

"The contribution of the Tariqa (Sufi Order) in Political Transformation in the Central Maghreb"

الإسهام الطريقي في التحول السياسي في المغرب الأوسط

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Abstract: This academic paper aims to highlight the contribution that manifested in the efforts of Sufi orders to attract followers and align them with the ideologies of their founding masters, resulting in social practices with distinct political dimensions. Hagiographical literature (*manāqib*) and biographical accounts serve as vital sources for understanding the symbolic status of saints (*awliyāʾ*) and Sufi figures, highlighting their reformist influence and elevated position within the social hierarchy. The spiritual and symbolic expansion of Sufi orders contributed to reshaping popular religiosity, which transitioned from asceticism (*zuhd*) to institutionalized Sufism (*taṣawwuf*).

Keywords: Political transformation, Political roles, Central Maghreb, Sufi orders- asceticism

ملخص:

تُبرز هذه الدراسة الدور المحوري الذي لعبته الطرق الصوفية في المغرب الأوسط منذ أواخر العصر الموحي وحتى بدايات العهد العثماني، حيث شكلت هذه الطرق أداة تأثير ديني واجتماعي فعّالة، انعكست على استقرار الدول أو اضطرابها. فقد تحوّل التصوف إلى فضاء للممارسة السياسية، خاصة بعد أن تعزز حضور رجال التصوف في المدن والبادي، نتيجة التحولات السياسية التي دفعتهم إلى الانخراط الفعّال في الحياة العامة.

وتجلى هذا الدور من خلال سعي الطرق الصوفية إلى استقطاب الأتباع وربطهم بتوجهات مؤسسيها من كبار المتصوفة، وهو ما أفضى إلى ممارسات اجتماعية ذات أبعاد سياسية واضحة، حيث تُمثل أيضاً كتب المناقب والتراجم مصدراً مهماً لفهم المكانة الرمزية التي شغلها الأولياء والمتصوفة وترسيخها في المجتمع، إذ تولي أهمية بالغة لحضورهم الإصلاحي وموقعهم الرفيع في الهرمية الاجتماعية.

كلمات مفتاحية: التحول السياسي - الأدوار السياسية - المغرب الأوسط - الطرق الصوفية - الزهد

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1. Introduction

This shift, in turn, influenced official politics, as sultans sought to emulate the ascetic-Sufi model. This trend became embedded within the formal religious identity of the Central Maghreb, characterized by a synthesis of Ash‘arī theology and Mālikī jurisprudence—two schools of thought that reinforced institutionalized Sufism: the former through its permissive stance on saintly miracles (*karāmāt*), and the latter through its inclination toward asceticism and austeri

Since their emergence, Sufi orders have played a fundamental political role in the rise, continuity, and fall of states—a phenomenon that became particularly evident from the late Almohad period until the Ottoman presence in the Central Maghreb. (Octave DEPONT et Xavier COPPOLANI, 1897)

This influence stemmed from their religious sway, which served as either a tool for submission or rebellion against rulers, rendering Sufi orders "*the driving spirit of Islamic societies*. (Octave DEPONT et Xavier COPPOLANI, 1897)" Consequently, if the realm of political practice was once religious, it gradually shifted to the domain of Sufi orders in the Central Maghreb. "*As Sufism expanded its base and its leaders extended their influence across cities and rural areas—especially under the pressures of political developments.* (الصغير، 2000)

Various Sufi orders, which had a decisive presence in the society of the Central Maghreb, worked to attract followers (*murids*) in order to align them with the spiritual and behavioral directives set by their founding masters. This inevitably led to social practices that carried political implications.

Several studies have elucidated these dynamics,(2006، العامري) revealing the significance of saints (*awliya*) among both popular circles and political figures. Sufi leaders claimed—or had attributed to them by their followers—the traits of sanctity (*wilaya*) and miraculous grace (*karama*), as documented in hagiographies (*manaqib*) and historical sources.

This raises the question: **How did Sufi orders contribute to managing political life, its transformations, construction, and decline in the Central Maghreb?**

2. The Symbolic and Political Power of the (Wali)

Merely describing this historical phenomenon is insufficient to grasp its impact and role in shaping events without attempting to understand *how* it emerged and evolved historically. This necessitates reliance on diverse historical studies that have examined Sufi orders (*ṭuruq*), *zawiyas* (Sufi lodges), and forms of religiosity through interdisciplinary approaches in the humanities.

In this context, we highlight **historical anthropological research**, which posits that the Berber tribes held an inherited belief in "righteous saints"). (فليتشر, 1999) (*Ighurramen*), and that "*the most distinctive social institution in North African religious life is the Wali (the sacred personality* (Ernest, 1981)

. " This explains the success of the **Mahdist idea** in North Africa, rooted in Arab-Islamic culture—such as the Yemeni Arabs' expectation of the "Qā'im" after the collapse of the Marib Dam, and the prophetic traditions foretelling the arrival of the "Mahdi."

From this sacred and pivotal figure in Berber culture (*Aghurram*), the **Wali** derives its "*actual political momentum from its alignment with this cultural framework... The political model of the Wali appears to have remained consistent across eras: a religious reformer emerges, relying on a tribal political base, spreads his ideas through a hierarchical network of Berber tribal leaders, and often demonstrates miracles to persuade people of his leadership.*". (فليتشر, 1999)

The **symbolic and political authority of the Wali** became entrenched in this socio-cultural framework through key historical factors, which can be summarized as follows:

1-1 Hagiographical Discourse and Its Role in Consolidating the Authority of the Saint (Wali)

Hagiographical texts (*manāqib*) are among the most important historical and literary sources for studying influential religious figures, offering a comprehensive picture of the cultural and social conditions of their time. These written texts focus on the biographies of saints (*awliyā'*), ascetics (*ṣāliḥīn*), and Sufis, placing them at the top of the social hierarchy. Often, these accounts include a reformist discourse that elevates the *Wali* to the pinnacle of righteousness and guidance.

Hagiographies reflect the **symbolic power** that Sufis held in Islamic society in general and the Central Maghreb in particular: *"Without symbolism, the manāqib would appear as weak texts with little cognitive value."* (عتو, 2009) - These texts also played a crucial role in expanding Sufi influence, shaping popular religiosity into a distinctly mystical form. This pushed sultans to adopt ascetic models, aligning their actions with *"a strict Sufi Islam that grew increasingly intolerant of external influences."* (بل, 1981)

Sufism eventually became the dominant religious framework in the Central Maghreb, reinforced by **Ash'ari theology** (which allowed for miracles by rejecting strict causality) and **Maliki jurisprudence** (which emphasized asceticism and piety). The success of the Almohad movement, which established its state on the idea of the Mahdi, further spread Ash'arism while strengthening belief in saintly miracles (*karāmāt*). In popular belief, the Mahdi was seen as a figure capable of breaking norms, delivering people from corruption, and heralding the end of times.

Historically, **Mahdist movements** in the Central Maghreb emerged during socio-political crises. Regardless of theological debates (النجار, د.ت) over the validity of *karāmāt*, their historical impact—culturally, socially, and politically—cannot be ignored. A *karāma* was defined as *"a supernatural act, unrelated to prophethood, manifested by someone known for piety and loyalty to the Prophet's teachings"* (الشاذلي, د.ت)

"Some miracles were tangible (e.g., producing out-of-season fruits), while others were moral (e.g., strict adherence to Sharia) (النجار, د.ت)

. Sultans thus sought to present themselves as defenders of Islamic law to legitimize their rule.

"The portrayal of the Wali as the guardian of the land, protecting it from external threats, became a constant in hagiographical discourse and a core element of the saintly model it promoted." This image was shaped by historical events, embedding the Wali's authority in both spiritual and political realms. (العامري, 2006)

1-2 The Political Landscape of the Central Maghreb and Sufi Intervention

The hagiographical emphasis on the Wali's symbolic and epistemic ¹ (ابن الزيات أبي يعقوب بن يحيى التادلي، التشوق إلى رجال التصوف وأخبار أبي العباس السبتي 1984)

¹ For example, we mention the book *Al-Tashawwuf ila Rijal al-Tasawwuf* (The Aspiration to the Men of Sufism) by **Ibn al-Zayyat**, which he authored at the beginning of the 7th century AH, specifically in 617 AH, during the reign of the Almohad Sultan **Abu Yaqub al-Mansur**. His rule was marked by turmoil and deteriorating social conditions, such as drought, locust infestations, and severe inflation,

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authority had direct political implications, both domestically and externally. Sultans had no choice but to incorporate this symbolic power, making obedience to the Wali akin to obedience to the ruler, and vice versa. Sufi saints often played multiple roles in governance—acting as mediators, advisors, or even power brokers. Thus, **if religious mobilization was needed to bolster political authority, Sufis became its primary instrument.**

Despite early Almohad suspicions of Sufism—fearing its popular appeal and the blurring of religious and political boundaries—*"this caution was understandable given the perennial tension between religion and politics in Islam, and it persisted throughout Maghrebi history until the 20th century."* (الصغير، 2000)

Political Turmoil and the Rise of Sufi Influence

The defeat of the Almohads at the **Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212)** triggered rebellions among their tribal dependencies. As the Almohad Empire fragmented:

The Hafsids (1229–1536) emerged in Tunis under Abū Zakariyā. ²(بل، 1981)

The Marinids (1269–1393) rose in Morocco under Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb. ³(الجيلالي، 1995)

• **The Zayyanids** (1235–1554) were founded in the Central Maghreb by Yaghmurāsan ibn Zayyān, the former Almohad governor of Tlemcen.

These three dynasties clashed constantly, each claiming legitimacy as the Almohads' successors. The Zayyanids, geographically caught between the Marinids (west) and Hafsids (east), faced relentless invasions and shifting alliances.

2- The Historical Cycle of the Zayyanid State and its political Impact

leading people to believe that the era of the righteous had passed. The author's purpose in writing *Al-Tashawwuf* was to highlight the religious and social status of the pious figures of that time

² "Abu Muhammad ibn Abi Hafs was a commander... among the Almohads and ruled Ifriqiya... for more than forty years until his death in 618 AH/1221 CE. His sons succeeded him in governing Ifriqiya with the approval of the Caliph and the majority of the Almohads. At the time when Al-Ma'mun seized the throne of the Almohads... one of Abu Muhammad's sons, Abu Zakariya Yahya, was ruling Ifriqiya."

³ The Marinids were a branch of the Zanata tribe, tracing their lineage to their ancestor named Marin ibn Marin al-Nas (or ibn Waznajjan).

2-1 the three key stages :

The Zayyanid dynasty (1235–1554) went through distinct phases of evolution, which can be summarized into **three key stages**:

.A - Foundation Phase (1236–1348)

This period was marked by state-building efforts under **Yaghmurāsan ibn Zayyān**⁴ *
(بو عزيز، 1975)

(r. 1236–1283), who established Tlemcen as the capital and navigated alliances amid Almohad collapse. After his death, his son **Abū Sa‘īd ‘Uthmān** (r. 1283–1304) maintained fragile peace with the Hafsids (east) and Marinids (west). However, political instability escalated when the Marinids besieged Tlemcen for **eight years (1299–1307)**, only ending with the death of the Marinid sultan Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf. Internal power struggles defined this era, culminating in the assassination of **Abū Hammū Mūsā I** (r. 1308–1318) by his own son, **Abū Tāshfīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I** (r. 1318–1348), whose reign closed this turbulent phase.

Key Challenges:

- **Marinid aggression:** Repeated sieges of Tlemcen.
- **Dynastic strife:** Fratricide and succession conflicts.

B . Golden Age of Power (1359–1389)

Under **Abū Hammū Mūsā II** (r. 1359–1389), the Zayyanids reached their zenith. His victory over the Marinids at the **Battle of Chlef (1359)** secured independence and enabled sweeping reforms:(حاجيات، 1989)

- **Political consolidation:** Centralized administration and tribal alliances.
- **Cultural flourishing:** Tlemcen became a hub of Maliki scholarship and Sufi patronage (e.g., the ‘**Abd al-Wādid Renaissance**).
- **Economic growth:** Trade links with Europe and the Sahara.

Yet, even this golden age was marred by rebellion—his son and heir, **Abū Tāshfīn II** (r. 1389–1393), revolted, foreshadowing decline.

⁴ Yaghmurasen ibn Zyan (يغمراسن ابن زيان) was the founder of the Zayyanid dynasty, whose realm was initially known as the Banu Abd al-Wad. Later, under Sultan Abu Hammu Musa al-Zayyani, it came to be called the Zayyanid State

Achievements:

- Architectural projects (e.g., the **Sidi Bel Hassan Mosque**).
- Diplomatic ties with Granada and Aragon.

C . Decline and Collapse (1389–1554)

The longest and most chaotic phase saw: (الجيلالي, 1995)

- **Internal decay:** Constant coups among Zayyanid princes (e.g., **12 sultans in 50 years**).
- **External threats:**
 - **Marinids and Hafsids:** Alternately vassalized Tlemcen.
 - **Iberian powers:** Spanish (Castilian/Aragonese) interventions from Oran.

Final subjugation: The Zayyanids became puppets of Spain after the 1509 capture of Oran, until the **Ottomans under Salah Reis** annexed Tlemcen in 1554 (حاجيات, 1989)

2-2 the political Impact, struggles and factors

This general picture of political conflict and competition for power also reflects a religious and scholarly rivalry. However, the sultans of the three states—the Zayyanid, Hafsid, and Marinid dynasties—were not isolated from religious scholars and clerics. On the contrary, they sought to bring them closer, align themselves with them, and sometimes even seek their blessings. The sultans recognized their religious, social, and political importance, thus integrating them into the power structure. The sultan's inner circle at the time consisted of tribal elders, jurists, and Sufi mystics throughout the historical period of these states. (التمساني, 1980)

Perhaps the reason for this is that these states, which broke away from the Almohad Caliphate, were not founded on a religious call or ideological doctrine, unlike the general pattern of state formation in Islamic history—where the transition from religious preaching to statehood follows the Khaldunian model. This was also the case with the Lamtuna and Almohad states. In the Maghreb, there were many tribes that could rival them in numbers and tribal solidarity or even surpass them. However, religious unity amplified their strength through conviction and sacrifice, making them unstoppable... They first overpowered the Zenata tribes and subjugated them... But once they lost that religious character, the Zenata rebelled from all sides, seized power, and took it from them (الرحمن, 2000).

Relying on Sufism—the dominant religious symbols of the time—and the sphere in which politics was practiced, would consolidate the state's legitimacy. "For it is in the nature of power to uphold—whether overtly or covertly—a true political religion." (جورج, 1986)

The founder of the Zayyanid dynasty, Yaghmurasen ibn Ziyan, personally traveled to Agadir (ancient Tlemcen) to visit Sidi Muhammad ibn Isa, who had secluded himself there for worship... He would say that his intercession was a mercy to those who attained it and that God would never reject his prayers (1981, بل).

. His successors followed the same path. The sultans competed in building zawiyas (Sufi lodges). For instance, the Marinid Sultan Abu Inan erected the shrine of the righteous saint Sidi al-Halwi in Tlemcen in 754 AH, and Sultan Abu Hammu I built the zawiya of Sheikh Ibrahim al-Tazi in Oran in 866 AH, which included schools, mosques, baths, reservoirs, gardens, warehouses, libraries, and armories. (1995, الجيلالي)

The exemplary design of these zawiyas not only demonstrates their role and importance in the central Maghreb but also highlights their multifunctional nature—religious, social, economic, educational, and military (jihadi). This provides an image of the state's structure at the time.

Yaghmurasen's successor, Abu Said Uthman, ordered the construction of a shrine over the tomb of the ascetic Sufi Abu Ishaq al-Tayyar, who died at the end of 700 AH (1301 CE) and was buried near Tlemcen (1995, الجيلالي). And when the Sufi Ibrahim al-Masmudi died in Tlemcen, Sultan al-Wathiq walked in his funeral procession and ordered his burial in the royal cemetery (1981, بل).

Just as saints served as symbolic support for the authority in death, they played a political role while alive. Among their most important roles were:

• **The Saint as a Mediator:** Conflicts and wars between the three Maghrebi states often ended with peace treaties brokered by Sufis and jurists. Historical sources recount numerous such instances throughout the Zayyanid rule. The Sufi saint and the royal envoy tasked with mediating peace between the sultans of the Maghreb were instrumental in achieving stability and security, asserting their presence on both political and social levels. An example is a peace agreement between the Zayyanid and Hafsid states in 866-867 AH (1461-1462 CE), involving a saint, a jurist, and a Zayyanid prince, as narrated in the following text:

"Then he resolved to reach Tlemcen. The pious and righteous Sheikh Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn al-Hasan, the jurist and scholar Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn al-Sheikh al-Faqih Qasim al-Aqbani, and Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn Hammu ibn Abi Tashfin, the uncle of the aforementioned Emir Muhammad, came forward as witnesses before the ruler of Tlemcen, affirming that all their actions were binding upon him. They appealed to the Sultan to spare the city on the condition that they would pledge allegiance on behalf of its ruler and

submit to his authority. He accepted their mediation and did not refuse their request. They formalized their pledge of allegiance and returned to their land." (إبراهيم، د.س)

3. The Social Factor and Its Impact on Political Life in the Sufi Order's Perspective

One of the most important factors that pushed Sufi orders to take on the responsibility of serving the society of the Central Maghreb was the expansion of their influence into rural and remote areas through the establishment of *zawiyas* (Sufi lodges) and the fulfillment of their various functions (educational, instructional, economic, etc.). This earned them public trust at a time when the central state was often weak, sometimes even absent, and rulers were preoccupied with power struggles.

The Central Maghreb, like the rest of the Maghrebi regions, went through unstable and turbulent political, economic, and social conditions. In response, the sheikhs of *zawiyas* and Sufi orders called for unity, reform, and mobilization for jihad against foreign invasion. **"In this regard, the *zawiyas* took on a significant burden that had previously been the state's responsibility."** (الله، 1998)

The Economic and Social Role of the Zawiyas

The *zawiyas* took charge of educating, housing, and feeding students, thanks to their diverse sources of income, which can be divided into two categories:

1. Fixed Revenues:

- These included *waqf* (endowments), primarily agricultural lands, which were usually owned by the sheikh of the *zawiya*. He would assign followers and students to work on them.

- For example, Abu Hadi Misbah (d. 1347 CE) in Constantine bequeathed **"all his possessions as charity for students of knowledge and those devoted to worship."** (القسنطيني، 1965)

2. Variable Revenues:

- These consisted of state grants, tax exemptions, and gifts from both commoners and elites seeking blessings.

Gradually, Sufi orders gained economic strength through diversified resources, turning **"spiritual sanctity and sainthood into a new form of investment."** (الشاذلي، د.ت)

- Ibn Khaldun noted this phenomenon, stating: **"Wealth is accumulated without effort."** (الرحمن، 2000)

The Call to Jihad

One of the key issues that increased public support for Sufis was their advocacy for **"the ethics of Sufism, which emphasized work, steadfastness (*ribat*), and jihad."** (الصغير, 2000)

Given the political circumstances—marked by Christian attacks on the coasts of the Central Maghreb and other North African regions—the task of inciting jihad and guarding the frontiers fell upon the saints and Sufis. They mobilized popular religious fervor among the masses.

- **Abu Madyan Shu‘ayb**, the pioneer of North African Sufism, participated in the Crusades and lost an arm in battle.
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- His disciple **Abd al-Salam ibn Mashish** actively encouraged *ribat* (frontier defense) and jihad, intending to cross into Andalusia to join the struggle. His assassination may have been linked to his militant activities.
- **Abu Muhammad Salih**, another disciple of Abu Madyan, stationed himself on the coast of Safi (Morocco) for defense.
- **Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili**, a student of Ibn Mashish, despite his old age and failing eyesight, participated in battles to repel Crusader attacks on Egypt. (الصغير, 2000)
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This deep involvement in historical events reinforced the practical presence of Sufi founders in shaping North African resistance. Their long experience in *ribat* and countering Iberian invasions, combined with their sense of representing a new direction in Sufism—one based on doctrinal, social, and political unity against foreign threats—turned them into key defenders of Islam in North Africa, especially after the fall of Andalusia.

Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili, the leader of popular Sufism, **"made sure to participate in decisive Crusader battles (648 AH)... setting an example for Shadhili Sufis in the Maghreb."** (الصغير، إشكالية إصلاح الفكر الصوفي في القرنين 19/18م، 1994)

Conclusion

With Sufi orders permeating all aspects of society - as ribats transformed into zawiyas spreading through urban and rural areas - these institutions effectively replaced the state in performing fundamental functions. They assumed responsibility for education and moral guidance, dispute resolution and social mediation, protection and intercession, political

intermediation, as well as jihad, frontier defense, and safeguarding both the land and its people. Through these comprehensive roles, the sheikhs of zawiyas became veritable guardians of society in both religious and worldly affairs.

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