



*Jihad in Sufi Thought
The Sheikhism as a Model*

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Abstract ;

This study aims to investigate the correlation between the terms Jihad and Sufism, especially considering the prominent role Sufis have historically played in the Jihad movement for the sake of Allah and in defense of Islam and Muslims. Additionally, this study seeks to clarify that Sufism is not isolationism or abandonment of homeland and worldly detachment, but rather Sufis have strived to raise the banner of Jihad against colonialism. We have chosen the Shadhili Path, which raised the banner of Jihad under the leadership of Sheikh Bouamama against French colonialism. We attempted to focus on the concept of Jihad on one hand, and on the jihadist discourse among the leaders of the Sheikhia Path on the other hand, and how did they employ this term in confronting colonial administration?

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Introduction:

As commonly understood, Islamic Sufism is the elevation of the individual towards refining the soul and enhancing it within the realms of Islam, faith, excellence, piety, and righteousness. It is incumbent upon its adherents to denounce extremism and enjoin what is good while forbidding what is evil. Sufis did not confine their role to renouncing worldly pleasures and luxuries in anticipation of the afterlife; instead, they engaged in the affairs of public life, especially when it came to defending the fortresses of Islam and Muslims.

The sheikhs and leaders of Sufi orders played an immensely significant role in resisting French colonialism. History records numerous instances of courage from these orders in resisting injustices and calling for Jihad. Thanks to their leaders and elders, these orders served as significant vessels aiding the Algerian people in protecting their cultural heritage. These leaders took on the responsibility of organizing, coordinating, and disseminating their teachings and ideas. The Sheikhia Path, one of the Sufi orders, that characterized the end of the nineteenth century in southwestern Algeria. Leaders of the Sheikhia Path, including Sheikh Bouamama, played a crucial role in spreading this path. The research problem stems from the perspective of Sufis' adoption and departure from the concept of Jihad, and understanding the roles that Sufis have played throughout history in Jihad for the sake of Allah and defending Islam and their lands. The research problem lies in the misconceptions surrounding the roles played by these Sufis, especially regarding

the issue of Jihad. Therefore, this study attempted to delve into the concept of Jihad in Sufi thought, taking the example of the Shadhili Path in Algeria and the role it played against French colonialism under the leadership of the Sufi Sheikh Bouamama, who combined Sufism with Jihad. He raised the banner of Jihad for the sake of Allah, emphasizing that the roles played by Sufis are not merely confined to renouncing worldly pleasures and luxuries, but they also engage in the affairs of public life, especially when it comes to defending the flag of Islam. This is what Sheikh Bouamama sought in his resistance against French occupation. Additionally, the study aims to elucidate the extent to which jihadist thought, with its references, contributed to directing popular resistance movements in Algeria, including the resistance led by Sheikh Bouamama in the late nineteenth century.

This study aims to explore the relationship between Jihad and Sufism on one hand, and to study the impacts left by Sufi orders in Algeria, including the contribution of Sufi religious leaders to countering French colonial schemes in Algeria, such as the Shadhili Path in the late nineteenth century.

Regarding the methodology adopted in this study, it relies on historical and analytical methods considering the nature of the subject. This involves presenting and analyzing the ideas presented in the text, addressing the role of Sufism throughout history in Jihad for the sake of Allah, and their defense of Islamic strongholds and Muslims everywhere. The historical method helped in presenting Sheikh Bouamama's resistance contribution in countering French colonial

projects and his raising of the Jihad banner against the enemy to attract neighboring tribes, especially in the matter of combining the spiritual with the materialistic human aspect.

1. Concept Definition:

1.1 Jihad Linguistically:

Jihad is derived from the triliteral verb "jahada", which implies effort and exertion, encompassing energy and hardship. "Ajhada johdak" means to reach your goal, and with a kasra (i.e., jihad), it refers to combatting the enemy, such as in "Mujahidah" (struggle). (Al-Fayruzabadi, 2005, p. 275)

It is also an effort exerted strenuously, with "johd" being derived from "jahada", meaning the expansiveness, energy, and hardship of the effort. "Jihad" is derived from "jahid", meaning Muslims' combatting their enemies in defense of their religion. (Jubran, 1992, p. 284)

Also, Jihad is derived from "jahid", meaning one who struggles, and "jahid al-'adu" means one who fights and struggles against him. "Jahid fi sabil Allah" means one who struggles with oneself, meaning striving oneself. "Mujahadat al-nafs" is a spiritual Jihad for the soul by starving it from desires and submitting to the will of Allah. "Jahid fi qital man laysa lahu dhimma min al-kuffar" or fighting in the way of Allah, fighting and defending the religion and the homeland. (Ahmed Mukhtar, 2008, p. 410). Among the hadiths relied upon by the Sufis in substantiating their doctrine and legitimizing their way, is a hadith attributed to the Prophet, which varies in its attribution and in its degree of authenticity. It is said that upon his return from one of his expeditions, he said: "We

have returned from the lesser Jihad to the greater Jihad." They asked: "What is the greater Jihad, O Messenger of Allah?" He said: "The Jihad of the self." And the source of "jahadat al-'adu" means if you fight him or if each of them exerts their effort in repelling their opponent. In the Quranic vocabulary, Jihad and Mujahadah mean exerting the utmost effort in resisting the enemy. (Al-Lahidan, 1987, p. 13).

Through this linguistic definition, we find that the term Jihad is fundamentally associated with expending energy and effort to achieve a specific goal, even coercing oneself and one's body to reach the objective and striving forward to sacrifice oneself and one's possessions for a noble cause like religion or homeland. That is, calling to the true religion, meaning the call to Islam. Moreover, this term is also linked to fighting those who do not accept Islam, as linguistically Jihad is associated with the call to Islam even if by using force. Linguistically, Jihad means progressing towards expansiveness and exertion, which involves seeking out the enemy and compelling them. Furthermore, the call to Jihad, in its essence, is a call to confront injustices, as stated in the Quranic verse: "And kill them wherever you find them and turn them out from where they have turned you out. And Fitnah is worse than killing. And fight not with them at Al-Masjid-Al-Haram unless they fight you there. But if they attack you, then kill them. Such is the recompense of the disbelievers."

1.2 Jihad, as a Term:

It refers to exerting effort, enduring hardship, and avoiding sins. Jihad is also associated with self-struggle, which is the

individual's struggle against their desires, emotions, and temptations, and it involves thanking Allah for His blessings and patiently enduring trials. In general, one's life is considered Jihad, as it entails worship, resisting temptations, and facing the challenges and pleasures of the world. Abu Hamid al-Ghazali described self-struggle as overcoming the obstacles of the self, purifying it from reprehensible traits, and emptying the heart from anything besides Allah, adorned with the remembrance of Allah.

Some have linked Jihad to the meaning of combat, implying that fighting is permissible for Muslims in confronting enemies, defending territories and people, repelling aggression, and resisting occupation. Islam calls for fighting to eliminate oppression and achieve individual or collective interests, including repelling aggression and preserving society, lives, and properties. The expressionist artist reflected the phenomenon of Jihad in his artistic achievement from a perspective that encompasses psychological, intellectual, social, and political dimensions.

There are many Quranic verses and indications that emphasize the importance and value of sacrifice for the sake of Allah and martyrdom in this path. The Quran is fundamentally the main and greatest source of all Islamic sciences, knowledge, and culture. It is stated in the Noble Quran: "And do not say about those who are killed in the way of Allah, 'They are dead.' Rather, they are alive, but you perceive [it] not." (Surah Al-Baqarah 2:154). Another verse states: "And do not think of those who have been killed in the cause of Allah as dead. Rather, they are

alive with their Lord, receiving provision." These are noble expressions that exalt the status of martyrdom. In Surah At-Tawbah, verse 111, it is stated: "Indeed, Allah has purchased from the believers their lives and their properties [in exchange] for that they will have Paradise." The Quran considers martyrdom in the path of Allah as equivalent to life, eternal success, and reaching a position of divine proximity. Many agree that the closest form of jihad is combat. Ibn Taymiyyah indicates that pilgrimage does not resist jihad against disbelievers and hypocrites. He knew that he intended jihad against women. He turns to what the addresser knows, and if the term jihad is used otherwise, then that is metaphorical.

As Ibn 'Arifah stated, the fighting of a Muslim against non-believers without a treaty aims to uphold the word of God, His presence, or to reclaim his land (2014, p3-5). The term jihad has been borrowed to signify pilgrimage because both Hajj and Umrah entail hardship. Therefore, the essence of jihad in its specific meaning is the exertion of effort in combat to achieve and elevate the word of God, as well as self-defense against personal desires and inclinations that overpower an individual, hindering their spiritual devotion and activity. It also includes their pursuit of life to ensure livelihood, security, and comfort, which can disrupt their efforts. From this perspective, Sufi Jihad is the struggle against the self and its alignment with the love of Allah. It is reported from Imam Ali (AS) that he described his longing for martyrdom and death more than a child longs for its mother's breast. "I swear by Allah that the son of Abu Talib feels more comfortable with death

than an infant with its mother's breast." (Nahj al-Balagha, Sermon 5) He also urged Jihad, stating: "Indeed, Jihad is one of the gates of Paradise, which Allah has opened for His close servants. It is the garment of piety and Allah's strong shield, and His secure garden. Whoever abandons it, Allah will clothe him in the garment of humiliation, envelop him in afflictions, and disgrace him with the humiliation of the weak. He will be hit by the severity of difficulties, and the truth from him will be lost by neglecting Jihad, causing eclipses, and preventing half of it." (Abda, 2007, p. 65)

From the Islamic perspective, Jihad does not solely mean killing non-believers. Rather, it encompasses fighting against oppression wherever it exists, even if it leads to sacrificing one's life for the sake of one's country, honor, wealth, religion, defending truth, goodness, freedom, independence, and the oppressed. All of these are considered Jihad in the way of Allah.

2. The Sufi Perspective on Jihad:

The issue of Jihad from the perspective of Sufism has garnered significant interest from scholars and researchers. Many Sufis have associated Jihad in the path of Allah with the role of Sufism in advocating for Jihad, especially the role of Sufi leaders in calling for Jihad against French colonization. Many interested in Sufi thought believe that Jihad takes on various forms, including spiritual Jihad, resisting worldly temptations, asceticism, spreading the values of altruism and compassion, as well as physical combat to defend the faith and uphold freedoms, as mentioned earlier.

Many believe that Sufis were only associated with asceticism, but this view is limited in its study. Their call was indeed for defending Islam and Muslims in many regions and countries. They sought to spread Islam, defend Muslim interests, promote free thinking, and advocate for liberation from European colonialism. Prince Abdul Qadir considered Jihad against the French enemy as a matter of principle, not abandonment of homeland and offspring. The role of Sufi orders in combating and confronting colonialism and standing against the destructive plans of European colonization cannot be denied. Sufi movements served as a protective shield for society. For example, the Tijaniyya order fought against the colonizers. Mention should also be made of Prince Abdul Qadir's stance toward Christians in Syria, where he fought them not because of their religious affiliation but because they were invaders and colonizers. Additionally, the integration between bearers of arms and bearers of knowledge was emphasized to prevent deviation. The term "Rabat" (binding) associated with Sufi orders originates from the Quranic verse: "And prepare against them whatever you are able of power and of steeds of war" (Quran 8:60). Rabat also refers to the establishment of military outposts in the border regions, known as "Marabitah," in Islam, a branch of Jihad in the path of Allah. The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said: "A day of fighting in the cause of Allah is better than the entire world and what is in it." Islam has never adopted the idea of Jihad in its criminal sense, as killing without just cause and without direct confrontation is prohibited.

The term Jihad holds a particular significance for Sufis, aligning with the main determinants and universal principles in Sufi thought, which are based on considering the inner meanings of religion and Sharia, as well as focusing on the spiritual upbringing of individuals and working on disciplining and refining the self through asceticism, frugality, and distancing oneself from worldly pleasures. Therefore, Sufis consider Jihad as a type of continuous struggle against the self, aiming to restrain its desires. Ibn Arabi, in his book "The Counsels," advised his disciples and followers to engage in the greater Jihad, which is the struggle against one's desires. He stated that if you strive against your own self in this Jihad, you will have completed the other Jihad against external enemies, in which if you are killed, you will be among the martyrs who are provided for by their Lord.

3. Pictures of Sufi Jihad against French Colonization:

Prince Abd al-Qadir stands out as one of the prominent figures who raised the banner of Jihad against colonization. He responded to the call of the righteous among the soldiers of God, the supporters of Islam, and the party of God, against the forces of disbelief, colonialism, and the party of Satan. His blessed Jihad lasted for seventeen years, igniting the flames of holy war against the aggressors. The battles were intense, with victories and setbacks on both sides. One historic call addressed to the people of eastern Algeria echoes through time: "The time has come to rise, O Muslims! God has placed the shining blade in our hands; our

homeland's plains have been enriched with the blood of infidels."

When De Michaud, a French general, sought peace, Prince Abd al-Qadir replied, "Our religion prohibits us from seeking peace first, but allows us to accept it if offered. Negotiations must be based on mutual respect." The prince's statement echoes the Quranic verse: "And if they incline to peace, then incline to it [also] and rely upon Allah." (Quran 8:61)

Then the prince, Sheikh, continued in his response, saying: "How do you boast of the strength of France and fail to appreciate the power of Islam, even though past centuries bear witness to the strength of Muslims and their victories over their enemies? And even though we may be weak in your view, our strength lies in Allah, there is no deity except Him, and we have no partner. We do not claim that victory is always guaranteed for us, but we know that war is a cycle of days of success and days of setback. However, death is certain for us, and we have no trust except in Allah alone, without any associates, regardless of their number. The sound of bullets and the neighing of horses in war is more pleasing to our ears than the sound of a bugle." Then he challenged General De Michaud and his forces, saying, "When you depart from Oran, within a day or two, it will be clear to everyone who deserves to be proud."

4. The Jihadist Journey of the Sheikhia Sufi Order:

The descendants of Sidi al-Sheikh are known for their long jihadist campaigns. Their grandfather, Sidi al-Sheikh, the founder of the Sheikhia Sufi Order, is recognized for his struggle against the Spanish occupation in the fortresses of

Oran and Melilla, as well as in Tunisia, and his involvement in the Battle of Wadi al-Makhazin in the farthest regions of Morocco, among others. Throughout the 19th century, history attests to their jihadist endeavors in southern Algeria and Morocco (Ibn al-Tayyib al-Boushiki, 2013, p. 176).

Let us not forget the solidarity of the Sheikhia Sufi Order with the resistance led by Prince Abd al-Qadir. One of the notable engagements against the French colonization was the Battle of al-Sharia in northern Bejaia in 1845, where the descendants of Sidi al-Sheikh confronted the French invaders (Ibn al-Tayyib al-Boushiki, 2013, p. 176). In southern Algeria, the activism of the Sheikhia Sufi Order is exemplified by the participation of Hamza ibn Boubaker alongside Sharif Mohammed ibn Abdullah in his revolt in Ouargla. The two leaders even met in the region of al-Ghasoul, indicating a close relationship between Sharif Mohammed ibn Abdullah and the Sheikhia Sufi Order, or that he may have studied unwith der them (Abu al-Qasim Saadallah, 1992, p. 385).

However, the French authorities arrested him on charges of leading a rebellion against the French in the region and imprisoned him in Oran (Miassi, 2007, p. 405). After the death of Mr. Hamza, his son Abu Bakr was appointed in his place. The latter called upon the tribes and his supporters to engage in jihad, saying to them, "Know that a duty awaits us, which is to protect the Sunnah of the Prophet, peace be upon him, which has been neglected due to the presence of the disbelievers. The time I have been waiting for to declare jihad has come" (

Miassi, 2007, p. 222). However, he was killed, and France appointed his brother Suleiman, who was suffering from a serious illness, in his place. Mr. Suleiman ibn Hamza convened a war council with his family members, where they declared jihad against French colonialism. They tasked Mr. Fadil with writing messages to the zawiyas (religious centers), tribes, and rulers urging them to join the revolution as soon as possible (Munawwar, 2009, p. 221).

The tribe of Ouled Sidi El Sheikh entered into direct confrontation with the French occupation after Sidi Suleiman ibn Hamza led several tribes, including Ouled Ziyad Al-Ghraba, Ash-Sharqa, Draaqa Ash-Sharqa, and Al-Ghraba, as well as the tribes of Ash-Shu'amba. Additionally, residents of neighboring palaces, such as Ghassoul Palace, El Aghouat, and Al Kasal, joined the resistance.

Under the leadership of Sidi Suleiman ibn Hamza, who was appointed by France and made Metlili its capital, several victories were achieved, including the Battle of Aouinet Boubaker on April 18, 1864, as well as the battles in December 1865 and the Battle of Oum El-Dabadib in 1869 (Bouaziz, 1974, p. 39). The battle in December 1879 marked the final confrontation between the French and the supporters of Sidi Suleiman ibn Hamza, who died from his injuries sustained in the Battle of Aouinet Boubaker. Subsequently, the Ouled Sidi El Sheikh and Ash-Sharqa tribes headed towards southern Algeria.

Another example of the jihad of the Ouled Sidi El Sheikh is their support for Sheikh Si El Azraq Belhaj, who is affiliated with the Qadiriya Sufi order. A

revolution erupted in Filita in the mountains of Ouenchris, where they engaged in a fierce battle known as the Battle of Khnaga Al-Azr. During this battle, Si El Azraq Belhaj withdrew towards Filita, rallying sixty-four houses there and pushing them towards revolution. He also extended his hand to the revolutionaries of Ouled Sidi El Sheikh, thereby expanding the scope and duration of the revolution. (Bouaziz, 2009, p. 198)

5. Sheikh Bouamama and his Resistance in Brief:

Sheikh Bouamama, whose full name is Mohammed bin Arabi bin al-Hirma bin Ibrahim bin al-Taj bin Abdul Qadir bin Mohammed, Seyyid Sheikh al-Qutb bin Suleiman bin Said bin Abi Layla bin Isa bin Abi Yahya bin Muammar (Mansour, 1997, p. 72), also known as Abu al-Aliyah bin Suleiman bin Said bin Aqil bin Hafs, also known as Haramat Allah bin Asakir bin Zaid bin Hameed bin Isa bin al-Tadli bin Muhammad, also known as al-Sali bin Isa bin Zaid bin al-Tafil, also known as al-Zaghaoui bin Safwan bin Muhammad bin Abdul Rahman bin our master Abu Bakr al-Siddiq - may Allah be pleased with him - (Miassi, 2007, p. 272).

Mohammed bin al-Arabi, known as Sheikh Bouamama, was born in 1840 in the Upper Hamam Palace (Bouaziz, 1976, p. 13), which is a village affiliated with the Al-Aqsa Morocco. His journey began in Morocco when the tribe was annexed under the Treaty of Lalla Maghnia between France and Morocco in 1845, under Moroccan authority. He later moved to Al-Maqarara in Algeria, where he established a zawiyah (Sufi lodge) after gaining admiration from the locals, and

remained there until 1894 (Miassi, 2007, pp. 300-301).

The resistance of Sheikh Bouamama went through two stages. The first stage, between the years 1881-1883, witnessed several victories against French forces and allied tribes and factions supported by France (Bouaziz, 2009, p. 50), such as the Battle of April 27, 1881, and the attack on April 16, 1882, during which France and its allied factions suffered significant losses (Miassi, 2007, p. 275).

As for the second stage, which lasted from 1883 to 1908, it was characterized by a kind of stability and calmness. During this period, Sheikh Bouamama settled in his zawiyah near the Moroccan border (Zozo, 2010, pp. 36-37). Additionally, Sheikh Bouamama established connections with Sheikh al-Senussi in Libya and the Mahdi in Sudan. Historian Yahia Bouaziz mentions that Sheikh Bouamama repeatedly sent messages to France seeking amnesty in the years 1883, 1886, 1899, and 1904. While residing in his zawiyah, Morocco was experiencing turmoil between the Makhzen and Abu Hamara, who was demanding the throne. Sheikh Bouamama supported Abu Hamara's revolution (Bouaziz, 2009, p. 310).

After 28 years of jihad against the enemy, Sheikh Bouamama chose exile and settled in Morocco, following the arrest of his son, Tayeb, by Moroccan Sultan's forces. Tayeb was released in 1906, but Sheikh Bouamama passed away in October 1908 on the outskirts of Oujda (Khalifi, 2010, p. 185).

6. The Religious and Jihadist Call and its Importance in Sheikh Bouamama's Resistance:

Sheikh Bouamama adopted a system aimed at reforming the situation in the region, away from the chaos, internal conflicts, and disturbances that prevailed in the southwestern region. His zawiya became a destination visited by tribes. The colonial policy implemented by the French administration, including land confiscation, seizure of property, and imposing taxes on the people of the Ouled Sidi Sheikh region, aggravated the dire conditions experienced by the inhabitants of the southwestern region, especially Algerians in general. These dismal conditions, among other factors, prompted Sheikh Bouamama to call for declaring jihad against the invaders (Mbakhout, 2008, p. 356).

Jihad becomes an obligatory duty for everyone and does not require permission in the event of a surprise attack by the enemy against Muslims (Ibn al-Tayyib al-Boushiki, 2013, p. 277). The Sheikh was aware of the jihadist movement he was determined to lead. He informed his followers and assistants that it entailed hardships and trials, leaving behind children and homelands, and that he did not force anyone into it. Rather, he gave them the choice to follow him or abandon him. However, he also made it clear to them that what he was doing, in his view, was one of the rites of the Islamic religion. In one of his messages to the tribes of the Shaambas, inhabitants of the Algerian Sahara, he stated: "After greeting you, I inform you that Allah knows best. We want you to come and meet us to engage in jihad for the sake of Allah. This matter

has been called for by the caller..." (Khalifi, 2010, p. 92).

The jihadist discourse adopted by Sheikh Bouamama only carried his banner for the sake of Allah, and this is what prevented him from surrendering no matter how many obstacles he faced and how many avenues were closed to him, because his conviction in Allah was great, and because he only rose to achieve one of the two virtues, either victory or martyrdom. Indeed, he stood firm against all the pressures exerted on him in all their forms. He did not waver or surrender throughout twenty-seven years of resistance until he passed away on the 10th of Ramadan in 1326 AH, corresponding to the 7th of October 1908. In order to uphold the word of truth, declare jihad, and expand its scope, he visited various tribes in the southwestern region, promising them to declare jihad at the appropriate time, and sent emissaries of the tariqa to other tribes, urging them to prepare for jihad by providing weapons and ammunition (Report dated April 22, 1881), announcing to them that they would soon hear about him as a "sultan" (in the Sufi expression). The immediate reason that sparked the resistance was the incident of attempting to arrest one of his emissaries, Taieb El Jermani. A report by the French authorities dated April 25, 1881, stated that visitors to Bouamama "leave sane and return insane," indicating their rejection of colonial rule, which the French saw as a departure from the norms and the law they had established, which, in their view, was madness.

One of the contemporary French officers of Sheikh Bouamama mentioned, "Since 1878, Bouamama's emissaries have

been engaging in suspicious activities among the Bedouin tribes south of the Oran region, heralding jihad, enrolling brothers, and organizing their efforts for a general movement." Another contemporary also stated that Bouamama repeatedly said on multiple occasions that it wouldn't be long before many hear about him again, and that the days of Muslim joy would return soon. (Khalifi, 2010, p. 97)

On March 23, 1880, the commander of Chellala Al-Dahra informed the military authorities that a large number of visitors from the Tarafi tribes had visited Bouamama. Members from the Draaqa, Ouled Serour, and Akkarma tribes formed a caravan of 60 to 70 individuals who went to provide the sheikh with a significant quantity of goods, more than they usually offered him. This included nine camels loaded with clothes, wheat, butter, coffee, and two thousand in currency. The caravan also included two special horses for celebrations, and all of this was delivered to the zawia (Khalifi, 2010, p. 97)

These visits and promises, along with the provisions of food and clothing, were just the preludes to a future movement that was being prepared in secret, known to the colonial agents who were monitoring the movements of their countrymen to detect any opposition or rebellion against the colonial enemy, in compliance with the directives of their benefactors and in service of their interests in exchange for the crumbs they received from this enemy.

The strategy of Sheikh Bouamama also relied on organizing lessons and lectures for the general public among Algerians and inviting tribes to engage in

jihad against the French forces. Alongside piety and righteousness, the Sheikh possessed a talent for military leadership and political maneuvering, keen on uniting the Muslim community and serving Islam both in creed and action. Hence, this zaouia (as Abdul Hamid Zozo describes it) can be considered a model of the positive role that some zaouias played, manifested in their rejection of exploitation and colonization (Zozo, 1983, p. 56).

In the beginning, Sheikh Bouamama focused on establishing spiritual connections with the tribes, linking their hearts to his spiritual methodology within the Sufi path, which he delineated with his devout character and his life of jihad. Perhaps the primary element in the Sheikh's legacy is the revolutionary jihadist stance against the dire conditions prevailing in the region. He became convinced that religious motivation alone could change the prevailing hardships.

In the challenging circumstances faced by the Sheikhia order during that crucial phase of its history, Sheikh Bouamama sought to restore its status to what it once was. Therefore, he called for unity among its members, always avoiding confrontation with his tribal kin. He rejected fighting among Muslim brothers in general and preferred withdrawal over fighting his kinsmen, despite their attempts to provoke him. They saw him as a rival in leading the region's inhabitants. His wise and exemplary policies, rejecting violence and bloodshed, were evident in his emulation of the righteous predecessors. His relentless efforts to establish his authority and improve the image of the order led him to organize

religious lessons to gain more supporters and encourage people to appeal to the Sultan of Morocco in Fez for adequate protection against French attacks. Some French sources even considered Bouamama to be the driving force behind Sultan Hassan I's political moves against France, working to strengthen Moroccan influence militarily and administratively in the region of Touat.

Sheikh Bouamama also sent several messages to the tribes urging jihad against the French forces. Chiefs of neighboring tribes gathered to meet him, and he began corresponding with many whom he believed would support and assist him. The Shuaniba tribe provided a prime example of this. Additionally, he sent delegations to the Ouled Sidi Sheikh Al-Ghraba tribe, followed by the Ouled Sidi Sheikh Al-Sharaqa tribe.

Here are the names of some of the messengers:

- Marzouk Al-Surouri: to the tribes of Al-Tarafi.
- Al-Tayyib ibn Al-Jarmani: to the tribes of Al-Ahrar Al-Sharaqa.
- Belqasim Ould Lazfran: to the tribes of Ouled Azayad.
- Al-Arbi Ould Al-Tayyib Ahmed: to the tribes of Al-Razayna.

The Sheikh Bu'amama sent several messages to the leaders of the tribes, followed by a message of Jihad with an explanation of the reasons. Here is the message he conveyed to them:

"All praise is due to Allah alone, and may peace and blessings be upon our Master Muhammad and his family. Our protected community, tribe after tribe, without distinction. We inform you, may Allah make you aware of what is best, about the

matter of Jihad in the path of Allah, after the French disbelievers have caused division among brothers, violated our land, and desecrated our sanctities. May Allah guide you to goodness and Jihad. Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you."

Among the calls of Sheikh Bouamama was also his saying: "(...) To our protected community with the eye of satisfaction, all the tribes of Shaanba, especially those who are responsible for the affairs of the time, tribe after tribe without specification. May God guide you and assist you for goodness and jihad, may God bless you and peace be upon you, and His mercy and blessings, and His greetings and satisfaction, and His goodness and kindness, and His bounties and favors.

And after that: We inform you, may God inform you best, we want your arrival and to meet on the matter of jihad in the path of God. This matter has been called by the caller from Allah, and from the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, and from the righteous men of God. Whoever among you desires that, may God grant him success and favor him, let him come to us at this proper occasion, which is between us and you. And whoever does not want it, then we have no need for him, and he does not come to us after that, and peace." (Zozo, 1987, p.137)

So the Sheikh relied on the Almighty, and engaged in fierce battles alongside his followers and disciples. The direct reason for his declaration of jihad was this ideological motivation. Indeed, the vast armies gathered under the banner of his jihad, numbering in the thousands, would not have existed were it not for their

strong conviction that they were fighting the forces of disbelief, carrying the banner of jihad in the path of God and upholding the word of truth. Moreover, everyone was convinced that the spiritual leader had no goal except firm faith. He proved to all that he was not seeking to establish a political leadership but rather focused on making it clear to everyone that he was a spiritual leader rebelling against injustice and persecution, following in the footsteps of Sulayman ibn Hamza and the rest of his kinsmen. He led loyal mujahideen, as he described them, defending their honor and not remaining silent in the face of the tyranny of the oppressive tyrant.

Thus, he and his companions proclaimed the word of truth, intertwining it with moments of victory. At the same time, they held circles of remembrance for reciting the Quran wherever darkness surrounded them. In their mobile gatherings, they revived their Sufi invocations and deep prayers, glorifying and magnifying God in their own faith-based way.

Through studying Sheikh Bouamama's resistance, we find that this resistance adopted jihad, not in its militant sense, especially since this resistance served as a shield against the dangers of French policies in the region. It emphasized the role of these Sufi paths and asserted that their function was defensive, far from self-interest and autonomy in decision-making.

Conclusion:

The term jihad, in general, and among Sufis in particular, represents one of the issues characterized by great importance and raises a range of epistemological, methodological, and historical questions. On one hand, it is associated with Sufism

as a cognitive production that has not received objective and fair reading. On the other hand, it is related to the current circumstances experienced by the Islamic world. It is essential to emphasize the methodological conditions that must be adhered to during the discussion to avoid the usual pitfalls of bias and distortion of facts regarding Sufism.

Regarding Sheikh Bouamama's resistance, it was predominantly characterized by a jihadist and political nature. He provided the Sheikhia path with the care needed to regain its vitality, activity, and radiance. Thanks to his piety and wise policies, Sheikh Bouamama earned the praise of Emir Abdelkader II, who recognized his role in organizing the population and uniting them under the Sheikhia path, safeguarding their interests, and directing them to resist the invaders. He considered this a religious duty and sacred jihad.

The jihadist discourse adopted by Sheikh Bouamama as a strategy aimed to fill the cultural, spiritual, and political void that engulfed the region, especially after the conflict between the Sharaqa and Gharaba tribes over leadership and governance. This drew the attention of other Sufi paths, which expressed their support and endorsement of his policies, including the Sanusiyya, Tayyibiyya, and Karkaziyya paths.

It can be argued that the necessity of jihad against French colonialism falls within the framework of the need for security, life, and the goal of removing this invading occupier who advocates evil and spreading principles of goodness. Hence, it is evident that Sufi religious leaders relied on legitimate and justifiable jihad,

which operates according to logical justifications and under the umbrella of justice, reaffirming the humanitarian implications of practicing jihad.

Based on the aforementioned points, we can draw several conclusions summarized in the following elements:

The Sheikhism Sufi order played significant roles, especially towards the end of the twentieth century, standing against French colonial schemes through the revolutions of the Sons of Sidi Sheikh and Sheikh Bouamama.

Sheikh Bouamama's resistance was characterized by both jihadist and political dimensions, as he served as a religious leader, a warrior, and a Sufi mystic.

According to historian Yahia Bouaziz, Sheikh Bouamama's resistance represented the second phase for the Sheikhism Sufi order. It acted as a shield against the threats of French politics in the region, emphasizing the protective role of Sufi orders, which were preventive and non-self-serving in decision-making.

Sheikh Bouamama sought to restore the status of the Sufi order to its former glory, especially after the French authorities managed to infiltrate the ranks of the Ouled Sidi El Sheikh Al-Gharaba. Recognizing the void left by the Ouled Sidi El Sheikh Asharaqa, Sheikh Bouamama deemed it necessary to continue the Sufi order, directing its jihadist orientation aimed at undermining the French presence in the region.

Sheikh Bouamama is credited with reviving and spreading the Sheikhia Sufi order north, south, and west, especially after the abysmal failure of the supporters

of the Ouled Sidi El Sheikh Asharaqa in confronting the French occupation.

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The Sheikhism: It is attributed to Sidi Sheikh Abdel Qadir Bousmaha, buried in Sidi Sheikh, who passed away in 1033 AH (1615 CE). He is the founder of the Sheikhism, introducing it as a precursor to the Sheikhia Sufi order through Muhammad ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Suhayli, who in turn received it from Ahmed ibn Yusuf al-Milyani. Upon his death, Sidi Sheikh Abdel Qadir Bousmaha advised his children to follow the teachings of the Sheikhia. For more information, see: Abd al-Aziz Shahbi, "Al-Zawaya wa al-Sufiyya wa al-Azaba wa al-Ihtilal al-Faransi fi al-Jazair", Dar al-Gharb for Publishing and Distribution, Oran, 2007.