TRAVEL INSIDE AND OUTSIDE:

MAGHRIBI RESISTANCE AS A LITERARY FORCE

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This dissertation is dedicated to Lauren M. Schiller (1984-2022), whose friendship remains the rarest gift Arabic Studies ever brought into my life.

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Transliteration guide :

This thesis follows the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (IJMES) system with regards to which Arabic words and names are transliterated. The symbols used also correspond roughly to the IJMES system, although the (ع) and the (ء) are rendered using single quotation marks instead of the Unicode half-ring.

CONSONANTS

ء	’
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ

ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	‘a
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	y
ة	a

VOWELS

ى	ā
و	ū
ي	ī
ِيّ	iyy
ُوّ	uww
وَ	au
يَ	ai
َ	a
ُ	u
ِ	i

Chapter 1 Maghribi Literary Resistance as the Forgotten Fight

One year after Morocco was declared a French Protectorate, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Mouret (1871-1914) led a military column towards a desert outpost 200 kilometres inland from Laayoune (Berthomé and d'Arbaumont 1996, 143; Trout 1969, 211). The stone walls and curved domes of Smāra formed a modest landmark, and the recently-deserted living quarters gave the *zāwiya* a ghostly air (al-Shinqīṭī and Sayyid 1989, 365-6). When Mouret's men reached Smāra they sacked and dynamited its buildings, and then set fire to the library of the scholar, Sufi, and anticolonial resistance leader Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn (Ibn al-'Atīq 2004, 11; Martin 1976, 137).

Nearly sixty years prior to Mouret's attack, the future governor-general of Algiers laid siege to another North African resistance leader's library. Henri d'Orléans (1822-97) ambushed Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's roving military camp in Algeria and, while the Amir's family was able to escape, his beloved manuscripts were all torn and scattered to the wind (Bouyerdene 2012, 63; Woerner-Powell 2017, 36). The accumulation of these attacks show that destroying literature was integral to the colonial conquests, even if the exact form of epistemicide varied between Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania (Laremont 1995, 50-1; Pettigrew 2007; Segalla 2009). Literature invigorated revolutionary zeal and promoted the solidarity that would enable a successful resistance movement (Aydin 2016, 130, 134; ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Ẓarīf 1999, 44-63; Woerner-Powell 2011, 224). To cut off sources of narrative was to ensure defeat.

Even once the armed movements were defeated, the resistance literature remained. Amir 'Abd al-Qādir (1808-83) and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn (1831-1910) left their mark on diverse genres. In fact, Mā' al-'Aynayn's works once made up a quarter of all titles printed on Morocco's lithographic press ('Abd al-Razzāq and Ibn al-Ṣaġīr 1996, 202). 'Abd al-Qādir

composed a diwan of poems, wrote at least two epistles, and was translated into French during his lifetime (Abd-el-Kader and Dugat 1858; ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Ḥaqqī 1960; ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and al-Khālidī al-Maghribī 1971). After his death, his notes and lectures were also compiled into a Sufi guide which is still studied to this day (Abd Al-Kader and Giraud 2012; Geoffroy 2012; Miftāḥ 2012; ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Chodkiewicz 1995). The reverberations of these two resistance leaders surfaced not only in Arabic letters, but also in English and French. Yet, despite the vitality of nineteenth-century textual resistance, it is rarely considered as part of Arabic or World literary history.

As such, this thesis investigates how Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn enacted resistance through their literary output. Since Mā' al-ʻAynayn and ʻAbd al-Qādir are usually only considered through the disciplinary lenses of history or Islamic Studies, I will also consider the causes of their literary neglect. I ask how their work can expand studies of Arabic and postcolonial resistance literature. Along these lines, this introduction considers larger issues in studies of resistance literature and Arabic literary history alongside previous scholarship on Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn.

1.1 Postcolonial Resistance Literature and the Nineteenth-Century Gap

In her seminal work *Resistance Literature*, Barbara Harlow shows how engaged literature serves as a means not only of contesting current realities, but of mending the ruptures colonialism inflicted on the colonised and their cultures (1987). Taking Ghassan Kanafani's *Literature of Resistance in Occupied Palestine 1948-1966* as her point of departure, Harlow observes that the Israeli occupation – like all other colonial occupations – "significantly intervened in the literary and cultural development of the people it has dispossessed and whose land it has occupied" (1987, 2). As stunting culture and cutting literary links to the past were integral to colonisation, part of the project of national liberation

was to write against the old narratives and epistemologies. Elias Khouri alludes to this dynamic in his essay "Al-Dhākira al-Mafqūdah" ("The Lost Memory," 1979), which was later published in a collection under the same title. Khouri summarises the Arabs' postcolonial condition – particularly after losing the 1967 Arab-Israeli War – as facing the singular world order of Western capitalist domination with a punctured collective memory (1979, 68). In his later work, Khouri then affirms literature's role in facing foreign domination and states "linguistic initiatives working together with rigid conditions in occupied lands are both a means of political mobilization and a repository of a collective memory, and as such, must be respected and preserved" (1982, 34).

While Arabic resistance literature is most strongly associated with the Palestinian question, there is also a significant amount of research on the role of literature in Maghribi nationalist struggles. In his account of postcolonial identity and culture in Morocco, Said Graiouid observes that "literature has served in the struggle for liberation and independence, the construction of national culture, [and] the cementing of imagined bonds among the nation's individuals and communities" (2013, 220). Through shared stories, Moroccans of different regions and linguistic backgrounds united around the common cause of national liberation. Resistance can also be expressed through a literary work's very form and genre. Yassine Temlali explains that the very act of writing Algerian literature in Arabic "soulignait l'échec de la francisation culturelle, un des objectifs de l'occupation française" (2014, 1-2). Instead of limiting literature to an aesthetic experience, such studies highlight the textual as an arena where domination is contested and alternative visions to the present reality are diffused.

In fact, without the context and vision provided by stories, political movements are doomed to fight only against something instead of for something. Thus, literature continued to play a role in the resistance movements that arose in the decades following Independence.

In an edited volume released shortly after the Arab Spring, Karima Laachir and Saeed Talajooy note that many different forms of cultural production in the Middle East are marked by "their engagement with and protest against the dominant social and political discourses" (2013, 2). Laachir and Talajooy also situate current literary and cultural products within a longer tradition, noting that "cultural practices and products in the Middle East have been at the forefront of popular struggles for freedom and equality and against colonialism, imperialism or tyrannical and authoritarian regimes" (2013, 2).

While many scholarly works acknowledge the role of literature in resistance, there is a tendency to assume that this relationship began with twentieth-century nationalism. This is despite the fact that anticolonial resistance was a major part of nineteenth-century history in North Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere. Yet, within the broad theme of Arabic resistance literature from the eve of colonisation, there are only two brief studies and they are limited to orature (Ammairia 1989; Sraieb 1989). While much ink has been spilled regarding how the desire to assimilate aspects of European culture provoked reform or renaissance (Nahḍa) in Arabic literature and Islamic thought – particularly in the Middle East – early anticolonial resistance fades into the background as though it was a historical fact that bore no literary or intellectual fruits.[1]

The assumption that the only worthy Arabic texts from this period are those written in recognisably European genres or are preoccupied with the desire to 'modernise' has created what Roger Allen succinctly describes as "a vicious circle, whereby an almost complete lack of sympathy for very different aesthetic norms has been converted into a tradition of scholarly indifference" (Allen and Richards 2006, 2). It appear that, in this case, aesthetic differences are indeed a major cause of this scholarly neglect.

[1] For studies of Modern Arabic literature which focus on European influence, see Allen 1987; Allen 1995; Badawī 1992; Moosa 1997; Moreh 1976; Starkey 2006.

To this point, ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn wrote in genres which are now stigmatised as traditional and imitative due to their relative disinterest in European thought and distance from European genres. Their resistance movements and the accompanying literature emerged from Sufi networks and institutions, as was typical for the Maghrib in this period (Vikør 2016). ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn's oeuvres are spread across poetry, philosophy, jurisprudence, and Sufism, and often multiple genres and styles overlap within a single folio. They draw from the Islamic archive without implying that Islam needs to be modernised, and so their work does not fit the dominant narrative of the nineteenth century as a period of reform.[2] Furthermore, under our current division of disciplines, it is easy to silo their works as the sole domain of Islamic Studies and thus irrelevant to literary history.

However, the environments these works grew out of – like most literary environments throughout history – did not assume the existence of a secular literature divorced from religious thought and meaning-making. Furthermore, as Eric Calderwood points out in his reading of Moroccan intellectual Ahmad al-Rahūnī (1871- 1953)'s travelogue to Mecca, the idea that Westernised genres clearly overtook Islamic genres at any given point in Arabic literary history is far too simplistic:

> Instead of treating [texts from traditional genres] as vestiges of a dying literary order or as stepping stones on the path to full-fledged modernity, I propose that we allow texts like al-Rahuni's journey to point us toward other epistemic and discursive modes that coincide with and even exert force over literary forms that we have normalized as 'modern' (2018, 145).

Thus, considering two figures of historical and textual impact can complicate the narrative of the colonial encouter's impact on Arabic literature and fill in some of the gaps that scholars of Arabic literary and intellectual history have already pointed out (Hourani 1983, ix; Al-Musawi 2014, 267-8; Hassan 2017). This dissertation revisits nineteenth-century Arabic literature from the underrepresented perspective of North African resistance fighters.

[2] For studies of Islamic reformist thought see Commins 1990; Haj 2009; Kurzman 2002; Terem 2014.

It asks: how did the figures leading anticolonial resistance movements respond to the threat of occupation on the literary level? How did they fight – and at times engage – the invaders through their writing and poetry? What traces did their legacies leave in Orientalist literature? Furthermore, what does the lack of attention paid to this legacy say about the way literature is currently studied?

To this last point, the question of what makes a text or performance literary is highly contextual to place, period, language, and intended audience. Karin Barber affirms that literature "is a culturally- and historically-specific concept, not meaning the same thing in Europe's past as it does in its present, and lacking an exact counterpart in many other cultures" (2006, 66). Furthermore, as with any social practice, the inclusion and exclusion of certain cultural products within the field of literature is subject to political forces. Aamir Mufti has shown that the flattening of various knowledge practices and textual traditions around the globe into what is now understood as "literature" was built into the process of colonisation (2010, 460). Mufti further argues that the "category of literature, with its particular Latinate etymology and genealogy, marks this process of assimilation of diverse cultures of writing, a process only partially concealed by the use of such vernacular terms as 'adab' (Arabic, Persian, Urdu)" (2010, 461). While *adab* now means literature, this surface-level signification connotating novels, poetry, and fictional narratives is not the definition that should be used when considering the nineteenth century.

As the ongoing discussions and debates around the meaning of *adab* show, the concept is both difficult to pin down and undoubtedly more expansive than the contemporary meaning of literature (Al-Baghdadi 2008, 437; Farag 2001, 93; Kennedy 2005, xi; Mayeur-Jaouen and Patrizi 2016, 2; Mayeur-Jaouen 2019, 36). Throughout history *adab* has encompassed an encyclopedic range of cultural and intellectual products, and the *adīb* was assumed to be well-versed in all of these fields (Allan 2012, 186). The 'Abbasid-era scholar

Ibn Qutayba (828-89) remarked that "he who wishes to be an *adīb*, let him be manysided" (Khalidi 1994, 100). Even as recently as the early twentieth century, Moroccan nationalist ʻAbd Allāh Gannūn's (1908-89) seminal literary history *Al-Nubūgh al-Maghribī fī al-'adab al-ʻArabī* ("The Moroccan Genius in Arabic Literature", 1938) surveyed cultural products such as crafts, arts, and music alongside the fields of law and hadith. The encyclopedic approach to *adab* has in turn influenced Orientalists like Carl Brockelmann, who included poetry, philosophy, philology, hadith, and *fiqh* in his compedium *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* ("History of Arabic Literature", 1930) (2017, 178-9; 193; 203; 216-20; 275).

Even within Arabic and Islamic corpora, *adab* has at times signified different literary forms serving different purposes. For example, Tarif Khalidi connects *adab* in the classical period to a specific type of elite training, "a process of moral and intellectual education designed to produce an *adib*, a gentleman-scholar…thus intimately connected with the formation of both intellect and character" (1994, 83). By contrast, Sufi *adab* – in both the sense of literature and of moral training – does not focus solely on the elite but includes *adab* for common seekers and students (Mayeur-Jaouen and Patrizi 2016, 10-11).

Considering the expansive and shifting understanding of *adab* which dominated Arabophone contexts prior to colonisation and even afterwards, this thesis takes Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's oeuvres as the starting point for understanding what *adab*/ literature meant in their contexts instead of attempting to impose an outside definition based on current disciplinary boundaries. As such, I highlight both the storytelling and allusion present in fatwas as well as the political purposes served by poetry. Since all of ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn's works had both aesthetic value and political aims, I sort them according to the themes of outer and inner resistance rather than according to a contemporary division of genre. Chapter Three focuses on how Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's legal and travel writings as well as their city poems co-constituted their political

resistance. Chapter Four then reads the ostensibly introverted Sufi texts of Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn and finds that letters, passages, and books focused on conduct, emotional processes, and spiritual journeys were deeply connected to maintaining the character of their societies and resisting European encroachments.

While these chapters focus on resistance as a literary force in Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's oeuvres, their legacy crossed into other contexts and languages. As scholars have shown in other regional contexts, the colonial encounter shaped literature and discourse for both the coloniser and the colonised (Benchérif 1997; Codell and Sachko Macleod 1998; Lowe 1991). ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn became figures in French and English literature and, in this sense, Maghribi resistance was also a literary force in Europe. Of course it is natural to question whether resistance influenced existing Orientalist tropes or was simply assimilated into them. As such, Chapter Five begins by analysing European representations of ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn and asking whether Orientalists acknowledging and even legitimising North African resistance resulted in the subversion of Orientalist tropes to any extent. This chapter also demonstrates the transference of Sufi tropes into French and English literature as an example of Arabic literary influence. Finally, the fifth chapter also demonstrates how ʻAbd al-Qādir both actively spoke to a French audience and managed to publish texts which challenged European epistemologies and Eurocentric models of World Literature (Abd-el-Kader and Dugat 1858). This furthers the assertion that Orientalist representation was not a simplistic, one-direction phenomenon whereby only the colonisers could exert cultural force.

This study requires methodologies which allow the literature of Maghribi resistance figures to take the lead over aesthetic standards and master narratives developed by scholars studying nineteenth-century Arabic literature from the vantage points of other times and

places. To this end, the following section outlines the dissertation's three principal approaches to reading the corpus.

1.2 Methodologies: Reading from the Inside Out

As other literature scholars have shown, reading oeuvres from other times and places without imposing an outside division of knowledge or an assumed universal aesthetic norm requires a methodology which situates the texts within their own milieu (Allen and Richards 2006, 19; Barber 2006, 75; Grangaud 2003, 5). Thus, each chapter includes a contextual reading that situates the primary texts in relation to larger dialogues taking place in the Maghrib on the eve of colonisation – or, in the case of Chapter Five, the particularities of early colonial encounters and writings. Chapters Three and Four summarise Arabic and North African texts from the same period responding to the same issues before showing the interventions 'Abd al-Qādir and Mā' al-'Aynayn made in each arena.

In specific terms, Chapter Three shows that many Maghribi scholars and authors wrote about Muslims' obligation to migrate in response to foreign invasion, but 'Abd al-Qādir was unique in making migration an absolute duty and an essential aspect of Muslim solidarity. Chapter Four reads 'Abd al-Qādir and Mā' al-'Aynayn's works in relation to the Islamic archive in order to show how they both built on and departed from previous texts. The Islamic archive includes the Qur'an and the hadith, major works of jurisprudence, Arabic poetry, Islamic philosophy, and Sufi manuals – in sum, the works educated Maghribis from this period would know and would assume their audience knew. I am interested in how 'Abd al-Qādir and Mā' al-'Aynayn positioned themselves in relation to the past beyond simplistic descriptions of either completely rejecting or mindlessly imitating this intellectual heritage.

After situating the works of 'Abd al-Qādir and Mā' al-'Aynayn within their own milieu, Chapters Three and Four then turn to the concept of significant geographies in order to outline the visions their resistance literature sought to enact – be it a fortified and united

dār al-Islām in western Algeria or Saharan willingness to defend *bilād al-Muslimīn* across caste and tribe. Significant geographies was first put forward as a method of literary study by Francesca Orsini in "The Multilingual Local in World Literature*"* (2015). Orsini observes that the concept of World Literature frequently promotes a single standard of worldliness, and the field's assumptions of fixed centre-periphery relationships 'end up making nine-tenths of the world (and its literature) drop off the map entirely or appear hopelessly "peripheral"' (2015, 345). She proposes instead a turn towards both the real geographies in which texts circulate and the imagined geographies portrayed by the texts (Orsini 2015, 346). This focus on how literature creates worlds allows us to move beyond assumed centre-periphery dynamics – whether they take France or the Middle East to be the centre – and to instead look at how Maghribi resistance figures both portrayed their world and asserted their visions for its future.

As an integral aspect of their resistance movements, each figure first re-envisioned place and belonging in his quarter of the Maghrib. Mā' al-'Aynayn drew a new map placing the northwest Sahara firmly within the Moroccan Sultanate and connecting it to Pan-Islamic networks of resistance. 'Abd al-Qādir broke from centuries of Ottoman rule in Algeria and pushed forward a new vision of western Algeria as a united emirate where loyalty to an Islamic ruler superseded any internal rivalries. In each case, the imagined geographies promoted through their texts impacted realities on the ground, as 'Abd al-Qādir's promotion of hijra (migration out of enemy territory) will show. Reading their oeuvres for significant geographies shows the link between literature and resistance, and illuminates how global, regional, and local elements all influenced the Maghribi resistance figures and were, in turn, influenced by them. In Chapter Three this means a push-and-pull between ideal Islamic geographies and locally-specific political realities. In Chapter Four, an imagined spiritual geography becomes a sphere of inner resistance and social harmony.

Chapter Five concerns nineteenth-century French and English interpretations of Maghribi resistance, and thus calls for a slightly different approach. As with the previous chapters, colonial literature is read contextually by placing it within a longer legacy and wider conversation about the Maghrib, Arabs, and Islam in French and English writings. However, instead of exploring this corpus' significant geographies, the chapter undertakes a multidirectional comparative reading in order to expand the idea of influence beyond a unidirectional polysystem whereby Arabic was influenced without exerting any influence in return (Even-Zohar 1979). Karima Laachir has shown that, in the case of Moroccan novels, reading together French and Arabic texts from the same period refutes the assumption that literatures in different languages develop in isolation from each other. Laachir describes reading together as "an entangled reading that sheds light on the interwoven aesthetics and politics of Moroccan postcolonial novels in Arabic and French expression, and how they have been in dialogue with each other, not only in responding to the same social and political contexts but also in terms of their intertwined aesthetic influences" (Laachir 2015, 32).

First, by reading nineteenth-century French and English colonial texts together, this chapter shows that they were not competing for colonial legitimacy – as is often assumed of Anglophone works which sympathised with Amir 'Abd al-Qādir – but rather were recycling and repackaging each other's tropes and images, often through direct translation. The boundaries of this corpus were not defined by a single language but rather by the constant contact between two European literatures: English and French. Additionally, these descriptions represent a specific subset of Orientalist literature which broke with old sources of legitimacy by emphasising firsthand observation over linguistic knowledge or scholastic training. Secondly, after demonstrating the connection between the French and the English, I then reads passages within the European corpus alongside Sufi tropes and themes in order to show that the encounter with Maghribi resistance resulted in Arabic literature influencing

French and English. Although ‘Abd al-Qādir and Mā’ al-‘Aynayn did not assimilate aspects of European literature into their work the way Arabic writers associated with the Nahḍa movement did, French and English descriptions of North African resistance introduced new literary tropes and resulted in the legitimation of anticolonial resistance.

This thesis shows that before postcolonial literatures undertook what Harlow describes as the “active reconstruction of interrupted histories”, there was a resistance literature which fought that initial interruption. Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s works resisted colonial domination through the futures they envisioned and sought to enact. They also resisted colonisation through their very genres and forms, which were characterised not by a rejection of the past but rather by the transmission and preservation of the Islamic Archive. Beyond shedding light on a neglected corpus, this thesis opens new avenues of research by reclaiming resistance as a literary force and questioning the categorical dismissal of so-called traditional genres as inconsequential to literary history.

1.3 Left Out: Maghribi Resistance and Arabic Literary Histories

Earlier in this introduction I alluded to the exclusion of resistance from studies of nineteenth-century Arabic literature and Islamic thought, and pointed to the dominant focus on modernisation and the desire to assimilate aspects of European civilisation as causing this oversight. While the encounter with European aggression and technological superiority shaped Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn and Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir’s thought and literature, this context can be acknowledged without assuming that their goal was to reconcile Islam with a force called modernity. Albert Hourani’s masterful work is perhaps the best treatment of the nineteenth-century modernisation trend, a movement which he subdivides into the period where Arab intellectuals drew attention to European innovation as a path to be followed (1830-1870), followed by the period in which writers and intellectuals argued that Islam and tradition could be adapted to a changing world (1870-1900) (1983, vi). Hourani is important

not only because of his canonical status, but also because he carefully considers the limits of his own work. When he reflected on his book *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* twenty years after its initial publication, Hourani repeatedly emphasised that reform was not the only theme of this period (Ibid., iv, v, ix). In summary:

> There are also books to be written about thinkers of quite a different kind: those who still lived in their inherited world of thought, whose main aim was to preserve the continuity of its tradition, and who did so in accustomed ways, writing and teaching within the framework of the great schools, the Azhar in Cairo or the Zaytuna in Tunis, or of the Sufi brotherhoods...In many such ways it was such writers and teachers who continued to be dominant throughout the nineteenth century, since most Arabs who acquired literacy and culture still did so within schools of a traditional kind and continued to be affiliated to one or other of the Sufi orders (Hourani 1983, ix).

Drawing from Hourani's acknowledgement of adjacent Islamic literacies, I want to emphasise that the spread of reformist ideas and the increased appropriation of European literature did not halt Sufi literary production and, in the Maghrib, these traditional networks actually remained dominant. Both Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn and Amir 'Abd al-Qādir are important and influential examples of "those who still lived in their inherited world of thought", and this textual continuity actually co-constituted their armed anticolonial resistance movements. Thus, in Chapters Three and Four, I situate Mā' al-'Aynayn and 'Abd al-Qādir's work within the context of both larger regional dialogues and against longer textual traditions.

As Chapter Three covers in detail, Maghribi scholars fiercely debated how Muslims should respond to colonial enchroachments, including whether fighting or migrating were obligatory or even desirable (ibn 'Abd al-Karīm 1981; al-Tassūlī and Ṣāliḥ 1996; Terem 2014, 101-110; Woerner-Powell 2011). Moroccan sultans sought access to and information about European inventions throughout the nineteenth century, and the *'ulamā'* debated whether and how to adopt them into Moroccan society (Amster 2013, 85-7). The hajj itself as well as *riḥla* literature from this period became sites of encounter with European domination (Martínez 2018, 91).

However, with little exception, previous studies have neglected those who faced these developments by remaining firmly rooted in an Islamic thought tradition and thus resisting the colonisers' potential cultural influence.[3] Mā' al-'Aynayn, for example, chooses to describe the Egyptian railway, canal, and telegraph as symbols of Islamic might rather than evidence that Europe is uniquely inventive. In terms of the migration debate, 'Abd al-Qādir seeks to address the issue of Muslims living under French rule by looking to the example of al-Andalus rather than by suggesting that Muslims need to modernise their approach to jurisprudence. By reading 'Abd al-Qādir and Mā' al-'Aynayn's works contextually instead of attempting to fit them into pre-existing reform narratives, the influence of resistance on nineteenth-century Arabic literature becomes clear.

1.4 The Biographies and Bibliographies of two Maghrib Resistance Figures

A number of factors make Amir 'Abd al-Qādir (1808-1883) and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn (1831-1910) ideal representatives of Arabic resistance literature from the eve of colonisation. Each man navigated the shifting boundaries between the weakening Moroccan and Ottoman Sultanates on political and conceptual levels, setting them apart from other Sufi resistance leaders such as al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tāll (1794-1864) of West Africa and Muhammad Ali al-Sanūsī (1787- 1859) of Libya whose engagement with larger Islamic empires was limited.[4] This transregional aspect of 'Abd al-Qādir and Mā' al-'Aynayn's legacies allows them to speak better to nineteenth-century ideas of pan-Islamic solidarity and transregional exchange. Perhaps most importantly, each man produced a rich and generically diverse

[3] A brief exception can be found in Amster's book *Medicine and the Saints*, which mentions how the Moroccan scholar Muhammad Ṣaffār (d. 1881) returned from Paris with reports of French innovations as well as warnings that the sultan must avoid the French (2013, 83).

[4] While al-Sanūsī spent considerable time in Fez and is believed to have met the Moroccan Sultan, the 'Alawites were never sponsors of his mystical or military activities (Vikør, Sufi and Scholar of the Desert Edge: Muhammad b. Ali al-Sanusi and his brotherhood 1994, 62). Al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tāll's son Ahmadu Sheku once appealed to the Sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan for assistance, but Tāll conducted his own jihad without appeal to larger Islamic empires (Hanson and Robinson 1991, 244).

corpus and yet neither figure has been studied as a producer of resistance literature – or even of literature influenced by resistance.

In French and English sources, Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn is normally reduced to a military figure, despite the fact that he composed over 100 texts including poems, treatises, and rulings and his works were printed in both Fez and Cairo during his lifetime.[5] While there is not currently a book-length biography of Mā' al-'Aynayn in English, Spanish, or French, the most detailed overview of his life and works is a chapter in BG Martin's *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (1976, 125-51).[6] There is also one substantial study of one of Mā' al-'Aynayn's thought: Luca Patrizi's recent book chapter on the Shaikh's Sufi guide. While Patrizi asserts that it is impossible to "separate the military and political influence [Mā' al-'Aynayn's] writings had on their circle from their intellectual influence", he does not go so far as to delve into how resistance is embodied in the writing (2015, 325). Overall, the literary production of Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn is still understudied outside Morocco as it does not fit the field's narrative of the encounter with Europe provoking an awakening.

Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's literary legacy has fared somewhat better in this regard, and there is a considerable archive of work on his thought and literature. Since European biographers long interpreted 'Abd al-Qādir's imprisonment in France as a transformative period that resulted in him being more open to European society, it was easier to assimilate him without acknowledging how resistance was embodied in his oeuvre. Recently, Tom Woerner-Powell has argued convincingly against separating 'Abd al-Qādir's jihad from his

[5] There is one Arabic-language study titled *Fī al-Adab wa-al-Muqāwamah*: *namādhij min zāwīya al-Samāra al-Ma'īnīya fī al-Ṣaḥrā'* ("On Literature and Resistance: Models from Mā' al-'Aynayn's Zawiya of Smāra"). However, while this book covers both the literature produced in Smāra by Mā' al-'Aynayn and his descendants and their anticolonial resistance, it treats the two elements as separate (Mā' al-'Aynayn and Yaḥyāwī 1996).

[6] Brief biographies are also included in the *Encyclopedia of African History* (J. Miller 2005, 869-70) and *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition (Bosworth, et al. 1983, 879-92).

mystical and intellectual pursuits, thus paving the way for the Amir's work to be read in new ways (2017). Julia Clancy-Smith also briefly alludes to the connection between ʻAbd al-Qādir's armed struggle and his literature when she states that he "was also an original thinker and writer whose ideas were influenced by the nature of his early instruction; the years spent leading the jihad against, and negotiations with, the French; his time as a political prisoner in France; and his eventual settlement in Damascus" (2013, 3). He is sometimes studied as a reformist or modernist thinker (Commins 1990, 27; Kurzman 2002, 133). However, I argue against this interpretation in Chapter Five. As of yet, there is no in-depth study which shows how Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir's resistance movement influenced his literary output.

To be clear, this study does not include every text written by Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn. Rather, I focus on the texts which best illustrate the co-constitution of literature and resistance, along with the European texts which best reflect ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn's influence on Orientalist literature. As alluded to previously, Chapter Three shows the political geographies and outer travels traced by ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn within their texts and how they advocated for new cultural and political geographies as part of their resistance efforts. In addition to new maps of the outer world, their resistance also had an internal direction where Sufi texts and poems were used to advocate for the forms of conduct, emotion, and sociality which would enable their followers to unite and resist colonisation. Thus, Chapter Four examines the Sufi's inward journey towards spiritual knowledge in light of its connections to their political movements. Whether focused on inner or outer manifestations of resistance, ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn's literature co-constituted their political efforts. Their texts and poems not only advocated for certain realities, but often helped create them. Finally, by reading French and English sources about these two figures, it became clear that Maghribi resistance was a literary force which also left an impact on European writings. As Chapter Five demonstrates, Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir even

inserted himself into the Orientalist literary sphere with his translated treatise that challenged colonial views of history and literature.

Before delving into the texts themselves, an overview of the lives of Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn is necessary, paying special attention to their learning, literature, travels, and regional/transregional affiliations. The following section reviews each resistance figure’s education, travel, and engagements with larger intellectual and political circles. It also highlights the power negotiations which impacted their thought and writing.

Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn: Jihads of the Pen and the Sword

Both Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn were born into prominent local offshoots of the Qādirīyya Sufi brotherhood, and each relied on a combination of Islamic learning and prestigious genealogy – i.e. descent from the Prophet – in order to claim political legitimacy (Bouyerdene 2012, 11). As will become apparent in the following chapters, ‘Abd al-Qādir and Mā’ al-‘Aynayn tapped into transregional networks of Islamic learning for further political legitimacy, and evoked ideal Islamic geographies in order to advocate for unity and solidarity within their local spheres. ‘Abd al-Qādir asserts the primacy of *dār al-Islām* in his fatwa, thus condeming Muslims who collude with the enermy or refuse to aid the jihad (Woerner-Powell 2017, 75-6). Mā’ al-‘Aynayn narrates his endorsement by figures of transregional importance in his *riḥla* (travelogue), and then takes a stand against loyalty to tribe among Saharans (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā’ al-‘Aynayn 2010, 86).

1.4.1 *Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn: From the Ḥawḍ to Tiznit*

Mā’ al-‘Aynayn ibn Muhammad Fāḍil ibn Ma’min al-Qalqamī was born in 1831 in the Ḥawḍ subregion of the northwest Sahara, or what is now southeastern Mauritania bordering Mali. The Ḥawḍ, along with the Gibla, the Adrār and the Tajakant, represent subregions of the larger geographic zone now referred to in academic literature as the Ḥassanophone region (Webb 1995, 10). This region overlaps with parts of southern Morocco,

northern Mauritania, the disputed Western Sahara, Mali, and Algeria. The term Ḥassanophone refers to the fact that this region has long been inhabited by nomads who speak the Ḥassaniyya dialect of Arabic. Ḥassaniyya speakers also have a specific, caste-based social organisation distinct from other ethnic groups of the Maghrib (Stewart and Stewart 1973, 16; bin Ṭuwayr al-Jannah and Norris 1977, ix; Wilson 2016, 13-14). Yet, as Ḥassaniyya-speaking Arabo-berber groups were never the only ethnicity present in the Sahara and were in constant contact with other African cultures, the term Ḥassanophone is a somewhat reductive way of describing this cultural geography.

This same section of the Sahara is sometimes referred to in precolonial Arabic sources as *bilād al-Shinqīṭ* or *bilād al-Takrūr*, but these concepts are not endogenous and were not widely used within the region prior to the twentieth century (Al-Naqar 1969). Using the concept of the Western Sahara now represents a specific nationalist claim to a territory effectively controlled by Morocco. The contemporary vision of the Western Sahara also does not include all of the territory traditionally inhabited by Ḥassaniyya speakers. Thus, although it is an imperfect description, I refer to this area alternately as the northwest Sahara or, when emphasising its particular culture, dialect, and caste-based social system, as the Ḥassanophone region. As will become apparent in the third chapter, both the distinct features of the northwest Sahara and the general domain of the Moroccan sultanate influenced Mā' al-'Aynayn's resistance movement – and they were, in turn, influenced by him.

Mā' al-'Aynayn's father Shaikh Muhammad Fāḍil ibn Ma'min (1780-1869) was an established political and religious authority in the region and the head of the local Qādiriyya brotherhood (Marty 1916, 117). In a context where genealogy was a powerful political tool, Muhammad Fāḍil was the first of his clan to propagate the claim to descent from the Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima (McLaughlin 1997, 146-7). Muhammad Fāḍil ibn Ma'min's Sharifian claim was so effective in attracting new disciples to his Sufi brotherhood

that the Kunta, an important rival clan, made efforts to disprove it (Martin 1976, 126-7; McLaughlin 1997, 144-53). Although Muhammad Fāḍil had students and followers from outside of his tribe of the Ahl Ajīyah al-Mukhtār, his career was largely confined to the Ḥawḍ (Vikør 2000, 445). While Muhammad Fāḍil's other children spread out around both sides of the Senegal River to propagate the Fāḍiliyya branch of the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*, Mā' al-'Aynayn was unique in his decision to forge bonds with the Moroccan imperial centres (G. W. McLaughlin 1997, 58). As Chapter Three will show in detail, Mā' al-'Aynayn's pilgrimage by steamship played a pivotal role in allowing him to encounter sites and figures of transregional Islamic legitimacy and to claim the right to reconceptualise Saharan and Maghribi significant geographies. His hajj was also the first well from which tales of his divine favour and supernatural abilities were drawn.

Until Mā' al-'Aynayn left Muhammad Fāḍil's encampment at the age of 28, his father served as his primay teacher and spiritual guide (Patrizi 2015, 320; al-Ṭālib Akhyār 2005, 120). Under his care, Mā' al-'Aynayn studied the hadith, learned the fundamentals of *fiqh* and Sufism, and memorised classical Arabic poems (S. Mā' al-'Aynayn 2001, 37-8). He also memorised the Qur'an in its entirety, which was typical of a Saharan nomadic education (Ibid., 36; El Shamsy 2020, 106; Pettigrew 2007, 67). He spent time in the Sūs, and commented on the language and customs of the region's Amazigh populations in his travelogue (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 80). Many of the Shaikh's students came from the Sūs, and his literature and resistance movement was later commented on by Muhammad al-Mukhtār al-Sūsī (1900-63) in his biographical dictionary of the region's nobles (Bizhār 2001, 241). Mā' al-'Aynayn's son Ahmad al-Haybah (1876-1919) also led a march from Tiznit to Marrakech to reclaim the sultante, an event which still reverberates in the collective memory of the Sūs region to this day (Hatt 2020).

After completing the hajj and residing among various Saharan tribes – many of whom he married into through brief, overlapping unions which never exceeded four at a time – Mā' al-'Aynayn made his triumphant return to the Ḥawḍ. He publicly donned the ceremonial turban declaring his right to spread his father's Sufi *ṭarīqa* (Martin 1976, 128). This made Mā' al-'Aynayn one of five sons to receive Muhammad Fāḍil's *ijāza*, out of an impressive total of 35 who lived to adulthood (G. W. McLaughlin 1997, 44, 128). The young shaikh then headed northwards again and built his first permanent settlement in the Sāqiya al-Ḥamrā' region, or what is now the area surrounding the city of Laayoune. Sufi seekers started to come to him for tutelage and shelter, and his first residence expanded into a proper *zāwiya* (Mā' al-'Aynayn 2005, 65).

At the same time, Mā' al-'Aynayn also became more and more involved in the Moroccan 'Alawite court. After standing against tribal divisions in northwest Sahara, Mā' al-'Aynayn built a case for unity among all Sufi brotherhoods in *Mufīd al-rāwī 'alá annī mikhāwī* ("Record: I am in Brotherhood!") a *sharḥ* (exposition) of one of his own poems (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Ẓarīf 1999). Erecting his flagship *zāwiya* of Smāra in what was previously a no-man's-land was the culmination of his political project connecting Saharans to the 'Alawite domain (al-Shinqīṭī and Sayyid 1989). Although Smāra's compound was damaged by Mouret's attack in 1913, it still stands today as the most prominent physical embodiment of the Shaikh's legacy. His tomb, however, is located in another *zāwiya* in Tiznit, where an annual *mawsim* brings visitors his grave for supplication (Martin 1976, 151).

In addition to his long-standing ties to the Moroccan Sultans, Mā' al-'Aynayn also had other champions of his *ṭarīqa* among the elite. The *'ulamā'* of Fez and Marrakech composed many praise poems in his honour and several scholars included him in their biographical dictionaries (Mufdī and al-Ghayth Ni'mah 1995). The *wazīr* Ahmad ibn Mūsá (d. 1900) was instrumental in convincing the Sultan to join Mā' al-'Aynayn's brotherhood

(Bazzaz 2010, 80). It is likely that Ibn Mūsá saw the Shaikh's message of unifying the Sufi brotherhoods as politically useful. Among the most important scholarly supporters of Mā' al-'Aynayn were the Kattānī family, themselves the head of a prestigious Sufi order. Muhammad ibn Ja'far Kattānī (1858- 1927) wrote Mā' al-'Aynayn into *Salwat al-Anfās* and, as the next chapter elaborates on, other Kattānīs wrote endorsements of the Shaikh's printed works (al-Kattānī, et al. 2004, 490).

Mā' al-'Aynayn is estimated to have written over 100 texts during his lifetime (McLaughlin 2005). Among his oeuvre are works of *fiqh*, Sufism, grammar, and prayers and spells (Martin 1976, 145). He also composed a diwan of poetry (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Bārūd 2009). As Chapter Three expands on, many of his works are difficult to classify and meander between poetry, argument, and anecdote or include multiple genres and topics within one folio.

1.4.2 *Amir 'Abd al-Qādir: From Mascara to Damascus*

Although he fought his jihad some decades before Mā' al-'Aynayn, Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's biography contains many overlapping elements. 'Abd al-Qādir was born in 1807 in El Guettana, a village in western Algeria near the city of Mascara. Like Mā' al-'Aynayn, 'Abd al-Qādir inherited several sources of spiritual and temporal authority which he built upon to advance his political vision. Although El Guettana was far from Algeria's urban centres of trade and commerce, 'Abd al-Qādir's grandfather established the *zāwiya* as a destination of Islamic learning. The village attracted students from Marrakech, the larger Sūs region, the northwest Sahara, and even Egypt. 'Abd al-Qādir's family genealogy stretching back to the Prophet was another source of prestige and, as it ran through the Idrisid line, it served as a conceptual link to the 'Alawite domain claiming a similar lineage. This later aided the Amir in presenting himself to the Moroccan sutlan as a deputy who would carry out jihad on his behalf (ibn Sab' 2000, 77). 'Abd al-Qādir also evoked the Idrisid geography in his

correspondence with the *'ulamā'* of Fez, referring to them as the "honorable Idrisid jurists" (Bennison 2002, 80-1; al-Tassūlī and Ṣāliḥ 1996). ʻAbd al-Qādir learned *tafsīr* (exegesis), hadith, *fiqh*, and Sufism at the feet of his father Muḥyī al-Dīn before studying *balāgha* (rhetoric) and logic among other scholars in the Oran province (Commins 1990, 26; ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Benmansour 1995, 52-4). He is said to have been of exceptional intelligence and able to read perfectly by the age of five (ibn Sabʻ 2000). While still in his twenties, ʻAbd al-Qādir embarked on the pilgrimage to Mecca with his father Muḥyī al-Dīn.

While ʻAbd al-Qādir never wrote a travelogue, his autobiography includes an itinerary and some descriptions from his hajj. As was often the case, this journey gave the young Amir access to sites and symbols of transregional power and legitimacy. ʻAbd al-Qādir and Muḥyī al-Dīn visited important Sufi tombs in Egypt as well as the famed Al-Azhar mosque and university (ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Benmansour 1995, 57). They met the ruler Muhammad Ali Pasha (r. 1805-1848), known for his modernising reforms of the Egyptian state and economy (Woerner-Powell 2017, 24). After visiting Mecca and Medina, the Amir spent a month studying in Damascus with Khalid al-Naqshabandī (1720-1827), a famed shaikh of the Naqshabandiyya *ṭarīqa* (Bouyerdene 2012, 150; Martin 1976, 49). ʻAbd al-Qādir would later revive his connection with Muhammad al-Khānī (1798-1862), one of Shaikh Khalid's deputies, when he settled in Damascus permanently (Commins 1990, 26). In Baghdad, ʻAbd al-Qādir and Muḥyī al-Dīn visited the grave of ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Jilāni, the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*'s founding saint (ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Benmansour 1995, 68). The fact that ʻAbd al-Qādir did not compose a *riḥla* hints at one of the differences between his quarter of the Maghrib and that of Mā' al-ʻAynayn. While the Shaikh's journey was fundamental to his reputation as the Saharan noble with the knowledge, divine favour, and transregional endorsements necessary to redefine his region's boundaries, it was not understood as a near-miraculous feat among ʻAbd al-Qādir's followers (Stewart and Stewart 1973, 67)..

‘Abd al-Qādir also had a different position vis-à-vis the Ottoman Empire. In Algeria, the Ottomans were seen as tyrants and occupiers until the threat of European colonisation shifted their image to that of the last bulwark against foreign rule (Aydin 2016, 136-8). By the time ‘Abd al-Qādir was born, western Algeria already had a considerable history of Sufi-led rebellions against Ottoman rule. In the early nineteenth century the Darqawiya brotherhood mobilised the cities of Mascara and Tlemcen in an uprising against the Ottoman governor and the Tijāniya also rebelled in the 1820s (Abun-Nasr 1987, 167-8; Christelow 2012, 25). In fact, hostilities between the founder of the Tijāniya, Ahmad al-Tijānī (1735-1815), and the Ottomans was largely what motivated him to move from his place of origin in ‘Ayn Māḍī to Fez (Abun-Nasr 1987, 168). Thus, while Muḥyī al-Dīn may not have anticipated a French invasion, there are signs that he was grooming ‘Abd al-Qādir to grow his local base of power. After their return from Mecca, stories abounded of how Muḥyī al-Dīn was visited by an apparition at the grave of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī who told him that ‘Abd al-Qādir would become sultan (Danziger 1977, 57; Raban 1848, 18; Woerner-Powell 2017, 25). Such tales served as important assertions of political legitimacy. Shortly after ‘Abd al-Qādir and Muḥyī al-Dīn returned from their two-year pilgrimage journey, Algiers fell to the French, and calls for resistance began (Woerner-Powell 2017, 24).

Shortly after coming to power, the Amir contacted the French General Desmichels (1779-1845) regarding a peace treaty. He also reached out to Sultan Mawlāy ‘Abd al-Raḥman, who eventually responded with gifts and supplies. The Desmichels Treaty of 1834 meant the French recognition of the Amir’s sovereignty over almost the entirety of western Algeria, save for portions of the coast (Bennison 2002, 82). ‘Abd al-Qādir also insisted that the treaty allow Algerians living in French-controlled territory to migrate into his emirate, a stance which foreshadowed his later writings on hijra.

In the two years following the Treaty of Tafna (1837-9), ‘Abd al-Qādir made great strides in structuring his polity. He divided his territory into districts and appointed judges, caliphs, and *‘amils* (Abun-Nasr 1987, 257; Bū Hind 2020, 29-30; Martin 1976, 54; Shinar 2004, 149-50). He even started a foreign policy, approaching Spain, England, and the United States for formal recognition of his emirate (Danziger 1977, 155; Martin 1976, 56; ibn Sab‘ 2000, 38). His emissary Mawlūd ibn ‘Arāsh visited Paris in 1838, and convinced King Louis Philippe (r. 1830-48) that it served French interests to arm ‘Abd al-Qādir and assign him the task of controlling the interior of Algeria (Abun-Nasr 1987, 258). ‘Abd al-Qādir was conscious of how delicate his patchwork of local alliances was, and he trained an army modeled on the Ottoman Nizami corps with as much intention of maintaining internal order as repelling invasions (Bennison 2004, 593-8; ibn Sab‘ 2000, 32-3). Once ‘Abd al-Qādir saw France’s friendliness waning, however, he wrote his fatwa urging Muslims to show solidarity with his jihad by resisting foreign occupation and emigrating from foreign-controlled lands (Woerner-Powell 2011, 226-7).

The post-Tafna peace was finally broken in 1839 by Governor-General Vallée leading a military column from Constantine to Algiers and through ‘Abd al-Qādir’s territory (Danziger 1977, 165; J. McDougall 2017, 69). In response, the Amir’s fighters raided the plains occupied by French settlers, killing colonists, setting fire to farms, and stealing livestock (Abun-Nasr 1987, 258). Negotiation with ‘Abd al-Qādir was now off the table, and French military strategy turned towards conquering the entirety of Algeria (Bennison 2002, 97; J. McDougall 2017, 68). After the fighting intensified and ‘Abd al-Qādir lost control of more and more land, he sought shelter in Morocco. He found considerable popular support, and rumors even circulated that the Rif tribes were poised to declare him their sultan (Woerner-Powell 2017, 30, 55).

Mawlāy ʻAbd al-Raḥman initially tolerated ʻAbd al-Qādir's presence and even covertly funnelled him weapons and supplies (Johnson 2005, 5). However, supporting the Amir became untenable after France attacked Morocco in retaliation, and Morocco lost the Battle of Isly (Morsy 1984, 75). In October 1847, Mawlāy ʻAbd al-Raḥman sent a *maḥalla* to the Rif region and issued an ultimatum to the Amir: either allow the Sultan's soldiers to escort him out of Morocco or prepare to be attacked (Bennison 2002, 153). Thus, in December 1847, Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir returned to Algeria and surrendered to the French (Danziger 1977, 145; Morsy 1984, 143). While he was promised safe passage to the Middle East in exchange for permanent surrender, the Amir and his entourage instead spent nearly five years imprisoned in France (Clancy-Smith 2013, 3; Salhi 2012, 34). As Chapter Five shows in depth, many European literati and aristocrats took up ʻAbd al-Qādir's cause during this time (Messaoudi 2008, 258). He received many visitors and was a media sensation in England and France (Kiser 2013, 258). While held captive he composed his book *Al-Miqrāḍ al-ḥādd li-qaṭʻ lisān muntaqiṣ dīn al-Islām bi-al-bāṭil wa-al-ilḥād* ("The Sharp Scissors to Cut the Tongue of the One Who is Degrading the Religion of Islam by Defamation and Heresy"), which included themes of inner resistance discussed in Chapter Four.

When he was finally released, Abd al-Qādir was first sent to the Ottoman city of Bursa in modern-day Turkey (Woerner-Powell 2017, 121-2). He later wrote of his longing for Bursa in the form of a poem (ibn Sabʻ 2000, 141). The Amir also wrote his treatise *Dhikrá al-ʻāqil wa-tanbīh al-ghāfil* ("Reminding the Intelligent, Warning the Heedless") shortly after his release, although it was not published until 1858. The Amir finally settled in Damascus in 1855 and began what is typically seen as the apolitical, scholarly period of his life. He lead a *ḥalqa* (circle) of 60 students and taught at the prestigious Umayyad Mosque (Bouyerdene 2012, 149; Commins 1990, 28; Haddad 2012, 65). A community of Algerian exiles gathered around him, and he was in demand as a lecturer (Bouyerdene 2012, 150;

Cornac 2018, 276-83). It was during this period that his most extensive and well-known text, the Sufi guide *Kitāb al-Mawāqif* ("The Book of Stops"), was gathered from his lectures and writings (ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Chodkiewicz 1995). Other than the works mentioned, Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir also composed enough poems to fill a diwan (al-ʻArabī 2007). Many of these poems were politically engaged, such as his tribute to the Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecid I (r. 1839- 1861) "Āman min Ḥamām Mekka" (Protection from a Dove of Mecca) and his poem praying for an Ottoman victory in the 1853 Crimean War against Russian (Daḥū, Dāyah and al-Jazāʾirī 2000, 113-7, 120).

While Mā' al-ʻAynayn hailed from a region closer to Timbuktu than to Fez, he tied his *ṭarīqa* to the Moroccan Sultanate through his writings and travels, and built *zāwiyas* in Marrakesh, Salé, and Fez (H. Norris 1983). As part of a nomadic, Ḥassānīya-speaking community, it was not guaranteed that he or his followers would rally under the banner of the Moroccan Sultan. Rather, it was the Shaikh's decision to embody and emphasise this bond over other potential alliances which resulted in a coordinated effort to repel European invasions in the Sahara. As Chapter Three expands on, Mā' al-ʻAynayn's literature also played a fundamental role in translating pan-Islamic solidarity and resistance into Saharan terms.

After presenting the outlines of each resistance figure's life and literary legacy and demonstrating why they should be read against their contemporaries rather than against pre-established themes, I will now summarise the scope of each chapter within the overall thesis.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

"Maghribi Resistance Literature in the Nineteenth Century" or, the second chapter, provides the needed historical context to understand Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's biographies and bibliographies. Under what circumstances were their Sufi works published on

The third chapter "Travel Outside, or Hajj, Hijra, and Jihad as Literary Interventions" shows how descriptions of place, travel, and boundaries co-constituted each figure's resistance movement. Consistent with my approach of reading Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's oeuvres holistically rather than according to current disciplinary divisions, Chapter Three analyses poems alongside travelogues and fatwas. By breaking down these generic and disciplinary barriers and studying each figure's textual legacy on its own terms, this chaper shows how different genres worked towards the same goal.

The co-constitution of literature and resistance is then expanded on in Chapter Four, but with a focus on the inner aspect. "Travel Inside: Resistance through the Soul's Journey" shows how mystical texts served the resistance to colonisation. Instead of dismissing Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn and Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir's Sufi works as apolitical, this chapter shows how mystical themes took on new meanings in the context of colonialism. To continue promoting spiritual training and the embodiment of Sufi ethics in the face of occupation was to resist the imposition of foreign customs and ideals. Mā' al-ʻAynayn also used his Sufi literature as a call for pan-Islamic brotherhood and, by tying Muslim unity to spiritual advancement, he spread this form of resistance throughout his *ṭarīqa*. Even after ʻAbd al-Qādir gave up the armed jihad, he used Sufi teachings to advocate for the inner journey and outer conduct which would resist foreign ideas of sociality and selfhood. Together, the third and fourth chapters show the complementary halves of political and spiritual resistance, or outer and inner resistance.

While the third and fourth chapters showcase a nineteenth-century Arabic literature which was unaffected by European thought, "Images of Resistance between Orientalism and Occidentalism" demonstrates how the encounter with anticolonial resistance influenced French and English literature. Building on previous scholarship complicating the idea of Orientalism as a totalising force in which the Orient could only be an object, this chapter

illuminates the specific embodiments of anticolonial resistance's influence on Orientalism. By showing how French and English writing about the Maghrib resulted in these literatures assimilating Arabic and Islamic tropes, Chapter Five proves that resistance was a literary force in Europe as well. Just as the confrontation between these two resistance figures and European colonisers shaped their lives and literature, so too did it shape how the colonisers wrote about the Maghrib.

Lastly, the conclusion reflects on Maghribi resistance as a literary force and the larger implications of this study for the field of literary history.

Chapter 2 Maghribi Resistance Literature in the Nineteenth Century

2.1 The Sufi Warrior: Transregional Scholar and Local Hero

Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn and Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's movements emerged at the confluence of particular cultural and political forces, and understanding these circumstances is essential to reading their works contextually. This section first touches on scholarly and literary networks of the Maghrib in the nineteenth century, and then on the technological and political developments which affected location, travel, and literature in the Maghrib and the wider Islamic World.

Deeply-rooted ways of being transcultural and transregional were already integral to Maghribi societies in the early nineteenth century. For the elite, the hajj entailed staying for long periods among scholars of different regions in order to earn *ijāzas* (diplomas) and establish wider connections of learning.[7] Even those who could not read or write still accessed the literary sphere through recitation, memorisation, and public address. As such, wide general audiences were exposed to stories and ideas originating elsewhere and circulating in their region (Abun-Nasr 1987, 216; Amine and Carlson 2012, 27-9; Joris and Tengour 2013, 119-26). For example, David Gutelius has demonstrated how Islamic knowledge travelled between the oral and the written within the Nāṣiriyya *ṭarīqa* in Morocco, and how manuscripts were often mere containers for what would be read aloud to circles of students (2004, 24). Travel accounts by pilgrims were also given public readings, and thus those who could not physically make the journey to Mecca would still know about major hubs of transregional Islamic exchange and culture (El Moudden 1990, 72). Mā' al-'Aynayn even mentions such pilgrim reports directly in his fatwa (M. Mā' al-'Aynayn 1999, 104).

[7] An *ijāza* grants the authority to teach a certain subject or, in some cases, to bring new initiates into a Sufi brotherhood. For an example of a contemporary of Amir 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn who combined the pilgrimage with gathering several *ijāza*s, see: Abdulrazak 1990, 232-3.

These examples point to the importance of stories for spreading a sense of both local and transregional belonging and identity, regardless of whether that identity encompassed the entire *umma* or just a brotherhood, or whether the material brought images of Mecca or a local saint's shrine.

Within this tangle of local and transregional belonging, Sufi leaders and institutions played a number of cultural and political roles ranging from education to mediation (Hammoudi 2016, 50). Sufism was so integrated into the Maghrib's Islamic institutions and practices that nearly every Muslim in the region identified with at least one *ṭarīqa* (Powers 2002, 15-16).[8] Each major *ṭarīqa* contained a network of *zāwiyas*, or lodges where seekers and students could stay for a period and learn from a shaikh (Ilahiane 2017, 231-2). Many *zāwiyas* also maintained manuscript libraries (Gutelius 2004, 22). In addition to the role they played in scholarship and writing, Sufi networks facilitated transregional economic exchange both across the Sahara and by linking itinerant scholars to the Middle East (Ross 2011, 25-8; Green 2012, 170; Gutelius 2004, 22). For example, the Saharan Shaikh Sīdī Mukhtar al-Kuntī (d. 1811) expanded his branch of the Qādiriyya brotherhood by founding a string of *zāwiyas* connecting the northwest Sahara to below the Niger River bend. At the same time, he also led a pilgrimage caravan from the Saharan Tuwāt oasis to Cairo (Reichmuth 2004, 127). Sufi *ṭarīqas* were also catalysts of smaller-scale travel, as the flagship *zāwiya* would typically be the site of an annual *mawsim* (festival) which combined trade and celebration with pilgrimage to the founding saint's grave (Clancy-Smith 1990, 211; Dominguez Diaz 2014, 78-81; Eickelman 1976, 84-5; Gellner 1969, 228-9; Mohamed 2012, 68, 268; Shinar 2004, 211,

[8] While *ṭarīqa* literally means path, it is usually translated as 'brotherhood' (Green 2012, 8; Ohlander 2008, 33). Additionally, it is sometimes translated into English as 'order' (Karamustafa 2007, 116; Piraino and Sedgwick 2019, 1). This thesis alternates between *ṭarīqa* and *brotherhood* in an effort to incorporate both the original Arabic and the most widely-accepted English translation (Bosworth, et al. 1983).

274). As with the hajj to Mecca, even those who did not make the journey themselves would know of these places through others' accounts, descriptions, and poetry (El Moudden 1990).

On the political level, prominent Sufi shaikhs served as mediators between different social groups, such as conflicting tribal groups and urban and rural elements (Clancy-Smith 1994, 52; Esposito 2004, 55). Sufi *zāwiyas* connected rural communities with urban centres economically, and brought Arabic literacy to even remote parts of the Maghrib (ibn ʻAbd Allāh Kīkī and Tawfīq 1997, 148). In fact, Algeria had a high male literacy rate prior to colonisation, which then rapidly declined with the colonial dismantling of Islamic endowments (Bennoune 1988, 67; Laremont 1995, 51; Morsy 1984, 160). Literacy was also common in the northwest Sahara, as practically every nomadic group had a *murābiṭ* or shaikh who taught the Qur'an and the Islamic sciences (Lydon 2011, 40; Pettigrew 2007, 63, 66-7). In Morocco, many sultans confirmed their right to rule through endorsements by prominent Sufi figures (Bouasria 2015, 54). In Mā' al-ʻAynayn's case, the Sultan joined his *ṭarīqa* and made Mā' al-ʻAynayn responsible for his son's education (Bazzaz 2010, 80). The enmeshment of the Saharan shaikh into the Moroccan ʻAlawite court was mutually beneficial: the Sultan gained a representative of his power in a remote region, and Mā' al-ʻAynayn's movement grew with access to court resources.

Given the forms of spiritual and political authority which coalesced around Sufi figures, it follows that many were at the forefront of negotiating colonial power in the Maghrib and elsewhere (Muʻallim and 'Urūjnīyā 2012). In some cases, colonial officials attempted to lure prominent Sufis to their side (Clancy-Smith 1994, 196; Harrison 1988, 18-20; McLaughlin 1997, 153; Robinson 2000, 48, 171). While some Sufi leaders fought colonisation, others entered into political deals whereby they maintained some social or legal power by accepting the colonial regime (Clancy-Smith 1994; Robinson 2000).

Within this larger context, Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn and Amir 'Abd al-Qādir inherited forms of political legitimacy tined to Sufi authority, noble lineage, and erudition, but they also asserted new political visions which departed from that of their fathers. Their resistance movements sprouted from their scholarly and genealogical clout, but bloomed through their assertions of a Muslim solidarity that would bind Maghribis together across internal social divisions based on tribe or Sufi *ṭarīqa*.

2.2 Holy Visions and Miraculous Feats: The Templates of Resistance Figures' Authority

The Introduction mentioned that Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's father Muhammad Fāḍil was the first of his line to propagate claims to Sharifian lineage. It is worth delving into Muhammad Fāḍil's means of asserting his spiritual authority, as it not only formed the roots of Mā' al-'Aynayn's power but it also demonstrates a narrative template found in both the Shaikh and the Amir's literary legacies. The first component of this narrative template consists of a dream or vision in which a recognised figure of sanctity appears and confirms the Sufi's exalted status before God. The second component of the template consists of *karāmāt* (miracle tales) which testify to how the Sufi's divine favour manifests on Earth. In regards to the first component, one of Muhammad Fāḍil's hagiographers recounts:

> I heard [Muhammad Fāḍil], may God preserve his noble honor, relate that during this period a great illness, from which death was certain, afflicted him...He left for the desert seeking a place where there were none of his relatives. He lost consciousness and Fatima al-Zahrā' daughter of God's Messenger aroused him placing him in her lap and kissing his forehead. He stood and it was as if he was freed from shackles and she informed him that he is her son (McLaughlin 1997, 147).

This story was the fruit of a tradition in which sleep and the unconscious were understood as states where truths from the Divine realm could emerge in the form of dreams or visions, since the worldly senses were quieted (Katz 2008, 272-4; Kovelant 2007, 151). For example, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's (1058-1111) foundational mystical treatise *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* ("Revival of the Religious Sciences") noted that while prophets could experience direct

visions from God, "all that is possible for the likes of us is another, more feeble species of unveiling, but one which is, nevertheless, Prophetic in nature. By this I refer to visions recieved in one's sleep, which are of the lights of Prophecy" (al-Ghazālī and Winter 2015, 150). Although it was possible to have false dreams, dreams featuring prophets and saints were assumed to be genuine (Kovelant 2007, 149). It follows that dream and vision narratives were widely used to confirm proximity to God, and thus to legitimise spiritual, political, and/ or scholarly authority (Ahmed 2015, 97; Al-Musawi 2017, 71-2; Bulkeley 2008, 387; Cortese 2011, 387; Ghazal 2016, 217; H. T. Norris 1977, 10). In this instance, Shaikh Muhammad Fāḍil's dream encounter with Fatima proved his exalted genealogy.

In fact, Muhammad Fāḍil's vision was just a new link in a long chain of figures who reported their direct experience of the Truth through dreams. In the fifteenth century, the Algerian Sufi Muhammad al-Zawāwī (1418-77) recounted dreams in which saints would appear to him after he visited their graves (Katz 1996, 157-9). In one vision, a saint clothed al-Zawāwī in the 'garment of perfection', thus affirming his special proximity to God (Green 2003, 306). Zawāwī's dream narrative in turn echoes one of the earliest and most famous Sufi testimonies: the qaṣīda poem "Al-Burda" by Sharaf al-Dīn Muhammad al-Buṣīrī (d. 1296). During a bout of illness, al-Buṣīrī described how the Prophet appeared to him in a dream and draped a cloak over his shoulders, thus curing him instantly (Thomas 2008, 110). This trope was even picked up by an ambitious English merchant who used a dream of the Prophet to build rapport with the leader of a prominent Sufi *zāwiya* in the seventeenth century (Matar 2014, 53). Dream narratives continued to be politically salient to North Africans well into the nineteenth century – in fact, they also remained important in certain Middle Eastern circles despite the growing influence of Wahhābī anti-Sufi sentiments.[9]

[9] Prominent North African examples include Ahmad al-Tijānī's (1735-1815) dreams of the Prophet (Head 2020, 34), and Muhammad al-Kattānī's (1873-1909) reports of others' dreams confirming him as the era's renewer of the faith (Bazzaz 2010, 36). Yūsuf al-Nabhānī (1849–1932) of Palestine/ Lebanon reported his dream encounters with the Prophet as evidence against his Wahhābī opponents, demonstrating that some conservative

The *karāmāt* have complementary political purposes to dream and vision narratives, as they illustrate what is to be gained by following a Sufi saint or, conversely, what is to be lost by daring to doubt their legitimacy (Bashir 2011, 168; Colonna 1988; Green 2012, 93-7; Hofer 2015, 323). The circulation of *karāmāt* would typically aid a Sufi figure and the associated *zāwiya* in gainging new followers and new visitors to pay tribute (Stewart and Stewart 1973, 100). In this vein, one of Muhammad Fāḍil's hagiographers emphasised that God would answer the Shaikh's prayers directly, and this ability to mediate between the higher and lower worlds caused even "the miser [to] bring him the most precious of his possessions and make an offering of them to him" (McLaughlin 1997, 122). As protection from tribal raids held special appeal to Muslims living in the northwest Sahara, another *karāma* described how "a fierce storm reportedly came to bear upon the thieves who were utterly destroyed by the rain and lighting" when the Awlād Nāṣir stole some of Muhammad Fāḍil's sheep (McLaughlin 1997, 203). The wedding of miracles, dreams, and political legitimacy can also be seen in the influential nineteenth-century biographical dictionary *Salwat al-Anfās wa-muḥādathat al-akyās bi-man uqbira min al-'ulamā' wa-al-ṣulaḥā' bi-Fās* ("The Entertainment of Souls and the Discourse of the Sagacious Relating to the 'Ulamā' and Pious Ones who are Buried in Fez", 1887, henceforth *Salwat al-Anfās*) (Bazzaz 2008, 3).

By the time Amir 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn were gathering forces to resist colonial enchroachments, *karāmāt* were also an established means to galvanise armed resistance. In seventeenth-century Morocco, Sufi leader Abū Maḥilli boasted that bullets would melt if they so much as grazed his followers' bodies (Matar 2014, 54). This miracle tale was politically effective, as he was able to organise the followers of his *zāwiya* to repel

elements in the Arab Middle East continued using dreams stories to express insight and claim spiritual authority (Ghazal 2016, 229-31).

the Sultan's invasion (Ibid.). The resistance *karāma* was a feature of nineteenth-century Maghrib, and tales that "adversaries' bullets would be miraculously deflected from [the rebel's] person" swirled around resistance leaders from Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco (Clancy-Smith 1988, 67). Mā' al-'Aynayn's son Ahmad al-Haybah (1876-1919) continued this tradition in the early twentieth century when he promised his fighters that his mere presence would turn French cannonballs into watermelons (E. Burke 1976, 200, 206). Thus, it is unsuprising that both Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn and Amir 'Abd al-Qādir returned from Mecca with dreams and visions confirming their right to lead (Danziger 1977, 57; ibn Muhammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 44; Raban 1848, 18; Woerner-Powell 2017, 25). These stories pulled more followers into their orbit and provoked military zeal.

2.3 Rulings and Rhymes: Reading Fatwas with/as Literature

Earlier I justified my holistic approach to considering the literary legacy of Maghribi resistance: that is, reading genres now seen as 'Islamic' alongside genres currently normalised as 'literary'. In specific terms, this chapter reads fatwas and travelogues alongside poetry, and shows how each genre played complementary roles in the larger literary resistance. There are two principal justifications for considering the role fatwas played in precolonial Arabic literature. The first relates to how texts were taught and how literacy was developed prior to colonisation. Although our current system of disciplines makes poetry and law seem utterly alien to each other, scholars of precolonial Arabic and Islamic literatures remind us that *fiqh* was an inalienable part of any literate person's repertoire (Anderson 2018, 91-2; D. F. Eickelman 1985, 57-60; Luizard 1995, 519-20; Pettigrew 2007, 69). Brinkley Messick goes so far as to assert that *fiqh* was central and not just adjacent to literacy:

> … a hallmark of academic formation in a madarasa was the study of the *shari'ā*. This took the concrete form of instruction in the doctrinal literature known as the *fiqh*, the shrunken presence of which in the contemporary era makes it difficult to appreciate its centrality in former times. Educated individuals of the older generation—including not only jurists but also individuals who went on to become governors, functionaries, and merchants, as well as

> literati and historians—virtually all received training in the *fiqh* works of a particular school of *shari'ā* interpretation. (2018, 1)

The fact that the title *al-muftī al-shā'ir* ("poet-jurist") is found in several recent literary biographies and biographical dictionaries further weakens the assumption that these genres are segregated in Arabic contexts (Fatḥ Allāh and Fatḥ Allāh 1994, 50, 116; ibn Ḥāmid 1990, 334; Khāzin 1993, 100; Sa'd Allāh 1998, 373). In fact, *al-muftī al-shā'ir* has been used by contemporary researchers to describe Muhammad ibn al-Shāhid (d. 1837), one of this chapter's contextualising sources (Ba'li 2016, 452; Bū Hind 2020, 17; Sa'd Allāh 1989, 20). Even when Geert Jan van Gelder justifies his exclusion of *fiqh* from his compendium of classical Arabic literature, he concedes that this "[is] based more on present-day standards than on those contemporary with those who produced and consumed the texts" (2013, xvi). As there was no separation between *shari'ā*, Sufism, and poetry in Amir 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's education or that of their intended audience, why should their fatwas be excluded from scholarship on their literary legacies?[10]

Furthemore, Islamic legal literature has always engaged with the art of storytelling in both its content and its techniques. While fatwas are necessarily prescriptive/ proscriptive, they rely heavily on analogy and on allusion to argue their points (Calder 1996, 981; Ingalls 2012, 155-6; Siddiqui 2016, 19; Vogel 2019, 88). Although there were jurists who criticised the inaccuracies and imaginative excesses of the early *quṣṣāṣ* – storytellers who performed popular Islamic narratives – this was usually an exhortation to use narrative correctly rather than a wholesale condemnation of the storyteller's craft (Abdel-Malek 2006, 332-3, Smyth 2006). Many of the *quṣṣāṣ* were, in fact, well-versed in *fiqh* and announced fatwas as part of their performances (Armstrong 2017, 121). One storyteller proclaimed that he would rather

[10] For more on 'Abd al-Qādir's education, see: Bouyerdene 2012, 20. Mā' al-'Aynayn's education is covered in McLaughlin's study of his father's teachings (1997, 81, 224-5, 231). General information on literacy in Algeria is covered by Bennoune 1988, 67; the curriculum of Saharan Sufi nomads is explained by Norris 1968, 113-4.

see a mosque go up in flames than see a storyteller who was not a *faqīh*, demonstrating that some *quṣṣāṣ* were as concerned with the moral implications of their art as were the jurists (Ibid.). Clearly the ability to issue rulings was associated with the capability for rhetorical flourish and with a respect for the literary arts.

2.4 Steam and Quarantine: The New Path to Mecca and its Travel Literature

Another source of political legitimacy in the precolonial Maghrib was the completion of the pilgrimage. Mā' al-'Aynayn's journey was particularly pivotal to his political and literary career, and thus it is important to recall the factors that influenced his hajj. The Shaikh set off for Mecca at a time in which the nature of pilgrimage was shifting dramatically. For centuries North Africans operated pilgrimage caravans from Tuwāt, Fez, Sijilmasa, and Marrakesh, typically heading overland across the Sahara all the way to Cairo (Messier and Miller 2015, 159-61; al-Naqar 1972, xxii). To the south, there were also trans-Saharan caravans which carried West African Muslims to stops where they could join the Maghribi routes (Birks 1978, 8-10). During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, most Saharans who made the pilgrimage joined the West African or *takrūrī* caravan (Būzankāḍ 2014, 112). As the steamship industry grew, the number of pilgrims travelling overland dwindled. Thus, while local authorities across North Africa could once build up social capital and power by receiving pilgrims en route or offering hajj caravans protection from banditry, these services largely declined in importance as the nineteenth century progressed (Robertson and Ṣādiq 2009, 2). Caravan stops on the overland routes leading to Morroccan port cities, however, remained vital links in this transregional web (Ba'li 2016, 197; ibn Ṭuwayr al-Jannah and Norris 1977; Mohamed 2012, 100).

Steamship travel made the journey to Mecca possible for more Muslims than ever before, and its comparative speed and efficiency turned hajj into the period's superspreader

event. Visitors to the Hijaz suffered through 27 different outbreaks between 1831 and 1912, and one particularly gruesome bout of cholera killed an entire sixth of the pilgrim population (Martínez 2018, 91; Robertson and Ṣādiq 2009, 2). As other scholars have noted, the quarantine facilities associated with the steamship hajj served as sites and symbols of colonial power (Chantre 2013, 1; Chircop 2018, 210; Low 2008, 9-11, 73; Martínez 2018, 66-7; Snouck Hurgronje and Monahan 2006, 234; Robertson and Ṣādiq 2009, 5). Ahmad ibn Ṭuwayr al-Jannah's 1829-34 *riḥla* provides a direct description of a quarantine station and the resentment it provoked:

> They made us enter quarantine, and we found a company of leading people of Fez in this quarantine where we were. Quarantine means to them that everyone who comes to them by sea is detained for forty days for a man and ten days for wares after its owner. The total in all is forty days, whether he who comes be a Christian, or one of their grandees, or whether he be a Muslim. The reason for that is their false belief that death only comes through infection and not by divine decree as is the belief of the people of the Sunna (1977, 24).

In another passage against European medical interventions, Ṭuwayr al-Jannah claims that the Alexandrians attributed the gradual decline of the plague ravaging their city to his *baraka* – although he modestly corrects them that it was, in fact, the Prophet's *baraka* (Ibid., 45). Muhammad Ṣādiq of Egypt's record of his 1881 pilgrimage also emphasises the implicit connection between pilgrimage, death, and rebirth which Ṭuwayr al-Jannah finds interrupted by the imposition of quarantine (Robertson and Ṣādiq 2009, 3-4). Furthermore, Ṣādiq expresses horror at the dismal and dilapidated state of the quarantine facilities located on the Egyptian coast, remarking ruefully that "[w]ere a healthy person to spend a winter night in such accommodation it would make him ill, especially were it to rain" (Ibid., 5). Similar concerns were raised by Mecca-bound Muslims forced to quarantine at Kamaran Island in the Red Sea (Sariyildiz and Macar 2017, 260-61). In addition to the previous example of mandated quarantine sites, travelogues from this period usually included descriptions of the latest European advancements depicted using the longstanding *'ajā'ib* (curiosities) trope, now

appropriated as a means of grappling with European domination (El Moudden 2006, 384-6; Euben 2011, 116; Gilson Miller 1992, 139).

Moroccan scholar Muhammad Būzankāḍ has emphasised that news of deadly diseases – as well as the international regulations implemented in response – became another discentive for Saharans to undertake the hajj in the nineteenth century (Būzankāḍ 2014, 80-1). Considering these larger factors, it becomes clear that Mā' al-'Aynayn's return from the Hijaz having survived a bout of smallpox and been spared the cholera infection which killed ten of his twelve companions could only be understood as proof that he, among all of Shaikh Muhammad Fāḍil's potential heirs, was uniquely blessed.[11]

Although Arabic *riḥla* literature has long emphasised the new, strange, wondorous, and foreign, the nineteenth-century saw a shift in how the foreign was understood (Landau 1970, 1). Sāmia al-'Itanī argues that the longer arc of Arabic travelogues shows "the development of the *riḥla* genre to the stage where it serves, during the nineteenth century, as a vehicle for Arab interaction with or reaction against the West, as manifest in the *riḥlāt* of [Egyptian Rifa'a] al-Ṭahṭāwī, [Lebanese Aḥmad Fāris] al-Shidyāq, [Egyptian Muhammad 'Ayyād] al-Ṭanṭāwī and [Iraqi Maḥmūd Shihāb al-Dīn] al-Ālūsī" (2003, 83). While al-'Itanī's examples are all Middle Eastern, her observation holds for the account written by the Moroccan Imam Muhammad al-Ṣaffār, who journeyed from Tetouan to Paris in 1845-6 (Gilson Miller 1992, 18-22). The entire raison d'être of al-Ṣaffār's *riḥla* is his observations of and reactions to France, and he covers everything from the bridges of the River Seine to the residents' odd table manners and hygenic customs (Ibid., 173; 127; 162-5; 129).

[11] The shaikh's description of the cholera outbreak along can be found in (Mā' al-'Aynayn 2005, 30-1), and a poem eulogising his fallen companion is included in the footnotes of his travelogue (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 62). The smallpox infection Mā' al-'Aynayn recovers from in Egypt is mentioned in (Ibid., 63).

Although Europe loomed large in the *riḥla* literature of this period, Francisco Javier Martínez argues that nineteenth-century journeys from the Maghrib to Mecca had a dual nature: while they narrated encounters with colonial domination in other Muslim lands, they were also vehicles of contact with pan-Islamic movements for renewal or resistance (2018, 91). On top of this, pilgrimage policy in French Algeria was steered by colonial paranoias regarding pan-Islamic plots and alliances emanating from the Hijaz (D'Agostini 2017, 113-4). As such, Mā' al-'Aynayn's *riḥla* emphasises his connectedness to the transregional Muslim community and offers a resistance-focused interpretation of the wondorous innovations he sees in 1850s Egypt.

Due to the recent rise of pilgrimage by sea, the Shaikh's significant geographies included Moroccan port cities instead of caravan stops across the Sahara through Algeria, Libya, and Sudan. It was this mastery of the new nodes in the transregional Islamic network that lead to Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn having both the imagination and the prestige necessary to tie his jihad to the 'Alawites. By hosting him frequently, the 'Alawite court legitimated Mā' al-'Aynayn's Sufi thought and practice beyond his father's sphere of influence. The sultans provided material support for both his jihad and his scholarship, and each aspect increased the prestige of the other.

2.5 Sufi Press: Early Arabic Printing Beyond Būlāq Translations

Since both men's Sufi guides were printed in Egypt in the early twentieth century, it merits revisiting the history of Arabic printing with attention to its role in spreading Sufi works. The typical narrative surrounding Egypt's Būlāq press maintains that it was an instrument for spreading French and English translated works into Arabic. While this was true during Muhammad Ali Pasha's reign (1805-48) when technical texts reigned supreme and only one Sufi-related work was put to press, this period should be distinguished from that of his successors (Albin and Green 2009; Colvin 1998, 251; El Shamsy 2020, 67-70; Verdery

1971, 130). Under ʻAbbās Pasha (r. 1848-54) and Muhammad Said Pasha (r. 1854-63), private operators were permitted to rent out the Būlāq press and thus a greater variety of literature was printed (Albin and Green 2009; El Shamsy 2020, 71-2). There are at least four nineteenth-century Būlāq printings of al-Ghazālī's (1058-1111) foundational mystical guide *Iḥyā' ʻUlūm al-Dīn* ("Revival of the Religious Sciences"), including an 1885 edition which contained al-Suhwardī's Sufi manual *ʻAwārif al-maʻārif* ("The Benefits of Knowledge") in the margins (C. Mayeur-Jaouen 2015, 53). Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī's (986-1074) *Al-Risāla al-Qushayrīya* – which heavily informed Mā' al-ʻAynayn's Sufi guide – was printed five times between 1860-1900. Ibn ʻArabī's (d. 1240) *Al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* ("The Meccan Revelations") was also printed by the Būlāq press (Ibid.). This demonstrates that, despite the introduction of foreign literature, there was still a demand for classical Sufi works at the dawn of Middle Eastern printing.

A handful of newer Sufi manuals were also printed from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Among them was an 1893 copy of Ahmad al-Tijānī's (1735-1815) guide *Jawāhir al-maʻānī wa-bulūgh al-amānī* ("The Jewels of Meaning and the Attainment of Hope"), a text foundational to the relatively new Tijānī Sufi brotherhood (Seesemann 2015, 285). In 1905, one year before Mā' al-ʻAynayn's *Naʻt al-bidāyāt* came out in Cairo, a manual from the Khalwatiyya Shaikh ʻAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1886) went to print posthumously (Soler 2016, 652). ʻAbd al-Qādi's *Kitāb al-mawāqif*, which was compiled by three of his students, was first printed in Cairo in 1911 about eighteen years after his death (Bouyerdene 2012, 160; ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Chodkiewicz 1995, 189). Mā' al-ʻAynayn's guide *Naʻt al-bidāyāt wa-tawṣīf al-nihāyāt* ("Elaboration of the Beginnings and Description of the Endings") was printed in Egypt not only in 1906 but again in 1912, and it stands out as a rare example of a printed Sufi guide from a living shaikh (C. Mayeur-Jaouen 2015, 60-1; University of Minnesota n.d.).

As the Fez lithographic press was an integral aspect of Mā' al-'Aynayn's legacy, it is important to understand its early history.[12] Unlike the Būlāq Press in Egypt, the Moroccan press of this period focused solely on Islamic works and did not feature translations from French or English (El Shamsy 2020, 67). As evidenced by the Kattānīs, Sufi brotherhoods were some of the most active participants in early Moroccan printing (Chih, Mayeur-Jaouen and Seesemann 2015). By locating the press in Fez instead of Tangier or Marrakesh, it remained firmly implanted in the 'Alawite Sultanate's most spiritual city and capital of the 'ulamā'. For a brief period between 1871- 1908 presses were run privately, allowing enterprising *ṭarīqas* to capitalise on a new means of spreading their thought as well as their prayer and liturgy formulations (Abdulrazak 1990, 45). Although there is no evidence that literacy increased with printing, this technology still enabled texts to circulate further afield than before (Ibid., 225).

Furthermore, boundaries between written and spoken literatures were porous at this time. Printed texts were often used as tools for memorisation, recitation, public reading, circles of study, and the enrichment of vernacular lore. The Introduction mentioned the wazīr Ibn Mūsá's ardent support for Mā' al-'Aynayn, and his vision of all of the Sufi brotherhoods uniting into a single path behind the Moroccan Sultan. As the literary manifestation of this political goal, Ibn Mūsá ensured that lithographic printings of Sufi *ḥizb* – recommended prayers and incantations to be recited by all of a brotherhood's followers – were no longer marked as belonging to a specific *ṭarīqa* (Abdulrazak 1990, 220). Fawzi Abdulrazak observes that, largely thanks to this movement, *ḥizb* literature was printed in abundance from 1892-1910 and it "served to unite Moroccans through symbolism and rituals" (1990, 223-4). In another example of the printed serving the vernacular, Mā' al-'Aynayn's writings were

[12] For a thorough index of works printed on the Fez lithographic press, see Ben Cheneb and Lévi-Provençal, 1921.

sometimes used in charms and spells by populations which were not necessarily literate but who believed the blessing contained in his words (Abdulrazak and ibn al-Ṣaġīr 1996, 205). Around forty of Mā' al-'Aynayn's compositions were printed on the early Moroccan press in total (McLaughlin 2005). By embracing new print technology – as Sufi orders were doing in many parts of the globe – Mā' al-'Aynayn created another artifact for his followers to interact with, whether it was through reading the words, listening to them being read by a shaikh, or venerating the texts as containers of *baraka* (Chih, Mayeur-Jaouen and Seesemann 2015, 10-13).

2.6 Of Brotherhoods and Empires: The 'Alawite Role in Sufi Resistance Movements

Several common themes emerge when studying Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn and Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's legacies together. While Chapter Two delves into the interaction between their literature and political geographies in more detail, the Introduction hinted at how both Maghribi resistance figures were profoundly impacted by Moroccan 'Alawite sultans. The Amir navigated an unsteady alliance with Morocco wherein he first gained additional aid and legitimacy before being later being driven out by the same forces that had once sheltered him. The symbols and ideas which bound 'Abd al-Qādir and his followers to the 'Alawite domain also affected his writing, as shown particularly by his participation in a wider Moroccan and North African dialogue around Muslims' obligation to migrate (ibn 'Abd al-Karīm 1981). As such, it is important to touch on the history of the 'Alawite Sultanate and its expansions and contractions over the nineteenth century.

Following the 1830 fall of Algiers, the broken chain of Ottoman rule in the Maghrib meant that boundaries between the Ottoman and 'Alawite Sultanates were suddenly negotiable. While Algiers was 300 kilometres from Mascara and even further from Oran, the deposal of the Ottoman bey had led to a power vacuum in western Algeria (Abdelkader and

Benmansour 1995, 72; Danziger 1977, 41; Woerner-Powell 2017, 25). In the midst of political chaos and mounting fears that the Ottomans would fail to protect other regions, the scholars of Tlemcen sought incorporation into the ‘Alawite Sultanate (Minca and Wagner 2016, 37). The city’s location on the border between Morocco and Algeria made it a prime target for ‘Alawi expansion. It had, in fact, long been viewed as part of the Idrisid geography, and therefore a natural possession of the ‘Alawite inheritors of this lineage.[13] The Sufi brotherhood AAQ was born into also claimed Idrisid heritage, and this connection found vernacular literary expression “in foundation myths stating that their ancestor was an Idrisi sharif who had also fathered the inhabitants of the Rif” (Bennison 2002, 76-7).

Tlemcen’s story is one where textual exchange was the primary means to draw new significant geographies and resist colonisation. The Tlemceni *‘ulamā’* wrote to the Sultan Mawlāy ‘Abd al-Raḥman (r. 1822–59) offering him an official oath of loyalty and, after some hesitation, Mawlāy ‘Abd al-Raḥman responded by sending a delegation to accept the oath (Chater 1994, 39-40). However, after the ceremony of the *bay‘a* – an oath of loyalty modelled on that given to the Prophet – the *‘ulamā’* of Fez issued a fatwa warning the Sultan that he could not accept it while the city was bound by a previous allegiance to the Ottoman Sultan (Bennison 2002, 49). In response the Tlemceni *‘ulamā’* issued their own fatwa arguing:

> If one were obliged to accept that we were bound by an oath to the Ottoman [Sultan] there would still be no argument against us because his land is far from us, and his rule does not benefit us in any way because of the deserts, seas, towns and villages which lie between us. Perhaps his residence is closer to us by sea but the infidel has prevented him from sailing upon it.
>
> In the circumstances, how can he defend our land and home? The news from Egypt and the district of Syria is another indication of how far he is from fulfilling this wish, for the enemies of religion overran these [regions] more than five years ago and he could not find a

[13] The Idrisids were the founding dynasty of Morocco who also claimed Sharif status (i.e. that they were descended from the Prophet Muhammad).

> way to help them or a king to defend them until he sought the help of the infidel enemy. (2002, 51).

This exchange demonstrates that Maghribi scholars were keenly aware of developments and power shifts in other parts of the Islamic World, and used events from the Middle East to take a stance on their own strategies of resistance. Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn also referred to the Christian meddling in Istanbul, Alexandria, and Cairo as proof that jihad was necessary in the northwest Sahara (al-'Aynayn 1999, 104).

Although the 'Alawite occupation of Tlemcen was short-lived, its textual legacy provided the template for joining geographies of resistance: the combination of an oath of loyalty and legal rulings. The *bay'a* as a means of constructing new geographies of jurisdiction comes up repeatedly in North Africa during the upheavals of the nineteenth century (H. J. Munson 1993, 70).[14] This period also left traces in Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's literature, as he memorialises Tlemcen's resistance in a poem which connects the city to the global fight of Muslims against colonisation (Daḥū, Dāyah and al-Jazā'irī 2000, 34-6). 'Abd al-Qādir's resistance rhetoric also drew heavily from the 'Alawite tradition of combining the concepts of Sharifism and jihad in order to claim political legitimacy (Bennison 2002, 77).

Before the Sultan withdrew from western Algeria, he named Muḥyī al-Dīn his caliph and the inheritor of the jihad, but Muḥyī al-Dīn was wary of taking on this responsibility in his old age (Danziger 1977, 59-60). When the two most powerful tribes of the region offered Muḥyī al-Dīn their *bay'a*, he suggested that they follow his son 'Abd al-Qādir instead (Chater 1994, 40). After a smaller ceremony in which 'Abd al-Qādir accepted the notables' *bay'a*, he was publicly officiated in 1832 from the Ottoman bey's former residence in Mascara (J. McDougall 2017, 60; Woerner-Powell 2017, 25). He soon subdued the most rebellious tribes

[14] In another instance of texts creating new political realities, Munson notes "Some of the ulama and other notables of Fez objected to the bay'a of January 1908 nothing that 'conditions cannot be imposed on kings'...these people recognized that the Fez bay'a was a radical innovation in the context of Moroccan history. It translated the ideal of a contractual caliphate into concrete reality" (1993, 73).

and captured nearby Tlemcen (al-Ḥasanī Jazāʾirī 2008, 294). Despite these early victories, internal strife remained a feature of western Algeria (Shinar 2004, 147-8). In fact, ʻAbd al-Qādir continually refers to the problem of dissenting factions in his various writings (Brower 2011, 179; al-Tassūlī and Ṣāliḥ 1996, 102-3).

While the Moroccan academy typically presents Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's collaboration with the ʻAlawites as proof of an eternal territorial coherence between the northwest Sahara and Morocco, the alliance should instead be seen as Mā' al-ʻAynayn's strongest political option (M. Mā' al-ʻAynayn 1999, 8). He could have opted for an alliance with the Kunta, given their presence in both the Ḥawd and the area surrounding Timbuktu (Athamina 2004; Martin 1976, 126). Or he could have sought an alliance with the neighbouring Futa Toro from whence ʻUmar Tāll – whom Mā' al-ʻAynayn's father once considered aiding – lead his jihad (McLaughlin 1997, 64). He also had family ties to the Emirate of Adrār, and his fatwa shows that he was in touch with at least one of their amirs (Mā' al-ʻAynayn 2005, 48-54). Instead, Mā' al-ʻAynayn decided to bypass all of these designations after completing his 1858 hajj by steamship and spending time at the court of Sultan Mawlāy ʻAbd al-Raḥmān (r. 1822-1859). By visiting the Moroccan sultan and swearing an oath of loyalty to him, the young Mā' al-ʻAynayn began his career of strengthening ties between the northwest Sahara and the Moroccan Sultanate. He continued to emphasise this connection through writing, diplomatic caravans, building Sufi lodges, and making frequent scholarly visits to Fez and Marrakech (H. Norris 1983).

Other scholars argue that, from the ʻAlawites side, sponsoring Mā' al-ʻAynayn allowed the Sultan to neutralise other, more rebellious factions within the region (Bonte 2006, 11; Caratini 1989, 98). In 1873 the Sultan Sīdī Muhammad IV (r. 1859-73) called for the Shaikh and, when Mā' al-ʻAynayn reached the court, the Sultan announced that he would build Mā' al-ʻAynayn a *zāwiya* in Marrakesh. This was not only an expansion of Mā' al-

‘Aynayn’s geographic influence, it also very physically linked the centre of ‘Alawite power to his first *zāwiya*. This allowed Sīdī Muhammad to ensure that the expanding brotherhood’s activities were never far from his sight. Sīdī Muhammad’s successor Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (r. 1873-94) was also quick to establish good relations with Mā’ al-‘Aynayn (Mā’ al-‘Aynayn 2005, 67-9).

To this point, the degree of contact and collaboration with the ‘Alawites varied considerably among different Ḥassanophone tribes. Even for amenable confederations like the Tekna (Caratini 1989, 98), their historic alliance with ‘Alawite Morocco did not preclude periods of independence and rebellion (Mohamed 2012, 279; Trout 1969, 143). There certainly were alliances between ‘Alawite Sultans and Saharan leaders before Mā’ al-‘Aynayn. As far back as the seventeenth century, one of the amirs of the Trarza Emirate solicited resources and political investiture from Mawlāy Ismā‘īl (r. 1672-1727) in his war against an adjacent tribe (Caratini 1989, 68; Levtzion 1975, 151; Trout 1969, 140). The Kunta also exchanged letters with Sultan Sīdī Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh (r. 1757-90) regarding profitable salt mines in the Ḥawḍ, but then ultimately refused to capitulate to the Sultan’s claims of ownership (E. McDougall 2013, 118).

The nineteenth century was similarly fragmented. Although Mā’ al-‘Aynayn was a powerful unifying figure against colonisation, several Saharan authorities opted to bypass the Sultan and directly grant Europeans land to settle. In June 1879, the British trader Donald Mackenzie concluded a treaty with Shaikh Beyrūk of Tarfaya in which the latter sold Mackenzie a slice of territory for his trading station (Hertslet 1894, 105; Mackenzie 1889, 416). In 1884, the Spanish officer Emilio Bonelli reached Cape Bojador and then proceeded southwards, contracting with various tribal leaders to establish trading stations at Villa Cisneros, Cintra, and at Cape Blanc (Trout 1969, 151). Due to this European presence, Mawlāy al-Ḥasan’s (r. 1873-94) routine raids into the Sūs to reassert his authority were met

with new obstacles in 1882 and 1886 (Mohamed 2012, 1; Raymond 1977, 271; Schroeter 1988, 191).

In addition to political history, Saharan scholars from this period can futher contextualise Mā' al-'Aynayn's movement. One disciple of Mā' al-'Aynayn's father included a sultan in his biographical dictionary, thereby endorsing the 'Alawites as figures of Islamic authority (G. W. McLaughlin 1997, 124). There are also three scholars who visited the Moroccan Sultan Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān (r. 1822-1859) before Mā' al-'Aynayn did, although none of them went on to establish lasting, stable political ties to the court (bin Ṭuwayr al-Jannah and Norris 1977, 18). In fact, as HT Norris observes, reading Ahmad ibn Ṭuwayr al-Janna's (1788-1849) record of his 1829 visit reveals Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān's general ignorance of the region. The sultan asks ibn Ṭuwayr al-Janna about whether there is any agriculture or scholarship in the area surrounding Walata. In turn, ibn Ṭuwayr al-Janna suggests that scholarship in the Sultan's region could be improved by offering better sponsorship to the *'ulamā'*, showing that he did not see the imperial centre as a destination for scholarship (Ibid., 8).

In contrast, Mā' al-'Aynayn's movement was sponsored by sultans of the Moroccan 'Alawite dynasty throughout his lifetime. He led a total of nine diplomatic caravan visits to the 'Alawite court, spanning the rule of Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Mawlāy al-Ḥasan I, 'Abd al-Azīz, and 'Abd al-Ḥafīẓ (Sālim 2004, 58). For each of the four sultans who worked with Mā' al-'Aynayn, co-opting the Shaikh and his jihad meant that he would be far less likely to mobilise his followers against them – as the aforementioned Muhammad al-Kattānī of the Kattānīyya *ṭarīqa* did when Sultan 'Abd al-Azīz (r. 1894-1908) signed the 1906 Act of Algeciras and ceded significant powers to Europe (Munson 1993, 75). Some accounts even state that Mā' al-'Aynayn planned to seize Marrkech when Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥafīẓ started bowing to European pressures, but was intercepted by the French military (Vikør, Māʾ al-

ʿAynayn 2020). Later, Mā' al-'Aynayn's son Ahmad al-Haybah occupied Marrakech and tried to declare himself sultan in protest of the signing of the 1912 treaty that authorised the establishment of the French Protectorate in Morocco (Hatt 2020, 15; J. Miller 2005, 950).

Understanding Mā' al-'Aynayn's position vis-à-vis the 'Alawite Empire – as well as his fatwa analysed in Chapter Two – requries revisiting the literature around *sība*.[15] In the precolonial period, areas where tribal rule was stronger than the Moroccan sultan's influence were referred to as 'bilād al-sība' whereas those which consistently paid taxes to the 'Alawite rulers were 'bilād al-makhzan' (Castellino and Domínguez-Redondo 2013, 49). The northwest Sahara was usually part of *bilād al-sība*, but neither category was rigid or absolute (Trout 1969, 24). Many scholars have argued that the *bilād al-sība*/ *bilād al-makhzan* divide is primarily a colonial construct (Burke 2014, 77; Laroui 1985, 93; Mohamed 2012, 6). While historians acknowledge that there were tribes and regions which paid taxes to the sultan and those who did not, the general consensus is that there was "no real frontier between the submissive bled el-makhzan and the dissident bled el-siba…and some tribes lived in an intermediate state between total submission and independence" (Raymond 1977, 274). Stephen Baier similarly notes that most parts of the *bilād al-sība* were economically and culturally tied to *bilād al-makhzan* (1978, 5). However, while it is important to question colonial portrayals of North Africa, this discussion completely ignores how the concept of *sība* was used among those living in regions considered *bilād al-sība*.

The concept of *sība* predates colonisation and appears in Arabic sources from both the Amazigh-dominant Atlas Mountains and from the northwest Sahara, and the Saharan self-conception as dwelling in *sība* is important to understanding Mā' al-'Aynayn's fatwa (Kīkī

[15] Historically the 'Alawite sultans would lead occasional raids called *maḥalla* or *ḥarka* against the refractory tribes in order to re-assert their authority (Raymond 1977, 273).

and Tawfīq 1997). The idea of *sība* is also enduring among at least some of these populations (Hart 2007, 43; Vinogradov 1974, 5). In Ahmad Tawfīq's analysis of Muhammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh Kīkī (d. 1771)'s fatwa compilation *Mawāhib Dhī al-Jalāl fī nawāzil al-bilād al-sāʾiba wa-al-jibāl* ("Noble Gifts in the Rulings of the Dissident Lands and the Mountains"), Tawfīq translates *bilād al-sība* as "the country where justice is not administered" (1997, 147). Based on the longer trajectory of *fiqh* literature Tawfīq argues that:

> …'"sā'iba" is not a creation of a colonial literature, and that its original meaning is related to the condition of the practice of Islamic justice, and the nature of rapport between the governor and the governed, which are both assimilated to the relationship between the sheperd and his herd' (Kīkī and Tawfīq 1997, 146).

This largely overlaps with how *sība* was referenced by scholars in the Ḥassanophone region: that is, to both describe the tense atmosphere of the northwest Sahara and to argue for greater unity and centralisation (Mannāh 1994, 46).[16] Thus, Mā' al-ʻAynayn alludes to a larger body of legal and political thought when he describes the Dakhla Penninsula as *sa'iba* (M. Mā' al-ʻAynayn 1999, 78-79). Throughout his ruling, Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn strikes a delicate balance between acknowledging the de facto state of the northwest Sahara as existing without central rule – as he also described in his *riḥla* – while still advocating for the ideal of a single, unitary ruler who defends all Islamic lands (M. Mā' al-ʻAynayn 1999, 93). As such, the *sība* of the Sahara sets the scene for his call to unite in a single resistance movement.

Revisiting the Levant in the Nineteenth Century: Damascus as a Sufi City

Since Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir's Sufi guide was compiled during the period in which he lived and taught in Damascus, some context should be provided for the circumstances it grew

[16] Sīdī Muhammad ibn al-Mukhtār Kuntī (1765-1826), son of the famous Sufi shaikh al-Mukhtār Kuntī (1730-1811), used the term "al-bilād al-sa'ība" in his political epistle *Al-Risāla al-Ghalāwīya* and clarified that he meant there was no sultan or amir to prevent injustice (Kuntī and Wuld al-Sālim 2013, 291). Shaikh Muhammad al-Māmī (1792-1866) also described the northwest Sahara as existing in a state of *sība*, which he defined as the lack of a central ruler for the tribes to unite around (Acloque 2014, 127). In a text written slightly after Mā' al-ʻAynayn's time, the aforementioned Shaikh Sīdīyah Bābah laments that *sība* is one of the main reasons for the ongoing wars between different tribes (ibn Muḥammad Maḥmūd 2001, 44). However, Bābah takes the opposite position to Mā' al-ʻAynayn and concludes that this is a reason to welcome French rule (Robinson 2000, 178).

out of. Although Syria was not colonised during ‘Abd al-Qādir’s lifetime, there were visible signs of foreign interference by the time he settled in the city. Various European consulates were competing to register Syrian Christians as their protégés, a practice that effectively put some Ottoman subjects outside their own sultan’s jurisdiction (Massot 2016, 163-6). The *Islahat Fermanı* (Reform Edict) passed in 1856 guaranteed the status of all Ottoman subjects regardless of religion, and was widely perceived as evidence of European pressure and interference (Commins 1990, 10). ‘Abd al-Qādir, for his part, denounced the policy as going against Islamic law (Massot 2016, 161). This stance is consistent with his fatwa’s explanation that Christians are acceptable as *dhimmīs* but can only be trusted when they live under Islamic rule (al-Jazā’irī 1903, 273).

While the Amir became famous worldwide for his heroic efforts to rescue and shelter the Christians of Damascus during the 1860 Druze-Maronite riots, his desire to quell interfaith hostility was partly motivated by fears that the European powers would use attacks on Christians as a pretext to invade the Levant (Clancy-Smith 2013, 4; Fawaz 2001, 260-70; Imady, Commins and Lesch 2021, 239). Given his role in the events of 1860 – not to mention his brief nomination as a potential ruler of Syria should the Ottoman Empire collapse – ‘Abd al-Qādir’s time in Damscus hardly signaled a mystical retreat from worldy matters, despite his own declarations to this effect (Bouyerdene 2012, 119-21; Cornac 2018, 307-8; Étienne 2012, 71-80). In addition to his overtly political interventions, it is also worth considering the political implications of promoting traditional Islamic learning and mysticism in the Levant held during the second half of the nineteenth century.

By the time ‘Abd al-Qādir arrived in Damascus, foreign influence was starting to affect the nature of learning, schooling, and literacy. When Syria was briefly under Egyptian rule in the 1830s, several Christian missionaries opened schools in the wider Levant (Commins 1990, 15). While these schools were not immediately popular with the Muslim

families of Damascus, enough Muslim families adopted them in nearby Beirut to provoke a polemic from the scholar Yūsuf al-Nabhānī (1849–1932) (Abu-Maneh 1979, 147). The Ottoman Tanzimat reforms then led to the establishment of a state school system, a change which further threatened the status of the *'ulamā'* and diminished the singularity of institutions of Islamic learning (Kayali 1997, 24). David Dean Commins explains:

> The significance of the state schools lay in their connection with and continuation of the Tanzimat movement even after it had lost its political momentum. The schools embodied the assumption that Muslims needed to learn "modern" sciences and European languages, and therefore implied that religious education alone no longer sufficed (1990, 16).

Just as education started slipping from the grasp of the *'ulamā'*, so too did literature start to morph into a medium independent of their realm. To be clear, Islamic institutions of learning did not decline and books on the religious sciences never stopped being written, published, distributed, and read. However, a wave of books and periodicals printed in Egypt and circulating in Syria promoted both a new style of reading and, in the final years of ʻAbd al-Qādir's life, new ideas of belonging which put homeland before religion (Abu-Maneh 1979, 145; Commins 1990, 17). By contrast, Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir used his time in Damascus to delve into, disseminate, and build on the thought of the mediaeval Andalusian mystic Ibn ʻArabī (Green 2012, 200; Gril 2012, 154-60; Sedgwick 2004, 61-2). Given ʻAbd al-Qādir's considerable influence in the Algerian quarter of Damascus and his status as a respected and sought-out lecturer, this shows again how literature now siloed as traditional was actually the vanguard of resistance against foreign influence in the literary and intellectual realm.

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an overview of some of the influential historical developments which shaped Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn and Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir's literature. The most important factors covered were the prominence of Sufi institutions in the Maghrib, the narrative templates of dreams and miracles as justificaiton for political power, the

development of the printing press in Egypt and Morocco, changes to the nature of the pilgrimage to Mecca, interaction with the ‘Alawite Sultanate, and looming changes to the nature of Arabic education and literacy.

Chapter 3 Travel Outside, or Hajj, Hijra, and Jihad as Literary Interventions

When Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir visited his new fortress at Tāzā, a small outpost in the Tissemsilt Province,[17] he saw how the town had been built up and secured since he first integrated it into his growing emirate (Bouyerdene 2012, 208). He confirmed this expansion with three lines of poetry:

By God, I know that this [city] was never	proof of my lasting life
No, not when my death is near me	and I become abject in soil
I have exerted my all to please God	and for the benefit to remain for creation

(al-Ḥasanī Jazāʾirī 2008, 26)

الله أعلم أن هذا لم يكن	مني على طول الآمال دليلا
كلا وان منيتي القريبة	مني وأصبح في التراب ذليلا
وقصار ما أبغي رضاء الهنا	وبقاء نفعي الخلق بعد طويلا

While the words alone could have served as the poetic reflection of his political impact, he then ordered the verse carved into his forts at Tāza and Tagdempt (al-Ḥasanī Jazāʾirī 2008, 26-7). Looming in large, visible script, these lines became part of the physical landscape, paradoxically reinforcing the lasting political impact ʻAbd al-Qādir's words try to downplay before an eternal God.

The verse was then published several times throughout the nineteenth century as part Qaddūr ibn Muhammad ibn Ruwayla's record of The Amir's military organisation (ibn Ruwayla and ibn ʻAbd al-Karīm 1968, 10). After the French conquest of Algeria was complete, a carving of the verse was then preserved in a military office in Algiers. Thus ʻAbd al-Qādir's words kept Algerian independence alive in the collective imagination even when

[17] Not to be confused with Tāza, Morocco. The Moroccan town is located between the Atlas and the Rif, and constitutes one end of the strategic Tāza corridor joining Fez and Tlemcen. The Algerian Tāza is between Oran and Algiers.

they were no longer projected across an actual geographic stronghold (al-Ḥasanī Jazāʾirī 2008, 27). As for the town of Tāzā itself, it is now marked on most maps as "Bordj El Emir Abdelkader" (Ministère de l'Intérieur 2016).

The Introduction to this thesis noted that Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn resisted colonisation not only through military means, but also through disseminating alternate visions for the future. These visions redefined place, belonging, and affiliation in the Maghrib. As this chapter will show in detail, ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn's resistance literature included two broad themes related to the outer world. The first theme placed their movements in relation to wider significant geographies, particularly pan-Islamic networks and the Moroccan and Ottoman Sultanates. The second theme constituted a vision of Muslim solidarity superseding all internal divisions to join North African Muslims within either *dār al-Islām* (the domain of Islam) or *bilād al-Muslimīn* (the lands of the Muslims). ʻAbd al-Qādir used his fatwa to draw strong interfaith boundaries and to compel Algerians to show solidarity through living within and defending Muslim territory. Mā' al-ʻAynayn's fatwa defended his followers' right to expel foreigners from the northwest Sahara, and urged those both within and outside of his movement to identify with *bilād al-Muslimīn* in resistance to the French and Spanish strategy of tribe-by-tribe colonisation (M. Mā' al-ʻAynayn 1999, 78). I read these works contextually in order to show the unique interventions they made into larger Muslim and North African dialogues around resistance.

Before presenting the contextualising sources for these readings, I will briefly review some relevant frameworks for describing the relationship between literature and location. This relationship is usually discussed in terms of how an author's actual or imagined place shapes their literature (Fernandez 2020, 5; Hsu 2010, 3; Peraldo 2016, 2). However, some scholars have recognised literature's role in *creating* the experience of a place, and in bringing salience to a geographic unit (Lutwack 1984, 2; Westphal and Tally 2011, 112). The

close relationship between national literary canons and national identity demonstrates this capacity for forging bonds of geographic belonging (Course 1997, 5-9; Graiouid 2013, 220; Jusdanis 1991, xiii). In her study of how various political upheavals shaped both Chinese literature and Chinese perceptions of space, Enhua Zhang notes that every territorial dispute brought with it not only a new set of maps, but also a new crop of texts depicting and thus enacting the new boundaries (2017, 26). Catalina Neculai's work on the intersection of Urban Studies and literature takes such observations a step further with the assertion that "the literary imaginary may contribute to the knowledge of space and place, and *to the reform and adjustment of socio-spatial practices themselves*" (2014, 22, emphasis added).

Although few scholars consider the intersection of Sufi literature and geographic space, Annabelle Böttcher argues that Sufi figures are able to "map space and boundaries by licensing and de-licensing norms and actions" (2006, 241). This speaks to the socio-spatial norms and actions 'Abd al-Qādir and Mā' al-'Aynayn sought to enforce as part of their anticolonial resistance movements – namely upholding Muslim solidarity and preventing certain types of interfaith contact. This chapter highlights how their literature sought to *enact* the type of boundary changes that Zhang's corpus of study mostly reacted to as part of defending their lands from colonisation. As such, my analysis centres the role describing and envisioning space plays in political resistance and draws out the texts' potential to change perceptions of boundaries and belonging. This reading ties both figures' socio-spatial visions to the larger project of resisting colonisation.

The Introduction presented significant geographies as a literary paradigm focused on both the real geographies in which stories and authors circulate and the imagined geographies brought to life by literature (Orsini 2015, 346). It also pointed out that, in the context of anticolonial resistance, Maghribi leaders' portrayals of their worlds were simultaneously imagined geographies *and* political assertions of what could become real. Here it is helpful to

position ideal Islamic geographies including the *umma*, *dār al-Islām*, and *bilād al-Muslimīn* within the significant geographies schema. If conceptual geographies are geographic units and cosmographies already present in the cultural imaginaire (such as the seven climes), imagined geographies are those accessed specifically through literature (Laachir, Marzagora and Orsini 2018, 13). Thus, for this corpus, ideal Islamic geographies are conceptual geographies which already had meaning for the intended audience. This made calls to defend *dār al-Islām* or *bilād al-Muslimīn* more resonant, and thus more effective tools of resistance.

In this chapter, I read a number of Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's texts spanning across genres with attention to the significant geographies they evoke and how these descriptions serve the larger project of resisting colonisation. I show how resistance and literature co-constituted each other by analysing a variety of works describing place and movement. Even as their resistance literature pushed for a reconfiguration of Maghribis' significant geographies, Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn also relied on terms and concepts from an Islamic archive which preceded their lives by centuries. Instead of trying to reinterpret or reform this corpus' territorial conceptions, they looked instead to how these categories had previously informed political boundaries and drew analogies between the past, the present, and the desired future. They used 'traditional' ideas to make distinct interventions into space and belonging for their times. Additionally, their fatwas complemented the efforts their poetry made to either promote general Muslim solidarity or to mark certain places as part of a wider geography of resistance. By situating these texts alongside contextualising descriptions by other authors of their period, it becomes apparent that ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn were simultaneously responding to regional dialogues on resistance and making distinct interventions into them.

Acknowledging the breadth of their resistance literature includes acknowledging the different purpose each genre served. Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir draws the broad outlines of his

political vision in his fatwa *Ḥusām al-dīn li-qaṭ‘ shibh al-murtaddīn* (“The Sword of Religion to Halt the Apostates”), a text which built on his requests for fatwas addressed to other scholars. Through his city poems, ‘Abd al-Qādir then draws specific locales into his geography of resistance. In addition to the poem making ‘Abd al-Qādir’s literal and figurative mark on Tāza, his poem “Tilimsān” commemorates the Amir’s recapture of this city. Other records include a poem and passage on the Amir’s siege of the Tijāniyya’s principal *zāwiya* at ‘Ayn Māḍī, and records of his speech declaring Tagdempt his new capital (M. A. De France 1838, 108; ibn Ruwayla and ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm 1968, 94-5).

Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s travelogue *Al-Riḥla al-Hijaziya* (“Journey to the Hijaz”) presents his encounters with centres of transregional Islamic power during his 1858-60 journey to Mecca, and then ends with his intervention in Saharan tribal customs. Through *Mufīd al-rāwī ‘alá annī mikhāwī* (“Record: I am in Brotherhood!”), a layered text that consists of both a poem and his explanation of the poem, Mā’ al-‘Aynayn asserts the necessity of unity between different Sufi brotherhoods. Finally, in his fatwa *Hidāyat man ḥārā fī amr al-Naṣāra* (“Guidance to Whomever is Confused About the Christians”), he translates Muslim solidarity into Saharan terms and refutes arguments in favour of accommodating the invaders. By approaching these texts through their role in describing significant geographies rather than on a contemporary division of genres or disciplines, my analysis also shows how seemingly disparate aspects of their corpus informed and complemented each other.

Before analysing this set of fatwas, travelogues, and poems, some additional context is needed regarding the concepts and conversations that Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s literature was building on and responding to. Regional legal debates in particular provided the terms and ideas they used to advance new significant geographies (ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm 1981; Woerner-Powell 2017, 68). Mā’ al-‘Aynayn was also responding to a

local situation of political fluidity and territorial ambiguity which was both reflected in and perpetuated by texts previously used to describe the northwest Sahara (ibn Muḥammad Maḥmūd 2001, 41-5; Wuld al-Sālim 2012, 57; Ẓarīf 2002, 18).

The following section's contextual reading first highlights the terms of belonging, legitimacy, and territory which were at Amir 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's disposal for shaping their resistance movements. This chapter will then demonstrate how they used these ideas to draw new maps and galvanise movements to defend them.

3.1 The Terms of the Debate: Hijra, Jihad, and Bilād on the Eve of Colonisation

When the angels take away from their bodies the souls of those who have wronged themselves, they will ask them, "How did you live?"
They will reply, "We lived on earth in weakness and oppression".
The angels will say, "Was not God's land vast enough for you to go wherever you could live in peace?"
[Qur'an 4:97]

إِنَّ الَّذينَ تَوَفّاهُمُ المَلائِكَةُ ظالِمي أَنفُسِهِم قالوا فيمَ كُنتُم ۖ قالوا كُنّا مُستَضعَفينَ فِي الأَرضِ ۚ قالوا أَلَم تَكُن أَرضُ اللَّهِ واسِعَةً فَتُهاجِروا فيها

The nineteenth century ushered in a new era in the long-standing political relationship between the Maghrib and Europe, and the threat of colonisation reignited dormant debates around interfaith boundaries. These debates had, in fact, even deeper cultural and religious roots going all the way back to foundational Islamic texts. Although the Qur'an does not contain the word hijra (migration), the verb *hajara* (to migrate) and the noun *muhājirūn* (emigrants) appear several times (Raven 2018). There are also verses which strongly endorse migration as an act of devotion: most notably the verse from Sūrat An-Nisāʾ quoted at the beginning of this section. Another influential verse declares "Whoso emigrates in the way of God will find in the earth many refuges and plenty" [Qur'an 4:100].

Hijra is also fundamental to *sīra* literature through the Prophet's migration from Mecca to Medina (Raven 2018). This event is so pivotal that the Islamic calendar records

years as before and after the hijra as opposed to before or after revelation. Hijra is also referenced in the hadith literature, particularly in a saying where the Prophet declares that there is no more hijra now that he has conquered Mecca (Crone 1994, 370). Scholars diverged in their interpretation of this hadith, and ʻAbd al-Qādir specifically addresses those who used it to argue that hijra is not incumbent on Muslims living in occupied territories (al-Jazāʾirī 1903, 270).

The literature which considered changing interfaith boundaries during Islam's expansion then developed hijra as a political concept, providing ideal Islamic geographies in the process. The Abbasid-era scholar al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) framed migration in terms of the division of *dār al-Ḥārb* (the domain of war) and *dār al-Islām* (the domain of Islam) in his ninth-century exegesis *Jāmiʻ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* ("Comprehensive Exposition of the Interpretation of the Qur'an") (Villano 2017, 127). *Dār al-Islām* could include multiple sultanates or states within it, but the term always implied a political reality beyond the mere presence of a Muslim community. The legal literature of North Africa and West Africa, where the Mālikī school dominates, also uses the terms *bilād al-muslimīn* and *bilād al-Islām*. As similar terms denoting specific regions such as *bilād al-sūdān* (lands of the Blacks) or *bilād al-shām* (lands of the Levant) show, using *bilād* gives a sense of loose affiliation based on proximity as opposed to a coherent, united political territory (Danilenko 2020, 36). Although these geographic concepts are used in all major branches of Islamic jurisprudence, the Mālikī school accumulated far more rulings surrounding hijra due to the rise and fall of Muslim Iberia (Verskin 2015, 33). This heritage was then drawn on by nineteenth-century Muslim intellectuals and, as colonial powers continued to expand, hijra discourse was revisited, revived, and revised (ibn ʻAbd al-Karīm 1981; Terem 2014, 101-110).

While the looming possibility of living among non-Muslims or under their authority shaped literature in many Islamicate regions during the nineteenth century, the Maghrib

possessed two distinctive features which turned hijra into a feature of resistance literature. Between the 1830 fall of Algiers and the beginning of the French protectorate in Morocco in 1912, colonised and uncolonised regions sat side-by-side, making migration to lands still under Muslim rule a very real possibility (Clancy-Smith 1994, 7). Additionally, hijra was already a strong component of Maghribi cultural memory given the history of Muslim Iberia, Portuguese settlements on the Moroccan coast, and Muslim Sicily (Hendrickson 2009, 29-30). Hijra had been referenced by North African political reformers throughout various historical eras, from the Fatimids to the founder of the Almohad dynasty (Verskin 2015, 36-7).

As is often the case with resistance literature, writings on hijra were more than an intellectual exercise: they actually impacted realities on the ground. All of the treaties Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir signed with the colonial administration included the condition that Muslims could elect to leave French-controlled territory (Valée and Yver 1949, 327-8; Woerner-Powell 2011, 226). During his imprisonment in France, he also refused repeated offers of a handsome French estate, citing his religious duty to live under Islamic law and pray among a community of Muslims (Kiser 2013, 273). There were also several waves of migration out of French-controlled Algeria and into other Islamic lands (Bū Hind 2020, 19-20). In addition to the migrations from French Algeria into ʻAbd al-Qādir's emirate, at least 300 Algerian scholars and nobles left for Fez in the late nineteenth century (Morsy 1984, 296). Algerian migrants settled in other parts of the ʻAlawite Sultanate as well, with Tétouan welcoming exiles from Algiers and a community of western Algerians gathering across the border in Oudja (C.-R. Ageron 1967, 1049; Bennison 2002, 138). Even as late as 1911, several thousand Algerians left Tlemcen for the Middle East after the city's mufti called for hijra in response to mandatory conscription into the French military (Abun-Nasr 1987, 330; Ageron 1967, 1047; Heggoy 1986, 7; Laremont 1995, 53-4).

The reality of migration as a political strategy leads to questions of how nineteenth-century Muslim intellectuals discussed hijra, and how often their words co-constituted political action. Before the fall of Algiers, hijra was employed in the campaign of Sufi warrior Usman Dan Fodio (1754–1817), famous for establishing the Sokoto Caliphate in what is now Northern Nigeria (Hiskett 1973, 102-4). There are several parallels between the life and texts of Dan Fodio and that of ʻAbd al-Qādir (Martin 1976, 36). Although Dan Fodio was fighting adjacent African polities and not a colonial invasion, his jihad was launched from a roving military camp similar to the Amir's tent city of Zmāla[18] (E. Daumas 1843, 1-9; ibn Fūdī and al-Maṣrī 1978, 26). Both men argued that hijra was an absolute duty, and did so in order to compell local Muslims to support their jihad (ibn Fūdī and al-Maṣrī 1978, 48; Hiskett 1973, 119-20; Martin 1976, 66). ʻAbd al-Qādir even makes some arguments similar to those made by Dan Fodio in the latter's 1806 epistle *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijra ʻala al-ʻIbād* ("Exposition of the Obligation of Emigration Upon God's Servants") (al-Jazā'irī 1903, 271). Dan Fodio uses the tiered scheme of religion, the self, lineage, intellect, and wealth to argue that hijra is a necessity of religion, and thus "Considerations of blood relationship and marriage should not be an excuse for anyone failing to emigrate. How much less possessions and dwellings!" (ibn Fūdī and al-Maṣrī 1978, 48-9). Like the Amir, Dan Fodio asserts that it is only acceptable for a Muslim to live in a land if it is under Islamic rule (ibn Fūdī and al-Maṣrī, 14). In practical terms, this meant that all Muslims within his vicinity needed to show political solidarity by moving into his dominion and, as was often the implication with hijra, joining the jihad to defend it (Raven 2018; Tottoli 2017, 110; Verskin 2015, 32).

Although Dan Fodio represents an interesting precedent to ʻAbd al-Qādir's fatwa, not every nineteenth-century scholar focused on Islamic rule as the defining factor for where Muslims should live, and nor did every scholar associate migration with resistance and

[18] Some sources spell the encampment's name as "Smala."

solidarity. Muhammad ibn al-Shāhid (d. 1837) was the mufti of Algiers when the city fell to the French, and his fatwa on hijra focuses on the ability to perform religious rites rather than on Islamic rule (ibn ʻAbd al-Karīm 1981, 105). He even implies that solidarity can mean remaining with other Muslims in an occupied territory. Ibn al-Shāhid asserts to his unnamed opponents – scholars who proposed the excommunication of Muslims living willingly under French rule – that "We do not submit that this verse [Qur'an 4:97] points to the unconditional obligation of hijra, but rather to the obligation of hijra upon he who cannot practice his religion" (ibn ʻAbd al-Karīm 1981, 109). Ibn al-Shāhid then explains that even for a Muslim who cannot practice his religion and does not fall under the Qur'anic exemption of *al-mustaḍʻafīn* (the weak), the failure to perform hijra is at most disobedience to God and thus not grounds for excommunication (Ibid., 110-111). After indignantly remarking that his interlocutors' excommunication of the *'ulamā'* of Algiers equally excommunicates the noble *'ulamā'* of Cairo, Ibn al-Shāhid presents an argument against migration:

> For the 'ulamā' are like the doctors of the masses' faith. If we imagined that they made hijra and moved away, then the common people would find no one to remedy their faith and they might fall into unbelief. For that reason [the 'ulamā' of Al-Azhar] disregarded hijra—may God be pleased with them—and the reason they disregarded it is the reason our *'ulamā'* disregarded it (Ibid., 113).
>
> فان العلماء كالاطباء لأديان العوام. فلو فرضنا انهم هاجروا وانتقلوا لم يجد العوام من يطب أديانهم : فربما يقعون في الكفر. فلذلك تركوا ((الهجرة)) - رضي الله عنهم- وما لأجله تركوها لأجله تركها علماؤنا.

Clearly, Ibn al-Shāhid was defending his own decision to remain in Algiers, as well as that of his associates. He does so by placing more importance on Muslims' day-to-day realities than on the political and legal structures they live under. While he concedes that the occupiers destroyed some mosques, he points out that the Muslims of Algiers are still sounding the call to prayer and worshipping as required (Ibid., 115). He also dedicates a lot of space to warning his interlocutors against defaming other Muslims, and portrays defamation as a bigger breach of solidarity than neglecting to make hijra.

Alongside these general points, Ibn al-Shāhid defends the *'ulamā'* in particular by stating that they must remain among Muslims in occupied territories so that the masses will not lose their faith. This version of solidarity does not call for migration out of foreign-controlled lands or resistance to non-Muslim occupiers, as Muslim rule is not essential. It is worth noting, however, that Ibn al-Shāhid never actually argues that he is living within *dār al-Islām*. When he rebukes his opponents, he does so by reminding them that they should be of the "practical scholars of the umma", and the concept of *umma* is used both for its emotional resonance and because it is not tied to a bounded geography or associated with a specific political structure (Ibid., 108).

The Maghribi debate around hijra continued even after the rest of Algeria was conquered. Fez-based jurist Shaikh al-Mahdī al-Wazzānī (1850–1923) reinterpreted an influential Mālikī fatwa by Ahmad al-Wansharīsī (d. 1508) which forbade Muslims from living in *dār al-Ḥārb* (the enemy's domain) (Terem 2014, 102). In a bid to maintain the Moroccan sultan's air of legitimacy despite increasing European interference, al-Wazzānī disputes al-Wansharīsī and argues for a more loose definition of *bilād al-Islām*. He evokes "the opinion held by some scholars that bilād al-Islam does not become dār al-harb at the very moment [bi-mujarrad] the infidels capture it. Rather, with the rupture [inqita'] of Islamic rites [sha'a'ir al-Islam] and as long as the Islamic rites or most of them continue, it does not become dār al-harb" (Terem 2014, 107). As with Ibn al-Shāhid's fatwa, al-Wazzānī's use of *bilād* instead of *dār* still subtly concedes that this territory is not within Islam's dominion, even if it is not fully *dār al-Ḥārb*.

By reading these three fatwas as contextual sources, the terms of the hijra debate 'Abd al-Qādir responded to become clear. While there were North African intellectuals who focused on the necessity of Islamic rule for proper Muslim practice, there were also scholars who focused solely on the continuation of religious rituals in everyday life. Both camps

looked to Mālikī legal precedence and foundational Islamic sources to make their arguments. To this point, all three rulings cite al-Wansharīsī – even if it is in order to refute him. While they put forth different interpretations of the Qur'anic verse 4:97, there was no variance in considering it vital to the discussion.

After providing the context for Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's writings on hijra, it is also important to fully outline his participation in the Maghribi dialogue around the obligation to flee or fight. As he was conscious of the need to build legitimacy by associating himself with more established rulers, 'Abd al-Qādir first addressed his legal questions regarding migration in a time of resistance to his patron, the Moroccan Sultan Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān (r. 1822-1859) (Bennison 2002, 91). The Amir sent this query out in 1837, shortly after the General Camille Alphonse Trézel broke his predecessor General Desmichels' eponymous treaty (Ageron 1991, 13). Not only did Trézel enter into an agreement with the Dawāyir and Zamāla tribes of Algeria, he also wrote to 'Abd al-Qādir demanding that the Amir relinquish his sovereignty over them (Bennison 2002, 85; Danziger 1977, 117). Although 'Abd al-Qādir defeated Trézel at the battle of the Maqta and the general was subsequently dismissed by the colonial authorities, 'Abd al-Qādir remained wary of internal rebellions and the possibility of future colonial collaborators (Danziger 1977, 128; 121-2).

From this tenuous position, the Amir used an interlude of peace with France to approach the Moroccan authorities for support of his right to draw new lines on the Maghribi map and to use force against Muslims who failed to uphold them (Brower 2011, 236; J. McDougall 2017, 67). In his first *istiftā'* (request for a ruling), the Amir emphasises his desire to take the Islamically-sound course of action regarding rebellious subjects. The Sultan presented these questions to the Fez-based jurist 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Salām al-Tassūlī (d. 1842), who responded with a lengthy text covering how the rebellious tribes were dealt with historically, guidance on punishing spies and usurpers, items which Muslims cannot sell to

Christians, and why the imam must not turn a blind eye when his subjects are sinning (al-Tassūlī and Ṣāliḥ 1996, 105-6). Al-Tassūlī warns his readers that the tribes operate on a principle of *'asabiyya* (tribal solidarity) instead of the rule of shari'a, and so they will protect the sinner among them (al-Tassūlī and Ṣāliḥ 1996, 107). His criticism also encompasses Muslims who do not embody proper interfaith boundaries by trading with Christians, accepting Christian rule, or refusing to support the jihad resisting Christian rule.

Although al-Tassūlī gives the Amir considerable authority to punish rebellious tribes within his jurisdiction and to collect taxes in support of his jihad against occupation, al-Tassūlī is also careful to make the Amir's authority below that of the Sultan's. He addresses 'Abd al-Qādir as *na'ib al-imām* ("representative of the sultan") and never uses the title amir in either the general sense or when describing 'Abd al-Qādir. As such, this fatwa placed 'Abd al-Qādir's resistance movement firmly within the 'Alawite domain why applying the established 'Alawite stance that rebellion against the sultan is a form of apostasy. A condensed version of al-Tassūlī's fatwa was included in al-Mahdi al-Wazzānī's 1910 compilation *Al-Mi'yār al-Jadīd* ("The New Standard"), effectively making it a referential case for internal dissidence (Hendrickson 2009, 247). At the end of a wave of French ethnographic missions to Morocco leading up to the protectorate, al-Tassūlī's fatwa was also translated into French and published in *Archives marocaines* alongside an in-depth report on Algerians in Morocco (Burke 2014, 96; Michaux-Bellaire 1907, 116).

Yet, despite the bold political campaigns which demonstrated 'Abd al-Qādir's willingness to confront and subdue internal opponents with both pen and sword, factions within Algeria continued to seek French protection instead of resisting French occupation (J. McDougall 2017, 70). The peace negotiated between 'Abd al-Qādir's emirate and the French military started falling apart and thus the Amir sought out new authorisation from Fez in 1839 (Bennison 2002, 97). In this second *istiftā'* (request for a ruling), 'Abd al-Qādir

explains his situation in much more detail than in his first. His description of Muslim defectors paints a picture of high stakes requiring decisive action:

> Peace and God's blessings upon you. What is God's rule regarding those who entered into obedience under the Infidel Enemy by their choice, promoted him and aided him, and [now] fight Muslims with him? They take a salary like the members of his soldiery, and make plain their audacity towards the Muslims, and make it a sign upon their chests that they call "letter" with a picture of the [infidels'] King!
> Are they apostates? And if your response says they are, will they [be forced to] repent, or not? What is the ruling regarding their women, are they like their men or not? If you say they are like their men, must they also repent or else be killed or enslaved, as it was passed on from Ibn al-Mājishūn, or not? (al-Jazā'irī and Ḥaqqī 1964, 384).

> السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته. وبعد ; فما حكم الله ؟ في الذين دخلوا, في طاعة العدوّ الكافر, باختيارهم. وتولّوه . ونصره . يقاتلون المسلمين معه . ويأخذون مرتبّة , كأفراد جنوده؟! ومَن ظهرت شجاعته , في قتالهم للمسلمين ; يجعلون له علامةً في صدره, سمّونها ((لتور)) عليها صورة ملكهم. هل هم مرتدّون؟ أم لا ؟! وإن قلتم بردّتهم ; فهل يستتابون ؟ أم لا ؟!!
> وما حكم نسائهم ؟ هل هنّ كرجالهم ؟ أم لا ؟!! وإن قلتم : إنهم مثلهم ; فهل يحكم باستتابتهن ؟ أو يقتلن ؟ أو يسترققن ؟!! كما نقل عن ابن الماجشون! أم لا ؟!

By framing his question in terms of whether Muslims who breach political solidarity are apostates and thus deserving of the harshest punishment, Amir 'Abd al-Qādir indicates the answer he expects. He needs and expects endorsement.

In addition to a second and confirmatory response from al-Tassūlī, the Qādī Mawlāy 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 1855) also issued a fatwa. Although 'Abd al-Hādī addresses 'Abd al-Qādir as amir and as leader of the jihad, 'Abd al-Hādī gives him little leeway to assert his jurisdiction by force. Instead of emphasising the imam's duty to punish spies and traitors, as did al-Tassūlī, 'Abd al-Hādī recommends confiscating rebels' weapons but not their wealth. By making 'Abd al-Qādir the acting authority in the region instead of *na'ib al-imām* and then refusing to authorise most forms of punishment, 'Abd al-Hādī disassociates the Amir's jihad from the 'Alawite domain and gives the Sultan a way to wash his hands of the Algerian resistance. 'Abd al-Hādī also reminds 'Abd al-Qādir of the strict standards that need to be met in order to accuse other Muslims of apostasy, effectively making it optional for those in the Amir's vicinity to support his resistance:

> For al-Ghazālī said in his book *The Difference Between Faith and Unbelief* [that] what is needed is caution in declaring apostasy and what is found in its path, as desecrating the congregation that believes in God's Oneness is an error. And the error in neglecting excommunication is lesser than the error of a Muslim's blood (al-Jazā'irī and Ḥaqqī 1964, 387).
>
> وقد قال الغزالي , في كتاب ((التفرقة ; بين الإيمان والزندقة)) : الذي ينبغي ; الإحتراز عن التكفير , ما وجد إليه سبيل, فإن استباحة المصليّن المقرّين بالتوحيد ; خطأ . . والخطأ في ترك التكفير ; أهون من الخطأ في دم مسلم

Yet, without the authority to either banish rebellious factions from his sphere or forcefully bring them into it, ʻAbd al-Qādir would lose his ability to resist the colonisation of western Algeria. It was through regulating the boundaries between Muslims and Christians – which inevitably included consequences for Muslims who crossed these lines – that he created an active vision of Muslim solidarity and an independent political entity in western Algeria.

As the dialogue continued around the necessity or lack thereof of fleeing foreign-controlled territory, dialogues around the desirability of fighting the colonial powers also circulated with new intensity and urgency. As historians such as Julia Clancy-Smith (1994), David Roibnson (2000), and Jamil Abun-Nasr (1987) have demonstrated, political responses to colonisation in the Maghrib varied greatly and often included forms of concession or accommodation. Similar to the debate around hijra, different scholars put forth different arguments and illustrations while keeping the terms of the debate within the Mālikī school and drawing heavily from foundational Islamic texts.

In response to an inquiry from the Moroccan Sultan Ḥasan I (r. 1873-94), the Fez-based jurist Shaikh ʻAlī al-Simlālī (d. 1925) argued that jihad was not required and, in fact, not legally advisable in the current context in which *al-isti'dād* (readiness) was lacking on the part of the Muslims. Al-Simlālī pointed to the internal divisions in Morocco as evidence that a resistance campaign would not succeed, and mentioned both the lack of unity among the tribes and the conflicting interests of Moroccans under the protection of European consulates (ʻAmmārī 1997, 304). His associate Ahmad ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī (1834-97) also provided a

legal warning against undertaking jihad, pointing to Morocco's defeats at the Battle of Isly in 1844 and the Battle of Tétouan in 1860 (al-Ṣawlabī 2010, 116, 130). Like al-Simlālī, al-Nāṣirī references the divided nature of Morocco, and states that the Muslims must be like "one hand" in order to succeed in jihad (ʻAmmārī 1997, 308). Thus, even texts arguing against armed resistance to colonisation reinforced the idea that Muslim solidarity was an essential component of a successful jihad.

While Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir's thought and writing are often considered in the context of his internal opponents – especially the Tijāniyya *ṭarīqa*'s support for French rule – the regional context of Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's literature and jihad is has not been sufficiently addressed by previous literature. In English sources the Shaikh's movement is not put into dialogue with other Saharan or Sahelian figures who negotiated colonial power at all.[19] In Arabic, the Saharan context of Mā' al-ʻAynayn's textual and political intervention is obscured by the Moroccan academy's efforts to frame him as proof of an eternal and unambiguous bond between the ʻAlawite Sultanate and the northwest Sahara.[20] Yet, Mā' al-ʻAynayn actually penned his fatwa *Hidāyat man ḥārā fī amr al-Naṣāra* ("Guidance for Whomever is Confused Regarding the Christians") in the context of a conflict with Ahmad ibn Imḥammad ibn ʻĪdah (d. 1898), another Saharan authority who interacted with the Spanish settlers (M. Mā' al-ʻAynayn 1999, 78). It is important to contextualise Mā' al-ʻAynayn's literature within Saharan dialogues around sovereignty, regional boundaries, and self-defence.

[19] As mentioned in the introduction, there is currently no book-length study of Mā' al-ʻAynayn or his works in English or in French. For biographical entries, see: Glen W. McLaughlin's entry "Ma' al-ʻAynayn (1830-1910)" in *Encyclopedia of African History* (2005, 869-70); HT Norris' entry "Māʾ al- ʿAynayn al- Ḳalḳamī" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition (1983, 879-92); Chapter Five of BG Martin's *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (1976, 125-51).

[20] For example, the 1999 reprinting Māʾ al-'Aynayn's fatwa contains an introduction which states that the Battle of Dakhla "played a large role in igniting the feelings of Moroccan nationalism (waṭanīyā) in this historical period" (M. Mā' al-ʻAynayn 1999, 8).

Bonte shows that jihad was not a strong component of Ḥassanophone thought in the period after the 1644-74 War of Sharbuba which established the region's triparte caste system of warrior tribes, scholarly tribes, and tributary groups, as this led to the scholarly tribes swearing off armed resistance (2011, 5). However, as the twentieth century dawned and France's colonial army advanced further into the Sahara from Senegal, a heated debate erupted around whether to resist or accept the foreign presence. Some of the scholarly tribes of the Ādrār region declared that raiding tribes who cooperated with the French was permissible, but this provoked counter-rulings condeming attacks on fellow Muslims who are unable to wage *jihād* (Ibid., 6-7). French colonial officers were also able to recruit important supporters to their side among scholarly and Sufi authorities, including Mā' al-'Aynayn's own brother Shaikh Sa'dbūh (1850-1917).

For example, a 1903 fatwa by Saharan notable Shaikh Sīdīyah Bābah (1860-1924) – who had by then allied himself with the colonisation of northwest Sahara – cautioned Muslims that jihad was no longer advisable as events in Morocco and Algeria showed that a military victory against the Christians was impossible (Bonte 2011, 5). Pierre Bonte points out that this particular fatwa found resonance among the Ḥassanophone tribes of the Sahara because it echoed the exact justification the scholarly tribes had used a century earlier to avoid militarily resisting the injustices of the warrior tribes (Ibid., 6). Echoing the mufti of Algiers, Bābah emphasises that the French do not impede the practice of Islam, and even sponsor some Islamic institutions (Robinson 2000, 179). Bābah then dismisses the possibility of hijra given the lack of lands both ruled by Muslims and secure enough to receive immigrants (Bonte 2011, 6).

The aforementioned Shaikh Sa'dbūh issued a fatwa in favour of French rule and directed a *naṣīḥa* (advisory text) to Mā' al-'Aynayn urging him to stop fighting the Christians (Robinson 2000, 175, 56). Within these texts, Sa'dbūh argued against jihad on the basis that

the Muslims were not united as an *umma* and, furthermore, were not in a strong enough position to win against the infidels. He drew analogies between nineteenth-century colonisation and Muslim and Christian periods in Iberia, as well as to more recent efforts by al-Ḥājj ʻUmar Tāll and his descendants to forcefully expand Islam in West Africa (Ibid., 175). Saʻdbūh's *naṣīḥa* was, in effect, a translation of colonisation into terms both comprehensible and potentially acceptable to Muslims living in French West Africa.

While it is unclear whether the original text of the *naṣīḥa* ever reached Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn, a French translation was published in *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française* one year before Mā' al-ʻAynayn's death (Saad Bouh 1909). It was also circulated throughout West Africa and Morocco by colonial officials aiming to put the final nail in the resistance's coffin (Robinson 2000, 175). While Saʻdbūh's text served as effective colonial propaganda in Arabic, its French fascimile served as evidence that *La Mauritanie* could be pacified. It propped up the idea that there was there was no true, united Saharan resistance, given that Mā' al-ʻAynayn's own brother did not stand by his cause. It fed the narrative that the anticolonial jihad was led by warrior tribes with no greater aim than to maintain their power over other Saharans (Gillier 1926, 283). Saʻdbūh wrote the counterrevolutionary literature to his brother's literature of resistance.

Before Mā al-ʻAynayn made his pilgrimage or wrote his call for jihad however, ʻAbd al-Qādir made intellectual and military efforts to resist occupation from his surroundings in Mascara, Tlemcen, and Tagdempt. Thus the following section looks at how speeches, poetry, and rulings co-constituted Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir's resistance efforts.

3.2 Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir's Intervention: Choose Hijra and Jihad or Apostasy

Al-Tassūlī's aforementioned fatwa served ʻAbd al-Qādir's movement-building purposes for a time, as it endorsed his use of force against internal opponents who weakened

the resistance. Unbothered by the implication that he was merely a representative of the Sultan Mawlāy ʻAbd al-Raḥmān, ʻAbd al-Qādir started re-mapping his emirate both physically and conceptually (Johnson 2005, 4). He reclaimed Tlemcen from the French and put it under the care of a caliph (Danziger 1977, 152), commemorating the event in poetry:

Tlemcen reached out her hands for safekeeping in yearning, this was the sweet sound of her cry
The covering was lifted from her and he entered, heart chilled from her clear dew
And her cheeks crack with this garden's flora, not with any other blooming meadows
(al-Ḥasanī Jazāʾirī 2008, 294)

إلى الصوَّن مُدَّت تلمسان يداها ولبّت فهذا حسن صوت نِداها
وقد رفعت عنها الإزار فلجّ به وبرّدْ فؤاداً من زلال نِداها
وذا روض خدَّيها تفتَّق نَوْره فلا ترض من زاهي الرياض عداها

The poem describes Tlemcen as a woman, playing on the fact that the Arabic word *medīna* is a feminine noun. While the city shows agency in reaching for her safekeeper, it is ultimately ʻAbd al-Qādir who must enter and make the city's gardens bloom with the seeds of his state. This metaphor imbues the resistance with a mutuality whereby ʻAbd al-Qādir choose to enter the city, and the city in turn receives him and the representatives of his expanding emirate. Despite the fact that Tlemcen had fallen under French control before it was regained, he paints the city as protected ("covering was lifted") and thereby untainted, in implicit contrast with other cities which he painted as tainted by the breach of interfaith boundaries (Danziger 1977, 122).

During this period, ʻAbd al-Qādir continued remapping his stronghold of resistance by moving his capital east and inland to the ancient, mostly abandoned city of Tagdempt (Martin 1976, 55). Tagdempt, which was further from the French coastal strongholds than his previous capital of Mascara, was meant to be the first rescued and rebuilt city from which the Amir would take back Algeria (Danziger 1977, 127; J. McDougall 2017, 67). French

members of the Amir's entourage claimed that he chose Tagdempt because it was one of the Arabs' first seats of power in the Maghrib (M. A. De France 1838, 107; Roches 1884, 277). Although ʻAbd al-Qādir does not confirm this motivation in his autobiography, Tagdempt truly was one of the oldest Islamic cities of *al-Maghrib al-Awsaṭ*, as it was founded by the Ibāḍī scholar ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Rustum (730-785) in 761 (Dahdouh 2007). At its zenith, Rustum's imāmate stretched from Tlemcen to Tripoli with Tagdempt, then known as Tahārt, as its capital (Naylor 2015, 309). By choosing this location as his new capital, ʻAbd al-Qādir embedded himself in an established and illustrious geography which encompassed different eras of Islamic might.

The imagined geography started to impact the realities of the resistance when ʻAbd al-Qādir helped twenty families move from his old capital of Mascara to Tagdempt; they were followed by 150 other families from various cities (Danziger 1977, 127). An additional 700 Algerians made hijra from Algiers to the emirate (Ibid., 155). For ʻAbd al-Qādir, disseminating his vision of migration as redemption was a political act which changed facts on the ground and bolstered his resistance to French power in Algeria. Although this vision was disseminated through several means, it is most apparent in his ruling *Ḥusām al-dīn li-qaṭʻ shibh al-murtaddīn*.

The Amir's ruling is included in the biography written by his son under the heading "That which the Amir wrote in answer to a question put to him by certain persons of distinction",[21] implying that he was asked to weigh in on the issue.[22] ʻAbd al-Qādir also

[21] There exists at least one manuscript copy of the ruling in Rabat, Morocco under the title *Ḥusām al-dīn li-qaṭʻ shibh al-murtaddīn* (Muṣaddiq 2009, 135). I rely on the reproduction of the *fatwa* included in the aforementioned biography *Tuḥfat al-zā'ir fī tārīkh al-Jazā'ir wa-Amīr ʻAbd al-Qādir* (The Visitor's Gem from the History of Algeria and Amīr ʻAbd al-Qādir), but refer to the text using a shortened version of the original title: *Ḥusām al-dīn.*

[22] The biography *Tuḥfat al-zā'ir fī tārīkh al-Jazā'ir wa-al-Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir* was written by ʻAbd al-Qādir's son Muhammad Bāshā al-Jazā'irī and first published in 1903. In this biography, the title used is "Dhikr mā katabahu al-amīr jawāban ʻan su'āl qaddamahu ilayhi baʻḍ al-aʻyān min khawāṣṣihi". I have used Woerner-Powell's English translation of the fatwa's title from his 2011 article "Abd al-Qādir al-Jazāʾirī, Migration, and the Rule of Law: ʻA Reply to Certain Persons of Distinction'".

opens his fatwa with "Dear brother, I saw how parched you were to hear what is needed of words about those who gathered to the enemy", thus representing his ruling as life-giving water to a friend seeking answers (al-Jazā'irī 1903, 268). Apparently other notables saw 'Abd al-Qādir's ruling as legally valid, as this fatwa was later used by Qaddūr ibn Ruwayla (d. 1856) and the Mufti 'Alī ibn al-Ḥaffāf (d. 1890) to accuse Muslims dwelling in French territory of unbelief (ibn 'Abd al-Karīm 1981). As such, 'Abd al-Qādir's ruling on hijra functioned not only as an assertion of Muslims' wartime duties, but also as proof of his intellectual and literary influence. The following section will analyse both the message and the literary techniques of this fatwa.

3.2.1 *Cautionary Tales of Surrender in 'Ḥusām al-dīn li-qaṭ' shibh al-murtaddīn'*

The Amir's fatwa offers a window into how he mapped out his world and conceptualised the fight he was leading within it. Reading this work along with Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's ruling shows how integral storytelling was to *fiqh*. 'Abd al-Qādir retells stories from legal, scriptural, and historical sources in order to illustrate the consequences of accepting foreign domination. He does not merely list and summarise previous rulings, he describes scenarios in which Muslims made hijra and others in which they tried to live under non-Muslim rule. The fact that 'Abd al-Qādir's argument relies on the emotional pull of these stories as well as the rhetorical power of his strongly-worded style shows that it was part of his literary output.

In addition to the aforementioned techniques, the text speaks through its silences and exclusions. Despite his hostility towards the Tijānīyya Sufi brotherhood, there is no mention of different Sufi orders in *Ḥusām al-dīn*. 'Abd al-Qādir avoids anything close to national designations other than a single mention of *Ahl al-Jazā'ir* (the people of Algeria) and of *Muḥaqqiqīn Tūnis* (the magistrates of Tunisia). He does not use the terms Europeans,

colonisers, or Franks.[23] Although ‘Abd al-Qādir previously lamented the state of *waṭan al-jazā’ir* in his *istiftā’* to al-Tassūlī, he does not name any particular *waṭan* (homeland) in his own fatwa, which is consistent with previous research on precolonial concepts of territory in the Mahgrib (al-Tassūlī and Ṣāliḥ 1996, 102). ‘Abd al-Qādir only uses the concept of *waṭan* in the context of its relative unimportance, stating:

> There are two types of men who will enter under the protection of the unbelievers: the one who lies to God to ensure his worldly blessings—may God protect us from his ingratitude and insanity—and says, “I will die of hunger if I emigrate”. This makes him more apprehensive, as he thinks that his homeland (waṭan) is his provider (rāzzaqahu) and not his Creator…or the man who is greedy for this world and his love for it has made him blind and deaf, so he wants to succeed in it whether by Islam or by unbelief (al-Jazā’irī 1903, 268).
>
> واعلم ان الراكن الى الكفار الداخل تحت ذمة اهل البوار احد رجلين اما رجل كذب الله في ضمانه لرزقه نعوذ باله من كفره وحمقه وقال ان هاجرت مت جوعاً وازداد بذلك هلوعاً واعتقد ان وطنه هو رازقه لا ان الذي يرزقه هو موجوده وخالقه... واما رجل متكالب على الدنيا اصمه واعماء حبها يريد الظفر بها سواء كان ذلك بالإسلام أو بالكفر.

Thus, even before the Amir explicitly emphasises Islamic rule as the essential factor in determining where Muslims can live, he ties a love for the homeland with a love for this world, arguing that an undue attachment to either shows weakness of faith. It is not the *waṭan* that provides, and thus there is no reason to fear leaving it. When he represents the perspective of Muslims who accept foreign rule, the Amir personifies – or, more accurately, deifies – *waṭan* using one of God’s names (al-rāzzaq), thus allowing his diction to demonstrate the idolatrous nature of this position. He also reinforces his points through the words he leaves unsaid: by not including any ethnic terms or any social markers other than religion, he signifies that no other factor matters in drawing boundaries of obedience and resistance.

‘Abd al-Qādir then systematically and explicitly rejects potential reasons for not performing hijra, stating that neither men who cannot afford to bring their families with them

[23] It is not until after the failure of his state and his forced retreat into Morocco that he complains of “al-Fransīs” in his letter to the Egyptian mufti Muhammad ‘Ulaysh (1802-82) (al-Jazā’irī 1903, 307).

nor women whose husbands have not yet made hijra are exempt from this sacred obligation. The Amir makes this point by drawing analogies between his readers' circumstances and the peregrinations of the first Muslim community. He asks: did not the Prophet perform hijra before he could bring his people with him? Were there not many women who made the first hijra to Abyssinia without their husbands? He reminds his readers that when the fear of migration passed over the hearts of the Prophet's first followers, God sent down his verse "And how many an animal there is that beareth not its own provision! Allah provideth for it and for you" [Qur'an 29: 60]. The strategic use of this verse draws a parallel between the past and the present and – given the nature of the source – leaves no room to dispute the correct course of action. He assures his readers and listeners that Muslims before them felt this fear, and yet they were rewarded when they did not act on it.

Amir 'Abd al-Qādir also uses the Qur'an and the hadith to call out the *'ulamā'* who do not promote hijra, stating:

> For all of this type are among the ugliest of those entering under the rule of the infidels. They made all that is said about hijra, praising it and making it a duty in the Qur'an and the Sunna absurd and meaningless. Not because of God's word, not because of the Prophet's word, but because of their vanities and their counterfeit sayings. For how could [these rulings] be when the Qur'an is full of mentions of hijra, praising making it and condemning bypassing it? The Prophet, upon him be peace, said hijra is not suspended until the door to redemption is closed, and that is not until the sun rises from the West. And the Prophet, peace be upon him, said "I am innocent of every Muslim who lives among the infidels" according to [all of] the hadith narrators, except for al-Bukhari (al-Jazā'irī 1903, 270).
>
> فجميع هذا الصنف مع قبح ما هم عليه من الدخول تحت ذمة الكفر استحلوا ما حرم الله من ذلك والمستحل لما حرم كافر وخروقا الاجماع فان الاجماع منعقد على وجوب الهجرة ومخالف الاجماع كافر وجعلوا ماورد في القرآن والسنة من ذكر الهجرة ومدحها والامر بها عبثاً ومنسوخاً وذلك باب لميلهم واقوالهم الكذبة كيف والقرآن مملوء بذكر الهجرة ومدحها وذم تاركها وقد قال عليه الصلاة والسلام لا تنقطع الهجرة حتى يغلق باب التوبة ولا يغلق باب التوبة حتى تطلع الشمس من مغربها وقال عليه الصلاة والسلام انا بريءٌ من كل مسلم مقيم بين اظهر الكافرين رواه اصحاب الصحيح ما عدا البخاري.

This passage effectively connects action and text, making it clear that when Muslims fail to conform to the Qur'an and the hadith, or the word of God and the word of the Prophet, they are making what should be the most infallible of books meaningless. Through his own interpretation of foundational texts and the incitement to action that he builds on them, the

Amir writes his own territory into this legacy, claiming a type of textual descendance that makes him innocent of Muslims who accept foreign rule. He then maintains the hierarchy of precedence by explaining why he has not cited the four rightly guided caliphs:

> Know that this disaster which is the appearance of the unbelievers among the Muslims up to the point where they entered under [Christian] protection did not happen in the first century [hijra], nor the second, nor the third, nor the fourth, but rather it happened in the fifth and then afterwards. For this reason, there is not a text or saying from the caliphs, may God be pleased with them. So, when it happened and questions arose, our guides the theorists and interpreters weighed the issue of those who became Muslim and did not make hijra (Ibid., 278).
>
> واعلم ان هذه المصيبة التي هي ظهور الكفار على المسلمين حتى دخلوا تحت ذمتهم لم تكن في القرن الاول ولا في الثاني ولا في الثالث ولا في الرابع وانما حدثت ووقع السؤال عنها قاسها ساداتنا اهل النظر والاجتهاد المذهبي على مسئلة من اسلم ولم يهاجر.

While Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir’s respect for precedence could be used to label him ‘traditional’ and thus irrelevant to histories of nineteenth-century reform and revival in Arabic literature, the preservation and transmission of the Islamic archive – as well as enacting it through proper interfaith conduct – was actually a form of political resistance during this period. This strand of resistance is also reflected in the Amir’s heavy reliance on the hadith.

As using hadith literature goes against the general grain of fatwa literature from this period, it is worth asking why Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir quotes so many in his ruling (Terem 2014, 58). This is partly related to the topic at hand, the migration of resistance and redemption is a significant part of the Prophet’s life story. There is also another layer of evoking this inheritance, however, one which I explore more in-depth in the following chapter: to embody classical Islamic ideals was to resist foreign ways of acting and being. Continuing this chain of transmission through both text and action was a means to fight colonial enchroachments in the cultural sphere. As no tradition better embodies Islamic ideals than the records of what the Prophet did and said during this lifetime, ‘Abd al-Qādir wove hadith into his textual legacy. He also, however, relied on speculation and imagination.

For example, the Amir elaborates on affiliations that cannot cancel out the duty of hijra through imagining the consequences of remaining in enemy territory:

> As for one who was a Muslim in *dār al-Islām* and then the infidel invaded, for he may not imagine that there will be a community (‘ashīrah) to protect him. So then is there one from these peoples and tribes who has a community to protect him from the infidels? Who would protect him if the unbelievers wanted to enact a ruling upon him? Who could insure him against catastrophe and strife (Ibid., 273)?
>
> واما من كان مسلماً في دار الاسلام ودخل عليه الكفار بالقهر والغلبة فلا يتصور ان تكون له عشيرة تحميه او جاه يامن بهما من الفتنة في دينه مهما ارادهما الكفار منه وهل يوجد واحد من هذه الشعوب والقبائل الداخلة تحت ذمة الكفار من له عشيرة تحميه من الكفار اذا ارادوا اجراء حكم من الاحكام عليه او يامن الفتنة.

This fictional scenario and the questions it provokes bring to life the dilemma Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir is trying to prevent. ‘Abd al-Qādir is thus able to show that no tribe, people, or community can substitute the need to live under Islamic rule and to resist any challenges to it. Through this assertion, ‘Abd al-Qādir makes it clear that *dār al-Islām* is *the* significant geography; no other geographic or personal attachments are even comprable. He also quotes the *tafsīr* of Abū al-Sa‘ūd Afandī (1490-1574) as saying that the only theoretical excuse to not make hijra would be the lack of vastness of the Earth and, since it is obviously vast, no possible reasons remain. He then cites the *tafsīr* of Ibn ‘Abbas which says that *al-bilād al-Islāmiyya* are now expansive and thus it is not permitted to disguise one’s faith in order to stay in hostile territory (Ibid., 271-2). While such citations add legitimacy, the imagined future adds emotional pull and urgency to the overall message.

By bringing to life potential future scenarios of foreign rule, hijra becomes an act of redemption and an affirmation of social cohesion. Although the Amir is adamant that God will provide for the believers, hijra is more than a migration for a better life in this world. Hijra is a means of cultural and spiritual survival which, in ‘Abd al-Qādir’s thought, are inseparable. Choosing another angle to weigh the sacrifices one must make in order to migrate, he alludes to an established scheme of needs:

> The Ahl al-Aḥwāl [i.e. the Sufis] noted that there are five necessities which must be protected: religion, the self (nafs), the mind (‘aql), lineage (nasab), and wealth. So each of these must be preserved to the extent that it being protected does not conflict with protecting its predecessor, but wealth is the last in the order and religion is the first (Ibid., 271).

وقد ذكر اهل الاحوال ان الضرورات التي تجب المحافظة عليها خمسة الدين والنفس والعقل والنسب والمال فكل واحد من هذه يجب حفظه مالم يعارضه حفظ ما قبله فالمال هو آخر المراتب والدين اولها فهو مقدم على غيره.

Religion is threatened by non-Muslim rule. Although wealth may be threatened by emigration, it is a lower priority and thus not a factor which can override religion. In a clear departure from other rulings focused on the continuation of religious rites and worship, Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir ties proper practice to the proper political structure, and thereby to anticolonial jihad. What comes to the fore in all of these passages is the Amir's insistence that Muslims not let any other loyalty override their solidarity with *dār al-Islām*. ʻAbd al-Qādir makes the damning argument that to believe that it is the *waṭan*, or that it is one's kin which provides and sustains is tantamount to idolatry. He adds the founder of Mālikī jurisprudence to his evidence stating that, "Al-Mālik, may God be pleased with him, said hijra from the lands of darkness and enmity is mandatory" (Ibid., 270). His fatwa thus casts his emirate in the ideal of *dār al-Islām*, and incites all Muslims within his vicinity to join his resistance movement defending it.

ʻAbd al-Qādir continues arguing for the mandatory nature of hijra by citing more precedents from *fiqh* literature. In particular, he uses excerpts from al-Wansharīsī's 1491 fatwa collection *al-Miʻyār al-muʻrib wa-al-jāmiʻ al-mughrib ʻan fatāwī ʻulamā' Ifrīqīya wa-al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib* ("The Express Standard and the Wondrous Collection of the Fatwas of the Scholars of Tunis and Andalusia and Morocco").ʻAbd al-Qādir explains: "Al-Wansharīsī said in his book *al-Miʻyār* that fleeing from the domain where polytheism and destruction have taken over to the domain of safety and faith is mandatory", and "the author of al-Miʻyār recorded that to be dispossessed of wealth is not an excuse [to not migrate]" (al-Jazā'irī 1903, 271). He also accurately summarises al-Wansharīsī's argument that the Muslim under non-Muslim rule will not be able to properly perform religious duties such as fasting, charity, pilgrimage, or jihad (Ibid.; Verskin 2015, 139). This is because a Muslim judge and ruler are required to declare the beginning and end of Ramadan, and a Muslim ruler must be

there to receive zakat — reasons which again point to the Amir's emphasis on how political structures imbue religious rites with meaning (al-Jazā'irī 1903, 271). While this summary of previous rulings is not as descriptive as other parts the fatwa, it still relies on an imagined scenario: one in which there are no figures of authority who are Muslim and thus able to guide the community in religious practice.

Amir 'Abd al-Qādir then considers historical sources on the status of rulings and testimonies from Muslims dwelling in *dār al-Ḥarb*. 'Abd al-Qādir relates how Muhammad ibn 'Alī al-Māzarī (1061–1141), a prominent legal expert of Sicilian descent living in Tunisia, was asked about the rulings that came from the judges of Sicily. Al-Māzarī specified two matters of consideration: *'adāla* (justice) and *wilāya* (guardianship). As far as justice is concerned, no judge can truly execute it while living in *dār al-Ḥarb*. Furthermore, the judge's nomination by the infidels and their authority over him prevent his rulings from being legally valid (al-Jazā'irī 1903, 272). The testimony of Muslims who dwell in the wrong domain is also void, unless they have a legally approved reason for living under un-Islamic authority. Through making justice impossible without Islamic rule, 'Abd al-Qādir reinforces the separation of *dār al-Islām* and *dār al-Harb* and cuts Muslims living in the latter out of Islamic textual and legal dialogues. He also condemns them to live in a state of injustice, even arguing that, without Islamic rule, Christians themselves are unable to uphold agreements:

> Christians do not keep pacts unless the word of Islam is highest and its strength established. How could it be otherwise when God said they do not cease to fight you until they make you renounce your religion, if they are able to.... Those are the invaders, the trespassers. In other words, they don't stop at any condition or pact (Ibid., 273).
>
> فالنصارى لا يوفون بعهد الا اذا كانت كلمة الاسلام هي العليا وشوكته قائمة كيف والله تعالى يقول لا يزالون يقاتلونكم حتى يردوكم عن دينكم ان استطاعوا ... واولئك هم المعتدون اي المتجاوزون اي لا يقفون عند شرط ولا عهد.

Through both his citations and his examples, the Amir makes hijra an expression of resistance to occupation and an integral part of Islamic practice.

It is the Qur'an and the hadith along with the Sunna which substantiate his case, and he never implies that these sources need to be reinterpreted. Although contemporary histories of the Maghrib tend to take colonisation as the dividing line between two fundamentally different periods, 'Abd al-Qādir instead draws analogies betweeen the circumstances he is living through and previous shifts in interfaith boundaries. On occasion, he even uses a historical scenario to demonstrate his point rather than a previous ruling:

> For this fool [who opposes hijra] must not have heard about what happened in al-Andalus, specifically Cordoba. They made a pact with the Infidel who conquered them and delineated some sixty-odd conditions. The agreement had barely been agreed to before they [the Christians] brazenly contradicted it. In fact, the infidels started going to Muslims and telling them that their grandfather or their parents' grandfather was an unbeliever, "so return to the unbelief that your grandfather held and leave the religion of Islam" (Ibid., 273).
>
> وكان هذا الاحمق لم يصل اليه خبر الاندلس خصوصاً اهل قرطبة فانهم تعاقدوا مع الكافر لما غلبهم على نيف وستين شرطاً اشترطواها عليه فلم يحل الحول عليها حتى نقضوها عروة وآخر الأمر صار الكافر يأتي على المسلم يقول له ان جدك وجدّ ابيك واباك أو جدك كان كافراً فارجع الى الكفر الذي كان عليه جدك واترك دين الإسلام.

Here Amir 'Abd al-Qādir evokes a previous period wherein Christians held power over Muslims. His story is plainly-stated because his readers already know this history and associate it with collective loss and exile. They imagine the plight of the last Muslims left in Iberia, those who did not leave and were thus hounded to renounce their religion even after accepting a humiliating compromise. As with previous passages, there is an implied analogy between the Muslims of Cordoba and the segments of the Algerian populations willing to reach an agreement with the French. As such, the Mediaeval Christains' smearing of Iberian Muslims' lineage is a warning that the future memory of Algerian Muslims is in danger.[24] This example shows that cautionary tales even beyond foundational Islamic sources and *fiqh* literature were also used in fatwas for illustrative purposes, and that they added to the effectiveness of resistance literature.

[24] As mentioned in the Introduction, genealogy was a source of social status and esteem in the precolonial Maghrib.

The call for hijra was never far from the incitement of anticolonial jihad. Since Christians do not stop at any condition or pact, it is up to the Muslims to enforce interfaith boundaries by following the Islamic ruler, living in his territory, and supporting the jihad with either body or wealth. If there was no need to maintain separate spheres of influence between Muslims and non-Muslims, then there would not be any need to migrate or to resist invasion. After putting forth this polemic, ‘Abd al-Qādir describes what should befall Muslims who fail to embody strong interfaith boundaries:

> The Imam al-Maghīlī [1440-1505] said in his book called “The Lanterns of Salvation” that those believers—meaning those which sought refuge with the infidels, and protected them, and took up residence in their domain, and abased themselves to obey them—their wealth is taken and they are killed, even if they were reading the Qur’an (Ibid., 274).
>
> وقال الامام المغيلي في كتاب له سماه مصابيح الفلاح ان هؤلاء المؤمنين يعني الذين طلبوا الأمان من الكفار وامنوهم واقاموا تحت ذمتهم ودانوا بطاعتهم تؤخذ أموالهم ويقتلون ولو كانوا يقروءُن القرآن.

This passage fills in the gap left by the Qādī ‘Abd al-Hādī’s fatwa and uses precedence to support the Amir’s right to use force against Muslims who aid, enable, or tolerate the enemy. The saying “even if they are reading the Qur’an” is a vivid jab that evokes ‘Abd al-Qādir’s emphasis on Muslim solidarity. In his understanding of Islam, one cannot truly be Muslim – even if one is reading the Holy Book – unless one is embedded within a Muslim community and living under Islamic rule. Islamic practice means embodying Muslim solidarity and social cohesion, not simply performing decontextualised rites. In his context, Islamic practice means supporting anticolonial resistance.

While his city poems and speeches encircle specific places to draw them into his sphere of resistance, ‘Abd al-Qādir makes his strongest political assertions in his fatwa. Through this text, he makes it clear that there is only one boundary which matters: that between *dār al-Islām* and *dār al-Harb*. Previous divisions based on tribe, or Sufi *ṭarīqa*, or position relative to the Ottomans do not matter anymore. ‘Abd al-Qādir consistently uses *dār* in order to emphasise that he is talking about the dominion of Islam, not simply a place where

Muslims live. While Tlemcen and Tagdempt surface as specific points which help him draw his map, the larger Islamic geographies of the ‘Alawite and Ottoman Sultanates are notably absent. This assertion of an Islamic significant geography in western Algeria was a rallying cry for the Amir’s resistance movement and a rejection of the colonial presence, and thus an example of resistance as a literary force.

3.3 Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s Intervention: Mastering Hajj and Defining Bilād

Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn called for Muslim solidarity and resistance through three different texts, each of which address a complementary aspect of his wider vision. His travelogue *Al-Riḥla al-Hijazīya* (“Journey to the Hijaz”) portrays Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s initial identification with his place of origin as well as his first encounters with ‘Alawite Morocco. Through this travelogue, Mā’ al-‘Aynayn writes himself into centres of Islamic power and builds a narrative of his mastery of space. The *riḥla* ends with Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s return to the northwest Sahara and his disruption of a custom which symbolically placed tribal loyalty over unity through religion.

While writing in the *riḥla* genre did lend itself to recycling certain tropes,[25] it was also an open-ended enough genre to allow Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn to show his facility in *saj’* (rhymed prose), poetry, and straightforward description. This literary mastery in turn reinforced the work’s overall message that Mā’ al-‘Aynayn was uniquely qualified to lead his region’s anticolonial resistance. His 1887 *sharḥ* (exposition) *Mufīd al-Rāwī ‘alá annī mikhāwī* (“Record: I am in Brotherhood!”) also embeds his poetry within descriptions of its recitation and reception, thus preserving not only the poetry itself but also the layers of evidence and thought that went into his versed calls for Muslim solidarity and anticolonial

[25] For more on the *‘ajā’ib* trope in *riḥla* literature, see p. 89.

resistance. Lastly, through his 1885 ruling *Hidāyat man ḥārā fī amr al-Naṣāra* ("Guidance for Whomever is Confused Regarding the Christians"), Mā' al-'Aynayn translates pan-Islamic solidarity into Saharan terms and imagines all Muslims under a single, unitary ruler. Similar to Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's ruling, this fatwa relies not only on legal citations, but also on the curation and compilation of stories that prove jihad to be an obligation.

As touched upon in the Introduction, Mā' al-'Aynayn left his father's nomadic encampment at a time when steamships, printing presses, and the looming threat of colonisation were shifting world political geographies and changing Muslims' perceptions of space (Gelvin and Green 2013, 19). Nonetheless, the story that still prevailed in the remote Ḥawḍ region of the northwest Sahara was that whoever set off for the Ḥijāz never returned – whether they perished during the journey or simply settled elsewhere was up for speculation (Hassanna 2020; ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 11). Similar to the precedent set by the Mediaeval jurist Ibn Rushd al-Jadd (1058- 1126),[26] many *'ulamā'* from the northwest Sahara ruled that the hajj was not incumbent upon Saharans because of the dangers involved in crossing such distances (al-Idrīsī 2009, 114). Although there were Saharan pilgrims who joined West African hajj caravans as far back as Mansa Musa's (r. 1312-37) reign over Mali, it was not until the eighteenth century that a caravan meeting point was founded at the trading town of Oualata in the Ḥawḍ (Būzankāḍ 2014, 112-3). This embarkment was then overtaken by the Chinguetti caravan in the eighteenth and nineteenth

[26] Ibn Rushd al-Jadd, the grandfather of the more famous Ibn Rushd (Averroes), ruled that jihad was more virtuous than hajj. Camilo Gómez-Rivas summarises this ruling: '"The obligation (farḍ) of the ḥajj," he wrote in opening his opinion, "has fallen from the people of al-Andalus in this, our time". This was because, he argued, "ability" is one of the preconditions that God set for the obligation to be effective upon an individual. Ibn Rushd thought this "ability," which he defined as the capacity to arrive safe of body and possessions, was "non-existent today". The inability to fulfill this condition (which he characterized as an 'illa) renders the performance of the ḥajj not only supererogatory, but reprehensible, in view of the accumulation of danger and risk involved..' (Gómez-Rivas 2014, 96).

centuries but, even after this development, it was still relatively rare for Saharans to undertake the overland pilgrimage to Mecca (Stewart and Stewart 1973, 67).

Mastering hajj paved the way for Mā' al-'Aynayn to become the Saharan embodiment of pan-Islamic resistance. He embarked on a daring sea journey and returned a year later to become his family's first *ḥājj*. Surviving the journey to and from the Hijaz along with its attendant dangers and diseases could only be understood as proof that he, amongst all of Shaikh Muhammad Fāḍil's offspring, was uniquely blessed and poised to lead (Mā' al-'Aynayn 2005, 30-1; ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 63). Mā' al-'Aynayn's pilgrimage narrative elevated his status by gathering the blessings and endorsements Muslim scholars from outside of his community of origin bestowed upon him. As will be elaborated on at the end of this section, the visions and *karāmāt* (miracle tales) connected to Mā' al-'Aynayn's journey further emphasise the interconnected nature of literature and political legitimacy in the nineteenth-century Maghrib (Ibn al-'Atīq and al-Ẓarīf 2004, 318).

The *riḥla* foreshadows the Shaikh's exceptional nature and divine favour even before his journey begins. Mā' al-'Aynayn recalls in *saj'* (rhymed prose) the process that led to Shaikh Muhammad Fāḍil granting him his blessing to travel:

> I say: nothing grows from what is not buried and its fruits never come. Perhaps that is what the shaikh wanted, may God preserve his triumph and his crown. I say: by the wonder of God! Our shaikh sends our children everywhere and I sit in place for ages? Yet I know that he knows what is in my thoughts, and I tell him that I want, if only once, to roam. I say: if you grant me just a little, for that permits me a lot. I leaned on him as the knowledgeable one. With that he presented to me what I knew from my education of myself, and whosoever wants to learn God makes his life and his victory exceptional from what came before and from what will come.
>
> With this clouding my mind, I became unable to tolerate women or men...and every time I told him of someone strange he would point me to someone familiar. Yet I surrender to him the decision privately and publicly and God knows the secrets, and I do nothing until I consult him for [his] blessing. And for that I started to want what is close in meaning even if far in distance, obtained only by the prosperous, until he reminded me from what I reminded him of. So from him I sought counsel and so he accepted it. So I said: there is nothing in my heart to propel me, and the gesture of permission would be my ease if it appeared to me (ibn

Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā’ al-‘Aynayn 2010, 25).

وأقول: ما نبت مما لم يدفن لا يتم نتاجه,ولعل ذلك مراد الشيخ, أدام الله نصره وتاجه. وأقول: سبحان الله! شيخنا يرسل أبناءنا لكل مكان وأنا جالس في الأماكن مدى الزمان؟ لكني عارف أنه عالم بما في الخاطر, وأراوده أني أريد - ولو مرة - أخاطر وأقول: إن أذن لي في اليسير فذلك هو الإذن في الكثير,وأتكل على أنه بالحال خبير, وهو مع ذلك يراودني بما تقدم من تعليمي لنفسي, ومن أراد أن يتعلم جعل الله عمره ونصره فائقين ما تأخر وما تقدم.

وصرت - من تشويش البال - لا أتحمل النساء ولا الرجال وكلما راودته على أحد غريب يحثني على أحد قريب, مع أني سالم له الاختيار, في سري وفي الاجهار, والله عالم بما في الأسرار,ولا أفعل شيئا حتى استشيره للمنى, ولأجل ذلك صرت أريد القريب في المعنى, ولو بعيدا في المسافة يحصل دونه الغني؛ حتى ذكر لي من إليه سرت ذكرته له,وعليه استشرت فقبله لي, فقلت: ما في قلبي تيسر لي, وعلامة الإذن التيسير إن وقع لي.

This passage shows how, with great subtlety and tact, the young Mā’ al-‘Aynayn managed to sway the one figure who should have been charting his life without input: his father and shaikh. He even implies that he had already taught himself what his father told him with the phrase “what I knew from my education of myself”. Yet since Mā’ al-‘Aynayn ties his decisions to God’s knowledge of humanity’s innermost thoughts, he appears exceptionally pious rather than openly defiant of customary sources of authority. By stating “for that I started to want what is close in meaning, even if far in distance”, he positions himself as spiritually close to Mecca despite the physical distance. This elevation of himself in relation to his shaikh – against the advice he gives Sufi seekers in his own manual – foreshadows his later decision to break with inherited Saharan custom by refusing to slaughter an animal in the name of a tribe. All of these aspects of the narrative reinforce the message that Mā’ al-‘Aynayn is uniquely qualified to unite Saharans in resistance to colonisation.

The form of this passage also reveals the facility and creativity of the Shaikh in *saj’*, or rhymed prose. Given the recitation and memorisation-based literacy that dominated the Ḥassanophone sphere at this time, a passage in *saj’* made Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s advocacy for his pilgrimage more comprehensible and memorable to his intended audience (Fortier and

Launay 2016).[27] Much moreso than poetry, *saj'* was also reflective of the language of the Qur'an and even some hadith (Cottrell 2020, 17-18; Durakovic and Karahasanović 2015, 61; Smyth 2006, 396). The paragraph consits of four sentences, two of which run-on at great length and all of which run into each other so as to give the impression of a single train of thought. Although Mā' al-'Aynayn splits most of the sentences into either two or three clauses where the final words rhyme (Wa kulama rāwadatihi 'alá aḥad **gharīb**/ yuḥithanī 'alá aḥad **qarīb**/ ma' anī sālim lahu **al-ikhtiyār**/ fī sirī wa fī **al-ijhār**/ wa-Allah 'ālam bimā fī **al-asrār**), he abruptly interrupts this scheme at the line "With that he presented to me what I knew from my education of myself, and whosoever wants to learn God makes his life and his victory exceptional from what came before and from what will come" (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 25). This technique underlined the Shaikh's overarching message that he had reached a stage of knowledge and literacy whereby he both knew the rules and could break them, and thus bolstered his authority to lead a spiritual and military resistance.

After Mā' al-'Aynayn finally obtained the permission of Shaikh Muhammad Fāḍil, he set off with three other disciples, joining a string of desert caravans north through the Saharan towns of Chinguetti, Tiris, Wad Nun (Guelmim), and Tāzirwālt. They reached Essaouira just in time to miss the year's last pilgrimage steamship (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 37). Thus began a series of detours within Morocco for Mā' al-'Aynayn. He headed first to Marrakech, hoping to secure an audience with the Moroccan Sultan Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān (r. 1822-59). When the Sultan did not respond, the Shaikh then travelled to Salé and met the heir apparent instead (Ibid., 37-8). When Mā' al-'Aynayn finally reached the Sultan, the latter insisted that the pilgrims celebrate 'īd al-Fiṭr at his court before sending them to Tangier (al-Ṭālib Akhyār 2005, 25-6). At this port city over 3000 kilometres away

[27] While other works of Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn were printed on Fez's lithographic press, this *riḥla* was copied by hand by a student of Muhammad Fāḍil (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 13). This indicates that it was intended for circulation namely in the Ḥassanophone region.

from his home, Mā' al-'Aynayn finally boarded a steamship headed for Egypt (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn, 42). On his way back from Mecca, Mā' al-'Aynayn visits Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān again and makes the *bay'a* (oath of loyalty) to him.

The significance of the Shaikh's first visit to a Moroccan sultan is often clouded by the nationalist narrative that this was a natural and inevitable extension of ties between the northwest Sahara and the Moroccan Sultanate. There are other historical examples which show instead the fluidity of contact between Saharan centres of power and the 'Alawites, such as the tense correspondence between Shaikh Sīdī al-Mukhtar al-Kabīr (1729–1811) and the Moroccan Sultan Sīdī Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh (r. 1757–90) regarding control of the trans-Saharan salt trade (McDougall 2013, 18). However, Mā' al-'Aynayn is the most direct source for his resistance movement, and another story associated with his hajj offers more evidence that his alliance with the 'Alawite sultans was a strategic reformation of Saharan significant geographies.

Included in *Al-fawākih fī kull ḥīn min aqwāl shaikhna al-Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn* ("Fruits for Every Occasion from the Sayings of Our Shaikh, the Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn"), a collection of the Shaikh's sayings modeled on the hadith, is the following story from Mā' al-'Aynayn's time in Mecca (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 46-7). He describes encountering three different men from disparate parts of the Muslim World while renewing his *wuḍū'* (ablution). Each man describes himself as from a distant corner of the globe and, together with the Shaikh, they symbolise Islam's spiritual, cultural, and linguistic reach in all four cardinal directions. The first introduces himself as being from the edge of *bilād al-muslimīn*, of which nothing lies beyond other than Gog and Magog (Ibid., 46). The second man says he is from the land of the rising sun, and the third that he is from the furthest part of Yemen of which nothing lies beyond but *bilād al-Ṣīn* (China). Mā' al-'Aynayn describes to them his homeland and where it falls on this map:

I said to them: there remains only your friend, meaning myself. I am from the furthest part of the Lands of the Maghrib and the distance between us and the Holy Mosque is about nine or ten months overland. As for by sea, that depends on the circumstances, but usually six months or around that, as happened to me. Then I asked all of them about the season of spring where they are and the coming of rains, so for the one from Yemen and from the place of [the] rising [sun] the time of spring is in autumn and the part of summer right by it. That is the case for our lands (bilādna) which are the Ḥawḍ and its surroundings. As for the one from the North, the spring is for them is the season of winter and the part of spring right by it (Ibid., 46).

فقلت لهم: لم يبق إلا صاحبكم, أعني نفسي, فإني من أُقصى بلاد المغرب, والمسافة بيننا مع الحرم الشريف إذا كانت برا, فنحو عشرة أشهر أو تسعة, وأما بحرا فبحسب التيسير, والأغلب ستة أشهر أو نحوها أو قريب منه كما وقع لي. وسالت كل واحد منهم عن زمن الربيع عندهم ومجيء الأمطار, فإذا صاحب اليمن والمطلع, دهرا الربيع عندهما فصل الخريف وما قاربه من الصيف, وذلك حال بلادنا التي هي "الحوض" ونحوه, وأما صاحب الشمال فدهر الربيع عندهم فصل الشتاء وما قاربه من فصل الربيع.

While Mā' al-'Aynayn sees *bilād al-Ḥawḍ* as part of the larger region of *bilād al-Maghrib*, he explicitly clarifies that the Saharan subregion of the Ḥawḍ is what constitute his place of origin. He does not even identify himself as coming from the larger northwest Sahara, as the term *bilād al-Shinquit* would have indicated. When the Shaikh shifts the discussion to the social and political features of each pilgrim's place of origin, the distinctive aspects of his Saharan identity become even clearer:

Then I asked them what they use to make purchases in their lands, so they all said that purchasing among them is done with dinars and dirhams. Then I asked them if there are sultans in their lands or are they harmonious without them? So they all said that there are sultans in their lands and it would not stand without them. So I said: in our lands the people do not know of dinars or dirhams. They were very impressed, and they said to me: how are purchases made among you? So I told them with livestock and clothing and slaves and such, and they were amazed. I also said to them: In our lands there is no sultan, and the people are very upstanding. Rather each tribe has a leader to which they turn to for some matters and the people stand on this. Additionally, there are many scholars. So they were very impressed by both of these things. They said to me that they know in the hadith that the most rightly secure people know neither dirham nor dinar, but they did not think that they existed in this world. I said to them yes, they are the people of my lands: one of them can live a long life and not see in it neither dinar nor dirham and not know of them except if he was of the scholars, then he reads of them in books. So when I said that to them, it was as if they saw the superiority of our lands and its people over their lands and their peoples in that regard.

وسألتهم عما يصارفون به في بلادهم, فقالوا كلهم إن التصارف عندهم بالدنانير والدراهم. وسألتهم هل بلادهم فيها السلاطين أو مستقيمة بلا سلاطين؟ فقالوا كلهم إن بلادهم فيها السلاطين ولا تستقيم دونهم. فقلت: إن بلادنا لا يعرف أهلها دينارا ولا درهما, فاعتبروا غاية, وقالوا لي: بما التصارف عندكم؟ فقلت لهم: بالأنعام والأثواب والعبيد ونحو ذلك, فتعجبوا غاية العجب. وقلت لهم أيضا: إن بلادنا لا سلطان فيها وأهلها مستقيمون غاية, وإنما يكون للقبيلة منها رئيس تأوي إليه في بعض أمورها, والناس مستقيمة على ذلك, وأهل علم كثير. فتعجبوا من هذين الأمرين غاية. وقالوا لي إنهم يعرفون في

الحديث أن من أحق الناس بالأمان قوما لا يعرفون دينارا ولا درهما وما كنا نظن أنهم موجودون في الدنيا. قلت لهم: نعم, هم أهل بلادنا: يعيش أحدهم العمر الطويل ولم ير دينارا ولا درهما ولا عرفه إلا إذا كان من أهل العلم فإنه يقرأه في الكتب. فلما قلت لهم ذلك, كأنهم رأوا الفضل لبلادنا وأهلها على بلادهم وأهلهم بذلك

When asked to describe his place of origin, Mā' al-'Aynayn sees tribal rule, the absence of a sultan, and the absence of money as its most evocative elements. The comment on currency is telling, as the Moroccan treasury had been minting coins for centuries by the time of the Shaikh's writing (S. Miller 2013, 32). In fact, one of the essential strategies of the first 'Alawite Sutlan Mawlay al-Rashīd (r. 1666-72) was to reform currency and change the shape of the bronze coins (al-Fāsī 1992, 219). This implies that, while Mā' al-'Aynayn had some awareness of 'Alawite Morocco before his journey, he did not strongly identify with the entity. The end of the passage seals this impression through its comments on language:

> Among the most curious of things was that they are all 'Ajām (non-Arabs) and not one of them knows the language of the other, and they do not know my own language which is Ḥassāniyya. However, they were all scholars and thus experts in the Arabic tongue. So I did not talk to them except in it, and they did not talk to each other except for me, may God forgive me (Ibid., 46-7).

> . ومن أغرب الأشياء أنهم جميعا أعاجم, وليس فيهم أحد يعرف لغة الآخر, ولا يعرفون لغتي أنا التي هي الحسانية, ولكنهم كلهم أهل العلم وخبيرون باللسان العربي, وأنا ما تكلمت لهم إلا به, ولم يتلكم منهم بعض لبعض غيري غفر الله لي..

Mā' al-'Aynayn thus sees his own language as being that of Ḥassāniyya, the dialect specific to the northwest Sahara. As such, he did not strongly identify with 'Alawite Morocco until he decided to tie his resistance movement to the Moroccan Sultan.

It should also be noted that Mā' al-'Aynayn portrays the traditional aspects of his remote and nomadic society as being sources of virtue. Saharan society stands without sultans to prop it up and, like the people mentioned in the hadith, Saharans conduct their business without money. This is not evidence of ignorance, as the land has many scholars. In fact, it makes Muslims from other regions see the Ḥassānīya-speaking nomads of the Sahara as superior. This story displays both a pride in the particularities of his homeland, and an emphasis on the ability of Classical Arabic to unite educated Muslims across regions,

cultures, and languages into a transregional *umma* (Ibn al-ʻAtīq and al-Ẓarīf 2004, 147-9). His use of the term *bilād* to describe both his place of origin and that of the other Muslims he encountered on the hajj shows that this term was cemented into his geographic imaginary even before his alliance with the Moroccan sultans and his re-conceptualisation of Saharan affinity, sovereignty, and resistance.

The first element of Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's geographic intervention occurs near the end of his hajj journey. On his way back to the Ḥawḍ after completing his pilgrimage, Mā' al-ʻAynayn visits several Saharan tribes including the Tajākant, the al-ʻArūsiyīn, al-Raqībāt, Ait Ḥasan, and Aitūsah (al-Ṭālib Akhyār 2005, 35-67). His stay among them spreads his reputation as an esteemed *ḥājj* and scholar, and his overlapping marriages solidify these social ties (McLaughlin 2005, 869; H. Norris 1983). His *riḥla* includes a scene from his return where his hosts tell him that he must sacrifice an animal to the tribe in order to gain protection, as travelling through this region without guardians is suicide. Mā' al-ʻAynayn describes:

> My time in which I was with the Tajākant, they told me that I must do something which the people of these parts do, both the warrior caste and scholarly caste, called "al-dhabīḥa" (the sacrifice). It is that one takes from a tribe a sheep and sacrifices it in the name of one of the leaders of another tribe which is stronger. Then the [leader] he slaughtered to will take the place of a brother for the one who slew in regards to dispersing his oppression and looking for his stolen goods and other common benefits. The slaughterer to the slaughtered for will also become like a brother in regards to the benefits, except that he usually does not have benefits from his hands to give. If he did, he would not need to make dhabīḥa. The closest to this among the people of our parts is the status of some of the scholars and some of the tributaries with some of the Mughāvra tribes who give them from year to year what we call the mughavr [tribute] (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-ʻAynayn 2010, 84-85).[28]
>
> زمني ذلك في تجاكانت راودوني على أن افعل شيئا يفعله أهل تلك البلاد زوايا وعربا يقال له "الذبيحة", وهو أن يأخذ شخص من القبيلة شاة ويذبحها على أحد من رؤساء قبيلة أخرى تكون أقوى منها, وتكون المذبوح عليها للذابحة منزلة الآخ لأخيه فيما تقدر عليه من رد مظلمة والبحث عن سريقة إلى غير ذلك من منافعهم العادية. وتكون الذابحة للمذبوح عليها كالأخ أيضا لأخيه فيما تعذر عليه من المنافع, إلا أن هذه ليست منافعها في الأغلب لتلك إلا بشيء تعطيه لها من أيديها, لأنها

[28] In the Ḥassaniyya diaect (ف) is pronounced (v) and thus words specific to the dialect including (مغافرة) and (مغفر) are rendered as *Mughāvra* and *mughavr* in transliteration.

في الغالب لا قدرة لها معها على ذلك, إذ لو كانت لها, لما احتاجت إلى الذبيحة. واقرب ما أمثل به هذه الحالة لأهل بلادنا حالة بعض الزوايا وبعض اللحمة مع بعض المغافرة في إعطائهم إياهم من العام إلى العام ما يسمى في عرفهم ب"المغفر".

When Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn explains the concept of *dhabīḥa*, he seems at first to distance himself from the custom, describing it as an oddity of the Tajākant. Yet, he then implies that Saharans in the Ḥawḍ could consider their practice of paying or collecting tribute as its rough equivalent, and thus implicitly a target of criticism. Mā' al-'Aynayn opposes the *dhabīḥa* on the grounds that sacrifices should only be made to God. Such a justification echoes the Shaikh's emphasis on Islam as the unitary bond among all kinds of believers, and its political role in superseding what divided them.

The custom of paying tribute to a stronger tribe or confederation was so fundamental to the Ḥassanophone social structure that casting doubt on its acceptability – especially as a guest – was a bold and risky move. Nonetheless, Mā' al-'Aynayn recites two lines of poetry conveying that if he made a sacrifice in the name of a person instead of God it would be as if he is sacrificing himself, and then slaughters an ewe. He narrates:

> So I turned to them and said in Ḥassāniyya:
>
> I heard the people say in the dhabīḥa — you will see the best of these lands, truly
> So I said to them, unless to God — I see in our sacrifice [only] sacrifice
>
> And then I recited [it] to them in Arabic…So when I said this to them they laughed and were pleased and ceased arguing. So I took a sheep and slaughtered it and said to them: if people slaughter for people, then this is my own sacrifice to the people's Lord (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 86).

فالتفتّ إليهم وقلت لهم بالحسانية:

اسَمعْتْ النَّاسْ تْكول الطَّبْ — اللَّافِ ذْبيحَه لا تشْكَيكْ
ولا يُمْكِنْ فِيَّانَا يا لرَّبْ — أنِّي نْذبحْ يكونْ عليكْ

وقلت لهم بالعربية:

سَمعت النَّاس قالت في الذبيحة — ترى طب البلاد هنا صحيحة
فقلت لهم على غير الاله — ذبيحتا أرى لهي الذبيحة

فلما قلت لهم هذا ضحكوا وتعجبوا وسكتوا. ثم إني أخذت شاة وذبحتها وقلت لهم: إن كانت الناس تذبح على الناس, فهذه ذبيحتي أنا على مالك الناس.

This scene in his *riḥla* demonstrates the salience literature held for acts of resistance. It is through his poetry that Mā' al-'Aynayn is able to disrupt a nomadic custom. By using the Tajākant's term for sacrifice or slaughter (*dhabīḥa*) in a different context, Mā' al-'Aynayn reminds his audience of its older connotations: that of Abraham, who was famously ready to offer up his son as *dhabīḥ* to God (Firestone 1989, 106-13). How cheapened would the original patriach's sacrifice be if Muslims went on to present *dhabīḥ* to worldly authorities? This story of breaking with his hosts' tradition of paying tribute to an earthly protector also places the unitary force of religion above tribal loyalties. Through an associated *karāma* which spread after Mā' al-'Aynayn's rejection of the *dhabīḥa*, his political power then becomes endorsed on the popular level.

The *karāma* goes that, following the Shaikh's refusal to perform the *dhabīḥa*, some of the Tajākant's camels were stolen by Idou wa Bilāl members who had not heard of Mā' al-'Aynayn's presence among them. Yet, as the thieves were walking in the middle of the night, their clothing, weapons, and walking sticks all suddenly caught fire. When the thieves called out for their Shaikh Muhammad Fāḍil, God in His mercy put out the mysterious fire (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 88). This story shows how, in the Saharan imagination, Mā' al-'Aynayn returned from *hajj* with the right to resist and change customary loyalties and divisions. He returns having realised his special proximity to God, and thus becomes a source of authority higher than social norms. Even if Mā' al-'Aynayn defies these norms, as he did with *dhabīḥa*, those who oppose him will be supernaturally punished. By evoking the Shaikh Muhammad Fāḍil, this particular tale also implies that Mā' al-'Aynayn has inherited his father's ability to bestow blessings and enact curses. As background, hagiographies of Muhammad Fāḍil repeatedly tell of his ability to curse those who stole from his tribe (McLaughlin 1997, 62).

Conversely, Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's ability to bestow blessings is seen in other *karāmāt* associated with his pilgrimage. In one *karāma*, a childless man from the Awlād Muḥam named Āflīyūwaiṭ gives Mā' al-'Aynayn his only camel in order to aid the Shaikh's pilgrimage. After Mā' al-'Aynayn makes a supplication for him, Āflīyūwaiṭ has many children, becomes known for his massive herd of camels, and lives to be over 120 years old (Mā' al-'Aynayn 2005, 24). This tale offered evidence of the Shaikh's ability to change others' fortunes, a fundamental aspect of building a social and political following. The poems which speak of Mā' al-'Aynayn's powers of retribution in a diwan from the Adrār region are further corroboration of the political power of *karāmāt* (McLaughlin 1997, 204).

Later, many years after asserting with words and ritual that sacrifices are to be made to God alone, Mā' al-'Aynayn is able to join three different Saharan tribes in a jihad defending *bilād al-Muslimīn* (The Lands of the Muslims) instead of a particular tribe's property, thus demonstrating how this unitary message was fundamental to his resistance movement. Mā' al-'Aynayn's successful intervention in Saharan geographies would not have been possible, however, without his journey through other lands and the legitimacy bestowed upon him by other Islamic figures.

3.3.1 *The Hijaz and Alexandria: Pan-Islamic Networks and Powers*

In order to unite Saharans under his anticolonial resistance movement, Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn inserted himself into a larger sphere of Muslim authority. By weaving locations and figureheads of transregional Islamic significance into his travelogue, he projected an image of himself as the local leader with the pan-Islamic awareness and endorsements needed to lead. Thus, upon his arrival in Mecca, Mā' al-'Aynayn is greeted by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Effendi, the Ottoman trustee of Saharan pilgrims. Effendi takes Mā' al-'Aynayn into his home, where the two stay up talking until the break of dawn. The next evening Effendi extends the same invitation, and again they stay up talking all through the night. On the third evening, the topic

turns to Mā' al-'Aynayn's father and Effendi is overcome with emotion. He kisses Mā' al-'Aynayn's feet as tears stream from his eyes and he repeats over and over that God has answered his prayers. Effendi then recounts that the Prophet showed him Muhammad Fāḍil in a vision, and reported that his heir was sent on the hajj (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 44). Effendi presents Mā' al-'Aynayn with gifts of clothing and gold necklaces but, most precious of all, 12 pieces of the kiswa (the cloth covering the K'aba). The Prophet, Effendi continues, also told him that Mā' al-'Aynayn has the secret which the Heavens and Planets rest on and that the Shaikh will tell Effendi the secret of the letter "ḥ". While this vision has an otherworldly air to it, it also has a clear political message.[29] It asserts Mā' al-'Aynayn's right to inherit his father's spiritual and political authority, narrated as though it was sent down from the heavens and channelled through a respected official of Mecca.

Mā' al-'Aynayn spends a month in Egypt after the pilgrimage, and he as he narrates this stay he writes himself into the realm of a great Islamic power while also demonstrating his knowledge of the world's latest technological advancements. He frames Egypt's progress as proof of the power and ingenuity of Muhammad Said Pasha (r. 1854-63), son of the famous statesman Muhammad Ali Pasha (r. 1805-48), rather than signs of European interference. The train, telegraph, and canal are attributed wholly to Muhammad Said; one passage is described as being made by the people of Egypt with the pasha's permission (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 64). Mā' al-'Aynayn describes the train as a ship that moves over sheets of metal and covers a distance which would otherwise take one day in only one hour.[30] He surmises that the train was made so indescribably large because it

[29] See p. 39-40 of this thesis for a longer discussion of dream and vision narratives and their connection to political power and spiritual authority.

[30] The word he uses for ship is *bābūr*, from the Spanish 'vapour'. In another passage describing his journey from Cairo to Alexandria after completing the hajj, he calls the train a "land ship" (bābūr al-bar) (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 62).

must transport the pasha's 3,400 guards and all of their weapons and supplies. Through these strategic descriptions, the Shaikh makes the ruler of Egypt into a figure of awe and the train into a symbol of military strength, thus making Muslim anticolonial resistance seem plausible (Ibid., 64-5).

When Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn documents the creation of the Suez Canal in Egypt, it is also spun into a tale of Islamic might (Huber 2013, 28; Mikhail 2017, 88-90; Toledano 2003, 188-93). He describes "a sea which he [the pasha] pulled from the Nile until it arrived at Alexandria, and there was now between the two a journey of three days, and ships started to go through it" (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 67). While his record of the Hijaz devotes considerable space to measuring the holy mosques of Mecca and Medina and calculating their dimensions, Mā' al-'Aynayn is not analytical of the engineering involved in this waterway. Instead, he imprints an impressive visual of the pasha physically moving bodies of water and changing their natural course (Ibid., 48-50). Additionally, he does not comment on the fact that Muhammad Said Pasha relinquished control of the construction of the Suez Canal to Ferdinand de Lesseps "for the purpose of establishing and directing a universal company to cut through the Isthmus of Suez" (US Dept of State 1956, 4). While the terms the pasha agreed to were of little benefit to ordinary Egyptians,[31] Mā' al-'Aynayn does not question who will reap the path's rewards. Instead, he weaves it into a narrative of Islamic might and gives the impression that Muhammad Said Pasha is a strong ruler who is using the Christians for his own ends. An accompanying anecdote is even more explicitly about Muhammad Said Pasha's political strength and cunning.

[31] Under this agreement, Egypt would supply the land and labour, but the rights to operate the canal would remain in the hands of the Campagnie universelle du canal maritime de Suez (Huber 2013, 27). Said company was even explicitly exempted from paying land use taxes to Egyptian or Ottoman officials (US Dept of State 1956, 6).

Mā' al-'Aynayn credits the pasha with a plot in which he first started paying the Christians and Jews from among the 300,000 workers digging the lake more than the Muslim workers while claiming that they did better work. This persisted until all of the Muslims quit and more Christian and Jewish replacements came. Then, once the digging reached the Nile, the water burst forth and killed more than 100,000 of the workers and left the rest in dismal condition. This, the Shaikh concludes, pleased the Muslims and they made their best supplications for the pasha (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Mā' al-'Aynayn 2010, 68). While in reality the labour conditions that Egyptian peasants toiled under to dig the canal were dangerous and bleak,[32] Mā' al-'Aynayn imagines an outcome in which they are spared from any harm and instead the occupiers are punished. While Mā' al-'Aynayn acknowledges the existence of foreigner workers, he chooses not to attribute any technological progress to them. He instead renders these developments symbols of Egypt's might, and portrays Mohamed Said Pasha as capable of literally washing away the foreign presence in Egypt. Mā' al-'Aynayn's tale of an Islamic ruler avenging the exploitive conditions foisted upon his subjects – however far it may have been from the truth – showed his followers that the enemy had been defeated elsewhere and thus resistance was far from futile.

In addition to his praise of the Egyptian pasha, Mā' al-'Aynayn finds several opportunities to endorse the Ottomans as figures of unitary, transregional Islamic power. He relays that 'ships which sail through the air' (i.e. hot air balloons) have become plentiful in the lands of the Christians and in the place of the "Sultan of the Muslims", which he clarifies is Istanbul (Ibid., 72). Referring to the Ottoman Sultan in such terms signals a sense of belonging to a larger pan-Islamic geography and endorsing a potential figurehead for all

[32] The Suez Canal was the last development Egypt undertook using the *corvée* system, meaning labourers would be drafted into major state projects for meagre pay (Lockman 1994, 81-3). European and Levantine workers started dredging the canal in the 1860s, after the abolishment of the corvée (Gorman 2014, 223; Huber 2013, 29).

Muslims to unite around. This is then strengthened by a scene at the Ka'ba where Mā' al-'Aynayn notes that the name of the Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecid I (r. 1839-61) is sewn into the kiswa (Ibid., 51). Mā' al-'Aynayn's description of this last form of travel, 'ships which sail through the air', also reinforces his travelogue's overarching message that he has the knowledge necessary to redefine space.

Thanks to the narratives surrounding his daring journey to the Hijaz, Mā' al-'Aynayn emerged as the Saharan shaikh with the knowledge and transregional legitimacy to lead the local resistance. The dream narratives and miracle tales associated with his pilgrimage served as wider endorsements of his exalted status. By choosing to emphasise Muslim might in response to the foreign presence in Egypt, he imbued his readers and listeners with a zeal for their own resistance. Making the journey alone would not have been enough: it was the literature which advanced his political claims and laid the groundwork for his anticolonial jihad.

After his return from the Hijaz, Mā' al-'Aynayn continued exerting his influence in Fez and Marrakech until he was positioned to intervene in another potential source of internal dischord which would weaken the resistance: animosity between different Sufi brotherhoods.

3.3.2 *A Brotherhood to Join all Believers*

Mā' al-'Aynayn's *riḥla* showed how he used poetry to oppose the Tajākant's custom of *dhabīḥa*, and thereby disrupt a regional ritual reinforcing loyalty to a tribe over unity in worshipping the same God. As emphasised in the beginning of this chapter, the Shaikh's calls for Muslim solidarity were deeply connected to his resistance movement, as unity was seen as the only means through which Muslims might repel colonial invasions (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Ẓarīf 1999, 9). After Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn became a frequent visitor to the 'Alawite Court, he turned his attention to another point of internal fragmentation: the

separation between and rivalry among different Sufi brotherhoods in Morocco. In his most famous poem, "Annanī mikhāwī li-jamī' al-ṭuruq" ("Truly, I am in Brotherhood with All the Paths"), he declares:

> Truly, I am in brotherhood with all the Paths,
> brotherhood of the faith among the pious.
> And I do not distinguish among the Saints,
> as he does who makes a distinction among prophets.
> The Most High has said, "The believers are but a single brotherhood"
> To not discriminate is to follow the example of the Best of all Creatures
> As opposed to division, for it is to follow the example of every apostate[33]

إني مخاوٍ لجميع الطرقِ أخوة الإيمان عند المتّقي
ولا أفرق للأولياء كمن يفرّق للأنبياء
قال تعالى المؤمنون إخوة وعدمُ التفريق فيه أُسْوة
لأَفضلِ الخلقِ بعكسِ التفريقِ ففيه أُسوة لكل زنْديق

When Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn champions a sense of brotherhood among all Sufi brotherhoods, it serves as a call to unite and resist occupation. He draws attention to the futility of distinguishing among the saints by comparing this to rejecting some of the prophets – a reference to the other Abrahamic faiths' denial of the Prophet Muhammad. By anchoring his call for solidarity and unity in the Qur'an ("The Most High has said") and the Sunna ("the example of the Best of all Creatures"), Mā' al-'Aynayn makes his message irrefutable and irresistable. The brevity of the poem as well as its simple diction meant it could be memorised and recited at any of his *zāwiya*s or, as evidently occurred, to those present at the Moroccan Sultan's court. This poem demonstrates that the Shaikh's political influence had grown to the point where he could challenge Moroccan norms of division, and that poetry was central to spreading and communicating his message of unity as resistance.

[33]Translation from: (Patrizi 2015, 327). Arabic original found in: (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Ẓarīf 1999, 44).

Mā' al-'Aynayn elaborated on this message in an accompanying *sharḥ* (exposition) text titled *Mufīd al-Rāwī 'alá annī mikhāwī* ("Record: I am in Brotherhood") where he describes visiting the court of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (r. 1873-1894) in 1887 and fielding questions from students who did not grasp the meaning of his poem (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Ẓarīf 1999, 43). While the poem showcases Mā' al-'Aynayn's ability to argue for Islamic solidarity in a pithy, popular format, his *sharḥ* projects his presence as the Shaikh who teaches unitary thought into other places. It enabled students at any *zāwiya* and even those studying after Mā' al-'Aynayn's death to read "Ananī mikhāwī li-jamī' al-ṭuruq" with his guiding interpretation. While the poem economises words, the *sharḥ* draws out the layers of the Qur'an, hadith, and *fiqh* beneath the poem's message.

Mufīd al-Rāwī also allowed Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn to delve into practical applications of pan-Sufi brotherhood. He specifically mentions the issue of mixing *dhikr* formulations from different Sufi *ṭuruq*, and explains that he never heard of Sufi chants and prayers being bound to a single *ṭarīqa* until he travelled beyond the Ḥawḍ (Ibid., 43-4). As such, Mā' al-'Aynayn implies that jealously guarding *wird* (liturgic formulations) is simply an aspect of culture and not religion. The shaikh reminds his audience that the Prophet simply urged the *umma* to remember God (dhikr Allah), not to perform only certain *dhikr* to the exclusion of others (Ibid., 56). [34] In fact, given that the practice of *dhikr* is enshrined in the Sunna, Muslims who claim that *dhikr* should be exclusive to one *ṭarīqa* bear the burden of proof (Ibid.). Even the *sharī'a*, according to Mā' al-'Aynayn, allows the giving and taking of liturgic formulations without restriction (Ibid., 59). In broader terms, Islamic law opposes any kind of social division since all of the prophets were sent by God to establish unity and

[34] (60) ايها السامع \ (54) ايها الناظر أو السامع

sociality and to shun division (Ibid., 63). Through these passages, *Mufīd al-Rāwī* complements the unitary message Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn previously expressed in his poem.

The publication of *Mufīd al-Rāwī* was embedded in a larger Makhzan campaign. The court *wazīr* Ahmad ibn Mūsá ensured that Sufi *dhikr* and liturgies were printed in abundance from 1892-1910, and that the texts were no longer marked as belonging to a specific *ṭarīqa* (Abdulrazak 1990, 220). This served the goal of uniting Moroccans through the Sufi practices which almost all of the Muslim population took part in. *Mufīd al-Rāwī* was first printed on the lithographic press in 1893, a project overseen by the jurist al-Mahdī al-Wazzānī (1850–1923) before it was printed again in 1899 (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Ẓarīf 1999, 43). This demonstrates that Mā' al-'Aynayn's work was influential within the 'Alawite sphere, and that he was able to intervene in Moroccan Sufi discourse and practice. As his Sufi unitary message was part of his larger efforts to unite various Maghribi populations in effective resistance, these texts are evidence of Maghribi resistance as a literary force.

3.3.3 *Configuring the Ḥassanophone Sphere as "Bilād al-Muslimīn"*

Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn issued his fatwa *Hidāyat man ḥārā fī amr al-Naṣāra* ("Guidance for Whomever is Confused Regarding the Christians") in 1885 in response to the claims of the Amir Ahmad ibn Imḥammad ibn 'Īdah, ruler of the Saharan Ādrār Emirate. After the Shaikh led fighters from the Awlād Dulaym, Awlād Tīdirārīn, and al-'Arūsiyīn tribes in battle against Spanish settlers in the Dakhla Pennisula, ibn 'Īdah approached them and demanded a share of the spoils, arguing that he had an *'aqd* (contract) with the settlers and thus the battle violated his jurisdiction (M. Mā' al-'Aynayn 1999, 13-14). In response, Mā' al-'Aynayn composed this fatwa justifying the fighters' right to their plunder and expounding on the nature of jihad. Mā' al-'Aynayn makes an argument for self-defence using the Qur'an and the hadith alongside previous rulings and sprinkled with stories from recent political events. The order of the Shaikh's subheadings demonstrate how he ranks his

sources: the proof from the Qur'an, followed by the proof from the Sunna, and finally the proof from *fiqh*.

Building on this point, Mā' al-'Aynayn asserts his authority namely by displaying his mastery of the Islamic archive rather than by evoking his sponsorship by the Moroccan sultan. In fact, the Sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (r. 1873-94) is only referenced once, and it is in a manner which reveals the nature of 'Alawite influence in the northwest Sahara. Mā' al-'Aynayn relays a story in which Muhammad ibn Sayyid Balkhayr Āzragī (dates unknown), a noble of the Āzragīn tribe, seizes the house of a Spanish settler and sells it (Ibid., 78). The shaikh then states that 'the news reached the Sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, so he prayed for his [Āzragī's] well-being and said "there was nothing he was to do other than kill him [the Spaniard], as it happened like this. By God, let there be only the contract which they call the contract of combat which the Ahl al-Ghazāl [tribe] and others act upon!"' (Ibid., p. 79). Thus the Sultan's authority comes to the fore in the sense of approving an act of war after the fact, not as the man who must be consulted beforehand.

The shaikh does not define the Dakhla Peninsula as belonging to a larger Moroccan or Saharan entity. Rather, he speaks in terms of *hādhihi al-bilād* (these lands) or *bilādina* (our lands) or, most frequently, *bilād al-Muslimīn* (the lands of the Muslims). There is not a single reference to *Bilād al-Maghrib*, and nor are wider terms for the northwest Sahara such as *Bilād al-Shinqīṭ* or *Bilād al-Bayḍān* employed. While it could be that a man with such a large transregional network opted to speak in vague terms in order to make his ruling applicable elsewhere, the inclusion of many local referents and figures belie this theory. In fact, the fatwa assumed a deep background knowledge of the Ḥassanophone sphere. As mentioned previously, Mā' al-'Aynayn references Muhammad ibn Sayyid Balkhayr Āzragī without elaborating on who he is, despite the fact that his contacts in Cairo or even Fez would not

have heard of him. He also refers to the Imagruen, an ethnic group found in the Dakhla Penninsula, in a similar manner: [35]

> …those unbelievers of which we are speaking ambushed bilād al-Muslimīn with their entrance in it and upon [the Muslims] without permission from anyone. As such, fighting them became the duty of whoever was near them since they invaded the Imagruen who do not have the ability to defend themselves (M. Mā' al-'Aynayn 1999, 77).
>
> هؤلاء الكفرة, الذين بصدد الكلام فيهم فجأوا بلاد المسلمين لدخولهم فيها عليهم من غير إذن من أحد منهم لهم. فلذلك صار قتالهم واجبا على من بقربهم إذ هم دخلوا على ((إِيمْرَاكَنِ)) ولا قدرة لهم على الدفع عن أنفسهم.

In this excerpt, local references coexist with the geographic ideal of *bilād al-Muslimīn*, thus translating Islamic solidarity into terms relevant to the northwest Sahara. While *bilād al-Dakhla* or *bilād al-Imagruen* would have been more specific, the Shaikh creates a sense of solidarity across existing social divisions by evoking *bilād al-Muslimīn*. Through this ideal Islamic geography, he can then call on his audience to come to the armed defence of all Muslims within their vicinity.

Mā' al-'Aynayn further justifies why the tribes had to ask before seeking an amir or sultan's approval by alluding to the concept of *sība*. The lack of an accessible central authority made seeking permission to fight impractical. Thus, as was the case in Dakhla, it was the duty of all nearby Muslims to defend their land when the Christians invaded. In this passage, he addresses the Amir of Ādrār's objection that he had an *'ahd* (agreement) with the Spanish settlers and also warns of the colonisers' strategy of exploiting the Saharan state of *sība*:

> As for the claim of the dissenting authority [i.e. the Amir of Adrār] that they [the Christians] sent themselves to him: they sent themselves to each tribe that covers these lands which they invaded. This was with their knowledge of its sība and the lack of rule, for the most part, of any of its people over anyone. And what is that from them [the Christians] other than cheating the Muslims, and baiting them against each other? What I verified of this was eight documents, and all of them say "we have a treaty". Due to this [strategy], they did not mention who came to them [saying] that they have a treaty with anyone, as you claim (Ibid., 78).

[35] An ethnicity found in the Dakhla region and along the Atlantic coast. They were traditionally a tributary caste who made their livelihood from fishing (Boulay 2013, 132).

وأما ادعاء المتغلب المتقدم, أنهم أرسلوا له, فإنهم قد أرسلوا لكل قبيلة ممن حذاء البلاد التي خرجوا لها, لعلمهم بسيبتها, وعدم حكم أحد من أهلها – في الأغلب – على أحد. وما ذلك منهم إلا غش للمسلمين, وإغراء لبعضهم على بعض. والذي حققتُ من ذلك, ثمان كتابات. كلهم يقولون فيها: إنا على العهد. ولذلك لم يذكروا لمن أتاهم – كما تقدم – أنهم مع أحد على العهد.

Thus Mā' al-'Aynayn acknowleges the reality of *sība* in the northwest Sahara and then casts it as an obstacle to resisting colonisation. By painting a picture of how the invaders were able to enter *bilād al-Muslimīm* and establish themselves within it, he subtly condemns the lack of unity in the northwest Sahara and connects this "lack of rule" to Saharans' inability to properly defend themselves. This point is made not by replicating previous rulings, but by telling the story of how there came to be a foreign presence in the Dakhla Pennisula.

Although his fatwa is namely focused on Saharan self-defence and sovereignty, Mā' al-'Aynayn further supports his argument with anecdotes from the larger Islamic World. He expresses shock at those who think that the Christian invasions will not harm the Muslims. This must be, he surmises, due to their ignorance of what the Christians have always done during their invasions, from al-Andalus in the past to Algeria in the present – not to mention the Christian meddling in Alexandria, Cairo, and Istanbul (Ibid., 103). Mā' al-'Aynayn warns that the Christians are "a people who only want to own Muslim lands or rather, if they could, their necks", and that this was apparent from the beginning, when they seized the land of the Imagruen while acting like they were helping them (Ibid., 101). Mā' al-'Aynayn also laments the sad state of resistance in the Middle East:

> ..some of our pilgrims of this year and the year before said that the Muslims in the Mashriq agreed that security is with the Christians in this time. It is lost and is not present because they do not protect a land except to take it over, and from their protection comes complete harm (Ibid., 104).
>
> ...قال لي بعض مواريدنا الحجاج, في عامنا هذا, والذي قبله, إن المسلمين في المشرق انعقد إجماعهم على أن الأمان في النصارى, في هذا الزمن, فُقِدَ وليس بموجود لأنهم ما أُمِّنُوا في بلد إلا استولوا عليه, ونشأ من أَمنهم الضرر بالتمام.

The inclusion of pilgrim reports demonstrates again that stories were a fundamental aspect of fatwas. The implied analogy between events in the Middle East and the Maghrib become even clearer later in the text. Despite Mā' al-'Aynayn's disappointment in the Middle East as

a site of failed resistance – a sharp departure from his *riḥla*'s interpretation of the Egyptian political landscape – he still states that the Maghrib and the Levant are part of the Egyptian *iqlīm* (clime; region) as evidenced by the sameness of their blood (Ibid., 93). Although the concept of the seven climes was well-established by the time of Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's writing, he modifies previous descriptions by conflating the Maghrib with the Levant and Egypt (Danilenko 2020, 25-6; 33-6; al-Ḥamawī and Jwaiden 1987, 41; Malagaris 2020, 75-7; Pinto 2013, 208-11). This identification makes it even clearer that the same fate could easily befall the Maghrib if leaders like the Amir of Ādrār continue believing the invaders' lies and working against the resistance.

While *Hidāyat man ḥārā* does not focus on any specific political figure, it does include a description of Mā' al-'Aynayn's pan-Islamic political ideal. Near the end of the text, the Shaikh introduces the concept of *imām al-Muslimīm* (Ruler of the Muslims) and calls for a single Islamic authority who protects all Muslims globally from the unbelievers' invasions:

> However, the Ruler of the Muslims is responsible for the security of those [Muslims] outside of his region– meaning an innumerable amount, even if it is not one of The Seven Climes which are: India, Hijaz, Egypt, Babel, Rome, Turkey, Gog and Magog, and China. As for the Maghrib and the Levant, they are from Egypt as evidenced by the sameness of their blood and inhabitants. Yemen and Abyssinia are part of the Hijaz. Each subregion of these regions is 700 leagues, so there are innumerable mountains and valleys like them. The Great Sea surrounds that, and it in turn is surrounded by Mount Qāf (M. Mā' al-'Aynayn 1999, 93).
>
> مع أن الإمام له النظر في تأمين غيره إقليما, أي عددا غير محصور, وإن لم يكن أحد الأقاليم السبعة التي هي: الهند والحجاز ومصر وبابل والروم والترك ويأجوج وماجوج والصين. وأما المغرب والشام فمن مصر بدليل اتحاد الدية والمقيمات. واليمن والحبشة من الحجاز, وكل إقليم من هذه الأقاليم سبعمائة فرسخ في مثلها من غير أن يحسب من ذلك جبل ولا واد. والبحر الأعظم محيط بذلك, ومحيط به جبل قاف.

What did Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn accomplish by moving from local events, places, and peoples to this sweeping image of the entire globe, an image which builds upon older geographic descriptions of the seven climes surrounded by a single, great sea and held together by Mount Qāf (al-Ḥamawī and Jwaiden 1987, 38-52; Prior 2009, 430-34; Scheub

2002)? Picturing the Muslims of all seven climes united and protected evokes memories of expansive Islamic empires at a time when Muslims are losing territory in the Levant, Egypt, and elsewhere. It enjoins the Shaikh's intended audience – meaning both ibn 'Īdah and other Saharans who will later read or hear the fatwa – to think beyond their own local battles and internal disputes and remember that they are part of a global *umma*. This passage also recalls the story from Mā' al-'Aynayn's hajj wherein he encounters three other Muslims from the furthest corners of the map – including regions bordering China and Gog and Magog – and how together they represent the reach of Islam in all four cardinal directions (see p. 80-1).

The overall message of Shaikh Mā al-'Aynayn's fatwa *Hidāyat man ḥārā fī amr al-Naṣārá* is that all Muslims must fight together to defend *bilād al-Muslimīn* from the Christians. Although Mā' al-'Aynayn acknowledges the current reality of *sība* in the northwest Sahara and the accomodation of foreign rule in the Middle East, he then contrasts this with a vision of the believers united under a single *imām*. Even though the Shaikh does not imply that *imām al-Muslimīm* is any specific person, evoking such a figure subtly questions the legitimacy of local Saharan figures such as Ahmad ibn Imḥammad ibn 'Īdah. Mā' al-'Aynayn's own legitimacy – at least as he presents it to another Saharan leader – stems more from his fluency with the Islamic archive and the convincing nature of his rhetoric rather than from the Moroccan sultan's endorsement.

Hidāyat man ḥārā incited jihad against settlers and invaders, and it also translated Muslim solidarity into Saharan terms. By evoking *bilād al-Muslimīn* as a unitary significant geography that all Muslims were responsible for defending, regardless of their other affiliations or identities, it galvanised participation in the anticolonial resistance. Given the role it played in uniting Saharans in a defensive jihad, Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's fatwa clearly co-constituted his resistance efforts.

3.3.4 *Conclusions: Resistance through Local Unity and Ideal Geographies*

This chapter showed how Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn used the Islamic significant geographies of *dār al-Islām* and *bilād al-Muslimīn* to galvanise their resistance movements and advocate for strong interfaith boundaries. Their rulings rejected any accomodation of the invaders: ʻAbd al-Qādir warned that "[t]hose are the invaders, the trespassers. In other words, they don't stop at any condition or pact" (al-Jazā'irī 1903, 273), and Mā' al-ʻAynayn stated that "they do not protect a land except to take it over, and from their protection comes complete harm" (M. Mā' al-ʻAynayn 1999, 104). By reading these works alongside other works from their own milieu, I demonstrated that the Maghribi resistance leaders' positions on hijra and jihad were interventions in a wider discussion. In Mā' al-ʻAynayn's case, the analysis of his fatwa *Hidāyat man ḥārā fī amr al-Naṣārá* showed how he took Saharan dialogues around *sība* in a new direction by acknowledging the fragmented reality of the Ḥassanophone sphere while also advocating for a new vision of unity and solidarity.

This chapter also analysed poems and other literary genres alongside the fatwas, thereby showing how they reinforced the same message and served complementary purposes. ʻAbd al-Qādir's city poems drew new locations into the sphere his fatwa dileneated. Mā' al-ʻAynayn's *riḥla* and its associated miracle tales served as proof of his mastery of space and access to a transregional network of Muslim scholarship and resistance. This gave him the power to establish the terms of solidarity and belonging he argues for in *Hidāyat man ḥārā fī amr al-Naṣārá*. Mā' al-ʻAynayn's poem and *sharḥ* advocating for brotherhood among all Sufi *ṭuruq* then transported and transposed his unitary message to the centres of ʻAlawite power.

Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's negotiations of political significant geographies relied on both narrative and political action to persuade their followers of which

significant geographies mattered among a competing set of loyalties based on religion, polity, sect, and/or tribe. ‘Abd al-Qādir sought to address internal rivalries and fissures by making migration into Muslim-ruled territory and solidarity with the anticolonial jihad Islamic duties higher than loyalty to any group or attachment to any *waṭan*. Both Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s actual travels and his writings played a role in his efforts to shift significant geographies away from tribal alliances and loyalty to a single Sufi brotherhood to be, in both cases, centered instead on an Islamic figurehead around whom all could unite and resist occupation. His pilgrimage travelogue and especially his fatwa tied local struggles against European colonisation to similar fights in distant parts of the Islamic World.

The texts analysed here do not engage with the reformist or modernist waves that dominate Arabic and Islamic intellectual histories of the nineteenth century. Instead, they continue referencing and relying upon centuries of Islamic thought. The Qur’an and the hadith are still the most cited texts in this corpus. As demonstrated by the Maghribi resistance leaders’ geographic references, this is not from a lack of awareness of what is happening elsewhere in the Islamic World. Their sense of continuity with previous literature calls into question a blanket description of the nineteenth century as defined by a break with tradition. It also opens a space for us to consider how authors, scholars, and political actors – who, in the Maghribi context, were usually one and the same – understood the times they were living in and drew inspiration for anticolonial resistance.

While this chapter drew out the literary aspects of political texts, the following chapter considers the political aspects of Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s mystical literature. Despite the inward gaze of advice literature concerning the soul’s journey and conduct among Sufis, this work was also anchored to inward and sometimes outward resistance. Although Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn and Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir are generally studied

either from the vantage point of their Sufi thought or of their resistance movements, I will show that two aspects were deeply intertwined.[36]

36 Woerner-Powell's book *Another Road to Damascus* represents an important exception in Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's case (2017).

Chapter 4 Travel Inside, or Resistance through the Soul's Journey

In the first place, God commands believers to practice the fear of Him (*al-taqwā*). This corresponds to what is called, among us, the "station of repentance" (*maqām al-tawba*), which is the basis of all progress on the Way and the key which permits one to arrive at the "station of realization" (*maqām al-taḥqīq*). To him who is granted the "station of repentance" is granted arrival at the goal, and to him to whom it is refused arrival at the goal is refused.

- Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir, *Kitāb al-mawāqif* (1995, 49)

As part of the larger theme of Maghribi resistance as a literary force, I will now consider how Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's descriptions of the Sufi's inner journey co-constituted their resistance movements. Using terms established by previous mystical literature, ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn described the *maqāmāt* (stations), *aḥwāl* (states), and *mawāqif* (stops) the soul passes through as it travels towards its ultimate destination of *fanā'*, or annihilation of the self in God (Arberry 2008, 22, 58-9; Levenson and Khilwati 1999, 253-5; al-Qushayri and Knysh 2007, 85-9; Ridgeon 2014, 139). On the eve of colonisation, this inner journey formed an arena which shut out foreign influence, protecting spiritual and social ideals from looming colonial surveillance (Amster 2013, 68-72; Harrison 1988, 17-21; Laremont 1995, 47-50; Trumbull 2014).[37] As spiritual advancement was deeply intertwined with Sufi understandings of *adab*, Mā' al-ʻAynayn and ʻAbd al-Qādir also used their spiritual guides to spread ideals of conduct, comportment, and affect. These embodiments of *adab* were intended to strengthen the fibres of their societies so they could unite in either cultural or military resistance. Thus, their Sufi texts and poems complemented the overtly political literature covered in Chapter One. While ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn's work on inner travel is typically assumed to represent the quietist component of

[37] The sources cited in the body of the text concern early colonial surveillance of Sufi brotherhoods. For more on this policy's textual products – the *littérature de surveillance* – see (Knysh 2002; O'Fahey and Radtke 1993; van Bruinessen 2009).

their legacies, I will demonstrate that these texts are actually highly political in both their message and their format. While the previous chapter focused on the redemptive possibilities of travel outside, travel inside is also a fundamental aspect of Maghribi resistance as a literary force.

As *adab* can represent a number of social, cultural, and literary ideals, it warrants desribing its meaning in the Sufi context. Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen and Luca Patrizi note that adab can be "simultaneously defined as etiquette, education, manners, and… literature with its ethical and moral facets" (2016, 1-2). Alexander Knysh shows that early Sufis understood *adab* to encompass both inner and outer conduct, both social responsibilities and duties to God (2017, 138-9). Thus, while a precise definition of adab is elusive, most Sufi guides devote considerable attention to *adab* in the sense of outward conduct. However, barring few exceptions, outward conduct is also understood as the manifestation of cultivating inner devotion and purifying the soul.[38]

As voyaging through the spiritual realm was already mapped out by previous mystics, I will illustrate how this corpus reproduces an imagined geography of the soul and the cosmos which resists rupture, starting with the contextual sources which preceded Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's Sufi manuals and the Arabic conduct literature which was contemporary to them.

4.1 Arabic Conduct Literature and the Beginnings of Colonisation

For this chapter, the sources analysed are read alongside both conduct literature contemporary to Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's period and alongside prior Sufi manuals. After reviewing the major concepts and themes they inherited from prior

[38] An exception to the usual inward-outward focus, for example, would be the manual written by Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī (1097-1168) which is almost entirely devoted to outward conduct (Green 2012, 85; Sobieroj 2012).

Sufi works, the chapter will elaborate on how ninteenth- and early-twentieth-century Arabic advice literature grappled with themes of conduct and affect in relation to colonialism, assimilation, and resistance. This section will also touch on whether ideals of comportment continued to be communicated primarily within Islamic genres or in styles recently imported from Europe. It should be noted that Mā' al-'Aynayn's Sufi manual *Na't al-bidāyāt wa-tawṣīf al-nihāyāt* ("Elaboration of the Beginnings and Description of the Endings") was printed in Cairo in 1906 and 1912, and 'Abd al-Qādir composed his Sufi treatise *Kitāb al-mawāqif* ("The Book of Stops") while residing in Damascus in exile.[39] As Mashriqi institutions were part of the development and distribution of both Amir 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's conduct texts, the contextual readings include Middle Eastern sources. Like 'Abd al-Qādir and Mā' al-'Aynayn's political texts, their Sufi manuals were neither entirely original nor completely imitative.

Although there is not yet a comprehensive history of Sufi guides, Nile Green's *Sufism: A Global History* traces their development to eleventh-century Khurasān in modern-day Iran, a time and place which birthed many Sufi genres and concepts (2012, 52). From there, the most widespread concepts within the Sufi manual genre can be traced to texts by Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899) of Baghdad, Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) of Khurasān, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) of Mecca, Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (986-1074) of Nīshāpūr, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (1144-1234) of Suhraward, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058-1111) of Tūs, and Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638/1240) of Cordoba. While many of these works are quoted by 'Abd al-Qādir or Mā' al-'Aynayn, the aim is not to trace direct

[39] There does not appear to be a uniform or even dominant title used for this book. A partial English translation of *Kitāb al-mawāqif* is available under the title *The Spiritual Writings of Amīr 'Abd al-Kader* (ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Chodkiewicz 1995). Then, several Arabic editions of *Kitāb al-mawāqif* have been published and each title is different: *Kitāb al-mawāqif fī al-taṣawwuf wa-al-wa'ẓ wa-al-irshād* (Dār al-Yaqẓa al-'Arabīya lil-Ta'līf, 1967); *Al-Mawāqif* (Mūfam lil-Nashr, 1996); *Al-Mawāqif al-rūḥīya wa-al-fuyūḍāt al-subūḥīya* (Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, 2004); and *Al-Mawāqif al-'Irfānīya* (Dār al-Ummah, 2017).

authorial influence so much as to draw attention to the larger literary heritage their guides grew from and added to.

Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz (d. 899) produced one of the oldest surviving Sufi manuals. In *Kitāb al-Ṣiffa'* ("The Book of Purity") al-Kharrāz describes the inner journey as consisting of *maqāmāt* that the Sufi seeker must pass through in order to reach *fanā'* (Calder, Mojaddedi and Rippin 2012, 304). His books also include specific *aḥwāl* that may wash over the seeker while undertaking the journey along with categories of *lawāmi'* (flashes of inspiration) the Sufi may experience (Ibid., 305; al-Kharraz 2015, 121). As such, al-Kharāzz builds an imagined universe for Sufi seekers and creates a common language around what would otherwise be an indescribable, otherworldly experience. Yet, although al-Kharāzz's descriptions create a normative experience for encountering the spiritual realm, he does not connect this journey to outer conduct or relationships. Connecting aspects of *adab* to the *maqāmāt* was a major contribution of *Kitāb al-luma' fī al-taṣawwuf* ("The Book of Glimmers in Sufism"), written by Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 988) around a century later (Sells 1996, 196-9).

Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 998)'s *Qūt al-qulūb* ("Nourishment of the Hearts") then provided instruction on proper worship and proper *adab* in everyday life. *Qūt al-qulūb* illustrates the traits and emotions the seeker should cultivate through accounts of the lives and deeds of the *awliyā'* (Sufi saints). While Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's (1058-1111) book *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* ("Revival of the Religious Sciences") is more widely known and appreciated, al-Ghazālī actually borrowed extensively from *Qūt al-qulūb* (Nakamura 1984, 83-4). Al-Ghazālī then elaborates on al-Makkī's theory of *adab* by adding in a description of wicked traits and how to 'treat' them as though they are physical illnesses, thus establishing a long-enduring metaphor of spiritual stagnation as sickness (Ibid.). He also presents a sophisticated affect theory which connects spiritual progress to attaining the proper emotional states (Miloud

2019). Using the metaphor of a mirror, *Iḥyāʾ ʻulūm al-dīn* explains that the heart can reflect unseen truths, but only if it is 'polished' by purging evil emotions (Zargar 2017, 122).

Their Sufi textual inheritance shows that by the time 'Abd al-Qādir and Mā' al-'Aynayn made their contributions to the genre of Sufi manuals, they could have opted to focus either on outward conduct or on the experiences of the soul as it reaches different stations. By incorporating both aspects, they promoted both a specific sociality and an inner world. They applied inherited ideals of emotion, affect, and conduct to addressing potential threats to their societies. As Mā' al-'Aynayn was writing while his armed jihad was still active, he focused on the correct behaviour towards brothers in religion as a means to unify and strengthen the Maghrib against European enchroachments. Amir 'Abd al-Qādir, writing after his jihad has become spiritual and cultural rather than military, focuses on preserving ideals of comportment and selfhood from outside interference.

Although written slightly earlier, Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn and Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's guidebooks were published in the early twentieth century alongside a new corpus of Arabic conduct literature. Marilyn Booth asserts that, during the early days of Egyptian printing, ideals of comportment and selfhood were more than personal matters: in the context of colonisation, they were "a political intervention in the politics of aspirational postcolonial nationhood" (Booth 2017, 395). Joseph Ben Prestel marks the 1890s as a period in which printed material around emotion, self, and conduct circulated widely in Cairo. In reaction to British arguments about the need to address defects in the Egyptian character, "Arabic-language magazines, newspapers, and books re-appropriated some of the arguments of colonial officials, adapting them to a critique of recent urban change" (Prestel 2017, 107). Physiological concepts of emotion were transposed onto the existing Islamic schema of feeling, self, and morality, and a new understanding emerged whereby "*'aql* was not simply an abstract ability to control feelings that was located in the heart… *'aql* was also a material

component of the body, which was located in the brain" (Prestel 2017, 107). In terms of specific emotions, Orit Bashkin observes that "apathy was connected to the concept of stagnation (*jumud*) and blindly following the traditions and rulings passed on from previous generations of scholars without independent reasoning (*taqlid*)" (2015, 134). For the Arabic literature featured in these examples, portrayals of emotion and conduct were clearly political, and were a site of encounter with European domination.

Although this conduct literature was new, it was not divorced from religious stories and ideals (Booth 2017, 397). Furthermore, many etiquette books used older texts to respond to colonial ideas of modernity. For example, the Islamic conduct manual *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq wa-taṭhīr al-aʿrāq* ("Refinement of Character and Purification of Essence") by Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Miskawayh (931-1030) was printed with a new introduction which placed established ideals of Muslim behaviour and comportment into dialogue with colonial concepts of national development (C. Mayeur-Jaouen 2015, 40). The Imām Rifāʿah Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-73), best-known for his travelogue to Paris, published a book combining principles of Islamic *tarbiyya* with the educational ideals al-Ṭahṭāwī gleaned from French texts (Patel 2013, 140). These examples all show that Mashriqi Arabic conduct and advice literature was a significant outlet for the anxieties and identity issues that arose during the ninteenth and early twentieth centuries. As such, it is easy to imagine that works propagating classical ideals of Sufi *adab* could serve as sites of resistance by upholding precolonial cultural norms and social ideals.

Keeping in mind these inherited and adjacent contextualising sources, I will now briefly introduce Amir ʿAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʿAynayn's relevant works. The Introduction alluded to the fact that, in precolonial Arabic texts, often a single folio will overlap multiple genres and styles. Poetry is not only included in what are ostensibly books of prose, but it is also used as proof to support various arguments. As such, while ʿAbd al-

Qādir's 1848 text *Al-Miqrāḍ al-ḥādd li-qaṭ' lisān muntaqiṣ dīn al-Islām bi-al-bāṭil wa-al-ilḥād* ("The Sharp Scissors to Cut the Tongue of the One Who is Degrading the Religion of Islam by Defamation and Heresy") is mostly studied as a philosophical treatise, it also includes a section devoted to conduct (ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and al-Khālidī al-Maghribī 1971, 223-54). Mā' al-'Aynayn's guidebook *Na't al-bidāyāt wa-tawṣīf al-nihāyāt* ("Elaboration of the Beginnings and Description of the Endings") is more clearly centred on Sufi *adab*, but it is still split between guidance, stories, spells, aphorisms, and prayers – in sum, an encyclopaedic collection of Sufi wisdom. As such, this chaper cites pages and passages related to conduct and to the soul's journey from across 'Abd al-Qādir and Mā' al-'Aynayn's output rather than solely their Sufi guides. For Amir 'Abd al-Qādir, his instructive literature and his description of the soul's journey are pieced together through excerpts from *Al-Miqrāḍ al-ḥādd* and *Kitāb al-mawāqif*, even though only the latter is usually considered a Sufi guide. In Mā' al-'Aynayn's case, excerpts from *Na't al-bidāyāt wa-tawṣīf al-nihāyāt* are put into dialogue with quotes from his Sufi dictionary *Al-Īdāḥ li-ba'ḍ al-iṣṭilāḥ* ("The Clarification of Some Terms").

Na't al-bidāyāt wa-tawṣīf al-nihāyāt is Mā' al-'Aynayn's most famous work of prose. It was first printed in Cairo in 1883, and was then printed shortly afterwards in Fez (Patrizi 2015, 327). This sets it apart from his other texts, which were namely circulated either in manuscript form or using the Fez lithographic press.[40] Mā' al-'Aynayn divides his text into two sections: the first is for *murīdūn* (seekers; singular *murīd*) at the beginning of their journey, and the second is for Sufi shaikhs who are now guiding seekers. Advice for the seekers is then subdivided into conduct towards the Shaikh, conduct in worshipping the Lord,

[40] According to Patrizi, from 1891-1900 works by Māʾ al-ʿAynayn made up one quarter of the books printed by the publishing houses of al-'Arabi al-Azraq, al-Yamlaḥi, and al-Dhuwayb (2015, p. 325). For a more complete study the early Moroccan lithographic press, see Fawzi Abdulrazzak's dissertation *The kingdom of the book : the history of printing as an agency of change in Morocco between 1865 and 1912* which is also published in Arabic as *Mamlakat Al-Kitāb: Tārīk Al-Ṭibā'a Fī Al-Maġrib, 1865-1912*.

and conduct towards Sufi brothers. The conduct-related segments are followed by a chapter on sayings and actions by which the *murīd* can benefit. The section for shaikhs is of a similar format, covering conduct towards *murīdūn*, conduct in worship, and finally conduct towards the rest of God's creation. Mā' al-'Aynayn only describes a few of the *maqāmāt* and *aḥwāl* of the soul's journey in *Na't al-bidāyāt*. Through this focus on the Sufi way of being in the world and its specific socialities, Mā' al-'Aynayn builds a sphere which shuts out any colonial influence. The Sufi seeker can concern himself first with the bonds of brotherhood and with submitting fully to his shaikh, before then focusing on the goal of becoming so completely at one with God that everything else is annihilated, including the seeker's own selfhood. If this inner journey is accomplished, the destruction wrought by colonialism does not reach the body or the soul in any meaningful way.

Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's *Kitāb al-mawāqif* represents a massive compilation of writings and lectures starting from his arrival in Damascus in 1856 (Ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Chodkiewicz 1995, 11). Thus it is ostensibly a product of his post-resistance life, a period in which he was immersed in spiritual and intellectual pursuits. However, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, 'Abd al-Qādir was just as concerned with preserving Islamic society even after giving up the jihad of the sword. Each segment of *Kitāb al-mawāqif* begins with a Qur'anic verse and the Amir's interpretation of it, thus echoing the format of al-Sarrāj's manual which ties each station to a Qur'anic verse. The book includes a mix of philosophical assertions, descriptions of mystical experience, and advice regarding proper Sufi conduct. His epistle *Al-Miqrāḍ al-ḥādd*, which was written during his imprisonment in France, dedicates considerable space to conduct, specifically over twenty pages regarding *wafā'*, or keeping one's word (223-254). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Amir's fatwa bluntly stated that Christians only keep pacts if they are living in a land where Islamic law is upheld. Thus, as part of a larger defence of the correctness of Islam, Amir 'Abd al-Qādir admonishes his

readers that Muslims are obligated to keep their promises. He explains that "the law of Islam is famous for its guarding the fulfilment of contracts and the sincerity of promises, and it contains strict rulings in this matter", and then implies that the Arabs had a natural tendency towards faithfulness even before Islam (ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and al-Khālidī al-Maghribī 1971, 223). Of course, this came in the context of the French violating their word to him on several occasions, including allowing him safe passage to the Middle East (Woerner-Powell 2017, 82, 96, 98).

As a final contextualising point, it is important to understand different norms of authorship for this period. ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn's Sufi guides are polyphonous, with voices from other times and places bookended by "so said" (wa-qāla), "the saying" (al-qawl), or "the poet said" (wa-qāla al-shā'ir). Their deployment of the Islamic archive points to a norm in which knowledge of previous texts was valued rather than deemed a sign of unoriginality (Kilito 2001, 17-23). Contemporary ideals of originality and authorship deem the amount of space dedicated to others' works a weakness or a sign of literary 'decline'. However, this was not the case when ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn were writing. As Ulrich Marzolph explains, "raw data were regarded as common property while the creative achievement of an author consisted primarily in its arrangement" (1999, 163). He elaborates:

> Even when new books were composed in the nineteenth century using new modes of production, the long established intellectual methodologies of compilation continued to be employed in the individual production of a literary work. On the other hand, it is important to point out that compilation is not necessarily (and probably never has been) tantamount to a lack of creativity (Marzolph 1999, 162).

Thus Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn and Amir ʻAbd-Qādir's Sufi works include metaphors which are borrowed, reused, elaborated on and applied to new contexts. For example, many Sufi guides employ emotional descriptions and bodily metaphors, reflecting the fact that their portrayals of the inner journey were intended to be enacted and experienced viscerally (Kugle 2007, 125-9; Waugh 2005, 45). The shaikh-disciple relationship is often described in terms of

"the absorption of the body of the master: saliva, sperm, pus, or even vomit" (Hammoudi 2016, 48). Mā' al-'Aynayn builds on this tradition when he speaks of how obedience to the Shaikh permits the seeker to be impregnated with the master's wisdom (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Raqqā 2013, 25). Mā' al-'Aynayn also steals the metaphor that "the murīd in the hands of his shaikh must be as the corpse between the hands of its washer" (Ibid., 26), an established and oft-recycled simile (Bashir 2011, 187-90; Karamustafa 2007, 41; Schimmel 1976, 70; Trimingham 1998, 29). 'Abd al-Qādir reuses the recognised metaphor of illness to refer to the state of the unintiated, but ties treatment of the heart's illnesses namely to surrendering to the Shaikh (al-Ghazālī and Skellie 2010, 47-8; Yazaki 2013, 228, 254-6).

However, even as 'Abd al-Qādir and Mā' al-'Aynayn drew from the genre's archive, they were also using Sufi thought to express a timely concern: how the social fibres of their society could be strengthened against the threat of occupation. This literary strategy of continuation rather than rupture reflected their resistance movements' goals. A pertinent example of this form of authorship can be seen in how Mā' al-'Aynayn uses the archive when discussing *dhikr* – the Sufi practice of repeating God's names out loud or silently in order to be filled with His presence – in *Na't al-bidāyāt wa-tawṣīf al-nihāyāt*. Quoting the work of philosopher Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058-1111), Mā' al-'Aynayn writes:

> The Imām al-Ghazālī said: *dhikr* may be with the tongue, with the heart [i.e. silently], or with the limbs. For their remembrance of Him with the tongue is to thank Him, to exalt Him, and to praise Him, and to read His book…with their hearts is of three types: one is that they think of the guiding proofs of His existence and His traits. . .the third is that they think of the secrets of the creatures of God the Most High, when each particle of the creations' particles become like the manifesting, aligned mirror of the sacred world (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Raqqā 2013, 61-2).
>
> قال الإمام الغزالي: الذِّكْر قد يكون باللسان وقد يكون بالقلب وقد يكون بالجوارح. فذكرهم إيّاه باللسان أن يحمدوه ويسبّحوه ويمجّدوه, ويقرأوا كتابه. وذكرهم إيّاه بقلوبهم على ثلاثة أنواع: أحدها أن يتفكروا في الدلائل الدالة على ذاته وصفاته...وثالثها أن يتفكّروا في أسرار مخلوقات الله تعالى, حين تصير كل ذرة من ذرات المخلوقات كالمرآة المجلوّة المحاذية لعالم القدس.

Mā' al-'Aynayn then associates al-Ghazālī's description with a story of the figure Luqmān,[41] and provides others sayings around the importance of *dhikr*. On the surface, this passage could be dismissed as exemplary of *inḥiṭāṭ*-era literature, as the Shaikh borrows and cites previous works without changing or revising them. However, by presenting accumulated Sufi wisdom, his work connects the soul undertaking the mystical journey with all others which preceded it. By repeating and repackaging this knowledge, Mā' al-'Aynayn promotes *dhikr* as an embodied practice which links Muslims to their past, promotes a social norm of mystical experience, and promotes Muslim solidarity. Furthermore, he uses a previous work on *dhikr* to advance his current political message: while some Sufi *ṭuruq* insisted on particular types of *dhikr*, Mā' al-'Aynayn uses a definition which respects and embraces multiple practices (Knysh 2017, 242, 251). This supports his broader political message of accepting all Sufi paths as equally valid, a message he spread in multiple genres throughout his lifetime.

In the pages that follow, I will illuminate the role Amir 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's texts on the inner journey played in their resistance movements. I focus first on the soul's journey as an imagined realm which resists foreign influence. I then show how instructions for proper conduct and affect among Muslims and between Sufi seekers and God co-constituted resistance.

4.2 Stations, States, and Inner Travel as a Realm of Resistance

In the Sufi tradition, describing the soul's voyage is an undertaking which is both necessary and doomed to fail: while it is only through *dhawq* (tasting) or the direct experience of the Truth that the spiritual seeker gains gnosis, it is also the duty of those who have acquired mystical knowledge to provide a guiding map (Knysh 2020, 39-41; Treiger

[41] Luqmān is a sage who appears in the Qur'ān in an eponymous sūra (Al-Ghazali and Shamis 2000, 442-6). Fables or *ḥikam* attributed to Luqmān have long been a staple of Arabic and Orientalist literature (Luqmān and Erpenii 1615; Luqmān and Marcel 1799; Luqmān and Cherbonneau 1846; Luqmān 1873; Gannūn 1969; Muḥyī al-Dīn Amīn 2010; Marzūq 1998; Nābulusī 1994).

2011, 49-51; Trimingham 1998, 3; Wright 2010, 110-11). Hearing or reading descriptions of the soul's voyage opens up a new universe to the Sufi seeker, one impenetrable to colonial surveillance. The space and time limitations of the ordinary world do not apply to this imagined geography. While descriptions of inner travel may seem abstract, they can also be linked to the political goals of preservation and resistance which animated 'Abd al-Qādir and Mā' al-'Aynayn's descriptions of *dār al-Islām* and *bilād al-Muslimīn* in the previous chapter.

The vocabulary of *maqāmāt* (stations), *aḥwāl* (states), and *mawāqif* (stops) employed by both Amir 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn placed their guides into an ever-evolving corpus of Sufi manuals describing the spritual realm. As the texts' referents and lexicon are easily traceable to precedents in Sufi literature, they serve as an expression of confidence in the applicability of the Sufi journey to all times and places. In *Kitāb al-mawāqif*, 'Abd al-Qādir further divides the spiritual journey into two forms of travel: *sulūk*, meaning the Sufi seeks out God, and *jadhb*, where God chooses to draw the seeker near. He explains that for the *sālik*, or the Sufi on the journey of seeking:

> the sensible world is unveiled first, then the world of imagination. Then he rises in spirit as far as the heaven of the lower world, then to the second heaven, then to the third, and so on until he reaches the divine throne (Ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Chodkiewicz 1995, 31).

The implication is that the Amir's reader/ listener is a *sālik*, and thus needs this description of the heavenly levels along with 'Abd al-Qādir's elucidation of the stations in order to complete his journey. In other passages, however, 'Abd al-Qādir describes his own experiences of *jadhb*, and thus writes himself into the role of the *wālī* (friend of God) who can illuminate the way for others. This sets the tone for his treatment of conduct towards the Shaikh, which will be expanded on later. Within the context of shifting power dynamics and increased European cultural influence in Damascus, the Amir's decription of the many layers and stages revealed to the *sālik* encourages the pursuit of another world which locks out the ignorant and uninitated.

‘Abd al-Qādir’s arrangement of *maqāmāt* also makes the pursuit of Islamic knowledge essential to the Sufi’s path from the first steps to the end of life. His list includes the *maqām al-tawbah* (the station of repentance), *maqām al-taḥqīq* (station of realisation), and *maqām al-jam‘* (station of unification). These themes make the soul’s progress on the inner journey dependent on seekers realising their deficiency. It is through their repentance that they can eventually ‘travel’ to the station of comprehension and then to *fanā’*. However, in *Kitāb al-Mawāqif*, the journey does not end during the seeker’s lifetime. The final *maqām* of the spiritual journey is called *jam‘ al-jam‘* (the union of the union), which ‘Abd al-Qādir associates with the Day of Resurrection. He explains that in the Qur’anic description of the moon being buried in darkness, God represents the Sun. God eclipses the seeker and their joining forms “the union of the union”, which the seeker experiences as pure joy and an all-encompassing bliss (Ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Chodkiewicz 1995, 54). For the seeker who has purified his heart, “God assists such a one, leads him to a safe place, and shelters him from the divine wrath” (Ibid., 53-54). However, this station is also the most fraught with peril. Those who did not learn from true experience, or whose shaikhs did not have perfect knowledge, will be tempted by Satan telling them that they may cease their worship and piety given how advanced they already are. This warning that the greatest danger to the Sufi comes after gaining extensive knowledge keeps followers motivated to continue participating in Sufi brotherhoods regardless of the social changes happening around them. Then, by making salvation dependent on the knowledge held by the Shaikh, ‘Abd al-Qādir further emphasises the enduring importance of this bond. He makes it clear that failure to find and follow the right shaikh has permanent, devastating consequences. Thus, this conception of inner travel promotes a certain sociality and social hierarchy even before the Amir adds passages about conduct.

In Mā' al-'Aynayn's organisation of the stations, different *maqāmāt* are associated with different *futūḥāt* (revelations). He explains that the *futūḥāt* are made possible by the occurrence of union with the Truth. In the station of the heart, for example, the seeker will experience *al-fatḥ al-qarīb* (the close revelation):

> One of them, the close revelation, is what is revealed to the servant [of God] with the appearance of the Most Glorious upon the servant's crossing of the layers of the soul. It is what is meant by the Most High with his saying [help from God and a nigh victory] [Qur'an 61:13] (Ibn Māmayn and Ẓarīf 2001, 73).
>
> أحدها, الفتح القريب, وهو ما يفتح على العبد في مقام القلب بظهور صفاته سبحانه عند قطع منازل النفس, وهو المشار إليه بقوله{نصر من الله وفتح قريب}

Here Mā' al-'Aynayn uses a Qur'anic excerpt where *fatḥ* is usually understood in terms of a military victory to refer to the Sufi conquest of the lower levels of the soul. As *fatḥ* can also mean revelation – most famoulsy in Ibn 'Arabī's (1165-1240) *Al-Futūḥāt al Makkiyya* ("The Meccan Revelations") – the Shaikh plays on this double meaning in order to link the ability to conquer the lower self with the ability to vanquish enemies of the faith.

He then elaborates that in the station of *wilāya* (friendship with God), the seeker is granted *al-fatḥ al-mubīn* (illuminating revelation) and thus gains the ability to perceive the lights of God's names. *Al-fatḥ al-muṭlaq* (absolute revelation) is the highest and most perfect of revelations, and it is only achieved in the *maqām* of joining (Ibn Māmayn and Ẓarīf 2001, 73). At this point, the seeker sees the spirit of Oneness fully embodied as the outlines of creation are completely annihilated. However, after the point of union, it is inevitable that the seeker must then be separated from God (Ibn Māmayn and Ẓarīf 2001, 74). This paradox of joining and separation is only grasped through experience.

Both Amir 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn describe the ultimate destination and goal of the soul's journey as *fanāʾ*, meaning that the seeker is so conscious of God and so attuned to the ultimate reality that all else including the journey and the stations cease to exist. After effacement, the mystic must return to the lower world and achieve

subsistence, meaning "persistence in the new divinely bestowed attributes" (Wilcox 2011, 115). ʻAbd al-Qādir describes the destination as such:

> God has stolen my [illusory] 'I' from me and has brought me near to my [real] 'I', and the disappearance of the earth has brought the disappearance of heaven. The whole and the part have merged. The vertical (ṭūl) and the horizontal (ʻarḍ) are annihilated. The supererogatory work has returned to the obligatory work and the colors have returned to the pure primordial white. The voyage has reached its end and everything other than Him has ceased to exist. All attribution (iḍāfāt), every aspect (iʻtibārāt) and all relation (nisab) being abolished, the original state is reestablished. "Today I lower your lineage and raise up Mine!" (Ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Chodkiewicz 1995, 29).

Despite the esoteric nature of the texts, they still had strong worldly implications. For both Maghribi resistance figures, describing the broad outlines of their inner travel enabled them to style themselves as possessing a timeless, essential knowledge which gave them the authority to lead. It was also a knowledge that the colonisers could never access. Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn wrote themselves into experiences and truths previously possessed by saints. The more Sufi followers these descriptions of their inner journeys reached, the wider political legitimacy the Amir and the Shaikh could claim.

This writing of the self into Islamic authority comes across clearly, for example, in a passage where ʻAbd al-Qādir parallels his voyage with founding mystic al-Ḥallāj's famous experience of *fanāʾ*. According to later Sufi sources, the early Baghdadi Sufi famously cried out *Ana al-Ḥaqq* (I am the Truth) during a trance which he described as his experience of annihilation in God (Karamustafa 2007, 25-6; Massignon and Mason 1994, 66-71). Al-Ḥallāj's outburst was interpreted as him declaring himself God, and led to accusations of heresy and his eventual execution (Arberry 2008, 59-60; Green 2012, 40-1). Abd al-Qādir describes a moment where God takes hold of him through *jadhb*, reinforcing the special status which sets him apart from the average *sālik*. The Amir starts out by admitting his initial discomfort with the declarations he read from previous Sufi masters, but then relates the following episode:

> …when I was in retreat (khalwa), turned toward the qibla, invoking Allāh, He ravished me from the world and from myself. Then He returned me to myself and immediately I said in the declarative mode and not the narrative mode, "If Mūsā b. 'Imrān (Moses) were alive, he could not do otherwise than follow me". I knew then that this saying was part of what subsisted in me of the ecstatic rapture that I had just experienced. I was "extinguished" in the Messenger of Allāh and, at that moment, I was not a person; I was Mohammed – On him be Grace and Peace!
> Then the saying of Ḥallāj was spoken to me, with the difference that he pronounced it himself, whereas for me it was spoken without my expressing it myself. This saying is understood and accepted by those who are worthy, and misunderstood and rejected by those overcome by ignorance (Ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Chodkiewicz 1995, 167-8).

The first paragraph shows the Amir as able to embody the Prophet through perfect annihilation. So complete is his connection to God that this stage was accomplished suddenly rather than via an arduous spiritual journey. The second paragraph then legitimises the Sufi experience of embodying God or the Prophet by declaring those who condemn it as ignorant and thereby enforcing 'Abd al-Qādir's access to a truth above that possessed by other Islamic authorities. By beginning the excerpt with his admission that he used to be uncomfortable with narratives of annihilation in the Prophet, 'Abd al-Qādir also pre-emptively categorises any objection to this display of embodied enlightenment as a result of not being far enough along on the inner journey.

Mā' al-'Aynayn also spends considerable time building on al-Qushayrī's definitions of the *aḥwāl* and *lawāmi'* that the seeker may experience. Mā' al-'Aynayn explains that while the station is something the Sufi achieves, the state passes over the heart suddenly and cannot be possessed (Ibn Māmayn and Ẓarīf 2001, 46). The states are temporary and can occur in any order. He classifies *jathb* as a state, describing it as when the Most High takes the heart of His servant to Him without delay (Ibid., 79). Then, because of the awe and the majesty that overwhelms the servant's heart, no meanings or structures are perceptible. Some stay in this *ḥāl*'s seas of bewilderment, and thus appear drunk, mad, or even heretical (Ibid.). As his conception of *jathb* makes it simply another *ḥāl* rather than a mark of sainthood, this also provides another entry into the Sufi imagined geography. Through emphasising the many

embodied experiences possible during the inner journey and not associating all of them with progress towards the intended destination, Mā' al-'Aynayn creates a winding and potentially endless path for his readers/ seekers to follow. A larger vocabulary for inner travel means more possibilities for accessing this realm. By legitimising more experiences of inner travel, Mā' al-'Aynayn complements his political message of unity and brotherhood across Sufi orders. Additionally, while Mā' al-'Aynayn's description of the stations echoes an early Sufi manual by Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī (986- 1074), he employs a concept not found in his predecessor's guide: 'ascendance by the heart' (Ibn Māmayn and Ẓarīf 2001, 44). By making the heart the means by which the soul progresses, Mā' al-'Aynayn sets the scene for his guide's description whereby only true Sufi shaikhs can treat the illnesses and defects of the heart.

Mā' al-'Aynayn also adds the concept of *izdijār* to al-Qushayri's dichotomy of *talwīn* and *tamkīn* (al-Qushayrī, Maḥmūd and Ibn al-Sharīf 1966, 287). *Talwīn* (coloring) is a trait of those experiencing the states, meaning those who are still voyaging. *Tamkīn* (enabling) refers to those who possess the Truth, meaning they completed the Sufi journey of egoic annhilation and returned to the lower world (Ibn Māmayn and Ẓarīf 2001, 61). In al-Qushayrī's description, the seeker experiences *talwīn* as rising through the various *aḥwāl* and migrating from one attribute of God to another (al-Qushayrī, Maḥmūd and Ibn al-Sharīf, 287). If the seeker finally arrives at the destination of *fanā'*, then he becomes among the *tamkīn* and the *nafs*, or the lower soul responsible for baser instincts, is thus vanquished.[42] Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn adds *izdijār* as a state:

> ...it is a *ḥāl* specific to *ahl al-tamkīn* from those who rose above matters of separating and joining in Him. So they become more sober with drink, and more present with absence, and

[42] Islamic understandings of the soul divide the self into three layers: the ego conspiring to evil (al-nafs al-ammāra bi 'l-sū); the self-reproaching soul (al-nafs al-lawwāma); and the tranquil soul (al-nafs al-muṭama'inna). The first layer of the self is consumed with worldly desires, whereas the last is content with serving God. The self-reproaching soul represents a stage after realising the ego's destructive impilses and before reaching peace (Picken 2011, 155).

> no joining conceals separation from him, and no separation veils joining from him. No annihilation separates him from his persistence, and no persistance blocks his annihilation. By *izdijār* he gives each portion its portion, each right its right, as *izdijār* means possessing the states and competency in the stations of men so that he is never overtaken by any erasure or concealment. Nothing hides anything from him due to the wideness of his gaze and the strength of his vision (Ibn Māmayn and Ẓarīf 2001, 78-9).

> ...لأنه حال خواصّ أهل التمكين ممن ترقّى عن أعمال الفرق والجمع فيه, فازداد صحواً بشربه, وازداد حضوراً بغيبه, فلا جمعه يحجبه عن فرقه, ولا فرقه يحجبه عن جمعه, ولا فناؤه يصرفه عن بقائه, ولا بقاؤه يصدّه عن فنائه, لازدجاره بإعطاء كل ذي قسط قسطه, وتوقية كل ذي حق حقه, فازدجاره عبارة عن ملك الأحوال والتمكن في مقامات الرجال بحيث لا يغلبه محو ولا طيْ, ولا يحجبه شيء عن شي, لاتساع نظره ونفوذ بصره.

By using paradox, a technique common to Sufi writing, Mā' al-'Aynayn illustrates how the voyage of the soul not only contains the direct experience of God, but also the ability to hold the contradictory traits of the Truth without one diminishing the truth of the other. The otherworldly experiences that *izdijār* makes possible represents a new aspiration Mā' al-'Aynayn adds to the outcome of inner travel, thus making the process even more involved and embodied than previous Sufi guides.

Although descriptions of the stations, stops, and states created a universe free from foreign influence, the link between Sufi manuals and resistance becomes even clearer in Amir 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's passages on the conduct that would ennable the seeker to access this realm.

Adab and Antecedents in Sufi Resistance Literature

To complement their reports on spiritual wayfaring, Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn and Amir 'Abd al-Qādir expounded on the specific bonds that must be formed and the behaviours that must be enacted in order for the Sufi to progress on the spiritual voyage. They relay which inner emotions and outer actions lead to access to the imagined geography of the soul. While Amir 'Abd al-Qādir does not define the term *adab* itself, Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn speaks explicitly of *adab* both in the section addressed to Sufi seekers and the section addressed to shaikhs. Mā' al-'Aynayn uses his intellectual predecessors to build a case for the importance of *adab*. He first describes:

> The essence of *adab* is enjoining good deeds. So the *adīb* is he in whom characteristics of goodness were enjoined. As for what defines [adab], for it is as some of the sages have said: when it was asked what is *adab*, he replied: *adab* is mastery. It is that the individual has mastery over himself, and thus everything desired of him is present…As such, they said: *adab* is close to one-third of religion (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Raqqā 2013, 34).

> ...أن حقيقة الأدب اجتماع أفعال الخير. فالأديب هو الذي اجتمعت فيه خصال الخير. وأما حدُّهُ فهو كما قال بعض الحكماء, وقد قيل له ما الأدب, فقال: الأدبُ التَّمَكُّنُ. وذلك بأن يكون المراء متمكنا من نفسه. بمعنى أن كلّ ما يُراد منه يوجد...ولذلك قالوا: كادَ الأدبُ أن يكون ثُلثيّ الدِّين.

He further supports his argument that conduct is an essential aspect of the Sufi journey by quoting six different figures, including foundational Sufi masters Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj of Khurāsān (d. 988) and Abū ʻAlī al-Daqqāq (d. 1015) of Nīsābūr (Ibid.). Mā' al-ʻAynayn also includes some excerpts introduced as "sayings from the forefathers and ancestors praising adab" (35). This collage style of writing shows that the narrative of disregarding tradition or rejecting the Islamic archive did not apply to the corpus at hand, just as it did not to many schools of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Arabic literature (El Shamsy 2020, 54, 58-61; Ghazal 2016, 232-3; Marzolph 1999, 162-5; Mayeur-Jaouen 2015, 53-61). In this case, invigorating the sayings and definitions of times past with new meanings – and then spreading them through print technology – was part of Mā' al-ʻAynayn's efforts to build a sphere free from colonial influence.

Additionally, the didactic quality of the text did not detract from the value placed on aesthetics. When Mā' al-ʻAynayn later returns to defining *adab*, he adds more descriptive and moving ways of understanding to his first plainly-stated definitions. For example, he compares *adab* to adornment and beautification in a single, rhythmic run-on sentence:

> Some of the sages advised their sons and so said:
> Adab is the most precious jewel of nature, and the most priceless of value
> It raises low balances and capitalizes on noble desires (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Raqqā 2013, 178).

> أوصى بعض الحكماء بنيه فقال الأدب أكرم الجواهر طبيعة وأنفسها قيمة
> يرفع الأحساب الوضيعة ويفيد الرغائب الجليلة

The metaphor of a precious stone immediately instils the desired sentiment in the reader/ listener: that *adab* is deserving of the utmost attention and care. Although *adab* immaterial, it is nonetheless an asset that will serve seekers in times of material difficulty, as it "raises low balances". However, unlike material assets, it simultaneously works toward more noble desires.

Mā' al-'Aynayn continues quilting together an understanding of *adab* through quotes and quips. He presents an extract from the eigth-century scholar Shabīb ibn Shayba, who advises Muslims to seek *adab* because it is the substance of the mind, proof of chivalry, a friend in foreign lands, an entertainer in times of loneliness, and a connection to the *majlis* (learned gathering) (Ibid., 179). The Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (r. 685-705) is quoted as telling his children that they must seek *adab*, as it is wealth in times of need and beauty in times of abundance (Ibid.). After furnishing this legacy to illustrate his point, Mā' al-'Aynayn then hails the social value of *adab* in his own words:

> It becomes dearer without kinsfolk,
> and multiplies supporters as without calamity
>
> So adorn it as a gown and beautify it as a custom
>
> It soothes you in alienation,
> and gathers for you the different hearts (Ibid., 178).

ويُعزّ بلا عشيرة ويكثر الأنصار لغير رزية
, فالبسوه حلة وتزيّنوه خِلّة
يؤنسكم في الوحشة, ويجمع لكم القلوب المختلفة

All of the metaphors Mā' al-'Aynayn dispenses, both borrowed and original, make *adab* into different features and objects. By presenting ibn Shayba and ibn Marwān's descriptions side-by-side, Mā' al-'Aynayn renders *adab* a shapeshifting companion who presents new features depending on the needs of its possessor. As such, a new meaning comes from the juxtaposition of two borrowed quotes. With the addition of his own description wherein *adab* both soothes isolation and enables the Sufi to attract new followers, Mā' al-'Aynayn underscores ibn Shayba's description of *adab* as an asset that allows its possessor to travel

and adapt. This shift in focus to actual, physical travel and estrangement harkens back to the Shaikh's journey to Mecca and his experience of new and strange places (Ibid., 44). It alludes to a pan-Islamic geography wherein knowing proper conduct allows the Sufi to be fully and comfortably present in a new space, and to even gather different hearts.

The pan-Islamic aspect of the text also comes out through the examples Mā' al-'Aynayn uses to illustrate that the seeker must discipline his *nafs* (lower soul) against its urges for amusement and adornment. He explains:

> This [entertainment] varies with different peoples and lands. For there are those for whom amusement is in abundant food and fine clothes, as in *arḍ al-gharb* (the Maghrib)[43] and what is near it. Then there are the ones for whom amusement is in a variety of clothing and its different colors, along with the sweetness of food, such as *al-mashāriq* (the Eastern Parts) and its surroundings. Then there is entertainment in the length of the sleeve and the quality of the fabric, as well as the length and quality of the gathering, i.e. gathering with the [other] sex and laughing with them as is done in *bilādnā* (our lands)-- may God forgive us and our people and all Muslims (Ibid., 29-30).
>
> وهذا يختلفُ باختلافِ الناسِ والبلدانِ. فمنها ما التَّرَفُّهُ عنده في كثرةِ الطَّعامِ ورِقَّةِ اللِّبَاسِ, كأرض الغَرْبِ وما قاربها. ومنها ما التّرفّه عنده في تعدُّدِ اللباس واختلافِ ألوانِهِ, ولذَاذَةِ الطعامِ, كالمشارق ونحوها. ومنها ما التّرفّه عنده في طول الْكُمِّ وحُسْنِ الثَّوْبِ وطول اللِّمَّةِ وحُسنها, والاجتماعِ مع الجنسِ, والضَّحِكِ معه, كبلادنا, غفر الله لنا ولأهلها وللمسلمين آمين.

Through this passage which focuses on social norms instead of specific relationships, Mā' al-'Aynayn describes how the same human urge to indulge the senses may have different embodiments among Muslims in the Maghrib versus those in the Mashriq or those in his place of origin. By detailing how entertainment is sought in more than one context, the Shaikh both displays his transregional knowledge and subtly asserts that his guidance to Sufi seekers applies to all Muslims regardless of where they live or what customs they are used to. As this book was the only one of his works to be printed in the Middle East during his lifetime, Mā' al-'Aynayn had the context of European encroachment in the Middle East in

[43] Other examples of Arabic sources which refer to the Maghrib or parts of the Maghrib as *arḍ al-gharb* include al-Maqrīzī 1853, 236; al-Rūmī 1869, 307; al-Sijilmāsī 1898, 153.

mind. He connects entertainment-seeking to the acceptance of foreign diversions and thereby foreign ideas of conduct and morality.

Through his list of sayings and actions by which the *murabbī* (Sufi shaikh) may benefit, Mā' al-'Aynayn continues bringing to life the meanings of *adab*. He names the first category of *adab* as splendid sayings and pure actions gained through high conduct ("al-ādāb al-'alīyah") which follows the Prophet's morals (Ibid., 176). The second category is that which the best of nations and scholars can provide in terms of secrets and rulings which enjoin the good and forbid the evil (Ibid.). This categorization leads to some stylistic differences between the first and second parts of his guide: Sufi shaikhs would have enough wisdom and understanding that they could be spoken to using the foundational sources and without as much metaphor, illustration, and storytelling. Notably absent from the definitions addressed to seekers earlier in the guide is Mā' al-'Aynayn's later assertion that the highest exemplar of *adab* is the manner in which God civilised the Prophet. When he addresses the Sufi shaikhs, however, Mā' al-'Aynayn provides the following hadith as from "the Prophet's *ādāb*":

> God advised me of nine [principles], I will advise you of them: sincerity in both secret and disclosure, balance in anger and acceptance, purpose in poverty and wealth, forgiving those who wrong me, giving to those who disposses me, delivering those who block me, and letting my speech be remembrance, my silence thought, and my sight a passage (Ibid., 177).
>
> أوصاني ربي بتسع أوصيكم بها. أوصاني بالإخلاص في السر والعلانية, والعدل في الرضا والغضب, والقصد في الغنى والفقر, وأعفو عمن ظلمني, وأعطي من حرمني, وأصل من قطعني, وأن يكون صمتي فكرا, ونطقي ذكرا, ونظري عِبَرًا.

While, as I will show shortly, seekers were told to follow their shaikhs as the highest exemplar and the path to God, shaikhs were instead told to look to the Prophet as the highest exemplar of *adab*. Keeping this chain of transmission intact would ensure that Islamic and Maghribi socialities and embodied ethics would resist any outside influence. Additionally, as the next section will show in detail, Mā' al-'Aynayn believed that adherence to these norms would render Muslims unified enough to resist military conquest as well.

4.3 The Shaikh and the Brother: The Inner Circle's Role in the Inner Journey

Both Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn dedicate significant space to the bond between seeker and shaikh. They present a model of this bond through both established tropes and through new descriptions. The coporeal features heavily in descriptions of the relationship between the seeker and the Shaikh, and both authors borrow and elaborate on metaphors of illness, poison, and impregnation. Such a preoccupation with the embodied self encourages the reader/ listener to not only turn inwards, but to also consider the self in contact with potential pollutants such as foreign invaders. Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir elaborates on the Qur'anic verse "And We send down of the Qur'an that which is healing and mercy for the believers" [Qur'an: al-Israa 82] by explaining that the defects and illnesses meant here are those found in our hearts and souls, and their doctors are the Shaikhs who understand that spiritual training is the soul's medicine (al-Jazā'irī , et al. 2017, 379). While the original verse makes the Qur'an the seeker's main source of healing, ʻAbd al-Qādir instead anchors healing to the shaikh-murīd relationship (ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and Chodkiewicz 1995, 49). He thus promotes the continuation of Sufi guidance and authority at a time when colonial officials are seeking to either suppress or co-opt Sufi institutions.

Mā' al-ʻAynayn starts his Sufi guide with an admonishment that, as soon as seekers become aware of their *ghafla* (heedlessness) to the Truth, they must find a shaikh versed in the illnesses – meaning illnesses of the heart – and their treatments (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Raqqā 2013, 23). He draws on the illness metaphor again when he admonishes seekers not to test their shaikhs, as what is required of the shaikh is knowledge of "the diseases and the treatments and the medicines" and not any information that the seeker may hold (Ibid., 26). Mā' al-ʻAynayn also illustrates the importance of awe and respect for one's shaikh through his use of previous Sufi figures' anecdotes. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʻUmar al-

Suhrawardī (1144-1234) is quoted as saying he would grow hot if his shaikh approached him, and his body would ooze sweat as he entered a state of incomprehensible awe, one in which he discovered great blessing and healing (Ibid., 28). In fact, al-Suhrawardī even describes bodily reactions to objects which had come into contact with his shaikh, claiming that he once stepped on a handkerchief with which his shaikh had wiped himself and suddenly felt an immense pain in his stomach (Ibid.). These precedents show that visceral reactions to the shaikh's majesty were an established aspect of the Sufi corpus. Through metaphors of illnesses and healing, Mā' al-'Aynayn continues this understanding of obedience to the shaikh as a means to transcendence but brings it into a new period. He then illustrates the importance of obedience to the shaikh through paraphrasing al-Suhrawardī's *'Awārif al-ma'ārif* ("The Benefits of Knowledge"):

> Let him be wary of opposing the shaikh internally (bi-bāṭinihi), for it is the fatal poison, and opposition causes extinction whereas the origin of everything is obedience (Ibid., 25).
>
> الاعتراض على الشيخِ بِبَاطِنِهِ, فإنه السّمّ القاتل, والاعتراضُ سَبَبُ الانقراضِ, وأصلُ كلّ شيء الانقياد.

Here obedience is a matter even greater than life or death; it is a matter of creation and extinction. When brought into Mā' al-'Aynayn's context, obedience paradoxically becomes a cornerstone of resistance: obedience to Sufi leaders promotes the social cohesion that strengthens Muslims against colonial attacks. As Mā' al-'Aynayn is writing at a time when colonial enchroachments have started, this adds new meaning to al-Suhrawardī's metaphor. Through obeying the most enlightened leaders and never questioning their commands, Muslims can prevent their societies from being extinguished. This emphasis on the need for attachment to a particular shaikh can easily be transposed onto the need to follow established Islamic figureheads.

Mā' al-'Aynayn also uses descriptive literature to render a state of closeness to the shaikh enticing. He builds on al-Ghazālī's aforementioned metaphor of impregnation to explain how divine wisdom is transferred between the shaikh and the seeker:

> As such the speech of the shaikh impregnates the innards of the murīd. The gems of the states are stored in the innards of the shaikh, so the state moves from him to the murīd by means of companionship and instruction. This is the case of the murīd who is present with the shaikh, who disengages from the desires of his ego and remains with the shaikh by leaving his will to him. Thus between the shaikh and the murīd there emerges a divine fusion and convergence, so that the murīd now transends his state by leaving his will to God, thereby understanding from God as he understood from the shaikh (Ibid., 25-26).
>
> إذ كلامُ الشيخ يلقحُ باطنَ المريد أَنَّ نفائسَ الأحوال مستودَعةٌ في باطن الشيخ, فينتقل الحال منه إلى المريد بواسطة الصُّحْبَة والمقال, وهذا في مريدٍ حضرَ بنفسه مع الشيخ, وانسلخ من إرادة نفسه, وبقي في الشيخ بترك اختياراته. فيصير بين الشيخ والمريد امتزاج وتأليف إلهي حتى يرتقي بترك الاختيار معه إلى ترك الاختيار مع الله, ويفهم من الله كما كان يفهم من الشيخ.

Through the metaphor of impregnation, the relationship joining the shaikh and the murīd becomes the most intimate bodily entanglement. Companionship and instruction form passages through which the shaikh's wisdom transfers to the *murīd* directly. When the murīd is truly present and the words of the shaikh can enter him, he can disengage from the ego. However, this is only possible if he follows the correct *adab*: obeying the shaikh completely and leaving all decisions to him. This in turn can allow him to be led by his shaikh as though he were being led by God. Mā' al-'Aynayn even makes it possible to acquire a state by mere association with a shaikh, thus reinforcing how essential the correct social bonds are to the seeker. By referring to the states as gems, he then makes an ephemeral experience into something tangible and even materially valuable. Calling the states gems echoes the image of *adab* as a jewel; it shows them as precious and deserving of great care.

Later, Mā' al-'Aynayn then adds his own metaphor of the nursing infant when he warns readers that if they leave the shaikh before the time of their 'weaning' they will acquire defects on their way back to this world, just as the young who are weaned before the proper time are vulnerable to physical defects. These passages write into being a force which draws the Sufis further into the sphere of their shaikhs' influence. This force eventually enabled Mā' al-'Aynayn to gather thousands of followers to his flagship *zāwiya* of Smāra to both seek

mystical knowledge and to resist attacks on Islamic lands (al-Shinqīṭī and Sayyid 1989, 326-7).

In Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir's *Kitāb al-mawāqif*, he puts a well-known and oft-recycled story at the heart of his own explanation of the shaikh-murīd relationship: that of the Prophet Mūsá (Moses) and his guide the Prophet Khiḍr. This story has been used throughout Islamic history to demonstrate that there is both an outer layer (ẓāhir) to knowledge and an inner, hidden layer (bāṭin) (Omar 1993, 85-91). Three times Mūsá protests Khiḍr's actions, thus breaking the unquestioning obedience that he is meant to show to his spiritual guide. Then, at the end of their journey, Khiḍr reveals the hidden wisdom behind each action that, on its surface, seemed deplorable [Qur'an: Al-Kahf 65-82]. This demonstrates that, since Mūsá's understanding was not yet as deep as Khiḍr's, his proper role was to follow without questioning.

Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir makes Mūsá both a model and a cautionary tale in regards to *adab*. He starts by saying that when Mūsá asks Khiḍr "May I follow you on [the condition] that you teach me from what you have been taught of sound judgement?" [Qur'an: Al-Kahf 66] his words contain the sweetness of *adab*, a sweetness perceptible to anyone with sound taste. However, Mūsá fell short of obtaining the hidden knowledge of his guide due to his compulsion to challenge and question him (al-Jazā'irī , et al. 2017, 499). Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir links this story to the heritage of Abrahamic faiths by drawing a parallel between Khiḍr sinking a ship and Mūsá's mother setting her son adrift on a river. In the case of both acts, their appearance (ẓāhir) is one of harm despite the ultimate good they achieve (Ibid.). Through weaving in Qur'anic excerpts as well as a hadith, ʻAbd al-Qādir shows how Mūsá eventually learns what Khiḍr knew from the beginning when he told his companion "Indeed, with me you will never be able to have patience. And how can you have patience for what you do not encompass in knowledge?" [Qur'an: Al-Kahf 67-68]. While Mūsá comes with the

knowledge of outer forms: the message, the law, the judgement of what is seen, the politics to command the Children of Israel, he cannot grasp what Khiḍr is commanded to judge by: revelation (Ibid., 499-500). This privileging of revealed knowledge also appears in the Amir's French language work, which is treated in depth in the following chapter. By teaching this story to his circle in Damascus, ʻAbd al-Qādir implies that he commands knowledge which cannot be overpowered by any of the other competing epistemologies. He does so at a time when European influence is appearing in schooling and in textual production.

ʻAbd al-Qādir then returns to how revealed knowledge relates to the role of the shaikh, asserting that the shaikh's perfection of knowledge "does not benefit the murīd at all except by obeying the orders of his shaikh and avoiding what he forbids" (Ibid., 500). The Amir needed this complete obedience while he was leading the resistance movement against the French, as the previous chapter explored through the medium of fatwas. However, the call to obey the shaikh based on his particular access to truth had new applications during his life in Damascus. It was a call for social cohesion as a bulwark against colonisation penetrating into social and spiritual norms. Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir elaborates on why he and other shaikhs must be followed in both word and deed:

> One cannot do without the other. Some believe that the shaikh is the pinnacle of perfection and think this will be all the murīd needs to achieve his goal and arrive at his destination. Then he is neither obedient to nor following what the shaikh orders or proscribes. For this is Mūsá, (peace be upon him), who requested of the Almighty to meet Khidr (peace be upon him), asked of the path to encounter him, and then endured hardship and suffering on his journey (al-Jazāʾirī , et al. 2017, 498).
>
> ولا يغني أحدهما عن الآخر, كحال بعض الناس, يعتقد في الشيخ غاية الكمال, ويظنّ أن ذلك يكفيه في نيل غرضه وحصول مطلبه, وهو غير ممتثل ولا فاعل لما يأمره الشيخ به أو ينهاه عنه. فهذا موسى عليه السلام مع جلالة قدره, وفخامة أمره طلب لقاء الخضر عليه السلام وسأل السبيل إلى لقيه وتجشّم مشاق ومتاعب في سفره.

This passage makes a specific assertion about the connection between sentiment and conduct: ʻAbd al-Qādir rejects the idea that inner obedience alone can suffice. For spiritual progress to be possible, obedience must be manifested not just in the bond the seeker feels towards the

shaikh but, more importantly, in the seeker's actions. He illustrates the importance of conduct by implying that Mūsá passed through many hardships on his journey with Khiḍr because of his inability to obey his shaikh completely. This emphasis on embodying *adab* is clearly associated with a strand of Sufism that acts and resists, as opposed to an interpretation which separates the inner journey from outer conduct.

Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir also used poetry to capture the emotional resonance of his deep bond with his own shaikh. After completing his second pilgrimage to Mecca, Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir spent time secluded in the Cave of Ḥirā' where the Prophet is said to have retreated to devote himself solely to worship (Weir and Watt 2012). ʻAbd al-Qādir then wrote to his shaikh Muhammad al-Fāsī al-Shādhilī (1807-77) describing how his love for al-Shādhilī allowed him to undertake this seclusion:

Are you pleased that happiness, good fortune, and progress came
And commanded the armies of misfortune, no mention of them
Nights of disaffection, isolation, and coldness
Abandonment of masters, no remembrance of the forsaken
As its days turned the black and dark
nights starless and moonless
Nights where I call out and my heart is bewitched
And the fire of love burns what was stirred in my chest
(al-Ḥasanī Jazāʾirī 2008, 289)

أمسعودُ جاء السعد والخير والسيرُ ووَّلت جِيوش النحس ليس لها ذكر
ليالي صدود وانقطاع وجفوة وهجران سادات فلا ذُكر الهجر
فأيامها أضحت قتاما ودجنة ليالي لا نجم يضيء ولا بدر
ليالي أُنادي والفؤاد متيَّمٌ ونار الجوى تشوي لما قد جوى الصدر

The last three lines of the poem allude to the total darkness and isolation of ʻAbd al-Qādir's time in the Cave of Ḥirā'. It is through his fiery love for his shaikh that he is able to make it through this darkness, as this love blurs his disaffection and warms the coldness stirred in his chest. As with the passages that explicitly link the seeker's bond to the shaikh with the seeker's ability to connect with God, this poem shows the Amir's submission to his shaikh as enabling him to receive insights while in *khalwa* (retreat). Through a play on the multiple

meanings of *dhikr*, ‘Abd al-Qādir both implies that there is no remembrance of his suffering when his shaikh is near, and that it was only through his shaikh that he could perform the *dhikr* of God’s names when all other masters (i.e. those of this worldly reality) had left him.

Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir chooses not to directly address the conduct of shaikhs towards their students in his guide, and *Kitāb al-mawāqif* is namely focused on the how the seeker must behave towards God. This reveals that he was more concerned with directly training Sufi followers than he was with propagating his teachings to other masters who might head a *zāwiya* for his *ṭarīqa*. However, through his poetry, the Amir encourages his shaikh to scold him, and links this exercise of authority to the proper understanding of religion:

> My companion, do not regret scolding out of love
> For a touch of love cures more than medicine
> So that is not forbidden, nor a crime
> in the law of love, but rather imposed on the enamoured
> The path of love is desertion, arriving, and separation
> and conjoining and disjoining with approach and reproach
> And these reasons for reproach are many.
> The extended reprimand is therefore enjoined on love
> And it was said that affection lasts as long as rebuke remains
> By God, what is sweeter than the speech of the heart?
> If there was neither vexation nor friction in love
> Then from where would the beauty of letters and books be?
> (al-Ḥasanī Jazāʾirī 2008, 312)

خليليَّ لا تندم على العتب للحِبِّ فإن خفيف الحبِّ أنفع بالطبِّ
فما ذاك مكروهٌ ولا بمجرَّم بشرع الهوى بل ذاك فرضٌ على الصبِّ
سبيل الهوى هجرٌ ووصلٌ وفرقةٌ وجمع وخُلف بالزيارة والعتب
وهذي دواعي للعقاب كثيرة لذا كان طول العتب ألزم للحِبِّ
وقد قيل يبقى الود ما العتب باقياً فلله ما أحلى مقال ذوي اللبِّ
إذا لم يكن في الحب سخط ولا رضاً فأين حلاوات الرسائل والكتُب

Here the reference to “arriving and separation” recalls Sufi descriptions of joining with God as the final stage of the inner journey, and how this necessarily leads to the following stage of separation where the Sufi returns to the lower world with new knowledge. In this poem, the Amir makes this same process part of the love between shaikh and murīd: another example

where proper conduct towards the shaikh is connected to the ability to behave correctly towards the Creator. The use of 'medicine' to refer to healing emotional or spiritual states also comes from the Sufi schema, and scolding is deemed the proper action to prove this love and make it more effective than medicine. By fulling embracing the shaikh's anger and scolding the seeker experiences the full sweetness of love, just as God's anger and punishment form part of the sweetness of religion, alluded to here as "the messages and the books". This poetic instruction cements the nature of the shaikh-murīd bond and preserves it in the literary sphere even as political, social, and territorial enchroachments are changing Muslim societies.

Mā' al-'Aynayn provides explicit instructions for shaikhs training Sufis in the section addressed to *ahl al-nihāyāt* (people of the destination), meaning those who have arrived at the end of the stations and thus able to guide others (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Raqqā 2013, 97-175). As alluded to previously, Mā' al-'Aynayn leans more heavily on foundational Islamic sources and his style of writing becomes less illustrative and metaphorical when he addresses shaikhs. He explains to that the *murīdūn* are just like their children, only spiritual instead of physical. He then elaborates on the metaphor of spiritual parenthood using the prophetic example:

> As it was asked of the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, who are your children O messenger of God? He said: every fearing believer is my child…" (Ibid., 116).
>
> كما سُئِلَ النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: مَنْ آلك يا رسول الله؟ قال: آلي كل مؤمن تقي...

The shift in style is perceptible here. Instead of making his point through description and storytelling, he merely furnishes a hadith and trusts that his audience will extrapolate from it. As children provoke in their parents an incomparable feeling of protection and love, spreading this sentiment among the leaders of his *ṭarīqa* would contribute to the unity and cohension of Mā' al-'Aynayn's movement. He then argues for the value of consulting the Sufi seekers by explaining:

> Consult them – that is, draw out their views. Know what they learned in matters of war, as is customary. For by consulting them they develop the habit of demonstrating their views, softening their hearts, raising their abilities, and laying the ground for the Sunna of consulting the *umma* (Ibid., 118).
>
> وشاورهم في الأمر, أي استخرج آراءهم, وأعلم ما عندهم في أمر الحرب إذ هو المعهود أو فيه وفي أمثاله, مما تجري فيه المشاورة عادة استظهارا بآرائهم, وتطييبا لقلوبهم, ورفعا لأقدارهم, وتميدا لسة المشاورة للأمة.

The reference to war makes it clear that Mā' al-'Aynayn is considering his own specific context among other abstract ideals. The previous two quotes also reveal the other side to his emphasis on obedience to the shaikh. While he told seekers to obey their shaikhs in order to promote social cohesion, this did not mean that he saw them as lacking worthy ideas or contributions. He actually saw consulting public opinion and holding councils as part of Islamic governance. However, the shaikh did not highlight this aspect when speaking to the masses as it was not their responsibility to convene councils. Part of making his resistance movement effective was ensuring a level of public participation and investment in the movement, and he assigns this responsibility to Islamic leaders. To return to other traits shaikhs and other leaders must develop, Mā' al-'Aynayn supports his call to be lenient and soft-hearted through Qur'anic evidence:

> For gentleness in speech deeply penetrates the heart, elicits swift response, and prompts fealty. For that reason, God commanded Moses and Aaron and said (20:44): [And speak to him with gentle speech that perhaps he may be reminded of fear [of God]] (Ibid., 118).
>
> فاللين في القول أنفذ في القلوب وأسرع إلى الإجابة, وأدعى إلى الطاعة. ولذلك أمر الله موسى وهرون [sic] به, فقال ((فَقُولَا لَهُ قَوْلًا لَيِّناً))

Then Mā' al-'Aynayn strengthens his position with the Prophetic example, describing how when Muhammad encountered those who acted like wild beasts he was patient and forbearing of them. He behaved this way until they eventually started to follow him and would go so far as to fight their kin and abandon their homelands for him (Ibid., 119-20). This section thus introduces the alchemy of *adab* from the leadership side, where gentle speech and lenient conduct can transform the hearts of those who are not embodying proper

sociabilities. After presenting these examples from foundational texts, Mā' al-'Aynayn adds his own poetry expressing how the *raḥma* (mercy) of the Prophet – the same mercy which shaikhs should seek to embody – is in fact the mercy of God manifested:

> Oh Prophet of God who was
> Mercy sent from God
> You with God in mercy and with word
> Of mercy from your God
> (Ibid., 120).

يا رسول الله الذي أنت كنتَ رحمةً مرسلا من الله أنت
أنت بالله رحمة وبقول فبما رحمة من الله أنت

In this verse, the repetition of the word 'God' to a dizzying extent produces the intended effect of *ḥaira* (bewilderment), which Sufi texts associate with experiencing God (Ridgeon 2014, 137). It also makes the listener unable to discern where God ends and mercy begins, thus alluding to one of God's names as the Merciful and simualtenously conflating enacting this trait with approaching annihilation in God. Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn was concerned with producing an Islamic leadership of gentleness and mercy as these traits, rather than the rejection or punishment of Muslim seekers, promoted the unity and brotherhood he referred to in his other texts and poems.

This is where Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's writing on conduct towards the shaikh intersects with conduct towards the Sufi brother. Mā' al-'Aynayn urges his readers to accept the Sufi path of one's shaikh using a similar logic to that used in his well-known call to unity across different Islamic brotherhoods. Referring to the different Sufi *ṭuruq*, the shaikh tells his readers/ seekers to "know that their saying that the paths to God are many has sufficient proof in the Sunna" and then quotes the hadith "my companions are like the stars, whichever of them you follow will guide you" (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Raqqā 2013, 25). The Shaikh elucidates this hadith as follows:

> This also proof that all of them arrive to God the Most High. All stars rise from one direction and that is the East, and set in one direction and that is the West. All of them are created from him [the Prophet], Peace and Blessings be upon him, and lead to Him the Most High. This also proves that each shaikh has a path he does not stray from and that is because, for example, the one guided by the West Star cannot be lead by the North Star (Ibid., 25).

> وهو الدليل أيضا على أنها كلَّها مُوصِلَةٌ إلى الله تعالى. وذلك أن النجومَ كلَّها تطلُعُ من جهة واحدة هي جهة المشرق, وتغرب من جهة واحدة هي جهة المغرب, كما أنهم كلَّهم, رضي الله عنهم, صادرون منه صلى الله عليه وسلم مُوصِلُونَ إليه تعالى. وهو الدليل أيضا على أن لكل شيخ طريقا لا يتعدَّاها. وذلك لأن المهتدي بنجم يَمَنِيٍّ مثلا لا يمكن أن يتهدي إلى جهته بنجم شمالي.

By elaborating on a metaphor taken from the hadith, Mā' al-'Aynayn makes his unitary message at once more tangible and more emotionally resonant to his audience. Mā' al-'Aynayn chooses the metaphor of stars both because it is an illustration which works in all times and places and because it has precedents in the Islamic archive. When he states that all stars are 'from' the Prophet Muhammad, Mā' al-'Aynayn both alludes to the Sufi concept of primordial Muhammadean light from which all life was created and allows the Prophet's authority to be embodied in Sufi saints. The unsaid aspect of this message is equally clear: to follow a path which was not illuminated by an established shaikh is to be hopelessly lost. Those who ignore their guiding stars in order to pander to the colonisers will never reach the right destination. Those who choose a guiding star, no matter which one it is, will reach God. This again reinforced his unitary movement against colonisation.

While Mā' al-'Aynayn links a diversity of ways of being Muslim to the most eminent example, he still admonishes the seeker to "believe that your shaikh's path is the most honourable path" (Ibid., 30). He elaborates on the necessity of believing in the superiority of one's shaikh as such:

> …if he does not believe [this] then his psyche is clouded by [wondering] what is more honourable than it. Besides, there is not actually a path more honourable because although the paths differ and multiply, their source is one thing and that is annihilation in witnessing God (Ibid., 30).

> لأنه إن لم يكن يعتقد تشوّفت نفسه إلى ما هو أشرف منه وما ثم طريق أشرف منه, لأن الطرق وإن تعددت واختلفت مرجعها كلها لأمر واحد هو الفناء في مشاهدة الله.

By reinforcing the shaikh-seeker relationship, he ensures that heeding the call of Maghribi resistance leaders will be associated with approaching spiritual perfection. Yet, within the same guide, he also strikes against the idea that love for one's shaikh can be increased by rejecting other Muslims. This message of pan-Islamic acceptance and unity is apparent in many of Mā' al-'Aynayn's other publications, as his thought and resistance literature were connected across genres.[44]

Although Mā' al-'Aynayn uses the Prophetic example, his message of brotherhood was also a response to the historical context of new anticolonial solidarities in Islamic lands. Along similar lines, interfaith brotherhood was later promoted in Ottoman regions as a bulwark against European designs to divide and occupy the empire (Ben-Bassat and Ginio 2011, 9, 26-7; Cohen 2014, 22-6; Kayali 1997, 68-9). A pan-Islamic committee was formed in Istanbul during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909), who also considered changing his administration's language to Arabic in order to reach more Muslims (al-Ṣilābī 2018). Two years before Mā' al-'Aynayn's death, the 1908 Ottoman Constitutional Revolution sparked an outpouring of rhetoric around an "Ottoman brotherhood" which could prevent European occupation by strengthening bonds across ethnic and even religious divides (Campos 2011). Thus Mā' al-'Aynayn's work on the proper *adab* of Sufi brotherhood should not be read as a quietist focus on individual relationships, but rather as part of a larger societal vision wherein proper conduct and cooperation – including proper deference to Sufi figures and to the sultan – would build the society whose goodness and faith would guarantee triumph over the corrupt invaders.

[44] He authored a study on the common ground between all of the major branches of Islamic law titled *Al-Murāfiq 'alá al-muwāfiq fī maqāṣid al-sharī'a* ("A Companion to What is Agreed Upon in the Purposes of Law") and, as expanded on in Chapter One, his poem "Ananī mikhāwī li-jamī' al-ṭuruq" ("Truly, I am in Brotherhood with all the Paths") advocated for mutual respect and acceptance among Sufi paths.

Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's guide both responds to the anticolonial moment and renews an older Sufi archive. When exploring the definition of a brother, he quotes the foundational Sufi figure Abū al-Qāsim Junayd (835–910) as saying that the brother is in essence you, it is just that he occupies another body (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Raqqā 2013, 42). Najmuddīn-e Kubrā (1145- 1220) is cited for his description of the spiritual transformation which takes place as brothers in religion merge together; this new version of the self (dhāt) which occurs between them lifts the veils of humanly covering from the faces of the heart, so that light meets light from the aperture of the heart, and thus they become a single soul (nafs) (Ibid., 44). Thus when souls meet through brotherhood, this means spiritual advancement. In this instance, the advancement is expressed through the common metaphor of lifting one of the veils that obscures the truth in everyday life. This idea of Muslims becoming a single soul also echoes legal literature on military *jihād*, where it was said that the Muslims must be as 'one hand' in order to succeed ('Ammārī 1997, 308). Mā' al-'Aynayn then references the understanding of brotherhood inherited from Ismā'īl ibn Muṣṭafā Ḥaqqī (1653-1725), quoting his *Kitāb tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-musammá bi-rūḥ al-bayān* ("The Book Explaining the Qur'an Called the Spirit of Elucidation") at length:

> If God tests his believing servants he agitates their conspiring egos to reveal the truth of their degree of faith and brotherhood. He would order them to support the mind and the soul and the heart over the ego until it is defeated. For the believer to the believer is like an edifice in that they reinforce each other. They are as one soul, because they spring from one source: Adam, may peace be upon him. The source of Adam's spirit is the Light of the Kingdom [of Heaven], and the source of his body (according to some scholars) is the soil of Paradise (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Raqqā 2013, 43-44).
>
> فإذا امتحن الله عباده المؤمنين هيَّجَ نفوسهم الأمّارة ليظهر حقائق درجاتهم من الإيمان والأخوة, وأمرهم أن يعينوا العقل والروح والقلب على النفس حتى تنهزم لأن المؤمن للمؤمن كالبنيان يشد بعضه بعضا, فهم كنفس واحدة, لأن مصادرهم مصدر واحد, وهو آدم عليه السلام. ومصدر روح آدم نور الملكوت, ومصدر جسمه تربة الجنة في بعض الأقوال.

By using the Islamic archive to emphasise Adam as humanity's common father, Mā' al-'Aynayn urges Muslims to feel and act as a single entity, to even imagine that they represent a single ego. While the shaikh's guide uses the Sufi archive to promote spiritual solidarity, its

implications are still political. The feeling that one's Sufi brother is not merely as valuable as the self but rather is the self serves as motivation for seekers to defend their brothers and their lands. When the shaikh takes a descriptive approach to defining brotherhood and relays that a man without his brother is like left without right, this gives a tangible sense that Muslim society cannot function without social cohesion and political solidarity (Ibid., 45). Without brotherhood, everyone is as useless as the left without the right.

In addition to these evocative passages which demonstrate the importance of brotherhood, Mā' al-'Aynayn also considers affect and conduct in friendship and brotherhood. He notes that a meeting between friends has the spirit of affection and the comfort of the soul; and that the need for a brother is like the need of the eye to water (Ibid., 46). He also cites the Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (702-65)'s five conditions of friendship: that his friend's beauty is his adornment, that he shows his friend his innermost self, that he not be jealous of his friend's money, that he see his friend as deserving all his affection, and that he not leave him in times of catastrophe (Ibid.). The emotions associated with friendship and brotherhood are stated both in terms of requirements – i.e. the presence of affection and the absence of jealousy – and positive results, i.e. the immense comfort in brotherhood. Mā' al-'Aynayn's treatise *Mazīlat al-nakd 'amman lā yuḥibb al-ḥasad* ("Removing the Vexation from the One Who Does Not Like Envy") shows that the shaikh saw envy and jealousy as emotions which impeded believers and threatened social harmony (ibn Māmayn, Būwī and Ẓarīf 1998, 33). However, while he condemns the emotion of envy on the whole, he notes that it is acceptable in cases where an unbeliever has been given an undeserved advantage which causes others harm (Ibid.). Considering this message in conjunction with his Sufi guide, it is clear that Mā' al-'Aynayn was both cautioning believers against internal strife based on inequalities in their own societies – such as jealousy of a friend's money – and pointing to the unbelievers' possessions and military capabilities as a permitted target for

their resentment. The manner in which Europeans coveted Muslim lands is also blameworthy under this understanding of envy.

The brotherly emotions the shaikh sought to promote were clearly tied to larger social and political goals. For example, each of the Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's five conditions of friendship refers to an aspect of social cohesion. To see one's Muslim brother as deserving beauty, wealth, and affection is to not want to take anything from him, and following these commands eliminates major sources of internal discord. Promoting honesty and vulnerability then builds the social trust necessary to collaboratively repel the invaders. Of particular importance to the shaikh's jihad is al-Ṣādiq's reference to solidarity in times of catastrophe. While some Moroccans were seeking protection from European consulates or signing treaties with Spanish settlers, the shaikh implicitly asks his audience what kind of brother would abandon his brother in a time of strife. He also asserts that the good brother is to only command the good, and that the affection of his actions should be greater than the affection of his words (ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil and Raqqā 2013, 46). Through these instructions, Mā' al-'Aynayn drives home the message that the bond of brotherhood is incomplete until it manifests in actual actions of solidarity. From another angle, Mā' al-'Aynayn subtly enacts his unitary, pan-Islamic stance whereby many stars can lead the Muslim to the correct destination when he chooses to cite a shī'ī scholar. As such, Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's descriptions of brotherly bonds were another example of Maghribi resistance embodied in literature.

4.4 Fear God and be Faithful: 'Abd al-Qādir's Embodiments of Adab

To encourage the proper emotion and comportment to be active in resistance, Amir 'Abd al-Qādir explores the nature and ethical implications of fear. He opens his chapter on fear with the Qur'anic verse: "So fear them not, but fear Me, if you are [indeed] believers" (Qur'an: 3-175). He then explains that there are two types of fear: first the fear of God, which

is a product of awe (hayba), exaltation (ijlāl), and glorification (ṭaẓīm). This fear was experienced by the messengers, the prophets, the angels, and the saints and is, in fact, commanded by the Qur'an (2017, 446). The second type of fear is fear of God's creations whether they be jinn, hell, or animals such as snakes and scorpions. This fear does not contain awe or exaltation, and it shows a lack of spiritual knowledge, as it means that "their hearts are still filled with others [besides God]" (al-Jazā'irī , et al. 2017, 447). Those who truly understand *tawḥīd*, the oneness of God, fear nothing but God. The Amir illustrates this point with lines of poetry, where he uses the visual of soaring heights to illustrate God's place above all of the worlds and creation, and how the proper kind of fear (hayba) can bring the seeker close to this height:

> As like the bird of Him above their heads
> Fears not oppression, only majesty.
> (al-Jazā'irī , et al. 2017, 446)
>
> كأنما الطير منه فوق رؤوسهم لا خوف ظلم, ولكن خوف إجلال

'Abd al-Qādir further lauds the correct embodiment of fear when he explains that even God can experience fear, but only of Himself. He uses the metaphor of a steel sword: it does not fear anything but the steel shield because they are both embodiments of the same material, just as everything in the universe is an embodiment of God. This is also why the Prophet said "I seek refuge in You from You" to express that he seeks refuge in God's mercy from God's anger (Ibid., 446-7). This could easily be used to direct armed resistance. If fear begins to spring from the believers' hearts, they should direct this fear towards God and in turn draw strength from Him for following the correct path, including jihad. Fear is a tool of coercion, and if the colonisers' use of fear is overpowered by the Muslims' *hayba* towards God, then they can resist occupation and displacement.

In matters of conduct, Amir 'Abd al-Qādir was particularly concerned with *wafa'*, or keeping one's word. In addition to the evidence furnished from *fiqh* and other Islamic

traditions in order to argue that keeping one's promises is integral to being a Muslim, he also constructs it as an inherent characteristic of the Arabs. In a bid to associate *wafa'* with the oldest and truest nature of the Arabs, Amir 'Abd al-Qādir presents a story in which the early Islamic community is more willing to accept a disadvantage in war than to break a promise, even though it was made by a soldier who did not fully understand the implications of the deal (Ibid., 230). Despite his people's protests, the King Abū 'Abīd says he fears God too much to kill a captive when a Muslim has offered him protection. He also states that the Muslims are like one body: what preserves one, preserves all (Ibid.).

'Abd al-Qādir was acutely aware of how various betrayals had contributed to the defeat of his jihad and thus, through these stories, he urges Arabs to embody *wafa'* as their ancestors had. This was not only with the goal of promoting solidarity – evoked particularly by the idea that the Muslims are like one body – but also as part of psychic resistance to outsiders' amorality. In the story of King Abū 'Abīd, the enemy may gain an advantage by the Muslims releasing the prisoner. However, as an aphorism provided near the end of *Al-Miqrāḍ al-ḥādd* demonstrates, integrity and *wafa'* hold a value incomprable to any worldly advantage. 'Abd al-Qādir quips:

> It was said to some of them: what is the value of honesty?
> He said immortality in this world.
> It was asked of him: so what is the value of lying?
> He said an abrupt death.
>
> فمن ذلك قيل انه لبعضهم ما قيمة الصدق ؟ قال الخلد في الدنيا , قيل له فما قيمة الكذب ؟ قال موت عاجل
> (ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and al-Khālidī al-Maghribī 1971, 244; author's translation)

According to this understanding, Amir 'Abd al-Qādir won the most important battle of resistance, that against the lower soul. He retained his integrity even as the French lost theirs. Then, even after he laid down his arms, he used his writing to promote this understanding of conduct and selfhood as political and cultural shifts started to affect his new home in Greater Syria.

4.5 Conclusions: Adab and Inner Travel as Resistance

Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's mystical texts promote types of affect and sociality alongside their descriptions of the spiritual journey. Their Sufi literature tied specific traits and actions to spiritual advancement, and described a world of inner travel which could never be polluted or colonised. While the concepts of *maqāmāt* (stations), *aḥwāl* (states), and *mawāqif* (stops) and *adab* were not new, Mā' al-ʻAynayn and ʻAbd al-Qādir's literature gave them new meanings in the context of resistance to colonial domination. In Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's case, his focus on obedience to the shaikh and the bonds of brotherhood was meant to promote the solidarity necessary to continue resisting foreign occupation. For Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir writing and lecturing from exile in the Mashriq, propagating Sufi thought at a time when foreign enchroachment was changing Syrian education and literature was a means of resisting social and spiritual occupation. For both, continuing to embody and transmit Sufi wisdom was an act of resistance in and of itself.

Alongside promoting obedience to the shaikh and strong affection for brothers in religion, ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn explored the nature of certain traits and emotions. ʻAbd al-Qādir ranked different types of fear, and argued that only fear of God can be considered ethical. He also emphasised the importance of *wafā'* in the face of the many deceptions and broken promises he fell victim to at the hands of the French. He urges his audience to embody *wafā'*, with the implication that to do otherwise is to become like the colonisers. In passages clearly connected to bonds of solidarity, Mā' al-ʻAynayn urges Sufis to feel such affection towards their brothers in religion that harm to one's brother feels like harm to the self. He also condemns jealousy and envy towards other believers – thus eliminating social inequality as a potential source of social dischord – while also acknowledging that it is natural to feel envy towards unbelievers. Mā' al-ʻAynayn not only

promotes certain ways of feeling, he also uses bodily metaphors of impregnation and nursing to illustrate the desired bond between Sufi seeker and shaikh.

By reading Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's descriptions of the soul's states and stations in conjunction with the historical circumstances of each text, it becomes apparent that narratives of perfecting the soul had strong political meanings and were linked to an inner resistance which complemented the armed jihad. Their Sufi literature was the introverted complement to their extroverted literature advocating for specific political realities. The following chapter will demonstrate that Maghribi resistance was not just a literary force in Arabic, but rather the encounter with Maghribi resistance also shaped English and French Orientalist literature.

Chapter 5 Images of Resistance between Orientalism and Occidentalism

Was it right thus to hunt the Emir to death for the advancement of civilisation? Was it worthy of the great nation thus to appeal, unprovoked, to the arbitration of the sword?…He could not make up his mind whether he ought to draw the sword with the invaders, or join 'The long-winged Hawk of the Desert', fighting gallantly for independence, and liberty, and life.

-*The Brookes of Bridlemere*, G. J. Whyte Melville (1872, 113)

European literature's response to Maghribi anticolonial resistance is essential to the larger question of how these resistance movements influenced nineteenth-century literary production. By reading over a dozen texts depicting either Amir 'Abd al-Qādir or Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn in English or French, it becomes apparent that the encounter with North African resistance influenced the colonial corpus in terms of both its depictions and its generic conventions. Furthermore, Amir 'Abd al-Qādir made an intervention in French Orientalist literature during his lifetime, thus continuing the textual and intellectual aspect of his resistance even after he laid down arms.

Although Amir 'Abd al-Qādir has not been studied as a contributor who shaped European literatures, previous scholarship shows that he travelled into French and English pages as a symbol both during his war against France and after his defeat and imprisonment (Abdel-Jaoud 1999, 194, 198-9; Achrati 2007, 142-6; Brower 2011, 175-6; Jensen 2016, 10-11). His life in the world literary imagination was varied and, as Noura Achrati succinctly summarises, "['Abd al-Qādir] has travelled to Britain, France and Algeria, changing forms and meaning in every textual and visual incarnation" (2007, 1). Recent studies of 'Abd al-Qādir's portrayal in nineteenth-century French and English literature are principally anti-Orientalist critiques, and scholars like Achrati have considered how these works painted anticolonial resistance as irrational, illegitimate, and fundamentally opposed to civilisation (Ibid., 146; Benchérif 1997, 79).

It is also important to emphasise that even laudatory descriptions of Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir do not necessarily legitimise his resistance or recognise how it shaped his textual output. Tom Woerner-Powell analyses several French biographies of the Amir and observes the near-universal tendency to portray ʻAbd al-Qādir as having been transformed into a gentelmany scholar by his imprisonment in France (2017, 107). In a similar vein, Jan C. Jensen shows how early-twentieth-century French biographies held ʻAbd al-Qādir up as an example of the success of the *mission civilisatrice*, thus divorcing their praise of the Amir's character from his role as one of Algeria's most important resistance leaders (2016, 16-19). From another angle, academics who focus on British descriptions of ʻAbd al-Qādir uniformly assume that these texts only portrayed the Amir positively out of an antipathy towards their colonial competitiors (Abdel-Jaoud 1999, 194-5; Achrati 2007, 142-5; Faruqi 2012, 27-8).

This chapter puts forth a new interpretation of ʻAbd al-Qādir's considerable career as an Orientalist icon and author, as well as Mā' al-ʻAynayn's brief appearances in colonial texts. I argue that the encounter with Maghribi resistance leaders shaped nineteenth-century French and English literature in profound ways, despite the power imbalance which characterised this exchange. To this end, I first focus on how images of ʻAbd al-Qādir as a just and righteous leader were included in a particular subgenre of Orientalist literature – one whose tropes were uniform across French and English – even while he was at war with France.[45] These examples do not negate what Edward Said describes as the "strength of Orientalist discourse, its very close ties to the enabling socio-economic and political institutions, and its redoubtable durability", but they demonstrate that even Orientalism was not immune to the influence of North African resistance (Said 1991, 6). I take inspiration from Rosalind O'Hanlon's provocation that:

[45] (Clive 1846, 88; M. A. De France 1838, 28; Devoisins 1840, XI; Jacob 1844, 8; Poujoulat 1847, 91)

> If we accept, as I assume we should, that no hegemony can be so penetrative and pervasive as to eliminate all ground for contestation or resistance, this leaves us with the question as to how we are to configure their presence (1988, 191).

Maghribi resistance is, indeed, present within nineteenth-century Orientalist literatures. The fact that French and English literature about North Africa was deeply entangled in the colonial enterprise does not mean that its producers never once ceded space to oppositional messages and modes of writing. For example, several authors subtly acknowledged the validity of ‘Abd al-Qādir or Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s fights against colonisation.[46] Then the encounter with ‘Abd al-Qādir in particular paved the way for a new way of seeing and describing an Arab leader.

In addition to this shift in the message and content of Orientalist texts, the encounter with Maghribi resistance resulted in Arabic and Sufi literary conventions surfacing in European texts about North Africa, thus signalling another embodiment of resistance as a literary force. Stories bearing the clear imprint of Sufi *karāmāt* found their way into Orientalist texts, and were repeated without skepticism or condescention.[47] Furthermore, Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir actually wrote back to France during his lifetime by initiating the translation of one of his books into French (Abd-el-Kader and Dugat 1858, vi). Although this book could have merely been a means to circulate a *mission civilisatrice* narrative with ‘Abd al-Qādir’s stamp of approval, the final portion of this chapter demonstrates that Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir’s translated works clearly resisted European epistemologies and undercut the narrative of European civilisational superioriority.

Before analysing the corpus which forms the grist of this chapter, I will contextualise the rise of a new Orientalism and draw out the aspects which distinguished this strain from others.

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[46] Clive 1846, 88; Gillier 1926, 283; Poujoulat 1847, 91; Whyte Melville, 113

[47] De LaCroix 1848, 67, 83-5; Plée 1829, 13; Maidstone 1851, 206; Scott 108-9; Raban 1848, 15, 18; Whyte Melville, 116

5.1 Orientalisms, Occidentalisms, and the Eyewitness Corpus

Previous scholarship nuances Edward Said's insightful critique of Orientalism by then challenging the idea of this corpus as a coherent and unified genre (Codell and Sachko Macleod 1998, 3). Lisa Lowe, for example, explains how her work "resists totalizing orientalism as a monolithic, developmental discourse that uniformly constructs the Orient as the Other of the Occident" in favour of " a conception of orientalism as heterogeneous and contradictory" (1991, 4-5). In his study of French knowledge production on Morocco, Edmund Burke III similarly highlights moments wherein Orientalist knowledge production was so contradictory that it even appeared on the verge of internal rupture (2014, 66). Additionally, Burke shows that French studies of Morocco went through a brief period in which they did not reproduce rigid and reified colonial binaries which essentialised Morocco and Moroccans (Ibid., 37). This acknowledgement of Orientalism's plurality leads to the unique and enduring aspects of the first Orientalist corpus to encounter and depict Maghribi resistance: the eyewitness Orientalists.

I define eyewitness texts as those which centre the author's personal interactions and observations of one of the resistance figures or of North Africa more generally as their primary value and purpose. It is clarifying to think of this corpus in terms of what it is not: the eyewitness authors did not write within ethnographic or anthropological conventions, and they did not position their works as 'studies' of Algeria or Morocco. This corpus also has little in common with the classical Orientalism of, for example, Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1757- 1838), who collected books and manuscripts from centuries past and learned Latin and Greek before acquiring Chaldean, Syriac, Hebrew, and Arabic (Hannoum 2004, 75). The eyewitness testimonies were distinct from classical Orientalism in terms of style (nonacademic), method (casual observation), and audience (popular). If they were the progeny of any genre it would be Barbary captivity narratives, or fictional and semi-fictional

accounts of Europeans captured and enslaved by North African pirates. Both Barbary captivity narratives and eyewitness texts offered their readers access to the Maghrib alongside a vicarious experience of adventure and danger (Bekkaoui 2010, 39; Dobie 2010, 56-7; Thomson 1987, 26-8). On the eve of colonisation, eyewitness Orientalist texts spoke to this general taste for firsthand testimonials.

The popularity of eyewitness accounts can also be understood within the context of nineteenth-century epistemologies of observation. They reflect a culture which prized the ability to see as the most important means to know. This general desire to know the world and its peoples through semi-scientific observation found expression in associations such as the Société phrénologique de Paris, which included both physicians and amateurs (Finger and Eling 2019, 475-6; Goldstein 2001, 254-5; Staum 2003, 49-50). Over the course of the nineteenth century, hundreds of popular texts were published on *phrénologie*, or the pseudoscience of evaluating intelligence and personality by observing head shape and size (Bibliothèque Nationale de France 2020; Williams 2002, 182-6). This field of study was international and transcolonial, as demonstarted by the wide circulation of phrenology books and periodicals in both French and English (Poskett 2019, 79-80). Similar obssessions with sight and observation as the ultimate means of knowing coalesced around the field of physiognomy, an epistemology which permeates the work of the eyewitness Orientalists.

Emily Weeks underscores the importance of understanding the "physiognomically minded Victorian public" when interpreting nineteeth-century Orientalist paintings, and her observations apply to literature as much as they do the visual arts (2002, 53). Physiognomy was a pseudoscience focused on the meaning of physical features and, like phrenology, it was frequently used to cloak racism and classism in a veneer of scientific objectivity (Pearl 2010, 1-2, 85). Physiognomy went further than phrenology however, and proposed an entire method of reading facial features as outward manifestations of inner character (Berland 2005,

25-6; Erle 2006, 88-9). This 'science' was not confined to academic cirlces either, as evidenced by the popularity of face-reading pocket guides in nineteenth-century Berlin, London, and Paris (Gamper 2005, 151; Pearl 2010, 29-32, 228).

This obsession with the meaning of humanity's outward appearance is then reflected in the eyewitness texts' long and detailed descriptions of Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's physique, face, and general air. In fact, the word "physiognomy" itself is explicitly mentioned in both English and French descriptions of 'Abd al-Qādir.[48] Instead of reading such passages as purely objectifying or exoticising, it is important to remember that they departed drastically from previous portrayals of Arab physiognomy. This means that encountering 'Abd al-Qādir created space for new portrayals of Arabs within the Orientalist corpus. As I will show in detail, applying the physiognomic lens reveals that praising 'Abd al-Qādir's outward appearance was a means of approving of his person and was often, by extension, a means of legitimising his anticolonial cause. This is in contrast to the literary portraits of Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn, who avoided Europeans and thus was rarely 'seen' in the same detailed light in Orientalist texts.

In addition to this epistemological context, this corpus grew out of a distinctive historical beat in North Africa's colonisation. The eyewitness authors developed a consistent literary portrait of the Amir between the 1830 fall of Algiers and the Revolution of 1848. The reader may recall that 'Abd al-Qādir surrendered in December 1847, and thus 1848 marked a turning point in his relationship with France (Martin 1976, 39). However, this year was also pivotal in Franco-Algerian relations more broadly, as political upheaval at home led to France solidifying Algeria's status as an extension of herself.

[48] Among French sources preceding 1848 which mention Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's "physionomie" we find: M. A. De France 1837, 23; De Bussy 1835, 524; De LaCroix and Manucci 1845, 92; Desjobert 1837, 308-9.
From English sources – including one translated from French – of the same period: M. A. De France 1838, 28; Littell 1844, 506; Wiseman 1842, 8.

The February Revolution of 1848 led to large-scale state campaigns to dump the urban poor and other potential insurrectionists into Algerian agricultural colonies (Bennoune 1988, 52; Heffernan 1995, 35; Pilbeam 2013, 160-1, 171). Most prominently, the National Assembly approved a plan to send 20,000 French citizens to the new Algerian settlements in September 1848, throwing 50 million francs behind the scheme (Fortescue 2005, 123-5; Morell 1854, 371; Sessions 2017, 317). On the conceptual level, 1848 also marked the National Assembly's official designation of Algeria as an integral part of the "one and indivisible Republic", rather than a colony (Asseraf 2017, 175; De Luna 1969, 236-7; Stovall 2018, 91). These developments changed the nature of European access to Algeria, and made informal eyewitness accounts less compelling to French and English readers. As more and more ordinary French citizens relocated to Algeria, the land lost much of its previous mystique. Thus, while a popular bibliography records several 1847 publications which centre personal access to Algeria, 1848's only eyewitness text was *Narrative of a campaign against the Kabailes of Algeria, with the mission of M. Suchet to the Emir Abd-el-Kader* by English travel writer Dawson Borrer.[49]

Lastly, 1848 also signaled a shift in colonial knowledge production on Algeria. As eyewitness texts declined in number and influence, the colonial ethnographer became the dominant medium that observed, reported, and – unlike the eyewitness Orientalists – clearly bolstered colonial control. Ethnology, for example, supported *la mission civilisatrice* by propagating an Arab-Berber binary which positioned Amazighen as closer to Europeans and thus better candidates for 'civilising' (Hannoum 2003, 67-9; Hannoum 2004, 77-8; Lazreg

[49] Robert Playfair's *A Bibliography of Algeria: From the Expedition of Charles V in 1541 to 1887* (1888) lists the following texts for the year 1847: Alexandre Dumas' *Impressions de voyage* (213), *Memoire au Roi et aux Chambres par les colons de l'Algerie* (Ibid., 214), Désiré Eglise's *Un voyage a Alger* (Ibid.), Le Comte L. Coetlogon's *Voyage en Algérie* (Ibid.), Poujoulat's *Voyage en Algérie* (Ibid.), Quétin's *Guide de voyageur en Algérie* (Ibid., 216), Alby's *Histoire des prisonniers français en Afrique depuis la conquete* (Ibid., 217), and an unattributed text titled *Derniers efforts et soumission d'Abd-el-Kader* (Ibid.).

1983, 384-8; Silverstein 2002; Trumbull 2009, 33-4). While the colonial ethnographers' work was more formal than that of the eyewitnesses' personal narratives, it was still considerably less academic than the classical Orientalists of de Sacy's mould. These shifts had international implications, as many ethnographers who started in Algeria went on to work in French administrations in Morocco, Mauritania, or West Africa, thus transferring their essentialising ideas onto other colonial contexts (Burke 2008, 165; Harrison 1988, 22-3, 39-40; Robinson 2000, 38, 76-7; Trout 1969, 177-8). Yet, even while the eyewitness genre itself declined in popularity after the Amir's surrender,[50] English and French poems and novels continued to propagate the portrait of 'Abd al-Qādir which was first seen in these works.[51] All in all, the Orientalist encounter with Maghribi resistance led to a new image of an Arab leader, and to the subtle legitimisation of anticolonial resistance.

In addition to Maghribi resistance's impact on Orientalist portrayals of the colonised, it also affected the generic conventions of these texts. Both biographical and fictional portrayals of Amir 'Abd al-Qādir, as well as one eyewitness account of Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn, replicated Sufi miracle tales and blended them seamlessly into their overaching narratives. In fact, several European texts also accurately tied miracle tales to political ascent and mobilisation in the Maghrib. As such, the second section of this chapter shows the dynamic of genre transfer from an Arabic literary convention into Orientalist literature to be an embodiment of Maghribi resistance as a literary force.

While the eyewitness corpus' positive image of 'Abd al-Qādir took root during hostilities with France, sympathy for him did increase during his five-year imprisonment spread across fortresses in Toulon, Pau, and Amboise. A long procession of French and

[50] This is with the one exception of *Abd-el-Kader au Chateau d'Amboise* ("'Abd al-Qādir at Amboise Castle," 1849) by Antoine-Adolphe Dupuch, the first Bishop of Algiers.

[51] Boidin 2012; De LaCroix 1848, 92; Eden 1879, 330-1; Emerit 2018; Maidstone 1851, 207-8; Thackeray 1869, 19.

English notables visited ‘Abd al-Qādir during his captivity, and many of them lobbied for the Amir’s release. Among the most prominent advocates were Lord Londonderry (d. 1854), a veteran of the Peninsular War and a personal friend of Napoleon Bonaparte (Spectator 1852); Captain Laurent-Estève Boissonnet (1811-1901), former Directeur des affaires arabes of Constantine and the Amir’s interpreter (Levallois 2008); George James Finch-Hatton (1815-87), poet and Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham;[52] Charles Poncy (1821-91), poet (Poncy 1850); Charles Eynard (1810–76), Genevan biographer and historian (Belaskri 2017); and Antoine-Adolphe Dupuch, the first Bishop of Algiers (1800-56) (Kiser 2013, 258). The French general Eugène Daumas (1803-71) also became friends with the Amir when he was assigned the duty of guarding him at Toulon and Pau (Messaoudi 2008, 258). Although Daumas already knew ‘Abd al-Qādir from his diplomatic visits to the Amir’s emirate, Londonderry, Eynard, Finch-Hatton, and Poncy had neither been to Algeria nor showed any particular interest in the Maghrib prior to meeting ‘Abd al-Qādir. Thus, although this period of captivity is usually written about in terms of how Europe influenced the Amir, it is also the period in which ‘Abd al-Qādir became a general European cause.

Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir’s contact with French literati then led to his intervention in academic Orientalism. Both the book history and the actual content of *Dhikrá al-ʻāqil wa-tanbīh al-ghāfil* (“Reminding the Intelligent, Warning the Heedless”) demonstrate the Amir’s influence in this realm. Although ‘Abd al-Qādir wrote his treatise in Arabic, he made no recorded efforts to publish or distribute it in its original language. Instead, he joined the Société Asiatique shortly before his departure from France and sent the society president Joseph-Toussaint Reinaud (1795-1867) the manuscript for his born-translated book (Sharshār 2014, 131-2). *Dhikrá al-ʻāqil* sparked the interest of Gustave Dugat (1824-94), who sought

[52] Finch-Hatton also wrote a book-length poem about al-Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir which he signed as “Viscount Maidstone” (1851).

Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir’s permission to translate the text (Messaoudi 2011, 273). ‘Abd al-Qādir’s book was eventually published in 1858 under the title *Le livre d'Abd-el-Kader intitulé: Rappel à l'intelligent, avis à l'indifférent* (Abd-el-Kader and Dugat). The fact that a copy of ‘Abd al-Qādir’s note was included in Dugat’s translation shows how the Amir’s approval was valued in this sphere – in fact, a similar note of authentication was included in British diplomat Charles Henry Churchill’s (1807-69) biography of ‘Abd al-Qādir (Abd-el-Kader and Dugat 1858, v; Churchill 1867, ii).

To be clear, Dugat was far from innocent of the imperial enterprise. For example, he collaborated with Lebanese intellectual Ahmad Fāris Shidyāq (1804-87) on an Arabic-medium textbook for teaching French in colonial schools (Ibid., 271). However, this demonstrates that the existence of colonial domination along with its attendant distortions did not wipe out all traces of the colonised’s thought and speech, nor render Orientalists immune to being influenced by those they otherised. This is also apparent from the example of Hamdan Khodja’s (1773–1842) treatise *Le Miroir*, which was published in Paris in 1833 despite the Algerian author’s sharp cricitism of French colonisation and urgent entreaty for France to withdraw completely from the regency of Algiers (Agerup 2020; Bennison 1998, 107-8; Christelow 2012, 45-6; Pitts 2009, 294-7). In the case of ‘Abd al-Qādir and Dugat’s collaboration, it was the Amir who created the text and who decided that it should reach a French audience.

In addition to his agency in the translation of *Le livre d'Abd-el-Kader*, ‘Abd al-Qādir was able to carve out an unprecedented role within an Orientalist association. The Société Asiatique was founded in 1822 by the aforementioned Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1757-1838). Sacy was an established linguist by the time Algiers fell, and even translated the colonial administration’s 1830 proclamation into Arabic (Hannoum 2004, 76). As such, he straddled the period of classical Orientalism and the rise of ethnographic Orientalism that

started in earnest with the Arab Bureau in Algiers (Burke 2014, 52-65; Duprat 2018; Trumbull 2009, 11-24). However, Sacy's own work was concerned namely with compiling, translating, and presenting classical Arabic and Islamic texts (Said 1991, 124-6). The first editions of the *Journal Asiatique* continued Sacy's emphasis on the arcane, and were devoid of any study of the contemporary "monde asiatique" (Fenet, Filliozat and Gran-Aymerich 2007). In 1854, the year ʻAbd al-Qādir sent his manuscript to Reinaud, the *Journal Asiatique* published studies of an eleventh-century Indian epic, a thirteenth-century medical encyclopaedia, an index of literature from ninth-century Khorasan, and a catalogue of manuscripts in Persian and Arabic (Société asiatique 1854, 563-4). There was only one article about the contemporary period: a study of the municipal system of China (Ibid., 563). This focus on mediaeval works reflected the expertise of the Reinaud, who studied under Sacy and served as president of the Société Asiatique from 1847-67 (Valensi 2008, 810). Thus, the Amir's first intervention was to insert himself into the classical Orientalist field as a living "savant Asiatique", thereby challenging the assumption that contemporary Arabs had no literary or intellectual contributions worthy of study.

Of course the mere existence of a French publication attributed to Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir does not necessarily mean he defied Orientalist representations of Arabs or North Africans. In fact, many translated Maghribi works from both the colonial and postcolonial periods attest to the dynamics of mistranslation and self-Orientalising (Hannoum 2003, 63-5; El Maghnougi 2014, 150-53; Salhi 2019, 4-6; El Younssi 2014, 226-30). However, keeping in mind the observation that no hegemony can be so complete as to eliminate the possibility of contestation (1988, 191), *Le livre d'Abd-el-Kader* should be read with an openness to the possibility of resistance. As such, I use the final section of this chapter to argue that *Le livre d'Abd-el-Kader* was an early example of Occidentalism which challenged colonial representations. I also show that, contrary to prior analyses, this book critiques European

thought and centers the literary and civilisational accomplishments of African and Asian peoples.

5.1.1 *Witnessing Resistance: 'Abd al-Qādir and a New Orientalist Image*

As outlined in this chapter's introduction, the most influential French and English descriptions of 'Abd al-Qādir were written between 1830 and 1848 by Orientalists who spent extended time in his presence. The portrait they created, which was consistent across English and French sources, then appeared in later poetry and fiction.[53] This section will analyse descriptions by French diplomat Léon Roches (1809- 1901), English traveller Colonel Scott (dates unknown), and former prisoner-of-war François Antoine Alby (1809-68) alongside the later portrayals which echo their themes. Although these three were the most influential authors in the development of the Amir's literary portrait, it should be noted that they were not his first European consorts. By the time Roches joined 'Abd al-Qādir's emirate in November 1837, there were around 400 Europeans who had defected to the Amir's side (Danziger 1977, 121). In addition to the direct contact Amir 'Abd al-Qādir had with European prisoners and collaborators, he followed French political developments closely by asking his consorts to translate newspapers and military correspondence for him (Bouyerdene 2012, 48; Danziger 1977, 121, 158; Martin 1976, 58).

François Antoine Alby, the author who started the eyewitness trend, had no particular qualifications other than his direct experience as 'Abd al-Qādir's prisoner of war. Alby first published *Les prisonniers d'Abd-el-Kader, ou cinq mois de captivité chez les Arabes* ("The Prisoners of Abd-el-Kader or Five Months' Captivity Among the Arabs") under the name 'A. DeFrance' in 1837.[54] Alby was born in Marseilles and, while little else is known about his life, he apparently had a successful writing career. One biographical dictionary praises Alby

[53] Boidin 2012; De LaCroix 1848, 92; Eden 1879, 330-1; Emerit 2018; Maidstone 1851, 207-8; Thackeray 1869, 19

[54] Although he started his career using the name 'DeFrance', he went on to use 'Alby' more consistently.

as the inventor of the much-imitated serialised historical novel (d' Heylli 1977, 479). As Alby's first 'novel' was titled *Captivité du trompette Escoffier et ses camrades chez Abd-el-Kader* ("The Captivity of the Trumpeter Escoffier and His Comrades by Abd-el-Kader", 1847) and was based on another POW's experience, it appears that the veneer of fictionalisation allowed him to continue to capitalise on his captivity narrative's initial success (E. Alby 1847). He then continued this theme with the publication of *Les vêpres marocaines: ou, Les dernier prisonniers d'Abd-el-Kader* ("The Moroccan Vespers or the Last Prisoners of Abd-el-Kader", 1853) (F. Alby).

The book history of *Les prisonniers d'Abd-el-Kader* contradicts assumptions that positive portrayals of Amir 'Abd al-Qādir were only published when politically expedient: i.e. when France was contracting peace with the Amir or when England wanted to criticise their colonial competitior. Although the first editions of Alby's eyewitness account came out during a truce (1837-8), up until 1848 the Amir had not yet surrendered and was still militarily active (Woerner-Powell 2017, 43). *Les prisonniers d'Abd-el-Kader* was repeatedly reprinted and repackaged, and only the final edition came out after the titular hero's surrender. At least two French editions were published within its first year, with the first English-language version following quickly – thus showing that these works were recycled between the two languages (M. A. De France 1837). There was another English printing in 1842 (Cambridge n.d.). and the American edition contained Alby's account alongside Clemens Lamping's *Crusades in Africa* (Gordon 1848). Lady Lucie Duff-Gordon, the American edition's translator, later included "Five Months' Captivity Among the Arabs" in a volume titled *Cruisings and Adventures in Italy and Africa* (Duff-Gordon, et al. New York, 1869). With this background in mind, I will now explore this book's images and tropes of the Maghribi resistance leader.

The Orientalist eyewitness texts start by establishing proximity to the Amir, and implying that this gives the author authority and accuracy lacking in other portrayals. Alby, for example, claims that he needs to correct the public image of ʻAbd al-Qādir in France:

> I must describe the life, the character, the manner, the habits of this man, so badly known even to this day. After all I had heard said of him, I expected to see a barbarian, always ready to cut off heads--a tiger, thirsty for blood : my expectation was much deceived (M. A. De France 1838, 28).

Alby returns to his reliability and authority as an eyewitness when he dismisses older portraits of ʻAbd al-Qādir which give him "the face of Blue Beard [with] pistols and poignards in his belt. Abd-el-Kader in his camp never wears arms" (M. A. De France 1838, 29). This subtle call to imagine ʻAbd al-Qādir without arms allows the reader see him as more than a fearsome enemy, which he was for a brief period after the Treaty of Tafna. The eyewitness corpus does not describe the Amir's appearance in such a way as to assimilate him into a representation of fanaticism or even to make him appear warlike. Rather, he is presented as gentle and noble while still commanding respect. Alby fawns over the Amir in a detailed passage:

> Abd-el-Kader is 28 years of age. He is little, being not more than five feet high ; his face long, and of excessive paleness ; his large black eyes are mild and caressing ; his mouth small and graceful ; his nose aquiline. His beard is thin, but very black. He wears a small moustache, which gives his features, naturally fine and benevolent, a martial air, which becomes him exceedingly. The *ensemble* of his physiognomy is sweet and agreeable (1838, 28).

Here the diminutive stature and graceful features of the Amir are combined with his moustache to produce the most 'sweet' and 'agreeable' aesthetic while still maintaining his martial air. This queer effect of both feminine beauty and masculine militarism reflects Alby's conflicted sense of fear and attraction towards his captor, which are then mixed with an overall admiration of his character and appearance. Nineteenth-century physiognomic texts associated the aquiline nose with intelligence and nobility, with one popular pocket guide even claiming that it "denotes a dignified mind, capable of magnificent conceptions" (Lavater and della Porta 1817, 110). Whereas fleshy lips would have indicated indolence and

sensuality, the lipless mouth was a sign of coldness and industry. The Amir's small and graceful mouth is closest to the "Calm lips, well closed, without constraint, and well delineated", which "betoken consideration, discretion, and firmness" (Ibid., 74).

The English Colonel Scott, another eyewitness Orientalist, was an eccentric on the fringes of the colonial project. Like Alby, he did not have academic credentials or a literary background. He served in the eigtheenth regiment of the Spanish Army before quitting and leaving for Gibraltar. From Gibraltar he journeyed to Tétouan, and from northern Morocco he then travelled to the Amir's new capital of Tagdempt (Scott 1842, vi). Scott's identity and national loyalty were sources of ongoing confusion among the consulates,[55] and one journalist aptly described Scott as "the vagabond colonel" (DeMars 1842, 1004). The British Consul-General once had Scott arrested, fuming that he was a madman whose citizenship should be revoked (Gallois 2013, 69). Despite Scott's shaky standing with European officials ʻAbd al-Qādir employed him in a representative capacity, and he soon became a most undiplomatic diplomat. He alienated his European counterparts, and his official visit to the Moroccan sultan devolved into veiled threats (Woerner-Powell 2017, 53-4). Although Scott makes a few appearances in consular correspondence, his book *A Journal of a Residence in The Esmailla of Abd-el-Kader* (1842) remains one of the only sources of information on his life.[56] Like Alby, Scott also names his book's raison d'être as redeeming the Amir's character:

> My sole object in laying this Journal before the public, is to vindicate the character of His Royal Highness the Emir, and clear it from the aspersions thrown on it by the French papers ; and that he may be viewed in his real and true character,-- that of a youthful hero, possessing

[55] The British National Archives at Kew: Foreign Office 99/6- the Consul in Algiers tries to identify Scott; Foreign Office 112/6- London tries to identify Scott.

[56] There does not appear to be a biography of Scott himself, and he is not mentioned in most biographies of ʻAbd al-Qādir (Bouyerdene 2012; Churchill 1867; Danziger 1977; Kiser 2013; al-Jazāʾirī 1903). He is not mentioned in ʻAbd al-Qādir's correspondence either (H. Abdelkader 2004). However, in addition to the documents at Kew (see above), Tom Woerner-Powell found references to Scott at Centre des Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères at la Courneuve in Paris under Correspondance Politique/Maroc/6 (Microfilm P11693); Maroc/8 (Microfilm P11098); Maroc/9 (Microfilm P11099); and Angleterre/659 (Microfilm P00659).

> a noble and generous mind: one who is incapable of treachery, and whose liberal policy and government, were he only on the throne of Algiers, would render that country, in a short time, the most enlightened under the Moslem sway (Scott 1842, x).

These initial portrayals show that writings on Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir did not serve the sole purpose of justifying colonisation. Scott not only paints the Amir as noble, intelligent, and trustworthy, but heartily endorses the legitimacy of ‘Abd al-Qādir’s rule. He states that it would render Algeria ‘enlightened’, and that his policy and government are liberal. On the whole, the Francophone texts just as frequently legitimise rather than demonise the Amir, as will become apparent in reading Roches’ memoir. The comparison between English and French portrayals of ‘Abd al-Qādir shows that they overwhelmingly mirror each other and rarely contradict each other. Thus, Léon Roches’ account also includes a detailed physical description of Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir which remarks on the aquiline nose, the pallor, the small mouth, the black beard:

> Son teint blanc a une pâleur mate: son front est large et élevé. Des sourcils noirs, fins et bien arqués surmontent les grands yeux bleus qui m’ont fasciné. Son nez est fin et légèrement aquilin, ses lèvres minces sans être pincées; sa barbe noire et soyeuse encadre légèrement l’ovale de sa figure expressive. Un petit *ouchem* (1) entre les deux sourcils fait resortir la pureté de son front (1884, 154).

While Roches continues much of the original eyewitness description, he injects a strange imagining in which ‘Abd al-Qādir has large blue eyes. This attempt to Occidentalise the Amir vis-à-vis his appearance mirrors Scott’s summary of ‘Abd al-Qādir’s character in which he is ‘enlightened’ and ‘liberal’ and, although neither of these terms would have meant anything to the Amir himself, these translations legitimised him to European readers. Although Roches published his memoir later than Alby and Scott’s eyewitness texts, he similarly occupied an ambivalent position vis-à-vis the colonial administration.

Roches was described as an unconventional and flamboyant personality and, while he had the class background necessary for a career in Orientalist scholarship, he claimed to have learned Arabic out of love for an Algerian woman (Roches 1884, 15-30). While Roches was

a skilled linguist, he was hardly a model of classical erudition. He joined his father in Algeria in 1832 after impulsively quitting his legal studies, and it is unclear if he worked at all before his language skills attracted the attention of the colonial administration (Irwin 2008, 26). If Roches ever wavered in his commitment to *la mission civilisatrice* he did not express it, and his time as ‘Abd al-Qādir’s envoy should not be taken as evidence of an anti-colonial stance. According to Roches’ memoir *Trente-deux ans à travers l’Islam* (“Thirty-two Years Across Islam”, 1884), he saw ‘Abd al-Qādir as a civiliser whom he could aid in advancing the level of Algerian society (Lehmann 1980, 276). After translating for the French military, including during battles against the Amir, Roches joined ‘Abd al-Qādir during the post-Tafna peace. He left soon after the Amir resumed hostilities with France and only spent two years advising ‘Abd al-Qādir in total (Lehmann 1980, 276). Yet, despite its brevity, his time in the emirate must have loomed large given that Roches’ memoir mentions Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir over 100 times (Roches 1884).

When Roches recounts his time as an aide to Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir, with whom he was able to establish a rapport by feigning conversion to Islam, he starts with an even more detailed description of his proximity to the Amir. Like Scott and Alby, he includes the urgent sense that he must provide new information about ‘Abd al-Qādir’s private life:

> Deux mois s’étaient écoulés depuis que je vivais dans l’intimité d’Abd-el-Kader. J’avais été très souvent admis à partager ses repas ; j’avais même eu l’honneur de coucher sous sa tente avec deux de ses serviteurs qui ne l’avaient jamais quitté pendant la paix ou pendant la guerre et étaient avec lui sur un pied de familiarité, mêlée de respect, qui offrait un spectacle touchant. Il voulait que je fisse mes prières à ses côtés et cherchait, hélas!...le moment est donc venu de donner de nouveaux renseignements sur Abd-el-Kader et sa vie privée (Roches 1884, 280).

The pull of ‘Abd al-Qādir and the fascination with his private life is an embodiment of the desire to *see* as the most authoritative way to *know*, as previously linked to the widespread popularity of phrenology and physiognomy in nineteenth-century England and France. This emphasis on visual authority is also linked to the popularisation of scientific observance, a

method often tied to colonial authority (Prasad 2009, 30). Both Scott and Roches leverage their proximity to the Amir in order to claim the authority to describe and understand him. Clearly the Amir was able to leverage this proximity as well because, even as their gaze lingers on him, seeking to assimilate him into racialised readings of physiognomy, Scott and Roches are unable to see him as anything other than a noble and well-built warrior sparkling with charm and intelligence. Despite the fact that he was embedded in the colonial enterprise, Roches' depictions of 'Abd al-Qādir still fell outside the previous Orientalist mould, again demonstrating that the reality of colonial hegemony did not mean that resistance left no impact at all.

While the European eyewitness texts circulate the same written portrait of the Amir, it is notable that said portrait does not resemble previous depictions of Arab or Moorish physiognomy. An 1807 essay making the case for the factual nature of physiognomy uses the 'swarthy' Othello from the Merchant of Venice as an exemplar of Arabness, whereas eyewitness depictions of 'Abd al-Qādir focus consistently on his pallor (Brown 1807, 35). Whereas other Arabs classed as nomadic or desert dwelling were said to have "a wilder physiognomy", the Amir is painted as refined and civilised (Malte-Brun 1823, 107). When Italian author Fillippo Pananti (1766-1837) describes the Moors in his 1818 report on Algiers, he remarks that "there is something harsh and ominous in their physiognomy, extremely repulsive to a European...their countenance is never enlivened by a noble thought, or a generous sentiment", thus repeating established racist stereotypes (1818, 196). Another travelogue remarks that "the great mass of [Arabs] have nothing of the pleasing picturesque in their appearance" (Campbell 1836, 98). As the accounts below will show, the Orientalists who wrote about Amir 'Abd al-Qādir not only gave him a pleasing and noble image, but this image was associated with humanising him as more than a war enemy.

In Marjorie Garber's exploration of cultural drag and crossdressing, she remarks that Orientalist images often conflated the Oriental with the effeminate. This feminising gaze appears in the European eyewitness texts, but the possibility that it is meant derogatorily is eclipsed by affirmations of 'Abd al-Qādir's physical agility and strength. Here feminisation is rather a continuation of the thread which seeks to humanise him and show him as more than a military threat. Roches' text, for example, quickly follows an admission of the Amir's short height with a description of his athletic build: "Sa taille n'excède pas cinq pieds et quelques lignes, mais son système musculaire indique une grande vigueur. . .Un mélange d'énergie guerrière et d'ascétisme répand sur sa physionomie un charme indéfinissable" (Roches 1884, 155). Roches also draws a clear line between 'Abd al-Qādir's charming physiognomy and the Amir's dual status as a warrior and an aesthete, showing that descriptions of physical beauty also stood in for endorsements of character. Both Roches and Alby take care to record their subject's beautiful and well-kept hands as stand-ins for refinement and sophistication (Roches 1884, 154). Alby describes:

> Abd-el-Kader has beautiful small hands and feet, and displays some coquetry in keeping them in order. He is always washing them. While conversing, squatted upon his cushions, he holds his toes in his fingers, or, if this posture fatigues him, he begins to pare, to clear the bottom of the nails with a knife and scissors, of which the mother-of-pearl handle is delicately worked, and which he has constantly in his hands (1838, 29).

This image of the Amir as physically appealing and as more refined and tranquil than warlike was not only found in the eyewitness literature, but was repeated in nineteenth-century novels, poetry, and even biographies.[57] For example, the biography *Histoire privée et politique d'Abd-el-Kader* ("The Private and Political History of Abd-el-Kader") by Auguste de LaCroix (1805-1891) compares 'Abd al-Qādir to a warrior monk of the Middle Ages before emphasising his beauty: "Sa figure a quelque chose d'ascétique qui rappelle les têtes

[57] De LaCroix 1848, 67, 83-5; Eden 1879, 329-30; Plée 1829, 13; Maidstone 1851, 206; Scott 108-9; Raban 1848, 15, 18; Whyte Melville, 116

des moines du moyen âge, de ces moines guerriers, plus amis du tumulte des camps que de la tranquillité du cloître...Abd-el-Kader a le front large, la figure ovale, petite et fort pâle; ses yeux noirs sont doux et fort beaux" (1848, 92).

Perhaps the pinnacle of this loving gaze is the portrait painted by the 1879 English romance novel *The White Lily of the Sahara* by Charles H. Eden (1839- 1900) wherein two English shipwreck survivors assimilate into an Algerian tribe and, in one sequence, witness 'Abd al-Qādir's visit to their encampment:

> While the attendants were handing round coffee and sweetmeats, Granville had time to observe more closely the extraordinary man with whom fate had brought him in contact. Though he had heard from Zara of the many exploits performed by the Arab ruler, he had never made any inquiry regarding his personal appearance, mentally picturing to himself a tall stalwart warrior, probably bearded to the eyes, and with a stern, perhaps forbidding countenance. He could therefore hardly credit the evidence of his own senses, when he saw seated on the divan a young man of some thirty-five years, scarcely above the middle height, with a symmetrical, though muscular figure, beautifully formed hands and feet, long oval face, with lustrous dark eyes, and an expression of mildness that would have been almost effeminate, but for the black moustache that shaded the upper lip, and the beard that concealed the classic beauty of the chin. It was a face that women might easily be pardoned for loving, so winning and pleasing was its expression even in repose; and when the mobile lips opened, showing the rows of white and even teeth, and the low flute-like voice issued from between them in a flow of uninterrupted melody, but few of either sex could resist the wondrous fascination exercised over all around him by the Arab Sultan (329-30).

Here again the oval face, dark eyes, small stature, beautiful hands and feet form an aesthetically pleasing effect. Eden makes the queer attraction even more explicit by admitting that not only would women be forgiven for loving the Amir, but that men too would find 'the Arab Sultan' fascinating and irresistible – a far cry from Pananti's description of a 'repulsive' Moorish physiognomy. Given the assumed physiognomic connection between appearance and character, this unprecedented image of an Arab ruler allowed European readers to think of 'Abd al-Qādir as more than an enemy or a "wild Arab." As with other passages focusing on 'Abd al-Qādir's attractiveness, Eden is quick to qualify that the Amir's graceful appearance coexists with his martial valour:

> But, calm and gentle as he was in private life, when duty called him to the performance of his sacred office of marabout, or to sweep down upon the red-legged Roumis at the head of his desert horsemen, then Abd-el-Kader was a changed being. The slight, delicate hands, that seemed unequal to lift the snake of his hookah to his lips, would wield the flashing scimitar from dawn until dusk, with a resistless skill that the Franks knew too well; the eyes that now appeared so soft and languishing, would burn beneath that marble brow like coals of living fire; the lithe and supple frame, now relaxed in the abandon of rest and security, would assume the rigidity of iron, and the strongest warrior of the Sahara would succumb beneath the fatigue that his sovereign could undergo without a bead moistening his brow (330-1).

The Amir's pleasing appearance had meaning embedded beyond the surface: for readers attuned to physiognomy, it was the outer manifestation of his values of justice and courage. As will be examined shortly, this combination of beauty and marital skill, this portrait of a gentleman as capable of charming his guests as he is of leading fierce battles, often culminated in legitimation of ʻAbd al-Qādir's fight.

It is worth mentioning that the image of ʻAbd al-Qādir created by the eyewitness Orientalists has endured to the present day. The description below was pulled from the Encyclopaedia Britannica website in 2019, but could easily be mistaken for a passage by Roches or Alby:

> His physical handsomeness and the qualities of his mind had made Abdelkader popular even before his military exploits. Of medium height, lithe and elegant, with regular features and a black beard, his demeanour was exceptionally refined, and his life-style simple (Emerit 2018).

The eyewitness Orientalists encountered Maghribi resistance directly, and seeing and describing Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir influenced how they portrayed him. Their descriptions of his appearance and character did not repeat previous Orientalist descriptions mindlessly, but rather contributed to a humanising and softening of a figure known for his fierce resistance. This initial portrait is important not only because it shows the influence of Maghribi resistance on English and French literature, but also because it endured in later representations of ʻAbd al-Qādir, even up to the present day.

Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's colonial image represents an interesting contrast to that of Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir's. In texts published during his lifetime, the shakih remained hidden and

unknowable to European readers. While the Amir's face is described over and over in great detail, the shaikh's face is never revealed and the colonial experts tend to focus on his 'magic' or 'sorcery' instead of anything concrete. Yet, even in this case, Mā' al-'Aynayn was not a blank page onto which the colonial corpus pasted Orientalist clichés. The shaikh never kept European consorts or prisoners, and he never attempted to communicate with what he saw as Christendom. As such, the shaikh's own lack of engagement shaped his image. While there is no eyewitness corpus on Mā' al-'Aynayn, there is one description of the shaikh's physiognomy from his lifetime, and it reflects his disinterest in showing himself.

The explorer Camille Douls wrote of his encounter with Mā' al-'Aynayn for the adventure periodical *Tour du monde*. Douls' article "Cinq mois chez les Maures Nomades du Sahara Occidental" ("Five Months Among the Nomadic Moors of the Western Sahara", 1888) relates how Douls invented a Muslim identity and crossed the Sahara with a desert tribe. Once Douls' hosts start to doubt the sincerity of his faith, they decide that there is only one man who can truly adjudicate this matter: Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn. Douls narrates their meeting:

> Assis sur un beau tapis marocain, entouré de tous ses tolbas, Mel-Ayain avait la posture d'un poussah indien. La face voilée et la tête surmontée d'un turban invraisemblable comme dimension; enfoui sous les plis d'un haïk couleur bleu-azur, on n'apercevait de sa massive personne que ses deux yeux brillants et les mains qu'il reposait sur ses genoux (203).

Thus, although his eyes shine with intelligence, the physiognomy of the shaikh is ultimately a mystery. The eyewitness saw him in only the most vague and blurry terms, because that is how he presented himself. While French military experts and geographers, usually one and the same, inevitably mention Mā' al-'Aynayn as a feature of the regions of Southern Morocco, Rio de Oro, or La Mauritanie, he is never afforded a physical sketch and is rarely given a biography. These military texts do not create a lasting image that seeps into popular literature, although some newspapers mention Mā' al-'Aynayn in passing as "le sorcier bleu" (Auge 1913, 236; Busschère 1908; René-Leclerc 1909, 218). Mā' al-'Aynayn is only

mentioned as the principal enemy of the French colonial project in the Sahara and, unlike portrayals of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jazā’irī, he does not allow the proximity which would lead to him being described as gallant, noble, or just. His considerable scholarly production is also left unacknowledged until well into the twentieth century (Du Puigaudeau 1971). Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s delayed literary stardom then culminated with Nobel prize winner J.M.G Le Clézio’s 1990 novel *Désert*, wherein the migration of Mā’ al-‘Aynayn from Smāra to Tiznit in his final years runs as a parallel story to a Moroccan teenager’s migration to Marseille (Le Clézio 1980).

The most involved and detailed account of Smāra in French, however, is undoubtedly Michel Vieuchange’s posthumously published travel diary *Chez les dissidents du Sud Marocain et du Rio de Oro*, translated into English as *Smara, the Forbidden City: Being the Journal of Michel Vieuchange While Traveling Among the Independent Tribes of South Morocco and Rio de Oro*. The paratext, written by Vieuchange’s brother Jean, is vague about why it was Smāra in particular that became the young French explorer’s obsession. However, one can deduce that it was a combination of the fact that the city was in a part of the Sahara run by dissident tribes and completely outside of European control (despite it being in the Spanish zone), as well as the idea that no European had previously been there.[58] The idea of being the first is made explicit when Vieuchange evokes René-Auguste Caillié (1799-1838), the first European to return from Timbuktu alive. When he arrives at Smāra, Vieuchange muses “I thought of Caillié, in lively Timbuktu : mine was a dead city. The exhilaration which he must have felt!” During his return, he even describes a dream sequence in which he meets Caillié in a imagined land which seems to be a mélange of European stereotypes of

[58] There was, of course, Colonel Mouret’s sacking of Smara in 1913, but perhaps Vieuchange was focused on Europeans who made it to Smara after colonisation.

Africa (Vieuchange and Vieuchange 1987, 256-7). Vieuchange also buried a flask with a note claiming that he and his brother discovered Smāra in 1930 (Ibid., 212).

Within the text of Vieuchange's diary, which he originally intended to use as notes for his first novel, there are two Smāras at play. There is Smāra the concept, which Vieuchange describes as if a means of redemption, as what is giving his life purpose, and as the force which will eventually transform him. He states that "Once we have made Smāra, our youth will be completed. I feel it. We shall enter on another period" (Ibid., 149). He also peppers his diary entries with thoughts such as:

> For it is you who must be reached : the place which, once trodden, will give to our steps a lasting worth. You alone, because we write our names in your earth, can give weight and final shape to the effort, bringing it out of the formless to the formed, acceptable to us all.. .only one name which epitomizes them all, sufficient unto itself, made for ears and the mouths of men : Smara (Ibid., 72).

And:

> I thought of how good Smara will be, how it will repay us for everything if we are ultimately successful ; how it will give significance to our lives, to our gestures ; of how I am going to keep myself at it until I succeed (Ibid., 134).

Smāra the physical location is introduced into the narrative only near the end, when his party finally reaches Mā' al-'Aynayn's abandoned city. Vieuchange is only permitted to spend a total of three hours with the object of his desire, so he busies himself with measuring and describing the city as he sketches a rough plan of it. His tone towards Smāra changes, becomes grounded rather than transcendental, as he describes ". . .I saw its six bays, of which five were still standing, the two doors, the mihrab (pulpit), whose lighter facings were crumbling, and before it the hanging chin, which had lost its lustre of lamps" (Ibid, 210).

During his ill-fated return to Marrakech, Vieuchange seems to enter a third stage in his romance with the city wherein he synthesises the elements of Smāra as a physical place and Smāra as a symbol of something greater. He focuses now on the significance of the

settlement to its founder and to those who first saw it. His words praise the city and memorialise Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn:

> Truly, you are the work of man, of Ma el Aïnin at the zenith of his power.
>
> As if he had intended to astound the wandering tribes by something miraculous, he established you on a pedestal facing the setting sun, believing that thereby he could give them some idea of his grandeur ; himself alone among the stones, strong between the solid masonry of the walls of his kasbahs, his subjects everywhere around under the cover of their tents.
>
> He gave a mosque to those men who wandered in the Sahara, until that day having prayed only in the wind of morning and evening, making their prostrations as their route permitted, on rocks or sand.
>
> And these men, never having seen a town, must have looked on in amazement as the walls and kasbahs and cupolas raised themselves up (Ibid., 215).

Vieuchange then continues addressing the city as "you," although he now seems to conflate Smāra and Mā' al-'Aynayn as if they are one and the same, either ascribing sentient actions and perceptions to the city or taking Mā' al-'Aynayn to be embodied in the city:

> You, you had seen Marrakech and its buildings, and, withdrawn into your desert, you would have your walls and your mosque in the likeness of those of the north. In the heart of your deserts you raised them, lived there, drew there the unceasing migrations of your Moors, that they might frequent your dwelling-place, pray in the ten bays of your mosque, move to and fro in the narrow streets (Ibid., 216).

Thus, the authority of the eyewitness lived on into the twentieth century through Vieuchange's account. Vieuchange claims to possess Smāra through his visit, despite its brevity. He writes as though he has become the authority, the discoverer, the uncoverer of the city. Yet, he is also so completely consumed by Mā' al-'Aynayn's creation that it engulfs his life and eventually leads to his death.

Although the eyewitness authors used their proximity and access to transmit portraits of Amir 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn (or Smāra) which were distinct from previous Orientalist depictions, they also inherited and repeated two common mistranslations of anticolonial resistance. The next section will examine how, despite their engagement with established tropes, the eyewitness Orientalists often still legitimised Maghribi resistance.

5.1.2 *Fanatics or Freedom Fighters: Clichés and Legitimation in Orientalist Texts*

Textual portraits of Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn and Amir 'Abd al-Qādir led, in many cases, to the legitimation of their resistance movements. In order to understand how remarkable this is, it is important to first see the extent to which this corpus reproduced clichés about fanaticism and sorcery. Even while perpetuating these themes, many of the colonial texts end up validating anticolonial resistance, particularly in the case of Amir 'Abd al-Qādir. This complicates the very concept of fanaticism itself, and calls into question the degree to which French colonial uses of *le fanatisme* connotate revolutionary zeal moreso than irrational extremism. While it may seem that French and English authors were disinclined to sympathise with populations fighting colonisation, they often appeared in awe of Maghribi resistance. A push-and-pull dynamic developed between the Orientalist images English and French authors inherited and their direct knowledge of the Amir or the Shaikh. This led them to first reference wider themes of fanaticism or superstition, then depict 'Abd al-Qādir or Mā' al-'Aynayn positively, then pull back and imply that these resistance leaders were just the exception.

The Orientalist idea of Muslim fanaticism predates the nineteenth century, even showing up in European writings from the Middle Ages (Kalmar 2012, 125). Fanaticism could be used to paint colonised populations' resistance to domination as irrational (E. Burke 2014, 26; Kalmar 2013, 120; Said 1991, xxii). Fanaticism was also transcolonial in nature: Spanish Orientalist depictions of Morocco drew heavily on the fanaticism trope both during and after the 1860 Spanish occupation of Tétouan (Hopkins 2017, 143-4, 148; Martin-Márquez 2004, 227; Romero Salvadó 2009). British colonial rhetoric painted both rebellious populations in their own colonies and Arabs in French North Africa with the brush of fanaticism (Benchérif 1997, 79; Lennon 2008, 237; Toscano 2010, 41-2). At the height of the Kabyle myth, meaning the idea that the Amazigh population was less Muslim and somehow

closer to Europeans, colonial literature also argued that Amazighen were less fanatical than the Arabs (Lorcin 2005, 34-5). Jewish Algerians, however, were also depicted as fanatical and superstitious in nineteenth-century French literature, despite later attempts to offer North African Jewish populations full French citizenship (Kalman 2017, 46-9; Samuels 2016, 77-8; Schreier 2006, 103-4). English and French texts from the early colonial period often explained indigineous resistance in terms of the 'fanaticism' of the population (Asseraf 2019, 82; E. Burke 2014, 107, 182-3; Dzanic 2015, 210. 213).

However, the concept of fanaticism could also contain awe for the perceived zeal and virility of colonised populations, along with respect for their resistance to domination (Toscano 2010, 37-8). Some French sources explain that the fanaticism of North African populations prevents them from seeing the superiority of French culture, and thus the need for French rule (Cady 1848; Ministère de la guerre 1850, 63). While such depictions are tinged with the assumption of irrationality, they are also an acknowledgement of the strength and pride of the colonised. When Algerians attempted to migrate out of French-controlled territory en masse in the early twentieth century, this was also portrayed as evidence of their fanaticism or *devotion* to living free from foreign rule (C.-R. Ageron 1967, 1065). When *La Presse* laments that the Moorish notables' "fanatisme les empêchent toujours de faire la moindre des concessions, c'est seulement à la vole de la force qu'il pourront ceder," there is an undertone of respect for a worthy enemy, one who is not easily cowed or frightened by the prospect of being outgunned (E.G. 1838, 2).

To return to the first text analysed in this chapter, *The Prisoners of Abd-el-Kader* deploys the explanation that any Algerian opposition to French rule was due to the essential Arab trait of fanaticism. Alby also narrates Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's rise to power in western Algeria in a manner that simultaneously praises the Amir's intelligence and courage and implies that fanaticism was already a feature of his people:

> The taking of Algiers occurred. As soon as we had concluded a peace with the Arabs, Abd-el-Kader laboured to excite the tribes, to nourish and envenom their resentments, to exalt their religious fanaticism, and, above all, to become their chief. The intelligence, the activity, the bravery, the address, the craft of the young maraboot soon distinguished him among the tribes. The Arabs recognised the superiority that natural advantages assured him over them ; they became accustomed by degrees to consider him their chief : to-day he is their sultan (M. A. De France 1838, 30-1).

Here ʻAbd al-Qādir is not only brave and intelligent, he also possesses the ability to stoke the passions of a people ready for resistance. Although their revolutionary spirit is framed in terms of resentment and fanaticism, it is clear that such a disposition makes the Algerians both loyal to a just leader and, by extension, unable to accept unjust foreign rule. Colonel Scott's analysis of France's military challenges in North Africa also relies on the idea of fanaticism, which he uses to paint Algerians as more fiercely devoted to their independence than European peoples. Scott remarks:

> Napoleon's campaigns in Russia, and those of the French army in Spain, ought to serve that nation as a warning of what fate awaits their armies in a country where the population is entirely against them; in the former countries they had only to contend against the feelings of national independence, here they have, moreover, to contend against a religious fanaticism, which none can form an idea of except those, who have witnessed it (Scott 1842, 103).

Here Algerians are held up as remarkably protective of their country and devoted to its independence. Their "fanaticism" is understood to be more potent than European feelings of nattionalism. Furthermore, Scott acknowledges France's position as an occupying force and even casts doubt on whether the French military can truly conquer Algeria.

In addition to this respect for Algerian resistance more generally, Scott also legitimises ʻAbd al-Qādir's resistance from the very beginning of his book, declaring his intention to "join the Emir Abd-el-Kader, whose glorious resistance against the united power of the French nation, inspired me with admiration" (vi). Scott then portrays the Amir as humane and just through describing his actions. He relays a story in which a prisoner of war does not give the Amir the information he wants and thus, impressed by the Frenchman's fortitude and integrity, the Amir makes every effort to improve the conditions of his

imprisonment. ‘Abd al-Qādir even allows his prisoner-of-war to ride horses in order to amuse himself, and eventually returns the prisoner without demanding an exchange. Scott concludes that this event “reflects the highest credit on his Royal Highness [‘Abd al-Qādir], as it shows the noble sentiments of this youthful hero” (Scott 1842, 107). Instead of portraying ‘Abd al-Qādir as opposed to civilisation, he is instead the leader of an awe-inspiring movement which deserves support. His anticolonial resistance was thus legitimised even within an Orientalist literature.

Another legitimising trope which appeared repeatedly in both English and French was comparing ‘Abd al-Qādir to Jugurtha (160 – 104 BC), the Numidian King who fought against the Roman invasions of North Africa. The article “Jugurtha and Abd-el-Kader” written by Sir Edward Creasy (1812-78) for *Bentley’s Miscellany* is a strong example. The English judge-turned-historian, writing under the same pseudonym he used for a series of ballads (Francis 1878, 158), has more to say about the “barbarity of the present French system of warfare in Algeria” than he does any criticisms of the Algerians’ character or their methods of resistance (Clive 1846, 88). In reflecting on the parallels between Jugurtha and Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir, Creasy concludes:

> It would be unjust to close this sketch of these two great champions of North Africa, without adverting to the moral superiority of the Arab...after all allowances, [Jugurtha’s] character remains blackened with ingratitude, fraud, and cruelty. Abd-el-Kader’s, even by his enemies’ accounts, had not a stain before it was sullied by the recent massacre of his French prisoners (90).

After mentioning the Amir’s reported killing of French prisoners, Creasy is quick to point out that this is no worse than Napoleon executing the Turkish garrison which surrendered to him at Jaffa. He also emphasises that the Amir offered a prisoner exchange to Marshal Bugeaud and was spurned, which makes Bugeaud partially responsible for the final outcome (Clive, 90). Overall, Creasy establishes ‘Abd al-Qādir as a hero of history who conducted a noble and humane fight, one which was justified given the threat of occupation. To circle back to

the eyewitness corpus, Creasy also built his account of the Amir based on such texts, and he remarks that they are largely laudatory:

> Abd-el-Kader, like Jugurtha, is chiefly known to us by accounts written by his national enemy: though some information respecting him has been supplied by Europeans who have mixed with the Arabs on a friendly footing. Enough, however, appears to shew that in military genius and heroism he is fully equal to his Numidian prototype, while in moral worth he is immeasurably Jugurtha's superior (84).

Although English support for ʻAbd al-Qādir is often read as anti-French sentiment, Creasy does not present English colonialism as different or superior. Rather he frames his comparison between France and Ancient Rome in terms of European invasions whose leaders "sullied the lustre of their arms by acts and practices of cruelty surpassing even the sanction of the stern usages of war" (83). Many French sources also referred to the Amir as the "Jugurtha moderne", thereby acknowledging that ʻAbd al-Qādir was, like Jugurtha, defending his homeland from an invasion of aggression (Jacob 1844, 8; Devoisins 1840, XI; Duprat 1848, 123).

In historian Jean-Joseph-François Poujoulat's (1808-80) book *Études africaines*, he makes the "Parallèle du Jugurtha et d'Abd-el-Kader" go beyond acknowledging the validity of Algerian resistance. Like Clive, he concludes that it is ʻAbd al-Qādir who is superior to Jugurtha (Poujoulat 1847, 285). However, Poujoulat also bombastically declares ʻAbd al-Qādir to be a man so great that he is beyond his own time and place: "Il y a quelque chose d'immense et d'éternel dans l'homme qui est instruit et qui pense. Au lieu de n'occuper qu'un point étroit du globe, il habite tout l'univers; au lieu de ne vivre que dans l'heure fugitive, il vit dans les siècles, il a l'âge de l'histoire" (91). Thus Poujoulat's book not only legitimises the Amir's fight, it also assigns him a universal and timeless quality which makes his resistance and his thought important outside of Algeria.

Stories supporting and glorifying ʻAbd al-Qādir's fight also became a feature of fictional stories set in Algeria. *The Brookes of Bridlemere* (1872) a lampoon of London

aristocracy written by George John Whyte Melville (1821-78), includes a vignette in which a young captain in the Brigade of Guards leaves behind a promising military career to journey to North Africa. By the time Captain Archie Brooke is waiting at the quay of Marseilles, his final destiny is still hazy: "[w]hat he wanted was excitement, adventure, incessant effort, and oft-recurring danger ; something to stifle memory, and leave no time for thought" (Whyte Melville 1872, 113). Brooke then dawdles in Constantine, musing that the French campaign would be a satisfying adventure, but "he could not quite make up his mind about the justness of the Frenchman's cause" (Ibid., 113). While he describes the French cause as an "appeal, unprovoked, to the arbitration of the sword", he sees Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir as "fighting gallantly for independence, and liberty, and life" (Ibid.). Thus Whyte Melville, who was not in the habit of writing about the Maghrib or about Africa more generally, explicitly named ʻAbd al-Qādir's cause as emanating from the values of independence, liberty, and life instead of from resistance to civilisation. Given that the book was published two years after the establishment of the Third Republic, the focus on liberty also brought attention to the injustice and hypocrisy of a stated republic holding the Amir captive after his surrender.

An even stronger endorsement of Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir's cause comes from Charles Eden's aforementioned romance and adventure novel *The White Lily of the Sahara* (1879). The same chapter which describes the protagonist Granville meeting ʻAbd al-Qādir also shows why he comes to accept the Amir's call to arms:

> "You now know the main facts on either side," said the Sultan in conclusion, "and are at perfect liberty to take any course that seems best to you, for Abd-el-Kader stoops neither to coercion nor persuasion. If you wish to leave for England, I will send a *pourparler* to the French outposts, and will guarantee your safety, notwithstanding the affair with the *chasseurs* and the traitorous *Beni-Mâldok*. If, on the contrary, you elect to remain with us and to strike another blow against the invaders, we shall welcome you as a brother, and the best that we have is at your disposal.".
> ..The young man arose, and, bowing, said simply, "I will follow you to death" (Eden 1879, 334).

Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir gives his guest the chance to leave, and he makes no efforts to coerce him into joining the Algerians’ cause. ‘Abd al-Qādir is the picture of civility and rationality, a generous host who will defer to his guest’s needs even though he could have simply taken Granville’s fate into his own hands. In the end, Granville comes to believe in the Amir’s right to rule so strongly that he is prepared to die defending it. Like the depictions by Poujoulat and Whyte Melville, the implication is that ‘Abd al-Qādir’s cause is just and universal, transcending the singular interests of Algerians, Arabs, or Muslims. Thus, nineteenth-century French and English writings about Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir show that the encounter with Maghribi resistance influenced Orientalist literature despite the fact that this corpus also inherited and perpetuated prejudiced tropes.

Depictions of Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s resistance also referred occasionally to his ability to excite the fanaticism of the Saharan tribes and even, in one example, the Moroccan sultan. On the whole, these depictions took the more negative and reductive face of fanaticism. Dr Émile Mauchamp (1870-1907), a resident of Marrakech who opened Morocco’s first European medical clinic, dedicates a segment of his study of Moroccan magic to the shaikh under the heading “Sorciers réputés”:

> Si Mohammed Ouebd [sic] Ma el Aïnin (eaux des yeux). Ce dernier est le prototype du sorcier ; sa puissance d’ailleurs véritables, est faite de terreur plus encore que de respect. Parmi ses hommes bleus, il a fait écoles ; et, en son absence, ses disciples le suppléent dans ses escamotages. -- C’est le plus forcené ennemi de l’Europe dont il prêche la haine ; aussi peut-on prédire, si quelque soulèvement de xénophobie éclate au Maghreb, que le signal viendra de lui et que ses hommes bleus seront les entraîneurs fougueux de l’indolence arabe (Mauchamp 1911, 212).

Here the exceptional Arab trope is inverted from the manner in which it is applied to ‘Abd al-Qādir. While Mauchamp sees the general state of the Arabs as one of indolence, it is the fiery incitement of the shaikh and his entourage stemming from their hatred and xenophobia – as opposed to their desire for independence – which awakens the Arabs to oppose France.

More frequently, however, Mā' al-'Aynayn's military strategy is mistranslated as sorcery. His Sufi *ṭarīqa* did, in fact, promote magic charms and spells, including the science of letters (H. Norris 1983). However, this translation of resistance was still flattening and one-dimensional, and it played into wider tropes of Moroccan magic (Amster 2013, 82; Buffa 1810, 202-9; Doutté 1909; Durrieu 1844, 82, 170; Mouliéras 1895, 52-5). The religious and political motives Mā' al-'Aynayn articulates for his jihad in his fatwa and travelogue are erased. Saharans are reduced to their most supernatural modes of thought, as if they did not also possess scholarship, political aspirations, or military strategy.

Yet, despite Camille Douls' inheritance of the sorcery trope, he also produces an accurate narrative around the role miracle stories played in Saharan and Maghribi contexts (1888, 202).[59] Shortly before Douls is brought to Mā' al-'Aynayn, he explains that the shaikh possesses saintly status because he can perform miracles, a faithful translation of the role of *karāmāt* in establishing a Sufi leader's status (Bashir 2011, 168; Colonna 1988; Frèrejean 1995, 15; Green 2012, 93-7; Hofer 2015, 323). Douls also describes the social resonance of the shaikh's powers stating, "sa sainteté était si évidente qu'il possédait le droit de miracle. C'est ainsi que le mois précédent il avait rendu la vie à une chamelle, dont la mort avait occasionné une lutte terrible entre deux fractions de tribu" (Douls 1888, 202). After Douls arrives in front of the shaikh, he also records the rituals through which Mā' al-'Aynayn offers healing:

> Les Maures, dès le seuil de la tente, se prosternaient la face contre terre, et c'est presque en rampant qu'ils venaient baiser la main du pontife nomade. La plupart demandaient des remèdes. Le cheikh offrait une poignée de sable sur lequel il insufflait sa respiration sacrée, et les nomades emportaient précieusement cette relique, avec les démonstrations du plus grand respect (1888, 203).

Douls does not record any aspects of the shaikh's leadership and resistance other than his purported ability to perform miracles. Mā' al-'Aynayn is the "pontife nomade," but the reader

[59] For a longer explanation of the political and social role of *karāmāt* (miracle tales), see p. 40-42 of this thesis.

is left to deduce that the Shaikh achieved this position solely through his appeal to the irrational and superstitious. There is no mention of Mā' al-'Aynayn's extensive library, or of his successful raid against the Spanish settlers of Dakhla three years prior to the encounter (M. Mā' al-'Aynayn 1999, 8).

This portrayal is consistent in popular books and journal articles, where Mā' al-'Aynayn is simply "le sorcier bleu" without elaboration on the qualities that led to his rise to power (Augé and Augé 1913, 236; Busschère 1908; D. 1908, 521; Gautier 1909, 380; Mangin 1910, 209; René-Leclerc 1909, 218). He is not mentioned as an accomplished scholar or political leader, but simply as a spellcaster feared for his ability to incite Maghribis into warfare. Mauchamp, for example, also describes Mā' al-'Aynayn as the leader of a roving band of brigands he dubs "Les hommes bleus":

> Les sorciers conspiraient sans cesse contre le savant. Le redouté Ma-el-Aïnin, cheik des Hommes Bleus (nommés ainsi à cause d'un pagne de cette couleur dont ils se ceignaient les reins) traversa Marrakech avec sa horde de pillards et s'y installa. Le lâche attentat de toute une foule contre notre ami, seul, avorta grâce à sa résistance, qui dispersa les agressuers (1911, 20).

Here Mauchamp shows Mā' al-'Aynayn as possessing magical power and conspiring against the science, progress, and rationality that France endeavours to bring to Morocco, including through Mauchamp's medical practice. It never occurs to him that Mā' al-'Aynayn could himself be a savant, and he seems oblivious to the fact that the Shaikh was installed in Marrakech to counsel the Sultan.

In terms of the wider context of Mauchamp's writing, his clinic was received with suspicion by many Moroccan residents of Marrakech (J. G. Katz 2006, 133-4). This eventually culminated in an angry mob beating him to death in 1907, three years before the shaikh's own death (S. Miller 2013, 75). Ellen Amster has shown how Mauchamp's death then became a source of narratives regarding the danger of Moroccan sorcery and the need for French intervention (2013, 82). The concept of Maghribi sorcery was simultaneously an

expression of North Africans' irrationality and cultural inferiority and a dangerous force that needed to be contained and controlled through *la mission civilisatrice*. As such, it was the perfect justification for colonisation. Although most of the tropes about Amir 'Abd al-Qādir crossed the French and English spheres, this idea of Mā' al-'Aynayn as a sorcerer only surfaced in English much later and never became a running theme (Consuelo Epton 1958, 128-9). While Spanish sources rarely repeat the magic trope, they also never mention the shaikh's scholarship, thought, or literature until long after his death (Bonelli 1887, 136; d'Almonte 1914, 157; Flores Morales 1946, 121-2).[60]

Passages published near the end of Mā' al-'Aynayn's life often associate him with the assassination of Xavier Coppolani (1866–1905), the architect of colonial Mauritania. Coppolani was a French general of Corsican descent who was fluent in Arabic and deeply familiar with Islam. He conducted research and co-authored the influential Orientalist study *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes* ("The Muslim Religious Brotherhoods", 1897). Coppolani is in many ways the father of Mauritania as a territorial concept, and was the first to advocate the strategy of expanding French influence by winning over individual tribes (Abou Sall 2007, 334). Although it is unclear whether Mā' al-'Aynayn actually issued the command or not, he was widely blamed for Coppolani's murder in Tidjikya (Gerteiny 1981, 43; Martin 1976, 140; G. W. McLaughlin 2005, 870).

French passages describing the assassination never gave descriptions of the actual attack nor its planning, opting instead to add to the ominous mystery surrounding the shaikh's identity. In a typical passage, French Commander Gillier describes the Shaikh as: "notre plus dangereux adversaire en Mauritanie, le marabout de Smara, venait en effet de se révéler à

[60] One Spanish source refers to Mā' al-'Aynayn as "the famous sorcerer" (el hechicero famoso), but his magic is not a running theme in Spanish sources (Real monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial 1909, 577). For a complete review of Spanish sources on Mā' al-'Aynayn, see De Dalmases y de Olabarría's dissertation *El Sahara Occidental en la bibliografía española y el discurso colonial* (2013).

l'occasion du meurtre de Coppolani" (Gillier 1926, 137). Gillier does not make it clear how the "marabout de Smara" managed to orchestrate the murder of a prominent colonial official, but rather remarks that he somehow revealed himself for this purpose of this execution. In Commandant Louis Frèrejean's (1862-1917) memoirs of his time in Mauritania, he similarly gives Mā' al-'Aynayn's rumoured attack against Coppolani a mysterious and supernatural air:

> Ma-El-Aïnin, ésperait-il qu'en frappant Coppolani, il arreterait la pénétration francaise en Mauritanie? On ne sait ; mais son disciple Sidi-ould-Moulaï-Zein qui conduisait les Ghdouf a Tijigja en était persuadé. Comme dans une oeuvre de magie, il avait offert sa vie en échange de celle du "Charmeur" (1995, 15).

Although Frèrejean hints at Mā' al-'Aynayn's motives for supposedly ordering Coppolani's assasination, he leaves it in question form. This is because he cannot openly admit that the Shaikh had rational or understandable motives. He refuses to see this act of war in terms of military or tactical abilities, describing it instead as a magic trick. Yet, just as with colonial writings on fanaticism, one cannot help but sense an undertone of awe for what the enemy managed to execute despite impossible odds.

There is also one exception to the general reduction of Mā' al-'Aynayn's political sway to magic. In his military memoir *La pénétration en Mauritanie*, Commandant Breveté Gillier (dates unknown) recognises the military strategy of Mā' al-'Aynayn without resorting to ideas of superstition or sorcery:

> C'est lui qui de sa zaouia de la Séguiet El Hamra organise la résistance contre nous. Il écrit à tous les marabouts de Mauritanie, leur enjoignant au nom d'Allah de prendre les armes pour s'opposer à notre avance et nous rejeter vers le Sud. Ses émissaires parcourent les campement du Tagant, du Regueiba et du Hohd et meme ceux des régions soumises de la basse Mauritanie, prechant la guerre sainte, promettant des secours en armes et en munitions, et l'appui du sultan du Maroc (138).

The above passage accurately captures the manner in which the Shaikh united different Saharan tribes using religious rhetoric, as well as his use of the Moroccan sultan's support for resources and legitimacy. It also alludes to the manner in which Mā' al-'Aynayn's flagship

zāwiya Smārā served as the resistance's base. Thus, in this particular example, the encounter with Maghribi resistance caused a colonial writer to break with reified stereotypes of Morocco and Moroccans. Although there are more examples of writings on Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir breaking with the mistranslation of resistance as fanaticism, writing about Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn also expanded the depiction of anticolonial resistance within French literature. As the encounter with Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn resulted in changes in how Arabs and anticolonial resistance were depicted – even in texts that replicated previous cliches – this shows that Maghribi resistance was a literary force in French and English colonial texts.

In addition to the manner in which writing about ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn added new images to the colonial corpus, it also resulted in Arabic literary conventions surfacing in French and English texts. Even though eyewitness Orientalists and colonial-era biographers inherited the idea of Arabs as European civilisation's irrational, fanatical, and superstitious Other, conventions of the Other still started to surface in their texts. In the next section, I will show how Orientalist eyewitnesses became tellers of miracle tales, and colonial biographers became faithful reporters of Sufi visions.

5.2 Genre Transfer: Sufi Visions and Miracle Tales in Orientalist Texts

Linguists have described how, when language learners go through the process of absorbing rhetorical conventions of the target language, they often enter a stage wherein genres or narratives from one language surface while the learner is communicating in the other (Popken 1992; Stubbs 2007). This section will show how, through their contact with another culture, the eyewitness Orientalists and colonial biographers absorbed Sufi genres and concepts until they began to surface within their works. Although the conventions of miracle tales did not overtake the whole of their texts and erase the overarching genre, the transferred genre appeared without a self-conscious showcasing of its otherness. As such,

texts written about ‘Abd al-Qādir show a clear literary impact from Arabic. This literary process parallels the concurrent lexical transfer of words and concepts from Arabic into French starting from the 1830 fall of Algiers (Benchérif 1997, 33). Although the influence of French and English on nineteenth-century Arabic literature is well-studied,[61] much less attention has been paid to Arabic influence on European colonial literature.

Although evoking the power of sight was meant to establish an irrefutable objectivity and rationality, mystical literary conventions first appeared in the eyewitness accounts and then later in other French and English biographical and literary texts about Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir. Although Colonel Scott’s narration of his time in ‘Abd al-Qādir’s military camp is peppered with insinuations of the Algerians’ lack of rationality, he still produces a *karāma* without the slightest hint of scepticism. Scott recounts how ‘Abd al-Qādir performed a template Sufi miracle: communicating with a wild beast over whom he shows mastery (Abdel-Malek 2006; Renard 2008, 110; Renard 2009, 59). Under the heading “African Lions”, Scott relays the following story:

> It appears that Abd-el-Kader, like Aaroun-al-Raschid in the Arabian Nights’ entertainments, frequently goes about in disguise, in order to inform himself of the actual state of affairs; one night he came from the Esmailla to Tegedempt alone, to ascertain the correctness of a report which had been made, that it was unsafe to be in the streets after nightfall. He remained walking about the town till near midnight; on his return he had to pass the brook of Tegedempt, and it being the hour of prayer, he halted to perform his devotions, and was washing his feet in the stream, when a huge lion made his ‘handsome bow before him’, doubtless having just dropped in like Paul Pry to make a call. The Sultan [Abd-el-Kader] met the lion’s stare, and with a frown calling him a Kilb-ben-el-Kilb, for intruding upon him at so unseasonable an hour, bade him begone for a kaffer; strange to say, the lord of the forest cowed his head before the defender of the faithful, and turning tail walked off (108-9).

Scott’s karāma captures both the Amir’s devotion to his political role and his devotion to God. In keeping with conventions of saintly tales, an outward display of faith is included to set the scene for the miracle. The implication is that, thanks to his exceptional piety and

[61] Baker and Hanna 2009, 336; El-Ariss 2013, 24-7; Elshakry 2013, 73-98; Hassan 2011, 39; Hourani 1983, 69-72; Moosa 1997, 24-31; Scoville 2018, 11-12; Somekh 1998, 777; Tageldin 2010, 427-30

closeness to God, ʻAbd al-Qādir does not need to fear what ordinary men do. Even before he dismisses the lion, it approaches him in a submissive pose, wanting only to pay tribute. The inclusion of 'kilb-ben-el-kilb' and 'kaffer' also rest as examples of lexical transference from Arabic. Curiously, Scott does not dispute the veracity of the event described, but rather casts doubt on it being entirely miraculous:

> By the Arabs this was considered as a miracle wrought by the prophet in favor of his *protégé* Abd-el-Kader, who is frequently styled by his subjects "the beloved of Mahomet". I should, however, be more inclined to place this circumstance to the generosity of this noble animal, who seldom attacks the human species unless driven so to do by extreme hunger (109).

Yet even when Scott tries to rationalise the miraculous, he ends up reproducing it instead of marginalising it. His description is still one which shows ʻAbd al-Qādir's exceptional character and supernatural abilities. Scott's explanation as quoted above also shows transference from Sufi conventions, as to be a Sufi saint is to be a *walī* or beloved friend of God (Green 2012, 40, 47-8; Lory 2012; Radtke 2012; Renard 2008, 7-9). While Scott translates *walī* as "the beloved of Mahomet" rather than of God, the transference of this Sufi concept is still clear. Finally, as lions frequently appeared North African literature concerning Sufi saints, it is likely that this story had genuine Maghribi origins (Barrett 2004, 18; Hatt 2020, 40; Marín 2014, 407; MD 1861, 36; Zafrani 2005, 216).

The aforementioned article "Jugurtha and Abd-el-Kader" also includes a miraculous tale of escape, despite the text's general presentation as nonfictional. During a particularly ferocious battle, Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir cries out to God and is then able to jump over a closed circle of bayonets without even a scratch. That the Amir's superhuman feat is achieved after he calls on God connects the escape to ʻAbd al-Qādir's access to divine power. He is also the only one among all of the fighters who are able to escape death or injury. Creasy narrates:

> Abd-el-Kader's escape from the French near Miliana in 1841 was no whit less daring and surprising. He was actually hemmed in on every side by the French soldiers. An unbroken circle of levelled bayonets gleamed round him, and his capture seemed inevitable; but in this extremity his determined courage and horsemanship saved him. Shouting his favourite battle-cry *Emshallah!* [sic] (God's will be done), he gave his white horse the spur, cleared with a

> desparate lead the deadly hedge of steel, and escaped without a wound. He is said in the conflict of that day to have killed six French soldiers with his own hand: and so imminent was his peril, that no less than thirty of his body-guard, which is composed of his own relatives and intimate friends, were slain around him (88).

Portraying the Amir as a Sufi saint with access to divine knowledge and power continues in later fictional depictions as well. The *Brookes of Bridlemere* includes a scene in which Algerian resistance figure Bu Ma'za makes an attempt on the life of the Amir, but is then thwarted by mysterious forces. At the very moment when he is about to shoot 'Abd al-Qādir in the heart, Bu Ma'za 's horse which was the noblest in the desert suddenly and inexplicably stumbles on perfectly smooth ground, falling over. Amir 'Abd al-Qādir then calmly tells the traitor Bu Ma'za that he presaged the attack, and that God protected him from it:

> "Bou Maza," said the Emir, in deep, quiet, sorrowful tones, "do you think I had not foreseen, and could not have prevented, your attempt on your Chieftain's life? When you left the Council yesterday it was in your heart, that you would to-day murder your Father, as it was in mine that you would fail and be forgiven.
> "Can you not see the hand of Allah, who caused your best horse to stumble and fall over a blade of tender grass, that you might not slay his prophet, whom he has destined to victory?" (Whyte Melville 1872, 116)

Although Whye Melville makes the fatal error of ascribing Prophethood instead of Sufi sainthood to 'Abd al-Qādir, the influence of *karāmāt* is still clear. Here the Amir has access to others' innermost thoughts, another frequent feature of Sufi hagiographies (Cornell 1998, 115; Hofer 2015, 228; Renard 2009, 8; Werbner 2016). He also is held to be in divine favour and thus not in need of worldly protection. The decision to bolster 'Abd al-Qādir's saintly status demonstrates how Sufi conventions started to wield influence. In addition to stories which show the Amir's saintly status through his immunity to danger, the biography *Histoire d'Abd-el-Kader depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa soumission à la France* ("The History of Abd-el-Kader from his Birth Until his Surrender to France") shows the Amir's birth as marked by an otherworldly sign. The halo in the form of a blue flame depicted here recollects Sufi theories of a primordial light and its connection to the creation of the universe from the divine source:

> Comme les croyances populaires, chez toutes les nations, rappellent des prodiges à la naissance des grands personnages, celle d'Abd-el-Kader fut aussi marquée par une particularité surnaturelle, et sa mère, à la vue d'une auréole de flamme auzrée qui entoura sa tête quelques instants, s'écrira : « Voilà l'enfant que les devins ont annoncé! Hachem-Cheragas, voilà celui que vous attendiez. » (Raban 1848, 15).

Some French writings about Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir also transfer *karāmāt* related to the Sufi saint ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (1078-1166), founder of the Qādiriyya order to which the Amir belonged. *Histoire privée et politique d'Abd-el-Kader* conveys a story in which "Muley Abd-el-Kader" (al-Jīlānī) manages to live for forty years in a mountain without food or drink, while standing only on one foot:

> L'histoire de Muley Abd-el-Kader n'est pas moins merveilleuse que la protection dont il couvre tout le pays. La tradition rapporte qu'il vécut quarante ans sur une montagne en ne s'appuyant que sur un seul pied, sans boire ni manger. C'est pourquoi ce saint homme fut transporté tout vivant dans la paradis par le prophète (De LaCroix 1848, 67).

The biography *Histoire d'Abd-el-Kader, depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa soumission à la France,* which came out the same year, also tells a version of this *karāma*. In this version connecting saintliness with communicating with wild animals, al-Jīlānī survives because he is fed by a starling (Raban 1848, 18). Since the Amir and his father's visit to al-Jīlānī's grave is incorporated into this narrative, it also transmits the Sufi practice of pilgrimage to saints' tombs:

> Après le pélegrinage de la Mecque, Abd-el-Kader et son père allèrent, sur la route de Baghdad, visiter le tombeau d'un de leurs aïeux, marabout célèbre, nommé Muleï-Abd-el-Kader, qui vécut jusqu'à cent ans, et qui passa les cinquante dernières années de sa vie sur la pointe d'un seul pied, nourri par un étourneau, qui l'enleva au ciel le soir de la cinquantième année (Raban 1848, 18).

In many French texts, in fact, the spirit of al-Jīlānī features as a pivotal character in ʻAbd al-Qādir's rise to a power. For example, *Histoire d'Abd-el-Kader* attributes Muḥyī al-Dīn's selection of ʻAbd al-Qādir to a Sufi vision in which Muḥyī al-Dīn first sees al-Jīlānī followed by a halo around his son's head (Raban 1848, 18). Although there was not a halo in Muḥyī al-Dīn's vision, the Amir's father truly did tell of a visit he received from al-Jīlānī at the saint's tomb in Baghdad (Danziger 1977, 57; Woerner-Powell 2017, 25). In De LaCroix's

biography, Muḥyī al-Dīn announces to the assembled tribes of the province that ‘Abd al-Qādir will command the jihad. He then justifies this decision by explaining that he was visited by al-Jīlānī in visions repeatedly, starting from his pilgrimage to Mecca (De LaCroix 1848, 85). When al-Jīlānī finally appeared to him with his face in flames, saying it was now the right time, Muḥyī al-Dīn relented and agreed to announce his son’s ascendance. De LaCroix narrates as Muḥyī al-Dīn:

> ‘Vous savez tous que dans mon dernier pèligrinage à la Mecque, un ange m’est apparu dans le tombeau du roi des marabouts, en m’annoçant que mon fils Abd-el-Kader serait un jour le sultan des Arabes. Depuis ce jour, Muley Abd-el-Kader lui même s’est présenté à moi plusiers fois, m’ordonnant de publier ma vision, et d’assurer, par tous les moyens, l’avénement de mon fils. J’ai négligé longtemps ses avertissements, dans la crainte de mettre le trouble dans le pays. Mais il ya deux jours, Muley Abd-el-Kader m’est apparu, le visage en feu, le reproche sur les lèvres: Il est temps, enfin, de te prononcer, m’a-t-il dit. “Attenderas-tu donc que l’infidèle ait brûlé vos mosquées et renversé mes tombeaux?”‘ (85).

Variations of Muḥyī al-Dīn’s vision abound in French biographical and historical texts, and there is also an example of this story being recounted in poetry (Maidstone 1851, 206). Frequently Muḥyī al-Dīn is visited by an angel instead of by al-Jīlānī himself (De LaCroix 1848, 69-70; Plée 1829, 13). In both Raban and De LaCroix’s texts, it is not only Muḥyī al-Dīn who has visions which portend the ascendance of ‘Abd al-Qādir, but also another Sufi authority of the region, Sīdī Laḥrash (De LaCroix 1848, 83-4; Raban 1848, 19-20). Overall, the visions and miracle tales appear consistently enough across nonfiction and fiction texts to be considered a feature of colonial-era French and English writings on Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir. As covered in the Introduction, this story truly did play an important role in Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir’s rise to power in western Algeria. This represents a case of genre transfer, and of Arabic literature influencing the conventions of English and French literature about the Maghrib.

After demonstrating the influence of Arabic Sufi conventions on French and English texts about Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir, this chapter will now consider the works of the Amir which were translated into French during his lifetime. This final section will how ‘Abd al-Qādir not

only reached the Francophone sphere and occupied an unprecedented role in the realm of scholarly Orientalism, but how the message of his works continued to resist colonial ideas regarding the nature of knowledge and the progress of civilisations.

5.3 The Amir Writes Back: 'Abd al-Qādir's Resistance through Occidentalist Literature

The previous section demonstrated that Orientalist literature was influenced by the encounter with Amir 'Abd al-Qādir and, to a lesser extent, Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn. This leads to how 'Abd al-Qādir resisted colonial epistemologies through his translated literature. As both of Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's translated texts include passages where he describes, represents, and responds to France or to Europe, his Francophone literature can be situated as early examples of Occidentalism. The term Occidentalism was coined in response to Orientalism and is associated with multiple definitions and methods, ranging from producing discourse which renders the West as the Other to studying the West in order to resist domination (Metin 2020, 183-5). In Ḥasan Ḥanafī's ground-breaking book *Muqaddima fī 'ilm al-istighrāb* ("Introduction to Occidentalism", 1991), he posits scholarly Occidentalism as a response to both Westernisation and to reactive, reified views of cultural authenticity (1991, 22-3). Ḥanafī explains:

> Occidentalism is the other face and the counterpart – or rather the antithesis – of Orientalism. For if Orientalism was the self (the East) as viewed from the other (the West), then Occidentalism aims to unravel the historical complex separating the self and the other, as well as the dialectic of the self's inferiority of the other's superiority (Ḥanafī 1991, 29).

Although Ḥanafī's concept of Occidentalism has been criticised for its failure to grapple with the social and material contexts of empire and cultural domination (Salhi 2019, 12), I find value in his assertion that the 'studied' can become the producers of knowledge, as well as his observation that this role reversal does not necessarily mean replicating the same hierarchy. Eid Mohamed posits Occidentalism as an acknowledgement that 'Orientalised' populations also produce the West in their own discourse, even if they do not necessarily

have the same power to enforce and propagate these images (2015, 1). As Zahia Smail Salhi describes:

> What Occidentalist representation attempts to do is to challenge Orientalism, especially its mode of representation, in a 'counteracting', 'writing against' and 'writing back' manner (2019, 13).

Thus Salhi, like Ḥanafī, speaks to the potential of Occidentalist representations and counter-representations to disrupt Orientalist discourse. In the pages that follow, I will show how Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir successfully propagated his own representations of Arabs, Franks, and other civilisations in the French language and, in fact, in other European languages through translation. Although the Amir's translated literature did not erase the larger context of colonial domination, it still stood as a challenge to colonial modes of thought.

The assertion that Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir wrote back to France naturally leads to questions of how aware he was of French thought and culture. While he never learned the French language, ʻAbd al-Qādir had considerable contact with Europeans as both allies and enemies during his war with France. In addition to those he employed such as Léon Roches and Colonel Scott, he corresponded with the Generals Desmichels, Trézel, and Bugeaud (H. Abdelkader 2004, 23). While he was held captive in France from 1848-52, his contact with the other side of the Mediterranean also started to take on a more literary and intellectual character. As mentioned previously, he was visited by many authors and notables (Woerner-Powell 2017, 102-3). He also had long discussions with his Arabic-speaking French handlers – one of which lead to his co-authored book (Bouyerdene 2012, 76; Kiser 2013, 251). The Amir's intention to engage a French audience first comes across in the 1849 autobiography he penned during his imprisonment, which he starts by explaining that he was approached by some Christians to write a history of the war in Algeria and to comment on the Franks' strengths and weaknesses (Abdelkader and Benmansour 1995, 1). While this particular text remained in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in manuscript form until the late twentieth

century, two other books attributed either wholly or partially to ‘Abd al-Qādir enjoyed considerable reception in nineteenth-century France and beyond: *Les Chevaux du Sahara et les Moeurs du Désert* (1857) and *Le livre d’Abd-el-Kader intitulé: Rappel à l’intelligent, avis à l’indifférent* (1858).

Les Chevaux du Sahara et les Moeurs du Désert enjoyed a wide reception largely as a result of the Amir’s contribution. Across the 400 pages of *Les Chevaux du Sahara et les Moeurs du Désert* (“The Saharan Horses and the Manners of the Desert”), the former general Eugène Daumas describes different aspects of equestrian life in Algeria, as well as the use of hawks and greyhounds for hunting (Daumas and L'Émir Abd-el-Kader 1858, 431-8). Daumas then devotes a chapter to the customs of desert-dwelling Algerians (Ibid., 370-97). As Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir was a highly-trained horseman, he added commentary at the end of several sections, among them the general features of Saharan horses (Ibid., 61-5), the care and feeding of horses (Ibid., 127-9), and the training of young foals (Ibid., 291). Daumas first published a version of *Les Chevaux du Sahara* without ‘Abd al-Qādir’s notes, and it quickly faded into obscurity (1851). On the other hand, the book with Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir as the co-author was continuously repackaged and reprinted as it traveled through multiple languages and editions.

Six years after the initial publication of *Les Chevaux du Sahara* there were already four French editions in circulation, and the 1858 version opened with pages upon pages of letters from readers (Daumas and L'Émir Abd-el-Kader 1858, 3-28). It was referenced by names as big as the novelist Gustave Flaubert (1821-80), who described reading *Les Chevaux du Sahara* while longing wistfully for travel through the Orient (Beizer 2011, 267). A Spanish version of *Les Chevaux du Sahara* came out in 1853, followed by a German translation in 1854 and an Anglophone edition in 1863, effectively making ‘Abd al-Qādir a published author throughout western Europe (Daumas and de Cabanillas 1853; Daumas and

Graefe 1858; Daumas and Hutton 1863). While the English translator cut out two sections of the French original, he left the Amir's commentary and poem intact (Daumas and Hutton, 191). As recently as 2008 *Les Chevaux du Sahara* was reprinted in a comprehensive edition including four new appendixes – and three of which are texts attributed to the Amir (ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn, et al.).

Of course the fact that Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's writing attracted an audience does not necessarily mean that it resisted Orientalist tropes. Daumas could have been using his co-author to perform an Orientalist ventriloquism in which the 'native informant' speaks only to confirm hegemonic discourse. Abdelmajid Hannoum has shown how even a nineteenth-century translation of Ibn Khaldūn transformed a mediaeval Arabic text into support for the colonial narrative around Arabs and Amazighen (2003, 62-5). As there is no known Arabic original to contrast with the sections of *Les Chevaux du Sahara* attributed to the Amir, it is impossible to comment on the translation's accuracy. However, given the popularity of the book, it is worth examining Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's contributions and the extent to which they either played into old Orientalist tropes or broke with them.

Firstly, *Les Chevaux du Sahara* presents 'Abd al-Qādir as more knowledgeable than Daumas on several occasions. For example, Daumas says in the introduction that he compiled his book based conversations with Arabs during his time in Algeria and makes no reference to written sources or research. It is through the Amir's remarks that the reader learns there is an Arabic written tradition on equestrian arts (Daumas and Hutton 1863, 5-6). By summarising a story which takes place in the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd's court, the Amir shows European readers that there is a veritble history of Arabic poems and treatises on horseback riding (Ibid.). The Amir also contributed a section on hadith related to horses and the equestrian arts, to which Daumas gives no commentary or contribution (Ibid., 231-2). As such, Abd al-Qādir's comments in *Les Chevaux du Sahara* did not merely confirm or

augment Daumas' assertions; they showcased his unique erudition. *Les Chevaux du Sahara* thus resists the idea that Europeans have nothing to learn from the 'Orient'.

Moreover, Amir 'Abd al-Qādir's voice comes through most powerfully in his poem about desert life. His "Eloge du Désert" was included in every edition of *Les Chevaux du Sahara et les Moeurs du Désert* (1857, 398). Although there is an Arabic version under the title "Mā fī al-badāwa 'ayb" ("There is no Shame in Nomadism"), there are conflicing stories around the Amir's original intended audience. 'Abd al-Qādir's granddaughter Badī'a al-Ḥasanī al-Jazāʾirī connects the poem "Mā fī al-badāwa 'ayb" with the establishment of 'Abd al-Qādir's roving military camp of zmāla (al-Ḥasanī Jazāʾirī 2008, 295).[62] However, scholar al-'Arabī Daḥū claims that the Amir composed this poem as a response to a group of French nobles asking him whether city life or desert life was better (al-'Arabī 2007, 50). While it is possible that 'Abd al-Qādir first recited "Mā fī al-badāwa 'ayb" to evoke the zeal of his followers, the printed versions of the poem appear to be speaking to a foreign audience. "Eloge du Désert" contains a message against the civilisational rankings so fundamental to colonial thought. Remarkably, the French and English versions of the poem match up both in essence and detail to the Arabic. Compare, for example, the opening lines of Hutton's English translation with the Arabic version in al-Ḥasanī al-Jazāʾirī's book:

Glory to God alone! O thou who takest up the defence of the *hader* And codemnest the love of the *bedoui* for his bound-less horizons!	يا عاذرا لامرئ قد هام في الحضر وعاذلا لمحب البدو والقفر
Is it for their lightness that thou findest fault with our tents? Hast thou no word of praise but for houses of wood and stone? (Daumas and Hutton 1863, 191)	لا تذمن بيوتا قد خف محملها وتمدحن بيوت الطين والحجر! (al-Ḥasanī Jazāʾirī 2008, 295)

This poem is an example of Maghribi resistance's impact on French and, by extension,

[62] For more on the structure of the Zmāla, which resembled a mobile military camp, see (M. Daumas 1843).

English literature in both its lexicon and its message. The inclusion of the Arabic words "hader" and "bedoui" in the translations demonstrate ʻAbd al-Qādir's linguistic influence. While Daumas and Hutton could have used roughly equivalent terms such as "ville" or "urban", this does not capture the sense of a life which is settled and lived in a built environment without the connotations "urban" or "city" hold of a large and crowded metropolis. ʻAbd al-Qādir then uses the poem to subvert metropole standards of what it meant to be ignorant or refined, characterising the defender of the "hader" as ignorant and misinformed:

If thou knewest the secrets of the desert, thou wouldst think like me : But thou art ignorant, and ignorance is the mother of evil (191).	لو كنت تعلم ما في البدو تعذرني لكن جهلت وكم في الجهل من الضرر ! (295)

Here it is through knowing the depths of the desert that one is released from ignorance, and thus from the harm it causes. ʻAbd al-Qādir does not look down on the city, but he resists the imposition of the metropole's mores and the threat its existence poses to his way of life. He condemns those who look down on desert life – clearly referring to the French colonial authorities who invaded western Algeria and then denied him his freedom – but he attributes their evil actions to an ignorance of other civilisations. He subverts the idea that knowledge is to be found in the city, and this reflects both his specific upbringing in a small village which was also a centre of regional learning and cultural exchange as well as North African Sufi *ṭuruq*'s general penchance for locating important *zāwiya*s in remote desert locations (Danziger 1977, 52-3).

ʻAbd al-Qādir's co-authored book then brought an Arab author into venues non-European literature was previously excluded from. In addition to the considerable circulation *Les Chevaux du Sahara et les Moeurs du Désert* enjoyed, "Eloge du Désert" was reprinted by French periodicals which reviewed and received the book. The article "Le Livre d'Abd-el-

Kader" was written by Elme-Marie Caro (1826-87), a philosophy professor who had never commented on thought or literature from beyond Europe before (1858, 931). While *Revue contemporaine* published on a variety of subjects ranging from poetry to geography, it had never featured an author from outside of Europe in its "Littérature étrangère" section (de Calonne 1858, 927). Algeria and Morocco came up only in the context of political analyses such as "Les Sociétés Secrètes Musulmanes de l'Algérie", and never as places which produced writers and thinkers (de Calonne 1858, 76). This demonstrates how ʻAbd al-Qādir's translated literature broke barriers, and allowed him to occupy a place not held by prior subjects of Orientalist discourse. A compilation of ʻAbd al-Qādir's work and life in *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Touraine* also includes "Eloge du Désert", along with a translation of ʻAbd al-Qādir's poem in tribute to Tlemcen (Gabeau 1898, 358-9). It was just as uncharacteristic of the Société archéologique to publish work by authors from outside of Europe as it was for *Revue contemporaine*. In fact, the society's previous bulletins neither mentioned Africa nor reported on archaeological finds outside of France (Palustre 1882, 429-30; Palustre 1891, 506). Clearly ʻAbd al-Qādir had become a figure of interest to any learned French citizen, and this in turn led to his poem being received across disciplinary boundaries. As for his poem, it transferred Arabic words into French and then English, along with the Amir's resistance to colonial ideals of 'civilisation'. This aspect of his literary resistance comes through even clearer in *Le livre d'Abd-el-Kader intitulé: Rappel à l'intelligent, avis à l'indifférent* (1858).

I previously demonstrated Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir's agency in getting his treatise *Dhikrá al-ʻāqil wa-tanbīh al-ghāfil* ("Reminding the Intelligent, Warning the Heedless") translated into French. With ʻAbd al-Qādir's permission, Gustave Dugat published the book as *Le livre d'Abd-el-Kader intitulé: Rappel à l'intelligent, avis à l'indifférent*, a 350-page tome exploring epistemology, world history, literary history, and major civilisations throughout

history. Although Dugat takes the liberty of using the book's introduction to showcase his own conception of Arabic literary history, he portrays the Amir as an accomplished scholar and philosopher whose thought is important to a global humanist canon; he does not silo him as a mere representative of 'Oriental' scholarship (Abd-el-Kader and Dugat 1858, ix). Dugat also encourages French readers to look beyond the one-dimensional view of 'Abd al-Qādir as a warrior:

> Nous n'avons donc pas à nous occuper de la vie militaire d'Abd-el-Kâder; de nombreux écrits nous y ont initié. Mais le philosophe, le savant, nous appartiennent, et il nous a paru utile et intéressant de la faire connaître sous cet aspect tout à fait nouveau (Ibid., viii).

Dugat's introduction shows that, despite how embedded he was in Orientalist institutions, he respected the Amir's intellectual output and thought French readers should learn from and engage with it.

Of course, such praise can arouse suspicion of the book's content and message. After all, 'Abd al-Qādir was now defeated, and colonial France would soon co-opt him into *mission civilisatrice* narratives (Achrati 2007, 151). It would be natural to assume that his book was a mere confirmation of European hegemony. In fact, the two recent academic paratexts of *Dhikrá al-'āqil*/ *Le livre d'Abd-el-Kader* do not even consider that it could challenge French colonial thought. The first paratext is provided by Charles Kurzman, who includes a partial translation of *Dhikrá al-'āqil* in his reference volume *Modernist Islam, 1840-1940: A Sourcebook*. While Kurzman mentions that the text was first published in French, he does not seem to think that Amir 'Abd al-Qādir was using *Dhikrá al-'āqil* to speak to a European audience. Kurzman instead claims that 'Abd al-Qādir advocates for a modernist approach to Islam wherein Muslims must use logic and science to reinterpret religion (2002, 133). The French-Arabic reprinting of the book *Lettre aux Français*/ *Risāla ilá al-Faransīs* ostensibly acknowledges 'Abd al-Qādir's intended audience in the title, but the paratext again twists the Amir's text until it fits conventional ideas of Europe's greater progress:

> l'Emir Abdelkader situe avec une grande clarté et une grand radicalité le lieu de la force momentanément irrépressible du conquérant français et de la faiblesse irrémédiable de la priemère résistance algérienne : la gap techno-scientifique qui les sépare (ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn, Ṭālibī and Khawam 2005, 4).

Although this narrative of the Amir as a modernist is consistent among prior sources, careful analysis of the content of *Le livre d'Abd-el-Kader* shows that his work was clearly addressed to Europe and intended as a challenge to colonial thought. ʻAbd al-Qādir makes three principal interventions: challenging how Europeans rank forms of knowledge, asserting an Arabic-Islamic definition of literature, and narrating a non-Eurocentric history of civilisations and literatures.

In fact, for a reader informed of how *Le livre d'Abd-el-Kader* came into being, it becomes clear that the Amir adroitly plays to his audience's worship of empiricism by challenging not this epistemology itself, but rather how Europeans rank it as compared to other forms of knowledge. Therefore, the book asserts a challenge to European epistemology. For example, ʻAbd al-Qādir asserts early in his text that the most important knowledge is related to God and can only be grasped by the soul and not the senses:

> La plus noble des sciences utiles, c'est la connaissance du Dieu Très-Haut, de la sagesse de ses oeuvres, de sa création des cieux et de la terre, de leur nature et de leurs rapports. Cette connaissance ne s'acquiert pas par les sens, mais seulement par l'esprit. Aussi l'esprit est-il plus noble que les choses qu'il comprend...Dieu a créé pour l'homme les sens extérieurs et intérieurs et l'a gratifié de l'esprit qui est supérieur à tout (Abd-el-Kader and Dugat 1858, 45).

After explaining the use and necessity of all of the bodily senses as well as the mind's faculty to compare and envision, Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir comments more directly on his evaluation of European knowledge:

> J'ai en vue ici les savants de France et ceux qui les imitent dans l'usage de l'esprit pratique; ils produisent des arts admirables et des choses d'une rare utilité; ils ont à cet égard surpassé les anciens et rendu les modernes impuissants à faire mieux; ils se sont élevés par ces oeuvres au plus haut rang et ont acquis une renommée immortelle (Abd-el-Kader and Dugat 1858, 53-4).

Thus ‘Abd al-Qādir pays his respects to European culture and acknowledges the manner in which it surpasses other civilisations in the realm of invention. Out of context, this could be read as an echo of nineteenth-century European narratives of progress wherein some civilisations were ahead and others had yet to ‘progress’ through pseudoscientifically determined stages (Pernau and Jordheim 2015, 4). However, as reading on reveals, the Amir’s tribute is part of a strategy of winning his audience over via flattery and then gently pointing out their weakness. In a segment reminiscent of a teacher telling an underperforming student how much potential they have, the Amir continues:

> Si, avec cette aptitude, ils appliquaient l’esprit d’examen à la connaissance de Dieu, de ses attributs, de sa sagesse da la création des cieux et de la terre, de la perfection qui lui est inhérente et qui le rend pur de tout défaut; à connaître, en un mot, ce qu’il faut faire à son égard et ne pas faire, ils prendraient possession d’un rang qu’on ne pourrait atteindre, d’une faveur qu’on ne saurait partager; mais ils ont négligé faire usage de cette faculté spéculative; on n’entend aucun d’eux en faire mention, et celui qui la cherche dans leurs livres, ne l’y rencontre pas (Abd-el-Kader and Dugat 1858, 54-5).

This passage is also revealing in terms of the principal aim of *Le livre d'Abd-el-Kader*: to encourage another audience to know God. Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir was a practicing Sufi in addition to being a man of letters, and thus he stressed the importance of seeking a direct experience of God which enables the individual to worship Him as if one sees Him. This comes across even more clearly earlier in the text, where ‘Abd al-Qādir explains to his French readership that the primary reason for humankind’s existence is to know and to serve God, and that knowledge should be put to this purpose (Ibid., 48). Thus, *Le livre d'Abd-el-Kader* makes its first intervention into French colonial discourse: it challenges the ranking of empiricism above all other forms of knowledge and perception and asserts the primacy of prophecy instead.

While Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir uses this first part of the book to present his schema of epistemologies and the role human faculties play in them, the second section is more sociological than philosophical. ‘Abd al-Qādir historicises literature and argues that the

sociable nature of humans prompted them to develop signs, then speech, and then writing. He remarks that writing is "un art propre à l'espèce humaine" as it allows humanity to transcend the present (Ibid., 116). Without writing the sciences would not grow, philosophy would be lost, and there would be no society or religion (Ibid., 117). 'Abd al-Qādir's review of writing systems includes Persian, Arabic, Ḥimyarite, Syriac, Hebrew, Berber, Andalousian, Coptic, Indian, and Chinese, but he finds that the only European languages which merit mention are Ancient Greek and Latin (Ibid., 121).

The Amir then uses the following section to treat the history of knowledge production by Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Franks, Arabs, Hebrews, and Egyptians, writing into the Orientalist corpus a non-Eurocentric conception of World Literature. While his principal message in the first section is the necessity of knowledge beyond empiricism, the second section drives home the civilisational achievements of Asian and African peoples and writes back to the Orientalist representation of the Arabs. Among the cultural accomplishments of India, 'Abd al-Qādir covers the Sanskrit astronomy work *Zīj al-Arkand* and the tales of Kalīla and Dimnah; he also explains how these works travelled into Arabic through Persian (Ibid., 152). The Amir also discusses many Greek philosophers and subjects, thereby speaking to an intellectual heritage shared by both Arabic and European readers. He comments on the Franks at the end of this section, describing them as a people who came into being during the Byzantine period and who belong to the northern Mediterranean shore. While he vaguely praises the Franks/French for having recently united the sciences of other nations, he does not actually include any examples of their influential works or discoveries. Again he seems to be flattering his audience more than he seems genuinely impressed with their intellectual contributions. This tone of flattery is heightened by his proclamation that the French King – meaning Napoleon III who released him from imprisonment – is the most just king in the

world (Ibid., 171). While ‘Abd al-Qādir acknowledges the existence of the French, he largely centers Asian and African contributions to world knowledge.

In addition to centering non-Western archives, ‘Abd al-Qādir’s conception of literature itself is much more expansive than the idea of ‘littérature/ literature’ which has come to dominate the study of cultural products worldwide. *Le livre d’Abd-el-Kader* moves between philosophy, religion, literary history, and ethnology without even separating them into discrete segments. Thus, through this more *adab*-like idea of literature, another aspect of Arabic thought was transmitted faithfully to a French audience. In his history of the world’s peoples, the Amir mentions music theory and in the same page praises *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Ibid., 152). He includes predecessor of backgammon along with tomes on medicine and astrology (Ibid., 160). He entangles the two senses of *adab* (comportment and literature) in his evaluation of Arab contributions to the world, stating “Les Arabes mettaient leur gloire à avoir une élocution facile et élégante, à être fidèles à leurs pactes, à honorer les hôtes et à se préoccuper des grandes choses” (Ibid., 175). The Amir asserts to his Orientalist readers the accomplishments and virtues that define Arabs, instead of playing into tropes of fantacism or sensuality. At this stage he is clearly not a passive object of the Orientalist gaze and, furthermore, his literature is resisting cultural domination. The Amir transmits to another readership his preoccupation with the Arabs’ tradition of keeping their word, which also features prominently in his epistle *Al-Miqrāḍ Al-Ḥād* (ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn and al-Khālidī al-Maghribī 1971, 223-54). He then asserts that the Arabs are scholarly and highly literate:

> Les Arabes furent doués, pour composer dans les diverses sciences, d’une aptitude que personne n’avait eue avant eux, au point qu’ils eurent parmi eux des hommes qui composèrent sur les diverses sciences trois mille ouvrages et plus. On raconte que la bibliothèque d’Égypte sous la dynastie des Obeïdites comptait deux millions six cent mille livres (Ibid., 178).

This passage challenges the colonial idea that North Africans were behind or in need of civilising, and showcases the Arabs’ long history of knowledge production. He also credits

the geographically widespread and culturally diverse nature of the Muslim *umma* with preserving history and heritage for the world:

> Leur science était celle des généalogies, des étoiles, de l'interprétation des songes, de la composition des vers et des harangues. Ce n'est que par les Arabes qu'on connaît l'histoire des habitants de l'Orient et de l'Occident. Cela s'explique par la connaissance que les Arabes, habitants de la Mecque, eurent des récits concernant les peuples des deux livres: la Bible et l'Évangile (gospel); ceux qui habitaient El-Hira connurent l'histoire des Persans ; les habitants de la Syrie connurent celle des Romains, des Grecs et des Israélites; ceux qui habitaient El-Bahreïn connurent celle de l'Inde et du Sind (Ibid., 174-5).

Despite these positive descriptions, ‘Abd al-Qādir is not chauvinistic and he does not portray Arabs as the singular pinnacle of civilisation achievement. In fact, he notes that philosophy and the sciences were neglected in the early Islamic period up until the ‘Abbassid rulers sought out Greek books. He shows Arabic-Islamic knowledge as growing in contact with other cultures’ works, not in isolation (Ibid., 147-8). Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir explains that Greek works on philosophy, astronomy, and geometry were introduced later in Islamic history because the first centuries were needed in order to establish divine law and spread religious knowledge (Ibid., 148). While he acknowledges that the Arabs were the people God chose to send His messenger to, ‘Abd al-Qādir also credits the Persian Zorastrians with being the first monotheists (Ibid., 177, 158). Furthermore, his admission that the Indians do not recognise prophecy does not bar him from acknowledging their influence on Arabic literature. He hails *Kalīla wa-Dimna* as showing “la perfection d'esprit de son auteur”, implying that one does not need to be Muslim in order to perfect one’s soul (Ibid., 152). While his book writes back to colonial France and asserts the Arabs’ place in world civilisations, it does so without dismissing or condemning other cultures and religions.

Taken as a whole, *Le livre d’Abd-el-Kader intitulé: Rappel à l’intelligent, avis à l’indifférent* effectively presented Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir’s thought to a Francophone readership and allowed him to write back to the imperial enterprise. In both its content and its presentation, the book went against Eurocentric ideas of knowledge, literature, and World

History. This shows that, even after of Abd al-Qādir's surrender and imprisonment, he still maintained an Arabic-Islamic knowledge system and succeeded in conveying it to a new audience. He continued resisting cultural domination through literature even after he set aside the jihad of the sword.

5.4 Conclusion: Infiltrating Orientalist Trope Production

This chapter read both Orientalist depictions of Amir 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn and two texts attributed to 'Abd al-Qādir which were published in French during his lifetime. In this archive, Amir 'Abd al-Qādir ranges from being a gallant hero whose integrity and chivalry is explained away with an exceptional Arab trope to an interlocutor whose philosophy challenges Eurocentric epistemology and versions of history. In Shaikh Mā' al-'Aynayn's case, his decision to not keep European consorts or write back to Europe resulted in his figure remaining vague and mysterious in the colonial corpus. In neither case, however, was Maghribi resistance co-opted by the colonial gaze without in turn exerting influence on it. When authors of eyewitness Orientalist literature described Amir 'Abd al-Qādir, they not only departed from previous depictions of Arabs and Muslims, they also ended up legitimising the fight led by 'Abd al-Qādir or the 'Jugurtha moderne'. While this corpus inherited tropes of fanatacism and sorcery and sometimes perpetuated them, this did not prevent it from acknowledging and legitimising resistance. This shows that Maghribi resistance was a literary force in French and English colonial literature.

Maghribi resistance was also influential in terms of literary tropes. As this chapter showed, the colonial encounter with North African resistance figures resulted in Sufi visions and miracle tales travelling from Arabic into English and French. Both eyewitness and biographical texts repeated Sufi stories without framing them as fantastical or foreign. These Sufi tropes surfaced in the European authors' works as a seamless part of the larger text through a process of genre transference.

‘Abd al-Qādir’s collaboration with the General Eugène Daumas resulted in him being a published author in French, English, Spanish and German, and in his work being quoted in French periodicals with no history of considering African authors. Not only was ‘Abd al-Qādir’s contribution the major attraction of this work, he also used the poem he contributed to challenge the assumed superiority of the metropole. The Amir then ensured the publication of his own treatise in French and, contrary to prior readings, this chapter proved that the treatise was a substantial challenge to both European epistemologies and to Eurocentric ideas of World Literature and history. This stands as an early example of writing back to empire, a concept almost exclusively applied to the twentieth-century postcolonial context.

The hegemony of Orientalism was not so totalising that literary influence was unidirectional. Through the French and English texts which animate this chapter, it becomes clear that Maghribi resistance was a literary force not only in the Maghrib itself, but also in Europe.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion: Rising from their Libraries' Ashes

> Moreover, Morocco alleges that, after the marabout Ma ul-'Aineen established himself at Smara in the Sakiet El Hamra in the late 1890s, much of the territory came under the direct authority of this sheikh, and that he himself was the personal representative of the Sultan… [Yet] Nor was Ma ul-'Aineen, according to Spain, at any time the personal representative of the Sutlan's authorty in the Wester Sahara; on the contrary, he exercised his authority to the south of the Dra'a [River] in complete independence.
>
> - International Court of Justice 1975, 45-6

This thesis opened with scenes of colonial epistemicide: the burning of manuscripts and ransacking of libraries as attempts to destroy resistance at its textual root. However, neither Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir nor Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn disappeared from the world of words after the destruction of their libraries. Rather, they continued to travel into different languages and corpora. As Chapter Three demonstrated, ʻAbd al-Qādir was not only lionised in countless French and English books, articles, and even plays, but his original work was published in French during his lifetime (Pao 1998, 161). The Amir also became a character in postcolonial Francophone novels such as Fouzia Oukazi's *La femme de l'émir* (2008) and Abdelkader Djemaï's *La Dernière Nuit de l'émir* (2012). Although the Amir never framed his struggle in terms of nationhood, he became a celebrated national hero following Algeria's hard-won independence from France (Achrati 2007, 146-50).

Although Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn only appeared in colonial-era literature as the mysterious 'sorcier bleu', his final migration from Smāra to Tiznit inspired Nobel prize winner J.M.G. Le Clezio's novel *Désert* (1980). In addition to the ongoing publication of Mā' al-ʻAynayn's works in Morocco,[63] the Shaikh has been co-opted into Moroccan nationalist narratives regarding the disputed Western Sahara (International Court of Justice 1975). As the quote at the beginning of this chapter shows, the figure of Mā' al-ʻAynayn became

63 Most post-Indpendence reprints of Mā' al-ʻAynayn's works were published in Morocco by Mu'assasat al-Shaikh Murabbīhi Rabbuhu li-Iḥyā' al-Turāth wa-al-Tabādul al-Thaqāfī.

Morocco's central narrative in a moment of divided decolonisation. Future studies of his legacy in orature and poetry may reveal the extent to which he is co-opted by Western Saharan narratives of space, history, and nation as well. While I do not claim to cover every aspect of Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's multilingual literary legacies, these examples show that they never truly disappeared even while their resistance literature was neglected.

By revisiting two literary legacies which were previously dismissed as 'traditional' and thus not representative of the nineteenth century, this thesis pushed back against current divisions of knowledge. Then, by reading each figure's corpus across genres and without dismissing certain textual forms as lacking literariness, it proved that forms as diverse as fatwas, city poems, and mystical guides can all embody complementary aspects of an author's thought. As Chapter One showed, Amir ʻAbd al-Qādir's fatwa drew the outlines reinforced by his city poems, and laid the groundwork for his later assertions of proper comportment and conduct. The Amir's legal ruling featured allusion and storytelling alongside prescriptive rhetoric. Shaikh Mā' al-ʻAynayn's fatwa picked up where his *riḥla* left off and brought together both his intervention in Saharan significant geographies and his transregional vision of resistance.

In Chapter Two, I read Mā' al-ʻAynayn's Sufi manual and revealed it to be a politically-engaged means of spreading the same ideals of pan-Islamic brotherhood described in his *sharḥ*. By considering ʻAbd al-Qādir and Mā' al-ʻAynayn's outward-facing and inward-looking texts equally, this thesis showed that Maghribi resistance included not just re-drawing and defending a significant geography, but also continuing the same social ideals. This was further supported by reflecting on how writing in traditional genres was, in and of itself, an expression of resistance. Without reading their literary legacies holistically, it would

have been easy to fall into the pattern of engaging with ‘Abd al-Qādir and Mā’ al-‘Aynayn only as resistance leaders or only as mystics.

My main methodological tool of contextual reading – along with the framework of significant geographies – allowed me to read Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s works on their own terms as much as possible rather than relying on previous historicisations, canonisations, and disciplinary boundaries. First, the contextual reading allowed me to situate their works within larger relevant dialogues instead of along a timeline of literary modernisation. I focused on other works which Mā’ al-‘Aynayn and ‘Abd al-Qādir responded to or which used the same genre to cover the same topic around roughly the same time period. Chapter One’s contextual reading showed that Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir wrote his call for migration and Muslim solidarity on the grounds laid by both a regional textual dialogue on resistance and an archive of Islamic responses to foreign occupation. This contextual reading made it clear that ideas of the need to reform Islam or assimilate Western culture were not important or influential to this corpus. In Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s case, reading his literary geographies within the context of *bilād* descriptions and rulings brought to light the strategic nature of his alliance with the Moroccan sultanate’s domain. It assigned political and conceptual agency back to a figure who has since been co-opted as proof of a constant and inevitable geographic affiliation between the northwest Sahara and the Moroccan Sultanate.

In terms of the inner aspects of their resistance, contextual reading showed both the larger nineteenth-century trend of looking to conduct literature to cope with the social changes wraught by colonisation (or the threat of it) and the unusual intervention Mā’ al-‘Aynayn made by printing a new Sufi guide. Chapter Two’s contextual reading also showed how including traces of other texts was a means of continuing Muslim ideals of the inner world and Sufi sociality. Tracing previous concepts and vocabulary served to highlight how

‘Abd al-Qādir and Mā’ al-‘Aynayn both built on the Islamic Archive and applied it to new contexts.

The framework of significant geographies then showed how Mā’ al-‘Aynayn and ‘Abd al-Qādir both described and enforced new boundaries and expressed their affiliations within them. As stated in the introduction, their resistance movements were, above all else, visions for the future of their societies. Fundamental to creating, enacting, and defending these visions was drawing new maps in the Maghrib, whether they were an emirate free from French and Ottoman influence or a Sahara united around a single Islamic ruler. By looking at significant geographies in political literature, Chapter One showed that ‘Abd al-Qādir’s narratives of interfaith boundaries co-constituted his resistance movement. This focus also illustrated how Mā’ al-‘Aynayn’s stance against tribalism in the Sahara and against rivalries between Sufi brotherhoods in urban Morocco were part of the same project to re-draw Maghribi affiliations. He claimed the authority to create new significant geographies by narrating his own passages through and endorsements by transregional sources of Islamic legitimacy. Thus, significant geographies is a tool which can trace not only existing maps of literary networks and affiliations, but also those geographies which resistance figures fight to bring into reality. In Chapter Two, tracing significant geographies showed how the Sufi focus on cultivating the inner cosmos and progressing along the spiritual journey created a collectively-imagined sphere which shut out colonial ideas of selfhood.

While Chapter Three also read a set of Orientalist texts contextually – that is, alongside previous European portrayals of the Maghrib, Arabs, and Islam – the French corpus required a different approach. As these texts were not a form of resistance literature, they needed to be read together with Sufi literature in order to show how Maghribi resistance affected them. By placing both English and French works in dialogue with each other, rather than assuming that they represented opposing political interests, it became apparent that

Orientalist writings recylced their depictions between French and English rather than standing firmly with their respective nation's interests. By then comparing these texts to specific Sufi tropes, Chapter Three showed that the French colonial corpus was influenced by Maghribi resistance, even as Maghribi resistance literature showed no signs of assimilating French or English tropes. Reading literatures together in this manner can help move beyond paradigms of unidirectional influence. 'Abd al-Qādir's clear example of writing back to the French Empire – along with the fact that his book has been so consistently misread as advocating for modernising Islam – invites future studies of resistance literature from the early colonial period. Like the other chapters, it calls into question the idea of Arabic literature as a passive recipient of European conventions and epistemologies.

Although each chapter focused on different themes and genres, they all returned to the fundamental assertion that North African anticolonial resistance was a literary force in the nineteenth century. Resistance provoked new visions of the local and transregional, visions which were then propagated through both action and text. Resistance brought new meanings to travel and migration, and compelled Maghribis to re-evaluate the lines they had previously drawn among themselves. Resistance gave mystical inner journeys and everyday conduct a link to larger political projects and civilisational preservation. Finally, resistance intervened in the literature of the enemy in terms of both content and genre.

I aimed to keep in mind the role of literature as a world-making activity through which geographic and cultural barriers may be overcome or rearranged, and through which readers and audiences can participate in new geographies. The assumption that the nineteenth century and the beginning of the colonial period represented either a hard break with old forms of the verbal arts was tested by this study, and found to be the result of scholarly focus rather than a universally-accurate description of the literary environment. By implementing alternative approaches to literary history from those which have consistently transposed

European models of criticism and historical frameworks onto Arabic corpora, this thesis offers other scholars ways to think about the texts we have written out of literary history.

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