guest lecture held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, was published in Hebrew in *Hamizrah Hehadash,* vol. xiv (1964), No. 1.

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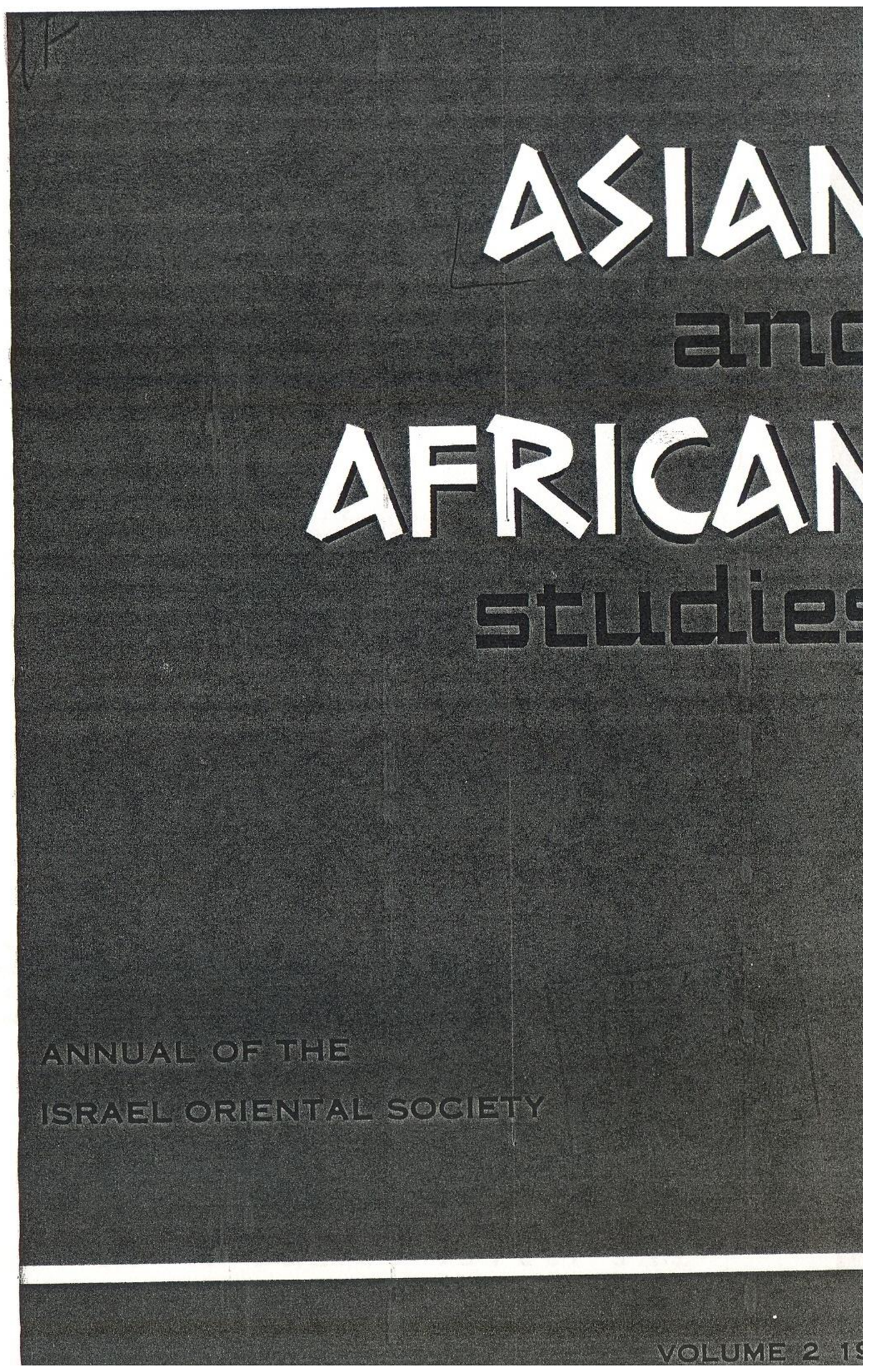

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'ABD AL-QĀDIR AND 'ABD AL-KRĪM RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES ON THEIR THOUGHT AND ACTION

PESSAH SHINAR

INTRODUCTION

The student of Maghribi history cannot fail to be impressed by the high incidence of religious motivation, or forms of expression, in the long succession of tribal expansion, revolt and resistance movements which have largely shaped the destinies of the region from antiquity to the present day.

In Roman times, the social discontent of the Berber proletariat tended to ally or identify itself with those bodies of belief which actively opposed the ruling Church. Under the domination of Christian Rome, the Circoncellion *jacquerie* entered into an alliance with the powerful Donatist heresy.[1] After the advent of Islam, bitterness over the discriminatory treatment of non-Arab Muslims and messianic hopes drove the Berber masses into the arms of those Islamic sects that were most radically opposed to the orthodox caliphate: Ḵhārijism first, and the Fāṭimid brand of extreme Shī'ism later.[2] When these heresies were stamped out and Sunnī rule restored in most parts of the Maghreb by the middle of the 11th century, the activist urges and tribal antagonisms of the great Berber confederations found their catalyst in legal or theological issues within the orthodox fold itself. Thus there arose first the *murābiṭūn* (Almoravid) movement of the nomadic Lamtūna (Ṣanhāja) in the Sahara[3] and then, supplanting it, the *muwaḥḥidūn* (Almohads) among the sedentary Maṣmūda in the Great

1. On this development cf. Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord,* Paris, 1951, pp. 214–220.
2. For these movements see A. Bel, *La Religion musulmane en Berbérie,* Paris, 1938, pp. 137–163; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc,* Casablanca, 1949, pp. 90–104, 135–149.
3. Its religious aspects are discussed in Bel, pp. 211–231; J. Bosch Vila, *Los Almoravides,* Tetuan, 1956, pp. 36ff., 49ff.; H. Aḥmad Maḥmūd, *Qiyām dawlat al-murābiṭīn,* Cairo, 1957, pp. 101–185.

Atlas.[4] The former adhered to a strictly literal interpretation of the Qur'ān, including its anthropomorphisms; banned the study of Ghazzālian theology; forbade recourse to the 'sources' (*uṣūl*) of *sharī'a* law and based legal practice exclusively on the positive, derivative law (*furū'*) as elaborated in the manuals and compendia of the Mālikī School. The Almohad reform, by contrast, influenced by both Mu'tazilite rationalism and Ghazzālī, gave scholastic theology priority over law, proclaimed the absolute transcedence and unicity of God (hence the name of the movement), favoured the individual exercise of legal judgment on the basis of Qur'ān and Sunna (*ijtihād*), allowed allegorical interpretation of the sacred texts (*ta'wīl*), and replaced the authority of the *fuqahā'* by that of the Divinely Guided One, the Mahdī, and his spiritual successors. Common to both in their initial phase were a fervid and puritan faith, strict religious discipline and, last but not least, the natural desire of destitute desert-dwellers and mountaineers to raid and inherit the rich lands in the North.

The fact that these movements were able, in a relatively short time, to create vast and powerful empires, confirmed in a spectacular way the basic experience of Islam, namely, that the blend of an inspiring religious idea with strong economic inducements and tribal solidarity, *'aṣabiyya*, was sufficient to weld conflicting tribal elements into a convergent and streamlined force and catapult it into kingdom and empire. Small wonder then, that for Ibn Khaldūn—even though he lived under dynasties in whose establishment the religious ingredient played no major role—this recurrent phenomenon should have acquired the validity of a natural law, expressed in the lapidary formula 'Dynasties of wide dominion and great royal power originate from religion, either through prophecy or the propagation of (religious) truth, *da'wat ḥaqq'*.[5]

From the end of the Almohad period onward the character of the religious factor in tribal movements gradually undergoes a significant

4. For the religious aspects of this movement see Bel, pp. 233–285; R. Millet, *Les Almohades*, Paris, 1923, pp. 1–22.
5. *Muqaddima*, Cairo, 1322 H., p. 86; Quatremère's edition, Paris, 1858, pt. i, p. 284. De Slane, *Prolegomènes d'Ibn Khaldoun*, Paris, 1863, i, p. 324, renders the term *'da'wat ḥaqq'* by (La religion enseignée. . . par un) prédicateur de la vérité', F. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldūn*, London, 1958, i, p. 319, by 'truthful propaganda'.

and far-reaching change. No longer schismatic or orthodox reformist, it becomes increasingly mystical and charismatic. Thanks to the labours of Asin Palacios, Bargès, Bel, Colin, Goldziher and others, we know today some of the principal channels through which the sufi teachings of Ghazzālī and Qushayrī were carried into, and propagated throughout, the Islamic West. A chain of spiritual filiation that seems to have been of decisive importance in the formation and development of the movement, passes from Ibn al-'Arīf of Tangier, reputedly a disciple of Ghazzālī and the first systematic expositor of sufi doctrine in the West, through Ibn 'Arabī of Murcia to Abū Madyan of Tlemsēn (the mystical 'Pole', *quṭb*, of the Maghreb) and on to 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh of Jabal 'Alam in the Jibāla, who was later recognized as the 'Pole' of sufi hierarchy in Morocco. Their disciples spread the new ideas and discipline in the Berber hinterland where they fell on fertile ground. The religious ferment generated by Almoravids and Almohads; revulsion against the growing moral corruption of the regime; pervasive belief in good and evil forces, in medicine men and in the unbounded might of the God of Islam—all these may have had their share in rendering the tribes receptive to a system that professed to show man the Straight Path to God and credited with miraculous powers those who attained the goal and were favoured with divine grace (*baraka*) and the status of sainthood (*wilāya*). The great sufi teachers of the East had, as is well known, considered the path of the mystic as a means of individual salvation, of obtaining intuitive knowledge (*ma'rifa*) of, and 'union' (*waṣl*) with, the Infinite, n o t the power to mediate between God and man, confer blessing and perform miracles (*karāmāt, khawāriq*), the latter being often deprecated as a mere by-product, even as a temptation to be resisted rather than indulged in. Among the common people, however, especially in the West, it was precisely this power which came to confer status and prestige and compel submission and following. With the growing reputation of the sufis the demand for them grew among the tribes and so did the supply. Apart from ensuring the well-being and fertility of the land, livestock and man, the protection of the tribe and internal peace and security, these sufi adepts also acted as teachers and mentors of the tribe, and the centres of their activity, the monastic *zāwiyas*, or *rābiṭas*, unaffiliated or within the framework of sufi orders, became, besides various other social functions, qur'ānic seminaries and focal points of islamiza-

tion. Their isolated action suited well the pronounced particularism of Berber society and tended to confirm and enhance it, the more so as they did not, as a rule, try to disestablish the traditional institutions and customary laws of the tribe. As a result, veneration of the sufi teacher and saint, during his lifetime and after his death, soon became so great as to degenerate into an outright cult, under the disguise of which a multitude of animistic and anthropolatrous beliefs and practices gained admission into Islam.[6]

Now sufi saints, saint-worship, convents, and orders had, of course, also become prevalent in Eastern Islam and even been sanctioned by the Consensus of the Community. But while their influence here tended, with few exceptions, to be confined to the moral and social spheres, their Western counterpart, the *murābiṭ* ('marabout'), elevated in the public eye by his alliance with sharifs, or claim of sharifian lineage, and the leading part he took in organizing the jihad against the Portuguese and Spanish invaders, often came to play, from the 16th century onwards, a political and military role of the first magnitude, in addition to the normal functions of sufism elsewhere.[7]

The gradual occupation of the Maghreb countries by the French since 1830, joined by the Spanish since 1911, revived the spirit of the Holy War among the Berber and Arab tribes. This presented the religious elements—particularly heads of sufi orders and of *zāwiyas*, as well as individual marabouts—with renewed opportunities to reassert their influence and authority over the tribes. In fact, among the numerous instances of tribal resistance and revolt that the infidel invasions have provoked in the contemporary Maghreb, there are hardly any that were not to some extent inspired or led by those elements.

Among the modern resistance movements two stand out and overshadow the rest by the personality of their leaders, the range and duration of their action and their general impact on the North African and international scene: that of the Algerian 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥyī al-Dīn, and that of the Moroccan Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm, gen-

6. For the rise and development of sufism and sufi orders in the Maghreb see esp. Bel, pp. 305–400.
7. On this aspect see esp. Terrasse, ii, pp. 143ff., 158ff., 213 and *passim*. G. Drague, *Esquisse d'Histoire religieuse du Maroc*, Paris, 1951, 40ff. and bibliography.

erally known as 'Abd el-Krim', of the Rīf. A very considerable body of literature has grown around these leaders and their exploits, especially about the former.[8] In assessing their careers, however, there has been a widespread tendency among writers—with a few notable exceptions as regards 'Abd al-Qādir[9]—to dwell predominantly on the military and political aspects of their endeavours, while the religious and moral factors involved were given less than their due. Furthermore, there has been so far no comprehensive attempt at comparing these two leaders.[10] As a result, the present writer believes, some determinants in their motivations have been obscured and fundamental differences between them overlooked. It is the purpose of the following pages to bring these out and place them in focus.

'Abd al-Qadir

From his earliest childhood 'Abd al-Qādir (born 1222/1807) was enveloped in an atmosphere of Islamic piety, saintliness and mysticism. His father, Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Muṣṭafā,[11] a Ḥasanī *sharīf*, marabout and local head of the moderate Qādiriya order, whose 'rosary was his rifle', was held in high esteem by his host-tribe, the Banū Hāshim around Mu'askar (Mascara). At his retreat, the village of Guethna (Qayṭana) in the Wādī al-Ḥammām, he was engaged, like other marabouts, in settling disputes, teaching Qur'ān, deciding points of canon law, providing shelter and giving charity from the substantial revenue of his

8. R. L. Playfair's *Bibliography of Algeria*, London, 1895, lists over a thousand books, pamphlets and articles making reference to 'Abd al-Qādir, apart from a substantial number of items contained in his (and R. Brown's) *Bibliography of Morocco*, London, 1892—as pointed out by P. Azan, *L'Emir Abd el Kader*, Paris, 1925, where additional items are listed. For more recent material see the important *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de l'Algérie après* 1830, edited by G. Esquer and G. Yver (since 1910).
9. Such as P. Azan (see preceding note) and M. Emerit, *L'Algérie a l'époque d'Abd el Kader*, Paris, 1951.
10. A number of resemblances are listed by R. Basset in a review of Azan's work in *Hespéris*, v (1925), pp. 499–502.
11. His father, Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad, was a recipient of the *khirqa* of the Qādiriyya at Baghdad, and upon his return (1206 H.) founded the village of the Guethna and the local branch of the order. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir, *Tuḥfat al-zā'ir fi ma'āthir al-amīr 'Abd al-Qādir wa'akhbār al-Jazā'ir* (*Tuḥfa* in later references), Alexandria, 1903, ii, p. 301 f.

lands and the offerings of his flock. He also wrote a vade-mecum for sufi novices, *Irshād al-murīdīn*.[12]

'Abd al-Qādir received a traditional education, first at his father's *zāwiya*, and upon reaching the age of fourteen, in Arzew and Oran. At the age of 18, he accompanied his father on a double pilgrimage to Mekka, visiting Damasucus and Baghdad on the way. In the former city they attended lectures on Bukhārī by Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kuzbarī and frequented the famous sufi Shaykh Khālid al-Naqshbandī al-Suhrawardī, from whom the son 'took' the Naqshbandiyya order.[13] In Baghdad they worshipped at the shrine of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, where the father received the patched sufi garment, *khirqa*, and the diploma, *ijāza*, of the Qādiriyya from the *naqīb al-ashrāf* and head of the Order, Sayyid Maḥmūd al-Kaylānī.[14]

From this shrine also Muḥyī al-Dīn brought back the glad tidings of his son having been hailed as the future 'Sultan of the Gharb'—a legend somewhat reminiscent of another prophecy emanating from Baghdad concerning the destinies of the Maghrib, viz. Ghazzālī's prediction of the overthrow of the Almoravids by his alleged disciple, Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart, the future Mahdī.

Back home after two years of absence, 'Abd al-Qādir settled down to a life of study and devotion, but when the tribes around Mu'askar, weary of the anarchy engendered by the French conquest of Algiers and the collapse of Turkish government, elected his father as leader of the jihad, he shelved his plans and joined in the struggle. His subsequent election as Emir (22 November 1832) was decreed at the behest of the saint al-Jīlānī who appeared in a dream to Sīdī al-A'raj,

12. Ibid., ii, p. 304.
13. M. J. al-Shaṭṭī, *Rawḍ al-basḥar fī a'yān Dimashq fī'l-qarn al-thālith 'ashar*, Damascus, 1365/1946, p. 154. About the shaykh (died 1242/1826) and his writings see ibid., pp. 80–86 (excerpted from *al-Ḥadīqa al-nadiyya fī'l-ṭarīqa al-naqshbandiyya wa'l-bahja al-khālidiyya*, by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Baghdādī), where he is stated to have received, while in India, the *ijāzas* of five orders, the Naqshbandiyya, Qādiriyya, Suhrawardiyya, Kubrawiyya and Chishtiyya, and been put in charge of them. Part of his writings are also listed in Kh. al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, Cairo, 1927, p. 283.
14. Thus *Tuḥfa*, ii, p 303; according to Muḥammad al-Bashīr al-Azharī, *al-Yawāqīt al-thamīna fī a'yān madhhab ahl al-madīna*, Cairo, 1324 H., p. 216, both father and son received the *ijāza* of the order.

one of the foremost marabouts of the plain of Gharīs, and to Muḥyī al-Dīn, who conferred on his son the title of 'Supporter of the Faith' (*nāṣir al-dīn*), which became henceforward part of his official titulature. The act of investiture, *bay'a*, took place under a sacred elm-tree (*dardāra*), apt to remind the participants of the famous tree at Ḥudaybiya under which Muḥammad pledged his followers to stand by him to the death in his struggle against the pagan Mekkans.[15] Thus, by reason of his background, natural disposition and maraboutic election, 'Abd al-Qādir's leadership was endowed from the very beginning with a charismatic quality which clung to his person throughout his career.

The state he set about to organize, though currently referred to as a sultanate, was conceived by him as a theocracy, patterned after the Medinese *umma* of Muḥammad and his immediate successors. This intention was given both institutional and symbolic expression. The state seal of the Emir carried along the rim the names of Allāh, Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, and, in a circle, the inscription 'He who is helped by the messenger of Allāh'.[16] Upon entering Mu'askar following his election, the Emir declared that he would rule with the Qur'ān in his hand. In the text of the *bay'a* drafted by his uncle Abū Ṭālib b. Muṣṭafā, the Emir is referred to as 'the Great Imām and Head of the Community and Religion (*ra's al-milla wa'l-dīn*), Conqueror of the enemies of Allāh', and prayer is offered that he may revive the religion, enforce respect of the *ḥudūd*, and restore the regime of the *Rāshidūn* Caliphs.[17] In one of his poems he prides himself in having trodden in the path of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (*waqad sirtu sīratan 'umariyyatan*).[18] In the missives sent by the Council of *'ulamā'* to the Arab and Berber tribes by order of the Emir, announcing his election, he promised, *inter alia*, to enforce the canonical punishments, *ḥudūd*, and to refrain from imposing any obligation not commanded by the *sharī'a*. In his letters to other tribes he stated that his ultimate goal was the 'unification of the Muḥammadan community and the observance of the rites of the Prophet' (*wa'lamū anna ghāyatī al-quṣwā ittiḥād al-milla al-muḥammadiyya wa'l-qiyām bi'l-sha'ā'ir al-*

15. *Tuḥfa*, i, p. 97.
16. Ibid., i, p. 200.
17. Ibid., i, p. 99; cf. ibid, p. 102.
18. Ibid., i, p. 94.

aḥmadiyya).[19] In his official correspondence 'Abd al-Qādir carried the caliphal title of Commander of the Faithful (*amīr al-mu'minīn*).[20]

The regular army was given a pronouncedly religious character.[21] The infantry was called 'the Muḥammadan Army' (*al-askar al-muḥammadī*).[22] Its commander (*āghā*) carried four golden emblems inscribed with the Profession of Faith (*shahāda*), while the commander of the cavalry had his epaulettes inscribed with an apposite saying from the *ḥadīth*. Likewise, the chief of the artillery corps wore on his uniform the image of a field gun with a caption taken from the Qur'ān: 'And thou (Muḥammad) threwest not when thou didst throw, but Allah threw' (viii, 17) Among the medals, made of gold or silver, one was named *shiya*[23] *muḥammadiyya* and had the shape of a hand with outstretched fingers, obviously the famous Hand of Fāṭima, or *khamsa*, with the palm inscribed *nāṣir al-dīn*. Similarly, the state parasol and flag of the Emir, made of green silk with a white band in the middle, carried in golden lettering a qur'ānic inscription 'Help from Allāh and present victory' (*naṣr min Allāh wa-fatḥ qarīb*—lxi, 13), and in the centre, again, the Hand of Fāṭima.[24]

To pay the army and his officials, 'Abd al-Qādir had minted coins of two denominations, one of which was named the *muḥammadī*. Coins minted at Taqdemt, 'Abd al-Qādir's second capital, in 1256/1840, were inscribed with the qur'ānic verse 'Our Lord, infuse patience

19. Ibid., i, p. 101.
20. Cf. 'Abd al-Qādir's letters to Ben Duran, Bugeaud and King Louis Philippe. Emerit, pp. 152, 154, 157, 159; G. Yver, *Correspondance du Maréchal Valée,* Paris, 1954, iii, p. 164; 'Abd al-Qādir to the Duke of Orléans, ibid., i, p. 249. Sometimes he refers to himself as 'Emir of the Muslims', see Emerit, pp. 155, 157. By the people he was currently called 'Sultan', but in his letters to the Sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān, he called himself 'Emir' (Azan, p. 142). The Sultan, in one of his last letters, dropped all titles and simply addressed him as 'marabout'.
21. A booklet describing his army's organization and regulations, entitled *Wishāḥ al-katā'ib* (or *kitāb*, cf. *Tuḥfa*, i, p. 120) *wa-zīnat al-'askar al-muḥammadī al-ghālib*, was composed by 'Abd al-Qādir's secretary and panegyrist, Qaddūr b. Muḥammad b. Ruwayla, and published repeatedly in French. The Arabic text was published with translation and notes by F. Patorni, *Réglements militaires,* Algier, 1890.
22. *Tuḥfa,* i, p. 121.
23. The form *shī'a*, given repeatedly in *Tuḥfa*, i, p. 123, seems to be a misprint.
24. Ibid., i, pp. 131, 201.

into us and make us die as men who have surrendered (unto Thee), *muslimīn*' (vii, 126).[25] Religious discipline in the army was particularly severe. Thus it was insisted upon that the five daily prayers be performed regularly and in congregational worship.

In the choice of his ministers, governors and administrative staff, the Emir leaned heavily on the religious element. He could rely on it both because of its natural hostility to the Christians and because its upper stratum could not hope to improve its status by agreeing to serve under the French.[26] True, he was not entirely successful in rallying around him the chiefs of the organized sufi orders, some of whom managed to stir up considerable opposition to him. The Darqāwa of the Wansharīs (Ouarsenis) region were aroused by Ḥājj Mūsā b. 'Alī, who claimed to be the Master of the Hour, *mawlā al-sā'a*, and denounced the Emir for his pact with the French; his army of ragged visionaries was cut to pieces by the forces of the Emir (April 1835).[27] The Grand-Master of the Tijjāniyya order, Sīdī Muḥammad al-Tijjānī (or Tedjini) of 'Ayn-Māḍi, refused to recognize the Emir and join in his renewed war against the French, but was forced into submission after a six-month siege of his Saharan stronghold.[28] Likewise reluctant

25. Several sackfuls of such coins were found by the French after the capture of Taqdemt. See *Renseignements historiques sur la zemala de l'Emir Abd-el-Kader, fournies par des chefs attachés à sa personne et recueillis par Lt.-Col. E. Daumas, directeur des affaires arabes,* Alger, Juin 1843, 2ème partie, p. 9. (Courtesy of the Service Historique de l'Armée, Château de Vincennes, Paris.)
26. Ibid., p. 14.
27. For Ḥājj Mūsā and his movement see Azan, pp. 38–41; Emerit, pp. 208–210 (Notes by Lamoricière); C. Trumelet, *L'Algérie légendaire,* Alger, 1892, pp. 302–325 (detailed but uncritical). On the Darqāwa in general see O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes,* Alger, 1897, pp. 503–513; *EI²*, art. 'Darqāwa' (R. Le Tourneau); Drague, pp. 251–273; on the Darqāwa in Algeria, A. Joly, *Étude sur les Chadeiliyas,* Alger, 1907.
28. For a report on the siege by a participant see L. Roches, *Trente-deux ans à travers l'Islam,* Paris, 1884, i, pp. 285–329 (chs. 40–47); Emerit, pp. 212–224; *Tuḥfa,* pp. 196–199; Azan, pp. 112–118. For the order in general see Depont and Coppolani, pp. 413–441; *EI¹*, art. 'Tijjānīya' (D. S. Margoliouth); L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan,* pp. 416–459. For Franco-Tijjānī relations during the same period see L. Roches, ii, pp. 4f., 43f., 130f., 232f., 352f.; Emerit, pp. 233f.; Azan, p. 181f.—After the destruction of Taqdemt and the capture of Mu'askar by the French, 'Abd al-Qādir

to fight the French under the Emir were the Ṭayyibiyya of Orany, an offshoot of the Moroccan Wazzāniyya. They actually worked against him, believing that opposition to the French would only delay the ultimate Coming of the Master of the Hour.[29] Even among his own Qādiriyya, 'Abd al-Qādir had to contend with a rebel with a messianic name, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh from Baghdad, an alleged descendant of the saint al-Jīlānī. He gained a following in the South of Titteri, but was finally defeated by the Emir and forgiven.[30]

It is among the unaffiliated maraboutic families, however, that the Emir found his most loyal and devoted collaborators and supporters.[31] The majority of his provincial governors (*khalīfas*) belonged to this class,[32] and so did most of his district officers (*āghās*);[33] while the role of the military aristocracy, the *ajwād*, who had in the past collaborated with the Turkish government, was reduced to a minimum. In fact, only two of them were given high administrative positions.[34] The Emir himself regretfully admitted—to General Daumas—that his religious appointees did not always turn out to be efficient civil servants; but what seems to have affected him even more deeply was that some people he appointed to responsible posts for political reasons 'trod with both feet upon religion'.[35]

The lower officials, too, were on principle recruited from among men of religion. They were sworn in on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī, as was the custom with some Moroccan sultans.[36]

The organization of the judiciary was inspired by similar preoccupations. The administration of justice was to be based on the meticulous observance of qur'ānic law. The role of the *qāḍīs* was enhanced and their number increased. To render them less prone to corruption, they were assigned fixed salaries. Their jurisdiction comprised on principle the whole range of the *sharī'a*, with the exception of political and criminal offences, for which judgment was reserved to the Emir and his secular representatives. But even the latter were required to conform to the Qur'ān, due regard being paid, however, to the customary laws of the Beylik.[37] Especially where capital punishment was involved, the Emir used to leave the decision to his council of *'ulamā'* with himself as its executor. In matters of general import, such as the treatment of tribes persisting in collaborating with the Infidels, he would seek guidance from Islamic authorities in Fēs and Cairo.[38]

Besides the body of *qāḍīs* there functioned a sort of Supreme Court called *majlis 'ālī amīrī*, composed of eleven *'ulamā'* whose duty it was to watch over the proper application of the law by the courts. As an innovation in Maghribi judicial practice is presented the introduction of provincial consultative bodies, named *dār shūrā*, to deal with cases of general interest. These were appointed by the *khalīfa* but presided

once more invited the Tijjānī (who had in the meantime returned to 'Ayn Māḍī and rebuilt its walls) to join in the jihad. The latter seemed willing, but when the Emir, not trusting his former enemy, demanded his son as a hostage, the Tijjānī ignored the invitation. When 'Abd al-Qādir, hard-pressed by the French, was preparing to withdraw with his *zemāla* to Jabal 'Ammūr, the Tijjānī offered him shelter at 'Ayn Māḍī, but the Emir, fearing a trap, declined the offer. Daumas, *Renseignements*, p. 21f.

29. Emerit, p. 201. It was only after 'Abd al-Qādir had fled to Morocco, in 1845, that they joined in the struggle against the French, led by a marabout with a messianic name, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, nicknamed Abū Ma'za. Azan, p. 204f.; *Tuḥfa*, p. 296f. (where his nickname is spelled Abū Ma'azza throughout).
30. *Tuḥfa*, i, pp. 185–188.
31. P. Boyer, *L'Evolution de l'Algérie médiane* (*Ancien Département d'Alger*) *de* 1830 *à* 1956, Paris, 1960, p. 92; Azan, p. 129.
32. These were Muḥammad al-Būḥamīdī al-Walhāṣī, *khalīfa* of Tlemsēn; Muṣṭafā b. al-Tihāmī, a cousin and brother-in-law of the Emir, *khalīfa* of Mu'askar (Mascara); Muḥammad b. 'Allāl, a member of the Awlād Sīdī Mubārak of Qulay'a (Coléa), *khalīfa* of the Sharq (Milyāna); Muḥammad al-Barkānī, member of the Brākna family which controlled the powerful Banū Manāṣir, *khalīfa* of the Tell (Midya); Aḥmad b. Sālim al-Dabīsi (or Dubaysī), member of a family attached to the *zāwiya* of Bel--Kharrūb, *khalīfa* of Burj Ḥamza (Greater Kabylia) and the East. *Tuḥfa*, i, pp. 199–200; Boyer, pp. 85, 87.
33. Two-thirds of them in the province of Algiers alone. Ibid., p. 85.
34. Ibid.
35. Azan, p. 131.
36. E. g. the 'Alawī Sultan Mawlāy Ismā'īl, whose Sudanese slave army was therefore known by the name of *'Abīd al-Bukhārī* or *Bawākhir*, cf. Terrasse, ii, p. 256.
37. Boyer, p. 91, quoting the *Exposé de l'état actuel de la société arabe*, Alger, 1844.
38. See list of queries addressed to the *'ulamā'* of Fēs and the responsum of Shaykh al-Islām al-Tasūlī, in *Tuḥfa*, i, pp. 206–217; and his query concerning the conduct of Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Sultan of Morocco, addressed to the *'ulamā'* of Cairo, ibid.

over by a *qāḍī* and linked to the aforementioned Supreme Council.[39] In every *khalīfalik* there was further a *qāḍī al-tarā'ik*, administrator of state property, and in every *āghālik*, a comptroller of district finances—both of them men of religion.[40]

It was not merely the letter of the Sacred Law that the Emir strove to apply. He aimed at the moral regeneration of his people by bringing it back to the simple and healthy ways of the early Muslims, *salaf*, and the spirit of the Qur'ān, in a fashion reminiscent of Wahhābism. Wine, gambling and smoking were strictly forbidden, especially in the army; the use of gold and silver ornaments by menfolk, except for arms, was frowned upon. Men were expected to perform the five daily prayers in the mosque and not in private. Whoever was caught at his shop during prayer-time was liable to flogging, and special wardens were appointed to watch over the application of this rule. Women were not permitted to enter mosques, and the doorkeepers were enjoined to mark with ochre any woman contravening this regulation.[41] Women of doubtful morals were forced to marry.[42]

In his fiscal policy, again, the Emir endeavoured not to exceed the bounds of qur'ānic taxation. He abolished the land-tax (*kharāj*, originally imposed on non-Moslems but applied in Algeria to the *ra'iyya*-tribes), and retained only the tithe (*'ushr*) on crops, collected after the harvest, and the poor-tax (*zakāt*) on livestock and on other movable values, ranging from one to three per-cent. An additional one-tenth of this was exacted as a collection fee. Yet the pressing needs of the nascent state and the resumption of war with the French in 1839 compelled the Emir to levy an emergency tax, *ma'ūna* or *i'āna*, and close his eyes to other exactions, as well as accept 'appointment gifts' (*ḥaqq al-burnus*)—which procedure was repeated down the echelons. To curb excessive exactions, the Emir tried to do away with this time-honoured but unorthodox practice, but his policy of frequently replacing the incumbents only served as an additional incentive for them to get rich quickly. Similarly ineffective was his system of assigning fixed salaries to his subordinates but at the same time permitting *āghās*, *qā'ids*, shaykhs, etc., to retain the traditional tenth on all revenue, as

39. *Tuḥfa*, i, p. 202.
40. Boyer, p. 91.
41. *Tuḥfa*, i, p. 202.
42. Azan, p. 135.

well as a certain percentage of the fines inflicted (*khaṭī'a*, lit. 'sin'). As a result, and despite the original intentions of the Emir, the tax-burden became crushing and ruthless, and taxes often had to be collected *manu militari*, by expeditionary detachments, *meḥallas*, as was the custom under the Turks and in Morocco. Taxation thus became a prime factor in alienating the tribes and driving them into the arms of the French.[43]

It has been averred that 'Abd al-Qādir's ambition was not merely to unite the divided Algerian tribes for and through the Holy War, but to establish in Algeria a national Arab state,[44] based on the un-qur'ānic principle of nationalities.[45] Now it is true that the Emir regarded himself as an Arab, both racially and culturally. He was well acquainted with Islamic and Arabic literature, proved himself a master of Arabic oratory, a poet of sorts,[46] and a proficient correspondent and writer.[47] But if he prided himself on being a scion of Quraysh and had the highest opinion of Arab ability and achievements in history, this was probably more due to the honourable mention the Prophet's tribe re-

43. On the whole question see Boyer, pp. 189–191; Azan, p. 133; Emerit, p. 297 (*ad fin.*).
44. R. Basset, p. 499.
45. Emerit, p. 148.
46. A collection of his poetry was published in Cairo (n.d.), under the title *Nuzhat al-khāṭir fi qarīḍ al-amīr 'Abd al-Qādir*; see further: H. Pérès, 'Les poésies d'Abd el Kader composées en Algérie et en France', in *Cinquantenaire de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger*, 1932, pp. 357–412; H. al-Sandūbī, *'A'yān al-Bayān*, i, pp. 183–190; a few specimens, some of them of exquisite beauty, are quoted in *Tuḥfa*, i, pp. 92f., 185, 277, 287f., 298f. For a German rendering of his pilgrimage *qaṣīda*, with some criticism, see *ZDMG*, xviii, p. 615f. In Sandūbī's opinion (p. 175), his poetry lacked brilliance (*rawnaq*) and elegance (*tanmīq*).
47. Among his prose writings are mentioned: 1) The *Kitāb al-Mawāqif* in 3 volumes, Cairo, 1329/1911—1344/1926 (about this work see below); 2) a booklet entitled *Dhikrā al-'āqil wa-tanbīh al-ghāfil*, Beirut, n.d. (according to *GAL* S, ii, p. 887, it was composed 1271 H.); French translation by G. Dugat, *Réflexion de l'intelligent et avis a l'indifférent*, Paris, 1850; contains three essays on the excellences of science in general, of religious science and of writing; 3) *al-Miqrād al-ḥādd liqaṭ' lisān al-ṭā'in fī dīn al-islām min ahl al-bāṭil wa'l-ilḥād*, an apologetical essay refuting certain charges against Islamic ethics, written during the author's captivity at Amboise (Nov. 1848–Oct. 1852). A summary of its contents is given in *Tuḥfa*, ii, pp. 27–35.

ceived in the Qur'ān (sūra 106) and to the Arabs' role as standard-bearers of Islam, than to any other reason.[48]

As for the racial aspect, he was acutely aware of, and involved in, the racial tensions and conflicts which were given free rein following the breakdown of organized government in Central and Western Algeria.[49] He disliked, even hated, the Turks and distrusted and clashed with their half-caste descendants, the *qūloghlīs*. On the other hand, he always considered the Kabyle Berbers natural partners in his war and his state[50] and strove persistently, despite stinging rebuffs,[51] to mollify their fiercely independent and democratic spirit,[52] to get them to join his ranks and accept his leadership.[53] To win them over, he appointed some of their leaders to positions of command. Thus the fiery Muḥammad al-Bū-Ḥamīdī, a former *zāwiya* classmate of his and chief of the strategically located Walhāṣa tribe[54]—it controlled the supply lines between Tlemsēn and the sea—was made *khalīfa* (deputy-commissioner) of the vitally important centre of Tlemsēn, where he assembled around him a sort of Berber *makhzen* (government).[55] A number of Berber tribes[56] recognized the Emir and cooperated with him, though they refused to fight outside their tribal areas and some of them defected later on.

Conversely, the Emir could not implicitly rely on the Arab tribes.

48. Cf. poem No. 6 in Pérès, p. 18 and *Dhikrā al-'āqil*, p. 128f.
49. For these racial conflicts see esp. Emerit, pp. 9–134.
50. It is noteworthy that his first general proclamation to the tribes following his election was expressly addressed to Arabs and Berbers alike. *Tuḥfa*, i, p. 100 (*ad fin.*).
51. Such as the famous Kabyle assembly at Boghni, May 1839; cf. Azan, pp. 119–120.
52. About the Kabyle spirit at that time see Gen. M. Daumas, *Moeurs et coutumes de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1847; H. M. Walmsley, *Sketches of Algeria during the Kabyle War*, London, 1858.
53. Yver, i, pp. 327, 329.
54. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Walhāṣa belonged to the Butr division of Berber tribes (*'Ibar*, Būlāq edition, vi, p. 91); they had, however, adopted Arabic speech since pre-hilālian times. (Ph. Marçais in *Initiation à l'Algérie*, Paris, 1957, p. 221).
55. Emerit, pp. 17, 21f., 268; *Tuḥfa*, i, pp. 137, 139; Azan, index; Roches, i, p. 214f.
56. E.g. the Walhāṣa, B. Manād, Shanwa, B. Manāṣir, B. Ja'd and B. Slīmān. Cf. Roches' report in Emerit, pp. 268–270.

He naturally sought his allies first and foremost among the Badawi horsemen of the Oranian plains, many of whom were followers of the Qādiriyya order,[57] and also because it was Arab tribes—Hāshim, Gharāba, and Banū 'Amir—who elected him and became the mainstay of his power and government. But on the whole they were, by his own admission, a turbulent and unruly element.[58] In fact, until 1836 and with the exception of the above-mentioned tribes, none of the others had yet joined his army, and even later a substantial number of them are described as either openly hostile or at least constantly suspect to the Emir, both in the Tell, the High Plateaux, and the Sahara.[59] This can be largely attributed to the Emir's strong antipathy to those tribal elements which had served the Turkish regime as *makhzen*-tribes and belonged to the predominantly Arab military caste, the *ajwād*[60]—a feeling that led him to abolish their privileges and put them on the same footing as the other subject (*ra'iyya*) tribes.[61] As a result, those tribes were among the first to go over to the French following the renewal of hostilities.[62]

In the light of the above, it seems safe to say that 'Abd al-Qādir's aim was not to create a nation-state in the modern sense, but to weld both Arabs and Berbers of the former Beylik into a strictly orthodox Islamic commonwealth through the agency of jihad.

57. Emerit, p. 201f. (Cf. E. de Neveu, *Ordres religieux chez les Musulmans d'Algérie*, p. 30). But, as pointed out by Boyer, p. 57, the Qādiriyya was by no means confined to the Arab element, as evidenced by the Brākna of the Banū Manāṣir, the *zāwiya* of *Menā'a* in Aurēs and the countless hill-tops bearing the name of the saint al-Jīlānī. For the distribution of the order in Algeria see Depont and Coppolani, pp. 310–315.
58. Cf. 'Abd al-Qādir's letter to Valée (14 April 1838): '... Quant à moi je ne désire que le bien et la paix entre vous et moi, mais les Arabes eux ne veulent que le désordre et la dispute entre vous et moi'. Yver, i, p. 326; cf. ibid., p. 328.
59. Apart from the hostile Dawā'ir and Zemāla who were a mixed lot, are mentioned as tribes of dubious loyalty the Burjiyya, Banū Qaddūr, Banū 'Ayād and the famous Flīta who repeatedly revolted against the Emir. Roches in Emerit, p. 269f.
60. Azan, pp. 129–131. About the *ajwād* see A. Berque, 'Esquisse d'une histoire de la seigneurie algérienne', *Revue de la Méditerranée*, Jan.-Febr. 1949, pp. 18–34.
61. Groups too powerful to be openly snubbed, such as the *makhzen* of Midya, were put in cold storage. Boyer, p. 85.
62. E.g. the 'Arīb in 1839. Ibid.

Similarly, the territorial connotation of nationality is not much in evidence in the Emir's recorded addresses and correspondence. He commonly refers to the inhabitants of the Regency as 'Muslims', or 'Arabs', or 'Kabails', but apparently never as 'Algerians' not to his country as 'Algeria', even though among the Europeans the latter term had come into current use long before it was officially adopted in 1839. The formula *al-dīn wa'l-waṭan*, or *al-dīn wa'l-bilād* does occur in his public utterances,[63] but apart from the fact that as a rule the emphasis is heavily on *dīn*,[64] it seems doubtful whether the term *waṭan*, commonly translated 'fatherland', or 'homeland', was used and understood by him in the comprehensive national sense. In Turkish administrative parlance, *waṭan* applied to a district or canton or, in most cases, to an area inhabited by a given tribe and co-extensive with it; often it would simply denote the tribe itself.[65] Hence its frequent occurrence in the plural form, *awṭān*, when obviously referring to different tribal areas, not countries.[66]

The precedence spiritual salvation takes in 'Abd al-Qādir's mind over attachment to the native soil can perhaps best be seen in his uncompromising attitude regarding the problem of Muslim tribes living under Christian rule. It was, of course, convenient for him to insist, in his dispute with the French over the interpretation of the Tafna Treaty (30 May 1837), that it was religion which forbade him to leave under Christian government populations which had recognized him as their chief. But no matter how politically expedient, there can be no doubt that this stand was in full agreement with his religious convictions. Since he could not prevent the French from keeping or taking

63. E.g. *Tuḥfa*, i, pp. 234, 282 (*ad fin.*), 236, 323 (*ad fin.*).
64. Significantly, the French conquerors are often dubbed 'enemy of our religion' (e.g. ibid., p. 286) or 'enemy of Allāh' (e.g. ibid., p. 306), but apparently never 'enemy of our country'. A dictum quoted approvingly by 'Abd al-Qādir (ibid., i, p. 271) enumerates, in their order of priority, five values a Muslim is in duty bound to preserve, namely religion, life (*nafs*), reason (*'aql*), kinship (*nasab*) and property (*māl*) — but makes no mention of his home or country. A similar atttiude seems to have obtained in Morocco. Cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris, 1922, p. 27.
65. Boyer, p. 15f., where he refers to de Baudicour, *La guerre et le gouvernement d'Algérie*, Paris, 1853, p. 271.
66. E.g.*Tuḥfa*, i, p. 257.

over Muslim territory, the only possible alternative he saw was to urge the tribes affected to emigrate to lands under Muslim rule. This he did in the form of a *responsum*, based on Qur'ān, oral tradition and authoritative legal opinion and written in Dhū al-Ḥijja 1258/1842–43. The arguments adduced in this missive in favour of emigration (*hijra*) can be summarized as follows:

(1) The Prophet's example; (2) *hijra* has been made obligatory by the Consensus of the Community (*ijmā'*) and he who disobeys the Consensus is an infidel (*kāfir*); (3) the obligation of *hijra* is a permanent one and will never lapse; (4) Allāh's earth is wide enough to receive those in need of emigration; hence those staying behind cannot use enforced dissimulation (*taqiyya*) as an excuse; (5) the *muhājir* need not fear loss of livelihood through expatriation, for his sustenance comes from Allāh, not from his land; (6) if the emigrant cannot take his family along, he must go alone, because keeping company with infidels and dwelling in their midst make a Muslim as one of them and invalidate his prayer, fasting, alms-giving, pilgrimage, jihad, testimony and judgment; (7) whosoever places himself under the protection (*dhimma*) of the Infidel gladdens his heart, and by doing so commits apostasy, even as does a Muslim who wears a European hat (*burnayṭa*).[67]

In the same spirit he writes to Bugeaud, who had vaunted the military might of the French ... 'We shall die as Muslims ... The earth of Allāh is vast ... Our force is in our mules, our camels and our horses, and in a God who protects us and knows our hearts' ...[68]

This retort is entirely in keeping with 'Abd al-Qādir's basic attitude towards the French up to his captivity (1847). To him they were primarily infidels, enemies of Allāh and his religion.[69] They had invaded

67. The full text is given in *Tuḥfa*, i, pp. 268–276.
68. Emerit, p. 151. It is noteworthy in this connection that four centuries earlier, a similar exodus was preached to the Muslims of Spain, in conformity with the Law of Islam, as soon as the vassalage of the Emirs of Granada to the Kings of Castile was proclaimed, i.e. quite some time before the actual fall of Granada. See A. Cour, *L'Établissement des dynasties des chérifs au Maroc*, Paris, 1904, p. 45. For a marabout-inspired emigration movement from Kabylia to Syria following 'Abd al-Qādir's surrender see Depont and Coppolani, p. 260f. For a more recent example of Muslim mass migration see the report of Barbedette, *L'Exode de Tlemcen en* 1911, Beaugency, 1914.
69. See above, n. 64.

a land of Islam, and Qur'ān and Sunna made it his bounden duty to meet their aggression with jihad. In fact, the Holy War was the very reason and purpose of his elevation to the Emirate. True, he had concluded pacts with the French. But then there was the famous precedent of the Prophet's pact with the pagan Mekkans at Ḥudaybiya; there were, based on that precedent, numerous examples of similar truces in Islamic history.[70] Finally, the treaty of the Tafna was remarkably advantageous to the Emir as it left in his hands two-thirds of Algeria, enabled him to consolidate his hold over the tribes, organize the state, introduce reforms, create a regular army and defence system. The war matériel supplied to him by the French was largely instrumental in breaking down tribal resistance and sealed the fate of 'Ayn-Māḍī.[71] Yet, as he later admitted himself, he never considered the pact as more than a temporary truce, a preparatory stage for the final round, both because he did not trust the French to keep the peace indefinitely, and also because he believed in his ultimate victory through divine assistance. Last but not least, he was pressed by the people, to whom jihad was the only *raison d'être* of his leadership, and his continued alliance with the Infidel had aroused resentment and disaffection among them. It was therefore convenient for him that the French offered him a *casus belli* by their passage through the Iron Gates, the Bībān.

From that moment on he pursued the war relentlessly and refused to listen to any counsels of surrender, insisting that he would fight the Christians 'as long as there was life in his body and a rifle in his hands'.[72] After the capture of his *zemāla* (May 1843), he is reported to have declared to his host-tribe, the Ḥāshims: 'All the Muslims who were killed in the war or fell into the hands of the Christians I regard as an agreeable offering to Our Lord Muḥammad, the Prophet of Allāh. As for those who are left I shall lead them to the Ūlād Sīdī Shaykh at al-Abyaḍ,[73] where their families will be in safety... As for

70. On the whole question of treaty-making in Islam see now M. Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, Baltimore, 1955, pp. 134f., 210f., 218f., and *passim*.
71. See above, n. 28.
72. Daumas, *Renseignements*, p. 30ff.
73. This long-established maraboutic tribe, centred on its two *zāwiyas* at al-Abyaḍ in the Oranian Sahara, had grown wealthy on votive offerings of pilgrims (*ziyāra*) and protection money (*ghifāra*), and its religious influence was left as far South and West as Gurāra and the Tāfīlālt, respectively. A quarrel over the division of revenue between the main branches of the maraboutic family had split the tribe into two hostile clans, Sharāga and Gharāba, involving them in internecine warfare that lasted on and off till 1829, when a settlement was reached and unity restored. The importance of the tribe's combined resistance and recruiting potential was tellingly demonstrated later in its sweeping insurrection against the French that was to last nearly twenty years (1864–1883). For the history of the tribe and the Shaykhiyya see C. Trumelet, *Histoire de l'insurrection des Ouled Sidi Ech Chikh de 1864 à 1880*.

myself I shall continue the Holy War until I die. The dominion of the Christians will come to an end, because the Holy Scriptures which have predicted their coming have also fixed the time of their departure in the fifteenth year'.[74]

In his personal relations with Christians prior to his captivity, the Emir was as a rule reserved and aloof. Apart from prisoners of war and a number of adventurers, renegades and deserters, the Emir had very little direct contact with Europeans of rank. Even these were mostly brief, intermittent and always official. The sole exception is Léon Roches, but even he was admitted to the Emir's intimacy only because he had become a convert to Islam. In the presence of a Christian, 'Abd al-Qādir would involuntarily contract his features and lower his eyes, as if to avoid defilement.[75]

His experience with the Infidels impelled him to seek information about European politics and rivalries, but this was not conducive to heightening his regard for Western civilization or to any desire to import any of it into his country. He did make a few borrowings, but they were of a purely technical and material nature and concerned mainly the organization and equipment of his army.

A final clue to an understanding of 'Abd al-Qādir may be sought in his attitude to ascetism (*zuhd*) and sufism. His dedication to the former was wholehearted and obvious. In a letter of Valée he quotes a saying of the Prophet to the effect that the Muslims had two virtues, Poverty and the Holy War.[76] He practised as well as preached the renunciation of wordly possessions and ambitions. His personal needs were few and easily satisfied, and extreme frugality and self-sufficiency were the rule in his household. The rosary was constantly in his hands,

74. Daumas, *Renseignements*, p. 33.
75. Azan, p. 125.
76. Yver, iii, p. 229.

while his lips moved in silent prayer even when he was giving audience. Much of his time was devoted supererogatory exercises, such as fasting —at least one complete day per week—vigils, lectures on theology (*tawḥīd*) and meditation.[77]

More problematical is the question of 'Abd al-Qādir's commitment to sufism. In later years, his genuinely mystical relationship with God is amply evidenced by the fact that he successively took the orders of the Shādhiliyya (Mekka, A. H. 1280, through Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fāsī) and the Mawlawiyya of Syria (through Shaykh Darwīsh Ṣabrī);[78] that he sent two scholars to Konya to collate manuscripts of Ibn 'Arabī's *Futūḥāt makkiyya* and following that lectured on the text (A. H. 1289);[79] that like the great monist of Murcia, he was said to have been favoured with a momentous vision (*fatḥ 'aẓīm*) during his Mekkan pilgrimage;[80] and, above all, by his *magnum opus*, the *Kitāb al-mawāqif*, an exegetical work containing 372 discourses on passages or expressions found in the Qur'ān, the Ḥadīth and some theological works.[81] Its character is described by the author in his introduction as follows: 'These are spiritual incantations, *nafathāt rūḥiyya*, inspirations of the All-Glorious, conveying knowledge that is a divine gift, a secret from the Unseen World, beyond the grasp of reason and the literal meanings of texts, apart from those categories of notions that can be acquired or looked up in books'.[82]

The author goes on to describe, in rhymed prose and in verse, using terms and imagery current in classical sufi literature, the strivings and sensations of the mystic in his quest for the One and the Infinite, the identity of Thou and I, of the seeker and the sought, the lover and the beloved, the cupbearer, and drinker, the wine and the cup.[83] There he echoes Dārānī's gnosis, Bisṭāmī's theopathic utterances in the state of self-annihilation (*fanā'*), Ibn al-Fāriḍ's intoxication with Divine Love, and Ibn al-'Arabī's doctrine of the universality of religious ex-

77. Roches, i, pp. 280–283; Azan, pp. 124–127.
78. al-Shaṭṭī, p. 155.
79. Ibid.
80. Muḥammad al-Bashīr Ẓāfir al-Azharī, p. 217.
81. See above, n. 47. For his comments on Ḥallāj see *Hocein Mansūr Hallāj, Dīwān,* Traduit et présenté par L. Massignon. Cahiers du Sud, 1955, p. 26.
82. *Mawāqif*, i, p. 3.
83. Ibid., p. 8.

perience and the receptivity of the mystic's soul to all forms and places of worship, be they Christian, Jewish, Zoroastrian or others.[84] Lastly, like a *leitmotiv*, there runs through his writings the idea of the utter incapacity of the human mind to comprehend, and the tongue to express, the Divine Truth and Reality.[85]

The latter theme—the limitations and fallibility of Reason—assumes particular significance in 'Abd al-Qādir's thinking, as it proves the indispensable role performed by prophets in the life of nations, because they alone are endowed with the capacity for intuitive recognition, with the inner eye, which enables them to foresee future events and provide guidance to rational men who must all, therefore, depend on them for their salvation. This thesis forms the subject of an essay on the nature of prophecy wherein our author reveals, both in phrasing and reasoning, direct dependence on Ghazzālī's spiritual auto-biography, the famed *Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*.[86]

The question must be asked, however, whether 'Abd al-Qādir was acquainted with full-grown sufi doctrine, and especially monistic sufism, p r i o r to his exile, and to what an extent he can be regarded at that time as a practising sufi. He does not seem to have often or actively participated in the weekly assembly (*ḥaḍra*) of his Qādirī brethren, but there is the evidence of an eye-witness to show that ecstatic experiences were not altogether foreign to him.[87] A possible pointer to a mystical approach can perhaps be found in a poem addressed to 'Abd al-Qādir by his panegyrist, Qaddūr b. Ruwayla, on the occasion of his taking possession of al-Midya, in which the Emir is hailed as the 'Pole of Eminences', *quṭb al-ma'ālī*, the 'Master of Time' *ṣāḥib al-waqt*, and as the 'Sacred Preserve of E s o t e r i c and Literalist Lore, by whom is rebutted the natural Philosopher', *ḥimā al-'ilm bāṭinan ẓāhiriyyan man bihi rudi'a al-faylasūf al-ṭabī'ī*.[88] Yet in his own poetry there seems to be nothing that goes beyond expressions of ardent devo-

84. Ibid., pp. 151, 172.
85. Ibid., p. 159.
86. This essay is contained in his pamphlet *Dhikrā al-'āqil wa-tanbīh al-ghāfil* (see above, n. 47), pp. 61–68. For its dependence on Ghazzālī compare *Dhikrā*, pp. 51, 53, 61–64, 68 with *Munqidh* (Cairo, n. d.,) pp. 30–31, 32.
87. An interesting description of the Emir caught unawares in a moment of mystic trance, is given in Roches, i, p. 320.
88. *Tuḥfa*, i, p. 191, l. 24.

tion to the Prophet,[89] with the possible exception of a poem of welcome addressed to Shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad al-Shādhilī al-Qusanṭīnī, in which the Emir says of himself: *'fa'l-āna sirtu min al-yaqīn biḥaqqihi wabi'aynihi*,[90] obviously alluding to the sufi terms *ḥaqq al-yaqīn* and *'ayn al-yaqīn*;[91] this poem, however, already belongs to the period of his captivity at Amboise.

And yet, considering 'Abd al-Qādir's sufic family background, his extreme piety and religious enthusiasm, his youthful experiences in the East (particularly the courses he took with Shaykh Khālid at Damascus), and his numerous contacts with mystics and marabouts at home, it seems safe to assume that, the scantiness of the evidence notwithstanding, sufism of the moderate, orthodox kind must have been close to his heart even during his military career, *sīra sayfiyya*, and that consequently his later development as a mystic did not constitute a break of continuity, but rather the ripening of seeds that had lain for many years embedded in his soul as in fertile ground, overlaid by pressing political, military and other preoccupations.

Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Krim

As we come now to consider the incidence of religion on 'Abd al-Krīm's background, thought and action, as compared to those of 'Abd al-Qādir, we find that, apart from a few broad similarities such as the tribal structure and the intense Islamic sentiment of their environment as well as the confrontation with an invading infidel power[92]—such a comparison reads almost like a study in contrasts.

'Abd al-Krīm is neither Arab[93] nor sharif to begin with. He springs from pure Berber stock, being a member of the Banū Wuriāghal, one of the most powerful, warlike and independent tribes in the Central Rīf,[94] which, in addition to their Berber language,[95] have retained the pre-Roman ethnic name of *Amāzigh* (pl. *imazighen*).

His family, unlike 'Abd al-Qādir's, had early opportunity for contacts with Europe. His clan, the Ait Khaṭṭāb (hence his *nisba* al-Khaṭṭābī[96]), was located at and around Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and facing the Island of the Peñon, a Spanish *presidio* since 1673. This exposed it to Spanish attempts at invasion—hence the place came to be known as the Bay of the Martyrs, *marsat* (*sic*) *al-mujāhidīn*—but also encouraged trade, albeit one-way, with the *presidio* and provided for other contacts through the seasonal migration of Rīfī labourers to Tangier and Orany.[97] By the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, Spanish and German businessmen and explorers became actively interested in the mining potentialities of the Rīf, including the Banū Wuriāghal area.[98] As a result, the elder 'Abd al-Krīm, described as a forward-looking man, got involved with the German brothers Mannesmann, and—when the latter retired into the background following Germany's defeat in the War[99]—with their frontsman, the Spanish industrialist Echevarrieta of Bilbao. With a view to making the most of his economic assets, he sent his younger

89. Such as poems Nos. 7, 16, 17 in Pérès, pp. 23, 31, 33.
90. Poem No. 19, l. 7–9 in Pérès, p. 40; *Tuḥfa*, ii p. 19, last line.
91. For sufi interpretations of the qur'ānic expressions *yaqīn* and *'ayn al-yaqīn* (cii, 5, 7) see L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris, 1954, pp. 36, 295, 410.
92. Other points have been noted by R. Basset (see above, n. 10).
93. His claim of descent from Ḥijāzī Arabs who had allegedly settled in the Rīf around 900 (J. Roger-Mathieu, *Mémoires d'Abd el Krim*, Paris, 1927, p. 55) merely accords with the universal practice among Berber leaders attaining prominence and need not be taken seriously.
94. For a general survey and bibliography of the Rīf (and Jibāla) see 'Rif et Jbala', *Bull. Enseign. Public du Maroc*, Jan. 1926. The basic work on the tribes of the Rīf, though subject to caution, remains A. Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Oran, 1895, esp. i, pp. 47–198. See further T. G. Figueras, *Marruecos*, Madrid, 1944; J. Dumaine, 'Les élements du problème du Rif', *L'Afrique française*, Rens. Col. 2 bis, Febr. 1926.
95. The Rīf dialects have been studied, among others, by S. Biarnay, *Etudes sur les dialectes berbères du Rif*, Paris, 1917.
96. It is not quite clear whether 'Abd el-Krīm ever used this *nisba* to allege descent from the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; cf. J. Ladreit de Lacharrière, *Le rêve d'Abd el Krim*, Paris, 1925, p. 91.
97. The average annual number of Rīfī harvesters in Orany was officially estimated at 40-50,000. *Survey of International Affairs*, 1925, O.U.P., 1927, p. 108, n. 1.
98. About mining in the Rīf and its relation to 'Abd al-Krīm's revolt see Ladreit de Lacharrière, pp. 18ff., 83ff., 93, 123f.; A. Wirth, *Der Kampf um Marokko*, München, 1925, pp. 33, 35, 175f.
99. During the war years the elder 'Abd al-Krīm is said to have transmitted German arms shipments to 'Abd al-Malik, a grandson of Emir 'Abd al-Qādir, believed to be busy creating trouble along the interzonal border. Ladreit de Lacharrière, p. 99f.

son Muḥammad to take a university course at Malaga and then (in 1917) to study mining engineering at Madrid.

The elder son Muḥammad (born around 1882), by contrast, received a traditional education. From the qur'ānic school at Ajdīr he went to Teṭwān and then to Fēs, where he attended for two years the Qarawiyyīn University, which at that time still offered mainly courses in Mālikī jurisprudence and Arabic grammar, prosody and rhetoric, taught after the medieval fashion.[100] It is not likely that his relatively short stay at Fēs enabled him to acquire a solid Arabic and Islamic culture, neither did it encourage him, given his eminently pragmatic turn of mind, to poetic or literary activity of any kind. Yet his spell of studies at this most renowned institution, coupled with an intelligence of no mean order, were sufficient to establish his reputation as a savant among the ignorant Rīfī tribesmen and confer on him status and prestige.

Barely out of his 'teens, he went to the important Spanish *presidio* of Melilla. After three years of teaching school he was appointed (in 1906) editor of the Arabic supplement of the most popular local daily, *Telegrama del Rif*.[101] In 1907 he was made Arabic secretary of the Central Office for Native Affairs, and formed a close friendship with the officer in charge, Col. Morales. In 1912 he was promoted to assessor in the same office, then appointed *qāḍī at the Sharī'a* Court of Melilla and finally, in 1914, Chief *Qāḍī* (*qāḍī quḍāt*) of the Region. A year later, he was engaged to teach his native Berber dialect[102] at the Arabic Language Academy founded by Gen. Jordana, and at the same time became editor of the aforementioned daily.[103]

100. E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, 1907, p. 279; Lévi-Provençal, pp..13–16. For a general description of the Qarawiyyīn see R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Paris, 1949, pp. 453–479; P. Marty, *Le Maroc de demain*, Paris, 1925, pp. 1–83.
101. For this paper see Vicente Ferrando La Hoz, *Apuntes para la historia de la imprenta en el Norte de Marruecos*, Tetuán, 1949, p. 18. About 'Abd al-Krīm's collaboration, ibid., p. 20.
102. According to Figueras, p. 176, he was teaching Shelḥa. This must evidently not be taken literally, as the dialects spoken in the Rīf belong to the *tāmāzīght* (Zenātiyya) group, not to the *tashelḥait* (Maṣmūda) group, whose domain is Central and Southern Morocco. Cf. E. Laoust in *Initiation au Maroc*, Paris, 1925, pp. 204, 214.
103. Figueras, ibid.; Ladreit de Lacharrière, p. 94f.; Roger-Mathieu, p. 56f., and oral communication of Gen. Riquelme to the present writer.

These varied functions familiarized 'Abd al-Krīm with European ways and methods of government and the administration and organization of the army. They enabled him to understand and follow the interplay of power politics and economics in the international arena and particularly the nature and importance of modern nationalism. They also made him proficient in the Spanish language and in journalism. Throughout this period of political apprenticeship he made friends with a number of Spaniards, especially army officers, which seems to have profited his clan but may also have laid him (and his brother) open to the charge of having 'sold themselves to the Spanish'.[104]

The blame for the rupture between him and the Spanish has been put by French writers on the Spaniards and by Spanish writers on the French.[105] There is, however, converging evidence to suggest that the main cause of the estrangement may have been the general disillusionment of the Khaṭṭābī family with the way the Spanish authorities conceived and implemented the protectorate, which left no room for internal autonomy, and last, but not least—for the free disposal of its mining resources. Already in 1915 the elder 'Abd al-Krīm had lodged complaints with the Spanish and Moroccan Governments and this ultimately led to his son Muḥammad's eleven-month imprisonment.[106] Long before this happened, the latter himself had begun asking his superior, Col. (later Gen.) Riquelme, why it was that the Spanish refused to accept the independence of the Rīf, seeing that it was capable of standing on its own feet, just as a father permits his son, upon reaching maturity, to become master in his own house.[107] Riquelme ascribes these ponderings to the influence of German agents, but it seems likely that, apart from the material interests involved, 'Abd al-Krīm was affected by the nationalist ideas of his former classmate, Idrīs b. Sa'īd, whom he later appointed as his negotiator with the Spanish.[108]

The experience acquired during the preparatory stage, 'Abd al-Krīm put to good use after the general rising of the Rīfī tribes following the

104. 'Abd al-Krīm to Roger-Mathieu, *Mémoires*, p. 86.
105. Cf. Figueras, p. 176f., with *L'Afrique française*, xxxi (Oct. 1921), p. 323f.
106. *Survey*, p. 110f.
107. Oral communication of Gen. Riquelme.
108. *L'Afrique française*, xxxiv (1924), p. 424.

Spanish débâcle at Anwāl (22 June 1921). Within a short time he managed to lay the foundations of an embryonic state, put an end to tribal anarchy and create a measure of political solidarity based on the common desire to oust the invader. He set up a government which, however rudimentary, represented a mixture of both traditional and modern features.[109] His main concern was with the creation of a modern army and the construction of roads and bridges for its use.[110] How successful his efforts were in this respect became manifest during his brilliant campaign against the French in the spring of 1925, when in less than a month he was able to take and destroy some 50 French army positions along the interzonal border,[111] thus posing a direct threat to Fēs and to the Tāza Corridor, the French umbilical cord connecting Algeria with Morocco.

No less significant was the development of his political thinking along modern nationalist lines. A month after Anwāl he seems to have been satisfied with the independence of his own tribe, the Banū Wuriāghal.[112] Later (in 1923) he convened a national assembly composed of the chief of the Berber tribal councils (*jamā'as*) and made it proclaim the independence of the Rīfī Republican State (*dawla jumhūriyya rīfiyya*), with himself as its president, as well as president of the Assembly.[113] The choice of the label "republican', as he explained later on, was not meant at the time to convey the notion of representative government with an elected parliament—which was not possible for the fledgling state—but merely to denote a body politic composed of a confederation of independent tribes.[114] There may be some truth

109. The most reliable report on the composition of the Rīfī *makhzen* (as of 24 Dec. 1925) seems to be that of L. Gabrielli, *'Abd el Krīm et les évènements du Rif* (1924–1926) — *Notes et souvenirs recueillis et presentés par R. Coindreau,* Casablanca, 1953, p. 42. Variants of his lists can be found in *Oriente Moderno,* vi (1926), p. 292f.; Ladreit de Lacharrière, p. 135; 'Allāl al-Fāsī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥarakāt al-istiqlāliyya fi'l-maghrib al-'arabī,* Cairo, 1948, p. 140.
110. On the Rīfī army see Gabrielli, pp. 46–52.
111. For the organization of the front see front map in *L'Afrique française,* Rens. col. N. 2, xxxv (1925), p. 39.
112. According to *Le Libéral,* 'Abd al-Krīm used a seal inscribed with the words 'The Independent Nation of the Banū Wuriāghal'. *L'Afrique française,* xxxi (Sept. 1921), p. 270.
113. al-Fāsi, p. 139.
114. *al-Minhāj,* ii, parts 1–2, p. 96.

in the suggestion that in doing so the Emir was prompted by the desire to win Western understanding and sympathy,[115] but it must be stressed that this label also eminently fitted the democratic traditions of the Berbers.

On the other hand, the proclamation of an independent republic within the national boundaries of the Sharīfian Empire implied a challenge to the absolute authority of the Sultan in Fēs—an implication that acquired increasing substance by the sultanian bearing of the Emir, particularly after his irruption into the French Zone.[116]. Hence the opprobrious name of *rogui,*[117] i.e. rebellious pretender, by which the Emir was referred to at the time in the colonial press and by some writers. This may be readily understood as a means to discredit the Emir both in Morocco and abroad. But it cannot be too strongly emphasized that it is a far cry from the traditional type of the *rogui* to 'Abd al-Krīm. The former was a tribal rebel, fanatical, ignorant, xenophobic, miracle-mongering and limited in outlook and objectives; the latter constituted a *novum* in the religio-political annals of the Maghreb—the first manifestation of modern militant Arabo-Berber nationalism and Islamic modernism in a purely Berber environment.[118]

115. R. Montagne, *Révolution au Maroc,* Paris, 1953, p. 42.
116. Gabrielli, p. 19, 20, 22; al-Fāsi, p. 139, denies that 'Abd al-Krīm ever aspired to the sultanate.
117. The name is said to go back to a Moroccan rebel of the past century, Jilālī al-Rōghī, of the Arab tribe Sufyān, sub-division Rawāgha (hence the *nisba* 'rōghī') in the Gharb province, who rose against the Sultan, Mawlāy Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, during the latter's war with Spain. Ladreit de Lacharrière, p. 100f.; Terrasse, ii, p. 329.
118. A different view was held by the late R. Montagne. The eminent sociologist of the Maghreb, who had a personal share in the surrender of the Emir, disbelieved in the affinity between 'Abd al-Krīm's way of thinking and the ideology of modern Muslim nationalism and persisted in seeing in 'Abd al-Krīm a traditional jihad-leader who embodied the 'résistances acharnés qu'oppose l'Islam traditionnel à l'influence de l'Occident... Il représente authentiquement le vieux Maroc des tribus et tout ce qui le distingue des pays d'Asie et d'Egypte conduits par leur élites sémi-modernisées'. Op. cit., p. 151f. Yet Montagne concedes (ibid., p. 157) that 'Abd al-Krīm 'introduced everywhere a modern puritanism in conformity with the reformist trends of the times, showing thereby that he knew how to enlist the forces of modern Islam in the task of consolidating his power'. Cf. also id., *Les Berbères et le Makhzen au Sud du Maroc,* Paris, 1930, p. 416.

The modern nationalist tendency of 'Abd al-Krīm is clearly reflected in his appeals, statements, missives and interviews, such as his appeal to the French Parliament (July 1923), in which he speaks of 'our national renascence',[119] his official statement of policy and peace conditions, issued at Shefshāwen (28 Jan. 1925);[120] his reply to the Spanish offers (15 July 1925), in which he speaks of 'modern ideas and the principles of civilization' on which the Rīf government was founded, denounces the Spanish 'colonialist party', and invokes human rights, the right of self-government, international law, and the Versailles Peace Treaty;[121] and especially his letter to the Student Association in Buenos Aires, on the occasion of the centenary of a Peruvian victory over the Spanish (June 1925).[122] In the latter missive he anticipates, *inter alia,* the coming liberation of Algeria, Tunisia and Tripolitania, and envisions a free Morocco and a free Egypt as 'the two pillars that will ensure the revival of this race to whom belongs the glory of having already given three civilizations to humanity'.[123]

In keeping with his modernist and nationalist creed, 'Abd al-Krīm emphatically denies waging a religious war: 'The time of holy wars is past; we no longer live in the Middle Ages or in the time of the Crusades'.[124] Commenting upon a remark about him by the Spanish dictator Primo de Rivera, he said: 'I am not a fanatic, because I am proud of being a Muslim. Only I do not care about other people's beliefs . . .As for nationalism, I a m a nationalist'.[125]

A number of foreign correspondents of prominent European and American papers were convinced of the sincerity of the Emir's nationalist and patriotic feelings. Among them were W. B. Harris of the London *Times,*[126] Roger-Mathieu of *Le Matin,*[127] the American V. Scheean of the *Near & Middle Eastern Association*[128] and the correspondent of the *Morning Post.*[129]

Characteristically, many detected a strong resemblance between the Rīfī state and the Turkey of Mustafa Kemal, and some even spoke of hidden links between the two.[130] Ajdīr was dubbed 'Angora of the West',[131] and the Emir—the 'Mustafa Kemal of the Maghreb'.[132] Now it is true that 'Abd al-Krīm was an ardent admirer of the great Turkish reformer and of his policy of eradicating religious fanaticism.[133] His memorialist Roger-Mathieu records that the Emir did not think much of the Egyptian national movement but when the conversation turned to Turkey his eyes lit up and he was full of praise for Mustafa Kemal and the Turks.[134] It would, however, be rash to conclude from this that 'Abd al-Krīm shared Atatürk's secularist conception of the modern state. He claimed that his state was to be founded on the principles of the Qur'ān and the best achievements of the West in science and industry.[135] He insisted that there was no contradiction between the Qur'ān and modernization.[136] He branded as calumny the rumour spread by the marabouts in the Rīf that he was planning to revolutionize the manners and customs of his country, emancipate the women, and the like.[137]

This brings us to the important question of 'Abd al-Krīm's relationship with the marabouts and sufi orders. As the student of Western Islam well knows, saint-worship had become extremely widespread in Jibāla and Rīf since the 13th century and the number of saints, leaders and martyrs of the Holy War in this region literally ran into the hundreds.[138] Most of them had only local influence but a few were

119. The complete text was first published in the Cairene *al-Siyāsa* on 25 July 1923. *Oriente Moderno,* v (1925), p. 499 f.
120. *Survey,* pp. 124–125.
121. Signed by his Foreign Minister Muḥammad Azerkān. The text is given in W. B. Harris, *France, Spain and the Rif,* London, 1925, p. 250f.
122. *L'Afrique française,* xxxv (1925), p. 362f. A letter of almost identical phrasing, addressed to the group 'Renovación' in Buenos Aires, is given ibid., p. 532. The letter was first published in *Nova Cataluña.*
123. Ibid., p. 363.
124. Gabrielli, p. 85.
125. Ibid., p. 88.
126. Harris, p. 51.
127. Roger-Mathieu, p. 52.
128. *L'Afrique française,* xxxv (1925), p. 362.
129. Quoted by al-Fāsī, p. 136.
130. *L'Afrique française,* xxxiii (1923), p. 554; id. xxxiv (Nov. 1924), p. 606.
131. Id., xxxvi (1926), p. 94.
132. Id., xxxiv (1924), p. 478.
133. *al-Minhāj,* ibid., p. 97f.
134. Roger-Mathieu, p. 153f.
135. *Survey,* p. 124 f.
136. Gabrielli, p. 30, quoting P. E. Mowrer, correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News.*
137. See below, p. 172.
138. The earliest testimony to this fact is 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Ismā'īl al-Bādisī's *al-Maqṣad al-sharīf wa'l-manza' al-laṭīf fī dhikr ṣulaḥā al-rīf,* a hagiographical work containing the lives of 43 Rīfī saints, written 711/1311–12.

'Poles' (*aqṭāb*), founders of new orders or originators of a new sharīfian branch, such as Mawlāy 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh, founder of the Idrīsid *sharīfs* of Jabal 'Alam (see above); the founder of the House of Wazzān; the founder of the Jazūliyya order; and (at the beginning of the 19th century) the founder of the Darqāwa among the Banū Zarwāl. Often the saints would become political leaders of their tribes. Naturally, the *muqaddams* (abbots, priors) of *zāwiyas* tended to take a dim view of the emergence of a rival power within their preserve. They knew from history that the new leader would first of all do away with their privileges and channel into his private *makhzen* all those taxes, revenue from pious endowments, *ḥubūs*, votive offerings and other income that formerly used to find their way to the *zāwiya*. However, as a rule they shrank from openly opposing the new leader and preferred to submit or even collaborate with him until his power began to decline. Then they would speed up their work of subversion from within until his following fell apart and he was done for.[139]

This recurrent process which runs through the 'inner' history of Morocco from the 15th century onwards, assumed particular intensity in the Rīf War, both because of the character of the region as a march of Islam and a stronghold of maraboutism, and also on account of the multiplicity of contending forces engaged in it: 'Abd al-Krīm in the Rīf, Raysūlī in the Jibāla (see below), the French, the Spanish, and agents of other powers in between and everywhere.

No less significant, 'Abd al-Krīm himself was not a product of maraboutism or sufism[140]; in fact, he had no sympathy for them.

Transl. by G. S. Colin in *Archives Marocaines,* xvi (1926). On this work see further Lévi-Provençal, p. 221f., and id., *Les Manuscrits arabes de Rabat,* Paris, 1921, pp. 140–141.

139. On this process see esp. E. Michaux-Bellaire, 'A Propos du Rif', *Archives Marocaines,* xvii (1927), p. 220f. On the situation of saint-worship in the Rīf at the time of 'Abd al-Krīm see Michaux-Bellaire in *Rif et Jbala,* pp. 71–74; A. Mouliéras, i, pp. 35–198.

140. According to F. S. Vidal, 'Religious Brotherhoods in Moroccan Politics' (*Middle East Journal,* Oct. 1950, p. 435), it was then believed that 'Abd al-Krīm was a one-time member of the Darqāwa, since the latter at first supported his war in the Ghumāra, or because earlier (between 1915–1921) they had fought his rival al-Raysūlī. Vidal himself admits, however, that there is no evidence to support this belief.

There is reliable evidence to show that already around 1915, while still at Melilla, 'Abd al-Krīm looked askance on the sufi orders on account of their heterodox practices.[141] It is noteworthy that the authors of 'Abd al-Krīm's writ of investiture (*bay'a*) expected the Emir to take steps to eradicating those practices 'that have no basis in religion'.[142]

During the Rīf war the animosity between 'Abd al-Krīm and the sufi orders and marabouts was common knowledge in the area.[143] The Emir was well aware of the particularist action of the *zāwiyas* and saw in them, therefore, not only a drain on the fiscal capacity of the tribes and a drag on his war effort but also a main obstacle to the unification of the fragmented and mutually antagonistic Berber tribes. However, just as the brotherhoods were not eager for a clash with him, so also 'Abd al-Krīm strove to avoid open conflict and tried to win them over, and, failing this, sought to discredit them in the eyes of the people and limit their influence to the precincts of their *zāwiyas*.[144]

When his military strength began to decline, he strove to bolster the morale of the tribes and counteract the defeatist propaganda of the *zāwiyas* by disseminating the doctrines of the Salafiyya and puritanism, and by combating the anthropolatrous rites and customs involved in saint-worship. According to a report by the *faqīh* Abū Liḥya, ex-Minister of Justice in the Rīf government and member of a family attached to maraboutism and miracle-mongering, 'Abd al-Krīm obliged him to study the Salafī-inspired *Manār*-Commentary of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā and other works designed for orthodox reform.[145]

141. Oral communication of Gen. Riquelme.

142. Excerpts of the document, in French translation, are given in Roger-Mathieu, pp. 107–109. The Arabic text does not seem to have appeared anywhere in print.

143. Cf. Harris, p. 208.

144. Ibid., p. 209. Drague, p. 109, n. 8, mentions some marabouts who were appointed to positions of command by 'Abd al-Krīm.

145. al-Fāsī, p. 137. The identity of Abū Liḥya seems doubtful. *L'Afrique française,* xxxv (1925), p. 459, gives the name of the Rīfī Minister of Justice as Bāsharqī at-Tūzīnī. Gabrielli, p. 44, on the other hand, states that 'al-faqīh Bū-Liḥya' was the nickname of Sī Ben 'Alī who was assistant to the Rīfī Minister of War, Bū-Dhirā' (Budra), and describes him as an eloquent man who used to preach jihad among the tribes. According to al-Fāsī, ibid., he was exiled to Aṣfī (Safi) after the end of the Rīf War, and presumably it was there where he met him.

Where persuasion or indirect pressure did not achieve the desired effect he would not shrink from eliminating dubious, recalcitrant or positively hostile maraboutic elements, particularly when his military position grew more and more precarious and signs of demoralization multiplied in his camp.[146] His anger was especially aroused by the Darqāwa who had first helped him against the Spanish and Raysūlī but later disowned him. Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Darqāwī of the *zāwiya* of Amejjūṭ[147] (Amjot) counteracted 'Abd al-Krīm's anti-French agitation among the Banū Zarwāl, a strategically located Berber tribe straddling the border between the French and the Spanish zones. In 1924 a Darqāwī agitator fomented a serious revolt against the Emir in the Ghumāra country, which was put down with great difficulty and at the cost of heavy losses;[148] as a reprisal, 'Abd al-Krīm burned down the *zāwiya* of Amejjūṭ. Another victim was the *zāwiya* of Mawlāy Bū-shtā in the area of the Fishtāla, burned on 17 July 1926.[149]

A most important event in his long-drawn tug-of-war with the marabouts was the capture of his chief rival in the Jibāla, al-Raysūlī,[150] an alleged descendant of Mawlāy 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh of Jabal 'Alam and a combination of sharif, marabout, savant, *rogui* and Robin Hood. Carried in a moribund state to Ajdīr, he died in 'Abd al-Krīm's prison in April 1924.[151]

However, with the closing of the Franco-Spanish ring around 'Abd al-Krīm, neither Salafī indoctrination nor threats or reprisals could stem the rising tide of disaffection. Only one maraboutic family, the

146. al-Fāsī, ibid.; Drague, p. 108.
147. This is the correct spelling of the toponym, according to Lévi-Provençal, p. 342, n. 2.
148. Roger-Mathieu, p. 135.
149. Harris, p. 236. This *zāwiya*, named after the saint Abū al-Shitā (Būshtā) Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khammār, was not affiliated to any order. Cf. Drague, pp. 67, 77.
150. Mawlāy Ḥāmid (or Aḥmad) b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Raysūlī, or al-Raysūnī.
151. For his colourful career see R. Forbes, *El Raisuni, The Sultan of the Mountains (Morocco), His Life History*, London, 1924; W. B. Harris, *Morocco That Was*, London and Edinburgh, 1921; Lopez-Rienda, *Frente al Fracaso: Raisuni — De Silvestre a Burguete*, Madrid, 1923; Figueras, p. 123 and *passim;* an obituary notice is given in *L'Afrique française*, xxxv (May 1925).

Banū Akhamlīsh (or Akhamrīsh)[152] of the *zāwiya* of Targuist (tribal area of the Ṣanhāja al-Ṣaghā'ir), which in the middle of the war had switched its loyalties from Raysūlī to 'Abd al-Krīm, kept faith with him to the end.[153] This, however, may have been due less to its personal attachment to the Emir than to its traditional enmity against the Spanish.[154]

Ironically, 'Abd al-Krīm himself, when all hope was lost, sought sanctuary with a marabout, Shaykh Ḥamīdo al-Wazzānī, head of the *zāwiya* of Snāda (tribal area of the Banū Iṭṭaft), a man 'Abd al-Krīm had always treated with respect. The shaykh persuaded him to surrender to the French—for which he was branded as a traitor by the nationalists—and escorted him to the French army post at Targuist.[155]

'Abd al-Krīm's bitter experience with Rīfī maraboutism and, as a corollary, his wholehearted espousal of Salafī ideology, are summed up in a kind of religio-political testament he drafted after his surrender. This document, which was published by the Egyptian paper *al-Shūrā*, deserves to be quoted at some length:

> One of the most important causes of my failure, if not the most important, was religious fanaticism (*ta'aṣṣub dīnī*). This is so because the influence exerted by the heads of the religious orders (*ṭuruq*) in the Rīf surpasses that in other parts of Morocco and in the Islamic world. I was powerless to do anything without them and had to ask their help at every turn.
>
> I tried at first to incline the people to my viewpoint by argument and demon-

152. According to Mouliéras, this Berber name corresponds to the Arabic 'mubārak'. In the plural, both the Berber form 'Ikhamlīshen' and the Arabic form 'Khamālsha' are used. For their family see E. Michaux-Bellaire in *Archives Marocaines*, 1927, p. 207.
153. Gabrielli, p. 80, also mentions as a personal friend of 'Abd al-Krīm the marabout-sharif Si al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī (Larbi) al-Wazzānī, head of the *zāwiya* of n'Tegza. The interview between 'Abd al-Krīm and the author took place at this *zāwiya*.
154. For generations the Banū Akhamlīsh were known for their fanatical hatred of the Spanish and their unfailing loyalty to the Makhzen. See Roger-Mathieu, p. 57. A member of the family, Slieten (?) al-Khamlīshī, one of the most outstanding mujāhids in the Rīf War, continued his resistance even after 'Abd al-Krīm's surrender, but was arrested by the French in 1927. *L'Afrique française*, xxxvii (1927), p. 306.
155. For a first-hand account of 'Abd al-Krīm's surrender and the rôle played in it by Sharīf Ḥamīdo see Marquis de Segonzac, 'Pourquoi et comment Abd el Krim s'est rendu', *L'Afrique française*, xxxvi (June 1926), pp. 284–287.

stration but I encountered strong resistance on the part of the great and influential families (i.e. the maraboutic families—P. S.), with the exception of the Khemlāsha (*sic*), whose head was an old friend of my father's. As for the rest, they were my enemies, particularly when I used *ḥubūs* funds to buy war material. They did not understand that these funds could not be used for any nobler purpose than that of achieving independence for the Rīf . . .

The truth is that Islam is an enemy of fanaticism and superstitions,[156] and I am sufficiently acquainted with its principles to be able to declare that as practiced in Morocco and Algeria, it is far removed from the Islam brought by the great Prophet. Because those who rightly or wrongly claimed descent from his pure seed concerned themselves exclusively with winning the affection of the people for their own perishable selves, put themselves up as idols to be worshipped by the ignorant masses and founded orders which they turned into an organized army to serve their private interests. Yet Islam is farthest removed from sanctifying persons because it enjoins brotherly love and unity before the enemy and encourages men to die for the sake of freedom and independence. But the shaykhs of the order and the leaders who called themselves people of religion, played (*'abathū*) with the Book of Allāh and the Sunna of his Messenger in order to satisfy their ambitions and desires and refrained from taking part in the revolt (*thawra*)[157] on the ground that they would fight only for the sake of religion.

I have made the utmost efforts to liberate my country from the yoke (*nīr*) of the shaykhs of the orders who are an obstacle in the way of freedom and independence everywhere. I much admired Turkey's way of action because I knew that the Muslim countries cannot attain independence as long as they did not free themselves of religious fanaticism and follow the example (*mā lam taqtadī*) of the European people. But the Rīfīs, to my misfortune and theirs, did not understand me, to such an extent that the shaykhs shook with indignation at my appearing once in the uniform of an officer, even though I did not do so again.

The shaykhs of the orders, being mine and my country's bitterest (*aladd*) enemy, did not leave a stone unturned to frustrate my efforts. They even spread rumours to the effect that I wished to follow the example of Turkey which would certainly entail changing the customs and traditions of the country, give complete freedom to women to discard the veil, wear a European hat (*burnayṭa*), adopt the dress and habits of European women, etc.

The intrigues of these ignorant fanatics have convinced me that no country

156. The word used by 'Abd al-Krīm is *khurāfāt*, meaning literally old men's fables, wonder tales (it is used in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm [p. 422 of the Cairo edition] to designate the 'Arabian Nights'). Modern orthodox reformists employ it to denote miracle stories about sufi saints and marabouts.

157. Assuming that 'Abd al-Krīm actually used this word in this connection, it would appear that his allergy to it, when applied to his war (cf. al-Fāsī, p. 138), dates from a later period.

where their influence is strong can develop quickly or without resorting to coercion and violence.

I must state here that I did not find in the Rīf any support for my endeavours of reform and that only a small group of people in Fēs and Algiers understood and supported me and approved of my way of action because they have been in touch with foreigners and know where the true interests of our country lie.

The upshot of it all is that I have come before my time to do such a thing, but I am convinced that all my hopes will come true sooner or later by the force of events and the vicissitudes of the times.[158]

To sum up: 'Abd al-Qādir and 'Abd al-Krīm can be seen, up to their surrender, against a not altogether dissimilar background, as two very different, and in many respects opposite, manifestations of religio-political leadership in the contemporary Maghreb. The former, a combination of sharif, Arab knight and Muslim scholar, a poet, idealist and romantic; an ascetic and (presumably) mystic by inclination, and a charismatic war leader, a statesman and administrator (albeit an able and original one) by necessity. The Qur'ān, Muḥammad and his Sunna dominate his thinking, the Caliph 'Umar is his ideal of a leader, the Medīnese *umma*—his ideal of a body politic. He strives to unite Arabs and Berbers into an Islamic commonwealth, not to create a national Arab state. He leans heavily on the maraboutic class, but snubs the—largely Arab—military aristocracy. Europe is to him the abode of the infidels, its civilization foreign and unappealing.

'Abd al-Krīm, by contrast, is a genuine Berber, realistic and shrewd, with a flair for business and practical politics, devoid of scholarly or mystical leanings. Driven from close collaboration with the Spanish into the role of their chief antagonist through rancour, private interests, nationalism and military success, he sees in Europe the imperialist and conquistador, but also the teacher and example to follow in all that pertains to the creation of a modern state and nation. Hence his profound dislike of the marabouts and his admiration for Atatürk; yet he is strongly attached to Islam, approves of the Wahhābī-Salafī drive for the purification of the Islamic religion and tries to introduce it into the Rīf. Hence also his sympathy and sense of community of interests and aspirations with modern Muslim nationalism in the Middle East. This may help explain a possibly unique phenomenon in modern

158. *al-Minhāj*, ii (Muḥarram-Ṣafar 1345/1927), p. 96 ff., quoting *al-Shūrā*, n. d.

Moroccan history: how a dissident Berber movement was able to fire the enthusiasm and imagination and speed the growth of nationalism among sophisticated urban young men of the bourgeois class that had little in common with the rude and rapacious mountain tribes, whom it was traditionally taught to fear and despise.

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