

***Da' wa in Islamic Thought: the Work of 'Abd Allāh ibn  
'Alawī al-Haddād***

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## ABSTRACT

Imām ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād was born in 1044/1634, he was a scholar of the Bā ‘Alawī *sayyids*, a long line of Ḥadramī scholars and gnostics. The Imām led a quiet life of teaching and, although blind, travelled most of Ḥadramawt to do *da’wa*, and authored ten books, a *diwān* of poetry, and several prayers. He was considered the sage of his time until his death in Ḥadramawt in 1132/1721. Many chains of transmission of Islamic knowledge of East Africa and South East Asia include his name.

Al-Ḥaddād’s main work on *da’wa*, which is also the core of this study, is *al-Da’wa al-Tāmma wal-Tadhkira al-‘Āmma* (*The Complete Call and the General Reminder*). Six main points can be derived from it. They are: the definition of *da’wa*, the knowledges of *da’wa*, the legal rulings on *da’wa*, the reasons people might avoid *da’wa*, the eight categories of its recipients, and the probable results of *da’wa*. His other works reflect his own *da’wa* and as such confirm and elaborate upon his opinions on *da’wa* found in *al-Da’wa al-Tāmma*. The focal points in these works are steadily and consistently upon the most essential aspects of Islam: the heart, the intention, submission, and obedience.

While Imām al-Ḥaddād was known among the Bā ‘Alawī circles during his life, his teachings spread to the international Islamic community only after his death. In the Fourteenth/Twentieth Century Muftī of Egypt, Ḥasanayn Muhammad Ḥasanayn Makhlūf oversaw their first modern prints, while Bā ‘Alawī scholar Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr al-Ḥaddād was the first to have a sizeable following of Westerners. Today, Imām al-Ḥaddād’s teaching on *da’wa* is manifest in the institutional form of Dār al-Muṣṭafa in Yemen and his treatises are finding currency in the West for their simple and non-technical style.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

A. Works of Imām al-Haddād:

- R. Mūdhākara* = *Risālat al-Mudhākara ma' al-Ikhwān wal-Muhibbīn min Ahl lā ilāha illa Allāh*, Beirut 1994.
- Ādāb* = *Ādāb Sulūk al-Murīd*, Beirut 1994.
- Ithāf* = *Ithāf al-Sā'il bi Ajwibat al-Masā'il*, Beirut 1994.
- Naṣā'iḥ* = *al-Naṣā'iḥ al-Dīniyya wal-Waṣāyā al-Īmāniyya*, Beirut 1994.
- R. Mu'āwana* = *Risālat al-Mū'āwana wal-Mudhākara wal-Mu'āzara lil-Rāghibīna min al-Mu'minīn fi Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Ākhira*, Beirut 1994.
- Sabīl* = *Sabīl al-Iddikār wal-I'tibār bima Yamūr al-Insān wa Yanqdī lahū min al-A'mār*, Beirut 1994.
- D.T.* = *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma wal-Tadhkira al-'Āmma*, Beirut 1992.
- Fuṣūl* = *al-Fuṣūl al-'Ilmiyya wal-Uṣūl al-Hikamīyya*, Beirut 1994.
- Nafā'is.* = *al-Nafā'is al-'Ulwiyya fil-Masā'il al-Ṣūfiyya*, Beirut 1994.
- Hikam* = *Kitāb al-Ḥikam*, Beirut 1994.
- Durr.* = *al-Durr al-Manzūm li'Dhawī al-'Uqūli wal-Fuhūm*, no place 1985.

B: Major References:

- Q* = *The Glorious Qur'ān*; trans. Abdullah Yusuf Ali, with my alterations, Madina 1991.
- L.A.* = *Lisān al-'Arab*, Beirut 1956.
- E.I.* = The Encyclopaedia of Islam
- S.E.I.* = The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam

All dates will be given as Hijrī/Gregorian.

## **TRANSLITERATION**

|                |  |   |
|----------------|--|---|
| Arabic Letters |  | Long Vowels                                 |
| ء ء            |  | إ ā   |
| ب ب            |  | و ū   |
| ت ت            |  | ى ī   |
| ث ث            |  |   |
| ج ج            |  |   |
| ح ح            |  |   |
| خ خ            |  | Short Vowels                                |
| د د            |  | _____ = u                                   |
| ذ ذ            |  | _____ = a                                   |
| ر ر            |  | _____ = i                                   |
| ز ز            |  |   |
| س س            |  |   |
| ش ش            |  |   |
| ص ص            |  |   |
| ض ض            |  |   |
| ط ط            |  | ء/ء = a & at for construct ( <i>mudāf</i> , |
| ظ ظ            |  | <i>mudāf ilayh</i> )                        |
| ع ع            |  |   |
| غ غ            |  |   |
| ف ف            |  | ال = al & 'l for connecting <i>alif</i>     |
| ق ق            |  | ( <i>wasla</i> )                            |
| ك ك            |  |   |
| ل ل            |  |   |
| م م            |  | Diphthongs                                  |
| ن ن            |  | و = aw                                      |
| ه ه            |  | ى = ay                                      |
| و و            |  | ي = iyy (final form ī)                      |
| لا لا          |  | و = uw (final form ū)                       |
| ى ي            |  |   |

## INTRODUCTION

### I. The Topic

This dissertation studies what Imām ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alawī al-Haddād wrote about *da’wa*. In terms of chronology, our subject lived from 1044/1621 to 1121/1734,<sup>1</sup> a period known as the Post-Classical Period (7<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> / 13<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries).<sup>2</sup> By this time, Islamic scholarship in general had completed its blossoming phase and most scholars followed in the footsteps of their predecessors from the Classical Period. Their works are mostly transmissions and commentaries on their respective schools (*madhāhib*). Imām al-Haddād followed in the school of Abī Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 504/1111) and thus, the majority of his positions can be traced back to the Persian theologian. If not, then they go back to Bā ‘Alawī precedent, and in some cases, particularly on *da’wa*, the ideas are entirely his own. Because of the Imām’s fondness with al-Ghazālī, there will be much mention of the latter, primarily to see how and where Imām al-Haddād departs to formulate his own position on a given matter.

In 1114/1702, he authored *al-Da’wa al-Tāmma wal-Tadhkira al-‘Āmma* (*The Perfect Call and the General Reminder*). The book is about *da’wa* as it should be directed to each of society’s different classes. Its introduction, however, is where most of the Imām’s thoughts on *da’wa* can be found. We find, that, with Imām al-Haddād, *da’wa* is obligatory upon every single Muslim so long as a

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<sup>1</sup> *DT*, 7, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Islamic historians, such as Marshall Hodgson divide Islamic history after the four Caliphs into roughly three major periods. From the Umayyad reign through the ‘Abbāsid reign is known as the ‘Classical Period.’ From the Mongol defeat of the ‘Abbāssids (656/1258) to Napoleons invasion of Egypt (1212/1798) is the ‘Post-Classical Period’ (also known as ‘Decline’) and from then to the present is the ‘Modern Period’ (See Hodgson, Marshall. *The Venture of Islam, Volume One*, London: University of Chicago Press, 1957; pp. 96.)

non-Muslim or an ignorant Muslim remains “anywhere on the face of the earth.”<sup>3</sup>

In the chapters to come, the following six areas of the Imām’s thought will be covered:

1. The definition of *da’wa*. Imām al-Haddād holds that scholarly teaching, commanding right and forbidding wrong, and *jihād* are all under the umbrella of *da’wa*.<sup>4</sup> Scholars may agree or differ on this, but the point is that in the study of *da’wa*, the question of ‘what constitutes *da’wa*’ is the first thing that must be answered, and our subject does exactly this.
2. The Rulings on *da’wa*. This section has to do with when *da’wa* is obligatory (*fard*) and when is it recommended (*mandūb*) and upon whom is each.
3. The knowledges of *da’wa* (*‘ulūm al-da’wa*). Imām al-Haddād uses this term in his text.<sup>5</sup> This is literally a list of verses, *hadīths*, and sayings that should be used by the *dā’ī*. This research studies this collection and searches for the logic behind his choices.
4. Why people might refrain from *da’wa*. The word our subject uses for this is ‘delusions’ (*tawahhumāt*).<sup>6</sup> The purpose of this is to breakdown unwarranted barriers between people and the practice of *da’wa*. It is a distinctive contribution to the field.
5. The eight categories of people. Our subject divided all people into eight categories: scholars, worshippers, rulers, merchants, the weak, dependents, the common Muslims, and non-Muslims and disbelievers in a deity.<sup>7</sup> He then displays, in *al-Da’wa al-Tāmma wal-Tadhikra al-‘Āmma*, how *da’wa* should be done to them and/or how they themselves should do *da’wa*.

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<sup>3</sup> *DT*, 50.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 36.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 35.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 14-5.

6. Results. The likely results of *da'wa* are discussed here. The Imām does not go to great lengths here, but it is, nonetheless, a matter he felt worthy enough to receive attention.

In conclusion, Imām al-Haddād's scholarship sets the tone for what may be called '*da'wa* studies.' Perhaps the most important contribution to the field of *da'wa* that the Imām made is that a framework for the issues to be covered in *da'wa* studies can be discerned through his works, the framework being comprised of the above six points. It must be noted that al-Haddād is most concerned with the scholarly or theoretical aspect of *da'wa*, as opposed to the actual practice of it, or the 'how to' of *da'wa*.

Before delving into the main topic, there are four pre-requisite chapters. They are discussed below along with the sixth and final chapter:

### **Chapter 1: Context and Biography of Imām al-Haddād**

In this chapter, the context which in part caused Imām al-Haddād to write on *da'wa* is studied. We find that the religious stability of the Hadramawt of his lifetime was shaken by the Qāsimī Zaydī invasion. Many of the Imām's comments reflect this.

We also look at Imām al-Haddād's heritage, the Āl Bā 'Alawī, which originated in the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> Century when, according to chroniclers, its founder Aḥmad ibn 'Isā migrated from Iraq.

### **Chapter 2: His Works**

Ten books are attributed to Imām al-Haddād, eight by his authorship and two compiled answers. Of the eight, five are written for the purpose of *da'wa*. In addition, there are collections of correspondences, maxims, poetry, and prayers

attributed to the Imām. In this chapter, we offer a general overview of his literary legacy, focusing especially on the *da'wa*-related material.

### **Chapter 3: *Da' wa* in the Primary Sources**

How present is *da'wa* in the primary sources of Islamic knowledge? In the Qur'ān, four verses directly address *da'wa*, along with the entire chapter (*sūra*) of Nūh. The exegesis (*tafsīr*) of the variety of issues mentioned will be studied, as well as *hadīth*, and the *dawa* of the Prophet. The overall purpose is to eventually study Imām al-Haddād's teachings on *da'wa* in light of these primary sources.

### **Chapter 4: *Da' wa* from the Companions to Imām al-Haddād**

Here, we look at how the early Muslims did *dawa*, then move on to search for works written on the topic from the time of the earliest authors to the time of our subject.

### **Chapter 5: Imām al-Haddād on *Da' wa* (part I)**

This is the first of the two core chapters of this study. It is introduced with a section on why Imām al-Haddād may have written about *da'wa*. Five of the six areas of the Imām's thought mentioned above are covered.

### **Chapter 6: Imām al-Haddād on *Da' wa* (part II)**

Here, the sixth area of the Imām's thought is covered--that of the eight categories of people and how one should best direct Islamic teachings to them. While Chapter 5 focused more on the theoretical aspects of the Imām's writings on *da'wa*, this chapter will highlight how Imām al-Haddād himself did *da'wa* (with the pen) and how he proposes others should do it. In other words, the practical application of the theoretical concepts.

### **Chapter 7: His Legacy**

Finally, we research our subject's effect upon the Islamic world. Much of this chapter is devoted to how the teachings were transmitted, as can be traced by the publications of his books. We show how the Imām's ideas went to East Africa, South East Asia, and in the last century, to England and America.

Initially, the Imām's legacy was limited to his students and family. It later grew until it became one of the major facets of the Āl Bā 'Alawī. In the Modern Period, it has grown even more. With the current Ḥaddād-based revival of the religious teachings of the Āl Bā 'Alawī led by Ḥabīb 'Umar ibn Ḥafīz, along with the introduction of al-Ḥaddād into the English language (along with other languages), it can be asserted that Imām al-Ḥaddād's legacy has not yet reached its limit.

This dissertation will have succeeded if it clarifies the contributions of Imām al-Ḥaddād to Islamic scholarship, and spurs future research on *da'wa*, Imām al-Ḥaddād, and the Āl Bā 'Alawī. This dissertation, therefore, is by no means the final word on all three accounts, for surely, there exist other scholars among the Bā 'Alawī whose contributions command attention. Likewise, there is more to Imām al-Ḥaddād than his writings on *da'wa*. For example, the *diwān* of the Imām is a large volume yet to be the subject of any serious research.

## II. Why This Topic Was Chosen

The question as to why this topic was chosen as the subject of a doctoral dissertation has two answers: one academic and one personal. I will begin with the academic facet first. This study was originally about the literary legacy of

Imām al-Haddād. Soon however, it became clear that such an endeavour was too broad an undertaking. After further reading into the Imām’s works, I discovered that a great deal of his writing focuses on the study of *da’wa*. It was then I decided to center my work on this topic.

Imām al-Haddād has never been studied academically in the English-speaking world (in the Arabic speaking world, Dr. Mostafa al-Badawi is a contemporary author who has written on al-Haddād). Thus, he is not known as an original contributor to Islamic scholarship. In fact, however, as this study will show, he does offer a contribution to Islamic literature and scholarship, namely in the subject area of *da’wa*. One may find it puzzling that a development in such a major aspect of Islam as *da’wa* would occur as late as the Twelfth/Eighteenth Century; afterall, this era would later be termed by historians as ‘The Period of Decline’ (*‘asr al-inhiṭāt*). This concept will be discussed further in Chapters 1 and 5.

*Al-Da’wa al-Tāmma* is the second largest work of Imām al-Haddād and is the longest pre-Modern work on *da’wa* that I have encountered. For this reason, it serves well as a doctoral subject. Moreover, the subject of *da’wa* is a rather open field—not too many books exist on the subject in the English speaking academic realm. There is, thus, much room for expansion. As for the Arabic world, there are many books about *da’wa*, which we cover in Chapter 3.

Also in its developmental stage is the study of the Indian Ocean triangle that is formed by Hadramawt, East Africa, and South East Asia. Scholars such as William Clarence Smith and Ulricke Freitag have devoted much study to the Hadramawt-Indonesia relationship. In terms of Islam, the three places have much in common due to the centuries of travel, study, and association that took place between them. Their relationship is analogous to the North Africa-Near East strip

that proceeds from Morocco to Egypt to Syria, with which Western scholarship is more familiar. When tracing the transmission of Islamic knowledge, one can hardly mention one of these three countries without having to mention one of the others, or both. The case is the same for Ḥadramawt, East Africa, and South East Asia; there are so many links that they can and should be studied as one block. Learning about Imām al-Ḥaddād is a good step towards understanding Islam in this region. Chapter 7 delves into further detail on that.

Another reason why the study of Imām al-Ḥaddād is important at this point in time is the interest in publishing his works, which has occurred over the last two decades in about six languages. The establishment of Dār al-Muṣṭafa, an Islamic college in Tarīm, also adds to this, as Imām al-Ḥaddād's works are central to its curriculum and because of the diverse range of students the school attracts.

Lastly, this study also brings some attention to the Āl Bā 'Alawī. This family has received some attention in the English speaking academic milieu, such as in the Encyclopaedia of Islam and in a few works by R. B. Serjeant and Alexander Knysh. In the Arabic speaking world, there are works about the Āl Bā 'Alawī (such as those utilized here, i.e. *Rihlat al-Ashwāq*, *al-Ustādh al-A'zam*, and *al-Imām al-Ḥaddād*), but the general awareness, as determined by my personal travels to Cairo (1999, 2006), Makka (2002), Madina (2002), and Ṣan'a' (2000), is not strong, even among traditional scholars. Among the Ṣūfīs, recognition of the sayyids is assured according to my interviews.

Chapter 1 of this dissertation touches upon the history of Tarīm's Āl Bā 'Alawī, as they are the origin and background of our subject, Imām al-Ḥaddād. This is not the first time they are discussed academically.<sup>8</sup> My study of the Āl Bā

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<sup>8</sup> Serjeant, R. B. *The Sayyids of Hadramawt*, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1957; "The Cult of Saints in Hadramawt: An Overview," in *The New Arabian Studies*, R.B.

'Alawī will build on existing scholarship in order to bring to light who they are and what they have contributed to Islamic spirituality, scholarship, and history.

The personal motivation for choosing this topic originated when I came upon Imām al-Haddād's *Lives of Man*, translated into English. Its brevity and contemplative nature was striking. When I came upon more of his books, I continued to be impressed by his focus on the internal essentials of the faith regardless of whether he was discussing the law, the doctrine, or history. Best of all, the books were palatable to Muslims of all persuasions. When thinking of a three-year study topic, I found Imām al-Haddād to be the best subject, due to the timeless nature of his topics; ones that would always be relevant. Eventually though, I had to focus on one aspect of his teachings, and for that I chose *da'wa*. The choice was not difficult, for I had learned that the 'central pillar' (*qutb*) of Bā 'Alawī teachings was *da'wa*. As such, I merely supposed that Imām al-Haddād had much to say about the topic, and fortunately, I found this to be the case.

### III. Methodology<sup>9</sup>

Two main modes of writing about religion was the theological approach, or the believer's approach, and the reductionist approach. As for the former, it takes matters of belief as absolute fact. As for latter, its partisans do not believe in

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Serjeant, R.L. Bidwell and G.R. Smith, eds. Exeter University Press, vol. 1, 1993, pp. 137-152; "The Cult of Saints and Religious Reformism in Early Twentieth Century Hadramawt," in *New Arabian Studies*, vol. 4, 1997, pp. 139-67; "The Cult of Saints and Religious Reformism in Hadramaut," in *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s*, U. Freitag and W. Clarence-Smith, eds. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997, pp. 199-216; "The Tariqa on a Landcruiser: The Resurgence of Sufism in Yemen," in *Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C., Summer 2001, vol. 55/3, pp. 399-414.

<sup>9</sup> I thank Dr. Gavin Picken for guidance on this section.

religion and assume that all religious experience can be explained through material causes. Marx (d. 1883), for example, held all religion as nothing other than a way for the poor to make sense of their powerlessness and accept their difficult condition (a very efficient tool for the rich and powerful);<sup>10</sup> Durkheim (d. 1917) held that religion exists because it fulfills the much-needed group feeling in society,<sup>11</sup> while Freud (d. 1939) considered religion as a reflection of psychological needs.<sup>12</sup> Just as one theological base may not be acceptable to others, likewise one reductionist approach may not acceptable to others; both approaches are value based. Therefore, neither can be utilized in the heterogeneous and multi-cultural academic environment of today.

The middle way between the theological and reductionist approach that is most suitable in the contemporary intellectual environment is the phenomenological approach. Founded by E. Husserl (d. 1938), ‘phenomenology’ dictates that the writer simply describe what appears without trying to explain why; the purpose is to inform, not to analyze, let alone convince.

Husserl developed the method of *epoché* or “bracketing” around 1906...[A]ny phenomenological description proper is to be performed from a *first person* point of view, so as to ensure that the respective item is described *exactly as is experienced, or intended*, by the subject.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> “The wretchedness of religion is at once an expression of and a protest against real wretchedness. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world and a soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people.

The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is a demand for their true happiness” (Marx, Karl; trans. Jolin, Annette and Joseph O’Malley. *Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of the Right*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970; pp. 131).

<sup>11</sup> “[T]he universal and eternal objective cause...out of which religious experience is made, is society...[I]t awakens this sentiment of a refuge, of a shield and of a guardian support which attaches the believer to his cult...Then it is action which dominates the religious life, because of mere fact that it is society which is its source (Durkheim, Émile; trans. Swain, Joseph. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1915; pp. 418).

<sup>12</sup> When man realizes that “he can never do without protection against unknown and mighty powers, he invests these with the traits of the father-figure; he creates for himself the gods...i.e. the formation of religion” (Freud, Sigmund; trans. Robson-Scott, W. D.. *The Future of an Illusion*, New York: Liveright Publishing, 1953; pp. 42).

<sup>13</sup> *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2004, “Edmund Husserl.”

To “bracket” is to suspend one’s own beliefs and assumptions and consider the phenomenon at hand from its subject’s perspective. The observer or researcher does not seek to explain the phenomenon through the lens of his or her own respective belief or philosophy of life; he or she simply explains it.<sup>14</sup> This is the methodology we shall be utilizing throughout this work.

Having explained the general methodology, the specific method for this research is quite straight forward. The books of the Imām were studied, and all that was related to *da‘wa* was extracted. We then place this (i.e. Chapters 5 and 6) in the context of *da‘wa* in the primary sources as well as Islamic scholarship throughout history (i.e. Chapter 4). Finally, his legacy is determined by tracing the literature produced after his death. This methodology requires more attention. But first, that of Chapter 3 requires further elaboration; we will start with that.

Chapter 3, as mentioned above, examined the verses and *hadīth* on *da‘wa*. Many verses of the Qur’ān imply *da‘wa*, but to include them all would be impractical. Our method is to select the verses that directly address *da‘wa* by utilizing the derivatives of the root word *da‘ā - yad‘ū - da‘wat‘an*. As this root refers to various different meanings, we have sifted out only those which mean ‘inviting/calling to Allāh.’ The result of this gave us four verses. An exception was made, and that refers to the chapter (*sūra*) of Nūh; because the entire chapter deals with *da‘wa*, it could not be ignored.

These verses were then studied through exegesis (*tafsīr*). Hundreds of exegetes (*mufassirīn*) have explained the Qur’ān throughout history. What was our criterion for choosing the four we chose (see Chapter 3 for bibliographical

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<sup>14</sup> For more on the philosophy and epistemology of Edmund Husserl see his *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy --- Third Book: Phenomenology and the Foundations of the Sciences*; trans. T. E. Klein and W. E. Pohl, Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1980 and *The Essential Husserl*, ed. D. Welton, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

references)? To get the broadest possible depiction, the selection was determined on disciplinary lines. The majority of Islamic scholars are either jurists (*fuqahā'*), traditionists (*muḥadithūn*), or theologians (*mutakallimūn*). In light of this, the most pre-eminent scholars of each field (who wrote *tafsīrs*) were chosen: al-Qurṭubī, the jurist; Ibn Kathīr the traditionist; and al-Rāzī, the theologian. It was found that three perspectives would not be totally sufficient, so the earliest exegete (*mufassir*) was added to the list, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). Although he is known more as a theologian (*mutakallim*), al-Rāzī can also represent Ṣūfism.

With regards to the *sunna*, it consists of two parts: words and actions. For the spoken words, we have the *ḥadīth* section and for the Prophet's actions, we have a section entitled “The *Da'wa* of the Prophet.”

Chapter 4 deals with *da'wa* in Islamic scholarship. Our study makes use of a chronological approach, in that the works relating to *da'wa* by word or notion in each century will be discussed, followed by a conclusion about the findings.

In Chapter 7, the potential sources are literary and non-literary. The literary records (i.e. books, articles, internet), though not many, amount to a form of evidence which is verifiable and confirmable. It should be kept in mind that not all useful information is limited to the written word. Much can be learned from oral histories and eye-witness accounts as well. It is for this reason that I have chosen to include these types of sources to supplement my research.

The basis for our knowledge on Imām al-Haddād's legacy in East Africa and South East Asia is interviews conducted with individuals connected to the Āl Bā 'Alawī. For East Africa, I interviewed a member of the Ḥāfiẓī family, Muhaminad al-Hatimi, and for my work on Indonesia, I interviewed a member of the Bā 'Alawī family from Indonesia, Syed Kheiruddin Aljuneid.

Regarding the last part of Chapter 7, ‘The West,’ it is based on my own travels and encounters. I have met and spoke with all of the individuals mentioned from Scotland, Liverpool, Cambridge, London, Virginia, and California.

#### IV. Literature Review

The history of Ḥadramawt is rather difficult to find. When the standard histories penned by Hodgson, Hourani, and Lapidus address South Arabia, they tend to be reserved to the Imāms of the Upper Yemen, hardly mentioning Ḥadramawt. As a result, we found sufficient information on Upper Yemen in the works of Paul Dresch and Bernard Haykel, but had to utilize two other works, despite them being written outside the scope of observance of academic historiographical principles, for ḥaḍramī history. The two works to which I refer are Ṣalāḥ al-Yāfi‘ī’s *Tārīkh Ḥadramawt al-Siyāsī* (Cairo: 1935)<sup>15</sup> and Muḥammad al-Shāṭirī’s *Adwār al-Tārīkh al-Ḥadramī* (Jeddah: no year).<sup>16</sup>

Al-Yāfi‘ī’s work is more beneficial regarding our subject’s time period, specifically, as the title suggests, the political history. At times, al-Yāfi‘ī, whose work was his graduate thesis at Cairo, offers subjective praises and criticisms. Also, it is almost entirely without references. The section on geography, however, is an exception, as it is well referenced. As for al-Shāṭirī, writing in the nineteen-sixties, he is less inclusive of partial comments, aside from a few praises

<sup>15</sup> Al-Yāfi‘ī, Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī. *Tārīkh Ḥadramawt al-Siyāsī*, Cairo: no publisher, 1935.

<sup>16</sup> Al-Shāṭirī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. *Adwār al-Tārīkh al-Ḥadramī*. Jeddah: Maktabat al-Irshād, no year.

of his homeland. His work is much closer to the contemporary principles of history writing, but nonetheless, not exactly what contemporary academics will seek in terms of referencing. For the most part, I have utilized it for the early history and geography of South Arabia.

Knowledge of the Āl Bā ‘Alawī comes from Dr. Mostafa al-Badawi’s Arabic biography of Imām al-Ḥaddād, addressed below, and three sources from within the Bā ‘Alawī tradition. The oldest is *al-Mashra‘ al-Rawī fī Manāqib al-Sāda al-Kirām Āl Abī ‘Alawī* (no place: 1982) by Abū Bakr al-Shillī.<sup>17</sup> The two-volume work gives basic outlines on many Bā ‘Alawī scholars. *Rihlat al-Ashwāq al-Qawiyya* by ‘Abd Allāh Bā Ḥāmid (no place: 1985)<sup>18</sup> gives less biographical information, but is more in that it gives birth dates, death dates, and lineages. Lastly, there is Abū Bakr al-‘Adanī’s *al-Ustādh al-A’zam: al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam* (Aden: 1999),<sup>19</sup> which covers the life and teachings of Muḥammad Bā ‘Alawī. Written from within the tradition, it is neither an academic biography nor a hagiography but something in between. These are all works from ‘within’ the Bā ‘Alawī tradition. It should be recalled that this dissertation is about theories in religion and not about historical accuracy. Thus, in applying the phenomenological approach, we will cite these ‘insider’ sources without confirming nor doubting, as this is not our aim.

For the biography, I have relied on four sources, the Arabic and English biographies of the Imām by Dr. Mostafa al-Badawi, the compiled letters of Imām al-Ḥaddād, and the compiled sayings/stories about Imām al-Ḥaddād, which is

<sup>17</sup> Al-Shillī, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. *Al-Mashra‘ al-Rawī fī Manāqib al-Sāda al-Kirām Āl Abī ‘Alawī*, no place: no publisher, 1982.

<sup>18</sup> Bā Ḥāmid, ‘Abd Allāh. *Rihlat al-Ashwāq al-Qawiyya ila Mawāṭin al-Sāda al-‘Alawiyya*, no place: Dar Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiyya, 1985.

<sup>19</sup> Al-‘Adanī, Abū Bakr. *Al-Ustādh al-A’zam: al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam*, Aden: Dar al-Faqih, 1999.

*Tathbīt al-Fū'ād*<sup>20</sup> compiled by his student Aḥmad al-Shajjār. Dr. al-Badawī's *Al-Imām al-Haddād: Mujaddid al-Qarn al-Thānī 'Ashar al-Hijrī* is valuable in that it utilizes the biographical account by al-Haddād's student, Imām Muḥammad ibn Sumayṭ. Dr. al-Badawi's Arabic biography is broad, covering the Imām's personal life and teachings. Like al-'Adanī's volume, *Al-Imām al-Haddād* is neither strictly academic nor hagiographical, but lies in between. Descendant of Imām al-Haddād, Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr al-Haddād (d. 1995/1415), reviewed and approved the work. Therefore, it is a text that derives from 'within' the Haddād tradition. The same applies to the English biography, *Sufi Sage of Arabia* (Kentucky 2005),<sup>21</sup> save that it is more focused on the Imām's spirituality than the Arabic version.

The Imām himself gathered over three-hundred of his own letters (along with wisdoms and poems) "out of fear them being lost, which usually happens to what is not gathered in a book (*mudawannan wa majmū'an*)," he says. Continuing, he says, "the reason for gathering them is certain benefits I need for myself; I benefit from them, and so can the brothers and [our] friends."<sup>22</sup> It consists of four volumes entitled, *Jāmi' al-Mukātabāt wal-Waṣāyā wal-Kalimāt wal-Qaṣā'id al-Mushtamila 'alā al-Hikam wal-Fawā'id wal-Manāfi' wal-Marāhid* (*The Collection of Letters, Counsels, Fine Words, and Poems Consisting of Wisdoms, Benefits, Gains, and Guidance*). The modern print gives the title *Mukātabāt al-Imām al-Haddād*, simply *The Letters of Imām al-Haddād*. In legible print, the letters offer, more than any other work, an insight into the personality of Imām al-Haddād, and the nature of his relations and interactions.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Shajjār, Aḥmad. *Tathbīt al-Fū'ād*, no place: no publisher, no year.

<sup>21</sup> Al-Badawi, Mostafa. *Sufi Sage of Arabia: Imam 'Abdallah ibn 'Alawī al-Haddad*, Kentucky: Fons Vitae, 2005.

<sup>22</sup> Letters, vol. 1; pp. 5.

The fact that they have not been subjected to a critical publication does not affect their authenticity. There are a few factors vouching for the authenticity of these letters. The fact that the introduction was given by the Imām himself and that its style is practically identical to all his other writings offers confidence that the volumes are authentic. Furthermore, the letters are the same in format and style. Lastly, while a respected authority among the Āl Bā 'Alawī, the Imām did not possess a profile or a name recognition in the Islamic world that would entice anyone to utilize his name for profit or alter his works out of an envious competition (*dass*), as has happened to other renowned scholars in Islamic history. Lastly, the Imām's *Tathbīt al-Fū'ād* was useful in that it contains anecdotes and short stories about the Imām along with description about the Imām's classes and gatherings.

Imām al-Ḥaddād's books have been published in legible Arabic script several times over, beginning in Cairo in the 1960's and 70's by then Muftī of Egypt Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Makhlūf. Reprints occurred in Beirut between 1992 and '94 by al-Hawi Publications, founded by Umar Bajkahyf. The first translation into the English appeared in 1989 (*The Book of Assistance*) and was done by Dr. Mostafa al-Badawi, with help from Abdal Hakim Murad and the Quilliam Press. Two other companies have followed suit in publishing Imām al-Ḥaddād's works in English, namely Starlatch Books (Chicago) and Fons Vitae (Kentucky). The latter has recently added Imām al-Ḥaddād to its 'Spiritual Masters series,' thus far republishing three of the six works along with the English biography *Sufi Sage*. Other languages in which the works of Imām al-Ḥaddād have been translated include Spanish, Turkish, Swahili, Indonesian, and French.

No factors surrounding the Arabic works raise doubts that they are of Imām al-Ḥaddād's authorship. Most useful to this research has been his *al-Da'wa*

*al-Tāmma wal-Tadhkira al-‘Āmma*. The remainder of the works, describe in more detail in Chapter 2, offer brief comments on *da‘wa*, which we have made sure to utilize. Some have offered none, and have thus been given less attention. Two substantial works hardly make any appearances at all in the core chapters of this dissertation (Chapters 5 and 6), namely the *diwān* of poetry, *al-Durr al-Manzūm* and the collection of Ṣūfī *fatwas*, *al-Nafā’is al-‘Ulwiyya*; neither are about *da‘wa*.

For the legacy chapter, we rely on the biography of Imām al-Ḥaddād’s most famous descendant of the Modern Period, Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr al-Ḥaddād (d. 1415/1995). In a 2003 Amman publication,<sup>23</sup> the Imām’s son gives a biography and account of Mashhūr al-Ḥaddād’s *da‘wa*. The book does not go into great detail, but is very useful in offering some basic facts as the Ḥabīb’s travels and his views on *da‘wa*. Lastly for the legacy chapter, we utilize websites and pamphlets surrounding Dār al-Muṣṭafa and its founders.<sup>24</sup>

Perhaps the first Orientalist to write about the *Sayyids* was Yemen scholar R. B. Serjeant in a paper entitled *The Sayyids of Hadramawt*.<sup>25</sup> Rather than arguing anything in particular, Serjeant, impressed by his subject, simply covers some factors important in understanding the *sayyids*. We will examine his article here.

“There can be few aristocracies,” begins Serjeant,

with so long a history as the posterity of Muhammad the Arabian Prophet...Nor can any branch of the numerous Sharif and Saiyid families founded over fourteen centuries ago claim a more varied sphere of activity, of achievement indeed, than the ‘Alawi Saiyids of Hadramawt.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Al-Ḥaddād, Ḥāmid ibn Aḥmad Mashhūr. *Al-Imām al-Dā‘iya al-Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr al-Ḥaddād: Ṣafahāt min ḥayātihī wa Da‘watih*, Amman: Dar al-Fath, 2003.

<sup>24</sup> For more information on the physical and architectural history of Tarīm and its environs, the American Institute for Yemeni Studies together with the Samuel H. Kress Foundation has sponsored the Tarīm Documentation Project. Information about the project can be found at [www.mcah.columbia.edu/tarim](http://www.mcah.columbia.edu/tarim).

<sup>25</sup> Serjeant, R. B. *The Sayyids of Hadramawt*, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1957.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 3.

‘Saiyids,’ he says, were originally the Arab chiefs that were capable of entertaining the guest and leading the tribe: “Al-Walīd’s protest is that...[he is] the Saiyid, of Quraysh.”<sup>27</sup> He further argues that while “the Hashemites were a Saiyid house,” before Islam, they “may not necessarily have been...the *most* holy in all pre-Islamic Arabia.”<sup>28</sup> Before the ‘Alawīs arrived at Tarīm, there were ‘Mashāyikh’ families; these are notables but not from the Prophet’s family. Three of the biggest ones are “Āl Bā ‘Abbād, Āl Khaṭīb, and Āl Bā Faḍl.”<sup>29</sup>

[T]estimony of many different sources indicates that the prominent *Mashāyikh* families were known, as often as not, as Saiyids until at least the late Middle Ages....The Khaṭībs and Faḍl *Mashāyikh* of Tarīm have now taken second position to the Saiyids, though still honoured, and they have long been linked to them by ties of affection.<sup>30</sup>

Only after the spread of Islam, did the term ‘*sayyid*’ come to denote the family of the Prophet.

Physically, the *sayyids* live in or around the *hawṭa* of one of their leaders. “In a society where war is the norm of existence, a neutral territory is a necessity for reasons religious, political, and economic...A saint...will demarcate a *hawṭah* with white washed pillars.”<sup>31</sup> A *hawṭa* is therefore an “inviolable grazing” area and a ”centre of politico-religious influence.”<sup>32</sup> The penultimate and sacred *hawṭa* is that of the Prophet in Madīna, and it is termed a *haram*.

One of the advantages of a *hawṭa* is that it allows the *sayyid* shaykh a private space to teach, and for the *sayyids*, as Serjeant discovered, that includes Sūfism:

The Saiyids affirm [that the Bā ‘Alawī *tariqah*] it is the best *tariqah*, based on the Koran, the Sunnah, and the beliefs of the Pious

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 12-4.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

Ancestors (al-Aslāf). No ‘Alawī may go counter to the way of those Pious Ancestors, but act with humility, piety, and lofty motive, with the Prophet for his model.<sup>33</sup>

Other distinctive aspects of the Ḥadramī *sayyids* is the idea of *kafā'a*: “All Saiyids are united on the issue of *kafā'ah*, eligibility in marriage....They will never marry their daughters to anyone but a Saiyid or Sharīf, though their Zaidī cousins of the [northern parts of] Yemen are much less strict.”<sup>34</sup>

In the 14<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> Century the *sayyids* began migrating heavily. To the west, they went to East Africa, Kenya specifically, while to the east, they went arrived at the Malay Archipelago “before the Dutch,” residing mostly in Java, and at one point, they were even dependent upon cash deriving from that city.<sup>35</sup> Wherever they went, continues Serjeant, they spread Shāfi‘ī law and the *Rātib al-Haddād*.<sup>36</sup>

The Modern Period has presented the Āl Bā ‘Alawī with numerous challenges. Among these were the British occupation, mass migration outside of Hadramawt, and the secularization of the state. These factors have upset the authority of the *sayyid* shaykhs, decreased their manpower, and introduced to the youth un-Islamic ideas. But still, Serjeant is optimistic as he concludes:

While conservative, the Ḥadramī Saiyid cannot be called fanatical, he is not unadaptable but keenly aware of the advantages of education, and often a natural leader, strong in the consciousness of his birthright. Even his enemies admit his ability. Whatever changes the future may bring...I have no doubt that the Saiyids will continue an influential element in Muslim society.<sup>37</sup>

While Serjeant was a very early writer on the *sayyids*, the foremost author in terms of the amount of writing on the Āl Bā ‘Alawī is Alexander Knysh. Because his writings delve into detail, they warrant some more attention from us

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 19-20.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 21.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 24-6.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 28-9.

here. A total of five of his articles concern us:<sup>38</sup> 1) “The Cult of Saints in Hadramawt: An Overview,” 2) “The Cult of Saints and Religious Reformism in Early Twentieth Century Hadramawt,” 3) “The Cult of Saints and Religious Reformism in Hadhrmaut,” 4) “The *Sada* in History,” and 5) “The Tariqa on a Landcruiser: The Resurgence of Sufism in Yemen.” The studies take place from a mostly sociological perspective, focusing on the social functions of the sayyids’ ideas and practices as well as the inter-relationship between the sayyids and the non-sayyids that manifest through debates about those same ideas and practices. Knysh’s research is based upon ancient and contemporary literature along with his personal field-work. In particular his scholarly interest lies in the investigation of tombs and their visitors.

The first article was the “Overview” written in 1993. This article brings to the readers attention that the simple and plain valley of Hadramawt is unique in its celebration of live and dead “*waliyyas*.” The living “*waliyy*,” he describes, is

supposed always to remain neutral and unarmed amidst the violent and tribal kinship conflicts...He would emigrate (*hājara*) from his native country, would come to a distant land...to arbitrate and mediate in their numerous disputes...The most eligible of his descendants would take the position (*mansab*) after his death.<sup>39</sup>

The social role of the *walī*, says Knysh, continues even after his death. His shrine would become a place for “pious visits by the local and population, settled and nomadic alike.”<sup>40</sup> But more importantly on the social level was the the annual visitation by the people of the region. During that time of year, “a temporary

<sup>38</sup> 1) Knysh, Alexander. “The Cult of Saints in Hadramawt: An Overview.” *New Arabian Studies*. Vol.1 (1993); pp. 137-52, 2) “The Cult of Saints and Religious Reformism in Early Twentieth Century Hadramawt.” *New Arabian Studies*. Vol.4 (1997); pp. 139-67, 3) “The Cult of Saints and Religious Reformism in Hadramaut,” in Freitag, U. and William Clarence-Smith, eds. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997; pp. 199-216, 4) “The *Sāda* in History: A Critical Essay on Hadrami Historiography.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol.9 (1999); pp. 215-22, and 5) “The *Tariqa* on a Landcruiser: The Resurgence of Sufism in Yemen.” *Middle East Journal*. Vol.55, no.3 (2001); pp. 399-414. “Sufism in Rasulid Yemen” in *Yemen: 3000 Years of Art and Civilization in Arabia Felix* is forthcoming according to Knysh, interview, September 2006.

<sup>39</sup> Knysh, “Overview,” 138.

<sup>40</sup> “Overview,” 139.

truce would be automatically established. Rival tribes must “refrain from fighting and seeking revenge.”<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, throughout the year, “travellers and merchants used to leave their belongings and goods inside the shrine in order to collect them safely in due course.”<sup>42</sup> The *walī* in life and death is “intimately interwoven with...clan solidarity.”<sup>43</sup>

But exactly who is a *walī*? “To become a holy man,” Knysh tells,

one may be a founder of a village, an ancestor of a number of religious local families, a pious man, or a Ṣūfī, known for his miracles, a martyr killed in the war, an ordinary man who met with a violent death, even if he just drowned in a well of a flood.<sup>44</sup>

Towards the end of the article, Knysh begins to tell of the modernist and reformist generation of the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century that formed a movement against tomb-visits in their country. With the growing efficiency of loco-motion, privileged students of this time period left Hadramawt and travelled to the more urban and central countries like Egypt or Syria for study, where exposure to the enlightenment (*tanwīrī*) philosophies was great. Students of this trend, Knysh tells, tended to rule out any idea that was meyaphysical and not based on scientific empiricism. One of these was Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī al-Yāfi‘ī. Part of his Enlightenment (*tanwīr*) movement was to eliminate all tomb visits, as they were irrational and a mark of the backwardness of his country.

In other cases, students were exposed to more faith-oriented intellectual trends, such as the *Salaftyya* led by Imāms Muḥammad ‘Abduh and Rashīd Ridā. These students too, sought to end tomb-visits, but not for modern or rational reasons, but for *Shari‘a* reasons. In some cases, continues Knysh, they succeeded as in the “destruction of the popular tomb of sayyid ‘Umar al-Haddār...As a result,

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<sup>41</sup> “Overview,” 142.

<sup>42</sup> “Overview,” 143.

<sup>43</sup> “Overview,” 146.

<sup>44</sup> “Overview,” 139.

the shrine was turned into a latrine, which it still is.”<sup>45</sup> However, the movement as a whole, which Knysh covers in more detail in later articles, “met with only a limited and short-lived success.”<sup>46</sup>

The above “Overview” article is a good lead for the next one, “The Cult of Saints and Religious Reformism in Early Twentieth Century Hadramawt,” published four years later in 1997. For this one, Knysh spent four years visiting Ḥaḍramī tombs and collecting literature related to the topic.<sup>47</sup> The article is thus an analysis of that literature, which is both classical and modern.

Of the classical literature, “[m]uch of the local literary output was geared to encouraging pious visitation to the graves of local holy men and women.”<sup>48</sup>

The departed saints were considered to be invisibly present among their admirers and always ready to come to their rescue in times of trials...None of the Hadrami religious works prior to the Twentieth Century seems to have contained condemnation.<sup>49</sup>

The article then turns to the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century. Throughout the Islamic world, Knysh says, there were movements from Morocco to Egypt to Indonesia seeking to reform Ṣūfī practices, most particularly things that occur during grave visits. However, this “reformist discourse” did not affect Ḥaḍramawt and only touched it through a few young thinkers such as Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī and ‘Alī Bā Kathir.

Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī took an aggressive approach to the criticising the Āl Bā ‘Alawī, saying that their “immense spiritual influence” was “adroitly put to selfish use.”<sup>50</sup> In specific, al-Bakrī is talking about the fact that the majority of Ḥaḍramīs take cue from Bā ‘Alawī shaykhs, who encourage the visitation of tombs on a

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<sup>45</sup> “Overview,” 147.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Knysh, “Twentieth Century,” 142.

<sup>48</sup> “Twentieth Century,” 144-5.

<sup>49</sup> “Twentieth Century,” 145.

<sup>50</sup> “Twentieth Century,” 147

regular basis for intercession (*tawassul*), as a place where supplications (*du'ā'*) are more likely to be accepted, and where gatherings take place in which mystical poetry are sung (*qasīdas*). Furthermore, the sayyids promote the honouring of the Prophet's lineage, which al-Bakrī found contradictory to the egalitarian spirit. As a practice, sayyids did not give their daughters in marriage to non-sayyids. This was a point of contention for al-Bakrī. Eventually, al-Bakrī gathered a following and founded the Irshādī Movement to guide Yemen from the 'ignorance of meaningless cultural rituals to rational modernism.'<sup>51</sup>

For the Irshādīs, Sūfism and the specifying of one lineage over another was the source of their people's backwardness. One of the senior anchors of the movement was 'Alī Bā Kathīr, who served like a foil to al-Bakrī in that his expression was more moderate and his discourse more balanced. To give an example, he refuses to lay all of the blame for Yemen's "backwardness" solely on the Āl Bā 'Alawī. He says:

I have seen many *irshādī* books whose authors claim that such innovations and superstitions had spread in Ḥadramawt through the agency of the 'Alawī sayyids. Had it not been for them, there would have been nothing of this sort over there. Such authors however, miss the simple point that it is a common disease that has afflicted the Muslims the world over. Take, for example, Egypt which is a real Ka'bah of knowledge and a great fount of the Islamic Law. Ḥadramawt has not even one tenth of the innovations and all shades of superstition one can observe there!...Had the 'Alawīs never set foot on the land of Ḥadramawt, these innovations and superstitions would have been spread there anyway.<sup>52</sup>

In all, Knysh concludes with four main reasons why grave visitation served as the "strawman for disputants on both sides." Firstly, it is "intimately tied to genealogy and social status," while Irshādī doctrine pointed to the social equality of all people. Secondly is the "high visibility" of grave visits. Thirdly,

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<sup>51</sup> Paraphrased from "Twentieth Century," pp. 145-150.

<sup>52</sup> "Twentieth Century," 152.

the issue has theological undertones too, namely that the nascent Salafī and Wahhābī movements of Egypt and Saudi Arabia criticised the practices at the tombs from a theological perspective. Fourthly, in the age of modernism and increased rationalism, the supernatural and metaphysical associations with the dead were “scientifically and empirically groundless.”<sup>53</sup>

The next article, “The Cult of Saints and Religious Reformism in Hadhramaut” also published in 1997 appears to be the same article, with slight differences. Here, we will only site the points not found in the previous article “The Cult of Saints and Religious Reformism in Early Twentieth Century Hadramawt.”

One important point related to why the world-wide movement to reform the visitation of *awliyā'* (besides the geographical distance of Ḥadramawt from the central Islamic lands), is that “the British colonial administration...was anxious to preserve the political and social status quo in the Arabian territories under its sway.”<sup>54</sup>

Overall, this article arrives at the same conclusions as the above one, holding that the Irshādī movement eventually became “a vitriolic and often indiscriminate campaign against the *sāda*.” Further, it could not affect real change; their efforts ultimately amounted to a “war of words.”<sup>55</sup>

In a departure from the topic of tomb visits and the Irshādī movement, Knysh authored a brief article on the historiography of the Āl Bā ‘Alawī entitled “The *Sāda* in History.” His findings were that “the scarcity of historical

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<sup>53</sup> “Twentieth Century,” 160.

<sup>54</sup> Knysh, “Reformism in Hadramaut,” 204.

<sup>55</sup> “Reformism in Hadramaut,” 209.

documentation” makes it difficult to construct a critical history, particularly for the Middle Ages.<sup>56</sup> Also problematic was the biases of kinship ties.

About the sayyids, Knysh places doubt on some of three of their major historical claims. The first regards the religious prestige of the first sayyid of Hadramawt, Ahmad ibn ‘Isā, who is celebrated for his “piety and scholarship, as well as...charismatic qualities.”<sup>57</sup> Knysh argues here that there was a material aspect too. “Ibn ‘Isā’s travels across Hadramawt,” Knysh says, “follow [a] pattern [of] buy and donate.” As a result, he soon “acquired the reputation of a...political and military leader” with many loyal followers.<sup>58</sup> Knysh suggests that ibn ‘Isā was “simply buying the loyalties of Hadramīs.”<sup>59</sup> He later admits that this suggestion sounds “crude.” Could it be possible that loyalty to Ahmad ibn ‘Isā derived from spiritual as well as material means? He does not say. He further criticizes the glossy image of the early sayyids by citing Balfaqīh who discusses a “thorny issue” that would be “embarrassing” for the Āl Bā ‘Alawī, namely that the people of Tarīm did not welcome Ahmad ibn ‘Isā and his family with open arms. Rather, they

barred the descendants of...Ahmad ibn ‘Isā from settling in that great centre of Ḥaḍramī learning on account of their Shī‘ī propensities. According to this story, they were allowed...[into]...Tarīm only after disavowing their Shī‘ī beliefs in favour of the Shāfi‘ī Sunnism which by then predominated among the Ḥaḍramī Muslims.<sup>60</sup>

Knysh is sure to say that this is a “story” that, among historians, is subject to “debate.”<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Knysh, “*Sāda in History*,” 215.

<sup>57</sup> “*Sāda in History*,” 221.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> “*Sāda in History*,” 221.

<sup>60</sup> “*Sāda in History*,” 218.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

The second point regards the spread of Shāfi‘ī Law in Ḥadramawt. Historians ‘Alawī ibn Tāhir and Ṣāliḥ ibn Ḥāmid hold that the dissemination of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī’s knowledge is rooted with Sayyid Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Ṣāḥib Mirbāṭ, a major figure in Bā ‘Alawī history. The more important issue for Knysh is the *sayyids*’ “attempts to explain away the severe chronological inconsistencies” with this claim,<sup>62</sup> for another historian, Bā Ṭahān from Zafār of the second half of the Twelfth Century asserts something to the contrary. He “squarely attributed the honour of spreading Shāfi‘ī [*fīqh*]..to the Syrian Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Qal‘ī (d. 577/1171), who was indeed the author of several works on Shāfi‘ī *fīqh*.<sup>63</sup> Knysh delves into the details of the each camps’ historical evidence, which is, for our purposes, beyond scope.

The third and last assumption that Knysh challenges is the idea that the Āl Bā ‘Alawī inspired the first Ṣūfī *tariqa* in Ḥadramawt. “[S]āda literature gave the credit for spreading Ṣūfī doctrines in Ḥadramawt to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-‘Alawī, alias al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam or al-Ustādh al-A‘zam.”<sup>64</sup> Bā Ṭahān disagrees and holds that it was a shaykh from Zafār, Shaykh Sa‘d al-Zafārī, who was “the spiritual master and confidant of al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam.”<sup>65</sup> *Sayyid* historians do not deny a connection, but “flatly reject” the suggestion that he was al-Muqaddam’s master. Again, the author discusses some details into which we cannot delve here.

In Knysh’s concluding assessment,

*sāda* historians seem to be driven by clear clannish agenda, which lies in establishing the priority of the *sāda* in all fields of religious learning. It is in accord with this agenda that they carefully

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<sup>62</sup> “*Sāda* in History,” 220.

<sup>63</sup> “*Sāda* in History,” 219.

<sup>64</sup> “*Sāda* in History,” 220.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

filtered historical evidence, discarding facts which did not fall into the *sāda*-dominated conception of Ḥaḍramī history.<sup>66</sup>

Given the vastness of the Bā 'Alawī family in terms of numbers throughout the centuries, it is not far-fetched that somewhere in their history there would be those who over-extended the reach of the *sayyids* and denied others any involvement. Ultimately, Knysh's article seeks to present evidence to this effect.

The fifth and last article in our look at Alexander Knysh's studies on the Āl Bā 'Alawī is "The Tariqa on a Landcruiser: The Resurgence of Sufism in Yemen," so called due to the main subject of the article---Habīb 'Umar bin Sālim bin Ḥafīz---and his "travelling across the country in a new Toyota Landcruiser and giving fiery public sermons and lectures at every stop."<sup>67</sup> The article examines "how the relatively free political atmosphere of the post-unification period has given rise to intensive public debates over the country's future and religio-political identity."<sup>68</sup> What role do the Bā 'Alawī *sayyids* have in it?

As a preface to this, the nationalistic discourse of the early Twentieth Century (which we saw in the articles above with al-Yāfi'ī and Bā Kathīr) has been "supplanted by discourses that were couched in religious idiom."<sup>69</sup> The three main parties striving for the embetterment of Yemen are now the Zaydīs, the Salafis, and the Ṣūfīs, with the article focusing on the latter two.<sup>70</sup> The "Salafīs" include at least three sub-divisions, namely those with more Saudi leanings termed by their opponents as "Wahhābīs," those with Brethren leanings, i.e. the Muslim Brothers or *Ikhwān*, and lastly those who are somewhat less rigid in their definition. These may be the majority, who are loosely organized around mosque study circles at the grass-roots level. Geographically, the Salafīs of Yemen can be

<sup>66</sup> "Sāda in History," 221.

<sup>67</sup> Knysh, "Landcruiser," 406.

<sup>68</sup> "Landcruiser," 402.

<sup>69</sup> "Landcruiser," 403.

<sup>70</sup> "Landcruiser," 402-4.

found in the northern part of the country; politically, they tend to support the *Islāḥ* (Reform) Party, the most outspoken leader of which is ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Zindānī.<sup>71</sup>

On the other side of the religio-political spectrum are the Ṣūfīs. “Their opponents describe them as ‘grave worshippers’ (*al-quburiyyun*) and ‘propogators of innovation and superstition (*ashab al-bid‘a wa ‘l-khurafat*).”<sup>72</sup> To refer to Ṣūfīs in Yemen, is mostly, to refer to the Bā ‘Alawīs and their follows. Geographically, their centers are to the south. But Knysh is careful to say that while many beliefs can be clearly outlined on paper,

the membership of all these groups and parties is in many cases informal and the lines between them are not as starkly drawn as it may appear from the ways in which they are portrayed in the Arab and Western press as well as analytical works. In fact, ordinary Yemeni Muslims may occasionally cross these lines without necessarily being seen as traitors.<sup>73</sup>

Besides having a strong presence in the Yemeni parliament, *Islāḥ* Party, “in many areas, control the nomination of imams of the local mosques.”<sup>74</sup> Moreover, many Zaydīs lend their sympathies to the Party and are one with Salafīs against Ṣūfism. “The *sufiyya* leaders,” therefore, “find themselves at a very serious disadvantage.”<sup>75</sup> But perhaps even more problematic is the Ṣūfīs’ “lack of strong personalities among its leadership.”<sup>76</sup>

If anything, according to Knysh’s article, this lack is a thing of the past. Most of the rest of Knysh’s article focuses on the “truly charismatic and energetic leader...*Sayyid* ‘Umar b. Muhammad b. Hafiz, poplarly known as Ḥabīb ‘Umar,” and the movement he has created through his center (Dār al-Muṣṭafa) and high-tech *da‘wa*, which utilizes tapes, radio, television, and the Internet.

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<sup>71</sup> “Landcruiser,” 404.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> “Landcruiser,” 405.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

The religious direction of Yemen is thus varied into the two main paths of Salafism and Ṣūfism. The Salafis, says Knysh, view themselves as the “representatives of Islamic ‘modernity’ [with] a ‘forward-looking, ‘progressive’ interpretation of Islam.”<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, they lay the claim to being more global, as their roots lay in Egypt and Saudi Arabia. However, notes the author, this may be a hindrance as well, as thinkers from Egypt or Saudi Arabia are less relevant to the local Yemeni Muslim. Further, “the Yemeni *salafis* make relatively little use of the rich legacy of either historical Wahhabism or the reformist programs of Muhammad ‘Abduh and Muhammad Rashid Rida...[T]he *salafis* tend to focus on the reformist condemnation of anthropolatry, grave visitation, Sufism, and hereditary privilege.”<sup>78</sup>

The Ṣūfis, says Knysh, have history on their side, in that they can claim authenticity based on the precedent of centuries of Bā ‘Alawī Ṣūfism in Yemen. Also, the domed shrines and the visitations throughout the year lend tangible aspects that reinforce thier programme.<sup>79</sup> While the sayyids of Yemen place great import upon local cities, they are not, notes Knysh, limited to the local. Their concern for the world outside Yemen, manifested through their use of technology, would refute any ideas of narrowness.

Lastly, Knysh notes how the movement of Ḥabīb ‘Umar, in terms of its Ṣūfism, differs from what may be found in classical Ṣūfi literature. At Dār al-Muṣṭafa, the author found no works “on Sufi metaphysics, epistemology or allegorical exegesis along the lines of Ibn ‘Arabi and his followers.”<sup>80</sup> In light of the “highly idealized model of Sufism that Western Islamicists borrowed,” Ḥabīb

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<sup>77</sup> “Landcruiser,” 412.

<sup>78</sup> “Landcruiser,” 413.

<sup>79</sup> “Landcruiser,” 412-3

<sup>80</sup> “Landcruiser,” 410.

‘Umar’s movement’s “affiliation with Sufism...is tenuous at best...The Sufism we observe in real life is often dramatically different from its ideal image dutifully assembled for us by the classics of Sufi literature.”<sup>81</sup>

To conclude on Knysh’s studies, readers of his articles will possess a good idea of the main intellectual trends that existed in the early Twentieth Century and how they were altered in recent decades into more religious discourses. He has defined the major Yemeni developments in terms of Islamic movements, their ideological underpinnings and political directions. Furthermore, his *Sāda* article offers a basic idea of the milestones of Bā ‘Alawī history. Knysh is also a pioneer in studying the revival of Tarīm through Ḥabīb ‘Umar’s *da’wa*; more of Knysh’s comments on that will be found in Chapter 7.

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<sup>81</sup> “Landcruiser,” 414.

## The Context and Biography of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alawī al-Haddād

### I. Yemen and the History of Hadramawt

The region of South Arabia is known as Yemen, coming from the Arabic *yumn*, meaning good fortune. This is so because Yemen was the most privileged part of all Arabia. In fact, it is very different from the rest of the peninsula. Unlike Arabia, it is not characterised by sprawling deserts. Rather, it is mountainous, the highest recorded peak reaching 3,760 meters (12,336 feet). It is also green and during good seasons, lush;<sup>82</sup> its desert is mostly relegated to the thin borders between the land and the sea.<sup>83</sup> Yemen is made up of six main regions: Upper Yemen, Lower Yemen,<sup>84</sup> the Western Mountains<sup>85</sup> (where coffee was discovered),<sup>86</sup> Tihāma,<sup>87</sup> al-Mashriq, and Hadramawt<sup>88</sup> (See Appendix C).

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<sup>82</sup> Wald, Peter. *Yemen*, London: Pallas Athene, 1996; pp. 223, 290.

<sup>83</sup> Rathjens, Carl and Hermann Wissmann. "A Regional Geography of Yemen." *Geographical Review*. Vol. 25, no. 3 (1935).

<sup>84</sup> Lower Yemen has historically been the economic leader of Yemen, based around the major cities of Ibb and Ta'iz. Sometimes, the significant sea-port of 'Aden is added as part of Lower Yemen, otherwise, it is considered a region of its own (Haykel, Bernard. *Revival and Reform in Islam: The Legacy of Muhammad al-Shawkānī*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; pp. 3-6).

<sup>85</sup> The Western Mountains consists of agricultural villages but not as fruitful as Lower Yemen. Nor were its tribes as physically powerful as Upper Yemen. However, the Western Mountains are credited with the one discovery that made Yemen very significant (Haykel, Bernard. *Revival and Reform in Islam: The Legacy of Muhammad al-Shawkānī*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; pp. 3-6).

<sup>86</sup> In the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> Century *Coffea Arabica* was discovered and grown in the Western Mountains and shipped out to the all of the Middle East and Europe. See Hattox, Ralph. *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East*, London: University of Washington Press, 1985; pp. 14-15, 23, 98 citing 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jazīrī's '*Umdat al-Safwa fi Hill al-Qahwa* (ms). Al-Zirikli says that one Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydarūs was the first, or among the first, (*mubtakir*) to make a hot drink out of the coffee bean and encourage his pupils to

The study of Imām al-Haddād's life requires some background knowledge on Upper Yemen and Ḥadramawt. We will thus discuss them to the exclusion of the other four.

When one speaks of 'Arabia Felix' or the green and beautiful aspects of Yemen, it is Upper Yemen that is meant. Upper Yemen is marked by high plateaus around which the tribes are centred. However, these are not nomadic tribes, but farmers. As a result, they are very wealthy, developed, and historically was the military force in Yemen. Its major cities are Ṣana'a', Sa'da, and Dhamār.

Ḥadramawt and al-Mashriq are physically very different from the other four regions. Al-Mashriq is practically non-viable for life. It is an empty region of desert. Al-Mashriq is the southern part of Saudi Arabia's 'Empty Quarter' (*al-rub' al-khālī*). Rocky and mountainous Ḥadramawt is a little more fortunate, yet nothing like the above four regions. It possesses no agricultural capacities.<sup>89</sup> Nor are its mountains promising: they possess black lignite, coal, copper, and resin. No economy can be established upon these elements.<sup>90</sup> Nonetheless, Ḥadramawt is the location of the legendary kingdoms of Ḥimyar and Kinda. The Ahqāf, mentioned in the Qur'ān, refer to Ḥadramawt.<sup>91</sup> Some also consider Ḥadramawt home of the celebrated Queen of Sheba (*malikat saba'*), who is also given mention in the Qur'ān.<sup>92</sup>

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drink it. Coffee would spread from Yemen to Makka to the entire world from him, says al-Zirikli (al-Zirikli, Khayr al-Din. *al-I'lām: Qāmūṣ Tarājim*, Beirut: no publisher, 1969; vol. 2, pp. 41). This 'Aydarūs was the grandson of another 'Aydarūs we mention below.

<sup>87</sup> Tihāma was nothing but a hot and sandy plain. It did however, host a sea-port second in importance to 'Aden, namely, the port of Mocha, from which much of the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> Century coffee trade took place. The location of Tihāma allowed for strong links with Africa.

<sup>88</sup> Haykel, Bernard. *Revival and Reform in Islam: The Legacy of Muḥammad al-Shawkānī*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; pp. 3-4.

<sup>89</sup> Von Wissmann, Hermann and R. B. Serjeant. "A New Map of Southern Arabia." *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 124, no. 2 (1958).

<sup>90</sup> Al-Yāfi'i, Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī. *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt al-Sīyāsī*, Cairo: no publisher, 1935; pp. 16.

<sup>91</sup> Dresch, Paul. *Tribes, Government, and History in Yemen*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993; pp. 6.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

According to a popular account, the name ‘Hadramawt’ derives from an ancient warrior from the lineage of Prophet Nūh known as ‘Āmir ibn Qaḥṭān. It has it that he was so fierce at battle, his mere presence became equated with death. When he pitched camp in South East Yemen, people said “*hadara mawt*,” “death has come.”<sup>93</sup> Bible dictionaries confirm something similar, namely that ‘Hadramawt’ is the Arabic for ‘Hazarmaveth,’ a son of Joktan in the Book of Genesis 10:26-28,<sup>94</sup> this Joktan being the Qaḥṭān above. Some locals of Tarīm say that the name comes from the utterance of Prophet Hūd on his death bed, “*hadara mawt*,” ‘death has come.’<sup>95</sup>

Up to the Common Era, Ḥadramawt was populated by the people of ‘Ād, Ḥimyar, and Kinda. The great kingdoms of Ḥimyar reigned for 640 years, coming to an end about a century before Islam in year 525. Ḥadramawt’s ties with Islam were initiated during the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad. Wā’il ibn Ḥajar al-Kindī and the more famous Ash’ath ibn Qays were the first Ḥadramīs to meet the Prophet at Madina. They returned with a teacher from the Companions, Zayd ibn Labīd. Taking residence in Tarīm, Zayd ibn Labīd acted as ambassador of the Prophet, leading locals in prayers and teaching them the Qur’ān. Through him, nearly all of Ḥadramawt entered into Islam.<sup>96</sup>

We also see from here how early Tarīm entered into the history of Islam. The city of Tarīm marks the end of Wādī Ḥadramawt and the beginning of Wādī Masīla.<sup>97</sup> “In Arab tradition,” says G. R. Smith, the name (Tarīm) comes from Tarīm b. Sukūn b. al-Ashras...or...Tarīm b. Ḥadramwat, the first to settle there.”<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Al-Yāfi’ī, 30.

<sup>94</sup> Smith, Sir William. *A Smaller Bidctionary of the Bible*, London: John Murray, 1927; pp. 271.

<sup>95</sup> See <[www.daralmostafa.org/location](http://www.daralmostafa.org/location)>. I thank Sami Shaban for brining this to my attention.

<sup>96</sup> Al-Yāfi’ī, 72.

<sup>97</sup> E.I., 2000, “TARĪM.”

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

After the death of the Prophet, Zayd continued collecting the poor tax (*zakāt*). However, Ḥarītha ibn Surāqa al-Kindī and the same Ash‘ath ibn Qayṣ led a revolt against its payment. When Zayd’s men were overpowered, he wrote to Caliph Abī Bakr, and the Wars of Apostasy (*hurūb al-ridda*) began.<sup>99</sup> In 128/746, during the Ummayyad reign, the Ibādī sect took over Ḥadramawt.<sup>100</sup> After they weakened, Ḥadramīs ruled themselves, and for a span of less than fifty years (213-252/829-879), they had a formal allegiance to the ‘Abbāssids.<sup>101</sup>

The Fourth/Tenth Century was eventful; in it begins the history of the Bā ‘Alawīs. Due to the Qaramatian Revolt<sup>102</sup> that affected ‘Irāq and the Hijāz (Jeddah, Makka, and Madina), Ahmad ibn ‘Īsa, emigrated from ‘Irāq to Ḥadramawt with almost one hundred family members and associates. In the same century, al-Yāfi‘ī continues, Tarīm emerged as the bastion of Islamic knowledge in Yemen.<sup>103</sup> Affairs in ‘Aden and Upper Yemen were referred to Tarīm for judgement. Teaching and learning took place in an informal fashion, mostly through open lessons rather than systematic classes. No books were written by these early Tarīm scholars. In due time, scholars could be easily found in the neighbouring towns of Shibām, Ḥijrāyn, and al-Shihr. Because Ahmad ibn ‘Īsa was from a family of scholars, and a scholar himself, it is reasonable to hold that he took part in the spreading of knowledge in Tarīm. Ahmad ibn ‘Īsa is also credited with

<sup>99</sup> Ash‘ath was eventually pardoned by Abū Bakr and subsequently retired to Kūfa, never returning to Ḥadramawt again. Al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī led the funeral prayer over him (al-Yāfi‘ī, 78).

<sup>100</sup> The Ibādīs are classified as the moderate branch of an extremist sect (the Khārijites) due to their doctrine that major sins make one a disbeliever. They also had a military agenda, and for a short while, took over the Prophet’s Mosque in Madīna (S.E.I., 1974, “IBĀDĪYA”).

<sup>101</sup> Al-Yāfi‘ī, 92.

<sup>102</sup> The Qaramatians are also known as Ismā‘īlīs (Daftary, 116-9), who would later be known as the Fāṭimids (E.I., 1979, “ISMĀ‘ĪLIYYA” and “KARMAṬI”). They revolted against the ‘Abbāssids for the Caliphate and in 290/903, formed a Caliphate in al-Aḥṣa (al-Ḥasa) near Bahrayn. In 317/930, they cut off the pilgrimage routes and seized Makka, taking the Black Stone to al-Aḥṣa (Daftary, 116-9).

<sup>103</sup> Al-Yāfi‘ī, 95-7.

Nothing extraordinary took place from the Fourth/Tenth Century to that of our subject, Imām al-Haddād. Rule was taken up by either the Kathīrīs or the Rashidīs (who are the same Ḥimyarites as mentioned above). Tarīm was always a town of piety and its degree of scholarship waxed and waned according to its political stability. The ‘Golden Age’ of Ḥaḍramawt was when it was ruled by ‘Abdillāh ibn Rāshid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 612/1216), who, born and educated in Tarīm, earned a good reputation for ruling fairly and funding scholarship generously.<sup>104</sup>

By the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> Century (that is, about one-hundred years before the time of our subject, Imām al-Haddād), Yemen became important in the world for two reasons. One, it was strategically located for the Indian Ocean trade taken up by the Europeans. Two, it was the sole exporter of coffee and thus economically valuable.<sup>105</sup> Particularly interested in this part of the world were the Portuguese, who excelled at sea.<sup>106</sup> Likewise, the Mamluks of Egypt and the Ottomans of Turkey competed for it, both conquering it for short and long periods respectively.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>105</sup> Encyclopedia Americana, 1998, “COFFEE.”

<sup>106</sup> Although the Mamluks pushed them back in the Tenth/Sixteenth Century, the Portuguese managed to capture the island of Suqutra, 350 km off the coast of Yemen, in the early Eleventh/Seventeenth Century (Playfair, R.L. *A History of Arabia Felix or Yemen: From the Commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Time*. Bombay: Education Society’s Press, 1859; pp. 105).

<sup>107</sup> Smith, G. Rex. *Studies in the Medieval History of the Yemen and South Arabia*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1997; pp. XV 141; and al-Yāfi’ī, 128.

## II. Imām al-Haddād and the Āl Bā ‘Alawī in Context

‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alawī al-Haddād was born on 5 Ṣafar 1044 / 30 July 1634, to ‘Alawī al-Haddād and Salma bint al-Sayyid ‘Aydarūs ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥabashī. He lived his entire life in the town of Tarīm in Yemen’s Valley of Hadramawt and died there in 1132/1720.<sup>108</sup> These years were in the ‘Period of Gunpowder Empires’ (c. 908-1203/1503-1789).<sup>109</sup> This age was characterized by a “flowering of Persianate culture under major regional empires,”<sup>110</sup> and also a rise in European mechanics, military, and political power, primarily centered around Vienna, Austria.<sup>111</sup> Hodgson describes it further:

The political and cultural impetus of the Mongol age was developed in regional empires with relatively regional cultures, especially in three: one primarily European, one centered in old Islamic lands, one Indic. It was the height of Islamic material world power. The aesthetic and intellectual creativity and prosperity faded, however before the new Occident in the course of basic transformation.<sup>112</sup>

During the life of Imām al-Haddād, the British were already accustomed to trade in Yemen, and the Portuguese had captured the island of Suqutra (see Appendix C), 350 km off the coast.<sup>113</sup> Muslim expansion on the other hand, had mostly come to a hault. Hadramawt also witnessed a simply ruinous period during his life. When al-Haddād was twenty-five, Hadramawt was conquered by the Qāsimī Zaydīs of Upper Yemen. The Hadramīs regained their freedom in 1125/1715<sup>114</sup>; the Imām was eighty-one years of age.

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<sup>108</sup> Al-Badawī, 26-8.

<sup>109</sup> Hodgson; vol. 1, pp. 96.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Namely, the British *Ascension*, which reached ‘Aden in 1609 and the island of Suqutra, 350 km off the southern coast (Playfair, 105 and Kamil, Mahmud. *al-Yaman: Shamāluhu wa Janūbuhi, Tarīkhuhu wa ‘Alāqātuhi al-Dawliyya*, Beirut: Dar Beirut lil-Tiba‘a wal-Tawzī‘; pp. 216.)

<sup>114</sup> Al-Yāfi‘ī, 137-9.

In Islamic studies, Imām al-Haddād is part of the spiritual legacy. He is one of the major shaykhs of the Bā 'Alawī sayyids of Tarīm. Along with many prayers, litanies, and poems (*qasīdas*), his works revolve around the attainment of faith (*imān*) and certainty (*yaqīn*). They are void of investigative or dogmatic debates and limit the mention of names to those famed Companions and early Muslims (*salaf*). He was a *muftī* in Tarīm, but his books do not contain discussions on the law (*fiqh*) or its principles (*usūl al-fiqh*). His works, thus, seem to have been purposely designed for mass readership. In fact, he clearly states this in *al-Naṣā'iḥ al-Dīniyya*: “We have put it in simple and fond terms using easy expressions such that it can benefit the elite and common.”<sup>115</sup>

Let us now turn to the Bā 'Alawī sayyids. Scholastically speaking, their scholars are uncomplicated, and fall neatly in line with the dominant modes of the Near and Middle East. Namely, they follow al-Shāfi'ī in law, al-Ash'arī in theology, and al-Ghazālī in Sūfism. Regarding the latter, they did not particularly follow in “Sūfism’s second wind.”<sup>116</sup> This phrase refers to the eastward migration of Maghribī and Andalūsī Sūfis in the 7<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> Century to Egypt and Syria. The work of the towering figure Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240) and even more, Abul-Hasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) were means in the opening of the avenues of knowledge of Allāh (*ma'rifa*) in the Near and Middle East. This resulted in the spread of Ibn 'Arabī’s mystical conceptions, the formation of contemplative orders (*turuq*),<sup>117</sup> and the flowering of the literary and plastic arts (i.e. glass, ceramic, and metalwork). It is easy to say that by the 8<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> Century, the vast majority of

<sup>115</sup> *Naṣā'iḥ*, 24.

<sup>116</sup> Danner, Victor. *Ibn 'Aṭā' Illāh's Sūfi Aphorisms (Kitāb al-Hikam)*, Leiden: Brill, 1973; pp. 4.

<sup>117</sup> Abul-Hasan himself had a very simple approach and did not envisage the institutionalization of his teachings. He did not desire for his disciples to be mere dervishes, and demanded that any adepts earn their own living through a livelihood. Nor did he don the look of a Sūfi shaykh or have a building from which he taught. He even advised his followers to attend other shaykhs if they could benefit (S.E.I., 1974, “AL-SHĀDHILĪ”).

jurists (*fuqahā'*'), traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*), craftsmen, and lay-people from Morocco to Egypt to Syria, were connected in some way or another to the Shādhiliyya.<sup>118</sup>

The Bā 'Alawī sayyids, however, were outside this loop. One reason may be geographical; the Ḥadramīs were simply distanced from Egypt.

While the northern parts of the country have been traditionally oriented toward the Middle East and the Mediterranean basin, its south-eastern provinces were, until recently, integrated into the South Asian and East Asian economic and mercantile systems and had a long history of emigration to, and intensive contacts with India, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore. Also, important were the close economic, religious, and cultural ties between the southern areas of the country and the east African coast.<sup>119</sup>

A second is that the Bā 'Alawī leader of his time, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr al-'Aydarūs (d. 865/1461) actually banned the reading of Ibn 'Arabī's works, holding that the latter's exposition on unveilings (*mukāshafāt*) and miracles (*karāmāt*) "if misunderstood, lead to deviations in belief, illusions of realization, and the possibility of going astray."<sup>120</sup> Yet a stronger reason is that the Āl Bā 'Alawī possessed their own imāms.<sup>121</sup> Three eminent scholars were Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Saqqāf (d. 819/1416), Shaykh al-'Aydarūs (above), and Shaykh Abū Bakr ibn Sālim (d. 992/1584), all of whom will be discussed below.

We only contextualize the Ṣūfism of the Āl Bā 'Alawī viz-a-viz the Shādhiliyya due to the West's familiarity with the latter. However, as Dr. Mostafa al-Badawi notes, Islamic spirituality was not limited to the Shādhiliyya of North Africa, Egypt, and the Levant:

<sup>118</sup> Hodgson; vol. 2, pp. 461 and Lapidus, Ira. *A History of Islamic Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; pp. 170-1.

<sup>119</sup> Knysh, "Landcruiser," pp. 401-2.

<sup>120</sup> E.I., 1960, "AYDARŪS."

<sup>121</sup> Al-Shillī; the entire work consists of short biographies of 'Alawī imāms.

Yemen, East Africa, and South East Asia were definitely outside this (the Shādhili) area of influence. Furthermore, the vast Turkestānī territory is almost entirely Naqshbandī, India is Chishtī and also Naqshbandī, and Sudan is predominantly Mirghānī, whereas Sub-Saharan Africa is now mostly Tijānī.<sup>122</sup>

Therefore, the fact that the Āl Bā 'Alawī were not part of "Sūfism's second wind" was not an aberration. The stage is now set for us to discuss the specifics of the Āl Bā 'Alawī, who they are, and their beliefs.

### III. The Āl Bā 'Alawī

The Āl Bā 'Alawī's genealogy begins with the Prophet Muḥammad and traces to Ja'fa al-Ṣādiq through line of al-Ḥusayn the son of Faṭima and 'Alī.<sup>123</sup> Four sons down from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq was Aḥmad ibn 'Īsa (d. 345/956), who was born in Baṣra.<sup>124</sup> His upbringing was

mostly as a diligent student in the company of the scholars of Baṣra in the religious sciences and *tasawwuf*...until he had scholarly, spiritual, and social authority. But Allāh had willed that, in his time, 'Irāq would be plagued with political and religious tribulations and social discord.<sup>125</sup>

In 317/929 ibn 'Īsa, also known as *al-Rūmī* for his reddish complexion and blue eyes,<sup>126</sup> moved to the Ḥijāz, spending a little over a year in its Holy Cities, and leaving behind representatives (*wukalā'*) to care for his wealth and property in Iraq.<sup>127</sup> In the following year, he performed the pilgrimage then migrated to

<sup>122</sup> Interview, July 2005, Dr. Mostafa al-Badawi.

<sup>123</sup> Al-Kindī, 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd Allāh al-Saqqāf. *Rihlat al-Ashwāq al-Qawiyya ilā Mawātin al-Sāda al-'Alawiyya*, no place: no publisher, 1985; pp. 34.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Al-Shillī, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. *Al-Mashra' al-Rawī fī Manāqib al-Sāda al-Kiram Āl Abī 'Alawī*, no place: no publisher, 1982; vol. 1, pp. 78.

<sup>127</sup> Al-Kindī, 34, 6.

Ḩadramawt. He is thus given the title ‘The Emigrant’ (*al-Muhājir*) and is the father of the Āl Bā ‘Alawī.

“The people of al-Jabīl, which is also known as Dū‘an,” says ‘Abd Allāh al-Saqqāf, “were of the Shī‘a and invited Aḥmad ibn ‘Īsa.”<sup>128</sup> Furthermore, there were people of the Sunna and Jamā‘a in Ḥadramawt, who agreed with the Shī‘a to support ibn ‘Īsa and establish him there. Furthermore, ibn ‘Īsa was of the type “that preferred quietude and calmness and distance from greed...the small population and relative emptiness of Ḥadramawt met well with his disposition.”<sup>129</sup> Our own subject, Imām al-Haddād has his own comments on why ‘The Emigrant’ left Iraq:

When the Imām, the Emigrant to God...Aḥmad ibn ‘Īsa ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, may God be pleased with them all, saw how innovations had appeared, passions multiplied, and opinions diverged in Iraq, he emigrated from it, and travelled the earth until he reached the land of Ḥadramawt, where he stayed until his death. And God blessed his descendants, a great many of whom became renowned for their knowledge, worship, sainthood, and gnosis. Through the *baraka* of this trustworthy imām who fled from sedition to protect his religion, they remained safe from the innovations and the followings of misguiding passions into which certain other factions of the Prophetic House fell.<sup>130</sup>

Al-Saqqāf continues that ibn ‘Īsa led the campaign against the Ḥibādīs that resided in Ḥadramawt and were given support from Oman. Several battles ensued, all of which went against the tide of the Ḥibādīs. The conclusive one took place at “al-Bahrān, in the direction of al-Qaṭan.”<sup>131</sup> The teaching and preaching of ibn ‘Īsa “caused a great many people to shift from Ḥibādī to the beliefs of the Ahl

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, 35. Al-Shillī describes ibn ‘Īsa as “Sunni” (vol. 2, pp. 78).

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> R. Mū‘āwana; trans. al-Badawi in *The Book of Assistance*, Buckinghamshire: Quilliam Press, 1989; pp. 40-1.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, 36.

al-Sunna wal-Jamā'a." <sup>132</sup> He passed away in 345/956 and is buried in al-Ḥusayyisa.<sup>133</sup>

Below is the the lineage<sup>134</sup> from the Prophet Muhammad down to Aḥmad ibn ‘Īsa:

The Prophet Muḥammad

Imām ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭima al-Zahra

Imām al-Ḥusayn

‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn

Muḥammad al-Bāqir

Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq

‘Alī al-‘Uraydī

Muḥammad

‘Īsa

*al-Muhājir* Aḥmad ibn ‘Īsa

The Āl Bā ‘Alawī represent a line of the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) that uphold the legitimacy of the four caliphs and the foud schools of thought, overall, remaining within the majority population of the *Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamā'a*. This will be further supported upon our comparison between the Āl Bā ‘Alawīs and the Zaydīs.

The geography and history of our subject requires some expansion on the Shī‘a. There are three schools of thought among what is generally known as Shī‘a. The earliest is that of Zaydīs.<sup>135</sup> Three generations later the Ismā‘īlīs emerged;<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Al-Shillī, vol. 1, pp. 229.

<sup>135</sup> They were the supporters of Zayd ibn ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 122/740). His son al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd along with al-Qāsim al-Rāsī al-Ḥasāmī founded a state south of the Caspian Sea. The Zaydī ethos is strictly legal, with little delving into spiritual matters (S.E.I., 1974, “AL-ZAIDIYA”).

and six generations later, the Twelver (Imāmiyya).<sup>137</sup> They can be known by shorter numerical names having to do with the number of imāms followed before crystallizing. The Zaydīs are the ‘Fivers,’ the Ismā’īlīs the ‘Seveners,’ and the Imāmiyya the ‘Twelvers’ or ‘*Ithna ‘Ashariyya*’ in Arabic. Ahmad ibn ‘Isa emigrated after the formation of the Zaydīs and Ismā’īlīs, but before that of the Twelvers, which came about two generations after his emigration.

The Bā ‘Alawīs are not alone in being an *ahl al-bayt* tradition that is within the majority population of Muslims. An excellent example is the Idrīsid family of Morocco. The Idrīsids derive from Idrīs<sup>138</sup> (d. 175/791), better known as *Mulay Idrīs*, who in turn derives from al-Hasan ibn ‘Alī. Like the Al Bā ‘Alawī, the Idrīsids produced many notable gnostics and scholars who preserved their lineage. They entered into the Mālikī scholarly milieu, and in many ways Fez was to the Idrīsids what Tarīm is for the Bā ‘Alawīs. Both cities served as the scholarly and spiritual centres of their respective regions. As for Fez, Le Tourneau describes it as having “long been the intellectual metropolis of Morocco,” and “one of [its] principle cities,” and one of “outstanding importance.”<sup>139</sup> Tarīm, as G. R. Smith describes it, is Hadramwat’s “center of Islamic learning” and has a “much greater reputation” than its sister cities in the region.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> During the Classical Period, the Ismā’īlīs were the strongest Shī‘ite force, controlling North Africa from 296/909-566/1171 (Daftary, Farhad. *The Ismā’īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; pp. 93).

<sup>137</sup> Most influential in the Modern Period (sponsored by Iran), the Imāmiyya came about around 260/877. Doctrinally, they are the most balanced regarding emphasis on inward and outward matters (*E.I.*, 1978, “ITHNĀ ‘ASHARĪYYA”). See also Momen, Moojan. *An Introduction to Shi‘i Islam*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

<sup>138</sup> Idrīs was the brother of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, whom Imām Mālik supported as governor of Madina. In 170/787, he was forced out of Arabia to Morocco where he founded a state in Volubilus (Walila). Idrīsids governed until 375/985 (*E.I.*, 1971, “IDRĪS I” and “IDRĪSID”).

<sup>139</sup> *E.I.*, 1965, “FĀS.”

<sup>140</sup> *E.I.*, 2000, “TARĪM.”



On the individual level, Imām al-Shāfi‘ī was known for his devotion to the Prophet’s family and his poetry about them. He himself was related to ‘Alī through his mother.<sup>141</sup> One of his poem reads:

And when I saw the people taken by their ways into the oceans of misguidance and ignorance (*abħur al-ghayyi wal-jahł*)

I mounted, in the Name of Allāh, the ship of salvation (*sufn al-najā*)

And they are the family of the Chosen One (*al-muṣṭafa*), the seal of prophets...

So let ‘Alī be my imām, and his progeny” (*fa khallī ‘alīyan lī imāman wa naslih*).<sup>142</sup>

Returning to the origins of the Āl Bā ‘Alawī, how was the name “Bā ‘Alawī” derived? *Al-Muhājir* Aḥmad ibn ‘Īsa produced only one son named ‘Abd Allāh (later to be known as ‘Ubaidillāh).<sup>143</sup> He, in turn, produced three: Baṣrī, Jadīd, and ‘Alawī. When the progenies of Baṣrī and Jadīd ended, all members of the family shared ‘Alawī as a grandfather, and hence the term Bā ‘Alawī came about, “*bā*” meaning “sons of.”<sup>144</sup> Only once again in their history (four generations later around 513/1120) would the continuation of the progeny rest on one man, namely, Sayyid Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī “*Sāhib Mirbāt*” (from the town of Mirbāt).

From the outset the family was concerned with spirituality and scholarship. ‘Ubaidillāh, son of Aḥmad ibn ‘Īsa completed a full reading of *Qūt al-Qulūb* (*Sustenance of the Hearts*) under its author, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 355/966).<sup>145</sup>

His grandson, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Bā ‘Alawī (d. 653/1255) was known as “The

<sup>141</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī, Muḥammad ibn Idrīs. *Diwān al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī*, Beirut: Dar al-Thaqafa, 1961; pp. 25. His mother was the granddaughter of the sister of Fāṭima bint Asad, mother of Caliph ‘Alī. Al-Shāfi‘ī used to say, “‘Alī is my uncle and my cousin” (*Ibid*).

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*, 334-5.

<sup>143</sup> Al-Shillī; vol. 1, pp. 76.

<sup>144</sup> Al-Badawi, 32-3.

<sup>145</sup> Al-Shillī; vol. 1, pp. 75.

Leading Scholar” (*al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam*) and “The Great Teacher” (*al-Ustādh al-A’zam*), and he is the most influential figure of all the the Bā ‘Alawīs.<sup>146</sup> He was trained as a Shāfi‘ī jurist under Shaykh ‘Alī ibn Ahmad Bā Marwān.<sup>147</sup> At a time when tribalism and killing were rampant among Ḥadramīs, he was the recognized leader of the Āl Bā ‘Alawī and instituted for them a policy of disarmament and political disengagement.<sup>148</sup> This was his first major contribution to the formation of the Bā ‘Alawī.<sup>149</sup> The second regarded his Ṣūfism.

At this time, Islamic spirituality was led by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166) in the East (Iraq) and Abū Madyan Shū‘ayb al-Tilmisānī (d. 579/1184) in the West (Algeria). The latter had two Ḥadramī followers,<sup>150</sup> so we can assume that his renown reached Ḥadramawt. If there was knowledge about Abū Madyan, there was certainly knowledge of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, who was both geographically nearer to Yemen and more famous than the Maghribī. However, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī did not meet either of them.

Our research has come upon two narrations on how Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Bā ‘Alawī initiated Ṣūfism among the *sayyids* specifically, and the Ḥadramīs generally. The first account comes from al-‘Adanī and says that shortly before his death, Abū Madyan himself sent a message to *al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam* (through both of his Ḥadramī students) confirming the *Faqīh* as a sound authority in *tasawwuf*.<sup>151</sup>

The second narration is from Knysh and says,

Together with three members of various *mashāikh* families, this *sayyid* of Tarīm (Muḥammad Bā ‘Alawī) was initiated into Ṣūfism

<sup>146</sup> See also Al-Shillī; vol. 2, pp. 7-21.

<sup>147</sup> Al-‘Adanī, Abū Bakr. *Al-Ustādh al-A’zam: al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam*, Aden: Dar al-Faqih, 1999; pp. 14.

<sup>148</sup> Termed by al-‘Adanī as “*kasr al-sayf*” (breaking the sword; pp. 34) and Serjeant, 19.

<sup>149</sup> Al-‘Adanī, 34.

<sup>150</sup> Al-‘Adanī, 24-6.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

by one 'Abdallāh al-Šāliḥ al-Maghribī, a suspiciously obscure figure who is said to have linked the first Ḥaḍramī Ṣūfīs to the great mystic of the Maghrib, Abū Madyan Shu'ayb (d. 594/1191), the spiritual forerunner of the great Shādhili *tariqa*. At a later stage, the Maghribī-Shādhili tradition was supplemented by an Eastern Ṣūfi connection which was traced back to the great saint and preacher of Baghdad 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (d. 561/1166)...[O]n his deathbed 'Abdallāh al-Šāliḥ al-Maghribī appointed al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam as his successor, who thus can be regarded the founder of the first indigenous [Ḥaḍramī] Ṣūfi *tariqa*.<sup>152</sup>

The Bā 'Alawīs, thus, possess two chains of transmission, one through the family and one through Abī Madyan.<sup>153</sup> Al-'Adanī says that *al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam*'s connection with Abū Madyan was not so much to do with teaching and guidance as it was with "his need for a chain of transmission back to an authority known to the *ummah*, that lends credit to his approach (*manhaj*)."<sup>154</sup>

Considering that Imām *al-Muhājir* Aḥmad ibn 'Īsa settled in Tarīm in the Fourth/Tenth Century, and that our subject lived in the Eleventh/Eighteenth Century, it is reasonable to hold that there were several Bā 'Alawī scholars in every generation. For obvious reasons, they cannot all be recounted here. However, we will site four major contributors to the tradition besides *al-Muhājir* and *al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam*. There are Shaykh Abd al-Rahmān al-Saqqāf (d. 819/1416), his grandson Imām 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydarūs (d. 865/1461), Shaykh Abū Bakr ibn Sālim (d. 922/1584), and our own subject, Imām al-Haddād.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Saqqāf was a great grandson of *al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam*. *Saqqāf*, meaning roofer, was not his family name, but rather a nickname given to him for his service to the faithful: just as a roof wards off rain and sun, so the shaykh deflects afflictions away from the believers by teaching them and praying for them.<sup>155</sup> Ten of Tarīm's mosques were built by him,<sup>156</sup> and

<sup>152</sup> Knysh, "Sāda in History," 220.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 31.

<sup>155</sup> Al-Badawi, unpublished text "Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman al-Saqqaf and His Children."

his quotes can be found in Imām al-Haddād’s books.<sup>157</sup> His prominence does not lie in his introduction of anything new, but for his wide-spread teaching, similar to a ‘reviver’ (*mujaddid*) in Islam, who does not enact a new law (*sharī‘ā*), but revives the existing one.

His grandson was ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr al-‘Aydarūs. ‘Aydarūs, lion, was again a nickname given to him (by his father) and not the original name.<sup>158</sup> During his life, he served as the secretary (*naqīb*) of the sayyids.<sup>159</sup> Most importantly about him, he was the first to use the *Iḥyā* of al-Ghazālī as a central text, calling it “a wonder for all times.”<sup>160</sup> His counsel is summarized in his statement, “Conform to the Book and *sunna* from beginning to end, outwardly and inwardly, with reason and faith. The explanation of the Book and *sunna* is quite complete in *The Revival of Religious Sciences*.<sup>161</sup>

The second major contribution was his writing of a large volume on certainty in Allāh (*al-yaqīn billāh*) and the path to its attainment. He named this book *al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar* (*The Red Sulphur*).<sup>162</sup> The last point we will mention about his teachings was his prohibition of reading Ibn ‘Arabī due to the latter’s unconventional exposition on unveilings (*mukashafāt*) and miracles (*karamāt*): “those matters, if misunderstood, lead to deviations in belief, illusions of realization, and the possibility of going astray.”<sup>163</sup> Nonetheless, students were

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> For example, on the importance of having consistent worship, see *R. Mu‘āwana*, 36.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid; it may have been ‘Aytarūs (he who takes with violence) and pronounced ‘Aydarūs for facilitation (al-Badawi, unpublished text, “The House of al-‘Aydarus”).

<sup>159</sup> E.I., 1960, “AYDARŪS”.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Al-Badawi, unpublished text, “The House of al-‘Aydarus.”

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

encouraged to maintain a good opinion of the Andalusian shaykh. This has been consistently transmitted through the ages as accepted policy.<sup>164</sup>

Shaykh Abū Bakr ibn Sālim was the most famous ‘Alawī of his respective time. His eminence is due to his renown for generosity and piety. After studies in Tarīm, he moved to ‘Ināt and spent most of his time devoted to the villagers and bedouin. Rapidly, news of his generosity spread:<sup>165</sup> he “became a refuge for any person in danger.”<sup>166</sup> All his wealth was spent on the poor,<sup>167</sup> and many *karamāt* are attributed to him.

These three men are celebrated as exemplars of piety rather than as inventors of something new. Originality and creativity in themselves are not promoted by the Bā ‘Alawīs, nor by any religious tradition for that matter, save during times of need. Otherwise, such is considered a symptom of narcissism or self-absorption. Esteemed is the courage required to reform oneself and cultivate virtues as those of the prophets.

As an aside, not all Bā ‘Alawī scholars resided solely in Ḥaḍramwat. O. Löfgren tells that Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muṣṭafa, a contemporary of Imām al-Haddād, from the ‘Aydarūs lineage, was “the most extensive traveller and most productive writer among the Bā ‘Alawi.”<sup>168</sup> He lived in India for four years, then resided in Tā’if, visited Damascus and Istanbul, and finally settled in Cairo, where he died in 1192/1778.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Serjeant, 103.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> E.I., 1960, “AYDARŪS.”

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

#### IV. The Life of Imām al-Haddād

Our subject was born in one of Ḥadramawt's most turbulent centuries. One year after his birth, Sultan Badr ibn ‘Abdillāh, a harsh and violent leader, took control of Ḥadramawt. The region was plagued with internal strife as Sultan Badr's uncle, Amīr Badr ibn ‘Umār, competed for rule and attempted several overthrows of his nephew.<sup>170</sup>

Smallpox caused Imām al-Haddād permanent blindness before the age of five. This does not seem to have affected his personality or scholarship, or even his look, as no scars remained on his face. “In my childhood,” he testifies, “I was never treated like one who could not see, neither in walking nor in playing.”<sup>171</sup> From a young age, it was clear he would be an imām. Despite being of tender age, he went to the mosque voluntarily and had interest in Islamic books. “Since my youth. I was so serious about my worship and self-discipline,” he says, “that my grandmother would tell me, ‘Be easy on yourself.’...And so I would leave off a lot of my efforts (*mujāhadāt*) for my parents’ sake, seeing that they were so earnestly desiring ease for me.”<sup>172</sup> He continues: “In the beginning of my affair, I spent a long period subsisting on coarse food and wearing rough clothes.”<sup>173</sup>

After memorizing the Qur’ān at age fourteen, he began his study of the *Shari‘a*, which he did under Shaykh Bā Jubayr among others. At this time, study was done by memorizing the texts. He memorized al-Ghazālī’s *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* (*The Beginning of Guidance*). This serves as a type of foreshadowing, since more than any other scholar, Imām al-Ghazālī’s writings made the strongest

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<sup>170</sup> For the history of Sultan Badr’s reign, see al-Yāfi‘ī, 110-139.

<sup>171</sup> Al-Badawi, 38.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid, 40.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

impression on Imām al-Haddād. Evidence of this is that each of his written works cite or advise the reading of Imām al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*. He says, "Praise be to Allāh. The *Iḥyā'* suffices one from needing other books, but other books do not make one not need the *Iḥyā'*".<sup>174</sup>

His teachers, he says, "were around one hundred."<sup>175</sup> "One of the most majestic of them was...the Malāmitī 'Aqīl ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammād ibn 'Aqīl al-Saqqāf Bā 'Alawī,"<sup>176</sup> from whom Imām al-Haddād took the cloak of *taṣawwuf*.<sup>177</sup> Among the other shaykhs from whom the Imām received *ijāza* were Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydarūs, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Shaykh Mawlay 'Idīd, and Muḥammad ibn 'Alawī Bā 'Alawī.<sup>178</sup>

By seventeen, he was trained as a religious scholar. Between the completion of his studies and the commencement of his teaching, was a period of seclusion (*khalwa*) followed by marriage. He entered into seclusion for an unspecified period at the *zāwiya* of the al-Hujayra Masjid of Tarīm, emerging for Friday and congregational prayers only. This was common a practice for advanced students in Tarīm, along with other parts of the Islamic world. Seclusion is found in the Qur'ān, where Moses goes to Mt. Sinai for thirty days, then ten more, making a total of forty days in all.<sup>179</sup> The Prophet Muḥammad's biography (*sīra*) also possess accounts of retreats of seclusion at Mt. Hirā. Ibn Iṣhāq describes the Prophet: "Allāh made him love solitude, so that he loved

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid, 43-4.

<sup>175</sup> *Naṣā'īḥ*, 150.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, 152.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Q. 7:142 (*al-A'rāf*).

nothing more than to be alone<sup>180</sup>...Every year the Apostle of Allah spent a month praying at Hira and fed the poor who came to him.”<sup>181</sup>

In the same year, the Imām married, and eventually begot six sons: Muḥammad, Sālim, ‘Alawī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and Zayn al-‘Ābidīn. Sālim, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn lived and died in Tarīm, whilst Muḥammad died in Upper Yemen, ‘Alawī in Makka, and Zayn al-‘Ābidīn in Oman.<sup>182</sup>

One thing noteworthy about Imām al-Ḥaddād’s education is that the customary ‘journey for knowledge’ (*rihla*) did not occur. As Lansine Kaba writes in his article on Islamic education, the *rihla* was often the last stage of one’s education.<sup>183</sup> Only after his return from the local center would a student receive the respect of a proper imām, having more experience of the world than his students. The intricate networks formed by scholars and students created a culture that was the hallmark of Islam’s Classical Period. Why then do we not find this in the biography of Imām al-Ḥaddād?

We cannot offer a conclusive answer. However, it may not be too difficult to offer a few reasons for this. Firstly, as we shall see, Ḥadramawt was in a state of war with the Qāsimīs of Upper Yemen. Thus, there may have been safety reasons for not travelling. Secondly, the Imām was blind, a handicap that could have easily disallowed him from travelling alone. Thirdly, Ḥadramawt was not a place of wealth. This could have stopped him from travelling. Regardless, his lack of traveling would not have affected his worth in the Ḥadramī scholarly milieu. While some traveled, it was not considered a requirement.

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<sup>180</sup> Ibn Iṣhāq. *The Life of Muhammad Apostle of Allah*; ed. Michael Edwards, London: The Folio Society, 1964; pp. 35.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid, 36.

<sup>182</sup> Al-Badawi, 175-7.

<sup>183</sup> Kaba, Lansine. “The Politics of Qur’ānic Education Among Muslim Traders in the Western Sudān.” Canadian Journal of African Studies. Vol. 10, no. 3 (1976); pp. 409-21.

Physically, Imām al-Haddād was taller than most people in Hadramawt and lighter in skin colour. He had broad shoulders, large hands, and was neither portly nor thin. Overall, he lived a quiet life. His first student was Sayyid Ḥasan al-Jifrī. He “came and said, I want to read (with you)...so we read. When we saw people continuously attending, we made a schedule.”<sup>184</sup> In due time, the Imām’s own *fīqh* teacher, Bā Jubayr, approached him seeking reading, and he read before his former student the *Iḥyā’*.<sup>185</sup>

As for his personality, it was characterized by a strong and logical intellect, making him resemble, of all Islamic personalities, Imām ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Many times does he refer to the use of the intellect and the shame accrued by a weak intellect. In displaying a point, he often uses hypothetical questions with, “...and perhaps someone with a weak intellect will think...”. In his wisdoms (*hikam*) he has, “Give knowledge control over your intellect, and give your intellect control over your self (*nafs*)”,<sup>186</sup> and

The one with intellect should not address the fool. For if he addresses him at his level, he would be wasting his intellect and disgracing his honour, and if he addresses him at his (the fool’s) level, he would be emulating ignorance and would be counted amongst them. Allah says, ‘Hold on to forgiveness and command the good, but turn away from the ignorant.’<sup>187</sup>

Most indicative of this character trait is the nature of his letters. Over two-hundred of his correspondences are organized in the exact same layout. While not necessarily intense, his communiqūes never deviate from formality, nor admit frivolity, nor portray uncertainty. From all the sources we have, it seems that the Imām operated with caution and calculation, such that we never find him in an embarrassing or disconcerting position. Even so, the sources ascribe to him

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<sup>184</sup> Al-Badawi, 44-5.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> *Hikam*, 20.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, 23-4, Q. 7:99 (*al-A’rāf*).

the forgiving generosity characteristic of a gnostic shaykh (*'ārif*). He says, “If the people only knew the mercy that Allāh has poured upon my heart for them, they would not have left anything except that they would ask me.”<sup>188</sup>

From his collected correspondences, we can tell that he was active amongst his people, despite his blindness. He was aware of the sultans and their activities. All those who ruled during his lifetime received formal letters from him containing advice and sometimes corrections regarding some of their policies, particularly how they collected and distributed the alms tax.<sup>189</sup> Sultan Muḥammad son of the Amīr/Sultan Badr ibn 'Umar (the uncle), was on very good terms with the Imām, and wrote him often.<sup>190</sup> The Imām as well, was fond of him. On one occasion, he wrote saying, “You are on a good path and in a good state and oft-mentioneded by the people of goodness.”<sup>191</sup> Furthermore, Imām al-Haddād travelled almost all of Ḥadramawt on *da'wa*<sup>192</sup> and did not leave an opportunity for *da'wa*, as indicative in his two volumes of letters; none of them are devoid of *da'wa*.

At the prime of his youth, when he was twenty years of age, the stability of Hadramawt began to deteriorate. When Amīr Badr's attempts to overthrow his nephew continuously failed, he called upon the Qāsimī Imām of Upper Yemen.<sup>193</sup> By this time, the Qāsimīs had become a formidable power due to their ninety-eight years of war against the Ottomans.<sup>194</sup> In 945/1538, the Ottomans

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<sup>188</sup> Al-Badawi, 51.

<sup>189</sup> Examples are Letters; vol. 1, pp. 345, 357.

<sup>190</sup> For example, in Letters; vol. 1; pp. 279, the Imām writes, “We have received your letter in which you have informed us of your arrival,” indicating that the Sultan initiated that correspondence.

<sup>191</sup> Letters; vol. 1, pp. 279.

<sup>192</sup> Al-Badawi, 201-213.

<sup>193</sup> Al-Yāfi'i, 136.

<sup>194</sup> Haykel, 16, 30.

launched a campaign on Yemen so as to control its coffee trade.<sup>195</sup> Although it took ten years, they managed to bring Upper and Lower Yemen (including the Western Mountains and Tihāma) under their administration. Ḥadramawt, did not grow any coffee, and so it was spared.<sup>196</sup>

Co-opting into the Ottoman Empire, as many other Arab peoples did, would have contradicted Zaydī law, which dictates that the rulers must be from the *Ahl al-Bayt*.<sup>197</sup> Thus, for 98 years, the Qāsimīs fought the Ottomans. In 1046/1636, Imām *al-Mu'ayyad* Muḥammad succeeded in pushing back the Turks.<sup>198</sup> Doubtless, it was this century of war that unified the Zaydīs, strengthened their resolve, and hardened their skills at battle. The same armies easily expanded and took back Lower Yemen.<sup>199</sup>

In 1065/1654, upon the request of Amīr Badr, 10,000 of Imām *al-Mutawakkil*'s troops marched upon Ḥadramawt.<sup>200</sup> When his armies defeated the Ḥadramīs (whose militarily was made up of Yāfi'ī tribesmen, much less trained than the Qāsimīs), the Sultān announced his obedience to the new Imām *al-Mutawakkil* and became his governor; the Friday *khutba* was given in

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<sup>195</sup> Ibid, 30.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid, 40. Furthermore, al-Yāfi'ī tells us that Sultan Badr al-Kathīrī of Ḥadramawt feared the Ottomans would expand and so voluntarily announced his allegiance to them, assign Ḥadrāmis to help subdue Upper Yemen, and sending gifts of Portuguese slaves to Istanbul. Thus, for a short period in the Tenth/Sixteenth Century, Ḥadramawt was officially under the Ottoman banner (al-Yāfi'ī, 129).

<sup>197</sup> E.I., 2002, "ZAYDIYYA."

<sup>198</sup> There are two factors that may have led to the wane of Mocha and 'Aden as crucial ports for international trade. The first may be the discovery by Vasco da Gama of an Atlantic route around the tip of Africa and on to India ("Da Gama's expedition to India was...to bring the Portuguese into the Muslim-dominated trade of the Indian Ocean...[He] discovered a new sea-route to India...that was to be followed throughout the days of sail" *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1998, "GAMA, Vasco da"). Also, competitors were seeking to grow Yemen's main export, coffee, in their own countries. This eventually succeeded ("Arabs long maintained coffee as a national monopoly. For centuries they exported large quantities of beans but did not permit a fertile seed or seedling to leave their territories. However, in 1690 the Dutch managed to obtain a few plants and placed them in botanical gardens in the Netherlands. Then they began cultivation in Java and sent plants to other botanical gardens in Europe" *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1998, "COFFEE"). These factors may have caused the Ottomans to release their grasp on Yemen.

<sup>199</sup> Haykel, 16.

<sup>200</sup> Al-Yāfi'ī, 136.

*al-Mutawakkil*'s name<sup>201</sup> and the call to prayer was given in the Zaydī way (adding the phrase 'come to the best of deeds,' *hayya 'alā khayr al-'amal*).<sup>202</sup> Amīr Badr, in turn, was given the governorship of Zifār, one of Ḥadramawt's larger cities.<sup>203</sup>

Three years of peace ensued. During these years, the Imām was married and began teaching in the local mosques,<sup>204</sup> but had not yet authored any books. Still, however, there is evidence that he was very aware of the new rulers, and did not hesitate to write to the Sultan about the situation. In an undated letter,<sup>205</sup> he counselled Sultan Badr ibn 'Abdillāh al-Kathīrī to disregard the intimidation and influence of the Zaydīs in that which hinders the religion (*dīn*) or the best interest of his people. However, he may acquiesce in harmless matters for the sake of relaxing tensions (for example mentioning of the Zaydī Imām's name before the *khuṭba* or paying them a tribute). Nonetheless, he must remain cautious as, "they will not be pleased with you until you and all your people become Zaydī."<sup>206</sup>

In 1068/1657, instability began again; Sultan Badr conquered his uncle's city and the latter fled, once again, to the Imām of Upper Yemen.<sup>207</sup> This time, the troops of *al-Mutawakkil* did not relent. The Qāsimīs conquered Ḥadramawt in a violent manner on 10 Shawwāl 1069/1658, a day remembered by Ḥadrāmīs as 'Sayl al-Layl,' 'The Night Torrent.' Women and children were killed.<sup>208</sup> The Sultan was arrested and Amīr Badr installed as governor of all of Ḥadramawt in the name of the Zaydī Imām.<sup>209</sup> Tarīm, however, was spared. No soldiers entered

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<sup>201</sup> Letters; vol. 1, pp. 39.

<sup>202</sup> Haykel, 40.

<sup>203</sup> Al-Yāfi'i, 139.

<sup>204</sup> Al-Badawi, 41.

<sup>205</sup> Letters; vol. 1, pp. 33-43.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid, 39.

<sup>207</sup> Al-Yāfi'i, 137.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

it, and the transmission of knowledge continued, despite its being under Zaydī control.<sup>210</sup> There are no accounts that the Imām's physical movements were harmed or affected in any way. Given this information, we can conclude that the Zaydīs of the north had no religious motivations for conquering Ḥadramawt. These appear to be wars of politics and territory. But still, religious tensions rose, and there was an influx of Zaydī scholars in Ḥadramawt. Travel between Tarīm and the Arabian Sea now required passage through al-Shihr, which the Zaydīs made their religious center of the south.<sup>211</sup>

There is no indication that the Imām partook in the war between the Ḥadramīs and Qāsimīs, and it is highly unlikely that he fought, given his blindness. As would be expected, though, he was concerned about the preservation of the religion. His letters offer ample evidence that he was very displeased at the events of his time. It was, for him, “an age of trial” (*al-zamān al-maftūn*).<sup>212</sup> What exactly did the Zaydīs stand for that contradicted the Ḥadramī scholars?

The Zaydīs are

Mu'tazilī in theology, in ethics anti-Murdjī'ite,<sup>213</sup> with a puritanical trait in its rejection of mysticism; indeed Sūfī orders are forbidden in the modern Zaidī state.<sup>214</sup> In worship it has certain...features....: the call to prayer “come to the best of works”; the fivefold *takbīr* in the funeral service; rejection of the *mash 'ala 'l-khuffain* (wiping the covered foot as a substitute for washing), of the impious leader at prayer and of the eating of the meat killed by a non-Muslim. In family law they prohibit mixed marriages, on the other hand they do not allow *mut'a*.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Haykel, 40.

<sup>211</sup> Kuriyama, Yasuyuki, “The Political Situation of South Arabia in the 17th Century,” Speech given at The Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 8 January 2000.

<sup>212</sup> Letters; vol. 1, pp. 271.

<sup>213</sup> The main argument of the Murji'a revolves around “the definition of faith as excluding acts” (*E.I.*, 1993, “MURDJI'A”).

<sup>214</sup> By “the modern Zaidī state,” the author, R. Strothmann, intends North Yemen, which was abolished in May 1990, in favour of the unification of North and South Yemen.

<sup>215</sup> *Mut'a* means a marriage with an appointed end, usually utilized by travelers before Islam, such that they will marry and be taken care of in exchange for a fee. The research of W. Heffening shows that it was utilized during the Prophet's time and after Islam by some Muslims and that Ibn 'Abbās and Ubayy ibn Ka'b considered it lawful by Q. 4:24 (*al-Nisā'*). 'Umar declared it was prohibited and Heffening's research also includes Ibn 'Abbās repudiating *mut'a* shortly before his

Between the Zaydīs and the Bā ‘Alawī sayyids, there are some similarities and some differences. The biggest similarity regards the strong presence of members from the Prophetic family and an honouring of them. Also, both the Zaydīs and the Al Bā ‘Alawī have a record of piety and knowledge of the law. The Zaydī law is not too different from the Shāfi‘ī law, which is followed by the Bā ‘Alawīs. Their differences can be summed up on three accounts: the caliphs, doctrine, and spirituality.

It is commonly thought that Zaydīs uphold the caliphates of Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthmān. However, the greater Zaydī opinion is to the contrary. Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were upheld by one wing of Zaydīs known as the ‘Batriyya’.<sup>216</sup> Their doctrine holds that ‘Alī was the best Muslim and rightful caliph, and that the senior Companions overlooked him amidst the confusion and bewilderment that overcame them after the Prophet’s death. While considered an error, the overlooking of ‘Alī was not a sin, and the caliphates of Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthmān were valid. Also, rulings outside the Ahl al-Bayt are acceptable.<sup>217</sup> All of this is different but not altogether ‘radical’ and as a result, the Batriyya, over time, “became absorbed into the circles of Sunni traditionalism in Kūfa.”<sup>218</sup>

The second school within the Zaydiyya was the Jārūdiyya, headed by blind shaykh Abū Jārūd Ziyād ibn al-Mundhir (d. ?). Hodgson says that “[i]n contrast with other early Zaydīs, they rejected Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, not admitting the imāmate of the less worthy when the worthier was present.”<sup>219</sup> Because of the radical nature of this belief, when contrasted against the Sunnī belief, the Jārūdiyya remained distinct, and while the Batriyya “became absorbed into the

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death. In the contemporary schools, *mut'a* is valid among the Imāmīya Shī'a, but in practice is very rare (*E.I.*, 1971, “MUT'A”).

<sup>216</sup> *E.I.*, 1971, “BATRIYYA or BUTRIYYA.”

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>218</sup> *E.I.*, 2002, “ZAYDIYYA.”

<sup>219</sup> *E.I.*, 1965, “AL-DJĀRŪDIYYA.”

circles of Sunnī traditionalism,” the Jārūdiyya became the predominant school among Zaydīs. This explains why Imām al-Haddād had a lengthy debate on the legitimacy of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar with a certain Zaydī scholar.<sup>220</sup> If the first two caliphs were legitimate in the site of the Zaydī scholar, our subject would have had no cause to bring up the matter. In a second source, Imām al-‘Addād confirms Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and Mū‘awiyya, and concludes,

You must have a good opinion about the Companions...We never delved into this until the Zaydīs came our way, then we were forced to be involved in the issue as much as was required.<sup>221</sup>

Lastly, Bernard Haykel, in his study on al-Shawkānī, shows that the scholar who first took the Zaydī teachings to Yemen, Imām Yaḥya al-Hādī (d. ?), rejected Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.<sup>222</sup> All of this would point to one conclusion, namely that the Zaydīs are separated from the Sunnī Muslims due to the rejection of the first three caliphs.<sup>223</sup>

The second point of difference between the Zaydīs and the Āl Bā‘Alawī, regarded doctrine. The Zaydīs are Mu‘tazilite, while the Āl Bā‘Alawī are Ash‘arī. The Mu‘tazilite are generally known for their rationalism; they are “the first articulate theological movement in Islam,”<sup>224</sup> and their scholars elucidated a number of peculiar positions. One of these, about justice, states that that Allāh “must have regard for the welfare of His creatures, or else He would not only be

<sup>220</sup> Letters, vol. 1, pp. 350-52.

<sup>221</sup> Al-Badawi, 116-7.

<sup>222</sup> Haykel, 8.

<sup>223</sup> Of course, there are exceptions such as Imām al-Mu‘ayyad Billāh Yaḥya ibn Hamza (d. 747/1346), who praised Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthmān and quoted widely from the sayings of the early Ṣūfīs (E.I., 1981, “ZAYDIYYA”). As history would dictate, he was an exception, but he did set a precedent of Zaydī acceptance of Sunnī opinions and scholarship. Al-Shawkānī (d. 1255/1839) would later follow in this.

<sup>224</sup> Fakhry, Majid. *Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Mysticism*, Oxford: Oneworld, 1997, pp. 16.

unjust, but also frivolous (*safīh*).”<sup>225</sup> But perhaps their most famous position is the createdness of the Qu’rān.<sup>226</sup>

The opponent of Mu’tazilite rational enquiry was Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal who espoused strict traditionalism without any theological analyses. Between the rationalists and traditionalists were the Ash’arites, led by Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash’arī (d. 323/935). “In a sense,” explains Fakhry, “this school was destined to salvage the spirit of rational enquiry unleashed by the Mu’tazilah despite the fact that on substantive issues the Ash’arite school remained committed to the traditionalist viewpoint.”<sup>227</sup> On the issue of justice, “Ash’arites took the antithetical view that God is under no compulsion of any kind, so whatever He commands is by definition right and what He prohibits, wrong.”<sup>228</sup> On the issue of the divine attributes, he rejected the pure metaphoric symbolism of the philosophers and the pure literalism of the anthropomorphists, but “tread a middle course.”<sup>229</sup>

The third point of difference is that in the Zaydī ethos, there is nothing beyond the letter of the law. Piety is through knowledge of *fiqh* and the details of the Shari‘a. In contrast, the scholars of Ḥaḍramawt hold that the ultimate quest of a Muslim is *ma’rifā*, the recognition of Allāh through the heart (*mushāhada*). All sciences and knowledges are merely tools to that end. Hence, Sūfism (*tasawwuf*) flourished in Ḥaḍramawt but not so much in Upper Yemen, where the Zaydīs resided. In fact, R. Strothmann says that until the unification of Yemen in 1990, “Sūfī orders [were] forbidden in the [...] Zaidī state.”<sup>230</sup>

The issues of the caliphs (i.e. Shi‘ism/Sunnism) and of Sūfism cause the Zaydīs and the Āl Bā ‘Alawīs to be more different than similar. During Imām

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid, 65.

<sup>230</sup> S.E.I., 1974, “AL-ZAIDIYA.”

al-Haddād's time, the Zaydīs made a center at al-Shihr, not very far south from Tarīm.<sup>231</sup> Any Ḥadramī who travelled southwards to India or the Malay-Archipelago had to travel via al-Shihr, the port, possibly further inflaming the feud between the two camps.

If Imām al-Haddād did not partake in the battle against the Qāsimī-Zaydī army, he did not shy away from contending with their scholars. In fact, it is highly likely that the Zaydī presence in Tarīm is what caused Imām al-Haddād to place so much emphasis on *da'wa*.<sup>232</sup>

The two issues most discussed by the Imām are about the Companions and predestination (*al-qādā' wal-qadar*). Here is a passage from a correspondence with a Zaydī scholar from 1072/1662, in which the Imām is more forthright in style than in his books. It is clear that relations were strained:

We are well aware of our affair and on guidance from our Lord. The Book of Allāh and the *sunna* of His Prophet are between our two sides.

We are not ignorant regarding the religion, nor are we innovators in it, nor are we following our misguiding whims, nor do we judge with our intellects regarding the religion of our Lord. We accept the truth from whomever comes with it, and we refer to him without arrogance, and we do not blindly follow men.

So understand what we have given you and written for you regarding the answers to your queries...

What is apparent is that you are obstinate about following your school of thought (*muta'assib*), not accepting what does not fall in line with it, and that you do not see that anything else could be true.

If this is correct, then there is no benefit in speaking to you. Except, that is, if you believe your school to be true, but that the truth is not limited to it...

If you are like that---I mean that you do not believe the truth to be limited to your school of thought---then speaking with you has many benefits. With this hope and for these benefits we have answered you. One of them (the benefits) is that you realize that this region (Ḥadramawt) is not void of those who know the truth.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Haykel, 16.

<sup>232</sup> Interview, April 2006, Mostafa al-Badawi.

<sup>233</sup> Letters; vol. 1, pp. 358-9.

The “queries” mentioned above regarded predestination and the Companions.

Here Imām al-Haddād elaborates on predestination in the same correspondence:

Our *madhab* [on predestination] is a *barzakh* between two *madhhabs*. The first is the Jabriyya who hold that people are compelled in what they do and [what they] leave off...The second *madhab* says that the servant’s (*‘ibād*) actions are their own creations: if they choose to do, they do, and if they choose to leave, they leave.

What we believe is that there is nothing of good or evil, of benefit or harm, except that it is by the judgement of Allāh and His Predestination (*qadar*)...And with all this, we love the obedient and praise him and encourage him to roll up his sleeves in acting upon obedience, and we warn him against falling into disobedience, and say (or believe in) Allāh’s reward for him...and we dislike the disobedient, and we stop him from doing wrongs and invite him to obedience, and say (or believe in) Allāh’s punishment of him.<sup>234</sup>

On Abū Bakr and ‘Umar:

As for Abū Bakr [he became caliph] by *ijmā'* (concensus), ‘Umar by the directive of Abū Bakr, ‘Uthmān by consensus (*ijmā'*) after counsel (*shūra*), and as for our Master ‘Alī may Allāh be pleased with him, by the allegiance of the people of Badr, the Emigrants (*muhājirūn*), and the Helpers (*ansār*). As for Mu‘awiya, by the submission of al-Hasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib and his giving him allegiance. The rest were merely by the sword, injustice, and aggression...We only mention this to keep you on guard, for perhaps you may hear, in the future, things of this sort...You must have a good opinion about the Companions...We never delved into this until the Zaydis came our way, then we were forced to be involved in the issue as much as was required.<sup>235</sup>

In his *Wird al-Latīf*, he included a line saying “the good and the evil are by the will of Allāh” (*al-khayr wal-shar bi mashī’at illāh*), negating the Zaydī Mu’tazilī doctrine holding that evil cannot come from Allāh.<sup>236</sup>

For five and a half decades (fifty-six years), the Qāsimīs dictated the affairs of Ḥadramawt. They had become wealthy, prosperous, and powerful. In 1121/1710, when the Imām was eighty-one years of age, Ḥadramī leaders were

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<sup>234</sup> Ibid, 352-3.

<sup>235</sup> Al-Badawi, 116-7.

<sup>236</sup> E.I., 1993, “MU’TAZILA.”

able to free themselves from the Upper Yemenīs, who were by now, too busy with internal disputes to pay attention to the south.<sup>237</sup>

Aside from the political upheavels, the Imām was dedicated to public and private teaching and *dhikr*. Through plantations that provided a reliable income, he was able to dedicate all his time to students and locals, whom he fed daily, together with several orphans whom he raised in his home. Besides attendance to social occasions as weddings and funerals, he lived quietly. He had followers, disciples, students, and visitors, but never led a social movement of any sort.

*Tathbīt al-Fu'ād*, the work that describes our subject's gatherings and sayings, tells that a central part of Imām al-Haddād's *da'wa* was his *majlis*, or circle, which was described in the following passage:

The speech that occurs in the *majlis* of our master 'Abd Allāh, may Allāh bring benefit from him, is based on whatever Allāh pours down upon his heart, and causes him to say. It is not based on a curriculum like the sciences that are well known, the content of which is all connected one with the other...Everything [the Imām] says is unique to itself, not necessarily having to do with what came before it or what will come after it. This way, and I can attest this for myself, most people never get bored.<sup>238</sup>

In 1099/1688, the Imām moved from al-Hājīra to al-Hāwī where he built his home and mosque. On 9 Dhul-Qi'da 1132/12 September 1720, at age 88, the Imām passed away at his residence. By this time, he had a number of students to inherit his duties in Tarīm. Some of his students include his fourth son Ḥabīb al-Ḥasan al-Haddād, his son-in-law Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-Ḥabashī, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bārr, and 'Abd al-Rahmān Bilfaqīh.<sup>239</sup> Another notable successor of his was his grandson Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Haddād (d. 1204/1790), who was known as "the scholar of Tarīm." Khayr al-Din al-Zirikli names him among the

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<sup>237</sup> Al-Yāfi'i, 131.

<sup>238</sup> Al-Shajjār, 16.

<sup>239</sup> Al-Badawi, 173.

five famous ‘Haddāds’ of Arabic culture.<sup>240</sup> His son, in turn, ‘Alawī ibn Ahmad al-Haddād (this would be Imām al-Haddād’s great-grandson), authored about one hundred works, and is probably the most prolific of all Bā ‘Alawī scholars.<sup>241</sup>

The legacy of Imām al-Haddād is spiritual and literary. It is spiritual in that he can be found in the Bā ‘Alawī chains of transmission. What does this mean? It simply means that the shaykhs before him considered him to have actualized (*haqqāqa*) the teachings of *ihsān*; that he not only intellectually understood *ihsān*, but lived it, and could assist others in doing the same. The Prophetic prayers (*adhkār*) that he composed are now staples in any prayer book composed by Bā ‘Alawī shaykhs after him.

In terms of his literary legacy, he wrote a lengthy work on *da‘wa*, in which he puts forth an approach to knowledge in which *da‘wa* is intrinsic. We will argue later in this dissertation that he intently sought to codify the knowledge of *da‘wa* by defining the term and outlining the role of all people as both doers and recipients of *da‘wa*. His categorization of society into eight classes, and his section on why people avoid *da‘wa* are unique. More attention will be paid to this in Chapters 5 and 6 as well as the Conclusion. The strongest evidence that he possesses a literary legacy is that his works have been utilized for teaching and *da‘wa* up to the modern day. This will be examined further in Chapter 7. Furthermore, his *al-Nafā’is al-‘Ulwiyya* is an important collection of *fatwas* outlining his methodology (*manhaj*) in Sūfism.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, we will place Imām al-Haddād among the ‘Eighteenth Century renewers’ as discussed by John Voll and

<sup>240</sup> Imām al-Haddād and his grandson Ahmad ibn al-Hasan are the only two from the Āl Bā ‘Alawī. The remainder are unrelated Haddād’s from Egypt and Lebanon (Al-Zirikli, Khayr al-Din. *Al-A‘lām: Qāmus Tarājim*, Beirut: Dar al-Ilm al-Malayin, 1979; vol. 2, pp. 178).

<sup>241</sup> Interview, July 2005, Mostafa al-Badawi.

Nehemiah Levzion in their *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*.<sup>242</sup>

Voll and Levzion address the question, ‘what is a renewer?’ and ‘who qualifies to be termed a renewer?’. They liberally define a renewer or reviver as “everything that involved an intensification of Islamic identity.”<sup>243</sup> The successful reviver is not only one who can “convert most of the people in the society to their vision of what should be done,”<sup>244</sup> but also may be one “whose impact may not be immediately apparent.”<sup>245</sup> As for ‘intensifying Islamic identity,’ there can hardly be a stronger statement than al-Ḥaddād’s saying,

Every Muslim must begin with his own self and rectify it by consistently observing the obligations and avoiding the prohibitions. Then he does this with his family. Then, when he has done this with them, he turns to his neighbors, then on to the people of his township, then to the people of his country...and so on to the utmost end of the world...The remains a duty so long as there remains one individual on the face of the earth ignorant of his obligations of his religion.<sup>246</sup>

As for the Imām’s impact, there is little evidence to confirm that he “convert[ed] most of the people in the society to [his] vision of what should be done,” but there is much evidence, however, to show that there are Twentieth and now Twenty First Century revivers who view Imām al-Ḥaddād as their inspiration in knowledge, Ṣūfism, and *da’wa*. These will be discussed in Chapter 7. In light of them, Imām al-Ḥaddād may qualify as “an inspiration whose impact may not be immediately apparent.”

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<sup>242</sup> Voll, John and Nehemiah Levzion; eds. *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987. In this work, the authors define the Eighteenth Century as “period of significant renewal and reform...many individuals and groups undertook the mission of bringing a revived sense of adherence to Islam to their particular communities.”

<sup>243</sup> Voll, et al.; 14.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid, 14. “The best known is the Wahhabi movement which provides the base for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. There are additional groups of modern importance. The Sanusi *tariqah* has its roots in eighteenth-century renewalism and was the basis for the Libyan monarchy which was established in 1951. Other organizations with inspirational roots in the eighteenth century which have helped to shape twentieth-century political concepts can be seen in North Africa, Nigeria, the Sudan, and Somalia. In South Asia, Shah Wali Allah, has been credited with providing the Islamic intellectual foundations for most Islamic thought in the modern era” (Ibid, 19).

<sup>246</sup> DT, 50.

## His Works

### I. Introduction

In this chapter, we will become acquainted with our subject's works, seeking to contextualize each work within its respective genre, as well as examining how they might relate to *da'wa*. The Imām wrote in five different genres: books/compiled answers (meaning his opinions that he never intended as books, but were compiled by his students), wisdoms (*hikam*), letters, poetry, and prayers (*adhkār*). This is impressive, as not many scholars can be credited with contributions in each of these fields. Greatfully, we have not been forced to extract anything from manuscript form, as all his works have been printed or published. We discuss the publication of his works at the end of the chapter.

### II. Books

In this section, we cover nine books, not including his *Kitāb al-Hikam* (*The Book of Wisdoms*), for which we devote a separate section. If Imām al-Haddād was inspired to write on *da'wa* by the events of his time, his works do not show it, for in them, there are no mentions of current affairs.

There are two noticeable stylistic features throughout his books. Firstly, he mentions in his introduction to *al-Naṣā'iḥ al-Dīniyya* (*The Religious Counsels*)

that “We have made the language of this [book] simple and discernible, so that the specialized and the common may grasp it.”<sup>247</sup> In non-technical terms, he addresses topics relevant to the common Muslim, such as the purpose of life, the benefits of learning, and the etiquettes of worship. Secondly, they are timeless, meaning that they do not refer to isolated events or time-bound scenarios.

His methodology after introducing a topic is to cite the Qur’ānic verses and Prophetic *hadīths* pertinent to it. He then summarizes the teaching with commentary and concludes with stories and sayings of encouragement from the predecessors. This is similar to the methodology used by Abī Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī in his *Iḥyā’*. He does not cite Bā ‘Alawī authors too much. When he does it is Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Saqqāf and Imām al-‘Aydarūs.<sup>248</sup>

Our methodology for discussing his works will be to mention its date of authorship, purpose, structure, and style. We will expand where the subject matter involves *da’wa* and curtail where it does not. Sample passages will be given where appropriate. Naturally, the works differ in length and relevance (to *da’wa*), and for this reason, some of the below sections are longer than others.

(1) *Risalat al-Mudhākara ma’ al-Ikhwān wal-Muhibbīn min Ahl al-Khayr wal-Dīn* (*The Treatise of Mutual Reminder with the Brothers and Lovers from the People of the Goodness and Religion*, 1068/1658; published in English as *Mutual Reminding*, Chicago: 2002).

Written at age twenty-five,<sup>249</sup> during the peaceful period between the two Qāsimī invasions, this is the Imām’s first work. It is directed at beginners, discussing the most fundamental Islamic practices in sixty-five pages. This work

<sup>247</sup> *Naṣā’iḥ*, 24.

<sup>248</sup> R. Mu’āwana, 36, and *Iḥyā’*, 74-91.

<sup>249</sup> R. *Mudhākara*, 63.

is also a good example of showing how the Imām consolidates many meanings into brief sections, in sum, by addressing hearts before minds, as shown below.

The ultimate purpose of the book is to teach the reader how to attain piety (*taqwa*). However, the Imām does not seek to achieve this by long expositions on what increases and decreases piety (*taqwa*), but rather by merely pointing these things out and giving reasons why the reader should love or disdain them. Ideally, the reader will complete the book with a certain appreciation towards these things and naturally seek the details out themselves. Such an approach is very rare to find in the Post-Classical Period in which commentaries and super-commentaries were the norm.

As for the content, piety is fulfilling obligations and avoiding prohibitions. These two are in turn, obstructed by four things and strengthened by two things. The four are: ignorance, weak faith, hope of long life, and eating prohibited food. The two are: extra worship and sincerity. Of all these things, sincerity is the most sensitive and critical. It is under constant attack from the diseases of showing off (*riyā'*), self-satisfaction ('*ujb*), and love of the lower world (*hubb al-dunyā*). All this is treated in nineteen slim chapters.

The ordering of the material can be made into a neat chart, similar to a family tree, making it easy to grasp and recall. While the order is logical, the writing style within is not uniform at all; each chapter is different. For example, chapter one about piety is all Qur'ānic verses with hardly any commentary. Other chapters are in the form of exhortations with no citations or quotations. Still others, are made up of sayings of the early Muslims, such as Bishr ibn al-Hārith, and Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab. Let us now look at a sample.

About ignorance, the Imām says:

As for ignorance, it is the source of all evil and the origin of all harm. It and its people are under [the Prophet's] saying, peace be upon him, "The world is cursed, and cursed is what is in it [as well], except for the remembrance of Allāh, and a teacher and a student."

And it is said that "When Allāh created ignorance he told it 'Come' but it went away. Then He told it 'Go' but it came. Then He said, "By My Majesty, I have not created anything more despicable to Me than you, and I shall put you in the worst of My creatures."

'Alī, may Allāh ennoble his face, said, "There is no enemy worse than ignorance, and one is an enemy to that which does not know."

...Shaykh 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr said [in verse],  
Ignorance is the fire of one's religion, burning it  
And knowledge is the water of that fire, putting it out.<sup>250</sup>

This section was chosen because it best displays how the Imām addresses hearts before minds. As we can see here, the Imām does not expound on any points of knowledge per say, but rather causes the reader to fear ignorance, which will naturally carry him to learn knowledge himself.

As for which knowledge one should seek, he says, "You must learn what Allāh has obliged upon you to learn. It is not obligatory on you to have expansive knowledge. Rather, you must learn what benefits your faith (*imān*), and how to fulfill the obligations and avoid prohibitions."<sup>251</sup> Likewise is the style throughout. Such a simple style makes the work suitable for *da'wa*. It is safe to assume that it was designed for the very purpose.

The idea of affecting one's feelings about a topic rather than discussing it at length is relevant to *da'wa* in that the *dā'i*'s role is to convince listeners of the importance of a thing, and not necessarily endeavouring to explain it. Imām al-Haddād does this in *Risālat al-Mudhākara*. Thus, it is not a work about *da'wa*, but it is *da'wa*.

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid, 28.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid, 29.

(2) *Risālat al-Mu'āwana wal-Mudhākara wal-Mu'āzara lil-Rāghibīn min al-Mu'minīn fi Sulūk Tarīq al-Ākhira* (*The Book of Assistance, Reminder, and Strength for Those Believers Desirous for the Path of the Next World*, 1069/1659; published in English as *The Book of Assistance*, Buckinghamshire: 1989).

This book is made up of 33 chapters that cover various aspects of the religion, from doctrine to practice to spirituality. Arguably, this book reflects Imām al-Haddād more than any of his other works, and will hence receive more attention. In his introduction, Imām al-Haddād explains that “a brother” asked him to compile it. Moreover, it is expressly for the sake of *da'wa*:

Conforming to the command of Allāh and His Prophet, and desiring the reward that has been outlined and promised for those who show the way to guidance and do *da'wa* to what is good and spread knowledge inspired me to compile it (*the book*).<sup>252</sup>

Each topic is introduced with the command ‘It is upon you...’ (*wa 'alayk*). Beginning this way has a striking affect on the reader says the Imām. But more importantly, “I am addressing myself...and all of the Muslims who come upon it.”<sup>253</sup>

There is a definite logic to the ordering of the chapter topics. He begins by discussing the ultimate purpose---the fruit---of the religion, certainty in Allāh (*yaqīn*). Then he takes the reader to the roots and then up to the branches of the faith. Chapters 2 through 4 cover the most essential aspect of one's faith: sincere intention, taking account of one's deeds (*murāqaba*), and consistency in public and in private (*fi al-sirr wal-'alan*). Then next eight chapters are about knowledge and practice, such as proper doctrine, the importance of obligations (*farā'id*), the seeking of religious knowledge, the following of the *sunna*, the recitation of the Qur'ān, and the importance of remembering and contemplating (*al-dhikr wal-fikr*).

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<sup>252</sup> *R. Mu'āwana*, 14.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid*, 17.

The next five chapters then discuss etiquettes, such as cleanliness and the behaviour in the *masjid*. A set of chapters follow which build upon knowledge. They discuss the other pillars of fasting, charity, and pilgrimage, in addition to the worships done in relation to other people, such as commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, giving advice, being fair, and loving and hating for Allāh's sake. Finally, the last seven chapters are dedicated to the good attributes of the soul: repentance, patience, gratitude, asceticism, reliance, love, and contentment.

The pattern of beginning with sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*) and taking account of one's deeds (*murāqaba*), then branching out to the outward actions, then to the inward states is reminiscent of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* (*The Beginning of Guidance*). Al-Ghazālī began this work with a section on sincerity (apparently an abridgement of his epistle *Ayyuha al-Walad, Oh Youth*), then moved on to the outward forms of Islam then to the spiritual realities behind them. The structure is only different in that al-Ghazālī begins his book with waking up and follows the day towards sleep, mentioning what a person should do at each stage. Al-Haddād, however, does not do this. Regardless, what is similar in format is much greater than what is different.

While the thematic order is identical (sincerity, outward forms, inward states), the presentation of the content is different. In three ways, *Risālat al-Mu‘āwana* is almost a reformed version of the *Bidāya*. Firstly, its section on the acts of worship is much more brief. For each act of worship, al-Ghazālī discusses delves into the fine points and details, whereas al-Haddād is more brief, knowing, as he said, that there are enough works discussing the outward forms of the religion.

Secondly, al-Haddād does not include so many prayers and invocations such that may overwhelm the reader. Al-Ghazālī's *Bidāya* is loaded with what to

say at every interval of the day. Perhaps Imām al-Haddād realized the inability of his audience of doing this, and hence omitted them. Thirdly, al-Haddād expands beyond merely the five prayers, going into the *sunna*, the Qur’ān, and interactions between people, as mentioned above. Thus, al-Haddād’s *Risālat al-Mu‘āwana* is a comprehensive beginners guide.

The general style is one of counsel, as if the Imām is advising the reader. Verses and *hadīths* can be found, but not too much. For example, the section of justice (*‘adl*) reads:

Deal justly with those in your charge, whether ‘public’ or ‘personal.’ ... Every shepherd will be asked to account for his flock. By your ‘personal charges,’ I mean your seven organs, which are your tongue, ears, eyes, stomach, genitals, hands, and feet. These are your charges which God has given you and a trust with which He has entrusted you, which you should restrain from sin and use in His obedience...

As for you ‘public charges,’ these are all people entrusted by God to your custody, such as children, wife, and slave, all of whom are part of your charge. It is your duty to guide them to the performance of that which God has made obligatory and the avoidance of that which He forbade. Beware of allowing them to neglect an obligatory or commit a forbidden act; summon them to that in which their salvation and happiness in the hereafter lies. Teach them courtesy and do not plant in their hearts the love of the world and its cravings, for you would thus have done them harm.<sup>254</sup>

While it is not expressly stated, it seems that *Risālat al-Mu‘āwana* is made for a follow up of *Risālat al-Mudhākara*, such that a reader graduates from the latter to the former. Also, this work shows how Imām al-Haddād streamlines al-Ghazālī in order to make the same knowledge accessible. Catering to the wider audience is, of course, indicative that the purpose of the work is *da‘wa*.

(3) *Ādāb Sulūk al-Murīd* (*The Etiquette of the Spiritual Seeker*, Ramadan 1071/1661; published in English as *Good Manners*, Chicago: 2002).

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<sup>254</sup> R. Mu‘awana; trans. al-Badawi in *The Book of Assistance*, Buckinghamshire: Quilliam Press, 1989; pp. 86-7.

This work is more on the lines of a teaching manual than a *da'wa* book.

We will offer a summary of it, but not in great detail, as it does not bear strongly on our thesis subject. In traditional scholarship, *Ādāb Sulūk al-Murīd* would be considered a mid-level text on Ḥanفism (*taṣawwuf*). It is sixty-five pages long, divided into nineteen chapters. The Imām's own counsel takes up the majority of the work, with occasional references to past masters of the path (*sulūk*).

A core concept around which the work revolves is that of ‘the compelling wind’ (*al-bā'ith*). The *bā'ith* refers to a current that overtakes a person and causes them to search for purpose in life, ultimately leading them to Allāh:

Know that the beginning of the path is a strong *bā'ith* thrust in the heart of the slave that disrupts him and worries him and causes him to flee to Allāh and the Afterlife and to shun the lower world (*dunya*) and the people’s busy-ness in building it up and collecting it and taking pleasure in it and being attracted by its ornaments.

And this *bā'ith* is one of the unseen soldiers of Allāh (*min junūd illāh al-bātina*), and it is from the breeze of Divine Help (*min nafahāt al-'ināya*) and the banners of guidance. And many times it opens up to the slave [whilst he is in] fear or apprehension or love, or if he looks upon the people of Allāh or if they look upon him. And it may occur without a reason.

Exposing ourselves to these breezes (*nafahāt*) is commanded for us [to do] and encouraged for us...The Prophet peace be upon him said: “Certainly Allāh has in this time of yours breezes; so expose yourselves to them.”<sup>255</sup>

As a result of this *bā'ith*, the individual is enthused about spiritual activity, like *dhikr* and night prayer (*tahajjud*) and fasting. For example, one may pray the entire night for a given period. Naturally, the individual will slow down, and may even do less than what they were doing before the *bā'ith*. This is okay so long as they plan to eventually become consistent in their worship, “It is upon the seeker (*murīd*) to strive in preserving and strengthening this *bā'ith*.<sup>256</sup> How this is done

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<sup>255</sup> *Ādāb*, 7-8.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid, 9.

is covered in the remaining chapters on repentence (*tawba*), avoiding sin, sitting with the righteous, learning about the self (*nafs*), *dhikr*, and contemplation (*fikr*).

Aside from the *bā’ith*, *Ādāb Sulūk al-Murīd* covers the established themes relevant to aspirants: *dhikr*, contemplation (*fikr*), balance between reliance (*tawakkul*) and working, the traits of a complete shaykh, and a sincere, respectful seeker (*murīd*). Its place as a mid-level text in the curriculum of the Āl Bā ‘Alawī to this day, confirms Imām al-Haddād’s spiritual and literary legacy.

(4) *al-Naṣā’ih al-Dīnīyya wal-Waṣāyā al-Īmānīyya* (*The Religious Counsel and the Advice About Faith*, Sha’bān 1089/1678).

This is the largest of our subject’s works, written over a long period of time with interruptions in between. The Imām says, “Our intention in writing the *Naṣā’ih* is for it to be easy and clear, such that whosoever looks at it understands it and acquires what is sufficient for him (in knowledge), or else it will make him desirous for that which is more expansive.”<sup>257</sup>

In its structure, it has a resemblance to the *Iḥyā’*, in that it can be divided into four sections, although the Imām himself does not break off the *Naṣā’ih* into different quarters or books.<sup>258</sup> In content, it is more in line with Ibn Qudāma’s (d. 689/1290) *Minhāj al-Qāṣidīn*,<sup>259</sup> which itself is a simplification of the *Iḥyā’* that has the same four-part sectioning. The first nine chapters are on piety (*taqwā*) and knowledge, then going through the five pillars of prayer, alms-tax, fasting, and pilgrimage, but adds chapters on worship, the recitation of the Qur’ān, and *dhikr*.

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<sup>257</sup> Al-Badawi, 165.

<sup>258</sup> The four quarters of the *Iḥyā’* are Worship (*‘ibādāt*), Norms of Daily Life (*‘ādāt*), Things That Bring Destruction (*nuhlikāt*), and Things That Bring Salvation (*munjiyāt*) ().

<sup>259</sup> Al-Maqdisī, Ahmād ibn Qudāma. *Mukhtaṣar Minhāj al-Qāṣidīn*, Damascus: Maktabat Dar al-Bayan, 1978.

Chapters eight through ten are not exactly like the *Iḥyā*'s 'Norms of Daily Life' ('ādāt), but more like a section of 'Interactions' (*mu'āmalāt*). This would indicate that the Imām had his own vision behind this work and was not merely writing a recension of the *Iḥyā*. The section covers commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, *jihād*, and mutual rights (for example the obligations of a ruler on his subject, a judge in his court, a parent over his children, a resident with his neighbour, etc.).

The last two chapters have the same headings as the *Iḥyā*'s last two Quarters, being entitled 'Things That Bring Destruction' (*al-muhlikāt*) and 'Things That Bring Salvation' (*al-munjiyāt*). Examples of the *muhlikāt* are impermissible food, arrogance, and envy. The *munjiyāt* are repentance, reliance upon Allāh, and love for Allāh. An Afterword (*khātimā*) is offered outlining the doctrine of the *ahl al-sunna wal-jamā'a*. Then there is an Afterword of the Afterword (*khātimat al-khātimā*) consisting of seven advisory *ahādīth* of the Prophet.

For its resemblance, some have called it the *ḥā'* of *Iḥyā*.<sup>260</sup> As for style, it is very different. It is simpler and shorter, it does not list the various opinions and debates surrounding each issue, and it contains personal counsel and encouragement (*wa'z wa irshād wa ḥath*). When comparing the two, it is clear that al-Ghazālī is writing for scholars, but al-Haddād is a scholar-*dā'i*, writing for the general population of Muslims ('āmmat al-muslimīn). Just as we said that *Risālat al-Mu'āwana* could be read upon graduating from *Risālat al-Mudhākara*, likewise we can hold that *al-Naṣā'iḥ al-Dīniyya* can be read upon completing *Risālat*

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<sup>260</sup> Al-Badawi, 165; this meaning that it is akin to a slice from the middle of *Iḥyā' Uṣūl al-Dīn*, *ḥā'* meaning the letter. The Imām also said, "One of the imāms of the Holy Cities looked at it and said, 'This is exactly like the *Iḥyā*', so I said, 'It is as you see'" (Al-Badawi, 165).

*al-Mu'āwana*. Thus, Imām al-Haddād offers a purely *da'wa*-oriented syllabus of study.

The similarity to al-Ghazālī's works is not surprising, for al-Haddād's admiration for al-Ghazālī is clear throughout the biography of Imām al-Haddād. Our subject's first work was one of al-Ghazālī's (see Chapter 1). Also, we mentioned that our subject held al-Ghazālī's works sufficient for all knowledge (see Chapter 1). Al-Ghazālī is cited in the Imām's books too.<sup>261</sup> All this may cause a reader to conclude that al-Ghazālī is the Imām's most trusted source. However, the Imām himself spoke about who is "after Allāh and His Apostle, our reliance (*mu'tamadunā*),"<sup>262</sup> and that is *al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam*, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Bā 'Alawī, "Shaykh of the *tariqa* and the *haqīqa*, and Imām of the *zāhir* and *bātin*...and our father and the shaykh around which the curcuit circulates in this region."<sup>263</sup> However, by the design of *al-Naṣā'iḥ al-Dīniyya*, it would not be unreasonable to put forth that the Imām wanted al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* to be accessible to the common Muslim.

(5) *Sabīl al-Iddikār wal-Itibār bima Yamurru 'ala al-Insān wa Yanqaḍī lahū min al-A'mār* (*The Lives of Man and the Reflections upon the Fortunes Which Ensue and Perish*, 1109/1698; published in English as *The Lives of Man: A Guide to the Human States Before Life, in the World & After Death*, 1991).

This work, written when the Imām was 65 years of age,<sup>264</sup> also fits the mold of *da'wa*, but in a different way than the above three (*R. Mudhākara*, *R. Mu'āwana*, and the *Naṣā'iḥ*). It is expressly intended for introspection on the

<sup>261</sup> *DT*, 25, 90, and 92 and *Iḥāf*, 65, to give a few examples.

<sup>262</sup> *Nafā'iṣ*, 91.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>264</sup> *Sabīl*, 12.

purpose of life. “We have written it [for others] to remember and contemplate.”<sup>265</sup> Its 125 pages are divided into five chapters, each discussing one of the five stages of human existence. After the teachings of the Qur’ān and *hadīth*, the Imām expounds upon the given life in a way that it is informative and exhortative. Thought provoking stories and sayings of the Companions are intertwined within the teaching gives the reader a meditative feel. Each chapter is followed by an afterword (*khātima*) consisting of complementary accounts and advice.

The two lives before the grave are the pre-life existence from the time Adam was created to birth, in which Allāh gathered all the souls and took an oath from them that they would not worship anyone save Him.<sup>266</sup> The second is the life of the *dunya* which is the shortest and most important because based on it is the Judgement and the Afterlife. The *dunya*, in turn, is divided into five stages. For this, the Imām cites Ibn al-Jawzī<sup>267</sup> (d. 597/1201) who cites the Qur’ān for each of:

1. birth to youth (15 years of age)
2. youth to adulthood (35 years of age)
3. adulthood to maturity (50 years of age)
4. maturity to old age (70 years of age)
5. decrepitude to death<sup>268</sup>

The third life is the grave or *barzakh*, discussed above. Fourth is the Day of Judgement and fifth is the Afterlife, which is either Paradise or Hell.<sup>269</sup>

Ibn al-Jawzī is among the prodigious authors in Islamic scholarly literature, authoring several dozen works.<sup>270</sup> Besides being one of the most eminent scholars

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<sup>265</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>266</sup> Q. 7:172 (*al-A’rāf*).

<sup>267</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, ‘Abd al-Rahmān. *A’mār al-A’yān*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanji, 1994.

<sup>268</sup> *Sabil*, 37-8.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid, 11-4.

of his generation, having been honoured by the 'Abbāssid caliph and given the highest post a scholar of his time could attain,<sup>271</sup> he was also a preacher and *dā'i* by his own testimony in *Kitāb al-Qusṣāṣ* (*The Book of Preachers*),<sup>272</sup> which shall appear again in Chapter 4. That Ibn al-Jawzī and Imām al-Haddād both write on the lives of man would suggest that contemplation upon life is a major instruments of *da'wa*, causing one to reassess themselves and their direction.

This book is also one of *da'wa* in that it makes much mention of the Judgement and the Afterlife, two themes strongly connected to preaching and *da'wa*.<sup>273</sup> It is fear of the Afterlife that forces individuals to check their behaviour, restrict themselves, or compel themselves where the religion deems necessary. As Berkey shows, pious sultans would sometimes sponsor 'mī'ād sessions' where scholars would be paid to sit on chairs in the courtyards of large mosques and simply relate to the public about the Judgement, the meticulous audit of all a person's deeds and possessions; and the Afterlife, the torments of Hell and the bliss of Paradise. Doubtless, they were termed *mī'ād* (literally, 'appointment') sessions in reference to the Day of Judgement, which is also known as *yawm al-mī'ād*. Imām al-Haddād's most extensive narrative of the Judgement and Afterlife appears in this work, confirming its place among the works of *da'wa*.

(6) *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma wal-Tadhkira al-'Āmma* (*The Complete Call and the General Reminder*, 1114/1702).

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<sup>270</sup> E.I., 1986, "IBN AL DJAWZI."

<sup>271</sup> Ibn al-Jazwi's success as preacher began when Ibn Hubayra, then vizier of the 'Abbāssid caliph held for him gatherings at his own house. During the reign of *al-Mustadī* (566-74/1171-9), Ibn al-Jawzī was one of the most influential persons in Baghdad and used to speak in the presence of the Caliph himself (E.I., "IBN AL DJAWZI," 1986).

<sup>272</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī; trans. Merlin Swartz. *Kitāb al-Qusṣāṣ wal-Mudhakkirīn*, Beirut: Dar El-Machreq, 1986.

<sup>273</sup> See Berkey, Jonathan. *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.

This book is akin to a text for *du'āt* in that it articulates the appropriate arguments and counsels to be made to eight categories of people: scholars, ascetics, rulers, merchants, poor people, dependents, general public, and non-Muslims/non-believers in a deity.<sup>274</sup> The book also serves as *da'iwa* itself as the tone of the work is advisory in nature, commanding and forbidding the reader himself. Each chapter has a unique flow to it, catering to its subject. Perhaps the most important aspect of the work lies in the introduction, for in it Imām al-Haddād expounds upon his vision of *da'iwa*.

The two features that deserve the most attention regarding the introduction are the universality of the duty of *da'iwa* and the definition of *da'iwa*. Due to Q. 3:104, which implies that only a part of the community needs to do *da'iwa*, many exegetes have said that it is a communal obligation (*fard kifāya*), particularly resting on the backs of the scholars. For Imām al-Haddād, however, everyone is a scholar in what they know. If one knows nothing but how to pray, he is a scholar with respect to those who do not know prayer. He, therefore, is obliged to reach out to any such person.

Regarding the meaning of *da'iwa*, as we shall see in Chapter 5, all of scholarship and teaching, exhortation and preaching, commanding the right, forbidding the wrong, and *jihād* are under the banner of *da'iwa*.<sup>275</sup> Chapter 5 displays how Imām al-Haddād views them all as *da'iwa*. As this work serves as the main source of our information on Imām al-Haddād and *da'iwa*, it is covered in great detail in Chapters 5 and 6. Hence, there is no need to advance further here.

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<sup>274</sup> DT, 14-15.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid, 12.

(7) *al-Fuṣūl al-Ilmiyya wal-Uṣūl al-Hikamiyya* (*Selections on Knowledge and Wisdom*, 1130/1718; published in English as *Knowledge & Wisdom*, Chicago: 2001).

This was authored over a long period of time and is the Imām’s last work (the next work is, like the *Iḥāf*, a collection of answered questions). It consists of forty short chapters revolving around three main topics: virtues, such as gentleness (*rifq*), decency (*iḥsān*), and piety (*taqwā*) in fifteen different chapters; asceticism (*zuhd*) and leaving off the *dunyā* in seven chapters; and knowledge along with advice to students in five chapters. The remaining chapters cover various issues, that cannot necessarily be placed beneath a heading. Examples are ‘An Exposition on What Those Who Know Care About Versus What the Heedless Care About,’<sup>276</sup> ‘One of the Divine Wisdoms is the Ignorance of Most People Regarding the Realities of Life,’<sup>277</sup> and ‘Mu’āwiya’s Regret About What Was Between Him and Imām ‘Alī May Allāh Ennoble His Countenance.’<sup>278</sup>

The structure of the work is like the discourses of the ancient teachers of wisdom: their spoken words were gathered by disciples and made into books. Such books shift from theme to theme with no specific order or unifying premise. All the works attributed to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī are of this nature. The *Fuṣūl* is like this. There is no specific order to the chapters, which allows one to pick up reading at any point in the book without having to read the chapters before it. Such works are usually called ‘discourses’ or ‘meditations.’

In terms of *da’wa*, the work may or may not be seen as fitting under its heading. It may be for its uncomplicated language and interesting wisdoms, but it may not be because some of its content does not revolve around the subject of

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<sup>276</sup> *Fuṣūl*, 11.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid*, 13.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid*, 137.

*da'wa*. One section, however, is relevant to the *dā'i*, that on choosing a topic of study. The *dā'i* is often a gateway to further study. Thus, any knowledge on ‘learning how to learn’ is important. It is with this objective in mind that the Imām writes in this book:

Some of the seekers of truth and travelers of the path of Allāh Most High look at the great number of knowledges and deeds and paths to Allāh Most High, and cannot figure which to choose and which to follow. He may stop at this in confusion. Thus, it is upon one like this to consider: if he is under the direction of a knowing and wise shaykh, he should follow him...and that [approach] should suffice. But if he is not under the direction of a shaykh in the first place...he should know that the actions and knowledges that are *fard* are necessary. These are the knowledges of *imān* which fortify one's belief, then of *islām*, which are purification, prayer, fasting...

After this, the students and seekers of truth differ very much. Some of them benefit by such-and-such, and another is made upright by a different knowledge, and likewise in the deeds. How many students benefit by being alone...and others only made upright by mingling...and likewise regarding traveling and staying.

If the student takes what he finds useful to him and more appropriate and pleasing to His Lord, then he must not criticize the [others] who differ [from him]...

Also, the student must consider: if his studying a knowledge and doing an action...causes him to find a disruption in his heart or confusion in his path, he should resist continuing...And if he finds no disruption or confusion, there is no problem in continuing.<sup>279</sup>

This method combines between an absolute and a relative, namely the obligatory knowledge and deeds are absolutes, and the rest of relative. By doing so, the Imām's words are guaranteed to be relevant to all people at all times, which is exactly why this selection is quite relevant to the *dā'i* whose aim is to reach the most people.

In conclusion, what has been shown here makes clear that *da'wa* is core to Imām al-Haddād's scholarship. Five of the books are firmly within the genre of *da'wa*. Of them, three form a graded syllabus increasing in detail, these being *Risālat al-Mudhākara*, the simplest of all works; *Risālat al-Mu'āwana*, which is includes more chapters with more detail; and *al-Naṣā'ih al-Dīniyya*, which is the

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<sup>279</sup> Ibid, 47-9.

most comprehensive, yet still uncomplicated in its approach. Its title itself reflects its purpose. Two works outside this series are also solely for the purpose of *da'wa*. The first, *Sabil al-Iddikār*, is a reflective book on the nature of life. The second, and the most important of all is *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma* in which the Imām outlines his views on *da'wa* in Islam, as well as *da'wa* to the eight categories of society (according to the Imām's taxonomy).

Of the remaining two works, one is not exactly intended for *da'wa*, that being *Ādāb Sulūk al-Murīd*, which is for spiritual adepts, while the other, *al-Fuṣūl al-'Ilmiyya*, lies somewhere in between a *da'wa* work and a meditation.

### III. *Fatwas and Compiled Answers*

Only two books are answers compiled by the Imām and his students. At times, *da'wa*-related material manifests, but otherwise, the discussions are limited to the question put forth by the questioners, who are all scholars. All the questions revolve around spiritual matters, which attests to how the Imām was viewed during his lifetime. The tone is scholarly, suggesting that the works were not meant for the public. The first half of *Iḥāf al-Sā'il*, however, is an exception, its subject matter being very suitable for *da'wa*, as shown below.

- (1) *Iḥāf al-Sā'il bi Ajwibat al-Masā'il* (*Gifts for the Seeker with the Answers to the Questions*, 1072/1662; published in English as *Gifts for the Seeker*, Kentucky: 2003).

At age 28, the Imām authored this in response to questions from a shaykh named Zākī ‘Abbād, who was well acquainted with the Imām, appearing more than once in al-Ḥaddād’s letters. Fifteen questions are posed on various topics, ranging in their levels of complexity. They cover different issues surrounding the acquisition of knowledge, the explanations of various formulas of prayer (*tasbīh*), the different degrees of (gnosis) *ma’rifa*, dream-visions, and finally commentary on a poem (*qasīda*) by Imām al-‘Aydarūs (d. 865/1461). Some of this content is very pertinent to *da’wa*, while other sections do not. Thus, this work lies somewhere between a *da’wa* work and a technical work, and it will be discussed accordingly.

In terms of structure and layout, each chapter begins with the Imām’s saying, “And you have asked about...” (*wa sa’alta*), followed by his answer and added commentary and an afterword entitled “A Word of Caution.” Its style is systematic and scholarly, rather than admonishing and counseling, as other works often are. This is sensible considering that the Imām is responding to a fellow scholar, not writing for the public.

What is relevant in terms of *da’wa* is the first half of the book which deals with how to learn and the meanings of common invocations (*tasbīhāt*). We shall give them attention, linking them to *da’wa*, but we will only briefly discuss the other sections, which are outside our theme.

On learning, the Imām discusses the importance of proper questions:

[T]o put questions where a need or problem arises and to seek further knowledge and insight is the wont and custom of the élite of every time and place. It is deemed obligatory where obligatory knowledge is concerned, and a virtue in the case of supererogatory knowledge. For questions are the keys to the sciences and the secret of the Unseen which some people carry in their hearts and breasts.<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> *Iḥāf*, trans. al-Badawi, *Gifts for the Seeker*, Kentucky: Fons Vitae, 2003; pp. 2-3.

Questioning should be “out of the wish to profit, and accompanied by sincerity, enthusiasm, and courteous manners.” Furthermore:

Questioning is encouraged and enjoined by the *shari‘a*, for God the Exalted has said: *Ask those who recite the Book before you* [10:94] and *Ask the people of remembrance if you do not know...*[16:43-4] And the Messenger of God, may blessings and peace be upon him, has said: ‘A good question is [already] half of knowledge.’<sup>281</sup>

The Prophet, Companions, and early scholars “encouraged people to put questions to them. Sufyān al-Thawrī immediately left any town he entered when none of its people asked him for knowledge, saying: ‘This is a town where knowledge dies.’<sup>282</sup>

In many cases, the *du‘āt* serve as doorways to Islamic learning. Thus, it is wise of the *dā‘ī* to inculcate the knowledge of proper questioning so that the audience can learn how to learn, and in turn know how to derive benefit from whomever is before them.

Next, the questioner enquires about the meanings of the common invocations (*tasbīhāt*) “there is none worthy of worship but Allāh” (*lā ilāha illā Allāh*), “glory be to Allāh” (*subḥān Allāh*), “praise be to Allāh” (*al-hamdulillāh*), “I seek the forgiveness of Allāh” (*astaghfirullāh*), and “there is no might nor power save by Allāh” (*lā hawla wa lā quwwata illā billāh*). This is also useful knowledge to the *dā‘ī* in that these words and phrases are so common to Muslim life, that all Muslims will encounter them daily. For this reason, we shall cite the Imām’s explanations to see how he addresses them.

*Lā ilāha illā Allāh:*

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<sup>281</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

“You should know that this phrase is the most comprehensive and profitable of all invocations; the nearest to bringing about the Opening and illumining the heart with the light of God.” To say this word means that one believes:

there is no god other than Him. He is the Necessary Existent...the Unique, the One, the Able Sovereign, the Living and Sustaining, the Ancient without beginning, the Eternal without end. He has knowledge of all things and power over all affairs...Holy is He.<sup>283</sup>

Most people perceive objects and “attribute to them an existence of their own,” says the Imām. However, things only exist by Allāh. Thus, such individuals can “expel these [false perceptions] from their souls by constantly repeating this phrase.” As for those who perceive things to be by Allāh alone,

this invocation is again the most appropriate...because...he is not entirely free from perceiving his own self from time to time, and from reprehensible thoughts...Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, may God be pleased with him, used to insert this phrase into his conversation.<sup>284</sup>

#### *Subḥān Allāh:*

You should know that to attribute Transcendence is to attribute holiness as well as exultation. Its meaning is for the heart to be convinced that in His Essence, Attributes, and Acts, the Real (Majestic and High is He!) transcends all resemblance to created beings. He is Holy, Transcendent, and High above partners, likenesses, contingencies which begin and end, aims and causes, and limits of time and locations. He transcends any form that may arise in one’s mind or imagination, and is beyond being apprehended by thought.<sup>285</sup>

#### *al-Ḥamdu lillāh:*

As for praise [*thana'*], this is to laud and extol, in other words, to make mention of the qualities of perfection that befit the Praised One, His attributes of loftiness, nobility and majesty, and the gifts and attainments that flow from Him to those who praise Him as well as to others, and His protection of them against various kinds of hardships and opposition. All of these things are to be accompanied by reverence and awe...*al-Ḥamdu lillāh...*is uniquely and exclusively His, since He is free from all imperfections.<sup>286</sup>

#### *lā Hawla wa lā Quwwata illā billāh:*

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<sup>283</sup> Ibid, 11-2

<sup>284</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid, 40.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid, 41.

No creature possess either ability or power over anything save through God...It is incumbent upon believers to have faith that...it is God the Exalted Who creates and originates their intentions, abilities and movements, and that the acts they choose to perform will be attributed to them in the manner known as 'acquisition' [*kasb*] and 'working', and shall be in consequence liable to reward and punishment; but that they...can neither do nor abstain from anything unless He renders them able to.<sup>287</sup>

The Imām then comments on the *hadīth*: “*lā hawla wa lā quwwata illā billāh* is a remedy for ninety-nine ailments, the least of which is sorrow (*al-hamm*).” It is

a remedy for sorrow because grief often occurs when one misses something one loves, or when a stressful thing occurs; and whenever either of these things occurs people perceive their helplessness and inability to achieve their desired aims; hence they feel sorrow. If at such times they repeat in their heart and with their tongues words which mean that they disavow...any ability or power of their own, then this gives them certitude...that they are helpless and weak except where God gives them power and ability, with their result that their sorrow is banished.<sup>288</sup>

“I seek the forgiveness of Allāh” (*astaghfirullāh*):

Remorse [*nadam*] is the turning of the heart, in sorrow and regret, away from something which the servant has committed, and which angers God the Exalted...It may also occur following an excessive involvement in permissible pleasures or the neglect of supererogatory devotions...The Prophet has said, may blessings and peace be upon him: ‘Remorse is repentance.’

Seeking forgiveness [*istighfār*] means asking God to forgive, which in turn means His concealing the misdeed [from the eyes of others]. When God, by His grace, forgives a sin, He neither exposes its doer to shame, nor punishes him for it, whether in this world or in the next.<sup>289</sup>

Ibn ‘Atā’illāh has a work entitled *Miftāh al-Falāh wa Misbāh al-Arwāh*, translated by Mary Ann Koury Danner as *The Key to Salvation & the Lamp of Souls* (Cambridge, 1996), which discusses the different remembrances (*adhkār*). It is different than Imām al-Haddād’s in that its discourses are very lengthy. Also, it is devoted to the citation of many *hadīths* pertinent to each *dhikr*, whereas Imām al-Haddād cites only one or two summarizing *hadīths*, no doubt for brevity’s sake. Lastly, Ibn ‘Atā’s work is mostly devoted to ‘*lā ilāha illā allāh*’ and does not

<sup>287</sup> Ibid, 43.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid, 45.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid, 47-8.

explain *tasbih* and *hamd*, whereas Imām al-Haddād does. In conclusion, the comparison is of apples and oranges: Imām al-Haddād's characteristic brevity makes the work agreeable for mass use (*da'wa*), whereas Ibn 'Atā' is clearly writing for those with a special interest in the matter of *dhikr*.

The second half of the book covers more meticulous topics such as the defining of states (*aḥwāl*) and stations (*maqāmāt*), commentary on audition (*samā'*), the relationship between heart, mind, and tongue, and the meaning of dream-visions (*ru'ya*). On states and stations, the Imām refers to al-Ghazālī;<sup>290</sup> on audition (*samā'*), he advocates that the best audition is the Qur'ān, *hadīth*, and stories of the pious;<sup>291</sup> and on dream-visions, his response is completely *hadīth*-based.<sup>292</sup>

(2) *al-Nafā'is al-'Ulwiyya fil-Masā'il al-Ṣūfiyya* (*The Sublime Treasures on the Queries of Sufism*, no date).

This work regards answers to 163 questions on spiritual matters (*sulūk*). The questions came mostly via letter to the Imām from fellow scholars over many years; subsequently he requested their collection into this book, which he named himself.

Besides being indicative of the our subject's reputation as a trusted *muftī* (*thiqā*), *al-Nafā'is al-'Ulwiyya* is also the book that gathers most, if not all of his most important teachings, those of Ṣūfism, an important point for future Haddād studies. For this reason, it is the most important scholarly work of the Imām, as opposed to his *da'wa*-oriented books, such as *Risālat al-Mudhākara* and *Risālat al-Mu'awana*. *Al-Nafā'is* is therefore as important as *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma* in the

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<sup>290</sup> Ibid, 65.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid, 62-4.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid, 72-4.

Imām's legacy, and it could be considered more important considering that Ṣūfism ranks higher in the Imām's speciality than does *da'wa*.

The content of the book reflects the brevity and practicality, of which we have by now become familiar. The answers rarely exceed one page. There is no philosophical mysticism. Of the Ṣūfīs whose works have been translated into English, the content of *al-Nafā'iṣis* resembles the sobriety of Ibn 'Abbād of Ronda.<sup>293</sup>

The subject that comes up most in the book is *dhikr*: the different purposes of the various *adhkār* and *tasbīhāt*, the best times for *dhikr*, and the effects of *dhikr*. The very meaning of 'traveling to Allāh' (*al-sayr ilallāh*) is also explained. Other questions regarded the traits of a proper shaykh; the meaning and nature of *wilāya*; the sin of the gnostic; and the handling of thoughts, impure or simply meaningless, that occur to people in prayer or *dhikr*. Following the principle outlined in the introduction of this section, we shall not quote selections from the book nor delve into detailed analysis due to their unrelatedness to *da'wa*.

### III. Maxims (*hikam*)

The genre of maxims/aphorisms (*hikam*) is a popular one in Arabic literature. One reason for this is that the Arabs had, before Islam, a purely oral culture. Things were memorized not written. In this type of society, short, rhyming maxims containing the most meaning possible were very efficient tools to remember things and in turn, relay them on to others. Although Islam spawned

<sup>293</sup> Renard, John. *Ibn 'Abbād of Ronda: Letters on the Ṣūfī Path*, New York: Paulist Press, 1986.

a written culture, via the Qur'ān's dictum to write debts and the Prophet's command to write knowledge, memorization remained a constant in Arabic culture, and even spread to non-Arabic cultures where Islam was accepted. This is due to the emphasis on the memorization of the Qur'ān. As a result, the tradition of wisdoms and metaphors (*al-hikam wal-amthāl*) spread throughout the Islamic world.

Many Arabic and Persian authors collected maxims, or wise sayings. One Arabic collection is for the famous poet al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965).<sup>294</sup> In Persian too, there are such collections.<sup>295</sup> *Hikam* do not necessarily pertain to one particular subject matter; they are diverse and random. Within Islamic studies, a popular one is the *Kitāb al-Hikam* of Ibn 'Atā'illāh al-Askandarī of Egypt (d. 656/1258).<sup>296</sup> Its popularity is due to its topic---it is solely about the path to Allāh, an issue that traverses time and culture.

Imām al-Haddād's *Kitāb al-Hikam* (no date on its authorship) contains ninety-nine maxims on various topics. Not all maxims are rhyming one-liners, as is expected. Some are a paragraph in length and cite Qur'ānic verses. There are many metaphors too. Nearly all the maxims can fit under one of the following six topics: the nature of the lower world (*al-dunya*), the nature of the self (*nafs*), interactions between people, virtue/character, one's relationship with Allāh, and *da'wa*. It is noticeable that the Imām numbers and classifies things often. One will read, for example, "there are three types of *dunya*..." or "people are in one of three categories..." Numbering makes for easy memorization. Let us first read the ones regarding *da'wa*.

<sup>294</sup> Abd Allāh, A.; ed. *Bulghat al-Murabbī min Ḥikam wa Amthāl al-Mutanabbī*. Dubai: Dar al-Qalam, 1996.

<sup>295</sup> For a collection of Persian maxims see Bukhsh, Khuda. *Maxims and Reflections: Translated from the Persian*, Montana: Kessinger Publications, 2004.

<sup>296</sup> See Danner, Victor. *Ibn 'Atā'illāh's Sūfī Aphorisms (Kitāb al-Hikam)*, Leiden: Brill, 1973.

In maxim three, the Imām says,

The sleeper is awakened, and the pre-occupied is reminded.  
Whoever is not affected by reminders and warnings is dead,  
for indeed, advice only benefits the one responds to it with his heart:  
“And he is not reminded, except the one who...”  
(*wa mā yata dhakkaru illā man yunīb*).<sup>297,298</sup>

He is basically telling the *dā'i* that the burden is not solely upon him. Just as *da'wa* is given, the listener needs to receive it; in other words, the listener is responsible for answering the call. In maxim forty, he delineates the content of a *dā'i*'s speech:

The speech of a scholar should circulate among the masses  
(*al-'āmma*) in three different modes.  
First: reminders of blessings. Second: establishing the acts of  
obedience. Third: avoiding sins.  
Any scholar who speaks to the masses outside these three is a  
trouble-maker (*fa hūwa fattān*).<sup>299</sup>

In maxim twenty-eight, he addresses the completeness of a *dā'i*:

The *dā'i* to the Lord of the Worlds is not complete until his words  
and his actions bear witness over all the believers.<sup>300</sup>

This means that the *dā'i* may not simply speak the truth, but must set the example by living it. As a result, no one will have an excuse for not following it. Finally, in maxim 91, he gives a warning to *du'āt*:

There may be a *dā'i* to his whims and nature (*al-hawā wal-tabi'a*),  
claiming to call to the religion and the godly way (*al-dīn wal-shari'a*).<sup>301</sup>

Muhammad Ḥayat al-Sindī, the Madīnan *hadīth* scholar of the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>302</sup> has a *sharḥ* on al-Ḥaddād's *Kitāb al-Hikām*, which remains in manuscript form in Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya.<sup>303</sup>

<sup>297</sup> Q. 40:13 (*Ghāfir*).

<sup>298</sup> *Hikam*, 9.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid*, 17-8.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid*, 15.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid*, 30.

<sup>302</sup> For more on the life and work of Muḥammad Ḥayat al-Sindī see Nafi', Basheer. "A Teacher of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb: Muḥammad Ḥayat al-Sindī and the Revival of the *Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth*'s Methodology." *Islamic Law and Society*. Vol. 13, no. 2 (2006); pp. 208-241.

#### IV. Letters

A great resource for knowledge on any Islamic scholar is their letters (*rasā'il*). At one point or another, any reputable scholar will be posed with a written or verbal question, which requires a written response due to the length of the answer. In order to make the most of the response, the scholar replies with an essay that can then be circulated to his students or all those interested in that particular question. Sometimes, the letters that are simply personal exchanges that are collected after the given scholar's death.

Letters reveal to us the nature of the author's life and times, his whereabouts and travels. They give us insight on who was writing him and in what they were interested. The first Muslim to set the precedent for letter writing was none other than the Prophet Muhammad himself. At the end of his life, he dictated letters to be written to various rulers. Imām al-Nawawī comments on the Prophetic method of letter writing such as to begin with 'from' (*min*) and follow with 'to' (*ilā*), to be brief, to address the recipient as they are accustomed, but limiting to what is true as in the Prophet's addressing Heraclius as "The Ruler of Rome" ('azīm al-rūm), and lastly, that verses of the Qur'ān may be included in letters, even if it be to a non-Muslim.<sup>304</sup>

Three types of letters developed over time. The first type regards responses to students or non-students that are made into essays and circulated to

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<sup>303</sup> Al-Badawi, 170.

<sup>304</sup> Al-Nawawī, Yaḥya ibn Sharaf; eds. al-Sababiti, Isam, Muhammad Hazim, and Imad Aamir. *Saḥīḥ Muslim bi Sharḥ al-Nawawī*, no place: Dar Abī Hayyān, 1995, vol. 6, pp. 346-54.

the public. Sometimes these can become entire books such as the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 389/999), as he says, speaking of someone unknown, “you have asked me to write something concise (*jumla mukhtaṣara*) about the obligations of the religion.”<sup>305</sup> The most famous of all such ‘treatises’ is ‘O youth’ (*ayyuhā al-walad*) by Abī Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ṣuyūṭī (d. 911/1505) is known for having literally hundreds of treatises that came about as responses to questions.<sup>306</sup> The second type regards counsel to rulers, including warnings about being unfair and directives on implementing the rulings of Allāh. The third type regards private letters that have more of a historical value than anything else. They give readers an insight on the types of people around the recipient and the things they discussed.

Imām al-Haddād’s letters offer a wealth of information. In two volumes,<sup>307</sup> we have around 400 letters consisting of all three types mentioned above: essays for circulation, letters to rulers, and personal exchanges. The vast majority are of the personal exchanges type.

Each letter begins in the name of Allāh followed by an introduction of praise (*hamd*) and prayers of blessings on the Prophet (*taṣliya*) and sometimes a verse from the Qur’ān. He then refers to himself as the author of the letter with ‘from’ (*min*) and interestingly adds the name ‘Alawī or Ḥussaynī after al-Haddād such that it reads “From ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Alawī al-Haddād ‘Alawi” or “From ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Alawī al-Haddād al-Ḥusaynī.” After “to” (*ilā*) and the name of the person, is praise and prayer for the person, sometimes being quite lengthy. Lastly, before the body of the letter, the Imām confirms receiving the correspondence

<sup>305</sup> Al-Qayrawānī, Ibn Abī Zayd. *Matn al-Risāla*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Qahira, no date; pp. 4.

<sup>306</sup> The popular number for his treatises is 891 (E.I., 1997, “AL-ṢUYŪṬĪ”).

<sup>307</sup> I thank Ya‘qub Johnson for lending me his copy.

with the simple words, “I have received your correspondence...” He closes all his letters with “Peace” (*wassalām*).

Here, we will look at a few samples that show how the Imām did *da’wa*. This letter to the sultan shows how Imām al-Haddād did *da’wa* to rulers and commanded the right and forbade the wrong: As for counsel to rulers, he wrote to both Sultans Badr ibn ‘Abdillāh and Badr ibn ‘Umar (Amīr Badr). Here is a letter to Sultan Badr ibn ‘Abdillāh advising him on the duties of rulers:

The first thing to which I call you and remind you is that it is obligatory to exaggerate in your gratitude to Allāh for giving you a kingdom and power...Know that Allāh has only made you responsible over His servants and established you in His land to test you and if He finds you greatful for this...he will reward you with wonderful pleasures and a kingdom in this world and the next...Then know that the gratitude has an inward and an outward.

As for the inward, it is knowing that every good thing you possess is from Allāh, not from your own efforts. The outward gratitude is to praise Allāh much and to act upon His Book and the example of His Messenger regarding [those] for whom you are responsible. You must surround them with advice, treat them with compassion and mercy, be concerned with what benefits them as you are concerned with what benefits you and your family.

The letter continues regarding the topic of the agricultural poor-tax which is collected by the ruler (*zakāt al-māl*). Apparently, the Sultan did not do it properly.

It is not unknown to you that *zakāt* is one of the five pillars of Islam...You have ordered that it be gathered, and some mistake entered into its collection and distribution. Among what was wrong in its collection was requesting it from those who do not possess the requisite amount (*al-niṣāb*). The Prophet peace be upon him said, “There is no *zakāt* on whoever owns less than five *wasaq*.<sup>308</sup>

It is not appropriate for you to act upon the saying of those who hold that it should be taken from those who possess less than the *niṣāb*, like Abī Ḥanīfa may Allāh be pleased with him and benefit through him. Indeed searching for the concessions (*rukhas*) in each school of thought is a very blameworthy thing...and if you take one of his (Abī Ḥanīfa’s) concessions, you may not reject any of them, and many of his concessions are considered wrong with the Shāfi’īs.

<sup>308</sup> The *wasaq* is a “measure of volume, which, like other legally significant measures of volume, is determined by the practice of Madina, and is reportedly equivalent to three hundred *sa’* according to the *sa’* of the Prophet. Legal texts commonly give approximate equivalents to this *niṣāb* (which is five *wasaq*) in measurements of weight, e.g. 609.84 kg. These approximations are intended to be rough guides” (E.I., 2001, “ZAKAT”).

And amongst the mistakes was that you took in the collecting...more than one-tenth in that which is watered by irrigation (this being more than what is allowed to be taken).

As for the mistake in distributing it...Allāh has named them (i.e. those who should receive the *zakāt*) in His Book and noone but them should take even a mustard seed. He, Most High, said, "Verily the charities are only for the poor and needy"...You may think, 'the amount given in *zakāt* does not cover the needs of the poor...' [I say] Woe to you! The *shar'* (*shari'a*) is not led by the intellect. Rather it is the intellect which is led by the *shar'*...

Or if you said, 'I was driven to gather and distribut the *zakāt* in these ways due to an order from the Zaydīs, and I feared them and saw that it was safer for my flock to submit to them,' then know---may Allāh help you---that there is no obedience to a created being in disobedience to the Creator. And whoever disobeys Allāh for the sake of someone else, Allāh gives that one (the latter) authority over him. And whoever improves his worldly life (*dunyā*) at the cost of his religion (*dīn*), then both his worldly life (*dunyā*) and Afterlife (*ākhira*) are destroyed.

Amīr Badr ibn 'Umar also had some *zakāt*-related problems. This time, he collected the second poor-tax (*zakāt al-fitr*), which no ruler has a right to collect:

Peace be upon you and the mercy of Allāh and His blessings.

The summary of this letter is good news. We are praying for you, loving goodness for you and the fulfillment of all your affairs, and its estabilshment on justice and beauty, and the fear of Allāh...

Now when the command came from you in Ramadān of last year to collect the poor-tax (*zakāt*) of breaking the fast....Things Allāh did not permit entered into it, such as collecting it from those on whom it is not obligatory and after the proper time period, near the end of Shawwāl, and we are having compassion for you and envy for the religion of Allāh.

Allāh has obliged upon us the giving of advice and the striving to manifest the truth as much as possible...

We see fit for you to withhold from collecting it from the people. Whoever is obliged to pay it will do so; Allāh sees all and He is their inspector...<sup>309</sup>

Another one that is a reply to one who had merely asked for prayers (*du'ā*).

However, the Imām added words of *da'wa* in his response:

In the Name of Allāh the Most Merciful the Most Compassionate.

Praise be to Allāh. Him alone do we worship, seek help, and ask that He guide us to the straight path, the path of those whom Allāh has blessed among His guided servants. And may blessings and

<sup>309</sup> Letters; vol. 1, pp. 257-8.

prayers be upon His trustworthy messenger, our Master Muḥammad and his good family.

From: ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād ‘Alawī.

To: The beloved and enlightened Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Imārī, may Allāh establish in his heart strong resolve in obeying Him and desiring what He has, and a going without the *dunya* until he views it as too low and disdainful to leave, for its sake, an act of obedience or fall, for its sake, into disobedience.

This is the lowest level of asceticism (*zuhd*) with which Allāh honours His friends (*awliyā’ihī*). Whoever acts upon this in this age gets counted from amongst the great ascetics, and this is due to the corrupted desires of the people of this age and their dedication to securing fleeting delights. Allāh is our source of help.

Peace be unto you and the mercy of Allāh and His blessings.

We have received your letter and we are praying for you. Strive in purifying yourself and liberating yourself and gathering your needs for your appointed time (the day one meets Allāh). To Allāh do I pray that He gives you success and takes you by the hand to every good.

Peace.<sup>310</sup>

The selected letters show that Imām al-Ḥaddād made use of the medium of letters to give *da’wa* to others. In the first case, it was commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, in the second it was encouragement to do good, and the third was personal advice.

## V. Poetry

*Al-Durr al-Manzūm li Dhaw al-‘Uqūli wal-Fuhūm (The Arranged Pearls for those of Intellect and Understanding, no place: 1985).*

The publication of Imām al-Ḥaddād’s three-hundred pages of poetry is introduced with comments from the Imām’s grandson, Aḥmad ibn al-Hasan

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<sup>310</sup> Letters, vol. 1.

al-Ḥaddād. In it, the Imām is quoted as saying, “We have imparted [in this *dīwān*] subtle wisdoms and secrets and knowledges that we did not impart in any other work.” For this reason, the grandson explains, it was entitled “*For those of Intellect and Understanding.*” This is yet another confirmation of our Chapter 1 reference to Imām al-Ḥaddād’s honouring of intellect over all other possible qualities after faith. He also said, “In the words we put down in verse, there are knowledges that are not found in other books. It suffices whoever has it.”<sup>311</sup>

Apparently, there is sufficient material in the *dīwān* for it to be a doctoral subject in and of itself. The poems are about anything and everything to do with the Divine and the virtues of the righteous. For purposes of relevance and length, we will not expand upon it here. Dr. Mostafa al-Badawi, says in an interview, that there is nothing about *da’wa* in the *dīwān*.<sup>312</sup>

## VI. Prayers (*adhkār*)

Our subject authored five prayers, composed of verses, Prophetic prayers, and his own supplication (*du’ā’*). The longest one is *Miftāḥ al-Sa’āda wal-Falāḥ fī Adhkār al-Sabāh wal-Masā’*.<sup>313</sup> A shortened version is called *al-Wird al-Laṭīf*, ‘the Gentle Litany.’ Another is *al-Rātib al-Shahīr*, ‘the Famed Litany.’ For daily or selective recitation, the Imām gathered the Qur’ānic verses and Prophetic sayings that beseech divine aid and success, naming them respectively *Hizb al-Naṣr* and *Hizb al-Fath*.

<sup>311</sup> *Durr*, 3-4.

<sup>312</sup> Interview, July 2005, Mostafa al-Badawi.

<sup>313</sup> *The Key of Joy and Success in the Dhikr of the Morning and the Evening*.

The most popular by far has been *al-Rātib al-Shahīr* (see Appendix C), which was utilized by most if not all of the Bā ‘Alawī shaykhs and was read publically in some mosques of Tarīm and Indonesia.<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Personal trip to Tarīm; Interview Kheiruddin Aljuneid; and Al-Attas, Syed Naguib. *Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practiced Among the Malays*, Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963.

## ***Da'wa in the Primary Sources***

### I. Introduction

Before commencing any work on *da'wa*, some purposes and methodologies should first be clarified. There are two main ways in which *da'wa* can be studied: that of the text and that of the context. ‘Of the text’ refers to the examination of what the Islamic primary sources and their classical commentators say about the concept. ‘Of the context’ refers to the interaction of that concept with a given historical period, how it manifests. Here we look at English and Arabic sources. The English sources tend to revolve around the context. The Arabic sources, on the other hand, are more concerned with the theory of *da'wa* itself, and how to do it. We will begin with the English.

The oldest and most famed work of this sort is Sir Thomas Arnold’s history, *The Preaching of Islam*,<sup>315</sup> which is about “Mohammedan missions” from Spain to South Asia. Richard Bulliet’s *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*<sup>316</sup> is akin to a follow-up of Arnold’s work. Bulliet studies the nature of conversions and collects statistics of their rates. But unlike *The Preaching of Islam*, it is more about the result of *da'wa* than of *da'wa* itself.

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<sup>315</sup> Arnold, Sir Thomas. *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith*, London: Constable, 1913.

<sup>316</sup> Bulliet, Richard. *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, London: Harvard University Press, 1979.

A more contemporary and localized work similar to Arnold's is Larry Poston's *Islamic Da'wah in the West: Muslim Missionary Activity and the Dynamics of Conversion to Islam*.<sup>317</sup> Poston studies the American version of what Arnold called the "Mohammedan missions." The author delves into the various dynamics, as the title would suggest, of how *da'wa* organizations in America operate in relation to one another and in relation to the secular society, concluding that the religion itself "would lead one to conclude that [it] has great potential for expansion in the Western context,"<sup>318</sup> but that, while the enthusiasm of the *dā'is* in America is high, their funding is low. Likewise, their organization and mutual cooperation is weak. If this does not change, "the dream of an Islamic America will remain only a dream."<sup>319</sup>

The first shift in the literature from the historical to the theoretical is personified in the work of Richard Martin, who takes a sociological approach to the subject of *da'wa* in his essay "Conversion to Islam by Invitation."<sup>320</sup> His study focuses on the transformation of the methodology of *da'wa* after the early conquests. He notes that

once the conquests had more or less reached stasis, and the pagan Arabs had either been converted or isolated from political participation in the developing Islamic society, the original, rather pointed invitation to convert to Islam became largely sublimated or otherwise transformed into controlled rituals of theological disputation. It was a form of conflict management that worked reasonably well for about three centuries.<sup>321</sup>

In post conquest scenarios, Martin argues that most conversions take place without speaking about Islam or extending a formal invitation. In these cases, the non believer is in a position of economic or political weakness relative to the

<sup>317</sup> Poston, Larry. *Islamic Da'wah in the West: Muslim Missionary Activity and the Dynamics of Conversion to Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid, 182.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid, 186.

<sup>320</sup> Witte Jr., John and Richard Martin; eds. *Sharing the Book: Religious Perspectives on the Rights and Wrongs of Proselytism*, New York: Orbis Books, 1999; pp. 95-115.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid, 115.

Muslims and the entrance into Islam has a worldly appeal—that conversion had more to do with ‘social, economic, and political reasons’ than changes in religious beliefs.<sup>322</sup>

All of what has been mentioned above is to be categorized under the ‘context’ study of *da’wa*. One of the only ‘text’ studies to be found is Donna Arzt’s “*Jihad for Hearts and Minds*.<sup>323</sup> Arzt examines the concept of *da’wa* “in the context of related concepts, such as the theological and physical arm of Islamic expansion.” The essay deals with the tensions between the idea of *da’wa* as an invitation and the coercion resultant of *jihād* (in times of *jihād*, the non-Muslims are offered the choice of either Islam or payment of the *jizya* and living within the Islamic order). Artz suggests that it is very difficult to tell if conversions during the first three centuries of Islamic history were coerced or voluntary. In addition, the author discourages the reader from projecting backwards into history—imposing contemporary conceptions about religious belief when attempting to understand the motivations of individuals who lived centuries ago.<sup>324</sup> Overall, the essay seeks theoretical answers, more so than historical or sociological ones; it is the closest in its genre to this dissertation.

Shifting to the Arabic works, there are many books and articles.<sup>325</sup> For expediency, we have listed them:

1. *Asālib al-Da’wa al-Islāmiyya al-Mu’āṣira* by Hamad al-Ammar of the Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa‘ūd Islamic University.<sup>326</sup> Rather than a study about *da’wa*, this voluminous work is more about what to argue in the process of doing *da’wa*.

<sup>322</sup> Martin, Richard C. “Conversion to Islam by Invitation: Proselytism and the Negotiation of Identity in Islam.” in Witte Jr., 111-112.

<sup>323</sup> Ibid, 79-94.

<sup>324</sup> Artz, Donna E. “Jihad for Hearts and Minds: Proselytizing in the Quran and First Three Centuries of Islam.” in Witte Jr., 93.

<sup>325</sup> Many thanks to M. N. Elmasry and Ahmed Taha, of the Azhar Library for supplying these works.

<sup>326</sup> Al-Ammar, Hamad. *Asālib al-Da’wa al-Islāmiyya al-Mu’āṣira*, Riyadh: Dar Ishbiliya, 1998.

The author outlines three forms of proof for the superiority of Islam: rational, scientific, and comparative.<sup>327</sup> For example, belief may come about by contemplating the nature of the human body, and so the author offers several passages on physiology. The comparative section is divided into two. It first focuses on Judaism's law and Christianity's spirituality, concluding that the two are complementary, but Islam combines law and spirituality: "Islam came at a time when the fire of war was raging between the material extreme of the Jews and the spiritual extreme of the Christians...and it (Islam) gathered the good aspects of both and united them, and give the spiritual aspect the higher position."<sup>328</sup> The second aspect critiques various philosophies besides Islam, such as Capitalism and Socialism and shows how the ways of Islam are not vulnerable to the same pitfalls.

2. *Uṣūl al-Da'wa* by Abd al-Karim Zaydan of Baghdad University.<sup>329</sup> *Uṣūl al-Da'wa* is two-thirds about Islam itself, covering *tawhīd*, defining the five pillars, then branching out to Islam's welfare system (i.e. *bayt al-māl*),<sup>330</sup> and Islam's code of criminal law.<sup>331</sup> Most important to us, is the last third of the book which is solely about the *dā'i*,<sup>332</sup> the *mad'uū*,<sup>333</sup> and the means of communication from the former to the latter.<sup>334</sup> The *dā'i* must be equipped with strong faith, fine personal qualities, and most important, a strong connection with Allāh (*al-ittisā' al-wathīq*):

We mean by this a strong bond between the Muslim *dā'i* and his Lord, and his complete trust in Him and reliance upon Him...and [knowledge] that He is with him...For Allāh to be with someone

<sup>327</sup> Ibid, 685-90.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid, 488.

<sup>329</sup> Zaydan, Abd al-Karim. *Uṣūl al-Da'wa*, Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risala, 1995.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid, 239.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid, 278.

<sup>332</sup> Ibid, 306-71.

<sup>333</sup> Ibid, 371-447.

<sup>334</sup> Ibid, 447-485.

(*al-ma'iyya*) is not simply for the prophets...but it is for all pious people, especially those in *da'wa* to his religion.<sup>335</sup>

The *dā'i* must know how to deal with people and in particular to know the signs of hypocrisy and the causes of sin so as to cure them and avoid them.<sup>336</sup> Lastly, how does the *dā'i* actually do *da'wa*? The three major branches are Qur'ānic study, *targhib* and *tarhib* (giving hope and fear), and knowledge.<sup>337</sup> *Da'wa* is transmitted by word, but the best transmission is by deeds.<sup>338</sup>

3. *Tārīkh al-Da'wa ilallāh bayn al-Ams wal-Yawm* by Adam Abd Allah al-Aluri.<sup>339</sup> The author begins with the *da'wa* of the Qur'ānic prophets, before reaching the Prophet Muḥammad. After discussing the *sīra*, he divides *da'wa* into two main forms. The first was that of the Prophet at Madina, the Companions, the Umayyads and the early 'Abbāssids: "Da'wa in the time of the Companions," he says, "was *jihād*...the Umayyads continued that, except that the expansions (*futuhāt*) were more for the sake of the state than it was for the sake of the *da'wa*."<sup>340</sup> After the age of expansions, says the author, the Muslims began quarreling amongst themselves over the *dunyā*, "and many innovations in the religion emerged...This is what caused the form of *da'wa* to be altered into asceticism and disdaining worldliness...The first one to do this and the forefather of all who follow the way of asceticism is Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī. He used to come down extremely hard on the Companions who became wealthy."<sup>341</sup> The summary of al-Aluri's theory of the form of *da'wa* is that when the faith of the Muslims is

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<sup>335</sup> Ibid, 343,

<sup>336</sup> Ibid, 396, 406.

<sup>337</sup> Ibid, 437, 442.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid, 482.

<sup>339</sup> Al-Aluri, Adam Abd Allah. *Tārīkh al-Da'wa ilallāh bayn al-Ams wal-Yawm*, Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, no year.

<sup>340</sup> Ibid, 182-4.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid, 183-4.

strong, *da'wa* takes place by expanding the state through *jihād*. When faith weakens due to worldly wealth, the *da'wa* is carried by the ascetics (*zuhhād*).

4. *Kayfa Nad'ū al-Nās* by Abd al-Badi' Saqr.<sup>342</sup> Its distinction is that it gives much attention to the *dā'i*. "The *du'āt*," he says, "are traditional followers (*muqalladūn*) not originators (*mubtakirūn*)...[he] must clarify what has been lost, revive that which used to be studied, and propel the *Umma* to renew its thinking."<sup>343</sup> For the contemporary *dā'i*, he says, "It is our duty to repeat that many of the *du'āt* continue to utilize antique methods, off-putting to listeners, along with a rigidity in thinking...that is unacceptable the people of this generation, who are [either] ill with haste or are intellectually advanced."<sup>344</sup> In all, this book is more of a personal reflection on the state of Islamic *da'wa* in modern times.

5. *Fiqh al-Da'wa wal-I'lām* by Imara Najib of Azhar University.<sup>345</sup> The focus of this work is the expounding upon the traits of the *dā'i*, based on the verses of *da'wa* in the Qur'ān. Wisdom (*hikma*) is one section,<sup>346</sup> for example, and others are piety (*taqwā*),<sup>347</sup> knowledge (*fiqh*, and particularly of the law),<sup>348</sup> speaking/preaching and debating (*al-maw'izā wal-jadil*), and strength (*quwwā*).

<sup>350</sup>

6. *Fiqh al-Da'wa* by Bassam al-Amousha.<sup>351</sup> The function of the work is to teach *du'āt* how to do *da'wa*. Two peculiarities of Islamic *da'wa*, asserts the author, are

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<sup>342</sup> Saqr, Abd al-Badi'. *Kayfa Nad'ū al-Nās*, Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, no year.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid, 9.

<sup>345</sup> Najib, Imara. *Fiqh al-Da'wa wal-I'lām*, Riyadh: Maktabat al-Ma'arif, 1987.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid, 42.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid, 45.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid, 48.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid, 53.

<sup>351</sup> Al-Amousha, Bassam. *Fiqh al-Da'wa*, Jordan: Dar al-Nafa'is, 2005.

‘the middle way’ (*al-wasaṭiyya*)<sup>352</sup> and ‘internationalism’ (*al-‘ālamiyya*): “Islam is a call for all of humanity.”<sup>353</sup> The *dā’ī* should realize that all people can fit into at least one of eight categories: the elite, the masses, sinners, hypocrites, children, women, the rich, and the poor.<sup>354</sup> The two methods of *da’wa* are story-telling (*qasas*)<sup>355</sup> and commanding the right and forbidding the wrong (*al-amr bil ma’rīf wal nahi ‘an al-munkar*).<sup>356</sup> “Stories are not meant to be told simply for their sake, but rather to absorb the message and learn a lesson.”<sup>357</sup> In contemporary times, the author says, there are two types of *du’āt*: those who train (*ulul tarbiyya*) and those who use strength (*ulul quwwa*). In the category of the former, he places the Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*), the Sūfis, and the Tablighī Jamāt.<sup>358</sup> Among the latter are revolutionaries (*inqilābiyyūn*) and freedom fighters (*tahrīriyyūn*).<sup>359</sup> But ultimately, the best callers to Allāh were the prophets; each prophet is unique and a Muslim is permitted to emulate them, since they are mentioned in the Qur’ān.<sup>360</sup>

7. *Fiqh al-Da’wa ila Allāh* by Ali Abd al-Haleem Mahmoud. This work defines *da’wa*, the modes of *da’wa*, and the requirements of the *dā’ī*.<sup>361</sup> *Da’wa*, says the author, is defined as “Calling [people] to enter into the religion of Islam.”<sup>362</sup> There are two main streams along which *da’wa* can take place. The first is commanding the right, forbidding the wrong, and *jihād*.<sup>363</sup> The second is a more extensive list of contemporary *da’wa* methods: The Friday *khuṭba*, the open

<sup>352</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>353</sup> Ibid, 29.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid, 61-77.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid, 87.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid, 159.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid, 87.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid, 187-200.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid, 207-215.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid, 217.

<sup>361</sup> Mahmoud, Ali Abd al-Haleem. *Fiqh al-Da’wa ila Allāh*, Dar al-Wafa, 1990.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid, 17.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid, 133.

lecture, the scholarly lesson, the debate, the open letter (*risāla*), the article, and the book.<sup>364</sup> As for the *dā'i* himself, he must have four main qualities: faith, knowledge, tact, and reliance on Allāh.<sup>365</sup>

8. *Qawā'id al-Da'wa ila Allāh* by Hamaam Sa'eed.<sup>366</sup> A large portion of his research is dedicated to bringing out the benefits of *da'wa*. “Calling people to Allāh,” he asserts, “is the greatest manifestation of reverence (*ta'zīm*) for Allāh.”<sup>367</sup> Continuing, *da'wa* is also “the kindest deed towards Allāh's creatures, because the *dā'i* seeks to remove people from a constricted and uncollected condition...to the vastness of the *dīn* and its broad horizons.”<sup>368</sup> Furthermore, the Day of Judgement, he says, will not come about until all the *du'āt* on Earth have passed away.<sup>369</sup> Thus, *da'wa* can be seen as one of the chief purposes of existence in the *dunya*.<sup>370</sup> After expounding upon the exalted position of *da'wa*, Sa'eed offers some principles for the successful *da'wa*. In sum, they revolve around the proper training of the *dā'i* himself (*tarbiya*) and the importance of tactical planning on the part of the *dā'i*.

9. *Qawārib al-Najā fi Hayāt al-Du'ā* by Fathy Yakan.<sup>371</sup> In the context of the works we have thus far mentioned, this work is unique in that it is intended for people who have already undertaken *da'wa*. His four chapters cover the difficulties in the life of the *du'āt*,<sup>372</sup> the attributes of faith *du'āt* should possess or

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<sup>364</sup> Ibid, 169-96.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid, 7-8.

<sup>366</sup> Sa'eed, Hamaam. *Qawā'id al-Da'wa ila Allāh*, Amman: Dar al-Adawi, 1983.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid, 14.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid, 21.

<sup>371</sup> Yakan, Fathy. *Qawārib al-Najā fi Hayāt al-Du'ā*, Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risala, 1984.

<sup>372</sup> Ibid, 9.

acquire,<sup>373</sup> the deeds that strengthen the character and resolve of *du'āt*,<sup>374</sup> and lastly the spiritual attributes the *du'āt* will need for the next life.<sup>375</sup>

Difficulties may come to *du'āt* from envious believers, undermining hypocrites, of enemies of the faith. But there are unseen forces too: Iblīs and the *dā'i*'s own self that “tends to diverge” from the straight path.<sup>376</sup> Of faith, the *dā'i* must be a person of “repentence, gratitude, and worship.”<sup>377</sup> Strength of character derives from fasting, praying in the night, and speaking the truth.<sup>378</sup> Lastly, the *dā'i*'s spirituality revolves around remembrance, fear, sincerity, love, and contentment.<sup>379</sup> most of what Yakan has said is Islamic teaching for all Muslims, however, the context in which he couches his words and the examples he utilizes are meant for those involved in *da'wa*. For example, on guarding one's self (*nafs*) he says, “Amidst the business of the politics and the movement...the *dā'i* may forget his own self.”<sup>380</sup>

10. *Al-Tawāli'* *al-Sa'diyya fī Bayān Mahām al-Da'wa al-Fardiyya* by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Saqqaqaf.<sup>381</sup> This work derives from the Bā 'Alawī tradition. Al-Saqqaqaf's sources are Imām al-Haddād's *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma* and Ḥabīb 'Umar's *Maqāsid Halaqāt al-Ta'līm*.<sup>382</sup> Taking from Imām al-Haddād's break down of different categories of people (see Chapter 6), al-Saqqaqaf divides people into four categories, which is slightly different from al-Haddād, but it is the same idea overall. They are: scholars, students of sacred

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<sup>373</sup> Ibid, 75.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid, 93.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid, 119.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid, 60.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid, 75.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid, 93.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid, 119.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid, 60.

<sup>381</sup> Saqqāf, Muḥammad Ibni 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Alawī al-. *al-Tawāli'* *al-Sa'diyya fī Bayān Mahām al-Da'wa al-Fardiyya*, Tarim: Dar al-Faqīh, 1998.

<sup>382</sup> Ibid, 55.

knowledge, people of position and rank in society, and commoners.<sup>383</sup> Also like al-Haddād is his inclusion of a section on delusions why people do not do *da'wa* (*tawahumāt*).<sup>384</sup> What is not found in al-Haddād's work and is in line with the contemporary *da'wa* works is his section on individualized *da'wa* (*al-da'wa al-fardiyya*). Al-Saqqaf outlines three phase, the first being the *dā'i*'s familiarization with the *mad'ū* (*ta'līf*). The second he terms *ta'rīf*, and it is “a very sensitive stage...and the key to it is ascertaining that towards which the *mad'ū* leans and for which he is thirsty, be it spiritual, logical, scholarly, or otherwise, and entering into him from that door.”<sup>385</sup> Most important in this phase is to choose the time, setting, and mood in which the *mad'ū* is most receptive. The third and last phase is *taklīf* and regards commissioning the *mad'ū* to action. In this case, al-Saqqaf intends *da'wa*, such that these three phases will result in the one called becoming a caller himself.<sup>386</sup>

11. Article “*Min 'Awāmil Najāḥ al-Dā'iyya*” by Muhammad Mahmoud Metwalli,<sup>387</sup> found in al-Azhar's *Hawliyyat Kulliyat al-Da'wa al-Islāmiyya* journal. The article consists of many lists of traits that could bring the *dā'i* success. To be *dā'i*, one must “possess the ability to recognize the flaws in a given community...insight (*farāsa*), and swiftness of understanding.”<sup>388</sup> In a similar breakdown, he holds that the successful *dā'i*s are those who “possess talents greater than those who are put forth to be scientists, or equal; possess iron-like will power; possess virtuous character...; possess well-balanced personalities...;

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<sup>383</sup> Ibid, 11-20.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid, 22-32.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid, 41.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid, 54.

<sup>387</sup> Metwalli, Muhammad Mahmoud. “*Min 'Awāmil Najāḥ al-Dā'iyya*.” *Hawliyya Kuliyyat al-Da'wa al-Islāmiyya*. Issue 17, vol. 1 (2004); pp. 459-500.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid, 459.

possess zeal and a sense of mission.”<sup>389</sup> Lastly, he breaks down the possibilities of influence into four categories: “the prophets...who have outward and inward power over the elite and common; the caliphs and kings...who have outward power over the elite and common; the scholars...who have inward power over the elite only; and the preachers...who have inward power over the common folk only.”<sup>390</sup>

In sum, it is evident that the Arabic sources place greater emphasis on articulating the importance of *da'wa* as an act of worship for a Muslim and offering practically applicable information for the *dā'i*, such as character development, facts and arguments to utilize, and modes and manners of speech. They are books written for the religious Muslim to read and make use of in the practical life; they are not books written exclusively for scholars. Ironically, the Arabic books about *da'wa* turn out to be *da'wa* themselves, often if not always encouraging the reader to act.

The English sources, on the other hand, are not written ‘for the people,’ but as contributions to academia. Arnold and Bulliet write for historians, Poston and Martin for sociologists, and Artz for Islamicists.

This dissertation will fall more in line with the English language sources in that it seeks to study the history of the theory of *da'wa*, with Imām al-Haddād as a case study. But still, some of the predominant themes covered in the Arabic works such as why a Muslim should do *da'wa* will come up whilst examining al-Haddād’s books.

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<sup>389</sup> Ibid, 461.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid, 464.

At this stage, we will turn to the *da'wa*-related Qur'ānic verses<sup>391</sup> and their commentaries as well as the *da'wa*-related *hadīths* and their commentaries, followed by the scholarly writings on *da'wa*, especially from the time of Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201) up to the time of Imām al-Haddād (d. 1132/1721). From the perspective of this dissertation, this chapter will serve as a backdrop by which we can gauge the contributions of Imām al-Haddād to *da'wa* (which are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). We will first begin by looking at the linguistic meaning of the word *da'wa* (Arzt and Martin have sections on this), before moving on to the exegeses (*tafāsīr*). (The criterion for selecting the verses, exegeses (*tafāsīr*), and *hadīth* has already been discussed in the Introduction).

## II. Usages of the Word *Da'wa*

The following consists of the different meanings the word *da'wa* may convey. *Da'wa* is the verbal noun (*maṣdar*) of the root (*jadhr*) *da'ā*. After consulting three major reference works, *Lisān al-'Arab* by Ibn Manzūr,<sup>392</sup> *Tāj al-'Arūṣ* by Murtadā al-Zabīdī,<sup>393</sup> and *An Arabic-English Lexicon* by Edward Lane,<sup>394</sup> nineteen different meanings were found. Here is a summary of the major usages of the word *da'wa*.

<sup>391</sup> In order to show how the word *da'wa* is used in the Arabic, the Qur'ānic verses will be transliterated along side the English. Otherwise throughout the dissertation, transliterations will not be provided.

<sup>392</sup> Ibn Manzūr. *Lisān al-'Arab*, Beirut: Dar Sader and Dar Beirut, 1956; vol. 14, pp. 257-62.

<sup>393</sup> Al-Zabīdī, Muḥammad Murtadā. *Tāj al-'Arūṣ min Jawāhir al-Qāmūṣ*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1994; vol. 19, pp. 405-9.

<sup>394</sup> Lanes, Edward. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London: Williams and Norgate, 1867; Book I Part III: pp. 883-5. Here on, footnotes will mention names only.

Ibn Manzūr says that the most common Arabic usage for *da'ā - yad'ū - da'wa* is to invite/invitation.<sup>395</sup> Generally, it is an invitation of presence, he says, offering the example from the Qur'ān where the daughter of Shu'ayb says, "My father invites you, that he may reward you" (*inna abī yad'ūka liyajzīyaka ajra mā saqayta lana*).<sup>396</sup> Specifically, is the invitation to a gathering of food. The Arabs say, "We were in the *da'wa* of so-and-so" (*kunna fī da'wat fulān*).<sup>397</sup> It can also be used in the form *mad'āt* as in *kunna fī mad'āt fulān*. Al-Zabīdī adds that the most specific meaning is the dinner party (*walīma*).<sup>398</sup>

There is a metaphoric (*majāzī*) meaning too, which is to call to a path of behaviour, good or evil.<sup>399</sup> The path itself is known as a *da'wa*, the act of calling to it is called *da'wa*, the one doing it is a *dā'i* or *dā'* and the one who oft-does it or takes it as a profession is a *dā'iyya*. Al-Zabīdī says, "The *du'āt* (plural of *dā'iyya*) are a people who call to a pact of guidance or misguidance."<sup>400</sup> Another verbal noun (*maṣdar*) can be *di'āya*, as in the Prophet Muḥammad's message to Heraclius "I invite you to the path of Islam" (*ad'ūka bi di'āyat al-islām*).<sup>401</sup>

Ibn Manzūr continues that another major usage regards prayer and supplication to Allāh.<sup>402</sup> An excellent example for the verb and noun forms is the following verse, "At that point Zakariyya supplicated his Lord; he said, 'Lord grant unto me from Thee a progeny that is pure. Indeed Thou art the Hearer of

<sup>395</sup> Ibn Manzūr; vol. 14, pp. 257.

<sup>396</sup> Q. 28:25 (*al-Qaṣaṣ*).

<sup>397</sup> Ibn Manzūr; vol. 14, pp. 257.

<sup>398</sup> Al-Zabīdī; vol. 19, pp. 407. Although mostly associated with wedding receptions, a *walīma* can be served for other purposes as well, says al-Zabīdī.

<sup>399</sup> Al-Zabīdī; vol. 19, pp. 408.

<sup>400</sup> Al-Zabīdī; vol. 19, pp. 408.

<sup>401</sup> Al-Nīsābūrī, Muslim ibn Ḥajjāj. *Saḥīḥ Muslim* vol. 3, Cairo: Dar al-Kitab al-Misri, no year; *hadīth* no. 1,773, pp. 1,393-7.

<sup>402</sup> Ibn Manzūr; vol. 14, pp. 257.

supplications”” (*hunālika da’ā zakariyya rabbah; qāla rabbi hab lī min ladunka dhuriyyatan tayyibatan, innaka samī‘ al-du‘ā’*).<sup>403</sup>

A single petition would be called a *da‘wa*, says Lanes.<sup>404</sup> The Qur’ān mentions this as well, “If My servants ask thee concerning me, indeed I am close at hand; I answer the prayer (*da‘wa*) of the petitioner (*dā‘ī*) if He petitions” (*wa idhā sa’alaka ‘ibādī ‘annī fa innī qarīb; ujibū da‘wat al-dā‘ī idhā da‘ān*).<sup>405</sup> Lanes tells us that the one doing *du‘ā’*, as in the verse, is a *dā‘ī*, although this is rarely used. Also rarely used is *da‘ā‘ā*, with a doubled ‘ayn (*mushaddada*) being one who is in constant supplication.<sup>406</sup>

In the Qur’ān, supplication takes on two more specific meanings, again from Ibn Manzūr: to seek help (*istighātha*) and to worship.<sup>407</sup> For example, “When trouble touches people, they cried to their Lord (*da‘aw*), turning to Him in repentance” (*wa idhā mass al-nāssa ḥurrūn da‘aw rabbahum munibīna ilāyh*).<sup>408</sup> For worship, Ibn Manzūr gives a *ḥadīth* which says, “The petitioning of Allāh is worship [in its entirety]” (*al-du‘ā’ huwa al-‘ibāda*).<sup>409</sup> Then the Prophet recited the verse, “And your Lord said, ‘Call on Me, I will respond to you; indeed those too arrogant to worship Me will enter the Hellfire in utter humiliation’” (*wa qāla rabbukum ud‘ūnī astajib lakum; inn alladhīna yastakbirūna ‘an ‘ibādatī sa yadkhulūna jahannama dākhirīn*).<sup>410</sup> The verse makes clear that *du‘ā’* is worship. Ibn Manzūr continues by showing that further verses simply replace the word for

<sup>403</sup> Q. 3:38 (*Āl ‘Imrān*).

<sup>404</sup> Lanes; Book I Part III: pp. 884-5.

<sup>405</sup> Q. 2:186 (*al-Baqara*).

<sup>406</sup> Lanes; Book I Part III, pp. 885.

<sup>407</sup> Ibn Manzur; vol. 14, pp. 257.

<sup>408</sup> Q. 30:33 (*al-Rūm*).

<sup>409</sup> Abū Dāwūd, Sulaymān al-Azdī. *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, Hims: Muhammad Ali Sayyid, 1969; *hadīth* no. 1,479, vol. 2, pp. 161.

<sup>410</sup> Q. 40:60 (*Ghāfir*).

worship ('ibāda) with calling (*du'ā*).<sup>411</sup> For example, in reference to Lāt, Manāt, and 'Uzza, the main idols of Makka, the Qur'ān says, "Indeed they call not but females, and indeed they call on the defiant Satan" (*in yad'ūna illā ināthā wa in yad'ūna illā shayṭanān marīdā*).<sup>412</sup> Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab, a scholar of the second generation (*tābi'i*), cited by Ibn Manzūr,<sup>413</sup> said that the verse, "We shall never call upon a deity besides Him" (*lā nād'u a min dūnihī ilāha*)<sup>414</sup> means "we shall not worship other deities besides Him."

Three usages of lesser popularity are to request, to claim, and to name or call. Lanes says that the Arabs say, "He requested the book" (*da'ā bil kitāb*).<sup>415</sup> In Ibn Manzūr, we are given an example from the Qur'ān, "They said, 'Ask your Lord to show us its colour'" (*qalū ud'ūlanā rabbaka yubayyin lanā mā lawnuha*).<sup>416</sup> Ibn Manzūr comments that this does not mean "pray that your Lord show us its colour," but simply "ask Him" that He show us its colour, meaning the cow (*baqara*).<sup>417</sup>

The verb to claim, continuing from Ibn Manzūr,<sup>418</sup> is *yadda'i* as in the *hadīth*, "If people were given based on their claims, then certainly one group would claim the wealth of another" (*law u'tū al-nāsa bi da'āwīhim, l'idda'a qawmun amwāla qawmin*).<sup>419</sup> A Qur'ānic verse says "that which you used to claim" (*kuntum bihi tadda'ūn*).<sup>420</sup>

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<sup>411</sup> Ibn Manzūr; vol. 14, pp. 257.

<sup>412</sup> Q. 4:117 (*al-Nisā'*).

<sup>413</sup> Ibn Manzūr; vol. 14, pp. 257.

<sup>414</sup> Q. 18:14 (*al-Kahf*).

<sup>415</sup> Lanes; Book I Part III, pp. 883.

<sup>416</sup> Q. 2:69 (*al-Baqara*), and also verses 68 and 70.

<sup>417</sup> Ibn Manzūr; vol. 14, pp. 260.

<sup>418</sup> Ibid, 261.

<sup>419</sup> Ibn Māja, Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī. *Sunan Ibn Māja*, Beirut: Dar al-Jeel, 1998; *hadīth* no. 2,321, vol. 4, pp. 14.

<sup>420</sup> Q. 67:27 (*al-Mulk*).

As for ‘to name or call,’ Lanes tells that the Arabs say, “I called him Zayd” (*da’awtuhu zaydan*) and “He is called, or named, Zayd” (*yud’ā bi zaydin*).<sup>421</sup> The Qur’ānic verse says, “Call on Allāh or call on the Merciful” (*qul id’ū allāha aw id’ū al-rahmān*).<sup>422</sup> ‘Call on’ (*id’ū*) here intends ‘to name or call’ rather than ‘to pray’ or ‘to worship’ due to the words that follow: “whichever one ye call, He possess the Beatific Names” (*ayyan mā tad’ū fa lahu al-asmā’ al-husna*).<sup>423</sup>

Finally, there are two specifically Islamic usages for the word. The term *dā’ī* in the Qur’ān is utilized in reference to the Prophet Muḥammad.<sup>424</sup> The verse referred to is “And a caller to Allāh, by His permission, and a beacon of light” (*wa dā’īan ila allāhi bi idhnihi wa sirājan munīra*).<sup>425</sup> The second is the call to prayer (*adhān*).<sup>426</sup> Al-Zabīdī offers the *hadīth*, “The office of caliphate is in Quraysh, the office of judgement is with the Anṣār, and the office of the *adhān* is in Abyssinia (in reference to Bilāl, muezzin of the Prophet) (*al-khilāfa fī quraysh wal-hukm fil anṣār wal-da’wa fil ḥabasha*).<sup>427</sup> A second *hadīth* supporting this is the prayer said after the *adhān* which goes, “O Allāh, Lord of this complete call (*al-da’wa al-tāmma*) and forthcoming prayer, give our master Muḥammad the intercession...”<sup>428, 429</sup>

<sup>421</sup> Lanes; Book I Part III, pp. 884.

<sup>422</sup> Q. 17:110 (*al-Isrā’*).

<sup>423</sup> Q. 17:110 (*al-Isra*).

<sup>424</sup> Ibn Manzūr; vol. 14, pp. 259 and al-Zabīdī; vol. 19, pp. 406.

<sup>425</sup> Q. 33:46 (*al-Ahzāb*).

<sup>426</sup> Ibn Manzūr; vol. 14, pp. 259 and al-Zabīdī; vol. 19, pp. 406.

<sup>427</sup> Al-Zabīdī; vol. 19, pp. 406. This *hadīth* was not found in our search.

<sup>428</sup> Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Ismā’īl. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* vol. 1, Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Thaqafiyya, no year; *hadīth* no. 11 of *Kitāb al-Adhān*, pp. 252-3.

<sup>429</sup> Other usages given in the lexicons we examined, but did not include here for brevity’s sake are: to bring down, to perceive, to gather against, to attract, to challenge, to wail, to punish, a lineage claim (*di’wa*), a pact, and the index finger (*da’ā’ā*).

### III. *Da'wa* in the Qur'an and Exegesis (*Tafsīr*)

#### A. Introduction

The Qur'an utilizes roughly twelve different meanings for the root (*jadhr*) *da'ā*.<sup>430</sup> We will only study the verses that use the meaning 'to call to a path of behaviour,' which is the meaning of *da'wa*. By looking at these verses and their exegeses (*tafāsīr*), we can expand our understanding of the topic beyond the basic definition of 'calling to a path of behaviour.' We will find that the Qur'an defines the place of *da'wa* in the religion, who is to do it, and how it is to be done.

Before commencing with these points, let us touch upon what may be an even more salient point, namely that the Qur'an sets the tone for speakers, preachers, and *du'āt* by commanding believers to listen. The Qur'an says, "Those who listen to what is said and follow the best of it; those Allāh has guided and

<sup>430</sup> To worship thirty times: (due to the large number of verses to cite, I have left out the *sūra* names, (thanks for help on verses due to T. Elmansoury) Q. 4:117; Q. 6:56 & 108; Q. 7:29; Q. 10:66 & 106; Q. 11:101; Q. 13:36; Q. 16:20 & 86; Q. 18:14; Q. 22:62 & 73; Q. 23:117; Q. 25:68; Q. 26:213; Q. 28:88; Q. 29:42; Q. 31:30; Q. 32:16; Q. 35:13; Q. 35:40; Q. 37:125; Q. 40:12, 14, & 65; Q. 41:48; Q. 43:86; and Q. 72:18 & 20.  
To request twenty-five times: Q. 2:68-70; Q. 2:260; Q. 2:282; Q. 3:23 & 153; Q. 24:48, 51 & 63; Q. 25:13 & 14; Q. 30:25; Q. 35:18; Q. 36:57; Q. 38:51; Q. 41:31; Q. 44:55; Q. 47:35; Q. 48:16; Q. 67:27; Q. 68:42 & 43; Q. 84:11; and Q. 96:17.  
To seek help seventeen times: Q. 6:40, 41, & 63; Q. 10:12 & 22; Q. 17:67; Q. 18:52; Q. 25:13 & 14; Q. 27:62; Q. 28:64; Q. 30:33; Q. 31:32; Q. 39:8 & 49; Q. 44:22; and Q. 54:10.  
To name or call eight times: Q. 2:181, Q. 7:180, Q. 17:52, Q. 17:110 twice, Q. 17:111, Q. 33:5, and Q. 96:18.  
To wail twice: Q. 44:22 and Q. 54:10.  
To supplicate sixty-two times: Q. 2:61 & 186 twice; Q. 3:38 twice; Q. 6:52 & 71; Q. 7:37, 55, 56, 134, 189, 194 twice, & 197; Q. 10:89; Q. 13:14 twice; Q. 14:39 & 40; Q. 17:11 twice, 56, & 57; Q. 18:14 & 28; Q. 19:4 & 48 twice; Q. 21:45 & 90; Q. 22:12; Q. 23:117; Q. 25:77; Q. 26:67; Q. 27:80; Q. 28:64; Q. 30:52; Q. 34:22; Q. 35:14 twice; Q. 39:38 twice; Q. 40:20, 26, 49, 50 twice, 60, 66, & 74; Q. 41:49 & 51; Q. 46:4 & 5 twice; Q. 43:49; Q. 52:28; Q. 54:10; Q. 72:19; and Q. 96:17.  
To call to a path of behaviour thirty-seven times: Q. 2:221 twice; Q. 3:104; Q. 6:71; Q. 7:193 & 198; Q. 8:24; Q. 11:62; Q. 12:33 & 108; Q. 14:9, 10, 22, & 44; Q. 16:125; Q. 18:57; Q. 22:67; Q. 23:73; Q. 28:87; Q. 31:21; Q. 35:6; Q. 40:10, 41 & 42 both twice & 43; Q. 41:5 & 33; Q. 42:13 & 15; Q. 47:38; Q. 57:8; Q. 61:7; and Q. 71:5 twice, 6, 7, & 8.  
To invite eighteen times: Q. 2:23, Q. 3:61, Q. 7:195, Q. 10:25 & 38, Q. 11:13 & 62, Q. 14:9 & 44, Q. 17:71, Q. 28:25 & 41, Q. 30:25 twice, Q. 33:53, Q. 45:28, and Q. 54:6 twice.  
To claim seven times: Q. 7:5, Q. 10:10 twice, Q. 13:14, Q. 19:91, Q. 21:15, and Q. 40:43.  
To punish six times: Q. 20:108, Q. 52:13, Q. 54:6 & 8, Q. 70:17, and Q. 108:2.  
Meaning the Prophet (*dā'i*) twice: Q. 46:31& 32.  
Meaning an adopted child twice: Q. 33:4 & 37.

those are the ones who possess understanding,”<sup>431</sup> and “Take what we have given you and listen.”<sup>432</sup> In the following verse, not listening is on par with speaking disrespectfully, and both are attributes of disbelief: “Oh you who believe, do not say [to the Prophet] ‘take care of us,’ but make your requests with respect, then listen; for the disbelievers there is a painful punishment.”<sup>433</sup> In yet another, not listening is a trait of the profligate: “...and fear Allāh and listen, for Allāh does not guide those who are profligate.”<sup>434</sup> Surely these present enough evidence that listening is an ordinance of the Qur’ān to its believers. For the *dū’āt*, this helps guarantee them an audience.

Thus, listening in Islam is actually an act of obedience and a good deed and a sign of following the guidance of the faith’s Holy Book. This creates an environment conducive to giving public speeches and lectures about orthodoxy and orthopraxy, which is in essence, *da’wa*. Furthermore, the Qur’ānic dictum to listen disqualifies those who would repudiate the *dū’āt* and refuse to listen to them saying, “Do not preach to me,” or “Do not tell me what to do.” Such a one could then be reminded (or reprimanded) with “Fear Allāh and listen,” or any of the other of the above verses. ‘Preaching,’ for lack of a better word, becomes a socially acceptable, normal, and good act in Muslim society. It is from this bedrock that we embark upon the study of *da’wa* in the Qur’ān, *hadīth*, and Islamic scholarship.

Although many points on *da’wa* can be extracted by penetrating the various cues (*ishārāt*) of different verses, we have limited ourselves, for the sake of brevity, to the four major verses, to which we will be constantly referring:

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<sup>431</sup> Q. 39:18 (*al-Zumur*).

<sup>432</sup> Q. 2:93 (*al-Baqara*).

<sup>433</sup> Q. 2:104 (*al-Baqara*).

<sup>434</sup> Q. 5:108 (*al-Mā’ida*).

Q. 3104 (*Āl-`Imrān*): “Let there be from among you a group of people inviting to the good, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong; and these are the people of success” (*waltakun minkum ummatun yad`ūna ila al-khayr, ya`murūna bil-ma`rūf wa yanḥawna `an al-munkar wa `ulā’ika hum al-muflīhūn*).

Q. 12:108 (*Yūsuf*): “Say ‘This is my way. I call to Allāh with insight, I and whoever follows me. Glory be to Allāh, and I am not from those who attribute partners with Allāh’” (*qul hādhīhī sabīlī ad`ū ila allāh `alā baṣīra ana wa man ittaba`anī wa subḥān allāh wa mā ana min al-mushrikīn*).

Q. 16:125 (*al-Nahl*): “Call to the Way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching and debate them in the goodly way, indeed thy Lord is knowledgeable regarding who has went astray from His path and he is knowledgeable about the guided ones” (*ud`u ilā sabīli rabbika bil-hikmati wal-maw`idhatil-hasanati wa jādilhum billatī hiya ahsan...*).

Q. 41:33 (*Fussilat*): “And who is better in speech than one who calls to Allāh and does good and says, ‘I am from the Muslims’” (*wa man ahsanu qawlan min man da`ā ila allāhi wa `amila ṣālihan wa qāla innī min al-muslimīn*).

Also studied is the chapter of Nūh.

Four major works have been sought for exegesis (*tafsīr*): Ibn Kathīr’s *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-`Azīz*, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī’s *Jāmi` al-Bayān*,

al-Qurṭubī's *Jāmi'* *li Ahkām al-Qur'ān*, and al-Fakhr al-Rāzī's *Tafsīr al-Kabīr*.<sup>435</sup>

We have organized the content by topic.

## B. Recipients

Al-Ṭabarī understood “the good” in Q. 3:104 to mean Islam and hence the *da'wa* here meant to non-Muslims. He defines “forbidding” (*yanhawna*) as *jihād* with the limbs until the non-believers follow in obedience. “The wrong” (*al-munkar*) that is being forbidden, he continues, is disbelief in the Prophet Muhammad and what he proclaimed.<sup>436</sup> Ibn Kathīr, on the other hand, considered this as mutual counsel (*nush*) and *da'wa* amongst the Muslims.<sup>437</sup>

The explanation of al-Fakhr al-Rāzī brings the two together. He holds that “inviting to the good, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong” are three different things. He views “the good” to mean the ultimate good, the knowledge of Allāh’s Oneness (*tawḥīd*) and His attributes. Inviting to it would obviously be directed to non-Muslims. “Commanding the right and forbidding the wrong” means the commandments and prohibitions of the *Shari'a*, which only the believers accept. Thus, it is directed to Muslims. As a result, Muslims and non-Muslims alike are intended by the verse, the latter being called to *tawḥīd* and the former to *Shari'a*. This is al-Rāzī's model in which *da'wa* to non-Muslims to

<sup>435</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm*, Beirut: Dar al-Ma'rifa, 1987 and dual publishers: Damascus & Riyadh, Dar al-Fayha & Dar al-Salaam, 1998 (also Jiza: Muassasat Qurtuba, 2000); al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr. *Jāmi'* *al-Bayān 'an Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, Egypt: Dar al-Marifa, no year (also Damascus: Dar al-Qalam, 1997); al-Qurṭubī, Muḥammad. *Al-Jāmi'* *li Ahkām al-Qur'ān*, Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyyah, 1949 and Beirut: Dar Ihya al-Turath al-Arabi, 1985; and al-Rāzī, Fakhr. *Al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1981 (also Cairo: Matba'at al-Bahia, 1938). Here on, only the exegetes names will be given in footnotes. References for the alternate editions are made with brackets () after the authors' names.

<sup>436</sup> Al-Ṭabarī; vol. 7, pp. 90.

<sup>437</sup> Ibn Kathīr; vol. 1, pp. 398.

belief is the head, while commanding right and forbidding wrong to fellow Muslims are the wings.<sup>438</sup>

### C. Specialists

Who is to fulfill this function? Ibn Kathīr comments that “a group of people” here means specialists in knowledge and *jihād*. He continues that Q. 3:104 indicates that it is an obligation for every community of Muslims to see that some of their members are sufficiently trained in scholarship and *jihād*. He comments on the verse, “And be not like those who divided themselves and fell into disputations after receiving clear signs; and for them is a dreadful penalty” (*wa lā takūnu kalladhīna tafarraqū wakhtalafū min ba‘di mā jā’ahum al-bayyināt wa ulā’ika lahum ‘adhābun ‘azīm*),<sup>439</sup> that those were the previous believing nations that abandoned *da‘wa* and mutual counsel. Imām Ahmad, continues Ibn Kathīr, says that the absence of these specialists brings down a punishment of Allāh and causes prayers to go unanswered.<sup>440</sup> This is likely based on the *hadīth*, “You shall command right and forbid wrong or else Allāh will bring upon you a calamity and not listen to the plees of the best of you.”<sup>441</sup>

Al-Rāzī takes a different approach from both al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr and says that the preposition “from” (*min*), in the verse, is not for designating a part from the whole (*lil-tab‘īd*) but rather for clarification (*lil-tabyyīn*). It is like the verse which says, “Shun the filth from the idols and shun false testimony”

<sup>438</sup> Al-Rāzī (Cairo, 1938); vol. 8, pp. 190-192.

<sup>439</sup> Q. 3:105 (*Āl-‘Imrān*).

<sup>440</sup> Ibn Kathīr; vol. 1, pp. 398.

<sup>441</sup> Āl al-Shaykh, Ṣalīḥ ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, ed. *Al-Kutub al-Sitta: Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Sunan Abī Dāwūd, Jāmī’ al-Tirmidhī, Sunan al-Nasa’ī, wa Sunan ibn Māja*, Italy: Dar al-Salaam, 2000 (hereon ‘al-Sitta + book in parentheses,’ e.g. (Muslim)), in this case (Abū Dāwūd); *ḥadīth* no. 4,336, pp. 1,539.

(*fajtanibū al-rijz min al-awthān wajtanibū qawl al-zūr*).<sup>442</sup> Certainly, argues al-Rāzī, this “from” does not indicate a part from the whole, since it is well known that all of idolatry and false testimony must be shunned. Consequently, all Muslims, elite and common, are obliged to do *da’wa*.<sup>443</sup>

Nonetheless, al-Rāzī holds that the obligation is lifted if the function is being fulfilled. So in the end, his position is similar to al-Ṭabarī’s. Al-Rāzī further lays down conditions upon who is to do this. This group of specialists must be the knowledgeable, since they are the ones who know what is “the good” (*al-ma’rūf*) and what is “the wrong” (*al-munkar*). This is confirmed by the verse, which he quotes, “Nor should the believers all go forth together, but if a contingent from every expedition remained behind, they could devote themselves to studies in religion, and admonish the people when they return to them, that thus they (may learn) to guard themselves (against evil)” (*wa mā kān al-mu’mīnūna liyanfirū kāfa, fa law lā nafara min kulli firqatin minhum tā’ifatun liyatafaqahū fil-dīn wa liyundhirū qawmahum idhā raja’ū ilayhim la’allahum yaḥdhārūn*).<sup>444</sup> Al-Qurṭubī agrees that it means scholars but adds that the phrase “from you” (*minkum*) is “to encourage all of you to become scholars.”<sup>445</sup>

#### D. Non-Practicing Muslims

Al-Rāzī finds that Q. 3:104 raises a very important point with the words, “and those are the people of success.” Al-Rāzī asks, “What then about sinners?” They cannot be considered people of success (in light of religious behaviour), so may they fulfill the commands of the verse? He answers that there is no

<sup>442</sup> Q. 22:30 (*al-Hajj*).

<sup>443</sup> Al-Rāzī (Cairo, 1938); vol. 8, pp. 177-8.

<sup>444</sup> Al-Rāzī (Cairo, 1938); vol. 8, pp. 178. The verse is Q. 9:122 (*al-Tawba*).

<sup>445</sup> Al-Qurṭubī; vol. 4, pp. 165-6.

prohibition in it, but that the sinner who does so displays his idiocy (*hamāqa*), as he puts forth the obligations of others before his own obligations. He gives the example of a man who commits adultery with a woman and then reprimands her for revealing her face.<sup>446</sup> The Qur’ān reproaches such a one in two verses, “Do you command the people to righteousness and then forget yourselves while you recite the Book? Have you no intellect,”<sup>447</sup> and “O you who believe! Why say what you do not do?”<sup>448</sup>

While they are reprimands, these verses in no way encourage the sinner to leave off *da’wa* or commanding right or forbidding wrong. Al-Rāzī cites the scholars of law (*fiqh*), who hold that each individual has two obligations, one upon himself and the other upon those around him who are doing wrong. If one leaves off the first duty, they should not leave off the second one, since two sins are worse than one. He concludes with some supporting statements from the early generation (*salaf*) such as, “Enjoin good even if you do not do it.”<sup>449</sup> Commanding right and forbidding wrong was an essential aspect of social life to some of the companions of the Prophet; Abū Bakr al-Šiddīq said, “Commanding right and forbidding wrong is the condition for good living.”<sup>450</sup>

Yet the idea that one should only preach what he or she practices continued to be debated among Muslims in the generations that followed. One of the successors (*tabi*) Muṭtarif ibn ‘Abdillāh said to Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, “I do not say (i.e. command) what I do not do.” Ḥasan replied, “And which of us

<sup>446</sup> Al-Rāzī (Cairo, 1938); vol. 8, pp. 179.

<sup>447</sup> Q. 2:44 (*al-Baqara*).

<sup>448</sup> Al-Rāzī (Cairo: 1938); vol. 8, pp. 178-80. The Qur’anic verse he sights is Q. 61:2 (*al-Saff*).

<sup>449</sup> Ibid.

<sup>450</sup> Ibid.

does what he commands? Certainly the devil would love that this [logic] spread amongst you so that none would command right or forbid evil.”<sup>451</sup>

#### E. Methods of Speech, Use of Proofs, and the Role of Debate

The text moves on to how the function is to be fulfilled, “call to the Way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful counsel and debate them in the goodly way.”<sup>452</sup> Three distinct approaches are mentioned. Al-Rāzī explains that because each of wisdom, beautiful counsel, and debate in a goodly way, are added one to the other (*ma’tūf*) they must be different.<sup>453</sup> Wisdom and beautiful counsel, he says, are both ways of presenting proofs with the purpose of confirming belief. Through wisdom, the *dā’ī* confers upon listeners knowledge with absolute proofs (*haqīqiyya*). This is akin to a deductive argument, where so long as the basis of the logic is true, the conclusion will definitely be true.<sup>454</sup> For example, ‘All men are mortal. Socrates is a man. Therefore, Socrates is mortal.’ It is certainly true. Beautiful counsel is to make a suggestion which is most probably (but not necessarily) true and certainly hard to disbelieve. This is the inductive argument, a logic where if the facts are correct, it is insensible not to believe. For example, ‘The first chicken from the butcher was good. The second and third were good. Therefore, all the butcher’s chickens are good.’ It is likely, but not necessarily true.

The third is debate. Interestingly, debate is not, according to al-Rāzī part of *da’wa* (*laysa min bāb al-da’wa*).<sup>455</sup> His justification for this derives from the grammatical make up of the verse. Whereas wisdom and beautiful counsel are

<sup>451</sup> Ibid, 179.

<sup>452</sup> Q. 16:125 (*al-Nahl*).

<sup>453</sup> Al-Rāzī; vol. 9, pp. 229.

<sup>454</sup> Ibid.

<sup>455</sup> Ibid.

presented as nouns (*asmā'*), debate is presented as a verb (*fi'l*), thereby subtly suggesting that the latter is an altogether different matter than wisdom or beautiful counsel. Otherwise the verse would say, “Call to the Way of your Lord with wisdom and beautiful counsel and goodly debate” (...*bil hikma wal maw'iza al-hasana wal jadl al-aḥsan*).<sup>456</sup>

This should not, however, prevent the *dā'i* from presenting proofs. This importance of proofs is found in Q. 12:108, “Say ‘This is my way. I call to Allāh on insight, I and whoever follows me.’” Ibn Kathīr says that “my way” (*sabīl*) means the Prophetic practice (*sunna*); “insight” (*baṣīra*) means confidence.<sup>457</sup> Al-Rāzī says that “on insight” (*'alā baṣīra*) shows that dialectical theology (*kalām*) and legal philosophy (*uṣūl*) are the skills of the Prophets, therefore, *du'āt* should be equipped with them.<sup>458</sup> Ibn Kathīr supports this by his saying that “with insight” means ‘with rational and transmitted proofs’ (*bi adilla 'aqlīyya wa shar'īyya*).<sup>459</sup>

The presentation of proofs often means debate. Although we said that debate is separate from *da'wa*, we shall mention al-Rāzī’s guidelines on it.<sup>460</sup> Debate can be done cleanly and fairly or with trickery and sophistry. The debater is righteous and sound so long as he agrees on terms and logic before beginning and proceeds to show his adversary’s inconsistency. The undignified method is to constantly re-define terms and shift away from the agreed-upon bases, confusing the opponent and causing the audience to view him as inconsistent, which may not be the case. This form of debate should not be utilized because the verse says, “in

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<sup>456</sup> Ibid.

<sup>457</sup> Ibn Kathīr; vol. 2, pp. 513-4.

<sup>458</sup> Al-Rāzī; vol. 9, pp. 229.

<sup>459</sup> Ibn Kathīr; vol. 2, pp. 513-4.

<sup>460</sup> Al-Rāzī; vol. 10, pp. 140-2.

the goodly way” (*bil-latī hiya ahsan*). Honourable people, says al-Rāzī, must not use this even in the service of the *dīn* due to its lowly nature.<sup>461</sup>

Each of the three—wisdom, beautiful preaching, and goodly debate—should be directed to the appropriate type of person. For example, seekers vigorously searching for the truth will only be satisfied with wisdom, namely deductive arguments that are accurate and beyond doubt with clear proofs. Those interested in the truth, but not as tenaciously as the above grouping can be given beautiful counsel, inductive arguments. This is the masses of people, whose intellects and souls remain uncorrupted and instinctive (*'alā al-fitra*). As a result, they do not need heavy, sophisticated arguments to believe in the truth; a proper suggestive argument suffices. The third group is those who have clatter in their souls, who have acquired the bad habit of constant argumentation. These are described as *mushāghibīn*, people who are ill-mannered and disruptive. They must be put down through debate, in which their arguments are shown to them as faulty. Such people have removed themselves from the position to learn, and hence the *dā'i* need not pursue them.<sup>462</sup>

Q. 16:125 has alternative explanations. Ibn Kathīr for one, says that beautiful counsel is the reminder of the Hell fire, while debate in a goodly way is gentle exhortation, such as the exchange with Mūsa and Fir'awn, in which Allāh advises Mūsa and Hārūn to “speak to him [Fir'awn] mildly, perhaps he will remember or have fear” (*faqūlā lahū qawlan layyinan la'llahu yatadhakkaru aw yakhshā*).<sup>463,464</sup> Al-Qurtubī considers this verse addressed to sinful Muslims and non-believers with whom there is peace.<sup>465</sup>

<sup>461</sup> Ibid.

<sup>462</sup> Ibid.

<sup>463</sup> Q. 20:44 (*Tā-Hā*).

<sup>464</sup> Ibn Kathīr; vol. 2, pp. 613.

<sup>465</sup> Al-Qurtubī; vol. 10, pp. 200.

Lastly, there are two points regarding the final words of the Q. 16:125, “indeed your Lord is knowledgeable regarding who has went astray from His path and he is knowledgeable about the guided ones” (*inna rabbaka huwa a’lamu bi man dalla ‘an sabīlīhī wa huwa a’lamu bil muhtadīn*), and we refer again to al-Rāzī. Firstly, these words reinforce the limit of the *dā’ī*’s duty: to convey; results are not up to him. Secondly, it is noted that the misguided ones are mentioned in verb form (*dalla ‘an sabīlīhī*) while the guided ones in noun form (*bil-muhtadīn*). The reason for this is to reinforce the understanding that misguidance can change, just as a verb suggests change and motion, whereas with guidance, steadfast consistency is sought, and so it is in noun form, since nouns are still and do not change from past, present and future.<sup>466</sup>

#### F. Miscellaneous Points

##### 1. Praise of *da’wa*

The exegetes explain that Q. 41:33 (“And who is better in speech than one who calls to Allāh”) indicates that *da’wa* is “the most complete act of obedience and the spear-head of all worship.”<sup>467</sup> Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said about the *dā’ī*

This is the beloved of Allāh. This is the *walī* of Allāh. This is the chosen one of Allāh (*ṣafwat allāh*). This is the best and most beloved creation in the view of Allāh. He has answered Allāh’s call, and has called the people to what he has answered of Allāh’s call...This is the *khalīfa* of Allāh.<sup>468</sup>

Al-Ḥasan and Qays ibn Abī Ḥāzim say that this refers to “any person” and “every believer...who does *dawa*.<sup>469</sup> Ibn Kathīr says, “it is generally for everyone who

<sup>466</sup> Al-Rāzī; vol. 10, pp. 140-2.

<sup>467</sup> Al-Rāzī (Cairo, 1938); vol. 27, pp. 124.

<sup>468</sup> Al-Tabarī (Damascus: Dar al-Qalam, 1997); vol. 6, pp. 530.

<sup>469</sup> Al-Qurtubī; vol. 15, pp. 360.

calls to anything good and is guided himself. And the Prophet peace be upon him is the most worthy of that description.”<sup>470</sup>

## 2. *Adhān* as *da‘wa*

Q. 41:33 says, “And who is better in speech than one who calls to Allāh and does good and says, ‘I am from the Muslims.’” Al-Sadī, Ibn Sirīn, and Ibn Zayd said that the verse refers to the Prophet,<sup>471</sup> while ‘Ā’isha, Mujāhid, and ‘Akrima said it is the muezzin.<sup>472</sup> Ibn ‘Umar too said “it is about the muezzins.”<sup>473</sup> Al-Qurṭubī cites Qādī Abū Bakr ibn al-‘Arabī as judging the accuracy of it being the Prophet over it being the muezzin since the verse is Makkī and the *adhān* is Madanī, “but it [saying muezzin] is acceptable because the meaning is sound,” concludes ibn al-‘Arabī.<sup>474</sup>

The *tafāsīr* emphasize that it is muezzin. Ibn Kathīr says that this verse makes clear that the *adhān* is a part of *da‘wa*. For this reason he mentions that some of the Companions used to teach young muezzins to say, “and I am from the Muslims” (*wa innī min al-muslimīn*) after completing the *adhān*. Abū Umāma said the words, “and does good” (*wa ‘amila ṣalīḥan*) means ‘he prays two *rak‘as* between the *adhān* and *iqāma*.<sup>475</sup> Then Ibn Kathīr says, “It is generally about muezzins and others as well...who call to Allāh.”<sup>476</sup>

## G. The Chapter of Nūḥ

<sup>470</sup> Ibn Kathīr (Jiza: Muassassat Qurtuba, 2000); vol. 12, pp. 240.

<sup>471</sup> Al-Ṭabarī (Damascus: Dar al-Qalam, 1997); vol. 6, pp. 531.

<sup>472</sup> Al-Qurṭubī; vol. 15, pp. 360.

<sup>473</sup> Ibn Kathīr (Jiza: Muassassat Qurtuba, 2000); vol. 12, pp. 241.

<sup>474</sup> Al-Qurṭubī; vol. 15, pp. 360.

<sup>475</sup> Ibn Kathīr; vol. 4, pp. 128-9.

<sup>476</sup> Ibn Kathīr (Jiza: Muassassat Qurtuba, 2000); vol. 12, pp. 242.

The Chapter of Nūḥ is all about his mission to the inhabitants of the earth at that time. Nūḥ says, “Verily I called on my people day and night” (*innī da’awtu qawmī laylan wa nahāran*). The exegetes discuss four topics in relation to *da’wa* and this *sūra*: the contents of his *da’wa*, his methods, the responses of the people, and prayer against disbelievers.

Al-Rāzī notes that the Prophet Nūḥ appealed to people’s natural inclination for immediate benefit (*al-’ājil*),<sup>477</sup> which is referred to in Q. 76:27 (*al-Insān*). This is why his main argument was that belief and upright action would lead to what is desirable in this world. The chapter says, “I said, ‘Ask forgiveness from your Lord, for He is Oft-Forgiving. He will send rain to you in abundance, give you increase in wealth and sons, and bestow upon you gardens and bestow upon you rivers.’”<sup>478</sup>

Al-Rāzī offers various other verses the *dā’ī* can cite to support this argument and its complementary one that disbelief and disobedience to Allāh bring about the destruction of the world. For example, “The skies wish they could burst from this, and the earth to split, and the mountains to collapse; that they have attributed to Allāh a son,”<sup>479</sup> “If only they had stood fast by the Torah, and the Bible, and what has been sent down to them from their Lord, prosperity would have come to them from above them and from beneath their own feet”<sup>480</sup> and “And if they would only remain steadfast on the path We would surely quench them with abundant water.”<sup>481</sup>

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<sup>477</sup> Al-Rāzī; vol.15, pp. 136-40.

<sup>478</sup> Q. 71:10-12 (*Nūḥ*).

<sup>479</sup> Q. 19:90-1 (*Maryam*).

<sup>480</sup> Q. 5:66 (*al-Mā’ida*).

<sup>481</sup> Q. 72:16 (*al-Jinn*).

A second point oft-emphasized by the Prophet Nūḥ is the forgiveness of Allāh, which is given attention in three verses.<sup>482</sup> Al-Rāzī said that in the *shari‘a* of Nūḥ, sin shortened one’s life, while belief prolonged it.<sup>483</sup> Consequently, all the believers outlived the disbelievers, who drowned in the flood. Everything to which Nūḥ called, continues al-Rāzī, was with the aim of forgiveness in mind. This reveals another facet, namely, that the *dā‘ī*’s efforts be directed to those who are astray, sinners, and non-believers, as opposed to those who have already accepted the truth about Allāh’s forgiveness, for it is nonsensical to make an appeal for something already acknowledged.

As for the methods mentioned in the *sūra*, The words, “I have called my people night and day...then I addressed them openly then spoke to them secretly in private” (*innī da‘awtu qawmī laylan wa nahāran...thumm innī a‘lantu lahum wa asrartu lahum isrārā*),<sup>484</sup> for al-Qurtubī, indicate two things, that he called to Allāh both publically (in the day) and privately (in the night, at their homes), and at all times. He also “went to their houses,” which is indicated by the word “secretly” (*asrartu*). The purpose of visiting is to soothe the *mad‘ū*’s anxieties (*talattuf*) and to increase fondness with the *dā‘ī*.<sup>485</sup> Also for the purpose of *talattuf* is the use of the rhetorical question, two of which can be found in the *sūra*.<sup>486</sup>

Regardless of methods, the *dā‘wa* may be rejected. In four verses<sup>487</sup> of this chapter, seven different ways of rejection are mentioned. In the beginning, the people of Nūḥ simply avoided his sessions of counsel, this being the meaning of Q. 71:6 “But my call only increased them in flight. The rejection extended to

<sup>482</sup> Q. 71: 4, 7, & 10 (*Nūḥ*).

<sup>483</sup> Al-Rāzī (Cairo: 1938); vol. 30, pp. 135.

<sup>484</sup> Q. 71:5-6 (*Nūḥ*).

<sup>485</sup> Al-Qurtubī; vol. 18, pp. 298.

<sup>486</sup> Q. 13 & 15 (*Nūḥ*).

<sup>487</sup> Q. 71: 6, 7, 22, & 23 (*Nūḥ*).

their desire to not even hear anything he had to say nor see his person, this being the meaning for verse seven “they have thrust their fingers into their ears and covered themselves with their clothes.” Subsequently, Nūh was met with obstinacy and stubbornness, culminating in their opposition against him through their promotion of local idols.

How did he respond to this? Nearly the entire *sūra* is in the voice of Nūh’s complaint to Allāh. Therefore, this concept of complaint (*shikwa*) to Allāh is the response to rejection and an avenue to deliverance. This is corroborated rather explicitly in Q. 58 (*al-Mujādala*), “Verily Allāh has heard (and accepted) the statement of [the woman] who appeals to thee regarding her husband and complains to Allāh; Allāh hears the discussions between you, verily Allāh hears and sees all things”.<sup>488</sup> In the Prophet Muḥammad’s biography (*sīra*), he offers complaint to Allāh after rejection at Tā’if.<sup>489</sup>

The final point regards prayer (*du’ā’*) against those who reject the call. Al-Qurṭubī mentions that the prophets only pray for the destruction of people after Allāh has condemned them.<sup>490</sup> Thus, when Allāh said to Nūh, “And it was revealed to Nūh that none of thy people will believe except those who have already believed,”<sup>491</sup> he prayed against them. The same is the case with Mūsa who was informed by Allāh that the Egyptians would be destroyed; subsequently Mūsa prayed against them.<sup>492</sup>

## H. Summary

<sup>488</sup> Q. 58:1 (*al-Mujādala*).

<sup>489</sup> Shalabi, Mahmoud. *Hayāt Rasiūl Allāh*, Beirut: Dar al-Jeel, 1980; pp. 66-9.

<sup>490</sup> Al-Qurṭubī; vol. 18, pp. 298.

<sup>491</sup> Q. 11:36 (*Hūd*).

<sup>492</sup> Q. 10:88 (*Yūnus*).

The *dā'i* is very prominent in the Qur'ān as we have seen, due to the critical function he fulfils. Every community is obliged to retain its own *du'āt*, as a communal obligation (*fard kifāya*). However, this is only regarding the person who will initiate invitation to Islam. As for the instances in which the subject presents itself, all Muslim's are obliged to speak the truth, even the sinner. How to speak, how to present arguments, whether or not to debate, and how to handle opponents are discussed in the exegesis (*tafsīr*). Many more points on this can be extracted by reading into the text for cues (*ishārāt*).

In considering the information we examined from the verses and commentaries, one can conclude that *da'wa* is a religious act which has its own objectives, boundaries, and methods. A good example of al-Rāzī's setting out *da'wa* as a skill unto itself is his saying that debating (*jadl*) should not be confused with *da'wa*, for they have different ends and means. Whereas debate is for disproving the opponent, *da'wa* is the simple offering of guidance without seeking the flaws of the recipient. The means as well are different in that the debater must acquire some callousness and cold rationality, traits that are hardly useful for a *dā'i* seeking to inspire through beautiful manners. Furthermore, questions such as when and upon whom does *da'wa* become obligatory suggest that *da'wa* has its own set of legal injunctions, further strengthening the idea of *da'wa* as a distinctive branch of Islamic action.

Where does this information fit with respect to the remainder of our study? It will serve as a standard with which we will read our subject, Imām al-Haddād. We will look at what the Imām has to say on the subject, then, for each comment he has, consult the appropriate Qur'ānic verse and commentary. For example, which Qur'ānic teachings does Imām al-Haddād emphasize? Which

interpretations does he prefer? And why? Or, does he espouse an explanation (*tafsīr*) different from the above scholars?

#### IV. *Da'wa* in the *Hadīth*

##### A. Introduction

The practice of the Prophet, the *sunna*, is the second most important source in the religion of Islam. It is considered akin to a commentary on the Qur'ān. According to biographer Ibn Hishām, the Prophet spread his message in secret for six years,<sup>493</sup> then, after the conversion of 'Umar, he preached openly for seventeen years until his death, a total of twenty-three years.<sup>494</sup> As a result, the amount of teachings about *da'wa* that can be gleaned from the events of his life are innumerable. When we say 'da'wa in the *hadīth*,' we mean what the Prophet said about *da'wa*, not what he did; that will be discussed in the section on 'The *Da'wa* of the Prophet and His Companions,' which immediately follows this.

Transmissions about *da'wa* can be summarized in three basic themes: commands and encouragement to do *da'wa*, parables on *da'wa*, and *da'wa* to non-Muslims. All of the *hadīth* are derived from al-Bukhārī and Muslim, and as such, we have sought the relevant commentaries (*shurūh*) in Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Fath al-Bārī*<sup>495</sup> for the *hadīths* of al-Bukhārī and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* *bi*

<sup>493</sup> Ibn Hishām; ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn. *Tahdhīb Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Sunna, 1989; pp. 72.

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid.* 305.

<sup>495</sup> Al-'Asqalānī, Ibn Ḥajar. *Fath al-Bārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Beirut: Dar al-Ma'rifa, no year.

*Sharḥ al-Nawawī*<sup>496</sup> for Muslim's, and both the *Fath* and *Sharḥ al-Nawawī* for traditions in al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

## B. Praise of *Da'wa*

Sahl ibn Sa'd said that on the morning of the Battle of Khaybar, the Prophet of Allāh conferred the standard of the Muslims upon 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib and instructed him on dealing with the opposition,

Proceed cautiously until you descend upon their valley. Next, call them to Islam and inform them of their obligations towards Allāh, for by Allāh, that Allāh guide one man on your hands is better for you than the reddest of camels (i.e. the most prized wealth of the Arabs) (*li'ān yahdi bika Allāhu khayrun laka min humar al-ni'am*) (al-Bukhārī with *Fath*, no. 3,701; Muslim with *Sharḥ*, no. 2,405; wording of Muslim).<sup>497</sup>

The focus here should be on the last word of advice that directing people to truth---even one person---is better than worldly wealth. Considering that the residents of Khaybar were the wealthy Jews, “the reddest of camels” must be a reference to the luxuriant booty the Muslims could have had for themselves after *jihād* against them. Therefore, this *hadīth* encourages the Muslim to be charitable (in this case, the charity of spreading guidance) at all times, even during the worst of conditions, war.<sup>498</sup>

It is possible to draw the conclusion from this *hadīth* that the result of *da'wa* (i.e. guidance) is greater than the result of *jihād* (i.e. booty). If so, then *da'wa* is a greater deed than *jihād*. It can be disputed, though, that booty does not represent the sole benefit of *jihād*, and that protection of the faithful is the ultimate

<sup>496</sup> Al-Nawawī, Yahyā ibn Sharaf (eds. Isam al-Sababiti and Imad Aamir). *Saḥīḥ Muslim bi Sharḥ al-Nawawī*, no place: Dar Abī Hayyān, 1995. Here on, footnotes will refer to al-'Asqalānī or al-Nawawī.

<sup>497</sup> The numberings in the commentaries differ from that of the original texts. In my research, I have gone directly to the commentaries. Hence, the numberings here are of *Fath al-Bārī* and *Saḥīḥ Muslim bi Sharḥ al-Nawawī*, rather than the original texts (*Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Saḥīḥ Muslim*).

<sup>498</sup> Al-'Asqalānī; vol. 7, pp. 70 and al-Nawawī; vol. 8, pp. 188.

function. Considering that, *jihād* then, would be preferable to *da'wa* given the principle that warding off harm takes priority over gaining benefit (*dar' al-mafāsid qabl jalb al-manāfi'*).<sup>499</sup>

A second narration is from Abī Bakra who reported that the Prophet addressed the Muslims on the Day of Sacrifice (*yawm al-naḥr*) and emphasized the sanctity (*hurma*) of others' life, wealth, and reputation ('ird), and concluded with,

Let the present inform the absent (*fal yuballigh al-shāhid al-ghā'ib*), for perhaps it is that a transmitter will transmit (guidance) to one more heedful to it (al-Bukhārī with *Fath*, no. 7, 078).

From this *hadīth* we have the concept that the recipient may be greater than the teacher. As a result, the *dā'i* who has little following should not despair, since it is possible that one of his few listeners can grow to carry the message far and wide in a way the teacher could not. The original, obscure *dā'i* would then be credited as the grandfather in that chain of transmission and have a part in the reward. This *hadīth* also serves as a reminder for the popular *dā'i* that has a massive audience, never to look down on anyone, for perhaps they will apply the teaching better than he.<sup>500</sup>

Next is from 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Amr who narrates the Prophet's saying,

Transmit about me, even if one thing (*ballighū 'annī wa law āya*), and transmit about Banī Isrā'il without reserve (*haraj*), and whoever lies about me purposely should prepare his seat in the Fire (al-Bukhārī with *Fath*, no. 3,461).

Al-'Asqalānī, citing one Shaykh al-Mū'āfi in his *Kitāb al-Jalīs*,<sup>501</sup> says that the word '*āya*' has three meanings. If different listeners each understood one

<sup>499</sup> This is one of the early maxims of Islamic law as collated by the Ḥanafī jurists of Iraq (e.g. Sufyān ibn Tāhir al-Dabbās and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī). Kamali, Mohammad Hashim. "Qawa'id Al-Fiqh: The Legal Maims of Islamic Law." *The Muslim Lawyer* Vol.3, Issue 2, October 1998; pp. 4.

<sup>500</sup> Al-'Asqalānī; vol. 13, pp. 26.

<sup>501</sup> This work was not located throughout our research.

of these meanings, then all aspects of the Prophetic teaching would be transmitted. The first meaning is ‘a sign’ as in the Qur’ānic verse, “and your sign is not to speak to people for three straight nights” (*āyātuka an lā tukallim al-nāsa thalātha layālin illā ramzā*).<sup>502</sup> The second meaning is ‘wondrous affair’ or ‘a cause for wonder’ (*‘ajūba hāṣila*) as in the verse, “indeed in that is a cause for wonder” (*inna fī dhālikā l’āya*). The third meaning is ‘a calamity befalling’ as in the Arabic saying, ‘So-and-so being the general is a calamity’ (*ja’lu amīr fulān āya*). Whoever understands the *hadīth* with the first meaning in mind will transmit signs of Muḥammad’s truth as a prophet. Whoever understands the second meaning will transmit the various events that occurred in his life, while whoever grasps the *hadīth* with the third meaning will warn his listener of the calamity befalling those who reject the Prophet. Thus, concludes al-Mū’āfi, if people speak of the Prophet in these three ways, the essential facets of his messages will be delivered.

The narration has two more points which regard some etiquettes a *dā’ī* must keep in mind when speaking about Islam. Ibn Ḥajar says that at the outset of the Prophet’s teaching, it was prohibited for the Muslims to look into the stories or books of Israelites. However, this *hadīth*, continues Ibn Ḥajar, abrogates that ruling. The words “without reserve” (*wa lā haraj*) indicate that it is no longer prohibited; it is simply permitted.

The next one regards lying about the Prophet. Commentators say that the words “should prepare his seat in the fire,” (*fal yatabawwa’ maq’adahū min al-nār*) is evidence enough to conclude that fabricating a *hadīth* is disbelief (*kufr*). What does this have to do with the *dā’ī*? It is important because *dū’āt* use a lot of *hadīth*. Therefore, they must ensure what they narrate is correct. Ibn Ḥajar also says, this regards lying for him, not just against him. Lying for him is to fabricate

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<sup>502</sup> Q. 3:41 (*Al-‘Imrān*).

a story in order to improve a listener's impression of the Prophet. This would be impermissible according to the *hadīth* and disbelief as well, since it would imply that the religion is insufficient as it is, negating the Qur'ānic verse, "This day I have completed for you your religion."<sup>503,504</sup>

Lastly on encouragement is from Abī Hurayra who narrates that the Prophet said,

Whoever calls to guidance (*man da'ā ilā hudā*) has a reward just like that of the one who acts upon it, that not decreasing anything from their reward (i.e. the reward of those who act upon it). And whoever calls to misguidance has sin just like the one who acts upon it, that not decreasing from their sins anything (Muslim with *Sharḥ*, no. 2,674).

Al-Nawawī explains that this is in "teaching knowledge, worship, character, or anything else." Moreover, the person need not be alive to receive the reward. For example, if one is inspired to do good from a person of the past, the latter receives the identical reward of the one doing it despite having never met them or intended to benefit them.<sup>505</sup>

### C. *Da'wa* to Non-Muslims

Mū'ādh ibn Jabal said, "The Messenger of Allāh sent me (to Yemen). He said,

You shall go to a community who are people of the Book. Call them to testifying that there is none worthy of worship other than Allāh, and that I am the Messenger of Allāh. Then if they obey this, teach them that Allāh has obligated upon them five prayers in every day and night. If they obey this, teach them that Allāh has obliged upon them a charity which is to be taken from their wealthy and sent to their poor. If they obey this, then dare not [approach] the best of their wealth (i.e. in taking it as the charity), and fear the prayer of the oppressed, for there is not so much as one veil between it and Allāh (al-Bukhārī with *Fath*, no. 1,541; Muslim with *Sharḥ*, no. 19; wording of Muslim).

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<sup>503</sup> Q. 5:3 (*al-Mā'ida*)

<sup>504</sup> Al-'Asqalānī; vol. 6, pp. 498-9.

<sup>505</sup> Al-Nawawī; vol. 8.

This is one of the best examples of what may be called the ‘three-degrees’ approach. They are faith (*tawhīd*), prayer, and charity. Imām al-Nawawī says that the sending of Mū‘ādh to Yemen is a proof that the non-believer is accountable after one invitation to Islam.

Another interesting point is discussed in al-Nawawī’s commentary. He cites the verdict that the non-Muslim is not responsible for fulfilling the dictates of the *Shari‘a*.<sup>506</sup> The proof of this is that the Prophet commanded Mū‘ādh to speak about prayer only after the Yemenīs had accepted belief, and to speak of charity only after they accepted prayer. Therefore, the one who has not accepted faith, is not responsible for prayer, etc.

However, al-Nawawī counters this by saying that the “majority [of scholars] and those who have realized the truth (*al-muhaqqiqūn*)” disagree. In fact, all human beings, Muslim or not are responsible for all major and minor rulings in Islam. It is only that the Prophet’s instructions are limited to what is most important for the given moment. A pagan is responsible for prayer, but there is no point in commanding it if they do not yet believe. This is the strongest position (*al-qawi*) according to al-Nawawī. This seems to conflict with the ruling that the new Muslim is not obliged to make up past prayers and fasts. The commentaries we are utilizing (*Fath al-Bārī* and *Sharḥ al-Nawawī*) do not address it, perhaps because it is beyond the scope of their works (which are to comment on the *hadīths*, and not to discern legal), but a possible answer is that missed obligations are waved because otherwise conversion would be too burdensome a task (having to make up missed obligations). If so, this would be called ‘making hearts fond’ (*ta’līf al-qulūb*), another example of which regards charity (*zakāt*). A non-believer who is close to Islam and is not poor may be given from the charity

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<sup>506</sup> Ibid; vol. 1, pp. 228-30.

(*zakāt*) simply to win them over (*al-mu'allafati qulūbuhum*).<sup>507</sup> Finally, a third verdict is given by al-Nawawī, and it says that the non-believer is responsible for avoiding prohibitions, but not fulfilling commands, such that an immoral non-Muslim is “increased in punishment.”<sup>508</sup>

Our next *hadīth* is transmitted by Ibn ‘Umar that the Prophet said,

I was commanded to fight the people (*uqātil al-nās*) until they bear witness that there is none worthy of worship save Allāh and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh, and establish the prayer, and offer the charity (*zakāt*). If they do this, their blood and wealth is protected from me except by the just reasons of Islam (such as the punishment of a murderer for example), and [the rest] of their affair is left to Allāh (al-Bukhārī with *Fatḥ*, no. 25; Muslim with *Sharḥ*, no. 22; wording of al-Bukhārī).

This *hadīth* refers to the offensive *jihād* directed at rulers of non-Muslim lands. Such rulers are given three days to enter into Islam or else their will be taken forceful by the Muslim Caliph and his army. The people, then, may enter into Islam or pay the poll-tax (*jizya*).<sup>509</sup> “The people” in this *hadīth* are “the people of idolatry not the People of the Book,” according to al-Khattābī. “Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh,” says al-Nawawī means everything the Prophet taught. As for “their affair is left to Allāh,” it means that the Muslim ruler is limited to the public sphere with regards to his punishing and establishing the religion. What takes place in a person’s heart, or in private space is between that person and Allāh.<sup>510</sup> Overall this *hadīth* refers to the form *da’wa* takes at the level of governments and militaries.

#### D. A Parable

<sup>507</sup> Discussion about the *mu'allafati qulūbuhum* can be found in the work of contemporary Tunisian scholar, Bin Tāhir, al-Ḥabīb. *Al-Fiqh al-Mālikī wa Adillatuhū*, Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Rayyan, 2002; vol. 2, pp. 66-7.

<sup>508</sup> Al-‘Asqalānī; vol. 13, pp. 322 and al-Nawawī; vol. 1, pp. 228-30.

<sup>509</sup> Al-Qayrawānī, Ibn Abī Zayd. *al-Risāla*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Qahira, no date; pp. 61.

<sup>510</sup> Al-Nawawī; vol. 1, pp. 234-40.

We close this section with a parable narrated by Jābir ibn ‘Abdillāh who said that angels came to the Prophet whilst he slept, and some said, “He is asleep.” Others replied, “Indeed the eye is asleep, but the heart is awake.” So they said, “Surely, there is a parable for your friend.”...So they said,

The likeness of him is like a man who built a house and put in it a table of food, then sent out a messenger (*dā’i*) to invite the people. Whoever answers the messenger, enters the house and eats from the feast, and whoever does not enter the house does not eat from the feast. So they said, ‘Interpret it for him to understand it...The house is Paradise, the messenger is Muḥammad. Whoever obeys Muḥammad has obeyed Allāh, and whoever disobeys Muḥammad has disobeyed Allāh, and Muḥammad is the divider amongst the people’ (i.e. Muḥammad’s presence reveals the true nature of people: good or evil) (al-Bukhārī with *Fath*, no. 7,281).

This *hadīth* can serve as a basic model for what *da’wa* and the *dā’i*’s role are. It is clear that the *dā’i* is never in a position of authority, but merely an employee of the builder of the house and presenter of the feast. Nor does the *hadīth* indicate that the *dā’i* must serve as a guide to the house, taking the receptive listener by the hand to their destination. It can be inferred that such a role is left for, religious guides, and juristic scholars. If so, then the *dā’i*’s duty ends when the listener receives (and understands) the message. The *hadīth* also shows that one messenger suffices and that the recipient of the call is responsible (*mukallaf*) after one presentation of Islam (provided that it has been understood).<sup>511</sup>

#### E. Summary

The *hadīth* bolsters the prominence of *da’wa* as a deed that is pleasing to the Divine, especially with the words, “that Allāh guide one man on your hands is better for you than the reddest of camels (i.e. the most prized wealth of the Arabs).” Most importantly, the *hadīth* present the priorities of *da’wa*, namely the

<sup>511</sup> Al-‘Asqalānī; vol. 13, pp. 249.

three-degrees of belief, prayer, and charity (*zakāt*). In the Qur’ān, we are offered portrayals of past prophets’ *da’wa’s*, which involve a prophet either calling to belief in Allāh or prohibiting an evil practice (as Ṣāliḥ fought fraud and Lūṭ homosexuality). The above *hadīth* portray the Prophet Muḥammad’s calling, namely to the unity of Allāh (*tawhīd*), prayer, and charity. This is detail that is more clearly found in *hadīth* than Qur’ān. Finally, the *hadīth* also show how inviting to Allāh is the extent of a Muslim’s service to another human being, as the Prophet’s parable says he merely invites the people to his master’s feast. He cannot drag them there, nor can he force-feed them, but only point to what is true.

## V. The *Da’wa* of the Prophet

The first believer in the Prophet, according to Ibn Hishām, was Khadīja bint Khuwaylid. Interestingly however, there was no spoken *da’wa* to her; she believed without need of invitation.<sup>512</sup> The first utterance of *da’wa* in the history of Islam, according to Ibn Hishām, took place in the home of the Prophet and was from him to ‘Alī:<sup>513</sup> ‘Alī was around ten years of age when he

entered the house whilst the Messenger peace be upon him and Khadija were praying. ‘Alī said, “Muhammad, what is this?” “It is the religion of Allāh,” the Prophet replied, “which he has chosen for Himself and with which he sent His messengers. I call you (*fa ad’ūka*) to Allāh without any partners and to worship Him and to reject Lāt and ‘Uzzā.” So ‘Alī said, “This is something I have never heard about before, and I am not to make a decision until I speak with Abū Tālib.” But the Messenger peace be upon him did not like that his secret be disclosed before he himself announced it, so he said, “Oh ‘Alī, if you do not become Muslim, then be silent.” ‘Alī slept that night...and the next morning he approached the Prophet, “What was that which you offered me Muḥammad?” [The Prophet repeated his offer] and ‘Alī became Muslim.<sup>514</sup>

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<sup>512</sup> Ibn Hishām, 51.

<sup>513</sup> Ibid, 52.

<sup>514</sup> Al-Kandahlawī, 63.

And so, the first *da'wa* was in the home, to a boy, and made explicit the rejection of the existing deities which were worshipped at the time. We shall see that eventually the rejection of the Makkan idols becomes implicit in the testimony of faith (*al-shahāda*). Next to become Muslim, according to Ibn Hishām, was also a member of the household, Zayd ibn Ḥarītha.<sup>515</sup>

The first instance of *da'wa* outside of the home was, according to the transmission of Ibn Kathīr, made as a response:

Abū Bakr went to the Prophet one day and said, ‘Abul Qāsim, you have been missing from the gatherings of your people and they accuse you of speaking badly of their forefathers.’ So the Messenger of Allāh peace be upon him replied, “I am the Messenger of Allāh and I call you (*wa ad'ūka*) to Allāh.” Immediately upon completing his statement, Abū Bakr declared his belief and there was no one happier than the Messenger of Allāh peace be upon him with the belief of Abū Bakr.<sup>516</sup>

Here, rejection of Lāt and 'Uzzā is implicit in the testimony of faith, unlike the previous instance with 'Alī. This is probably due to the fact that Abū Bakr was already aware of Islam's rejection of the Makkan idols. Also noteworthy is how the testimony of faith was not formalized into what we now know as 'There is none worthy of worship but Allāh and Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh' (*ilā ilāha illa allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh*).

In due time, the *da'wa* was expanded from family and individuals to clan. The Qur'ān says, “And warn thy nearest kin.”<sup>517</sup> Al-Ṭabarī narrates that the Prophet said to 'Alī, “Allāh has commanded me to warn my family, my nearest of kin...so make ready food, with a leg of mutton and a cup of milk and assemble the Banī 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.”<sup>518</sup> Around forty men attended and after the meal, the

<sup>515</sup> Ibn Hishām, 53.

<sup>516</sup> Ibn Kathīr, Ismā'il. *Al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya*, no place: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 1932; vol. 3, pp. 29-30.

<sup>517</sup> Q. 26:214 (*al-Shu'arā'*).

<sup>518</sup> Lings, Martin. *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources*, Vermont: Inner Traditions International, 1983; pp. 50.

Prophet gave what may very well have been the first speech in Islam. He said, “O sons of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, I know of no Arab who has come to his people with a nobler message than mine. I bring you the best of this world and the next. Allāh has commanded me to call you unto Him. Which of you then, will help me in this?”<sup>519</sup> So here we see the development of *da’wa* from one-to-one conversations to a gathering and a speech in which the benefit of belief is touched upon and the invitation goes beyond belief and into action, with the Prophet is asking, ‘who will help me in this?’

It would seem that meetings and speeches would take on a greater role for the Prophet in Makka, perhaps even greater than one-to-one *da’wa* to individuals. The main group with whom he would meet and speak were the elites of Quraysh. In one case, they called for the Prophet after sunset behind the Ka’ba, and the Prophet delivered a short speech:

I have not come to you with what I have brought seeking your wealth, or seeking to be the most noble of you, or seeking to be your king. But Allāh has sent me to you as His messenger and He has brought down to me a book and commanded me to be a herald of reward and punishment. So I have relayed my Lord’s messages to you, and I have been sincere to you. If you accept what I have brought, it is to your benefit in this life and the next. And if you reject it, then I will resign to patience until Allāh judges between me and you.<sup>520</sup>

Public addresses became more and more the Prophet’s method of *da’wa*. In one instance, he mounted the hill of Ṣafā, let aout a warning cry, and addressed his people, “Banī ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Banī Fihir, Banī Ka’b, if I warn you that an army is at the foot of this hill marching upon you, would you believe me?” They said, “Yes.” He said, “Then I am a warner to you of a terrible punishment near at hand.”<sup>521</sup>

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<sup>519</sup> Ibid, 51.

<sup>520</sup> Ibn Kathīr, vol. 3, pp. 50.

<sup>521</sup> Ibid, 38.

When the rejection of Quraysh was clear and confirmed, says Ibn Hishām, the Prophet turned to the foreign visitors of his city; these were the visiting pilgrims from various parts of the Arabian peninsula.<sup>522</sup> Rabī'a ibn 'Abbād said,

I was an adolescent youth (*ghulām shāb*) with my father at Mina when the Messenger of Allāh would stand before the encampments of each Arab tribe and say, "I am the Messenger of Allāh to you. He commands you to worship Allāh and not associate anyone with Him and that you sever ties with that which you used to worship besides Him...and that you believe in me and trust me and protect me until I clarify that with which Allāh has entrusted me."<sup>523</sup>

Banī 'Abas, Banī Muḥārib, Banī Ka'b, Bakr, Banī Shaybān, Kinda, Banī 'Āmir, and Banī Ḥanīfa were among the tribes whom he addressed says Al-Kandahlawī.<sup>524</sup> Ibn Hishām adds that "there was no Arab of name or nobility that came to Makka except that he (the Prophet) drew near to him and called him to Allāh and proposed to him what he had."<sup>525</sup>

In some cases, he would receive converts, then send them back to their tribes to do *da'wa*, and so he would have something of a satellite *da'wa* active beyond Makka. One case like this was that of al-Tufayl ibn 'Amr al-Dawsī, who became Muslim during the pilgrimage season in Makka and said,

Oh Prophet of Allāh, I am a man who is obeyed among his people, and I am returning to them to call them to Islam...And so I remained in the territories of Daws calling them to Islam until the Messenger of Allāh peace be upon him migrated to Madīna and had fought Badr, Uhud, and Khandaq. Then I went to the Messenger of Allāh peace be upon him at Khaybar with those who had become Muslim with me. We eventually went to Madīna with seventy or eighty families from Daws.<sup>526</sup>

The last form of *da'wa* that occurred in Makka involved the element of travel. The Prophet's trip to the Banī Thaqīf tribe of the ciity Tā'if occurred

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<sup>522</sup> Ibn Hishām, 91.

<sup>523</sup> Ibid.

<sup>524</sup> Al-Kandahlawī, 84-91.

<sup>525</sup> Ibn Hishām, 91-2.

<sup>526</sup> Al-Kandahlawī, 186.

towards the end of his time in Makka.<sup>527</sup> This would indicate that travel was not a primary method of his *da'wa*, but rather, it was a last resort. Ibn Hishām prefaces his section on the trip to Tā'if by saying that “When Abū Ṭālib expired, Quraysh could extend persecution towards the Prophet that they could not during the life of Abū Ṭālib. So the Messenger of Allāh peace be upon him went out seeking the support and protection of Thaqīf.”<sup>528</sup> Therefore, the *asl*, or fundamental principle, of his *da'wa*, was to stay in his home city. Only when physical harm became the status quo was a new course of action introduced, and that was traveling to seek protection. Ultimately, that protection came from war-torn Yathrib.<sup>529</sup>

At Yathrib, which became known as Madīna, the Prophet was protected by an army from the Emigrants of Makka (*al-muhājirūn*) and the Children of Qayla, also known as the Aws and the Khazraj. Individualized *da'wa* continued to occur (such as with 'Adī ibn Ḥātim al-Tā'i),<sup>530</sup> but for the most part the Prophet was a statesman, and as all statesmen, he was involved in battle. In this scenario too, there was *da'wa*: Ibn 'Abbās said, “The Messenger of Allāh peace be upon him fought no one until he called them.”<sup>531</sup> In fact, this was to become the policy of the Companions when they were put in charge of battalions. Imām Muslim narrates that

on the morning of the Battle of Khaybar, the Prophet of Allāh conferred the standard of the Muslims upon 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and instructed him on dealing with the opposition: “Proceed cautiously until you descend upon their valley. Next, call them to Islam and inform them of their obligations towards Allāh, for by Allāh, that Allāh guides one man on your hands is better for you than the reddest of camels (i.e. the most prized wealth of the Arabs).”<sup>532</sup>

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<sup>527</sup> Ibn Hishām, 88-9.

<sup>528</sup> Ibid, 88.

<sup>529</sup> Ibid, 94.

<sup>530</sup> Ahmad; *hadīth* no. 18,222, vol. 4, pp. 350.

<sup>531</sup> Al-Kandahlawī, 103.

<sup>532</sup> Al-Nawawī; *hadīth* no. 2,405, vol. 8, pp. 188 and al-'Asqalānī; *hadīth* no. 3,701, vol. 7, pp. 70.

This would indicate that the purpose of the Prophet's mission was spreading belief, not conquering territories. For if the latter were the case, then there would be no need for him to do *da'wa* once he had a strong army; he would simply conquer.

Thus far, we have seen different scenarios in which the Prophet did *da'wa*. All were by the spoken word. But his *da'wa* was not limited to speech—he also used the written word and the *khāriqa*. We will begin with the letters.

The first person to receive the correspondence of the Prophet was the King of Ethiopia, al-Najāshī.<sup>533</sup> Due to the persecution of the Muslims in Makka, the Prophet recommended al-Najāshī as a King in whose land Allāh could be worshipped. He wrote to him:

In the Name of Allāh the Merciful the Compassionate. From Muhammad the Messenger of Allāh to Al-Najāshī al-As̄ham, King of Ethiopia. Peace to you...I testify that 'Isā is the Spirit of Allāh, whom Allāh deposited into Mariam the virgin, the pure...and I call you to Allāh alone without partners...and to follow me and believe in me and what has come to me, for I am the Messenger of Allāh...<sup>534</sup>

Towards the end of his ministry, he wrote to Heraclius of Rome:

In the Name of Allāh the Merciful the Compassionate. From Muhammad the Messenger of Allāh to Heraclius ruler of Rome. Peace be upon whoever follows the guidance. I call you to the calling of Islam. Become Muslim and you will be safe; Allāh will reward you two-fold. If you refuse, you will carry the sin of [your people].<sup>535</sup>

To the Cosroes of Persia, he wrote:

In the Name of Allāh the Merciful the Compassionate. From Muhammad the Messenger of Allāh to Heraclius ruler of Rome. Peace be upon whoever follows the guidance and believes in Allāh and His Prophet and testifies that there is none worthy of worship but Allāh alone without partners and that Muhammad is His slave and Messenger. I call you to the call of Allāh, for I am the

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<sup>533</sup> Al-Kandahlawī, 116.

<sup>534</sup> Ibid.

<sup>535</sup> Al-Nisābūrī, Muslim ibn Ḥajjāj. *Sahīh Muslim* vol. 3, Cairo: Dar al-Kitab al-Misri, no year; *hadīth* no. 1,773, pp. 1,393-7.

Messenger of Allāh to all people...If you become Muslim you will be safe. If you refuse, you will carry the sin of the Magians.<sup>536</sup>

These letters present a pattern that the Prophet's letters are short and to the point, which is that Allāh has sent him for the people and that disbelief is an unsafe course. The letter to al-Najāshī probably would not have been sent had not any Muslims sought refuge in his kingdom. Evidence for this is that many kings existed at the time, but only al-Najāshī received a letter. The letter-writing of the Prophet began after he had solidified his position as ruler of Arabia and not before.<sup>537</sup> In this sense, he has already proved himself and was writing as an equal: he, Heraclius, and Kisra of Persia were all sovereigns of their respective regions.

His *da'wa* by *khawāriq*, or things beyond the norm (known as well as miracles, *mu'jizāt*), deserves some attention. Qādī 'Iyyād says that the miracles of the Prophet are of "great quantity, [and] his miracles cannot be numbered."<sup>538</sup> Dr. Mustafa Murad of Azhar has compiled 1,000 miracles in his *Mu'jizāt al-Rasūl* (*The Miracles of the Prophet*).<sup>539</sup> From this work, we can tell that the miracles have different purposes, depending on his different responsibilities. In Madīna for example, they were mostly linked to facilitating his followers' worldly affairs, such as many people eating from only a small portion of food<sup>540</sup> or date-palms producing crop in the same year they are planted<sup>541</sup> or the curing of the sick.<sup>542</sup> In Makka, where his duty was *da'wa*, they assisted him in fulfilling that task. Qādī 'Iyyād says that these sorts of miracles "are in order that the truthfulness of His

<sup>536</sup> Al-Kandahlawī, 127.

<sup>537</sup> Ibn Hishām, 287.

<sup>538</sup> Al-Yaḥṣubī, Qādī 'Iyyād ibn Mūsā; trans. Aisha Bewley. *Muhammad Messenger of Allah (al-Shifā' of Qādī 'Iyyād)*, Inverness: Madinah Press, 2004; pp. 138.

<sup>539</sup> Murad, Mustafa. *Mu'jizāt al-Rasūl: Alf Mu'jiza min Mu'jizāt al-Rasūl*, Cairo: Dar al-Fajr lil-Turath, 2002.

<sup>540</sup> Murad, 82.

<sup>541</sup> Ibid, 38.

<sup>542</sup> Ibid, 114.

Prophet should be confirmed.”<sup>543</sup> This can be placed in no other category than *da’wa*. Let us look at two related to *da’wa*.

Anas said, “The people of Makka asked the Prophet peace be upon him to show them a sign and he showed them the splitting of the moon in two so that they saw Mt. Hira between the two halves.”<sup>544</sup> While this was done before a group, he also did it for the sake of individuals: one day ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb entered the mosque with a man in his hands saying, “Oh Prophet of Allāh, this is the enemy of Allāh ‘Umayr ibn Wahb. He has come carrying a sword.” “Bring him to me,” replied the Prophet. ‘Umayr explained that he had but come to ransom a captive of Badr, but the Prophet explained why he came:

You sat with Ṣafwān ibn Umayya in the Ḥiṣr and reminisced about the nobles of Quraysh [who were killed at Badr], then you said, “If it were not for a debt I had and children to care for, I would have went out to kill Muḥammad.” Then Ṣafwān volunteered to pay your debt and care for your children, in exchange for killing me for him, and Allāh has come between you and that.<sup>545</sup>

‘Umayr said, “We used to lie about news coming to you from the Heavens, and this is something that only Ṣafwān and I knew about. Now I know that none comes to you with it but Allāh.”<sup>546</sup>

In sum, we have seen that the *da’wa* of the Prophet occurred in a great variety of ways: to his family, to individuals, to the heads of the community/tribe, to the entire community/tribe, and to external communities/tribes/cities. The Prophet spoke himself, sent ambassadors to invite on his behalf; on other occasions, he wrote letters. Something of a ‘last-minute’ *da’wa* was done before war. Lastly, he did *da’wa* to foreign lands.

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<sup>543</sup> Al-Yaḥṣubī, 138.

<sup>544</sup> Ibid, 157.

<sup>545</sup> Al-Kandahlawī, 187-8.

<sup>546</sup> Ibid, 187-8.

Apparent from the chronology of these different incidents of *da'wa*, there was an unspoken order to the Prophet's *da'wa*. Namely: household, clan, city/tribe, foreigners within the city, country, world. Not all of the outcomes were identical. In terms of his household, there was full acceptance: Khadija and her four daughters, along with Zayd and 'Alī accepted the head of their household as a prophet.<sup>547</sup> His extended family produced a variety of responses. Ḥamza accepted, Abū Lahab rejected, and al-'Abbās was neither believer nor enemy for a long time.<sup>548</sup> The elite of Quraysh showed little to no support. If anything, it was an outright rejection.<sup>549</sup> As for Makka as a whole, it followed the elite in rejecting the prophethood, even though some of its residents believed.<sup>550</sup> The outlying towns and cities likewise manifested both rejection and acceptance: Tā'if rejected, but Yathrib accepted in the end.<sup>551</sup> As for his country, in the end there was success. Upon his death, virtually all of Arabia recognized him as their ruler, the sign of which was their sending of either the poor-tax (*zakāt*) or the non-Muslim tax (*jizya*) to Madīna.<sup>552</sup>

Most interesting is that *da'wa* during the time of the Prophet was to non-believers. The idea of *da'wa* being an act done towards Muslims did not yet exist. As a result, the main topic of *da'wa* was to believe in Allāh, the Prophet, and the Last Day. Further, the Prophet's mission included the establishment of Islam's worldly authority, that being in the form of the state or in the case of Islam, the caliphate. While this may appear to be an altogether different endeavour than that of *da'wa*, we have shown above that this too, for the Prophet, was a means used for the sake of *da'wa*, as in his saying, "that Allah guide one man on your

<sup>547</sup> Ibn Hishām, 51-3.

<sup>548</sup> Ibid, 59, 64.

<sup>549</sup> Ibid, 87.

<sup>550</sup> Ibid, 88.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid, 88-90.

<sup>552</sup> Ibid, 263.

hands is better for you than the reddest of camels (i.e. the most prized wealth of the Arabs)."<sup>553</sup>

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<sup>553</sup> Al-Nawawī; *hadīth* no. 2,405, vol. 8, pp. 188 and al-'Asqalānī; *hadīth* no. 3,701, vol. 7, pp. 70.

***Da' wa from the Companions to Imām al-Haddād***

I. The Companions and Successors (*al-tābi'iūn*)

A. Introduction

In a speech given in the year 2000 at California's Zaytuna Institute, Professor Abdullah ibn Bayyah of the King Abdel Aziz University (Jeddah, KSA), spoke of three epochs of Islamic knowledge: 1) oral transmission (*jīl al-sam'*), 2) collecting and copying (*jīl al-tadwīn*), and 3) organizing and analyzing (*jīl al-fiqh*). The transitions from phase to phase came about due to crises that faced each respective generation. In the first age, that of oral transmission, the Companions and the Successors received and transmitted knowledge by simply listening and speaking. They did not write down what they heard into books, but simply passed it on orally. Eventually, as the number of Muslims increased, fabrications about the Prophet's sayings began to arise. As a solution to this, Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 99/717) commanded Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) in 99/717 to write down the authentic sayings of the Prophet in one bound book. This initiated 'The Age of Collecting and Copying.' Although the order was to al-Zuhrī, the first book to go into circulation was the *Muwatta'* of Mālik (d. 179/795). Many such books followed, culminating in the codification of the *hadīth* science, including 'the science of transmitters' ('ilm al-rijāl & al-jarḥ wal-ta'ḍīl). Two

authoritative men of this knowledge were al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875) who both authored *Sahīh* collections.<sup>554</sup>

As a result of the amount of knowledge that was now at people's dispense, continues Ibn Bayyah, another crisis arose. This time, it was about how to handle all of this *hadīth* knowledge with respects to making legal rulings. One of the foremost individuals to handle this situation was Imām al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/820), who authored the *Al-Risāla* (*The Treatise*),<sup>555</sup> founding the new subject of *uṣūl al-fiqh* or legal philosophy. Ibn Bayyah defines this subject as “how to handle proof-texts, such as Qur’ānic verses and Prophetic *hadīths*.”

Given this background, if we were to do our study of *da‘wa* in Islamic scholarship by researching the books or selections written about the topic, we would inevitably have to skip over the Companions and the Successors, for they lived prior to ‘The Age of Organizing and Analyzing’ (*jīl al-fiqh*) in which ‘thought’ (*fikr*) began and books were written. But what we have instead are anecdotes about how these early Muslims did *da‘wa*.

## B. The Companions

The Companion who was best known for *da‘wa* was Abū Bakr in Makka, Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān, Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, and ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Awf believed as a result of Abū Bakr’s *da‘wa*.<sup>556</sup> In almost every case of Abū Bakr’s *da‘wa*, it was at the individual level, what contemporary authors (see al-Saqqaq in Chapter 3) term *al-da‘wa al-fardiyya*. Alluding to his role in dawa, “he was the man of his age in this art,” says al-Sallabi, a

<sup>554</sup> Al-Bukhārī, Muhammad ibn Ismā‘il. *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1981 and al-Nisābūrī, Muslim ibn Ḥajjāj. *Jāmi‘ al-Sahīh*, Beirut: Mu’assasat Izz al-Din, 1987.

<sup>555</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī, Muhammad ibn Idrīs. *Al-Risāla*, Cairo: Maktabat Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1940.

<sup>556</sup> Al-Sallabi, Ali Muhammad. *Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, Shakhṣiyatuhu wa ‘Aṣruh*, Damascus: Dar Ibn-Kathir, 2003; pp. 33.

contemporary author.<sup>557</sup> Ibn Hishām emphasizes that it was not so much as what Abū Bakr said, as who he was, namely, “of easy company...of good manners, wise...a successful merchant... completely Qurayshī.”<sup>558</sup>

The home was a predominant place for *da'wa*. Tulayb ibn 'Umayr was a relative of the Prophet who became Muslim and brought his mother into the faith.<sup>559</sup> Umm Sulaym represents another case of *da'wa* within the household. She requested that faith be the dowry of her fiance Abū Ṭalḥa.<sup>560</sup> Abū Hurayra too struggled with his mother for a lengthy period before she became Muslim.<sup>561</sup> In a semi-domestic case, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb did *da'wa* to his slave Astaq, but the latter chose to remain Christian:

'Umar came to me and said, “If you become Muslim I will entrust you with that with which I am entrusted, for it would not be appropriate for me to charge you with Muslims’ possessions whilst you are not on their faith.” But I desisted and he said, “There is no compulsion in religion.” Then he freed me and said, “Go where you wish.”<sup>562</sup>

Perhaps the first ambassador of the Prophet to an entire city was Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr who was sent to Yathrib before the Hijra. There, he lodged with As'ad ibn Zurāra, taught Islam, sought out new Muslims, and led the prayers.<sup>563</sup> Another such ambassador was Mu'ādh ibn Jabal who was sent to Yemen by the Prophet to spread Islam.<sup>564</sup> Yet another *dā'i* sent to the central/southern part of Yemen was Zayd ibn Labīd; he too lodged with the Muslims there, taught them, sought new converts, and led the prayers.<sup>565</sup> Thus, these *dā'is* did *da'wa* as

<sup>557</sup> Ibid, 34.

<sup>558</sup> Ibn Hishām, 53.

<sup>559</sup> Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanji, 2001; vol. 3, pp. 114.

<sup>560</sup> Al-Kandahlawī, 181.

<sup>561</sup> Al-Nīsābūrī, Muslim ibn Ḥajjāj. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* vol. 4, Cairo: Dar al-Kitab al-Misri, 1918; *hadīth* no. 2,491, pp. 1938-9.

<sup>562</sup> Al-Kandahlawī, 172.

<sup>563</sup> Lings, 108.

<sup>564</sup> Khalid, Khalid Muhammad. *Rijāl Hawl al-Rasūl*, no place: Dar Thabit, 1984; pp. 148.

<sup>565</sup> Al-Yāfi'ī, 72.

imāms of satellite Muslim communities. Their work involved individualized *da'wa* towards non-Muslims, as in the case of Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr with Asīd ibn Ḥudayr and Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh.<sup>566</sup> It also involved teaching knowledge, and as the numbers of Muslims increased, they became responsible for settling disputes and making legal judgements, as was required of Mu'ādh in Yemen.<sup>567</sup> In some cases, they became governors that collected the *zakāt* and led armed forces, such as Zayd ibn Labīd who fought the first apostasy (*ridda*) battles against those who withheld their *zakāt*.<sup>568</sup>

There is also the case of a tribal chief who entered into Islam and sought to bring in his flock. This was Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh (unrelated to Mu'ādh ibn Jabal above). After declaring his belief to Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr, he turned to his people,

swearing that he would never talk to them until they believed in Allāh and His Messenger. Hardly had the evening of that day arrived when all the men and women of that group of Arabians embraced Islam with the exception of one, Al-Usairim, who hung back until the Day of Uhud.<sup>569</sup>

After the expansion of Muslim territory when the number of Muslims swelled, 'Umar initiated the dispatching of official *du'āt*. These were not governors or administrators, but Companions given stipends from Madīna to simply live in one of the outlying cities and teach Islam. Their title was “*dā'i*.” Let us look at some examples.

During the caliphate of 'Umar, Yazid ibn Abi Sufyān, governor of Syria wrote to Umar saying, “The people of Syria have become numerous and have filled the cities. They need those who can teach them the Qur'an and give them

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<sup>566</sup> Al-Kandahlawī, 173-4.

<sup>567</sup> Khalid, 148.

<sup>568</sup> Al-Yāfi'i, 78.

<sup>569</sup> Al-Mubarakpuri, Safiur-Rahman. *The Sealed Nectar*, Riyadh: Darussalam, 2002; pp. 142.

understanding in the religion.”<sup>570</sup> ‘Umar then called for the five Companions who collected written copies of the Qur’ān during the time of the Prophet: Abū al-Dardā’, Ubay ibn Ka’b, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Mu’ādh ibn Jabal, and ‘Ubāda ibn al-Šāmit. While Ubay ibn Ka’b and Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī were unable to travel, the remaining three traveled to Ḥims and from there Abū al-Dardā’ went to Damascus, Mu’ādh to Palestine, and ‘Ubāda stayed in Ḥims.<sup>571</sup>

Their duties were simply to teach people the Qur’ān. As Zayd ibn Labīd was upgraded from ambassador to governor, likewise were ‘Umar’s official teachers promoted in some cases. Mu’ādh became governor<sup>572</sup> while Abū al-Dardā’ became judge.<sup>573</sup>

Lastly, Companions lived out their lives after the Prophet’s demise, travelling from city to city campaigning with the armies of Abū Bakr, then ‘Umar, then ‘Uthmān. Bilāl al-Ḥabashī was one of these saying, “I wish to guard the borders (*urābit*) until I pass away.”<sup>574</sup> Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, likewise spent his last days as a soldier, first at Ḥunayn where he lost one eye, then at Yarmūk where he lost the other eye.<sup>575</sup> Outside the old walls of Istanbul, the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī lies, him having arrived there as a senior in the Syrian regiment of Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān.<sup>576</sup>

In sum, the Companions provide a variety of methods of *da’wa*. Abū Bakr was calm and did not pressure others. The disbelievers of Makka found his inspiring appearance when enraptured in prayer a danger to their order, to the

<sup>570</sup> Al-Sallabi; ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, *Shakhṣiyatuhu wa ‘Aṣruh*, Damascus: Dar Ibn-Kathir, 2003; pp. 241.

<sup>571</sup> Ibid.

<sup>572</sup> Khalid, 152.

<sup>573</sup> Ibid, 359.

<sup>574</sup> Ibid, 105.

<sup>575</sup> Al-Hifnawi, Muhammad al-Sibai. *Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb: Shaykh al-Amawiyīn*, no place: Dar al-Zayni, 1959; pp. 49.

<sup>576</sup> Wild Karim, Muhammad Abd Allah. *Abū Ayyub al-Anṣārī wa Marwiyātuhu fil Kutub al-Sitta wa Musnad Imām Aḥmad*, Riyadh: Dar Aalam al-Kutub, 1994; pp. 49 50.

point that, as Aisha says, “Quraysh said to Ibn al-Dughunna to ‘tell Abū Bakr to pray in his home as he likes and recite there what he wishes.’ So he built a small masjid in his courtyard, and soon it was crammed with women and children onlookers from among the non believers observing in wonder at his prayer.”<sup>577</sup> Then there ‘Umayr ibn Wahb who said, “I returned to Makka (as a Muslim) and began calling the people; if anyone disobeyed me, I harmed him a great deal.”<sup>578</sup> Tufayl ibn ‘Amr al-Dawsī, upon returning to his family said to his father, “I have nothing to do with you and you have nothing to do with me.” “Why my son, what has happened?” replied his shocked father. “I have entered the *dīn* of Muḥammad and until you enter it as well, there is no talking between you and me.” So his father became Muslim. Then, Tufayl went and did the same thing to his wife until she too became Muslim.<sup>579</sup> We have already mentioned Sa‘d ibn Mu‘ādh who did the same thing to his entire tribe. Thus, the Companions offer a wide spectrum of means to doing *da‘wa* between gentle and rough.

Also, the *da‘wa* of the Companions took on different forms as the position of Islam changed in the world. It was first at the individual level between associates, family, and tribe. Upon Islam’s establishment as a state, we see that *da‘wa* mostly took place within the administrative formations of the state, for example as soldiers of Caliphal armies or as teachers of official envoys.

While *da‘wa* always revolved around salvation and belief, the function or role of it changed over time, even if subtly. The early *da‘wa*, such as that of Abū Bakr in Makka seemed to be out of pure faith. Looking into the dialogue that occurred between him and his converts, there seems to be nothing but discussion

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<sup>577</sup> Al-Isfahani, Abu Nu‘aym; ed. al-Shami, Salih Ahmad. *Tahdhīb Hilyat al-Awliyā'*, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islami, 1998; vol. 2, pp. 50.

<sup>578</sup> Al-Kandahlawī, 188-9.

<sup>579</sup> Ibn Sa‘d; vol. 4, pp. 224 5.

of the Prophet and salvation in the next life. There was no other reason attached to it. The *da'wa* of Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr was slightly different. While it revolved around faith and belief, his undertaking in Madīna was connected to laying down the foundations for the Prophet's migration, where he would be physically protected and strengthened by the new Muslims of Yathrib. The mission of Mu'ādh to Yemen was likewise centered around the faith, but had the earthly purpose of securing the entirety of Arabia for Islam. If it is said that *da'wa* should be for the sake of Allāh alone and not for any other reason,' the reply would be, 'da'wa being for Allāh is an intention within one's breast, but external actions are always connected to some earthly cause, and this would not negate sincerity.'

After the Prophet, the earthly aspects of the *da'wa* became more and more dominant, due to the responsibility of administering the caliphate. Thus, the five Qur'ān teachers above were sent out to the Levant as a means of managing the new population, moreso than anything else. If it was simply for the sake of teaching, they could have stayed in Madīna or went anywhere else. The free-lance, much of the individualized *da'wa* of the pre-*hijra* period became overtaken by *da'wa* that had administrative ends.

Lastly, the idea of *da'wa* to Muslims (in the form of story-telling and preaching, *wa'z*) arose during the time of the Companions. Al-Hasan al-Baṣrī considered Companion al-Aswad ibn Sari who "went on four campaigns with the Prophet," to be the first storyteller.<sup>580</sup> The first person to be officially appointed as such was Companion Tamīm al-Dārī by Caliph 'Umar.<sup>581</sup> Caliph 'Alī used to inspect the public speakers before permitting them to continue their *da'wa*.<sup>582</sup>

<sup>580</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī; *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wal-Mudhakkirīn*, pp. 134

<sup>581</sup> Ibid, 47.

<sup>582</sup> Ibid, 109-10: “‘Alī passed by a *qāṣṣ* and said to him: Are you versed in the ‘abrogating and the abrogated’? he replied: “No!” [‘Alī] then said: ‘You yourself are damned and, moreover, you

Thus, during the lifetimes of the Companions of the Prophet, Muslims, moreso than disbelievers, became the predominant recipients of *da'wa*. In the Classical Period, as we shall see, the idea of *da'wa* to Muslims became a subject of much scholarly writing.

### C. The Successors (*al-Tābi'ūn*)

The second generation of Muslims, the Successors or *tabi'ūn* were different from the Companions in several ways. Firstly, they were geographically more wide-spread. While the Companions travelled far and wide, they still originated from the same base, Arabia and represented the same person, Muḥammad, their prophet. The Successors however, were born and raised in different places and naturally, they had different backgrounds. Thus, as we shall see, the *da'wa* of the Successors was molded by their unique backgrounds. We shall look at the *dā'īs* from this generation region by region.

#### Madīna

Of course, Madīna was the city of the Prophet and it was therefore the centre of Islamic knowledge. *Da'wa* in this city often took a scholarly form, and in specific there was much focus on *hadīth*. One Successor prominent in this field was Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib (d. 94/713). He had a regular circle of knowledge in

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cause others to be damned.’’ In another incident Shurayḥ said ‘I was with 'Alī in the market of Kūfa until he came upon a *qāṣṣ* who was narrating stories. ['Alī] stopped and said to him: O *qāṣṣ*! How is it that you narrate stories while we are still so near to the age [of the Prophet]? I am going to ask you a question! If you answer what I ask, well and good! Otherwise I will chastise you!’’ The *qāṣṣ* replied: ‘Ask whatever you like, O Commander of the Faithful!’ So ['Alī] said: ‘What undergirds faith (*īmān*) and what destroys it?’ The *qāṣṣ* replied: ‘That which undergirds faith is piety (*wara'*) and that which destroys it is covetousness (*tama'*). 'Alī answered: ‘People like you ought to narrate stories.’’

which notables sat to hear *hadīths* and legal rulings.<sup>583</sup> Even ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar, the Companion, used to refer matters of *fiqh* to ibn al-Musayyib.<sup>584</sup>

‘Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (d. 94/712) was another such Successor. One of his contemporaries commented that, “he used to surpass us (in knowledge) because of his entering upon ‘Ā’isha,”<sup>585</sup> who was his aunt, and did not have to cover in front of him. He was also a great teacher who produced many traditionists (*muḥaddithīn*), such as al-Zuhrī, around whom revolved the *isnād* of the scholars of Madīna.<sup>586</sup> Al-Muzanī counted fifty students who all became influential Muslims, among whom were his son Hishām ibn ‘Urwa, Caliph ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, and transmitted Muḥammad ibn al-Munkadir.<sup>587</sup> Also, these two scholars fought. Al-Zuhrī said that Sa’id fought.<sup>588</sup> ‘Urwa fought with his brother at Makka.<sup>589</sup>

## Makka

In Makka too the *da’wa* was upheld in a scholarly way, but this time instead of *hadīth*, we find more exegesis (*tafsīr*), this being due to the presence of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās, who resided in Makka for some while, then retired to the nearby Tā’if. One of his students was the influential Mujāhid ibn Jabr (d. 102/720). He was from the best of Ibn ‘Abbās’s students; he even went on to

<sup>583</sup> Al-Isfahānī; vol. 1, pp. 345.

<sup>584</sup> Hashim, ‘Abd Allah. *Fiqh al-Imām Sa’id ibn al-Musayyib*, Baghdad: Matba’at al-Irshad, 1974; pp. 26.

<sup>585</sup> Ibn al-Zubayr, ‘Urwa; ed. Muhammad al-Azami. *Maghāzī Rasūl Allāh*, Riyadh: Maktab al-Tarbiya al-Arabi, 1981; pp. 54.

<sup>586</sup> Ibid.

<sup>587</sup> Ibid.

<sup>588</sup> Hashim, 54.

<sup>589</sup> Ibn al-Zubayr, 42.

make his own exegesis, mostly based on language (*sharḥ al-gharīb*) and personal opinion (*ra’ī*).<sup>590</sup>

There were also some Makkan Successors who were known specifically for story-telling and enjoining the people to good. One was ‘Ubaidillāh ibn ‘Āmir (d. ?), described by al-Isfahānī as “preacher and story-teller” (*wā‘iz wa qāṣ*).<sup>591</sup> Another, was ‘Ikrima (d. 104/722) the freed slave of Ibn ‘Abbās, who was known to speak publically. Regretfully, the content of thier public sessions has not reached us.

### Yemen

From this region came three Successors known for thier religious activity. The first is the legendary Uways al-Qarnī. Known as the imām of ascetics, he mostly counseled people in private and fought as a soldier in battles. Here is an example of such individualizes *da’wa*. Al-Sha‘bī said that

A man from Murād passed Uways al-Qarnī and greeted him, “How have you awakened (*kayfa aṣbaḥt*)?” He answered, “I have awakened thanking Allāh.” The man said, “How is life with you?” Uways replied, “How is life on a man who awakes believing that he will not sleep and if he sleeps believing that he will not awaken again, and he is either to Paradise or to Hell. My brother from Murād, death has not left the believer with anything to be happy about. A believer’s knowledge of the dues of Allāh have not left him any gold or silver in his wealth, and a believer’s establishing the truth has not left him any friends.”<sup>592</sup>

It is stories like these that surround Uways; they are one-to-one and almost always involve asceticism, the remembrance of death, and the Afterlife. By his time, one needed to be either a scholar or have an official post in order to address large

<sup>590</sup> Al-Makhzūmī, Mujāhid ibn Jabr; ed. Abd al-Rahman al-Surni. *Tafsīr Mujāhid*, Beirut: Al-Manshurat al-Ilmiyya, no year; pp. 24-27, 34.

<sup>591</sup> Al-Isfahānī; vol. 2, pp. 7.

<sup>592</sup> Ibid; vol. 1, pp. 300.

crowds. Although he moved to Iraq, he was originally from Yemen, and would be counted among the Yemeni Successors. He fought and died at Ḫiffīn.<sup>593</sup>

The second Successor from Yemen was Ka'b al-Aḥbār (d. 32/652), the Jewish Rabbi. Age-wise, he was older than most Companions, but he only arrived at Madīna after the Prophet's passing. He was known for both his lessons and his sermons, which were in many cases "intricately detailed descriptions about Paradise and its glory and beauty."<sup>594</sup> As a Rabbi, he knew the Judaic books quite well, and was known for his stories about the prophets of Banī Isrā'īl. Later, Imām Mālik quotes him in his *Muwatta'*,<sup>595</sup> which would indicate that he spent a long period of time in Madīna, if he had not made it his permanent home.

In Yemen, Ka'b had a student who became a scholar in his own right, namely Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. 110/728). He was from a Persian Jewish background living in Zimār, near Ṣan'a'; his father became Muslim and as such Wahb was born Muslim.<sup>596</sup> Wahb inherited the Biblical knowledge of Ka'b al-Aḥbār and 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām, and as such was a specialist in the stories of the Hebrew prophets.<sup>597</sup> He authored around eight works, one of which was a translation of David's Psalms (*Kitāb Zābūr Dāwūd: Tarjamat Wahb ibn Munabbih*). Ibn Ḥajar al-'Aṣqalānī considered him trustworthy (*thiqā*).<sup>598</sup>

## Iraq

<sup>593</sup> Ibid.

<sup>594</sup> Ibid; vol. 2, pp . 246.

<sup>595</sup> Al-Āṣbahā, Mālik ibn Anas. *Al-Muwatta'*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1989; *hadīth* no. 1,674, pp. 605: "If you ant to see what a slave has with Allāh, see what good things people say about him."

<sup>596</sup> E.I., 2002, "WAHB IBN MUNABBIH."

<sup>597</sup> Ibid.

<sup>598</sup> Al-'Aṣqalānī, Ibn Ḥajar. *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, Madina: Al-Maktaba al-Ilmiyya, 1960; vol. 2, pp. 135.

Outside of the peninsula, there was the renowned al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728). Unlike the previous Successors we have mentioned, al-Baṣrī's prominence lays primarily upon his *wa'z*:

His fame rests on the sincerity and uprightness of his religious personality...and above all on his famous sermons and pronouncements in which he not only warned his fellow citizens against committing sins, but commanded them to consider and to regulate their whole life...as he did...In his sermons, he constantly warned against worldly attitudes and attachment to earthly possessions: men are already on the way to death.<sup>599</sup>

Also, in his youth he took part in the campaigns of Eastern Persia.<sup>600</sup>

Another Baṣran was ‘Āmir ibn Qayṣ (d. ?). He was known more for his personal *da'wa* to people. He is known to have said, “I loved Allāh with a love that has eased every hardship upon me, and made me content in every scenario, so with this love I have no worries about the condition I find when I awake.”<sup>601</sup> He had a *majlis* in the mosque but abandoned it when its numbers swelled and the people caused it to be a gathering of much “clatter and confusion.”<sup>602</sup>

Another Successor known for speaking and counseling to piety was al-Rabī‘ ibn Khaytham (d. ?), who said, “minimize your speech until it becomes seven things: *tasbīh*, *takbīr*, *tahlīl*, *tahmīd*, praying for good, seeking protection from evil, commanding the right, forbidding the wrong, and reciting the Qur’ān.”<sup>603</sup>

## Syria

Many of the Syrians Successors were known for their erudite speech. Abū Nu‘aym lists a dozen who were all renowned for impressive sessions of *wa'z*.

<sup>599</sup> E.I., 1986, “AL-ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ.”

<sup>600</sup> Ibid.

<sup>601</sup> Al-Isfahānī; vol. 1, pp. 302.

<sup>602</sup> Ibid, 303.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid, 310.

Ayfa' ibn 'Abd al-Kilā'ī (d. ?), Makhlūl al-Shāmī (d. ?), 'Aṭā' ibn Maysara (d. ?), Bilāl ibn Sa'd (d. 124/742), Yazīd ibn Maysara (d. ?), Ibrāhīm ibn Abī 'Abla (d. ?), Nawf al-Bakkālī (d. ?), Ḥaylān ibn Farwa (d. ?), Mughīth ibn Sāmī (d. ?), Ḥassān ibn 'Aṭiyya (d. ?), Thawr ibn Yazīd (d. ?), and Abū 'Amr al-Awzā'ī (d. 157/774) were all among those who at the very least were known as public speakers for the cause of dawa.<sup>604</sup>

'Aṭā' ibn Maysara used to regularly join the campaigns of expansion, and at the camps he was known for waking others for the night prayer.<sup>605</sup> He used to counsel his companions, "I do not counsel you about this world, for you are well aware of it, but I remind you to tend to your Afterlife."<sup>606</sup> Makhlūl al-Shāmī was a scholar and ascetic pietist who used to advise the people, "Recite the Qur'ān; if you do not stop at its prohibitions, then you have not truly recited it."<sup>607</sup> Ayfa' ibn al-Kilā'ī was much prone to mentioned the Day of Judgement and its tribulations to his listeners.<sup>608</sup>

## Summary

In sum, the Successors utilized whatever was available to them. In Madīna, *hadīth* was studied, and the *da'wa* there revolved around transmission. In Makka, ibn 'Abbās's influence was strong and so Qur'ānic exegesis was given much attention. In Yemen, along with the influence of Ka'b al-Aḥbār, the presence of Jewish and Persian converts to Islam created something of a multi-cultural environment. Knowledge of previous prophets and their languages was easily available there. In Iraq, the legacies of 'Alī and ibn Mas'ūd created an

<sup>604</sup> Ibid; vol. 2, pp. 164-83.

<sup>605</sup> Ibid, 182-3.

<sup>606</sup> Ibid.

<sup>607</sup> Ibid, 180.

<sup>608</sup> Ibid, 163-5.

environment which was marked by knowledge and piety. Public speaking, as we saw in the Companions' section, took off there even during the time of 'Alī's caliphate. But even more, there was a strong tradition of asceticism there including Uways al-Qarnī, 'Alqama ibn Qayṣ (d. 67/686 in Kūfa), Masrūq ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān (d. 63/682 in Kūfa), and al-Aswad ibn Yazīd al-Nakha'ī (d. 75/694 in Kūfa). The environment of lush and elite Damascus, it would seem from Abū Nu'aym's description of its Successors, was one of erudition and sophistication, which resulted in a flowering of the number of public speakers.

Also, the Umayyads were still expanding the territories, and as such, many if not most of the Successors were also involved in *ghazwa*, or campaigning. What we witness with the Successors is a more clear delineation of *da'wa* forms than during the times of the Companions. *Hadīth* transmission for example, had an established tradition of authorities; one had to be within one of the traditionists' circles before endeavouring to narrate. Likewise, *wa'z* and *qaṣas* became more popular as the number of Muslims increased. These were the masses of Muslims who did not necessarily have knowledge about the religion, and as such, open lectures were needed to educate them. But also, we can begin to see how and why the *du'āt* of different regions were different from one another, namely that their environments had dissimilar resources.

#### D. The 'Abbāssids

Very shortly after the spread of Islam, the number of Muslims became great and naturally, a variety of parties and factions arose. One of these groups established a large-scale *da'wa* movement. What kind of *da'wa* was it? To what did it call and how?

The group of which we speak were the supporters of Imām al-Husayn, the Shī'ā (at this early stage, the term ‘shī’ā’ did not denote the theological positions of later Shī'ism, but simply referred to “the descendants of ‘Alī and their supporters.”)<sup>609</sup> The root cause for their gathering was the corruption and injustice of the ruling family, the Umayyads.<sup>610</sup> Shortly after the massacre of Karbala, says historian Muhammad Barakat, an uprising was led in the name Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya (d. 81/700), the third son of Caliph ‘Alī.<sup>611</sup> Although it was crushed, the leadership was passed down to ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, who would in turn be ‘Alī’s grandson, and the movement continued, with its sole aim of removing the Umayyads from power.<sup>612</sup> When ‘Abd Allāh had no heir, he turned the leadership over to one of his pupils and followers who was “like his own son.” That pupil was Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-‘Abbāssī. As his name would suggest, Muḥammad was from the Banī ‘Abbās and not from the lineage of ‘Alī. From then on, the leadership, or imāmate (*imāma*) as they termed it,<sup>613</sup> was passed on to his offspring and only on one occasion, when one Abū Salma al-Khallāl tried to give the Imāmate to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (who was suspicious and turned down the offer), did the leadership ever swing by the ‘Alids again.<sup>614</sup> Up until the success of this movement in overthrowing the Umayyad government (130/750), members of this party were known as Shī'ās.

The structure of this movement is unique in that it set the tone for another major movement in Islamic history, the Ismā'īlīs. Abū ‘Akrima al-Sarrāj is credited for creating two decision-making councils, one of seventy elders of

<sup>609</sup> Hourani, Albert. *The History of the Arab Peoples*, New York: MJF Books, 1991; pp. 36. Shī'ī doctrine “was gradually developed from the tenth century onwards” (*Ibid*, 181).

<sup>610</sup> Barakat, Muhammad. *Al-Da'wa al-‘Abbāsiyya*, Cairo: Maktabat Nahdat al-Sharq, 1986; pp. 10.

<sup>611</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>612</sup> *Ibid*, 11.

<sup>613</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>614</sup> *Ibid*, 35.

Khurasān (the centre of the *da'wa*), and from those seventy, another council of twelve,<sup>615</sup> taking cue of the seventy from Mūsā who “chose from his people seventy men,”<sup>616</sup> and the twelve from the verse “and we appointd twelve captains from among them.”<sup>617</sup> Also, says Barakat, the first oath to the Prophet at ‘Aqaba consisted of twelve men.<sup>618</sup> *Dā'īs* were recruited, dispatched, and reported back to Kūfa, which was led by the chief *dā'ī*, or *Dā'ī al-Du'ā*. He in turn, sent progress reports to Marw in Khurasān, where the Imām was centered.<sup>619</sup>

Its content was based on three main points. The first addressed a return to acting by the Qur'ān and Sunna. This resonated with the masses given the general air of impiety and injustice associated with the Umayyads.<sup>620</sup> The second was known as *al-musāwā*, or equality, and this point was meant for the non-Arab *mawālī* who were treated practically as second-class citizens, despite their conversion to Islam.<sup>621</sup> The 'Abbāsid *dā'īs* promised an end to this mistreatment.<sup>622</sup> The third and last point was about *al-ridā min āl muhammad*, the ‘Pleasing One from the Prophet's Family,’ which meant that the Caliph would be a sayyid.

Until the actual revolt, the people in general believed that the Shī'ā imām was a Hasanī or Husaynī, and did not imagine that the 'Abbāssids were involved.<sup>623</sup> However, the *dā'īs* were ordered, according to the research of Barakat, teach that the Awaited *Mahdī*, who was from the Prophet's lineage (and many at the time considered that whoever would deliver them from the Umayyads

<sup>615</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>616</sup> Q. 7:155 (*al-A'rāf*).

<sup>617</sup> Q. 5: 12 (*al-Mā'idah*).

<sup>618</sup> Ibn Hishām, 94.

<sup>619</sup> Barakat, 13-15.

<sup>620</sup> Ibid, 42.

<sup>621</sup> Ibid, 43.

<sup>622</sup> Ibid.

<sup>623</sup> Ibid.

was the Mahdī) was from the Prophet's clan in general, not necessarily from his daughter Fātima.<sup>624</sup> In 130/750, Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī (d.135/755) led the Shī'ā revolt to success and it was only then revealed, without serious protest from the people in general or from the 'Alids in specific, that the new caliph was the 'Abbāssid Abū al-'Abbās al-Saffāh. From then on, this party became known as the 'Abbāssids.

Were the 'Abbāssid *du'āt* trained through books or pamphlets? It is reasonable to think that there was some form of literature, but unfortunately no such works are extant as far as our research is concerned. The 'Abbāssids set a precedent for organized *da'wa*. Soon after them, the Ismā'īlī Fātimids adopted the 'Abbāssid structure of *da'wa*, known as the twelve-*naqīb* system, which divided the land into regions (not necessarily twelve though) each with a chief *dā'i*.<sup>625</sup> *Da'wa* was more critical to the Ismā'īlīs because their mission was religious and political, not merely political as al-Tabarī held.<sup>626</sup> It seems that the best speaking point for the 'Abbāssid cause was the impropriety of the Umayyads, which was already quite well-known among the people.<sup>627</sup> As a result, they did not have much difficulty in convincing the people of the need for change, creating little need for innovative *da'wa* techniques. Also, the 'Abbāssid movement was political, not scholarly. Therefore, the theory part of their message was very simple; it is likely that one did not need training in order to understand it and carry it out.

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<sup>624</sup> Ibid, 44.

<sup>625</sup> Halm, Heinz. *The Fatimids and Their Traditions of Learning*, London: I.B. Tauris, 1997; pp. 57-8.

<sup>626</sup> Al-Tabarī says that the 'Abbāssid *da'wa* was mostly about social grievances but not creed (Al-Tabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr. *Tārīkh al-Umam wal-Mulūk*, Cairo: Matba'at al-Istiqlāl, 1939; vol. 6, pp. 22).

<sup>627</sup> Barakat, 42-3.

## II. *Da'wa* in Islamic Scholarship

### A. Introduction

In this section, we seek to examine how the Muslim scholars have handled the topic of *da'wa* up to the time of Imām al-Haddād. Unlike the above section, we do not look for where or how *da'wa* has been practiced throughout Islamic history, for such would be for the discipline of ‘history’ not ‘religious studies.’ Rather we are looking at how it has been written about; in other words, theory not practice. In particular, we look for anything to do with inviting the people to good by speaking to them, afterall, this was al-Zabīdī’s definition for *da'wa* (the one that applied to our study at least).<sup>628</sup> Another question that may come up, regards the fact that our search is based upon the use of the term ‘*da'wa*’ as opposed to the notion or the essence of the term’s meaning. This is a sensible question that ultimately goes back to the fact that the study is about the literature, not the deeds. It is reasonable to hold that many of the scholars wrote works with the intention of *da'wa*. However, that is not something concrete enough to be presented here. Certain concepts that the scholars have written about, like commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, story-telling (*qasas*), and exhortation (*wa'z*) are essentially, *da'wa*, even if the word itself is not utilized. We give attention to these, but it must be recalled, they are not the focal point of the dissertation.

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<sup>628</sup> To call to a path of behaviour, good or evil (vol. 19, pp. 408). The path itself is known as a *da'wa*, the act of calling to it is called *da'wa*, the one doing it is a *dā'i* or *dā'* and the one who oft-does it or takes it as a profession is a *dā'iyya*. Al-Zabīdī says, “The *du'āt* (plural of *dā'iyya*) are a people who call to a pact of guidance or misguidance” (Ibid).

The study of any science usually begins with its first author. The Islamic sciences are no different and in fact fit very well in this methodology, since it is the practice of Islamic scholars to mention the founder (*wādī*) of a branch of knowledge before writing or teaching about it. For example, the first to write on the Prophet's biography (*sīra*) was Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767),<sup>629</sup> the first to write on *uṣūl al-fiqh* was Imām Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi‘ī,<sup>630</sup> and likewise for the majority, if not all Islamic sciences; they can be traced back to their respective founders. From this starting point, the development and evolution of the science can be studied as well as the various agreed upon and/or problematic issues (*masā’il*) that have manifested within it over time by examining the books of that given science century after century up to the present time.

*Da‘wa* does not fit so simply in the traditional mold of studying a science mentioned above. *Da‘wa* was not counted among the technical sciences of Classical Islamic scholarship, like *hadīth*, legal philosophy (*uṣūl*), or grammar (*nahw*), not having one specific founder (*wādī*) and recognized masters and schools of thought. This means that it did not develop a ‘tradition’ as did the other sciences. This is the challenge facing anyone who seeks to navigate the development of *da‘wa* in Islamic scholarship. Still, however, the task is possible by searching through the books of the scholars century by century down to our subject Imām al-Haddād. For our sake, we will look at the major scholars of each period.

## B. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq and the Four Imāms

<sup>629</sup> Ibn Ishāq, Muḥammad; trans. Alfred Guiliame. *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Ishaq’s Sirat Rasul Allah*, London: oxford University Press, 1955.

<sup>630</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī, Muḥammad ibn Idrīs. *Al-Risāla*, Cairo: Maktabat Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1940.

The first centre of Islamic scholarship was naturally, Madīna, the city of the Prophet and his Companions. In the Second/Eighth Century, Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) resided and spread his knowledge there.<sup>631</sup> For our sake, he made statements and authored a work surrounding exhortation and giving counsel (*wa'z*). His work *Miṣbāḥ al-Shari'a* (*The Lantern of the Path*)<sup>632</sup> is a compilation of short chapters of advice on various subjects ranging from proper practice to spirituality to doctrine to manners in dealing with others. Some chapters for example are: on fear, hope and love,<sup>633</sup> on intention;<sup>634</sup> on fasting;<sup>635</sup> on conceit,<sup>636</sup> on brotherhood.<sup>637</sup> One short section is entitled *Maw'iẓa* ('Exhortation'), and says:

The best form of exhortation is when words used do not go beyond the limits of truth, and the actions performed do not go beyond the limits of sincerity. The warner and the warned are like someone awake and someone asleep: whoever awakes from the slumber of his heedlessness, opposition and rebellion does good to awaken others from that sleep.<sup>638</sup>

"To awaken others from that sleep" is a reference to doing *da'wa*. The guidelines for the one who does it are simply honesty in speech and sincerity in action. Further advice to those who speak to the people in counsel and teaching are his sayings: "When the scholar does not act upon what he teaches the people, his advice pours off their hearts just as rain water pours off a smooth rock,"<sup>639</sup> i.e. it does not settle upon it. In another, he says, "Be callers to the people with other than your tongues. Let them see your scrupulousness and your striving, your

<sup>631</sup> For more on the life of Imām al-Ṣādiq see Abū Zahra, Muhammad. *Al-Imām al-Ṣādiq: Hayātuhū wa 'Aṣrūhū, Ārā'uhū wa Fiqhuhū*, Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1964.

<sup>632</sup> Al-Ṣādiq, Ja'far. *Miṣbāḥ al-Shari'a*, no place: Dar Ihya Uloom al-Din, no year; its English translation is Al-Ṣādiq, Ja'far; trans. Fadlallah Haeri and Muna Bilgrami. *The Lantern of the Path*, Longmead: Zahra Trust, 1989.

<sup>633</sup> Al-Ṣādiq; *Miṣbāḥ*, pp. 3.

<sup>634</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>635</sup> Ibid, 27.

<sup>636</sup> Ibid, 52.

<sup>637</sup> Ibid, 69-70.

<sup>638</sup> Al-Ṣādiq, trans. Haeri and Bilgrami; *Lantern*, pp. 108.

<sup>639</sup> Aqil, Muhammad. *Min Awra' mā Qālahu al-Imām al-Ṣādiq*, Beirut: Dar al-Rasul al-Akram, 2002; pp. 458.

prayer and goodness. Verily, this is an invitation.”<sup>640</sup> In yet another, the same idea of *da’wa* by example is evident: “Be callers (*du’āt*)...by avoiding Allāh’s prohibitions and sins, and following what pleases Him, for if [we] are like that, the people, to us, will flock.”<sup>641</sup> In sum, the crux of Imām al-Ṣādiq’s *da’wa* method is action rather than words, but if one speaks, it should be only the truth, without exaggeration or falsehood.

Al-Ṣādiq’s thought on *da’wa* can also be sought in his *fiqh* related to *jihād*. For this, we have Muhammad Jawad Mughniyya’s *Fiqh al-Imām Ja’far al-Ṣādiq*, a contemporary multi-volume work about the Imām’s *Shari‘a* rulings.<sup>642</sup> Although the words are not exactly al-Ṣādiq’s, the work claims to represent his thought, which is useful for our cause. In reference to seeking the caliph’s permission for *jihād*, he says, “In defending Islam, the Muslim countries or people, no permission is needed.” However, “*jihād* for the sake of *da’wa* to Islam and spreading it, permission is required.”<sup>643</sup> For us, the concern is not the caliph’s permission (*idhn*), but rather the statement, “*jihād* for the sake of *da’wa* to Islam and spreading it.”

In another section, he breaks down *jihād* as having three versions. The first is against the polytheists (*mushrikīn*) (based on Q. 9:5 (*al-Tawba*)),<sup>644</sup> “Fighting them is obligatory for the sake of the deen [because of] their disbelief and *shirk*, not for the sake of enslaving them or conquering thier lands.”<sup>645</sup> Mughniyya says, that Imām Rīdā, grandson of al-Ṣādiq said, “The Prophet peace be upon him did not fight the polytheists after recieving his mission of

<sup>640</sup> Ibid.

<sup>641</sup> Ibid.

<sup>642</sup> Mughniyya, Muhammad Jawad. *Fiqh al-Imām Ja’far al-Ṣādiq*, Qum: Mu’assasat Ansariyan, 2000.

<sup>643</sup> Ibid; vol. 2, pp. 253.

<sup>644</sup> Ibid, 259; “Fight the polytheists wherever you find them” Q. 9:5 (*al-Tawba*).

<sup>645</sup> Ibid, 258-9.

prophethood for thirteen years and then nine months in Madīna, because of the lack of supporters to do so.”<sup>646</sup> If they accept the religion, then restraint is obligatory. However, no non-Muslim tax (*jizya*) is acceptable from them.<sup>647</sup>

The second is based on Q. 9:29 (*al-Tawba*), which says, “Fight those...of the People of the Book until they give the *jizya*, while humbled.”<sup>648</sup> This *jihād* is likewise for religious reasons and is obligatoty if the Muslims are strong enough.<sup>649</sup> If Islam is accepted or the *jizya* is paid, then restraint is obligatory.<sup>650</sup>

The third and last form of *jihād* revolves around transgression of justice (*baghy*) and has nothing whatsoever to do with religious beliefs or *shirk*; its Qur’ānic basis is Q. 49:9-10 (*al-Hujurāt*).<sup>651</sup> In the case of conflict, Mughniyya holds that “a third party is formed of the prudent and sensible to reconcile [between them] and avoid the spilling of blood...Then if one of the two parties refuses, its rebellion and agression must be quelled with the sword.”<sup>652</sup> In sum, *jihād* is waged for three reasons, two of them being for *da’wa* while the third for justice.

Moving on to Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), his opinions are found with his student Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/806).<sup>653</sup> Again, the discussion of *da’wa* is in the context of *jihād*. “Before the battle,” says al-Shaybānī, “invite them if they do not know...this is the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa...If they recieived the message already, then *da’wa* is optional...this is the

<sup>646</sup> Ibid, 259.

<sup>647</sup> Ibid.

<sup>648</sup> Ibid.

<sup>649</sup> Ibid.

<sup>650</sup> Ibid.

<sup>651</sup> Ibid; “If two parties among the believers conflict, reconcile between them, but if one transgresses over the other, then fight the one that transgresses until it comes to terms with the will of Allāh” Q. 49:9 (*al-Hujurāt*).

<sup>652</sup> Ibid.

<sup>653</sup> Al-Shaybānī, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan. *Kitāb al-Āthār*, no place: Anwar Muhammadiyya Press, no year.

opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa.”<sup>654</sup> Then there is an interesting statement in which Abū Ḥanīfa’s opinion is, in the words of al-Shaybānī, “If the enemy is vulnerable or surrounded, then call them to Islam and monotheism (*tawḥīd*).” What is interesting about this is that it implies a stoppage in fighting as soon as the enemy realizes what may befall them of harm, because how else could they be “vulnerable or surrounded” except through fighting? Facing this scenario, they may choose to submit afterall, and so “if the enemy is vulnerable or surrounded, then call them to Islam.” But again, we emphasize that this is an implication derived from the statement, and neither al-Shaybānī nor Abū Ḥanīfa outrightly spoke of the stoppage of fighting in order to re-give the *da’wa*.

As al-Shaybānī recorded many of his teacher’s opinions, so did ‘Adb al-Rahmān ibn al-Qāsim (d. 191/806) and Saḥnūn ibn Sa‘īd al-Tanūkhī (d. 240/854) together recorded the knowledge of Imām Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/795) of Madīna. The first statement we have on *da’wa* has Mālik saying, “I do not see that the pagans should be fought until they are invited [to Islam.]” As for how it should be done, “I did not hear anything from Mālik about that,” says ibn al-Qāsim.<sup>655</sup> It is further reported from Mālik that

*Da’wa* is unnecessary for those [enemies] who are near because of their foreknowledge of that to which they are invited, and due to their hatred and enmity to the *dīn* [of Islam] and its people, and due to thier long standing obstinance towards the [Muslim] army and their fighting them. What is desired, is thier not knowing [what the army plans to do]; if they were to receive *da’wa*, then they would be on guard and take up thier arms to fight the Muslims, preventing the Muslims from thier desired goal of conquering them.

As for those who are far, and where it is feared that *da’wa* has not reached them, it is safer (i.e to give them *da’wa*) and removes doubt...and is an opportunity for ascertaining their position [regarding the *dīn*.]<sup>656</sup>

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<sup>654</sup> Ibid, 151.

<sup>655</sup> Al-Tanūkhī, Saḥnūn ibn Sa‘īd. *Al-Mudawwana al-Kubrā lil Imām Mālik ibn Anas al-Asbahī* vol. 2, Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Asriyya, 1999; pp. 581.

<sup>656</sup> Ibid.

In other cases, Mālik sees that even attackers should be adjured by Allāh before being repelled by the sword. Saḥnūn records that, “A man from Morocco approached Mālik and said, ‘Oh Abū Abdillāh, whilst we are behind our city walls, a people come to us intimidating us, desiring to take us, our wealth, and our women.’ Mālik replied, ‘Adjure them by Allāh (*nāshidūhum ullaḥ*), and if they refuse, then the sword.’”<sup>657</sup> Another man enquired about a people that wanted to kill another people for their land. Mālik said, “Adjure them by Allāh and if they refuse, then the sword, except if they leave you no opportunity, then fight [immediately].”<sup>658</sup>

In sum, Mālik views that most non-Muslim peoples living in and around the Muslim world already know enough about Islam, such that military strikes need not be prefaced with the invitation, particularly if the element of surprise is planned to be utilized. However, in the case of fighting back another Muslim or band of Muslims, then they should be reminded of Allāh first.

The third of the four schools is that of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/820), who has five chapters in *Kitāb al-Umm* on the non-Muslim tax and war (*al-jizya wal-qitāl*).<sup>659</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī’s statement that relates to *da‘wa* is in line with that of Imām Ridā above. Al-Shāfi‘ī says,

A short while after the *hijra*, Allāh blessed the Messenger of Allāh peace be upon him with a large group who gave the Muslims---by Allāh’s help---strength in numbers that never was before. So Allāh Most High obligated *jihād*, after it was merely permissible. He said, ‘Permission (to fight) is given to those upon whom war is waged,’<sup>660</sup> then He said, ‘Fighting has been obligated upon you, whilst you dislike it.’<sup>661,662</sup>

The important point here is al-Shāfi‘ī’s linking strength with fighting.

<sup>657</sup> Ibid, 582.

<sup>658</sup> Ibid.

<sup>659</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī, Muḥammad ibn Idrīs. *Kitāb al-Umm*, vol. 4, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1993; pp. 218-416.

<sup>660</sup> Q. 22:39 (*al-Hajj*).

<sup>661</sup> Q. 2:216 (*al-Baqara*).

<sup>662</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī; *Kitāb al-Umm*, vol. 4; pp. 220.

Lastly there is Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), whose statements on the matter can be found in the chapters on *jihād* in Ibn Qudāma's *Mughnī*.<sup>663</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal is in agreement with Imām Mālik that for the most part, *da'wa* has reached the people of the Earth. He says, "The *da'wa* has reached and spread, but if it is possible that there are people beyond the Byzantines or the Turks [who have not receive the *da'wa*] fighting them is not permissible before their invitation."<sup>664</sup> Ibn Qudāma (d. 630/1233) explains that the reson behind this is that "When the Prophet used to give *da'wa* before warfare it was because Islam was knew, and many of the tribes were ignorant of its message."<sup>665</sup> Further, he says, "The Prophet peace be upon him used to call to Islam before going to war until Allāh manifested the *dīn* and raised Islam, and I do not know anyone today who does *da'wa*."

In conclusion, the discussions we witnessed all occurred in the context of inviting the enemy before *jihād*. This is likely because *jihād* is a chapter in *fiqh*, and our subjects here all authored (or were associated) with law. Perhaps the most interesting finding here is the judgements of Imām Riḍā that there is no need for *da'wa* by the tongue in the presence of a Caliph who can lead it by the stronger means of the sword. Al-Shāfi'i, quoted above, concurs. Further strengthening this was Imām Aḥmad's saying he knows of noone who does *da'wa* to non-Muslims by the tongue anymore. Thus, when there is a caliph, sultan, or imām, the recipients of *da'wa* transform to being Muslims only.

However, there are some questions to be raised about this. Even if Aḥmad said that he knew of noone who did *da'wa*, that may not mean that literally noone did *da'wa*. Let us consider the lands which the Muslim armies cleared for Islam

<sup>663</sup> Ibn Qudāma, Muwaffaq al-Dīn. *Al-Mughnī* vol. 12, Cairo: Dar al-Hadith, 1995.

<sup>664</sup> Ibid, 520.

<sup>665</sup> Ibid, 522.

and were added to Dār al-Islam; how did those non-Mulsim enter into Islam? Certainly they did not become Muslim immediately upon the conclusion of the battle. There must have been Muslims among them to explain to them the faith. Moreover, all of the above mentioned scholars resided within the central Islamic lands; perhaps they were not as informed about the hinterlands. The idea of what we may call the ‘post-jihād’ *dā’wa* is confirmed with caliph ‘Umar’s sending out the *du’āt* to the newly added lands after their opening/conquest (*fath*). Abū al-Dardā’ for example was sent to Syria, Mū‘ādh to Palestine, and ‘Ubāda ibn al-Šāmiṭ to Hims.<sup>666</sup> In sum, what we have now is a division of *da’wa*, in terms of recipients. In the central lands, *da’wa* is to Muslims, while in the newly acquired lands, *da’wa* is to non-Muslims (and newly converted Muslims).

### C. The Ismā’īlīs and Zaydīs

By the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> Century, the Ismā’īlī Shī‘as had come to considerable power,<sup>667</sup> consolidating themselves in a powerful state that ranged from Tunisia to Cairo. Essential to this phenomenon was *da’wa*. Through a highly organized and hierarchical system, close to that of the ‘Abbāssids, *dā’īs* were trained and dispatched by official teachers, back to whom the *dā’īs* reported and received the latest instructions.<sup>668</sup> Our question is what did the Ismā’īlī scholars write about *da’wa*?

According to Daftary, the “Ismā’īlī literature of the period...maintains silence on the subject.”<sup>669</sup> In another work, he reaffirms this: “The early Ismā’īlīs themselves seem to have produced very few treatises. [They] disseminated their

<sup>666</sup> Al-Sallabi; ‘Umar, pp. 241.

<sup>667</sup> Ibid, 16, 30-40.

<sup>668</sup> Ibid, 56-60.

<sup>669</sup> Daftary; *The Ismā’īlīs*, 225.

religio-political preaching, or *da'wa...by word of mouth.*<sup>670</sup> Also, “[I]like so many other aspects of the *da'wa*, almost nothing is known about the methods used by the Fātimid *dā'i*s for winning and educating new converts.”<sup>671</sup> For this reason, there is very little literature for us to lean upon. Within the Ismā'īlīs are the Assassins (*al-hashshāshīn*) who were specialists in *da'wa*. We know they did *da'wa* (with and without the dagger),<sup>672</sup> but again no literature emanates from them.<sup>673</sup>

Fortunately, however, we do have two pieces of literature relevant to us. The most prolific Ismā'īlī author, al-Qādī al-Nu'mān al-Maghribī (d. end of 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> Century) dedicated the last chapter of his *Kitāb al-Himma fī Adab Atbā' al-A'imma* (*The Book of High Aspirations Regarding the Adab of the Followers of the Imāms*) to *da'wa*. Because the *dā'i* speaks about divine guidance, al-Nu'mān begins, he is “multiple times” more responsible for living piously. Non-*dā'i*s are also responsible, since they are “silent *dā'i*s,” but whoever seeks to guide others through speech must be acting upon the teachings. The *dā'i* must also be keenly aware of the condition of his recipient (*mad'ū*). This is entails knowing what benefits him and how much he can bear (*tāqatuhū*). “The majority of failures in *da'wa*,” he says, “is because of ignorance in this.”<sup>674</sup>

Further traits a *dā'i* should possess include loving the people of righteousness, for this enthusiasm is attractive and brings others into the religion. Lastly, the *dā'i* must not allow his listeners to be too familiar with him, otherwise his word with them will lose significance. This leads to the concept of reverence

<sup>670</sup> Daftary, Farhad. *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Ismā'īlīs*, London: I.B. Tauris, 1994; pp. 15.

<sup>671</sup> Ibid.

<sup>672</sup> Lewis, Bernard. *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1967; pp. 38-64.

<sup>673</sup> Daftary; *The Ismā'īlīs*, pp. 225.

<sup>674</sup> Al-Qādī al-Nu'mān. *Kitāb al-Himma fī Adab Atbā' al-A'imma*, Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, no year; pp. 136.

(*hayba*). *Hayba* is between aloofness and familiarity. It is characterized by “beautiful silence” (*husn al-ṣamt*), “gentle formality” (*khafḍ al-janāḥ...bi ghayri takabbur*), “humility, and gravity” (*al-tawādu` wal-waqār*).<sup>675</sup>

The second extant text, still in manuscript form, is “evidently the only independent Ismā‘īlī treatise on the subject” of *da‘wa*, according to Daftary.<sup>676</sup> Written by a younger contemporary of al-Qādī al-Nu‘mān, Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī (d. ?), it is entitled *al-Risāla al-Mūjaza al-Kāfiya fī Ḵadāb al-Du‘āt* (*The Brief and Sufficient Epistle on the Manners of Dā‘īs*) and has been translated and reorganized by W. Ivanow in his article “The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda.”<sup>677</sup> While slim, *al-Risāla a-Mūjaza* is a bit fuller than al-Nu‘mān’s chapter.

In it, we find that the term ‘*dā‘ī*’ is not merely a description or adjective, but rather it is an official title. Ismā‘īlī *du‘āt* are a highly specialized elite operating within an official structure. They are at once devotees, employees, and subordinates of the Ismā‘īlī Imam. “The *dā‘ī* should not criticise or disagree with any act of the Imam; he must obey all his orders or restrictions, and rules laid by him.”<sup>678</sup> The reason for this formality is that *da‘wa* in the Ismā‘īlī sense is closely intertwined, if not one and the same as state formation:

*da‘wat* is God’s own call of humanity to righteous ways of life as demonstrated by prophets...Its aim is to call humanity to stick firmly to monotheism, and strive to enter the Abode of Salvation...[It is] to build the ideal Divine theocratic state, the Church, which can never perish nor decay, which saves those who join and enter it.<sup>679</sup>

<sup>675</sup> Ibid, 136-7.

<sup>676</sup> Daftary; *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 230.

<sup>677</sup> Ivanow, W. “The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda.” *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1939, New Series; vol. 15, pp. 19-35.

<sup>678</sup> Al-Nīsābūrī in Ivanow, 30.

<sup>679</sup> Ibid, 19.

The *dā'i* can only operate after *idhn*, i.e. permission, or commission of the Imam, directly or indirectly, through intermediary authorities. One who has not got such permission but calls himself a *dā'i* is an imposter and traitor, messenger of evil.<sup>680</sup>

The Ismā'īlī *dā'i* as well is practically a governor: “the *dā'i* must entirely devote himself to the affairs of his...community which he manages on behalf of the Imam, from whom he holds his commission.”<sup>681</sup> Evidence exists for us to conclude that he means here satellite Ismā'īlī communities in non-Ismā'īlī (probably Sunnī) lands, for later he says in the context of internal disputes, “If the dispute arises between different parties of the initiated, *mu'mins*, i.e. members of the sect, the *dā'i* should persuade them to settle their dispute before him, without referring the case to secular authorities.”<sup>682</sup> His use of the word “persuade” would indicate that this *dā'i* is only a quasi-governor, not a real one, or else he would have the authority to judge between them. The “secular authorities” are probably the non-Ismā'īlī judges.

Further stressing the point that the Ismā'īlī *dā'i* plays a highly political role is his saying, “The *dā'i* must know how to keep secrets entrusted to him; if he does not possess the necessary ability of *kitmān*...he may cause grave calamity to his followers, and ruin the cause of the community.”<sup>683</sup>

We have an interesting analogy for the relationship between the *dā'i* and the Imām: it is as a “husband who engenders a son” by inserting his progeny into the womb of his wife, according to the analogy of Al-Nīsābūrī. The husband then “no longer intervenes in the development of the embryo in the womb, only

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<sup>680</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>681</sup> Ibid.

<sup>682</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>683</sup> Ibid, 23.

looking after the mother instead.”<sup>684</sup> Likewise, “the Imam ‘engenders’ knowledge in the *da'i*...and continues to care for well-being of the *da'i*...but leaves the growth and the ripening of the knowledge...to itself.”<sup>685</sup>

Al-Nīsābūrī puts great emphasis on the character of the *dā'i*. One possible reason for this is that the great distance between the *dā'i* and Ismā'īlī territory makes any *da'wa* operation very dangerous. They often must operate “under difficult conditions, in hostile surroundings, and often under cover.”<sup>686</sup> If the *dā'i* is to survive, much less succeed he must practically be a perfect man:

[He must] combine in himself all the ideal qualities and talents which may separately be found in the people of different professions and standing.

He must possess the good qualities of an expert lawyer (*faqīh*), because he often has to act as a judge; he must possess patience (*sabr*), good theoretical education (*'ilm*), intelligence, psychological insight, honesty, high moral character, sound judgement, etc.

He must possess the virtues of leaders, such as a strong will, generosity, administrative talent, tact and tolerance. He must be in possession of the high qualities of the priest, because he has to lead the esoteric prayer of his followers.

He must be irreproachably honest and reliable, because the most precious thing, the salvation of the souls of many people, is entrusted to him. He should be a real *mujāhid*, a warrior for the religious cause, in his heart, ready to sacrifice his life and everything for the religion. He must have the virtue of the physician, who delicately and patiently treats the sick, because he himself has to heal sick souls.

Similarly, he has to possess the virtues of an agriculturalist, of a shepherd, of the captain of a ship, of a merchant and the like, developing in himself the good qualities required in different professions.<sup>687</sup>

As a result, *da'wa* is not an open door to all people:

*da'wat*...is an extraordinarily difficult task, implying tremendous responsibilities which none can take but a great prophet, an angel of high rank, or a faithful whose heart and sincere devotion have been thoroughly tested...only those candidates can be selected for this task who possess the necessary intellectual abilities, education, religious and moral qualities, political and social tact, and innate character and qualities of a leader.

<sup>684</sup> Halm, 62.

<sup>685</sup> Ibid.

<sup>686</sup> Halm, 63.

<sup>687</sup> Al-Nīsābūrī in Ivanow, 20.

It is likely that because the content of the Ismā'īlī doctrine was heresy in the sight of the Sunnī Muslims, the *dā'i*s had to be filtered such that no sloppy *dā'i*s would compromise the cause. Among the Sunnī scholars, as we shall see below, one does not perceive the same sense of caution as to who can do *da'wa*. In fact, it is quite the opposite. This is probably because the content to which they refer is not controversial. These are good examples of how the content determines who may or may not take on the job, the more sensitive the information, the more strict the conditions for who can receive and spread it.

As to how a *dā'i* should do *da'wa*, there is only a small bit of information. Namely, we have al-Nīsābūrī saying, the *dā'i* "should start by breaking the resistance [of the recipient] and destroying his former opinions; he should break his conviction until he has no counterarguments left."<sup>688</sup> All in all, these writings would indicate that *da'wa* was very well developed with the Ismā'īlīs. Its great difference with Sunnī creed meant that it could only survive through royal authority. That in turn threatened the existing authorities, and as a result, the obstacles before the Ismā'īlī project were immense. This is why the two peculiar features in Ismā'īlī are 1) the necessity of respecting the authority and its structure, for otherwise, the movement could be compromised and 2) the high standards of attractive power for their *du'āt*; for only an extremely attractive *dā'i* in character, knowledge, persuasiveness, and lineage<sup>689</sup> could persuade an otherwise comfortable Sunnī to join a minority that was viewed as heretical by the scholars and as dangerous by the sultans.

Like the Ismā'īlīs, the Zaydīs are Shi'ā that strive for a state led by the Prophet's offspring. Unlike them however, one may find Zaydī scholars with

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<sup>688</sup> Al-Nīsābūrī in Halm, 58-9.

<sup>689</sup> Al-Nīsābūrī in Ivanow, 33.

congenial attitudes to towards the Caliphs Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.<sup>690</sup> Also, the Zaydīs are in full rejection of Ismā‘īlī esoterism (*al-bātinīyya*). They thus often find themselves at odds with one another. In the case we will now look at, they were at out right war. However, I have added the Zaydī legacy of *da‘wa*, for which I have located one work, to this section because thier *da‘was* share the desire to establish an *Ahl al-Bayt* Caliphate, and this task almost always, requires *jihād*. The work of Imām al-Mu’ayyad Abū Idrīs Yahya ibn Ḥamza (d. 749/1348) is solely on this topic.

Born in Ṣan‘ā’, Imām *al-Mu’ayyad billāh* was raised in an environment of knowledge and holy struggle. As a young student, he joined the Zaydī imām *al-Mutawakkil ‘ala Allāh* Yahya in his war against the Ismā‘īlīs, who at the time had a visible presence in the country.<sup>691</sup> Imām *al-Mu’ayyad* was one of the Zaydīs who did not reject Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, but actually recognized them and praised them.<sup>692</sup> He eventually became the Zaydī Imām himself and authored a slim treatise entitled “*al-Da‘wa al-‘Āmma*” (*The General Call*).<sup>693</sup> This work is unique in that it is written by a sultan to his people focusing solely on taking up arms. His “*da‘wa*” is to “two forms of *jihād*: manifesting knowledge and picking up the sword.”<sup>694</sup> “When innovations (*bida‘*) arise,” he writes, “it becomes obligatory for the scholar to bring out his knowledge.”<sup>695</sup> As for picking up the sword, he has “searched the religion up and down and from top to bottom...but I

<sup>690</sup> The most famous example of this is al-Shawkānī (See Haykel), but also *al-Imām al-Mu’ayyad* Abū Idrīs Yahya ibn Ḥamza praised Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthmān and quoted widely form the sayings of the early Ṣūfīs (E.I., 1981, “ZAYDIYYA”).

<sup>691</sup> Ibn Ḥamza, Abū Idrīs Yahya. *Al-Da‘wa al-‘Āmma*, Cairo: Dar al-Afaq al-Arabiyya, 2000; pp. 47.

<sup>692</sup> (E.I., 1981, “ZAYDIYYA”)

<sup>693</sup> Ibn Ḥamza, 47.

<sup>694</sup> Ibid, 57.

<sup>695</sup> Ibid, 53.

have not found for myself or for you any valid reason to leave off the *jihād*.<sup>696</sup> We also find in the work, the Zaydī idea of the leadership of the Prophet's family (*ahl al-bayt*): "We, the *ahl al-bayt*, are workers for Allāh. And the people are workers for us. We are the leaders, and the people our followers. We are the guides out of blindness."<sup>697</sup> If this is the case in the *jihād*, then it is probably safe to assume that the *Ahl al-Bayt*, in the Imām's thought and in Zaydī thought in general, are the leaders in other forms of *da'wa* too. Overall, this work reveals a different way in which *da'wa* can be utilized, namely to war. Also, it shows how works related to *da'wa* can be specialized to certain topics, which is in this case, to *jihād*.

#### D. From the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> Century to Imām al-Haddād

The books written in this period usually surround theology and law. This, however, does not leave us without any comments on *da'wa*. In Andalucia, Ibn Rushd (d. 520/1126) wrote a section "On [the Prophet Muhammad's] method of *da'wa* before *Hijra* then after it."<sup>698</sup> In it, he puts forth that there are three tiers of *da'wa*. "The first method...was *da'wa* to Islam [by talking only] without war (*qitāl*) or *jizya*. This lasted ten years."<sup>699</sup> The second stage commenced after the *Hijra* with the verse, "Permission has been given to those who were persecuted,"<sup>700</sup> and allowed the use of arms for self-defence. Therefore, the *jihād* was against Quraysh only.<sup>701</sup> The third and last phase was initiated, says Ibn Rushd, by Q. 9:29 (*al-Tawba*), in which the defence was upgraded to offence and the localization was upgraded to the level of the entire world, along with the new

<sup>696</sup> Ibid, 59.

<sup>697</sup> Ibid, 52.

<sup>698</sup> Ibn Rushd. *Kitāb al-Jāmi' min al-Muqaddimāt*, Amman: Dar al-Furqan, 1985; 91.

<sup>699</sup> Ibid, 91.

<sup>700</sup> Q. 22:39 (*Hajj*).

<sup>701</sup> Ibn Rushd, 92.

concept of “*jizya*” (tax of disbelief)<sup>702</sup>: “Fight those who believe not in Allāh and the Last Day...from those who have been given sacred books until they pay the *jizya* with willing submission.” Thus in the view of Ibn Rushd, the most basic *da’wa* is by the tongue. Then, Allāh strengthens His people by giving them the right to utilize arms in self-defence, and then on top of that, the right to subdue non-believing nations with the option of paying or fighting (i.e. *jizya* or *qitāl*). Given this, the arts of war and military strategy would be knowledges to employ for *da’wa*.

In the same century in Andalucia, Qādī Abū Bakr ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 543/1148) writes an exegesis of Q. 3: 104, holding that the *dā’ī* is so immense in what he does that the word ‘*umma*’ can refer to him: “the *umma* can...be the one who calls to the truth.”<sup>703</sup> Calling to good (*tad’ūna*), he says, is commanding and forbidding. That, in turn, is “telling or reminding people of what they are not aware regarding acts of obedience and ones of disobedience.”<sup>704</sup> Commanding the right and forbidding the wrong “is a pillar (*asl*) in the religion, [and was a pillar] of the Prophet’s mission peace be upon him during the beginning of Islam.”<sup>705</sup>

The next scholar we will examine lived back in the East, in Baghdād, and he is the famous scholar and preacher Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201). For us, Ibn al-Jawzī represents a kind of turning point for *da’wa* literature, for he wrote extensively on how to give *da’wa* to Muslims. His works on this subject can be divided into two. The first are collections of short lessons and reminders.<sup>706</sup> The

<sup>702</sup> Ibid.

<sup>703</sup> Ibn al-‘Arabī, Abū Bakr. *Al-Aḥkām al-Qur’āniyya* vol. 1, Syria: Isa Halabi Press, 1967; pp. 292.

<sup>704</sup> Ibid, vol. 1, 293.

<sup>705</sup> Ibid, vol. 2, 703-4.

<sup>706</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī. *Al-Laṭā’if wal-Tibb al-Rawhānī*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Kahira, no year; *Kitāb al-Luf wal-Wa’z*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1984; *Al-Shifa’ fi Mawā’iẓ al-Mulūk wal-Khulafā’*, no place: Shabab al-Jāmi’a Press, 1978; *Al-Yawāqīt al-Jawzīyya fil-Mawā’iẓ*

second category, which is one book actually, is a formal outline on how to properly tell stories, give sermons (*khutbas*), or offer reminders in the correct way, i.e. in the way acceptable to the scholars.<sup>707</sup> We will look at this book first.

*Kitāb al-Qusṣāṣ wal-Mudhakkirīn*, or *The Book of Preachers*,<sup>708</sup> begins with the Ibn al-Jawzī's saying, "The calling of men to God (*dū'ā'*)...is a noble and commendable thing."<sup>709</sup> We can assume then that Ibn al-Jawzī considered his work to be under the banner of *da'wa*. The book is a guide for all those who preach or speak publicly or to large groups. Resultantly, it is a great source of information for *da'wa* in Islamic scholarship.

The author begins with a defence of story-telling (*qasas*) as a legitimate Islamic practice, buttressing his argument with over a dozen *hadīths*. Next, he outlines the qualifications a storyteller must have, namely, strong roots in all subjects of religious knowledge. A *fiqh* teacher, he argues, will only be asked about *fiqh* in his circle. A grammarian will only be asked about grammar. However, the public speaker will be asked about anything and everything, so he must be well versed. This implies that whoever wishes to do *da'wa* must graduate from the scholars' circles of traditional transmission. In terms of knowledge, *hadīth* and grammar are the two most important subjects for the storyteller. Next, the *qāṣ* must have fear of Allāh and appear in very modest clothes, so as to set an example. He should also be financially independent from his listeners, so as never to be tempted by their wealth or swayed by their influence. Taking a salary for preaching is okay, since the salary does not come from the audience. Lastly, the

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*al-Nabawīyya*, Beirut: Maktabat al-Sunna, 1988; *Bustān al-Wā'iżīn wa Riyāḍ al-Sāmi'īn*, Cairo: Al-Maktaba al-Mahmudiyya, no year.

<sup>707</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī; trans. Merlin Swartz. *Kitāb al-Qusṣāṣ wal-Mudhakkirīn*, Beirut: Dar El-Machreq, 1986.

<sup>708</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī; *Qusṣāṣ*, Beirut: Dar El-Machreq, 1986.

<sup>709</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī; *Qusṣāṣ*, pp. 230.

speaker must have authorization from the government, doubtless, a point that has stirred some debate, given the existence of corrupt rulers.<sup>710</sup>

Next, the author mentions some of the reprehensible things a storyteller may fall into. These include, excitement about appearing before people, ornamenting the setting for the sake of attracting people, making movements and gestures that attract women, weeping fake tears to move the audience, and constantly accepting gifts. Outside the sessions, he should not be familiar with the people, for then, his words would have no affect upon them. There must be distance between the speaker and listener as there is between a shaykh and a student. As for the audience, their misdeeds are rowdiness and mingling between the sexes.<sup>711</sup>

Finally, Ibn al-Jawzī illustrates how a proper session of story-telling/exhortation takes place. Laughter is to be eliminated firstly. Then the Qur’ān is to be recited followed by a *hadīth* as the *tābi‘ūn* used to do this. If women attend, a barrier (*hijāb*) must be placed between them and the men, to protect the souls from carnal excitements. The speech should then contain “*takhwīf*, *tazhīd*, and *hikma*,” respectively, fear of Afterlife, asceticism in this life, and maxims of wisdom. What must not be discussed are theology and the disputes between the religious authorities. Finally, such sessions must not be long.<sup>712</sup>

Ibn al-Jawzī also notes in the work how public speaking without authority or permission amounted to showing off.<sup>713</sup> One *hadīth* that was oft quoted against

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<sup>710</sup> Ibid, 109-114.

<sup>711</sup> Ibid, 122-24, 170-80.

<sup>712</sup> Ibid, 218-230.

<sup>713</sup> Ibid, 114.

the *quṣṣāṣ* said, “Only three kinds of people tell stories: one who rules (*amīr*), one who is commissioned (*ma’mūr*), and one who shows off (*murā’ī*).”<sup>714</sup>

We now move to the other category mentioned above, which is the collection of reminders and lessons. *Al-Laṭā’if wal-Tibb al-Rawḥānī* (*Gentle Maxims and Spiritual Remedies*) consists of very short selections on various topics such as the regret of sinners,<sup>715</sup> the state of Salmān al-Fārisī,<sup>716</sup> the lowliness of the *dunya*,<sup>717</sup> and the importance of sincerity.<sup>718</sup> Based on their length, it can be assumed that they were written as *khāṭiras*, or short reminders, to be spoken in the mosques after one of the communal prayers. *Kitāb al-Lutf fil-Wa’z* (*The Book of Gentleness in Preaching*) has the exact same format as the above book; it may be a continuation of it.

His third book of this category is *Al-Yawāqīt al-Jawzīyya fil-Mawā’iz al-Nabawiyya* (*Jawzia’s Precious Stone of Prophetic Reminders*). Likewise it consists of short *khāṭiras* on similar topics, such as Hell,<sup>719</sup> the lowliness of the *dunya*,<sup>720</sup> the importance of time,<sup>721</sup> and the signs of Allāh’s love.<sup>722</sup> Again there is *Bustān al-Wā’izīn wa Riyāḍ al-Sāmi’īn* (*The Garden of Preachers and the Meadow of the Listeners*) which has short reminders on the Day of Judgement,<sup>723</sup> death and Paradise,<sup>724</sup> and stories of asceticism (*zuhd*).<sup>725</sup>

<sup>714</sup> Ibid, 114. This *ḥadīth* was found in Al-Ṭabarānī, Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad. *Al-Mu’jam al-Kabīr*, Cairo: Dar Ihya al-Turath al-Arabi, 1990; *ḥadīth* no. 100, vol. 18, pp. 55-6, with the word *mukhtāl* in place of *murā’ī*.

<sup>715</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī; *Laṭā’if*, 13.

<sup>716</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>717</sup> Ibid, 27.

<sup>718</sup> Ibid, 69.

<sup>719</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī; *Yawāqīt*, 35.

<sup>720</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>721</sup> Ibid, 224.

<sup>722</sup> Ibid, 37.

<sup>723</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī; *Bustān*, 4, 37.

<sup>724</sup> Ibid, 179 and 144-5.

<sup>725</sup> Ibid, 173.

The fifth work of this genre differs from these ones in that it is dedicated solely to *da'wa* to kings and caliphs, it being called *Al-Shifā' fī Mawa'iẓ al-Mulūk wal-Khulafā'* (*The Cure: Advice to Kings and Caliphs*). It begins with a discussion on the necessity and great function of rulers and their positions, then shifts to how these positions are also the worst for one's faith: "The more a position possesses an image attractive to people, the more dangerous that position is."<sup>726</sup> Sometimes it is thought that kings cannot be ascetics, he says, but it is possible and there are such instances of ascetic kings in the past.<sup>727</sup> Most important for the success of a king is his ability to win over the elite in following the path of Allāh, for then he will be safe from their potential bad influence over the masses.<sup>728</sup> In sum, Ibn al-Jawzī makes a strong mark when it comes to putting pen to paper on the topic of preaching and story-telling, something very important if we are to trace its history, evolution, and ultimately, its role in *da'wa*.

In the century after Ibn al-Jawzī (i.e. the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> Century), Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāma (d. 620/1223) authored two *da'wa*-oriented books. Perhaps Ibn al-Jawzī had set the tone for technical scholars to author such works, for, as we shall see, several 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> Century jurists and theologians would author books of the same vein. The first of the two works is *Kitāb al-Tawwābīn* (*The Book of the Penitent*).<sup>729</sup> Shaykh Muḥammad al-Arnā'ūṭ describes it as "one of the rare books written by the early scholars about the stories of the repentance of the people from the time of Adam upon him peace to the latter ages, including the chain of transmission to the teller of the story."<sup>730</sup> As we have seen thus far, repentance is a major topic for the *wu'āz* (preachers), and so an entire book

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<sup>726</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī; *Shifā'*, 43.

<sup>727</sup> Ibid, 101.

<sup>728</sup> Ibid, 62.

<sup>729</sup> Ibn Qudāma, Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh. *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Tawwābīn*, Beirut: Dar al-Khayr, 1991.

<sup>730</sup> Ibid, 5.

dedicated to stories of repentance is useful for anyone whose occupation involves *da'wa*. Its other chapters include ‘The *Tawba* of Hārūt and Mārūt,’<sup>731</sup> ‘The *Tawba* of Ādām,’<sup>732</sup> ‘The *Tawba* of a King of Yemen,’<sup>733</sup> ‘The *Tawba* of a Man from Banī Isrā'il,’<sup>734</sup> and ‘The *Tawba* of Abū Sufyān.’<sup>735</sup> The second of the two books by Ibn Qudāma is *Kitāb al-Riqqa (The Book of Soft-heartedness)*.<sup>736</sup> As the title clearly suggests, the purpose of the book is to soften the heart. Its contents are inspirational stories about prophets,<sup>737</sup> the Companions,<sup>738</sup> and unnamed people.<sup>739</sup> Certainly, *qasas* would be the category under which such a book would be placed.

‘Izz ibn ‘Abd al-Salām (d. 660/1262) was another jurist to author a book of *wa'z*. Perhaps it was the influence of Ibn Jawzī that caused him to author *Bayān Aḥwāl al-Nās Yawm al-Qiyāma (The Clarification of People's States on the Day of Judgement)*.<sup>740</sup> It is a work of short speeches a speaker can use about pious topics such as patience,<sup>741</sup> the life after the grave (*barzakh*),<sup>742</sup> Paradise,<sup>743</sup> and Hell.<sup>744</sup> But it is slightly different in that it contains some juristic knowledge (*fiqh*), as for example, the rulings pertaining to the mosques.<sup>745</sup> Around the same time, Yaḥya ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī (676/1277) wrote that all people should seek

<sup>731</sup> Ibid, 9-12.

<sup>732</sup> Ibid, 13-16.

<sup>733</sup> Ibid, 53.

<sup>734</sup> Ibid, 56-60.

<sup>735</sup> Ibid, 119-25.

<sup>736</sup> Ibn Qudāma, Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh. *Kitāb al-Riqqa*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1994.

<sup>737</sup> Ibid, 21.

<sup>738</sup> Ibid, 68.

<sup>739</sup> Ibid, 191.

<sup>740</sup> ‘Izz ibn ‘Abd al-Salām. *Bayān Aḥwāl al-Nās Yawm al-Qiyāma*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr al-Mu’assir, 1995.

<sup>741</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>742</sup> Ibid, 36.

<sup>743</sup> Ibid, 37.

<sup>744</sup> Ibid.

<sup>745</sup> Ibid, 44-5.

religious knowledge.<sup>746</sup> The students of knowledge are specifically obliged to encourage the people to study their religion.<sup>747</sup> Doubtless, this is a form of *da'wa*.

A short while later, but in the same century, there was a second Ibn Qudāma, that is Ahmād ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī (d. 689/1290). His *Minhāj al-Qāṣidīn* (*The Program of Intent*)<sup>748</sup> is, according to author Muhammād Ahmad Dahman in its modern preface, a simplification of the *Iḥyā'* of al-Ghazālī, removing anything technical.<sup>749</sup> The brevity, simplicity, emphasis on practical piety, and numerous stories place *Minhāj al-Qāṣidīn* among the *da'wa*-oriented books. To look at a sample, the discussion of prayer does not so much revolve around how to do it, but rather why to do it and/or stories of the pious:

Prayer is the pillar of the religion and the greatest act of obedience...When Zubayr stood for prayer, it was as if he was a made of wood. When he was prostrate [in *sujūd*], birds would descend upon him, thinking he is nothing but a log...Maymūn ibn Mahrān said, "I never saw Muslim ibn Yasār ever distracted from his prayer. One time a pillar in the central mosque collapsed and even the people of the market place were startled by its sound, and yet he was found still in the mosque not diverted from his prayer."<sup>750</sup>

Certainly, *Minhāj al-Qāṣidīn* is not a technical book written for fellow scholars. Therefore, it would not be far-fetched to hold that Ibn Qudāma authored *Minhāj al-Qāṣidīn* for the non-scholars of the Muslims to read and/or as a guide-book for preachers and those who give the Fiday sermon (*khuṭba*).

Among the prolific writers of the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> Century was Ahmād Ibn Taymiya (d. 728/1328). The nature of Ibn Taymiya's scholarship around the topic of *da'wa* tends towards legal/theoretical discussions as opposed to authoring actual *da'wa* books like *Kitāb al-Tawābiñ* or *al-Shifā' fī Mawa'iż al-Mulūk*

<sup>746</sup> Al-Nawawī, Yahyā ibn Sharaf. *Kitāb al-'Ilm wa Ādāb al-'Ālim wal-Muta'allim*, Beirut: Dar al-Khayr, 1993; pp. 62-3.

<sup>747</sup> Ibid.

<sup>748</sup> Al-Maqdisī, Ahmād ibn Qudāma. *Mukhtasar Minhāj al-Qāṣidīn*, Damascus: Maktabat Dar al-Bayan, 1978.

<sup>749</sup> Ibid, 1-2.

<sup>750</sup> Ibid, 22.

*wal-Khulafā'* above. On *da'wa*, Ibn Taymiya says, "Allāh commands the believers to faith and righteous deeds, and calling the people (*da'wat al-nās*), and struggling (*jihādihim*) with them about these (i.e. faith and righteous deed)."<sup>751</sup> He expounds on commanding the right and forbidding the wrong in the book of *jihād* of the voluminous *Majmū' Fatāwī Ibn Taymiya*. He explains that calling the people and enjoinin good is a social activity, and as a result, "is a trial and a tribulation."<sup>752</sup> Therefore, some people's excuse for not engaging in spreading virtue is "wanting to live a peaceful life, as Allāh said about the hypocrites 'Some of them say, excuse me from going and do not tempt me. Woe! Temptation is what they have already fallen into.'<sup>753</sup> ...The man about whom this verse was revealed was al-Jād ibn Qayṣ and he was tempted by the women of *Banī al-Asfar* (i.e. of the Byzantines).<sup>754</sup> Thus, many people avoid enjoining good because it will put them in contact with "beautiful images, which [one] loves but cannot have due to prohibition or inability, and therefore [the] heart is tortured."<sup>755</sup> "One who thinks this way has fallen into tribulation...because there are permissible outlets for this scenario (i.e. marriage)."<sup>756</sup> Furthermore, the struggle of passions "is a lesser tribulation than leaving off struggling with people...which is a command of Allāh."<sup>757</sup>

Ibn Taymiya is in agreement with al-Fakhr al-Rāzī in holding that the Muslims are the best at "calling to good" (*tad'ūna ila al-khayr*) because they employed *jihād* in the way of Allāh, in the course of which they sacrificed their lives and money, to accomplish that task.

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<sup>751</sup> Ibn Taymiya, Ahmād. *Al-Istiqlāma* vol. 2, Cairo: Maktabat al-Sunna, 1989; 286-7.

<sup>752</sup> Ibn Taymiya, Ahmād. *Majmū' Fatāwī Ibn Taymiya* vol. 28, no place: Maktabat Ibn Taymiya, no year; pp. 165.

<sup>753</sup> Q. 9:49 (*al-Tawba*).

<sup>754</sup> Ibn Taymiya; *Fatāwī*, vol. 28, pp. 166.

<sup>755</sup> Ibid.

<sup>756</sup> Ibid; *Al-Istiqlāma*, vol. 2, pp. 287-9.

<sup>757</sup> Ibid, 167.

None of the nations that preceded the *Umma* of Muslims had enjoined everything good upon each of its individual members, nor forbade everybody from all things bad, neither did they undertake *jihād* in doing so. There were even some nations that never practiced *jihād*. While those who did, such as the Sons of Israel, had fought simply to repel attackers from their land. They did not fight as a means of calling people to right guidance, nor to enjoin upon them what is good or forbid them from what is bad.<sup>758</sup>

From this, and particularly his saying “calling the people (*da’wat al-nās*), and struggling (*jihādihim*) with them,”<sup>759</sup> it is evident that Ibn Taymiya sees commanding, forbidding, and *jihād* as continuations of *da’wa*. As for who is to do these things, they are “not an obligation for every individual Muslim,”<sup>760</sup> but only upon the scholars.

On the issue of *jihād* as it is connected to *da’wa* in Ibn Taymiya’s thought, Azhar scholar Riḍā Shaṭa, knowledgable of Ibn Taymiya’s scholarship, was interviewed. “*Da’wa* in Ibn Taymiya’s thought,” said Shaṭa, “is the *asl*, and *jihād* is only meant to remove obstacles from the path of *da’wa*. The purpose of Muslim expansionary conquests, is to clear the way for *dā’is*, such that no repressive king or ruler will stop them from doing *da’wa*.<sup>761</sup>

Ibn Taymiya’s loyal students Ibn al-Qayyim and Ibn Kathīr also have contributions to *da’wa* in Islamic scholarship. Shams al-Dīn ibn Qayyim al-Jawziya (d. 751/1350) authored a brief treatise to “a freind,” which was published as *Risālat ibn Qayyim ilā Aḥad Ikhwānihī* (*The Treatise of Ibn Qayyim to One of His Freinds*).<sup>762</sup> In this booklet Ibn Qayyim explains the saying of ‘Īsa ibn Maryam in the Qur’ān, “And make me blessed wherever I am,”<sup>763</sup> as meaning, “a teacher of good, a caller (*dā’ī*) to Allāh, a remembrancer of Allāh, and one who

<sup>758</sup> Ibid, 123-5.

<sup>759</sup> Ibn Taymiya; *al-Istiqlāma*, vol. 2; pp. 286-7.

<sup>760</sup> Ibn Taymiya; *Fatāwī*, vol. 28, pp. 126.

<sup>761</sup> Interview, September 2006, Shaykh Riḍā Shaṭa.

<sup>762</sup> Ibn Qayyim, Shams al-Dīn. *Risālat ibn al-Qayyim ilā Aḥad Ikhwānihī*, Riyadh: Matba’at Al-Sharq al-Awsat, 2000.

<sup>763</sup> Q. 19:31 (*Maryam*).

causes people to desire obeying Him.”<sup>764</sup> *Da’wa* according to Ibn Qayyim, is also a source of guidance, for “every time one guides another, Allāh guides him (the *dā’ī*) and teaches him, until he becomes one his is guided and guides others.”<sup>765</sup> Lastly, a believer is encouraged to pray to be a *dā’ī* and *imām*, for “Allāh praised those who supplicate Him to be from those who are *imāms* who are the causes of others’ guidance.”<sup>766</sup> Both of these are quite unique relative to what we have discussed thus far.

We find more of the same genre of Ibn al-Jawzī’s collections of discourses from al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), who authored *Aḥwāl Yawm al-Qiyāma* (*The Hardships of the Day of Judgement*)<sup>767</sup> which consists of 48 verses and 398 *hadīths* about the Day of Judgement. There is no commentary, but simply a list. The work is handy for anyone preparing a talk on the topic.

Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī (d. 795/1394) is involved. He wrote *Bughyat al-Insān fī Waṣā’if Ramadān* (*The Aim of the Human Being in Counsels on Ramadān*).<sup>768</sup> Its peculiarity is that it is centered around Ramadān, consisting of a *wa’z* or counsel for each day. Another peculiar *da’wa*-oriented work is *al-Targhib wal-Tarhib* of *hadīth* scholar, Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (852/1449).<sup>769</sup> In line with the classic preaching books, selections are one page or less about devotional topics, such as sincerity<sup>770</sup> and humility.<sup>771</sup> Like Ibn Kathīr’s collection, there is nothing of Ibn Ḥajar’s own words; it is all *hadīths*. It is unique in that the chaptering eventually turns into that of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), namely,

<sup>764</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>765</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>766</sup> Ibid, 11. He is likely intending the verse, “And those who supplicate, ‘Our Lord! Grant unto us wives and offspring who will be the comfort of our eyes, and give us (the grace) to lead the righteous as an *imām*’” Q. 25:74 (*al-Furqān*).

<sup>767</sup> Ibn Kathīr, Ismā’il. *Aḥwāl Yawm al-Qiyāma*, Damascus: Al-Yamama Press, 2000.

<sup>768</sup> Al-Ḥanbalī, Ibn Rajab. *Bughyat al-Insān fī Waṣā’if Ramadān*, Damascus: al-Maktab al-Islami, 1963.

<sup>769</sup> Al-‘Asqalānī, Ibn Ḥajar. *Al-Targhib wal-Tarhib*, Tunis: al-Maktabah al-Ateeqah, 1973.

<sup>770</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>771</sup> Ibid.

beginning with purification (*tahāra*),<sup>772</sup> and continuing through prayer (*salāt*),<sup>773</sup> charity (*zakāt*),<sup>774</sup> fasting (*sawm*),<sup>775</sup> pilgrimage (*hajj*),<sup>776</sup> marriage (*nikāh*),<sup>777</sup> etc. Perhaps Ibn Hajar intended the work to be a handbook for preachers or *khaṭībs*, presenting them with the *hadīths* on whichever topic they choose to discuss.

Closer to Imām al-Haddād's time, there are, in the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> Century, the *fatwas* of Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī (d. 909/1503).<sup>778</sup> Our focus is not the whole work, but merely a brief section in which pertains to our subject, and particularly to the role of the ruler in *da‘wa*. One of his replies reads:

Among the most important duties upon the ruler is the protection of the *dīn* by not allowing anyone to speak about the *dīn* in knowledge, wisdom, or *fatwa* until they are worthy of it. ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib once found Ḥasan al-Baṣrī speaking in public to the people. He (‘Alī) did not allow Ḥasan to continue until the latter was tested and found competent in the religion.<sup>779</sup>

The ruler should know that scholars could be of three types: the ‘people of *dhikr*’ (*ahl al-dhikr*) or evil scholars (*‘ulamā’ al-sū’>) or those in between. How could a ruler distinguish between them? The proper scholar is one who “commands the right and forbids the wrong. The people are guided by them in a way that is noticeably greater than their contemporaries.”<sup>780</sup> The evil scholar “tries to prevent people from the righteous scholar...like a rock in the opening of a river; it does not drink nor does it allow others to drink. [This scholar] is worse than one thousand devils.”<sup>781</sup> The type in between are not visibly pious and not visibly evil. On them al-Maghīlī takes a clear and strong stance: “Do not follow him or ask*

<sup>772</sup> Ibid, 17.

<sup>773</sup> Ibid, 24.

<sup>774</sup> Ibid, 71.

<sup>775</sup> Ibid, 95.

<sup>776</sup> Ibid, 115.

<sup>777</sup> Ibid, 223.

<sup>778</sup> Al-Maghīlī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm. *As’ilat al-Asqiyā’ wa Ajwibat al-Maghīlī*, Algeria: Wataniyya Press, 1974 and also Hunwick, John. *Sharia in Songhay: The Replies of al-Maghīlī to the Questions of Aski al-Hajj Muhammed*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

<sup>779</sup> Al-Maghīlī, 27-8.

<sup>780</sup> Ibid, 30.

<sup>781</sup> Ibid, 31.

him about the *dīn* and stay away from him even if he is eloquent and has memorized all the books.”<sup>782</sup>

In summarizing this section, the Classical and Post-Classical Periods, in terms of *da’wa*, are marked with *da’wa* to the Muslim masses by way of reminders (*wa’z*) of the Afterlife and stories (*qasas*) of the prophets and righteous ancestors (*salaf*). Ibn Jawzī seems to have set the tone for scholars (like himself) to author works in this field. Thus we find several illustrious scholars composing side works on *da’wa* related matters, even if simple compilations of verses and *hadīths* as Ibn Kathīr did. Such works are characterized by short chapters, many stories, no technical vocabulary, minimal fiqh-related content, much encouragement to practical piety, and simple language. The major topics are death, repentance, the Afterlife, the Prophets and Companions, the major sins, prayer, charity, fasting, patience, sincerity, right intention, etc. In ‘Izz ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, Ibn Rajab, and Ibn Ḥajar, we find that these works became more and more specialized with regard to topic and content. For example, Ibn Rajab’s preaching book was dedicated to Ramaḍān counsels only. In some cases the specializations take the form of their author’s respective fields of expertise. For example, ‘Izz ibn ‘Abd al-Salām includes *fiqh* in his, while Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Ḥajar’s consist of only *hadīths*, and no words from themselves. Ultimately, the most important point for us here is that the idea of *da’wa* to Muslims became formalized, almost official, with several hundred years of scholarly precedent.

One reason for this may be the social order under which they lived, namely that, as Hourani puts it, the Dār al-Islam of Classical and Post-Classical Periods was a “[l]iving, growing, self-sufficient and unchallenged”<sup>783</sup> abode to many

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<sup>782</sup> Ibid, 32.

<sup>783</sup> Hourani, 258.

thousands if not millions of believers. We direct our attention to his saying “self-sufficient and unchallenged.” This means that the Muslims would be living within the Dār al-Islam, not migrating out of it, and also it would mean that no other religion, for the most part, posed a threat to the supremacy of the Qur’ān and the *Sunna* in the hearts of the masses. Thus, it could be safely assumed, based on Hourani’s description “unchallenged,” that the Muslim spiritual leaders did not have to contend with believers’ leaving the faith in favour of Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, or any other religion; but instead these leaders had to contend with sin and heedlessness. This would explain why the above scholars left a substantial literary legacy that has to do with addressing fellow Muslims, as opposed to addressing non-Muslims.<sup>784</sup> Just as the Muslim elite developed methods of mass-training scholars who would administer their governments (i.e. *madrasas*),<sup>785</sup> so likewise the Muslim scholars developed the genres of story-telling/exhortation (*qaṣaṣ/wa’z*) and commanding right/forbidding wrong to combat vice, heedlessness, and impiety among the masses. Our aim above was not to trace the historical developments of those two genres,<sup>786</sup> but rather the literature surrounding them.

#### E. Polemics Surrounding *Qaṣaṣ* and *Wa’z*

As we have said, what is in essence *da’wa*, manifested, in the early and middle periods of Islam, as *qaṣaṣ* and *wa’z*. As such, we allot a very brief section

<sup>784</sup> Further confirming this is that in their mention of *da’wa*, the two Andalusian scholars above, Ibn Rushd and Qāḍī Abū Bakr, did not include Christians or Jews in their discussions although they shared the same Iberian peninsula. Perhaps they felt that *da’wa* to them was unnecessary given that they are already paying the *jizya*.

<sup>785</sup> Ibid, 163.

<sup>786</sup> For *qaṣaṣ/wa’z* see Berkey, Jonothan. *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East*, London: University of Washington Press, 2001. For commanding and forbidding see Cook, Michael. *Commanding the Right and Forbidding the Wrong in Islamic Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

here on some debates that surrounded these fields. *Qaṣaṣ* involved an individual who related stories of the pious to the public hoping they would repent and mend thier ways. This is *da'wa*. Likewise, *wa'z* was giving wise counsel to draw listeners to Allāh. If there is any difference between *qaṣaṣ* and *wa'z*, it would have to do with the degree of sophistication, *qaṣaṣ* being the more relaxed form and *wa'z* slightly more reflective and knowledge based. Essentially however, *qaṣaṣ* and *wa'z* are one and the same thing, as we shall now show.

Ibn al-Jawzī says that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said, “Story-telling (*qaṣaṣ*) is an innovation (*bid'a*), but how wonderful an innovation! How many a prayer is answered, request granted, companion won, and how great is the knowledge received through it!”<sup>787</sup> This shows that a session of *qaṣaṣ* may contain knowledge, prayer, and social guidance. It has also been defined as “providing religious instruction for the untutored masses.”<sup>788</sup>

Since its inception, *qaṣaṣ* has been viewed with a degree of suspicion by some of the early Muslims and the latter scholars. By examining their critiques, we can uncover the questions (*masā'il*) that surrounded *qaṣaṣ*. One *ḥadīth* says “Only three kinds of people tell stories: one who rules (*amīr*), one who is commissioned (*ma'mūr*), and one who shows off (*murā'i*).”<sup>789</sup> Caliph ‘Umar was asked by a Companion for permission to tell stories in the mosque. ‘Umar replied, “You just want to say, ‘I am so-and-so, look at me.’”<sup>790</sup> Early ascetic devotees such as Abī Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/997) considered the circles of *qaṣaṣ* to be undisciplined gatherings inferior to the circles of remembrance (*majālis*

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<sup>787</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī; *Qussāṣ*, 103.

<sup>788</sup> Ibid, 47.

<sup>789</sup> Al-Ṭabarānī; *ḥadīth* no. 100, vol. 18, pp. 55-6.

<sup>790</sup> Al-Ṭurṭūshī, Abū Bakr. *Kitāb al-Hawādith wal-Bida'*, no place: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1990; pp. 227.

*al-dhikr).*<sup>791</sup> Yet another reason these gatherings were disdained was for their free-mixing between the sexes. This led ‘Alī ibn Maymūn al-Idrīsī, in the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> Century, to “employ the language of *jihād* against the storytellers.”<sup>792</sup> *Jihād* against gatherings of free-mixing, he said, was more meritorious than that against the bordering non-believers because the evil of free-mixing is greater.<sup>793</sup>

Most disapproving of all were the traditionists (*al-muḥaddithūn*), says al-Šuyūṭī, since the early *quṣṣāṣ* were not from the scholars and sloppily cited *hadīths*. This is the premise of his book *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣ min Akādhīb al-Quṣṣāṣ* (*Warning the Elite of the Falsehoods of Story-tellers*).<sup>794</sup> Ibn Taymiya endeavoured to collect the false *hadīths* the preachers of his age used to transmit in *Aḥādīth al-Quṣṣāṣ* (*Hadīths of the Story-tellers*).<sup>795</sup> Here is an anecdote of a sloppy, if not deceitful, case of story-telling by one local preacher. One day the eminent *hadīth* scholar Sulaymān al-A‘mash (d. 148/765) entered a large mosque in Kūfa and heard his name mentioned. Low and behold a complete stranger was speaking to a circle and claiming to have been his student. Al-A‘mash seated himself in the circle and began plucking out the hairs of his underarms. When rebuked by the story-teller, al-A‘mash surprised him saying, “What you are doing is worse than what I do. I am al-A‘mash, and I never recited to you what you have alleged.”<sup>796</sup> Another instance reveals how story-tellers, at times, had greater influence with the people than did scholars. Here, Abū Ḥanīfa’s own mother

<sup>791</sup> Ibn al-Ḥājj. *Al-Madkhal*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, no year; vol. 2, pp. 146.

<sup>792</sup> Berkey, 30.

<sup>793</sup> Ibid.

<sup>794</sup> Al-Šuyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān. *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣ min Akādhīb al-Quṣṣāṣ*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 2002.

<sup>795</sup> Ibn Taymiya, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad. *Aḥādīth al-Quṣṣāṣ*, Cairo: Al-Dar al-Misriyya al-Lubnaniyya, 1993.

<sup>796</sup> Al-Turṭūshī, 231-2.

would not accept her son's ruling (*fatwa*) until it was confirmed by her local *qāss*.<sup>797</sup>

In due time, however, the tense relationship between *qasāṣ/wa'z* and the '*ulamā* evolved into a satisfactory one, in which the '*ulamā* were seen as the auditors and teachers of the *quṣṣāṣ* and *wu‘āz*.<sup>798</sup> In the best case scenario, the scholar was himself the preacher and story-teller. Ibn al-Jawzī is a good example of this.

### III. Conclusion

From the Companions to the latter ages of Islamic history, several different forms of *da'wa* have manifested themselves. Each type of *da'wa* is formed by the religious and political environment. During the time of the Prophet and Abū Bakr and the Makkan Companions, the mere idea of the Unity of Allāh (*tawhīd*) and the prophethood of Muḥammad was new. This *da'wa*, solely about the '*aqīda*, can be called 'the initial *da'wa*.' It usually, but not always, took place at the individual level. There is nothing worldly about it, and it was directed to any person who would believe, men, women, children, or slaves. When persecution rained down on the Prophet and his followers, they sought protection, and the *da'wa*, while maintaining its spiritual aspect, was directed to those who could supply safety, and as such, the Prophet visited the tents of each tribe at the pagan pilgrimage. This is the *da'wa*, which we can call 'the establishment

<sup>797</sup> Sulayman, Wahbi. *Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān*, Damascus: Dar al-Qalam, 1999; pp. 102.

<sup>798</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī's *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ* is meant for this purpose (a guidebook for preachers).

*da'wa*,' through which the Aws and the Khazraj entered the faith. These converts were very important in the worldly sense in that without them, the establishment of the religion could have been compromised; the Anṣār are the ones who gave Islam a body so to speak.

After attaining recognized state-hood, those who were brought into Islam strengthened the religion; their lack would not have endangered the religion. The next form of *da'wa* that we discovered in our research is part of conquest periods, in which the Muslims are safe and thier efforts are directed to increasing their strength. In this phase there is also *da'wa*, namely the ‘*pre-jihād da'wa*,’ in which the Muslims offer conversion, submission with the *jizya*, or war.<sup>799</sup> While it would seem more like an official procedure, it is nonetheless *da'wa*. Then there is ‘*post-jihād da'wa*.’ This is the sort of *da'wa* that ‘Umar ibn al-Khattāb administered from the capitol of Madīna. Any new Muslim territory would include Muslim soldiers, non-Muslims (of the previous establishment religion), and some new converts to Islam. The soldiers who might marry from the local population and produce children would need imāms and teachers for themselves and their new families. The new converts would need teachers. These teachers would also seek to bring in the non-Muslims into the religion. If the ‘initial *da'wa*’ and the ‘establishment *da'wa*’ seemed difficult in light of rejection and few followers, ‘*post-jihād da'wa*’ would be equally as difficult in light of the amount of work to be done given the amount of people who need to be reached.

According to our research and observations, the ‘*post-jihād da'wa*’ eventually evolves into what we may term ‘classical Muslim-to-Muslim *da'wa*.’ This type of *da'wa* exists for the remainder of the historical cycle. Its forms are

<sup>799</sup> See for example Al-Shaybānī, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan. *Kitāb al-Āthār*, no place: Anwar Muhammadiyya Press, no year; pp. 151 or al-Qayrawānī, Ibn Abī Zayd. *Al-Risāla*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 2005; pp. 61-2.

varied, but ultimately they can be encapsulated ‘soft’ and ‘hard,’ namely *qasas/wa‘z* (as soft) and commanding right and forbidding wrong (as hard). *Qasas* and *wa‘z* are soft because they seek to persuade one to change on his own, but commanding and forbidding are certainly hard because they are spoken in the imperative tone. If one commands or forbids by the hand, then the listener does not even any longer have a choice in the matter. One finds that in this phase of *da‘wa*, the term ‘*da‘wa*’ itself is rarely utilized. Rather, the scholars discuss the sub-forms of either story-telling/preaching or commanding/forbidding. Ibn Taymiya, for example, wrote on commanding and forbidding. Ibn al-Jawzī too writes on *qasas* and *tadhkīr* (reminding), but rarely utilizes the term *da‘wa*. It is not odd that a classical exegete would go straight to discussing commanding and forbidding for verse Q. 3:104, and not say anything about ‘*tad‘ūna ilā al-khayr*’ (call or do *da‘wa* to the good). Two examples are Qādī Abū Bakr and Abul Barakāt al-Nasafī (d. 701/1301).<sup>800</sup>

What about the world of scholarship? Could that classify as a third form of ‘classical Muslim-to-Muslim *da‘wa*?’ Imām al-Nawawī, above, believed that the realm of scholarship was one of *da‘wa*. However, one soon finds difficulty in justifying this, since students, mostly, are already convinced and practicing Muslims. They have reached the point where they are building themselves into scholars. The world of spirituality, likewise, can be classified in the same way as scholarship. The disciples of masters are already convinced and practicing; they are building themselves up to be sages in thier own right. The only way either of these two could be linked to *da‘wa* is when a student, for example, tries to convince another Muslim to enter into the field of seeking knowledge.

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<sup>800</sup> Ibn al-‘Arabī, Qādī Abū Bakr. *Aḥkām al-Qur’ān*, Syria: Isa Halabi Press, 1967; vol. 2, pp. 703-4 and al-Nasafī, Abul Barakāt. *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-Jalil*, Cairo: Amiriyyah Press, 1942; vol. 1, pp. 240.

## Imām al-Ḥaddād on Defining *Da'wa*

### I. Introduction

#### A. Reasons the Imām Wrote on *Da'wa*

In this chapter, we would like to ask why Imām al-Ḥaddād wrote on *da'wa* as he did? By his era, as we have witnessed in the research of Chapter 4, *da'wa* writing certainly existed and was known, usually in the forms of giving counsel (*wa'z*) and reminders (*tadhkīr*). But still, we cannot say that it was such a popular field of writing that one would expect every scholar to author a work in it. In examining the context of our subject, we can put forth something of a theory of why Imām al-Ḥaddād wrote on *da'wa* as he did.

Even though the Imām lived in Ottoman times, his land of Ḥadramawt was not under their jurisdiction, and neither was any of Yemen. As mentioned in Chapter 1, his was a time of social upheaval and religious clashes. During his youth, the Zaydīs of Upper Yemen conquered Ḥadramawt and colonized it until he was eighty-one years of age.<sup>1</sup> It is reasonable to assume that for these six decades the Sunnī scholars of Tarīm experienced a fear of losing their sway over the people. Perhaps there occurred confusion in beliefs among the Ḥadramīs

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<sup>1</sup> Based on the dates of conquest and retreat given in al-Yāfi'i, 131, 137, and the dates we know of Imām al-Ḥaddād's birth.

between Zaydī and Sunnī. Evidence of this is that Imām al-Haddād himself says that the circumstances forced him to clarify major doctrinal issues, which would not have required any attention at all had the Zaydīs not conquered Ḥadramawt.<sup>2</sup>

The Imām's disapproval with the people of his age comes out most in his letters. In a message to Sultan Badr ibn 'Abdillāh, he directs him to giving attention to the prayer, for "most of the people no longer pray."<sup>3</sup> In another, he writes to an associate, "It must not be hidden from you, the tribulations that have become so widespread."<sup>4</sup> In yet another, "this is an age in which religion has become weak."<sup>5</sup> In another: "Where are the people today?" he asks, "For we do not say that they are heedless or asleep, rather they are drunk and in delusion."<sup>6</sup> The desire for any pious person should be, "turning away from the people of this age."<sup>7</sup> To his brother he calls it, "the age of trial."<sup>8</sup> Clearly then, the Imām witnessed the loss of religious order in the Ḥadramawt of his day and age.

Given that *da'wa* is the rallying point for religious communities in positions of weakness, we can say that the collapse of unity in Ḥadramawt could have been the cue (*ishāra*) for our subject to consider *da'wa*. Ironically, as we shall see in Chapter 7, the recent *da'wa*-oriented revival of the Āl Bā 'Alawī was likewise preceded by Communist conquest over Ḥadramawt which lasted from 1967 to 1990. Perhaps it too strengthened the drive to do *da'wa* (*taqwiyat bā'ith al-da'wa*).

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<sup>2</sup> In a letter to a Zaydī imām, our subject says, "We never delved into this until the Zaydīs came our way, then we were forced to be involved in the issue as much as was required" (al-Badawi, 117).

<sup>3</sup> Letters; vol. 1, pp. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 51.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 99.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 516.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 213.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 267.

## B. Synopsis of the Imām’s Writings on *Da’wa*

The first time Imām al-Haddād wrote on *da’wa* was in 1069/1659 when he compiled *Risālat al-Mū’awana* (*The Book of Assistance*).<sup>9</sup> In a brief chapter, he says that believers must know “that teaching, reminding, and *da’wa* are part and parcel of acting upon knowledge, and any suggestions not to do *da’wa* are from Satan (*shaytān*).”<sup>10</sup> This is the Imām’s main argument for *da’wa*.

The above statement implies that Imām al-Haddād approaches *da’wa* through the door of practical piety, that one does *da’wa* simply to draw nearer to Allāh, just as one prays or fasts. It implies that Imām al-Haddād does not require that *da’wa* be approached from the perspective of a movement, where preaching is used to bring individuals under a banner, that in turn utilizes its recruits to fulfill a political mission. Rather, *da’wa* is an end in and of itself. In 1114/1702, the Imām expanded his writings on *da’wa* with *al-Da’wa al-Tāmma wal-Tadhkira al-‘Āmma* (*The Complete Call and the General Reminder*), consisting of around 300 pages (depending on print and publication) solely on *da’wa*. It is this work that informs most of our discussion about his sayings on *da’wa*.

While there is much information on *da’wa* in the works of the Imām, it is not all categorized under topic headings. In the next two chapters, this information is gathered and organized under a total of six headings, allowing us to examine the issues (*masā’il*) pertinent to *da’wa* in an organized fashion. The six sections are (1) the definition of *da’wa*, (2) rulings on *da’wa*, (3) knowledges of *da’wa* (*‘ulūm al-da’wa*), (4) why people might avoid *da’wa* (*tawahummāt*), (5) probable results of *da’wa*, and (6) categories of people (to whom *da’wa* is given). We shall proceed now to unpacking these terms, offering their purpose and Imām

<sup>9</sup> *R. Mū’awana*, 199.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 136.

al-Ḥaddād’s expositions upon them. It is done in two chapters for length purposes, section 6 ‘Categories of People’ being given its own chapter.

## II. Defining *Da‘wa*

This starting point is critical because it determines the nature of the *da‘wa* and the *dā‘ī*. The purpose of this section is to answer the question ‘of what is *da‘wa* composed?’ Is it to non-Muslims only? Is it limited to public speeches? The answer to this is the first item found in *al-Da‘wa al-Tāmma*. *Al-Da‘wa al-Tāmma* is arranged in an organized manner, consisting of a preface, introduction, eight chapters, and an afterword. The introduction is the Imām’s main exposition on the need for *da‘wa* and its definition, according to his own subheading, “in it we mention the explanation of *da‘wa*” (*wa nadhkuru fīhā sharh al-da‘wa*).<sup>11</sup>

To begin, the Imām highlights four verses of *da‘wa*. They are the very same verses selected for the Chapter 3 study on *da‘wa* in the Qur’ān.<sup>12</sup> While not giving a *tafsīr* for each, he holds that they all indicate how *da‘wa* was the occupation of the prophets. Therefore, it must be the greatest of deeds, as the prophets are the elect and chosen of Allāh. Whoever strives at *da‘wa* is following the footsteps of Allāh’s prophets.<sup>13</sup> The commentators (*mufassirīn*) al-Rāzī and Ibn Kathīr are in agreement with this. In light of Q. 41:33 (*Fussilat*) (“And who is

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<sup>11</sup> *DT*, 11.

<sup>12</sup> These being Q. 3:104 (*Āl-‘Imrān*), Q. 12:108 (*Yūsuf*), Q. 16:125 (*al-Nahl*), and Q. 41:33 (*Fussilat*).

<sup>13</sup> *DT*, 18.

better in speech than one who calls to Allāh...”), they hold that *da’wa* is the best of deeds.<sup>14</sup> Imām al-Haddād is in full agreement with this in his conclusion that *da’wa* is the single most critical element for the uprightness of a society. When righteous scholars

sat on chairs and gathered multitudes of Muslims around them, and counselled them and reminded them...and encouraged them to establish [Allāh’s] commands and avoid His prohibitions...the affects of virtue were apparent on them.

However, when this ceased, “ignoring the Afterlife and seeking the *dunya* took control over them (the people).”<sup>15</sup>

Finally, we get to the answer of our question, what is the form of *da’wa*?

The answer is:

All that is mentioned about the virtues of spreading knowledge and learning it, the virtues of exhortation and reminding, even the virtues of *jihād* in the way of Allāh, and commanding right and forbidding wrong are all under and part of *da’wa*. They are its different forms and types.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, four points are highlighted; teaching, exhortation (preaching) and reminding, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, and *jihād*. In one instance in Chapter 3 there was mention of a link between commanding the right and forbidding the wrong as being part of *da’wa*. In his commentary on “Let there be from among you a group of people inviting to the good, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong,” al-Rāzī likened “inviting to the good” to the head and “commanding and forbidding” to the wings. “Inviting to the good,” to al-Rāzī, meant *da’wa* to non-Muslims to *tawhīd*. Commanding and forbidding was directed to the Muslims and regarded the *Shari‘a*’s injunctions.<sup>17</sup> Ibn Taymiya too, in Chapter 4, considered commanding and forbidding to be part of

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Kathīr (Jiza: Muassasat Qurtuba, 2000); vol. 12, pp. 240 and al-Rāzī (Cairo, 1938); vol. 27, pp. 124.

<sup>15</sup> *DT*, 21.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 12.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Rāzī; vol. 8, pp. 181-97.

“calling the people (*da’wat al-nās*), and struggling (*jihādihim*) with them.”<sup>18</sup> But overall, these are exceptional and many other scholars wrote on commanding and forbidding without any reference to it being *da’wa*. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) is a good example of this.<sup>19</sup> But Imām al-Haddād is clear about his position, commanding and forbidding are part of *da’wa*’s definition.

Another point worthy of mention is that Imām al-Haddād does not only include scholarship, exhortation, *jihād*, commanding the right, and forbidding the wrong as *da’wa*, he puts them *under* the umbrella of *da’wa*. This offers *da’wa* a very lofty position in Islam. Implicit in his statement is that *da’wa* is not just an outward act, but an intention as well. It must be understood as, ‘the intention behind all of scholarship, *jihād*, commanding right, and forbidding wrong is transmitting guidance to others (*da’wa*).’ Our question now is, how are scholarship, *jihād*, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong linked to *da’wa* in the understanding of our subject?

## A. Scholarship

### 1. Action and teaching

Imām al-Haddād was a Shāfi’ī jurist (*faqīh*) capable of *fatwa*. In fact, according to his contemporary Aḥmad al-Hindiwān (d. ?), he was *mujtahid muṭlaq*.<sup>20</sup> He had students whom he taught *fiqh*, and when asked, gave the ruling of the Shāfi’ī’s<sup>21</sup> and in some cases leaned towards Imām Mālik.<sup>22</sup> He once said, “If it were not for *adab* with the *salaf*, we would have followed Mālik when it

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Taymiya; *al-Istiqāma*, vol. 2; pp. 286-7.

<sup>19</sup> There is no reference to *da’wa* in his section on commanding and forbidding in the *Iḥyā’* (Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid. *Iḥyā’ Ulūm al-Dīn*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya; vol. 2, pp. 410-77).

<sup>20</sup> Al-Badawi, 83-5.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

comes to water (*l’ittaba’nā Mālikan fil miyāh*, i.e. the rules on the purification of water).<sup>23</sup> However, his writings on scholarship did not address the issues (*masā’il*) of any particular science per se. Rather, he focused on how one should use these sciences for salvation in the Afterlife.

Encouraging action and teaching are the major pivot points around which the discussion on scholarship takes place with Imām al-Haddād. Teaching should busy scholars from ever delving into “matters that have little practical application.”<sup>24</sup> Thus, scholarship and teaching, in the thought of Imām al-Haddād, should be subjugated to practicality: if knowledge has no benefit for the grave, the Afterlife, or the immediate needs of this life, such as earning of a living, then it is of no value, and its seeker or teacher should rethink how they spend their time. None of the Imām’s writings clarify this better than his 1128/1716, correspondence with son-in-law and student Ahmad ibn Zayn al-Habashī, commenting on a draft of the latter’s book on the Chapter of ‘The Opener’ (*sūrat al-fātiha*). It reads:

I have received your notebook in which you have written some of the knowledges of the *Fātiha*, and it is good. But it is of the knowledges which are very rarely asked about, and hardly ever needed, or required by anything of the important issues of belief or interaction (*al-mu’amalāt*). If discussions must be like this (i.e. revolving around uncritical matters)---and it is absolutely necessary---it should only be for the sake of taking a break (*tanaffus*)...And you have come to know the precious nature of time, and the lack of leisure for these things.

Thus, if you desire to discuss anything, let it be about the knowledges and behaviours that are required by the elite and the common, and have been neglected by the near and the far. This would be a more appropriate, correct, and apt way to utilize the precious time that is already consumed by obligations of religion and livelihood.<sup>25</sup>

The Imām considered it disdainful to immerse oneself into any of the legitimate sciences (*al-tabahhur fil ‘ilm*), save for the ‘knowledge of Allāh,’ which is defined

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Letters; vol. 1, pp. 515.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

below. He himself could have written on many topics. According to his own statement, he did not author works of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), because there was simply no need; it was already addressed in many volumes.<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, learning and action should never be separated, says the Imām. One should not imagine that there is a phase for learning and a different phase for action. The two must go together: he would teach his students “to know the words first, then their intended meaning, then act upon it,”<sup>27</sup> because “with action, understanding is increased.”<sup>28</sup> Thus, acting upon knowledge (*al-‘amal bil-‘ilm*) is actually part and parcel of learning. In the jargon of modern education, this is called ‘on the job training,’ and it has many advocates.

Teaching, in turn, is part of action. Therefore, a student will only fully understand knowledge if he takes part in teaching it to others. Moreover, it is a duty, and the Imām quotes the Qur’ān, “And as Allāh has taken the oath of those given [knowledge of] the Book, that you should clarify it to the people and do not keep it to yourselves.”<sup>29</sup> As such, a student should not think that there is a phase for learning and a separate phase for teaching. As soon as something is learned and understood, it should be taught.

## 2. ‘The Haddād curriculum’

From the Sixth/Eleventh Century, Islamic scholarship was well funded and institutionalized. The standardized Islamic college flourished to all urban parts of the Islamic world mainly “to make sure that the understanding of *fiqh* and its bases was fully transmitted,”<sup>30</sup> for the sake of administering the state. This makes

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<sup>26</sup> Al-Badawi, 83-5.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 85.

<sup>28</sup> Commentary of al-Badawi (Ibid, 85).

<sup>29</sup> Q. 3:187 (*Al-‘Imrān*) in *DT*, 27.

<sup>30</sup> Hourani, 163.

sense, as it is administration and rule of law that keeps order in society. This resulted in the production of curriculums. As the context differed, so did the curriculums differ to suit their time and place.

Although he never made any delineation, we can tell (from his works) that Imām al-Haddād possessed two curriculums. The first was the technical one which he used to developed his students into imāms. Among many books, it consisted of al-Bayḍāwī for *tafsīr*, al-Bukhārī for *ḥadīth*, the opinions of al-Shāfi‘ī for *fiqh*, and al-Ghazālī for *taṣawwuf*. Alongside this was principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl*), grammar, poetry, etc.<sup>31</sup>

It is the second curriculum, however, that draws our attention. Derived from *al-Da‘wa al-Tāmma* and *al-Fuṣūl al-‘Ilmiyya* (*Knowledge and Wisdom*), it consists of four main parts. Its purpose is to illuminate the heart and “strengthening the desire for the Afterlife,”<sup>32</sup> its mode is reflection and oft-repetition, and its structure is informal, with no particular organization. But first, there is something of a pre-requisite. In *al-Da‘wa al-Tāmma*, the Imām holds that all Muslims must first learn proper doctrine and the five pillars of how to worship. His doctrine consists of the description of Allāh taken from Qur’ānic verses, a brief description of prophecy and of the Prophet Muḥammad, the stages of the Day of Judgement, and closes with a section on the virtues of the Companions.<sup>33</sup> At the very least, one who learns this, says the Imām, cannot be blamed for going no further, for this is all that is obligatory for a Muslim to know.<sup>34</sup>

After this pre-requisite, the first of these four parts is more of a methodology than a knowledge in itself. Some seekers, he notes, become

<sup>31</sup> Al-Badawi, 88-90.

<sup>32</sup> *DT*, 42.

<sup>33</sup> *Naṣā’ih*, 413-19.

<sup>34</sup> *DT*, 179.

confused at all the knowledges that exist, not knowing from which to take or where to begin. For this, he has a remedy: “If you want to know the important and beneficial knowledges for yourself, then imagine that you will die tomorrow.”<sup>35</sup> He continues, “Imagine that you will...go to Allāh Most High and stand before Him and that He will ask you of your knowledge and deeds...then you will go to either the Garden or the Fire.”<sup>36</sup> Such a methodology is highly individualized. The result is therefore relative.

Parts two to four are more concrete. Part two is the Qur’ān. The labours of students will never be wasted if they revolve around the Qur’ān, says the Imām:

The *qurrā'* (reciters of the Qur’ān) are the scholars. This is the name by which they used to be called in the previous ages, for those who had [knowledge of] the Qur’ān (*hamalat al-qur’ān*) were the scholars of Allāh’s religion, of His commands and rulings, since when they recited the Qur’ān, they understood it and knew its commands and prohibitions, and its counsels and warnings, and that for which it is appropriate to hault (*mā yanbaghī al-tawaqquf ‘indahu minhu*)...In the *hadīth*, it says, “Whoever memorizes (*istazhara*) the Qur’ān, prophecy emerges between his two sides, except that he does not receive *wahy*.”

...Thus, you have realized that the Qur’ān is the origin of all knowledges and its treasure-trove...Allāh Most High said to his prophet upon him blessings and peace, “And we brought to you a book that is a clarification of all things, and a guidance, mercy, and good news to the Muslims”<sup>37</sup> and “We have not left anything out of this Book.”<sup>38,39</sup>

Studying the Qur’ān implies contemplating its meanings, acting upon it, reciting it with proper enunciation (*tajwīd*), memorizing it, and learning its rulings, judgements, commands, prohibitions, stories, parables, wisdoms, abrogated verses, and reasons for revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*).<sup>40</sup> Most important of these is the contemplation of its meanings (*tadabbur ma’ānīh*), for this is what increases faith and leads to appropriate behaviour.

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<sup>35</sup> *Fusul*, 43.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Q. 16:89 (*al-Nahl*).

<sup>38</sup> Q. 6:38 (*al-An‘ām*).

<sup>39</sup> *DT*, 41-2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

After the Qur'ān, one should delve deeply into the ‘knowledge of Allāh’ (*al-‘ilm billāh*). This regards the understanding of

His attributes, Names, and actions. It is knowledge of His commandments and the oft-mention of the traits and actions that draw one near to Him. [It is] the knowledge of His prohibitions and the oft-mention of the traits and actions that distance one from Him. [It is] the knowledge of the Meeting (*al-mi`ād*) and the return to Allāh Most High and what exists therein of conditions and tribulations [of the Day of Judgement], and the Garden...and the Fire...These knowledges are the bases of all knowledges and their ultimate purpose and core (*maqṣūduha wa lubābuha*). Often looking into this knowledge brings forth an increase of faith and certainty...and encourages consistency in obedience and worship...and the avoidance of what upsets Him, Glory be His...It carries one on to shortening their hopes (about life in the world)...and love for meeting Him Most High...and a love for the Afterlife.<sup>41</sup>

The reason for its eminence is that it is the main subject of the Qur'ān itself and if so, then it is the most beneficial knowledge of all.<sup>42</sup> If one is to be fixated upon any subject, it is this one, according to the Imām.<sup>43</sup>

Lastly, the Imām often recommends “much reading of the books of the Folk” (*kathrat al-iṭilā` `alā kutub al-qawm*). This means the stories, sayings, and teachings of the ascetic worshippers and Ṣūfīs, such as Zayn al-Ābidīn ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 95/714), Uways al-Qarnī (d. c.37/657), al-Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/729), Dhul-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/859), Fuḍayl ibn ‘Iyyād (d. 187/803), Junayd al-Sālik (d. 298/911), ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166), Abul-Hasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), Ibn ‘Atā’illāh al-Sakandarī (d. 709/1309), and the others like them, for “in them (i.e. their stories and books) are a lot of blessings (*baraka*) and benefit.” The best of all these books, he says, are those of al-Ghazālī for their comprehensiveness: “Some scholars...hold that the beginner should suffice with *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* (*The Beginning of Guidance*), the junior with

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> *Fuṣūl*, 45.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

*Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* (*The Way of the Worshippers*), and the advanced with the *Iḥyā’*

(*The Revival*).<sup>44</sup>

This concludes what we have gathered as the second curriculum of Imām al-Haddād. All people, he says, should be called to these things, whereas the technical sciences are for the students of knowledge who are training to be imāms, *muftīs*, or judges. Thus, two streams run from the Imām, the former (which I have called ‘the Haddād curriculum) is for the elite and common, and the latter (the technical sciences of grammar, *fiqh*, *uṣūl*, etc) for students.

#### B. Exhortation and Reminding (*al-wa’z wal-tadhkīr*)

What *da’wa* is to non-Muslims, exhortation and reminding is to Muslims.

In Chapter 4, we say that Ibn al-Jawzī wrote extensively about the manners of doing speaking to the people in *Kitāb al-Quṣāṣ wal-Mudhakkirīn*. In *al-Da’wa al-Tāmma*, Imām al-Haddād notes that the uprightness of the masses has much to do with the willingness and passion of scholars to address their communities and societies:

You will see that the Book of Allāh and the Sunna of His Prophet are loaded with *targhib* and *tarhib*, and *tabshīr* and *taḥdhīr* amidst their verses and *ahādīth*...And likewise, the gatherings of the scholars and imāms of guidance were also established upon this. Among them there were those who sat on chairs and gathered multitudes of Muslims around them, and exhorted them (*ya’izūhum*) them and reminded (*yudhakkirūnahum*) them...and encouraged them (*yahuthūnahum*) to establish [Allāh’s] commands and avoid His prohibitions. The people benefitted from this and good affects---fear and weeping and returning quickly to Allāh in repentance---were apparent upon them.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 134.

<sup>45</sup> DT, 21.

Exhortation is so important in the view of Imām al-Haddād that he calls it simply, ‘the *da’wa*,’<sup>46</sup> as if to say that this part of the four-part definition is the main part.

When

this weakened and the *da’wa* to Allāh decreased, heedlessness overtook the masses. Ignoring the Afterlife and chasing the *dunya* and its ornaments took hold of them because of the lack of people to remind them (*li qillat al-mudhakkirīn*) and [lack of] callers to Allāh with insight and certainty (*al-du’āt ila allāh ‘alā bāṣira wa yaqīn*).<sup>47</sup>

The greater part of *al-Da’wa al-Tāmma*--the eight categories---is an exposition of the Imām’s own exhortation to people, namely, to scholars, mystics, rulers, merchants, the poor, dependants, commoners (who observe and/or do not observe the *dīn*), and non-Muslims and non-believers in a deity.<sup>48</sup>

Also informing us about exhortation (*wa’z*) in the thought of Imām al-Haddād is Ahmad al-Shajjār, for his *Tathbīt al-Fu’ād* discusses and describes our subject’s own gatherings (*majālis*), in which he spoke to the people:

The speech that occurs in the *majlis* of our master ‘Abd Allāh, may Allāh bring benefit from him, is based on whatever Allāh pours down upon his heart, and causes him to say. It is not based on a curriculum like the sciences that are well known, the content of which is all connected one with the other...Everything [the Imām] says is unique to itself, not necessarily having to do with what came before it or what will come after it. This way, and I can attest this for myself, most people never get bored.<sup>49</sup>

*Tathbīt al-Fu’ād* also includes some principles that the Imām observed. One was not to speak while intending a specific person. The Imām says, “If we ever speak in a gathering (*majlis*), noone should think that we intended him, specifically; it is

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. As for some of the terms in this passage, *targhib* = to create fear; *tarhib* = to create desire, *tabshir* = causing optimism with good news, and *tahdhir* = warning.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 14-5.

<sup>49</sup> Al-Shajjār, 16.

all general and meant for all of those listening.”<sup>50</sup> The main purpose of his sessions were “to encourage [the attendees] to balance.”<sup>51</sup>

Speakers, taught the Imām, should also take heed of mentioning exceptions (*istithnā’āt*) and conditions (*quyūd*) related to their subject matters, or else listeners will interpret things incorrectly. “Many people,” tells the Imām, “transmitted the meaning of our speech, but erred in the process...You may hear someone criticise scholars, except the pious, vigilant, and righteous of them.” Then you will hear someone say, “so-and-so criticizes the scholars.”<sup>52</sup> As a result of this, the Imām began to speak cautiously, “qualifying and placing conditions on everything I say...just as a container has a lid.” He also, “limited speech to the expressions found in the [well known] books.”<sup>53</sup> Some listeners did not like this and one in particular said, “It is no longer appropriate for me to attend your gathering.” He responded, “the gathering will not be stalled by your absence.”<sup>54</sup>

The safest path is to quote from books.<sup>55</sup> When one speaks for himself he “is not fully safe from error,” but “books are more truthful, and if there is anything in them, then it is on the part of the author and he is responsible. But if we speak, then we are responsible for it. Thus, reading from books is safer than speaking.”<sup>56</sup> When one cites a saying, the entire issue should be cited “exactly how it was said...from beginning to end”<sup>57</sup> such that everything is clear, to the listener, for example, “if a man hears someone say, ‘if so-and-so does this, then there is no good in him,’ instead of saying, ‘there is no good in so-and-so.’”<sup>58</sup> Even so,

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 25, 20.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 20.

speakers will always be mis-quoted. One time, when the Imām was living in Hajira, he spoke about repentence (*tawba*):

We said, ‘One who is penitent but at the same time persistent upon his sin, such that seeking forgiveness (*istighfār*) is on his tongue, but in his heart he knows he will do it again when the opportunity arises, then he has no real repentence (*la tawba<sup>la</sup> lah*), but asking forgiveness on the tongue only is not absolutely useless.’ Then one of those present quoted us as saying, ‘There is no meaning to repentence and that there is no one who has a real repentence.’<sup>59</sup>

Furthermore, the speaker should be attentive as to their use of innuendos, allusions, or metaphors (*ishārāt*). As for himself, he said, “we do not permit it at all times,” especially “if common people or children are in attendance.”<sup>60</sup> For the most part, most people no longer grasp them.<sup>61</sup> Also, the speaker should not hesitate to speak of what may not come to the listeners’ immediate understanding, for the Imām himself did this bearing in mind that, “what is not understood today, will come to be clear later, and its worth will not be known until there is no longer access to the one who said it, then they will seek someone who says similar things.”<sup>62</sup>

Overall, Imām al-Haddād views speaking to the people, preaching, exhortation, and enjoining them to good as the major avenue for benefitting the masses. Without it, heedlessness and love of worldliness becomes their trait. His advice is mostly about how to speak carefully so as to decrease misunderstandings. Qualifying one’s pronouncements and referring one’s ideas to well-known authors and books are avenues to safety in this regard.

### C. Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 25-6.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 24.

Another facet that takes rise in the Muslim environment is commanding right and forbidding wrong. A *hadīth* with which the Imām begins says that, Mū‘awiya ibn Abī Sufyān said he heard the Prophet say, “Command right and forbid wrong or else Allāh will put over you the worst of you and will not hear the prayers of the best of you.”<sup>63</sup> Another story of past peoples says that “Allāh punished a village of 18,000 people, their deeds were like the deeds of prophets, except that they did not become angry for Allāh (*illā annahum lā yaghādabūna lillāh*).”<sup>64</sup> As a result of how critical this aspect of Islam is, no one avoids it, he says, except that they are very weak in faith or outright hypocrites. The fear of a punishment that touches both good people and bad people is the motivating factor behind commanding and forbidding.

Our subject then lays down another motivation:

the complete believer cannot restrain himself upon witnessing a wrong until he changes it or is obstructed from it by something beyond his control...If one is silent regarding commanding and forbidding due to harm that will accrue against him or his wealth if he commands and forbids, this is okay if the harm is serious and is truly possible (*lahu waq'i' zāhir*). And if he commands and forbids despite this, he has a great reward...and that would be evidence of his love for Allāh.<sup>65</sup>

The obvious implication here is that commanding and forbidding reflect one's feelings for Allāh. One forbids wrongs because his emotions cannot stand to see what displeases Allāh. Allāh loves that His commands and prohibitions are observed. Therefore, when the one who loves Allāh sees a wrong, he is naturally moved to return it to the state that pleases his Beloved. To further show that commanding and forbidding is rooted in love, the Imām says:

If the hypocrite or the one whose faith is very weak see a wrong, they make excuses and weak justifications [for inaction] that would not stand with Allāh and His Prophet peace be upon him. But you

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<sup>63</sup> Al-Tirmidhī; *hadīth* no. 2,259, vol. 3, pp. 317.

<sup>64</sup> *Naṣā'ih*, 248.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, 251.

will see them, if they are cursed or wronged regarding their own wealth, they will stand firmly and become extremely angry. They cut off relations for long periods of time with whoever does this with them and are harsh with them. But they do nothing of this with those who are insistent upon injustices and wrongs and leaving off the rights of Allāh.

And the truthful believers are the opposite of this. They get upset for Allāh and not get upset for themselves. They cut off who disobeys Allāh and leaves off His commands, and they are stern with him if he does not accept the truth, and they overlook and forgive whoever curses or wrongs them.<sup>66</sup>

In sum, people become upset for what they love and commanding and forbidding are the channels for that feeling.

Furthermore, the Imām lays out three levels of commanding and forbidding. The first is gently informing (*al-ta'rīf bil-lutf*), the second is urging and instilling fear (*al-wa'z wal-takhwīf*), and the third and last is prohibiting and compelling by hand (*al-man' wal-qahr bil-yad*). “As for the first two levels, they are generally universal in their application. Whoever claims inability is simply making excuses (*muta'adhdhir wa muta'allil*),” says the Imām.<sup>67</sup> The third level is only for those who possess the strength and capability or are given permission by the sultan.

It appears that the Imām does not prefer what Michael Cook terms the “accommodationist approach,” which basically allots the different means of commanding and forbidding to different functionaries in the society.<sup>68</sup> Based on the “three modes tradition” in which the Prophet said that “If one of you sees a wrong (*munkar*) he should change it with his hand, if not by his tongue, and if not by his heart and this is the weakest of faith,”<sup>69</sup> the ‘accommodationst approach’ holds that changing things by the hand is only for the ruler, by the tongue is only for the scholars, and by the heart is for the rest of the people. Our saying that

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 250.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 251.

<sup>68</sup> Cook, 343-6.

<sup>69</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, Ahmād. *Musnād Ahmād ibn Ḥanbal*, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islami, 1993 (hereon ‘Ahmād’); *ḥadīth* no. 11,446, vol. 3, pp. 62 and hadith no. 11,500, vol. 3, pp. 68-9.

Imām al-Haddād does not promote this is supported by his saying, “As for the first two levels (meaning the tongue), they are generally universal in their application. Whoever claims inability is simply making excuses.”<sup>70</sup> The non-scholar, therefore, is included in ‘changing with the tongue.’ The Imām is not alone in this. Imām al-Haramayn, al-Juwainī (d. 470/1085) has the same judgement, saying that any Muslim can do it. His support is the consensus (*ijmā'*) of the early Muslims (*salaf*): they used to stand before a ruler and command and forbid and they were not all scholars; he further says that commanding right and forbidding wrong is “for all of the Muslims...the common people (*ra'iyya*) can only give counsel (*mawā'iż*) and preach fear and hope (*al-targhib wal-tarhib*), without roughness.”<sup>71</sup>

The second indicator that Imām al-Haddād did not support the accommodationist approach is his saying that

this third level (i.e. with the hand)...is not possible, in most cases, except for the one who has devoted his self to Allāh Glorified and Exulted is He, and struggled (*jāhada*) with his wealth and self for the sake of Allāh until reaching the point that he does not fear the blame of people when it comes to matter associated with Allāh.<sup>72</sup>

Thus, the one who will change things with his hands is not only the one who has official permission, but the one whose faith can bear the consequences.

Imām al-Haddād’s approach to commanding and forbidding is *da'wa*-oriented for the main reason that it is more inclusive and assertive than the ‘accommodationist approach.’ It opens the doors of action by saying that official permission is not the only way, but if one’s faith is strong, they may command and forbid. In al-Haddād’s model, the common man who knows nothing but the five pillars is obliged to command prayer, *zakāt*, and pilgrimage and forbid breaking the Ramaḍan fast. This is “part and parcel of acting upon that

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 251.

<sup>71</sup> Al-Juwainī, Abul-Ma'allī. *Ghiyāth al-Uman fī Iltiyāth al-Zulam*, no place: Dar al-Dawa, no year; pp. 176.

<sup>72</sup> *Nasā'iḥ*, 251.

knowledge.”<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, no one may avoid commanding and forbidding due to fear of ostentation.<sup>74</sup> Such a person,

must struggle with himself to push out any ostentation (*riyā'*) while he acts. One is not fighting it by leaving off action, for leaving off action would be the hope of Satan...Fudayl may Allāh have mercy on him said, ‘leaving off action for the sake of people is *riyā'* and doing actions for the sake of people is *shirk* (associating with Allāh).’ So long as a person fears they have *riyā'*, then it is likely that they are far from it. As for thoughts that enter the heart without purposely intending them, one is absolved from them by simply hating them, no matter how sinful they are.<sup>75</sup>

All this said, there remains one important question: how is the *da'wa*-oriented approach reconciled with ‘changing with the hand’? The answer to this must lie in our subject’s great emphasis on gentleness (*lutf*). The commander and forbearer must manifest the most beautiful qualities of sensitivity and compassion. *Lutf* is the quality of being tender; its opposite is ‘*unf*, being abrasive. Even the commander and forbearer must try to cause his listener to love the action, not to simply be coerced. He must not be arrogant and, even when changing with the hand, his intention, says the Imām, must be as one rescuing his brother who has fallen (*inqādh*):

From the etiquettes of the commander and forbearer is to avoid arrogance, coarseness, and the putting down of the people of disobedience, for this nullifies the reward and brings about punishment, and may possibly be a cause for [them] to reject the truth...He should be friendly, compassionate, gentle (*layyin*), merciful, and humble...his intention should be to remove himself and his brother (in faith) from sin. His state should be like the one whose Muslim brother fell...in a fire or drowning, while he (the former) is capable of saving him from it...The destruction of one’s religion is worse than this.<sup>76</sup>

In sum, Imām al-Haddād teaches that the *dā'i* must portray the religion in the most beautiful way possible. However, he is still obliged to command and

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<sup>73</sup> R. Mu'āwana, 136.

<sup>74</sup> Nafā'is, 71-2.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Naṣā'iḥ, 254-6.

forbid. For the sake of the people's hearts, he is to do the latter with gentleness and the intention to save a fallen Muslim (*inqād*). The displeasure of people is never an excuse not to command or forbid by the tongue or the hand, for ultimately, the *dā'i* must only seek to please Allāh, not the people. Lastly, the Imām had something of a remedy in cases where he himself had to say words that displeased others: "If I had to speak with what people disliked, I compensated them with what they liked to hear or [gifts] they would like to have."<sup>77</sup>

### C. *Jihād*

Our subject's saying that *jihād* is part of *da'wa* has support from the scholars before him. Ibn Rushd (d. 520/1126) said that the three tiers of *da'wa* involved the tongue, the sword in self-defence, and the offensive option of the *jizya* or the sword.<sup>78</sup> Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Shāshī al-Qaffāl (d. 365/976) was a scholar of the Shafi'īs of Transoxania, who said, commenting on *jihad*, that

most people (non-Muslims) love their religion out of familiarity and custom, and they do not contemplate about evidence that is presented them [for it or against it]. If such people were forced into a faith out of fear for their lives, they would enter it. In due time, his love for the false religion would slowly die out and his love for the true religion would slowly increase, until he truly turns/converts (*yantaqil*) from falsehood to truth, and from deserving eternal torture to deserving eternal reward.<sup>79</sup>

Clearly, both Ibn Rushd and al-Qaffāl viewed *jihād* as a form of *da'wa*.

In the breakdown of Imām al-Haddād, *jihād* is part of and under the umbrella of commanding right and forbidding wrong. Thus, what applies to commanding and forbidding should apply to *jihād*. In his section on *jihād* in the *Nasā'iḥ*, the Imām cites the verses and *hadīths* applicable to the subject without expanding into *tafsīr* and focuses the majority of his writing on the intention in

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<sup>77</sup> Al-Badawi, 51.

<sup>78</sup> Ibn Rushd, 91-2.

<sup>79</sup> Al-Rāzī (Cairo: 1938); vol. 8, pp. 192.

*jihād*. While his actual commentary is brief, his linking *jihād* to *da'wa* is easily found:

*Jihād* is one of the parts of commanding the right and forbidding the wrong; it is the highest part, and the most noble and virtuous, because it commands to the head of all good, which is *tawhīd* and Islam, and it is the forbidding of the most abominable of wrongs and sins, which is *kufr* and associating with Allāh. The beginning of *jihād* is *da'wa* to Islam.<sup>80</sup>

The most important statement here is “*jihād* is one of the parts of commanding the right and forbidding the wrong.” If we take this statement to its logical limit, then our subject’s view is that the disbelief of disbelievers is enough of an offence to make *jihād* required. We recall al-Haddād’s sayings, “the complete believer cannot restrain himself upon witnessing a wrong until he changes it,”<sup>81</sup> and he also said “the head of good is *tawhīd*, and the most abominable wrong is disbelief and associating with Allāh.”<sup>82</sup> Therefore, just as one would not be permitted to overlook an injustice done to another, likewise, it is not appropriate for the believer to do nothing whilst Allāh’s rights (of being worshipped) are being denied. This conclusion is reached by cross-referencing the Imām’s own sayings.

When the Imām states that “the beginning of *jihād* is *da'wa*,” it is indicative that non-believers are to be invited before they are fought. This is akin to the Prophet’s writing letters and sending representatives to the countries bordering Arabia (See Chapter 3). If it is not accepted, then the *dā'i* shifts into the mode of commanding right and forbidding wrong, and with this attitude, he carries out *jihād*.

Lastly, how is al-Haddād’s conception of *jihād* being under the umbrella of *da'wa* reconciled with the *hadīth*, “and the peak of [Islam] is *jihād*” (*wa*

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<sup>80</sup> *Nasā'iḥ*, 261.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, 250.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 261.

*dhurwatu sanāmihī al-jihād)?* This would cause one to think that *jihād* should be the banner under which all else comes. How can we explain this apparent contradiction? According to the explanation (*sharḥ*) of London *hadīth* scholar Mufti Barakatullah,<sup>83</sup> this *hadīth* has to do with the physical establishment of the institutions of Islam, not the intention of the action. In other words, the central pillar which supports the Islamic polity (government, etc.) is *jihād*. Without it, the religion cannot be applied or enforced. Imām al-Haddād's saying that "all of teaching, commanding and forbidding, and *jihād*, are under the umbrella of *da'wa*" is to be understood as meaning the 'intention' behind all of these things is *da'wa*. Thus, the *hadīth* is addressing the outward, while the Imām in talking about the inward. Given this, there is no contradiction between Imām al-Haddād's statement and the *hadīth*.

### III. Rulings on *Da'wa*

There are very few definitive commands and prohibitions regarding *da'wa* in the *Shari'a*. In fact, they can be limited to one, which is, as seen in the section on jurists in Chapter 4, that *da'wa* must be done for three days before *jihād*, except if the opponent strikes first.<sup>84</sup> In *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma*, Imām al-Haddād offers more, which we will now study. We will look at when and upon whom *da'wa* is obligatory, when it is supererogatory (*mandūb*), and when not doing it is a sin (*harām*).

<sup>83</sup> Interview, August 2005, Mufti Barakatullah.

<sup>84</sup> Al-Shaybānī, 151 and al-Tanūkhī; vol. 2, 581.

From the exegetes that we have studied in Chapter 3, Ibn Kathīr and al-Qurṭubī held that *da'wa* is a communal obligation (*fard kifāya*) that falls on the shoulders of the scholars,<sup>85</sup> based on Q. 3:104: “Let there be from among you a people calling to good, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong.” Only al-Rāzī differed and interpreted “*wal takun minkum*” as “let you (as a single community) invite to the good...” meaning ‘let every single Muslim’ invite to the good, command right, and forbid wrong.<sup>86</sup>

We can easily discern that Imām al-Haddād is in line with al-Rāzī’s view. For Imām al-Haddād, everyone is a scholar in what they know. Thus, one who merely knows how to pray must spread this knowledge:

It is compulsory on every Muslim to begin with the establishment of the obligations and avoidance of prohibitions in his own self, then to teach his family, then his neighbours...and so on, the obligation remains so long as there exists one person ignorant of the obligations of the religion...Every common Muslim ('āmmī) who knows the rules of prayer is obliged to teach it to whoever does not, or else he is sharing with them in the sin.<sup>87</sup>

The obligation, however, is especially upon the scholars since “Allāh has taken oath with those whom He has given His Book, His Knowledge, and His Wisdom, that they should call His servants to it and explain it to them, as Allāh has said, ‘And as Allāh has taken the oath of those given [knowledge of] the Book, that you should clarify it to the people and do not keep it to yourselves....’”<sup>88</sup> Wherever *da'wa* is weak, it is the fault of the scholars. The Imām strongly reproaches the inactive scholars, whom he says are akin to “merely pictures of scholars” (*mutarassīna bil-'ilm*), meaning they possess the image but produce no results.

It is compulsory for there to be a scholar (*faqīh*) to teach the people their religion...and it is compulsory upon every scholar who has

<sup>85</sup> Ibn Kathīr; vol. 1, pp. 398 and al-Qurṭubī; vol. 4, pp. 165-6.

<sup>86</sup> Al-Rāzī (Cairo, 1938); vol. 8, pp. 177-8.

<sup>87</sup> DT, 37-8

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, 13.

completed their individual duties (*farḍ ‘ayniḥī*) and devoted themselves to the communal obligations (*farḍ al-kifāya*) to go out of their country to the next country...and he should take with him his own provisions...If one does this, the obligation is lifted from the others. Otherwise, the obligation is on everyone.

If a community has its own teachers, then it is no longer obligatory for distant people to travel to that place for *da‘wa*: “If the near cover it, the obligation upon the far drops.”<sup>89</sup> *Da‘wa* would then be supererogatory (*mandūb*). However, “the obligation does not drop so long as there exists one individual ignorant of the obligations of his religion.” In that case, “the duty stands for all those capable, the far and the near.”<sup>90</sup> Thus, *da‘wa* will always be obligatory as non-Muslims will always exist.

Our subject holds that one who does not engage in *da‘wa* may be committing a sin. He writes that, “all those who desist from doing any type of *da‘wa*, although capable, are sinful and categorized among those who prevent guidance from reaching others.”<sup>91</sup> The evidence (*dalīl*) is the *hadīth*, “the Prophet peace be upon him said, ‘Whoever is asked about knowledge and withholds it, Allāh bridles him with a bridle of fire on the Day of Judgement.’”<sup>92</sup> If one says, ‘I have not been asked by anyone,’ the Imām responds, “The questioning with the tongue is clear and obvious, but it is not far off that [the questioning] be with the state of being (*lisān al-hāl*) or similar to it. It is said, ‘the state of being is more expressive than the tongue of speech’ (*lisān al-hāl afsahu min lisān al-maqāl*).”<sup>93</sup> Therefore, the scholar needs only to witness the lack of uprightness in a people in order for teaching and speaking to become incumbent upon him.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 50.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>92</sup> Al-Tirmidhī; *hadīth* no. 2,787, vol. 4, pp. 138 and *Al-Sitta* (Ibn Māja); pp. 2,493 and Ahmād; *hadīth* no. 8,030, vol. 2, pp. 402.

<sup>93</sup> DT, 13.

In further expounding upon the nature of the obligation, the Imām says that ideally, the masses should travel to the imāms for guidance. However, “indolence and ignorance have overcome the general population.” Therefore, the *dā’ī* or scholar is obligated to travel to the people to teach them their responsibilities, and not expect to be visited or invited. To not travel to them would be a contradiction, since if people are heedless, how could they be expected to seek guidance; the nature of ignorance is that one does not recognizing he is ignorant. As a result, idleness for the scholar is a wrong (*munkar*).<sup>94</sup> The basic theme of Imām al-Haddād’s section here is that every single Muslim is obliged to do *da’wa*. Perhaps this explains his appellation *Qutb al-Da’wa wal-Irshād*, ‘the Central Pillar of *Da’wa* and Guidance.’

#### IV. The Knowledges of *Da’wa* (‘ulūm al-*da’wa*)

In addition to presenting a schema in which *da’wa* is necessary for attaining proper knowledge, Imām al-Haddād mentions something called “the knowledges of *da’wa*” (‘ulūm al-*da’wa*) in *al-Da’wa al-Tāmma*. The context of his mention was the warning against false scholars who carry only the image of scholarship (*al-mutarassimīna bil’ilm*):

And there are those scholars who are busy with knowledges that are not from the knowledges of *da’wa* to Allāh and His way, and reminding about Him and His days and signs, and His promises and threats. Such a person considers himself a scholar and likewise those ignorant like him consider him so. Such a person is one whose knowledge is in the fine points of *kalām*...and those details of matters which hardly occur in *fiqh*...and the tools of grammar and literature. Such knowledges and their likes are not from the

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 21, 35-6.

knowledges of *da'wa* to Allāh and His way, nor do they instil fear in meeting Him and His promises and threats, nor do they warn about leaving off His commandments and falling into His prohibitions, even if they (i.e. such knowledges) are counted among knowledge.<sup>95</sup>

What then, are the knowledges of *da'wa*?

From the above definition, there are two divisions to this answer, one relative and one absolute. The relative one regards the practical necessary matters of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), for the Imām criticizes he whose knowledge is limited to “those details of matters which hardly occur in *fiqh*.<sup>96</sup> The opposite, therefore, must be useful knowledge: all the juristic rulings (*ahkām sharīyya*) that are not being observed should be mentioned. This is confirmed by the Imām’s saying, also in *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma*, that the content of *da'wa* should be *ahkām*, *mukhawwifāt*, and *muzahhidāt*, namely *Shari'a* injunctions, that which instills fear of the Afterlife, and that which makes one leave off the materials of the lower world.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, the basic and necessary juristic rulings are among the pillars of one’s *da'wa*. To give an example, knowledge of inheritance law is necessary for a community that does not observe that aspect of Islam. After they begin observing it, it is no longer a necessary speaking point for a *dā'i*.

The absolute aspect of the knowledges of *da'wa* regards those verses, *hadīths*, sayings, and stories “that instil fear regarding meeting Allāh, and describe his rewards and threats (*al-wa'd wal-wa'id*).”<sup>97</sup> These are quite similar to what is found in story-telling (*qasas*). When Imām al-Haddād collected them in a section, he named the section: “Advice and reminders that awaken the obstinate and heedless, and with which the clever and intelligent can remember, if Allāh Most High wills,” and placed them at the back of his different works as an Afterword

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, 26-7.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 37-8.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

(*khātimā*). We will not fill the section with many quotation, but we will summarize the logic that ties them all together.

In *al-Da‘wa al-Tāmma*, the order of the section is not thematic, but rather by source. All of the *hadīths* come first, then sayings of the righteous forebears (*salaf*) in the order they lived. The *salaf* that are cited are those known for piety and asceticism (*zuhd*). Most prominent in the Imām’s work are ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (d. 95/714), al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/729), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/780), Fuḍayl ibn ‘Iyyād (d. 187/803), Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), Dhul-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/859), Sarī al-Saqatī (d. 253/867), and Junayd al-Sālik (d. 298/911).<sup>98</sup>

Although there are many different themes mentioned, an unwritten logic ties them all together. It begins with the awareness of death, which is closely tied to repentance (*tawba*), and may even be considered the gateway to it. Also borne out of awareness of death is asceticism (*zuhd*). Repentance and asceticism, in turn, lead to worship, which blooms in the form of an array of virtues, like humility, generosity, and wisdom. The format used by the Imām is to simply cite them as in, “...and so-and-so said...” and “it is reported that such-and-such happened to so-and-so...” In sum, the knowledges of *da‘wa* have the same purpose as ‘the Haddād curriculum’ which is to affect the heart moreso than compile knowledge.

## V. *Tawahhumāt*

After expounding on *da‘wa* and encouraging it, Imām al-Haddād reads into the possible reasons people may purposely abstain from doing *da‘wa*. The

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 265-97.

idea of citing the reasons people do not do things existed during the time of the Prophet. One instance is when ‘Adī ibn Ḥātim al-Ṭā’ī came to Madīna and met the Prophet. The Prophet said, “Maybe you do not want to become Muslim because you think ‘only the poor have followed him, and the Arabs have rejected them.’”<sup>99</sup> In scholarship, this is present too, for example Ibn Taymiya’s list of why people shy away from commanding right and forbidding wrong.<sup>100</sup> The introspective nature of such discourses is in line with the *hadīth* “Take yourselves to account before you are taken into account.”<sup>101</sup>

Some of the arguments against *da’wa* are attractive because they appear in the guise of different virtues. However, proper examination proves they are false. Other arguments are based on insincerity. All of them must be debunked so as to leave no excuse for the slothful or impious and makāe for a proliferation of *da’wa*. He terms these false ideas ‘*tawahhumāt*,’ or delusions and imagined ideas, and gives us five.

The first regards one’s viewing himself incapable of teaching due to his own lack of practice. This trap is especially enticing because it appears as a safeguard from hypocrisy. This would seem to make sense since hypocrisy is saying what you do not do. However, the logic is false. Instead of dropping both obligations so as to be consistent, why does the person not begin practicing and then teach, thus being consistent by picking up the two duties. Imām al-Haddād

<sup>99</sup> Ahmad; *hadīth* no. 18,222, vol. 4, pp. 350.

<sup>100</sup> Some people’s excuse for not engaging in spreading virtue is “wanting to live a peaceful life, as Allāh said about the hypocrites ‘Some of them say, excuse me from going and do not tempt me. Woe! Temptation is what they have already fallen into.’...The man about whom this verse was revealed was al-Jād ibn Qayṣ and he was tempted by the women of *Banī al-Asfar* (i.e. of the Byzantines).” Thus, many people avoid enjoining good because it will put them in contact with “beautiful images, which [one] loves but cannot have due to prohibition or inability, and therefore [the] heart is tortured.” “One who thinks this way has fallen into tribulation...because there are permissible outlets for this scenario (i.e. marriage).”<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, the struggle of passions “is a lesser tribulation than leaving off struggling with people...which is a command of Allāh” (Ibn Taymiya; *Fatāwī*, vol. 28, pp. 166-7 and *Al-Istiqaṣa*, vol. 2, pp. 287-9).

<sup>101</sup> This is actually a saying of Companion ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb found in al-Tirmidhī; *hadīth* no. 2,577, vol. 4, pp. 54.

further says that even if one does not practice, fulfilling one duty is better than none: “teaching knowledge is part of acting upon it, and the one who teaches but does not act upon it is much better than the one who does not act nor teach. Whoever cannot establish all of the good, should not fall short from fulfilling some of it.” When one learns knowledge, Allāh imposes two obligations upon him, to act upon it and to teach it. “So the one who teaches without action has fulfilled one and fallen short with the other. The other one (who does not teach) has left both obligations and is thus, in greater danger and more deserving of punishment.”<sup>102</sup>

Besides being an obligation, teaching may be the cause for one to begin action themselves. But if this fails, and the scholar remains slothful with respect to practice, then he remains within the sphere of blame. Imām al-Ḥaddād likens this person to the needle, it sews clothes for others, while it is itself bare. Nonetheless, his teaching has saved him from the worse position of neither practicing nor teaching.<sup>103</sup>

A second pitfall is that one says, “*da’wa* is too lofty a rank for me. It is for the imāms of guidance, and I am not worthy of that.” This appears in the guise of humility: “So his humility causes him to be silent regarding *da’wa* and guiding others, and he thinks that this is virtuous humility and a sign of knowing one’s limits!” This excuse is false because there is something called ‘misplaced humility,’ namely, a humility that obstructs from doing good. An aphorism is offered to whoever falls into this false logic: “Truth never obstructs truth, and a

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<sup>102</sup> *DT*, 23, 24.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid*, 33-5.

virtue never denies another virtue.”<sup>104</sup> It is upon this individual to do *da’wa* while maintaining humility by struggling against his ego.

The third one is that the scholar busy himself with *awrād*, *dhikr*, and recitation of Qur’ān instead of inviting to the way of Allāh. It would appear that not striving to invite others is okay in this case as it allows for worship. “The truth is,” says the Imām, “that *da’wa* to Allāh and spreading the beneficial knowledge...is preferable to worship...because it serves the needs of the elite and common, the old and young, and the *hadīth* says, ‘The benefit of a scholar over that of a worshipper is like that of myself over the least of you.’<sup>105</sup> Also, ‘the benefit of a scholar over that of a worshipper is like that of the full moon over the remainder of the stars.’”<sup>106</sup>

Nor should this lead to the opposite extreme of busying oneself with constant service and making no room for worship. This is wrong too. Our subject judges that the scholar, once he opens his life to the public, “ought to discern the times of day or night in which no students are seeking nor questioners asking and assign his *awrād* to those times.”<sup>107</sup>

The above *wahm* regarded righteous scholars. The fourth one, however, arises to scholars of high position in society who have become dominated by their love of worldly rank. Such a type will “imagine that if they preach...it will become obvious that they do not act upon it...and thus will fall in the eyes of the people.” In reality, this person is only “concerned with protecting his popularity and position in the hearts of people, and this is due to the strength of their craving for leadership, which is of the most intense delights of the *dunya*.<sup>108</sup>”

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Al-Tirmidhī; *hadīth* no. 2,862, vol. 4, pp. 154.

<sup>106</sup> Ahmad; *hadīth* no. 21,709, vol. 5, pp. 251.

<sup>107</sup> *DT*, 24-5.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, 26.

Overly detailed study, when it busies a scholar from *da'wa*, is the fifth *wahm*. “The example of this,” the Imām says, “is the one whose knowledge regards the fine points of *kalām* and delving into it, and merely the hypotheticals of *fiqh* which hardly ever take place...and merely the linguistic tools and literary techniques.” It might appear to the scholar that the more he studies the more effective he will eventually become. However, what is the limit? The Imām says that, “such knowledges and those like them are not from the knowledges of *da'wa*...that instil fear of His threats and His meeting and warning of missing His obligations and falling into His prohibitions...”<sup>109</sup> Such a false conclusion comes from the scholars who are only scholars in their image, not their reality, and “only the ignorant will consider them scholars.” Lastly, nothing stops one from doing both knowledge and *da'wa*.

## VI. Results of *Da'wa*

Interestingly, al-Haddād also gives his readers what results to expect from *da'wa*. He maintains that it is possible that the message will be fully accepted or fully rejected. But in very realistic terms, the Imām tells us what is the most likely outcome: nothing at all, “he will not be harmed nor answered back harshly, but rather the truth may or may not be accepted from him, and what he calls to may or may not be acted upon.”<sup>110</sup> Thus, it can be suggested that the purpose of this section is to relieve the *dā'i* from the thought that lack of results is a fault on

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid, 27.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, 34.

their part. It also tempers the potential *dā'i* from any false ideas that *da'wa* is always an exciting thing; it can be quite plain at times and disheartening. Finally, the *dā'i* should be greatful he is not abused for his work because,

there may come a time will come after this period, [in which] malice will become strong, and grave hardships may come upon the one who calls to the truth and advises in the *dīn*. The caller to Allāh and guidance should take advantage of the ability to *da'wa* in these days...before another epoch arrives along with different people [in which] the truth will receive strong and clear reactions, and receive repulsive harms. It might even be that they will receive the harm before calling to Allāh...and all this is before the Signs of the Hour appear.<sup>111</sup>

It appears that this section is aimed at protecting the *dā'i* from disappointment, which may cause them to leave it off completely. Thus, he tells potential *du'āt* that the job may produce favorable results, but will likely produce nothing at all, and the worst possible scenario is to be fought.

## VII. Summary

Through *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma*, Imām al-Haddād has displayed the universality of *da'wa* (i.e. to be done by all people<sup>112</sup> to all people<sup>113</sup>) and its eminence in Islam.<sup>114</sup> *Da'wa* is the ultimate purpose behind learning, teaching, preaching, commanding right, forbidding wrong, and *jihād*.<sup>115</sup> To Imām al-Haddād, the knowledge that is honoured by Allāh is that which has day-to-day application, the most important of which are rectifying the absolutely necessary

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, 50.

<sup>113</sup> All people should fit into one of the eight categories in *DT* (Ibid, 14-5).

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, 18-9.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, 19.

beliefs (relating to Allāh) and manners (relating to people) (*al-i’tiqādāt wal-akhlāqiyyāt*).<sup>116</sup>

The best knowledges of *da’wa* are what is in the Qur’ān.<sup>117</sup> Specifically, the verses to do with Allāh, the messengers and prophets, the Day of Resurrection, and Garden and the Fire. These lead to ‘the knowledge of Allāh,’ which is the ultimate purpose of the teaching, and increases faith and certainty.<sup>118</sup> Added to this are the stories of the ascetics and worshippers. Often reading their stories causes one to love *dhikr* over all things of the *dunya*, and long for the Afterlife.<sup>119</sup>

Unlike the technical sciences of the law and the *hadīth*, the above knowledge should spread to all people, elite and common.<sup>120</sup> Nor should the scholar await the invitation to preach this to the people.<sup>121</sup> Rather, he must assess ‘the state of the people’ (*lisān al-hāl*) and travel to them.<sup>122</sup> No part of the earth should exist except that its people are accompanied with a scholar “to remind them of Allāh and teach them His religion.”<sup>123</sup> Even the non-scholars should be involved by teaching what they know.<sup>124</sup>

Even though the *dā’ī* tries to attract people and cause them to love Allāh’s path, there is no excuse not to command right and forbid wrong, according to the Imām.<sup>125</sup> Even if it causes another person to become upset, it must be done.<sup>126</sup> However, there are ways to assuage any tensions, namely gentleness (*lutf*) and compensation through nice words and gifts.<sup>127</sup> As for *jihād*, it is not a separate

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid, 36-7.

<sup>117</sup> Al-Badawi, 85.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> R. Mü’awana, 49.

<sup>120</sup> Hikam, 17.

<sup>121</sup> DT, 50.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Nasā’iḥ, 249.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, 252.

category in and of itself; it is part of commanding and forbidding.<sup>128</sup> As disbelief is an offence to Allāh, “the complete cannot restrain himself...until he changes it or is obstructed from doing so by something out of his control.”<sup>129</sup> *Jihād* is preceded by *da’wa*.<sup>130</sup> In the end, most *dā’īs* will be heard, and the people will either act upon his teaching or not.<sup>131</sup> Very rarely is a *dā’ī* totally accepted or totally rejected.<sup>132</sup> However, it should be anticipated that in the end of time, the *du’āt* will be fought for doing their work.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid, 259.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, 249.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, 261.

<sup>131</sup> *DT*, 46.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

## The Exhortations of Imām al-Ḥaddād

### I. Categories of People

In Islamic literature, the breakdown of a matter into categories, known as taxonomy, abounds. One can say that this is something intrinsic to all human discourses. In Islamic history, none other than the Prophet was the first to break things down into numbers, for example in his saying, “Islam was built on five.”<sup>134</sup> It is narrated that Abul Aswad al-Du’lī, while on commission by ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib, divided all of the Arabic language into three types of words: name (*ism*), action (*fi‘l*), and preposition (*harf*).<sup>135</sup> The Arabs’ exposure to Greek logic, following their relocation into the Hellenized Near East, may have furthered this technique. Eventually, it became a norm in Islamic scholarship.

Imām al-Ḥaddād carries on this long tradition of categorization and adds to it by categorizing the different types of people to whom *da‘wa* is to be given. Within each chapter, and generally throughout his works, he breaks down his subject matters into numbered lists. Sometimes, he seeks not to limit or bind himself by them, saying “the matter can be examined at length (*yatūl al-nazaru fīh*), but for now, this suffices.”

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<sup>134</sup> *Al-Sitta* (al-Bukhārī); pp. 2 and (Muslim); pp. 683 and (al-Tirmidhī); *ḥadīth* no. 2,609, pp. 1,914.

<sup>135</sup> ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm, Muḥammad Muhyīl-Dīn. *al-Tuḥfa al-Saniyya bi Sharḥ al-Muqaddima al-Ajrūniyya*, Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Asriyya, 1998; pp. 6

The purpose of *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma* is to present the different teachings required by the different categories of people. For example, the poor person is not in need of being reminded to give his alms-tax (*zakāt*); that should be directed to the wealthy. In this way, any person could read this book and know how to speak to people, in other words, how to do *da'wa*. What would be a possible reason for him to choose the eight that he did?<sup>136</sup> Perhaps, the Imām considered them representatives of all that constitutes the individual and the society. The individual consists of rational, spiritual, and physical elements. Corresponding to these are scholars, mystics, and rulers. The larger society consists of military, political, financial, public, domestic, and foreign domains. Corresponding to the first two of these is the ruler again, and for the remainder, the merchants, the poor, the dependents, and the non-believers. Alternatively, his eight categories can be viewed as those with influence and those without. The scholars and ascetics possess spiritual authority; the rulers and merchants, temporal authority. The remaining four are followers.

We shall now look at the purpose intended behind each chapter, along with its structure and contents. The sections are as long as there is room for commentary. Thus, some of our discussions are longer than others, particularly the first three.

#### A. Scholars

Imām al-Haddād's section on the scholars discusses the essential pillars of knowledge and the responsibilities upon scholars. A good portion of the work is he himself doing *da'wa* to scholars. The chapter involves critique of scholars (this

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<sup>136</sup> They are scholars, ascetics, rulers, merchants, the poor and weak, dependents, the masses, and non-believers (DT, 14-5).

type of writing can be found in other works). Of all the eight, the Imām is strictest with the scholars, because, “they are like salt in relation to food; if it is fine, the food is good. But if it is not, the food is ruined.”<sup>137</sup> In sum, only the righteous sultan is more beneficial to the world than the righteous scholar.<sup>138</sup> The crux of his *da’wa* to scholars regards their duties to the people, namely, *da’wa*. Lastly, he lays down some ground rules on how scholars should handle juristic questions from the common Muslims.

He also does *da’wa* to the non-scholars about how to know the proper scholar from the ‘false or evil scholars’ (*‘ulamā’ al-sū’}). The idea of evil scholars is rooted in the *hadīth*; the Prophet used the term “misguiding imāms” (*a’imma muḍillīn*).<sup>139</sup> We shall now expand on all of this, keeping in mind our question of how this contributes to *da’wa* in Islamic thought.*

Imām al-Haddād says that amongst the first and second generation of Muslims (i.e. the *sahāba* and *tābi’ūn*), the scholars were those who memorized the Qur’ān, and in those times, and that the early memorizers of the Qur’ān (*hafazat al-qur’ān*) also understood it.<sup>140</sup> It was also held that whoever memorized and understood the chapters of *Baqara*, *Āl ‘Imrān*, and *al-Nisā’* was capable of giving *fatwa*.<sup>141</sup> Hence, the scholars were not known as ‘*ulamā’* but rather ‘Qur’ān reciters’ (*qurrā’*). At a certain point in time, says Imām al-Haddād, the Qur’ān reciters began

reciting the Qur’ān from beginning to end not knowing what it was, nor why it was revealed...nor does [the one of them] care about not knowing...and this is due to heedlessness and...drowning in the *dunya*...who is more astray than this?<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> *DT*, 41.

<sup>138</sup> *Fuṣūl*, 21.

<sup>139</sup> Ahmad; *hadīth* no. 21,289, vol. 5, pp. 190.

<sup>140</sup> *DT*, 42.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

This is mainly the reason the Imām authors this chapter. As not every scholar is either righteous or evil, the Imām seeks to delineate the various degrees, or the grey areas. There are hence four types of scholars, according to Imām al-Haddād, based on three factors: knowledge, actions, and transmission.

The first type is the best; it is the one who possesses all three; he knows the doctrine and the law, he acts upon it, and he transmits his knowledge to others. The second type is beneath the first in that he is missing the last factor, transmission; he does not teach. Now, if his lack of teaching is because there are enough teachers, this is okay. If it is out of busyness with *dhikr*, it is blameworthy. If it is out of busyness with the details on knowledge (*al-furū'*) that have little applicability in every day life, it is more blameworthy. If it is out of mere laziness, it is very blameworthy. Finally, if it is because of stinginess with knowledge, whereby his control over people would decrease if they had knowledge, it is a major wrong (*kabīra*), known as ‘hoarding knowledge’ (*kitmān al-'ilm*).

The third type of scholar also possess only two of the factors, this time lacking action. Thus, he knows and teaches but does not act. Such a one is likened to the needle, says Imām al-Haddād, it sews clothes, but itself is bare; or like the candle: it lights the way for others, while itself is melting away. Most likely, such a scholar teaches for fame, or some other worldly sake, a horrid state without doubt. It could also be that the scholar teaches out of good will but is lazy in practicing the knowledge himself. While, lowly, this is at least not as evil as the previous one.

Fourth is the one who lacks two factors; he knows, but does not act nor teach. This one is like the rock that blocks the stream: it does not drink nor does it allow others to drink. Still, there is a worse category (a fifth type). It is the one who knows, does not act nor teach, and moreover leads people to bad deeds. This

is the worst of all because, as the Imām says, “repentance (*tawba*) becomes difficult for him. His sins may be forgivable, but how can he possibly make up for those whom he led to Hell?”<sup>143</sup>

In sum, all of this is meant to bring out the importance of a scholars’ acting upon their knowledge and teaching it. It is meant to contextualize scholarship, such that it is never thought that simply possessing knowledge without sincere action is sufficient. As he has shown, knowledge may lead one towards the best or towards the worst of paths.

The next theme the Imām puts towards scholars is sincerity. Those who know, act, and teach, he says, are not saved by their mere deeds; there is always the question of why they did what they did, i.e. their intention. The Imām also divides this matter into its various possibilities. The best and necessary intention is that which is solely for Allāh. Then there is the mixed intention which is for both Allāh and the *dunya*. Such a person can in the end succeed by struggling against his self (*nafs*). Worst of all is the one whose purpose is the *dunya* but does not realize it and thinks he is doing good.<sup>144</sup>

Ultimately, the guidance is from Allāh, he says. But, nonetheless, the individual must put forth the sincere appeal to be cleansed of all desires save Allāh, His Paradise, and His Countenance; and this matter is a completely spiritual one, it is not achieved through the intellect, but only through the heart. This fact, the Imām teaches, humbles the scholar, for he says, citing Zayn al-Ābidīn ibn al-Husayn, “Allāh has hid his secrets in his servants, so belittle no servant, for perchance they are the friends of Allāh.”<sup>145</sup> Again, the Imām is contextualizing scholarship and viewing it from the perspective of the Afterlife, in which only the

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid, 52-4.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid, 63-5.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid, 195.

sincere deeds are accepted. Regardless of how sophisticated and beneficial a deed is in the *dunya*, if it is not done for Allāh alone, says the Imām, it is unacceptable.<sup>146</sup> It is apt to conclude this segment with a passage from the Imām:

It thus becomes clear that knowledge is divided between beneficial and non-beneficial, and the people of knowledge are divided into benefiting and not benefiting...Knowledge can be beneficial, but its possessor does not benefit from it if he acts in contradiction to his knowledge. Thus, his state is like the filthy plate: if good food is placed in it, it soils it. Some scholars said, "Increasing knowledge in the evil person is like feeding the roots of the colocynth tree. The more it is increased in irrigation the more bitter it gets"...Likewise for the evil scholar (*al-ālim al-sū'*), the less knowledge he has, the less he causes trouble and harm. And do not think this is far off, for the likeness of the children of Adam are as the likeness of trees and soils in their differences in nature and essence. There are some trees and soils that improve and become beautiful when water and irrigation reach it. And some are the opposite to this, like the bitter trees and the ones with thorns, and like the salty soil and the unused plantations that get more bitter, thorny, salty, and foul, the more the water reaches them.

One of the wonders that has been mentioned is that when the rainy season's rains come, the oysters are wide open to receive them, and in them they turn into pearls. The vipers also open their mouths wide to drink, but in them, that same water turns into poison. And it is all one rain at one time.<sup>147</sup>

Where can this discussion be placed in Islamic scholarship? It can be said that Imām al-Haddād's *da'wa* to scholars is built upon the very thesis of the *Iḥyā'* '*Ulūm al-Dīn* of al-Ghazālī. The entire purpose of the *Iḥyā'* is to contextualize scholarship in the broader scheme of spirituality.<sup>148</sup> Knowledge is merely a tool; it can be used for this world or the next. And while sacred knowledge is honourable in itself, one's acquisition of it still must be done piously. What Imām al-Haddād has done is encapsulated this idea and couched it in the genre of *wa'z* and *da'wa* to scholars.

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid, 182.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid, 45.

<sup>148</sup> In this sense, spirituality is to be understood as the purpose of man's creation and the believer's ultimate quest or nearness to Allāh (*al-qurb ila allāh*).

Thus far, this section from *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma* amounts to *da'wa* to scholars. The Imām moves on and gives guidelines on how scholars should answer questions from the people, so it is more in line with counselling them than *da'wa* to them. The main point revolves around caution in judgement. The scholar should not open doors which should be shut, simply to please his audience. He should “not talk to them about legal dispensations (*rukhas*).<sup>149</sup> Nor should he discuss the differences among the scholars that would make things sound like they are dispensations, when they actually are not (*bimā yūhim al-tarakhkhush*).”<sup>150</sup> The Imām is not against the dispensations (*rukhas*) themselves, but rather he warns against accustoming the people to seeking them and causing things to appear to be dispensations, when they are not.

Regarding all matters, the cautious position must be given, he says. Otherwise would cause the people to be lax and eventually fall into wrongs. Rather, the responsible scholar keeps the people away from the grey areas by pronouncing the most cautious position possible, knowing that they will make it easy for themselves. Therefore, when they do make things easier, they will not be in prohibited territory. The pronounced rule of thumb is that the masses are lax in religion, leaning to their desires and the *dunya*. Thus, “it is said regarding the masses (*al-'āmma*) that we tighten on them, and they loosen for themselves.”<sup>151</sup>

In conclusion, the section on scholars comprises of two parts: one, *da'wa* to them and two, counsel on how they should do *da'wa*. In terms of Islamic scholarship, the main contribution lies more in the former, *da'wa* to scholars, in

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<sup>149</sup> A *rukhsa* is “a legal ruling relaxing or suspending by way of exception under certain circumstances an injunction of a primary and general nature” (E.I., 1995, “RUKHŞA.”). For example, breaking the Ramadān fast if travelling or speaking words of disbelief under duress. Some *rukhsas* are *sunna*, such as shortening the prayer; the Imām espouses this since it is a *sunna* (*R. Mū'awana*, 49).

<sup>150</sup> *DT*, 59.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, 59.

its reformulating of al-Ghazālī's thesis that knowledge must be contextualized within the greater realm of piety. Al-Haddād's style of writing is more accessible and streamlined than al-Ghazālī's.

## B. Ascetics

Like the scholars, the ascetics (*al-zuhhād wal-‘ubbād*) are allotted a very lofty rank in *al-Da‘wa al-Tāmma*. They are

The elect of Allāh (*ṣafwat allāh*) out of all His servants, and [they are] the location of His sight out of all His creation, and [they are] the reservoirs of His secrets...from them, the true realities of sincerity and honesty, reliance (on Allāh) and asceticism, and other similar stations of certainty, are taken. These are the pure Ṣūfis, who are innocent and pious, the people of the truth and realization (*ahl al-ḥaq wal-ḥaqīqa*), who act and tread the path...by their blessings and good prayers, harm is turned away...may Allāh benefit us by them...and all the Muslims.<sup>152,153</sup>

His section is not addressed to them, per sé, but to “those beginners who aspire to emulate their example and follow their path.”<sup>154</sup> There are two conditions before “travelling the path of Allāh...and cutting one’s self off for sole dedication to the worship of Allāh,” holds the Imām.<sup>155</sup> First is to study one of the relied upon collections of doctrine. For this, the Imām recommends the first book of Imām al-Ghazālī’s *Qawā'id al-'Aqā'id* (*Principles of Doctrines*). Second, one must acquire the obligatory knowledge which regards the five pillars of how to worship as Allāh decrees. For this, Imām al-Haddād says that “one’s worship without knowledge could only increase him in distance.”<sup>156</sup> And “worship

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid, 69.

<sup>153</sup> A corollary *hadīth* to this can be found in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*: Narrated Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd: Once Sa'd (ibn Abī Waqqāṣ) thought that he was superior to those who were below him in rank. On that the Prophet peace be upon him said, "You gain no victory or livelihood except through (the blessings and invocations of) the poor amongst you" (al-Bukhari, Muhammad ibn Ismail; trans. Muhsin Khan. *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari*, Lahore: Kazi Publications, 1979; *hadīth* no. 145 of *Bab al-Jihaad*, vol. 4, pp. 94).

<sup>154</sup> DT, 69.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, 70.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

without knowledge has more harm than good.”<sup>157</sup> The Prophet peace be upon him said, “Seeking knowledge is an obligation upon every man and woman Muslim.”<sup>158</sup> Furthermore, one must learn how the rulings of the interactions they plan on doing. For example, one about to marry must learn the rulings of marriage, etc. A sound worshipper does not need to be an ocean of knowledge, he concludes; what is obligatory is necessary and sufficient.<sup>159</sup>

At this point, the Imām divides all ascetics into two types: those of the exoteric law (*Shari‘a*) and esoteric truth (*Haqīqa*), and those of the esoteric only.<sup>160</sup> The imāms of the exoteric and esoteric are capable of benefiting the elite and the common of the Muslims. Examples of such were Imām ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ibn al-Husayn (d. 95/714), Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 116/734), Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/766), ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 102/720), and al-Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/729). To gather both, knowledge of the *Shari‘a* and the *Haqīqa* is the best, but it is difficult and rare.<sup>161</sup>

Then there are those who sufficed with minimal *Shari‘a* knowledge, and devoted themselves to worship, *dhikr*, and being cut off from society, not due to incapacities or irresponsibility on their part, but by choice.<sup>162</sup> Because there were enough people to fulfill the needs of the Muslim community in the past, says Imām al-Haddād, there was no harm in this decision.<sup>163</sup> Also, becoming a scholar and living in the cities is not obligatory in the first place. Such men were aware that a lot of knowledge and many ties bring about harmful things like fame and obligations (such as being a judge, *qādī*) that distract one from contemplation,

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> *Al-Sitta* (Ibn Māja); *hadīth* no. 224, pp. 2,491.

<sup>159</sup> *DT*, 71-2.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, 72.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid, 72-4.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, 74-5.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

explains the Imām.<sup>164</sup> One Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Īṣfahānī (d. ?), tells our author, was seen burying his books and scolding himself, “You were a transmitter, and what did that bring? And you were a *muftī*, and what did that bring? And you were a judge, and what did that bring?”<sup>165</sup> Lastly, the Imām puts forth that this approach holds up the greatest of all *sunnas*: removing the *dunya* from the heart:

There is no need to worry about the criticism of those who criticise them, claiming that this is against the *sunna*, while he does not realize that the greater *sunna* is leaving off the *dunya* and avoiding people, and striving towards the Master praise and glory be to Him.<sup>166</sup>

Examples of the early Muslims who lived like this were Uways al-Qarnī (d. c.37/657), Mālik ibn Dīnār (d. 127/745), Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d. 161/778), Fudayl ibn 'Iyyād (d. 187/803), and Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/816).

These individuals were known for being away from people...Much of them were wont to leave for the forests or the mountains...cutting the self (*nafs*) off from its customs and what it loves, perfecting their reliance (*tawakkul*), sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*), and going without worldliness, popularity, wealth, and position in the hearts of people.<sup>167</sup>

Next, our subject begins the *da'wa* to them by offering the five keys to asceticism. First is great caution regarding the origins of one's food, namely that it is permissible (*halāl*) and slaughtered properly according to *Shari'a*. Normally, he says, it is okay to eat “that for which one does not have any clear reason to declare impermissible (*harām*).” However, the ascetic worshipper who has devoted all of his energies for Allāh's sake must practice scrupulousness (*wara'*), which requires that he know for sure that the food is *halāl*.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, 77.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, 78.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, 89.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, 76.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid, 79-80.

The second part is a set of four which are hunger, night vigil, silence, and solitude, for all of laziness and distraction are rooted in these four.<sup>169</sup> Besides strengthening the evil tendencies in a person (*al-nafs al-ammāra bil-sū'*), the full stomach is despised by Allāh. The night vigil breaks up one's sleep, which strengthens one's will-power besides allotting a time to focus when all other things are settled and asleep. Silence trains one at selflessness, as people assert themselves through speech. Also, it saves one from trouble if they were to err in speech. As for solitude, too many relationships distract the mind, he says. The only thing that will ever humble the ego is being alone.

Lastly in Imām al-Haddād's advice to devotees, is the centrality of Uways al-Qarnī as the model dervish. Uways is prominent in Islam because the Prophet Muḥammad praised him as his “My friend from this *umma* (*khalīli min hādhihi al-umma*)”<sup>170</sup> and the best Muslim of the next generation (*khayr al-tabi'īn*).<sup>171</sup> The first to write on him were Ibn Sa'd (d. 231/845) and Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) in his *Kitāb al-Zuhd* (*The Book of Asceticism*).<sup>172</sup>

What is transmitted about Uways in the *hadīth* of *Sahīh Muslim* is as follows. He was merely a camel-herder amongst his people. Some considered him mad. The Prophet praised him and ordered ‘Umar and ‘Alī to bestow upon Uways his (the Prophet's) cloak if they ever were to meet him, and to ask his intercession that Allāh forgives them. As a result, ‘Umar used to seek out Uways among the Yemeni pilgrims every Hajj season, and eventually found him and, along with ‘Alī, asked him to supplicate Allāh for their forgiveness.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, 101.

<sup>170</sup> Ibn Sa'd; vol. 8, pp. 283.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> This is according to E.I., 1979, “UWAYS AL-KARANI.” For Imām Aḥmad's writings on him, see Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad; ed. Muhammad Jalal Sharaf. *Kitāb az-Zuhd*, Alexandria: Dar al-Fikr al-Jāmi'i, 1980; pp. 341-5.

<sup>173</sup> Al-Nisābūri; *hadīth* no. 2,542, vol. 4, pp. 1968-9.

Thus, the merit of Uways became known and many a young aspirant sought him out.<sup>174</sup> However, says Imām al-Haddād, he would only be found alone, by streams, or piles of garbage. One of the Followers of the second generation (*tābi‘ūn*), Hiram ibn Ḥibbān (d. 26/646) met him and asked, “Tell me a *hadīth* you heard from the Messenger of Allāh peace be upon him.” Uways replied,

I did not meet the Messenger of Allāh peace be upon him but I met men who met him and I heard his sayings, but I hate to open this door upon myself. I have business between me and myself (*liyya shughl shāghilun fī nafṣī*). I do not like to be a traditionist (*muḥaddith*) or a *muftī* or a judge (*qāḍī*).<sup>175</sup>

Thus, Uways continued wandering in obscurity, praying wherever he went. Those who met him were given his full attention, but, as he said to Hiram ibn Ḥibbān, “I will not see you after today. You search for me, but I hate to be well known and I love to be alone.”<sup>176</sup> “We parted ways, the both of us weeping” Hiram relates, “and we never met again, but we met through dreams.”<sup>177</sup> Uways used to counsel his visitors never to split from the group (*jamā‘a*) and he fought with ‘Alī in all his battles up to Ṣiffīn where he died around 37/657.<sup>178</sup>

Why does Imām al-Haddād choose Uways while many Companions were ascetics? Both Uways and our subject were from Yemen, but this is probably not the reason. One possibility could be that Uways was purely an ascetic, while the Companions were ascetics among other things. For example, Abū Hurayra was an ascetic and lived in the mosque, but eventually, he married and became the governor of Bahrayn, and amassed considerable wealth.<sup>179</sup> This does not contradict asceticism per se; marrying and ruling are from the *sunna*, and the Companions tended to manifest all the different facets of it. Uways, however, was

<sup>174</sup> Ibn Hanbal, Ahmad. *Kitab al-Zuhd*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, no year; pp. 343 4.

<sup>175</sup> DT, 77 and Ibn Hanbal; *Zuhd*, 346.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, 91 and Ibid, 346.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid and ibid.

<sup>178</sup> E.I., 1979, “UWAYS AL-KARANI.”

<sup>179</sup> Khalid, 458.

an ascetic and nothing else, having neither social ties nor wealth. He is therefore, a pure symbol of *zuhd*.

In light of Islamic literature on piety and spirituality, this chapter of Imām al-Haddād is pivotal. The two pre-requisites of knowledge of doctrine and the five pillars are well established in Islamic scholarship. Even if one were to go as far away from Ḥadramawt as Morocco, one would find the same teaching (for example, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn ‘Āshir (d. 1040/1631) in his *Murshid al-Mu‘īn, The Guiding Helper*).<sup>180</sup> The four principles of the path (hunger, vigil, seclusion, silence) are well established amongst the spiritual guides too. In the same way, many teachers hold Uways to be an exemplar of asceticism.

This chapter does tell us a few things about *da‘wa* as well. Firstly, is that *da‘wa* to ascetics is to be done by putting forth examples of piety and individual stories, such as that of Uways. This differs from the *da‘wa* to scholars which consisted mostly of verses, *hadīths*, and logical proofs.

Secondly, is the division between the scholarly and non-scholarly ascetics. One could be both or the latter only. As for the first type, what applies to the scholars (above) regarding *da‘wa*, applies to them. The one who is only an ascetic however, is not asked to do *da‘wa*. The reasons for this is that the ascetics may not have much knowledge beyond the basics. Also, the ascetics are most concerned with leaving off the world. Thus, they might not, like Uways and Fuḍayl and the others, be established within the institutions of the society, making it difficult to do *da‘wa*. Lastly, the ascetic’s mere existence in the society is itself a form of *da‘wa*, as his image is a reminder in and of itself. This may be another reason the Imām does not oblige them to do *da‘wa*.

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<sup>180</sup> Ibn ‘Āshir, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid. *Al-Murshid al-Mu‘īn ‘alā al-Darūrī min ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1993.

## C . Rulers

Turning now to sultans, governors, and anyone who has legitimate authority over others, Imām al-Haddād says, “Know that rulers are necessary and people cannot go without them.”<sup>181</sup> This is echoes the philosophy of the Moroccan Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), who wrote in his *Muqaddima* that

By dint of their nature, human beings need someone to act as a restraining influence and mediator in every social organization, in order to keep its members from fighting with each other...That person, must, by necessity have...royal authority...Royal authority means superiority and the power to rule by force.”<sup>182</sup>

Our subject goes no further on the need for rulers from the sociological point of view. He continues, instead, to discuss the benefits of having rulers (Kings) from the traditional, transmitted sources. Firstly, there are good kings and there are bad ones. The good king rules for the sake of goodness; the bad king does it for the pleasures of rule.<sup>183</sup> Even when the selfish king rules, “there are many benefits...such as securing the lands...and subduing evil doers.”<sup>184</sup> He cites the Qur’ān: “And were it not for the people’s contesting one another, the earth would have become corrupt.”<sup>185</sup> “Subduing evil doers” and the Qur’ān’s “contesting one another” is the same as Ibn Khaldūn’s “restraining influence,” only that in *al-Da’wa al-Tāmma*, Imām al-Haddād explains the idea through Qur’ānic teachings, rather than through the contemplation of history and human society.

There are also religious benefits derived from the corrupt Muslim kings and sultans. Many rulers expanded the Islamic empire out of their own greed for

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<sup>181</sup> DT, 99.

<sup>182</sup> Ibn Khaldun; trans. Franz Rosenthal. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967; pp. 107-8.

<sup>183</sup> DT, 106-7.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid, 107.

<sup>185</sup> Q. 2:251 (*al-Baqara*).

the wealth of the people and for the honour of having vast territories and many subjects.<sup>186</sup> Realizing it or not, such rulers spread Islam, and the generations to follow entered into the faith.<sup>187</sup> This understanding draws its support from the *hadīth*, which he cites, “Verily Allāh will help this religion with an immoral man.”<sup>188</sup>

On to the structure and style of the section, we previously mentioned that the Imām’s approach to scholars was rooted in evidences through verses and *hadīth* with only a few stories. By contrast, the section on dervishes was mostly wisdoms, stories, and maxims. This section does not lean too far either way. Quotations from the Qur’ān and *hadīth* are present along with stories and anecdotes. Most of all are the stories of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 101/719), who was given authority after sixty years of Ummayyad rule.

One of the better known texts with regards to rulers is *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya* (*The Rules of Governance*) by ‘Ali Abil-Hasan al-Mawardi of Baghdād (d. 450/1058). It consists of rulings on legitimacy and selection, followed by a list of necessary tasks that must be executed. Of course, there is a great difference between the two works. Imām al-Haddād intended *da’wa* and advise to rulers, whereas al-Mawardi was writing a text book. There is a great variance in length and detail as well (al-Mawardi’s being the longer one). Still however, it is useful to utilize *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya* as a pivot point around which we study Imām al-Haddād’s advice to rulers. Furthermore, Imām al-Haddād is likely to have been familiar with al-Mawardi’s book, as both scholars were of the Shāfi‘ī school. Lastly, our discussion on rulers is general, not

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<sup>186</sup> *DT*, 107.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, 107-8. The *hadīth* is al-Dārimī, ‘Abd Allāh. *Sunan Al-Dārimī*, Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, 1987; *hadīth* no. 2,517, vol. 2, pp. 314.

specific. Thus, it is sensible to contextualize it vis-à-vis a major, well-known work, in this case, *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya*. In principle, we will follow Imām al-Haddād's text and insert comparisons with al-Mawardi's where appropriate.

Let us begin with Imām al-Haddād's comments on authority itself. Regarding the ruler,

Allāh has not given him rule over His servants except so that He establishes His religion in them, and what He has obliged of obedience and prohibited of sins. As for that which regards the affairs of the *dunyā* and living, that comes second and follows it (i.e. the *dīn*). The essential matter (*al-asl*) is striving to establish the religion and the command of Allāh among His servants....and it is upon him to teach them what they must do of the obedience to Allāh and the obligations and avoiding the prohibited, and [he must] urge them to this end, in fulfilling and avoiding...He must show [the people] his love for goodness...and hatred for oppression.<sup>189</sup>

This quote indicates that the ruler must actively pursue *da'wa* and ensure that his flock (*ra'iyya*) is awake in the religious sense. Al-Mawardi has ten obligations upon the ruler. Two of them are solely religious and the remaining eight, while *Shari'a* based, are to do with law and order in the physical respect. The first of the two says:

He must guard the deen as it was established in its original form and about which the first generations of the Ummah are agreed; if an innovator appears, or someone of dubious character deviates from this deen he should make clear to him the legal proof of his error, explain the right way to him and take the appropriate measures regarding his liability and his punishment such that the deen is protected from blemish and the Ummah is prevented from going astray.<sup>190</sup>

While the ruler-as-*dā'i* is the ideal, Imām al-Haddād realizes that very few rulers after 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz will achieve it. Thus, he lowers the bar of expectation. We begin by citing the Imām's opinion on the rulers of the past:

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<sup>189</sup> *DT*, 105, 117, 109.

<sup>190</sup> Al-Mawardi, 'Alī Abul-Hasan ibn Muhammad; trans. Abdullah Yate. *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya*, London: Ta-Ha Publishers, 1996; pp. 27-8. The second is about *jihād*. He says, "He must make jihad against those who resist Islam after having been called to it until they submit or accept to live as a protected dhimmi-community --- so that Allah's rights, may He be exalted, 'be made uppermost above all [other] religion' (Qur'an 9: 33)." Even in this section, al-Mawardi makes no mention of *da'wa* to the non-Muslims, how it is to be done and how important it is.

there is no one among those given authority over the affairs of the Muslims, after the four righteous caliphs, may Allāh be pleased with them, and after ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, may Allāh Most High have mercy on him, who went [about his duty] in an acceptable, good, and upright way, not from Banī Umayya nor from Banīl ‘Abbās, except that Banī Ummaya were more negligent regarding the affairs of Allāh.<sup>191</sup>

The decline in upright rule, says Imām al-Haddād, is forewarned in the *hadīth*, in which the Prophet portends thirty years of righteous caliphs, then an era of kings, then an era of tyrants, and finally a return to the ways of the prophets. As a result, “The least that is required from the [rulers of today],” he says, “is to simply admit their shortcomings and inadequacies, and resolve to repent to Allāh Most High.”<sup>192</sup> It is nearly a given that “most of them will be dominated by a pretentious love for themselves...even if their ways are wicked and their deeds ugly and detestable. This is from the bad influence and trickery of Iblīs upon them.”<sup>193</sup> Given all this, the *da’wa* is streamlined to two major points. He expands to points beyond them, which will mention, but these are the two most important ones.

The first is about fleeing from all possibilities of rule in the first place. “Authority is a dangerous matter and rulers are in grave danger”<sup>194</sup> says the Imām. Stories of the early Muslims fleeing positions of authority abound. ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz preferred death over leadership.<sup>195</sup> The purpose of this type of introduction is to create a fear and loathing of authority, for the injustices of rulers are only inspired by the desire to maintain their positions.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> *DT*, 103.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid*, 105.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid*, 104.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid*, 99.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid*, 102.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid*, 104.

The second major point regards the proper distribution of wealth. Justice in the realm of wealth has a major place in the *Shari‘a*, he says.<sup>197</sup> The alms-tax for the distribution of wealth to the poor is the third priority in Islam after belief and prayer. As above, *hadīths* and stories regarding this matter abound. The state treasury, or *bayt al-māl*, must never be abused by the ruler. ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, for example, would not bathe in hot water heated by the state-operated kitchen and ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib used to pray in the *bayt al-māl* so that it would testify for him on the Day of Judgement.<sup>198</sup>

While the above two are the most important, there are several other topics touched upon by the Imām, which are all requirements of the ruler that we can compare with al-Mawardi. He must remove wrongs done in the open (*izālat al-munkarāt*).<sup>199</sup> This is known in al-Mawardi’s work as the institution of *hisba*. It consists of an officially appointed supervisor (*muhtasib*) who is paid from the treasury to command right and forbid wrong in public places. He must be knowledgeable, and he may hire a team to work for him. Al-Mawardi adds that the *muhtasib* should also look for the *sunan* that have been abandoned and revive them.<sup>200</sup> What we have here is Imām al-Haddād touching upon the main point and leaving the interested reader to seek out the details.

The other things a ruler must do, according to Imām al-Haddād, are establishing the penal codes of Allāh (*iqāmat al-hudūd*), be available to the public, be gentle when needed and firm when needed, choose representatives and ministers wisely, perform acts of goodness, ensure justice for the oppressed (*nuṣrat al-mazlūm*), appoint pious judges, appoint pious secretaries of

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid, 111.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid, 100-1.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid, 105.

<sup>200</sup> Al-Mawardi, 337.

endowments and the wealth of orphans, and finally ensure the proper treatment of servants and animals under his authority.<sup>201</sup>

Not all of these obligations are found in *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya*. For example, the Imām's stipulating that the ruler should be available to the public is not mentioned in *al-Aḥkām*. Nor are his discussions on being gentle and firm in the proper places and treating animals decently. Likewise, there are a number of issues mentioned by al-Mawardī and not by al-Haddād. Most noticeably is the “Amirate of Jihad,” a large chapter in *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya*.<sup>202</sup> According to al-Mawardī, *jihād* is the second of the two main purposes of the ruler (the first is establishing Islam in the land).<sup>203</sup> Why would Imām al-Haddād not mention it? It should be recalled that our subject was writing in the Ḥadramī context. It was not an imperial centre that had any possibilities of expansion. Al-Mawardī on the other hand, was writing for the imperial ‘Abbāsid Dynasty. This is one possible explanation.

Furthermore, Imām al-Haddād did not write about the administration of *hajj*, *zakāt*, the collection of the non-Muslim tax (*jizya*), and the irrigation of water. It is obvious how most of these had nothing to do with the Ḥadramī context. The Ḥadramīs were never the heads of the *hajj*; that was for the Caliph. Nor were there Jews or Christians living amongst them for there to be a concern about non-Muslim tax (*jizya*). Lastly, there was not much water in Ḥadramawt for there to be a system of irrigation over which a minister would preside. Overall, we can see that Imām al-Haddād mentions the basic requirements of a ruler, but does not branch out into things that were not immediate concerns in his country. An important point is that not only were these points not important to his country,

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<sup>201</sup> DT, 105-10.

<sup>202</sup> See Chapter 4 of *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya*.

<sup>203</sup> Al-Mawardī, 27-8.

they are not relevant to most governors. Al-Mawardi was writing for the 'Abbāsid Caliph himself, but al-Haddād's chapter is for all governors, even local ones.

In conclusion, Imām al-Haddād's section on rulers is relevant to the study of *da'wa* because, as we have seen, the Imām expects the ruler to be a *dā'i* as well. By performing good deeds in public, urging his flock to obedience, and "surrounding them with counsel (*nasiha*)," he is a *dā'i*. We have also shown how he has summarized the main points mentioned in the classic text of al-Mawardi, and excluded those matters that were only relevant to the main Caliph (in his day, it was the Ottoman Sultan). So far, two of the three categories which have been discussed are expected to do *da'wa* (scholars and rulers).

#### D. Merchants

This grouping involves merchants, craftsmen, and farmers. Balancing his discussion on asceticism, Imām al-Haddād holds that striving to earn a good living in the permissible way (*bil halāl*) for oneself and dependents is not wrong, and is a way to Allāh's nearness.<sup>204</sup> His proofs for this are the verses, "And we have certainty established you in the earth and allotted you livelihoods"<sup>205</sup> and "We have divided among them their livelihoods in the life of the *dunya* and raised some over the other in degrees."<sup>206</sup> The Imām cites the *hadīth*, "Verily Allāh loves the skilled believer (*al-mu'min al-muhtarif*)."<sup>207</sup> Wealthy merchants and craftsmen are useful in that their wealth prevents them from asking others for financial help and can be the ones who pull others out of financial constraints.

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<sup>204</sup> *DT*, 121.

<sup>205</sup> Q. 7:10 (*al-A'rāf*).

<sup>206</sup> Q. 43:32 (*al-Zukhruf*).

<sup>207</sup> This *hadīth* can be found in Al-Waṣabī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān. *Al-Baraka fī Faḍl al-Sa'i wal-Haraka*, Egypt: Al-Maktaba al-Tijariyya al-Kubra, no year; pp. 6.

Their children also are taken care of in case the bread-winner was to expire. Moreover, such a person may be fulfilling a communal obligation (*fard kifāya*) in their occupation. Overall, the section reveals Imām al-Haddād's unification of what is worldly and what is otherworldly.

The first point, and the bedrock upon which the merchant's dealings are made, is knowledge of the *Shari'a*'s rules that pertain to the market place.<sup>208</sup> Sales (*buyū'*), buying (*shirā'*), usury (*ribā*), forward buying (*salam*), loans (*qard*), security deposits (*rahn*), and renting (*ijāra*) must be learned.<sup>209</sup> The second is honesty: "The honest merchant is resurrected with the martyrs," said the Prophet.<sup>210</sup> Lying and swearing are things of which merchant must be wary.<sup>211</sup> The righteous merchant should not swear "by Allāh, I am not profiting" or anything else. If he lies, it is a major sin (*kabīra*). Thirdly, due to the nature of their trade, merchants are susceptible to forgetting Allāh (*ghafla*). They must therefore, be wary not to be distracted from worship, even whilst working.<sup>212</sup> The merchant should avoid chatting about the *dunya* or idle matters, and is recommended to chant Qur'ān and *dhikr*.

The Imām utilizes stories to emphasize honesty in buying and selling. One of the *salaf* had a shop selling pots, some for one thousand *dirhams* and others for five-hundred. One day he was absent from his shop and an assistant sold one of the five-hundred *dirham* pots for one thousand *dirhams*. On his way to the shop, the righteous merchant saw the buyer of the pot and enquired, "How much did you pay?" "One thousand," replied the buyer. "But its value is five-hundred," retorted the merchant, "come with me, that I may recompense you five-hundred

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<sup>208</sup> *DT*, 122.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> This *hadīth* can be found in Al-Khallāl, Abū Bakr. *Al-Hath 'alā al-Tijāra*, Aleppo: Dar al-Basha'ir al-Islamiyya, 1995; pp. 58.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 122-4.

*dirhams.*" The buyer said, "I do not mind, I am satisfied with the sale." But the honesty of the merchant would not allow it: "Even if you are satisfied, I am not, come take your five-hundred, or return to me the pot and take one thousand." So the man went and was given his five-hundred *dirhams*.<sup>213</sup> With stories like these, the work transcends that of a mere manual to one of *da'wa*, as story-telling has always been associated with *da'wa* and preaching due to their moving effects on others and how easily they are retained in the memory.

The Imām's views on commerce and trade are important in that he argues that wealth and business do not remove one from righteousness as long as one does it in accordance with the *Shari'a* and does not allow it to remove him from Allāh's worship.<sup>214</sup> This position that is not foreign to the Sūfī shaykhs, particularly Abul-Hasan al-Shādhilī, whose teachings were designed intently for the employed and urbanized Muslim.<sup>215</sup> One may enquire, why does not Imām al-Haddād mention trade as an avenue for *da'wa*, which was something that took place before and during his life time by Hadramīs in South East Asia. Much of Islam spread through the merchants and their routes.<sup>216</sup> Why would this not be addressed? We can deduce that the *da'wa* that took place through merchants' trade was not planned or organized, but rather, occurred naturally through the merchants' interactions with the people.

#### E. The Poor, the Weak, and the Ill

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid, 131.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid, 122-124.

<sup>215</sup> Al-Najjar, 'Aamir. *Al-Turuq al-Sūfiyya fī Misr: Nash'atuhā wa Niżāmuḥā wa Ruwwāduhā*, Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, no year; pp. 131, 142.

<sup>216</sup> Hadramīs in Indonesia at around this time were involved in shipping and real estate among other things. The poor political conditions caused for poor economic conditions which only increased travels to South East Asia (See Clarence-Smith, William and Ulrike Freitag, eds. *Hadhrani Traders, Scholars, and Statemen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s*, Leiden: Brill, 1997).

This is one of the longer sections of the book, likely so because the poor, the weak, and the ill require much counsel on patience and reassurance. As honesty was the most important theme for the merchant, so patience is the most important theme here. Trial and poverty are also touched upon in the end. It is apparent that Imām al-Haddād's style here is meant to quell the pains of the individuals in the given category. A great emphasis is on the fact that the patience of those who suffer in this life will not go unrecognized by the Lord of the Day of Judgement. The Imām cites the Prophetic sayings, "The poor sit with Allāh on the Day of Judgement"<sup>217</sup> and "The poor enter Paradise five-hundred years before the wealthy."<sup>218</sup>

Unlike the previous subjects (*da'wa* to scholars, rulers, etc.), which are not so common in Islamic literature, many epistles have been written on patience (*sabr*). Thus, we shall compare and contrast Imām al-Haddād's writings on it with that of other well known authors, namely al-Qushayrī and al-Ghazālī.

Imām al-Haddād's main theme is that patience is an indicator of guidance, as the Qur'ān says, "Give glad tidings to the patient" and concludes that series of verses about the patient with, "they are the guided ones."<sup>219</sup> The Imām continues that there are three types of patience according to Ibn 'Abbās, they being the patience to obey, which has three-hundred degrees; then patience to avoid wrongs, having six-hundred degrees; and lastly the patience to handle calamities, which has nine-hundred degrees.<sup>220</sup> Thus, patience on calamities is the hardest of all, as it has nine-hundred steps to climb, making it the most indicative of all as to one's

<sup>217</sup> Found with the wording "The poor are the friends of Allāh and the sick are the beloved of Allāh" in al-Daylamī, Abū Shujā'. *Al-Firdaws bi Ma'thūr al-Khiṭāb*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1986; *ḥadīth* no. 4,424, vol. 3, pp. 157.

<sup>218</sup> Tirmidhī; *hadīth* no. 2,458, vol. 4, pp. 8.

<sup>219</sup> Q. 2:155-7 (*al-Baqara*).

<sup>220</sup> *DT*, 190-1

guidance.<sup>221</sup> The Prophet's *hadīth* is the ultimate definition of patience, says the Imām: "Patience is at the first blow."<sup>222</sup>

Like al-Ḥaddād, al-Qushayrī divides patience into the same three parts.<sup>223</sup> So they are in alike in that regard. Al-Qushayrī's discourse on patience from his *Risāla* is different from al-Ḥaddād's in that it is from a perspective of a sage and intended for novices and other sages alike, while our subject is writing solely for the poor, ill, and weak, who are mostly comprised of the general population of Muslims (*al-‘āmma*). Thus, al-Ḥaddād's language is accessible, while al-Qushayrī's is detailed, giving many different descriptions of patience from Companions and gnostics ('ārifīn), such as al-Junayd who says, "Patience is drinking down bitterness without a frowning look." A good example of al-Qushayrī's discourse is his quote of al-Junayd's four part division of patience. The easiest form of patience is the believer's leaving this world for the Afterlife. Next is leaving people for the sake of Allāh, which is with a little difficulty, but easy overall. The very difficult form is abandoning your own thoughts in order to be present with Allāh. Being present with Allāh is even harder than that (due to His Majesty and Greatness) and it is the fourth and last form of patience.<sup>224</sup> In all, the main difference lies in the level of difficulty: al-Qushayrī is obviously not writing to the common Muslim, whereas al-Ḥaddād is.

Moving on to al-Ghazālī, he also begins with the division of patience into the same three parts. However, like al-Qushayrī and unlike Imām al-Ḥaddād,

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<sup>221</sup> Ibid, 150.

<sup>222</sup> *Al-Sittā* (al-Bukhārī; *hadīth* no. 1,302, pp. 101 and (Abū Dāwūd); *hadīth* no. 3,124, pp. 1,458-9 and al-Tirmidhī; *hadīths* nos. 992 & 993, vol. 2, pp. 228-9.

<sup>223</sup> Al-Qushayrī, 'Abd al-Karīm. *Al-Risāla fi 'ilm al-Taṣawwuf*, Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Asriyya, 2001; pp. 183-9.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid, 183-9. English citations from al-Qushayrī, 'Abd al-Karīm; trans. B. von Schlegell. *The Principles of Sufism*, Berkely: Mizan Press, 1990; pp. 148.

al-Ghazālī does not refer to one as higher than the other.<sup>225</sup> Earlier, we noted that Imām al-Haddād follows in al-Ghazālī's path and that much of his judgements are in agreement with the *Iḥyā'*. This section however, makes clear that al-Haddād's work is not always an abridgement of the *Iḥyā'*. For example, al-Ghazālī's major theme on patience does not mention guidance, as does al-Haddād's, but rather, knowledge. To al-Ghazālī, patience is the basis of all knowledge. True knowledge, al-Ghazālī puts forth, descends upon the one who behaves properly and works righteous deeds. The trunk of these two things, he continues, is patience. Therefore, the most patient people will receive the most knowledge.<sup>226</sup> The Qur'ān corroborates this: "it is not received except by those who had patience."<sup>227</sup> Of course, this is referring to spiritual knowledge (*ma'rifa*) as opposed to textual knowledge.

The different ways in which al-Ghazālī and al-Haddād approach patience is reflective of their own backgrounds: al-Ghazālī is a scholar, so he emphasizes how knowledge can be brought out of patience; al-Haddād in contrast, fulfills the role of the spiritual guide, and so he offers that patience is indicative of guidance. Lastly, al-Ghazālī expands on the topic even more than al-Qushayrī, and in a different way too; it is more scholastic than narrative, and has less to do with the various spiritual insights of the gnostics that al-Qushayrī cites. Thus, while the three discourses on patience cover the same basic meanings, their audiences differ: al-Qushayrī for the ascetics and worshippers, al-Ghazālī for the scholars, and al-Haddād for the masses, and as a result, their writing styles differ.

<sup>225</sup> Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid. *Iḥyā'* 'Ulūm al-Dīn, Egypt: Al-Maktaba al-Tijariya al-Kubra, no year; vol. 4, pp. 70 -1.

<sup>226</sup> Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid; trans. Fazul Karim. *Iḥyā'* 'Ulūm al-Dīn, Lahore: Sind Sagar Academy, 1978; vol.4, pp. 68-70.

<sup>227</sup> Q. 41:35 (*Fuṣṣilat*).

## F. Dependents

This section gives an insight on the Imām’s view of domestic relations. Even though domestic relationships are based on emotions more than anything else, they can, in the Imām’s view, only be set straight by the awareness and adherence of rights and responsibilities as laid down by Allāh’s law. Apparently, this was not exactly observed among the people of his time: “In this age, defiance has become rampant.”<sup>228</sup> He thus puts forth some practical steps by which marital and parental relations can be stabilized.

In marital and parental relations, there is one party with more duties than the other, for example, the child to the parent. However, he continues, one must view this relationship as simply a different form of dealing with Allāh himself; these are “divine responsibilities” (*huqūq ilāhiyya*),<sup>229</sup> even though they are owed to people rather than to Allāh. It is none other than Allāh Who has commanded them. His counsels derive from the Qur’ān and *hadīth*, and a brief number of stories from the righteous of the past (*salaf*). The Qur’ān and *hadīth* citations emphasize the importance of the subject at hand in Allāh’s Sight. For example, filial piety (*birr al-wālidayn*) is only second to *tawḥīd* in more than one verse: “And your Lord ordained that you not worship any other than Him and excellent manners with thy parents”<sup>230</sup> and “Worship Allāh, do not associate with him, and [be], with thy parents, excellent.”<sup>231</sup> The Prophet, says the Imām, said about parents, “They are you Paradise and your Fire,”<sup>232</sup> meaning that one’s Afterlife can practically be determined by how they behaved towards their parents.

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<sup>228</sup> *DT*, 160.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>230</sup> Q. 17:23 (*al-Isrā’*).

<sup>231</sup> Q. 4:36 (*al-Nisā’*).

<sup>232</sup> *Al-Sittah* (Ibn Māja); *hadīth* no. 3,662, pp. 2,696.

In his own counsel, the Imām offers the practical steps. A child would complete their filial piety “by maintaining contact with the friends of his father.” Parents can help their children obey them “by forgiving them, overlooking [things], and not demanding every single right.”<sup>233</sup> But the mother on all accounts, has a more prominent place than the father in goodness to the parents (*birr al-wālidayn*). The Imām says that this is due to the pains of child birth and to her offering more comfort to the child than the father. Thus, the Imām shows his preference of transmitting knowledge over addressing the specific issues faced by Ḥadramī households. This offers a timeless nature to the section, allowing it to be utilized beyond 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> Century Yemen.

On marriage, both husband and wife have responsibilities alike, but, citing the Qur’ān, the wife has more: “And they [wives] have [rights] for them equal to [responsibilities] upon them, according to what is equitable, but men have a degree over them.”<sup>234</sup> That ‘degree’ explains Imām al-Haddād is “by what [wealth] they expend upon them,”<sup>235</sup> a comment found in most exegeses (*tafāsīr*). While the husband must be gentle and forbearing, never being upset for himself, but only for the rights of Allāh, the wife must follow his lead and not allow anyone in his home whom the husband does not like.<sup>236</sup>

The next group of followers are the slaves (*mamālik*). None of our sources from Chapter 1 about the history of Ḥadramawt indicated that there existed slaves (*mamālik*) in Yemen during Imām al-Haddād’s time. However, we can enquire, if there were none, then why would the Imām mention them? It is sensible to hold that there may have been slaves in Ḥadramawt during the Imāms lifetime, or that he was referring to slaves in the greater Islamic world. In any event, the topic is

<sup>233</sup> DT, 160.

<sup>234</sup> Q. 2:228 (*al-Baqara*).

<sup>235</sup> DT, 162.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

not given much space in his book. He simply mentions the rights and responsibilities of both master and slave—the *mamlūk* must not disobey his master, and the master must not overburden the *mamlūk* and must feed him from his own food as the Prophet has taught.<sup>237</sup>

Lastly, there are two more relationships: students with their shaykhs and all Muslims with their Prophet. The section on the student and the shaykh is based on the etiquettes that developed over time between scholars and students. The section is similar to al-Nawawī's *al-Tibyān fī Ādāb Ḥamalat al-Qur'ān*.<sup>238</sup> Imām al-Haddād himself refers his readers to it.<sup>239</sup> The teacher of religion comes only second in a student's respect to the parents. While parents bear the burdens of infancy and childhood, they will likely only teach their children how to survive in the *dunya* and offer only the rudiments of otherworldly knowledge. The religious teacher, however, offers guidance on how to improve relations with Allāh and make the Afterlife easy. For that, he must be honoured like the parent. The student should not cite contrary opinions in his teacher's presence, nor upset him in any way, just as he would not upset his parents.<sup>240</sup>

As for the Muslims, they owe certain rights to their Prophet. This section is very similar to Qādī 'Iyyād's *al-Shifā' bi Ta'rīf ḥuquq al-Muṣṭafa*. His greatest right is to be believed and obeyed, and if his name be mentioned, the blessings and peace must be offered by saying “*salla allāhu 'alayhi wa sallam*.” His family and offspring must be loved, so as his Companions. Whatever arose between them must never be mentioned.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>237</sup> Al-Tirmidhī; *hadīth* no. 1,914, vol. 3, pp. 187.

<sup>238</sup> Al-Nawawī, Yahya ibn Sharaf; trans. Musa Furber. *Ettiquettes with the Quran*, Chicago: Starlatch Press, 2003.

<sup>239</sup> *DT*, 172.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid*, 170-2.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid*, 174.

In conclusion, this section re-emphasizes the Imām's style of abridging and transmitting, avoiding innovative or expansive discourses. For the family relations, the Qur'ān and *hadīth* speak for themselves. The sections on the rights of the Prophet and the shaykhs are synopses of two classical works well known throughout the Islamic world, the *Tibyān* of al-Nawawī and the *Shifā'* of Qādī 'Iyyād.

#### G. The Masses

The masses, says Imām al-Haddād, are of two types: those busied by obedience to Allāh and those caught in the traps of disobedience. The former should look upon the ascetics as their examples. What applies to the latter should apply to the former, except that the ascetics are marked by spending all of their energies praising the Divine and contemplating His attributes and creations, whereas this is not asked nor expected from the common Muslim ('āmmī). Ignorance is the harm that most afflicts the 'āmmī. Thus, learning always takes precedent over practice for this category. The minimum is to know obligatory aspects of the *Shari'a* as well as the proper beliefs.<sup>242</sup>

Furthermore, there are four main principles the common Muslim should be taught. Equipped with them, says the Imām, their worship will reap their desired fruits. The first is *halāl* food, which was discussed with the second category. Second, the intention must be for Allāh alone, and this is associated with learning proper doctrine. No worship should be done out of showing off (*riyā'*) or for any worldly gains. Third, one must never be arrogant with others, ever imagining that

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<sup>242</sup> Ibid, 179.

good deeds justify haughtiness. Lastly is consistency. The best obedience is that which is steady, even if it be little, as the Prophet said.<sup>243</sup>

With these words, the Imām is essentially putting in place the pillars of asceticism. Though the masses are not expected to immerse themselves in worship, they can be taught to carry out even the most essential acts of worship with sincerity and humility. The benefits of fasting, night prayer, and *dhikr* are not mentioned, so we can assume that the proper fulfillment of the obligations and avoidance of the prohibitions is satisfactory from the masses. Introspection is only demanded for their intention in worship and their humility with people.

Those who are in disobedience, says the Imām, often justify their way of life in two ways. The first is to blame everything on destiny, saying “It was written for me to do it,” or “I had no choice, it was in the fore-knowledge of Allāh.” This is unacceptable, says the Imām, because while one must believe in fore-knowledge, one must also believe in responsibility. He continues, “...and how does one know what is written and what is not...the issue of destiny is not an easy one, even for the scholars.” Thus, “everyone must simply know that they are responsible for their actions.”<sup>244</sup>

The second way people justify their wrongs is through empty hopes of forgiveness. This is to hold, says the Imām, “Allāh is forgiving and generous.” However, he continues, all the verses of the Qur’ān which mention His forgiveness are associated with mention of those penitent and regretful of their sins (*al-tawwabūn*). For example, “I am certainly forgiving to those who repented and believed and did righteous works, then was guided,”<sup>245</sup> and “Verily those who believed and those who migrated and fought in the way of Allāh, those are the

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid, 182-8.

<sup>244</sup> DT, 188-9.

<sup>245</sup> Q. 20:82 (*Tā Hā*).

ones who seek the mercy of Allāh and Allāh is forgiving and merciful.”<sup>246</sup> However, the Qur’ān also says, “Did those who committed wrongs imagine that we would make them like those who believed and did good works?”<sup>247</sup> Thus, concludes Imām al-Haddād, while forgiveness is Allāh’s trait, its distribution is not absolute; it is not allotted to those insistent upon disobedience, or those who never seek forgiveness, and it is an aspect of Allāh only experienced by the penitent.<sup>248</sup>

Furthermore, there are two main points that need to be spoken to the disobedient among the masses. Firstly, is the nature of repentance (*tawba*); one must have remorse, must stop the action, never go back, and make up anything that was unjust. The second matter involves dealings with people, namely, that one never does injustice to another.<sup>249</sup>

In relation to *da’wa* to the rank-and-file Muslims, we see that Imām al-Haddād’s discussion can be summarized in three parts: a) a proper understanding of the basic tenets of the *Shari‘a*,<sup>250</sup> b) the avoidance of sins<sup>251</sup> and c) the soundness of attitude, i.e. sincerity and humility.<sup>252</sup> The subtleties of doctrine, law, and spirituality are not delved into when making *da’wa* to the masses.

#### H. Non-Muslims and Disbelievers in a Deity

While this section is for non-believers, the Imām devotes a considerable amount of time discussing how Muslims should focus on remaining Muslims.

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<sup>246</sup> Q. 2:218 (*al-Baqara*).

<sup>247</sup> Q. 45:21 (*al-Jāthiya*).

<sup>248</sup> *DT*, 189-91.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid*, 192-93.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid*, 179-81.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid*, 188-90.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid*, 181-83.

This is built upon the Prophet's saying which he cites, "People entered this religion in great numbers and they will leave in great numbers as they entered it."<sup>253</sup> This would imply that there will come a time when staying Muslim will be a struggle in itself. The second half is devoted to non-Muslims, and we get to see Imām al-Haddād's methodology in that.

Regarding remaining Muslims, he outlines a system by which a Muslim can proceed to protect his faith (*imān*). Firstly, the value of belief must be known, whosoever possesses it will enter Paradise, even those who stole and fornicated, as the cited *hadīth* says,

Jibrīl came to me and said, "Give the good news to your community that whoever dies not associating with Allāh enters Paradise." I said, "Jibrīl, even if he stole or fornicated?" He said, "Yes." I said [again] "Even if he stole or fornicated?" He said, "Yes." I said [again] "Even if he stole or fornicated?" He said, "Yes, and even if he drank wine."<sup>254</sup>

Thus, Imām al-Haddād says,

The loss of *tawhīd* and faith is the only loss which cannot be recompensed by anything at all, no matter what...and when a slave soundly retains his *tawhīd* and faith, nothing can harm him even if he were a disobedient sinner.<sup>255</sup>

The Prophet told Mū'ādh many such *hadīths* indicating the ease with which mere belief outweighs everything and takes its possessor to Paradise, only that the Prophet when asked by Mū'ādh, "Shall I not tell the people?" replied, "Then they would rely on it [without doing anything]" (*idhan yattakilū*).<sup>256</sup> The Imām thus warns of how easily faith can be lost by heedlessness of religious obligations and the performance of bad deeds. The Muslim, he concludes, can only appreciate faith by inculcating in himself the fear that it can be lost.<sup>257</sup>

<sup>253</sup> Ibid, 204 and al-Dārimī; *hadīth* no. 90, vol. 1, pp. 54.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid, 208 and *al-Sitta* (Muslim); pp. 693.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid, 257.

<sup>256</sup> Muslim, *hadīth* no. 49 in al-Nawawī; *Sharḥ Muslim*, vol. 1, pp. 345-6.

<sup>257</sup> DT, 204-5.

As for non-believers, there are first those who never received a message. “There is some difference in the sayings about these,” says the Imām.<sup>258</sup> Some say they will be tortured for not believing, as the only sin Allāh does not forgive is associating partners with Him (*shirk*). Others, he continues, hold that they will not be tortured since they never received a prophet to inform them. Then there are those “who have abstained” from making a judgement, and this is the safest position.”<sup>259</sup>

When the Imām gets to addressing non-believers, his methodology is to utilize Qur’ānic verses that discuss belief and disbelief. In particular, he cites the debates between past prophets and their communities.<sup>260</sup> The example of Nūh was studied in Chapter 3, but Imām al-Haddād does not refer to his logic in this case (which is to say that belief results in many worldly rewards, see Chapter 3). His method is simply reciting Qur’ānic verses.

What the Qur’ān will do, says the Imām is direct non-believers to contemplating what should be contemplated, their own creation, that of the heavens and the earth and the various signs that direct people to submission. By doing this, faith may enter their hearts. If the *dā’ī* should have to speak, the content should an expansion about what the Qur’ān discusses, such as the attributes of Allāh, the stories of the prophets, and the descriptions of the Afterlife. As this is Allāh’s own method, the Muslim must believe that it is the most suitable.

There is an obvious absence of *kalām*, or theological argumentation in the chapter. This approach differs from that of al-Fakhr al-Rāzī who said that dialectical theology (*kalām*) is one of the skills of the Prophets; therefore, *du’āt*

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<sup>258</sup> *Nafā’is*, 140.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid, 250-60.

should be equipped with them.<sup>261</sup> Ibn Kathīr supports this by his saying that “with insight” in the verse, “I call to Allāh with insight” means “with rational and transmitted proofs” (*bi adilla ‘aqlīyya wa shar‘īyya*).<sup>262</sup>

This is not to say that Imām al-Haddād made no use of *kalām*. In *al-Nafā’is*, he credits it as “a medicine for the people of doubt....Whoever has a false image cankering in his heart should take from [*‘ilm al-kalām*] as much as he needs for his sickness.”<sup>263</sup> Why then does he not mention it with reference to non-believers? From what we now know of the Imām, we can put forth three possibilities why.

Firstly, we established his position that the task of *da‘wa* must be taken up by all members of society. In that case, it is unreasonable to expect everyone to study the proofs of the theologians. Secondly, it is likewise not reasonable to assume that all recipients of *da‘wa* will understand let alone be affected by rational proofs. Thirdly, the Imām recalls Companions who were bedouin. They did not have any knowledge of theology, but simply understood the Qur’ān in its most basic terms and believed. In sum, theological proofs may clear the way for faith by curing doubts, but they do not inspire faith in and of themselves.

Also interesting is that he does not invoke travelling to non-Muslims, and he does not mention Muslims living in non-Muslim countries. Previously, when he mentioned the obligation for *du‘āt* to travel to the people, it is most likely that he meant Muslims, for his saying “the obligation is not lifted so long as there exists on the face of the earth [one] ignorant of the obligations of their religion.”<sup>264</sup> On the one hand, his saying “on the face of the earth” may imply

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<sup>261</sup> Al-Rāzī; vol. 9, pp. 229.

<sup>262</sup> Ibn Kathīr; *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, pp. 513-4.

<sup>263</sup> *Nafā’is*, 167.

<sup>264</sup> *DT*, 38.

non-Muslims, but his saying “obligations of their religion” implies Muslims only as belief is not spoken of as an ‘obligation’ (*fard*). Overall, it would seem that Imām al-Haddād did not intend that one must travel to the non-Muslim lands. Syed Farid Alatas’s article “Hadhramaut and the Ḥadrāmī Diaspora: Problems in Theoretical History,” may give a reason why: “Ṣūfīs are not in the habit of fitting out ships and sailing to far off places in large numbers for the purpose of spreading Islam.”<sup>265</sup> If such were the norms of Imām al-Haddād’s time, then it explains why he did not encourage the travelling to non-Muslims lands even for *da’wa*. Considering the Imām’s cautious approach to the religion, we can also suggest that his opinion of living in an un-Islamic country would be that it is not wise, even for *da’wa*.

If Imām al-Haddād’s *da’wa* to non-believers seems simplistic, there are two possible reasons why. First, Imām al-Haddād tends towards simplicity in the first place, as we have seen throughout his work. Secondly, the Imām spent most, if not all, of his time around Muslims—he was not exposed to non-Muslims so that he might call them to the faith.

## II. Summary

Several *da’wa*-related themes can be drawn from the study of *al-Da’wa al-Tāmma*. The first is that the Imām puts all matters in context before beginning. Be it scholarship, worship, governance, buying, or selling, our subject places it in

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<sup>265</sup> Alatas, Syed Farid, “Hadhramaut and the Ḥadrāmī Diaspora: Problems in Theoretical History” in Clarence-Smith, William and Ulrike Freitag, eds. *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars, and Statemen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s*, Leiden: Brill, 1997; pp. 23.

the larger picture of life and Afterlife. Scholarship is noble, but it is only a tool that draws one nearer to Allāh. Governance is a dangerous thing, but it is ultimately a necessity of human life in the *dunya*. Trade, as well, is not the purpose of life, only a means to sustenance, but it can be a good thing if certain guidelines are followed. Worship is the purpose of life in the *dunya*. Everything should revolve around it. What all this implies is that the ideal *dā'i* must actually have a comprehensive understanding of the different aspects of life, their functions in the *dunya*, and their guidelines in the *shari'a*.

Next, we witness from *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma* the mingling of stories with teaching. The presence of stories is what differentiates the book from one of knowledge to one of knowledge and *da'wa*. In fact, one of the hallmarks of Imām al-Haddād's style is that he never presents knowledge alone, but he runs *da'wa* through them, usually in the form of stories. It is an organic approach to Islamic scholarship and writing that is apparent in *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma* and *al-Naṣā'iḥ al-Dīniyya* more than anywhere else, and it underlines the vitality of *da'wa* in his view.

While stories are meant for encouragement and inspiration, the content of Imām al-Haddād's *da'wa* is always reduced and encapsulated in a few practical points. For example, there are dozens of things to which the ruler must aspire. However, given the realities that characterize the rulers of the end of time, the Imām reduced them to the major ones of proper distribution of wealth and the admission of shortcomings (*al-ta'rīf bil-taqṣīr*). The masses, to give another instance, should be encouraged simply to fulfill the major pillars, avoid the major wrongs, and be sincere. And likewise, for all types of people, the Imām's pattern is to outline the necessary outward and inward requirements. Therefore, we derive that practicality and setting reasonable standards are critical for a *da'wa*'s

success. Also necessary is the knowledge of *shari'a* rulings (*fiqh*) and the spiritual realities (*sulūk*), the outward and the inward (*al-zāhir wal-bātin*).

During the course of the study, we also noted the centrality of the Qur'ān and *hadīth*. Their centrality in Islamic scholarship is known, but Imām al-Haddād utilizes them for their moving effect on the reader (or listener), not just as rulings or teachings. In *Ithāf al-Sā'il* (*Gifts for the Seeker*), he says that the best audition (*sama'*) is the word of Allāh and His Messenger. In the beginning of every chapter of *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma* as well as all his other books, he begins with citations of the Qur'ān and *hadīth*. Because he most times does not offer any exegesis (*tafsīr*), it can be safely assumed that he is transmitting them simply for their moving effect. For serious students and non-Muslims alike, the Qur'ān's verses should be the central focus of attention.

Lastly, the study of *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma*, like the remainder of Imām al-Haddād's works, will invariably bring the reader into contact with other works of classical scholarship. Whilst the Imām seeks for his books to have timeless natures and universal appeals, their readers are not disconnected from the scholars and sages of the past. Besides referring back to righteous people, he refers to titles too. The *Iḥyā'* (*The Revival*) of al-Ghazālī, *Qūt al-Qulūb* (*Sustenance of the Hearts*) by Abī Ṭālib al-Makkī, the *Risāla* (*The Epistle*) of al-Qushayrī, *al-Tibyān fī Ḥadāb Ḥamalat al-Qur'ān* (*Etiquettes with the Qur'ān*) and *Kitāb al-Adhkār* (*The Book of Remembrance*) both by al-Nawawī, and the *Hikam* (*The Wisdoms*) of Ibn 'Atā'illāh are some of the works which the reader of Imām al-Haddād will come across. This makes for a middle ground, where the works are timeless but not disconnected.

## His Legacy

The final chapter of this dissertation examines the legacy of our subject, Imām al-Haddāq. Who has taken up his knowledge? Where has it flourished? Where can it be found today? This information is important because it enhances one's conception of the Imām's contribution to Islamic scholarship in general and to *da'wa* particular.

While the principle of our method is to utilize only literary sources (as mentioned in the Introduction), we will have to, at points utilize eye-witness accounts and interviews. The eye-witness accounts derive from my August 2000 trip to Tarīm along with my meetings and communications with the individuals mentioned in the 'West' section. Dār al-Muṣṭafa is less populated in the summers, and in 2000, there were about 100-150 students in August. This allowed me to meet both Ḥabīb 'Umar and Ḥabīb 'Alī and witnessed all the *da'wa* mentioned below.

As for the interviews, Muhammad al-Hatimi is our first interviewee. He was a journalist of Somalia, from one of the biggest scholarly families in East Africa. He knew Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr personally, is fond of Ḥabīb 'Alī al-Jifrī, and was found well versed in the history of the Āl Bā 'Alawī in East Africa. What is derived from this is the backbone of one of the Bā 'Alawī-East African relations, namely that of Somalia (for there exists another strong tie with Kenya). Syed Kharudin Aljunied was chosen to discuss Indonesia because he himself is a

historian of Islam in Indonesia, who studied with Syed Naguib al-Attas, Dean of the Faculty of Art of the University of Malaysia. Syed Farid al-Attas would have also been a valuable resource on the spread of the Bā ‘Alawī Ṭarīqa in the region, but his book on the topic has yet to be published, and he was not available for comment. Given this methodology, the chapter will take on the air of a local history more so than a religious study.

### I. After his Death

#### A. In Hadramawt

One of the indicators that Imām al-Haddād was honored as an Imām during his lifetime was that a *mansab* was attributed to him. A *mansab* refers to a position or informal office or base of operation. Upon an important imām’s death, the *mansab* would be established for the sake of continuing that particular shaykh’s function. In Imām al-Haddād’s case, his fourth son al-Hasan was commissioned for the post by the Imām himself on his death bed.<sup>266</sup>

The Imām had a total of six sons; three resided in Tarīm while three moved, lived, and died abroad (to Mocha, Makka, and Oman). Between his sons and his students, two individuals stand out, namely his son al-Hasan and his student Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-Habashī (d. 1145/1733). These two, more than any others advanced the Imām’s teachings to the next generation.

Al-Hasan ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Haddād (d. 1188/1697) studied under his father, and while he was not the only son to do so, he was the most capable in

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<sup>266</sup> Al-Badawi, 176.

carrying on his father's function. He may thus be known as the 'full inheritor.' Upon the Imām's death, al-Ḥasan took up residence in the house in al-Ḥāwī and likewise inherited the Imām's students and disciples (*murīds*). The lessons the Imām used to give were given by al-Ḥasan, who became known as *Sāhib al-Ḥāwī*, 'The Man of al-Ḥāwī.'<sup>267</sup>

After him, his son Aḥmad (d. 1204/1790) appeared as the most capable to fill the role.<sup>268</sup> Aḥmad advanced in jurisprudence (*fiqh*) until he became known as '*ālim tarīm*', 'The Scholar of Tarīm.' His son, in turn, 'Alawī ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥaddād (d. 1232/1817) was the next successor of the Ḥaddādī *mansab*. He is also noteworthy for authoring over one-hundred books, arguably the most of all the Āl Bā 'Alawī.<sup>269</sup>

Because the works of these scholars have not been published, it is hard to discern the direction of Imām al-Ḥaddād's legacy in the given century. Nonetheless, it is not likely that it diverged from the standard of the Āl Bā 'Alawī in doctrine, law, and ethics. The Āl Bā 'Alawī, as we have seen, were preservers more than anything else.

Outside of al-Ḥāwī, Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-Ḥabashī was the Imām's closest student and disciple, being his son-in-law as well. He studied with the Imām for forty years and read with him over seventy texts, fully inheriting the outward and inward knowledge.<sup>270</sup> Although he spent much time in Tarīm, his base was in Khala' Rāshid in Ḥaḍramawt, where he had his own *mansab*. We can assume, therefore, that that region was a second hub where Imām al-Ḥaddād's teachings flourished. Until today, al-Ḥabashī is esteemed among the Āl Bā 'Alawī and is

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<sup>267</sup> Ibid, 176-7.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid, 177 and Bā Ḥāmid, 62-4.

<sup>269</sup> Interview, December 2005, Mostafa al-Badawi.

<sup>270</sup> Bā Ḥāmid, 16-8.

cited often by their scholars. In Barawa, Somalia, his *diwān* is more popular than any other.<sup>271</sup>

## B. Outside Ḥadramawt

Outside of Ḥadramawt, Imām al-Ḥaddād's teachings spread rapidly along the ancient trade routes that branched south-west from Ḥadramawt to East Africa (mainly Kenya and Somalia) and south-east to Indonesia and Malaysia. Southern Arabia, East Africa, and South East Asia form a triangle that naturally developed commercial bonds. Upon the advent of Islam, the relations between the three (with Yemen as the link between East Africa and South East Asia) expanded beyond commerce to the traffic and exchange of students and scholars. For the most part, Ḥadramawt, and Tarīm in particular, served as the fountain head and pivot point. Having eventually developed their own scholarly heritage to which the Ḥadramīs themselves often travelled for knowledge (for example, Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr al-Ḥaddād, below), the East Africans and Indonesians do acknowledge that much of their Islamic knowledge came from Tarīm.

In the transmission of Islamic knowledge throughout this triangle, Imām al-Ḥaddād represents a very significant link.<sup>272</sup> Large populations in both East Africa and South East Asia look back upon our subject as their *qutb* and grand imām. Besides Imām al-Ḥaddād's presence in the chains of transmission (*asānīd*), nothing suggests this more than the recitation of *Rātib* al-Ḥaddād in those two regions, a phenomenon noted by Syed Naguib al-‘Attas:

There are many types of *rātibs*...In Malaya, the most well known *rātibs* are those of the ‘Alawiyyah Order, such as the *rātibs* of al-Ḥaddād, al-‘Attās, and al-‘Idrūs.<sup>273</sup>

<sup>271</sup> Interview, December 2005, Muhammad al-Amin al-Hatimi.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> Al-Attas, Syed Naguib. *Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practiced Among the Malays*, Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963; pp. 73.

Sensibly, most of the interaction between Hadramawt and East Africa took place along the coastal cities of Lamu, Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Barawa. While least known commercially and politically, Barawa is the most important for us. This city, located between Mogadishu and Chismayu (see Appendix D), was home of the famed Ḥātimī family/tribe, descendant of the chivalrous Arabian legend, Ḥātim al-Tā’ī.<sup>274</sup> The Ḥātimīs are one of the families that can boast of many notables in Islam. The Tā’ī family arrived at Somalia after a long journey literally across the Muslim world and back.<sup>275</sup> From the Central Arabian Companion ‘Adī ibn Ḥātim (d. 68/687 at Kūfa and whose sister Saffāna was also a Companion) the line went, interestingly, down to Tarīm with one named ‘Abd al-‘Azīm al-Tarīmī, then eventually west to Muhyiddīn Ibn ‘Arabī of Andalucia, then east again when Ibn ‘Arabī relocated to Damascus, then south to Somalia, and by Imām al-Haddād’s time, the Ḥātimīs were well established in the small coastal city, Barawa.<sup>276</sup>

In Barawa, during the Twelfth/Eighteenth Century (the time of our subject), yet another important Ḥātimī figure lived, that being Muḥammad al-Hādī al-Ḥātimī, better known in Barawa as Shaykh Nūr Chandī, ‘Light of the Moon,’ (d. ca. 1750/1163). According to my interviewee Muhammad al-Hatimi, al-Hādī al-Ḥātimī was a scholar and imām in Barawa’s central mosque (*masjid al-jāmi’*), built by the Ḥātimīs and named al-Masjid al-Ḥātimī. When something of a dispute arose between him and some community members and it reached its climax, the shaykh was publicly humiliated: his staff was pulled out from underneath him whilst giving the Friday *khutba*. This being the case, he decidedly

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<sup>274</sup> Interview, al-Hatimi.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

left Somalia for Tarīm and spent the next seventeen years with Imām al-Haddād.<sup>277</sup> This is what makes him very relevant to us.

It is certainly not safe to say that Muḥammad al-Hādī was the first Somalian to seek Tarīm for knowledge, for there was always traffic between East Africa and Yemen and it is reasonable to hold that some of that was for a religious purpose. However, no relationship, according to my interviewee, had as lasting an impact in the relations between the two locations as much as this one between al-Ḥātimī and Imām al-Haddād. The given history says that the former returned to Barawa upon Imām al-Haddād's death and was received warmly by his people, and that he taught from Imām al-Haddād's books. From his time until today, every generation of the Ḥātimī family maintained contact with the Haddād family. Also up to this day, the books of Imām al-Haddād are taught in Barawa and his *Rātib* recited in the city's mosques.

Having said all of this, what is the place of this Ḥātimī-Ḥaddād heritage in light of the remainder of Somalia? If we consider the work of anthropologist I. M. Lewis, the Ḥātimī tradition has a very small place in the history of Islam in Somalia.<sup>278</sup> Lewis holds that the two most influential shaykhs in Somalian history were Shaykhs Abū Bakr al-'Adanī (d. 914/1508) of Yemen, who brought the teachings of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and 'Ali Maye Durogbe (d. ?), who brought the teachings of Aḥmad ibn Idrīs al-Fāsī of Morocco. Interestingly, the former entered Somalia before Imām al-Haddād's time and the latter after. Strangely however, Lewis makes no mention of al-Haddād's student, Muḥammad al-Hādī al-Ḥātimī, or Ibn 'Arabī's lineage being in Somalia, which is interesting given that his work is all about the Ṣūfīs of Somalia. Perhaps this is because it is an

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<sup>277</sup> Ibid.

<sup>278</sup> Lewis, I. M. *Saints and Somalis: Popular Islam in a Clan-Based Society*, London: HAAN Associates, 1998; pp. 7-14.

anthropological work, rather than a historical one. Then again, the information from my interviewee offers an explanation for the absence in Lewis's book, saying that the original Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥātimī (Shaykh Nūr Chandī) is not known outside Barawa and that Barawa itself is not one of the major cities.

The second of the two trade directions was South East Asia.<sup>279</sup> There is considerably more literature on Islam there than in Somalia. A rather broad term, South East Asia consists of 'mainland' and 'coastal.' The former regards Burma, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and North Thailand, while the latter is Indonesia, Malaysia, South Thailand, and the Philippines. When speaking of Ḥadramīs in South East Asia, it is the coastal part which is intended. One of the older theories on why Ḥadramīs penetrated the southern coastal regions rather than the northern mainland says that it was due to the expediency of reaching the former, as opposed to the latter.<sup>280</sup> Originally, the first eastward stop for Ḥadramī traders was India via the Arabian Sea. From there, it was much easier to follow the southern tip of India on to Indonesia and Malaysia, than to round it and turn north again through the Bay of Bengal to the mainland countries (Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, etc.) (See Appendix E). As a result, Ḥadramī communities developed in Aceh, Sumatra, Java, and Singapore. The most densely populated area was Java. The Philippines was the only coastal South East Asian country to which Ḥadramīs did not travel.<sup>281</sup>

Moving on to the important questions, what was the nature of the Al Bā 'Alawī relationship with the South East Asians, and what impact did Imām

<sup>279</sup> Interview, December 2005, Khairudin Aljunied. Khairudin Aljunied is a historian of South East Asia who has taught at the National University of Singapore and is currently completing his PhD at SOAS. The most important reference work regarding Ḥadramīs in South East Asia is Clarence-Smith, William and Ulrike Freitag, eds. *Hadrami Traders, Scholars, and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s*, Leiden: Brill, 1997.

<sup>280</sup> Interview, Aljunied.

<sup>281</sup> SOAS Lectures, William Clarence-Smith, Fall 2006.

al-Ḥaddād's teachings have? In general, the Arabs were comfortable in the region, establishing wealthy businesses. In time, members of the Āl Bā 'Alawī rose through the political ranks as viziers and even kings.<sup>282</sup> One example of a high-ranking Ḥadramī scholar was Sayyid Aḥmad Bā Faqīh who "was engaged as an instructor for the children of the sultan, a task which he carried out for twenty-five years."<sup>283</sup> When they intermarried, their children were known as "*muwallads*," the child of an Arab who married a non-Arab, or a full Arab born and raised abroad, falling short of proper Arabic speech.<sup>284</sup> The term entered into use after Arabs emerged as the ruling class of non-Arab societies, and married into the indigenous populations.<sup>285</sup> Other examples include Spain. These *muwallads* had important roles in maintaining the connection between South East Asia and Ḥadramawt.<sup>286</sup>

Like East Africa (and most of the Pre-Modern Muslim world), the educational system of South East Asia was oral more than it was written. Arabic was learned and books were memorized. As Peter Riddell confirms, there are not many written records through which the history of scholarship can be traced in South East Asia. This does not mean that the subjects at hand did not write at all, for they surely wrote *ijāzas*, which serve as the best historical documents, but rather it is that access to the older *ijāzas* has been difficult; perhaps they have been lost or simply not publicized or printed. We do not know for certain who was the first to transmit Imām al-Ḥaddād's works to South East Asia. However, it is safe

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<sup>282</sup> Interview, Aljunied.

<sup>283</sup> Riddell, Peter, "Religious Links Between Hadhramaut and the Malay-Indonesian World, c. 1850 to c. 1950," in Clarence-Smith, William and Ulrike Freitag, eds. *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars, and Statemen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s*, Leiden: Brill, 1997; pp. 223.

<sup>284</sup> Ho, Ensing, "Hadhramis Abroad in Hadhramaut: The Muwalladīn," in Clarence-Smith, William and Ulrike Freitag, eds. *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars, and Statemen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s*, Leiden: Brill, 1997; pp. 131-33.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Interview, Aljunied.

to assume, due to the constant travel from South East Asia to Tarīm and vice-versa,<sup>287</sup> that he became known within a century of his death, that is to say around 1210/1800. In 1809, a Malay scholar from Penyanget translated into Malay, a work by Imām al-Haddād's grandson, Ahmad ibn al-Hasan, mentioned above.<sup>288</sup> This would make it safe for us to assume that the grandfather was also known at or before that time.

According to Aljunied, Imām al-Haddād's books were staples in the curriculum of the Ḥadramī Sayyids of South East Asia. As cited earlier from Syed Naguib al-'Attas, the *Rātib* was standard in mosques populated with ḥadramīs of the Āl Bā 'Alawī. The first modern prints of his works in the Malay language were done by the contemporary scholar of Singapore Syed Ahmed Semait, who has utilized one of the more successful publishing houses in South East Asia, the Pustaka National Press.<sup>289</sup>

### C. Summary

The main accomplishment of this section has been to name the places where Imām al-Haddād's legacy spread immediately after his death. The conclusion is that his teachings went wherever ḥadramīs went. It remained established and grew in Tarīm and spread to East Africa and South East Asia. The

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<sup>287</sup> Riddell, 213-30.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid, 222. The work is entitled *Sabil al-Hidāya wal-Irshād fī Dhikr Nubdha min Fadā'il al-Kutub al-Haddād*, translated by Riddell as *The Path of Guidance and Direction in Repudiating the Virtues of the Forbidden Writings*. Perhaps the translation is more appropriate as *The Path of Guidance and Direction in Mentioning Some of the Virtues of the Forbidden Writings*. This is more sensible as the book “is on mysticism designed to addresses polemics in doctrine,” perhaps, as the title would suggest, in defense of books deemed ‘forbidden,’ rather than repudiating them. Dr. Al-Matrudi of SOAS has raised the point that classical works such as this would tend to use rhyming titles. Thus it would make sense that it would be *Sabil al-Hidāya wal-Irshād fī Dhikr Nubdha min Fadā'il Kutub al-Haddād* (*The Path of Guidance and Direction in Mentioning Some of the Virtues of the Writings of Imām al-Haddād*).

<sup>289</sup> Interview, Aljunied.

most notable point brought out by the interviewees and confirmed by al-Attas is the popularity of the Imām's *Rātib*.

One reason for this is that it is practical. This prayer should be recited, and the Imām intended it to be done in group, in a loud voice, and in public, after *maghrib* or '*ishā'* in the local mosques. The phenomenon persists to this day in the some of the mosques of Ḥadramawt, Kenya, Somalia, Indonesia, and Malaysia.

The other conclusion points to some methodological difficulties, namely, tracing the legacy of a religious scholar through documents. Religion is not determined by the originality of ideas, but rather it is by transmitting belief and practice. Therefore, it is highly likely that Imām al-Ḥaddād, as a venerated shaykh, had many followers who spread his teachings informally by example rather than textually. Such a legacy is quite difficult, if not completely impossible, to assess; it is not quantifiable.

### III. The 14<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> Century

It is much easier to trace Imām al-Ḥaddād's legacy in this period, given the proliferation of publishing houses through out the Arab and Islamic world that provide us with written records. In terms of the local levels, it is safe to assume that there were dozens, if not hundreds of scholars from Indonesia to Tarīm to West India who taught the Imām's books and recited his *Rātib*. But two international figures draw our attention. They are Muftī Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Makhlūf (d. 1410/1990) and Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr ibn Ṭā Hā al-Ḥaddād (d. 1416/1995). Efficiently, one is an outsider and one is an insider,

this being in terms of the Bā ‘Alawī and Haddād families. We shall now turn to each of them for some detail.

#### A. Muftī Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Makhlūf

In Muftī Muḥammad Makhlūf, we have the first internationally recognized and most institutionally decorated scholar to advance the legacy of Imām al-Haddād. He was born in the Bāb al-Futūḥ quarter of Cairo in 1310/1890 and educated in the traditional way by his father, who was himself an esteemed scholar. His own background is quite diverse. He graduated from al-Azhar and held a variety of posts as lecturer, judge, and muftī, the most important of which were his two periods as Muftī al-Diyār al-Miṣriyya (1365-69, 71-73/1946-50, 52-54).<sup>290</sup>

From 1954 until his death, a period of thirty-six years, he served as Egypt's leading representative in to the international Islamic community. He was a founding member of the Muslim World League, was president of the *Lajnat al-Fatwa*, member of the Corps of High ‘Ulamā, and sat on the advisory board of the University of Madina as well as the Academy of Islamic Studies, an international organization based in Egypt. In 1403/1983, he was awarded the King Faysal World Prize for services to Islam. He was arguably the best internationally-connected scholar of 20<sup>th</sup> Century Egypt.<sup>291</sup>

At some unknown point in his career, he oversaw the publication of some of Imām al-Haddād's works. In a short preface, he says:

One of the best things I have come across and been guided to, among the treasures left by Shaykh al-Islām, Ḥujjat al-Anām, Imām ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alawī al-Haddād, al-‘Alawī al-Ḥadrami al-Shāfi‘ī (may Allāh grant benefit by him), is this rare and precious treatise

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<sup>290</sup> Skovgaard-Petersen. *Defining Islam for the Egyptian State*, Brill: Leiden, 1997; pp. 170-5.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid, 175-80.

known as *The Lives of Man*, which embodies a statement of the situations and stages through which man must pass.<sup>292</sup>

In the preface of the modern print of al-Muḥāsibī's *Risālat al-Mustarshidīn* he describes the

*taṣawwuf* that is free from blemishes, that is not astray or misguided, that is not ignorant or filled with innovation. This is the *taṣawwuf* of the scholars, ascetics (*nussāk*), and knowers of Allāh ('ārifūn), who have established themselves within His boundaries and guarded His *Shari'a* like...al-Sayyid 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alawī al-Haddād al-Ḥadramī who died in Ḥadramawt in 1132.<sup>293</sup>

His connection with Imām al-Ḥaddād's works is more of an endorsement than anything else. But considering Makhlūf's renown, it is a weighty endorsement. Along with his name recognition, his significance lies in being outside the Bā 'Alawī tradition. It is not known whether or not he knew Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr personally, but he certainly knew of him, having authored the Preface to Mashhūr's book *Miftāh al-Janna* (*Key to the Garden*).

#### B. Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr al-Ḥaddād (d. 1416/1995)

One of the peculiarities of the Āl Bā 'Alawī, is their use of the term 'Ḥabīb' to refer to their scholars and elders. Thus, our mention in the following passages of *Habīb* Aḥmad Mashhūr, *Habīb* 'Umar ibn Ḥafīẓ, and *Habīb* 'Alī al-Jifrī, they do not all share the same name; *Habīb* is the title.

Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr was born in Qaydūn, Ḥadramawt in 1325/1925.<sup>294</sup> He was trained to be an imām and muftī by Ḥabīb 'Alawi ibn Tāhir (d. ?), along with other scholars of Tarīm and Indonesia. The Imām took several posts

<sup>292</sup> Al-Ḥaddād, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alawī; trans. al-Badawi, Mostafa. *The Lives of Man*, Kentucky: Quilliam Press, 1991; pp. xiii.

<sup>293</sup> Preface of Shaykh Muhammād Ḥasanayn Makhlūf in al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ḥārith ibn Asad; ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddā. *Risālat al-Mustarshidīn*, no place: Maktab al-Matbu'at al-Islamiyya, 1999; pp. 26-7.

<sup>294</sup> His biography is derived from al-Ḥaddād, Ḥāmid ibn Aḥmad Mashhūr. *Al-Imām al-Dā'iyya al-Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr al-Ḥaddād: Ṣafahāt min ḥayātihī wa Da'watih*, Oman: Dar al-Fath, 2003.

throughout his life as imām, scholar, and muftī. Different from Makhlūf, his career was less oriented towards the administration of scholarship and *fatwa*, and more towards *da'wa* to the common Muslims by traveling and establishing mosques and schools.

The bulk of his *da'wa* was done in East Africa. In 1368/1949, he made his first trip to Uganda, and eventually took residence there for sixteen years. From its capitol, Kambala, he established The Center for *Tablīgh* and *Da'wa*, and also served as imām of the Nakasiro Mosque where his lessons and daily address was given, along with readings from Imām al-Haddād's books. He was also involved in the international Islamic community, serving as Uganda's representative to the Muslim World League.

While much effort was devoted to the Muslim community in Uganda, there was an equal amount of *da'wa* to the non-Muslim tribes, whose religions were probably native, rather than Christian. His biographer cites that 60,000 Africans entered into Islam through him.<sup>295</sup> Also stated is that the greatest challenge that faced Ḥabīb Aḥmad until he left Uganda was Christian missionary activities.

Given what we have in the life of Ḥabīb Mashhūr, his son is justified to refer to him as a *dā'i* as much as he does a scholar. This in itself is a telling and unique indicator of the centrality of *da'wa* in the Imām's view. Also relevant is the fact that most of his work was done among non-Muslims. This shows that *da'wa* to him meant to non-Muslims as much as it meant to Muslims. Further emphasis on *da'wa* to non-Muslims is evident from his book *Key to the Garden*, which is all about the importance of the testimony "there is none worthy of worship but Allāh" (*lā ilāha illallāh*).

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<sup>295</sup> Ibid, 38-42.

Towards the end of his life, he lived six months in East Africa and six in Jeddah and was considered the head of the Āl Bā 'Alawī. The period in Jeddah allowed many Westerners to become his students. Although Ḥabīb Mashhūr did not travel to the West, he has an indirect impact upon it by virtue of the fact that some of the Western Muslim leaders were his students and have advanced many of Imām al-Ḥaddād's teachings. Section C, below, is devoted to this.

In summary, the contributions of Shaykh Makhlūf and Ḥabīb Ahmad Mashhūr are complementary. That of Shaykh Makhlūf was more of an endorsement from a world-renowned scholar; Ḥabīb Mashhūr personified legacy of Imām al-Ḥaddād. Not only was he from the Ḥaddād lineage (see Appendix B), his curriculum consisted of Imām al-Ḥaddād's books.<sup>296</sup> Likewise, Ḥabīb Mashhūr was a spiritual guide whose authority traced back to Imām al-Ḥaddād. Thus, wherever Ḥabīb Mashhūr traveled, Imām al-Ḥaddād's name was spread, be it through prayers (*awrād*) or books. Furthermore, the ethic of *da'wa* that was seen in Imām al-Ḥaddād's *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma* is evident in Mashhūr's activities.

#### IV. The 15<sup>th</sup>/21<sup>st</sup> Century

##### A. Hadramawt

Yemen of the 1960's was marked by a heightened political consciousness encouraged by the Egyptian socialist ideology also known as 'Nasserism.' Eventually, the British withdrew from the region, and a certain educated elite from

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<sup>296</sup> Interviews, Dr. Mostafa al-Badawi and Abd al-Aziz Ahmed, 2005.

Aden, with Marxist ideas, took control.<sup>297</sup> In 1967, Ḥadramawt was incorporated into the new government, and the public teaching of Islam was prohibited by law. In 1410/1990, however, the Communist regime came to a close and Islamic teaching was once again, allowed. Since then, Ḥadramawt has boasted of an active *da'wa* centered on Tarīm. As Alexander Knysh has rightly observed, this is mostly due to the efforts of 'Umar ibn Ḥafīz,<sup>298</sup> to whom we will now turn.

Ḩabīb 'Umar was born in 1383/1963 in Tarīm to a scholarly family. His father was *muftī* of Tarīm and began his son's training to be an imām and to memorize the Qur'ān.<sup>299</sup> Tenuous circumstances forced ibn Ḥafīz to leave home for al-Bayḍā in Ṣafar/December 1402/1981, where he spent his youth at Ribāṭ al-Haddār, a boys sleep-in college/tekke overseen by Ḥabīb Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Haddār (d. ?).<sup>300</sup> Knysh says that Ḥabīb 'Umar's

father, a famous *sayyid* scholar, disappeared under obscure circumstances during the political purges unleashed by the socialist regime (around 1972) and is widely believed to have been murdered by its secret police. The young 'Umar fled Tarim and was brought up by his relatives in the city of Bayda'.<sup>301</sup>

There, he completed his studies in jurisprudence (*fiqh*), juristic principles (*uṣūl*), *ḥadīth*, and *sulūk*, under Ḥabīb al-Haddār and Ḥabīb Zayn ibn Sumayt.<sup>302</sup> There also he began his *da'wa*, gathering the young and old for circles of reminders and knowledge. His studies also took place in the Makka, Madina, and Jeddah, most specifically under the late Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Saqqāf (d. 1425/2005).<sup>303</sup>

His first posts as imām took place in al-Shihr and Oman, but his organized *da'wa* commenced upon his return to Tarīm in 1414/1994. Three years later his

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<sup>297</sup> Hourani, 408.

<sup>298</sup> Knysh, "Landcruiser," 406.

<sup>299</sup> July 2006, <[www.alhabibomar.com](http://www.alhabibomar.com)>.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid.

<sup>301</sup> Knysh, "Landcruiser," 406.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid.

school, Dār al-Muṣṭafa, was officially opened.<sup>304</sup> Here is how Knysh describes the school, the *da'wa*, and its leader:

When I met Habib 'Umar in November 1999, he was said to be about 36 or 37 years old. Despite his relatively young age, he was treated as the undisputed leader by all the members of his entourage, including some distinguished older scholars of *sayyid* background...An eloquent public speaker, 'Umar has achieved and sustained his wide popularity by constantly travelling across the country in a new Toyota Landcruiser and giving fiery public sermons and lectures at every stop. The geography of his proselytizing tours is quite impressive...Simultaneously, he perform[s] his duties as the director of *Dar al-Mustafa*, which [is] quite a task in itself...His fame has attracted hundreds of disciples from all over the Muslim world, especially from Africa, Indonesia, and Malaysia. At least a dozen of his disciples are European and North American converts to Islam...Upon graduation, they are expected to return to their countries of residence, where they will proselytize among their compatriots.<sup>305</sup>

Our question is, in what way does Ḥabīb 'Umar ibn Ḥafiz advance the legacy of Imām al-Haddād?

The answer to this is to be determined through his teachings, which are not necessarily outlined in one book or manifesto, but rather can be discerned from his website,<sup>306</sup> articles, booklets, and first hand experience (my trip to Dār al-Muṣṭafa). Inevitably, the answer is very simple: Ḥabīb 'Umar's scholarly positions and policies are based on those of Imām al-Haddād and he teaches his books. This is a main purpose in the establishment of Dār al-Muṣṭafa.

A plain orange-stone and white-washed building capped with a green Madīna-like dome, Dār al-Muṣṭafa represents a revival of the teachings of the Al-Bā 'Alawī. From its brochure, we learn that there are three foundational principles to Dār al-Muṣṭafa: learning *Shari'a*, purifying the self (*tazkiya*), and *da'wa*.<sup>307</sup> This in itself is purely Qur'anic in its correspondence with the early

<sup>304</sup> Ibid.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid, 406-7.

<sup>306</sup> November 2005, <[www.alhabibomar.com](http://www.alhabibomar.com)>.

<sup>307</sup> Dār al-Muṣṭafa brochure: *Tarīf Ahl al-Wafā' bi Maqāṣid wa A'māl Dār al-Muṣṭafa*.

verses of “Read,”<sup>308</sup> which symbolizes the acquisition of knowledge; “Pray by night,”<sup>309</sup> which represents the purification of the heart; and “Stand and warn,”<sup>310</sup> which is *da’wa*. Imām al-Haddād’s approach is reflected in each of these three, as shall now be shown.

In jurisprudence (*fiqh*), the curriculum is a formal Shāfi‘ī one along with some Mālikī and Ḥanafī *fiqh*.<sup>311</sup> In doctrine, Knysh is correct in his observation that dogma is taught simply and matters of debate are ignored, for example, who is the best Companion or *kalām*.<sup>312</sup> The Ash‘arī work *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* (*The Jewel of Unity*) by Imām al-Laqqānī (d. 1030/1621) is taught. In spiritual developments, the works of Imām al-Haddād (esp. *Sabīl al-Iddikār* and *Ādāb Sulūk al-Murīd*), Imām al-‘Aydarūs (esp. *al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar*), and Abī Hāmid al-Ghazālī (especially the *Iḥyā’*) are used.

In terms of *da’wa*, there is a very strong consciousness of it at the school, stronger than even the acquisition of sacred knowledge. Interestingly, there is no book assigned to the curriculum on how exactly to do *da’wa* (nor even *al-Da’wa al-Tāmma*), but this does not discount other methods of teaching. The strong consciousness of *da’wa* derives from the fact that the shaykhs at the school do *da’wa* themselves. Moreover, several students accompany them in the process. *Da’wa*, as I witnessed on my visit, is taught orally and by example.

Besides international *da’wa* trips undertaken by Ḥabīb ‘Umar and Ḥabīb ‘Alī (their websites tell that the former has been to Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Egypt, Syria, and Sri Lanka; the latter has been to America, England, France, Belgium, Germany, Lebanon, Bahrain, and the aforementioned countries), formal

<sup>308</sup> Q. 96:1 (*al-‘Alaq*).

<sup>309</sup> Q. 73:1 (*al-Muzzammil*).

<sup>310</sup> Q. 74:1 (*al-Muddaththir*).

<sup>311</sup> Presumably, the Ḥanbalī school is excluded for the small number of its students.

<sup>312</sup> Knysh, “Landcruiser,” 411.

*da'wa* takes place three days a week. Every Monday, Dār al-Muṣṭafa organizes *Jalsat al-Ithnayn* (*The Monday Meeting*). Each week, lights and microphones are set up in a different part of the town, but always, in a large outdoor space. An audience of approximately 400 individuals listens to the main speaker who is always Ḥabīb ‘Umar or Ḥabīb ‘Alī or another shaykh of the school. The students are involved as well; one of them hosts the program, introducing the Qur'ān recitation, the *hadīth* recitation, and the main speaker. The Qur'ān and *hadīth* are usually recited by two different students, meaning that every week a total of three students will take part in *Jalsat al-Ithnayn*. Most if not all students attend it. But the majority of the listeners derive from the local population.

Every Thursday evening at the Dār al-Muṣṭafa main hall, there is a community gathering attended, again by the students and the local population. The gathering consists of the singing of Ḥabīb ‘Umar's poem on the Prophet's life entitled *al-Diyā’ al-Lāmi‘ bi Dhikr Mawlid al-Nabī al-Shāfi‘* (*The Dazzling Lights in the Remembrance of the Birth of the Interceding Prophet*). It is then followed by speeches given by the students themselves. This is intended to create within the student population at Dār al-Muṣṭafa a feeling of involvement in the *da'wa* to the community, and habituates them to it. Furthermore, the speakers are chosen on the spot, forcing them to learn how to address an audience without any preparation at all. Addresses from the senior teachers of the school follow, concluded by a long supplication (*du‘ā’*).

Lastly, Friday afternoon is the day for oration training, where mid-level and advanced students give mock-*khuybas* to their class. The teacher will then assess it with the student and offer suggestions for next time. For this purpose,

there is Ḥabib ‘Umar’s *Thaqāfat al-Khaṭīb* (*The Skills of the Orator*),<sup>313</sup> a short work based on a lecture on the requirements of a proper orator, which are five: having a moving effect on others, understanding the mood of listeners, understanding their social circumstances, choosing the vocabulary and style best suited for the audience, and being selfless for the sake of the cause. There are also four types of speakers: the legal scholars (*muftī*), the *dā’ī*, the preacher or story-teller (*wā’iz*), and the on-the-spot speaker.

On a monthly basis, a shaykh from Dār al-Muṣṭafa travels with around a dozen students to a village of Hadramawt for *da’wa*. The entire journey may take one day and a half, or two. The guests are treated, in customary Arab fashion, to a large meal; the shaykh meets the village elders while the students mingle with the people. After any of the prayers, the shaykh and the advanced students will address the village with the essential Islamic teachings of repentance to Allāh, worship of Him, the establishment of what He loves, and the avoidance of what He disdains. At best, some villagers will return to Dār al-Muṣṭafa to enroll as full-time students, while some will go just to see it themselves and return. Follow-up visits are made by the advanced students without the shaykh, thereby strengthening the link between the given village and the school.

All of this makes for a very strong consciousness of *da’wa* without classes on the importance of *da’wa* per se. If we recall Imām al-Haddād’s comments on learning, he said that acting upon knowledge was part of learning it and that teaching was part of acting. Dār al-Muṣṭafa’s methodology reflects this, as students actually do *da’wa* during their period of study.

In summarizing Dār al-Muṣṭafa, it is clear that it differs from the traditional colleges in which the students were limited to studying and in most

<sup>313</sup> Ḥafīẓ, ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Sālim. *Thaqāfat al-Khaṭīb*, no place: Maktab al-Noor, 2001.

cases cut off from their communities and societies. Dār al-Muṣṭafa's orientation to the practice of *da'wa* is the main differentiating point. The ultimate purpose of the school is to train *dā'i*s not to produce *muftīs*, although this may in some cases occur. This is a more significant point than may appear, as we shall now compare and contrast.

Traditional colleges often allowed for students to master their subjects because the isolation of the student allowed for entrenchment into books and scholarly issues. The *da'wa* that takes place in Dār al-Muṣṭafa often disrupts this entrenchment in the books. According to some of the students of Ḥabīb 'Umar, this is exactly the purpose. It is argued that entrenchment into books may create in the student a textual world-view, in which the dynamics of life are constantly referred back to a static text, which may not always be applicable. This is what Imām al-Haddād criticizes in his section on scholars who become devoted to matters which have no bearing on the practicalities of life. On the other hand, while the occasional disruption of studies may reduce a student's speed of progress, it adds balance to their view of life, such that they are constantly made aware of the realities outside the *madrasa*. Also, while this method may slow down the acquisition of textual knowledge, it compensates with the addition of what may be referred to as 'on the job training.' Imām al-Haddād formulates this in his saying that action and teaching increase knowledge (see Chapter 4). In these ways, we assert that Dār al-Muṣṭafa is the institutional form of our subject's legacy.

Complementing this local *da'wa* Ḥabīb 'Umar appears on Yemen Satellite TV. In Ramaḍān, his program of counsel and *naṣīḥa* airs daily. Ḥabīb 'Alī al-Jifrī, likewise, utilizes television for *da'wa*. In this lies al-Jifrī's strongest contribution to the Al Bā 'Alawī, namely, recognition among the Arabic worlds

most well known *du'āts*, such as 'Amr Khaled, 'Umar 'Abd al-Kāfi, or Tariq Swaydan. Al-Jifrī's programs are on Iqra' and Dream, which is based in Egypt.

The speeches Ḥabīb 'Alī gives are reflective of Imām al-Haddād's teachings on *da'wa* in that each of his talks are based on one personal, spiritual matter. However, it is noticed that most of the widely heard *du'āt* of television acquire popularity for their inclusion of social/current affairs in their addresses. How does Ḥabīb 'Alī manage to deliver spiritual teachings in such a setting?

The answer to this is that the model put out by Imām al-Haddād, and the speeches of Ḥabīb 'Alī, do not ignore social issues as they do hold that all such issues are based on the individual. Thus, the cure for any social ill lies in the cure of the individuals involved in it. Al-Jifrī expounds on this very point in a talk taken from his website entitled "Trust in Allāh":

You may ask, how can I discuss these minor, personal matters while the *ummā* is facing much graver, threatening, broad tribulations? We say to you that these 'graver, threatening, broader tribulations' are the results of your own turmoils...Disasters are results of your actions, my actions, or the actions of Zayd or 'Amr...that compound and advance to the level of familial relations, then on to tribal interactions, then on to the dealings between offices, then business, then ministries...and finally between country and country...all are based and founded upon the mentality of the single individual.<sup>314</sup>

Thus, each talk of Ḥabīb 'Alī is based around one central point of belief or manners of interaction discussed in light of current social circumstances. One good example of this is a talk entitled "Allāh Will Not Disgrace You."<sup>315</sup> In it, he notes that despite technological advancement, modern man is disgraced in many ways: high rates of suicide and divorce, drug addiction, etc. The Muslims, moreover, have greater problems: political disorder, Palestine, Iraq, etc. The solution to this state of disarray, continues al-Jifrī, does not lie with any think tank,

<sup>314</sup> "Trust in Allāh," August 2004, <[www.alhabibali.org](http://www.alhabibali.org)>.

<sup>315</sup> "Allāh Will Not Disgrace You," Ibid.

philosopher, political party, or economic program. Rather, it is to be garnered from Allāh Himself by the individual Muslims claiming their ‘insurance from disgrace,’ namely “maintaining kinship bonds, supporting orphans, assisting the poor, honouring the guest, and upholding the truth,” for these are the things with which Khadija reminded the Prophet when he feared spirit possession. Because he did those things, Allāh would not leave him to be disgraced. The talk was closed with counsel for all listeners to phone any cut-off family members and re-establish ties, “even by just saying ‘*al-salām ‘alaykum.*’” In this way does al-Jifrī preach an individualized practice in the context of improving the Muslim *ummah*.

In an indirect way, Ḥabīb ‘Alī is involved in *da‘wa* to non-Muslims. Many of his talks in England and America are aimed at teaching Muslims how to interact with their non-Muslim colleagues and co-workers in ways that present Islam beautifully. One such example is a lecture entitled “Standing Firm: Maintaining Our Islamic Identity.”<sup>316</sup>

Overall, Ḥabīb ‘Alī brings to the Āl Bā ‘Alawī an involvement and recognition in what Peterson called “international Islamic cooperation.” Whereas in the past, this cooperation was comprised exclusively of muftīs, it is now a combination of *du‘āt* and muftīs. This environment is suitable for the Ḥabā’ib who cannot be characterized as solely one or the other. Thus, the *da‘wa* that holds Imām al-Haddād as a central inspiration stands on five legs: educational (Dār al-Muṣṭafa), institutional (also Dār al-Muṣṭafa), local (*Jalsat al-Ithnayn*, etc.), media (television and internet), and international (Ḥabīb ‘Alī). Two arenas it has not sought are that of *fatwa* and government.

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<sup>316</sup> December 2005, <[www.guidancemedia.com](http://www.guidancemedia.com)>.

## B. The West (England and America)

In the early 14<sup>th</sup> Century/late 20<sup>th</sup> Century Imām al-Ḥaddād's works appeared in the West. While it is impossible to name every single person teaching the Imām's works between England, America, and Canada, six main scholars responsible for spreading his works should be mentioned. Five of them trace their scholarship back to Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr al-Ḥaddād, discussed above, while one traces back to Ḥabīb ‘Umar ibn Ḥafīz, mentioned above. Overall, Imām al-Ḥaddād's legacy is represented through three different channels, namely, local teaching, writing, and public speaking (*da‘wa*).

The 'local level' teaching is characterized by consistency, small numbers (of individuals), and thoroughness of study. The first whom we shall mention is Shaykh Muhammad Ba Shuayb. He studied with the Āl Bā ‘Alawī of East Africa and with Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr. In England he pursued a career in nuclear engineering. On cue from Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr, Shaykh Muhammad began a weekly *dhikr* of Imām al-Ḥaddād's *Rātib* along with recitations of Imām al-Ḥaddād's poetry (*al-Durr al-Manzūm*) and the readings of works, such as *Risālat al-Mu‘āwana* (*The Book of Assistance*) from his home in North London. The setting is informal and devotional; individuals or families attend as they wish.

In a similar vein, Shaykh Muhsin al-Najjar teaches the same material. Al-Najjar read Islamic studies at Cambridge as well as under Ḥabīb ‘Umar. He has lectured in formal and informal settings in England and Virginia, USA. He has also made trips with British and American youth to Saudi Arabia and Tarīm for the meeting of shaykhs of the Āl Bā ‘Alawī.

In Scotland, Shaykh Abdel Aziz Ahmed was a student of Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr since 1983. He leads a weekly circle for the reading of Imām al-Ḥaddād's works and has an internet presence through a website entitled

'DeenPort.'<sup>317</sup> The site posts brief one-page translations of selections from Imām al-Haddād's books by the Shaykh.

In terms of literature, Dr. Mostafa al-Badawi is very significant. Originally from Egypt, he studied medicine in Bradford, England, then moved to Jeddah to practice psychiatry. He is a Consultant Psychiatrist and member of the Royal College of Psychiatrists. In Jeddah, he too studied under Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr. His contribution lies in his translation of Imām al-Haddād's works into English. Six, thus far, have been translated. Assisting him in this has been Abdal Hakim Murad, whose forwards appear at the beginning of most translations. These works can be found in most university libraries and almost all physical and online Islamic bookstores.

In America, Imām Hamza Yusuf has contributed to the spread of Imām al-Haddād's works. Hamza Yusuf studied for a period in Jeddah, under Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr. His primary contribution to the American landscape regards a return to traditional scholarship. Likewise, he endorses the books of Imām al-Haddād and was involved in publishing the translation of the *Rātib*.

As a speaker at major Muslim conferences such as the Islamic Society of North America's annual meeting (ISNA), which draws around 40,000 American Muslims each year, as a teacher of Islamic studies at the California-based Zaytuna Institute, and through the travelling Deen Intensive program,<sup>318</sup> he has a wide base of listeners throughout North America and England.<sup>319</sup> As such, his occasional mentions of Ḥabīb Aḥmad Mashhūr al-Haddād along with his public meetings

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<sup>317</sup> December 2005, <[www.deenport.org.uk](http://www.deenport.org.uk)>.

<sup>318</sup> 'Deen Intensive' was founded around 1995 in Toronto, Canada. It consists of one week study programs in different cities, and is held two to three times a year. It is managed by Nazim Baksh; the main teacher is Imām Hamza Yusuf. December 2005, <[www.deen-intensive.com](http://www.deen-intensive.com)>.

<sup>319</sup> More about this travelling madrasa can be found in Abdo, Geneive. *Mecca and Main Street: Muslim Life in America After 9/11*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

with Ḥabīb ‘Alī al-Jifrī lend recognition to the Āl Bā ‘Alawī in general and Imām al-Ḥaddād in specific.

Through the Zaytuna Institute and the Deen Intensive programs, networks are created connecting students to many places of knowledge, including Dār al-Muṣṭafa in Tarīm, where they will most likely read one of Imām al-Ḥaddād’s works in the original Arabic under the tutelage of a shaykh or advanced student. A good example of this networking is Chris Khalil Moore. Originally from Virginia, USA, Moore learned about several places of traditional learning after attending a Chicago Deen Intensive in 1999, Dār al-Muṣṭafa in Tarīm, being one of them. He subsequently visited Tarīm, then established the first English language website dedicated to the Āl Bā ‘Alawī,<sup>320</sup> through which aspirants can arrange visits to Ḥaḍramawt. Another good example is Ibrahim Osi-Efa, who also studied under Hamza Yusuf. Eventually, Osi-Efa moved to Tarīm and in 2001 founded the Badr Institute of Arabic studies for English speakers.<sup>321</sup> Badr institute removes the language obstacle by allowing non-Arabic speaking individuals to live in Tarīm and visit Dār al-Muṣṭafa and its shaykhs, whilst learning the Arabic language. Also from Liverpool are Ahmadu Salisu and Abdel Hakim Thomas who established the annual ‘Dar al-Sahban’ trips from England to Tarīm.<sup>322</sup> All of this, it must be remembered, facilitated the study of Imām ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād’s books, initiating a large Western readership. The final point to mention is the nature of these contributions. Their form is evolving from the grass-roots to institutions (i.e. Zaytuna, Dar al-Sahban, Badr Institute, etc.). As such, they do not need to revolve around individuals per sé, and can manage larger numbers.

<sup>320</sup> December 2005, <[www.groups.msn.com/thehabaib](http://www.groups.msn.com/thehabaib)>.

<sup>321</sup> December 2005, <[www.badr.org.uk](http://www.badr.org.uk)>.

<sup>322</sup> December 2005, <[www.ibnabbas.org.uk](http://www.ibnabbas.org.uk)>.

Clearly, the above individuals are involved in *da'wa*, but what is the nature of that *da'wa*, is it to Muslims only or non-Muslims as well? *Da'wa* to non-Muslims seems to be the strongest theme throughout all of the Islamic enterprises in America. However, the logistics of *da'wa* to Muslims is much less complicated than that to non-Muslims. For example, believers are willing to gather in mosques or halls, and establish bookstores and magazines. These things can all be quantified and thus evaluated. However, it is not the case with non-Muslims. *Da'wa* to them is less apparent, being not necessarily given through speeches or conferences, but individually. The most popular avenue seems to be the work-place, where the popular teaching is that the best *da'wa* is through setting a good example. Thus, while there may be much discussion around *da'wa* to non-Muslims, its application has yet to take the systematic form required for the assessment of its progress.

The one aspect of Imām al-Haddād's legacy that has yet to fully develop is that of academic research. Such studies (on his *diwān* for example) would offer tangibility and accessibility to his heritage. The *fatwas* on *taṣawwuf* in his *Nafā'iṣ al-'Ulwiyya* can be the center of a dissertation in the same way as *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma* has been for this one.

## V. Summary

Imām al-Haddād has the classical legacy of a gnostic scholar: his most famous piece of literature is a prayer, *Rātib al-Haddād*. It is also the most apparent aspect of his legacy, as we have seen thus far. Muhammad al-Hatimi

says, “We learned *Rātib* al-Haddād before ever knowing who was Imām al-Haddād. It was part of our childhood. Everyone who went to the mosque knew it.”<sup>323</sup> While it is a rare and interesting legacy for a scholar to have, it is not entirely unprecedented. In fact, many scholars’ names live on through the prayers they wrote that are recited after their death. Examples are Imām al-Nawawī, Abul-Hasan al-Shādhilī, and Aḥmad Zarrūq. Imām al-Haddād falls into this category. But just as the legacies of al-Nawawī, al-Shādhilī, and Zarrūq do not solely rest upon their passed-down litanies, so likewise, there is much more to our subject’s legacy. The institution of Dār al-Muṣṭafa, the travels of Ḥabīb ‘Alī al-Jifrī, and the translations of Dr. al-Badawi are reverberations of Imām al-Haddād’s exhortations on *da’wa*.

In the Pre-Modern world, the Imām was revered almost as the patron saint of Ḥadramawt (according to Dr. al-Badawi, that status is for *al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam*, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Bā ‘Alawī). The discernable pattern is that whichever peoples went to Ḥadramawt for Islamic learning came to adopt Imām al-Haddād as a main source of their knowledge. This was witnessed with the East Africans and Indonesians alike. In Tarīm, his teachings are viewed as synopses of al-Ghazālī’s teachings. Whoever cannot read the *Iḥyā’* due to its density or for simple time constraints, can read al-Haddād.

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<sup>323</sup> Interview, al-Hatimi.

## CONCLUSION

The findings we have made in this dissertation lead us to argue that in general, the format of any given *da'wa* is determined by the social circumstances out of which it arises. In specific, we put forth that our subject, Imām 'Abd Allāh al-Haddād intently sought to codify the knowledge of *da'wa* so as to allow it to be easily studied and in turn practiced. We argue that the social conditions of his time and place, as evident from his own comments about it, were cause for his alarm about the continuation of Muslim belief and practice. Let us now elaborate upon the first idea, that the way *da'wa* manifests is a result of historical circumstances, for this is the base upon which our argument about Imām al-Haddād rests.

One of the challenges that exists in studying *da'wa* in Islamic thought is that *da'wa* is a ‘soft’ science. Namely, it is not a science defined by clear boundaries, such as *fiqh* or grammar, which can be called ‘hard’ sciences. One way of distinguishing a ‘hard’ science from a ‘soft’ science is that the former possess technical jargons, whereas the latter do not. ‘Hard’ sciences have recognized masters that develop different ‘traditions,’ for example the Baṣran and Kūfan grammatical traditions or the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfi‘ī, and Ḥanbalī law traditions. Contributors or members of ‘traditions’ are tied by chains of transmission. Also, ‘traditions’ rally around agreed upon ways of doing things. A good example of this is the chaptering or *tabwīb* of law books; they tend to begin with purity (*tahāra*) then through worship (*'ibādāt*) and conclude in dealings

(*mu'āmalāt*). All of these things make for easy navigation, in terms of studying the history of any given tradition of knowledge. Not having any of these aides made the construction of a history of *da'wa* in Islamic thought a challenge.

Our method was to examine anything that had to do with inviting others to strengthening faith and doing good deeds, in terms of the Islamic definitions of these things (afterall, this was the linguistic definition given by Murtada al-Zabīdī).<sup>324</sup> Many different forms of invitations were found. But soon, certain patterns became apparent, and it was realized that different social scenarios brought out different methods of *da'wa*. Not only were the methods different, the recipients and contents were too. Ultimately, five distinct scenarios were discovered in which the *da'was* varied one from the other. As a way of simplifying and classifying these findings, I designated short names to describe them.

To recap these forms (see Conclusion, Chapter 4), the first was the ‘initial’ *da'wa*, where the message was new and unknown. There was nothing to gain or lose (in the worldly sense) by accepting it. Nor was the faith ‘politicized’ in any way, meaning that they did not threaten or affect the politico-economic status quo. Other characteristics of this stage are that the *da'was* in them are personal, taking place in private conversation. There were no public addresses and for the most part the greater population (in the Prophet’s case, the people of Makka) were unaware of the new message.

The second phase comes about upon the politicization of Islam. In the *sīra*, this takes place when the Quraysh elite realize that a unity of the gods would

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<sup>324</sup> To call to a path of behaviour, good or evil (vol. 19, pp. 408). The path itself is known as a *da'wa*, the act of calling to it is called *da'wa*, the one doing it is a *dā'i* or *dā'* and the one who oft-does it or takes it as a profession is a *dā'iyya*. Al-Zabīdī says, “The *du'āt* (plural of *dā'iyya*) are a people who call to a pact of guidance or misguidance” (*Ibid*).

nullify the pilgrimage, putting a gash in their economy and their prestige as keepers of the sacred house. At that moment, Islam and Muslims became dangerous. The following passage from Lings elucidates this point:

Quraysh as a whole were disposed to tolerate the new religion...until they saw that it was directed against their gods, their principles, and their inveterate practices. Once they had realized this...some of their leading men went in a body to Abū Tālib, to insist that he should restrain his nephew's activities...Meantime they consulted together in an attempt to form a common policy about the cause of their trouble. The situation was exceedingly grave: the time of the Pilgrimage would soon be upon them and Arabs would come to Mecca from all over Arabia. They, Quraysh, had a high reputation for hospitality, not only as regards food and drink but also because they made every man welcome, both him and his gods. But this year pilgrims would hear their gods insulted by Muḥammad and his followers, and they would be urged to forsake the religion of their forefathers and to adopt a new religion which appeared to have numerous disadvantages. No doubt, many of them would not come to Mecca again, which would not only be bad for trade but would also diminish the honour in which the guardians of the Sanctuary were now held. At the worst, the Arabs might league together to drive them out of Mecca and to establish another tribe or group in their place---as they had previously done with Khuzā'ah, and as Khuzā'ah had done with Jurhum.<sup>325</sup>

This had major affects upon the nature of the *da'wa*. Most importantly, the Prophet became more selective with regards to whom he sought to invite. To be precise, he focused on the strong and powerful; people who could protect him. Ibn Hishām confirms: "and he did not hear about anyone of recognition or honour that was coming to Makka except that he drew near to him and called him to Allāh."<sup>326</sup> Characteristic of this stage is increased talks with the leadership, and this is what took place between the Prophet and the heads of Quraysh as Ibn Hishām transmits.<sup>327</sup> I have termed this 'establishment' *da'wa* because the function that calling to Allāh has at this time is to establish the religion in the worldly, practical sense, to give it a protected home where worship can take place

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<sup>325</sup> Lings, 52-3.

<sup>326</sup> Ibn Hishām, 92.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid, 61-2.

peacefully. It should be clarified that the talks between the Prophet and the Arabian leaders were not reduced to solely discussions about protection; the invitations remained to be about Allāh and the Last Day. Also, the *da'wa* was not restricted to elites, for at the height of the tensions of this stage, the Prophet did *da'wa* to a Christian boy, who accepted him.<sup>328</sup> Lastly, the ultimate indicator of the nature of this sort of *da'wa* was the content of the Second 'Aqaba Contract between the Prophet and the Helpers (*ansār*) of Madīna. The offer was, "swear to protect me from what you protect your women and children."<sup>329</sup>

Thus far, the two forms of *da'wa* that resulted from two different scenarios (one of peace and one of persecution) occurred and were completed in a relatively small number of years (and this is not to say that these phases cannot repeat themselves). The next form of *da'wa* our research finds manifests during the phase of battles and conquests (or any *jihād* for that matter). The Prophet taught to invite to Islam before waging *jihād*, 'pre-*jihād*' *da'wa*.<sup>330</sup> Clearly, its nature is completely different. Its atmosphere is tense, and it is the last attempt to avoid the spilling of blood. It is usually this form of *da'wa* which the jurists include in their law books.<sup>331</sup>

After *jihāds* of conquest there is also a demand for *dā'iṣ*. Hence, we call this 'post-*jihād*' *da'wa*. In Syria, Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān realized this when the Muslim population became so large, it required full-time teachers, and so Caliph 'Umar sent Abū al-Dardā' and Mu'ādh to do the job.<sup>332</sup> This is the first sort of *da'wa* that goes beyond the invitation to belief, for the content of the previous three calls are simply to believe in Allāh and His Messenger. Also, this *da'wa*

<sup>328</sup> This refers to 'Addās of Ninevah, Ibid, 90.

<sup>329</sup> Ibid, 96.

<sup>330</sup> Al-Shaybānī, 151 or al-Tanūkhī, 581.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> Al-Sallabi, 'Umar, 241.

includes *da'wa* to Muslims, whereas the previous scenarios were to non-Muslims.

New Muslim converts in this case were being taught the “Qur’ān and...*fiqh*.<sup>333</sup>

Thus, knowledge has a larger function here.

When Islamic lands become settled, *da'wa* amongst Muslims becomes the main form of *da'wa* (again, it is possible for the above types of *da'wa* to take place if the circumstances that produced them repeat themselves; they cannot be limited to the time of the Prophet). In this ‘classical Muslim-to-Muslim’ *da'wa* did we find the most material. Ultimately, the works revolve around commanding/forbidding and preaching. In terms of preaching (*wa'z*), two figures stand out: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī from the early generations was renowned for his preaching, but he did not author anything on the topic.<sup>334</sup> Later, the figure who stands out with respect to both preaching and authoring about it was Ibn al-Jawzī.<sup>335</sup> He authored five works related to preaching (*wa'z*) and more importantly, our research shows that after him, the idea of writing preaching books blossomed.<sup>336</sup> Arguably, the best period for the authoring of *da'wa*-related literature was from the mid-6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> Century to the mid-9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> Century. In terms of commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, the Ḥanbalīs were eminent.<sup>337</sup>

Chronologically, Imām al-Haddād is part of this last ‘classical’ stage. We further argue that the erosion of the faith that occurred in the Ḥaḍramawt of his time, along with the intrusion of a peoples of a differing dogma, as evidenced by his own statements,<sup>338</sup> radicalized the Imām’s approach to *da'wa*, such that he

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<sup>333</sup> Ibid.

<sup>334</sup> E.I., 1986, “AL-ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ.”

<sup>335</sup> E.I., 1986, “IBN AL-DJAWZĪ.”

<sup>336</sup> Ibn Qudāma, *al-Tawwābīn* and *al-Riqqa*; Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, *Bayān Aḥwāl*; al-Maqdisī, *Minhāj al-Qāsidīn*; Ibn Kathīr, *Aḥwal*; al-Ḥanbalī, *Bughyat*; and al-'Asqalānī, *al-Targhib* were all written after Ibn al-Jawzī.

<sup>337</sup> Cook, 87-194.

<sup>338</sup> Al-Badawi, 116-7 and Letters; vol. 1, pp. 271.

propounded that all people must do *da'wa*.<sup>339</sup> Imām al-Haddād's writings---chiefly *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma*---indicate that his method of combatting this was through *da'wa*. Within the sphere of *da'wa*, he operated at the level of theory moreso than anything else (although he did do *da'wa* himself and travelled throughout Yemen for the cause).<sup>340</sup> By codifying and clarifying the theory behind *da'wa*, it can be more easily studied and with knowledge, Muslims (or his readers at least) would know how to practice it, thus reviving the religion, which was his purpose from the outset.<sup>341</sup> But even more, Imām al-Haddād did not want *da'wa* to be a mere response to crisis; he wanted *da'wa* to be done at all times, based on the principle that "teaching, reminding, and *da'wa* are part and parcel of acting upon knowledge, and any suggestions not to do *da'wa* are from Satan (*shayṭān*)."<sup>342</sup> It is this, and only this constant pro-active approach that would protect the Muslims' religion from eroding.<sup>343</sup> In common language, 'the best defence is a good offence.' A strong indicator that this is Imām al-Haddād's legacy is the thought and activity of the contemporary Bā 'Alawī shaykhs; it is centered upon *da'wa*. Knysh calls their dedication to spreading Islam, "aggressive and assertive."<sup>344</sup> Also,

Proselytizing in remote villages and out-of-the-way side-valleys of Wadi Hadramawt has been adopted by the leaders of Tarim's and al-Shihr's religious schools as an essential part of their pedagogical philosophy...Never in my life did I receive so many invitations to embrace Islam...The age of the self-appointed missionaries ranged from 14 to 65.<sup>345</sup>

<sup>339</sup> *DT*, 37-8.

<sup>340</sup> Al-Badawi, 201-13.

<sup>341</sup> *DT*, 24.

<sup>342</sup> *R. Mu'āwana*, 136.

<sup>343</sup> *DT*, 20-1: "The scholars who have fallen short (of doing *da'wa*)...are the reason for the audacity of the masses in speaking and acting in ways that displease Allāh and His Messenger."

<sup>344</sup> Knysh, "Landcruiser," 407.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid*, 409.

How does the Imām codify the science of *da'wa*? Firstly, he defines *da'wa* with an all-encompassing definition; it includes

all that is mentioned about the virtues of spreading knowledge and learning it, the virtues of preaching and reminding, even the virtues of *jihād* in the way of Allāh, and commanding right and forbidding wrong are all under and part of *da'wa*. They are its different forms and types.<sup>346</sup>

These four things allow most if not all people to be involved and active in some way or another. On the rational plane, there is knowledge, on the spiritual plane there is remembrance (*tadhkīr*), on the physical plane there is *jihād*, and at the most basic level there is reminding and giving of advice (*al-wa'z wal-tadhkīr*). Thus, he has sought to be all-inclusive regarding who can be a *dā'i*. Also regarding the *dā'i*, he uncovers the possible reasons why people would not do *da'wa*.<sup>347</sup> On the side of the recipients, he likewise includes all people by creating the eight categories, showing what should be said to each, a sort of prescriptive *da'wa* (See Chapter 6).

What then about the content? Regarding that, there are two things the Imām offers. Firstly, he offers much of what can be said to people by displaying how he himself would do *da'wa* to each of the eight categories of *al-Da'wa al-Tāmma*. Regarding this information, “one should be sure to take it and utilize it.”<sup>348</sup> But also, the Imām gives a general principle that anything of rulings (*ahkām*), things which instill fear (*mukhawifāt*), and things which cause one to leave off the *dunya* (*muzahhidāt*)<sup>349</sup> is from the ‘knowledges of *da'wa*.’ All of this ‘hardens’ the science of ‘*da'wa*,’ giving it a skeleton such that it can be studied through a clear structure. Lastly, the Imām writes with much comprehensiveness and forcefulness about the topic:

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<sup>346</sup> DT, 12.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid, 23-35.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid, 37-8.

it is compulsory on every Muslim to begin with the establishment of the obligations and avoidance of prohibitions in his own self, then to teach his family, then his neighbours, then to the people of his country, then to the outlying regions bordering his country, then to the bedouin of the Arabs, Kurds, and others, and so forth for the whole world...the obligation remains so long as there exists one person on the face of the earth ignorant of the obligations of the religion...Every common Muslim ('āmmī) who knows the rules of prayer is obliged to teach it to whoever does not, or else he is sharing with them in the sin.<sup>350</sup>

Islamic scholars and ‘Islamicists’ may observe the great amount of literature produced in the Modern Period about *da‘wa* (See Chapter 3 for a few examples). Many religious universities, al-Azhar for example, now have branches named *Kulliyat al-Da‘wa*, The College of *Da‘wa*.<sup>351</sup> Perhaps this emphasis on *da‘wa* points to a sixth stage of *da‘wa*, namely ‘revivalist’ *da‘wa*. This is characterized by many unique features as compared to the Classical and Post-Classical Periods and their ‘classical Muslim-to-Muslim’ *da‘wa*. Most striking, the Muslims of this period are no longer umbrellad by a caliphate, whereas the Muslims of the former one were. Also, there are now Muslims living in non-Islamic countries in great numbers. Within the Islamic world beginning in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, secular and nationalist ideas had greater reach than Islamic ones. The latter was “implicit and submerged among the educated classes in this period...the separation of religion from political life seemed to be a condition of successful national life.”<sup>352</sup> This meant that many *dā‘īs* within their own Islamic countries to be at a disadvantage, whereas in classical times, the predominant

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<sup>350</sup> Ibid, 37-8.

<sup>351</sup> October 2006, <[www.alazhar.org](http://www.alazhar.org)>.

<sup>352</sup> Hourani, 343.

discourse was always within the Islamic cosmology.<sup>353</sup> These new conditions certainly call for thorough studies on the new ways *da'wa* occurs therin.

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<sup>353</sup> Ibid, 258.

## Appendix A

(Individuals mentioned in the text are emboldened and underlined)  
The Prophet Muḥammad

'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭimah al-Zahra

al-Ḥusayn

'Alī Zayn al-Ābidīn

Muḥammad al-Bāqir

Ja'far al-Ṣādiq

'Alī al-'Uraydī

Muḥammad

'Īsa

**al-Muhājir** **Aḥmad ibn 'Īsa** (first to move to Tarīm, d. 345/956)

'Ubaydillāh

**'Alawī** (d. ?)

Jadīd (progeny died off)

Baṣrī (progeny died off)

(after whom they are called "Bā 'Alawī")

Muhammad *Sāḥib al-Śawma'a*

'Alawī

'Alī

Muḥammad *Sāḥib Mirbaṭ*

'Alawī

'Alī

'Abd al-Raḥmān

**Muhammad al-Faqīh al-Mugaddam** (d. 653/1255)

Aḥmad

'Alawī

'Alī

'Abd Allāh

Muḥammad

Muḥammad *Mawla al-Dawīla*

Aḥmad

**Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saqqāf** (d. 819/1416)

Abū Bakr

Abū Bakr Abd Allāh

Aḥmad (the first to be named "al-Ḥaddād")

**Imām 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydarūs** (d. 865/1461)

'Alawī

Abd al-Raḥmān

Muḥammad al-Ḥaddād

'Abd Allāh

'Abd Allāh

Sālim

Aḥmad

**Shaykh Abū Bakr ibn Sālim** (d. 922/1548)

Muḥammad

al-Ḥusayn

'Alawī

'Aydarūs

'Umar

Abū Bakr

Tā-Hā

'Umar

'Abd Allāh

'Aydarūs

Tā-Hā

'Umar

'Abd Allāh

'Aydarūs

'Alī

Abū Bakr

Tā-Hā

'Abd Allāh

**Habib**

Hafīz (the first of the Bin Hafīz branch)

**Aḥmad Mashhūr al-Ḥaddād** (d. 1416/1996)

Sālim

Muḥammad

**Habib 'Umar**

Appendix B  
*Rātib al-Haddād*

1. The Opener, *al-Fātiḥa*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ مَالِكُ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ إِهْدِنَا الصَّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرَ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالُّينَ آمِينٌ

*bismillāh al-rahmān al-rahib. al-hamdu lillāhi rabb al-‘ālamīn al-rahmān al-rahīm. mālik yawm al-dīn iyyāka na‘budu wa iyyāka nasta‘īn. ihdina al-ṣirāt al-mustaqqīm. ḥirāṭ alladhīna an‘amta ‘alayhim ghayr al-maghḍūbi ‘alayhim wa la ‘dāllīn.*

(In the Name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. All praise be to Allāh, Lord of the worlds. The Beneficent, the Merciful. Master of the Day of Judgment. You alone do we worship, and You alone do we beg for help. Guide us on the straight path. The path of those whom You have favoured; not (the path) of those who earn Your anger nor of those who go astray.)

2. Verse of the Throne, *āyat al-kursī*

اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَةٌ وَلَا تَوْمَعُ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يُحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِّنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ وَسَعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَلَا يَئُودُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ.

*allāhu lā ilāha illā hū al-ḥayy al-qayyūm, lā ta’khudhahu sinatun wa lā nawm, lahū mā fi al-samāwāti wa mā fil-arḍ, man dhalladhi yashfa‘u ‘indahu illā bi idhnih, ya‘lamu mā bayna aydihim wa mā khalfahum, wa lā yūhītūna bi shay’in min ‘ilmihī illā bimā shā’, wasi‘a kursiyuhu al-samāwāti wal-arḍ wa lā ya’ūduhu hifzuhumā wa hū al-‘alī al-‘azīm.*

(Allāh, none is worthy of worship but He, The Ever-Living, The Self-Subsisting by Whom all subsist; slumber overtakes Him not, nor sleep; to Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth; who is he that can intercede with Him except by His permission? He knows what is before them and what is behind them,

and they encompass nothing of His knowledge, except what He wills; His Seat extends over the heavens and the earth, and He is never weary of preserving them both; and He is the Most High, the Supreme.)

3. Q. 2:285-6 (*al-Baqara*)

آمَنَ الرَّسُولُ بِمَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ رَبِّهِ وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ كُلُّ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَمَلَائِكَتِهِ وَكُتُبِهِ وَرَسُولِهِ لَا  
تُفَرِّقُ بَيْنَ أَحَدٍ مِنْ رُسُولِهِ وَقَالُوا سَمِعْنَا وَأَطْعَنَا غُفرَانَكَ رَبَّنَا وَإِلَيْكَ الْمَصِيرُ. لَا يُكَلِّفُ اللَّهُ  
نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَعَلَيْهَا مَا اكْتَسَبَتْ رَبَّنَا لَا تُؤَاخِذْنَا إِنْ نَسِيْنَا أَوْ أَخْطَأْنَا رَبَّنَا  
وَلَا تَحْمِلْ عَلَيْنَا إِصْرًا كَمَا حَمَلْتُهُ عَلَى الْذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِنَا رَبَّنَا وَلَا تُحَمِّلْنَا مَالًا طَاقَةَ لَنَا بِهِ  
وَاعْفُ عَنَّا وَاغْفِرْ لَنَا وَارْحَمْنَا أَنْتَ مَوْلَانَا فَانْصُرْنَا عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الْكَافِرِينَ.

*āman al-rasūlu bi mā unzila ilayhī min rabbihī wal-mu'minūn, kullun āmana  
billāhi wa malā'i katibihī wa kutubihī wa rusulih, lā nufarriqu bayna aḥadin min  
rusulih, wa qālu samī' nā wa aṭā' nā ghufrānaka rabbana wa ilayka al-maṣīr.  
lā yukallif ullāhu nafsan illā wus'aḥā, lahā mā kasabat wa 'alayhā mak tasabat,  
rabbana lā tū'ākhidhnā in nasīnā aw akhṭā' nā, rabbanā wa lā taḥmil 'alaynā  
iṣrān kamā ḥamal tāhū 'ala 'lladhi nā min qablinā, rabanā wa la tuḥammilnā ma  
lā ṭaqata lanā bih, wa 'fū 'annā waghfirlanā warhamnā, anta mawlānā fansurnā  
'ala 'l-qawm al-kāfirīn.*

The Messenger believed in what was revealed to him from his Lord, and (so did) the believers; they all believed in Allāh and His Angels and His Books and His Messengers; they said, ‘we make no distinction between any of His Messengers’; and they said: ‘we hear and we obey, grant us Your forgiveness Our Lord, and to You is the eventual return.’

Allāh does not place upon any soul a burden but to the extent of its capacity; for it is (the benefit of) what it has earned, and against it (the evil of) what it has wrought:

Our Lord! Do not punish us if we forget or make a mistake, Our Lord! Do not lay on us such a burden as You did lay on those before us; Our Lord! Do not impose upon

us that which we do not have the strength to bear; and pardon us and grant us

forgiveness and have mercy on us, You are our Protector, so help us against those who do not believe.

#### 4. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ، لَهُ الْمُلْكُ وَلَهُ الْحَمْدُ يُخْيِي وَيُمْتِي وَهُوَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ  
قَدِيرٌ.

*lā ilāha illa wahdahu lā sharīka lahu 'l-mulk wa lahu 'l-hamdu wa huwa 'alā  
kulli shay'in qadīr.*

None is worthy of worship except Allāh, He is One, He has no partner, His is the Kingdom and His is the praise, He gives life and He causes death and He is Powerful over all things.

#### 5. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَلَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ.

*subḥān allāh wal-ḥamdu lillāh wa lā 'ilāha illa allāh wallāhu akbar.*

Glory be to Allāh, praise be to Allāh, and none is worthy of worship except Allāh, and Allāh is Greater.

6. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَبِحَمْدِهِ سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ.

*subḥān allāh wa bi ḥamdihi subḥān allāh al-`azīm.*

Glory be to Allāh with His (Own) Praise; Glory be to Allāh, the Exalted.

7. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

رَبَّنَا اغْفِرْ لَنَا وَتُبْ عَلَيْنَا إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ التَّوَابُ الرَّحِيمُ.

*rabbana `ghfir lanā wa tub `alaynā innaka anta `l-tawwāb al-raḥīm.*

Our Lord, forgive us and relent towards us; truly, You are the Forgiver, the Merciful.

8. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ، اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمْ.

*allāhumma ṣalli `alā muhammad allāhum ṣalli `alayh wa sallim.*

O Allāh bestow blessings on Muḥammad, O Allāh bestow blessings on him and peace.

9. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

أَعُوذُ بِكَلِمَاتِ اللَّهِ التَّامَّاتِ مِنْ شَرِّ مَا حَلَقَ.

*a`ūdhu bi kalimāt illāh al-tāmmāti min sharr mā khalaq.*

I take refuge in the complete words of Allāh from the evil in what He has created.

10. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الَّذِي لَا يَضُرُّ مَعَ اسْمِهِ شَيْءٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ  
الْعَلِيمُ.

*bismillāh alladhi lā yaḍurru ma` ismihī shay'un fil-arḍi wa lā fil-samā'i wa huwa  
al-samī` al-`alīm.*

In the Name of Allāh Who causes no harm to come together with His Name from anything whatsoever in earth or in heaven, for He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing.

11. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

رَضِيَّنَا بِاللَّهِ رَبِّا وَبِالْإِسْلَامِ دِينًا وَبِمُحَمَّدٍ نَبِيًّا.

*radīnā billāhi rabbā wa bil-islāmi dīnā wa bi muhammadin nabiyyā.*

We are content with Allāh as Lord, and with Islām as religion, and with Muḥammad as Prophet.

12. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَالْخَيْرُ وَالشَّرُّ بِمَشِيرَةِ اللَّهِ.

*bismillāh wal-hamdu lillāh wal-khayr wal-shar bi mashī'atillāh.*

In the Name of Allāh, praise be to Allāh, and the good and the evil are by the Will of Allāh.

13. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

آمَنَّا بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ تُبَّنَّا إِلَى اللَّهِ بَاطِنًا وَظَاهِرًا.

*āmannā billāh wal-yawm al-ākhiri tubnā ilā allāhi bātinan wa zāhira.*

We believe in Allāh and in the Last Day; we repent to Allāh secretly and openly.

14. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

يَا رَبَّنَا وَاعْفُ عَنَّا وَامْحُ الذَّيْنَ كَانُوكُنَا.

*yā rabbanā wa'fū 'annā wamhu 'lladhī kāna minnā,*

O Our Lord, pardon us, and wipe out whatever (sins) we may have committed.

15. *dhikr* repeated seven times:

يَا ذَا الْحَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ أَمِنَّا عَلَى دِينِ إِسْلَامِ.

*yā dhal-jalāli wal-ikrām amitnā 'alā dīn al-islām.*

O The Possessor of Majesty and Honour, cause us to die in the religion of Islām.

16. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

يَا قَوِيُّ يَا مَتِينُ إِكْفُرْ شَرَّ الطَّالِمِينَ.

*yā qawiyyu yā matīn ikfir sharr al-zālimīn.*

O Most Mighty, Most Authoritative One, protect us from the evil of the unjust.

17. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

أَصْلَحَ اللَّهُ أُمُورَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ صَرَفَ اللَّهُ شَرَّ الْمُؤْذِنِينَ.

*aşlaḥ allāhu umūr al-muslimīn şaraf allāhu shar al-mu'ḍhīn.*

May Allāh improve the affairs of the Muslims, may Allāh turn away the evil of the harmful.

18. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

يَا عَلِيُّ يَا كَبِيرُ  
يَا عَلِيُّ يَا قَدِيرُ  
يَا سَمِيعٌ يَا بَصِيرٌ يَا لَطِيفٌ يَا خَبِيرٌ.

*yā 'aliyyu yā kabīr, yā 'alīmu yā qadīr, yā samī'u yā bāṣir, yā laṭīfu yā khabīr.*

O Most High, O the Most Great, O All-Knowing, O All-Powerful, O All-Hearing, O All-Seeing, O Most Gentle, O Most Aware.

19. *dhikr* repeated thrice:

يَا فَارِجَ الْهَمٌ يَا كَاْشِفَ الْعَمَّ يَا مَنْ لِعَبْدِهِ يَغْفِرُ وَيَرْحَمُ.

*yā fārij al-hamm yā kāshif al-gham yā man li'abdihi yaghfir wa yarham.*

O Dispeller of anxiety, Remover of grief, O the One Who, to His servant, is Forgiving and Merciful.

20. *dhikr* repeated four times:

أَسْتَغْفِرُ اللَّهَ رَبِّ الْبَرَّ إِيَّاً أَسْتَغْفِرُ اللَّهَ مِنَ الْخَطَايَا.

*astaghfirullāha rabb al-barāyā astaghfirullāha min al-khaṭāyā.*

I seek the forgiveness of Allāh, Lord of all creation. I seek forgiveness of Allāh for all mistakes.

21. *dhikr* fifty times:

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ.

*lā ilāha illa allāh.*

There is none worthy of worship but Allāh.

22. closing of *lā ilāha illa allāh* with:

مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَشَرَفٌ وَكَرَمٌ وَمَجْدٌ وَعَظَمٌ وَرَضِيَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَنْ أَلٍ وَأَصْحَابِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أَجْمَعِينَ، وَالثَّائِبِينَ وَتَابِعِ التَّائِبِينَ يَإِلَيْهِ حُسْنَانٌ مِنْ يَوْمِنَا هَذَا إِلَى يَوْمِ الدِّينِ وَعَلَيْنَا مَعْهُمْ وَفِيهِمْ بِرَحْمَتِكَ يَا أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ.

*muhammadun rasūl allāh ṣalla allāhu 'alayhī wa sallāma wa sharrafa wa karrama wa majjada wa 'azzama wa rādī allāhu ta'ālā 'an āl wa ašhabi rasūlillāhī ajma'in, wal tābi'iñā bi ihsānin min yawmina hādha ilā yawm al-dīn wa 'alaynā ma'ahum wa fīhim bi rahmatika yā arḥam al-rāhiṁīn.*

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allāh, blessings and peace of Allāh be upon him and his descendants; and may He honour, ennable, glorify and exalt him, and may He be pleased with his purified Household, and with his rightly guided Companions, and with those who followed them with excellence till the Day of Judgment.

23. Qur'ān (Q. 112 thrice, followed by 113 and 114 once):

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ。 قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ。 اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ。 لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُوْلَدْ.  
وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُواً أَحَدٌ.

*qul hū allāhu aḥad. allāhu 'l-ṣamad. lam yalid wa lam yūlad. wa lam yakum lahū kufuwan aḥad.*

In the Name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Say: He, Allāh, is One. Allāh, the Eternally Besought. He begets not, nor is He begotten, and there is none like Him.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ الْفَلَقِ، مِنْ شَرِّ مَا خَلَقَ، وَمِنْ شَرِّ  
غَاسِقٍ إِذَا وَقَبَ، وَمِنْ شَرِّ النَّفَاثَاتِ  
فِي الْعُقَدِ، وَمِنْ شَرِّ حَاسِدٍ إِذَا حَسَدَ.

*qul a'udhu bi rab al-falaq. min sharri mā khalaq. wa min sharri ghāsiqin idhā waqab. wa min sharr al-nafāthāti fil 'uqad. wa min sharri ḥāsidin idha ḥasad.*

In the Name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Say: I take refuge with the Lord of the daybreak, from the evil of what He has created, and from the evil of the darkness when it gathers, and from the evil of those who blow on knots (practicing witchcraft), and from the evil of the envious when he envies.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ النَّاسِ، مَلِكِ النَّاسِ، إِلَهِ النَّاسِ، مِنْ شَرِّ الْوَسْوَاسِ الْخَنَّاسِ، الَّذِي يُوَسْوِسُ فِي صُدُورِ النَّاسِ، مِنَ الْجِنَّةِ وَالنَّاسِ.

*qul a'ūdhu bi rabb al-nāss. malik al-nāss. ilāh al-nāss. min shar al-waswas al-khannās. alladhi yuwaswisu fi ṣudūr al-nāss. min al-jinnati wal-nās.*

#### 24. Prayer for the Muslims:

الفاتحة

إِلَى كَافَّةِ عِبَادِ اللَّهِ الصَّالِحِينَ وَالْوَالِدِينَ وَجَمِيعِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمُسْلِمَاتِ أَنَّ اللَّهَ يَغْفِرُ لَهُمْ وَيَرْحَمُهُمْ وَيَنْفَعُنَا بِأَسْرَارِهِمْ وَبَرَكَاتِهِمْ.

*al-fātiha ilā kāfati 'ibādillāh al-ṣāliḥīn wal-wālidīn wa jamī' al-mu'minā wal-mu'mināt wal-muslimāna wal-muslimāt ann allāha yaghfir lahum wa yarhamhum wa yanfa'unā bi asrārihim wa barakātihim.*

The Opener to the souls of all the righteous servants of Allāh, and our parents, and all the believing men and believing women, and Muslim men and Muslim women that Allāh forgives them and has mercy upon them and benefits us by them and by their secrets and their blessings.

#### 25. Closing *dhikr* repeated thrice:

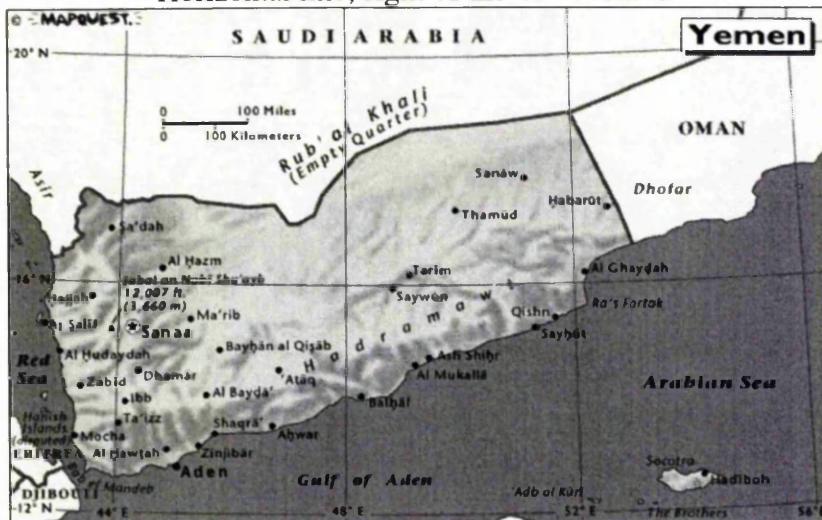
اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّا نَسْأَلُكَ رِضَاكَ وَالْجَنَّةَ وَنَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ سَخْطِكَ وَالنَّارِ.

*allāhumma innā nas'aluka ridāka wal-janna wa na'ūdhu bika min sakhatika wal-nār.*

O Allāh, we beseech You for Your Good Pleasure and Paradise, and we seek Your Protection from Your displeasure and the Hell-fire.

## Appendix C Yemen Map

Tarīm, the home of Imām al-Haddād and the Āl Bā 'Alawī, is on the 16° Horizontal line, right of the 48° Vertical.

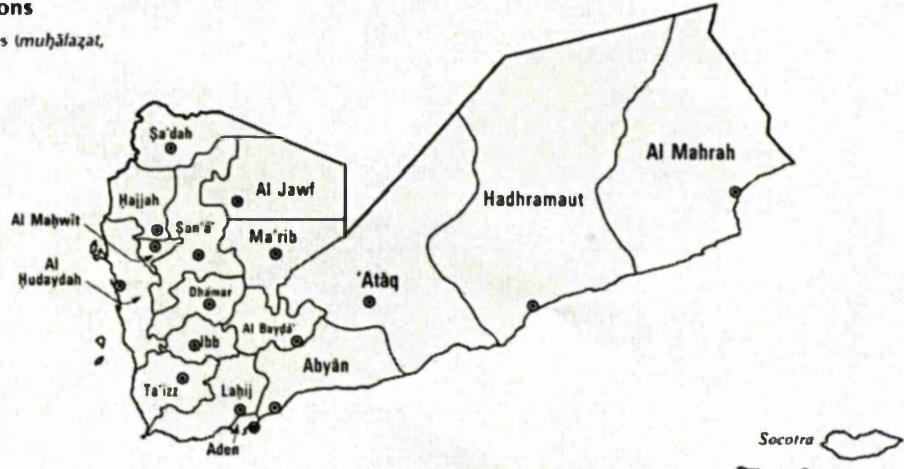


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### Administrative Divisions

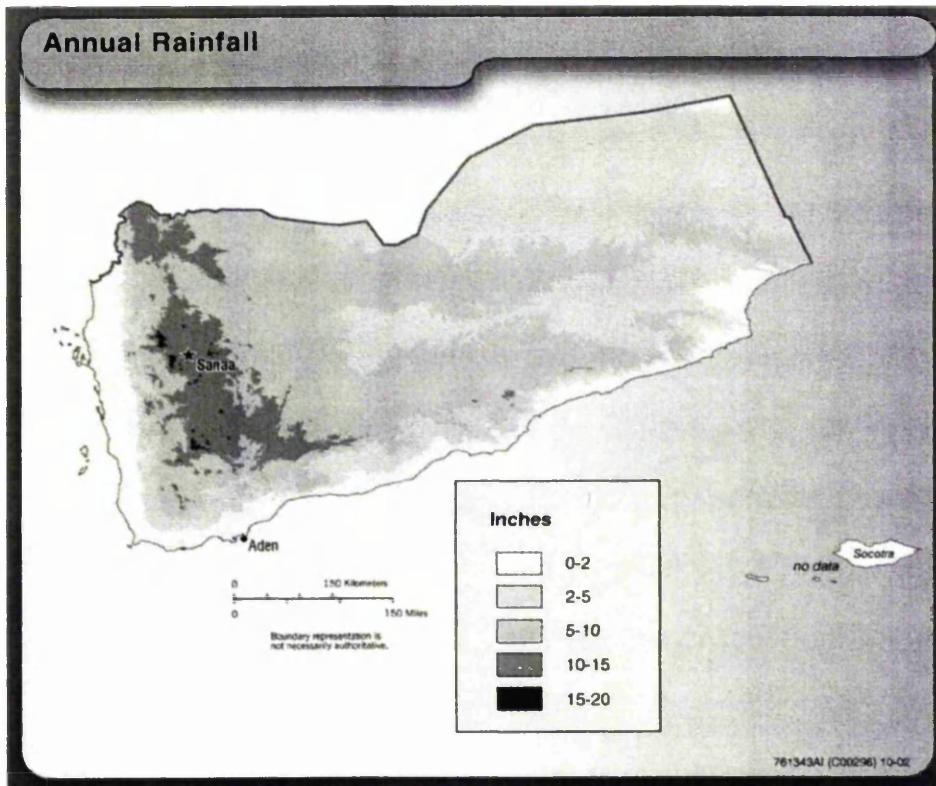
Yemen has 17 governorates (*muḥāfaẓat*, singular *muḥāfaẓah*).

● Governorate capital



Socotra and adjacent islands are part of Aden Governorate.

Another Yemen map showing its different districts. The first Zaydī Imām settled in Sa'da; the Zaydī center is Ṣan'a'. Mocha, which is on the coastal border of al-Hudaydah and Ta'izz, along with Aden were centers of the coffee trade. Hadramawt is to the east ([www.lib.utexas.edu/maps](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps)).

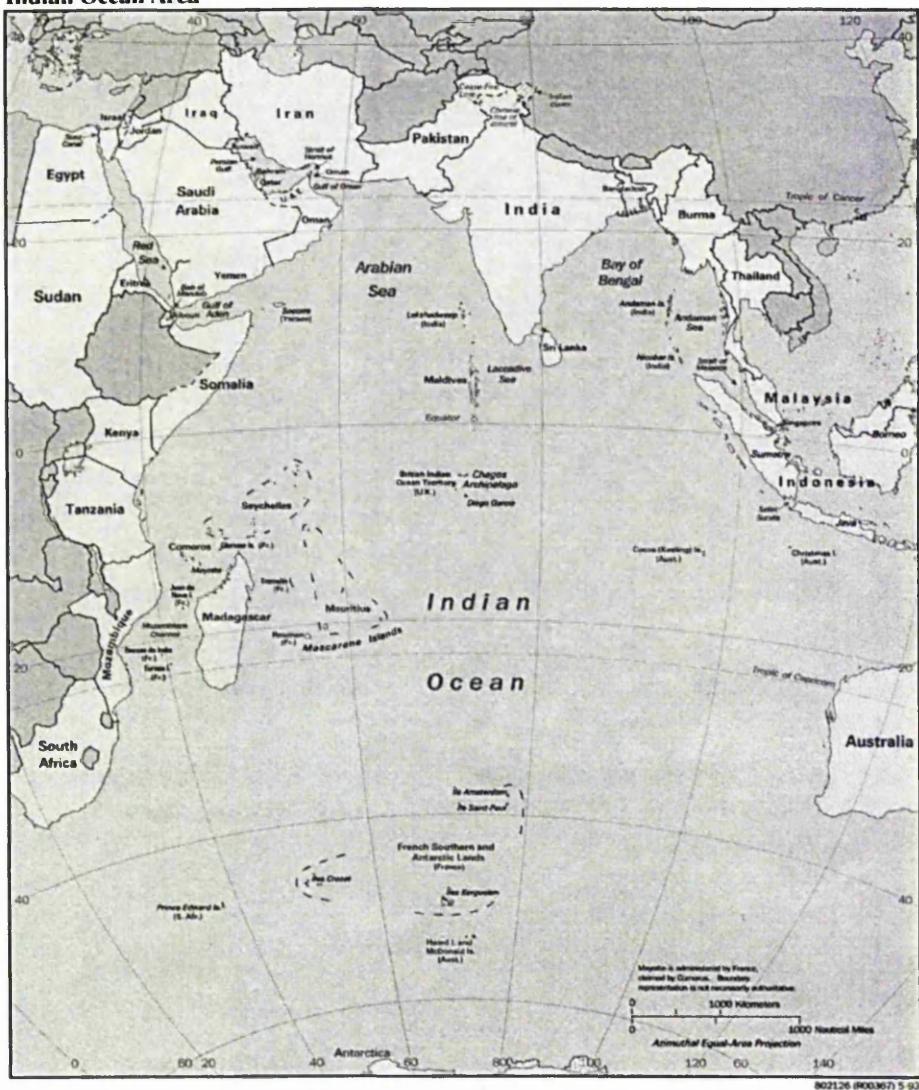


This map shows how the greenery in Yemen is to the west. Hadramawt is barren ([www.lib.utexas.edu/maps](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps)).

## Appendix D

South East Asia, the foremost destination for Bā'Alawī migration. Hadramīs travelled south-east to the southern parts of India, then from there, south-east again to Indonesia and Malaysia.

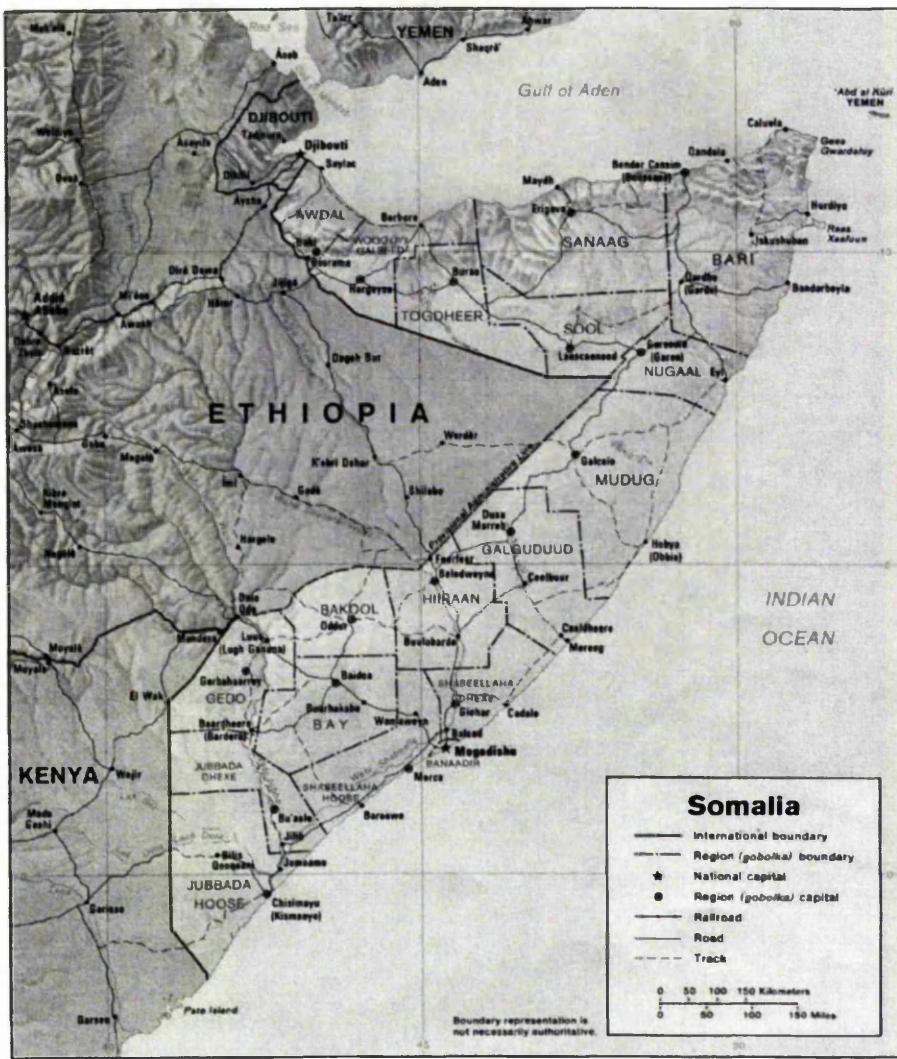
**Indian Ocean Area**



[www.lib.utexas.edu/maps](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps)

## Appendix E

East Africa, the second foremost destination of Bā 'Alawī migration. Barawa, one of the fist places Imām al-Haddād's books were taught to the west of Yemen, is nearly 150 miles south of Mogadishu.



[www.lib.utexas.edu/maps](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps)

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