

UNSPOKEN WORLDS

Women's Religious Lives

Third Edition

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Women, Saints, and Sanctuaries in Morocco

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. . . The next morning I went to see my mother. I had a snack with her and the children and then I went to spend the day at the Marabout [a sanctuary]. I lay down there and slept for a very long time.

Q *Do you go to the Marabout often?*

A Yes, quite often. For example, I prefer to go there on the days of *Aïd* [religious fes-

tivals]. When one has a family as desperate as mine, the shrine is a haven of peace and quiet. I like to go there.

Q *What do you like about the shrine? Can you be more precise?*

A Yes. The silence, the rugs, and the clean mats which are nicely arranged . . . the sound of the fountain in the silence. An

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Author's Note: Gathering of historical data on saints, mainly female saints, was done with the collaboration and critical supervision of the Moroccan historian Halima Ferhat, a Maitre de Conférence at the University Mohammed V.

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enormous silence where the sound of water is as fragile as thread. I stay there hours, sometimes whole days.

Q *The day of Aid it must be full of people.*

A Yes, there are people, but they are lost in their own problems. So they leave you alone. Mostly it's women who cry without speaking, each in her own world.

Q *Aren't there any men at the shrine?*

A Yes, but men have their side, women theirs. Men come to visit the shrine and leave very quickly; the women, especially those with problems, stay much longer.

Q *What do they do and what do they say?*

A That depends. Some are happy just to cry. Others take hold of the saint's garments and say, "Give me this, oh saint, give me that. . . ." "I want my daughter to pass her exam . . ." [she laughs]. You know the saints are men, human beings. But sometimes, imagine, the woman gets what she asks for! Then she brings a sacrifice . . . she kills an animal and prepares a meal of the meat and then offers it to the visitors. Do you know Sid El Gomri?

Q *No.*

A [laughs] Salé is full of shrines . . . full, full. You know, there is a proverb, "If you want to make a pilgrimage, just go around Salé barefooted . . ." [laughs]. They do say that . . . All of Salé is a shrine. There are so many that some don't have names [laughs]. My father is a native of Salé. He knows the shrines and talks a lot about them. When you are separated from someone or when you have a very bad fight, the saint helps you overcome your problem. When I go I listen to the women. You see them tell everything to the tomb and mimicking all that took place. Then they ask Sid El Gomri to help them get out of the mess. They cry, they scream. Then they get hold

of themselves and come back, join us, and sit in silence. I like the shrine.

Q *Are you ever afraid?*

A Afraid of what? In a shrine, what a question! I love shrines.

Q *And when do you go?*

A They are shut in the evenings except for those that have rooms, like Sidi Ben Achir, for example. You can rent a room there and you can stay a long time.

Q *Rent a room for how much?*

A Oh, fifteen dirhams.¹

Q *Fifteen dirhams a night?!*

A No, for ten dirhams you can stay as long as you like, even a month. You know, they call Sidi Ben Achir a doctor. Sick people come with their family; they rent a room and stay until they are well. You know, it's not Sidi Ben Achir that cures them, it's God, but they think it's Sidi Ben Achir.

Q *Can anybody rent a room?*

A Not any more. Now you have to have the authorization of the *Mokkadem* [local officials]. They want to know where you live and be sure that you are really sick. Once a woman rented a room and told them she had a sick person, but it was her lover. Since then they've made renting rooms more difficult.

Q *Are there young people your own age at the shrine?*

A Yes, but they don't come for the shrine, only for the view. A lot of young men from the neighborhood come to the shrine for picnics during the spring and summer. You should see the shrine then: the Hondas, the motors roaring, the boys all dressed up, the girls with short skirts, all made up and suntanned. It's beautiful. It's relaxing . . . the silence inside of the shrine, and life outside . . . it's crawling

with young people. You know they have even made a slide in the wall that goes down to the beach. I will show it to you when we go. It's faster. You jump off the rampart, go down the slide and you're on the beach. You know some people come to the shrine during the summer for their vacations instead of going to a hotel where you pay ten or fifteen dirhams a day. In the shrine a whole family pays fifteen or twenty dirhams a week or month. It's especially the people who live outside of the city and come from far away, the north, the south, all corners of Morocco. For them the shrine is ideal for vacations. The old people can pray and the young can go to the beach. In the summer I meet people from all over Morocco. It's as if I were in Mecca, but I'm in Salé! You must come and see it. We can go in the summer if you want, it's more pleasant. You don't have to come to pray, you can just come and look. I told you, when I go to the shrine its not to pray. I never ask for anything. When I want something I'll ask God directly, but not the saint . . . he's a human being like I am.

This excerpt from an interview with a twenty-year old maid, who works in a luxurious, modern part of Salé and lives in its *bidonville* section, suggests the great variety of experiences which take place in the sanctuary according to individual needs. Although they vary throughout the *Maghreb* (North Africa) from a humble pyramid of stones to a pretentious palace-like building,² all sanctuaries have one element in common: the saint's presence is supposed to be hosted there, because it is his tomb, a place he inhabited, or the site of an event in his life. The sanctuary testifies to the saint's welcomed presence in the community, but as an institution in a dynamic developing society it also reflects the society's economic and ideological contradictions.

SANCTUARIES AS THERAPY

For women, the sanctuary offers a dramatic contrast to their subordinate position in a bureaucratic, patriarchal society where decision-making positions are held by men. In the courts and hospitals, women hold a classically powerless position, condemned to be subjects, receptacles of impersonal decisions, executors of orders given by males. In a public hospital, the doctor is the expert, the representative of the bureaucratic order, empowered by the written law to tell her what to do; the illiterate woman can only execute his orders. In the diagnosis process, she expresses her discomfort in awkward colloquial Arabic and realizes, because of the doctor's impatience and irritation, that she cannot provide him with the precise, technical information he needs. Moreover, the hospital is a strange, alien setting, a modern building full of enigmatic written signs on doors and corridors, white-robed, clean, and arrogant civil servants who speak French for all important communications and only use Arabic to issue elementary orders (come here, go there, take off your dress, etc.).

In comparison to the guardians who stand at the hospital's gates and in its offices, the saint's tomb is directly accessible to troubled persons. Holding the saint's symbolical drape or another object like a stone or a tree, the woman describes what ails her, and it is she who makes the diagnosis, suggests the solution or solutions which might suit her, and explains to the saint the one she prefers. Saints know no French and often no literate Arabic; the language of this supernatural world is colloquial dialects, Berber or Arabic, the only ones women master. The task of the saint is to help her reach her goal. She will give him a gift or a sacrifice only if he realizes her wishes, not before. With a doctor, she has to buy the prescription first and has no way of retaliating if the medicine does not have the proper effect. It is no wonder, then, that in

spite of modern health services, women still go to the sanctuaries in swarms, before they go to the hospital, or simultaneously, or after. Saints give women vital help that modern public health services cannot give. They embody the refusal to accept arrogant expertise, to submit blindly to authority, to be treated as subordinate. This insistence on going to saints' tombs exemplifies the North African woman's traditional claim that she is active, can decide her needs for herself and do something about them, a claim that the Muslim patriarchal system denies her. Visits to and involvement with saints and sanctuaries are two of the rare options left to women to *be*, to shape their world and their lives. And this attempt at self-determination takes the form of an exclusively female collective endeavor.

In the sanctuaries, there are always more women than men. They speak and shout with loud voices as if they are the secure owners of the premises. Men, although allowed in, often have to shorten their *Ziara* (visit) because they are overwhelmed by the inquisitive and curious looks of ubiquitous female visitors. Women gather around each other at the saint's supposed tomb and feel directly in contact with a sacred source of power that reflects their own energies. Distressed and suffering, these women have a very important bond: the will to find a solution, to find a happier balance between themselves and their surroundings, their fate, the system that thwarts them. They know they are *wronged* (*Madluma*) by the system. Their desire to find an answer to their urgent needs is a desire to regain their rights. That other women are in exactly the same situation creates a therapeutic network of communication among them.

When a woman enters the sanctuary, she goes directly to the tomb, walking over the stretched feet of sitting women, the stretched bodies of sleeping women. If women have already cried and screamed, they often lie in a fetal position with their heads on the floor. The newly arrived woman will put her hand

on the tomb, or on the drape over it, and will explain her problem either in a loud voice or silently. She might go into great detail about her son who failed his examination or was driven away from her by his bride. When describing an intimate fight with her husband, the woman will mimic what happened, name the actors, explain their gestures and attitudes. After she has expressed her needs, she will come to sit among the other women. Eventually, they will gather around her, ask her more details, and offer her the only expertise these women have: experience in suffering. Outraged by her situation and encouraged by this female community, the woman may fall on the floor and scream, twisting her body violently. Some women will rush to her, hold her, hug her, soothe her by talking to her about their own cases and problems. They will massage her forehead, cool her off with a drink of water, and replace on her head her displaced headgear or scarf. She recovers quickly, regains her composure, and leaves the scene to the next newcomer. Undeniably therapeutic, the sanctuary stimulates the energies of women against their discontent and allows them to bathe in an intrinsically female community of soothers, supporters, and advisors.

SANCTUARIES AS ANTIESTABLISHMENT ARENAS

It is primarily as an informal women's association that the sanctuary must be viewed. It is not a religious space, a mistake which is often made. Most saint's sanctuaries are not mosques. With very few exceptions, they are not places where official orthodox Muslim prayer takes place. As Dermingham remarks,

In principle, the *cubba* is not a mosque (*Mesjid*) where one does *soujouid*, the prostration of ritual prayer (*çala*), even less so, the *Fam'*, the cathedral mosque where Friday service is held. One can do the *dou'a*,

prayer of supplication and optional invocation, but not the *sala*, sacramental prayer before a grave.³

The institution of saints that is enacted in the sanctuary has an evident antiorthodox, anti-establishment component which has been the object of a prolific literature. But studies of the woman-saint relation have placed excessive emphasis on its magical aspect. Western scholars who investigated the institution were fascinated by the "paralogical" component of the "Moroccan personality structure" and the importance of magical thinking patterns in the still heavily agrarian Moroccan economy and paid little attention to what I would call the phenomenological aspect, namely, what the practitioners themselves derive from their involvement with the saint and the sanctuary.

Such practices have also been interpreted as evidence of the mystical thinking of primitives as opposed to the secularity of the modern mind. As Mary Douglas points out,

Secularization is often treated as a modern trend attributable to the growth of cities or to the prestige of science, or just to the breakdown of social forms. But we shall see that it is an age-old cosmological type, a product of a definable social experience, which need have nothing to do with urban life or modern science. Here it would seem that anthropology has failed to hold up the right reflecting mirror to contemporary man. The contrast of secular with religious has nothing whatever to do with the contrast of modern with traditional or primitive. The idea that primitive man is by nature deeply religious is nonsense The illusion that all primitives are pious, credulous and subject to the teaching of priests or magicians has probably done even more to impede our understanding of our civilization.⁴

Women, in particular, who are always the ones to be kept illiterate (and 97 percent of

rural Moroccan women still are),⁵ are described as simple-minded, superstitious creatures, incapable of sophisticated thinking, who indulge in esoteric mysticism. This view of women has gained even greater support with the advent of the development and nascent industrialization in Third World economies. If women in industrialized societies are granted some capacity for rational thinking, women in Third World societies are still described as enthralled in magical thinking, despite the fact that their societies are leaping into a modernity enraptured with rationality, technology, and environmental mastery.

SAINTHOOD AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO MALE-DEFINED FEMININITY

Far from magical, a visit to a saint's tomb, an ongoing relation with a supernatural creature, can be a genuine attempt to mediate one's place in the material world. Interaction with the saint can represent an effort to experience reality fully:

The sacred is the real *par excellence*, at one and the same time power, efficiency, source of life and fertility. The religious desire to live within the sacred is in fact equivalent to the desire to be in objective reality, not to be paralyzed by endless and purely subjective experience, but to live in a world which is real and efficient, and not illusory.⁶

At bottom, women in an unflinchingly patriarchal society seek through the saint's mediation a bigger share of power, of control. One area in which they seek almost total control is reproduction and sexuality, the central notions of any patriarchal system's definition of women, classical orthodox Islam included.⁷ Women who are desperate to find husbands, women whose husbands have sexual problems, women who have lost their husband's love or their own reproductive capacities go to

the saint to get help and find solutions. One of the important functions of sanctuaries is precisely their involvement with sexuality and fertility. Indeed, if power can be defined as "the chance of a person or a number of persons to realize their own will in a communal action, even against the resistance of others, who are participating in the action,"⁸ then women's collaboration with saints is definitely a power operation. Excluded from ritualistic orthodox religion, women walking in processions around saints' tombs express their quest for power in the vast horizons of the sacred space, untouched, unspoiled by human authority and its hierarchies:

Some pale young girls throw red flowers into the spring, others sugar or honeycombs, so that their voice may become sweet, spiritual, persuasive. The women who throw musk dream of being loved. . . . None goes to the spring without henna, without benjamin. While burning her green or red candle, the virgin says, 'Master of the spring, light my candle' which means 'marry me,' or else 'give me splendid health.' The power to which they speak is capable of granting them all the goods of the world: life, strength, fortune, love, children.⁹

Now this quest for power that underlies the woman-saint relation is further confirmed by the fact that there are women saints who occupy a preeminent place and who specialize in solving problems of sexuality and reproduction.¹⁰ They assume what Freud would certainly have called a phallic role and function. Some female saints go beyond the stage of penis envy and reverse traditional patriarchal relations: they are the ones who give penises to men suffering from sexual disturbances; such is the case of the Algerian female saint, Lalla Nfissa.¹¹ But this is not their only function. Unlike the emphasized passivity of women in the material, real world, supernatural women lead intensively active lives, perform all kinds of acts, from benign motherly

protection to straightforward aggression, such as rape of men.¹² These women in the supernatural realm do not respect the traditional Muslim sexual division of labor which excludes women from power in religion and politics. In the supernatural realm, women may refuse to assume domestic roles and play active roles in both religion and politics.

In one of the most respected saint's biographies, the thirteenth-century *At-Tasawwuf Ila Rijal At-Tasawwuf*,¹³ the biographer, Abu Yaqub At Tadili, makes no specific reference to the fact that some saints were women: they enjoy exactly the same rights and privileges and assume the same characteristics as male saints. At one point, a woman saint, Munia Bent Maymoun Ad-Dukali, says, "This year, hundreds of women saints visited this sanctuary." At another, a male insists that, "In Al Masamida [a region], there were twenty-seven saints who have the power to fly in the air, among whom fourteen are women."¹⁴

Female saints seem to fall into two categories, those who are saints because they were the sisters, wives, or daughters of a saint¹⁵ and those who were saints in their own right.¹⁶ Many of these saints have strikingly "unfeminine" personalities and interests. Imma Tiffelent, for example, literally fled her domestic condition:

Not wanting to marry, Imma Tiffelent took the shape of a dove, escaped, and became a prostitute. . . . Twenty-seven young men disappeared after having loved her. Then she became an ascetic, in a hut, at the top of the mountain. . . . Ragged, unkempt, she preached religion in the valley, returned to her hut, shed even her rags, lived nude, and prophesied. It is forbidden to touch the trees around her grave, to kill the birds, to take the partridge eggs from the nest.¹⁷

The same identical flight from patriarchal "womanhood" can be seen in Sida Zohra El Kouch, "who was as wise as she was beautiful,

resisted Moulay Zidane, died a virgin, and was visited only by women."¹⁸ No less important, a prolific body of literature shows a number of female saints played important roles in the political arena.¹⁹ One of the most famous is certainly the Berber saint Lalla Tagurrami, who played a strategic role in her region's history as a referee in conflicts between tribes and between tribes and the central authority.²⁰ Politically, she was so influential and successful that the king imprisoned her:

As she was among the most beautiful girls of the village, she was sought after for marriage, but refused all suitors. . . . Her reputation as a saint grew and extended far. The sultan wanted to meet Lalla Aziza and asked her to come to Marrakesh. Once there, she continued to distinguish herself by her piety and the good she did. She was very honored, but her influence became so great that the sultan took offense and had Lalla thrown into prison. She was poisoned and died.²¹

It is of course possible that her fate was devised by myth tellers to discourage other women from taking such paths.

MALE SAINTS AS ANTIHEROES

Male saints, on the other hand, were profoundly concerned with what we would call a housework issue: how to eat without exploiting somebody else's work. Most analyses of the saints' lives fail to emphasize their constant preoccupation with food and its preparation; that they walk on water, fly in the skies, are given more weight than their efforts not to exploit the traditional domestic labor force available—women. Around this question clustered all other issues, such as the repudiation of possessions, privileges, political power, and the condemnation of wars and violence, the very characteristics of a phallogocentric system.

Most saints fled urban centers and their sophisticated exploitative lives, tried hunting, fishing, gathering, and cooking for themselves.²² Some fasted as often as they could²³ and trained themselves to eat very little; one went as far as to feed himself on one mouthful.²⁴ Still others had supernatural help which ground their own wheat or simply which gave them food.²⁵ They all tried to do without housework and to avoid food cooked by others,²⁶ and they also tried, to the community's dismay, to perform daily domestic chores themselves, such as taking the bread to the neighborhood oven.²⁷ One of the most famous of saints, Bou Yazza, went so far as to assume the appearance of a female domestic and to serve a woman for months.²⁸

Some saints have families and children, some abstain and live in celibacy. But those who marry are unsuccessful fathers and husbands and live like embarrassed heads of families who can't provide properly for their dependents.²⁹ Others, especially elderly saints, did not hesitate to renounce their marital rights when these appeared to be totally opposed to the woman's happiness.³⁰ They definitely did not play the patriarchal role well. Among those who did not marry, one saint explained he was afraid to be unjust to his wife;³¹ for him, apparently, marriage was an unjust institution to women. Another said he saw a beautiful woman walking down the street and thought he was in paradise; she was exactly like a *houri*, females provided to good Muslim believers in paradise.³² Although he secluded himself because he was afraid females would turn him away from God,³³ he did not identify them with the devil, as classical Muslim ideology does, but with paradise, the most positive aspect of Muslim cosmogony.³⁴ Another saint fainted when he found himself alone with a woman in a room,³⁵ an unmasculine gesture to say the very least. Indeed, all these fears are not those of a self-confident, patriarchal male.

Like the women who come to visit their sanctuaries, a large number of saints were of humble origin and were involved in manual or physical activities as shepherds, butchers, or doughnut makers.³⁶ Others had no jobs and lived off nature, eating wild fruits, roots, or fish. Some saints were learned men, even judges, who refused to use their knowledge to obtain influential positions and accumulate wealth, or even to teach,³⁷ and encouraged illiterates to be proud of their illiteracy. Like the women in the sanctuaries, however, many of them were illiterates. They reminded their communities, which respected them, of their illiteracy,³⁸ perhaps in order to demystify knowledge as a prerequisite for decision-making positions. Moulay Bou Azza made a point of not speaking literate or even colloquial Arabic.³⁹ Moulay Ábdallah Ou Said, for example, tried to practice a teaching method for the masses "without the intervention of written texts."⁴⁰ Although it shocked the learned mandarins, the illiterate female saint Lalla Mimouna constantly insisted she did not use the customary complicated Koranic verses in her prayers because she did not know them. "Mimouna knows God and God knows Mimouna"⁴¹ was the prayer she invented. This resistance to hierarchical knowledge is a persistent characteristic of saints' lives and their battles, which finds sympathy with the oppressed of the new developing economies: the illiterates, who are predominantly women. It is, therefore, no wonder that in the disintegrating agrarian economies of the Maghreb, sanctuaries, among all institutions, are almost the only ones women go to spontaneously and feel at home in. The sanctuary offers a world where illiteracy does not prevent a human being from being a wholesome, thinking, and reasonable person.

The psychic and emotional value of women's experience in sanctuaries is uncontested and evident. Sanctuaries, which are the locus of antiestablishment, antipatriar-

chal mythical figures, provide women with a space where complaint and verbal vituperations against the system's injustices are allowed and encouraged. They give women the opportunity to develop critical views of their condition, to identify problems, and to try to find their solution. At the same time, women invest all of their efforts and energies in trying to get a supernatural force to influence the oppressive structure on their behalf. This does not affect the formal power structure, the outside world. It has a collective therapeutic effect on the individual women visitors, but it does not enable them to carry their solidarity outside, to affect the system and shape it to suit their own needs. For these needs spring from their structural economic reliance on males and on the services they must give them in exchange: sex and reproduction. The saint in the sanctuary plays the role of the psychiatrist in the capitalist society, channeling discontent into the therapeutic processes and thus depriving it of its potential to combat the formal power structure. Saints, then, help women adjust to the oppression of the system. The waves of resentment die at the sanctuary's threshold. Nothing leaves with the woman except her belief that her contact with the saint triggered mechanisms which are going to affect the world, change it, and make it suit her conditions better. In this sense, sanctuaries are "happenings" where women's collective energies and combative forces are invested in alienating institutions which strive to absorb them, lower their explosive effect, neutralize them. Paradoxically, the arena where popular demonstrations against oppression, injustice, and inequality are most alive become, in developing economies, the best ally of unresponsive national bureaucracies. Encouragement of traditional saints' rituals by administrative authorities who oppose any trade unionist or political movement is a well-known tactic in Third World politics.

Notes

1. A dirham is roughly equivalent to \$0.20 (U.S. dollars).
2. Emile Derminghem, "Les Edifices," in *Le Culte des saints l' Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954): p. 113.
3. "En principe, la cubba n'est pas une mosquée, Mesjid, où l'on fait le soujou'd, la prosternation de la prière rituelle, çala, encore moins, la Jam', la mosquée cathédrale où se fait l'office du vendredi. On peut faire la dou'a, prière de demande et d'invocation facultative, mais non la sala, prière sacramentale devant un tombeau." Ibid.
4. Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Exploration in Cosmology* (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1973), p. 36.
5. *Recensement général de la population et de l'habitat, 1971* (Rabat: Direction de la statistique, Ministère de Planification, 1971), 3:5. The illiteracy rate is evaluated to be 75 percent for rural women between the ages of ten and twenty-four and between 93 percent and 97 percent for older women.
6. "Le sacré c'est le réel par excellence, à la fois puissance, efficence, source de vie et de fécondité. Le désir de l'homme religieux de vivre dans le sacré équivaut en fait à son désir de se situer dans la réalité objective, de ne pas se laisser paralyser par la réalité sans fin des expériences purement subjectives, devivre dans un monde réel et efficient et non pas dans une illusion." Mircea Eliade, *Le Sacré et le profane* (Paris: Gallimard, 1965), p. 27.
7. Fatima Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1975), esp. the chapter entitled, "The Traditional Muslim View of Women and Their Place in the Social Order."
8. Max Weber, *From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology*, trans. and ed. with an introduction by H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 180.
9. "Des jeunes filles pâles jettent dans la source des fleurs rouges, d'autres du sucre, des rayons de miel, pour que leur parole devienne douce, spirituelle, persuasive. Les femmes qui y lancent du musc rêvent de se faire aimer . . . nul ne s'y rend sans henné, sans benjoin." En brûlant son cerge vert ou rose, la vierge dit, "Maître de la source, allumesmoi mon cerge" ce qui veut dire "mariez-moi," ou encore "donnez-moi une santé brillante." La puissance à laquelle on s'adresse est capable de donner tous les biens de ce monde: vie, force, fortune, amour, enfants." Desparmet, "Le Mal magique," in Derminghem, p. 44.
10. Léon L'Africain, *Description de l'Afrique*, trans. from Italian by A. Epaulard Adrien (Paris: Maison Neuve, 1956), p. 216; and E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger: Typographica Adolphe Jourdan, 1908), chap. 1, p. 31.
11. Derminghem, p. 43.
12. Vincent Crapanzano, "The Transformation of the Eumenides: A Moroccan Example" (unpublished manuscript, Princeton University, 1974), and "Saints, Jinns and Dreams: An Essay on Moroccan Ethnopsychology" (unpublished manuscript, Princeton University, Department of Anthropology).
13. Abu Yaqub Yusuf Ibn Yahya At-Tadili, *At-Tasawwuf Ila R'jal At-Tasawwuf; vie de saints du sud Marocain des V, VI, VIIIème siècles de l'Hégire. Contribution à l'étude de l'histoire religieuse du Maroc*, ed. A. Faure (Rabat: Editions Techniques Nord Africaines, 1958). I will refer to this work as *Tasawaf* and cite the number of each saint's biography.
14. *Tasawaf*, no. 160, p. 312; no. 209, p. 397.
15. See *Tasawaf*, no. 240, p. 431; no. 7, p. 70; no. 25, p. 111; and Derminghem, Lalla Mimouna, p. 68; Lalla Aicha, p. 125, Mana Aicha, p. 107.
16. See *Tasawaf*, no. 160, p. 312, no. 209, p. 397; no. 207, p. 394; no. 210, p. 398; no. 167, p. 331.
17. "Ne voulant pas se marier, Imma Tiffelent s'échappa sous forme de colombe et se fit prostituée dans la montagne. . . . Vingt-sept jeunes gens disparurent après l'avoir aimée. Puis elle devint ascète, dans une hutte, au sommet de la montagne . . . déguenillée, hirsute, elle prêche la religion dans la vallée, revint à sa hutte, quitte même ses haillons, vit nue, prophétise. Il est interdit de toucher aux arbres autour de sa tombe, de tuer les oiseaux, de dénicher les oeufs de perdrix." Trumelet, "Blida," and "Saints de l'Islam," as quoted in Derminghem, p. 53.
18. "qui fut aussi savante que belle, résista à Moulay Zidane, mourut vierge, et n'est visitée que par les femmes." Derminghem, p. 49.
19. Jacques Berque, *Structures sociales du Haut Atlas* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955), p. 296.
20. Ibid., pp. 281, 286.
21. "Comme elle était parmi les plus belles jeunes filles du village, elle fut recherchée pour le mariage, mais refusa tous les prétendants. La réputation de sainte de la jeune fille en grandit et s'étendit au loin. Le sultan voulut connaître Lalla Aziza et la fit demander à Marrakech. Elle s'y rendit et continua dans la ville à se faire remarquer par sa piété et par le bien qu'elle faisait autour d'elle. Elle fut très

honorée, mais son influence devint tellement grande que le sultan en prit ombrage et Lalla Aziza fut jetée en prison. Elle mourut empoisonnée." Ibid., p. 290.

22. *Tasawaf*, no. 73, p. 186; no. 67, p. 170; no. 13, p. 88; no. 87, p. 217; no. 12, p. 86; no. 59, p. 162.
23. *Tasawaf*, no. 68, p. 76; no. 96, p. 228; no. 33, p. 124.
24. *Tasawaf*, no. 25, p. 111.
25. *Tasawaf*, no. 93, p. 223; no. 63, p. 171; no. 54, p. 156.
26. *Tasawaf*, no. 62, p. 166; no. 132, p. 184.
27. *Tasawaf*, no. 93, p. 224; no. 77, p. 197; no. 162, p. 321.
28. *Tasawaf*, no. 77, p. 200.
29. *Tasawaf*, no. 92, p. 222; no. 51, p. 152; no. 48, p. 144; no. 34, pp. 125-26.
30. *Tasawaf*, no. 99, p. 233; no. 56, p. 158.
31. *Tasawaf*, no. 45, p. 141.
32. *Koran*, Sourate 44, verses 53-54.
33. *Tasawaf*, no. 84, p. 214.
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35. *Tasawaf*, no. 94, p. 224.
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37. *Tasawaf*, no. 17, p. 95; no. 69, p. 178; no. 6, p. 69.
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39. V. Loulignac, *Un Saint Berbère—Moulay Bou Azza; Histoire et légende* (Rabat: Hesperis, 1946), 31:29.
40. Jean Chaumel, *Histoire d'une tribu maraboutique de l'Anti-Atlas, le Aït Abdallah ou Said*, vol. 39, 1er et 2ème trimestre (Rabat: Hesperis, 1952), p. 206.
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* Selections primarily from a list compiled by Mary Jo Lakeland for the 1987 edition of Dr. Mernissi's book *Beyond the Veil* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press).