The Ulama and the Ottoman Administration in Algeria (1518-1830): A Study of the Duality of Loyalty and Confrontation (Migration and Exile as a Model)

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Abstract

This article examines the dialectical and interactive relationship between the scientific elite (Ulama) and the Ottoman administration in Algeria from 1518 to 1830. It posits that this relationship was not uniform, fluctuating between a "strategic alliance" driven by the necessities of Jihad and frontier protection in the early Ottoman era, and "collision and rupture" prompted by later administrative and political transformations. The research analyzes the underlying motives for the Ottoman authority's implementation of political repressive tools, primarily "exile and forced displacement," to suppress the scientific opposition that emerged in response to fiscal policies and administrative abuses. Furthermore, it highlights the "voluntary migration" of scholars as a political act of protest that maintained the independence of the intellectual elite from state pressure. Employing a historical-analytical methodology, the study concludes that this historical rupture between science and authority led to the erosion of the political legitimacy of Ottoman rule. This created a rift between the administration and its popular base, ultimately weakening Algeria's internal front prior to its fall in 1830.

Keywords: Ottoman Administration; Scientific Elite; Loyalty and Confrontation; Exile; Migration.

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1. Introduction

The relationship between the scholarly elite (Ulama) and political authority represents one of the most complex issues in the modern history of Algeria, particularly during the Ottoman era (1518–1830). From the earliest moments of the establishment of the "Regency of Algiers," the Ulama played a pivotal role in granting religious and social legitimacy to the new rulers, the Barbarossa brothers. This established a strategic alliance fundamentally based on the principle of "protecting the frontiers" (Thughur) and defending the heart of Islam under the banner of Jihad. However, this relationship was not static; it underwent major shifts dictated by administrative changes and escalating economic crises. Consequently, the scholar's role gradually transitioned from "partner and ally" to "opponent and fugitive."

From this perspective, the central problem of this research revolves around the nature of the dramatic shift in the relationship between the Ulama and the Ottoman administration. How did the organic alliance that characterized the beginnings transform into a state of conflict and rupture in the later stages? What were the underlying reasons that prompted the Ottoman administration to employ instruments of political repression, such as exile and forced displacement, against the scholarly elite? Furthermore, how did the reactions of the Ulama—manifested in voluntary migration—contribute to weakening Algeria's internal front shortly before its fall in 1830?

This research seeks to achieve several objectives, most notably highlighting the nature of the political and religious contract that bound the Ulama to authority in its early phases. It also analyzes the true motives behind the collapse of this relationship due to fiscal policies and administrative abuses. Additionally, the study aims to foreground the phenomena of "Migration and Exile" as fundamental manifestations of the crisis, exploring the repercussions of this historical rupture on the erosion of the authority's legitimacy in the eyes of the local population. To achieve these goals, the study adopts the historical method to track the trajectory of the relationship over time, relying on the induction of historical material available in contemporary sources, including biographies, memoirs, and travelogues. Furthermore, an analytical approach is employed to link political events with the stances of the scholars, attempting to understand the motives that led to the choice of exile or migration as final solutions in the conflict of wills between knowledge and power.

2. Features of the Foundational Alliance between Authority and the Scholarly Elite:

The establishment of the Ottoman state in Algeria was not merely a transient military event or a shift in the map of regional influence; rather, it was a strategic response to a pressing religious and social necessity formulated by the Algerian scholarly elite. Amidst the existential threat posed by Spanish incursions and the fall of Andalusian cities, the scholars of

Algeria viewed the "Barbarossa Brothers" as the only force capable of protecting the heart of Islam and safeguarding the integrity of the territory. Consequently, the relationship between the Turkish ruler and the local scholar was founded on a solid reciprocal basis: "Legitimacy in exchange for Protection." The Ulama volunteered to provide spiritual cover and legal justification for the incoming authority, transforming the Ottoman presence from a mere military power into a socially accepted political entity, viewed as a sacred Jihad and a stationing in the path of God (*Ribat*), rather than a foreign occupation.

2.1 The Ulama as a Reference for Political Legitimacy:

By tracing the accounts of Haj Ahmed al-Sharif al-Zahar and examining the contemporary historical material of that era, it becomes evident that the Ulama did not occupy marginal or subordinate roles. Instead, they formed the essential pillar upon which the Ottomans relied to establish their presence and consolidate their rule in an environment that was foreign to them in language, ethnicity, and culture. The fatwas and letters sent by the notables and scholars of major urban centers (such as Algiers, Constantine, and Tlemcen) transcended the boundaries of religious advice. They became "political pledges of allegiance" (*Sokouk Mubaya'a*) and unwritten constitutional documents, transforming these leaders from across the seas into legitimate rulers whose obedience was mandatory under Islamic

Sharia. This bestowed a legal character upon the exercise of power within the Regency (Al-Zahar, 1974, pp. 45-46) .

2.2 The Political and Regulatory Function of the Religious Institution:

The influence of the Ulama was not confined to the physical spaces of mosques and *Zawayas*; rather, it extended to form a weighty "moral authority" that stood as a parallel force to political and military power. The elite scholars assumed positions of Muftis and Judges and secured permanent seats in the "Diwan" (the Supreme Advisory Council). This enabled them to exercise the role of a Sharia-based regulator over the decisions of Deys and Pashas, aligning them with the higher objectives of Sharia (*Maqasid*). This delicate balance between the "Men of the Sword" and the "Men of the Pen" created a state of deep social stability; the scholar became the refuge to whom the subjects hurried to redress grievances, and the formidable political interlocutor whose voice no Ottoman ruler—during the stages of strength—dared to ignore or bypass (Al-Antari, 2007, p. 112).

2.3 Economic Immunity and Scholarly Independence The Waqf:

system (endowments) played a fundamental and vital role in enhancing the status of the Ulama and ensuring their independence from the fluctuations of political whims. Generous Ottoman patronage of the endowments belonging to *Zawayas*, schools, and shrines was not merely a manifestation of

religious piety; it was a political vision aimed at ensuring the stability of an educated middle class loyal to the state that sponsored its material existence. This financial prosperity allowed the Ulama to build extensive and powerful social networks across all segments of the populace. This made them a formidable social force, possessing the keys to mobilizing or calming public opinion according to the supreme interests of the country, thereby reinforcing the scholar's position as an authentic partner in managing the affairs of the Regency (Saadallah, 1998, p. 215).

3.Causes of the Rupture and the Shift of Scholars Toward Political Opposition:

The strategic alliance that prevailed during the early Ottoman era was not destined for historical continuity until the end of that period. A "rift" began to appear clearly in the structure of the relationship as the political orientations of the rulers changed, particularly during the reigns of the "Pashas" and the "Deys." Structural economic and social crises emerged, prompting the authority to revise its mode of interaction with the scholarly elite, transforming them from foundational partners into potential adversaries. This dramatic shift can be analyzed through the following pivotal factors:

3.1 Political Isolationism and the Adoption of Coercive Policies:

After the stabilization of military conditions and the fading of the direct Spanish threat, the ruling class began to lean toward

political isolation from the subjects. The participatory language of "consultation" (*Mushawara*) with the scholars was replaced by a top-down military "dictation." This trend produced an elitist ruling class that monopolized decision-making centers and excluded the local component (the indigenous population and their elite) from effective participation in managing the affairs of the Regency. By analyzing pivotal events, such as the "Ibn al-Sakhri" revolt (1637 AD), we clearly sense the degree of cruelty with which the authority confronted not only military rebels but even scholars who showed sympathy for popular demands or refused to provide the legal (sharia) cover to justify administrative injustice. This official rigidity led to a fundamental transformation in the scholar's role, as he shifted from being a partner in stabilizing the rule to becoming the "spokesperson" for popular opposition and its living conscience (Saadallah, 1998, p. 412).

3.2 The Financial Crisis and the Policy of "Exorbitant Taxation":

The decline in revenues from "Maritime Activity" (*Jihad al-Bahr*) represented a dangerous turning point in the relationship between the two parties. The authority, which previously funded the scholars' privileges and supported the *Zawiyas* through external spoils, was forced—under the weight of financial deficits—to impose heavy and innovative taxes known as "Gharamat" or illegal "Magharim." The matter was not limited to the material aspect; the Ottoman administration also attempted to exploit the spiritual and symbolic capital of the scholars to

market and legitimize these taxes among the populace. When the scholarly elite maintained their rejection of this "fiscal injustice" (*Al-Hayf al-Jiba'i*) based on jurisprudential principles, a direct clash occurred with the administration. The latter viewed this refusal as an existential threat to the state's financial integrity, prompting rulers in the later stages to marginalize the religious institution and attempt to undermine its economic independence to ensure its subordination (Al-Zahar, 1974, p. 118).

3.3 The Widening Gap Between the "Makhzen" and the "Subjects" (*Ra'iyya*):

The Ottoman system relied on the "Makhzen Tribes" mechanism for tax collection and maintaining security, which created a class system based on granting privileges and exemptions to certain loyalties in exchange for exhausting and overtaxing other tribes. In this tense atmosphere, the scholar found himself facing an ethical and political dilemma: either absolute loyalty to the state apparatus to preserve personal gains or aligning with the oppressed subjects (*Ra'iyya*). Based on the accounts of the historian "Saleh Al-Antari" in his documentation of the events in the Beylik of the East, we observe that a wide sector of scholars chose the opposition camp, rejecting the practices of the Makhzen tribes. This choice made them a direct target for retaliatory policies that included dismissal from office, confiscation of property, and even the use of exile and forced displacement as weapons (Al-Antari, 2007, p. 94).

4. Manifestations of Political Repression (Exile and Migration as Tools to Break the Elite):

When the Ottoman administration in its late stages exhausted all means of "soft containment" and methods of material inducement toward the scholars, it moved into a phase of explicit and systematic confrontation. The goal of activating methods of political deterrence was not merely to inflict physical punishment on dissidents; rather, it aimed fundamentally at the "radical isolation" of the scholar from his popular base, stripping him of his spiritual and symbolic authority, which had come to pose a real threat to the stability of the eroding Ottoman entity.

4.1 The Policy of Exile and Forced Displacement:

The Ottoman authority considered that the presence of an opposing scholar within his social environment provided constant fuel for incitement and protest. Therefore, it resorted to "exile" as a strategic political penalty to remove the "intellectual heads" from the major urban centers (Algiers, Constantine, Tlemcen). By tracing the paths of repression in the Beyliks of the East and West, we find that exile specifically targeted scholars who refused to bless the fiscal policies and "Magharim" (illegal taxes) imposed by the Deys. Based on the accounts of Saleh Al-Antari, the deportation of scholars was not a spontaneous or simple disciplinary measure; rather, it was carried out according to deliberate administrative plans aimed at dismantling the symbolism of the ancient "Scholarly Houses " .that had inherited a natural resistance against the despotism of

authority. This led to the destabilization of the traditional social structure that had protected the subjects (*Ra'iyya*) from the oppression of the administration (Al-Antari, 2007, p. 142).

4.2 Voluntary Migration: Escaping with Knowledge and Faith:

In the face of the systematic restrictions on scholarly freedoms and the arbitrary confiscations that targeted endowments (*Awqaf*), stripping scholars of their financial independence, many felt they had no choice but to take the path of "migration" toward major Islamic urban centers such as Tunis, Marrakesh, Cairo, and the Hijaz. This migration was not a flight from poverty or a pursuit of livelihood; rather, it was an eloquent cry of political protest expressing a radical "discontent" with the ruling system. These successive waves caused a severe "intellectual drain" that disrupted Algeria's cultural balance. The country lost the cream of its elite, who preferred to live under the patronage of states providing a minimum of dignity and scholarly autonomy. This later cleared the way for the authority to appoint "loyalist" scholars who would sing its praises and legitimize its decisions with superficial religious justifications (Saadallah, 1998, p. 385).

4.3The Impact of the Rupture on the Cultural and Political Landscape:

The transformation of the scholar from a "strategic ally" and foundational partner at the beginning of the Ottoman era to an "exile and fugitive" by its end directly contributed to the

destabilization and weakening of Algeria's internal front shortly before 1830. The policies of repression created a deep rift and an unbridgeable gap between the indigenous population (*Ahali*) and the Ottoman authority; the latter lost the "legitimate intermediary" and social buffer that had historically functioned as a safety valve, absorbing public resentment during crises. By analyzing the historical conclusion of this dialectical conflict, we conclude that the scholarly elite who were exiled or migrated carried with them the seeds of national and political consciousness that would later erupt in the resistance against the French occupation. This demonstrates that Ottoman repression did not break the will of the scholarly elite so much as it transformed them into a latent moral force residing outside the boundaries of official authority (Al-Zahar, 1974, p. 162).

5.Models of Loyalist, Migrant, and Exiled Scholars:

5.1 Loyalist Scholars:

These were the scholars who maintained a "thin thread of diplomacy" (*Sha'rat Mu'awiya*) with the authority. They occupied official positions (the Judiciary, *Iftaa*, and the *Imamate*) to ensure the continuity of the religious and legal institutions within the Regency.

- **Sheikh Ahmed bin Yusuf al-Milyani (d. 927 AH / 1521 AD):**

  Sheikh Abu al-Abbas Ahmed bin Yusuf al-Rashidi al-Milyani is considered one of the leading figures of Shadhili Sufism in the tenth century AH (Saadallah, 1998, p. 154). He

was renowned for his asceticism and vast knowledge, which he acquired from the leading sheikhs of his time, such as Zarruq al-Barnousi. He traveled in pursuit of knowledge between Tlemcen, Mazouna, and Tenes (Al-Tilimsani, 1986, p. 62). Despite facing persecution during the late Zayyanid era in Tlemcen, he represented a political turning point through his alliance with the Ottomans following the fall of Granada and the occupation of Oran. This alliance contributed significantly to consolidating their influence in the Western region (Saidouni, 1986, p. 88) . He enjoyed great prestige even after his death, as Bey Mohammed el-Kebir built a mausoleum and a mosque for him in the eighteenth century. Consequently, his tomb became a famous shrine in Miliana (Al-Mili, 1986, p. 112).

- **The Al-Fakkoun Family (Constantine):**

The Al-Fakkoun family, of Tamimi origin, is considered one of the most ancient scholarly lineages in Constantine. Their loyalty to the Ottomans was established following the secession of the "Abd al-Mu'min" family from official obedience (Al-Fakkoun, 1987, p. 45). The authority rewarded the Al-Fakkoun family by granting them the positions of Judiciary (*Qada*), the Imamate, and the Preachership (*Khutba*) at the Great Mosque, which provided them with both "prestige and wealth." This loyalty was clearly manifested in their opposition to the "Ibn al-Ahrash" sedition and the "Ibn al-Sakhri" revolt; consequently, the Pashas corresponded with them using expressions of

glorification and esteem (Al-Fakkoun, 1987, pp. 52-54). In exchange for this role, the Al-Fakkoun family received exceptional privileges, including the exemption of their properties and servants from taxes, fines (*Gharamat*), and forced labor (*Corvée*). Additionally, they obtained material rights from the fruit and vegetable markets and the endowments (*Awqaf*) of the Great Mosque, making them the foremost spiritual and material power in the Beylik of the East (Saadallah, 1998, p. 210).

- **The Al-Buni Family (Annaba):**

The Al-Buni family (from the Tamimi Mistah tribe) dominated public opinion in the region of Bona (Annaba) thanks to their scholarly continuity and perceived piety. Among their most prominent figures was Sheikh Mohammed bin Sassi al-Buni, whose word was highly influential among both the elite and the common folk (Al-Buni, N.D, p. 34). The Al-Buni family played the role of mediator and pacifier during periods of crisis, particularly during the uprising of Ahmed bin al-Sakhri (1637–1647 AD). During this time, the Ottoman authority corresponded with them, emphasizing the need to persuade the subjects (*Ra'iyya*) to comply with the rule, based on the principle that "obedience to the ruler is part of obedience to God" (Bin Muhanna, 2005, p. 120).This amicable relationship continued across generations, most notably during the time of Sheikh Ahmed bin Qasim al-Buni, who was a close companion to the

ruler Mohammed Bekdash at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Saidouni, 2001, p. 145).

- **Sheikh Mohammed bin Ali al-Kharrubi (d. 963 AH / 1556 AD):**

Al-Kharrubi al-Tarabulsi al-Jaza'iri is considered one of the most prominent jurists and Sufis who dedicated their knowledge and writings to serving the Shadhili order and strengthening the foundations of Ottoman rule in its early stages (Al-Kharrubi, 1970, p. 12) . Owing to his eloquence and expertise in political affairs, he gained the trust of the Ottomans, who appointed him as their ambassador to the Saadi Sultans of Morocco on two occasions (in 959 AH and 961 AH) to discuss border-related issues (Ilter, 1989, p. 204). Although his first embassy was unsuccessful, his scholarly and diplomatic activities contributed directly to laying the pillars of the Regency and consolidating its legitimacy (Ilter, 1989, p. 210).

- **Sheikh Said al-Maqqari (d. circa 928 AH and thereafter):**

He belonged to an ancient Tlemcenian family and is considered one of the polymath scholars who excelled in both the transmitted sciences (*Al-Ulum al-Naqliyya*) and the rational sciences (*Al-Ulum al-Aqliyya*), such as arithmetic, geometry, and medicine (Al-Maqqari, 1968, p. 320). His scholarly standing qualified him to serve as the Mufti of Tlemcen and the preacher (*Khatib*) of its Great Mosque for forty-five years. Al-Maqqari represented the model of the "Official Scholar" (*Alim al-Rasmi*), who was fully integrated into the official religious

office under the Ottoman umbrella. He was entrusted with the tasks of issuing *fatwas*, teaching, and preaching, which established him as a scholarly and political reference in the Beylik of the West (Bouaziz, 2002, p. 272).

5.2 Migrant Scholars:

Migration represented a striking phenomenon in the history of Ottoman Algeria, as a group of prominent scholars and jurists left the Regency for centers of intellectual influence in the East and West. The reasons for this varied between limited political horizons, the pursuit of scholarly recognition, or escaping poverty and marginalization.

- **Abd al-Razzaq bin Hammadush al-Jaza'iri (d. after 1168 AH / 1754 AD):**

Ibn Hammadush represents the model of the "polymath" scholar who did not find his fortune in prestige or wealth within his city, Algiers (Hammadush al-Jaza'iri, 2003, p. 45). He devoted himself to the study of medicine, chemistry, and astronomy, and excelled in "The Science of Oak" (*Ilm al-Ballut*—referring to maritime routes) and ballistics (bomb-throwing/prospecting) (Saadallah, 1998, p. 312). Poverty and the stagnation of his trade forced him into frequent travel; he visited Tunis and Morocco (Fez, Meknes, and Tetouan) in pursuit of both knowledge and trade, obtaining licenses (*Ijazas*) from the leading sheikhs of his time (Saadallah, 1998, p. 315). He left behind an immense scholarly legacy, including his medical book "Al-Jawhar al-Maknun fi Bahr al-Qanun" and

works on the astrolabe and geography. He remained in constant transit until his traces vanished after the year 1168 AH - (Guenane, 1983, p. 18).

- **Sheikh Abu Ras al-Nasiri al-Muaskari (d. 1238 AH / 1823 AD):**

The investigative scholar and polymath who was described as the "Comprehensive Sea" (Al-Bahr al-Jami') (al-Nasiri, 1986, p. 30). He lived a harsh childhood marked by poverty in the outskirts of Mascara; however, with his brilliant intellect, he managed to master the sciences of his time—including jurisprudence (Fiqh), Hadith, and principles of faith (Usul)—while traveling between Mazouna, Tunis, and Morocco (Bouaziz, 2002, p. 142). His journeys to the East and West were not merely for academic attainment; they were also for debating and negotiating scholarly, judicial, and religious matters (al-Nasiri, 1984, p. 42). He left behind a prolific output of marginalia (Hawashi), commentaries, and historical works, such as "Aja'ib al-Asfar wa Lata'if al-Akhbar" and "Dar' al-Shaqawa fi Harb Darqawa" (al-Nasiri, 1984, p. 115).

- **Sheikh Ahmed al-Maqqari al-Tilimsani (d. 1041 AH / 1632 AD):**

The renowned historian, man of letters, and polymath (*Hafiz*), who was born in Tlemcen and raised under the patronage of his uncle, the leading spiritual figure (*Qutb*) Said al-Maqqari (Al-Maqqari, 1968, p. 10). He moved to Fez and Marrakesh, where he gained great favor with the Saadi Sultan al-

Mansur, and was appointed to the positions of preacher (*Khatib*) and *Mufti* at the University of al-Qarawiyyin (Saadallah, 1998, p. 340)[·]. Due to the political instability and his fear of civil strife (*Fitna*), he declared his intention to perform the Hajj and permanently migrated to the East in 1027 AH. He settled in Egypt and visited Jerusalem and Damascus, where he dictated Hadith lessons near the Prophet's ﷺ tomb seven times (Al-Tilimsani, 1986, p. 90). He bequeathed to the *Ummah* the greatest Andalusian encyclopedia, "Nafh al-Tib", and passed away in Cairo while preparing to return to Damascus (Al-Maqqari, 1939, p. 25).

- **Sheikh Mohammed bin Ali al-Senussi (d. 1859 AD):**

The founder of the Senussi Order, born in the outskirts of Mostaganem and raised in a household of knowledge and virtue. He studied under the leading sheikhs of Mazouna and Mascara, such as Abu Ras al-Nasiri (Shukri, 1948, p. 14). He spent his life "on the wing of travel," observing the conditions of Islamic peoples during his long journeys, which helped him establish his call (*Da'wa*) that originated from Cyrenaica in Libya (the White Zawiya) (Al-Senussi, 1339H, p. 22). He left behind valuable works on the reform of practice through the Hadith and the Quran, passing away at the peak of his personal and missionary endeavor (Al-Muwaylihi, 1899, p. 40).

- **Sheikh Yahya al-Shawi al-Milyani (d. 1096 AH / 1685 AD):**

A Maliki jurist and exegete, born in Miliana. He received his education between the Majjaja Zawiya, Tlemcen, and Algiers

(Al-Shawi, 2004, p. 55). Driven by his great personal and scholarly ambition, he chose to migrate to the East in 1061 AH, where he held the position of Maliki Mufti and taught at Al-Azhar Al-Sharif (Al-Qadiri, 1951, p. 160). His fame reached Istanbul, where he participated in scholarly debates in the presence of the Ottoman Sultan and gained favor with the "Grand Vizier" (Al-Muhibbi, N.D, p. 480). He passed away on board a pilgrim ship, leaving behind important marginalia (*Hawashi*) and treatises on grammar, theology (*Tawhid*), and the principles of jurisprudence (Al-Baghdadi, 1951, p. 530).

5.3 The Exiled Scholars:

"Exile" served as a punitive tool used by the Ottoman authority to reshape the religious and political landscape. This punishment was not restricted to political opponents but also extended to prominent jurists and judges as a result of intrigues or attempts at reform.

- **Ibn al-Kammad al-Qusantini (d. 1116 AH / 1704 AD):**

He was Sheikh Abu Abdullah Mohammed bin Ahmed, of Hasani noble descent, who was described as "our peerless sheikh" (Al-Fakkoun, 1987, p. 182). He held the position of the Chief Judge (Qadi al-Jama'a) in Constantine and was an eloquent orator, masterful in logic and the principles of faith (Usul) (Saadallah, 1998, p. 266). Despite his high scholarly status, "unethical competition" and malicious complaints led the Algerian military (Askar al-Jaza'ir) to demolish his home. This forced him to choose migration toward Fez and Tetouan to

escape the heat of personal disputes, expressing the bitterness of alienation by saying: "How my soul grieves for the eclipse of the sun of knowledge and the humiliation of strangers (Filali, 2002, p. 144).

- **Al-Mawla Ali (11th Century AH):**

He represents the model of a scholar involved in politics with a strong oratorical presence. He arrived in Constantine as a guest of the Al-Fakkoun family, then moved to the capital, where he briefly held independent authority (*Imara*) (Saadallah, 1998, p. 270). Due to his attempts to restore the Sultan's influence over the Odjak (military corps), the Ottoman authorities turned against him. He faced a severe ordeal that ended with his exile and the confiscation of his family and property; he was expelled from Algeria and settled in Tunis, where he remained an outcast until his death (Saadallah, 1998, p. 272).

- **Sheikh Said** Qaddura **(d. 1066 AH / 1656 AD):**

Known as the "Mufti of Islam" and a leading authority in the rational sciences (*Al-Ma'qul*). Born in Algiers to a family of Tunisian origin, he was renowned for his asceticism, piety, and prestigious status at the "Palace Mosque" (*Jami' al-Balat*) (Qaddura, N.D, p. 105). He enjoyed great favor with the Pashas, who prioritized him even over the Hanafi Mufti. However, his scholarly success and management of endowments (*Awqaf*) incited the envy of his rivals, who orchestrated a plot that led to his expulsion by order of the Algerian military and his exile to

Istanbul to dispose of him (Al-Tilimsani, 1986, p. 134). Despite his triumph over his rivals and his subsequent return, the tragedy of exile and defamation continued to haunt his family; his son was later murdered in a political conspiracy just one year after assuming the position of Mufti (Saidouni, 2001, p. 190).

- **Mohammed bin Ahmed bin Malik (Maliki Judge):**

A prominent scholar and teacher who assumed the Maliki judgeship in 1210 AH (Bin Muhanna, 2005, p. 142). He faced a harsh political ordeal due to his marriage alliance with Ali Khodja, who had revolted against Mustafa Pasha. The Pasha sentenced him to exile in the village of Kolea, suspended him from teaching, and separated him from his students and children (Khodja, 1982, p. 88). His position as the "Judge of Islam" did not protect him until the Pasha's advisors intervened, convincing him of the danger of exiling one of the great men of the Muslims. Consequently, a pardon was issued, and he returned to Algiers after several days of banishment (Saadallah, 1998, p. 410).

6. Conclusion:

This study represents an attempt to elucidate the complex and dialectical nature of the relationship between the scholarly elite and the Ottoman administration in Algeria—a relationship that underwent profound dramatic shifts over the course of three centuries. The research reveals that this interaction began as a solid strategic alliance; scholars granted the nascent Ottoman authority the religious and social legitimacy necessary

to consolidate the state's pillars and unify the ranks, in exchange for the authority's commitment to protecting the frontiers (Thughur) and defending regional sovereignty under the banner of Jihad.

As time progressed, administrative dynamics shifted, and economic crises escalated, signs of a rift became clearly evident. The scholars transitioned from the role of strategic partners and supporters of the authority to that of critics and opponents of fiscal policies, illegal levies, and administrative despotism. This transformation prompted the authority to activate tools of political repression, which reached their peak in operations of exile and forced displacement aimed at isolating scholars from their popular base.

The study has reached several fundamental conclusions, most notably that the shift in the Ottoman philosophy of governance—from a "State of Jihad" to a "Fiscal State" (State of Taxation)—was the primary driver behind the collapse of the political contract between the authority and the elite. Furthermore, it has been proven that the use of "Exile" was not merely a criminal penalty but a calculated political strategy to undermine influential scholarly houses. Conversely, "Voluntary Migration" emerged as an act of resistance and a cry of protest that preserved the independence of knowledge, even though it caused an intellectual drain that weakened Algeria's internal front.

In conclusion, this rupture led to the erosion of the authority's political legitimacy prior to 1830, paving the way for the historic fall to the French occupation. Accordingly, the researcher recommends the necessity of expanding the study of local endowment (Awqaf) documents to understand the impact of exile on the economic status of scholars, and to focus on editing the letters and manuscripts of "Exile Literature" (Adab al-Manfa), while academically rehabilitating the scholarly figures whose roles were obscured due to their oppositional stances toward the authorit

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