

The expulsion of scholars by Ottoman rule in Algeria

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Abstract:

The relationship between the Ottoman authority and the scholars in Algeria was characterised by a duality of hostility and affinity. Ever since the Ottomans came to Algeria, they sought the reassurance of its scholars and sought proximity to them after realising their status and spiritual authority. However, they faced hostility and rejection from some scholars, which led the rulers to use various forms of violence, including exile and expulsion, against scholars who opposed their authority and presence.

Keywords: Exile, scholars, Ottoman authority, conflict, power

Introduction:

During the 16th century, scholars in Algeria held an important position in Algerian society. They exercised control over various aspects of life and were at the forefront of the social classes. They played an active role in political, economic, cultural and even social events. Their words had the power to penetrate hearts like needles, and they had spiritual and political influence. They were universally respected. However, this position was seriously threatened by the emergence of a new political authority resulting from the transformation of the central Maghreb into the Ottoman province of Algeria. This brought about a radical upheaval that undermined the position of the scholars, eroded some of their authority and removed some of their privileges. As a result, this group adopted an attitude of opposition and hostility towards the Ottoman authority, both in terms of its presence and existence. The relationship between the two parties was characterised by conflict and hostility, with the Ottoman authority seeking to eliminate anyone who rejected its presence through various means, especially exile and banishment.

From this perspective, this research paper will attempt to examine the nature of the relationship between the political authority represented by the Ottoman rulers in Algeria and the spiritual authority of the scholars. This will be done by answering a number of sub-questions, which are as follows:

1. The attitude of the scholars towards the Ottoman presence and authority in Algeria.
2. The reasons for the expulsion of scholars from Algeria by the Ottoman authority.
3. Examples of scholars exiled from Algeria.
4. Political implications of the expulsion of scholars from Algeria.

1- Scholars' views on the Ottoman intervention and presence in Algeria:

The Ottoman intervention in Algeria was driven by the need to counter the Christian threat along the Algerian coast and in response to the appeals of the local population. The urgency for the Ottomans to remain in Algeria was emphasised by the scholars themselves, who implored Barbarossa to stay and defend them, on the principle that he had no permission to abandon the people to the infidel enemy. The entire interest lay in his continued presence in the city of Algiers for its protection¹.

This delegation was led by the learned jurist Ahmed ibn Al-Qadi, who travelled to Istanbul to ask Sultan Selim I to accept the annexation of Algeria to the empire². He represented the people of the city of Algiers, accompanied by the scholar Haji Hussein, who spoke on behalf of Barbarossa¹.

¹- Mohammed Drage: "The Ottoman Entry into Algeria and the Role of the Barbarossa Brothers (1512-1543)", edited by Dr Nasser al-Din Saidouni, Assala for Publishing and Distribution, 1st edition, Algiers, 1433 AH - 2012 CE, p. 228.

²- Ibn Abi Diyaf, "The Entertainment of the People of the Time with the News of the Kings of Tunis and the Era of Security", National Company for Publishing and Distribution, Tunisian Publishing and Distribution House, Tunis, 1976, 2/10.

From this point of view, it becomes clear to the reader that the relationship between the Ottoman authority and the scholars was one of friendship and close ties, especially since most local and foreign sources shed light on this aspect. It began with the Turks calling on the scholars for help and rescue, and the Ottoman authority relying on this group in various areas of life, especially in the suppression of revolutions and uprisings, as well as in the attainment of important positions such as the judiciary and religious affairs.

This positive relationship gave rise to an alliance based primarily on the background and dimensions of jihad. From the outset, it seemed that the political interest, guided by religious mechanisms, made the relationship between scholars, religious figures and the authority inevitable for the continuation of the conquests in the coastal cities in order to uproot them from Spanish and Portuguese rule².

As the Barbarossa brothers emerged as leaders against the Christian threat, a select group of scholars and religious figures rushed to show their goodwill to their first saviours. This led to the development of a relationship based on mutual respect and recognition of each party's authority in their respective domains. Some of the local governors became famous for their closeness to this group, showing them consideration, either out of religious and scholarly admiration, or in the hope of gaining their support and receiving praise and commendation³.

The desire for goodwill and the eagerness to establish closer ties did not come from the Ottoman authority alone. Some individuals within this group sought to curry favour with the authorities, resulting in an exchange of interests between the two parties. The Ottoman authority wanted to achieve security and stability, win over the local population and gain their satisfaction through the approval of scholars and religious figures⁴. On the other hand, this class sought material and spiritual privileges that could only be achieved through closer ties with the Ottoman authority. Whenever a matter arose in which one of these class factions intervened, the state would shower them with a considerable amount of gifts and rewards.

Several cases and tasks illustrate this relationship, such as the reliance on them in embassies and the privileges associated with them. We can mention the embassy of the scholar and judge Muhammad al-Qawjili to Istanbul in 1065 AH, where he went to the seat of the Caliphate to address the problems of the country on behalf of the authority. Another example is the embassy of the scholar Muhammad ibn al-Anabi to the remotest regions of Morocco after the English campaign of "Exmouth" in 1231 AD. Omar Pasha sent him to request military assistance from the Ottoman Sultan Selim, and he carried out another embassy to Istanbul in 1232 AD with the same request⁵.

A delegation of scholars from the city of Algiers also played a role. They were arrested by Sultan Muhammad bin Ash-Sharif, the ruler of Tlemcen, in 1046 AH, after their intervention against the Ottomans, because of the strength of their arguments and the eloquence of their speech. They persuaded Sultan Ash-Sharif to stop his campaign. Their plea read: "...We have come to you to ask you to uphold the law of your grandfather and to keep within your limits. Your grandfather did not fight Muslims, nor did he plunder the weak... As for fanning the flames of discord among people, that is not worthy of the noble lineage... What you are doing is forbidden; it is not permitted in the teachings of any Muslim sect or in the laws of any non-Muslim. These two scholars from Algiers have come to listen to what you have to say, and may Allah judge between us and you..."⁶.

Moved by what he had heard, Sultan Ash-Sharif replied: "...By Allah, we have not fallen into this danger except through the devils among the Arabs... I swear by Allah, the Most High, that after this

¹- Mohammed Drage, cited in the previous reference, p. 230.

²- Rumum Mahfouz, quoted in the previous reference, p. 12.

³- Simon Pfeiffer, "Memoirs or a Brief History of Algeria", translated by Abu Al-Ayd Dodo, National Company for Publishing and Distribution, Algeria, 984, p. 96.

⁴- Ibrahim Badran and Salwa Al-Khamasi, "Studies in Arab Superstitious Mentality", 3rd edition, Dar Al-Haqiqa, Beirut, n.d., p. 307.

⁵- Abu Al-Qasim Saadullah, "Cultural History of Algeria", vol. 1, p. 405.

⁶- Abu Abbas Ahmed ben Khalid Al-Nasiri, "Investigation into the News of the States of the Far Maghreb (Alawi State)", vol. 7, edited and annotated by Jafar Al-Nasiri and Mohammed Al-Nasiri, Dar Al-Kutub, Casablanca, n.d., pp. 26-27.

day I shall not harm your land or your people. I have given you the protection of Allah and the protection of the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him..."¹.

The Warthelani called this role of the men of knowledge and religion "reconciliation between the parties"². The Ottomans had a strong belief in scholars, as their sailors would seek the blessings of scholars and righteous individuals before embarking on voyages or military expeditions. They would fire special cannon shots from their ships as a sign of respect. Turkish sailors would light candles in the name of one of the defenders or sacrifice a sheep or more, throwing half of it into the sea on the left side of the ship and the other half on the right³.

They even recognised the sanctity of shrines and zawiyas (Sufi lodges) and refrained from entering them to reach their fortified enemies. Al-Rashidi mentions an incident in 1732 AD when some individuals fled from the Bey of Bouselham and sought refuge in the zawiya of Sidi Mohammed El Hawari, the governor of the city of Oran. But the Bey forced his way into the sanctuary and attacked them inside. That same night, the governor appeared to him in a dream and threatened him with a cruel death and the fall of his city into the hands of the Spaniards. The Bey was assassinated the next day, and three days later Oran fell under occupation⁴.

In this context, Dr Filali pointed out that if a Turkish member of the Zabnutut faction committed any kind of offence and sought refuge in a zawiya, the bey would secretly make a deal with the zawiya's khalifa. He would usually persuade him to cut off the person's food supply, forcing him to flee the zawiya and seek the protection of the authorities, leading to his execution⁵. This was done in exchange for various privileges, such as exemption from taxes. Abu al-Qasim Saadallah mentioned that the Beys of Constantine would exempt a number of zawiyas and shrines from paying taxes, including the zawiya of Abdul Rahman al-Akhdiri in Bentiouss. The documents also emphasised the need to respect one's family and descendants. About seven documents were written on the same subject, the last of which, dated 1246 AD, bears the seal of Hajj Ahmed Bey⁶. Another example is the exemption of Sheikh Khengua Sidi Naji Ahmed al-Mubarak from taxes in 1052 AH⁷.

As for the Ottoman rulers who, in times of crisis, sought refuge with the people of knowledge and religion, we can mention Pasha Mustafa, who, when faced with opposition from the Awjaghs, fled to the mausoleum of Murabit Ibn Ali al-Mubarak in Qal'at Bani Hammad. When they learned of his whereabouts, they closed the doors of the mausoleum and he was killed by hanging⁸.

In this context, we have given examples of the relationship between authority and righteous individuals, as some scholars combined knowledge and spiritual authority.

In the midst of this convergence and mutual interests, a strong relationship developed between the Ottoman authority and some scholars.

Among them were Examples of scholars and religious figures close to the Ottoman authority:

A notable figure among the scholars who maintained a friendly and cordial relationship with the Ottoman authority was Ahmad ibn Yusuf al-Milyani.

He is known as:

Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Yusuf al-Milyani al-Rashidi.

He was born in Milyana, between Algeria and Tlemcen⁹, and was one of the most prominent scholars and religious figures in Algeria. His reputation spread throughout the Maghreb region. He was

¹- Abu Abbas Ahmed ben Khalid Al-Ansari, cited in the previous reference, pp. 26-27.

²- Al-Hussein Al-Warthlani, cited in the previous reference, pp. 8 ff.

³- Abu Al-Qasim Saadallah, "Cultural History of Algeria", vol. 1, p. 474.

⁴- Ahmed ben Sahnoon Al-Rashidi, cited in the previous reference, p. 134.

⁵- Fillali (K), "Mystical Algeria from the founding marabouts to the rebellious Khwans XVI-XIX", Paris, 2002, p. 110.

⁶- Abu Al-Qasim Saadallah, "Cultural History of Algeria", volume 1, page 475.

⁷- AMG, H228, Information on the organisation and administration of the province of Constantine before the city was conquered by the army, ED 1840, page 14.

⁸- Fillali (K), "History of Mystical Algeria", as cited, page 154.

⁹- Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Muhammad Qadi Al-Qal'a bin Ahmed bin Ali Al-Subagh Al-Qalai, "The Garden of Blossoms in the Virtues of the Best of Men and the Source of Lights Sidi Ahmed bin Yousef Al-Rashidi Al-Nasb wa Al-Dar", page 61.

considered one of the most important scholars and great spiritual leaders of Morocco. The message of the seekers and the training of disciples from the righteous lands of Morocco and the entire Maghreb region reached him¹.

Moreover, He also attracted people around him with his knowledge, piety and righteousness, and his Shadhiliyya Sufi order spread until his followers were found everywhere. Many scholars and spiritual leaders from the East and West studied under him. He was a graduate of the schools of Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Sanusi and Ahmad al-Zaruq al-Barnusi².

He was known for performing miracles and extraordinary deeds, which were narrated by people who believed in them and testified to their authenticity³. Al-Milyani was famous for the number of his followers and the spread of his Sufi order in Algeria, which aroused the opposition of the Zayyanid state. As a result, he was persecuted, imprisoned and persecuted. However, according to the stories, he was able to avoid these dangers through his miracles. For example, when the Zayyanids tried to burn him, the fire around him miraculously died down. After his release from prison, he brought about the downfall of Zayyanid rule.

During this period, the conflict between the Ottomans and the Zayyanids was at its height, especially in the city of Tlemcen. The Ottomans took advantage of the ongoing Zayyanid-Milyani conflict and formed an alliance with the latter. This alliance continued throughout al-Milyani's life, and the Ottoman authorities sent him valuable gifts through Khayr al-Din Pasha of Algeria in order to win his favour and the loyalty of his many followers. The Ottoman authorities took a similar approach with al-Milyani's descendants. Ibn al-Milyani, known as Sheikh "Ibn Marzouka", was granted numerous privileges throughout his life in recognition of the Ottoman desire to maintain relations between the two parties. In fact, the last Ottoman ruler, Hussein Pasha, even married one of al-Milyani's granddaughters⁴.

Al-Milyani died and was buried in Milyana in 931 AH. His tomb became a revered shrine in Milyana⁵.

Al-Kharroubi Family:

Among them is Muhammad ibn Ali Al-Kharroubi Al-Tablissi (Al-Safaqsi), also known as Abu Abdullah. He was an Algerian jurist, exegete and hadith scholar who was considered one of the leading scholars of his time. He was born in the village of Qarghash, west of Tripoli, and grew up in Algeria, where he became a preacher⁶. He was an erudite Sufi sheikh who excelled in the arts of Sufism and spiritual knowledge, while also devoting himself to the sciences of jurisprudence and hadith.

Mohammed ben Askar Al-Husseini Al-Shaftawi, "Information on the Excellence of Those Who Were in the Maghreb from the Sheikhs of the Tenth Century", 2nd edition, edited by Mohammed Hajji, reviewed by Abdelhamid Khayali, Publications of Dar Al-Maghreb for Compilation, Translation and Publishing, Rabat, 1977 CE - 1397 AH, p. 16.

¹- Abdel Moneim Al-Qasimi, "Investigation Message and Guidance Method to the Path for Sheikh Ahmed bin Yousef Al-Rashidi", unpublished manuscript, p. 03.

²- Omar Reda, "Dictionary of Authors: Biographies of Arabic Book Authors", Dar Ihya' Al-Turath, Beirut, n.d., p. 415. See also:

Lilia Shantouh, "Sheikh Ahmed bin Yousef Al-Malliani Al-Sufi", Al-Houliat Journal of the University of Algiers, Issue 1, Number 32, Part 1, 2018.

Fathi Znaki, "The Righteous Saint bin Yousef Al-Malliani as Described by Ibn Maridah Abu Abdullah Mohammed Al-Subagh Al-Qalai in His Book 'The Garden of Blossoms in the Virtues of the Best of Men and the Source of Lights Sidi Ahmed bin Yousef Al-Rashidi Al-Nasb wa Al-Dar'", Al-Isti'ab Magazine, Issue 8, May 2013.

³- Abu Al-Qasim Mohammed Al-Hafnaoui, son of Sheikh bin Abu Al-Qasim Al-Desi, son of Sidi Ibrahim Al-Ghoul, "Identification of the Successors of the Predecessors", Eastern Fontana Printing Press, Algiers, 1906 CE - 1324 AH, p. 97.

⁴- Marsel (Bodin), "Notes and Questions on Sidi Ahmed Ben Youcef", In RA, N66, 1925, pp. 125-189.

⁵- Adel Nouihed, "Dictionary of Notable Figures of Algeria from the Beginning of Islam to the Present Era", Nouihed Cultural Foundation, Beirut, Lebanon, 1980, p. 315.

⁶- Adel Nouihed, same, p. 132.

He authored several books, including 'Sufficiency of the Seeker and the Connection with the Pole Abu Muhammad Abd al-Salam ibn Mushish', 'Treatise of the Insolvent' and 'Thoughts of the People of Medina-Fes'¹.

He acquired knowledge from scholars in both the East and the West, including Ahmed Zaruq, Muhammad Abdullah al-Zaytuni, Muhammad ibn Marzouq, and the students of Abdul Rahman al-Tha'alibi and Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Sanusi².

Al-Kharroubi devoted himself to writing, promoting and defending the Shadhiliyya Sufi order. He concentrated on the litanies, invocations and sciences of Sufism. He also discussed matters that might be considered simple today, such as the shaving of the hair of penitents. Some attributed to him an interpretation of the Noble Qur'an which he gave in Algeria³.

Sheikh Al-Kharroubi died in Algeria in 963 AH⁴.

The Al-Lefkoun family

With their close and welcoming relationship with the Ottoman presence in Algeria, we have observed their presence, benefits and privileges through their proximity to power. It seems that the Ottomans sought religious legitimacy for their presence in Algeria by forging alliances with prominent families. This is evident in their attempt to ally with the family of Abd al-Mu'min before the Lefkoun family. They have always sought the friendship and favour of the learned and religious, recognising their spiritual authority over society. The Lefkoun family is just one example of this phenomenon.

Opinions differ on the timing of the Ottomans' contact with this family, but it is agreed that the Lefkoun family played a significant role in the Ottomans' entry into the city of Constantinople. The role of Sheikh Abd al-Karim Lefkoun stands out in opening the gates of Constantinople to the Ottomans after the refusal of the family of Abd al-Mu'min, who remained loyal to the Hafsid rulers. Therefore, it is likely that the first Ottoman contact with the Lefkoun family dates back to the year 928 AH (1522 CE), when the Ottoman commander reached an agreement with Sheikh Yahya ibn Muhammad Lefkoun for an exchange of food and military equipment. Sheikh Lefkoun acted as an intermediary between the Ottoman garrison stationed near Constantinople and the Ouled Ya'qoub tribe of the dhouaoua⁵.

The good relations between the Lefkoun family and the Ottomans continued throughout the Ottoman presence, and there is no better evidence of this than the privileges the family enjoyed, especially their appointment to important positions such as the judiciary and the leadership of the Hajj caravans.

The Al-Buni Family

The Al-Buni family is attributed to the Mistah tribe, with an additional affiliation to the Tamim tribe. The first paternal ancestor of this family is Sheikh Bala'id, whose maternal line goes back to Sheikh Isa Al-Wanshawi⁶. The author of the book "T'arif al-Khalaf" described this family as coming from the righteous and aristocratic people of Buna⁷.

They adopted the Qadiriyya Sufi order, and their members inherited scholarly and religious status for generations, which gave them prominence among both the general public and the elite during the

¹- Mohammed ibn Askar Al-Husseini Al-Shaftawi, previous source, p. 114.

²- Al-Hafnaoui, previous source, p. 416.

³- El Mehdi el Bouabdeli, "The Sheikh El Kharoubi", RA, N/96, 1952, p. 334.

⁴- Mohammed ibn Askar Al-Husseini Al-Shaftawi, previous source, p. 114.

Sheikh El-Haj Ahmed bin Al-Mubarak bin Al-Attar (1790-1870), "History of the City of Constantine", edited and annotated by Abdullah Hamadi, Dar El-Faiz for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Constantine, p. 107, 2011.

⁵- Ahmed Ben Qasim Al-Buni, "Introduction to African Bouna", Edited and annotated by Said Dahmani, Dar Al-Huda, Ain M'lila, 2001, p. 32.

Ahmed Ben Qasim Al-Buni, "The Preserved Pearl Concerning the Scholars and Righteous People of Bouna", 1st edition, edited and annotated by Dr. Saad Bouflaq, Bouna Publications for Research and Studies, Annaba, Algeria, 1428 AH - 2007, p. 12.

_Abu Al-Qasim Saadullah, "Cultural History of Algeria", Vol. 1, p. 484.

_Abdul Hayy Abdel Karim Al-Kattani, "Index of Indices and Glossary of Glossaries, Scholars, and Serials", 2nd edition, Vol. 1, edited by Ihsan Abbas, Dar Al-Gharb Al-Islami, Beirut, 1402 AH - 1982 CE, p. 236.

⁶- Al-Hafnaoui, previous source, Vol. 2, p. 416.

⁷- Eugene Vayssette, "History of Constantine under Ottoman Rule 1517-1837", Presentation by Ourda Tengour, Média plus, Constantine, 2010, pp. 343-349.

Ottoman era. However, some believe that this family had a prestigious heritage before the Ottoman era¹.

The central Ottoman authority relied on them in various crises, with one of the most notable figures being Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Al-Sasi Al-Buni, one of the most famous scholars and marabouts of the 11th century in Annaba. His words were heeded by both the common people and the rulers. His wisdom and spiritual influence enabled him to control the situation even in times of crisis. Yusuf Pasha relied on him to calm the situation in the face of a widespread revolt in northern Constantinople. This was achieved through a message sent to him by Muhammad Al-Sasi, asking forgiveness for the rebels and trying to convince him of the futility of resorting to violence. In response, Yusuf Pasha emphasised that it was the duty of the jurists and scholars to persuade the subjects to obey the ruler, since obedience to the ruler was obedience to Allah².

As a result of this relationship, the Al-Buni family held important positions in the state. For example, Ahmed Al-Buni served as a Hanafi judge during the reign of Dey Ahmed Pasha³. Zuhair mentions this by referring to the Pasha's order for Ahmed Al-Buni to write a letter to Bey Hamoud Pasha of Tunis. He also held judicial and administrative posts. Omar Pasha also relied on him to deliver a message to Sultan Suleiman asking for help in rebuilding the fleet that had been destroyed by the English during the Exmouth Campaign in 1816⁴. He continued to serve as judge until 1245 AH (1829 CE), just one year before the French occupation of Algeria⁵.

Ahmed ibn Qasim Al-Buni is considered one of the Sufi scholars of his time. He was born in 1063 AH and died in 1139 AH⁶. At the time, he was the heir to a family renowned for their religious knowledge. Among them was Muhammad ibn Sasi Al-Buni, who combined expertise in jurisprudence, fatwa, Sufism, teaching and writing, and reached a high level of spiritual rank⁷. He acquired knowledge in his homeland from his grandfather Muhammad, his father Qasim, the Maliki Mufti Ali ibn Abdul Qadir Al-Amin, the Qutb Imam Ibrahim Al-Toumi, Suleiman Al-Shalhi, Muhammad Al-Siddiq, Abu Al-Qasim ibn Sasi, Ali Mamo, Yusuf Faknath, Ali ibn Ahmed Al-Jandali and Yahya Al-Shawi. To further his knowledge, he sought the guidance of scholars in the far Maghreb, travelling to Baja, Taster, Kaf, Kairouan, Sua and Tunis. He also travelled to Egypt and the Hijaz in search of knowledge⁸.

He had numerous important and extensive works in various fields such as medicine, astronomy and Sufism⁹. The close relationship between the Ottoman authority and the Al-Sasi Al-Buni family continued, especially with Sheikh Ahmed ibn Qasim Al-Buni and his family, including the daughter of

¹- Ahmed Ben Qasim Al-Buni, previous source, p. 34.

²- Ahmed Ben Qasim Al-Buni, previous source, p. 34.

³- Ahmed El-Zahar, "Memoirs of Ahmed El-Zahar 1754-1830 AD", Edited by Ahmed Tawfiq Al-Madani, National Company for Publishing and Distribution, Algeria, 1974, p. 117.

⁴- Abdul Jalil Al-Tamimi, "Unpublished Turkish Documents about the Bombing of Algiers in 1816", Journal of Western Islam and the Mediterranean, No. 05, 1968, p. 111. See also: Abdelkader Nour Al-Din, "Pages from the History of the Religion of Algeria", p. 114.

⁵- Abu Al-Qasim Saadullah, "Algerian Muftis (Pioneers of Renewal) 1775-1850 AD", National Company for Publishing and Distribution, Algeria, 1976, p. 22.

⁶- Ahmed Ben Qasim Al-Buni, previous source, p. 37.

⁷- Abu Al-Qasim Saadullah, "Four Letters between the Pashas of Algiers and the Scholars of Annaba", Magazine of Culture, Thought, and Literature, Year Nine, No. 51, Jumada Al-Thani, Rajab 1979/May/June 1979, p. 16. See also: Abu Al-Qasim Saadullah, "Experiments in Literature and Travel", National Book Foundation, Algeria, 1983, p. 43.

⁸- To explore his works, see: Al-Buni Ahmed, "Revelation of the Heart in Correct Medicines", vol. 1759 in the Al-Buni collection, "Illuminating the Paths in Eating and Medicine with Beverages", vol. 1775 in the Al-Buni collection.

⁹- Mohammed ibn Maymun Al-Jazairi, The Radiant Masterpiece on the Bejaia State in the Protected Lands of Algeria, 2nd edition, edited by Majid ibn Abdul Karim, National Publishing and Distribution Company, Algiers, 1981, pp. 126-127.

Muhammad Al-Tusi, during the reign of Muhammad Bekdash, who resided in Bouna between 1700 AD and 1070 AD. Sheikh Muhammad Qasim Al-Buni¹ accompanied him during this period.

The Al-Maqari Family

We mention the esteemed scholar Sa'id Al-Maqari, whose full name is Sa'id bin Ahmad bin Abdul Rahman bin La'ish Al-Maqari. He was born in the year 928 AH (1522 CE), around the twenty-eighth century².

He was a person of social, scientific and religious value, which led him to establish a close relationship with the Ottoman authority. He was entrusted with several important positions, especially the issuing of fatwas, which he held for sixty years and which earned him the title of "Abu al-Ajfan"³. As for Ibn Maryam, who was a disciple of Al-Maqari, he mentioned the positions he held and said: "A jurist (faqih) of Tlemcen, its scholar, its mufti, and its Friday sermon preacher in the Grand Mosque for forty-five years"⁴.

These and other examples illustrate the positive relationship between Algerian scholars and Ottoman authority. However, a closer look at this issue leads us to understand that the Ottoman intervention in Algeria, including the establishment of the Ottoman Regency of Algiers and the acquisition of religious legitimacy, gave rise to various contrasting positions among the main social classes of scholars and religious figures. Theoretically, these positions can be divided into three groups, influenced by the respective educational and religious levels of each group.

The first position represents the rejectionist faction, which condemns the presence and intervention of the Ottomans in Algeria, even if it was to help against the Christian threat. They express their position by various means, such as migration, issuing fatwas of excommunication against them, carrying out revolutions against them and other behaviours that reflect their rejection of this foreign entity.

The second position is one that deals with this change in a spirit of surrender and acceptance of the will and decree of Allah. An example of this is Sidi Muhammad al-Sharif al-Bajali, who died in 1525 AD. He saw the Ottoman presence in Algeria as nothing more than a temporary or exceptional event. He expressed this by saying: "What can we say about a homeland where violence and ignorance prevail, and where injustice and wine have become commonplace? Muslims are tortured and oppressed, while foreigners are surrounded by pride, and no one has the strength and courage to confront the situation. Is this out of self-interest or ignorance?"⁵

The third group were those who welcomed the Ottoman intervention and even contributed to it. Al-Qayrawani, as quoted by Dr Filali, commented that the men of knowledge and religion always prayed for the Ottoman Sultan, saying: "May Allah make the Sultan's knowledge always high"⁶.

The Ottoman authority dealt with the dissenting faction firmly and resolutely, using various methods and approaches such as imprisonment, killing, torture and confiscation of property. This research paper focuses on the policy of exile of scholars.

Reasons for the exile of scholars from Algeria:

The reasons for the expulsion of scholars from Algeria can be summarised as follows:

The outlines of this policy became clear, especially in the later period of Ottoman rule. The reasons can be summarised as follows:

1. The clash of interests between the two parties and the hostility of the authorities towards religious scholars and intellectuals, who tried to subjugate them to the influence of the beylik. This led to a rupture between the religious zaouias and the general population associated with them, on the one hand, and the Turkish rulers and the administrative and military apparatus they represented, on the other.

¹ Ibn Maryam Abu Abdullah ibn Mohammed, *The Garden: A Record of the Saints and Scholars of Tlemcen*, University Press Office, Algiers, n.d., p. 104.

Abu al-Qasim Saadullah, *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 212.

Abu Salem Al-Ayashi, *Water of the Banquets, the Journey*, edited by Saad Zaghlool Abdel Hamid, vol. 2, p. 266.

² Adel Nouihed, *Ibid.*, p. 311.

³ Ibn Maryam, *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁴ Fillali (K), *op.cit.*, p. 147.

⁵ Fillali (K), *op.cit.*, p. 147.

⁶ Feraud (CH), *The Ben Djellab Sultans of Tougourt, Historical Notes on the Province of Constantine*, in R.A. No. 162, 1883, p. 437.

2. Some scholars opposed the Ottoman presence in Algeria. They condemned the Ottoman presence and issued fatwas against it. Sultan Bani Djellab of Tuggurt issued a fatwa calling for the need to fight them, affirming that killing a Turk would bring pleasure to Allah, equating it to killing an atheist or infidel¹.

On the other hand, the scholar and saint Ibn al-Maghufal described the Ottomans as foreigners, stressing that they only claimed to have come to Algeria for jihad, but used it as an excuse to control Algeria and its wealth. Pope Aruj reacted swiftly to this fatwa by arresting two sons of the Murabits and taking them to Tlemcen². At the same time, there was an official reaction. Sayyid Ahmed bin Malouka al-Nadrumi (named after Nadruma) cursed Pope Aruj as he left Tlemcen, praying that he would never return. Legend has it that Aruj left Tlemcen and was assassinated on his return, never to set foot in Tlemcen again³.

In fact, there are references to this in various contemporary sources. Ibn al-Faqoun, in his publication "Al-Hidayah", described the Ottomans as "Al-Ajam" (foreigners), using the same term as Ibn al-Mufti⁴. They also equated them with the Christians and placed them in the same group. Sidi Muhammad bin Yusuf al-Sanusi, the Master of Tlemcen, stated that there was nothing more difficult than living with Christians under Ottoman rule, repeatedly using the phrase "Turks and Christians, all in one group"⁵.

This rejection led some scholars to start revolutions and uprisings. One of these was the revolution of the Darqawi followers of Sheikh Muhammad al-Arabi al-Darqawi in 1217 AH/1805 CE⁶. Along with the Tijani Revolution, it is considered one of the most significant uprisings against Ottoman rule. The Tijani Revolution took place in the south-west of Algeria in 1818, reaching the areas around Griès and the regions of Tlemcen. These and other revolutions expressed rejection of the Ottoman presence and policy⁷.

The scholars exiled from Algeria during the Ottoman period:

Exile from Algeria during the Ottoman era was not an official decision, but was imposed as a form of punishment to avoid execution, imprisonment or confiscation. In this context, it is worth noting that this policy was even applied to Turks and Karagöz as a means of punishment. An example of this is the exile of Wazir al-Khuruj 'Ala Barghul by Hussein Pasha in 1205 AH, after he failed to capture one of the rebel leaders⁸.

Among the exiled scholars from Algeria is Hussein bin Abdullah al-Jaza'iri. He is known as al-Jaza'iri, the famous calligrapher known for his beautiful handwriting and mastery⁹. "The prominent scholar, leader of meetings and gatherings, excelled in literature from his early days. His virtues and qualities were described in laudatory accounts, and he devoted his efforts to the pursuit of excellence. The honourable Hussein bin Abdullah al-Jaza'iri¹⁰, esteemed and respected by all".

In fact, he acquired knowledge from many scholars, including Sheikh Imam Sidi Mohammed bin Ibrahim bin Musa, Sheikh Sidi Ali bin Al-Amin and Sheikh Sidi Ahmed bin Al-Kahya¹¹. Also Sheikh

¹- Fillali (K), Algeria, op.cit., p. 60.

²- Mohammed ibn Masakr Al-Husseini Al-Shafshawni, Ibid., p. 112.

³- Ibn Maryam, Ibid., p. 15.

⁴- Fillali (K), Algeria: Mysticism of the Founding Marabouts to the Khwans Insurgents, 15th-19th Century, Paris, 2002, p. 60.

⁵- Rinn (Louis), Marabouts and Khouan, Adolphe Jourdan, Algiers, 1984, pp. 75-76.

⁶- Ahmed ibn Hatal, The Journey of Pasha Ahmed to the Desert, edited by Mohammed ibn Abdul Karim, Cairo, 1969, p. 194.

⁷- Ahmed Ash-Sharif Az-Zuhair, Ibid., pp. 162-163.

⁸- Mohammed ibn At-Tayyib Al-Qadiri, Ibid., p. 140.

⁹- Mohammed ibn Abdul Rahman ibn Abdul Qadir Abu Abdullah Al-Fasi, 1058-1143 AH, The Rural Grants in the High Chains, Correction in the Thirteenth Century, p. 12.

Ash-Sharif Abu Abdullah Mohammed ibn Jafar ibn Idris Al-Katani, 1274-1345, Sweetness of Breath and Conversation with Those Buried among the Great and Righteous in Fez, vol. 3, edited by Abdullah Al-Kamil Al-Katani, Hamza ibn Mohammed At-Tayyib Mohammed At-Tayyib Al-Katani, Dar Al-Thaqafa Publishing and Distribution Company, Casablanca, 2004, p. 185.

¹⁰- Ash-Sharif Al-Katani, Ibid., vol. 3, p. 185.

¹¹- Abu al-Qasim Saadullah, Cultural History of Algeria, vol. 1, p. 425.

Mohammed Saleh Al-Bukhari Al-Ridawi, who traced his lineage to Sidi Ali Al-Rida bin Musa Al-Kadhim bin Ja'far Al-Sadiq bin Muhammad Al-Baqir bin Zain al-Abidin bin Ali bin Al-Hussein bin Ali bin Abi Talib. Among them was Sheikh and Hajj Hamoud Al-Jaza'iri, and among them was Imam Mohammed Wa'aziz¹.

The virtuous Hussein bin Abdullah Al-Jaza'iri was originally a companion of Darwish Ali Al-Katib Al-Qusanṭini, from whom he learnt various forms of calligraphy and mastered the art of writing². He faced injustice from one of the influential figures called Dollar, who decided to exile him. He moved from Constantine to western Algeria and from there he travelled to Cairo, Egypt, where he lived until his death. His calligraphy became famous in Cairo, and he had many students and companions who admired his skills. He was also a skilled bookbinder. He died in Cairo, Egypt, in 1125 AH and was buried there³.

Sa'id Al-Mandasi:

He is Abu al-Abbas Uthman bin Abdullah Al-Mandasi Al-Tlemsani. He was born and raised in Tlemcen and lived there in the 11th century AH. He studied the sciences taught in his time, including language, grammar, morphology, rhetoric, religious sciences, theology, and excelled in both classical and popular poetry⁴.

Sa'id Al-Mandasi was exiled to Morocco by the Ottoman Pasha Osman after the people called for an uprising against the Turks because of their domination and injustice, especially in Tlemcen, which was then under the rule of the Algerian government, whose mufti was Ahmad bin Zago, who was loyal to the authorities⁵.

His poems became famous for their strong condemnation of Ottoman policies, violence, injustice and Turkish aggression against holy places, wealth and loss of life. Al-Mandasi witnessed a massacre committed by the Turks against some of the locals, killing them, destroying their houses and raping their women and children, all under the supervision and with the approval of the Mufti, Ibn Zago⁶.

When Al-Mandasi arrived in Morocco, he joined the court of the Alawi dynasty and established links with the court of Al-Rashid Alawi. He lived under their protection in Sijilmasa. There he worked on the education of Moulay Ismail's son. During this period, the poet travelled between Fez and Marrakech, and he gained the favour of Sultan Ismail after his accession to the throne in 1082 AH⁷.

Sa'id Qadura:

He is Abu 'Uthman Sa'id bin Ibrahim, known as Qadura, originally from Tunisia but born and raised in Algeria⁸. He comes from a prestigious Algerian family that held the position of Mufti for over half a century⁹. He assumed the position of Maliki Mufti and Imam of the Palace Mosque, serving as a preacher. He remained in this position until 1066 AH.

Qadura's status was held in high esteem by the Pashas, to the extent that they showed him reverence and kissed his hand. In fact, they would give him precedence over the Hanafi Mufti, who represented the state's school of thought. Qadura was given priority over his Hanafi colleague in the Council of

¹- Ahmed ibn Mohammed ibn Abi Al-Aafiya (Ibn Al-Qadi), *Ibid.*, p. 415.

Abdul Rahman ibn Hassan Al-Jabrati, who died in 1237-1866, *Wonders of Chronicles and News, History of Al-Jabrati*, vol. 1, edited and corrected by Ibrahim Shamsuddin, Dar Al-Kutub Al-Ilmiyya, Beirut, 1417-1997, p. 353.

²- Saeed ibn Abdullah Al-Tilimsani Al-Mandasi, *Diwan*, edited by Rabeh Bounar, National Publishing and Distribution Company, Algiers, n.d., p. 5.

³- *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴- Abu al-Qasim Saadullah, *Cultural History of Algeria*, vol. 1, p. 428.

⁵- Abdellatif Hani, *Floral Poetry and Its Significance in Algerian Folk Poetry: Diwan of Saeed Al-Mandasi as a Model*, *Al-Haqqiqa Journal*, Issue 10, Year 4, 2011, p. 249.

⁶- Abu al-Qasim Saadullah, *Cultural History of Algeria*, vol. 2, p. 265.

⁷- Al-Hafnawi, *Introduction to Al-Khalf*, p. 382.

⁸- Mohammed ibn At-Tayyib Al-Qadiri, *Publication of Annotated Works for the People of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, vol. 2, edited by Mohammed Hajji and Ahmed Al-Tawfiq, Maktabat Al-Talib, Rabat, 1982, p. 335.

Abu al-Qasim Saadullah, *Cultural History of Algeria*, vol. 1, p. 356.

Adel Nouihed, *Dictionary of Algerian Figures*, p. 259.

⁹- Devoulx (A), *Religious Buildings of Old Algiers*, in RA/1866/N/10, p. 286.

Justice and Scholars, which included two muftis and judges from both the Hanafi and Maliki schools, as well as some judges and the representative of the pasha and scholars¹.

Historians suggest that this favouritism enjoyed by Sa'id Qadura aroused the envy of those who had ill intentions towards him. It seems that jealousy and envy began as soon as he assumed the position of Mufti. After eight years, he asked the authorities and the people to take responsibility. At first they quietly refused, but when he asked them if accountability was necessary, they replied in the affirmative. He presented them with the accounts and showed them the books he had bought for the mosque, including his commentary on Sahih al-Bukhari. He informed them of his reform efforts and the construction of neglected and dilapidated places, backed by documented evidence in the handwriting of respected scholars. Their malicious intentions and suspicions were proved wrong and their attempts to undermine him failed².

The targeting of Sa'id Qadura and the attempts to undermine him continued, with constant accusations and excuses, all in an attempt to get rid of him. All this was driven by their envy of his prestige and prominent position among the general public and the elite.

As the targeting continued, his opponents finally succeeded in having him expelled by the Inqishari army (Algerian armed forces). He was exiled to Istanbul for unknown reasons. Concerned about the consequences of this exile, the Mufti's friends in Algeria, in particular Ahmed Al-Manjlati, wrote a poem praising the Grand Mufti of Istanbul, As'ad Efendi, and highlighting the esteemed position of Sheikh Qadura in Algeria. The intention was to convince As'ad Efendi that the accusations against Qadura were mere fabrications by his jealous enemies. Although Al-Manjlati was not one of Qadura's companions, he sent his poem along with a traveller and his treatment improved as a result³.

Al-Kamad:

Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ahmad Al-Qustantini, known as Ibn Al-Kamad⁴, was a descendant of the honourable Al-Husayni family of Constantinople. He was closely related to the Al-Wazan family and lived during the time of Qasim Al-Lafqun and his uncle Abdul Karim Al-Lafqun, the author of the book "Manshur Al-Hidayah"⁵.

Ibn Al-Kamad was a logical, knowledgeable scholar, a jurist and a skilled orator. He was considered the most knowledgeable scholar of his time among the people of Constantinople, where he was born, educated and raised⁶. He held the position of Mufti and was noted for his eloquence and ability to deliver speeches. People around him admired him, describing him as a fluent and serious speaker with an attractive appearance and excellent handwriting. He was known for his literary prose and his craftsmanship in poetry⁷.

His wide knowledge and the admiration he received from those around him attracted many competitors. However, the methods used to compete with him were unethical. Some flatterers tried to defame him, hoping to gain positions in the government. These actions provoked the Ottoman authorities against him, as they received numerous complaints from the locals who had a vested interest in the matter. As a result, the Turks expelled him from his house, which was subsequently demolished and burnt⁸.

¹- Abdul Qadir Nuruddin, Pages from the History of Algeria from Its Earliest Times to the End of the Turkish Rule, Dar Al-Hadara, Algiers, n.d., p. 196.

²- Abu al-Qasim Saadullah, Algerian Poetry, National Publishing Company, Algiers, 1988, p. 17.

³- Al-Hafnawi, Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 344-347.

⁴- Mohammed Asghir ibn Mohammed ibn Abdullah Al-Afrani Al-Marrakeshi, Elite of the Disseminated Scholars of the Eleventh Century, pp. 217-219.

Abdul Karim Lefkoun (d. 1073-1662), Publication of Guidance for Those Claiming Knowledge and Authority, vol. 1, edited by Abu al-Qasim Saadullah, Dar Al-Gharb Al-Islami, 1987, p. 44.

⁵- Adel Nouihed, Ibid., p. 274.

Abu al-Qasim Saadullah, Cultural History of Algeria, vol. 1, p. 426.

⁶- Abdul Karim Lefkoun, Publication of Guidance, p. 44.

⁷- Abu al-Qasim Saadullah, Ibid., p. 426.

⁸- Mohammed ibn Jafar ibn Idris Al-Katani, Sweetness of Breath and Conversation with the Greats among the Scholars and Righteous in Fez, vol. 2, p. 34.

Ibn Al-Kamad was then forced to leave his homeland and settle in the city of Fez, which was a centre of knowledge and religion, home to the University of Al-Qarawiyyin and a political capital that respected the Arabic language and its scholars¹.

He travelled extensively in the distant regions of Morocco, and when he arrived in the city of Tetouan, he became involved in a dispute with the judge there. In response, Ibn Al-Kamad wrote a poem expressing his sadness at being exiled and at the state of knowledge and scholarship in the city².

Ibn Al-Kamad passed away on the fourth Friday of the month of Al-Haram in 1116 AH. The funeral prayer was led by the respected Sheikh Sidi Muhammad ibn Abd al-Qadir Al-Fasi. He was buried near the tomb of Abu Ghaleb and a dome was built over his tomb³.

Mohammed bin Ahmed Al-Sharif:

He is Mohammed bin Ahmed Al-Sharif Al-Jaza'iri, a scholarly researcher who has worked in various fields of knowledge. He was born and educated in Algeria. Mohammed bin Ahmed Al-Sharif was expelled from Algeria by the Ottoman authorities and settled in Izmir in Constantinople. The sources do not mention the reasons for his exile, but it is likely that he was part of the group that opposed the Ottoman presence in Algeria, which led to his fate being similar to that of that group⁴.

Mohammed bin Ahmed Al-Sharif spent some time in Izmir before travelling to the Hijaz to perform the Hajj pilgrimage. He stayed near the two holy mosques, where he met one of the Ottoman ministers, Ahmed Pasha Numan, who became the Sheikh of the Noble Sanctuary. It is said that this minister granted him permission (ijazah) as a sign of respect and to promote his reputation. After the Hajj, Mohammed bin Ahmed Al-Sharif returned to Constantinople and settled there until his death in 1139 AH⁵.

Yahya Al-Ouerassi:

Yahya Al-Ouerassi, also known as Sheikh Sidi Yahya bin Suleiman Al-Ouerassi, is renowned for his knowledge, piety and numerous miracles. He is described as "Sheikh Sidi Yahya Al-Ouerassi, the one with radiant insight, extraordinary vision, exceptional intuition, luminous character, remarkable miracles, luxurious state, distinguished status, precious realities, Sunni knowledge, elevated spiritual ranks and prominent leadership in the gatherings of the holy city"⁶.

Yahya Al-Ouerassi is considered to be one of the scholars of Constantinople (Qacentina) and is well versed in jurisprudence, grammar and eloquence. He is closely associated with Sufism, and acquired knowledge from several esteemed masters, such as Sheikh Lafqoun, the author of the renowned publication "Al-Hidayah", and his uncle Qasim. He also acquired extensive knowledge from Sheikh Al-Wazan⁷.

He held several positions, including Mufti of Constantine and Algiers. He enjoyed both material and spiritual privileges, which aroused the envy of those around him and led to the outbreak of slander and false accusations against him by his contemporaries⁸.

The slanders and accusations intensified and led to his dismissal from his position. It was decided that he should be exiled to a foreign country (the sources do not say where). He fled from Constantine and took refuge in the mountains of Aurès, accompanied by his brother Abu Al-Abbas Ahmad. The people, including the Arabs and the descendants of Isa who resisted authority, gathered around him and organised a revolution that lasted fifteen years⁹.

Yahya Al-chawi:

Yahya Al-Chawi, also known as Yahya Al-Chawi ibn Al-Salih Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Issa Abu Zakariya Al-Na'ili Al-Chawi Al-Milyani Al-Jazairi, was born in the city of Algiers¹⁰ in 1030 AH¹. He

¹- Al-Afrani, Ibid., p. 218.

²- Ar-Rashidi, Publication of Annotated Works, vol. 2, p. 174.

³- Abu al-Qasim Saadullah, Ibid., p. 431.

⁴- Ibid., p. 431.

⁵- Abdul Karim Lefkoun, Publication of Guidance, p. 54.

⁶- Abu al-Qasim Saadullah, vol. 1, Ibid., p. 54.

⁷- Abdul Karim Lefkoun, Ibid., p. 55.

⁸- Ibid., p. 58.

⁹- Al-Mahboubi, Summary of the Impact, vol. 4, p. 486.

Al-Katani, Index of Indexes, vol. 2, p. 1134.

¹⁰- Ismail Pasha Al-Baghdadi, Gift for the Knowing Ones, vol. 2, p. 533.

studied in Milyana under the guidance of his teachers, including Sheikh Muhammad Abahaloul, Sheikh Saeed Mufti of Algiers, Sheikh Ali ibn Abdulwahid Al-Ansari, Sheikh Mahdi, and others².

Al-Shawi excelled in various sciences such as interpretation, eloquence (bayan), logic, jurisprudence, hadith and grammar. He has been described as “the remarkable sign of Allah in interpretation, the evident miracle in exposition, the transmitter of hadith in a perfect manner, the conveyor of pottery (i.e. knowledge) in a rhythmic manner. He is the leader of jurisprudence, and his rulings are derived from his speech. As for the principles (of knowledge), they are a branch of his sciences, and logic is a prelude to his essence. When it comes to grammar, no one can match him. If you suggest meanings and eloquence, they are examples of his qualities... He examines the flaws in their paths like the respiratory tract, and deduces from the exposition the logical argumentation and analogy. In short, ideas do not reach his lowest virtues, and the precursors of eloquence do not reach the beginnings of his conclusions³.

Al-Chawi left Algeria when a decision was taken to expel him from the country. He was part of a group of Algerian scholars accused of conspiring against the authorities. This happened during the revolution led by Ibn Al-Sakhri. His detractors claim that certain events took place in his homeland that necessitated his expulsion, often involving conflicts with the authorities⁴.

He travelled to Egypt, where he found a favourable position among its scholars. He became prominent in teaching in schools such as Al-Azhar, Al-Sulaymaniyya, Al-Darghamtashiyya and others⁵.

From Egypt, he went to the Ottoman Empire, where he was received and honoured by Mustafa Pasha in his palace⁶.

Al-Chawi died on his way to the Hijaz (the region of Mecca and Medina) on Tuesday, the twentieth of Rabi Al-Awwal, in the year 1097 AH. He was buried in Al-Qarafa Al-Kubra in Egypt and left behind several works, including an explanation of the Hashiyat Umm Al-Barahin by Al-Sanusi.

Conclusion :

The Ottoman authorities implemented a specific policy towards the scholars in Algeria, alternating between cultivating close relations and granting privileges such as positions and financial benefits, and the practice of exile, removal and elimination against those who opposed the Ottoman presence and policies. Many prominent scholars were expelled and their property confiscated. However, they found solace and compensation in exile by achieving significant status and securing positions while aligning themselves with the ruling authority.

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¹ - Mohammed Al-Afrani Al-Marrakeshi, *Ibid.*, p. 15.

² - Al-Mahboubi, *Ibid.*, p. 486.

³ - Abu al-Qasim Saadallah, *Cultural History of Algeria*, vol. 2, p. 102.

⁴ - Al-Mahboubi, *Ibid.*, p. 486.

⁵ - Al-Hafnawi, *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 190-191.

⁶ - Al-Mahboubi, *Ibid.*, p. 286.

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