Chapter 2

Historiography of the Jihad movement in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Maghrib al-Aqṣā and its nationalist interpretation in Morocco:
Literature Review

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Abstract

This paper addresses the literature concerning the Jihad movement in Maghrib al-Aqṣā region against the Christian invasion of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In so doing, it shows that scholars since the protectorate period have interpreted this movement as a precursor to twentieth-century Moroccan nationalist movements against foreign colonial rule by supposing parallelism between the two periods. This interpretation, which is presently still influential, has its origins in the colonial historical discourses of the country.

Keywords:

Introduction

This paper reviews the literature concerning the Jihad movement of the Maghrib al-Aqṣā region, which roughly corresponds to Morocco today, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Since the late nineteenth century, scholars have tried to understand the political changes that occurred during this period. By analysing the academic debates between historians about interpretations of the movement, I demonstrate the emergence of a nationalist interpretation of the events among scholars of the protectorate period and its reception by those after Moroccan independence in 1956.

Scholars have pointed out the importance of the two centuries in the history of the region. For example, Jacques Berque (1957) affirmed, in the context of the changes that occurred in the social configuration of the country, that 'we cannot stress too much about the great moment, the moment which, above all, created the North African societies, which is the sixteenth-century'. While it is necessary to avoid insisting on too much on a

discontinuity between the periods before and after this century, the period also saw significant changes in the political systems of North Africa, among which was the establishment of the Saʿdī Sharīf dynasty.

In this period, the Christian kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula, especially the kingdom of Portugal, launched offensives against the Maghrib al-Aqṣā region and occupied a large part of its coastal areas. The encroachment of the infidels provoked diverse reactions by the Muslims according to their historical situations. However, their traditional historical narratives before the protectorate period tended to focus on Jihad activities, i.e. military actions of a religious nature against the Christian enemies.

Many scholars have considered the establishment of the Saʿdī dynasty in the first half of the sixteenth century a result of this Jihad movement against the Christian invasions. On this point, Moroccan and Western literature concur.[1] However, opinions diverge on the interpretation of the Jihad movement, as the Moroccan literature keeps supposing the framework of the Moroccan Nation for the interpretation of the event. It also sees the movement which enabled the Sharīfs to access the throne as essentially nationalist in nature, as it considers their success a result of the desire of Moroccan people affected by the national consciousness for a leader capable of waging Jihad against the infidels.

This nationalist interpretation of the Jihad movement may have been understandable for a period just after the independence of the country, as Benhima (2014) argued. However, it still prevails among Moroccan scholars. Because of an intense focus on the Saʿdī resistance against the foreign invaders, in my opinion, they often fail to examine various aspects of the Muslim-Christian relationships of the period that ranged from open hostility to mutual collaboration.

In what follows, the paper examines the historiography of the Jihad movement. First, it exposes the formation of the classical theories regarding the issue in the protectorate period. Second, it reviews the Western literature after the independence of Morocco. Then it analyses the Moroccan literature of the same period with a focus on the role of the national consciousness in the interpretation of the Jihad movement. My demonstration in each chapter does not always follow the chronological order.

The Orientalist literature of the colonial period for the Jihad movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

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[1] I use the adjective 'Western' to mean what relates not only to scholars from Western countries, but also to those affiliated with or having a career grounded in Western academic traditions. The distinction between the two groups cannot always be clear-cut.

This chapter examines how Orientalist scholars of the colonial period wrote the history of the Jihad movement and the establishment of the Saʿdī Sharīf dynasty. It is noteworthy that in this period, some scholars had already associated the political events in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries with the existence of a national consciousness through which to interpret them.

Although European authors had written some books about the history concerning the Maghrib al-Aqṣā region before the eighteenth century, they lacked scientific values except for those contemporary to the authors. It was Ernest Mercier, a French politician and historian in nineteenth-century Algeria, who first took an interest in the Jihad movement and the rise of Saʿdī power and scientifically wrote their history using both European and Arabic documents. In his three-volume work on the history of North Africa, which vindicated French colonisation in the region, Mercier regarded the period after the fifteenth century as the foundational period of true feudalism. He argued that in this period, Sufi saints (Marabouts) began to form religious centres in the countryside and became influential among the inhabitants nearby. That is why the Muslims of the Sūs region in the south of the Maghrib al-Aqṣā region sought help from the local saints when the Portuguese occupied the littoral area of the region, but the Sultan of Fez in the north could not procure any help for them. Relying on a Chronicle of al-Ifrānī, which was published in 1889 by Octave Houdas, a famous French Orientalist, he cited some stories relating the election of a Saʿdī Sharīf as a leader of the inhabitants of Sūs region at the recommendation of the saints (Mercier 1889–91, 3: 9–11). Thus, the three elements explaining the establishment of the Saʿdī dynasty were already in his work: Jihad, Sharīfism, and Sufism.

The colonial historiography of this issue developed substantially with the studies by August Cour of the Saʿdī and ʿAlawī Sharīf dynasties (1904) and the Waṭṭāsid dynasty (1920). Using abundant Arabic sources, he described the process in which the Saʿdī Sharīfs became the leaders of the Jihad movement in the Sūs region more richly than Mercier. His studies have the characteristic of emphasising the roles of the Shādhiliyyah Sufi order, and especially Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī, a famous master of the order and a Sharīf, and his disciples in the political development of the region. By supposing the Sufis of the order as the supporters of the new Sharīf dynasty, and presenting them in opposition to the Sufis of the Qādiriyyah Sufi order as the supporters of the Waṭṭāsid dynasty and the Ottoman rule in Algeria, he schematized the relationships between politics and religion. Moreover, according to Cour's explanation, this schema overlapped with the differences in geographical, intellectual, and ideological tendencies between the Sufis of the two orders. By comparing the masters of the orders, he asserted that the

masters of the Qādiriyyah order, found in the eastern part of the country, were renowned scholars and were tolerant of the political authorities and social mores. On the other hand, he alleged, those of the Shādhiliyyah, found in the western part of the country, were unknown as scholars and were in opposition to the liberal policy of the sovereigns (Cour 1904, 12–17). His theory became prevalent and did not face severe criticism until the 1990s in Western literature.

In the 1930s, when the nationalist movement intensified with the famous Berber Dahir, scholars began to interpret the Jihad movement from a nationalist point of view. The representative of the scholars was a French historian and anti-colonial activist, Charles-André Julien. In his general history of North Africa, although generally based on Cour's studies, he posited religious and nationalistic sentiments behind the reactions of the Muslims to the Christian invasions. For example, he argued that the peril caused by the Christians had awakened nationalistic and religious fanaticism (*réveil de fanatisme nationaliste et religieux*). He also stated that Berber nationalism (*le nationalisme berbère*) had presented itself as the exaltation of Muslim fervour at the instigation of the masters of the Sufi lodges (zaouïa) after the destruction of Tetouan by the Spanish. The Waṭṭāsid dynasty is said to have utilised the nationalistic and religious movement (*movement nationaliste et religieux*) for its profit by conducting Jihad against the Portuguese (Julien 1931, 463–65). He considered the cause of the Sharīfs' success to be the support from the Sufi saints who had instigated the nationalist and religious sentiment of the Muslims and united them to wage Jihad under the leadership of the Sharīfs.

David Lopes, a Portuguese historian and specialist on the relationship between the Islamic world and Portugal, articulated a similar idea without using vocabulary like 'nationalistic' or 'nationalism'. In his conclusion to the survey of the history of Portuguese activities in Morocco, he explained the failure of Portuguese domination over the country through the long-entrenched existence of political unity and religion, among other factors. According to the author, the Muslims gathered together under the guidance of their religious leaders to wage holy war. It was the Sharīfs who created the movement, re-established the unity of Morocco, and expelled the Portuguese (Lopes 1939, 359–40).

Henri Terrasse, a historian of Islamic arts in the Andalus and Maghrib regions, in his *Histoire du Maroc*, also supported the idea that a kind of national consciousness (*une sorte de conscience nationale*) existed during the period of the Portuguese occupation in his synthesis of the French colonial historiography for Morocco. The author, however, emphasised its negative effect on the historical development of the region after that. While following the scheme of Cour, he explained the political and religious changes before the establishment of the Saʿdī dynasty as a reaction to the Portuguese conquest. In

his exposition, it was Marabouts who organised the Jihad movement instead of enfeebled central governments. This activity united the local political leaders, religious leaders, and Moroccan people and succeeded in stopping the Portuguese encroachment. The exasperation of the Muslim sentiment and the hatred against the Christians, however, resulted in helping Morocco to withdraw into itself. Moreover, the foreign policy of the Sharīf dynasties, despite its narrowness and blindness, received strong support within the country, which had become more xenophobic than ever (Terrasse 1949–50, 143–57).

Not all the Orientalists, however, adopted the nationalist interpretation of the Jihād movement. For example, Roger Le Tourneau, a famous French Orientalist and historian, showed no sympathy for the nationalist interpretation in his rich studies of the first generations of the Saʿdī Sharīfs and followed Cour's schema (Le Tourneau 1953; 1954). The author is known to have been a collaborator on the second edition of Julien's *Histoire de l'Afrique du nord*, which maintains the same stance as its first edition regarding the nationalist interpretation of the Jihad movement. Their collaboration seems not to have affected Le Tourneau's views on this point.

Western literature after independence

This chapter discusses the development of the Western literature regarding the Jihad movement after Moroccan independence. Until around the 1980s, scholars did not take much interest in the issue, with only a few exceptions. Some studies concerning the history of the Saʿdī period, such as the diplomatic histories of Andrew Hess (1978) and Dahiru Yahya (1981), borrowed from the theories of the protectorate period and summarised them in recounting the origins of the dynasty.

Jean Brignon's *Histoire du Maroc* aimed to provide the historical knowledge necessary for teachers and students of higher education to give lectures on Moroccan national history. In this book, the authors, three French and two Moroccan scholars, alleged that the Portuguese presence on national soil had exalted the national and religious resistance, but the Jihad movement was waged by the Sufi saints (Marabouts) and Sharīfs to the exclusion of the Marīnid Sultan from the beginning (Brignon 1967, 172–73).

In 1969, Andrej Dziubiński, a Polonaise historian, published his paper on the establishment of the Saʿdī dynasty. He based his work on that of scholars of the protectorate period regarding the historical situation of the Sūs region around the turn of the sixteenth century.[2] However, by using many contemporary documents, he succeeded in revealing that the tribal groups of the Sūs region had various relationships with the

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[2] It is regrettable that the author did not cite his sources in the introductory part of the paper.

Portuguese that were not limited to hostile ones, but included economic and political alliances according to the situation. Also, by using the social theory of Robert Montagne concerning the tribal alliances in the Anti-Atlas mountains called *leff*, he explained the rapid expansion of the Sharīfs' influence among the tribal societies of the region. In so doing, he was able to free himself from the traditions of both the colonial and nationalist historiographies (Dziubiński 1969).

Decades after the first publication of his *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Julien again discussed the history of European domination in Morocco: *Le Maroc face aux impérialismes, 1415–1956*. This book tried to examine the period extending from the Portuguese conquest of Ceuta in the fifteenth century to the end of French colonisation in the middle of the twentieth century comprehensively and regarded the Jihad movement as a form of resistance to colonialism and imperialism. In this explicit framework of the anti-colonial narrative, the author alleged that the movement of the Shādhiliyyah Sufi order had gained a nationalist character thanks to the activities of Muḥammad al-Jazūlī, who was regarded as a Berber from the Sūs region and contributed to the revival of the Jihad movement (Julien 1978). In so doing, he portrayed the history of Morocco after the fifteenth century as one of resistance to European imperialism.

António Dias Farinha, a specialist in the history of Morocco-Portugal relations, stated in his short paper about the establishment of the Sharīf dynasty that Sharīfism could have obtained national legitimacy through its victory over the Portuguese. He also divided Islam into two forms: the official, rational form based on royal power, the court, and large mosques, and assumed by the jurists on the one hand, and the popular, mystic, local form assumed by the saints and the Sufi orders on the other. The latter, according to the author, aspired to counter the Portuguese presence in the coastal areas of the country (Farinha 1983). Farinha (1990) also presented the idea that the rationalists of the cities, who were represented by the jurists, and the mystics of the countryside, who were represented by the Sufis, were antagonistic towards each other. He then alleged that the latter could be divided into the local (Marabouts), the regional (Sufi orders), and the national (Sharīfs) movements according to the geographical extent of their influence. In doing so, the author evaluated the Jihad movement of the Saʿdī Sharīfs as a nationalist movement. Farinha (1999) again linked the success of the Saʿdī Sharīfs with the Portuguese presence in the coastal areas of the country, as he stated that they could have utilised the popular discontent with the foreign presence catalysed by the Marabouts to unify the country in a struggle against the invader.

In the 1990s, the Jihad movement and establishment of the Saʿdī dynasty attracted interest from scholars. The most important contributions came from Mercedes

García-Arenal, a Spanish historian. She criticised the traditional interpretation of the establishment of the Saʿdī dynasty, which regarded it as a nationalist reaction to the Christian occupation of the coastal areas of Morocco. In her view, the interpretation particularly exposed its weakness when it came to the Saʿdī occupation of Fez because the city fiercely resisted to the occupation. In her examination of the event, she remarked on the continuous influence of Cour's two theories. The first opposed the Qādiriyyah order supporting the Waṭṭāsid dynasty against the Shādhiliyyah order which, in turn, was a supporter of the Sharīfs, especially the Saʿdīs. The second supposed the Andalusian emigrants after the fall of Granada to be hostile to the Waṭṭāsids and favourable to the Saʿdīs. However, she argued, both theories were unacceptable because neither the Sharīfs nor Andalusians formed a coherent political group during the period (García-Arenal 1990a). Following the study of Muḥammad al-Qablī as mentioned below, the author also revealed that the political movement of the Saʿdīs, which utilised the Mahdism, Sharīfism, and Jihad of the Jazūliyyah order for their propaganda, had already started before the aggravation of the Portuguese threat in the region. She pointed out that the Saʿdī Jihad had targeted not only the Portuguese but also the nomads allied with them who were oppressing the sedentary people in the 1510s. Thus, she stressed the importance of the Saʿdī success in mobilising Berber tribal people to the struggle against Arab nomads, recuperation of deserted arable lands, and control of trade routes by utilising existing ideologies and religious discourses (García-Arenal 1990b). The role of Mahdism in the history of Morocco was a subject of her other studies (García-Arenal 1990c; 1994).

Vincent Cornell, an American historian and specialist in the relationship between the political and religious authorities of the period, discussed a weak point of the World-Systems theory by addressing Jihad and the rise of the Saʿdī dynasty in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He argued that because of heavy reliance on the biased colonial literature, principal proponents of the theory failed to notice 'important social and economic transformations' that had occurred in the Maghrib al-Aqṣā region and might have been discoverable 'with works drawing Arabic primary sources' (Cornell 1990, 379–80). It could be considered an audacious assumption, as the authors of the works that Cornell used in his paper also relied largely, if not exclusively, on sources written in European languages for contemporary information. Moreover, by uncritically adopting the work of some scholars or citing their opinions to ground an argument that did not seem pertinent to theirs, he revealed several errors in the details.[3] The most relevant

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[3] To cite only one example, see his description about a Sufi saint in the Sūs region who is said to have, for many years, led raids against places occupied by the Portuguese (Cornell 1990, 397–98). To argue it, he cites Hajji (1976, 1: 42) who added much

problem for my paper, nonetheless, concerns his argument regarding the existence of Moroccan 'nationhood' or 'nation' during the period. In his opinion, '[t]he actual or projected acquisition by Saʿdid Morocco of stable, "internationally" recognized boundaries, territorial contiguity, a common ideology and culture, state control of the means of force, control over geopolitical jurisdiction, control over the means and types of production, control over the circulation of currency, and control over taxation and expenditure' on the whole signified the existence of a nation to many World-Systems theorists and demanded a major revision of the theory (Cornell 1990, 409). Although it seems problematic that these elements were found in the Saʿdī period, he contributed by introducing detailed studies that had been written mainly in French and Arabic to the broader context of the English historical investigation. The author also discussed the contribution of the Jazūliyyah Sufi order to the Saʿdī political ideology. In his view, the order's "Muḥammadan Reality" doctrine that masters of the order had developed since the middle of the fifteenth century enabled the Sufis to intervene in the political life of the region and help the Saʿdī Sharīfs assume power. However, after the establishment of the dynasty, they monopolised political authority by excluding the Sufis (Cornell 1998, Part 2, especially Ch. 8).

Bernard Rosenberger, a French historian, carefully tracked the activities of a Muslim commander (*qāʾid*) of the Dukkālah region, Yaḥyā U Tāʿfūft, who served the King of Portugal in the 1510s. He showed that the political struggles of the country in the period when the Saʿdī Sharīfs started their Jihad movement, despite their regional, tribal, and familial nature, were linked with the 'international' affairs of the time beyond the modern national framework, which makes it difficult to understand the conduct of the tribes. This study is also important as an objection to the limited occupation theory of the colonial period advocated by scholars such as Terrasse, according to whom Portugal took interest only in some coastal cities of Morocco for the control of trade routes and never intended to occupy the whole country (Rosenberger 1993). For the economic background of the Portuguese penetration to the country, see Rosenberger (2002).

While many scholars had analysed the Jihad movement of the sixteenth century to explain the success of the Saʿdī Sharīfs in consolidating their power, Weston F. Cook (1994), an American historian of military technology, investigated the political events of the period regarding the use of firearms in the region. This point of view enabled the author to find out that, contrary to the prevailing image of the Waṭṭāsid dynasty as too weak to wage Jihad against the Christians and having lost authority on behalf of the Saʿdīs,

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information that cannot be found in his source, perhaps to emphasise the role of Sufi as a Jihad warrior.

a premise for the nationalist interpretation, the Waṭṭāsids had succeeded in achieving more significant results than the Saʿdīs in this matter. It was the latter's offensive against the Waṭṭāsids in the 1520s and 1530s that prevented them from continuing their Jihad activities in the north.

　　After Moroccan independence, historical research about the Jihad movement and the rise of the Saʿdī power experienced decades of stagnation. During this period, scholars kept following Cour's explanatory schema and often adopted a nationalist interpretation of the preceding period. In the 1990s, scholars renewed interest in the issue and took into consideration new factors such as Mahdism, the roles of Sufi saints in the tribal society, political ideology based on Sufi doctrine, and military technology, to analyse the political changes. However, they seem to have lost interest in the issue afterwards. Moreover, there has been a tendency among Western scholars like Stephen Cory (2010, 454–455) and Daniel Rivet (2012, 202) to insist on the importance of the period following the Christian invasions in the formation of Moroccan national identity.[4] There is promising new research that re-examines Western literature and responds to recent Moroccan studies, which I will examine in the next chapter.

Moroccan literature after the independence

　　In this chapter, I review the studies of Moroccan historians with a focus on those after independence. In so doing, I show that many scholars still accept the nationalist interpretation of the Jihad movement that Orientalist scholars of the protectorate period, such as Julian, Lopes, and Terrasse, advanced. Moreover, some of the Moroccan historians even claim the nationalist interpretation to be exclusive or near-exclusive to the Moroccans.

　　Nonetheless, the nationalist interpretation had already appeared before independence. ʿAbd Allāh al-Gannūn, a Moroccan literature critic and historian, explained the establishment of the Saʿdī dynasty through a national aspiration (*umniyah waṭaniyyah*) for the organisation of the Jihad forces and their leadership to expel the Portuguese occupiers of the coastal areas (al-Gannūn 1938, 163).

　　Two leading Moroccan historians in the second half of the twentieth century, Mohammed Hajji and Mohammed El Menouni, alleged the existence of Moroccan national sentiment in the period of the Iberian occupations in their presentations in May

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[4] Daniel Rivet even cites a paper of Mohammed Hajji who argued that a religious party consisting of *marabout*s and scholars contributed to promoting a feeling of solidarity with the 'pre-existing Maghrib al-Aqsā entity' and precipitating the formation of a proto-nation in the region. I will examine Hajji's paper later.

1967. While pretending to approach this issue with the utmost objectivity and impartiality, Hajji tried to expose Morocco's 'very distinct personality during the Muslim period on the whole' concerning race, language, religion, and territory. Then he went on to mention the Portuguese and Spanish occupation of the country and the reaction of the 'Moroccan population', which, in his view, was visible evidence of the existence of a Moroccan 'national consciousness'. He insisted that 'the fighters for faith' had been 'mobilised for the defence of Moroccan national integrity' and had 'accomplished the task driven by true national sentiment' mixed with religious sentiment. He further claimed that the tombs of the areas that underwent the Portuguese and Spanish attacks were the tombs of martyr Marabouts, whom even Moroccans had forgotten and came to consider charlatans. The Sufi masters of the Jazūliyyah order were regarded to have constituted a national and religious force and supported the Saʿdī Sharīfs. Finally, the victory in the Battle of the Three Kings in 1578 was alleged to have been impossible without the existence of a national consciousness (Hajji 1968). El Menouni even argued that in the period of the Marīnid and the Waṭṭāsid dynasties, the national character (if such a 'national character' can be conceivable in reality) of modern Morocco regarding language, jurisprudence, and religion had been already formed. He also stressed that the resistance of Moroccan people to the Portuguese occupation and its success should be considered evidence of the existence of Moroccan national sentiment (El Menouni 1968). In sum, their arguments about the historical identity of the Moroccan nation are nothing but attempts to trace back the existence of a national consciousness to at least the beginning of the Saʿdī dynasty, and these discourses are an example of efforts to privilege certain parts of Moroccan national identity while marginalizing, or even excluding, others.

Abdallah Laroui, a historian of the social and cultural origins of Moroccan nationalism in the nineteenth century, took a rather cautious stance concerning the existence of Moroccan national sentiment in the period of the Saʿdī establishment of power in his famous essay on the history of the Maghrib region which was initially published in 1970. He regarded lodges of the Sufi orders as centres for the defensive war against the Iberian occupation and considered that the movement of the Sufis, which initially had not been directed against the existing central power, was mobilised to defeat it after the Saʿdī Sharīfs took the lead in the anti-Portuguese movement of the Jazūliyyah Sufi order. Then he went on to assess that Saʿdī power had depended on three elements: commerce with foreign countries, political support from the Sufi orders, and patriotic or religious fervour (Laroui 2001, 299–232). While describing the anti-Portuguese sentiment as 'patriotic' and citing Mohammed Hajji's opinion mentioned above in the footnote, he did not overtly endorse the existence of the national sentiment.

Muḥammad al-Qablī, a leading Moroccan medievalist, analysed the success of the Saʿdī Sharīfs through the social and economic factors of the tribal society in the south of the Maghrib al-Aqṣā region. In his paper first published in 1978, al-Qablī further explained why Saʿdī Sharīfs were chosen as the leaders of the Jihad as a result of a Marīnid policy concerning the Sufis and Sharīfs. The author believed that these two groups divided because people in the countryside, who were the Sufis' support base, had groaned under the heavy tax burden of the dynasty, while the Sharīfs had acquired tax exemption privileges, except for the Saʿdīs. After a Waṭṭāsid vizier united them in the first half of the fifteenth century to gain support from them, however, the Sharīfs of Fez rapidly gained power and caused the Revolution of Fez in 1465. After the failure of the event and the establishment of the Waṭṭāsid dynasty, the Sufis chose the Saʿdīs to resist the new dynasty because these Sharīfs were not 'the Sharīfs of the dynasty' who had enjoyed benefits from the rulers (Qablī 1987, 79–126). Later, the author turned to an issue of social and economic dissension in the tribal society of the Sūs region during the period of Portuguese occupation. Before the Saʿdīs came to the region, the settled people of the Anti-Atlas region and Arab nomads had conflicts regarding the use of land. While the nomads allied with the Portuguese for economic gain, 'Marabout fighters' supported the settled people and integrated the struggle against the nomads into the 'holy war' without success. He then claimed that the Saʿdīs challenged not only the nomads and the Portuguese but also the 'virtual complicity' of the Waṭṭāsids who were, in the author's view, the nomads' suzerains (Qablī 1986, 237–57). In his conclusion, he further emphasised the role of Mahdism and the militant Sufism of the Jazūliyyah order in the rise of the Saʿdī dynasty. He presented diverse actors like the countryside, cities, and Sufis as if they had formed groups with a common intention. However, it does not seem probable that all the Sufis of Maghrib al-Aqṣā region looked for Sharīfs capable of being their leader for a movement against the ruling dynasty. Also, he supposed the movement of the Saʿdīs to have been hostile to the Waṭṭāsid dynasty from the beginning. However, they publicly declared themselves vassals of the dynasty until around the time of their occupation of Marrakech. Moreover, the meaning of the dynasty's 'virtual complicity' with the nomads allied with the Portuguese is not clear. The author's theory depended on assumptions that do not seem to bear scrutiny and tacitly postulated a national framework for the understanding of the political events. Nonetheless, his efforts to explain the establishment of a new dynasty through political, social, and economic changes in the region without solely and directly relating to ideological or emotional factors can be highly appreciated. His argument influenced García-Arenal's studies mentioned in the preceding chapter.

Nonetheless, many Moroccan specialists in the history of the Saʿdī dynasty have expressly relied on the nationalist interpretation of the movement of the Saʿdī Sharīfs to explain their success. For example, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Kurayyim, a specialist in the history of the dynasty, supposed an expectation of reformers (*muṣliḥ*) for a new leading organisation and an equitable and faithful governor for Morocco as a reaction to the Christian occupation of the coastal area of Morocco. Then he claimed that it was realised with the beginning of a religious movement of the Saʿdīs in the Sūs region. Their principles consisted of adherence to Islam and the incitement of Jihad for the liberation of the nation and unification of its parts (*taḥrīr al-waṭan wa-tawḥīd ajzāʾi-hi*) (2006, 33). Based on studies of Brignon and Kurayyim, Muḥammad Fātiḥī (1984) described the activities of the first generations of the Sharīfs with the premise that their movement had started to organise the resistance against the Portuguese invaders occupying Morocco. He alleged that not only in the Sūs and Darʿah regions but also in other regions of Morocco, political movements aiming to organise the efforts to liberate the nation's land (*taḥrīr arḍ al-waṭan*) had happened.

As Fātiḥī's allegation suggests, the regional histories of the country were subject to the influence of the nationalist interpretation of the Jihad movement of the period. Aḥmad Būsharb, in his study of the Portuguese occupation of the Dukkālah region, raised a question about the nature of the resistance of the region's inhabitants to the invaders and asked, 'What incited these Jihad warriors (*mujāhidīn*) regardless of whether they were individuals or groups? Was it a Jihad or a result of the national consciousness (*waʿy bi-l-waṭaniyyah*)?' Then he alleged that while the foreign historians, whose identity the author did not specify, had negated the existence of the national consciousness, some Moroccan historians had tried to prove the contrary, and he referred to the studies of Mohammed Hajji and Mohammed el Menouni in the notes. However, as we have already seen, his allegation is not exact because, even during the protectorate period, French scholars had claimed its existence. Eventually, he did not commit himself to the question but insisted that it was not adequate to argue that the Moroccans had not known national consciousness (*waʿy qawmī*) only because the Europeans of the period did not know it (Būsharb 1984, 351; 370, note 14).

A long history of military struggles in the north of the country after the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 also became the object of the nationalist interpretation. A principal historian of the northern frontier during this period, Ḥasan al-Figīgī, asserted that the struggle from 1415 to 1912 against Ceuta was decisive proof of the birth of national consciousness (*al-waʿy al-waṭanī*) and its continuous development due to the crisis that had occurred because of the foreign presence in Moroccan territory. He even alleged that

there was no doubt that the national consciousness resisting foreign invasion was born just after the Portuguese conquest of Ceuta (al-Fiğīgī 2003, 69; 71). The author expressed the same opinion in the doctoral thesis that he first presented in 1991. In the conclusion of the study, he claimed that the resistance movement which was born in the first day of Portuguese occupation of Ceuta rapidly enlarged from a local one to a regional and national movement. Then he insisted, 'there is no room for doubt concerning the genesis of seeds of the national consciousness (*nashʾat budhūr al-waʿy al-waṭanī*) in the area' (al-Fiğīgī 2012, 357).

More recently, some Moroccan scholars have come to discuss the existence of not just a national consciousness but also the idea of a nation-state during the period of the Iberian occupations in the Maghrib al-Aqṣā region. Luṭfī Būshantūf (2004, 100), in his study of the role of the *ʿUlamāʾ* during the transition period from the Waṭṭāsids to the Saʿdīs, touched on this issue in his summary of the historiography of the Saʿdī establishment of power. According to the author, scholars since the protectorate period have relied on the element of Jihad to explain the Saʿdī movement. They have believed, he asserts, that because of the danger of the Portuguese invasion and the failure of the Waṭṭāsid resistance, the people (*shaʿb*) focused on the religious leadership and in particular the Jazūliyyah order, who in turn helped the Saʿdī Sharīfs to accomplish the duty of Jihad, defence of the country's inviolability (*ḥurmah*) and the unification of Muslims. Then the author says that the scholars have believed that the nationalist awaking (*al-intifāḍah al-waṭaniyyah*) with a religious overtone vindicated the miracle (*karāmah*) of the success of the Saʿdīs and transformed their uprising from a popular wish to a nation-state (*dawlah waṭaniyyah*). Although the author made this argument in the literature review and did not present it as his opinion,[5] he did not criticise the idea of the existence of a nation-state in the sixteenth century. In the recent *Histoire du Maroc* edited by Muḥammad al-Qablī, the authors claimed that the failure of the Iberian conquerors on Morocco soil was due to the fierce resistance of the Moroccans to the invasions. It is curious that the authors did so on the authority of David Lopes, who is, according to their opinion, the only foreign specialist explaining the failure through the existence of a nation-state and a religion reassembling the Moroccans (al-Qablī 2012, 337–38). As mentioned above, Lopes is not the only historian who presented a nationalist interpretation of the Portuguese failure. Moreover, it is debatable whether he expressly

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[5] The author cites 14 studies of French and Moroccan scholars in a footnote to ground this assertion. In the present state of research, I cannot identify who first used the concept of a 'nation-state' to expose the Saʿdī establishment of power.

argued the existence of a nation-state in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.[6] Among the contributors to the relevant chapter is Aḥmad Būsharb, who asserted that foreign scholars, in general, negated the existence of a national consciousness. It is possible that his opinion influenced the historiographical exposition on this point.

The Moroccan literature after independence presumably highlighted the rise of the Jihad movement as a result of the existence of a Moroccan national consciousness. The literature generally assumed the political movement of the Saʿdī Sharīfs as intending to liberate a country occupied by enemies to regain its unity. It also claimed the existence of a national consciousness as a background for the resistance in regions that came under foreign rule. Moreover, some recent scholars even suppose the existence of the Moroccan nation-state during this period. Meanwhile, the focus of the investigation remains on how the Saʿdī Sharīfs succeeded in assuming power and starting a new era.

Provisional Remarks

Since the beginning of the modern French historiography of Morocco, scholars have emphasised the three elements of the establishment of Saʿdī power: Sharīfism, Sufism, and Jihad. This classical theory, whose proponent is Cour, had passed unchallenged (with some modifications) for a long time even after the protectorate period. With the intensification of the Moroccan nationalist movement, the Jihad movement in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries came to be understood as its precursor, while based on Cour's theory. By supposing parallelism between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, scholars asserted the existence of a national consciousness and its political role in the success of the Saʿdī Sharīfs. This interpretation, which I call the 'nationalist interpretation' in this paper, gained support not only from many Moroccan historians but also some Western scholars. Since the 1990s, however, the latter came to challenge the classical theory and nationalist interpretation by focusing on elements other than the ones mentioned above. Moroccan scholars, on the other hand, keep defending the existence of a national consciousness during the period by identifying the Jihad and national resistance. Some of them even consider the establishment of the Saʿdī dynasty in the sixteenth century the birth of a Moroccan nation-state. Concerning this point, further research and discussion are needed.

Finally, I want to return to the formation of Cour's classical theory which, despite the importance his study had for the following generations, has not been the subject of much critical analysis. Influenced by studies of the Sufi orders in French Algeria of the

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[6] Despite such a bold allegation, the authors never mention the source precisely and do not list any studies by Lopes in the bibliography.

nineteenth century, he regarded the Sufi order as a kind of secret society to promote the Jihad movement among the population. While he assessed the movement negatively as that of a xenophobic 'religious party', some scholars considered the Sufi saints fighters for the national cause. It is possible that, with some modification, his idea could be applicable to Moroccan nationalists who call their organisation a '*zāwiyah*' (Sufi lodge). Here, again, we can observe a parallelism between French studies of Algeria and those of Morocco.

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