

Suspensions of Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani during his visits to Algeria in 1939- 1949 And his relations with the French colonizer

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Abstract:

This article deals with a well-known religious and political figure in the Maghreb, who is the personality of Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani al-Maghribi. This man had many visits to Algeria, and he used to receive men of knowledge, mysticism and the national movement in all his visits, but some of his projects made him somewhat suspicious. Because of his involvement with French colonialism, and for this we find some Algerian thinkers, such as Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi, who see him as a conspirator against the national cause, and he must be confronted.

Keywords: Abd al Hay Al-Kettani; Bashir Ibrahimi; Kettaniya method; conference of Zawiyas.

1- Introduction

It is not easy to talk about the real beginning of the Moroccan national movement, as it is a subject intertwined with the Moroccan intellectual movement at the level of scholars and the elite class. The national movement in a more precise sense appeared – for some – the first time since the first precursors of intellectual reform with the Islamic renewal pioneers at the end of nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. The current political and cultural reality needed a comprehensive national activity that touches all of the political, cultural and social aspects together, but the national movement as a designation – under the French protectorate – has taken the direction of the concept that expresses weapons as a first means to achieve the national goal, so patriotism aimed to preserve this homeland and protect it from any attempt to interfere, occupy or dominate, and thus the Moroccans fought in the mountains, the desert and the coasts since Western colonialism began looking beyond the seas, so Abd al-Karim took down arms in the countryside, and Maa al-Aynayn took down arms in the desert, and Hamo Al-Zayani took down arms in Atlas, it is, on the other hand, the works of some scholars and intellectuals were aiming at the same goal, but they took another path, which represented caring for the issues of the state and society from an intellectual

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perspective that would prevent the country from sinking into a whirlpool of religious, social and political deviations.

The Kettani family was one of the most scholarly famous and respected families in Morocco, because many scholars and mystics became famous «from this family», who left a huge legacy in many arts and sciences that are still preserved in Moroccan libraries and treasuries. This family was present at the heart of the decisive events in the history of Morocco, through the interest of its men in the political and cultural scene at that time. The Sufi, Al-Kettani Orders «Tariqa» took upon itself the task of religious and cultural reform and renewal before and after the death of the founder of the Tariqa «Sufi religious sect», Abu Al-Fayd Muhammad son of Abdul Kabir Al-Kettani (الكتاني م.، 2002، صفحة 429). Likewise, during the advent of his brother Abd al-Hay, who is known for his endeavors, such as calling for administrative reform in Morocco, creating the constitution and parliaments, and inciting the Moroccan tribes to wage war against the French colonialism.

This proposal is not intended to introduce Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani, nor to introduce the Kettani Tariqa, despite the fact that the man had a prestigious position in the cultural, scientific and religious in the Arab world, due to his wide knowledge, the large number of books, the multiplicity of trips and travels, and the diversity of his scientific interests and Sufism. Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani, in the view of some Moroccans – al-Mununi and others – is considered one of the pioneers of reformist thought, and an advocate of religious, social, moral and civilizational reform, instead of political reform, despite all this; Some elites in both Morocco – in particular – and Arab world – in general –; They consider him a traitor to the Arab and Islamic nations causes in certain historical circumstances!! However, no one denies what Sheikh Al-Kettani achieved in terms of fame or success.

This latter proposition is based on Sheikh Al-Kettani's dealings with those circumstances that helped him achieve that fame, and his maintenance of friendly relations with some influential personalities in the French administration during the period of protection in Morocco «1912/1956»; Because of this, he obtained great influence that he used in all his activities. In this regard, he founded the Sufi Orders Conference, in order to create a conglomerate of Sufi orders in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. This raises the biggest problem in an attempt to read carefully and scrutinize the event, the result and the historical context of those endeavors. So we ask the following question: Were all of these –endeavors– stemming from the tendencies of the Kettaneh Order, or the goals of the colonizer who made the Tariqa a tool for its implementation?

In this context, we find Sheikh Al-Kettani has tried to intensify his activities in the three countries: Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. What interests us in this context are the activities of Sheikh Abd al-Hay in Algeria through his frequent visits, linking intermarriage, scholarly and Sufi relations, as well as fraternal relations with some Sufis in Algeria. Especially in Telemcen, Mascara, Boussaada, Tolga and Mila.

These issues raise a lot of questions about the reality of the Kettani call «Daawa» in the elite, cultural and student circles, and about how the pioneers of the Sufi orders in Algeria receive – Sheikh Kettani and the Kettani order, and whether the Kettani order seeks through the conference of Zawiyas «Sufi institute» in North Africa to contain all the orders under its banner, And why exactly did Sheikh Al-Kettani choose Algeria? And why did the Kettani order give Algeria so much importance through its intense activity, more than Tunisia and Egypt? So what was Algeria considered for this Tariqa and for Sheikh Al-Kettani specifically? It is also worth asking about the Association of Muslim Scholars «Jamia al-Ulamaa al-Muslimin», which was distinguished by its total rejection of the activity of this Sufi sect or Tariqa in Algeria and its sheikh altogether, and this position was represented by the head of the association, Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi.

1.1– Preliminaries of Tariqa Kettaniya:

As for establishing this Tariqa; Its men claim that it is divided into two parts: the old Tariqa “Al-Muhammadiyah”, and the new one “Al-Ahmadiyya”:

1.2– the Muhammadan-Kettani Tariqa:

This Order or Tariqa is attributed to Al-Kettani family. It is a branch of the honorable dynasty that inhabited Morocco. This family descends from Prince Yahya III, called Al-Kettani son of Imran, who is attributed to Idris son of Idris son of Abdullah Al-Kamil son of Al-Hassan Al-Muthanna son of Al-Hassan Al-Sibt son of Ali son of Abi Talib. They are Alawis as the Kettani describe themselves. This is based on what al-Qadri mentioned in the book **al-Durr al-Sunni...**, but it should be noted that they only report that in undocumented words, just as I personally did not see this claim in the aforementioned book by Abd al-Salam ibn al-Tayyib al-Qadri, in its lithograph, in the handwriting of the sheikh Hasan al-Kettani, a copy of the treasury of Ali ibn al-Muntasir al-Kettani.

However, what Abd al-Salam al-Qadri mentioned about the affiliation of the Kettani branch is not separate from what is known from the entirety of the reports of the honorable Idrisis and what was said in that of agreed authenticity. He says: "...they have, despite their idleness, submission and acceptance from people for their honorable lineage. They are not hidden «unanimous» nor are they hard to be distinguished and they are from the tribe of Muhammad son of Idris the caliphate in Fes after his father, then the

descendant of his grandson Yahya son of Yahya, and both of them – according to the historians – were in Fez as a prince... » (القادري، 1698، صفحة 38). However, the aforementioned Yahya son of Yahya was not the first to be called Al-Kittani, but rather his grandson named Yahya son of Imran son of Yahya the second. Therefore, what the historical literature is based on; which dealt with the lineage of the Al-Kettani family, quoting from the book *Al-Durr Al-Sunni* ... such as the book *Al-Riyadh Al-Rabbaniyyah fi Al-Shu'bah Al-Kettaniyyah*, and so *Al-Nabdha al-Yasira fi Ahwal Al-Shu'bah Al-Rabbaniya* and others; is proof of the honor of Yahya II, to whom this family is attributed, and it does not necessarily prove that this family belongs to the Idrisi origin nor does it negate their affiliation that origin. Yet, it affects the referential rooting of the historical texts discussed in this case.

We do not care about the Kettani family or its lineage as much as we care about the path that this family took to reach the religious and world glory. It appeared by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of twentieth century as it was known by the Kettani Order. Some years later, the first Kettani Zawiya – a Sufi institute– was established in Fez, which is “Al-Zawiya Al-Kettaniyya al-Kubra” in Houmat al-Qattanin in Adwa of Fez al-Qarawiyyin, where it was founded by Abu al-Mafakhir Sheikh Muhammad so of Abd al-Wahed al-Kettani «d. 1872», the sheikh of the Muhammadiyah al-Kettaniyya order.

The Kettaniyya Order was established in 1266 AH / 1850 AD in Fez, out of necessity!! To contain religious, political and social sedition and fluctuations occurring in Morocco (الكثاني م., 2002، صفحة 82). For this reason, it created a number of Zawiyas for it in Fez, the Great Palace, Zerhoun, Marrakech and other cities in Morocco and Chinguetti, and in the East as well. Especially Medina and Egypt. Its founder had a remarkable activity in the Daawa field (الكثاني م., 2002، صفحة 86). Many people and scholars benefited from him, and much misguidance was eliminated by him, and he set out to the door of Allah for the ignorant, until he was called the Imam of the Imams, as described by Dr. Hamzah bin Ali Al-Kettani.

And he had apparent Karams «holy endowed privileges» and supernatural habits, and he did not care about them, but his purpose was the abundance of worshipping Allah Almighty, night prayers, Tahajjud prayer, performing Nafila «extra and voluntarily» fasting and prayers, avoiding suspicions, guidance, calling for the good and forbidding evil, until he was known to the people of his time and country – Fez – with righteousness, dignity and guardianship «Walaya, meaning closeness to Allah».

He traveled to the East for Hajj three times, in which he learned about the major scholars of the East. Like the imam who knows Allah, Muhammad bin Ali Al-Senussi Al-

Idrisi. And scholars from the East learned from him; Such as the Imam, the scholar Hussain bin Muhammad al-Habashi al-Ba'alawi, the sheikh of Islam in Makkah al-Mukarramah, and the Imam Muhammad bin Yahya al-Walati al-Shanqeeti, who was one of his significant followers (الكتاني م., 2002، صفحة 171).

Sheikh Abu Al-Mafakher was born in 1819, died in Fez in 1872, and left more than thirty reference books and works, poems, and more than forty Sufi parties. He was singled out in and endorsed by more than one author, and his successor in his Tariqa: his son, the Imam, the scholar who well knows Allah; Sheikh Abu Al-Makarim Abdul Kabir bin Muhammad Al-Kettani.

It is a Qadiri, Shadhili, and Naqshabandi order/Tariqa, as its sheikh used to describe it, and this Tariqa ended with the emergence of the Ahmadiyya Kitaniyya order, and the rest of its followers joined the Ahmadiyya Kitaniyyah Tariqa.

1.3– The remaining Tariqa: the Ahmadiyya al-Kettaniyyah Order:

It is a comprehensive, Sufi, and divine Tariqa, founded by Imam Abu al-Fayd Muhammad bin Abd al-Kabir bin Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahed al-Kettani in 1308, he did not reach twenty years old yet, and it is the remaining order that has spread to the easts and wests of the earth.

2– The Kettaniya method during the era of Abd al-Hay and its relationship to national action:

In the deleted part of the investigation Muhammad ben Abdul Kabir Al-Kettani mentioned in his book; *Tarjamat al-Shahid al-Kettani* «The outline of the martyr al-Kettani» the following: «This is because his second son, sir Abd al-Hay al-Kettani, who became the head of the Kittani Order after his death and was one of the leaders of the Islamic and national movement during the previous independence era, and he did great deeds for the benefit of his religion and his country under The translator's leadership, published in newspapers, written in books, and mentioned in the royal courts». This indicates that the Al-Kettani Order, with its men and system; It had a leading role in the Moroccan national movement, especially in the early days of imposing the French protectorate on Morocco, and the Kettani movement intervened with all its weight to overthrow Mawla Abdel Aziz, for violating the contracts on which the validity of the people's allegiance to him was based (الكتاني ع., مفاكهة ذوي النبل والإجادة؛ حضرة مدير جريدة السعادة، 2013، صفحة 115).

2.1– The transfer of the sheikhdom of the Tariqa to Abd al-Hay al-Kettani:

In the year 1915, Sidi Abdul-Kabir bin Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahed al-Kettani, known as Jabal al-Sunnah, who was administering the remaining Kittani order in

Morocco since the year 1911, died, to be officially led by his son, Sheikh Abd al-Hay, so that the Kettani order entered a decisive turning point in its history, because this man – Although he was endorsed by the French administration in Morocco. However, he was not accredited by some of the supporters of the Kettaniyya Tariqa, especially the people of the city of Sale, who considered him imposed on them by the French colonialists, usurping the rights of other sons of Sheikh Abi Al-Fayd, the founder of the Tariqa. Abu Al-Fayd reminded of the bad points of his brother showed his enmity and accused him of some major sins!! (الهاللي، د.ت، صفحة 12).

Dr. Taqi al-Din al-Hilali narrates in his book *Al-Hadiya Al-Haadiya* that Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani is an enemy of all Sufi orders, and that he considers them only a means of defrauding people's money by using religion and holiness, and harnessing and enslaving people to serve the purposes of the sheikhs of the order and Zawiyas. When Taqi al-Din al-Hilali replied to him that with these words, he is considered to have devoured people's money unlawfully, as he is a sheikh of the Kitaniyya order. He responded to him by saying: «I did not establish the order, rather someone else established it, and this money that I take from them I spend it on interests them «would not» do not spend on...» (الهاللي، د.ت، الصفحات 13-14) It should be noted that this speech is very logical, but it is obvious for many in our time that this is the case of leaders who think about their positions and status. So, the sheikh of the Tariqa –even if he did not say such a thing–. However, in reality he will do it, and he will find a justification for himself to exploit people's money and control it, even if he did not declare that.

2.2– His relations with France:

Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani –as a historical figure– will be bound by what the documents, which many researchers rely on in writing history, mention. Therefore, having any relationship with the leaders of French colonialism will affect that historical reputation, especially the status and reputation he gained as a sheikh, Hafez «erudite», narrator of Hadith «Muhaddith», and restorative!! It will be interpreted as a friendly relationship with the French usurpers of the land and hostile to its people. This will be very strange for everyone who recognizes the personality of Sheikh Al-Hafiz Al-Muhadith Abd Al-Hay Al-Kettani, which makes this character a source of many queries.

The first thing we can review in these situations; The position of some of those belonging to the family and the Kettani order, or those who cared about the legacy of Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani, such as the sheikh, the investigator Abdullah al-Jabari, who investigated the book of *Al-Ifadatt wa al-Inshadatt* «testimonies and chants», the latter who noted Important observations –not all of which are of interest to us– including what is related to the sheikh's methodology in graduating Hadiths and narrations, and so

on. Abd al-Hay narrated these testimonies and chants upon a class of his sheikhs, those at his class or level and those who are inferior to his class. He also narrated from scholars and writers from Morocco in various cities, and from Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Astana, Hijaz, and others. But the question raised by Al-Jabari is, "Why did he never narrate from the scholars of the national movement? However, he narrated on the authority of Abi Shu'aib al-Dakkali who was adherent to the colonialism! And he narrated on the authority of the Mufti of Constantine, al-Mawlud ibn al-Mawhub, who sought to prevent Ibn Badis from teaching at the Great Mosque. He did not narrate from the Shaykh al-Islam Belarbi al-Alawi, Allal al-Fassi, or others, did he not chiefly meet them? Or did they reject him and refuse to sit with him?" A question worthy of research and exploration (الجبّاري، 2016). But the objective researcher cannot take this case as evidence to condemn or accuse Sheikh Al-Kettani of impartiality or bias, as this is not conclusive evidence to prove or deny something, for the evidence is in what is mentioned not in what is not.

Referring to the Al-Kettani family, we note that what Muhammad Baqir Al-Kettani mentioned on the authority of his uncle, Abd al-Hay; And that is in biography of Sheikh Al-Fayd Al-Kettani, the founder of the order/Tariqa, so we find it worthy of attention and contemplation, and it may contain within its folds and meanings a real hatred towards Sheikh Abd Al-Hay Al-Kettani, and perhaps this is due to a case similar to usurping the leadership of the Kettani order, or changing its course of national action, and that is clear and evident in his saying: « I say that this second son was deprived of success by God and excluded him from the zone of reform, so his thoughts were turned upside down, and He came to see good as evil and evil as good. Among his mistaken opinions, His approval to the French, who asked for cooperation with him under the pretext that he was spared the harm of Abd al-Hafiz, who was threatening him to be re-arrested whenever human demons brought him any worrying news; he was preceded –with cooperation– with them by many major figures. Among his false views that he discontinued working in the national field or level under the pretext that the statesmen are among the great scholars as well as the ignorant of the people did not appreciate the deeds of the Kettani leaders, but rather abused them before and after the ordeal, which could be told in book size. They never talked to themselves about intervening to Abd Al-Hafidh to free them at the time. Moreover, his determination to take revenge from all those who abused him and his family thanks to the influence that he will gain from the French ». So, the personality of Sheikh Al-Kettani, according to his nephew, is a deranged personality, seeking revenge and reaching the greater prestige, harnessing all capabilities to reach those goals, and this is what Sheikh Taqi Al-Din Al-Hilali heard from Sheikh Al-Kettani directly, through what he confided to him; He does not believe in Tariqas « order system /ideology» or Tariqa groups , but it is only a means to obtain worldly gains (الكثاني ع.، 2007، صفحة 154).

Al-Kettani intervened in many sensitive political issues, and he wrote many articles and treatises about that, for example; **Mufakaha dhawi an-Nobl wa al-Ijada** «Fruitfulness of nobility and proficiency people», Hadhrat Mudir Jaridat Al-Saada «Honorable Director of Al-Saada Newspaper», Fi Shurut Al-Bayaa wa Nawaqidiha wa ma Yataaqu bidhalik «in terms of the pledge of allegiance and its nullifiers and what is related to that», as well as a treatise on **Ahlu Al-Hil wa Al-Aqd, man Hum?** «the people of the nullification and the contract, who are they?» As well as his treatise entitled: **al-Nasiha li-Sultan Al-Mawla Abd Al-Hafeez** «Advice to Sultan Mawla Abdul Hafeez» And in his first mentioned book; We find the author frequently praising the patriotic personalities who struggled to uphold the word of religion and carry out the matter of jihad and support religion and its followers. We also find him denouncing those who seek the help of non-Muslims against Muslims, describing it as apostasy and disbelief! (الفاسي، 1971، صفحة 114) He brought many examples from Andalusian and Moroccan history, such as what happened to al-Mu'tamid ibn Abbad, al-Ayashi the Faqih, Mawla Muhammad al-Sheikh al-Ma'mun al-Saadi and others. He considered, in sum, throwing into the arms of the enemy not permissible according to Sharia, it is rather an apostasy. These ideas that he discussed and decided in his own way; It entered him into a maze, and even entered all the men of the Kettani sect into what we might call the calamity of the Kettani family.

2.3– Falling into the arms of the French colonizer:

Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani suffered many scourges of imprisonment at the hands of the Moroccan Makhzan, which negatively affected the personality and psyche of Sheikh Abd al-Hay. The time he cried out for advocate to help him set up the throne of Kettani's sovereignty, he found himself in the arms of the French colonizer who would not reject him, nor would it he rejects any Tariqa which could coexist with France.

Prior to this, Sheikh Abd al-Hay used to announce his friendship and relations with some French personalities, such as General Louis Hubert Gonzale Lyautey, the cherished of the Moroccan nation! (الكثاني ع.، 1345هـ)، as we find him attended the memorial service of Count Henri de Castries (CASTRIES, 1907, p. 03) and he delivered an impressive speech on this occasion, including praise and compliments for the French military officer (الكثاني ع.، 1345هـ).

The sheikh's friendship with the French was confirmed following the case of removing Muhammad bin Yusuf from the royal throne. This case broke the back of Kettani sheikh and all the Kettanis, which states that Sheikh Nasser bin Arafa against Ben Youssef in 1953, which Idris Al-Mouden expressed by saying: «He notably earned the image of the “traitor”, which contributed to the development of the stereotyped image employed by the national government and its parties trying to promote themselves, taking

advantage of this fact, especially since the thirties, France had assisted Al-Kettani in the formation of league of advocating Zawiyas for it in French North Africa, as it did in West Africa, in order to limit the role of antagonistic Zawiyas» (منصف، 2014). However, Muhammad al-Baqir al-Kettani does not see any harm in this according to the Kittani Order, because he limits what he called "conspiracy" on the Moroccan issue; He restricts it to the one who committed its sin, he is his uncle, Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani, to the exclusion of the rest of the Kettanis, on the grounds that the rest of the Kettanis have separated from him and joined him, because he sees himself as the heir of his father's Order (الكثاني م.، 2002، صفحة 461).

Also, Sheikh Al-Kettani has come to see that it is necessary to search for Tariqa allies and friends outside Morocco, hence; Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt were his destination full of ambitions, and the French will help him in that.

2.4– Sheikh Abdel Hay El Kettani's visit to Algeria:

Sheikh Al-Kettani knew that his great aspirations could not be implemented in Morocco the way he wanted, in light of the presence of many pioneers of the national movement of different stripes, and whom he did not trust sufficiently due to their different tendencies and diversity of their stripes, so it is not surprising that we find him directing his eyes to Algeria since the end of the twenties of that century.

The visit of Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani to Algeria must be full of benefits, in terms of the stations he stopped at and the Sufi personalities who had the privilege of meeting him, and the special arrangements to receive him. Among those stations we mention the city of Mascara and Tlemcen in the Algerian west, and Constantine and Biskra in the east, especially, since his Scholarly reputation and fame had arrived before him. In the first visit to Sheikh Al-Kettani, Sheikh Abd Al-Hamid bin Badis had prepared for him a poem of praise from his compositions that increased that fame and that reputation, and in it he said:

تَبَدَّى السَّعْدُ فِي الْحُلَلِ الْبَهِيَّةِ *** وَعَمَّ الْبَشَرُ فِي هَذِي الْبَرِيَّةِ

and spread the cheerfulness in this wilderness Blessing appeared in beautiful clothes

وَأَجْنَانَا الزَّمَانُ عَلَى سَخَاءٍ *** ثَمَارَ الْأَنْسِ سَائِعَةً هَيَّيَّةَ

And time generously spared for us the fruits of palatable and gracious affability

فَحَلَّ بِأَرْضِنَا خَبَرٌ كَرِيمٌ *** لَهُ فِي الدِّينِ أَنْارٌ جَلِيلَةٌ

A noble scholar has descended upon our land with clear implications for religion.

In praise of him, he has another poem in which he says:

أَهْلًا بِأَكْرَمِ زَائِرٍ سَعِدَتْ بِهِ *** بَلَدٌ عَدَتْ نَهْتُهُ كَالنَّشْوَانِ

Welcome to the most generous visitor I have ever had a country that has begun to vibrate in ecstasies

وَتَبَادَلَتْ أَيُّ التَّهَانِي رِجَالُهَا *** فَكَأَنَّهَا فِي الْعِيدِ وَالْغُفْرَانِ

And its men exchanged congratulations as if it was in the feast and forgiveness

يَا أَيُّهَا الضَّيْفُ الْمُكْرَّمُ مَرْحَبًا *** شَرَفْتَنَا، فَأَنْزِلْ أَجَلَ مَكَانٍ

O honored guest, welcome you honored us, go down for a glorious place And a third
one in which it says:

بُشْرَى فَقَدْ جَادَ الزَّمَانُ وَأَنْعَمَا *** فَعَدَا الْفَوَازُ مِنَ الْمَسَرَّةِ مُفْعَمَا

Good news, time has been generous and gracious so the heart became replete with
pleasure

قَدْ حَلَّ خَبَرُ الدِّينِ فِي بَلَدِ الْهَوَى *** لَيْسَتْ بِهِ جِلْيَ الْجَمَالِ مُحْتَمَا

The scholar of religion has settled in the country of passion with the sealed clothes of
beauty

أَخْيَيْتَ عَبْدَ الْحَيِّ مِنَّا أَنْفُسًا *** وَأَرَيْتَنَا الْخَلْقَ الْكَرِيمَ مُجَسَّمَا

You have given life to Abd al-Hay from among our souls, and you have shown us the
noble character embodied

Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani's visits to Algeria and Tunisia were repeated, and those subsequent visits were not inferior to the first, in terms of the abundance of benefits and his meeting with religious, Sufi and even French personalities. For example, we mention his visit to Hamlawi Zawiya in Oued al-Athmaniya in Constantine (A.W.O, Bulletin Mensuel des Questions Islamiques, 1951, p. 111). To coordinate between the two Zawiyas about the annual season of the Kettaniyya order in the city of Fez, which will be attended by forty Algerians, who will be hosted by Sheikh Abd al-Hay and the Kettaniyya order (O.A.W, 1952, p. 110). Thirty personalities who actually attended the celebration responded to this invitation (A.W.O, 1948, p. 04).

In the archives of the French Ministry of the Interior, the monthly publication of Islamic issues for the month of September 1949 says that Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani will represent the traditional teachers "Tariqas followers" teachers, while the document mentions other sheikhs such as Sheikh al-Asimi, the Hanafi mufti in the capital, and Sheikh Lakhdari Abdali from Constantine (A.W.O, 1949, pp. 81- 82).

Sheikh Al-Kettani expanded his influence in faraway regions in the deep of Algeria. Rather, the matter has come to the point that Sheikh Al-Kettani himself was in the process of being appointed by the French authorities as a ruler over the territory of the Qanadisa in Ain Al-Safra within the limits of January 1953, to succeed the La'raj Abd al-Rahman, who was mentioned in the report as having no effectiveness and influence in the Algerian-Moroccan border region, for this reason. He will be replaced by Sheikh Al-Kettani, who has been officially assigned the presidency of **la Fédération de confréries du Maroc oriental**, or the Brotherhood Federation of the Eastern Maghreb, which is indicated by the fact that it is a very recently established body (A.W.O, 1953, p. 111). it

was before that He presided over the conference of the Sufi Zawiyas Union in North Africa, under French auspices in 1939, thus; France has recruited Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kettani to gather the word of the sheikhs of the Sufi Zawiyas in North Africa to stand with them to confront the national movement combatants «Mujahideen» who may pose a threat to the French existence in North Africa, especially the members of the Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars.

3- The position of Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi on the activities of the Kettani order in Algeria:

It is not possible to limit the relations of the men of the Kettaniyyah –headed by Sheikh Abd al-Hay– with Algeria and the Algerian traditional elites to one position, but we can make the positions or attitudes of the Algerian traditional elite on two opposites, We can call the first position the Tariqi position, which is led by the men of both the Habari and Rahmani orders, and perhaps among the most important names cited in that are Sheikh Mustafa Al-Qasimi Al-Hamli Al-Busaadi, Sheikh Muhammad Al-Fadil bin Al-Taher bin Ashour and Al-Makki bin Azouz, while the completely opposite position is the position of the Association of Muslim Scholars And headed by Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi.

Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi, who succeeded Abd Al-Hamid Bin Badis in the presidency of the Association of Algerian Muslim Scholars, was not ignorant of what was happening in the political, cultural and media fields. Rather, he was following the latest developments, but he preferred to keep taciturn in terms of Imams conference. For he considered them «arrogated in what they came with except for one or two, the government used to plan for them and they duly implement that, and as for the Zawiyas men, if it were not for that profiting factor, they would not do what they did, and what they did was grievous, and it is not permissible to remain silent about it» (الإبراهيمي، أني كل حي). Finally, Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi decided to address the activities of Sheikh Al-Kettani in Algeria as a tool used by the French colonialists as they pleased, or «manage him as he wished, stir him up for sedition and so he moves, and calls him to disperse the ranks so he abides by, and he assigns him to battering and vandalism, and he finds them more flexible than his fingertips i.e. obedient and submissive» (الإبراهيمي، أني كل حي عبد الحي - مؤتمر الزوايا بعد مؤتمر الأئمة، 1997، صفحة 391).

The follower of the article written by Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi in Al-Basir Newspaper will stop for a long time before the meanings that he concealed behind his terminology, which explicitly refer to the ideology of the conflict between the loyal, adherent to or Tariqas dealing with French colonialism and the somewhat conservative Association of Muslim Scholars, and examples of that, not exclusively, said: «And we were informed of what happened in the conference in detail as well, even the names of

those present and the speakers..., until a paid student whom they counted as one of the followers of the followers stood up and mentioned the Association of Scholars... that it is a Wahhabi association..., and we here do not care about all of that just as we are not interested in the aims and objectives published by the French newspapers, because we know the truth with certainty» (الإبراهيمي، أفي كل حي عبد الحي - مؤتمر الزوايا بعد مؤتمر الأئمة، 1997، صفحة 394).

And after Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi elaborates in his article, **Afi kul Hay Abd al-Hay?** «Is there in every neighborhood Abd Al-Hay?» In the demands of the majority of scholars headed by the Algerian Muslim Scholars Association; The whole of which is summed up in separating religion from the French government, without stopping material aid and completely abandoning the religious side, or we can sum this up in the demand that religion not be directed and used by France, clergy, or religious institutions in what serves the colonialists, to conclude all this with a substantial question **Who is Abd al-Hay? And what is his business?** (الإبراهيمي، أفي كل حي عبد الحي - مؤتمر الزوايا بعد مؤتمر الأئمة، 1997، صفحة 395) What is the matter of all these changes and all those national and popular demands? Although Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi's judgment on Al-Kettani was considered very harsh, it was clear and not tainted by ambiguity. It was even clearer than what was announced by the conferees at the Zawiyas Conference on March 15, 1948, «...as if he minimized - despite its largeness - to be a place for his entertainment. Yep!! And his plots!! This time, he crossed the lines, crossed the trenches, and rushed to Algeria and Tunisia to spread his poisons in them, and take from them. A new playground for his story, from which he took part in the Al-Zawayas conference in Algeria, and to do for the government what it was unable to do. Harmonization of the averse individuals, and the removal of obstacles; to unite the three countries, but by separation, and to save them from the sea but by drowning...» (الإبراهيمي، 1997، صفحة 539).

4- Conclusion

we can say that Sheikh Abi Al-Isaad Al-Kettani has wide fame and a high position in Morocco and the Islamic world. We can also say that he deserves that status regardless to the position of the Kettani family as a scholarly and reforming one. The Hadrha of Fez as a religious and culture meeting has a reputation in Morocco and the Islamic world, regardless to his tireless efforts in travelling and seeking knowledge, inside the Far Maghreb «Morocco» such as Zarhoun, Sale, Meknes and Rabat, and also outside his country where he visited Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, the Hijaz and the Levant, as well as his visits to Europe, especially France, all of which were visits of knowledge and collection, as it is also a journey to form his own treasury, which It will later be known as the Kettani treasury, not to mention a significant number of works and books that he worked on

writing, perhaps the most famous of which are: **Fahres al-Faharis, Tarikh al-Maktabat al-Islamiya wa man Allafa fi al-Kutub** «history of Islamic libraries and who wrote books». All this contributed to building this distinguished personality.

Abd al-Hay al-Kettani saw himself as the most worthy and foremost of the Kettani Tariqa after the death of his founding brother, however, he changed the strategy of dealing with the Al-Makhzan «the ruling system in Morocco», trying to exit the Tariqa to the Maghreb or African horizons, even if it cost him this alliance with France of command and prohibition in these countries, In order to strengthen the Tariqa, as well as strengthen his position within the Tariqa as well, after his being preoccupied with defending the rights of the poor, oppressed among the public, try to cancel taxes, strengthen popular representation in the parliaments and not to empower the colonial enemy from Islamic lands and cities, In this context he collided directly with the royal Makhzan, He called for the withdrawal of confidence from King Abdel Aziz, criticizing his dishonorable positions towards the issues of the Moroccan nation, with a clear and explicit logic that says: that Casablanca and Oujda were subjected to the French occupation in full view of the king, and if he said we handed over the country to them in order to discipline its people; This is then negligence, and if he says they entered it by force, then this is powerlessness, and in both cases he must be removed.

Even after Mawla Abd al-Aziz was dismissed and Sultan Abd al-Hafiz assumed his place in 1908; He continued to give him advice as he saw fit to serve the common interest, until the king feared that what happened to his brother would not happen to him, so it was the crisis of the Kettanis, so he and his brother got imprisoned and tortured until his brother died, and here Abdul-Hay reaches the stage in which he changes his direction permanently, which is the direction towards taking care of the internal concerns of the sect, to empower himself on its top, at a time when many did not want him to do so.

Abdul-Hay al-Kettani saw in France the power capable of realizing his hopes, so he endeavored openly to establish friendly relations with some Influential senior personalities, like many sheikhs and scholars of his time, however, the matter that affected him in this regard –fter semi-retirement from the world of politics–; His support for the French attitude that stipulates the banishment of Muhammad V on August 20, 1953. After this dangerous situation, we can say that Sheikh Abdel Hay as well as the Kettaniyya order have effectively ended in Morocco, and even it was harshly judged that ended with Sheikh Abdel Hay to be exiled to Nice until he died 1960.

As for the position of Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi, it is not understood as a personal position that directly touches the personality of Abd al-Hay, although some of the phrases used by Sheikh Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi in his article meant him in person, but it is

understood as a conflict between two currents, the Salafi current and the Sufi current, just as the Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi did not write his article specifically in order to harm Abdel-Hay. But he wrote it as an expression of his rejection of a political, cultural and tariqa demonstration, which is the Zawiyas Conference on 15 March 1948, which followed a conference before it, which was the Imams Conference. Abd Al-Hay was but an incident in the whole matter. Following Al-Ibrahimi's article, we find that Al-Ibrahim does not blame Abd al-Hay personally, he rather lays blame on all those Imams whom he called the arrogants.

Al-Bashir Al-Ibrahimi shifted in his aforementioned article from criticizing the French government's policy, which is based on sectarianism, division and provoking strife on the one hand, and distracting public opinion from his political and social demands on the other hand, stressing that both the conference of imams and zawiyas; a joke and devoid of seriousness; which came to offend the reputation of the Association of Muslim Scholars, describing it as Wahhabism (الإبراهيمي، 1997، صفحة 394). He also expressed his dissatisfaction with the lack of interest of the Tariqa men and Sufis in the state of the nation, and that they had not moved a finger since the 1937 meeting. Rather, they are not influenced by the development in the world, nor do they cared about the crucial issues of the nation. He says about them: «These people are deep in their sleep, and the prisons and detention centers are filled with men, while they are safe and secure.» (الإبراهيمي، 1997، صفحة 395). Finally, to conclude that the position and the decision are both for the Algerians in terms of imams and zawiyas, with a brief question: «And Abdel Hayy, what is he and what is his role?» (الإبراهيمي، 1997، صفحة 395).

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Appendix. No.01 : Pages 239 and 240 the deleted pages from the book *Tarjamat Al-Shaheed al-Kattani* (the biography of the Martyr Al-Kattani), by Muhammad Baqir Al-Kattani.

دعى الله عنه يجب بان كل من دعى بحكم الكفار يعد كافرا في نظر الاسلام ومن اجل ذلك يجب تجديد الايمان وخوض معركة الكفاح بهذا حدثني جمع من الاخوان وفيهم من لا يزال حيا الى الان .

وبعد رجوعه من رحلته بنحو ستة اشهر التحق بالرفيق الاعلى صبيحة يوم الخميس 26 ربيع الاول سنة 1333 فانه بموته صرح من صروح الاسلام لم يشهد الى الان كما فتح موته على الطريقة الكتانية باب المحن والاهوال ذلك ان ولده الثاني السيد عبد الحكي الكتاني الذي اصبح رئيس الطريقة الكتانية بعد موته وكان احد قادة الحركة الاسلامية والوطنية في عهد الاستقلال السالف ، وقام باعمال جليلة لصالح دينه ووطنه تحت قيادة المترجم منشورة في الصحف وممدونة في الكتب ، ومنوه بها في الظاهر الملكية ، اقول ان هذا الولد الثاني سلبه الله التوفيق ، واقصاه عن حظيرة الاصلاح ، فتبدلت افكاره راسا على عقب ، واصبح يرى الخير شرا ، واشتر خيرا ، ومن جملة اثاره الخاطئة اجابته للفرنسيين الذين طلبوا التعاون معه بحجة ان ينحو من اذية عبد الحفيظ الذي كان يهدده باعادة القيد عليه كلما اوصل اليه شياطين الانس نيا يلقفه وكان قد سبقه للتعاون معهم جمع من كبار الشخصيات ومنها تركه لمواصلة العمل في الميدان الوطني بحجة ان رجال الدولة وجماعة من كبار العلماء ، وجهلة الناس لم يقدروا الاعمال التي قام بها الزعماء الكتانيون بل اساءوا اليهم قبل المحنة ، واثمة المحنة بما يحتاج ذكره الى كتاب ولم يحدثوا انفسهم بالتدخل لدى عبد الحفيظ لاطلاق سراحهم حينما ومنها عزمه على الانتقام من كل من اساء اليه والى عائلته بفضل النفوذ الذي سيمتدح به من الفرنسيين .

نعم اصبحت بينه وبينهم صلات متينة وصادوا يزورون منزله في كل مناسبة وخصوصا في الذكرى السنوية التي كان يقيمها لوالده المقدس ، واباحوا له التجول في البادية في كل سنة ونظمو له الاستقبالات المدهشة ، فكان ما ذكر مدعاة الى الابتعاد عنه من طرف ابنه المترجم وزعماء الطريقة الكتانية ومدعاة الى تأسيس جبهة المعارضة بقيادة شقيقه الاكبر الشيخ محمد المهدي رحمه الله

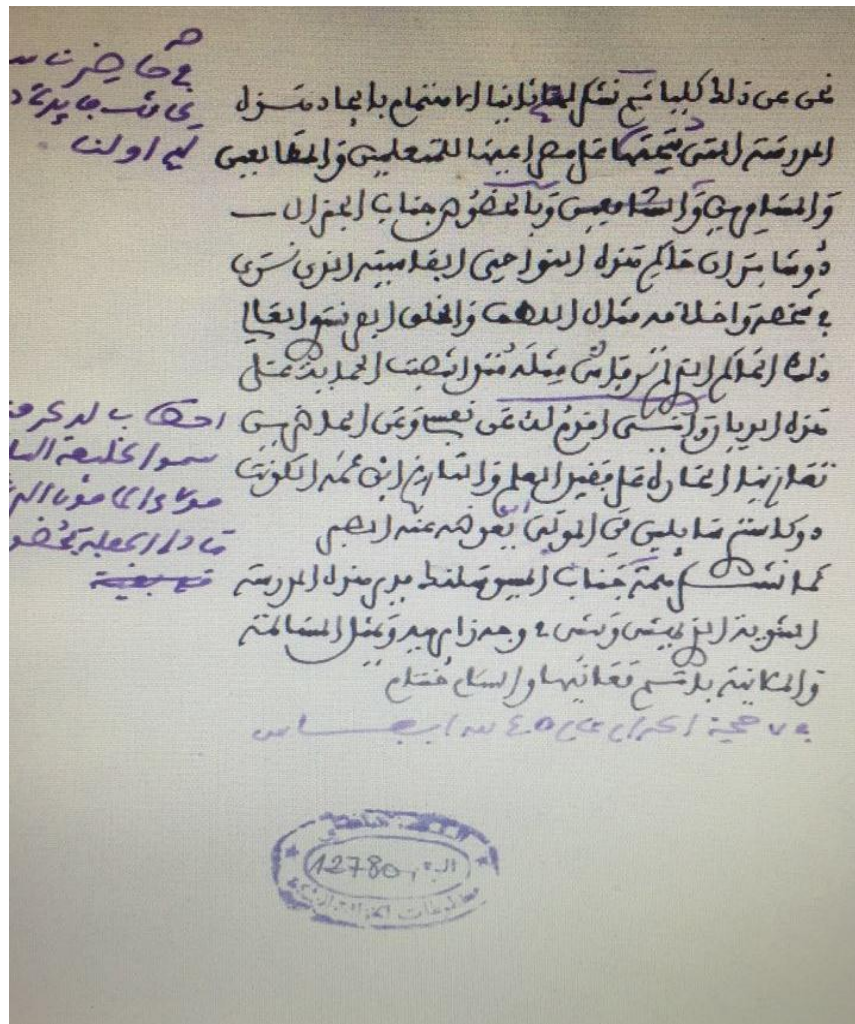
ومما اعان على توسيع شقة الخلاف كتابته لوثيقة تتضمن نفسى شيخه الطريقة الكتانية وتأسيسها عن المترجم ونسبة ذلك الى جدنا ابي الفاخر الشيخ محمد بن عبد الواحد الكتاني قدس سره وقيام ولده الشيخ عبد الكبير بها منذ وفاة والده سنة 1389 الى سنة موته 1333 والاقتضاد على لقول بان المترجم ظهر بالطريقة في حياة والده وحصل للطريق بسببه رواج اشتهار فقط والتأكيد بان المتولى امرها بعدهما هو السيد عبد الحكي المذكور

في حين ان كل الناس يعلمون ان جدنا ابا الفاخر كان شيخا ومؤسسا للطريقة الكتانية المحمدية التي كانت موجودة بفاس وبعض المدن القريبة منها في الربع الاخير من القرن الماضي واول هذا القرن ثم انقرضت بانقراض مريديها وقامت اثرها الطريقة الكتانية الاحمدية التي اسسها المترجم وهو دون العشرين من عمره ولم يكن قصد شقيق المترجم بهذا العمل الا تحويل انظار المريدين الكتانيين عن المترجم وابناء المترجم وتوجيهها اليه وقصرها عليه ، فكانت فتنة عمية شغلت المريدين حقبة من الزمن ، وحالت بينهم وبين مواصلة العمل بجد في الميدان الوطني وجعلتهم يشتغلون بعمل المواجه لتفنيده مدعاة وصارت مجالسهم لا تخلو من الحديث في هذا الموضوع . وقد احتوت وثيقة العم على مئات من امضاءات الشخصيات الرسمية البارزة التي كانت تداريه فتشهد الزور محافظة على مناصبها بينما كانت مواجب الاخوان مشتملة على مئات من امضاءات المريدين الذين يعرفون الحقائق ولا يكتفونهم ودجال العلم والدين الغير الرسميين .

ولم يقتصر النزاع على اقامة المواجه والحديث في المجالس بل تعداه الى ميدان التأليف فالتف كل من العم والشقيق الاكبر وبعض علماء الطريق مؤلفات ورسائل ، ونشروا وفاق ومستندات

واثناء هذا العراك كان حاكم فاس الفرنسي يوجه استدعاء في كل شهر لرئيس جبهة المعارضة وكان يصله قبل الموعد المقرر للمقابلة بايام ليتزكفكر في القصد منه وحينما تتم المقابلة بعد انتظار قد يطول الساعة والساعتين يفاجاه بالتهديد والوعيد فاذا سأل عن السبب ذكر له انه كتب رسالة للاخوان بالقبيلة الفلانية يدعوهم فيها للمقاومة ، وكانت الاسباب تتعدد بتعدد الاستدعاءات وكان الرئيس ينكر صدق تلك الاسباب ويصرح بان مراسلاته لا تتجاوز نطاق الوعظ والارشاد ولما تكرر ذلك قصد عاصمة الرباط لمقابلة جلالة السلطان ابي المحاسن مولاي يوسف رحمه الله لتقديم شكوى اليه بحاكم فاس وشرح موقفه من عمه الذي سلبه كثيرا من حقوقه وحقوق اخوته وتغافى في اذيتهم وقد بذل السلطان كل ما في وسعه لتخفيف الالام عنه واتخذ عدة تدابير من اجل ذلك واخيرا رغب منه ان يقيم بالرباط ليكون على رأى منه ومسمع . فاجاب رغبته واقام به ثلاث سنين كان يوجه الاخوان منها توجيهها رشيدا ثم بدا له ان ينقل العائلة من فاس الى الرباط فتم ذلك سنة 1339 وفي الرباط دعاني لتسيير شئون الطريق بجانبيه فكانت أعقد حلقات الدروس للوفود واجه الرسائل الارشادية للاخوان واسافر بطريقة سرية لعدة جهات بالبادية لان ابنا المترجم كانوا ممنوعين من السفر للبوادي طيلة

Appendix No. 02: A document probably in the handwriting of Sheikh Abd al-Hay al-Kittani written on the occasion of the death of Count Henri de Castries.



Scripts of Royal Treasury, Rabat, under No. 12780

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