

The Status of the Algerian Sufi Movement and Arab Culture among the Peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa

Prof. Dr. Boughedada Elamir

Mohamed Khider University of Biskra, Algeria

Email: boughedada.elamir@univ-biskra.dz

Received: 22/02/2026; Accepted: 09/05/2026 ; Published: 06/07/2026

Abstract

It is a well-established historical fact that the spread of the Sufi movement into the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa was one of the reasons why many of their peoples embraced Islam and why Arab-Islamic culture spread among them. This process helped bring Arab-Islamic culture into close contact with African culture. The former, however, had a noticeable influence on the latter because it was more able to absorb civilizational factors and develop them in ways compatible with the requirements of the age. The Algerian Sufi movement played a major role in bringing the two cultures together. This gave the Algerian Sufi movement and Arab-Islamic culture a high and prestigious position among the peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa. This status was due to the contribution of Algerian scholars and merchants, through Sufism, to the intellectual and cultural life of these countries. That contribution had deep historical roots reaching back to the Middle Ages. It was also continuous. It did not cease, but was renewed at the beginning of the nineteenth century and has continued to the present day. In addition to this historical depth and continuity, the influence of Algerian scholars and merchants on Sufism and culture in Sub-Saharan Africa was closely linked to jihad against African pagans and Crusader invaders, and against their despotic sultans and kings. This study highlights a number of these Sufi scholars, who may be regarded as shapers of awareness in African circles. Their religious outreach, awareness-raising, and educational roles provided strong support for other Algerians who strove to shape African Islamic thought in every country of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Keywords: movement; culture; scholars; Sahara; Algeria; Africa.

Introduction

It is an established historical fact that the spread of the Sufi movement into the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa contributed to the conversion of many of their peoples to Islam and to the dissemination of Arab-Islamic culture among them. This process helped bring Arab-Islamic civilization into close contact with African civilization. The former exerted a noticeable influence on the latter because it had a greater capacity to absorb civilizational factors and develop them in ways that responded to the requirements of the age.

This raises two central questions: To what extent did the Algerian Sufi movement contribute to this process? And to what degree did the peoples of these countries interact with the culture transmitted to them by that movement?

1. The Origins of Islamic Sufism

Most sources on Sufism agree that it emerged as an ascetic movement among Muslims at the beginning of the second century AH. At that time, members of the Sunni elite who devoted themselves to asceticism and worship came to be known as Sufis.¹

The first person reported to have been called a Sufi was Abu Hisham, who died in 321 AH. The first major imam of Sufism, however, and the figure regarded as having laid its true foundations, was al-Hasan al-Basri, may God have mercy on him, who died in 110 AH. He led the Sufis of Basra and later those of Kufa for a long period.²

As a codified discipline, Islamic Sufism developed after Arabic grammar and the various religious sciences had already been established and recorded. Among the earliest authors in the field were:

- Al-Harith al-Muhasibi, who died in 243 AH. His works include *The Beginning of the One Who Turns to God*, *The Discipline of Souls*, and *The Epistle of Imaginative Contemplation*.
- Abu Sa'id al-Kharraz, who died in 277 AH. One of his works is *The Path to God*.
- Abu Nasr Abd Allah ibn Ali al-Sarraj al-Tusi, who died in 378 AH and authored *al-Luma' fi al-Tasawwuf* (*The Book of Flashes on Sufism*).
- Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi, who died in 380 AH. Among his works is *al-Ta'arruf li-Madhab Ahl al-Tasawwuf* (*An Introduction to the Doctrine of the Sufis*).³

Sufism continued to spread with the emergence of the four great poles: Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, who died in 511 AH; al-Rifa'i, who died in 578 AH; al-Badawi, who died in 634 AH; and al-Disuqi, who died in 676 AH. Abu Madyan Shu'ayb, who died in 593 AH, received the Sufi path from Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and spread the Qadiriyya order across the Maghreb and elsewhere.⁴

It may therefore be observed that Islamic Sufism first emerged in the Muslim East. It then moved to the Maghreb and al-Andalus before extending southward toward the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa.

2. The Status of the Sufi Movement and Arab Culture in Algerian Society

The Sufi movement occupied an important place in Algerian society. It contributed to several fields, especially social, cultural, and economic life. It also played an active role in most of the major political events experienced by Algeria.

"The Sufi orders appeared in Algeria at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They then developed during that century and spread widely in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century."⁵ Before that period, Sufism had largely remained an individual practice.⁶

Although Sufi orders spread widely in Algeria, with some researchers counting sixteen orders, most did not achieve the broad geographical spread attained by the Qadiriyya, Rahmaniyya, and Tijaniyya. The latter order was present in most towns and rural areas through its *zawiyas*, which undertook education and fed the poor and needy.⁷ These *zawiyas* also worked to reduce social and economic differences among the various groups and social strata. They brought the poor and the wealthy, the learned and the illiterate, and those of noble lineage and others closer together. They sought to unite their hearts within the meaning of the Qur'anic verse: "Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of God is the most righteous of you."⁸

These Sufi orders also performed functions similar to those of judicial institutions. They helped settle disputes and reduce conflicts and problems among individuals and groups. This was possible because of

the standing enjoyed by their shaykhs, muqaddams, and representatives.⁹ The population thereby enjoyed stability and psychological and moral security. They took these shaykhs as their leaders instead of civil rulers and their official judges, who did not satisfy their needs and with whose conduct and rulings they were not at ease.

One example was Sidi Ali ibn Isa, the muqaddam of the Rahmaniyya order in the Djurdjura Mountains during the final years of Ottoman rule. He lived in the village of Ferrouma.¹⁰ He regularly visited the markets within his sphere of influence and acted as a judge in commercial disputes. His rulings were binding and generally accepted. His followers believed that his words possessed a sacred authority and that God's curse would fall on anyone who refused to obey and enforce them.

Because of the high standing of the Sufi movement in Algerian society, most of the revolts and uprisings launched against the French occupation during the nineteenth century were led, planned, or organized by Sufi shaykhs.

Unlike the Sufi movement, which did not find its way into the hearts of most Algerians until the second half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Algerian society had been closely connected with Arab culture since the beginning of the Islamic conquest of the Central Maghreb, that is, Algeria. Most members of the conquering armies were Arabs. They brought a new religion revealed in Arabic to an Arab Messenger in the Arabian Peninsula.

These ties became even stronger with the migration of Arab tribes such as Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaym to the Maghreb. They were further strengthened when cultural institutions assumed responsibility for spreading Islam and calling people to the faith, first through ribats and later through zawiyas affiliated with Sufi orders. It is noteworthy here that the Sufi movement constituted a central axis of Arab-Islamic culture in Algeria.¹¹

3. The Status of the Sufi Movement and Arab Culture among the Societies of Sub-Saharan Africa

The beginnings of the Sufi movement in Sub-Saharan Africa may be dated to the migration of al-Sharif Ahmad Abi Danana to the Sudan, where he spread the Shadhiliyya order in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Ahmad Abi Danana was a disciple and son-in-law of Abu Abd Allah Muhammad Sulayman al-Jazuli, the author of *Dala'il al-Khayrat*, who had spread the Shadhiliyya order in Morocco during the fifteenth century. Abi Danana studied under him, received the principles of the order from him, and married one of his daughters.¹²

The major development of the Sufi movement in Sub-Saharan Africa, however, took place at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It then began to exert a deep influence on different African communities and groups. Its influence extended beyond religion and acquired a political dimension. It contributed to the emergence of several small states and emirates whose foundations drew on Sufi principles and teachings. Among the examples mentioned are the Qadiriyya kingdom of Bornu, whose influence extended from Chad to Cameroon, and the Tijani state of al-Hajj Umar (1798-1865).

The peoples of these regions embraced Sufi doctrines because their leading figures were regarded as learned jurists and accomplished scholars in both religious and worldly sciences. They were not followed as expert soothsayers, accomplished magicians, or exceptional seers. In earlier periods, people had

sometimes embraced a doctrine because its founder was reputed to possess skill in divination, magic, or knowledge of the unseen.¹³

On this basis, it can be said that the Sufi movement acquired an important and respected position in the societies of Sub-Saharan Africa. The same was true of Arab culture, which had reached these regions before the emergence of Islam.

Contact between Arab peoples and their African counterparts south of the Sahara existed before the Islamic period. This was due to geography, which had long made the Arabian Peninsula a point of contact with East Africa. It facilitated the mixing of Arabs with Black African populations, especially through Arab migrations to Sub-Saharan Africa. Most of these migrants settled in East Africa and mixed with the indigenous population. The language of East Africa known as Swahili developed in this setting. It is a mixture of Arabic and the language of Black Africans, and most of its words are Arabic.¹⁴

With the coming and spread of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa, the spread of Arab culture among the peoples of these countries came to accompany the spread of Islam. Islam enabled Black Africans to become deeply imbued with Arab culture through the accommodation it created between their inherited local traditions and this newly acquired culture. This can be seen in several aspects of life among the Muslims of Ghana, Mali, and other regions.¹⁵

4. The Role of Algerian Sufis in Sub-Saharan Africa

Algerian Sufis played several important roles in the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. Their activity made them one of the forces shaping public life in these regions and gave them a high standing among local populations. These roles can be examined as follows.

4.1. The Political Role

Sufis from the Maghreb, especially those from Tlemcen in Algeria, took an important step in linking religion and politics. They gave the Sufi movement a resistant character in the face of European invasion, not only in the Arab world but in the Islamic world as a whole. They repositioned religious authority within the political sphere of the Maghreb. This was related to the political conditions that prevailed in the region during the three centuries preceding the tenth century AH. Whenever politics was absent from the task of organizing people's lives, religion took its place. These Maghrebi Sufis later carried their politically engaged Sufi orders to the Muslim East and then to Sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁶

Algerian Sufis, particularly the Qadiris who spread among the peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa, succeeded in bringing the rulers of Masina into the Qadiriyya order and gaining their confidence. Because they were scholars and jurists, some were appointed political advisers.¹⁷ A major example was the Sufi scholar Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim al-Maghili al-Tilimsani, who died in 909 AH. He settled in Tuat and founded a Qadiriyya zawiya there. He used it as a main base from which he travelled to the Hausa tribes, spread Islam, taught them the principles and foundations of the religion, and issued legal opinions to kings and princes on difficult questions. He would then return to his zawiya in Tuat.¹⁸

During one of his journeys to the Hausa lands, al-Maghili met the Sultan of Kano, Abu Abd Allah Muhammad. The sultan was impressed by him, drew him close, and made him a personal adviser on matters of government. This led al-Maghili to write for him a treatise on governance according to Islamic law. In it, he stressed the obligation to enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong, to observe God's

law in government, and to administer justice among the subjects. He also explained the relevant legal rulings on matters of rule and political authority.

Al-Maghili later left Kano and joined the ruler of Bilad al-Takrur,¹⁹ Askia al-Hajj Muhammad, who likewise brought him close and made him a political adviser. The ruler consulted him on the affairs of the sultanate and sought his legal opinions on its matters. In 1502, al-Maghili composed another important work for him that addressed the Islamic legal ruling on every social and political issue and phenomenon prevalent in Senegal at that time. Through the works he wrote for the two rulers on Islamic governance, al-Maghili showed extensive knowledge of the political practices of the sultans, kings, and princes of those lands.²⁰

Al-Maghili could hardly have acquired such knowledge of the policies of these rulers, or written on Islamic governance in this way, without having played a political role in their courts and without possessing a serious interest in political thought.

Al-Maghili's efforts therefore expanded Qadiriyya activity in Sub-Saharan Africa. He helped turn it into an Islamic political doctrine that was protective of Islam and enthusiastic about spreading it. It would not accept any infringement of what it regarded as Islam's authentic principles, whoever the offender might be, even a sultan or king. Before this development, it had been a religious Sufi order whose role was largely confined to spreading as widely as possible in these regions and attracting the greatest possible number of disciples and followers.

The development of the Qadiriyya during al-Maghili's period became especially visible centuries after his death, particularly during the nineteenth century. African shaykhs of the order joined resistance movements against European colonialism. Most of them declared jihad against it and mobilized their supporters and disciples. Shaykh Uthman dan Fodio and Shaykh Ahmad are cited as examples. They fought the French occupation in West Africa for a long period and resisted it fiercely. The French occupier might have been defeated at their hands had it not possessed superior numbers and equipment.²¹

During the second half of the nineteenth century, several political entities also emerged under figures known for their affiliation with the Qadiriyya order. Some West African cities became bases from which they launched their Islamic conquests in the region. Among the examples cited are Shaykh Uthman dan Fodio and Shaykhu Ahmadu.²²

Another Algerian Sufi figure who played an important political role in Sub-Saharan Africa was Ahmad al-Tijani, the founder of the Tijaniyya order. The difference between him and al-Maghili is that al-Maghili travelled personally to the region and directly participated in its political life. In contrast, no evidence was found in the historical sources to show that Ahmad al-Tijani visited the region either to spread his order or for another purpose.

What can be established, however, is that some Africans visited al-Tijani in Fez in 1780. One of them was Muhammad al-Hafiz ibn al-Mukhtar ibn al-Habib, known as Badi. He received the principles of the Tijaniyya from al-Tijani and then returned to his region in Sub-Saharan Africa, where he spread the order among members of his tribe. They all embraced it. The Tijaniyya then gradually expanded across the Western Sudan in general, and especially in Senegal and neighboring regions.

Its role was no longer confined to the religious and social fields. It also extended into politics and contributed to the emergence of several small states and emirates that based their establishment on the

teachings and principles of the Tijaniyya and adopted them as their constitution. One example was the state of al-Hajj Umar (1798-1865), who proclaimed jihad against local paganism allied with the French occupier and decided to spread Islam among pagans throughout Africa.²³

4.2. The Religious and Social Role

Religion, the observance of its rites, and places of worship held a sacred place in the hearts of the peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa. Religious figures also enjoyed respect and reverence. This was due in large part to the active role played by Sufi orders, especially Algerian ones, in spreading Islam among them. The Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya made particularly important contributions.

The Algerian Sufi movement developed much of this activity from the Tuat region. From the fifteenth century onward, Tuat had become an advanced center for spreading Islam toward Sudanese towns near the southern edge of the Sahara. Al-Maghili found in Tuat a favorable environment for establishing his Qadiriyya zawiya. From there, he travelled among the Hausa tribes, spread Islam, taught their Muslims the principles of this new religion, and issued legal opinions for them, their princes, and their kings on difficult questions of Islamic jurisprudence.²⁴

The scholars of the Kunta also made important efforts to spread Sufi orders in general and the Bakkaïyya order in particular among the tribes of Azawad and throughout the Niger River basin. Their scholars wrote treatises on Islam and Muslim communities in Azawad and West Africa. The teachings they instilled in their students became an important factor in the spread of Islamic belief among the various tribes of the Niger River basin and West Africa. These areas, in turn, became centers of religious and spiritual influence.²⁵

The writings of these scholars prepared the way for Sufi orders, which were then able to spread more deeply among the peoples of West Africa. They also gained control over tribes in northern Nigeria and later expanded into other parts of the African continent. They assumed responsibility for challenging religious innovations and superstitious practices that they regarded as widespread. To do so, they established Islamic centers for dhikr and prayer, alongside teaching, religious instruction, the issuing of fatwas, and judicial functions. The Qadiriyya in Nigeria is cited as an example.²⁶

The movement of jurists from Tuat into Sub-Saharan Africa continued until the end of the nineteenth century. This led some researchers to state that "the people of Tuat followed a path comparable to that of the ancient Phoenicians. They played a major role in carrying the civilization of the Islamic world to the pagan regions of the Western Sudan. They also continuously supplied these regions with jurists and teachers who helped nourish Muslim populations with Islamic culture and ideas. In doing so, they stood against the missionary current that accompanied European colonial expansion and sought to draw the peoples of the region into its sphere."²⁷

The religious role of Algerian Sufis in Sub-Saharan Africa also developed into an important social role. They provided assistance to the poor and needy, distributed aid, and made their zawiyas places of refuge. Their leaders defended vulnerable and oppressed people before sultans and kings. Shaykhs and muqaddams of the zawiyas also acted as mediators in disputes between different tribes and even between members of the same tribe. These activities helped establish peace and security and contributed to the formation of a civilized Islamic society.²⁸

4.3. The Cultural Role

Throughout its long history, the Algerian Sufi movement was among the most active movements to reach deep into Sub-Saharan Africa. Its efforts were not limited to religious outreach. They extended to other fields, especially cultural activity. Sufi leaders became closely acquainted with the cultural and intellectual currents present among African societies. At the same time, they transmitted their own learning, sciences, and knowledge to the populations of these regions.

This role can be seen in the major Islamic cultural centers established by Sufi shaykhs in African towns and cities such as Timbuktu, Djenné, Sokoto, and others. One example is al-Karama Mosque in Niger, which was built by al-Maghili and still stands today. An inscription on its minaret reads: "This is al-Karama Mosque, built by the blessed Shaykh Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim al-Maghili from the evening prayer until daybreak."²⁹

This was also reflected in the growing number of students who enrolled in and graduated from these centers during that period and the modern period before the arrival of European colonialism.

The influence of the Arab-Islamic culture transmitted to African peoples by the Algerian Sufi movement can also be seen in aspects of their way of life that resemble the customs and traditions of the Algerian people. Clothing is given as one example, including the wearing of the shash, the burnous, shoes, and other garments that were imported from Algeria or carried southward by commercial caravans travelling between the northern and southern regions.³⁰

Among the scholars of the Algerian Sufi movement who contributed to transmitting Arab-Islamic culture to Sub-Saharan Africa were:

- Al-Talib Sidi Ahmad al-Tuwati ibn Muhammad ibn Umar, who died in Chad in 1138 AH and was associated with the Nasiriyya Sufi order.
- Muhammad ibn Aba Ahmad ibn Uthman al-Zamuri, who excelled in prosody and is said to have added a new poetic meter that he called al-Mudtarib.
- Al-Hasan ibn Muhammad, who travelled repeatedly to Mali and southern Libya to teach and issue legal opinions. He also authored a work containing biographies of scholars from Mali and Libya.³¹

The Algerian Sufi movement thus played a major role in transmitting Arab-Islamic culture to the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. It also deserves credit for the continued supply of scholars, jurists, and teachers to those countries. They helped nourish African peoples with Arab-Islamic culture and ideas, making them a strong barrier against Christian missionary activity that sought to contain them and detach them from their faith and acquired culture.

5. The Role of Algerian Foreign Trade in Spreading the Sufi Movement and Arab Culture in Sub-Saharan Africa

Algeria's external trade was one of the foundations of civilizational contact between the Algerian people and the peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa. It also remained one of the main channels through which the Sufi movement and Arab culture moved from north to south.

Through commercial caravans, Sufi orders and Arab culture moved from Algerian urban centers to African urban centers. They were accompanied by scholars, jurists, religious preachers, and shaykhs of zawiyas. These figures played an important role in spreading Islam and training reformers in regions that were still under the grip of paganism.³²

These caravans travelled from Algeria toward Central and West Africa in both summer and winter. Students, scholars, and pilgrims accompanied them in both directions, together with a wide variety of merchandise. The caravans were carefully organized and often departed from towns on the northern edge of the Sahara, including Touggourt, Ouargla, and Tamentit. Camels were used for transport, and their number could exceed twelve thousand in a single caravan.³³

The caravans generally followed well-known historical routes, including the following:

- The Tlemcen route, which passed through Ghardaia and Tuat before reaching Timbuktu in Mali. This route was difficult because travelers had to carry water with them for journeys that could last several days due to the lack of water along the route.
- The Oran-Arzew route, which passed through Kheiter, Mecheria, Ain Sefra, and Figuig, then followed Oued Zousfana to Igli, where it joined the Fez route.
- The Algiers-Timbuktu route, which passed through Blida, Boghar, Laghouat, Ghardaia, El Golea, Ain Salah, and Akabli, where it joined the Tuat-Timbuktu route.
- The Skikda-Constantine route, which passed through Batna, Biskra, Touggourt, Ouargla, El Biod, Amguid, Timissao, Ifrouane, and Mabrouk before reaching Timbuktu.³⁴

It is noteworthy that all of these routes converged on Timbuktu. The city functioned as both a major scholarly and commercial center and as a meeting place for jurists and merchants. From there, routes branched out toward other parts of Africa.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Algerian Sufi movement and Arab culture held a high and prestigious position among the peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa. This was due to the contribution of Algerian scholars and merchants, through Sufism, to the intellectual and cultural life of these countries. That contribution had deep historical roots extending back to the Middle Ages. It was also continuous and did not cease. Rather, it was renewed at the beginning of the nineteenth century and has continued to the present day.

In addition to this historical depth and continuity, the influence of Algerian scholars and merchants on Sufism and culture in Sub-Saharan Africa was closely linked to jihad against African pagans and Crusader invaders, and against their despotic sultans and kings. This study has highlighted a number of these Sufi scholars, who may be regarded as shapers of awareness in African circles. Their religious outreach, awareness-raising, and educational roles provided strong support for other Algerians who strove to shape African Islamic thought in every country of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Notes

1. Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri, *al-Risala al-Qushayriyya fi 'Ilm al-Tasawwuf*, marginal commentary by Zakariyya al-Ansari (Cairo: Ali Subhi and Sons Press, 1367 AH/1957), p. 8.
2. Salih Mu'ayyad al-Uqbi, *al-Turuq al-Sufiyya wa al-Zawaya bi al-Jaza'ir*: *Tarikhuha wa Nashatuha* (Algiers: Dar al-Basa'ir, 2009), p. 25.
3. Souheil al-Khalidi, "Makanat al-Jaza'iriyyin fi al-Haraka al-Fikriyya (al-Tasawwuf) bi Bilad al-Sham: Muhajiru Tilimsan Unmudhajan," *Afkar wa Afaq*, no. 3, University of Algiers 2, 2012, pp. 94-95.
4. Ahmida Amiraoui, *Fawasil min al-Fikr wa al-Tarikh* (Constantine, Algeria: Dar al-Ba'th, 2002), p. 100.

5. Masoud al-Eid, "al-Murabitun wa al-Turuq al-Sufiyya bi al-Jaza'ir Khilal al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani," Cirta, no. 10, Institute of Social Sciences, University of Constantine, 1988, p. 10.
6. Ahmida Amiraoui, Buhuth Tarikhiyya, 3rd ed. (Ain M'lila, Algeria: Dar al-Huda, 2006), p. 102.
7. Ahmida Amiraoui, Fawasil min al-Fikr wa al-Tarikh, p. 113.
8. Qur'an, Surat al-Hujurat, 49:13.
9. Yahya Bouaziz, Mawdu'at wa Qadaya min Tarikh al-Jaza'ir al-Hadith, vol. 1 (Ain M'lila, Algeria: Dar al-Huda, 2004), p. 223.
10. Ferrouma is a small village near Lakhdaria in Bouira Province. Lakhdaria lies approximately 75 km east of Algiers.
11. Ahmida Amiraoui, Buhuth Tarikhiyya, p. 103.
12. Ammar Hilal, al-Turuq al-Sufiyya wa Nashr al-Islam wa al-Thaqafa al-'Arabiyya fi Gharb Ifriqiya al-Samra' (Reghaia, Algeria: National Establishment for Graphic Arts, 1988), p. 108.
13. Ammar Hilal, *ibid.*, p. 112.
14. Abd al-Qadir Zibadiya, Dirasa 'an Ifriqiya Janub al-Sahra' fi Ma'athir wa Mu'allafat al-'Arab wa al-Muslimin (Algiers: Algerian Publications Office, 2010), pp. 23, 25.
15. Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun, Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldun, ed. Hamid Ahmad al-Tahir, 1st ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Fajr lil-Turath, 2004), p. 114. See also Ammar Hilal, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
16. Souheil al-Khalidi, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.
17. Muhammad Salih Houtia, Al Kunta: Dirasa Tarikhiyya min Khilal al-Watha'iq al-Mahalliyya fi al-Qarnayn al-Thani 'Ashar wa al-Thalith 'Ashar lil-Hijra, 1st ed. (Algiers: Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, 2008), p. 245.
18. Ahmad Maryush et al., al-Hayat al-Thaqafiyya fi al-Jaza'ir Khilal al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani, National Projects Series (Algiers: National Center for Studies and Research on the National Movement and the Revolution of 1 November 1954, 2007), p. 191.
19. Bilad al-Takrur refers here to Senegalese Futa on the bank of the Senegal River.
20. Ahmad Maryush et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 191-192.
21. Ammar Hilal, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.
22. Ammar Hilal, *ibid.*, p. 112.
23. Ammar Hilal, *ibid.*, pp. 123-124.
24. Faraj Mahmoud Faraj, Iqlim Tuat Khilal al-Qarnayn al-Thamin 'Ashar wa al-Tasi' 'Ashar al-Miladiyyayn (Algiers: Office of University Publications, 1977), p. 114.
25. Muhammad al-Salih Houtia, Tuat wa al-Azawad, vol. 1 (Algiers: Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, 2007), pp. 222-223.
26. Muhammad al-Salih Houtia, *ibid.*, pp. 223-224.
27. Faraj Mahmoud Faraj, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
28. Ammar Hilal, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.
29. Ahmad Maryush et al., *op. cit.*, p. 192.
30. Ammar Hilal, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
31. Ahmad Maryush et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

32. Ahmida Amiraoui, *Risalat al-Tariqa al-Qadiriyya fi al-Jaza'ir* (Ain M'lila, Algeria: Dar al-Huda, n.d.), p. 31.
33. Abd al-Qadir Zibadiya, op. cit., p. 43.
34. Atiya Abd al-Kamil, "Harakat al-Qawafil al-Tijariyya bayna al-Hawadir al-Shamaliyya wa al-Janubiyya lil-Sahra' al-Kubra min Khilal al-Masadir al-'Arabiyya wa al-Rahhala al-Urubbiyyin bayna al-Qarnayn 15-19 M," *Hawliyyat al-Mu'arrikh*, nos. 13-14, Union of Algerian Historians, Algiers, 2011, pp. 532-533.

Sources and References

The Holy Qur'an.

1. Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri. *al-Risala al-Qushayriyya fi 'Ilm al-Tasawwuf* [The Qushayri Epistle on the Science of Sufism]. Marginal commentary by Zakariyya al-Ansari. Cairo: Ali Subhi and Sons Press, 1367 AH/1957.
2. Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun. *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldun* [The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun]. Edited by Hamid Ahmad al-Tahir. 1st ed. Cairo: Dar al-Fajr lil-Turath, 2004.
3. Abd al-Qadir Zibadiya. *Dirasa 'an Ifriqiya Janub al-Sahra' fi Ma'athir wa Mu'allafat al-'Arab wa al-Muslimin* [A Study of Sub-Saharan Africa in the Heritage and Writings of Arabs and Muslims]. Algiers: Algerian Publications Office, 2010.
4. Yahya Bouaziz. *Mawdu'at wa Qadaya min Tarikh al-Jaza'ir al-Hadith* [Themes and Issues in Modern Algerian History]. Vol. 1. Ain M'lila, Algeria: Dar al-Huda for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, 2004.
5. Ammar Hilal. *al-Turuq al-Sufiyya wa Nashr al-Islam wa al-Thaqafa al-'Arabiyya fi Gharb Ifriqiya al-Samra'* [Sufi Orders and the Spread of Islam and Arab Culture in West Africa]. Reghaia, Algeria: National Establishment for Graphic Arts, 1988.
6. Faraj Mahmoud Faraj. *Iqlim Tuat Khilal al-Qarnayn al-Thamin 'Ashar wa al-Tasi' 'Ashar al-Miladiyyayn* [The Tuat Region during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries]. Algiers: Office of University Publications, 1977.
7. Ahmida Amiraoui. *Fawasil min al-Fikr wa al-Tarikh* [Studies in Thought and History]. Constantine, Algeria: Dar al-Ba'th for Printing and Publishing, 2002.
8. Ahmida Amiraoui. *Risalat al-Tariqa al-Qadiriyya fi al-Jaza'ir* [The Mission of the Qadiriyya Order in Algeria]. Ain M'lila, Algeria: Dar al-Huda for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, n.d.
9. Ahmida Amiraoui. *Buhuth Tarikhiyya* [Historical Studies]. 3rd ed. Ain M'lila, Algeria: Dar al-Huda for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, 2006.
10. Muhammad Salih Houtia. *Al Kunta: Dirasa Tarikhiyya min Khilal al-Watha'iq al-Mahalliyya fi al-Qarnayn al-Thani 'Ashar wa al-Thalith 'Ashar lil-Hijra* [The Kunta: A Historical Study Based on Local Documents from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Hijri Centuries]. 1st ed. Algiers: Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, 2008.
11. Muhammad al-Salih Houtia. *Tuat wa al-Azawad* [Tuat and Azawad]. Vol. 1. Algiers: Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, 2007.

12. Salih Mu'ayyad al-Uqbi. *al-Turuq al-Sufiyya wa al-Zawayat bi al-Jaza'ir: Tarikhuha wa Nashatuha* [Sufi Orders and Zawiyas in Algeria: Their History and Activities]. Special ed. Algiers: Dar al-Basa'ir, 2009.
13. Ahmad Maryush et al. *al-Hayat al-Thaqafiyya fi al-Jaza'ir Khilal al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani* [Cultural Life in Algeria during the Ottoman Period]. National Projects Series. Algiers: National Center for Studies and Research on the National Movement and the Revolution of 1 November 1954, 2007.
14. Masoud al-Eid. "al-Murabitun wa al-Turuq al-Sufiyya bi al-Jaza'ir Khilal al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani" [Marabouts and Sufi Orders in Algeria during the Ottoman Period]. *Cirta*, no. 10. Institute of Social Sciences, University of Constantine, Algeria, 1988.
15. Atiya Abd al-Kamil. "Harakat al-Qawafil al-Tijariyya bayna al-Hawadir al-Shamaliyya wa al-Janubiyya lil-Sahra' al-Kubra min Khilal al-Masadir al-'Arabiyya wa al-Rahhala al-Urubbiyyin bayna al-Qarnayn 15-19 M" [The Movement of Commercial Caravans between the Northern and Southern Urban Centers of the Sahara through Arabic Sources and European Travelers between the Fifteenth and Nineteenth Centuries]. *Hawliyyat al-Mu'arrikh*, nos. 13-14. Union of Algerian Historians, Algiers, 2011.
16. Souheil al-Khalidi. "Makanat al-Jaza'iriyyin fi al-Haraka al-Fikriyya (al-Tasawwuf) bi Bilad al-Sham: Muhajiru Tilimsan Unmudhajan" [The Place of Algerians in the Intellectual Movement (Sufism) in Bilad al-Sham: Migrants from Tlemcen as a Model]. *Afkar wa Afaq*, no. 3, University of Algiers 2, 2012.