

MISZELLEN

A Yemeni Library in Eritrea

Arabic Manuscripts in the Italian Foreign Ministry

Albrecht Hofheinz (Bergen)

The historical archive of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome*) holds an interesting collection of twenty-three Arabic manuscripts volumes (comprising a total of sixty-two individual texts) from the library of the former Italian government in Eritrea. The majority of these have never been printed and are not available elsewhere. As the catalogue of the archive¹⁾ was made by someone who did not know Arabic, I have thought it appropriate, after a visit to the archive in May 1993, to publish a new list describing its contents.

The list of these manuscripts is of particular interest since – as the following overview suggests – there is strong reason to believe that they form a single independent collection that constituted or stemmed from the library of an early twentieth century religious teacher (nicknamed *Fawānis*) from the Yemeni port town of al-Ḥudayda. Most of the manuscripts were either written or copied by *Fawānis* or

*) I am grateful to Dr. Knut Vikør for initial information, to Dott.^{ssa} Cinzia Aicardi for her kind assistance at the archive, and to the Bergen Sudan programme for financial assistance.

¹⁾ *Inventario dell' Archivio Eritrea (1880-1945)*, ed. Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Servizio Storico e Documentazione, Roma: Archivio Storico Diplomatico, 1977. This catalogue forms part of a series of provisional lists compiled primarily for internal use and not necessarily intended for publication. – On pp. 390-397, the *Inventario dell' Archivio Eritrea* contains the section, "Testi Manoscritti in Arabo e Amaro". This section is based on the brief and often inaccurate notes in Arabic and Italian found on loose sheets of paper inserted in most of the volumes; these notes were apparently written by an Eritrean employee of the Government library. On some of the sheets, additional information has been added in pencil by later (apparently Italian) readers. – Irma Taddia was perhaps the first to draw international scholarly attention to the existence of this material in her article, "Colonialism as political control: colonial documents on the 'indigenous' power structure (XIXth century Ethiopia-Eritrea)", in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Ethiopian Studies, Moscow, 26-29 August 1986*, ed. USSR Academy of Sciences, Africa Institute, vol. 4, Moscow: Nauka, Central Department of Oriental Literature, 1988, pp. 221-8).

his father, or are manuals copied during the nineteenth century that belong to their fields of specialisation – Ḥanafī law and Khatmi Sufism, plus a little Arabic grammar.²⁾ This ‘library character’ makes the collection a valuable source, helping us in our efforts to form a picture of what constituted the intellectual horizon of a particular class of Muslim teacher who during the last two hundred years played an important role in extending the validity of the norms of scriptural Islam beyond the traditional limits of influence of the urban scholars.

To understand the collection as a whole, let us first look at a summary description of the twenty-three volumes (for details, the reader is referred to the description of the individual manuscripts below).

Nrs.	Vol.	Short description	Copied in
1–4	1042/2	Grammar textbooks.	mid-19th c.
5	1042/3	<i>Fawānis</i> : comm. on a Ḥanafī work on ‘ <i>ibādāt</i> ’.	1904
6–21	1043/4	<i>Fawānis</i> : various works on ritual, the phonograph, government, etc.	1907–12
22	1043/5	<i>Fawānis</i> : comm. on his teacher’s versification of a popular Ḥanafī catechism.	1916
23	1043/6	<i>Fawānis</i> : comm. on his teacher’s versification of a grammatical work.	1916
24	1044/7	Genealogy of the Mirghani family, written for the Eritrean Government.	1922
25–33	1044/8	Khatmi prayer book.	1907–8
34	1044/9	al-Majdhūb[?]: Comm. on al-Mirghani’s main <i>diwān</i> . Copied by someone linked to <i>Fawānis</i> .	1907/8
35–47	1044/10	Hagiographies of several members of the Mirghani family; a work on Aḥmad b. Idris’ stay in the Yemen, and a work by the founder of the Idrisi state in ‘Asir. Copied by or in the possession of <i>Fawānis</i> elder and younger.	c.1910s
48	1044/10	al-Mirghani: comm. on his introduction to the Sufi path. Copied by <i>Fawānis</i> elder.	
49	1044/12	<i>Fawānis</i> : comm. on his Ḥanafī work on ‘ <i>ibādāt</i> ’.	1915
50	1045/13	<i>Fawānis</i> : comm. on his Ḥanafī work on <i>uṣūl al-fiqh</i> .	1907/9
51	1045/14	<i>Fawānis</i> : comm. on a Ḥanafī work on ‘ <i>ibādāt</i> ’.	1907
52	1045/15	Anonymous comm. on “Forty <i>ḥadīth</i> ”.	
53–4	1045/16	Classical Ḥanafī works on ‘ <i>ibādāt</i> ’; one from the Yemen.	
55	1046/17	Works on ‘ <i>ibādāt</i> ’ by a 17th c. Ḥanafī Azhar professor.	
56	1046/18	<i>Fawānis</i> : comm. on a Ḥanafī work on ‘ <i>ibādāt</i> ’.	1907
57	1046/19	<i>Fawānis</i> : textbook on prayer.	1905
58	1046/20	Classical comm. on a Ḥanafī work on prayer.	
59	1047/21	Comm. on a theological work, by a 19th c. Azhar professor linked to the Khatmiyya. Copied in the Yemen.	1881

²⁾ The only exception is the genealogy of the Mirghani family (1044/7) which was explicitly drawn up for the Eritrean colonial authorities in 1922.

60	1047/22	Copybook to teach writing.	
61	1047/23	Hagiography of a medieval Yemeni saint.	1878
62	1047/24	Work on <i>adab</i> by an 18th c. Azhar professor. Acquired by a Yemeni.	1775

Perhaps the most curious texts in this library of a Khatmi shaykh are a series of increasingly virulent treatises denouncing the phonograph as a work of devilish delusion, and the same shaykh's defense of Ottoman rule and the Ottoman constitution as reinstated by the Young Turks in 1908 (both in 1043/4, *q. v.* for details).

Who was this shaykh? 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. 'Umar b. Sūmār (var. Ṣūmār) claimed Sharifi descent, and like his father (and perhaps his whole family) bore the nickname, *Fawānis* "Lanterns". Another nickname, *Buqēra* [or, *Buḡēra*]³⁾ occurs less frequently; its origin, like that of the family's ancestor Sūmār, remains obscure, but both names seem not to be Arabic. The dates found in the manuscripts place 'Uthmān in the first two decades of the twentieth century (1904–1918).

Like his father, 'Uthmān lived in al-Ḥudayda; how long the family had been settled there we do not know. The father already had taught Ḥanafī *fiqh*, and his son continued in the same vein. Similarly, 'Uthmān's affiliation to the Khatmiyya brotherhood followed that of his father who was a *khalīfa* (deputy) in al-Ḥudayda of Muḥammad 'Uthmān *Tāj al-Sirr* al-Mirghani (1849/50–1903). It may well be that he named his son 'Uthmān after his Sufi shaykh.

The Khatmi and Ḥanafī orientations were apparently linked; *Tāj al-Sirr* figures not only as Muḥammad b. Mūsā's spiritual master but also as his Ḥanafī teacher. After all, the Marāghina (the Mirghani family) had produced not only important Sufi leaders, but several Ḥanafī jurists who became prominent in the Ḥijāz during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁾

The basis for the spread of the Khatmiyya in the Yemen had perhaps already been laid by Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mirghani *al-Khatm* (1794/3–1852),⁵⁾ the founder of the brotherhood who between 1827 and 1837 may have spent some time there with Aḥmad b. Idris (1749/50–1837), an influential Sufi who had been forced by political developments and the enmity of the Meccan scholarly establishment to move to the Yemen for the last years of his life.⁶⁾ Al-Mirghani had originally been Ibn Idris' student, but

³⁾ This rendering of the Arabic بقيرة is based on the Italian transcription, *Bughera*.

⁴⁾ For details, see R. S. O'Fahey, A. Hofheinz, and Bernd Radtke, "The Khatmiyya Tradition", in *Arabic Literature of Africa, I: The Writings of Eastern Sudanic Africa to c. 1900*, compiled by R. S. O'Fahey, Leiden: Brill, 1994, pp. 178–227 (hereafter, this volume will be referred to as *ALA I*).

⁵⁾ Here and in the following, if the exact date is unknown, the underlined year CE is the one into which the greater part of the Hijri year falls.

⁶⁾ Aḥmad b. Idris was a Sufi teacher of Moroccan origin who had lived and taught in Mecca and Upper Egypt before emigrating to the Yemen; he died in Ṣabyā. The influence of his students (apart from al-Mirghani, I may mention only Muḥammad b. 'Ali al-Sanūsi, Ibrāhīm al-Rashid, and Muḥammad Majdhūb) on the history of Islam in 19th c. Africa can hardly be overestimated. See the monograph by R. S. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint. Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition*, London:

he made himself independent from his master already during the latter's lifetime, establishing his own brotherhood which became known as *al-tariqa al-Khatmiyya*, the 'ultimate path'. *Al-Khatm's* efforts were, however, concentrated on Mecca and the Sudan; it was his eldest son, Muḥammad *Sirr al-Khatm* (1814/5–1855) who became the first permanent representative of the brotherhood in the Yemen where he spent most of his life, based at least partly in al-Ḥudayda. He married into the prominent Ahdal clan of Shāfi'ī scholars,⁷⁾ and from this marriage sprang at least one of his sons, Muḥammad 'Uthmān *Tāj al-Sirr* (1849/50–1903). Upon his father's death, *Sirr al-Khatm* moved to Mecca to become the head of the Khatmiyya, but died a year later. *Tāj al-Sirr* spent his youth in al-Ḥudayda where he was probably raised by his mother's family. Fairly early in his life he moved across the Red Sea to what is now northern Eritrea before settling down in Sawākin from around 1870 until his death. As the present manuscripts suggest, he maintained contact with the Yemeni Khatmi community, however, and was regarded as their supreme leader. What happened to this spiritual link after his death remains unclear; he died childless. In any case, it may well be that *khalifa* Muḥammad b. Mūsā was the effective head of the Khatmiyya in al-Ḥudayda; and his son may have succeeded him in this office.

The Khatmiyya soon became the strongest of the four or five brotherhoods represented in al-Ḥudayda.⁸⁾ In the Yemen as in Eritrea and the Sudan, it appears to have had its most important social base among middle- and largescale urban merchants who were active in regional or interregional trade. For obvious reasons they were interested in political stability and a system that did not interfere with their international economic ties. Therefore, they tended to support the Ottoman or Turco-Egyptian authorities.

Al-Ḥudayda originated as a secondary outlet for the coffee trade of Bayt al-Faqih; most of the exports went through the main Yemeni port, al-Mukhā.⁹⁾ Follow-

Hurst, 1990. O'Fahey (*ib.*, p. 153 n. 58) voices doubts about al-Mirghani's alleged stay in the Yemen which is asserted, without indicating the source, in Ali Salih Karrar, *The Sufi Brotherhoods in the Sudan*, London: Hurst, 1992, p. 66.

⁷⁾ On whom see O. Löfgren, art. "al-Ahdal" in *EI*².

⁸⁾ Ameen Rihani, *Around the Coasts of Arabia*, London: Constable, 1930, p. 143. Rihani does not name the other brotherhoods, but the Idrisiyya appears to have been one of them, as they had a mosque on the outskirts of the town (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-'Aqili, *Tārīkh al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymāni*, II, 2nd. rev. & enlarged edn., al-Riyād: Dār al-Yamāma, 1982, p. 629).

⁹⁾ On the history of al-Ḥudayda up to the eighteenth century, see John Baldry, "The Early History of the Yemeni Port of Al-Ḥudaydah", in *Arabian Studies* 7 (1985), pp. 37–50. Interesting topographical and historical details concerning al-Ḥudayda (and other places in the Yemen) are supplied by Klaus Kreiser, "An Unpublished Ottoman Manuscript on the Yemen in 1849", in *Arabian Studies*, 7 (1985), pp. 161–186; among the sources he mentions are: Muṣṭafā Hāmī, *Sevķü 'l-askeri 'l-cedid der 'ahd-i Sulṭān Mecid* (Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, Ms. or., fol. 4066); İhsan Süreyya Sırma, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin yıkılışında Yemen isyanları*, İstanbul: Düşünce Yayınları, 1980 (a work based on research in Turkish archives); John Baling

the Wahhābi campaigns, al-Ḥudayda was occupied by Muḥammad ‘Alī’s forces from 1826/32 to 1840; when Egypt had to evacuate her Red Sea territories, the port passed under the control of the local ruler of Abū ‘Arish. This, however, lasted only nine years. Increasing British presence in the area, culminating in the occupation of Aden in 1838, led to a diversion of trade and the rapid decline of al-Mukhā; it also posed a threat to Ottoman interests. In 1849, Ottoman troops occupied al-Ḥudayda and made it the capital of their *wilāyat* al-Yaman. Most of al-Mukhā’s merchants now resettled either in Aden or al-Ḥudayda, and these towns, now controlled by relatively stable authorities, soon became the major Yemeni ports.¹⁰⁾

Turkish¹¹⁾ sovereignty was initially limited to a few coastal towns, but with the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) the strategic importance of the Red Sea increased considerably, leading the Ottomans to extend their control over most of the Yemen in 1871/2. Their position was not uncontested, but they remained in the country until 1918. The main opponents of the Ottomans in the region were: (1) the British; (2) the Zaydi imām, leader of the Shi‘i tribes of the Yemeni highlands; (3) the Shāfi‘i tribes living in the Tihāma coastland and in ‘Asir; and (4) the Italians (who were competing with the British for influence in the Red Sea).¹²⁾ After the turn of the century, anti-Turkish opposition from local Yemeni forces became increasingly vigorous. In 1904, the energetic Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad became the Zaydi imām, and between 1907–9, the equally able and charismatic Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Idrisi (1876–1923)¹³⁾

dry, “*Aḥamm al-aḥādith fi tārikh al-Ḥudayda*”, in *al-Iklil* (Ṣan‘ā’), 1 (1400: 1980), pp. 63–72; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥaḍrami, “*Tihāma fi ‘l-tārikh*”, in *al-Iklil*, 2 (1401: 1981), pp. 41–82.

¹⁰⁾ Richard Freih. v. Neimans, “Das rothe Meer und die Küstenländer im Jahre 1857 in handelspolitischer Beziehung”, in *ZDMG*, 12 (1858), 403–5; Werner Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen: Hurter, 1864, 106–7.

¹¹⁾ Following widespread Arabic local usage, ‘Turkish’ and ‘Ottoman’ are used largely interchangeably in this article.

¹²⁾ The Italians gained their first foothold on the Red Sea coast with the lease of the bay of ‘Aṣab by a private shipping company in 1869. During the 1880s, the Italian state took over the colonial enterprise, and after a series of further acquisitions a colony named Eritrea (“Red [Sea land]”, from the Greek) was proclaimed on 1 January 1890.

¹³⁾ *Sayyid* Muḥammad b. ‘Alī was a great-grandson of Aḥmad b. Idris born in Ṣabyā of an Indian mother. After receiving a solid religious education in ‘Asir, he spent his twenties travelling and studying (Maṣawwa‘, Cairo, Kūfra, Dongola). It was apparently in Cairo in about 1905 that he had his first contacts with Italian diplomatic personnel. In 1906/7, he returned to Ṣabyā via al-Ḥudayda, and after having secured his position there he openly proclaimed his anti-Ottoman revolt on 24 Dec. 1908. He sought Italian and British help against both the Turks and the Zaydi Imām Yaḥyā of the Yemeni highlands. In the course of the Turkish-Italian war (29 Sep. 1911–17 Oct. 1912) which led to the blockade of the Yemeni coast and the shelling of al-Ḥudayda, *Sayyid* Muḥammad was defeated by the Imām’s troops who came down in support of the Turkish garrisons on the coast. The situation was reversed at the end of the First World War. In 1918, the Turks had to evacuate the

established himself as ruler of 'Asir, denouncing Ottoman sovereignty. An attempt at administrative reform made by the Young Turks in 1908/9 did not succeed in easing the situation, and the tensions led to open war towards the end of 1910, when Idrisi forces attacked the Turks. At the beginning of 1911, the highland tribes also rose. The precarious situation of the Ottomans only began to turn in April 1911 when the Sharif of Mecca intervened on their side. In October of that year, the Turks concluded the treaty of Da‘ān with Imām Yaḥyā which neutralised him for a time; and he supported them in their wars with the European powers (Italy 1911–2; First World War 1915–8). As a result of the Turkish defeat in 1918, Muḥammad b. ‘Ali al-Idrisi, who had allied himself with the Italians and even more the British, was rewarded with territory in the Tihāma; on 31 January 1921, his troops entered al-Ḥudayda, much to the dismay of the local merchant population who would have preferred the Turks to come back, and if not, at least the Egyptians!¹⁴)

Yemen; British forces bombarded and conquered al-Ḥudayda and in January 1921 acquiesced in their ally *Sayyid* Muḥammad’s occupation of the town. After Muḥammad’s death on 22 March 1923, internal rivalries within his family lead to the decline of the Idrisi state. Ex-prime minister Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abd al-(Muta)‘āl al-Idrisi declared his independence in al-Ḥudayda in spring 1924. ‘Ali, *Sayyid* Muḥammad’s young son (b. 1905) was able to regain the town in October; but his troops could not hold out against Imām Yaḥyā’s forces and had to capitulate in April 1925. From then on, al-Ḥudayda remained subject to the ruler of Ṣan‘ā’ (Khayr al-Din al-Zirikli, *al-A‘lām*, 7th ed. Beirut 1986, vol. VI, p. 303; R. S. O’Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, London 1990, pp. 122–4; and the sources mentioned in n. 14).

¹⁴) Rihani, *Around the Coasts*, pp. 127–8; *Oriente Moderno*, 5 (1925), p. 202. — For the history of the struggles for influence in the Yemen in the 19th and 20th centuries, I have consulted the following sources: G. Wyman Bury, *Arabia Infelix or the Turks in Yemen*, London: Macmillan, 1915; Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, *Asir before World War I (Handbook of Asir)*, London 1916, reprint New York & Cambridge: Oleander-Falcon, 1976; Harald F. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia. The Rise and Set of the Turkish Sovereignty in the Arabian Peninsula*, London: Mills, 1923; J. Schleifer, art. “al-Ḥodayda” in *EI*¹; A. Grohmann, art. “al-Yaman” in *EI*¹; ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi’i, *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo: al-Salafiyya, 1346 [1927]; *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, ed. Naval Intelligence Division, 1946 (Geographical Handbook Series, B. R. 527); R. Headley, W. Mulligan & G. Rentz, art. “‘Asir” in *EI*² (1969); L. O. Schumann, art. “al-Ḥudayda” in *EI*² (1967); Fārūq ‘Uthmān Abāza, *al-Ḥukm al-‘Uthmāni fī ‘l-Yaman, 1872–1918*, Cairo 1975 (2nd impr. Beirut: Dār al-‘Awdā, 1979); John Baldry, “Al-Yaman and the Turkish Occupation, 1849–1914”, in *Arabia*, 23/2 (1976), pp. 156–196; *id.*, “The Turkish-Italian War in the Yemen 1911–1912”, in *Arabian Studies*, London 1976, pp. 51–65; *id.*, “Anglo-Italian Rivalry in Yemen and ‘Asir”, in *Die Welt des Islams*, N. S. 17 (1976–77), pp. 156–193; Johannes Reissner, “Die Idrisiden in ‘Asir. Ein historischer Überblick”, in *Die Welt des Islams*, 21 (1981), pp. 164–192; al-‘Aqili, *Tārīkh al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymāni*; Anne Katrine Bang, “The Idrisi state in ‘Asir 1906–1934. Politics, religion and personal prestige as state-building factors in early twentieth-century Arabia”, *hovedfag* thesis, University of Bergen, Dept. of History, 1994; *id.*, “This is an announcement to the people ...”.

The merchants¹⁵⁾ were the most influential sector of al-Ḥudayda's civilian population, the total of which was estimated at about 35,000 to 40,000 in 1912. Spinners, weavers, and dyers manning the town's traditional cotton industry, as well as a few boatbuilders constituted the lower class. Ḥaḍramī, Ethiopian, Indian and Persian traders had always been part of the local scene, as also Jewish artisans, Somali seamen and porters and, of course, African slaves. The market attracted nomad tribesmen from the hinterland, and after the opening of the Suez Canal an increasing number of Europeans (particularly British, Greeks and Italians) established themselves in al-Ḥudayda. Temporarily, the local population was swelled by African pilgrims on their way to Mecca. On top of this there was a considerable Turkish garrison ranging from perhaps 700/1,000 to 3,000 permanently stationed in the town; at times, this number was increased to over 10,000 by troops disembarking at the port.¹⁶⁾

Of all the Yemeni towns, al-Ḥudayda was the one held by the Ottomans for the longest and was thus most strongly exposed to their influence; subsequently, it became a centre for pro-Ottoman Yemenis. Often, they adhered to the Ḥanafī *madh-hab* which during the nineteenth century had also spread to the Ottoman-controlled trading ports on the African side of the Red Sea coast. The story of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Awlaqī (d. 1345: 1926/7), a Ḥanafī supporter of Turkish rule who emigrated from Aden to al-Ḥudayda where he opened a scholarly and literary *salon*,¹⁷⁾ probably is not an isolated case.

Between coffee exporters, weavers, port labourers, and Ottoman troops, the cosmopolitan population of al-Ḥudayda resisted both the bedouin-supported proto-Arab nationalism of the Idrisi¹⁸⁾ and the puritanical call of the Zaydi imām,¹⁹⁾ as well as European hegemonist encroachment. A reformed Ottoman order seemed to fit their interests best.

The *bayān* of 1912 by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Idrisi in 'Asir", forthcoming in *New Arabian Studies*.

¹⁵⁾ The principal – but by no means the only – goods exported from al-Ḥudayda were coffee and hides.

¹⁶⁾ These numbers are estimates based on information for 1912, 1915, and 1918; see Baldry, "The Turkish-Italian War", pp. 55, 61; Cornwallis, *Asir*, p. 29; Manfred Wenner, *Modern Yemen 1918–1966*, Baltimore: Hopkins, 1967, pp. 48, 50. Prior to the 1904 uprising, the garrison at al-Ḥudayda is said to have been approximately 1,000 men strong (Sinan Kuneralp, "Military operations during the 1904–1905 uprising in the Yemen", in *Studies on Turkish-Arab Relations*, 2 (1987), p. 64).

¹⁷⁾ 'Abdallāh [b.] Muḥammad ['Alī] al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-'arabi al-is-lāmi fī 'l-Yaman*, Ṣan'a': Markaz al-Dirāsāt [wa'l-buḥūth] al-Yamaniyya, n. d., p. 253. Other contemporary (Ḥanafī?) scholars from al-Ḥudayda mentioned there were Muḥammad b. Jābir, Muḥammad b. Sālim 'Ā'ish, and 'Alī b. Muḥsin al-Sabi'i.

¹⁸⁾ On the character of Idrisi rule, see Reissner, "Die Idrisiden", pp. 171–2, 181–2.

¹⁹⁾ Imām Yaḥyā in turn, after the capture of al-Ḥudayda in 1925, proclaimed the town "impure and lacking in religion" (Salvatore Aponte, *La vita segreta dell' Arabia Felice*. Milano: Mondador, 1936, caption to ill. 19. Aponte visited the Yemen in 1934–5).

These circumstances explain in large part the positions defended by ‘Uthmān Muḥammad Mūsā in the writings preserved in this library. His constituency was pro-Ottoman, so he defended the validity of prayer behind non-Arabic-speaking Turkish (Ḥanafī) *imāms* (1043/4 (b–d)), and justified, at the height of the anti-Turkish uprisings, the legitimacy of their rule against rival claims (1034/4 (j)). The most serious threat to the Ottoman position at the time came from Muḥammad al-Idrisi, and the phonograph affair should most probably be seen in this political context as well. ‘Uthmān’s condemnation is presumably directed against al-Idrisi who seems to have had a special liking for technical tricks to impress his followers, using electricity, phosphor, aniline, and the like to ‘work miracles’. Thus he used, for example, a battery to electrify his visitors, and a light bulb over the entrance of his house lit up when he passed through it. A phonograph is also reputed to have been part of his repertoire.²⁰) ‘Uthmān mentions no names, but other anti-Idrisi authors are known to have attacked such acts of ‘charlatanry’ on the part of al-Idrisi.²¹)

It would be interesting further to investigate the history and significance of this rivalry between followers of the Khatmi and Idrisi traditions – a rivalry that began during the lifetime of the respective founding fathers, and may have originated in the sharply differing personalities of the two,²²) but which surely transcended these initial idiosyncrasies. The present collection of texts would seem to confirm that the Khatmiyya tended to seek close relationships with established central governments (be they Ottoman, Italian, or British), and had its social base in circles whose interests lay in supporting such authorities. Followers of the Idrisi tradition, on the other hand, apparently tended to keep greater distance from the great power centres, and thus found support among social groups who attempted to assert their independence from these centres – and who were, given the overall political and economic circumstances at the time, less successful. It should be emphasised, however, that these are only hypothetical distinctions which must in no way be overdrawn.

Exactly how the present texts came to end up in the Eritrean government library in Asmara is not documented; *faute de mieux*, we have to rely on circumstantial data for conjecture. The only internal evidence is a note in one of the manu-

²⁰) Rihani, *Around the Coasts*, p. 167.

²¹) Reissner, “Die Idrisiden”, p. 172. The earliest appearance of the Edison phonograph in the Arabian peninsula so far documented dates back to 1907; it was used by Dutch intelligence agents at their legation in Jidda, under the direction of Snouck Hurgronje (Piney Kesting, “A doorway in time”, in *Aramco World*, 44 (1993), no. 5, pp. 32–39). In Java, the introduction of the phonograph in or shortly before 1899 caused an exchange of controversial *fatwas* on the subject; they did, however, not have a mass impact preventing the spread of the new device (Christiaan Snouck-Hurgronje, “Islam und Phonograph”, in *id.*, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Bonn 1923, pp. 419–47). See also below, n. 50. In a wider context, the issue is one of a number of well-known debates in the Islamic world caused by the introduction of totally-new phenomena, ranging from the smoking of tobacco to satellite dishes.

²²) This is forcefully illustrated in the letters exchange between them; see *The Letters of Ahmad ibn Idris*, ed. Einar Thomassen, Bernd Radtke *et al.*, London: Hurst, 1993.

scripts (1047/24) saying that it was presented to the Italian commissioner of ‘Aṣab, a Dr. *Las(s)oni (?),²³) by a man whose identity remains obscure; this transaction took place probably a few years after 1913.²⁴) It is possible – but not sure – that the whole collection was acquired in this way.

If we accept that at least the core of the collection is formed by the library of ‘Uthmān *Fawānis*, then the date *post quod* is 26 July 1918, when ‘Uthmān finished copying the hagiography of *Tāj al-Sirr* (1044/10 (a)). What happened to our shaykh after that is a matter of speculation. When British troops bombarded and occupied al-Ḥudayda towards the end of 1918, the majority of the population fled the town, but returned shortly afterwards and started to rebuild the ruined houses. The future was insecure; both al-Idrisi and Imām Yaḥyā coveted the port, and the merchants felt uneasy at the threat posed by both of them. After two years of waiting, on 31 January 1921, Idrisi forces entered the town, commanded by Muḥammad b. ‘Ali’s uncle and Prime Minister, Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abd al-‘Āl, whose well known hostility against the Italians made him very suspicious of members of the Mirghani family who were acting as agents for the Italians possibly already during the 1910s, and certainly throughout the 1920s.²⁵) In general, Idrisi officials did everything to estrange the population of al-Ḥudayda. They “have so bullied the inhabitants, and the dues imposed on import are so excessive, that many of the merchants have left for Aden,” wrote a contemporary observer.²⁶) Some of the leading merchants – “Turkified Arabs” – were arrested and sent to ‘Asir where they were held for seven months.²⁷) These were not exactly favourable circumstances for a longstanding anti-Idrisi activist like ‘Uthmān *Fawānis*.

In spring 1922, the local Khatmi shaykh of al-Ḥudayda died; his son was inaugurated as his successor on about 30 May.²⁸) Unfortunately, the eye-witness to this ceremony gives no names, so we do not know whether the deceased man was perhaps ‘Uthmān; but this seems at least a possibility.

After the death of Muḥammad b. ‘Ali al-Idrisi in March 1923, Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abd al-‘Āl’s influence in the Idrisi state increased, and he had the Mirghani agent of the Italians expelled. Al-Mirghani was only able to resume his activities in 1926, a year

²³) I have tried in vain to identify this man; his name does not appear in any of the Italian biographical or onomastical dictionaries, nor in the published sources on Italy’s colonial activities in Eritrea accessible to me (incl. Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Comitato per la documentazione dell’Opera dell’Italia in Africa: *L’Italia in Africa. Serie Giuridico-Amministrativa*, Vol. I (1869–1955): *Il Governo dei Territori Oltremare*. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1963. – The colony of Eritrea was divided into four “*commisariati regionali*” (with seats in Maṣawwa‘, Keren, Asmara, and ‘Aṣab) in 1898 (*ib.*, p. 240).

²⁴) Cf. 1047/23.

²⁵) Cf. Baldry, “Anglo-Italian Rivalry”, pp. 165–8; for dates, see the chronology below.

²⁶) Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, p. 249.

²⁷) *Ib.*; Rihani, *Around the Coasts*, p. 128.

²⁸) Rihani, *Around the Coasts*, p. 144.

after al-Ḥudayda had fallen to the troops of Imām Yaḥyā who thereby became a more important object of Italian attention than the Idrisi.

Thus, the data are inconclusive. We can only say that it is probable that the collection passed into Italian hands between 1918 and perhaps 1927²⁹) when the situation in al-Ḥudayda had stabilised again. Whether it was acquired by an Italian agent in the Yemen, or was brought to Eritrea by an emigrant Yemeni shaykh trying to escape the troubled situation in his home country is an open question. Certainly, the colonial administration in Eritrea had an interest in gathering information about the Khatmiyya which had become the most important brotherhood in the colony³⁰) and which was willingly cooperating with the authorities as both parties were working to extend their influence over the population in the hinterland of the towns which had been their original bases. This mutual cooperation is particularly apparent in the period between the direct military occupation and the emergence of a new class of 'secular' native officials trained in 'Western' schools in about the 1930s.

After the end of Italian rule in Africa and the dissolution of the *Ministero dell' Africa Italiana*, the Eritrean government archives ended up in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministero degli Affari Esteri*) in Rome (contrary to many other colonial government archives which remained in the former colonies).³¹) The ministry archive is called *Archivio Storico Diplomatico*. Partial descriptions of its contents have

²⁹) It may be noted in this context that the "Yemen" file in the Archivio Aritrea (*pacco 282bis*) closes in 1926.

³⁰) Cf. Alberto Pollera, *Le popolazione indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna: Capelli, 1935, p. 286–8; John Spencer Trimmingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, London: Cass, 1965, p. 245. The second most important *ṭariqa* in Eritrea at the time was the Qādiriyya, long established in the region, but lacking any form of central organisation; as elsewhere in Africa, it represents the older, localised form of brotherhoods which were losing ground to newer types of *ṭariqa* associations such as the Khatmiyya. Other *ṭariqas* were of very limited significance in Eritrea: the Sammāniyya (which found adherents among the Jabart, the Ethiopian Muslims, in the nineteenth century); the Shādhiliyya (which in the Southern Red Sea area is purely a family *ṭariqa* of the descendents of 'Ali b. 'Umar al-Shādhili (d. 1418), the 'patron saint' of al-Mukhā who is chiefly associated with the introduction of coffee); and the Ḥad-dādiyya (which appears to have been limited to immigrants from Ḥaḍramōt). It is of course impossible to give exact figures for the numbers of adherents; but based on the 1931 census, it may reasonably be estimated that about 35–40% of Eritrea's Muslim population (i.e., 20% of the total population) owed some sort of allegiance to the Khatmiyya.

³¹) Note that the *library* of the former Ministry of Italian Africa has been moved to the *Istituto Italo-Africano* (near the villa Borghese gardens: 16 a, via Ulisse Aldrovandi, 00197 Roma, tel. 873712/872246). This institute holds an important collection of over 50,000 volumes, mainly, but not exclusively, relating to the former Italian colonies. Admission is unrestricted for reference purposes.

been published;³²) more comprehensive catalogues are available *in situ*. The archive is located on the ground floor of the ministry main building;³³) opening hours are Monday to Friday from 9:00–15:00 (closed mid-July to August). To be admitted, non-Italians need a *nota verbale* (which is a *written* communication testifying to their status) from their embassy or local research institute;³⁴) without such a note, only the catalogues may be consulted. The material in the archive is organised into “packages” (*paccos*); three new *paccos* may be consulted per day (to be ordered before 11 A.M. on the previous day), and not more than six *paccos* may be held at any one time. To see material younger than fifty years, a special permit must be obtained. There are no microfilm or similar facilities; but readers may freely use the two photocopying machines for which copy cards can be purchased in the Ministry.

The Arabic manuscripts in the *Archivio Eritrea (1880-1945)* are combined in *paccos* 1042 to 1047.³⁵) Each *pacco* contains one, or more commonly, several different volumes; a volume may consist of more than one manuscript bound together. The numbering of the manuscripts given below reflects this hierarchy: The first number designates the *pacco*; the second (after the slash) the volume; the third (a small letter in brackets) the individual manuscript. Note that this last hierarchical position has been added by me; the archive’s own *Inventario* lists only the *pacco* and volume.

During my visit to the archive, I was able to photocopy some of the manuscripts for the Department of History at the University of Bergen (Norway); these manuscripts are identified in the following list by the word, “Bergen”. Where a text also exists in a printed version, this has been highlighted by the abbreviation, “Publ.”; details of the published version are given in the description. Personal nicknames, as well as titles, are printed in *italics*. If someone is called after another’s personal name or nickname, this is indicated by quotation marks “ ”. If the title of a work occurs in different forms (for example, on the cover and at the beginning of the text), these variations are indicated by parentheses. Additions by me are put in square brackets.

³²) E.g. International Council of Archives: *Guide to the Sources of the History of Africa*, Vol. 5: *Guida delle Fonti per la Storia dell’ Africa a Sud de Sahara esistenti in Italia*, ed. Carlo Gigli & Elio Lodolini, I (1973), pp. 100–293.

³³) The Ministry is situated next to the Olympic stadium on the northwestern outskirts of Rome (1, piazzale della Farnesina, I-00194 Roma). Entry for visitors is through a sidegate opposite the stadium; admittance passes for the day are handed out there in exchange for a passport or identity card.

³⁴) Depending on the degree of bureaucratization common in one’s country’s institutions, it may be advisable to contact the embassy before leaving for Rome; otherwise, one should reckon on at least two additional days in the Holy City.

³⁵) The two non-Arabic volumes in this collection (1042/1 in Amharic, 1047/25 in Ge’ez, according to the *Inventario*) have not been considered in this article. Note that 1042/1 includes a few letters in Arabic from local Ethiopian notables to the central government (not listed in the *Inventario*).

The notes describing the contents of the manuscripts are based on a summary perusal, concentrating on the beginning and end of each text. A more detailed study lies beyond the scope of this list.

- 1 1042/2 (a) Abū ‘Abdallāh b. Khālīd al-Azhari
 Publ.? *Mu‘in al-ṭullāb sharḥ qawā‘id al-i‘rāb*.
 Copied by Khālīd ‘Alī Muḥsin, compl. 21 Ṣafar 1245: 21 Aug. 1829.
 This may possibly be the same as Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azhari (1434–99), *Muwaṣṣil al-ṭullāb ilā qawā‘id al-i‘rāb*.³⁶⁾

- 2 1042/2 (b) Idrīs b. Aḥmad [b. Idrīs] al-Ṣa‘dī al-Makkī³⁷⁾
Kashf al-khaṭal ‘an aḥkām al-jumal.
 At the end, the MS includes a poem (*manzūma*)³⁸⁾, *Fā’ida fī lawāzīm al-Qur’ān al-‘azīm*, by al-Sakhāwandi.³⁹⁾

- 3 1042/2 (c) [‘Aḍuḍ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ījī] (d. 756: 1355)
al-Mudkhal (risāla fī ‘ilm al-ma‘āni wa’l-bayān wa’l-badī‘).⁴⁰⁾
 A textbook on rhetoric and stylistics, apparently common in the Yemen.⁴¹⁾
 Copied by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (a Shāfi‘ī and Ash‘arī).
 The MS came into the possession of Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Quraysh on 18 Rajab 1290: 10 Sep. 1873.

³⁶⁾ Khālīd al-Azhari was the author of *al-Muquddīma al-Azhariyya fī ‘ilm al-‘Arabiyya*, a widespread grammatical treatise; his *Muwaṣṣil al-ṭullāb* is a commentary on this which has often been published (Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2 vols. & 3 Suppl., 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1937–49 (GAL), II, p. 27; C. Brockelmann, art. “al-Azhari” in *EI*²; Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirikli, *al-A‘lām*, 7th ed., 8 vols., Beirut: Dār al-‘ilm li’l-malāyin, 1986, II, p. 297).

³⁷⁾ Idrīs and his *Khashf* are listed in GAL S II 920 in the section, ‘authors whose time and place cannot be established.’

³⁸⁾ A *manzūma*, as understood here, is a poem where only the first and second half verses rhyme (aa/bb/cc/...), unlike the *qaṣīda* which carries the same rhyme throughout (aa/ba/ca/...).

³⁹⁾ There is a Qur’ān scholar named ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī (1163–1245) (born in Sakhā in Egypt); but I cannot decide whether this refers to the same person (GAL I 420, S I 457; Zirikli IV 332–3).

⁴⁰⁾ GAL II. 209, S. II 292 (where the title is given as, *al-Mudkhil fī ‘ilm al-ma‘āni wa’l-bayān wa’l-badī‘*); Zirikli III 295 has ... *badī‘*. I prefer the reading, *al-Mudkhal* (old form of *madkhal*) because of the rhyme in 1043/6 below. On the author, a noted Iranian jurist and theologian, see J. van Ess, art. “al-Ījī” in *EI*².

⁴¹⁾ Several commentaries on *al-Mudkhal* are listed in al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 365–396. The only commentary listed in GAL S II 292 is also by a Yemeni. Al-Ījī’s “works have no claim to originality, being intended as systematic handbooks for teaching in *madrāsas*”; as such, they enjoyed great popularity (van Ess, l.c.)

For a supercommentary on this work by ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā, see 1043/6.

- 4 1042/2 (d) [book on grammar; the beginning of the MS is missing].
Copied by Muḥammad b. ‘Abbās (Māliki *imām* in Mecca), compl. 15 Ṣafar 1274: 4 Oct. 1857.
- 5 1042/3 ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā
al-Jawāhir al-lāmi‘a sharḥ “al-Risāla al-jāmi‘a”.
Comm. on ‘Ali b. Zayn al-Ḥibshī, *al-Risāla al-jāmi‘a wa’l-tadhkīra al-nāfi‘a (bayn uṣūl al-dīn wa’l-fiqh)* (GAL S II 814).⁴²⁾
Effectively, it covers only ritual prayer and purity (*tahāra*).
Copy completed *laylat* Saturday, 22 Muḥarram 1322: 9 April 1904.
For another (later) copy of the same work, see 1045/14.
- 6 1043/4 (a) ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā *al-Fawānis bi’l-Ḥudayda*
Bergen *Mahbiṭ al-asrār fī naẓm fiqh al-akhyār*.
(29 pp.) A treatise in verse explaining “everything the students need” to know on *fiqh*, “the best of sciences”; effectively only on ritual obligations (‘*ibādāt*) according to the Ḥanafī school.
Compl. 3 Rabī‘ I 1329: 4 March 1911.
Cf. ‘Uthmān’s own commentary on this work (1044/12).
- 7 1043/4 (b) ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā
Bergen *al-Sirr al-mubdā fī mas’alat al-iqtidā (bi-kull imām min al-bariyya)*.
(19 pp.) The earliest of a series of treatises demonstrating that it is permitted to pray behind every Muslim who knows the form of prayer, even if he is ignorant of the meaning of its words;⁴³⁾ drawing on Ḥanafī sources and including polemics against some Shāfi‘is.
Compl. at the end of the day, 18 Rabī‘ I 1326: 20 April 1908.
- 8 1043/4 (C) ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā [b.] Sūmār
Bergen *al-Nafḥa al-wahbiyya fī ibtāl al-qawl bi-karāhiyyat al-ṣalāt*
(12 pp.) *khalfa ’l-Ḥanafīyya*.
A treatise to refute the position of some Shāfi‘i contemporaries of ‘Uthmān who spread the view that it is objectionable (*makrūh*) to pray behind a Ḥanafī *imām*.
Compl. Thursday, 27 Ṣafar 1330: 15 Feb. 1912.

⁴²⁾ GAL has no separate entry for this author, but lists a commentary on this work by a “Javanese” scholar who died in 1888. Contrary to GAL (which spells the author’s name, ‘al-Ḥabashi), the context of this library leads me to prefer the reading, ‘al-Ḥibshī’, referring to a Yemeni clan of the Bā ‘Alawī.

⁴³⁾ This can probably be interpreted as meaning, ‘even if he is a Turk’. — The Shāfi‘iyya was the *madhhab* of the majority of the population on the Red Sea coast, while the Ḥanafīyya was that of their Ottoman overlords.

- 9 1043/4 d/1) ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā
Bergen *Maqāṣid al-bayān fi ḥukm al-ṣalāt khalfa kull insān.*
(2 pp.) A poem (*manẓuma*) with the same subject as 1043/4 (b).
The poem immediately precedes the following treatise in the
same manuscript:
- 10 1043/4 (d/2) ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā
Bergen *Nuṣrat al-‘ālimin fi radd qawl al-khāsirin.*
(9 pp.) A treatise to refute the view of some Shāfi‘is who claim that it is
objectionable (*makrūh*) to pray behind a Ḥanafī *imām*.
Original text compl. *laylat* Monday, 4 Rabi‘ II 1326: 4 May 1908.
This copy compl. Saturday, 29 Jumādā I 1326: 27 June 1908.
At the end of the MS there is a brief note by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥam-
mad Khaṭīb saying that he read the treatise and found it to be
“the meaningless jabber of a madman”; and further, that the
position of his (Ibrāhīm’s) [Shāfi‘i] teacher Muḥammad b. ‘Abd
al-Qādir [b. ‘Abd al-Bāri] al-Ahdal (d. 1909) on the phonograph
question (see below) is supported by all reliable texts.⁴⁴)
- 11 1043/4 (e) [‘Uthmān b.] Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā [b.] Sūmār
Bergen *al-Istidlāl al-ṣādiq fi ḥurmat al-ṣundūq al-nāṭiq li-kawnihi min*
(10 pp.) *al-khawāriq.*

⁴⁴) Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd al-Bāri al-Ahdal (called, *al-Sayyid* Muḥammad Bāri, acc. to 1043/5 and 1044/12) was born in al-Ḥudayda; among his teachers were Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Bāri al-Ahdal (*al-Khaṭīb*, 1826–1880, *v. i. n.* 89) and Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Faraj al-Tihāmi (1825/4–1889/8, from Bayt al-Faḥih). He lived as a teacher and prolific writer in al-Ḥudayda until his death in Ṣafar 1327: March/Feb. 1909.

‘Uthmān *Fawānis*, who had been one of his students (see 1044/12), seems to have held him in high esteem (cf. 1043/4 (h)); even after the polemics exchanged between the two over the phonograph issue, ‘Uthmān commented on two of his former teacher’s works (1043/5–6). All the more bitter it must have been for him to see that Muḥammad Bāri was his most vocal opponent in the phonograph debate, writing at least three treatises in defense of it: (1) *Anwār al-hudā fi ḥukm ṣundūq al-ṣadā*; (2) *Tanbih al-sāda al-hudāt ‘alā anna al-ṣundūq al-nāṭiq shaḥiq al-mir’ āt*; (3) *Ghāyat al-intiṣār li-kawn al-ṣundūq al-nāṭiq laysa min al-asmār* (of which ‘Uthmān wrote a refutation, see 1043/4 (i)). The following titles of Muḥammad Bāri may be direct responses to works by ‘Uthmān: (1) *Irshād al-nāqid fi radd al-i‘tirād al-fāsīd* (cf. 1043/4 (g)); (2) *Taḥdhīr al-mu’minin ‘alā samā’ maqāl al-akhsarin* (cf. 1043/4 (h)). For other writings of Muḥammad Bāri, see al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, pp. 144, 248, 250, 306, 393.

It must be noted in this context that the two other teachers with whom ‘Uthmān had studied appear to have supported him in his opposition against the phonograph (see 1043/4 (f/4), 1043/4 (h)).

The earliest of a series of treatises demonstrating that the phonograph (*al-ṣundūq al-nāṭiq*) is prohibited. From the beginning: The talking of an inanimate body is *kharq al-ʿāda* (a disruption of Divine custom in nature); it is, however, not like that known from the righteous ones (i.e., the miracles of ‘saints’); such positive *kharq al-ʿāda* can never be performed by misguided unbelievers. Therefore, the voice of the ph. is like that of the golden calf into which holes were made so that the wind blowing through made a sound like that of a calf, misleading the people.⁴⁵) This analogy (*qiyās*) clearly proves that the ph. is prohibited. Further evidence comes from Prophetic Traditions denouncing amusement (*lahw*) and singing (*ghinā*). – The text ends with the following syllogism: The ph. is not mentioned in the Qur’an (= *maskūt ‘anhu*); but this Qur’ānic silence is abrogated (*mansūkh*) because God said, “Today I have perfected your religion for you” (Q 5: 3); this proves that it is prohibited (*uthbita al-tahrim*).

[This copy] compl. 22 Rabi‘ II 1329: 22 Apr. 1911; the original text must be older, as its title is mentioned in ‘Uthmān’s *al-Tahrir al-ʿidl* (1043/4 (f/3) which dates from 1907.

- 12 1043/4 (f/1) ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā
Bergen *al-Aṣḥal-mustaṭāb wa-sulālat al-anjāb fī naqd al-radd wa’l-jawāb*.
(5 pp.) A poem (*manzūma*) on the phonograph question.
[This copy?] compl. 22 Jumādā I 1330: 10 May 1912.
- 13 1043/4 (f/2) ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā
Bergen *al-Naṣḥ al-shāriq li-ḥurmat al-ṣundūq al-nāṭiq al-khāriq*.
(4 pp.) A poem (*manzūma*) on the phonograph question.
[Original text probably compl. in 1907; it is always mentioned together with *al-Tahrir al-ʿidl*, and a reference to it can be found in 1043/4 (f/4).]
[This copy] compl. 23 Jumādā I 1330: 11 May 1912.
- 14 1043/4 (f/3) ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā
Bergen *al-Tahrir al-ʿidl fī taḥqīq kaww nuṭq al-ṣundūq min qabil nuṭq al-ʿijl*.
(5 pp.) A brief article to clarify certain points made in his more elaborate treatise, *al-Istidlāl al-ṣādiq* (1043/4 (e)), to demonstrate the analogy of the phonograph with the golden calf.
Compl. *laylat* Thursday, 1 Shawwāl 1325: 7 Nov. 1907.

⁴⁵) Qur’ān 7:148, 20: 85 ff.

- 15 1043/4 (f/4) Question sent to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ‘Ali Yūsuf⁴⁶) by Bergen
(4 pp.) ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā, and answer to this question, concerning the phonograph debate.
Undated; but compl. probably in 1908/9 (before ‘Uthmān’s *Ishrāq al-hudā* (1043/4 (g), where a reference to it can be found). After ‘Uthmān b. Mūsā had written *al-Taḥrīr al-‘idl* and *al-Naṣḥ al-shāriq*, he was accused by some of unjustified *takfir* (declaring a Muslim to be an unbeliever). ‘Uthmān defended himself by saying that he only used the analogy of the golden calf as a parable to frighten people away from the gramophone. In his answer, the *ex-mufti* confirms that this is feasible, and generally warns against lightly accusing a Muslim of unbelief: mere acts (like adultery or the drinking of alcohol)⁴⁷) are not enough to prove unbelief; for this it is necessary that someone purposefully pronounces words of unbelief.
- 16 1043/4 (g) ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā Bergen
(10 pp.) *Ishrāq al-hudā al-mudill fī ‘ntiqāḍ al-i‘tirāḍ alladhī fī “al-Qawl al-faṣl”*.
Refutation of a treatise (apparently written by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir [b. ‘Abd al-Bāri] al-Ahdal and entitled, *al-Qawl al-faṣl [fī . . .]*) which attacks ‘Uthmān’s opposition against the phonograph and states that it is religiously premitted (*ḥalāl*) by general consensus (*ijmā‘*), because, among other reasons, it is not mentioned in the Qur’ān (*maskūt ‘anhu*). ‘Uthmān vigorously defends himself against the charge by some ‘ulamā’ that he is ignorant and not entitled to participate in such a learned debate. He makes fun of their attitude of approving everything believed to stem from the ancients (*al-mutaqaddimūn*) while denouncing everything said by their contemporaries (*abnā’ ‘asrihim*).
Compl. *laylat* Monday, 2 Dhū ‘l-Qa‘da 1327: 15 Nov. 1909.
- 17 1043/4 (h) [‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā] Bergen
(18 pp.) *al-Waḥb al-masbūk wa-ḥilyat al-‘ulamā’ wa’l-mulūk*.
A treatise defending ‘Uthmān’s opposition against the phonograph against those who have attacked his *al-Taḥrīr al-‘idl* and *al-Naṣḥ al-shāriq*, accused ‘Uthmān of utter ignorance, and denounced him in all public places (*fī jamī‘ al-amākin wa’l-aswāq*). They are *muḥibbīn fī ‘l-zāhir wa-hum (wa-llāhu a‘lam) fī ‘l-bāṭin khā’inīn*, even though they claim the support of the Shā-

⁴⁶) Muḥammad Sulaymān was a former Ḥanafī *mufti* in al-Ḥudayda (see 1043/4 (g), p. 1); he had been one of ‘Uthmān’s teachers (see 1044/12).

⁴⁷) All contemporary observers agree that the consumption of alcohol was widespread among Ottoman troops and officials in the provinces.

fi'ī scholar, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir [b. 'Abd al-Bārī] al-Ahdal⁴⁸) [who died that very month and] whom 'Uthmān otherwise highly respects. To support his position, 'Uthmān refers, i. a., to another scholar from the same family, Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān [b. 'Abd al-Bārī] al-Ahdal.⁴⁹)

Compl. *laylat* Tuesday, Ṣafar 1327: March/Feb. 1909 (no day given).

- 18 1043/4 (i) 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā *Fawānīs*
Bergen *Nafā'ih al-Jabbār al-Jalīl fī radd mā awradahu fī "Ghāyat*
(27 pp.) *al-intiṣār" min al-dalīl.*
Refutation of [Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ahdal's] *Ghāyat al-intiṣār* [*li-kawn al-ṣundūq al-nāṭiq laysa min al-asmār*] (a work apparently written to refute arguments against the phonograph). 'Uthmān interprets the affair as an indication that "ignorance has spread throughout, and many of the principles of religious order, both of the fundamentals and the applied rules (*qawā'id al-dīn al-far' wa'l-aṣl*), have tumbled down". To counteract this process which "destroys Islam" he composed the present treatise.⁵⁰)
Compl. *laylat* Tuesday, Sha'bān 1326: Sep./Aug. 1908 (no day given).
- 19 1043/4 (j) 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā
Bergen *Izhār al-ḥaqq al-aqwam fī faḍā'il Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-A'zam*
(20 pp.) *(al-Khāmīs Muḥammad Rashād al-mufakhkham dāma mulkuhu).*
A treatise praising the penultimate Ottoman Sultan Mehmed V Reṣād (r. 1909–18)⁵¹), "*Sulṭān al-ḥurriyya wa'l-dustūr*", as living up to the standard of his namesake, the Prophet Muḥammad, and being different from his predecessors who had "exploited the people, abolished the government stipends to the 'ulamā' [...] and not convened the parliament (*majlīs al-shūrā*)".⁵²) After an

⁴⁸) 'Uthmān here refers to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ahdal as the author of *al-Dhahab al-Shāfi'i*, a work not listed in al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*.

⁴⁹) Muḥammad Ṭāhir had also been one of 'Uthmān's teachers, apparently the least famous of the three (see 1044/12).

⁵⁰) The text of *Nafā'ih* states that the phonograph question first arose in 1316: 1898/9 (the date is written out). The earliest text in the present collection which refers to this question, on the other hand, dates only from 1907 (*v. s.*, #11). It may be that while *Fawānīs* started to compose his treatises at a time when al-Idrisī made use of the phonograph (and not unlikely, to denounce him), the issue itself was older and contemporary with the Indonesian *fatwa* on the same question issued by Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Jisr on 11 Jumādā I 1317: 16 Sep. 1899 (Snouck Hurgronje, "Islam und Phonograph", p. 445). See also above, n. 21.

⁵¹) On this sultan, a pious but powerless figure, see A. J. Mango, art. "Meḥmed V Reṣād" in *EI*².

⁵²) This refers to Sultan 'Abd ül-Ḥamid II's (r. 1876–1909) disregard of the Ottoman constitution of 1876. See J. M. Landau, art. "Maḍjlīs 4. A.", in *EI*².

overview of the principles of government in Islam, ‘Uthmān defends the *majlis al-shūrā* and the *majlis al-mab‘ūthān*⁵³) [re-] instated by Mehmed V [who was installed by the Young Turks as the first constitutional ruler of the Ottoman Empire, but had no real power himself] as well as the Government’s practice of sending inspectors (*mufattish*) to the provinces, then demonstrates that Mehmed V, being of Qurashi (*sic*) descent and possessing the necessary qualifications, is the sole legitimate ruler of this time, contrary to what his rivals may say, and that therefore those who oppose him act against the *shari‘a*.

Compl. *laylat* Thursday, 14 Jumādā I 1329: 11 May 1911.

- 20 1043/4 (k) ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā b. Sūmār
Bergen *Basṭ al-nuqūl al-muyassara fī (mas’alat) jawāz al-tilāwa bi’l-ujra.*
(5 pp.) A treatise arguing that the payment of fees to those who recite the Qur’ān on graves is permitted. Those who hold that it is forbidden do so because of the common misuse arising from this practice; on the other hand, one has to consider the suppression of government stipends for the reciters, and take measures to prevent this leading to a decrease in Qur’ān recitation.
Compl. 1325: 1907/8.
- 21 1043/4 (1) ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā [b.] Šūmār
Bergen *I‘lām al-suṭūr fī bayān aḥkām al-qirā’a ‘alā ’l-qubūr.*
19 pp.) When ‘Uthmān was confronted with the question whether it is permitted to hire people to recite the Qur’ān on graves, he consulted his Ḥanafī law books; he found that the author of one of the glosses to *al-Durr al-mukhtār [fī sharḥ Tanwīr al-abṣār]*⁵⁴)

⁵³) The Ottoman parliament (*Meclis-i ‘umūmī*) consisted of an elected Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i meb‘ūṣān*) and an appointed senate, usually called Chamber of Notables (*Meclis-i a‘yān*). It may be interesting to note in this context that ‘Uthmān wrote his treatise shortly after (and probably under the impression of) the two-year period (1909–10) during which the Ottoman parliament had enjoyed a relatively large measure of freedom. In the Yemen, this had initially coincided with a period of administrative and economic reforms under the governor Ḥasan *Taḥsīn* (1908–9) which were meant to counteract the discontent that had previously reigned throughout the province “especially at its commercial centre of al-Hudaydah due to the «gross mismanagement and neglect of public affairs» under Aḥmad Fayzi Pasha and «his corrupt appointees»” (Baldry, “Al-Yaman and the Turkish Occupation”, p. 181). By May 1911, however, when ‘Uthmān wrote his treatise, these days of reform had been over for almost a year; Governor Mehmed ‘Ali (installed 22 May 1910) had returned to the repressive rule of Aḥmed *Fayzi*, which had been one of the causes for the Yemeni uprising that started in December 1910.

⁵⁴) Muḥammad b. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ḥaṣkafī (1616–1677), *al-Durr al-mukhtār*, comm. on Aḥmad al-Timirtāshī (d. 1595), *Tanwīr al-abṣār* (GAL II, 311, S II, 428;

prohibited it. The present treatise was written to refute this position, and to clarify the rules and conditions under which the recitation and payment for it are permitted.

Compl. *laylat* Wednesday, Shā‘bān 1325: Sep./Oct 1907 (no day given).

- 22 1043/5 ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā [b.] Ṣūmār
Tanqīḥ al-ghurur al-bahīyya (fi) sharḥ “al-Durar al-saniyya”
(nazm “al-‘Aqā’id” al-Nasafīyya).
 Commentary on Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd al-Bāri [al-Ahdal]’s⁵⁵) versification of al-Nasafi’s ‘*Aqā’id*.⁵⁶)
 Autograph, compl. Tuesday, 8 Rabi‘ I 11 Jan. 1916.
- 23 1043/6 ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā
al-Istikshāf al-muwaṣṣil (sharḥ “I‘ānat al-muḥaṣṣil”) aw
al-tanqīḥ al-mujmal li ḥall alfāz nazm “al-Mudkhal”.
 Commentary on Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd al-Bāri [al-Ahdal]’s *I‘ānat al-muḥaṣṣil li-sti‘ānat al-taḥṣil li-mā fi “al-Mudkhal”*, a poem (*manzūma*) to facilitate the memorisation of the principles of rhetoric and stylistics contained in ‘Aḍuḍ al-Din al-Ījī’s *al-Mudkhal* (for a copy of the latter, cf. 1042/2 (c)).⁵⁷)
 Copy compl. 13 Jumādā 1334: 17 March 1916.
- 24 1044/7 [Anonymous]
 Bergen
 (13 pp.)
 Publ. *Bayān kayfiyyat tanāsul al-Sāda al-Mirghaniyya ilā ‘aṣrinā*
hādhā, wa-yashmal ayḍan ba‘ ḍ [sic] min siyarūhim wa-karāmātihim.
 Genealogy of the Mirghani family, with some biographical notes.⁵⁸)
 Accompanied by what appears to be the Italian translation of a letter originally written in Arabic by ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Isā [Muḥammad] to *Commendatore* Talamonti, Director of Civil and Political

Zirikli VI 293). It may be noted that Muḥammad Amin b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amin al-Mirghani (d. 1748), a Meccan scholar and uncle of Muḥammad ‘Uthmān *al-Khatm*’s grandfather, wrote a *ḥāshīya* on *al-Durr al-mukhtār*.

⁵⁵) On Muḥammad Bāri, see above, n. 43. His *al-Durar al-saniyya* is listed in al-Ḥibshi, *Maṣādir*, p. 144.

⁵⁶) Abū Ḥafs ‘Umar al-Nasafi al-Māturidi (c. 1068–1142), Ḥanafī jurist and theologian most famous for his ‘*Aqā’id*, a catechism that “became popular [. . .] probably because it was the first abridged form of the creed according to the scholastic method of the new orthodoxy” (A. J. Wensick, art. “al-Nasafi III” in *EI*²; see also GAL I 427, S I 758).

⁵⁷) Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir’s (*v. s.*) poem is listed as *Ghāyat al-mutaḥṣil bi-nazm al-Mudkhal* in al-Ḥibshi, *Maṣādir*, p. 393.

⁵⁸) On this subject, see A. Hofheinz, “Sons of a Hidden Imām: The genealogy of the Mirghani family”, in *Sudanic Africa*, 3 (1992), pp. 1–19.

Affairs in Asmara, dated Cheren (Keren), 27 March 1922; and by an Italian translation of the first two pages of the Arabic manuscript.

The letter states that the attached genealogy was compiled by ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Īsā (apparently following a request from the colonial authorities) from various books and from oral information obtained from Ja‘far [b. (Muḥammad) Bakri b. Ja‘far “al-Ṣādiq”] al-Mirghani⁵⁹) and several Mirghani *khalīfas*. In fact, however, it is practically identical to the anonymous (apparently Egyptian) biography of Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani, his descendants and followers which precedes al-Mirghani’s Qur’ān commentary and which was written and published in the 1890s.⁶⁰) This source is not acknowledged, but ‘Abd al-Qādir has obviously simply copied it, omitting only a few honorific formulae so as to give a more detached impression to what he submitted to the government.

Copied by ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Īsā Muḥammad, compl. in Keren, Saturday, 25 Rajab 1340: 25 March 1922.

- 25 1044/8 (a) Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani *al-Khatm* (1796–1852)
 Publ. *Jawāhir al-saḥḥ fi ’l-ṣalāt ‘alā sūrat al-Faḥ.*
 Prayer on the Prophet
 Copy compl. Rabi‘ II 1325: May/June 1907.
 Publ. in Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani, *Majmū‘at Faḥ al-Rasūl*, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabi, 1367: 1948, pp. 193–206.
- 26 1044/8 (b) Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani *al-Khatm* (1796–1852)
 Bergen *Nūr al-ilāh fi ’l-ṣalāt bi-ta‘rif al-Muṣṭafā nafsahu wa-Mawlāh.*
 only the) The second collection of al-Mirghani’s daily prayers. The printed
 last 18 pp.) version says that it was re-arranged as a *ḥizb* (an office for the
 Publ. seven days of the week) on 10 November 1910; however, the present MS is already arranged in the form of such a *ḥizb*.

⁵⁹) Having spent his youth in Omdurman during the Mahdiyya, Ja‘far succeeded his uncle Hāshim al-Mirghani (*v. i.*) as leader of the Khatmiyya in Eritrea after 1901. He lived in Keren and appears to have enjoyed good relations with the Italians who supported the hierarchically organised Khatmiyya brotherhood against traditional, localised saintly families in an effort to strengthen their control over an ethnically fragmented population (cf. Pollera, *Le popolazione indigene*, p. 286–8). Between 1924–7, the Italians sent him on several missions to the Yemen in an attempt to use his influence with the Idrisi to promote Idrisi-Zaydi reconciliation (Baldry, “Anglo-Italian Rivalry”, pp. 167–8). He is buried, together with his brother al-Hasan, in Kasalā.

⁶⁰) *Tarjamāt al-imām al-‘allāma* [...], in: Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani, *Tāj al-tafāsīr*, Cairo: Maṭba‘at Būlāq, 1895. I am using the edition Beirut: Dār al-ma‘rifa, 1979.

- Some pages of the MS are missing.
[Originally compl. 1 Rabi' I 1239: 5 November 1823].
This copy compl. 5 Jumādā I 1325: 16 June 1907.
Publ. in Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mirghani, *Majmū' al-awrād al-kabir*, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabi, 1358: 1939, pp. 75–100.
- 27 1044/8 (c) Hāshim [b. Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-] Mirghani (1850/49–1901)⁶¹
Bergen
(41 pp.)
Untitled prayer on the Prophet, in two parts, the first being only ten pages long. Starts: *wa-lammā arāda 'l-Ḥaqq ibrāz hādhihi 'l-ṣalāt ajlasani bayna yaday al-Ḥabib*.
Copy compl. Tuesday, 22 Muḥarram 1326: 25 Feb. 1908.
- 28 1044/8 (d) Muḥammad [b. Muḥammad] 'Uthmān al-Mirghani *Sirr al-Khatm*
Bergen
(13 pp.)
(1814/5–1855)⁶²
Untitled prayer on the Prophet. Starts: *laqad radiya 'llāhu 'an al-mu' minin idh yubāyi' unaka taht al-shajara. . . (Qur'ān 48:18) Allāhumma ṣalli wa-sallim wa-bārik 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammadin rawḥ arwāḥ al-'ālamīn*.
Undated.
- 29 1044/8 (e) [Muḥammad] 'Uthmān *Tāj al-Sirr* [b. Muḥammad *Sirr al-Khatm*]
Bergen
(6 pp.)
al-Mirghani (1849/50–1903)⁶³
al-Ṣalāt al-kashfiyya.
Prayer on the Prophet, to bring about relief from any sorrow.
Copy compl. 5 Ṣafar 1326: 8 March 1908.
- 30 1044/8 (f) [Muḥammad] 'Uthmān *Tāj al-Sirr* [b. Muḥammad *Sirr al-Khatm*]
Bergen
(5 pp.)
al-Mirghani (1849/50–1903)
Alif al-ibtidā' [= *al-Ṣalāt al-maṭariyya*].
Publ. "Alphabetical" prayer on the Prophet.
Copy compl. 5 Ṣafar 1326: 8 March 1908.
Publ. in Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mirghani, *Majmū' al-awrād al-kabir*, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabi, 1358: 1939, pp. 142–5.
- 31 1044/8 (g) [Muḥammad] 'Uthmān *Tāj al-Sirr* [b. Muḥammad *Sirr al-Khatm*]
Bergen
(1 p.)
al-Mirghani (1849/50–1903)
al-Ṣalāt al-kawthariyya.
Publ. Prayer on the Prophet, referring to Qur'ān 108 (*Sūrat al-Kawthar*).
Copy compl. 5 Ṣafar 1326: 8 March 1908.
Publ. in Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mirghani, *Majmū' al-awrād al-kabir*, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabi, 1358: 1939, p. 145.

⁶¹) Hāshim Mirghani was the first permanent representative of the Khatmiyya in Eritrea (from where his mother is said to have come); he lived and is buried in Maṣaw-wa'. As he had no male descendants, he was succeeded by his nephew Ja'far Bakri (*v. s.*).

⁶²) On *Sirr al-Khatm*, see above, introduction.

⁶³) On *Tāj al-Sirr*, see above, introduction.

- 32 1044/8 (h) [Muḥammad] ‘Uthmān *Tāj al-Sirr* [b. Muḥammad *Sirr al-Bergen* *Khatm*] al-Mirghani (1849/50–1903)
(1 p.) Untitled prayer on the Prophet. Starts: *Allāhumma ṣalli ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammad nūr dhāti ‘Ulāh*. As a *wird* to bring about a visionary encounter (*ru’ya*) with the Prophet it should be repeated 1111 times during the night between Thursday and Friday.
Copy compl. 5 Ṣafar 1326: 8 March 1908.
- 33 1044/8 (i) [Anonymous]
Bergen Untitled prayer on the Prophet.
(56 pp.)
- 34 1044/9 Muḥammad [b. Qamar al-Di] al-Majdhūb (1796–1831)⁶⁴
Bergen *Masarrat arwāh al-‘ushshāq ‘alā ḥall al-fāz* “*al-Nūr al-barrāq fī madh al-Rasūl al-miṣdāq*”.
(189 pp.) Commentary on Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani *al-Khatm*’s most popular *diwān*, *al-Nūr al-barrāq*.
Compl. *duḥwat* Tuesday, 30 Ṣafar 1231: 30 Jan. 1816 (*sic*).⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Muḥammad (al-)Majdhūb belonged to the Majādhīb, a clan of religious notables from the northern Sudanese town of al-Dāmar. In about 1821, he joined al-Mirghani on his way back to the Hijāz, but differences between the two soon led to conflict and separation. Influenced by Ibn Idris, Majdhūb settled in Medina for some time and in 1829 moved to Sawākin where he propagated his *ṭariqa*. He died of an illness shortly after his return to al-Dāmar. — I am currently preparing a Ph. D. thesis on Majdhūb.

⁶⁵ This date must be incorrect; at this time, al-Mirghani had barely started his tour of the Sudan (he probably was still in Dongola), and none of our sources includes any indication that Majdhūb met him that early. The most likely year of their encounter, according to the present state of research, is 1820. Further, the author says that the commentary was written in Medina; Majdhūb stayed there from about 1821 to 1828. It is also suspicious that the author in this MS calls himself ‘Muḥammad al-Majdhūb al-Khatmi’. In all his other writings, he uses the form, ‘Muḥammad Majdhūb’; the definite article generally occurs only in other people’s references to Majdhūb.

We cannot exclude the possibility that the commentary was forged by a member of the Khatmiyya to demonstrate Majdhūb’s allegiance to al-Mirghani who is extolled in the highest possible way in the introduction. A Majdhūbi source from 1861 does state that Majdhūb composed a commentary on *al-Nūr al-barrāq* (Muḥammad al-Tāhir al-Tayyib, *al-Wasīla ilā ‘l-maṭlūb fī ba‘d mā ishtahara min manāqib wa-karāmāt walī Allāh al-Shaykh al-Majdhūb*, Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Taqaaddum, 1332 [1914]). On the other hand, *al-Wasīla* does include in its list of Majdhūb’s works a title that can be demonstrated to be by another author (*Munabbihāt al-isti‘dād*; see *ALA* I, pp. 255–6).

- This copy compl. by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ‘Ali al-Wahhāb in 1325: 1907/8.⁶⁶⁾
- 35 1044/10 (a) [Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad?]⁶⁷⁾
 Bergen *al-Durra al-yatīma fī manāqīb man lahu al-akhlāq al-fakhīma.*
 (21 pp.) Versified hagiography of [Muḥammad] ‘Uthmān *Tāj al-Sirr* [b. Muḥammad *Sirr al-Khatm*] al-Mirghani (1849/50–1903).
 Original text compl. 1334: 1916/5.
 This copy compl. by ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā [b.] Šūmār al-Ḥanafī, 17 Shawwāl 1336: 26 July 1918.
- 36 1044/10 (b) Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad
 Bergen *Kunūz al-jawāhir wa’l-durar fī anwār manāqīb Tāj al-Sirr al-sayyid Muḥammad ‘Uthmān.*
 (19 pp.) Prose hagiography of [Muḥammad] ‘Uthmān *Tāj al-Sirr* [b. Muḥammad *Sirr al-Khatm*] al-Mirghani (1849/50–1903).
 Original text compl. before *al-Durra al-yatīma* where there is a reference to the prose version of the *manāqīb*.
- 37 1044/10 (c) [Anonymous]
 Bergen Chapter (*faṣl*) One [of a *manāqīb* work not otherwise identified].
 (4 pp.) On the *karāmāt* of Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani *al-Khatm*
 Incompl. (1796–1852). On p. 1, there is a quotation from Muḥyi al-Dīn b. ‘Arabi.
- 38 1044/10 (d) [Anonymous]
 Bergen Untitled prayer.
 (2 pp.)
- 39 1044/10 (e) [Ja‘far “al-Šādiq” b. Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani]
 Bergen (1823/2–1860/1)⁶⁸⁾
 (37 pp.) *Lu’lu’at al-ḥusn al-sāti‘a fī ta‘rif al-lā maqāmāt al-‘irfān.*
 Publ. Hagiography (*manāqīb*) in four parts of his father, Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani *al-Khatm* (1796–1852).

⁶⁶⁾ In the same year, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Wahhāb also copied ‘Uthmān Muḥammad Mūsā’s *al-Ḥujja al-qāṭi‘a sharḥ “al-Risāla al-jāmi‘a”* (1046/18).

⁶⁷⁾ The author of the verse *manāqīb* is not named in the manuscript, but the reference to the prose version (1044/10 (b)) and the similarity of topics and rhetoric make it very likely that the two were written by the same person. — It is uncertain whether he is the same as Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Quraysh who acquired *al-Mudkhal* (1042/2 (c)) in 1873.

⁶⁸⁾ Ja‘far “al-Šādiq” lived in the Ḥijāz where he succeeded his father as head of the Khatmiyya.

- Publ. in *al-Nafahāt al-rabbāniyya al-mushtamila ‘alā sab‘ rasā’ il Mirghaniyya li’l-sāda al-Mirghaniyya wa-ghayrihim*, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabi, 2nd imp., 1980, pp. 39–54.
- An analysis of this can be found in Nicole Grandin, “Le Shaykh Muhammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani (1793–1853). Une double lecture de ses hagiographies”, in *Archives des sciences sociales des religions*, 58/1 (1984), pp. 139–55.
- 40 1044/10 (f) [Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani *al-Khatm* (1793–1852),
Bergen ed. Ja‘far “al-Ṣādiq” b. Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani
(8 pp.) *al-Khatm* (1823/2–1860/1)]
Mostly publ. [*Risāla fi ba‘ḍ mukhāṭabātihi raḍiyya ‘llāhu ‘anhu (min al-Nabi)*]
● Collection of mystical sayings that the Prophet allegedly addressed to Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani *al-Khatm* (1796–1852).
[First written down on Tuesday, 10 Ṣafar 1240: 5 Oct. 1824 (i. e., probably at Ḥargēgo opposite Maṣawwa‘), acc. to the printed version.]
Publ. as *Risālat al-Khatm fi ba‘ḍ al-mubashshirāt* in *al-Rasā’ il al-Mirghaniyya*, 2nd ed., Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabi, 1979, pp. 110–112.
● Followed by the account of a vision of the Prophet that Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani claimed to have had while he was writing his commentary on the Qur’ān, when he reached verse 6:122 (“Is then he who was dead [in spirit] and whom We thereupon gave life, and for whom We set up a light to walk by among men —”). Copied from *Khitām al-tafāsir*.⁶⁹
Publ. in *Risālat al-Khatm fi ba‘ḍ al-mubashshirāt* in *al-Rasā’ il al-Mirghaniyya*, 2nd ed., Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabi, 1979, p. 116.
● Followed by the account of a vision of the Prophet that Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani claimed to have had on 8 Shawwāl 1231: 1 Sep. 1816.
- 41 1044/10 (g) [Anonymous]
Bergen *al-Nafahāt al-zakiyya fi akhlāqihī al-marḍiyya, aw al-manāqib al-Aḥmadiyya fi dhikr sayyidi al-durra al-Hāshimiyya al-Idrisiyya*.
(26 pp.)
(Mostly publ.) Ostensibly a hagiography (*manāqib*) describing Aḥmad ibn Idris’ (1749/50–1837)⁷⁰ stay in the Yemen, consisting largely (pp. 1–18) of an extract from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān [al-Ahdal]

⁶⁹) This commentary on the Qur’ān by Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani has often been printed, usually under the title, *Tāj al-tafāsir* (ALA I, p. 197).

⁷⁰) On Ibn Idris, see above, introduction.

al-Zabidi's (1766–1835)⁷¹) biographical dictionary of Muslim scholars, [*al-Nafas al-Yamāni (wa'l-rawḥ al-rayḥāni) fī ijāzat (al-quḍāt) awlād shaykhihi al-ʿallāma Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkāni*,⁷²] [written in 1248: 1832/3⁷³] which describes in detail his encounter with Aḥmad b. Idris in 1244: 1828/9⁷⁴) and includes a copy of Ibn Idris' *ijāza* to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zabidi as well as several poems in praise of Ibn Idris.

Al-Ahdal's text is followed by (pp. 18–21) a few notes on Ibn Idris' *manāqib* and his death; this part of the present text has, to my knowledge, not been published elsewhere.

At the end, the MS includes two poems by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *Šāʿim al-Dahr* (d. 1852/3) of Šabyā; these are meant to be recited after the *manāqib* when they are performed in public:⁷⁵)

- (p. 22–23) *Qaṣida bāʿiyya* on the occasion of Ibn Idris' departure. Opens: *A-baʿdakum yaṣfū li-šabbikum al-shurbu*. This poem is meant to be read after the *manāqib* when they are performed in public.
- (p. 24–26) *Qaṣida hāʿiyya*, addressed to Ibn Idris in Šabyā. Opens: *Lā gharwa in zādat bihi ashjānuhu*.

⁷¹) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān was a Shāfiʿi scholar from Zabid belonging to the famous Ahdal clan; the *Nafas al-Yamāni*, a biographical work, was edited by ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, Ṣanʿāʾ, 1979; parts of it, evidently reproduced from a different MS, also appear in a *Tarjama* on the margin of the Idrisi prayer collection, *Majmūʿa sharīfa*, which has often been printed (a copy of it can be found in Rome, Istituto per l'Oriente, nr. 2846; I am using the 191 pp. lithographed edition, Bergen 346, where al-Ahdal's text appears on pp. 149–165) (GAL S III 1311; Zirikli III 307; O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, index; *ALA* I, pp. 143–4).

⁷²) Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkāni (1760–1834) was the most eminent Yemeni scholar of his time; see Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdullāh al-ʿAmri, *The Yemen in the 18th & 19th centuries: a political & intellectual history*, London: Ithaca, 1985.

⁷³) This date is given on the margin of *Majmūʿa Sharīfa*, p. 161.

⁷⁴) On the date see O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, p. 84. 1244 agrees with al-Ḥibshī's edition, contrary to the *Majmūʿa sharīfa* which has 1243. Likewise, in all other instances where the two printed editions differ from each other, the present MS appears to agree with al-Ḥibshī, as far as I was able to check.

⁷⁵) These two poems are printed on the margin of *Majmūʿa sharīfa* (v.s.; pp. 165–73 in my copy), and in Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mirghani, *Manāqib [...] al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idris*, Wād Madani, 1971, pp. 71–76. — For an analysis of this text, see O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, pp. 82–89; and an article by ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī in the journal, *al-Yaman al-Jadīd*, May 1975 (cited after *id.*, *Maṣādir*, 70).

- 42 1044/10 (h) Muḥammad b. ‘Ali b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Idris
Bergen (1876–1923)⁷⁶
(12 pp.) (*āyāt karīma wa-mawā‘iz fakhīma*).
A collection of Qur’ānic verses and religious exhortations.
- 43 1044/10 (i) [Anonymous]
Bergen *al-‘Uqūd al-jawhariyya fi ‘l-manāqib al-sirriyya*.
(4 pp.) Hagiographical poem (*qaṣīda tā‘iyya*) on Muḥammad [b. Muḥammad] ‘Uthmān [al-Mirghani] *Sirr al-Khatm* (1814/15–1855), to be performed during the anniversary celebrations (*hawliyya*) on the night of his death, 16 Dhū ‘l-hijja.
- 44 1044/10 (j) al-Jazūli b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb⁷⁷
Bergen *al-Jawāhir al-maknūna li‘l-ikhwān fi manāqib sayyidi al-sayyid*
(10 pp.) ‘Abdallāh “al-Mahjūb” *ibn khatm ahl al-‘irfān*.
Hagiography (in three parts plus epilogue) of ‘Abdallāh “al-Mahjūb” *al-aṣghar* b. Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani *al-Khatm* (d. 1834/5).⁷⁸
From the possession of Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā [b.] Sūmār.
- 45 1044/10 (k) [Aḥmad “b. Idris” b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad *al-Naṣayh* al-
Bergen Rubātābi] (d. in the 1890s)
(11 pp.) Untitled hagiography (*manāqib*) of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad
Publ. ‘Uthmān *al-Khatm* al-Mirghani (1820–1868).⁷⁹

⁷⁶) On Muḥammad b. ‘Ali al-Idrisi, see above, introduction.

⁷⁷) al-Jazūli b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb came from the area between the Blue Nile and the Ethiopian borderlands; he joined Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani in al-Saniyya (Kasalā). *Al-Ibāna* gives him the title, *khalīfat al-khulafā’*. Nothing else is known of him except that he was believed to have flown in the air (Aḥmad “b. Idris” *al-Naṣayh* al-Rubātābi, *al-Ibāna al-nūriyya fi shā‘n ṣāhib al-ṭariqa al-Khatmiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1991 (original text compl. 1890), p. 92 (this work is the most important source for the life of the founder of the Khatmiyya).

⁷⁸) The MS says ‘Abdallāh “al-Mahjūb” was born in al-Saniyya on *laylat* Friday, 10 Rajab 1244: 16 Jan. 1829. Previously available sources give the date of his birth as 1237: 1822/1.

⁷⁹) al-Ḥasan al-Mirghani was appointed as his father’s representative in the Sudan in 1843; he became the principal propagator of the Khatmiyya there. – *Al-Naṣayh*, a maternal cousin of Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani *al-Khatm* and close intimate of al-Ḥasan, gives the dates of al-Ḥasan’s birth as 12 Jumādā I (or Rajab, acc. to variant reports, as it says) 1235: 26 Feb./25 Apr. 1820; and of his death as Tuesday, 18 Sha‘bān 1285: 1 Dec. 1868. As these dates stem from an author so close to the family, and as all the manuscripts agree on them, they would seem to be more reliable than those given elsewhere (12 Jumādā II 1235, or 1234 for his birth; 18 Sha‘bān 1286 for his death; see *ALA* I, p. 203).

[Probably from the possession of Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā [b.] Sūmār (like 1044/10 (j & l)).

Other MSS of the same text: (1) Khartoum (University Library), 8 QCb, 26 pp., 1351: 1932–33; (2) Khartoum (NRO), Misc., 1/64/1159, 29 pp., compl. 2 Muḥarram 1363: 29 December 1943; (3) Bergen, NO 171.11/7 (photograph of a copy in private ownership).

Publ. under the title, *Sirat al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Mirghani*, in *Abṭāl al-Khatmiyya*, Cairo: Dār al-Waṭani, n.d. [preface dated 1957], pp. 11–32.

- 46 1044/10 (1) Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ibrāhim
Bergen *al-Manāqib al-durariyya fī mu‘āmalat sayyid al-bunuwwa*
(53 pp.) *al-Hāshimiyya*.

Hagiography (*manāqib*) of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ‘Uthmān *al-Khatm* al-Mirghani (1820–1868/9). Quite verbose. Composed by assignment of al-Ḥasan’s son, Muḥammad ‘Uthmān II (1848–1886).⁸⁰⁾

Compl. Thursday afternoon, 29 Dhū ‘l-ḥijja 1292: 27 Jan. 1876.

From the possession of Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā [b.] Sūmār.

Followed by the description of two visions, one by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ibrāhim in the night before Friday, 1 Muḥarram 1293: 28 Jan. 1876 (where he sees al-Ḥasan al-Mirghani); the other by al-Ḥasan al-Mirghani on 25 Shawwāl 1263: 5 Oct. 1847 (where he sees himself, his family and followers extolled by the Prophet). The latter vision is publ. in *al-Rasā’ il al-Mirghaniyya*, 2nd ed. 1979, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabi, pp. 118–120.

Followed by various poems:

(1) Aḥmad “ibn Idris” b. al-Ḥasan al-Mirghani (1846–1875), *Qaṣida dāliyya*, opens: “*Salaktu ṭariq al-qawmi fī bahri mawri-din*”, praising himself for the high spiritual status he has reached.

(2) al-Ḥasan al-Mirghani, *Qaṣida mimiyya*, opens: “*A-yā qāṣi-dina nahwa ‘bni ‘Uthmāna fuztum*”, on his father, Muḥammad ‘Uthmān *al-Khatm*.

(3) al-Ḥasan al-Mirghani, *Qaṣida rā’iyya*, opens: “*Yā Rabbi wa’rḡā ‘alā ‘l-Khatmi ‘lladhī qad zaharā*”, on his father, Muḥammad ‘Uthmān *al-Khatm*.

(4) al-Ḥasan al-Mirghani, *Qaṣida yā’iyya*, opens: “*Alat rutbatī haqqan ‘alā kulli rutbatī [= rutbatin]*”, refrain: “*Sheyl li’llāh*

⁸⁰⁾ Muḥammad ‘Uthmān II b. al-Ḥasan al-Mirghani succeeded his father as head of the Khatmiyya in the Sudan. When Mahdist forces occupied Kasalā, he went into exile in Egypt where he died soon afterwards.

[= *shay' li'llāh*] *yā Mirghani sheyl li'llāh yā Mirghani*”, in praise of himself.

(5) al-Ḥasan al-Mirghani, *Manzūma* with various rhymes that change in the course of the poem, opens: “*Jamāli yā jamāli yā jamāli * khitāmu 'l-qawmi sultānu 'l-rijāli*”, in praise of himself and of his family.

- 47 1044/10 (m) Tāj al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Sarrāj⁸¹)
 Bergen *Mawāhib al-ghuyūb fi manāqib al-Mahjūb al-sayyid 'Abdallāh al-Mirghani al-mahbub.*
 (18 pp.)

Hagiography (consisting of an introduction, one chapter, and an epilogue) of 'Abdallāh *al-Mahjūb* b. Ibrāhīm al-Mirghani,⁸²) to be performed on the occasion of his anniversary celebration (*ḥawliyya*). Includes one *qaṣida* on the *manāqib* of 'Abdallāh by the author of this hagiography; and two brief poems by 'Abdallāh al-Mirghani classified as *shataḥāt* (theopathic exclamations). The MS includes some pieces of information not known from other sources, among them the year of 'Abdallāh's birth (1119: 1707/8). Even though the author claims to have been the foster brother of one of 'Abdallāh's sons, it remains unclear how reliable his information is. Thus, among the “80 or 200” works 'Abdallāh is said to have written, Tāj al-Dīn lists only four, which are not included in any of the other lists available: *Kanz al-fawā'id sharḥ "Baḥr al-'aqā'id"* (not identified); *al-Murāsālāt* (a *diwān*); *Munyat al-maṭlūb min manāqib al-sayyid al-Mahjūb* (a *diwān* arranged according to the letters of the alphabet);⁸³) and a *marthiya nūniyya*. Further, the day of 'Abdallāh's death is given as *laylat* Friday, 13 Muḥarram 1193: 29 Jan. 1779 – usually, he is said to have died in 1207 or 1208: 1792/4.

⁸¹) Tāj al-Dīn calls himself a foster brother of Muḥammad Yāsin b. 'Abdallāh *al-Mahjūb*. He stayed in Mecca when 'Abdallāh moved to al-Ṭā'if.

⁸²) 'Abdallāh *al-Mahjūb*, the grandfather of Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mirghani *al-Khatm*, was a prominent Ḥanafī teacher from Mecca. In 1166: 1753/2 [apparently in the wake of some sort of political problems], he “retreated from this world”, leaving Mecca and moving to al-Salāma in the neighbourhood of al-Ṭā'if; this, explains the MS, is the origin of his nickname, *al-Mahjūb* (“the Veiled”). 'Abdallāh established his own *ṭariqa*, known as the Mirghaniyya. He died in al-Ṭā'if.

⁸³) Tāj al-Dīn claims to have compiled this *diwān* by order of 'Abdallāh, but says he had not been able to make a fair copy of it by the time he wrote the *manāqib*. – Note that 'Abdallāh's published *diwān*, *al-'Iqd al-munazzam 'alā ḥurūf al-mu'jam* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābi al-Ḥalabī, 1939) is arranged according to the letters of the alphabet. It does not, however, include any reference to Tāj al-Dīn.

At the end of the MS there is a prayer in five pages written with a different pen but possibly by the same hand as the preceding *manāqib*.

- 48 1044/11 Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani *al-Khatm* (1796–1852)
Bergen *al-Imdādāt al-saniyya min al-ḥaḍarāt al-kamāliyya li-hall*
(79 pp.) *“al-Fuyūdāt al-Ilāhiyya al-mutaḍammīna li’l-asrār al-ḥikamiyya”*.

Commentary on his own *al-Fuyūdāt al-Ilāhiyya al-mutaḍammīna li’l-asrār al-ḥikamiyya*, an unlocated work on the principles of spiritual life, expressly written from an esoteric point of view (*qaṣḍī* [...] *al-i‘ timād ‘alā ‘l-bāṭin lā ‘alā ‘l-zāhir*) and therefore called, *ḥikam* (“sayings of wisdom”), but being an introduction to the Sufi path rather than a collection of wise sayings such as the famous *Ḥikam* of Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandari. Both al-Mirghani’s and Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s *Ḥikam* figure in the reading list recommended to the Khatmi novice which is given in Aḥmad al-Ruṭḥi, *Minḥat al-aṣḥāb*.⁸⁴)

The work is divided into the following chapters: (1) *al-Tawba*; (2) *al-Ikhlās*; (3) *al-Zuhd*; (4) *al-‘Ināya*; (5) *al-Sayr*; (6) *al-Ṣalāt*; (7) *al-Īmān*; (8) *Dhikr al-‘Aziz*; (9) *al-Fanā’*; (10) *al-Tajallī*; (11) *Taḥḍīr wa-takhwīf min ahl al-zamān*; (12) *al-Rajā’ al-mamdūḥ wa’l-khawf al-mamdūḥ*; (13) *al-Tamassuk bi’l-yaqīn*; Epilogue.

The original *Fuyūdāt* were “not copied from books but composed by *fath*”; they were completed on Saturday, 25 Ramaḍān (“*Laylat al-Qadr*” [sic]) 1232: 9 Aug 1817 [i.e. probably while al-Mirghani was in Kordofan].⁸⁵)

The comm. was completed on Saturday, 27 Ramaḍān 1235: 8 July 1820 [while al-Mirghani was in Shendi/al-Matamma].⁸⁶)

⁸⁴) B. Radtke, “Lehrer – Schüler – Enkel”, in *Oriens*, 33 (1992), p. 105.

⁸⁵) The pencil note on the margin of the last page saying, “Completed on 27 Ramaḍān 1230” originates in a misunderstanding of the body text.

⁸⁶) In the preface, al-Mirghani names the following groups of people (evidently from the three areas where he tried to spread his *ṭarīqa*, namely, Kordofan, the Nile reach, and the Eastern Sudan with Eritrea) as having asked him to write this commentary: (1) *al-Khaṭīb* ‘Arabi [al-Hawwāri (b. 1779)]; Ismā‘il [*al-Walī* (1792–1863)]; Ṣāliḥ [perhaps Ṣāliḥ Suwār al-Dhahab (d. 1875)? In al-Mirghani’s *al-Asrār al-mutarādifa* he is called, Ṣāliḥ b. al-Nūr]; Muḥammad (called, *khalīfa* of Bāra); (2) Aḥmad al-Rayyaḥ [of the Shendi reach]; Ḥummadu ‘bnu ‘l-Amin al-Majdhūbi [thus vocalized; it may refer to Ḥamad *al-Ma’ mūn* b. al-Amin al-Majdhūb, one of the leading figures in al-Dāmar at the time who appears to have been particularly renowned for his religious learning]; ‘Uthmān b. Mūsā *al-Ma’ qili*; *al-ḥājj al-shaykh* [Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān] al-Duwayḥi [the father of Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd, from the Shāyqiyya area];

This copy was penned by Muḥammad b. Mūsā [b.] Sūmār *al-Fawānīs*, *khalīfa* of [Muḥammad] ‘Uthmān *Tāj* [*al-Sirr*] b. Muḥammad [*Sirr al-Khatm* b. Muḥammad] ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani (1849/50–1903).

- 49 1044/12 ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā al-Ḥanafī
 Bergen *Īrād al-abrār [‘alā] manẓūmati al-musammā “Mahbiṭ al-asrār”*.
 (only the Commentary on his own *Mahbiṭ al-asrār* (cf. 1043/4 (a)).
 last 4 pp. Compl. after 3 months and 20 days of writing on Wednesday, 5
 Dhū ‘l-Qa‘da 1333: 15 Sep. 1915.
 At the end, ‘Uthmān includes
 (1) his *ijāza* from his father, *Sharīf* Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. ‘Umar
 b. Mūsā b. Sūmār (nicknamed *Fawānīs*), permitting him to teach
 the Qur’ān, *ḥadīth*, Ḥanafī *fiqh*, and the ‘instrumental’ sciences
 (*‘ilm al-ālāt*) (e.g., grammar, stylistics, and poetics), as taught
 him by himself, and by Muḥammad [b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd
 al-]Bāri [al-Ahdal], Muḥammad [b.] Sulaymān [b. ‘Alī Yūsuf]
 ([Ḥanafī] *mufti* of al-Ḥudayda), and Muḥammad Tāhir b. ‘Abd
 al-Raḥmān [b. ‘Abd al-Bāri] al-Ahdal.⁸⁷ – As his own teacher,
 Muḥammad Mūsā names Muḥammad ‘Uthmān *Tāj al-Sirr*
 (1849/50–1903) b. Muḥammad *Sirr al-Khatm* (1814/5–1855) b.
 Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani. – As teachers of [either *al-*
Khatm or *Sirr al-Khatm*] are mentioned Muḥammad Yāsīn [b.
 ‘Abdallāh *al-Mahjūb*] (d. 1835/40),⁸⁸ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulay-
 mān al-Ahdal (1766–1835, *mufti* of Zabid), and Aḥmad b. Idrīs
 (1750/60–1837).
 (2) his *ijāza* from *mufti al-Islām* Muḥammad [b.] Sulaymān b.
 [‘Alī] Yūsuf al-Ḥanafī, saying that ‘Uthmān had studied with
 him [al-Ḥaskafī’s] *al-Durr al-mukhtār [fi] sharḥ “Tanwīr al-abṣār”*
 and, earlier, parts of [al-Marghināni’s (d. 1196)] *al-Hidāya*,⁸⁹)

(3) Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Balābi; Muḥammad b. Sirdayh; ‘Abd al-Mājid;
al-sharīf ‘Abdallāh *al-Ḥabashī*; Muḥammad al-Shinnāwi. – *Al-Ma‘qili* and the men
 from group (3) are not known from other sources.

(al-Rubāṭābi, *al-Ibāna*, pp. 75–76, 79; Karrar, *Sufi Brotherhoods*, pp. 59–62;
 A. S. Karrar & E. Thomassen, “Letters to Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mirghani”, in *The
 Letters of Ahmad ibn Idrīs*, p. 117; R. S. O’Fahey & B. Radtke, “A Letter to ‘Arabi al-
 Hawwāri”, in *ib.*, p. 144; Radtke, “Lehrer – Schüler – Enkel”, pp. 99–100; *ALA* I,
 pp. 190–1).

⁸⁷) On ‘Uthmān’s teachers, see above.

⁸⁸) Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Mirghani was a prominent *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* scholar in
 Mecca (*ALA* I, p. 186).

⁸⁹) Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abi Bakr al-Marghināni’s (d. 1196) *Hidāya* (a comm. on
 his own *Bidāyat al-mubtadi; v.i.*) became one of the most celebrated Ḥanafī law
 manuals.

and permitting him to transmit from him the sciences of the *shari'a* (*al-ma'qūl*, *al-manqūl*, and *al-furū'*), particularly the six *ummahāt* [i.e., the six canonical collections of Prophetic Traditions], as well as *aḥzāb*, *awrād*, and *adhkār*, as taught to him by his Yemeni and Syrian teachers, in particular [the Shāfi'i] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad [b. 'Abd al-Bāri] *al-Khaṭīb* al-Ahdal (1826–1880).⁹⁰

(3) his *ijāza* from Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal b. 'Abd al-Bāri al-Ahdal (which does not give any details regarding topics or teachers).

(4) a Ḥanafī *ijāza* given to his father by Muḥammad 'Uthmān *Tāj al-Sirr*.

- 50 1045/13 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad [b.] Mūsā al-Ḥanafī
Jalā' al-abṣār sharḥ "Lu'lu'at al-anwār" nazm "Mukhtaṣar al-Manār" fi 'ilm uṣūl al-dīn.
 Commentary on his own poem (*manzūma*), *Lu'lu'at al-anwār*, a versification of *Mukhtaṣar "al-Manār fi uṣūl al-fiqh"* acc. to the Ḥanafī school.⁹¹
 Compl. Sha'bān 1324: Oct./Sept. 1906 (or 1327: Sep./Aug. 1909? this would correspond to the pencil note in Italian, "1909–10").
- 51 1045/14 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā [b.] Sūmār
al-Jawāhir al-lāmi'a 'alā "al-Risāla al-jāmi'a wa'l-tadhkira al-nāfi'a" 'alā madhhab al-imām al-a'zam Abi Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān.
 Commentary on 'Ali b. Zayn al-Ḥibshī, *al-Risāla al-jāmi'a wa'l-tadhkira al-nāfi'a* (*bayn uṣūl al-dīn wa'l-fiqh*) (GAL S II 814).
 Only on ritual prayer and purity (*tahāra*).
 Compl. 14 Ṣafar 1325: 29 March 1907.
 For another (earlier) copy of the same work, cf. 1042/3.
 For another, longer version of this commentary, also by 'Uthmān, cf. 1046/18.
- 52 1045/15 [Anonymous]
 Untitled commentary on a compilation of Forty *Ḥadīth*.
 Even though the MS was apparently written by several different scribes, this seems to be one continuous work.

⁹⁰ On Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ahdal, a very prolific writer, see Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabāra, *Nayl al-Waṭar min tarājim rijāl al-Yaman fi 'l-qarn al-thālith 'ashar*, Cairo: al-Salafiyya, 1348–50 [1929–31], II, pp. 224–5; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, 32, 88, 143, 167, 247, 459.

⁹¹ Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abū 'l-Barakāt 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī's (d. 1310) *Manār al-anwār fi uṣūl al-fiqh* was a very popular Ḥanafī account of the foundations of law (W. Heffening, art. "al-Nasafī IV" in *EI*²; GAL II 196, S II 263).

- 53 1045/16 (a) Abū Bakr b. ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Ḥāmīlī [al-Yamanī al-Ḥanafī Sirāj al-Dīn] (d. 1368/7)⁹²
 [*Durr al-muhtadī wa-dhukhr al-muqtadī fi nazm “Bidāyat al-mubtadī”*].
 Versification in 1,000 verses (*alfiyya*) [of al-Marghinānī’s (d. 1197) *Bidāyat al-mubtadī*]⁹³, effectively only including sections on prayer and other religious obligations relating to it (such as *zakāt*, *ṣadaqa*, etc.). In an appendix at the end, the text contains a few lines on pilgrimage.
 Composed at the suggestion of the Yemeni *shaykh* Abū ‘l-Ḥasan. Undated.
- 54 1045/16 (b) ‘Abdallāh b. Maḥmūd⁹⁴
Kanz al-fiqh wa’l daqā’iq.
 Poem (*manẓuma*) on *fiqh al-‘ibādāt* acc. to the Ḥanafī school.
- 55 1046/17 Ḥasan b. ‘Ammār b. ‘Alī al-Shurunbulālī, al-Ḥanafī al-Miṣri
 Publ. *thumma* al-Qāhīrī (d. 1658)⁹⁵
Nūr al-īdāh wa-najāt al-arwāh.
 Treatise on the ritual obligations (*‘ibādāt*) acc. to the Ḥanafī school.
 Incomplete copy.
 Partly publ. Leiden 1895. A 200 p. copy (dated 1923?) is listed in the University of California’s MELVYL library catalogue (Call nr. NRLF §C 80967, no further details). The complete text is also printed on the margins of the author’s own commentary on this work, *Marāqī ‘l-falāh*, Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, [1947].
- 56 1046/18 ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā *Buq̄era*
al-Hujja al-qāṭi‘a sharḥ “al-Risāla al-jāmi‘a wa’l-tadhkira al-nāfi‘a” “*alā madhhab al-īmām al-a‘zam Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān*.
 Commentary on ‘Alī b. Zayn al-Ḥibshī, *al-Risāla al-jāmi‘a wa’l-tadhkira al-nāfi‘a* (*bayn uṣūl al-dīn wa’l-fiqh*) (GAL S II 814),

⁹²) al-Ḥāmīlī studied in Zabīd and became a well-known jurist in the Rasūlīd state (GAL II 185, S II 240; al-Ḥibshī, *Maṣādir*, p. 187).

⁹³) Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Marghinānī’s (d. 1196), a famous Ḥanafī lawyer whose main work was the compendium of applied law (*furū‘*), *Bidāyat al-mubtadī*, based mainly on al-Qudūrī’s *Mukhtaṣar* and al-Shaybānī’s *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣa-ghīr* (W. Heffening, art. “al-Marghinānī” in *EI*²; GAL I 376, S I 644).

⁹⁴) Is this perhaps ‘Abdallāh b. Maḥmūd b. Mawdūd al-Mawṣilī al-Baghdādī (1202/12–1284), a Ḥanafī jurist from Baghdād? Cf. GAL I 382, S I 657, where, however, a *Kanz al-fiqh* is not listed among his writings.

⁹⁵) al-Shurunbulālī was professor of Ḥanafī law at al-Azhar university (GAL II 313, S II 430).

- more elaborate than ‘Uthmān’s *al-Jawāhir al-lāmi‘a* (for which see 1042/3 and 1045/14).
Copy compl. by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb on *ḏuhā* Tuesday, Muḥarram 1325: Feb./March 1907 (no day given).
- 57 1046/19 ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā [b.] Sūmār *Buqēra Ḥaqā’iq al-iḥsān li-ḥall alfāz “Taḥiyyat al-ṣibyān”*.
Text of ‘Uthmān’s (?) *Taḥiyyat al-ṣibyān* (a versified instruction manual on prayer for young children), and commentary on it. Compl. 22 Dhū ‘l-Qa‘da 1322: 28 Jan. 1905.
- 58 1046/20 al-Imām [Muṣṭafā b. Zakariyā’ b. Aydoghmish] al-Karamāni [*sic* = al-Qaramāni] (d. 1406)
Mukhtaṣar al-tawḏīḥ sharḥ “Muqaddimat” al-shaykh Abī ‘l-Layth al-Samarqandī.
Elaborate comm. on Abū ‘l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. c. 985), *al-Muqaddima [fi ‘l-ṣalāt]*.⁹⁶
Mainly on ritual prayer and purity, but including some questions of belief (*imān*).
Original text compl. 792: 1390.
Undated copy.
- 59 1047/21 Ibrāhim b. Muḥammad al-Bājūrī [al-Shāfi‘ī] (1783–1860)⁹⁷
Publ. *Tuḥfat al-murīd ‘alā “Jawharat al-tawḥīd”*.
Very popular Shāfi‘ī comm. on Ibrāhim b. Ibrāhim al-Laḳānī’s (d. 1631) famous *urjūza*, *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, a versified Māliki theological manual (GAL II 316, S II 436).
Original text compl. Ṣafar 1234: Dec. 1818.

⁹⁶ Abū ‘l-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī, *Imām al-Hudā*, a very successful Ḥanafi writer, theologian and jurisconsult (J. Schacht, art. “Abū ‘l-Layth al-Samarqandī” in *EI*²; GAL I 196, S I 347; other MSS of al-Qaramāni’s comm. are listed there).

⁹⁷ al-Bājūrī, professor at and (from 1847 until his death) rector of al-Azhar university. “Pious and conformist” (Delanoue), he was a prolific and widely-read author especially in theology. Long after he wrote his *Tuḥfa* (his most influential work), he took the Khatmiyya from Aḥmad Abū Ḥurayba al-Shintināwī (c. 1794–1852), a man of humble origins who earned his living as a butcher and became the principal Khatmi *khalīfa* in Egypt (GAL II 487; Max Horten, *Die religiöse Gedankenwelt der gebildeten Muslime*, Halle: Niemeyer, 1916; Th. W. Juynboll, art. “al-Bādījūrī”, in *EI*²; Gilbert Delanoue, *Moralistes et politiques musulmans dans l’Égypte du XIV^e siècle (1798–1882)*, Cairo: IFAO, 1982, pp. 109–18, 324–6, 589; *ALAI*, p. 211).

Copy compl. by 'Abd al-Bāri Muḥammad b. 'Umar Muṭayr al-Ḥakamī⁹⁸) on *ḏuhā* Tuesday, 2 Rajab 1298: 31 May 1881.

Numerous printed editions. According to Delanoue, a French translation accompanied by the Arabic text of *Tuḥfat al-murīd* has been published by G. Anawati and L. Gardet in *Études Arabes* (Rome: Pontificio istituto di studi Arabi); the first part of this appeared in no. 36 (1974).

Cf. *La Djaouhara, traité de théologie avec notes d'Abdesselam* [= *Ithāf al-murīd*, by al-Laḳānī's son] *et d'al-Badjourī*, texte arabe et traduction française par J.D. Luciani, Alger, 1907.

- 60 1047/22 [Anonymous]
 (24 pp.) *Yāre-ye 'amm* (sic) *ma'a qā'ida Baghdādiyya*.
 Publ. Persian copy book to teach writing.
 Printed n.p., Maṭba' Muḥammadi, n.d.
- 61 1047/23 [Anonymous]
 Untitled hagiography (*manāqib*) of the *walī*, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad *al-Khāmīri* of the Bā 'Ibād clan.⁹⁹
 The author decided to write this collection of *manāqib* after he had completed reading [Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's (1445–1505) treatise on death,] *Buṣhrā 'l-ka'ib bi-liqā' al-ḥabīb*,¹⁰⁰ after the afternoon prayer on Wednesday, 7 Shawwāl 1115: 13 Feb. 1704 (al-Khāmīri is said to be mentioned at the end of *Buṣhrā 'l-ka'ib*).
 Copy compl. Sha'bān 1295: Aug. 1878.
 The volume passed into the possession of Muḥammad 'Umar 'Abdallāh on 21 Jumādā I 1333: 26 July 1913, and later into the possession of [his brother?] 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar *al-M.d.j.mī*.
- 62 1047/24 (Shibāb al-Dīn) Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Damanhūri
 Publ. [*al-Madhāhibī*] (1689–1778)¹⁰¹
Sabīl al-rashād ilā naḳ' al-'ibād.

⁹⁸) Muṭayr al-Ḥakamī is the name of the eponymous ancestor of one of the most important Yemeni clans (Zirikli VII 254–255).

⁹⁹) al-Khāmīri lived in Ḥays (south of Zabīd), or at least is buried there. He died of an illness in Shawwāl 882: Jan./Feb. 1478.

¹⁰⁰) The polymath al-Suyūṭī's *Buṣhrā 'l-ka'ib* is an excerpt from his own *Sharḥ al-ṣudūr fī sharḥ ḥāl al-mawtā fī 'l-qubūr*, which in turn follows Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Qurṭubī's (d. 1272/3) *Tadhkīra* (GAL II 146).

¹⁰¹) The Azhar professor al-Damanhūri became famous not only for having studied all four *madhhabs* (apparently something uncommon in his time) but also for having been interested in a number of secular disciplines (Delanoue, *Moralistes*, p. 472; GAL II 371, S II 498).

A work on *adab*.¹⁰²⁾

Copy compl. 26 Rabi' II 1189: 25 June 1775.

The volume passed into the possession of Maḥmūd b. Muḥyi al-Din al-Farasāni al-Mawza'ī,¹⁰³⁾ in Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 1238: Aug./Sep. 1823, and later into possession of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar *al-M.d.j.mī* who gave it as present to Dr. Lāsūni [Las(s)oni?], the commissioner (*muḥāfiẓ*) of 'Aṣab.

Publ. Alexandria 1288 [1871/2]; Cairo 1288, 1305 [1888/7].

The Times of 'Uthmān *Fawānis*

1904	beginning	Italian consulate opened at al-Ḥudayda (where 3 Italian companies were represented).
	April 4	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. <i>al-Jawāhir al-lāmi'a</i> (comm. on <i>al-Risāla al-Jāmi'a</i>).
	June 4	Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad succeeds his deceased father as Zaydi Imām.
	Dec.	Start of general anti-Turkish uprising of both highland and Tihāma tribes. It took Aḥmed <i>Fayzi</i> , who was reinstalled as Ottoman Governor because he had already successfully suppressed the 1891 revolt, a year before he had ruthlessly suppressed this one. More than half of the 55,000 Turkish troops dispatched to the Yemen died; a similar percentage of the civilian population, e.g. at Ṣan'a', also perished.
1905	Jan. 28	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. comm. on prayer manual for children.
1906	Feb.	End of the Ottoman campaign against Imām Yaḥyā.
1907	Feb. 2	'Ali b. Muḥammad al-Idrisi dies, just after his son Muḥammad, <i>the Idrisi</i> , had returned to 'Asir.
	Feb./Mar	M. M. 'Ali 'Abd al-Wahhāb compl. copy of <i>al-Ḥujja al-qāṭi'a</i> (<i>Fawānis</i> comm. on <i>al-Risāla al-Jāmi'a</i>).
	March 29	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. copy of <i>al-Jawāhir al-lāmi'a</i> (comm. on <i>al-Risāla al-Jāmi'a</i>).
	May	<i>al-Khatm</i> 's <i>Jawāhir al-saṭḥ</i> (prayer on the Prophet) copied.
	June 16	<i>al-Khatm</i> 's prayer coll. <i>Nūr al-ilāh</i> copied.
	Aug. 9	Delegation of Yemeni shaykhs (incl. one from al-Ḥudayda) who had visited Constantinople to explain the grievances of the population returns after successful negotiations, accompanied

¹⁰²⁾ *Adab* here means approximately, "non-religiously based culture; knowledge of proper civilised behaviour".

¹⁰³⁾ The Farasān Islands lie off the northern Tihāma coast; Mawza'ī is a town at the southern end of the Tihāma.

		by a Turkish commission sent to investigate the affairs of the province. This helps to calm the atmosphere there.
	Sep.	Anti-Turkish disturbances in al-Ḥudayda & other Yemeni towns. <i>Fawānis</i> compl. <i>I'lām al-suṭūr</i> (pro-payment for Qur'ān reciters).
1908	Nov. 7	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. <i>al-Taḥrīr al-'idl</i> (anti-phonograph follow-up). Ḥasan <i>Taḥsīn</i> replaces Aḥmed <i>Fayzī</i> , the corrupt Ottoman governor of Yemen; starts serious reforms.
	Feb. 25	Hāshim Mirghani's prayer on Prophet copied.
	March 8	<i>Tāj al-Sirr</i> , various prayers copied.
	April 20	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. <i>al-Sirr al-mubdā</i> (defending Ḥanafī prayer leaders).
	May 4	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. <i>Nuṣrat al-'ālimīn</i> (defending Ḥanafī prayer leaders).
	June 27	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. copy of <i>Nuṣrat al-'ālimīn</i> .
	Sep.	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. <i>Nafā'ih al-jabbār</i> (refutation of his teacher's defense of the phonograph).
	Dec.	Ottoman Govt. discusses administrative reforms in Yemen.
	Dec. 24	al-Idrisi publicly announces his anti-Ottoman revolt; accepts <i>bay'a</i> as Imām.
1909	March	Revolt of Zarāniq tribes south of al-Ḥudayda. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ahdal dies. <i>Fawānis</i> compl. <i>al-Wahb al-masbūk</i> (anti-phonograph).
	April 27	Mehmed <i>Reṣād</i> accedes to the Ottoman throne.
	Aug.-Oct.	First open military operations by al-Idrisi; at times, even al-Ḥudayda seems threatened.
	Nov. 15	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. <i>Ishrāq al-hudā</i> (refutation of his teacher's pro-phonograph stand).
1910	beginning	Agreement of al-Ḥafā'ir, in which the Ottomans recognise al-Idrisi as <i>qā'immaqām</i> of Ṣabyā.
	Feb.	Hasan <i>Taḥsīn</i> recalled as Ottoman Governor; replaced on 22 May by the harsh Mehmed 'Ali.
	autumn	Idrisi delegation to İstanbul fails to achieve an agreement on the implementation of the <i>shari'a</i> in criminal courts.
	Nov.	Idrisi forces start general uprising (with Italian support).
1911	March 4	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. <i>Mahbiṭ al-asrār</i> (Ḥanafī 'ibādāt).
	April	Imām Yahyā's uprising collapses.
	April 22	<i>Fawānis</i> re-copies his earliest anti-phonograph treatise (<i>al-Istidlāl al-ṣādiq</i>).
	May 11	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. pro-Mehmed <i>Reṣād</i> treatise (<i>Izhār al-haqq</i>).
	June 12/3	al-Idrisi heavily defeats Ottoman army at al-Ḥafā'ir.
	Sep. 29	Italy declares war on Turkey.

	Oct. 2	Italians shell al-Ḥudayda and begin blockade of the port.
	Oct.	Treaty of Da ^ʿ ān between Ottomans and Imām Yaḥyā.
1912	Feb. 15	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. <i>al-Nafḥa al-wahbiyya</i> (defending Ḥanafī prayer leaders).
	Feb. 18	Imām Yaḥyā proclaims <i>jihād</i> against Italy. International Muslim opinion strongly against Italy.
	March	First joint Idrisi-Italian action (against Meydī and al-Qun-fudha).
	March 25	Under the title, <i>Bayān li'l-nās wa-hudā wa-maw'iza li'l-mutta-qin</i> , al-Idrisi publishes a pamphlet in Cairo to justify his anti-Ottoman stand during the Ottoman-Italian war to the larger Muslim public.
	April 18 & May 5	Italian vessels evacuate foreigners from al-Ḥudayda in preparation of an attack.
	May	In view of the Idrisi-Italian successes (al-Luḥayya is surrounded at the end of April), Imām Yaḥyā agrees to combine forces with al-Idrisi, but no action follows.
	May 10	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. copy of <i>al-Aṣl al-mustatāb</i> (anti-phonograph poem).
	May 11	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. copy of <i>al-Naṣḥ al-shāriq</i> (anti-phonograph poem).
	June 21	Idrisi captures Farasān Islands.
	July 26– Aug. 15	Italians shell military bastions near al-Ḥudayda. Fearing more attacks (also from the Zarāniq), c. 30,000 civilians (90% of the population) are evacuated from the town that seethes with anti-European feeling.
	Oct. 9	New Ottoman agreement with Imām Yaḥyā.
	Oct. 15	Treaty of Ouchy ends Italian-Turkish war.
	Dec.	Turkish troops being needed in the Balkan War, the Turks offer an amnesty to al-Idrisi and start negotiations.
1913	June	Turkish-Idrisi negotiations having failed, the Turks start to blockade the Idrisi coast.
1914	August	Weakened by the blockade, al-Idrisi sues for peace. Imāmi ambitions prevent a definitive Idrisi-Turkish accord.
1915	April 30	Anglo-Idrisi Treaty of Friendship and Goodwill (negotiated by Muṣṭafā b. 'Abd al-'Āl).
	May 25	<i>Fawānis</i> begins <i>Īrād al-abrār</i> (comm. on his <i>Mahbiṭ</i> , on 'ibādāt).
	June	British occupy strategic islands off the Yemeni coast.
	July	al-Ḥudayda "flooded" with millet exported by Italians in a bid to ingratiate themselves with the Arab population, in defiance of British objections. This continues until 1917.
	Sep. 15	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. <i>Īrād al-abrār</i> (comm. on his <i>Mahbiṭ</i> , on 'ibādāt).
1916/5		Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad compl. <i>manāqib</i> of <i>Tāj al-Sirr</i> .

1916	Jan 11	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. supercomm. on <i>al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafiyya</i> .
	March 17	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. supercomm. on <i>al-Mudkhal</i> (rhetoric).
1917	Jan. 22	Supplementary Agreement (to the 1915 treaty) wherein Britain recognises Idrisi suzerainty over Farasān Islands.
1918	July 26	<i>Fawānis</i> compl. copy of Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad’s <i>manāqib</i> of <i>Tāj al-Sirr</i> .
	Oct. 31	British-Ottoman armistice agreement.
1918/9		British bombard and occupy al-Ḥudayda. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ahdal appointed as nominal head of the area.
1921	Jan. 31	A few days after British forces left al-Ḥudayda, Idrisi troops enter the town (under Muṣṭafā ‘Abd al-‘Āl). Imām Yaḥyā does not recognise Idrisi claims and appoints ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ahdal as his representative in the area. ¹⁰⁴)
1922	March 25	Mirghani genealogy compiled for Eritrean Govt.
	May 30/1	Eldest son of deceased Khatmi shaykh of al-Ḥudayda succeeds his father.
1923	March 22	Muḥammad b. ‘Ali al-Idrisi dies.
	April 22	Aḥmad Sālim, First Secretary of the Maṣawwa‘ Customs Office, disembarks in al-Ḥudayda on mission of goodwill to the new Idrisi leader. After spending 4 days in al-Ḥudayda, he goes on to Ṣabyā.
	April-	Italians press young ‘Ali b. Muḥammad al-Idrisi for permission to open a consulate at al-Ḥudayda, <i>i. a.</i> by sending (Ja‘far?) al-Mirghani to ‘Asir. Al-Mirghani is expelled on advice of Muṣṭafā b. ‘Āl al-Idrisi who is apprehensive of Italian moves (but ready to cooperate with the British).
	June 18	Letter from Imām Yaḥyā to Yemeni Sunnis.
1924	March 3	Abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate.
	April	After a year of internal family power struggle, Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abd al-‘Āl declares himself independent in al-Ḥudayda, declares ‘Ali v. Muḥammad al-Idrisi to be deposed, and seeks contact with Imām Yaḥyā. Italian presence in al-Ḥudayda continues to grow.
	Sep.	‘Ali al-Idrisi agrees to the opening of an Italian consulate in al-Ḥudayda.
	Oct.	‘Ali b. Muḥammad al-Idrisi regains al-Ḥudayda where he installs his maternal uncle ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib as <i>wāli</i> ; Muṣṭafā seeks refuge with ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ahdal and the Zarāniq in Bayt al-Faqih (later, after a stay at Aden, he allies himself to Imām Yaḥyā). Being accused of collaboration with Muṣṭafā,

¹⁰⁴) For dating events in the 1920s, I have relied on *Oriente Moderno*, 3 (1923), pp. 116, 184–8; 4 (1924), pp. 338, 763–4; 5 (1925), pp. 147, 149, 202–3, 312–3; 6 (1926), pp. 224, 291, 622; 7 (1927), pp. 6–7, 279–281, 291, 335–6.

		the majority of the town's notables are expelled and flee to Egypt and Aden.
1925	Jan.	2 Italian destroyers visit al-Ḥudayda, Meydi, and Jizān.
	March 27	Idrisi troops leave al-Ḥudayda which is entered by Imām Yahyā's forces in mid-April; 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ahdal is (re-)installed as Governor there. Al-Ḥudayda immediately becomes a centre for Italian commercial, political, and military activities in Imāmi-held territory.
1926	Jan./ Feb.	'Ali b. Muḥammad al-Idrisi is deposed by his uncle al-Ḥasan (who is supported by Muṣṭafā, but less hostile to the Italians) ¹⁰⁵ . Muṣṭafā continues to be part of the Idrisi Govt. Al-Mirghani is again employed by the Italians to promote Idrisi-Imāmi reconciliation.
	May	Italians bribe Tihāma tribes to join Imām Yahyā.
	Aug.	al-Ḥasan al-Idrisi appoints the pro-Italian al-Mirghani al-Idrisi as prime minister; the latter tries to improve relations with Imām Yahyā. Before long, however, he is forced to go into exile and joins 'Ali al-Idrisi in Jidda.
	Sep. 2	Italian-Yemeni (Imāmi) Treaty of Friendship and Commerce. "Anti-Italian groups were reported among the commercial circles in both Ṣan'ā' and Hodeidah". ¹⁰⁶)
	Oct. 21	Treaty of Mecca (mediated by Aḥmad <i>al-Sharīf</i> al-Sanūsi): Idrisi state (abandoned by its European allies) becomes a Sa-'ūdi protectorate.
1927	March	al-Mirghani (on behalf of Italians) bribes 'Asiri tribes to join Imām Yahyā (against al-Idrisi).
	June 24-	Yemeni delegation visits Italy, accompanied by a young son
	July 13	(Bakri?) of Ja'far al-Mirghani who acts as Italian agent.
	July	Italian bribery tactics appear to have succeeded; anti-Italian elements in the bankrupt Idrisi Govt. lose almost all ground.

¹⁰⁵) 'Ali and his uncle Muḥammad al-'Arabi flee to Aden.

¹⁰⁶) Baldry, "Anglo-Italian Rivalry", p. 174.