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A SUFI LEGACY IN TUNIS: PRAYER AND THE SHADHILIYYA

In the following article, I present an account of the legacy of the famous saintly mystic Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili (d. 1258). The parameters of the study will be narrowed geographically to Tunis and thematically to prayer. Tunis played an important role in the formation of the saint's *ṭarīqa* (mystical order or brotherhood, pl. *ṭuruq*), and the city today still has a branch of the brotherhood and a number of sacred sites. The theme of prayer as used here includes prayer texts and a wide variety of activity, from popular devotions to spiritual discipline. As will become clear, this is a central element in any discussion of the *ṭarīqa*'s organization, ritual, and literature. In addition to the brotherhood and the sites, there is a Tunisian edition of the only recorded compositions of the saint, his prayers—known as *aḥzāb* (sing. *ḥizb*).[1] This study will thus reflect the saint, his brotherhood, and the use of the *aḥzāb* as integrated elements of the living Shadhili legacy in Tunis. This presentation will go beyond the usual academic treatments of Sufism, which rarely enter the modern period and are concerned mostly with the larger Sufi treatises. I hope not only to bring to light the importance of some lesser known liturgical and ritual practices, but also to begin to appreciate the "lesser tradition," as it were, of Sufi prayer texts.

Probably because they fall somewhere between the "greater" works of the Sufi literary tradition and studies in the history of Sufi *ṭuruq* and institutions, the study of the *aḥzāb* and their recitation has largely been neglected by scholarship. Studies of Sufi ritual have also failed to address the importance of prayer recital, in large part due to their narrow focus on the theoretical accounts that dominate the sources.[2] Also, because of the importance of *dhikr* (to be discussed later) in both theory and practice, prayer recitation is usually ignored.[3] This problem is compounded by the fact that there is so little in the "greater" Sufi works, and the manuals specific to the *ṭurūq*, concerning the theory of *ḥizb* recitation. In fact, these manuals—in the case of the Shadhiliyya—provide precious little as regards the actual dynamic of the individual's experience in relation to the prayer text and to the group among whom the recitation takes place. Although not dealt with in this essay, the extant commentaries on the *aḥzāb* are promising in this regard and deserve further study.[4] While the scope and priorities of this essay do not allow a full textual analysis of the *aḥzāb* to be included, I hope the approach adopted will demonstrate that these are a key functional element in the liturgy and spiritual practice of the brotherhood.

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I will begin with the hagiographical sources for the life of the saint and provide a short biographical sketch. I will then turn to the shaykh's institutional legacy, his order. The organization and function of this order in the city of Tunis will be my primary focus. As will be seen, a large part of this function is related to prayer—both ritual (performed or recited) and written. From there, I will move to a survey of some of this written tradition, in addition to discussing the ritual dimension. The final section will attempt to lay bare the significance of this dual nature of the phenomenon of prayer for the Shadhiliyya brotherhood.

THE LIFE OF THE SHAYKH

The biography of the founder of the Shadhiliyya *ṭarīqa*, according to the hagiographical sources, concerns itself with the two areas of Morocco (Maghrib al-Aqsa) and Tunisia (Ifriqiyya), and later with Egypt. All of these sources appear to stem from two hagiographic efforts on the life of the Shaykh ʿAli ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbar Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili.

The earlier account, written by the man usually considered the second successor to al-Shadhili himself, is the more widely known. The author, Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allah al-Iskandari, who died in 1309, can also be considered the primary systematizer of the *ṭarīqa*, because in addition to his hagiographic effort on al-Shadhili, entitled *Laṭāʾif al-minan* (The Book of the Divine Blessings),[5] he penned such notable works as *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ* (The Key to Success)[6] and *Al-qaṣḍ al-mujarrad* (The Pure Goal).[7] But Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allah's recognition as a writer extends beyond the Shadhiliyya, and is due to his famous *Kitāb al-ḥikam* (The Book of Wisdom),[8] known throughout the Muslim world.

The second account of the shaykh's life was written around 1320 by a "comparatively inconspicuous devotee" of the *ṭarīqa*, Abu al-Qasim al-Himyari, more often known as Ibn al-Sabbagh.[9] He undertook this project within a century of al-Shadhili's death (1258), interviewing a number of members of his immediate family and authorities within the brotherhood. The title of this work is *Durrat al-asrār wa tuḥfat al-abrār* (The Pearl of Secrets and the Gift of the Pious).[10]

Although these two histories follow the same general line with regard to the shaykh's life, they often differ on details. Ibn al-Sabbagh and Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allah both give their subject's birthplace as the tribal region of Ghumarah in Morocco (south of Ceuta), but from the first the date may be calculated at around 1187, while the second is silent on the subject.[11] The early religious history of Ghumarah included fairly widespread Kharijite affinities and a great many religious pretenders, one of whom was responsible for the assassination of al-Shadhili's most famous teacher, Ibn Mashish (d. 1225).[12] This teacher, who had ties to the great Spanish mystic Abu Madyan (d. 1198), had established himself in a *zāwiya*[13] on Jabal ʿAlam. It is there that al-Shadhili made contact with him, but only after having gone through what one scholar describes as a spiritual crisis,[14] which sent him on a search for the *quṭb*[15] of the age. This search took him to Iraq, where he was told while searching for the prominent Sufi figure al-Wasiti (d. 1234) to return to the Maghrib, where he would find who he was looking for. According to al-Shadhili, this was Ibn Mashish.[16]

None of the sources specifies how long al-Shadhili spent at the *zāwiya* of Ibn Mashish upon his return, but it was long enough for the master to recognize the maturity attained by the pupil. Ibn-Mashish then sent the student out on his own, spe-

cifically to Ifriqiyya. There al-Shadhili took to performing miracles (*karāmāt*)[17] and living as an ascetic. Despite being at this period a *sāʾiḥ* (vagabond ascetic),[18] he became associated with the village of Shadhila, some distance south of Tunis, because of his practice of retreating into the nearby cave on Jabal Zaghwan. Having attracted a substantial following, the shaykh moved to Tunis. According to Elmer H. Douglas, this happened in 1228, the same year that Abu Zakariyya—a Hafsid still nominally under the Alomhads—came to power.[19] During his rule Abu Zakariyya built the first madrasa in Tunis and established an important library, contributing substantially to religious education in the city.

As he had done on Jabal Zaghwan, al-Shadhili continued his practice of retreating to a cave for meditation and religious discipline (*khalwa*),[20] and in Tunis he chose the mountain and cave located in the Jallaz cemetery. It was on this site later that the Shadhiliyya *zāwiya* would be built.

But al-Shadhili's stay in Tunis would not be permanent. Ibn al-Sabbagh tells us that the local *fuqahāʾ* (jurists) rallied against him and that he stood accused of being a Fatimid agent. In the face of this persecution, he eventually set out for Egypt.[21] From Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allah, the date of this departure can be calculated as 1252,[22] though he is silent on the subject of the "persecution" of the shaykh. One modern scholar, while investigating this discrepancy, has produced evidence that casts serious doubt on the historical validity of any "persecution."[23] Whatever the circumstances, al-Shadhili was moving into a new stage of his career. In Egypt, his home became Alexandria where he set up a *zāwiya*, attracted more followers, and laid the basis for his new *ṭarīqa*. A. M. Mohamed Mackeen concludes from this development that "the real birthplace of the Shadhiliyyah was certainly Egypt. Here it grew into a self-conscious body with a definite step toward theoretical expansion."[24] This theoretical expansion would be undertaken by the great minds of the Order, such as Abu al-ʿAbbas al-Mursi (d. 1287), the first successor (*khalīfa*) to al-Shadhili, Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allah (d. 1309), and others.

The major events of the shaykh's life are agreed upon not only by Ibn Sabbagh and Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allah, but also by most subsequent hagiographers.[25] It is therefore interesting to note that the short introduction to the *aḥzāb* and *waẓāʾifa* prayer collection used by the Shadhiliyya in Tunis today, entitled *Nibrās al-atqiyāʾ wa dalīl al-anqiyāʾ*, gives a biographical sketch of the saint that presents him much more as a local son. A notable statement in the *Nibrās al-atqiyāʾ* is the claim that al-Shadhili came to Tunisia at the age of ten. This scenario goes beyond the Maghrib-oriented *Durrat al-asrār* in setting al-Shadhili more firmly in his Tunisian milieu and playing down his Moroccan birthplace. Even the mention of his Moroccan spiritual master, Ibn Mashish, is minimized while his ties to Tunisian teachers are emphasized. The following statement occurs in the first three pages:

> Tunis boasts that it embraced the imam of the spiritual path, the *quṭb* of the earth, the companion of the Path and the Truth, Shaykh Abu al-Hasan ʿAli al-Shadhili while he was in his youth. It was responsible for the stages of his learning, and it was ordained by God that in its places of worship and institutions he would be granted both the penetration of the secret of Unity and the wearing of the mantle (*burda*) of Sufism. . . .
>
> [I]n 602 (1206) he arrived from Ghumara, Morocco, being ten years old [since he was born in 593 (1196)]. He became the student of Tunisian shaykhs such as Abu Saʿid al-Baji (d. 1156) and Abu ʿAbd Allah bin Harazim (d. 1235) and he left Tunisia when he was 20 years old during the year 613 (1216) entering the lands of the East to study the science of Shariʿa and

Ḥaqīqa, and joining up with such knowledgeable people as Abu Fath al-Wasiti and Ibn ᶜAbd al-Salam (Mashish).

Then he returned to Tunis to propagate his *ṭarīqa* and did not leave until the year 642 (1244), going to Egypt where he died in 654 (1258).

According to the chronology of the *Nibrās al-atqiyāᵓ*, al-Shadhili spent his first ten years in Morocco, thirty-eight in Tunisia—except for a voyage to the East (his return to Ghumara is only implied by the name Ibn ᶜAbd al-Salam)—and his final fourteen in Egypt. No other hagiographical source, according to my research, contains such extensive dating or emphasis on the saint's Tunisian education. In light of the early hagiographies previously cited, we may conclude that the *Nibrās al-atqiyāᵓ* reflects a local tradition that presents al-Shadhili as rather more Tunisian. This local tradition (with which we may associate the *Durrat al-asrār*) includes miracle stories of some of the saint's Tunisian companions.[26] The historical value of this tradition has yet to be fully studied.

THE SHADHILIYYA IN TUNIS

The following will present the reader with an account of the function and the organization of the Shadhiliyya *ṭarīqa* and its home *zāwiya*. Through a discussion of its function I will deal with both the *ṭarīqa*'s relation to political authority and its position in popular religious life. It will be seen that in the latter position, the *zāwiya* has an important role to play as a place of *baraka* (grace) and of spiritual intercession. Through a discussion of organization I hope to show how the religious needs of both the members of the *ṭarīqa* and of the unaffiliated visitors are met. With this context established, in the following section specific forms of prayer will be highlighted.

A distinction worth highlighting is that the Shadhiliyya in Tunis is a *ṭarīqa*, but that Sufi *ṭurūq* are not necessarily attached to any particular locale, for various branches of one order use a number of separate locations in larger cities. On the other hand, a *zāwiya* is a location. As mentioned earlier, it is a place of worship that usually includes the grave of a saint. The Shadhiliyya in Tunis represents a somewhat unusual situation in that it is a brotherhood centered on a *zāwiya* that was built over a site made holy by the founder of the *ṭarīqa*, but which does not include his grave. The site is the cave (*maghāra*) used by al-Shadhili as a place of spiritual retreat during his time in Tunis. The *zāwiya*, located in the great Jallaz cemetery, is called simply Sidi Belhassen.[27]

This *zāwiya* consists principally of a lower mosque built over the cave and an upper mosque, some seventy meters away, built on the location of one of al-Shadhili's visions of Muhammad. In this vision, the Prophet promised he would visit the *ḥaḍra*[28] at this site one Thursday each summer in the second half of the night.[29] It is for this reason that the upper mosque was built at this location and is open for only the fourteen weeks of the summer during the entire year.[30] The *zāwiya* serves as a meeting place for the brotherhood. It is there on Fridays after the evening prayer (*ṣalāt al-maghrib*) that the Qurᵓan is read and the prayers (*aḥzāb*) of al-Shadhili are recited collectively by the members. Essentially the same thing happens on the summertime Thursdays, although a small *dhikr* ceremony (a few dozen men) is added, which lasts for most of the rest of the night. A larger *dhikr* is also held on Saturday mornings,

throughout the year, in the lower mosque (in 1991, I counted roughly 140 men and children and 70 women outside). The *zāwiya* is also a sacred site for many people who are in no way affiliated with the *ṭarīqa*. The cave and the site of al-Shadhili's vision are accessible to the public only at certain times, but most of the *zāwiya*, and in particular its two wells, are readily open to visitors when their presence does not interfere with the activities of the brotherhood.

Although the term *zāwiya* (literally, a "corner") for the most part signifies a place, it can take on a somewhat different meaning. As an institution, a *zāwiya* may be simply the manifestation of an extended family that has acquired some form of religious significance (usually described as having *baraka*). Among the mountain settlers in northwestern Africa, Ernest Gellner distinguishes this type of institution and contrasts it with its form in more populated areas. He writes, "the *zāwiya* in a tribe is a kin group, but in the city, although it may have a kin-defined nucleus, it is essentially a religious club, recruited by enthusiasm or religious interest, and defined not by kinship but by specialized ritual practices."[31] The *zāwiya* of Sidi Belhassen certainly conforms to the latter model.

Sidi Belhassen in the modern era of the Republic of Tunisia (est. 1956) has been one of the very few Sufi institutions to receive government support. The *zāwiya* itself is for the most part maintained by money from the national and city governments.[32] There are probably two reasons for this favor. The first is that the Shadhiliyya is the most conservative and moderate *ṭarīqa* in Tunis, thereby making it a safe institution to support for a government that is often popularly seen as being "un-Islamic." The second and probably more important reason is the long history of affiliation of much of the religious elite of Tunis with the *ṭarīqa*. A large part of the conservative attraction of the Shadhiliyya in Tunis is the perception, fully supported by the brotherhood itself, that it is not the product of a subdivision (*ṭā'ifa*) of the original *ṭarīqa* of al-Shadhili.[33] A part of its legitimacy is based on its claim to function in strict accordance with the rule laid down by the founder. In fact, the present shaykh of the *zāwiya* (simultaneously the head of the brotherhood in Tunis), Hassen Belhassen, made it clear to me that Sidi Belhassen is not a *marabout* (a site of saint veneration), saying, "On n'a pas le culte des saints ici." This claim that the *zāwiya* is free of the "cult of the saint" underlines the conservative nature of the *ṭarīqa*.

Although the *zāwiya* and the *ṭarīqa* are officially supported, they continue to maintain the functions that serve the religious needs of the population at large. The concepts of *baraka*, healing, saintly intercession, and so on are current in varying degrees among both the brothers (*ikhwān*) of the *ṭarīqa* and the unaffiliated visitors.

The importance of the saint in Sufi tradition is undeniable, although opinions vary on its origins and orthodoxy. Ignaz Goldziher saw the cult of the saint as a pre-Islamic survival against which the "enlightened" preach,[34] whereas Danielle Provansal claimed that Islamic saints simply took the place of earlier legendary heroes, Mediterranean gods, witches, and genies.[35] But no matter what its origins, the idea of the *walī*, the holy man and the protégé of God, is fully part of the Islamic religious worldview.[36] An important component of this subject is the role played by the descendants of the Prophet (sayyid, sharif, *ahl al-bayt*). These individuals have always been revered in one way or another throughout the Islamic world, and in North Africa this descent became associated with claims to *baraka*.[37] In a recent article, Valerie J. Hoffman-Ladd discusses the reverence for the *ahl al-bayt* in modern Egyptian Sufism.[38]

Gellner also discusses the rise of sharif families in his study of the mountain settlers of Morocco and Algeria. He describes this religious authority, once established, as charisma "routinized by kinship."[39] In the case of al-Shadhili, this prestige is secured by a claim to ᶜAlid descent.[40]

The *baraka* attributed to the *zāwiya*, to the *ṭarīqa*, and to the shaykh are crucial elements in the legitimacy and religious significance of the Shadhiliyya. The *zāwiya* is a holy site due primarily to its position over al-Shadhili's cave. According to Provansal, the sacred sites in popular North African Islam achieved their status long ago, with the sanctity of earlier animist sites (e.g., trees, streams, caves) being incorporated into popular Islamic practice through association with a local saint. Even restricting ourselves to the Islamic tradition, the image of the cave is well known and weighted with significance. The Qurʾan relates the story of the Companions of the Cave, and narrates the shelter found by Muhammad and Abu Bakr in the cave of Thawr (Qurʾan 18:9, 9:40). But doubtless the most important cave in Islamic religious history is that of Hiraʾ, where, according to hadith literature, Muhammad received his first revelation. The stories of the prophet retreating from the busy world to a cave for spiritual reflection (*khalwa*) are in form echoed by the hagiographies of al-Shadhili. It should not be surprising therefore to hear in popular Tunisian lore concerning the *maghāra* of Sidi Belhassen that the Prophet Moses had used this same cave for his *khalwa*.

The "*baraka* status" of the Sidi Belhassen *zāwiya* is reinforced by the activities of the brotherhood. During the *dhikr* and *ḥizb* recitations on Saturday mornings, many women gather in the antechamber not to participate in the recitations but to benefit by their mere proximity to the *ḥaḍra*. Although the women cannot view the proceedings, they can easily hear the goings on. They often break into a ululating chorus and, on occasion, one or more women will produce ecstatic trancelike calls.[41]

The Shadhiliyya order has an unusual relationship with the *zāwiya* of Sidi Mehrez (Abu Muhammad Mahraz al-Siddiqi, d. 1022), located in the old medina of Tunis, which is not home to any *ṭarīqa* or *ṭāʾifa*. A group from the Shadhiliyya gathers at this tomb-shrine every Wednesday morning to recite *aḥzāb* and to perform a short *dhikr*. The reason given for this is that al-Shadhili, when he first entered Tunis, went to the grave of Sidi Mehrez to read and recite prayers. It is in honor of this that the *ḥaḍra* gathers there. It is interesting to note that Sidi Mehrez is the patron saint of Tunis and in fact was not primarily a religious figure. Rather, he was known for his charity and defense of the Jewish minority of the city. The association of the Shadhiliyya with Sidi Mehrez serves both to raise the status of the tomb-shrine to that of an active *zāwiya* and to reinforce the civic prestige of the Shadhiliyya order.

The specific reasons individuals visit shrines and the *zāwiya* of Sidi Belhassen are many, but the common factor is the search for help—be it spiritual or practical. Those who are not initiated into the *ṭarīqa* but attend one or more parts of the *ḥaḍra* can be divided into two groups. The first consists of those who attend in an effort to secure some saintly intercession in a crisis in their lives.[42] The second is made up of those whose attendance is more regular and who are familiar with the *aḥzāb* of the brotherhood. These individuals would find their association with the *ṭarīqa* spiritually beneficial in a wider sense than those of the first group, who attend only in times of crisis. Practical help is invoked by such activities as placing the sick in the

same room as the *ḥaḍra*, praying for help in or near the *maghāra*, and making personal contact with the shaykh to benefit from his *baraka* and his advice.[43]

The sanctity of the rule of the *ṭarīqa* and the *baraka* of the shaykh are the two primary supports upon which the Shadhiliyya stands. The first, sanctity of rule, means in practice the preservation and perpetuation of the *adab* (decorum or discipline), the *aḥzāb* recitation, the *dhikr*, and discipline, which together provide the essential structure of religious mystery for the brotherhood. The importance of the preservation of the rule and teachings of the *ṭarīqa* is clear in an *ijāza* (authorization) issued to a *muqaddam* (sectional leader of a brotherhood) in Algeria at the turn of the century. In it the Shadhili Shaykh Sidi Abu al-Qasim ibn Saʿid warns that anyone who alters or distorts what he has been taught will be taken to task for it in the hereafter: "He who has changed or altered our doctrine will face judgment."[44] Following the established techniques of these activities is considered essential for a successful *ḥaḍra*—that is, a meaningful religious experience. For the members of the Shadhiliyya of Sidi Belhassen, the *murīd/murshid*[45] relationship existing between them and their shaykh has not the same importance as it does in other brotherhoods,[46] or as it did in the earliest Sufi organizations. Rather than subject themselves to vigorous spiritual training, most individuals slowly improve themselves spiritually through regular attendance and participation in the Qurʾan and *ḥizb* recitations, the *dhikr* ceremonies, the hadith readings, and the lectures and sermons, all of which make up the ritual and tradition of the Shadhili rule.

According to my research, this rule does not systematically consist of any specific mystical teachings. Rather, its sanctity and mystical efficacy are to be found through proper participation. Al-Shadhili himself pointed out that the *nūr* (light), which is the goal of spiritual discipline and devotion, is the product of *al-ʿamal al-ṣāliḥ* (correct spiritual practice).[47] He also stressed the importance of keeping company with virtuous brethren or a proven shaykh.[48]

Higher spiritual development—which often includes study of the great Sufi thinkers, such as Ibn ʿArabi (d. 1240) and al-Ghazali (d. 1111)—is dependent on the aptitude and motivation of the individual. Few in fact aspire to this level. Although the higher works of Islamic spirituality play a minor role in the practical sanctity of the *ṭarīqa*, it must be remembered that they do form the intellectual "backbone," or the theory of Sufism's more practical and mundane manifestations such as the rule of the *ṭarīqa*. This can be seen in the many quotations of the great early Sufi thinkers in the works specific to the Shadhiliyya. In sum, the sanctity of the *ṭarīqa* may accommodate a continuum of interests—from that of the simple *baraka* seeker to that of the advanced mystical adept.

On the practical level also, participation is left up to the individual's degree of personal commitment. The taking of a *waẓīfa* (regimen of daily prayer recitations) is uncommon today among the Shadhiliyya of Tunis. An important member of the brotherhood states the following:

> Usually Shadhilites do not have any particular *waẓīfa*; each chooses one or has one recommended to him by his shaykh, which he does in accordance with the degree of spirituality he has reached. Nevertheless, the true *murīd*s of the *ṭarīqa* (who are unfortunately few these days) adopt the following: After *Ṣalāt al-Fajr* they pray (such and such). After *Ṣalāt al-Ṣubḥ* (such and such). After *Ṣalāt al-ʿAṣr* they recite: 11 times *Sūrat al-Ikhlās*, once *Sūrat al-Nās*,

once *Sūrat al-Falaq*, seven times *al-Fātiḥa*, once "*Ḥizb al-baḥr*," one *ḥizb* of the Qurʾan. After *Ṣalāt al-ʿIshāʾ* they recite (such and such).[49]

This statement points to the fact that of the many active members of the order, only a few fully take up their spiritual discipline.

In discussing the *baraka* of the shaykh, it must be noted that the theory was fully developed early in the history of the *ṭarīqa*. In the writings of Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allah (d. 1309), the second successor to the head of the *ṭarīqa*, it is reported that al-Shadhili is incarnated in each succeeding shaykh of the *ṭarīqa*.[50] John Renard, in his study of Ibn ʿAbbad of Ronda (d. 1390), claims that a prevalent Shadhili theory, in the late 14th century, was that the *quṭb* is incarnated in each succeeding shaykh.[51] In Sufi theory, the *quṭb* is the head of the "spiritual fellowship" of saints, and the power of intercession is generally attributed to him.[52] The details of the theory of the *quṭb* vary widely according to time, place, and writer. In fact, the current position among the *ikhwān* of Sidi Belhassen is that, although in popular practice al-Shadhili is often prayed to for intercession, this is not within his prerogative. Rather, the power of intercession lies only with an earlier saint, ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 1166).

The present shaykh of Sidi Belhassen, Hassen Belhassen, although serving as a focus for divine grace, is not actually descended from al-Shadhili. According to the accounts of the members of the brotherhood, around 1800 a member of the al-Muʾaddib family, who was the imam at a nearby mosque, came to be appointed to the position of shaykh of the *ṭarīqa* in Tunis. All the subsequent shaykhs have come from this family, which through such a long association with the *zāwiya* and the *ṭarīqa* eventually became known as Belhassen.[53] Octave Depont and Xavier Coppolani in 1897 noted that of the three Shadhiliyya *zawāyā* in Tunis at that time, the most important was that run by "Ben Hassen," imam of the mosque of "Djemaʿa-Bab-el-Djezira."[54] Although the choice of successor still rests ultimately with the government (now as it did under both French and Turkish rule), the appointment is made according to a consensus reached by the leading figures of the brotherhood.

The organization of the personnel under Shaykh Belhassen is compared by the members of the *ṭarīqa* to a military command. Those under the shaykh are appointed by him to their various positions of responsibility, such as *shaykh al-ṣalāt*, *shaykh al-Qurʾān*, *shaykh al-dhikr*, and *shaykh al-aḥzāb*. These individuals are responsible for leading their respective parts of the liturgy.[55] A number of less important positions also exist, many of which have no liturgical significance.

The hierarchy is reflected in the seating order during the recitation of the *aḥzāb* and the ritual eating of common meals. Here, the shaykh sits directly in front of the mihrab, facing away from it, with his closest lieutenants to his left and right and across from him in the opposing line. A man retains his position in the hierarchy of the brotherhood even if he is absent. It was related to me by the shaykh that even if a man is not seen for many years, he may return to assume his place, and that the others must make room for him. In contrast, the inalienable right does not exist in the Hamidiyya–Shadhiliyya of Egypt, who see any long absence from the *ḥaḍra* as signaling a lapse in membership in the *ṭarīqa*.[56]

It is also interesting to note that the rank-and-file members of Sidi Belhassen are not subject to the same detailed rule of conduct as those of the Hamidiyya–Shadhiliyya,[57]

nor are they categorized in the elaborate fashion of other Egyptian Shadhili *ṭuruq*.[58] Their only prescribed duties are the memorization—to the best of their ability—of the *aḥzāb* and regular presence at the gatherings of the brotherhood. At Sidi Belhassen, the ceremony of initiation follows a pattern common among many *ṭuruq*. The shaykh, surrounded by a number of followers, places his hands on the sitting or kneeling applicant, and together they recite the *Fātiha*.[59]

FORMS OF PRAYER

As the activities of the brotherhood center on prayer, the forms used warrant further elucidation. Although many of the terms and titles to be discussed have a number of meanings, the emphasis will be on the terms as far as they represent different types of written prayer.

Of paramount importance to Islamic prayer in general is the *ṣalāt* (pl. *ṣalawāt*). This is the central prayer rite and is one of the five pillars of Islam. Each of the five daily occasions of this rite is to be preceded by a ritual ablution (*wuḍūʾ*) and may take place anywhere—except at tombs and unclean places.[60]

The prayers specific to the *ṭuruq* often revolve around the daily *ṣalāt* times for a number of reasons, the most important of which is probably to share in the ritual cleanness of the *wuḍūʾ*.[61] Many of the prayers are even assigned to follow a particular *ṣalāt* prayer. For example, al-Shadhili is recorded as saying that the best time to recite "*Ḥizb al-barr*" is after *Ṣalāt al-Ṣubḥ* (morning prayer).[62] As for the prohibition of prayer at tombs, the *zāwiya* of Sidi Belhassen in Tunis, despite the presence of graves within and around its two main buildings, maintains its status as a place of *ṣalāt*. In fact, the buildings are distinguished (at least in conversation) as the upper and lower "mosques." The graves are located in rooms separate from those used for the five daily prayers.

The word *ṣalāt* and its plural, *ṣalawāt*, are also to be found as titles of prayers of supplication. In the collection *Manbaʿ al-saʿādāt*[63] two examples are "Ṣalawāt Sīdī Aḥmad al-Badawī" (d. 1276) and "Al-Ṣalāt al-ʿAẓīmiyya." These prayers, not unlike others in the collection, are primarily concerned with invocations of blessing and requests for divine help.

Another term, *duʿāʾ*, is also important in this context. Its root meaning is to call, and with the preposition *li* it takes on the connotation of invoking blessing upon someone or something. *Duʿāʾ* (pl. *adʿiya*) may be translated as call, supplication, prayer, and request, but in usage a general distinction may be made between *duʿāʾ* as a more personalized petition and *ṣalāt* as the fixed ritual duty of an individual as a member of the Islamic community.[64]

The topic of *duʿāʾ* holds an important place in the Shadhili manuals. The modern *ṭarīqa* writer ʿAbd al-Halim Mahmud (d. 1977) highlights its importance with the hadiths: "There is nothing more perfect towards God than the *duʿāʾ*" and "For him to whom the door of *duʿāʾ* is open, the doors of [God's] compassion are also open."[65] Discussion is further made concerning strategies for maximizing the efficacy of one's *duʿāʾ*. Mahmud writes, "The *duʿāʾ* is proper at all times . . . [but the best] time for *duʿāʾ* is in the last third of the night."[66] He also relates the hadith that, "The slave is closest to his Lord when praying (*sājid*)—so increase [your] *duʿāʾ*!" to which he

adds, "The places best suited for the answering of one's *duᶜāᵓ* are the pure and blessed places, the most notable of which are Mecca and Medina."[67] And Shadhili himself says, "If you want Him to answer [your prayer] in less than the blink of an eye, you must do five things: (1) obey the [divine] command; (2) avoid that which is forbidden; (3) purify the heart; (4) show determination; and (5) perform that which is required [of you]."[68] Also, *duᶜāᵓ* holds a significant place in Islamic practice generally. We are told that, "Because of the great importance of *dhikr* and *duᶜāᵓ* in Islam, Abu al-Hasan [al-Shadhili] was exhaustive in [his performance of] *dhikr* and *duᶜāᵓ*."[69]

The term *duᶜāᵓ* is also a prayer title. In *Manbaᶜal-saᶜādāt* one finds a pair of short prayers, "Duᶜāᵓ al-basmala li'l-Jīlānī" and "Duᶜāᵓ al-jalāla la-hu," attributed to ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. In the same collection are found a number of shorter *adᶜiya* intended for use at special times, such as the first day of the year and the day of *ᶜāshūrāᵓ*.

Turning from *duᶜāᵓ* to *dhikr* (literally, mention or remembrance) we approach a more complex term. The significance of the ritual practice of *dhikr Allāh* (remembrance of God), its techniques, and its results will be dealt with later. Here I shall restrict our discussion of *dhikr* to its use in the context of prayer terminology. *Dhikr* can be seen to have three distinct meanings. The first is a usage that is tied closely to the verbal root of the term. In *Al-Madrasa al-Shādhiliyya* (p. 140) we find the short statement, "no one reaches God except through perseverance (*dawām*) in *dhikr*."[70] Here the meaning may be taken simply as remembrance of God, or as referring to prayer in general. The verb used in its fifth form (*tadhakkara*) is used to convey the idea of a sinner acknowledging his own sin.[71]

The second usage of *dhikr* is as a short formula. Some formulas are recited after one or more of the *ṣalāt* prayers,[72] while others are used more generally. Al-Shadhili himself recommended the recitation of the following well-known *dhikr* formula (*ṣīgha*): "*al-ḥamdu li'llāh, wa-astaghfiru Allāh, wa lā ḥawla wa lā qūwata ilā bi'llāh*."[73] Knowing the special *dhikr* phrases of one's shaykh is vital. Ibn Ayyad writes, "he who is affiliated with one of the shaykhs of the *ṭarīqa*, [one of] the authorities of the truth, he must known the foundation of his shaykh's way, and know the *adkhār* [sing. *dhikr*] of his shaykh."[74] The *adhkār* are also often integral parts of the larger Shadhili prayers known as *aḥzāb*.[75] The third usage of *dhikr* refers to group recitation of the *aḥzāb* of a brotherhood. Of "*Ḥizb al-baḥr*" and "*Ḥizb al-kabīr*," Ibn ᶜAtaᵓ Allah says that he recommends their recital (*dhikrahumā*) in both the desert and the city.[76]

Another important prayer term is *wird* (pl. *awrād*). Its basic verbal meaning (from the root *WRD*) if "to appear" or "to arrive," but in our context as a noun it is usually defined as "the time one devotes to supererogatory prayer."[77] But a survey of the term's use in the history of Sufi *turuq* leads to a wider definition. *Wird* may refer to the *ṭarīqa* or *ṭāᵓifa* of a shaykh—in so far as his central message is to be found in the prayers he has written. Or, as Hassan Elboudrari points out, the *wird* refers metonomically to the *ṭarīqa*.[78] Secondly, *wird* may refer to the times appointed for the recitation of a prayer, and subsequently come to mean the *adhkār*, or the *aḥzāb* which are used themselves. Finally, *wird* can refer to the ritual order and recitation of prayers as established by the founder of the *ṭarīqa*. In this way also, *wird* may come to refer to the entire *ṭarīqa* or *ṭāᵓifa*.[79]

In *Manbaᶜal-saᶜādāt* we find two *awrād*, the "Wird al-Jalāla" attributed to ᶜAbd al-Qadir al-Jilani, and the "Wird al-Saḥar" attributed to Mustafa al-Bakri (d. 1709)

of the Khalwatiyya. It is interesting to note that the "Wird al-Jalāla" contains instructions for the reader to recite it 4,356 times, and on each occasion to follow it with 66 repetitions of the *bamala*.[80] (A wider study of *wird* as a prayer title would be necessary for us to know whether this type of specific instruction is common.) In the "Wird al-Saḥar" we find an allusion to the *wird* representing the essential message of the *ṭarīqa*. The prayer begins, "Praise be to God who had delivered those He has willed to the watering place (*mawrūd*). And He has favored the people of the *awrād*, above the [other] worshipers, with gifts of generosity. He has granted them divine inspirations (*wāridāt*), which, through His sympathy for them, are occasions of good fortune."[81]

Wird in its plural form, *awrād*, often takes on the meaning of religious duties. Al-Shadhili said, "The *awrād* of the faithful are twenty in number: *ṣawm* (fasting), *ṣalāt*, *dhikr*, *tilāwa* (recitation), . . . censure of the self from craving, enjoining the good, forbidding the evil, . . . *tawakkul* (trust in God), *waraᶜ* (piety), . . ."[82] Included in this discussion of the *awrād* of the *ṭarīqa* are the requirements that the adept take an active role in the community—which includes marriage and a family—while at the same time avoiding undue attachment to worldly pleasures. Further, the shaykh stresses the personal ethic when he requires his followers to "avoid causing offense, and bear the insult."[83]

The term *waẓīfa* (pl. *waẓāʾifa*), often translated as duty or daily office,[84] can frequently be found with *awrād* in our manuals. For instance, the story related by al-Shadhili that when a man asked his shaykh (Ibn Mashish) to prescribe for him *waẓāʾifa* and *awrād*, the master angrily replied, "Am I a prophet? Do I impose obligations? The religious duties are [already] fixed, and the acts of sinning are known to all. So be faithful to the required duties and reject sin."[85] In this example, if we take *awrād* to mean religious duties in general, then *waẓīfa* would refer to the prayers that make up part of those duties. *Waẓīfa* is in fact elsewhere used as a prayer title.[86] In spite of the shaykh's point, the *waẓīfa* does not mean only completing religious duties.[87] We must recognize that *waẓīfa* carries the further notion of personal spiritual direction managed by a guide—hence, the adept's request. In this sense, the prayers (*waẓāʾīfa*) that are assigned to an adept hold in part the lesson and secrets that he is to learn. Thus, just as *wird* was at first the prescribed time of prayer and later came to refer to the prayers themselves, so too does *waẓīfa* expand; from a duty to recite certain prayers it comes also to imply their contents. In the introduction to his *Kashf al-asrār*, the modern *ṭarīqa* writer Mustafa Naja states, "Know that this is the *waẓīfa* of the sunna, from the collection of the *awrād* of the *ṭāʾifa* of al-Shadhili, . . . spread through him by [his master] Ibn Bashish."[88] In this statement, Naja is stressing the orthodoxy of the message of the *ṭarīqa* by equating it with the sunna, the term *waẓīfa* going beyond prayer and coming to signify the spiritual message of the *ṭarīqa*.

As a title, the term *waẓīfa* can be found in a special appended section of the *Nibrās al-atqiyāʾ*. I have not been able to find any independent treatment of the term as it is used here, but the members of Sidi Belhassen maintain that they are prayers written by the followers of al-Shadhili and were inspired by the *aḥzāb*—hence their titles of "Waẓīfa Ḥizb al-. . . . " In a short preface to the *waẓīfa* collection, the *Nibrās al-atqiyāʾ* states that they are part of the practice of the cave (*ᶜamal al-maghāra al-Shādhiliyya*) of the saint.

Another important prayer title is *ḥizb* (pl. *aḥzāb*), which has the root meaning of group or band. The term refers not only to prayers but also to half of a *juzʾ*, or one-sixtieth of the Qurʾan—divisions used primarily to facilitate recitation. *Ḥizb* is generally the title used for longer prayers and can mean much the same as *wird*.[89] Edouard Michaux-Bellaire defines *ḥizb* as simply a "fraction of the *wird* of an Order"; that is, the shaykh knows the *wird*, and the followers are given only pieces (*aḥzāb*) of it.[90] Here *wird* is taken to contain the complete spiritual message of the *ṭarīqa*. One of the Shadhili manuals explains the relationship between the two terms thus: "Know that the truth (*ḥaqīqa*) of the *ḥizb* is the *wird* received and used in worship and its like. In usage it (*ḥizb*) is a collection of *adhkār*, *adʿiya*, and requests, all arranged for recital and memorizing, and for seeking shelter from evil and asking for good."[91] If we accept Michaux-Bellaire's claim that the *wird* holds the secret of the *ṭarīqa*, then the statement of this manual implies that this secret is represented, in an incomplete form, in the *aḥzāb*.[92] Leaving aside the *wird*, the *Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya* provides a more general description of the *ḥizb*, here stressing its central importance within the *ṭarīqa*.

> Know that the *aḥzāb* of the Shaykh, may God be pleased with him, are the union between the benefits of knowledge and the way of oneness, and the instruction of the *ṭarīqa* and the sign of truth and the sublime remembrance of God, of His majesty and of His grandeur, and the remembrance of the wretchedness of the self and its vileness."[93]

The *aḥzāb* and their use will be the subject of further discussion.

Another prayer title, though less common, is *dawr* (literally, role, age, rotation). One example we have is entitled, "The Ḥizb of Protection for him who seeks power—by Muhyi al-Din ibn al-ʿArabi: which is also known as the Lofty Dawr."[94] In a recent study undertaken in Egypt, Earl Waugh identifies common *dawr* as a vocal piece derived from colloquial poetry accompanied by a choral refrain.[95] But in "The Ḥizb of Protection," although the meter is kept more strictly than it is in other prayers of the collection, and each line ends in "*Allāh*," there is no apparent chorus and the lines are rather long. It is therefore not clear whether *dawr* here refers to the form of recitation or whether it may be read simply as "station" or "degree." Unfortunately, I cannot refer to the ritual context, because the Shadhiliyya in Tunis, to the best of my knowledge, does not use this *ḥizb*. (As an aside, it should be noted that at the Sidi Belhassen *zāwiya* there is no singing or playing of instruments.[96]) From the same root comes *dāʾira*, "circle," which in the Sufi manuals is a figure of geometric circles usually containing names and Qurʾanic words. It seems these figures are primarily used as talismans.[97]

On the other hand, the *qaṣāʾid* (sing. *qaṣīda*) in *Manbaʿ al-saʿādāt* are specifically intended for chanting. The following is from a *qaṣīda* attributed to al-Bakri.:[98]

Bi-kulli khalīlin qad khalā ʿan shawāʾibin	By every friend [of God] who was faultless
Wa kulli jalīlin qad jalā nūruhu	And every sublime [one] whose light
al-zalmāʾa	illumined the darkness
Bi-ʿarshin bi-farshin bi-l-samāwāti	By throne, by [prayer] mat, by heavens, by
bi-l-ʿulyāʾi	heights
Bi-mā qad ḥawā qalbu al-muḥaqqiqi min	By what the heart of the enquirer has
ruḥmāʾin	gathered of mercy

Qaṣāʾid are popularly used on special occasions throughout the year, particularly at *mawlid* celebrations.[99] Although not the case at Sidi Belhassen, a *qaṣīda* such as this one may be used as prayer during a *ḥaḍra*.[100]

Another form popular prayers can take is that of the *ḥirz*, or amulet. In its smaller forms, a *ḥirz* usually contains no more than a few short extracts from the Qurʾan,[101] but larger collections do exist. One Shadhili collection is entitled *Ḥirz al-jawshan* (The Amulet of the Coat of Mail), which contains a piece from the "Dalāʾil al-khayrāt" of al-Jazūlī (d. 1465) along with three *aḥzāb* in shortened form.[102] The purpose of an amulet is more practical than it is spiritual. Thus, this pocket-size booklet claims to be particularly useful against the ills that afflict both men and women. It can protect the traveler day and night and will defend its reader from the deceit of liars. Sorcery is thwarted, as are the evil intentions of thieves and jinn. It also helps a woman find a husband and can ease her pains during childbirth.[103]

All of the above-mentioned prayers exist (some more prominently than others) in written form. Nevertheless, we would do injustice to the subject if we did not push on to examine their animating principle—the recitation. By animation, I mean not only the idea of performing a prayer by reading it, but also the sense of an added spiritual dimension acquired by the prayer when it is recited.

DHIKR AND *AḤZĀB*

Before turning to the reading of prayers, we would do well to take note of the greatest recitation, the Qurʾan itself.[104] The first point to be made is that the text of the Qurʾan is most "effective" or most fully realized when it is recited. In fact, "the authoritativeness of the Qurʾanic text is only realized in its fullness and perfection when it is correctly recited aloud. In other words, the book of holy writ (*kitāb*) in Islam is ultimately not a written or printed document, but a holy 'reciting,' or 'recitation.'"[105] The second point to make is that from the perspective of an individual worshiper, recitation maximizes one's spiritual interaction with the material at hand. William Graham refers to this spiritual interaction when he writes, "Meaning is carried by the recitation over and above the particular meaning of the literal passage recited, however deeply felt and understood that meaning may be on an intellectual plane."[106] This "meaning" is available even to those who by virtue of illiteracy or a language barrier do not understand the literal meaning of the Arabic.[107] The issue of recitation is relevant to discussion of the *aḥzāb*, but let us first turn to another important recitation, that of the names of God (*dhikr asmāʾ Allāh*).

In one of the earliest systematic works written on the theory and practice of *dhikr*, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ wa miṣbāḥ al-awrāḥ* (written circa 1304), Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allah writes, "*Dhikr* is to free oneself from negligence of forgetfulness by the permanent presence of the heart with God (*al-Ḥaqq*)."[108] In this work, *dhikr* is divided into three categories: that of the tongue (verbal), that of the heart, and that of the Secret *dhikr*. Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allah writes, "Invoking the letters of God's Name without presence of mind is invocation of the tongue; invoking with presence of mind is invocation of the heart; and invoking with an absence of self-awareness because of absorption in the Invoked is the invocation of the Self (or Secret)—this is the hidden invocation!"[109]

The *dhikr* of the tongue, although only a first step, has practical benefits. For the novice it is the practice by which he may learn to discipline and focus himself. Ibn

ʿAtaʾ Allah suggests *dhikr* formulas such as: *Allāh maʿiya* (God is watching me) and *Allāh nāẓirun ilayya* (God is looking at me).[110] On the second level, that of the heart (*qalb*), the *dhikr* is internalized. This marks the first stage of extinction (*fanāʾ*) of the individual's identity into that of the divine.[111] At the next level it is by "extinction of extinction" that one accedes to direct contemplation of the divine truth. This is the secret *dhikr*, where differentiation between the individual and the object of remembrance is lost. Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allah characterizes this level as one in which the lights (of revelation) do not disappear; in other words, the divine illumination becomes constant. He adds that you may abandon the first two *dhikr*s, but the third, once attained, will never leave you.

Louis Gardet makes the observation that there have been two distinct lines, or forms, of *dhikr*. In the older form, it is simply one of the methods of prayer. In the second (beginning with Abu Hamid al-Ghazali), *dhikr* comes to represent "procedures" by which one may attain spiritual states.[112] This observation is essentially accurate as long as it is remembered that *dhikr* in the first form did not disappear with the advent of *dhikr* in the second form. Our discussion of the various uses of the term *dhikr*—particularly in relation to the prayer titles cited earlier—sets out examples of the use of *dhikr* in this more primitive sense.

The *dhikr* of "procedures," an essential part of the ritual of a *ṭarīqa*, consists of the recitation of the names of God. Practice varies between brotherhoods and even between shaykhs. For the Shadhiliyya *ṭarīqa* in general, the ritual event is called a *ḥaḍra* and usually consists of *qaṣāʾid*, Qurʾan, and *aḥzāb* recitations (in varying order and amounts), which are then followed by the *dhikr Allāh*.[113] But the *ḥaḍra* is somewhat different in the case of the Sidi Belhassen *zāwiya* of Tunis. There the primary *dhikr* takes place on Saturday morning, prefaced by a short Qurʾanic recitation. The larger *ḥaḍra*, on Thursday night, is highlighted by the recitation of the *aḥzāb* rather than the *dhikr*.

Of the formulas to be used, we know that Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allah recommended that only the words *Allāh* and *Huwa* (He) be used.[114] He also preferred that *dhikr* be carried out in *khalwa* (retreat, solitude).[115] At Sidi Belhassen, the *dhikr*—as a group activity—is carried out either at night or in a dark, closed hall. There the *dhikr* consists of *Allāh*, and *Huwa*, with a few short Qurʾanic verses added from time to time by the shaykh of the *dhikr*. In contrast to the exclusive use of these two words, Ibn ʿAyyad quoted ʿAbd al-Wahhab al-Shaʿrani (d. 1565), saying that *lā ilaha illā allāh* is the most efficacious *dhikr* formula.[116] It is interesting to note that both Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allah and ʿAbd al-Wahhab al-Shaʿrani recommend that the adept engaged in *dhikr* focus on the image of his shaykh during his recitation.[117]

The *dhikr* of Sidi Belhassen is carried out by two lines of men standing facing each other. At first *Allāh* is pronounced very slowly and in low tones (so slowly, in fact, that the name is difficult to say in one breath). The recitation speeds up, and the two lines begin alternating in pronouncing the name. This is necessary because one cannot properly pronounce the word at the higher speeds. When the recitation reaches an unsustainable speed, the shaykh of the *dhikr* stops it and starts the process again with *Huwa*. Sessions may last up to an hour and a half.

There are in fact two shaykhs of the *dhikr*. One participates in the recitation (he not only controls its speed but must also call out to those who are bordering on hysteria to keep them in line,[118] while the other stays near the door of the hall and lets

the active shaykh know when he should end the *dhikr*. This second shaykh controls access to the hall. If there are not many people, or the participants are not very experienced, the *dhikr* will be ended after approximately forty-five minutes. At this point, the room is relighted, and Shaykh Belhassen enters and takes his place at the mihrab of the hall. Remaining in two lines, the men sit and recite the "Fātiḥa" a number of times. Shaykh Belhassen says short prayers between the recitations, and a common meal of bread, olives, and water is served to all—with the remains prized for *baraka*.

The *aḥzāb* of al-Shadhili are recited primarily at the communal *ḥaḍra*.[119] The summer season at Sidi Belhassen is the high point for these recitations, attracting hundreds of participants each night. The *aḥzāb* are read in a special cycle[120] over the fourteen summer weeks.

Week 1: *Ḥizb al-kabīr* (*Ḥizb al-āyāt*)
2: *Ḥizb al-kabīr* (*Ḥizb al-barr*)
3: *Ḥizb al-ḥamd* and *Waẓīfat ḥizb al-ḥamd*
4: *Ḥizb al-fatḥ* and *Waẓīfat ḥizb al-fatḥ*
5: *Ḥizb al-tawaṣṣul* and *Waẓīfat ḥizb al-tawaṣṣul*
6: *Ḥizb al-luṭf* and *Waẓīfat ḥizb al-luṭf*
7: *Ḥizb al-kabīr* (*Ḥizb al-āyāt*)

Week 8: *Ḥizb al-kabīr* (*Ḥizb al-barr*)
9: *Ḥizb al-ḥamd*
10: *Waẓīfa ḥizb al-ḥamd*
11: *Ḥizb al-fatḥ*
12: *Ḥizb al-tawaṣṣul*
13: *Ḥizb al-luṭf*
14: *Ḥizb al-kabīr* (*Ḥizb al-āyāt*)

In addition, the Qur'an is recited collectively twice in its entirely over the fourteen-week cycle.

The *aḥzāb* are also recited on Friday evenings throughout the year according to a different cycle that, though less attended, includes a greater variety of *aḥzāb* and *waẓā'ifa*. There are also six festival days (*mawāsim*) in the year in which the *aḥzāb* are recited by the Shadhili brotherhood, joined by various groups from the other *ṭuruq* of Tunis, who are invited to celebrate with them. The Shadhiliyya is renowned for its *aḥzāb* recitation. Let us now turn our attention to the significance of the *aḥzāb* on a spiritual or experiential level.

Mention must be made of the important role of the *aḥzāb*, first as the occasion for the "religious experience" of the individual (attained by grasping the spiritual essence of the Shadhili way), and second as the animating experiential element underlying the entire *ṭarīqa*. In other words, recitation of the *aḥzāb* is the practice that provides the individual members with the opportunity to experience the intense feelings that make up the emotional state so often described as ecstatic.[121] (The recitation can send individuals into highly agitated states. I observed men sweating profusely, others crying, and on occasion some with a wide-eyed blank expression who could barely stay seated and recited almost at the top of their voices. This last condition is certainly not pleasing to the shaykh of the *ḥaḍra*, although, as with those who are

overly expressive in the *dhikr* ceremony, it is a common occurrence—the feeling being that such a one has only been swept a little overboard. The overly enthusiastic reciter will be gently restrained by his fellows if he becomes too disruptive.) In this capacity, the recitation engenders circumstances that are the *ṭarīqa*'s raison d'être—experience of the divine truth that is at the heart of the Shadhili *ṭarīqa*.[122] The experience available through these prayers is thus the animating principle of the entire brotherhood, because it provides the spiritual message that the *ṭarīqa* is set up to propagate. Put concisely, this "intangible" experience, which is reached through the *aḥzāb*, invests the "tangible" organization with its deepest purpose—the spiritual reality of the saint's way.[123]

The *aḥzāb* themselves are attributed a status near that of revelation. One reason is that al-Shadhili was inspired in their composition by figures such as the Prophet and al-Khidr. In fact the saints' knowledge of God, which they have acquired by the "taste (*dhawq*) of actuality," has been divinely imparted to them.[124] The recitation of the *aḥzāb* is thus an important act of spiritual significance, and "no one hears one of them without being deeply affected, nor does one read them without a similar result."[125] In commenting on a statement made by al-Shadhili concerning "Ḥizb al-kabīr"—"Whoever recites this litany possesses what I possess, and must do what I must do"—Ibn ᶜAbbad writes:

> In other words, it is as though the shaykh were saying, "If an individual recites the litany (*Ḥizb al-kabīr*) with upright intention and sincere hope, and is a lover following our path as embodied in the litany . . . he has reached the rank of sainthood reserved for me; he has entered into my litany, and thus my sponsorship.[126]

Thus the message of the *ṭarīqa*, being contained in the *aḥzāb*, is essentially of divine inspiration (if not origin). And through the rule of the *ṭarīqa*, the seeker may have access to the spiritual reality of the *aḥzāb* and hence to a divinely inspired truth.

Another aspect of the recitation of the *aḥzāb* is that in undertaking this activity the individual becomes one of the small special group of Muslims who have, through their practice of the *ṭarīqa*, placed themselves farther along on the path to God. They are the followers of one of the *awliyāᵓ* (friends) of God, and they reaffirm this following largely by reciting the unique prayers he has left for them. The power of the saint is available to all who will follow his *ṭarīqa*.[127] Al-Shadhili himself speaks of the saints as the conduits for divine light directed toward the world. He says, "Intercession is the pouring of light upon the essence (*jawhar*) of prophethood, and it spreads from the essence of prophethood to the prophets and the saints, and the lights flow from the saints and the prophets to creation."[128]

At the same time, the *ṭarīqa*, as a set of rituals and rules, fosters the discipline and tradition that make the *aḥzāb* recitation both possible and effective. In this way, the rule of the brotherhood provides the framework in which the *aḥzāb* are relevant and in which they are perpetuated. Regular contact between the members of all ranks has a subtle yet strong influence on the spiritual evolution of an individual. As Waugh remarks, "Within the network one learns not only how to act, but how to respond to the realities that make up Sufi life."[129] In the *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya* the importance of this communal interaction is made clear: "All this [pious activity and spiritual knowledge] is not accomplished by you except by keeping company with virtuous brethren

or a proven shaykh."[130] It is from among the brothers of the *ṭarīqa* that an individual will find his role models, and it is these people who will have the greatest hand in his spiritual development.

Relevant to the dynamic of *ḥizb* recitation is Waugh's discussion of *dhikr*, in which he describes the impact that a well-performed *ḥaḍra* can have. He writes, "The *dhikr*, when it is said to be 'good' by the participants, takes them out of their collective selves and makes them, in the moment of enthusiastic experience, into a cohesive and vibrant ensemble."[131] This first step toward the intangible is achieved through a corporate effort. Of communal prayer, Louis Rinn notes the importance of the group:

> All Muslims are convinced that prayers are most effective when completed collectively, and that God attaches particular merit to them. This solidarity [in prayer] goes far in erasing the personality [and individuality] of the adept, since he belongs not only to his shaykh but even more so to his brothers; all of which promises benefits for him if he remains on the path.[132]

Thus, part of the essential message is to be grasped by the individual both as he is subsumed by the group identity and as he is personally directed by the rule of the *ṭarīqa*.

At Sidi Belhassen, the *aḥzāb* recitation is very difficult. Not only are the prayers themselves many and rather long, taking years to memorize, but the complex reading technique must also be mastered. Those more accomplished lead the younger and the less dedicated in the recitation, thus training them in proper technique. This technique is vital to keeping the *aḥzāb* recitation alive and meaningful for the brothers.

It is clear from the above description that much of the significance of the *aḥzāb* is functional. They are important texts in large part due to the devotional practices and experience that they represent.

CONCLUSION

From this study of al-Shadhili's legacy, we may conclude that the power of his sanctity is an animating force present in the functioning of both the *zāwiya* complex and the brotherhood. Further, the *zāwiya* and brotherhood strengthen each other—each presenting a complimentary manifestation of the saint's legacy. Each might survive without the other, but their close relationship is doubtless responsible for much of their success and longevity. Again, they are complimentary forms of al-Shadhili's legacy. If the saint is present to the *zāwiya* site via his hagiography and popular legends, he is present in the *ṭarīqa* largely through his *aḥzāb*.

The role of the *ṭarīqa* is to provide a structure and a catalyst for the spiritual development of its members. Simplifying matters to make a point, we may equate structure with the *adab* (rule) of the *ṭarīqa* and catalyst with the spiritual authority of the saint. The sanctity and position of the founder (and to some extent, the subsequent shaykhs) were established by his achievements, both miraculous and intellectual. It is this position that allowed the saint to establish a rule and that continues to invest the *ṭarīqa* with a sense of spiritual authority.

Recitation of the prayers of al-Shadhili allows the individual to reassert his devotion to the saint—to reconnect with his spiritual guide. On one level, the individual is part of the group structure, but on another he remains a single devoted follower (*murīd*) of the great shaykh. It is largely through the *aḥzāb* that this contact is

reestablished. In fact, they are the "message" of the *ṭarīqa*, in the sense that to participate fully and experience them is to experience the spiritual truth of the saint.

The prayers, in addition to their status as the text of the recorded inspiration of the saint, also serve an immediate ritual function within the practice of the brotherhood. Both of these elements must be appreciated if the significance of the *aḥzāb* is to be understood.

NOTES

[1]*Nibrās al-atqiyāʾ wa dalīl al-anqiyāʾ* (Tunis: Al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAṣriyya, 1964).

[2]See Louis Gardet, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Dhikr." Gardet's discussion relies heavily on Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 1309) and his *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ wa miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1961). Further, some interpretations of Islamic ritual prayer do not recognize sources beyond the Qurʾan; S. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 87–88.

[3]Michel Gilsenan, in his sociological account of the Ḥāmidiyya–Shādhīliyya and the Demerdāshiyya Khalwatiyya of Egypt, passes over prayer recitation to get to the more spectacular *dhikr* ceremony. His discussion of *dhikr* covers thirty pages, while prayer recitation is disposed of in one sentence: "In a more limited and immediate way [than *dhikr*], the recitation of certain litanies and sections of the Quran prescribed by the founder of the Order (the *ḥizb* or *wird*) fulfills the function of preparation for the *dhikr* proper and establishes the appropriate psychological 'frame' for its performances." Michel Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt: An Essay in the Sociology of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 156. I quote this not to imply that Gilsenan's observations are inaccurate but, rather, to show how a student, because of the accounts already written, might not look closely at recitation. For a similar treatment, see Louis Rinn, *Marabouts et khouan* (Algièrs: Adolphe Jourdan, 1884), 99.

[4]These include works solidly within the Shadhili *ṭarīqa*; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Fāsī, *Sharḥ ḥizb al-barr* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyya al-Azhāriyya, 1969); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bannānī, *Sharḥ ḥizb al-kabīr* (Tunis: Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 2417); Sulaiman al-ʿAjīlī, *Al-qawl al-munīr fī sharḥ al-ḥizb al-kabīr* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, MS). They also include works from further afield: Shah Walī Allāh Dihlawī, *Sharḥ ḥizb al-baḥr* (Delhi, 1890).

[5]Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī, *Laṭāʾif al-minan*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd (Cairo: Maktabat al-Saʿīdiyya, 1974). See also Eric Geoffroy, "Laṭāʾif al-minan d'Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh Iskandarī, essai d'analyse d'un texte hagiographique" (DEA thesis, Aix-en-Provence; 1989).

[6]This work is one of the earliest and most comprehensive expositions on *dhikr*: Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*. See also M. A. Khoury-Danner's translation, "The Remembrance of God in Sufism: A Translation of Ibn Ata Allah's 'Miftah al-Falah'" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Indiana, 1988), forthcoming from Islamic Texts Society as *Key to Salvation.*

[7]A work dealing with the divine names of Allah: *Al-qaṣd al-mujarrad* (Cairo: Al-Maṭbaʿa al-Miṣriyya, 1930). See Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, *Traité sur le nom Allāh*, trans. M. Gloton (Paris: Deux Oceans, 1981).

[8]A collection of mystical aphorisms: *Ḥikam Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh* (sharḥ al-shaykh Zarrūq), ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd (Cairo: Dār al-Shaʿb, 1985). Victor Danner has translated *al-Ḥikam* as *The Book of Wisdom: Sufi Aphorisms* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973). For a good introduction to the whole Order, see also Danner's "The Shādhiliyya and North African Sufism," in *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations*, ed. Seyyed H. Nasr (New York: Crossroads, 1991), 30.

[9]Elmer H. Douglas, "Al-Shādhilī, A North African Sufi, According to Ibn Al-Ṣabbāgh," *Muslim World* 38 (1948): 257.

[10]Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, al-Ḥimyarī (Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Qāsim), *Durrat al-asrār wa tuḥfat al-abrār* (Ḥijāza Qiblī-Qūṣ Qināʾ: Dār Āl al-Rifāʿī) and *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shādhilī: Including His Life, Prayers, Letters, and Followers*, ed. Ibrahim M. Rabiʿ, trans. Elmer H. Douglas (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993). See also A. Hofheinz's forthcoming review in *Die Welt des Islams.* Vincent J. Cornell, in "Mirrors of Prophethood: The Evolving Image of the Spiritual Master in the Western Maghreb from the Origins of Sufism to the End of the Sixteenth Century" (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1989), 423, 461, labels the biographical tradition from Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh as the Egyptian tradition

and that from Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh as the Maghribi tradition. Cornell is currently working on a study entitled "Abuʾl-Hasan al-Shadhili and the Origins of the Shadhiliyya."

[11]See A. M. Mohamed Mackeen, "The Rise of Al-Shādhilī," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91 (1971): 483, for the various dates of birth.

[12]Ibid., 479. For more on this period, see Mohamed Kably, "Pouvoir universel et pouvoirs provinciaux au Maghreb dans la première moitié du XIIIè siècle," *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Mediterranée* (1993–94), and Vincent J. Cornell's forthcoming *The Dominion of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Mysticism.*

[13]A *zāwiya* is usually a small Sufi center under the control of an independent shaykh that often includes the tomb of a saint. For more on Abu Madyan, see Cornell, *The Way of Abu Madyan* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1994).

[14]Paul Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie shadhilite* (Beirut: Dar el-Mashreq, 1990), 19.

[15]*Quṭb*: the "pole" or central figure among mystics or in a hierarchy of saints.

[16]Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 28, and Douglas, "Al-Shādhilī," 269.

[17]Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār*, 34.

[18]J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 49. In "Mirrors of Prophethood" (p. 426), Cornell argues that at this point in time al-Shadhili was a member of the Rifaʿiyya.

[19]Douglas, "Al-Shādhilī," 259.

[20]Literally "solitude" or "retreat." For more on the concept of *khalwa* and its development among the Shadhiliyya, see Ernst Bannerth, "Dhikr et Khalwa d'après Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh," *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales* 12 (1974). More generally, see Hermann Landolt's "Khalwa" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.

[21]Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Mystical Teachings*, 16, 22–23, and Douglas, "Al-Shādhilī," 260. Douglas's reckoning of "shortly after 1227" is not supported by the *Durrat al-asrār* and is incompatible with 1228, the date established earlier, as the date of arrival in Tunis. Also, Douglas did not point out, or did not realize, that al-Shadhili had lived at some point in Tunis as a youth.

[22]Mackeen, "The Rise of Al-Shādhilī," 484.

[23]Ibid., 485. See also Robert Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1947), 2:323.

[24]Brunshvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, 2:323. For more on the Maghrib and sainthood, see Houari Touati, *Entre Dieu et les hommes: lettres, saints et sorciers au Maghreb* (Paris: Editions de l'EHESS, 1944), and A. Hammoudi, "The Path of Sainthood: Structure and Danger," *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies* 3 (1994).

[25]Ibn ʿAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya fī al-maʾāthir al-Shādhiliyya* (Cairo, 1961, and Tunis, 1986), and Sālim ʿAmmār, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿa Dār al-Taʾlīf, 1952). Sālim ʿAmmār is a modern writer; Carl Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937–49) sup. II, 462, 1000, describes Ibn ʿAyyād as a little-known writer on al-Suyūṭī. For more on sources, see P. Lory, "Al-Shadhilī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed..

[26]Some of the works of this Tunisian tradition are *Manāqib al-maghāra al-Shādhiliyya* (Tunis: Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 3506[2]) and *Manāqib Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī* (Tunis: Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 419). For a list of some of these companions, see Al-Bājī ibn Māmī, "Naẓra ḥawla al-turab wa baʿḍ amākin al-dafn al-ukhra bi madīna Tūnis," *Revue d'histoire Maghrébine* 33 (1984): 12, n. 11. I have been unable to consult H. Karoui's "Le Revanche des marginaux: les manāqib des compagnons d'Abul-Hassan Shādhilī," table ronde: "Mémoire en partage mémoire en pièces . . ." Paris, Editions de l'EHESS, 1989, inédit.

[27]Meaning Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. Al-Bājī ibn Māmī, "Naẓra ḥawla al-turab," 12, identifies the small mountain upon which the *zāwiya* rests as *jabal al-tūba.*

[28]Literally, *ḥaḍra* means "presence" and is the Sufi term for a group gathered for prayer recitation and *dhikr. Ḥaḍra* can also be an annual investiture meeting. See Rinn, *Marabouts*, 84.

[29]In the hadith of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (19.14), we read: "[Muḥammad said] Our Lord . . . descends every night to the nearest heaven when the latter one-third of the night remains, [and] says, Is there anyone who calls upon Me so that I may accept of him, who asks of Me so that I may grant him, who seeks forgiveness of Me, so that I may forgive him?" Translation by Muhammad Ali, *A Manual of Hadith* (New

York: Olive Branch, 1988), 178. The Qurʾan also mentions night prayer (73:6) and its division into thirds (73:20).

[30]This account was given to me by a member of the order, Mustapha Zoubeidi (13 August 1992).

[31]Ernest Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas* (London: Weidenfeld, 1969), 8. The situation beyond the Maghrib is rather different. See, for example, Leonor Fernandes, "The zawiya in Cairo," *Annales Islamologiques* 18 (1982).

[32]Pamela Johnson, "Sufi Shrine in Modern Tunisia" (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1979), 65. For a more general survey, see Arnold H. Green, "The Sufi Orders in 19th Century Tunisia: Sources and Prospects," *Revue d'histoire Maghrébine* 13 (1979).

[33]On the typically conservative character of the Shadhiliyya, see A. M. Mohamed Mackeen, "Studies in the Origins and Development of al-Shadhiliyya" (Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, 1966), 177. See also Cornell, "Mirrors of Prophethood," 465. Ahmed Bey (ruled 1837–55) was apparently a member himself, helping to carry the coffin of Shaykh Shādhilī ibn al-Muʾaddib in 1847; see Leon C. Brown, "The Religious Establishment in Husainid Tunisia," in *Scholars, Saints and Sufis*, ed. Nikki Keddie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 83. See also Al-Bājī ibn Māmī, "Naẓra ḥawla al-turab," 33, n. 126.

[34]Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 2 vols. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1967), 2:262.

[35]Danielle Provansal, "Phénomène Maraboutique au Maghreb," *Genève-Afrique* 14 (1975): 62.

[36]For a wider study of "sanctity" in the Maghrib, see Cornell, "Mirrors of Prophethood."

[37]Gellner, *Saints*, 12, 70, and Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 89, maintain that being a sharif became a prerequisite to both religious and political claims of authority. This analysis is challenged in Cornell's "Logic of Analogy and the Role of the Sufi Shaykh in Post-Marinid Morocco," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15 (1983): 77.

[38]Valerie J. Hoffman-Ladd, "Devotion to the Prophet and His Family in Egyptian Sufism," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24 (1992): 615–37.

[39]Gellner, *Saints*, 12.

[40]A descendant of Muhammad through ʿAlī: Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Mystical Teachings*, 12; Ammār, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, 30; and Provansal, "Phénomène Maraboutique," 63.

[41]Because the women's attendance is regular and they can be heard inside, the argument could be made that they are in fact participants in a secondary way. For a short account of women's participation at this *zāwiya*, see Sophie Ferchiou, "Survivances mystiques et culte de possession dans la maraboutisme Tunisien," *L'Homme* 12 (1972). For a good account of the women at an ʿIsāwiyya *zāwiya*, see Johnson, "Sufi Shrine," chap. 4.

[42]For specific examples of women's motives for shrine visitation, see Johnson, "Sufi Shrine," 114.

[43]The clothing of a sick person may be brought to a sacred site such as *zāwiya* so that it may absorb some of the *baraka*. For striking medieval European parallels, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 88. On healing, see also Ferchiou, "Survivances mystiques," and Johnson, "Sufi Shrine."

[44]Octave Depont and Xavier Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes* (Algièrs: A. Jourdan, 1897), 450: *wa man baddala aw ghayyara fī qawli nā al-miʿyāru amāma hu.*

[45]*Murīd*, meaning aspirant, disciple, or novice; and *murshid*, spiritual guide.

[46]See Martin Lings, *A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century; Shaikh Ahmad al-ʿAlawī* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1961), 83.

[47]Cornell, "Mirrors of Prophethood," 444. Also, Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Mystical Teachings*, 109.

[48]Ibn ʿAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya*, 84; Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Mystical Teachings*, 141.

[49]My personal correspondence with Mustapha Zoubeidi (3 March 1993). I have listed only the shortest section of the *waẓīfa*.

[50]Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, *Laṭāʾif al-minan*, 186. For more on spiritual authority, see the introduction to Nwyia's *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh*.

[51]*Ibn ʿAbbād of Ronda: Letters on the Sufi Path*, trans. John Renard (New York: Paulist Press, 1986), 37.

[52]A. M. Mohamed Mackeen, "The Sufi-Qawm Movement," *Muslim World* 53 (1963): 223. For an extensive discussion of sainthood and the *quṭb* according to Ibn al-ʿArabī, a contemporary of al-Shādhilī, see Michel Chodkiewicz, *Le Sceau des saints* (Paris: Gallimard, 1986).

[53]Accounts of members of this family may be found in Aḥmad Ḍiyāf's *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān bi-akhbār mulūk Tūnis waʿahd al-amān*, 8 vols. (Tunis: Tunisian Government Printing Office, 1963–66), 7:156.

[54]Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries*, 454. For short biographies of ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥajj Muḥammad ibn al-Shādhilī ibn ᶜUmar Ibn al-Muᵓaddib Bilḥasan (d. 1899) and his son Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī Bilḥasan (d. 1916), see Arnold H. Green, *The Tunisian Ulama 1873–1915* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 243.

[55]For an account of these positions in the ᶜIsāwiyya of Sīdī Hārī, see Johnson, "Sufi Shrine," 75. On these positions in other branches of the Shadhiliyya, see Mackeen, "Studies," 196, and F. de Jong's *Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-Linked Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 112.

[56]Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi*, 176. Discrepancies in practice between groups of the same *ṭarīqa* are common. Shaykh Hassen Belhassen also stated that the brotherhood, in his lifetime, has never had official international contact with any other Shadhili group.

[57]Ibid., 237.

[58]Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 188.

[59]For an account of a number of different ceremonies, see ibid., 181. On a more elaborate system of affiliation, see Rinn, *Marabouts*, 249.

[60]*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., s.v. "Ṣalāt."

[61]Constance Padwick, *Muslim Devotions* (London: SPCK, 1961), 8.

[62]ᶜAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa al-Shādhiliyya* (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Hadītha, 1967), 191. See also p. 180, n. 1.

[63]Published in Beirut by al-Maktaba al-Thiqāfiyya, it is one of numerous prayer books readily available in Tunis. There is no indication in the collection itself as to its origin or location of use, beyond the fact that it is printed in Beirut. It is probably used by a number of groups, as it contains Khalwati, Ahmadi, Rifaᶜi, and Shadhili material. On the other hand, it may simply be intended for popular or non-brotherhood use.

[64]This distinction applies to the terms only in their widest sense.

[65]ᶜAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa*, 161. The first quotation is from *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī* (Kitāb al-Daᶜwāt, bāb: 1). I have not been able to locate the second, but we find, "Lord, open up to me the door of your compassion," in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī* (Kitāb al-Ṣalāt, bāb: 117). For examples of *duᶜaᵓ* recommended by al-Shadhili, see Ibn ᶜAṭāᵓ Allāh, *Laṭāᵓif al-minan*, 341.

[66]ᶜAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa*, 162. This statement is based on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (19.14).

[67]ᶜAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa*, 163. The hadith is taken from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Kitāb al-Ṣalāt, no. 215).

[68]ᶜAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa*, 164, and Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Mystical Teachings*, 103.

[69]ᶜAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa*, 163.

[70]Statement attributed to al-Qushayrī (d. 1072), but I have not been able to locate it in his *Al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya.*

[71]Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 192.

[72]Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 201. He calls this *dhikr al-awqāt.* See Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, 12, for a useful contrast between the *afᶜāl* and the *adhkār* of the prayer rite.

[73]Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Mystical Teachings*, 162, and ᶜAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa*, 139: "Praise be to Allah, I seek Allah's pardon, there is no power and no strength except in Allah." For more examples, see Ibn ᶜAṭāᵓ Allāh, *Laṭāᵓif al-minan*, 340.

[74]Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 3; see also Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Mystical Teachings*, 222.

[75]Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 191.

[76]ᶜAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa*, 180.

[77]*Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Wird."

[78]Hassan Elboudrari, "Ethique d'un saint et fondateur maghrébin," in *Modes de la transmission de la culture religieuse en Islam*, ed. H. Elboudrari (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1993), 276.

[79]These three uses are discussed in Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 214.

[80]*Manbaᶜal-saᶜādāt*, 9. I have not been able to find the significance of these numbers. Perhaps they are some numerical equivalent to the prayer itself.

[81]Ibid., 82.

[82]Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 82, and Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Mystical Teachings*, 137.

[83]Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 82.

[84]From the root *wẓf*, the basic verbal meaning is "to assign" or "to impose." For its use as "daily office," see Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, 22.

[85]Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 82.

[86]Muṣṭafā ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn Najā, *Kashf al-asrār li-tanwīr al-afkār* (n.p., 1978), 6.

[87]This anecdote is presented to stress the orthodoxy of Mashīsh's thinking. It is not a condemnation of *wird* and *waẓīfa*; rather, the shaykh would appear to be stressing the fundamentals of religion to an adept who has overstepped the boundary of his spiritual station.

[88]Ibid., 6. *Bashīsh* is an alternative spelling for *mashīsh*.

[89]Faqih Abderrahman Ez Zaoudi, quoted in Edgar Blochet, "A Propos du Ḥizb," *Revue du Monde Musulman* 14 (1911), 112. According to Duncan B. MacDonald, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Hizb," ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī was the first to use the term in the sense of a supererogatory prayer.

[90]Edouard Michaux-Bellaire as quoted in Blochet, "A Propos du Ḥizb," 111.

[91]Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 191; see also the translation in Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, 23.

[92]Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, 23, claims there is in effect no difference between the two terms.

[93]Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 191.

[94]*Manbaᶜal-saᶜādāt*, 255. I have not been able to confirm Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn al-ᶜArabī's (d. 1240) authorship of this prayer.

[95]Earl Waugh, *The Munshidīn of Egypt* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 59.

[96]Cf. Jean-Louis Michon, "The Spiritual Practices of Sufism," in *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations*, ed. Seyyed H. Nasr (New York: Crossroads, 1991), 281. On al-Shadhili's position against *samāᶜ* (audition), see Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Mystical Teachings*, 148, and Ibn ᶜAṭāᵓ Allāh, *Laṭāᵓif al-minan*, 160. On this issue in a wider context, see Louis Pouzet, "Prises de position autour du samāᶜ," *Studia Islamica* 57 (1983).

[97]Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 270, and Danner, "Ibn ᶜAṭāᵓ Allāh: A Sufi of Mamluk Egypt" (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1970), 89.

[98]*Manbaᶜal-saᶜādāt*, 109. *Qaṣīda* is a pre-Islamic form of poetry.

[99]Waugh, *Munshidīn*, 104.

[100]Emile Dermenghem, *Le Cult des saints* (Paris: Gallimard, 1957), 305.

[101]Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, 25. See also Toufic Fahd, *La Divination arabe* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966).

[102]*Ḥirz al-jawshan* (Tunis: Matbaᶜa al-manār) (containing *Ḥizb al-baḥr*, *Ḥizb al-barr*, and *Ḥizb al-naṣr*). The symbolism of a coat of mail is reinforced by the fact that one must carry the booklet in one's breast pocket while in public for it to be effective as an amulet.

[103]Ibid., 2–3. See also Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 253, for a discussion of the power of a *ḥirz* and its limitations in the face of divine will.

[104]Qurᵓan is from the verbal root *qaraᵓa*—"to recite," "to read." Note that *qirāᵓa* (pl. *qirāᵓāt*), meaning "recitation" and often referring to the various traditions of Qurᵓanic recitation, is from the same root. For further discussion, see William Graham, *Beyond the Written Word; Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 99.

[105]Ibid., 80.

[106]Ibid., 114.

[107]Ibid., 111.

[108]Ibn ᶜAṭāᵓ Allāh, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*, 4.

[109]Ibid., 9. Translation from Khoury-Danner's *Remembrance of God*, 55.

[110]Ibn ᶜAṭāᵓ Allāh, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*, 5.

[111]Ibid., 7.

[112]*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Dhikr."

[113]Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 204.

[114]Bannerth, "Dhikr et Khalwa," 87.

[115]Ibid., 68.

[116]Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 175.

[117]Ibn ᶜAṭāᵓ Allah, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*, 28, and Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 175.

[118]Cf. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi*, 161–63, 169.

[119]This is not to deny their other uses, either as individual recitations at times of crisis or as part of *wird* duties. For the second, see ᶜAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa*, 191, and Ibn ᶜAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ᶜaliyya*, 190.

[120]As with the ᶜIsāwiyya. See Rene Brunel, *Essai sur la confrérie religieuse des ᶜAïssāoūa au Maroc* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, 1926), 93.

[121]It is not my intention here to deny the importance of *dhikr*, but at Sidi Belhassen, the power and significance of the *aḥzāb* recitations overshadow *dhikr asmāʾ Allāh*. According to my preliminary research, this situation is unusual among the Sufi orders.

[122]As further evidence of the significance of recitation, I was told by Shaykh Belhassen and other important individuals that these summer recitations are the most important gatherings for the brotherhood.

[123]The framework and terminology of this analysis rely partly on Waugh, *Munshidīn*, 7–9. See also Elboudrari, "Ethique d'un saint," 279. I leave any deeper typological analysis to specialists in the psychology of religion.

[124]Najā, *Kashf al-asrār*, 126. Ahmad ibn Idris claimed that his prayers and litanies were given to him by Khidr in the presence of the Prophet; Rex S. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1990), 4.

[125]Najā, *Kashf al-asrār*, 25.

[126]*Ibn ʿAbbād of Ronda*, trans. Renard, 176.

[127]Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 61. St. Augustine wrote, "Let us take the benefits of God through him [the saint], our fellow servant" (Sermon 319.8.7).

[128]Ibn ʿAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya*, 128.

[129]Waugh, *Munshidīn*, 9.

[130]Ibn ʿAyyād, *Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya*, 84. See also p. 154. The importance of a spiritual guide and proper spiritual association (*ṣuḥba*) is asserted by many Sufi thinkers.

[131]Waugh, *Munshidīn*, 8.

[132]Rinn, *Marabouts*, 93.