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**SUFI TRADITION IN OTTOMAN AND FRENCH ALGERIA: THE CASE
OF EMIR ABDULKADIR (1807-1883)**

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**OSMANLI VE FRANSA CEZAYİRİ'NDE TASAVVUF, EMİR
ABDÜLKADİR ÖRNEĞİ (1807-1883)**

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ABSTRACT

Abd al-Qâdir al-Djazairî (1808-1883), also known as "the Emir Abdulkadir," was a 19th-century figure. His status as a warlord against the French invasion of Algeria, as well as the savior of Christians in Damascus, gave him a status of a national hero. What motivates us to write about the Emir Abdulkadir and his vision of the other is his remarkable personality, which combined the demands of Sufism and religion with the demands of politics and war within the framework of the subjective characteristics associated with his civilizational affiliation, as well as the human characteristics of coexistence of civilizations.

We present an analysis of the *Mawaqif* of the Emir and his vision of the other based on a series of events that occurred in Algeria and the Maghreb, or after his exile and settlement in France, then passing through Bursa in Turkey and settling in the Levant. And we continue as he evolves intellectually as we analyze this character in the nineteenth century between his development in Algeria, captivity in France-where he turned the crisis into an entry into civilized dialogue and getting to know the other- then finally his stay at Damascus, and the emergence of an integrated Sufi philosophical vision.

ÖZET

Emir Abdulkadir el-Cezâirî (1807-1883), 19. yüzyılın tanınmış şahsiyetlerinden birisidir. İlk önce, Cezayir’de Fransız işgaline direniş hareketinde önderlik yapmıştır. Cezayir’in millî kahramanı kimliğini günümüze kadar korumuştur. Bunun yanı sıra, insanî değeri ve yazdığı çok kıymetli eserleri ile birlikte, hem siyasî ve ilim adamı niteliği taşımaktadır. Bu bağlamda, o medeniyetler arası birlikte yaşamanın güzel bir örneğini sunmuştur.

Şüphesiz gerek Cezayir’de iken ve gerekse Fransa’da, Bursa’da ve Şam’da iken çok yönlü bir hayat yaşamıştır. Bu değişik ülkelerde gösterdiği faaliyetleri ve hem siyasi görüşleri ve fikirleri bu çalışmada ele anılacaktır. Bunun yanında, özellikle, Şam’da Hristiyanların kurtarıcısı oluşu ve onun felsefî ve tasavvufî görüşleri bu araştırmada incelenecektir.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
C.DH	Cevdet Dahiliye
HAT	Hatt-ı Humayun
HR	Hariciye Nezareti
HR. MKT	Hariciye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi Evraki
I.HR	Irade Hariciye
I.MMS	Irade Meclis-i Mahsus
Y. PRK.AZJ	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Arzuhal Jurnal

INTRODUCTION

Observing Emir Abdulkadir's actions and ideas leads us to the idea that he is the pioneer of humanization among the Arab personalities, which was clearly palpable in his Sufi ideas, and attitudes that respect the other, and which are praised by his friends and enemies. These positions were and still concern various works worth different stops. And what we have tried to rise in this work, by reference to the origin of the dimensions of Sufism of Emir Abdulkadir and on top his humanity and tolerance, the fight against extremism and intolerance and good treatment. We present in this research this Arab and Islamic leader who was famous for his heroic enthusiastic and militant tendency against the French invasion of Algeria.

Some of the positions taken by the Emir during his visit and stay in the Levant drew harsh criticism. Despite the fact that he had vowed to avoid politics and politicians in favor of worship and science, many Arab and French historians have written about and analyzed France's relationship with him and its attempt to gain him in order to fulfill its political and economic goals in the Orient.

Actually, the ambiguity of Emir Abdulkadir's opinions on some of the issues that he was facing, such as his role in the sectarian disturbances in Lebanon and Syria in 1860, exacerbated this tendency among the writers. The weapons he used to defend the Christians were alleged to have come from the French consulate, and then there was the problem of his joining to Masonic Lodge in Egypt, as well as his backing and propaganda for the French proposal to build the Suez Canal, and his ties with the Levant's notables' movement, as well as the French plan to nominate him as king of the Arabs in the region.

In the end his relationship with the Ottoman Empire was chilly and acrimonious, to the point where, according to some reports, local officials refused to attend his funeral. According to some historians, Emir Abdulkadir, who reigned from 1847 until 1883, was nothing more than a French puppet serving the French interests in the Ottoman Empire. Many studies and research have looked into these concerns in depth.

While evaluating the various writing and thinking projects about the Emir Abdulkadir, we note that they were fragmentary writings that clearly focused on the Emir with different goals and purposes, knowing that these writings were subject to very specific calculations and strategies.

It is fundamental to note that the iconography on Abdulkadir takes root in the colonial literature. Several biographers have frozen the representation of Abdulkadir in order to make it useful justifications for establishing and maintaining control of an imperial political apparatus.

The myth built on the character began well during his lifetime. Baptistin Poujoulat's testimony is a vivid illustration of this. The reality did not correspond with the image he must have had through the media of that time. The Emir was popular during the war: "He was portrayed with a sinister face when he was still the declared enemy of France"¹. He appeared in much more sympathetic form after his surrender in 1847, then his release by Louis Napoleon in 1852. When he intervened in favor of the Christians in 1860, his fame became international. It devoted the hopes of seeing him play a political role in an Ottoman province coveted by France. This was the very objective of the first important biography on Abdulkadir: that of Alexandre Bellemare published in 1863². This Bonapartist soldier, involved in the Algerian administration, firmly supported the idea that the culmination of the "political and military career" of Abdulkadir was in the service of France. His work would feed most of the biographies written until today.

Sixty years later, another soldier further revealed the axis of the visible myth thanks to his tendentious title: *Abd el-Kader, du Fanatisme Musulman au Patriotisme Français*³, or "from Muslim fanaticism to French patriotism," written in 1925, Paul Azan used exactly the same pattern as Bellemare.

Despite the bravery, heroism and chivalry of Abdulkadir during the Massacres of Damascus in 1860, there were many readings of his position. Imperial

¹ Bruno Étienne and François Pouillon, *Abd el-Kader le Magnanime*, (Gallimard, 2003), 40

² Alexandre Bellemare, *Abd-el-Kader, sa Vie Politique et Militaire*, (Paris, Hachette, 1863)

³ Paul Azan, *L'Émir Abd el Kader 1808-1883. Du Fanatisme Musulman au Patriotisme Français*, (Coulommiers ; Paris, Hachette, 1925)

France had to intervene more directly in Syria and Abdulkadir was a centerpiece, a sort of Trojan horse. These perspectives are found in the French historiography. They continuously make the act of Abdulkadir in 1860 the expression of a change of nature which had taken place through his defeat and his detention in France. His intervention would have been the proof of his rallying to Christianity, and ultimately of his "French patriotism"⁴.

Another sensitive point is the Suez Canal, Abdulkadir's interest in this project and his investment in the site is a sign of the expansion of his power. Contrary to the naive idealism that has often been attributed to him by many biographers: making a bridge between East and West and bringing them together⁵. However, the Suez Canal was for Abdulkadir the consecration of his autonomy which he had acquired at both in Europe and in the Ottoman Empire.

Other colonial writings like Charles Mullié and Ferdinand Hoefer were military reports. After the end of the resistance, and the removal of the danger he represented, these writings became reverence for the Emir, but they remained subject to the colonial logic. The recognition of Abdulkadir's greatness was not for himself, but rather a kind of recognition of the enemy's strength that justifies the arrogance of colonialism, which is a way of biographing the vanquished to better celebrate the winner. Moreover, others like Marcel Emerit and Paul Azan, their writings are to some extent documented and scientifically methodological, but remain consistent with the colonial project, and a justification for the French existence in Algeria.

However, historians like Mohammed Cherif Sahli, Kateb Yacine, Saad Allah, A. Boutaleb, Bouyarden, Yahia Buaziz, Nasser al-Din Saidouni whose writings were characterized by a reverential character, aimed to restore identity and establish the Emir Abdulkadir as a symbol, historical reference and a foundational legend for the Algerian national existence. Furthermore, Danziger Raphael and John Kiser's works can possibly be seen as objective studies because they are to a great extent free from colonial stakes. *the Life of Abdel Kader, ex-Sultan of the Arab of*

⁴ Paul Azan's subtitle, *Du Fanatisme Musulman au Patriotisme Français*, is directly related to the expression of this change of nature.

⁵ Charles-Roux François, Ferdinand de Lesseps et Abdelkader, in *Revue de la Méditerranée*, (n°6, 1955), 568

Algeria by Colonel Charles-Henry Churchill, is considered as a substitution of the portrait of a statesman at war against a foreign power. This constitutes a remarkable anticipation of the official doctrine of "Emir Abdulkader, founder of the modern Algerian state".

For the past thirty years or so, the biographies that have appeared on Abdulkadir have come up against the same pitfall: they are not based on critical historical work. They repeat the story of the colonial versions without putting them at a distance and, above all, they do not enrich the debate on the character's career through new primary sources. On the other hand, the interest shown in Abdulkadir has evolved. Since the 1980s, it is above all the spiritual dimension of Abdulkadir that has been highlighted. The edition of his writings, notably his work *Kitab al mawaqif*, allows us to take an interest in the character from a new angle: that of a Sufi. Thus, the biographies all take a spiritualist turn whose titles already indicate that they are not engaged in a rereading of his career by new sources, but rather to put the emphasis on the figure of a Sufi saint.

Despite attempts to broaden perceptions, contemporary biographies fail to depart from a colonial view of the character, for the works of Bellemare and Azan remain, without even being cited, the cornerstones of these works. Busy in making Abdulkadir the figure of the educated, open, tolerant "good Muslim", a "friend of France", biographers do not need to question the original premise of colonial biographies, because they made him a great character in history and the champion of tolerance.

As a result, a broad examination of the current state historiography on Abdulkadir quickly reveals that the spiritual and Sufi studies about Abdulkadir are not sufficiently covered. In terms of intellectual side a bifurcation in the works of writers and authors, the only real innovations are those which consisted in projecting new lights, on the one hand, on an unknown dimension of the personality of the Emir- that is of the Sufi and spiritual life, for instance, the book *the Spiritual Writings of Amir Abd al-Kader* by Michel Chodkiewicz which presented and translated from Arabic 39 spiritual teachings of the Emir from his book *Kitab al Mawaqif*.

The studies that were written about the life of the Emir show that the spiritual, intellectual and social aspects remained neglected. Moreover, the book of Muhammed b. el-Emir *Tuhfat al-Za'ir* is considered so far the best personal translation in Arabic about the biography of the Emir. Moreover, Churchill's translation of the Emir which was dictated by him, came to include several aspects that other works lack, whether Arabic or French, but it ends with the events of the year 1864, thus nineteen years of Abdulkadir's life remain not mentioned from its original source, which is the Emir.

In the light of various records in the Ottoman Archive, information on the Emir Abdulkadir's mystical life has been attempted to be given with the support of some rich researches. Although the main focus of this research is on Abdulkadir's spiritual meditation, his military and political life was given importance as well.

In addition to all this, we can also point out the difficulty of mystical Sufi concepts- even though they were in Arabic- which required a great deal of time to assimilate, especially when we are exposed to the so-called degrees of existence, esoteric directions, and interpretation of the apparent and the hidden, which requires a review of many sources, philosophical and mystical dictionaries that dealt with the mystical subject. The rather momentous studies that have been discovered to be related to our topic are *The Spiritual Writings of Amir Abd al-Kader* by Michel Chodkiewicz, *Abdelkader* by Bruno Etienne, *Emir Abdülkadir el-Cezairi*, *Hayatı ve Tasavvufî Görüşleri* by Ramazan Muslu. These studies gave a helpful explanation of the spiritual side and Sufi thinking of the Emir Abdulkadir.

The Emir Abdulkadir is not well known, and aside from a master's thesis and a few publications, there is little scientific and academic research on his spiritual subject. That is why we decided to conduct this research because we believed that uncovering his life, particularly his Sufi aspect would be useful as a motivation to future studies about him. Our goal is to introduce a significant figure who gathered both military and spiritual attitudes. Thus, the discovery of his ideas and revolutionary career makes us disclose that he is a distinguished personality. He has presented a wonderful example of humanism embodied in a remarkable project that combines the view and application between Sufism and Revolution. These positions

are valuable throughout history. To what extent was the Emir Abdulkadir able to reconcile two different approaches, struggle and Sufism? How did Ibn Arabi and his Akbarian thought influence Abdulkadir's Sufism? What are the most important intellectual and literary works of Emir Abdulkadir?

Nonetheless, before responding to the given questions, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of Sufism in Algeria which will pave the way to our research. As a result, this study is divided into an introduction, four chapters, a conclusion and some appendices, each of which focuses on a different component of the suggested aims.

After giving an overview about Sufism, the first chapter analyzes Sufi life in Ottoman Algeria, the different Sufi brotherhoods in general, and the Qadiriyya brotherhood more specifically and focuses on its relation with the Ottoman statesmen.

The second chapter, which is based mainly on archival and primary sources, provides a chronological overview of the Emir Abdulkadir's life in Algeria and the Eastern Journey, his struggle against the French colonization; his exile, and at last his stay and settlement in Damascus. It further provides important details on the motives that paved the way for his spiritual and mystic life, in addition to his relationship with the Freemasonry organization.

The third chapter deals with the spirituality of the Emir Abdulkadir, the stages of Sufism and the effects of each stage on the development of his mystical thinking. It deals with Abdulkadir's life in Damascus, since it is the place in which the fruit of the previous mentioned stages will appear. It also underlines the different features of his Sufism, and his relation with the sheikh Ibn Arabi. The chapter later explains some of the significant issues discussed in the works Ibn Arabi, such as the Unity of Existence (*wahdat al wujud*), Degrees of Existence (*Maratib al-wujud*), and the Perfect Man (*al-Insan al-Kamil*). We can say that this chapter provides possible answers of the questions of this work.

The fourth and last chapter is a summary of the Emir's spiritual works and writings that are considered as a reflective mirror of his Akbarian affiliation and his Sufi tendency.

Finally, with the lack of the secondary sources, and some of the primary sources, we tried to bring hitherto unknown material to our attention. Arabic sources are filled with details about Abdulkadir's Sufism that should not be neglected. We hope that our study will pave the way for future studies.

CHAPTER 1 SUFISM IN OTTOMAN ALGERIA

Sufism occupies a central position in the history of Islam and Islamic societies. It is considered as an authentic Islamic phenomenon based on piety and aimed at the development of spiritual values. William Chittick understands this movement as "the quest for God by man through the extinction of the ego"⁶. This movement appeared around the eighth century in Iraq, and was initially characterized by a personal aspiration for the divine. In its development, the practice of Sufism became more and more defined by its multiplication and diversification of spiritual methods which implied their grouping into orders or fraternities (tariqa, pl turuq), some more important than others.

The ramification of brotherhoods and their diffusion in a sometimes very wide space is an important peculiarity of Sufism⁷. Sufism is the innermost aspect of religion and it is an experiential science that aims at integrating with God and approaching Him. As it is known, it emphasizes the greatness of Islam and focuses on it. Moreover, it puts forth how to perform heart related actions like piety, recollection, repentance, consent and poverty⁸. In the beginning it appeared as an asceticism movement during which all the sects or tariqat that have spread throughout all parts of the Muslim world have provided the resurrection and continuation of the spiritual power of Islam, and tried to attract people to defend freedom in the face of a formal and normative perception⁹.

The emergence of Sufi orders, whether in the Levant or the Arab Maghreb, worked on the spread of zawayas, as they had an important role in the history of Islamic countries in general and the history of Africa in particular. Their spread is considered as an expression of the necessary needs of the individual and the group that were not provided by other institutions. The truth is that the different orders of

⁶ William C. Chittick, Sufism and Islam, in *Sufism Love & Wisdom* (Bloomington, World Wisdom, 2006), 21

⁷ Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *Muslim Communities of Grace: The Sufi Brotherhoods in Islamic Religious Life*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 2007), 80

⁸ Muslu Ramazan, *Emir Abdülkadir el-Cezairi Hayatı ve Tasavvufi Görüşleri*, (İnsan Yayınları, 2011), 15

⁹ Abu'l-Ala el-Afifi, *al-tasavuf, al-thawra al ruhiya fi al-Islam*, (Beirut: Dar al-Sha'b, 1933), 130

Sufism are of a great importance in spreading Islam, because they represent the practical side of it, an aspect that has been directly related to the lives of Islamic societies and the masses of people throughout the ages. These orders have spread and branched out since the 14th century throughout the Islamic world, and were first founded by Sheikh Abdulkadir al-Jilani in Baghdad, where he established the Qadiriyya order which is considered to be the first mystical method in the Islamic world.

Then, looking at the historical circumstances surrounding the formation of Sufism in its strict sense, it can be said that it came out of the womb of the Islamic religion, and then spread among the Islamic countries during the intermediate and modern periods. The 15th century witnessed a great spread of the Sufi orders in the Maghreb especially among the general public.¹⁰

The Ottoman era in Algeria was marked by the spread of the phenomenon of Sufism and its control of directing the course of political, social and spiritual life in a way that this country had never known before. The main position of Sufism in its political, social and cultural history is the contribution of this phenomenon to the spread of the principles of the Sufi order and the assembly of people around Sufism and Ottoman political authority. This is due to the movement of religious scholars and mystics among the different parts of the country and abroad, and their dissemination of the ideas and foundations on which the mysticism was based.

The modern political construction in Algeria was accompanied by the extreme tendency to religion and Sufi life in particular. Since the Ottoman caliphate was built on the basis of mysticism, the Ottomans encouraged the Sufi leaders, and sought to gain their friendliness and spread their ways to seek to establish their rule, and consolidate their authority in Algeria.¹¹ Moreover they showed their support by actively participating in building domes, tombs and shrines.

¹⁰ Zaim Hinşelavi, *Cezâyir Târihinde Tasavvuf*, (Tasavvuf İlmi ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi n. 26, 2010), 227

¹¹ Abdulkadir Sahraoui, *al-awliae wa' tasawouf fi al jaza'ir khilal al a'hd al othmani 1520- 1830*, (Algiers, Dar Huma, 2016), 10

We noticed that the movement of Sufism in the Ottoman era is an extension of the movement that began several centuries earlier. Most of the Sufi leaders in Islamic history appeared before the 16th century. The brilliant names in the world of Sufism, such as al-Ghazali, al-Hallaj, Ibn Arabi, Ibn al-Fadar, Jalal al-Din al-Rumi, al-Haj Bakdash, 'Abdulkadir al-Jilani and others all appeared before the mentioned date. And on the level of the Maghreb also appeared some brilliant Sufi leaders before this date, like Ebu'l-Hassan al-Shadheli, Abu Medyen and Ahmed Zarrouk and others¹². If we limit ourselves to Algeria we found a number of *Murid* or Sufi students, and Sufi leaders who were so many that drew attention before the coming of the Ottomans. Abd al-Rahman al-Tha'alibi, Muhammad al-Hawari, Ibrahim al-Tazi, Ahmad ibn Abdullah and Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Sanusi were among those men. However, we note that the Sufi movement whether in the Muslim world or the Arab Maghreb, flourished before the Ottomans came to Algeria¹³. It was the historical circumstances that turned the country into fertile ground for the growth and spread of mysticism among the general public.

Religion was the first justification for the emergence of the Ottomans in the Levant and Maghreb. If their history in the Orient does not concern us here, the basis of their history in the Maghreb was religion. They were here as they were in Asia Minor centuries ago, motivated by the desire of jihad and religious enthusiasm to defend the borders of Western Islam, and were of course looking for allies and supporters for them, and found them in the clergies and Sufi leaders¹⁴. There are many justifications that required this alliance as well which are political, economic and religious.

The studies carried out by Westerners¹⁵, on Sufism and mysticism in Algeria have shown their inability to research objectively in the existence of this phenomenon embodied in Sufi methods and their social and political role. The lack

¹² Morsy Magali, Kuzey Afrika'da Tasavvufun Rolu, *Tasavvuf Ilmi ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi*, tr, Kadir Özköse, n.2 (December, 1991), 152

¹³ Saadallah Abu al-Kasim, *Tarikh al- djezair al-thakafi (1500-1830)*, vol.1.(Beirut, Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1998), 459

¹⁴ Ibid, 460

¹⁵ Coppolani Xavier, Depont Octave, *Les Confréries Religieuses Muslumanes*, (Alger, A. Jourdan, 1897) ; Rinn Louis, *Marabouts et Khouans : Etude sur l'Islam en Algerie*, (Alger, A. Jourdan, 1884)

of objectivity in Western studies is reflected in the fact that their owners were not specialized scientists and not interested in objective and impartial research.¹⁶

The Algerian Sufis also had views and opinions in various aspects of life, such as scientific, political, moral and practical life, which made their influence, encompass Ottoman power and the Algerians in general. It is worth mentioning that the relationship of Sufism with the Ottoman authority has gone through two stages. The first stage was characterized by a religious and strategic alliance to confront European harassment and liberate the country from Christian hegemony, in which the Ottomans found the Sufi leaders as the best aide in order to establish their system of government in Algeria. This interdependence lasted until the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, making them as mediators between them and the Algerian tribes. However, the second phase in the late 18th century witnessed tension between the two parties and the outbreak of revolutions led by Sufis Continued in the next century, they refused to submit to the matter and rebelled against the authorities and incited the people against them, which caused many problems to the Ottoman administration¹⁷. As a result, prompting the Europeans to attack Algeria and seek to colonize it, which happened under the French.

1.1 Sufi orders in Algeria

When in the first third of the 19th century, France began to conquer North Africa; Sufism was already organized in brotherhoods. There are many researches on statistics of Sufi orders, their followers, presenters and elders. Among them is Louis Rinn, a long-term expert in Algerian affairs and author of several works on Algeria, who has served as a consultant to the General Government for years, mentioned in his book (*Marabouts et Khouans*) published in 1884 that while the number of Algerians (the population) was 2,846,757, the number of zawayas has reached 355 one spread throughout the country, as there are 167,019 followers, who are organized under the supervision of Sufi orders¹⁸.

¹⁶ Abdulkadir Sahraoui, *al Awliae*, 11

¹⁷ Ibid, 12

¹⁸ Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouans* , 523-549

In addition to teaching, the zawayas used to perform other functions that complement the implantation of the seed of “inner thought” in the student or disciple by the sheikh of the zawiya or its presenter after the “*intisab*” to the order which is to accept the sheikh as the *murshid* or spiritual guide.

In addition to what the dervish lodges used to do in terms of various functions, they used to have their own libraries which impressed the French researchers who viewed and collected manuscripts from different cities of Algeria in the aftermath of the French occupation. These researchers were amazed at the abundance of books they found, their diversity and beauty. Charles Ferro for example, who wrote about religious institutions in the large families, mentioned that some of these had kept stores of manuscripts in good condition, which also contained anecdotes that were considered exceptional in their subject matter¹⁹.

These libraries helped to spread the religious culture among the murids, and one of the reports²⁰ states that the cultural level of the Algerians at the end of the Ottoman era was much better than the one of the French soldiers who were in Algeria during their campaign against the Ottomans. A witness from the colonial army commanders at that time witnessed that illiteracy among its soldiers reached 45%, and in return, the number of Algerians who could read and write was 55% higher, but after more than a century of the French occupation another report²¹ says that illiteracy reached among the Algerians 70%.

If these statistics show some aspects of the high percentage of educated people in the Ottoman era, they did not reveal the degree of their awareness. Most of the Sufis at that period were educated and even authors, whose writings were predominantly in religion and mysticism, and it was the outcome of the prevailing esoteric thought led by the educational institution, which was represented by the zawiya.

Furthermore, considering the Ottomans' devotion and the fact that they were influenced by Sufism, explains the justifications that prompted the Turks to take care

¹⁹ Saadallah, *Tarikh al djazair*, 286

²⁰ Ismail al-‘Arabi, *al-dirasat al-‘arabiya fi al-djazai’r fi a’hd al-ihlil al-faransi*, (Algiers, al-Mu’assassa al-Wataniya lil kitab, 1986), 67

²¹ Ibid.

of the dervish lodges, so they venerated and approached them and get their blessings²².

A reviewer of the history of the relationship between the Algerians and the Ottoman administration notes that this relationship was embodied in the authority of the sheikhs of the Sufi orders. In their contacts with the Ottoman authority, these orders have three distinct mindsets.

First category: They represent the sheikhs who supported the Ottoman presence from the beginning, as they expressed their alliance with the Ottomans against the Spanish, and some of them continued to support them until the end of their reign. For instance, what came in Piri Reis's trip that sheikh Muhamed el-Touati was protecting the city of Bejaia from the Spaniards and that his zawiya was the refuge of the mujahideen, as Peri accompanied by his uncle Kemal Reis, sought refuge in the zawiya of Muhamed el-Touati, and asked for his help in the year 901 AH²³.

Second category: the brotherhoods that showed strong opposition to the approach taken by the Ottomans, and considered them as invaders and oppressors. Like the brotherhoods of Darqawiyya and Tijaniyya that revolted against the heavy taxes imposed on the farmers by the Ottomans.

Third category: who were always moderate, contenting themselves with giving advice and directions to the Ottoman authority, without having any clash with it. They did not support the Ottomans completely and did not give them all their resentment.

Sufism occupied an important and a great position in the Algerian society, as the Sufi thought had an active role in social, cultural and even political life. The number of orders has reached about thirty mystical orders, and they are still the most important and widespread Sufi centers around the world, among them are the Rahmaniyya, Tijaniyya, Senussiyya and Qadiriyya, each one of them has branched out and spread in the Arab Maghreb including Algeria after it developed in the Arab

²² Saadallah Abu al-Kasim, *Tarikh al Djazair al-thakafi*. vol. 2, 469

²³ Ibid, 464

Mashriq(Orient)²⁴ some were so powerful that had left a remarkable effect on the Algerian society, from which are the following:

Tijaniyya brotherhood, founded in 1781 by Si Ahmed ben Mokhtar et-Tijani. He had been a murid of the Khalwatiyya tariqa founded in Iran by Muhammed al-Khalwati al-Khawarizmi. Tijaniyya offers the most eloquent example of the dynamism of the brotherhoods, even under the conditions of colonialism. It has had a great favor both in spreading Islam and strengthening it in Africa. Its members made many efforts which were a conscious obstacle to the colonial western powers²⁵.

Moreover, there was another important brotherhood which will be heard most during the 19th century. It is the Rahmaniyya which was founded by the end of 18th century by Si Mohamed ben Abd al Rahman bou Qobrin el Djerdjari el Guechouli el Zouaoui el Ahzari. It is one of Khelouatiyya's branches, its main aim was the purification of oneself, and return to the first sources of Islam. The popular upheavals and revolutions carried out by the Rahmaniyya method during the 19th century had religious foundations, namely, the jihad against the anti-Islamic Christians. Consequently, the Rahmaniyya played a large and fascinating role in most of these uprisings, and showed a strong support to Emir Abdulkadir during the French occupation.²⁶

Another important order was the Shadhiliyya. This order belongs to Abu al-Hassan ash-Shadhili. It was extremely widespread in all Muslim countries by 15th century; it had many adherents in the East, Egypt and also in Algeria. It had, moreover, given birth to a great number of modern religious orders. It focuses on piety and following the Sunnah in word and deed.²⁷

Along with Derkawiyya, this order, which took its name from Mouley el Arabi Ahmed el-Derkaoui, was founded by the end of 18th century. It was supported by the warrior and combatant tribes, which opposed the Ottoman and French authorities in Algeria, and reacted intensively to the invasion attempts of the colonial

²⁴ Ibid, 291

²⁵ Özköse, Başlangıçtan Günümüze Kadar Afrika 'da İslam ve Tasavvuf , *Tasavvuf İlmi ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi*, n.07(September- December , 2001), 165. Salah Mouayad al-Ouqbi, *Al Tourouq al-soufiya wa zawaya bi al djazair, tarikhouha wa nachatouha* (Dar al-Buraq,2002), 179

²⁶ Ramazan Muslu, *Emir Abdülkadir el Cezairi*, 19

²⁷ Abdulkadir Sahraoui, *al awliae*, 46

powers, thus remained behind many revolutions that took place all over the country.²⁸

To round out the picture of Sufism in Algeria, another major brotherhood should be mentioned, which may be the oldest implanted in the country, the one that will manifest the first fierce will of resistance against the French invasion, it is the Qadiriyya, widespread especially in Oran, western Algeria and to which belonged Emir Abdulkadir. Abdulkadir al-Jilani is its founder, the ascetic, the preacher and the great *murshid* (head of an order). This religious order emerged in the 12th century and is considered as one of the largest and one of the most revered in the entire Muslim world²⁹. This is perhaps the first tariqa in terms of the number of its members. It is characterized by reform, good guidance, tolerance and spreading knowledge and science.

With the spread of these dervish lodges all around the country, they started to have many sheikhs who are the leaders and heads of the Sufi schools with a great number of murids who accepted them as spiritual guides. Algeria in the 19th century has known an active cultural life. Though it was limited, the cities of Algeria, Tlemcen, Mascara, and Constantine have become important scientific environments that are famous for the reputation of their sheikhs, their multiplicity of schools and their great number of students. As the Algerian historian Nasser al-Din Saidouni affirms, “*Algeria knew a remarkable scientific activity and literary renaissance which characterized the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century until it became known as Istanbul Minor*”³⁰. Cultural life in Algeria during the Ottoman era and especially in its last period was distinguished by “the tasks entrusted to the community of jurists in the cities and by the activity by which the elders of *zawayas* were known... from education, guidance, and teaching”³¹. These *zawayas* formed a link between the Algerians at that time and the spiritual and intellectual environment.

However, the cultural life suffered a serious decline due to the French invasion of Algeria. The city lost its distinguished cultural status, its schools were disrupted and its sheikhs were dispersed by the French colonial policy which

²⁸ Özköse, 168

²⁹ Ibid, 163

³⁰ Saidouni Nasser Al-Din, *Asr el Emir*, 134

³¹ Ibid, 131

opposed the Arab culture and was against the values of the Islamic civilization³². Many of those sheikhs and Sufi leaders were forced to leave, among them the Emir Abdulkadir who tried to resist the colonial administration and was forced to migrate to France, then Bursa, and finally settled in Damascus after being released by Louis Napoleon III in 1852, where he was to spend the rest of his life until 1883.

The role played by the Sufi sheikhs in the struggle against colonialism and the resistance of campaigns of invasion and occupation has a great role. The leaders of the Qadiriyya, Rahmaniyya, Derkawiyya led all revolutions against the French occupation in Algeria and against the Spanish, Portuguese and Ottomans before that. The zawayas were one of the most important points that made the French colonialism worry as a result of the national role that these institutions played before and during the Algerian revolution. In addition to the teachings they provided of the Islamic religion, their imams at that time were an important link in their struggle by preparing students to serve the national cause, and were the main source that provided the revolution with the mujahideen. These zawayas, regardless to their tariqa, from Rahmaniyya to Tijaniyya to Qadiriyya, were all poured into one vessel, which was preserving the elements of the Algerian nation. There existed more than forty Sufi order spread throughout Algeria (see, table 1).

³² Ibid, 136

Table (1). Chart illustrating the Sufi orders and the number of affiliates in 1890's³³.

Sufi Order	Number of Affiliate
BinNahlia	6.500
Derkawiya	10.000
EbuAliyya	36.00
Qadiriyya	25.000
Kerzawiya	2.000
Rahmaniyaa	156.000
Senoussia	950
Shadheliyya	14.000
Total	269.550

1.2 Al Qadiriyya order in Algeria

The family of Abdulkadir was part of the beylik of Mascara, located in the west between the kingdom of Morocco and the Algerian province where it was distinguished in the region as the representative of the Qadiriyya brotherhood. It constituted a veritable point of convergence where people came to seek alms, advice and blessings³⁴.

³³ Özköse, *Afrika'da İslam ve Tasavvuf*, 161-162

³⁴ According to Abdulkadir's son, the Bey of Mascara, Mohammed Bey al-Kabîr, also received lessons from this influential family before settling in Oran. B.G. Martin, *Opposition to French*

The Moroccan political model exerted a powerful appeal in Algeria, especially in the western part of the province. The family was precisely in its territories, exposed to this kind of political and religious influence. It was even attached to the House of the Prophet *ahl al-bayt*, and traced its Sherifian origins through the Idrissides dynasty of Fez (established in the 7th century) in Morocco³⁵.

The link between Abdulkadir's family and the local Ottoman authority has not broken despite the turbulence of the beginning of the 19th century. During the decades preceding the French invasion, the Ottomans in Algeria faced the proliferation of armed revolts motivated by Sufi brotherhoods. Dey Omar's letter to Sultan Mahmoud II, in 1813, is evocative. The Dey's request to provide arms and troops to put down a rebellious movement obeying spiritual authority indicates the extent of the threat to his authority³⁶. B. G. Martin showed how, from the 17th century, the brotherhoods were more and more organized into centers of power which tended towards autonomy in rural areas. These centers formed charismatic leaders who called for political renewal³⁷. In addition, major economic disruptions in the Algerian province contributed to deepening a split between the Ottoman authorities in coastal towns and the predominantly tribal countryside.

The race, hampered by the increased protection of commercial ships, aggravated by punitive expeditions by Europeans to put an end to the attacks, forced the authorities of Algerian coastal towns to turn towards the interior of the country with redoubled intensity, which resulted in high prices and an increase in the tax levies. Thus, the revolt movements started mainly from Sufi brotherhoods, who were organized in Algeria throughout the 18th century. The existence of these political conflicts leads us to consider the relations of Abdulkadir's family with the Ottoman authorities. Unlike the Tijâniyya brotherhood, which multiplied the armed revolts in

Colonialism in Algeria: 'Abd al-Qadir, His Predecessors and Rivals, in *Muslim Brotherhood in Nineteenth Century Africa*, (Cambridge University Press, 1976), 44-45

³⁵ According to McDougall the family enjoyed by this membership, a considerable spiritual and a genealogical prestige in the region. James McDougall, Abd al-Qadir al-Jazairi, *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.

³⁶ BOA, HAT 31210 T. Temimi, *Recherches et Documents d'Histoire Maghrébine. L'Algérie, la Tunisie et la Tripolitaine 1816-1871*, (Tunis, Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine, vol. 3, 1980), 111

³⁷ B.G Martin, *Muslim Brotherhoods*, 41-43

Algeria, the family brotherhood in question showed moderation and toleration. It is not known to have fought against the provincial authorities.

And in contrast to the hostile attitudes of some sheikhs of zawayas towards the Ottoman authority, Sheikh Muhyi al-Din expressed a peaceful attitude despite his reservations about it, and he was not sympathetic to the Ottoman regime or with his representatives. His policy was to coexist so that his region could enjoy peace and security. The battle to retake city of Oran from the Spanish in 1792 was a good way to unite heterogeneous populations in a common cause. In the struggle, the Bey of Mascara, Mohammed al-Kabir, received the support of some Sufi brotherhoods like the grandfather of Abdulkadir, who was killed in the fighting. For some authors, certainly influenced by French historiography like B. G. Martin, the event of the capture of Oran is the premise of the tensions between the family of Abdulkadir and the Ottoman authorities, because it attributed the responsibility to “the indifference of the Turks”³⁸. As if to confirm the rupture that this accusation suggests, Mohammed al-Kabir left the capital of the beylik in the west of the Algerian province. He was the last Bey of Mascara, a city in which he would have even frequented the zawiya of the family of Abdulkadir. After 1792, he settled in Oran to dominate the region for another four years.

It was evident that things would change, although the Qadiriyya brotherhood was not the object of state repression against the Sufi brotherhoods (such as the Tijâniyya), the Ottoman authorities and its local leader Muhyi al-Din ended up being targeted by the suspicions of the Bey of Oran Hasan Pasha. The latter kept Muhyi al-Din and his son Abdulkadir under house arrest since he was so wary of them. According to Churchill, “a hostile and envious person” denounced Muhyi al-Din who was placed with his family under house arrest for two years in Oran. And among the reasons that prompted the Bey of Oran to take this arbitrary measure, is his fear of the repercussions of the sheikh’s “suspicious” pilgrimage trip³⁹.

It is not known to what extent the fame of Abdulkadir was the cause of their detention: prophecies began to circulate in the region about the visions of Muhyi al-Din during his first pilgrimage to Mecca, foreseeing the extraordinary political

³⁸ Ibid, 46

³⁹ Churchill, *the Life of Abdel Kader*, 8

destiny of his son. This subject of the advent of the “Sultan of the West” ending the “reign of the Turks” has been reported in the writings. However, considering that the sheer fact of discussing them (prophecies and dreams) and seeing them repeated in many sorts of sources has a meaning and value that can be studied. As Cemal Kafadar writes, these kinds of stories give an idea of the mentality and ideology of a specific milieu in a period of a political transition⁴⁰.

In this case, this kind of prophecies shows the significance of Sufism in the political organization of Western Algeria and of the Maghreb in general. This is a period when the Algerian Ottoman authority was facing a crisis of legitimacy. Faced with this, the sherifian family multiplied the marks of power by blood, holiness and bravery. The existence of the mentioned prophecy shows that the family had many pretensions to rule. The appearance, in different versions, of Abdulkadir al-Jilani, (the eponymous saint of the Qadiriyya brotherhood) in these prophecies shows that the spiritual and temporal powers merged to become one, that he was the bearer of change, of revivification as the position as the spiritual pole (*qutb*) who in Sufism is the function that the saint may be called upon to fulfill⁴¹.

After examining Abdulkadir's family's sources of political power, which were primarily charismatic and based on status, religious knowledge, and cross-regional brotherhood networks, a deeper understanding of why this family gradually came into conflict with the local Ottoman elite emerged. The relationship which made of collaboration and alliance took on the accents of an ethnic rivalry that the French cheerfully relayed as an illustration of the validity of the invasion, namely the tyranny of the Turks over the Arab population.

⁴⁰ Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, (University of California Press, 1995), 13

⁴¹ Marcel Emerit, *l'Algerie à l'Epoque d'Abdelkader* (Edition Bouchene, 2002), 16. Marcel writes that Hachems (the tribe of Abdulkadir) believed to have received from the Prophet the mission to dominate Africa.

CHAPTER 2 EMIR ABDULKADIR: LIFE STAGES AND PERSONALITY FEATURES

Emir Abdulkadir evolved in the period between the end of the Ottoman era and the French invasion of Algeria. This did not prevent him from being in contact with the Ottoman power. Thus he experienced a political and religious model distinct from that to which he aspired and which he wanted to impose when the war allowed him to enter a political career. This chapter proposes to revisit the genesis of the career of this historical character, often presented as an Algerian national hero. In order to bring out the nature of Abdulkadir's relations with the Ottoman state in a new light, it is justified to make the archeology of the relations between the political history of his native province and the itinerary of his family which evolved there. It is not possible to determine the features of the image of Emir Abdulkadir in the memory of history without reference to the stages of his life and mention the characteristics of his personality.

2.1 The Life Stages of Emir Abdulkadir

Emir Abdulkadir lived four distinct stages each one is characterized by its own events and connotations, the first spent in seeking knowledge in which he learned about the conditions of the Arab countries through the pilgrimage, the second lived in jihad and resistance against the enemy, the third spent in exile captive in France, while in the fourth one he was a Sufi *Mujahid* in Bursa and Damascus.

2.1.1 A Young Abdulkadir (1807-1832)

Abdulkadir Ibn Muhyi al-Din was born in September 1807 in Ketna⁴², located in Wadi al- Hamam, about twenty kilometers from the city of Mascara. His family was settled in the Beylik of Oran, the west of the Algerian province. This noble family, through its sherifian lineage, drew its authority from its relationship with the local Ottoman authorities, but also through a network of trans-regional religious brotherhoods. He was raised under the care of his father Muhyi al-Din the

⁴² Churchill Charles Henry, *the Life of Abdel kader*, 1

sheikh of Qadiriyya order⁴³. Abdulkadir learnt to read and write at the age of five, and became a *talib* (candidate or aspirant to formal membership in a Sufi order) at the age of twelve, and was able to memorize the Koran and Hadith. After two years he got the title of *Hafez* and started giving lessons in the family mosque where he used to explain the hardest and deepest verses of Koran⁴⁴.

Muhyi al-Din took care to cultivate the lively intelligence of the young emir by teaching him the art of writing and the basics of grammar. He also wanted to teach him the love of freedom, of the homeland, respecting the other. The Ketna was the first school where the future emir or the “Commander of the Faithful” received his first lessons. He then travelled to Arzew to study under the teachings of Sheikh Ahmed Ben Taher who taught him *al-adab* or the *savoir vivre* of the Muslims and the jurisprudence according to Malik Ibn Anas, he also initiated him to theology and philosophy of al-Ghazali. Then he turned to the city of Oran and became a member of the school of Ahmed Khouja which was dedicated to the sons of the notables, where he spent nearly a year in which he focused on expanding his linguistic and religious knowledge⁴⁵. When he came back from Oran, and according to Churchill, he married his cousin Lala Kheira at the age of fifteen⁴⁶.

After that, he decided to accompany his father to perform Hajj and visit the shrine of Abdulkadir al-Jilani in Baghdad; however, they were kept under control for two years under Hassan pasha, who according to Churchill’s interpretation saw them as a serious danger⁴⁷. After this incident which will affect later on Abdulkadir’s position against the Ottoman authorities, and make him aware of the Beylik’s agents, he, finally, gave them the authorization to go on the pilgrimage upon their request. Sheikh Muhyi al-Din and his son Abdulkadir left Ketna with some members of his family. This period between 1241-1243/ 1825-1828 is considered as the most

⁴³ The biography of Abdulkadir’s son mentions that Mustafa al-Mukhtar, Abd al Qadir's grandfather, was formally initiated into the Qadiriyya by the Prophet trustee (Naqib al-Ashraf) of Baghdad. He then returned to consolidate the position of the brotherhood in the plain of Gheris, based in Ketna, in the Mascara beylik, the family had founded a center that combined religious, social and political functions. Muhammed ben Abd al-Qâdir Jaza’iri, *Tuhfat al-Za’ir fi tarikh al jazâ’ir wal-Emir ‘Abdulkadir*, (Beirut, Dar al-Yakaza al-Arabiyya, 1964), 301

⁴⁴ Churchill, *the Life of Abdel kader*, 2

⁴⁵ Saidouni Nasser Al-Din, *Asr el Emir Abdulkadir*, 155

⁴⁶ Churchill, *The Life of Abdel kader*, 5

⁴⁷ Ibid, 53

important period of time at this stage, the period of the eastern journey, where he performed the pilgrimage with his father.

They crossed through Medea and Constantine heading to Tunisia where they joined a convoy of 2000 pilgrims who were waiting for them and sailed to Alexandria, visiting its monuments and many tombs like Abu'l-Abbas el-Mursi, Ibn Ata'ullah, and Abu'l-Husayn el-Busayri. Then they moved to Cairo and received the hospitality of Sayid Muhammed Said el-Kandi and had the chance to visit many historical places⁴⁸.

Then from Jeddah they arrived to Mecca and performed the Hajj rituals, and passed by Medina and visited the tomb of the prophet Muhammad. Once the pilgrimage is over, the caravan of Abdulkadir and his father continues its journey to Damascus, the capital of the Umayyads, Abdulkadir met one of the greatest figures of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood Sheikh Khalid al-Baghdadi from whom he received the initiation and became connected to the Naqshbandiyya⁴⁹. His affiliation to it was an important beginning in Abdulkadir's Sufi life. Leaving the sheikh and this spiritual city was painful, but a not distant destination soon compensated for this bitter separation. It manifested itself in the idea of going to meditate at the tomb of Ibn Arabi, especially since Abdulkadir was part of the Akbarian chain and his affiliation to the Qadiriyya order.

Finally, once in Baghdad they met Nakibu'l-Eshraf sheikh Mahmud el-Kadiri where Abdulkadir wore the *khirq*a (the initiatory cloak of the Sufi chain of spirituality) of the Qadiriyya. Muhyi al-Din and his son then left Baghdad for Damascus, and then to the Medina where they performed the Hajj for the second time. Finally, in 1828 they returned home after a two years absence⁵⁰. Abdulkadir's eastern journey shows that he was aware of the reforms within the Ottoman Empire which resulted in the success of the Sherifian State which he set up during the war. They met Mohammed Ali pasha who asked to see them during their stay in Cairo⁵¹, where the deep administrative and military reforms that the young Maghrebian

⁴⁸ Bu Aziz Yahya, *el Emir Adulkadir raidou'l-kifah el djazairi*, (Dar al-Basa'ir, 2009), 40

⁴⁹ Michel Chodkiewicz, *the Spiritual Writings of Amir Abd al-Kader*, (State University of New York, 1995), 8

⁵⁰ Churchill, *the Life of Abdel kader*, 12

⁵¹ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader Isthme des Isthmes*, (Paris, Hachette, 1999) 84-85

witnessed in the Egyptian province left remarkable marks that would be manifested later in his way of governing his state and making war.

Actually, once in Algeria in 1828, Muhyi al-Din and Abdulkadir were acclaimed as heroes, therefore, they had gained a large support in the province of Oran and beyond⁵². However, fearing that their newfound fame might lead to greater conflicts by the despised Turkish government, they decided to commit to deep spiritual study and meditation, As Churchill depicts “Abdulkadir has been practicing the great jihad since his return from pilgrimage. He advocates *mujahada*, and the fight against oneself, personal effort. He studies to know himself, to fight against passions and yet he is a tender, caring husband and a vigilant father. He practices asceticism and hermeneutics, fasting quite often, always studies and consults, explains, he is open to life, he is alive and vigilant”⁵³

Moreover, Abdulkadir made a commitment to religious reclusion, gave all his time to continuous study, and rarely left his home from sunrise to sunset, and paused only by meals and prayers. This passionate student read the works of Plato, Pythagoras, and Aristotle, and studied the writings of famous authors in the reigns of the Arab caliphate about ancient and modern history, philosophy, philology, astronomy, geography and even medicine⁵⁴. The importance of this oriental journey to the young Emir was to acquaint him with the political, economic and social conditions in the Arab societies, and at this stage he mastered various sciences and visited various parts of Tunisia, Egypt, Damascus, Baghdad, and Hejaz, from which he gained linguistic knowledge and Sufi jurisprudence, which can be called the stage of Sufi education.

This trip was, for Abdulkadir, one of the great discoveries and important achievements that marked his career for a long time, and which will help to illustrate this prestigious figure of history as a warrior first and then a literate and mystic subject of our research.

⁵² Raphael Danziger, *Abd Al-Qadir and the Algerians*, (Holmes & Meier Pub, 1977), 58

⁵³ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 116

⁵⁴ Ibid

2.1.2 Commander of the Faithful (1830-1848)

It is called the stage of jihad and the struggle for the uplifting of the word of God and the unification of the ranks of the Algerian Muslims or *al jihadul-asghar* (lesser holy war against infidels). It is considered as the most important stage in the life of Abdulkadir because of the serious developments and serious events, both in terms of his confrontation with the French who entered Algeria in 1830, or in connection with his attempt to build a modern state. This phase began a while after Abdulkadir and his father spiritual journey; they reappeared to see the start of a military occupation that would swallow their country. Emir Abdulkadir accepted the succession and joined the volunteers of jihad with his father after he was giving the title of Emir al-mu'minin (Commander of the faithful) in the pledge of Allegiance. This ceremony included a lesson from the Koran, focusing on the punishment of God to those who fail to join jihad in order to defend their land and religion. During the ceremony he addressed the group of people surrounding him:

“As for me”, he continued, “I would know no other law than the Koran; I will only be guided by the precepts of the Koran, the Koran and nothing but the Koran. If my own brother forfeits to the Koran, even to save his life, he will die”

“(to this or that tribe)..And especially to its nobles, sheikhs, notables, and ulemas.

May God enlighten, guide and direct your meetings, promote your businesses and your actions. The citizens of.. And others not denominated, have unanimously agreed to appoint me, and, consequently, have appointed me to the government of our country; by pledging to follow me in victory as in defeat, in adversity as in prosperity; and to consecrate their persons, their sons, and their property to the great and holy cause. As a result, and although we have been vigorously defending ourselves, we have assumed this heavy burden, in the hope that we could be the means to unite the great community of Muslims, to put an end to their internal quarrels, to bring general security to all the inhabitants of this country, to put an end to all the illegal acts perpetrated by the agents of disorder against honest people, to repress and to beat the enemy who invades our country with the intention of making us pass under its yoke. As a condition of our acceptance, we have

imposed upon those who have delegated to us the supreme power, the duty of always to conform, in all their actions, to the holy precepts and to the teaching of the book of God, and to render justice in their respective springs, according to the law of the Prophet, loyally and impartially, to the strong and the weak, the noble and the virtuous. They have subscribed to this condition”⁵⁵.

For the first time in the history of Algeria since joining the Ottoman Empire under the leadership of Hayreddin Barbarossa, a decision stemmed from the will of the population. A political action was achieved collectively neither under the orders of the *beylik* nor by the guidance of sheikhs of the *zawayas*, but it was due to religious motivation to reunite and ensure the public welfare after the chaos and looting spread in the country at that time⁵⁶.

Abdulkadir advanced towards the crowd which became slowly silent: “*I am al-Hajj Abdulkadir, son of Sharif Muhyi al-Din al-Hassani, it is important that you know my name! Let it circle in the douars (villages) in the market places, in the zawayas, let my heralds proclaim it everywhere. I am not aiming for greatness. I don’t want any of the glamour you think of. We will enter Algiers, and we will drive the infidel out of our land”⁵⁷.*

There had been dozens of people behind Abdulkadir; “*Smala*” which was the name of his mobile capital with a strict order and structure, based on the cosmic symbolism of the point, circle and square Abdulkadir’s tent is in the middle, surrounded by four points and 14 douars (tent villages) from various tribes, with the confederation’s seven douars forming the last circle. (see, illustration 1)

⁵⁵ Churchill, *the Life of Abdel kader*, 28-29

⁵⁶ Saidouni Nasser Al-Din, *Asr el Emir*, 205

⁵⁷ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 125

remained the modern army of his French adversaries⁵⁸. He designed this capital with two objectives: to show his power through his massive presence to the tribes on their own land, and to accustom them to migration thus reviving their old tradition. An implacable order reigned in the spatial organization of the city, which represented a series of circles installed in a cosmogonic and segmental order at the same time⁵⁹

The modernization of Mohammed Ali's accomplishments had impressed him. His efforts to construct a "Modern state" on a political level might be summarized as follows: a unified and secure territory; public education; a currency; an administration; justice; a regular, trained, hierarchical army; a capital - center of military, cultural and economic (Tagdemt); and the start of a "national" industry; and his progress in building a central power based on religious nobility and jihad, necessary to guarantee "Support from the masses"⁶⁰.

Abdulkadir turned to the conditions of the country, and made the nationalization and reconstruction of it the main issue for the success of the revolution. Therefore, he spared no effort in constructing forts, erecting castles, and ordered to make weapons and produce ammunition for war, while working on organizing the ranks of the people and unify the masses around him, in defense of the homeland and the protection of religion. In a short period of time he managed to establish a state with its own constitution, system and army, and was able to fill many of the gaps in its administrative and military building⁶¹. It was necessary to start with an innovation, because the "voluntary" contributions of the tribes' men, horses, weapons were not enough, an organized army was needed, it was therefore, divided into three corps: the infantry, the cavalry and the artillerymen who each had a particular uniform and insignia. Clothing and equipment, including the horses, were supplied and regularly replaced by the Sultan's treasury constituted according to the classic public treasury (Bayt al-mal)⁶².

⁵⁸ Benisson Amira K., *the New Order and Islamic Order: The Introduction of the Nizami Army in the Western Maghreb and Its Legitimation 1830-73*, (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 595

⁵⁹ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 192

⁶⁰ Alexandre Bellemare, *Abd-el-Kader*, 41

⁶¹ Bu Aziz Yahya, *el-Emir Abdulkadir, raidu'l-kifah el djazairi*, (Tunis, Dar al-Arabiya lil Kifah, 1983), 53

⁶² Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 135

Some of his lieutenants, whom he has chosen and trusted: Mouhammed b. Aribi as a minister, furthermore; he appointed his cousin Seyyid Ahmed b. Ali Ebi Talib, Seyyid al-Hadj Mustapha Ibn Touhami, Seyyid al-Hadj Mouhammed al-Kharoubi, Mouhamed b. Ali Rahawi, al-Hadj al-jilani Ibn Feriha, Mouhammed b. Faha, al-Hadj Tahir Ebu Zaid, and Seyyid al-Hadj al jilani al'Alawi in different sectors of the state. In addition, he organized a council (shura) consisting of scholars and was headed by Kadi'l-Kudat Seyyid Ahmed b. al-Hashimi al-Marahi⁶³.

The French invasion was in a way beneficial for Abdulkadir, It allowed him to quickly seize part of a territory by replacing the Ottomans defeated by the French in the province of Oran. They gave him the missing ingredient: “the spirit of holy war”. The invaders contributed directly to giving, in terms of regional authority, an increase in legitimacy to the family of Abdulkadir. The latter could hope, in the beginning of the war, to raise the entirety of the Muslim population to fight. By causing, in 1830, the rapid fall of the Ottoman authorities in the coastal Algerian cities like Oran, it enshrined the advent of power of a prestigious family.

Shortly before taking the political succession from his father, the young emir positioned himself quickly to put an end to the links which united the territory with the Ottoman authorities in the province of Algeria. Colonial historiography and biographies about Abdulkadir (including the most recent) have made him a pivotal figure in his political career. His assertion as an uncompromised and revolutionary leader is marked by his opposition to giving asylum and refuge to the Bey of Oran. According to Daumas, who took up the post of consul to Abdulkadir in 1837 during an event: “Everyone nodded (to receive Bey Hassan) except the young Abdulkadir who stubbornly refused and brought everyone back to his opinion”⁶⁴. To accentuate the exceptional dimension of this position, Daumas shows Abdulkadir as being the only one to plead for the refusal of *aman* (safety) to Hassan Bey, in an assembly which was not however opposed to welcoming the Ottoman. Thus, Abdulkadir recalled Hassan's hostility towards him and his father when they wanted to go to the

⁶³ Ibid, 131

⁶⁴ This event is reported by Daumas. His story features the young Abdulkadir facing the tribal chiefs surrounding Muhyiddin. See, Yver Georges. *Correspondance du Capitaine Eugène Daumas*, consul à Mascara 1837-1839 (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1912), 304-305. See also the story in the work of Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 118-119

east. Hassan Bey was driven out by the French a year after the fall of Algiers, who did not find refuge among the Arab tribes of the interior of the country. He asked for Muhyi al-Din's protection. By refusing, Abdulkadir showed that he was turning a historical page. This gesture marked the beginning of a reign announced by the prophecies of Muhyi al-Din that have been already mentioned.

The French invasion produced a reorganization of power in Algeria. In the region of Abdulkadir's family, this recomposition was conditioned by the influence of the Kingdom of Morocco. Moulay Abd al-Rahman's field of action in Algeria was limited by legal reasons, but also by direct local support, insufficient and threatened in addition by France which imposed itself thanks to the military force. Only Muhyi al-Din manages to initiate a local resistance movement based on the holy war. His son had only to continue these steps. Both tribal and religious authority, Abdulkadir consolidated his base by openly breaking with the former leaders of the region. Very quickly after taking power, he showed that he was setting up a new type of power in the region, a power of the sherifian type in opposition to the Ottoman model which had been in force for several centuries.

The French governor General Demichels avoided confronting Abdulkadir in an unsafe warfare, especially after he faced the difficulty of supplying his troops with food and supplies, thus, he preferred the soft way and negotiate. The negotiations began in September 1833 by sending several letters to the Emir⁶⁵, until the treaty was signed between them in 1834⁶⁶. Immediately thereafter, Abdulkadir organized, trained, and developed the soldiers by establishing appropriate laws and regulations⁶⁷. He also took care of East Algeria and the surrounding areas of Algiers, penetrating the province of Titri and seizing Medea and Miliana⁶⁸. This treaty guaranteed Emir Abdulkadir the position of a strong ruler, and this enabled him to set the first building blocks of his state, which at that time included the entirety of the Oran region, and Titri, with the exception of the areas that remained in the hands of

⁶⁵ Bu Aziz Yahia, *Thawaratu al-djazair fi al-karnayn tasi'-ashar wa'l-ishrine*, v.1, 36-37, to check the letters between Emir Abdulkadir and General Demichels see Zuzu Abdulhamid, *Resailu'l-Emir Abdulkadir maa' General Demichels :wathaik khassa bi tarihi el-djazair fi ahdi al-Amir*, Third Edition, Dar Houma, Algeria, 2006.

⁶⁶ Muhammed b. Abd al-Qâdir Jaza'iri, *Tuhfat al-Za'ir*, 113-117; Churchill, *The Life of Abdel kader*, 83-91

⁶⁷ Ibid, 125-130

⁶⁸ Yahia Bu Aziz, *Thawaratu al-djazair*, 38

the French, namely the cities around Oran, Morsi el-Kabir, Arzew, and Mostaganem, in addition to the city of Algiers and the cities of Annaba and Bejaia⁶⁹.

In addition to that, this treaty achieved many gains for the Emir Abdulkadir, as it guaranteed respect for the customs of the Algerians and the freedom of their faith and religion, and allowed the practice of trade for both sides. Moreover it recognized the Emir's right to acquire arms and obtain material from the French centers, and approved the return of the fleeing soldiers to the Emir. It also adopted a system of travel tickets carrying the seal of the Emir or the stamps of the French commander. Also it gave to Abdulkadir the title of Commander of the Faithful *Emir al-Mu'minin*⁷⁰. In fact the treaty of Demichels was an actual beginning to consolidate the Emir's military strength and develop its equipment, especially rifles and gunpowder. Thus the Emir was able use the treaty by taking advantage of it. Perhaps this is what prompted the writer Bernard to say regarding to the treaty of Demichels, that "Demichels wanted to use Emir Abdulkadir, but instead the Emir was the one who used him"⁷¹. Soon, General Demichels was sacked and replaced by Trezel to resume fighting Abdulkadir⁷².

After taking over command of the French army in Oran by General Trezel, battles renewed, he was defeated in the battle of Makta in 1835, in which Trezel mobilized an army of 5,000 infantry against the army of the Emir, which was not more than 3000 men. But the determination and willingness to martyrdom allowed Abdulkadir and his army to crush the French forces and squander their rear ranks, forcing remnants to retreat to Oran⁷³. In order to overcome this serious setback, the French quickly turned to a confrontational policy, which enabled them to seize Mascara and then occupy Telemcen. However, this was the motivation for the Emir to continue his pressure on them and made them incur and suffer great losses in men and equipment. Until General Bugeaud was forced to recognize the sovereignty of Emir Abdulkadir on the western and central part of Algeria as part of the limited

⁶⁹ Saidouni Nasr Al-Din, *Asr el-Emir Abdulkadir*, 208

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹ Augustin Bernard, *l'Algerie*, (Paris, Felix Alcan, 1903), 188

⁷² Adib Harb, *et-tarihu 'l-askeri wa'l-idari li'l-Emir Abdulkadir el djazairi: 1808-1847*, (Algiers, al charikatu al-Wataniya lil nachr, 1983), 7

⁷³, Muhammed ben Abd al-Qâdir Jaza'iri, *Tuhfat al-Za'ir*, v.1, 151-153; Colonel P. Azan, *l'Emir Abd-El-Kader (1808-1883), du Fanatisme Musulman*, 46-66. Danziger, *Abd al-Qadir*, 117. This battle would be qualified in French military history as the "Makta disaster".

occupation policy mentioned in the treaty of Tafna which was signed on May 18th 1837⁷⁴, which allowed the emir to devote himself to organizing his state and building its institutions and subjecting the rejectionists to his authority. However, in our opinion, it was Abdulkadir, and not the French, who hit a fatal blow to the domination of the Ottomans in Algeria. The Ottoman period in the province therefore extended there until signing the treaty. This treaty according to the Ottoman archives included the following articles:

Art.1. The Emir Abdulkadir acknowledges the sovereignty of France.

Art. 2. France reserves to herself, in the province of Oran, Mostaganem, Mazagan, and their territories, Oran, Arzew, and a territory limited in the following manner: On the east, by the river Makta , and the marsh from whence it flows; on the south, by a line starting from the said marsh, passing by the shore on the south of the lake, and continuing its prolongation up the Wady Maleh, in the direction of Sidi Said, and from this river down to the sea, shall belong to the French. In the province of Algiers, Algiers, the Sahel, the plain of Metija, bounded on the east by the Wady Khuddra, onwards; on the south, by the crest of the first chain of the lesser Atlas, as far as the Chiffa, including Blidah and its territory: on the west, by the Chiffa, as far as the Mount of Mazagan, and from thence, in a direct line to the sea, enclosing Koleh and its territory, shall be the French territory.

Art. 3. The Emir shall have the administration of the province of Oran, that of Tittery, and that part of the province of Algiers which is not comprised on the east, within the limits indicated by Article 2. He cannot enter any other part of the Regency.

Art. 4. The Emir shall have no authority over Muslims who wish to reside on the territory reserved to France; but these shall be at liberty to go and reside on the territory under the Emir's administration; in the same manner the inhabitants living under the Emir's administration may establish themselves on French territory.

Art. 5. The Arabs dwelling on French territory shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion. They may build mosques, and follow their religious discipline in every particular, under the authority of their spiritual chiefs.

⁷⁴ Muhammed ben Abd al-Qâdir Jaza'iri, *Tuhfat al-Za'ir* , 171-185

Art. 6. The Emir shall give to the French army 30,000 measures of corn; 30,000 measures of barley, 5,000 head of oxen. The delivery of these provisions will be made at Oran, in three installments; the first, on the 15th September, 1837, and the other two every two months thereafter.

Art. 7. The Emir shall be empowered to buy in France, powder, sulphur, and the arms he requires.

Art. 8. The Koloughlis who wish to remain in Telemcen, or elsewhere, shall have free possession of their properties there, and shall be treated as citizens. Those who wish to withdraw to French territory may sell or rent their properties freely.

Art. 9. France cedes to the Emir, Rachgoun, Telemcen, its citadel, and all the cannons which were anciently in it. The Emir engages to convey to Oran all the effects, as well as munitions of war, belonging to the garrison of Telemcen.

Art. 10. Commerce shall be free between the Arabs and the French. They may establish themselves reciprocally, on each other's territory.

Art. 11. The French shall be respected amongst the Arabs, as the Arabs amongst the French. The farms and properties which the French have acquired, or may acquire, on the Arab territory, shall be guaranteed them: they shall enjoy them freely, and the Emir engages to indemnify them for any damages the Arabs cause them.

Art. 12. The criminals on both territories shall be reciprocally given up.

Art. 13. The Emir engages not to give up any part of the coast to any foreign power whatever, without the authorization of France.

Art. 14. The commerce of the Regency shall only be carried on in French ports.

Art. 15. France shall maintain agents near the Emir, and in the towns under his jurisdiction, to act as intermediaries for French subjects, in any commercial disputes they may have with the Arabs⁷⁵.

In this treaty, Abdulkadir imposed his conditions on Bugeaud, after he pushed him for a truce under the strikes of his army, thus he forced him to accept his requests in his favor including the recognition of Algeria, and to allow its president to appoint consuls in the foreign countries. This treaty confirmed the recognition of the Algerian state, and granted its leader full economic and political powers, including his monopoly on the Algerian trade, and proves the legitimacy of his right to supply his army. This latter was invested in the elimination of the Emir's enemies of many tribal leaders, and end the chaos period-caused by the rebels who have accepted to be protected and cooperate with the enemy- and replace it by a new alternative⁷⁶. As for this treaty, it confirmed the previous gains of Emir Abdulkadir and the continuation of the French adopting the method of limited occupation, by which he overcame the setbacks that had befallen him as a result of the destruction of his centers and cities, especially the camp of Telemcen (1836).

Despite the difference in the terms of this treaty between its French text and Arabic version⁷⁷, the conditions that it contained, although they had made gains for the French, were in the interest of the Emir Abdulkadir, the first acts (1, 2, 3, 5 and 8) state the Emir's recognition of what the French seized in Algeria, which are the centers of Algiers, Blidah and Koleah, in addition to Oran, Mostaganem, Mazagran and Arzew...etc. This is the reality that the Emir was not able to change or even deny. In exchange for this recognition, he obtained France's recognition of his authority over the Oran region, Tittery, and the interior areas up to the Hudna and Zayban regions, and ensuring good treatment for the population, and giving them the right to move to any region they want while respecting the freedom of their belief and customs.

⁷⁵ BOA, HAT 1174/46427- C, The translation was taken from Churchill, *the Life of Abdel Kader*, 101-103. Check Muhammed ben Abd al-Qâdir Jaza'iri, *Tuhfat al-Za'ir*, v.1, 177-178

⁷⁶ Charles. Robert Ageron, *Politiques Coloniale au Maghreb*, (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1972), 10-11

⁷⁷ See the Arabic text of the treaty of Tafna in M. Emerit and H. Peres, *la Revue Africaine*, (v. 94, 1950), 85-100

As for the acts (6, 7, 9, 10 and 14) they regulated the procedures for trade exchange and included the interests of the two parties, as Abdulkadir pledged to supply the French army in Oran with grains and herds of cows and in return he buys what he needs from the ammunition (weapons and gunpowder). These acts also provided that the Emir would transfer the equipment and supplies of the French army from Telemcen to Oran, and in return he undertakes to guarantee the freedom of trade exchange and the movement of people between the regions of the two sides.

This treaty is completed by the acts (11, 12, 13 and 15) which preserve the rights of the two parties, so that Abdulkadir guarantees the safety of the French and freedom to dispose of what they bought in the lands under his control, and in return France is keen to do the same with Arabs. Thus the acts of the treaty of Tafna assures us that Emir Abdulkadir achieved a strategic gain that allowed him to establish an organized state that covers two-thirds of the Algerian cities, as he obtained according to this treaty the right of sovereignty within the framework of the guarantees of international legitimacy.

For the Emir's French enemies, the treaty created a political earthquake, and a wide debate between intellectuals and military leaders. Rousset said describing the treaty of Tafna: "It is more dangerous and serious than the one of Demichels"⁷⁸. Moreover, Mauguin admits that France abandoned Algeria to Abdulakdir under this agreement⁷⁹, and some say that the treaty put France before the world and history in the position of the fraud and deceiver, unlike the Emir which enabled him to acquire the legal legitimacy that France could not evade, only by repealing the treaty, and pushing the Emir back to war⁸⁰. Yet, the Tafna treaty excluded the Ottomans and did not even consider them in the terms of the agreement. The first article of the treaty was in direct contradiction with what the Ottomans had always refused to admit since the beginning of the French invasion.

The Ottoman translation of a press article of the "Moniteur" which published the official document on July 18, 1837 textually repeated the terms of the treaty, and stipulated that "Emir Abdulkadir confirms and recognizes the sovereignty of the

⁷⁸ Rousset Camille, *l'Algerie de 1830 a 1840*, (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1887), 202

⁷⁹ Ibid, 211

⁸⁰ Charles. Robert Ageron, *Politiques Coloniale*, 30-43

State of France in Africa"⁸¹. It was the first time an Ottoman document calls Abdulkadir with the title of "emir"... a term so present in the historiography on Abdulkadir, all periods combined. This was only due to the literal translation of the Treaty of Tafna. Recalling the use for diplomatic purposes of the complete expression of "Emir" or "Commander of the Faithful", it can be said that Abdulkadir was then "emir" only for the French⁸².

In October 1839, Marshal Valée and the Duke of Orleans crossed the territory of Abdulkadir without his authorization. In retaliation, the Emir attacked the settlers of the Mitidja plain (south of Algiers) with his regular army⁸³. The treaty of Tafna was now obsolete. The failure to respect the treaty by the French who interpreted its articles in their interest, when they gave themselves the right to cross through the areas belonging to the Emir through the province of Biban, and according to this position from their behalf war was declared again against the French. From his residence in Medea, Abdulkadir initiated and wrote a letter to Marshall Valley on 18th November 1839, blaming the French for breaching the treaty and causing them to ignite the war⁸⁴. As a result, the French centers were subjected to sudden and violent attacks⁸⁵ by Abdulkadir and his successors in the regions of Oran, Algiers, Medea and Miliana.

Within the French government, the concept of colonizing Algerian territory had gained traction. Abdulkadir proved to be the project's main roadblock. Marshal Bugeaud's return to Algeria in 1841 as General Governor marked a turning point in the conflict with the Emir. The Marshal, who was the driving force behind the Treaty of Tafna, returned to the province determined to crush opposition by adopting the new method of total and extensive war known as the "Burned Land"⁸⁶, summarized by General Bugeaud in a threat to the Emir's men by saying: "You will not cultivate

⁸¹ BOA, HAT 46427-C. *Emir Abdülkadir Fransa Devleti'nin Afrika'da olan hükümdâriyetini tasdik ve i'tirâf eder.*

⁸² It is also striking to note the systematic absence of any titlature in the Ottoman documents concerning Abdulkadir where he was designated and would remain several months without anything other than as "Abdulkadir the Algerian" (Cezayirli Abdülkadir).

⁸³ Bennison, *Jihad and its Interpretation in Pre-Colonial Morocco: State-Society Relations during the French Conquest of Algeria*, (Routledge, March 31, 2015), 97

⁸⁴ Muhammed ben Abd al-Qâdir Jaza'iri, *Tuhfat al-Za'ir*, 233-234

⁸⁵ Ibid, 237-244

⁸⁶ Julian Charles André, *l'Histoire de l'Algerie Contemporaine ; Conquete et Colonisation 1827-1871*, (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), 164-165

the land, and if you cultivate it, you will not plant it, and if you plant it you will not harvest it”⁸⁷. In this war, the French adopted means of repression, abuse and destruction, that during many campaigns in southern Algeria, the number of villages that were burned and the amount of crops that were destroyed was incredible. The French proceeded to seize all of Abdulkadir’s important cities, as well as the systematic destruction of his means of supply, and the annihilation of the populations that continued to support him in this new phase of the war.

In this difficult phase of conflict in Algeria, Abdulkadir turned to the Ottomans to call for help. The first contacts on his part are limited. Furthermore, there is the Ottoman synopsis of his first messages, which he wrote in October 1840. They give the impression of a leader wanting to probe the opinion of the Ottoman government about him without to compromise too much. He declared, however, that he had been "until now the servant of the august Sultanate" « *Kendisi Öteden beri Saltanat-ı Seniyye'nin abd-i kadîmi*”⁸⁸. He explained the reasons for his attitude during the war. Abdulkadir was aware that the peace treaties he contracted with the French had had to upset the Ottomans. This is why he presented himself as a military strategist able to combine "without being sincere" (*samîmî olmayub*) with his enemies, but he argued that it was "legally feasible to use stratagems against the imperatives of war" (*emr-i harbde meşru' olan hud'a ve sani'a kabîlinden olduđu*).

Many factors convinced Abdulkadir that the Ottoman Sultan was the sole option for leading the struggle against the French. He concluded his letter with a passionate plea for assistance, recalling that many of his letters had gone unanswered. For this, he explicitly named Ahmed Bey of Constantine, because Abdulkadir believed the Bey had "submitted petitions stipulating partnership and understanding with the French," (*bundan akdem Kostantine Beyi Ahmed Bay tarafından takdîm kılınan ma'rûzâtında kendisinin Fransalı ile uyuşup ittifâk ve ittihâd üzere*). Abdulkadir saw that he had no choice except to contradict his opponent's testimonies. However, the balance of power in Algeria was favorable to him.

As his letters did not lead to any action in his favor on the part of the Ottoman state, Abdulkadir resolved to mark the spirits with a solemn act of allegiance. On

⁸⁷ Louis Veuillot, *Les Français en Algérie : Souvenir d'un Voyage Fait en 1841*, (Tours, 1847), 361

⁸⁸ BOA, I. HR 8.386

December 10, 1841, he wrote a long letter to Sultan Abdülmecid and to the most influential figures in the state that could support him, such as the Grand Vizier and Hamdan Efendi⁸⁹. He signed these letters from the port city of Mostaganem. Abdulkadir in his letter considered the Ottoman authority as the only legitimate one, as the only caliphate able to rule the Muslims (including himself) at the cost of his recognition by the Sultan as a leader of the holy war, he addressed the Sultan as (*emîrû'l- mü'minîn ve Halife-i Resûl-i Rabbi 'l-Âlemîn*). There was therefore this act of allegiance a place for negotiation since Abdulkadir knew that he was now the only one able to act militarily in an Ottoman province invaded by the French. As a result, he presented himself as Sultan Abdülmecid's armed wing, with the authority to reclaim an Ottoman region from the French.

Going beyond the framework of the relationship with France, then Abdulkadir succeeded in establishing close ties with the Ottoman Empire, even though it was afraid of him and preferred Ahmed Bey on him, because of his agreement with the French, since in the eyes of the Ottoman politicians this was an obstacle to the diplomatic contacts that the Ottoman envoys conducted with France to reach a resolution that guarantees the rights of the Ottoman Sultan in Algeria⁹⁰. Despite this, Emir Abdulkadir worked to overcome the Ottoman Empire's anxieties and improve his status in the Sublime Porte's eyes. He bore the Janissaries and the officials of the Beylik, led by Ahmed Bey the consequences of the disasters and tribulations that Algeria afflicted by⁹¹, and he also tried to justify his contract with the French in the Treaty of Demichels which disturbed the Ottoman representatives.

At this time of year, what remained of Abdulkadir's territories was being ravaged by Bugeaud's scorched earth policy or the Burned Land. From the commencement of his new mandate in the spring of 1841, the Marshal conquered Abdulkadir's main strongholds: Taza, Boghar, Tagdempt and Mascara. To show his determination to destroy the Emir, Bugeaud went so far as to destroy in October the "Guetna", the zawiya in which Abdulkadir had grown up⁹².

⁸⁹BOA, I. HR, 821

⁹⁰ Saidouni, *Asr el Amir Abdulkadir*, 223

⁹¹ BOA, I. HR, 821

⁹² Bellemare, *Abd-el-kader*, 144-146

The French devastating plan led to the fall of the towns and military centers of Emir Abdulkadir in 1842, and forced him to switch to a guerrilla warfare (1844-1847), which the French faced by intensifying attacks on the tribes so that they were eventually forced to refrain from providing any aid to the Emir and his followers⁹³. Eventually the cities of Tagdempt, Mascara and Telemcen fell under the hands of the French, as a result, Abdulkadir ordered his family to move to Morocco, and he hoped that the Moroccan Sultan Abdul'Rahman would stand by him, nevertheless, the sultan refused to support⁹⁴. After the French fleet bombed the city of Tangier, a peace treaty was signed between France and the Moroccan Sultan, in which this latter declared Emir Abdulkadir as an outlaw.

The Emir petitioned Mufti Egypt for a fatwa condemning the sultan for prohibiting a lawful jihad, thus he gave him the authority to battle the Moroccans if a fight was required to drive the French out of Algeria⁹⁵. However, the sultan was forced to expel Abdulkadir, who later left back to Algeria in September 1845, where he tried to organize the resistance again and began a new policy in his movements.

As he rushes to rally his supporters among the tribes, he was able to achieve some victories, but it was eluded, so he fled again to Morocco, where he finally decided to surrender to the General Christophe de Lamoriciere under some conditions⁹⁶, (See, illustration 2) which he believed France would respect, but eventually, they weren't met, and instead of going to ship with his followers to Alexandria or Acre, the ship was anchored in France.

In response to what is said that Emir Abdulkadir surrendered, it can be said that to surrender means losing in a battle and then surrender, but this did not happen with him because his last battle was against the Moroccans and not against the French, plus he stopped the fighting voluntarily, and what he did is called fighting cessation or a request for safety.

⁹³ Augustin Bernard, *l'Algerie*, 216

⁹⁴ Muhammed ben Abd al-Qâdir Jaza'iri, *Tuhfat al-Za'ir*, 292

⁹⁵ Moulay Belhamissi, *L'Emir 'Abd al Qâdir et le Sultan Moulay 'Abd al Rahman: De la Solidarité Islamique à la Guerre Fratricide*, (Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine, v.25, 1998), 285-297

⁹⁶ Ibid, 324-326. The conditions were the followings: Abdulkadir and his family members will go to either Acre or Iskenderiya. The French General de Lamoriciere will guarantee the safety of Abdulkadir and all the members of the army and will undertake the preserve his personal fortunes. Abdulkadir's officers and soldiers will be able to have the choice between staying in Algeria or in the Ottoman territories.



Illustration (2), the surrender of Abdelkader, December 23, 1847. From Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 1994. Drawn by Augustine Regis

2.1.3 Captivity in France (1848-1852)

As he approached forty years of age, in 1848, the legend surprised history by suspending his minor struggle which consisted of fighting for his country through armed struggle, in order to embark on a new and far-reaching mission: that of the main struggle (the spiritual life), which would manifest itself in the solitude of his detachment, on the French Land, in Toulon, Pau, Amboise, and then in the Orient: in Bursa, Damascus, and finally, during his retreat in the Hijaz.

In this period of time, Emir Abdulkadir lived imprisoned and held captive in France. This phase of his life began with his transfer to France in Toulon and his detention in the city of Pau in southern France and then in Amboise, where he stayed for nearly five years from November 8, 1848 to December 11, 1852⁹⁷.

It is certainly not a coincidence that Abdulkadir was placed in the Lamalgue Fortress in Toulon as a prisoner, but because it was a military port and represented the necessary security guarantees due to its geographical location, thus making it difficult for the Emir to escape and return to Algeria.⁹⁸ On April 20, 1848, the Algerian prisoners were moved to the Chateau of Pau. Despite the frequent visits by

⁹⁷ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 253

⁹⁸ Boualem Bessaih, *de l'Emir Abdelkader a l'Imam Chamyl, le Hero de Tchetchenes et du Caucase*, (Algiers, Dahlab, 1997), 194

the clerics and politicians, Abdulkadir and his companions' conditions were getting worse day by day. The death of a little girl and then a companion in Toulon, followed by others, had revived in them the anguish of dying and of being buried far from the land of ancestors and he became hopeless regarding the idea of his liberty.

Their conditions in Pau were so miserable that Colonel Daumas who was a privileged witness reported his meeting with the Emir: *"How do you want my resignation not to weaken sometimes before the greatness of my misfortune? Despair is among my followers, in my own family, my mother and my wives cry night and day and no longer want to add faith in the hope that I am trying to give them! What can I say! Not only the women, but also the men mourn, not for themselves, but for their family. And it is I who am the cause of all these misfortunes! Because I, alone wanted to come to the French. You made me lie well and today I am cruelly blamed for trusting you. Have you not court responsible for hearing the complaints of the oppressed? If there is one, take me there. How far you are from this Muslim Sultan who, having become deaf, began to weep and replied to those who asked him the reason: I cry because I can no longer hear the complaints of the oppressed"*⁹⁹. "He found consolation in his books, his studies and devotions; his hours were so strictly appropriated to their respective duties that time passed lightly. He now occupied himself with literary composition"¹⁰⁰.

In Pau, Abdulkadir received official visitors. Despite the fatigue linked to the trip and the moral disarray of his followers, he agreed to meet these guests. Between April 29th and the beginning of May 1848, officers, politicians, local officials and journalists will alternate at the Castle of Henri IV. He attempted to restore the reality by reminding all these guests that he surrendered and had not been captured, and that he only believed the words of a French officer who gave a promise "I take this oath and with my heart and with my tongue"¹⁰¹. The Emir will continue to write to all those who helped and assist him in Pau and Amboise¹⁰². His stay in Pau did not last

⁹⁹ Cited in Alexandre Bellemare, *Abd-el-Kader*, 359

¹⁰⁰ Churchill, *the Life of Abdel kader*, 289

¹⁰¹ Alexandre Bellemare, *Abd-el-kader*, 358

¹⁰² Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 238

long, until orders were issued to transfer him to his next destination, Amboise in November, 1848¹⁰³.

The detention of the Emir and his accompanying persons in France has become a national affair and an international issue that raises the question of the French public opinion and causes concern among the European political circles. The newspapers¹⁰⁴ dealt with his case and several French personalities intervened on his behalf, such as General Lamoriciere and the Duke of Dumas, as well as, the Lord Londonderry who wrote a letter to Louis Napoleon demanding the release of Abdulkadir, who replied back in a letter dated on September 13, 1851: "I found the Ottoman Empire very well disposed to welcome him; my intentions have not changed vis-à-vis the emir. I want sooner or later to return to the Emir his freedom because this is what France's honor requires. There are too many obstacles to achieving this now."¹⁰⁵

The Emir was released on the initiative of the French emperor Napoleon III¹⁰⁶, who visited Abdulkadir in his prison on October 16, 1852 to inform him of the news of his release saying: "Abdulkadir, I come to announce to you your liberty. You will be conducted to Broussa, in the Sultan's territory¹⁰⁷, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made. The French Government will give you a pension worthy of your former rank.. For a long time your captivity has caused me real distress. It constantly reminded me that the Government which preceded mine had not fulfilled its engagements towards an unfortunate enemy; and in my eyes a great nation is humiliated, when it so far mistrusts its own power to break its promise. Generosity is always the best counselor; and I am convinced that your residence in Turkey will be

¹⁰³ To get to know better about the life of Abdulkadir in France see; Yahya Bu Aziz, *el-Emir Abdulkadir raidu'lkifah el-djazairi*; P. Azan, *l'Emir Abd el Kader* (1808-1883), 234-236; Dupuch Antoine-Adolphe, *Abd-el-Kader au Chateau d'Amboise*, (Bordeaux, mai, 1849).

¹⁰⁴ The newspaper *Les Debats* followed the event since Abdulkadir surrendered it said: "Where is the glory of France, which could not defeat a 24 years old young man, a man without an army who started afresh while we do not need any experience, money or weapons... Where is the glory of France, which lost so much money to no avail, especially that Emir Abdulkadir stopped fighting voluntarily..." see, Girardin Emeli, *Question de Mon Temps : 1835-1856*, (Paris, S. E, 1858), 451.

¹⁰⁵ Eliakim Littell, *Abd-el-Kader-Londonderry-Louis Napoleon* in, *Littell's Living Age*, (v.35, October, 1852), 40-42, see the link: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=inu.32000000700106&view=1up&seq=50>.

¹⁰⁶ Napoleon III was president of the French Republic proclaimed by the Revolution of 1848 in France, and then decided to transform France from the republican system to an imperial one through a referendum held in France in late October 1852.

¹⁰⁷ BOA, I. HR 92/4481

nowise affect the tranquility of my possessions in Africa.. Your religion, as well as mine, inculcates submission to the decree of Providence. Now, if France is supreme in Algeria¹⁰⁸, it is because God has so willed it; and the nation will never renounce the conquest. You have been the enemy of France, but I nevertheless am ready to do ample justice to your courage, your character, and your resignation in misfortune. I, consequently, feel it to be a point of honor to put an end to your imprisonment, and to entertain a complete reliance on your word.”¹⁰⁹.

This made the Emir make a promise not to return to Algeria saying: “Highness, I am not accustomed to your usages. Perhaps I am about to commit a fault; but I wish to express my sentiments to you, and the exalted personages I see around me. Others have made promises which they have not fulfilled. Your highness has fulfilled engagements which you had not contracted. Thanks to your generosity, I shall be enabled to go and live in a Muslim country. Words vanish like the winds. Writing is durable, I offer your highness this papers. It contains a written promise.”¹¹⁰

2.1.4 Living his Faith (1852-1883)

The promised day long awaited came after five years of ending the resistance, and the beginning of his freedom started with a long journey that lasted more than ten days across France from the north to the south, heading to the port of Marseille, where he stayed a week, and wrote many letters of gratitude and appreciation for those who supported him and stood by his side from the French¹¹¹. Then he left to Bursa, passing by Istanbul on January 7, 1853¹¹², and upon their arrival as reported by Muhammed b. el-Emir, Abdulkadir headed first to the tomb of Abi Ayyub al-Ansari, then to the mosque of Aya Sofia, after that he went to the Royal Palace of Çırağan where he was hosted by Sultan Abdülmecid. This latter expressed his admiration and thanked him for his hard word in defending religion and the

¹⁰⁸ The new French constitution, drawn up by the Revolution of 1848, included the decision of the Council of the French Government to formally annex Algeria to France as a French province.

¹⁰⁹ Churchill, *the Life of Abdel kader* , 290-291

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 293

¹¹¹ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader* , 244

¹¹² For more information about France, Istanbul’s trip, see, *Tuhfat al-Za’ir* , II, 47-48

homeland, as well as, his patience for the days he spent in France. He also praised the French Emperor Napoleon III for keeping his promise¹¹³.

According to Emir Mohammed, his father spoke to the sultan about his place of residence, who answered him saying: "*You choose to live in any place you want from the Ottoman Empire*". According to an archival document dated December 23, 1852, the Emir was allowed to go from France to Bursa passing by Istanbul after his meeting with the sultan.¹¹⁴

Upon his arrival to Bursa, Abdulkadir consecrated on raising his children, studying and worshipping. Despite his presence in an Islamic land, the sorrow and grief continued to haunt him for losing his country, and Bursa remains a foreign place for him because of the difference of language and customs.

According to the French, Abdulkadir was on probation. Despite his solemn commitment not to return to Algeria, the French would not stop spying on him¹¹⁵. Nevertheless, the best way for the prisoner in question to get the feeling of being free was according to the French, to be supervised by the sovereign authorities of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman documents present the character with a status that has nothing to do with that of a subject controlled by France. In a document of the Hariciye nezâreti, Abdulkadir did not come to settle in an Ottoman province as an exile (*menfiyyen*) but "of his own free will" (*kendü isteğile gelüb*)¹¹⁶.

On the one hand, the Sublime Porte had to meet the expectations of France, which demanded what Abdulkadir would be given in Bursa, a position "worthy of his former fortune". The popularity and fame of Abdulkadir was something that the Ottomans had to adapt to, some Ottoman documents mentioned the house in which he was supposed to live and the amount of money that would be allocated to him once he settles down¹¹⁷. And in order to integrate in the Ottoman society, Abdulkadir

¹¹³ Ibid, 51

¹¹⁴ BOA, I.HR,4556

¹¹⁵ Especially through the mission of the translator Bullad, former military interpreter in Algeria, who had a look at a good part of the correspondence of Abdulkader. See Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 256

¹¹⁶ BOA, I.HR 92.4481

¹¹⁷ BOA, HR.MKT 53 .69 , C. DH 68.3352, HR.MKT 54.61 The documents sent to the vali of Bursa (Hüdavendigâr valisi) by the Sublime Porte are numerous on the modalities of the installation of Abdulkadir. They concern essentially the preparation of a large house provided adequately equivalent to his rank. I.HR 94.4620. This document mentions more clearly than the others the sum granted to Abdulkadir: 28,465 kuruş, and 500 kuruş for renting his first konak.

participated in the public life¹¹⁸. His knowledge in the Islamic sciences led him to join the population. Moreover, he was anything but inactive and reclusive in the private sphere during his stay in Bursa. On the contrary, he was in contact with the local authorities, from whom he gained sympathy and support. The presence of Algerian translators allowed him to easily communicate with his entourage and to have a grip on his environment¹¹⁹.

Bellemare depicted Abdulkadir's stay at Bursa under the pretext of a profound seclusion, the authorities' antagonism, and the population's indifference "the situation of Abdulkadir in Brousse, in the midst of the Turks whose pride did not accommodate the honors paid to an Arab, was not free from difficulties. Loved and respected by scientists, he was frowned upon by government officials... He, an Arab isolated in a population made up of Greeks and Turks, he resigned himself to suffering, fearing "¹²⁰.

In other versions like that of Azan or Etienne¹²¹, Bellemare's colonial perspective is quite prominent. Bursa is the point at which the attachment of the Emir Abdulkadir to France reveals itself as a retreat into himself and a deterioration of relations with the Ottoman authorities. In our opinion, although this stay lasted only a little more than two years (1853-1855), it is where his political career began to be Ottomanized since many Ottoman documents attest to his integration into the Ottoman state. It is not a question of turning the colonial theory upside down and making Abdulkadir an "Ottoman", as Bellemare, and Azan tried to make him as a Frenchman. However, various Ottoman documents attest to his integration into the Ottoman power structure. However, due to a severe earthquake hit Bursa in 1855, Abdulkadir felt the need to leave and move to Damascus¹²².

¹¹⁸ The son of the Emir, who was about twenty years old during the stay in Bursa, insists on the good amity between the Emir and the population of the city, the poor (fuqara) who enjoy his alms, the notables (a'yan) and the scientists with whom they form cordial relations. He remembers the small mosque near their house: the "Arab mosque" (Masjid al 'Arab, which still exists today under the name Arapl原因 camii) in which Abd al-Qadir gave lessons, *Tuhfetu 'z-zair*, II, 54

¹¹⁹ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 283

¹²⁰ Bellemare, *Abd el-Kader*, 258

¹²¹ Paul Azan, *l'Émir Abd el Kader*, 267; Bruno Étienne, *Abdelkader*, 254-258; "Things had not started well», "*The pasha was not very cooperative...*".

¹²² Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 286

Abdulkadir left Bursa towards Damascus and arrived in December 1855, despite the fact that one of the terms in the agreement between him and France was to go to either Acre or Alexandria, so what were the reasons that made the Emir chose Bursa?

- The emir spent 2 years in Bursa, during which he faced many linguistic difficulties that caused a lack of communication with the others, therefore, he felt a stranger among few people who could understand him¹²³.

- He was familiar with Damascus, as he spent there some time during his Hajj with his father, before he took command of the war against the French. Moreover, Damascus was full of its symbolic and spiritual exploits that left a remarkable impact on the conscience of the Emir.

- The choice of Damascus as land of settlement was based on the characteristics and reputation that this region acquired in addition to its beautiful climate and nature that reminded him of Algeria.

- Asharati Suleyman in his book "*al-Amir Abdulkader fi Biladi al-Machriq*" that one of the reasons that made the Emir move to Damascus is that "It is not excluded that Abdulkadir was tempted to reside in Damascus by France itself because it saw in him the ideal candidate to activate its policy in the Levant"¹²⁴.

- As for the reason that all historians agreed upon, is the earthquake that shook the city of Bursa and caused many destructions.

Once arrived to Damascus in December 1855. All the biographies agree on the triumphal welcome the Emir received, not only by the Ottoman authorities, but also by the local population and the Algerians recently installed in the city. Linda Schilcher gives an image about the reception of the Algerian hero saying: "A hero on the field of armed resistance to Europe, a wealthy economy innovator, an acknowledged descendant of the Prophet, an alim, a Sufi and a man with contact in high places both in Istanbul and in France, and eventually in Egypt, Abdulkadir

¹²³ Al-Sayid Salih Fouad, *Al-Amir Abdulkadir al-Djaza'iri moutasawifan wa cha'iran*, (Algiers, al-mouassassa al-wataniya lil kitab, 1985), 66

¹²⁴ Acharati Suleyman, *al-Amir Abdelkader fi biladi al-machriq*, (Dar al quds al-Arabi lil nashra wa al-tawzi', 2011), 42

seemed destined to play a central political role »¹²⁵. And the reason behind choosing Damascus is that he found an atmosphere like the one of Algeria, a nature like the one of Mascara, and an Arab Muslim people. As a result, he integrated with the Damascene people until he became one of them, and devoted to science, teaching and mysticism, and opened his home to visitors, the needy and the scientists¹²⁶.

Abdulkadir's first visit to Damascus went unnoticed in all the biographies about him. Only his son evokes that he went straight to the mausoleum of the saint whom he admired and glorified: Muhyi al-Din Ibn Arabi¹²⁷. There was a strong spiritual parentage that existed between those two men who lived nearly five centuries of interval¹²⁸. Izzet Pasha, who was the governor of Istanbul, invited Abdulkadir to stay at his home just after the visit to the mausoleum of Ibn Arabi¹²⁹, where he had remained for several days. And in order to please the Emir, Izzet Pasha installed him in the house where Ibn Arabi finished his days centuries earlier¹³⁰.

It is indeed the end of the Western exile for Abdulkadir and the beginning of the life that he always sought to have since his departure from Algeria. In Damascus, he spent his days reading books, giving daily lessons at the Umayyad Mosque in which the Quran and the Hadith were the basis of the discussions. A number of his disciples will go on to become major mystical philosophers, as well as leaders of Arab Renaissance and even nationalism such as Ahmed b Suleyman al-Khalidi al-Tarabulsi, Ahmed Kamshakhanawi, Muhammad al-Khani, son of Sheikh Khalid, one of Abdulkadir's initiators in Mecca, or even Muhammad al-Tantawi... and of course some of the Algerians who followed him and whose descendants are still in Damascus¹³¹. Unlike other teachers, his study extended to his selection of philosophical texts from Plato and Aristotle from his own library that he began to regroup once in Bursa¹³². He will develop a quite powerful thought during those

¹²⁵ Linda Schilcher, *Families in Politics: Damascene factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th century*, (F.Steiner, 1985), 217

¹²⁶ Saadallah Abu al-Kasim, *Tarikh al- Djezair al-thakafi*, v.5, 537

¹²⁷ Muhammed b. Abd al-Qâdir, *Tuhfat*, v.2, 66

¹²⁸ About the relation that existed between Emir Abdulkadir and Ibn al-Arabi, check the introduction of *the Spiritual Writings of Amir Abd al-Kader* by Michel Chodkiwicz.

¹²⁹ Muhammed b. Abd al-Qadir, *Tuhfat*, v. 2, 66. Reports the establishment of Abdelkader at Izzet Pasha's just after the visit to the mausoleum of Ibn Arabi.

¹³⁰ Muslu, *Emir Abdülkadir*, 75

¹³¹ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 277

¹³² Churchill, *the Life of Abdel kader*, 307

years of research and reflection. Moreover, and in order to expand his Sufi knowledge, Abdulkadir met sheikh Sabri el-Mewlawi and became connected to the Mawlawiyya tariqat¹³³.

In Damascus, Abdulkadir quickly exerted an influence on the local religious elite. His status as sherif and the aura of sanctity recognized as soon as he arrived by the ulemas, preceded him. He also took over quickly the activities of the Chakmakiyya religious school, located around the Mosque of Umayyad and was active in several other mosques in the city¹³⁴. According to the Emir's son, his father had purchased a Muslim school called Dâr al-Hâdith transformed by an Orthodox Christian into a tavern and repaired it.¹³⁵ He also taught the fundamental texts of the Islamic tradition in different lodges of brotherhoods, and commented on *Sahih al-Bukhari* at the Madrassa al-Achrafiya¹³⁶. Moreover, due to his need of a new house in Damascus, and not having the amount of money to get one, Abdulkadir, however, preferred to ask for the acquisition of a land in one of Damascus villages. In the report of a council of ministers, the question of the legality of the acquisition of land requested by Abdulkadir was the reason for refusing his demand. To honor their responsibilities towards him, the Ottomans chose a financial solution. They decided to offer him the sum of a thousand *kise* or purse (the equivalent of 500 000 kuruş, this money would be taken from the province's resources¹³⁷.

In fact, Abdulkadir enjoyed the best of both worlds. He acted as a protege of France and at the same time as a rich Muslim notable. Thanks to his privileged position, he was able to settle firmly in Damascus, but also in the surrounding areas, by buying lands.

One of the most important humanitarian attitudes of the Emir is recorded during July, 1860's. The events in Damascus were preceded by denominational violence that had occurred between Maronite Christians and Druze, which caused the

¹³³ Muslu, *Emir Abdülkadir*, 76

¹³⁴ Abu Ya'li, *Tarikh al zwawa* (Algiers, Manchourat Wizarat al Thaqafa, 2009), 21-22. Sohayl al Khâlidî evokes the Sanâniyya and al-'Anâba mosques in which Abd al-Qadir was active.

¹³⁵ Muhammed b. el-Emir, *Tuhfat al-Za'ir*, 78

¹³⁶ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 277

¹³⁷ BOA, I.MMS.11/440, The son of Abdulkader also mentions this compromise and evokes an identical sum of (1000 money bag). See also, *Tuhfet*, 82

killing of thousands of Christians, as a result, the emir was called upon to intervene decisively to save the remaining individuals. The number of people saved from murder and torment of those who sought refuge in his house, about fifteen thousand people among them consuls, notables of Christians, monks and nuns. However, when his house became overcrowded, he sent the rest to the city's castle and others to Beirut¹³⁸. There are conflicting historical accounts of the actual number of Christian deaths targeted by the massacres. The total number of this latter between Lebanon and Damascus was about 12900 according to Catholic sources, while Ottoman sources gave 11500 victims¹³⁹.

Until recently, who wanted to know the action of Abdulkadir in the events of Damascus could do so only through the versions of the facts of Alexandre Bellemare. In the final passage of the latter's biography, Abdulkadir was a true hero worthy of a novel by Alexandre Dumas. Abdulkadir did not hesitate to harangue the rioters who came in front of his house to demand that the Christians be handed over to them.

When the Sublime Porte got wind of Abdulkadir's intervention, he already had much more prestige than a "former Bedouin chief". In fact, he had all the qualities required to act as a hero through his noble origins and his career. By this act of bravery, he was recognized as a hero. The semantics found in Ottoman sources when it comes to Abdulkadir's intervention is a matter of heroism. He is described as a vigilante. The term, which constantly comes back, has a strong religious value: Abdulkadir is the one who, in Damascus, "calmed the disorder" (*teskîn-i fitne*)¹⁴⁰. According to the terminology used in the same document, he also appears as the servant of the State since he has shown "effort" (*gayret etmiş*)¹⁴¹ and strove to defend a number of *zimmis* who were protected by a Muslim state, therefore by the Ottoman state. In a letter to the Sultan, Abdulkadir explained his gesture as a fight against disorder, rebellion, "corrupt people" (*ahl al-fasad*)¹⁴². Once again, this is what

¹³⁸ Keyyali Asim Ibrahim, *Terdjemetou 'l-Emir Abdelkader el-Djeza'iri*, (bughyatu al-talib, ala tartibi tejeli bi kulliyati al maratib, (Beirut, Daru'l-Kutubi'l-Ilmiyya, 2004), 11-13

¹³⁹ Ageron Charles-Robert. Abd el-Kader Souverain d'un Royaume Arabe d'Orient, in: *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, (Unica n: 8, 1970), 16. See : https://www.persee.fr/doc/remmm_0035-1474_1970_hos_8_1_1028

¹⁴⁰ BOA, A.MKT.NZD 322.63

¹⁴¹ Ibid

¹⁴² BOA, HR.MKT.367/96

Abdulkadir himself emphasized in his letter to the Sultan: he had only done his duty as a believer (*razı olacağı işler yaptık*)¹⁴³.

According to Churchill and after this noble act, the Emir received all the letters of appreciation and admiration. “France sent the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour; Russia, the Grand Cross of the White Eagle; Prussia, the Grand Cross of the Black Eagle; Greece, the Grand Cross of the Saviour; Turkey, The Medjidié of the 1st class. England sent a double-barreled gun, beautifully inlaid with gold; America, a brace of pistols similarly inlaid. The order of Freemasons in France sent him a magnificent star. All these gifts and decorations (see Illustration 3) were accompanied by letter of thanks”¹⁴⁴.

¹⁴³ Ibid

¹⁴⁴ Churchill, *the Life of Abdel Kader*, 320. See, Muhammed b. el-Emir, *Tuhfat al-Za'ir*, 98-101, Paul Azan, *l'Émir Abd el Kader*, 260-277



Illustration (3), Medals, expressions of International recognition, coming from heads of state, princes, kings and personalities conserved at the Army Central Museum, Riadh al-Fath Algiers

During his stay in Damascus, he focused on meditation, study and dhikr, and from time to another he tended to travel, first he went to Palestine (1857) and visited in historical tombs of Companions, and then Homs (1860) and passed by the tomb of Khalid Ibn al-Walid. In Hama he visited the tomb of the Caliph Omar Abdul Aziz¹⁴⁵. In 1863 he decided to go to Hijaz to accomplish the pilgrimage, on his way he passed by Alexandria and Cairo, then Jedah and finally Mecca. Once there he met sheikh

¹⁴⁵Muhammed b. el-Emir, *Tuhfat al-Za'ir*, 116

Mohammed el-Fasi and became a disciple of the Shadheliyya tariqat¹⁴⁶. Abdulkadir stayed there almost a year, and spent his time in total “ascetic discipline, the retreat and the spiritual combat”¹⁴⁷. In 1865, he went to visit Sultan Abdul Aziz in Istanbul, who honored him with the first class Osmaniye medal¹⁴⁸ (gold and diamante) which is the highest distinction of the Ottoman state. Then he went to France passing by Marseille and Lyon, where he met Napoleon III¹⁴⁹, who rewarded him by raising his salary to two thousand five hundred pounds¹⁵⁰. From Paris he went to visit London, in which he stayed for four days and received all the hospitality and honor.

Abdulkadir has become a world-renowned figure wherever he goes; he even received a letter from sheikh Shamil who was an exile in Russia who expressed his admiration for the emir’s bravery and character, who wrote him back wishing him the soon release¹⁵¹.

In 1869 Abdulkadir had the chance to attend the opening of the Suez Canal, then came back again to Damascus¹⁵². His involvement in this project is best understood through the status of the power he gradually acquired when he arrived in Damascus, but especially after the events of 1860.

Last years of Abdulkadir were spent in complete isolation and study, and thus achieved the role and status he had always imagined, that is following the Sufi path. For him reaching the career he always longed for “have been marked out for him by destiny”, he said: “*It was pointed out to me by my birth, my education, and my predilection. It is one which I ardently long to resume, and to which I never cease praying to God to allow me to return, now at the close of my laborious years.*”¹⁵³

At the end of his life, Emir Abdulkadir was exposed to diseases that he faced with a strong heart and good patience. With the intense pain, he did not leave dhikr

¹⁴⁶ Muslu, *Emir Abdülkadir*, 87

¹⁴⁷ Michel Chodkiewicz, *the Spiritual Writings*, 10

¹⁴⁸ BOA, I.HR 213/12335

¹⁴⁹ See, Muhammed b. el-Emir, *Tuhfat al-Za’ir*, 195. Abdulkadir’s son narrates that his father mediated to Napoleon III, and asked for his help regarding the release of Sheikh Shamil who was an exile in Russia. It is important to mention that Abdulkader heard about the imam Mujahid Shamil and his jihad while in Algeria. These two legends were spiritually, intellectually and culturally close.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 153-154

¹⁵¹ For the whole correspondence between Abdulkadir and sheikh Shamil, see Churchill, *the Life of Abdel Kader*, 321-324

¹⁵² Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 347

¹⁵³ Churchill, *the Life of Abdel Kader*, 329

and praying¹⁵⁴, until he passed away on May 24th, 1883¹⁵⁵. He was buried according to his wishes near the great Sufi leader Ibn Arabi. In July 1966, his remains were transferred to Algeria and he was buried in the Alia cemetery in Algiers¹⁵⁶.

As a result, Abdulkadir's latter years are regarded as a period of growth in the realm of Islamic Mysticism during which he reached Sufi maturity and "supreme degree-al-rutbat al-kubra"¹⁵⁷.

As mentioned before, the life of Abdulkadir went through four stages, which were deeply related to his approach of Sufism. The first stage began with learning and reading, not a personal spiritual experience, followed by the second stage, the (*jihad al-asghar*) period, which is the basis of the practical mysticism. Then the third stage of Sufi meditation and deep spiritual thinking, and the fourth and last one is the Sufi maturity stage.

2.2 Emir Abdulkadir as described by the other

Emir Abdulkadir has been described by those with whom he contacted, dealt with or just got to know. All of them praise his character and were proud of his attributes and heroism. This requires us, in the framework of drawing a sincere and expressive image of this distinguished personality, refer to the writings of those people, as well as the description they contain, it also helps to determine the dimensions of the personality of Abdulkadir and identify the secrets of his success.

Léon Roches's description of Emir Abdulkadir's physical portrait is certainly the most important and the most precise. He himself says that it is the result of a two-year stay during which he met frequently with the emir. He said: " he had a pale matte complexion, his forehead is large; his black, fine and well-arched eyebrows rise above the big blue eyes that fascinated me. His nose is fine and slightly aquiline, his lips thin without being pinched, and his black and silky beard slightly frames the oval of his figure. A small tattoo between the two eyebrows brings out the purity of

¹⁵⁴ Muslu, *Emir Abdülkadir*, 95

¹⁵⁵ Muhammed ben Abd al-Qâdir Jaza'iri, *Tuhfatu al-Za'ir*, 247

¹⁵⁶ Sadaiah Abu al-Kasim, *Tarikh al- Djezair al-thakafi*, v.5, 550

¹⁵⁷ Michel Chodkiwicz, *the Spiritual Writings*, 11

the forehead. His hand, thin and small, is remarkably white, furrowed with blue veins, his long, slender fingers are terminated by perfectly cut pink nails, his size does not exceed five feet and a few lines, but his muscular system indicates a great vigor". "A few rounds of a little rope made of camel hair fix around her head a *kaik* of fine white wool; a cotton shirt and over a woollen shirt, of the same color, the *kaik*, who after circling the head envelops the body, and a white burnous covered with a brown burnous, that is all his costume. He still holds a small black rosary in his hand"¹⁵⁸. It is a fact that a person's physical condition can be a good contribution to the moment of war and peace. In the past, people were impressed by the pace exterior of a person before his human characters. According to Léon Roches' account, Emir Abdulkader left a strong impression on him at the first glance. Be that as it may, the physical portrait of a person cannot stand in the absence of a strong personality.

As for his actions and behavior, Emir Abdulkadir combined the morals of an *Alim* with the actions of a hero, a modest leader, and a sheikh of a tariqat. He was adhering to the traditions of his family, friendly, and known for his obedience to his parents. During his trip to the East to perform the pilgrimage he was keen to serve his father himself, despite the large number of servants who accompanied him¹⁵⁹.

It is impossible to deny the role of the circumstances which the Emir experienced in his daily life with its political and social aspects of his personality and discourse about humanism through the idea of a full man. The difficult life that a man undergoes results in his glories, especially if he is was tolerated and endured the various hardships. This is what applies to the Emir, whose sufferance from confronting colonialism, deportation and arrest is considered as a grace as much as a curse, because it was only increased by determination and bravery. The whole world discovers the humanism of Emir Abdulkadir who with his asceticism mysticism, and tolerance was the example of a tolerant human being and the model of an open intellectual about the ideas and beliefs of the other, so he believed in the necessity of brotherhood and coexistence between the different religions, cultures and ideas, and

¹⁵⁸ Leon Roches, *Trente-deux ans à travers l'Islam 1832- 1864*, (Paris, Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1884), 66

¹⁵⁹ al-Hafnawi Abu al-Kasim, *T'arif al-khalaf bi rijal al-salaf*, (Beirut, Mu'assassat Rissala, 1982), 317

this was he demonstrated practically in his human behavior during the events of Damascus 1860. He expressed it frankly in his message *Zikra'l-akil ve tenbihu'l-ghafil* by saying: "*If the Muslims and Christians listened to me, I would raise the dispute between them and they would become brothers in the face of the world, but they do not*"¹⁶⁰.

Behind his state stands a religious, political and military man. Emir Abdulkadir is a man of faith and science. Roches sees him as "one of the most learned theologians of the time". Once his religious duty was fulfilled, he took care of the affairs of his state and his people. From time to time, the emir listened to the grievances of his compatriots and systematically answered the questions raised. "*When he prays, writes the author, he is an ascetic. When he speaks war, his features are illuminated, he is a soldier.*"¹⁶¹

Abdulkadir was a knight with a sword and a pen, according to Saadalah, "he lined with his sword the national events and military battles, and with his pen the intellectual pages and historical facts"¹⁶².

2.3 The beginnings of the "Emirization" of Abdulkadir

At his death in 1883, Abdulkadir was remembered at the palace of Abdülhamid II as the "savior of the Christians of 1860"¹⁶³. At the same time, the male members of his descendants all came to bear the title of "emir". They were designated by this title because their father was honored posthumously¹⁶⁴. One would think that the use of this title was a product of European influence, who shared a common history with the Ottomans about Abdulkadir. The French and the English did not cease to designate Abdulkadir by "emir" all his life. However, with very rare exceptions, Abdulkadir was not named, during his lifetime, by this title by

¹⁶⁰ Belgrad Muhammed, el-Djanibu's-sufi wa thakafi fi hayati'l-Emir Abdulkadir, in, *Majalatou al-Tarikh*, 1983, 107

¹⁶¹ For further information about the personality and daily life of Emir Abdulkadir, see Leon Roche's description, *Trente-deux ans à travers l'Islam*, 112-113

¹⁶² Saadalah Abu al-Kasim, *Abhaath wa ara'e fi tarikhi el-Djazai'r, al-siretu el-zatiyya lil Emir Abdulkadir*, v, 4.(Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1996), 180

¹⁶³ Y. PRK.AZJ 7.73. The document appears to be the first message announcing the death of Abd al-Qadir which occurred at the end of May 1883.

¹⁶⁴ For the first designations by the title in question see, for example, BOA, Î.DH 71 O. 72289, Y.E.E 11 .23

the Ottomans. It was not until his death, therefore from 1883, that he was consecrated "Emir", within the framework of a logic which goes beyond the framework of our research. That the Ottomans did not wish to grant him this title does not mean that Abdulkadir is not self-proclaimed in this way with them. This is indeed the case from the events of 1860 and it is therefore for this that retracing this use by the Ottomans can only be done by being aware of that, which Abdulkadir made of this title about twenty years earlier, in a specific political context. Until today, if the use of this title by Abdulkadir himself is limited, according to specialists, to the period of the war in Algeria¹⁶⁵ is indeed proof that the Ottoman archives provide new data on the career of a famous character. His "emirization" by himself, will later have a connection with the events of Damascus. This phenomenon is one of the expressions of the consolidation of his power through a closer link with the center of Ottoman power after July 1860.

During the war in Algeria, Abdulkadir used the title of "Emir" mainly with the European Powers. This title was linked to the function of caliph (*Emir al-Muminîn*, or Commander of the Believers of Faithful), which gave him the central position in the war: that of a chief defending a land Muslim and protecting his subjects.

However, after his detention in France and his final installation in the Ottoman territories, his way of presenting himself to the Ottomans changed. In his letters to the Ottomans, while in Bursa, Abdulkadir made no reference to his role in the war by any mark. It is rather the moment when he began to assert his sherifian ancestry to the Ottomans by signing in particular by "*al Hassani*". However, if he did not present himself directly as Emir, his translator did so for him in Bursa. In 1854, Abdulkadir indirectly rehabilitated the use of the title of Emir in his letters (see, illustration 4). In one of them, the inscription "Emîr Abdulkadir" was the initiative of his translator, but the affixing of his seal shows the entire guarantee that Abdulkadir brought to this title¹⁶⁶.

¹⁶⁵ Éric Geoffroy, *Un Spirituel*, 7. "As for the title" emir, he no longer uses it from his period of captivity (December 1847).

¹⁶⁶ BOA, I.MMS 3.109



Illustration (4) an example of Abdulkadir's signature after 1860¹⁶⁷

However, it was not until five years later that Abdulkadir himself took the initiative to sign with "Emir". Recourse to this position, which recalled its authority in the holy war in Algeria, was like the crowning of his prestige. He used this distinction just after the events of 1860, when his fame had become international. He had more leeway to emphasize his importance to the Sublime Porte. Just by his signature. Even if he did not use all this panoply in all his exchanges with the Sublime Porte, he had recourse to these charismatic effects when communication required it: a request for a grant for his family is a good example. In 1862¹⁶⁸, a year later, while he was in Mecca for Pilgrimage, he called himself by a title similar to that of Emir: the "servant of holy war" (*Khâdim al-jihâd*). This variant shows that the use of an emir did indeed have this dimension of reminder of his role in the war in Algeria. In his letter, he essentially appealed to the Sublime Porte to provide for his family's needs during his absence and to claim favors from the state towards one of his close friends who had shown zeal during the events of Damascus in 1860. The prestige was not the only result: once he had become notable, Abdulkadir refined his hero image to obtain from the Ottomans the rapid and systematic satisfaction of his requests which became more direct and numerous after 1860.

¹⁶⁷ BOA, I.DH 528.36491

¹⁶⁸ BOA, IMVL 468.21237

2.4 Emir Abdulkadir and the Freemasonry

Many historians, including Arabs and Westerners, have written about the Emir's affiliation to Freemasonry, with the majority of them being Arabs who accused him of following in its footsteps and presented several proofs to prove the validity of their statements, while others denied these allegations and stated that they were merely hearsay.

It marked the beginning of the debate over Emir Abdulkadir and Freemasonry since the Damascus events of 1860. Messages of congratulations, appreciation, and high honors were sent to the Emir on that occasion. Among the items he received was a letter of thanks from the Freemasons, “we come after so many others, but with no less ardor and gratitude, to add a modest jewel to the crown of blessings which the civilized places on your noble and sacred head today. We come to offer our tribute of admiration to **the one who, superior to the prejudices of caste and religion**, showed himself to be a man above all and listened only to the inspirations of his heart to oppose and impregnable response to the **fury of barbarism and fanaticism**”¹⁶⁹. The association continues to demonstrate the emir's status and humanity towards the Christians and adds: “Yes, you are indeed the representative, **the true type, of this vigorous Arab nationality to which Europe owes in large part, its civilization and the sciences which enlighten it**”¹⁷⁰.

Bruno Etienne mentions in his book that: “Also upon receipt of the first letter from the Grand Orient of France congratulating him on his action, explaining to the Emir, the ins and outs of the honorable association by a Lebanese among the rare Arab-Muslim masons”¹⁷¹

Abdulkadir saw in this association a mere intellectual orientation that did not affect his faith and did not contradict his human behavior as long as this movement believed in the existence of God and the immortality of the soul and tolerance in treatment between humans. However, members of the Masonic lodge, on the other hand, found in the Emir an exceptional person worthy of engaging, especially because he is welcomed and admired in Europe. They considered him a

¹⁶⁹ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 322

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 319

certain gain that would allow them to spread their ideas in the Arab and Islamic societies in the East.

The most important humanitarian positions of the Emir were recorded during the outbreak of the 1860's sectarian strife in Damascus. He did not hesitate to protect the Dhimmis, and opened his residence, and the residences of his followers, to receive the Christians of different sects, who were threatened with mass murder. These events turned from an internal issue that exceeded the powers of the Ottoman Empire into an international issue. This action earned the Emir the admiration of the Ottoman authorities and European kings, and in these trying times, signs and indicators of the Masonic movement appeared on the horizon of Emir Abdulkadir's life, and their relationship to the Emir's religious and humanitarian activities, so its lodges became promoting in the East and West that Abdulkadir is a friend of Freemasonry and one of its followers.

The poles of the Loge Henri IV du Grand Orient, a branch of Freemasonry active in France and seeking adherents in the Levant, were focused on attracting Emir Abdulkadir to their lodge, and when he arrived to Egypt on his way to the Hijaz, the Masonic body of Alexandria, the Lodge of Pyramids, celebrated his joining to the Freemasonry movement on June 18, 1864. Thus Abdulkadir acquired the status of a Masonic member of Henry IV in Paris¹⁷².

Advocates of Freemasonry did not achieve what they hoped for the joining of the Emir to their ranks due to the depth of his faith and the strength of his personality. He did not bother to attend the party they planned to hold in his honor (August 1865) and even when he attended a Masonic meeting during his visit to Paris (August 30th, 1865) he made them feel that he is not responsible nor he has the intention of promoting or advocating Freemasonry¹⁷³.

It was clear after that the Emir remained at a distance from this association, although the struggle over this issue continued and was not finally decided upon, despite all that was written about the fact that the Emir joined or not.

¹⁷² Saidouni, *Asr el Emir Abdulkadir*, 189

¹⁷³ Ibid, 190

Among the historians that wrote about this case, we find Yacono Xavier who published a pamphlet from the lodge of the Grand Orient in France in 1966, during the transfer of the Emir's remains to prove that he was an organizer of Freemasonry, and according to Mohammed Cherif Sahli, the historian Yacono was puzzled because he stated that the year 1865 is the year in which Abdulkadir is supposed to have become a member of Freemasonry, but it is also the year in which he finally cut off all relations with it¹⁷⁴.

As for Churchill, in *the Life of Abdel kader* clearly states the following phrase: Abdel Kader was initiated into the mysteries; and to the privilege of being the "Fellow of the Prophet," added the more time-honored privilege of being "a free and accepted Mason."¹⁷⁵

According to Salih al-Sayed's, none of the historians – who claimed the emir's affiliation with this association – bothered to research and scrutinize. They claimed by quoting, not by investigation and researching, and without providing documents or scientific facts that prove the validity of what they came with¹⁷⁶, and this is due to two important reasons:

First: Because the twenty-fourth chapter, which is the last chapter of Churchill's book, the author did not write it down in the life of the prince like the rest of the other chapters, and we find in the introduction to the book what proves that and Churchill mentioned it by saying: "*Little did I contemplate, on leaving Damascus in the spring of 1860, that another chapter was so soon about to be added to his strange and eventful history*"¹⁷⁷. In this phrase, we find Churchill confirming that he left Damascus in 1860, meaning that the information he obtained on this subject was obtained far from its main source, the Emir, and that this information was not attributed¹⁷⁸, and the information about the time period between 1860-1864, i.e. the period during which this report was written while in England, he took it from eyewitnesses from a group affiliated with this society, and this reduces the importance of the aforementioned chapter, and the author did not mention the names

¹⁷⁴ Sahli Mohammed Cherif, *l'Emir Abdulkader Mythes Français et Réalité Algérienne*, (Entreprise Algerienne de presse, 1988), 14

¹⁷⁵ Churchill, in *the Life of Abdel kader*, 328

¹⁷⁶ al-Sayid Salih Fouad, *al-amir Abdulkadir al-Djaza'iri moutasawifan*, 304

¹⁷⁷ See the preface of Churchill, *the Life of Abdel kader*,

¹⁷⁸ el-Amira Bedia el-Hasseni el-Djazairi, *fikr el-Emir Abdulkadir*, 268

of eyewitnesses or any evidence in this regard. And this is the biggest proof of the falsehood of this claim, as there is no document and no material evidence was found among the Emir's papers for the authenticity of this news, and if the association had any evidence, it would have shown it to journalist Churchill or to anyone who wanted to write on the subject¹⁷⁹.

Second: The book of Muhammed b. Abd al-Qâdir, *Tuhfat al-Za'ir*, which is considered one of the most reliable historical sources that dated the life of the emir. Since the announcement of his revolution until the date of his death in Damascus 1883, his author did not address this issue at all. The author neglected this aspect or perhaps deliberately omitted it, but what is his interest? (In concealing something that his father may have done, as some historians claim)¹⁸⁰

Whether the Emir joined this association or not, this movement at its inception was a peaceful movement with human dimensions, calling for tolerance and understanding among all human beings and the dissemination of science and culture, which prompted many senior figures in the Arab world to join it, and accordingly its first principles on which it was built were not inconsistent with the morals and values on which the emir was brought up, despite this, this issue will remain the subject of constant and continuous discussion and debate until new information or definitive evidence is reached that denies or proves the validity of these allegations.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 269

¹⁸⁰ al-Sayid Salih Fouad, *Al-Amir Abdulkadir al-Djaza'iri Moutasawifan*, 304

CHAPTER 3

THE EDUCATIONAL, SPIRITUAL AND INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS OF ABDULKADIR

Returning to the source that characterized the Sufi life of Emir Abdulkadir is summarized by the circumstances of the Qadiriyya tariqat in the late 18th and 19th centuries, which had a direct impact on the cultural life and control of the population's spiritual orientations, which are due to their big number it is difficult to enumerate all of them, Rahmaniyya, Qadiriyya (to which Abdulkadir belonged), Shadhiliyya, Senussiyya, Darkawiyya and Tidjaniyya and others.

3.1 Stages of Abdulkadir's Mysticism

Most studies agree that Emir Abdulkadir grew up in a religious environment in a family belonging to the Qadiriyya brotherhood, which made him discover the world of mysticism and strive to read *kutub al-qawm* (books of Sufi leaders) and therefore it can be said that his mysticism passed through several stages:

3.1.1 Receiving, learning and examination

This period extends from the birth of the Emir in Ketna in 1807 to the date he departed to France in 1847. He grew up in the field of knowledge, so he was able to read and write at the age of five and learned Quran by heart when he was twelve years old. Then he moved to the city of Oran, and received from a number of its scholars the origins of sciences, such as history, philosophy, mathematics, Arabic literature, astronomy, medicine, and so on. With the death of his father, the spiritual caliphate in the Qadiriyya tariqat passed to the Emir, who was then the leader of jihad and was about 27 years old. Moreover, he was eager to read the books of Sufism the first of which his father's book *Irshadu'l-muriidiin*, he says in al-Mawaqif: "*I had, from childhood, a passion for reading the books of spiritual masters, without following their path. While reading, I discovered words emanating from the masters of spirituality who made my hair stand on end and oppressed my*

soul, despite my faith in their speeches taken in the sense that they gave, because I was sure of their perfect observance of (legal) conventions and of their good morals”¹⁸¹. After being chosen as “emir” and declared jihad and the rule of the country, his circle of relations expanded with many sheikhs of various Sufi orders inside and outside the country, like Qadiriyya, Shadhiliyya, Derkawiyya and Rahmaniyya who supported him during his revolution against the enemy.

It appears that the most important period of time in this stage is the period between 1825 and 1828, which is the period of the oriental journey in which Abdulkadir traveled with his father to perform pilgrimage, therefore he got the chance to gain first-hand knowledge of some Sufi orders. In the fourth mawqif of his book al-Mawaqif he says: “*He who does not follow the way of the initiates and does not acquire their spiritual sciences in order to know himself will not attain perfect purity in adoration even if he is the most pious, the most scrupulous, the most ascetic of men; the most energetic in retreat far from creatures and in the pursuit of a hidden life; the most perspicacious in the examination of the ruses of the passionate soul and its secret faults. But if the divine Mercy grants him the knowledge of himself, then his adoration will be pure; and, for him, paradise and hell, recompense, spiritual degrees and all created things will be as though God had never created them. He will not accord them any importance, nor will he take them into consideration, except to the extent that it is prescribed by the divine Law and Wisdom. For then he will know who is the solde Agent*”¹⁸². In Damascus, he became a disciple of the great master Sheikh Mohammed Halid to whom he used to attend regularly and learned about Sufism and monotheism and became connected with the Naqshbandiyya¹⁸³, and then in Baghdad he visited the tomb of Abdulkadir Geylani and some other Sufi masters like sheikh Mahumd el-Kadiri and became connected to the Qadiriyya tariqat.

This scientific trip to the East is an opportunity to observe many ancient and modern sciences. So Abdulkadir-in addition to being aware of many religious, Sufi sciences and Linguistics- was able to read the books of philosophy, Muwatta Imam

¹⁸¹ Keyyali, *Mawaqif*, v.1, 58

¹⁸² Ibid, 50. See also, Michel Chodkiewicz, *the Spiritual Writings*, 38-39

¹⁸³ Muhammed b. Abd al-Qâdir, *Tuhfat al-Za'ir*, v.2, 303

Malik and Sahih al-Bukhari, and all this indicates a solid, well-established religious knowledge of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence, and philosophy, in addition to deepen his knowledge by reading the works of the great Sufi Ibn Arabi which he would later attempt to correct one of them “*el-Futuhatu’l-Mekkiye*” after sending a copy of it with two scholars to Konya in order to compare it with a copy there¹⁸⁴.

3.1.2 Meditation and observation

This stage is divided into two periods of time, the years when he was captive in France, and his stay in Bursa.

a- This stage is defined as the stage of solitude, meditation and devotion in which Abdulkadir held captive in Toulon, Pau and finally in Amboise. In this period Abdulkadir’s mystic strength appears in converting the ordeal into comfort, patience and relief, because he saw affliction as a test that can be a divine favor if he uses it with patience.

Given that Abdulkadir was a life sentence inmate, he could overcome his fear by accepting his destiny and disciplining his emotions with a self control that will take him far further. His mental stamina and self strength acquired through initiation allow him to positively transform the effects of his captivity and isolation, especially his skepticism and doubts about God’s will¹⁸⁵. The spiritual retreat is one of the accessible tools to the disciple to grow on the path, and it is a typical practice in most Sufi orders. It is a solitary practice follows strict rules and specifications and is limited only to the advanced followers, in which the disciple learns about himself when placed in a state of seclusion and retreat.

He mentions in mawqif 211 this retreat and said:” *I once entered into retreat, and when I entered, my soul was broken, I lost hope, and my heart fainted. All that I knew seemed false to me, all company seemed like solitude, every good thing, something painful... The day was night for me, and the night accursed, and any closeness I wanted to reach was taken from me; there was no more than my prayer. I saw the Prophet in my dream during this ibtilaa (affliction), I entered the house*

¹⁸⁴ Saidouni, *Asr el-Emir Abdulkadir* , 188

¹⁸⁵ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 230-231

where he was with a group of people, there was a rosary in his hand, he raised it towards me and said “and pray”, I interpreted this as he wants me to get busy with prayer and dhikr so I read this couplet aloud:

Are you mocking and despising duaa?

How do you know what duaa is doing

It is an arrow that strikes the target of the night unfailingly

It has an end and every end comes and goes.

The Prophet enjoyed the couplets, he turned to those who were present with him in the council and praised me. After that duaa and entreat became my habit. I used to repeat some prayers of the Prophet, during this period, there were events and incidents that heralded patience and commanded me”¹⁸⁶.

This stage is considered as the most important experience that Abdulkadir had ever taken in his life and Sufi journeys, as it is a preparation and readiness for the grand stage in which he reached the height of Sufism and *Irfan* (knowledge). This phase was known for abundant intellectual production, discoveries and dialogues with the other represented in the French and European Christians. In the heart of Europe, the Emir discovers when he was a prisoner and an exile in France, in addition to the deception by the French ruling authority at that time, another type of Europeans differ from those who he dealt with during his resistance, then he begins to discover them through their discussions, thus he wrote in Amboise *el-Mikradu’l-Hadd li-kat’I lisani muntekidi dini’l-Islam bi’l-batili wa’l-ilhad*, It is originally a message to respond to one of the priests who falsely accused the Islamic religion of permitting treachery and deception. He started the book by confessing he knew nothing of these French people¹⁸⁷.

Thus, during these five long years, the Emir leads a life of study, meditation and teaching to his family and followers –twenty five of whom died in prison which increased his deep sadness-, and due to his condition, the state decided to send General Dumas on a secret mission to the emir, where he began to study and observe

¹⁸⁶ Keyyali, *Mawaqif*, I, 278-279

¹⁸⁷ See Emir Abdulkadir el-Djezairi, *el-mikradu’l-hadd li-kat’I lisani muntekidi dini’l-Islam bi’l-batili wa’l-ilhad*, (Beirut, Maktbatu’l-hayat, 1966)

his thoughts and emotions, and tried to convince him to change his mind little by little about the promises given to him by General Lamoriciere and the Duc D'Aumale when he surrendered and was offered to reside in France under conditions no less than luxurious- "a royal chateau, a guard of honour, and all the pomp and appurtenances of a prince.". Abdulkadir answered vigorously to Dumas' offer: "*Have you ceased to know me? What! is it you who thus speaks to me? Your diplomatic talents, I have no doubt, are very useful to France; but I intreat you not to expend them thus uselessly on me*". Then, taking up a corner of his burnous with both hands, and leaning towards the window, he exclaimed, "*If you were to bring me, on the part of your King, all the wealth of France in millions and in diamonds, and it were possible to place them all in the fold of my burnous, I would throw them on the instant into the sea which washes my prison walls, rather than give you back the word which has been so solemnly given to me. That word I will carry with me to my grave. I am your guest. Make me your prisoner if you will; but the shame and ignominy will be with you, not with me.*"¹⁸⁸

b- After his release in 1853 he passed by Bursa where he stayed for two years. Then he finally moved to Damascus in 1855. In general, his life path reflects his existential and cognitive experience. At this point in his life, Abdulkadir wrote *Zikra'l-akil wa tenbihu'l-ghafil*, which is in general a contribution from him to the philosophical research during his time, and he issued it at a time when his contemporaries researches were only about religious and literary research and others. In its introduction, he said: "But after I have been informed that French scholars wrote my name in the scholars' book, and organized me into the wire of the great, I was shaking of joy... and I called this message *Zikra'l-akil wa tenbihu'l-ghafil*"¹⁸⁹. In this book, his philosophical stances and his scientific culture, which reveals knowledge of Greek and Islamic philosophy, history and religions as well as Sufi heritage, are evident.

¹⁸⁸ Churchill, *the Life of Abdel Kader*, 271-272

¹⁸⁹ See, El-Emir Abdulkadir b. Muhyiddin, *Zikra'l-akil wa tenbihu'l-ghafil*'s introduction

3.1.3 Maturity

This period starts from Abdulkadir's departure from Bursa and his final stay in the Levant where the beginning of friction with the Arab Orient, which is known as the Eastern stage, where he became a universal character, given his fame and his meetings with various international personalities later. He was known as the humanistic mystic philosopher who mediates and defends the Christians in the bloody events of 1860. This period lasted for nearly thirty years, he delved into the science of the *qawm* (Sufi masters), got to know the deepest facts, toured, secluded himself and retired, and his most famous retreat lasted for one year and a half between Makkah and Madinah, this retreat was in Djabal *al-Nur* in the grotto of Hira where he attained *al-rutbatu'l-kubra* (the Supreme degree) and *al-fat'h al-nurani* (illumination)¹⁹⁰. This place was chosen by Abdulkadir, because it is the same place in which our Prophet received the first revelations. According to his son: "from that time on, the fountains of wisdom sprang from his tongue"¹⁹¹. This visit between 1863 and 1864 allowed Abdulkadir to meet with the elders of Sufism, like the sheikh of Shadheliyya and Derkawiyya Sheikh Muhammed b. el-Mes'ud el-Fassi who became his teacher and put the finishing touches on his initiation or investiture. Abdulkadir in return praised him with his poem of 111 verses and in which he describes the beginning and the ending of his Sufi journey¹⁹².

Then he moved to al-Madinah where he stayed for two months in a sacred place close to al-Masjid an-Nabawī's wall, which is originally the house of Abu-Bakr al-Siddiq. During this retreat Abdulkadir was able to deepen his Sufi knowledge, and the Koranic and prophetic hadiths were revealed to him¹⁹³, then he went back to Damascus after two years of absence. The Emir Abdulkadir spent this period in studying, writing, mystical contemplation, and spiritual trips to many holy places. This last period of his life was rich and especially fertile, that he became the center of attention of many scholars and intellectuals from the Levant, to whom they return in many religious matters, and rely on his views.

¹⁹⁰ Muhammed b. Abd al-Qâdir Jaza'iri, *Tuhfatu al-Z'air*, II, 136-137

¹⁹¹ Ibid

¹⁹² Emir Abdulkadir b. Muhyiddin el Djazairi. Oustazi al-Soufi in, *Diwan Al-Emir Abd El-kader Al-Djazairi*, 135-149

¹⁹³ Muhammed b. Abd al-Qâdir Jaza'iri, *Tuhfatu al-Z'air*, II, 142-143

As Churchill says about Abdulkadir “He rises two hours before daybreak, and is engaged in prayer and religious meditation till sunrise, when he goes to the mosque. After spending half an hour there in public devotions, returns to his house, snatches a hurried meal, and then studies in his library till mid-day. The muezzin’s call now summons him again to the mosque where his class is already assembled, awaiting his arrival. He takes his seat, opens the book fixed upon for discussion and reads aloud, constantly interrupted by demands for those explanations which unlock the varied and accumulated stores of his troubled years of laborious study, investigation and research. The sitting lasts for three hours”¹⁹⁴.

These multiple readings, reviews, various books and contacts with personalities and scholars as well as the exchange of opinions, and diversity of ideas had an effective influence on the scientific aspect of the emir’s personality by broadening his cultural perspective and deepening the circle of his perceptions and the accumulation of his various experiences and wisdom.

Furthermore, Abdulkadir defines mysticism as “the jihad of the soul for the sake of God, and for the sake of knowing God and bringing the soul under divine commands, reassurance, and submission to the judgments of God’s lordship, not for anything other than God’s way”¹⁹⁵. And since the definition was consistent with the situation, and when the Emir was explicit in this situation, (mawqif 71) that his understanding came from acceptance, that is from God. His definition of this is related to his jihad in the first stage against French colonialism and jihad against the soul (*Jihad al-nafs*), which is considered as the greatest jihad for the Sufis.

What distinguishes the Emir in his mysticism is that, while appreciating and acknowledging the necessity of the sheikh in the Sufi path, at the same time he warns against any imitation (*taqlid*) of men or imitation of books, and is not satisfied except by the spiritual experience. We find him in the introduction of the Mawaqif saying that he realizes the truth by his understanding of the Koran and the Sunnah of the Prophet with divine understanding.

¹⁹⁴ Churchill, *the Life of Abdel kader* , 324

¹⁹⁵ Keyyali, *Mawaqif*, 130

Abdulkadir's thoughts, experiences and commitments are living testaments to the Sufi Mohammedan path's faithfulness and continuance, in which his spiritual and physical and spiritual states collide and the Universal Man emerges which is known as *Al-insan al-Kamil*.

3.2 Abdulkadir the savant in Damascus

The Emir Abdulkadir devoted himself almost completely to the educational process, studying and teaching, reading and writing, worship and mysticism, starting from his stay in Damascus until his death. As soon as he arrived there, the Damascene scholars and thinkers embraced him, where he began holding seminars and conducting jurisprudential and religious studies in the Umayyad Mosque¹⁹⁶. He used to gather scholars and notables who seek knowledge, and what sheikh Abd al-Razaaq al-Baytar said addressing Abdulkadir:” *We are the people of Damascus, after God has blessed us with great and abundant blessings in this town, His greatness has increased us by his grace to make your stay in it, so we benefited from your sciences and knowledge*”¹⁹⁷.

The house of the Emir was the center of his educational meetings to discuss important issues, and had a private session with the elders of the notables in which he explained the noble Koran verses, the noble Hadiths and the sayings of the righteous predecessors in his own way, which was admired by many who recorded his opinions which were gathered in a book called “*al-Mawaqif*”. Moreover, the Emir was engaged in reading and writing in several fields, which had great effects on his emotional preparations, his intellectual talents, his practical applications, his readings and his devotion to worship¹⁹⁸.

Meetings continued between Abdulkadir and the scholars in his home, where they were negotiating in order to find the best ways to reform the Damascene society that was marred by miserable conditions during the Ottoman era throughout the Levant, due to the spread of ignorance, decadence and corruption of morals, so the

¹⁹⁶ al-Amira Bedia el-Hasseni el-Djazairi, *Fikr el-Emir Abdulkadir: hakaik wa wathaiq beyne'l-hakika wa t'tahrif*, (Beirut, Dar el-Fikr, 2000), 40

¹⁹⁷ al-Sayid Salih Fouad, *al-amir Abdulkadir al-Djaza'iri moutasawifan*, p.70

¹⁹⁸ Muhammed b. Abd al-Qâdir, *Tuhfat al-Za'ir*, 120

Emir took the responsibility with the scholars to raise awareness. In addition to that, he spent the majority of his post-military career constructing, and teaching a complex vision of a brand new Islamic reform, one that urged the acceptance of reason, intelligence, and natural sciences as integral part of the Islamic heritage. Indeed these spiritual reforms approach are results of the influence of the great sheikh, al sheikh al-Akbar Muhyi al-Din ibn Arabi¹⁹⁹.

Furthermore, Abdulkadir had a great role in building mosques, schools and corners and encouraging children to join them. Parents used to send their children to receive explanations of the Holy Koran instead of studying with missionaries, so he set up teaching sessions in various places, and he even renovated many schools and zawayas. Some of the schools he taught at are: Dar al-Hadith al- Ashrafiya known as Dar al-Hadith al-Nawawi, opened in the 17th century. After taking it back from a Christian, Abdulkadir started teaching Koran and Hadith, and endowed it for prayers and allocated from his own money a monthly expenditure for teaching and education.²⁰⁰ Another important school is the Chakmakiyya, at which the Emir became a teacher, as he used to select a group of philosophical texts, such as Aristotle and Plato to support his seminars²⁰¹.

3.3 Different Features of Abdulkadir's Sufism

Abdulkadir is a great renovator of the Islamic mysticism in a way that expresses a new Sufi view supported by jihad and fighting colonialism. Sufism is like an intellectual movement and practical exercise that is a result of a rich journey filled with ideas and quest for certainty and perfection. As being considered as heir to the great master "Ibn Arabi", Abdulkadir is a vivid example of a unique spiritual and intellectual experience of his kind. So what are the reasons that paved the way for Abdulkadir's Sufi and spiritual path. There are a number of factors and reasons that made the Emir follow the path of the Mystics, among them:

- Analyzing the cultural field in which the Emir Abdulkadir grew up in its general and private characteristics would provide us with an acceptable

¹⁹⁹ Al-Sayid Salid Fouad, *al-Amir Abdulkadir al-Djaza'iri*, 297-298

²⁰⁰ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader*, 277

²⁰¹ Abu Ya'li, *Tarikh al zwawa* , 21-22

explanation for the components of the mystical vision. Sufism within him is not a contingent new element; rather it derives from the depths of the family and the society in which Abdulkadir grew up. Since his childhood, he had a tendency to Sufism; he was raised in a religious educational atmosphere, as he is the son of *al zawiya*, where he received the principles of religious and jurisprudence sciences.

- Abdulkadir took the sources of his mysticism from the books of the mystics, such as his father's book "Irsahdu'l-Muridin"²⁰², and was influenced by his grandfather Mohammed b. Muhtar. He used to take what he saw as useful and important and keep away from what is wrong and out of reason. Moreover, he was raised on piety, faith, love of the sheikhs and imitating them, and that is why his upbringing was Sufi from the beginning.

- The Emir was influenced by the thought of Sheikh Abdulkadir al-Jilani the eponym of the Qadiriyya brotherhood whose predecessors were sheikhs of the Qadiriyya order as well. But what increased this influence was his religious journey, which was a proof of the great and excessive religiosity, during which he stopped by Baghdad to visit the tomb of Abdulkadir al-Jilani and became connected to the Qadiriyya.

- The Akbarian seed was planted in Abdulkadir from his childhood through his father Muhyi al-Din. This latter, for his part, obtained the initiation and practice from the Emir's grandfather b. Muhtar who bestowed the Akbarian Khirqa by Sayyid Murtada al-Zabidi²⁰³. Thus, the basis of his Sufi attitude is affected by Ibn Arabi. As a matter of fact, it is seen that some of the important subjects recorded in Ibn Arabi's works such as *al-Futuhatu'l-Mekkiya*, *Fususul-Hikam* and *Kitabu't-Tajalliyat* are to be found in Abdulkadir's work *Kitab al Mawaqif*, "the Book of Stops", in which he states his certainty that Ibn Arabi is the "Seal of the Mohammedan Sainthood". In the *Mawaqif* 353, he defines his role quite precisely. And his belief that, after the prophets, sheikh al-Akbar is the one whose counsel is most useful for humans in this field²⁰⁴.

²⁰² Pessah Shinar, Abd al-Qadir and Abd al-Krim: Religious Influences on their Thought and Action, in *Asian and African Studies*, v.1(Israel, 1965), 144

²⁰³ Michel Chodkiewicz, *the Spiritual Writings*, 8

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 13

Through these factors, the roots of the Emir's mystical tendencies go back to an early period of his life, which started from his childhood, youth and upbringing by some Sufi sheikhs, and his meetings and dialogues with some personalities, during his travels in some of the countries he settled in and to his seclusion in the Hijaz.

Actually, the variety of Abdulkadir's interests, power of his acts, the ferocity of his convictions, and even his humanism, can only be comprehended through the unity of vision on which his life was based. This perspective is the result of a spiritual education and then a spiritual experience. That is the Sufi way.

3.4 Abdulkadir and Ibn Arabi

Through researching the premise and nature of Abdulkadir's mysticism, one can see how it reflects the importance of religious and philosophical formation of the human being, and the role of linking science and application to self-change before changing the world. While many Sufis' mysticism is practical, Abdulkadir's Sufism is rather philosophical because it theorizes the issues of existence, knowledge, perfect man. It is quite obvious that, to understand the thought of Abdulkadir, it is necessary to understand the point of view of Abdulkadir on the thought of Ibn Arabi of which he is the commentator and the disseminator.

In order to trace the relationship of the Emir with Ibn Arabi, the matter would bring us back to the upbringing of the Emir in the framework of his Hassani Sufi family, which enjoyed a remarkable spiritual leadership. Moreover, Abdulkadir's grandfather sheikh Mustapha bin Al-Mukhtar Al-Hassani, founder of the Qadiriyya branch in Algeria in the 12th century AH, which is the same way that Ibn Arabi was affected by taking it from al-Ghouth sheikh Abu Madyan who had the first to bring the method directly from its founder Abdulkadir al-Jilani²⁰⁵ to the countries of the Maghreb. Add that the emir's grandfather was an inheritor of the Akbari School who received it from the great Sufi and imam Muhammad Mortada al-Zubaidi. It is an early relationship that began since the emir's educational beginnings in the shadow of his father's zawiya, Muhyi al-Din), the Sheikh of the Qadiriyya Order, which allowed his son Abdulkadir had the opportunity to get close to the Akbarian heritage

²⁰⁵ Muslu, *Emir Abdülkadir*, 16

when he was no more than 25 years old, when they went to perform the Hajj, passing through Damascus where Abdulkadir was had the chance to visit the house of the elder Sheikh, where he viewed his manuscripts.

The contact with the greatest sheikh was established with the Emir's emigration to the Levant and his settlement there. His son Muhammad mentions that as soon as he arrived to Damascus, the first thing he did was to visit the tomb of Ibn Arabi. His stay in Damascus which is known as the period of realization allowed him to examine the Akbarian heritage and to devote himself to his studies, until he became an official spokesman for Ibn Arabi. In his book *Kitab al-Mawaqif* Abdulkadir mentions some of his spiritual observations in many mawaqif like 294, 298, 346 and 372²⁰⁶.

Abdulkadir fully focused his attention to concerns of spiritual and theological reform at this point in his career. During this time, in particular, he started his spiritual path, which eventually drove him to Ibn Arabi's thinking. On the verge of a severe spiritual situation, Ibn Arabi's philosophical mysticism is considered as the required cure for crisis at that time. As a result, once in Damascus, Abdulkadir devoted himself entirely to spread the Akbarian thinking among the groups of disciples who used to frequent him until his last days. Murabit Djawad summarizes the following about Abdulkadir: "Emir Abdulkadir forgot about everything except the Creature of things in Damascus. He established lecture and dhikr circles and scientific assemblies. He wrote books and wrote al-Mawaqif. He used to enter into retreat for forty days and feed on a small piece of bread and a spoon of olive oil. In normal times, he preferred to eat as little as the amount of necessity. While Emir was like this dozens of guests were coming to his house and the table was being set many times. He believed that zuhd would lead to happiness. Finally when the Emir passed away, he willed to be buried next to Sheikh Akbar"²⁰⁷.

The similarities and parallels in the life curves of these two major icons of Muslim faith are impossible to miss. Both are initially from the Muslim West, and after reaching full maturity and gaining popularity, they moved to the East to reside

²⁰⁶ Miftah abd-al Baki, *Buhuth hawla kutub wa mafahim al'sheikh al-Akbar Muhyi Diin Ibn Arabi*, (Beyrut, Dar al-kutub al-ilmiya, 2010), 230

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 127

permanently in Damascus after a few wanderings. Both are *majdhub*, or “delighted in God”, an object of inward illumination, even before completing the steps of the initiatory journey “*tariq al-suluk*”-it is about exercising the soul, striving, purification, abandoning vices, and manifesting with virtues to reach the state of divine seizure- under the guidance of a spiritual master. Since their hermeneutics are based on the Prophetic tradition, most of Ibn Arabi’s works, just like *kitab al-Mawaqif*, can be considered a commentary on the Qur’an or the Sunnah. In this matter Abdulkadir says: “*One of the graces that God has granted me since he showed me mercy by making me know my soul is the fact that the divine discourse and the inspiration projected in me do come only through the Koran*”²⁰⁸.

3.5 Existence and its Degrees “*Maratib al-wujud*”

Abdulkadir by commenting on the Koran and the prophetic tradition,” *Indeed, in the Messenger of Allah you have an excellent example*”²⁰⁹ is inspired by Ibn Arabi often called al-sheikh al-Akbar of whom he is the fervent disciple throughout his spiritual journey. In fact, some of this latter’s significant issues discussed in his works, such as *al-Futuhatu’l-Makkiyya*, *Kitabu-Tadjalliyyaat*, and *Fususul-Hikam* are also discussed in the Emir Abdulkadir’s *Mawaqif*, for instance the Unity of Existence (*wahdat al wujud*), Degrees of Existence (*Maratib al-wujud*), the Perfect Man (*al-Insan al-Kamil*), Degrees of the way (*Darjatu al-Suluk*) and others. However, certain passages of the Kitab al-Mawaqif remain rather obscure, this is why Adulkadir himself says “*Try to understand, otherwise accept!*”²¹⁰.

This study relied on mawqif 248 from the Kitab al Mawaqif by Emir Abdulkadir, in which he shows the degrees of existence or the manifestations and revelations of the divine names on the world. At the beginning Abdulkadir highlights that what is known as unity of existence is God’s names and attributes from the first intellect to the last creature. Abdulkadir follows the steps of his sheikh Muhyi al-Din

²⁰⁸ Keyyali, mawqif 83 in, *Mawaqif*, 144

²⁰⁹ Ibid, 43

²¹⁰ Ibid, mawqif 134

Ibn Arabi and confirms that the manifestations are constantly renewed, thus, creation is renewed.

3.6 Unity of Existence and of Vision

Unity of existence must be considered both relatively and entirely. Relatively, since the Essence is unique compared to other apparent Essences, entirely, because this uniqueness is so exclusive and absolute, that there is only one Essence or only one existing reality which appears as a divinity or as a creature, depending on the point of view. This uniqueness of existence (*wahdat al-wujud*) entails the uniqueness of vision (*wahdat al-shuhud*) which consists for the savant (*arif*) of God in seeing only Him in everything. Abdulkadir bases the doctrine of the unity of vision on the following tradition: “If God loves his servant, He becomes his hearing, his sight, his tongue, his hand, and all his powers”, “*He is the First and the Last, the Most High and Most Near, and He has 'perfect' knowledge of all things*”(al-Hadid 3)²¹¹. The Real is therefore both He who sees, He who is seen and the vision itself²¹².

At this degree of perception, therefore ceases all appearing of otherness (*al-ghayriyya*, *al-ithnayniyya*), yet “real” for the common people (*al-amm*). Speaking of uniqueness of existence and of vision, one must stay away from any false interpretation which would lead to conceive the relations of the Real and the servant in the form of union (*al-ittihad*), of fusion (*al-hulul*), of mixture (*al-imtizaadj*), of dissolution (*al-inhital*)²¹³.

The philosophical vision of existence is distinguished in the Sufi discourse of the Emir Abdulkadir through his conception of existence and non-existence, a perception that differs from the perception of the theologians and the perception of philosophers. He sees that the distinction between the created and uncreated reality is a formal distinction to the extent that there is no otherness in relation to the human subject as it is pure existence²¹⁴, for otherness exists only verbally and metaphorically. And since existence for the Sufis, especially those who believe in the

²¹¹ Ibid, mawqif 3, 48, and mawqif 15, 62

²¹² Ibid, mawqif, 106, 200

²¹³ Ibid, mawqif 6, 52

²¹⁴ Ibid, mawqif 63, 118

unity of existence, is one and not multiple, it descends through ranks or degrees that the Emir calls the degrees of existence (Maratibu'l-Wujud). This vision is derived from the Koranic verse: "*God is the light of the heavens and the earth*" (An-Nur 35).

It is important to understand the degrees of existence. These are universal determinations and appearances. These are divine names and they are natural creatures²¹⁵.

According to Abdulkadir, these degrees are divided into six:

- a- The Singularity, Unseen Degree (Gaybu'l-Magayyeb, Taayyun awal wa wihadtou al mutlaka).
- b- The Specification, Second Unseen Degree (Gaybu al thani).
- c- The Spirits and the first intellect Degree.
- d- The exemplary and imaginary universe Degree.
- e- The universe of bodies Degree.
- f- The Visible human being who collects all the above advanced degrees.

All these Degrees and appearances are all considered nominal matters²¹⁶.

a- Singularity

Descending from unity to singularity, we arrive at the first universal determination. The singularity plays the role of isthmus (barzakh) between the unity which for us is the degree of absolute nothingness and the uniqueness which represents the degree of absolute level of Existence or Essence. The singularity is logically anterior to all the determinations of which it is the source. It is the degree of reality or of the universal reality, because of its isthmic character; it accepts that reality is created and uncreated, unique and other. The Almighty has been kept away from all reputations, because the reputation to be made at this level is not an external judgment, but an internal one²¹⁷.

²¹⁵ Muslu Ramazan, *Emir Abdülkadir el-Cezairi*, 151

²¹⁶ Keyyali, *Mawaqif*, 478

²¹⁷ Ibid, 152

b- The Specification

At this second universal determination, science has an objective detailed reality. This degree is subdivided into the degree of pure Existence and the degree of possibility. The adjectives “*sifat*” found collectively in the first determinate degree stand out from each other in the second determinate level. Although the body knows all its names and attributes together in its first determination, the forms of all the general and partial meanings required by these names and attributes are separated from each other only at the level of this second determination²¹⁸.

In mawqif 248, Abdulkadir explains this degree saying: When the first scientific specification took place, two perfections of this definition emerged; one is the General subjective perfection “*mujmal kemal al zat*” which occurred without any condition, abundance, non-disclosure, distinction, noun and adjective. The other is Noun Perfection “*Kemal esmai*” which is detailed, manifests itself in names and truths. The emergence of this perfection depends on the names and their effects on themselves and their peers in the places where they appear individually. Thus, the Supreme Being “*zat al wujud*” descended from the first determination to the second in which all things appear and is characterized scientifically²¹⁹.

This degree has many names and among them that of Unity, the Seven Names²²⁰, the Ninety nine Names, the revealed names of Individuals and Particular realities, the Seat of Execution of the Decree”, the “First Shadow”, the “ Perfect Human Reality”, the “ presence of possibility”, “ al-Gaybu tani”,etc.

c- The Spirits and the First Intellect

This third universal determination is the seat of several detailed realities which are still non-existent, because they do not come from the divine science.

The first of these is the first intellect “*aql-awal*” which is generally associated with angels distraught with God’s love “*Kerubiyyun*” which are not even angels but spirits who are created by the first intellect. It is the place of the manifestation of the Muhammeden reality which is nothing other than the Essence “*al zat*” in its first

²¹⁸ Muslu, *Emir Abulkadir el-Cezairi*, 158

²¹⁹ Keyyali, *Mawaqif*, 486

²²⁰ The Living, The Knowing, The All-Powerful, The One who Wills, The One who Speaks, The Powerful, The Generous, and The Just.

determination “*taayun al-awal*”. It is also the first individual and visible form which flows into all other forms. It is evident that the knowledge of God by the primary intellect is superior to that of ordinary creatures, because he is created without an intermediary²²¹. According to the ancient philosophers, it took the name of first intellect because it received body and knowledge directly and concisely.

The universal Soul”*nefs kulliyya*” or which is called the “*Levhi Mahfuz*” is the second detailed reality that is created from the spirit world, it enjoys the two attributes of science and action, and it is from these latter that forms are manifested²²². It is also called Allah’s order “*emru-allah*” because the divine command emerges directly from Allah the Exalted. It is also “*Nuri Muhhamedi*”, therefore, the Mohammedan reality which appears as the truth of all souls, is the origin of the first soul. All spirits are its manifestations. Here, the first intellect, which is a mirror to this spirit, knows only its existence, not its truth. Because how can a mirror know the truth of the image directed at itself²²³.

a. The Exemplary and imaginary universe

It is the fourth universal determination which is the degree of corporal, imaginary and isthmic forms which are neither inconsistent nor consistent: they are luminous realities. In fact, although they are transparent bodies composed of luminous rays of light, just as the eye and sun penetrate transparent bodies, they appear like dense bodies such is the place of manifestation of angels and Jinns, the degree where the forms of dream are situated and where the forms of human spirits come to take refuge after death.

The angelic spirits of this degree are of three categories²²⁴. There are spirits distraught of love which has no place of manifestation; they are neither natural nor exemplary nor elemental. They are pure and simple substances. The second category is conditioned by a place of manifestation; they are the supports of the heavens and the earth to which effects and acts are attributed. The third category of spirits is not

²²¹Ibid, mawqif 248-6

²²² Ibid, mawqif, 248-7

²²³ Ibid

²²⁴ Ibid, mawqif 248-10

conditioned by either manifestation or its absence. Therefore, they can appear wherever they want, they are the mediating messengers.

This exemplary universe is an isthmus between supersensitive realities, ideas which have no particular essence and natural and elementary luminous bodies. Sensitive realities ascend towards it to exist, while supersensitive realities descend towards it to manifest.

b. The Universe of Bodies

With this fifth universal determination. This universe of bodies is extremely complex and diverse. It comprises four fundamental bodies which are subdivided into many specific bodies. The universe of bodies is the place of the forth metaphorical coupling, namely that of the elements with each other, to generate all the particular realities²²⁵.

The throne is the first of the primordial bodies; it is particular and visible existent. In reality, there are five thrones: (1) the Throne of life, called “*feleku’l-m’aani*”, (2) the Glorious Throne of the first intellect, (3) the Sublime Throne of the universal soul, called “*nefsu’l-kulliyya*”, (4) The Throne of the mercy, namely that of the balance “*Arsh al Istiwaa*”, (5) the noble Throne or “*Arsh al-Kerim/ Rahmani*”, Some mystical authors place it after the universal soul, in other words among the realities of the fourth degree²²⁶.

After the throne comes the Seat. Whereas the throne is the global book, the global science or the Mother of the Book “*Oum al-Kitab*”, the Seat is the detailed Book, the detailed science.

Atlas comes immediately after the Seat²²⁷. It was called Atlas since there is no planet in it and there is nothing that characterizes its movement. It is similar in parts, round in shape, and its movement has no beginning or end. It is also the sphere of constellations “*Feleku’l-Aflak*” and “*Feleku’l-Buruj*” which therefore has twelve parts.

²²⁵ Ibid, mawqif 248-14

²²⁶ Ibid

²²⁷ Ibid, mawqif 248-16

Under the sphere of Atlas is the sphere of fixed stars. Its surface corresponds to the earth of paradise, while its concave corresponds to the vault of hell. Here the fixed stars as opposed to moving stars which represent the planets. It has the power of what is above it, the Atlas, the Seat and the Throne. Because it was created from them, thus, it gathers their realities, until it reaches the man, where the world power gathers in him. If he was a perfect man, he combines with that the divine names²²⁸.

Through these details in the revelations and his link between the unseen and the astronomy “*Felek*”, His view of time can be deduced from the fact that he mentions the celestial bodies that rule the years, days and other temporal quantities, he links them in the end to the unseen with evidence of the existence of an angel authorized by God who manages and moves all the astronomical manifestations which makes the physical time meaningless except through its mover and controller, who is associated with the world of the unseen.

Earth is the first pillar created; it constitutes the ground which is cold and dry. The earth, as a globe, is surrounded by a mountain chain referred to as “*Qaf*”, and it is arranged in seven levels, the last and the smallest is ours²²⁹.

After the earth comes the water which is cold and humid²³⁰. Water has the function of purifying the atmosphere. Then the air, which is hot and humid. This is the strongest element, since it dries up water which extinguishes the fire, which, in turn, melts the rocks. It is the foundation of all life²³¹.

Finally, there is fire which is a hot and a dry element. It has its origin in shooting stars, when they are in contact with air. It should also be noted that these shooting stars are missiles against Satan²³².

Finally, the seven skies. are directly created from the four elements-pillars of the universe, and each one has its star or sun²³³.

And after talking about the earth, water, air, fire and the seven skies, he arrives at the last level “*mertebe*”, which is the level of the perfect man.

²²⁸ Ibid, mawqif 248-17

²²⁹ Ibid, mawqif 248-18

²³⁰ Ibid, 248-19

²³¹ Ibid, mawqif 248-20

²³² Ibid, mawqif 248-21

²³³ Ibid, 248-22

c. The Visible human being who collects all the above advanced degrees (except Unity)

It is at the sixth universal determination that man is situated. This degree brings together all the preceding degrees, except obviously that of Unity²³⁴, for the Adamic form is at the origin of all created; it is disseminated in all forms. Abdulkadir says that man's excellence among all the creatures is that he knows and assumes all the holy and divine names. As a result, at the cosmic level, man plays the role of microcosm (*al-kawn al-jami*) as a recapitulation of all created, as described in the Qur'anic verse “*walaysa ka-mithlihi shay*” (*Ash-Shuraa -11*) which means there is nothing like him. Indeed, divine names the outward (al zahir) and the inward (al-batin) are manifested in the perfect man according to their oppositions and contrasts which are not manifested in the universe.

When the perfect man thus faces the creature, He creates him by His command, saying, “Be!” (*Kun*), he assumes the sciences of creation until the day of resurrection. The perfect man is the sublime fellow “*to him belong the finest attributes in the heavens and the earth*” (*Ar-Rum 27*). On a personal level, Abdulkadir highlights that the perfect man is the supreme of mankind, which is in complete agreement with Ibn Arabi's teachings. Only the Prophet Muhammad had reached this state in its strictest sense, because it was only in him that the divine names were gathered in perfect harmony and completeness.

The human form is organized like a city. The spirit is in the human heart like the Caliph in a city. The brain is located in the upper part of the head, like a walking space high above the city. The eyes, ears, nose and mouth act as windows and skylights. Imagination, reflection and memory are similar to the various stores in the city. The mind is served by reason, just as the caliph is served by his minister. After all, the mineral, vegetable, animal and human soul obeys reason, as the servant obeys the orders of the minister of the caliph²³⁵.

Abdulkadir differentiated between the human being- the perfect man- in whom the divine names and attributes of God Almighty appear, and the one in whom

²³⁴ Kılıç Mahmud Erol, *Ibn Arabi, Muhyiddin*, (Isam yayınları, 2019), 503

²³⁵ Keyyali, mawqif 248- 34 in, *Mawaqif*, 580

they do not appear, as every human being is created perfectly, i.e. in terms of adjustment, modification and acceptance, but not all of them are perfect because perfection is a rank for the one who has achieved the divine names and attributes. He says: "...and their proximity to Him, the Exalted, according to the extent of their creation and realization by His names, and the perfect and complete is the one who had the appearance of all divine names, and that is the sum of the divine form in which Adam was created...and the one who had realized this rank is the one who is called a perfect man"²³⁶.

Thus, Abdulkadir's perception of the reality of the *insan al-kamil*, from many perspectives conforms perfectly to that of Ibn Arabi. By extrapolating the most important ideas about the perfect man and his functions according to the Emir Abdulkadir, the perfect man is the one in whom God's names and attributes appear by being characterized by them, and he does not have this perfection unless he achieves perfection of servitude, submission to God, compliance with his commands and avoidance of his prohibition. Moreover, his self-discipline and struggle with good morals, and the more the soul draws closer to God, the more his maturity increases in perfection.

²³⁶ Ibid

CHAPTER 4

ABDULKADIR'S WRITINGS ON ISLAMIC REFORM

Emir Abdulkadir was not only a military leader, but he has great literature and sayings in poetry that reveal his creativity, the delicacy of his sense, his moral and spiritual position. His spiritual project, as outlined in the *Kitab al-Mawaqif*, began with a strong sense of intention: to save the Muslims by leading them back to the real religion. He arguably most clearly expresses this sense of mission, as well as the importance of Ibn Arabi and his Akbarian thought in achieving the reforms' goals.

1. *el-Mikradu'l-hadd li-kat'I lisani muntekidi dini'l-Islam bi'l-batil wa'l-ilhad*²³⁷: Although the life of Emir Abdulkadir and his companions in Amboise was the most difficult and longest years, but this period is the richest in terms of literary production, and due to the long period of detention, Abdulkadir found the only refuge in writing, meditation, praying, and teaching. At the beginning of his arrest, he wrote this book through which he tried to respond to the misguided suspicions against Islam.

Abdulkadir said in his explanation of the contents of this book: "when I was asked to explain my Islamic beliefs, I answered that I am not a good student for Muslim scholars, but I will make an effort and mention the words of God, the hadiths of his Messenger, the words of the followers. It includes talking about the mind and its related matters, proving divinity, observing and admiring the creations of heavens, earth, and human being, moreover, proving prophethood and the history of the prophets, and Islamic ethics from the time of Adam from mercy, justice, modesty,

²³⁷ See. Emir Abdulkadir el-Djezairi, *el-Mikradu'l-hadd li-kat'I lisani muntekidi dini'l-Islam bi'l-batil wa'l-ilhad* (Maktbatu'l-hayat, Beirut, 1966)

chastity, and to avoid provoking sedition, and finally to thank God for his grace, and to abide by the morals”²³⁸.

In this book, which Abdulkadir directed from his prison in 1852, to the French priests in particular and the Christians in general, adopted all the principles of the Koran, he succeeded to a large extent because he was able to attract the French attention, and make them read it, and even translate it, and there is no wonder about that, because in reality it completely contradicts their thoughts and beliefs about Islam, and about how to fulfill the agreement they did not respect when they deceived the Emir.

2. *Zikra’l-akil wa tenbihu’l-ghafil*

The date of writing this book was in 1855 in Bursa, translated by Gustave Dugat into French in 1858, who was the French consul in Damascus at that time. The book is a philosophical intellectual message with an introduction, three sections and a conclusion. The first section deals with the benefits of education, the superiority of reason and perception, and defined the mind and considered it the source and foundation of knowledge, since the basis of the perfect human or *Insan kamil* is the power of reason, courage, chastity and the power of justice²³⁹. The second section is devoted for the issues related to religion, politics and science, he says that these three points must work together to achieve the same goal which is glorifying God. While politics is the art of leading people to live together in harmony, religion provides the moral basis for shared values, and it leads people understand the basic unity of humanity²⁴⁰. In the last section, the author spoke about the art of writing and general sciences²⁴¹.

Rabah Bunar considers that this book is a plot of thought that the Emir is trying to bring down in it a mature thought with what he absorbed from the researches of Imam al-Ghazali, Ibn Sina, Ibn Arabi and others, which he formulated

²³⁸ el-Mikradu’l-hadd is a manuscript written by Emir Abdulkadir while in Amboise dated 1852, translated into French in Paris in the same year. el-Amira Bedia el-Hasseni el-Djazairi, *Fikr el-Emir Abdulkadir*, 77

²³⁹ Wassini Laredj, *Kitab al-amir, Masalik abwab al hadid*, (Algiers, Manshurat al-fada’ al-hur, 2004), 475

²⁴⁰ Ibid

²⁴¹ See also, Ramazan Muslu, *Emir Abdulkadir*, 109

in a clean manner, and in a coordinated order²⁴². It also expresses the capacity of Abdulkadir's culture and attitude towards Western civilization, and indicates a broad intellectual movement while he was captured in Amboise. This appears in the answers he provided on Duma's questions about the customs of the Algerian society, their traditions of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and compared the situation of Arab women to Europeans²⁴³. Therefore, this book is considered as a warning or as a source of enlightenment (*tenbih*) to those who had misconceptions from the French and Europeans in general about the customs of Arabs and Muslims.

He even goes so far as to say that Muslims and Christians are incompatible: “For all prophets have proclaimed that the true religion is one, even if they disagree in some of their particular laws. They are like men of one father and different mothers: to deny all of them, or to deny some and affirm the truth of others, is deficient. If the Muslims and Christians listened to me [on this matter], the differences between them would disappear, and they would become brothers—outwardly and inwardly alike”²⁴⁴

3. *Kitabu'l-Mawaqif fi ba'zi isharati'l-Kur'ani*

The same intellectual vision and Sufi tendency was demonstrated by the Emir in his book “*al-Mawaqif*” that includes an introduction and three parts that contain 375 position or (*mawqif*), each one includes comments, explanations, and interpretations of hadiths, Koranic verses and clarifications of some passages of Ibn Arabi²⁴⁵.

Abdulkadir wrote this book at the end of his life in Damascus between 1856 and 1883, and the agreed reason for writing goes back to this incident: “One of Abdulkadir's visitors was accompanied by his son. The son asked his father for permission to leave, which his father granted. The amir, starting from this fact, improvised a Koranic commentary”²⁴⁶. Once he finished speaking three of the

²⁴² Rabah Bunar, *el-Emir Abdulkadir hayatuhu wa adabuhu*, (Algiers, Journal of Amal ,Ministry of Culture, July, 1970), 22

²⁴³ Bruno Etienne, *Abdelkader le Magnanime*, 495

²⁴⁴ Abd al-Qadir al-Jaza'iri, *dhikra al- 'aqil wa-anbīh al-ghafil* (Beirut, Dar al-Yaqza al- 'Arabīyyah, 1966), 107

²⁴⁵ Belgrad, *el Djanibu's-sufi*, 55

²⁴⁶ Chodkiewicz Michel, *the Spiritual Writings*, 11-12. Murabit, *et-tasawuf wa'l-Emir Abdulkadir*, 20-23

listeners- sheikh Muhammed al-Khani, sheikh Muhammed al-Tantawi and Abdu al-Razaaq al-Baytar asked permission to write down his speeches²⁴⁷. This incident is considered as the nucleus of a book which was later known as “*al-Mawaqif*”.

Emir Abdulkadir chose the title of his book and this is what is found in several mawaqif. For example in mawqif 348, where he said:” *in these mawaqif*”²⁴⁸, and he said in mawqif 336:”*we have spoken about this verse in these mawaqif*”²⁴⁹, moreover, in mawqif 360 he talked about naming the book, he said:” *I was told to add to the title of my book el-Mawaqif fi ba’zi isharati’l-Kuran ila’lesrar wa’l-ma’arif*”²⁵⁰(some allusions from the Koran to secrets and hidden knowledge).

Who is the real writer of al-Mawaqif? Is it really Emir Abdulkadir? Or is it for another one other than the Emir? This is indicated by mentioning the statements of scholars that determine the real author of al-Mawaqif²⁵¹. As for Badia al-Hassani, who is one of the descendants of the Emir Abdulkadir, she denied the association of this book to the Emir, as she said:” Unfortunately, the book of el-Mawaqif in Algeria was considered as the most important intellectual product of the great Mujahid, and no historians or scholars have paid attention to the dangerous distortion and interpretation that filled its pages and submitted it to the libraries in Algeria”²⁵². So, according to what most historians have said, the real owner of el-Mawaqif is Emir Abdulkadir el-Djazairi, but Badia al-Hassani is the only one who did not affirm that. Is she right? And if so, should her opinion be accepted rather than the group of historians?

El-Mawaqif was printed for the first time in Egypt in 1911, according to the manuscript of sheikh al-Baytar. The second edition issued by Daru’l-yakadha in Damascus in 1966 with its three parts was arranged according to the original copy written in the handwriting of Abdulkadir, and reviewed and verified by a committee of the greatest scholars of Damascus. It was printed by the approval and supervision

²⁴⁷ Murabit Djawad, *et-tasawuf wal’Emir Abdulkadir*, 20-24

²⁴⁸ Keyyali Ibrahim, *al-mawaqif al-ruhiyah*, 310

²⁴⁹ Ibid, 246

²⁵⁰ Ibid, 424

²⁵¹ Saidouni Nasser al-Din, *Asr el-Emir Abdulkadir*, 187 ; Michel Chodkiewicz, *The Spiritual Writings*; Pessah Shinar, *Abd al-Qadir and Abd al-Krim*, 158; Murabit, *et-tasawuf wa’l-Emir Abdulkadir*, 19

²⁵² el-Amira Bedia el-Hassani el-Djazairi, *Fikr el-Emir Abdulkadir*, 166

of his grandson, Muhammed Said. It was also printed by Daru'l-kutubi'l-ilmiiyya, in Beirut in 2004, under the title "*Al-Mawaqif Al-ruhiyah Wa-al-fuyudhat Al-subuhiyah*"²⁵³. Finally the book was printed for the fourth time by Daru'l-Huda in Algeria in 2005, under the title "*el-Mawaqif fi ba'zi isharati'l-Kuran ila'lesrar wa'l-ma'arif*", revised by Miftah Abdalbaki, which he divided into two parts unlike the previous editions, and put an introduction to the book, and put at the end of the second part indexes of verses, hadiths, and an autobiography of the Emir.²⁵⁴

According to Daru'l-yakadha edition in Damascus in 1966, the book consists of an introduction and a group of mystical poems, as the book contains 372 positions divided in three parts in 1403 pages, the shortest position in some lines, while the longest one is 248, as it contains 34 chapters.

These positions are either:

- Opened with Koranic verses, with their mystical explanations, and the number of these positions is about 300, i.e. approximately 75% of the entire book. Some positions start with Koranic verses and there are sometimes many positions that explain the same verse, like: 2, 14, 193, 59, 197, 203 and 204 which explain some of Al-Fatiha verses. 15, 23, 108, 132, 134, 252 positions explain the third and fourth verses of Al-Hadid Surah "He is with you wherever you are". Moreover, there are some mawaqifs that explain a whole Surah, like Al-Kawthar in 217, Al-Kafiroun in 223, Al-Ikhlâss in 239 and Nas Surah in mawqif 175...²⁵⁵.
- That start with holy or prophetic hadiths, the number of these mawaqif is 45²⁵⁶.
- Answers related to sections of *el-Futuhatu'l-Mekkiya* of Ibn Arabi, and they are about 13 Mawqif²⁵⁷. Mawqif 288 talks about the Prophet message and his infallibility; in 308 he explains the meaning of the names of God...etc. All those answers are questions from *el-Futuhatu'l-Makkiya* itself²⁵⁸.

²⁵³ Keyyali Ibrahim, *al-Mawaqif al-ruhiyah wa-al-fuyudhat Al-subuhiyah*

²⁵⁴ Miftah, *Kitabu'l-mawaqif fi ba'di isharati'l-Kuran ila al-esrar wa'l ma'arif*, (Daru'l-Huda)

²⁵⁵ See al-Mawaqif, Damascus edition in its three volumes, the mawaqif cited above.

²⁵⁶ Miftah, *Mukaddime*

²⁵⁷ Muslu, *Emir Abdülkadir*, 104

²⁵⁸ Ibid

- Explanations of some sections of *Fususul-Hikem* of Ibn Arabi: Fas (pl. Fusus) of Lokman in 294, Fas of Ismail 355, Fas of Shuaib in 358, and in 367 explains Adam's Fas²⁵⁹.

- Mawaqif in which he explained sayings and verses of poetry to some of Sufi pioneers like Hakim et-Tirmidhi, Ebu Hamid el-Ghazali, Sadreddin el-Konawi and many others, and they are nine Mawqif²⁶⁰.

- Mawaqif in which Abdulkadir describes his own spiritual incidents, and they are nine: 29, 30, 74, 76, 84, 112, 199, 265 and 372. He frequently said “*I was told*”, “*God told me*”, “*I told God*”²⁶¹...etc

Al Mawaqif is considered as the main record in which Emir Abdulkadir expressed his Sufi trend. It is a book written on the topic of Islamic Sufism, as this appears through its full title. It is also known to be a valuable book in Islamic thought in general and Sufi thought in particular. Even the Oriental Westerners realized the importance of the book and translated it²⁶², and was also mentioned by the scholar Jaques Berques in his book *L'interieur du Maghreb*²⁶³. Abdulkadir, by commenting on the verses of Koran and the hadiths, is inspired by the two famous works of Ibn Arabi, of which he is the fervent disciple. He quotes from him *el-Futuhāt'l-Mekkiyya* and *Fususul-Hikem*.

Moreover, faced with a crisis in the Muslim community as a result of the Muslim's rapid transition, he decided to save it and lead it back to the true faith and religion. In his opinion, the Koran is the centre of constant Islam renewal, allowing for new interpretations that rather add to the Islamic tradition and not contradict with it.

4. *Risale fi'l-hakaik'l ghaybiyya*

²⁵⁹ Ibid

²⁶⁰ Ibid, 105

²⁶¹ See the full texts in Keyyali Ibrahim, *al-Mawaqif Al-ruhiyah*

²⁶² The first who translated into French a part of *al-Mawaqif* is the French orientalist Michel Chodkwiewicz, who made an excellent translation of 38 mawqif with a very good introduction and comments, in a book, entitled “*Ecrits spirituels*”, published by Seuil in 1982 in 225 pages. Moreover, in 2000, the French priest Michel Lagarde made a great effort. All mawaqif are translated into three huge volumes, with complete comprehensive indexes in a very precise manner, but this translation in particular is an urgent need to be reviewed carefully and seriously because it contains many diverse errors, and it was published in Leiden in the Netherlands and in Boston and Cologne.

²⁶³ Jacques Berque, *l'Intérieur du Maghreb (15eme- 19eme siècle)*, (Gallimard, 1978), 512-513

It is an explanation of two poem verses on the Sufi Meshreb²⁶⁴.

5. *Nuzhetu 'l-khatir fi karidhi 'l-Emir Abdulkadir*

It must be noted that Emir Abdulkadir was a poet with a delicate sense, and his poems are organized through intermittent periods and accompanied the Emir's life from his youth in Algeria to his death in Damascus. This collection of poems was gathered in a book titled "*Nuzhetu 'l-khatir fi karidhi 'l-Emir Abdulkadir* ", and was revised and explained by Memduh Hakki in his book "*Diwan 'l-Emir Abdulkadir el-Djezairi*" published in Damascus by Daru'l-Yakadha in 1964.

6. *Ta'likat*

Emir Abdulkadir commented on his grandfather's note about "*ilm' l el-kelam*"²⁶⁵ and composed it during the first stage of his life after returning from the east and performing pilgrimage in 1828.

The one who looks at the books of the Emir and his diwan, as well the history books that have been written about him, will find the emir: a politician, a social reformer, a great leader, a mystic well-versed in his mysticism and an expert on the conditions of the people (*qawm*), and contrary to what is read that the emir was not a Sufi; For his preoccupation with politics, revolution management and social reform since it is known that Sufism needs devotion.

²⁶⁴ Keyyali Asim Ibrahim, *Tardjamatou 'l-Emir Abdulkadir el-Djazairi* , (bughyetu't-talib ala tertibi't-tedjelli bi-kulliyyati'l-meratib), 21

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

CONCLUSION

The Emir Abdulkadir al-Djazai'ri's early life, in addition to acquiring and absorbing knowledge, was marked by the struggle against the French invasion of the Algerian land. His life was also characterized by intellectual and spiritual movement and search for truth.

We examined the stages of the Emir's life, and it became clear to us that his house arrest in "Oran" with his father had a profound impact on crystallizing a personality, as he and his father engaged in study and research, as well as reviewing the course of military and political matters of Algeria. Also, his trip to perform the Hajj after his release with his father, was an opportunity to get to know closely the renaissance of Egypt during the reign of Mehmed Ali Pasha. This eastern journey was also an opportunity to familiarize him with many Arab and Islamic cultures.

We discussed the stages of his struggle against the French invasion of his country, and his founding of a new Algerian state, in which he paid great attention to science and education. At this stage, his clear human tendency emerged, especially his humanitarian characters in dealing with the prisoners.

The Emir had extensive, numerous and varied international contacts with many world politicians, military leaders, politicians and intellectuals. He was appreciated and admired by many people thanks to his heroic stances in war and peace. When we dealt with the second stage of the Emir's life, we found that it is more concerned with intellectual, cultural and scientific aspects than heroic, combative and military aspects.

During his stay at Damascus, Abdulkadir showed the example of his tolerance, love, and avoidance of fanaticism. This was evident in his noble humanitarian stance towards the events of 1860 which prompted the European countries to pay attention to him and offering him medals of honor and recorded him among the world's great thinkers.

Moreover, it becomes clear to us from the study of his books that he fiercely fought against imitation and imitators, and his adherence to the faith that stems from a spiritual experience. Although the Emir received many of the Sufi principles through various sheikhs, yet he continued to emphasize that the Sufi experience is a personal experiment. As for his book *Al-Mawaqif*, which he put in three volumes, it is the sum of the Sufi struggles that he endured in his Sufi journey, which also contains many of his mystical views, comments about Ibn Arabi's spiritual thoughts and spiritual visions.

Finally, with the lack of the secondary sources, and some of the primary sources, we tried to bring hitherto unknown material to our attention. Arabic sources are filled with details about Abdulkadir's Sufism that should not be neglected. We hope that our study will pave the way for future studies, especially that a multifaceted personality like the Emir Abdulkadir al-Djazai'ri deserves further observation and examination.

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