

SCHOLARS
OF TIMBUKTU

PART III

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله على ما سطر محمد وآله وحجبه وسلم تسليمًا
 قال الشيخ العارف الرباني الفقيه الكامل العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى
 عمر الحقايق الصغرى والكبيرة والحقائق العرفية والاعتقادية
 مجمع على الشريعة والحقيقة وحامل لثمة السنة النبوية والحقائق
 املح الأمانة وخاصة خلاصة الإمامية في الاسم أو الألقاب التي سطرنا
 المختار من السير اجدر الشيرازي بكر الكشمي في الواقي جعقده ورعاه الواحر
 الصرا على امين

الحمد لله جامع فلوب العلم، معاتب محمل افعال المشكلات والكلية بياد
 وصحة الاموات ومضيق العظام الرباني والصلوة والسلاط على منيع الرحمة
 وعلى الله والجلاب البررة الممرات سدا وان عرني ان اجميعه ايما الاخ الكريم
 الى ما خلفه من بعض البقاع العليم المعاد، منه الى الصراط المستقيم وبما
 نصه فولد فرغم احتياجا الى مختصر جامع للمقرر الذي تروى الحاجة اليه مما
 يشترط في الانتفاع به الحر والعبر والمراه والصبى لسبب ولتة وبما نه مع الخار
 والاختصار وتوحيد الله تعالى المبلغ الى معنى منه والتشبهت بلذيل انبياءه ورواياته
 عار عن الغلو والتقصير ان العلوم في كل ما ينقص منه وفرفت انه فكر كثير خور جملة
 الناس في هذا العبر الذي هو التوحيد وشاع تكفيرهم بقواع المسلمين من امة محمد صلى
 الله عليهم في الجواب انه لا يجوز بل الجمل في موجبات الكفر وموجبات الكفر
 انكار ما يعلم من البر صفة او تخریب نصر الكتاب العزيز او انكار صفة من صفات الكمال
 او تخریب الرسول او بعضهم او القول بغير العلم ولا يكفر موم يهلكوا الجاهل
 لان الجمل اصل اصول البشرية روى عن امامنا ما لا يرضى الله عنه انه قال الجمل
 ببعض الصفات الموجب الكفر وانما موجب الكفر عناد الحق والتخاذل الشريك
 واختيار الكفر على الايمان مستمرا بالحرية الواردة في الصحاح عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم
 انه قال كان رجل من قريظة مسلم فعلى نفسه فلما حضرته الوفاة جمع بينه وقال
 لهم الست فراحسنت ثم يتبع فالوايلي قال لهم ان كنتم تطلبون من والا حسار التي
 باذ امت جاح فوا حسنت ثم انظر واومار الحاجب سم قولك سمعنا ناعمان ادوها
 فلم قدر الله علي ان يعذبني عند بله بعذب به احرام العلمير ويعلموا ما اكرم به جازم
 الله الرباح نجعتهم في الموات ثم رد اليه روحه وقال له يا عمر ما جلدت علي ما صنعت
 قال ابريت هو فدا وحشيمة عقابا والحيا، منقذ وقال الله تعالى له اذهب ففرغرت
 لدا وادخلت الجنة برحمتي فهذا العبر غير علم بتمام قررة الله حيث يقول النبي ليس

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The life of Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti

Yahya Ould el-Bara¹

The knowledge we have about the Islamisation of the populations of the Saharan and sub-Saharan west is sometimes confused and lacking in historical rigour, for the beginnings of Islam in Saharan Africa are known only in their broadest outlines.² The Islamisation of these populations seems to have been slow and progressive.³ It began with missionaries and merchants who were probably Ibadites (Kharijite)⁴ and was completed by the Almoravid movement (eleventh century AD). It was shaped into its definitive form in the cradle of the Sanhaja society.

Beginning with this Almoravid movement, Islam began to play a decisive role in the cultural, social and political sphere of the western regions of Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa. It created a shockwave that deeply affected the region, and became implanted in the behaviour, lifestyle and culture of the people. The Malikite rite, the Junaydite order, and the Ash'arite dogma⁵ represented the principal reference points of this Islam. All three delineated the general framework of the religious life of the people.

However, to talk of Islam as a religious law requires us to differentiate between three components which are clearly distinct according to the field of religion dealt with. The first component, *'aqida*, studies the precepts of faith based on logical and rational arguments and proofs; the second component, *fiqh* (law), considers rituals, transactions and contracts; and the third component, *tasawwuf*, considers questions of relevance to mysticism, namely how to devote oneself to the adoration (*'ibada*) of God, to turn away from the vanities of this world, and to renounce (*zuhd*) the satisfactions one can find in pleasure, wealth or social status.

Each of these three branches is represented by movements or schools founded by the great religious figures of Islam's first centuries. These leaders distinguished themselves by the nature of their interpretations and their conceptual and methodological tools. In this way, in the area of faith we find the currents of Mu'tazila, Ash'ariyya, Maturidiyya, Muhadditha, and so on; in the area of *fiqh* the schools of Hanafites,

Opposite: The first folio of the *al-Minna* manuscript composed by Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti.

The legitimacy of each brotherhood is assured by a chain of mystical transmission (*silsila*) from the founder of the order to the Prophet. Followers believe that the faith professed by their brotherhood is the esoteric essence of Islam and that the rituals of their order possess the same degree of importance as the canonical obligations. The brotherhoods were introduced south of the Sahara from the fifteenth century and spread like a tidal wave across all regions and classes of society. They first became visible in the cult of saints, namely men – living or dead – who possessed *baraka* or supernatural powers.

Malikites, Shafi'ites, Hanabalites, etc.; and in the area of *tasawwuf* the brotherhoods Qadiriyya, Shadhiliyya, Naqshabandiyya and Tijaniyya.

The institutionalisation of *tasawwuf* (formation of brotherhoods)

Learned followers of the different brotherhoods affirm that *tasawwuf* was born at the same time as Islam,⁶ and that its doctrine is based on the words of the Prophet who, as a contemplative, was the first master of *tasawwuf*.

However, it seems useful to examine the process by which the first forms of saintliness and ascetic practice slowly developed into more organised groups and into an esoteric instruction focusing on a doctrine which became more structured and institutionalised, and which came to be described as Sufism. This development is still not entirely clear.

If one is to believe certain men of letters, from the very earliest times a concentration of the spiritual way around *siyyaha*⁷ (mystical states) can be noticed. But it is from the beginning of the seventh century that some Muslim ascetics (*zuhhad*), steeped in piety, began to feel a need to devote themselves to this divine adoration. These *zuhhad* observed the behavioural code known as *adabi*; they also observed rituals which occupied a vital place in their way of living and behaving.

Sufism thus began as a mystical, philosophical and intellectual movement, but one should not forget that the resulting fraternalism (*turuqiyya*) constitutes a form of sociability with its own way of functioning, and its own social and political action. It is important to remember that it is principally as a form of sociability that Sufism manifests its relationship with history and with past and present societies.

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The affiliation of each Sufi to his order is carried out by means of a pact consisting of a profession of religious faith and vows which vary according to the different brotherhoods. Total submission to the master is a necessary condition for spiritual allegiance. In this sense the famous Islamic historian Ibn Khaldun wrote: 'The disciple must be in the hands of a shaykh, as the body is in the hands of the corpse-washer, or the blind man stepping towards the ocean is in the hands of his guide.'⁸

The different leaders of the orders of brotherhoods known in the Sunni world observe the path of al-Junayd (d.909). This famous Sufi, originally from Baghdad, should be considered the great inspiration for a moderate version of Sufism. Avoiding the doctrinal excesses of mystics such as Abu Yazid al-Bastami, Du al-Nun al-Misri and al-Hallaj, who frightened and distanced orthodox believers, he laid the foundations upon

which the great Sufi systems would be built.⁹ On these grounds he appears in the *silsila* of all the large and well-known Sunni brotherhood orders.

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With time, a standard organisation developed around this cult; its essential elements were the *zawiya* (place of residence of the saint or his spirit), the saint or his lieutenant (generally a descendant) and the *murids* (disciples or aspiring followers).¹¹

The religious orders or brotherhoods that developed widely south of the Sahara are one aspect of the cult of saints. These orders were organised and hierarchical and some of them extended their branches into a large proportion of the Muslim world.

In the society of the time, the saint was vital as a protector and saviour. His place of residence became not only a sanctuary and religious centre, but a social and political centre too.¹² The *zawiya* was the centre of the cult of the saint, which practised the *dhikr* ceremony – tireless repetition of a certain prayer, in an appropriate manner, until the achievement of a state of grace where one entered into contact with the divine. However, the role of *zawiya* was not limited to mystical instruction (*tarbiyya*); it filled numerous social functions and was responsible for the redistribution of worldly possessions to all those in need – the poor, fugitives and foreigners in transit.¹³

Despite the traditional hostility of the *fuqaha* (jurists) towards those who claim direct access to God through saintliness (*walaya*) outside societal norms, religious brotherhoods developed so rapidly in the sub-Saharan region that belonging to one of the brotherhoods became an important part of carrying out religious duties.¹⁴

The most important of the religious brotherhoods which spread through the sub-Saharan region are:

- ❖ The Qadiriyya (referring to Sidi ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani), especially in its two branches: al-Bakka’iyya (referring to al-Shaykh Sidi A’mar ould al-Shaykh Sidi Ahmad al-Bakkay, d. sixteenth century) and al-Fadiliyya (referring to al-Shaykh Muhammad Fadil ould Mamin,¹⁵ d.1869–70).
- ❖ The Shadhiliyya (referring to Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili, d.1169) in its two branches: al-Nasiriyya (referring to Muhammad ibn Nasir al-Diri, d.1626) and al-Gudfiyya¹⁶ (referring to al-Shaykh Muhammad Lagdaf ould Ahmad al-Dawdi al-Jaafari¹⁷ d.1802).
- ❖ The Tijaniyya (referring to al-Shaykh Sidi Ahmad al-Tijani, d.1815) with its two branches: al-Hafiziyya (referring to al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Hafid ould al-Mukhtar,¹⁸ d.1831) and al-Hamawiyya¹⁹ referring to al-Shaykh Hamah Allah²⁰ (d.1943).

As *hadarat*, these brotherhoods constituted organisational and political frameworks greater than the tribe or the family. These Sufi *hadarat* are social and religious institutions centred

on the person of the shaykh (educator), who draws his authority from a chain of transmission which traces back to Muhammad and thus guarantees the shaykh's legitimacy.²¹

The success of these brotherhoods in the sub-Saharan world must be considered in the light of several factors. It can be explained by the fact that material life was becoming more difficult, and disasters like droughts, epidemics and wars were increasing. There was also widespread weakening of the central authorities (Almoravid, Mali, Wolof) and growing insecurity, aggravated by the strengthening of tribal ties which occurred throughout the zone.²²

There is another explanation for the extraordinary success of the brotherhoods: they 'recuperated' and mobilised former pre-Islamic practices and beliefs. It goes without saying that these orders, from the very fact of their extraordinary success with the masses, ended up having very little to do with the Sufi or mystic ideal.

The Qadiriyya

This mystical brotherhood is spread out all over the world and takes its name from its founder 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d.1167), an Iraqi originally from Naïf, south of the Caspian Sea. Early on he acquired the rudiments of Arabic in his native village before going to Baghdad to pursue studies in Islamic law and theology with various doctors from different schools – Hanbalite, Shafi'ite, and so on. He was initiated into Sufism by Shaykh Abu al-Khayr Muhammad ibn Muslim al-Abbas (d.1131).²³

Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir was the most influential scholar of his time in the science of *shari'a* (religious law) and the disciplines related to *haqiqa* (divine truth). His reputation in the sciences of Sufism and *shari'a* was such that he eventually became known as the most learned man of his time (*qutbu zamanihi*).²⁴

This great Sufi master built a *zawiya* which quickly became famous for the quality of its written and oral teachings. These instructions centred on the total renunciation of worldly life and the obligation to devote oneself constantly to exercises of piety, to live for God alone, to renounce the pomp and ceremony of this world, to retreat from society, to devote oneself to devotional practices, and to in no way seek the pleasure, riches and honours that most men seek.²⁵

The main ideas of 'Abd al-Qadir's new order are grouped in two works entitled *al-Ghunya li-talibi tariqi al-haqq* (Sufficient Provision for Seekers of the Path of Truth) and *al-Fath al-rabbani* (The Sublime Revelation), where he expounds the themes of his mystic philosophy.

The Qadiriyya order only spread into the world many years after the disappearance of its founder,²⁶ towards the end of the twelfth century AD, thanks to the dynamism of his children, grandchildren and followers. Abu Madyan (d.1198) played an important role in the expansion of this mystic order in all regions of the Muslim west.²⁷

The three determining elements for the diffusion of the Qadiriyya into the Sahara and in the countries of Bilad al-Sudan were the caravan trade, the sermons of al-Maghili²⁸ (d.1504) and the flight of the Tuat Kunta on the arrival of the Beni Hassan in their country.

Qadiriyya south of the Sahara

Many Muslim West African populations think that belonging to a *tariqa* is a religious obligation. This is the reason many adults belong to a brotherhood from a young age, and this membership is generally automatic.

In the sub-Saharan region the Qadiriyya order was introduced by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim al-Maghili.²⁹ Sidi Ahmad al-Bakkay,³⁰ the son of Sidi Muhammad al-Kunti (born at the beginning of the sixteenth century) was, it seems, the first to join, but it doesn't appear that he worked towards the popularisation of the movement.³¹ It was his son, Shaykh Sidi A'mar, a faithful disciple and travelling companion of al-Maghili, who became a keen propagator of the Qadiriyya order, and the great master of this order³² after al-Maghili's return to the north. It was by means of this grouping of mystics that the Qadiriyya order entered the Sahara. (Chapter 14 of this volume provides more detail on the history of the Kunti family.)

Shaykh Sidi A'mar was succeeded by his eldest son Ahmad al-Fayram (d. c.1553). Ahmad al-Fayram was succeeded by his eldest son al-Shaykh Sidi Muhammad al-Raggad (from whom the Rgagda tribal group's name is derived). He was a great scholar and died in 1577. Shaykh al-Raggad was succeeded by his son al-Shaykh Sidi Ahmad (d.1652), who constructed the *zawiya* in Tuat.

Shaykh Sidi Ahmad was succeeded by his son Sidi 'Ali, the *qutb* or pole of saints and master during his reign (1652–89) and whose marvels were widely known.³³ Sidi 'Ali was succeeded by two nephews, the sons of Sidi A'mar ibn Sidi Ahmad: first al-Shaykh Sidi Ahmad al-Khalifa (d.1693), then al-Shaykh Sidi al-Amin Bou Ngab, the 'Man in the Veil' (d.1717).³⁴

After Sidi al-Amin the *khilafa* (mastery) of the Qadiriyya left the tribe and passed to a sherif of Takroun whose name was Sidi 'Ali b. al-Najib b. Muhammad b. Shuayb (d.1757). It was at Taghaza that he received his mystical initiation from Sidi al-Amin.³⁵ After Sidi 'Ali, mastery of the *tariqa* came back to the Kunta tribe, yet this time not to the Rgagda tribal group, but to the Awlad al-Wafi tribal group. This is where al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kabir plays his part.

Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar and his enterprise

Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar was the second last of the children of Ahmad ould Abu Bakr ould Sidi Muhammad ould Habib Allah Wuld al-Wafi ould Sidi Amar al-Shaykh ould Sidi Muhammad al-Kunti, the eponymous forebear of the Kunta tribe.³⁶

The vast majority of sub-Saharan African populations think that belonging to a *tariqa* is a religious obligation. This is the reason many adults belong to a brotherhood from a young age, and this membership is generally automatic.

The nomadic, Arabic-speaking Kunta formed a complex of independent family groups. They were gifted merchants, which allowed them to form a veritable economic empire stretching over a huge territory, from the Atlantic Ocean to Air, from Morocco to black Africa.

This nomadic tribe, which roamed from Timbuktu to Ifoghas Adrar, Dinnik and Gourma, and occasionally into the Hodh, is undoubtedly one of the most important Moorish maraboutic tribes (Bidane). It is a product of the population distribution of the south-west Sahara. In fact, it only crystallised into its current ethnic configuration at the end of the seventeenth century.³⁷

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The Kunta were propagators of the Qadiriyya order south of the Sahara. They have identified themselves with (and been identified with) this order to such an extent that their names have become synonymous. West African Qadiriyya is often called Bakkaiyya – from the name of the Kunta ancestor al-Shaykh Sidi A'mar ould al-Shaykh Sidi Ahmad al-Bakkay who spread the order in the sixteenth century – or Mukhtariyya, from the name of Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti who restored the order at the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century.

Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar was born in the north-east of Araoun in Azawad (a region in the north-west of Mali) between 1729 and 1730. He lost his mother when he was four or five years old and his father when he was ten. His elder brother Muhammad became his guardian, although it seems he was strongly influenced by his maternal grandfather Beddi ibn al-Habib, who had a strong affection for him.³⁸

Raised by scholarly marabouts of high distinction, and gifted with intelligence, it is not surprising that from his first years Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar developed rapidly in the paths of piety and Islamic science.

At the age of 14 he left his guardians in search of divine wisdom, knowledge and guidance. His first masters were Tuareg scholars of the Kel Essouk group. He then continued his studies of Islamic law and in particular of Khalil's *Mukhtasar* with another Tuareg tribal group (the Kel Hourma), where he studied with several scholars.³⁹

Convinced he should go deeper into his studies, he turned towards Timbuktu where he stopped for a while only to continue his search for his master of choice, al-Shaykh 'Ali ibn Najib, a great sage and an illustrious master of Qadiriyya. At his school he was instructed in the science of Qur'anic exegesis, the science of tradition, the life of the Prophet (*sira*), theology (*'aqida*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), grammar, recitation of the Qur'an (*qira'a*) and philology.⁴⁰

After having acquired mastery of 13 disciplines relating to religious law and its associated sciences, he turned towards the spiritual path under the guidance of this same shaykh.⁴¹ He practised extremely harsh exercises of piety to prepare himself for the mystical order. Through this process his shaykh inculcated a powerful mystical

education in him and initiated him into the Qadiriyya as well as giving him the power to confer it.⁴² It was this consecration that would make al-Mukhtar the successor of Shaykh 'Ali ibn al-Najib in the leadership of Qadiriyya.

According to his biographers, he spent four years with his shaykh and then moved to settle in Walata, in present-day Mauritania, near the tomb of his ancestor Sidi Ahmad al-Bakkay. Later he moved to Tagant, where his fame began.⁴³ From 1756 he took the title of shaykh of the Qadiriyya order, thus affirming his superiority over all the other Qadiriite masters' *wirds* (litanies) which existed in the Sahara and especially in the Tuareg and Moorish areas.

Teaching and works

Although eminent amongst the great Sufi saints and nicknamed the master of the time (*sahibu al-waqt*) – that is, the outstanding figure of his epoch (the eighteenth century) – al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar was also one of the most illustrious theologians of the west Sahara and of Bilad al-Sudan. His teachings attracted students of every kind to his place of residence and he authored a large number of works, including:

- ❖ *Tafsir al-fatiha* (commentary on the *fatiha*);
- ❖ *Tafsir al-Qur'an* (commentary on the Qur'an);
- ❖ *al-Shumus al-muhammadiyya* (Muhammadan Suns – a work of theology);
- ❖ *al-Jur'a al-safiyya* (The Pure Mouthful);
- ❖ *Kashf al-labs fi ma bayna al-ruh wa al-nafs* (Clarification of Ambiguity in the Difference Between the Spirit and the Soul);
- ❖ *Hidayat al-tullab* (The Conversion of Students; three volumes);
- ❖ *al-Minna fi i'tiqad ahl al-sunna* (Favour in Orthodox Belief);
- ❖ *al-Burd al-muwwashsha* (The Many-Coloured Garment);
- ❖ *Kashf al-gumma* (The End of Doubt);
- ❖ *al-Ajwiba al-labbatiyya* (Replies to the Questions of Labbat);
- ❖ *Fada'il ayat al-Kursi* (The Virtues of *ayat al-Kursi*);
- ❖ *al-Albab fi al-ansab* (Hearts Concerning Genealogies);
- ❖ *Sharh al-ism al-a'zam* (Commentary on the Great Name of God);
- ❖ *Junnat al-murid* (The Follower's Shield);
- ❖ *Jadwat al-anwar fi al-dabbi 'an awliyya Allah al-akhyar* (The Brand of Light for the Defence of God's Finest Saints);
- ❖ *al-Kawkab al-waqqad* (The Shining Star).

Social and political role

Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar played one of the most important roles in Saharan and Sahelian life in the last part of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth. He gave an important spatial, religious and political dimension to the Qadiriyya order. In addition, the career of al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar, as with that of his successor,

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One of the important aspects of the career and activity of the saint was this interaction between the tribal and religious concerns in all stages of his life. Religious prestige, which was expressed in the formation of a *tariqa*, was quick to transform itself into political leadership. In fact, in the region of the Moorish tribes the founders of the brotherhoods were often leaders of tribal bodies.

confirms the thesis that the religious man is a pacifying mediator whose goal is the maintenance of balance in a society permanently threatened by destabilising conflict.

Relationships between saints (who hold power over the invisible) and sultans (whose power is limited to this world) were always uncomfortable, but they usually ended in mutual acknowledgement and in favour of the saint, who would be solicited to provide protection for the political leader. Each thus bowed before the other, which amounted to mutual recognition of authority and legitimacy.⁴⁴

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Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar died on 29 May 1811 at the age of either 84 or 91, leaving more than 8 children. He was buried in Bulanwar in the north of Mali.

Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar and the order (al-Bakka'iyya)

Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar is incontestably the most renowned representative of the mystical al-Qadiriyya order in the southern outskirts of the Sahara. From within the original brotherhood (Qadiriyya), he managed to found his own brotherhood, known as al-Bakka'iyya (referring to al-Shaykh Sidi A'mar ould al-Shaykh Sidi Ahmad al-Bakkay, d.1590).

The founding of Bakka'iyya took place within the framework of rejuvenating the religion and the brotherhoods. This renewal (*tajdid*) was experienced all over the Muslim world at the end of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century.

According to al-Shaykh al-Mukhtar, the *wird* of Bakka'iyya is the most illustrious; it holds pride of place over all others and cannot be replaced by any other.⁴⁵ He who possesses it dies only in the best possible conditions.⁴⁶ This *wird*, which is strictly obligatory, is composed of a certain number of *dhikr* that disciples must accomplish after every prayer:

- ❖ God provides us with everything, what an Excellent Protector (200 times).
- ❖ I ask forgiveness from God, the Immense (200 times).
- ❖ There is nothing but God, the King, the Truth, the Evident (100 times).
- ❖ The prayer for the Prophet (100 times).⁴⁷

In addition to this *wird*, the follower must recite a certain number of extra prayers of which the *wadhifa* is the most important.

Al-Shaykh Sidi Muhammad's *Kitab al-taraif wa al-tala'id* lists certain proscriptions imposed on followers of the Qadiriyya Bakka'iyya order. In this regard he wrote: 'Contrary to what happens in other brotherhoods, it is forbidden to us to abandon

ourselves to games, conspicuous displays of ascetism, fainting, dance, or exaggerated shouting to praise God. On the other hand, many of our shaykhs do not forbid or condemn singing. We must not wear rags or special garments.⁴⁸

This tendency of the Bakka'iyya order to conform to religious orthodoxy (always underlined by disciples of al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar) is confirmed elsewhere by a renowned scholar and Sufi of Shadhili allegiance. Muhammad Salim ould Alumma (d.1963) reports that al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti often defined *tasawwuf* by saying:

*al-sufi man labissa al-sufa 'ala al-safa
wa ittaba 'a tariq al-mustafa
wa qthaqa al-jassada ta 'm al-jafa
wa kanat al-dunya minhu ala qafa.*⁴⁹

The Sufi is he who wears wool on top of his purity,
follows the way of the Prophet, endures bodily punishments,
dedicates his life to adoration and
withdraws from this worldly life, abandoning all earthly things.

Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar was a veritable religious conqueror whose miracles are so numerous they can scarcely be counted.⁵⁰ His disciples were missionaries who spread through all the countries of West Africa.⁵¹ He made the Kunta into Islamisers and spiritual directors of the tribes of the Sahel and the Sahara. Thanks to the charisma and dynamism of its disciples, this *tariqa* took root in all the countries of West Africa and became the most important brotherhood from the end of the eighteenth century.

Outside the Moorish and Tuareg tribes, the spirituality preached through the Qadiriyya found fertile ground in African populations. Its memory is deepest in Senegal, Guinea, northern Ivory Coast and in the Islamised Sudan. All the black peoples who consider themselves adherents of Qadirism come under the affiliation and discipleship of al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar.

Paul Marty, the renowned French scholar of the region, claims that the Bakka'iyya order is practised by:

- ❖ all Kunta tribal groups from Mali, Algeria and Mauritania;
- ❖ the *zawiya* of al-Shaykh Sidiyya al-Mukhtar and in particular all the attached Moorish and black branches;
- ❖ the Mourides group of al-Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba in Senegalese Baol and its dependants;
- ❖ the Bou Kunta in Senegal and all the attached branches;
- ❖ the Fulani, Songhay and Igellad group of the Middle Niger region (Goundam);
- ❖ the Fulani and Marka group from Masina (Jenne, Dia);
- ❖ the Malinka group from upper Guinea (Kouroussa, Kankan, Beyla);
- ❖ all the Diakanke groups and their subsidiaries from Guinea (Touba, Bakadadji, Bissikrima, Kindia, Conakry) and upper Senegal (Bafoulabé, Kita);

Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar made the Kunta into Islamisers and spiritual directors of the tribes of the Sahel and the Sahara. Thanks to the charisma and dynamism of its disciples, this *tariqa* took root in all the countries of West Africa and became the most important brotherhood from the end of the eighteenth century.

- ❖ the Simono and Marka group from Banmana (Koulikoro, Ségou, Sansanding);
- ❖ the Fadiliyya brotherhood created by al-Shaykh Muhammad Fadil (c.1797–1869);
- ❖ the dan Fodio from the north of Nigeria;
- ❖ the Masina Fulanis.⁵²

Particularities of Bakka'iyya

Apart from the erudition of the masters of the Bakka'iyya order and their recitation of a combination of *dhikr* and *wird* composed by the founder al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar, the particularity of this order is the special interest it takes in occult knowledge – study of the secrets of letters, talismans, astronomy, exorcism, interpretation of dreams etc. – and in the teaching and propagation of this knowledge.

This interest in occult knowledge of Bakka'iyya merits particular attention. This occult knowledge is formulated in the Moorish saying '*al hikmatou kuntiyyatun aw futiyyatun*' (wisdom/occult knowledge belongs to the Kunta and Futa) and has caused long polemics between the *fuqaha* of the region. For this reason, in what follows we will describe in detail justification for the usage of occult knowledge in the Bakka'iyya, taking as a foundation the *fatawa* of the great founding father of the Bakka'iyya order, al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti.

It is important to underline that despite the assimilatory force of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa, it has not entirely superseded traditional beliefs, which still persist. If these beliefs are no longer directly known to us, their rites nonetheless persist – at times solemnly displaying their pagan colours – surviving side by side with the orthodox beliefs or incorporated into the Islamic rites.

With Islamisation, this occult and mysterious power became largely the privilege of scholars and saints, and particularly the most charismatic amongst them. The power of these men was no longer formulated in terms of magic but in terms borrowed from the new religion – they could act on nature by virtue of the Holy Word rather than through magical practice. From then on, the emphasis was placed on the proximity of these men to divinity (the notion of holiness) or on the gifts that divinity had granted them (the notion of *baraka*).

In talismanic art, it is difficult to make the distinction between what is legal and part of secret science (*sirr*) and what is prohibited because it is part of magic. Besides, in all Muslim societies sorcery, although separated from religion, tends to reintegrate with it by means of talismanic art. This is why, in Ibn Khaldun's opinion, Islam makes no distinction between *sirr* and talismanic arts, and in *al-Muqaddima* he places them both in the only chapter on prohibited practices.⁵³

Without doubt, Islam is hostile to occult practices and conceptions for they can conceal animist syncretism, which had a large hold on the local population. The *fatwa* of al-Maghili (d.1461), in reply to the questions of Askiya Muhammad (1493–1528), the ruler of Mali, confirms this sentence for the use of magic:

Be they condemned to death any sorcerer or sorceress or whosoever who claims to create wealth, divert armies, or perform other actions of this type through talismans, magic formulas or other procedures. Whosoever amongst them returns to their senses should be left alone. Whosoever, on the other hand, refuses must be killed. Whosoever pretends to write the words from the Book of God or holy words in this goal or in other goals of like genre should not be believed. He is but an impostor. He must be driven out.⁵⁴

In fact, the Qur'an, which represents the first fundamental source of Islamic law, contains no information concerning esoteric therapeutic practices. On the other hand, prophetic tradition or the Sunna, the second fundamental source of Islamic law, contains numerous *hadiths* which explicitly refer to treatments of an esoteric nature.

The use of therapeutic incantation (*ruqa*) by the Prophet and his companions is reported in several anthologies of *hadiths*, including the two authentic anthologies of al-Bukhari and Muslim. The legality of incantation is unanimously approved of by theologians and the life of the very earliest Muslims bears witness to this.

In a famous *hadith* the Prophet says: 'For every illness, God has provided a cure.'⁵⁵ The recognition by the Prophet himself of the therapeutic value of the *fatiha* (the first *sura* of the Qur'an) is for Muslim theologians the most important argument for the legality of incantation.

The Prophet himself opened the way to treatment of illnesses and problems by means of esoteric procedures. The signs of particular immediate power accorded to the Qur'an are manifest even in the lifetime of the founder of Islam. In this regard, the use of the *sura fatiha* by one of the Prophet's companions as an incantation to heal snake bites is highly instructive. Citing Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, al-Bukhari reports:

We were on a journey and we halted when a woman accosted us and informed us that the chief of her tribe had just been bitten by a snake and that her men folk were absent. She asked, 'Is there amongst you an incantatory healer (*raqi*)?' A man who had no reputation in the field as far as we knew stood up, accompanied her and made incantations in aid of the chief who was soon healed. As recompense the chief gave him 30 sheep, and milk to drink. When our man returned we asked him, 'Are you an incantation specialist or a confirmed practitioner?' and he replied, 'Not at all, I practise incantation solely with the mother of the book (*fatiha*).' We decided to talk no more of this before consulting the Prophet. On our return to Medina we told him the story and he exclaimed, 'How did he know that it (*fatiha*) has incantatory power? Share the spoils amongst you and put my share to one side.'⁵⁶

The discreet presence of the Arabic root word *raqa* with its incantatory content in the Qur'an certainly contributed to the success of the use of incantations, even if the success was ascribable to prophetic practice, amply relayed by traditionists.

As can be expected, the science of secrets incited lively polemics amongst the theologians of the region. Some think that the use of magical formulas for dispelling evil is nothing but a way of thwarting divine will, or a form of belief in a supernatural power which may even intervene against fate. They see, therefore, nothing but a magical practice rigorously proscribed by Islam, for the power to act on natural forces is analogous to the power of the magician, which is vociferously condemned in the Qur'an. Moreover, these esoteric formulas can contain 'associationist' (polytheistic) statements or vows in contradiction with the fundamental precepts of Islam.

In this vein, Sidi 'Abd Allah ould al-Haj Ibrahim (d.1817) wrote:

Religious law does not distinguish between magic, talismans and illusionism: it puts them all in the same category of forbidden objects. These sciences are forbidden because they turn the soul towards the stars or other objects rather than towards the Creator. The Lawmaker has only allowed us actions in accordance with our religion, which assures us happiness in the afterlife (*akhira*) and well-being on earth (*dunya*). Outside of these two legitimate preoccupations, everything harmful is forbidden in proportion to the amount of harm it can do.⁵⁷

Likewise, Muhammed Fal ould Muttali (d.1870) said in a poem (prose translation follows):

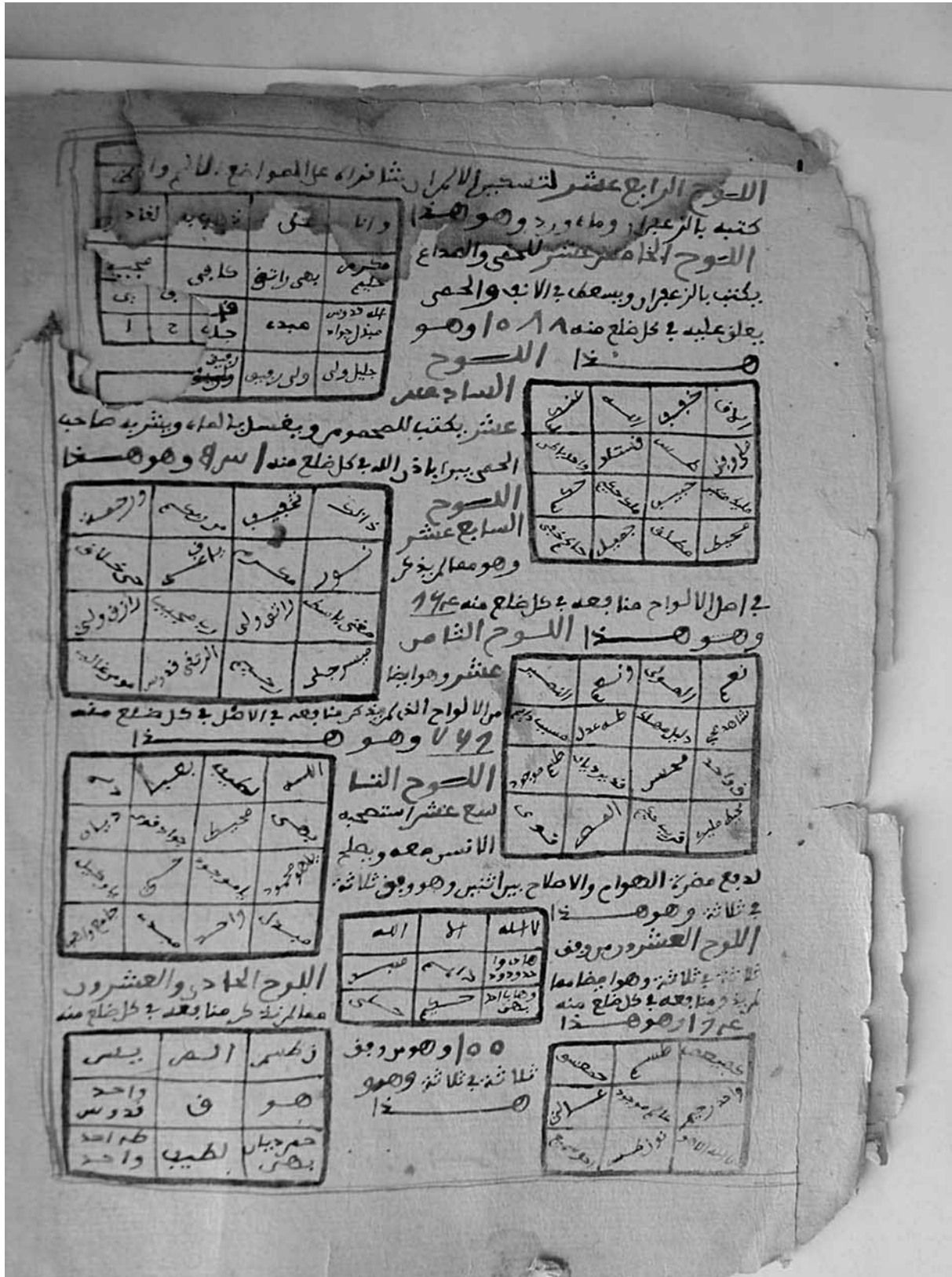
Citing Ibn Arafa, al-Sa'idi says that the practice of incantation using hermetic words or expressions is rigorously forbidden, even if effective. Their authors may even be subjected to the death penalty.⁵⁸

The major argument of these *fuqaha* is the reply that Malik (d.795) gave to someone who asked him if the use of non-Arabic Names of God (*al-asma al-ajamiyya*) in their original form for esoteric ends is authorised by Islam. He replied, 'Who tells you that it is not infidelity (*kufri*)?'⁵⁹

For al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar, Malik's answer is not as cutting as it appears. In fact, it is rather ambiguous for it lends itself to differing interpretations. One interpretation would, for example, lift the ban in the case where the user of these formulas made sure of the non-existence of elements opposed to the monotheistic spirit.⁶⁰ Infidelity is thought of as the association of other deities or elements with the One God; if one were to make sure the other names referred only to Allah, one would still fall within monotheism.

Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar considers that the science of the secret is authorised on condition it obtains good results. The prohibition rests on the results of the incantation. If these are positive, the prohibition is lifted; if not, it remains in place. This position is based on ethical considerations inspired by the Prophet's *hadith*: 'Do not hesitate to come to the aid of your brother in Islam.'⁶¹

Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar puts forward a second argument, that the incantation of incomprehensible phrases is well known in prophetic tradition.



This manuscript shows examples of incantations and esoteric healing practices.

One finds esoteric incantations recounted by traditionists whose meaning is not clear. Al-Hafid Abu Nuaym reported that the Archangel Gabriel taught the Prophet to recite a particular phrase to heal snakebites. The phrase goes 'Praise to God. *Shajjatun, qarniyyatun, matiyyatun, bahr qafla*'⁶² and then the healer blows seven times on a wooden knife which he sticks into the sand.⁶³

Theologians who authorise the 'black arts' refer to the above *hadith* and its hermetic formulas. As noted concerning the differing interpretations of Malik's words, the hermetic character of an incantatory phrase should not be a handicap for its use towards therapeutic ends. The continuity between pre-Islamic Arabic practices and Qur'anic practices is clearly evident in the example of incantation.

On the other hand, al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar thinks that incantation or any other therapeutic formula is only effective if its user is pious and possesses *baraka*, for the esoteric force of the incantation is directly linked to the socioreligious status and charisma of the user. He writes in this regard:

Abu Hamid al-Ghazali leads us to understand moreover that the effectiveness of the incantation resides as much in the saliva as in the magical formula itself. This is why it is often said of the users of unsuccessful incantations that they lack 'the spittle of Sahnun'.⁶⁴

This famous phrase was pronounced by a great Islamic saint when various complaints about one of the disciples of Sahnun (d.854) were being addressed to him. The disciple wanted to continue the tradition of his master in the healing of diverse illnesses through the recitation of the *fatiha*. Although the disciple in question repeated the same incantation as his master, his patients never managed to recover. They lodged a complaint against him with a holy man of the time who called him in and interrogated him on his manner of treating his patients. The healer replied that he acted just as his master Sahnun had done – he repeated the *fatiha* and spat lightly on his patients. The holy man replied, 'Indeed the *fatiha* is incontestably an effective incantation for healing all sorts of illnesses as the Prophet said, but does your spittle have the same power as that of Sahnun?'⁶⁵

In the last two centuries the region has known continual theological quarrelling over this matter. The climax of these polemics occurred in 1996. It is illustrated by an anecdote over which much ink has been spilled, and which has re-ignited the debate with greater fervour.

It is the story of a woman who was bitten by a snake in a small village situated in the Mederdra department of Mauritania. Following the bite the woman's foot swelled up and the first signs of poisoning began to show. Her husband, a Salafite trader, refused the intervention of a Qadirite cousin, although well known in the area for his mastery of these sciences. The husband began to make *fatiha* incantations himself in accordance with the prophetic tradition. This procedure was utilised by the Prophet's companion Abu Sa'id al-Khudri and consecrated by the Prophet in the famous *hadith* mentioned above.

After reciting *fatihah* for several hours the state of the woman did not show signs of improving. Rather, it was deteriorating to the point that oedema had reached her thorax and she was in agony. At this point the woman's parents began to worry that she would die and they thus went in search of the healer whom the husband had turned away earlier.

Despite the reticence of the husband, the local *qadi* judged that the woman's situation required urgent attention and ordered the healer to be summoned. When he began his incantations there was an immediate improvement in the woman's condition. He breathed several formulas from the so-called black *gabza* into his turban, with which he fanned the bitten limb. The patient vomited straight away and began to feel better. Several people who came to enquire into the state of the woman declared that the husband had nearly killed his wife with the recitation of the *fatihah*.

These words were reported to other people in the village of Salafite allegiances, and they automatically considered them as a declared heresy – they were considered heresy since they claimed that the *fatihah*, in other words the Word of God, had almost killed someone. The problem became rather serious and was put for arbitration before the *qadi* of the village. He cut the debate short by saying that these words were not aimed at the Qur'an but rather at the user of the incantation, who apparently did not possess the famous spittle of Sahnun. The *qadi* viewed the healer as a Muslim who had used his words to save the life of a person in danger. His words had had the desired effect; all this was considered as lawful in Islam.

This debate illustrates the controversial aspect of incantation and of the sciences of knowledge. From it we can draw several lessons, in particular that Qadirite populations neither reject nor hesitate to use even the most hermetic and unintelligible occult formula. The story and the debate that accompanied it had the effect of encouraging this sort of practice and reinforced arguments in favour of the positive effects of the occult sciences.

This is also why there is a strong tendency in this society to have greater faith in the virtue of so-called black practices than in so-called white practices. Many people believe that the use of white incantatory practices requires a now rare degree of piety and even perhaps intrinsic or hereditary aptitudes in the practitioner, whilst black incantations require neither great erudition nor, generally speaking, any natural disposition. Mastering them can be achieved with a short training period and initiation.

Just as the shaykhs of Bakka'iyya see nothing wrong with the use of knowledge (secrets of letters and geometric forms), nor do they see anything wrong with its ensuing remuneration. In this regard, al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar wrote:

The legitimacy of remuneration for the practice of *ruqya* (kind of talisman) is explicitly recognised by the Prophet when his companions decided to consult him over the spoils from the incantation in Medina. He ordered them to share out the spoils. The remuneration always exacted by practitioners, which is on occasion considerable, finds in this *hadith* a legal justification.⁶⁶

The founding saint always managed to put into place a dynastic strategy based on ancestral status. By this process he assured the continuity of the direction of *tariqa* in his direct descendants. Spiritual legitimacy became linked to genealogical legitimacy, which made the power of the brotherhood dependent on the power of the tribe. However, the more the designated chief became involved in social affairs, the more he lost control of the *tariqa* and his spiritual authority.

Succession

Shaykhs normally name their *khalifa* (successor) through the gift of a string of beads, a prayer mat, a staff or some similar object. It was thus that Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kabir chose his successor by giving his beads to his son al-Shaykh Sidi Muhammad just before his death.

Indeed, the founding saint always managed to put into place a dynastic strategy based on ancestral status. By this process he assured the continuity of the direction of *tariqa* in his direct descendants. It was also this mechanism which modified the meaning of the symbolic links of the foundation of the *tariqa*: in this foundation the succession of a shaykh was not necessarily given to his family but to a spiritually qualified master; this then was changed to family succession. Spiritual legitimacy became linked to genealogical legitimacy, which made the power of the brotherhood dependent on the power of the tribe. However, the more the designated chief became involved in social affairs, the more he lost control of the *tariqa* and his spiritual authority.⁶⁷

Al-Shaykh Sidi Muhammad was born in 1765. He too was famous for his immense learning, his austerity, his ascetism and his power of attraction through speech and visions. He was incontestably the greatest representative of the Bakka'iyya order after the disappearance of his father and he distinguished himself from his other brothers by his reputation as a mystic. His many miracles contributed to creating this image of him in the eyes of his followers.

This great Sufi of the Bakka'iyya was useful to his contemporaries. He saved the town of Timbuktu from total destruction by Cheikhou Amadou's Fulanis in around 1825–26. His intervention stopped the pillage and arson, and led to the organisation of a regular governmental mission of Fulanis to Timbuktu.

During the life of his father, al-Shaykh Sidi Muhammad undertook several missions of a political nature to the tribes and authorities of the region – all activity, albeit perceived as religious, had a political and social dimension. He was in a sense the manager of the political and social affairs of his father, and thus became very experienced in these matters. He distinguished himself through the strategies he used to give his group social standing in his negotiations over territorial issues.

He died in 1826, and continuing his work became the major preoccupation of his family. As with any organisation based mainly on personal charisma, the disappearance of the founding fathers changed the nature of charismatic domination in the brotherhood.

Al-Shaykh Sidi Muhammad was succeeded by his two eldest sons: first Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Sagir (d.1847), then al-Shaykh Sidi Ahmad al-Bakkay (d.1865).

NOTES

- 1 Translated from the French by Simon de Swardt.
- 2 Ould Muhammad Baba (1996–97: 6).
- 3 Cuoq (1984: 56–57).
- 4 Cuoq (1984: 61).
- 5 The Malikite *madhhab* is one of the four schools of jurisprudence that developed in the Sunni world; the Junaydite order is a branch of *tasawwuf* (Sufism); and the Ash'arite dogma is the most common theological school in Islam.
- 6 Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti, *al-Kawkab al-waqqad fi fadail al-ashyakh wa al-awrad* (manuscript), page 46, Institut Mauritanienne de Recherche Scientifique.
- 7 See Muhammaddou Ould Aghrabatt, *al-Radd 'ala Ould Hanbal al-Hasani* (manuscript), Institut Mauritanienne de Recherche Scientifique.
- 8 Ibn Khaldun (1985: 87).
- 9 Ibn Khaldun (1985: 88).
- 10 Ould Shaykh (1991: 201).
- 11 Ould Shaykh (1991).
- 12 Boubrik (1999: 76).
- 13 Ould Shaykh (1991: 209).
- 14 Ould Shaykh (1991: 210).
- 15 A great Sufi of the Qadiriyya order from the Mauritanian east, founder of the Fadiliyya order and father amongst other masters of al-Shaykh Malaynin and al-Shaykh Sad Buh.
- 16 Gudfiyya is a religious brotherhood whose followers have been accused of committing unorthodox practices. See Beyries (1935) and Laforge (1928: 658).
- 17 Great saint and Sufi Shadhili from the Hodh region.
- 18 Great Sufi and scholar of the Idawali (Trarza). He was the first propagator of Tijaniyya in western Africa.
- 19 For detailed information on this order, see Traoré (1983).
- 20 Ahmadu Hamah Allah, better known under the name of al-Shaykh Hamah Allah, is from the tribe of Ahl Muhammad Sidi (Shurufa of Tichitt). After brief religious studies, the missionary of Tlemcen Lakhdar identified him as caliph of Tijaniyya. His influence was considerable in the western Bilad al-Sudan; the veneration which he received was extraordinary. He died during his internment at Montluçon (France).
- 21 Ould Cheikh (1991: 234).
- 22 Ould Cheikh (1991).
- 23 Holland (1997).
- 24 Ibn Khaldun (1985: 56).
- 25 Holland (1997).
- 26 Mu'nis (1997: 12–14).
- 27 Mu'nis (1997).
- 28 Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Maghili was originally from the village of Tlemcen. He was a theologian who had a strong influence on the Tuwat region and beyond, right up to the Songhay Empire and Hausa countries. He is known as a defender of strict orthodoxy, as his famous answers to the questions of Askiya Muhammad bear witness.
- 29 This *wird* transmission, and thus the transmission of the Qadiriyya via this route, seems unlikely.
- 30 The nickname 'Bakky' (the Tearful) was given to the shaykh by his contemporaries to honour his piety. It is reported that he once missed prayers in the mosque. The guilt immediately caused him to weep abundantly and he never again stopped crying or, at the very least, having watery eyes.
- 31 Marty (1920: 123).
- 32 His name is to be found in the mystic transmission chain of Qadiriyya immediately after al-Maghili, who was himself a disciple of Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti.
- 33 Wuld Hamidun (1987: 41).
- 34 Marty (1920).
- 35 Marty (1920).
- 36 Ould Cheikh (2001: 139).

- 37 Marty (1920).
- 38 Marty (1920).
- 39 Al-Cheikh Sidi Muhammad, *Kitab al-taraif wa al-tala'id min karamat al-shaykhayn al-walida wa al-walid* (manuscript), Institut Mauritanienne de Recherche Scientifique.
- 40 Marty (1920).
- 41 Marty (1920: 56).
- 42 Marty (1920: 57).
- 43 Al-Shaykh Sidi Muhammad, *Kitab al-taraif*.
- 44 See Weber (1995: 45).
- 45 Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti, *al-Kawkab al-waqqad*, page 67.
- 46 Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti, *al-Kawkab al-waqqad*.
- 47 Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti, *al-Kawkab al-waqqad*.
- 48 Al-Shaykh Sidi Muhammad, *Kitab al-taraif*.
- 49 Ould Hamidun, *al-Masouaa* (manuscript), Institut Mauritanienne de Recherche Scientifique.
- 50 Ould Hamidun, *al-Masouaa*.
- 51 Amongst his disciples who became great masters and founders of *zawiyas* can be mentioned: al-Shaykh Sidiyya ould al-Mukhtar ould al-Hayba (Awlad Abyayri); al-Shaykh al-Qadi ould al-Haj Atfaga (Idaydba); al-Shaykh al-Mustafa ould al-Haj Atfaga (Idaydba); al-Shaykh Ahmed ould A'waysi (Idaynnib); al-Shaykh ould Animanni (Anwazir); al-Shaykh Baba al-Hay ould Mahmud ould al-Shaykh A'mar (Abdukkal); al-Shaykh al-Mukhtar (Awlad Bisba'); al-Shaykh al-Mustaf ould al-'Arbi (Awlad Abyayri); al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Amin ould Abd al-Wahhab (Leglagma); al-Shaykh Abbata ould al-Talib Abd Allah (Idajmalla).
- 52 Marty (1920: 98).
- 53 Ibn Khaldun (1985: 87).
- 54 Cuoq (1975: 28).
- 55 Ibn Anas Malik (1977: 342).
- 56 al-Bukhari (1947: 123).
- 57 al-Fatawa, in Ould el-Bara (forthcoming).
- 58 al-Fatawa, in Ould el-Bara (forthcoming).
- 59 al-Fatawa, in Ould el-Bara (forthcoming).
- 60 al-Fatawa, in Ould el-Bara (forthcoming).
- 61 al-Bukhari (1947: 89).
- 62 Muslim (1954: 4/54).
- 63 al-Fatawa, in Ould el-Bara (forthcoming).
- 64 al-Fatawa, in Ould el-Bara (forthcoming).
- 65 Al-Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti, *al-Kawkab al-waqqad*.
- 66 al-Fatawa, in Ould el-Bara (forthcoming).
- 67 Gellener (1970).

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معنا ١٤ م وهو من غير بناء في **ع** وزدنا عليه **عشر ١٠** هذا
 المشتر من نقصنا من جملة العدد ثمانين ونزلنا ما بقى في الوجود وان
 كان الخبير فنزيد على جملة **بيرة** وهما **١٧٥** وان كان للنشر
 ما نقص من جملة الوجود **سبعا** وهما **٨٥** وتزد ما بقى في الوجود
 الريح وهما **ع** في **ع** وهو اذا اجتمعت جملة عدد النعمين وما
 تزيد ان تجعل بهم من الشر فاضرب جملة ذلك العدد في **ع** وزدنا
 عليه **عشر** وهما **٤** **ب** واستقطنا من جملة العدد **سبعا** وهما
٨٥ ونزل ما بقى من العدد في بيوت الوجود في طالع **بيرة** وان كان
 العمل الخبير فنزيد على جملة **بيرة** وهما **١٧٥** ولا تنقص من الجملة
 وانزلها في الوجود في طالع سعيد والله اعلم وهذا الوجود جبه الحرم