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**Abstract** - The impact of the Fatimid-Umayyad sectarian conflicts on the civilizational ties of the central Maghreb and Andalusia

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### Introduction:

In the midst of the successive events in the Islamic Maghreb and the emergence of states one after the other, the Shiite Fatimid state appeared in the late third century AH and the beginning of the fourth century AH/tenth century AD, which saw in establishing its presence in the Islamic Maghreb that the lands of Andalusia would be under its authority, but it clashed with a reality that opposed it, represented by the presence of the Sunni Umayyad Caliphate in Andalusia, which in turn saw that preserving its kingdom required entering into a conflict with the Fatimid state to protect itself from the Shiite tide. This conflict continued throughout the existence of the Fatimid state in the Islamic Maghreb and the Umayyad state in Andalusia. This conflict affected the cultural communication between the two enemies, positively and negatively, as it affected the social and cultural ties, whether in the countries of the central Maghreb or the lands of Andalusia. The importance of this topic lies in highlighting the impact of the Fatimid-Umayyad conflict during the fourth century AH/tenth century AD on the cultural relations of the two enemies. From here we pose the following problem: To what extent did the Fatimid-Umayyad conflict affect the cultural ties between the two enemies? Regarding previous studies on the subject, we found that most of the books that addressed this period focused on the political relations between the two enemies, especially in the 4th century AH/10th century AD, which was dominated by the conflict between the Shiite Fatimid state in Morocco and the Sunni Umayyad state in Andalusia. If social and cultural relations existed between the two enemies during this period, they were in an indefinite manner and were mostly limited in some information. To answer the problem raised, we followed the following plan, where we divided the research into an introduction, three chapters, and a conclusion in which we mentioned the most important results reached. In the first chapter, we discussed an overview of the conflict between the caliphates of Morocco and Andalusia. In the second chapter, we discussed the positive results of the Fatimid-Umayyad conflict over central Morocco and Andalusia, and we discussed the continuity of the civilization ties between the two enemies from a positive perspective, especially the cultural aspect. As for the third chapter, we devoted it to the continuation of social ties between the two enemies during the time of the conflict, and we

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talked about the migration of the Berbers to Andalusia and their positive and negative influence on the cultural and civilizational aspects.

### **1- A glimpse into the conflict between the Caliphates of Morocco and Andalusia in the 4th century AH/10th century AD**

There is no doubt that the establishment of two neighboring caliphates, on different sectarian foundations, would have caused a clash between them, and this is what actually happened in the first decade of the 4th century AH and the 10th century AD between the Shiite Fatimid Caliphate in Morocco and the Sunni Umayyad Caliphate in Andalusia. The Fatimids, since the establishment of their state in Morocco, thought of invading Andalusia and spreading their Shiite doctrine there. Their goal behind that was to make it and Morocco a single unit subject to their authority and doctrine. For that reason, Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi, the Fatimid Caliph, paved the way for the preparation of skilled preachers from among the scholars loyal to the Shiites, and sending them to the land of Andalusia to spread the call of the Fatimids and spread their principles, and to pave the way for the Fatimid invasion, and to be spies on their enemies, the Umayyads, and to know their conditions and know the points of weakness and strength in the land of Andalusia. Their spies disguised themselves as merchants, scholars, or tourists. Sufis, and among those Fatimid spy preachers in Andalusia we mention:

Abu Al-Yusr Ibrahim bin Muhammad Al-Shaibani, known as Al-Rabadhi (died 298 AH/910 AD), is considered the first Eastern spy to enter Andalusia. He was an eloquent poet, adventurer and a fraudulent writer. He came to Andalusia during the reign of Prince Abd al-Rahman II and presented him with a fabricated book on behalf of the people of the Levant, in which he appeared to call for and be loyal to the Umayyads, but the prince discovered his secret, which forced Al-Rabadhi to leave Andalusia.

As for the second preacher, he is Abu Jaafar bin Ahmed bin Harun Al-Baghdadi: He was a contemporary of Al-Mahdi and his son Al-Qa'im Al-Fatimi. He visited Andalusia under the guise of knowledge in order to spy on behalf of the Fatimids. He succeeded in this mission, as he provided them with information related to the conditions of Andalusia, as Abu Jaafar Harun succeeded in spreading the teachings of the Fatimid Shiites and the ideas of the Mu'tazila in Andalusia.

The third preacher and spy is the traveler Ibn Hawqal al-Nusaybi (died 367 AH/977 AD) who entered Andalusia under the banner of trade, as he was interested in the paths and roads of Andalusia, which he wrote about to the Fatimids and highlighted its agricultural and mineral resources, and described its army as lacking in courage and its people as weak and unable to defend their homeland, with the aim of encouraging the Fatimids to invade Andalusia. Those spies played an important role in promoting the Fatimids and the Shiite sect in Andalusia, in addition to collecting information about its conditions and political, social and economic situations under the rule of the Umayyads, as those spies entered Andalusia in disguise, either for the purpose of knowledge, like Ibn Harun al-Baghdadi, or for the purpose of travel and trade, like Ibn Hawqal al-Nusaybi, but the success of the Fatimid propaganda in attracting supporters in Andalusia was limited due to sectarian differences, as the people of Andalusia were Sunni. The

Fatimids were not satisfied with sending spies and preachers to Andalusia, but they also encouraged and supported the revolutionaries in Andalusia. They supported the Andalusian revolutionary Omar bin Hafsun, who revolted against the Umayyad monarch in southern Andalusia, where the Fatimid Caliph Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi provided him with ammunition, weapons, and gifts.

The Fatimids also included some Andalusian figures in their ranks, especially those who declared their loyalty to the Fatimids, such as: Commander Ali bin Hamdoun Al-Judhami, known as Ibn Al-Andalusi, whose father Hamdoun had come from Al-Bira in Andalusia to Bejaia in central Morocco, which is the land of the Ketama, where the Ismaili Shiite preachers were victorious. Ali bin Hamdoun worked to spread the Fatimid call and consolidate the pillars of the Fatimid state, especially during the reign of Caliph Ubayd Allah Al-Mahdi. He served the Fatimid state until he founded the city of M'Sila in 313 AH/925 AD. Within the framework of the Fatimid policy aimed at expansion, the Fatimid Caliph Ubayd Allah Al-Mahdi worked to do so: direct a military campaign led by his commander Masala bin Habus Al-Maknasi in 308 AH/920 AD. He was able to subjugate Nekor, which was loyal to the Umayyads in the far Maghreb, and deposed the Idrisi Emir of Fez, Yahya bin Idris, and appointed Rayhan Al-Kutami in his place. Due to the intensity of the hostility between the Shiite Fatimids in Morocco and the Sunni Umayyads in Andalusia, the Umayyads, especially in the era of Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir, began to confront the Fatimids through several means. They did not stand idly by in the face of the Fatimids' ambitions in Morocco and Andalusia, as they also had others who had eyes and intermediaries spread throughout the Maghreb countries, providing them with information. They were also helped by the presence of Andalusian communities along the Moroccan coast in Tangier, Oran, Ténès, Bona, Bejaia, and Marsa al-Dajjaj, all of which were Sunni and strongly hated the Shiite sect. The ruler of Andalusia, Caliph Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir li-Din Allah, who ruled Andalusia for half a century (300 AH - 350 AH), was forced to take important steps to combat the Shiite Fatimid tide, including:

1 - He began his work by corresponding with the various Andalusian regions, calling on them, especially the rebellious ones, to commit to obedience and loyalty, and promised them money, prestige and power if they responded to him. At the same time, he threatened those who opposed his call with war, displacement and confiscation of their money. This first step was considered successful in his policy, as many of them hastened to obey and sent their loyalty to Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir. This prince was forced to fight the rebellious ones among them for more than 20 years until he subdued them all and restored unity to the lands of Andalusia and his affairs were straightened out.

2- The second step is to develop the Andalusian naval fleet and make it capable of protecting the shores of his country, especially the southern shores facing the Moroccan shores. The reason for this is the extreme caution of the Fatimids in Morocco who were expanding into Moroccan lands. He saw that his country was threatened by the Fatimid invasion, and he increased the expansion of the role of industry in all the southern and southeastern Andalusian ports, and he fortified the borders and coastal cities and provided them with soldiers, supplies and equipment. In this regard, Al-Hamdani says that the Andalusian monarch built a shipbuilding house in

Algeciras and perfected its construction and its wall because it was the closest Andalusian city metaphorically to the Moroccan enemy. The Andalusian fleet was able to impose its strict guard on the strait that separates Andalusia from the Maghreb and prevents the Fatimid supplies from reaching the rebels such as Ibn Hafsun. Thus, Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir perfected the plans to defend his country against any possible attack.

3\_ Confronting the rebel Omar bin Hafsun, loyal to the Fatimids, in Algeciras in Andalusia, where Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir went out to him and burned his ships and replaced them with the ships of his followers from the cities that obeyed him, including: Malaga and Seville, and equipped them with various weapons and soldiers and ordered their owners to roam all the coasts, and thus he controlled the sea from that time and the purpose of that was to cut off the road to the Fatimids who were helping the Andalusian rebel Omar bin Hafsun.

\_4Helping the rebels against Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi: He extended a helping hand to Ibn Qurahb, the ruler of Sicily and the rebel against the Fatimid Caliph Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi, and incited him to fight the Fatimids and not to obey them. Al-Nasir al-Umawi supported the revolution of Abu Yazid Mukhallad ibn Kidad al-Yifrani al-Kharij, who revolted against the Fatimid Shiites, and was able to eliminate their influence in the central and far Maghreb until he reached the gates of Mahdia in 333 AH/944 AD, but the intervention of Ziri ibn Manad al-Sanhaji on behalf of the Fatimids foiled his revolution and he was killed in 336 AH/947 AD. However, his revolution provided a service to the Umayyads in Andalusia, as it reduced the authority of the Fatimids to the city of Mahdia and almost eliminated their influence completely in Africa and the Maghreb.

5\_ Receiving the Moroccans who did not pledge allegiance to the Fatimid state: For example: When Masala bin Habus Al-Maknasi, the Fatimid leader in central Morocco, occupied the city of Nekor in the far west of Morocco, the sons of Saeed bin Saleh, the owner of this city, left and crossed to Andalusia and settled in Malaga and Jaana in the Andalusian side. Then the Emir of Andalusia, Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir, welcomed them and received them as kings. When they returned to Nekor after six months of staying in Andalusian Malaga and the victory of Saeed bin Saeed over the Shiite Fatimid agent called Dhulula, whom Masala bin Habus left to be its ruler, the King of Andalusia rejoiced at this victory over the Fatimids and ordered that the Salehs, the owners of Nekor, be supplied with everything they needed to compensate them for everything they lost in the war. All of this was within the framework of resisting the spread of the Shiite Fatimid in the Maghreb and trying to extend its influence over this region.

6\_ Declaring himself Caliph of the Muslims: After he had established himself in Andalusia, he declared himself Caliph under the name of Commander of the Faithful, Al-Nasir li-Din Allah, and ordered prayers for him in the pulpits. This was in the year 316 AH/928 AD, in order to confront the Fatimid Caliphate in Morocco, which was hostile to the Umayyads in Andalusia, and to consolidate his position and establish the foundations of his state abroad, and to show himself as no less important than the Abbasid or Fatimid Caliph, and that his state was strong, no less than the two caliphates and capable of competing with them. The Fatimids considered this an aggression against them, and therefore they imposed fighting him and considered his blood permissible. The evidence for this is the letter that Al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah Al-Fatimi sent

to Andalusia, in which he said: “We see that God has imposed on us the obligation to fight whoever claims that without us”.

7-Al-Nasir’s use of the princes of Morocco and the chiefs of tribes: The Umayyads in Andalusia benefited from the Berber tribes residing in central and far Morocco, where they achieved several victories in their favor in Morocco against the Fatimids, especially the Meknes tribe, which is widespread in far Morocco, and the Maghrawa and Bani Ifran tribes of the Zenata of Batria, whose territory extends west and central Algeria. Thus, he found his way to the old allies of the Umayyads in Morocco, namely the Zenata, especially the Maghrawa, who supported him absolutely. He also tried to get close to the branches of the Idrisids in far Morocco and the princes of Bani Salih, the owners of Nekor. He sent to them asking for their alliance and explaining the danger of the Fatimids who were hostile to the Sunnis. Rather, he began to incite and support them. He formed an alliance with the Berber tribes, especially the Zenata tribe, and won over their chiefs with gifts and money until they declared their loyalty to him. They began to send him news of the Shiite Fatimids and launch counter-campaigns against the supporters of the Fatimids in the lands of Morocco, and the Zenata formed an army that was able to control the road linking Africa and the central Maghreb, and to cut off the supplies that were coming to the city of Tiaret from the Fatimids, and took control of Oran and several coastal cities, including the cities of Chlef and Sio in 317 AH / 929 AD, and among his Moroccan followers was the leader of Meknes, Musa bin Abi Al-Afia, who waged wars against the Alawi Idrisid family in the far Maghreb in 319 AH / 931 AD, and from there the influence of Musa bin Abi Al-Afia extended from Tlemcen and its coasts in the central Maghreb to the far northwest of the far Maghreb and south to the far Sous, where he took control of most of the Idrisid possessions with the encouragement of the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir himself, and those Berber tribes became a strong support for the Umayyads as they began to threaten Mahdia, the capital of the Fatimids.

8 - Occupation of some Moroccan ports: Prince Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir took the initiative to occupy the fortified port of Melilla in 314 AH/928 AD, and from there he began to intervene directly in the Moroccan enemy to gain the support and loyalty of the princes of Morocco and the chiefs of the tribes and incite them against the Fatimids. Five years after occupying the city of Melilla, he occupied the city of Ceuta in 319 AH/931 AD, which had a strategic location and was close to southern Andalusia, which became part of the Umayyads’ possessions. In 320 AH/932 AD, al-Nasir al-Umawi tried to seize the island of Archangel, which constituted the gateway to central Morocco, but he failed and then seized it only in 325 AH/937 AD. He was able to seize the city of Asilah in 322 AH/934 AD, in order to expand his sphere of influence in the Maghreb and control the Moroccan coastal ports, and seize Tangier in 323 AH/935 AD, which is located north of the far Maghreb, and seized Al-Nasir li-Din Allah al-Umawi took over most of the Moroccan seaports such as: Melilla, Ceuta, Asilah, Tangiers and the island of Archangel, and thus he controlled the western Mediterranean, so his power increased and the port was in his hand. After that, he began to interfere in the affairs of the Moroccans directly to incite the Moroccans against the Fatimid influence.

9-The Umayyads' alliance with the enemies of the Fatimids from the kings of the West and the East: including Al-Nasir's alliance with the King of Italy, who was spiteful towards the Fatimids who attacked the port of Genoa. He also allied with the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII, who was seeking to regain the island of Sicily, which the Fatimids had controlled. Al-Nasir strengthened his relationship with the Ikhshidids in Egypt to fight the Shiite call. Added to the list of actions of the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir to prevent the Shiite Fatimid influence over his country, Andalusia: combating the Shiite tide intellectually by prohibiting writing on issues of Shiite and Mu'tazilite thought, and consecrating the Maliki school of thought, to the point that al-Maqdisi said about that: "We only know the Book of God and the Muwatta of Malik." Rather, he encouraged the writing of books that refuted the Shiite school of thought, and received scholars and writers who rejected the Fatimids and fled from them.

This policy adopted by Al-Nasir towards the Fatimids bore fruit, leading to their failure in Andalusia and their turning towards Egypt. Al-Hakam Al-Mustansir followed the same policy as his father towards the Fatimid state, and even permitted jihad against them for fear of their doctrine spreading to Andalusia. His Umayyad successors after him continued their hostility towards the Fatimid state and followed the same policy of Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir. In short, the Fatimid Shiites were not able to spread their doctrine in Andalusia as they did in Morocco. The positive results of the Fatimid-Umayyad conflict over the central Maghreb and Andalusia: represented in the continuity of the civilizational and cultural ties between the two enemies, and its beginning was in the central Maghreb and represented:

**1- The establishment of the city of M'Sila by the Andalusians:** It is considered one of the most important projects completed by the Andalusian Banu Hamdoun family after the establishment of the Fatimid state in the Islamic Maghreb. It is a new city added to the geographical, political and cultural map of the Maghreb countries, as M'Sila was built in the vicinity of the Zab region of the central Maghreb, between the plains of Hadna in the south and the Ma'adid Mountains in the north and between Tabna to the east and Ashir to the west. This new city was also built on the road linking Ifriqiya and the central Maghreb, and at the end of the western borders of the Zab region. In addition to that, its central location made it surrounded by the prosperous cities of Morocco and also made it a meeting place for paths, trails and trade routes. This location was a factor in its economic and cultural prosperity and gave it strategic importance and even made it a link between the west and east of Morocco. Therefore, M'Sila is considered one of the most important The achievements of the Maghreb during the Fatimid-Umayyad conflict. As for its founder, he is one of the figures that the Fatimids succeeded in attracting to the Maghreb, and he is Ali bin Hamdoun Al-Judhami, known as Ibn Al-Andalusi, who arrived in Morocco and contacted the Caliph Al-Mahdi and then his son Al-Qa'im Allah, and the latter entrusted him with building the city of M'Sila in 313 AH / 925 AD. Ali bin Hamdoun supported the Fatimids in Morocco and joined them and served them faithfully. After that, Abu Al-Qasim bin Ubaid Allah Al-Mahdi Al-Fatimi entrusted him with building that city, so he chose the site of this city between the plains of Al-Hadna to the south and the mountains of Al-Ma'adid to the north, in the middle of the lands of Bani Barzal and Bani Ahlan near Hawara in the Zab region in the Maghreb, and he named it Al-Muhammadiyah in reference to Muhammad Abu Al-Qasim bin Ubaid Allah Al-Mahdi.

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After Ali bin Hamdoun helped the Fatimids in eliminating the revolt of Abu Yazid al-Kharijite in the Aures Mountains and he died there in 334 AH, the Fatimid Qa'im Allah appointed the son of Ali bin Hamdoun, who is Ja'far, over M'Sila and the Zab region. He established a prosperous state there and scholars and poets from every direction sought him out, such as the Andalusian poet Muhammad bin Hanī al-Andalusi, who praised him by saying:

The tide is blowing from the whole wilderness, my body and my Babylonian side are squinting, and the three bright easts are the sun, the bright moon and Jafar.

**2-On the cultural side: The reception of the poet Ibn Hanī al-Andalusi, who died in 362 AH/972 AD:**

The Fatimids succeeded, through their preachers in Andalusia, in attracting some supporters to come to the countries of the central Maghreb, including:

The poet who joined the service of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah, Abu al-Qasim Muhammad ibn Hanī al-Azdi, known as Ibn Hanī al-Andalusi, was originally from the Banu al-Muhallab al-Azdi in Africa. His father moved to Andalusia and settled in al-Birah, where he gave birth to Muhammad, who excelled in poetry and became famous for it. He was expelled from his country, perhaps for openly declaring Shiism in Andalusia, which strongly hated Shiites and their principles. When he crossed to the countries of the Maghreb, he contacted Ja'far ibn Ali, the ruler of M'Sila in the central Maghreb, and stayed with him for a while praising him. Then he moved to Mahdia, until he became the tongue of the Fatimid state in Morocco, and its undisputed eloquent poet, and he gained a special status with the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah. It appears that he was saturated with the beliefs of the Ismaili Shiites, as evidenced by his poem in praise of the Fatimid leader Jawhar al-Siqilli, which was the first poem he composed in Morocco, in which he said:

I will show you the path of the Caliphate, prepared and clear, and the flags of the Caliphate, placed

Ibn Hanī admitted his Shiism, which caused him the hostility and anger of the Umayyads, in a long poem, the beginning of which is:

And they did not resent anything except an old Shiite, so he escaped weakly, and the one who was able to overcome it tightened it.

It is mentioned that Ibn Hanī al-Andalus went to Jaafar bin Ali bin Hamdun al-Andalusi, the king of Zab and M'Sila in central Morocco, and found his door full of poets. Then he disguised himself in Berber clothing and wrote two verses of poetry on the shoulder of a sheep, which are:

The night is night and the day is day, the mule is a mule and the donkey is a donkey

The rooster is a rooster and the hen is his wife, and both are birds with beaks.

He brought them to his minister, and his purpose was to make Jaafar bin Ali Al-Andalusi laugh, and in this way he achieved his goal, as he ordered him to enter, and then he began to praise him with a poem in which he said:

**The banner of the sun was the pride of Jaafar, he saw the century, so his eloquence became weaker**

And because of Jaafar's great admiration for him, he went to him and embraced him after he recognized him and bestowed a robe of honor upon him and remained with him until Al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah Al-Fatimi wrote to him to go to him and he followed him even to Egypt, then he returned to take his children, but he was killed in Barqa in the year 362 AH, and because of the great sorrow of Al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah Al-Fatimi for him, he said about him: "We hoped to boast about this man to the poets of the East, but we were not able to do so".

– Ibn Hani was a Shiite enthusiast for the Fatimids and praised Al-Mu'izz in particular to the point that he described his sword as Shiite, saying about it:

– I have a sword and it is Shiite like its bearer, it almost outpaces my ball to the hero

– If Al-Mu'izz is the reinforcement of religion, he will not be expected to face death for a long time

– Ibn Hani exaggerated in describing Al-Mu'izz until he placed him in the rank of the prophets, rather he deified him until he was accused of blasphemy, such as his saying:

– Whatever you wish, not whatever fate wishes, so judge, for you are the One, the Subduer

– As if you are the Prophet Muhammad, as if the Ansar are the Ansar

– Although Ibn Hani was a Shiite enthusiast for the Fatimids, and this was clearly evident in his poetry, he enriched Moroccan literature with many poems. Scholars of the central Maghreb who migrated to Andalusia in the shadow of the conflict:

– The matter was not limited to the central Maghreb, but extended to the Andalusian side, which witnessed the reception of some scholars from the Moroccan side, and this confirms the continuity of cultural communication between the two sides in the shadow of the Fatimid-Umayyad conflict, as the migration of some scholars from the central Maghreb to the Andalusian side appeared, where they settled until their death. We mention among them:

– The scholar Ahmed bin Abi Aoun Al-Wahrani, who died in 341 AH / 952 AD, and he is a judge from the Maliki jurisprudence scholars. He was born and raised in Oran, where he was a judge, and from there he went to Andalusia during the time of Caliph Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir and settled in Cordoba, where he died.

– The scholar Zakaria bin Bakr bin Ahmed Al-Ghassani, known as Ibn Al-Ashbah, nicknamed Abu Jaafar, is from the people of Tiaret. He entered Andalusia with his brother and father in the year 326 AH, and heard the Mudawwana from Muhammad bin Abdul Malik bin Ayman, as he heard from Qasim bin Asbagh. He had a trip to Egypt, then returned to Andalusia until he died in Cordoba in the year 393 AH. Among the scholars of Tiaret who traveled to Andalusia to receive knowledge at the hands of its sheikhs and scholars are:

-Ahmad bin Al-Qasim bin Abdul Rahman (bin Muhammad Al-Tamimi) Al-Taherti Al-Bazzaz Abu Al-Fadl, was born in Tiaret and was one of the companions of Ibn Hammad Al-Taherti, the literary poet. Then he traveled to Andalusia, where he heard from Qasim bin Asbagh, Wahb bin Maysarah, and Abu Bakr Al-Dinawari. Abu Al-Fadl died in the year 396 AH/1005 AD. Continuation of social ties between the two enemies during the conflict:

The migration of the Berbers to Andalusia (and their positive influence): The Umayyad-Fatimid conflict that took place in the 4th century AH/10th century AD had disastrous consequences for Moroccan society, as it plunged Moroccans, sons of one nation, into bloody wars and long conflicts against each other, which caused the absence of a unified Moroccan entity that unites them. The Sanhaja were allies of the Fatimids, while the Zenata tribe supported the Umayyad influence in their country. The conflict in Morocco became an arena of conflict between the Sanhaja and Zenata, and they attacked each other. This was one of the effects of the Umayyad-Fatimid conflict, which resulted in the migration of many Moroccan tribal families to Andalusia after the Fatimid state moved to the East. Among these families and tribes:

The Andalusian Bin Hamdun family, which founded the city of M'Sila and ruled the Zab region during the Fatimid state, where Jaafar and his brother Yahya bin Ali bin Hamdun Al-Andalusi fled from The Msila to Andalusia during the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Al-Hakam Al-Mustansir, after their war with the Sanhaja, and the killing of Ziri bin Manad Al-Sanhaji, as they renounced their obedience to the Shiites and turned into supporters of the Umayyad Caliphate. Add to that the tribe of Bani Barzal, as they helped Bani Ali bin Hamdun in Morocco to kill Ziri bin Manad Al-Sanhaji, and as a reward for that, the Umayyad Caliph Al-Hakam Al-Mustansir was impressed by their news and summoned them to Andalusia despite their difference in doctrine, as the Caliph was Sunni, while Bani Barzal were of the Ibadi Kharijite doctrine, and this is what is confirmed by Ibn Khaldun. They lived in Jabal Salat and the surrounding areas of M'Sila, where the Umayyad ruler Al-Hakam Al-Mustansir received them and welcomed them and included them in the army because of their fame for their bravery in wars. From there, the Banu Barzal played a role in the Umayyad Caliphate, as they formed an army that was subject to their traditions, and Jaafar bin Ali bin Hamdun himself took over its leadership. It is likely that they formed a cavalry unit that reached seven hundred Berber knights who entered the service of the Caliph Al-Hakam Al-Mustansir, who appointed the Moroccan Berbers to lead his armies and command his battles.

Hence, the Berbers multiplied in Andalusia during the reign of Caliph Al-Hakam Al-Mustansir, who allowed them to enter Andalusia. Ibn Hayyan says that the Umayyad Caliph Al-Hakam Al-Mustansir was impressed by that Berber group, and even during his illness he used to supervise them from the Qasbah of Dar Al-Rukham in the Caliphate Palace in Cordoba to watch the Berber shows, arts and military tricks. He showed his admiration for them and said to those around him, "Look at the impression of these people on their horses." It was as if those whom the poet meant when he said: "As if they were born standing under them and as if they were born on their backs." They were at the forefront of the Andalusian army groups, and this was the policy that Caliph Al-Mustansir followed, as he increased their numbers in the army and relied on them. These Moroccan migrations to Andalusia increased during the days of the Amirid state,

specifically during the reign of the chamberlain Al-Mansur bin Abi Amir, the ruler of the state and the guarantor of the Umayyad Caliphate, who summoned many of them to serve in his forces, and they even became the backbone of his army. He used them to consolidate his rule and strengthen the pillars of his authority, in addition to the men of Zenata, Banu Barzal and Meknes who settled in Andalusia. Another group of Moroccans came to him, no less important than the Zenata tribes, and they were the group of Banu Zirid Sanhaja. He treated them well and honored them, and employed them in high positions and recruited them into the army. The reason for this is that when the Fatimids left for Egypt, they left Bulukin bin Ziri bin Manad al-Sanhaji to represent them in Morocco, and al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah al-Fatimi recommended that he use the sword against the Berbers, even his cousins. Indeed, his sons after him followed the same policy as their father. This led to the outbreak of a war between the cousins of the Sanhaja, which forced one of their notables, Zawi bin Ziri, to write to al-Muzaffar bin al-Hajeb al-Mansur bin Abi Amir to allow him to enter Andalusia in the desire to wage jihad, so he gave them permission. Since that time, their status increased during the reign of the Amirid state, and they joined the Andalusian armies like all the other Berber tribes that migrated to Andalusia. The Berbers settled in several areas in Andalusia, especially in the south, and perhaps this was due to its proximity to the Moroccan enemy and the difficulty of competing with the Arabs in the rest of the Andalusian regions. They became an active element in the events of Andalusia, influencing and being influenced, as they formed political entities, practiced agriculture, took up residence in the rugged mountainous areas, mastered the Arabic language, and completely melted into the crucible of Andalusian society. Hence, the Berbers played an important role in the movement to direct social, political, economic and cultural life in Andalusia. They spread Islam and were supporters of the Arabs and participated with them in political life. They established several states in southern Andalusia, especially when the Umayyad Caliphate weakened, including:

A) The Banu Barzal State in Carmona 404 AH - 459 AH / 1013 AD - 1067 AD

B) The Banu Ifran State in Ronda 406 AH - 457 AH / 1015 - 1065 AD

C) The Banu Zirid Emirate In Granada and Malaga 403-483 AH/1012-1090 AD, then their emirate expanded to include Qabra and Jaen in Andalusia. Its founder is Zawi bin Ziri bin Manad Al-Sanhaji.

#### **The negative impact of the Berbers in Andalusia on the cultural and civilizational aspects:**

A sedition known as the Berber sedition occurred in Andalusia when the Umayyad Caliphate, Muhammad bin Hisham bin Abdul-Jabbar, nicknamed Al-Mahdi, ruled in 399 AH/1008 AD and eliminated the rule of the Amirid state. From there, he opened war on the Berbers and brutalized them wherever they were found. He destroyed their homes and looted their property with the help of the people of Cordoba, who hated them. Caliph Al-Mahdi also cut off the livelihoods of about seven thousand soldiers and expelled them from the army. This offense increased their hatred and malice towards him, so they harbored evil for him and waited for the available opportunity to rebel against him, until they rebelled against him and a civil war broke out in Cordoba that lasted twenty-three years 399-422 AH/1009-1031 AD. This revolution was

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associated with their name, which is the Berber sedition, the results of which were disastrous on the cultural side. The manifestations of this were represented in:

The Berber sedition caused The destruction of libraries and their books, such as the loss of the library of the Umayyad Caliph Al-Hakam Al-Mustansir, and this incident was like a thunderbolt on the intellectual movement in Andalusia.

Ibn Khaldun describes the horror of the incident by saying: "These books remained in Cordoba until most of them were sold during the siege of the Berbers, so that the chamberlain Wahid, the client of Al-Mansur bin Abi Amir, ordered them to be taken out and sold, and what remained of them was looted during the storming of Cordoba by Al-Musta'in and the Berbers in 403 AH / 1012 AD".

Someone mentions that this library contained on its shelves four hundred thousand immortals, but in the end it was sold for the cheapest prices.

Many libraries were harmed during the time of the strife, including, but not limited to:

The library of the minister Abu Al-Mutarrif Abdul Rahman bin Futais, which the people of Cordoba sold, and the library of Abu Omar Ahmed bin Muhammad bin Al-Jasour, and there are other libraries that were affected by this matter.

The Berber strife also resulted in the cultural aspect of the scholars fleeing Andalusia:

Many Andalusian scholars preferred to leave it in search of security and stability to other Andalusian cities or to Islamic countries such as Egypt and others. Among them were:

-Abu Al-Ala Saed Al-Baghdadi: who left Andalusia during the strife towards Sicily, where he died in 410 AH/1019 AD.

-And the scholar Abu Muhammad Ali bin Ahmed bin Saeed bin Hazm Al-Qurtubi, who fled to Xatiba in 408 AH/1017 AD, then returned to Cordoba when Abd Al-Rahman Al-Mustazhir ascended the Caliphate in 414 AH/1023 AD. After the Caliph was killed, Ibn Hazm was exiled and died homeless in 456 AH/1064 AD in the desert of Labla.

Among the negative effects of the strife is that the pulpits of knowledge lost many of their scholars in Andalusia, and the circles of knowledge were disrupted and caused the closure of schools, as many scholars were killed, including:

-The writer Abu Uthman bin Al-Qazzaz Al-Barbari, nicknamed the Beard of the Tail, who was lost during the strife in Rabi' Al-Awwal 400 AH / November 1009 AD, and the scholar Abu Abdullah Al-Hussein bin Hayy, known as Al-Hazqa, was killed in 401 AH / 1010 AD, and he was a memorizer of the issues according to the Maliki school of thought, mentioning their origins.

-Ibn Al-Faradhi was killed in 403 AH / 1012 AD, the author of the book *Scholars of Andalusia*, when the Berbers stormed Cordoba. He was a jurist, a scholar of Hadith, the science of men, and literature, and he is considered the mainstay of the Andalusian biographers.

-Many scholars, jurists, imams of mosques, and muezzins were killed, and singing lost prominent names.

-Many scholars were imprisoned and exiled.

As for the scholars who remained in Andalusia, they were struck by depression from the horror of what happened, as happened to the historian Ibn Hayyan (died 469 AH/1076 AD), who was prevented from writing for a long time by this strife. However, he returned to writing and recorded this incident, saying: "The period made me forget until I caught sight of the outbreak of this heinous, dark, barbaric strife that divided the community and invaded the influential kingdom that had conquered the greatness of all the previous Islamic strifes. Its horrors overflowed with arrogance, which made me forget to record it, and made me think that there was no escape from it, so I suspended history until it was empty of it." - Among its disastrous results is that the elements of Andalusian society clashed in it, and prosperous cities such as al-Zahra and al-Zahra were destroyed in it, and the mosques in Cordoba were closed in it, and the houses of knowledge that were established by the Caliph al-Hakam al-Mustansir were demolished in it. This strife led to the disruption of cultural activity in Cordoba, which was the capital of poetry, writing, jurisprudence and literature. The strife turned it into a capital of ruin and sadness, as libraries were looted. The strife also affected the economic and social aspects, as it caused the displacement of the people of the countryside to the cities due to drought. The cities became crowded and famines appeared, especially after the burning of large markets that were the main supplier of their needs. These phenomena extended to other cities in Andalusia, such as Malaga, Albireh and Jaén. The Berber strife led to a civil war in Islamic Andalusia, and that war in turn contributed to the weakness of the Umayyad Caliphate and then its fall in 422 AH / 1031 AD, and the rise of conflicting political entities on its ruins known as the sectarian states or factions.

### **Conclusion:**

Through what was previously mentioned in this topic, we reached a number of results that we summarize as follows:

-Since its conquest, the capital of Andalusia represented the jewel of the Islamic West, and whoever controlled it had achieved the goal, and therefore the Fatimids were keen to annex it to them - by all means and methods, deceitful or even military - and this keenness was met with extreme Umayyad caution to preserve it under their rule.

-What strengthened the chances of Andalusia's steadfastness in the face of the Fatimid efforts was the difference and sectarian hostility, as the majority of the inhabitants of the Islamic West were Sunnis and the Fatimids were of the Ismaili Shiite sect, and this was the Umayyads' winning card in gaining supporters and backers within the Islamic Maghreb to strike the Fatimids there and weaken their power.

-The poor relationship between the two regions contributed to putting Andalusia in a state of constant alert and diligent search for self-development and fortification, and one of the results of this was a major industrial renaissance, especially in the military and naval field, where the shipbuilding industry flourished greatly and the Andalusian fleet became famous.

-The real desire to weaken the Shiite doctrine motivated the Umayyads to push the wheel of intellectual movement in Morocco and Andalusia to respond to the Fatimids and refute their arguments, and thus the authorship movement became active, especially in the field of jurisprudential doctrine.

-Despite the dark side of the tension in the Fatimid-Andalusian relations, the civilized life achieved some gains on the urban level with the emergence of several cities, and the flourishing of literary and scientific life on the level of the two countries in general, in addition to social communication through the migration movement between the two countries, even if it was marred by some bloodshed.

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