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Century AH/5th Century AD to the 8th Century AH/11th Century AD

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Gheraissa Ammar
gheraissa-ammar@univ-eloued.dz
Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, University of Eloued
Maache Oussama
maache-oussama@univ-eloued.dz
Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, University of Eloued
Toumi Mohammed
mohammedtoumi93@gmail.com
Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, University of Eloued

Abstract:
The study of the dissemination of ideas holds great significance in the history of nations. It carries multiple implications regarding the mentalities of societies and their intellectual resilience, shedding light on the key factors contributing to this phenomenon. Islamic doctrines represent essential aspects of thought, given their connection to the sanctity of religion, emphasizing the prohibition of tampering with its principles and the necessity of a correct understanding of its rulings in line with the requirements of historical stages.
This article explores, through a historical study, the spread of major Islamic doctrines in the Islamic Maghreb, aiming to provide insight into Maghrebian societies and their engagement with Eastern-originated Islamic doctrines. The objective is to understand the significant elements influencing this relationship.

Keywords: Doctrines; Maghreb; Advocacy; Dissemination; Influence.

I.   Introduction:

After the Islamic conquest of the Maghreb, the Berbers embraced Islam wholeheartedly and it became firmly rooted in their hearts. However, the political and jurisprudential differences in the East produced various doctrinal currents. It was quite natural for these currents to seep into the Maghreb, especially since many of its adherents actively worked to promote them. Several doctrines, such as the Sifria, Ibadi, Shia, and Sunni, spread widely among the people of the Maghreb. This leads us to the following question: How did the paths of propagation and dissemination adopted by Islamic doctrines in the Islamic Maghreb manifest from the 2nd century A.H./5th century C.E. to the 5th century A.H./11th century C.E.?

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1. **Sifria Doctrine: (1)**

The beginnings of the Sifria doctrine in the Maghreb date back to the end of the first century and the beginning of the second A.H. (2), where sources unique to the Ibasi community (3) assert that the first proponent of the Sifria doctrine was Akrama, a freedman of Ibn Abbas (between 1-2 A.H./7-8 C.E.). Akrama, riding a camel alongside Salama ibn Said (4) (2 A.H./8 C.E.), came to promote the Ibadi doctrine, while Akrama advocated the Sifria doctrine. Al-Darajini recounts, "The first one who came seeking the Ibadi doctrine while we were in Kairouan in Africa was Salama ibn Said. He came to us from the land of Basra, and with him was Akrama, a freedman of Ibn Abbas, following behind on a camel. Salama invited to the Ibadi doctrine, and Akrama invited to the Sifria doctrine."(5)

Discussing the impact of the Sifria call in the Maghreb and Akrama's activities, it is worth noting that Kairouan was the center of the call and its source (6). Akrama contacted tribal leaders such as Maysara al-Matghari, the leader of the Matghara tribe, who received the Sifria beliefs while working as a water carrier under Akrama's guidance. After acquiring the necessary knowledge, Maysara spread these beliefs among his tribe, Matghara. In Kairouan, Akrama also approached Simku ibn Wasul (7) (2 A.H./8 C.E.), the chief of the Berber tribe of Meknasa (8). He remained under Akrama's influence until his death in 107 A.H./532 C.E. Abu al-Qasim managed to delve into the roots and branches of the Sifria doctrine (9), becoming renowned as a knowledgeable figure and playing a significant role in spreading the Sifria doctrine among his tribe, Meknasa, and also among the Bedouin tribes, setting up his tent in the Tafilalt region as a pulpit for the Sifria (10)(11)(12)(13).

The Sifria call also reached the Barghawata tribes, which embraced the doctrine through Tariq ibn Malik (2 A.H./8 C.E.), who received the teachings directly from Akrama in Kairouan. The Sifria doctrine also spread among the Zenata tribes, albeit to a limited extent. Some Arabs in the Lower Maghreb and groups of Africans also embraced the doctrine (13).

Akrama's targeting of influential figures for his invitation, most of whom were Berbers with intelligence and prior knowledge of the turbulent political situations, demonstrates his shrewdness. Moreover, his exploitation of these situations to benefit the spread of the doctrine indicates that the Berbers, during this early period of Islamization and settlement, significantly solidified their Islamic identity. Those among them who sought to fulfill their ambitions did so within a framework that adhered to the legitimacy of following the Sifria doctrine, which grants every Muslim the right to assume leadership (14).

As for the geographical scope of the spread of Zahirism, the farthest Maghreb was the largest area of their presence, given that it was a region for tribes adhering to the doctrine. Additionally, the farthest Maghreb experienced a more significant influence of the Zahirite call, with the emergence of Zahirite minorities in the lower Maghreb, represented by some Zenata tribes and some Arab communities (15).

In the farthest Maghreb, the Sifrians initiated their revolution against Umayyad rule in the land of the Maghreb, fueled by the resentment they harbored towards the governors due to some engaging in plunder, arbitrariness, and contempt for the local Muslim population. As a result of all these grievances, a vehement uprising began in the year 122 A.H./739 C.E. in Tangier, where Umar ibn Abdullah al-Muradi (16), the governor appointed by Ubeid Allah ibn al-Habhab (17) (2 A.H./8 C.E.), was killed. The revolt then expanded, and they appointed a man named Maysara al-Matghari, a Sifrian, as the leader of the rebellious Berber tribes. However, he was later removed from his position and killed for violating the agreed-upon principles in managing their affairs (18)(19)(20).

Then the Sifrians entrusted their leadership to Khalid ibn Habib al-Zanati (21), although it appears that the killing of Maysara and the appointment of Khalid were driven by military-administrative reasons, there were underlying tribal motivations. The Zanatis, who possessed strength and zeal for war and revolution, may have wanted to appoint a leader from their own lineage instead of the Matghara tribe's lineage to boost

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the morale of the soldiers and rally fighters. The impact of this became evident quickly, as the Sifrians led by Khalid managed to defeat the Umayyad army in the Battle of Ashraf, delivering a powerful blow that shook the Umayyad caliph Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik and angered him. He expressed his frustration with clear Arab tribalism, saying, "By Allah, I will provoke an Arab anger against them, and I will send an army, the first part of which will be with them and the last with me. I will not leave a Berber fortress without placing beside it a tent of the Qaysi or Tamimi tribe." (22)

After the Battle of Ashraf, the Sifrians continued their activities and came close to taking control of the reins of power in the land of the Maghreb. However, the division of their army when facing the Umayyad force in Kairouan into two factions, one led by Akasha ibn Ayoub al-Fazari and another led by Abdulwahid al-Hawari, made it easier for the Umayyads, under their governor for the Maghreb, Hanzala ibn Safwan al-Kalbi (23), who arrived in the land of the Maghreb in the year 124 A.H./742 C.E. He managed to defeat them in the year 125 A.H./743 C.E. (24)

After the defeat of the Sifrians, they continued their revolutionary activities through movements in various regions of the land of the Maghreb. However, their effectiveness waned, as the strength they possessed was not sufficient to overcome the armies of the governors of the Maghreb, supported by the Umayyad caliphate and later the Abbasids. (25)

The Sifrians gathered in the farthest Maghreb, and Isa ibn Yazid al-Aswad (26) (140-155 A.H./757-772 C.E.) assumed leadership over them. They began constructing the city of Sijilmasa, but due to disagreements, they killed him. Afterward, Abu al-Qasim Simku (27) took charge, and the rule became hereditary in his descendants. They faced the Fatimid expansion, which resulted in the weakening of their state (28).

2. **Ibadi Doctrine in the Maghreb:**

The Ibadi doctrine is among the Islamic doctrines that found their presence in the midst of political turmoil, particularly during the conflicts between Ali ibn Abi Talib (may Allah be pleased with him) and Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan (may Allah be pleased with him). The Ibadi doctrine began to take shape in the late first half of the first century and completed the formulation of its principles by the end of the second half. The city of Basra played a significant role in this, with the presence of the prominent Tabi'i, Jaber ibn Zaid (22-96 A.H./642-714 C.E.) (29).

Although the Ibadis attribute themselves to Jaber ibn Zaid, historical narratives cast doubt on this connection. Ibn Abi Hatim reported that he said, "Ahmad ibn Sinan informed us, Abdul Rahman ibn Mahdi reported to us from Abu Hilal from Dawood from Azra, who said: I entered upon Jaber ibn Zaid and said, 'Do these people - referring to the Ibadis - claim affiliation to you?' He replied, 'I disassociate myself from that in the sight of Allah, the Mighty and Majestic.'"(30)

Concerning the term "Ibadi," it is derived from the name Abdullah ibn Ibad. This can be inferred from the statement of Al-Darajini: "Abdullah ibn Ibad was the leader of the people of the Ibadi path, the consolidator of unity when divisions occurred. He was the pillar in beliefs, the elucidator of methods of evidence and reliance, the founder of structures based on the principles of the ancestors, and the demolisher of what the people of dissent believed. He was the head of the creed and a leader from Basra and other regions."(31)

After the Ibadi doctrine matured in the East, the Ibadis sought to spread their beliefs in the land of the Maghreb. Salama ibn Said was the first advocate of the Ibadi doctrine in the Maghreb. Salama was exceptionally enthusiastic about his mission, expressing, "I wish that if this matter were to manifest for just one day, from dawn to dusk, I would not regret living afterward."(32)

The descent of Ibn Said and his activities in Kairouan played a role in encouraging a select group of Moroccans. Ibadi sources referred to them as the "campaign of knowledge" who traveled to Basra to acquire

knowledge under the guidance of Abu Ubaida Muslim ibn Abi Karima. The members of this elite group included Abu al-Khattab Abdul A'la ibn al-Samh al-Maafiri, Abdul Rahman ibn Rustam al-Farsi, Asim al-Sadrati from the Sadrata tribe in the vicinity of Aurès and Wargla, Isma'il ibn Drar al-Ghadamsi from the Ghadams region south of Tripoli, and Abu Dawood al-Qabli al-Nafzawi (33) from Nafza in South Africa. Their interaction and study together in Basra, under the tutelage of Abu Ubaida, laid the foundation for the Ibadi call and the Ibadi movement that would later unfold in the regions of the Middle and Lower Maghreb.(34)

After completing their education in the East, the five individuals decided to return to the land of the Maghreb with the intention of initiating a revolution and establishing a state. This can be inferred from their statement to their leader Shaykh Muslim: "O our Sheikh, what do you think if we had strength in the Maghreb and found within ourselves the capability, would you appoint a leader from among us?" Abu Ubaida responded, "Go back to your land. If the people of your call are numerous enough and well-prepared to take leadership, then appoint a leader from among yourselves. If they refuse, kill them," and he pointed to Abu al-Khattab, may Allah have mercy on him (35).

Upon their immediate return, they decided to settle in the vicinity of Mount Nafusa. They worked on forming disciples to take on the mission of spreading the Ibadi doctrine. Notable among them were Abu Khalil al-Darkali, Abdulwahab ibn Abdulrahman ibn Rustam, and Omar ibn Yemkten, who successfully contributed to the establishment of a school for Quranic education in the Nafusa Mountains around the year 140 A.H./757 C.E., specifically in the city of Iftamen. (36)

In the Lower Maghreb, the Ibadis appointed Al-Harith ibn Tlaid to manage their affairs. However, their spread, strength, and growing numbers worried the Abbasids. Agents of Abdul Rahman ibn Habib, the governor of Tripoli, killed him (37). Yet, after realizing their strength, the Ibadis decided to emerge from concealment. They pledged allegiance to their imam in a secret meeting convened by their elders west of Tripoli (38). They reached an agreement to appoint Abu al-Khattab al-Maafiri as their leader, and this meeting took place secretly in the year 140 A.H./757 C.E. (39)

After Abu al-Khattab's pledge of allegiance, he moved towards the city of Tripoli, where he seized control and expelled its governor, Muhammad bin Ali bin Abdullah. He remained there for a period during which he gained control of the situation. Later, he headed to Jerba, Jabal Damir, and Gabes, successfully capturing them and large areas of the Lower Maghreb.(40)

During this time, the Zahirites took control of Kairouan and behaved poorly, prompting Abu al-Khattab to consider taking it over (41). The Ibadi forces managed to seize the city. After annexing Kairouan, Abdul Rahman bin Rustam was appointed to oversee its affairs (42). Abu al-Khattab then confronted Al-Awam bin Abdul Aziz al-Balji, who came with a force from the Abbasids. They met in the area of Sirte, where Abu al-Khattab defeated and killed him, along with Abu al-Ahwas Umar bin al-Ahwas al-Ajli, who Abu al-Khattab defeated in Magdames from the land of Sirte (43).

The Ibadi movement swiftly expanded its influence over vast territories, covering most of the Lower Maghreb. Abdul Rahman bin Rustam led the African region, while Abu al-Khattab managed Tripoli and the Nafusa Mountains.

The victories of the Ibadis did not deter the Abbasids from sending armies. Muhammad bin al-Ashath al-Khazai arrived with a force consisting of Arab dignitaries, including Al-Aglab bin Salem al-Tamimi. Using deception and espionage, al-Ashath realized he couldn't face Abu al-Khattab directly. He feigned withdrawal, leading many of Abu al-Khattab's forces to leave. Seizing the opportunity, al-Ashath launched a surprise attack, killing Abu al-Khattab (44). Abdul Rahman bin Rustam couldn't assist him.(45)

Abu al-Khattab's death marked a significant turning point for the Ibadi movement. Abdul Rahman bin Rustam shifted his focus to the Central Maghreb. While in Kairouan, he viewed the region as an extension

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of Ibadi influence, forming a strong alliance with the Lamtuna Berber tribe. Consequently, he decided to move to the Central Maghreb (46), reaching the region of Souf Ajjaj, where he was welcomed by sixty Ibadi sheikhs from Tripoli. They pledged allegiance to him as the imam for defense in the year 144 A.H./761 C.E. Despite Abbasid attempts, they failed to defeat him (47).

The Ibadis declared the imamate's appearance from the Central Maghreb, and Ibn al-Saghir reported, "When the Ibadis reached the city of Tihert and aimed to build it, their leaders gathered and said, 'You know that our affairs can only be established by an imam, to whom we turn for our judgments, who defends our oppressed against our oppressors, and who establishes our prayers. We should pay our zakat to him, and he should rule over us.' They turned their attention inward and found leaders in each tribe among them." Thus, Ibn Rustam's imamate was announced in the Central Maghreb around the year 160 A.H./776 C.E. (48)(49)

The establishment of the Rustamid state, serving as a political haven for Ibadi followers, contributed to political stability. Ibadi adherents enjoyed security and support, especially as the Rustamid state extended over a vast area from the Nafusa Mountains to the Tunisian Jerid, and to the Eastern Oases of the Central Maghreb, the Aurès Mountains, and the Zab region, including the area of Tihert.(50)

3. Shi'ism in the Lands of Maghreb (51)

3.1 Al-Adarisah

The Zaidis are a sect within Shi'a Islam who believe in the Imamate of Zaid bin Ali bin Hussein bin Ali, may Allah be pleased with them. Zaid rebelled against the Umayyad Caliph Hisham bin Abd al-Malik with the support of some people from Kufa, despite the advice of his brother Abu Ja'far Muhammad al-Baqir, who cautioned him against it. Many of his followers abandoned him because he refused to curse Abu Bakr and Umar, and they became known as "Al-Rafidah" (the rejectors). After a battle with the Umayyad governor Yusuf bin Umar al-Thaqafi (52) (d. 127 AH/745 CE), Zaid passed away around the year 121 AH/739 CE. Following Zaid's death, his son Yahya succeeded him in leading the Zaidis but was killed after battles with the Umayyad forces.(53)

The Zaidi activity regained momentum through the uprising of Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya in 145 AH/762 CE in Medina (54). Subsequently, the rebellion of Husayn bin Ali bin Hasan bin Ali took place in the Hijaz in 169 AH/785 CE during the caliphate of Musa al-Hadi. Musa successfully suppressed the Zaidis in a battle near Mecca, known as the Fakh Battle. Idris bin Abdullah bin Hasan, the brother of Husayn bin Ali, and Yahya, both participated in the battle. While Yahya was captured and killed by Harun al-Rashid's soldiers, Idris managed to escape, fleeing to Egypt and eventually settling in the Maghreb, specifically among the Awraba tribe. There, he established a state in 172 AH/788 CE. (55)

Speaking about the Zaidi call in the Maghreb, its historical roots trace back to the activities of Isa bin Abdullah. Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (93-145 AH/712-762 CE) sent him to propagate the Zaidi doctrine. His call found resonance among the Berbers (56). However, Isa returned to the East for other matters. Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya also sent his brother Sulaiman to the Maghreb. Sulaiman arrived in Tlemcen after a long journey through Egypt, Sudan, and the Zab region in the Central Maghreb, avoiding the Abbasids' watchful eyes. In Tlemcen, he worked to spread the Zaidi call by supplicating for Hasan bin Ali bin Hasan bin Ali, following the killing of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. However, he later returned to participate in Zaidi uprisings in the East. Additionally, Dawood bin al-Qasim bin Ishaq bin Abdullah bin Jafar bin Abi Talib also reached the Maghreb. (57)

It seems that the activities of Issa ibn Abdullah and Suleiman ibn Abdullah were of great benefit, and their fruits were reaped by Idris ibn Abdullah ibn Al-Hasan ibn Al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib. He found receptive souls for his call among the Berber tribes in the Far Maghreb. After a long journey, Idris settled

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in the city of Tlemcen, passing through Barqa and Al-Qayrawan (58). After that, he headed towards the Far Maghreb with his mentor Rashid and arrived in the Far Maghreb in the year 172 AH / 788 CE. (59) There, he met Ishaq ibn Muhammad ibn Abdul Hamid, the ruler of Urba, who recognized the true nature of Idris. He responded positively to Idris's call, and the Berbers, including the Zaghawa, Lawata, Sadrata, Ghayatha, Nifra, Mknasa, and Ghamara, pledged allegiance to him willingly (60). This allegiance was fulfilled, and Idris's influence extended to areas that were still adhering to Judaism and Christianity, such as Qundalahwa, Bahlawanah, Madyunah, Tamasht, Shalah, and Tadla (61). Later, Idris faced opposition from the Abbasids, leading to his death in the year 175 AH / 791 CE. (62)

After Idris's death, he left no male heir. However, he had a servant named Kinza who was pregnant. His mentor Rashid gathered the Berbers, and they agreed to wait for the birth of the child. When Kinza gave birth to a boy, the Berbers rejoiced. Rashid named him Rashid Idris and took care of him. When he reached the age of eleven, the Berbers pledged allegiance to him in the Mosque of Walili in the year 188 AH / 804 CE.(63)

Idris II aimed to strengthen the foundations of his state, especially after receiving support from Arab groups. He decided to build the city of Fes in the year 192 AH / 808 CE and strengthened his rule by conquering Tlemcen, which had rebelled against his authority. He renewed the construction of its mosque and expanded his rule to include the Far Maghreb and a large part of the Middle Maghreb up to Chlef.(64)

After Idris II's death in the year 213 AH / 828 CE, his son Muhammad succeeded him. However, Muhammad faced challenges when his grandmother Kinza proposed dividing the state among his brothers. Despite this proposal, Muhammad managed to overcome the rebellions of his brothers Issa and Al-Qasim. (65)

This feudal direction of the Idrisid state contributed to the emergence of Alawite emirates in the lands of Morocco, belonging to three branches: the descendants of Suleiman ibn Abdullah ibn Al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib, the descendants of Muhammad ibn Jafar ibn Al-Hasan ibn Al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib, and the descendants of Al-Hasan ibn Suleiman ibn Al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn Al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib. These emirates exercised authority over limited regions within the lands of Morocco, including the following:

1. Emirate of Al-Hasaniyeen Al-Alawiyeen: Located west of the city of Orba, including Berber tribes from Sanhaja and Zwawa.

2. Emirate of Al-Hasaniyeen from the descendants of Muhammad ibn Jafar: Emerged in the plain of Matisah near the northern coast of the Middle Maghreb, ruled by the descendants of Muhammad ibn Jafar ibn Al-Hasan ibn Abi Talib.

3. Alawite-Suleimaniya Emirates: Affiliated with the descendants of Suleiman ibn Abdullah, brother of Idris. The Suleimanians established several emirates in the north and west of the Middle Maghreb, including Medghara, known as Milyana, and the city of Souq Ibrahim near the mouth of the Shelif River. The Suleimanians also ruled Tlemcen. (66)

3.2 Ismaili Shia:

A sect within Shia Islam that traces its lineage to Ismail ibn Jafar al-Sadiq. After the death of Jafar al-Sadiq in 148 AH/765 CE, a division occurred among the Shia (67). While the Twelver Shia believed that Imamate passed to Jafar al-Sadiq's son Musa al-Kadhim, the Ismailis asserted that the Imamate belonged to Ismail, based on a statement from his father. They maintained that the Imamate continued within the descendants of Ismail, passing to his son Muhammad al-Maktum, then to his son Jafar al-Sadiq, followed by his son Muhammad al-Habib, and eventually to his son Abdullah al-Mahdi, who emerged in the Maghreb and established a state there.(68)

The Ismaili Shia doctrine reached the Maghreb through the efforts of missionaries. In 145 AH/762 CE, Abu Abdullah Jafar ibn Muhammad (Jafar al-Sadiq) sent two missionaries to the Maghreb to propagate the

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Shia doctrine. They were instructed to separate in the Berber lands, with one descending to Marmajannah. There, one of them, named Abu Sufyan, settled, built a mosque, got married, and played a significant role in spreading the teachings of the Ahl al-Bayt. His influence extended to the tribes of Marmajannah, Arbas, Nafza, and other regions. The second missionary, Al-Hulwani, descended to a place called Nador, where he invited people to Shia beliefs, convincing many from the Kutama, Nafza, and Samata tribes.(69)

The second wave of Ismaili Shia activity in the Maghreb was led by Al-Husayn ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad, also known as Abu Abdullah al-Shii. He was a scholar and speaker who accompanied the Yemeni preacher Abu al-Qasim for a period. When the people of Yemen went to Mecca for pilgrimage, Al-Husayn joined them and, during their stay in the Hijaz, approached the pilgrims from the Kutama tribe. Displaying piety and religious devotion, he won their hearts and successfully advocated for the Ahl al-Bayt. When asked about their allegiance to the Sultan, they replied that they did not obey him. Al-Husayn then accompanied them on their way, pretending to intend to go to Egypt. Upon reaching Egypt, he declared his occupation as teaching. They offered him the opportunity to join them and contribute to education, to which he agreed. He settled near a mountain called Ikjan in a place known as Faj al-Akhyar in 288 AH/901 CE (70)(71). His reputation grew, and he was successful in convincing many people, especially in regions like Tassort, Mila, and the construction of the city of Ikjan, which became a center for his followers. Abu Abdullah continued his expansions, capturing cities such as Setif and Msakna and waging war against the Oghlabids (72). The Shi'ites would retreat to the mountains in times of defeat and return for guerrilla warfare when opportunities allowed (73). Ziyad Allah sought to break the influence of the Kutama and Abu Abdullah, gathering a mighty army and marching towards him. After a significant battle, the Oghlabid army was defeated, and they withdrew to Kairouan. This opened the way for Abdullah to take control of Ragada, which he acquired in 296 AH/909 CE. (74)

Amid these events, Abu Abdullah awaited the arrival of Ubayd Allah ibn Muhammad al-Habib, the person he had been proclaiming and predicting as the Mahdi. At that time, Ubayd Allah was imprisoned in Sijilmasa after being pursued by the Abbasids. Abu Abdullah dispatched his forces to Sijilmasa to free the Mahdi (75). On the way, they passed through Tihert, invaded and violated its sanctity, killing the family of the Rustami Imamate (76). The Imamate ended with the killing of Imam Yusuf ibn Muhammad ibn Aflah. Abu Abdullah continued his march towards Sijilmasa and succeeded in killing Yasaa ibn Mdarar and liberating Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi and his son, who were both imprisoned. Upon reaching them, Abdullah walked among the tribal leaders, saying, "This is your master." They then pledged allegiance to the Mahdi in a general allegiance. After that, he organized the Diwans, but Abu Abdullah felt the tyranny of the Mahdi's rule. When the Mahdi sensed rebellion from him, he ordered his killing, which occurred in 298 AH/911 CE. Following this, there was a rebellion from the Berber tribes, which Abdullah managed to control.(77)

The beginnings of Fatimid rule in the Maghreb were not stable; they faced significant revolts. The first of these revolts was the Sijilmasa and Tihert revolt against the newly appointed Fatimid governors. The Fatimid state dealt with these uprisings militarily through the military commander Masala ibn Habus. He invaded the Maghreb al-Awsat and al-Aqsa in 305 AH/917 CE, bringing them under Shia influence. However, he was killed in 314 AH/926 CE. Zanata did not accept Fatimid rule, prompting Al-Mahdi to mobilize armies to subdue them. He executed a large massacre, but this did not deter the determination of the Zanata, who received support from the Lamaiya tribe. They defeated the Fatimid armies, seizing control of the entire Zab region. Al-Mahdi could only regain control of the Maghreb by preparing an army from the Kutama, led by his son Abul Qasim (78). The most significant revolt the Fatimids faced was led by Abu Yazid Makhlad ibn Qaydad (323-336 AH/935-947 CE). He managed to form an army that defeated the Fatimid armies, reaching Al-Mahdiya, which he almost captured. (79)

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Fatimid rule in the Maghreb continued until Al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah, the Fatimid, decided to move to Egypt after his successful campaign in 361 AH/972 CE. He left the governance of the Maghreb to Bulkin ibn Ziri al-Sanhaji, who pledged to preserve the Shia doctrine and promote allegiance to the Fatimids. (80)

Despite the efforts made by the Fatimids to impose and spread the Shia doctrine in the Maghreb, they failed to convince people to follow their doctrine for a long time. Their attempts to establish a Shia state in the Maghreb proved unsuccessful. In fact, Al-Mu'izz ibn Badi declared a break with the Fatimids and the Shia doctrine in 440 AH/1048 CE, ordering prayers for the Abbasids. (81)

4. Sunni doctrine "Schools of Thought" in the Maghreb:

The term "Sunna" refers to "anything other than the Quran that has been reported about the actions, sayings, or approvals of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him)." The term "Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamaa" became associated with early time periods due to the disagreements that occurred on various issues. It signifies those who follow the methodology of the early successors (Caliphs) and the first companions, as well as the renowned jurists known for moderation, whether they are proponents of independent reasoning (Ahl al-Ra'y) or followers of traditions (Ahl al-Hadith). The followers of Abu Hanifa in Iraq represent the juristic approach of the people of opinion, while those in the Hijaz, with their leader Malik ibn Anas, and later Al-Shafi'i, represent the followers of traditions. (82)(83)

The historical roots of the Sunni orientation in the Maghreb trace back to the early conquerors who brought with them an understanding far from excessive interpretation. They played a significant role in shaping the doctrinal identity of the Maghreb. The scholarly mission sent by the Umayyad Caliph Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz also played a crucial role in establishing Sunni schools of thought in the Maghreb. This is evident from the extensive attention given to their teachings in the Maliki literature, where they are praised and mentioned for their virtues. Prominent figures among them include Abu Abd al-Hamid Isma'il ibn Ubad Allah, who resided in Kairouan, taught its people Sunnah and jurisprudence, and passed away in 132 AH/749 CE (84). Other notable figures include Talaf ibn Jabban, Bakr ibn Suwada, Abdul Rahman ibn Rafi al-Tanukhi, and Saeed ibn Mas'ood al-Tajeebi. Their residency, as documented in African biographical literature, includes some residing specifically in Kairouan. This explains the transformation of Kairouan into a Sunni center in the Maghreb, with their aim being the education and enlightenment of the public, as mentioned by Abu al-Arab. (85)

What indicates the approach of these ten jurists towards the Sunni orientation is their alignment with Ḥanẓala ibn Ṣufwān al-Kalbī in confronting the Ṣifriyya and assisting him in encouraging the public to fight. They expressed their stance through a message that outlined the features of their intellectual and doctrinal orientation. In it, they stated: "After that, the people of knowledge in Allah, His Book, and the Sunnah of His Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) know that all that Allah, the Almighty, has revealed can be attributed to ten verses: commanding, forbidding, giving glad tidings, warning of the Fire, informing about the news of the early and later generations, having clear verses that are acted upon, and ambiguous ones that are believed in, allowing matters to be practiced, forbidding matters to be avoided, and examples that serve as admonition. Whoever obeys the commanding and heeds the forbidding is reassured by the glad tidings and warned by the warning. Whoever makes lawful the lawful and makes unlawful the unlawful, and returns matters of dispute among people to Allah with clear obedience and a sincere intention, has succeeded and prospered, achieving a successful and peaceful life in this world and the hereafter." (86)

After the consolidation of Sunni schools of thought, the Hanafi and Maliki schools became the most prevalent in the Maghreb. The emergence and spread of these schools were closely linked to historical circumstances, which we shall elaborate on below.

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4.1 Hanafi School in the Maghreb:

The Hanafi school is attributed to the jurist Abu Hanifa, Nu'man ibn Thabit ibn Zuta. He was born in Kufa in the year 80 AH (699 CE) into a Persian family. Abu Hanifa established a Sunni school of thought and introduced a systematic approach to resolving issues through independent reasoning. He did this by presenting the problem to his students, scholars in his circle, allowing each to present their opinion based on their evidence. Afterward, he would provide his corrected and guided opinion. (87)

The Hanafi school spread to various parts of the world, with the Maghreb being one of the early regions where the Hanafi school gained prominence. Since the second century of the Hijra, it expanded through prominent preachers, including Abdullah ibn Faroukh (died 185 AH/801 CE) and Abdullah ibn Ghanem (died 190 AH/805 CE) (88). Abdullah ibn Faroukh inclined towards the use of reason and learned from Malik and al-Thawri (89).

Distinguished scholars in the Maghreb became known for their affinity towards the Hanafi school. Examples include Asad ibn al-Furat, who entered Kairouan with his father and later traveled to the Mashriq, directly learning from Malik and then moving to Kufa in Iraq to learn from the followers of the Hanafi school. He settled in Egypt, studying under Ibn al-Qasim, a prominent scholar of the Maliki school (90). Asad ibn al-Furat, described as "the leader of the Iraqis in Kairouan" according to Ja'far al-Qasri, who conveyed this information from the Maliki tradition. (91)

The Hanafi presence was not limited to Africa but extended to the Central Maghreb (92), reaching cities like Tabna, Mila, Setif, Constantine, and Biskra, which were among the prominent areas in Central Maghreb. The Hanafi school was also present in Tihert, as mentioned by Ibn al-Saghir. (93)

The Hanafi school had a significant presence in the Far Maghreb, as the judge Ayyad indicated the predominance of the Hanafi school in wide regions, saying, "Imams from the followers of Abu Hanifa entered Egypt, while in Africa and beyond, the predominant school was that of the Kufans."(94)

From these texts, we can infer that the Hanafi school had an early influence in spreading across the Maghreb, primarily in Africa. It extended to Central Maghreb and reached the Far Maghreb. However, the extent of the Hanafi presence in the latter is not explicitly known.

4.2 Maliki School in the Maghreb:

The Maliki school is the second among the Sunni jurisprudential schools in chronological order. It is attributed to the scholar of Medina, Malik ibn Anas al-Asbahi, born in the year 93 AH (712 CE) (95). Ibn Abdul Barr, in his book "Jami' Bayan al-'Ilm wa Fadlihi," summarized its foundations, stating: "Judgment that rules among people is of two types: what is in the Book of Allah or has been determined by the Sunnah. That is the necessary judgment and the correct one. As for the judgment in which the scholar exerts effort based on his opinion, perhaps he succeeds." This description indicates that the Maliki school is based on adherence to tradition, i.e., following the Prophet's Sunnah, with exceptions allowing for reasoning. (96)

The Maliki school permeated into the Maghreb through Moroccan students who traveled to the Hijaz and directly learned from Malik. Among these students was Abu Muhammad Abdullah ibn Faroukh al-Fassi (died 176 AH/792 CE), who journeyed to the East, learning directly from Malik and Sufyan al-Thawri. Despite his adherence to the Maliki school, he inclined toward reflection and reasoning. Malik honored him, saying, "This is a jurist from the people of the Maghreb." Multiple Maliki students from the Maghreb (97), including Ali ibn Ziyad (died 183 AH/799 CE), al-Bahloul ibn Rashid (died 183 AH/799 CE), Abdullah ibn Ghanem (190 AH/805 CE), and Asad ibn al-Furat (died 213 AH/828 CE), learned from Malik. (98)

Ali ibn Ziyad played a pioneering role in introducing the Maliki school to the Maghreb. Judge Ayyad mentioned him as a first-class scholar from the people of Africa who learned directly from Malik. Ali ibn Ziyad traveled to the East, studying from Malik, al-Thawri, and al-Laith ibn Saad. He was unparalleled in

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knowledge in his era in Africa. He taught al-Bahloul ibn Rashid, Suhun al-Tanukhi, Asad ibn al-Furat, and transmitted the Muwatta of Malik. Ali ibn Ziyad was the first to bring the Maliki school to the Maghreb, where people were not acquainted with it before him. (99)

Ali ibn Ziyad can be considered the founder of the Maliki school in the Maghreb. The early Maliki scholars in the Maghreb studied under him, learning the Maliki school of thought directly (100). Notable disciples included Suhun ibn Rashid, Shajara ibn Isa, Asad ibn al-Furat. Asad ibn al-Furat attested, "I pray to Allah, along with my father, for Ali ibn Ziyad, as he was the first one who taught me knowledge." Asad ibn al-Furat also stated, "Al-Bahloul used to correspond with Ali about religious matters (101). When scholars in Kairouan disagreed on an issue, they would write to Ali ibn Ziyad to inform them of the correct position (102)." Ali ibn Ziyad was critical of the Hanafi school, adhering firmly to the Maliki school. The significant impact of Ali ibn Ziyad among the scholars of his time, with Sunni Maliki orientation, is evident. Some of his students even decided to travel to the Hijaz to receive the Maliki school directly from sources like Suhun ibn Rashid al-Tanukhi, who made two journeys to Egypt and the Hijaz in the years 178 AH and 188 AH (794 CE and 808 CE) to learn from prominent scholars such as Ibn al-Qasim, Ibn Wahb, Abdullah ibn Abd al-Hakam, Shu'ayb ibn al-Laith, Abd al-Rahman ibn Mahdi, Yazid ibn Harun, and Abu Dammara. He returned to Africa in the year 191 AH (807 CE). (103)

After his return to Africa, Sahnun played a significant role in spreading the Maliki school of thought. Students from various parts of the Islamic Maghreb and Al-Andalus flocked to him. It was said, "No one has been blessed after the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, as Sahnun has been blessed with his companions. They are leaders in every land." Sahnun also contributed to the establishment of the judicial system in 234 AH/848 CE, solidifying the pillars of the Maliki school in the Maghreb (104)(105). He did so by rigorously applying the rulings derived from the Maliki school and selecting judges for the regions, most of whom were likely followers of the Maliki school. Among those appointed by Sahnun were Abu Khalid Yahya al-Sahmi (d. 245 AH/859 CE), who was assigned the judiciary of the Zab, and Abu Muhammad Abdullah ibn Sahl (d. 249 AH/863 CE), who assumed the judiciary of Qasr al-Tilimsan. Sahnun also appointed Muhammad ibn Abdus (d. 260 AH/873 CE) as the supervisor of witnesses. (106)

Sahnun's compilation, Al-Mudawwana, played a crucial role and was considered one of the most important books in Maliki jurisprudence. He stated, "The Mudawwana is like the mother of the Quran; it complements the prayer and is not complemented by anything else. Men have poured their intellects into it, explained and elucidated it. No one dedicated themselves to the Mudawwana and studied it without recognizing its importance. If Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Qasim had lived forever, you would never have seen me at all (107)." People transmitted and studied the Mudawwana across the Maghreb, in mosques and scholarly circles, until the Fatimid state opposed it, but without success. The Maliki school extended its influence to the Rustamid state (108). The Maliki followers built mosques in Tihert, and Ibn al-Saghir remarked, "...until you see a house except that it is said, 'This belongs to so-and-so from Kufa, and this belongs to so-and-so from Basra, and this belongs to so-and-so from the countryside.' This is the mosque of the villagers, and this is their spacious courtyard. This is the mosque of the Basrans, and this is the mosque of the Kufans..." (109)

The western parts of the far Maghreb have been known for the spread of the Maliki school since the second century of the Hijra, following the failure of the Idrisiyya to establish an emirate in the western Maghreb. Tlemcen, the home of the Sunni tribe of Banu Yifran, remained a stronghold for Sunnism for a long period in the history of Morocco since Muhammad ibn Khazr al-Maghrawi eliminated the Abu Qurra al-Maghili state in 170 AH/786 CE (110). When Idris al-Akbar came to Tlemcen in 173 AH/789 CE, the Maghili welcomed him, pledging allegiance along with his people. This suggests a hypothesis of doctrinal convergence between the Maliki community in Tlemcen and the Idrisi Zaydi state in the far Maghreb. This

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convergence is supported by the appointment of Idris II, Amir ibn Muhammad ibn Said al-Qaisi, as a judge. Amir was a knowledgeable Maliki scholar who had studied under Malik ibn Anas, al-Thawri, and narrated from both of them. His appointment occurred after the arrival of delegations pledging allegiance from Al-Andalus. (111)

The position of the judiciary, which had a significant impact on the religious life of society and the doctrinal orientation of the state, is crucial. Based on this, we can assert that the Maliki school had a substantial presence in the far Maghreb in an early period and later expanded and proliferated.

After the Fatimids departed for Egypt and during the Zirid era, the followers of Sunni Islam strengthened, freeing themselves from the imposed restrictions. Between 406-409 AH/1015-1018 CE, they led three revolts targeting the Shi'a, resulting in the killing of many. Their cause was supported by Prince al-Mu'izz ibn Badyas, who declared his Sunni affiliation, denouncing the Rafidites. This religious division was followed by a political division when al-Mu'izz ibn Badyas declared his final break with the Fatimids. (112)

During the Almoravid era, the Maliki school received special attention, with most of the scholars at the Qarawiyin Mosque being Maliki. This led to the flourishing of the Maliki school, especially as its graduates spread across various regions of the Maghreb. The Maliki Sunni trend extended from Africa to the far Sus through multiple centers, including Qairawan, Nafis, and Fes. The Almoravid era stands out as one of the crucial periods where the Sunni direction thrived, and several scholars emerged, such as Musa ibn Yahya al-Sidini Abu Harun (d. 338 AH/949 CE) and Daris ibn Isma'il (d. 357 AH/967 CE), a knowledgeable jurist who attracted students from various parts of the Maghreb and Al-Andalus. His students came from Africa, Ceuta, and Al-Andalus. (113).

5. The Mu'tazilites in the Maghreb

The Mu'tazilites are a theological faction that emerged in the late Umayyad period, gaining prominence in the early second century of the Hijra and flourishing during the Abbasid era. The foundation of this school relies on the use of pure reason in understanding Islamic beliefs, influenced by various philosophies. It is known by several names, including Qadariyya, Adliyya, and Muqtazila. The origin of Mu'tazilite thought was a historical development of intellectual and doctrinal principles, stemming from rational interpretation of religious texts and influenced by Greek and Indian philosophies. The formation of this group can be attributed to the initiative of Wasil ibn Ata, who "separated" from the circle of Al-Hasan al-Basri, establishing his own circle after a disagreement with him over the issue of the "intermediate position between two extremes." (114)

Mu'tazilite thought had a presence in the Maghreb during the second half of the second century of the Hijra, mainly through the efforts of Wasil ibn Ata and Abdullah ibn al-Mubarak. The call of Abdullah ibn al-Mubarak received a response from the inhabitants of the Maghreb, particularly in Ifriqiya, which became a stronghold for the early Mu'tazilites who disguised themselves as scholars and merchants, disseminating their ideas among tribes, especially the Zenata and Uruba. The influence of the Mu'tazilites expanded throughout the Maghreb due to the widespread reach of these two tribes, particularly the ambitious Uruba tribe, which had a significant political presence in the far Maghreb. The city of Al-Bayda became a major center with a hundred thousand Mu'tazilites (115).

Interestingly, the Zaidiyya led by Idris merged with the Mu'tazilite call in the far Maghreb, carried by the Uruba tribe. This integration may be attributed to doctrinal proximity and the shared history that brought the two calls together in the East after the persecution faced by both Zaidis and Mu'tazilites following the Battle of Fakh. This possibly prompted migrations of oppressed thinkers. Al-Bukhari noted this integration, stating, "Ishaq ibn Muhammad ibn Abdul-Hameed al-Urubi, the Mu'tazilite, repented and followed him [Idris] on his doctrine, in the year seventy-two and a hundred." (116)

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The Mu'tazilite school spread in the central Maghreb among tribes near the city of Tihert in the Rustamid region, gaining particular prominence during the reign of Imam Abdulwahab ibn Abdulrahman ibn Rustam (171-208 AH/787-823 CE) (117). According to Al-Bukhari, these Mu'tazilites were not urban residents, estimated at thirty thousand, living along the borders of Tihert (118). It appears that the strength of the Mu'tazilites in central Maghreb enabled them to establish an emirate adjacent to Tihert, leading a revolt against its ruler, Imam Abdulwahab. When the war prolonged, he resorted to debating them, seeking assistance from scholars skilled in rhetoric from the Nafusa Mountains (119)(120), including Mahdi al-Wayghawi, Ayub ibn al-Abbas, Ibn Ya'nis, and Abu al-Hasan al-Abdalani. They managed to convince a faction of them through debate and eventually won the battle militarily.

In the lower Maghreb, some rulers of the Aglabids embraced Mu'tazilite thought, imitating and aligning with the caliphs of the Abbasid state, such as Al-Ma'mun, Al-Mu'tasim, and Al-Wathiq, during a period known for the trials of Ahl al-Hadith and the appointment of Mu'tazilite scholars to key positions within the state, including the Mu'tazilite judge Ibn Abi al-Jawad (121). The spread of Mu'tazilite thought in the Maghreb can be summarized as extending from the lower Maghreb to the far Maghreb, although it was limited to scattered communities within Maghrebian cities such as Tuhuda in the central Maghreb, Bilad Msabb, and Tangier in the far Maghreb. (122).

6. Conclusion

The emergence and spread of Islamic sects are intertwined with various factors, including political elements such as the tendency to monopolize power or conflicts over influence. The Maghreb region, especially during the era of governors, suffered significantly from the dispersion and inconsistency of the ruling system. This fueled the proliferation of ideological ideas with a revolutionary intellectual orientation, particularly through the propagation of the Zaydi and Ibadi sects.

Similarly, tribal formations and the reliance of many states on tribal nationalism to strengthen their authority played a prominent role in the spread of sects. This occurred due to the emergence of a trend toward individualism and intellectual distinctiveness, contrasting with tribal nationalism. On this basis, we observe the spread of sects at the level of specific tribes or a group of tribes in the form of alliances.

The relationship of confrontation and containment between the state and the sect had a significant impact. The ruling authority exerted a substantial influence in supporting the ideological direction aligned with its policies by showing interest in scholars and providing suitable resources for their activities. Alternatively, the state confronted and restricted sects that did not align with its ideology.

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1.   A group of Kharijites, followers of Ziyad bin al-Asfar, agreed with the Azariqa in many rulings. See: Abu Mansur Abdulqahir al-Baghdadi (1970), "Al-Milal wal-Nihal," edited by Albert Nader Nader, Dar al-Mashriq, Beirut, pp. 67-68.

2.   Mohammed Ismail Abdul Razaq (1985), "Al-Khawarij fi Bilad al-Maghreb Hatta Muntasif al-Qarn al-Rabi al-Hijri," Dar al-Thaqafah, 2nd ed., Al-Maghreb, p. 11.

3.   Originally from Al-Maghreb, a freed slave of the jurist Ibn al-Abbas, he associated with many jurists and scholars in the East, learned and narrated Hadith from prominent companions such as Aisha and Ibn Hareera. See: Al-Hafiz Abu al-Nuaim Ahmad al-Isfahani (d. 430 H), "Hilyat al-Awliya wa Tabaqat al-Asfiya," Dar al-Fikr, Cairo, 1996, p. 326.

4.   A propagator of Ibadiyyah moved to Al-Maghreb, connected with tribal leaders, and invited them to the Ibadiyyah doctrine. See: Abu al-Abbas Ahmed al-Darjini, "Tabaqat al-Mashaikh bil-Maghreb," edited and printed by Ibrahim Talaai, Vol. 1, p. 11.

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5.   The same source, Vol. 1, p. 11.

6.   A Berber tribe attributed to Bani Fatan, considered one of the Madariyya tribes that chose a settled life in rural areas, oases, and palaces. See: Bouziani al-Draji, "Al-Qabail al-Amazighiyya Adwaruha Mawatinuha Ayanuha," Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, Algeria, 2007, Vol. 1, p. 187.

7.   Among the famous scholars in the Sufriyya of Al-Maghreb, he moved to the Hijaz and gained knowledge there. See: Abdul Rahman Ibn Khaldun, "Al-Ibar wa Diwan al-Mubtada wal-Khabar fi Tarikh al-Arab wal-Barbar," edited by Khalil Shihada, Suhail Zakar, Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, Lebanon, 2000, Vol. 6, p. 172.

8.   A Berber tribe attributed to Meknass bin Warsataf, played a significant role in the history of Andalusia due to its considerable presence there. See: Bouziani al-Draji, the same reference, Vol. 1, p. 217.

9.   Known as Adrarah Tafilalt, one of the cities of the farthest Al-Maghreb, inhabited by Berbers, especially from the Meknassa and Matghara tribes. See: Ahmed bin Khalid al-Nasiri al-Salawi (1997), "Al-Istiqsa Lakhbar Duwal al-Maghreb al-Aqsa," edited by Jafar al-Nasiri, Muhammad al-Nasiri, Dar al-Kitab, Al-Maghreb, Vol. 1, p. 127.

10.   A Berber tribe whose lineage is disputed, whether they are Berbers or Arabs, with their population scattered in the lands of Al-Maghreb. See: Bouziani al-Draji, "Al-Qabail al-Amazighiyya," Vol. 2, p. 750.

11.   Tareef bin Malik bin Jadaan from the Tayy tribe of Qahtaniyya. See: Khair al-Din al-Zarkali (2002), "Al-A'lam," Dar al-Ilm Lil-Malayin, 15th ed., Lebanon, Vol. 3, p. 226.

12.   Among the Berber tribes that played a prominent role in the history of Al-Maghreb, being the first Berbers to embrace Islam and participate in the conquest of Andalusia. See: Bouziani al-Draji, "Al-Qabail al-Amazighiyya," Vol. 1, p. 119.

13.   Mohammed Ismail Abdul Razaq, "Al-Khawarij fi Bilad al-Maghreb Hatta Muntasif al-Qarn al-Rabi al-Hijri," pp. 47-49.

14.   Abu Ammar Abdul Qafi (2003), "Arwa' al-Khawarij al-Kalamia al-Mujaz," edited by Amar Talbi, Mawfam Lil-Nashr, Al-Maghreb, Vol. 1, pp. 115-117.

15.   Mubarak Butarn, "Tatawwur al-Umran al-Islami Madinat al-Qairawan wa Sijilmassa Namuthaja," Doctoral thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University of Algiers, 2005-2006, unpublished, p. 337.

16.   Governor Ibn al-Habhab in Tangier, known for his biased and oppressive rule against the Berbers. See: Ibn Athari al-Marrakshi, "Al-Bayan al-Maghreb fi Akhbar al-Andalus wal-Maghreb," 3rd ed., Dar al-Thaqafah, 1983, Vol. 1, p. 81.

17.   One of the Arab dignitaries, appointed as the governor of Al-Maghreb by the Mawalis of Bani Sulayl, previously serving as the governor of Egypt. See: Ibn Khaldun, "Al-Ibar," Vol. 4, p. 241.

18.   Among the Berber dignitaries, led a delegation of Berbers to the East to deliver a complaint message to Caliph Hisham bin Abd al-Malik. However, their efforts failed, and they returned, declaring a revolution. See: Muhammad bin Amira, "Dawr Zanata fi al-Harakah al-Madhhabiyya bil-Maghreb al-Islami," National Book Foundation, Algeria, 1884, pp. 68-69.

19.   Attributed to the Mtaqra Berber tribe, a Madariyya tribe whose rural and southern urban areas are considered its homeland. See: Bouziani al-Draji, "Al-Qabail al-Amazighiyya," Vol. 1, p. 187.

20.   Musa Laqbal (1981), "Al-Maghreb al-Islami," National Publishing and Distribution Company, 2nd ed., Algeria, pp. 158-159.

21.   Among the leaders of the Zenata tribe, declared a revolution with Maysara al-Matghari, but a disagreement led to their conflict. After Maysara's death, he took command of the revolution. See: Muhammad bin Amira, "Dawr Zanata fi al-Harakah al-Madhhabiyya bil-Maghreb al-Islami," pp. 69-70.

22.   Al-Raqiq Al-Qayrawani (1994), "Tarikh Ifriqiya wal-Maghreb," edited by Muhammad Zinhum and Muhammad Azzub, Dar al-Farjani for Publishing and Distribution, 1st ed., Libya, pp. 67-68.

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23.   Governor Hisham bin Abd al-Malik in Egypt since 119 AH, then took charge of Al-Maghreb from the year 124 AH, achieving victory over the Sufriyya. See: Shihab al-Din al-Nuwayri, "Nihayat al-Arab fi Funun al-Adab," edited by Abdul Majeed Tarhini, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, Beirut, Vol. 24, p. 33.

24.   Al-Raqiq Al-Qayrawani, "Tarikh Ifriqiya wal-Maghreb," pp. 69-71.

25.   Bouziani al-Draji: "Dawal al-Khawarij wal-Alawiyin fi Bilad al-Maghreb wal-Andalus," Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, Algeria, 2007, pp. 139-146.

26.   Among the clients of the Arabs, of African origin, participated in the planning of the city of Sijilmasa. See: Ahmad bin Khalid al-Nasiri al-Slaoui, "Al-Istiqsa," Vol. 1, p. 124.

27.   Ibn Athari al-Marrakshi, "Al-Bayan al-Maghrib," Vol. 1, pp. 156-157.

28.   Mohammed Ismail Abdul Razaq, "Al-Khawarij fi Bilad al-Maghreb Hatta Muntasif al-Qarn al-Rabi al-Hijri," p. 218.

29.   Ali Yahya Maamar, "Al-Ibadiyya fi Mawakib al-Tarikh," Dar al-Damiri for Publishing and Distribution, 3rd ed., Oman, 2008, Vol. 1, p. 143.

30.   Ibn Abi Hatim Abu Muhammad Abdul Rahman (d. 327 H), "Al-Jarh wal-Ta'dil," Dar al-Kitab al-Ilmiyya, 1st ed., Beirut 1953, Vol. 2, p. 495.

31.   Abu al-Abbas Ahmed al-Darjini (d. 670 H), "Tabaqat al-Mashaikh bil-Maghreb," edited by Ibrahim Talaai, Matbaat al-Baath, Algeria, 1974, Vol. 2, p. 214.

32.   Al-Darjini, "Siyar al-Mashaikh," Vol. 1, pp. 11-12.

33.   The same source, Vol. 1, p. 16.

34.   Ibrahim Bahaz and others (2000), "Mu'jam A'lām al-Ibadiyya," Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 2nd ed., Beirut, 2000, pp. 242-246-267-239-55-139.

35.   Al-Darjini, "Siyar al-Mashaikh," Vol. 1, p. 21.

36.   Mahmoud Hussein Kurdi, "Al-Hayat al-Ilmiyya fi Jabal Nafusa wa Ta'thiruha Ala Bilad al-Sudan al-Gharbi (2-8 AH)," Dar al-Kutub, Libya, 2008, p. 85.

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42.   Al-Shamakhi, "Siyar," Vol. 2, pp. 251-252.

43.   Al-Darjini, "Siyar al-Mashaikh," Vol. 1, p. 26.

44.   Al-Shamakhi, "Siyar," Vol. 2, p. 253. The same source, Vol. 2, pp. 254-256.

45.   Al-Darjini, "Siyar al-Mashaikh," Vol. 1, p. 35.

46.   Muhammad Isa al-Hariri, "Al-Dawla al-Rustumiya," p. 83.

47.   Al-Warajlani Abu Zakariya Yahya bin Abi Bakr, "Kitab al-Siyarah wa Akhbar al-A'immah," edited by Abdul Rahman Ayoub, Dar al-Tunisiya Lil-Nashr, Tunisia, 1986, pp. 61-62. Mahmoud Ismail, "Al-Khawarij fi Bilad al-Maghreb," p. 150.

48.   Ibn al-Saghir, "Akhbar al-A'immah al-Rustumiyyin," edited by Muhammad Nasser, Ibrahim Bahaz, Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, Lebanon, pp. 25-26.

49.   Ibn al-Saghir, "Akhbar al-A'immah," pp. 26-27. Al-Shamakhi, "Siyar," Vol. 2, pp. 264-265.

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50.   Ibrahim Bahaz, "Al-Dawla al-Rustumiya (160-296 AH / 777-909 CE) Dirasah fi al-Awda' al-Iqtisadiya wal-Hayat al-Fikriyya," Nashr Jama'iyat al-Turath, 2nd ed., Al-Qarara, 1993, pp. 127-128.

51.   Shia is a term for those who preferred Ali over the righteous caliphs before him and believed that the family of the Prophet is more entitled to caliphate. See: Abdul Qadir Shiba Al-Hamd, "Al-Adyan wal-Firaq wal-Mazahib al-Mu'asirah," Fihrist Maktabat Fahd Al-Watan, 4th ed., Riyadh, 1433 AH, p. 209.

52.   He is Yusuf bin Umar bin Muhammad bin Al-Hakam Al-Thaqafi. He resembled Al-Hajjaj Al-Thaqafi in the policy of severity he adopted. He was appointed by Caliph Hisham bin Abd al-Malik as the governor of Yemen in the year 106 AH, then he annexed the governorship of Iraq to it and remained governor until he was killed. See: Abu al-Abbas Ahmed bin Khalekan, "Wafayat al-A'yan wa Anba' Abna' al-Zaman," edited by Ihsan Abbas, Dar Sader, Beirut, Vol. 7, p. 101.

53.   Abdul Qadir Shiba Al-Hamd, "Al-Adyan wal-Firaq wal-Mazahib al-Mu'asirah," pp. 229-230.

54.   He is Muhammad bin Abdullah bin Al-Hasan bin Al-Hasan bin Ali bin Abi Talib, who led an organized mission that extended to Khurasan, Egypt, and Yemen, but it ultimately failed. See: Ahmed bin Suhail Al-Razi, "Akhbar Fakh wa Khabar Yahya bin Abdullah wa Akhihi Idris bin Abdullah," edited by Maher Jarrar, Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1st ed., Lebanon, 1995, p. 28.

55.   Saih Din, "Al-Atajat Al-Madhhabiya wa Dauruha fi Al-Tatawwur Al-Thaqafi fi Al-Maghrib Al-Awsat min Al-Qarn 3H ila Al-Qarn 6H," Unpublished PhD Thesis, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Sidi Bel Abbes University, 2015-2016, p. 117.

56.   Muhammad bin Abdullah bin Al-Hasan bin Al-Hasan bin Ali bin Abi Talib, known as Abu Abdullah, was nicknamed Al-Arqat and also Al-Mahdi with the Pure Soul. He was one of the princes of the Ashraf. He was born and raised in the city, often referred to as a straightforward Qurashi, and his family called him Al-Mahdi. See: Khair al-Din bin Mahmoud bin Muhammad bin Ali bin Fares, Al-Zurqali Al-Dimashqi, "Al-A'lam," Dar al-Ilm Lil-Malayin, 15th ed., Beirut, 2002, Vol. 6, p. 220.

57.   Mahmoud Ismail, "Al-Adarisa," Madbouli Library, 1st ed., Cairo, 1991, pp. 47-48.

58.   Ibid., p. 56.

59.   From the Berber Princely tribes, they were, during the days of Islamic conquest, one of the most numerous Berber tribes. They distinguished themselves with great strength, particularly concentrated in the farthest regions of Morocco. See: Bouziani Al-Daraji, "Al-Qabail Al-Amazighiyya," Vol. 2, p. 484.

60.   Berber Tribes

61.   Ibid., p

62.   Ibn Khaldun, "Al-Ibar," Vol. 4, pp. 17-18.

63.   Al-Nasiri, "Al-Istiqsa," Vol. 1, pp. 213-216.

64.   Ibn Khaldun, "Al-Ibar," Vol. 4, p. 18.

65.   Ibn Abi Zar Al-Fasi, "Al-Anis Al-Mutrib bi-Rawd Al-Qirtas fi Akhbar Muluk Al-Maghrib wa Tarikh Madinat Fas," edited and printed by Dar Sora for Printing and Paper, Rabat, 1972, pp. 50-52.

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71.   Ibn Khaldun, "Al-Ibar," Vol. 4, p. 42.

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