



From the Banu Abd al-Wadi State to the Zayyanid State: A Study of Major Transformations and Developments

Touati Hocine *,

University Center of Maghnia (Algeria)

h.touati@cu-maghnia.dz

Abstract: The present work tackles the most significant political developments and transformations experienced by the Banu Abd al-Wad (Zayyanid) state in the Central Maghreb during two distinct periods: The period of the Abd al-Wadid State; this state was known as such from its founding in 633AH/1236CE, until the end of the reign of Sultan Abu Sa'id ibn Abd al-Rahman in 753AH/1352CE. Zayyanid State, known by its founder Abu Hammu Musa II after he had recovered the throne of this state in 760AH/1358 CE, until its fall in 962 AH/1554 CE during the reign of Sultan Al-Hasan ibn Abd Allah II.

These developments and transformations generally affected most of the political and civilizational aspects. These include the systems and nature of governance, methods of administrative management, the organization of the army, the economic system as well as the tribal system within the state.

Keywords: Abd al-Wadid State; Zayyanid State; Yaghmurasin ibn Zayyan; Abu Hammu Musa II; Central Maghreb.

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1. Introduction

The State of Bani Abd al-Wad al-Zayyanid is one of the most significant political entities that governed the central Maghreb. Its importance lies not only in its temporal and spatial extent but also in the historical events it experienced. This state was notably resilient against external invasions, particularly from its neighbors- the Hafsid in the east and the Marinids in the west- who attempted multiple incursions. It also endured internal unrest and rebellions from the tribes under its control.

From its foundation under Yaghmurasin ibn Zayyan to its period of strength and comprehensive organization during the reign of Abu Hammu Musa II, when it became widely recognized as the Zayyanid state, this polity experienced numerous transformations and developments. What were the most significant of these transformations? What were the key developments in this country? In which domains did these transformations and developments occur? Our research aims to address these questions.

2. From the Wadiya Slave State to the Zayyanid State.

The state established by Yaghmurasin bin Zayyan in 633 AH / 1236 AD in the central Maghreb was initially known as the Abd al-Wadiya state or the state of Bani Abd al-Wadi. It was named after the Bani Abd al-Wadi al-Zenatiyyah tribe, which settled in the central Maghreb, covering the area between Batha in the east and Malawiya in the west¹. Yahya ibn Khaldun records that 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn 'Ali Khalifa al-Muḥaddīn² sought assistance from Kabīr ibn 'Abd al-Wād, Abī Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, to reclaim money and spoils seized by Bani Mirin. Kabīr ibn 'Abd al-Wād responded and recovered the funds, and in return, 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn 'Ali allocated a portion of the spoils to the sons of 'Abd al-Wād³. Through this alliance, the Banu 'Abd al-Wad secured stability in the hilly regions of the central Maghreb after the Almohads entrusted them as guardians and supporters⁴.

The Bani Abd al-Wad state, later known as al-Zayaniyah, ruled the central Maghreb. Its territory extended from the Moulouya Valley and the Taza Mountains in the west⁵,⁶ to Bejaia in the east, and from the Rum Sea (Mediterranean Sea) in the north to the Great Desert bordering western Sudan in the south⁷. For more than three centuries (633 AH / 1236 AD – 962 AH / 1554 AD), the state underwent multiple developments that were often contested. Its borders fluctuated, expanding or contracting according to the state's strength or weakness⁸. These developments can be categorized into four historical phases:

2.1. The Stage of Upbringing and Consolidation of the Kingdom (633 AH / 1236 AD – 737 AH / 1363 AD)

This phase spans from the founding of the Wadi Abd State by Yaghmrasin bin Zayan in 633 AH / 1236 AD to the death of Abu Tashfeen I in 737 AH / 1363 AD, who was killed by the Marinid Sultan Abi Al-Hassan⁹,¹⁰. This period lasted about a century, nearly half of which—approximately forty-eight (48) years—was under Sultan Yaghmrasin bin Zayan. It was marked by repeated Hafsid and Marinid campaigns in the central Maghreb, during which Tlemcen was frequently besieged, particularly by the Marinids¹¹.

Despite these pressures, the sultans of Bani Zayan focused on consolidating and developing their state. They advanced governance and infrastructure, particularly in Tlemcen. Sultan Abu Hammu Musa I¹² refined state decrees, promoted science and scholars, and established the first school in the central Maghreb, the School of the Sons of the Imam¹³. Sultan Abu Tashfin I further strengthened the monarchy by constructing palaces and immortalizing monuments previously unseen, especially the Tashfin School, which remains an unparalleled masterpiece and the largest and most magnificent school built in the Islamic Maghreb¹⁴.

2.2. Temporary Interruption Phase (737 AH / 1337 AD – 760 AH / 1358 AD)

This phase began with the occupation of Tlemcen by Abu al-Hasan al-Marini and the assassination of Sultan Abu Tashfin I in 737 AH / 1337 AD. It ended with the restoration of Abu Hammu Musa II to the throne of his predecessors and the revival of their state in 760 AH / 1358 AD¹⁵.

This period was marked by the undermining of the pillars of the Abd al-Wadiya state by the Marinid Sultan Abu al-Hasan. He sought to strengthen his position by relying on the tribe of Bani Abd al-Wadi, using them to expand his influence¹⁶. Attempts were also made by Emirs Abi Said and Abi Thabit, sons of Abdul Rahman bin Yaghmrasin, to restore their ancestors' state in 749 AH / 1348 AD, taking advantage of Sultan Abu al-Hasan al-Marini's preoccupation with his campaign against Tunisia. During this attempt, they managed to recapture several cities in the central Maghreb¹⁷. Mosques resumed their religious functions, and Sultan Abu Said also struck coins in his name¹⁸.

However, this effort lasted no more than four years and one month. The Marinid Sultan Abu Anan Fares¹⁹, son of Abu al-Hasan, regained control over Tlemcen and the central Maghreb following his victory over Sultan Abu Thabit and Abu Said in the Battle of Sahel Anjad²⁰ near Oujda²¹ in 753 AH / 1352 AD²². Consequently, the history of the Wadiya state was interrupted until Sultan Abu Hammu Musa II succeeded in restoring the throne of his predecessors by retaking Tlemcen in 760 AH / 1358 AD.

2.3. Stage of Emission and Greatness (760 AH / 1358 AD – 791 AH / 1389 AD)

This stage corresponds to the reign of Sultan Abu Hammu Musa II, who revitalized the fees and authority of the Abd al-Wadiya state²³. His rule began in 760 AH / 1358 AD and ended with his death in 791 AH / 1389 AD.

During this period, Sultan Abu Hammu Musa II developed the Zayani state in all its aspects, elevating it to unprecedented levels of sophistication and prominence. It became one of the major powers of its time, widely recognized in the region. Among his achievements were the construction of the Sidi Ibrahim al-Masmoudi Mosque and the Jacobite School²⁴. Abu Hammu Musa II renamed his predecessors' state from Bani Abd al-Wad to the Zayani state and introduced significant political reforms. He adopted the title of caliph, established formal criteria for senior state positions, and implemented new strategies in dealing

with opponents, particularly the Marinids. These innovations are discussed further in the second part of this research.

2.4. Stage of Dissolution and Collapse (791 AH / 1389 AD – 962 AH / 1554 AD)

This stage began with the assassination of Sultan Abu Hammu Musa II in 791 AH / 1389 AD by his son and crown prince, Abu Tashfin II²⁵. It ended with the incorporation of Tlemcen into Ottoman Algeria under Sultan Hassan bin Abdullah II in 1554 AD.

This period was characterized by alternating subordination to the Marinids and the Hafsids, reflecting ongoing power struggles. Some rulers reigned for as little as forty days, and others, such as Ibn Khawla, Al-Sa'id, Abd al-Wahid (sons of Sultan Abu Hammu II), and Abu Abdullah (son of Al-Hamra), ruled for only two months. This era also witnessed the Spanish incursions along the central Moroccan coast and the entry of Ottoman forces into the region²⁶.

3. From the Wadiya Slave State to the Zayani State – Key Developments and Transformations

If Yaghmrasin bin Zayan had gained independence in the central Maghreb without the Almohads, he asserted that the Banu 'Abd al-Wad would rely on their own power. This is evident from his statement when told that the Banu 'Abd al-Wad originated from a noble house: "...If this is true, it benefits us with God, and as for the world, we won it with our swords"²⁷. He leveraged the weakness of the united caliphs, the security of his capital Tlemcen²⁸, and alliances with Arab and Berber tribes inhabiting the central Maghreb. He also pursued a cautious policy toward his Hafsid and Marinid neighbors, instructing his successor Abu El Said Othman not to confront them unless necessary. This approach contrasted sharply with that of Abu Hammu Musa II, who implemented entirely different strategies to restore the Bani Abd al-Wad throne, rebuild the state, and establish robust administrative organization.

He adopted the religious ideology that underpinned most countries in the Islamic world to restore the throne of his predecessors. This included preparing the sons of Abd al-Wad to assume power. His first step was to create narratives that would convince the remaining sons of Abd that he was the only leader capable of reviving their state. One such narrative concerns his defense against his uncle, Sultan Abi Thabit. This occurred when the Hafsid Emir, Abi Abdullah Muhammad bin Abi Zakaria Yahya Sahib, surrendered them to the Marinid Sultan Abi Anan Fares in his camp near Medea²⁹, resulting in the killing of Abu Thabit and his minister Ibn Makin, while Abu Zayan was taken prisoner to Fez³⁰.

Yahya ibn Khaldun recorded this incident differently from his brother, Abdul Rahman, who claimed that after Abu Thabit and his companions were captured, Abu Hammu managed to escape to Tunisia. Yahya ibn Khaldun noted: "Even if, by the judgment of God and his destiny, the aforementioned Qi 'at Shalaf is east of Wafa with his uncle, Sultan Abi Thabit – may God have mercy on him – reinforcing Yahya ibn Dawood ibn Ali ibn Majn³¹ al-Wazir with a third. ³²When he found them with a laser from Ahvaz, Bejaia – as he passed – and brought them to the deniers. It was said: Who is Sultan Abu Thabit among you? This caliph (meaning Abu Hamo) – may God support him – influenced the survival of his father (meaning Abu Thabit), and sacrificed for his redemption his joy, and forgave him from his life what no one had allowed before him, and said: I, so the people cherished him carrying, and his companions colored him with legs, saying: Leave them, you have won from me your need, until they arrived in a happy camp – the owner of Bejaia on that day – with Khamis Teklat, and he was the one who knew Sultan Abu Thabit – may God have mercy on him – so the hands of pessimism moved to him, and the eyes of observation tilted towards him, and he was asked: Who is good without you himself? He said blindly about his nephew: He was the one who granted grace, followed the state, and sought you from God, except for what you demobilized, so they let him go, and he left with his fold"³³.

The second matter relates to the events referenced in³⁴ and³⁵. Al-Jafri mentioned them in the Owner of the Orchard Flower, and Abu Hamo Musa II also alluded to them in one of his poems:

"So I thought Tlemcen, who was shaking * * * as I mentioned in Al-Jafri, the people of the epics And got rid of her anger, the house of our king * * * and cleansed her of every bagh and garm"³⁶.

The Owner of the Orchard Blossom states: "The narrator said: I heard someone speak about the appearance of our master, the Sultan, and the highness and prestige that he possesses. He said it was agreed that Tunisia has scholars of the two events, while others speak in Al-Jufran. Regarding the people of Jufranat, they unanimously agreed on the return of the state to the children of Abd al-Wad. As for the Hadathists, they said at that time, it was due to differences in timing or effort..." This continues until the dialogue between Abu Hamo and Al-Hadani:

"The aforementioned Hadadani said to him – that is, to Abu Hamo – what is your name? He said: Moses, and he grew up three times and said: You will be a chief king. Then he said: What is your nickname? He said: Abu Hamo. He said: You are the king who rises in Morocco. Then he asked him: Do you have a son? He said: Yes, one of the numbers, his name is Abdul Rahman, and he said: He owns Morocco, and the Banu Zayan prevails in it. Al-Hadadani was surprised by his affair, and rumored what would be of his authority..."

Al-Jufrani later clarified the matter with Al-Hadani, confirming the signs of the king and the chief: "It's really like what you're saying. The news spread by accepting them with the people of monotheism, and the news was related to the near and the far. Then they agreed on one of the emirates, if it is the end of the signs, which is to come out of the Zab, in a group of godparents"³⁷.

The third point concerns what Yahya ibn Khaldun reported in the words of Yaghmarsin ibn Zayan about the revival of the Bani Abd al-Wad state by the sons of his son, Yahya. He stated: "May God have mercy on him would say – and he means Yaghmarsin ibn Zayan – if he sees him: – He means his son Yahya – with the butt of my son. This is the salutation of the state of Bani Abd al-Wad, and in them he remains our king until the end of the world"³⁸.

Thus, Abu Hamo Musa II created the conditions for restoring his predecessors' rule. He also psychologically prepared his tribe, the sons of Abd al-Wad, to accept this restoration, pledge allegiance to him, and support him whenever he took action. From the evidence presented, we can also conclude that Abu Hamo likely learned during his stay at the Hafsid court that the Marinid Sultan, Abu Anan Fares, did not execute his cousin, Prince Abu Zayan, but instead kept him imprisoned in the capital. This posed a threat to Abu Hamo's plan and became an obstacle to his ambitions, as Abu Zayan was the legitimate heir to the Bani Abd al-Wad throne following his father, Abu Said.

Additionally, Abu Hamo Musa II did not assume the throne of the sons of Abd al-Wad based on a covenant mandate, nor did he seize it from another sultan of the state. Even the pledge of allegiance was not obtained from the sons of Abd al-Wad or their Zenata allies, unlike his predecessors from the line of Zayan bin Thabit³⁹.

The sale of allegiance was conducted by Arabs from Beni Amer and others among the Arabs of the winds when Sabkha Kaboud arrived during his journey to reclaim his ancestral property⁴⁰. This event set a precedent in the history of the Bani Abd al-Wad state. Consequently, Abu Hamo Musa II carried out a revolutionary change in the system of governance, transforming many concepts of authority previously unknown in his region or the wider Middle Maghreb. These innovations included:

3.1. The title of caliph⁴¹.

This continued the vision outlined in the Books of the Two Events and Al-Jafr, which predicted his sovereignty and that of his son over the Bani Abd al-Wad throne and the lands of the Middle Maghreb. It also reflected Yaghmarsin ibn Zayan's prophecy that his state would endure through his son Yahya, ensuring the continuity of the Bani Abd al-Wad rulership. The caliphate, as Abu Hamo Musa II understood it, required divine appointment, combining both religious and temporal authority. This is evident in his instructions to his crown prince, Abu Tashfin Abdul Rahman: "My son, the king is the caliph of God in his land, who is entrusted with establishing his command and ending it, imitating him with the necklaces of the caliphate, and making him an impregnable fortress for those who are afraid. And he ordered him to establish the laws, and to block the pretexts, so that Constant would establish the right to take care of creation, and God gave him from his king, and put the parish under his power and his king"⁴².

3.2. Explicit claim to the Prophet's lineage⁴³.

By asserting that he descended from the family of Idris bin Abdullah bin Mohammed bin Hassan bin Ali bin Abi Talib, Abu Hamo Musa II strengthened his legitimacy in governance, in addition to being the son of Yaghmarsin bin Zayan. To reinforce this lineage, he named the state of Bani Abd al-Wad after Zayan bin Thabet, the father of Yaghmarsin bin Zayan. This may have been intended to assert that the sons of Abd al-Wad were the true heirs.

Yahya ibn Khaldun confirms this in multiple passages, stating:

"He took the reins of his freewheeling worldly majesty, and his snaps covered his opinions with sorrowful incidents, and he knew the validity of his experiences what was in them before he was, as his grandfather Ali bin Abi Talib said to his cousin Abdullah bin Al-Abbas, may Allah be pleased with them: 'By Allah, you are of a man, so you may look at the unseen from a thin veil.' ... No, it is only the upper courage, supported by the upper hand of God..."

He adds: "He is the Imam who originally honored a branch, and his Hashemite caliphate was permissible of course and Sharia. The Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) said: The caliphate is in the Quraysh and the Imams are from the Quraysh..."

Thus, no fair-minded or impartial observer could doubt this supreme Imam's – may God support him – right to the caliphate, grounded in his religion, virtue, policies, justice, knowledge, capability, conduct, and lineage. As Abu al-Atahiyyah wrote:

"The caliphate came to him under criticism * * * to be dragged by its tails. It was only suitable for him * * * and it was only suitable for her. If someone else had thrown it * * * the earth would have been shaken by its earthquake"⁴⁴.

3.3. Appointment Conditions for Senior Positions

Abu Hamo Musa II established specific criteria for holding senior positions in the state. For the minister, he required someone who was a senior member of his clan and household, capable of insight, selected by the people, with a sharp mind, attentive, quick to understand, wise in opinion, righteous, loving, and intelligent. The minister should also possess a good public image, be eloquent in speech, and be wealthy⁴⁵.

Similarly, the writer was expected to be one of the prominent figures of the country: eloquent, knowledgeable in etiquette, skilled in fine calligraphy, discreet yet dignified, thoughtful, quick-minded, accurate in judgment, attractive in appearance, well-dressed, and loyal to the people⁴⁶.

The owner of works and the business officer had to be trustworthy, knowledgeable about accounting and the types of levies, morally upright, firm, and possess sufficient wealth, furniture, and property. Additionally, the workers needed to be skilled in collecting levies, honest, virtuous, religious, and avoid harming parishioners⁴⁷.

Jurists were required to have both knowledge and righteousness. They were responsible for advising, ensuring repayment, and guiding people toward virtue. Judges were to act fearlessly, uphold justice without yielding to oppression, and reject bribery, ensuring fairness among the people⁴⁸.

Army leaders were expected to be loyal, brave, and protective of the Sultan. They should not harm the citizens and must demonstrate love for the country while defending it⁴⁹.

Bouziani Darraji notes that Abu Hamo Musa II abolished the office of the bailiff, previously used in the Bani Abd al-Wad state, and replaced it with the office of the vizier, which was common among the Hafsids and Marinids. The former bailiff's role of supervising the palace was transferred to this new position⁵⁰.

3.4. Rebuilding and Organizing the Zayani State Army:

Abu Hamo Musa II reorganized the Zayani state army, which included the Bani Abd al-Wad, other Zenata factions, and fighters from Arab tribes, especially Bani Amer⁵¹. The army also incorporated elements from the Rum, the Gazebos, and the As-Saffan. He implemented a disciplined command structure and planned

operations carefully to avoid unnecessary risks⁵². He avoided direct confrontation with enemies, particularly Bani Marin, and skillfully maneuvered his forces from Tlemcen to strike from behind, compelling opponents to retreat.

The army was divided into four sections: the private forces⁵³, the tribal contingents⁵⁴, the king's supporters⁵⁵, and the Mamluks⁵⁶.

Funding was secured to meet the army's needs, including gifts and monthly rations, ensuring loyalty and morale⁵⁷. Abu Hamo Musa II also focused on winning the hearts of his soldiers through kindness and fair treatment⁵⁸.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the Zayani state represents the second phase of the Bani Abd al-Wad state. Abu Hammu Musa II fundamentally transformed the political and administrative foundations established by the Wadiya slave state. He minimized reliance on Bani Abd al-Wad and their Zenata allies, instead building alliances with Arab tribes such as Bani Amer. He reinstated the religious principles underlying governance in earlier Islamic states, embraced Mahdist ideology, and assumed the unprecedented title of caliph. He also introduced formal criteria for senior positions, replacing the kinship- or religion-based appointments of his predecessors.

Economically, Abu Hammu Musa II largely maintained the policies of his predecessors, sustaining traditional trade relations with neighboring states. His main economic innovation was the establishment of the House of Industry, an early form of an industrial zone, which supplied the state with essential goods such as weapons and military clothing.

References

- 1 Ibn al-Arāj, *Zubdat al-Taḥrīq wa-Zahrah al-Shamrīq*, vol. 3, manuscript preserved in the al-Ḥusaynīyah collection, Rabat, No. 170, fol. 30; Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, vol. 4, p. 2747.
- 2 ʿAbd al-Muʿmin ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAlawī ibn Yaʿlā ibn Marwān ibn Naṣr ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿĀmir ibn ʿĀmir Abū Mūsā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn Warzayq ibn Saṭfūr ibn Ninūr ibn Maṭmaṭa ibn Khazraj (or Ḥujj ibn Qays ibn Allān ibn Muḍar) was originally a merchant near Henīn. He ruled from 524 AH / 1130 AD to 558 AH / 1163 AD. See: Ibn al-Sammāk al-ʿĀmilī, previous source, p. 215; ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, previous source, p. 148; al-Zarkashī Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Luwwālī, *History of the Almohad and Hafsid States*, ed. Ṭāh Muḥammad Madūr, al-Atīqa Library, Tunis, 1966, p. 13.
- 3 The leadership of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād was established during the reign of ʿAbd al-Muʿmin ibn ʿAlī and continued until ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq ibn Mangafad, in the period of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn and Maʿād during the time of Yaḥyā ibn Khaldūn. See: *al-ʿIbar*, vol. 4, p. 2747; *Ghuwayyat al-Ruwād*, vol. 1, p. 101; Abd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAraj, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- 4 See *Bughiyat al-Ruwad*, Vol. 1, p. 104 [The Aspiration of the Pioneers, Vol. 1, p. 104]
- 5 The city of Béjaïa is an ancient Phoenician foundation known historically as Saldai or Naṣiriyyah. It is associated with a Berber tribe living in the surrounding region (east of present-day Algiers). For more on Béjaïa, see: al-Ḥasan al-Wazzān, previous source, vol. 1, pp. 50–51; Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī, *Fayḍ al-ʿAbāb wa-Ifāḍat Qadaḥ al-Adab fī al-Ḥaraka al-Saʿīda ilā Qusanṭīnah wa-al-Zāb*, ed. Muḥammad Shaqrūn, 1st ed., Rabat, 1990, p. 268; Aḥmad Tawfīq al-Madani, previous reference, pp. 196–197; Rachid Borouiba, *The Ḥammādid State: Its History and Civilization*, *Dīwān al-Nashr al-Jāmiʿī*, Algeria, 1977, p. 54.
- 6 Taza is a large city about fifty miles east of Fez and roughly seven miles from the Mediterranean Sea, with more than five thousand inhabitants. See al-Ḥasan al-Wazzān, previous source, vol. 1, pp. 354–355. The editors of that work note that Taza lies approximately eighty miles from Fez and seventy-five miles from the Mediterranean. See the same source, fol. E 155, p. 354.
- 7 Various sources converge regarding this central Maghrebi region. See: Anonymous, *The Book of Insight into the Wonders of al-Amṣār*, ed. Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, University Press, Alexandria, 1958, pp. 176 ff.; al-Tansī, *History of the Idrisid State*, p. 65, and *History of the Banū Zayyān*, pp. 118–119; Abd al-

Rahmān ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, vol. 3, pp. 2397–2398; Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu‘jib fi Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. Khalīl ‘Imrān al-Manṣūr, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, Beirut, 1998, p. 256; Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā fi Ṣinā‘at al-Inshā’*, vol. 5, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo, 1922, p. 149; Ibn al-‘A‘rāj, *ibid.*, folio 37; Abū al-Walīd Ismā‘īl ibn al-Aḥmar, *Rawḍat al-Nisrīn fi Dawlat Banī Marīn*, ed. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Manṣūr, Royal Press, Rabat, 1962, p. 54; ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Hajjiyat, *Algeria in History*, vol. 3, National Book Foundation, Algeria, 1984, p. 296; Khālid Belarbi, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–43; ‘Abd al-Jalīl Qaryān, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–47; Mabkhout Boudouaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–18; Houaria Bekkaye, *Political Relations and Cultural Links*, pp. 20–22; Muḥammad ibn Maammar, *Political Relations and Cultural Links between the Central and Far Maghreb from the End of the 2nd to the Mid-6th Century AH*, PhD thesis, Dept. of History, University of Oran, 2001–2002, p. 12.

- 8 If the boundaries of the Central Maghreb were considered as a continent, the borders of the Zayyānid state expanded and contracted in accordance with political circumstances—shrinking in times of weakness and extending during periods of strength. Often, however, they did not exceed the limits of the city of Tlemcen, particularly during Marinid incursions into the region. The unstable frontiers of the Banū ‘Abd al-Wād al-Zayyānī state were due to its position between the Marinid kingdom to the west and the Hafsid dynasty to the east, both seeking to annex the Central Maghreb and even to control the entire Islamic Maghreb, as each regarded itself as heir to the Almohads—the Marinids claiming succession through their capital, Marrakesh, and the Hafsids through kinship and doctrinal lineage. At times, the borders of the ‘Abd al-Wādids extended from Taourirt in the west to Constantine in the east; yet, frequently, they remained confined to Tlemcen. See: al-Tansī, *History of Banī Zayyān*, p. 143; ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Manṣūr, *op. cit.*, p. 147; Abd al-Jalīl Qaryān, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Ṣabrā Khāṭif, *Fuqahā’ Tlemcen and al-Zayyānī Authority*, 1st ed., Jusūr Publishing and Distribution, Algeria, 2011, p. 10; ‘Abd al-Azīz Filālī, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 16; Dhina (A), *Le Royaume Abdelouadid à l’époque d’Abou Hammou Moussa Ier*, O.P.U., Algiers, n.d., p. 17.
- 9 He was Abdul Rahman Abu Tashfin I, son of Abu Hamo Musa I, son of Othman, son of Yaghamrasin bin Zayan, the fifth sultan of the Banu Abd al-Wadi Zayyanid State, who ruled from 718 AH / 1318 AD to 737 AH / 1336 AD. During his reign, he killed a palace official along with his children and staff during the storming of Tlemcen by the forces of Abu al-Hasan al-Marini after a siege that lasted more than thirty months. He was buried at Bab Wahab near the mausoleum of Abu Ya‘qub al-Tafrisi (see: Ibn Khaldun, 1377/1960, *Al-Abr*, vol. 4, pp. 2773–2789; al-Bagha, vol. 1, p. 219; Ibn Marzuq al-Khatib al-Jamal, *Manuscript [Microfilm] No. 20*, Rabat Public Treasury, folio 34; Ibn al-Khatib, 1990, *Al-Halal fi Nizam al-Dawl*, p. 73; Brunswick, 1988, *African History in the Hafsid Era to the 15th Century*, vol. 1, p. 180; Touati, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Marçais & Marçais, 1903, *Les monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, vol. 1, pp. 192–201).
- 10 Abu al-Hasan al-Marini took over the rule of the state of Bani Marin in 791 AH/1331 AD, and his mandate lasted until 749 AH/1348 AD. See: Houaria Bekkaye, *Marinid Political Relations*, p. 209.
- 11 On the Hafsid and Marinid campaigns on Tlemcen during this stage, see: Yahya ibn Khaldun, *for the pioneers*, vol. 1, *Investigation of Abdelhamid Hajjiyat*, National Library, Algiers, 1980, pp. 205, pp. 209–211; Ibn al-A ‘raj, *previous source*, vol. 3, folio 37 and 40; Al-Zarkashi, *previous source*, p. 29; Al-Tansi, *History of Bani Zayan*, pp. 118, pp. 130–132; Ibn Abi al-Zar ‘al-Fasi, *Anis singer in Arz al-Qurtas in News of the Kings of Morocco and History of the City of Fez*, Al-Mansour Printing House, 1972, pp. 370–374; Ibn Marzuq al-Khatib, *total*, folio 15; Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn al-Azraq, *Badaie El-Silk in the Natures of the King*, Volume 1, *Investigation of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim*, Dar Sader, Beirut, 1963, p. 265; Abd al-Rahman ibn Khaldun, *Al-Abr*, vol. 4, pp. 2745–2779; Robert Brunswick, *op. Cit.*, p. 60; Atallah Dehina, *The Long Siege in the Book of Algeria in History*, Vol. 3, pp. 367–379; Barges (L.J.J.L), *Tlemcen ancienne capitale de royaume de ce nom sa topographie son histoire*, Paris, 1859, p 34.
- 12 He is Sultan Abu Hamu Musa I, son of Uthman bin Yaghamrasin, who assumed power after the death of his brother Abu Zayan in 707 AH /1307 AD, and his rule lasted until the year 718 AH/1318 AD, he died killing a deceitful deception by his son Abu Tashfin I, about whom Abdul Rahman bin Khaldun said: « ... I heard Arif bin Yahya, Amir of Sweden, from Zaghba and the sheikh of the royal councils of Zante, say, and he means – that is, Abu Hamo Musa I - : Musa bin Othman is the teacher of the royal policy of Zante, but they were the heads of the desert until Musa bin Othman, limited its borders and refined its ceremonies

,and this taught him his fighting and his gaze from them , so they accepted his doctrine and followed his teaching. See:Al-Abr , vol. 4 ,pp. 2768,2769;Yahya Bouaziz ,op. Cit.,p. 18 ,Hocine Touati ,op. Cit.,p. 48.

13 Sultan Abu Hamo Musa I brought the two brothers Abu Zaid Abdul Rahman (d. 749 AH/1348 AD) and Abu Musa Issa (d. 757 AH/1356 AD) from Barchak near Tennis and built a school and a mosque named after them.On my son Imam =, the mosque and the school ,see: Ibn Maryam Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Ahmed ,Al-Bustan in the mention of scholars and guardians in Tlemcen, published by Muhammad ibn Abi Shanab, presented by Abdul Rahman Taleb, Diwan of University Publications, Algiers, 1986, pp. 123-127;Ibn Marzouk Al-Khatib, Al-Manajeb Al-Marzouqiya, Study and investigation of Salwa Al-Zahri, i1, publications of the Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs, New Najah Press, Casablanca, Morocco, 2008, pp. 202,203;Ibn Imad Al-Hanbali, Gold nuggets in News of Gold, vol. 6, Dar Al Afaq Al-Jad, Beirut, (d.t),pp. 133;Mabkhout Boudouya, op. cit., pp. 71 and 82; Houariya Bakai, Political and Cultural Relations, pp. 45 and pp. 48;Marçais (G), L'Architecture musulman d 'occident (Tunisie, Algérie, Marococ), métier graphique graphique ; (Paris, 1954, p. 115,116; Marçais (et G), op.c. 186 ; Les Remaises, les remarres medieres en funrières enraère béryrérière l' impérérières, pérérérière impérérière, pérérérière, 263, Françut, p37.

14 This school was built on the opposite side of the Great Mosque,which according to its visitors is the largest and most beautiful school built in the Islamic Maghreb, a unique model of the decorations contained in the palaces of Tlemcen in that era, and a wonderful masterpiece. Sultan Abu Tashfin celebrated its inauguration with a great celebration, attended by the sheikhs of Tlemcen from among scholars, jurists and writers, the most important of which is the jurist Abu Musa Imran al-Mashzali al-Zawawi. I know the people of his time in the doctrine of Imam Malik.

It is taught by the scholar Abu Musa Omran Al-Mashdali, and the scholar Abu Al-Abbas Ahmed bin Omran Al-Baja 'i , in addition to a large number of scholars from the Islamic Maghreb, including some Al-Murzakah, Al-Aqqa, Al-Tansi, and Ahmed bin Zakri.

This school remained a lofty list practicing its function for about five centuries, until the French occupation demolished it, under the pretext of expanding the road network in the city, to build its place the Municipal House and next to it a public square. In 187 AD, some of its artifacts were transferred to the Municipal Museum in Tlemcen, and the Colony Museum in Paris.See: Al-Tansi,History of Bani Zayan ,pp. 141,142;Yahya ibn Khaldun , The Purpose of Pioneers ,vol. 1 ,p. 130;Al-Maqri , op. cit.,pp. 154-157;Mahmoud Bouayad , Joanib of Life in the Middle Maghreb in the Ninth Century AH (15 AD) , National Company for Publishing and Distribution ,Algeria ,1980 ,p. 82;Muhammad Amr Al-Tamar,Tlemcen Across the Ages ,Its Role in the Politics and Civilization of Algeria , National Book Foundation, Algeria, 1984 ,p. 128;Muhammad Makkawi, Educational Institutions in the Zayani Era (8th century AH/14 AD) , Journal Algerian Thought,No. 4 ,December 2009 ,p. 97; Houariya Bakai, Political Relations and Cultural Links, pp. 160-162;

Marçais (G) ,op.cit ,p 265 ; Marçais (G) et (W) ,op.cit ,p 21. =

15 Abdul Aziz Filali ,op. C1 ,p. 47;Abdul Jalil Qaryan ,op. Cit.,p. 54;Hocine Touati ,op. Cit.,p. 50.

16 Sultan Abu al-Hasan al-Marini included the soldiers of the Zayani state and the senior leaders of its army in his army, and used them to expand the influence of his state until the Middle and Far Moroccans came under his influence. See: Yahya ibn Khaldun , The Purpose of Pioneers ,vol. 1 ,pp. 234,235;Al-Tansi ,History of Bani Zayan ,p. 149.

17 The two princes, Abu Thabit and Abu Said, took advantage of the revolution of the Arabs in Kairouan against Sultan Abu al-Hassan al-Marini ,and headed in an army of the sons of Abdul Wad – after the rumor of the killing of the Marini Sultan – towards Tlemcen, which was under the rule of Uthman bin Jarrar al-Abd al-Wadi. When they reached the city, the residents opened its doors to them, and took its throne , thus restoring the fees of their ancestral state, even for a short period. On these events, see: Ibn Marzouq al-Khatib ,al-Masnad al-Sahih al-Hasan fi Ma 'athir wa Mahasan Mawlana Abi al-Hasan ,Investigation by Maria Jesus , National Company for Publishing and Distribution ,Algeria ,1981 ,p. 495;Ibn Qunfad al-Qusantini,Persian in the principles of the Hafsid state,Presentation and investigation by Muhammad al-Shazli al-Nifr and Abdul Majid al-Turki , Tunisian Publishing House,Tunisia ,1968 ,p. 171 ,Yahya Ibn Khaldun , in order of the pioneers ,vol. 1 ,p. 236,237;Abd al-Rahman ibn Khaldun ,al-Abr ,mj4,p.;Hocine

Touati ,op. cit.,p. 50.

- 18 After they regained the throne of their predecessors, the two princes shared power, as the sermon, the railway, and the throne seat returned to Abu Said ,and the army leadership returned to Abu Thabit ,and each of them abided by his powers. Al-Tansi ,History of Bani Zayan ,p. 152;Ibn Marzuq ,Total ,folio 47.
- 19 He is Abu Anan Fares bin Abu Al-Hassan Al-Marini, who assumed the throne of the Marinid dynasty after his father ,as he was his deputy on Tlemcen , and when the news of his death was rumored, he left it to Fez to ascend his throne as the crown prince of his father. Abdul Aziz Filali ,op. Cit.,P. 48.
- 20 The plain of Anjad or the desert of Anjad or Anjad is a dry, rugged plain with no water or trees ,extending a length of about 80 miles,and a width of about 50 miles,located west of the city of Oujda. Al-Hassan Al-Wazzan ,op. Cit.,P. 11.
- 21 Al-Wazzan knows the city of Oujda and says: " Oujda is an old city built by Africans in a very spacious plain, 80 miles south of the Mediterranean ,and almost the same distance from Tlemcen. " While the investigators of the book mention that the founder of the city of Oujda is Ziri bin Attia Al-Maghraoui in 384 AH/994 AD and moved his capital from Fez to it , citing the investigation,Part 1 ,p. 195. Description of Africa, pp. 12,13 ,and E12, p. 12.
- 22 When Sultan Al-Abdul Wadiin reported that Abu Anan had moved militarily in the plain of Anjad, where there was a fierce battle between the two parties in 753 AH/1352 AD, in which the victory was an ally of Abu Anan , during which Sultan Aba Said was killed, and Sultan Aba Thabit was able to survive .He tried to stand up to the Marinids but broke at Wadi Shalaf. Yahya ibn Khaldun , The Prostitute ,pp. 245,246;Al-Tansi ,History of Bani Zayan ,pp. 154,155;Hussain Tawati ,p. 51.
- 23 Abu Hamo Musa II was part of Abu Thabit's army, which was defeated in front of the Marinids near Chlef , and he managed to escape to the city of Algiers with a few of his family and supporters, including Abu Zayan Muhammad bin Al-Sa 'id ,and Minister Yahya bin Dawood .He took refuge in Tunisia after the demise of Sultan Bani Abdel Wad. See: Yahya ibn Khaldun , Al-Bagha,vol. 1 ,pp. 246,247; Al-Tansi,History of Bani Zayan ,pp. 154,155;Lisan al-Din ibn al-Khatib , Nifadat al-Jarab fi 'Ullah al-Istibra,Achieved by Ahmed Mokhtar al-Abadi ,Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi for Printing and Publishing ,(d.t.) ,p. 301;Hussein Touati ,op. Cit.,p. 51;Abdulaziz Laraj, Al-Zayaniya Mosques in Tlemsan, "Its Architecture and Characteristics" ,Annals of the University of Algiers ,No. 6 ,vol. 1 ,Diwan of University Publications,Algiers ,1991/1992 ,pp. 107,108.
- 24 On the exploits of Sultan Abou Hamou Moussa II, see: Abdelhamid El Haggayat, The intellectual life in Algeria during the reign of Bani Zayan ,within the book of Algiers in History ,op. Cit., 438 , and also the book of Abu Hamou Moussa II ,p. 159;Mabkhout Boudoua, op. Cit.,p. 71 and p. 84,85; Houariya Baki, Political relations and cultural ties, p. Hassan Touati, op. Cit., p. 51-53;Abdelaziz Larraj,op. Cit.,p. 110;Rachid Borouiba,Tour through the mosques of Tlemessan,Journal of Authenticity, No. 26, July/August ,Year 4, 1975 ,p. 176;Baba Khouya Haj El Mahdi ,Imam Abu Abdullah al-Sharif Tlemsani and his fundamentalist and jurisprudential efforts, Postgraduate Diploma,Faculty of Arts and Humanities ,University of Fez ,Kingdom of Morocco ,1992/1993 ,p. 42 et seq.
- 25 After some of his father's enemies raided his chest, Abu Tashfin II appealed to Sultan Ahmed al-Marini (789/796 AH -1387/1394 AD), so he sent with him a military force under the leadership of Zayan bin Omar al-Watassi, who joined his supporters , and everyone went to Tlemcen, which Sultan Abu Hamo Musa II left towards Jabal Bani Warnid. After heavy fighting, Abu Hamo fell his horse to the ground , and one of Abu Tashfin's supporters hurried to kill him .On the conflict between Abu Hamo II and his son Abu Tashfin, see: Abdul Rahman bin Khaldun ,Al-Abr ,vol. 4, pp. 2805-2808;Ismail bin Al-Ahmar , previous source,p. 58;Abdul Hamid Hajiyat,Abu Hamou moussa,pp. 145-154.
- 26 On this stage and its repercussions on the Middle Maghreb,especially the stage of the Spanish invasion, and the emergence of the Ottoman Turks in the region, see: Marmol Karbakhal, Africa, vol. 2, translated by Muhammad Hajji et al., Dar al-Maarifa for Publishing and Distribution, Rabat, 1989;Ibn Askar, Doha al-Nasher by Mahassen, who was in Morocco from the tenth century sheikhs, stone edition, Fez, 1309 AH;Ahmed Ibn Sahnoun al-Rashdi, Al-Taghar al-Jamani in Ibtisam al-Wahrani, Investigated by Mahdi Bouabdali, Al-Baath Press, Constantine, 1973; anonymous author, Ghazouat Arouj and Khair al-Din ,published by Nouredine Abdelkader ,Algeria, 1934;John .B.Wolff ,Algeria and Europe ,Translation and

- Commentary by Aboukassem Saadallah , National Book Foundation,Algeria ,1986;Ammar Benkharouf, Political, Social, Cultural and Economic Relations between Algeria and Morocco in the 10th Century AH/16th C1 ,Dar Al-Amal Publishing, Printing and Distribution ,Algeria ,2008;Saleh Abbad ,Algeria during the Turkish Rule (1514-1830 AD) ,Dar Homa Publishing ,Algeria ,2005;Ahmed Tawfik Al-Madani , Three Hundred Years' War between Algeria and Spain ,3rd Edition , National Book Foundation,Algeria ,1984.
- Eli de la primodaie ,documents uni dites sur l'histoire de l'occupation Espagnol en Afrique de nord (1506-1774) ,Alger, 1875;De Haedo (F.D.) ,histoire des rois d'Alger,traduit et annotée par (H.D.) De Grammont ,R.A. ,n° 24, 1880; De Grammont (H.D.) ,quel est lieu de la mort d 'Aroudj Barbarousse,R.A ,n° 22, 1878; Graulle (A) ,la mort et le tombeau de Bab Aroudj,Paris, 1913; Barys (L) ,complément de l'histoire des benizeyan,Paris, 1887 .
- 27 Abdul Rahman bin Khaldoun ,Al-Abr ,Part 7 ,p. 149.
- 28 On the factors and circumstances exploited by Yaghamrasin bin Abdul Wad to establish and empower the state of Bani Abdul Wad, Hocine Touati ,Governance of governance in the Zayani state in the political and economic fields, looks in detail through the model of Yaghamrasin bin Zayan and Abu Hamo Musa II , PhD thesis, Tlemcen University, 2017/2018 ,pp. 88-99.
- 29 This is what Professor Abdul Hamid Hajiyat referred to in his book Abu Hamo Musa II, pp. 77-81.
- 30 He remained in the prison of Abu Anan Fares until he came to power to his brother Abu Salim, so he was released and close to his council ,and he prepared him to compete with his cousin Abu Hamo Musa II on the throne of Tlemcen. See: Al-Ibar , vol. 4 ,p. 2791.
- 31 Abdul Rahman bin Khaldun mentioned him as Ibn Makin , and in the first part of Ghiyat al-Ruwad, he mentioned Ibn Majnun.
- 32 Yahya ibn Khaldun did not refer here to Muhammad Abi Zayan as mentioned by the author of the lesson.
- 33 In order to pioneer ,vol. 2 ,p. 51. Al-Tansi mentioned the same story in his book Nizam al-Durr wa al-'Uqayan in the second chapter, and it seems that he took it from Yahya ibn Khaldun. See: History of Bani Zayan ,p. 155 ,e 280. Professor Abdul Hamid Hajiyat believes that the story reported by Yahya bin Khaldun represents only what was common in the court in Tlemcen ,and the supporters of the state of the stories set ,which aim to glorify kings , and love them to the people. See: Abu Hamo Musa ,p. 80 ,81. We see the same opinion, so it is inconceivable that Abu Thabit and his minister, Ibn Makin,and his nephew, Muhammad Abi Zayan , should be arrested and forsaken even if he is loyal to him and has no kinship with him,at least until he is presented to Sultan Abi Anan to consider his case. This is if we assume that the eyes that were watching them did not know who was accompanying the Sultan Abu Thabit ,or that the news did not convey this. Then if Yahya ibn Khaldun himself mentioned in Al-Baghiyah,Part 2 ,p. 48 that Abu Hamo Musa was the signs of the caliphate and the king was apparent to him since he was residing with his father Bandaruma, how did Prince Abu Abdullah al-Hafsi not perceive these signs , and did not distinguish between a servant and a prince in transactions , and that the king and the authority have a majesty that bears the features of its owner.
- 34 Abdul Rahman bin Khaldun knows the two events by saying: "Every nation of the nations has words from a priest, a mine or a guardian in such a way from a king they expect or a state they tell themselves about ,and what happens to them from war and epics , and the duration of the state , the number of kings in it,and exposure to their names , and such events are called." It is noteworthy that it is one of the fascist evils in Al-Amasar ,because it was decided in the Sharia that this is not the case. See: Introduction , 2004 Edition,p. 345.
- 35 Al-Jafr is related to a book in which what will happen to Al-Bayt Ruwi about Jaafar Al-Sadiq by the head of the Zaydi Shiites Harun bin Said Al-Ajli , and it was called Al-Jafr Book because it was written on the skin of a small bull, and Al-Jafr in the language is the small. That is, the Jeffers call the science of the unseen. 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khaldūn adds that the Book of al-Jafr neither related his narrative nor knew his eye. See: Introduction ,p. 349. For more on the events of the two countries and the so-called Al-Jafr, see pp. 345-358.
- 36 The Way of Behavior , Tunis Edition,p. 41. And the poem at the beginning of it ran my tears between the drawings of the tawasim. See the full poem,pp. 35-42.

37 For the full novel, see: Zahr Al-Bustan ,pp. 15-17. Through this novel, it seems that Abu Hammu Musa was not only looking at the presidency of Bani Abd al-Wad, but also aspired to the survival of the rule in his family ,by mentioning his son Abu Tashfin Abdul Rahman in the novel. It also seems that Abu Hammu attended the appropriate ground to change the name of the state from the state of Bani Abd al-Wad to the Zayani state, according to Zayan bin Thabet, the father of Yaghamrasin, the founder of the state , and this is evident from the novel ,as he mentioned the state of Bani Abd al-Wad when it came to Abu Hammu ,while he mentioned the Zayani state when it came to Abu Tashfin. Yahya ibn Khaldun also stressed the issue of the two events when he mentioned that one of the grandsons of 'Abd al-Mu 'min ibn' Ali, Sheikh Abu Zakariyya Yahya ibn Abi Bakr, presented Abu Hammu Musa, confirming the emirate of the two events and the truth of its narrative ,that he abandoned his family in order to lieutenant Abu Hammu to confirm that story. See: Purpose of Pioneers ,Part 2 ,pp. 61 ,62.

38 Bughiyat al-Ruwad, Vol. 2, pp. 40 ,41. [The Aspiration of the Pioneers, Vol. 1, pp. 40 ,41.]

39 The rule in the state of Bani Abd al-Wad was genetically attributed to the Crown Prince, who was often the eldest son if we exclude Abu Zayan bin Othman, who reigned over his brother Abu Hamo Musa I , and this regime was still in the state of Bani Abd al-Wad until its occupation by Abu al-Hasan al-Marini in 737AH/1336AD, where Abu Sa 'id bin Abdul Rahman, with the help of his brother Abu Thabit, was able to recover the king of Bani Abd al-Wad in 749AH/1348AD ,but in this case the sale was made to Abu Sa 'id by a party such as Bani Abd al-Wad and their allies from Zinatah. See: Bouziani Darraji ,op. Cit.,P. 111;Abdelaziz Filali ,Tlemcen in the Zayani era, P. 1 ,P. 48;Hocine Touati ,op. Cit.,P. 82.

40 Yahya ibn Khaldun says in this: "In green as the people of Safar the Sunnah , and in the fifth –between the waters of green and green – the Arabs pledged allegiance to the Amir of the Muslims and the Caliph of the Lord of the Worlds ,Abu Hamo, may God support him with the allegiance of Radwan , to fulfill him in activation and compulsion,and hardship and ease." See: Purpose of Pioneers ,vol. 2 ,p. 67.

41 It was usually in the rulers of Bani Abd al-Wad before him ,until Yaghamrasin bin Zayan, the founder of the state, did not claim this and was satisfied with worldly authority and was calling on the pulpits of his state for the monotheists , and then the Hafsids after them. When asked about this, he said: "These are their sticks on which they remember what they wanted" because Yaghamrasin bin Zayan wanted to continue his state, which indeed remained sovereign over the Middle Maghreb despite this ,as his subordination to the Hafsids did not prevent him from disciplining those who disobeyed him, such as Bani Tujin and Maghrawa. Nor has it concluded agreements with other countries such as Bani Marin and Bani al-Ahmar ,as we have already mentioned in Chapter Two of this study.

42 See: Wasta Al Suluk , Tunis edition,p. 24. And here we see from this saying that he saw himself authorized by God to the policy of the parish and to take into account its affairs ,as no one can dispute the king, and if he did, he would stand against the will of God. We see this in his poem, the beginning of which is a tear that draws from the eyeballs, as he says in the same source ,p. 25:

Except the Lord, Lord of the worlds, who gives life to all nations.

I live it with me and my Arabs * * * and I am Al-Zabi and the states are mine

He created it for me, give it to me, remove the eternity.

God has judged and the judgment has passed * * * and we have an obligation, so pray for my justice

He is to be thanked and he has the right * * * to insist, not by me

The king carried me, and whoever is strong carries what is heavy in him.

43 Since the establishment of their state, the sultans of Bani Abd al-Wad have relied on the nervousness of the Bani Abd al-Wad tribe to maintain their state, which was founded on the basis of this nervousness. This is what the founder of the state, Yaghamrasin bin Zayan, explicitly referred to when he was told about the affiliation of Bani Abd al-Wad with the House of the House, where he said: "If this is true, God has benefited us in the Hereafter , and as for this world, we have obtained it with our swords." Even when Sultan Abu Said bin Abdul Rahman campaigned to restore their state from Bani Marin, he relied on the tribe of Bani Abdul Wad , and did not claim the lineage of the Prophet Muhammad.

44 Bughiyat al-Ruwad,vol. 2 ,pp. 26-36.

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- 45 Wasta Al Suluk ,p. 60;Hocine Touati ,op. Cit.,P. 89.
- 46 Ibid., p. 85
- 47 Ibid.,p. 85 ,p. 96.
- 48 Ibid.,p. 85.
- 49 Ibid.,p. 85.
- 50 Governance Systems in the State of Bani Abd al-Wad ,pp. 137-139.
- 51 Thanks to this policy, Abu Hamo Musa II was able to form a strong army that matched the armies of the Banu Marin and a number , and through him he was able to return to his throne whenever they raided him and drove him away. See: Abdulaziz Filali ,Tlemcen in the Zayani era,vol. 1 ,p. 57.
- 52 He made the army move according to the strength and weakness of the enemy,and accompanied him whenever he left his capital to preserve it , in addition to relying on updated plans, including attacking the enemy and rallying around him from behind, hitting his property and harem ,destroying his crops,and sabotaging his urbanization, to cause confusion and confusion in his ranks, so he is forced to withdraw. See: Abu Hamo Musa , The Way of Behavior ,pp. 155-160;Yahya ibn Khaldun ,pp. 176-184;Abdulaziz Filali ,op. Cit.,C1 ,p. 58.
- 53 It is a special division of the king consisting of the notables of the tribes and the elders of the tribes. The king specializes in them for himself , and they are the spies of the Sultan and his eyes on their tribes. Abu Hammu Musa II says: "Know, my son ,that you should take a special from the faces of the tribes and the dignitaries of the tribes to extract them for yourself , so that each of them will inform you of the secrets of his group,and each of them will be loving in your ward , inclined to you ,and dependent on you in his affairs." ,and among them the battalion and company commanders are chosen. See: Wasta Al Suluk ,p. 103;Bouziani Darraji ,op. Cit.,P. 256.
- 54 It is a division formed like the king and his sect, especially the sheikhs, presidents , and notables , and these guarantee him loyalty, subordination ,and mobilization. See: Abu Hamo Musa II , previous source,p. 103.
- 55 The supporters of the king form the regular category of the army ,and the striking force in it , are lieutenants of the king, they do not leave him ,they have a uniform , and they are required to be courageous, strong, firm and steadfast. See: Abu Hamo Musa II , The Way of Behavior ,p. 103; Bouziani Darraji ,op. Cit.,P. 256 ,257.
- 56 This division consists of Al-A 'laj, Christians, Gazans, and Asafan, whose number is the same as the number of supporters of the king , and they do not leave the capital of the state. Their task is to guard the Sultan ,and to stand in front of me is a rebellion, especially from the Ansar forces. Therefore, the number of freifin must be equal. See: Abu Hamo Musa , The Way of Behavior ,pp. 104 ,105; BouzianiDarraji ,op. Cit.,p. 257.
- 57 Abu Hamo Musa II says in this regard: "The order of the army in giving shall be according to their data and courage , their precedence of service, their fabrication, their love and submission, and their familiarity and diligence .These are the people of obedience, the Mujabi, and the country. They are the tribes, the protectors, the partisans, and the armies. Except for your kingdoms who are cut off from you , who are in service in your hands , their rations in the ranks are famous,and their livelihoods from the house of money are left,running in succession of months." See: Wastat Al Suluk ,p. 147.
- 58 Because with the army's reliance and good treatment, its loyalty is guaranteed to the army , and its evil is secured,because in politics it realizes what is not realised by ruthlessness and violence. See Mode of Behavior ,p. 164.