Rufuf Journal—Laboratory of Algerian Manuscripts—Volume 14—number 02 –(November 2026)-page 961 -985
ISSN: 2335-1381 EISSN: 2602-5949 LegalDeposit: 2013-6352

Shrines: Roots and Effect on the Formal and Popular Thought in the Ottoman Algeria

الأضرحة جذورها وأثرها على المخيال الرسمي والشعبي في الجزائر العثمانية

Noredine Benkouider

University Center of Barika(Algeria), Nouredine.benkouider@cu-barika.dz

Received: 03/10/2025	Accepted: 28/10/2026	Published:25/11/2026

Abstract:

This study investigates the phenomenon of visiting shrines and believing in their supernatural powers to prove it is a deep socio-cultural construct that resisted intellectual and political transformations and provide a conceptual and historical background. In addition, the study introduces its types and accounts for its spread, position, and sanctification in the Algerian popular and formal thought, showing the effect on the Algerian daily routines. Moreover, it discusses the conditions that paved the way for myths and legends' domination of the then society. In so doing, our questions are: How can we explain the attachment of the Algerian society and thought to myths? Why have some Algerians rejected belief in science and God? What effect has this phenomenon on the Algerian collective thought?

Keywords: shrines; Awliya; society; myths; supernatural.

الملخص:

زيارة الأضرحة والاعتقاد بها وبالكرامات والخوارق ظاهرة متجذّرة في المجتمع الجزائري، وهذا ما حفّزني على دراستها ومعرفة خباياها، وقد تناولت في هذه الورقة العلمية ظاهرة الأضرحة جذورها وطقوسها وأثرها في المخيال الرسمي والشعبي في الجزائر العثمانية، وحرصت في معالجة هذه الإشكالية على تناولالتأصيلالمفاهيمي والتاريخي لظاهرة الأضرحة وعوامل انتشارها وأنواعها ومراسيمها ومكانتها وأسباب تقديسها في المخيال المجتمعي الجزائري"الرسمي والشعبي"، في حين أنّ الهدف من هذه الورقة البحثية هو تبيان أثر زيارة الأضرحة والأولياء في يوميات المجتمع الجزائري، والظروف التي أدت إلى سيطرت الفكر الخرافي والأسطوري على المجتمع آنذاك. ولشرح ما تقدم طرحت التساؤلات التالية:بم نفسر تمسك المجتمع الجزائري والمخيال الجمعي بالفكر الخرافي لمعايشة الواقع؟، ولم الابتعاد عن الإيمان بالله والفكر العلمي ؟. وما تأثير زيارة الأضرحة على المخيال الجمعي الجزائري؟

كلمات مفتاحية:الأضرحة، الأولياء، المجتمع، الفكر الخرافي، الخوارق.

Corresponding author: Noredine Benkouider, e-mail: wahib.wahib952@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of visiting shrines and Awliya"Righteous saints" has dominated Algeria since the early centuries of Islam and peaked in the Ottoman era. In this regard, many cities of the Algerian regency are named after Awliya, such as Sidi Houari in Oran, Sidi Boumedien in Telemcen, Sidi Rached in Constantine, and Sidi Abdurrahman in Algiers. The shrines had attracted, and still attract, Algerian families and individuals, who exercise some rituals during visits and show strong belief in Awliya's ability to solve problems, cure diseases, and reassure their present and future fears. Such beliefs and practices dominated the Algerian regency during the Ottoman era. Besides, weird myths and legends penetrated the collective thought, such as the ability of Awliya to protect the city, cure diseases, and solve social problems like unemployment and being unmarried; this added sanctity to them.

Because people are so attached to Awliya, they built Zawiyas and Mzaras around their shrines, and allocated Waqfs to fund social and religious initiatives, such as donating to poor people, teaching children and old adults, hosting passengers, restoring the shrines, and paying for the shrines' managers. Thus, the phenomenon did not disappear and still influences the Algerian's daily lives despite the French devastation of the shrines. Based on what was said, this paper shall focus on the effect of shrines on the Algerian society since the Ottoman era and show to what extent the shrines are sacred in the Algerian society and thought despite the efforts of thinkers and religious reformers to fight myths, belief in supernatural powers, and polytheism. In this regard, one may ask, "What are the negatives and positives of shrine visit? How can we explain the attachment of the Algerian society and collective thought to myths? Why did the Algerian society reject science and belief in God? What effect does shrine visit have on the Algerian collective thought? Where do the Awliya bring their power from? What factors helped the phenomenon survive so far?"

Part 01: Conceptual and Historical Background:

a. Conceptual Background

1. Divine Grace (Karama)

Linguistically: The term refers to an extraordinary, supernatural event granted by to a Wali, without them claiming prophethood, which is subsequently validated by the realization of its truth. From a Sufi perspective, Karama is a

miraculous deed that does not cease upon the person's death; rather, it remains bound to their grave, serving as a connection between them and the people. People visit the Wali seeking blessings from whatever is found within or around the shrine. They place flags and candles, burn charcoal for incense, and light lamps. People have historically been more invested in recounting the grace of the shrine than discussing the Wali's virtues, to the point where the mention of shrines and righteous Awliya has become linked to several graces in the popular imagination. Consequently, in the collective societal imagination, Awliya have become tied to numerous and diverse blessings (Dahmani Mohamed, 2006, p. 16).

Accordingly, the blessings of any nation are connected to the miracles of its prophets, and the blessings of the Arab and Islamic nation are linked to the miracles of our Master Mohamed, peace and blessings be upon him. Following him, they manifest through the companions, the successors, the successors of the successors, and the righteous Awliya. It appears that the belief in the divine grace stems from social, economic, cultural, and psychological conditions faced by society, such as widespread injustice and the common people's loss of hope in the ruling authorities to reform their situation. This prompted Sufi disciples to believe in an esoteric government (Hukumat al-Batin) ruled and controlled by the Awliya, consisting of spiritual hierarchies like the Abdal (Substitutes), Aqtab (Poles), and Nuqaba (Leaders). Thus, imagination compensated for the pain of reality. These esoteric rulers were often from among the poor and the weak, using their saliva or rubbing their hands over the site of pain to treat the sick. This saved people the costs of medicine and physicians, given the wretched social and economic conditions (Salah, Ben Hammadi, 1913, pp. 71-91).

2. The Wali (Righteous Saint)

He is the one who possesses deep gnosis of God and his attributes, adheres strictly to acts of obedience, turns away from sins, desires, and pleasures, and follows the prophetic traditions, Sunnah, and, Islamic etiquettes. He is called a Wali because of his constant witnessing of worship, and because God takes charge of his protection and care. He is the pious, righteous servant who occupies a high status of societal reverence, both alive and deceased. In popular heritage and daily belief, the Wali is embodied as a helper and supporter. In the doctrinal

concept, he is the disposer of the affairs of creation and the sustainer of their existence.

The derivation of the attribute of wilaya here is due to the succession and permanence of his acts of worship without interruption. As a result of this spiritual purity and uprightness, society grants this pious, righteous person a special appreciation and lasting reverence that continues during his life and reflects as good praise after his death, because he is well-versed in knowledge and religion, ascetic in life, and his deeds are charitable and righteous. Awliya are the force behind the spiritual dimension of the shrine. Those interested in the subject divide the Awliya into two types: noble Marabouts whose lineage goes back to the prophet, and Awliya known for blessings and supernatural deeds (Abu al-Qasim, Saadallah 2007, p. 10). The Wali embodies the sacred and spiritual aspect of the shrine, deriving this status from the symbolic presence of its inhabitant (Maamar, Boukhadra, 2012, p. 55).

3. Al-Ziyara (The Visit)

It is the act of visiting sacred places, which encompasses devotional and cultural dimensions, through which the visitor aims to gain blessings from the spiritual remnants of the righteous, whether by entering their cemeteries, their shrines, or the places attributed to them. Within this context, it is a dynamic, material, and spiritual practice that transports a human being from the mundane secular space into the sacred space. This movement is not limited to spatial transition alone; it is accompanied by specific behaviors and celebratory rituals witnessed at the shrine, reflecting the scale of interaction and emotional connection of society to these stations" (Towahri Al-Miloud, 2006, p. 156). In other words, it is the act of going to the shrine and performing rituals, practices, and celebrations during the visit.

4. The Shrine

The term has shifted from its simple funerary meaning to be operationally applied to the constructed building and monumental funerary architecture erected over the burial site (Nawar Sami Mohamed, 2001, p. 12). The shrine is usually topped by a dome called "The Dome of Sidi [So-and-So]," which in turn represents a sacred doctrinal symbol, as if it were a channel of communication between the earth and the sky (Azzouk Abdelkarim, 1991, p. 42).

b. The Historical Background

Before being a Wali, the latter goes through different phases. The first marks isolationism and asceticism, where the Wali is not seen, as he disappears in forests, deserts, mountains, attics, or any isolated place (Saadallah, Cultural History of Algeria, 2007, p. 11) based on a recommendation of his Sheikh "mentor", such as the order of Sheikh Ben Youcef al Meliani to his disciple Ahmed Ben Ali. Then, he appears in the scene until his death. Seemingly, most of the Awliya are grandparents of families who moved from one place to another (Bouzid, 2012, p. 113). The last phase is marked with sanctity, as his children and disciples build a shrine and bury him in a tomb surrounded by a coffin. Thus, the place becomes venerable and sacred, and the dead Wali is called “Sidi”. People believe that the life of Wali goes on and does not end by his natural death (Said, 2018, p. 357).

Part 02: Factors and Types of Shrine Spread in Algeria

The factors behind the proliferation of shrines across the country were numerous and driven by several justifications, including:

1. Intellectual and Doctrinal Decline

During the periods of Ottoman rule and French occupation, Algeria experienced a civilizational and doctrinal decay. This was a result of both the Ottomans' and the French neglect of cultural and other affairs, alongside local jurists' disdain for certain sciences, such as philosophy and theology, in emulation of their predecessors' aversion to them. This environment contributed to the fabrication of myths surrounding their sheikhs and clearly influenced the minds of the people (Gueshiouche & Rahmani , 2015, p. 4).

2. The Spread of Zawiyas

Almoravids and their followers founded so many Zawiyas and shrines in countryside and cities that their number exceeded that of mosques and schools in Algeria (Saadallah, 2007, p. 11). Zawiyas were a shelter for people who escaped punishment and murder because the commons believed in the protection and fortification of Zawiyas and shrines. History tells that many, including rulers and commons, fled to the Wali Dada and the Zawiya of al Qalaa and al Thaalibi because they believed in their power to punish anyone who makes bad deeds in their places.

3. The Nature of Ottoman Rule

During the Ottoman period, Algeria witnessed the spread of Sufi orders, Zawiyas, and shrines, which bore the names of specific Awliya, such as the Qadiriyya, the Ahmadiyya, and the Shadhiliyya. Some of these contributed to directing the Algerian imagination away from scientific thought when confronting their daily problems. Evidence of the Ottomans' interest in shrines includes the continuous construction of shrines during the reigns of the Beys, Pashas, and other Turkish leaders, especially those associated with righteous Awliya. Both Hajj Ahmed Dey and Abdi Pasha took great interest in building and constructing the shrine of Sidi Abderrahmane, which underwent several renovations and expansions starting from the death of its honoree, "Sheikh Abderrahmane al Thaalibi" (Ibn Auda al-Mazari, n.d., p. 21).

In Mostaganem, Bey Mustafa Bouchelaghem built a dome and endowed it as a mortuary trust for himself (Al Zayani Mohamed Ben Youcef, n.d., p. 11). Likewise, Hajj Othman Bey built the dome of Sidi Abdelkader al Jilani in Mascara—known as the dome of Bey Ibrahim, who was buried there. Bey Mohamed al Kebir built the dome of Sidi Ahmed Ben Youcef in Miliana, and the shrine of Sayyid Mohamed Ben Auda, who was buried in Flitta, Relizane. Hassan Bey also built a dome for the shrine of Sidi Ali Abi al Wafa. The interest of the Beys and rulers in shrines extended to the sheikhs and the general public, with numerous examples across Algeria.

Throughout the three Ottoman centuries (1518–1830 CE), Algerians experienced shifts in social and economic structures, alongside political and military transformations. It appears that religious motivation, the climatic environment, health and living conditions, as well as political stability, were the primary variables determining the features of social, cultural, and religious life in Ottoman Algeria, particularly in its ritualistic manifestations and belief-based behaviors connected to funerary spaces and shrines. Algerian religiosity at the time was characterized by stability and moderation; the country did not witness sectarian strife or extremist movements. Even the revolutionary movements attributed to order-based Sufism, such as the movements of Ibn al Ahrash and al Darqawi, were socio-economic expressions rejecting burdensome taxation policies rather than doctrinal revolutions. This confirms the historical harmony between the Maliki and Hanafi schools of thought, a tolerance that extended to include non-Muslim communities such as Christians and Jews.

The customs associated with the phenomenon of shrines in Algerian society rested on two structural pillars: first, the endurance of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage passed down through generations prior to the Ottoman era; second, the nature of the tribal social structure, which reinforced values of loyalty to the tribal sheikh and institutionalized the veneration of Awliya, Marabouts, and nobles to establish their symbolic religious legitimacy. (Devoulx, 1870, p. 122).

This socio-cultural structure coincided with the Ottoman authority's withdrawal from developing the healthcare sector, resulting in a total absence of hospitals, while medicine remained a monopoly of incoming foreigners or captives. This institutional vacuum compounded the severity of epidemics throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as the plague, diphtheria, and respiratory fevers, (Panzac, D. 1985), particularly during periods of drought and famine. This includes the disaster of 1648, known locally as the "Year of Evil," which wiped out approximately 10% of the population (between 10,000 and 20,000 people),a tragic situation recorded by foreign travelers with astonishment and condemnation. Under these overlapping crises of epidemics, wars, and natural tremors, seeking spiritual recourse through the sacred constituted a defensive mechanism and a collective unconscious desire for protection from dangers and for seeking healing. This legitimized the close symbolic communication between the living and the "metaphysical powers" of the deceased owners of the shrines. Over time, these regressive rituals performed during periods of crisis transformed into behaviors of loyalty and gratitude even during times of prosperity, seeking the preservation of well-being and the sustainability of safety.

The proliferation of shrines and domes in Ottoman Algeria is attributed to the deep transformations that occurred within the intellectual and political structure following Ottoman stabilization, accompanied by the rise of Sufi institutions and Zawiyas under the direct patronage of the Regency's rulers. The morphological data of these shrines reveals prominent structural diversity; they were distributed among square, circular, and open dome-topped patterns, appearing either as standalone structures or attached to religious complexes such as mosques, schools, and Zawiyas . The incoming Ottoman architectural

influence did not manifest strongly in the general geometric framework as much as it appeared in newly introduced decorative and artistic elements, such as marble tomb compositions, plaster ornaments, and distinctive ceramic tiles, as seen in the shrine of Sidi Abderrahmane al Thaalibi in the capital, in addition to introducing the model of tombstones featuring carved turbans with varying geometric, floral, and epigraphic decorations.

Politically, the Ottoman authority, whose legitimacy rested primarily on a religious foundation, exploited the symbolic status of the Awliya in the popular consciousness. They used the nobles and the leaders of Sufi orders as tools to control protest movements, guide public opinion, and pass political decrees, while imposing strict censorship on opposing currents, reflecting a tight intersection between the religious and political spheres. Based on this dual patronage, the visit turned into a standardized, daily social practice characterized by a wide margin of devotional freedom, far from the restrictions of the official jurisprudential or political establishment. Consequently, it regularly attracted various societal segments—across different class, age, educational, and gender classifications on a periodic basis (weekly, monthly, and annually).

4. The French Encouragement of Visiting Shrines

The French colonizer encouraged visiting shrines through material and moral aids (Gueshiouche & Rahmani , 2015, p. 4), and by employing Islam and recruiting some managers of the Zawiyas and Awliya. This increased myths, sorcery, and witchcraft (Chaif, 1988, p. 11). During the Ottoman age, Algeria witnessed a wide spread of the activity of Awliya and righteous people. In this regard, we can distinguish the shrines of intellectual Awliya who are scientists and clergymen, such as Abi Medien al Ichbili, Mohamed al Houari, and Abdurrahman al Thaalibi (Abid, 2009, p. 110), who know a lot about religion, including Quran, Hadith, and jurisprudence. In addition, we find shrines of militant Awliya, including Sidi Mhamed Ben Ouada, who fought colonialism and practiced religious and spiritual teaching (Hamdadou, 2006, p. 13).

Moreover, we find the shrines of dervishes who are people who use Jinn (Heinrich, 1979, p. 212) to penetrate the hearts of people who believe in myths and supernatural powers. Besides, we have shrines of fake Awliya who are people who pretend to be Awliya and to have miracles and supernatural powers so that people can believe them and donate them money. For instance, Ahmed

Ben Suleiman was very poor that he used this method (Saadallah, 2007, p. 12)to overcome poverty. Finally, we have the shrines of foreign Awliya who converted to Islam and gained a position in the society, such as the Norwegian captive in Algiers, who was born in Hamburg. He was one of the Marabouts and the Imam of Dey; he was very sanctified by the Turks (Nilsson, 2019, p. 115).

Regarding the rituals, the shrines in the regency of Algeria during the Ottoman era had Awliya who had a strong influence on lives and behaviors of people. Therefore, the shrines and the activities practiced in them increased, such as supplicating healing or fulfilling a vow. People did not stop at Awliya; rather, they looked for any sacred place, such as fountains, some trees, and some shrines outside their cities. For example, they used to gather at the shrine of Abdurrahman al Thaalibi and, then, move to other shrines. Besides, they sought blessings of the other Awliya, saying "may God bless us for the sake of this Wali and his peers" (Anonymous, 2021, p. 23). In addition, they believed that places had different abilities and blessings that can cure the barren, the sick, and the mentally troubled.

People had built for Awliya tombs that differ from those of normal people. For instance, al Wali used to be put in a wooden coffin covered by a rag and banners of different colors. Besides, he was buried in a higher place surrounded by walls of rectangular shape. This tomb is called shrine, whose top was covered by a dome, which is a square building with a bulging roof; also called as Qubba, Mzar, or Mqam. Visiting shrines is a daily practice that can be made by individuals or groups. Some shrines are visited on special days because some rituals are practiced on given days. For instance, the shrine of Abdurrahman al Thaalibi hosted weekly donations and food giving each Friday night. Besides, it is not possible to visit all shrines in one day due to their big number

As for the rituals, they are based on the goal of visit, either for seeking healing or solving a problem. In general, people slaughter chicken, cows, sheep, goats, or other animals; an act known as "al Nushra" (DERMENGHEM, 1954, p. 109). Some shrines' managers recruit a person to slaughter the animals brought to the shrine. Besides, people turn around the shrine, use candles and incense, and wash themselves and drink the water found there because they believe the water is blessed and has a healing power (Ibn Ammar, 2019, p. 20). In addition,

visits may be in group in given dates, known as al Moussem, al Hadra, or al Rakb. These religious occasions require given rituals and outfits. Some people may eat special foods to express their joy (Al-Zahar, 1980, p. 61). In this regard, al Moussem has two types. The first is the countryside Moussem that marks a feast organized in the countryside, where people collectively go to the dome taking donations, such as a sheep or a cow. There, they eat collectively and supplicate for good agricultural crops (Yassine, 2013, p. 367). The second is the urban Moussem that is attended by the disciples who come in groups, make rituals, and slaughter sheep, cows, and chicken (Al-Zahar, 1980, p. 61). The visits during the religious occasions, mainly in Aid al Fir, Aid al Adeha, Ashura, and al Israwa al Miaradj may witness writing and reading poems, visiting mosques and shrines (Paradis, 1981, p. 42), and donating food to poor people (Chevallier, 1980, p. 120).

Part 03: The Position of Shrines and their Effects on the Algerian Social Thought

The visit is an important step towards a good relation between the visitor and the visited, mainly when the visitor grants money or gifts to the visited to get what he seeks. The visit is usually linked to al Waada, which is a pledge made by the visitor to provide a gift when his wish is achieved; the gift is granted once or many times (Moussa, 2001, p. 14). Examples of getting Awliya's blessings in the Ottoman era included facing the Danish maritime attack on Algiers in 1771; a date that coincided with the Algerians' celebration of al Mulud; the birth of Prophet Mohamed peace be upon him. In this regard, the Algerians turned on candles and the invaders thought this was an act of showing readiness to face them. Thus, they bombarded the city until their reserve ended and went back to their country with no gains. Consequently, the Algerians thought their city was protected by the blessings of al Awliya; (Fagnan, 1894, p. 38).

The belief in the blessings and power of al Awliya covered so many life aspects that people used to swear to them, saying "I swear to Sidi X", and beggars begged people for the sake of Awliya, saying "help me for the sake of Sidi X (RINN, 1884, p. 316). Writings showed sentences and expressions on the tombs of Awliya, stating "May God bless us with the blessings of Sidi X". Besides, documents of legal courts and Waqfs included such expressions. For example, the Waqf of Sidi Abdurrahman al Thaalibi stated "This is a Waqf to the

shrine of the righteous divine Wali Sidi Abdurrahman al Thaalibi, may God bless us with him, Amen" (Yassine, 2013, p. 383). In addition, before their death, people used to request to be buried next to one of the shrines in many regions (Belhamissi, 1972, p. 24)

The phenomenon of visiting shrines shows the glorification of hidden powers and communication with people during feasts and dancing in the collective visits (Yassine, 2013, p. 383). In addition, the sea captains asked companionship of dervishes in their maritime attacks to seek their blessings and win the wars. After the attacks, they used to tell stories about their travels and miracles (Saadallah, 1990, p. 196). Thus, visiting shrines was sacred and a source of different blessings in the Algerian thought (Nafisa, 2015, p. 11), such as:

- Health blessings: These blessings included belief in the physical safety, healing of diseases, and end of laziness. In this regard, some shrines like that of Sidi Abdurrahman al Thaalibi, Sidi Bouledkdour, and Sidi Mansour are specialized in such issues.
- Psychological benefits: people believed in finding tranquility and calm, warding off evil, getting blessings, and accepting supplications in the shrines.
- Social benefits: People believed in getting help, power, protection, and security from shrines, such as that of Sidi Abdurrahman al Thaalibi, Sidi Boudjemaa, Sidi Abdulkader al Jilani, etc.
- Religious benefits: People believed in tranquility and happiness in life and after-life and coming closer to God thanks to Awliya (RINN, 1884, p. 100). The healing seeker may drink or take a bath with the water of a blessed fountain in the shrine, chew the fruits or leaves of trees, drink their tea, etc. In addition, a mediator may intervene to satisfy the need of the visitor by granting the blessing of al Wali in different forms, such as mixtures, amulets, and talismans (Nafisa, 2015, p. 11). Besides, some individual rituals are practiced, such as turning on fire, spraying incense to ward off the evil spirits and devils, crying, ululating, etc. On the other hand, the rituals may be collective, such as gatherings of supplication and reciting praises (Saadallah, 1990, p. 17). These benefits attract people and societies to visiting shrines.

Different social categories visit shrines, including the sea captains who are military leaders, also known as Rias “plural of Rais”. They make salutations when leaving and going back to the ports, mainly in Algiers. Usually, military leaders bid farewell to the prince on the day of travel and, directly, go to the shrines of Sidi Abdurrahman al Thaalibi and Sidi Ali al Abbasi. Then, they head to Bab al Djihad, say goodbye to Wakil al Kharadj“the minister of the navy”, and sail (Wolf, 1986, p. 195). Besides, they shoot three cannon balls to greet the Dey and al Awliya, whom they respect, namely Abdurrahman al Thaalibi who was believed to be the protector of the city, Sidi Fredj, Sidi Betqa, Sidi Mohamed al Cherif, Sidi Yaakoub, and Sidi Boukeddour.When sailing, the Algerian sailors used to pour some oil jars in the sea and turn on candles on cannons to calm down the sea. In addition, they used to put some textiles and banners, brought from famous shrines, next to the Algerian flag to bring protection and victory (Duval, 1889, p. 67)).Before sailing, the Rais used to consult with one of the Marabouts to forecast good and blessings (Belhamissi, 1972, p. 25). When they return, Rias used to take war gains and gifts to Awliya, turn candles in shrines, and pray (khodja, 1982, p. 57). For instance, Rais Hamidou who captured a Portuguese ship in 1799 provided one of the captives as a gift to the shrine of Abdurrahman al Thaalibi (Belhamissi, 1972, p. 25).

In addition, during the Ottoman age, shrines gained a strong prestige, as the Ottoman rule consolidated their position to the point that a murderer had not been punished when fleeing to a shrine (Saadallah, 2007, p. 21). The prosecution evaders used to head to the nearest shrine shouting “Shar’u Allah” "the religion of God" to seek safety regardless the crime (Rozet, 1833, p. 129)because rulers and commons believed in the immunity and sanctity of the shrine and that Awliya would punish anyone who disrespects their places. Therefore, the authorities used to besiege the shrines when criminals or rebels hid there; if they refused to leave the shrine, they would remain imprisoned in the shrine even until death (Belhamissi, 1972, p. 25). In this regard, both the common populace and high-ranking officials in Algeria routinely sought asylum in shrines to seek protection from oppressive masters or political superiors. They would appeal to the sheikh of the *zawiya* or the shrine’s custodian to complain of ill-treatment, injustice, or persecution, believing in the saint’s supernatural capacity to exact retribution against any oppressor (DOUIDA, 2015). Even the state leaders,

including Deys and Beys, used to flee to shrines. For example, when chaos had prevailed the city, Mustapha Bacha flew to the shrine of Dada and found it closed; thus, he was killed by Dey in 1805. Besides, Rais Hamidou was captured while fleeing to the shrine of Sidi Abdulkader al Jilani after losing a war. Moreover, when Mustapha al Weznadji, the Bey of Titri, came to Algiers in 1792 and, then, flew to a shrine because he knew Dey Hassan ordered to arrest him; thus, he flew death but was fired from his position (Al-Zayani, 1991, p. 196). Furthermore, the Bey of Constantine complained to the Dey about Bey Hassan; thus, Bey Hassan flew to the shrine of Sidi Abdurrahman in Algiers when he had known that Dey ordered to arrest him and, then, was exiled to Telemcen thanks to intercession. In addition, al Hadji al Saadi was a forger (Saadallah, 2007, p. 24) who, once, upset Dey Hussein and had to flee to the shrine of Sidi Abdurrahman al Thaalibi to flee punishment. Later, he freed all his slaves in November 1829 (Yassine, 2013, p. 383).

Besides, the common people made sure to bury the dead next to Awliya and to name their cemeteries after them, such as the cemeteries of Sidi al Khir in Setif and Sidi Mehmel in Barika. Besides, some commons reserved places for their tombs next to the shines of some Awliya, believing that burial closer to Awliya protects from punishment in afterlife (DEVOULX, 1863, p. 112). Algerian commons believed that visiting shrines of Awliya has different effects on the daily life and on the society as a whole, mainly victory against crusaders, as the natural conditions helped beat the crusaders, such as in the attack of Charlekan against Algiers in 1541, which coincided with a big storm that destroyed many Spanish ships and caused their defeat (Barbarossa, 2010).

Besides, it provides Ddivine protection of the city. In this regard, Algiers was called al Mahrussa "the protected" (Fagnan, 1894, p. 38) because of a belief that the Awliya buried in Algiers, like Abdurrahman al Thaalibi, Ammar al Tenessi, and Sidi Mansour brought divine protection (Al-Madani, 1986, p. 110). In addition, commons believed that the shrine of Abi al Taki was shining in the night of the battle (Chevallier, 1980, p. 120). Besides, they went to the shrines, took off some bones, and threw them in the sea to rage and destroy their ships (Yassine, 2013, p. 367). Moreover, people believed in Awliya's' blessings in daily and social life. History tells that Hamdan Ben Khodja used to believe in the

blessing and sanctity of shrines, saying "Marabouts teach people ethics and prayer, show them good manners, and get absolute obedience in return" (khodja, 1982, p. 57). In his memorandum to the French Minister of War in 1833, Hamdan Khodja analyzed the status of Awliya, saying "our religion and policy are about respecting Awliya and their education…and glorifying who obey Allah…" (Al-Tamimi, 1985, p. 103).

Furthermore, visiting shrines of Awliya, such as Sidi Mansur, Mhamed Boukabrine, Sidi Boukeddour, and others was believed to bring blessing and donations, saying "Sadaka Bjah Sidi Abdulkader" "donate for the sake of Sidi Abdulkader"; who was buried in Baghdad (RINN, 1884, p. 120). Additionally, Awliya were believed to be a source of blessings and reward, as people established Waqfs in shrines. The Habus contracts included some expressions like "May Allah bless us with his blessings, Amen". Some Awliya, like Abdurrahman al Thaalibi, were the most sacred (Box, Sharia Courts, p. 02). The visitors of the shrines' cities believed in Awliya's blessings and visited them to seek blessings (Al-Tamghrouti, 2002, p. 139) and most of the shrines' places in Algiers turned into Zawiyas and shelters for passengers, mainly knowledge seekers and teaching men; this turned these places centers for cultural and religious inspiration (Belhamiss, 2003, p. 26).

Awliya were believed to heal and protect from organic and mental diseases, such as fever, infertility, eye inflammation, mental troubles, and envy (Box, Sharia Courts). Besides, they were believed to solve social problems, like inability to marry, or marital problems (Haëdo, 1998, p. 203). For instance, the shrine of Sidi al Tayar was specialized in healing fever and witchcraft thanks to the water of the source next to his shrine. In addition, people passed the night in the shrine to conjure Jinns and ask them to leave the diseased body (DERMENGHEM, 1954, p. 109).

Part 04: The Manifestations and Causes of Sanctifying Shrines

The Algerian thought sanctified shrines and Awliya, as seen in many aspects. In this context, the Algerians built and excessively decorated domes and shrines (Ben Aoun, 2002, p. 60), such as the shrine of Sidi al Houari and the shrine of Sidi Lakhder Ben Khelouf. Besides, the disciples and other people practiced specific motor and verbal rituals marked with concentration and emotionality, such as al Ziyara, al Waada, and al Hadra. In addition, they used

given statements to sanctify the shrines and Awliya, such as "Sidi Abdulkader, I turn my back now, please keep your pledge". Moreover, they slaughter sheep and cows during the visits and speak about the abilities and miracles of Awliya and Marabouts, such as Sidi Abdulkader and Sidi Abdurrahman, and how they saved the city from devastation and wars. Thus, people believed in and prayed for them during visits and Hadras (Pfaïffer, 1974, p. 107), such as al Hadra al Aissaouia. Thus, Awliya's sacred position goes through phases, starting from isolation, leaving isolation, and spreading thought, and ends with death and shrine building. After death, people express respect and sanctification with various behavioral, material, and spiritual practices.

The Algerian social thought sanctified Awliya for different causes their righteousness and Jihad. These two points help Awliya gain authority over people. In this regard, many of them played vital roles in liberation wars and protected cities from internal and external threats. Besides, they were a source for unity and cohesion; therefore, they gained respect even after their death (Al-Atri, 2014, p. 45). For example, Sidi Mhamed Ben Ouda was one of the 11th century scientists who fought the Crusaders in the Algerian West. In addition, al Wali is characterized with righteousness, good deeds, accepted prayers, asceticism, piety, authority, and full trust in God (Al-Razi, 2002, p. 208). They used to isolate themselves to practice religion, contemplate, avoid sins and hypocrisy, rest their bodies and hearts, and avoid bad habits (Al-Razi, 2002, p. 210).

Awliya come from the progeny of prophet Mohamed peace be upon him and inherit honor and blessings (Dahmani L. , April 2019, p. 15). Therefore, they enjoy sanctity and prestigious social status that allow for economic, religious, cultural, and political authority. Furthermore, they enjoy Blessings that are divine secrets put in Awliya, prophets, places, and times, such as the night of al Qadr, Ashura, al Jumua "Friday", and Ashehur al Hurum "sacred months". Al Wali gets his authority from his noble progeny (Rahira, 2013, p. 110), miracles, spiritual abilities (Al-Wansharisi, 1981, p. 395), and supernatural actions (Said, 2018, p. 357).

Moreover, travelling builds Awliya's characters because they learn from the experiences of Sheikhs. For example, the Ottoman age witnessed different westward and eastward travels, such as the travel of Mohamd Ben Ali al Senouci

to seek knowledge (Bouzeboudja, 2009, p. 66).The travel was a connection between Africa and the Orient, such as the 15 years journey of Ahmed Ben Youcef al Meliani between the Moroccan Rif, Telemcen, Bejaia, Zab in Biskra, Chat al Jarid in Tunisia, Tripoli, Alexandria, and the Arab Peninsula (Mekahli, 2019, p. 85). In addition, the dream fosters the status of the nobles, as they pretend that they receive knowledge and orders from God, the prophet peace be upon him, or one of Sheikhs in their dreams (Kaid, 2007, p. 05), such as the dream of Sheikh Ahmed al Tijani who claimed he had been appointed Wali by the prophet peace be upon him (Al-Rawi, 1994, p. 64). Additionally, they enjoy spatial legitimacy, as the 16th century witnessed the appearance of some Awliya who came from Sagia al Hamra (Yakhlef, 2012, p. 83); this place grants its inhabitants a privileged status. For instance, Sidi Tifour came from Morocco in 1420 and settled in Zemmoura in Ghelizane. After his death, he was buried in Wadi al Ansar.

The structural relationship between the visit of shrines and the intellectual framework of society manifests in the bundle of functional and utilitarian services that these shrines provided. They served as the most prominent therapeutic haven for widespread psychological and organic disorders, such as infertility, psychosis (schizophrenia), and miscarriages, as well as ailments of the wrists, and the nervous and digestive systems. Within this regressive context, the bond between the visitor and the Wali took on a ritualistic, doctrinal dimension governed by strict rules designed to preserve the spontaneity of the space. These rules included the prohibition of constructing distinctive structures over the shrine, or hanging threads and amulets, while instructing visitors to minimize the duration of their stay.

In the collective imagination, these practices were not merely futile rituals; rather, they were considered a mechanism for seeking blessings and bringing the servant closer to their Creator through supplication and the distribution of alms. Historically, the status of the Wali was measured by his ability to fulfill the psychological and social needs of the common people. Thus, the saint became a symbolic refuge for protection against the tyranny and injustice of the ruling power, and a platform for invoking divine intercession, seeking healing, and relieving worldly distress and anxieties.

It is highly probable that throwing oneself into the embrace of the shrine stems from a psychological and spiritual gap in how humans perceive their relationship with the Creator; an urgent psychological need that found compensatory channels in visiting the shrines of the Awliya. This spiritual alienation crystallized into a structural aspiration toward a symbolic mediator, embodied in the image of a righteous man who lived their daily suffering and spoke their cultural language. This, in turn, generated a local spiritual solidarity that bound the inhabitants of a city or village to their neighboring saint, turning to him for succor during crises and livelihood hardships.

Within this critical perspective, the Wali transcends his material existence to transform into an "abstract idea" or a mental construct to which the public consciousness reverts, out of a belief in his charismatic abilities to mediate between the lower earthly world and the higher spiritual world. (Mohamed Mubarek al Mili,1982, p. 13). The Algerian society integrated into an intertwined ritual and social system that accompanied funerals, weddings, and religious and annual feasts, within an interactive process between man and his temporal and spatial environment. This integration revealed symbolic and structural meanings of ritual spaces, foremost among which were the shrines of the Awliya, which embodied channels of continuous emotional communication between the living and their deceased ancestors.

Within anthropological approaches, the phenomenon of visit is explained as liberation from the material world toward a spiritual space represented by the Wali, and an attempt to escape the constraints of earthly reality into the vastness of the sacred imagination. The Wali enjoyed a high socio-cultural status that institutionalized his veneration through symbolic behaviors, such as kissing the grave, swearing by his blessing, and lighting candles in the corridors of the shrines. Historically, these spaces were associated with hosting Quranic memorization circles that extended through the night, a phenomenon that underwent a ritual transformation whereby women began lighting candles corresponding to the number of their family members to seek blessings and divine protection.

The roles of the Awliya extended beyond the devotional dimension to regulating the social sphere, thanks to the blessings and supernatural deeds

attributed to them. Their word was definitive in settling tribal and familial disputes, alongside their educational roles in interpreting the Sharia and mobilizing for jihad based on their lineage legitimacy that extended to the prophetic household. In the current context, visiting shrines remains governed by the outputs of the popular imagination and the multiplicity of its symbolic representations. The Algerian individual approaches these spaces driven by varying health, social, and religious needs, seeking to resolve crises and achieve personal goals through the ritual of seeking blessings. (Ibn Ahmed Ahmed, 2001, p. 14).

The sanctity of the funerary space in Algeria manifested through its structural overlapping with the houses of God (mosques). The names of a group of congregational mosques became coupled with icons of intellectual and Sufi righteousness to immortalize their scholarly status; the Mosque of Sheikh Abu Madyan Shu'ayb al Ishbili al Tlemcani stands out as a testament to this interweaving. The burial of Awliya adjacent to these mosques consolidated a collective belief centered on the blessings of the righteous and their metaphysical ability to bring down retribution upon violators of their sanctity. This legitimized the thesis of the Protector Wali or the Guardian of the City, under whose shadow the town took refuge.

In parallel with this symbolic dimension, mosques and Zawiyas undertook an enlightening function aimed at dismantling ignorance and spreading knowledge, in harmony with the Islamic vision that established knowledge and awareness as an existential value inaugurated by the very first verses of the divine revelation. In the Islamic perspective, the pairing of knowledge and faith constitutes a lever for state-building and safeguarding society by relying on components of material and spiritual strength, while emphasizing the comprehensiveness of knowledge and its transcendence beyond purely jurisprudential frameworks toward cosmic and empirical sciences. Based on the principle of the commonality of knowledge and the prohibition of its monopolization, Islamic scholars established a scientific renaissance and authored unique medical encyclopedias that became fundamental references for Western thought after being translated into Latin. These same epistemological principles and values were taught to the students of the Zawiyas to ensure the

continuity of the calling and the dissemination of religious and societal awareness. (Houcine Abdel-Hamid Ahmed Radwan, 2008, pp. 281-282).

The divergence in readings of the collective imagination regarding the fate of the shrine visit phenomenon, between the inevitability of disappearance and the opportunities for continuity, leads to the classification of two analytical currents. The first current tends to advocate for its durability, considering it one of the ideal ritual channels utilized by Sufi-order tendencies to draw closer to the Creator. This continuity reflects a correlation between the public manifestation of religious identity on one hand, and the inability of the prevailing socio-cultural structure to decode certain organic and psychological phenomena on the other. The individual reverts to the ritual space to fulfill a doctrinal inevitability whenever their material and cognitive tools fail to satisfy their existential needs, thereby attempting to create a psychological balance between the soul and the body. In its anthropological essence, the visit represents a psychological outlet that transfers the social actor from the pressure of the material sphere to the breadth of the spiritual space, forming a non-material communicative system that links the present to the past by invoking the blessings of the ancestors to alleviate the weight of the visitor's crisis-ridden reality (Filali, K., 1997, p. 117).

While the continuity of celebrating shrines demonstrates the resilience of societal thought and its ability to confront the dynamics of social and cultural change, it simultaneously reveals the flexibility of Sufi-order movements in developing, adapting, and re-engineering social bonds to ensure their survival. This structural adaptation elevated the shrine from a mere funerary space to a pivotal "socio-religious, cultural, and political institution," relying on a symbolic capital composed of the aura of sanctity that surrounds the Wali in the popular consciousness. It was within this environment that practices of dervishism and belief in the supernatural flourished, providing a nurturing environment for the survival and spread of the twin phenomena of students/reciters and Awliya.

CONCLUSION:

Our findings show that shrines and Mzaras dominated the Ottoman Algeria, as many people and even the Ottoman rulers visited shrines to seek healing, blessing, protection, and victory. Each shrine was believed to help

people realize specific purposes. In this regard, the number of shrines increased and their reputation expanded, such as the shrine of Sidi Abdurrahman al Thaalibi, which were centers of charitable, social, and religious activities. People are attached to shrines because of the scientific and religious achievements of Awliya. However, this leads to polytheism and the rejection of scientific thought and acceptance of myths. The concentration of shrines in rural regions is due to limited cultural and educational development.

These behavioral patterns and manifestations reinforce the hypothesis that such rituals will not only endure but actually expand, driven by the absence of a religious deterrent and a scarcity of rigorous academic research on the subject—a trend further accelerated by the contemporary revival of Waadat and Zardat. These embedded practices, rituals, and conceptual representations have deeply institutionalized the sanctity of the righteous Awliya within the popular imagination, framing their structural presence as an essential vehicle for drawing closer to the Creator. This explains the enduring survival and ongoing veneration of the righteous Awliya.

The saturation of Sufi thought with these representations, which relies on dervishism and mystification as foundational premises for diagnosing illnesses and explaining worldly phenomena—serves exclusively to perpetuate the trajectories of this mindset. The communal mechanics of the rituals known as Hadra or Zarda, specifically the deliberate inclusion of the impoverished, their designated share of sacrificial offerings, and the collective solidarity displayed by participants—have further cemented societal adherence to these gatherings. Besides, the proliferation and sustained sanctity of shrines occur predominantly within rural enclaves and working-class urban neighborhoods where illiteracy and a culture of spiritualism are prevalent, creating a fertile environment for the validation of such supernatural occurrences.

Far from being mere spaces for devotional worship, shrines operated as pivotal social, political, and economic institutions that actively forged the Algerian identity during the Ottoman era. Despite its deep entrenchment in the popular consciousness and its capacity to withstand historical shifts, this spiritualistic framework, with all its associated rituals, remains essentially mythological, conceptually contradictory, and primitive in practice, strategically

sustaining its sanctity and survival by anchoring itself among vulnerable and simple social demographics.

Based on what was said, we recommend widening the scope of the study on shrines and Awliya to find out about their works in life, and taking care of shrines and Zawiyas as a cultural and civilizational heritage.

7. Bibliography list:

1. Abid, A. S. (2009). *Social Perceptions of Shrine Visits in Traditional Treatments, A Socio-Cultural Study of the Shrine of Al Wali "Sidi Bouabdallah" in Oued Rhiou.* Oran: Faculty of Psychology and Education, University of Oran.
2. Abou El Kacem, S. (2007). *Cultural History of Algeria, Vol. 4, , , p. 11.* Algiers: House Al-Basaer.
3. Ahmed, I. A. (2001). *Al Waada between Religious Rules and Popular Practices," Journal of Arts and Human Sciences.* Algeria: University of Tlemcen.
4. Al-Atri, A. (2014). *The Blessings of Awliya.* Casablanca, Morocco: Schools Publication and Distribution Company.
5. Al-Jilali, A. (1980). *General History of Algeria* (Vol. 1). Beirut.
6. Al-Juhari, M. (n.d.). *The Science of Folklore, A Study of Popular Beliefs.* Alexandria: , Knowledge House.
7. Al-Madani, A. T. (1986). *Muhammad Othman Basha, Dey of Algiers (1766-1791).* Algiers: National Book Institution.
8. Al-Rawi, A. (1994). *Sufism and Parapsychology.* Beirut: Arab Foundation for Studies and Publication.
9. Al-Razi, Y. b. (2002). *Jewels of Sufism, explanation and commentary by Said Haroun Ashour.* Cairo, Egypt: Literature Library.
10. Al-Tamghrouti, A. b. (2002). *The Musky Scent in the Turkish Embassy, edited by Abdel Latif Al-Chadli.* Rabat: Royal Press.
11. Al-Tamimi, A. (1985). *Research and Documents on the History of the Maghreb, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya 1816-1871.* Zaghouan: Center for Studies and Research on the Arab States in the Ottoman Era.

12. Al-Wansharisi, A. A.-A. (1981). *The Comprehensive and Correct Standard of the Fatwas of the Scholars of Ifriqiya, Andalusia, and Maghreb, Vol. 2, edited by Mohamed Hajji.* Beirut: Islamic Occident House.
13. Al-Zahar, A. C. (1980). *Memoirs of the Head of the Nobles.* Algiers: Ahmed Tawfik Al-Madani.
14. Al-Zayani, A. E. (1991). *The Great Biography on the News of the World's Land and Sea.* Rabat: Knowledge Publication House.
15. Anonymous. (2021). *The Story of Sidi Abd al-Rahman al-Thaalibi.* Algiers: Manuscript No. 1546, National Library.
16. Azzoug, A. (2000). *Domes and Minarets in Islamic Architecture.* Algiers: University Publications Office.
17. Azzougue Saleh, L. M. (1996). *Domes in Islamic Architecture.* Beirut: Al-Bahja House.
18. Barbarossa, K. a.-D. (2010). *Memoirs of Khayr al-Din Barbarossa.* Algiers: Al-Asala for Publication and Distribution.
19. Belhamiss, M. (2003). *Abou Zaid Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Makhloof al-Thaalibi.* Algiers: Publications of the Scientific Council of the National Union of Algerian Zawiyas.
20. Belhamissi, M. (1972). The Raid of Charles V on the City of Algiers 948 AH/1541 AD between Islamic and Western Sources," , No. 8, p. 24. *Al-Asala*, pp. 20- 24.
21. Ben Aoun, B. A. (2002). *The Historical Roots of the Phenomenon of Seeking Blessings (Master Dissertation).* Tlemcen: University of Tlemcen.
22. Ben Choaïb, A.-A. (1907). " Les Marabouts Guérisseurs. *Revue africaine*.
23. Boukhadra, M. (2012). *Al Wali in Popular Imagination: Qadirism in Western* . Algeria: (PhD thesis in Anthropology), University of Tlemcen.
24. Bouzeboudja, S. (2009). *The Civilizational and Cultural Dimensions in Libya, the Sanusi Order as a Model (Master Dissertation in Modern History).* Sidi Bel Abbes: University of Sidi Bel Abbes.
25. Bouzid, B. (2012). *Sufism and Authority, the Dialectic of Resistance and Peace and the Symbolism of the Master of Time.* Algiers: Dhakirat Al-Umma House.

26. Box. (n.d.). *Sharia Courts.*
27. Box. (n.d.). *Sharia Courts.*
28. Chaif, O. (1988). *The Civilizational Struggle in the Islamic World, an Analytical Introduction to the Philosophy of Civilization by Malek Bennabi.* Algiers: University Publications Office.
29. Chevallier, C. (1980). *The First Thirty Years of the Establishment of the City-State of Algiers, 1510-1541.* Ben Aknoun, Algiers: University Publications Office.
30. Dahmani, L. (April 2019). *Blessing, Seeking Blessing, and Zawiya.* Algeria: Believers without Borders Foundation.
31. Dahmani, M. (2019). *Stories on the Miracles of Awliya in Chlef.* Algiers: University of Algiers.
32. DERMENGHEM, É. (1954). *Le culte des saints dans l'islam maghrébin.* Paris: Gallimard.
33. DEVOULX, A. (1863). Les édifices religieux de l'ancien Alger. *revue africaine*.
34. Douté, E. (1900). *Notes sur l'islam maghrébin.* Paris: Ernest Leroux.
35. Fagnan, E. (1894). Un chant algérien du XVIII siècle. *Revue africaine*, pp. 33- 38.
36. Gueshiouche, N., & Rahmani , N. (2015). *Customs of VisitingShrines and Awliya.* Tlemcen: Cultural Dialogue Journal.
37. Haëdo, D. (1998). *Topographie et histoire générale d'Alger.* Algeria: éditions bouchene.
38. Haedo, F. D. (1881). *Histoire des rois d'Alger (Epitome de los reyes de argel – valladolid 1612).* Alger: Edition Adolphe Jourdan.
39. Hamdadou, A.-A. B. (2006). *Sheikh Sidi Adda bin Ghulam Allah and His Works in Thought and Sufism.* Islamic Occident House.
40. Heinrich, M. (1979). *Three Years in Western North Africa, Abou El Aid Doudo.* Algeria.
41. Ibn Ammar, A.-J. (2019). *The Bee's Gift with News of the Journey to the Beloved.* Algiers: Manuscript, No. 2757, National Library.
42. Kaid, S. M. (2007). *Sufism in the Popular Poetry of Sheikh Kaddour bin Achour al-Zarhouni , p. 26.* Tlemcen: (PhD Thesis in Folklore), University of Tlemcen.

43. khodja, H. (1982). *The Mirror, Arabization and editing by Al-Zubairi Mohamed Al-Arabi.* Algiers: National Company for Publication and Distribution.
44. KHOJA, H. (1833). *Aperçu historique et statistique sur la régence d'alger.* paris: imprimerie de goetschy fils et compagnie.
45. Mahnawi, A.-M. Z. (2006). *The Shrines of Awliya in Western Algeria.* Tlemcen: Abou BekrBelkaid University.
46. Mahnawi, A.-M. Z. (2006). *The Shrines of Awliya in Western Algeria.* Tlemcen: Abou BekrBelkaid University, Tlemcen.
47. Mekahli, M. (2019). *Awliya and the Righteous in Algeria: Phenomenon and Origins.* Oran: Quds House.
48. Moussa, A. b. (2001). *The Profit of Trade and the Gain of Happiness Regarding the Rules of Visits.* Algiers: National Library, Manuscript No. 3251.
49. Nafisa, D. (2015). Funerary Spaces and Rituals, Beliefs and Rituals Related to Shrines in Algeria during the Ottoman Era. *Humanities Journal*, pp. 11-34.
50. Nilsson, M. N. (2019). *A Norwegian Captive in the City of Algiers.* Algiers: Al-Badr Al-Satei for Printing and Publishing.
51. Paradis, V. d. (1981). *Alger au XVIIIè siècle.* Tunis: Bouslama.
52. Pfaïffer, S. (1974). *Memoirs or a Historical Glimpse of Algiers, edited by Abou El Aid Doudou.* Algiers: SNED.
53. Rahira, M. (2013). *The Sufi Symbolism in Social Crises: Miracles and Their Manifestations in the Middle Maghreb (Master Dissertation).* Oran: Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, University of Oran.
54. RINN, L. (1884). *Marabout et khouan étude sur l'Islam en Algerie, .* Alger: Adolphe Jourdan, Libraire de l'Académie.
55. Rozet, C.-A. (1833). *Voyage dans la régence D'Alger.* paris: A. Bertrand.
56. Saadallah, A. E. (1990). *Research and Opinions on the History of Algeria.* Beirut: Islamic Occident House.
57. Saadallah, A. E. (2007). *Cultural History of Algeria.* Algiers: House Al-Basaer.

58. Said, M. (2018). *Sainthood and Righteousness in Ifriqiya in the Early Middle Ages*. Tunis: Al-Magharibia for Printing and Publication.
59. Wolf, J. B. (1986). *The Barbary Coast: Algiers under the Turks*. Algiers: National Book Institution.
60. Yakhlef, A.-H. (2012). *The Foundational Anthropological Principles and Their Relationship to the Zawiya of Sidi Ahmed Douma in Ain Temouchent*. Oran: University of Oran.
61. Yassine, B. (2013). Beliefs in the Miracles of Awliya in Algiers during the Ottoman Era. *ournal of Human Sciences*, pp. 367-383.