

# Imrā'atu-nā fī l-šarī'a wa-l-muŷtama' / امرأتنا / في الشريعة والمجتمع

also known as "Our Women in Islamic Law and Society", "Muslim Women in Law and Society"

Data source: own research (MSc/PhD and post) both laboratory and desk

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\* Data Source entry, prepared based on data sourced from an external project.

Entry tags: Religious Group, Islamic Traditions, Maghreb Religions, Tunis Religions, Text, Sacred Law, Islamic modernization

This book, written by scholar Tahar al-Haddad, analyzes the different types of discrimination that Tunisian Muslim women during colonial times were subjected to. It is divided in two halves: the first one covers religious and juridic issues such as inheritance, rights and obligations of women or polygyny. The second part centers around issues rooted in customs and social practices, such as access to the job market or education. The book was very criticized and gained considerable notoriety when published, but became key for the Feminist movement in Tunisia, particularly after the country achieved its independence. It has since been reissued multiple times as well as translated to other languages, such as French and English. It is considered the most important and well-known book written by al-Haddad.



Date Range: 1927 CE - 1930 CE

Region: Tunisia

Region tags: Africa, Northern Africa, Tunisia

Tunisia

## Status of Readership:

✓ Elite    ✓ Religious Specialists    ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

## Sources and Corpora

### Print Sources

Print sources used for understanding this subject:

— Source 1: HADDAD, Tahar al-. Imrā'tu-nā fī l-šarī'a wa-l-muŷtama', Tūnis, Al-Dār Al-Tūnisiyya li-l-Našr, 1989.

— Source 2: HADDAD, Tahar al-. Muslim Women in Law and Society. Annotated translation of al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād's Imra'tunā fī l-'sharī'a wa l-'mujtama', with an introduction, translated by HUSNI, Ronak & NEWMAN, Daniel L., London y New York, Routledge, 2010.

Notes: HADDAD, Tahar al. Notre Femme dans la Charia et la Société: Plaidoyer pour une réforme sociétale, translated by Manoubia Meski, Tunis, Éditions Nirvana, 2018

Reference: Eqbal Ahmad , Stuart Schaar. Tahar Haddad. A Tunisian Activist Intellectual.

Reference: Souad Bakalti. La femme tunisienne au temps de la colonisation (1881-1956). Paris: L'Harmattan.

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Reference: Zeineb Ben Said Cherni. Rapports homme-femme au sein du couple et devenir social chez Tahar el-Haddad. (Various authors), Actes du Colloque des relations interpersonnelles dans la famille maghrébien, Tunis, 27-30 octobre 1986. Tunis: Cérés.

Reference: Zeineb Ben Said. Les déparages de l'histoire chez T. El Haddad: Les Trevaillleurs, Dieu et la Femme. Tunis: Editions A. Ben Abdallah.

Reference: Maurice Borrmans. Documents sur la famille au Maghreb de 1940 à nos jours (avec les textes législatifs marocains, algériens, tunisiens et égyptiens en matière de statut personnel musulman).

Reference: Maurice Borrmans undefined. Statut personnel et famille au Maghreb de 1940 à nos jours. Paris and Le Haye: Mouton.

Reference: Saida Chaouachi. Le statut juridique de la femme en Tunisie. (Aïcha Belarbi , Saida Chaouachi , Fattouma Benabdenbi Djerrari), Droits de citoyenneté des femmes au Maghreb. Casablanca: Le Fennec.

Reference: Mounira Charrad. States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. California: California University Press.

Reference: T. Hernández-Justo. El papel del islam en el pensamiento feminista de Ṭāhar al-Ḥaddād. doi: <https://doi.org/10.14198/fem.2016.28.05>.

Reference: Ahmad Jalid. Fikr al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād al-islāhī.

Reference: Ahmed Khaled. La Posterité du Traité moderniste de Tahar Haddad: Notre femme dans la Chari'a et la société. Tunis: Champs-Élysées.

Reference: Abū Al-Qāsim KIRŪ Muḥammad. Makānat al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād bayna da'āt taḥrīr al-mar'a al-'arabiyya.

Reference: Abū Al-Qāsim Kiru Muhammad. Al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād. Tunis: Imprimerie Moderne.

Reference: Muḥammad al- MADANĪ AL-QUṢAYBĪ AL-MADYŪNĪ. al-Lubāb fī iṭbāt al-ḥiṡāb bi-l-Sunna wa-l-Kitāb. Tunis: Dār al-Ḥadīṡ bi-Tūnis.

Reference: Muḥammad al- Marzuqi , Yilani B. AL-ḤĀYĀ YAHYĀ. al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād: ḥayātu-hu, turāṡu-hu. Tunis: Maison Bouslama.

Reference: M. Mutafarriq. Notre femme dans la loi et dans la société, traduit de Tahir el Haddad. Revue d'Études Islamiques, 9(3)

Reference: Hamadi Sammoud. Souci de spécificité chez un intellectuel tunisien: Tahar Haddad. Institut des Belles Letres Arabes, 133(37)

Reference: Nouredine Sraïeb. Contribution à la connaissance de Tahar el Haddad (1899-1935). doi: <https://doi.org/10.3406/remmm.1967.965>.

Reference: Nouredine Sraïeb. Islam, réformisme et condition féminine en Tunisie: Tahar Haddad (1898-1935). doi: <https://doi.org/10.4000/clio.285>.

Reference: Ahmad Tawili. al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād rā'id al-ḥadāthah fī al-'ālam al-'Arabī. Tunis: A. Al-Tawili.

Reference: al-Munsaf Wanas. Iškāliyya taḥrīr al-mar'a wa-faḍā'āti-hā al-naḍariyya.

Reference: Julian Weideman. Tahar Haddad after Bourguiba and Bin 'Ali: a reformist between secularists

## General Variables

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### Materiality

Methods of Composition

– Written

↳ Inked

– with Ink

Medium upon which the text is written/incised

– Paper

### Location

Is the text stored in a specific location?

[Note at which point in time, for reference, if known; select all that apply]

– No

Is the location where the text stored accompanied by iconography or images?

– No

Is the area where the text is stored accompanied by an-iconic images?

– No

## Production & Intended Audience

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### Production

Is the production of the text funded by the polity?

– Yes

Notes: Haddad received no funding from either the government or any other social institution to do so, but his friends did crowdsource money for him to publish the work.

↳ Are the authors/copyists/engravers paid by the polity?

– Yes

Notes: As stated before, Haddad himself did not receive money to publish the book, but his friends helped him by crowdfunding the publishing process.

↳ Does the polity provide financial support to religious infrastructure involved with textual production?

– Yes

Notes: If we understand that the author, as a Zaytuna graduate, was part of the religious infrastructure in some way, then yes.

↳ Are the leaders of the polity and the religion the same figure?

– I don't know

Notes: Yes and no. If we understand the term "polity" as meaning "society", then the shuyukh did have a very important say in the leading of the people and were also the leaders of Islam in Tunisia at the time. However, if "polity" refers to the group of friends that helped Haddad publish the book, then no.

↳ Are political officials involved in the support of textual production?

– Yes

Notes: As stated before, a number of shuyukh from al-Zaytuna participated in the production of the text by writing answers to questions the author had submitted to them.

↳ Are political officials and religious officials otherwise overlapping institutional networks?

– No

↳ Does the polity enforce religious observance according to text or texts?

– Yes

Notes: But not according to this text in particular.

↳ Is the polity legal code derived from religious text(s) in question?

– Yes

Notes: The legal code in force at the time in Tunisia had little to do with the book at hand. However, when the country regained its independence, a number of reforms were introduced and the Law of Personal Status was passed. If we take into consideration that many of the ideas that Haddad had advocated for in *Imra'atu-na* were implemented thanks to said reforms, then we might infer that there was some link between the text at hand and the legal code. Nevertheless, official confirmation of such a link remains debatable with only one source admitting to having taken into account Haddad's ideas before drafting the new laws.

Reference: 'Abd al-Razaq (عبد الرزاق) al-Hammami (الحمامي). *Al-Mar'a fi-l-ḥaraka al-iṣlāḥiyya min al-Tahar Haddad ilā Zayn al-'ābidīn bin 'Alī / المرأة في الحركة الإصلاحية من الطاهر الحداد إلى زين العابدين بن علي*. Tunis: CREDIF. isbn: 9973-931-27-0.

↳ Is preferential economic treatment (e.g. tax exemption) present in the polity to support the text(s)...

– No

↳ Are religious specialists present/in charge of the production of the text or copies of the text?

– Yes

Notes: The first half of the book includes a series of questions Haddad sent to different religious authorities of his time and the answers they gave him. These questions touch upon several of the topics covered by the book, such as freedom to choose a spouse, jobs available to women, what to do if the husband goes missing for a long time, etc.

↳ Present full-time?

– No

↳ Present part-time?

– Yes

↳ Are the religious specialists of a specific sex/gender?

– Yes

Notes: All male.

↳ Are the religious specialists of a specific ethnicity?

– Yes

↳ Are the religious specialists of a specific class/caste?

– Yes

↳ Is this class/caste based on a cultural status?

– Yes

Notes: All of them were shuyukh (شيوخ) from al-Zaytuna mosque who had a religious and cultural influence on the masses as well as, to a certain degree, the government.

↳ Is this class/caste based on socioeconomic status?

– Yes

Notes: All of them were shuyukh (شيوخ) from al-Zaytuna mosque, most of which were of mamluk descent and were pertained to the higher class amongs Tunisian people.

↳ Are the religious specialists dedicated to the place for life?

– No

↳ Are the religious specialists stratified in a hierarchical system?

– Yes

Notes: The text itself does not touch upon this issue, but the al-Zaytuna shuyukh (شيوخ) were indeed stratified in a hierarchical order.

↳ Is access within the space segregated by this hierarchy?

– Yes

Notes: Shuyukh (شيوخ) were allowed to sit by the columns of the al-Zaytuna of the courtyard in order of antiquity (meaning older shuyukh chose the column they wanted before the younger/newer shuyukh did).

↳ Are there regulations/provisions for living spaces of religious specialists?

– No

↳ Are there regulations/provisions for training spaces of religious specialists?

– Yes

Notes: All of this was carried out through al-Zaytuna mosque.

↳ Are there formal institutions for the maintenance of a body of religious specialists?

– Yes

Notes: Al-Zaytuna mosque was the institution in charge of educating the body of religious specialists.

Is the text considered official religious scripture?

– No

Written in distinctly religious/sacred language?

– No

Notes: However, Haddad did cite numerous Qur'anic and ahadith references and sometimes used Qur'anic terms to try to explain his point of view so that he could later compare his ideas to those expressed in the Qur'an.

## Intended Audience

What is the estimated number of people considered to be the audience of the text

This should be the total number of people who would serve as the intended audience for the text.

– I don't know

Notes: The author had a clear interest in having the largest number of people read his work. He did not frame it as intended only for an elite or religious readership for he tried to use as clear a language as possible in order to bridge the gap between the middle and lower classes and the ideas contained in the book. However, it was the religious elite (as well as other members of the intellectual milieu, such as politicians) who first read the book. Nowadays, the book has gained a wider readership with common folk increasingly becoming the main readers.

Does the Religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members?

– No

Notes: However, Haddad and his friends did try to make other members of the Tunisian society side with them in the discussion about Women's rights.

Are there clear reformist movements?

(Reformism, as in not proselytizing to potential new conservative, but "conversion" - or rather, reform - to the "correct interpretation"?)

– Yes

Notes: This is the main aim of the whole book, as the author himself stated.

Is the text in question employed in ritual practice?

– No

Is there material significance to the text?

– No

## Context and Content of the Text (Beliefs and Practices)

### Context

Is the text itself accompanied by art?

– Yes

↳ Calligraphy?

– No

↳ Illustrations?

– Yes

Notes: The newly published versions do sometimes include illustrations about Tunisian women.

↳ Illuminations?

– No

Are there multiple versions of the text?

– Yes

Notes: There are different editions of the text, as well as translations to languages such as English and French.

↳ Are multiple versions viewed as proper?

– Yes

↳ If multiple versions are proper, is there a differentiation among versions by any means?

– No

↳ Is there debate about which version is proper?

– No

Is the text part of a collection of texts?

– No

If the text is not explicitly scripture, is it part of another important literary tradition?

– Yes

Notes: It is a key book for the modernist and the Islamic reformist movements in Tunisia, alongside the works of other Muslim scholars such as Ibn 'Ashur.

↳ Cultural with religious implications?

– Yes

Notes: Nowadays the book is considered as one of the foundational works of the Tunisian Women's Rights movement.

↳ Behavioral literature?

– Yes

## Content

Is the text - or does the text include - a ritual list, manual, bibliography, index, or vocabulary?  
(Select all that apply)



– Bibliography

– Index

– Other [specify]: A list of questions and answers by many of the most prominent Muslim scholars of Tunisia at the time.

Are there lineages or a single lineage established by the text?

– No

Does the text express a formal legal code?

– No

Notes: The author had no intention of transforming his book into a legal code in itself, however many reforms that made it into the official legal corpus can be traced back to the book. In a sense, it did influence the formal legal code of independent Tunisia.

Formulating a specifically religious calendar?

– No

## Beliefs

Is a spirit-body distinction present in the text?

– Yes

↳ Spirit-Mind is conceived of as having qualitatively different powers or properties than other parts?

– Yes

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as non-material, ontologically distinct from body?

– Yes

↳ Other spirit-body relationship?

– No

↳ Within conceptions of the mind: are there distinct notions of psychological states or aggregates?

– I don't know

↳ Do practitioners engage in debates about mind-body dualism?

– Yes

↳ Are debates framed in other ways?

– Yes

↳ Do practitioners distinguish between a corporeal body and an incorporeal soul or spirit?

– Yes

↳ Are there other sides or features of the debate?

– Yes

↳ What are historical mainstream and minority positions?

– I don't know

Notes: Sufism and maraboutism, which had a presence in Tunisia at that time, differed from official mainstream interpretations on the relationship between spirit and body. However, Haddad wrote strongly against said practices, deeming them superstitious and irreligious.

Is belief in an afterlife indicated in the text?

– Yes

↳ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group?

– No

↳ Is the temporality of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group?

– No

↳ Is there debate in the interpretation of the language of the afterlife?

– No

Is belief in reincarnation in this world specified in the text?

– No

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses dicated in the text?

– No

Does the text indicate if co-sacrifices should be present in burials?

– No

Does the text specify grave goods for burial?

– No

Are formal burials present in the text?

– No

Notes: However, the author had touched upon this issue in his journal articles and some influence from those is indeed present in the text. In particular, Haddad strongly opposed the Law of Naturalization (1924) and argued that Muslim Tunisians who had left their nationality to embrace the French one should not be buried in Muslim graveyards for they were traitors to both their country and Islam. Although such a strong vocabulary is not explicitly present in the book at hand, there is a fragment in the first part of the book in which, when dealing with the right of Muslim men to marry women of different religions "of the Book", insists that such a right should be outlawed because offsprings to such a marriage would not be completely Tunisian and as such. At this point, the ideas of "Muslim" and "Tunisian" intertwine in Haddad's thought.

Are there practices that have funerary associations presented in the text?

– No

Are supernatural beings present in the text?

– Yes

↳ A supreme high-god is present

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god is anthropomorphic or described in anthropomorphic terms

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god is a sky deity

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god is chthonic (of the underworld)

– No

↳ The supreme high god is fused with the monarch (king=high god)

– No

↳ The monarch is seen as a manifestation or emanation of the high god

– No

- ↳ The supreme high god is a kin relation to elites
  - No
- ↳ The supreme high god has another type of loyalty-connection to elites
  - No
- ↳ The supreme high god is unquestionably good
  - Yes
- ↳ The supreme high god has knowledge of this world
  - Yes
  - ↳ Knowledge is restricted to a particular domain of human affairs
    - No
  - ↳ Knowledge is restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region
    - No
  - ↳ Knowledge is unrestricted within the sample region
    - Yes
  - ↳ Knowledge is unrestrict outside of sample region
    - Yes
  - ↳ Can see you everywhere normally visible (in public)
    - Yes
  - ↳ Can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home)
    - Yes
  - ↳ Can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives)
    - Yes
  - ↳ Knows basic character (personal essence)
    - Yes

- ↳ Knows what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight)
  - Yes
- ↳ Has other knowledge of this world
  - Yes
- ↳ Has deliberate causal efficacy in the world
  - Yes
- ↳ Can reward
  - Yes
- ↳ Can punish
  - Yes
- ↳ Indirect causal efficacy in the world
  - I don't know
- ↳ Exhibits positive emotion
  - Yes
- ↳ Exhibits negative emotion
  - Yes
- ↳ Possesses Hunger?
  - No
- ↳ Can be hurt?
  - No
- ↳ Can be tricked?
  - No
- ↳ Can be imprisoned?
  - No

↳ Is it permissible to worship supernatural being other than the high god?

– No

↳ The supreme high god communicates with the living

– Yes

↳ Other form of communication with living

– Yes

Notes: God is believed to send signals to all human beings, but most cannot understand them.

Previously human spirits are present

– No

Non-human supernatural beings are present

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings can be seen

– No

↳ Supernatural beings can be physically felt

– No

Notes: Haddad writes about the common belief in junun (جنون) by fellow Tunisians, but regards it as superstitious and against religion.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge of this world

– I don't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world

– Yes

Notes: According to the reportedly popular belief of Tunisian common folk of the time, junun could affect a children's personality.

↳ Supernatural beings can reward

– No

↳ Supernatural beings can punish

– No

↳ Non-human supernatural beings communicate with the living according to the text?

– Yes

↳ In waking, everyday life?

– No

↳ In dreams?

– No

↳ In trance possession?

– Yes

↳ Through divination practices?

– No

↳ Only through religious specialists?

– No

↳ Only through monarch?

– No

↳ Other?

–Specify: Haddad writes about the common belief that yunun could possess people, specifically young children, and cause them to be hyperactive and curious. He deems this belief a superstition caused by the lack of knowledge about children behaviour.

↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world

– No

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit positive emotion

– No

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit negative emotion

– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger

– No

↳ These supernatural beings possess/exhibit some other feature

– Specify: They are reported as being able to possess children and talk through them, according to a popular belief dismissed by Haddad.

Does the text attest to a pantheon of supernatural beings?

– No

Are mixed human-divine beings present according to the text?

– No

Is there a supernatural being that is physically present in the/as a result of the text?

– No

Are other categories of beings present?

– Mysterious?

Does the text guide divination practices?

– No

## Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present in the text?

– Yes

↳ There is supernatural monitoring of prosocial norm adherence in particular

– No

Notes: Haddad refers to God's surveillance of people's acts in accordance to His rules, which sometimes differ from those applied by society. As such, he is advocating for a renewal of social norms so that they comply to God's rules.

↳ Do expectations of ritual offerings play a role in supernatural monitoring?

– No

↳ Supernatural being care about taboos



– I don't know

↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of coreligionists

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other religions

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other polities

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about sex

– Yes

↳ Adultery

– Yes

↳ Incest

– Yes

↳ Taboo about close blood relations (beyond incest) [e.g. from same clan group, village, settlement, so forth].

– No

↳ Specifies taboo regarding power relations (i.e. defines what constitutes abusive behavior)

– Yes

↳ Does worship/veneration include sex acts/references?

– No

↳ Other sexual practices

– Yes

Notes: The texts talks briefly about homosexuality.

↳ Supernatural beings care about lying

– Yes

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about honouring oaths
  - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about laziness
  - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about sorcery
  - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about non-lethal fighting
  - I don't know
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about shirking risk
  - I don't know
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about disrespecting elders
  - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about gossiping
  - Yes
  - Notes: Haddad himself places great interest in this issue. He writes, for example, about women who waste their time gossiping about others and censors this behaviour.
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about property crimes
  - Yes
  - Notes: Haddad also does and points out especially the crimes committed against women who are not allowed to manage their property because of patriarchal interpretations of the Qur'an. According to him, this is also an offense to God, who stated clearly that women were free to manage their properties as long as they were not mentally ill or too young.
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about proper ritual observance
  - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about performance of rituals
  - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about conversion of non-religionists
  - I don't know

↳ Supernatural beings care about economic fairness

– Yes

Notes: There are several parts of the book that deal with this issue, particularly relating to how women were hindered by society in their access to the job market and to how this situation affected them.

↳ Supernatural beings care about personal hygiene

– Yes

Notes: One chapter of the second part of the book deals with this issue. According to Haddad, the lack of knowledge about basic hygiene rules was a key element in the spread of diseases. This also affected most children because their mothers did not teach them proper hygiene and, as a result, dealt with the same health problems.

↳ Supernatural beings care about or expect the maintenance of the place?

– I don't know

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment in the text?

– Yes

Notes: There are several quotations of fragments of the Qur'an in which God warns human beings of following His rules, but none specific to punishment,

↳ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known?

– Yes

↳ Done only by high god

– Yes

↳ Done by many supernatural beings

– No

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle

– No

↳ Done by other entities or through other means

– Yes

Notes: Since most of the first part of the books deals with laws that, although humanly coded, are believed to derive from the Qur'an, they are interpreted as being religious laws. This means that although it is the legal system that passes judgement and punishes crimes, the punishment itself is believed to be God's demand.

↳ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known?

– Yes

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence?

– Yes

↳ Done to enforce group norms?

– Yes

↳ Done to inhibit selfishness?

– Yes

↳ Done randomly

– No

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in the afterlife?

– I don't know

Notes: Immediate punishment for breaking the law falls on the hands of the legal system.

However, sometimes the text quotes Qur'anic fragments that state that certain types of crimes (particularly those repeated by the offender) will be punished in the afterlife as well.

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in this lifetime?

– Yes

↳ Highly emphasized by the religious group?

– No

Notes: The religious group emphasized more the punishment meted out in the afterlife than that of this lifetime.

↳ Consists of bad luck?

– No

↳ Political failure?

– No

↳ Defeat in battle?

– No

↳ Crop failure or bad weather?

– No

↳ Disaster on journeys?

– No

↳ Mild sensory displeasure?

– No

↳ Extreme sensory displeasure?

– No

↳ Sickness or illness?

– No

↳ Impaired reproduction?

– No

↳ Back luck visited on descendants?

– No

↳ Other?

– Specify: There are some Qur'anic quotations in which God's rage is cited, but the text itself does not get in the details as to how this would be carried out, because it was not the intention of the book.

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards in the text?

– Yes

↳ Is the cause/purpose of supernatural rewards known?

– Yes

↳ Done only by high god

– Yes

↳ Done by many supernatural beings

– No

- ↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle
  - No
- ↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence
  - Yes
- ↳ Done to enforce group norms?
  - Yes
- ↳ Done to inhibit selfishness?
  - Yes
- ↳ Done randomly
  - No
- ↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in the afterlife?
  - Yes
  - ↳ Highly emphasized by the religious group?
    - Yes
  - ↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of mild sensory pleasure?
    - No
  - ↳ Consists of extreme sensory pleasure?
    - Yes
  - ↳ Consists of eternal happiness?
    - Yes
  - ↳ Consists of reincarnation as a superior life form?
    - No
  - ↳ Consists of reincarnation in a superior realm?
    - No

↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in this lifetime?

– Yes

↳ Highly emphasized?

– No

↳ Consists of good luck?

– Yes

↳ Consists of political success or power?

– No

↳ Consists of success in battle?

– No

↳ Consists of peace or social stability?

– Yes

↳ Consists of healthy crops or good weather?

– No

↳ Consists of success on journeys?

– No

↳ Reward in this life consists of mild sensory pleasure?

– No

↳ Reward in this life consists of extreme sensory pleasure?

– No

↳ Reward in this life consists of enhanced health?

– No

↳ Reward in this life consists of enhanced reproductive success?

– No

- ↳ Reward in this life consists of fortune visited on descendants?
  - No

### Messianism/Eschatology

- Are messianic beliefs present in the text?
  - No

- Is an eschatology present in the text?
  - No

### Norms & Moral Realism

- Are general social norms prescribed by the text?
  - Yes

Notes: The whole text centers around this issue, but most specifically, the second part of the book. It deals with how current social norms should be changed to better reflect God's will as well as to adapt to modern times while at the same time preserving the religious intention behind them.

- Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious text?
  - Yes

- ↳ What is the nature of this distinction?
  - Strongly present & highlighted

Notes: Haddad emphasizes the idea that the laws enforced in his country, despite claiming to be in consonance to God's will, have become stranded and are mostly based on personal, erroneous interpretations of God's true objectives. Therefore, he argues that society should make a clear distinction between norms of social roots and those rooted in the Qur'an in order to balance both.

- ↳ Are specifically moral norms prescribed by the text?
  - Yes

- ↳ Specifically moral norms are implicitly linked to vague metaphysical concepts
  - No

- ↳ Moral norms are explicitly linked to vague metaphysical entities
  - No



↳ Linked to impersonal cosmic order (e.g. karma)

– No

↳ Linked in some way to an anthropomorphic being

– Yes

Notes: God is somewhat anthropomorphic as He is described as having eyes, hands, etc.

↳ Specifically moral norms are linked explicitly to commands of anthropomorphic being

– Yes

↳ Specifically moral norms are have no (sic: have no?) special connection to the metaphysical

– Yes

↳ Moral norms apply to (select all that apply)

– All individuals (any time period)

Are there centrally important virtues advocated by the text?

– Yes

↳ Honesty/trustworthiness/integrity

– Yes

↳ Courage (in battle)

– No

↳ Courage (generic)

– Yes

↳ Compassion/empathy/kindness/benevolence

– Yes

↳ Mercy/forgiveness/tolerance

– Yes

↳ Generosity/charity

– Yes

↳ Selflessness/selfless giving

– Yes

↳ Righteousness/moral rectitude

– Yes

↳ Ritual purity/ritual adherence/abstention from sources of impurity

– Yes

↳ Respectfulness/courtesy

– Yes

↳ Familial obedience/filial piety

– Yes

Notes: However, Haddad states that families should never expect blind obedience from their children, particularly because he believes that older generations are incorrect in their understanding of the laws and divine objectives. He believed parents should treat their offspring with respect and only expect obedience if they were demanding something reasonable. If their children proved to be in the right, then parents should listen to their demands and try to compromise.

↳ Fidelity/loyalty

– Yes

↳ Cooperation

– Yes

↳ Independence/creativity/freedom

– Yes

Notes: Personal freedom as well as the country's independence are key to understand the whole text.

↳ Moderation/frugality

– Yes

- ↳ Forbearance/fortitude/patience  
– Yes
- ↳ Diligence/self-discipline/excellence  
– Yes
- ↳ Assertiveness/decisiveness/confidence/initiative  
– No
- ↳ Strength (physical)  
– No
- ↳ Power/status/nobility  
– No
- ↳ Humility/modesty  
– Yes
- ↳ Contentment/serenity/equanimity  
– No
- ↳ Joyfulness/enthusiasm/cheerfulness  
– No
- ↳ Optimism/hope  
– No
- ↳ Gratitude/thankfulness  
– Yes
- ↳ Reverence/awe/wonder  
– No
- ↳ Faith/belief/trust/devotion  
– Yes

↳ Wisdom/understanding

– Yes

↳ Discernment/intelligence

– Yes

↳ Beauty/attractiveness

– No

Notes: In fact, Haddad advises people not to think of beauty when choosing an spouse, but rather to think of whether they are compatible or not and to value intellect and wittiness over transient beauty.

↳ Cleanliness (physical)/orderliness

– Yes

Notes: There is a chapter in the second part of the book which emphasizes orderliness in the house, for example.

↳ Other important virtues

– I don't know

## Advocacy of Practices

Does the text require celibacy (full sexual abstinence)?

– No

Notes: In fact, Haddad writes extensively against it and names the multiple problems it causes for couples, particularly for women whose husbands decide to avoid having sexual intercourse with them. He goes so far as to claim that divorce should be granted to women under these circumstances because they deserve and need sex as much as men do.

Does the text require constraints on sexual activity (partial sexual abstinence)?

– Yes

↳ Monogamy (males)

– No

↳ Monogamy (females)

– Yes

↳ Other sexual constraints (males)

– Yes

Notes: Homosexuality is condemned



Other sexual constraints (females)

– Yes

Notes: Homosexuality is condemned

Does the text require castration?

– No

Does the text require fasting?

– No

Notes: The text does not require fasting in itself and no references are made to fasting during Ramadan either, but fasting is indeed a requirement of the Islamic faith.

Does the text require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods)?

– No

Does the text require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations?

– No

Notes: Since female circumcision was not a practice of the Tunisian people, the text does not mention it.

Does the text require painful physical positions or transitory painful wounds?

– No

Does the text require sacrifice of adults?

– No

Does the text require sacrifice of children?

– No

Does the text require self-sacrifice (suicide)?

– No

Notes: In fact, Haddad touches on this issue, albeit very superficially, when explaining the consequences of undesired marriages.

Does the text require sacrifice of property/valuable items?

– No

Does the text require sacrifice of time (e.g. attendance at meetings or services, regular prayer, etc.)?

– No

Notes: Islam does, but this text does not touch upon the issue.

Does the text require physical risk taking?

– No

Does the text require accepting ethical precepts?

– Yes

Does the text require marginalization by out-group members?

– No

Notes: The text is clearly focused on Sunni, Maliki Muslim people. However, it sometimes touches on the issue of Jewish Tunisians as well as Tunisians who have married a Christian (almost always Catholic) foreigner. In these situations, most often than not we can see that Haddad does not condone the latter and openly advocates the end of such a practice, whereas he shows slightly less contempt towards the former, but still seems to believe that the Jewish and the Muslim population of the country are two different categories of people.

Does the text require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household)?

– No

Does the text require participation in large-scale rituals?

– No

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present as indicated in the text?

– No

Does the text employ fictive kinship terminology?

– No

Does the text include elements that are intended to be entertaining?

– No

Does the text specify sacrifices, offerings, and maintenance of a sacred space?

– No

## Institutions & Production Environment of Text

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### Society & Institutions

Society of religious group that produced the text is best characterized as:

– Other

Are there specific elements of society that have controlled the reproduction of the text?

– Other

Notes: Although the religious elite did try to censor the book and even succeeded in legally pursuing the author for its publication, the text itself was not altered and what we can read today is what the author wrote back in his time.

Are there specific elements of society involved with the destruction of the text?

– Other

Notes: The book did not get destroyed, but it suffered from censorship and was confiscated and banned from circulation until the country regained its independence and the new government became somewhat publicly interested in Haddad's ideas.

### Welfare

Does the text specify institutionalized famine relief?

– No

Does the text specify institutionalized poverty relief?

– No

Does the text specify institutionalized care for elderly & infirm?

– No

Other forms of welfare?

– Yes

Notes: The text insists in the need for the government to take care of children (by opening childcare facilities), the elderly, the poor and the marginalized. However, since those were not a reality by the time Haddad wrote the book, he ended up stating that, in the meantime, families and local communities should help one another.

## Education

Are there formal educational institutions available for teaching the text?

– I don't know

Notes: Nowadays, many schools teach about the author and the book, but as a beacon of Tunisian reformist literature and as a key element in the Women's rights movement in the country, not as a religious text.

Are there formal educational institutions specified according to the text?

– No

Does the text make provisions for non-religious education?

– Yes

Notes: Haddad himself advocated for a secular education as well as education in religious issues, but made it clear that education should not be exclusively based on religious knowledge, but on sciences.

Does the text restrict education to religious professionals?

– No

Does the text restrict education among religious professionals?

– No

Is education gendered according to the text?

– No

Notes: Haddad argued that education should be granted to both men and women and there are several chapters in both the first and the second part of the book that stress this point of view. However, certain subjects such as home management and chores are only cited in reference to women, not men, so there is a certain degree of gendering.

Is education gendered with respect to this text and larger textual tradition?

– I don't know

Does the text specify teaching relationships or ratios? (i.e.: 1:20; 1:1)

– No

Are there specific relationships to teachers that are advocated by the text?

– No

Are there worldly rewards/benefits to education according to the text specified by the text



itself?

– Yes

Notes: In hindsight, the whole book talks about the rewards and benefits of education, both from a personal point of view and from a social one. The economy of the country would be greatly benefited by a more educated country, but the benefits for women, in particular, are described as being even greater. On the one hand, education would enable them to exercise their rights and duties and on the other hand, the knowledge they gained would have a very positive effect on their offspring, who would be better cared for and better educated.

## Bureaucracy

Is bureaucracy regulated by this text?

– No

## Public Works

Does the text detail interaction with public works?

– No

## Taxation

Does the text specify forms of taxation?

– No

## Warfare

Does the text mention warfare?

– No

## Food Production

Does the text mentioned food production/disbursement?

– No

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