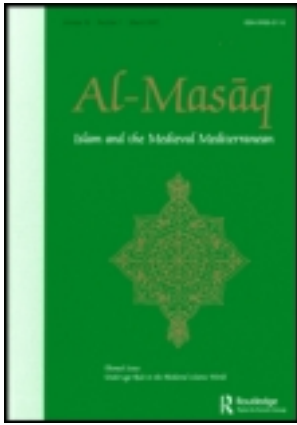


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## Christians and Muslims Faced with the Wrath of Abū Marwān al-Yuhānisī, a Thirteenth-Century “Friend of God”†

RACHID EL HOUR

**ABSTRACT** *This article examines the nature of the wrath of Abū Marwān al-Yuhānisī, a thirteenth-century Andalusī saint, and the protagonist of the *Tuhfat al-mughtarib of al-Qashtālī*. I have divided the study into two main parts. The first sets out and analyses various occasions on which the saint committed violent acts against Christians. Two of them died as a consequence of these aggressions. All the cases in this first part took place in the Muslim East during the saint’s stay in this area. The second part examines cases of violence committed against Muslim people from al-Andalus. The victims suffered the consequences of the wrath of the saint, although he was not directly involved in the aggressions themselves. The stories are narrated by al-Yuhānisī himself, and we do not know whether they really took place. Regarding these manifestations of violence, the hagiographic sources not only justify all the violent acts committed by the saint, murder included, but they present the saint to society as an “example” to follow, and indeed as a “hero”.*

**Keywords:** Hagiography – in Islam; al-Qashtālī, author; *al-Yuhānisī*, Abū Marwān, Muslim saint; al-Andalus – religious life; Islam – saints; Christian–Muslim relations

Over the last decade we have witnessed a particularly productive, albeit uneven, interest in violence in Islamic societies; this has mainly been caused, if not determined, by recent political events.<sup>1</sup> In an interesting collection of articles edited

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<sup>1</sup> The number of articles addressing religious violence is enormous, although most works have focused on Islam and Islamist terrorism. See for example: *Islam and Political Violence: Muslim Diaspora and Radicalism in the West*, ed. S. Akbarzadek and F. Mansouri (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007); M.E. Meeker, *Literature and Violence in North Arabia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Also of interest is *De muerte violenta: política, religión y violencia en al-Andalus* [E.O.B.A. volume XIV], ed. M. Fierro (Madrid: CSIC, 2004). Of less importance is *Foro Ibn Arabi: Presencia de religiones en el diálogo y la violencia del ámbito mediterráneo*, ed. J. Monleón (Toledo: Junta de Comunidad de Castilla-La Mancha-Fundación Instituto Internacional del Teatro del Mediterráneo, 2002).

by Fierro,<sup>2</sup> various aspects related to violent death in the elitist circles of al-Andalus are studied, with some cases from the Maghreb. To study these aspects, the authors have availed themselves of various types of Arabic and non-Arabic sources, but in no cases were hagiographic sources used. The failure to use such sources means that the analysis I give in this article may have some importance and may possibly be considered to be significant in the field of Western Muslim history.

This article analyses the various ways of exerting violence in the most important hagiographic source of al-Andalus: the *Tuhfat al-mughtarib* of al-Qashtālī.<sup>3</sup> My choice of this work is based on the limited interest it has aroused in studies addressing the hagiographic sources of the Islamic West, and also because it is one of the very few Andalusī sources – if not the only one – that contains information about such violence, which, as well as that inflicted by the saints themselves, affected other people from various cultural backgrounds – in this case Christians, as we shall see below.

In the light of the foregoing, this article seeks to shed light on two aspects. On the one hand, it analyses the violence inflicted directly by the saint himself, the main character throughout the book, namely al-Yuḥānisī (d.667/1268–9).<sup>4</sup> On the other, it looks at the anecdotes in which the saint was involved in one way or another. Naturally, one is dealing here with individualised violence linked to certain specific events. Finally, I should like to clarify that this study, in addition to what has already been noted, intends to present only material that, while little explored, is indispensable for analysing the society of the Islamic West from new perspectives, such as hagiographic literature.<sup>5</sup> What, then, is the nature of this violence? Prior to embarking on an attempt to unravel this issue, it seems appropriate to present the book in question.

### *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*<sup>6</sup>

Fernando de la Granja, the editor of the book, offers the following description:

The *Tuhfat al-Mughtarib* is a compilation of the prodigies accomplished by the Andalusian shaykh Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ibrāhīm ibn

<sup>2</sup> *De muerte violenta*. See also the monographic section, dedicated to violence in legal sources, of the journal *Al-Qantara* 26 (2005): 381–498. See also David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence. Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); *Public Violence in Islamic Societies: Power, Discipline and the Construction of the Public Sphere, 7th–19th Centuries*, ed. C. Lange and M. Fierro (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); *El cuerpo derrotado: ¿Cómo trataban musulmanes y cristianos a los enemigos vencidos? (Península Ibérica, ss. VIII-XIII)*, ed. M Fierro (Madrid: CSIC, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Al-Qashtālī, *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, ed. F. de La Granja (Madrid: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 1974). The study was translated by B. Boloix as *Prodigios del maestro sufí Abū Marwān al-Yuḥānisī*, (Madrid: Mandala, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> He was buried in *Rābitat Ahjār al-Sudān*, on the outskirts of Ceuta. See al-Qashtālī, *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, p. 4 of the notes.

<sup>5</sup> There is another type of violence, for example that exerted by the *mahdīs*. On this topic see M. Garcia-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform: Mahdīs of the Muslim West* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), esp. chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>6</sup> See also R. El Hour, “El santo y los demás: la caridad en la *Tuhfat al-mughtarib* de al-Qashtālī”, in *Caridad y compasión en las biografías islámicas*, ed. A.M. Carballeira, *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus* 16 (2011).

Bishr al-Qaysī, al-Yuhānisī, this *nisba* corresponding to Yuhānis, now the town of Ohanes in the province of Almeria (Spain); a name and *nisba* that appear in other Western texts with substantially different spelling.<sup>7</sup>

As will be seen later, the most important biographical information about al-Yuhānisī, the protagonist of the study in question, is that found in al-Bādisī's (fl. eighth/fourteenth century) *al-Maḡṣad*,<sup>8</sup> from Mārinid times, with many references from the Wattāsīd period, as may be seen in several biographies of saints.<sup>9</sup> Apart from our protagonist, this work gathers the biographies of saints from the Rif, in northern Morocco. Al-Bādisī<sup>10</sup> himself explains that the inclusion of al-Yuhānisī here, as an Andalusi, is due to his frequent journeys to Morocco and to the Maghrebi saints. It may be suggested that the presence of an Andalusi among North Africans was due, partly at least, to the cultural ties that the Maghrebis had with al-Andalus. This same feeling and sensation are very prominent in the books of many Andalusis, and al-Yuhānisī himself is a good reflection of the permeability of the frontier between the Maghreb and al-Andalus, thanks first and foremost to the geographical proximity of the two Mediterranean coasts, and above all to his extensive trips to and around Morocco.

Al-Qashtālī's book "is written for the same motives and with the same spirit as the Maghrebi hagiographic studies, and has the considerable interest of focusing on the figure of a single person, affording, although anarchically, a kind of biography of someone who was by no means ordinary"<sup>11</sup> in comparison with the *'ulamā'* of his times, although in the world of hagiography the protagonist of the *Tuḥfa* is just another case. The *Tuḥfa* is very similar to Maghrebi hagiographic<sup>12</sup> works such as *Dī'āmat al-yaqīn* by al-'Azafī (557–633/1162–1236)<sup>13</sup> and *al-Mu'zā* of al-Sawmā'ī (1013/1604),<sup>14</sup> both of which focus on the figure of Abū Ya'zā;<sup>15</sup> *Uns al-faqīr* of Ibn Qunfuḍ (740–810/1339–1407),<sup>16</sup> which deals with Abū Madyan; *Ithmād al-'aynayn* of Ibn Tiguillat (d. after 719/1320),<sup>17</sup> which is devoted to the al-Hazmīrī brothers, Abū 'Abd Allāh and Abū Zayd; and last but not least, *al-Minhāj al-wādih* by al-Maghri (699/1300),<sup>18</sup> centred on Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ from Safī. Accordingly, al-Qashtālī's book is no exception in the world of

<sup>7</sup> Al-Qashtālī, *Tuḥfat al-muḡhtarib*, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Al-Bādisī, *Al-Maḡṣad al-sharīf wa-l-manẓa' al-latīf fī l-ta'rīf bi-sulahā' al-Rīf*, ed. Sa'īd Ahmad A'rāb (Rabat, Al-Matba'a al-Malakiyya, 1982).

<sup>9</sup> See the biographies of Ibrāhīm ibn Dāwūd (al-Bādisī, *Al-Maḡṣad*, 5, 60).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>11</sup> *Tuḥfat al-muḡhtarib*, ed. de la Granja, 6.

<sup>12</sup> The book is also similar to some Mashriq hagiographical sources. See for example Ibn Abī Manṣūr Ibn Zafīr, *Risāla*, ed. and trans. Denis Gril (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1986). The study is dedicated to Egyptian Sufism, with references to Maghrebi and Persian Sufism, late sixth/twelfth century and beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century. The author talks about his own spiritual experience and that of the people he met.

<sup>13</sup> Al-'Azafī, *Dī'āmat al-yaqīn*, ed. A. Toufiq (Rabat, 1989).

<sup>14</sup> See al-Sawmā'ī, *Kitāb al-Mu'zā fī manāqib al-shaykh Abī Ya'zā*, ed. 'Alī al-Jawī (Agadir, 1996).

<sup>15</sup> See too the extensive list of the miraculous acts performed by Abū Ya'zā in *Dī'āmat al-yaqīn*, ed. Toufiq, pp. 45-8, 52, 56.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Qunfuḍ, *Uns al-faqīr*, ed. M. al-Fāsī and A. Faure (Rabat: Al-Markaz al-Jāmi' li-l-Baḥth al-Īlmī, 1965).

<sup>17</sup> See M. Rābiṭat al-Dīn Ibn Tiguillat, "Ithmād al-'aynayn fī akhbār al-akhawayn", PhD Thesis, Mohamed V University, Rabat, 1985.

<sup>18</sup> Al-Maghri, *Al-Minhāj al-wādih fī taḥqīq karāmāt al-Shaykh Abī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ* (Cairo, 1933).

hagiography in the Islamic West, although it is the most important, if not the only, one of its genre in al-Andalus.

The *Tuhfa* reflects a period of importance, and it can be considered a determining factor as far as the history of the Islamic West and of al-Andalus is concerned. Al-Yuhānisī witnessed the decadence and disappearance of the Almohads, the uprising of Ibn Hūd (1328), and the formation and consolidation of the Nasrids under the control of Muḥammad Ibn al-Aḥmar (773/1332). As de De la Granja comments:

In the pages of the *Tuhfa* we see Abū Marwān al-Yuhānisī defend the cause of this latter (Ibn al-Aḥmar) in the fight against the Christians and against the party of Ibn Hūd and his lieutenant Ibn al-Ramīmī. We see him summoned by the first Nasrid Monarch at a time of trouble<sup>19</sup>

to help him with his prayers, in his mission to rouse the people of North Africa to defend the recently created Nasrid state. Abū Marwān lived for many years and travelled throughout the domain of Islam. Apart from peregrinations to the holy sites, in which he participated more than once, he also spent time in Egypt, Syria and Iraq, reaching as far as Khorāsān, and he travelled extensively through the North of Africa, choosing Ceuta, where he had a house as a refuge and as his last resting place.

The work is an important reference for many historical facts and events of a broad nature: social, political and economic.<sup>20</sup> It also contains both individual and collective references that could be considered of universal import, although they are confined to the Islamic world. In the *Tuhfa*, it is possible to find passages that authenticate the nature of the ethnic composition of the Muslim social order, including that of al-Andalus. Many of the saint's encounters with people from other religious confessions, but above all Christians,<sup>21</sup> are recounted and well described in the book, which is also a depiction of a 'universal' Andalusī saint and of his spiritual and religious aspirations. However, it is above all a reflection of the nostalgia he felt for his country, al-Andalus. There is no doubt that such nostalgia lies behind the very title of this work: *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*,<sup>22</sup> "The Gift of the Exile".

<sup>19</sup> *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, ed. de la Granja, 6.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 67–75, 79–82, 116–118.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 43–45, 148. See also al-Bādisī, *al-Maqṣad*, 99–100; al-Tamīmī, *al-Muṣṭafad fī manāqib al-‘ubbād bi-madīnat Fās wa-mā yalīhā min al-bilād*, ed. M. Cherif (Tetouane: Kulliyat al-Adab wa-l-‘Ulūm al-Insāniyya, 2002, 2 vols.), II: 174, 202. Some information about Jews is found in Ibn Qunfud, *Uns al-faqīr*; 7. The case is discussed of a Jew who benefited from the *baraka* of the saint Abū l-‘Abbās al-Sabtī, which means that even the blessing of the saints is universal, not being subject to cultural and spiritual frontiers. The *sadaqa* of the saint also broke religious barriers, and he included Muslims, Jews and Christians in his charity work (al-Tādīlī, *Al-tashawwuf ilā rijāl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. A. Toufiq (Rabat: Kulliyat al-Ādāb wa-l-‘Ulūm al-Insāniyya, 1984), p. 456). In turn, *al-Tamīmī* (*al-Muṣṭafad*, II: 178) speaks of the case of a saint, Abū ‘Imrān Mūsā ibn Ibrāhīm, who interceded before the governor for the release of his Jewish neighbour's son, despite the poor relations they had.

<sup>22</sup> *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, ed. de la Granja, p. 76.

### Violence in the *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*

After making prayers and supplications in reaction to having witnessed an ‘immoral’ event in Baghdad committed by two people (*waḡadnā shakhṣayn ‘alā fahisha*), the Baghdadi *faqīh* Shalīl said to al-Yuhānisī: “This is how we fight evil.” But why did Shalīl make this comment? The event was seen by both of them, but their reactions were completely different. Shalīl limited himself to repeating several times the formula: *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā bi-llāh* (there is no power or glory but in God) whereas al-Yuhānisī argued that reciting the formula would not change evil, and rejoined, “Where is death by the sword, the lash or fire? Where is the stoning?” (*ayna l-qatl bi-sayf aw bi-sawt aw al-ḥarq bi-nār, ayna al-rajm bi-ḥijāra*).<sup>23</sup>

The two people confessed to having had a homosexual<sup>24</sup> relationship. The reactions of Shalīl and al-Yuhānisī to this were quite different. The former merely recited some prayers, while the latter called for their punishment: the two people deserved to die by the sword or to be burned. It should also be borne in mind that the death by fire (*al-ḥarq bi-nār*) referred to by al-Yuhānisī was a punishment applied not only to men sanctioned for homosexual activity,<sup>25</sup> but also included all illegitimate sexual relationships.

Shalīl also said to al-Yuhānisī, “You are of Maghrebi character, you wanted to use the lash, the sword, fire, and stoning to change evil” (*Anta magribī al-tab‘ mā aradta illā bi-l-sawt wa-l-sayf, wa-l-ḥarq wa-l-rajm kadh āyughayyar al-munkar*).<sup>26</sup> This comment is highly significant because it includes a reference to everyone from the Maghreb – North Africans and Andalusis – and not only al-Yuhānisī.<sup>27</sup> Is it true then that Western Muslims were violent, or were they simply very orthodox in the application of *sharī‘a* where the struggle against evil was concerned? Were the Maghrebis more orthodox than their Eastern counterparts? Might it be that al-Yuhānisī was very orthodox and religious, which would account for his reaction? Were Easterners more open than Maghrebis regarding matters of homosexuality? Might this be because of the different doctrinal teachings followed in the different zones? I refer specifically to the nature of the juridical schools: Mālikī in the Maghreb, and other schools in the East, above all the Shāfi‘ī and Ḥanafī. The dialogue may have been a strategy of the Maghrebi authors to demonstrate the importance of the Maghrebis, and their religious and moral superiority over the

<sup>23</sup> See M. Marín, “Tres viajeros andalusíes en Bagdad”, *Hesperia* 15 (2010); F. Rodríguez Mediano, “Religiosidad en al-Andalus: el hombre santo en el Islam occidental”, *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 54 (1999): 145–168, esp. 162.

<sup>24</sup> Concerning homosexuality, see the work of C. Adang, “Ibn Hazm on homosexuality: a case-study of zahiri legal methodology”, *Al-Qantara* 24/1 (2003): 5–31.

<sup>25</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī condemns to death those who engage in homosexual relationships, while other non-Shāfi‘īs and, it is believed, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs above all, condemn them to death by fire. In particular, see Mustaphā al-Khann, Mustaphā al-Baghā and ‘Alī al-Shurayhī M. al-Jinn, M. al-Buga and ‘A. al-Sharyahi, *al-Fiqh al-manḥajī ‘alā madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī*, volume VIII (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1989), pp. 60–1, for a report that four caliphs gave condemned those engaged in homosexual relations to death by burning: Abū Bakr al-Siddīq, ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib, ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr and Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik.

<sup>26</sup> *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, ed. de la Granja, 40–1.

<sup>27</sup> See M. Marín, “Viajeros magrebies en Egipto: una mirada conflictiva”, in *Entre Oriente y Occidente: Ciudades y viajeros en la Edad Media*, ed. P. Monferrer Sala and M. Rodríguez Gómez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2005), p. 215.



Easterners. These are some of the points that could help to explain this account of al-Yuḥānisī's behaviour and the nature of his reaction, particularly the differences between the juridical schools regarding the homosexual practices. There is no doubt that the Mālikī school ranked such practices on a par with fornication (*zinā*), which was punishable by death.<sup>28</sup>

I believe that the Maghrebi authors are trying to show that this allusion to the violence of the Maghrebis was not an isolated event, but one that reflects a historical stigmatisation of Maghrebis as violent in Eastern circles. According to these authors, there is a close relationship between a violent temperament and religious importance. One can see that these authors relate the stories with pride. Authors such as al-Tamīmī, 'Abd al-Wāḥid (al-Marrākushī, d. after 669/1270), al-'Abdarī (d. 737/1336) and Ibn Mazūq (d. 773/1371) ceaselessly denounced Maghrebis as violent, as H. Ferhat confirms,<sup>29</sup> but these denunciations were part of the strategy of these Maghrebi authors. Al-Tamīmī, for example, "after describing an incident on the way to Mecca in which someone got very angry, . . . added that that person was probably from the Maghreb, because violence comes naturally to them".<sup>30</sup> He himself confesses to having succumbed to such an impulse and to having begged for forgiveness. Al-Tamīmī recounts that when he arrived at the wells of Zamzam he drew a bucket of water but that some unidentified strangers relieved him of it to satisfy their own thirst. The same happened when he drew a second bucket. The third time this occurred, he lost his temper and struck the man who was just about to drink. The man calmly replied, "We are all guests of God. How can you behave like that?" Ashamed, al-Tamīmī threw himself at the man's feet to beg for clemency.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, it should also be borne in mind that, besides having a reputation for violence, the people of the Maghreb seemed to be unable to prevent themselves from declaring their superiority in matters of ethics and morals, as may be inferred from the words of al-Qashtālī himself.<sup>32</sup> The author praised God for having made the morals of the Maghrebis different from those of their Eastern counterparts (*subḥān al-Malik al-Ḥaqq* (. . .) *wa-lam yaj'al akhlāq al-maghāriba ka-akhlāq ahl al-sharq*).<sup>33</sup> However, what is the position of al-Yuḥānisī, the protagonist of *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, as regards this "violent reputation"? To explain this better in what follows, the life of al-Yuḥānisī is divided into two segments: the first addresses the violence manifested by al-Yuḥānisī as a candidate for sainthood, and the second refers to the period after he had achieved his aspirations.

<sup>28</sup> Adang, "Ibn Hazm on homosexuality", 9, 31. See also al-Jinn, al-Buga and al-Sharyahi, *al-Fiqh al-manhajī*, 60–4.

<sup>29</sup> H. Ferhat, *Le soufisme et les zaouyas au Maghreb: Mérite individuel et patrimoine sacré*, (Casablanca: Les Editions Toubqal, 2003), p. 87.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 87–8. See also al-Tamīmī, *al-Muṣṭafad*, II: 150. Al-Tamīmī (*ibid.*, 150–1) recounts an altercation provoked by the Almerian Abū l-'Abbās.

<sup>32</sup> *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, ed. de la Granja, 149.

<sup>33</sup> This superiority is very evident in the testimonies of Maghrebi travellers, such as al-'Abdarī and Ibn Ṣa'īd in Egypt. For example, Al-'Abdarī admitted that "the Maghrebis had an unbridled nature; accenting this character was a way of legitimising it, by contrast with the supposed moral lassitude of the Egyptians". In particular, see M. Marín, "Viajeros magrebies", 228–9. See also al-Tamīmī, *al-Muṣṭafad*, II: 149.

**Al-Yuhānisī: candidate for sainthood and violence<sup>34</sup>**

To define the person of al-Yuhānisī, we may start with the reference provided by al-Bādisī,<sup>35</sup> the author of *al-Maqṣad al-sharīf*. According to him, al-Yuhānisī appears as the “the killer of bishops and monks who worshipped the cross” (*qātil ‘abādāt al-ṣulbān min al-aṣāqifa wa-l-ruhbān*). This image is completely at odds with the cheerful, fun-loving image of al-Yuhānisī (*kathīr al-da‘āba wa-l-bast*), to the extent that those who did not know him would never have considered him to be a saint (*ḥattā yaqūl man yajhal ḥālahu laysa hādihā bi-waliy*). Perhaps the best description available is that given by his disciple and the author of the *Tuhfa*, al-Qashtālī,<sup>36</sup> who recounts that:

When I was young (*zaman al-futuwwa*), I loved Abū Marwān (al-Yuhānisī) very much because of his permanent smile, his beauty (*husn al-wajh*), the sweetness of his words (*‘udhubat lafzih*), his great consideration and respect for authority<sup>37</sup> (*kathrat ulṭifātihi li-dhawī l-hay’a wa-lahzihi*). He dealt with people according to their social condition; he loved people and was loved by them in return. For this reason, I have remained at his side since I have had the use of reason; I have obeyed him and paid attention to his counsel. I have looked after his correspondence with the governors and *amīrs* in which he begged them to be just and to protect the Sufis (*qaḍā’ ḥawā’ij al-fuqarā’*).

Of course, this description is a manifestation of blind loyalty to the master, although such obedience should come as no surprise, since it is crucial to the lives of the *murīdūn* and disciples, in order for them to achieve spiritual maturity and hence to become masters and Sufi saints themselves.<sup>38</sup> This peaceful character of al-Yuhānisī is understood to be compatible with his violent reactions, since, as we shall see later, the saint was to be involved in very angry responses to non-Muslims in various places during his stay in the East.

Naturally, one is dealing with the definition of a hero, or an example to follow, and at no time can anything negative be found in this description. Al-Yuhānisī’s role as a hero is further enhanced when it is seen that the victim was not only a non-Muslim or a common Christian “enemy”, but a priest. As is logical, one should ask oneself what is behind this definition; what is to be understood when it describes al-Yuhānisī as an “annihilator of devout bishops, monks, and worshippers

<sup>34</sup> The hagiographic sources also inform us about cases of violence exercised by saints in the fight for good. Al-Ṣadafī (*al-Sirr al-masūn*, ed. H. Ferhat [Beirut: Dāral-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1998], p. 86) recounts the case of a saint called Abū l-Walīd al-Shāṭibī (biography 15), who had to intervene to prevent a woman from being raped by a man. The saint killed the would-be rapist. Al-Ṣadafī justifies what happened, saying that God killed the man through the hands of the saint.

<sup>35</sup> al-Bādisī, *Al-Maqṣad*, 99.

<sup>36</sup> *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, ed. de la Granja, 37.

<sup>37</sup> I understand here that he is referring to his respect for the authorities but also his vigilance as regards their actions.

<sup>38</sup> See, in particular, A. Hammoudi, *Master and Disciples: The Cultural Foundations of Moroccan Authoritarianism* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997) (Spanish translation by Patrick Lévy, Barcelona: Anthropos, 2007); R. El Hour, “L’éducation des saints: le témoignage des sources hagiographiques nord-africaines: le cas d’*al-Tasawwuf ilā rijal al-tasawwuf de al-Tadili*”, in *Enfance et jeunesse dans le monde musulman*, ed. F. Georgan, and K. Kreiser (Paris: Maisonneuve-Larousse, 2007).



of the cross?” A careful reading of the *Tuhfa* and *al-Maqṣad* might help provide an answer to this question. Al-Yuhānisī became involved in many events in which his opponents were Christians and priests. Several anecdotes refer to such events, so let us first describe three of them and then comment on their possible meaning.

1. First, there is the anecdote related by al-Bādisī.<sup>39</sup> Al-Bādisī recounts that one of his uncles, Yaḥyā ibn Hassūn, told him that al-Yuhānisī once spent the night at a monastery with a priest in *Shām*. At dawn al-Yuhānisī wished to leave but could not find the exit and was helped by the priest, who said, “How good I have been to you even though you believe I am on the wrong path” (*ammī ‘alā bātīl*). Shocked because he had allowed himself to be helped by the priest, since he had been unable to find the exit from the convent,<sup>40</sup> al-Yuhānisī left. When he arrived in Egypt, he ran into the master Ibn al-Sabbāgh, who reproached him thus: “Oh, ‘Abd al-Malik, how could you let yourself be manipulated by an infidel? (*kaḥya tataṣawwar an yataṣarrafa fīka kāfir*). Return to him.” After the master had bestowed upon him the blessing of the Sufis, al-Yuhānisī returned to the monastery, from which it may be concluded that he had been assured of victory over the priest; a victory that might even lead to some kind of violence. The surprised priest, worried and nervous, asked al-Yuhānisī why he had returned. Al-Yuhānisī told him that he wished to accompany him in his fasting and asked him about the number of days he might be able to fast. The priest answered that he could fast for forty days. However, al-Yuhānisī proposed only twenty days of fasting. The priest fasted twenty days, and then al-Yuhānisī challenged him to another ten days, after which the priest died and the monastery fell into ruins. Al-Yuhānisī then returned to Ibn al-Sabbāgh, whose blessing (*baraka*) had got rid of the priest.<sup>41</sup> It may thus be seen that al-Yuhānisī was very happy: his goal had been accomplished, the priest was dead, and the monastery was ruined.<sup>42</sup>
2. The second story is told by al-Yuhānisī’s disciple al-Qashtālī,<sup>43</sup> according to whom al-Yuhānisī said that once he had been on a path in *Shām* and he met a priest (*qissīs*). The path was very narrow, with a cliff on one side and a chasm on the other. Al-Yuhānisī invited the priest to take the chasm side (*hāfa*). Facing the cliff and resting on his staff, the priest greeted al-Yuhānisī, asking him “Hey, Sufi! Where have you come from?” Al-Yuhānisī replied that he had come from the Hijaz. The priest asked, “Did you visit Muḥammad?” When al-Yuhānisī said that indeed he had, the priest reproved him and said he was just like the Prophet: both of them equally worthless (*fa-darrata lī wa-qāla lī: yaswā laka*). Thus, by putting al-Yuhānisī on the same level as the Prophet, the priest seemed to be scorning Muhammad. This evidently irked al-Yuhānisī, so he pushed the priest into the chasm, where he died (*wa-daḥātu bi-hā fī ṣadrihi wa-ramaytu bi-l-qissīs fī-l-hāfa fa-lam yaṣil minhu ‘udw ma’a ākhar*).

<sup>39</sup> al-Bādisī *Al-Maqṣad al-sharif*, 99, 100.

<sup>40</sup> It is clear that both the priest and al-Yuhānisī made very extreme readings of these comments.

<sup>41</sup> There is a very similar story in *Tuhfat al-mughṭarib* (ed. F. de La Granja, 133–4), which is believed to be a second version of the same tale, despite locating the events in Alexandria (Egypt) rather than in *Shām*.

<sup>42</sup> “Thanks to him the superiority of Islam over Christianity is attested.” See Ferhat, *Le soufisme*, 128.

<sup>43</sup> *Tuhfat al-mughṭarib*, ed. de la Granja, 148.

3. The third story is recounted by al-Yuhānisī<sup>44</sup> and is again related to a Christian, although this time the person involved was not a priest. Al-Yuhānisī says that he was once sitting next to the lighthouse (*al-manār*) in Alexandria when a Christian (*rūmī*) approached him, greeted him, and sat down next to him. There were many people around, demolishing the wall (...). The Christian asked him why the Prophet had forbidden Muslims to eat pork. Al-Yuhānisī was unwilling to answer, and told the Christian to leave him alone; faced with al-Yuhānisī's refusal, the Christian insisted. After another silence, the Christian himself offered the following explanation. He said that the Prophet had buried some vessels of water in sand, where there was no water, so that its discovery would be seen as a miracle by the people who had not found water there before. However, a pig arrived, dug out the vessels, and spilt the water, and when the Prophet wanted to draw water there was none left. So when the Prophet realised that it was the pig's fault he forbade the eating of pork (*innamā dafan nabīyukum mā' fi-l-raml, haythu lā yūjad al-mā', wa-arād an yazhar bi-dhālik li-ashābihi āyāt idhā 'ajazū hunāk 'an al-mā', fa-jā a l-khinzīr fa-stakhraja tilka l-zurūf wa-kharaqahā wa-sāla l-mā'. Fa-lammā jā a li-ṭalabihi lam yajidhu fa-ḥarramahu li-hālik hīna 'alima bi-hi*). Al-Yuhānisī was furious. He grabbed the Christian and threw him off a cliff (*fa-qumtu fa-gharaftuhu wa-rafātuhu fawqa ra'sī wa-alqaytu 'alā ra'sihi fi asfal sukhūr kānat hunāk wa-hāfat lam yaṣil li-mustaqarrihi illā wa-ra'suhu ajzā'*). The witnesses, both Christians and Muslims, detained him and took him before the governor, who was told that al-Yuhānisī had killed a Christian. The governor spoke to al-Yuhānisī alone and asked him to explain his behaviour. Al-Yuhānisī had nothing to argue and no proof to deny the accusation. He told the governor that he was aware of his punishment (*a'rifu mujāb al-shar' alayya idh al-aḥkām jariyya 'alā l-zāhir, wa-anā fi hādihā l-waqt mā 'indī khabar min ma'wāt wa-lā min ḥayāt, wa-lā urīd bi-waṣflaka iqāmat burhān. Fa-qāla lī lā tubālī yaṣḍur minī laka min zāhir sū' al-mu'āmalā fi l-zāhir. Fa-innī lā yasa'nī ghayruhu*) I think that it is not necessary to translate all the arabic text, because the most important is the reaction of the governor, and not the details of the history. The Governor asked him not to take into account how he had been treated in public and ordered the police to lock him up for later execution. However, before he reached the prison he was set free.

### Analysis of the anecdotes

First of all, we have to remember that the anecdotes are narrated by al-Yuhānisī himself, and we do not know whether the events described took place or not. The above three stories have several factors in common. As well as being stories in which the actors are Muslims and a Christian, and involve blasphemy against the Prophet of Islam, all of them took place in the East (Baghdad, Alexandria and *Shām*), during al-Yuhānisī's stay for the purification of his soul. In other words, the events occurred in the midst of the process of al-Yuhānisī's conversion, or spiritual ecstasy

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 146–7.

and fervour, to sainthood. We must take into account that the last two stories speak of blasphemy against the Prophet of Islam.

It could be speculated that this process of religious conversion would be fully equivalent to a person's struggle against his own demons (eating habits, sex, etc.),<sup>45</sup> against others who "have strayed from the path of righteousness" and against infidels. However, why did al-Yuhānisī apparently take the law into his own hands<sup>46</sup> and opt for the application of the death penalty? It could be that al-Yuhānisī's reaction to the priest in the first anecdote might have been engendered by some kind of impulsive rage,<sup>47</sup> but the problem is that the story is repeated several times, confirming that al-Yuhānisī's reaction corresponded, first and foremost, to his religious convictions. It seems certain that al-Yuhānisī was well acquainted with Islamic law and the Andalusī tradition in legal matters. Al-Andalus was certainly not ignorant of events related to blasphemy and juridical attitudes to it.<sup>48</sup>

It is impossible to know whether al-Yuhānisī was violent by nature,<sup>49</sup> although his basic character does not seem to be consistent with such a notion.<sup>50</sup> If such events really did take place, the explanation for al-Yuhānisī's violence seems to involve religion. Religiously motivated violence is not an exceptional occurrence, especially in cases like those in question, when such behaviour is backed up and underwritten by the law. We must not forget that the events took place in the thirteenth century, which was characterised by a great deal of confrontation between Islam and Christianity, especially in the Middle East.<sup>51</sup> The authors of the Maghrebi sources could not leave al-Yuhānisī out of those confrontations and intended to give him some kind of a textual role in them by describing acts that may or not have taken place.

To understand al-Yuhānisī's actions, one must also take into account that events have to be considered within the aforementioned legal framework. The legal attitudes of the juridical schools endorse what al-Yuhānisī did, and there are many examples that confirm that endorsement. For example, juridical sources can be considered a valid testimony of the nature of the punishments meted out to those who blaspheme against the person of the Prophet of Islam, be they Christians or Muslims.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>45</sup> See R. El Hour, "La alimentación de los santos en las fuentes hagiográficas magrebíes. El caso de Marruecos" in *El banquete de las palabras. La alimentación en los textos árabes*, ed. M. Marín and C. de la Puente (Madrid: CSIC, 2005).

<sup>46</sup> On the concept of justice in the hagiographic sources, see for example F. Rodríguez Mediano, "L'amour, la justice et la crainte dans les récits hagiographiques marocains", *Studia Islamica* 90 (2000): 85–105.

<sup>47</sup> Rage is defined as a "condition that facilitates and induces violence, but it is not a primordial condition of violence" (B. Whitmer, *The Violence Mythos* [New York Excelsior Editions, 1997], p. 62).

<sup>48</sup> See in particular M. Fierro, "Andalusian 'Fatâwâ' on Blasphemy", *Extrait des Annales Islamologiques* 25 (1990): 103–17.

<sup>49</sup> See B. Whitmer, *The violence mythos*, Arabic trans. by M.Y. 'Imrân, *Al-Anmât al-thaqafiyya li-l-'unf*, in *Ālam al-ma'rifa* (Kuwait: March 2007): 33ff.

<sup>50</sup> On more than one occasion Al-Yuhānisī, in adding to what has been said about his person, demonstrated his great generosity towards others. This generosity and solidarity is reflected in El Hour, "El santo y los demás".

<sup>51</sup> See R. El Hour, "¿Cómo se elabora un texto místico-hagiográfico?: el caso de la *Tuhfat al-muġtarib* de al-Qastali", in *Legendaria medievalia. En honor de C. Castillo*, ed. P. Monferrer Sala and M.J. Viguera (Córdoba, 2011).

<sup>52</sup> Fierro, "Andalusian 'Fatâwâ' on Blasphemy", 114ff.

The term used to designate such blasphemy is *sabb* or *shatm al-rasūl*<sup>53</sup>. Many juridical questions (*masā'il*) address the issue (Ibn Rushd, al-Wansharīsī, Ibn Ṣahl), and all of them agree on the death penalty for those who insult the person of the Prophet.<sup>54</sup> Mālik, the eponymous founder of the Mālikī School, states that blasphemy against the Prophet is punishable by death (decapitation),<sup>55</sup> regardless of whether the blasphemer is Muslim or *dhimmī*, and even if the perpetrator repents.<sup>56</sup> Ibn Ṣahl gave the same opinion in a case when the woman who gave the insult was a Christian. The woman, called Dhabha, declared that Jesus was God and that the Prophet Muḥammad was a deceiver.<sup>57</sup> The leading representatives of Mālikism have no doubts about the punishment to be meted out to those who commit blasphemy against the Prophet, regardless of their beliefs. It should be noted that the most severe punishment given to those guilty of insulting the Prophet of Islam was energetically sought by the crypto-Christians of al-Andalus in the fifth/eleventh century; in particular, Christians believed that blasphemy against the Prophet was the surest way to reach heaven, as explained by Fierro<sup>58</sup> and Monferrer.<sup>59</sup>

The violence carried out by the saint, however, did not respect any legal procedure: in other words, the perpetrators of the alleged blasphemy were not given a chance to account for their behaviour, or even explain to themselves before a court. They were put to death by the saint, who condemned them and carried out the punishment himself. It should be stressed that there were no witnesses to the first incident in which the priest was killed, so the saint did not have to explain his actions to anybody. Nevertheless, what is striking is that, in the second anecdote,

<sup>53</sup> There are also other terms, such as *la'n* (to curse), *ta'n* (to criticise, attack), *idhā'* (to steal) or *nayl* (to malign). Concerning the issue of blasphemy, see in particular the work of Lutz Wiederhold, "Blasphemy against the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions (*sabb al-rasūl, sabb al-sahābah*): The Introduction of the Topic into Shafi'i Legal Literature and its Relevance for Legal Practice under Mamluk Rule", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 42/1 (1997): 39–70; M. Fierro, "Andalusian 'Fatāwā' on Blasphemy", 103–17; R. Peters and G.J.J. Vries, "Apostasy in Islam", *Die Welt des Islams* 17/1–4 (1976–1977): 1–25.

<sup>54</sup> It is necessary to take into account the circumstances in which punishment for blasphemy was legislated, not only against the person of the Prophet but also against his Companions. Maribel Fierro says that "blasphemy against God and his followers, when done by Muslims, was discussed by the Doctors within the context of apostasy (*riddah*) and infidelity (*kufr*). In both cases, in some circumstances the perpetrators were punishable by death. However, in the most relevant chapters of the texts of the schools blasphemy against the Prophet or his companions is not mentioned among the punished acts constituting a *riddah* or *kufr*" "Andalusian 'fatāwā' on Blasphemy" (pp. 103 and ff). See Wiederhold, "Blasphemy against the Prophet", 43–4, 49. See also Peters and Vries, "Apostasy in Islam", 5ff.

<sup>55</sup> See M. Fierro, "Decapitation of Christians and Muslims in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula: Narratives, Images, Contemporary Perspective", *Comparative Literature Studies* 45/2 (2008): 137–64; *eadem*, "Castigo de los herejes y su relación con las formas del poder político y religioso en al-Andalus (siglos II/VIII-VII/XIII)", in *El cuerpo derrotado. Cómo trataban musulmanes y cristianos a los enemigos vencidos (Península Ibérica ss. VIII-XIII)*, ed. M. Fierro and F. García Fitz (Madrid: CSIC, 2008).

<sup>56</sup> See Ibn Ṣahl, *Wathā'iq fi ahkām qaḍā' ahl al-dhimma*, ed. M.A. Jallāf (Cairo, 1980), p. 71. Ibn al-Qāsim (*ibid.*, 72) is also of the same opinion.

<sup>57</sup> Ibn Ṣahl, *Wathā'iq*, 70. See also Fierro, "Andalusian 'Fatāwā' on blasphemy", 109–10.

<sup>58</sup> Fierro, "Andalusian 'Fatāwā' on blasphemy", 109ff.

<sup>59</sup> See J. Monferrer, "Mitografía hagiomartirial: De nuevo sobre los supuestos mártires cordobeses Al-Markaz al-'Arabī lil-l-Duwal wa-l-I'lām del siglo XI", in *De muerte violenta*, 415–50 and the bibliography in notes 7 and 8. See also M. Fierro, *Al-Andalus: Saberes e intercambios culturales*, (Barcelona: CIDOB, Icaris, 2001), p. 20.

there *were* witnesses but the saint had the complicity of the highest politico-judicial authority of the area. An order was issued to lock al-Yuḥānisī up, but ultimately no legal procedure or trial was carried out.

Saints did not have to explain their actions to anybody, and certainly not before any secular authority. The saint was always in the right and had the support, and indeed the complicity, not only of the forces of the human sphere but also those of Heaven. Accordingly, the actions of al-Yuḥānisī are completely and legally legitimated. Indeed, in the source consulted al-Yuḥānisī does not appear as a murderer but as a hero: a defender of Islam from its enemies.

### Al-Yuḥānisī: the saint and the violence

The second part of this article aims at analysing the events in which al-Yuḥānisī was indirectly responsible for violence. In most such cases, it is a matter of punishment meted out to various people, and all the incidents took place in al-Andalus after al-Yuḥānisī was already a saint. Thus, the issue arises of what this 'new' type of violence might have been.

Al-Qashtālī<sup>60</sup> says that the overseer (*mushrif*) of the city of Guadix, Abū l-Ḥakam ibn Idrīs, had a good relationship with al-Yuḥānisī, and that he used to accept the saint's interventions when he asked for pardon for some of those unjustly condemned, until one day the *mushrif* treated him badly, refused him any more favours and dismissed his counsel. The overseer swore to maintain this attitude until his death, and al-Yuḥānisī in turn swore never to ask for such favours while Ibn Idrīs continued in his position in Guadix. The saint was infuriated by this and angrily refused to eat for several days. When the sultan arrived in Guadix, he ordered Ibn Idrīs and his brother's sons to be flogged publicly. Three days later, Ibn Idrīs died,<sup>61</sup> his possessions were confiscated, and his children were deprived of the inheritance from their father. It is clear in the text that the punishment received by Ibn Idrīs was the direct result of having aroused the saint's anger and treated him badly, regardless of the real motives behind Ibn Idrīs' punishment, which must surely have been political.<sup>62</sup> As is always expected in hagiographic sources, the punishments were justified by the discontent, anger, etc., of the saint, provoked by the political authorities,<sup>63</sup> but this does not mean that al-Yuḥānisī had bad relations with the Naṣrid authorities. The work of al-Qashtālī reports various examples of al-Yuḥānisī's help in the consolidation of the government of Muḥammad ibn al-Aḥmar (732/1332), the first Naṣrid sultan. We also know of his embassy to Morocco to ask for help from the Mārinid authorities against the threats from the Christians of the peninsula.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, ed. de la Granja, 77.

<sup>61</sup> Many of those who arouse the ire of the saint end up dead, as can be seen in the story recounted by al-Ṣadafī (*Al-sirr al-masūn*, 79–80, 86).

<sup>62</sup> See *De muerte violenta*.

<sup>63</sup> See al-Tādilī, *Al-tashawwuf*.

<sup>64</sup> See *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, ed. de la Granja, introduction, p. 7; El Hour, "¿Cómo se elabora un texto místico-hagiográfico?". On the relationship between saints and political authorities see the excellent studies by H. Ferhat. "L'organisation des soufis et ses limites à l'époque almohade", in *Los almohades: problemas y perspectivas*, volumen II, ed. M. Fierro, P. Cressier and L. Molina (Madrid: CSIC, 2005); and "Tribus mystiques et souverains: l'enjeu du pouvoir", in *Le Maghreb au XIIème et XIIIème siècles: les*



Other events confirm the above. In another story,<sup>65</sup> it is related that a young man called Walad Fuṭayma al-Sawwāqa arrived in Guadix with a letter from the sultan, stating that he should be helped in every aspect of his job: not even the judges and governors should hamper his work. Thanks to this, he was able to do whatever he wanted and inevitably fell into abusive practices and corruption. He would tell people that their possessions and wealth in fact belonged to the sultan, and take whatever he pleased from them. That was until, one day, he had a confrontation with a very virtuous young man called Ibn Shābb, who was the son-in-law of a certain al-Khaṭīb.<sup>66</sup> He incarcerated him unjustly, closed down his shop and demanded a large sum of money. Al-Khaṭīb asked al-Yuhānisī to intervene on behalf of his son-in-law. However, despite al-Yuhānisī's efforts, Walad Fuṭayma decided to take Ibn Shābb to Granada the following day for punishment. Al-Khaṭīb went back to al-Yuhānisī and told him what had happened; al-Yuhānisī seemed hopeful, as though he could foresee what was going to happen to Walad Fuṭayma. On the morning of the following day, Walad Fuṭayma was found with his throat cut and Ibn Shābb escaped punishment. All this happened because Walad Fuṭayma had rejected the saint's petition and aroused his ire. What al-Qashtālī says at the end of the story is highly significant: 'God preserve us from the ire of the saints and make us people pleasing to them' (*nas'al Allāh allā yughayyir qulūb al-awliyā' alaynā, wa-yaǰ'alanā mimman yurdī šudūrahum*).<sup>67</sup>

Along the same lines, al-Qashtālī recounts that Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī,<sup>68</sup> the vizier of the Naṣrid sultan (in the time of al-Yuhānisī), was appreciated by al-Yuhānisī for his work and his aid to the infirm and the poor (*al-du'afā' wa-l-maḥlūmīn*); but then one day he had an unspecified problem with someone close to al-Yuhānisī in Granada. In an attempt to resolve the situation, al-Yuhānisī sent a certain Aḥmad al-Masallī to pay the vizier what he was owed, but the latter incarcerated him. When he was released, al-Masallī denounced the vizier and accused him of being responsible for the disappearance and kidnapping of his son. The sultan himself appeared unexpectedly at the home of the vizier and found al-Masallī's son there, whereupon the sultan almost beat him to death with his stick (*fa-daraba al-sultān al-wazīr bi-dabbūz hattā ashrafa 'alā l-halāk*). Al-Shaybānī then returned to Granada in a very poor state, and felt humiliated and scorned until he begged al-Yuhānisī for pardon and clemency, showing great remorse for his sins. The same happened to Abū l-Ḥasan al-Faryānī,<sup>69</sup> the *muḥtasib* (supervisor) of food and of the *qaysariya* of Granada (*muḥtasib al-ṭā'ām wa-amīn qaysariyyatihā*), who sparked the wrath of al-Yuhānisī and was punished harshly. As well as the heavy fine imposed, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Faryānī was lashed and banished from the services of the sultan (*fa-nakabahu l-sultān wa-aghramahu wa-darabahu bi-l-siyāt*).

(footnote continued)

*siècles de la foi*, ed. H. Ferhat (Casablanca, 1993); see also M. Cherif, *Al-taṣawwuf wa-l-sultā bi-Maghrib al-muwaḥhidīn: al-qarnān 6-7h/12-13m: musāham fi dirāsāt tumā'iyāt al-ḥukm wa-l-dīn fi-l-nasaq al-maghribī al-wāsiṭ* (Tetuán: al-Jam'īyya li-l-Dirāsāt al-Andalusiyya, 2004).

<sup>65</sup> *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, ed. de la Granja, 79.

<sup>66</sup> It is believed that refers to the Friday preacher of the mosque in the city (Guadix).

<sup>67</sup> We know of other stories in which those who aroused the anger of the saint or behaved badly towards him came to a sticky end. See *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, ed. de la Granja, 113, 130, 132.

<sup>68</sup> *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*, ed. de la Granja, 116.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.



Beyond the real causes of the punishment meted out to Ibn Idrīs or the vizier al-Shaybānī, or the murder of Walad Fuṭayma, al Qashtālī – like all the other hagiographic sources – attributes the punishments to the perpetrators' failure to follow the saint's wishes. Thus, it may clearly be seen that – according to hagiographic sources – provoking the ire of the saints and running counter to their wishes were more than sufficient motives for punishment and, indeed, the death penalty. It should always be borne in mind that all the victims of such punishments belonged to the governing elite or people from that circle.<sup>70</sup>

As may be seen, the violence exercised by al-Yuḥānisī, if it did take place, can be divided into two types. On the one hand, there is violence exercised personally against blasphemers, all of them Christians. The saint meted out such 'justice' and was the one who both ordered the retribution and carried it out. On the other hand, there is violence in the form of punishments and death sentences meted out to others, all of them Muslims, as a result of the saint's fury and displeasure. This kind of violence is well documented in the hagiographic sources.

It should be stressed that the violence of al-Yuḥānisī was much more visible during his process of religious conversion, during his stay in the Mashriq, where the conflicts between Muslims and Christians were evident, than when he finally attained sainthood. It would also be necessary to enquire about the sort of case that would justify the use of violence. Certainly, this use of violence is more visible in the cases of *unbelief*, but what happens in cases of *disbelief* in the condition of sainthood itself? The *Tuhfa* does not refer to cases of violence due to disbelief, although this is an aspect that merits further attention through the study of other hagiographic sources.

Faced with these manifestations of violence, the hagiographic sources not only justify all the violent acts committed by al-Yuḥānisī, murder included, but they also present al-Yuḥānisī to society as an 'example to follow', and indeed as a 'hero'. It should be made clear that the cases of murder, if they really took place, only occur in relation to al-Yuḥānisī and only in the work in which he is the protagonist, *Tuhfat al-mughtarib*; for these cases are not reported in other similar sources, or at least not in any to which I have had access. Finally, we must take into account that all these violent stories are narrated by al-Yuḥānisī himself.

<sup>70</sup> See similar stories in al-Sadafī, *al-Sirr al-masūn*, 53, 78.