raʾy* (personal rational opinion), but on the texts of the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* (*naṣṣ*). He rejected even *ijmāʿ* (the consensus of the Muslims) and *qiyās* (analogical reasoning). He argued that *ijmāʿ* is not mentioned in the Qurʾān and in *ḥadīth* as a source of law. In addition, he stated that it is impossible to obtain the *ijmāʿ* of all Muslims in the world or even the *ijmāʿ* of their *ʿulamāʾ*. In his defense of *ijtihād*, al-Shawkānī quotes the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "Until the Day of Judgment, there will always be a group of my community who will defend the truth." He recognized himself as a *mujtahid*. His contemporary disciples and all his supporters who came after his death gave him the title of *mujaddid*. He himself merely quoted the *ḥadīth* that teaches that, at the beginning of each century (*hijra*), God sends someone who regenerates His religion.

While al-Shawkānī based his teaching on *ḥadīth*, he also referred to the views of famous *ʿulamāʾ* of the Sunnī *madhāhib*, including Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (Shāfiʿī), and Taqī l-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymiyya (Ḥanbalī). The teaching of al-Shawkānī was adopted by the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of India and by the Wahhābī of Saudi Arabia and elsewhere, who saw him as a follower of the teaching of the *salaf al-ṣāliḥ* (the pious predecessors). In the early 1970s, the Islamic University of Medina, then headed by Ibn Bāz (who later became Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia), published some writings of al-Shawkānī, such as *al-Tuḥfat fī madhāhib al-salaf* and *Sharḥ al-ṣudūr bi taḥrīm rafʿal-qubūr*.[28]

Nadhīr Ḥusayn Dihlawī (1805–1902)[29]

Nadhīr Ḥusayn Dihlawī was born in 1805 into an aristocratic *sharīf* family in northern India, in Monghyr in the province of Bihar. In 1824 he moved to Delhi to study with Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Khāliq at Aurangābadī Mosque. From 1828 on, his principal teacher was Muḥammad Isḥāq. The latter was at that time a well-known *muḥaddith* in India. After Muḥammad Isḥāq emigrated to the Hijaz, Nadhīr Ḥusayn Dihlawī replaced him as a teacher in Aurangābadī Mosque. His turbulent relations with the British in Delhi improved, largely because the British saw him as the only scholar of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth who could work to calm the conflicts (often involving ritual practices) that arose between the Ahl al-Ḥadīth and the followers of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. These conflicts resulted in civil disturbances, which the British wanted to prevent. Moreover, Nadhīr Ḥusayn knew English, which was very rare at the time among *ʿulamāʾ*.

28 Schultze, *Islamischer Internationalismus*, p. 198.

29 Riexinger, *Sanāʾullāh Amritsarī*, pp. 122–128.

In 1883, when he left to perform the *ḥajj*, the British granted him a letter of recommendation to the British Vice Consul in Jedda. In fact, he did not have to present it, because the Indian followers of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* had already denounced him as Wahhābī to the Ottoman governor of Jedda. In Jedda, the governor stopped him and put him in prison. The British vice consul intervened and Nadhīr Ḥusayn was released. Upon his return to India after the *ḥajj* he continued to teach the sciences of *ḥadīth* and Qur'ān to many students who came from different parts of India, Afghanistan, and Central Asia. His extensive knowledge of the religious sciences of Islam earned him the epithet *shaykh al-kull* (lit., the shaykh of all knowledge). The solicitude of the British gained Nadhīr Ḥusayn the favor of the moderate Muslims of Alighar Institute (starting with its founder Sayyid Ahmad Khan), such that when he died in 1902, the *Alighar Institut Gazette* dedicated to him an obituary full of praise. While Nadhīr Ḥusayn left writings, it was his teaching and the people that he trained that contributed most to his reputation.

Ṣādiq Ḥasan Khān (1834–90)[30]

Ṣādiq Ḥasan Khān was born in 1834 to a Shīʿī family in Kanauj (Awadh), but rejected Shīʿīsm when he was still young. His father died three years after his birth. He studied with Ṣadruddīn Āzurda in Delhi and with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Rāfiʿuddīn and ʿAbd al-Qādir, the sons of Walī Allāh. He also had teachers who had been students of al-Shawkānī, for instance ʿAbd al-Ḥaq Bannārsī, Muḥammad Yaʿqūb Dihlawī, and the Yemeni, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Anṣārī l-Ḥudaydī and Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī l-Ḥudaydī. He contributed to the propaganda of the Muḥammadiyya *ṭarīqa* by writing and distributing pamphlets, though he did not engage in the *jihād* against the Sikhs. After living for years in great poverty, Sikandar Begum, the sovereign of the state of Bhopal, commissioned Ṣādiq Ḥasan Khān with the task of writing the history of the state. In 1868, Ṣādiq Ḥasan Khān performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and spent some time in Mecca and Medina to study with renowned *ḥadīth* specialists. Upon his return, he passed through Sanaa, where he met and studied with al-Shawkānī. He brought to India al-Shawkānī's *Fatḥ al-qadīr* and *Nayl al-awṭār*. In 1871, he married Sikandar Begum, a marriage that brought him financial security and access to the state's institutions, including the state printing office, which he used to propagate the writings of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth. He brought to Bhopal many Ahl

30 Ibid., pp. 128–138; Saeedullah, *The Life and Works of Siddik Hasan Khan Nawab of Bhopal (1248–1307/1832–1890)*, Lahore, Ashraf, 1973.

al-Ḥadīth *ʿulamāʾ* to teach in mosques and *madrasa*s and to work in the administration, perhaps in an effort to make Bhopal the center of Ahl al-Ḥadīth. The British, concerned about the Wahhābiyya of Arabia, the pan-Islamism of the Middle East, the Mahdism of Sudan, and the Indian Ahl al-Ḥadīth (which they considered proto-Wahhābiyya), suspected Ṣādiq Ḥasan Khān of concentrating around him all these "subversive" Islamic ideologies, especially given his close relations with Arab countries. Ṣādiq Ḥasan Khān was ultimately removed from the office of Chief Secretary of Bhopal state. Apart from propaganda pamphlets, Ṣādiq Ḥasan Khān's writings do not bear any mark of originality; they are all heavily influenced by the writings of Ibn Taymiyya and al-Shawkānī.

Ṣanāʿullāh Amristari (1868–1948)[31]

Ṣanāʿullāh was born in 1868. Six years after his birth, he lost his father. His mother died when he was fourteen years old, from which time he lived with his older brothers and helped them in their work of sewing and embroidery. Given the family's poverty, he could not go to school; it was only when the financial situation of his brothers improved that he began to attend school. After receiving a rudimentary education with various local teachers, he went to Delhi to study under Nadhīr Ḥusayn. He was not satisfied to study only from the Ahl al-Ḥadīth *ʿulamāʾ*, but wanted to learn from the *ʿulamāʾ* of the various Sunnī schools, particularly the Ḥanafīs, as well as Sufi *ʿulamāʾ*. This was still possible at that time, before the Ahl al-Ḥadīth grew in importance, became radicalized, and conflicts between them and other religious groups increased.

After Delhi, Ṣanāʿullāh went to study at Deoband and, in Kanpur, at the Madrasa Faiz-i ʿĀmm. This *madrasa* was, at that time, one of the few schools (*madāris*) that taught disciplines such as physics, mathematics, logic, English, etc. Logic was his favorite discipline. He would later use it perfectly in disputes (*munāẓara*) with representatives of various religious denominations such as Christian missionaries, those of the Arya Samaj, and the Ahmadiyya. Though he studied English, his knowledge of this language remained rudimentary. After the *madrasa*, he attended Punjab University. He then took another path, that of a publicist-*munāẓir*. He began to challenge the Arya Samaj, the Aḥmadīs, and the Christian missionaries in public disputations (*munāẓara*). In 1900, he founded the monthly *Musalmān*, which lasted until 1947.

In 1903, he founded the magazine *Ahl-i Ḥadīs*, which was published until 1947. The aim of this publication was to defend and to propagate the doctrine

31 Riexinger, *Sanāʿullāh Amritsarī*.

of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement and to respond to attacks from opponents of the movement, such as Arya Samaj, the Baralwī (a Sufi group), the Deobandi *ʿulamāʾ*, the Aḥmadīs, and the Christian missionaries. The magazine also published *fatwa*s, answers to questions from readers, and small articles to popularize some scientific questions. Ṣanāʿullāh left a large body of writings, among them many pamphlets and articles which were written in reply to or to attack opponents of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth and their doctrine. But the most controversial of Ṣanāʿullāh's writings was his commentary on the Qurʾān. This book made him unpopular in India for a long time, even among some of his colleagues in the Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement. At the same time, it was popular in the Middle East and among famous non-Indian *ʿulamāʾ*, such as Rashīd Riḍā. After his opponents tried unsuccessfully to discredit him through King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the Saudi *ʿulamāʾ*, Ṣanāʿullāh established close relations between the Indian Ahl al-Ḥadīth and the Wahhābīs. He supported many aspects of the modernization policy of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, such as modern education and training and the king's decision to form agreements with the Anglo-American Oil Company. After the partition of India and the creation of the state of Pakistan in 1947, Ṣanāʿullāh migrated there, where he died after just a few months, on 15 March 1948.

The Doctrine of Ahl al-Ḥadīth as Reflected by These *ʿUlamāʾ*

The discussion initiated by the *ʿulamāʾ* discussed in this chapter revolves around which *ʿaqīda* (doctrine) should be considered authentic. According to these *ʿulamāʾ*, the traditional Islamic speculative theology (*kalām*) with its schools (Ashʿariyya, Muʿtazila, Qadariyya, Jabariyya, Māturīdiyya, etc.) should be rejected in favor of an *ʿaqīda* based solely on the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*. For them, the works of Ibn Taymiyya and his student Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya are the ideal references. They condemn the blind imitation (*taqlīd*) of the doctrines of the four founders of the *madhāhib* and recognize these founders only as great *ʿulamāʾ* who practiced *ijtihād* (effort of judgment) and who may be right or mistaken about this or that question. Therefore, they call the faithful to comply (or *ittibāʿ*, *iqtidāʾ*) only with what the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*s require, because to comply with anything other than that is to practice a *bidʿa*. According to Hunwick, some *ʿulamāʾ* like Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī went so far as to encourage every Muslim to practice *ijtihād* by measuring each scholar's recommendation against the authority of the *naṣṣ* (Qurʾānic or *ḥadīth* text).[32]

32 Hunwick, "Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī," pp. 145, 147, 149.

In fact, this focus on the texts as the only authority and the rejection of anything else as *bidʿa* has been a recurring theme throughout the history of Islam. The movement initiated by Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya, to which these *ʿulamāʾ* of al-Ḥaramayn (Mecca and Medina) largely refer, is the latest of these movements in Islam. What is new, I believe, can be summarized in the following points. (1) The study of *ḥadīth* as the focused discipline of the movement. (2) The protagonists of the eighteenth-century al-Ḥaramayn movement formed a network of cosmopolitan *ʿulamāʾ* from around the Muslim world; this network was based on people who had studied together in Medina and then spread their disciplines in their home regions (West Africa, North Africa, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Yemen, Iraq and Syria). (3) The emergence of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth in India and elsewhere and that of the Salafiyya of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in the Arabian Peninsula, whose repercussions are still heavily felt today in the Muslim societies is new. (4) Another movement that originated among these *muḥaddithūn* of al-Ḥaramayn is what Fazlur Rahman described as neo-Sufism,[33] personified later in Ibn Idrīs and his school (*madrasat Ibn Idrīs*)[34] and also known as the Muḥammadiyya *ṭarīqa*. This has branched into various other orders, in particular the Sanūsiyya[35] in North Africa and the Sudanese Mirghāniyya. With renewed focus on studying *ḥadīth*s and the doctrine that formed around it (rejection of *taqlīd*, *madhāhib*, and *bidaʿ*), as well as the emphasis on the practice of *ijtihād*, etc., Sufism was forced to reform, especially because many *muḥaddithūn* were also Sufis. Proponents of this reform of Sufism wanted to eradicate the ecstatic aspect of Sufi practices and the metaphysical aspect of Sufi thought, as exemplified in the pantheism of Ibn ʿArabī (i.e., *waḥdat al-wujūd*, or union of the substance, identifying God and the world), and replace these views with the mystical union with the spirit of the Prophet Muḥammad. This is the origin of the emergence of the con-

33 Rahman, *Islam*, pp. 194–195, 206–209; on neo-Sufism, see also Voll, "Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs"; Bernd Radtke, "Ijtihād and Neo-Sufism," *Asiatische Studien* 48 (1994), pp. 909–921; Radtke, "Kritik am Neo-Sufismus," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics*, ed. De Jong and B. Radtke (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 163–173; R.S. O'Fahey and Bernd Radtke, "Neo Sufism Reconsidered," *Islam* 70 (1993): 52–87.

34 Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Yaḥyā, *Madrasat Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-maghribī wa-atharuhā fī l-Sūdān* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1413/1993); R.S. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1990).

35 Knut S. Vikor, *Sufi and Scholar on the Desert Edge, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī and his Brotherhood* (London: Hurst and Company, 1995); J.L. Triaud, *La légende noire de la Sanûsiyya: une confrérie musulmane saharienne sous le regard français (1840–1930)* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1995).

cept called *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya*,[36] or sometimes *madhhab muḥammadiyya*; in sum, this means that Muslims should follow only the *ṭarīqa* or *madhhab* that adheres to the sayings and the deeds of Muḥammad. This new concept of Sufism is in line with the creed of Ahl al-Ḥadīth, who called on Muslims to follow only the strict example of Prophet Muḥammad. Many Sufi orders in the eighteenth century, especially those founded by the disciples of Aḥmad Idrīs al-Maghribī (such as the Sanūsiyya and Khatmiyya/Mirghanīyya) began to put the Prophet Muḥammad, not the founding Shaykh, at the center of their institutions, such that any *silsila* (chain of transmission) began with Muḥammad, passed through a number of shaykhs, then linked him to the founder of the *ṭarīqa*. The specific litany (*wird*) of each *ṭarīqa*, which the founding shaykh normally wrote by hand, came to be presented by the founders and followers of the Muḥammadiyya orders as given directly by Prophet Muḥammad to the founder of the *ṭarīqa*, either in their dreams or while awake. Aḥmad al-Tijānī, in making this claim to have taken the Tijāniyya litany from Muḥammad, went so far as to forbid all members of his order from joining another order at the same time. By this, he meant that his *ṭarīqa* was the only true Muḥammadiyya order. This shows how the concept of the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya* was travestied and emptied of the original meaning that it had at the time of the reform of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of al-Ḥaramayn and Aḥmad Idrīs. So we can say that today the *ṭuruq* founded by the disciples of Aḥmad Idrīs and the other *ṭuruq muḥammadiyya* that derive from the eighteenth-century *muḥaddithūn* movement of al-Ḥaramayn do not differ very much from other "traditional *ṭuruq*." The true legacy of the eighteenth-century *muḥaddithūn* of al-Ḥaramayn is the Salafiyya doctrine of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and that of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of India.

A Brief Political History of the Hijaz in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries[37]

Since the Arabs were under the authority of the Ottomans (sixteenth century), the Hijaz was also under that authority. This lasted until 1916, when the

36 See, among others, Harlan Otto Pearson, "Islamic Reform and Revival in Nineteenth Century India: The ṭarīqah-i Muhammadiyah" (PhD thesis, Duke University, 1979).

37 Among the references in European languages on this subject are William Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society and the State in Arabia: The Hijaz under Ottoman Control, 1840–1908* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1984); Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1980); Gerald de Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*

Arabs, under the leadership of Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca with the support of the British, rebelled against the Ottomans, only to fall under the yoke of the British and the French. The Hijaz was not seriously affected by the secular reforms initiated in Istanbul and in other regions under Ottoman rule, rather the influence of religion on politics remained predominant. The Hijaz was ruled by two political leaders at the same time: the Turkish Ottoman *valī* and the Arab *amīr* of Mecca. The latter was chosen by the Ottomans from the clans of Mecca who claimed descent from the Prophet Muḥammad. Two clans established themselves as providers of *'umarā'* (sing. *amīr*): the Dhaw ʿAwn and the Dhaw Zayd. In theory, the *valī* was to deal only with political affairs and the *amīr* with religious affairs. In reality, they both dealt with both political and religious matters. However, the *valī* of Mecca took precedence and enjoyed greater de facto power than the *amīr*.

In the first decade of the 1800s, when supporters of the Āl Saʿūd conquered the Hijaz, including the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina, the Ottoman governor of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, succeeded in driving the supporters of Āl Saʿūd out of the Hijaz, thereby preserving the prestige and religious legitimacy of the Ottomans as protectors of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and so of the *ḥajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca). In this way, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha ruled the Hijaz on behalf of the Ottomans from 1811 to 1840, but by 1840 his ambition and the dissatisfaction of the population of the Hijaz led to his removal by the Ottomas, who then assumed power directly. There were periodic rebellions and riots, which the Ottomans were able to neutralize. In Istanbul, the pace of reform accelerated, along with the move toward secularization. The constitutional revolt of 1908, which brought down the sultan of the time, strengthened the forces who favored secularization. The revolt also coincided with the nomination of Sharīf Ḥusayn as the new *amīr* of the Hijaz. Sharīf Ḥusayn, encouraged by the British, took advantage of the weakening of the empire to advocate for the emancipation of the Hijaz and other Arab regions from the Ottoman Empire. The Arab Revolt of 1916, led by Sharīf Ḥusayn and T.S. Lawrence, put an end to Ottoman power in the Hijaz. The fact that the Ottomans allied with the Germans against the British and the French in World War I (1914–18) eventually brought the final blow to the empire. In 1924, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk proclaimed the Turkish Republic and finally buried the Ottoman Empire.

In the Arabian Peninsula, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who had already conquered the Najd, began his conquest of the Hijaz. The conquest was completed in 1926, Sharīf Ḥusayn was ousted and King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz dominated all the territories that Saudi Arabia occupies today.

(London: Harrap, 1951); Saleh al-Amr, "The Hijaz under Ottoman Rule, 1869–1914" (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1974).

Educational Institutions Founded in the Hijaz by the Ottomans and the Ashrāf

Besides the private schools such as the Dār al-Ḥadīth and Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya, known as *madāris ahliyya* (community schools or non-governmental schools), there were also some *madāris* that had been founded by the Ottomans and the Ashrāf of Mecca, but these were insufficiently funded and consequently had very low standards. The *madāris* established by the Ottomans in the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina were particularly shunned by natives because of their emphasis on learning Turkish rather than Arabic. The people of the Hijaz did not want to support what they called the "Turkization of the Arabs" (*tatrīk al-ʿarab*), as was said at that time. In addition, parents feared that enrolling their children in Ottoman schools would lead to military service in the Ottoman army. This fear was not without foundation, since most children who attended these schools became officials and otherwise served close to the center of Ottoman power.[38]

Between 1900 and 1916, that is to say during the last period of the Ottoman rule in the Hijaz,[39] the Ottomans established only a small number of public schools in Mecca, Medina, and Jedda. For example, they established in each of these three cities a school structured on three levels: *ibtidāʾī* (elementary) for three years; the *rushdiyya* level (lit., 'maturity,' equivalent to middle school) for three years; and the *iʿdādī* level (preparatory) for three years. The authorities also established a technical school, an agricultural school, and a teacher training school.[40] Around 1900, the Ottomans founded in Medina a *madrasa iʿdādiyya* whose level corresponded to that of the secondary schools in Istanbul. The staff and the teachers were almost all Turks sent from Istanbul. The school taught religious matters (*al-ʿulūm al-dīniyya*), secular subjects (*al-maʿlūmāt al-madaniyya*), Arabic, Turkish, Persian, algebra, Islamic and Ottoman history, geography, mathematics, and geometry.

In 1327/1909, the Dār al-Muʿallimīn (teacher training institute) was established; it enrolled all those who had just finished their education at the *madrasa iʿdādiyya*. The Dār al-Muʿallimīn trained the teachers who later taught in various governmental primary schools. The languages of instruction in the Dār al-Muʿallimīn were Turkish and Arabic. The state gave

38 See Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shāmikh, *al-Taʿlīm fī Makka wa-l-Madīna. Ākhir al-ʿAhd al-ʿuthmānī* (Riyadh: Dār al-ʿUlūm, 1402/1982), pp. 33 and 81–82.

39 In the Hijaz, Ottoman power ended in 1334/1916, except in Medina where it continued until 1337/1919.

40 al-Shāmikh, *al-Taʿlīm fī Makka wa-l-Madīna*, p. 27.

students a small scholarship, but because these Turkish governmental schools remained unpopular (parents preferred private schools, *madāris ahliyya*), the Dār al-Muʿallimīn was forced to close its doors. Some of those who completed their training at the Dār al-Muʿallimīn later continued their studies at the Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī College (Kuliyya Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī) in Jerusalem, at the Madrasat al-Sulṭāniyya in Damascus, or at one of the institutions of higher education in Istanbul. Even with Ottoman scholarships to students who had completed their *iʿdādiyya* studies, travel to Istanbul remained unpopular. But, as mentioned above, the real reason for refusing was their rejection of Turkish hegemony over the Arabs—a refusal to accept the Turkization of the Arabs (*tatrīk al-ʿarab*).[41]

The practice of the state sending delegations (*biʿthāt*, sing. *biʿtha*), or groups of students to continue their education in order, on their return, to participate in national development had a long tradition in the Ottoman Empire and in the Egypt of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha. The Saudi state under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz continued this tradition. For example, the first school founded in Mecca, in 1355/1936, was the Madrasa Taḥḍīr al-Biʿthāt—a school specifically to prepare student delegations to study abroad. At that time, the delegations were mainly sent to Egypt; later they were sent to Europe and America, largely thanks to state funding made possible by the wealth gained from oil exploitation.[42]

In 1337/1918,[43] Sharīf Ḥusayn conquered Medina and drove the Ottomans from the city. In 1338/1919 in Medina the sons of Sharīf Ḥusayn opened four preparatory schools (*taḥḍīriyya*), namely al-ʿAbdaliyya, al-Fayṣaliyya, al-Zaydiyya, and al-ʿAlawiyya—named after the sons of Sharīf Ḥusayn. These schools lasted only two years. Some time later, the Ashrāf opened a public elementary school named al-Madrasat al-Ibtidāʾiyya al-Rāqiya, which operated on a four-year

41 Ibid., pp. 77–78.

42 See Abkar, *Turāth Makka*, pp. 113–114.

43 In this year, the soldiers of Sharīf Ḥusayn, commanded by his sons, prepared to fight the Ottoman military in Medina under the command of Fakhr Pasha, whose defense strategy involved emptying the city of its inhabitants (who sought refuge in Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and other parts of the Hijaz). The city suffered greatly for a long period. On the 5th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1337/1918, Fakhr Pasha and his soldiers withdrew from Medina and the sons of Sharīf Ḥusayn took control of the town almost without firing a shot. A few years later, in 1344/1925, the Ashrāf were, in turn, forced to leave Medina after having been surrounded for more than ten months by the armed forces of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. See ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, "al-Ḥayāt al-thaqāfiyya fī l-madīna al-munawwara fī ʿahd al-malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz," *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*: *Majallat markaz buḥūth wa dirāsāt* [al-Madina al-Munawwar: Research and Studies Center Journal] 22 (Rajab 1428/Aug.–Oct. 2007): 57–96.

model. Children who had completed two years in one of the four preparatory schools (*taḥḍiriyya*) were enrolled. The financial difficulties these schools faced prompted people to open private schools (*madāris ahliyya*), similar to a small number that existed before the Ashrāf conquered Medina.

It was in this context that the Indian Deobandi scholar, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Fayḍ Abādī, founded the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya in 1341/1922 with financial support from donations given by pilgrims (*ḥujjāj*) from India and other countries. Some time later, officials in Medina forced Aḥmad Abādī to close his *madrasa* because they suspected, rightly or wrongly, that this school was propagating the doctrine of the Salafiyya. Aḥmad Abādī wrote to Sharīf Ḥusayn and personally requested that he reopen the *madrasa*; Sharīf Ḥusayn accepted and the *madrasa* was reopened. After 1344/1925–26, the year in which the Āl Saʿūd drove the Ashrāf from Medina, the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya (supported by the new government) expanded until it became the most important educational institution in Medina, along with the Dār al-Ḥadīth and the Mosque of the Prophet.

The reign of the Āl Saʿūd, which began in Medina and its region in 1344/1925–26, inaugurated a policy of public education through the creation of two institutions, the Madrasa Āmīriyya (later named al-Madrasat al-Nāṣiriyya) and the

ILLUSTRATION 10
Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya and its founder Shaykh Aḥmad al-Fayḍ Abādī, photo from *ʿTayyiba wa dhikrayāt al-aḥibbaʾ, by Aḥmad Amīn Ṣāliḥ Murshid, p. 61, vol. 1, 1416/1995; courtesy of the Library of Dār al-ḥadīth in Medina.*

Madrasat al-Manṣūriyya.[44] In the first were gathered all the students who had been enrolled in the four schools established by the Ashrāf. The second was a primary school (*ibtidāʾī*).

Nation-State or Umma-State: *ʿUlamāʾ* Support of the Saudi State

In the writings of these scholars, one is struck by the lack of discussion of politics. At the very least, however, there are some passages relating to the European colonization of Africa. In his book *Riḥlat al-ḥajj* [Travel account to Mecca], the Mauritanian Āb Wuld Ukhtūr (Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī) mentions in passing only two political issues: one related to the legitimacy of Israel's existence and the other on what a group of Muslims should do if a political leader of a group (the *amīr*) sides with an invader of their country. In one text, the Tuareg Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī refers to the story of the emigration of the Tuaregs to the Hijaz after the French colonization of the Tuaregs' land. We know that Shaykh Alfā Hāshim's life, from West Africa until his death in Medina, was intertwined with politics, yet he left no substantial writing on the subject, except one on the emigration of Aḥmad b. Ḥāj ʿUmar (*Hijratu Aḥmadu*) with his soldiers, from Nioro (Mali) to northern Nigeria after the battles he fought against the French. Although Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī left Mali for the Hijaz after an argument with a Islamophobic French colleague of the colonial administration, he did not problematize this issue in his writings. Yet for a long time (probably until his death) he remained under the surveillance of the French intelligence services, who suspected him of converting West African pilgrims (*ḥujjāj*) to Wahhābism and instigating them against the French colonial power after their return to West Africa. Of all the scholars discussed in this book, the one who wrote on politics was Shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī. His references are almost entirely criticism of the European colonial power. That said, we can nevertheless be certain that these scholars all opposed the establishment of the colonial state in their region. This is the reason they made the *hijra* to Mecca and Medina and settled there as *mujāwirūn*.[45]

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44 In the word Nāṣiriyya there is an implicit reference to Nāṣir (lit. the Helper, i.e., the Āl-Saʿūd) and in the word Manṣūriyya there is an implicit reference to Manṣūr (lit. the rescued, i.e., Medina).

45 To be in the neighborhood of the main mosque in Mecca (*masjid al-ḥaram*) and of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina (*masjid al-nabawī*).

They followed the Qur'ānic verse that says that he who takes refuge in Mecca will be saved.[46] They did not want to live under the power of non-Muslims.

They could not have anticipated the sort of political powers they would meet in the Hijaz. Once they arrived, they were law-abiding citizens who complied with all of the various people in power. They understood how much power in the Hijaz (and in the whole of Arabia) fell under the control of the English. They did not, it would seem, advocate the establishment of one state for the whole Islamic *umma*, but they did expect that at least the land of the holy cities of Islam should remain immune from the power of infidels; it was not and they were surely distressed by this. But since the Hijaz was their last refuge, they adopted a low profile, and banned all political discourse to focus only on the activity of teaching Islam in its Wahhābī version, a version they adhered to.

With Ibn Saʿūd's successful conquest of the Hijaz in 1926, he positioned himself and his kingdom as defenders of all Muslims and their interests all over the world. He agreed (or rather pretended to accept) the idea of making Mecca and Medina a territory under the authority of all Muslim states, an idea that was especially propounded and defended by Indian Muslims.[47] The first advisers and close associates of Ibn Saʿūd came from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and other parts of the Muslim world. For example the Egyptian Ḥāfiẓ Wahba was for many years the chief councilor of Ibn Saʿūd as well as minister and envoy plenipotentiary of Saudi Arabia in London. Yūsuf Yasīn, the head of the *dīwān* and personal secretary of Ibn Saʿūd, was a Syrian from Latakia. Fūʾad Ḥamza, who organized the ministry of foreign affairs, was a Druze from Lebanon.[48] He was the first assistant of ʿAbdallāh Damlūjī, the deputy of Amīr Faiṣal, the foreign minister, viceroy, and governor of the Hijaz.

Likewise, the early scholars who supported the politico-religious project of Ibn Saʿūd came from outside the Arabian Peninsula, and included the Egyptian scholars of the Anṣār al-Sunna movement founded in 1926 by Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī and the scholars of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth in India. For the scholars from West Africa, these were signs that indicated that the political and religious project of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was not just a project of the people from Najd alone, but a project of all Muslims. This thesis was reinforced by the fact that, some time after their arrival, they obtained Saudi citizenship. In

46 "wa man dakhalahu kāna āminan.", (3: 97).

47 Philby, *Arabian Days*; Martin Kramer, *Islam Assembled: The Advent of Muslim Congresses* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), especially chap. 10: "The Fate of Mecca. The Congress of the Islamic World 1926," pp. 106–122; Wahba, *Jazīrat al-ʿarab*, pp. 286–299.

48 H.C. Armstrong, *Lord of Arabia: Ibn Saud. An Intimate Study of a King* (London: Arthur Barker, 1934), p. 25.

addition, each was invested by the Saudi government as a representative of his community. For example, when a Mauritanian or a Tuareg wanted to settle in Saudi Arabia, he had first to seek (and receive) both the support of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī and that of Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, who would declare themselves guarantors of the person (*kafīl*). At that time, newcomers who spoke Arabic were likely to obtain a residence permit and even very quickly Saudi citizenship, if they wanted.

Perhaps the Islamic conference in Mecca hosted by Ibn Saʿūd and representatives of the Muslim world to decide the future of the Hijaz and the two holy cities of Islam illustrates better than anything else how King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz succeeded in presenting his political project as a project of all Muslims.[49] Indeed after Jedda surrendered to Ibn Saʿūd forces on 23 December 1925, the conquest of the Hijaz that was launched in 1924, first in Taif then in Mecca, was considered complete. Shortly before, Ibn Saʿūd had accepted the idea suggested by Ḥāfiẓ Wahba to hold a conference in Mecca with representatives of all the Muslim world to decide the future of the Hijaz. But, on 7 January 1926, Ibn Saʿūd issued a decree canceling the conference, ostensibly because the Muslim representatives had not responded to the idea of the Islamic conference. On the same day, i.e., 7 January 1926 and in the same decree, Ibn Saʿūd declared himself *Maliku al-ḥijāz wa-sulṭān najd wa-mulḥaqātuhā* (King of the Hijaz and Sultan of Najd and its region). After the heads of state of Egypt, Turkey, and Iran, and representatives of the Muslims of India, Indonesia, and elsewhere criticized this fait accompli, Ibn Saʿūd reversed his decision and agreed to hold the Islamic conference in Mecca under the condition that his power and his administration of the Hijaz not be called into question. In the month of May 1926 after the *ḥajj* (actually 20/11/1344), the conference was held in Mecca, but without any positive results. According to Ḥāfiẓ Wahba, the conference failed because of "the lack of agreement on the demands of the foreign delegations participating in the conference among each other, on the one hand, and between them and the representatives of Najd, on the other."[50]

49 On this conference, see Kramer, *Islam Assembled*, pp. 106–122; Reader Bullard, *Two Kings of Arabia: Letters from Jeddah 1923–25 and 1936–39* (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1993), p. 104; Philby, *Arabian Days*, p. 22; Wahba, *Jazīrat al-ʿarab*, pp. 286–299.

50 Wahba, *Jazīrat al-ʿarab*, p. 296.

Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī (Riyadh Institute of Islamic Religious Sciences)[51]

This institute was established in Riyadh in 1950/1370. It was officially inaugurated in 1371/1951 by Crown Prince Saʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (then the minister of education) together with Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Āl al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, chief of the *ʿulamāʾ* (*raʾīs al-ʿulamāʾ*). One should bear in mind that when the government created the Dār al-Iftāʾ (Office of fatwas) in 1373/1953, it appointed Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhim Āl al-Shaykh to serve as *muftī* of the country. When the office of chief judge (*riʾāsat al-quḍāt*) was established in 1376/1956, he was appointed in this capacity for Najd, the north region, and the east region. After the death of Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykh in 1378/1958, who had been chief of the judges (*raʾīs al-quḍāt*) in the Hijaz and in the western region (*al-manṭiqatu al-gharbiyya*), his functions were transferred to Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh, who become the de facto chief of all the judges of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia (*raʾīs quḍāt al-mamlaka al-ʿarabiyya al-saʿūdiyyat*).

In his article,[52] Shaykh Ḥamad al-Jāsir wrote that in 1369/1949 he (as secretary general of the ministry of education) delivered a report to Prince Saʿūd (then minister of education) proposing the establishment in Riyadh of an institute (*maʿhad*) that would have three departments, one for religious studies (*qismun li-l-takhaṣṣuṣ al-dīnī*), another for training secondary school teachers (*qismun li-l-muʿallimīn*), and a third to prepare delegations of students to be sent to study abroad (*qismun li-l-biʿthāt*). Prince Saʿūd supported the project, but first wanted the agreement of Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. The latter gave his consent, for, as Ḥamad al-Jāsir wrote, he also was thinking of realizing such a project in Riyadh. He wanted to make Riyadh a training center for *ʿulamāʾ*, especially since young people from Riyadh and the Najd in general went in large numbers to the Hijaz to study, particularly in the al-Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca or in the Maʿhad al-Saʿūdī, which had just been created by the new regime. Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykh, chief judge and head of religious affairs in the Hijaz and in the western region,[53] encouraged young

51 The sciences in question here are those of the *sharīʿa* (*ʿulūm al-sharʿiyya*), such as *tafsīr* (the commentary of the Qurʾān), the teaching of *ḥadīth*, etc. On the history of this institute, see, among others, Rashīd, *al-Shaykh ʿAllāma Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm*; al-Jāsir, "Fī maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿilmī," p. 21.

52 Ḥamad al-Jāsir, "Fī maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿilmī".

53 In the Hijaz and in the Western Region (*al-manṭiqa al-gharbiyya*), he filled this position until his death in 1958/1378. Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm fulfilled the same functions

people to come to study in the Hijaz. He appointed them *imām*s and preachers in mosques or incorporated them into the morals police (*hay'at al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*). Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan's strong commitment to spreading Islamic education in its Wahhābiyya form in the Hijaz was supported by the political efforts of the governor of Hijaz at the time, Prince Faiṣal b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the most politically active of all the sons of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and later the third king of Saudi Arabia. However, even if these young people recruited by Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan propagated the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya, a doctrine that originated in the Najd, the concentration of efforts in education in Hijaz reinforced the tradition of Islamic knowledge and teaching in this region, which had long been the center of Islamic knowledge and its transmission in the Arabian Peninsula. Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm wanted to reverse this trend and make Riyadh, too, a center of Islamic learning.

At the time, the only educational center in Riyadh (and probably in the Najd) was the mosque of Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's uncle and master, al-Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Āl al-Shaykh. The latter was the head of the *ʿulamā'* of Najd and Arabia when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz took power. Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Āl al-Shaykh was a great scholar of *ḥadīth*, a specialty in which he had been trained at length in India. This mosque called Masjid al-Shaykh (Shaykh Mosque) was and still is in the district Dukhna (Ḥayyu Dukhna) in Riyadh. Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, the highest religious authority under King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, advised the latter to appoint in his place after his death his nephew and pupil Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. Thus, after the death of the uncle, the nephew, then aged only twenty-eight, was appointed chief of the scholars (*raʾīs al-ʿulamā'*) in the country. He took on all the responsibilities that his uncle had held, in particular teaching in his mosque. He used to teach there from morning to night with only a few interruptions for the five daily obligatory prayers and for a short rest in his house, which was close to the mosque.

Thus, the opening of the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī in Riyadh was the beginning of education with modern methods (*al-taʿlīm al-niẓāmī*) in Riyadh and in the whole Najd region. Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm appointed his brother Shaykh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh Institute Director and Shaykh Ḥamad al-Jāsir Assistant Institute Director. Shaykh Ḥamad al-Jāsir recalls that in reality Prince Saʿūd wanted Ḥamad al-Jāsir to become the director of the institute and the brother of Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's assistant,

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in the Najd, the Eastern Region (*al- manṭiqa al-Sharqiyya*), and in the Northern Region (*al-manṭiqa al-shimāliyya*). After the death of Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykh, his functions were transferred to Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. Thus, the latter became chief judge (*raʾīs al-quḍāt*) and head of religious affairs of all Arabia.

but apparently the latter wanted his brother to become the director. Shaykh Ḥamad al-Jāsir notes that he was not really eager to become the deputy director, because he wanted to be the director. But he accepted the agenda of Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, whom he respected very much. Shaykh Ḥamad al-Jāsir tells how one day he was invited by Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm to his home to ask him, in the presence of his brother, to agree to direct the institute together with the latter. Shaykh Ḥamad al-Jāsir accepted the proposal; then a few days later, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm sent him on mission to Cairo to look for teachers, books, and other materials for teaching in the institute. He made contact with al-Azhar University and took inspiration from its curriculum. Thus, al-Azhar University was the main source of inspiration for the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī (as well as for the Islamic University of Medina later). The institute had three levels: preparatory (*tamhīdī*), secondary (*thānawī*), and a higher level of specialization (*al-qism al-ʿālī*). The institute also accepts a few blind students. Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm had become blind at the age of fourteen. His famous student and successor in the office of *muftī*, Shaykh Ibn Bāz, also went blind at an early age. During the first year it was open, the institute had 300 students. Each student of the institute received from the state a monthly stipend of 262 Saudi riyals, a significant sum at the time.

The program of the institute was continually changing, both in terms of the content of the subjects and of the books used. The focus of the teaching has remained the same until now, namely the religious sciences of Islam and Arabic (*al-ʿulūm al-dīniyya wa-l-ʿarabiyya*). Attempts have been made to introduce other specialties, but these have failed, given the resistance of the country's conservative *'ulamā'*. Shaykh Ḥamad al-Jāsir mentions a reform proposal for the institute made by the Arab League in 1953, but it was not accepted. Indeed, a delegation from the Arab League visited the institute in 1373/1953 and sent a report with recommendations to reform the teaching program of the institute. The report proposed the following main points.

1. Dividing the higher level of specialization into three different branches that would be appropriate for the needs of civil servants in the country at the time. The first branch would focus on religious studies and studies of the Arabic language. The second would be devoted to educational and teaching methods. The third would train civil servants for the state administration. These civil servants would therefore have to gain basic knowledge in management, administration, accounting, economics, and business.

2. Adding algebra and natural sciences to the high school curriculum. Thus, students would acquire, in addition to theoretical knowledge, practical skills that would prepare them for daily life. Ḥamad al-Jāsir added that Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm "did not want to change anything whatsoever that has

not been endorsed by his fellow *ʿulamāʾ* of the country. In most cases, they were not favorable to including modern sciences."[54]

The institute quickly opened similar small institutes, first in Najd and then in other regions. Thus, in 1372/1952, a branch (*farʿ* pl. *furūʿ*) of the institute was opened in Burayda with 120 students for the first year. Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm appointed Shaykh Muḥammad al-Nāṣir al-ʿUbūdī as director of this institute in Burayda; he later became the first secretary general (*amīn al-ʿāmm*) of the Islamic University of Medina, a position he held until the 1980s. Then he became deputy secretary general of the World Islamic League. Similar institutes were opened in ʿUnayza in 1373/1953 and in Shaqrāʾ, Mujmaʿa, Ṣāmiṭa, and al-Aḥsāʾ in 1374/1954. Other institutes opened in the following years in other cities of the kingdom.

To ensure that the graduates from these institutes could receive a higher education, in 1373/1953 the state opened a Faculty of Sharīʿa (*kulliyyat al-sharīʿa*) in Riyadh, a Faculty of Arabic Studies (*kulliyyat al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*) in 1374/1954, and the Higher Institute for Judicial Education (*al-maʿhad al-ʿālī li-l-qaḍāʾ*). Students who had finished their studies in the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī and its branches could continue their studies in one of these three institutions. The two faculties mentioned above later became the core of the University Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islamiyya in Riyadh. When King Faiṣal officially established the Hayʾat Kibār al-*ʿulamāʾ* (Council of *ʿulamāʾ*) of the kingdom in 1389/1969, he appointed Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm president of this institution. When the Muslim World League (Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī) was founded in 1379/1959 and the Islamic University in Medina in 1961/1381, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was named the first head of these two institutions. This shows how important his power, his authority, and his services were to the state. To this day, no later Saudi scholar has had such broad powers.

54 al-Jāsir, "Fī maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿilmī," p. 22.

CHAPTER 5

The *'Ulamā'* of the Third Generation: Teachers and Administrators in the First Islamic Universities of Saudi Arabia

Shaykh 'Umar b. Muḥammad Fallāta (1345–1419/1926–98)[1]

Ilāhī najjinī min kulli ḍayqin li-ḥubb al-muṣṭafā mawlā l-jamīʿi; wa hab lī fī madīnatihi qarāran wa rizqan, thumma dafnan bi-l-Baqīʿ.

God save me from all misery by the love of the Prophet, lord of all; Provide me in his city my bread and my housing, and then let me be buried in Baqīʿ.

ILLUSTRATION 11
Umar Fallāta, from 'Tayyiba wa dhikrayāt al-aḥibba', by Aḥmad Amīn Ṣāliḥ Murshid, p. 101, vol. 4, 1416/1995; courtesy of the Library of Dār al-ḥadīth in Medina.

1 See what was written by his friends and colleagues, among them: Muḥammad al-Majdhūb, *'Ulamā' wa mufakkirūn 'araftuhum* (Cairo: Dār al-Iʿtiṣām, 1397/1976), vol. 3, pp. 151–164. After his death, another friend, the former president of the Islamic University of Medina, Shaykh

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الشيخ عمر محمد فلاتة شيخ التدريس بالمسجد النبوي

عالم فقدناه

ماأقسى الألم، وماأشد لوعة الفراق حين يرزأ المرء بفقد عزيز عليه، ويتمالكه الأسى والحزن لفراقه وموته غير أن مما يهون فداحة الخطب هو ان المؤمن يدرك ان قضاء الله نافذ، واذا حل الأجل فلا مرد له، والموت حق وهو سبيل كل حي، ولابد من الرضا بقضاء الله وقدره وكم من الأموات الذين يغادرون هذه الدنيا ولكنهم يغادرونها باجسادهم لأنهم يعيشون في قلوب الناس جميعا باخلاقهم وصلاحهم واعمالهم الجليلة، ومن هؤلاء العالم الفاضل الشيخ عمر محمد فلاته - برحمه الله -وهو من أعلام المدينة المنوره وعلمائها الشهورين وركن من اركان التدريس بالمسجد النبوي، وقد وافته المنية وانتقل الى رحمة الله يوم الأربعاء ٢٩ من ذي القعدة عام ١٤١٩هـ، وتالم وحزن لفقده خلق كثير وكل من له صلة به، أو عرفه اوسمع به من طلاب العلم والعلماء ومحبيه وعامة الناس.

واذا كان بعض من نفقدهم في الحياة يترك فراغا محدودا في محيط ذويه، فان فقد العلماء من أمثال الشيخ عمر يترك فراغا كبيرا قد لا يتهيأ من بسده وذلك لما يقدمونه من عطاء ثر في ميدان العلم والمعرفة، وبما يتصفون به من أخلاق وسجايا حميدة وحسن تسديد بالحكمة والموعظة الحسنة، مما يكون له اكبر الاثر في نفوس الناس، ولا غرو فالعلماء مصابيح يستضاء بها في دياجي ظلم الجهل بما يشع من فكرهم وعلمهم المستنير.

ومن هذا المنطلق شدني ما يتمتع به الشيخ عمر - رحمه الله - من خصال عملية وخلقية، وماله من يد طولى في مسيرة العلم الى ان اتحدث عنه في كلمة وفاء أراها عاجزة عن توفيه حقه. والحق ان كل من عرف الشيخ -يرحمه الله - يشهد له بسمو خلقه وطيبة قلبه، وصفاء نفسه، ونقاء سريرته وحبه وتوده لكل من يلقاه من محبيه ومن يجالسه لا يراه الا طلق المحياباشاحتى انه ليشعر من حوله باخوته لبعضهم او أبوته للبعض الآخر.

وكان يصدر في تعامله مع الناس على اساس مما وعاه من قيم الإسلام، وفي هذا الاطار عاش وتنامى منطلقه الأخوي والابوي في معايشة الناس والتعامل معهم، فملك بذلك شغاف القلوب حباً عليه حب المدينة النبوية شغاف قلبه، وتعلق بالمسجد النبوي منذ صباه دارسا ثم مدرسا، واحتل مكانة مرموقة بين اهل العلم وطلابه، وله خدمات جليلة في هذا المضمار، وبقتضي المقام ان اقدم نبذة موجزة عن حياته الشخصية وبعض مأثره.

فهو الشيخ عمر محمد فلاته، فتح عينيه في المدينة المنورة ونشا بها.

وكان ابواه قد قدما من افريقيا الغربية مهاجرين الى مكة والمدينة في رحلة استغرقت ما يقارب من العام، ويريد الله ان تحمل به أمه في اثناء الرحلة، ثم تضع قبل وصول مكة بمراحل قليلة وقدم المدينة المنورة مع والديه في الرابع والعشرين من عام ستة واربعين وثلاثمائة (١٣٤٦هـ) ويبدو ان مولده كان قريبا من هذا التاريخ ١٣٤٥هـ.

وبدا مسيرة التعلق بالمسجد النبوي وهو طفل قد بدت عليه مخائل الادراك إذ راح يتلقى مبادىء القراءة والكتابة وحفظ الاجزاء الأولى من القرآن في كتاب العريف محمد بن سالم - رحمه الله -الذي يقع على مقربة من المدخل الشمالي للمسجد النبوي حيث باب السلطان عبدالمجيد (باب المجيدي).

وفي عام (١٣٦١هـ) بدا رحلة الدراسة النظامية حيث التحق بمدرسة العلوم الشرعية، وتدرج في مراحلها التعليميه وهي التاسيسية والتحضرية والابتدائية، واتيح له في أثناء ذلك أن يكمل حفظ القرآن الكريم وان يتخرج من المرحلة الابتدائية بمدرسة العلوم الشرعية ونال الى جانب ذلك شهادة المرحلة الأبتدائية من مديرية المعارف العامة عام (١٣٦٣هـ) وتطلع الى المزيد من دراسة العلوم الشرعية فالتحق بشعبة العلوم العالمية في دار العلوم الشرعية، وامضى فيها عامين دراسيين وهو يتلقى العلم على يد كبار شيوخ وعلماء الدار من مثل الشيخ محمد بن ابراهيم الختني، والشيخ عمار الجزائري، ثم انتقل بعد ذلك إلى دار الحديث عام ١٣٦٤هـ التي تعد احد الركائز الاساسية للتعليم الشرعي بالمدينة المنورة تولى رعايتها الشيخ أحمد الدهلوي وهو من علماء الهند المتمسكين بعقيدة السلف الصالح.

وقد افتتحها عام ١٣٥٠هـ بترخيص من الملك عبد العزيز -

■ الشيخ عمر فلاتة ■

بقلم: د. عبد الله بن عبد الرحيم عسيلان

العدد ٤٢٠- السنة ٣٧- شوال ١٤٢٠هـ - يناير/فبراير ٢٠٠٠م

٤٤ الرابطة

ILLUSTRATION 12 *Umar Fallāta, article published by ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿUsaylān, in al-Rābiṭa, 37 Shawwāl, 1420 / Jan.–feb. 2000, n°. 420, courtesy of the Library of Dār al-ḥadīth in Medina.*

ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-ʿAbbād, published the text of a lecture he gave at the Islamic University of Medina entitled, "Al-Shaykh ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Fallāta (raḥimahu Allāh) wa kayfa ʿaraftuhu" [Shaykh ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Fallāta and how I came to know him] (Dammām, Saudi Arabia: Dār Ibn Qayyum li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 1421/2000). See also the introduction by ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qaryūtī, in Fallāta, *Lamahāt ʿan al-madīnat al-nabawiyya*.

His full name was ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Bakr al-Fullānī, and he was known as Fullāta or Fallāta. He was a student of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, about whom he wrote a biographical note. ʿUmar Fallāta was born in Mecca in 1345/1926. ʿUmar's grandparents originally came from Macina in present-day Mali. They had made the *hijra* to northern Nigeria and settled in the area of Gombe. After their *ḥajj* of 1346/1927, ʿUmar's parents settled permanently in Medina in a house not far from the Mosque of the Prophet. ʿUmar's parents liked the city of Medina so much that having arrived there after a year of difficult travel was the pinnacle of happiness for them. Shaykh ʿUmar inherited his parents' love of Medina. He was known locally as the best connoisseur of the habits and customs of this city, a subject on which he lectured and wrote articles.[2] This knowledge, for example, is illustrated by the fact that today the northern limit (*hadd al-Ḥaram; Mīqāt*), which determines the holy place of Medina and which was a subject of controversy, was determined by Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta.[3] Shaykh ʿUmar often recited the following verse, which he had heard his parents reciting: *"Ilāhī najjinī min kulli ḍayqin li-ḥubb al-muṣṭafā mawlā l-jamīʿi; wa hab lī fī madīnatihi qarāran wa rizqan, thumma dafnan bi-l-Baqīʿ."*[4] The inhabitants of Medina acknowledged Shaykh ʿUmar's love for Medina, and he was greatly admired by them. The masses of people who attended his funeral are a testimony to that. Under the headline "'Umar Fallāta, al-najm alladhī ghāba" (ʿUmar Fallāta, a missing star) the newspaper *al-Madīna* published an obituary that stated, "Wednesday, 11/29/1419 (1998), the large number of people attending the funeral of Shaykh ʿUmar was comparable to that experienced at the burial of the former *imām* and *khaṭīb* (preacher of the Mosque of the Prophet), Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣāliḥ."[5]

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2 For example, ʿUmar Fallāta, "Al-Madīnat al-Munawwara ʿādāt wa-taqālīd" [Customs and traditions of Medina], Interview with *al-Manhal* 499 (1413/1992): 249–280. (*Al-Manhal* is a magazine founded by a well-known Medinan, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Anṣārī. The magazine still exists today. ʿAbd al-Quddūs also wrote a book on the history of Jedda and another on the history of Medina). Other contributions by ʿUmar Fallāta on Medina include: "Baḥth ʿan tumūr al-madīna" [Research on different kinds of dates of Medina]; *Lamahāt ʿan al-madīnat al-nabawiyya*; "Suwar ʿan wāqiʿ al-madīna al-nabawiyya fī l-sābiq wa-l-ḥādir" [Some aspects on Medina of yesterday and today]; "Dhikrayātī fi l-masjid al-nabawī" [My memory of the prophet's mosque]; "Jawānib min tārīkh al-madīna" [Aspects of the history of Medina].

3 ʿUmar Fallāta, "Qiṣṣatī wa-jabal thawr" [My history with the mountain thawr], in *Lamahāt ʿan al-madīnat al-nabawiyya*, pp. 175–200.

4 "God save me from all misery by the love of the Prophet, Lord of all; Provide me in his city my bread and my housing, and then let me be buried in Baqīʿ."

5 *Al-Madīna*, no. 13123, 8 December 1419/1998, p. 20.

In the Mosque of the Prophet, ʿUmar learned the Qurʾān and the elementary principles of Islam. The mosque was where he was educated as well as the place he met and played with friends his age. His parents later moved to a house near the old market of Medina. ʿUmar continued to study in the Qurʾānic school of al-ʿArīf Muḥammad b. Sālim, where at that time many Medinan children learned the basics of writing, reading, and the first *sūra*s of the Qurʾān. This Qurʾānic school, like many others in the Mosque of the Prophet, was at the entrance to the Bāb al-Majīd gate. In this school, ʿUmar was taught by the Fullānī Shaykh, Bakr Ādam Fallāta, and by Shaykh Muḥammad b. Saʿīd, the son of the founder of this school. In 1351/1932, he pursued his studies at the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya in Medina.

In 1364/1944, ʿUmar joined the Madrasa Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina, where he graduated in 1367/1947. Throughout this period, he became attached to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Ifrīqī, his teacher and the director of the Dār al-Ḥadīth. He attended al-Ifrīqī's courses in the Dār al-Ḥadīth, in the Mosque of the Prophet and in the house of al-Ifrīqī. He even followed him on his travels. For example, in 1364/1944, at the recommendation of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī was sent to Yanbu al-Nakhl and its surroundings to disseminate the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya *daʿwa*, and ʿUmar Fallāta went there to support him in this work.

Though Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī was the principal teacher and role model of ʿUmar Fallāta, he also learned from other *ʿulamāʾ* of different ethnic backgrounds. We know from Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta himself that he considered Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī the most important of all his teachers. Among the books he studied with him are: *Bulūgh al-marām* and its commentary *Subl al-salām*; the six major books of *ḥadīth*s; *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Imām Mālik; *Nayl al-marām* and *Nayl al-awṭār* of al-Shawkānī; and other books of *tafsīr* and *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*. He also learned the *fatāwā* (sing. *fatwā*) that Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī gave to Muslims who used to send him questions relating to religious matters. All these *ʿulamāʾ*, although experts in all the religious sciences of Islam, were specialized in *ʿilm al-ḥadīth* (the science of *ḥadīth*s).

From Shaykh Alfā Hāshim, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, and his teacher in the Qurʾānic school, we can understand that Shaykh ʿUmar learned mostly from Africans like himself. Without ever having lived in Africa, Shaykh ʿUmar mastered the Fullānī language perfectly; he spoke it with his parents at home. In West Africa, especially in Nigeria, he used to deliver his sermons in the Fullānī language. When he became secretary general of the Islamic University of Medina, he went every year to Nigeria with a delegation to select candidates to study in the Islamic University of Medina. However, although rooted in his African identity, he was also open toward non-Africans. This is particularly

apparent in the diverse ethnic backgrounds of his other teachers, who came from almost all other Islamic countries. Although people from the same ethnic and regional background lived together in the same neighborhoods, they interacted with other communities. In the Mosque of the Prophet, with teachers from diverse ethnic groups; in the *madāris ahlīyya* (non-government schools); and in the markets, where people from around the world stayed to trade, we see the cosmopolitan aspects to Medinan society.

Writings, Lectures, and Teaching of ʿUmar Fallāta

Because of the numerous responsibilities he had to assume, Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta could not find enough time to write. Yet he lectured extensively and wrote many articles. Some were collected and edited by one of his students under the title *Lamaḥāt ʿan al-Madinat al-nabawīyya* (Some aspects of Medina: Research, conferences, and articles).[6]

The Teaching of Shaykh ʿUmar in the Mosque of the Prophet

Shaykh ʿUmar began teaching in the Mosque of the Prophet in 1370/1950. His colleague and friend Muḥammad al-Majdhūb wrote that Shaykh ʿUmar told him that he did not apply to teach at the Mosque of the Prophet, but was appointed by the chief justice (*Riʾāsat al-Qaḍāʾ*) of Saudi Arabia. The Court of Law (*al-Maḥkama al-Sharʿīyya*) in Medina called him one day and gave him this responsibility. The court also gave him the responsibility to conclude marriages in Medina.[7] In the same year, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī was appointed teacher in the new Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī,[8] and moved to Riyadh, though he returned to Medina during the holiday periods. At this juncture, Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Zāhim, then president of the Islamic Court of Medina (*Raʾīs al-maḥākim wa-l-dawāʾir al-sharʿīyya*), appointed Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta to assume the duties that his shaykh, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, had carried out at the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina.

From 1370/1950 until he died in 1419/1998, Shaykh ʿUmar taught in the Mosque of the Prophet, in the same place, that is, behind which in the past the

6 Fallāta, *Lamahāt ʿan al-madīnat al-nabawīyya*.

7 al-Majdhūb, *ʿUlamāʾ wa mufakkirūn ʿaraftuhum*, p. 154.

8 This *maʿhad* was the first higher institution of education that trained the first judges (*qāḍī*, pl. *quḍḍāt*) and other top administrators of the state. This institute, which later had branches throughout the country, continues to train teachers for high schools, particularly teachers for religious subjects.

muezzin had made the call to prayer, beside the tomb of the Prophet. He taught between the *maghrib* prayer and that of *ʿishāʾ* (and sometimes after the dawn prayer) on Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. During the month of Ramadan, he taught after *ʿaṣr* prayer. Some, though not all, of the courses he gave were recorded on tapes and CDs. He taught the following books: *Bulūgh al-marām* by Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī; *Nayl al-awṭār* by al-Shawkānī, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* by Imām Mālik; and others. While Shaykh ʿUmar taught several subjects, his passion seemed to be in teaching the sciences of *ḥadīth*, commentary of the Qurʾān, and jurisprudence (*fiqh*), particularly Mālikī *fiqh*. Shaykh ʿUmar was known to have three gifts: good didactic methods to transmit his knowledge, great eloquence, and a powerful voice that often did not need a loudspeaker.

The Teaching Methods of Shaykh ʿUmar: Teaching Methods in the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina

During each teaching session, Shaykh ʿUmar was surrounded by a group of people with different levels of knowledge and from different backgrounds. Those who formed the first circle and followed the course with books open before them were diligent students. Other circles included people without the books; these people listened to the lecture but did not come regularly. Among them were people who only came to Mecca and Medina for the *ḥajj* or *ʿumra*. One or two students read the text to be studied (*tasmīʿ*). The shaykh, after some corrections of the text (*matn*), would read the text correctly and explain it. After the course, students and other auditors asked questions and the shaykh answered them. This continued until the prayer of *ʿishāʾ*. After this prayer, some people came to him and continued to ask him questions. During the month of Ramadan and the *ḥajj*, he started the course by reading the text himself and then following it with his commentary. Apparently this slight change was motivated by the fact that during this period many foreigners who came for the *ḥajj* or to spend Ramadan in Mecca and Medina, sometimes attended courses at the Mosque of the Prophet or at the al-Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca. During these two periods, the shaykh devoted his course to topics related to these two rituals. And he wanted to ensure that his course would be well received by these "guests of the Merciful [God]" (*ḍuyūf al-Raḥman*). This was the standard method of all those who taught at the Mosque of the Prophet (and in the al-Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca).

The Place of the Mosque of the Prophet in the Life of ʿUmar Fallāta

In the biographical note that Muḥammad al-Majdhūb wrote about Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta, he mentions the influence that the Mosque of the Prophet had on him in the following terms:

> In this mosque we learned to read the Qurʾān and to perform the five congregational prayers (*salawāt al-jamāʿa*). As children, we played together around this mosque. Here the inhabitants of Medina gathered at weddings and other celebrations. Whoever was looking for a friend or anyone else met him in this mosque. Whoever sought knowledge could find it there. Whoever was in trouble came to this mosque in search of solace. Marriage contracts and reconciliations (*sulḥ*) were written down in this mosque. How, then, could this mosque fail to have a great influence on my scientific training, intellectual, and emotional being (*takwīnī l-ʿilmī wa-l-fikrī wa ʿan nafsī*), when I have been always bound to it in all important events in my life . . .[9]

In the interview he gave to the magazine *al-Manhal*, entitled "al-Madīnat al-Munawwara, taqālīd wa-ʿādāt" (Medina: traditions and customs),[10] Shaykh ʿUmar discussed not only the customs and traditions of Medina as he experienced them, but also about the rapid improvement of life in Medina and in the Hijaz in general, in comparison to life during the reign of the Ashrāf. He noted improvements with regard four aspects in particular: The supplies of foodstuffs, the educational system, the implementation of *sharīʿa* law, and security conditions. He mentioned that immediately after the conquest of the Hijaz by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the latter began to distribute food to the people of Mecca and Medina. In the latter city, families received coupons for each member and exchanged these for their daily bread. The *sharīʿa*, especially *ḥudūd* (corporal punishment), was strictly applied. After every Friday prayer, people would attend the application of these punishments (*ḥudūd*) in the square outside the Bāb al-Salām (Peace Gate). With regard to education, Shaykh ʿUmar stated that during the reign of the Ashrāf, people were more interested in learning trades than the religious sciences of Islam. Because people were in financial hardship, they learned manual trades, which they believed could save them from poverty. The situation changed under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; people began to give importance to religious sciences and to non-manual trades in general. The roads between Mecca and Medina were made safe from bandits, who in previous times had robbed or killed pilgrims, or taken them as slaves. This had rendered the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* a dangerous undertaking.

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9 al-Majdhūb, *ʿUlamāʾ wa mufakkirūn ʿaraftuhum*, p. 156.

10 *al-Manhal*, no. 499 (1413/1992), pp. 249–280.

The Administrative Responsibilities of Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta

In 1368/1948 Shaykh ʿUmar's first job came with his appointment as a teacher at the Dār al-Ḥadīth, which was then situated beside the Mosque of the Prophet. He was at that time about to finish his graduate studies in the same Dār al-Ḥadīth. When Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī became director of the Dār al-Ḥadīth after the death of Shaykh Dihlāwī (its founder and former director), Shaykh ʿUmar became his deputy director. Then in 1377/1957, after the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, Shaykh ʿUmar became the director of the Dār al-Ḥadīth; at the same time, he was appointed professor at the Madrasat al-Saʿūdiyya, then deputy director of the same *madrasa*, which was run by the ministry of education. From 1375/1955 to 1378/1958 he was appointed as a teacher and director of the library in the Maʿhad al-ʿIlmī of Medina. When the Dār al-Ḥadīth, then under the administration of the *muftī* of Saudi Arabia, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, was incorporated into the administration of the ministry of education, Shaykh ʿUmar had to choose between the Maʿhad al-ʿIlmī or the Dār al-Ḥadīth; he chose to remain director of the Dār al-Ḥadīth. When the Dār al-Ḥadīth was annexed to the Islamic University of Medina in 1385/1965, he was appointed deputy secretary general of the university. Some time later he became secretary general of the university and associate professor of the same university, where he taught his specialty, the science of *ḥadīth*. In 1404/1983, he resigned from his post as secretary general of the university to devote himself to his new role as chairman of the Council of Daʿwa Affairs (Majlis Shuʾūn al-daʿwa) of the Islamic University of Medina. In 1406/1985, he founded the Markaz Khidmat al-Sunna wa-l-Sīra al-Nabawiyya (Research Center for the Sunna and the Biography of the Prophet) at the university and was its first director.

These administrative and teaching functions, concluding marriages and resolving conflicts between families and between individuals should not be separated from the function of preaching that Shaykh ʿUmar also performed both within and outside of Saudi Arabia. All this was, for him, *daʿwa*, the work of the Islamic mission, which is incumbent on every Muslim. He also performed *daʿwa* through preaching, as when he accompanied his teacher Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī to Yanbu. Shaykh ʿUmar also preached in the Bedouin village of al-Musayjīd (between Jedda and Medina) during the 1375–76 school year (1955–56) when he was invited to chair the organization of the exam of the Madrasat al-Saḥrāʾ, newly opened to educate the children of the surrounding Bedouins. He was a member of various delegations sent by the Saudi state or by the Islamic University of Medina to carry out *daʿwa* in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Pakistan, India, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Africa, Europe, Australia, and the United States. During the period from 1381/1961 to

1395/1975, Shaykh ʿUmar went with Shaykh Ibn Bāz, the *muftī* of Saudi Arabia, in his *daʿwa* travels at Badr, Yanbu, al-Ṣalṣal, and other places both within the country and outside it.

In 1410/1989, he retired; his farewell party was organized by the Islamic University of Medina. Another ceremony of this kind was organized in 1416/1995 by the governor of the region of Medina (*amīr manṭiqat al-madīnat*), Prince ʿAbd al-Majīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, together with the minister of national education, to honor the ten living personalities who had been great proponents of teaching (*ruwwād al-awāʾil*) in Medina and its region since the advent of the Āl-Saʿūd's power; Shaykh ʿUmar was among these ten. Shaykh ʿUmar continued his daily teaching at the Prophet's Mosque between the *maghrib* and *ʿishāʾ* prayers from 1370/1950, when he began, until his death in 1419/1998.

Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī (Āb Wuld Ukhtūr) (1325–93/1907–73)

The Mauritanian Āb Wuld Ukhtūr (known in the Mashriq as Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī) was born in 1325/1907 in a nomad camp named Tanbih, near the town of Guerou in the Kiffa region. He left home with some of his students to perform the *ḥajj* on 7 Jamād al-Thānī 1367/1947; they traveled along the Sudan Road and arrived in Mecca at the end of Dhū l-Qaʿda 1367/1947. The first person to welcome him in Mecca was the Sufi *ʿālim* Shaykh ʿAlawī ʿAbbās al-Mālikī, who was then a teacher at the Mosque of Mecca. This *ʿālim* and his sons were among the few Saudi *ʿulamāʾ* who openly resisted the hegemony of the Wahhābiyya doctrine in the Hijaz; their relationship suggests that on his arrival in Saudi Arabia, he may not have been a Wahhābī. Yet he was quickly accepted by the Wahhābīs and adhered to the Wahhābiyya doctrine when, during the *ḥajj*, he met two Saudi princes, Prince Turkī l-Sudayrī and Prince Khālid al-Sudayrī, *amīr*s (governors) of the Abhā and Tabūk regions respectively.[11] These two princes were impressed by the shaykh's immense knowledge and put him in contact with King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who at that time was encouraging Muslim scholars to move to and settle down in Saudi Arabia. Thus, when Shaykh Shinqīṭī arrived for the first time in Medina, he was welcomed by his cousin, Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Ādu, then, at the Mosque of the Prophet he met the two *imām*s of the mosque, namely Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-Zāḥim and Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣāliḥ. On a

11 Abha is the capital of Asir Province in southwestern Saudi Arabia. Tabuk City is an oasis in northwestern Saudi Arabia with a population of 350,000.

recommendation from King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz they organized a *ḥalaqa* (teaching circle) for him at the mosque. He also gave classes and lectures at the Dār al-Ḥadīth and the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya.

When the state opened the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī in Riyadh in 1371/1951, he was selected to be among the teachers of the new educational institution. He taught two subjects: commentary (*tafsīr*) on the Qurʾān and the principles, or methodology of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). He remained in Riyadh until 1381/1961 when the Islamic University of Medina was opened and Shaykh Shinqīṭī was appointed professor and a member of the executive assembly of the university. When, in 1391/1971, King Faiṣal formally established the Hayʾat Kibār al-ʿUlamāʾ, Shaykh Shinqīṭī was named one of the seventeen scholars that made up this institution. He was also a founding member of the Muslim World League (Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī). Shaykh Shinqīṭī's role in these two institutions (Hayʾat Kibār al-ʿUlamāʾ and the Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī) was marked by two acts that his followers and many others considered very courageous. First, when Faiṣal decided, with the support of the *muftī* and the members of the Hayʾa, to depose King Saʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, they gave Shaykh Shinqīṭī the task of taking the message to the king, because they felt that he was the only one with sufficient authority to persuade the king to step down "voluntarily." Second, at a session of the Muslim World League, the representative of Iran asked that the League accept the Jaʿfarī *madhhab* as one of the *madhāhib* that the Sunnī should follow. The issue nearly divided the Muslims. The Muslim World League gave Shaykh Shinqīṭī the responsibility of finding a solution. He met the delegate of Iran and made the following proposal.

> We, the Ahl al-Sunna have agreed with the *ithnā ʿasharī* Shīʿa on the following fundamental points. We agree that Islam is our common religion and that Muḥammad is our Prophet, the Qurʾān is our Book, that the Kaʿba is our *qibla*. We agree on the obligation of the five daily prayers, on fasting in Ramadan, and on the *ḥajj*. We agree on many things that are prohibited such as theft, adultery, alcohol, etc. These aspects are therefore sufficient to bring us all together as Muslims. But there are also things on which we disagree. If we want to discuss these things, each side must choose a panel of experts for the discussion, provided we agree to accept the results of this discussion.[12]

12 See ʿAṭiyya Sālim, *Min ʿUlamāʾ al-Ḥaramayn*, p. 458. See also ʿAṭiyya Sālim, "Muqaddima" [Introduction], in Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī, *Riḥlat al-ḥajj ilā bayti Allāhi al-ḥarām* (Jedda: Dār al-Shurūq, 1403/1983), pp. 29–31; al-Majdhūb, *ʿUlamāʾ wa mufakkirūn ʿaraftuhum*, vol. 1, pp. 171, 185.

Thereupon, it is said, the delegate of Iran withdrew its proposal.

Shaykh Shinqīṭī enjoyed great respect from the Saudi kings and other officials. King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz not only offered him citizenship,[13] but also decreed that any Mauritanian immigrant who requested it (i.e. citizenship) by the mediation of Shaykh Shinqīṭī would be granted that,[14] and many Mauritanians who settled in Saudi Arabia during the life of Shaykh Shinqīṭī confirmed that he mediated between them and Saudi officials on this issue or others. Shaykh Alfā Hāshim played the same role for the Takārira, as Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣarī did for the Tuaregs. Shaykh Shinqīṭī died in Mecca, where he was buried during the pilgrimage of 1393/1973.

The Writings of Shaykh Shinqīṭī

Before settling in Saudi Arabia, Shaykh Shinqīṭī had written only two books, which have remained in manuscript form until now: a small book on the history of Arab genealogy written in the form of a poem, but which the author did not want to publish, and a book of Mālikī *fiqh*, also in the form of a poem, dealing mainly with trade and related issues, such as different kinds of contracts (*ʿuqūd*) and credits (*ʿuhūd*). After settling in Saudi Arabia, Shaykh Shinqīṭī wrote the following books:

1. *Manʿ jawāz al-majāz fī l-munazzal li-l-taʿabbud wa-l-iʿjāz*. In this work, the author explains the prohibition of allegorical interpretations of Qurʾānic verses (*majāz*) that relate to the names and attributes of God (*ayāt al-asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt*) and the requirement that these verses be understood literally.

2. *Dafʿ iyhām al-iẓṭirāb ʿan āyāt al-kitāb*. This book relates to the proper understanding of another kind of metaphor from the Qurʾān. Here, Shaykh Shinqīṭī explains the meaning of Qurʾānic verses that seem to contradict to each other, but in reality are not in contradiction. The term he uses here is *iyhām*, which normally refers to an Arab rhetorical device that involves the use of two meanings of a word, one used frequently and in a basic sense, the other in a very rare signification. Generally, the listener or the reader immediately seizes the first sense, while the author intends to allude to the latter sense.

3. *Mudhakkirat al-uṣūl ʿalā rawḍat al-nāẓir*. This is a book of *uṣūl al-fiqh* of the four *madhāhib* (Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī, and Ḥanbalī). Here, Shaykh Shinqīṭī

13 al-Majdhūb, *ʿUlamāʾ wa mufakkirūn ʿaraftuhum*, vol. 1, p. 185: "Ahdā ilā al-Shaykh hawiyyatahu al-saʿūdiyya."

14 Ibid., "Amara bi manḥi al-tabʿiyya li-kulli man yathīqu bihi wa-yantamī ilayhi."

explains the principles of the *uṣūl al-fiqh* of each of the four *madhāhib* and tries to bring them closer to each other. This book by Shaykh Shinqīṭī was a part of the curriculum of the faculty of *daʿwa* (*kulliyyat al-daʿwa*) and the faculty of law (*kulliyyat al-sharīʿa*) of the Islamic University of Medina.

4. *Ādāb al-baḥth wa-l-munāẓara*. In this work Shaykh Shinqīṭī explains the methodological and ethical principles of research and scientific discussion. He explains, for example, how one should first introduce a topic, then present the scriptural proof (*al-dalīl*) supporting it, etc. This book was also part of the curriculum of the Islamic University of Medina.

5. *Aḍwāʾ al-bayān fī iyḍāḥ al-qurʾān bi-l-qurʾān*. The author wrote and published seven volumes of this exegesis of the Qurʾān before he died. He stopped with the first verse of *sūra* 58 (*al-Mujādala*). His former student and disciple Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim wrote the last two volumes. Thus, the book consists of nine volumes, plus a tenth volume containing two of Shaykh Shinqīṭī's previous books, namely 1 (as above), *Manʿ jawāz al-majāz fī l-munazzal li-l-taʿabbud wa-l-iʿjāz* and 2, *Dafʿ iyhām al-iḍṭirāb ʿan āyāt al-kitāb*.[15]

Aḍwāʾ al-bayān fī iyḍāḥ al-qurʾān bi-l-qurʾān was Shaykh Shinqīṭī's most important work, and was a kind of summary and extension of his previous works. This method of explaining Qurʾānic verses with other verses of the Qurʾān is not new or original to Shinqīṭī. Muḥammad ʿAbduh applied it, as did ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khaṭīb in his *al-Tafsīr al-qurʾānī li-l-qurʾān*, as did the Shīʿī Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq in his book *al-Furqān fī tafsīr al-qurʾān*. But Shaykh Shinqīṭī seems to be the one who most thoroughly explored this method and utilized it systematically from beginning to end. The reasons for this effort are, in my opinion, three. (1) During the time of Shaykh Shinqīṭī (and indeed, until now), the *ʿulamāʾ* were under increasing pressure to explain the meaning of Qurʾānic verses that seem to contradict each other. (2) The Wahhābiyya doctrine, which states that Muslims must live their lives in strict conformity with Islam based solely on the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*, compelled Wahhābiyya scholars like Shaykh Shinqīṭī to study the Qurʾān carefully in order to resolve exegetical problems, such as verses that seem to contradict each other. (3) Shaykh Shinqīṭī had already begun this work in his two previous books, *Manʿ jawāz al-majāz fī l-munazzal li-l-taʿabbud wa-l-iʿjāz* and *Dafʿ iyhām al-iḍṭirāb ʿan āyāt al-kitāb*. Shaykh Shinqīṭī wrote these two books, which consist of responses

15 Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī, *Aḍwāʾ al-bayān fī iyḍāḥ al-qurʾān bi-l-qurʾān* (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1403/1982). When Shaykh Shinqīṭī died before the book was completed, ʿAṭiyya Sālim completed the final volume (9). The whole book was completed in Medina at the end of Ramadan 1391/1971.

to questions posed to him during his teaching in the mosque, in the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī, and at the Islamic university.

In concrete terms, before addressing the explanation of a Qurʾānic verse, Shaykh Shinqīṭī brings together all the Qurʾānic verses that deal with the same theme as the verse in question. In this way, he orders the Qurʾān thematically. Then he begins to explain the Qurʾānic verse in the conventional manner: first with a purely linguistic explanation (grammar, style, etc.), then with an explanation from the rules of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*. He proceeds in the same way when he explains a verse whose legal rule or moral meaning seems to contradict that of another verse. Then, in a third stage, he shows that ultimately there is no contradiction.

Shaykh Shinqīṭī does not innovate in this commentary, rather he follows the classical works in the field of *tafsīr*, namely that of Ibn Kathīr and al-Shawkānī. With regard to language issues, his main reference is the commentary of Zamakhsharī, which is the best reference on this topic. Shaykh Shinqīṭī does not show a particular interest in the question of style. On *fiqh* issues he refers to the *tafsīr* of al-Qurṭubī, and on issues of scholastics and logic he refers to the *tafsīr* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.

6. *Riḥlat al-ḥajj ilā bayt Allāh al-ḥarām*.[16] This book is, in my opinion, the second major work of Shaykh Shinqīṭī, both in terms of its volume and the topics he discusses. The travelogue (*riḥla*, pl. *riḥlāt*), often to the holy cities of Islam, is a well-established genre in Arabic literature. The author of a *riḥla* must distinguish himself by a good style of storytelling, a captivating style, and a gift for describing for readers or listeners the places and people he has encountered. Most authors of travelogues try to describe what they saw and experienced in a linear manner, that is to say, from their points of departure to their arrivals and then return: the pleasant and unpleasant landscapes, the good and bad experiences with people in the societies in which they spent some time. The travelogue of Ibn Baṭūṭa and that of Ibn Jubayr (both from North Africa) are the best-known. We seldom find religious discussions in Arab travelogues, with the exception, perhaps, of that of al-Nabulsī and that of Abū ʿAlī l-Qālī in Medina. Even in the works of Ibn Baṭūṭa and Ibn Jubayr, we find only some information on the pilgrimage rituals (*manāsik al-ḥajj*). It is on this question that the *riḥla* of Shinqīṭī differs, in the sense that it deals more with issues relating to the Islamic religious sciences than on a description of landscapes and societies. Here are some examples of the kind of religious issues found in the *riḥla* of Shaykh Shinqīṭī.

16 Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī, *Riḥlat al-ḥajj ilā bayt Allāh al-ḥarām* (Jedda: Dār al-Shurūq, 1403/1983).

The first and second issues discussed in Shaykh Shinqīṭī's *riḥla* are two grammar questions posed to him by a female paternal cousin. This shows that the women of Mauritanian marabout groups (*zawāya*) as well as men were involved in the study of Islamic sciences. In Shaykh Shinqīṭī's travelogue we also find philosophical questions, and some that relate to *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, such the theme of *sadd al-dharīʿa*.[17] In Nima in Mauritania (near the border with Mali), Shaykh Shinqīṭī was asked a question on *tawḥīd* that concerned the doctrine of the Ahl al-Sunna and the proper understanding of Qurʾānic verses and *ḥadīth*s that mention the names and the attributes of God (*āyāt al-asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt*). These include such Qurʾānic verses as "The Merciful [God] is sitting on his throne" (*al-raḥmān ʿalā al-ʿarsh stawā*, or *thumma stawā ʿalā al-ʿarsh*). How is God sitting on his throne? Should these verses be understood literally or should interpreted metaphorically?

The Wahhābīs and other Salafīs understand the verse literally and say that God sits on His throne in His own way, and this should not be compared to how a human being could sit on a throne. The same is to be understood concerning the verse "The hand of God is on their hands" (*yadu Allāh fawqa aydīhim*). Here too, the Salafī position is that this verse should be understood as it is and without comparing the hand of God to that of humans or interpreting the hand (*yad*) as something else, such as power. In this way, the Salafīs claim to avoid two "false solutions": first, the interpretation (*taʾwīl*) that would lead to *taʿṭīl* (negligence and by extension those who claim that God does not have the qualities attributed to Him, as opposed to *tashbīh*); and second, the literal understanding that compares God to humans, and leads to *tashbīh* (assimilation and by extension assimilation of God to human beings, that is to say anthropomorphism). In the past, the names *mushabbiha* and *muʿaṭṭila* were given to those who adhered to one or the other of these two doctrines. By contrast, the Salafīs state "*bilā taʿṭīl wa lā tashbīh*" and reject both terms in favor of a doctrine in the "middle" that is often made in the following terms, as Shaykh Shinqīṭī clarifies for his questioner: "Avoiding *taʿṭīl* is to accept the attributes that God has given to Himself and confirmed by His Prophet . . .[18] Avoiding *tashbīh* is to know that all attributes that God has given to Himself and confirmed by the Prophet are true, without trying to assimilate them to those of

17 Which declares that something legal is illegal if it could lead someone to commit something illegal.

18 "Wa mujānabatu al-taʿṭīl hiya an tuthbita li-Llāhi kula waṣfin athbatahu li-nafsihi aw athbatahu lahu nabiyyuhu," in al-Shinqīṭī, *Riḥlat al-ḥajj*, p. 73.

His creatures."[19] The manner in which Shaykh Shinqīṭī addressed the issue of *al-asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt* is so clearly in accordance with the Wahhābī doctrine that one could think he rephrased it after he settled in Saudi Arabia and adhered to the Wahhābī doctrine.

At Jinayna in Darfur (Sudan), Shaykh Shinqīṭī was asked:[20] Is it legitimate for Muslims to be ruled by a Muslim who is under the command of a non-Muslim? (This is the question of whether to accept the colonial power). Shaykh Shinqīṭī responded: "Muslims whose country is occupied by non-Muslims should leave the country in question and perform a *hijra* to another country where the ruler is a Muslim. They are not allowed to join non-Muslim rulers. Because to rally to non-Muslims rulers when one can rally to Muslim rulers will be a decision that would cause disorder (*fitna*)." But if Muslims dominated by non-Muslims cannot find a Muslim ruler who is willing to take them under his authority, they must accept, in appearance but not in reality, the power of non-Muslims over them, in order to avoid the harm such rulers could inflict them (*bi al-ẓāhir dūna al-bāṭin li-dafʿ ḍararihim*)." To support his argument, Shaykh Shinqīṭī quotes the following Qurʾānic verse: "It is not permissible for Muslims to take non-Muslims as protectors instead of Muslims, and whoever does so disobeys God, unless one fears them, in which case he can obey them with a mental reservation" (3:28). As we see, this issue relates to the theme of *hijra*.

Another question posed to Shaykh Shinqīṭī in Jinayna (Darfur) relates to the traveler who wants to marry in the country where he is, with the intention to divorce his wife when he leaves the place. Is this a valid marriage or a temporary marriage of enjoyment (*mutʿa*), which is forbidden? Shaykh Shinqīṭī's response is as follows:

> This is a valid marriage and not a marriage of *mutʿa*, unless one clearly mentions beforehand (*bi-l-taṣrīkh*) that his marriage is a *mutʿa*. This is the opinion of the *ʿulamāʾ*, except al-Awzāʿī, who considers such a marriage *mutʿa*, according to what Ibn Ḥajar reports in his book *Fatḥ al-bārī*. The opinion of Imām Mālik is that this is a valid marriage from the point of view of the law but a bad marriage from the point of view of good behavior (*laysa hādhā mina al-jamīl aw min akhlāq al-nās*).[21]

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19 "Wa mujānabatu al-tashbīh hiya an taʿlama anna kulla waṣfīn athbatahu Allāh li-nafsihi aw athbatahu lahu nabiyyuhu fahuwa thābitun lahu ḥaqīqatan dūna tashābuhin baynahu wa bayna ṣifāt al-makhlūqīn," in al-Shinqīṭī, *Riḥlat al-ḥajj*, p. 73.

20 Ibid., pp. 105–107.

21 Ibid., p. 115.

In Omdurman, Shaykh Shinqīṭī conducted an in depth discussion with the *ʿulamāʾ* of the country, but also with the ordinary faithful who came to listen to him. One of the questions he was asked was whether the Qurʾān and/or the *ḥadīth*s refer anywhere to the emergence of a state for the Jews (*dawlat li-l-yahūd*) at the end of time. Shaykh Shinqīṭī responded in the affirmative and mentioned an authentic *ḥadīth* (*ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ*) that refers to the appearance of a state for the Jews at the end of time. The specialists of *uṣūl* (*uṣuliyyūn*) call this kind of evidence "evidence by suggestion" (*bi dalālat al-ishāra*). The *ḥadīth* reported by al-Bukhārī is the following: "The last judgment will not come until the day of a war between the Muslims and the Jews in which Muslims will kill the Jews, so that even if a Jew is hiding behind a stone, it will say: O you Muslim, here a Jew is hiding, come and kill him."[22] This would mean, Shaykh Shinqīṭī wrote, that the Jews will be an entity (state) led by a ruler (*amīr*). Otherwise they cannot fight the Muslims. It also means, he wrote, that the war between Muslims and the Jews is unavoidable and the outcome will be the victory of the Muslims.

This anti-Jewish discourse of Shaykh Shinqīṭī, shocking as it may be, was not exceptional among many Arabs and Muslims at that time. But what is perhaps more surprising is the anti-black African discourse of the Mauritanian Shaykh Shinqīṭī. Throughout his journey, from Mauritania through Sudan to Hijaz, Shaykh Shinqīṭī's travelogue highlights his knowledge of Islamic religious sciences and his Arabness. Shaykh Shinqīṭī referred to his Arab identity and often demonstrated his mastery of the Arabic language. His Arabness was also manifested in the fact that he was not black like the blacks he met along the way,[23] whom he referred to as animals (*bahāʾim*). We should mention two more examples. When they left Bamako for Mopti, Shaykh Shinqīṭī wrote that they met on the road "huts in villages whose inhabitants are all black and naked. I was told again that they are animists and worship trees. I even heard that they are *cannibals*."[24] When Shaykh Shinqīṭī and his companions set out

22 "Lā taqūmu al-sāʿa ḥattā tuqātilū l-yahūda ḥattā yaqūla al-ḥajaru warāʾahu al-yahūdu yā muslim hadhā yaḥūdiyyun warāʾī fa qtuluhu" (Bukhārī). Muslim also reported this ḥadīth with some nuances.

23 The route of Shaykh al-Shinqīṭī and his followers was as follows: from Kifa by camel to Nema at the border with Mali. From Nema, they used cars, arriving in Bamako. From Bamako, they went to Mopti, Gao, Niamey, Maradi, Kano, Fort Lamy, Abesha, Darfur, Khartoum, and Omdurman, finally arriving in the Hijaz.

24 "Wa laysa ʿalā abdānihim shayʾun mina al-thiyābi aṣlan. Wa hum sūdu al-alwān. Samiʿtu annahum wathaniyyūn yaʿbudūna al-shajar. Wa samiʿtu annahum rubbamā akalū al-nās . . ." al-Shinqīṭī, *Riḥlat al-ḥajj*, p. 91.

from Fort Lamy to Darfur, he wrote: "All the cars that brought us and others who accompanied us were full of blacks who did not understand our language and we also did not understand their languages. Most of them were like animals."[25]

25 "Wa jamīʿu al-sayyārāt al-latī naḥnu fīhā wa-l-latān turāfiquhā mashḥūnun mina al-sawādīn al-ladhīn lā yafhamūna kalāmunā wa lā nafhamu kalāmahum. Wa aktharuhum ka-l-bahāʾim," al-Shinqīṭī, *Riḥlat al-ḥajj*, p. 102.

CHAPTER 6

Africa in the Islamic University of Medina

ILLUSTRATION 13 *Islamic University of Medina, photo by Chanfi Ahmed.*

History of the Foundation of the University

The idea of opening a university in Medina is an old one. As early as 1913, the Ottomans planned to build an Islamic university in Medina and name it Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī University (Jāmiʿa Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī). Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Jawish of the Ḥizb al-Waṭanī (National Party) was appointed rector of the university. He came to Medina from Egypt, together with Shakīb Arslān, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, and engineers to begin work on the project. They laid the first stone in the western part of the city in ʿAbariyya Street (Shāriʿ al-ʿAbariyya) and even completed the foundations. A list of students from Morocco, Algeria, Iraq, and other Arab and Muslim countries were accepted. These students were sent to the Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī faculty that had just opened in Jerusalem until they could transfer to Medina when the construction of university in Medina was complete. But construction was halted in 1913 by the beginning of World War I and the hardships in Medina.[1]

1 See Zaydān, *Dhikrayāt*, p. 35; al-Ḥaydarī, *al-Taʿlīm al-ahlī fī l-madīna*, p. 204; ʿUthmān Ḥāfiẓ, *Ṣuwar wa-dhikrayāt ʿani al-madīna al-munawwara* (Medina: Nādī l-Adabī bi-l-Madina al-Munawwara, 1402/1982), pp. 168–69.

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The Indian *ʿālim* Shaykh Fayḍ Abādī who founded the Madrasat al-ʿUlūm al-Sharʿiyya in 1921[2] also considered expanding the *madrasa* into a university, but he died (in 1939) before he could complete this project. Yet the idea of the establishing a university remained in the minds of the people of Medina, especially the elite, writers, journalists, and *ʿulamāʾ*, who continued to mention it in their writings. After the establishment of the kingdom of the Āl Saʿūd by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[3] and especially during the period of his successor, his son Saʿūd, Saudi journalists, particularly those from Medina, called for the foundation of an Islamic university in Medina. Medina has been significant for Muslims since the time of the Prophet. Muslims believe that the people of Medina saved the Prophet of Islam and its message, as it was from Medina that the message of Islam spread throughout the world. Based on this idea, the elite of Medina have long believed that a modern Islamic university with the goal of spreading the message of Islam should be based in Medina, the 'City of the Prophet' (*madīnat al-rasūl*).

Campaigning in the Medinan Press for the Foundation of the Islamic University

The daily newspaper al-Madinat[4] was, perhaps not surprisingly, the first to call for the creation of this university. The journalist ʿAbd al-Salām Hāshim Ḥāfiẓ

2 This *madrasa* was closed during the reign of the Ashrāf because it was accused of using Salafī books in its teaching. While the teaching was transferred to the Prophet's Mosque, Shaykh Fayḍ Abādī had written to Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca asking permission to reopen his *madrasa*. Sharīf Ḥusayn granted him permission and the *madrasa* was opened again. See Badr, "al-Ḥayāt al-thaqāfiyya," pp. 61–62.

3 The political authority of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was established in Medina in the month of Jumādī l-ūlā in 1344/1925 when the people of Medina took the oath of obedience (*bayʿa*) to the king through his son Muḥammad, first *amīr* of Medina and its region. See, among others, Suʿūd b. Hadhlūl and Muḥammad al-ʿAbbūdī, *Mulūk Āl Suʿūd* (Riyadh, 1380/1960), p. 177; Zaydān, *Dhikrayāt*, p. 109.

4 The first issue of *al-Madīna* was published on 26 Muḥarram 1356/1937. The newspaper was founded by the brothers ʿUthmān Ḥāfiẓ and ʿAlī Ḥāfiẓ, who were also the owners of the printing house Maṭbaʿat Ṭayyibat al-Fayḥāʾ, the first printing house in Medina. *Al-Madīna* was initially published once weekly, then twice weekly, and finally every day. This printing house also published the first issue of *al-Manhal* (the magazine founded by al-ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Anṣārī). *Al-Madīna* and *al-Manhal* were founded in the same year, the first preceding the second by only two months. In any case, the young people who discussed and then participated in the foundation of these two media were friends who used to discuss, read, and comment on the few newspapers and magazines they received from Cairo, the cultural capital of the Arab world, which inspired them in everything. See Badr, "al-Ḥayāt al-thaqāfiyya," pp. 91–94.

wrote that over the years his newspaper (al-Madīna) had consistently advocated for the establishment of an Islamic university in Medina, one that would fulfill the mission to make Medina a center of Islamic missionary work in the world, as it had been in the past.[5] In the same year, Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Fāsī, another journalist at al-Madīna, argued persistently for the founding of this university, which he called al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya bī l-Madīna al-Munawwara.[6] He also encouraged other journalists to pursue the matter. Multiple articles appeared;[7] one states that Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Fāsī

> spoke to him [Amīn Madanī] about his hope to see an Islamic University of Medina join the King Saʿūd University (Jāmiʿa al-Malik Suʿūd) in Riyadh[8] in its mission to spread knowledge throughout the Muslim world, from Saudi Arabia, a country toward which Muslims look and in which they place great hopes.

On 29 Jumādī II 1379 (1959) ʿAbd al-Salām Hāshim, another journalist with the newspaper *al-Madina*, wrote an article in which he compared the future university to that of al-Azhar, in terms of its role: "the Islamic University of Medina will be the way to fight against the destructive propaganda of atheists and those who knowingly induce people to make mistakes."[9]

In the newspaper *al-Bilād*, Aḥmad ʿAbdallāh al-Fāsī notes:

> . . . Because today, Muslims experience hardships in their religion, they need an action that can protect their religion, spread its message everywhere and preserve it from her . . . enemies, such as Christian missionaries, who constantly spend everything to harm it. . . . Muslims are waiting for the strong hand capable of carrying the torch and the standard again as did the companions of the Prophet. . . . We are still waiting for this gift that the king would offer us during the month of Ramadan. We look forward to the day when the king will announce his decision to found

5 *al-Madīna*, issue no. 821 (3 Jumādī II, 1379/1959).

6 See al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya, *al-Kitāb al-wathāʾiqī*, pp. 27–28.

7 Amīn Madanī, a journalist at the newspaper *al-Madīna*, discussed the subject of the university with him, the latter wrote in issue 817 of the same newspaper an article with the title "al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya fī l-Madīna—Tawḥīd al-thaqāfa" (The Islamic University of Medina—Unification of the Culture).

8 This university, founded in 1957, was the first secular university in the country. But the first university in the country was the Islamic University Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd (Jāmiʿat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya), founded in 1953.

9 al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya, *al-Kitāb al-wathāʾiqī*, p. 29.

> the Islamic University and all matters relating to it, like establishing new branches of this university around the world. This would be the best gift that the king could offer the Muslim world, which would thank him very much. . . . Personally, I do not doubt for a second that the king will realize this great project, namely the foundation of the Islamic University of Medina. The hope that we rely on the king for this project comes from the knowledge we have of him as someone who loves his people and his commitment to Islam.[10]

This article was read on national radio and the king heard it and was moved by this petition to found the Islamic University of Medina.[11] These articles and others that called for the establishment of the Islamic University of Medina strengthen the idea that Medina was the city that welcomed the Prophet and the first group of his disciples when they were persecuted in Mecca. Medina and its inhabitants, who protected and preserved the message of Islam, ensured the success of the message of Islam. Medina is thus considered, by many, as the capital of Islam and the city from which the first soldiers and missionaries of Islam went to propagate the religion. It is the place where the Prophet Muḥammad is buried. It was this idea of reviving this historical symbolism that King Saʿūd was persuaded to found the Islamic university in this city.

The First Steps Leading to the Creation of the Islamic University of Medina

On 25/3/1381 (1961), the royal decree (no. 11) officially establishing the foundation of the Islamic University in Medina was published. The royal decree was formulated as following:

> By the help of God most high, we Saʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd King of Saudi Arabia, whereas the spread of Islamic sciences produces a positive influence for the maintaining and assertion of the foundations of our religion and the renaissance (*al-nuhūḍ*) of the *umma* everywhere in the world; whereas we desire to spread the message of Islam especially by spreading educational projects that we are realizing every day; whereas we desire to conform to the teachings of the Qurʾān, *ḥadīth*, and the good behavior of the pious predecessors (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*); whereas ultimately, our expectation is that God will be pleased with us and our actions, we

10 Aḥmad ʿAbdallāh al-Fāsī, "Hadiyya Abī l-shaʿb ilā l-shaʿb" [Gift of the father of his people to his people], *al-Bilād* (23 Ramaḍān 1379/1959).

11 al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya, *al-Kitāb al-wathāʾiqī*, p. 34.

> have therefore given the following order (*amarnā bimā huwa āt*). Article 1: An Islamic university will be now based in Medina and will be known as *al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya* (Islamic University). Article 2: Regarding financial resources, the Islamic University will be funded by the royal private funds (*al-amwāl allatī tatuqarraru lahā min khāṣṣatinā l-malakiyya*). Article 3: The budget allocated by the royal private funds to the university during the academic year 1381/1382 [1961/1962] will be 3 million Saudi riyals. Article 4: The admission of students, Saudis and non-Saudis, and how classes will be held and disciplines taught will be determined in accordance with conditions and regulations to be established by the university itself. Article 5: The royal ordinance shall go into force at the time of its publication, and it shall be published in the official newspaper of the kingdom.

We should note that the projected university was considered the king's private endeavor. Two factors make this particularly clear: the king donated his palace, which was next to Wādi al-ʿAqīq, to the university to make its first official headquarters; and the king insisted that the university be funded by his private funds. The system of government of the kingdom at that time concentrated everything in the hands of the king and his family, including state property, which seemed to belong to them and not to the state. This has changed; now the Islamic university receives its funding from the ministry of higher education of the Saudi government, as do other universities in the kingdom. The university is situated on a large plot of one million square kilometers, approximately 5 kilometers west of the Prophet's Mosque in Wādi al-ʿAqīq.

The Stated Objectives of the Islamic University

Saudis see the Islamic University of Medina as their country's contribution to the advancement of Islam. The statutes of the university define it as follows:

> The Islamic University is an international Islamic institution in terms of its aims, but it belongs at the same time to the Saudi state. It is independent in its decisions and in using its financial resources.[12]

According to the statutes of the university, the aims of this latter are as follows:

> 1. To spread in the world the eternal message of Islam through *daʿwa*, university education, and doctoral studies. 2. To inculcate in the individual

12 See al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya, *al-Kitāb al-wathāʾiqī*, pp. 47–48.

> and in the society the spirit of Islam and its practice, so that God will be the only one to be worshiped and that Muḥammad the only model to be follow. 3. To promote the production of scientific research, in particular in Islamic and Arabic studies, and also research in other sciences in general, as needed by Islamic societies, then to translate this research into foreign languages in order to spread it everywhere. 4. To educate university students who will come from the entire Muslim world and to train *ʿulamāʾ* able to undertake *daʿwa* after finishing their studies. 5. To collect, edit, and preserve the heritage of Islamic knowledge and then to spread it. 6. To establish good scientific and cultural relations with universities, organizations, and scientific institutions worldwide in the service of Islam and its mission.[13]

These were the main objectives announced at the beginning of the foundation of this university.

The Statutes of the Islamic University of Medina

The first statutes establish in detail almost every aspect of the university, both administrative and educational. These statutes have been restructured several times, however, the philosophy and key objectives of the first statutes remain the same.

The first statutes of the university contained 26 articles, divided into 4 chapters and followed by domestic regulations concerning the composition and functions of the administrative council of the university. A few articles are significant in helping us understand why the university was founded and how it was expected to function. The first three articles are grouped in the first chapter, entitled "On the definition of the Islamic University of Medina." Article 1 defines the university as follows:

> The Islamic University of Medina is a Saudi religious and scientific institution enjoying the status of legal person. The aim of the foundation of the Islamic University of Medina is to educate students coming from Saudi Arabia and from other Muslim countries in religion by teaching them the religious sciences of Islam, Arabic language and literature, and some foreign languages. They will be well informed on the principles of the foundations of the religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*) and on the other various knowledge that derives from them (*furūʿ*). They will be trained in the methods of research and disputation (*munāẓara*) so they can become true

13 Ibid., p. 48.

> missionaries (*duʿāt*) of Islam and defenders of the truth. They will also be able to lecture and to write in order to counter the atheists (*mulḥidūn*), to protect the integrity of Islam, and to solve problems faced by Muslims in this life and the hereafter.[14]

Chapter 2 contains sections 4, 5, and 6 and is titled: "Institutional bodies of the University." Article 4 states: "His Majesty King Saʿūd, as founder of the university and guarantor of its financial resources, is its first president." Article 7 states that "the university has two levels. The higher level (*ʿālī*) is the university level in which education takes 4 years; and in the secondary level (*thānawī*) the education will last three years." The university has indeed created one level lower secondary level (*mutawassiṭ*) of three years. Section 9 deals with the subjects that will be taught in both levels of the university:

> The following subjects will be taught in the two levels of the university. First, concerning the religious disciplines (*al-ʿulūm al-dīniyya*), the university will teach *tawḥīd* [the unity of God], the various doctrines of Islam (*al-firaq al-Islāmiyya*), the commentary of the Qurʾān and its fundamental principles (*al-tafsīr wa-uṣūluhu*), Islamic law and its fundamental principles (*al-fiqh wa-uṣūluhu*), the *ḥadīth* and its principles (*al-ḥadīth wa-uṣūluhu*), the science of the sharing of the inheritance (*al-farāʾiḍ*), the history of Islam, the different kinds of reading the Qurʾān, and memorizing the Qurʾān.

Article 11 stipulates:

> There will be a department to learn foreign languages other than Arabic, provided that the university judges it necessary for the spread of Islamic *daʿwa*. Teaching in this department will be during the time not reserved for the regular teaching of the university.

We may note that the department of foreign languages has not been established. Article 12 deals with the expulsion or exclusion of students or employees of the university. "Any member of the university about whom the university finds that he is an atheist (*mulḥid*) or has any deviation in his Islamic faith or his morals will be excluded from the university." Article 23 states:

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14 Ibid., p. 52.

> The Saudi mufti is the de facto president of the Islamic University of Medina. He will have a vice president who will reside in Medina. The administrative staff of the university will be under the responsibility of the secretary general himself assisted by a vice secretary general. The secretary general of the university is, de facto, the secretary general of the administrative council (administrative board) and the advisory council (advisory board) of the university. He is also responsible for preparing the annual budget of the university with the approval of the university president.

Article 24 stipulates: "The university will cover the living expenses of university students as well as their transportation costs to return home after graduation."

Notes on the First Statutes: New King, New Statutes

The university operated in accordance with the above statutes for five years, after which new statutes were presented; this change is likely linked to the political change that took place in the country. In 1963, Faiṣal, the crown prince, became king after a coup that he carried out against his brother, King Saʿūd. The latter was exiled to Greece, where he lived until his death[15] in 1964. In 1975, King Faiṣal was assassinated at the age of 71 by a son of the former king, Saʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

The new statutes were established by the royal decree of 05/18/1387 (1967). The text of the new statutes is brief and condensed; its value is apparently symbolic, as it indicates the political change in the leadership of the country. Nevertheless some changes were made and these deserve to be mentioned briefly. For example, the administrative council and the advisory council of the university have been strengthened and have a new designation: Majlis al-Jāmiʿa (University Council) and Majlis al-Istishārī (High Consultative Council).

Article 10 announces:

> The university has a board composed of the following members: the university president, the vice president, the deans of each faculty, and some faculty members, not exceeding five, who will be appointed by the king, the deputy (or representative) of the minister of instruction and higher education, and a representative of the minister of finance.

In the same article, the High Advisory Council of the University is defined as follows:

15 His body was then transferred to Saudi Arabia; he is buried in Riyadh.

> The university has a High Advisory Council headquartered in Medina. The members of the High Advisory Council will be appointed by the king from among the major *ʿulamāʾ* (*kibār al-ʿulamāʾ*), the renowned Muslim scholars (*qādat al-fikr al-Islamī*).

Article 13 describes the membership of the High Advisory Council as follows:

> The High Advisory Council of the university is composed of the following members: the university president, the minister of instruction and higher education or his representative, the rector of the University of Riyadh, two faculty members of the Islamic University of Medina, 15 members appointed by the university president on the advice of his vice president and with the agreement of the king, the first president of the university (al-*raʾīs al-aʿlā li al-jāmiʿa*), the *muftī* being the second president. The appointment of these 15 members shall be made in such a way that different specialties and different Muslim countries can be represented in the High Advisory Council of the University. The term of office of these members of the High Advisory Board shall be two years and renewable.

Article 14 states that "The *muftī* of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the president of the High Advisory Council. In the case of his absence, he may be replaced as chairman by another member of his choice belonging to the abovementioned High Advisory Board." Another aspect of these new statutes that deserves to be mentioned is the expanded powers granted to the secretary general of the university, as compared to those reserved to him in the first statutes. Indeed, Article 9 of these second statutes stipulates:

> The university has a secretary general who is at the same time both the secretary general of the High Advisory Board and of the University Council. He oversees the work of the vice president in matters of administration and finance and those of the entire administrative staff of the university. He also has the task of preparing the annual budget of the university and, after approval of the Vice President of the university, to present it to the University Council for approval. He must then send the draft budget to the president of the university, who in turn sends it to the latest authorities. The Secretary General must also record the minutes of the working sessions of the High Advisory Council and those of the University Council.

After ten years, the Islamic University of Medina amended the statutes; this was the third set since its foundation. Indeed, the High Advisory Council (*al-majlis al-aʿlā l-istishārī*) of the university in its meeting held in the month *rabīʿ al-ākhir* 1974/1394 recommended the establishment of new statutes for the university. Among the reasons advanced for adopting new statutes was the need to give the Islamic University of Medina the same operating procedures, the same legal framework, and same working conditions as those of other Saudi universities. Among the important changes introduced by the new statutes are the following: a High Executive Council (*al-Majlis al-aʿlā l-tanfīdhī*) replaced the High Advisory Council (*al-Majlis al-aʿlā l-istishārī li-l-jāmiʿa*) to facilitate decision-making in development projects; and a council responsible for *daʿwa* was created. The latter council was charged with conducting *daʿwa* among Muslims and non-Muslims by holding conferences and scientific meetings, teaching Islamic disciplines in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere, sending missionaries (*duʿāt*) around the world to teach Arabic and Islamic culture and to spread the "correct" understanding of Islam, particularly with regard to the Salafī doctrine of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.

Africa in the *Daʿwa* Policy of the Islamic University of Medina and of the Saudi State as Reflected in the Statutes and Other Texts of the University

After the expansion of the two mosques of Mecca and Medina (al-Ḥaramayn) and the creation of the University of Riyadh, the establishment of the Islamic University of Medina was the third major project undertaken by King Saʿūd. The king believed that this university, by propagating the Salafī interpretation of the Islamic sciences, would enable him and the kingdom to contribute "to the renaissance (*al-nuhūḍ*) of the Islamic *umma*."

When Faiṣal succeeded Saʿūd as king of Saudi Arabia, he gave the Islamic University much more importance than his predecessor did. This conformed with the new foreign policy of the new king. Indeed, more than his predecessor, Faiṣal wanted to use Islam in his foreign policy, particularly to resist the influence of Egypt under Nasser (and of other Arab and Muslim countries that supported him).[16] He wanted to fight against Arab nationalism in both its secular guises, Nasserism and Baathism, as well as socialism and commu-

16 On the foreign policy doctrine of Faiṣal, see, among others, ʿAbdallāh M. Sindi, "King Faisal and Pan-Islamism," in *King Faisal & the Modernization of Saudi Arabian*, ed. Willard A. Beling (London: Crom Helm Ltd., 1980), pp. 184–201.

nism, which are considered atheistic ideologies. He therefore intended to field "Islamic nationalism" as an alternative. The support he would give to the Islamic University of Medina was part of his foreign policy strategy. The Islamic University of Medina would train *duʿāt* (pl. *dāʿī*, or missionaries of Islam) who would spread the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya doctrine and thereby be ambassadors of Saudi Arabia, able to counter the influence of al-Azhar Islamic University of Cairo and the ideology of Nasserism. The Islamic University of Medina was to orient its efforts mainly toward Africa south of the Sahara and then to South Asia and Southeast Asia. This priority for Africa south of the Sahara was set, perhaps, because the majority of Muslims in this region were not yet under the political authority of socialist and communist governments. Therefore, Faiṣal wanted to move quickly to counter a possible influence of these "godless ideologies" on the Muslims of this region. The situation was quite the opposite in South Asia with the left-wing regimes of Bhutto in Pakistan and Gandhi in India and with the influence of the communists in Indonesia before the purge that they suffered under Suharto's regime. There was also a widespread belief that the majority of African Muslims were adherents of Sufi orders (*ṭuruq*); institutions that the Wahhābiyya reject as un-Islamic. It was therefore necessary to "save" the African Muslims from the influence of Sufism. The priority given to Africa could also relate to the fact that some of the first teachers and influential officials of the University were Africans or people who had great sympathy for Muslims in Africa. Indeed, among the first teachers of the University were Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī (of Mauritanian origin), Muḥammad Amān b. ʿAlī l-Jāmī (of Ethiopian origin and first dean of the faculty of *ḥadīth*), Ḥammād al-Anṣārī (a Tuareg from northern Mali), Abū Bakr al-Jazāʾirī (of Algerian origin), Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī (of Moroccan origin), and ʿUmar Fallāta (of northern Nigerian origin). Among those who were not Africans but had great sympathy for the African Muslims for various reasons were ʿAṭiyya Sālim (of Egyptian origin but a former student of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and al-Shinqīṭī), ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Ḥamad al-ʿAbbādī (from Najd and once president of the university, he was student of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī), and Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-ʿUbbūd (from Najd and first secretary general of the Islamic University of Medina).

The priority that the Islamic University gave to the *daʿwa* in Africa under King Faiṣal continued until the war broke out between the Afghan *mujāhidīn* and Afghan communists supported by the Soviet army. At this time, the priority of the *daʿwa* of the Islamic University of Medina shifted toward Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent, especially toward the Afghans *mujāhidūn* and Pakistan then ruled by Zia ul-Haq.

Like his father King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Faiṣal established a close relationship with the *ʿulamāʾ*, especially the *muftī* Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh

and his successor Shaykh Ibn Bāz,[17] whom he called, respectively, *wālid* (the father) and *akh* (brother), and all members of the Hay'at Kibār al-'Ulamā' (Council of Higher *'ulamā'*), which had helped him, among other things, to take power. A few anecdotes illustrate the friendly and familiar relations that Faiṣal maintained with the *'ulamā'* of his country and the sympathy that they showed him. When Faiṣal visited the Islamic University of Medina in 1962, he held a speech that displayed a certain modesty (or false modesty?) in its conclusion. He said, in essence, that when he arrived at the university, Shaykh Ibn Bāz, his "brother" and vice president of the university had called Faiṣal the *Amīr al-mu'minīn* (Commander of the Faithful) and other superlatives. But I would like, Faiṣal said, Shaykh Ibn Bāz to accept my following remark: "I'm not on the level of the Muslim *amīr*s and caliphs who preceded me. I would therefore like Shaykh Ibn Bāz and his brothers *'ulamā'* to consider me only a servant of the Muslims and believers (*khādim al-muslimīn wa-l-mu'minīn*). This is a great honor and it is enough." Nevertheless, Shaykh 'Abd al-Muḥsin b. Ḥamad al-'Abbād, who spoke on behalf of the university, used the title 'Imām of the Muslims' when he addressed King Faiṣal.[18]

Another story showing the attachment of King Faiṣal to the Saudi *'ulamā'* and the Islamic University is reported by the former secretary general of the university, Shaykh 'Umar Fallāta. During the summer period of 1972, Shaykh Ibn Bāz, president of the University of Medina, was in the city of Taif. It happened that King Faiṣal was also in the same city at that time. Shaykh Ibn Bāz decided to pay a visit to the king. After the king had received him, he told Shaykh Ibn Bāz that he had just received the president of Cameroon. The king told him that the interpreter of the president of Cameroon was a young Cameroonian who spoke Arabic so very well that he the king was fascinated and asked at the end of the interview where the interpreter had learned Arabic. The interpreter said that he had been educated at the Islamic University of Medina.[19] We see here how the king was pleased with the good political results that the Islamic University could provide.[20]

17 Mufti Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was also the president of the University of Medina, and Ibn Bāz (his student) was the vice president. After the death of the former, the latter became *muftī*.

18 See al-Jāmi'a al-Islāmiyya, *al-Kitāb al-wathā'iqī*, pp. 93–95.

19 Ibid., p. 89.

20 In 2008, while I was doing field research in Saudi Arabia, a secular Saudi official working in a Saudi ministry told me that he did not like the Islamic University of Medina and its *'ulamā'*, whom he found fundamentalist and backward. But he realized that whenever he was on a mission to work outside in a Muslim country in Asia and Africa, if he found someone who spoke Arabic well, whether this was an interpreter or someone else, this

Another story showing the mutual sympathy between the *ʿulamāʾ* and King Faiṣal is the following one told by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Ḥamad al-ʿAbbād in an obituary article he published in *Majallat al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya*[21] after the death of Faiṣal in remembrance of him. In this article, "Kalima li al-tārīkh" (A Word for History), Shaykh ʿAbd al-Muḥsin praised Faiṣal as having been a good king who wanted the unity of Muslims, loved Islam, and wanted to spread it worldwide. He compared Faiṣal's assassination to those of the two caliphs, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī. He then mentioned that king Faiṣal had aspired to die as a *mujāhid* (martyr of Islam). Pray God, wrote Shaykh ʿAbbād, that Faiṣal died as a *mujāhid*. The author notes that in 1968 during the pilgrimage to Mecca, King Faiṣal made a speech in which he mentioned his desire to die as a martyr for the liberation of al-Aqsā Mosque in Jerusalem. In a passage of his speech, Faiṣal said the following, criticizing at the same time Arab nationalist ideology:

> We want an Islamic Renaissance (*nahḍa islāmiyya*) where there will be no nationalism (*qawmiyya*), racism (*ʿunṣuriyya*), or political parties (*ḥizbiyya*), but rather the call to Islam (*daʿwa islāmiyya*), the call to *jihād* (*daʿwa ilā l-jihād fī sabīl Allāh*) to defend our religion and our holy places. And I pray God that He will take my life as a martyr of Islam (*shahīdan fī sabīl Allāh*).

Thus, Faiṣal believed that the struggle for the liberation of Palestine was an issue that would be brought about not by Arab nationalism but rather by pan-Islamism. Here we see that the question of Palestinian liberation had already became the instrument and ideological rallying point for the various political movements among Arabs and Muslims.

The willingness of the Saudi kings to exploit the Islamic University in their foreign policy is also reflected in the fact that since its foundation, each new king has made an official visit to the campus of the university; they did not visit other universities in the country. Faiṣal visited the university on 1 Dhū l-Qaʿda 1384 (1964); his successor Khālid did the same on 02/01/1401 (1980). After the death of King Khālid on 21 Shaʿbān 1402/1981, his successor, King Fahd, followed the kingdom's tradition of strong attachment to the Islamic University of Medina. Already in 1975, King Khālid decreed Fahd (then the crown prince) the first president of the Islamic University (*raʾīs al-aʿlā li al-jāmiʿa al-islāmiyya*). Although this function was much more honorable, Fahd was to preside in person over meetings of the High Council of the University. Fahd went to the

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person was often someone who had studied at the Islamic University of Medina. "For this reason alone," he said, he had changed his negative opinion of this university.

21 *Majallat al-jāmiʿa al-islāmiyya*, no. 28.

university for the first time on 16/7/1397 (1976) to attend the graduation ceremony. In this ceremony, he held a speech in which he affirmed the commitment of Saudi Arabia to support the *daʿwa* work of the university. On 5 Dhū l-Qaʿda 1400, he came again to the Islamic University of Medina to chair the 10th session of the High Council of the University. On 16 Muḥarram 1403/1982, this time as the new king of his country, he visited the Islamic University of Medina. This particular attachment of King Fahd to the Islamic University of Medina is also linked to the state's increasing support for Islam and its institutions. Indeed, King Fahd more than other Saudi kings, manipulated Islam and its symbolism for political legitimacy. For example, he utilized the title of *Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn* (Servant of the Two Holy Sanctuaries) in a formal and official capacity differently than other Saudi kings had. Other titles have been used, for instance *Imām al-Muslimīn* (The Guide of the Muslims), *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* (Commander of the Faithful), etc. Fahd realized the greatest Saudi works of the twentieth century in the expansion and beautification of the two mosques of Mecca and Medina and founded the academy for the Holy Qurʾān (*Majmaʿ al-muṣḥaf al-sharīf*), which distributes thousands of copies of the Qurʾān everywhere for free. The content of the speech that Fahd held at the Islamic University of Medina on 16 Muḥarram 1403/1982 stressed the importance he attached to this university, whose goal was to spread the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya version of Islam (Saudi Arabia's version of Islam) in the world. He also said, "The Muslim World is a strategic continuation of Saudi Arabia" (Innā l-ʿālam al-islāmī huwa ʿumqunā l-istrātījī). As if the university wanted to show that it is in tune with the king on this point, it asked an African doctoral student, the Burkinabé Abūbakr Doukouré, to speak to the king on behalf of the students of the university.

Note that, in his first speech to the Saudis on 3 Shawwāl 1402 after he was named king, King Fahd mentioned this idea that the Muslim world was a strategic extension of Saudi Arabia. In this keynote policy speech, the king recalled what he considered the reason ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had founded the Saudi state, namely, "to establish a state based on the *tawḥīd*, *sharīʿa*, and *daʿwa Salafiyya*. (liyuqīma dawla al-tawḥīd wa-l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya wa al-daʿwa-l-Salafiyya). The king also mentioned in this speech the efforts of his country to create the Organization of Islamic Conference in early 1970. And he said, "This organization and the institutions linked to it constitute the circle in which the Saudi state realizes its Islamic policy. This circle is for us no less important nor less strong than that constituted by the Arab world" (wa hādhihi al-dāʾira . . . lā taqillu ahamiyya aw quwwa ʿan dāʾirat al umma al-ʿarabiyya).[22]

22 al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya, *al-Kitāb al-wathāʾiqī*, p. 121.

Daʿwa in Africa By and With the Africans

To return to the theme of the importance of sub-Saharan Africa for the Islamic University of Medina, it is sufficient to remember that the first mission of *daʿwa* that the university sent abroad was to sub-Saharan Africa. Indeed, in 1964, three years after the establishment of the Islamic University of Medina in 1961, the university, in cooperation with the Muslim World League (Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī) and with the encouragement of King Faiṣal, sent delegations to sub-Saharan Africa. The delegation comprised Muḥammad Nāṣir al-ʿUbūdī, secretary general of the university and head of the delegation, Abū Bakr Jābir b. Mūsā l-Jazāʾirī (often known by the name of Abū Bakr al-Jazaʾirī), lecturer at the university and preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and ʿUmar Muḥammad Fallāta, director of Dār al-Ḥadīth and a teacher at the Prophet's Mosque and secretary rapporteur of the delegation. Since the university would begin offering scholarships to young African Muslims to come to it to study, the delegation was asked to explore some countries of East Africa, South Africa, and Central Africa to assess the needs of the *daʿwa* there, including the number of scholarships that the university should give Muslims in each country of the region. On 4 August 1964, the delegation left Jedda airport for Sudan, the first country visited. Aside from the issue of scholarships to be given, the delegation was responsible for the following tasks: giving Islamic sermons and lectures in mosques and places where Muslims gather; compiling statistics on the number of Muslims in each country and their social, economic, and political influence in their societies; estimating the needs of Muslims in each country visited; distributing Qurʾāns, books, and other writings for *daʿwa*; and distributing the money that the Islamic University and the Muslim World League had given al-ʿUbūdī to help the institutions of *daʿwa* in the countries visited. Recall that when Ibn Bāz, the vice president of the university (the president was the *muftī* Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh), had informed Faiṣal, the latter had given the delegation a large sum of money to distribute. Shaykh Muḥammad Surūr Ṣabbān (a Saudi of African descent), the secretary general of the Muslim World League, which had been established in May 1962, also gave the delegation a large sum of money for the same purpose.

This mission lasted three months and ten days. The delegation visited Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania, and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). When the members of the delegation returned to Saudi Arabia, they found that Faiṣal, who had been viceroy at the time of their departure but had already taken the charge of government affairs, had now been officially appointed king, replacing his brother Saʿūd. The delegation submitted its report to the chairman and vice president of the university,

which in turn gave it to King Faiṣal. He and the ministry of foreign affairs, the ministry of the national education, the secretary general of the Muslim World League, and the *muftī* of the country studied the report. The government subsequently allocated a budget for the appointment of fifty teachers to be sent to the countries visited in Africa. It was decided to send a second delegation to Africa under the chairmanship of the same Nāṣir Muḥammad al-ʿUbūdī. This time he chose a single individual in the person of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥammūd al-Bāḥūth, accounting manager of the Islamic University of Medina. Equipped with a larger sum of money than on the first mission, this time the mission had to fulfill the following tasks: determine areas where teachers should be sent; distribute the money to Islamic institutions and personalities responsible for the *daʿwa*; select students to be offered a scholarship to study at the Islamic University of Medina; and organize their journey to Medina.[23] This second delegation left Medina for Africa on 21 August 1966. This second trip lasted five months in the same countries visited on the first mission, in addition to South Africa and Congo (Kinshasa). The mission distributed money to 320 institutions and gave scholarships to young people from each country visited. It also identified the countries to which the Dār al-Iftāʾ should send missionaries and teachers. Thus, the mission completed the three tasks assigned and continues on this basis to this day.

Aside from its strictly religious aspect, these two missions were the early steps of King Faiṣal's "Islamic diplomacy," called *al-taḍāmun al-islāmī* (Islamic solidarity), vis-à-vis Africa. This Islamic diplomacy aimed primarily to combat the influence of Nasserism in the Arab and Muslim world and to create support for Saudi leadership of the Muslim world. Nāṣir Muḥammad al-ʿUbūdī became an instrumental player in the religious aspect of this Islamic diplomacy of his country. After serving thirteen years as secretary general of the Islamic University of Medina, he was appointed by King Fahd to Riyadh as secretary of the higher institution responsible for the *daʿwa* internationally. After seven years in this position, he was appointed deputy secretary general of the Muslim World League. Given his expertise and experience in office and in the field, some thought that he should be the one to be appointed secretary general of the Muslim World and not ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Al-Turkī. At any rate, King Fahd and the Saudi state recognized his skills, and after his retirement the government decided that he would remain indefinitely in the Muslim World League, even after being replaced by someone else as vice secretary general of the Muslim World League in 2011 (at which point he was 88).

23 Muḥammad Nāṣir al-ʿUbūdī, *Fī Ifrīqiyā l-ḥaḍrāʾ: mushāhadāt wa nṭibāʿāt wa aḥādīth ʿan al-islām wa-l-muslimīn* (Beirut, 1388/1968), pp. 15–18.

It is also important to note the composition of the first mission of Muḥammad Nāṣir al-ʿUbūdī in Africa: Muḥammad Nāṣir al-ʿUbūdī (a Najdī of Burayda), as head of the delegation; ʿUmar Muḥammad Fallāta, a Medinan of northern Nigerian descent; and Abū Bakr al-Jazaʾirī, a Medinan of Algerian descent. Sending two *ʿulamāʾ* of African origin was a way to show that Saudis of African descent are not only included in Saudi society, but also hold positions of great responsibility. This was calculated to flatter the Africans and create a relationship of trust between African Muslims, on the one hand, and the delegation and the Saudi state, on the other hand and to make it clear to the African Muslims, accurately or not, that they share the same destiny and the same objective with the Saudis, namely, the advancement of Islam in Africa.

The same strategy was pursued in 1965 when, in cooperation with the Muslim World League, the Islamic University of Medina sent its first mission to West Africa under the responsibility of Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī (Āb Wuld Ukhtūr). The delegation was to accomplish the same tasks, in short, the same mission as those of Muḥammad Nāṣir al-ʿUbūdī. The only difference was that al-ʿUbūdī's two missions were carried out in an environment more hostile to Islam, namely in countries where Muslims were not only a minority, but were also among the poorest in educational and economic terms. In these countries Muslims were totally absent from the decision-making positions. Seen from this perspective, the two missions of Muḥammad Nāṣir al-ʿUbūdī were more difficult than that of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Shinqīṭī (Āb Wuld Ukhtūr). The mission of the latter was in Muslim-majority countries where Muslims held decision-making positions. The new delegation was composed of the following *ʿulamāʾ*: Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Shinqīṭī (Āb Wuld Ukhtūr), head of the delegation (of Mauritanian descent); Shaykh Muḥammad Amān al-Jāmī (of Ethiopian descent); Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim (of Egyptian descent); and Amīn al-Māmī Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī (of Mauritanian descent). The first three were professors of the Islamic University of Medina, which sent them, and the fourth was sent by the Muslim World League. In the Muslim World League Amīn al-Māmī Jakanī held the function of *murshid al-dīnī* (religious adviser) in the general secretariat and those of *Mufattish al-tadrīs fī l-masjid al-ḥaram* (supervisor of teaching at the ḥaram in Mecca).

The delegation had in fact been sent to Africa by King Faiṣal, like the two delegations led by Muḥammad Nāṣir al-ʿUbūdī, even though it was officially sent by the Islamic University of Medina and the Muslim World League. Moreover, these two institutions were headed by the same person, namely, the *muftī* of the country, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh. He was, indeed, at the same time, president of the Islamic University of Medina and president

of the founding board of the Muslim World League (Rāʾīs al-majlis al-taʾsīsī li rābiṭat al-ʿālam al-islāmī).

The delegation visited Sudan, Nigeria, Dahomey (Benin), Niger, Mali, Senegal, and Mauritania. Nigeria, Mauritania, and Sudan were the three important countries of this mission. The Saudis considered them a springboard to enter sub-Saharan Africa.

Nigeria is important for three reasons. (1) The history of the Sokoto Caliphate in northern Nigeria shows an ancient and still strong presence of Islam there and it was believed that this would give the *daʿwa* a foothold in other neighboring countries. (2) The composition of Mauritania's population—blacks and Arabs/Berbers—made this country a link between North Africa and the Arab world on the one side, and Africa south of the Sahara on the other. The delegation did not mention the difficult question of black Africans and Arabs-Berbers (*bīḍān*) living together in this country, particularly the history of slavery of the *ḥaratīn*. (3) Sudan was the first country the delegation visited, as with the first delegation led by Muḥammad Nāṣir al-ʿUbūd on the previous mission. This is because the Saudi Islamic institutions consider Sudan another country that linked the Arab world and Africa and they hoped it would become a springboard for the diffusion of Islam in Africa. The Arab League and Arab nationalists of all stripes regard Sudan as the springboard for the spread of the Arabic language and culture in Africa south of the Sahara, and with them Arab political influence. It was also hoped that Sudan would become the "breadbasket" of the Arab world, as evidenced by several Arab-initiated agriculture projects, which, however, have so far not achieved their goal.

In Sudan, the delegation was received by the officials of the Maʿhad al-Islāmī (Islamic Institute) of Omdurman, which was founded in 1912. It became the Faculty of Sharīʿa in 1963 and Omdurman Islamic University in 1965. At the time, the first head of the institute was Shaykh al-Majdhūb Mudaththir. The second organization with which the delegation had contacts was the Salafī group Jamāʿat Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, led at that time by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hāshim Hadiyya. This religious movement was the only Sudanese institution that shared the same religious direction (Salafism) with Saudi Arabia. The delegation also met with political and religious men such Ḥasan al-Turābī and Ṣādiq al-Mahdī. The delegation was pleased with these personalities, although they were not Salafī and although they were educated in the western university system, they were very knowledgeable in Islamic religious studies. That was why in his report Shinqīṭī calls them "intellectual people with dual training" (*dhū fikra muzdawaj*). He emphasized in his sermons that state officials must educate and train the younger generation to "intellectual dual training" (*dhū fikra muzdawaj*). He meant they should leverage the knowledge of

the West in technology and administrative material while adhering to Islamic teachings.[24] He preferred these kind of Muslim administrators to the communists, socialists, and Arab nationalists who, at that time, dominated the Sudanese political, social, and cultural scene. Let us recall that both al-ʿUbūdī's and al-Shinqīṭī's missions saw the three perils to the progress of Islam in Africa as Christian missions, communism, and the Ahmadiyya (Qadyāniyya).

At that time, the classic themes of Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya, such as opposing the *mawlid* (celebrations of the birthday of Prophet Muḥammad), the Sufi ceremonies, and other practices of popular Islam that are considered *bidaʿ* (blameworthy innovations) were not highlighted. It was the beginning of the Wahhābiyya *daʿwa* and it was necessary to adopt a low profile and not to offend sensibilities. Thus the only classic Salafī theme that Shinqīṭi addressed in his sermons concerned the names and attributes of God (*al-asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt*) as they are expressed literally in the Qurʾān. This was the approach of the mission, even in Sudan, where the whole program of the mission was changed and led by the Anṣār al-Sunna.

At the end of its mission in Sudan, the delegation made the following proposals:

(1) to appeal to all those who engage in the *daʿwa* in Africa to prioritize Sudan because it represents the "gate and key of Africa" (*li iʿtibārihi ka al-bāb wa-l-miftāḥ li ifrīqyā*); (2) to open an Islamic center (*markaz islāmī*) in Khartoum to be headed by Sudanese graduates of the Islamic University of Medina; (3) to invite Sudanese personalities engaged in the *daʿwa* to the Islamic University of Medina and the Muslim World League for conferences and to work together with them. These would include, for example, al-Ṣādiq al-Mahdī, president of the *umma* party; Ḥasan al-Turābī, chairman of the movement *Jamāʿat al-mīthāq al-islāmī* (Islamic Alliance); Shaykh Majdhūb al-Mudaththir; and Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hāshim al-Hadiyya, head of the Jamāʾat Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya.

After five days in Sudan, the delegation moved on to Nigeria. The delegation was received by the important figures of the Muslim community, namely Ḥāj ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Ilyās, who had built many mosques and contributed to the *daʿwa*, and Shaykh Ādam ʿAbdallāh al-Illori, who was famous especially for his Islamic Center in Ijiji. The delegation met Ḥāj Aḥmad Bello, premier of northern Nigeria, in Jos. Regarding the northern region of the country, the

24 Sayyid al-Amīn al-Māmī l-Jakanī Shinqīṭī, *Lamaḥāt fayṣaliyya min aʿmāl al-daʿwa al-islāmiyya fī l-qārra al-ifrīqiyya* (Mecca: Muʿassasat Makka li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Iʿlām, 1395/1975), p. 54.

delegation proposed to give spiritual and material support to the activities of Aḥmad Bello and Abū Bakr Gūmmī, the president of Jamāʿat Anṣār al-Islām movement. The delegation proposed to support Ḥāj ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Ilyās in the southern region, Ḥāj Ādam ʿAbdallāh Illori in the western region, and the Islamic Center in the eastern region.

Of all the countries visited by the delegation, Mali seemed to be the country where the Wahhābī-Salafi doctrine was already well established. For example, the delegation met two associations active in the Salafiyya *daʿwa*, Jumʿiyya Tanẓīm al-Thaqāfa al-Islāmiyya (lit., Association for the Promotion of Islamic Culture) and Jumʿiyya Ittiḥād al-Thaqāfa al-Islāmiyya (lit., Association of the Islamic Cultural Union). Other Malians often knew these associations by the name of "Wahhābiyya" or "Anṣār al-Sunna." The report notes that in the schools that these two associations directed, the creed (*ʿaqīda*) was taught with Salafī books much more than in Saudi Arabia (wa yudras fīhā min kutub al-ʿaqīda akthar mimā yudras fī l-mamlaka).[25] With regard to disciplines such as *tafsīr* (commentary of the Qurʾān) or *ḥadīth*, they used the same books used in schools and institutes in Saudi Arabia. This shows that the Wahhābī-Salafī doctrine was well-established in the country, whereas in other countries visited by the delegation it was virtually unknown at the time.

In Senegal, the delegation was not well received by the government but was welcomed by the population, especially the guides of the Sufi brotherhoods such as Shaykh Fāḍil Mbacke of Touba, Shaykh Nūr Tall, Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sy, and Shaykh Aḥmad Mbacke. The relations between the Wahhābī *ʿulamāʾ* and the Sufi leaders in Senegal and elsewhere in Africa were at that time tolerant and pragmatic; later, when the Wahhābī-Salafī doctrine began to take root in Africa, these relations deteriorated into hostility.

In Mauritania, for the two Shinqīṭī heads of the delegation, it was like coming back home for the first time after their *hijra* to Arabia. The delegation also visited Kifa, the town where Shaykh Āb Wuld Ukhtūr came from. The delegation was invited to speak with various ministers and finally the head of state, Mukhtār Ould Dada.

In all the countries visited, the delegation proposed to strengthen ties with the country first by granting scholarships to young people to study at the Islamic University of Medina and, second, by occasionally inviting religious and intellectual figures to the Muslim World League in Mecca, and by materially supporting the schools and teachers who worked for the *daʿwa*.

25 Ibid., p. 105.

The High Advisory Board and Administrators of the Islamic University of Medina

As we have just seen, the first statutes of the Islamic University of Medina established a High Advisory Council "of intellectuals and prominent *ʿulamāʾ* (*qādat al-fikr al-islāmī wa ʿulamāʾ al-dīn*). The first session of the High Advisory Council met at the Islamic University of Medina on 22/12/1381 (1961) under the chairmanship of the *muftī* of Saudi Arabia and president of the university, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. Present at this session were the following members of the High Advisory Council: Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm (*muftī* of Saudi Arabia and president of the Islamic University of Medina) who chaired the sessions; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bāz (vice president of the Islamic University of Medina); Shaykh Abū l-Aʿlā l-Maudūdī (head of the Jamāʿa al-Islāmiyya of Pakistan); Shaykh ʿAbd al-Razzāq ʿAfīfī (based in Medina but from the Egyptian Anṣār al-Sunna); Shaykh Ḥasanayn Makhlūf (*muftī* of Egypt); Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-Qalqīlī (*muftī* of Jordan); Shaykh ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-ʿAbbād (professor at the Islamic University of Medina); Shaykh ʿAlī Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nadwī (secretary general of the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ in India); Ustādh ʿAlī l-Ṭanṭāwī (Damascus); Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī (professor at the Islamic University of Medina); Ustādh Muḥammad Bahjat al-Athrī (secretary general of *awqāf* in Iraq and a member of the Arab academy); Shaykh Muḥammad Bahjat al-Bīṭār (from Syria, based in Mecca); Shaykh Muḥammad Dāwūd al-Ghaznāwī (from the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, Lahore); Shaykh Muḥammad Sālim al-Bīḥīnī (Aden, Yemen); Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fāḍil b. ʿAshūr (rector of Zaytūn University and *muftī* of Tunisia); Ustādh Muḥammad al-Mubārak (director of the Faculty of Sharīʿa at the University of Damascus); Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Ṣawwāf (professor at the faculty of Sharīʿa at the Umm al-Qurā University in Mecca and adviser at the education ministry of Saudi Arabia); Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (professor at the Islamic University of Medina); and Shaykh Muḥammad Yūnus Jakarta (rector of the Islamic University of Indonesia).

Sessions of the High Advisory Council

28/Rajab/1383 (1963) with the following personalities: Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm (*muftī* of Saudi Arabia and president of the Islamic University of Medina), chaired the sessions; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bāz (vice president of the Islamic University of Medina); Shaykh Abū l-Aʿlā l-Maudūdī (*amīr* of the Jamāʿa al-Islāmiyya of Pakistan); Ustādh Amīn al-Ḥusayn (*muftī* of Palestine and chairman of the High Arab Forum on Palestine—*Raʾīs al-Hayʿa al-ʿarabiyya al-ʿulyā li Falasṭīn*); Dr. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (rector of the King Saʿūd University in Riyadh); Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-Qalqīlī (*muftī* of Jordan);

Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir Shaybat al-Ḥamd (professor at the Islamic University of Medina); Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī; Ustādh Muḥammad Bahjat al-Athrī; Ustādh Muḥammad al-Mubārak; Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Ṣawwāf; Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī; and Ustādh Muṣṭafā al-Zarqāʾ (professor at the faculty of Sharīʿa at the University of Damascus).

On 3/1/1385 (1965) with the following members: Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bāz (who chaired this session, replacing Shaykh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh); Abū Bakr Gummī (chief judge of northern Nigeria); Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nadwī; Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf; ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd (supervisor at the Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca); Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-Qalqīlī; ʿAbd al-Qādir Shaybat al-Ḥamd; Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī; Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Ashqar; Muḥammad Shafīʿ (*muftī* of Pakistan); Muḥammad al-Mubārak (rector of the faculty of Sharīʿa at the University of Damascus; Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Ṣawwāf; and Muṣṭafā al-Zarqāʾ.

In Shaʿbān 1386 with the following members: Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Bāz (who chaired this session, replacing Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm); Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-Qalqīlī; Dr. Ḥasan al-Turābī (member of the administrative council of the Omdurman Islamic University, Sudan); Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Zarqāʾ; Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Ṣawwāf; Shaykh Abū Bakr Gummī; Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Rabīʿ (director of public education in Medina), replacing the Saudi minister of education; Shaykh Muḥammad Muntaṣir al-Kattānī (professor at the Islamic University of Medina); and Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fāḍil b. ʿAshūr.

On 10 Ṣafar 1389 (1969) with the following members: Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Bāz (who chaired this session, replacing Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm); Shaykh Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf; Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Rabīʿ; Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-Qilqīlī; Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī; Ustādh Muḥammad Bahjat al-Athrī; the Moroccan Muḥammad Taqiyyi al-Dīn al-Hilālī (professor at the Islamic University of Medina); Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fāḍil b. ʿAshūr; Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbdussalām al-Fāsī (president of Qarawiyyīn University, Morocco); Ustādh Muḥammad al-Mubārak; Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Ṣawwāf; Shaykh Muḥammad Yūnus Jakarta (rector of the Islamic University of Indonesia); and Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Zarqāʾ.

On 12 Rabīʿ al-Thānī 1394 (1974) with the following members, most of whom were professors of the new generation and who appeared for the first time in the membership of this high council): Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Bāz (now president of the Islamic University of Medina and president of the High Advisory Council of the university) who presided over the session); Shaykh Abū Bakr Gummī; Shaykh Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf; Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raʿūf al-Labdī (professor at the Islamic University of Medina); Dr. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿAbdallāh al-Fidā

(rector of the King Saʿūd University of Riyadh); Dr. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad ʿĪsā (minister for the affairs of al-Azhar University); Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAqīl (director of Islamic affairs at the ministry of *awqāf* in Kuwait); Shaykh ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. Ḥamad al-ʿAbbād (vice president of the Islamic University of Medina); Dr. Kāmil Muḥammad al-Bāqir (professor at the faculty of education sciences at the University of Riyadh); Dr. Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Miṣrī (director of doctoral studies at Umm al-Qurā University in Mecca); Shaykh Muḥammad Bahjat al-Athrī; Dr. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb b. al-Khūja (director of the faculty of Sharīʿa and *uṣūl al-dīn* at Zaytūna University, Tunisia); Shaykh Muḥammad Hāshim al-Mubārak (advisor at the King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz University in Jedda); and Shaykh Muṣṭafā Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī (director of the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ḥasaniyya in Rabat, Morocco).

On 15/1/1395 (1975) (the seventh and last session of the High Advisory Council) with the following members: Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Bāz (now president of the Islamic University of Medina and president of the High Advisory Council of the university) who presided over the session; Shaykh Abū Bakr Gummī; Shaykh ʿAlī Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nadwī (secretary general of Nadwa al-ʿUlamāʾ at Lucknow, India); Shaykh Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf; Dr. Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥakīm; Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Labdī; Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAqīl; Shaykh ʿAbdallāh Ghūsha (chief judge in Jordan); Dr. Kāmil Muḥammad al-Bāqir; Dr. Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Miṣrī; Shaykh Muḥammad Bahjat al-Athrī; Dr. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb b. al-Khūja; Shaykh Muḥammad Hashim al-Mubārak; Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Ṣawwāf; and Shaykh Muṣṭafā Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī.

The Third and Last Statutes of the Islamic University of Medina

We have seen so far that, under the first two statutes of the Islamic University of Medina, the university had a High Advisory Council that, as its name suggests, was in charge of presenting the High Council of the university with proposals for the development of the university. This High Advisory Council was cancelled with the establishment of the third and final statutes of the university. These new statutes effect a pyramidal organization of the university as indicated, for example, in Article 11. This assumes, indeed, that the University Council (*al-Majlis al-Aʿlā li al-Jāmiʿa*) is at the highest level of all decision-making bodies of the university. Article 13 establishes the membership of the High Council of the university as follows:

1. The first president of the university (i.e., the King), who also chairs the sessions of the High Council.

2. The university president or second president, the *muftī* (at that time Ibn Bāz).
3. The vice president of the university (the active president of the university).
4. A representative of the ministry of public education.
5. The head of the office of scientific research, fatwas, and good guidance.
6. The secretary general of the Muslim World League (Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī).
7. The secretary general of the Islamic University of Medina.
8. The director of doctoral studies at the Islamic University of Medina.
9. A dean (*ʿamīd*) that the High Council of the University shall appoint for a period of three years; this term is non-renewable.
10. Thirty Muslim personalities of international renown (*ʿulamāʾ*, Muslim intellectuals, university rectors, and professors), but ten of them should come from Saudi Arabia. The king of Saudi Arabia appoints these persons for a renewable term of three years following a proposal by the university president. They should also come from various parts of the Muslim world.

On 29/9/1395(1975), a royal decree (No. 1/233) announced the personalities who would make up the High Council of the university:

1. Shaykh Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nadwī (Secretary General of Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ, Lucknow, India); 2. Dr. Kāmil Muḥammad al-Bāqir (rector of Omdurman Islamic University, Sudan); 3. Shaykh Muṣṭafā Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī (rector of the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ḥasaniyya in Rabat, Morocco); 4. Dr. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥabīb b. al-Khūja (dean of the Faculty of *sharīʿa* and *uṣūl al-dīn* of Zaytūn University, Tunisia); 5. The rector of al-Azhar; 6. Dr. Aḥmad ʿUbayd al-Kubaysī (professor of *sharīʿa* in the University of Baghdad); 7. Shaykh ʿAbdallāh Ghūsha (chief judge in Jordan); 8. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (a well known Egyptian scholar and an important member of the Muslim Brotherhood); 9. Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (a well-known Syrian *ʿālim*); 10. Dr. Yūsuf al-Qaraḍawī; 11. The rector of the University of Riyadh; 12. The rector of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz University; and 13. Shaykh Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥaṣīn.

Three years later, in accordance the statutes, the High Council was renewed by royal decree (No. Ĩ/53) with the following new members:

1. Dr. Adīb Ṣāliḥ; 2. Shaykh Yūsuf Jāsim al-Ḥajjī; 3. Ustādh Muḥammad Quṭb (Saudi Arabia/Egypt); 4. Dr. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Harrās; 5. Shaykh Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nadwī (India); 6. Dr. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī (Saudi Arabia); 7. Dr. ʿAbd al-Karīm Zaydān; 8. Ustādh Mandūr al-Mahdī; 9. Shaykh Muṣṭafā

l-Turāzī; 10. Shaykh Abū Bakr Gumi; 11. Shaykh Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥaṣīn; and 12. Dr. Bakr ʿAbdallāh Bakr.

The twelve-person membership of the High Council has been renewed three times, each time by a royal decree for a period of three years: 7/1/1402(1981); 24/11/1405 (1984); 8/9/1408(1987).

What can the Names Mentioned Above Teach Us?

Remember that from the outset the Islamic University and the Saudi State wanted the members who were to sit on the High Advisory Council of the University (al-Majlis al-Aʿlā l-Istishārī li al-Jāmiʿa) and on the High Council of the Islamic University (al-Majlis al-Aʿlā li al-Jāmiʿa) to be well-known scholars and Muslim intellectuals. But if we look closer, we realize that the *ʿulamāʾ* and intellectuals in question were either of the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya movement (or of other Salafī tendencies like the Indian Ahl al-Ḥadīth), of the Muslim Brotherhood movement (al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn), or of the Ṣaḥwī movement (an Islamic revival movement that is a kind of mixture of the previous two movements). The figures representing the three movements who were members of the High Council of the university one or more times include: Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī[26] of the Ṣaḥwa movement; Muḥammad Quṭb (the brother of Sayyid Quṭb), who taught at Umm al-Qura University in Mecca; Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī and Ḥasan al-Turabī, both of the Ikhwān al-Muslimīn movement; and the Syrian Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī[27] of the Salafiyya movement. Some of these individuals have served on almost every session of the two High Councils of the university. This is the case, for example, of the Indian Salafī Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nadwī.[28] The university and the Saudi state showed good balance in appointing to the High Council of the university *ʿulamāʾ* and intellectuals close to Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya movement. In addition, they tried to ensure that Muslims from each continent could have a "representative" among the members of the High Council of the university. But ultimately the majority of the members of the High Council came from the Arab world. The non-Arabs were Abū Bakr Gumi (northern Nigeria), Muḥammad Yūnus Jakarta (Indonesia), and three figures from South Asia: the Pakistani Mawdūdī (founder of Jamāʿat Islāmī), Dāwūd al-Ghaznāwī (a leader of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth, Lahore), and ʿAlī Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nadwī (Secretary General of Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ, India).

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26 See, among others, Bettina Gräf and Jakob Skovgaad-Petersen, eds. *The Global Mufti: The Phenomenon of Yusuf al-Qaradawi* (London: Hurst, 2009).

27 See, among others, Stéphan Lacroix, "Al-Albani's Revolutionary Approch to Hadith," *ISIM Review* 21 (Spring 2008), pp. 6–7.

28 See, among others, Hartung, *Viele Wege und ein Ziel*.

The daʿwa Policy of the Islamic University of Medina and the Saudi State as it Appears in Majallat al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya (*Islamic University Magazine*)

Among the *ʿulamāʾ* who are the subject of this book, some wrote in the university journal, the *Majallat al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya*. This is the case of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī (Āb Wuld Ukhtūr) and Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, from Mauritania and Mali respectively. Some of their former students also wrote for this journal, namely Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim (of Egyptian origin), who was a student and disciple of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī; Shaykh ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-ʿAbbād, who was a student of Shaykh al-Ifrīqī at the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī and at the Faculty of Sharīʿa Studies (*Kulliyat al-sharīʿa*) as well as in the mosque of *muftī* Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. Shaykh ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-ʿAbbād became one of the famous *ʿulamāʾ* of Saudi Arabia. He was, in various periods, a professor, vice president, and president of the Islamic University of Medina. After his retirement, he continued to teach in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. In 2008, while doing research in Medina, I noticed that his study circle (*ḥalqa*) after the *maghrib* prayer in the Mosque of the Prophet was one of the most important among the study circles. About one hundred students from different backgrounds, ages, and ethnic origins formed his *ḥalqa* and listened to his words carefully. Shaykh ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-ʿAbbād was a good friend of Shaykh ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Fallāta (another student of Shaykh al-Ifrīqī and a longtime secretary general of the Islamic University of Medina).[29]

Other African *ʿulamāʾ*, these from North Africa, also wrote for this journal. The best known of them were Abū Bakr al-Jazāʾirī and the Moroccan Shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī. These two were also friends of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī, Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī, and Shaykh ʿUmar Muḥammad Fallāta. There was a special bond between the scholars from West Africa and those from North Africa. This link stems, it seems, from their common cultural heritage. They were educated and/or trained in Africa in the same books of Malikī *fiqh* and in the same Ashʿarī theological tradition. They grew up in the same

29 After the death of Shaykh ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Fallāta, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-ʿAbbād gave a lecture at the Islamic University of Medina in tribute to his late friend. The conference was entitled al-Shaykh ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Fallāta (raḥimahu Allāh) kamā ʿariftuhu [Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta as I have known him]. This conference was then published (Dammām, Saudi Arabia: Dār Ibn al-Qayyum li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ). ʿUmar Fallāta had also held a conference at the Islamic University of Medina (on 13.04.1398/1977) in tribute to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, as noted earlier. See Fallāta, *Lamahāt ʿan al-madīnat al-nabawiyya*, pp. 201–240 and *Majallat al-Jāmiʿa al-islāmiyya*.

atmosphere of Sufi orders before they settled in Saudi Arabia and converted to Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya. Some were affiliated with an order. This was the case of Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī, who was Tijānī before becoming Salafī.[30]

Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī is also interesting because during each of his two periods of *ḥajj*, that is to say in 1920 and 1926, he came into conflict with *ʿulamāʾ* who came from West Africa, had settled in Mecca and Medina, and enjoyed a good reputation in both cities. These were "the Malian" Alfā Hāshim and "the Mauritanian" Lḥabīb b. Māyābā. Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī considered them to be Sufi and anti-Salafī.

Shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī (d. 1407/1987)

The character and the career of Shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī (d. 1407/1987) are both atypical. As an individual, he was ambitious, full of his own knowledge and intelligence, and proud to have traveled in many countries, especially in Europe, and to have earned the title of doctor. He knew at least four European languages and had studied in Europe as well as in the Maghrib and the Mashriq. He had also studied with Indian scholars. For these reasons he had a global vision of the world. He well understood the system of international politics in which he was an actor and in this sense, he was very modern. But the version of Islam he defended was very narrow and he was very adamant in his positions, especially in his understanding of the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya doctrine. This is

30 He says this himself in his book *al-Daʿwat ilā Allāh*. I found this book and made a copy of it in the library of Shaykh ʿUmar Muḥammad Fallāta, a library given as *waqf* to the Library of Dār al-Ḥadīth. In the introduction, Shaykh Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī writes that some of his friends urged him to write this part of his autobiography, which includes only the period between 1340/1921 and 1391/1971, and only in respect of his *daʿwa* activities during his various travels. The other part concerning the *daʿwa* but more specifically political events and the difficulties he encountered, he writes, will appear in a separate book he plans to write later. He also writes in this introduction that he has also written a book entitled *al-Hadiyyat al-hādiyat ilā al-ṭāʾifat at-Tijāniyya* [The gift that saves offered to the Tijāniyya]. Shaykh Ibn Bāz, the *muftī* of Saudi Arabia, al-Hilālī writes, had ordered that 10,000 copies of this book should be edited for distribution. Recall that Ibn Bāz had done the same for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī's book on the Tijāniyya entitled *al-Anwār al-raḥmāniyya li hidāyat al-firqa al-Tijāniyya*. Second and third editions of this book were published. I consulted the third edition (Medina: Maṭbaʿat al-Daʿwa, 1389/1969).

reflected in the biographies written about him[31] and in his autobiography, in which he speaks about himself boastfully.

Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī was born in Morocco in a small village named Fayḍa (also known as Farkh), not far from Marrakesh. Taqī l-Dīn informs us that the al-Hilālī family had come in the sixteenth century from Qairouan, Tunisia and settled in this part of Morocco. The majority of the people in his village were illiterate Berbers and the scholars of the village (and some judges) came from the al-Hilālī family. Coming from a Berber-dominated environment but from an Arab family of *ʿulamāʾ* may have contributed to Taqī l-Dīn's understanding of the importance of his mastery of the Arabic language and its literature. His family adhered to Sufi traditions like other villagers and he naturally grew up in this tradition. At the age of twenty-two, he left his village and went to Algeria to find a job. There, he says, he saw the Prophet Muḥammad (he does not specify whether in dreams or in a waking state), who ordered him to join the Tijāniyya order.[32] It is generally understood that receiving a command from the Prophet (in dreams or awake) is a gift from God (the Tijānīs believe that this happens through the intermediary of Aḥmad al-Tijānī) given to the disciple (*murīd*) who is advanced in the *ṭarīqa*. Some time later, al-Hilālī saw the Prophet again, this time recommending that he learn the exoteric Islamic sciences (*ʿilm al-ẓāhir*). From there he traveled to the interior of Morocco (including Marrakesh and Fez) to learn from various *ʿulamāʾ*. Much later, he left the Tijāniyya order. In his autobiography, he writes[33] that he explained why he left the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa* in another book, *al-Hadiyyat al-hādiya ilā al-ṭāʾifat al-Tijāniyya* (The gift that saves, offered to the Tijānī), one which Shaykh Ibn Bāz had ordered to be edited. In fact 10,000 examples of the book were edited for free distribution to Muslims. Al-Hilālī wrote in his autobiography,

> After leaving the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa* and entering the *ṭarīqa al-ḥanafiyya*,[34] I went to Egypt, where I met the *imām* of the *daʿwa* at that time, namely Sayyid Rāshid Riḍā. I also met several other missionaries of the Salafiyya in Egypt, such as Shaykh Muḥammad al-Rāmmālī in Cairo, Shaykh Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān on his farm between Alexandria and Damanhūr, Shaykh

31 al-Hilālī, *al-Daʿwat ilā Allāh*; al-Majdhūb, *ʿUlamāʾ wa mufakkirūn ʿaraftuhum*.

32 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 194.

33 al-Hilālī, *al-Daʿwat ilā Allāh*, p. 7.

34 This is to say that his *ṭarīqa* is simply the Islam which the Prophet Ibrāhīm followed in accordance with the following verse: "… so follow Abraham's religion: he had true faith and was never an idolater" (Fa atabiʿū millata Ibrāhīma ḥanīfan wa mā kāna mina al-mushrikīn), (Qurʾān, 3:95).

> ʿAbd al- Ẓāhir Abū l-Samḥ, Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Zayd in Damanhūr, Shaykh Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī in Cairo, Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ḥamza in Kafr ʿĀmir, and Shaykh Al-Ilmāʿī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khūlī in Cairo.[35]

That was in 1917. He began, alongside his Egyptian hosts, to spread the Salafiyya *daʿwa* in Egypt by delivering sermons and teaching in mosques and Islamic schools directed by the Egyptian Salafī. In his autobiography, he relates the effect of his talents in teaching and preaching. He also mentions a letter he received in Morocco, sent to him around 1947 by Ḥasan al-Bannā, the founder of the Ikhwān al-Muslimūn (Muslim Brothers) in which al-Bannā asked him to find someone in the Maghrib who could be the correspondent for the journal *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*. Taqī l-Dīn proposed himself and became the paper's correspondent in North Africa, from where he sent his articles under a pseudonym to Cairo. He also began writing for *Ḥurrıyya*, a newspaper of the Ḥizb al-Iṣlāḥ al-Waṭanī (National Reform Party) in Morocco. Al-Hilālī had come to Cairo with his younger brother Muḥammad al-ʿArabī l-Hilālī. Though in outlining his travels, al-Hilālī mentions his brother only one or two times, he traveled with him at least from the Maghrib to Mecca and Medina via Egypt.

Al-Hilālī said his aim was to learn the Islamic sciences and especially the science of *ḥadīth*s and also to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥajj*). The financial resources that he brought from Morocco were very limited, so other Moroccans who had settled in Egypt (among them Tijānī) and the Egyptian Salafī gave him money. But this was not enough to live on, much less to perform the pilgrimage. A former student of al-Azhar named Shaykh Muḥammad al-Kharshī l-Shinqīṭī (a Moor, as his name suggests) advised him to go to Upper Egypt to teach and to give sermons in the mosques, because the Egyptian peasants, who were pious and generous, felt obliged to support preachers and many Azhari students of foreign origin preach in villages.[36] So al-Hilālī went to do the Salafiyya *daʿwa* in some villages in Upper Egypt in the hope of earning the money that would allow him to go on the *ḥajj*. He was very successful, he said, in the village of al-Rīrmūn.[37] After a few months in this village, where he said he was able to convert many people from Sufism to Salafism, he left Egypt to the Hijaz, then to India and to Iraq.

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35 al-Hilālī, *al-Daʿwat ilā Allāh*, p. 7.

36 Ibid., pp. 12–15.

37 Ibid., chapter entitled "al-Daʿwat ilā Allāh fī al-aṣʿīd" [The daʿwa in Upper Egypt], pp. 16–29.

The First ḥajj of Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī

Al-Hilālī wrote that when the Shaykh of al-Rirmūn village in Upper Egypt offered him the sum of 13 dinars as a gift,[38] he knew right away that he could leave to perform the pilgrimage. He went on *ḥajj* in 1341/1922 with a group of friends, including Salafīs of al-Rirmūn village. Initially, he had wanted to continue his studies in the science of *ḥadīth*s at al-Azhar, but he came to believe that the quality of the education he could receive there was inadequate and that he would be better served to go to India and learn from the Ahl al-Ḥadīth. It was, indeed, among the latter that research, study, teaching, and book publishing of this science had spread throughout the Muslim world since the nineteenth century. According to al-Hilālī, Rashīd Riḍā stated that, had it not been for the effort of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth of India, the science of *ḥadīth*s would already have been lost. After the *ḥajj*, al-Hilālī went to India. In his account[39] of his first pilgrimage to Mecca, he mentions in passing two issues that seem important to mention: (1) The dangers posed at that time by the Mecca-Medina road, which was infested by Bedouins tribes who robbed and killed the pilgrims, and (2) the position of weakness in which he found the Salafī in the Hijaz.

Al-Hilālī wrote that the tyranny exercised over the pilgrims by the Bedouins surrounding this road was such that often they forced the pilgrims to stop for days in their villages. The pilgrims were allowed to leave the villages only when they had purchased everything the villagers had for sale; if anyone refused to buy what the Bedouins wanted to sell, they would not hesitate to rob and kill him. To counter this danger, each year at the beginning of the pilgrimage Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca used to take into custody a young man from each tribe. If the members of the young prisoner's tribe did not terrorize the pilgrims, Sharīf Ḥusayn gave them back their young man, if not he kept him in custody. Despite this, al-Hilālī wrote, the Bedouins did not change their habits.

In the Hijaz, al-Hilālī reported that he found the Salafīs, in 1922, more lost than orphans (*aḍyaʿ mina al-aytām*). At that time the people of Najd, al-Hilālī wrote, were even forbidden to perform the *ḥajj*. The third category of Salafī who suffered, according to al-Hilālī, was the non-Arab foreign Salafīs. He says that when the non-Salafī scholars discovered that Indonesian pilgrims had become Salafī, they reported it to King Ḥusayn, who ordered these *ʿulamāʾ* to call on the Indonesian pilgrims to repent, that is, to reject the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya doctrine (*fa amara al-malik bi istitābihim*). The *ʿulamāʾ* gathered the Indonesian pilgrims and ordered them to repent (*tawba*) and reject Salafism. Among these *ʿulamāʾ* was Shaykh Lḥabīb Allāh b. Māyābā l-Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī

38 Ibid., p. 26.

39 Ibid., pp. 120–126.

(the brother of the anti-Tijānī Shaykh al-Khiḍr b. Māyābā l-Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī[40]). During this time, al-Hilālī wrote that he had hidden himself away with the Maghribin with whom he lived; otherwise they would have forced him to reject Salafism. After the *ḥajj*, al-Hilāl quickly left the Hijaz.

Dispute (*Munāẓara*) *between a Salafī Shaykh and a non-Salafī Shaykh*

In the same vein, al-Hilālī tells the story of his encounter with Shaykh Lḥabīb Allāh b. Māyābā l-Jakanī l-Shinqīṭī. This shaykh taught courses in the Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca, where al-Hilālī went to see him one day. A dispute (*munāẓara*) started between the two about the true meaning of the *tawḥīd* (the oneness of God) and the obligation to conform only to the *sunna* of the Prophet (*itbāʿ al-sunna*). Lḥabīb b. Māyābā added, addressing al-Hilālī,

> You Wahhābī, you are of three kinds. 1. Those of Najd, and these are non-Muslims (*kuffār*). Between us and them is [a gap] like that between Muslims on one side and Jews and Christians on the other. 2. Those of Syria (Shām) and Egypt (and you're part of them) are lost people (*ḍallāl*). 3. As for those from India, they are wrong (*mukhṭiʾūn*).

Then, when al-Hilālī asked him to explain in greater detail what distinguishes these three categories from each other, Lḥabīb b. Māyābā answered,

> The Wahhābī of Najd, in my view, are non-Muslims (*kuffār*) because they say their God is in heaven. The Wahhābiyya of Syria (Shām) and Egypt are lost (*ḍallāl*) because they call for *ijtihād* (individual effort of interpretation

40 He is the author of the famous anti-Tījānī pamphlet *Mushtahā l-khārif al-jānī*. In the early twentieth century, after the French colonization of Mauritania, al-khiḍr b. Māyāba and a group of people who did not want to live under the power of non-Muslims chose to make the *hijra* (emigration) to the East. After a stay in Morocco, they left for the Ḥaramayn in the Hijaz. al-khiḍr b. Māyāba left Medina (where he was the Mālikī *muftī*) in 1926 and moved to Jordan when Ibn Saʿūd conquered the Hijaz. That is also to say that he was not Wahhābī. He became *muftī* in Jordan, where some of his children subsequently held positions of state. He died in 1935. See Abdel Wedoud Ould Cheikh, "Les perles et le soufre. Une polémique mauritanienne autour de la Tijāniyya (1830–1935)" in J.-L. Triaud and D. Robinson (eds.), *La Tijāniyya. Une confrérie musulmane à la conquête de l'Afrique* (Paris: Karthala, 2000), pp. 125–163; see also in the same book the following two contributions: Ousmane Kane "Muhammad Niasse (1881–1956) et sa réplique contre le pamphlet anti-tijânî de Ibn Mayaba," pp. 219–235; and J.-L. Triaud "La Tijâniyya, voie infaillible ou voie soufie inventée. Autour du pamphlet anti-tijânî d'Ibrâhîm al-Qattân," pp. 165–199.

> of the fundamental sources of Islam). And calling for *ijtihād* is a destruction (*ḍalāl*), although this is not the same as being non-Muslim (*kufr*). In fact, I am not personally for a mere imitation of the ancients (*taqlīd makhḍ*), but rather for a middle position (*manzila bayna al-manzilatayn*).

As a missionary not afraid of entering into debate, al-Hilālī wanted to correct these statements of his opponent. And he said,

> All the Salafīs of Egypt, Syria (Shām), North Africa, and India say and believe strongly that God is in heaven and sits well on his throne. They believe in *bidūn tashbīḥ wa-lā tamthīl wa-lā taʾwīl wa-lā taʿṭīl* (lit., without imitation, without interpretation, and without exaggeration). And there are many pieces of scriptural evidence for this and you know them well. What you call *ijtihād*, we call *ittibāʿ* (to comply with scriptural evidence, to follow the text). On this, the three categories you just mentioned are in agreement. Except that the people of Najd follow the Ḥanbalī *madhhab* (legal school) in its *furūʿ* (sing. *farʿ*), while the rest of us follow the Ḥanbalī *madhhab* in its *uṣūl*.

Then al-Hilālī asked Lḥabīb b. Māyābā why he was indulgent toward the Salafīs of India by considering them only people who are making a mistake (*mukhṭiʾūn*) and not people who are lost (*ḍallāl*) like those of Syria and Egypt or non-Muslims (*kuffār*) like those of Najd. Because, Lḥabīb b. Māyābā replied, those of India visit, after all, the tomb of the Prophet. "What do you mean by visiting the tomb of the Prophet (*ziyārat qabr al-nabī*)," al-Hilālī asked? Do you mean greeting the Prophet in his Mosque (*al-salām*), or in front of his former room (*ḥujra*), or do you mean to pack up and go to visit the three mosques (*shadd al-riḥāl*)?[41] And the Shinqīṭī shaykh said that he meant all of them together. "I told him," al-Hilālī wrote,

> the Salafī of India are also against the practice of traveling to visit mosques other than the three mentioned in the *ḥadīth* (*shadd al-riḥāl*). Here, the contradiction of his argument appears. But I did not know until then the reason for this contradiction. I was going to find it out later.

41 Referring to a well-known *ḥadīth* often cited by Salafī Wahhābī people on the issue of the ban on visiting graves: "Lā tushaddu al-riḥāl illā li-thalāthat masājid . . ." [We should pack up to visit only three mosques: the two great mosques of the two *ḥaram*] (i.e., Mecca and Medina and the mosque of Jerusalem).

According to al-Hilālī, the reason for Lḥabīb b. Māyābā's more accommodating view of Indian Salafīs was Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Dihlāwī, an important trader and Salafī from India who was one of his benefactors. Clearly there was animosity between al-Hilālī and Lḥabīb b. Māyābā. The reason seems straightforward: al-Hilālī criticized Lḥabīb b. Māyābā for following a non-Salafī version of Islam, but recognized in him the quality of a scholar. Lḥabīb b. Māyābā, for his part, rejected the Salafiyya as false, and did not recognize al-Hilālī as an accomplished scholar.

Al-Hilālī wrote that, in his religious pronouncements, Lḥabīb b. Māyāba followed only his whims (*kāna yatbaʿ hawāh*), and whims make someone blind and deaf (*yaṣummu wa yuʿmī*). Al-Hilālī gave the following examples: When Lḥabīb b. Māyābā was in the Hijaz, he used to say that cutting one's beard is forbidden by Islam (*ḥarām*), but when he established himself in Egypt and became a teacher at al-Azhar, he said then that cutting one's beard was only wrong (*makrūh*). When he was asked why he had changed his opinion, he replied that most *ʿulamāʾ* in Egypt cut their beards. He could not therefore blame them.

The other example of the whims of Lḥabīb b. Māyābā relates to his position when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd conquered the Hijaz. Whereas before he had criticized ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the Wahhābī, and the people of Najd, after their success he began to flatter them. But King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was not fooled. One day in Mecca, al-Hilālī wrote, when Lḥabīb b. Māyābā and others were talking with King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the latter started to speak on the topic of *tawḥīd*. When Lḥabīb b. Māyābā wanted to contradict the king, the king grew so angry that Lḥabīb b. Māyābā was afraid and thought that Ibn Saʿūd would kill him. He knelt down before Ibn Saʿūd and asked for forgiveness. But, al-Hīlālī notes, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was not a tyrant. If he became angry toward someone, he never took harsh measures against him. He had never ordered anyone's death in anger. But Lḥabīb b. Māyābā was so frightened that he immediately went home, took his wife, and left Mecca for Medina. There, he left his wife with his brother, Shaykh al-Khiḍr b. Māyābā and fled to Cairo. Until Ibn Saʿūd took the Hijaz, Shaykh al-Khiḍr b. Māyāba had been the *muftī* of the Malikī *madhhab* in Medina. After the conquest of the Hijaz by Ibn Saʿūd he left Medina to Jordan. Clearly there was no agreement between the two Māyābā brothers, on the one hand, and Ibn Saʿūd on the other. The brothers wanted to remain faithful to Sharīf Ḥusayn (and his children), as he was their benefactor and had offered them good jobs among *ʿulamāʾ* of the Hijaz. They did not want to comply with the orders of the new regime, and so they left the country. Shaykh al-Khiḍr b. Māyāba followed the Ashrāf to Jordan, where he became the *muftī* of the country.

At that time, relations between Egypt and Saudi Arabia had deteriorated over the issue of the *maḥmal*, the wooden statue that was paraded through the streets of Cairo for three days every year during the period of the *ḥajj*, in the belief that people who saw it or touched it would receive divine grace (*baraka*). Then, the Egyptian delegation led it (the *maḥmal*) to Mecca. In Jedda, people gathered on the streets and on the road to Mecca to see and touch the *maḥmal*, which was brought with the cloth that covers the Kaʿba each year. King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz did not want to see people engaged in such worship of the *maḥmal*, so he asked the Egyptian delegation to stop bringing it to Mecca, to leave it in Jedda when they arrived there, and to take it back when they returned to Cairo after the *ḥajj*. The Egyptian delegation rejected the proposal, and the relationship between the two countries subsequently deteriorated. King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz then acquired a factory from India to make the cloth covering the Kaʿba. And until now it is made in Mecca.

Lḥabīb b. Māyābā, according to al-Hilālī, took the opportunity of this conflict between the two countries to improve his situation in Egypt. He went to the Egyptian authorities, said al-Hilālī, to complain about his difficulties with King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, though in reality, says al-Hilālī, nothing serious had happened. The Egyptian authorities appointed Lḥabīb b. Māyābā as teacher at al-Azhar.

Travel to India

Al-Hilālī took a boat from Jedda to Bombay and from there he went to Delhi with a letter given to him by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Dihlāwī, who recommended him to his uncle, al-Ḥāj ʿAbd al-Ghaffār. When al-Hilālī arrived in Delhi, he was welcomed and given a place to stay. In Delhi, al-Hilālī also met Nawāb Ṣadr al-Dīn, coordinator of affairs in the Madrasat ʿAlī Khan. Al-Hilālī was surprised that the latter spoke Arabic very well, as, according to him, Indian *ḥadīth* specialists who could speak Arabic well were very rare. Nawāb Ṣadr al-Dīn advised him to stay initially in Delhi for one year in order to learn Urdu and earn money. Only after that could he travel around the country to meet Indian *ḥadīth* specialists wherever he could find them. Nawāb Ṣadr al-Dīn hired him as a teacher of Arabic in his school, in the belief that it would benefit the students of the *madrasa* who were accustomed to studying the Islamic sciences, and even Arabic literature, in Urdu translations.

Al-Hilālī accepted the proposal and began to teach Arabic in the *madrasa*, but as often happened, he became embroiled in a controversy, this time with an instructor, Mawlana ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nakrāmī, who taught Arabic literature along with al-Hilālī. Nakrāmī apparently used to say that al-Hilālī did not know much about Islamic sciences and that all Arabs were ignorant, with the

exception of those who lived during the period of the Prophet Muḥammad and the three generations after him (the *salaf al-ṣāliḥ*).

Al-Hilālī taught for six months in the *madrasa*; then in the month of Ramadan (when the schools of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth are closed for holiday), al-Hilālī began his grand tour of India to study the sciences of *ḥadīth*s. From the monthly salary he received from the *madrasa*, he was able to make this trip. He went to Lucknow first, where he was received by Shaykh Muḥammad b. Muḥsin al-Yamanī l-Anṣārī, with whom he studied some parts of the six major books of *ḥadīth*. After receiving the *ijāza*,[42] he went to Benares, where he was received by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Ḥarīrī, a graduate of Aligarh University. The latter invited him to stay in Benares to teach in his *madrasa*. He promised him a better salary than the one he received in Delhi and a good house. Al-Hilālī accepted the proposal and promised to return after his grand tour of India. He traveled on to the town of Mau, then Mubārakpūr, where he met Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Mubārakpūrī, with whom, for some time, he learned some parts of the main works of the science of *ḥadīth*. He then went to Aʿẓamgarh, where was hosted by Sayyid Sulaymān al-Nadwī, one of the most famous Indian *ʿulamāʾ* at that time. The latter led two important Islamic institutions, namely the Dār al-Muṣannifīn, a publisher of Islamic books that he founded, and the Kulliyyat Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ. According to al-Hilālī, the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ was founded in 1908 by thirty *ʿulamāʾ* to train *ʿulamāʾ* (of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*), who would then do *daʿwa*. At the time of al-Hilalī's stay, Sayyid Sulaymān al-Nadwī led this institution, assisted by his deputy Dr. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī l-Nadwī. Al-Hilālī notes in passing that in 1390/1970, when he was writing his autobiography in Medina, his pupil Ustādh Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī l-Nadwī and the brother of Dr. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī l-Nadwī, was the director of the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ.

Al-Hilālī went from Aʿẓamgarh to Bahriya, where he was received by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Farāhī. The latter suggested that al-Hilālī stay and teach in his *madrasa*, but al-Hilālī declined the proposal because he had already promised Shaykh ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Ḥarīrī of Benares to return and teach there. Al-Hilālī went to Calcutta, where he was received by Abū l-Kalām Azād, with whom he stayed for fifteen days. While there, he published three articles on the Berbers of North Africa in an Arab newspaper that his host edited. Al-Hilālī wrote,

42 An *ijāza* is a certificate attesting that someone has learned a particular science in a particular book with a particular shaykh; it authorizes the holder of the certificate to convey what he learned from the shaykh. The document is sometimes also the string of names of the teachers who passed this knowledge to the holder of the certificate. This string is called a *sanad* or *isnād*.

among other things, that the original people of North Africa were the Berbers; the Arabs went to North Africa in the period of the first Islamic conquest and during the sixth/fourteenth century, as Ibn Khaldūn and others wrote in regard to the Banū Hilāl and Banū ʿĀmir. Al-Hilālī wrote:

> The Arabs who arrived in North Africa were a small number compared to the vast majority of the Berbers they found there. But Islam united them all into one community . . . Over time the Arabic language spread in this region, so that the majority of the inhabitants of the cities began to speak that language. For this reason we can call them Arabized (*ʿarab mustaʿriba*). However, half of the population still speaks the Berber language. But speaking Arabic was not difficult for the Berbers, because they came originally from the Arabic Peninsula before the coming of Islam.[43]

It should be noted that many Berbers and Tuaregs, in particular the *ʿulamāʾ* among them, claim that their ancestors came from the Arabian Peninsula.

After this stopover in Calcutta, al-Hilālī returned to Benares and stayed with Shaykh ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Ḥarīrī; he taught in the *madrasa* of this shaykh for three months. He then made a brief stay in Lucknow, followed by Bhopal, where the princely family of the city received him. After about twenty days, the anti-Salafī faction of the city forced him to leave. He returned to Lucknow and Delhi and then to Bombay, where he made plans to return to North Africa by way of Iraq, Syria, and Egypt.

Travel to Iraq

At the time of al-Hilālī's visit, the British dominated Iraq and were in conflict with the Ottomans over the city of Mosul. Given this, the British restricted entrance to Iraq to those who supported its efforts. Al-Hilālī, a vehement anti-colonialist, was able to enter Iraq with forged documents obtained from a notable Iraqi named Shaykh Muṣṭafā Āl Ibrāhīm, whom he met in India. Shaykh Muṣṭafā Āl Ibrāhīm worked in the pearl trade together with his uncle Shaykh Qāsimī Āl Ibrāhīm and they maintained homes in India and Iraq. Shaykh Muṣṭafā Āl Ibrāhīm later became the benefactor of al-Hilālī. When the boat that brought them back to Iraq arrived at the Shatt al-Arab, al-Hilālī and Muṣṭafā Āl Ibrāhīm disembarked and went to the village al-Dawra, where al-Hilālī lived in the house of his host, who was also a well to do farmer who employed a number of villagers to work his land. Muṣṭafā Āl Ibrāhīm appointed al-Hilālī *imām* of the mosque and of the village *madrasa* and gave him a monthly salary. Al-Hilālī

43 al-Hilālī, *al-Daʿwat ilā Allāh*, p. 141.

soon found himself in conflict with an uncle of his host who did not agree with the Salafī teaching that the Moroccan was spreading in the village. In 1343/1924 al-Hilālī was also involved in disputes (*munāẓara*) with the Twelver Shīʿa *ʿulamāʾ* of the village. In Iraq, al-Hilālī married the daughter of Shaykh Shinqīṭī.[44] In 1926, he and Shaykh Muṣṭafā Āl Ibrāhīm decided to go to the *ḥajj* via Cairo.

The Second ḥajj of al-Hilālī and His First Collaboration with King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's Regime (1345–46/1926–27)

Here again, we see the importance of al-Hilālī's autobiography, in the sense that it gives us information on the political situation in the Muslim world at that time, especially in regard to Morocco, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. Al-Hilālī's autobiography also reveals the nature of the networks of Salafī *ʿulamāʾ* who had mobilized themselves to support the political and religious project of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

In Cairo (en route to the Hijaz), al-Hilālī met Sayyid Rashīd Riḍā,[45] who wrote to King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to inform him of al-Hilālī's impending arrival and to recommend that King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz welcome him. According to al-Hilālī, Rashīd Riḍā wrote in his letter to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, among other things, "Muḥammad Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī is better than all the *ʿulamāʾ* you can find in your country" (huwa min afḍal man ʿamma bilādakum min ahl al-ʿilm). According to al-Hilālī, Shaykh ʿAbd al- Ẓāhir Abū l-Samḥ[46] (from the Anṣār al-Sunna) had written several times to him in Iraq to encourage him to come and settle in the Ḥaramayn and work for the *daʿwa*. During the *ḥajj*, al-Hilālī was accompanied by his brother Muḥammad al-ʿArabī l-Hilālī, Shaykh Muṣṭafā Āl Ibrāhīm of Iraq, and other Egyptian *ʿulamāʾ*, among them Shaykh ʿAbd al- Ẓāhir Abū l-Samḥ and Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ḥamza of the Egyptian Anṣār al-Sunna. After the *ḥajj*, al-Hilālī resolved to remain in the Hijaz "to help the Salafī brothers to spread the true doctrine," as he wrote. After he had been in Mecca for four months as a guest of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, wrote al-Ḥilālī, Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykh,[47] who was close to King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and held the office of chief judge and oversaw the justice system in the Hijaz, offered

44 This was another Shinqīṭī, not the one who is a subject of this book.

45 That is how al-Hilālī refers to him.

46 An Egyptian Salafī of the Ansār al-Sunna who became *imām* in al-Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

47 Until his death in 1377/1957, he was chief of the judges (*raʾīs al-quḍḍāt*) of the Hijaz and the rest of the Western Region (*al-manṭiqa al-gharbiyya*). After his death, therefore, its functions were transferred to Shaykh Muḥammad Ibrahīm Āl al-Shaykh who, having been

him a position as *imām* and preacher (*khaṭīb*) or to supervise teaching in the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina. He chose the second function. He left shortly afterward in the company of Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ḥamza. The latter assumed the position of *imām* and *khaṭīb*. Meanwhile, his benefactor Shaykh Muṣṭafā Āl Ibrāhīm returned to Iraq after the *ḥajj*.

Al-Hilālī as a Supervisor of Teachers and Teaching in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina

From his earliest days in Medina, al-Hilālī's confrontational method of *daʿwa* brought him into conflict, first with the residents and visitors to the city, whom he wanted to convert to the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya; then with the *ʿulamāʾ* of the city; and finally with the *amīr* of Medina and its region.

Al-Hilālī and Shaykh Alfā Hāshim

The first *ʿālim* with whom al-Hilālī came into conflict was Alfā Ḥāshim, perhaps because of the influence the latter held among his community, the Takrūrī, or because Alfā Hāshim was the spiritual leader of the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa* in the Hijaz and in the Arab world. Before his conversion to Salafism, al-Hilālī had also been, for nine years, a follower of the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa*. It is likely that prior to his arrival in Medina in his capacity as supervisor, al-Hilālī had heard about Alfā Hāshim and had therefore conceived the project of confronting him. Al-Hilālī begins his passage about his stay in Medina as a supervisor of teachers in the Mosque of the Prophet,[48] with a sentence about Alfā Hāshim.

> When we came to Medina . . . I found that Alfā Hāshim was one of the famous *shuyūkh* of the city. He is originally from the Western Sudan (al-Sūdān al-Maghribī) and possibly Senegal. He was the *muqaddam* (spiritual leader) of the Tijāniyya. I wrote a page on which I mentioned 33 themes of the Tijāniyya doctrine that show how the Tijānī go astray. I gave the paper to Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykh. When he finished reading it, he became uncomfortable and said: "Is there someone in the world who believes such things?" "Yes," I answered, "and he is one of the great teachers in the Mosque of the Prophet (*aḥd kibār al-mudarrisīn fī masjid al-Nabawī*)." "Who is this Shaykh?" "Alfā Hāshim," I replied.

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chief of the judges in the Najd, the Eastern Region and the North, became de facto chief of the judges of the whole country.

48 al-Hilālī, *al-Daʿwat ilā Allāh*, pp. 162–180.

At this point, Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, head judge of Saudi Arabia, sent for Shaykh Alfā Hāshim to come before him, and in the presence of al-Hilālī he asked Alfā Hāshim to read it. After reading it, Shaykh Alfā Hāshim said: "While we find in the books of our *ṭarīqa* everything mentioned in this paper, I personally do not believe in all of this." Al-Hilālī said, "Then tell us whether all this is true or false." Shaykh Alfā Hāshim responded, "Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan does not need you to give him information." "Yes," said Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, "because he knows your errors while I do not know them." So Shaykh Alfā Hāshim was obliged to say, "Yes, it's true." Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan asked him to repent of his error, meaning to reject the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa*. Shaykh Alfā Hāshim said, "I repent of any error." Then Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan ordered him to write a treatise (*risāla*) in which he would explain the "error" of the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa*, his repentance, and his rejection of this *ṭarīqa*. After writing it, he was to give it to al-Hilālī, who was to ensure that the treatise met the demand. After that, al-Hilālī was to send it to Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan in Mecca to be printed, published, and distributed first to the disciples of the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa* and to other *ṭuruq* followers.

Fifteen days after this confrontation, al-Hilālī asked Shaykh Alfā Hāshim to submit the treatise, but the latter said he had not yet finished it. Two weeks later, al-Hilālī asked him again, but Shaykh Alfā Hāshim gave him the same response. Shaykh Alfā Hāshim went to complain to the *amīr* of Medina, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh about this persecution. The *amīr* invited al-Hilālī and asked him the cause of his conflict with Shaykh Alfā Hāshim. After al-Hilālī had explained to the *amīr* what had happened, the *amīr* said he himself would take care of the treatise that Shaykh Alfā Hāshim had to write and would then send it to Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan in Mecca. To which al-Hilālī said,

> You cannot know whether the content of the treatise is good or not. Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan asked me to read it before sending it to him, because he knows that I know this *ṭarīqa* well and know what to say to anyone who wants to repent of it. This is because I was a disciple of this *ṭarīqa* for nine years.

At this point, al-Hilālī left the office of the *amīr*. Shaykh Alfā Hāshim did not write the treatise and the *amīr* did not want to alienate a famous *shaykh* of Medina with many followers.

That was the first disagreement that occurred between the *amīr* and al-Hilālī. But other disagreements between the two followed until al-Hilālī and his colleague Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Razzāq were forced to leave Medina. These two scholars created conflicts between them and the people of Medina, and

also interfered in the affairs of the *amīr* and of the Hay'at al-Amr bi-l-Maʿrūf wa-l-Nahy ʿan al-Munkar (Committee of ordering good and forbidding evil), while their work was to monitor the teaching and the teachers in the Prophet's Mosque (in the case of al-Hilālī) and preach and lead the prayers (in the case of Shaykh b. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ḥamza). The scene described above, which is reminiscent of an inquisition, reveals al-Hilālī's totalitarian personality and the spirit of revenge he maintained against the followers of the Tijāniyya, whom he had previously regarded as "brothers." Al-Hilālī seems to have been completely ignorant of political reality; he did not understand the way in which politics and religion worked together in the kingdom, and the primacy of politics over religion.

In a letter Shaykh Alfā Hāshim addressed to the chief of the Tijānī at that time, Sidi Muḥammad al-Kabīr, to explain what happened between him and al-Hilālī,[49] Alfā Hāshim wrote that the Wahhābī had allowed the Tijānī in Medina to perform their *dhikr* ceremonies until Taqī l-Dīn al-Hilālī arrived. Then, supported by the Egyptian, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, al-Hilālī pushed Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan (chief judge of the Hijaz) to ban the Tijānī *dhikr* under the pretext that they are *bidʿa* (reprehensible innovations). Alfā Hāshim wrote that he responded in front of Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan to the charges made by al-Hilālī against the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa*, and even responded in writing to questions posed by al-Hilālī. We cannot know which of the two was telling the truth.

Al-Hilālī and Shaykh al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī l-Timbuktī

Shaykh Alfā Hāshim was a Fullānī native of Futa Toro. He was therefore from West Africa like Shaykh al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī l-Timbuktī. The latter was a Tuareg from the Kel es Suq. While Shaykh Alfā Hāshim did not yield to the dictates of al-Hilālī and Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ḥamza, Shaykh al-Ṭayyib Timbuktī gave up. Was this opportunism, conviction, or both? Shaykh al-Ṭayyib al-Timbuktī was a disciple of the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*, a follower of the Ashʿarī theological school and of the Mālikī *madhhab*, like most *ʿulamāʾ* of West Africa and the Maghrib. But after six months of confrontations with al-Hilālī and Shaykh b. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Razzāq, Shaykh al-Ṭayyib al-Timbuktī came to them and repented. He rejected the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*, Ashʿarism, and his attachment to any *madhhab* (school of *fiqh*) and he converted to Salafism. At that time, every teacher of the Mosque of the Prophet received a monthly salary equivalent to six gold dinars. Al-Hilālī and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq

49 Alfā Hāshim, who apparently doubted the noble origins of al-Hilālī, wrote, "… al-maghribī al-Filālī al-maqūl bi al-Hilālī," (*Taʿrīf al-ʿashāʿir*, p. 55).

Ḥamza, as supervisors of the teaching at the mosque, received the equivalent of 10 gold dinars. Al-Hilālī wrote that they asked the authorities of the kingdom to increase Shaykh al-Ṭayyib's salary from six to ten dinars. With the cost of living very low in Medina, such a salary would enable one to live a good life.

Disagreements between al-Hilālī and the Amīr of Medina

When the tension between the *amīr* of Medina and al-Hilālī increased, the latter wrote to Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan for permission to make *daʿwa* in the rural areas around Medina. Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan appreciated the initiative and asked the *amīr* of Medina to support al-Hilālī by offering him two horses and a guide. The *amīr* accepted the idea of al-Hilālī going to do *daʿwa* in the country, perhaps believing that this would reduce the conflicts that surrounded al-Hilālī. The *amīr* proposed to al-Hilālī that he should go to the regions of al-Jaraf and al-ʿAwālī; al-Hilālī protested his time would be lost because these were Shīʿī villages where people would not be willing to listen to the sermons of a Sunnī. Al-Hilālī wanted to go to the Sunnī villages around al-Ḥināk̲iyya inhabited by *ḥarb* tribes, but the *amīr* said no, and argued that, according to Islamic tradition, al-Hilālī should begin the *daʿwa* with the people who are closest to him, then move on to those who are a farther away. Al-Hilālī was obliged to accept the proposition of the *amīr*. He left with an *imām* from the Mosque of the Prophet, but after several days without finding receptive ears for their message, they returned to Medina. Then one day, without informing the *amīr*, al-Hilālī left Medina for al-Nakhīl, where he stayed for a month. When al-Hilālī returned to Medina, the breach between him and the *amīr* was irreparable.

Over time al-Hilālī and Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ḥamza had become increasingly sectarian and harsh toward the inhabitants of Medina. The *amīr* wrote to King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to inform him that these two scholars were causing religious upheaval in Medina. The king ordered that Shaykh b. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Razzāq return to Mecca to take up the functions of preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) of the Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca, where he had previously worked, but no decision was made about al-Hilālī. Soon after, the public treasurer of Medina ordered that al-Hilālī's salary no longer be paid. Thus al-Hilālī was compelled to return to Mecca, where Shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan appointed him to teach in the Ḥaram Mosque. In addition, he was invited by Shaykh ʿAbdallāh Ḥamdūḥ, chief of the Madāris al-Falāḥ in Mecca, to monitor and correct examinations at the times of examinations. The Madāris al-Falāḥ were schools in Mecca and Jedda that also taught non-religious disciplines at a fairly high level, which is why many parents sent their children there. The Maʿhad al-Saʿūdī was the school founded in the same period by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but

it was not as popular, as parents did not want their children to be indoctrinated in Wahhābism, on the one hand, and on the other hand the teachers at this school were not up to the task. A committee chaired by Faiṣal (the king's representative in the Hijaz) was created to improve the quality of the education at this school. At this point, al-Hilālī (a Moroccan), Shaykh b. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ḥamza (an Egyptian), and Shaykh Bahjat al-Biṭār (a Syrian) were recruited as teachers with a mission to improve the quality of the school.

Al-Hilālī's Second Trip to India

The four years and some months that al-Hilālī spent in the Hijaz were rich in experience, but also full of conflict. Al-Hilālī had lost in his conflict with the *amīr* of Medina. In his autobiography he does not mention any exchange of letters between him and King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz after this time. Moreover, the fact that the king had handled the case of his colleague Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ḥamza, who was sent to Mecca, but had left al-Hilālī's case without solution indicates the king's indifference and disinterest toward him. The final blow came when al-Hilālī's funding was cut in Medina and he was forced to seek a job in Mecca. Al-Hilālī wrote that he realized, after years in the Hijaz, that a scholar without a university degree was like a traveler without a passport (*wa raʾaytu anna al-ʿālim bi-lā shahāda ka-l-musāfir bidūn jawāz*).[50] Since he was still young, he wanted to go somewhere else to "seek degrees." He wrote to two people with whom he had remained in contact, to inform them of his intention to pursue higher education in Indonesia or India. These two people were Sayyid Sulaymān al-Nadwī in India and the Sudanese Aḥmad Surkutī in Indonesia. Each said they were available to receive him. He chose to go to India, and arrived in Lucknow in 1349/1930. There, he was immediately appointed responsible for the teaching of Arabic language and Arabic literature in the Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ. He spent three years and some months teaching there, and in a way characteristic of al-Hilālī, states "Throughout this period," he said, "I taught Arabic literature and Arabic language with a new method that was not yet known by the Indian *ʿulamāʾ*, namely by teaching only in Arabic, without using any other language as an intermediary." He was referring to the method of Maximilian Berlitz, the German pedagogue. Al-Hilālī continues: "In only three years and some months I trained a group of young people, among them we can mention Masʿūd ʿĀlim al-Nadwī, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Nadwī, and Abū l-Layth Shīr Muḥammad al-Nadwī (current leader of Jamāʿat al-Islāmiyya)."

Al-Hilālī also established an Arabic newspaper called *al-Ẓiyāʾ* ('The light') in order to give young people the opportunity to practice writing in Arabic. The

50 al-Hilālī, *al-Daʿwat ilā Allāh*, pp. 180–181.

newspaper was short-lived, but was replaced by the journal *al-Baʿth al-Islāmī* (Islamic Renaissance). During this time he failed to go to university as he had wished, but improved his English by taking private lessons. After a serious bout of malaria, he returned to Basra, Iraq, his second home and the home of his wife. After three years there, he went to Geneva, where he was received by Shakīb Arslān. Note that after the death of his first mentor Rashīd Riḍā, al-Hilālī found new mentors in Shakīb Arslān and Shaykh Amīn al-Ḥusayn, the two major Arab notables well-known in Europe at that time. Al-Hilālī[51] wrote that he wanted to study in England, but the English embassy in Geneva said he could not enter the country without a scholarship. Shakīb Arslān allegedly intervened with the German ministry of foreign affairs and secured a place for al-Hilālī at the University of Bonn as well as job teaching Arabic language and literature with a salary that would allow him to study. Al-Hilālī learned German language in a year and worked as an assistant to Professor Paul Kahle, who was fired from the university after the wave of violence and looting organized by the Hitler regime against Jews, their businesses, and their places of worship (the infamous pogrom called *Reichskristallnacht* on the night from November 9 to 10, 1938). Kahle and his family were forced to emigrate to England; they only returned to the University of Bonn after the end of the war. Al-Hilālī wrote that after the professor left, his salary was halved, and was so little that he could hardly survive. It was then that he learned that Kahle had personally covered half of al-Hilālī's earnings. Al-Hilālī wrote, "I found myself in a great crisis, but God saved me quickly when, shortly afterward, the ministry of propaganda (*wizārat al-diʿāya*) offered me a job as editor of the Arabic radio program in Berlin. I began to receive a large salary, approximately 1400 marks." Interestingly, al-Hilālī made no comment on the generosity of Professor Kahle, neither to acknowledge the favor of the latter, nor to express sympathy for the plight of the professor's family. After three years in Bonn, al-Hilālī became editor of the Arabic language programs on a radio station in Berlin (al-Murjiʿ al-Lughawī li-l-ʿidhāʿa al-ʿarabiyya fī Birlīn); he also began his doctoral studies and worked as a lecturer at the University of Berlin. In 1941, he defended a doctoral thesis ("Translation and Commentary of the Introduction of al-Birūnī's *Kitāb al-Jamāhir fī maʿrifat al-jawāhir*," a book about geology, minerals, and gems).

In early 1942, al-Hilālī went back to Morocco, more precisely to Tetouan, which was under Spanish rule. According to al-Hilālī himself,[52] he went back

51 Muḥammad al-Majdhūb, *ʿUlamāʾ wa-mufakkirūn ʿaraftuhum* (Cairo: Dār al-Iʿtiṣām, 1406/1986), vol. 1, pp. 193–227.

52 al-Hilālī, *al-Daʿwat ilā Allāh*, p. 203.

to Morocco because the Palestinian *muftī* Amīn al-Ḥusayn had sent him there on a political mission to transmit an oral message to the president of the Ḥizb al-Islāh al-Watanī (Party of National Reform), ʿAbduh al-Khāliq al-Ṭarīsī. Al-Hilālī does not mention it explicitly, but the aim was to mobilize Moroccans for Hitler and against the French. The Spanish believed that al-Hilālī had been sent by the Germans to mobilize the Moroccans against the Spanish. The Spanish sent al-Hilālī to Chefchaouen (Shifshawen) near Tetouan and kept him under their surveillance. He remained there until 1947, when he went to Baghdad, where he was appointed professor of Arabic literature and Islamic studies. He remained in Baghdad until 1959. At that point he returned to Morocco to work as a professor in the Faculty of Arts at University Mohammed V in Rabat; he taught Hebrew, among other subjects. In 1968 he was appointed professor at the Islamic University of Medina, Saudi Arabia, he taught in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and from time to time led the prayer in this mosque. He returned to Morocco in 1974 and from that time he devoted himself to the *daʿwa* (preaching and teaching) in mosques until his death in 1987 in Casablanca.

Al-Hilālī is best known for the annotated translation of the Qurʾān that he co-authored with the Pakistani Muḥammad Muḥsin Khān. The latter translated the Qurʾān into English; al-Hilālī wrote the commentary, based primarily on the commentaries of al-Ṭabarī, al-Qurṭubī, and Ibn Kathīr. Saudi Arabia financed this English translation of the Qurʾān and distributes it free. It is the most common translation in mosques in English-speaking countries, especially in the West, although it is strongly criticized for its conservative approach. The Hilālī-Khan translation of the Qurʾān was published for the first time in 1977 in Riyadh by Darussalam Publisher.

CHAPTER 7

Biography (*Tarjama*) in the Islamic Tradition according to the *ʿUlamāʾ*

The Concept and Tradition of *Tarjama* (Biography)[1] according to ʿUmar Fallāta and ʿAṭiyya Sālim

ʿUmar Fallāta and ʿAṭiyya Sālim, both former students of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, each wrote a biographical note on their Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī.

Until his death in the late 1980s, Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim was president of the Islamic court of justice in Medina (raʾīs al-maḥākim al-sharʿiyya). As he had also been a student of the Mauritanian *ʿālim* Shaykh al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī, he wrote a biographical note on the latter as well. In this short work, after mentioning that the *tarjama* (biography) and the *tarjama dhātiyya* (autobiography) have a long tradition among Muslim *ʿulamāʾ*, he mentions a third kind of *tarjama* that he believes combines features of the other two. He writes that the *tarjama dhātiyya* (autobiography) has been known among Muslims since at least the eleventh century, beginning with that of Ibn Sīnā in the eleventh century and continuing with al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī in the thirteenth century, Ibn al-Khaṭīb in the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldūn in the fifteenth century, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī in sixteenth century, and so on. The *tarjama* that ʿAṭiyya Sālim wrote on Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī is a biography (*tarjama*) in the sense that he has written, first, what he observed in his shaykh during the twenty years in which he was at his side almost daily and, second, what the shaykh told him about his life. He describes his first meeting with his two main teachers and how he spent his period of study with them. Let us start with Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī.

ʿAṭiyya Muḥammad Sālim with al-Ifrīqī and al-Shinqīṭī

Was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī a "tormented personality," as J.L. Triaud writes,[2] or a person dedicated to others and to what he thought was right, as Shaykh

1 In Western literature, the specialists translate *tarjama* as "biographical note."

2 "De la vie personnelle de ʿAbdurraḥmān, nous savons peu de choses. Peut être fut-il un personnage tourmenté!" See J. Triaud, "ʿAbd al-Rahman l'Africain," vol. 2, p. 174.

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ʿAṭiyya Sālim described about his first meeting with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī? ʿAṭiyya Muḥammad Sālim was born in Mahdiyya, in eastern Egypt, in 1346/1927. He came as a child with his parents and other family members to settle in Medina and began his studies at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. ʿAṭiyya Muḥammad Sālim says that he first studied the *ḥadīth*s and its sciences and then *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, the *fiqh* book of Imām Mālik. He wrote, "Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the first person to fill my ears with the sayings of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*s) in the mosque of the latter and with the teaching of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of *imām al-hijra*, Mālik b. Anas."[3] ʿAṭiyya Muḥammad Sālim recounts his first meeting with Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as follows.

> After completing the *ḥajj* in the year 1363/1943, I entered the Prophet's Mosque in Medina by *Bāb al-raḥma*. Nearby stood a circle of students and in front of each student was a book positioned on a very small low table. In the middle sat a shaykh explaining the subject to them with a sound and clear voice (*juḥūrī l-ṣawt*). His voice drew me more and more to him. The clarity of his words and the ease with which he explained captivated me. So I sat behind the pillar where this shaykh was sitting. A few minutes before the *adhān* (call to prayer) of the evening prayer (*ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ*), the shaykh ended his course. After the prayer, those who listened to the course as "free auditors" dispersed, and his students remained. They surrounded him and began to seek clarification of what they had learned. The shaykh received their questions with an open heart (*bi-ṣadrin raḥbin*) and always answered with a smiling face (*bi-wajḥin mubtasimin*), and this formed in me the desire to join the circle of students and to learn actively like them with this shaykh. The next day, I went to the shaykh and asked him for permission to join in the circle of his students, which he gave me . . . I asked the students the name of this shaykh and they told me that his name was Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Ifrīqī.[4]

From that moment on, ʿAṭiyya Sālim attended the course of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Ifrīqī at his home, at the Mosque of the Prophet, and at the Dār al-Ḥadīth. He was attracted by both the clear and methodical teaching of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Ifrīqī and by the human warmth that he radiated.

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3 "Fahuwa awwal man mala'a sam'ī bi ḥadīth rasūli Allāh (s.a.w.s.) fi masjid rasūli Allāh wa min kitāb imām dār al-hijrat al-Muwaṭṭaʾ, al-Imām Mālik b. Anas," See Sālim, *Min ʿulamāʾ al-ḥaramayn*, p. 374.

4 Ibid.

> His smile when he spoke, his open heart toward those who were talking with him, his kindness to whomever he asks a question, all that contributed to cement a strong bond with him. One has the impression of having met him several times before . . . It was as if all his students were his dearest children . . . Soon, I felt like a member of one family and among brothers bound to each other by a strong and sincere friendship.[5]

ʿAṭiyya Muḥammad Sālim saw this strong attachment between al-Ifrīqī and his students, for example, when after the noon prayer (*ṣalāt al-ẓuhr*) at the Mosque of the Prophet some students of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī followed him to his home and had lunch with him. This was something very important in that period when the region was still very poor and meals were not offered to everyone, especially not poor students. ʿAṭiyya Sālim continues:

> So, that was my first meeting with Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī in 1363/1943. This link that bound me to the shaykh and his teaching, which I took advantage of, continued. After learning from him the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, I studied other books such as *Bulūgh al-marām*, *Nayl al-awṭār*, *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn*, and *Muṣtalaḥ al-ḥadīth*.[6] My ties to the shaykh increased in intensity from 1371/1951. At that time, the Saudi state opened the first institutes (*maʿāhid*) in Riyadh and faculties (*kulliyyāt*) that later became University Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya. Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī (like other *ʿulamāʾ*) was appointed a teacher in Riyadh at the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī and then at the Faculty of Sharīʿa (*Kulliyyat al-sharīʿa*)."[7]

ʿAṭiyya Sālim said that he and several students of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī followed him to Riyadh to continue their education at these new institutions. The house of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in Riyadh was the center where the students met. They came from the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina to Riyadh to continue their studies at the new state educational institutions or simply to follow their shaykh to learn with him at his home. They usually also lived in Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's house.

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5 Ibid., pp. 375–376.

6 The teaching at the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina (but also at al-Ḥaram in Mecca) was given in a traditional method based on a particular book for each discipline and not on the discipline as such.

7 Ibid., p. 376.

Evoking the history of the first meeting of ʿAṭiyya Sālim and Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī serves to illustrate his generosity and devotion to others and to transmitting the Salafī teaching. The story's credibility is heightened because it is told as the personal experience of a former student who later became a famous scholar in Saudi Arabia. To further illustrate the generosity of his shaykh, ʿAṭiyya Sālim notes,

> One day in an informal discussion, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said that his hand does not know how to retain a dirham (*inna kaffahu lā yamsiku al-dirham*). Then ʿAṭiyya Sālim recited this verse from a poem: "The dirham does not remain long in my purse, it passes only for a moment and goes out very quickly."[8] Thereupon Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān smiled and said, "For me, the dirham does not even come to my purse. It goes out before it arrives in my purse."[9] ʿAṭiyya Sālim notes that the generosity of his shaykh was such that he did not leave much to his children. But, thank God, his children did not lack anything.

The Teaching Method of al-Ifrīqī (*Manhaj al-Ifrīqī*)

Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim, in his biographical note on Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, often returns to what he calls "*manhaj al-Ifrīqī wa-atharuhu fī l-taʿlīm*" (the teaching method of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and its impact). Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim dedicates his book *Mawāqif al-umma min ikhtilāf al-aʾimma*, to his two main teachers, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī. Regarding Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, we learn that in his teaching, "Thursday nights were reserved solely for open discussion. Students could ask the shaykh whatever questions they wanted. He received the questions with an open heart even when he sometimes disagreed with the opinions expressed. So he familiarized his students with sound research."[10] It shows his dedication that at that time Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had established with his students a culture of open discussion. He trained his students in the discussion of arguments and counter-arguments, both based on evidence: the scriptural evidence of Islam, starting first with the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, then the argument on which there is a consensus (*ijmāʿ*)

8 "Lā yaʾlaf al-dirhamu al-maḍrūb ṣurratana, bal yamurru ʿalayhā wa huwa munṭaliqun," in Sālim, *Min ʿulamāʾ al-ḥaramayn*, p. 391.

9 "Innahu lā yamurru ʿalayhā bal yanṣarifu qabla an yamurra ʿalayhā."

10 Ibid., pp. 388–391.

between the *ʿulamāʾ*, especially the founders of the four schools of Sunnī law (*madhāhib*). Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim, speaking of the method of al-Ifrīqī, thereby reveals his own method, which he considers the same as al-Ifrīqī's. Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim writes, in fact, that what distinguishes the *ʿulamāʾ* from each other "is the method of each *ʿālim* in transmitting his knowledge and also in the way he treats it when presenting it to his students."[11] In these two qualities, Shaykh al-Ifrīqī excelled and stood out from other *ʿulamāʾ* of Medina at that time. The *ʿulamāʾ*, ʿAṭiyya Sālim wrote, can have the same level of knowledge, but when it comes to transmitting that knowledge to others through teaching, they differ from each other, and it was precisely on this point that Shaykh al-Ifrīqī differed the most from others. He used to present the subject in a well-ordered way and then went on to explain it, following a chain of arguments. Thus, he first advanced the general argument, then the specific points, until he led the student to the deep meaning of the question, which was then fully assimilated. His method also differed in that he chose simple words. Although his discourse was a scientific one, he delivered it in a literary style, which drew the attention of the student and pushed him to open his mind to absorb what he was listening to. He used to employ a method consisting of drawing the attention of the listener, in order to foster in him a desire to listen, a method that Prophet Muḥammad might have used. Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim cites the example of the *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet Muḥammad taught Muʿādh b. Jabal, one of the *ṣahāba*, whom he often sent to teach Islam to the people living near Medina. "Do you know, Muʿādh, what God owes to the humans and what the humans owe to God?" "Only God and his Prophet know," said Muʿādh." Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim said that of course the Prophet knew that Muʿādh did not know the answer, but this question (*tasāʾul*) aimed to attract Muʿādh's attention, to stimulate his desire to listen to the answer. Shaykh al-Ifrīqī often proceeded similarly in his teaching. Shaykh al-Ifrīqī, wrote Aṭiyya Sālim, had the gift of explaining things well (*al-bayān*), the gift of easy speech (*al-salāsa*), and the gift of using simple words (*suhūla*).

Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim gives another concrete example of how the teaching of al-Ifrīqī took place in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. When studying the book of *ḥadīth* called *Bulūgh al-marām*, each student had to memorize three *ḥadīth*s every day, each of them different from those of the other students. Students recited the *ḥadīth* (*tasmīʿ*), then the shaykh explained the content and everything that related to the *ḥadīth* in question (*sharḥ*). Other

11 "inna manhaj kulli ʿālimin fī taʿlīmihi wa muʿāmalatihi liṭullābihi. Huwa ṣimatu dhālika al-ʿālim wa mīzatuhu allatī fiʿlan yatamayyazu bihā ʿan ghayrihi," in Sālim, *Min ʿulamāʾ al-ḥaramayn*, p. 388.

texts (e.g., those of *fiqh*) that the student reads but does not learn by heart can also be followed by the explanation (*sharḥ*) of the shaykh. Thursday evening was reserved for the teaching methods (*ṭuruq al-tadrīs*) of *tarjīḥ* (how to give preference to one opinion over another), teaching students to think carefully about different opinions, especially teaching them the way *ʿulamāʾ* manage to reach agreement in *ḥadīth*s that seem to oppose each other. For example, the shaykh used to present two *ḥadīth*s that apparently contradicted each other and ask a student to explain how to reconcile the two *ḥadīth*s. If the student could not respond or responded incompletely, the shaykh asked another student to answer or to complete the response of the other. If a student asked the shaykh to give scriptural evidence (*dalīl*) of whatever he had say, he answered with an open heart. Thus, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān sharpened the minds of his students (*kāna yashadh dhihna ṭullābihi*) and pushed them to read and reread the commentator (*wa-yadfaʿhum li-l-mudhākara wa-muṭālaʿati al-sharrāḥ*).

Also according to ʿAṭiyya Sālim, Shaykh al-Ifrīqī respected the opinions of other *ʿulamāʾ*, even those with whom he did not always agree. This conciliatory spirit was also evident in his relations with others who were not *ʿulamāʾ*. Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim tells the story of a pilgrim (probably Sufi) who came to the house of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to contradict him on a particular religious topic. When the shaykh had given his opinion, the pilgrim refused to accept it until they went to ask the opinion of Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣāliḥ, the *imām* and *khaṭīb* (preacher) of the Prophet's Mosque. The latter confirmed the view of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī. The pilgrim became a strong supporter of the Salafī doctrine, which he later spread in his home after returning from pilgrimage. "So this man came as an opponent and returned as a missionary (*jāʾa mutaḥadiyan wa rajaʿa dāʿiyan*)."[12]

ʿAṭiyya Sālim said that Shaykh al-Ifrīqī taught his students good scientific method in advancing the evidence and in the ethics of research (*adab al-baḥth*). He also taught them to respect the *ʿulamāʾ* and not to be sectarian (*tarku al-taʿaṣṣub*). He used to say to anyone who came to discuss any controversial topic, "You must first expose the issue to which you are fanatically attached so we can discuss it as if we knew nothing about it before and are committed to accepting only the opinion supported by scriptural evidence (*dalīl*)." He also said to his students, "If you have an idea, present it so that everyone will know it. If everyone agrees with it, keep it. If everyone refuses it and shows its weakness, reject it and you will be comfortable with yourself."[13]

12 Ibid., p. 390.

13 Ibid.

Three aspects illustrate the commitment of al-Ifrīqī. (1) His teaching at Dār-al-Ḥadīth where the majority of students were foreigners. (2) The fact that he began a custom with his students, to undertake to teach the pilgrims to perform their religious rituals in accordance of the Wahhābī-Salafī teachings. (3) His writings, whose titles and contents evoke both his commitment to the Wahhābī-Salafī doctrine and to transmitting it to the Muslims of West Africa and elsewhere. His first two works are pamphlets and his last is a full-length book.

a. The first pamphlet (32 pages) explains his opposition to the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa*, and demonstrates why he thought the major Tijānī writings are not in conformity with Islam.
b. The second pamphlet (58 pages) consists of a set of answers to religious questions sent to him in writing by a *ʿālim* of the Malabar Coast in southern India, a kind of collection of *fatāwa* (sing. *fatwa*).
c. The third, posthumous book, is 432 pages.

The topics covered in these three writings are of considerable importance for Muslims in West Africa and elsewhere. Recall that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī remained in contact with the Muslims of West Africa. His house in Medina was the first place where pilgrims from West Africa gathered to hear his lessons, discuss, ask questions, or just seek his support. They also came to listen to his lessons in the Dār al-Ḥadīth and in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina.

ʿAṭiyya Muḥammad Sālim with Shaykh al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī (Āb Wuld Ukhtūr)

The relations between ʿAṭiyya Muḥammad Sālim and Shaykh al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī (Āb Wuld Ukhtūr) developed mainly in the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī after the death of Shaykh al-Ifrīqī. As a student of the Maʿhad, Aṭiyya Muḥammad Sālim attended the courses of Shaykh al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī both in the Maʿhad, in the mosque of the *muftī* Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm in Riyadh, and in the private home of Shaykh Shinqīṭī. Thus, he received his education in both the public education system through the Maʿhad and in the traditional system of accompaniment both in the mosque and in the private home of the shaykh. He followed the shaykh on his *daʿwa* trips to Africa and elsewhere and during his pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥajj*). ʿAṭiyya Sālim states that this accompaniment lasted twenty-two years[14] until the death of Shaykh

14 al-Majdhūb, *ʿUlamāʾ wa mufakkirūn ʿaraftuhum*, vol. 2, p. 204.

Shinqīṭī. So it's not surprising that ʿAṭiyya Sālim was greatly influenced by Shaykh Shinqīṭī, even in his hand gestures when he delivered lectures or was teaching, as Muḥammad al-Majdhūb mentions.[15] After completing his studies at the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī, ʿAṭiyya Sālim continued in the faculties of *Sharīʿa* and Arabic Language and Literature. He then became a teacher in the second cycle level of an institute in the region of al-Aḥsā and later in the faculties of *Sharīʿa* and of Arabic Language and Literature. When the Islamic University of Medina opened, he was appointed as an administrator; he later became a teacher in the first faculties of this university. In the 1980s, he taught in the department of doctoral studies (*Qism al-dirāsāt al-ʿulya*) of the Islamic University of Medina and in the Higher Institute of Daʿwa (al-Maʿhad al-ʿĀlī li-l-Daʿwa), an institution dependent on the University Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya in Riyadh. Throughout this period, he continued to teach[16] at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina and, from 1384/1964, he held a position of judge[17] at the court of Medina. Apart from these teaching posts and judgeship, Shaykh ʿAṭiyya Sālim was well known in the religious spaces of Saudi Arabia, in part from the many books he published and from his weekly religious program on a Saudi radio station (named Idhāʿat al-Qurʾān al-Karīm, the broadcast of the Holy Qurʾān) that he hosted. His last radio broadcast before his death in 1420/1999 was on the history of the *ʿulamāʾ* of the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina (*ʿUlamāʾ al-Ḥaramayn*). The book *Min ʿulamāʾ al-Ḥaramayn* (ʿUlamāʾ of al-Ḥaramayn) is based on this program.

The *Tarjama* according to Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta in His Conference Paper on Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī

Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta begins the introduction to his book on Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī by showing (1) his neutrality and his objectivity with respect to his subject, (2) the purpose and role of *tarjama* (biography) in Islam, (3) the historical basis of *tarjama* in the Islamic tradition, and (4) the scientific nature

15 Ibid., p. 205.

16 In the Prophet's Mosque in Medina and in al-Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca, the majority of courses are given between the post-sunset prayer (*ṣalat al-maghrib*) and the evening prayer (*ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ*). Other courses are also given after the dawn prayer (*ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*) until sunrise and also after the *ʿaṣr* prayer in the afternoon until the *maghrib* (the sunset).

17 "Yaqūm bi ʿamal qāḍī" is the expression he chose to describe this new position that he held until his death in the early 2000s. See p. 207 of his biography, and al-Majdhūb, *ʿUlamāʾ wa mufakkirūn ʿaraftuhum*, pp. 201–226.

of the *tarjama*, which is based on the *sanad* and the *isnād*.[18] He explains that the *tarjama* based on *sanad* and *isnād* is a traditional method of the *ʿulamāʾ* and scholars of *ḥadīth* (the Ahl al-Ḥadīth). Moreover, he says, the transmission of knowledge based on these methods is specific to the Muḥammadan *umma* (*al-umma al-Muḥammadiyya*). He cites works of *tarājim* (sing. *tarjama*) written in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries and even says that the pre-Islamic traditions of some Arabs, which preserve the genealogies of their families, clans, and tribes may be regarded to some extent as falling within the tradition of *tarājim* based on the *sanad* and the *isnād*. Recall that Shaykh ʿUmar was primarily a *ḥadīth* specialist, as was his teacher ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, and the focus of the science of *ḥadīth* (*ʿilm al-ḥadīth* or *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadith*) is to scrutinize the reported *ḥadīth* in order to determine its degree of credibility. Thus, in terms of its text (*matn*) or its chain of transmitters (*sanad*) or both, a *ḥadīth* may be *ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic), *ḥasan* (good), *ḍaʿīf* (weak), etc. These concepts, which have long been established by the founders of this science, are more or less the kind of technique used by the writer of a *tarjama* (biography).

Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta began his presentation by saying that the Islamic University of Medina, the conference organizer, proposed the title of his lecture (*Shaykh al-Ifrīqī, his life and his work*). But, he writes, this title was well-suited to the situation. "And my comments on this character should be seen as a drop in an ocean (*ghayḍan min fīḍ*)," he said. Then Shaykh ʿUmar recalls the purpose of the biography (*tarjama*) in the Islamic tradition and the role it should fulfill:

> I think you will not hear anything new from me. I just want, with God's assistance, to express what we carry of friendship, loyalty, and gratitude toward those who have done good. And the best friendship is that between two people who love each other only for God and for His service (*al-ḥubb lī Allāh wa-fī Allāh*). And, according to the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, on the Day of Judgment, when there will be only the shadow of God for protection from the sun, God will protect seven people with his shadow, among them two people who loved each other by God and for God (*rajulayn taḥabbā fī Allāh ijtamaʿā ʿalā dhālika wa-tafarraqā ʿalayhi*).

Shaykh ʿUmar then said,

> I hope that I will be able to show the true personality of Shaykh al-Ifrīqī who is, in my opinion, a model, an example we should follow. Shaykh

18 Two Arabic words from the root *s-n-d*, which basically means relying on someone or something.

> al-Ifrīqī was one of the *ʿulamāʾ* by whose effort God has opened the eyes of the blind and ears of the deaf (*fataḥa Allāh bi-him aʿyānan ʿumyan wa-ādhānan ṣumman*).

Shaykh ʿUmar recalled the importance of *tarjama* (biography) in Islam, but also among the Arabs before Islam who had not written *tarājim*, but genealogies (*ansāb* sing. *nasab*) of their families, clans, and tribes. "I said," he wrote, "that *tarjama* is a tradition of the *ʿulamāʾ* (*sunnat al-ʿulamāʾ*) and a method of the experts of *ḥadīth*s (*wa-manhaj Ahl al-ḥadīth*)."[19] He continues:

> . . . and the Islamic library is filled with books of biographies (*tarājim*) of the companions of the Prophet, such as the *Ṭabaqāt* by Ibn Saʿd; *al-Istīʿāb; Asad al-ghāba*; *al-Iṣāba* by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī; the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Bukhārī; the books of Ibn Ḥibbān; those of Ibn ʿAdī; those of al-Darquṭnī; those of al-Dhahabī; *al-Tahdhīb*; *al-Taqrīb*; *al-Khulāṣa*; *al-Ikmāl*; *al-Takmila*; and other *tarājim* written on scholars, poets, *qurrāʾ* (reciters of the Qurʾān), and jurists (*fuqahāʾ* sing. *faqīh*).

Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta emphasizes the bond of affection and loyalty that should exist between the biographer (*al-mutarjim*) and the subject of the biography (*al-mutarjam lahu*). This, he says, is a key requirement in the Islamic tradition of writing a *tarjama*. "Thus," he writes,

> since those who have the primary right to write a *tarjama* of a *ʿālim* are his children and his students, I feel that I have the right to do so. For God has granted me the privilege of having been the companion of Shaykh al-Ifrīqī for a long time. I learned from him in the Prophet's Mosque, in the Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina, and during his travels.

Then Shaykh ʿUmar reminds his audience of the principle of neutrality that should be applied by anyone who writes a biography, regardless of the bond of affection and loyalty that binds him to the person whose biography he writes. This principle is based not only on the importance of truth in Islam, but also on another Islamic value, namely, the Prophet Muḥammad's injunction to the faithful to not praise people excessively. "I promise you," he tells his audience, "I will not let my emotions speak and cover Shaykh al-Ifrīqī with praise." Shaykh ʿUmar cites the following *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "Do not praise me excessively

19 "Aqūl inna al-tarjama sunnat al-ʿulamāʾ wa manhaj ahl al-ḥadīth al-nubalāʾ, bal inna tamyīz al-sanad wa-l-isnād min mīzat hadhihi al-umma al-muḥammadiyya," Fallāta, *Lamahāt ʿan al-madīnat al-nabawiyya*, p. 204.

as the Christians [praise] the son of Maryam. For I am only the servant of God. Say only: servant and messenger of God."[20] Shaykh ʿUmar also mentions two other *ḥadīth*s to support his argument. One *ḥadīth* tells of a group of Arabs who came to the Prophet and praised him with these words: "You are our master (*anta sayyiduna*)." The Prophet replied: "God is the highest master." The group insisted, "You are the best and greatest of us all." The Prophet said, "Be moderate in your praise, and do not allow yourselves to be dragged down by Satan."[21] Shaykh ʿUmar follows his citation of the *ḥadīth* with the following: "This *ḥadīth* was narrated by Abū Dāwūd with a good chain of transmitters" (*rawāhu Abū Dāwūd bi sanadin jayyid*) to show that he is objective and respectful of the *muḥaddithūn* methods (scholars specialized in *ḥadīth*).

The second *ḥadīth* is the following. A man once said to the Prophet: "O you our master, son of our master, O you, the best of us all, son of the best of us all (Yā sayyidunā wa Ibn sayyidinā, yā khayranā wa Ibn khayrinā)." The Prophet said to them, "Speak normally and do not be overcome by Satan. I am only Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and the messenger of God. I do not want you to grant me a title greater than that which God has given me."[22] Apart from Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta's rhetorical strategy in this introduction, a strategy consisting of attracting the audience to attend to his subsequent speech, this introduction helps us to understand how *tarjama* (biography) is understood and written in Islamic tradition.

An Interpretation

After mentioning what he calls the "peculiarity of the Islamic *umma* concerning biography,"[23] Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta adds the ethical and religious aspect

20 "Lā taṭrūnī kamā aṭrat al-naṣāra Ibn Maryam, fa innamā anā ʿabduhu, faqūlū ʿabda Allāh wa rasūlahu" (*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*).

21 "Qūlū bī qawlikum aw bibaʿḍi qawlikum wa lā yastajriyannakumu al-Shayṭān" (*Sunan Abū Dāwūd*).

22 "Yā ayyuhā al-nās qūlū bi qawlikum wa lā yastahwiynnakum al-Shayṭān, anā Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh wa rasūl Allāh. Wa Allāh mā uḥibbu an tarfaʿūnī fawqa mā rafaʿaniya Allāh" (*Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad*).

23 "Aqūlu inna al-tarjama sunnat al-ʿulamāʾ wa manhaj ahl al-ḥadīth al-nubalāʾ, bal inna tamyīza al-sanad wa-l-isnād min mīzati hadhihi al-umma al-muḥammadiyya" [I should say that writing biographies is an old tradition among the *ʿulamāʾ* and specialists of *ḥadīth*s. Moreover, the technique, consisting of scrutinizing the chain of the people who transmitted a narrative, is a particularity of the community of Muḥammad], in Fallāta, *Lamahāt ʿan al-madīnat al-nabawiyya*, p. 204.

of *tarjama* (*biography*). He recalls that the biographer (*al-mutarjim*) of the shaykh (*al-mutarjam lahu*) should be, preferably, one of his children; if not, he should be one of his students. And the aim of the *tarjama*, he wrote, is first of all to establish a model for the coming generations (*tarājim al-rijāl madāris al-ajyāl*, or the biographies of the important people are schools for the coming generations). Then he insists on the requirement of objectivity, which, for him, is not to exaggerate the praise of the person whose biography one is writing. He supports this opinion by producing evidence of Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīth*s. He adds that the obligation to be objective is based on a religious principle, the traditional technique of the *muḥaddithūn* (specialists of *ḥadīth*s) on the transmission of *ḥadīth*s. This technique is based on *sanad* and *isnād*, in other words, the obligation of the *muḥaddith* to scrutinize the biographies of the persons who constitute the chain of transmitters of a *ḥadīth* in order to establish credibility. And he said that this technique, inherited by Muslim scholars, reinforces the objectivity of biographies written by Muslim scholars.

In sum, according to the explanation of Shaykh 'Umar Fallāta, the Islamic view on writing biography emphasizes that one should write only good things, but without exaggeration. The so-called Islamic ethic on writing biography does not accept for the biographer to criticize, as is indicated in the following *ḥadīth* of Prophet Muḥammad: "Recall the good things done by your deceased persons" (*udhkurū maḥāsina amwātikum*). But I believe that the *ḥadīth* does not exclude a critique; it does not say to recall *only* the good things, but rather recall the good things. That is, criticism is acceptable in addition to recalling the good things.

It is legitimate to question the objectivity of a *tarjama* written by a disciple about his master in an apologetic tone. But the apologetic tone is due to the nature of the *tarjama*. Apart from presenting a historical work, the main objective of a *tarjama* of an *'ālim* or other important personality is to present the person as a role model for the generations to come.

The basic content of a *tarjama* consists of the following components: the name and the date of birth of the person; a list of his teachers (*mashā'ikh*, *mu'jam* or *thabat*); a bibliography of the person's works; and travel and pilgrimage account (*riḥla*). These are verifiable facts about which it is difficult to lie.

We should also add that it would be subjective (and perhaps arrogant) to say that what a scholar has written about his shaykh is untrue and an apologetic work if we do not have evidence to the contrary. This is why, between J.L. Triaud, who has written that al-Ifrīqī was a tormented character (though he never met him), and what Shaykh 'Aṭiyya Sālim has written on al-Ifrīqī, I will not hesitate to believe the latter. For 'Aṭiyya Sālim lived with al-Ifrīqī every day for years: in private and in the teaching circles (*ḥalaqāt*) at home, at the Prophet's Mosque,

and at the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī. The reader of any *tarjama* written by a student for his deceased teacher, like ʿAṭiyya Sālim wrote about al-Ifrīqī, can easily notice that the praise of the shaykh can be a bit excessive. But the reader forgives him, because he knows that this is not an intentional lie, but is due to the real affection the student has for his shaykh. This affection is the result of the classical Islamic system of teaching based on *mulāzama* or *suḥba*, *muṣāḥaba* (companionship), in which the student learns from his shaykh almost everywhere: in his home, in the mosque, and in the *madrasa*. Often, he follows his shaykh on his travels, as ʿAṭiyya Sālim did with his two teachers, al-Ifrīqī and al-Shinqīṭī, and as ʿUmar Fallāta did with his teacher, al-Ifrīqī. The system of companionship is completely different from the western teaching system that prevails today in which the relationship between teacher and student is very distant and sometimes anonymous.

Conclusion

This book shows the many ways in which West African scholars have contributed to the dissemination of Wahhabism first in Saudi Arabia and from Saudi Arabia by their teaching, preaching, writings, and administrative work, from the very founding of the kingdom by Ibn Saʿūd.

Two of these *ʿulamāʾ* arrived in the Hijaz around 1905, the Tuareg Kel as Suq Abdullahi Ag Maḥmūd al-Madanī and the Fullānī Alfā Hāshim. Ag Maḥmūd al-Madanī had come as child to the Hijaz with his father and a group of Tuareg who had made the *hijra* through the Maghrib after the French colonial conquest of their territory. He grew up and worked as a merchant in the Hijaz, Yemen, and India, and as a judge, teacher, and *imām* at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. When King Ibn Saʿūd conquered the Hijaz, he allied himself with Saʿūd's power and the Wahhābī doctrine before returning permanently to West Africa in 1938, where he spread Wahhabism until his death. He was therefore the first to spread this doctrine in the region, especially among the Tuaregs. He taught and preached in the mosques and in public disputations he had with Tuareg Sufi leaders. He urged the people, especially Tuaregs, to make the *hijra* to Saudi Arabia. Ḥammād al-Anṣārī (one of the *ʿulamāʾ* discussed in this book) was one of his students who followed his advice to make the *hijra* to Saudi Arabia.

The second scholar, Alfā Hāshim, came to the Hijaz in 1905 through the Sudan Route (*ṭarīq al-sūdān*) after the British defeated the Muslims in the battle of Burmi in northern Nigeria in 1903. Although Alfā Hāshim was not Wahhābī, but remained Sufi until his death in the early 1930s, he sometimes indirectly and unintentionally contributed to the spread of Wahhābiyya. When Ibn Saʿūd conquered the Hijaz in 1926, he appointed Alfā Hāshim a member of the Council of Higher ʿUlamāʾ of Medina, which the Wahhābī regime had created. Alfā Hāshim was also the first teacher of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, a renowned Wahhābī-Salafī.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī is a perfect example of the scholars who are the subject of this book. He came to the Hijaz in 1926. ʿUmar Fallāta was raised in Medina but was born in Mecca to parents from northern Nigeria who made the *hijra* in the early 1920s. The other scholars, namely the Tuareg Ḥammād al-Anṣārī and the Mauritanian Āb Wuld Ukhtūr (Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī), made the *hijra* to the Hijaz in the 1940s. Except for Ag Maḥmūd al-Madanī, these scholars all made the *hijra* by the Sudan Road.

These scholars fled the French and English colonization of their countries. They were all under the surveillance of British and especially French

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intelligence services, which suspected them of indoctrinating the West African pilgrims they received in Mecca and Medina to rise against the colonial occupation after their return to West Africa. But no evidence has been established that these scholars did that or had the intention to do so. Moreover, we do not find any substantial critique of the colonial occupation in their writings. This does not mean that they approved the colonial occupation. In their writings about their trip to the Hijaz, some, like Ḥammād al-Anṣārī and Āb Wuld Ukhtūr, complain about the colonial powers' controls on the way. To the faithful who asked them on the road, they expressed opinions on whether there is an obligation to make the *hijra* and on other purely religious matters. When they arrived in Saudi Arabia, their only concern was to disseminate the Wahhābī-Salafī doctrine they embraced and considered the only valid one. They performed their duty as *dāʿī* (missionaries of Islam) and did not engage in politics. The Saudi state, which engaged them to work, considered their work primarily political, aiming to strengthen the foundations of the new state.

In this book, I show that these scholars of West Africa were not the only non-Saudi *ʿulamāʾ* engaged in this work. They worked together with scholars from the Egyptian Salafī movement, Jamāʿat Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, and with those of the Indian Salafī movement, the Ahl al-Ḥadīth. This shows that the Wahhābī-Salafī doctrine was not initially spread, first in Saudi Arabia and then in the world, by Najdī *ʿulamāʾ* alone, but together with *ʿulamāʾ* from all parts of the Muslim world where the Wahhābī-Salafī doctrine was already established.

With regard to the contribution of these scholars to the diffusion of the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya doctrine in West Africa, I found a variety of replies. The people whom I asked this question in West Africa (among them Mahmoud Dicko, president of the Muslim Council of Mali) during my field research in 2009 tended to diminish the contribution of these *ʿulamāʾ* in West Africa—an opinion that I cannot share for various reasons. First, before he finally returned to Mali, Mahmoud Dicko, himself, was in Medina for a long time as a student and disciple of Shaykh ʿUmar al-Fallāta, whose teaching he followed in the Prophet's Mosque and in the house of the shaykh. He then remained in contact with Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta until the shaykh died. He even once received Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta in Mali, and he continued to teach what he had learned from Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta, among other things. Mahmoud Dicko himself is an example that contradicts what he says. Moreover, we have seen that these *ʿulamāʾ* taught the pilgrims who came from West Africa (and elsewhere) and responded to religious questions that Muslims sent them from West Africa. They taught people who then returned to West Africa and disseminated Salafī teachings, as in the case of Mahmoud Dicko. The British and French

colonialists were afraid of some of the pilgrims after their return to West Africa because they had a real influence on the Muslims of West Africa. They thought that West African scholars that were established in the Hijaz inculcated pilgrims with the Wahhābiyya doctrine, which they considered subversive, and that the pilgrims could, on the basis of this doctrine, lead a rebellion against the colonial administration. This is also the reason the colonial administration sent people to the Hijaz to observe pilgrims and the *ʿulamāʾ* discussed in this book, as these scholars welcomed the pilgrims and led them in their rituals of the *ḥajj*. The colonial governments imposed strict measures on those who wanted to go to *ḥajj* by the Sudan Route (*ṭarīq al-sūdān*), people that the colonial administration could not control.

In reality, there are those who, like Mahmoud Dicko, do not believe the *ʿulamāʾ* treated in this book greatly helped to spread Islamic education in West Africa in general and to spread Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya doctrine in particular. Mahmoud Dicko criticized in my presence the attitude of these *ʿulamāʾ* and that of most of the West Africans who settled in Saudi Arabia on a specific point, namely that they tend to forget their roots in West Africa. This can be seen, he said, not only in their way of life, but also and especially in the way their children view close relatives from West Africa who visit Saudi Arabia. One gets the impression, he said, that they are not proud of their African origins. And he quotes the following anecdote to illustrate his point. When a child of these people meets a close relative from West Africa in the street in Saudi Arabia, he presents him to his fellow Saudis saying, for example, "He is a relative of my father" (*huwwa jamāʿat abuyya*). He does not say: "He is one of my relatives." He excludes himself by considering the visitor a relative of his father only. That shows, said Mahmoud Dicko, that they feel an inferiority complex, and the parents are largely responsible for this problem. In fact, although the remarks by Mahmoud Dicko are true (since I have also noticed the same behavior), the situation could be interpreted in different ways. First, this is a general criticism of that those who are left behind make about those who have emigrated, especially to children socialized in the host country where they were born and grew up. It is natural that these children identify themselves with the country they are more familiar with, that is to say, where they live rather than the country where their parents come from. This can be considered, if not a sign of successful integration, at least an indication that the second generation intends to integrate into the host country.

Meanwhile, Muḥammad ʿUmar Fallāta, the son of Shaykh ʿUmar Fallāta and a professor at the Islamic University of Medina, told me in Medina that the Saudi *ʿulamāʾ* of West African origin, like his father, have made a great contribution in the field of education in their (host) country, Saudi Arabia, but not in

West Africa. But the reason for this assertion was not that Muḥammad ʿUmar wanted to deny or underestimate the contribution of these *ʿulamāʾ* in West Africa, rather in the context of the international hysterical fear of Wahhābism and what the Americans call the war on terror, he did not want his father to be associated, in any manner whatsoever, with this international hysteria. As he told me, his father had never, in any manner whatsoever, contributed to any criminal or terrorist acts and this concern led Muḥammd ʿUmar to be skeptical about my research project that resulted in this book.

The opinion of Mahmoud Dicko is also contradicted by the activities of Muḥammad Yaḥyā and Mūsā Shaddād, both Tuaregs and former students of Shaykh Ḥammād al-Anṣārī in the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī in Riyadh. These two Tuareg *ʿulamāʾ* returned to West Africa after spending their childhood and youth in Saudi Arabia. When they were children they made the *hijra* to the Hijaz with their parents. After finishing their Islamic studies at the Maʿhad al-Riyāḍ al-ʿIlmī in Riyadh and at the Islamic University in Medina, they decided in the 1960s to return permanently to West Africa to spread the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya *daʿwa*. In Niger, Muḥammad Yahyā became the head of the teaching of Arabic in public schools and Mūsā Shaddād was responsible for the same function in Mali. In addition, he taught at the Madrasa Dār al-Ḥadīth in Bamako, a branch of the Madrasa Dār al-Ḥadīth in Medina in Saudi Arabia. When I met them in the north of Mali (in Gao and Menaka), they were retired from their official functions, but continued voluntarily to teach and spread the Wahhābiyya *daʿwa*. Mūsā Shaddād taught in Madrasa Askiya b. Muhammad in Gao and preached in the city and places around Gao. In the town of Menaka and its surroundings, Muḥammad Yaḥyā ran small clinics and schools established by the NGO he co-founded to help the Tuareg people in the cross-border region between Mali and Niger.

Apart from this evidence of the intellectual lineage in West Africa of these Saudi *ʿulamāʾ* of West African origin, I also observed the active and effective presence of their family lineage and the influence of their memory on the people and especially on the close relatives and the inhabitants of the villages from which they come. This shows again that these *ʿulamāʾ* have maintained their ties to West Africa. For example, when I arrived in Bamako for my research, I was immediately put in touch with Ḥaji Mimouni, a nephew of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī. He had made the *ḥajj* in the 1980s and was in contact with the other family members of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī in Saudi Arabia. He also put me in contact with family members in Fafa near Gao, his native village (the same native village of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī). I spent a week in this village to see how the villagers remember Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and how much they remember. I was welcomed not only by the

family of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī, but by the whole village. In fact, since I came to do research on Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī (the most important person in the village), I was considered a guest of the village.

Ideologically, these *ʿulamāʾ* were not attached to their villages or their countries of origin, nor even to the Saudi nation-state, but rather to the *umma*, that is to say, the spiritual community of Muslims. Although these West African *ʿulamāʾ* were committed to spreading Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya teachings, they did not have an international Islamic agenda but performed the Islamic duty of *daʾwa* to disseminate the Wahhābiyya-Salafiyya doctrine, the version of Islam they came to embrace and that they regarded as the only just and valid one. They did not identify themselves with the Saudi Arabian nation-state, but rather with the project of the Islamic mission initiated by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and other Saudi kings who succeeded him. The Saudi nation-state, the nostalgia for the Islamic caliphate, the idea of the *umma* as a national body of all Muslims—none of this appears in their writings. The *umma* of these *ʿulamāʾ* was not a political entity, but rather a spiritual community that shared the same religion; and in their opinion, this community should adhere to the Wahhābiyya version of Islam.

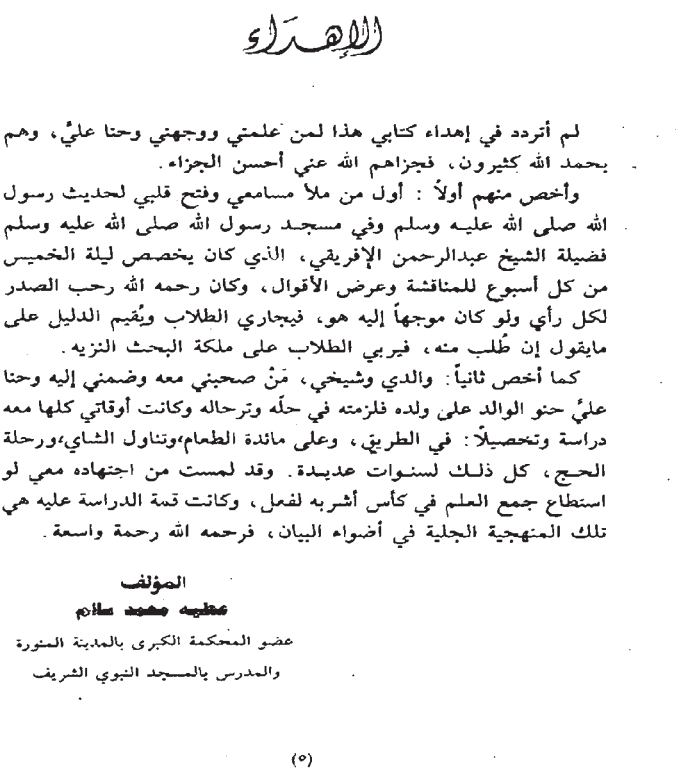
Again, Mahmoud Dicko is a living example of the legacy left by these *ʿulamāʾ* in West Africa. As we have already mentioned, he was the president of the Mali High Islamic Council. Muslims in Mali consider Mahmoud Dicko a Wahhābī, based on his religious discourse and activities. They distinguish between him and the vice president of the same Mali High Islamic Council, Ousmane Madani Haïdara, who is a Sufi. Haïdara is the most famous preacher of Mali. The authority Mahmoud Dicko has in Mali as president of the Mali High Islamic Council and as a Wahhābī-Salafī *ʿālim* was very clearly expressed during the occupation of northern Mali by the Tuareg rebels of MNLA (National Movement for the Liberation of the AZAWAD) and their Islamist allies like MUJAO (Mouvement pour le Tawhîd et le Jihad en Afrique de l'Ouest), AQIM (al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb), and Ansar ad-Din in March 2012, following the military coup of 22 March 2012 in Bamako. Given the inability of the Malian army to prevail against the rebels in northern Mali, Mahmoud Dicko initiated negotiations (unsuccessfully) with the rebels of northern Mali, particularly those of Salafī allegiance, to convince them to cease hostilities and to negotiate a political solution that would preserve the unity of the country. Maybe he thought, rightly or wrongly, that, being Salafī like most of the rebels, he could convince them. Many Malians accused him of siding with the rebels in the north because some of them were Wahhābī-Salafī like Mahmoud Dicko himself. However, Mahmoud Dicko supported the French military intervention of January 2013 to oust the Islamist rebels in northern Mali. He has,

in addition, publicly criticized Arab religious figures like Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī, who condemned the intervention. Although the French were satisfied with the position of Mahmoud Dicko, many in Mali continue to consider him a Wahhābī-Salafī. This may be why the French chose to decorate Haïdara with a medal and not Mahmoud Dicko.

The other major theme addressed in this book is the methodological issue of *tarjama* (biography or biographical notice). The concept of *tarjama* imposed itself, given the central topic of the book: *ʿulamāʾ* who lived in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. I found that from Alfā Hāshim to Mahmoud Dicko through ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and ʿUmar Fallāta, there is a Fullānī chain (*silsila*) of succession from teacher to student (or master to disciple). The same chain of succession, but Tuareg this time, is to be found from Abdullahi Ag Maḥmūd al-Madanī through Ḥammād al-Anṣārī to Muḥammad Yaḥyā and Mūsā Shaddad. The Mauritanian *ʿālim*, Āb Wuld Ukhtūr, has not formed a Mauritanian chain, but had a student (a disciple) namely ʿAṭiyya Sālim, who was at the same time also a student (disciple) of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī. Most of the students (disciples) mentioned above have written *tarjama*s on their teachers. Ḥammād al-Anṣārī wrote a *tarjama* on his teacher Abdullahi Ag Maḥmūd al-Madanī; ʿUmar Fallāta wrote one on his teacher ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī; and ʿAṭiyya Sālim wrote one on Āb Wuld Ukhtūr and one on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī.

As we can see, these *ʿulamāʾ* remained faithful to the Islamic tradition of scholarship, one that encourages scholars to honor and to be faithful to the knowledge acquired from a teacher by transmitting this knowledge through teaching and through writing *tarjama*s. This tradition seems to suggest also a method of historical investigation that I have taken and applied in this book. This is a method that involves studying the chain (*silsila*) of biographies as a whole and each link (individual biography) of them or group of equal links (several biographies of the same generation), in case of a plurality of parallel chains. In my case, I have applied this method to three chains: the first starting from Alfā Hāshim and ending with Mahmoud Dicko; a second one starting from Ag Maḥmūd Abdullahi al-Madanī and ending with Muḥammad Yaḥyā and Mūsā Shaddad; and a third one starting from Āb Wuld Ukhtūr (Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī). In addition, in the *tarjama* each wrote, ʿUmar Fallāta and ʿAṭiyya Sālim added a reflection on the concept of *tarjama* in Islam, in the Islamic scientific tradition, in history, and in Islamic culture. Both focused on the long Islamic tradition of writing *tarjama* (biographies) and *tarjama dhātiyya* (autobiographies). They recall that the Islamic tradition of writing *tarjama* owes much to the science of *ḥadīth* (*ʿilm al-ḥadīth*), which emphasizes scrutinizing the biographies of people who form the *sanad* and

isnād (chain of reporters) of *ḥadīth*. So I have tried to explain the concept of *tarjama* as these *'ulamā'* understood it, while at the same time referring to biography as conceived in the tradition of western culture.



الإهداء

لم أتردد في إهداء كتابي هذا لمن علمتني ووجهني وحنا عليَّ، وهم بحمد الله كثيرون، فجزاهم الله عني أحسن الجزاء.

وأخص منهم أولاً: أول من ملأ مسامعي وفتح قلبي لحديث رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وفي مسجد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فضيلة الشيخ عبدالرحمن الإفريقي، الذي كان يخصص ليلة الخميس من كل أسبوع للمناقشة وعرض الأقوال، وكان رحمه الله رحب الصدر لكل رأي ولو كان موجهاً إليه هو، فيجاري الطلاب ويُقيم الدليل على مايقول إن طُلب منه، فيربي الطلاب على ملكة البحث النزيه.

كما أخص ثانياً: والدي وشيخي، مَنْ صحبني معه وضمني إليه وحنا عليَّ حنو الوالد على ولده فلزمته في حلّه وترحاله وكانت أوقاتي كلها معه دراسة وتحصيلاً: في الطريق، وعلى مائدة الطعام،وتناول الشاي،ورحلة الحج، كل ذلك لسنوات عديدة. وقد لمست من اجتهاده معي لو استطاع جمع العلم في كأس أشربه لفعل، وكانت قمة الدراسة عليه هي تلك المنهجية الجلية في أضواء البيان، فرحمه الله رحمة واسعة.

المؤلف

عطيه محمد سالم

عضو المحكمة الكبرى بالمدينة المنورة

والمدرس بالمسجد النبوي الشريف

(٥)

Shaykh 'Aṭiyya Sālim wrote this dedication to his two teachers, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī and Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī.

Dedication, in *Mawqif al-umma min ikhtilāf al-a'imma* (Medina: Maktabat Dār al-Turāth, 1410/1989).

"I do not hesitate to dedicate this book to those who taught me, guided me, and showed me their affection. Thanks be to God, they were many. May they all be thanked and well rewarded by God. Particular mention must be made about two of them. The first person was Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ifrīqī. He was the first one to open my ears and my heart to receive the science of *ḥadīth* in the

Prophet's Mosque in Medina. Thursday evenings were reserved for discussion and the exchange of different opinions. He had an open heart for any opinion, even if it differed from his. He used to argue with his students and present, when necessary, proofs for what he was saying. So he trained his students in the appropriate skills of careful research. The second person was my father and shaykh, Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī. He attached me to him, made me his close companion wherever he was, and showed me the affection that a father shows to his son. All the time I spent at his side was a time of teaching and learning—on the street [walking], at the table when we were eating, at tea times, and during the pilgrimage trips to Mecca. And this [was true] for many years, so much so that if he could give me all the knowledge concentrated in a cup of tea, he would have done so. The summit of his teaching was his clear methodology, [that he] outlined in his book *Aḍwāʾ al-bayān*. May God grant him His great mercy."

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