

**IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF ISLAMIC STUDIES**

MASTER’S THESIS

**A SUFI OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MOROCCO: THE
LIFE, THOUGHT AND INFLUENCE OF ‘ALĪ AL-
JAMAL (D. 1193/1779)**

ENES ÜRÜN

**THESIS SUPERVISOR
ASSIST. PROF. NASER DUMAIRIEH**

ISTANBUL, 2025

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JAMAL (D. 1193/1779)**

**by
ENES ÜRÜN**

**A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
Islamic Studies**

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ÖZ

ALI EL-CEMEL'İN (Ö. 1193/1779) HAYATI, DÜŞÜNCESİ VE ETKİSİ

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Aralık 2025, 197 Sayfa

Bu tez sıklıkla neo-sufizm, tecdid gibi kavramlarla adı anılan ve Derkâviyye tarikatının kurucusu olan Mulay Derkâvî'nin (ö. 1239/1823) şeyhi Ali el-Cemel'in tasavvufi mirasını bütünlüklü bir şekilde inceleme amacı taşımakta; Cemel'in böyle bir olguya -varsa- nasıl kaynaklık ettiğine ve bu tecdidin hangi alanlarda tezahür ettiği sorularına odaklanmaktadır. Onun *Nasihâtü'l-murîd fî tarîki ehli's-sülûki ve't-tecrîd* isimli eserini merkeze alan çalışma, süreklilik ve ayrışma noktalarını tespit etmek amacıyla eserin temalarını Şâzeliyye klasikleriyle karşılaştırmakta, böylece onun daha geniş Şâzelî geleneği içindeki konumu açıklığa kavuşturmaktadır.

Özellikle *tecrîd* kavramına önceki kullanımlardan farklı olarak yüklediği *antinomian* anlam ve buna paralel insanların zahir ve batın adetlerine muhalefet olarak açığa çıkan bazı pratikler kitap boyunca en çok tekrar eden merkezi temalardan olduğu için çalışmada bununla alakalı bağlamları serimleyip analiz ettiğimiz bir bölüm ayrılmıştır. O, bu konuda Şâzeliyye genel usulü ve akışı içerisinde farklı bir yorumu temsil etmektedir. Vahdet konusunda Şüşterî'ye (ö. 668/1269) sonrasında gelen bazı müellifler tarafından benzetilen Cemel, gerçekten onun mensub bulunduğu vahdet-i mutlaka ekolünden mi yoksa ondan bu bağlamda yaptığı alıntıları araçsallaştırıyor mu veya bu meselede Ekberi geleneğin etkisinden söz edilebilir mi sorularına cevap aranmıştır. Bu konuda her iki geleneğe de yaptığı yoğun içerik atıfları dolayısıyla etkilenmenin form değiştirerek Cemel'de devam ettiği ama o ekollerin teknik kavramlarını kullanmadığı için her ikisine de eklemlemenin doğru olmadığı sonucuna

varılmıştır. Tarikatın edepleri ve erkanları konusunun ele alındığı bölümdeyse geçmiş Şâzelî geleneği ile tam bir uyum içinde olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bu çalışma, tecrid felsefesi ve pratikleri konusunda var olan yenilenme genelde tasavvuf literatüründe Derkāvî ile başlatıldığı için bu Melametî olgunun ondan öncesinde daha yoğun bir şekilde var olduğunu gösterme; neo-sufizm teorilerinin vahdet-i vücud geleneği hakkındaki iddialarının çalıştığımız isim özelinde geçersiz olduğunu gösterme açısından ve Şâzeliyye içerisinde bir ictihad olarak görebileceğimiz bu yönelişe dair zincirdeki bir halkayı tamamlama açısından önem arz etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cemel, İctihad, Melametî, Şâzeliyye, Şüşterî, Tecrid.



ABSTRACT

A SUFI OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MOROCCO: THE LIFE, THOUGHT AND INFLUENCE OF ‘ALĪ AL-JAMAL (D. 1193/1779)

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National Thesis Center Reference No.: 10766774

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December 2025, 197 Pages

This thesis examines the Sufi heritage of ‘Alī al-Jamal, the shaykh of Mawlāy al-Darqāwī (d. 1239/1823), founder of the Darqāwiyya order, often linked with neo-Sufism and renewal (*tajdīd*). It investigates how al-Jamal acted as a source for renewal within the order and in what areas this renewal manifested. Centered on his work, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd fī ṭarīq ahl al-sulūk wa-l-tajrīd*, the study compares its themes with Shādhilī classics to identify points of continuity and divergence, thereby clarifying his position within the broader Shādhilī tradition.

The study’s axis is al-Jamal’s redefinition of *tajrīd* with a distinct antinomian/*malāmatī* meaning, which diverged from earlier usage. This concept was expressed through practices opposing conventional outward and inward customs, representing a significant renewal within the Shādhiliyya, which is very antinomian meaning. The thesis also explores his stance on unity, questioning his connection to al-Shushtarī’s (d. 668/1269) school of absolute unity of existence (*waḥda muṭlaqa*) and the extent of Akbarian influence. We conclude that although al-Jamal was influenced by both traditions, his limited use of their technical terminology prevents a formal affiliation with either school, indicating a form of continuity. In the section dealing with the etiquette and rules of the order, it has been observed that it is in complete harmony with the previous Shādhilī tradition.

The study makes three contributions. First, it demonstrates that the antinomian phenomenon, often associated with al-Darqāwī, was in fact more prominently manifested in his predecessor, al-Jamal. Second, it critically re-evaluates assumptions found in neo-Sufi interpretations of the tradition of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Finally, it brings to light an important transitional figure in the evolution of this spiritual orientation, revealing a distinct and self-contained development (*ijtihād*) within the broader Shādhiliyya tradition.

Keywords: Al-Jamal, Al-Shushtarī, Ijtihād, Malāmatī, Shādhiliyya, Tajrīd.



DEDICATION

To cherished memory of him whose name was al-Jamal, but who, “in the presence of the angels of al-Raḥmān, is known by the epithet *jamāl* (beauty) and whom only Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal himself could truly and fully recognize.” (al-Kattānī, 2004, 1:409-410)



ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First and foremost, I consider it a pleasant duty to express my profound gratitude to my valued advisor, Assist. Prof. Naser Dumairieh, whose lectures at the historic Süleymaniye madrasas enriched my knowledge of Sufism and who guided me throughout the process of writing this thesis. I am also deeply indebted to Assoc. Prof. Ahmet Murat Özel, from whom I had the privilege of taking courses on Sufism for a year in the same milieu. I have consistently benefited from his profound knowledge of the Shādhiliyya order during our conversations, and I am grateful for his assistance in selecting this research topic.

My sincere gratitude extends to the Shādhilī shaykh and great contemporary Akbarian commentator, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Bāqī Miftāḥ. I thank him for the insightful conversations and guidance regarding my thesis when he graciously hosted me at his home and *zāwiya* in Guemar, Algeria, and for his subsequent patience in answering my many questions.

I am profoundly grateful to Yasin Taçar and Rıdvan Saygılar for our continuous discussions on the subject throughout my research; and to Eren Yeşilyurt, who was unstinting in his help with acquiring certain sources; to my friend Hamza Bourkadi for consistently helping me to find resources in Morocco that I could not obtain in Türkiye, and for sending them to me; to Zeynep Nur Kızılkaya for sharing part of her research from her ongoing PhD dissertation on Ibn ‘Abbād al-Rundī and for her helpful corrections concerning the formative period of the Shādhiliyya in Tunisia.

Also, I wish to thank the esteemed Prof. Bilal Aybakan and Assist. Prof. İhsan Kahveci, who greatly facilitated this journey with their administrative support and encouraging guidance.

Finally, I owe a special debt of gratitude to İSAM (Centre for Islamic Studies) and its dedicated staff. With its unparalleled motivational atmosphere and a library that contained nearly every source I sought, İSAM truly became a second home to me during the writing of this thesis.

Enes ÜRÜN
ISTANBUL, 2025

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study examines the Sufi intellectual world of Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal, examining the key themes of his work, his position within the Shādhilī tradition, the influences he absorbed from earlier figures, and the impact he exerted on subsequent generations. In this respect, our primary source is his only known book.

The study has prioritized deriving the hermeneutical keys (*al-mafātih al-qirā’iyya*) entirely from al-Jamal’s own book, in order to understand him on his own terms. Therefore, the study begins with a general assessment of the content of his book. Grasping the content and structure of this book will form the basis for why we have chosen the specific topics of focus, and the methods used in this study. This will be followed by a literature review, which will reveal the existing lacunae in this field and will indicate the aspects of original contributions of this study in relation to the existing literature on al-Jamal. Subsequently, based on these findings, the study will outline its methodological approach, identify the main problematics to be addressed, and clarify its challenges, structure, and the primary sources underpinning each chapter.

1.1. A General Assessment of Al-Jamal’s Only Known Book: The Primary Source of the Study

The title of his book is *Naṣīhat al-murīd fī ṭarīq ahl al-sulūk wa-l-tajrīd* (The Counsel of the Disciple on the Path of the People of Wayfaring and Spiritual Detachment). The book is also known by another title: *al-Yawāqīt al-ḥisān fī taṣrīf ma ‘ānī al-insān* (The Beautiful Rubies in the Exposition of the Meanings of the Human Being). The book itself contains no explanation for these titles, which appear to be later attributions based on its content. However, based on these titles alone, it would not be incorrect to state at first glance that the book addresses the path of the disciple’s wayfaring (*sulūk*),

offer guidance on the meaning and practices of the concept of *tajrīd*, and reflections on the human being -and therefore on Being (*wujūd*)- and on divine unity (*tawhīd*). In terms of style, the work is a guidebook that primarily addresses an imagined yet direct interlocutor, conveying its ideas in a didactic manner, but rather by explicating what was learned from the shaykhs of the Makhfiyya *zāwiya* and other figures of this tradition. It explains the author's own experiences and conclusions, and describes step-by-step how the disciples, particularly those aspiring to the rank of the elite (*ahl al-khuṣṣiyya*), should walk this path. In this respect, it is not a book addressed for a general audience.¹

Although the book contains sections on the pillars (*arkān*) and rules of etiquette (*ādāb*) relating to discipleship, it cannot be classified as a formal manual of conduct in the strict sense, such as al-Būzīdī's *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*. Nor does it resemble a collection of letters with specific addressees and topics, like al-Darqāwī's *Rasā'il*. Rather, the book is best described as a compilation of writings that 'Alī al-Jamal composed whenever time allowed,² and divine inspirations (*wāridāt*).³

As a result, the book is highly fragmented, making it quite difficult to establish clear sections and headings. It is marked by frequent repetitions of the same topic in different places, which makes the book more challenging to read. Therefore, studying a specific topic in the book require careful line-by-line examination and assemble the pieces of the puzzle of the author's thoughts on that subject to emerge holistically.

¹ Al-Darqāwī's warning that of al-Jamal's book should not reach those who are not of this "art" confirms our view that its intended audience consists of either the sincere, beginning disciple who has entered this path, or the perfected gnostics whom he calls the elite people (*ahl al-khuṣṣiyya*). See al-'Arabī al-Darqāwī, *Majmū'at al-rasā'il al-Maghribiyya*, ed. Bassām Muḥammad Bārūd (Abu Dhabi: al-Majma' al-Thaqāfi, 1999), 405.

² What confirms our view on this matter are the words of the Darqāwī shaykh in Morocco, Sīdī Muṣṭafā Bāshīr (d. 1427/2006), to Fadhlalla Haeri. According to his claim, 'Alī al-Jamal would write a few pages and leave them in the courtyard of his house, and his successor, Mawlāy al-Darqāwī, collected them into a book. This information has been transmitted orally from generation to generation within the Darqāwī order. See Fadhlalla Haeri and Hosam Raouf, *Teachings from a Classical Sufi Master: Sīdī 'Alī al-Jamal* (South Africa: Zahra Publication, 2023), iv.

³ This act of writing appears to have begun while his shaykh was still alive, for he told him, "When you write something, check it again before you let it out of your hands." Likewise, when he saw points, he appreciated in the pages al-Jamal had written, he would say, "Send me a copy of these as well." The shaykh's words to him, "O my son, do not prefer anything over sitting with the beloved ones, except for writing, for once divine inspirations (*wāridāt*) are gone, they cannot be recovered," can also be interpreted as an encouragement for al-Jamal to record his inspirational and experiential knowledge—which indeed happened, as the book is filled with this type of knowledge. See 'Alī al-Jamal al-'Imrānī, *Naṣḥat al-murīd fī ṭarīq ahl al-sulūk wa-l-tajrīd: al-Yawāqūt al-hisān fī taṣrīf ma 'ānī al-insān* ed. 'Āṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2005), 269, 285, 352.

Another factor that complicates the reading is al-Jamal tendency to assign novel and often original meanings to familiar concepts from the Sufi tradition, reinterpreting them in line with his own philosophical outlook. The most obvious example of this is his interpretation of the concept of *tajrīd* -which we will address in a separate section- as taking on the character of humiliation (*dhilla*) through outward opposition to social customs (a Malāmatī-like perspective),⁴ and his interpretation of other concepts accordingly. Further examples include his construal of the word essence (*dhāt*) as majesty (*jalāl*) and attributes (*ṣifāt*) as beauty (*jamāl*) throughout the book, and his subsequent interpretation of dichotomies such as reality (*ḥaqīqa*) and law (*sharīʿa*), wayfaring (*sulūk*) and attraction (*jadhb*), permanence (*baqāʿ*) and annihilation (*fanāʿ*), union (*jamʿ*) and separation (*farq*), and wisdom (*ḥikma*) and power (*qudra*).

Dichotomies are constantly repeated with these main concepts mentioned above. In addition to those we have written, these are distinctions such as servitude (ʿubūdiyya) versus freedom (ḥurriyya) or Lordship (rubūbiyya), sobriety (saḥw) versus intoxication (sukr), fear (khawf) versus hope (rajāʿ), contraction (qabḍ) versus expansion (bast), coloration (talwīn) versus stability (tamkīn), and the outward (ẓāhir) versus the inward (bāṭin). Other concepts he discusses are gratitude (shukr), asceticism (zuhd), spiritual poverty (faqr), contentment (riḍā), trust in God (tawakkul), patience (ṣabr), truthfulness (ṣidq), spiritual aspiration (himma), and jest (mizāḥ). With a few exceptions, such as his tripartite division of people into the commonality (ʿamma), the elite (khāṣṣa), and the elite of the elite (khāṣṣat al-khāṣṣa), he generally tends to make binary distinctions.

As for the practices of *tajrīd*, the book discusses the topics of begging and wandering in the marketplaces, seclusion (ʿuzla), silence and hunger, and wearing patched and old clothes from various perspectives. In addition, the relationship between knowledge and action (ʿilm-ʿamal), companionship (ṣuḥba), remembrance and reflection (*dhikr-fikr*), and reverence (*taʿẓīm*) are among the subjects that are consistently emphasized.

⁴ This aim will be discussed in the fifth chapter within detail.

In order to better understand the intellectual landscape in which the author operates and the networks of influence that shaped his thought, it is instructive to examine the individuals whom ‘Alī al-Jamal most frequently references in his work. The individual he refers to most often—more than 200 times—is his own shaykh, al-‘Arabī (d. 1166/1753). Following him, the most cited figure is al-Shushtarī (d. 668/1269) with 50 mentions, and then Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309) with 43. Other notable figures include Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) was cited 26 times; ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī (d. 832/1428) 22 times; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb (d. 976/1569) 16 times; Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1120/1708) 14 times; Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235) 12 times; ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh (d. 625/1228) 11 times; Abū al-Mawāhib al-Tūnusī (d. after 850/1446) and Aḥmad Yamanī (d. 1113/1701) 9 times; Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1062/1652) 6 times; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (d. 1091/1685) 5 times; al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922), Abū Madyan (d. 594/1198), Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 638/1240), and Zarrūq (d. 899/1493-94) 4 times; and Sīdī Būshtā, Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Hibrī, Yūsuf al-Fāsī (d. 1013/1604), and al-Junayd (d. 297/909) 3 times. He also cites ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166), al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), al-Bisṭāmī (d. 234/848), al-Mursī (ö. 685/1287), Qāsim al-Khaṣṣāṣī (d. 1083-1673), and al-Būṣṣīrī (d. 695/1296) twice.

Furthermore, there is one citation each for Ibn al-Wafā’ (d. 896/1490), Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Mawlā Milyāna (d. 931/1524), ‘Abd Allāh al-Ghazwānī (d. 935/1529), al-Tabbā’ (d. 914/1509), al-Jazūlī, Muḥammad al-Ḥājj (d. 1082/1671), Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 283/896), Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), al-Sharīshī (d. 643/1245), ‘Abd Allāh al-Burnāwī (d. 1088/1677), Muḥammad b. Nāṣir (d. 1085/1676), Ibn ‘Abbād (d. 792/1390), and Ibn ‘Āshir (d. 1040/1631).

These citations offer valuable insight into the spiritual lineage, scholarly affiliations, and broader Sufi tradition to which he belongs. By examining the figures, he references most frequently, one can trace the primary sources of authority and inspiration that shape his doctrinal orientation and pedagogical vision. Several observations emerge from this pattern of citation. First, the fact that the most cited figure in the book is his shaykh, al-‘Arabī, provides us with considerable material about his intellectual world and his influence on al-Jamal’s thought, who appears to be the most impactful figure on him. Second, the prominence of al-Shushtarī in the text supports the claim made in

later works, that he belonged to the school of al-Shushtarī on the matter of unity. Third, the high frequency of citations of Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh justifies the idea that he had a distinct influence on this tradition. Fourth, the appearance of the shaykhs of the Makhfiyya and Fāsiyya *zāwiyas*, and of the figures in his spiritual lineage up to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb, are noteworthy, as they are all signs indicating the origins of the path he continued. Fifth, although famous figures of eastern (*Mashriqī*) Sufism such as al-Junayd, al-Bisṭāmī, al-Jīlānī, and al-Ghazālī are among the names he cites, the majority of the figures indicate a Maghribī background, emphasizing the regional context of his affiliations. Lastly, his consistent citations of well-known figures from both the early and middle periods of the Shādhilī tradition demonstrate the continuous relationship he established with the tradition to which he belongs.

However, it should be noted that this engagement with early figures and texts is achieved through a distinctive Sufi re-interpretation rather than understanding them in their own context. For al-Jamal, the literal content of what is heard or read is secondary; regardless of what is actually said, the gnostic can understand and interpret it for his own benefit. This interpretive method is applied not only to the figures he cites or the anonymous poems he includes, but equally to the verses of the Quran and to *ḥadīths*. In this respect, we can see an anecdote he narrates as the source of the renewal in his unique Sufi hermeneutics:

It is related that the Shaykh, Sīdī Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh, was seated one day in a location on the outskirts of the city when a man from among the sinners (*ahl al-ma‘āṣī*) began to sing a song of the dissolute (*ahl al-takhrīb*). Sīdī Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh listened, while the man remained unaware of his presence. Then, the man turned, saw the Shaykh, and, feeling abashed before him, fell silent. The Shaykh called out to him, saying, “Continue with what you were saying, for I am more in need of it than you are. You sing in accordance with how you know, and I listen in accordance with how I know.” Upon receiving the Shaykh’s permission, the man repeated what he had been saying. May God cause us to benefit through him and those like him.⁵

In this anecdote, the statement from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh, one of the shaykhs of the Makhfiyya *zāwiya* to which ‘Alī al-Jamal belonged - “You sing in accordance with how you know, and I listen in accordance with how I know”- simultaneously reveals his own interpretive method. Al-Jamal reinterpreted the inherited tradition through the lens of his own path, which he named *tajrīd*, without adhering to its original contextual

⁵ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 84.

meanings. This can be described as the re-subjection of *ishārī*/Sufi statements to a new *ishārī* interpretation.

1.2. Literature Review

The book of al-Jamal was published in Arabic first time in 2005 by ‘Āṣim Kayyālī.⁶ A second edition was published by the same editor, differing from the first in headings, paragraph structure, and word choices.⁷ However, neither edition offers a description of the manuscript sources used, and the second edition provides no information about the differences between it and the first. For this reason, we have based our study on the first edition but have frequently consulted the other edition for points we found questionable. In addition to these, another edition, *Majmū‘ rasā’il Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal*, edited by Bassām Muḥammad Bārūd, has been published.⁸ As is evident from the analysis of the book’s content above, the work does not correspond to the content designation “epistles” (*rasā’il*) assigned to it by Bassām Bārūd.

The scholarly works on the figure we are examining are quite limited. Among these, the first to be mentioned, perhaps for bringing al-Jamal back into the spotlight and introducing him to the Western world, is the English translation of his book titled “The Meaning of Man” made in 1988 under the guidance of Abdalqadir al-Sufi, based directly on the manuscript.⁹ Abdalqadir al-Sufi states that this work had been read in the *zāwiya* of Sīdī al-Jamal for 200 years and considers it “the most important book written by man.”¹⁰ Al-Sufi, who seems to have been greatly impressed by the book, must have become acquainted with this work during his years in Morocco.

A second work is the English study titled *Teachings from a Classical Sufi Master Sidi Ali al-Jamal* by Fadhlalla Haeri and Hosam Raouf,¹¹ whose interest was drawn to al-

⁶ ‘Alī al-Jamal al-‘Imrānī, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd fī ṭarīq ahl al-sulūk wa-l-tajrīd: Al-yawāqīt al-ḥisān fī taṣrīf ma ‘ānī al-insān* ed. ‘Āṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2005).

⁷ ‘Alī al-Jamal al-‘Imrānī, *al-Yawāqīt al-ḥisān fī taṣrīf ma ‘ānī al-insān: Naṣīḥat al-murīd fī ṭarīq ahl al-sulūk wa-l-tajrīd* ed. ‘Āṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2020).

⁸ ‘Alī al-Jamal al-‘Imrānī, *Majmū‘ rasā’il sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal* (Abu Dhabi: al-Saḥat al-Kharzanjiyya, 2008).

⁹ Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal, *The Meaning of Man: The Foundations of the Science of Knowledge*, trans. Aisha Bewley (Diwan Press, 1988).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹¹ Fadhlalla Haeri and Hosam Raouf, *Teachings from a Classical Sufi Master: Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal* (South Africa: Zahra Publication, 2023).

Jamal through the translation we mentioned above. They classify the topics in the book under specific headings, creating a meaningful classification, in a sense making a selection, removing repetitions, and providing an abridgment. This arrangement is important for grasping the essence of the book in a way that does not tire the reader.

Another similar work is that of Muḥammad al-Tamsamānī, who classified the book according to its main topics and concepts, compiling disparate topics under specific headings, which greatly facilitates the researchers task when searching for a particular concept.¹² In addition, the biographical information he provides at the beginning of the book, derived from manuscript sources, some of which are difficult to access, increases the value of the work. Likewise, at the end of the book, there is an interview he conducted with Hamza Shaqqūr¹³ about Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal which is beneficial to understand some of his unclear sayings. The same author also compiled the biographical information about al-Jamal from his own book at the beginning of the index he prepared for Mawlāy al-Darqāwī’s epistles.¹⁴

There is also a doctoral thesis on al-Jamal titled *al-Shaykh ‘Alī al-‘Imrānī al-Jamal wa ārā’uhu al-ṣūfiyya ma’a taḥqīq rasā’ilih al-Yawāqūt al-ḥisān fī taṣrīf ma’ānī al-insān*.¹⁵ This study also includes a critical edition of his book and is valuable in this respect. It has likewise captured the concepts in the work but has generally contented itself with quoting passages where they appear and citing from past Sufis. It does not place these concepts in a context, make a comparison, or interpret them according to the underlying headings and main themes. The question of which figures influenced al-Jamal in the background is not answered in the study. This study also does not seek to establish a comprehensive framework regarding the points of divergence and convergence of al-Jamal’s Sufi heritage and early or middle period Shādhilī literature, nor does it aim to offer a definitive assessment of the presence or absence of renewal.

¹² Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Tamsamānī, *Kitāb Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2007).

¹³ For detailed information on this Moroccan shaykh, who belongs to the same *silsila* as ‘Alī al-Jamal, see Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Tamsamānī, *Shaykhī Sīdī Ḥamza Shaqqūr: Tarjamatuḥu wa-ba’du āthārihi* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2006).

¹⁴ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Tamsamānī, *al-Imām Mawlāy al-‘Arabī al-Darqāwī: Shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-Darqāwīyya al-Shādhiliyya tarjamatuḥu wa-ba’du āthārihi* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2007).

¹⁵ al-Mufaḍḍal Aḥmash, “*al-Shaykh ‘Alī al-‘Imrānī al-Jamal wa ārā’uhu al-ṣūfiyya ma’a taḥqīq rasā’ilih al-Yawāqūt al-ḥisān fī taṣrīf ma’ānī al-insān*” (PhD diss., Abdelmalek Essaādi University, Tetouan, 2009).

Apart from these works, we have not encountered another study that examines ‘Alī al-Jamal and his work. Existing scholarship has largely converged on several areas: the preparation of a critical edition (*taḥqīq*) of his book, its conceptual and thematic classification and abridgement (*ikhtisār*), and the identification of its key concepts.

1.3. Objectives and Problems of the Research

The central question guiding this study is how al-Jamal should be situated within his own intellectual and spiritual lineage and what, precisely, constitutes his distinctive contribution to the Shādhilī tradition.

To address this overarching question, the study examines several interrelated aspects: the nature of al-Jamal’s reading of earlier Shādhilī authorities; the extent and loci of renewal (*tajdīd*) in his thought and the sources he identified for it; his influence on later figures, especially al-Darqāwī and the subsequent formation of the Darqāwiyya; and the place of his Malāmatī-oriented understanding, which he often termed *tajrīd*, within the broader Shādhiliyya. It further considers how far the “Neo-Sufi” thesis—particularly claims about Akbarian influence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—applies to al-Jamal, including his views on unity and his engagement with Ibn ‘Arabī and al-Shushtarī. Finally, the study assesses whether al-Jamal adhered to or reinterpreted doctrines of unity attributed to al-Shushtarī, and the degree to which he aligned with other Shādhilī shaykhs in his *silsila* on matters of etiquette and foundational principles.

The unsystematic structure of al-Jamal’s *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, compounded by the lack of reliable critical editions, poses significant methodological challenges, as editorial chapter and section headings are often misleading and fail to reflect the full scope of the material. Moreover, the work’s highly fragmentary and dispersed nature has necessitated an unusually large number of footnotes, an unavoidable consequence of the complexity of the source.

The second difficulty of the study arises from the ambiguity of the language used by ‘Alī al-Jamal and from the original meanings he attributes to Sufi concepts, which are very different from previous usages. Indeed, we do not have a lexicon for this—with

the exception of a few brief sections touched upon in Ibn ‘Ajība’s *Mi‘rāj al-tashawwuf*.¹⁶ This innovative phenomenon in his language, unlike in authors who use Sufi concepts in their conventional manner, necessitates a greater effort to understand him.

1.4. Research Methods

The primary method employed in this study is descriptive and interpretive. Given the emphasis on understanding ‘Alī al-Jamal on his own terms, this approach involves extracting the interpretive keys directly from his own work. Alongside this, a comparative method has been utilized to situate him within the Shādhiliyya tradition. This involved comparing his ideas with those of key figures from the early, middle, and later periods of the order. This comparative approach was also applied to assess the nature and extent of his engagement with figures to whom he frequently refers, such as al-Shushtarī, and the influence they had upon him. Additionally, we have used the method of historical contextualization to understand the social and political atmosphere of the period in which ‘Alī al-Jamal lived; specifically, to determine his place among the other existing Shādhilī branches of that time, and to understand the circumstances in Fez that led to his withdrawal from politics.

For the transliteration of Arabic terms and proper names, the Brill system has been preferred which has commonly used in *The Encyclopedia of Islam Three*. ʾ al- (article), no elision took place for sun-letters: for instance, we used “al-Shushtarī” instead of “ash-Shushtarī”. In case of prepositions preceding definite nouns and pronouns, the “a” is dropped: for instance, *wa-l-tajrīd*, *bi-l-Maghrib*. The Arabic feminine ending “-a” is rendered as “a” when silent, rather than as “ah”: for instance, *al-Zāwiya al-Fāsiyya*, *al-wahda al-muṭlaqa*. And when “-a” is in the construct state (*muḍāf*), is rendered as “at”: for instance, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*. Long

¹⁶ For example, Ibn ‘Ajība has stated that, in a complete departure from previous usages, al-Jamal used the word *dhāt* in the sense of *jalāl* and the word *ṣifāt* in the sense of *jamāl*. See Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥdī al-Ḥasanī al-Shādhilī Ibn ‘Ajība, *The Book of Ascension to the Essential Truths of Sufism (Mi‘rāj al-tashawwuf ilā ḥaqā’iq al-taṣawwuf): A Lexicon of Sufic Terminology*, ed. and trans. Muḥammad Fu‘ād Aresmouk and Michael ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Fitzgerald (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2012), 62-63. As another example, as will be discussed in detail in the fifth chapter, he attributed an antinomial meaning to the concept of *tajrīd*, which differs from its previous usages. Examples such as these are numerous.

vowels are marked with a macron as “ā, ī, ū”, while short vowels remained unmarked as “a, i, u”. For the footnotes and the bibliography I have used The Chicago Manual of Style.

Finally, throughout this study, we have referred to ‘Alī al-Jamal’s shaykh, Abū al-Maḥāmid al-‘Arabī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ma’n al-Andalusī, as al-‘Arabī -in accordance with al-Jamal’s own preference when citing him-. His (al-Jamal’s) disciple, Mawlāy al-‘Arabī al-Darqāwī, is referred to as al-Darqāwī.

1.5. The Structure of the Study

We have planned this study in seven chapters, including this introduction and the conclusion in the end. After this first chapter, where we have outlined the scope, literature review, and methodology, in the second chapter we will address Sufism in the 18th century, the period in which ‘Alī al-Jamal lived, the famous branches of the Shādhilī order existing in this period, their relations with the administration and society, and at the same, the issue of Sharifism, which played a central role in determining all these networks. This chapter aims to contextualize al-Jamal within the political, social, and intellectual milieu of his time. Chapter Three explores al-Jamal’s life, his spiritual lineage, the biography of his shaykh al-‘Arabī, and the biographies of al-Jamal’s disciples including Mawlāy al-Darqāwī, who carried forward his legacy. In the fourth chapter, we examine al-Jamal’s conception of the human being—which appears in the book’s title— as well as his views on existence and the notion of unity. In exploring the notion of unity, we will also examine it through the lens of al-Shushtarī, with whom al-Jamal is frequently compared by various scholars in this context.¹⁷ This section investigates whether al-Jamal genuinely aligns with the school of absolute unity (*waḥda muṭlaqa*)—as represented by al-Shushtarī and his teacher Ibn Sab‘īn—or whether he selectively appropriates their ideas and quotations to support a framework distinctively his own. Additionally, we will question that is there any influence by Akbarian tradition in this regard. In the fifth chapter, we will discuss the

¹⁷ Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās wa-muḥādathat al-akyās bi-man uqbira min al-‘ulamā’ wa-l-sulahā’ bi-Fās*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamza b. ‘Alī al-Kattānī (Rabat: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2004), 1:409; al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 62.

concept of “*tajrīd*” which expresses al-Jamal’s Sufi path. We will seek answers to questions such as how this concept found its place in al-Jamal in a unique direction, very different from previous uses; how the related clusters of concepts were reinterpreted accordingly; how he interpreted Quranic verses and *ḥadīths* and the figures he cited from the Shādhilī tradition in this regard; and how his teacher al-‘Arabī and the Fāsiyya and Makhfiyya *zāwiyas* to which he belonged influenced him on this matter. After revealing the definition he provides for the concept of *tajrīd*, we will discuss the topics he speaks of most as practices of *tajrīd*: mendicancy and wandering in the markets, seclusion, hunger and silence, and wearing patched and old clothes. In the sixth chapter, which is the final one before the conclusion, we will focus on other topics that al-Jamal emphasizes most as etiquettes and pillars, such as companionship, reverence, the relationship between remembrance and contemplation, and the relationship between knowledge and action. In this chapter, to reveal the continuity he maintained within the Shādhilī tradition and the originality he brought alongside it, we will conduct a comparison through the works of early and middle period Shādhilī classics and the figures who continued this path after him (al-Darqāwī, al-Būzīdī, and Ibn ‘Ajība). Since our aim is to understand him on his own terms, such a comparison will establish a sound basis for understanding how he was influenced by preceding figures and what he bequeathed to those who came after him.

Therefore, in this study, we have not planned the structure according to al-Jamal’s views on spiritual states and stations (*al-aḥwāl wa-l-maqāmāt*) as Aḥmash made in his doctoral dissertation.¹⁸ Rather, we have made a content classification according to the dominant main themes in the work and have evaluated and integrated the states and stations under these main headings. We believe this is a more holistic way to reveal the fundamental purposes and meanings of the work. Otherwise, not only would a relative reductionism occur, but some disconnected pieces would also emerge.

¹⁸ See Aḥmash “*al-Shaykh ‘Alī al-‘Imrānī al-Jamal*, 100-165. Here, rather than analyzing and comparing the states and stations and placing them in an appropriate context, Aḥmash merely quotes some passages related to them.

1.6. Key Sources for Each Chapter of the Study

In the second chapter of this study, following the preliminary introduction, titled “18th Century Morocco: Between Political and Spiritual Power,” the main sources include al-Dukkālī’s *The Historical Chronicle*¹⁹ which focuses on Fez between 1736 and 1766 and al-Qādirī’s *Nashr al-mathānī*.²⁰ These two works have been particularly useful for understanding the socio-political climate in Fez during the period of violent conflict between the Idrīsī *sharīfs* (to which al-Jamal belonged) and other social groups, known as the *fitna* period in the history of Morocco (1727-1757), when al-Jamal left his political past behind, moved to Tunisia and turned to Sufism. In this context, Fatima Gholaichi’s master’s thesis, “Of Saints and Sharifian Kings in Morocco”,²¹ and Fatima Harrak’s doctoral thesis, “State and Religion in Eighteenth-Century Morocco”²² provide valuable content regarding Mawlāy Ismā‘īl’s era (1672-1727), and Mawlāy Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh’s era (1757–1790) as they correspond to the period in which al-Jamal lived. Since the main issue determining this network of relationships in the Maghrib is the matter of Sharifism, the works of Stephen Cory, Vincent Cornell, and Mohammed al-Mansour are among the principal sources on this topic.²³

¹⁹ Maḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle of Abū ‘Abdallāh Maḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Al-Dukkālī: Fez in the Mid-18th Century (1149/1736-1179/1766)* ed. and trans Norman Cigar (Leiden: Brill, 2023).

²⁰ Muḥammad b. Ṭayyib al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī li-ahl al-qarn al-ḥādī ‘ashara wa-l-thānī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥajj ve Aḥmad al-Tawfiq (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ṭālib, 1982).

²¹ Fatima Gholaichi, “Of Saints and Sharifian Kings in Morocco: Three Examples of the Politics of Reimagining History through Reinventing King/Saint Relationship” (Master’s thesis, University of Maryland, 2005).

²² Fatima Harrak, “State and Religion in Eighteenth-Century Morocco: The Religious Policy of Sidi Muhammed b. Abdullah, 1757-1790” (PhD diss., SOAS University of London, 1989). Also, her article about Sharifism is useful in this regard: Fatima Harrak, “Sharifism and the Sharifs in the Reign of Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh (1757-1790),” *Hesperis-Tamuda* 30, no. 2 (1992): 17-21.

²³ These sources are, respectively: Stephen Cory, “Sharīfian Rule in Morocco (Tenth–Twelfth/Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries),” in *The New Cambridge History of Islam, Volume 2: The Western Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Maribel Fierro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Stephen Cory, “Breaking the Khaldunian Cycle? The Rise of Sharifianism as the Basis for Political Legitimacy in Early Modern Morocco,” *Cleveland State University History Faculty Publications*, no. 9 (2008); Vincent Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); Mohammed al-Mansour, *The Power of Islam in Morocco: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2020); Mohamed al-Mansour, “Political and Social Developments in Morocco during the Reign of Mawlāy Sulaymān 1792-1822” (PhD diss., SOAS University of London, 1981).

Another issue in this century is the literature written on Neo-Sufism. While our main sources on this topic are the works of Nehemia Levtzion and John Voll,²⁴ Marina Palacios's master's thesis, "Neo-Sufism" which compiles this literature,²⁵ and the work edited by Nail Okuyucu, *Batı Gözüyle Tecdid: İslam Dünyasında Tecdid Hareketleri 1700-1850*,²⁶ which compiles and critically reviews articles written on renewal in the 18th century, are among the primary sources.

Regarding the different Sufi orders discussed in this section, the works of 'Abd Allāh al-Fāsī, *al-I'lām bi-man ghabara*,²⁷ Muḥammad Ḍarīf, *Mu'assasat al-zawāyā fī-l-Maghrib*,²⁸ Abū Ḥāmid al-Fihri, *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin min akhbār al-Shaykh Abī al-Maḥāsin*,²⁹ and Muḥammad al-Nāṣirī, *al-Mazāyā fīmā uḥditha min al-bid'a bi-umm al-zawāyā*,³⁰ are the main sources as they contain firsthand observations. The works of Kadir Özköse, *Mağrib'de Tasavvuf*,³¹ Būkārī, *al-Iḥyā' wa-l-tajdīd al-ṣūfī fī-l-Maghrib* and *al-Zāwiya al-Sharqawiyya*³² the master's thesis of 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ṣaghīr, "al-Madrasa al-ṣūfiyya al-Darqāwiyya";³³ the study of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad 'Ummālūk, *Jawānib min tārīkh al-zāwiya al-Nāṣiriyya*;³⁴ Zachary Valentine Wright's

²⁴ These articles are: Nehemia Levtzion and Gideon Weigert, "Religious Reform in Eighteenth-Century Morocco," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 19 (1995): 173-197; Nehemia Levtzion, "Eighteenth-Century Sufi Brotherhoods," in *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society, A Festschrift in Honor of Anthony H. Johns*, ed. Peter G. Riddell and Tony Street (Leiden: Brill, 1997); John Voll, "Neo-Sufism: Reconsidered Again," in *Engaging with a Legacy: Nehemia Levtzion (1935-2003)*, ed. E. Ann McDougall (London: Routledge, 2013); John Voll, "Hadith Scholars and Tariqas: An 'Ulama' Group in the 18th Century Haramayn and Their Impact in the Islamic World," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 15, no. 3-4 (1980): 264-273.

²⁵ Marina Palacios, "Neo-Sufism: Examining the Roots of the Islamic Reform Movement called 'Neo-Sufism'" (Master's thesis, Leiden University, 2016).

²⁶ Nail Okuyucu, ed., *Batı Gözüyle Tecdid: İslam Dünyasında Tecdid Hareketleri 1700-1850* (Istanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2014).

²⁷ 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī al-Fihri, *al-I'lām bi-man ghabara min ahl al-qarn al-ḥādī 'ashara* ed. Fāṭima Nāfi' (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2008).

²⁸ Muḥammad Ḍarīf, *Mu'assasat al-zawāyā fī-l-Maghrib* (Casablanca: Manshūrāt al-Majallat al-Maghribiyya li-'Ilm al-Ijtihād al-Siyāsī, 1992).

²⁹ Abū Ḥāmid al-'Arabī b. Yūsuf al-Fihri, *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin min akhbār al-Shaykh Abī al-Maḥāsin wa nabza 'an nash'at al-taṣawwuf wa-l-tarīqa al-Shādhiliyya bi-l-Maghrib*, ed. al-Sharīf Muḥammad Ḥamza b. 'Alī al-Kattānī (Manshūrāt Ribāt Abī al-Maḥāsin Ibn al-Jadd).

³⁰ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nāṣirī, *al-Mazāyā fīmā uḥditha min al-bid'a bi-umm al-zawāyā*, ed. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Khamīsī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2003).

³¹ Kadir Özköse, *Mağrib'de Tasavvuf* (Sivas: Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi, 2023).

³² Aḥmad Būkārī *al-Zāwiya al-Sharqawiyya, zāwiya Abī'l-Ja'd: Dawruhā al-ijtimā'ī wa-l-siyāsī* (Casablanca: Maṭba'at al-Najāḥ al-Jadīda, 1989); Aḥmad Būkārī, *al-Iḥyā' wa al-tajdīd al-ṣūfī fī-l-Maghrib* (Rabat: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa al-Shu'ūn al-Islāmiyya, 2006).

³³ 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ṣaghīr, "al-Madrasa al-ṣūfiyya al-Darqāwiyya bi-shamāl al-Maghrib wa ghurūb al-fikr al-ṣūfī al-Maghribī" (Master's thesis, Mohammed V University, 1970).

³⁴ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad 'Ummālūk, *Jawānib min tārīkh al-zāwiya al-Nāṣiriyya* (Rabat: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 2006).

Realizing Islam: The Tijaniyya,³⁵ and finally, Nafīsa al-Dhahabī's book, *al-Zāwiya al-Fāsiyya*³⁶ find their place among the secondary sources as they present compilatory content on the Shādhilī branches of the relevant period they discuss.

In the third chapter of this study, titled “The Life, Teachers and Disciples of ‘Alī al-Jamal,” our primary sources, which contain direct observations, are al-Jamal's own book and al-Darqāwī's *Majmū‘at al-rasā‘il*, as well as al-Zabbādī's work, *Sulūk al-tarīq al-wāriya*,³⁷ al-Ḥawwāt's *al-Rawḍa al-maqṣūda*,³⁸ and the information about al-Jamal compiled by al-Tamsamānī in his work *Kitāb Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal* from Ibn al-Qāḍī's book “*al-Nūr al-qawīyy fī dhikr shaykhinā mawlānā ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Dabbāgh wa shaykhihi mawlānā al-‘Arabī al-Darqāwī*.”³⁹ The main secondary sources on this topic are the biographical (*tarājim*) books specific to Morocco written by Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Kattānī and ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥāshim al-Kattānī,⁴⁰ al-Talīdī's book *al-Muṭrib bi-mashāhiri avliyā al-Maghrib*,⁴¹ the biographical books written by Aḥmad b. Šiddīq al-Ghumārī on the Shādhiliyya order in Morocco,⁴² al-Ṭu‘mī's work *Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*,⁴³ and Ḥasan al-Tāzī's work *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*.⁴⁴

In the fourth chapter of this study, titled “Al-Jamal's Understanding of Existence,” where we discuss his thoughts on humanity and its relationship with existence,

³⁵ Zachary Valentine Wright, *Realizing Islam: The Tijaniyya in North Africa and the Eighteenth-Century Muslim World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

³⁶ Nafīsa al-Dhahabī, *al-Zāwiya al-Fāsiyya: Al-taṭawwur wa-l-adwār ḥattā nihāyat al-‘ahd al-‘Alawī al-awwal*, (Casablanca: Maṭba‘at al-Najāh al-Jadīda, 2001).

³⁷ ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Manālī al-Zabbādī, *Sulūk al-tarīq al-wāriya fī-l-shaykh wa-l-murīd wa-l-zāwiya* ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Yumnāhī (Tetouan: Maṭba‘at al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī, 2012).

³⁸ Abū al-Rabī‘ Sulaymān al-Ḥawwāt, *al-Rawḍa al-maqṣūda wa-l-ḥulal al-mamdūda fī ma‘āthir Banī Sūda*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Taylānī (Rabat: Dār Abī Raqrāq, 2018).

³⁹ al-Tamsamānī, *Kitāb Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal*, 17-22.

⁴⁰ ‘Abd al-Kabīr b. Ḥāshim al-Kattānī, *Zahr al-ās fī buyūtāt ahl Fās*, ed. ‘Alī b. Muntaṣir al-Kattānī (Casablanca: Maṭba‘at al-Najāh al-Jadīda, 2002); Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās wa-muḥādathat al-akyās bi-man uqbira min al-‘ulamā’ wa-l-ṣulahā’ bi-Fās*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamza b. ‘Alī al-Kattānī (Rabat: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2004).

⁴¹ Abdullah b. Abdulqādir al-Talīdī, *al-Muṭrib bi-mashāhiri avliyā al-Maghrib* (Rabat: Dār al-Amān, 2000).

⁴² Aḥmad b. Šiddīq al-Ghumārī, *al-I‘tinās bi-tarājim fuḍalā’ Fās*, ed. ‘Adnān b. ‘Abd Allāh Zuhār (Casablanca: Dār al-Rashād al-Ḥadītha, 2020); Aḥmad b. Šiddīq al-Ghumārī, *al-Mu‘zin bi-akhbār Sīdī Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min* (Kuwait: Dār al-Bayḍā’, 2022).

⁴³ Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Ṭu‘mī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1996).

⁴⁴ Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim Abū ‘Alī Kūhin al-Tāzī, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Adīb al-Jādir (Damascus: Dār al-Bayrūtī, 2000).

Muḥammad Am‘ārish’s book *al-Naṣṣ wa-l-ikhtilāf*,⁴⁵ the works written by ‘Abd al-Bāqī Miftāḥ on the Akbarian tradition and the Perfect Human Being (*al-insān al-kāmil*),⁴⁶ and Salman Bashier’s work *Ibn al-‘Arabī’s Barzakh*⁴⁷ have provided the opportunity to compare al-Jamal’s metaphors with this tradition.

In the second part of this chapter, concerning the idea of unity discussed through al-Shushtarī, alongside al-Shushtarī’s own works⁴⁸ and the book *Kitāb al-waḥda al-muṭlaqa* by al-Balyānī, who is also from this school,⁴⁹ the commentaries written by Ibn ‘Ajība on al-Shushtarī and his citations on the subject in his other books have been frequently consulted in this section.⁵⁰ This is because he follows the path of ‘Alī al-Jamal and shows us how a Shādhilī shaykh from a recent period would view al-Shushtarī. In understanding the school to which al-Shushtarī belonged, especially Ahmet Murat Özel’s book *Hikayem Ne Tuhaftır: Ebu’l-Hasan Eş-Şüşteri’nin Hayatı ve Tasavvuf Anlayışı* (How Strange My Story Is: The Life and Sufi Understanding of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī), which is original in this respect as it is based on

⁴⁵ Muḥammad Am‘ārish, *al-Naṣṣ wa-l-ikhtilāf: Harmīnūṭīqā al-ṣūra al-ilāhiyya ‘inda Ibn ‘Arabī* (Rabat: Mu‘minūn bilā Ḥudūd li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Abḥāth, 2017).

⁴⁶ ‘Abd al-Bāqī Miftāḥ, *al-Ḥaqā’iq al-wujūdiyya al-kubrā: Dirāsa mafāhīmiyya ḥawla ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqā’iq wa-l-‘amā’ wa-l-ḥabā’ wa-l-qalam al-a‘lā wa-l-lawḥ al-mahfūz wa-l-‘arsh wa-l-ṭabī‘a wa-l-insān wa-l-khayāl fī ru‘yat al-shaykh al-akbar Ibn ‘Arabī* (Damascus: Dār Nīnawā, 2013); ‘Abd al-Bāqī Miftāḥ, *al-Kamālāt al-Muḥammadiyya wa-l-insān al-kāmil fī ru‘yat Ibn ‘Arabī* (Irbid: ‘Ālam al-Kutub al-Ḥadīth, 2016); ‘Abd al-Bāqī Miftāḥ, *Kitāb al-Ism al-A‘ẓam* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya; and Dār ‘Ālam al-Kutub al-Ḥadīth, 1985).

⁴⁷ Salman Bashier, *Ibn al-‘Arabī’s Barzakh: The Concept of the Limit and the Relationship between God and the World* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004).

⁴⁸ Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī: Shā‘ir al-ṣūfiyya al-kabīr fī al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, ed. ‘Alī Sāmī al-Nashshār (Alexandria: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1960); Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Numayrī al-Andalusī al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Adlūnī Idrīsī and Sa‘īd Abū al-Fuyūd (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2008); ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Numayrī al-Andalusī al-Mālikī, *al-Risāla al-qadamiyya*, Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, MS Hz. Şehit Ali Paşa 01389, 47a-55a; ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Numayrī al-Andalusī al-Mālikī, *ar-Risāla al-qaṣṣariyya*, Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, MS Hz. Nasuhi Dergahı 00275, 55b-64a; Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Numayrī al-Andalusī al-Shushtarī, *al-Maqālīd al-wujūdiyya fī-l-dā‘ira al-wahmiyya*, ed. Muḥammad al-‘Adlūnī al-Idrīsī (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2008).

⁴⁹ Abdullah b. Mes‘ud Balyani, *Mutlak Birlik: Neḥsini Bilen Rabbini Bilir*, ed. and trans. Ali Vasfī Kurt, introduction by Michel Chodkiewicz (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003).

⁵⁰ These sources are: Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība, “Sharḥ ba‘ḍ muqtaṭafāt al-shaykh ‘Alī al-Shushtarī,” in *al-Laṭā‘if al-īmāniyya al-malakūtiyya wa-l-ḥaqā’iq al-iḥsāniyya al-jabarūtiyya fī rasā‘il al-shaykh Aḥmad ibn ‘Ajība*, ed. ‘Āsim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2006); Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība, *Sharḥ nūniyyat al-īmām al-Shushtarī*, ed. Muḥammad al-‘Adlūnī al-Idrīsī (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2013); Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība, *Īqāz al-himam fī sharḥ al-Ḥikam*, ed. ‘Āsim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2016); Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība, *Taqyīdān fī waḥdat al-wujūd*, ed. Jean-Louis Michon (Morocco: Dār al-Qubba al-Zarqā’, 1998); Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība, *The Book of Ascension to the Essential Truths of Sufism (Mi‘rāj al-tashawwuf ilā ḥaqā’iq al-taṣawwuf): A Lexicon of Sufic Terminology*, ed. and trans. Muḥammad Fu‘ād Aresmouk and Michael ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Fitzgerald (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2012).

unpublished manuscripts of the Süleymaniye Library, and his other articles on the subject,⁵¹ the similar work of Muḥammad al-‘Adlūnī, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī wa-falsafatuhu al-ṣūfiyya*,⁵² and Muḥammad Bedirhan's article “Vahdet-i Vücut Ekolü,” which contains comparisons between the schools of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and *waḥda muṭlaqa*,⁵³ have opened the way for us in this regard. Furthermore, based on the idea that understanding al-Shushtarī is possible by understanding Ibn Sab‘īn, the founder of the *waḥda muṭlaqa* school to which he belonged, Birgül Bozkurt Gülmez’s doctoral thesis titled “İbn Seb’in’in Hayatı, Eserleri ve Felsefî Görüşleri” (The Life, Works, and Philosophical Views of Ibn Sab‘īn),⁵⁴ and al-Taftāzānī’s work *Ibn Sab‘īn wa-falsafatuhu al-ṣūfiyya*⁵⁵ are also among the main sources in this sense.

In the first part of fifth chapter, titled “The Method of *Mujāhada*” we have tried to present the meaning of the concept of *tajrīd* according to ‘Alī al-Jamal. To compare this with the early *zuhd* movement and the subsequent early classical Sufī literature, besides consulting primary sources such as al-Kalābādhī, al-Sarrāj, ‘Aṭṭār, al-Muḥāsibī, and al-Tirmidhī,⁵⁶ Ahmet Karamustafa’s work *Sufism: The Formative Period*⁵⁷ and three separate doctoral theses prepared on this subject by Hacı Bayram Başer, Dürdane Zeynep, and Mustafa Kahya,⁵⁸ which offer compilatory and

⁵¹ Ahmet Murat Özel, *Hikayem Ne Tuhaftır: Ebu’l-Hasan Eş-Şüsteri’nin Hayatı ve Tasavvuf Anlayışı* (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2018); Ahmet Murat Özel, “Seb’iniyye’nin Hermetik Bir Silsilesi (mi?) - Ebu’l-Hasan eş-Şüsteri’nin el-Kasidetü’n-Nüniyye’si Üzerine Bir Tahlil (A Hermetic Lineage of Sab’iniyya? - A Study on al-Qasida al-Nüniyya by Abū al-Hasan al-Shushtarī),” *Tasavvuf: İlmî ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 38 (2016/2); Ahmet Murat Özel, “Vahdet-i Mutlaka Ekolü,” in *Metafizik: Ekoller, Yöntemler ve Büyük Anlatılar* ed. Ömer Türker, 1:200-206 (Istanbul: Ketebe Yayınları, 2021).

⁵² Muḥammad al-‘Adlūnī al-Idrīsī, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī wa-falsafatuhu al-ṣūfiyya* (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2005).

⁵³ Muhammed Bedirhan, “Vahdet-i Vücut Ekolü” in *Metafizik: Ekoller, Yöntemler ve Büyük Anlatılar*, ed. Ömer Türker, 1:168-169 (Istanbul: Ketebe Yayınları, 2021).

⁵⁴ Birgül Bozkurt Gülmez, “İbn Seb’in’in Hayatı, Eserleri ve Felsefî Görüşleri” (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2008).

⁵⁵ Muḥammad Abū al-Wafā al-Taftāzānī, *Ibn Sab‘īn wa-falsafatuhu al-ṣūfiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1973).

⁵⁶ These works are: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. İbrāhīm al-Bukhārī al-Kalābādhī, *al-Ta‘arruf li-madhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2001); Abū Naṣr ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Sarrāj, *The Kitāb al-Luma‘ fi’l-Taṣawwuf*, ed. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (Leiden: Brill, 1914); Abū Ḥāmid Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār İbrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā’*, trans. Muḥammad al-Asīlī al-Wāsiṭī al-Shāfi‘ī, ed. Muḥammad Adīb al-Jādir (Damascus: Dār al-Maktabī, 2009); Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī, *al-Makāsib*, ed. ‘Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad ‘Aṭā (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1987); al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, *Bayān al-kasb*, ed. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ ‘Abd Allāh Baraka (Cairo: Majma‘ al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyya).

⁵⁷ Ahmet Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formative Period* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

⁵⁸ Hacı Bayram Başer, “Sünni Tasavvufun Teşekkül Sürecinde Şariat-Hakikat İlişkisi Sorunu: Hicri 3. ve 4. Yüzyıllar” (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2015); Mustafa Kahya, “Tasavvufun Teşekkül Döneminde Sufiler ve Ticari Hayat” (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2023); Dürdane Zeynep Tekmen, “Erken Dönem Tasavvuf’ta Zühhd Anlayışı” (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2024).

comparative content for understanding the relationship between *tajarrud* and *kasb/tasabbub*, are among the secondary sources. In this regard, al-Iskandarī's work *al-Tanvīr fī isqāṭ al-tadbīr*,⁵⁹ which summarizes the general attitude of the early period of the Shādhiliyya and was written specifically on this subject, is also among the main sources we have consulted. In fact, regarding how 'Alī al-Jamal interpreted the past heritage on this subject, the works of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh are of particular importance, as he is the third figure most cited by him. To understand him comprehensively in this regard, the relevant sections of Ahmet Murat Özel's doctoral thesis, "İbn Ataullah el-İskenderî'nin Tasavvuf Felsefesi," have been frequently consulted.⁶⁰ Furthermore, to see the renewal that al-Jamal brought to the concept of *tajrīd*, the commentaries on Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh's *Hikam* written in the early and middle periods of the Shādhilī tradition, as well as commentaries written in the modern period, have been consulted.⁶¹ Thus, it will be attempted to show that al-Jamal represents a parenthesis between these two periods through the aphorisms he cites and reinterprets within the scope of his philosophy of *tajrīd*.

In the same part of this chapter, within the framework established to trace the Malāmātī understanding in al-Jamal, our primary sources for following the Malāmātī tendency in the 17th and 18th-century shaykhs of his close *silsila*—specifically, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb, the shaykhs of the Fāsiyya and Makhfiyya *zāwiyas*—have been the hagiographical books written about them in these same centuries, such as *Ibtihāj*

⁵⁹ Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī. *al-Tanvīr fī isqāṭ al-tadbīr* (Damascus: Dār al-Taqwā; Dār al-Daqa'iq, 2021).

⁶⁰ Ahmet Murat Özel, "İbn Atāullah el-İskenderî'nin Tasavvuf Felsefesi" (PhD diss., Selçuk University, 2012).

⁶¹ These commentaries are: Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī, *al-Tanbīh: sharḥ al-Hikam al-'Aṭā'iyya* (Damascus: Dār al-Taqwā, 2021); Aḥmad Zarrūq, *al-Futūḥāt al-raḥmāniyya fī ḥall al-fāz al-Hikam al-'Aṭā'iyya*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib (Beirut: Kitāb Nāshirūn, 2013); Abū al-Mawāhib al-Tūnusī, *Sharḥ al-Hikam al-'Aṭā'iyya*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Kitāb Nāshirūn, 2022); Ibn 'Ajība, *Īqāz al-himam fī Sharḥ al-Hikam*, ed. 'Aṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2016); 'Abd al-Majīd al-Sharnūbī, *Sharḥ al-Hikam al-'Aṭā'iyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Bazm (Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1989); Aḥmad Māhir Efendi, *Hikem-i Atāiyye Şerhi: al-Muḥkem fī Sharḥ al-Hikam*, ed. Tahir Galip Seratlı (Istanbul: Sufi Kitap, 2010); Fatih Yıldız (ed.), *Hikem-i Atāiyye Şerhi: Abdullah Şerkāvî'nin Şerhü'l-hikem ve Ali Örfi Efendi Tarafından Yapılan Tercümesi* (Istanbul: Büyüyenay Yayınları, 2021); Hüsnü Geçer, *Hikem-i Atāiyye Şerhi* (Istanbul: Ketebe Yayınları, 2022).

al-qulūb,⁶² *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*,⁶³ *al-Zahr al-bāsim*,⁶⁴ *Mumti‘ al-asmā’*,⁶⁵ *al-Ilmā’*⁶⁶ alongside biographical books written about this period, such as *Dawḥat al-nāshir*,⁶⁷ *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥudaykī*,⁶⁸ and *Ṣafwat man intashara*.⁶⁹

In the second part of this chapter, where we discuss the practices of *tajrīd*, and in the last chapter of this study, where we discuss the subjects of etiquettes and pillars, we will try to compare him in these matters with the early and middle period Shādhilī tradition and with the Shādhilī shaykhs who continued this path after him. In this respect, the main sources for this comparison are the works of Shu‘ayb Abū Madyan, “*Bidāyat al-murīd*” and “*Uns al-waḥīd*,”⁷⁰ Ibn al-Sabbāgh’s *Durrat al-asrār*,⁷¹ and Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s *Laṭā’if al-minan* and *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*,⁷² the works of Aḥmad al-‘Alāwī, *al-Mawādd al-ghaythiyya* and *al-Minaḥ al-qudsiyya*,⁷³ the works of Aḥmad Zarrūq, *Uṣūl al-ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya* and *al-Lawā’ih al-Fāsiyya fī sharḥ al-Mabāḥith al-aṣliyya*,⁷⁴ the works of al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il al-Maghribiyya* and his

⁶² ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb bi-khabar Abī al-Maḥāsini wa-shaykhihi al-Majdhūb* (Kirkuk: al-Zāwiya al-‘Alāwiyya, 2020).

⁶³ ‘Abd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad fī al-ta’rīf bi-sayyidinā Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad*, ed. Qamar al-‘Abdalāwī Ma’n (Kirkuk: al-Zāwiya al-‘Alāwiyya, 2021).

⁶⁴ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Qādirī, *al-Zahr al-bāsim aw al-‘Urf al-nāsim fī manāqib al-shaykh sayyidī Qāsim wa ma’āthiri man lahu min al-ashyākh wa-l-atbā’ ahl al-karā’im* ed. Qamar al-‘Abdalāwī Ma’n (Kirkuk: al-Zāwiya al-‘Alāwiyya, 2021).

⁶⁵ Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Mumti‘ al-asmā’ fī al-Jazūlī wa-al-Tabbā’ wa-mā lahumā min al-ittibā’*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-‘Amrī and ‘Abd al-Karīm Murād (Casablanca: Maṭba‘at al-Najāḥ al-Jadīda, 1994).

⁶⁶ Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *al-Ilmā’ bi-ba‘ḍi man lam yudhkar fī Mumti‘ al-asmā’*, ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd Khayālī (Casablanca: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, n.d.).

⁶⁷ Muḥammad b. ‘Askar al-Ḥasanī al-Shafshāwanī, *Dawḥat al-nāshir li-maḥāsini man kāna bi-l-Maghrib min mashāyikh al-qarni al-‘āshir*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥajjī (Rabat: Dār al-Maghrib, 1977).

⁶⁸ Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥudaykī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥudaykī*, ed. Aḥmad Būmazgū (Casablanca: Maṭba‘at al-Najāḥ al-Jadīda, 2006).

⁶⁹ Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashara min akhbār ṣulahā’ al-qarn al-ḥādī ‘ashar*, ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd Khayālī (Casablanca: Markaz al-Turāth al-Thaqāfi al-Maghribī, 2004).

⁷⁰ Shu‘ayb Abū Madyan, “*Bidāyat al-murīd*,” in *The Way of Abu Madyan: The Works of Abu Madyan Shu‘ayb ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī* (c. 509/1115-16-594/1198), ed. and trans. Vincent J. Cornell (London: The Islamic Texts Society, 1996); “*Uns al-waḥīd*,” in *The Way of Abu Madyan*, ed. and trans. Vincent J. Cornell.

⁷¹ Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār wa-tuḥfat al-abrār fī aqwāl wa-af‘āl wa-aḥwāl wa-maqāmāt wa-nasab wa-karāmāt wa-adhkār wa-da‘awāt sīdī Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī* (al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya li-l-Turāth, 2001).

⁷² Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā’if al-minan fī manāqib al-shaykh Abī al-‘Abbās al-Mursī wa-shaykhihi al-Shādhilī Abī al-Ḥasan*, ed. ‘Āshim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Kitāb Nāshirūn, 2015); Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ wa-miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ fī dhikr Allāh al-Karīm al-Fattāḥ*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib b. Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Hindī (Damascus: Dār al-Farfūr, 2000).

⁷³ Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-‘Alāwī, *al-Mawādd al-ghaythiyya al-nāshi’a ‘an al-Hikam al-Ghawthiyya* (Mostaganem: al-Maṭba’a al-‘Alāwiyya, 1994); Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-‘Alāwī, *al-Minaḥ al-qudsiyya fī sharḥ al-Murshid al-mu’in bi-ṭarīq al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Su’ūd al-Qawwās (Beirut: Dār Ibn Zaydūn, 1986).

⁷⁴ Aḥmad Zarrūq, *al-Lawā’ih al-Fāsiyya fī sharḥ al-Mabāḥith al-aṣliyya ‘alā jumlat al-ṭarīqa al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir Naṣṣār and ‘Abd Allāh Jamāl Ḥamadnāllah (Cairo: Dār al-Iḥsān,

“Rasā’il ukhrā,”⁷⁵ the works of Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya* and *al-Baḥr al-madīd*,⁷⁶ and al-Būzīdī’s work *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*.⁷⁷ Apart from these, the master’s thesis of Zeynep Kızılkaya and the doctoral theses prepared by Mahmut Salim Güven and Ramazan Emektar are also among the main secondary sources.⁷⁸

These sources have been employed solely to examine al-Jamal’s relationship with the figures he references, to situate him within the intellectual tradition to which he is connected, and thereby to facilitate a meaningful comparison. Besides this, throughout the work, our main source and priority has been to understand al-Jamal through his own work and ideas. In this sense, it is to derive the hermeneutical keys from within his work itself.

Now, to build the historical background, we begin the chapter where we will discuss the political and social structure of the 18th century, the existing main branches of the Shādhilī order, their relations with the administration and society, and the issue of *Sharīfism*, which plays a central role in determining all these.

2015); Aḥmad Zarrūq, *Uṣūl al-tarīqa al-Shādhiliyya*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir Naṣṣār (Cairo: Dārat al-Karaz, 2008).

⁷⁵ al-Darqāwī, “Rasā’il ukhrā,” in *al-Imām Mawlāy al-‘Arabī al-Darqāwī: Shaykh al-tarīqa al-Darqāwiyya al-Shādhiliyya tarjamatuhū wa-ba’du āthārihi*, ed. and coll. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Tamsamānī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2006).

⁷⁶ Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya fī sharḥ al-Mabāḥith al-aṣliyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sha‘ār (Beirut: Kanz Nāshirūn, 2024); Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-Majīd* ed. Aḥmad ‘Abd Allāh al-Qurashī Raslān (Cairo, 1999).

⁷⁷ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Būzīdī, work *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya li-sālik tarīq al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Bassām Muḥammad Bārūd (Amman: Dār al-Faṭḥ, 2011).

⁷⁸ Zeynep Kızılkaya, “Būzīdī ve el-Ādābu’l-Mardīyye’si: Literatür ve Kavram İncelemesi” (Master’s thesis, Marmara University, 2021); Mustafa Salim Güven, “Ebu’l-Hasan Şazili ve Şaziliyye” (PhD diss., Marmara University, 1999); Ramazan Emektar, “İbn Acibe’nin Hayatı, Eserleri ve Tasavvufi Görüşleri” (PhD diss., Necmettin Erbakan University, 2019).

CHAPTER II

18th CENTURY MOROCCO: BETWEEN POLITICAL AND SPIRITUAL POWERS

2.1. Historical Context

This period coincides with the reign of the ‘Alawid dynasty in Morocco. It can be divided into five periods: the reign of Mawlāy Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad (1672-1727), the reign of his sons (1727-1757),⁷⁹ the reign of Mawlāy Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh (1757-1790), the reign of Mawlāy Yazīd (1790-1792), and the reign of Mawlāy Sulaymān (1792-1822).⁸⁰

During the reign of Mawlāy Ismā‘īl, the country became politically stable. He established an army composed of *wadāyā* tribes and black slaves (the ‘*abīd al-Bukhārī*’) and ensured economic prosperity.⁸¹ After his death, the dynasty entered a period of political instability due to conflict among different ethnic elements of the region and contention for the throne among his sons ultimately leading to widespread famine. This period ended in 1757 with the accession of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh, who secured the support of the scholars and developed good relations with European merchants. Although there was relative confusion during the next two years of Mawlāy Yazīd’s reign, the legacy of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh was largely carried on during the 30-year reign of Mawlāy Sulaymān, who came to power in 1792.⁸²

⁷⁹ They are: Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (two times), Mawlāy ‘Abd al-Malik (1728), ‘Alī al-A‘raj (1735–1736), Muḥammad b. ‘Arabiya (1737–1738), al-Mustaḍī (three times), Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (1745), Mawlāy ‘Abd Allāh (six times). See İsmail Ceran, *Fas Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), 773.

⁸⁰ Ceran, *Fas Tarihi*, 759-794.

⁸¹ This was done in order to get free from dependence on local tribes. Likewise, and before this dynasty the Sa‘dids used the Renegades and Andalusian warriors to achieve independence. See Stephen Cory, “Sharifian rule in Morocco”, 474. For more details about the ‘*abīd*’ army, which played a decisive role in Moroccan politics and society during the eighteenth century, see Allan R. Meyers, “The ‘Abīd al-Bukhārī: Slave Soldiers and Statecraft in Morocco, 1672–1790,” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1974).

⁸² Özköse, *Mağrib’de Tasavvuf*, 365-369.

2.2. Sharifism as a Source of Legitimacy

Before discussing the relations of the sultans with Sufism and the existing orders in this period, it would be appropriate to address the issue of sharifism, which is the main basis for understanding the relationship between the two sides, because sharifism not only means being a descendant of the Prophet, but also expresses a spiritual authority effective on the people and the legitimacy of the central administration (*Makhzan*).⁸³ During the Reconquista, as Spanish and Portuguese forces advanced, Morocco was still caught up in inter-tribal conflicts; thus getting rid of tribalism (*‘asabiyya*) and gathering under the authority of sharifism seemed to be the only way to ensure stability.⁸⁴ Since this concept was the common attribute of both, some Sufi leaders⁸⁵ and the ‘Alawid dynasty ruling the country, it sometimes manifested itself in the form of conflict and sometimes alliance in the field of authority.⁸⁶

Alongside the political authority, a parallel spiritual authority (*baraka*) also emerged. Westermarck, in his *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, observed that popular piety valued the shrines of saints more than mosques, which shows us the main source of what they

⁸³ *Makhzan* means the government in Morocco See “makhzan”. In Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition, Glossary and Index of Terms, (Brill, 2012) doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei2glos_SIM_gi_02795. In detail about this term and its history also see Muhammad Jādūr, *Mu‘assasat al-makhzan fī tārikh al-Maghrib* (Casablanca: Mu‘assasat al-Malik ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Āl Sa‘ūd, 2011).

⁸⁴ Cory argues that Ibn Khaldun's theory that the social solidarity (*‘asabiyya*) of nomadic societies was the main reason for the rise of dynasties and that this is how states rise and fall, and that in this way nomadic civilization (*‘umrān badawī*) constantly renewed sedentary civilization (*‘umrān ḥaḍārī*) underwent a major transformation, especially after the Sa‘did period, and *‘asabiyya* began to be based on Sharifism. This new form of *‘asabiyya* became even stronger during the ‘Alawid period and became the symbol of resistance against the French and the source of their internal legitimacy. See Stephen Cory, “Breaking the Khaldunian Cycle? The Rise of Sharifianism as the Basis for Political Legitimacy in Early Modern Morocco,” *Cleveland State University History Faculty Publications*, no.9 (2008); Fatima Harrak, “‘Abīd al-Bukhārī and the Development of the Makhzen System in Seventeenth-Century Morocco,” *Duke University Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* Vol. 38, no. 2 (2018): 282-284.

⁸⁵ Taha Abdurrahman also argues that a characteristic of the moral authenticity of the Maghrib is that the Sufis trace their lineage back to the Prophet’s grandson Hasan. According to him, this is also a symbol of their preference for distancing themselves from the political arena, preferring instead spiritual authority. See Taha Abdurrahman, *Sual al-‘akhlāq: Musahama fī al-naqd al-‘akhlāqī li-l-ḥadātha al-gharbiyya* (Casablanca: al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-‘Arabī, 2000), 213.

⁸⁶ According to the conflict between the two authorities and the attitude of the tribes, later historians divided Morocco into two parts: the lands that submitted to the authority of the central government (*bilād al-makhzan*) and the lands that resisted this authority (*bilād al-sība*). See Cory, *Sharifian rule in Morocco*, 454. The process of neutralizing potential forces, including the dervish lodges, is what Al-Mansour calls “The Makhzanization process”. He gives as an example the fact that during the reign of Mawlay Muhammad bin Abdullah, the shaykhs were appointed by decree and later the word *nakīb* was used instead of shaykh. See al-Mansour, *The Power of Islam in Morocco*, 40-47.

regarded as *baraka*.⁸⁷ *Baraka*, which represents a kind of spiritual power, has a dynamic structure that is not limited to this but also includes various meanings such as material prosperity, physical health, luck and abundance. Because people tended to favor a more practical expression of Islam, they felt a closer connection to the *baraka* of the *walī* than to that of formal legal Islam. The distinction between the *baraka* of the *sharīf* sultan and that of shaykh's *baraka*'s is that the former comes through lineage and linked to military victories, protecting the integrity of the country and fighting against external threats, while the latter is earned through spiritual efforts and education. In this sense, Sufi leaders who build authority in their region, whether as *sharīfs* or not, act as intermediaries between the region and the administration, or as the center of conflict.⁸⁸ This is why Muhammad al-Mansour calls the sharifism a state within a state.⁸⁹ Often blaming the deteriorating conditions in the country on the moral decadence of the king and the corruption of society, the *walīs*, who prevented their *barakas* from being damaged, sometimes even wrote books claiming to be *shurafā'* to reinforce this claim and challenged the centralized system.⁹⁰ Therefore, although there are some theoretical differences, these two concepts have become intertwined over time and it is very difficult to separate the political from the religious in such a theological community,⁹¹ as Geertz states, "he who had attained any great amount of *baraka* from his own spiritual efforts -chanting verses or licking hot pokers- tended almost always to claim to have it also, so to speak, genetically."⁹²

⁸⁷ Fatima Gholaiichi, "Of Saints and Sharifian Kings in Morocco: Three Examples of the Politics of Reimagining History through Reinventing King/Saint Relationship" (Master's thesis, University of Maryland, 2005), 10.

⁸⁸ Relations based on such conflicts have continued to the present day. The most striking first example of this was during the colonial period when a Wazzānī Shaykh challenged the king's authority and sought protection from the French, who wanted to put him on the throne. The second example was when Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī (d. 1327/1909) commissioned a proclamation on the downfall of Mawlāy 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 1362/1943), triggering the first incident in modern Moroccan history in which political dissent resulted in torture and death. See Gholaiichi "Of Saints and Sharifian Kings," 10-13.

⁸⁹ al-Mansour "Political and Social Developments in Morocco", 301.

⁹⁰ For example, al-Tijānī (d. 1230/1815) claimed to be a *sharīf* even though he was not a *sharīf* and wrote a treatise called *Nusrat al-shurafā' fī al-radd 'alā ahl al-jafā'* to prove it. When he was not successful in this, he came up with an approach that claimed that he was superior to all orders against the Sharifism represented by the Shādhilīyya, that the path he brought was a kind of seal that invalidated other Sufi movements, and that he wore the *khirqā* directly from the Prophet. See al-Mansour, "Political and Social Developments in Morocco," 341-342.

⁹¹ al-Mansour, *The Power of Islam in Morocco*, 14.

⁹² Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 52.

2.3. Makhzan's Relationship with Sufism

In this context, the *sharīf* sultans, in their capacity as *amīr al-mu'minīn*, wanted to have a say not only over material life but also over spiritual life, and therefore actively intervened in the curriculum of *madrasas* or the functioning of *zāwiyas*. This was not the first time that this phenomenon emerged in the 'Alawid state; the Idrīsids (789-985) also established a state with an emphasis on the concept of sharifism, and this idea was revived during the Merīnids (1196-1465) and the Waṭṭāsids (1471-1554), and from the 15th century onwards, cooperation with Sufi movements (the Shādhilī-Jazūlī order) aimed at protecting Islam and mobilizing society.⁹³

During the 'Alawid dynasty, the relationship that each sultan developed with the Sufis and society through the concept of sharifism varied dynamically: Gholaichi describes Mawlāy Ismā'īl's⁹⁴ attitude towards *zawiyas* through al-Yūsī (d. 1102/1691), which involves both conflict and harmony. The great Berber scholar al-Yūsī, who was well-versed in many religious sciences, went to the *Tamgrūt zāwiya* and became initiated into Ibn Nāṣir al-Dar'ī (d. 1085/1674), the founder of the Nāṣiriyya branch of the Shādhiliyya. Al-Yūsī heard about the sultan's oppression of the slaves in Meknes, criticized him, and was subsequently expelled from the city by the sultan. al-Yūsī pitched a tent in the graveyard and said to the sultan, who visited him, "I left your city and entered the city of God", and when the sultan, on a horse, attacked him, his horse sank to the ground. According to this symbolic story, in the public imagination, the *baraka* of the *walī*, based on miracles, defeated the *baraka* based on physical strength. Thereafter, Mawlāy Ismā'īl developed positive relations with al-Yūsī, who combined both scientific power and the blessings of the *walī* and sought to control the Berber

⁹³ Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*, 230; Fatima Harrak, "Sharifism and the Sharifs in the Reign of Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh, 17-21. Al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465), who emphasized veneration for the Prophet, also emphasized sharifism by saying, "I am a *sharīf*, my origin is noble, my ancestor is the Prophet of God (may peace be upon him) to whom I am closer than any other creature," reinforcing the tradition from 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh (d. 625/1228 [?]) and al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), and most Moroccan orders after him took this trait from his lineage and came under the control of the *sharīfs*. It is even claimed that due to its spiritual influence on the society and its emphasis on sharifism, al-Jazūlī nominated the Sa'dīd dynasty (1511-1659) for power, and in this respect, the order assumed the role of a kind of *ahl al-ḥall wa-l-'aqd*. See Abdulhak b. al-Majzūb al-Ḥasanī, *al-Ḥala al-ijtimā'iyya bi-Fās fī-l-qarnī al-thānī 'ashar al-hijrī min khilāl al-ḥawāla al-Ismā'īliyya*, (Rabat: Dār Abī Raqrāq, 2006), 1:408.

⁹⁴ Mawlāy Ismā'īl is compared to the sultan of Sa'dīds Aḥmad al-Mansūr, in terms of his complete assertion of authority, and the period after him was a period of different forms of quarrels (*fitna*) between the two *Makhzans*. See Cory, *Sharifian Rule in Morocco*, 465.

tribes by gaining access to the people's hearts and thoughts. In return, he requested the sultan to issue an edict recognizing him as a *sharīf*.⁹⁵

Another legend that shows that spiritual power (*baraka/shawka*) defeated the power of Mawlāy Ismā'īl is the incident between Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 1120/1708) -the shaykh of the Makhfiyya *zāwiya*, the father of 'Alī al-Jamal's shaykh- and the governor of the city of Fez. He took action against the governor, 'Abd Allāh al-Rūsī, who collected taxes unjustly, criticized him harshly, and al-Rūsī abolished these taxes, saying "I fear no one but God and Sīdī Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh."⁹⁶ Geertz says the following on this subject: "a folktale commentary on the delicate relationship between strongman politics and holy-man piety, the continuously sought but only sporadically effected effort to fuse the force of the warrior and the virtue of the saint, which ... is the leitmotiv of Moroccan history."⁹⁷

Two names stand out from the others in terms of being associated with Salafism and Wahhabism, especially compared to the previous sultans: Mawlāy Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh and Mawlāy Sulaymān. Mawlāy Muḥammad wanted to establish an education system in which the science of *ḥadīth* was at the center;⁹⁸ he imposed some restrictions on sciences such as sufism, theology, logic, and philosophy, advocated a return to the original sources and said, "I am *Mālikī* in deeds and *Ḥanbalī* in faith." Mawlāy Muḥammad, who proposed breaking the monopoly of the *Mālikī* school and

⁹⁵ Gholaiichi, "Of Saints and Sharifian Kings," 18-29. About al-Yusi's relationship with the sultan, see also: Henry Munson, *Religion and Power in Morocco*, (Yale University Press, 1993), 1-35; Abdelfettah Kilito, "Speaking to Princes: Al-Yusi and Mawlay Ismā'īl" in *In the Shadow of the Sultan Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco* ed. Rahma Bourqia and Susan Gilson Miller, (Harvard University Press 1999), 30-49.

⁹⁶ al-Mansour, *The Power of Islam in Morocco*, 19-20

⁹⁷ Geertz, *Islam Observed*, 33.

⁹⁸ Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh revitalized the science of *ḥadīth* during the 'Alawid period, collecting *ḥadīth* books from different countries, reproducing them and distributing them throughout the country. In his edict reforming education, he called for greater emphasis on this science and revived the tradition of *ḥadīth* gatherings, which had been neglected before him. Mawlāy Muḥammad, himself a *muḥaddith*, authored five books of *ḥadīth*, most notably *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya fī aḥādīth khayr al-bariyya*. The reason for this revival in the science of *ḥadīth* during this period was to ensure unity of mind in a context where the country was constantly threatened by the Portuguese and the Spanish. See Aḥmad Amīn al-'Amrānī, *al-Ḥarakāt al-fiqhiyya fī 'ahdi al-Sultān Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Alawī*, (Rabat: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-l-Shu'ūn al-Islāmiyya, 1996), 1:161-190; Levzion, and Weigert. "Religious Reform in Eighteenth-Century Morocco", 173-197. Sufis were also very interested in *ḥadīth* during this period, with the Dalā'iyya and Nāṣiriyya *zāwiya*s being prominent in this regard. In modern times, the Kattāniyya and Siddiqiyya Sufis continue to be recognized as *muḥaddithūn*. See Muṣṭafā Būzghibah, *al-Ishāda wa-l-minna bi-'ināyat al-ṣūfiyya bi-'ilm al-ḥadīth wa-l-sunna* (Oujda: Markaz al-Imām al-Junayd, 2012), 113-138.

a united Sunnism, called for the “renewal of the religion” “*tajdīd al-dīn*” in his sermon at the beginning of each Hijrī year.⁹⁹ Therefore, although he was against popular Sufism, he differed from the Salafīs in matters such as visiting tombs and even building them himself and reading *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*.¹⁰⁰ He also initiated into the Nāṣiriyya order.¹⁰¹ Mawlāy Muḥammad appointed some officials to investigate the lineage of the *shurafā’*, granted privileges to the powerful *shurafā’* (*ahl al-‘aṣabīyya*) and kept the less powerful *shurafā’* (*‘amma al-ashrāf*) under strict control, weakening solidarity by increasing competition among them. Sufi leaders, who ensured the solidarity (*‘aṣabīyya*) of their community through their *shawka* and *hayba*, were recognized by the central power (*Makhzan*) according to the degree of these qualities. In particular, the central government granted strong privileges to the *shurafā’* of the *Jabal al-‘Alam*,¹⁰² who had a great influence on the society due to their presence in the region where the tomb of ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh -who was considered the *ḥuṭb* of the Muslim Western world and the shaykh of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī-, and because of their *jihad* against the Spaniards, and also it supported the *shurafā’* of Wazzānī *zāwiya* for similar reasons.¹⁰³ In contrast, attacks were made against the *Zāwiya al-Sharqāwiyya* in the city where they were located.¹⁰⁴

Mawlāy Sulaymān, on the other hand, initially adopted a *Mālikī*, *Ash‘arī*, and *Ghazālī* line, but later came under the influence of Wahhābism,¹⁰⁵ imposed some restrictions such as the prohibition of the *mawsims*,¹⁰⁶ and favored neo-sufi¹⁰⁷ orders such as the

⁹⁹ al-Mansour, *The Power of Islam in Morocco*, 43-44.

¹⁰⁰ al-‘Amrānī, *al-Ḥarakāt al-fiqhīyya*, 1:437-445.

¹⁰¹ Fatima Harrak, “State and Religion in Eighteenth-Century Morocco: The Religious Policy of Sidi Muhammed b. Abdullah, 1757-1790” (PhD diss., SOAS University of London, 1989), 354-355.

¹⁰² It is the region located in northeastern Morocco.

¹⁰³ Harrak, *Sharifism and the Sharifs*, 30-32.

¹⁰⁴ al-Mansour, *The Power of Islam in Morocco*, 21-23.

¹⁰⁵ Mawlāy Sulaymān’s first real acquaintance with Wahhābism came in 1803 when Aḥmad al-Bannānī, returning from a pilgrimage, delivered to him two documents containing *Wahhābī* teachings. The cosmopolitan group of scholars who traveled to Mecca and Medina for the pilgrimage in this period also laid the foundation for the Sufi revival when they returned to their home countries. See John Obert Voll, “Hadith Scholars and Tariqas: An Ulama Group in the 18th Century Haramayn and Their Impact in the Islamic World.” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 15, no. 3-4 (1980): 264-273; Gholiaichi, “Of Saints and Sharifian Kings,” 35.

¹⁰⁶ “You must abandon the seasons of *bid‘a* in which the people of desire and whim lead you into misguidance. The people who call themselves disciples (*fuqarā’*) are taking away your wealth and religion while ordering you *bid‘a*...” For the full sermon that Mawlāy Sulaymān declared forbidden see Abū al-Qāsim al-Zayyānī, *al-Tarjumāna al-kubrā fi akhbār al-ma’mūrī barran wa baḥran*, ed. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Filālī (Rabat: Dār li-nashr al-Ma’rifah, 1991), 467-469.

¹⁰⁷ Although we refer to the concept of Neo-Sufism in our thesis, it would be appropriate to point out that this concept is problematic and to touch upon the debate since it is associated in academic studies

with the orders that existed especially in North and West Africa when it comes to this century. At first, this concept refers to some renewals in Sufism since the 18th century. These renewals are summarized as follows: A more positive preoccupation with the world than traditional Sufism and a corresponding restructuring of the orders from a peaceful and mystical to an extroverted and struggling one (especially against colonialism), a negative view of Ibn ‘Arabī, the rise of the science of *ḥadīth* to rebuild Muslim society morally, and a shift from unity with God to unity with the Prophet (Fazlurrahman gives the example of Ibn Idrīs). For the details see John O. Voll “Neo-Sufism: Reconsidered Again” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 42, no. 2-3 (2008): 314-330; Nehemia Levtzion, “Eighteenth Century Sufi Brotherhoods” in *Islam: Essays on Scripture, thought And Society, A Festschrift in Honour of Anthony H. Johns*, ed. Peter G. Riddell and Tony Street (Brill:1997), 147-160. O’Fahey and Radtke have stated that the word neo in this concept is problematic because there is no break with Sufi traditions. Secondly, they say that the idea of the rejection of *wahdat al-wujūd* is wrong, and that in some orders, such as the Idrīsiyya, it continues to be maintained by changing its form. Again, O’Fahey and Radtke rejected the idea of unity with the prophet rather than unity with God as claimed by Trimingham and Voll, saying that imitation of the prophet is a means of unity with God and that this has existed since the beginning of Sufism. They attribute such misunderstandings to the fact that the Sufis associated with Neo-Sufism were also prolific writers and that the works of them in this period have not been fully penetrated one by one. Ahmet Dallal, too, believes that instead of looking for a common origin for the intellectual movements of this century, it is better to focus on their own scholarly aspects and their specific political and social contexts. See Marina Palacios, “Neo-Sufism: Examining the Roots of the Islamic reform Movement called “Neo-Sufism” (Master’s thesis, Leiden University, 2016), 13-17; Naser Dumairieh, “Ahmad S. Dallal. *Islam without Europe: Traditions of Reform in Eighteenth-Century Islamic Thought*” *Nazariyat* 5/1 (2019): 228. Kynsh also noted that the literature written during the colonial period was written in a style that emphasized European superiority and was therefore unreliable, and that the idea that Sufism naturally constituted resistance to Western powers ignored other local communities fighting against colonialism. Likewise, he argued that explanations of Sufi resistance that refer only to their relationship with Sufism do not take into account the local political aspects of these movements. Knut S. Vikør agrees with him and argues that the religious motivation that motivated Sufis to resist colonialism was not Sufism but *jihād fī sabīl Allāh*. See Alexander Knysh, “Sufism as an Explanatory Paradigm: The Issue of the Motivations of Sufi Resistance Movements in Western and Russian Scholarship,” *Die Welt des Islams*. vol. 42 no. 2 (2002): 140-143, 170-173; Knut S. Vikør “Sufism and Colonialism” in *The Cambridge Companion to Sufism*, ed. Lloyd Ridgeon (Cambridge University Press: 2014), 212-216. The concept of Neo-Sufism was first used by Fazlurrahman in his 1966 book “Islām” and became established in Sufis studies with Trimingham’s famous book “The Sufi Orders”. Fazlurrahman says that al-Ghazālī was the first peak figure to emerge in order to curb the excesses in Sufism, then it was disrupted again with Ibn ‘Arabī, then a wave of reaction and Sunni activism emerged with Ibn Taymīyya, which gave birth to Neo-Sufism, and by listing some generalizing features that we have listed above, which were later criticized by later western scholars, he says that Sufism returned to a much more *Sunnī* identity, which formed the center of the renewal movements. Fazlurrahman (who argues that the main reason for this is the reaction to political, social and economic problems) cannot answer the question of why it did not emerge a few centuries before the 18th century and why it did not emerge in the central cities but in the more remote regions of the Islamic world. Fazlurrahman’s student Voll, who later searched for the roots of reform by investigating the networks among scholars within the framework of the concept of fundamentalism (parallel to the social network analysis method that gained popularity in Western academia), expressed the claim that these movements were mostly experienced in *ḥadīth* and Sufism, but did not provide evidence. This is because the late *ḥadīth* literature has almost never been studied in Western academia. Moreover, both the interpretations made under the fundamentalist concept are over-generalizations made without examining the texts and of doubtful relevance to the facts, and networks alone are not evidence of a special interaction between individuals and groups. This is a consequence of the preoccupation with bio-bibliographical material rather than with the *masā’il* of Islamic studies. Much of the 18th century research on renewal, including Neo-Sufism (with the exception of later criticisms, some of which we have given above), consists of abstracting concepts such as enlightenment and Calvinist Protestantism from their context in Western history, transforming them into supra-historical constructs, and applying them to Islamic history, and in this sense is a manifestation of modern western thought. For a discussion of how the Eurocentric perspective is applied to Islamic history in this context, exemplified by Gran and Schulze and summarized here, see Eyüp Said Kaya, “Batılı Gözüyle Modernleşme Arifesinde Tecdid”, in *Batı Gözüyle Tecdid: İslam Dünyasında Tecdid Hareketleri (1700-1850)* ed. Nail Okuyucu, (İstanbul: Klasik

Tījāniyya against the popular Sufism represented by the Darqāwiyya.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, once the Darqāwiyya gained power, he did not hesitate to use them as intermediaries to achieve victory against the Ottoman forces in Oran and Tlemcen. In fact, the approach towards the orders in this period was entirely based on the imposition of authority, as the sharif tribes and order lodges had a great influence on the population, especially in rural areas. For this reason, it can be said that some reforms were made in order to weaken the *zāwiya*s, which were the allies of these tribes, and that they were in alliance with some other *zāwiya*s. In this period, the *zāwiya* had both an ideological structure that formed the religious mentality of the people there, an economic structure due to the *mawsims* it organized, and a structure that had the characteristics of a military headquarters. The Sultans' intention was to seize this economic-political power, which was almost independent of them in rural areas, and to impose their authority on the tribes through the *zāwiya*s.¹⁰⁹ In this context, the reasons behind the good relations developed with the Naṣīrīyya order, due to its strong connections with the sharī'a and its negative stance towards popular Sufism, despite the confrontational attitude towards the Sharqāwiyya order, must be found here.¹¹⁰

Yayınları, 2014), 13-37; Rudolph Peters, "Reinhard Schulze's Quest for an Islamic Enlightenment," *Die Welt des Islams*, v. 30, no. 1/4 (1990), 160-162.

¹⁰⁸ Mawlāy Sulaymān based his policies on Sufi orders on al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'*, banned the seasons, considered Sufism practiced by the common people outside the scholars class living in the city as superstition and *bid'a*, and criticized practices such as vocal dhikr, wearing a patched cardigan, and abandoning worldly causes by going into seclusion. Al-Būzīdī's shaykh-centered narrative in *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya* is thought to be a reaction against this approach. One example of this is Mawlāy Sulaymān's call to obedience to the *ulu-l-amr* and al-Būzīdī's explanation of this concept as shaykhs. See Zeynep Kızılkaya, "Būzīdī ve el-Ādābu'l-Marḍiyye'si: Literatür ve Kavram İncelemesi" (Master's thesis, Marmara University, 2021), 52-54; Zeynep Kızılkaya, "al-Ādāb al-Marḍiyya: Celebrating Shaykh-Veneration in 18th Century Moroccan Reforms," *Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, no. 67 (2024): 210-213. The fact that the main issues to which Wahhābism reacted, such as veneration of the *walī*, seeking their blessings and visiting them, formed the agenda of the reforms in this period is evidence that there was an interaction between the Hījāz and Morocco. Indeed, Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib b. Kīrān (d. 1227/1812) wrote a treatise called *al-Radd 'alā mazhab al-Wahhābiyya* in response to this influence. See Paul L. Heck, "An Early Response to Wahhābism from Morocco: The Politics of Intercession" *Studia Islamica*, Vol. 107, No. 2 [2012], 235-254. However, apart from them, Mawlāy Sulaymān did not see them as a reason for *takfīr* but as *bid'a* and he dispatched a delegation of scholars to the Hījāz in order to engage in discussion (*munāzara*) with the Wahhābīs. The complete entry of Salafism, with its different versions (traditional, *jihādī*, *takfīrī*), into Morocco occurred in the 20th century. Therefore, instead of reading his approach to Sufism under the extreme influence of Salafism, it seems more appropriate to interpret it as a similar criticism towards Sufism throughout Islamic history. For a more comprehensive view about this subject see Ḥasan Ūrīd, *al-Siyāsa wa-l-dīn fī-l-Maghrib: Jadaliyyat al-sulṭān wa-l-furqān* (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-'Arabī, 2020), 150-181; Raṣīd Abdullah el-Nasser, "Morocco, from Kharijism to Wahhabism: the quest for religious purism," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1985).

¹⁰⁹ To see such relations through the example of *zāwiya*s, see Ḍarīf, *Muassasat al-zawāyā fī-l-Maghrib*, 79-96; Ernest Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), 4-8.

¹¹⁰ Mawlāy Sulaymān distanced himself from strict asceticism, and in this respect, he belonged to the Naṣīriyya, which emphasized *sharī'a*, and allocated a house and salary to Aḥmad al-Tījānī (d.

2.4. Shādhilī Branches Originating from Jazūliyya and Zarrūqiyya During the Period Under Review¹¹¹

The orders active during the period under examination were generally of Shādhilī origin. Before offering a brief overview of the most prominent among them, it is important to first provide some background on Jazūliyya and Zarrūqiyya branches, from which many of these orders trace their lineage.

The Shādhiliyya, which has its roots in the Maghrib through figures like Shu‘ayb Abū Madyān, ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, initially widespread in Egypt when Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī relocation to Egypt and two of its main figures, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī (d. 685/1287) and Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309) lived here. The relationship they developed with scholars and rulers, and the fact that they were active in social life were also effective in the rapid realization of this spread.¹¹² Parallel to this development, the Shādhiliyya maintained a notable presence in Morocco, although without the same degree of organization and institutional centralization seen in Egypt, both because of the Maghribī disciples who accompanied him after he went to Egypt and because of those who were initiated by him while residing in Tunisia. In the Hafsid period of Tunisia, the Shādhilī disciples were accorded widespread acceptance and veneration by the populace, the scholars, and the sultanate alike.¹¹³ Following Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 724/1324), ‘Abd al-Nūr al-

1230/1815), who had a similar approach. See Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, “al-Tidjānī” in *Encyclopedia of Islam New Edition Online (EI-2 English)*, ed. P. Bearman (Brill, 2012). doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7536

¹¹¹ For information on other orders such as Naqshibandiyya, Qādiriyya, and Khalvatiyya in Morocco during this period, see Abdurrahman Mihçioğlu, *Ahmet Ticani: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Görüşleri* (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2024), 25-40, 45-52.

¹¹² Nathan Hofer, *The Popularisation of Sufism in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt, 1173-1325*, (Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 161.

¹¹³ During his period in Tunisia, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī retreated into seclusion in a cave, where more than forty disciples attended his spiritual discourses. Notable among these figures, particularly for their long-standing companionship with the Shaykh, were Abū al-‘Azā’im Mādī b. Sulṭān (d. 718/1318) and his brother Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Sulṭān (d. after 700/1301). Furthermore, individuals such as Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥabībī (d. 693/1293) played a significant role in the establishment and consolidation of the Shādhiliyya in Tunisia. See Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shadhili: Including His Life, Prayers, Letters, and Followers. A Translation from the Arabic of Ibn al-Sabbagh’s Durrat al-Asrar wa Tuhfat al-Abrar*, trans. E.H. Douglas (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993), 19–46, 221–243; Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*, 151–154; ‘Abd al-Nūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-‘Imrānī, *al-Taḥyīd fī tarjamat wa-aḥwāl al-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-shahīr bi-l-Shādhilī*, ed. Kenneth L. Honerkamp (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 2012), 24–25, 32–33. For other disciples of al-Shādhilī in Tunis, see Muḥammad b. al-Khūja, *Ṣafahāt min tārīkh Tūnis*, ed. Ḥammādī al-Sāhilī and al-Jilānī b. al-Ḥājī Yahyā (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1986), 397–406; Muḥammad b.

‘Imrānī (d. after 750/1349)—who compiled the narrations regarding al-Shādhilī transmitted by his Tunisian disciples—¹¹⁴acted as a vital bridge between the Shādhiliyya of Tunis and Fez. Through the mediation of his teacher al-‘Imrānī, Ibn ‘Abbād al-Rundī (d. 792/1390) established a connection with the Shādhilī legacy of Tunis. Subsequently, Ibn ‘Abbād became the pivotal figure through whom the Shādhiliyya truly took deep root in Morocco; he taught at al-Qarawiyyīn and authored a commentary on Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s *Hikam*.¹¹⁵ Later on, al-Jazūlī, who combined the blessings of being a shaykh and the privilege of being a *sharīf* and wrote *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* (an essential classic of the Moroccan people with the emphasis on the human being) appeared on the stage of history and legitimized the spread of this order throughout the country in the eyes of the people and the state.¹¹⁶

Following him Aḥmad Zarrūq (d. 899/1493–94), a prominent figure of the same century emerged as a critic of both heretic Sufis and narrow-minded jurists. He became especially known for his emphasis on truthfulness, and for his famous work *Qawā’id al-taṣawwuf*.¹¹⁷ After the death of Aḥmad Zarrūq, who was a prolific writer, dozens of *zāwiya*s were built in different parts of North Africa and many Shādhiliyya branches emerged from them for centuries.¹¹⁸ Therefore, through the influence of these two prominent 15th-century figures, the various Shādhiliyya branches that later emerged

‘Uthmān al-Ḥashshā’ishī, *al-Durr al-thamīn fī al-ta’rīf bi-Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī wa-aṣḥābihi al-arba’in* (Tunis: al-Maṭba‘a al-Rasmiyya al-‘Arabiyya, 1910), 22–33.

¹¹⁴ For an assessment of al-‘Imrānī’s *al-Taḳyīd*, which constitutes the third oldest source regarding the formative period of the Shādhiliyya see: Ahmet Murat Özel, “Ebu’l-Hasan eş-Şazeli Hakkındaki En Eski Üçüncü Kaynak”, *Tasavvuf İlmî ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 37 (2016): 195–199.

¹¹⁵ Nureddīn Muḥammad Dunyācī, “Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī: Muqārabah ‘amma li-khuṣūṣiyyāt shakhṣiyya mushtaraka bayna Maghrib wa Miṣr” in *al-Tawāsul al-ṣūfī bayna Miṣr wa-l-Maghrib*, ed. Abd al-Jawwād al-Saqqāt and Aḥmad al-Sulaymānī, (Jāmi‘at al-Ḥasan al-Shānī: Manshūrāt Kulliyyat al-Ādab wa-l-‘Ulūm al-Insāniyya, 2000), 24; Kenneth L. Honerkamp, “Introduction,” in *al-Taḳyīd fī tarjamat wa-aḥwāl al-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-shahīr bi-l-Shādhilī*, ed. Kenneth L. Honerkamp (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 2012), 11–15, 26.

¹¹⁶ The Jazūliyya are often cited as an example of the Sufis who gathered around a charismatic shaykh rather than belonging to an institution or Sufi tradition. Likewise, the reason why they were so well-received is due to their resistance against the Portuguese occupation in the *ribāṭ*s. Another reason is said to be the simplicity of Sufi practices and the abolition of the pre-initiation process. See Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Brill: 2000), 215–216, 247–248.

¹¹⁷ Eric Geoffroy, *Introduction to Sufism: The Inner Path of Islam*, trans. Roger Gaetani (World Wisdom:2010), 111. Cornell argues that although Ibn ‘Abbād contributed to the recognition of Al-Iskandarī’s ideas, he was more connected with Tunisia than Egypt, and that the full contact with Egypt began with Zarrūq. See Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*, 153–154.

¹¹⁸ For these branches see Ali Fahmī Khashīm, *Aḥmad al-Zarrūq wa-l-Zarrūqiyya*, (Beirut: Dār al-Madār al-Islāmī, 2001), 176–179.

under different names traced their spiritual lineage back to them.¹¹⁹ The major branches that were active during the period under consideration are as follows:

2.4.1. The Nāṣiriyya Order

It was named after Muḥammad b. Nāṣir (d. 1085/1674). Although it developed a conflicting relationship with the political authorities during the period of unrest between Mawlāy Ismā'īl and his sons, they established a peaceful relationship with the state since the reign of Mawlāy Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, and thus rapidly spread in the urban centers, and became one of the most influential orders.¹²⁰ Known for its strict adherence to the teachings of the *sharī'a*, this order rejected practices such as *samā'* and *raqṣ* as being contrary to the *sharī'a*.¹²¹ This tendency attracted scholars such as Ibn Sūdā al-Tawūḍī (d. 1209/1795), and at the same time Mawlāy Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh was initiated into the order, and Mawlāy Sulaymān considered it to be the closest branch to Sunnī Islam, which he defended. The order's *zāwīya* in Tamgrūt acted as a bridge between the central administration and the local tribes and served as an economic function by supporting the needs of the passing trade caravans. Despite this favorable atmosphere, tensions occasionally arose between the administration and the *zāwīya* during the reign of Mawlāy Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, to the extent that the sultan at one point threatened to destroy the *zāwīya* of Tamgrūt. During the reign of sultan Sulaymān, the relations became stronger and the Nāṣiriyya was mostly supported in order to counterbalance the spread of the Darqāwiyya among the Berbers. Additionally, the Nāṣiriyya sought patronage to protect itself against other tribes in the region.¹²²

¹¹⁹ For a more detailed history of the introduction and diffusion of the Shādhiliyya in Morocco, see Ruggero Vimercati Sanseverino, *Fès et sainteté, de la fondation à l'avènement du Protectorat (808-1912)*, (Rabat: Centre Jacques-Berque, 2014), 190-296.

¹²⁰ Özköse, *Mağrib 'de Tasavvuf*, 391.

¹²¹ Some studies attribute this reformist aspect of the Nāṣiriyya to its relationship with the Khalwatī shaykhs in Egypt. See for example: Nehemia Levtzion-Gideon Weigert, "18. Yüzyıl Fas'ında İslah Faaliyetleri (trans. Sevinc Bildik)" in *Batı Gözüyle Tecdid: İslam Dünyasında Tecdid Hareketleri 1700-1850*, ed. Nail Okuyucu (Istanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2014), 147. Also, the book *al-Mazāyā fīmā uḥditha min al-bid'a bi-umm al-zawāyā* by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nāṣirī, in which he criticizes *bid'a* in 60 points, can be seen as a result of this tendency of the order. See Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nāṣirī, *al-Mazāyā fīmā uḥditha min al-bid'a bi-umm al-zawāyā* ed. 'Abd al-Majīd Khayālī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 2003).

¹²² For this variable relationship between the two sides see 'Ummālūk, *Javānib min tārīkh al-zāwīya al-Nāṣiriyya*, 3:451-581. In the last quarter-century, this generally positive relationship of the Nāṣiriyya order with the Makhzen has been represented by the Būṭshīshiyya order. As for the function and conception of Sunnī Sufism that the Nāṣiriyya *zāwīya* established in a scholarly sense, it is represented

2.4.2. The Sharqāwiyya Order

This Sufi order was named after its founder, Sīdī Bū ‘Ubayd al-Sharqāwī (d. 1698/1110), and the order was mostly influenced by the Jazūliyya, tended towards more popular Sufism.¹²³ Their presence was limited to the region of Tādlā in the center of Morocco¹²⁴ and its vicinity, without spreading over a wide areas like the Wazzāniyya and Nāṣiriyya.¹²⁵ Since their authority in the region was more influential than the central state, their relations with the ‘Alawid administration developed negatively throughout the 18th century, even their main *zāwiya* was attacked many times and their shaykh was exiled to Fez. The *zāwiya* Bū Ja‘d was seen as the main obstacle between the political authority and the rebel tribes by the *Makhzan*.¹²⁶

2.4.3. The Wazzāniyya Order

The *silsila* of this order reaches to al-Jazūlī, and it took its name from the city where it was located (Wazzān) and founded by the Idrīsid *sharīf* Mawlāy ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1089/1678). It was also called Tihāmiyya in reference to Aḥmad al-Tihāmī (d. 1122/1767) and Ṭayyibiyya in reference to Mawlāy al-Ṭayyib bin Muḥammad (d. 1194/1780).¹²⁷ Their territory, like the city of Tādlā, where the Shārquwīs were situated, was located between the Atlas Mountains and the plain. The ‘Alawid dynasty used this position of the order to bridge the gap between the rebels and the cities under their control, and from the beginning, they developed close bilateral relations.¹²⁸

today by the Imām Junayd Research Center, which is located in the city of Oujda and affiliated with the al-Rābiṭa al-Muḥammadiyya foundation. See Ūrīd, *al-Siyāsa wa-l-dīn fī-l-Maghrib*, 134-135, 141; Aziz Hlaoua, “The Būtshīshiyya Sufi Order: From Retreat to Engagement with the Political,” in *Contemporary Moroccan Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 2024), 541-562. For further details on the Nāṣiriyya, see Matthew Conaway Schumann, *A Path of Reverent Love: The Nāṣiriyya Brotherhood across Muslim Africa (11th-12th/17th-18th centuries)*, (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2020).

¹²³ Ahmad al-Wārith, “Tasawwuf al-‘awwām khilāl al-qarnayn 17 wa 18 m.: Al-tayyār al-Sharqāwī numūzajan” in *al-Ribāṭāt wa-l-zawāyā fī tārikh al-Maghrib*, ed. Nafisa al-Dhahabī (Manṣhūrāt Kulliyāt al-Ādāb wa-l-‘Ulūm al-Insāniyya, 1997), 237-57.

¹²⁴ See Mohammad Hajji, “Tādlā” in P. Bearman (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Islam New Edition Online (EI-2 English)*, (Brill, 2012) doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7282.

¹²⁵ The fact that they did not belong to the *sharīf* family or have a missionary identity like the Nāṣiriyya seems to have played a major role in this. Likewise, the location of the *zāwiya* Bū Ja‘d at the foot of the Atlas Mountains limited its relations with both the political authority and the Atlas tribes. See al-Mansour, “Political and Social Developments in Morocco,” 316-22.

¹²⁶ For a more detailed account of the *zāwiya*’s relationship with *Makhzan* during the ‘Alawid Dynasty, see Būkārī, *al-Zāwiya al-Sharqawīyya*, 113-91.

¹²⁷ Güven, “Ebu’l-Hasan Şazili ve Şaziliyye” 332.

¹²⁸ Özköse, *Mağrib’de Tasavvuf*, 422.

Economically, they were endowed with large assets and Sufi *sharīfs* in Wazzān were given wide administrative competences. The *Makhzan* facilitated its spread in Algeria in order to expand their authority.¹²⁹ However, their involvement in the political arena to the detriment of sultan Sulaymān in the first years of his reign attracted his anger and in the later years when he strengthened his authority, sultan Sulaymān intervened in their internal affairs and paved the way for their division into two.¹³⁰

2.4.4. The Tijāniyya Order

Its founder, Aḥmad al-Tijānī, benefited from the shaykhs of the Wazzāniyya, Nāṣiriyya, and Darqāwiyya branches of the Shādhiliyya order, as well as from the Khalwatiyya order. However, later on, he named the order he founded “Muḥammadiyya”,¹³¹ saying that he wore the *khirqā* from the prophet directly. Unlike the Darqāwiyya, he encouraged people to wear beautiful clothes and ride on quality horses, and thus rich people and merchants were attracted to the order.¹³² Although the issue of being a *sharīf* was essential in terms of providing legitimacy and al-Tijānī faced an obstacle in spreading at first because he was not a *sharīf*, he overcame this problem with a treatise in which he explained that he was a *sharīf*. The Tijāniyya, which claimed to be the last of the order, spread rapidly in the city and among the political authorities. It was used by the ‘Alawid dynasty to challenge the authority of traditional orders such as the Darqāwiyya and Shārqāwiyya.¹³³ After his death, the center of the order shifted from Fez to Algeria and Western Sahara.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 25; HARRAK, *Sharifism and the Sharifs*, 24-27.

¹³⁰ Mansour, *Political and Social Developments in Morocco*, 322-329.

¹³¹ For critiques of the explanations offered by the neo-Sufism thesis regarding this concept, see MİHÇİOĞLU, *Ahmet Ticani*, 235-250; Abdurrahman MİHÇİOĞLU, “Tasavvuf Tarihinde Reform İddialarına Bir Cevap: Ahmed et-Ticānī’nin Tarikat-ı Muhammediyye Düşüncesi Işığında Neo-Sufizm Eleştirisi,” *İhya Uluslararası İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 11/2 (2025): 1-50. Throughout these studies, MİHÇİOĞLU tries to prove through the primary sources of the Tijāniyya order that al-Tijānī continued the legacy of the orders he was associated with and that the phenomena claimed to be “neo” did not actually exist.

¹³² ÖZKÖSE, *Mağrib’de Tasavvuf*, 416.

¹³³ Mansour “Political and Social Developments in Morocco”, 339-345.

¹³⁴ For al-Tijānī’s relationship with the Shādhiliyya and Khalwatiyya orders, additionally his intellectual biography and spiritual legacy, see Wright, *Realizing Islam: The Tijaniyya*; ‘Abd al-Bāqī Miftāḥ, *Aḍwā’ ‘alā al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Tijānī wa-atbā’ihī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 2009).

2.4.5. The Fāsiyya (Ma‘niyya) Order

It is an order institutionalized by the al-Fāsī al-Fihri family of Andalusian origin which migrated from Seville to Malaga and then to Fez.¹³⁵ The founder Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Fāsī (d. 1013/1604) traces his lineage back to the Jazūlīyya through his father and the Zarrūqīyya through ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majzūb (d. 976/1569),¹³⁶ the former being the way of blessing and influence (*ṭarīq al-tabarruk wa-l-istifāda*) and the latter was the doctrinal connection (*ṭarīq al-irāda*).¹³⁷ The sheikhdōm of the order, which spread in Fez, Tetouan, and Qasr al-Kabīr, later passed from the Fāsiyya family to the Andalusian Ma‘n family, who were descended from the ruler of the Muwaḥḥidī state Ya‘qūb al-Mansūr (d. 595/1199), and they opened their *zawiya* in Makhfiyya quarter.¹³⁸ After several generations the sheikhdōm of this family passed from al-‘Arabī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ma‘n (1166/1754) to his disciple ‘Alī al-Jamal, the main topic of the current study, after whom the Darqāwiyya branch emerged with his disciple Mawlāy al-Darqāwī.¹³⁹ It is claimed that the source of *tajrīdī* characteristics of ‘Alī al-Jamal and the subsequent Darqāwiyya branch—as will be discussed in detail later—extends back to the Makhfiyya *zawiya*, from there to the Fāsiyya *zawiya*, and ultimately to al-Majdhūb.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ al-Fihri, *Mir‘āt al-maḥāsīn*, 30-31; ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *al-I‘lām bi-man ghabara*, 6-9.

¹³⁶ It is claimed that Abū al-Maḥāsīn had a *malāmatī* attitude and that this was due to the influence of Majzūb. See for more details Nafīsa al-Dhahabī, *al-Zāwiya al-Fāsiyya; Al-tatawwur wa-l-adwār ḥattā nihāyat al-ahd al-‘Alawī al-awwal*, (Casablanca: Maṭba‘at al-Najāh al-Jadīda, 2001), 75-93.

¹³⁷ al-Fihri, *Mir‘āt al-maḥāsīn*, 271; Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Fāsī, *al-Minah al-ṣāfiyya fī al-asānīd al-Yūsufiyya* (Kirkuk: al-Zāwiya al-‘Alāwiyya, 2021), 11; Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*, 159.

¹³⁸ The first one to settle in the Makhfiyya and establish a *zāwiya* was Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Fāsī. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ma‘n (d. 1062/1652) has met him there and, following the death of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (d. 1036/1627), constructed his own *zāwiya* in this location. See ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb bi-khabar Abī al-Maḥāsīn wa-shaykhihi al-Majdhūb* (Kirkuk: al-Zāwiya al-‘Alāwiyya, 2020), 167; al-‘Arabī al-Fāsī, *Mir‘āt al-maḥāsīn*, 29, 108-109 *‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī, Faḍā’il al-‘arīf bi-Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh* (Kirkuk: al-Zāwiya al-‘Alāwiyya, 2021), 23; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 14-18; Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Mumtī ‘al-asmā’ fī al-Jazūlī wa-al-Tabbā’ wa-mā lahumā min al-ittibā’*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-‘Amrī and ‘Abd al-Karīm Murād (Casablanca: Maṭba‘at al-Najāh al-Jadīda, 1994), 194, 198; Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *‘Awārif al-minna bi-manāqib sayyidī Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh Muḥyī al-Sunna* (Kirkuk: al-Zāwiya al-‘Alāwiyya, 2020), 7. This *zāwiya* is currently known as “al-Zāwiya al-‘Abdalāwiyya al-Ma‘niyya”.

¹³⁹ al-Fihri, *Mir‘āt al-maḥāsīn*, 28.

¹⁴⁰ al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 174–75, 216, 287.

2.4.6. The Darqāwiyya Order

An order attributed to Muḥammad al-‘Arabī al-Darqāwī (d. 1239/1823).¹⁴¹ According to Kynsh, this order represents an institutional and intellectual revival and purified the Shādhiliyya from the material and spiritual impurities it had suffered for centuries.¹⁴² Despite the political goals and worldly tendencies of other orders, it is claimed that Darqāwiyya reacted to them and chose the path of asceticism.¹⁴³ ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Saghīr compares it in this respect to the context of the 13th century, when the Shādhiliyya first appeared, and the renewals it introduced.¹⁴⁴ The Darqāwiyya, which initially spread in the *Jabal al-‘Alam* and mostly in rural areas, strengthened its influence with the initiation of scholars such as Ibn ‘Ajība (d. 1224/1809), and its popularity increased as a result of some political issues it went through, becoming rapidly the most widespread order in North Africa. Darqāwiyya spread to the Middle

¹⁴¹ Aḥmad Būkārī, on the other hand, claims that the real founder was ‘Alī al-Jamal and that he quietly carried out the revival, the “sharp transformation” in the history of Shādhiliyya, but that it was more visible and widespread through his disciple al-Darqāwī. Kattānī also pointed to the original founder when he said talking about al-Darqāwī, “His order was like the order of his shaykh, *jalālī* and *sufī* in its *ẓāhir*; and *jamālī* and *ulwī* in its *bāṭin*.” Therefore, based on Mark Sedwick’s categorization we can say that ‘Alī al-Jamal is more the specialized shaykh and al-Darqāwī is more the charismatic shaykh. See Būkārī, *al-Iḥyā’ wa-l-tajdīd*, 1: 80, 104; Mark J. Sedgwick, *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century* (Oxford University Press 2004), 76.

¹⁴² Kynsh, *Islamic Mysticism*, 216, 248.

¹⁴³ al-Mansour, “Political and Social Developments in Morocco,” 329-330; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford University Press, 1971), 105-106.

¹⁴⁴ al-Ṣaghīr, “al-Madrasa al-ṣūfīyya al-Darqāwiyya”, 29-39.

East, Europe and America with new branches such as Yashruṭiyya,¹⁴⁵ Madaniyya,¹⁴⁶ ‘Alāwiyya,¹⁴⁷ Ḥabībiyya.¹⁴⁸

The main principles of Darqāwiyya are as follows: 1. Following the Quran and Sunna, avoiding *bid‘a* in all case, 2. To struggle with the *nafs*, 3. Abandoning *tadbīr* and *ikhtiyār*, 4. Staying away from claims [such as miracles, spiritual high states and deeds], 5. To remember God frequently during the day and night. The order is also identified by distinctive signs and practices that characterize its members, which are the follows: 1. Wearing patched clothes, 2. Begging, 3. Walking barefoot, 4. Hanging rosary beads around the neck, 5. And using a staff.¹⁴⁹

To summarize, the relationships of the ‘Alawid sultans in this century with the existing Shādhilī orders were quite variable and dynamic. This dynamism was shaped by the influence of the Shādhilī branches which mentioned above on the local populations and by their religious understandings. At the same time, the differing religious understandings of the sultans also determined these relationships. ‘Alī al-Jamal, the subject of this study received his Sufi training at the Makhfiyya zawiya, which emerged from within the Fāsiyya zāwiya among the specified Shādhilī branches. His

¹⁴⁵ See Annabelle Böttcher, “Yashruṭiyya”. In P. Bearman (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Islam New Edition Online* (EI-2 English), (Brill, 2012) doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7992

¹⁴⁶ For information about this branch, which was particularly influential in Istanbul in the late Ottoman period, and the life of its shaykh, Shaykh Muḥammad Zāfir al-Madanī (d. 1321/1903) see Mustafa Salim Güven, “Şazeliyye” in *Türkiye’de Tarikatlar: Tarih ve Kültür* ed. Semih Ceyhan (Istanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2015), 400-423.

¹⁴⁷ Its founder was Aḥmad al-‘Alāwī (b. 1934), born in Mostaganem, Algeria. For his biography see Martin Lings, *A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century: Shaikh Ahmad al-Alawi, his Spiritual Heritage and Legacy*, (Pakistan: Suhail Academy Lahore, 1981). The Maryamiyya order, which was born out of this branch, and names such as Frithjof Schoun (d. 1998), Titus Burckhardt (d. 1984), Martin Lings (d. 2005) and Sayyed Hussein Nasr who belonged to this branch, have left cult works and influences in the Western mystical and intellectual world through their traditionalist teachings. For their influence, see Ron Geaves “Sufism in the West”, in *The Cambridge Companion to Sufism* ed. Llyod Ridgeon (Cambridge University Press, 2015) 247-249; Francesco Piraino, “Who is the Infidel? Religious Boundaries and Social Change in the Shadhiliyya Darqawiyya Alawiyya” in *Global Sufism: Boundaries, Narratives and Practices* ed. Francesco Piraino and Mark Sedgwick (London: Hurst & Company, 2019), 75-92. For the spread of this branch in the Middle East see Abdullah Morad, “Şazeliyye Tarikatinin Derkaviyye Haşimiyye Kolu (Şam)” (Master’s Thesis, Marmara University, 2021), 111-197; Itzhak Weismann, “The Shādhiliyya-Darqāwiyya in the Arab east (19th–20th century),” in *Une voie soufie dans le monde. La Shādhiliyya* ed. Eric Geoffroy (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose 2005), 262–5.

¹⁴⁸ Ḥabībiyya, another branch of the Darqāwiyya, became known more thanks to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Šūfī (d. 2021), who initiated into the Ḥabībiyya. He was influential in Britain and later became known for establishing the antimodernist city “maḍīna” and the “murābiṭūn movement”. Aziz el-Kobaiti Idrissi, *al-Athar al-šūfī al-Maghribī fī Brīṭanya; Al-zāwiya al-Ḥabībiyya al-Darqāwiyya numūzajan*, (Fez: Maṭbā‘a Umayma, 2008), 102-159.

¹⁴⁹ Būkārī, *al-Ihyā’ wa-l-tajdīd*, 90-103.

most important disciple, al-Darqāwī, whom he saw as the heir to his path he termed *tajrīd*, founded the Darqāwiyya order, which became the representative of the Shādhiliyya in the modern period and whose name is associated with renewal, and he popularized the teachings he received from ‘Alī al-Jamal.¹⁵⁰ In this respect, al-Jamal is the bridge and the defining figure between the Fāsiyya and the Darqāwiyya.

2.5. A Period of Fitna in 18th-Century Fez: The Decline of the Shurafā’ and the Rise of Other Social Groups

The reason for dedicating a separate section to this period is that it coincides with the timeframe when al-Jamal, the subject of this study, fled Fez for Tunis (1737-1738) due to the turmoil, distanced himself from the *Makhzan*, and transitioned towards Sufism.¹⁵¹ Knowing the events that occurred during this period and the sociopolitical situation in Fez will provide the groundwork for understanding this breaking point in al-Jamal’s life.

During the long reign of Mawlāy Ismā‘īl, stability prevailed, and relative internal unity was achieved. This situation continued and was re-established during the reign of his grandson, Mawlāy Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh. However, there is a period between the two, which is described as disruption (*fitna*).¹⁵² This period, spanning thirty years between 1727 and 1757, witnessed long famines where poverty reached its peak, and there were constant changes of the throne and wars among the seven sons of Mawlāy

¹⁵⁰ This Malāmatī understanding, which al-Jamal inherited from the Makhfiyya *zāwiya* and subsequently taught to al-Darqāwī, termed *tajrīd*, along with its practices, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

¹⁵¹ Al-Ḥawwāt (d. 1232/1816) states that al-Jamal’s departure for Tunis occurred during the time of Muḥammad b. ‘Arbiyya, which corresponds to the period between 1737 and 1738. See Abū al-Rabī’ Sulaymān al-Ḥawwāt, *al-Rawḍa al-maqṣūda wa-l-ḥulal al-mamdūda fī ma’āthir Banī Sūda*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Taylānī (Rabat: Dār Abī Raqrāq, 2018), 469.

¹⁵² Abdullah Laouri views Mawlāy Ismā‘īl, through the legacy he left behind, as responsible for this period in which everything was inverted. The friction with Ahl Fās commenced during the reign of Mawlāy Ismā‘īl, and as a consequence, he relocated the capital to Meknes and garrisoned the ‘*abīd*’ army in Fez al-Jadīd. Ahl Fās could not reach an understanding with him owing to the collection of heavy taxes and the matter of the enslavement of Muslims for the army; concurrently, their support for Aḥmad b. Muḥriz against him further strained their relations with Mawlāy Ismā‘īl. Subsequently, Mawlāy Ismā‘īl besieged Fez; its subjugation lasted about fourteen months, and a great number of Ahl Fās leaders were killed. During this period, his support for the *sharīfs* within Fez against Ahl Fās, and his granting of privileges to them, stemmed from his desire to secure his own legitimacy. Apparently, this situation was completely reversed during the period of his sons (1727-1757) amidst the power vacuum that emerged after him, and he, in a sense, had laid the groundwork for this. Abdallah Laroui, *The History of the Maghrib: An Interpretative Essay*, trans. Ralph Manheim (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), 274-275; Cory, “Sharīfian Rule in Morocco,” 465-471.

Ismā‘īl. So much so that Mawlāy ‘Abd Allāh alone ascended the throne in six different periods.¹⁵³

During this timeframe, Fez emerges as one of the main deterministic actors. In this period, Fez possessed an autonomous identity, characterized by significant internal division and conflict, yet presenting an image of unity to the outside. The distinction between these class groups, which were also autonomous internally, was based more on family lineages; and Fez had three main actors. First, the common people (al-‘Āmma or Ahl Fās), second, the Shurafā’, and third, the Bildiyyīn (whose origins were not in al-Andalus or tribal, who had converted to Islam in the 15th century). Ahl Fās were internally divided into three geographical sections: al-Lamtiyyīn, al-Andalus, and al-‘Adwa.¹⁵⁴ Although these three sections of the Ahl Fās experienced internal

¹⁵³ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mūdīn, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Binḥidda, ‘Abd al-Majīd Qaddūrī, and al-‘Arabī Mazzīn, “al-Azmāt wa-muḥāwalāt al-istidrāk: Min al-qarn al-Sādis ‘ashar ilā al-thāmin ‘ashar li-l-mīlād,” in *Tārīkh al-Maghrib: Taḥyīn wa-tarkīb*, ed. Muḥammad al-Qablī (Rabat: al-Ma‘had al-Malakī li-l-Baḥṭh fī Tārīkh al-Maghrib, 2011), 425–429; Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period*. (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 237-239

¹⁵⁴ Although the origin of this word, meaning “bank,” is ‘udwa, it transformed over time into ‘adwa due to the influence of the Moroccan dialect (al-Dārīja), and it has become established as such in the literature. For this reason, I have preferred to use it in this latter form. Historically, ‘Adwat al-Andalus is situated within Old Fez (Fās al-Bālī). Although the basis of its construction is traced back to Idrīs I (d. 177/793), it was fully constructed during the period of Idrīs II (d. 213/828). The reason for its name is the settlement of Andalusian families who were exiled during the period of al-Ḥakam b. Hishām (d. 206/822) from al-Andalus. On the other side of the Wādī Bū Kharārib lies ‘Adwat al-Qarawiyyīn, which was so named in reference to the families originating from Qayrawān. Over time, these two banks of the city became akin to separate cities, and conflicts arose between them. During the reign of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn (d. 500/1106), however, the walls separating them were demolished, and an effort was made to unify them. With the addition of the Lamtiyyīn section, the area inhabited by Berbers, the number of sections within Fās al-Bālī became three. Each of the three sections had a leader (*quwwād*). These sections were internally divided into quarters called *ḥawma* and *darb*. At their head were officials called *muqaddam*. Another distinction within Fās al-Bālī was that of ‘Upper Fez’ and ‘Lower Fez’, which was based on being rural (*rūbī*) or urban (*fāsī*). During the Marinid period, a city was founded outside Fās al-Bālī named Fās al-Jadīd. Similar conflicts also occurred over time between Fās al-Jadīd and Fās al-Bālī. In the modern period, however, an entirely new city was founded outside of these by the French, and due to both its impact and the change of the capital, the agent role and social authority of Fez, which we address in this section, were undermined. What remained unchanged throughout history was the struggle between the rural and the urban, the *sharīf* and the non-*sharīf*, and the ‘Adwa division within Ahl Fās. For the history of these geographical and social divisions since the foundation of Fez, see: M’hammed Idrissi Janati, “Les images identitaires à Fès: divisions de la société, divisions de la ville,” in *Les divisions de la ville* ed. Christian Topalov (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 2002), 347–372; Aḥmad b. al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās fī dhikr man ḥalla min al-a‘lām bi-madīnat Fās* (Rabat: Dār al-Manṣūr, 1973), 32-50; ‘Alī b. Abī Zar’ al-Fāsī, *Al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirṭās fī akhbār mulūk al-Maghrib wa-tārīkh madīnat Fās* (Rabat: Dār al-Manṣūr, 1972), 30-32, 38-47; ‘Alī al-Jaznā‘ī, *Janā zahrat al-ās fī binā’ madīnat Fās*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Manṣūr (Rabat: al-Maṭba‘a al-Malikiyya, 1991), 18–26, 41–44.

conflicts from time to time, they were united against other social groups within the city and external threats.¹⁵⁵

The unstable environment, created by the incessant conflict among potential sultan candidates and the constant changes of the throne, elevated the Ahl Fās to a decision-making position. The center of power shifted from the palace and the mausoleums of the *shurafā* to these three sections of the Ahl Fās. Each of these three sections had its own leader (*quwwād*). In a period when the *Makhzan* was weak, the *quwwād* acted as political patrons who maintained order; they were mediators in diplomatic agreements, designated religious authorities, seized financial control of the city, and were the primary determinants in the appointment of officials such as the governor and the market inspector (*muhtasib*) to the city, playing a critical role in the selection of potential sultan candidates. The main source of power they relied on was the militia (*rumāt*) they formed within their ranks. This military force was under the direct control of the leaders of the three sections, and the quarters (*ḥawma*) were, in a sense, their barracks. The *quwwād* could even collect tribute from other social groups in the city, such as the *shurafā*, to finance them. The *rumāt* had functions such as appointing sultans, protecting the city against the power of other sultan candidates, and joining the army of the sultan they supported on campaigns outside the region.¹⁵⁶

As mentioned earlier, the rise of the Ahl Fās to such a decisive position during this period is closely related to the decline of the *shurafā*. Their decline, in turn, was due to the absence of a strong sultan to support them after Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, as their power was based on privileges such as tax exemptions that a strong sultan would grant them. Without this, they remained politically and economically weak. Due to this weakening, they became targets for both the social groups of the Ahl Fās and the sultans during this timeframe. The sultans were compelled to make such a choice—rather than

¹⁵⁵ For examples concerning the internal conflicts of Ahl Fās, see: Muḥammad b. Tayyib al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī li-ahl al-qarn al-ḥādī ‘ashara wa-l-thānī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥajj ve Aḥmad al-Tawfīq (Rabat: Maktabat al-Ṭālib, 1982), 1: 336, 3:296; Maḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle of Abū ‘Abdallāh Maḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Al-Dukkālī: Fes in the Mid-18th Century (1149/1736-1179/1766)* ed. and trans Norman Cigar (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 123, 193-197, 263, 285.

¹⁵⁶ Norman Cigar, “Introduction” in *The Historical Chronicle of Abū ‘Abdallāh Maḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Al-Dukkālī: Fes in the Mid-18th Century (1149/1736-1179/1766)* ed. and trans Norman Cigar (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 44-50, 53-57; 61-66. Norman Cigar, “Société et vie politique à Fès sous les premiers Alawites (1660–1830),” *Hespéris-Tamuda* 18, 1 (1978–1979), 98–168. About the *rumāt* see Mohamed El Mansour, “Urban society in Fez: The Rumat during the Modern Period (17th–19th centuries),” *The Maghreb review* 22, 1–2 (1997), 75–95.

touching the Ahl Fās—to avoid provoking chaos that could potentially lead to rebellion at any moment and perhaps cost them the throne. Indeed, sultans could not arbitrarily impose their will on the Ahl Fās; attempting to do so could trigger a rebellion, incurring a significant cost and potentially dethroning them.¹⁵⁷

Therefore, although the sultans could harm Fez, they generally had to accept that Fez had a semi-independent will and had to take the city and its interests into account. For example, Mawlāy ‘Abd Allāh, who had the support of the *shurafā*’ and in a sense declared war on the Ahl Fās, was forced to flee when the Ahl Fās made an agreement among themselves and with the Berbers, persuaded the *‘abīd* army, and declared Muḥammad b. ‘Arbiyya as sultan. This is just one of the examples confirming their agency.¹⁵⁸ From this perspective, it was important for the Ahl Fās to have a weak sultan, one who was dependent on them, to prevent the *shurafā*’ from gaining privileges over them and to avoid the imposition of heavy taxes. For this reason, in 1743, they declared their support for the weaker sultan, Mawlāy ‘Abd Allāh, against the strong and dynamic warlord of Tangier, al-Rīfī.¹⁵⁹ Their rebellions and struggles were not against the ‘Alawid dynasty, but were based on the principle of having the sultan who would best protect their own interests.

Three symbolic events stand out as they demonstrate the decline experienced during this period compared to the preceding and subsequent periods of sharīfian hegemony. The first is when an Idrīsī *sharīf*, Muḥammad al-Ghālī, took refuge in the Idrīsī *ḥaram* after clashing with the Ahl Fās in 1741-1742.¹⁶⁰ Other Idrīsī *shurafā*’ also gathered to support him. In response, the *rumāt* force initiated a siege, positioning themselves on the Qarawiyyīn minaret overlooking the *ḥaram*. Although the fact that the *rumāt* “could not convince themselves to fire on the sacred precinct” shows the remaining deterrence of religion, the very besieging of Fez’s most sacred sanctuary by the Fasis themselves, the Sultan subsequently being forced to reprimand and arrest al-Ghālī, and

¹⁵⁷ For some examples of this situation see al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, 3: 321-333, 372-379, 392-395, 4: 37, 56-66.

¹⁵⁸ al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 105.

¹⁵⁹ al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 167.

¹⁶⁰ In Morocco, the concept of *ḥaram* is generally associated with the tomb of a saint or other sacred spaces, which are considered places within whose boundaries fighting is theoretically prohibited and where individuals are provided personal security. The tomb of ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh or the tomb of Mawlāy Idrīs are examples of this. See Muhammed el-Mansour “The Sanctuary (Hurm) in Precolonial Morocco,” in *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco* ed. Rahma Bourqia, Susan Gilson Miller (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 49-70.

his allowing the Ahl Fās to kill three of al-Ghālī's friends the next day, revealed the power of the *quwwād* and the weakness of the *shurafā'*.¹⁶¹

The second event occurred in 1756 when the Idrīsī *shurafā'* killed two Andalusīyyīn in a dispute. The Ahl Fās reached a consensus, expelled these *shurafā'* from the Idrīsī *ḥaram*, confiscated the wheat they had stored, and replaced them with other branches of the *shurafā'*. Most importantly, Sultan Mūlāy 'Abd Allāh was forced to allow this.¹⁶²

In 1738, in another incident in which Muḥammad al-Ghālī was also involved, violent clashes once again took place between the two sides; the Idrīsī *ḥaram* was besieged, and a total of seven people, from both the Idrīsī *sharīfs* and Ahl Fās, were killed.¹⁶³ In 1737, the ascension of Muḥammad b. 'Arbiyya—supported by the Ahl Fās—as sultan, against Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh—supported by the *sharīfs*—represents the zenith of this.¹⁶⁴ In such an atmosphere, with everything developing to the detriment of the Idrīsī *sharīfs*, the departure of al-Jamal in this year, himself an Idrīsī *sharīf*, from Fez becomes understandable. He was also against the sultan who ascended the throne and supported the other, Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh.¹⁶⁵

Now, having described the mystical and sociopolitical atmosphere of Fez during al-Jamal's lifetime, we can move on to the section where we will provide information under separate headings about his life, his lineage, his shaykh al-'Arabī, and his disciples.

¹⁶¹ al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 159, 171.

¹⁶² al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 259.

¹⁶³ al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 127-129.

¹⁶⁴ al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 103-105.

¹⁶⁵ al-Tamsamānī, *Kitāb Sīdī 'Alī al-Jamal*, 21. al-Hawwāt, *al-Rawḍa al-maqṣūda*, 469. The cessation of Ahl Fās's decisive role at this level, and the end of this weakness in the authority of the *shurafā'*, occurred with the end of the "period of the princes" and the accession of the powerful Sultan Mawlāy Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh in 1757. He took advantage of the exhaustion of all these actors, developed foreign trade relations, and created a source of revenue that would make him economically independent from local society. He distanced Ahl Fās's main source of power, the *rumāt*, by placing them in a garrison in the city of Essaouira, and he also dispersed the *'abīd* army—which had been in a position to depose and appoint sultans—to different cities. He appointed new officials over the city and imposed heavy taxes. Thus, the significant influence of Ahl Fās came to an end, and the stability of the *Makhzan* system, as in the period of Mawlāy Ismā'īl, once again prevailed. See al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 297-313; Abun-Nasr, *A history of the Maghrib*, 239-242; Laroui, *The History of the Maghrib*, 276-279; Cory, "Sharīfian Rule in Morocco," 471-472. al-Mūdīn, "al-Azmāt wa-muḥāwalāt al-istidrāk," 429-431.

CHAPTER III

THE LIFE, TEACHERS, AND DISCIPLES OF ‘ALĪ AL-JAMAL

3.1. The Biography of ‘Alī Al-Jamal

His full name is Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Imrān al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī al-‘Imrānī. It is understood from the name that he was one of the Idrīsī *sharīfs* who ruled a state in Morocco for a period.¹⁶⁶ He belonged to the Banū ‘Imrān family of the Banū Ḥasan tribe.¹⁶⁷ In his father’s time, they migrated from the Jabal al-‘Alam region to the city of Fez. The nickname ‘al-Jamal’ was given to him by the people of Morocco by saying ‘*hadza huwa al-jamal*’ because as a child in Fez, he moved a camel standing in the middle of the road to the side demonstrating his strength.¹⁶⁸

‘Alī al-Jamal worked in the state administration during the reign of Mawlāy ‘Abd Allāh. However, after the intense clashes between the Idrīsī *sharīfs* and Ahl Fās, which are described in the second chapter, he distanced himself from politics and moved to Tunisia in 1737–1738.¹⁶⁹ His choice of Tunis as a destination was rooted in historical

¹⁶⁶ On the ‘Imrānī branch of the Idrīsī *sharīfs*, to which al-Jamal belonged, see Muḥammad al-Ṭālib b. Ḥamdūn al-Mirdāsī, *al-Ishrāf ‘alā ba’d man bi-Fās min mashāhīr al-ashrāf* (Tetouan: Manshūrāt Jam‘iyyat Tiṭwān Asmīr, 2004), 1:172-185.

¹⁶⁷ Ibn al-Qāḍī states that this tribe lived in the area of Jamī’ al-bayḍā near Tetouan. See al-Tamsamānī, *Kitāb Sīdī ‘Alī Jamal*, 17.

¹⁶⁸ al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 1:409; al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 61. Another story is told related to the camel: “He kept order in the caravans. He would go to the gate of the city and take dirhams for each camel from those in the caravan. They would go, make a profit, and return safe and sound. One day, someone from the caravan bargained with him, and in the end, he did not give him anything. Thereupon, the thieves blocked their way and stole only that person’s camel. This spread throughout the country, and no one bargained with ‘Alī al-Jamal in such a cunning way after that.” See al-Ghumārī, *al-Mu‘zīn*, 165.

¹⁶⁹ al-Tamsamānī, *Kitāb Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal*, 21. al-Ḥawwāt, *al-Rawḍa al-maqṣūda*, 469. Al-Zabbādī also states that al-Jamal initially worked in the *Makhzan* in 1148-39 and was in charge of the *shurafā* in Fez, that he did some evil to them, and that when the sultan changed in 1150, he fled to Tunisia to protect himself from the other *shurafā* of this new Sultan who al-Jamal was against him. See al-Zabbādī, *Sulūk al-ṭarīq al-wāriya*, 315. Al-Jamal himself stated that in his former life, he had met, sat with, and befriended one of the external rulers (*mulūk al-ẓāhir*). See al-Jamal. *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 36–37. In his

precedent. After the Imrānī Idrīsī *sharīfs* briefly seized state power in Fez for a second time (1465–1471), the Wattasids occupied Fez and expelled them. They then went to Tunis, where they lived for around a century until the Wattasid state fell. Upon their return, they were known as “the Tunisians”.¹⁷⁰ Consequently, al-Jamal’s decision to choose Tunis after leaving Fez stemmed from this deep, familial connection. With the guidance of the people he met in Tunisia, al-Jamal travelled to Wazzān and met Mawlāy al-Ṭayyib al-Wazzānī (d. 1181/1767) in 1740, and later in the same year he returned to Fez, where he studied Sufi texts with ‘Abd Allāh Jassūs (d. 1196/1782).¹⁷¹

It was here in Fez that he met Abū al-Maḥmūd al-‘Arabī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1166/1753), who later became his spiritual guide and the shaykh of the Makhfiyya *zāwiya*, and then he was initiated into by him to the Shādhiliyya order. ‘Alī al-Jamal’s decision to seek refuge specifically in the Makhfiyya *zāwiya* was not an arbitrary choice. This *zāwiya* had assumed the role of mediator during periods of continuous civil strife and conflict among the social classes of Fez, transforming into a sanctuary to which people fled for protection. During this period, the Makhfiyya *zāwiya* held a position of authority to which even the city governor, the judges, and the sultan himself were compelled to defer and show respect.¹⁷²

Shaykh al-‘Arabī gave him great importance said that the only reason that drove him out of his house was the intention to meet al-Jamal, and further remarked that he was

subsequent Sufi life, al-Jamal continuously drew a comparison between the external rulers and the internal rulers (*mulūk al-bāṭin*), perhaps because of this background. He characterized the external rulers as belonging to darkness (*ẓulmānī*) and the internal rulers as luminous (*nūrānī*), consistently viewing the internal ruler as superior. However, he maintained that the two are mutually dependent and that one cannot be established without the other. Consequently, rather than entering into a conflictual relationship with the external rulers, he adopted a neutral stance. Although the novice disciple is not advised to form relations with them, the gnostic -who is the internal ruler- does not abandon the external rulers, lest their good be blocked, nor does he fall into their hands, lest he be afflicted by their evil. For the perfected gnostic (*al-‘arīf al-muntahī*), in whose eyes all existence is perceived as a unity, the authority of the external rulers can cause no harm. See *ibid.*, 27–28, 70, 93–94, 102, 111, 128, 185, 225, 291.

¹⁷⁰ al-Mirdāsī, *al-Ishrāf*, 177–178.

¹⁷¹ al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 1:409. Al-Zabbādī reported that ‘Alī al-Jamal attended Jassūs’s *al-Bukhārī* and *al-Ḥikam* lectures on Thursdays and Fridays and used to ask him many questions. See al-Zabbādī, *Sulūk al-ṭarīq al-wāriya*, 317. According to al-Kattānī, al-Jassūs, who died in 1782, was a *muḥaddith*, jurist and Sufi. He also points out that al-Jassūs wrote two commentaries on *al-Ḥikam al-‘Alā’iyya* and one commentary on Ibn Ashūr. See ‘Abd al-Kabīr b. Ḥāshim al-Kattānī, *Zahr al-ās fī buyūtāt ahl al-Fās* ed. ‘Alī b. Muntasir al-Kattānī (Casablanca: Maṭba‘at al-Najāh al-Jadīda, 2002), 281.

¹⁷² See ‘Abd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad fī al-ta’rīf bi-sayyidinā Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad*, ed. Qamar al-‘Abdalāwī Ma’n (Kirkuk: al-Zāwiya al-‘Alāwiyya, 2021), 221–224, 322–326, 353, 368–369, 375, 377.

not understood by any of his relatives, but by someone who came from a distant places.¹⁷³ His shaykh used the *ḥadīth* “I am the treasure of knowledge and ‘Alī is its door” to point this out and repeated it many times in al-Jamal’s presence.¹⁷⁴ He had received the *khilāfa* from his shaykh, with whom he stayed for sixteen years, while he was still alive. After the death of his shaykh, he opened his own *zāwiya* in Ramīla.¹⁷⁵

Although he had previously met Abū al-Maḥāmīd al-‘Arabī, it was from an elderly man in Tetouan -whom he stayed with for two years- that he first acquired a true taste for *tasawwuf*. According to al-Darqāwī, this person was an illiterate (*ummī*) named ‘Abd Allāh, whose face was beautiful, his spiritual aspiration was great, and his morality was kind, and no one knew him. After staying with him for a while, al-Jamal returned to Fez to his Makhfiyya *zāwiya*.¹⁷⁶

According to hagiographical tradition, al-Jamal, who was recorded to sit mostly in the al-Qarawiyyīn mosque, was always contemplative, ascetic, and far from being pretentious, and it was described as a person of *tajrīd* both outwardly and inwardly.¹⁷⁷ Al-Darqāwī says that he revived the Sunna of the Prophet in this sense and compares him to *Ahl al-Ṣuffa* and ‘Umar b. Khattāb, stating that he was one of the people of both

¹⁷³ One day al-Jamal described that Shaykh al-‘Arabī was in a state of *wajd* and that he took off his turban (*‘imāma*) and put it on al-Jamal’s head. On another day, the Shaykh told him that he had nothing left to give him, that he had given him everything he wanted and everything he had, therefore there was no need for him to come to the *zāwiya* anymore. al-Jamal cried thereupon, and the Shaykh told him that if he wanted to continue coming just for the sake of love, he was welcome to do so. See al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 50, 331-332.

¹⁷⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 285. Al-Ḥākim narrated this *ḥadīth* with these words “I am the city of knowledge and ‘Alī is its door. Whoever wishes to enter the city should come through its door.” See al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, ed. Mustafa Abdulqādir ‘Atā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1990), 3:137.

¹⁷⁵ al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 1:409. For a description of the Ramīla quarter, see Abī Zar’ al-Fāsī, *Al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, 42. To see on the maps both the Ramīla quarter, where the *zāwiya* of ‘Alī al-Jamal is located, and the Makhfiyya quarter, where the *zāwiya* of his *shaykh* is located, see: Henri Gaillard, *Une ville de l’Islam: Fès* (Paris: J. André, 1905), 30; Mohammed Mouhcine El Idrissi El Omari, “Groupements Sociaux et Organisation de L’espace dans la Medina de Fes,” *Journal of Urban and Territorial Planning* 14 (2022): 149; Roger Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat: étude économique et sociale d’une ville de l’Occident musulman* (Casablanca: SMLE, Société marocaine de librairie et d’édition, 1949), 43.

¹⁷⁶ al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 169. He himself said, “Do not despise the common people, the door was opened to me by an ignorant Muslim. I met him by coincidence, and it was due to my frequent visits to ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh. I was with the elite at night and with common people during the day. It was through him that I entered the state of annihilation,” he said, adding that it was after this that he came under the training of shaykh al-‘Arabī. See al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 26.

¹⁷⁷ *Tajrīd*’s inward refers to knowledge and its outward refers to deeds. The subject of *tajrīd* will be discussed in detail later. But to summarize, ‘Alī al-Jamal uses this word synonymously with the impossible (*muḥāl*) and means opposition to the customs and traditions of the common people in words, deeds, and actions. See al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 216, 233-234.

outwardly and inwardly isolation.¹⁷⁸ In addition, it was stated that al-Jamal was very strong in spiritual witnessing (*mushāhada*) and at this point he was compared with al-Mursī especially in witnessing of the prophet.¹⁷⁹ He describes his visions in detail, saying that he had repeatedly witnessed both the truth and paradise, as well as the prophet and his companions, and he also states that he has received *‘ilm al-ladunnī* by saying that he drank from the source of knowledge and good deeds, sincerity and merit, and the truth itself.¹⁸⁰

He passed away on Saturday, 29 Rabī‘ al-awwal in the year 1194, though al-Darqāwī records the years as 1193.¹⁸¹ While some sources state that he was 105-106 years old at the time of death, his son Muḥammad Sharīf said that he was 118 years old. In any case, it seems clear that ‘Alī al-Jamal lived for more than a century. He had a crowded funeral and was buried on Sunday at the *zāwiya* of Ramīla in the ‘Adwat al-Andalus area of Fez. This place is close to the Masjid of Shaykh Sīdī Abū Madyān. A dome was later built over it.¹⁸²

3.2. His Silsila

Our reason for including the *silsila* is not only to demonstrate which branch of the Shādhiliyya order ‘Alī al-Jamal inherited but also to identify the figures who shaped his thought. Indeed, from the figures in this lineage who are closer to his own time—the shaykhs of the Makhfiyya and Fāsiyya *zāwiyas*, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb—he inherited the phenomenon that he names *tajrīd*, which can be described as opposing the customs of the people, according to al-Jamal’s thought.¹⁸³ In addition, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, he subjected the sayings of middle-period figures in this lineage, such as Aḥmad Zarrūq, and early Shādhilī figures, such as Ibn Mashīsh, al-Shādhilī, al-Mursī, and al-Iskandarī, to a new interpretation according to his understanding of *tajrīd* and its practices. He even considered the companions and

¹⁷⁸ al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 292.

¹⁷⁹ Al-Darqāwī invites his readers to check and compare the chapters on Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī in *Lata’if al-minan* and the book of his Shaykh ‘Alī al-Jamal to see which one is stronger in this regard. al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 176.

¹⁸⁰ al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 1:410.

¹⁸¹ al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 69.

¹⁸² al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 1:409.

¹⁸³ al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 174–75, 216, 287.

the Prophet, with whom this *silsila* culminates, within this context. Therefore, this *silsila* is also of great importance in terms of being the sources upon which some of his ideas are based and the means by which he establishes legitimacy.

This *silsila* is as follows:

The Prophet → ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib → Ḥasan al-Sibt (d. 49/669) → Abū Muḥammad Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 75/694) → Sa‘īd al-Ghazvānī → Abū Muḥammad Faṭḥ Allāh Su‘ūd → Sa‘d → Sa‘īd → Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad al-Marvānī → Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Baṣrī (d. 291/904) → Zayn al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī → Shams al-Dīn al-Turkī → Tāj al-Dīn → Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī (d. 412-405/1021-1015) → Fakhr al-Dīn → Taqīyy al-Dīn Fukayyir al-Nahrawandī (d. 594/1198) → ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Madanī (d. after 600/1203) → Mawlāy ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh → Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī → Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī → Ibn ‘Atā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī → Dāwūd al-Bākhilī (d. 735/1335) → Muḥammad Wafā Baḥr al-Ṣafā (d. 765/1363) → ‘Alī b. Wafā (d. 807/1405) → Yaḥyā al-Qādirī (d. 857/1453) → Aḥmad al-Ḥadramī (d. 895/1490) → Aḥmad Zarrūq al-Fāsī → Ibrāhīm Fakhām → ‘Alī al-Sanhājī al-Dawwār (d. 940/1533) → ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majzūb → Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yusuf al-Fāsī → ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī → Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1062/1652) → Qāsim al-Khaṣṣāṣī (d. 1083-1673) → Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1120/1708) → al-‘Arabī b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1166/1753) → ‘Alī al-‘Imrānī al-Jamal.¹⁸⁴

We can now move to the life of his shaykh, al-‘Arabī, who both connected him to the Shādhiliyya order and taught him the doctrines of the path of *tajrīd*. This is of great importance for understanding al-Jamal and for tracing the chain of influence.

3.3. His Shaykh Abū Al-Mahāmid Al-‘Arabī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ma‘n Al-Andalusī

Al-‘Arabī was born on Wednesday, the 9th of Dhu al-Qa‘dah in the year 1079.¹⁸⁵ His family, formerly known as “Ma‘n”, later became known as “Ibn ‘Abd Allāh” or “al-

¹⁸⁴ al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā‘il*, 287-288; Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība, *Fahrassa* ed. ‘Abd al-Salām al-‘Amrānī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2013), 64-70; Dāwūd, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān*, 6:307-9.

¹⁸⁵ al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 2:334.

‘Abdalāwiyyūn” in the Makhfiyya region of Fez. He was descended from the same lineage as Yāqūb al-Manṣūr, the third sultan of the Muwaḥḥidūn state.¹⁸⁶

Since his father, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ma‘n al-Andalusī, was the shaykh of the Makhfiyya *zāwiya*, al-‘Arabī grew up in an environment of knowledge and wisdom. This *zāwiya* was first built in 1038 by his grandfather Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ma‘n al-Andalusī.¹⁸⁷ His grandfather, received his Sufi education under Abū al-Mahāsin al-Fāsī and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī in the Fāsiyya *zāwiya*. When they passed away, he visited ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh and after the sign he received there, he started to guide people in the Fāsiyya *zāwiya*. After staying there for six months, he opened the Makhfiyya *zāwiya* in the area where his own house was located.¹⁸⁸ Because his son Aḥmad renovated it, it was later also known by his name (Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ma‘n al-Andalusī).¹⁸⁹ Therefore, al-‘Arabī grew up in a home and a *zāwiya* where sufism was rooted in both his father and grandfather.¹⁹⁰

Aḥmad al-Yamanī (d. 1113/1701),¹⁹¹ a close friend of his father, had predicted during his youth that he would grow into one of the righteous people and had recognized his exceptional talent. According to Ibn ‘Ajība, al-‘Arabī had both the Shādhilī and Qādirī orders combined.¹⁹² He received the first from his father and the second from Aḥmad

¹⁸⁶ al-Kattānī, *Rawḍ al-anfās*, 230-231.

¹⁸⁷ al-Kattānī, *Rawḍ al-anfās*, 232.

¹⁸⁸ al-Talīdī, *al-Mutrib*, 184, 185.

¹⁸⁹ al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 2:326.

¹⁹⁰ For their detailed biographies see al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, 2:55-58, 3:182-191.

¹⁹¹ Born in Yemen, he left his homeland for pilgrimage, traveled in different countries, and stayed in Sudan for a long time. Although he benefited from Suhrawardiyya and other orders, he mainly received Qādirīyya from Dufullah b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Hawazānī. Afterwards, he traveled to Sicilmāsa, from where he went to Fez. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh settled him near his house and *zāwiya* in Makhfiyya and married him. It is also reported that he acted as a disciple in front of al-Yamanī. Al-Yamanī, who was said to have no concern for sustenance and no fear of the creature, was one of the people of *tajrīd*. He died in 1113. See Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wallālī, *Mabāḥith al-anwār fī akhbār ba‘ḍ al-akhyār*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Bū‘aṣṣāb (Rabat: Manshūrāt Kulīyyat al-Ādāb wa-al-‘Ulūm al-Insāniyya, 1999), 285-292; al-Ghumārī, *al-I’tinās*, 154-156. The relationship between Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh and Aḥmad Yamanī was primarily one of friendship and spiritual companionship. This was due to Yamanī’s character as a traveler and the fact that he was in a state of need and poverty upon his arrival in Fez. As Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh was known for his character of assisting such individuals, he provided for all of Yamanī’s needs and continually looked after him. Aḥmad Yamanī is not listed among the shaykhs of Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh. See al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 168-170, 177-182, 188-193, 430; Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *al-Ilmā’ bi-ba‘ḍi man lam yudhkar fī Mumtī’ al-asmā’*, ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd Khayālī (Casablanca: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, n.d.), 56-57, 60, 79-82.

¹⁹² Ibn ‘Ajība, *Fahrāsa*, 64-65.

al-Yamanī. However, the order he was trained in was Shādhiliyya, and the other one he had benefited from as a *baraka*.¹⁹³

We can summarize what al-Jamal and al-Darqāwī have related concerning the spiritual states of al-‘Arabī as follows:

He was close to the poor and the weak, and his character was marked by *dhillā*. According to his disciple ‘Alī al-Jamal, he rarely spoke more than three words about the worldly things. Sometimes he was very soft and other times he was like a lion. He was like the *barzakh* between the truth and the *sharī‘a*.¹⁹⁴ Every day he would teach his disciples something new.¹⁹⁵ If someone came to him with worldly talk, he would usually listen politely, and his disciples would intervene to redirect the subject. One day, a person entered and began talking about worldly matters, after listening for a while, the shaykh left, went up to the roof of the *zāwiya*, lay on his back and covered himself. When his disciple al-Jamal came to him, he uncovered his face and said to him: “O my son, as long as a wise person avoid sitting with people who are not of his art, his wisdom will continue. If he sits with them, his wisdom will vanish. We have abandoned the worldly talk because it leads to spiritual constriction (*qabḍ*), and it is not good for us to sit with the state of *qabḍ* and in the company of those who dwell in it.”¹⁹⁶ Another day he said to al-Jamal,

If it were not for poverty, nothing would have situated us. When God willed good for us, He helped us with poverty. This is a way of God with his righteous servants among the Prophets and the pious. He takes the world away from them so that their hearts may be filled with light, certainty and knowledge. Then, if world is given to them again, they will not be harmed...¹⁹⁷

He emphasized that poverty is a custom of God for the servants among the *awliyā’*. He also advised al-Jamal to ask for the world, but to do so as if he were joking with it and to give it away in the same way.¹⁹⁸ These words suggests that his relationship with

¹⁹³ al-Ghumārī, *al-Mu‘zīn*, 170.

¹⁹⁴ The meaning of the word *barzakh* here, as will be discussed in detail in the fourth chapter, has a dual sense: it both separates two things, thereby making binary distinctions, and at the same time unites them through a continuous movement (*talawwun/ikhtilāf*) between the two.

¹⁹⁵ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 342-343.

¹⁹⁶ al-Tamsamānī, *Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal*, 90.

¹⁹⁷ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 298-299.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 313.

the world was not one that denies it, but rather one that acknowledges its presence while diminishing its significance.

When al-‘Arabī, who is known for his practice of both inner and outer isolation, was asked what kind of order is yours, he replied: “This is the way of the Messenger of Allah, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī and all the companions. Our order is one of the detachment from the world and *zuhd* in it. The Prophet (peace be upon him) is the leader of the ascetics and the leader of the verifiers (*muḥaqqiqīn*).”¹⁹⁹

Just as al-Darqāwī compares his shaykh al-Jamal to Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī in terms of witnessing, al-Jamal mentions such a comparison about his shaykh in terms of *wusūl*. According to him al-‘Arabī said, “al-Mursī said that if a Bedouin came to me, I would immediately bring him to God. If a Jew or a Christian comes to me, I will bring him to God instantly.”²⁰⁰ These words seem like a representative story to indicate his place in the order in the eyes of his successors.

It is reported that he wrote several books containing the subjects of wisdom and wayfaring. He wrote them according to the manifestations that inspired his heart. Al-Jamal offers brief insights into these manifestations.²⁰¹ It seems that al-‘Arabī used to write as soon as these inspirations came because he said to al-Jamal, “O my son, do not prefer sitting with beloved ones (*fuqarā*) to anything else except writing. Because when *wārid* is lost, there is no way to recover it.”²⁰²

Al-‘Arabī died in 1166, 28 years before his disciple ‘Alī al-Jamal.²⁰³

Al-Jamal refers to his shaykh, al-Arabi, more than 250 times. Most of these references are in the context of *tajrīd*. We will address how his shaykh guided him on this path in a separate section in Fifth Chapter.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 116.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 231.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 342.

²⁰² Ibid., 269.

²⁰³ al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 2:336; Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Sūda Muḥammad al-Tāwudī, *al-Fahrāsa al-ṣughrā wa-l-kubrā* ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd Khayālī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2002), 157.

3.4. Al-Jamal's Disciples

Similar to his shaykh al-‘Arabī, ‘Alī al-Jamal did not train a large number of disciples. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Dabbāgh stated that this number was over twenty-eight. The known figures among them are: Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥalwā, Muḥammad Amzāj, Qaddūr al-‘Alamī, al-Mukhtār al-Baqqālī, Muḥammad al-Hawārī, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. Yūsuf b. al-‘Arabī b. Abī al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf al-Fāsī, Aḥmad al-Warzāzī, ‘Abd al-Salām b. Nūna, Abū al-Qāsim al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī and Mawlāy al-‘Arabī al-Darqāwī. Among those he did train, he did not bequeath the path of *tajrīd* to all; rather, he left this legacy to only a few, most notably Mawlāy al-Darqāwī. Consequently, Mawlāy al-Darqāwī became his most prominent and well-known disciple, who continued his spiritual path.²⁰⁴

3.4.1. Sīdī Qaddūr Al-‘Alamī (d. 1266/1850)

He grew up in Meknes, associated with Sufī circles from his childhood. He also attended the spiritual company of al-Jamal in Fez. When asked why he did not adopt a path similar to that of Mawlāy al-Darqāwī, he responded that Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal had not given him the same permission that he had granted to the latter.²⁰⁵ He drew spiritual benefit from Muḥammad al-Tuhāmī b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Ḥammādī (d. 1249/1833),²⁰⁶ as well. Despite being illiterate, al-‘Alamī is a famous folk poet and a celebrated author of *malḥūn* (vernacular poetry) in Morocco.²⁰⁷ He lived for more than 120 years. He was buried in his *zāwiya*, which is located on the street bearing his name in the old medina of Meknes.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ al-Tamsamānī, *Kitāb Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal*, 5, 19–22, 411. The smallness of their number is attributed to the scarcity of individuals who demonstrate true fidelity (*ṣadāqa*) on this path, as well as to the probability that an increase in their numbers would draw public attention and adverse reactions. Given that the Prophet Moses, despite his lofty station, initially questioned the state of Khidr, it cannot be expected that the common folk will accept the state of the people of reality (*ahl al-ḥaqīqa*). See al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 32, 35, 110, 293.

²⁰⁵ al-Tamsamānī, *Kitāb Sīdī ‘Alī al-Jamal*, 19.

²⁰⁶ See ‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abd al-Qādir Ibn Sūda, *Ithāf al-maṭālī ‘bi-wafayāt a‘lām al-qarn al-thālīs ‘ashar wa-al-rābi‘*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥajjī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1997), 135.

²⁰⁷ See Azzeddine Kharchafi, “‘Abd-el-Qāder, dit Sidi Qaddūr el-‘Alamī (115-1266/1741-1850), le Célèbre Poète du Melhūn à Meknès: Corpus, Transcription, Traduction et Confrontation des Versions” (PhD diss., Université d’Aix-Marseille I, 1993).

²⁰⁸ ‘Abbās b. Ibrāhīm al-Simlālī, *al-I‘lām bi-man ḥalla bi-Marrākush min al-a‘lām*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Mansūr (Rabat: al-Maṭba‘a al-Malikiyya, 1993), 8: 457-463; ‘Abd al-Kabīr b. al-Majdhūb al-Fāsī, “Tadhkirat al-muḥsinīn bi-wafayāt al-a‘yān wa-ḥawāḍith al-sinīn,” in *Mawsū‘at A‘lām al-Maghrib*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥajjī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1996), 7: 2590; Ibn Sūda, *Ithāf al-maṭālī*, 193-194.

3.4.2. Al-Mukhtār Al-Baqqālī (d. 1255/1839)

Sīdī Qaddūr al-‘Alamī was also his shaykh. It is said that they came into the presence of ‘Alī al-Jamal together. After his death, he was buried in the *zāwiya* of his grandfather, ‘Allāl al-Ḥājj al-Baqqālī (d. 981/1573), which is located near the city of Chefchaouen and known as Ḥarā’iq.²⁰⁹

3.4.3. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd Allāh Al-Fāsī (d. 1188/1774-75)

He is among the descendants of Abū al-Maḥāsin al-Fāsī. He studied the Islamic sciences both within his family and under the great scholars of Fez of that period, such as Sulaymān al-Ḥawwāt, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Jassūs, Ibn Kīrān, and Muḥammad al-Dar‘ī. On the Sufī path, he drew spiritual benefit from al-Jamal, and also from the latter’s shaykh, al-‘Arabī. He was occupied with teaching lessons on all days except Thursday. He reserved Thursdays specifically for spiritual company with his shaykh, al-Jamal, either at the *zāwiya* or in his own home. He authored a gloss on *al-‘Aqīda al-kubrā* of al-Sanūsī, titled *Ṭawālī ‘al-bushrā*; a commentary on the *Lāmiyya* of al-Tujībī (d. 912/1506); and various other books in the fields of theology, fiqh, and logic. He was buried in the *zāwiya* of his grandfather, Abū al-Maḥāsin al-Fāsī.²¹⁰

3.4.4. Muḥammad b. Al-Ṭāhir Al-Hawwārī (d. 1220/1805-06)

He served as a judge in Fez for a period. He has a gloss titled *al-Yawāqūt al-Manthūra* on the commentary of Sa‘īd Qaddūra (d. 1066/1656) on the *Sullam* in logic. He has versified works in the fields of theology, fiqh, and the linguistic sciences. He was also one of the shaykhs of Mawlāy Sulaymān. He was buried in the Sīdī ‘Awwād quarter in Fez.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ Ibn Sūda, *Ithāf al-maṭālī* ‘, 168; al-Tamsamānī, *Kitāb Sīdī ‘Alī Jamal*, 19.

²¹⁰ al-Zabbādī, *Sulūk al-ṭarīq al-wāriya*, 124-128; Ibn Sūda, *Ithāf al-maṭālī* ‘, 37; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 1: 384-386; al-Fāsī, “Tadhkirat al-muḥsinīn,” 7:2404; al-Tamsamānī, *Kitāb Sīdī ‘Alī Jamal*, 20.

²¹¹ Ibn Sūda, *Ithāf al-maṭālī* ‘, 100; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 2:349.

3.4.5. Aḥmad Al-Warzāzī (d. 1179/1765-66)

Originally from Fez, he became associated with Tetouan due to having settled there. In Fez, he taught *al-Waraqāt* of al-Juwaynī, *Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘* of Ibn al-Subkī, and the abridgement (*mukhtaṣar*) of Khalīl. Among the other books he taught were *al-Bukhārī*, *Muslim*, *al-Muwaṭṭa‘*, *al-Shamā‘il* of al-Tirmidhī, and the abridgement of al-Sanūsī in the logic. He became famous for the strength of his memory in memorizing texts. He was accused of being Mu‘tazilī and was imprisoned due to the importance he accorded to reason in both the transmitted and the rational sciences. Also, it is claimed that he has a book titled *Nawāzil*. He went to Hajj twice and visited Egypt and Jerusalem. He frequently stopped in Algiers.²¹² During these travels, he received *ijāzas* from scholars such as Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī al-Shahrazūrī (d. 1145/1733)²¹³ which included the *ijaza* for commentaries on the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*.²¹⁴ He fought against the infidels in the Rif mountains and became to be known for speaking the truth fearlessly, even if it was before the sultan, and there are numerous stories about him in this regard. He came to Shaykh al-Jamal and declared his complete surrender to him. His grave is in Tetouan.²¹⁵

3.4.6. Abū Al-Qāsim Al-Ḥulw (d. 1196/1782)

During the lifetime of ‘Alī al-Jamal, he was in the service of both his house and his *zāwiya*. Al-Ḥulw acquired the place where al-Jamal is interred and dedicated it as an endowment (*waqf*) for him and his descendants. He passed away two years after his shaykh and was buried adjacent to him, at his back.²¹⁶

²¹² Aḥmad b. ‘Ajība, *Azhār al-basātīn fī ṭabaqāt al-a‘yān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām al-‘Imrānī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2020), 268; Ibn Sūda, *Ithāf al-maṭālī‘* 23; al-Fāsī, “Tadhkirat al-muḥsinīn,” 7:2386.

²¹³ About him see Naser Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Hijāz before Wahhabism: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī’s (d. 1101/1690) Theology of Sufism* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 124.

²¹⁴ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy b. ‘Abd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris wa-al-athbāt wa-mu‘jam al-ma‘ājim wa-al-mashyakhat wa-al-musalsalāt*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1982), 1:496.

²¹⁵ Muḥammad Dāwūd, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān* (Tetouan: Ma‘had Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, 1959), 7:85-92; al-Tamsamānī, *Kitāb Sīdī ‘Alī Jamal*, 20; Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥudaykī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥudaykī*, ed. Aḥmad Būmazgū (Casablanca: Maṭba‘at al-Najāh al-Jadīda, 2006), 113.

²¹⁶ al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 1:411.

3.4.7. Muḥammad Amzāj (?)

He had previously drawn spiritual benefit from al-‘Arabī at the Makhfiyya zāwiya. He is one of the few individuals to whom ‘Alī al-Jamal bequeathed the path of *tajrīd*. One day, while he was performing an act in the marketplace that the people found strange, al-Jamal approached him from behind and asked him, “What is the *ḥaqīqa*?” He replied, “Allāh.” Al-Jamal then asked, “What is the *sharī‘a*?” to which he replied, “I am.” It has been recorded that he authored a book, the title of which has not been transmitted. There is no information available about the date or place of death.²¹⁷

3.4.8. ‘Abd Al-Salām Binnūna (d. 1265/1849)

He did not leave al-Jamal until the latter’s death and thereafter became one of the disciples of al-Darqāwī. He was known for his continuous service and counsel to the other disciples of the same order. He passed away in Fez and was buried next to al-Jamal.²¹⁸

3.4.9. Abū Al-Qāsim Al-Wazīr Al-Ghassānī (d. 1213/1798-99)

He is accepted among the well-known saints in Fez and it is said many people learned Sufism from him. It is said that he was one of the people of total immersion (*istighrāq*). He was buried in the cemetery in Fez known as Qubāb. With his death, the lineage of the Ghassānī family came to an end.²¹⁹

3.4.10. Mawlāy Al-‘Arabī Al- Darqāwī (d. 1239/1823)

His full name is Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-‘Arabī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn al-Darqāwī al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī. He was born in 1150/1737 or 1159/1746 in the Banū Zarvāl tribe of the Idrīsī *sharīf* dynasty living in the Rīf mountains of northern Morocco. He received his first education in his hometown and after completing his

²¹⁷ al-Tamsamānī, *Kitāb Sīdī ‘Alī Jamal*, 19; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 2:335.

²¹⁸ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mu‘askarī, *Kanz al-asrār fī manāqib mawlānā al-shaykh al-Darqāwī wa-ba‘d aṣṣābihi al-akhyār* (Kirkuk: al-Zāwiya al-‘Alāwiyya, 2021), 179-181; Ibn Sūda, *Ithāf al-maṭālī‘*, 192.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 87; al-Tamsamānī, *Kitāb Sīdī ‘Alī Jamal*, 19.

Quranic education, he went to Fez to seek knowledge and studied at the Misbāhiyya Madrasa in Fez for a while.²²⁰

After completing his madrasa studies, al-Darqāwī turned toward Sufism and visited the shrine of Mawlāy Idrīs, where he recited the Quran sixty times and prayed to God for a spiritual guide (*murshid*). When he left, he met Sīdī Ḥamīd, the grandson of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dabbāgh (d. 1132/1720). Sīdī Ḥamīd told him that the person he was looking for was Shaykh ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jamal. So, al-Darqāwī, who did *istikhāra* that night and could not sleep from thinking about it. The next morning, he went to al-Jamal’s *zāwiya* in al-Ramīla and found him sweeping the place. When al-Jamal asked him why he had come, al-Darqāwī said, “I want you to take me by the hand for the sake of God.” Al-Jamal rebuked him, saying, “Who has taken me by the hand that I should take you by yours?” According to al-Darqāwī, al-Jamal was questioning the sincerity of his intentions. Thereupon, he did *istikhāra* again that night and after the morning prayer he went to the *zāwiya* and found her again cleaning the floor. When he said to him, “Will you take my hand for the love of God?” al-Jamal welcomed him and seated him in his own place inside the *zāwiya* and taught him the litany (*wird*). Al-Darqāwī says to him, “If you only knew how many shaykhs I have searched for.” Al-Jamal replies, “If you only knew how much I searched for a sincere disciple,” in a sense indicating that al-Darqāwī was his true successor.²²¹

After spending two years in the *zāwiya* of Ramīla near al-Jamal, al-Darqāwī moved to Banū Zarvāl and opened his own *zāwiya*. He continued to visit his shaykh in Fez several times a year and regularly engaged in spiritual conversations with him.²²² The method of *mujāhada* that al-Jamal taught al-Darqāwī was based on *tajrīd*, humiliation, and poverty.²²³

The themes such as the deconstruction of the outward, resistance to popular customs, and the preference for isolation and humility, can be seen as core principles of the

²²⁰ Mustafa Salim Güven, “Derkāvī,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 2. edition, (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2020), Appendix 1. Volume: 318-320.

²²¹ For a detailed description about how he started to beg in the streets with the guidance of al-Jamal see al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 40-43.

²²² Ibid., 63-64.

²²³ Ibid., 72.

Darqāwiyya already present two generations before al-Darqāwī. These elements are clearly reflected in the teachings of al-‘Arabī, even prior to the time of ‘Alī al-Jamal, suggesting a continuity that predates the formal emergence of the Darqāwiyya as a renewal within the Shādhiliyya order. Al-Jamal, who inherited this path from his shaykh al-‘Arabī as a thought, implemented as a practice and bequeathed it only to al-Darqāwī, and because he popularized it among the general public, this branch was called al-Darqāwiyya.

After the death of his shaykh, al-Darqāwī became the representative of the path and worked to spread it among the wider public. According to ‘Umar b. Sūda (d. 1285/1868) says that he left behind around forty thousand well-trained disciples²²⁴ Because of his political involvement and his wide influence, he came into conflict with Mawlāy Sulaymān and was imprisoned for two years.²²⁵

Maintaining close contact with his followers, al-Darqāwī wrote letters concerning their needs and questions, which were later compiled a single book.²²⁶ Al-Kattānī described them as “the most beneficial for a disciple”.²²⁷ He also wrote a book of *awrād* called *al-Wazīfa al-Shādhiliyya al-Darqāwiyya*.²²⁸ In addition to these, two other works have been attributed to him, *Jawāhir al-qirṭās* and *Manāqib al-Shaykh al-Jamal*.²²⁹

²²⁴ al-Taḥidī, *al-Mutrib*, 208.

²²⁵ Muḥammad Aḥmad Darnīqa, *al-Ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya wa a’lāmuḥā* (Beirut: al-Mu’assasa al-Jāmi’iyya, 1990), 129.

²²⁶ For English translations see Mulay Al-Arabi al-Darqawi al-Hasani, *Letters on the Spiritual Path* trans. Mohamed Fouad Aresmouk-Michael Abdurrahman Fitzgerald (Al-Madina Institute: 2018); Muhammad El-Arabī ibn Ahmed ad-Darqawi, *The Darqawi Way: The Letters of Shaykh Mawlay Al-Arabi ad-Darqawi* trans. Aisha Bewley (Diwan Press, 1981). There is also a translation of some correspondences of it. See Al-Arabi ad-Darqawi, *Letters of a Sufi Master* trans. Titus Burckhardt (London: Perennial Books, 1973).

²²⁷ al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 1:192.

²²⁸ Muḥammad Zāfir, *al-Anwār al-quḍsiyya fī tanzīḥ ṭuruq al-qawm al-‘āliyya*, (Istanbul: al-Maṭba‘a al-Bahīyya al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1885), 379-388.

²²⁹ ‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Sūda, *Dalīlu tārīkh al-Maghrib al-aqsā*, (Casablanca: Dār al-Kitāb, 1960), 224; Muḥammad al-Bashīr Zāfir al-Azharī, *al-Yawāqūt al-samīna fī a’yān madhhab ‘ālim al-Madīna* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Malāji al-‘Abbāsiyya, 1915), 256; ‘Umar Riḍā Kāhhālā, *Mu‘jam al-muallifīn* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1993) 2: 373. We were unable to locate the work *Manāqib al-shaykh al-Jamal* in the manuscripts’ catalogs of Morocco.

Over time, many branches emerged from it, some of which we mentioned in the second chapter, and spread to many parts of the world.²³⁰ Al-Darqāwī passed away in 1239/1823 in Banū Zarvāl, where he is also buried.²³¹

In the preceding three chapters, I have presented the aim of the study and its research questions, provided information on the political and Sufi milieu of the century in which ‘Alī al-Jamal lived, as well as on his life and his book, with the primary effort being to establish the historical background. In the final three chapters that follow, the main objective will be to uncover his ideas by analyzing the central themes within his book, and to determine his position within the Shādhiliyya tradition to which he belongs by comparing him with the figures he references.

²³⁰ For distribution to different regions see Meryem İnci Nur Babadağ, “Mulây el-Arabî ed-Derkâvî’nin (ö. 1239/1823) Tasavvufî Görüşleri ve Derkâviyye Yolu” (Master’s thesis, Yalova Üniversitesi: 2019), 47-56.

²³¹ Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 1:192.

CHAPTER IV

AL-JAMAL'S CONCEPTION OF EXISTENCE

4.1. The Conception of the Human Being and His Relationship with Existence

The decision to dedicate a separate section to the topic of the human being in al-Jamal's thought stems from its significant place in his thought. Indeed, one of his book's alternative titles is *Yawāqīt al-Ḥisān fī Taṣrīf Ma'ānī al-Insān* (The Beautiful Rubies in the Dispensation of the Meanings of the Human Being). According to al-Jamal, the human being constitutes the very spirit of existence, as he affirms:

*Your nafs encompasses all realities
I have indicated this with a serious word; I am not deceptive.*²³²

Therefore, understanding his perspective on existence necessitates comprehending his conception of the human being. However, before turning to that, it is helpful to first address the notion of opposites, which constitutes the fundamental basis of 'Alī al-Jamal's intellectual world. As mentioned earlier, he was well versed in the science of opposites (*aḍḍād*), and as 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Dabbāgh (d. 1271/1855)²³³ stated, he interpreted existence and Sufi concepts in light of this principle.²³⁴

4.1.1. The Foundation: Existence as a Duality of Opposites

According to al-Jamal, God created existence in a dual form: everything has its opposite.²³⁵ Each entity in existence is rooted in its opposite, which is hidden within it, and the key to understand anything is found in its opposite. Therefore, things and

²³² This poem is by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī. 'Alī al-Jamal frequently quotes it to highlight the "comprehensive" (*jāmi'*) quality of the human being. See al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 80, 113, 157, 186.

²³³ About him see al-Ṭu'mī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, 164.

²³⁴ al-Ghumārī, *al-Mu'zīn*, 166. Indeed, just as Ibn 'Ajība always made triple distinctions, al-Jamal always made binary distinctions in his book. See Aḥmad b. 'Ajība, *Mi'rāj al-taṣawwuf ilā ḥaqā'iq al-taṣawwuf* (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 2008); al-Ghumārī, *al-Mu'zīn*, 166.

²³⁵ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 113, 320.

their opposites are one, and there is no real difference between them. Whoever reaches this level of realization immersed in unity and ceases to exist. God created existence in this dual form in order to remain unique in His oneness.²³⁶ For He has no partner, no opposite, no equal. Whatever a person desires to attain, he must hold fast to its opposite. Only in this way can the desired things be obtained correctly, and only the perfect knower is capable of doing so. When a person does something of his own free will, its opposite inevitably arises in him, and the results shine like the sun.²³⁷

In this perspective, according to ‘Alī al-Jamal, the key to the *sharī‘a* is the *ḥaqīqa*, the key to *ḥaqīqa* is the *sharī‘a*;²³⁸ the key to honor is humility, the key to humility is honor; the key to union is separation, the key to separation is union. For example, the honor of a slave is equal to his humility. The honor of a free person is equal to his dignity. However, when the state of humiliation of a slave ends, he attains dignity. Conversely, when a free person reaches the peak of dignity, his decline, his return to humility, begins. Therefore, dignity and humiliation, servitude and freedom, serve as keys to one another and inherent in each other. When humiliation is outwardly manifest, dignity lies hidden within it; and when dignity is outwardly manifest, humiliation remains concealed within. Existence is hidden within non-existence, and non-existence is hidden within existence. This is a law, a custom, that God has established for His creatures,²³⁹ “He brings the living out of the dead, and the dead out of the living” (Q 30:19).

²³⁶ As can be understood from these words: “If the human being realizes that [the truth] is hidden in the opposites of things, then things and their opposites become one in his sight, and when this state is established in him, he becomes immersed in the ocean of unity. This is what we call annihilation. The purpose of the human spirit is to reach the presence (*ḥaḍra*) of might, sublimity, and grandeur. For everything has come from God, and to Him it will return. He existed, and no one else existed; and this state continues even now.” However, these distinctions are always, from a certain perspective, relative distinctions. According to him, what is fundamental is unity. See *ibid.*, 51, 53-55, 78-79.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 32, 51, 56, 78, 92, 93, 113, 126, 133, 276, 303, 318.

²³⁸ As mentioned previously, ‘Alī al-Jamal does not posit a relationship of opposition between the *sharī‘a* and the *ḥaqīqa* in their conventional senses; on the contrary, by referencing the famous saying of Imām Mālik on this matter, he affirms the necessity of uniting them. See al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā‘il*, 168; al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 75, 150, 181, 360. The opposition he establishes here is between the meaning of *sharī‘a* as *jalāl* and that of *ḥaqīqa* as *jamāl*. That is, one who desires inner openings (*futūḥāt*) must engage in the practices of *dhilla* and *tajrīd* and must “ruin his exterior” (*takhrīb al-zāhir*). See *ibid.*, 94. We have addressed how al-Jamal subjects these and similar Sufi concepts to a new interpretation according to his philosophy of *tajrīd* under a separate heading in Chapter 5, to which the reader may refer. Furthermore, even with this meaning, al-Jamal does not actually establish a complete opposition; rather, he states that the naming is done in relation to the dominant aspect and that each of the two contains the potential of the other (a *barzakhī* interpretation). See *ibid.*, 78, 165, 192-193, 315.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 149-150, 166, 189, 199, 242, 314-315.

The wisdom that God has placed in the realm of feelings lies in the knowledge of the laws of opposites. According to him, if two opposites are present in equal within a person, certain disorders begin to manifest in their mind and body and ultimately leading to their perish. Similarly, if one quality exists without its opposite, that person also perishes. However, if both exist but one is dominant, then that person is perfect in their essence and mind. In this respect, the condition of man is exactly like that of existence. Because of this similarity, with the change of seasons, his blood and nature show differences. In winter, with the dominance of cold, there is also heat, and this is his perfection. The same applies to summer. However, in spring and autumn, the coexistence of cold and heat leads to an increase in illnesses and a higher mortality rate. The reason for this is the coexistence and proximity of two opposites (*i'tidāl*).²⁴⁰ Likewise in humans, if two opposites exist in equal measure spiritually, destruction occurs.²⁴¹

4.1.2. The Human Being as a Barzakh: Uniting Opposites

When discussing human being, al-Jamal asserts that human and these opposites together within himself, and that there is a *barzakh* between them.²⁴² This concept of *barzakh* undoubtedly brings Ibn 'Arabī to mind, who uses it in a way that is more related to the realm of imagination (*khayāl*).²⁴³ It also evokes the concept of the perfect

²⁴⁰ Although the concept of moderation (*i'tidāl*) has a widespread positive connotation in the Islamic tradition, such as being on the middle path, in 'Alī al-Jamal's usage, it is employed negatively to signify a state where neither of two opposites is dominant, and both are equal and refers to the imbalances that consequently arise in a person's outward and inward constitution.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 95-96, 235-236. For a similar analogy between the material existence of the human being and other creatures, see Ibn 'Ajlba, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 581-583.

²⁴² Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, on the other hand, due to this characteristic of the human being, has called him the intermediate world (*'ālam mutawassit*) that unifies the realms of the visible world (*mulk*) and the invisible world (*malakūt*). See Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī, *al-Tanbīh: Sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-'Aṭā'iyya* (Damascus: Dār al-Taqwā, 2021), 913-914. And also, for similar usage of the word of *barzakh* al-Shādhilī see Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 44.

²⁴³ Ibn 'Arabī constructed a distinctive view regarding existence using the term *barzakh*. He derived this from its linguistic meaning as a barrier between two things, and from its conceptual usage in the Quran: as an adjacent world between death and life, and as an intermediate or middle world between the world of the unseen (*'ālam al-ghayb*) and the world of the visible (*'ālam al-shahāda*). He used *barzakh* for the possible place between existence and non-existence, that is, the world of imagination (*'ālam al-khayāl*). This world is not identical to the other two worlds, but it unifies their potential within itself. Like the line between the sun and the shade, it is also, at the same time, a separator of the known from the unknown, the non-existent (*ma'dūm*) from the existent (*mawjūd*), and the intelligible (*ma'qūl*) from the unintelligible (*ghayr ma'qūl*). Furthermore, he also uses it for anything that unites two opposites within itself, and for this reason, this concept acquires a central place in his system of thought. For more information, see Su'ād al-Ḥakīm, *al-Mu'jam al-ṣūfī: Al-ḥikma fī ḥudūd al-kalima* (Beirut: Dār Nadra, 1981), 192-193; Salman Bashier, *Ibn al-'Arabī's Barzakh: The Concept of the Limit and the*

human being (*al-insān al-kāmil*) in Sufi literature, who embodies the opposing divine attributes, although notable technical differences remain between these conceptions.²⁴⁴

First, when we examine how al-Jamal uses the term *barzakh*, we can summarize his views as follows: The gnostic man is a *barzakh* between the seas of *sharīʿa* and *ḥaqīqa*, uniting them within himself. This is achieved by those who have attained permanence, not by those who possess *fanāʾ*.²⁴⁵ The human being is also a *barzakh* between the Truth and the people. In him, God has united things that are separate in other beings. Man²⁴⁶ is a *barzakh* in that he gathers within himself the divine attributes that are scattered throughout existence in the form of cosmic signs.²⁴⁷ He is both a servant and a master; in thus, a *barzakh* between the two.²⁴⁸ He also is a *barzakh* between wisdom and power, uniting both within himself.²⁴⁹ And likewise, Man is a *barzakh* between good and evil, uniting both within himself.²⁵⁰ The gnostic is a *barzakh* between the outer and inner worlds, uniting both within himself.²⁵¹ *Walī* is a *barzakh* in terms of moving between the worlds of intoxication and sobriety.²⁵² He is also a *barzakh* in terms of combining *ʿubūdiyya* and *rubūbiyya* within itself.²⁵³ For this reason, ʿAlī al-Jamal refers to the *ḥadīth*, “God created Adam in His own form,”²⁵⁴ and the *ḥadīth*, “My servant, existence was created for you, and you were created for Me.” According to him, Man is a copy of existence (*nuskha*), and existence is a copy of Man. Just as

Relationship between God and the World (Albany: SUNY, 2004); James W. Morris, “Spiritual Imagination and the Liminal World: Ibn ʿArabī on the Barzakh,” *Postdata* (Madrid) 15/2 (1995): 104-109; and Maḥmūd Ghurāb, *al-Khayāl, ʿālam al-barzakh wa-l-mithāl min kalām Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabī, 1993), 7-26.

²⁴⁴ Al-Jīlī’s use of the two words with the same meaning also points to this commonality of concept between *barzakh* and the perfect human. See Abdullah Kartal, *Abdulkerim Cili: Hayatı, Eserleri, Taşavvuf Felsefesi* (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003), 197. The idea of perfect human is not a view found only in Ibn ʿArabī and his followers. It is an idea expressed by various great Sufis, from al-Ḥallāj to Hacı Bektaş, from Mawlānā to Yunus Emre. Indeed, although differing in content, this idea also exists in ancient Greece and in different religions. See Elif Bayır, “İnsan-ı Kamil Anlayışının Metafizik Boyutu” (Master’s thesis, Fırat University, 2007); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *al-Insān al-kāmil fī-l-Islām* (Kuwait: Wakālat al-Maṭbūʿāt, 1976), 10-101; Masataka Takeshita, *Ibn Arabi’s Theory of the Perfect Man and its Place in the History of Islamic Thought* (Tokyo: Institute for the Study for of Languages and Culture of Asia and Africa, 1987), 8-100.

²⁴⁵ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 2, 203, 285, 343.

²⁴⁶ We used Man with capital M to refer to human being throughout the study.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 42, 149, 189.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 77.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 82-83.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 84.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 147, 276.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 149.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 244.

²⁵⁴ al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-istiʿdhān*, 6627; Muslim, *Bāb al-birr*, 115.

the body was created for the soul, this existence was created for Man. If Man is removed from that existence, he perishes. Just as the heart has power over the body, Man has power over existence. His will is realized in existence. Existence is like a shell, and Man is its essence.²⁵⁵

Therefore, considering of al-Jamal's usages into account, *barzakh* can be briefly defined as the integration of divine attributes scattered throughout the universe within oneself and the place of union between two opposites. Furthermore, the term *barzakh* in al-Jamal's writings appears in two levels: one is universal (*kawnī*), and the other is individual (*fardī*). Sometimes it refers to the cosmic existence of Man, and sometimes it refers to the wise man who gathers the opposite positions within himself, maintains balance between them, realizes them in his own right, reveals them, and gives them their due according to their position and state. Al-Jamal refers to this figure as *walī* and the elite of the elite (*khāṣṣat al-khāṣṣā*), a kind of "perfect human being."²⁵⁶ In this sense, the "*barzakh*" of the human being signify the unification of the aspect directed toward the Divine and the aspect directed toward the people. The first is indicated by the *ḥadīth* frequently referenced by al-Jamal: "God created Adam in His own form." The second is indicated by using the metaphor of a mirror and the term "copy," emphasizing that existence comes from humanity and humanity comes from existence, and that the two are not fundamentally distinct.²⁵⁷

Barzakh, in this sense, is both a barrier between two things and an intermediate realm connecting them, in accordance with its lexical meaning. From this perspective, it serves both the function of separation and union,²⁵⁸ separation by placing the two entities apart on opposite sides, and union by positioning itself in between and acting as a passageway, thereby encompassing the properties of both within itself. In this

²⁵⁵ al-Jamal, *Naṣīhat al-murīd*, 16, 48, 58, 155, 173, 242,

²⁵⁶ The first group, that is, the human being who confines the quality of the *barzakh* solely to a cosmological consideration, is subservient to the second (the gnostic). According to al-Jamal, the vicegerents (*khalīfas*) are these gnostics, and he states that the other class is lower than animals. See *ibid.*, 158–159. For a similar distinction in Ibn 'Arabī, see 'Abd al-Bāqī Miftāḥ, *al-Kamālāt al-Muḥammadiyya wa-l-insān al-kāmil fī ru'yat Ibn 'Arabī* (Irbid: 'Ālam al-Kutub al-Ḥadīth, 2016), 280, 322, 323.

²⁵⁷ For these metaphors see al-Jamal, *Naṣīhat al-murīd*, 16, 48, 60, 132, 167–168, 324.

²⁵⁸ Muḥammad b. A' lā b. 'Alī al-Fārūqī al-Ḥanafī al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. Ahmed Hasan Besic (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998), 1:155; Kamāl ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Abī al-Ghanā'im Muḥammad al-Kāshānī, *Laṭā'if al-a'lām fī ishārāt ahl al-ilhām*, ed. Majīd Hādīzāda (Tehran: Markaz Nashr Mīrāth Maktūb, 2000), 1:278.

sense, the *barzakh* is an intellectual and conceptual entity; not one perceptible by the senses. It encompasses all contradictory attributes and seemingly conflicting dualities within itself.

4.1.3. The Divine Form, the Mirror, and the Copy: Understanding the Man-Divine Relationship

In this regard, a central theme for al-Jamal is the *ḥadīth* “God created Adam in His own form.”²⁵⁹ The *ḥadīth* sparked discussions and uncertainty surrounding whether the pronoun “*hi*” in (*ṣuratihī*) this Arabic version of *ḥadīth* refers to Adam or to God. This uncertainty indicates that the form is, in a sense, between the two (*barzakhiyya*), with one aspect being the Truth and the other being human.²⁶⁰ A *mutashābih* reading that takes the sentence at face value is a comprehensive reading that encompasses possible interpretations and, like the verse “There is nothing like Him: He is the All Hearing, the All Seeing.” (*laysa kamithlihi shay’ wa huwa al-Samī’ al-Baṣīr*) (Q 42:11), strikes a balance between *tanzīh* and *tashbīh*.²⁶¹

‘Alī al-Jamal’s use of the mirror metaphor is also related to the concept of “form”²⁶² and prevents us from understanding this as a *ḥulūlī* and *ittihādī* reading that may suggest that what Adam was created upon the divine essence itself. Rather, it emphasizes that what is manifested are the Divine names and attributes, not the essence itself, and that this manifestation contains multiplicity and difference. And the disclosure of the attributes of an entity in another place does not mean that it has

²⁵⁹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 304.

²⁶⁰ To see in detail how this *ḥadīth* was understood in the Islamic intellectual tradition and the different interpretations that emerged, see Muḥammad Am’ārish, *al-Naṣṣ wa-l-ikhtilāf: Harmīnūṭiqā al-ṣūra al-ilāhiyya ‘inda Ibn ‘Arabī* (Rabat: Mu’minūn bilā Ḥudūd li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Abḥāth, 2017), 100-369; Abū al-Fayḍ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī, *Kitāb al-Dhabb ‘an al-taṣawwuf: Al-musammā Lisān al-ḥujja al-burhāniyya fī al-dhabb ‘an sha’ā’ir al-ṭarīqa al-Aḥmadiyya al-Kattāniyya*, ed. Adnān b. ‘Abd Allāh Zuhār (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2006), 241–252; Aḥmad Kāzā, *al-Ṣūra bayna al-khafā’ wa-l-tajallī ‘inda Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ‘Arabī* (Rabat: Mu’minūn Bilā Ḥudūd li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Abḥāth, 2018), 23–66, 183–704; William C. Chittick, *The Self-disclosure of God: Principles of Ibn al-Arabi’s Cosmology* (Albany: State University of New York, 1998), 27-29.

²⁶¹ In fact, the preference for the word “form” here also serves as a reminder of the meaning that even though the human being outwardly gathers within himself the manifestations (*tajalliyāt*) of His attributes within existence, their origins and realities (*ḥaqā’iq*) also belong to God. See Miftāḥ, *al-Kamālāt al-Muḥammadiyya*, 296-300.

²⁶² The mirror metaphor also occupies a significant place in the Akbarian tradition. See Tahir Uluç, *İbn Arabi’de Sembolizm* (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2007), 103-179; Mahmut Erol Kılıç, “Muhyiddin İbnü’l-Arabi’de Varlık ve Mertebeleri” (PhD diss., Marmara University, 1995), 217-220.

merged with it or indwelt in it. Nevertheless, the ultimate realities remain fixed. The beholder will find what he sees and believes and will encounter the Creator of existence accordance with how he conceives of Him as he thinks of Him. Because what is seen in the mirror is both, an image and not the thing itself. The mirror does not contain all the opposite attributes with respect to the world, but when it reflects a human being, a convergence of these attributes takes place. Therefore, while the universe and humans are mirrors of “God’s form,” humans and the universe are mirrors of each other.

Thus, when existence looks at humans as a mirror, it sees its own image. Likewise, when God looks at humans as a mirror, He witness a manifestation of “His own form” (*tajallī* of His own attributes). In this regard, al-Jamal refers to another statement: “God existed and there was nothing with Him, and it continues to be so.”²⁶³ This statement suggests to the idea that all existence is a manifestation of God’s attributes and names. Since existence does not possess true essence, but only appears through attributes, and that it is imaginary and illusory, tells us that the relationship between existence and God is more than mere correspondence (*mumāthala*) and similarity (*mushābaha*). It is, in fact, a relative and conditional relationship in terms of attributes, not essence, which is with a *barzakhī* reading.²⁶⁴ This is because what the beholder sees and what is reflected in the mirror do not coincide completely.

Similarly, the words “copy” and “imagination” are used in contexts explaining the relationship between humans, God, and existence because they convey the same meaning, as they express a shared meaning. In al-Jamal’s Sufi philosophy, the *ḥadīth* “He who knows himself knows his Lord” is important in this regard because Adam represents the being who gathered within himself what is dispersed throughout.²⁶⁵ The fact that Adam alone is mentioned in the context of creation in the God’s form indicates his uniqueness.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 54, 60, 66, 95, 104, 111, 159, 183, 195, 204, 218, 230, 264-265, 320, 353.

²⁶⁴ We can also understand that the word “form” mentioned in the *ḥadīth* signifies a manifestation through the attributes and is not related to the essence of the Truth, from his use elsewhere of a sentence like, “The existence of the human being is established (*thābit*) by the manifestation of God. If this were not so, he would not be a human being,” and similar expressions. See *ibid.*, 44.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 121, 146, 173, 207, 213, 220, 240, 247, 301, 320, 353.

²⁶⁶ The position of the name “Allāh” in its Arabic version mentioned in the *ḥadīth* among the other *al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā* is also its gathering all of them within itself and its representing unity in multiplicity.

The reason why humans were made *khulafā'* is because they are the only beings that possess the divine attributes.²⁶⁷ Other creatures form are the bodies of the physical world, while humans are its spirit. If the spirit leaves the body, the world dies. The spirit has gathered all the truths of the world and all the names of God within itself. In this sense, humans are the *barzakh*, which unites the world and the Truth within themselves. The term “form” mentioned in the *ḥadīth* is also carries the quality of a *barzakh*, as it refers to God on one hand and to Adam on the other. It moves through the universe as a servant of the Truth, yet, remain with the Lord in being appointed as *khalīfa* in the form of the Truth. The Truth looks at itself through this mirror, and the universe can also look at itself through this mirror. This idea is further illustrated by a poem from al-Shushtarī:

*Return to your essence and give it respect, there is no one else but you
you are the mirror of the gaze, the pole of time
what spreads from the vessels is gathered in you.*²⁶⁸

Although 'Alī al-Jamal cites this poem as evidence that humans are a manifestation of divine attributes, when considered within al-Shushtarī's philosophy of absolute unity, it emerges more as a call to perceive God, the absolute being, within oneself. Therefore, the word “you” in this poem, as well as the word “I” in his other poems, actually refers to “He.” For according to al-Shushtarī, there is no existence other than God, and in this sense, to pay attention to one's *naḥs* means to witness God, while for 'Alī al-Jamal, it means to comprehend only His attributes, hence his use of al-Shushtarī's poem to highlight that specific point.²⁶⁹

The reference to the human being in the aforementioned *ḥadīth* through this name, Allāh, along with the word “form”, shows that he also possesses the same characteristic within existence. See 'Abd al-Bāqī Miftāḥ, *Kitāb al-Isim al-A'zam* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya; and Dār 'Ālam al-Kutub al-Ḥadīth, 1985), 55-72; William Chittick, *Varolmanın Boyutları*, collec. and trans. Turan Koç (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1997), 172; William Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-'Arabī's Metaphysics of Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 66-67.

²⁶⁷ For the relationship between possessing the attribute of *khalīfa* and the phenomenon of human being created in the form of God, see Ali Alāeddin Atvel (Karabaş-ı Velī), *Cāmi'u Esrārī'l-Fusūs: Fusūsu'l-Hikem'de İlāhī İlimler*, trans. Muhammed Bedirhan (Istanbul: Littera Yayınları, 2024), 36-37.

²⁶⁸ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 161, 300; Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Numayrī al-Andalusī al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī*, ed. Muḥammad 'Adlūnī Idrīsī and Sa'īd Abū al-Fuyūd (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2008), 313-314. Subsequent references to the Dīwān of al-Shushtarī are to this edition by 'Adlūnī, not the one by 'Alī Sāmī al-Nashshār.

²⁶⁹ For other poems by al-Shushtarī in this context, see al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān*, 239-240, 260-261, 308-309.

The concept of “copy,” referring to the relationship between existence and human being, also present in al-Shushtarī, but he differs from ‘Alī al-Jamal in that he regards both existence and the human as none other than God Himself. According to al-Shushtarī, attributes, manifestations, and forms are all veils that must be removed. Upon realizing the Truth, one perceives that the essence of existence is not outside of oneself, and that the existence of other beings is but an illusion. Therefore, the idea of copy in al-Shushtarī, as expressed in al-Jamal, refers to being the essence itself, rather than reminding one of the original.²⁷⁰

4.1.4. The Conception of God According to Individual Conjecture (Ẓann), and Existence’s Corresponding Manifestation in Turn

The analogy of the relationship between existence and Man to that of a mirror and a copy, when read together with the *ḥadīth* referring to *ẓann*, forms a cohesive conceptual framework. According to al-Jamal, whatever direction man takes towards the universe, the universe responds in kind. If he approaches it with humility, existence bows down to him. On the contrary, if he approaches it with arrogance, existence will take hold of him. If he is generous toward it, it will respond with generosity; if he is stingy, he will receive the same in return.

al- Shādhilī said: ‘...the mirror takes your color and shape. The body is the same. For you are from it, and it is from you. You are it, and it is you.’ When this truth is acknowledged, existence becomes part of the individual and moves with his movements and stops with his stops. The lower and higher aspects of existence become one, and man is included in this unity.²⁷¹

The image reflected in the mirror is both the same as and different from the original object. The form/ manifestation differs depending on where the viewer looks. In fact, his connection of this idea with perception does not fully convey the truth of the essence, but rather that it is a part of the Truth according to what it manifests (*majla*). However, this part of the Truth appears differently and changes depending on the one who perceives it. Therefore, what is seen does not provide absolute and certain knowledge of the essence of what is manifested, but rather what is seen is limited to

²⁷⁰ For more detailed information on the thought of human being and copy in al-Shushtarī, see al-‘Adlūnī, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī*, 206-215.

²⁷¹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 123-124.

the beholder's capacity. In this sense, and based on "*being as My servant thinks of Me*" (*ḥadīth*) the individual projects a conception of the Divine based on his own conception.

The Truth manifests in everything, but you can only find Him where you conceive Him, because the Truth is according to the servant's opinion. 'I am according to My servant's opinion of Me.' Nevertheless, God is independent (*al-Ghanī*) of the worlds. He who sees the Truth as truth also sees his own self as truth. He who sees the Truth as falsehood also sees his own self as falsehood. Because the Truth becomes manifest from you and returns to you²⁷²

To further clarify this point, al-Jamal cites a poem by Ibn al-Fārīd, which is central to understanding his perspective on the matter. Ibn al-Fārīd says:

*They say to me, "Tell us about it, for you know it,"
Yes, I have knowledge of its attributes
It is purity, not water; it is delicacy, not air;
it is light, not fire; it is spirit, not body.*²⁷³

Ibn 'Ajība interpreted this poem as referring to the concept of cloud (*'amā'*) which signifies God's state before His manifestation with no temporal or spatial boundaries, free from the qualities of possible beings, and existing as an incomprehensible, pure, hidden, and subtle existence. This state is eternal.²⁷⁴ In fact, al-Jamal, drawing on this understanding, and citing the *ḥadīths* "I created you for myself, and your existence is for you,"²⁷⁵ "God created Adam in His own form," and "Whoever knows himself knows his Lord," presents a creation philosophy aligns with the *Akbarī* tradition based on the *ḥadīth*, "I was a hidden treasure and wanted to be known, so I created existence."²⁷⁶ According to al-Jamal, "God existed and there was nothing else," "He created man for Himself" (because He wanted to be known). Man was thus created as a being who gathers all divine attributes within himself, attributes that are otherwise dispersed throughout creation. Therefore, whoever knows himself (i.e., recognizing

²⁷² Ibid., 221. The counterpart to this view of his in the tradition of *wahdat al-wujūd* is the god of belief (*ilāh al-mu'taqad*). Here, we can say that although it is implicit, a reference is made to the *ḥadīth* of the 'hidden treasure' (*kanz makhfī*). God willed to be known, and as a result of this, He created existence. Therefore, since all existence is the manifestation of *al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* within Him, our knowledge of Him is to the extent of the relationship we establish with these manifestations. See Hacı Bayram Başer, "İlah-ı Mu'tekad Teorisi (Öznel Tanrı İnancı)" in *Metafizik: Ekoller, Yöntemler ve Büyük Anlatılar* ed. Ömer Türker (İstanbul: Ketebe Yayınları, 2021), 3: 1500-1506.

²⁷³ al-Jamal, *Naṣīhat al-murīd*, 35, 100.

²⁷⁴ Ibn 'Ajība, "Sharḥ Khamriyyat Ibn al-Fārīd," 43-44; Ibn 'Ajība, *The Book of Ascension*, 42-43.

²⁷⁵ al-Jamal, *Naṣīhat al-murīd*, 244, 301, 335,

²⁷⁶ For the concept of *'amā'* in the Akbarian tradition and its meaning in the context of the "I was a hidden treasure" (*ḥadīth*), see Miftāḥ, *al-Ḥaqā'iq al-wujūdiyya al-kubrā*, 33-58.

the divine attributes within himself) knows his Lord. But other beings have no real existence in relation to the Truth, because only His existence endures. The true existence belongs solely to God; other beings exist as falsehood and illusion.²⁷⁷

In this regard, al-Jamal refers to Imām al- Ghazālī's statement "There is not in the realm of possibility anything more wondrous than what was" (*laysa fī-l-imkān abda' mim mā kāna*) is meaningful.²⁷⁸ According to him, since truly exists belongs only to God, the act of creation, being His own act, also exists solely in Him. Therefore, at the level of possible beings, nothing exists independently of Him. This is because there is nothing else within the realm of possibility. And His creation is in the most perfect and wise form. The imperfections we observe and the distinctions we make are relative to one another. According to al-Jamal, this is especially true for those who have reached the absolute annihilation of the union state. Those who are in this state are so absorbed in contemplating of Him that the imaginary possible beings are erased from their perception. Since everything that exists is seen as a manifestation of God, who is the absolute perfection with His divine names, there is no possibility of a more perfect being than this being.

In contrast, in the Sab'īniyya school - named after Ibn Sab'īn (d. 669/1270) - this view is not a state, but forms the basis of the fundamental theory of unity, and they do not accept the existence of other beings besides God.²⁷⁹ Al-Jamal, as will be discussed in detail in the next section, praised this state, as was praised by many other names in the Shādhilīyya tradition, and prayed to attain it, but he considered the states of separation and permanence together as the ultimate goal, where the existence of other beings, alongside God, are affirmed, even if they are illusions, falsehoods, or imaginations.

²⁷⁷ al-Jamal, *Naṣīhat al-murīd*, 70.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 264-265. For the discussions on this saying of al-Ghazālī, see Aḥmad ibn al-Mubārak al-Lamaṭī, *Pure Gold from the Words of Sayyidī 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dabbāgh (al-Dhahab al-ibrīz min kalām sayyidī 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dabbāgh)*, trans. and ed. John O'Kane and Bernd Radtke (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007), 787–826.

²⁷⁹ Michel Chodkiewicz "Introduction" in *Mutlak Birlik* by Balyani, ed. and trans. Ali Vasfī Kurt (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003), 25.

Consequently, contingent existence is but an illusion, in relation to true existence.²⁸⁰ The *ḥadīth* which al-Jamal brings in this context, “I am as my servant thinks I am,”²⁸¹ indicates that observing God through the forms that appear in existence and through the forms in the servant’s mind is limited and cannot encompass Him, remaining at the level of imagination in relation to the Truth.²⁸² In this sense, the Creator is both known and unknown. This existence also involves transformation and variation (*talawwun* and *tahawwul*) according to the perspective of the individual, for manifestations are different and respond to this perspective. Since the manifestations of God’s names do not occur in themselves, there must be loci and causes through which they are realized. In this regard, al-Jamal cites the *ḥadīth* stating that the human being was created for God and all other beings were created for the human being, and this is why the word “copy” is used.

4.1.5. The Perfection of Becoming: Constant Transformation

The humans were created in the form of God, meaning their capacity to encompass the divine names within themselves, enables them to transform from one state to another, because manifestations in the universe are diverse and do not repeat, and the nature of form, in this sense, is a vessel for differences. Therefore, another aspect of the relationship between God and man is that man, who was created in God’s form, is always in a state of becoming just as “every day He is at work” (Q 55:29)²⁸³ and does

²⁸⁰ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-Murīd*, 48, 136, 340-341. We can compare the concepts of copy, mirror, and imagination that al-Jamal uses when defining the human being and other existence to the presentation of 'other existence' in Ibn ‘Atā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī as illusion, falsehood, or shadow. For the common aspect between these words used by the two figures is that the human being and other existence, apart from the Truth, exist relatively. Here, the aim of making room for other existences without violating the principle of divine unity paves the way for resorting to such metaphors. This also means that the existence of other beings is by virtue of their being a *majlā* for His self-disclosures and a *maẓhar* for His manifestations. That is, while on one hand negating existence (other than the Truth), on the other, attributing existence to it imaginatively (*khayālī*), as a shadow in a metaphorical sense is for the purpose of reaching the Original Source again through them (via witnessing). Therefore, shadow, imagination, copy, mirror, all these terms serve the function of reminding of the Original. See Özel, “İbn Ataullah el-İskenderi’nin Tasavvuf Felsefesi”, 55-68. The same usage, in the form of true existence and shadow, illusory existence, is also found in Aḥmad Ibn ‘Ajība, who largely constructs these ideas by referring to Ibn ‘Atā’ Allāh. See Emektar, “İbn Acibe’nin Hayatı, Eserleri ve Tasavvufi Görüşleri”, 149-160.

²⁸¹ al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, no. 7405; Muslim, *Kitāb al-dhikr*, no. 2675.

²⁸² al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 17, 170, 221, 266, 310.

²⁸³ The Akbarian tradition refers to this as “renewal of creation” (*tajdīd al-khalq*) or with the phrase “there is no repetition in self-disclosure” (*lā takrār fī-l-tajallī*), and frequent reference is made to the aforementioned verse. See Ekrem Demirli, *Sadreddin Konevi’de Bilgi ve Varlık* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2005), 293-304.

not remain fixed in one state (*ikhtilāf/taḥawwul*).²⁸⁴ This is his perfection, even his essence and righteousness, for if this wisdom were removed from both humans and the universe, they would be corrupted and destroyed.²⁸⁵ God created humans, unlike angels, with a nature that is both obedient and capable of disobedience, and this characteristic is inherent in their nature.²⁸⁶ On the contrary, those who remain stable and do not experience different states and conditions are veiled from their Lord. In this sense, al-Jamal frequently refers to the verses, “they continue to have their differences” (Q 11:118) and “Another of His signs is...the diversity of your languages and colors” (Q 30:22).

A person’s state does not resemble another; each moment brings a new color and transformation.²⁸⁷ Whoever knows this secret of constant change within himself knows his Lord to that extent. Al-Jamal often quotes al-Shushtarī’s saying in this context, “My aim in love is to pass from state to state.”²⁸⁸ The elite servants experience all the different colors in their states, qualities, deeds, and words. They witness all stages so that they may rule over them all.²⁸⁹ His teacher, al-‘Arabī, explains that just as the blessings of paradise are constantly renewed, offering ever-new revelations to experience there, so too here in this world, meanings and emotions continually change. This is the fastest and most beneficial way to reach *tawḥīd*.²⁹⁰

The true gnostic person is one who does not deny anyone’s current state but acts according to their color. For such a person, this is the essence of the truths that God has placed in existence, and they never oppose God’s will.²⁹¹ In this sense, the meaning of the phrase “knowledge of the self” in the *ḥadīth* he cites to is to accept that human being is created in the form of God and to witness a new manifestation every moment. Thus, true knowledge of God is realized by acknowledging this form (i.e., the human being who bearers His attributes) and to observe Him through the customs and laws

²⁸⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 138, 301, 339.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 214, 144, 150, 302.

²⁸⁶ This idea, namely, that the human being possesses two opposite capabilities, is known in the literature as the human being ‘created with two hands’ (*khuliqa bi-yadayn*), and this is one of the reasons why the human beings attain superiority over the angels. See Miftāḥ, *al-Kamālāt al-Muḥammadiyya*, 275-278, 322-324.

²⁸⁷ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 33.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 32, 47, 76, 95, 139.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 110, 122, 271.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 95.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 110, 276.

He has established in the universe. For the gnostics, God is found both the higher and lower realms. The verse that al-Jamal cites in this context is, “It is He who is God in heaven and God on earth” (Q 43:84).²⁹²

This constant change, when understood alongside with the idea of opposites, reveals a dynamic in which what lies hidden within the self manifests outwardly in contrasting forms. Al-Jamal notes that what is sublime in the soul appears low when exposed to the public.²⁹³ Since such states are relative and constantly changing, there is, in fact, a unity within their opposition and a harmony in their separation,²⁹⁴ just as the name God encompasses all other names in its oneness.

Again, when consider together with the concept of opposites, this is because the source of this constant transformation is the creation arises from its being formed as fragments of the Divine form, and because the divine names and attributes inherently carry the principle of opposition, unlike the indivisible essence. God’s “being in a state of constant new creation” stems from the opposites in the manifestations of His names.²⁹⁵

To summarize the points discussed thus far in the chapter and to reiterate, there is a resemblance between human being and the universe, but this resemblance remains imaginary in comparison to reality. Similarly, the manifestation of Truth according to human conditions, or the notion of “being as My servant thinks of Me” (*ḥadīth*), contains a variable within itself, and therefore the previous position remains imaginary in relation to the next. Thus, human being is a *barzakh* between two illusions, between resembling the Divine and resembling the created world, and from this perspective, the mirror is also a *barzakh*, an imaginary object that unites these two reflections within itself. It reflects both the good and the evil aspects of the human being, its sublime and base aspects, and holds within it the capacity to respond to each accordingly.

²⁹² Ibid., 93, 103.

²⁹³ Ibid., 175-176.

²⁹⁴ Ibid, 192.

²⁹⁵ Muḥammad Am‘ārish, *al-Naṣṣ wa-l-ikhtilāf*, 688.

In fact, what al-Jamal sought to demonstrate by citing the *ḥadīth* of creation in God's form, and the concept of *barzakhīyya* is that while asserting the unity of God in terms of His oneness (*aḥadiyya*) and the duality of other existence, he filled the gap between these two by attributing existence to God through His attributes of manifestation and appearance. He then asserts that humanity embodies these attributes in their absolute sense, thereby reestablishing the unbreakable, continuous connection between the realms in a harmonious and perpetual manner. According to al-Jamal, all humans possess this form within themselves, but the perfect human (the saint, the wise) embodies it in the most complete form. Therefore, God's creation of Adam in His own form is a reference to the concept of the intermediate realm (*barzakh*) in terms of His containing opposites within Himself, and to the concept of the perfect human being in terms of His gathering divine attributes within Himself. In this sense, while it is expected that humans are microcosms in that they contain the scattered manifestations and attributes of the universe, al-Jamal uses the term macrocosm (*al-ʿālam al-kabīr*).²⁹⁶ The human is thus the spirit, the caliph, and the king of this universe.²⁹⁷

In conclusion, al-Jamal's ultimate definition of human being as a *barzakhī* that stands between the Truth and the universe, created in the form (*ṣūra*) of God and therefore encompassing opposites (*aḍḍād*). As such the human being God's caliph in existence, which, by its very nature, is constantly in a state of becoming (*talawwun* and *ikhtilāf*) and remains imaginary (*khayāl*) in relation to the Truth.

4.1.6. A Significant Question Therefore Presents Itself: To What Extent Can We Speak of an Akbarian Influence?

Thus far, the ideas about Man, existence, and God presented by al-Jamal bring to mind the influence of Ibn ʿArabī. Although al-Jamal explicitly references Ibn ʿArabī only

²⁹⁶ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 236. Mullā Fanārī says that scholars mostly consider the human being as the microcosm (*al-ʿālam al-ṣaghīr*), but that the verifiers (*muḥaqqiqūn*), on the contrary, describe him as the macrocosm (*al-ʿālam al-kabīr*). The reason for this is that the human being has gathered the degrees of existence (*marātib al-wujūd*) within himself. According to this, we can say that in Mullā Fanārī's view, ʿAlī al-Jamal is a *muḥaqqiq*. See Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī, *Misbāḥ al-uns bayna al-maʿqūl wa-l-mashhūd*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥājjawī (Tehran: Intishārāt Mawlā, 1384 SH), 398. According to Ibn ʿAjība, the human being is characterized as *al-ʿālam al-ṣaghīr* if his corporeality (*bashariyya*) prevails over his spirituality (*rūḥāniyya*). He is named *al-ʿālam al-kabīr*, however, if his spirituality prevails over his corporeality, and in such a case, the cosmos becomes the microcosm. See Ibn ʿAjība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 583.

²⁹⁷ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 42, 170, 301.

four times, his twenty-four references to ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, who were influenced by this tradition, indicate that this influence is broader. The possible influence is evident in the following points:

The influence of Akbarian school first manifests most clearly in the fact that the concept of the *barzakh* holds a central role in al-Jamal’s thought, and that he develops a kind of doctrine of the perfect human being through the *ḥadīth* of creation in God’s form. When defining the human being, al-Jamal states that he possesses a comprehensive quality within existence, similar to the position of the name “Allāh” among other His names. This comprehensiveness also merges with the concept of the *barzakh*, and the human constitutes an intermediate realm and a passageway between *sharī‘a* and *ḥaqīqa*, the Truth and the creations, and good and evil. The person who actualizes this most fully within himself is given names such as the gnostic, the *walī*, and the elite of the elite, which corresponds exactly to the concept of the perfect human. The perfect human is the being who gathers the divine names and attributes scattered throughout the cosmos, and is both the essence and spirit of existence.²⁹⁸ Al-Jamal’s definition of the human as a “copy of existence” and the “spirit of existence,” and his view of him as the macrocosm, directly align with this Akbarian understanding.²⁹⁹ According to al-Jamal, the human’s ability to unite opposites stems from his capacity to be a mirror to all of God’s names, and for this reason, he is God’s caliph, which is the most fundamental characteristic of the perfect human. Conversely, he states that those who do not realize this distinctive quality placed within them, which sets them apart from other beings, are “lower than animals.” This is a classification similar to Ibn ‘Arabī’s distinction between the animal-man (*al-insān al-ḥayawān*) and the perfect human.³⁰⁰ Likewise, it aligns with the idea of being “created with two hands” (*khuliqa bi-yadayn*),³⁰¹ in that the human contains both potentials that distinguish him from the angels.

²⁹⁸ For the idea in the Akbarian tradition of the perfect human, in this sense, a *barzakh* between the Truth and the created world, and his being in the form of the Truth by virtue of gathering within himself the realities (*ḥaqā’iq*)—that is, the attributes of God—that are scattered throughout the cosmos, see Ibn ‘Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1911), 2: 391; 3:447.

²⁹⁹ The metaphors of spirit, heart, isthmus, and mirror that he uses when explaining the relationship between the human being and the world, and the sentence he constructs regarding the human being the spirit of the world, are almost identical to those of Ibn ‘Arabī. For the aforementioned expressions, see *ibid.*, 2: 67, 468; 3:363.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 3:266, 296-297, 357.

³⁰¹ In the Akbarian tradition, the human being’s creation in the form of God, his creation ‘with two hands,’ and his acceptance and gathering within himself of all the divine names—and therefore his

‘Alī al-Jamal also subjects the *ḥadīth* “God created Adam in His own form” to a *barzakhī* reading. He understands this *ḥadīth* not in terms of God’s essence but His attributes. He finds a passageway between transcendence (*tanzīh*) and immanence (*tashbīh*) and uses the mirror metaphor to establish this balance. For what is reflected in the mirror is not the thing itself but its self-disclosures and manifestations. Consequently, as he very clearly states in some places, he develops a relationship with God through self-disclosure and manifestation, contrary to the school of *waḥda muṭlaqa*.³⁰² Similarly, his use of the concept of imagination for other-than-God beings and his assertion that true existence belongs only to Him—while still affirming the existence of other beings as loci for the manifestation of divine attributes, even if they are illusion and imagination —brings him closer to this Akbarian tradition.

Al-Jamal builds his views on existence, which he sees as a reflection of the divine attributes, upon the points of divergence and intersection of opposites that are in a state of continuity and transformation. He states that perfection is hidden therein. God “is always in a state of becoming” (Q 55:29); the divine self-disclosures are renewed at every moment. Therefore, the universe is also in a state of constant formation. The perfect gnostic must also be in a state of constant transformation by taking this as an example (*talawwun, ikhtilāf*). Consequently, al-Jamal possesses a dynamic understanding of being, which is a reflection of the vibrant and dynamic conception of the universe developed in the Akbarian tradition through the principles of the “renewal of creation at each instant” (*tajdīd al-khalq*) and “there is no repetition in self-disclosure” (*lā takrār fī-l-tajallī*).³⁰³

being a caliph, a *barzakh*, and a mirror —are intertwined themes, and such is the case with ‘Alī al-Jamal. See *ibid* 2:67, 643; 3:11, 398; 4:85.

³⁰² In *waḥdat al-wujūd*, the world of multiplicity (*‘ālam al-kathra*) is accepted as relatively existent as the locus of self-disclosure and manifestation; in *waḥda muṭlaqa*, however, there is no idea of self-disclosure or manifestation because there is no world. Therefore, the Manifest (*al-Zāhir*), the locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*), and the manifestation (*zuhūr*) are all one. Therefore, establishing relations between God and existences based on self-disclosures and manifestations, al-Jamal is closer to the ideas of *waḥdat al-wujūd* in this regard. See about these differences between two schools Ahmet Murat Özel, “Vahdet-i Mutlaka Ekolü” in *Metafizik: Ekoller, Yöntemler ve Büyük Anlatılar*, ed. Ömer Türker (Istanbul: Ketebe Yayınları, 2021), 1:200-206. In fact, the metaphors of form and mirror are also tools that al-Jamal employs in the matter of self-disclosure. In this respect as well, there is a similarity to Ibn ‘Arabī, since he states that although the entity is one, there is multiplicity in terms of the forms reflected in mirrors and the lights in shadows, but that this [multiplicity] is not the *dhāt* itself. See Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī, *Kitāb al-tarājim* (Hyderabad Deccan: Jam‘iyyat Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1948), 31.

³⁰³ For Ibn ‘Arabī’s views, referring the same Quranic verse, see Ibn ‘Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 3:198-199; Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* ed. Abrār Aḥmad Shāhin and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Sulṭān al-Manṣūb. (Cairo: Sharikat al-Quds li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī‘, 2016), 131.

Furthermore, through his reference to the *ḥadīth*, “I am according to My servant’s opinion of Me,” his stating that everyone forms a conception of God in their minds according to the measure of their own perception, and his expression, in this sense, that truth and falsehood are shaped according to the individual’s perception, indicates that he was influenced by the Akbarian tradition’s concept of the “god of belief” (*ilāh al-mu‘taqad*). According to al-Jamal, God is independent (*al-Ghanī*) of all worlds, but since existence is a manifestation of God’s names, our relationship with Him is proportional to the relationship we establish with these manifestations and the conception we form in our own conjecture:

The Truth manifests in everything, but you can only find Him where you conceive Him, because the Truth is according to the servant’s opinion [of Him]. ‘I am according to My servant’s opinion of Me.’ Nevertheless, God is independent of the worlds. He who sees the Truth as truth also sees his own self as truth. He who sees the Truth as falsehood also sees his own self as falsehood. Because the Truth becomes manifest from you and returns to you.³⁰⁴

These statements of al-Jamal, who also assert that it is impossible for anyone other than the Truth to know and witness the Truth in the absolute sense,³⁰⁵ are consistent with the following words from the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*:

The veil between the Truth and His servant is lifted, and the servant sees the Truth in the form he believes in. In this case, the Truth is the very thing he believes in.³⁰⁶
The Truth that the servant creates in his heart through his own thought or by imitation is the god of belief (*ilāh al-mu‘taqad*) God has said: ‘I am according to My servant’s opinion of Me.’ That is, I manifest only in the form in which he believes... He is the god that the servant contains in his heart. As for the Absolute God (*al-Ilāh al-Muṭlaq*), nothing can contain Him.³⁰⁷
Every person must have a belief about his Lord; by means of this belief, he turns to the Truth and seeks the Truth in it.³⁰⁸

Therefore, both Ibn ‘Arabī and al-Jamal, referring the same *ḥadīth*, share the same view that what is seen is only *ilāh al-mu‘taqad*, but that in reality, the Truth is independent of these forms. Regarding with the issue of *ilāh al-mu‘taqad*, Al-Jamal also seems to have been influenced by the issue mentioned in the chapter of Nūḥ in the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, that even idolaters are, in fact, worshipping God, if not directly

³⁰⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 221.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 136, 340-341. For another statement represents similar meaning in this regard see ibid., 320.

³⁰⁶ Ibn ‘Arabī. *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, 121.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 231-232.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 118.

then indirectly.³⁰⁹ According to al-Jamal, all of existence worships God, whether it accepts it or not. Since He is the only true reality, the idea of worshipping other-than-Him is merely a delusion (*tawahhum*). In this regard, just as Ibn ‘Arabī references the verse, ‘Your Lord has decreed that you worship none but Him’ (Q. 17:23),³¹⁰ he references the verse that carries almost the same meaning: ‘And I did not create the jinn and mankind except to worship Me’ (Q. 51:56). Al-Jamal expresses this view very explicitly:

Moreover, know that in every art you turn to, you will find nothing but the Truth. And in every art you turn to, you will not attain even a mustard seed's worth of it except through your servitude to God, within your servitude to its practitioners. All arts are divided into two pairs: arts attributed to God, and arts attributed to the delusion of other-than-God—and there is no other. All creation are servants of God absolutely, willingly or unwillingly. But among them are those whom God, in His grace, has made His servants through the arts attributed to Him, and thus admitted them to the paradise of His proximity and contemplation. And among them are those whom He, in His justice, has made His servants through the arts attributed to other-than-Him -and there is no other- thus admitting them to the hellfire of His distance and veil. As God Almighty said: ‘And I did not create the jinn and mankind except to worship Me.’ [Q. 51:56]. And He, exalted by His mention, said: ‘A party in Paradise and a party in the Blaze.’ [Q. 42:7]. These to Paradise, and I care not; and those to the Fire, and I care not. And whoever seeks to depart from servitude has sought something that God Almighty has not created.³¹¹

Additionally, by referring to the same *ḥadīth*, “My servant, I created existence for you, and I created you for Myself,” ‘Alī al-Jamal establishes a relationship similar to the Lord-vassal (*rabb-marbūb*) relationship in the Akbarian tradition.³¹² In a passage where he discusses annihilation and permanence, he states that every subject needs an object and every teacher needs a student.³¹³ He also expresses that it is possible to witness the agent directly without these recipients of the action, a mode of witnessing without a locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*) or a place of disclosure (*majlā*) that is called the “special face” (*wajh khāṣṣ*) in the Akbarian tradition.³¹⁴ Al-Jamal describes this as seeing and hearing with God in a real sense. The Truth solely can perceive the Truth.; however, in the case of the *walī* —whom he designates as one of the people of God

³⁰⁹ About Ibn Arabī’s view in this matter and a commentary upon it see Sharaf al-Dīn Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Dāwūd al-Qayṣarī, *Maṭla’ khuṣūṣ al-kilām fī ma’ānī Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Sa’idī (Qum: Manshūrāt Anwār al-Hudā, 1995), 1:304–307.

³¹⁰ Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, 75, 197.

³¹¹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 289.

³¹² See Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, 124.

³¹³ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 193.

³¹⁴ Ibn ‘Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 3:30, 343. For detailed information about *wajh khāṣṣ* in this sense see Betül Gürer, *Molla Fenari’nin Varlık ve Bilgi Anlayışı* (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2016), 412–415.

immersed in the witnessing of God (*ahl Allāh al-mustaghriqīn fī shuhūd Allāh*)—this direct witnessing is realized because his own existence has been effaced.³¹⁵

In relation to the topic of *ilāh al-mu'taqad*, al-Jamal states that God is independent of all conceptions and possesses no temporal or spatial limits, and to express this, he refers to the following poem by Ibn al-Fāriḍ:

*They say to me, "Tell us about it, for you know it,"
Yes, I have knowledge of its attributes
It is purity, not water; it is delicacy, not air;
it is light, not fire; it is spirit, not body."³¹⁶*

Ibn 'Ajība, for his part, stated that the meaning expressed here corresponds to the concept of cloud (*'amā*),³¹⁷ one of the concepts of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. The concept of *'amā* signifies the pure essence (*dhāt maḥḍ*) of God, which requires neither names nor attributes, and His being the reality of realities (*ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqā'iq*).³¹⁸

This concept is likewise compatible with al-Jamal's idea of the *barzakh*, as it signifies a limit between the beholder and the sun. Similarly, there is a limit between the oneness of God's essence and the multiplicity of other existence, and between the realm of possibility and the realm of necessity. This limit simultaneously carries the potential of both realms, yet our conception of God, formed through the multiple manifestation of existence in the realm of possibility, does not fully reflect the reality.³¹⁹

Al-Jamal's identification of God as the 'reality of realities' who existed before existence came into manifestation, based on the saying, "God was, and there was nothing else with Him"; and his subsequent statement that other existence exists as a manifestation of this reality of realities, based on the *ḥadīth*, "O My servant, I created existence for you, and I created you for Myself" —its being, in Ibn Barraḡān's (d.

³¹⁵ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 136, 340-341. For similar sentences in Ibn 'Arabī see Ibn 'Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 3:30, 385.

³¹⁶ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 35, 100.

³¹⁷ Ibn 'Ajība, "Sharḥ Khamriyyat Ibn al-Fāriḍ," 43-44; Ibn 'Ajība, *The Book of Ascension*, 42-43.

³¹⁸ 'Abd al-Bāqī Miṭṭāḥ, *al-Samā' wa-l-muṣṭalahāt wa-l-rumūz al-ṣūfiyya 'inda 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī wa-Ibn al-'Arabī* (Irbid: 'Ālam al-Kutub al-Ḥadīth, 2018), 196.

³¹⁹ al-Qāshānī, *Laṭā'if al-a'lām fī ishārāt ahl al-ilhām*, 426; Sayyid Amīr 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jazā'irī, *al-Mawāqif fī ba'd ishārāt al-Qur'āniyya ilā l-asrār wa-l-ma'ārif* ed. Bakrī 'Alā' al-Dīn (Damascus: Dār Nīnawā, 2014), 2:52.

536/1142) terminology, *al-Ḥaqq al-makhlūq bihī*—³²⁰ all this shows that he accepted both aspects of the concept of ‘*amā*’, not in all its technical and conceptual details, but rather in terms of the general meaning it expresses.

In conclusion, Michel Chodkiewicz’s assertion—that it is not entirely correct to search for the influence of Ibn ‘Arabī solely through direct commentaries and glosses written on him (“noble literature”); that this influence, over the centuries, was assimilated and found a place within other genres of books such as *ādāb*, *qaṣā’id*, *mawālīd*, and *ṭabaqāt* (“second-rank literature”) without explicitly referencing Ibn ‘Arabī; and that therefore, the distinctions made between “intellectual Sufism” and “popular Sufism” have a somewhat blinding quality in this regard³²¹—proves to be a justified thesis in the specific case of ‘Alī al-Jamal.

Whereas Chodkiewicz considers the presence of Akbarian concepts as direct evidence of this influence,³²² we do not observe most of these specific concepts in al-Jamal. When the absence of explicit Akbarian terminology is coupled with the fact that their corresponding meanings are found in a highly dispersed manner throughout al-Jamal’s book—a consequence of its fragmentary structure—this influence appears to be non-existent at first glance. However, in terms of content, the meanings of some essential Akbarian terms are present in their entirety, along with their characteristic features, as we have explained above. Consequently, Neo-Sufism theory’s overly generalist approach, which claims that the influence of Ibn ‘Arabī ended in the 18th century, loses its validity. On the contrary, Akbarian influence continues in a different form, along with many of its characteristic features, in the specific case of ‘Alī al-Jamal—to put it in the terms used by O’Fahey and Radtke, “Neo-Sufism” in this sense is not “neo.”³²³ Nevertheless, it should be stated that although there was an influence from

³²⁰ Miftāḥ, *al-Ḥaqq ‘iq al-wujūdiyya al-kubrā*, 37-38; Claude Addas, *Ibn Arabi et le voyage sans retour* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1996), 96.

³²¹ Michel Chodkiewicz, “The Diffusion of Ibn ‘Arabī’s Doctrine,” *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabi Society* 9 (1991): 37-38; Michel Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean Without Shore: Ibn ‘Arabī, the Book, the Law* (Albany: State University of New York, 1993), 2-3, 6.

³²² Chodkiewicz, “The Diffusion of Ibn ‘Arabī’s Doctrine,” 40; Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean Without Shore*, 22.

³²³ Rex Sean O’Fahey and Bernd Radtke, “Neo-Sufism Reconsidered” *Der Islam* 70 (1993): 71-74; Voll, “Neo-Sufism: Reconsidered Again,” 324.

the Akbarian tradition on the issues examined, it is not possible to entirely situate al-Jamal within this school due to the absence of its central technical concepts.³²⁴

4.2. What Does It Mean to Adhere to the Shushtarī School of Thought Regarding Unity?

‘Alī al-Jamal frequently refers to the famous Andalusian poet and Sufī al-Shushtarī, and for this reason, both al-Darqāwī and al-Būzīdī, as well as later biographical (*tarājim*) works, classify him as adhering to the al-Shushtarī school of thought regarding unity.³²⁵ But, how accurate is this classification? Given that the key figures associated with this idea are from the Shādhiliyya, how was al-Shushtarī perceived within this order? Exploring these questions will provide a solid foundation for understanding al-Jamal’s relationship with al-Shushtarī.

4.2.1. The Shādhilī Reception of Al-Shushtarī

First, al-Shushtarī has been a controversial figure throughout history. While Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Taymiyya criticized him³²⁶, Ibn ‘Abbād al-Rundī distinguished him from Ibn Sab‘īn and recommended his teachings to his disciples.³²⁷ Aḥmad Zarrūq,³²⁸

³²⁴ The foremost of the technical concepts not found in the work of al-Jamal is that of the fixed entities (*al-a’yān al-thābita*). In Demirli’s view, this concept is pivotal for ascribing a figure to the Akbarian school. See Ekrem Demirli, “Tasavvufun ‘Tutarlılık’ Arayışında Bir Yorum Çerçevesi Olarak Vahdet-i Vücūd: Yūnus Emre’de Vahdet-i Vücūd Anlayışının Yansıması Hakkında Bir Değerlendirme,” *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 21 (2009): 28-32; Ekrem Demirli, *Şair Sûfîler: Mevlana, Yunus ve Niyazi-i Mısri Üzerine İncelemeler* (Istanbul: Sufi Kitap, 2018), 91-96.

³²⁵ al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 1:409; al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 62.

³²⁶ For the criticisms of the two figures, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifā’ al-sā’il wa-tahdhīb al-masā’il*, ed. Muḥammad Muṭī‘ al-Hāfiẓ (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1996), 10-112; Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il wa-l-masā’il*, ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (Lajnat al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, n.d.), 4:26; Gülmez, “İbn Seb’in’in Hayatı, Eserleri ve Felsefî Görüşleri”, 148-150.

³²⁷ Ibn ‘Abbād al-Rundī, *ar-Rasā’il al-kubrā: Nuzhat al-nāzir al-mutamahhil wa-qayd al-sā’ir al-musta’jil*, ed. Muḥammad b. ‘Azzūz (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2011), 363-364. Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī also holds similar views. See Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj bi-taṭrīz al-dībāj*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ‘Abd Allāh al-Harāma (Tripoli: Manshūrāt Kulliyyat al-Da‘wa al-Islāmiyya, 1989), 322.

³²⁸ Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Burnusī al-Maghribī Zarrūq, *Ta’līq ‘alā muqatta‘āt al-Shushtarī*, ed. al-Muṣṭafā Laghfīrī (Marrakesh: al-Maṭba‘a wa-al-Warrāqa al-Waṭaniyya, 2012). This positive attitude of Zarrūq is not representative of his stance on all of al-Shushtarī’s works; on the contrary, he found many of them objectionable for the general reader. See Abū al-‘Abbās Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Isā al-Burnusī al-Fāsī Zarrūq, *Qawā’id al-Taṣawwuf*, ed. ‘Uthmān al-Ḥuwaymidī (Beirut: Dār Waḥy al-Qalam, 2004), 188.

Ibn ‘Ajība³²⁹ and ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nablūsī³³⁰ also defended al-Shushtarī in their writings and commentaries on his poems, portraying him in a positive light and integrating him into the Shādhilī tradition.

For example, although al-Shushtarī took a neutral, even positive, stance toward philosophers in his *nūniyya* poem, the aforementioned commentators interpreted his verses in that poem as if he were critical of them.³³¹ Additionally, Muḥammad al-Ḥarrāk (d. 1845), -the disciple of al-Darqāwī- who is considered al-Shushtarī’s disciple, was greatly influenced by his poetry.³³² Consequently, al-Shushtarī came to be fully integrated into the Shādhilī order, and the Shushtarīyya order attributed to him eventually merged with the broader Shādhiliyya.³³³ His *qaṣā’id* continue to be recited in *dhikr* circles throughout North Africa to this day. Furthermore, some poems composed by Shādhilī shaykhs who lived five centuries after al-Shushtarī were later included in his *dīwān*, while conversely, a poem by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī was attributed to him.³³⁴

4.2.2. Al-Shushtarī’s Conception of Unity

Although al-Shushtarī’s frequent references to the Sab‘īniyya school³³⁵ and his teacher Ibn Sab‘īn are omitted from these readings, both al-Shushtarī himself and several

³²⁹ Ibn ‘Ajība, *Sharḥ Nūniyya al-Imām al-Shushtarī*, ed. Muḥammad al-‘Adlūnī al-Idrīsī (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2013).

³³⁰ ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nāblūsī al-Dimashqī al-Kinānī al-Naqshbandī. *Radd al-mufftarī ‘an al-ṭa’ n fī-l-Shushtarī*. Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, MS Halet Efendi 00759-016, foll. 269a-275b. Furthermore, to see al-Nāblūsī’s ideas on the subject of unity in detail, see Muḥammad Bedirhan, *Abdūlgani Nablusi’nin Vahdet-i Vücud müdafaası: Vahdet-i vücûdu Savunmak* (Istanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2019).

³³¹ Özel, “Seb’iyye’nin Hermetik Bir Silsilesi (mi?),” 17.

³³² For some similarities, based on examples from the poems of the two figures, see Muḥammad al-‘Adlūnī al-Idrīsī, *al-Taṣawwuf al-Andalusī: Ususuḥu al-naẓariyya wa-ahamm madārisuhū* (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2005), 349-350.

³³³ Alī Sāmī al-Nashshār, “Introduction” in *Dīwān Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī: Shā‘ir al- ṣūfiyya al-kabīr fī al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, (Alexandria: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1960), 12; Maria Lourdes Alvarez, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī: Songs of Love and Devotion* (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2009), 5.

³³⁴ Özel, *Hikayem Ne Tuhafur*, 91-94.

³³⁵ The differences between the school of *waḥda muṭlaqa*, associated with Ibn Sab‘īn, and the school of *waḥdat al-wujūd* can be summarized in the following points: 1- Whereas *waḥdat al-wujūd* states that the Truth, has manifested in different levels of existence (i.e., as loci of manifestation, *mazāhir*), thereby accepting the existence of other beings along with the existence of God; *waḥda muṭlaqa*, by stating that everything that exists besides God is illusion, claims that the Truth is everything that exists (i.e., encompassment, *iḥāṭa*). 2- In *waḥdat al-wujūd*, the world of multiplicity is accepted as relatively existent as the locus of self-disclosure and manifestation; in *waḥda muṭlaqa*, however, there is no idea of self-disclosure and manifestation because there is no world. Therefore, the Manifest (*al-Zāhir*), the

modern scholars affirm that this influence continued throughout his life. They argue that in order to understand him, one must first understand the ideas of his teacher. Unlike Ibn Sabʿīn, however, al-Shushtarī gained wider acceptance due to his ability to adapt his teacher's philosophical style into a more accessible scholarly style familiar to the general public.³³⁶ Therefore, before moving on to how ʿAlī al-Jamal interpreted al-Shushtarī and how he was influenced by him, it would be useful to first give a brief overview of al-Shushtarī's conception of unity:

Al-Shushtarī's understanding of unity is based on the idea that, except for the existence of God, other entities appear to exist as a result of illusion. Therefore, only God truly exists. Existence is one and real; everything else is illusion. The servant's essence is temporary, and while it may appear to exist in terms of attributes and illusion, in truth, nothing else exists. Al-Shushtarī expresses this idea through the saying, "There is nothing else with God, neither in the past nor in the future" realizing this is possible only through mystical experience.³³⁷

His poems in which he speaks as both the lover and the serve as sparks of unity that emerged as a result of this realization. According to him, those who have attained this unity belong to the category of *ihsān*, and after reaching the level of spiritual witnessing, they attain perplexity (*ḥayra*), which ultimately leads to silence. The

locus of manifestation (*maẓhar*), and the manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) are all one. 3- In *waḥdat al-wujūd*, one knows the Lord to the extent one knows oneself (the particular lord/*rabb khāṣṣ*); *waḥda muṭlaqa* maintains that the knowing of the Truth Himself is possible (verification/*taḥaqquq*). 4- While *waḥdat al-wujūd* says that the names and attributes of the Truth become manifest through created beings, upon which they occur (i.e., as objects, *mafʿūl*, like the Lord-vassal [*Rabb-marbūb*] relationship); *waḥda muṭlaqa* claims that the divine names are independent of the existence of created beings. Ibn Sabʿīn divides existence into three: 1- Absolute existence (*al-wujūd al-muṭlaq*), which is God—Who is all-comprehensive, the Necessary Being (*Wājib al-Wujūd*), and the One Who is truly one (*Ays, Huwa Huwa*). 2- Conditioned or restricted existence (*al-wujūd al-muqayyad*), which is everything that appears to possess corporeal and spiritual existence, but which are in reality illusion. 3- Predestined or estimated existence (*al-wujūd al-muqaddar*) which is everything that will be in the future. For more extensive information on this topic through Ibn Sabʿīn, al-Shushtarī, and Aḥmad al-Dīn al-Balyānī, see: Özel, "Vahdet-i Mutlaka Ekolü," 1:200-206; Muḥammad Bedirhan, "Vahdet-i Vücut Ekolü", in *Metafizik: Ekoller, Yöntemler ve Büyük Anlatılar*, ed. Ömer Türker (Istanbul: Ketebe Yayınları, 2021), 1:168-169; Muḥammad Yāsir Sharaf, *Falsafat al-waḥda al-muṭlaqa ʿinda Ibn Sabʿīn* (Baghdad: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-ʿIlām, 1981), 103-177; Muḥammad al-ʿAdlūnī al-Idrīsī, *at-Taṣawwuf fī falsafat Ibn Sabʿīn* (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2006), 31-43; Muḥammad Abū al-Wafā al-Taftāzānī al-Ghunaymī al-Taftāzānī, *Ibn Sabʿīn wa-falsafatuhu al-ṣūfiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1973), 198-224.

³³⁶ Özel, *Hikayem Ne Tuhafur*, 75-78, 107, 112, 117.

³³⁷ For his words on this subject, see al-Shushtarī, *ar-Risāla al-qaṣṣāriyya*, 55b, 61b-62a. al-Shushtarī, *al-Maqālīd al-wujūdiyya*, 83. For a selection of his poems on this subject, see Özel, *Hikayem Ne Tuhafur*, 108-111.

experience of the oneness of existence, in this view, requires the annihilation of the self. Based on these conclusions, the only true agent is God alone, however despite these views, al-Shushtarī draws a clear line between these ideas and *ḥulūl* and *ittihād*. He states that it is impossible to think that God is included in or excluded from the universe, because these characteristics belong to bodies. God is free from possessing the attributes of bodies and he attributes these views to Christianity and those inclined toward Ibāḥism.³³⁸

4.2.3. ‘Alī Al-Jamal’s Interpretation of Al-Shushtarī’s Poems on Unity

‘Alī al-Jamal refers to al-Shushtarī about fifty times, yet none of these references are directly about unity. Rather, they address topics such as education (*tarbiya*), the understanding of *mujahāda* and human nature, and various states and stations such as *talwīn* and *muḥabbā*. al-Jamal primarily discusses unity within the context of annihilation,³³⁹ exploring the relationship between annihilation-permanence, union-separation, inward-outward, wisdom-power, essence-attributes, feeling-meaning, *‘ulwiyyāt-sufliyyāt*. To understand how effectively al-Shushtarī is integrated into al-Jamal’s work and his interpretation of his thought, it is helpful to examine the poems on *tawḥīd* that he quotes considering them alongside the themes of annihilation-permanence and union-separation, as well as the contexts in which he presents them. For this purpose, we have selected four al-Shushtarī’s poems which are particularly representative in this regard:

4.2.3.1. The First Poem from Al-Shushtarī

*The one who loved me, through annihilation became one with me,
and after this annihilation, I found true existence.
The cup became the one I drink from, yet its arrival was sweet.
People marveled at my state of permanence,
while I, in turn, knew only the desire I sought.*³⁴⁰

³³⁸ For more detailed information, see Özel, *Hikayem Ne Tuhaftur*, 108-117; al-‘Adlūnī, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī*, 184-209; Kurrūm Bū Madyan, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī, al-ṣūfī al-jawwāl: Ḥayātuhu wa-shi’rūhū* (Algiers: Dār al-Tawfīqiyya, 2011), 166-189.

³³⁹ Indeed, in its traditional sense, unity can also be reduced to the theory of annihilation. See Ekrem Demirli, *İslam Metafiziğinde Tanrı ve İnsan: İbnü’l-Arabi ve Vahdet-i Vücut Geleneği* (Istanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi, 2009), 200.

³⁴⁰ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 67; al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān*, 138.

Here, al-Jamal understand annihilation as has two aspects: annihilation in essence, which is emotional, and annihilation in attributes, which is spiritual, each completing the other. The ideal state is to unite both. Similarly, permanence is also divided into two parts: permanence in attributes, which is spiritual, and permanence in essence, which is emotional. One aspect leads a person into the state of presence (*ḥuḍūr*), while the other ensures that they remain there. At the outset, a person is stripped of his human qualities; and remain with the essence of Truth.³⁴¹ The person in this journey (the saint) dies and is resurrected twice. First, he distances himself from people and turns toward the Truth this is outward aspect of annihilation (*al-fanā' al-ẓāhirī*). Then, he reaches the Truth, and through it, turns toward people with the Truth, this is the inward aspect of permanence (*al-baqā' al-bāṭinī*). Next, he unites the Truth and people together within his awareness (*al-fanā' al-bāṭinī*). Eventually, he becomes one with the Truth for the sake of the Truth (*al-baqā' al-ẓāhirī*).

This reflect the statement that “God existed alone,” a reality that continues as He ever was.³⁴² In al-Jamal’s view, annihilation in this sense is humiliation and death, while permanence is honor and life. Annihilation is the purification of human impurities (*takhallī*), while permanence is the adornment of divine attributes (*taḥallī*). The one who has attained permanence has united the Truth and people; he is the *barzakh* between two seas. He does not deny either but rather gives each its rightful due. In contrast, the one who remains in annihilation lacks this unifying capacity.³⁴³

In this regard, al-Jamal quotes ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdzūb, one of the figures in his spiritual chain, saying, “Whoever sees existence with existence, console him for the blindness of his insight. Whoever sees existence with its Creator has attained the medicine of the heart.” Only those who have attained the state of permanence after annihilation can distinguish between the two. Those who remain in the state of annihilation possess the attribute of *rubūbiyya*, and therefore existence responds to them with honor. Those who possess the state of permanence possess the attribute of *‘ubūdiyya*, and therefore existence bows down to them.³⁴⁴

³⁴¹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 67, 159-160.

³⁴² Ibid., 183

³⁴³ Ibid., 189.

³⁴⁴ He also quotes an anonymous poet within the same meaning, “I am with the Truth / I observe union in the domain of separation” stating that the essence is to perish from the self and other beings, enter

Therefore, what is essential for al-Jamal is the separation that arises after union. Those who are in the state of annihilation are in a state of intoxication, so the attribute of *‘ubūdiyya* has been removed from them, they are in a state of union, and therefore, responsibility has been removed from them, indicating that what they say is excusable.³⁴⁵ Here, al-Jamal asserts that just as corporeal death (*mawt ḥissī*) ends religious obligations (*taklīf*), so too does the state of spiritual death (*mawt ma‘nawī*) remove such obligations. He references Abū Madyan’s saying to support this point “In our drunkenness we have been absolved of responsibility”.³⁴⁶

Also, to highlight this issue, al-Jamal quotes a poem by Ibn ‘Arabī in two different places:

*The Lord is true, and the servant is true;
then who is responsible?
If one is called a servant, he is dead;
if one answers ‘Lord,’ how is this possible?*³⁴⁷

the realm of the Lord, and then return from there to know the Lord and the self and other beings. Ibid., 48, 151.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 52, 62. According to Aḥmad al-‘Alāwī, however, the gnostic knows God through His essence and attributes and witnesses [Him] with his inward being, but his outward aspect observes the limits [of the Law]. He possesses both *sharī‘a* and *ḥaqīqa*; both union and separation. Those who unite these two stations are few indeed. But how can one who is lost in affirming the unity of the Truth observe creation or affirm their existence? Those in this state are excused because they have lost their [proper] witnessing. In this sense, he gives al-Ḥallāj and Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī as examples, and by placing al-Shushtarī’s saying, “I am a wondrous being to the beholder; lover and beloved are mine, there is no second to me,” into this category, he states that what they said in a state of annihilation and immersion (*istighrāq*) meant the speaker was in reality the Truth, and that these [utterances] should not be considered authoritative. See Aḥmad al-‘Alāwī, *al-Minaḥ al-quḍsiyya*, 31-33, 52; Aḥmad al-‘Alāwī, *al-Mawādd al-ghaythiyya*, 2:119-123.

³⁴⁶ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 52, 260. This verse, from the *al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya*, conveys the sentences: “Do not blame the drunkard for his state of drunkenness, for in our drunkenness we have been absolved of responsibility.” See Shu‘ayb Abū Madyan. “*al-Qaṣīda al-Nūniyya*” in *The Way of Abu Madyan: The Works of Abu Madyan Shu‘ayb ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī* (c. 509/1115-16–594/1198), ed. and trans. by Vincent J. Cornell. (London: The Islamic Texts Society, 1996), 158.

³⁴⁷ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 31, 315. For this poem in Ibn ‘Arabī’s own works see Ibn ‘Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 1:2; Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn al-‘Arabī, *al-Tanazzulāt al-mawṣiliyya fī asrār al-ṭahārāt wa-l-ṣalawāt wa-l-ayyām al-aṣliyya: Tanazzul al-amlāk fī ḥarakat al-aflāk*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan Maḥmūd (Cairo: ‘Ālam al-Fikr, 1986), 126; ‘Abd Allāh Salāḥī al-‘Uṣṣākī, *Sharḥ kitāb Mawāqī‘ al-nujūm li-l-shaykh al-akbar Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī: Ṭawālī‘ manāfi‘ al-‘ulūm fī maṭālib Mawāqī‘ al-nujūm*, ed. Mahmud Erol Kılıç and Muḥammad Adīb al-Jādir (Damascus: Dār Nīnawā, 2015), 1:61. Also, for a commentary on this poem by al-Tilimsānī (b. 1961), who belongs to the same spiritual lineage with Alī al-Jamal see Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥāshimī al-Ḥasanī al-Tilimsānī, *Majmū‘ rasā’il al-‘allāma al-‘arif bi-llāh al-shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥāshimī al-Tilimsānī*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sha‘ār (Beirut: Kanz Nāshirūn, 2023), 451–57.

He then mentions that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī³⁴⁸ of the Shādhilī tradition responded to this point, and that ‘Alī al-Jamal also expressed his own position. This poem by al-Fāsī is as follows:

*Yes, by establishing the servant,
the attribute of separation becomes responsible
The servant is dead without his Lord;
he is responsible through the secret of the help that comes from Him.*³⁴⁹

Therefore, the servant does not truly exist, but when God manifests Himself in the forms of *rubūbiyya* and *‘ubūdiyya*, he is named servant in that form. From the perspective of absolute manifestation, lordship continues.³⁵⁰ When immersed in the Absolute Truth within itself, it remains in the state of union, but as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī states in his poem, even if it remains dead in relation to absolute existence, affirming its own existence will bring the individual back to the state of separation, and responsibility will follow.

4.2.3.2. The Second Poem

*Don't mind the vessels
dive into the seas of meaning,
Perhaps you will see me,
as the Sufis see with their gaze.*³⁵¹

Al-Jamal brings these verses in the context of union and separation. For him, “vessels” represent emotions and separation, while the “meanings” signify union. Whoever wants to perceive reality as a whole, needs the light of meanings that emerge through the state of union and oppressing feelings. As a result, the truth can be observed. The one who realizes this observation is the gnostic, and he can see it both in its manifestation and in its entirety. According to Ibn ‘Ajība, the greatest veil is being deceived by the outward appearance which leads one away from the Truth. Whoever

³⁴⁸ For his life see al-Ghumārī, *al-Mu‘zin*, 186-191.

³⁴⁹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 31, 315.

³⁵⁰ Ibn ‘Ajība, *Sharḥ Nūniyyat al-Shushtarī*, 69.

³⁵¹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 42, 69, 88, 272; al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān*, 137. Ibn ‘Ajība states that in this context, the word “meanings” (*ma‘ānī*), according to Sufi terminology, is used as a metonymy (*kināya*) for *dhāt*; and that *dhāt* is sometimes used for self-disclosure and attributes. He further mentions that just as meaning is hidden, so too is *dhāt* hidden, and it needs such forms/molds (*qawālib*) to be known. See Ibn ‘Ajība, *Taqyīdān fī waḥdat al-wujūd*, 25.

withdraws himself from them through his feelings remains alone with the lights (*anwār*) and secrets (*asrār*).

Those special, perfect servants who reach this state become transient in their belief that other beings possess fixed, not in terms of the truth being manifest in them. The state of separation prevails for those who perceive God in some beings and not in others. whereas the state of union prevails for those who find Him in everything and see everything as one. Those who unite separation and union give everything its due.³⁵²

From this perspective, union and separation are both parts of reality. Union's reality is related to God's absolute and true existence, while separation's reality is related to the existence of other beings, even if only metaphorically, through analogies such as imagination, copy, form, and mirror. For this reason, 'Alī al-Jamal considers the position that unites the two to be the highest rank: the true being is with the Truth, while the apparent is with the Truth and people. Union is in the heart; while separation is in the apparent. In this sense, he quotes Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī as saying to Ibn Sabbāgh: "I had a friend who frequently spoke of unity. I told him, 'If you want to avoid criticism, let there be separation in your speech and union in your heart.'"³⁵³

After narrating this story, al-Jamal shows us the path he chose to attain union and separation together, as described here, by offering a prayer.³⁵⁴ Furthermore, he emphasizes that the meaning expressed in poetry cannot be revealed without matter, and matter (vessels) cannot exist without meaning. Meaning is related to the essence

³⁵² Aḥmad b. 'Ajība, "Sharḥ Ṣalāt al-Quṭb Ibn Mashīsh," in *al-Laṭā'if al-imāniyya al-malakūtiyya wa-l-ḥaqā'iq al-iḥsāniyya al-jabarūtiyya fī rasā'il al-shaykh Aḥmad ibn 'Ajība*, ed. 'Āṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2006), 151, 161-162, 167, 176-177; Ibn 'Ajība, "Sharḥ ba'd muqtaṭafāt," 303-305, 310; For more detailed information on the relationships in Ibn 'Ajība in these contexts between essence-attributes, meaning-feeling, annihilation-permanence, almost within the same framework see Ibn 'Ajība, *The Book of Ascension*, 43-48, 61-63.

³⁵³ Although 'Alī al-Jamal reports that al-Shādhilī said this to Ibn al-Sabbāgh, Ibn al-Sabbāgh and al-Imrānī in their books relate it from a letter sent by al-Shādhilī to 'Alī b. Makhlūf Bin Tūnus. See Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 47; al-Imrānī, *al-Taḥqīd*, 64. Elsewhere, al-Shādhilī said: "If you look carefully with the eye of insight (*baṣīra*), the existence of the cosmos resembles the existence of a shadow. The shadow, when all degrees of existence are considered, does not exist. And yet, when all degrees of existence are considered, neither is it non-existent. If you accept that beings are shadows, you do not negate the unity of the Giver of Existence. The existence of beings as shadows does not hinder the absolute unity of God. This is similar to the state of tree shadows falling on a river; these shadows do not prevent boats from passing through the river." That is, for al-Shādhilī too, the ideal is to unite union and separation. See al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā'if al-minan*, 153.

³⁵⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 131, 236.

of truth and can only be seen through manifestations. From this perspective, God is manifest in His concealment and concealed in His manifestation. In other words, He is hidden within the beings He has manifested and created, but when we look with the eye of perception, it becomes clear that the true existence within this concealment is none other than Him. That is why he says that the essence is an attribute, and the attribute is the essence. According to him, God existed and nothing else did, and this remains the case. And when the essence manifests, the attributes are present with it, and when the attributes appear, the essence is present with them. In other words, there is an unbreakable relationship between the two, but the veil of meaning prevents us from perceiving the essence. In the state of union, however these veils are lifted allowing one to grasp the truth of the absolute essence in this sense and to realize that all other beings are, in truth, utterly non-existent.³⁵⁵

What al-Jamal says about witnessing supports his statements on annihilation-permanence and union-separation. He divides those skilled in observation into three categories: first, those who recognize the act as originating from their own selves (*martabat al-‘awāmm*); second, those who attribute the act to divine power (*martabat al-īmān bi-l-ghayb*); and third, those who attribute the act to the One who possesses the power (*qādir*), perceiving the act as a path leading to Him, from Him, and to Him, and who witness it are those immersed in witnessing God’s presence (*ahl Allāh al-mustāghriqīn fī shuhūd Allāh*). They speak, see, hear, and move with God.³⁵⁶ For them, all causes have been removed and only the one and transcendent truth remains.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ The statement “God existed, and there was nothing with Him” recurs throughout al-Jamal’s work. According to him, living by this utterance represents the state of the elite of the elite. These individuals perceive themselves and all other existents as Him. However, as is evident from previous discussions, this pertains to the inward state of union, while the outward aspect necessitates the state of separation. The highest spiritual state requires the integration of both. See al-Jamal, *Naṣīhat al-murīd*, 95, 97, 131, 287. Ḥarīrīzāde (d. 1299/1882), using the same sentence, characterizes the station described herein as the union of union (*jam ‘al-jam*), identifying it as the ultimate degree attainable by the gnostic. At this stage, the gnostic emerges from the state of total immersion in unity and—through a process of spiritual descent (*tadallī* or *tanazzul*)—witnesses the Truth within the multiplicity of divine manifestations (*baqā*). His designation of this station as the final among the stages of divine attraction (*jadhba*) is consistent with the classification of al-Jamal, particularly in light of the emphasis on the intensity of the *jadhba* associated with both al-Jamal himself and the Makhfiyya zāwiya to which he was initiated by. See Maḥmad Kamāl al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarīrī al-Istānbūlī (Ḥarīrīzāde), *Madār-ı vāḥidiyya wa markaz-ı aḥadiyya*, Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, MS İzmir 00818, 130a–132a.

³⁵⁶ Here, reference is made to the *ḥadīth* concerning drawing near to God through supererogatory acts of worship (*nawāfil*). See al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-riqāq*, 6502.

³⁵⁷ al-Jamal, *Naṣīhat al-murīd*, 189–190, 265.

It should be noted here that al-Jamal does not make an analogy between existence and God, because according to him, there is no second, no similar, and no opposite to Him.³⁵⁸ He existed and nothing else existed, and this state continues even now. In the first and second categories, where causes do not disappear, the servant sees the illusion at different levels. This is because only the Truth can perceive the Truth. In the third level, the Truth himself manifests through means for the servant, and the servant's existence is erased, leaving no trace behind: "The truth has come, and falsehood has passed away" (Q 17:81). After this, it is the Truth that sees, hears, and observes, because imagination exists in the eyes of the common people, not in the eyes of the saint.³⁵⁹

However, if we understand the *ḥadīth* about seeing and hearing by God to mean that everything other than Him is perishable and that He is found in everything, then this is the highest level described by al-Jamal. According to him, this is the meaning of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī's prayer, "Make us Your servants in all circumstances," because at this level, all things and their opposites are one, having returned to the same source.³⁶⁰ Therefore, the *ḥadīth* about hearing and seeing with God has two distinct meanings corresponding to annihilation and permanence. Just as every agent presupposes an object, where the teacher needs the student to be a teacher, and the student needs the teacher to be a student. Al-Jamal states that observing the resulting work and observing the Creator of that work are two separate levels.³⁶¹

As noted earlier, although he praises observation on the third level, he considers the separation and permanence that follow to be the ideal state. Al-Jamal mentions this level elsewhere, saying that 'Abd al-Salām bin Mashīsh named it "the very essence of unity" (*'ayn al-waḥda*) and that it is the ultimate goal, which al-Jamal prays to reach. Later, however, he says that he points to the state of permanence by through the intercession of the prophet:

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 206.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 136, 340-341.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 54, 109,

³⁶¹ Ibid., 193. Al-Jamal appears to share the same view as Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh. For Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh has said: "Beings are the mirrors of God's attributes. One who abandons the world of existence has also abandoned the witnessing of the Truth therein. The world of existence was not made existent to see itself, but to see the Lord in it... There are two types of sainthood: In the first, the saint is independent of existence and sees nothing in existence but God. In the other, the saint finds annihilation in existence and witnesses God in everything. This second one is more perfect." See al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā'if al-minan*, 37-38.

In essence, the annihilated one (*fānī*) is immersed in the very essence of absolute oneness (*‘ayn al-waḥdāniyya*), as Shaykh Mawlānā ‘Abd al-Salām ibn Mashīsh (may God benefit us through him) said: “Immerse me in the very essence of the ocean of oneness, so that I may neither see, nor hear, nor find, nor perceive save by it,” and he then pointed to permanence and said: “Make the greatest veil the life of my spirit, and its spirit the secret of my reality.”³⁶²

Therefore, the ideal is to recognize the position of all beings in existence, the position of the Truth in existence, and to treat everyone fairly, without allowing one to veil the other.³⁶³ In this context, a narrative is presented by al-Jamal to illustrate the state of permanence as a destination to be reached: Abū Bakr advised ‘Ā’isha to thank the Prophet after she was cleared of calumny through him. However, she stated that she would only offer gratitude to God Almighty. According to al-Jamal, Abū Bakr was directing her towards the most perfect state, the state of permanence, which necessitates the affirmation of the effect (*athar*). Yet, at that moment, ‘Ā’isha was in the state of annihilation detached from existence, perceiving only the Efficient Cause (*mu’aththir*) and not its effect,³⁶⁴ al-Shushtarī says:

*When see Existence (the Truth) itself revealed in your essence,
This is but a ruse; cling to denial and erase its attributes.
Strike the barriers with your shield and cast your staff away.*³⁶⁵

³⁶² al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 165, 327. The context in which Ibn Mashīsh prays in this manner is his *Ṣalāt al-Mashīshiyya*, which is as famous in North Africa as al-Jazūlī’s book *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*. But there, he first prays for the obliteration of other existences, which are falsehood, in order to be immersed in the ocean of unity (which is pure annihilation/ *fanā’ maḥḍ*). Then, he asks God to make him secure and save him from the fearful aspects of this state of annihilation and intoxication (which is permanence). Later, where the concept of *‘ayn al-waḥda* is mentioned, he requests to hear and see with God but then unites both the states of annihilation and permanence by saying, “make the greatest veil to this the life of my spirit, and its spirit the secret of my reality.” In this sense, we can say that the views of al-Jamal and Ibn Mashīsh regarding annihilation and unity indicates compatibility. See Muḥammad Ṭayyib b. ‘Abd al-Majīd b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Fāsī al-Mālikī Ibn Kīrān, *Sharḥ al-ṣalāt al-Mashīshiyya*, ed. Bassām Muḥammad Bārūd (Abu Dabi: al-Majma’ al-Thaqāfī, 1999), 193-204; ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *al-Quṭb al-shahīd ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh* (Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1996), 44-48; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 268-269.

³⁶³ Ibn ‘Ajība, while commenting on another of al-Shushtarī’s poems, states that existence is in reality pure non-existence (*‘adam maḥḍ*), and that we only imagine it to exist. People have imagined it alongside God. He likens existence apart from Him to dust motes in the air and alludes to the *ḥadīth*: “God was, and there was nothing with Him, and this state continues as it is now.” These things we see are in reality nothing but Divine lights (*anwār ilāhiyya*). And also, in a commentary on another poem by al-Shushtarī, Ibn ‘Ajība defines the event where the effect and the effector are one, the witness and the witnessed are one, and only one existence remains, as the stage of annihilation that must be traversed. According to him, after this, the state of permanence is reached. And there, the two existences are distinguished from each other, all of which occurs under the guidance of a *shaykh murabbī*. According to him also, the ideal is to unite the states of union and separation. The second figure upon whom Ibn ‘Ajība builds these views—that existence, in relation to the Truth, is actually illusion and falsehood—is Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī; he frequently refers to his aphorisms in this regard. For his detailed views on this subject, see Ibn ‘Ajība, *Sharḥ Nūniyyat al-Shushtarī*, 55-58, 62-65, 68; Ibn ‘Ajība, “*Sharḥ ba’d muqatafaṭ*,” 310; Ibn ‘Ajība, *Īqāz al-himam*, 65-72, 233, 270-278, 315-319, 393.

³⁶⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 41, 211.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 16, 133, 138, 340. al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān*, 311.

He also discussed this in the context of annihilation. According to him, one must distance oneself from everything that distances one from the Truth and from all the reasons one relies on, so that the meaning of attributes, which are nothing but the essence itself may be seen. Therefore, al-Shushtarī sees everything other than the Truth, including the attributes of the names, as a form of bondage. And when a person sees that all these truths scattered among vessels are gathered within himself, he must destroy these attributes after reaching the Truth through them, seeking the Truth within himself.³⁶⁶

To clarify the differences between al-Jamal and al-Shushtarī in this regard; al-Shushtarī divides the state of annihilation into three;³⁶⁷ the first is purifying oneself from blameworthy traits and adopting divine attributes, the second is annihilation from witnessing anything other than Him, and the third is annihilation from any other existence, which is the ideal, the absolute annihilation, and remaining here is praised.³⁶⁸ Therefore, after annihilation, al-Shushtarī discussed a form of permanence, but this state of permanence still has a nature without his own existence,³⁶⁹ whereas in al-Jamal, this permanence does not deny its own imaginary existence, that is, it is a permanence which has separation (*tafrīq*). In other words, while the phrase “*huwa huwa*” in al-Jamal, which expresses the oneness of God, has a meaning that exalts Him and implies His absolute existence; al-Shushtarī expresses this unity through “*huwa, anā wa anta*,” meaning that existence is one and that you, I, and He (the Truth) are one.

Regarding the distinction between annihilation and permanence, al-Jamal took a stance in favor of annihilation as inherent in permanence, aligning with figures like ‘Abd al-Salām bin Mashīsh, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī, and others from the Shādhilī tradition, who embraced the ideas that the apparent is separation and

³⁶⁶ Ibn ‘Ajība also states that the seeker and the sought are the same, because there is no duality or difference, but rather the Truth is one. Therefore, there is no incarnation or unification here, because there is no other being besides Him with whom He could unite. And also, he perceives the intellect, the customs and the pleasures of the *nafs* as all existing within these bonds. According to him, the disciple must free himself from all these bonds; otherwise, he will imprison himself among created beings, deprived of the ability to witness the Truth. See Ibn ‘Ajība, *Sharḥ Nūniyyat al-Shushtarī*, 56-57, 101.

³⁶⁷ al-‘Adlūnī, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī*, 247.

³⁶⁸ For examples concerning this, see al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān*, 241, 322-324, 338.

³⁶⁹ Ibid, 147-148, 327-328.

the hidden is union. Conversely, al-Shushtarī seems to have chosen the path of union and annihilation both inwardly and outwardly.

4.2.3.3. The Third Poem

*I am a wondrous being to the one who perceives,
Both the Beloved and the lover are mine,
There is no second to my essence.*³⁷⁰

Al-Jamal seems to have brought this poem not so much to refer to absolute unity as to explain the position of human being in existence. The poem begins by emphasizing to the central role of the human being, saying that their place in existence is like the heart in the human being. Nevertheless, the second context in which this poem appears is directly related to unity. According to al-Jamal, in human being, the Truth has manifested himself with perfection and has also been concealed with perfection, from one perspective, human being is the Truth, and from another, he is a servant.³⁷¹ The fact that he carries the attribute of the Truth is through manifestation and self-disclosure, not in terms of his very existence. And since Man and the universe are always mirror images of each other, God's manifestation to other beings takes place in the same manner. Therefore, the issue of the unity of the beloved and the lover in al-Jamal's view can be interpreted from this perspective. Or, as discussed earlier in the division of annihilation, it can be interpreted as a statement by al-Shushtarī in a state when responsibility is lifted and one is excused yet still oriented toward the goal of attainment.³⁷²

³⁷⁰ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 145, 161. al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān*, 313. Al-Darqāwī related that, in a similar vein, 'Alī al-Jamal would frequently repeat al-Shushtarī's poem: "You are, You are, You; You are, You are, You / You are the Lover and the Beloved, You are the *wuṣūl*". See al-Darqāwī, *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, 316. For the similar verses of Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥabīb al-Būzīdī from the same Shādhilī tradition - uttered in the state of annihilation concerning the oneness of the lover and the beloved, the seeker (*ṭālib*) and the sought (*maṭlūb*), and the drinker and the drink- and for the commentary on them by Aḥmad al-'Alāwī, see Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-'Alāwī, *Mi'rāj al-sālikīn wa-nihāyat al-wāṣilīn* (Mostaganem: al-Maṭba'at al-'Alāwiyya, 1992), 11–15.

³⁷¹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 145.

³⁷² Al-Jamal himself also appears to have experienced the state of union and to have spoken after transcending it. During his spiritual journey, he said that the attributes of the Truth manifested upon himself and upon all created beings. He fell in love (experienced *'ishq*) with himself, with everyone he encountered - old, child, man, woman- even with animals, trees, and birds. He saw all of existence as his own limbs. He said that people who witnessed this accused him of impious transgression (*fisq*) and heresy (*zandaqa*). See al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 330.

4.2.3.4. The Fourth Poem

*The cups are mine, and they revolve upon me;
After my death, you will see me alive.*³⁷³

This poem also refers to the concept of annihilation, and more specifically, to the idea that whoever perceive something as true will perceive themselves as true, and whoever perceive something as false will perceive themselves as false. This is because true and falsehood are meanings that originate from human being and return to human being, which explains the concepts of conjecture (*ẓann*) and illusion (*wahm*). According to him, while true existence absolutely belongs solely to God, created beings are imaginary beings in relation to Him. The phrase “in relation to” here indicates that he does not completely deny their existence in the absolute sense. Rather that the denial of their existence stems from understanding that existence is actually limited to the manifestations (forms) of His attributes. Even so, these manifestations still exist.

His classification of existence into the categories of annihilation and permanence, which we can be understood as recognizing absolute existence and the perception that there is no other existence truly exists besides it. His recalling the distinguishing between the created and the Creator also conveys the same meaning. Apart from this, perceiving the reality of things as they are, that is, correctly understanding the difference between these two types of existence or confusing them with each other, is entirely related to the imagination and assumptions of the human being based on his Sufi experience. This is because whatever exists is not fully observed in relation to the truth, and only the Truth can know itself fully.³⁷⁴ Therefore, contrary to the view held by the people of *sharī‘a*, who believe that “whatever comes to mind is contrary to God,” the people of *ḥaqīqa* maintain that “whatever comes to mind is the Truth.”³⁷⁵ The second meaning of this poem is that the state of annihilation represents death, and the state of permanence symbolizes resurrection, and just as one cannot enter paradise without death, one cannot attain witnessing and permanence without undergoing

³⁷³ Ibid., 229, 249. al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān*, 205-206.

³⁷⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 136, 340.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 320.

annihilation.³⁷⁶ Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s description of the state of annihilation as death is also helpful in this regard.³⁷⁷

4.2.4. A Comparative Analysis and Conclusion

In summary, almost all of the poems that ‘Alī al-Jamal quoted from al-Shushtarī that as presented here, serve as evidence to reinforce the meaning that the universe is imaginary and illusory in relation to God. If al-Jamal viewed the state of annihilation as a stage intended to be attained and encouraged in order to comprehend the reality of existence, we know that he regarded the subsequent stages of separation and permanence as the true ideal. However, we can say that the meaning of permanence exists in the poems that al-Jamal quoted from al-Shushtarī, even if it is not as strongly emphasized as al-Jamal presented it. Therefore, it is possible to interpret al-Shushtarī as someone who stood at the state of annihilation, treating it as the ultimate goal and speaking about its nature, but who later transcended it and reached the state of permanence. This remains one possible interpretation. However, looking at al-Shushtarī himself, we find that he follows Ibn Sab‘īn’s path in affirming *waḥda muṭlaqa* meaning everything other than God is non-existent and illusory. Al-Jamal also asserts that only God exists but qualifies this by adding “in the real sense.”³⁷⁸ The universe, according to him, does not exist in the absolute sense; rather in relation to true existence. Al-Jamal also considers the universe as imagination and conjecture, but this is due to its shifting nature in human perception; not because it is illusory in the absolute sense.

While al-Shushtarī establishes the relationship between existence and God as *wujūdī* interpretation; al-Jamal establishes it through self-disclosure and manifestation (*tajallī* and *zuhūr*). Accordingly, in the first case, knowing and looking at one’s self (and therefore at the universe) is actually looking at and finding the real existence itself.³⁷⁹ In the second case, one gains knowledge of its attributes because God created it in His own form.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 164-165.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 133, 240.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 30.

³⁷⁹ al-‘Adlūnī, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī*, 204.

While al-Jamal by comparing this world to an illusion, emphasized that what is observed is not the Absolute Truth, but rather the manifestation of Divine names as we perceive them; unlike the school of *waḥda muṭlaqa* to which al-Shushtarī belonged, which did not accept these intermediaries, and asserted that only God can be directly witnessed.³⁸⁰ Therefore, the meaning of the statement “God existed, and there was nothing else with Him, and this state continues now” means, in the school to which al-Shushtarī belongs, the absolute rejection of the existence of anything other than God.³⁸¹ In contrast for al-Jamal, the first meaning refers to the absolute erasure of other beings from perception in the state of union, and the second meaning to the establishment of the idea that there is no other being in reality in the state of permanence, and that other beings exist only as illusions.

Despite all these differences, al-Jamal’s use of al-Shushtarī’s poems suggests two possibilities regarding his reception of al-Shushtarī. Firstly, rather than viewing al-Shushtarī as someone who had attained a state of permanence through the meaning he had assigned to it in his own classification, al-Jamal used him, as he did with other names, within his own concept of unity. For the names he refers to in this regard are not limited to him alone; he quotes from Ibn ‘Arabī, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, Ibn al-Fāriḍ, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Majdhūb, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī, and Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī. Similarly, al-Shushtarī’s words quoted above could be instrumentalized in the context of unity and annihilation, due to the high quality of his expression.³⁸² In fact, although al-Jamal praised al-Shushtarī’s idea of *waḥda muṭlaqa* and *fanā’ muṭlaqa* in this and most of his poems, he went further by emphasizing the state of permanence, which is dominated by separation (*tafrīq*), in order to assert that annihilation must be transcended.³⁸³

³⁸⁰ Bedirhan, “Vahdet-i vücud ekolü”, 168-169.

³⁸¹ For a summary of the idea—central to the school to which al-Shushtarī belonged—of seeing everything, including one’s own self, as God, see Balyani, *Mutlak birlik*, 101-116.

³⁸² It is understood that Aḥmad Zarrūq holds this view, because when he speaks about spiritual listening (*samā’*), he states that there is a need for certain means (*wasā’iṭ*) that will stir the hearts of the disciples, appeal to them emotionally, and present the Truth to them through forms that are not the Absolute Reality itself (and thus, in a sense, falsehood). By saying that al-Shushtarī also did this in his poems, Zarrūq actually reveals the reason for his interest in him. See Aḥmad Zarrūq, *Qawā’id al-ṭaşawwuf*, 130.

³⁸³ In fact, in one of al-Shushtarī’s treatises, it is stated that, according to him, the highest degree of the *muḥaqqiqūn*—who occupy the highest rank in the classification of human beings—is to be in the state of sobriety after annihilation and intoxication. But still, since al-Shushtarī denies existences other than the Truth, here the return from annihilation and permanence means a return from Him to Him, because there is no other. In this sense, it can be claimed that the state of annihilation expresses a state that is

A second possibility is that he interpreted al-Shushtarī's words by integrating him within the Shādhilī tradition and perceiving him as aligned with his own concept of unity in a general sense, rather than as a member of the *waḥda muṭlaqa* school. The fact that he mentions al-Ḥallāj as an example of someone who remained in the initial state of annihilation and was unable to progress to the state of permanence, while not mentioning al-Shushtarī in this context but including him among the “shaykhs of reality” (*mashāyikh al-ḥaqīqa*), alongside figures such as Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh, al-Ghazālī, al-Jazūlī, al-Jīlānī, al-Junayd and Abū Madyan, strengthens the second option.³⁸⁴ Ibn ‘Ajība³⁸⁵ and al-Būzīdī³⁸⁶ also perceived al-Shushtarī in this way.

As a result, al-Jamal refers to al-Shushtarī within the context of the Shādhilī tradition, rather than as a member of the *waḥda muṭlaqa* school and cites him accordingly. Those who claim that al-Jamal is affiliated with the Shushtarī's school of thought on unity are his later followers, all of whom belong to the Shādhiliyya order, who also seem to have the same perception of al-Shushtarī. Moreover, perhaps those who made this attribution were not referring solely to unity and annihilation, but rather to the paths of *mujāhada* (especially the issue of *tajrīd*), that lead to annihilation, as well as to the definition and nature of the person who experiences it, all within the framework of the Shushtarī school of thought. This is one of the questions that we will address in the following chapter.

tonally and emphatically stronger, and perhaps even more conscious in al-Shushtarī. See al-Shushtarī, *al-Risāla al-qadamiyya*, 50a.

³⁸⁴ For the relevant statements, see al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 19, 163, 230.

³⁸⁵ Ibn ‘Ajība states that the state of annihilation definitely leads to the state of permanence. And for this situation, he gives as examples those like al-Shushtarī who are shaykhs of spiritual training (*shaykh al-tarbiya*). He indicates that al-Shushtarī was probably in a state of intoxication when uttering these poems, and that he later completed this state. Therefore, according to him, al-Shushtarī transcended the state of annihilation. Nevertheless, this too should be approached with caution, because Ibn ‘Ajība states his good opinion (*ḥusn al-zann*) of such figures in the introduction to [his commentary on] the *Nūniyya qaṣīda*. So, it can be the result of this perception. See Ibn ‘Ajība, “*Sharḥ ba‘ḍ muqtaṭa‘āt*,” 310; Ibn ‘Ajība, *Sharḥ Nūniyyat al-Shushtarī*, 48-52.

³⁸⁶ According to al-Būzīdī, al-Ḥallāj, because he spoke excessively about the knowledge of reality he had attained, lost the actual disposition (*al-taṣarruf al-fī ‘lī*) of these manifestations. In this context, comparing him with Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī, and ‘Alī al-Jamal; al-Būzīdī states that they did not speak about these manifestations, but actualized their dispositions through action, and thus they attained divinely imparted knowledge (*‘ilm ladunnī*). See al-Būzīdī, *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*, 211-212.

CHAPTER V

THE METHOD OF *MUJĀHADA*

5.1. A Renewal Within the Shādhilī Order: *Tajrīd* as a Radical Interpretation of Spiritual Poverty (*Faqr*)

The concept that encapsulates ‘Alī al-Jamal’s understanding of spiritual striving (*mujāhada*) is the term *tajrīd*. Whether through the concept itself or the clusters of meaning it encompasses *tajrīd* is the most frequently repeated theme throughout his book. The entire structure appears to revolve around this concept.

Our initial observation is that this concept gradually evolves into a broader meaning, that encompasses its previous usages. For this reason, instead of beginning with dictionary definitions or surveying its usage in classical Sufi works and the early to middle Shādhilī tradition, we choose to focus on how al-Jamal himself understood the concept. In other words, we find it appropriate to derive the hermeneutical keys (*al-mafātih al-qirā’iyya*)³⁸⁷ from the author himself and read his work accordingly.

Given that the era in which our subject lived is often examined under headings such as “Neo-Sufism” and “renewal” in the Islamic tradition and considering that he genuinely offers original interpretations not only of this central concept but of others as well, such a reading is consistent with the nature of this work, its historical period, and the nature of academic inquiry. To do otherwise would be to reduce or confine

³⁸⁷ Shaqīqa Wā’il has employed this concept in the manner we have described in her study on al-Niffarī. She complains of the problem of not reading each figure on their own terms. For instance, she argues that reading al-Niffarī through the lens of Ibn ‘Arabī is an injustice to the author, and that Ibn ‘Arabī’s instrumentalization of al-Niffarī’s term *mawqif* within his own Sufi hermeneutic (in his thought on the *barzakh*) is something entirely separate from al-Niffarī’s own philosophy in which he established the term. To understand an author, the hermeneutical keys must be derived from the usages within their own works, without disregarding the significations of the language and the Sufi heritage. See Shaqīqa Wā’il, “al-Lugha, al-tajriba, al-naṣṣ: Qirā’a onto-dalāliyya li-l-naṣṣ al-Niffarī” (PhD diss., American University of Beirut, 2016), 7–10, 88–100, 254–59, 311.

him to the dictionary definitions or to the understanding of other Sufis, which would be an injustice to the intellectual world of the figure under study.

After examining the concept internally and clarifying its meaning, we will then compare it with the understanding of other shaykhs in the Shādhilī tradition, particularly those he himself cited. In this respect, our study will first present the contexts in which the concept of *tajrīd* is used, organized according to a logical classification. Subsequently, we will analyze how the author reinterprets other related concepts and themes in connection with this central concept. Following this, the evidence he provides on the matter will be examined. Finally, the practical applications of *tajrīd* will then be discussed under a separate heading.

5.1.1. The Meanings of Tajrīd

Al-Jamal, in the context of *tajrīd* emphasizes five interconnected phrases: disciplining the self within *jalāl*, ruining the exterior (*takhrīb*), humiliation (*dhilla*), the extraordinary (*kharq al-‘awā'id*), and the impossible (*muḥāl*). First, to understand his conception of *tajrīd*, these phrases will be examined in order.

5.1.1.1. Tajrīd as Discipline by Jalāl and the Ruin of the Exterior

Since the foundation of ‘Alī al-Jamal’s philosophy is the idea that things subsist through their opposites, one who is not disciplined by the *jalāl* of the *sharī‘a* in the beginning cannot attain the *jamāl* of the *ḥaqīqa* in the end. A decrease in the sensory realm (*ḥissiyyāt*) brings about an increase in the intelligible (*ma‘ānī*), and conversely a decrease in the intelligible leads to an increase in the sensory. Therefore, whoever seeks to grow in the intelligible must “ruin” their sensory or exterior aspect. In this regard he refers many times a saying by Abū al-Mawāhib al-Tūnisī,³⁸⁸ the author of the *Qawānīn*: “Whoever claims to have witnessed *jamāl* before being disciplined by *jalāl*, reject him, for he is a *dajjāl*.”³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ About him see al-Tāzī, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, 152-155.

³⁸⁹ Al-Darqāwī states that al-Jamal was repeating this sentence frequently. See al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 162; For this saying, see Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Mawāhib al-Shādhilī, *Qawānīn ḥikam al-ishrāq ilā kāffat al-ṣūfiyya bi-jamāl al-āfāq*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm b. Ḥusayn (Dār al-Hady li-l-Turāth, 1998), 48.

According to al-Jamal, the substance of the heart is luminous (*nūrānī*), while that of the body is dark (*ẓulmānī*), when one is strengthened, the other diminishes or faces complete effacement. Since the human heart by its nature cannot bear two orientations at once (either sensory or intelligible), one must take a stance in favor of one. The interior dominates the exterior, and the heart dominates the body. Indeed, the Prophet has said: “Beware! There is a piece of flesh in the body which, if it is sound, the whole body is sound, and if it is corrupt, the whole body is corrupt. Truly, it is the heart.”³⁹⁰ And in a *ḥadīth qudsī* it is said: “I cannot be contained in My heavens or My earth, but I am contained in the heart of My believing servant.”³⁹¹

Al-Jamal uses the word “essence” (*dhāt*) to signify *jalāl* and states that the *dhāt* is a necessary prerequisite for attaining the attributes (*ṣifāt*), which correspond to *jamāl*.³⁹² According to him, this is why his path is also called the “path of the essence” (*ṭarīqat al-dhāt*).³⁹³

The discipline of *jalāl* is named *tajrīd* because just as silver is purified of all dross when melted in fire, the disciple who adopts this path is purified of all their blemishes and deficiencies. In this sense, *tajrīd* entails the renunciation of the sensory in favor of the intelligible.³⁹⁴ The foundation of this thought of al-Jamal’s stems from his view of the sensory is a merely branch (*farʿ*), while the intelligible is the root (*aṣl*), and thus the former must subordinate to the latter. Likewise, he considers the attribute of *jalāl* to be essential (*aṣlī*) and the attribute of *jamāl* to be accidental (*ʿarīḍī*) in the sensory realm, while in the intelligible realm, he sees *jamāl* is essential and *jalāl* is accidental.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁰ For this narration see al-Bukhārī, *Īmān*, 39; Muslim, *Musāqāt*, 107.

³⁹¹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 51, 78, 88, 99–100, 199, 205, 237, 239, 272, 318–19. For this narration see al-ʿAjlūnī, *Kashf al-khafāʾ*, no. 2256.

³⁹² For the places where he uses the words *dhāt* and *ṣifāt* in these senses, see al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 150, 156, 279–82. Ibn ʿAjība also states that ʿAlī al-Jamal used *dhāt* in the sense of *jalāl* and *ṣifāt* in the sense of *jamāl*, and that he does not know if such a usage existed before him. See Ibn ʿAjība, *The Book of Ascension*, 62–63.

³⁹³ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 69, 348.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 211, 316.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 18, 124, 135, 229, 255, 358. Since ʿAlī al-Jamal believes God is both al-Jamāl and al-Jalīl, and that He created existence based on both the sensory and the intelligible, he does not negate any of these in an absolute sense. Instead, he argues for the necessity of knowing the rules established by God within the hierarchy of being and acting accordingly, giving each aspect its due right. He even states that the categorizations and distinctions he makes are relative to what is dominant and ascendant, and that despite this, the opposite of the dominant quality continues to exist, albeit to a lesser degree. Indeed, he says that the two opposites enter into a complementary relationship, where the absence of one would

Therefore, in ‘Alī al-Jamal’s thought, an understanding is developed based on the opposition between the exterior and the interior. The superiority of the interior is asserted, and as a condition for reaching the ultimate stations, and the “ruining” of the exterior -that is, being disciplined by *jalāl*- is presented as a necessary condition for attaining the highest spiritual stations.

5.1.1.2. Tajrīd in the Sense of Self-Abasement/Humiliation (Dhilla) as the Key to Spiritual Honor (‘Izz)

According to al-Jamal, one who truly wishes to be among the elite (*ahl al-khuṣūṣiyya*) must adopt the attribute of *dhilla*, for this is the key to their inner honor (‘*izz bāṭinī*). Like fire softens iron, *dhilla* acts as a spiritual fire.³⁹⁶ One who wishes to gain an honor greater than that of the common people must accept a humility lower than theirs. Inner spiritual openings (*futūḥāt*) increase or decrease in proportion to humility, and whether it is performed secretly or openly is also significant. Because the people of the exterior practice humiliation secretly, their openings remain secret; whereas the people of the interior practice it openly, their openings are great.³⁹⁷ True *dhilla* is outward *dhilla*, for inward *dhilla* is self-discontent. *Dhilla* is related to the attribute of servitude (‘*ubūdiyya*), where a servant’s inner honor corresponds to his *dhilla*.³⁹⁸

According to al-Jamal, existence emerged from below, which indicates the superiority of the “lower realities” (*ḥaqā’iq suflīyya*), that is, *dhilla*.³⁹⁹ God has placed His Greatest Name (*al-Isṁ al-A‘zam*) in *dhilla*; supplications made through it is immediately answered.⁴⁰⁰ According to him, the follower of this path is like a *Gnāwa*;

lead to the absence of the other. His view here is that the exterior should be characterized by *jalāl*, and the interior by *jamāl*, based on the idea that whatever one clings to in the exterior, its opposite will manifest in the interior. However, although he chooses this path for himself, he accepts the reality that God may manifest to some of His servants with *jamāl* externally and *jalāl* internally. Al-Jamal states that “The people of the outward (*ahl al-zāhir*), to them the Truth manifested with His awe and majesty, so they dedicated themselves to service and to ascending to His door. The people of the inward (*ahl al-bāṭin*), to them the Truth manifested with the attribute of *jamāl* and love (*maḥabba*). Their hearts became attached to Him, and they were lost in the sea of His witnessing, becoming intoxicated with the delicious wine of His proximity.” See *ibid.*, 78, 165, 192-193, 315.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 112.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 226, 228, 238.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 154, 227, 314.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 367.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 306. Al-Darqāwī relates that his shaykh, al-Jamal, told him: “If people knew the secrets and bounties in the state of neediness (*iḥtiyāj*), they would need nothing else. It is at the station of the Greatest Name (*al-Isṁ al-A‘zam*).” See al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 210, 270.

the blacker his color, the higher his value, and conversely, the whiter the less his value. The greater the degree of *dhilla*, the greater the person's spiritual gains.⁴⁰¹

The Jewish Ibn Sahl was asked: "Why do we find in your poems a sweetness that we do not find in the words of others?" He said: "Yes, because the words of others contain a single humiliation, that is, the humiliation of love. My words, however, contain two humiliations: the humiliation of love and the humiliation of being Jewish. For that reason, my words are sweeter than the words of others."⁴⁰²

5.1.1.3. Tajrīd in the Sense of Departing from the Customs of the People (Kharq Al-ʿAwā'id or Muḥāl)

The concept of the "extraordinary" (*kharq al-ʿawā'id*), in ʿAlī al-Jamal's thought does not appear in its customary and widespread usage in the science of *kalām* -related to phenomena such as miracles (*mu'jiza*) and *karāma*- but rather in a sense consistent with the word's etymological/original meaning. This meaning is to break with the customs of the common people. According to him, every prophet -and every spiritual guide, *murabbī*- has, in fact, broken the customs of the society to which he was sent.⁴⁰³ In this sense, he follows their path. The common people are bound in the prison of custom. And only those elite servants, those whom God wills, are able to break free from these customs, either through the guidance of a realized shaykh (*sūlūk*) or by the force of overpowering *jadhba*.⁴⁰⁴ Any magnificence (*ʿaẓama* or *kibriyā*) that manifests in a person reflects their custom from the "realm of primordality" (*bilād al-awwaliyya*), which has no beginning. In contrast, any weakness, lowliness, or poverty that appears in them is, in this respect, a break from that primordial custom. While most people continue to live according to these initial customs, those who break them are very few because breaking them is extremely burdensome to the *nafs*.

One who continues on their way with customs remains in the circle of the common people, whereas one who goes outside of custom enters the ranks of the elite. While

⁴⁰¹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 330. Although the word *Gnāwa* is known today as a musical genre identified with Morocco, it was previously used for black slaves. See Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco: A history of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (Cambridge University Press: 2013), 270-296; Chouki El Hamel, "Gnāwa" in *Encyclopedia of Islam Three Online* ed. K. Fleet, G. Krämer, D. Matringe, J. Nawas and D. J. Stewart (Leiden: Brill, 2018) https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_27488

⁴⁰² al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 358.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 118.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 346.

breaking with custom is something astonishing in the view of the common people, custom itself is something astonishing in the view of the elite. Whichever of these two paths a person's spiritual aspiration inclines toward, that is what they will find before them.⁴⁰⁵ The people of custom are the people of exterior worship and the people of proof and demonstration (*dalīl wa burhān*), whereas the people of the extraordinary are the people of spiritual worship and of witnessing and direct vision. The degree to which one actualizes the breaking of custom is the degree to which spiritual increase (*ziyāda*) manifests.⁴⁰⁶ As he reports from his shaykh, "As long as the servant engages with the impossible (*muḥāl*) just as the common people engage with custom, God rejoices in him as a woman rejoices in her son on his wedding night."⁴⁰⁷

Consequently, the concept of the impossible is also used synonymously with the extraordinary, in the sense of departing from the habits of the common people, as al-Jamal states "For this reason, only the impossible is befitting for the follower of this path... its meaning is to outwardly exit the customs of the common people; in their words, their deeds, and their states. This state is named *tajrīd* by the people of the path, and it holds the station of the elixir."⁴⁰⁸ Here, al-Jamal also recommends departing from custom even in the matter of *dhilla*, because accustomed *dhilla* transforms into 'izz. For example, since everyone -including the non-believer- partakes in the *dhilla* shown towards God, it is necessary to break from this custom by showing *dhilla* towards His servants.⁴⁰⁹ According to him, everything that is a custom of the people is *sharī'a*. A *ḥaqīqa* is a *ḥaqīqa* before people become accustomed to it. When they become accustomed to it, it becomes *sharī'a*.

Therefore, when a *ḥaqīqa* transforms into *sharī'a*, the wayfarer on this path must replace it with another reality, that is, turn towards a new extraordinary state. He interprets Būṣīrī's saying, "If the *nafs* finds the pasture sweet, do not let it graze," in this sense, according to the understanding he received from his shaykh, al-ʿArabī. The weakening of spiritual increase can only be remedied by this medicine.⁴¹⁰ The gnostics,

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 305

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 60, 137.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 219.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., 233.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 293.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 130.

the moment they realize that servitude has become a custom -that is, that *jalāl* has transformed into *jamāl*- turn towards its opposite (a new extraordinary state). They have adopted this method so that their journey may be continuous and their need for God may persist, because “The gnostic’s neediness [for God] does not cease, nor does he find rest with other-than-God.”⁴¹¹ According to ‘Alī al-Jamal, who states that he himself practiced in this manner, the people of the exterior, through their acts of worship, are also breaking the customs of existence. However, the real issue is to break the customs of the *nafs*, as the people of the interior do. For breaking the customs of existence (since this has become a custom for everyone) unites a person with the people, whereas the other unites one with the Truth.

5.1.2. Why Did ‘Alī Al-Jamal Choose the Path of Tajrīd?

The reason for ‘Alī al-Jamal’s choice of the path of *tajrīd*, in the sense we have outlined so far, is that many dervishes of his time used the Sufī path for reasons such as attaining status (*maqām*), leadership (*riyāsa*), fame (*shuhra*), love of the world (*ḥubb al-dunyā*), and gaining prestige in the eyes of the people, and because they inverted the realities of this path for their own benefit. For this reason, he resorted to practicing radical applications that we can consider a form of renewal within the order:

This is in contrast to many of the dervishes of the day; the love of status, the love of the world, the love of appearance, and the love of leadership have destroyed them. They thought that inward humiliation, as a word and intention, was what was required of them, and they stopped there, whereas the matter is the opposite. When the affair became difficult for them due to the dominance of their souls, they were unable to move them from their familiar worlds and natures—out of pity for their souls and for fear of their honor (*murū’a*) falling in the eyes of the people. This led them to invert the realities of knowledge, in that they made the required humiliation—which is outward and manifest—something inward and hidden. They used this to attract the acceptance of the people, to magnify their status and honor, and to accumulate the world and its dirhams, one upon the other. In doing so, they led their own souls astray from the path of right guidance and led astray the common people who followed them. They did not know that turning towards creation is to turn away and depart from the Truth... What a great loss it is for one who adorns himself with the attire of those affiliated with God, while intending by it only the acceptance of the people, status, leadership over them, the accumulation of the world, the spreading of his fame, and the raising of his esteem in the eyes of governors and the leaders of the people of the world. He becomes content with this and accepts it in place of the honor that is with God and the independence that comes through Him from all else. God says: “Say, [O Muhammad], ‘Shall we inform you of the greatest losers as to [their] deeds? [They are] those whose effort is lost in worldly life, while they think that they are doing well in work. (Q 18:103-105)’”⁴¹²

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 94, 137.

⁴¹² Ibid., 154.

A second reason, connected to the first, is that al-Jamal had worked in the *Makhzan* and his desire to break the greatness created in his self by this political and prestigious past. A third, along with this, is the testing and realization of loyalty.⁴¹³ A fourth, as we will discuss under a separate heading later, is to conceal his own state from others through these practices, that is, a type of *malāma* understanding.⁴¹⁴

5.1.3. Practical Applications of Tajrīd

The practices of *tajrīd* will be examined in detail later under a separate heading. However, for a holistic understanding of the subject, it is appropriate to touch upon them briefly in this section where the theoretical framework is discussed.

As for the practical applications of *tajrīd*, that is, what al-Jamal recommends in real terms, for instance, he views silence as an exterior *jalāl*, while speech is its opposite, an exterior *jamāl*. Similarly, to withdraw from clothes, to wear ragged clothes, or to walk barefoot are all exterior *jalāl*; conversely, to wear clothes, to dress elegantly, and to wear shoes are their opposites in *jamāl*. Seclusion from people is *jalāl*, while being together with them is *jamāl*.⁴¹⁵ Other practices of *tajrīd* that he relates (inheriting from his shaykh as an idea) are as follows: mendicancy (*si'āya*), hunger, journeying (*siyāḥa*), giving water to the people, wandering in the markets with a tambourine (*bandīr*), speaking with people one encounters -whether elite or common- and incensing people with frankincense (*bakhūr*) without asking for payment.⁴¹⁶

5.1.4. Reinterpreting Sufi Concepts Through Tajrīd

‘Alī al-Jamal seeks to integrate certain Sufi concepts into the framework of meanings he assigns to *tajrīd* and interpreting them within a parallel context. Identifying these concepts, where they appear in his book, will allow them to be considered under the

⁴¹³ Ibid., 294, 311; al-Hawwāt, *al-Rawḍa al-maqṣūda*, 470; Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 446; al-Ghumārī, *al-Mu’zin*, 166.

⁴¹⁴ Mawlāy al-‘Arabī al-Darqāwī, “Rasā’il Ukhṛā” in *al-Imām Mawlāy al-‘Arabī al-Darqāwī* ed. and coll. Muḥammad al-Tamsamānī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2007), 169.

⁴¹⁵ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 56, 65, 315.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 294.

master-concept of *tajrīd*, providing us with a hermeneutical key for understanding al-Jamal and adding new dimensions to this matter.

For instance, al-Jamal associates the concept of union with custom, and the concept of separation with the breaking of custom. According to him, the outward must reflect separation, the extraordinary, and darkness, so that the inward may be characterized by union, light, and the witnessing of God may be realized. A heart that is outwardly in a state of custom and inwardly in a state of the extraordinary is not competent to witness Him.⁴¹⁷ Similarly, according to him, *dhilla* in the exterior is related to annihilation and *jalāl*, and as a result, permanence, that is, *‘izz* and *jamāl*, is unveiled in the interior.⁴¹⁸

What is considered right (*ma ‘rūf*) by the common people is that which is good, and what is reprehensible (*munkar*) is that which they deem ugly. In the view of the elite (*khawāṣṣ*), however, everything that unites them with God is *ma ‘rūf*, even if it appears to the commonality as *munkar* or ugly.⁴¹⁹ His interpretation of goodness (*khayr*) and evil (*sharr*) is of the same kind. For the perfected gnostics, just as goodness is beneficial, so too is evil, because they are occupied with God in every state.⁴²⁰ Servitude (*‘ubūdiyya*) is everything lowly (*sufīlī*) and humble (*dhalīl*), whereas Lordship (*rubūbiyya*) / freedom (*hurriyya*) is everything lofty (*‘ulwī*) and honorable (*‘azīz*).⁴²¹ Attributes of perfection are hidden within attributes of imperfection; all is perfection. In what appears as corruption (*fasād*), there is goodness (*ṣalāh*), for God is *al-Jamīl* and all that He creates is beautiful.⁴²² Consequently, ‘Alī al-Jamal’s favorable view of embracing things that the common people see as humiliation, corruption, reprehensible, or evil is due to his considering the divine attributes of Beauty and Perfection as fundamental. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī said: “If you attribute every ugly thing to His beauty, the meanings of beauty will come to you in it, hastening.”

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 188.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 228.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 209.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 35, 55, 210-211.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 65, 153, 154, 168-169.

⁴²² Ibid., 298.

Al-Jamal reinterprets *sharī‘a-ḥaqīqa* in the regard of *tajrīd*, as mentioned before. According to him, everything that is a custom of the people is *sharī‘a*. A *ḥaqīqa* is a *ḥaqīqa* before people become accustomed to it. When they become accustomed to it, it becomes *sharī‘a*.⁴²³

He also interprets the concept of *jadhba* contrary to its accustomed usage in Sufi literature, understanding it as breaking with or being pulled away from customs. This *jadhba* requires a spiritual path (*sulūk*) and a shaykh to guide it:

The *majdhūbs* of the commonality -who are the people of the exterior- are the people of sovereignty and leadership. It is through *jadhba* that they have attained sovereignty over the common people. *Jadhba* is to depart from the customs of the commonality. Had they not departed from the customs of the commonality, they would not have attained sovereignty over them. The *majdhūbs* of the elite -who are the people of the interior- are the people of *tajrīd*, sovereignty, and leadership over the elite of the people, who are the righteous. *Tajrīd* in the context of the elite is to depart from the customs of the elite. Had they not departed from the customs of the elite, they would not have attained sovereignty over them. Thus, the sovereigns of the commonality are the *majdhūbs* of the commonality, and the sovereigns of the elite are the *majdhūbs* of the elite. The reality of *jadhba* is to depart from customs, and for this, you indispensably need a shaykh to show you its path. And success is from God.⁴²⁴

5.1.5. The Classification of *Tajrīd* and the Purpose of It

‘Alī al-Jamal divides *tajrīd* into two types: outward *tajrīd* and inward *tajrīd*.⁴²⁵ While outward *tajrīd* consists of “ruining” the exterior in a sensory manner and departing from the customs of the people, inward *tajrīd* is actualized by purifying the heart of all that is other-than-God.⁴²⁶ In this context, he cites a poem from al-Shushtarī:

*I have a beloved who is ever so jealous
You see him hovering in my heart like a timid bird
If he sees anything [else] in my heart, he refrains from visiting.*⁴²⁷

⁴²³ Ibid., 94.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 124-125.

⁴²⁵ Ibn ‘Ajība also makes the same classification. See Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 145–49.

⁴²⁶ Al-Darqāwī makes the same distinction, and after stating that this path is the path of the Prophet and his companions, he says that his shaykh, ‘Alī al-Jamal, united both paths. See al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 292.

⁴²⁷ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 221. Here, ‘Alī al-Jamal tells of a man who secludes himself in a cave. One day, to overcome his loneliness, he approaches a tree in front of the cave to listen to the sound of a bird. For this, he is veiled from his spiritual station for forty days. Al-Jamal presents this story as an example of inward *tajrīd*, in the context of not allowing anything other than God into one’s heart. See Ibid., 221. This story is also similar to an incident experienced by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, which also took place in a cave. al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā‘if al-minan*, 69.

This distinction al-Jamal makes is of great importance to fully grasp his idea of *tajrīd*, as it indicates that the primary purpose of “ruining” the exterior is to purify the heart from other existences.⁴²⁸ Outward *tajrīd* alone is not sufficient, because many an arrogant person may wear a patched cloak and many a humble person may wear fine garments. The world can enter the spiritual poverty (*faqr*) of many a disciple (*faqīr*). The true ascetic may not perform these practices that oppose the outward customs of the people, but for him, the presence and absence of the world are equal; he finds God in both its coming (*iqbāl*) and its going (*idbār*).⁴²⁹

Likewise, he learned and related from his shaykh, when the heart of a wayfarer on this path has reached and is content with Him, possessing thousands of dinars does no harm; on the contrary, it may even be of benefit. This is for the perfected one (*muntahī*). The novice disciple, however, must turn away from the world and its people, refrain from speaking of it, to the extent that the world becomes like a corpse in his eyes.⁴³⁰

The perfected one, having emerged from the hardships of the beginnings and become firmly established in perfection, can unite both spiritual and material increase.⁴³¹ In this sense, he can milk the one that is to be milked and take its milk; but he can leave the one that is squeezed (or rebellious) and remain safe.⁴³² His relationship with the world and its people is on the basis of jest (*muzāḥ*). For the perfected ones, once they have reached their Lord, ascent and descent are the same in their eyes. It matters not whether their exterior or their interior is strengthened. As al-Shādhilī said, “O God, make me a servant to You in all states,” the purpose in every state is to find God.⁴³³ In this sense, the world that is censured for the novice is in a different state for the perfected.⁴³⁴

⁴²⁸ To observe the same theme, see also al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 136.

⁴²⁹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 65, 285–86, 363–364; al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 95, 132. For a similar distinction, see Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī, *Tāj al-‘arūs al-ḥāwī li-tahdhīb al-nufūs*; ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2005), 11; al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 179–80.

⁴³⁰ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 194.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 118–119.

⁴³² Ibid., 352.

⁴³³ Ibid., 53, 188. ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh expressed the same meaning, saying: “He who directs you to the world has deceived you. He who directs you only to action has exhausted you. He who directs you to God has been sincere to you.” Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 232.

⁴³⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 238.

We can understand that the ultimate purpose is not these practices themselves but the gnosis (*maʿrifā*) of God from the distinction al-Jamal makes between the ascetic and the gnostic. According to this distinction, the ascetics view their selves as enemies because they labor under the illusion of its co-existence with God; this very illusion becomes their veil and the source of their hardship and fatigue. The gnostics, on the other hand, because they see nothing other than God—including in their own selves—their selves become beloved to them and are purified of all defects. They are united with their Beloved, and direct vision has been realized.⁴³⁵ For this reason, because they see God as al-Jamīl, as mentioned before, their selves and this world are not enemies, and therefore the practices of *tajrīd* are not a hardship for them, nor are they an end in themselves.

Know, my brother, that the ascetics, may God be pleased with them, renounced their own selves because they saw them as their fiercest enemies. This is because they imagine their existence alongside Him, and by that very illusion they are veiled from Him. Thus they fell into the most severe hardship and toil, wandering lost in the struggle against the darkness of the veil, because they witness their own selves. And whoever witnesses his self is veiled from his Lord, and whoever witnesses his Lord is veiled from his self. It is impossible to witness Him and to witness other-than-Him alongside Him. As for the gnostics, may God be pleased with them, they are immersed in the sea of His witnessing, to the point that they witness nothing in existence but Him. They witnessed God in their own selves, and so their selves became the most beloved of beloveds to them, because the gnostic of his Lord is the gnostic of his self. He became the seeker and the sought, the lover and the beloved, purified of all defects. God was, and there was nothing with Him, and He is now as He ever was. If your transaction with the Beloved were sound, your fiercest enemy would become a beloved to you...⁴³⁶

As a result, the “ruining” of the exterior or sensory signifies self-gnosis (*maʿrifat al-naḥs*); self-gnosis signifies the gnosis of God (*maʿrifat Allāh*). As the exterior is ruined or darkened, the lights in the heart are strengthened, the secrets of the celestial (*ʿulwī*) and terrestrial (*sufī*) spiritual realms (*malakūt*) are unveiled, and one attains intimacy (*unsiyya*) with the Beloved in the “garden of *Jamāl*” is attained.⁴³⁷ In this respect, the primary purpose of the method of *tajrīd* is the realization of gnosis and witnessing. According to al-Jamal, the people of the Shādhilī order first proceed to *dhilla*, from *it*

⁴³⁵ For a similar attitude, see al-Iskandarī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, 38–39.

⁴³⁶ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 353. For this reason, the true ascetics in this sense are the gnostics. See *ibid.*, 364. These statements and interpretations seem to be a direct commentary on an aphorism from Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh. That aphorism is as follows: “The devotees (*al-ʿubbād*) and the ascetics (*al-zuhhād*) are alienated from everything only because of their absence from God in everything. For had they contemplated Him in everything, they would not have been alienated from anything!” Ibn ʿAṭāʾ illāh, *Sufī Aphorisms (Kitāb al-Ḥikam)*, trans. Victor Danner (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 40; Ibn ʿAṭāʾ illāh al-Iskandarī, “Ḥikam,” in Paul Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie šāḍilite* (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 2007), 133.

⁴³⁷ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 69, 308–309.

to ‘izz, and then, departing from both, they reach their Lord. Thereafter, with steadiness and certainty, they return to the people and continue to journey through the stations of certainty.⁴³⁸

However, as will be discussed in detail later, the point where al-Jamal—who states that the ideal is to unite outward and inward *tajrīd*⁴³⁹ and that the purpose of outward *tajrīd* is to attain inward *tajrīd*—diverges from the general Shādhilī tradition is his positing of outward *tajrīd* as an indispensable foundation. According to him, inward *tajrīd* alone is not sufficient; rather, outward *tajrīd* (and consequently some Malāmātī practices) is also necessary. Inward *tajrīd* by itself yields no benefit, nor can judgment be based upon it. He states, “We have been commanded to judge by the exterior, and God is the one who knows what is in the hearts.”⁴⁴⁰

5.1.6. As a Conclusion of the Theoretical Framework

In conclusion, for ‘Alī al-Jamal, the concept of *tajrīd* primarily signifies the exterior’s embodiment of *jalāl*, humiliation (*dhilla*), the extraordinary (*kharq al-‘awā’id*), and the impossible (*muḥāl*), and a departure from the customs of the common people. As summarized by his shaykh, al-‘Arabī, it is to completely oppose the people in those permissible (*mubāḥ*) acts for which there is neither punishment for their commission nor for their omission.⁴⁴¹

It is not, therefore, renunciation of worldly occupations (*asbāb*) as defined in the early *zuhd* movement, later classical Sufī works, or the early Shādhilī order⁴⁴²; on the

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 194.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 186.

⁴⁴⁰ See ibid., 154, 192, 248; al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 228.

⁴⁴¹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 312.

⁴⁴² For these usages, see Abū Hāmid Farīd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm-i Nīsābūrī ‘Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā’*, trans. Muḥammad al-Asīlī al-Wāsiṭī al-Shāfi‘ī, ed. Muḥammad Adīb al-Jādīr (Damascus: Dār al-Maktabī, 2009), 452, 785, 795, 797; Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Bukhārī al-Kalābādhī, *al-Ta‘arruf li-madhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2001), 131; Abū Naṣr ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Sarrāj, *The Kitāb al-Luma‘ fi’l-Tasawwuf*, ed. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (Leiden: Brill, 1914), 348–49. Within the Shādhilī tradition, for instance, Aḥmad Zarrūq has defined *tajrīd* in this manner (renunciation of worldly occupations). The Egyptian scholar al-Taftāzānī, known for his studies on the Shādhilī order, has also stated that the meaning in the works of Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh is of this nature. See Aḥmad Zarrūq, *al-Ḥikam al-‘Aṭā’iyya bi-sharḥi Zarrūq*, ed. ‘Abd al-Halīm Maḥmūd (Cairo: Dār al-Sha‘b, 1985), 26; Abū al-Wafā al-Taftāzānī, *Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Sakandarī wa-taṣawwufuhū* (Cairo, 1958), 172.

contrary, in al-Jamal's understanding, *tajrīd* necessitates being among the people, as it requires opposing their customs and being humiliated before them. For him, the world is a beautiful manifestation of God, the Beautiful, and is praised as a means leading to Him.⁴⁴³

The practice he advocates stems not from viewing the *nafs* and the world as evil and disciplining them with harshness, but rather from the notion of opposing the customs of the people and displaying humiliation; it is through this path that the *nafs* is trained.⁴⁴⁴ The thing from which one practices *tajrīd* is not worldly occupations -for, as will be discussed later, permanent seclusion is not viewed favorably- but rather the customs of the people.⁴⁴⁵ Even when he positions *tajrīd* opposite to causes (*asbāb*), and even if we take its dictionary meaning as abstraction, the “causes” from which one is to be abstracted are not worldly occupations but the sensory and intelligible customs that unite one with the commonality.⁴⁴⁶

This is its primary meaning; sometimes, he uses it secondarily in its classical sense as the opposite of worldly engagement (*tasabbub/asbāb*).⁴⁴⁷ However, the meaning in such usages (in the classical sense) is not outward *tajrīd* but inward *tajrīd*, in the sense of removing the world from the heart.

⁴⁴³ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 298.

⁴⁴⁴ According to ‘Alī al-Jamal, if the *nafs* is disciplined, one must follow it; if it is undisciplined, one must oppose it. It is sometimes an enemy and sometimes a beloved. If it is disciplined, transforms into a beloved, and is freed from its darkness, it is named spirit (*rūḥ*). Therefore, it is not a matter of viewing it as absolutely evil; rather, there is a perspective according to its changing states. “Whoever is an enemy to his *nafs* obtains the acceptance of the people. Whoever is faithful to his *nafs* by correcting it, attains the acceptance of the Exalted Lord. To be faithful to the *nafs* is to enter the company of a gnostic, if one finds one... Man is an enemy to what he does not know.” Also, his statement, “As for the gnostics, may God be pleased with them, they are engrossed in the sea of His witnessing, to the point that they witness nothing in existence but Him. They witnessed God in their own selves, and so their selves became the most beloved of beloveds to them,” is a manifestation of this view. For all the contexts we have mentioned on this subject, see *ibid.*, 142, 172, 241, 266, 281, 311, 353.

⁴⁴⁵ Al-Darqāwī states that one of the features that distinguished them from some previous people of *tajrīd* was not going to the mountains and caves by withdrawing from the people but rather wandering in the markets. See al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 226.

⁴⁴⁶ Sensory customs include such things as excessive eating, sleeping, dressing, and speaking. Spiritual customs, on the other hand, include things like the love of status, pride, and anxiety over sustenance. To break with these customs is to embody their opposites. See Ibn ‘Ajība, *Īqāz al-himam*, 256–57.

⁴⁴⁷ Despite this being the case, D. Khālīd’s reading of the early figures and the entire Shādhilī tradition through the usages of names like ‘Alī al-Jamal, al-Darqāwī, al-Būzīdī, and Ibn ‘Ajība, and his concluding that they were against engagement with secondary causes (*tasabbub*), appears to be a prejudiced and reductionist approach. See Khālīd b. Nāṣir al-‘Utaybī, *al-Ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya: ‘arḍ wa naqd* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rashād, 2011), 4: 1597, 1842–49.

Al-Jamal's point of divergence is his assertion that inward *tajrīd* has no value without outward *tajrīd*, since people are judged only by their outward appearances. One gives credence to the state (*hāl*), not the speech (*maqāl*). Inward *tajrīd* can be anyone's claim, and according to al-Jamal's Sufi philosophy, true *tajrīd* is to oppose even this custom.⁴⁴⁸ Secondly, his divergence lies in the specific ascetic practices he puts forth for outward *tajrīd*. Here, we find it necessary to state that departing from customs is generally recommended within the framework of permissible (*mubāḥ*) acts, not forbidden (*ḥarām*) or *makrūh* ones. In the saying he brings from Imam Mālik, the ideal is to unite *ḥaqīqa* and the *sharī'a*.⁴⁴⁹ Considering the "extraordinary" meaning he attributes to the word *ḥaqīqa*, the boundaries of embodying this extraordinary state are determined by the *sharī'a*. The person who can do both together is "with God" both outwardly and inwardly.⁴⁵⁰

5.1.7. Tajrīd versus Asbāb

ʿAlī al-Jamal sometimes employs the concept of *tajrīd* in opposition to the term *asbāb*. However, this should not be perceived solely within the framework of earlier theological discussions, such as the debate over *kasb* versus *tawakkul*, nor as a simple withdrawal from worldly occupations.⁴⁵¹ Rather, it must be interpreted according to

⁴⁴⁸ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 154, 192, 248; al-Darqāwī, *Majmūʿat al-rasāʾil*, 102.228.

⁴⁴⁹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd* 294, 312; al-Darqāwī, *Majmūʿat al-rasāʾil*, 145, 240. Although this is the general advice given by both his shaykh, al-ʿArabī al-Andalusī, and himself, ʿAlī al-Jamal states elsewhere that just as consuming what is forbidden becomes permissible to save one's mortal life, so too, to prevent the death of the eternal life -that is, the heart- forbidden things become permissible if no other licit means are available. The gnostic he argues, can take sustenance from the "provision of disobedience" (*maʿṣiya*) and thereby illuminate their hearts. See al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 84.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 75, 179, 181.

⁴⁵¹ The early *zuhd* movement in the formative period of Sufism emerged as a reaction against excessive worldliness. The sacred texts were subjected to a new reading from this perspective, and the Sufis of this period adopted a stance of absolute trust in God in opposition to worldly earning (*kasb/asbāb*). As a result, in the areas where this worldliness (or corruption) was experienced -such as clothing, work, food and drink, housing, and social life- different practices were adopted that distinguished them from the common people. Later, criticisms arose against this, especially on theological and jurisprudential grounds, which pushed them (and, in a way, Sufism itself) outside the Sunni framework. In response, understandings that reconciled these two tendencies -by viewing one as a spiritual state and the other as the prophetic practice, or by making distinctions such as inward *zuhd* and outward *zuhd*- were developed, particularly by figures who produced what can be considered the first classics of the formative period of the science of Sufism, such as al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), al-Tirmidhī (d. 320/932), al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988), al-Kalābādhī (d. 380/990), and al-Hujwīrī (d. 465/1072). In fact, during this period, an independent literature written directly on this subject also emerged. See al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, *Bayān al-kasb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿAbd Allāh Baraka (Cairo: Majmaʿ al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyya; al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī, *al-Makāsib*, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad ʿAṭā (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1987). In these books, the sharp distinction between *tawakkul* and *kasb* was softened by making distinctions and gradations within them. The debate in question also developed in relation to

the specific philosophy of *tajrīd* outlined by al-Jamal himself. This is because *tajrīd*, in his thought, signifies an opposition to the outward customs of the people as much as to their inward, spiritual customs. The *ahl al-asbāb*, in contrast, are defined as those who conform to these material and spiritual customs.⁴⁵²

To understand the relationship between *tajrīd* and *asbāb* in al-Jamal's thought, the issues of sustenance (*rizq*) and remembrance (*dhikr*), which he gives as examples in this regard, will be examined in more detail. Because according to him, the *ahl al-asbāb* are occupied with two causes: one is for the nourishment of their spirits, which is the remembrance of God (*dhikr*). The other is for the nourishment of their bodies, which are the causes to which the people of the world resort. The people of *tajrīd*, however, have abstracted themselves from these anxieties, become independent of everything, and are occupied with intimate prayer (*munājāt*) to the Causer of causes and with witnessing. And God has become their guardian.⁴⁵³

A primary example of a spiritual custom being anxiety over sustenance.⁴⁵⁴ His constant emphasis on “anxiety” when discussing sustenance is evidence for this.⁴⁵⁵ The *ahl al-asbāb*, whom he sets in opposition, try to earn their livelihood by clinging to worldly means, but this is not the main point of divergence. Their point of divergence is the anxiety they exhibit in this matter and their illusion that their wealth is the result of their own efforts. The people of *tajrīd* are not against working either, but they have abstracted themselves from such anxieties⁴⁵⁶ and have entered into a state of complete

the theological discussions in *kalām* concerning whether human beings are free or determined in their actions, namely the debates on *kasb-jabr* and legal responsibility (*taklīf*). For details on the *kasb-tawakkul* debates of this period, see Hacı Bayram Başı, “Sünni Tasavvufun Teşekkül Sürecinde Şeriat-Hakikat İlişkisi Sorunu: Hicri 3. ve 4. Yüzyıllar” (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2015), 44–56; Dürdane Zeynep Tekmen, “Erken Dönem Tasavvufta Zühhd Anlayışı” (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2024).

⁴⁵² The use of the term *asbāb* in the sense of customs rather than worldly occupations also influenced later figures. For instance, Ibn ‘Ajība’s statement, “The shaykh commands seclusion for one whom he deems ready for it. And for one who has become accustomed to seclusion, he commands a return to the people,” indicates that they saw anything that becomes a custom (*‘āda*) as a *sabab*, and that if withdrawal from the world becomes a custom, this too is a state from which one must practice *tajrīd*. See Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 256.

⁴⁵³ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 107.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibn ‘Ajība also counts the fear of poverty and anxiety over sustenance among the spiritual customs. Ibn ‘Ajība, *İqāz al-himam*, 256.

⁴⁵⁵ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 210–211, 328, 331.

⁴⁵⁶ Elsewhere, he defines the *asbāb* as the “world of the self” and states that to exit from it (*tajrīd*) means to be with the Causer of these causes and to enter His world. This is also an example of his interpreting the word *asbāb*, which he places in opposition to *tajrīd*, as spiritual customs. See *ibid.*, 319–20.

trust (*tawakkul*) that God is the guarantor of these things.⁴⁵⁷ They trust in God's promise that "The sustenance of every living creature is upon God" (Q 11:6) and do not ask from anyone but Him. For them, true wealth is proximity to God and trust in Him. The *ahl al-asbāb*, on the other hand, can become distanced from *ḥaqīqa* by getting stuck on worldly causes. All these causes are veils (*ḥijābs*) stretched between them and the Truth. According to al-Jamal, God is capable of giving His servants crops without winter and satiating His creatures' bellies without food, and he states that there should be no anxiety over sustenance because He ordained and finalized everyone's sustenance in pre-eternity before creating existence.⁴⁵⁸

For al-Jamal, the honor of the *ahl al-asbāb* is proportional to the righteousness (*ṣalāh*) of their exterior; the more their outward righteousness and illumination increase, the more their inward corruption (*fāsād*) and ruin increase. In other words, their thinking that they are the ones providing sustenance -an act belonging to God, the absolute authority- and their not striving for spiritual sustenance is an expression of their spiritual ruin. For the people of *tajrīd*, however, the more corruption and ruin in their exteriors, the more illumination and righteousness in their hearts. That is, their opposing the customs of the people outwardly as well as inwardly -such as the custom of anxiety over sustenance- indicates that they are among the people of the elite. In this respect, even a lack of outward sustenance can be interpreted as a spiritual sustenance for them. In this sense, the more *tajrīd* is strengthened, the weaker the veil becomes. The more the causes are strengthened, the greater the veil becomes. And as the causes weaken, the veil also weakens and vanishes. This path of *tajrīd* is the true nourishment they seek.⁴⁵⁹ From this perspective, the people of *asbāb* are the people of

⁴⁵⁷ A classification made by 'Alī al-Jamal on this subject shows that he is not against working (*kasb*). According to him, God created spiritual sustenance (*rizq ma 'nawī*) for the soul and sensory sustenance (*rizq ḥissī*) for the body, and He commanded us to work for both. The common people have worked to obtain sensory sustenance and have been deprived of the spiritual, not knowing that its absence means the perishing of their souls. The elite, on the other hand, have worked for spiritual sustenance and have been deprived of the sensory, not knowing that its absence means the perishing of their bodies. The elite of the elite, however, have worked for both sensory and spiritual sustenance, have not attached their hearts to either, have reached to God (*wuṣūl*), and are with Him. Al-Jamal presents this third group as the ideal; therefore, he is not against *kasb*. See *ibid.*, 133–34. When considered in light of this classification, his elsewhere advising asceticism regarding sensory sustenance and stating that pursuing spiritual sustenance also brings sensory sustenance, appears not as a rejection of work, but as an approach that indicates the true point of occupation and recommends casting anxiety over sensory sustenance from the heart. See *ibid.*, 153. His statement that both *tajrīd* and engagement with *asbāb* are good and that the determining factor is the heart strengthens this interpretation. See *ibid.*, 220.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 22–23, 78, 220–221.

the *sharīʿa*, while the people of *tajrīd* are the people of *ḥaqāʾiq*. Considering that he gives the word *ḥaqīqa* the meaning of opposing the customs of the people, the meaning of this statement can be understood to mean that they are in a state of complete *tawakkul*, paying no heed to the general disposition of the masses, which anxiety regarding sustenance.

In these contexts, al-Jamal references a saying from the *Hikam*: “Your turning towards creation is your turning away from the Truth.” According to him, the people have no need of one’s good or evil, and therefore one must leave them to their Creator. God created humans for servitude, and for this reason, to be occupied with creation instead of the Creator is a form of hidden polytheism (*shirk khafī*). It is necessary to perform worship and not to harbor anxiety about sustenance. Those who choose this path of *tajrīd* are always with their Lord, whereas the *ahl al-asbāb* are always with creation.⁴⁶⁰ Here, al-Jamal again makes an interesting allusive interpretation (*ishārī*). He says, regarding the *ḥadīth qudsī*, “Whoever draws near to Me a hand’s span, I draw near to him a forearm’s length; and whoever draws near to Me a forearm’s length, I draw near to him an arm’s length,”⁴⁶¹ that sustenance is one of God’s attributes. He states that as one draws closer to God, that sustenance draws closer to the person, that creation is more in love with man than man is with it, and that one should not harbor anxiety over sustenance.⁴⁶²

As a second example of this issue, ‘Alī al-Jamal’s interpretation of *dhikr* itself as a “*sabab*” signifies his desire to break from the customs of his time, which included the dervishes. When we consider the stance of the elite of the elite, whom he presents as the ideal in his classification of *tajrīd* and *asbāb* -that is, the idea of working for both sensory and intelligible sustenance but not attaching the heart to either, and being primarily occupied with God- it can be perceived that he is not against *dhikr* as a form of spiritual nourishment. Rather, he is against it becoming an end in itself as a custom. According to him, the idea that *dhikr* in itself is the path that leads to God is a “cause” from which one must be liberated.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 149, 211. In this context, al-Jamal refers this Quranic verse “Enjoin prayer upon your family and be steadfast therein. We do not ask you for provision; We provide for you, and the [best] outcome is for [the ones of] righteousness” (Q 20:132).

⁴⁶¹ al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, 50; Muslim, *Dhikr*, 2675.

⁴⁶² al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 328.

Therefore, what al-Jamal opposes within his usage of *tajrīd* in this sense is not the *sabab* itself as is presented usually as a debate in old Sufi books; but its customary aspect both in the sustenance and *dhikr*, which is very coherent with his theoretical framework of *tajrīd*.

5.1.8. Comparison with Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh Al-Iskandarī

These contexts—drawing a line with secondary causes to abandon self-direction (*tadbīr*), to be in a state of complete trust in God, and to be free from anxiety over sustenance—that is, the realization of inward *tajrīd*—remind us of Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī. This is one of the central axes around which his Sufi philosophy revolves. The existence of his independent work about this subject, *al-Tanwīr fī isqāṭ al-tadbīr* (The Illumination on the Abandonment of Self-Direction) is evidence for this.⁴⁶³ In this sense, a brief comparison with him will reveal the differences or points of convergence between the early Shādhilī period and the tradition to which ‘Alī al-Jamal belonged in the 18th century. A second reason for specifically choosing Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh as a figure for comparison is the central role he played for ‘Alī al-Jamal and the Darqāwīyya,⁴⁶⁴ and the fact that he is the third most frequently cited figure by al-Jamal (forty-three times), after al-‘Arabī and al-Shushtarī.

In *al-Tanwīr*, Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh does not advocate for complete withdrawal from social life; the life of *tajrīd* he proposes is not in this sense. What he proposes is for the wayfarer to abandon the illusion of being in complete control of his life and the anxiety over the outcome of his actions, and to surrender authority in an absolute sense to God.⁴⁶⁵ The story he narrates in this regard has great importance:

I once went to Shaykh Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī. Within me was an intention towards *tajrīd*. I was saying to myself: It is difficult to reach God Almighty in this way, since I am occupied with exoteric knowledge (‘*ilm ṣāḥir*’) and mingling with people. [Shaykh al-Mursī], before I even asked a question, said to me: “I had a friend who was engaged in the exoteric sciences. He was quite advanced in this field. Then he tasted the sweetness of this path and came to me, saying, ‘My master, I will leave the state I am in and devote myself completely to your company.’ I told him, ‘That is not the issue. Remain in the state you are in. Your portion from

⁴⁶³ Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī, *al-Tanwīr fī isqāṭ al-tadbīr* (Damascus: Dār al-taqwā and Dār al-daḡā’iq, 2021).

⁴⁶⁴ Būkarī, *al-Ihyā’ wa-t-tajdīd*, 1:116–20.

⁴⁶⁵ For detailed information on this subject, see Özel, “İbn Ataullah el-İskenderi’nin Tasavvuf Felsefesi”, 72–112.

God that is with us will reach you.’ Then he [al-Mursī] said: ‘This is the state of the truthful ones (*ṣiddīqūn*). They remain in the state they are in unless God removes them from it.’ Thereupon, those thoughts that had occurred to my heart vanished, and I became content with the situation in which God had placed me.⁴⁶⁶

‘Alī al-Jamal’s idea on this matter—that many an arrogant person may wear a patched cloak and many a humble person may wear fine garments—and his making a distinction between outward and inward *tajrīd* and then indicating that the inward is the ultimate goal, that is, that the essential matter is the realization of unity and the gnosis of God, indicates that he is in agreement with Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh on this point. Another point of convergence is that sustenance, whether sought or not, is not dependent on causes and that provisions from God are purely His gift. That is, neither *tajrīd* nor *asbāb* are ends or principles in themselves. The point where they diverge is that al-Jamal generally recommends the path of *tajrīd* from causes and some practices that oppose the outward customs of common people to abandon self-direction and thus attain complete trust; whereas Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh draws a framework for the abandonment of self-direction without resorting to these practices.⁴⁶⁷

In fact, if we consider that al-Jamal recommends the matter of renouncing social life only for the novice and for a limited time, and that for the perfected, possessing thousands of dinars after having reached God does no harm but on the contrary may even be beneficial, and that in his division of seclusion -as will be discussed later- he places seclusion of the heart while being physically with the people at the highest level, it can be claimed that, apart from the specific practices of *tajrīd* al-Jamal mentions, he is in harmony with Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh. In other words, al-Jamal holds the same view on inward *tajrīd* -that is, on seeing only God in existence and perceiving the rest as illusion, and on assigning the source of action and choice and their results absolutely to God- which is, in a sense, the same as the abandonment of self-direction (*isqāṭ al-tadbīr*) and complete trust (*tawakkul*), contentment (*riḍā*), and entrustment (*tafwīd*) in Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh. The reason why both see *tajrīd* and engagement with causes (*tasabbub*) as a *ḥaqīqa*, yet one develops an understanding based on *tajrīd* and the

⁴⁶⁶ al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā’if al-minan*, 87. For similar statements by Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī, see *ibid.*, 89, 110, 154.

⁴⁶⁷ As with al-Jamal, in al-Darqāwī’s thought as well, there is an understanding that views *tajrīd* as superior to engagement with secondary causes (*tasabbub*) and interprets religious texts and early Shādhilī texts accordingly. For example, regarding how he interprets al-Iskandarī’s saying, “God loves the servant who has a craft/skill,” and related religious texts in this manner, see al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 162, 333.

other generally on *tasabbub*, may be that the former addresses a more limited audience,⁴⁶⁸ while the latter sees the general populace as its addressee.

Additionally, the aforementioned idea of al-Jamal's, that man was created only for servitude and must focus on his duty, leaving the matter of sustenance to God who is its master, exists in a similar fashion in al-Iskandarī:

[Regarding sustenance,] the state of one who exercises self-direction despite God is like this slave: His master sends him to a city to have a garment made. But when he enters the city, he thinks, 'Where will I stay, whom will I marry?' and he becomes preoccupied with these things, directs his attention to them, and disregards his master's command. Finally, his master summons him back and punishes him. His punishment is dismissal and veiling. You are the same, O believer! The Truth has sent you to this realm and commanded you to be occupied with His service there. In return, as a grace, He has taken upon Himself the self-direction on your behalf. If you are occupied there with your own self-direction instead of your master's right, you have deviated from the right path.⁴⁶⁹

As is understood from this quote, although Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh encourages engaging with causes, sustenance always and in every sense comes from God, and one should not harbor anxiety about it. It should also be noted that although Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh encourages engaging with causes, according to him, some servants whom God wills can be people of *tajrīd*, and they are superior.⁴⁷⁰ Therefore, the difference here from al-Jamal is that, with the intention of addressing the general populace, he developed an understanding based on engaging with causes rather than on *tajrīd*.⁴⁷¹ Al-Jamal, on the other hand, emphasized that the results are always in God's will and independent of our actions, yet he resorted to the practices of *tajrīd* because he wanted to separate from the general public and the Sufi masses and planned to produce a solution to the corruption they brought with this method.

To make an analogy, as we explained in the section on *tawhīd*, just as they see God as the Absolute Being and the rest of existence as illusion and falsehood but still ultimately attribute existence to it, here too there is a dual understanding that identifies

⁴⁶⁸ Al-Darqāwī's statement that both his shaykh, 'Alī al-Jamal, and he himself do not allow those who are not of this art to read their books is evidence that they addressed a limited audience. al-Darqāwī, *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, 405. We discussed the reasons for the small number of 'Alī al-Jamal's disciples in the third chapter where we narrated his biography. Reference can be made to that section.

⁴⁶⁹ al-Iskandarī, *Tāj al-arūs*, 36.

⁴⁷⁰ al-Iskandarī, "Ḥikam," 85. Al-Darqāwī also makes the same distinction and, after stating that this path is the path of the Prophet and his companions, says that his shaykh, 'Alī al-Jamal, united both paths. See al-Darqāwī, *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, 115.

⁴⁷¹ Özel, "İbn Ataullah el-İskenderi'nin Tasavvuf Felsefesi", 100.

causes as existing but also negates them in relation to God's will, choice, and decree. Al-Jamal advises the novice disciple to practice *tajrīd* from this thing that is non-existent yet appears to exist; for him, inward *tajrīd* alone is not sufficient, but rather outward *tajrīd* is indispensable.⁴⁷² Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh, on the other hand, deems it necessary to cling to these causes that are non-existent yet appear to exist, except for those whom God wills. Despite this, both are in agreement that the ultimate Creator provides sustenance independently of these, that is, on the essentiality of inward *tajrīd*. Nevertheless, let us state that while Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh uses the concept of *asbāb* as worldly occupations/affairs; in al-Jamal's philosophy, it is used as the exact opposite of *tajrīd* or departing from the customs of the people, in the sense of being subject to the customs of the people, including spiritual customs like anxiety over sustenance. Accordingly, what he calls *tajrīd* in these contexts is not the renunciation of the people and worldly occupations, but the abandonment of engagement with the world in the customary manner of the common people and the other dervishes he censures.

Thus far, we have examined the meaning of the concept of *tajrīd* in 'Alī al-Jamal; the ways in which it diverges from and aligns with classical usage; how he interprets other Sufi concepts in light of his understanding of this concept; and how he categorizes it. We will now turn to how he interpreted Quranic verses and *ḥadīths*, as well as the Shādhilī tradition, according to his conception of *tajrīd*.

5.1.9. Al-Jamal's Sufi Re-Interpretation of Islamic Tradition in the Regard of Tajrīd

Al-Jamal frequently makes citations to Quranic verses, *ḥadīths*, and prominent figures of the Shādhilī tradition, and interprets them in the favor of *tajrīd*. In this section, these citations and the contexts in which he interprets them will be presented. Subsequently, the question of whether the early and middle period figures from the Shādhiliyya whom al-Jamal cites were truly advancing on the path of *tajrīd* as he presents it will be discussed. Finally, a comparison will be made based on the commentaries of the early, middle, and modern period commentators of the *Ḥikam al-'Aṭā'īyya* on some of the aphorisms that 'Alī al-Jamal quotes from it and interprets in the context of *tajrīd*.

⁴⁷² al-Darqāwī, *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, 228.

The aim is to reveal how he drew on tradition to inform his path of *tajrīd* and how he interpreted the sayings of prominent Shādhiliyya figures within this framework.

5.1.9.1. How He Reinterpreted Some Quranic Verses and Prophetic Heritage

First and foremost, according to him, many Quranic verses and *ḥādīths* indicate this point.⁴⁷³ The verse he cites most frequently in this context, “And We wanted to confer favor upon those who were oppressed in the land and make them leaders and make them inheritors” (Q 28:5), is about them; those who weaken their exteriors become leaders in the spiritual realm.⁴⁷⁴ From the *Sūrat al-Qadr*: “Indeed, We sent it [the Quran] down during the Night of Decree. And what can make you know what is the Night of Decree? The Night of Decree is better than a thousand months” (Q 97:1-3). In the manner he learned from his shaykh, al-‘Arabī, he perceives the word “*qadr*” here as constriction (*dīq*) and interprets it as choosing the path of hardship. Just as the Quran was sent down in darkness, great lights are unveiled only after great darkness, that is, after *dhilla*.⁴⁷⁵ ‘Alī al-Jamal also interprets the verse, “And there is none of you except he will come to it. This is upon your Lord an inevitability decreed” (Q 19:71), to mean that one who does not pass through the fire of *dhilla* cannot attain the paradise of *wuṣṣla* and honor.⁴⁷⁶ Also, God Almighty says: “Indeed, Allah has purchased from the believers their lives and their properties [in exchange] for that they will have Paradise” (Q 9:111). Consequently, he who desires it must renounce his property and his self. “The people of the exterior understand this as the paradise of the Hereafter, while the people of the interior understand it as the paradise of witnessing and direct vision in both this world and the Hereafter.” That is, in the framework he draws in this sense, he makes the renunciation of property and self a condition for witnessing.⁴⁷⁷ The Prophet, despite his past and future sins having been forgiven, said, “O God, let me live as a humble man (*miskīn*), let me die as a humble man, and resurrect me in the company of the humble,”⁴⁷⁸ in order to teach those who would come after him. According to him, the Prophet’s exterior was *jalāl* while his interior was *jamāl*, and

⁴⁷³ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 228-29.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 108, 151, 178, 255-256.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 49, 345.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 106.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 135.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibn Mājah, *Zuhd*, 6; al-Tirmidhī, *Zuhd*, 37.

the spiritual guides have always followed this path of humility.⁴⁷⁹ This is the swiftest and most honorable of paths, for the Prophet himself walked it. According to al-Jamal, the Prophet secretly entrusted this knowledge to some of his companions. If it had been appropriate to declare it openly, he would have done so. The caliphs after him continued this custom, receiving it secretly, and it has been transmitted in this manner to the present day. Thus, al-Jamal finds the precedent for the necessity of this path's secrecy in the Prophet.⁴⁸⁰ When God gave the Prophet the choice between being a king-prophet and a servant-prophet, he, out of humility before his Lord, chose servitude over kingship and said: "O Lord, let me be hungry one day and full the next. When I am hungry, I will ask of You, and when I am full, I will thank You."⁴⁸¹ And also, the Prophet said, "Both gatherings are good, but I have been commanded to sit with these," and he sat with the poor.⁴⁸²

Another *ḥadīth* in the regard of *tajrīd* al-Jamal cites is: "Paradise is surrounded by hardships (*makāriḥ*), and Hellfire is surrounded by desires (*shahawāt*)."⁴⁸³ From this, he concludes that choosing the path of hardships/the extraordinary is the path that leads to good.⁴⁸⁴ Al-Jamal cites the *ḥadīth qudsī* concerning drawing near to God through supererogatory acts (*nawāfil*): "My servant does not cease to draw near to me with supererogatory acts until I love him. And when I love him, I am his hearing with which he hears..."⁴⁸⁵ and he interprets the term *nawāfil* here as the lofty and lowly realities, departing from the customs of the people, that is, as the practices of *tajrīd*.⁴⁸⁶ Al-Jamal states that an excess of *ḥaqā'iq* is a life after which there is no death, while an excess of *sharā'ī'* is a death after which there is no life. In this sense, he uses the *ḥadīth*, "The best of matters is the middle way," to argue for the necessity of establishing a balance between the two (remembering that he uses *ḥaqīqa* for the extraordinary and *sharī'a* for custom).⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁷⁹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 109.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 109, 116, 294, 348.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 246. For this narration see *Musnad*, 36, 528; al-Tirmidhī, 2347.

⁴⁸² al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 121.

⁴⁸³ Muslim, *al-Janna*, 2822; al-Tirmidhī, 2559.

⁴⁸⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 130, 221, 326.

⁴⁸⁵ al-Bukhārī, *al-Riqāq*, 6502.

⁴⁸⁶ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 349, 354.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 186.

5.1.9.2. The Shādhilī Lineage of Tajrīd According to Al-Jamal

Not only does ‘Alī al-Jamal reinterpret the Islamic primary sources to support the path of *tajrīd*, but he also subjects the Shādhilī tradition to a new interpretation in the same manner, constructing a continuity from himself back to al-Shādhilī and Abū Madyan. ‘Alī al-Jamal states that the perfect shaykh places the disciple on the path of deficiency so that perfection may be unveiled in him, and those who do so are very few. However, he points to certain figures from the *salaf* who walked this path. According to him, if the sovereignty of honor were more powerful than the sovereignty of *dhilla*, the elite would not have left this honor to the common people and clung to *dhilla*. He also notes that those whom he calls “our masters” have informed them that the sweetness of the path is only established through its bitterness, and its bitterness only through its sweetness.⁴⁸⁸

Dhilla, by the consensus of the people of verification (*tahqīq*) and scrutiny (*tadqīq*)—who are the masters of reality and its shaykhs—is the key to all spiritual openings and the source of all good things. The shaykhs of reality (may God be pleased with them) are the famous ones, such as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī, Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh, and the source of their secret, our master ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh, as well as ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Ibn Wafā, Abū Madyan al-Ghawth, Sīdī Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, Mawlānā ‘Abd Allāh al-Ghazwānī, al-Tabbā’, al-Jazūlī, Sayyidunā ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb, Sīdī Yūsuf al-Fāsī, Shaykh al-Ghazālī, Imām al-Shushtarī, and Imām al-Junayd, and the likes of these men.⁴⁸⁹

In this sense, the saying he cites most frequently to provide continuity within his own Sufī tradition -the Shādhiliyya- is that of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī: “O God, You have decreed humiliation for a people until they were honored; and You have decreed loss (*faqd*) for them until they found You.” ‘Alī al-Jamal has interpreted this saying as “outward, manifest humiliation in deed; not an inward matter of word and intention,” which negates the possibility of interpreting these words as merely inward *tajrīd*. Those who perceive the saying in this way, as only inward and hidden humiliation, have thereby sought the acceptance of the people, fame, and status.⁴⁹⁰ According to him, whenever the follower of this path adopts the customs of the common people, he exits from their ranks, because planting custom yields custom, while planting the extraordinary and wondrous yields the wondrous. Also, from ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh: “O God, indeed some people have asked You to make creation subservient

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 343-344.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 19.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 22, 72, 106, 112, 154, 178, 259, 305, 343.

to them and were content with that from You. I, however, take refuge in You from that... And I ask You for the aversion of creation towards me, so that I may have no refuge or sanctuary except in You.” He perceives these words as their choosing this path and turning away from all that is other-than-God.⁴⁹¹ “Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī also said in this regard: “I entered this path with a people who swept the garbage dumps with their spirits.”⁴⁹²

He interprets a saying from the *Hikam* of Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh in the same light: “He whose beginning is illumined; his end will be illumined.” According to him, the meaning of this is that he whose inner spiritual aspiration is great, while his exterior is in the opposite state of humiliation, will find honor in the end and will attain *wuṣūl*. In the reverse scenario, if one begins the path with outward honor and continues in it, the destination reached will be inward humiliation. The first is the station of sovereignty, the second is the station of servitude.⁴⁹³ Another piece of wisdom from Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh is this: “When a wayfarer’s spiritual aspiration desires to stop at what has been unveiled to it, the voices of reality call out to it: ‘That which you seek is ahead of you.’ And when the outward forms of created things display their adornment, their realities call out to you: ‘We are but a trial (*fitna*), so do not disbelieve.” The *nafs*, when it obtains something, becomes content with it. He who becomes content on this path and does not venture into other extraordinary states experiences deprivation.⁴⁹⁴ In this context, another quotation he makes from Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh is this wisdom: “How can extraordinary events happen for you when you have not broken your own customary habits?” Breaking with custom occurs on the part of the servant, and in response, it occurs on the part of the Truth.⁴⁹⁵ The breaking of custom is perfected by witnessing, and witnessing is perfected by the breaking of custom. One of these customs that must be broken is the matter of a person not seeing anyone superior to himself in knowledge, insight, and intellect. Here, breaking the custom is for a person to purify himself of such attributes.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 154, 246.

⁴⁹² Ibid., 72.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 141, 228-229, 337-338, 348-349.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 130.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., 115, 118, 127, 256, 305.

Thus, when Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī met with ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh, he said, “O God, I have washed myself of my knowledge and my action, so that I possess no knowledge and no action except what comes to me from this shaykh,” thereby abstracting himself and becoming an example for every novice who begins to walk this path.⁴⁹⁶ In this sense, Sīdī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī said: “I knew fourteen of the exoteric sciences. When I entered into the science of God, all of those sciences departed, until only two remained for me, with which I converse with our companions at times: the science of *ḥadīth* and the science of logic.”⁴⁹⁷ Again, another event related about ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī is that he saw Mawlāy ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh in a dream, who told him: “O my son, this path of ours is attained only through *dhilla* and a little portion of the world.”⁴⁹⁸

Also, he interprets the saying of Sīdī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb, “There is no lover except with *wuṣūl*,” to mean that love exists only if there is outward *tajrīd*, that is, discipline with the essence (*dhāt*) or *jalāl*. Otherwise, for it to be merely a spiritual state is not sufficient.⁴⁹⁹ ‘Alī al-Jamal, citing his shaykh al-‘Arabī, states that Sīdī Qāsim al-Khaṣṣāṣī also followed this path. In his beginnings, when his *nafs* overcame him, he would go out to the mountain, circumambulate it from both sides, and then return to the city. His *nafs* would become calm, and his purpose in this was to “submerge his *nafs* in mud.” The more he submerged his *nafs* in mud, the more his knowledge and action would increase. In defining the semantic boundaries of the concept of *tajrīd*, he further quotes from Abū al-Mawāhib of the Shādhiliyya-Wafā’iyya branch, to whom he frequently refers: “The station of a *walī* rises in proportion to how he is diminished in the eyes of the common people.” He interprets this to mean that turning towards God is to turn away from the people.⁵⁰⁰ When we read this point in reverse, it signifies that a *walī*’s being diminished in the eyes of the people is an indication of his elevated station.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 140, 231, 304. For the related narration, see Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 22.

⁴⁹⁷ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 73, 207.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 334.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 192.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 154.

⁵⁰¹ Furthermore, in this context, he cites the saying of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī: “I came to all the gates of the Truth and found them crowded. Finally, I came to the gate of *dhilla* and neediness (*iftiqār*) and found it empty. I entered through it, and when I looked, I had entered while leaving the people crowded at the gates.” He also refers to the saying of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī: “The Truth called to me and said, ‘O Abū Yazīd!’ I said, ‘Yes, O Lord!’ He said, ‘Our treasures are full of service. If you desire Us, you must embrace humiliation.’” See *ibid.*, 72.

In conclusion, ‘Alī al-Jamal not only perceived the figures within his own *silsila*—such as those of the Makhfiyya *zāwiya* where he was trained, the preceding Fāsiyya *zāwiya*, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb—according to his philosophy of *tajrīd*, but also included the main middle and early period Shādhilī figures in this interpretation, presenting them as well as wayfarers on the path of *tajrīd* within the framework he had drawn.

5.1.9.3. Were the Early Figures of the Shādhiliyya Truly on the Path of Tajrīd?

We would now like to summarize how the primary figures of the Shādhilī tradition, to whom al-Jamal refers, viewed the matter. Did al-Jamal interpret their words in the favor of his own path which is a form of Sufī *ijtihād*, or did they genuinely follow the path of *tajrīd* as al-Jamal understood it?

We can state in general that the early Shādhilī shaykhs preferred to see and use the world not as an absolute enemy, but as a means leading to God, and they chose to avoid hardship.⁵⁰² ‘Alī al-Jamal’s attitude is also in favor of this. This stems from his seeing the world as a manifestation of God, which is supported by his quotation of al-Ghazālī’s saying, “a better world is not possible.”⁵⁰³ His departure from these early figures to whom he refers lies in the fact that, despite not adopting a hostile attitude towards the world, he pursued the path of “ruining” the exterior/being disciplined by *jalāl*, whereas the early Shādhilī figures did not resort to such antinomian practices. They saw poverty, helplessness, and weakness shown towards God as a virtue, but they censured *dhilla* shown towards His servants. For al-Jamal, however, the *dhilla* shown towards God is a common point for everyone; it has become a custom, and it is necessary to go beyond this by engaging in practices that make us humble before His servants and creation. We can perceive this as an extreme interpretation of the concept of poverty (*faqr*).⁵⁰⁴ The reason for this, as mentioned before, may be that other

⁵⁰² Muḥammad Aḥmad Darnīqa, *al-Ṭarīqat al-Shādhiliyya wa-a’lāmuhā* (Beirut: al-Mu’assasat al-Jāmi’iyya, 1990), 198; ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Farḥāt, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī: Ḥayātuhu wa-madrasatuhu fī-l-taṣawwuf* (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 2003), 126–36, 219–23.

⁵⁰³ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 265.

⁵⁰⁴ We have previously explained the idea that since everyone partakes in the humiliation shown towards God, it is necessary to go beyond this custom by showing humiliation towards His servants. In conjunction with this, his statement, “Know that: The station of *dhilla* for spiritual poverty is like that of lime in a building. If there is no lime, there is no building, even if you see the building in the utmost beauty and perfection. Likewise, *faqr* is not *faqr* if its owner does not enter it through the gate of *dhilla*,

existing Shādhilī orders of his time were using the Sufī path for status, fame, and worldly ambitions, thus emptying the customary practices of their meaning and perhaps rendering them ineffective in achieving the ultimate goal. Initially, we can point out these general differences.

Upon closer examination, the saying of the founding figure, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, “My son, cool the water. For when the servant drinks lukewarm water, he says a dry ‘*al-ḥamdu li-l-Allāh*.’ But when he drinks cold water, he says ‘*al-ḥamdu li-l-Allāh*’ and all his limbs join him in this praise,”⁵⁰⁵ or his words to a disciple wearing a coarse, rough garment, “One who is a servant of God does not wear this robe you have on. My robe says, ‘I have no need of you, do not grant me anything.’ Your robe, however, says, ‘I am in need of you, help me,’”⁵⁰⁶ essentially summarizes the general attitude of the first Shādhilī generation.⁵⁰⁷ This understanding involves establishing a relationship with the world outwardly in the same way other people do, rather than an attitude that detaches the wayfarer from the world and humiliates him before people through harsh ascetic practices that attract their attention. Instead, it involves removing the world from the heart, and the state of poverty or humiliation is directed only towards God, not towards people. In al-Jamal’s thought, the idea of absolute seclusion, in the sense of a complete break from the world, is likewise viewed negatively; they too are within society. However, their deliberately departing from the customs of the people and, through the practices of *tajrīd* they undertake, possessing *dhilla* not only towards God but also towards creation -and even increasing it- is praised. Essentially, this is the distinguishing factor.

The notion of spiritual poverty (*faqr*), helplessness (‘*ajz*), humiliation of the self (*dhullat al-nafs*), and neediness is so dominant in Shādhilī literature that the disciple has come to be named “the poor one” (*faqīr*); this cannot be denied.⁵⁰⁸ However, the

even if you see him in the utmost beauty and perfection,” and the practices of humbling oneself that they performed in public, are clear indicators of this phenomenon, which we have termed the “extreme interpretation of poverty.” For the relevant saying, see *ibid.*, 227.

⁵⁰⁵ al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā’if al-minan*, 154.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁵⁰⁷ For more detailed information on the stance of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī -who said, “This path is not a path of monasticism”- of not condoning humiliation towards people on this matter, see Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 108; al-Imrānī, *al-Taḥqīd*, 54; Güven, “Ebu’l-Hasan Şāzili ve Şāziliyye,” 166–71.

⁵⁰⁸ In fact, the phenomenon of spiritual poverty (*faqr*) in Sufism, and the disciple being seen as a *faqīr*, appears to have begun from the end of the third century of the Hījra. For the background of this process, see Kahya, “Tasavvufun Teşekkül Döneminde Sufiler ve Ticari Hayat”, 113–15. Abū Madyan also sees

poverty of them is generally a state of absolute neediness (*idṭirār*) towards God.⁵⁰⁹ In the thought of ‘Alī al-Jamal, however, there is the phenomenon of taking this a step further by putting it before the public as a necessity.

Making more clear, for instance, in Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s view, the more the *faqīr* increases his *faqr* -that is, his neediness- towards God, the richer he becomes through Him. In al-Jamal’s view, however, the more humiliation towards creation increases, the more the inner spiritual openings are realized. That is, as an extreme interpretation of the term *faqr*, the humiliation of the *nafs* is to be displayed not only before God but also before the creation. Accordingly, while the “poor” mentioned in the verse “The alms are only for the poor (*al-fuqarā*)” (Q 6:60) initially means the disciple who demonstrates his helplessness and neediness before God and casts out all other attachments from his heart, in Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh,⁵¹⁰ whereas in al-Jamal’s view, it means the disciple who engages in practices that reveal his humiliation to creation.

Therefore, what al-Jamal does is, in a sense, subject the already Sufi/allusive (*ishārī*) sayings of the early shaykhs of the Shādhilī tradition to a new allusive interpretation according to the exigencies of his time; although a unity of purposes (*maqāṣid*) remains, he undertakes a renewal in terms of means, that is, ascetic practices. When we see that he even interprets Quranic verses and *ḥadīths* in a manner parallel to this thought, as we have seen above, it is not surprising that he interprets these figures in the same way.

5.1.9.4. Al-Jamal’s Reading of the Ḥikam Al-‘Aṭā’iyya in Favor of the Path of Tajrīd

To fully understand the difference, or more accurately, how al-Jamal reinterprets the earlier figures, we want to focus on the question of whether earlier commentators on

the disciple as a *faqīr*, the meaning of which is: “The hand being empty of the world, the heart being free from attachment to it, being occupied with God, yearning for Him, and being with Him alone.” Shu‘ayb Abū Madyan, “Bidāyat al-murīd,” in *The Way of Abu Madyan: The Works of Abu Madyan Shuayb* (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1996), 73.

⁵⁰⁹ al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā’if al-minan*, 116–17. Al-Shādhilī opposed the phenomenon of begging for this reason. See *ibid.*, 165–66.

⁵¹⁰ al-Iskandarī, “Ḥikam,” 157; Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī, *Sharḥ qaṣīdat Mā ladhdat al-‘aysh illā ṣuḥbat al-fuqarā*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Maṣṣūr (Oujda: Markaz al-Imām al-Junayd, 2014), 71–72.

the *Hikam* interpreted the two aphorisms he quotes and interprets in the context of *tajrīd* in the same way.

The first is the aphorism: “How can extraordinary events happen for you when you have not broken your own customary habits?” Ibn ‘Abbād al-Rundī understands the “extraordinary” (*kharq al-‘awā'id*) in this aphorism as a *karāma* and says that unless a person breaks the pleasures of the *nafs* and dissolves his will in the will of God, what appears from him is not a *karāma* but deception *makr* and *istidrāj*. If a person regards his own *nafs* as base and does not will for such extraordinary things to emerge from it, he will attain the graces that God sends him.⁵¹¹ Zarrūq, on the other hand, explains the concept of breaking customs here more as embodying high attributes, freeing oneself from *hawā* and *wahm*, being aware of one’s own attributes in the presence of God’s attributes, and similarly, abandoning base habits.⁵¹² When we look at commentaries written in the modern period, it has been similarly interpreted in the sense of the *nafs* purifying itself from blameworthy attributes such as pride and conceit, and as a result, the unveiling of divine openings and charisms.⁵¹³

The second is the aphorism: “He whose beginning is illumined; his end will be illumined.” Al-Rundī briefly explains this aphorism to mean that if the disciple turns to and trusts in God in his affairs at the beginning, he will have gained His proximity.⁵¹⁴ Zarrūq exhibits a similar approach, saying that one who clings to the path at the beginning and is annihilated in God will in the end attain reality and unveiling (*kashf*).⁵¹⁵ Abū al-Mawāhib al-Tūnisī, for his part, comments that in the beginning, the lights of the stations are unveiled to the wayfarer, and then, in the end, he attains the secrets of the divine manifestations, holy gnoses, Lordly secrets, unveiled knowledge, and intuitive perceptions.⁵¹⁶ Modern commentators have repeated the same meaning

⁵¹¹ al-Rundī, *al-Tanbīh*, 557–62.

⁵¹² Zarrūq, *al-Hikam al-‘Aṭā’iyya*, 164–65; Zarrūq, *al-Futūḥāt al-raḥmāniyya*, 257–58.

⁵¹³ See al-Sharnūbī, *Sharḥ al-Hikam*, 101; Fatih Yıldız (ed.), *Hikem-i Atāiyye şerhi*, 97, 283; Ahmed Mahir Efendi, *Hikem-i Ataiyye şerhi*, 226–29. The commentator in the modern period who provides a commentary close to that of ‘Alī al-Jamal is Hüsni Geçer. However, as his commentary is largely based on that of Ibn ‘Ajība, this is not surprising. Hüsni Geçer, *Hikem-i Atāiyye şerhi* (Istanbul: Ketebe Yayınları, 2022), 353–54.

⁵¹⁴ al-Rundī, *al-Tanbīh*, 255.

⁵¹⁵ Zarrūq, *al-Hikam al-‘Aṭā’iyya*, 58; Zarrūq, *al-Futūḥāt al-raḥmāniyya*, 117.

⁵¹⁶ al-Tūnisī, *Sharḥ al-Hikam*, 99.

in similar ways, saying that whoever gives importance to his worship and remembrance with seriousness at the beginning will attain his goal to that degree.⁵¹⁷

In conclusion, both early and modern commentators of the *Hikam* have made similar, even identical, interpretations of both aphorisms in different ways. Al-Jamal's interpretation, however -that the disciple who clings to the practices of humiliation and progresses on the path of *tajrīd* will attain honor in the end and that God will send him some extraordinary things (spiritual openings)- holds a unique parenthetical position within the Shādhilī tradition between these two historical periods. In this respect, his interpretation of the *Hikam* is quite original in terms of how he uses them in his own Sufi hermeneutics. Ibn 'Ajība, one of the continuators of this path, has made similar interpretations of these aphorisms. For example, according to him, unless one departs from the outward and inward customs of the people by wearing rough clothes, preferring silence and seclusion, and deliberately lowering one's value in the eyes of the people through humiliation and secrecy, and by doing the opposite of what they do, one will not be granted extraordinary gifts by God.⁵¹⁸

5.1.10. A Malāmatiyya Silsila Within the Shādhiliyya: 'Abd Al-Raḥmān Al-Majdhūb, and the Shaykhs of the Fāsiyya and Makhfiyya Zāwiyas

As mentioned above, 'Alī al-Jamal interprets the shaykhs in his *silsila* from al-Majdhūb up to his own master according to his own understanding of *tajrīd*. Under this heading, the six shaykhs in the *silsila*—excluding his direct master, al-'Arabī—will be examined in order: 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb, Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Fāsī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ma'n, Qāsim al-Khaṣṣāṣī, and Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh Ma'n. The nature of the *malāmatī* attitude attributed to them will be discussed, as will its compatibility (or lack thereof) with 'Alī al-Jamal. His master, al-'Arabī, will be assessed under a separate heading.

When discussing the Malāmatiyya in Fez, one could begin with 'Alī b. Ḥirzihim (d. 559/1162). Al-Tamīmī (d. 603/1207) stated that he was the first to bring the Malāmatiyya path to Fez. This term was used in the sense that while he maintained

⁵¹⁷ al-Sharnūbī, *Sharḥ al-Hikam*, 39; Ahmed Mahir Efendi, *Hikem-i Ataiyye Şerhi*, 70.

⁵¹⁸ Ibn 'Ajība, *Īqāz al-himam*, 256-257.

good relations with people and did not oppose their general customs, he simultaneously exhibited certain states that they would find objectionable.⁵¹⁹ Two possibilities emerge regarding these objectionable states. The first is his *zuhd* and its corresponding signs, such as wearing coarse clothing, sleeping on a rough mat, and having nothing in his house save a single carpet. The second is the manifestation of certain *shaṭaḥāt* during states of *jadhba*, for which there is no data. Therefore, his being named an adherent of *malāma* seems to stem mostly from his preference for an extreme *zuhd* life. The proof of this is that people did not distance themselves from him; on the contrary, he was in a position of being respected, consulted, and well-regarded. The fact that those who witnessed his state particularly emphasized these choices related to his life of *zuhd* also shows us that this was the situation the people of Fez at that time found strange.⁵²⁰ This attitude appears to have been transmitted to him via al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā*.⁵²¹

In the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, however, the definition of the concept of *malāma* changed somewhat and was used differently. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Qādirī (d. 1187/1773), in determining the scope of the concept, mentions two fundamental principles. The first is that the individual conceals his own inner state; the second is the manifestation, without their own will, of states whose meaning is not understood from their external appearance.⁵²² For this reason, in books written during this period, we frequently encounter phrases such as: "He was an adherent of *malāma*, and states of an incomprehensible exterior appeared from him," and "*Shaṭaḥāt* and *malāmāt* emanated from him."⁵²³

⁵¹⁹ "... he was an ascetic, a recluse, and he followed the way of the Malāmātiyya. This path was not known in the Maghrib before him. People found some of his states to be strange." See Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Tamīmī al-Fāsī, *al-Mustafād min manāqib al-'ubbād bi-madīnati Fās wa mā yalīhā min al-bilād*, ed. Muḥammad al-Sharīf (Tetouan: Jāmi'at 'Abd al-Malik al-Sa'dī, Manshūrāt Kulīyyat al-Ādāb wa-l-'Ulūm al-Insāniyya, 2002), 2:15; Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā Ibn al-Zayyāt al-Tādīlī, *al-Tashawwuf ilā rijāl al-taṣawwuf wa akhbār Abī al-'Abbās al-Sabtī*, ed. Aḥmad al-Tawfīq (Rabat: Kulīyyat al-Ādāb wa-l-'Ulūm al-Insāniyya, 1997), 169.

⁵²⁰ al-Tamīmī, *al-Mustafād*, 16-18.

⁵²¹ See Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Qusṭantīnī, *Uns al-faqīr wa 'izzu al-ḥaqīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Fāsī and Adolf Faure (Rabat: al-Markaz al-Jāmi'ī li-l-Baḥṭh al-'Ilmī, 1965), 13, 42, 93; Vincent Cornell, "Abu Madyan and Sufism in the Western Maghrib," in *The Way of Abu Madyan: the works of Abu Madyan Shu'ayb*, ed. and trans. Vincent J. Cornell (London: The Islamic Texts Society, 1996), 19-21; Sanseverino, *Fès et sainteté*, 160-190.

⁵²² Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Qādirī, *al-Zahr al-bāsim aw al-'Urf al-nāsim fī manāqib al-shaykh sayyidī Qāsim wa mā 'āthiri man lahu min al-ashyākh wa-l-atbā' ahl al-karā'im* ed. Qamar al-'Abdālāwī Ma'n (Kirkuk: al-Zāwiya al-'Alāwiyya, 2021), 49-50.

⁵²³ For this and similar statements, see al-Qādirī, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, 47- 106, 111; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb* 613; al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *al-Ilmā'*, 95; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 403, 422.

Based on this definition, we can say that being a *malāma* has three aspects: avoiding situations that would distinguish them from ordinary people; being an adherent of intoxication and annihilation, as indicated by the phrase “without their own will”; and, as a result, the emanation from them of certain externally objectionable states (*shaṭaḥāt*, *malāmāt*). Therefore, the *malāma* used here indicates a rank and spiritual temperament (*mashrab*) rather than a specific order. These multi-layered meanings of *malāma* are also parallel to the definition of Ibn ‘Arabī, whom ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1134/1721) references when using it in this manner. According to Ibn ‘Arabī, the *Malāmātiyya* are of a higher rank than the Sufis and the worshippers; they conceal their states, and everything other than God has been effaced from their inner beings.⁵²⁴

This state of *intoxication* or *annihilation* can manifest in different ways. If it is strong enough to suspend religious obligation, the terms *bahlūl*, *muwallah*, and *majnūn* are used for them.⁵²⁵ If it does not suspend the obligation and they remain attentive to performing religious duties, and if they control the *wārid* that comes to them, the term *majdhūb* is used.⁵²⁶ The difference between being *majdhūb* and other states of *intoxication* depends on whether or not they control the *wārid* that comes to them and whether they are overcome by it.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb’s being referred to as *majdhūb* in this sense indicates both the strength of his state of absence (*ghayba*) in the witnessing of God, and that the obligation was not suspended for him, that he fulfilled his religious duties, and that he did not lose his reason or senses. For this reason, he stated in his various poems, “I am *majdhūb*, not *majnūn*.”⁵²⁷ Another concept used for ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb

⁵²⁴ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb*, 108.

⁵²⁵ Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashara min akhbār ṣulahā’ al-qarn al-hādī ‘ashar*, ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd Khayālī (Casablanca: Markaz al-Turāth al-Thaqāfī al-Maghribī, 2004), 291; al-Qādirī, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, 101, 108, 109, 110; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 417, 423. These expressions are as follows: *kāna bahlūlan muwallahan sāqīṭ al-taklīf malāmātiyyan*.

⁵²⁶ al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashara* 87, 278, 320; al-Qādirī, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, 103, 111, 113; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb*, 226; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 424. For the various meanings and types of *jadhba*, see Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Ṭu’mī, “Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-majādhīb al-musammā Manāzil al-qurb fī ma’rifat ṭabaqāt ahl al-jadhba”, in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Thaqāfiyya, 1994), 297–303.

⁵²⁷ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb*, 28–30, 40; al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Mumtī ‘al-asmā’*, 143–144; ‘Abd Allāh Shāqrūn, *Rubā’iyyāt ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb ‘abr al-athīr* (Tunis: Manshūrāt Ittihād Idhā’āt al-Duwal al-‘Arabiyya, 1987), 7; al-Hudaykī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 440; Abū al-Mahāsīn al-Fāsī also defined it this way: “When *majdhūb* is used, it means being absent (*ghā’ib*) in the witnessing of God.”

is *malāmatī*, which also includes the concept of *majdhūb* in the sense mentioned above. He generally called for dressing like ordinary people and refraining from any behavior that would distinguish him from them. It is said that outside of prayer times, he concealed his state from both the common people and the elite, and that, being *malāmatī*, he worked as a farmer and a butcher. He sought to earn a worldly living, married, and had children.⁵²⁸ Both the *malāmatī* attitude and the strong state of *jadhba* in ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb were transmitted to subsequent shaykhs in sequence and referring to this collection of states in al-Majdhūb, they said, “Our path is the *Majdhūbiyya* path.”⁵²⁹

Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Fāsī inherited both this state of *jadhba* and the *malāmatī* attitude from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb.⁵³⁰ This attitude became established in the city of Fez with him. He preferred to wear whatever clothing was customarily accepted by the people of Fez at that time.⁵³¹ He adhered to secondary causes, did not outwardly separate himself from people, followed their customs, sat with them, and spoke and laughed as they did. He disliked even using the name *faqīr*, as it would distinguish him from others, and did not find it proper to bear any sign that would indicate this. He was meticulous about *sharī‘a* rulings and disliked showing *dhilla* before anyone other than God.⁵³² The *malāmatī* attitude passed from him to his brother and subsequent shaykh, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī. This state of *jadhba* was strong in him, yet he continued to fulfill his religious duties. He also was someone who got along well with people and

We see that the terms *malāmatī* and *majdhūb* were used together for ‘Alī Ṣinhājī (d. 941/1534) and Ibrāhīm Afḥām (d. 926/1520) before ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb. See Muḥammad b. ‘Askar al-Ḥasanī al-Shafshāwanī, *Dawḥat al-nāshir li-maḥāsini man kāna bi-l-Maghrib min mashāyikh al-qarni al-‘ashir*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥajjī (Rabat: Dār al-Maghrib, 1977), 81; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb*, 99-101, 105-110; al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Mumtī ‘al-asmā’*, 131; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 429.

⁵²⁸ al-Ḥudaykī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 439; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb*, 363.

⁵²⁹ al-Qādirī, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, 268-269; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb*, 363; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 426-427. Even if we read this without reference to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb, *malāma* is already attached to *majdhūbiyya*, and *majdhūbiyya* to *malāma* in Maghribī Sufism, as mentioned, by virtue of their definitions. Subsequent shaykhs also expressed, due to the strength of this state of *jadhba*, “Our path is the *Hallājīyya* and the path of annihilation.” al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *al-Ilmā’*, 65; al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *‘Awārif al-minna*, 23, 28; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 84, 103; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Faḍā’il al-‘arīf*, 52; al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Mumtī ‘al-asmā’*, 195, 202.

⁵³⁰ al-Fihri, *Mir’āt al-maḥāsīn*, 74, 76; Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *al-Jawāhir al-ṣafiyya fī al-maḥāsīn al-Yūsufiyya* (Kirkuk: al-Zāwiya al-‘Alāwiyya, 2021). For his description about how the state of *jadhba* first came to him, see al-Fihri, *Mir’āt al-maḥāsīn*, 90; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb*, 222.

⁵³¹ These garments are the *ghushshāba*, *ḥā’ik*, and *burnūs*, traditional Moroccan clothes. See al-Fihri, *Mir’āt al-maḥāsīn*, 88.

⁵³² al-Fihri, *Mir’āt al-maḥāsīn*, 89, 98-99, 184; al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *al-Jawāhir al-ṣafiyya*, 11-13; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb*, 225.

whose dress was fine, like theirs. He continued to author works in various fields of knowledge and to teach, and many jurists of the era attended his lessons.⁵³³

The next shaykh in the *silsila*, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ma‘n, also opposed dressing in a way that would separate him from the people’s outward customs. He emphasized the outward sciences and the fulfillment of religious duties. He disliked a disciple who did not have a trade, encouraged adhering to secondary causes, and he too looked unfavorably on using the name *faqīr* and having any pretensions, as it would attribute a distinction to them.⁵³⁴

Qāsim al-Khaṣṣāṣī benefited from both Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī. He continued their *majdhūb* and *malāmatī* attitudes, and these terms were used for him. Despite being far from pretension and being very devoted to religious duties, his state of *jadhba* was so strong that at times, cries and *shaṭaḥāt* emanated from him. In such states, he would pass out, be unable to sleep, and would ask about the noon and afternoon prayers at dawn. He, too, continued to work as a cobbler in a shop in the old market, refused to accept goods from anyone else, and encouraged his disciples to be engaged in a trade.⁵³⁵

Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ma‘n also took this *malāmatī* attitude from both his father, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh, and Qāsim al-Khaṣṣāṣī. His state of *jadhba* was also strong, for which Aḥmad Yamanī called him *majdhūb* and likened him to Abū Zayd al-Biṣṭāmī. On one occasion, while visiting ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh, this state overcame him, and he fell to the ground and rolled down the mountain. He would sometimes even forget his most well-known disciples, but he mostly knew how to control this state, did not transgress the boundaries of the sharī‘a, and stayed far from pretension. He observed the outward and inward well-being of the people and behaved according to their level. In dress, sitting, and standing, he avoided circumstances that would distinguish him from the common people. In every situation, he chose secrecy

⁵³³ al-Ḥudaykī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 406-407; al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Mumtī ‘al-asmā’*, 191-192; al-Qādirī, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, 77-82; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 441, 416; al-Fihri, *Mir’āt al-maḥāsīn*, 212-214.

⁵³⁴ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Faḍā’il al-‘arīf*, 37, 50; al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Awārif al-minna*, 16-17, 20-22, 29; al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Mumtī ‘al-asmā’*, 199, 201; al-Qādirī, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, 89-90.

⁵³⁵ al-Qādirī, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, 40, 42-43, 45, 47, 52, 54-55, 58, 67; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 391-403.

(*khumūl*); he even viewed using the name *faqīr* as objectionable, as it contained pretension. His *zāwiya* became a center where various sciences were taught and to which people flocked. Not content with one job, he worked in farming, beekeeping, and at an olive press, among other tasks, and he said that the true people of distinction were those who, like other people, adhered to secondary causes.⁵³⁶

In summary, in the six figures from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb to al-Jamal’s master al-‘Arabī, it can be observed two common points: First, they took care not to deliberately oppose the outward customs of the people, thereby concealing their states. Second, their states of *jadhba* were strong, resulting in the manifestation of some incomprehensible states called *shataḥāt* and *malāma*. We see that they were very cautious about this, striving not to leave the house when such states came, continuing to fulfill their religious obligations; and condemning and disapproving of those who were overcome by these states, unable to control them, and made them manifest among the people. Or, at times, they said that because this situation occurred without their will due to being enveloped by light, they should be excused, and that when such situations occurred in them, they should not be emulated.⁵³⁷ The occasional, deliberate appearance of states that the populace would find strange was either due to the incorrect transmission of some narrations⁵³⁸ or were rare and special situations they resorted to in order to measure the loyalty of their disciples and to test them.⁵³⁹

The shaykhs discussed here bear a resemblance to the early *Malāmatīs* described by al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) in that they avoided fame and pretension, concealed their inner states while conforming to the customs of ordinary people in dress and other affairs, possessed a profession and worked, placed importance on helping those in need (*futuwwa*), and continued to fulfil religious duties.⁵⁴⁰ The diverging and Fez-specific aspect, however, is that states of *jadhba* were a common characteristic of all of them,

⁵³⁶ al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *al-Ilmā’*, 56, 60-61, 65, 82, 95; al-Qādirī, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, 124; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 59, 62, 81-82, 119, 127, 144-148, 156, 159, 161; al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Awārifa al-minna*, 27; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Faḍā’il al-‘arīf*, 49.

⁵³⁷ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb*, 351, 613; al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *al-Ilmā’*, 95; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 83, 152; al-Ḥudaykī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 355, 439; al-Qādirī, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, 54-55.

⁵³⁸ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb*, 44.

⁵³⁹ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb*, 139-140, 173-175; al-Ḥudaykī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 436.

⁵⁴⁰ Abū al-‘Alā’ al-‘Afīfī, *al-Malāmatīyya wa-l-ṣūfīyya wa-ahl al-futuwwa*, (Cairo: Dār Ihyā’ al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyya, 1945), 11-69, 86-120; Ali Bolat, *Bir Tasavvuf Okulu Olarak Melametilik* (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003), 169-222.

resulting in the emanation of some *shaṭaḥāt*. As previously noted, this is part of the definition of *malāma* found in books written in Fez during this period, and the two terms are generally used together.⁵⁴¹

In conclusion, although we observe that al-Jamal shares with these figures the characteristic of a strong state of *jadhba*,⁵⁴² these figures diverge from him regarding the sensitivity they showed in *not* deliberately opposing the customs of the common people, in not adopting any attitude that would separate them from others, and in avoiding the display of *dhilla* before creation rather than God. The quote attributed to Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī, “I entered this path with a people who swept the garbage dumps with their spirits,” is cited by Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh in the context of humility and gentleness towards people.⁵⁴³ In contrast, al-Jamal cites this saying in the context of opposing the outward customs of the people and implementing practices of *dhilla* before them (*tajrīd*).⁵⁴⁴ This symbolically presents us with the difference between them. From this perspective, we can say that al-Jamal subjected the reports about them to anew for the sake of his own path of *tajrīd*.

5.1.11. The Heritage from Al-Jamal’s Shaykh Al-‘Arabī

According to al-Jamal, Sīdī al-‘Arabī was among the people of *tajrīd* both outwardly and inwardly, and he himself received this *tajrīd* from him in both these aspects.⁵⁴⁵ Al-Jamal states this matter plainly:

When the Shaykh (may God benefit us with him) led me into the “lands of actions” (*bilād al-af‘āl*), the first thing he commanded me was *tajrīd* from clothing. After that, he commanded me to practice mendicancy in the markets. After that, he commanded me to spend from what I received for two nights in a suitable manner, to give the remainder as charity, not to save anything from my day for the morrow, and not to spend the night possessing even a single dirham on the face of the earth. When I had attained these three stations and was established

⁵⁴¹ For the transformations of the concept of *malāma* in Morocco, see ‘Abd Allāh al-Najmī, “al-Malāmatiyya fī Maghrib al-qarn al-‘āshir al-hijrī,” in *al-Malāmatiyya Mashriqan wa Maghriban* (coll.) (Casablanca: Maṭba‘at al-Najāh al-Jadīda, 2020), 81-117; Faouzi Skali, *Saints et sanctuaires de Fès* (Rabat: Marsam, 2007), 123-196.

⁵⁴² For examples such as his performing *ḥaḍra* and passing out in a shop he entered in the market, and the people passing by condemning him; or his seeing himself in the forms of various different people and beings, and the people who saw this accusing him of impious transgression and heresy; and for his statements regarding the continuous persistence of a state of immersion in the ocean of meanings, see al-Zabbādī, *Sulūk al-ṭarīq al-wāriya*, 318; al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 51, 126, 330.

⁵⁴³ al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *al-Ilmā’*, 75.

⁵⁴⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 72.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 216; al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 170.

in them, nothing remained for me thereafter but the results. I had drunk, both outwardly and inwardly, in a sensory and intelligible manner. The gratitude is to you and to our masters, the men [of God]. May God honor us with their mention.⁵⁴⁶

Al-‘Arabī enumerated for al-Jamal eight licit methods of *mujāhada* that train the *nafs* and bring one closer to God: begging, seclusion from people, hunger, spiritual journeying, giving water to the people, wandering in the markets with a tambourine, speaking with people one encounters—whether elite or common—incensing people with frankincense without asking for payment, walking barefoot, and stripping away [fine] clothes.⁵⁴⁷

Guiding al-Jamal to the path of *tajrīd*, al-‘Arabī said numerous aphorisms. To summarize the most representative ones and common points: when al-‘Arabī saw al-Jamal embodying the lofty states (*‘ulwiyyāt*), he told him that his former state—that is, embodying the lowly states (*sufliyyāt*)—was a hundred times more beneficial.⁵⁴⁸ He likened the *nafs* to a seed, saying that it cannot be reformed and its good cannot multiply unless it is sown in the most vile of things, like dust in manure.⁵⁴⁹ He also likened the disciple an *amīr* and said “When the *amīr* of the world mingles with the people in the *bāzār*, does he not lose his distinction? Yes, of course, he becomes one of them...whoever wants to stand out among people must go against their custom.”⁵⁵⁰ Furthermore, he said that a disciple cannot become a true disciple until he is like a rotten bone to which no dog is tempted.⁵⁵¹ In another metaphor, he said that the disciple is one who has much “mud,” and that the spiritual opening is proportional to this.

One day at the al-Qarawiyyīn mosque, he told al-Jamal: “O my son, this which I see you seeking is attained only through that from which I see you fleeing, which is *dhilla*; whether you like it or not. There is no other way to it, no other way to it, no other way to it.”⁵⁵² And at another time: “O my son, if God lengthens your life and you persevere in these realities, you will see, God willing, where you will arrive with them. And you

⁵⁴⁶ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 115.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 296.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., 76.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., 329.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., 312-313.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 337.

⁵⁵² Ibid., 333.

will see, both outwardly and inwardly, extraordinary things that have no limit or count.”⁵⁵³

However, he did not teach this path to everyone; on the contrary, he saw it as a condition that the number of its followers should remain small, for the sake of secrecy and to avoid creating a disturbance among the people.⁵⁵⁴ In fact, to a disciple who asked him for additional spiritual practices for the sake of increase, he said, “Your coming to us every day is sufficient,” thus recommending the path of ease and non-exertion (*‘adam al-kulfa*) to other disciples.⁵⁵⁵

To conclude al-Jamal learned this path from his shaykh. For this reason, al-Jilālī al-Karīm argued that he was the first founder of the Darqāwiyya.⁵⁵⁶ He asked al-Jamal if he wanted to revive a sect whose traces had been erased since the time of al-Junayd, and he said yes, so he put on torn clothes and started begging.⁵⁵⁷ According to Ibn ‘Ajība, al-‘Arabī, after seeing the loyalty and divine intoxication at al-Jamal, set him upon a path which no one else before him had been able to endure, and began to make him beg.⁵⁵⁸ Therefore, although al-‘Arabī gave him instructions for *tajrīd*, we first observe this idea with its practices in al-Jamal.

5.2. Some Practices of Tajrīd

In this section, we will examine the key practices of *tajrīd* that are most prominent in ‘Alī al-Jamal’s work and compare them with those of earlier and later figures, in order to better appreciate his unique contribution and the distinct features of his approach.

First, it should be noted that some of these are lifelong practices for the disciple, though their forms may change form, while others are of a temporary nature. This distinction arises from al-Jamal’s view that each land has its own distinctive attire, and in order to adopt it, one must first remove one’s own garments. Just as a person cannot enter

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 347. For similar sentences see *ibid.*, 201, 312, 346.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 293, 347

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 348.

⁵⁵⁶ al-Jilālī al-Karīm, *Dīrāsāt fī tārikh al-tasawwuf bi-l-Maghrib* (Rabat: Dār Abī Raqrāq li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr, 2017), 73.

⁵⁵⁷ al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 42.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 446.

paradise without dying, the *nafs* cannot enter the paradise of gnosis without dying to its desires, its self-direction (*tadbir*), personal choice (*ikhtiyār*), and its worldly volitions and lusts—that is, without reaching the state of annihilation. Thus, some practices are designed to break and remove the established habits of the novice disciple.⁵⁵⁹

5.2.1. Seclusion (‘Uzla)

‘Alī al-Jamal describes ‘*uzla* as a *jalālī* quality, while companionship with others is characterized as *jamālī*. For him, the honor of the one who follows the path of *tajrīd* lies in withdrawing from people, especially those he considers deficient (*ahl al-nuqṣān*), and finding refuge in the presence of the Truth. He regards this state as the essence of all goodness, so profound that, even if books were written to fill the space between heaven and earth, their words would still fall short of capturing its true worth.⁵⁶⁰ In this context, he likens the path of the wayfarer to that of sovereignty. Just as the worldly king maintains a distance from the common people, associating only with those who work in his realm, and would lose his distinction were he to mingle with the common people and adopt their ways, so too must the sovereigns of the inner world (i.e., themselves) distance themselves in order to preserve their spiritual distinction. This separation manifests both outwardly through ‘*uzla* and spiritually through the embodiment of the extraordinary. Their souls are those of kings, even if their outward state appears humble. Whatever befits a king in the exterior realm also befits for the “inward” king in the interior realm.⁵⁶¹

‘*Uzla* is not only a method of *tajrīd* but also a result of it. For he whose exterior is darkened and whose interior is filled with light, the people will distance themselves from him. After this withdrawal, all that remains for him is the acceptance (*iqbāl*) of the Truth. In this sense, he who turns away from the people turns towards the Truth.⁵⁶² Here, ‘Alī al-Jamal brings the concept to life through a metaphor: birds. He distinguishes between two types, birds of the sense and birds of the meaning. While

⁵⁵⁹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 181, 336, 362.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 310.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., 28, 311.

⁵⁶² Ibid., 39.

birds of the sense are captured with nets of rope, fluttering through the world of appearances in search of bodily nourishment, birds of the meaning, however, are caught by the net of seclusion, contemplation (*tafakkur*), or by the company of the gnostic. They travel to the spiritual kingdom (*malakūt*) of the inner realities, seeking nourishment for the soul. Without doubt, ‘Alī al-Jamal aligns himself with the birds of meaning.⁵⁶³

For al-Jamal, who speaks of a strict experience of seclusion when he first entered the path,⁵⁶⁴ the wayfarer on the path of *tajrīd* is one who flees from the external world as one flees from a lion. Having attained the intended fruits in this way, he thereafter takes from the external world only what is unavoidable.⁵⁶⁵ The interior dwells in the presence of the Truth, while the exterior remains among the people. Al-Jamal describes this as “the very essence of cream mixed with honey” and refers to it as “seclusion of the heart without seclusion of the body,” and he also relates that some have defined it as “The body is in the marketplace, but the heart is in the *malakūt*.”⁵⁶⁶

After stating that the most honorable of stations in this matter is for the exterior to be with the people through God, while the interior to be with God in truth, al-Jamal refers to al-Shādhilī’s statement, “Union is witnessed in your innermost being, and separation is present on your tongue.” Because when it is so, outwardly, the people recognize and accept the wayfarer, and inwardly he becomes a medium between them and God. The true deficiency arises when having separation in the exterior without having union in the interior.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶³ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., 50-51.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh also states that after initially fleeing from the people and being alone with God, once rootedness (*rusūkh*) and certainty (*yaqīn*) are established and one has arrived from the state of annihilation to the state of permanence, his affair is then up to God. He may, if He wishes, make him manifest, or He may conceal him. See al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā’if al-minan*, 49. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, as well, after initially living a long life of seclusion in caves, was told by God, “Mix with the people, so that they may benefit from you... We have granted you safety (*salāma*) and removed from you blame (*malāma*).” Thereafter, first in Tunis and later in Egypt, he lived a Sufi life that was not separate from the people. After this, he would only recommend retreat (*khalwa*) to a disciple who was struggling with five things: following the commands, avoiding the prohibitions, gathering one’s spiritual aspiration, keeping the heart pure, and the state of neediness. See Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 27, 87; al-‘Imrānī, *al-Taḥf*, 31.

⁵⁶⁶ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 73.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 236. For the related saying see Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 47.

‘Alī al-Jamal further classifies *‘uzla* as abandon the company of the deficient and keeping the company of those whose purpose is to witness God. This is seclusion of the heart, rather than the body, and is the attribute of the powerful and skilled who dwell in the world of spirits. By contrast, minor seclusion is to withdraw to the wilderness away from all people, friend and foe alike, without making such distinction. This is a seclusion of the body, not the heart, and it characterizes ascetics who flee with their souls to the world of the unseen. A third category consists of those who are in seclusion with both heart and body, while they are safe from all afflictions, and have attained the virtue of solitude while missing the virtue of the community.⁵⁶⁸ According to him, the first station that the wayfarer reaches is the gaining acceptance of the people, while the first station that the man of *jadhba* reaches – here understood as walking the path of *tajrīd*- is the complete withdrawal of creation from him; both of these are the greatest of calamities.⁵⁶⁹ A balance must be maintained between these two sides. In this regard, al-Jamal likens people to clothing, saying that no one can do without them; rather, one must sometimes take off this clothing (i.e., go into seclusion), but it is necessary to return to the people once the purpose has been fulfilled.⁵⁷⁰ According to him, keeping company with the gnostics is superior to seclusion, seclusion is superior to keeping company with the general public, and keeping company with the general public is superior to keeping company with ignorant dervishes.⁵⁷¹ Therefore, his positive view of one who prefers retreat (*khalwa*) over social interaction (*ijtimā’*) and his negative view of one who prefers social interaction over *khalwa*, applies to the novice and in situations where there are no other disciples with whom to associate.⁵⁷²

The position of his shaykh, al-‘Arabī, on this matter is similar. He said, “O my son, the engagement of a disciple who is secluded from the people with his heart is like one who engraves on stone. The inner state of a disciple who mingles with the people, however, is never purified; he is like one who engraves on water, his work never

⁵⁶⁸ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 23-34.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 237-238.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., 266.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 281; Ibn ‘Ajlba, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 468.

⁵⁷² For al-Jamal’s related saying on this subject, see Ibn ‘Ajlba, *Īqāz al-himam*. 51–52. We find this saying which Ibn ‘Ajlba narrated as the only place where al-Jamal uses the word *khalwa* literally. This, in turn, strengthens our view that he uses the word *‘uzla* at times in place of *khalwa* and at other times in its sense of purifying the heart from that which is other-than-God.

settles,”⁵⁷³ thus presenting seclusion as the goal and praising it. However, he also forbade the disciples from appearing cheerful when they were embodying the realities of *jalāl* instructing them to follow *jalāl* with a reality of *jamāl*. In this way, he explained the people would not reject them, and the divine support (*madad*) flowing through them would not be cut off.⁵⁷⁴

The statement that best summarizes that al-Jamal’s view that relationship with the people should not be one of absolute seclusion but a limited and inward seclusion is this: “The issue is not in avoiding the bee because of its sting; the real issue lies with the one who has mastered the bee, eats its honey, and has avoids its sting.”⁵⁷⁵ Those who have moved beyond the novice stage and are people of perfection and rootedness (*rusūkh*) are able to combine both worldly benefit and spiritual benefit.⁵⁷⁶ According to him, the weak on this path benefit only by gathering with people of their own craft, while the perfected benefit equally from everyone. Therefore, their frequent mingling with the people and their travels are also a practice that generates spiritual increase.⁵⁷⁷

In conclusion, al-Jamal’s position on this matter is that one should maintain seclusion of the heart while remaining among the people, but in order to reach the capacity for such inward seclusion, the novice must first physically withdraw from people in a real sense for a specific period of time (*khalwa*). According to him, the true purpose of this real seclusion is to attain contemplation, which establishes seclusion of the heart within a person. In this regard, he refers to Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s statement in the *Ḥikam*: “Nothing is more beneficial to the heart than a seclusion by which it enters a field of contemplation,”⁵⁷⁸ as well as the *ḥadīth*: “An hour of contemplation is better than a year of worship.” On the same subject, he also refers to Junayd’s saying: “If you

⁵⁷³ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 316.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 125.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., 102.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 57.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 141, 181, 274, 294. He relates the following anecdote about how the perfected one benefits from other people in the same way: “Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh was sitting one day in a place on the outskirts of the city. A man from among the people of sin was singing a song of the ‘people of the taverns’ (*ahl al-kharābāt*). Sīdī Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh was listening to him without the man being aware. When the man turned, he saw the shaykh, and out of shame, he fell silent. The shaykh said to him, “Continue, I am more in need of this song than you are. You sing as you know how, and I listen as I know how (i.e., I understand it in my own way).” The man, with the shaykh’s permission, continued the song from where he had left off. See *ibid.*, 84. For more on this subject, see also *ibid.*, 211, 268, 296.

⁵⁷⁸ al-Iskandarī, “*Ḥikam*,” 89.

possess a secret, perform ablution with the water of the Unseen; otherwise, perform a dry ablution (*tayammum*) with dust or stone,”⁵⁷⁹ expressing the view that the actions of the heart are more powerful than the actions of the limbs, and that the difference is like that between ablution with water and *tayammum*.⁵⁸⁰

Ibn ‘Ajība comments on al-Iskandarī’s saying, “Nothing is more beneficial to the heart than a seclusion by which it enters a field of contemplation.” According to him, ‘*uzla* is the heart’s occupation with God, while *khalwa* is the body’s withdrawal from people. He states that the term ‘*uzla* in this aphorism is used in the sense of *khalwa*. The purpose of *khalwa*, is to attain the state of contemplation in which direct vision and witnessing occur, and to empty the heart of all things other than God (‘*uzla*). He then enumerates ten benefits of *khalwa*. The common point in all of these benefits is the idea that this temporary *khalwa* is not the ultimate goal, rather, its purpose is to attain ‘*uzla*, which means later mixing with the people while having a heart purified of other thoughts. Ibn ‘Ajība also interprets ‘*uzla* as distancing oneself from people of deficiency and preferring the company of the disciples.⁵⁸¹ Therefore, for him too, the ideal is for the novice, after entering into *khalwa* for a specific period, then to be physically present among the people, while remaining spiritually connected to God within. Continuous seclusion occupies a lower level in this hierarchy, consistent with al-Jamal’s classification. In these respects, Ibn ‘Ajība, drawing on similar metaphors and references, shares the same views as ‘Alī al-Jamal.⁵⁸²

Ibn ‘Ajība’s shaykh, al-Būzīdī, and his shaykh, al-Darqāwī, employed the same classifications and sometimes used the words ‘*uzla* and *khalwa* with the same meanings.⁵⁸³ Accordingly, in ‘Alī al-Jamal’s approach, ‘*uzla* is at times used in the sense of *khalwa*, temporarily withdrawing the novice from the outward world. However, on the spiritual path, this withdrawal ultimately returns him to the midst of

⁵⁷⁹ For further commentaries on this poem, see “Sharḥ al-abyāt al-thalātha li-l-Junayd,” in *al-Laṭā’if al-imāniyya al-malakūtiyya wa-l-ḥaqā’iq al-iḥsāniyya al-jabarūtiyya fī rasā’il al-shaykh Aḥmad ibn ‘Ajība*, ed. ‘Āṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2006), 321–324; ‘Udda b. Tūnus, *Majālis al-tadhkīr fī tahdhīb al-rūḥ wa-tarbiyat al-ḍamīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Hādī b. Tūnus and Yaḥyā al-Tāhir Burga (Mostaganem: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Alawiyya, 1995), 41–44.

⁵⁸⁰ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 307.

⁵⁸¹ Ibn ‘Ajība, *Īqāz al-himam*, 50–55.

⁵⁸² Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Baḥr al-madīd*, 2:494, 612.

⁵⁸³ See Kızılkaya, “Būzīdī ve el-Ādābu’l-Mardiyye’si,” 101–105; Babadağ, “Mulay el-Arabi ed-Derkavi,” 34–36. For related contexts, see al-Darqāwī, “Rasā’il ukhrā,” 183–184; al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 180, 217; al-Būzīdī, *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*, 125, 302–304, 349–350.

people once “contemplation” -that is, the realization of inward *tajrīd*- mentioned in Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s aphorism is achieved and interprets ‘*uzla*’ mainly in this sense.⁵⁸⁴

This understanding of ‘*uzla*’ regards preferring the company and discussion of the disciples and gnostic as something that strengthens the “contemplation” cultivated in *khalwa*. Yet, this gives rise to a certain contradiction: in al-Jamal’s view, ‘*uzla*’ (in the sense of *khalwa*) is treated as outward *tajrīd* -a *jalālī* attribute involving opposing the customs of the people- and is practiced as such, while at the same time, the subsequent stage after *khalwa* is a return to society, in effect a re-engagement with those very customs. In this respect, although al-Jamal’s approach might appear to depart from his philosophy of *tajrīd* - seeming, at first glance, to conform to the customs of the people, his insistence on keeping company only with the elite, the disciples, and the gnostics at this stage still separates him from the general populace. Moreover, since al-Jamal’s understanding of *tajrīd* requires being in a state of humiliation toward God’s servants, being among the people is, on the contrary, a necessary condition and indispensable for the practices of *tajrīd*. From these perspectives, it appears that he is in agreement with the early Shādhilī shaykhs regarding the concepts of *khalwa* and ‘*uzla*’.⁵⁸⁵ Where he diverges from them is in situating this practice within his own philosophy of *tajrīd* - framing it in terms of conforming to or opposing the customs of the people - and subjecting it to such a reading.

5.2.2. Mendicancy (Si‘āya) and Wandering in the Markets

‘Alī al-Jamal considers mendicancy as one of the methods of *tajrīd*. In his view, there are two qualities in mendicancy more honorable than anything else in the realm of existence. The first is the humiliation of the *nafs* before God and its being weakened by the hands of creation before the Creator. The second is the remembrance of God (*dhikr Allāh*), for when a mendicant says, “Give something for the sake of God,” he combines these two states. This kind of humiliation, in the view of the people of

⁵⁸⁴ Ibn al-Bannā summarized this phenomenon with the sentence, “The tongue falls silent, and the heart continues to remember.” Therefore, the ideal is for ‘*uzla*’ to accompany the *khalwa* and for ‘*uzla*’ to continue after emerging from *khalwa*. See Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 484–485.

⁵⁸⁵ For instance, for the views and states of Abū al-Hasan al-Shādhilī on this subject, see Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 25, 91–96; al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā’if al-minan*, 69–70; Güven, “Ebu’l-Hasan Şāzili ve Şāziliyye,” 289–291.

verification (*ahl al-tahqīq*), is the key to all spiritual openings.⁵⁸⁶ Al-Jamal recounts that in his childhood, he heard worldly people jesting with each other, saying, “Mendicancy is the lesser sovereignty.” When he grew older and his intellect and understanding matured, he realized that it was, by God, the greater sovereignty. For he found nothing that killed the *nafs* more swiftly than humbling it before its peers. Humiliation before God is a state experienced by everyone, including the non-believer; for this reason, it has become a custom, and God, the Majestic, has no need of it. Therefore, the true humiliation that is sought is that which is shown towards the servant.⁵⁸⁷

Considering that they immediately distributed whatever they collected, mendicancy in this sense falls within the scope of both generosity of the self and generosity of wealth. For one who desires God, it is a condition to renounce them.⁵⁸⁸ As the Quran states: “Indeed, Allah has purchased from the believers their lives and their properties [in exchange] for that they will have Paradise” (Q 9:111).

Al-Darqāwī states that although Shaykh al-Jamal was over 80 years old, he would go from shop to shop in old Fez as if he was in great need, yet he kept nothing of what he acquired, distributing it immediately. According to al-Darqāwī, the purpose of this practice, which al-Jamal bequeathed to his followers, was to oppose the *nafs* and bow down before the Truth. It also signified his conviction that *tajrīd* was superior to engaging with causes (*tasabbub*). Immediately after this statement, al-Darqāwī’s saying that the Prophet was a person of both *tasabbub* and *tajarrud* indicates that he also perceives mendicancy as both *tasabbub* and *tajrīd* -that is, in the act of begging, there is *tajrīd* in the sense of opposing the customs of the people and *tasabbub* in the sense of making an effort.⁵⁸⁹ That is, they do not engage in the act of begging out of opposition to earning a livelihood (*kasb*), but, rather, to habituate oneself to the extraordinary, to remove love of wealth from the heart, and to restrain the *nafs* in this respect. Al-Darqāwī’s giving the example of ‘Alī al-Jamal immediately distributing or

⁵⁸⁶ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 19.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., 293.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., 115, 191.

⁵⁸⁹ al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 162, 255; al-Ghumārī, *al-Mu‘zīn*, 166.

getting rid of what he collected, in a letter sent to al-Būzīdī, reflects this principle, as he says:

[Shaykh al-Jamal] Once traveled to the East, as you know. His companions gave him noble horses, camels, caravans, properties, cattle, sheep, and more. Yet, he sold everything that came into his hands, keeping only a small silver box, which he exchanged for gold to make it lighter. He placed it in a saddlebag and returned home as poor and solitary as when he had left them. This is a state appropriate to our current condition, O my master.⁵⁹⁰

According to Ibn ‘Ajība’s narrative, mendicancy was introduced into the order as a method of *mujāhada* by ‘Alī al-Jamal.⁵⁹¹ Having held position as a vizier and administrative roles, he was a person of high esteem. When he became affiliated with his shaykh, al-‘Arabī, and proved his sincerity and dedication, his shaykh said to him, “I see in you a love that has not been granted to anyone before; if I had not witnessed your sincerity and effort, I would not have directed you to this affair,” thus guiding him toward the practice of mendicancy. His shaykh told him that he could attain his goal only through this form of humiliation. He entered this path and found tranquility in it until his death.⁵⁹² Al-Jamal himself regarded this among the first practices of *tajrīd* that his shaykh al-‘Arabī had commanded; to wander through the markets, give away whatever he collected in charity, and keep not even a single dirham. He practiced that,⁵⁹³ and later confirmed that mendicancy was not practiced out of opposition to earning a livelihood.

So, he maintained that the most fitting place for the people of *ḥaqīqa* is there, and whoever wishes for the lights of reality to be kindled in his heart should remain there, leaving only at the time of rest. Mastery over the people, he said, comes through frequent interaction with them. In this regard, al-Jamal, citing al-Shushtarī’s words, “The center of the crowd (*ziḥām*) is the path to our neighborhood (*ḥayy*). Enter the market, get warm; enter the market, get warm; enter the market, get warm,” affirming

⁵⁹⁰ al-Darqāwī, “Rasā’il ukhrā,” 169–70. Regarding mendicancy, it is encouraged that after keeping enough of what is obtained to satisfy one’s hunger, the rest should be spent in charity. See al-Būzīdī, *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*, 159.

⁵⁹¹ Therefore, on account of this testimony and the statements we have provided on this subject so far, the thesis of Mahmut Ay, who claims that this practice was first introduced into the order by al-Darqāwī, proves to be incorrect. For the relevant view, see Mahmut Ay, “Ahmed b. Acibe ve İşari Tefsir Açısından el-Bahru’l-Medid” (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2010), 35–36.

⁵⁹² See Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 446; Al-Būzīdī, *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*, 261. Ibn ‘Ajība counts ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb and al-Shushtarī among the mendicant dervishes, which also shows us the chain of influence in this matter. See Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 447.

⁵⁹³ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 115.

that frequently the markets is itself one of the realities.⁵⁹⁴ He later required those disciples whom he considered sincere to practice this. Al-Darqāwī's testimony at this point is significant:

Know (may God have mercy on you) that the first benefit I received from my master was when he handed me two baskets full of mulberries. I carried them in my hands, rather than placing them on my back as my companions did. Yet, this was extremely hard on my *nafs*. It was so hard on me that I felt constricted, shaken, weakened, and deeply saddened. I almost cried. By God, I cried because of the humiliation, smallness, and insignificance that had befallen me. My *nafs* would not be pleased with this or anything like it, nor would it ever bow its head to it. I had been unaware of its arrogance, its claim to greatness, its evil, and its stubbornness. I did not know the arrogance of my *nafs*, and none of the jurists (*fuqahā*) from whom I had studied had told me about it... The shaykh discovered my state. He came to me, took the baskets from my hands, and placed them on my back; just like my friends, whose faces were more handsome than mine, and who were in a better state than me, and who were unconcerned with their *nafs*, and who were not arrogant, tyrannical, or malicious. As he placed them on my back, he said, "This is better for you to get rid of some of your pride." At that moment, the spiritual opening (*fath*) came to me, guiding me to the right path. That is, I distinguished the people of pride from the people of humility, the people of seriousness from the people of jest, and the people of knowledge from the people of ignorance.⁵⁹⁵

Both the act of begging and that of wandering in the markets in a manner that people would find reprehensible were continued by prominent figures of the later Darqāwiyya order, starting with al-Darqāwī, and including figures such as al-Būzīdī and Ibn 'Ajība.⁵⁹⁶ Since such arduous practices were absent in the earlier Shādhiliyya order, and in fact, those who practiced them were censured,⁵⁹⁷ it is possible to perceive this as a renewal introduced into the order in this century. Although Zarrūq also mentions the act of begging, we do not find a definitive answer as to whether it existed as a practice in his time.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., 269, 312. The full sentence is as follows: "Among the realities (*ḥaqā'iq*) are also these: frequent sitting in the mosque, frequent standing, frequent walking between the walls of the mosque, and lying down there; frequent stopping in the markets, sleeping (*raqad*), and walking. All of these are realities."

⁵⁹⁵ al-Darqāwī, *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, 72.

⁵⁹⁶ al-Darqāwī, *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, 74-77, 143-144, 338; al-Būzīdī, *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*, 63, 147-166, 236-237, 318; Ibn 'Ajība, *Fahrassa*, 55-56; Ibn 'Ajība, *Īqāz al-himam*, 257.

⁵⁹⁷ See al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā'if al-minan*, 62, 110, 168.

⁵⁹⁸ Zarrūq, *al-Lawā'ih al-Fāsiyya*, 219-20. The researcher Zeynep Kızılkaya posits the possibility that the reason Zarrūq addresses the subject of mendicancy in his book *al-Lawā'ih al-Fāsiyya* is due to it being a necessity, as the matter is mentioned in the work he is commenting upon. The fact that we did not encounter references to Zarrūq in the tradition of al-Jamal and the Darqāwiyya regarding the issue of mendicancy justifies this possibility. For the related claim, see Kızılkaya, "Būzīdī ve el-Ādābu'l-Marḍiyye'si," 109.

5.2.3. Silence and Hunger

According to ‘Alī al-Jamal, “speech is *jamāl* for the people, but *jalāl* for the self. Silence, however, is *jamāl* for the self and *jalāl* for the people.” Speech is like the tree of honor, he who plants it often reaps humiliation; while silence is like the tree of humiliation, yet it yields the fruit of honor for him who plants it.⁵⁹⁹ As speech increases, wisdom decreases. As speech decreases, wisdom increases, for “Silence can gather a thousand wisdoms in a single word, while speech can scatter one wisdom into a thousand words.” From this perspective, silence is among the most beneficial provisions a dervish can acquire.

The claim of the speaker diminishes in proportion to their words, while the claim of the silent one grows.⁶⁰⁰ Since speech is honor and loftiness, it is an attribute of the Truth; silence, being humiliation and lowliness, is an attribute of the servant. When the speaker and the silent one meet, judgment, being lowly, belongs to the silent one.⁶⁰¹ If silence stems from knowledge, it is all the more honorable than speech. Conversely, if speech stems from ignorance, it is baser than silence. What is truly and absolutely lowly is to speak from ignorance, and he who does so is a hyena, both outwardly and inwardly, in essence and in word. By contrast, what is truly and absolutely lofty is to be silent with knowledge, and he who does so is a lion, both outwardly and inwardly, in essence and in word. He who is silent out of ignorance is like a hyena in a lion's skin, while he who speaks with knowledge, is like a lion in a hyena's skin.⁶⁰²

‘Alī al-Jamal, who himself generally preferred silence,⁶⁰³ states that speech is one of the attributes of the people of annihilation, while silence is one of the attributes of the people of permanence.⁶⁰⁴ Therefore, the divine gifts (*mawāhib*) that come with silence are more powerful than those that come with speech. For a disciple who has turned

⁵⁹⁹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 56, 149.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., 127, 221, 257.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., 18.

⁶⁰² Ibid., 23.

⁶⁰³ Further evidence that they did this to oppose the customs of the people is that they would not return a greeting (*salām*) when offered one on the road, nor would they greet those they encountered. See al-Nāṣirī, *al-Mazāyā fī-mā uḥditha min al-bidaʿ*, 137.

⁶⁰⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 63.

towards this path, speaking about the world is as ugly as exposing one's nakedness while people are watching.⁶⁰⁵

His condemnation of speech to this extent is, again, for the novice. For the perfected, since he speaks with God and is silent with God, there is no difference between the two; in both, he is honored. Conversely, for a person of deficiency, whether he speaks or remains silent, both are a deficiency, for speech is the interpreter of the interior.⁶⁰⁶ The principle that al-Jamal adopts for himself, following the example of his shaykh al-'Arabī, is to refrain from speaking about worldly matters; when speech is necessary, he chooses to speak in jest.⁶⁰⁷

Among the *jalālī* practices, al-Jamal also includes hunger, which he regards as a prophetic method:

The hungrier your stomach, the more satisfied all your limbs become; the fuller your stomach, the hungrier all your limbs feel. Indeed, as related from the Messenger of God (peace be upon him), he said: 'Overeating (*biṭna*) kills intelligence (*fiṭna*).' He whose stomach abstains (eats little), his intelligence comes to life. Hunger brings enlightenment to the heart and a health to the body. For hunger bequeaths wisdom, while satiety bequeaths indigestion and heedlessness.⁶⁰⁸

Al-Darqāwī also, on the subject of *tajrīd*, recommends neglecting the body and the stomach. Or, since the purpose is to oppose the people, he advises eating products that others would find repugnant or opening one's mouth very wide while eating, indications that he was influenced in this regard by his shaykh, al-Jamal.⁶⁰⁹

These assessments of silence and hunger, apart from al-Jamal's view of them as *jalālī* practice, are points upon which the Shādhilī literature is generally in agreement.⁶¹⁰ Abū Madyan stated that for the people of reality, the path passes through hunger, and that those of the *salaf* who attained union with God did so by means of this practice.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., 199. Here, refraining from speaking about the world also appears as a reaction to the worldliness of the dervishes of that period. See *ibid.*, 267.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., 218-220.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., 313.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., 363.

⁶⁰⁹ al-Darqāwī, *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, 143-144.

⁶¹⁰ Ibn 'Ajība also mentions that for some, speech is more burdensome, while for others, silence is more so. He says that one must choose whichever is more difficult for the *nafs*, thereby also viewing this as a *jalālī* practice against the *nafs*. See Ibn 'Ajība, *Īqāz al-himam*, 356.

Together with hunger, speaking only as much as necessary are signs of being true disciple (*faqir*).⁶¹¹ Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī said: “Four things aid you in illuminating the heart: abundant remembrance, silence, seclusion, and eating and drinking little.”⁶¹² Zarrūq likewise addresses these matters, setting the limit of silence and hunger at a degree that does not harm one’s thought and wisdom.⁶¹³

5.2.4. Wearing Patched (Muraqqa‘a) and Old Clothing

According to ‘Alī al-Jamal, wearing a patched cloak is one of the attributes of ‘*ubūdiyya*, and ‘*ubūdiyya* is the key to all spiritual openings (*futūḥāt*). Conversely, one who wishes for the inner openings to be effaced from him should continue to wear beautiful garments and speak frequently with the people of the world. In such a state, the condition of separation takes possession of him, causing him to forget his own self and, consequently, his Lord.

For al-Jamal, the likeness of *jalāl* is a coarse garment, that is, one of wool,⁶¹⁴ while the likeness of *jamāl* is a fine garment, such as brocade (*dībāj*) and the like. Likewise, it is the characteristic of the *murabbī* shaykh, in relation to his disciples, to divest himself of the garments of sovereignty -which are the garments of *jamāl*- and set them aside, donning instead the coarse woolen garments -which are the garments of *jalāl*- in order to devote himself to the training of the disciples. He also likens *murabbī* shaykh to a woman, just as a woman does not raise her children in fine garments but in coarse ones of wool or the like, for this clothing is appropriate for fledglings in their state of childhood, so too does a shaykh raise his disciples. When they grow, their age advances, and they become rational men capable of distinguishing between things and their opposites, their mother then clothes them in the most honorable attire she possesses. Similarly, when the disciple’s station rises, the beauty and quality of the clothes he wears also increase. For the gnostic, however, wearing or not wearing such

⁶¹¹ Abū Madyan, “*Bidāyat al-murīd*,” 56–63, 86–87.

⁶¹² al-Iskandarī, *Tāj al-‘arūs*, 18.

⁶¹³ Zarrūq, *al-Lawā‘ih al-Fāsiyya*, 232. Also, Zarrūq, defines the practice of hunger as the provision of the wayfarer, the most virtuous deed of the *zāhid*, and the best state of the gnostic in disciplining the *nafs*. See Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad Zarrūq, *Uṣūl al-ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir Naṣṣār (Cairo: Dārat al-Karaz, 2008), 60. Ibn ‘Ajība also shares these ideas; see Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 472–73.

⁶¹⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 65.

garment is all the same.⁶¹⁵ Thus, the practice of wearing old and patched clothing is a temporary practice in the life of the disciple. By saying that many an arrogant person may have worn a patched cloak and many a humble person may have worn fine garments, he in fact draws attention to the idea that the ultimate goal is neither to wear nor not to wear this garment.⁶¹⁶

Al-Darqāwī relates that when ‘Alī al-Jamal recognized his sincerity in the path, he commanded him to depart from the customs of the *nafs* and took hold of the garment he was wearing (the *ḥā’ik*)⁶¹⁷, then al-Jamal uncovered his head, twisted the garment and hung it around his neck. Al-Darqāwī then describes the initial psychological distress this state caused him.⁶¹⁸ He himself recommends uncovering the head and baring parts of the body, except for the private parts, in order to oppose the people.⁶¹⁹ Al-Būzīdī stated that when they met, he was wearing a patched frock (*khirqā*) and that he had never seen a finer frock than that.⁶²⁰ Consequently, this practice continued in different forms after al-Jamal.⁶²¹

Resorting to such practices in the name of *tajrīd* and training the *nafs* is not a situation we encounter among the early Shādhilī shaykhs. As mentioned before, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī’s once said to a person wearing such clothes, “One who is a servant of God does not wear this robe you have on... Your robe, however, says, ‘I am in need of you, help me.’”⁶²² This statement reflects his view, which does not favor hardship and humiliation towards creation.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., 92-93.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 65, 363-364.

⁶¹⁷ The *ḥā’ik* is a traditional Moroccan cloth. See Rajab ‘Abd al-Jawwād Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-mu’jam al-‘Arabī li-asmā’ al-malābis* (Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-‘Arabiyya, 2002), 142-143. For a description also see al-Fihri, *Mir’āt al-maḥāsīn*, 88.

⁶¹⁸ Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 317.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 144.

⁶²⁰ al-Būzīdī, *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*, 60.

⁶²¹ In fact, this happened in different ways with ‘Alī al-Jamal himself. For instance, it is the testimony of those who saw him that he wore the traditional red Fez cap (*sharbīl*) and pulled up his linen garment. See al-Nāṣirī, *al-Mazāyā fī-mā uḥditha min al-bida’*, 137.

⁶²² al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā’if al-minan*, 154.

5.3. As a Conclusion to the Chapter: Can We Consider Al-Jamal a Malāmatī?

In summary, the *tajrīd* practices we have examined—seclusion, begging and wandering in the bazaars, silence and hunger, and wearing old and strange-looking clothes—were implemented and taught by al-Jamal. Although such practices, apart from silence and hunger, carry the meaning of accusing the self and disregarding public opinion, they are not found in the middle or early periods of the Shādhilī order.⁶²³ However, al-Jamal reinterpreted their sayings about *dhilla* in this way, adapting them to his own hermeneutic. As mentioned earlier, the relevant Quranic verses and *ḥadīths* were also interpreted within this framework, thus providing legitimacy. In this sense, while continuity was ensured through connections and references, he also used them in a completely new way within his own philosophy of *tajrīd*, and there is a renewal in the practices resulting from this. Therefore, it becomes clear that it is incorrect to initiate these practices, seen as a renewal within the Shādhilī order, and the philosophy of *tajrīd* we have outlined, with Mawlāy al-Darqāwī.⁶²⁴ He received all of these from ‘Alī al-Jamal, and they were transmitted, respectively, to figures such as al-Būzīdī and Ibn ‘Ajība, who in turn added new practices within this framework.⁶²⁵

As mentioned above, al-Jamal also inherited *tajrīd* as an understanding from his shaykh. However, its first appearance combined with practice seems to be with al-Jamal. Indeed, his shaykh asked him, “Do you want to revive a path that has been finished since Junayd?”⁶²⁶ This is clearly illustrating that *tajrīd* within its practices genuinely started with al-Jamal.

The intention behind the *tajrīd* practices can be summarized as: opposing the customs of the people and other Sufis due to the corruption in the Sufism of Fez at that time

⁶²³ Abū Madyan, “Bidāyat al-murīd,” 86–89; Zarrūq, *Uṣūl*, 57–60; al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā’if al-minan*, 163.

⁶²⁴ For instances in these books: Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 105–106; Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, 148, 216.

⁶²⁵ Hanging thick prayer beads around the neck, walking barefoot, using a staff, sitting in rubbish dumps, eating in the marketplace in front of honorable people, taking large mouthfuls, opening one’s mouth wide and sitting in the street with one’s legs spread apart, are some of these practices. See al-Nāṣirī, *al-Mazāyā fī mā uḥditha min al-bida’*, 137; Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Makkūdī, *al-Irshād wa-l-tibyān fī radd mā ankarahu al-ru’asā’ min ahl Tiṭwān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Būkārī (Tetouan: Manshūrāt Jam’iyyat Tiṭwān Asmīr, 2008), 89; al-Mu’askarī, *Kanz al-asrār*, 235. al-Būzīdī, *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*, 125.

⁶²⁶ al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 42.

and removing oneself from them; breaking the habits of the self by humiliating oneself in front of others; and thirdly, testing the loyalty of the disciples. Just as there were disciples like al-Darqāwī who continued this path, there were also those who criticized, condemned, and made heavy accusations against him.⁶²⁷

Mawlāy al-Darqāwī states that the main motivation behind his shaykh al-Jamal's initiation of such a path was to hide from people, to conceal his state from them. According to him, al-Jamal hid himself from them by begging and performing other *tajrīd* practices; "Sidi al-Jamal hid himself from the people with the adornment of the people of *tajrīd*, he hid himself by begging."⁶²⁸

Consequently, the phenomenon we see in al-Majdhūb, and the Fāsiyya and Makhfiyya *zāwiyas*, of concealing one's state from people by *not* opposing their customs, transformed with al-Jamal into the phenomenon of concealing one's state by *opposing* their customs, which—although different from the customary Malāmatī figures in Fez at that time—falls within the definition of Malāmatīyya. Therefore, due to both the presence of a state of *jadhba* and his concealment of his state from people—even if his way of doing so was different from previous shaykhs—al-Jamal can be named a malāmatī, just as the previous shaykhs in his *silsila* were so named. This can be described as a different interpretation of *malāma* in Fez at that time, which is an *ijtihād* according to the conditions of the time and his own situation—keeping in mind that al-Jamal's story extending from the vizierate to Sufism. Therefore, it represents continuity and flexibility, not a rupture.

Al-Hujwārī (d. 465/1072) classifies *malāma* into three types: First, *malāma* in the form of rectitude (*malāmat-i rāst kardan*), which is when a person continues to perform his religious obligations, paying no heed to whether people are pleased with him or not.

⁶²⁷ For instance, the shaykh of the Nāṣirī *zāwiya*, who lived in the same period and saw 'Alī al-Jamal, uses the term "Jamaliyyīn" for the group affiliated with al-Jamal, describing them as a misguided faction and criticizing them for some of the *tajrīd* practices we have mentioned. See al-Nāṣirī, *al-Mazāyā fī-mā uḥḍitha min al-bida'*, 137–38. For the responses of al-Darqāwī's disciple, al-Makkūdī, to these criticisms, see al-Makkūdī, *al-Irshād wa-l-tibyān*, 89–131. Interestingly, al-Zabbādī, who was a contemporary and friend of 'Alī al-Jamal, makes the same criticisms after al-Jamal's death, but for al-Darqāwī and his disciples, while always trying to except al-Jamal from them. We surmise that the reason for this is that these practices became more popular and were performed more widely with the expanding circle of disciples after al-Darqāwī. See al-Zabbādī, *Sulūk al-ṭarīq al-wāriya*, 316–19.

⁶²⁸ al-Darqāwī, "Rasā'il Ukhra," 169.

Second, intentional *malāma* (*malāmat-i qaṣd kardan*), which is when a person who is held in high reputation by people performs actions that are not contrary to the sharī‘a but that people will find strange, in order to cleanse his heart from the diseases caused by this reputation. The third is the *malāma* of abandonment (*malāmat-i tark kardan*), which is the understanding that engages in some practices contrary to the sharī‘a, which al-Hujwīrī views as apostasy.⁶²⁹ From this perspective, al-Majdhūb, the shaykhs of Fāsiyya, and Makhfiyya *zāwiyas* fall into al-Hujwīrī’s definition of the *malāma* of rectitude, while al-Jamal is included in the definition of intentional *malāma*. Ibn ‘Ajība states as follows: “Al-Jamal held status, position, and the vizierate in the city of Fez. When he became affiliated with the shaykh (al-‘Arabī), and the shaykh perceived the loyalty and seriousness in him, he said to him, ‘I see in you a divine intoxication which those before you were not able to endure. Had I not seen this in you, I would not have directed you to begging.’”⁶³⁰ This statement confirms our decision to categorize him as Al-Hujwīrī second type, intentional *malāma*.

A second issue, when *tajrīd* is read as a path leading the wayfarer to unity and annihilation, concerns the question of whether there was an influence from al-Shushtarī in this matter—as in the issue of unity. His citations⁶³¹ and his division of *tajrīd* in the same way as al-Shushtarī—as outward, inward, and both outward and inward; and the shared understanding in both, which does not consider inward *tajrīd* sufficient on its own and instead posits outward *tajrīd* as an indispensable condition, give the impression that such an influence exists.⁶³² Thirdly, the characteristics that al-Shushtarī enumerates among the attributes of *al-fuqarā’ al-mutajarridūn*, such as traveling, wearing simple and coarse garments, begging, being subjected to criticism, not possessing property, hunger, not starting a family, and not engaging in any trade⁶³³—with the exception of the last two⁶³⁴—are also present as practices in al-

⁶²⁹ ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Alī Hujwīrī, *Kashf al-mahjūb*, ed. Aḥmad Rabbānī (Lahore: [n.p.], 1967), 60–63; Abū al-Ḥasan Data Ganjbakhsh ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Alī Hujwīrī, *The Kashf al-mahjūb: The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism*, trans. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (Karachi: Dār al-Ishā‘at, 1990), 63–66.

⁶³⁰ Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 446.

⁶³¹ For his citations to al-Shushtarī in the context of *tajrīd* and its practices see al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 54, 61, 109, 165–66, 173, 175, 179, 221, 252, 258–59, 299, 311, 343–44.

⁶³² Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Numayrī al-Andalusī al-Shushtarī, *al-Risāla al-Shushtariyya: Al-risāla al-‘ilmiyya fī-l-taṣawwuf*, abridged by Abū ‘Uthmān Sa’d b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tujībī Ibn Liyūn (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2004), 51–53.

⁶³³ al-Shushtarī, *al-Risāla al-Shushtariyya*, 45–46, 57–60, 77–80, 84–85, 90–91; al-Shushtarī, *al-Maqālīd al-wujūdiyya*, 85–86.

⁶³⁴ Both of these are also present in al-Būzīdī. See al-Būzīdī, *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*, 157–58, 345–47.

Jamal. Fourthly, despite such practices, there is a common emphasis on the sharī‘a. Sixthly, there is a similarity with al-Shushtarī in terms of adopting a moderate outward *tajrīd*, with understandings such as not recommending absolute seclusion or excessive hunger or prolonged silence.⁶³⁵ From these perspectives, the possibility emerges that al-Jamal benefited from him.

Shushtarī calls *al-fuqarā’ al-mutajarridūn* who possess these characteristics we have listed above as Qalandariyya.⁶³⁶ Considering that the Qalandarīs have a completely antinomian character, they appear to be in perfect parallel with the concept of *tajrīd* that al-Jamal adopted as a method. However, there is no such Qalandariyya *silsila* or direct attribution to them in al-Jamal, so it does not seem appropriate to include him in this class. Nevertheless, this antinomian understanding of him and these practices can be included in the phenomenon that Karamustafa defines as “new asceticism.”⁶³⁷

⁶³⁵ For a collective evaluation of these contexts in al-Shushtarī, see Özel, *Hikayem Ne Tuhaftır*, 182–93.

⁶³⁶ al-Shushtarī, *al-Risāla al-Shushtariyya*, 138; Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, 17–23. Qalandariyya represents a radical interpretation of Malāmī ethics and, in terms of its etymology, carries meanings such as detachment and opposition to social customs. According to the definition of al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), whereas the fundamental principle in Malāmīyya is concealing one’s pious deeds, the fundamental principle of Qalandariyya is flouting the customs and a conscious effort to act contrary to them. Consequently, while the Malāmīīs prioritize concealing their inner state with their outward appearance and actions, the Qalandarīs—by virtue of their opposition to everything established and accepted—on the contrary, have become conspicuous in both their appearance and their actions. Nevertheless, after the emergence of Qalandariyya, Malāmīyya also was not limited to the framework drawn by al-Sulamī and al-Suhrawardī of concealing good states from people, avoiding hypocrisy, and accusing the self; different tendencies have also been identified within it, which oppose people’s customs and carry the antinomian character found in the Qalandarīs. See Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥaḥḥ ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī, *‘Awārīf al-ma’ārīf*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Khālīdī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2016), 51; Bolat, *Melametilik*, 222–235, 299, 320; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Marjinal Sufilik: Kalenderiler: XIV-XVII. Yüzyıllar* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2020), 56–58, 63–68; Eyüp Öztürk, *Velilik ile Delilik Arasında: İbnu’s-Serrac’ın Gözünden Muvelleh Dervişler* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2013), 65–66, 88–89.

⁶³⁷ Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1550* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 2–4. This categorization is in relation to the first, earlier ascetic (*zuhd*) movement. As we have mentioned before, some ascetics resorted to such radical practices from the first century of the Hijra as a reaction to excessive worldliness. As a result, a debate arose between *tajrīd* and engagement with secondary causes (*tasabbub*), and as Sufism was being established as a science, it faced a problem of legitimacy in the face of theology and jurisprudence. Later, understandings that established a balance between the two, created a hierarchy between them based on the sacred texts (*nuşûş*), brought the Sufis back into the city, and saved them from being considered heretical, were developed and addressed in the works that can be called the first classics of Sufism. For the debates and transitions on this subject, see Tekmen, “Erken Dönem Tasavvufu Zühhd Anlayışı,” 20–274; Kahya, “Tasavvufun Teşekkül Döneminde Sufiler ve Ticari Hayat” (PhD diss., İstanbul University, 2023); Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formative Period*, 19–38.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER MAIN CONTEXTS: SOME ETIQUETTES (ĀDĀB) AND PILLARS (ARKĀN)

Beyond the *tajrīd* practices discussed above, there exist additional aspects pertaining to the disciple that warrant careful examination. Undoubtedly, particularly for the novice disciple at the outset of the spiritual path (*sulūk*), the aforementioned practices were implemented under the supervision of a shaykh. Beyond this, al-Jamal repeatedly -often with considerable emphasis- addressed specific topics throughout his book to guide the disciple, the aspirant to be among the elite, how to approach them. These include companionship (*ṣuḥba*), reverence (*taʿẓīm*), the relationship between remembrance (*dhikr*) and contemplation (*fikr*), and the relationship between knowledge (*ʿilm*) and action (*ʿamal*). In this chapter, these concepts will be examined in the order presented by al-Jamal, with an attempt to compare them to the early and modern Shādhilī shaykhs.

6.1. Companionship

This word is used here to mean not only mutual conversation but also, more generally, spending time together. According to al-Jamal, continued association with the masters of one's art is the foundation upon which the path is built, and within it lies the entirety of good.⁶³⁸ Recalling the earlier classification of seclusion, he maintains that companionship with gnostics is most beneficial for the novice disciple. If such companionship is not possible, one should prefer seclusion and devote oneself to *dhikr*,

⁶³⁸ "To produce [the art] with the self means: frequent conversation with the people of one's art, frequent listening to their words, frequent looking at them, frequent smelling of their scents, and constantly going to them on foot. Part of producing [the art] is also to imitate them and to adopt their attire and states." See al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 141.

avoiding the company of the common people and especially that of the ignorant disciple. Companionship with him is, above all, what darkens the heart.⁶³⁹

According to al-Jamal, the elite state has both a body and a spirit: its body is *tajrīd*, and its spirit is companionship. One cannot stand without the other.⁶⁴⁰ For the novice disciple to reach the stations attained by the great gnostics, to acquire the knowledge of God, and for witnessing and direct vision -which he describes as the “greatest remembrance” (*al-dhikr al-akbar*)- to be realized, it is necessary to maintain companionship with the gnostics who possess such knowledge. “For if there were no intermediary (*wāsiṭa*), as has been said, the one reached through the intermediary (the goal) would be lost.”⁶⁴¹ The “intermediary” here, in the sense of the shaykh, is the root and key to spiritual increase. Without such increase, a person remains in a state of deficiency.⁶⁴²

Without continuity in companionship, there is no permanence in wisdom, and without wisdom, there is no permanence in gnosis. Honor, sincerity, verification (*taḥqīq*), and certainty (*yaqīn*) are only obtained through continuous companionship with the gnostics.⁶⁴³ “The lands (spiritual realms) are conquered both by him who knows them and by him who does not—on the condition that it is in the company of one who knows them.” Therefore, according to al-Jamal, who considers companionship with shaykhs as an indispensable intermediary, if the disciple tries to advance without someone to show him the realities of the path, he will meet with ruin. The intermediaries who

⁶³⁹ Zarrūq also identifies companionship with the shaykh and the disciples who are masters of his art as one of the fundamental principles of the Shādhilī order. See Zarrūq, *Uṣūl*, 49-51. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, too, ties the realization of the love of God -which he sees as the foundation that gathers all good things and charisms within itself- to four things: sincere piety (*warʿ*), beautiful intention, sincere action, and the love of knowledge. He has stated that these are only actualized through the *ṣuḥba* of a righteous friend or a sincere, advising shaykh, thereby indicating that companionship is the path to the greatest goal. Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 120-21.

⁶⁴⁰ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 281

⁶⁴¹ This sentence is taken from *al-Ṣalāt al-Mashīhiyya*. See Maḥmūd, *al-Quṭb al-shahīd ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh*, 41; ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-ʿAshshāb, *Mawlā ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh: Al-quṭb al-rabbānī* (Rabat: Rābiṭat al-Muḥammadiyya li-l-ʿUlamāʾ; Markaz al-Imām al-Junayd, 2012), 53.

⁶⁴² al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 58, 82, 97, 122, 141, 181, 252-254, 275. In this regard, al-Jamal cites the Quranic verses, “And God increases in guidance those who are guided” (Q 19:76) and “The alms are only for the poor and the needy” (Q 9:60), arguing that “he who is content has no share in increase. And when increase is absent, deficiency appears.” He also invokes the *ḥadīth*, “Both gatherings are good, but I have been commanded to sit with these,” referring to the Prophet’s sitting with the poor, and the *ḥadīth*, “O God, let me live as a humble man, let me die as a humble man, and resurrect me in the company of the humble,” in support of sitting with shaykhs and one’s spiritual kin. See *ibid.*, 120-121.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*, 51, 321-322, 332.

reveal these realities are the masters of that art, who themselves are firmly established in the station of the *sharīʿa*.

Therefore, it is necessary for the novice disciple to be accompanied by the *sharīʿa* so lest he become, lost on the path of *ḥaqīqa*. For what he perceives as evil may turn out to be good, and what he perceives as good may turn out to be evil. If he enters without the company of its people, he becomes an innovator (*mubdiʿ*). As al-Jamal states “Servitude to the *sharāʿi* is the gate to servitude to the *ḥaqāʾiq*. He who is a servant of the *sharāʿi* is also a servant of the *ḥaqāʾiq*.”⁶⁴⁴

When the disciple’s *nafs* submits with the submission of witnessing and direct vision (*shuhūd wa ʾiyān*), it becomes obligatory for him to follow his *nafs*. At this station, it is forbidden for him to follow his group (*jins*). However, as long as the disciple’s submission is the submission of proof and demonstration (*dalīl wa burhān*), it is forbidden for him to follow his *nafs* and obligatory for him to follow his group, who are the masters of his art. This is because the submission of direct vision is the “greatest remembrance” (*al-dhikr al-akbar*). When the greatest remembrance occurs in a *nafs*, that *nafs* is annihilated and only the Truth remains. Thus, he who follows his *nafs* after annihilation has followed the Truth, just as he who follows his *nafs* before annihilation has followed falsehood.⁶⁴⁵

According to al-Jamal, the disciple can enter the *nafs* only through the shaykhs, who are in the station of the gates of existence. The shaykhs, in turn, gain mastery over existence by entering through the gates of their own selves. Therefore, the gates opened before him are many, for he has unlocked the talisman of his own self, and the self is equivalent to all of existence. The disciple, however, has not yet achieved this, and for him, there is only one gate, which is the shaykh.⁶⁴⁶ Therefore, it is obligatory for him to enter through this gate. Companionship with the masters of the path is one of the three conditions of this path. The second and third, connected to it, are listening to them and affiliating with them through imitation.⁶⁴⁷

In this context, al-Jamal interprets the words of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb “There is no lover except with *wuṣūl*, and there is no *wuṣūl* except that which is precious. There is no wine except that which is sealed, and there is no station except that which is lofty” in this context. According to him, *wuṣūl* is of two kinds. The first is the *wuṣūl*

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., 49, 322-323, 352

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., 335.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., 256-257.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 74.

of the group, which comes through constantly visitation of the masters of this art; this is the foundation. The second is the *wuṣūl* of the *nafs*, which as a result is attained through imitate of them. When this occurs, *wuṣūl* is unveiled.⁶⁴⁸ Therefore, the essential purpose of companionship, in the first stage, is imitation, which itself is also divided into two. The first is sensory imitation, which is to sit with its masters and to wear the garments of this art. The second is intelligible imitation, which is engage in conversation with its masters and become conversant with its subtleties.⁶⁴⁹

Here, al-Jamal also connects the subject of companionship with that of contemplation-remembrance (*dhikr-fikr*), presenting companionship with the masters of one's art - which he terms the *dhikr* of the group- as being more powerful than the *fikr* that arises in the heart as a result of *dhikr*. The difference between the *fikr* of the self, that occurs in a person, and the *fikr* of the group that occurs through companionship, is like the difference between individual prayer and congregational prayer.⁶⁵⁰ Establishing proximity with the masters of the Sufi art and continuing in their company also enables a person to know their own self and to gain companionship with it, which, according to him, is the entirety of good.⁶⁵¹

Al-Jamal also interprets the concept of intention (*niyya*) in this framework. According to him, intention is of two kinds: the inward intention as commonly understood and the outward intention, which is to sit with the people of one's art. Both must come together for true benefit to arise.⁶⁵² Conversely, companionship with evil ones and with those unable to protect themselves from their own harm cause for God's wrath.⁶⁵³ For the disciple, this is like the exposure of his heart's nakedness, just as when the faults of normal people are exposed, it is as if their clothes have been removed.⁶⁵⁴

As we have mentioned before, in the context of seclusion and other practices, although speaking with others -except for the masters of one's art- is considered problematic for

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., 196.

⁶⁴⁹ Al-Būzīdī is also of the opinion that outward imitation of the shaykh will, after a time, bring about inward, spiritual imitation. See al-Būzīdī, *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*, 67–68 For more extensive information on the benefits of companionship in these contexts, see Ibn 'Ajlba, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 468–470.

⁶⁵⁰ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 244–245.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., 117.

⁶⁵² Ibid., 127.

⁶⁵³ For the same meaning see al-Darqāwī, *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, 207.

⁶⁵⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 166–167, 363.

the novice -except in cases of necessity- when a person reaches the level of the perfected and the high and low aspects of existence become one in his sight, conversing with worldly people also does them no harm. What is essential throughout the spiritual path is to keep one's thought and gaze away from them, maintaining one's true companionship with those who share in one's own art.⁶⁵⁵ What is worse than sitting and mingling with the commonality is to sit with false disciples (*al-mutaḥaqqira*). For the ignorant disciple and the disciple who is content with his own self is like a pot smeared with tar; it cannot be cleansed and is unfit for holding anything pure.⁶⁵⁶

Al-Jamal explains, narrating from al-ʿArabī, the necessity of the disciple's companionship with the shaykh by likening their relationship to that of an egg and a hen. According to him, just as an egg does not mature unless the hen broods over it - and is spoiled if it moves even slightly away from its feathers- so too the state of the disciple does not become sound without the shaykh's outward companionship and inward spiritual aspiration.⁶⁵⁷ Therefore, until the disciple reaches the state of witnessing and direct vision, it is obligatory for him to follow the masters of the art. When the *nafs* is annihilated and only the Truth remains, then it becomes obligatory to follow the *nafs*. "The key to following the *nafs* is to follow the *jins*; that is, the intermediaries (shaykhs). For if there were no intermediary, as has been said, the one reached through the intermediary (the goal) would be lost."⁶⁵⁸

To summarize the section described so far, al-Jamal regards sitting with shaykhs and sincere disciples and studying the Sufi realities with them as a fundamental principle. He considers it a condition for a person to walk this path with steadfastness, to become like the people of this path (*tashabbuh*), to know his own *nafs*, and from there to reach God (*wuṣūl*) and the state of permanence. Conversely, he warns that engaging in worldly conversation with those outside of the path and sitting with ignorant disciples will produce the opposite effects. This emphasis on companionship, interpreted in this

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 240, 249.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., 252-254. For similar views of Ibn ʿAllān on this subject, see Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad ʿAllān al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī Ibn ʿAllān, *Sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-Ghawthiyya*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Kitāb Nāshirūn, 2019), 31–32, 118–119.

⁶⁵⁷ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 37.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., 253.

way, is an existing reality in the Shādhilī order. For example, Aḥmad b. ‘Alīwa, in his commentaries on Abū Madyan’s aphorisms on this subject, states that companionship with ignorant Sufis, innovators, heedless scholars, and immature novices on the Sufi path will destroy the heart of the disciple, and that, over time, he will become like them and be led astray. Yet, like al-Jamal, he makes an exception for the gnostic who has reached the station of steadfastness, saying that there is no harm in his sitting and conversing with such people if the purpose is to benefit them. He gives the example of Mawlāy al-Darqāwī hosting and serving Jewish visitors to his *zāwiya* and conversing with them.⁶⁵⁹

Another point that al-Jamal raises is the situation where companionship and benefit are sometimes reciprocal. For the shaykhs also become spiritually hungry and need nourishment. Thus, the shaykh needs the disciple just as the disciple needs the shaykh. The establishment of *zāwiyas* and gathering in them serves to satisfy the hunger of whichever side is in need.⁶⁶⁰ Within this in mind, al-Jamal does not find it correct for the disciple to be constantly silent in the presence of the shaykh. Just as arrogance has no place on this path, neither does excessive shyness. If the child does not speak, the father cannot understand his problem.⁶⁶¹ On this subject he remarks: “At the time of discussion (*al-mudhākara*), none remains silent except he whose heart is like a dark house fulfilled with bats.”⁶⁶²

6.2. Reverence

According to ‘Alī al-Jamal, reverence, along with companionship, is like a spiritual fire that softens the iron of the *naḥs*. Without them, the *naḥs* remain hard, the gates stay

⁶⁵⁹ al-‘Alāwī, *al-Mawādd al-ghaythiyya*, 75–78, 81–85, 87–91. On this subject, Ibn al-Bannā, Ibn ‘Ajība, and Aḥmad Zarrūq also hold the same views. See Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 277–285; Zarrūq, *al-Lawā’ih al-Fāsiyya*, 147–150.

⁶⁶⁰ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 119–120.

⁶⁶¹ ‘Abd al-Qādir ʿIsā also counts *al-mudhākara* among the five foundations of the order. See ‘Abd al-Qādir ʿIsā, *Ḥaqāʾiq ‘an al-taṣawwuf* (Aleppo: Dār al-ʿIrfān, 2007), 193–194.

⁶⁶² Al-Darqāwī relates that al-Jamal did not look favorably upon those who remained silent during discussions, would get angry, and at such times would recite the verse, “So the word has come into effect upon them for their wrongdoing, and they do not speak.” (Q 27:85) Al-Darqāwī, who shared the same view, once told those who did so, “Either speak or get up.” He said that knowledge would emanate from the shaykh in proportion to the questions he was asked and the dialogue that was engaged in with him. See al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 187.

closed, and the shaykh cannot shape it as he wills.⁶⁶³ For this reason, the more a disciple's etiquette towards the shaykh increases, the more his proximity to the Lord increases.⁶⁶⁴ He who does not thank people does not thank God. The "intermediaries", namely the shaykhs, are like the gatekeepers to the presence of the Truth. Whoever serves the gatekeeper will, in turn, be admitted by him into that presence. Therefore, al-Jamal strongly advises the disciples to whom he addresses his book not to neglect reverence for the shaykhs, through whom spiritual openings occur. This is the key to divine graces.⁶⁶⁵ In this matter, he follows the path of his master:

The gate of reverence is a great gate. I heard the Shaykh (may God benefit us through him) narrate from his father (may God be pleased with him), who said: "Reverence has no end. It leads you to the most sublime station, and the spiritual opening is granted to the disciple in proportion to his reverence. The disciple begins his journey upon the path with reverence, until reverence become firmly established in both his outward and inward states. At that point, the path itself begins to seek him. When he realizes that the path seeks him, he finds rest and becomes a gnostic. When gnosis is attained, ignorance vanishes, and this is the ultimate goal."⁶⁶⁶

His shaykh also told him that the most feared thing on this path is a person's failure to observe proper etiquette towards his parents, his shaykh, his own self, and his Lord. Disrespect towards the shaykh arises from self-admiration and a sense of self-sufficiency in one's intellect, after the shaykh, through his guidance in knowledge and action, has delivered the disciple from ignorance and raised him to the station of the men [of God]. This leads to a state of contempt and disdain for the shaykh, which amounts to ingratitude for blessings. For such a disciple, the blessings he has received will vanish. He will fall into a state of contentment (*qanā'a*), which on this path, is in fact deprivation.⁶⁶⁷

As noted earlier, al-Jamal employs the concept of servitude (*'ubūdiyya*) metaphorically not only in the sense of worship offered to God but also in the sense of showing reverence toward the masters of the order. In this respect, the seeker's entry into the path of the elect is the reverence shown towards the people of the order, especially the shaykhs. As a result of this, complete servitude to God is ultimately

⁶⁶³ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 60.

⁶⁶⁴ Aḥmad al-'Alāwī also sees violating the rights of the shaykh as one of the reasons for being expelled and distanced from the presence of God. See al-'Alāwī, *al-Minah al-qudsiyya*, 98.

⁶⁶⁵ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 55, 204, 266.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 350.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 245-246.

realized, and the veil is lifted.⁶⁶⁸ Conversely, one who fail to show due reverence to these intermediaries cannot attain union with the Divine Presence:

Servitude is of two kinds: servitude before annihilation, which is the servitude of the disciples towards the shaykhs of the order and serves as a prerequisite for the states of the path. If this is nullified, entry into the path itself is nullified. The other is servitude after annihilation, which is called permanence and is referred to as the ‘servitude of the people of the final stations,’ which is the degree of sovereignty (*martabat al-mulk*). The servitude of the people of the beginnings consists in proper etiquette toward the shaykhs of the order while the servitude of the people of the final stations consists of proper etiquette toward the Truth, in the presence of witnessing upon the carpet of verification... ‘He whose beginning is illumined; his end will be illumined.’⁶⁶⁹

According to al-Jamal, it is necessary to show gratitude to the shaykhs, who occupy the degree of “fathers of goodness.” Just as a child relies on his father and a patient relies on his doctor, so too should the disciple rely on his shaykh. While the father and the doctor preserve a person’s mortal life, the shaykh preserves the life of the heart, which is the eternal life.⁶⁷⁰ For this reason, the etiquette and reverence shown to him should surpass all others, and his value should be superior to all. This is why Yūsuf al-Fāsī told a disciple whose parents forbade him from attending to the gathering: “My son, obey your parents in all matters. But if they tell you; do not come to us (anymore), do not obey them in this. Come to us even if it angers them.”⁶⁷¹

Sīdī al-Jamal also provides some practical examples of such discourtesies. These include eating with him, sleeping in his presence, laughing before him, and speaking without his permission. The occurrence of any of these indicate a lack of reverence, which is a great loss.⁶⁷² The disciple should be like the deceased in the hands of the washer (*ghassāl*); even if he is commanded to do what seems impossible, he should not object.⁶⁷³ Rather, as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī did when he met with ‘Abd al-Salām

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., 252-254.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., 147-148.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., 319, 351.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., 271-272.

⁶⁷² Ibid., 40. Al-Būzīdī also expands upon these practices of reverence towards the shaykh and comments on them in detail. See al-Būzīdī, *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*, 37–87; Kızılkaya, “Būzīdī ve el-Ādābu’l-Mardiyye’si,” 63–67.

⁶⁷³ Al-Būzīdī similarly states that one who does things the shaykh disapproves of or objects to his recommendations cannot arrive at the presence of God. See al-Būzīdī, *al-Ādāb al-marḍiyya*, 68. Zarrūq enumerated these points regarding etiquette towards the shaykh and said that the most important is not to disobey the shaykh’s command, even if it goes against oneself. See Zarrūq, *Uṣūl*, 78. The expression “to be like a corpse in the hands of the washer” (*ka-l-mayyit bayna yaday al-ghassāl*) in the presence of the shaykh seems to be taken from the ‘Ayniyya ode of ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī. Considering his citations to him elsewhere, this seems possible. See ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, “al-Qaṣīdat al-‘Ayniyya,” in *Ibdā’ al-*

b. Mashīsh, he should allow himself to be “washed” of his own knowledge, actions, and claims.⁶⁷⁴

Another aspect of showing reverence to the shaykh is holding a good opinion (*husn al-zann*) of him and maintaining complete trust in him -an area where many disciples have gone astray. Al-Sharīshī says: “Do not leave him until you believe that he is a spiritual guide and that there is no one more worthy than him in this age. For the guard of looking at another says to the beloved of the secrets, ‘Do not travel.’”⁶⁷⁵ In this context, he offers a metaphor of a cow and its calf: just as a cow softens and gives its milk only because of its calf, so too does a shaykh’s heart show compassion for a sincere disciple who holds a good opinion of him, desires no other, and recognize no one of a higher station before God. Thus, meanings and secrets flow from him. This is one of the key etiquettes toward the shaykh. It is also necessary to accept the shaykh as human being like everyone else, not to condemn him if human frailties appear, and not to harbor ill thoughts. The degree to which one benefits from a *walī* corresponds to the good opinion one holds of him, while the degree to which one is harmed or spiritually “destroyed” corresponds to the ill opinion one holds. As God says: “I am as My servant thinks I am.”⁶⁷⁶

6.3. The Disciple’s Dhikr and Fikr

‘Alī al-Jamal does not provide specific numbers or counts for *dhikr*.⁶⁷⁷ Rather, in his book he emphasizes the importance of *dhikr* and its relationship with contemplation (*tafakkur* or *fikr*) and witnessing.

kitāba wa-kitābat al-ibdā’: ‘Aynun ‘alā al-‘Ayniyya... *Sharḥ ma ‘āṣir li-‘Ayniyyat al-Imām al-Ṣūfī ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī*, by Su‘ād al-Ḥakīm (Beirut: Dār al-Burāq, 2004), 104.

⁶⁷⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 351.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., 231-232. Aḥmad b. al-‘Alāwī also cites this saying of al-Sharīshī. According to him as well, one who sees a deficiency in his shaykh cannot benefit from him. He is the gate to God for the disciple, and this gate is only opened by preserving reverence. See al-‘Alāwī, *al-Mawādd al-ghaythiyya*, 113–115.

⁶⁷⁶ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 171, 261, 310. On this subject, Abū Madyan said: “He who sees a deficiency in his shaykh cannot benefit from him,” and “God afflicts with hatred and anger among the people whomever is deprived of reverence for *awliyā’*.” See Abū Madyan, “Uns al-wahīd,” 133, 135. In fact, there is a poem by Abū Madyan that addresses most of the topics we have discussed so far regarding companionship and reverence, and Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh has written a commentary explaining the principles therein. We can say that these are in complete harmony with the contexts in al-Jamal. See al-Iskandarī, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Abī Madyan*, 65–101.

⁶⁷⁷ Just he states that in the first three years after entering the path, during which he preferred seclusion, he would perform twenty thousand *dhikr* from morning until noon, and that after this, his tongue was

According to al-Jamal, when one remembers God—since the Divine Name is the essence of the attributes— everything is transformed, evil becomes good, and the reprehensible becomes approved. It is like alchemy; a small amount of it, when added to other metals, turns them all into gold. Similarly, *dhikr* brings imperfections to perfection. As the Quran states: “Nay, We hurl the truth against falsehood, and it destroys it, and behold, it is vanquished.” (Q 21:18) and “And say, ‘Truth has come, and falsehood has vanished. Indeed, is falsehood, [by nature], ever bound to vanish’” (Q 17:81). However, it is also a condition that there be a wise and gnostic teacher guide the *dhikr*, who can teach the disciples how to use this spiritual alchemy effectively.⁶⁷⁸

According to al-Jamal, the elite state is the remembrance of God, and it is of two kinds. The first is sensory *dhikr* accompanied by intelligible meanings, while the second is intelligible *dhikr* accompanied by sensory feelings. In the first form, the exterior of the acts of worship is dominant: in the second, the intelligible aspect of the worship is dominant. For al-Jamal, the ideal is, of course, the second form, that is, *dhikr* that does not break from sensory acts of worship but in which the intelligible aspect is primary.⁶⁷⁹

Similarly, he distinguishes sensory or outward *dhikr* as the *dhikr* of the tongue, performed audibly (*jahrī*) and inward *dhikr* as the *dhikr* performed in the heart with thought. The outward *dhikr* witnesses the Name, while the inward *dhikr* witnesses the Essence. Both are beautiful. “The water is one, but the flowers are of many colors.”⁶⁸⁰ However, if the outward form occurs while the inward aspect is deficient, no true attainment is possible. But still, persistence in the outward form may eventually lead

never idle from remembrance, day or night. al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 51. Al-Darqāwī reports that the *wird* with which he was instructed by his master, ‘Alī al-Jamal, consisted of one hundred repetitions of “*astaghfir Allāh*”, one hundred repetitions of “*Allāhumma ṣalli ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammadin al-nabiyyi wa-‘alā ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi wa-sallim*”, and one hundred repetitions of “*Lā ilāha illā Allāh*”. To each set of one hundred, the phrase “*sayyidunā Muḥammadun rasul Allāh, ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama wa-‘alā ālihi*” was to be added. This *wird* was performed after the morning and evening prayers. Following this, ‘Alī al-Jamal instructed al-Darqāwī in the Supreme Name (*al-Isim al-A‘zam*) without stipulating a specific number of repetitions. al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 63. Consequently, it can be stated that the *wird* transmitted by ‘Alī al-Jamal—with the exception of the instruction in the Supreme Name—is identical to the foundational *dhikr* that has been continuously practiced within the Shādhiliyya order throughout its history. See Muḥammad Zāfir, *al-Anwār al-qudsiyya*, 165; Güven, “Ebu’l-Hasan eṣ-Şāzili ve Şāziliyye,” 263.

⁶⁷⁸ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 43, 359.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., 32.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., 93, 113-114.

to spiritual benefit.⁶⁸¹ If the outward and the inward are united in the *dhikr*, that is what is sought. Above these is the inward *dhikr* without the outward expression, in which a person is fully immersed in witnessing and direct vision.⁶⁸²

Dhikr gives rise to *fikr*, and *fikr* gives rise to *dhikr*. When the two are united (*tanākuḥ*), the suns of union arise.⁶⁸³ To enter the state of the elite, it is necessary to pass through the two gates of annihilation: the outer gate, which is *dhikr*, and the inner gate, which is *fikr*. In fact, both are *dhikr*, but the *dhikr* of the heart has been called *fikr*.⁶⁸⁴ Al-Jamal likens the people of *dhikr* to artisans and the people of *fikr* to merchants. Just as the former comparatively weak in acquiring worldly goods, so too are the people of *dhikr* comparatively deficient in spiritual attainment relative to the people of *fikr*. The *dhikr* of the tongue is for the novice, while the *dhikr* of the heart (i.e., *fikr*) is the attribute of the perfected.

⁶⁸¹ Aḥmad al-‘Alāwī also holds the view that preoccupation with the Name will, after a time, lead to the Named. See al-‘Alāwī, *al-Mawādd al-Ghaythiyya*, 1:153.

⁶⁸² al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 217.

⁶⁸³ Ibid., 152. Al-Jamal, who experienced these stages himself, recounts his experience extending from *dhikr* to *fikr* as follows: “Also: Know that one of the things with which God graced me at the beginning of my path was that He bestowed upon me the *dhikr*. Then, from *dhikr*, He brought forth for me presence (*ḥuḍūr*). Then, from presence, He brought forth for me knowledge, that is, the knowledge of inspiration (*ilhām*). Then, from knowledge, He brought forth for me absence (*ghayba*) from all that is other-than-God. Then, from absence from other-than-Him, He brought forth the gnosis of God. Upon us is only the grace of our masters, by whom God supported us and who accompanied us in all these states. May God reward them with good on our behalf; they guided us, aided us, taught us etiquette, and purified us. Upon us is only their grace. May God, by His grace and beneficence, make us among those who follow their straight path and cause us to die in their love. Amen.” Ibid., 98.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., 244-45. Another method for the transition from *dhikr* to *fikr* is visualization (*tashkhīṣ*). Mawlāy al-Darqāwī relates that ‘Alī al-Jamal taught him to visualize the five letters of the name “Allāh” in his mind’s eye while performing *dhikr* (*tashkhīṣ*, *istiḥḍār*). Al-Darqāwī, who persisted in this practice even if it was broken a thousand times, states that a very powerful contemplation (*fikra*) arose in him as a result, and he recommends this to his own disciples. al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 89, 414, 417. Aḥmad al-‘Alāwī also emphasizes the importance of this subject in one of his poems, saying: “If you wish to be annihilated in Him, turn not to another / Make your heart present in His name, visualize that name and understand its meaning.” See Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-‘Alāwī, *Dīwān al-Ustādh Mawlānā al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-‘Alāwī al-Mustaghānimī*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād (Mu’assasat al-Risāla), 53; ‘Udda b. Tūnus, *al-Durra al-baḥiyya fī awrād wa-sanad al-ṭarīqa al-‘Alawiyya* (Mostaganem: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Alawiyya, n.d.), 16–18. *Tashkhīṣ* later became one of the fundamentals of the spiritual path in other branches of the Darqāwiyya, especially the ‘Alāwiyya. See ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Miftāḥ, “Kayfiyyat al-Tarbiyya al-Rūhiyya fī al-Madrassa al-‘Alāwiyya al-Darqāwiyya al-Shādhiliyya ta’šīlan wa-tajdīdan” (paper presented in Mostaganem for the 100th year of the foundation of the ‘Alāwiyya *zāwiya*, 2009), 11–13. I want to thank Ustādh ‘Abd al-Bāqī Miftāḥ for providing us with this valuable content.

In fact, this broad use of *dhikr* is in fact not new. For instance, Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh wrote an independent work on this subject, *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ*.⁶⁸⁵ In which, he likewise drew a path leading from *dhikr* to *fikr*. According to him, the lowest level is the *dhikr* of the common people, performed only with the tongue. Yet even so, it should not be abandoned, for it is better to be heedless during *dhikr* than to be completely heedless of *dhikr*. The second level is the *dhikr* of the heart, the station of the elite, he calls it *tadhakkur*. This is the *dhikr* performed with the divine presence in the heart. The third is the *dhikr* of the elite of the elite, where they are annihilated from the *dhikr*, leaving only the Remembered (*al-madhkūr*) and witnessing.⁶⁸⁶ Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī and Shu‘ayb Abū Madyan share the same views and classification regarding this matter. al-Shādhilī, who said, “The reality of *dhikr* is to be cut off from *dhikr* and from everything else, and to remain only with the Remembered,” also draws a route leading from *dhikr* to *fikr*, and from there to reach God, which occurs through poverty and love, where everything else is effaced and only the Remembered remains.⁶⁸⁷

Therefore, a clear parallel can be seen between ‘Alī al-Jamal’s classification and thoughts on *dhikr* and both his personal experience, and that of the early shaykhs. His citation of Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh in this regard is already an indication of this connection.⁶⁸⁸

6.4. The Relationship Between Knowledge and Action

One of the main topics addressed in the work of al-Jamal is the relationship between knowledge (‘*ilm*) and action (‘*amal*), as well as that between knowledge and ignorance

⁶⁸⁵ See Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ wa-miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ fī dhikr Allāh al-Karīm al-Fattāḥ* ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib b. Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Hindī (Damascus: Dār al-Farfūr, 2000).

⁶⁸⁶ Regarding *dhikr* in the thought of Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh, for all these contexts, see Özel, “İbn Ataullah el-İskenderi ve Tasavvuf Felsefesi,” 235–236.

⁶⁸⁷ See Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 90, 142, 144, 149. Shu‘ayb Abū Madyan, with his sayings, “Remembrance is the witnessing of the Remembered and the continuity of being in the Presence,” “Remembrance is the vision of reality and the effacement and annihilation of created beings,” and “Remembrance is that which, with its existence, makes you lose yourself from yourself, and with its witnessing, takes you from yourself,” has stated that true remembrance possesses a nature through which annihilation and witnessing are realized. See Abū Madyan, “Uns al-wahīd,” 86, 145.

⁶⁸⁸ Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Fāsī and Ibn ‘Ajība also continue the same sequence: from the tongue to the heart, and from there to the effacement and annihilation of all existence, leaving only the Remembered remaining. See al-Fihri, *Mir’āt al-maḥāsīn* 160–162; Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 484–487.

(*jahl*). Indeed, ‘Alī al-Jamal presents a comprehensive framework outlining how the disciple should approach this matter.⁶⁸⁹

Al-Jamal frequently uses the saying, “Make your action salt, and your etiquette (*adab*) flour.” He presents the term *adab* in the sense of intelligible realities (*ma‘ānī*) and knowledge, while he associates ‘*amal*’ with the sensory aspect of human existence. In this respect, the ideal is for knowledge (*ma‘ānī*) to serve as a person’s essential provision, with action (*ḥiss*) subordinate to it. As the Noble Quran states: “Only those fear Allah, from among His servants, who have knowledge” (Q 35:28).

For this reason, knowledge is light, and action is darkness. Darkness cannot exist without light, nor light without darkness. However, if knowledge predominates, one attains the station of the people of witnessing (*ahl al-mushāhada*). If action predominates, one is in the station of the people of spiritual struggle (*ahl al-mujāhada*). One is sovereign (*mālik*), the other is subject (*mamlūk*). The first represent the state of the elite, and the second that of the commonality.⁶⁹⁰

Undoubtedly, the knowledge and *ma‘ānī* mentioned and praised here are the Sufi realities acquired through maintaining companionship with a shaykh, as discussed above⁶⁹¹ We have previously noted al-Jama’s view that exoteric and worldly knowledge and action are of lesser value in comparison. He holds that one purpose of rigorous ascetic practices is to strip the disciple of attributes acquired in his previous state; echoing his idea that before one can wear the clothes of a new country, one must first remove one’s old clothes. Once purified of these, the one who acts according to the knowledge he has learned and seen as a result of companionship, God teaches him what he did not previously know, “Whoever acts upon what he knows, God will grant him knowledge of what he did not know.” In this way, knowledge and action are in a mutually necessary relationship. Knowledge is the spirit, and action is its body; neither can exist without the other. Action without knowledge has no standing, And the reverse is also true. For the art of Sufism to manifest, both must be present. One who

⁶⁸⁹ In this matter as well, he seems to have been influenced by his shaykh, al-‘Arabī. He constantly told al-Jamal, “The capital of the disciple is intelligible realities (*ma‘ānī*), and the essence of *ma‘ānī* is knowledge.” See al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 34.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid., 32-34, 275-276.

⁶⁹¹ Ibid., 166.

possesses knowledge but lacks action cannot be considered among the people of this path—for this is mere falsehood. Knowledge without action carries no spiritual distinction (*khusūṣiyya*). The Prophet sought refuge in God from knowledge that brings no benefit. As it has been said: “Knowledge without action is like a foundation buried in the earth, with no building raised upon it.”⁶⁹²

The one who acts without knowledge is ignorant. The one whose action is accompanied by a little knowledge is a novice. The one whose knowledge is accompanied by only a little action is a perfected one. Knowledge is a tree of lights, and action is its fruit; and until the fruits appear, one cannot be considered to have entered into the art.⁶⁹³ The proper order is as follows: the disciple must first be purified of the knowledge and action he has already acquired, and then be equipped with knowledge and action according to what he observes from the states and guidance of the perfected ones—those who have reached the level of being able to receive knowledge from their own selves—the true masters of the art. However, in action, he should adhere to the Sunna, choosing neither too much nor too little, but rather the middle path, so that his effort is not extinguished from the outset and his spiritual aspiration is not broken. When one who continues in companionship and acts in accordance with the meanings he receives therein, he remains in a state of continual spiritual increase, moving from state to state, and the world becomes a mount for him. Later, the *murabbī* shaykh disciplines him with *jalālī* practices. When this is combined with continued companionship, the fruits begin to appear. These are the gifts of knowledge and action bestowed upon the elect from the unseen, emerging from the realm of witnessing and direct vision, and referred to as divine inspirations (*wāridāt*), gnoses (*ma‘ārif*), and tastes (*adhwāq*) emerging.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹² Ibid., 302. The inseparable unity of knowledge and action is a constantly emphasized phenomenon in the Shādhilī tradition. For instance, Abū Madyan said: “He who contents himself with the word of knowledge without being imbued with its essence becomes a heretic (*zindīq*) and is left behind on the path. He who contents himself with worship without jurisprudence (*fiqh*) deviates and commits innovation (*bid‘a*). And he who contents himself with jurisprudence without scrupulous piety (*war‘*) becomes arrogant and is deceived.” See Abū Madyan, “Uns al-wahīd,” 96-98, 147. For a commentary on these words, see al-‘Alāwī, *al-Mawādd al-ghaythiyya*, 1:138-43.

⁶⁹³ al-Jamal, *Naṣīhat al-murīd*, 116, 123, 175, 214-215, 293.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., 45, 80, 138-139, 212, 276-277. He himself states that when, at the beginning of his Sufi life, he performed the practices of *tajrīd* / sensory actions for about three years in accordance with the guidance he received from his shaykh, the intelligible realities (*ma‘ānī*) enveloped him, and he plunged into a shoreless sea. This state continued for him thereafter. See *ibid.*, 65, 126. For more extensive information on this sequence, which can be summarized as knowledge, action, the middle path, continuity in companionship, the transition to spiritual struggle, and then attaining new dimensions in

The proofs cited by al-Jamal- who maintains that knowledge, whether exoteric (*sharʿī*) or esoteric (*ilhāmī*), is in any case superior to ignorance- are as follows:⁶⁹⁵ “Only those fear Allah, from among His servants, who have knowledge” (Q 35:28); “Say, ‘Are those who know equal to those who do not know?’” (Q 39:9); “The scholars of my community are like the prophets of the Children of Israel” (*ḥadīth*);⁶⁹⁶ “The scholars are the inheritors of the prophets” (*ḥadīth*).⁶⁹⁷ However, he establishes a hierarchy among them. According to him, the people of the exoteric sciences are of a lower degree than the others. To support this, he brings further proofs: From the book *Qūt al-Qulūb*, he cited the narration of the Prophet saying, “Ask the righteous about matters you cannot find in the Sunna.” He also refers to another *ḥadīth* from Muʿadh b. Jabal: “The nearest of people to the rank of prophethood are the people of knowledge, and then the people of *jihād*. As for the people of knowledge, they guided others to what the prophets had brought and explained it for them. As for the people of *jihād*, they fought with their swords and sacrificed their lives for the sake of what the Messengers brought. The scholars of this world (*ʿulamāʾ al-dunyā*), however, will be resurrected alongside governors and sultans.”⁶⁹⁸ Some of the *salaf* scholars have said: “The scholars will be resurrected in the company of the prophets (peace be upon them), while the judges (*quḍāt*) will be resurrected in the company of the sultans.” Again, one day when someone addressed one of the great Sufis as “O scholar,” he replied, “O jurist (*faqīh*). For the true scholar is only he who fears God Almighty.”⁶⁹⁹

As can be understood from the proofs he presents, al-Jamal identified as ideal the knowledge that embodies the Sunna of the Prophet and bequeaths piety (*taqwā*). In contrast, he criticizes the knowledge of judges and jurists who lack these qualities. Al-Jamal names the first as gnostics of God (*ʿarīfūn bi-llāh*), For between them and the Truth is no veil; they are annihilated in Him. The second- those who content with the exoteric religious sciences- he defines, together with the people of leadership, as those

knowledge, spiritual secrets, and realities, see Ibn ʿAjlūnī, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 469–481; Zarrūq, *al-Lawāʾih al-Fāsiyya*, 229–233.

⁶⁹⁵ Al-Shādhilī also said, “Knowledge is the most virtuous degree, while ignorance is the ugliest attribute.” See Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 158.

⁶⁹⁶ al-ʿAjlūnī, *Kashf al-khafā*, no. 1744.

⁶⁹⁷ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 105-106, 303-304. al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, 10; al-Tirmidhī, 2682, 19; Ibn Mājah, 223.

⁶⁹⁸ Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb fī muʿāmalat al-maḥbūb wa-waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, ed. ʿĀsim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2005), 1: 269-270.

⁶⁹⁹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 166-167.

who act with the created (*‘āmilūn bi-l-makhlūq*) or those who know through the created (*‘ālimūn bi-l-makhlūq*). His avoidance of calling them *‘ālimūn bi-llāh*, reflects his view that their worldly deeds prevent them from witnessing the Truth. Their worldly knowledge is also included in the darkness of their deeds. Thus, they lost sight of the Truth in the darkness of created things and their own attributes.

To these groups, al-Jamal adds a fourth: the disciple who acts without knowledge (the ignorant Sufi). Shaykh Zarrūq stated that: “A gnostic once advised one of his companions, saying: ‘O my son, beware the company of three kinds of people: first, the heedless tyrants; second, the fawning reciters; and third, the ignorant Sufis.’” According to al-Jamal, the ignorant Sufis (*al-mutaḥaqqira*) are uglier and more astray than the first two groups.⁷⁰⁰ However, he who does not deny anyone and follows the tracks of the gnostics is an exception, for if such a person perseveres, in time he may join their group.⁷⁰¹

Therefore, those who confine themselves to the exoteric religious sciences are subject to al-Jamal’s criticism, as are the ignorant Sufis.⁷⁰² According to him, *tajrīd* has both, an interior aspect, which is knowledge, and an exterior aspect, which is action. Most of the disciples of his time, however, merely imitate the outward practices of their shaykhs without possessing knowledge or understanding their intentions. For al-Jamal, it is impermissible to act upon something without knowing God’s ruling concerning it.⁷⁰³ However, he considers that no harm if a gnostic continuously informs them of the meanings of this art.⁷⁰⁴ Such knowledge, which he termed the knowledge of reports (*khavar*), is necessary to instructing novice disciple in the states of the path.⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰⁰ Aḥmad al-‘Alāwī also agrees that the ignorant Sufi is worse and more harmful than the heedless scholar. They have a claim, but it does not go beyond speech. Outwardly they are Sufis, but inwardly they are separate from them. See al-‘Alāwī, *al-Mawādd al-ghaythiyya*, 1:89–90.

⁷⁰¹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 183–184, 253.

⁷⁰² His stance on this matter is like a commentary on this aphorism by Shu‘ayb Abū Madyan: “The most harmful thing is to have companionship with a heedless scholar, an ignorant Sufi, or a sycophantic preacher.” See Abū Madyan, “Uns al-wahīd,” 119.

⁷⁰³ Zarrūq, known in the Maghrib as the “Muftī of the Sufis,” also states that it is not correct to undertake an action without knowing its ruling. See Zarrūq, *Uṣūl*, 48. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī also adds the condition of knowledge to action, seeing it as necessary for the rectification of one’s will. See al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 111, 149.

⁷⁰⁴ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 216.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid., 284.

We have formulated the expression as “those who content themselves with the exoteric religious sciences,” for al-Jamal does not regard the study of such sciences as objectionable, provided that one does not content oneself with them.⁷⁰⁶ He names it the science of proof and demonstration (*al-dalīl wa-l- burhān*). The Sufi knowledge that a person either acquires or that arises within him in the manner al-Jamal describes, he names the science of witnessing and direct vision (*al-shuhūd wa-l- ‘iyān*).⁷⁰⁷ There is a relationship of mutual necessity between the two. We know that ‘Alī al-Jamal himself continued to attend different circles of learning.⁷⁰⁸ A practice that reflects this view of his.

The people of proof and demonstration are the commonality, and they are veiled from God. The people of witnessing and direct vision are the elite, who have reached God without a veil. “A report is not like direct vision.” Yet the highest ideal for him is the knowledge of the elite of the elite, those who have combined both types of knowledge, becoming a *barzakh* between them. They possess both the indication of the knowledge and its results, which are the actions, and neither veils the other.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁶ Al-Darqāwī is of the same opinion. The fact that later, scholarly figures such as Ibn ‘Ajība and Muḥammad Ḥarrāq joined the order and were not prevented from [pursuing] the exoteric religious sciences is evidence of this. See al-Darqāwī, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il*, 192. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī’s giving importance to the reading of certain books from different Islamic sciences and his praise for the scholarly circles of his time are also indicators of his holding the same approach. See Güven, “Ebu’l-Hasan Şâzîlî ve Şâzîliyye,” 108–112.

⁷⁰⁷ This distinction between the people of proof and demonstration (*ahl al-dalīl wa-l-burhān*) and the people of direct vision and witnessing (*ahl al-‘iyān wa-l-shuhūd*) also exists in the early figures of the Shādhilī order. See al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā’if al-Minan*, 38–40; Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 121–122; Güven, “Ebu’l-Hasan Şâzîlî ve Şâzîliyye,” 131–137. Al-Jamal places the people of the religious sciences (*ahl al-‘ulūm al-shar‘iyya*), whom he sees merely as people of proof and demonstration, and the people of leadership (*ahl al-riyāsa*), whom he sees merely as people of action, in opposition to the possessor of inward knowledge, and speaks of overpowering them by uniting and transcending all of these aspects: “The dominion of the possessor of the interior does not reach perfection and become established until he overpowers the masters of his time. The masters of the time are the jurists, who are the people of exoteric knowledge, and the people of leadership, who are the people of exoteric action. When he gains mastery over these two factions, the time becomes his time.” See al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 284.

⁷⁰⁸ These gatherings were lessons on *al-Bukhārī* and *al-Hikam*. See al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 1:409; al-Zabbādī, *Sulūk al-ṭarīq al-wāriya*, 317. The relationship of the shaykhs of the Fāsiyya and Makhfiyya *zāwīyas* with the exoteric sciences is likewise. They, as well, held lessons in their *zāwīyas* in these various branches of the Islamic sciences, placed particular importance on the teaching certain books, and themselves authored works in different sciences. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, *Ibtihāj al-qulūb*, 225; al-Fihri, *Mir‘āt al-maḥāsin*, 109; al-Qādirī, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, 77; al-Qādirī, *al-Maqṣad al-Aḥmad*, 132.

⁷⁰⁹ al-Jamal, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd*, 180, 182–183, 275, 284–285, 303–304. Ibn ‘Ajība agrees that the ideal is to unite the exoteric and religious sciences. Like the analogies used by al-Jamal to show the inseparable relationship between the two, he also said, “a pair of shoes fit each other; they are in harmony with one another.” In a place where he explains the hierarchy between them, he makes the following statement: “One who investigates the true Shādhiliyya order sees that it combines both paths within itself. These two paths are illumination (*ishrāq*) that comes with spiritual purification, and knowledge based on

To summarize, the phenomenon of renewal observed in the context of *tajrīd* does not feature in this section. Instead, the discussion on companionship, reverence, remembrance-contemplation, and knowledge-action, all of which are treated in continuity with the Shādhilī tradition and interpreted and classified in a parallel manner accordingly.



burhān.” For his detailed views on this subject, see Ibn ‘Ajība, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, 196–199, 609–620. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī also made a similar classification when interpreting verses 49–50 of *Sūrat al-Shūrā*. See Ibn al-Sabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 39.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In this study, centered on ‘Alī al-Jamal’s work, *Naṣīḥat al-murīd fī ṭarīq ahl al-sulūk wa-l-tajrīd*, our aim was to understand his position within the Shādhilī tradition. In this respect, although our priority was to derive hermeneutical keys from his own work or from his sayings preserved in the writings of later figures, we also endeavored to compare him with the classics of the early (Abū Madyan, Ibn Mashīsh, al-Shādhilī, al-Iskandarī), middle (al-Rundī, al-Tūnisī, Zarrūq, Abū al-Maḥāsin, Aḥmad Ma‘n), pre-modern (al-Darqāwī, al-Būzīdī, Ibn ‘Aḥība), and modern (Aḥmad al-‘Alāwī) periods of the Shādhilī tradition.

Since the 18th century is the period in question, we sought to address whether there was a renewal (*tajdīd*) and how justified the claims of the Neo-Sufism theory are. We observed that although ‘Alī al-Jamal does not employ the technical terms of the Akbarian tradition in the matter of unity, his frequent use of the term *barzakh*—in the sense found in Ibn ‘Arabī; the implicit presence of concepts -in meaning and content, if not by name- such as the Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil*), the god of belief (*ilāh al-mu‘taqad*), and *wajh al-khāṣṣ*; his use of very similar, sometimes nearly identical, sentences about Man; and the view that everyone, even non-believers who worship other beings, ultimately serve God, all point to persistence of this influence in the background, albeit in a modified form. Although it is not possible to situate him fully within this tradition, his four explicit citations of Ibn ‘Arabī, along with reference other Akbarian figures such as al-Jīlī about twenty-five times, alongside the parallels noted above, refute the claim, first put forward by the Neo-Sufism theory and later disproven, that Ibn ‘Arabī was abandoned in this century.

Some authors have claimed that ‘Alī al-Jamal, who cites al-Shushtarī nearly fifty times throughout his book, belongs his school in the matter of unity. To assess the validity of this claim, we selected four of al-Shushtarī’s poems that are high representative in

this context and examined how al-Jamal interpreted them. Our analysis shows that al-Jamal did not interpret these poems in line with the ideas of *waḥda muṭlaqa* characteristic of al-Shushtarī's school. Instead, he offered a new interpretation from a perspective that emphasizes the states of permanence and separation reached after the states of annihilation and union, regarding them as the essential goal to be reached. Therefore, he instrumentalized these poems within his own intellectual framework. Additionally, the perception of al-Shushtarī in al-Jamal's mind when referencing him is not so much that of a figure belonging to the school of Ibn Sab'īn, but rather his Shādhilī-ized form. Later figures perceived al-Jamal as belonging to the "Shushtarī school" regarding the matter of unity, which stems from al-Jamal's engagement with him in this manner and the existence of such an image in their minds.

On the subjects of pillars and etiquettes there is complete harmony with the Shādhilī tradition. However, if we are to speak of a renewal in al-Jamal's work, we can say that it is in the meaning he attributes to the concept of *tajrīd* and, correspondingly, in the practices that he both, personally applied and had his disciples adopt. The concept of *tajrīd* in al-Jamal, unlike the notion expressed by the dichotomies of *tajarrud-tasabbub* and *tajarrud-kasb* in the early *zuhd* movement, early classical Sufi texts, and the Shādhilī tradition, takes on a new dimension. It signifies opposition to both the outward and the inward customs of the people and embodies humiliation not only before God but also before people. He uses this concept as a synonym for phrases such as the exterior's embodiment of *jalāl* and *dhilla*, the ruining of the exterior (*takrīb*), the extraordinary (*kharq al-ʿawā'id*), and the impossible (*muḥāl*). Practices such as mendicancy, wearing patched and old clothes, seclusion, hunger, and silence are the concrete expressions of this meaning. When these meanings and some practices are considered together, *tajrīd* emerges as a form of antinomianism characteristic of the Malāmatīs. Al-Jamal reinterpreted almost the entire Shādhilī tradition and the sacred texts (*nuṣūṣ*) within this framework—even when the texts themselves do not explicitly express these meanings—thereby providing them with legitimacy. Therefore, in terms of both reinterpreting of this concept and in terms of the practices it entails, a clear renewal is evident within the general flow of the Shādhiliyya.

Al-Jamal's turn toward this Malāmatī tendency is closely intertwined with his personal past and the worldliness that characterized the Sufi orders of the period. His turn

toward Sufism occurred in 1737-1738, during the period known as the *fitna*, following the bloody conflict between the Idrīsī sharīfs and the other social groups of Fez. Al-Jamal, being an Idrīsī sharīf and someone who had served in the Makhzen, was forced to withdraw from this life when a rival prince—with whom the prince he served was in conflict—became sultan. After drawing spiritual benefit from certain Sufi figures in Tunis, Wazzān, and Tetouan, he finally settled at the Makhfiyya *zāwiya* in Fez. His shaykh there, al-‘Arabī, recognizing his sincerity and knowing his background, directed him—unlike his other disciples—toward Malāmatī practices, such as begging and wearing strange clothes that people would find bizarre. The aim of this was to break the habits of the *nafs*, to fully actualize the loyalty that is the essential condition for progressing on the order, and also to conceal one’s spiritual state.

The Malāmatī tendency observed in al-Jamal can be traced back through the shaykhs of the Makhfiyya *zāwiya*, where he underwent spiritual training, to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb. During these centuries in Morocco, *malāma* acquired a specific meaning; it was used not only to refer to concealing one’s state and shunning the markers of renown, but also to describe a powerful state of *jadhba*. The Malāmatī tendency in his *silsila*, as seen in figures such as Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ma’n, Qāsim al-Khaṣṣāṣī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ma’n, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Fāsī and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb, manifested primarily through concealing their inner states. This was achieved by not contravening the outward customs of the people, dressing like others, avoiding any behavior that would distinguish them and appearing outwardly normal. They were so meticulous in this regard that they abstained from using the designation *faqīr*, as they felt it implied a claim and a form of distinction. Alongside this, they were all known for possessing powerful states of *jadhba*.

Although al-Jamal shared the concept of *jadhba* with them, he realized the idea of “concealing one’s state” by deliberately contravening the exoteric customs of the people — that is, by a method opposite to that of previous shaykhs. This constitutes an *ijtihād* within the order, adapted to the conditions of the era and his personal history. Rather than representing a rupture, it represents a flexible reinterpretation of the preceding Shādhilī tradition, thereby ensuring its continuity. This attitude also falls under the definition of “intentional *malāma*” in al-Hujwārī’s tripartite distinction.

While the directive towards practices such as begging and wearing unusual clothing, and the concept of *tajrīd*, may have originated with his shaykh, al-‘Arabī, al-Jamal is the first figure in whom we observe these elements combined and manifested in application. After Him, this philosophy of *tajrīd* gained further popularity through figures such as al-Darqāwī, al-Būzīdī, and Ibn ‘Ajība, who also introduced similar new practices. When all this is taken into consideration, it is incorrect to posit that this change within the order begins with al-Darqāwī -as Trimingham in *The Sufi Orders* and Knysh in *Islamic Mysticism* have done- given that he received this entire framework from his shaykh, al-Jamal.

In addition, since the precise meaning of *tajrīd* in this tradition has not been properly fully established, the concept in the works of the Darqāwiyya has often been interpreted reductively, detached from its earlier lexical and conceptual meaning. In our opinion, the works of the figures who came after al-Jamal should be re-evaluated in light of his conception of *tajrīd*, taking into account the meaning of this concept in al-Jamal, which we have presented along with its full network of associated meanings and practices.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE ZĀWIYAS IN FEZ, FROM THE 'ADWAT AL-ANDALUS

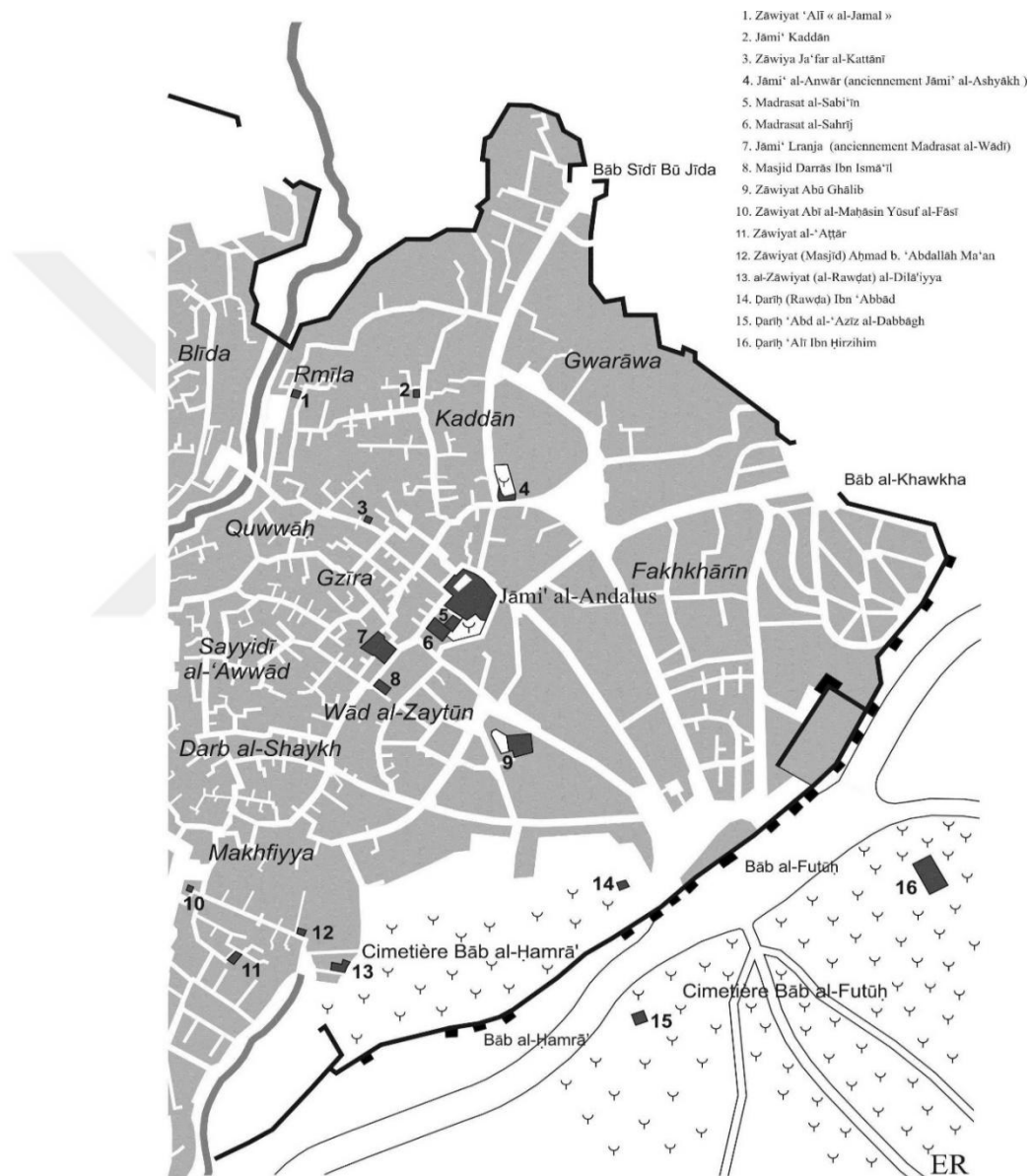


Figure A.1. The Zāwiyat of Sīdī 'Alī Al-Jamal, the Zāwiyat of 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'n (Makhfiyya), and the Zāwiyat of Abū Al-Mahāsīn Al-Fāsi; from the 'Adwat Al-Andalus Along with Other Sacred Places⁷¹⁰

⁷¹⁰ Sanseverino, *Fès et sainteté*, 621.

APPENDIX B

THE ZĀWIYAS IN FEZ, FROM THE ‘ADWAT AL-QARAWIYYĪN



Figure B.1. The Zāwīya of Sīdī 'Alī Al-Jamal, and the Makhfiyya Zāwīya; from the 'Adwat Al-Qarawiyyīn Along with Other Sacred Places⁷¹¹

⁷¹¹ Sanseverino, *Fès et sainteté*, 622.

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