

Contributions of the Al-Šāḍilīa scheiks in Tlemcen to resisting the Spanish occupation of Oran in the 11th century AH- from Qurānic teachings to conquest and ribāt.

مساهمات شيوخ الشاذلية بتلمسان في مقاومة الاحتلال الإسباني لوهـران في القرن 11 هـ — من
التعاليم القرآنية إلى الجهاد والرباط.

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Abstract

After the fall of the Zayyanid state in the middle of the tenth century and the entry of the Spanish into the Algerian cities, the social and cultural conditions in Algeria changed from progress and prosperity to deterioration and decline. The Ottomans played a role in repelling the Crusader campaigns, without forgetting the reformist role of scholars and Sufis and their participation in liberating the cities that fell under the control of the Spanish.

Tlemcen and its scholars were not immune to these momentous events. History books and Sufi literature have recorded the heroism of Mùrabit belonging to the Al-Šāḍilīa order and other Sufi orders in western Algeria in liberating Oran and its coasts from the grip of the Spanish occupation. Perhaps this stems from the revolutionary tendency that the Sufi orders have adopted since a long time ago, similar to the participation of a group of disciples with the pole Abī madīyan Šo‘aīb in the liberation of Baīt al-Maqdis .This is what is dictated by the Islamic teachings of the Qurān and the Sūnnah of the Prophet, which are the primary source of Sufi orders, and the spirit of belonging to the homeland and the land.

Keywords:Al-Šāḍilīa Shekhes –revolutionary of Oran- al in 11th-Qurān – Manuscript Ka'bat al-Ta'ifin - Popular Sufism - Spiritual knowledge .

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Introduction:

Those familiar with the history of the Central Maghreb during recent centuries recognize the extent of weakness and deterioration that caused the fall of the Zayyanid state. In its final days, it became a body without a soul and a name without meaning. Disputes and conflicts multiplied among members of the Zayyanid house to the point where sons overthrew their fathers. Additionally, Spanish protection was extended to some sultans in exchange for their remaining on the throne of power. Abu Abdullah V signed a peace treaty with the Spanish occupation, and during the reign of Abu Hammad, allegiance to the Spaniards was declared, as they helped him regain his kingdom in Tlemcen after besieging it. These calamities forced the residents of Tlemcen to unite their opinions and seek help from Ottoman sailors after witnessing the fall of coastal areas into Spanish hands. Seeking Ottoman help became an inevitable solution in such a crisis.

These events caused scholars to diverge between supporters of the ruler and those criticizing him, as well as a third group that chose a reformist approach. Amidst these events, scholars played a role in mobilizing or directing the popular base and even representing public opinion to the ruling authority, attempting to reach correct solutions consistent with Islamic governance systems and culture. Scholars in this era played a prominent role in directing social opinion among Tlemcen's residents and participating in *ribat* (frontier defense) and confronting Spanish colonial aggression. Perhaps the book "*Ka'bat al-Ta'ifin Fi Sharh Hizb al-'Arifin*" by Muhammad ibn Slīmān Al-Sa'im represents an important document from that period, when historical sources describing the role of Sufi orders, especially the Šāḍilī order, in reform and participation in struggle were scarce .

On the one hand, the Sufi sheikhs and jurists of Tlemcen witnessed the collapsing political scene and great social deterioration, especially after the fall of Oran into the hands of Spanish invaders who dominated most of the coasts while imposing tribute. Thus, this pushed members of society to condemn the Zayyanid authority's actions. On the other hand, there was popular discontent after the entry of the Ottomans and denunciation of the

Janissary army's behavior, which reached the level of popular revolution rejecting those actions.

The research Question is: The problematic statement presented in this paper is as follows: What was the reformist role of Šāḍilī order leaders and what was their position on events witnessed by the Mediterranean coast during the sixteenth century?

Several questions branch from this problematic statement:

- Who were the most prominent sheikhs leading Sufi orders who made political, military, and social contributions during this stage?

This is what the research will attempt to answer in its main axes, summarized as follows:

- First axis: Political and organizational conditions during the Beylerbey era.
- Second axis: Introduction to the Šāḍilī order and Sheikh Muhammad ibn Ali al-Yuhidi.
- Third axis: The role of Sufi sheikhs in political mediation between ruler and ruled.

1-Political and Organizational Conditions During the Beylerbey Era

The western province witnessed some confusion unlike the central and eastern provinces, perhaps due to its proximity to Spanish fleets that continued to attack repeatedly to occupy the western coasts. The founders of the Sa'di state also entered the conflict, wanting to extend their influence over western Algeria after Tlemcen residents had sought help from the Sa'di sultan to curb Turkish severity¹,

Sultan Muhammad al-Sheikh al-Sa'di launched a campaign on Tlemcen and expelled Abu Zayyan Ahmad². In 1550, Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Sa'di launched a campaign on Tlemcen and occupied it after a nine-month siege. Hassan Bašha responded by eliminating it and expelling the Sa'dis beyond

the Malouya River in Oujda. In 1554, Salih Rais led an offensive campaign with Abu Hasun al-Wattasi against the Sa'dis. This campaign succeeded in expelling Al-Šrīf Al-Mhdī and installing Abū Hswūn Al-Ūṭwāsī³.

After securing the western borders, Salih Rais headed to Tlemcen and officially announced the fall of the Zayyanid state and Tlemcen annexation to Ottoman authority in Algeria, thus putting an end to Spanish ambitions to occupy it⁴. Efforts were directed to repel Spanish campaigns on the coasts, and Bejaia was liberated in 1555. Thus, Ottoman state authority extended from eastern to western Algeria. This era was called the Beylerbey era, then, Algeria was divided into four provinces:

- Beylik of the capital, containing the seat of Ottoman Sultan's house
- Eastern Beylik with Constantine city as its center
- Titteri Beylik with Medea city as its center
- Western Beylik with Mascara as its center, then moved to Mazouna after the Spaniards were expelled in 1795⁵.

In military organization, Ottoman forces were divided into two sections:

The Ottoman Fleet: The strongest fleet after Algeria's territories were united: Fleet commanders were appointed by the Ottoman Caliph with approval from the *Rais* (captains). One could rise to the rank of captain, pasha, or navy minister for competence in fleet command. The *Rais* authority consisted of appointing governors and managing external conflicts, especially with the Spaniards, and internal conflicts represented by popular revolts⁶

The Janissary Army: Infantry soldiers sent by the Ottoman Sultan to ḥīr Al-Dīn during his appointment as Beylerbey. The army consisted primarily of Turks and European elements, while Algerians were not allowed to enter the Janissary army and advance in its ranks.⁷

2-The Social Situation in Western Algeria

It is known that western Algeria had close ties with the cities of the Far Maghreb since the Islamic conquest, which necessitated their sharing

many things, whether in social composition, customs, or even religiosity, where Sufi orders coming from Andalusia and Fez predominated⁸. The social composition of the western province during the Ottoman conquest combined Berber tribes, Hilalian Arab tribes, Yemeni Ma'qil tribes, Turks or 'Uluj, Moriscos⁹, the European community, and the Jewish community distributed across cities and countryside.

During the Ottoman era, Algerian society took a hierarchical structure in terms of privileges and social status. At the top of the pyramid was the Turkish community, followed by Karagözlü who were assigned moderately important positions, then Hadar including Andalusians, nobles, and notables who held religious and educational positions and worked in crafts and professions. The Jewish and Christian communities were attached to this group. At the bottom of the pyramid were the Barrāniya groups deprived of privileges. In the countryside, the relationship with rulers was the criterion for precedence: Makhzen tribes came first, then pastoral tribes, then alliances, then mountainous areas.¹⁰

The religious situation was not immune to regional tensions. After stability prevailed during the Zayyanid Caliphate, which opened doors for scholars and jurists in Tlemcen, it became ruined in its final days, its schools abandoned, and its scholars departed. American Consul William Shaler's 1824 memoir described Tlemcen's deteriorating conditions during this period after Turkish entry: "Since the Turks entered this country, Tlemcen has suffered neglect despite its excellent geographical location".¹¹

3-The Religious Reality in Tlemcen During This Era

Sufism in Tlemcen, like other parts of Algeria, had been established there for centuries before Turkish entry. Zawiyas and their sheikhs played an effective role in defending Islamic lands, either taking command themselves against the enemy or directing it spiritually¹²(). History recorded the position displayed by Imam Abd al-Rahman al-Tha'alibi, when he called the people of Algiers city and its surroundings to *jihad* and provide war tools and victory equipment. In the travels of Ottoman Bîri Reis, it is mentioned that Sheikh Muhammad al-Tawati protected Bejaia city from the Spaniards and

his zawiya was a refuge for mujahideen and sea warriors. Upon his death, the city fell into enemy hands ¹³.

As for Tlemcen scholars at the beginning of the Turkish era, we previously indicated the conflicting positions among its scholars between supporters and opponents of Turkish intervention. However, the Ottomans' tight grip on Algerian territory made opponents declare their loyalty to Ottoman authority, such as Sheikh Ahmad Yūsuf al-Milyani, Ibn Afghoul, and Muhammad Ibn Sha'a'a. Meanwhile, some entered the Far Maghreb, and others maintained their position, as happened with Muhammad Ibn Sa'id al-Manuni who was captured by Sultan Abu Abdullah al-Thabiti, and Ibn Mallouka's position when he prayed against 'Aruj, who was subsequently killed at "Jābel Iznasen"¹⁴

This dissatisfaction with Turkish actions was not confined to sheikhs but was the position of the entire people in the western province who experienced something of domination and persecution from the Janissaries. It should be noted that Tlemcen's Sufi sheikhs had close ties with their sheikhs and orders, whether in the east in Constantine or in the west like Mazouna and Mascara. The relationship was strongest with Fez city and its zawiyas and schools that worked on purification and *ribat*, until it became a beacon of Sufism from which great sheikhs emerged.

Among the most famous orders spread in these territories during this era was the al-Šāḍilī order, from which many other orders branched. This order had wide renown since Sheikh Ahmad Zarruq al-Fasi revived it (846-899 AH), spreading throughout the Maghreb territories and becoming the spiritual path of its scholars and princes ¹⁵. "Zarruq al-Fasi" was contemporary with Tlemcen's Sufi poles like al-Sanusi, Ibn Yas'ad, al-Mishaddali, and Hallulu. Imam Zarruq is considered the renewer of Sufism in his time through his treatises and works, most famously "Al-Qawa'id fi al-Tasawwuf" (The Rules of Sufism), "Ūddat al-Morid" (The Seeker's Provision), and "Dhikr Hawadith al-Waqt" (Mention of Contemporary Events) in which he explained deviations and innovations among disciples.¹⁶

Among those who were influenced by, spread, and belonged to this order during the Turkish era in Tlemcen across various periods and who had a political role, we mention:

- Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Yusuf al-Milyani, who began as a Šāḍilī and supported the Ottomans in their war against the Spaniards and their allies among Zayyanid princes.¹⁷
- Ibn Abi Maryam al-Militi al-Tilimsani, author of al-Bustan, who mentioned a number of events that occurred in his time, including Christians entering Tlemcen and their occupation of Oran and other events.¹⁸
- Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Kannani Ibn Zub'a, who died after 980 AH.
- The grandson of Sidi Yahya Ibn Muhammad al-Madyuni, who died in 981 AH.
- Ali Ibn Yahya Al-Salkasini Al-Jadiri Al-Rashidi, who died in 1014 AH.
- Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Yuhidi al-Abdali al-Sufi, who died in 1035 AH.
- Musa Ibn Ali Ibn Musa al-Mallalati and his student Muhammad Ibn Sulayman Al-Jazuli, author of Ka'bat al-Ta'ifin, who mentioned many events and days he accompanied his sheikhs in - the only source for western events in that period.¹⁹

4-The Social and Political Role of Sheikh"Muhammad al-Sufi Al-'bdlī "

The most important personality that can be highlighted within the discussion of the reformist movement and Sufi activity in Tlemcen in the 11th century AH is Sheikh Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Rahman ibn Ali al-Yuhidi, known as "Sidi Al-'bdlī al-Wattasi" or "Muhammad al- al-Sūfī," whose activity coincided with the period of Spanish aggression on Algerian coasts and the entry of Ottoman protection represented by Ottoman sailors who imposed protection on Algerian coasts and expelled Spanish occupation from them .

4-1- Introduction to Sheikh Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Yuhidi (al-Šufi Al-'bdlī)

Sheikh Muhammad ibn Ali Al-Yuhidi's origin traced back to the large Anjad tribes southwest of Tlemcen bordering Oujda city²⁰. The Sheikh, may

Allah have mercy on him, was among those who migrated from Oujda territory to Tlemcen in the known migration after the Wattasid²¹ war with the Sa'dis and its resulting deterioration of conditions in the region, especially tribal wars²². He resided with his family in Tlemcen, moving between its valleys for work, seclusion, writing, and spreading knowledge, accompanying scholars and educators. This included his residence near Wadi Yasser in the eastern part of Tlemcen, characterized by fertile soil, good crops, and location on the road connecting Tlemcen and the western province capital "Aum 'skr" (Mascara). He became known for his miracles and high status. Among these was what Ibn Slīmān Al-Šā'im recounted when he accompanied him with Sheikh Mūsi Ibn Šābr. When they descended at the river crossing and Ibn Al-Šā'im could not draw water, Allah sent him two gazelles with two waterskins, which he interpreted as their knowledge's breadth and blessing acquired from the Prophetic basin.²³ His lineage states that he was from the noble descendants of Blqāsm. His sons were Muhammad, Al-Ḡrīb, and Al-Tābtī, and his daughter was 'Āišġ, who was renowned for her virtue and piety. She married a grandson of Moulay Al-Šrīf

24.

Sheikh Muhammad Al-'bdlī resided at Bab Al-Ġiād, leading people in prayer at Sidi Al-Ūzwān mosque. He had a good reputation among Tlemcen residents, and his word was heard by common people and elite alike. He was contemporary with Imam Sidi S'īd Al-Mqrwī, revering him whenever he desired to see the Prophet (peace be upon him), going out to see him ascending to al-Wazzan mosque on his way to the Big Mosque²⁵. Sidi Al-'bdlī was known for his good demeanor and pleasant speech. His student Ibn Al-Sa'im said, "Likewise, our sheikh, the knower of God, Sidi Muhammad Al-'bdlī, is at the highest level of this lofty station. One day I was preparing to use natural disposition and wear good clothes, all this a day or two before Eid. I said to him, "If you left your clothes folded until Eid day to wear them to match people". He said to me, "Oh my son, this Eid is for others, but as for us, all our days are Eid for us, praise be to Allah, no difference between today and tomorrow." After that I contemplated his words and it appeared to me that "whoever increases daily in beneficial knowledge and righteous deeds that please the eye, that is better for him than the two Eids"²⁶

Sheikh Al- ‘Abdlī presided at Sidi al-Wazzan mosque teaching noble Hadith, Quranic interpretation, Abn ‘ṭā’ Al-lh Al-Skndrī, ḥlīl compendium in jurisprudence, and other linguistic and Islamic sciences. He had great standing that qualified him to be among Tlemcen's notable scholars from whom fatwa rulings on contemporary issues were issued and who formed Tlemcen's advisory council. Despite these efforts in spreading knowledge and culture, he was not satisfied with the scientific and religious reality of many Sufis who preferred charlatanism, dervishism, and idleness over learning and jurisprudence. Rather, he denied and combated their superstitions (Al-Sa'im, 2012-2013).

This great status and social role the Sheikh assumed gave him favor with the Turkish ruler, whom Sheikh Al- ‘Abdlī continued to criticize for his policy and his officials' arbitrary actions, thus becoming a spokesman for Tlemcen city masses, hearing their concerns and confronting Turkish authority with them, while many neglected the reformist aspect. Ibn Al-Šā'im says, "I found in our corrupt time only an ignorant fool or a naked pseudo-scholar. You find in this last part of the tenth century only scorpions and snakes" ²⁷

4-2- Positions and Efforts of Sheikh Mouhammad al-Šufi Al- ‘Abdlī in Social Reform

Ibn al-Sa'im mentioned in his book many positions showing the great social and reformist role that Sheikh Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Yuhidi performed. The zawiya in his house at Bab al-Jiyad ²⁸ was not only for housing disciples but was a refuge for the oppressed among Muslims and dhimmis who suffered from Turkish authority persecution. Influenced by Tlemcen's great Sufis, he would say to his student Ibn Al-Šā'im, "Sheikh Abū Mdīan is only a sanctuary, but we, Allah willing, have the sanctuary, food, and reconciliation among people"²⁹. This clarifies the social role and charitable work that Sheikh Al- ‘Abdlī practiced in a society about which the least that can be said is that it was very deteriorated, with all social ills spread in it like theft and sorcery.

His role did not stop at this limit but was a representative of the masses' opinion in criticizing Turkish actions. The historical source before us proves that Sufi sheikhs did not stand as spectators but contributed politically to calming general conditions and reassuring terrified souls on one hand, and rebuking the Turkish ruler on the other . Sheikh Al- 'Abdlī, accompanied by his student Ibn al-Saiim, entered upon Turkish commander "Ibn Sourī" at his camp at al-Mashwar palace. The Sheikh preached to him, and this was the Sheikh's first criticism of the Turks, which was strongly worded. Ibn al-Sa'im composed a political poem about it implying denunciation of the Turks and their leader, among whose verses:

*Anticipate your death day, O so-and-so / // And may departure from the abodes accompany you*³⁰

This discourse, despite containing preaching, carries within it denunciation of retaliatory practices by some Turkish Janissary soldiers that the author of Ka'bat al-Ta'ifin stated in his book, "I recited it when sedition occurred between Tlemcen Turks and its townspeople in 1035 AH. A great camp from Algiers Turks came upon them with their commander the *Qa'id* Muhammad Ibn Sourī. I entered with Sheikh Sidi Al-'bdlī, after Friday afternoon prayer to the mentioned commander. The Sheikh rebuked and preached to him, and I saw from his strength and authority in robes and bodies what moved my heart when you mentioned"³¹

His saying "the Sheikh rebuked" is clear in the strong denunciation of the policy adopted by the Turks. This is scholars' duty, as al-Ghazali said - whose words he quoted extensively - "Two classes, if righteous, the subjects become righteous: scholars and princes" .

Sheikh Al- 'Abdlī, sought to calm conditions, especially after the Janissaries wreaked havoc in the capital and the resulting chaos and residents' revolution expressing rejection of those behaviors and practices. This Tlemcen revolution resembled the Egyptian people's revolution against Caliph Uthman. Al-Jazuli says about it in Ka'bat al-Ta'ifin, "Our era never came to it, Al-'bdlī, on the path of calming the mentioned sedition, and about two years after his death, a greater sedition than the first erupted".

The first revolution was that for which Sheikh Al- ‘Abdlī, traveled to the Ottoman Sultan's headquarters at the Sultan's house in the capital to express Tlemcen residents' anger at Commander Ibn Suri's actions and their deteriorating social conditions. In pursuit of this, he died on his return from this humanitarian social mission at the end of 1035 AH and was buried in the municipality known today by his name east of Tlemcen .

Two years after his death, another greater sedition occurred, represented by an armed revolution led by a religious man coming from the Far Maghreb who incited Tlemcen residents against the Turkish commander. The latter gathered his camp and confronted this revolution firmly at Wadi al-Safsif, ending with the annihilation of all those who stirred sedition .³²

5- Manifestations of Revolutionary Tendency in Oran and Ribat

5-1- Spanish Invasion Focus on Oran Coasts as the Western Gateway in the Mediterranean Basin

Oran was under Spanish fire since the late Zayyanid state. The severity upon it increased due to Bani Zayyan princes' collusion and some Bani Amir tribes on the other hand, which prompted Muslims and Sufi sheikhs in particular to call people and especially disciples to participate in *ribat* to liberate it.

Ibn al-Sa'im mentioned that Sheikh Muhammad ibn Ali Al-‘bdlī, made the reason for Oran people's destruction and its fall into Spanish invaders' hands their abandonment of Sharia rule and their recourse to common people and misleading customs³³, contrary to what the author of Al-Bstān and some biographies conveyed that Oran was sold by "Sidi al-Howārī" - meaning he withdrew protection from it - due to his son's killing ³⁴.

Despite Sheikh Al- ‘Abdlī, many preoccupations, time constraints, and engagement with teaching in his *zawiya* and mosque at Bab al-Ġiād, this did not deter him from *ribat* and struggle against Spanish occupation, which was the practice of Algeria's Sufi sheikhs and notables united by Islamic education and national spirit.

Ibn Al-Sa'im's father, his brothers, Blqāsm ibn Sabir - who were related by kinship - Ibn al-bīṭār, the son of ʿīšūnḥ, Abd al-Qadir ibn Muhammad Al-Samahi "Sidi Al-Sheikh," owner of Al-Sheikhiya *zawiya* who was martyred while stationed at Oran fronts in 1025 AH³⁵, and others from Al-Šādīlī order disciples who came from Tlemcen and its environs and neighboring cities participated in Oran *ribat* on the road connecting Tlemcen and Oran via Ain Temouchent.

5-2-Daily Life of Stationed Warriors from Sheikhs and Disciples

Sheikh Al- ʿAbdlī was engaged in remembrance, night prayer, and fasting that never ceased night or day. Ibn Al-Sa'im recounts his father's companionship and consolation with Sidi Al- ʿAbdlī, "I fought with them repeatedly and saw Sheikh Sidi Al- ʿAbdlī calm down at the beginning of the night for as long as the *mujahideen* have dinner and sleep. Then he rises and faces the Qibla, continuing to pray until late night. Then he sings "al-Burda" and similar poems of the people, then remains in remembrance and contemplation facing forward until he prays the dawn prayer with the stationed warriors, as Allah wills, and his prayer is the prayer of the humble"³⁶

Litanies, contemplations, and abundant night prayer were Sheikh Al- ʿAbdlī source of strength. Through this text, they awakened in him love of good for people, working to serve them, and defending their rights and lands. Leadership qualities and religious guidance were complete in his personality: good conduct, familiarity with Islamic culture and its sciences, and social practice. He was truly an active personality preserved by history in the first period after the Zayyanid state's fall, scholars' migration, and some losing them in environmental disasters like the plague that struck Tlemcen in 981 AH.³⁷

5-The Suffering of Warriors Stationed at Oran City in the First and Second Spanish Invasions

Historical sources mention in detail the Zayyanid princes' collusion with the Spaniards who, in turn, mobilized Arab tribes on their side - tribes

that raided stationed warriors' camps. They found no help with money or equipment except what provisions and weapons they carried with them. All this was during the second Spanish invasion .

Ibn al-Sa'im counted twelve raids he accompanied his sheikhs in: Sheikh Abd Al-Jabbar and his brother Sheikh Abd Al-Ghaffar, and the two sons of the judge - the second Ibn Al-Sa'im. He mentioned among those who raided with them Sheikh al- 'Abdlī, saying, "And in every raid the infidels came out to us and we dueled with them. Until now we have not found helpers in jihad. I - meaning Al-Jazuli - raided with my father, the stationed warrior mujahid and his son-in-law Al- 'Abdlī, may Allah have mercy on them, in various raids, and we found no help from the wicked, so their calamity is greater than the infidels."³⁸ He composed verses about this on his Sheikh Al- 'Abdlī tongue, saying in them:

No Soultân whose judgment O Lord,

will reform the cities

No most just sheikh whose concern

Will reform the Arabs and captives³⁹

These verses speak of the horror of the calamity, which is Muslims' defeatism and Arab tribes' collusion near coastal areas and *ribat* centers, in addition to the absence of the just imam around whom Muslims' word unites and by whom their strength increases. All this was after the disturbance that befell society after the Zayyanid state's disintegration and disappearance, so much so that Abu Mahalli in his call alluded to Tlemcen ruler's weakness when he said, "If you pass by Tlemcen's prince, what is desired from the Almighty is that He awaken and inspire him to what brings about Oran tyrant's ruin"⁴⁰

We find in Ka'bat al-Ta'ifin statistics for stationed warriors who numbered more than 300 fighters in the second stage of the first Spanish invasion on Oran in 1060 AH. They did not escape this time from some tribes' disruption of their struggle and *ribat*. While they were preparing to confront

the Spaniards, some Arabs loyal to the Spaniards launched raids on the stationed warriors on the first Friday of Dhu al-Qa'da. In this raid, Ibn Al-Sa'im was hit by a gunpowder shot in his thigh, removing him from the stationed warriors' ranks. Afterward, he sufficed with equipping fighters with whatever mount and weapon was available to him, with his great regret at his distance from *ribat* centers ⁴¹.

Conclusion

At the conclusion of this research, a number of results can be reached, which can be summarized as follows:

- The tenth and eleventh centuries witnessed a number of regional events that changed the balance of power on both shores of the Mediterranean Sea.
- Spanish campaigns are considered the most important event witnessed by Arab Maghreb countries, coinciding with the fall of major national states, namely the Zayyanid state and its influence.
- Zayyanid authority experienced great confusion between those seeking Spanish help and those overthrowing ruling family members to monopolize power.
- Ottoman entry into the conflict line is considered one of the important reasons for recovering Islamic lands, restoring prestige to Maghreb states, and extending influence and control over both Mediterranean shores.
- Religious men made great contributions during this period, considered the beginning of state formation and traditions in the Mediterranean basin.
- Sufi order sheikhs, especially the Al-Šādīlī order, played a great role in both social and military aspects.
- Šādīlī order men contributed to repelling Spanish invader raids at the beginning of the 16th century, through the historical document represented by the book "Ka'bat Al-Ta'ifin wa Bahjat Al-'Akifin" by Muhammad Abn Sulayman Al-Sa'im.

- Tlemcen witnessed great deterioration during this stage, pushing scholars to fortify themselves in environs and other cities like Mazouna, Majaja, and Bani Rāshid.
- Participants in *ribat* and warfare varied from Arab and Berber tribes adhering to national spirit, although this was met with collusion by some tribes near western coasts.

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- ¹⁷ Ibn Hayda, Y. (n.d.). *Al-Shaykh Ahmad ibn Yusuf al-Milyani wa dawruhu fi tad'im al-hukm al-Uthmani bil-Jaza'ir khilal al-qarn 16*. magazine al-Ma'arif lil-Buhuth wa al-Dirasat al-Tarikhiyya, 18, 237-257.

¹⁸ Al-Bustan. P 57.

¹⁹ Sa'd Allah, A. al-Q. (2007a). *Abhath wa ara' fi tarikh al-Jaza'ir* [Research and opinions on Algeria's history] (Special ed.). Dar al-Basa'ir. P 170.

²⁰ It was part of the Zayyanid capital of Tlemcen and contained Zenata tribes.

²¹ They are a branch of the Beni Yeznasen, one of the largest Zenata tribes in western Algeria.

²² See: Abd al-Hamid al-Alawi- *Tarikh Oujda w Anqad fi Dawhat Al'amjadi* [The History of Oujda and Anqad in the Tree of Glory] , 1st ed., 1985/1406 AH, vol. 1, p. 80.

²³ Al-Sa'im, M. ibn S- *Ka'bat al-Ta'ifin fi Sharh Hizb al-'Arifin*. Manuscript, King Saud University Library, No. 01.0, 1725. P30.

²⁴ See Bilhashimi bikar- *Majmue Alnasab* . Ibn Khaldoun Press - Tlemcen, 1381 AH/1961 CE. p. 312, p. 289.

²⁵ Al-Sa'im, M. ibn S. (2012-2013). *Ka'bat al-Ta'ifin fi Sharh Hizb al-'Arifin* [Ka'ba of the circumambulators in explaining the litany of knowers] (Q. Qidari, Ed.) [Doctoral dissertation, University of Tlemcen]. Department of History and Archaeology. P 117.

²⁶ *Al-Sa'im- Manuscript* , P 26.

²⁷ Ibid . 24.

²⁸ It has been known for some time as Dar Al-abdali near the mosque.

²⁹ *Al-Sa'im- Manuscript* p226. *Qidari*. P502.

³⁰ Ibid. p 266.

³¹ *Al-Sa'im* p 266.

³² Ibid. p 238. At the same time, Morocco was embroiled in the wars of Sultan Zaydan. See. Ahmad ibn Khalid al-Nasiri - *Al-Istiqsa fi Tarikh Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqsa*. Vol.6. p 69.

³³ *al-Sa'im*. P 254.

³⁴ *al-Militi*. P 268.

³⁵ Shaykhawi nasir- *Qira'at Lisayidi 'Abi madin shueayb Wa sayidi Abd alqadir bin muhamad min khilal abn earabi-*. House al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya - Beirut. 1st ed., p. 62.

³⁶ *Al-Sa'im*. P238.

³⁷ *El Mility*. P 266.

³⁸ He is referring to the pro-Spanish Arab tribes near Oran, whom he considers to be equal to those who failed to resist Islam and the land.

³⁹ *Al-Sa'im*. P 256. *Qidari* p 562.

⁴⁰ Al-Qadduri, A. al-M. (1991). *Ibn Abi Mahalli al-Faqih al-Tha'ir* [Ibn Abi Mahalli the jurist revolutionary]. Manshurat Ukaz. P 86. And it is Hizb Talah in this poem

⁴¹ *Al-Sa'im* . p 154.*Qidari* p.556.