

THE «SOVEREIGNTY OF THE IMAMATE»
(*SIYĀDAT AL-IMĀMA*)
OF THE JAZŪLIYYA-GHAZWĀNIYYA: A SUFI
ALTERNATIVE TO SHARIFISM?

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At the end of the fifteenth century, the juridical Sufi Aḥmad Zarrūq (d. 899/1493) wrote the following critique of Moroccan Sufism in *ar-Radd 'alā ahl al-bid'a*:

Our concern is with a particular clique which overran and spread throughout this our Maghrib in both rural and urban areas, and much more in the rural areas. This was invented by certain people to benefit from the rulers of this world. They started gathering the ignorant and vulgar, male and female, whose hearts are blank and whose minds are immature. They instilled into them from a religious point of view the belief that repentance is to be had by shaving the head, gobbling up food, gathering for banquets, invoking by turn, utterances and cries, using the mantles and beads, making a show of themselves, and holding that so-and-so is their master and that there is no other master save him. They tour the country, and whenever they arrive at a populated area they start invoking by turn, as sheep and cattle are slaughtered for them. They move from one place to another with their servants, some of them on their horses. They assert that by this they revive and display religion, while persuading the vulgar to believe that the ulama are obstructing the way to God, and warn the ignorant against them. So they became enemies of the learned and learning. They are disunited because of the plenitude of their Shaikhs, and ramified into different groups, each group drawn up behind its Shaikh, speaking ill of the other group and its Shaikh. Thus enmity and hatred occurred among the Shaikhs to the degree that each of them wishes to drink the blood of the other. That is because of the rulers of this world. They have sold the Hereafter for this world and led astray many of God's creatures and corrupted their faith. God said: «Those who cancel what God has revealed of the Book and sell it for a paltry price —they shall eat naught but fire in their bellies. God shall not speak to them on the Day of Resurrection nor purify them and there awaits them a painful chastisement» [Qur'ān II (*al-Baqara*), 174] ¹.

¹ Ali F. Khushaim, *Zarrūq the Sufi* (Tripoli, 1976), 191. This passage has been corrected for orthographical and syntactical errors.

This polemic describes the background to what Clifford Geertz, following a long tradition of colonial scholarship, has referred to as the «Maraboutic Crisis» –the attempt by Moroccan Sufis from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries to challenge the political authority of the state². There is little doubt that the object of Zarrūq's criticism is the Tabbā'iyya, or the followers of 'Abd al-'Azīz at-Tabbā' (d. 914/1508-9), the successor to Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 869/1465) as leader of the Jazūliyya Sufi order. But what does this description of Moroccan Sufism really tell us? Must we take Zarrūq's critique at face value and assume that Sufi populism was as ignorant and worldly as he suggests? Or does other evidence provide a different image?

In the generation after Zarrūq an Algerian Sufi named 'Abdallāh al-Khayyāṭ (d. 939/1533) settled in Morocco and founded a zāwiya on the Zerhoun massif outside of the city of Meknès. *Jawāhir as-simāṭ*, a seventeenth-century exploit-narrative (Ar. *manqaba*, pl. *manāqib*) of this saint, paints a picture of Sufi populism that is significantly different from that of Zarrūq:

At the zāwiya of [al-Khayyāṭ] there were about a thousand people who had memorized the Qur'an (*ḥamalāt al-Qur'ān*), such that on every tree and rock in the forest near his house one could find two or three students reciting the Qur'an. Formal teaching (*tadrīs al-'ilm*) went on non-stop at his zāwiya every day. Usually, the shaykh taught the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd [al-Qayrawānī] and the *Ḥikam* of Ibn 'Aṭā'illāh [al-Iskandarī]. However, the students had to rely on [other instructors] at the zāwiya for [most of] their studies because the shaykh would often rise [from his lectures] in a spiritual state (*ḥāl*) and go off into seclusion»³.

Here one can find no evidence of Sufi populism's supposed enmity toward the learned and learning. Quite the opposite; it seems as if al-Khayyāṭ's principal mission in life was educational. Yet according to Zarrūq's critique of Moroccan Sufism, this should not have been the case. On the surface, al-Khayyāṭ seems to have been the very type of sufi that Zarrūq disliked the most. In the first place, he was an ecstatic, a detail that is proven by his habit of cutting short his lectures and abando-

² See Geertz, C., *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (Chicago, 1973), 8-9.

³ Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāṭī ar-Rīfī, *Kuṭub jawāhir as-simāṭ fī dhikr manāqib Sīdī 'Abdallāh al-Khayyāṭ* (Rabat, Bibliothèque Générale et Archives, ms. 1185D), 10r. On this work and its author, see Lévi-Provençal, E., *Les Historiens des Chorfa* (Rabat reprint, 1991), 331.

ning his students in a state of *ḥāl*. In addition, he belonged to two Sufi orders that often received the censure of Moroccan ulama: the Jazūliyya through an Arab disciple of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī called «Sīdī Ḥasan Ajāna», and the Rāshidiyya-Milyāniyya via the Algerian ecstatic Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Milyānī (d. 929/1523) ⁴.

But there was more to al-Khayyāt's Sufism than merely ecstatic behaviour or populism. This shaykh was also an accomplished intellectual who was well-trained in the mystical traditions of the Mashriq. He was introduced to the teachings of the Rifā'iyya Sufi order by his father, who had lived for thirty years in Egypt. While there, his father even studied under Aḥmad Zarrūq ⁵. What is more, al-Khayyāt's most important teacher, the ecstatic Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Milyānī, was also a disciple of Zarrūq. Far from being an opponent of the state, al-Khayyāt remained loyal to the powers of his day and sought to make peace between the Marinid-Wattasid rulers of Fez and their rivals, the Sa'dian Sharifs. He even went so far as to counsel other Sufis to stay out of politics, saying, «Brothers, disagreement causes enmity and enmity brings trouble; so leave the power over worldly affairs to the princes» ⁶.

Clearly, the phenomenon of Sufi populism was more complex than Aḥmad Zarrūq cared to admit. This should not come as a surprise to the student of Moroccan Sufism, for populism has characterized this tradition since its inception. Many shaykhs saw themselves not only as teachers of disciples, but also as social reformers and active, if often reluctant, players in the political arena.

For a juridically-trained Sufi like Zarrūq, who was deeply scarred by the revolution of 869/1465, which resulted in the murder of the Marinid sultan 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II, the sacking of the Jewish quarter in Fez, and the temporary rise to power of the Idrisid Sharifs, the charisma of the Sufi shaykh was potentially dangerous. As a scholar, Zarrūq was a product of the apparatus of legal education created by the Marinid ulama and was heavily invested in the regime of authority that had upheld the primacy of Maliki jurisprudence and sultanic power for more than

⁴ ar-Rifī, *Jawāhir as-simāt*, 8v-10v.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 4v-4r.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 14v. Despite his quietism, al-Khayyāt may have been murdered by the Sa'dians because he did not support them strongly enough. See Muḥammad Ibn 'Askar, *Dawḥat an-nāshir li-mahāsīn man kāna fi'l-Maghrib min mashā'ikh al-qarn al-āshir* (Rabat, 1977), 83.

two centuries⁷. The idea that an alternative model of authority might be found outside of this apparatus worried him. After all, as 'Abdallāh al-Khayyāt said, competition breeds conflict and conflict breeds disorder (*fitna*), the ultimate nightmare of the ulama⁸.

This fear was far from unsubstantiated. Many fifteenth and sixteenth century Moroccan Sufis were indeed noted for challenging the apparatuses of power and control. Such a challenge can be seen, for example, in the introduction to *Wazīfat al-Jazūliyya al-Ghazwāniyya*, the only original collection of litanies from the Jazūliyya Sufi order still in existence. This work was compiled by Muḥammad al-Harwī aṭ-Ṭālib (d. 964/1557), who was the *muqaddam* of the Jazūliyya zāwiya in Fez. Popularly known as «Sīdī Muḥammad Ṭālib», he was a close associate of the Jazūlite master 'Abdallāh al-Ghazwānī (d. 935/1528-9), who was a bitter enemy of the Marinid-Wattasid regime. In the following selection from al-Harwī's *wazīfa*, there is little doubt that it is the Sufi shaykhs, and not the sultan or the ulama, who possess the most privileged form of authority:

[The Sufi shaykhs] are the crowns of the kingdom (*tijān al-mamlaka*) and the moons of existence (*aqmār al-wujūd*), illuminating [the earth] with the light of their inheritance from and adherence to the honest and trustworthy Messenger (may Allah bless and preserve him). They are the followers of [Allah's] Straight Path and guides to the Noble Master. He who agrees to follow and serve them will attain the full recompense of the One who gives birth to no sons; but the one who rejects them and falls from their way has stumbled into a great ocean and a bottomless pit and has brought upon himself a grievous punishment and a terrible calamity⁹.

This passage illustrates the highly sectarian nature of Jazūlite ideology, which dominated Moroccan Sufism throughout the sixteenth century. In a previous article, I focused on 'Abdallāh al-Ghazwānī's career as a political activist and how this related to his role as a spiritual exem-

⁷ On the background of the terms «aparatus» and «regime» see Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, Colin Gordon, ed. and trans. (New York, 1980), 92-108.

⁸ On the fear of *fitna* among premodern ulama see Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge, 1994), 91-107, 162-174.

⁹ Muḥammad al-Harwī al-Fāsī, *Wazīfat al-Jazūliyya al-Ghazwāniyya* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. 1201), 1v-3r. This manuscript is dated 1011/1600.

plar and imam for Morocco as a whole ¹⁰. Here, I will concentrate on the Jazūlite doctrine of paradigmatic sainthood (*qutbiyya*), which legitimized the political actions of populist shaykhs during the so-called «Maraboutic Crisis». This doctrine was the result of an attempt to harmonize two competing models of authority. The first model was based on the Muḥammad paradigm of Islam as elaborated in a long tradition of writing by both mystics and jurists. According to this view, authority was an acquired property, and was vested in the «man of knowledge» (*‘ālim*) who most completely conformed to the prophetic archetype. The second model, by contrast, was based on ascribed authority, which was conceived as an inborn grace (*baraka*) that was passed on in the Prophet’s bloodline. This «Sharifian» model of authority was assimilated into Moroccan Sufism through the influence of the Shādhiliyya and Qādiriyya Sufi orders, whose founders saw Prophetic descent as a potential indicator of sainthood and spiritual leadership.

In Jazūlite doctrine, both ascribed and acquired forms of authority were considered valid, and were seen as twin facets of the «prophetic inheritance» (*wirātha nabawiyya*) of the Muslim saint. Within the framework of this system, where saintly authority could be both ascribed and acquired, the shaykhs of the Jazūliyya posed a powerful challenge to the authority structures of their day. The Ghazwāniyya branch of the Jazūliyya possessed the most developed form of this ideology and contested the authority of political and religious figures through their doctrine of the «Sovereignty of the Imamate» (*siyādat al-imāma*). According to this theory of leadership, the axial saint (*qutb*) of Moroccan Sufism—rather than the sultan or the ulama—exercised authority over Morocco as the successor (*khalīfa*) to the prophet Muḥammad and the interpreter of the word of God. By thus taking on some of the attributes of the Shi’ite Imam, he functioned as a divinely-guided «trustee of Islam», much like the jurist (*faqīh*) in Ayatollah Khomeini’s *vilāyat-i faqīh* ¹¹.

The concept of the «imitatio Muhammadi», or imitation of the Prophet Muḥammad, upon which the Jazūlite model of acquired autho-

¹⁰ See Cornell, V. J., «Mystical Doctrine and Political Action in Moroccan Sufism: The Role of the Exemplar in the *Ṭariqa al-Jazūliyya*», *Al-Qanṭara*, 13 (1), 1992, 201-231.

¹¹ The full exposition of this doctrine can be found in Khomeini’s treatise «Islamic Government» (*ḥukūmat-i islāmī*). See Ruhollah Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution: Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini*, Hamid Algar, trans. and ed. (Berkeley, California, 1981), 27-168. On the concept of the «trustee of Islam» see 146.

rity was based, has a long history in Islam¹². Imitating the Prophet as a «beautiful example» (*uswa ḥasana*) is enjoined on Muslims in the Qurʾān and provides the basis for both hadīth science and Islamic jurisprudence¹³. Among Sufis, adherence to the Muḥammadan paradigm came to involve the complete assimilation of the Prophetic Sunna— a practice which included Muḥammad’s actions, words, and judgments, as well as the divinely-inspired consciousness that gave rise to them. Throughout the premodern period, many Sufis became famous for following the Sunna to a degree far exceeding that of the ordinary believer.

This attitude is reflected in the writings of a number of early mystics, such as the Iranian Sufi Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāj (d. 378/988). This systematizer of the Sufi path included a «Book of the Example and Imitation of the Messenger of God» (*Kitāb al-uswa wa’l-iqtidā’ bi-Rasūl Allāh*) in his influential *Kitāb al-luma*¹⁴. For as-Sarrāj, Muḥammad is the archetype for all of humanity. Thus, his example must be emulated in every possible way. This means not only patterning one’s behavior on the ritualistic aspects of the Muḥammadan Sunna but also adhering to the Prophet’s etiquette, his moral and spiritual states, and even his inner realities¹⁵. Indeed, says as-Sarrāj, it is only by making their own natures conform to the Prophetic nature that Sufis can be compared to Muḥammad’s Companions¹⁶.

The Muḥammadan paradigm is also integral to the concept of Sharīfism. This second model of authority, which has become distinctive to Moroccan Islam, grew out of a regional tradition of veneration for the descendants of the Prophet (Mor. Ar. *sharīf*, pl. *shurafā*) that dates to the second Islamic century. It would be a mistake, however, to conceive of this tradition as something that emerged *sui-generis* out of the Moroccan cultural substrate. Rather, it seems to have come about as the result of a promotional campaign conducted by the descendants of the first Sharīfian ruler of Morocco, «Mūlāy» Idrīs ibn ‘Abdallāh (d. 177/793).

¹² On this term, see Schimmel, A., *And Muḥammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1985), 32-55, 61.

¹³ Cf. Qurʾān, XXXIII (*al-Aḥzāb*), 21.

¹⁴ Abū Naṣr ibn ‘Alī as-Sarrāj at-Tūsī, *The Kitāb al-Lumā’ fī’l-Taṣawwuf*, R. A. Nicholson, ed. (London reprint, 1963), 93-95.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 94-95.

The Idrisids of Morocco are direct descendants of Muḥammad's grandson al-Ḥasan (d. ca. 49/669). When Idrīs I fled the Arabian peninsula for the Far Maghrib, he carried with him a form of archaic Shi'ism that was similar to Zaydism¹⁷. He and his successors rejected the Husaynid imamate advocated by Ismā'īlī and Ithnā' Asharī Shi'ites in favor of a specifically Hasanid model of legitimacy. The birth of this doctrine can be traced to a widespread uprising of al-Ḥasan's descendants after the death of Mūlāy Idrīs's father, 'Abdallāh al-Kāmil in 143/760-61¹⁸. The Idrisids' own, unique claim to authority can be dated at least to the year 197/812, when a coin was minted that designated Idrīs II as the *mahdī*¹⁹. The exclusive nature of the Idrisid *da'wa* is also illustrated by a tradition which recounts the admonition given by Idrīs II to the Awraba Berbers when they pledged their support for him at Walīlī in 188/804: «Do not submit to anyone other than ourselves, for the establishment of [God's] truth (*iqāmat al-ḥaqq*) that you seek is only to be found in us»²⁰.

The Idrisid model of authority is directly linked to the Muḥammadan paradigm in accounts detailing the imamate of Mūlāy Idrīs II (d. 213/829). In works of Idrisid hagiography, such as *Nazm ad-durr wa'l-īqyān* by the Algerian Abū 'Abdallāh at-Tanasī (d. 899/1494), this imam and his descendants are portrayed as the prime exemplars of the Muḥammadan Sunna. As the following passage from at-Tanasī's work demonstrates, this exemplarity was based on virtues that were seen as byproducts of a genealogically-acquired Muḥammadan *baraka*:

¹⁷ Although Hasanid Shi'ism has much in common with Zaydism, the two are not the same, as suggested in Mortel, R. T., «Zaydi Shi'ism and the Ḥasanid Sharifs of Mecca», *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 19 [4], 1987, 455-472. Proof of this difference can be found in the lack of interest shown by later Idrisid historians in the revolt of Zayd ibn 'Alī (d. 124/740), a stance that an actual Zaydi would never take.

¹⁸ Several Hasanid uprisings against the 'Abbasids took place in the year 169/785-6, and were precipitated by the revolt of 'Abdallāh al-Kāmil's nephew al-Ḥusayn in Medina. This was followed by the rising of Yaḥyā ibn 'Abdallāh al-Kāmil in Daylam and that of his brother Muḥammad an-Nafs az-Zakiyya in Mecca. See aṭ-Ṭāhir ibn 'Abd as-Salām al-Lihīwī, *Ḥiṣn as-salām bayna yaday awlād Mūlāy 'Abd as-Salām* (Casablanca, 1976), 245-252.

¹⁹ García-Arenal, M. and Manzano Moreno, E., «Iḍrīssime et villes Iḍrīssides», *Studia Islamica* (82), 1995, 14.

²⁰ Abd al-Ḥamīd Ḥajjiyyāt, «Tārīkh ad-dawla al-Idrīsiyya min khilāl kitāb 'Nazm ad-durr wa'l-īqyān' li-Abī 'Abdallāh at-Tanasī (d. 899/1494)», *Majallat at-tārīkh* (Algiers), 1980 (9), 29. See also, al-Lihīwī, *Ḥiṣn as-salām*, 256.

[Said Dāwūd ibn al-Wāsim, a companion of Mūlāy Idrīs II]: I was amazed by what I saw of [Mūlāy Idrīs's] bravery, strength, and firmness of resolve. Then he turned toward me and said, «Oh Dāwūd, why is it that I see you staring at me so much?» I said, «Oh Imam, I am amazed at the qualities in you that I have seen in no one else». «What are they?» he asked. «Your goodness, your beauty, the firmness of your intellect, the openness of your demeanor, and your determination in fighting the enemy», I answered. Then he said: «Oh Dāwūd, what you have seen is what we have inherited from the *baraka* of our ancestor the Messenger (may God bless and preserve him) and from his prayers for us and blessing upon us. This [the Prophet] has passed on as a legacy to our father, the Imam ʿAlī (may God honor his countenance)»²¹.

A direct link between the Idrisid model of authority and Moroccan Sufism was established by the Banū Mizwār Sharifs of the northern Moroccan region of Ghumāra. The ancestor of this branch of the Idrisids, Aḥmad Mizwār, was a great-grandson of Idrīs II who settled in the late ninth century at a site known as Ḥajar an-Nasr (Escarpment of the Eagle)²². As the name *mizwār* (Ber. leader or spokesman) implies, this ascetic is said to have exercised spiritual authority over the Ṣanhāja Berber tribes of Ahl Sarīf, Banū Yūsuf and Sumāta. When the chiefs of these tribes asked him to choose a member of his family to live among them and favor them with the *baraka* of the Prophet, he selected his son, «Sīdī Sellām». To honor the young Sharif, who had recently married, the tribes renamed themselves «Banū ʿArūs» (Sons of the Bridegroom), the appellation by which they are known today²³.

For the next century and a half, the descendants of Sīdī Sellām established themselves among the Banū ʿArūs while maintaining a reputation for holiness that was based as much on their Hasanid descent as on their pious and ascetic practices. Between the years 559/1164 and 563/1168, an ascetic named Sulaymān, but later nicknamed «Mashīsh» (Ber. Little Cat), sired a child named ʿAbd as-Salām, who would become the patron saint of Moroccan Sufism²⁴.

ʿAbd as-Salām ibn Mashīsh (d. ca. 625/1228) appears to have consciously patterned his life on the Idrisid interpretation of the Muḥammadan paradigm. Like the Prophet himself, he lived for sixty-three years. Like a potential imam, he appropriated the forms of legal

²¹ al-Lihīwī, *Ḥiṣn as-salām*, 272.

²² *Ibid.*, 278-285.

²³ *Ibid.*, 295-297.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 417-418.

and religious knowledge that comprised the epistemological foundations of Idrisid authority. This involved mastering Qur'anic studies and Maliki jurisprudence under the guidance of Banū 'Arūs Sharifs. In his middle years, 'Abd as-Salām was a *mujāhid*, or defender of the faith, and lived in Sabta, where he supported himself by transmitting his knowledge of the Qur'an to others. In the final phase of his life he embraced Sufism, and devoted twenty years to the worship and contemplation of God on the heights of Jabal al-'Alam (Flag Mountain). This period culminated in his encounter with his only disciple, the fellow Idrisid and founder of the Shādhiliyya Sufi order, Abū 'l-Ḥasan ash-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258)²⁵. In the end, like other Idrisid imams in previous generations, he died as a martyr for Islam, opposing both injustice and illegitimate forms of knowledge²⁶.

Although modern scholars have tended to pass over the Sharifian aspects of Shādhilī Sufism, there is little doubt that both 'Abd as-Salām ibn Mashīsh and his student ash-Shādhilī gave great importance to their Hasanid origins. Some Egyptian sources even trace the intellectual origins of Shādhilism to the Rifā'iyya Sufi order, whose founder Aḥmad ar-Rifā'i (d. 578/1183) was also a Hasanid Sharif²⁷. As for Ibn Mashīsh's own master in Sufism, he too was a Sharif: 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aṭṭār from Sabta, who was called «az-Zayyāt» or «al-Madanī» because he resided in the oil-sellers' quarter of Medina while devoting himself to worship at the Prophet's mosque²⁸. This Muḥammadan aspect of al-Madanī's spirituality was passed on by Mūlāy 'Abd as-Salām to Abū 'l-Ḥasan ash-Shādhilī, who stated: «Were the Prophet to be veiled from me for but the blink of an eye, I would not count myself among the Muslims»²⁹.

What was the influence of these models of acquired and ascribed authority on the doctrines of the Jazūliyya Sufi order? Because most of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī's doctrinal works have not survived the passage of time, the answer to this question must be traced through the disciples of his successor, 'Abd al-'Azīz at-Tabbā'. The writings of

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 392-439.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 422-435.

²⁷ See, for example, Ḥasan ibn 'Alī Wafā' al-Ḥasanī, *Shajarat al-irshād* (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Library, Yehuda Collection, ms. 5916).

²⁸ al-Lihīwī, *Ḥiṣn as-salām*, 419. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Madanī is buried in the region of Targha on the Rifian coast, where he is known as «the *faqīh* of Mūlāy 'Abd as-Salām».

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 409.

at-Tabbās's students rely heavily on the theories of the «Perfect Human Being» (*al-insān al-kāmil*) and the «Muḥammadan Reality» (*al-ḥaqīqa al-muḥammadiyya*) as expressed by the Sufi theorists al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidhī (d. 295-300/905-910), Muḥyī' ad-dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240), and 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 805/1402-3).

The foundations of the Jazūlite model of religious authority were laid by 'Alī Ṣāliḥ al-Andalusī (d. before 914/1508-9), a refugee from Granada who preceded Muḥammad al-Harwī as head of the Jazūliyya zāwiya in Fez³⁰. In *Sharḥ raḥbat al-amān*, al-Andalusī uses al-Jīlī's concept of the «Muḥammadan Image» (*aṣ-ṣūra al-muḥammadiyya*) as the basis for a theory of paradigmatic sainthood. This appears in a lengthy commentary on a wisdom-saying (*ḥikma*) of al-Jazūlī that was known among the Jazūliyya by its opening sentence: *raḥbat al-amān ṭarīq al-aqtāb* (The Terrain of Safety is the way of the axial saints):

The Terrain of Safety is the way of the axial saints. The Terrain of Safety— above it are the Gardens, the gardens of miracles (*rawdāt al-karāmāt*). Above these are the Fields (*al-mayādīn*), the fields of those who have arrived. Above this is the Musk, the musk of those who have attained (*misk al-wāṣilīn*). Above this is the Ambergris, the ambergris of those who are brought near (*'anbar al-mutaqarrabīn*). Above this is the Moon, the moon of [Allah's] intimates (*qamar al-musta'nisīn*). Above this are the Rewards (*majālib*), the spoils (*ghanā'im*) reserved for those in [Allah's] care (*li-ahl al-'ināya*)³¹.

For al-Andalusī, this passage describes the miracles that are bestowed as rewards for Sufis who have experienced the divine presence (*al-ḥaḍra al-'aliyya*). Such rewards are only granted to Sufis who follow the path to God with «humility and submissiveness, accompanied by the ultimate in asceticism, contentment, and an unwavering adherence to orthodoxy» (*i'tiqād al-khafq fi'l-jamā'a*)³². All miracles, says al-Andalusī, ultimately derive from the knowledge of the Prophet Muḥammad. To deny that miracles exist, therefore, is to deny the Sunna of God and His Messenger: «He who is ignorant of God's acts of grace (*latā'if Allāh*) is

³⁰ Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās wa muḥādathāt al-akyās bi-man uqbira min al-'ulamā' wa's-ṣulahā' bi-Fās* (Fez lithograph, 1318/1900), vol. 2, 208.

³¹ Abū' l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ṣāliḥ al-Andalusī, *Sharḥ raḥbat al-amān* Rabat, Bibliothèque Hassania, ms. 5697 [dated 970/1563-3], 2. Copyists' errors in the transcription of this passage were corrected according to the commentary on 56-67.

³² *Ibid.*, 4-5.

ignorant of God. He who is ignorant of God is ignorant of divine guidance and the laws (*aḥkām*) of God. He who is ignorant of God and the laws of God has nearly become an unbeliever» (*fa-qad kāda yakūn kāfiran*)³³.

To achieve sainthood, the seeker must find a guide who can teach him the knowledge of Muḥammad; only then is he ready to begin his quest for enlightenment. This journey, says al-Andalusī, will consume one's entire life, for prophetic knowledge is «an ocean without a shore»³⁴. To embark upon this ocean, one must find a «boat», which are the exoteric sciences of Islam (*al-ʿulūm an-naqliyya*). In Foucauldian terms, the metaphor of the boat foregrounds the «external visage» of the dominant episteme of Islam, which is the Shariʿa. In this way, the disciplinary aspects of Sufism are brought to bear so that the potentially subversive charisma of the saint is tamed by the norms of the Law³⁵.

Submitting to the regime of the Shariʿa, the Sufi occupies himself with prayer, fasting, and invocations on behalf of the Prophet Muḥammad. In time, he progresses to the stage of legal responsibility (*taklīf*) and receives the personal invocation (*wird*) that he will use for the rest of his life. At this point, he begins to practice more advanced Sufi disciplines, such as retreat, the mortification of desires, self-criticism (*muḥāsaba*), and self-awareness (*murāqaba*). To reinforce the knowledge gained from these practices he travels frequently, befriending the members of his brotherhood and visiting other Sufi shaykhs. If they are alive, he sits at their feet and learns from them. If they are dead, he honors them with the ritual of visiting (*ziyāra*).

If he is fortunate, the seeker will eventually transcend the formal apparatuses of knowledge by witnessing God through the extinction of his personal attributes. This is the stage of what Foucault called the «insurrection of subjugated knowledge»³⁶. Here, the ordinarily suppressed «internal visage» of Sufism replaces the dominant «external visage» of Islamic praxis. In the thrall of this new and subversive know-

³³ *Ibid.*, 9-14.

³⁴ This phrase comes from a poem in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *ʿAnqā mughrib*. See Chodkiewicz, M., *An Ocean Without Shore: Ibn Arabi, the Book, and the Law* (Albany, New York, 1993), 35 and 142 n. 1. For the text of this poem (*ʿajabtu min bahrin bilā sāḥilin*), see Elmore, G. T., «The Fabulous Gryphon (*ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*) on the Seal of the Saints and the Sun Rising in the West: An Early Maghrebine Work by Ibn al-ʿArabī» (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1995), 117-121.

³⁵ See Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 97-106.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 81.

ledge, all of the socially-contextualized knowledge of the seeker is obliterated: «his essence and attributes, his names, acts, thoughts, ability, choice, determination, desires, and cares –what comes from him and through him, including his speech». The Sufi has now attained the most basic level of sainthood, which is intimacy with the Real (*walāya*). Here the seeker experiences oneness with the divine essence, his attributes merge with the divine attributes, his names merge with the divine names, and his actions are perceived as proceeding from the divine will. According to al-Andalusī, this is also the stage of miracles, for paranormal phenomena now issue forth from the saint by necessity rather than choice. These miracles are the visible signs of his sainthood and are a function of the specialized role (*takhsīs*) that he is destined to play in the social world.

Upon achieving *walāya*, the seeker becomes liberated from both body and society (in a very un-Foucaultian way) by obliterating his social self in the ultimate Truth. As he loses touch with his bodily consciousness, he becomes infused with the divine presence (*al-ḥaḍra al-ulūhiyya*). At this point, a trans-social «return of knowledge» occurs: through the awareness of ultimate oneness (*wahdāniyya*), the saint acquires knowledge of the divine attributes and understands the «meaning» of the Supreme Name (*fahm al-ism al-ʿaẓīm*)³⁷. Here, the seeker has attained the highest stage of his quest— a station that is beyond physical description and which can only be expressed metaphorically. Now known as a «friend of God» (*walī Allāh*), his external visage is replaced by that of the Prophet Muḥammad: «[Muḥammad] is their lord, their imam, their means to their Master, and the epitome of [Allah's] favor upon them. Were it not for [Muḥammad], they would not be themselves or other than themselves. For the totality of their existence is through [Muḥammad's] existence and all are illuminated by his radiance. Allah sanctifies them with the holiness of [Muḥammad's] light»³⁸.

This experience, says al-Andalusī, is what al-Jazūlī describes in «The Terrain of Safety», where the Jazūlite saint is identified with Ibn al-ʿArabī's «Perfect Human Being». As such, he and his fellows are exalted over other human beings and act as substitutes for God's messengers (*abdāl ar-rusul*). Like their predecessors the historical prophets

³⁷ al-Andalusī, *Sharḥ raḥbat al-amān*, 40-45.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 54.

and messengers, they are the vicegerents of God on earth and the agents that God uses to govern His dominion:

Allah makes [the axial saints] His vicegerents in managing the affairs (*tasrif*) of His dominion because of His concern for [mankind] and in order that they take refuge in them. He grants them knowledge from His own presence (*'ilman min ladunihi*) and, by means of His support and design, directs them toward the preservation of His religion. He makes them guides (*adilla*) to His presence and oneness and to His commands and prohibitions, and makes them visible in the world so that through them He may demonstrate the proof [of Himself] to His worshippers and so relate them to His names and attributes. In the material world they are the objects of His self-awareness: [they express] His will, His desire, His laws, His actions, His choices, and His management of affairs, according to the principles of justice (*'adl*) and good conduct (*ihsān*)³⁹.

Because he is a substitute for the prophets, the sainthood of authority (*wilāya*) is more relevant to the role of the Jazūlite saint than the sainthood of intimacy (*walāya*). Because he is empowered to manage or dispose of the affairs of others, he possesses the right to inherit all of the states of Muḥammad, Messenger of God (*mirāth aḥwāl an-nabī*). The Jazūlite saint is thus a veritable mirror for the Muḥammadan Image, and stands analogically as the «Muḥammad» of his time:

When Allah, in His Glory and Majesty, desires to create His worshippers and all of His creation... He concentrates in pre-eternity (*fi'l-azal*) on the radiance of the purity of His glory and beauty and ignites (*qadhafa*) from it the glory and beauty of our Prophet Muḥammad (may God bless and preserve him). Then, He makes of [the Prophet] a pure, illuminating, beautiful, perfect, and great light and makes from that light a mirror and an eye for knowledge.. Then Allah displays [Himself] before [the mirror] through His attributes and active names and imprints (*inṭaba'a*) the images of His actions, attributes, and names on the mirror of perception before its creation. [This is done] so that his names and attributes will be linked to [the human archetype] and so that [mankind] can know the first of them as well as the last... Then Allah creates heirs (*waratha*) to [the Prophet Muḥammad] from his community, who inherit from him one-by-one and learn from him in each generation⁴⁰.

This mirroring of the Prophet Muḥammad means that the saint has reached the «point of complete knowledge» (*nuqṭat al-'ilm al-kamālī*),

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

where saintly authority partakes directly from divine sovereignty. The «city» (*madīna*) of this spiritual kingdom is the Prophet Muḥammad, the «gate» (*bāb*) of the city is ʿAlī, the founder of the Sufi way and the paradigmatic imam, and the «key» (*miftāḥ*) to the gate is the Nurturer (*ghawth*) or Axis of the Age (*qutb az-zamān*), the «heir to the supernal station» (*wārith al-maqām al-ʿālā*)⁴¹.

Al-Andalusī's use of light imagery in *Sharḥ raḥbat al-amān* recapitulates the «Light of Muḥammad» (*nūr Muḥammad*) metaphor that has been a part of both Sufi and Shiʿite discourse since the ninth century C. E.⁴² In particular, he interprets the famous «Light Verse» of the Qurʾān (XXIV [*an-Nūr*], 35) as a metaphor for the Light of Muḥammad— an exegesis which follows that of the Iraqi Sufi Sahl at-Tustarī (d. 283/896)⁴³. For al-Andalusī, the Jazūlite shaykh is a lamp lit by the oil of supernal knowledge, which is set in the niche of Muḥammad's light. As a way of highlighting Jazūlite Sufism's acceptance of the ideology of Sharifism, he affirms that this light is only passed down through the family of the Prophet. He thus traces its transmission from ʿAlī to ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166), and thence via ash-Shādhilī to al-Jazūlī⁴⁴.

ʿAlid symbology is even more explicit in the works of al-Andalusī's student ʿAbdallāh al-Ghazwānī. This successor to at-Tabbāʿ as *Shaykh al-Jamaʿa* of the Jazūliyya was a Bedouin Arab from the ash-Shāwiya region near the modern Moroccan capital of Rabat. Early in his career as a Sufi shaykh, he maintained a zāwiya among the Banū Fazankār tribe of northern Morocco, whose homeland lay in the shadow of Jabal al-ʿAlam, the site of the tomb of ʿAbd as-Salām ibn Mashīsh. Al-Ghazwānī was strongly influenced by the traditions of both Shādhilī Sufism and Idrisid Sharifism. As a historical figure, he played an important role in the eventual victory of Sharifism, for he gave crucial support to Sharifian political aspirations and institutionalized the annual pilgrimage to the tomb of ʿAbd as-Salām ibn Mashīsh⁴⁵.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁴² For an overview of the «Light of Muḥammad» imagery in Sufism, see Schimmel, *And Muḥammad is His Messenger*, 123-143.

⁴³ al-Andalusī, *Sharḥ raḥbat al-amān*, 71-74. See also, Schimmel, *And Muḥammad is His Messenger*, 125-126; and Böwering, G., *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: the Qurʾānic Hermeneutics of the Sufi Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283-896)* (Berlin, 1979).

⁴⁴ al-Andalusī, *Sharḥ raḥbat al-amān*, 75.

⁴⁵ al-Lihīwī, *Ḥiṣn as-salām*, 391-392. The pilgrimage to Mūlāy ʿAbd as-Salām was

Al-Ghazwānī's writings were compiled after his death into a collection that appears under two different titles: *an-Nuqta al-azaliyya fī sirr adh-dhāt al-muḥammadiyya* and *Taḥbīr al-ajrās fī sirr al-anfās*⁴⁶. Most of the contents of these works explicate points that are discussed by al-Andalusī in *Sharḥ raḥbat al-amān*. Al-Ghazwānī goes further than his teacher, however, for he proposes a theory of sainthood that is more overtly political than that of al-Andalusī. He is also the first to discuss the concept of the «Muḥammadan Way» (*aṭ-ṭarīqa al-muḥammadiyya*), a term that has been used to define the so-called «neo-Sufi» traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This name is but one of several that he uses to designate his spiritual method. Others include the «Method of the Muḥammadan Sunna» (*madhhab as-sunna al-muḥammadiyya*), the «Way of the Muḥammadan Sunna» (*ṭarīqat as-sunna al-muḥammadiyya*) and the «Technique of Pre-Eternal Perception» (*sulūk an-naẓra al-azaliyya*)⁴⁷.

The first treatise in *an-Nuqta al-azaliyya* sets forth al-Ghazwānī's doctrine of the «Bell» (*jaras*), a term he uses for the axial saint instead of the more commonly-employed *quṭb*. Although this use of the bell as a metaphor for paradigmatic sainthood appears unusual for a Muslim, it is in fact in agreement with both Prophetic and Sufi precedent. This seemingly «Christian» term first appears in a well-known hadith where Muḥammad describes revelation as coming to him like the «clanging of a bell» (*ṣalṣalat al-jaras*)⁴⁸. It was also used by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī in *al-Insān al-kāmil*, where the phrase *ṣalṣalat al-jaras* is interpreted as referring to the divine attribute of potency (*aṣ-ṣifa al-qādiriyya*). Making a pun out of the name of his own Sufi order (the Qādiriyya), al-Jīlī interprets the clanging of the bell as part of the «potent» (*qādirī*) manifestation of the divine names in the guise of the Perfect Human Being, who

first instituted in the fourteenth century, soon after the Qādiriyya Sufi order was introduced into Morocco from al-Andalus. See ʿAbd al-Qādir al-ʿĀfiya, *al-Ḥayāt as-siyāsiyya wa'l-ijtimā'iyya wa'l-fikriyya fī-Shafshāwan wa aḥwāzihā khilāl al-qarn al-ʿāshir al-hijrī* (Rabat, 1982), 284-285.

⁴⁶ See Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh al-Ghazwānī, *an-Nuqta al-azaliyya fī sirr adh-dhāt al-Muḥammadiyya* (Rabat, Bibliothèque Générale et Archives, ms. 2617K). See also, idem, *Taḥbīr al-ajrās fī sirr al-anfās* (Rabat, Bibliothèque Générale et Archives, ms. 2002D).

⁴⁷ al-Ghazwānī, *an-Nuqta al-azaliyya*, 16, 19, 22.

⁴⁸ See, for example, *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī (Kitāb al-waḥy)*, 2; *Saḥīḥ Muslim (Faḍā'il)*, 87; *Sunan at-Tirmidhi (Manāqib)*, 7; and *Sunan an-Nasā'i (Ifitāḥ)*, 27.

gives proof of his station through the attributes of power and prestige (*al-hiba al-qādirīyya*)⁴⁹.

Al-Jīlī was not the first mystic, however, to use the bell as a metaphor for divine self-expression. It was also linked to Ibn al-ʿArabī's theory of the Muḥammadan Reality through the art of letter divination. In this latter tradition, the Arabic letter *mīm*—which stands for the name Muḥammad— is visualized as the clapper of a bell, whose «rope» (the downward-hanging tail of the *mīm*) symbolizes the connection between the material world and the divine archetypes. According to *Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā*, a widely-read work on divination by Aḥmad al-Būnī (d. 622/1225): «The bell tolls for each man. He who listens to it is elevated and is taken from the world for union with Allah, which is the goal of prayer»⁵⁰.

For al-Ghazwānī, the bell represents the Logos, which «peals out» (*ajrasa*) the Muḥammadan Reality to the material world⁵¹. The «piercing sound» (*ṣarāṣir*) of the bell—the pealing or reverberation of the archetypes on the verge of materialization— causes a subtle harmonic to pervade the world of forms. This divine harmonic is understood by each saint according to his ability. The fully actualized Sufi master (*ash-shaykh al-wāṣil*) is able to understand this «music», and uses it to guide his disciples on The Muḥammadan Way (*aṭ-ṭarīqa al-muḥammadiyya*). At its culmination, this spiritual path leads to the station of the Perfect Human Being or the Bell-saint, who presides over the locus of supreme authority that al-Ghazwānī terms the «Sovereignty of the Imamate» (*siyādat al-imāma*). Here the Bell-saint inherits the authority of all previous prophets (*al-wirātha an-nabawiyya*)⁵². This gives the *Jaras* sovereignty over his fellow human beings: «If you knew the truth of what lies deep within you, you would be a messenger (*rasūl*) to your peers and a leader (*qā'im*) because of the rights you possess over the one who seeks you out... You would be appointed caliph (*istakhlafūka*) by the people of your time... and would have attained the perfection of the Muḥammadan Sunna»⁵³.

⁴⁹ ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, *al-Insān al-kāmil fī maʿrifat al-awākhir wa'l-awā'il* (Cairo, 1981), vol. 1, 107.

⁵⁰ Canteins, J., *La Voie des Lettres: tradition cachée en Israël et en Islam* (Paris, 1981), 35-36.

⁵¹ al-Ghazwānī, *an-Nuqta al-azaliyya*, 30.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 54-55.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 15.

The terminology employed in this passage suggests that al-Ghazwānī may have been responsible for what Mercedes García-Arenal and others have identified as the «Fatimid» aspects of Jazūlite doctrine⁵⁴. This hypothesis is confirmed many times in *an-Nuqta al-azaliyya*, where the Bell-saint is described in terms that clearly recall the Shi'ite doctrine of the imamate. Depending on the role that the *Jaras* is supposed to perform at a specific point in time, he may be called «King» (*malik*), «The Exemplar of His Time» (*qudwat ahl zamānihī*), «Vicegerent of God on Earth» (*khalīfat Allāh fi'l-arḍ*), «The Sovereign Imam» (*as-sayyid al-imām*), «The One Who Has Arisen» (*al-qā'im*), «Commander» (*al-amīr*), «Disposer of Affairs» (*ṣāhib at-tasrīf*), «The Supreme Paradigm» (*al-mathal al-a'lā*), or «The Mirror of God» (*mir'āt Allāh*)⁵⁵.

Equally significant is the fact that the *Jaras* is granted the following prerogatives, which also recall those of the Shi'ite Imam:

1. He is protected (*ma'ṣūm*) from the faults of tyranny or sin.
2. His abilities are beyond those of ordinary human beings.
3. His understanding and perception are superior to those of his contemporaries.
4. Everything on earth mentions his name, either intentionally or otherwise.
5. When he attains his ambition (*himmā*), it is through his own agency, not that of another.
6. Everything depends on him, whereas he is dependent on nothing and no one but God⁵⁶.

A similar list of prerogatives was compiled nearly five centuries earlier by the Ithnā' Asharī theologian ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022). In this case, however, they were applied to the Hidden Imam rather than to the Sufi shaykh:

1. The Imam takes the place of the prophets in enforcing judgments, safeguarding the Sharī'a, and educating mankind.
2. He is protected from sin and error.
3. He is the recipient of extraordinary knowledge, including the knowledge of people's thoughts and the ability to learn every science and language.
4. He can perform miracles and receive signs (*ayāt*) from God.

⁵⁴ García-Arenal, M., «Sainteté et pouvoir dynastique au Maroc: la Résistance de Fès aux Sa'diens», *Annales ESC*, July-August 1990 (4), 1034.

⁵⁵ al-Ghazwānī, *an-Nuqta al-azaliyya*, 32, 245-50, 251, 315-320.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.

5. After death he is transported from his tomb to God's Paradise (*jannat Allāh*) and intercedes for supplicants until the Day of Resurrection.

6. His status on earth is similar to that of the prophets in respect to the honor, reverence, and obedience that are due to him ⁵⁷.

The Bell-saint exercises his sovereignty over society through a process that al-Ghazwānī calls *ḥukm al-anbā'*. This refers to the fact that to fulfill his role, the *Jaras* must make himself known to others. This is because he acts as a «messenger» or «witness» for his fellow human beings (*wa yakūnu ar-rasūlu 'alaykum shahīdan*) in guiding them toward the Truth ⁵⁸. He exercises this authority on his own behalf, without needing to justify his actions by analogy (*qiyās*) or by recourse to the opinions of the ulama ⁵⁹. God alone is the guarantor of the Bell-saint's judgments and makes His wishes known through divine addresses (*mukhāṭabāt*) and inspirational revelations (*waḥy al-ilhām*) ⁶⁰.

Being the recipient of divine election (*iṣṭifā'iyya*) like the Prophet himself, the *Jaras* is the hope (*amān*) of every Sufi and the imam of every saint. He is the Salvation of God (*sa'ādat Allāh*) on earth, the Guidance of God (*hidāyat Allāt*) in heaven, the Favor of God (*riḍā' Allāh*) in his sovereignty, and the Glory of God (*'izz Allāh*) in his prophetically-derived knowledge. Inasmuch as it is derived from the archetypal knowledge of Muḥammad, the knowledge of the *Jaras* encompasses both the exoteric and the esoteric aspects of the Sunna. Following him is thus legally obligatory (*wājib*) for all who recognize his station, and his disciples are bound to him by nothing less than a «pledge of salvation» (*bay'at as-sā'āda*) ⁶¹.

The question of possible Shi'ite influences on Jazūlite ideology is problematized by the fact that many of the attributes of the Shi'ite Imam were applied by Sufis to their own shaykhs as far back as the ninth century C. E. For example, al-Ḥākīm at-Tirmidhī's theory of the «Seal of Sainthood» (*khātim al-walāya*) is clearly a Sufi gloss on the Shi'ite doc-

⁵⁷ McDemott, M., *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd (d 413/1022)* (Beirut, 1978), 106-132.

⁵⁸ al-Ghazwānī, *an-Nuqta al-azaliyya*, 54. This phrase is a paraphrase of Qur'ān, XXII (*al-Ḥajj*).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 32, 142.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 56, 63.

trine of the Hidden Imam⁶². On this basis, one would go too far to assert that al-Ghazwānī was a crypto-Shi'ite just because he used 'Alid terminology. However, it is equally misleading to say that his doctrines were purely Sunni. This is proven by the accusations of heresy that were leveled at al-Ghazwānī and his followers by some juridical Sufis and Moroccan ulama. The real truth of the matter lies somewhere in between. Al-Ghazwānī's theories were based on Sufi traditions that were formulated in the context of Sunni intellectual life. In addition, they show little evidence of the specific forms of Neoplatonism (such as in the doctrine of «Universal Mind» [*al-'aql al-kullī*]) that define true Fatimid thought. It is even more unlikely that they were based on Ithnā' 'Asharī precedents. No members of this sect were to be found in Morocco in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and al-Ghazwānī himself never traveled outside of Morocco. Therefore, if one wishes to look for possible Shi'ite influences on Jazūlite ideology, it seems best to start closer to home –with the traditions of Idrisid Shi'ism discussed at the beginning of this paper.

Apart from Abdallah Laroui and Mercedes García-Arenal, few scholars have taken the Shi'ism of the Idrisids very seriously⁶³. This is partly because modern Morocco takes pains to identify itself with Sunni orthodoxy. According to this stance, there is nothing to link either the Moroccan state or its religious institutions to the doctrines that have long separated Shi'ites from Sunnis. This is certainly correct. However, those who accept this position uncritically forget that the Ḥasanid doctrines that were disseminated by the Idrisids in the ninth century had little to do with either Ismā'īlī or Ithnā' 'Asharī Shi'ism. Idrisid Shi'ism was a largely political doctrine that saw legitimacy as vested in any Idrisid *qā'im* who «stands up» against injustice or unbelief. There is nothing here to prevent an Idrisid imam from being a Maliki jurist or a Sufi shaykh –roles that were in fact played by the patron saint of Moroccan Sufism, Mūlāy 'Abd as-Salām ibn Mashīsh.

To say that al-Ghazwānī's doctrines show Shi'ite influence is not to say that al-Ghazwānī was a Shi'ite, or even that he always agreed with

⁶² See Radtke, B. and O'Kane, J., *The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism: Two Works by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī* (London, 1996).

⁶³ See Laroui, A., *The History of the Maghrib: An Interpretive Essay*, Ralph Manheim, trans. (Princeton, 1977), 109-112, and García-Arenal and Manzano Moreno, *op. cit.*. Laroui's and García-Arenal's views differ from my own to the extent that they consider Idrisid Sharifism to have been derived directly from Zaydism.

the political agenda of the Sharifs. On the contrary, relations between al-Ghazwānī and the Idrisids of northern Morocco were mixed at best. Furthermore, it was not even necessary for the Bell-saint to be a blood-relation of the Prophet Muḥammad. For al-Ghazwānī, Muḥammadan nobility (*sharaf*) was inherited only as a potentiality. All Muslims can attain nobility not only through their birth, but also through their actions. Even those who claim *sharaf* by birth must earn the right to be called a *sharīf* through virtuous conduct. In the final analysis, says al-Ghazwānī: «Those who are ennobled by reputation are better than those who are ennobled by birth» (*shurafā' al-ḥasab afdal min shurafā' an-nasab*)⁶⁴.

It is at this point that al-Ghazwānī's theory of saintly authority departs most decisively from the 'Alid doctrines that provided much of its terminology. Although Sharifs were well represented in the Jazūliyya-Ghazwāniyya Sufi order, they were intrinsically no better than anyone else. To be fully actualized, the nobility of Prophetic descent had to be confirmed by recognizably pious and virtuous acts. It was a basic tenet of the Jazūliyya that anyone who assimilates the Muḥammadan paradigm and loves the Prophet to a sufficient degree can call himself a «Sharif». Although the point cannot be proven conclusively, it is very likely that the widespread attribution of Sharifian status to Moroccan saints after the sixteenth century was at least partly the result of this notion.

A theoretical problem that is left unresolved by al-Ghazwānī is that the convergence of Prophet and saint in the person of the *Jaras* is accompanied by revelatory states that orthodox Muslims consider to be the prerogative of the Prophet alone. This is because the Bell-saint, as the Perfect Human Being, is completely absorbed (*jam' mutlaq*) in the Muḥammadan archetype. Thus, his union with the Muḥammadan paradigm is heralded by miracles that mimic the Prophet's own. These include divine inspiration (*ilhām*), the direct perception of God (*mu-shāhada*), and even revelation itself (*wahy*)⁶⁵. Although al-Ghazwānī is careful to state that the revelation of God's word (*wahy al-kalām*) has ended with the death of Muḥammad, he nonetheless maintains that inspirational revelation (*wahy al-ilhām*) will continue until the end of time.

⁶⁴ al-Ghazwānī, *an-Nuqta al-azaliyya*, 141.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 142.

Whether it was done intentionally or not, this ambiguity is never resolved, as the following poem by al-Ghazwānī demonstrates:

First, we came together at the fountainhead of reality,
And second, we separated at the appearance of sainthood.

Third, everything was brought together at the fusion
For a specific purpose, including the prophethood of mankind.

Fourth, another fusion, the glory of our mission,
In every locality proclaiming and interpreting every sign.

Fifth, a truth, a right of our fusion,
«Those of inflexible resolve» (*ūluw al-ʿazm*) in the night of my sublimity ⁶⁶.

This was the mission for which the Lord of Humanity was delegated,
Muḥammad the imitated, the exemplar of my exemplarity ⁶⁷.

The Bell-saint of the Jazūliyya-Ghazwāniyya was the most potent manifestation of sainthood in Moroccan mysticism. Combining Shiʿite conceptions of the Imamate with the Muḥammadan archetype as defined by Ibn al-ʿArabī's theory of the Muḥammadan Reality and al-Jīlī's corollary of the Muḥammadan Image, this supremely paradigmatic figure was tailor-made to assume the role of savior of Islam in a country that had fallen into social turmoil and political prostration. According to al-Ghazwānī's theory of the Sovereignty of the Imamate, all holy persons, from the educated head of a Sufi order (*shaykh at-ṭāʿifa*) to the ecstatic and even illiterate *majdhūb*, had a right to claim the Muḥammadan Inheritance. By being absorbed into the Muḥammadan Image, each saint could identify himself by analogy with the historical Muḥammad, Messenger of God.

The popularity of this theory in early-modern Morocco put the official ulama and juridical Sufis like Aḥmad Zarrūq in an awkward position. Although many of them shared the Jazūlite shaykhs' desire for social reform and jihad, they were understandably concerned that the Jazūlite doctrine of a saintly imamate might undermine long-estab-

⁶⁶ The phrase, «those of inflexible resolve», is a reference to Qurʾān, XLVI (*HāʾMīm*), 35.

⁶⁷ al-Ghazwānī, *an-Nuqta al-azaliyya*, 50.

blished structures of authority. More than at any other time since the late Almoravid period, the Sufis of sixteenth and seventeenth century Morocco involved themselves politically as defenders of the faith, moral censors, and agents of the collective will. In time, however, their efforts were undone by their own protegés, the Sharifs of southern Morocco. By basing their own theory of sovereignty on the bedrock of blood-descent from the Prophet rather than on the more slippery ground of the Muḥammadan Image, first the Saʿdians and later the ʿAlawites took the ideological high ground away from the Jazūliyya and their successors. Al-Ghazwānī and his disciples may have seen themselves as sovereigns of the spiritual realm, but on the material battlefield where they chose to contest authority, they were out of their element. Here, it was the man of the sword –and increasingly the cannon or the arquebuse– who reigned supreme.

ABSTRACT

This article details the doctrine of the aṭ-Ṭāʿifa al-Jazūliyya, a populist and politically active Sufi order that dominated Moroccan mysticism throughout the sixteenth century. This doctrine focused on the concept of paradigmatic sainthood (*quṭbiyya*) and was influenced by two different models of religious authority. The first model saw authority as an acquired property, which was vested in the Sufi shaykh who best mirrored the qualities of the Prophet Muḥammad. The second model conceived of authority as an ascribed property, and saw it as an inborn grace (*baraka*) that was transmitted via descent through the Prophetic bloodline. In the writings of the Jazūliyya shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-Ghazwānī (d. 935/1528-9), both models of authority were seen as part of the «prophetic inheritance» (*al-wirātha an-nabawiyya*), and were reconciled through the doctrine of the «sovereignty of the imamate» (*siyādat al-imāma*). In this doctrine, the axial saint of Moroccan Sufism, whom al-Ghazwānī called the *jaras* or «Bell-saint», stood as the successor (*khalīfa*) to the Prophet Muḥammad and prime interpreter of Islam. He thus took on many of the qualities of the Shiʿite Imam, an posed a serious challenge to the political leaders of the time.

RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza la doctrina de la Ṭāʿifa ʿĀzūliyya, una orden sufí populista y políticamente activa que dominó el misticismo marroquí a lo largo de todo el siglo xvi. Esta doctrina se centraba en el concepto de santidad paradig-

mática (*quṭbiyya*) en el que confluían dos modelos diferentes de autoridad religiosa. El primer modelo veía la autoridad como una propiedad adquirida del *ṣayj* Sufi que mejor reproducía las características del Profeta. El segundo modelo veía la autoridad como una propiedad adscrita, la gracia o *baraka* transmitida por nacimiento dentro del linaje del Profeta. En los escritos del *ṣayj* *ḡazwānī* 'Abd Allāh al-Gazwānī (935/1528-9) ambos modelos de autoridad se consideran partes de la «herencia profética» reunidos por la doctrina de la «soberanía del imamato». En esta doctrina, el santo axial del sufismo marroquí a quien al-Ghazwānī llama *Ÿaras* o «campana» se yergue como sucesor (*jalīfa*) del Profeta y primer intérprete del Islam. Adquirió de esta manera muchas de las cualidades del Imam Šī'ī y planteó serios peligros a los jefes políticos contemporáneos.