Until recently, many scholars have presupposed inseparable unity between Sufism and saint veneration. It is true that most of the Muslim saints are so-called Sufi saints, although some anthropologists showed cases of non-Sufi Muslim saints. However, the forms of Sufism and saint veneration vary, and the manner in which they are combined is even more diverse. Therefore, we should treat Sufism and saint veneration as distinct phenomena and should ask ourselves what conditions determine the form of combination. In this paper, three different hagiographic traditions of a Muslim saint in the Western Desert of Egypt are introduced. It is shown that Bedouins, settled Bedouins, and non-Bedouins each have their own tales about this saint. Further, it can be seen that each tradition has a particular form of combination of Sufism and saint veneration, corresponding to the social position of its narrators. At the end of this paper, the case of the Sanusi order is examined to suggest that the above notion can be applied to the historical events in which the organization of the Sufi order and that of the tribal people were combined to give birth to the embryonic nationalism in Libya.

Keywords: Sufism, saint, Bedouin, Egypt, Sanusi

Introduction
For many years, Islamic saints, particularly those among the tribal people, have constituted one of the major themes of anthropological study of Middle Eastern peoples and societies. We can easily recall as early examples from the 1960s the works of C. Geertz and E. Gellner, which were written on the basis of field work in Morocco. Particularly, the image of saints as mediators who were incorporated into egalitarian tribal systems, which was presented by Gellner,
served as a significant stimulus for later anthropological and non-anthropological studies. Though Geertz pursued more general themes in his *Islam Observed*, sainthood in the tribal or rural areas is significant as one of the three complexes which he considered characteristic of Moroccan Islam.

On the other hand, we must admit that not until recently have anthropologists paid as much attention to Sufism as they have to Islamic saints. Some works are well known, including M. Gilsenan’s approach via historical anthropology to the organization of the Egyptian Sufi order, Ḥāmidīya Shādhiliya, in the nineteenth century, and also one of V. Crapanzano’s study of the psychological anthropology of the Moroccan order, Hamadsha. But most such works deal mainly with the organizations and rituals of the Sufi orders and not with the highly refined thoughts of Sufism. In that sense, these works regard Sufi orders as a religious organization, and it seems as if anthropologists are faithfully following the last remarks of the famous monograph of E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion*. In the last lines of that work on the Sudanese indigenous religion, he wrote:

> Though prayer and sacrifice are exterior actions, Nuer religion is ultimately an interior state. This state is externalized in rites which we can observe, but their meaning depends finally on an awareness of God and that men are dependent on him and must be resigned to his will. At this point the theologian takes over from the anthropologist.  

I would not say that anthropologists should infringe on the field of theologians. Rather I consider that the field does not belong strictly to theologians and that anthropologists can and should widen their scope with the cooperation with scholars of other disciplines so that we can understand religious phenomena in its totality.

This paper explores such interdisciplinary study of Sufism and saint veneration. We consider that the old definition of religion by E. Durkheim as a complex of beliefs, rituals, and community based on the distinction of sacredness and profaneness is still effective, and that Sufism and saint veneration is a valid subject of discussion and is efficacious in Islamic studies. With the appearance of varying case studies regarding the sacredness of the saints, symbolism in Sufi thoughts and rituals and the solidarity of Sufi orders and saint-venerating groups, I believe we can enter a new dimension of total understanding of Sufism and its surrounding issues. At the same time, that the
solidarity of experts of different disciplines is indispensable for that kind of study will be proposed in this paper.

In another paper written in 2004, I examined the general understanding which without reservation treats Sufism and saint veneration as an inseparable unity. The diversity of Sufism and saint veneration themselves, and also the diversity of their mode of combination were stressed there. By introducing a case of the Bedouins in the Western Desert of Egypt, I indicated that saint veneration can be practiced apart from Sufism. I consider that Sufism can also be seen as distinct from saint veneration, but that nonetheless the two practices are often combined together in history. I suggested there that addressing the questions of why and how these practices have been tied to each other in actual cases will produce more fruitful comparative studies of Sufi saints and Sufi orders.

This paper was originally planned as a sequel to that previous one, and the starting point is the same: The combination of Sufism and saint veneration in Islam must be examined not as a pre-determined pattern but as dynamic phenomena of different factors, even when they seem to be interwoven into an indistinguishable unity. But, in contrast to the previous paper where I tried to deconstruct the existing convenient understanding of Sufis, saints, and orders, I would like to attempt in this paper to re-construct those concepts by presenting more flexible general models or showing subtler case studies regarding how various factors are mingled in the religious life of Muslim people. By introducing three different hagiographic traditions concerning the same saint, the complex nature of the combinations of Sufism and saint veneration will be shown here.

Sidi al-‘Awwām

More than ninety percent of the territory of Egypt is occupied by wilderness while the number of its residents is less than one percent of Egypt’s population. That arid land is divided into three parts: the Western Desert, the Eastern Desert, and the Sinai. In the Western Desert spreading on the western side of the Nile Valley, inhabitants are found in the interior oases and also along the coastal zone of the Mediterranean Sea. Traditionally, most of the dwellers along the coast have been Bedouins raising camels, sheep, and goats. After the Revolution of 1952, the republican government has encouraged sedentarization of those nomads and also immigration of the people from the Nile Valley by providing administrative, military, and industrial bases in the newly established Governorate of Marsa Matrouh. Today, more than forty towns and villages are
seen along the railroad running east to west and it has become rarer to see the white tents of the Bedouins except on certain ritual occasions.

Among the Bedouins in the Western Desert, a word *fgi* is used to denote distinguished religious persons living or having lived with them. A word *wali* is understandable but not used in their dialect of Arabic. A term "saint" will be applied for this word in this paper, putting aside the problem of its Christian origin and also that of diverse terminology for saints in Islam.

The Bedouins respect the saints and request them to grant various kinds of wishes. Living saints, though they are few in number, are consulted about worries in daily life including mediating conflicts, healing diseases, making charms, and teaching written Arabic to children. After death, some of them are merely forgotten and others are given large tombs or shrines, which the Bedouins, particularly women, visit to seek a saint's intercession to God on diverse matters. The shrine is also used as a place of reconciliation between conflicting groups. Deceased saints are believed to have received *baraka*, the blessing of God, which causes miracles in connection with them and can be distributed among the Bedouin through them.

In some cases, the descendants of a saint increase their number, learn a nomadic way of life, and then form their own tribal group, which is usually grafted to the dominant non-saintly tribes in the area. They are also considered to hold some of the *baraka* of their ancestral saints just like a shrine and the belongings of the saints, while being treated as inferior Bedouins of the client origin in the tribal system. Some descendant groups of saints are known to conduct weekly rituals to recite the names of God and their ancestral saints (*ḥaḍra*) and annual rituals to chant and dance around the shrines on the day of the anniversary of saints (*bkā*). The male elders of those people are sometimes called *fgi* by playing the same roles as their ancestors.

Sidi al-‘Awwām is the most well-known saint in the coastal zone of the Western Desert. In the wedding procession to take a bride to the groom's house, his kinsfolk often sing "Ya Sidi al-‘Awwām, ya ‘ēni, ya Sidi al-‘Awwām (Oh Sidi al-‘Awwām, oh beloved one, oh Sidi al-‘Awwām)" wishing divine protection of a new couple.

His body is enshrined with a large tombstone covered with green cloth, and was placed in a large glazed box. The box is laid in a room of the mosque, Masjid al-‘Awwām, taking his name. This mosque, the largest one of the Governorate, is in its capital town. The mosque was constructed in 1969 by the Ministry of Waqfs (Endowments) and has been under its control.

The anniversary festival, *mawlid*, of Sidi al-‘Awwām is held there on every
Muḥarram 15. On that day, people of different tribes visit the shrine to touch the surrounding glass of the tombstone so that they can receive baraka and to make sure that their petition will be realized. On the street beside the shrine, vendors in five or six stalls sell sugar dolls called “bride” (ʿarūsa), cassette tapes, cloth, stationery, and other miscellaneous goods. Even though the scale of the festival is very small, if compared with large mawālids of the famous saints in the Nile Valley like Sayy al-Badawi in Tanta, Sayyeda Zeinab in Cairo, and Sidi Abu al-Ḥajjāj in Luxor, it is a rare occasion for the Bedouins to have such gathering for the mawālids because mawālids in the Western Desert are usually more esoteric rituals performed by descendants of the saints. That of Sidi al-ʿAwwām lacks such an atmosphere because this saint did not leave any offspring and there is no specific tribal group associated with him. An Egyptian graduate student majoring in anthropology once told me that he witnessed the members of a small group of the Sufi order performing dhikr on a front yard of the mosque in his mawlid of 1998, but this seems a newly introduced element and the performers are presumably not Bedouins.

THREE HAGIOGRAPHIC TRADITIONS

“Sidi” or “My Master” is, as is well known, a title widely used to the Islamic saints particularly in the Arab countries. In the Western Desert, this term is applied only to the deceased saints, while another word “Shaykh” is used to refer to and to address living ones.13

“Al-ʿAwwām” is known in Islamic history as the name of the brother of Khadija (d. 619), the first wife of the Prophet; al-ʿAwwām ibn Khuwylid al-Asadī. His son, al-Zubayr al-ʿAwwām (d. 656), is perhaps more famous as one of the Companions of the Prophet. Also an agriculturalist, Ibn al-ʿAwwām, of thirteenth century Andalusia is known as the author of the treatise, Kitāb al-fīlāḥa. How they were named “al-ʿawwām” whose literal meaning is a “good swimmer” is unknown, but here, in the Western Desert, the saint was given that name as his honorific (laqab) because he was adrift in the Mediterranean Sea, and, when the Bedouins found him washed up on the shore, he was already dead. It is the only element shared by all the oral traditions referring to him.

As I mentioned above, Sidi al-ʿAwwām is mentioned in a number of Bedouin stories and his name is sung in chants in the Western Desert. Written records of his life have appeared in the past few decades with the increasing number of educated Bedouins,14 and innumerable variants can be found in his hagiographic traditions which have been orally transmitted from generation to generation.

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However, hagiographic stories describing him can be divided roughly into three types. I name them here tentatively; 1. Sidi al-'Awwām as a Sufi, 2. Sidi al-'Awwām and the Greek fishermen, and 3. Sidi al-'Awwām as the stranger who washed ashore.

The first one “Sidi al-'Awwām as a Sufi” is as follows:

Muḥammad al-'Awwām was born in Alexandria. He came of an old, prestigious family. Some people consider al-'Awwām is his honorific name because he died in the sea. But it is a misunderstanding. Al-'Awwām is his family name. If you doubt it, you can ask anybody of Alexandria.15

Not only being rich, but also his kinsfolk are famous for being intellectual. Jurists and judges have come from his family. Muḥammad was also very smart and studied well at Azhar. Moreover, he was a pious devotee of Sufism. Being a disciple of his paternal uncle, who was a reverend master of the Qadiri order of Alexandria, he earnestly pursued a way of Sufism. He made a pilgrimage to Mecca when he was young.

As he was a friend of Idris al-Sanūsī,16 he sometimes visited the Western Desert to stay with him in his villa.17 One day, that famous Libyan Sufi master invited him to his home in Cyrenaica and Muḥammad boarded a ship bound for Benghazi at the port of Alexandria. But soon after he left Alexandria, the sea became rough and his ship was wrecked on the way. Some of the crew escaped but others including Muḥammad were lost in the storm.

A few days later his body washed up on the shore of the town of Marsa Matrouh.18 It was only him among the lost crews and passengers whose body was returned from the sea. People mourned over the death of this great person and enshrined him in the place of Masjid al-'Awwām. You see, he was a true believer of Islam.

The second story “Sidi al-'Awwām and the Greek fishermen” is:

A personal name of Sidi al-'Awwām was Muḥammd and he was from Morocco. He left his hometown to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and enjoyed a comfortable trip by sea and completed the pilgrimage safely.

He decided to return from Mecca to his town by land. Leaving the
Hijaz, he visited Syria, where he stayed in Damascus and Aleppo for a while. Then he crossed the Sinai and entered the Nile Valley. As he did not have enough money to continue his trip, he earned some by engaging in farm work in villages on the way.

When he reached Marsa Matrouh via Alexandria, he decided to board a fishing vessel to earn some more. But the fishermen of his boat were evil-minded, and killed him to take his money and abandoned his body in the sea. They told the people that Muḥammad fell overboard by accident and was lost.

After a few days, his body was washed up on the shore and people gave a funeral for him giving him a nickname (dili') with some ironical nuance. Since then he became to be called Muḥammad al-‘Awwām.

A few weeks later, some Greek vessels came fishing in the sea nearby the town of Marsa Matrouh as in other years. When they arrived at the port in the dead of night, the Greek fishermen found a light on the shore distant from the houses of the town. As they had never seen such a light before, they landed to see what it was and could not find anything at that place. But, nonetheless, when they returned to the ship, they saw the light again on the shore and puzzled over it.

The next morning, they landed and learned that it was a burial place of Muḥammad al-‘Awwām. They understood that it was a miracle caused by God and visited that place of the saint with many offerings. They repeated visits (ziyāra) to the saint’s tomb for several years. People built a small shrine for this saint. Today’s mosque was constructed by President Gamal Abdel Nasser in admiration of the blessing of God given to the saint.

The last one, “Sidi al-‘Awwām as a stranger who washed ashore,” is:

One day the Bedouins in Marsa Matrouh (which here means not the Governorate but its capital town), found something washed up on the shore near their tents. It was the bodies of an adult man and a boy wearing black clothes. They were dead, rotting, and smelled badly. Nobody knew their names, origin, or religion. The Bedouins who found them conducted a funeral, set up a shrine for them, and named the dead person Muḥammad al-‘Awwām.
Years later, the Republican Government decided to construct a new road which would run through the place where the shrine of Sidi Muḥammad al-‘Awwām was located. Ordered to relocate the shrine, the Bedouins opened the tomb and carried the body of Sidi Muḥammad al-‘Awwām to a new location.

They buried the body of Muḥammad al-‘Awwām in a new grave and then came back to fill up the hole of the old one. However, they were shocked because they found the body of Sidi Muḥammad al-‘Awwām in the original grave. They wondered how it had returned there, but tried again to carry it to the new burial site. Again and again they tried to bury it at the new site, but each time it was found at the old burial site. At last they saw the body of Sidi Muḥammad al-‘Awwām flying over their heads and heard the voiced in the air saying “Allāh akbar! (The God is great!).” Then they gave up and buried it in the old site. The new road had to be built around the saint’s favorite burial place. Afterwards, the great president Gamal Abdel Nasser renewed the shrine and constructed today’s mosque beside it.

Background of Different Traditions

The first tale “Sidi al-‘Awwām as a Sufi” seems to tell about the actual life history of this saint. But as to which one of the above three narratives is true is not a problem that will be discussed here. What is important here is by whom these hagiographic traditions are narrated and accepted. On that point, the tale of “Sidi al-‘Awwām as a Sufi” is hardly known to the Bedouins in the Western Desert and therefore will be the newly invented or discovered story in the recent past. I collected the above tale from the Imam of the Masjid al-‘Awwām, who is a government official of the Ministry of Waqfs and was sent to Marsa Matrouh in 1985. He is of Alexandrian origin and not a Bedouin. In this story which lacks the element of wondrous events, the piety and intelligence of the saint is stressed, which seems to indicate that it was neatly composed so as to be easily acceptable even to more “sophisticated” urban dwellers. It is in that sense that it is a modernized hagiography.

Some phrases such as “Some people consider al-‘Awwām is his honorific name because he died in the sea. But it is a misunderstanding. Al-‘Awwām is his family name” shows a disdain of the popular traditions of the Bedouins. In fact, he often criticizes the Bedouins’ visits to the tomb of the saint asking for intercession to God, and I understood that it was one of the reasons why the
number of the visiting Bedouins to the Masjid al-‘Awwām is not very large in spite of the popularity of the saint among them.

The second tale “Sidi al-‘Awwām and the Greek fishermen” is also special in that it is told only in the capital town of Marsa Matrouh and its vicinity. It is particularly accepted among the people of client tribes whose origin is different from the dominant ones, the Sa‘ādī. The Sa‘ādī and its branch in the Western Desert, Awlād ‘Ali, are believed to be the descendants of Banū Sulaym, who invaded Ifriqiya with their cousin tribes of Banū Hilāl from Egypt in the eleventh century. The origin of client tribes is diverse; some are said to be from the Maghrib or even from Andalusia and others are from the Sinai and beyond.

One of the characteristics of that tale is the important role the Greeks, non-Muslims, play to prove the sainthood of the saint. In the Western Desert, Greece often appears in the oral tradition as a neighboring strange land. The town of Marsa Matrouh itself is believed to have been founded by Greek farmers. Some tribes are even considered to be of Greek origin; a typical one is the Sanagra of Awlād ‘Ali, which is said to be comprised of the descendants of a Greek fisherman shipwrecked in the Mediterranean Sea and helped by a Bedouin woman who later became his wife. We should keep in mind that the miracle of finding a mysterious light is not rare in hagiographic tales in the Western Desert and that there is no mention of Sufism in the story.

The last one, “Sidi al-‘Awwām as a stranger who washed ashore,” is the most widely known. Everywhere in the coastal zone of the Western Desert, this story was repeatedly narrated as a typical saint story by many Bedouins. Though its miracle involving flying dead bodies seems heretical to modernized people, we can find similar fearful stories of the supernatural in hagiographies and folktales in the Western Desert similar to those of pre-modern cultures everywhere in the world. For example, the miracle which happened on Sidi ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Battikh is that his freshly-severed head is found in a watermelon which grew on the very place that the saint was killed by his wicked acquaintance. By describing such a wondrous miracle, the tale of “Sidi al-‘Awwām as a stranger who washed ashore” can be said to belong to the more traditional type of hagiography.

Moreover his being a stranger matches closely to a common feature of saints of the Western Desert. In other papers, I have pointed out that most of the saints in the Western Desert are not Bedouins; they are outsiders who stand in a marginal position in Bedouin society. I wrote in a paper written in 2004:

The position of an outsider living among the Bedouin is well
suited to sainthood. Insofar as the *baraka* is understood to be a transmittable power coming from God, the extraordinary function of the saint is to relay that power to ordinary people. In contrast to the ordinariness of the insider, whose experience is circumscribed by homogeneity and conformity, the foreign outsider is empowered by the diversity of the exterior realm to cause change. Thus, the transmitter of *baraka* must necessarily be a marginal figure located at the boundary between the inside and outside of the Bedouin tribal organization.22

In that sense, the third tale “Sidi al-'Awwām as a stranger who washed ashore” shows an extreme example of saintliness among the Bedouins. Even his personal name “Muḥammad” is given in that story because it is the most common male name. He has nothing except for his body and the miracle acted on it by God, thus he can be a saint in the purest form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saint</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Muslim</th>
<th>Sufi</th>
<th>Acceptance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yes Alexandrian</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>mainly by non-Bedouins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yes Moroccan</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no reference</td>
<td>by the Bedouins around Marsa Matrouh Town, particularly by those of client origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yes unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>no reference</td>
<td>by the Bedouins generally</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the above table shows, each hagiographic tale is formed so as to correspond with the image which the people supporting it hold of a saint. At present, they are not involved in a competition for authenticity, and co-exist by being narrated in their respective context. In this we can see how different peoples bear different expectations of an Islamic saint. Sidi al-'Awwām is the best known saint by being a focus of such popular expectations which must be diverse in daily life.

**The Sanusi of Cyrenaica**

I will start my conclusion by referring to a monograph by Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*.23 Compared with his major works dealing with the Nuer and the Azande, this monograph is not as widely read even among anthropologists, partly because of devoting too many pages to historical
descriptions rather than to anthropological ones. As well, his segmentary lineage theory, which appeared first in *The Nuer* and was then applied to the Bedouins in Cyrenaica, has been criticized by other anthropologists.

However, we must not forget that *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* is one of the earliest work anthropologists have written about the Sufi order, and also I believe that his theory regarding the social role of the Sanusi order in integrating disperse segmentary tribal groups of the Bedouins into cohesive resistance movement against the Italian invasion deserves more attention and discussion.

It is known that the segmentary lineage theory of Evans-Pritchard itself is strongly influenced by the nineteenth century classical work of Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. Moreover, the cohesive or integrating effect of the segmentary system was once recognized by Durkheim and then discussed in great depth by Gellner in regard to the Middle Eastern societies. Here we reach a theme of interrelationship between tribes and states, which started from Ibn Khaldun and remains vital in the sociological studies of the Middle East. But what I would like to discuss here in relation to *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* is not that significant theme as a whole, that is, how different two systems, that of the Sufi order and that of the tribes, were combined with each other in a single political movement.

We can of course easily find in Middle Eastern histories other examples of political uprisings and conquest movements of tribal peoples led by religious figures. In those cases, we have often said that the tribesmen were strongly roused by passionate feelings for their religion. In the case of *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Evans-Pritchard considered the Order brought to the Bedouins a sense of identity as members of a Libyan nation.

Yet I doubt if such transformation of identity really happened in the case of the Bedouins in Cyrenaica. Rather, the Bedouins in Cyrenaica may have fought for the sake of their own tribes, rather than out of loyalty to the Sanusi order. The integration of those separate efforts against the Italian army through the centralized organization of the Order may have been merely an unintended result, at least in the case of the Bedouins.

I propose such a possibility because I have personally observed that the Sanusi order has been almost forgotten by the Bedouins in Cyrenaica and the Western Desert today. Even when taking into account the fact that the influence of the Sanusi order disappeared after the Libyan revolution of 1969 and that its role in that country's history has been dismissed by the government, it seemed to me strange at first. In the Western Desert, where Evans-Pritchard reports the existence of more than fifteen lodges of the Order, it is usual that the eldest
Bedouins do not know even the name “Sanusi.”

However, this is no wonder if we admit that saint veneration can persist even if the intentions of the persons venerated are completely different from the intentions of those who venerate them. To the Bedouins, whether faqīḥs are Sufis or not, or whether they belong to the Sufi order or not, is beyond their concern.

In the end, I can provide a good example. The Jarrāra is a holy tribe living near Marsa Matrouh Town. They are sharīf claiming to have descended from the Prophet Muḥammad. They say as well that their ancestor is ‘Abd al-Gādīr al-Jilānī (1077/8-1166) without knowing that he was a founder of the Qadīrī order. They perform weekly ḥādra, but they do not consider themselves Sufis.

Notes
4 This is a revised edition of the paper presented to the First World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES), Mainz, September, 8-13, 2002.
5 E. Durkheim, Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse: le système totémique en Australie, édition originale en 1912, 4e édition, Quadrige, 1960, 65.
7 When the literate Bedouins write that term, they spell it as faqīḥ, which literally means “jurisprudent.”
8 The female form wliya exists, but it means one’s wives and children in the dialect.
11 Akahori, “Partly Saints and Partly Bedouins,” 80-82.
12 Other famous saints in the area are Sidi Barrānī, Sidi ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, and Sidi ‘Abd al-Gādīr. Their names are now used as village and town names.
13 “Shaykh” is also used as a term of reference and address to the influential elder Bedouins. Moreover, it is the most ordinary title used for addressing men in Cyrenaica or eastern Libya and its adjacent area in the Western Desert, much like “Sayyid” in written Arabic and “Ustādh” in Egyptian dialect.
14 No detailed hagiography has ever been written on Sidi al-‘Awwām. We can see some description in Khayr Allāh Faḍl ‘Aṭṭaya, Rīḥa al-alf ‘am ma’a qabā’il awlād ‘alī, Marsā Matrūb, 1982, 351 et al.
15 Unfortunately I have no information about the actual al-‘Awwām family of Alexandria.
16 Muhammad Idris al-Sanusi (1890-1983), the third leader of the Sanusi order and the king of Libya (r. 1951-69).
17 It is located near a town of al-Ḥammām.
18 Capital town of the Governorate.
NARRATING TALES OF SAINTS IS MAKING SAINTS

20 In spite of having a foreigner as their ancestor, the Sanagra is classified as one of the dominant tribes of Awlād ‘Ali, so that they should be treated as an important case in the reconsideration of patrilineality as an organizing principle of the Arab tribes.

21 Akahori, Ziyāra and Saint Veneration, 8-11; id., “Partly Saints and Partly Bedouins,” 78-80 et al.

22 Akahori, “Partly Saints and Partly Bedouins,” 80.


29 They know that the tomb of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī is in Tunis.