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HISTORY | RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Christian presence in North Africa under Almoravids Rule (1040–1147 CE): Coexistence or eradication?

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Abstract: This paper attempts an introspection on the Christian presence in Almoravids North Africa (1040–1147 CE). It argues that, contrary to the thesis that the Almoravids mistreated the Christians in the Maghreb; the Christians in fact enjoyed a range of freedoms and privileges under the auspices of the Almoravids, strikingly different to the limited freedoms enjoyed during the prior rule of the Idrisids (788–974) of the Maghreb. The Christian presence in the Maghreb grew substantially under the Almoravids, and although a good number of them were uprooted and expelled from Andalusia, this paper argues that they were treated relatively well and received great support from the Almoravid administration. The paper offers insights into the Christian community in the Maghreb during Almoravid rule and the ways in which they were integrated into the social fabric of Almoravid society and the machinery of the Almoravids state.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

The history of the Muslim-Christian relationships has seen many defamations and distortion, which in no way would serve the future relations between the two great religions. In North Africa and during the Almoravids Era, (1047–1147) there was an exemplary experience of co-existence between Muslims and Christians, which many Christian books have not fairly addressed as well as Islamic books. Despite the sharp Bedouin and religious nature of this state, Christians enjoyed a big margin of co-existence and tolerance. This paper tries to propose a different point of view about the way Almoravids dealt with non-Muslim minorities and prove that the Almoravids strikingly adopted a tolerant manner with Christians, comparing to the dominant norms in the medieval centuries, and that judgements against the Almoravids being intolerant are not based on solid academic investigation.

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1. Introduction the Almoravids dynasty and the Christian presence

Beginning from 1053, the Almoravids fast spread their religious and political influence to the Berber areas of the African Sahara and to the regions in the south of the desert. After winning over the Sanhaja Berber tribe, the Almoravids quickly took control of the entire desert trade-route. Yusuf ibn Tashfin (r.1061–1106) had in the meantime brought what is now known as Morocco, Western Sahara and Mauretania into complete subjugation. In 1062, he founded the city of Marrakech. In 1080, he annexed the Western part of Algeria to its territories, forming by that the largest empire in North-west Africa (Saleh Mohamed, 1981).

In 1086, Yusuf ibn Tashfin was invited by the Muslim Taifa princes of Al-Andalus in the Iberian Peninsula to defend their territories from the encroachment of Alfonso VI (r. 1077–1109), King of León and Castile. In that year, Yusuf ibn Tashfin crossed the Strait of Gibraltar to Algeciras, and defeated Castile at the Battle of az-Zallaqah. He returned to Iberia in 1090, avowedly for annexing the Taifa principalities of Iberia. He was supported by most of the Iberian people, who were discontented with the heavy taxation imposed upon them by their spendthrift rulers. He was armed in action against the Muslim states by the fatwa of prominent Muslim clerics, who declared that Yusuf was of sound morals and had the religious right to dethrone the rulers, whom he saw as heterodox in their faith. By 1094, Yusuf had annexed most of the major Taifas, with the exception Zaragoza, thus, hindering the progress of the Spanish Reconquista by uniting al-Andalus. Before 1090, the people of the Almoravid Empire were mainly Muslims with a tiny Jewish minority, however, after the annexing of Andalusia, a tremendous number of Christians entered under Almoravids rule (Hrbek & Devisse, 1992).

There was no mention of the Christian presence in North Africa prior to the annexation of Andalusia under the Almoravid dynasty. This soon changed with the large increment of the number of Christians in North Africa for several reasons, which will be discussed later in the paper. The arrival of Christians in large numbers led to the formation of their unique identity, gatherings, as well as problems. It was only natural that their status and predicament in North Africa differed from that in Andalusia. With their migration to North Africa, the Christians were no longer indigenous landowners. This affected the ways they organized themselves socially and how their religious and cultural customs developed. They had become refugees or new citizens of North Africa, a land they knew very little about. Not unexpectedly, their social and religious customs fundamentally differed from those of their counterparts in Andalusia.

Despite the general paucity of research on the Christians of North Africa during the Almoravid era, this paper seeks to better understand the reality of the Christian presence in North Africa, its various forms, and the extent of tolerance and acceptance they received from the Almoravid community.

2. Paucity of resources

Unfortunately, insufficient scholarly documents exist on the history of Christian communities in the Maghreb during the Almoravid era (1040–1147). This renders it difficult to adequately trace and outline the status of the Christians in that period. Some documented records would have helped specify the degree to which the Christians were accepted in the Muslim community and the stance of the Almoravids towards them. It should be noted that a similar lack of historical documents is also witnessed in studies on the Mozarabs[1] in Andalusia, as pointed out by the Spanish Orientalist Simonet (d. 1897) (Simonet, 1897–1903, p. 629), it is, however, more evident in the case of the Christian community in the Maghreb (Khūsī al-Yamānī, 1978). The general paucity of resources is the result of the pre-dominant nature of the Muslim mainstream history writings of that time in which the affairs of the *ahl al-dhimma* and the Christians were poorly documented, perhaps due to their small numbers, despite the significant social and administrative roles they played in the post-Almoravid period.

During the eleventh century, the recording of the Christian history was not a priority for the Arab historians. Numerous other resources[2] failed to document the Christians' social, economic and religious life except for a few records documented during the military campaigns.[3] Various sources convey an incomplete and distorted impression of the Christian existence in the Maghreb and their

role in the government and the society at large. This may have occurred due to the recitative nature of these sources and the style in which history was written as a thing well-known at that time.

On the other hand, Jewish and Christian writings such as the writings of Dozy (d. 1883), Terrase (d. 1971), Dufourcq (d. 1982)[4] came late compared to those of the Arabs. The records that are available introduce us to many neglected issues in Arabic sources, especially sources that reflect their everyday life, such as the *Responsa*[5] written by Jewish rabbis. Such sources contribute important information to books on *nawāzil* in jurisprudence (i.e. real-life or current issues), *hisbah* (i.e. accountability) and geography. Although the Christian documents presented by MasLatrie (d. 1897)[6] are considered the main sources on the Christian minority in the Maghreb, they are pre-dominantly focused on the Almohad era (1121–1269) rather than the Almoravid's, with the exception of a few documents. Other Christian documents are replete with uncertainties[7] that are occasionally based on prejudiced opinions and animosity.[8] Pre-conceived notions of the Almoravids and the nature of their political system as well as their religious radicalism influenced many Europeans to introduce them as individuals with no religious tolerance towards the Jewish and Christian minorities living under their rule in the Maghreb. This hinders an accurate evaluation of incidents and events. For example, some discriminative European studies criticize the Almoravids and accuse them of mistreating the Christians. Dozy (1881, p. 48) claims that the religious tolerance that spread during the *Taifas* era (1009–1110), was considered a crime by the Almoravids. According to Béhaud Villard (1946, p. 195), Jews and Christians were seen as merely 'parasitoid insects' during the Almoravid era. Other, such as Terrase (1958, p. 140) and Dufourcq and Gautier-Dalché (1971), claim that the Almoravids encouraged racist behaviour towards Christians. Various other studies ('Abdullāh 'Inān, 1964, p. 420; Dufourcq, 1978a, pp. 149–175, 2005, p. 292; Luṭfī 'ṭfī 'Abdu, 1958, pp. 24–35; Mercier, 1888, p. 60). follow the same path as that of their precursors by accusing the Almoravids for the Christians' suffering and misery in both the Maghreb and Andalusia.

3. The Christian presence in the North Africa

As earlier alluded to, there is paucity in historical sources that provide details of the Christian existence in the Maghreb after the Islamic conquest by Uqba ibn Nafi (d. 683) beginning in 670H. Nearly all the available Arabic sources make at best only cursory remarks regarding the Christian community. This indicates their general insignificance in terms of influence and numbers within the social fabric of the Maghreb (Brignon, 1967, p. 82; Terrase, 1960, p. 201). Christian documents on the other hand, state that the existence of Christians in the Maghreb was limited to a small group settled in Tamsna and Fes who managed to maintain their Christian beliefs (Dufourcq, 1968). Following the Muslim conquest of Andalusiain 711 and the annexation of Iberia to North Africa (Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī AJaznā'ī, 1991, p. 23), some Christians from Andalusia decided to join those in Tamsna and Fes. However, the Christians were decreasing in number due to the oppression of the Idrisid dynasty (788–974), which attempted to coerce them into accepting Islam (Ibn AbīZar' al-Fāsī, 'Alī ibn 'AbdAllāh (1972, p. 38). Few Christians remained in North Africa at the beginning of the fifth century according to al-Bakrī, (d. 1094) who also states that some Christians were found settled in Tlemcen (Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd Allāh Al-Bakrī, 1999, p. 76). The modern archaeological excavations in Tlemcen prove the existence of extensive Christian settlements goes back to the year of 1114 (Virginie Prevost, 2007, pp. 461–483).

Soon after the Idrisid (788–974) and the Fatimid (909–935) governance of the Maghreb, the Christian predicament changed. The establishment of the Almoravid dynasty (1040) marked an official state recognition of the Christian community, which subsequently led to a more active presence in the state machinery and Almoravid society. Sources point out that the population of the number of Christians during the era of Yusuf bin Tashfin (1062–1106) did not exceed 250, whereas in Meknes alone during the era of his son, they were estimated to be 3,000 (Muḥammad Ibn, 1948).

The Almoravid dynasty represents a marked change in the attitudes of Muslim state officials towards Christians. No longer were Christians ignored by the Muslim state, as was the case during the Idrisid and Fatimid governance of the Maghreb. The burgeoning Christian presence in the

Maghreb saw their inclusion within the Almoravid state machinery in several capacities, each ranging in status and influence.

3.1. Soldiers and mercenaries

The Christian community in the Maghreb during the Almoravid era consisted mainly of soldiers and mercenaries. It is uncertain when the soldiers and mercenaries settled in the Maghreb due to conflicting reports of it being either during the era of Ibn Tashfin (d. 1106)or his son Ali bin Yusuf (r. 1106–1143). This issue has not been resolved due to serious contradictions.[9] Various experts, such as Aschbach (d. 1882),[10] provide conflicting accounts and fail to offer exact answers, while others, such as H. Mahmud confirm that Christians were used as soldiers and mercenaries during the era of Ibn Tashfin (Mahmud, 1957, p. 38). More than that, IbnIdhari (d. 1295 (confirmed that Abn Tashfin bought approximately 240[11] or 250 soldiers according to the author of *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*.[12] Nevertheless, when the texts of the Muslim historical works are compared and contrasted, it becomes clear that Ibn Tashfin was the first to employ Christians as mercenaries in the Maghreb. According to Muslim historians, including the author of *al-hulal al-Muwashshīyah,*[13] Ali bin Yusuf (d. 1143) was the first to engage them in all types of work including tax collection and army leadership. Consequently, their population increased, and by 1143[14] Christian soldiers and mercenaries were numbered approximately as 4,000. It is also reported that thousands of Christian soldiers would accompany Tashfin bin Ali (r. 1143–1145) during his military attacks in North Africa and Andalusia.[15] Some of these Christian soldiers were paid salaries by the government. It is interesting to note, that the same Christian demographic refused to serve as soldiers or mercenaries during the Taifa era due to a lack of a powerful central government, which caused the Christians to remain neutral and not side with the various factions of the Islamic Taifas wrestling for power.[16]

Others, such as IbnIthārī and al-Nāsirī claim that these soldiers were captives of military attacks[17] on the Christian Spanish kingdoms in the North of Spain. According to the available documents, it seems that Christians were employed as mercenaries through a mixture of coercion, i.e. in the form of slaves and employment. However, details of their employment cannot be found in historical documents.[18]

3.2. Prisoners of war and slaves

Prisoners of war and slaves formed part of the Christian community in the Maghreb. Historical sources indicate that massive numbers of Christian captives and slaves were brought to the North African parts of the Almoravid dynasty. When Tashfin bin Ali (d. 1145) returned to the Maghreb from Andalusia in 1137, he brought with him approximately 6,000 female Christian slaves.[19] In addition, 20,000 Christian prisoners were captured during az-Zallaqah battle and brought to the Maghreb (Luis del Mármol Carvaja, 1984). Many of them embraced Islam, while many others remained Christians, and although they were merely slaves, they actively participated in typical activities of everyday. The mother of Ali bin Yusuf was also among them, who was a Christian slave as stated by the author of '*al-hulal al-Muwashshīyah*'.[20] The anonymous *Ṭabaqātal-Mālikīyah*, Ibn'Idhāri'š *al-Bayān al-Mughrib,* and Khalaf Ibn Bashkuwāl's *Kitābal-Ṣilah among others,* relate that some of the Christians served at Muslim houses.[21]

The books of *Nawazil* refer to tens of cases related to Christian slaves and their issues with their Muslim masters, few of them reported degree of oppression against the former as the cases of "the escape of the Christian slaves".[22] Some Muslims unlawfully held Christians as prisoners against their will.[23] Some were fortunate to free themselves through their own finances by formalizing their freedom in contracts known in Islamic tradition as "*Mukataba*".[24] However, in line with the nature of slavery in Islam, and as evidenced by manumission contracts from that period, it is evident that Christian slaves were allowed to earn their freedom for a sum of money that was to be paid to their Muslim masters. If the Christian slave failed to do so, s/he remained a servant.[25] Many Christian slaves were fortunate to obtain their freedom without paying anything in return. Some even inherited wealth from their prosperous Muslim masters. For instance, Ibn al-Abbar wrote in his book regarding

a will issued in June 1128, that: "Abu Imran should apply what Abu Ali recommended that his Christian slave shall be given freedom and a big sum of his wealth".[26]

However, as earlier noted, slavery cannot be considered a racist activity specifically targeting the Christians since slavery was a social norm widely practiced during this era.[27] Slavery included black slaves and even captive Muslims who were prisoners of war during battles against Christians in Andalusia.

The phenomenon of slavery as practiced by Muslims during that era should not be anathematized in the same way as western slavery, nor should it be understood as per its modern conventions. Moreover, right or wrong, slavery was part of the normal social order during that period, and although it was widely practiced by perhaps all nations, what slavery meant and how it was practiced differed greatly between dynasties. Therefore, an accurate view of slavery that reflects its popular acceptance during that era should not lead to the presumption that slaves were ill-treated and received no rights and/or protection; rather, the ways in which they were treated should be examined before any conclusions are drawn.[28]

3.3. The dislodged and the diasporas

The deportation of Christians from Andalusia to the Maghreb during the era of Ali bin Yusuf (d. 1143) signals the most significant incident in the history of Christians in the Maghreb. This evacuation of Christians from Andalusia during the Almoravid era helped stabilize the Christian presence in the Maghreb. Sources vary in the precise year of the diaspora. IbnIthārī (Manning, 1990, pp. 72–73) and Ibnal-Khaṭīb (1974, I, p. 119) claim that it was in 1125, whereas Nubāhī (1983, p. 99) and the author of *al-Hulal al-Muwashshīyah*[29] claim that it was in 1126. It is, nevertheless, estimated to have occurred during 1126, because the invasion of Alfonso the Battler (r. 1104–1134) did not come to an end until the 6th of March of that year (1126). Following that, Ibn Rushd (the Grandfather) immediately travelled to Marrakesh to persuade Ali bin Tashfin to expel the Christians. He then returned to Cordoba where he passed away on November of the same year. This explanation was also supported by Muḥammad Ibn (1962) who stated in the bibliography of his teachers that he met the Andalusian Jurist during his passage to Maghrebin March of 1135. Historians, such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Al-Wazzan agree that the reason Ali bin Yusuf decided to force out the Christians was due to their plotting to assist Alfonso the Battler in conquering Granada. Their support of Alfonso's plans was perhaps due to the fact that the Christians of Andalusia were of the same ethnic family and to the expected benefits they would enjoy under his rule. The evacuation took place after the approval of Ibn Rushd who advised Ibn Yusuf to expel them[30] and considered their co-operation with Alfonso a breach of the Granada covenant, which renders their status as *ahl-dhimmah*null and void.[31]

One cannot be certain whether or not the Christians who were expelled were, as according to Ibn al-Khatīb,[32] only those involved in the Granada agreement, or all of those settled in Andalusia according to others, including Bulls.[33] The second opinion seems to be more convincing as it is supported by a letter presented by Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyá Wansharīsī (1981) stating that Ali bin Yusuf sold the lands of the Sevillan Christians who were relocated to Meknes. Christian documents attest to this evacuation and claim that it was performed in three stages and covered the cities of Malaga, Granada and Seville.[34] Along with the disagreement on the exact year of the evacuation and the lack of consensus on the reasons leading to it, the exact number of expelled also Christians remains vague. There appears to be no historical document that clearly mentions the number of Christians expelled from Granada, but the anonymous *al-hulalal-Muwashshīya* claims that the number of Christians who volunteered to co-operate with Alfonso the Battler and who wrote their names on a list, which they sent to Alfonso, numbered in the 12,000.[35] This number refers to the Christians from Granada only, and excludes Seville and Malaga. Luis del MármolCarvajal stated in his book "Descripción general de África" that the number of the evacuated Christians reached 20,000 (Carvajal, 1953, p. 53).

Most of the Christians expelled to the Maghreb settled in Marrakesh where the Christian garrisons were conscripted into the royal guard. By the end of the Almoravid era (Carvajal, 1953, p. 131), the

total number of civilian Christians in Marrakesh was approximately 4,000. Another important Christian community was founded in Meknes and included 3,000 expelled Christians.[36] The city of Sala also received some of the expelled Christians,[37] while a large number of them settled in Fes (Leo Africanus, 1984). Although these cities seem to have received the bulk of Christians, Christian communities could be found in many different cities throughout the Maghreb.[38] Although a large number of Christians were uprooted from Andalusia, the Almoravids assisted in their resettlement in the Maghreb. The establishment of the Almoravids dynasty made the return of Christianity to the Maghreb at a point in history, wherein the Christian presence in the Maghreb was nearly non-existent.

However, examining other reasons leading to this expulsion would decrease the accusation towards the Almoravids. Their economic status, on the other hand, could be considered the main reason for the evacuation but unfortunately it is neglected by most of the researchers interested in this field.[39] Lagardere, *Communautes Mozarabes*, p. 100, points to this reason when he states that the military campaign lead by Alfonso was set and planned to expel the Christians who wished to migrate to the Christian areas in the north to participate in the development and cultivation of those areas, but he does not give this incident sufficient attention. In addition, Granada was well-known for its "plenteous wheat, barley, flax, silk, chrome, olive and fruits".[41] The forced exit of the Christians would not give Alfonso enough reason to hesitate from attacking such an economic city. Also, to stop the migration of workers in order to rebuild the evacuated areas re-conquered by the Christians, and to not deprive bayt al-mal (i.e. the treasury) from the benefits of *jizyah* (i.e. tribute) paid by more than 12,000 Christian in addition to the taxes. For example, Alfonso VII of Leon (r. 1126–1157) accompanied 10,000 Christian families to Aragon during his famous military campaign. This could be the reason, for which the Almoravids were full of rage and came to the decision to expel Granada's Christians to avoid such incidents in the future (de Chénier, 1987, p. 27).

4. Social acceptance of Christians and coexistence

Following their expulsion from Andalusia, Christians had no choice but to integrate with the people of the Maghreb. The new inhabitants did not completely integrate into the new culture because Almoravids provided them some secluded quarters within the city where the former lived together. In Marrakesh, they were provided with their own quarters, which consisted of a complete range of residences and amenities that support Christian lifestyle such as their own markets, bars and pork meat. Such freedoms enjoyed by the Christians was a source of concern for Ibn Tumart (1080–1130) who, prior to his revolt against the Almoravids in 1122, expressed his anger of the authorities fur such lenience and complained to a judge in the presence of Ali bin Yusuf (Dhahabī, 1985, IV, p. 59; Khallikān, 1978). The Christians were also allocated their own quarter in Meknes known as 'Darb al-Fityān' (House of Youth) (Manuni, 1972), in addition to another one holding a Spanish name, known as 'DarbViro' (Manuni, 1972, p. 24).

Although the Christians were provided with their own quarters thus rendering their integration with the greater society unnecessary, they nevertheless engaged in the affairs of society. For instance, al-Walīd Ṭurṭūshī (1999, p. 154) relates that Ibn al-Hassār, a Muslim jurist, had "a Christian neighbour who used to help him and buy things for him". Muslim jurists warned Muslims not to deal with Christians, especially in sensitive matters such as trading, but Muslims turned a deaf ear to such warnings. This is perhaps, because they felt that such edicts were issued without much regard to the multi-farious engagements between Muslims and Christians and were actually politically motivated due to the perceived growing influence of Christians rather than being a legitimate expression of Islamic law. Muslims in the Maghreb often traded with Christians (Rushd, 1969, p. 134). There are a number of proverbs that indicate that Christians played a significant role in trade, which assisted their integration into the Muslim society.[42]

Despite the clear support of the Almoravid state for the smooth transition of Christians into Almoravid society in terms of their accommodation, there appears to be a dearth of information regarding the social regulations for Christians in the Maghreb. It seems, however, that the Christians

had some kind of social regulations similar to those applied in Andalusia known as 'al-Qūmisāt',[43] which was an official position for the representation of the Christian community. This system was put into effect since the introduction of Islam in the region. Christians would elect one 'Qūmis' after which he becomes their representative and handled all of their affairs. Christians had their own representatives and priests[44] and even their own judges[45] and there were no restrictions on their clothing or food (IṣmatʿAbdul-Laṭīf Dandash, 1988, p. 88). A number of documents relate that Christians were allowed to drink alcohol[46] and to use public facilities. For example, a fatwa[47] (i.e. legal verdict) by Ibn Rushd advises Muslims to allow the Christians to take water preserved in tanks along with them. More than that, he permits the Christians to accompany Muslims when performing their prayers to seek rain (i.e. *Salat al-Istisqā'*) (Muḥammad bin, 2003, p. 40). The Almoravids also provided them with a private graveyard (Abū al-Qāsim Ibn Aḥmad Burzulī, 2002, p. 163) where they could practice their funeral rituals according to their beliefs and culture. One of the Christian graveyards in Meknes was known as 'The Grave of the *dhimmīs*'.[48] The Almoravids did not only award the Christians their rights but also protected their social affairs and deterred those who sought to interfere with it. For example, IbnIdhārī[49] relates that a group of Christians once went to the castle of Ali bin Yusuf to complain about one of his workers who was abusing them. When Ali bin Yusuf confirmed that what they were complaining about was true, he put his worker in jail and dealt with him according to law. We also find that IbnRushd[50] changed his decision, which was once in favour of a Muslim when it was proven that the Christian was innocent.

The inclusion of Christians in all occupations allowed them to obtain most of their rights. This allowed them to positively contribute to the society. Some of them were physicians (Ibnal-Zayyāt, 1984, p. 323). According to Ibn Zayyat' s*al-Taṣawwudilā Rijāl al-Taṣawwuf*, due to their need for medical treatment, even Muslim women visited Christian doctors and perhaps even showed parts of their bodies for treatment purposes (Ibnal-Zayyāt, 1984, p. 323). This might perhaps explain the reason behind (al-Tujībī IbnʿAbdūn, 1955, p. 57) request to boycott Christian doctors claiming that their medicine was not safe and to limit their assistance to only those of the same faith (i.e. Christians).

Christians skilled worker, on the other hand, played an important role in construction by being responsible for digging 400 water passages through which water from Mount Draa was collected in a building made solely for this purpose in Marrakesh.[51] Such impressive work is a result of the exceedingly large number of Christian captives reportedly numbering an approximate 20,000 prisoners.

Not surprisingly, Christians influenced the social customs and traditions concerning celebrations of the Andalusian people and those of the Maghreb. This means that people were not sensitive towards Christians as much as the Muslim jurists were, and therefore, joined them in their celebrations and customs. In addition, intermarriage between Muslims and Christians was not uncommon (Aḥmad Mukhtār ʿAbbādī, 1975).

From an economic perspective, Christians participated in all forms of trade (De Mármol, Vol. 2, p. 128). Some Christians who would visit the Maghreb from time to time helped in mobilizing ports such as the Anfa Port (De Mármol, Vol. 2, p. 128). Since 1138, traders from Genoa and Marseilles looked forward to trading in the Maghreb, and to this end forged peaceful contracts to stop piracy on both sides. The Genoa merchant navy was the commercial mediator in between the Provence and European Christian countries (Chovin, 1957). Despite the dearth of information on Christian traders and trade activities in that period, Ibn al-Hajj's *NawāzilIbn al-Hajj* refers to the prominent social status of a Christian trader who was described as "a man of wealth and power".[52]

The acceptance of Christians by the Almoravid society and their rapid integration was tarnished sometimes by a degree of social oppression could be classified as result of the daily human interactions, and does not distort the general status of Christians. This is a ground to argue that the social life of Christians in the Maghreb during the Almoravid era was not as desolate as that suggested by Dozy (1932). It is fair to say that the Christians were mainly treated leniently and kindly.

This explains the various and pivotal roles taken by Christians who left behind clear evidence of their participation in the development of the Almoravid society.

5. Christian presence in Almoravids politics

5.1. Administrative role

Christians played an active role in politics in the Maghreb, especially in regards to administration. In return, they received the security they needed from the Government. In general, Christians actively participated in all aspects of Almoravid life and held positions of influence at all levels. The argument that Christians were not employed within the Almoravids' political machinery cannot be maintained.[53] Christians undertook the responsibility of leading the army in addition to collecting taxes during the reign of Ali bin Yusuf.[54] Among other critical positions that the Christians held is their support and obedience to every new Almoravid ruler.[55] This reflects the influence and power that they had inside the Royal Palace. One must not forget the role played by the Christian mother of Ali bin Yusuf, in securing the caliphate for her son.[56]

At the administrative level, Christians were assigned jobs such as tax collection.[57] This was a strategic decision from the Almoravids to ensure that taxes were collected properly, as they observed that Muslims tended to be more lenient with their own people than the Christians. Christians used to go to the cities and villages and meet tribes once a year to collect the taxes.[58] It is not clear whether tax collecting was performed by the Christian soldiers or by Christian civil servants. Nuwayri[59] claims that tax collectors were soldiers and also that right after his revolution in 1122, the revolutionary Ibn Tumart (d. 1130) ordered the Tinamel tribes to rebel against tax collectors and not pay them the taxes that they were asked. Ibn Tumart in his pre-revolt period encouraged them to "kill those of them who ride horses and to take their horse, weapon and war clothing".[60] IbnTumart's incitation to kill the Christian tax collectors was the result of their many abuses, which he capitalized on to show his concern for the public in order to earn their support for his campaign against the Almoravids.

The Christians would not have enjoyed such freedoms and privileges, and they would not have integrated with the Muslim society without the help of Ali bin Yusuf who, according to Villard was concerned about Christians more than his people. He provided them with gold and silver and let them settle in palaces.[61] This constitutes the main reason for which Christians were loyal to him and never thought of disobeying him, as it was not in their benefit to do so (Lévi-Provençal, 2002, pp. 254–255). Some European writers describe Ali bin Yusuf as "the Friend of Christians" (Mensage, 1915, p. 8). Ali was also known for the 'Dress of the Mass' which was named by his name and was worn by Saint John of Ortega (San Juan de Ortega) (1080–1163), and which is now stored in a Church in Spain (Leopoldo Torres Balbas, 1976, p. 62). The Name of the Church that is said to keep the 'dress of the mass' is Quintana Galindez in Burgos. Bel, a specialist in the religious history of the Maghreb, when faced with facts had to concede to this truth (Alfred, 1917, p. 70).

There is circumstantial evidence to suggest that during the Almoravid era, the Christians were not limited to tax collecting and military missions. This detail can be deduced from a decree sent by Tashfin bin Ali (d. 1145) to the Muslim jurists asking them not to engage the Christians in government works (ḤusaynMuʾnis, 2000; Doc. No. 1, p. 112). This signifies that the Christians were assigned government positions. Fortunately, Tashfin's warnings came late (1143), only three years before the collapse of the Almoravid dynasty in 1147. However, one may claim that these permissions given to the Christians during the Almoravid era were only in the period of Ali bin Yusuf. Despite the fact that the first ruler of the Almoravid dynasty, Yusuf bin Tashfin, was renowned for his harshness, he did not show any animosity towards the Christians. On the contrary, he allowed them to be close to him and used them as guards from the early days of their settlement in the country (Chaurebiere, 1931, p. 173). Ibn Tashfin was firm with the Muslims before being firm with the Christians. In addition, Christians were able to maintain all of their military privileges until the collapse of the Almoravids dynasty, which indicates a similar attitude from all the Almoravid rulers towards the Christians.

5.2. Military role

The Christian presence and participation in the Almoravid military was substantially more active than their participation in its administration. It is fair to say that most of the benefits they received from the Almoravids were in return for their military services. The government had employed the Christians for the security and military sectors as well as for weapon-making and preserving ammunition. A number of them moved up the ranks and became brilliant leaders such as Reverter I de La Guardia (d. 1142) who was considered by Ibn Abbar (Deverdun, 1959, p. 138; Muḥammad Ibn, 1985) as "one of the greatest and bravest of the Christian leaders" in the Almoravids army. His military glory was inherited by his son Ali bin Reverter (d. 1187) how converted to Islam and fought with the Almoravids till the last breath in their dynasty (Molénat, 1997).

The Almoravids employed the Christian minority as royal guards for the first time in the history of the Maghreb[62] which had a direct influence on the structure of the country. It is only natural for the Christians employed in sensitive military and strategic administrative positions to have an impact on the shape of the state and its institutions. Security units became more alert and racism decreased. It was only to be expected that Christian soldiers would be employed within the state machinery. They played an important role in suppressing all attempts to revolt against the system, due to the fact that the Christians were a minority and loyal to the government. They had no tribal allegiances or historical ties with any segment of the society. They would not tolerate any rebellion against the state, because the fall of the state meant their end. It is a well-known tactic in political systems to employ minorities in the military tasks and as personal guards as they were loyal to no other save their boss. This assisted in placing limits between the people and the government. Attempts to over throw the leadership of the country ended in failure. Although some (Deverdun, 1959, p. 138) consider the idea of royal security a Byzantine or Umayyad imitation, it is likely that the idea of employing Christian soldiers was particularly significant due to their loyalty and faithfulness.[63]

The Christian soldiers helped in suppressing rebellions, especially in the Maghreb. As such, historical sources are free of rebellion records[64] as the government had control of the military forces, which repressed all forms of conflict. This is the reason for which Ibn Idhari[65] stated that Ali bin Yusuf was "the first to employ the Roman in the Maghreb". Consequently, Christian soldiers participated in holding back rebellious tribes by intimidating them.[66] The roles taken by Reverter I de La Guardia in defending the rule of the Almoravids are still looked upon with admiration by researchers.[67] His death in 1142, was considered a disaster for the Almoravid dynasty. The Christian soldiers also aided in holding back the Almohads as they were about to destroy the country and takeover the rule after the year of 1122. To suppress the Almohads, Tashfin did not hesitate to quickly call for 4,000 Christian soldiers to help.[68]

The Christians not only participated in security services but also in the military industry. They helped in supporting the Almoravids army and introduced new fighting techniques dating from the Middle Ages, which was different from those of the Almoravids.[69] Khaldūn (1952) made an observation on this military phenomenon in the Maghreb during the Middle Ages saying: "The rulers of the Maghreb needed the support of Christian soldiers who were well trained in military service" (Al-Siddīq bin al-Arabī, 1956, p. 154). At the same time, they improved the manufacturing of weapons and ammunition and replaced camels with horses in conflicts (*Lagardère*, 1989, p. 100). Weapons were also replaced with shields instead of bows. This led to a change in the balance of power during the Almoravids military confrontations with the rebellion Bedouin tribes.[70]

6. Churches in the Almoravids State and the margin of religious practice

Unlike Andalusia, there are insufficient sources on the religious institutions of Christians in the Maghreb. That is, the information provided on the Christian presence during the Almoravids era is vague due to unclear and contradicting documents. For example, al-Bakri (d. 1094)[71] pointed out the presence of Christian communities in Tlemcen in the middle of the eleventh century and stated that they had a church known as 'Ma'mūrah Church' without providing any additional details. In addition, Alhamiri (d. 1495) (Muḥammad Ibn, 1984, p. 203) refers to a church in Ceuta in a general manner

and does not specify the exact period in which the church was established, whether during or before the Almoravids era. In Marrakesh, the capital of the Almoravids, the status of churches is just as ambiguous as in the Maghreb. In his *al-Miʿyār al-Muʿrib*, al-Wansharisi claims that Christians, whether those forced to the Maghreb or the royal guards, were allowed to build their own churches in areas where they settled. They were also allowed to practice their religious rituals. Along with this evidence is a fatwa al-Wansharisi wrote to Ibn al-Hajj, which allowed Christians to build churches in the places where they settled as long as they did not ring the bells.[72] This fatwa is supported by another statement related by Abū Bakral-Ṣinhājī Baydhaq (1986, p. 114) in which he states that in 1155, (approximately nine years after the fall of the Almoravids dynasty) the Almohadruler, Abd al-Mu'min "dug a lake in front of Shantol". It is widely accepted that the term 'Shantol' represents the name of an old church known as "Saint Eulalie". The term is a modification of 'Saint Eulalie'.[73] In support of this, al-Baydaq is known to pronounce the Arabic letter 'S' as 'Sh', which verifies the modification of the church name.[74] The statement confirms the presence of a church in Marrakesh during the Almoravids era.

Another important Christian document is "The Empire's News" by Alfonso XII,[75] which claims that when the Almohads occupied Marrakesh in 1147, some of the Christians who supported the Almoravids army returned to Toledo along with their priests. This information is supported by an Arabic source, which states that after the occupation of Marrakesh, Abd al-Mu'min asked the Christians to consider one of three choices: either to become a Muslim, be killed or to return to Spain (Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, 1974). Abd al-Mu'min may have allowed them to return to their country as a reward for helping during his blockade in Marrakesh.[76] More importantly, the document mentions that bishops accompanied the Christians when they returned to Spain. If this is true, then this means that the Church of Marrakesh had a church panel similar to those in Rome. Although some researchers[77] take this information for granted, such as Dufourcq who considered this as "a branch of the Church in the Maghreb", these documents, despite their importance, are insufficient. The bishop who is said to have returned to Spain with some Christians in 1146, could perhaps be 'Michael bin Abdul-Azīz', a Christian Andalusian who was among those forced to return to the Maghreb where he settled in Fes but not Marrakesh for eleven years (1126–1137).[78] Chantuleh could be just an old church. Therefore, the existence of a church in Marrakesh during the Almoravids era may not be valid due to several reasons:

(1) Most of the Arabic sources agree that the first church built in Marrakesh was in the era of al-Ma'mun during the Almohads dynasty.[79]

(2) The letter sent by Ali bin Yusuf to Ibn Ward, a Muslim jurist, and other jurists of Granada was to ask them a number of questions related to the Christians who were compelled to return to Meknes. One of the questions was a request to build a church. Ibn Ward[80] refused permission and dictated, "… they practice their religious rituals inside their house". This clearly shows that Christians were forced to perform their religious duties inside their homes.

(3) Al-Wansharisi mentions in *al-Miyar* that a Christian man in Marrakesh pretended to be Muslim, while he believed in Christianity. Muslims eventually discovered a room in his house where he kept a cross, a copy of the Bible, a stick and other typical things found in a church.[81] This indicates that there were no churches in Marrakesh otherwise the Christian man would have had to perform his prayers in secret.

(4) The Pope of Rome used to send papal bulls to Christian Churches located in North Africa during the Zirid dynasty (973–1148) and Hammadid dynasty (1014–1152). The documents presented by Mas Latrie include some bulls sent by St Leo IX (1049–1054) to Thomas the bishop of Africa on the 7 December 1053[82] and another one sent by St Gregory VII (1073–1085) to the bishop of Carthage on the 16 December 1073.[83] The Pope himself sent a letter to the Hammadi Prince al-Nasir bin Halnnass(r. 1062–1088) to thank him for his concern and care of the Christian community.[84] On the other hand, we do not find any letters sent to any of the Episcopates in Marrakesh or any other city in the Maghreb where Christians settled such as Meknes, Sala Fes

and Tlemcen, although several papal bulls were sent to the Almohads rulers.[85] Such evidence suggests the absence of any church during that period.

The Almoravids, who were too rigid to allow the construction of churches, had in fact destroyed some of them in Andalusia. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Iḥāṭah*, I, pp. 113–114, Saʿdūn Naṣr Allā (1985, p. 177), Dufourcq (1978b, p. 72), Dozy (1879, p. 177) relates on behalf of Ibn al-Sairafī, an Almoravids historian, that Ibn Tashfin gave an order to destroy the Albir Church in 1098, after receiving a fatwa from Muslim jurists encouraging that act. Ibn Sahel (Muḥammad Ibn, 1990, p. 324; Wansharīsī, *al-Miʿyār*, II, p. 246), an Almoravids judge in Granada, permitted in his fatwa the destruction of churches and prohibited the construction of new ones on Muslim lands. That is, Muslim jurists considered the lands of Andalusia where Christians were settled as confiscated lands. Therefore, they did not allow Christians to build their churches in line with *Maliki*legislation.[86] In another instance, the Almoravids took over an endowment attached to a church and turned it into a mosque.[87] They also stopped the Christians in Seville from ringing their church bells.[88] Although these incidents took place in Andalusia, it clearly reveals the general attitude of the Almoravids who were not content with the fatwa of Ibn al-Hajj permitting the construction of churches due to a contradicting fatwa that prohibited it. This explains the reasons behind the earlier fatwa of Ibn Ward. However, even if the construction of churches was prohibited, it seems probable that some Christians in the Maghreb, especially those from the royal guard were allowed to practice their religious duties in Chantuleh, the old church, in return for their services. Nevertheless, according to the available documents there were no church panels (Leon, 1860, T. 1, p. 318).

The rigidness of the Almoravids towards building churches was due to the general situation of the empire, its ideological status, the open war with Castilla and the news of Alfonso's revenge on Muslims in the reoccupied cities, and the terrible news of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (El-Cid Campeador) (1094–1099) and his brutal eradication of Muslims in Palencia in 1095[89] in particular, his turning all Mosques into Churches. Such reasons likely caused the Almoravids to accept the *fat was* of strict jurists. It is worth noting that the deconstruction of the Albir Church happened after the fall of Jerusalem by the Christians in 1098. The main reason for its destruction is that the church was used as a place for treacherous planning against the Almoravid dynasty in Andalusia with the help of Castilla. Thus, it is apparent that the Muslims were aware of the Christian threat during that time.

The prohibition to build new churches does not reflect rigid injustice towards the Christians in the Maghreb if it's understood in the wider political and military context of the Almoravid–Castilla conflict, particularly as the Christians' integration in the social and political life offered them freedom and justice, which Simonet too confessed.[90] An obvious example is the bishop who lived in Fes for 11 years after he was forced to settle in the Maghreb and who then wrote a copy of the Bible without facing any objection (Dufourcq, *Les relations du Maroc et de la Castille pendant*, p. 114; Lagardere, 1988). In the field of education, the Almoravids intended to teach from books related to the principles and rules of Christians and Jews in Islam in order to enlighten people on the proper way to deal with them respectfully according to the regulations of Islam. Thus, although the construction of churches was prohibited, a range of other rights and privileges were extended to the Christian community in the Maghreb.

7. The dogmatism of Muslim Jurists and its effect on the Christian minority

An in-depth reading of fatwa books and jurists' opinions reveals that there was a trend to be strict towards issues relating to the Christians. This trend may have been applied at all levels of scholastic discourse, especially since the Almoravid dynasty was dependent on the opinions of Muslim jurists and scholars. Although this influenced the situation of the Christians in the Maghreb, at least on a theoretical rather than the practical level, lenient jurists such as Ibn al-Hajj issues legal opinions contrary to their strict counterparts. As a result, theoretical books of *fatwa* dealing with the Christians

during the Almoravid era suffer from grave contradictions. Some jurists were more lenient and flexible with the coexistence of the Christians such as the renowned *Malik*i jurist of the Almoravid era, Ibn al-Hajj, who issued a fatwa permitting the Christians to build churches within their residential areas under the condition that they did not ring their bells.[91] He was also lenient about "stopping the Christians from making wine out of raisins" when he stated: "and he who is found to keep a small portion of wine can be left to him".[92] He issued many *fat was* on a range of matters relating to the Christians and Jews but, overall, his opinions on the issues of his times, such as the way tributes were paid, privately or in mass, were lenient and realistic.[93] In addition to this, during the Almoravid era, the Christians established their own court of justice, which was independent from that of the government, and a special judge was assigned, known as 'the Judge of Christians' to look into their cases. However, matters arising between Muslims and the Christians were usually addressed by a Muslim judge according to the regulations of Islam.[94]

Some jurists, however, were strikingly strict and rigid about issues relating to Christians and adopted contrary opinions to stop Christians from keeping wine at their homes.[95] Others asked Muslims to avoid animals slaughtered by the Christians,[96] not to sell them copies of the Qur'an[97] and to avoid trading with them because of their practice of usury.[98] For example, if a Christian man had sex with a Muslim woman, whether by her own accord or forced, his liability (*dhimmah*) would no longer be valid (Abū al-Qāsim Burzulī, 2002, p. 216). The Christian endowments turned into mosques would not be returned to the Christians, as transforming a mosque into a Church was not permitted in Islamic law.[99] Moreover, Ibn Abdun (d. 1133)[100] called for banning Christian women from visiting the church during festivals and days of celebration because they were accused of having sexual relations with priests inside the church. He encouraged employing the Christians in degrading work such as collecting trash and taking care of animals.[101] He even tried to force the Christians to practice circumcision.[102] IbnAbdun warned Muslims not to sell Christians their books because they would translate them and credit Christian authors.[103] He recommended forcing them to wear special clothes distinct from those of Muslims, but the Christians wore the traditional clothes elegantly. This led al-Garsifi ('Umar Ibn 'Uthmānal-Garsifi, Jarsīfī, 1955), to be very strict with them and he decreed that men wear swathe and women wear anklets. In addition, he refused to let the Christians drink alcohol, eat pork or sell them at Muslim markets.[104] Abū Muhammad al-Málaqi al-Saqtī (2011) also asked his people not to sell goods to the Christian and Jewish men and women. Al-Tartushi (Ibn 'Ajībah, 2005, p. 6) issued a fatwa that "forbid the Roman cheese brought by the Christians".

All that was stated in *Alhisbah* and the books of Islamic jurisprudence of this era was just a theoretical attempt to maintain a minimal degree of morality in dealings and expressed the tendency of apprehensiveness that controlled some jurists' thinking during that time. Fortunately, these *fat was* had little to no influence on real life. On the contrary, historical sources relate that the relations between the Muslims and Christians show that the Christian community was highly integrated with the Muslim society. However, Almoravid–Castella hostile relations at that time depict the reasons for the strict attitudes of some Muslim jurists. The Crusades were at their peak during and the attacks of Alfonso on Andalusia were a source of worry for the scholars and politicians of the Maghreb. Due to these reasons, some jurists held strict opinions about the Christians, especially after the complicity of many of them with Alfonso against the Muslims with whom they held agreements and treaties.

It should also be noted that the disobedience of some Christians in the Maghreb encouraged such strict procedures. For example, Ibn al-Hajj's[105] *Nawāzil* refers to incidents wherein Christians confronted and offended the Muslims by publically insulting Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). In such cases, judgments against them were not lenient as they were sentenced to death for such an act.[106] Some Christians were violent against innocent Muslims[107] which encouraged such strict legal rulings, at least at the theoretically.

8. Almoravids Christian soldiers and their rebellion against the state
Despite many contributions of the Christian soldiers in the running, defence and advancement of the Almoravids state and the support and freedoms they received as reward, they nevertheless colluded

with the advancing Almohad army resulting in the fall of Marrakesh in April 1147 and end of the Almoravid rule.[108] Christian soldiers entered into a secret agreement with the Almohad leader, Abd al-Mu'min bin Ali (1130–1163), who promised them security in return for their help to open one of the doors leading to Marrakesh and allow the Almohad army to enter.[109] This treachery was explained by MasLatrie[110] as an unusual incident in the history of Christian soldiers in Almoravid era. The Christian decision of leaving the Almoravid alliance could be understood as a decision taken in a critical moment wherein the political authority of the Almoravids was is turmoil. The fact that the Almoravids could not decide on how best to protect the city caused some Almoravid leaders to turn on each other, which only complicated matters further. Under such circumstances, the Christian soldiers thought as minorities do, namely to choose the side of the powerful in order to avoid inevitable massacre and preserve their existence. Seen in this light, their decision was rational, and the Christian soldiers avoided the massacre that befell most of the Marrakesh Muslim population.

9. Conclusion

After such a summative display of the reality of the Christian presence and the respective role the Christians played with regards to society and state during the Almoravid rule in the Islamic Maghreb, one may assert that the Almoravid era was not one of pressed eradication and marginalization of the Christian minorities, contrary to the depiction a number of historians have become accustomed to portraying.

Credit for Christian presence in the Islamic Maghreb goes back, in essence, to the Almoravids. This is for the reason that after the Christian presence had been condemned or fallen under censure;—prior to the rise of the Almoravids state—they numbered in the thousands and tens of thousands by virtue of the Almoravids attraction of Christians for the purpose of meeting gaps in the emergent state.

Social matters for the Christians of the Maghrib were distinctly marked with stability to quite a large extent. This is especially true with regards to the fact that the Almoravids had allocated special neighbourhoods for them in which their daily needs are provided, including many forbidden materials such as wine. They even played a prominent role in the process of political life. This was remarkably so during the reign of Ali ibn Yusuf where they contributed effectively in the conduct of matters of state via administrative tasks which they were mandated with, or with their military role which materialized in their mandate and responsibility as the Prince's guard, and elite unites in the Almoravids army. This was in addition to military teaching responsibilities, which were assigned to them.

Religious life of the Christian minorities witnessed a sort of canonical organization by the state, with a margin of religious freedom better than their situation under the Idrisids (788–974) and Almohads (1121–1269); but not to the degree, which Christians under Fatimid (909–1171) or Abbasid (750–1258) rule enjoyed. This stands to reason in a nation similar to the Almoravid state where religious ultraconservatism was one of its characteristics, not only for the Christian subjects but also for Muslims themselves. There is no better example of this than the Andalusian people's rejection of Almoravid rule. The Andalusians called upon the Almoravids to save them from the petty feuds of that Taifa kingdoms and the advancements of Alfonso, and to unite them socially and politically. Although they rejoiced when they were victorious, they began to rebel and expel the Almoravids due to their nomadic nature for which they were accustomed to the life of desert-austerity and asceticism, while the Andalusians were accustomed to urbanization and luxury.

The ultraconservative stance cannot be considered an official and popular position during the Almoravid era. State dealings continued with their reliance on the Christian minorities both administratively and militarily. Furthermore, under the shade of such a relationship there was a continuation of normal dealings and popular acceptance of the Christian existence. Moreover, the character of that era as well as the nature of danger which Alfsono and the Kingdom of Castille presented to

the Muslim presence in Andalusia played a role in crystallizing the Almoravid stand regarding the practice of religious freedom for Christians.

The situation that the Christians enjoyed in North Africa appears to be a civilized step compared to the medieval norms, particularly as compared to the Castilian army's treatment of Muslims in their recovered lands during the sameera.

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Notes

1. Derived from Arabicmustaʿrib, "Arabicized", it means any of the Spanish Christians living under Muslim rule in Spain (8th–11th century), who, while unconverted to Islam, adopted Arabic language and culture. See: Encyclopedia Britannica, Mozarabs.
2. *Al-Miʿyār al-muʿrib by* Wansharīsī, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah fī Dhikral-Akhbāral-Marrākushīyah* by Anonymous; *al-Maghrib fī DhikrbilābIfrīqīyahwa al-Maghribby* Al-Bakrī.
3. It resembles what has been recorded about them when Granada was invaded by Alfonso I The Warrior. See: Anonymous (1979, p. 91).
4. Respectively; Dozy (1881, 1932), Terrase, 1958, 1960), Dufourcq and Gautier-Dalché (1971, 1968).
5. Responsa, means "questions and answers", its Jewish calamities and replies made by rabbinic scholars in answer to submitted questions about Jewish law. These replies began to be written in the sixth century after final redaction of the Talmud and are still being formulated. See Encyclopedia Britannica: Responsa.
6. Although some Papal Bulls were found among these documents which were sent to rulers of the Almohad dynasty, Bishops of Marrakesh and other cities of the Maghrib, there are no Bulls of such kind related to the Almoravids dynasty. See: Maslatrie (1866–1872).
7. For instance, some Christian sources claim that the Jews have fought with the Muslims in the Battle of *Zalaka* (known also as Sagrajas) which is historically not verified.
8. For example, the Bishop of Lisbon said to the Crusading armies that Andalusia was evacuated from Christians.
9. Contradictions are even found within one historian. For example, IbnIthārī (M.S.) states in page (23) that Yusuf bin Tashfin bought some mercenaries then he states in another page (102) that Ali bin Yusuf was the first one to receive them.
10. Aschbach (1958, p. 479). And we can compare his contradiction with what he mentioned in p. 480.
11. Ibn ʿIdhārīId *al-Bayān al-Mughrib,* IV, p. 23.
12. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 25.
13. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 84.
14. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 131; Ibn ʿIdhārīId *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, IV, p. 102.
15. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 131.
16. Mas-latrie, Maslatrie: *Traites de paixet*, p. 33.
17. See IbnIthārī (p. 23) where he mentions that Yusuf bin Tashfin bought mercenaries. See also: al-Nāsirī who

claims that some mercenaries were war prisoners of the Almoravids during the era of Ali bin Yusuf in (522 AH); Khālid Salāwī (1954, II, p. 69).
18. Ḥasan Maḥmūd, *QiyāmDawlatal-Murābiṭīn*, p. 380.
19. IbnAbī Zarʿ, *al-Anīsal-Muṭrib*, p. 164.
20. Ibnʿ IdhārīId *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, IV, p. 84.
21. Anonymous, *Ṭabaqātal-Mālikīyah*, p. 308; Ibnʿ IdhārīId *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, pp. 93–94; Bashkuwāl (2001).
22. Ibn al-Hājj, Nawāzil Ibn al.Hājj, p. 50; see also Nāzilah of Ibn Rushd narrated by Ibn Salmūn in his book munaẓẓam lil-ḥukkām (2011, p. 132).
23. Ibn Rushd, *Nawāzil Ibn Rushd*, p. 48; Wansharīsī, *Al-Miʿyār al-muʿrib*, II, p. 213.
24. Wansharīsī, *Al-Miʿyār Al-muʿrib*, II, p. 179.
25. Alī IbnYaḥyá Jazīrī (1998, p. 237).
26. Muḥammad Ibnʿ Abd Allāh Ibnal-Abbār, *al-Muʿjam fī Aṣḥābal-Qāḍī al-ImāmAbīʿ Alī al-Ṣadafī*, (Cairo: Dāral-Kātibal-ʿ ArabīArabirabī, 196.
27. Slavery was part of the social norm in West Africa and the whole region at that time sees El Hamel (2012, p. 126).
28. According to Brunschvig, although the total abolition of slavery might seem a reprehensible innovation and contrary to the Qur'an and the practice of early Muslims, the realities of the modern world caused a "discernible evolution in the thought of many educated Muslims before the end of the 19th century". These Muslims argued that Islam overall has "bestowed an exceptionally favourable lot on the victims of slavery" and that the institution of slavery is linked to the particular economic and social stage in which Islam originated. According to the influential thesis of Ameer Ali, Islam only tolerated slavery through temporary necessity and that its complete abolition was not possible at the time of Muhammad (Brunschvig, 1984). According to Brockopp, some modern interpreters have accused the medieval interpreters of having subverted the Qur'an's demand for manumission contracts (Mukataba). They have used the dramatic change in the institution of slavery in the 7th and 8th centuries to argue that the Qur'an would not have condoned the slaving practices common in Islamic history. Others have argued that the original intent of the Qur'an, when understood properly, was to abolish slavery altogether (McAuliffe et al., 2001–2006, p. 554).W. Montgomery Watt points out that Muhammad's expansion of Pax Islamica to the Arabian Peninsula reduced warfare and raiding, and therefore cut off the sources of enslaving freemen (Watt, 1956, p. 296). According to Patrick Manning, the Islamic legislations against the abuse of slaves convincingly limited the extent of enslavement in the Arabian Peninsula and to a lesser degree for the entire Umayyad Caliphate, wherein slavery existed since the ancient times (Manning, 1990, p. 28). Slavery was part of the global social structure and was common among all warring nations. It was necessary for Islam to adopt a similar line of practice until the world devised a new code of practice during war other than enslavement.
29. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 91.
30. Ibn al-Khatīb, *al-Ihātah*, Vol. 1, p. 120. See also: Dozy (1932).
31. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 90.

32. Ibnal-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭah*. I, p. 204.
33. Maḥmūd'Alī Makkī (1959–1960). Moreover, it is stated in al-hulal al-Muwashshīyah that: "the evacuation took place all over Andalusia to Meknes, Sala and other cities of Maghreb". Anonymous, al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah, p. 98.
34. The first stage of evacuation was in Malaga in 1106; the second in Granada in 1126 and the third in Seville in 1138.
35. Anonymous, al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah, p. 91.
36. Ibn'IdhārīId *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, p. 24.
37. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 90.
38. According to al-Nuwayrī, they used to collect taxes from different places. See: Aḥmad Ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb Nuwayrī (1983); Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 84.
39. See: Ibrahemal-Qādirī (1998, p. 54).
41. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 91.
42. An example of their proverbs is: "who opens a market for traders, sells from Jews and Christians". See: Ubayd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Zajjālī, *Amthālal-'awāmm fī al-Anda-lus*, edited by: M. Bin Sharīfah, (Fes: ManshūrātWizārat al-Dawlah al-Mukallafahbi-al-Shu'ūnal-Thaqāfīyahwa-al-Ta'līmal-Aṣlī), 971I, p. 246.
43. Ibnal-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭah fī AkhbārGharnāṭah*, I, p. 103.
44. Khūsī al-Yamānī (1978).
45. Abd al-Aziz Salim (1985, p. 176).
46. Anonymous, *Ṭabaqātal-Mālikīyah*, Manuscript in the National Library of Morocco (Khizānahal-'Āmmah) No. 3928, p. 308. The document states: "His men (Abū Bakr bin al-Arabī) found one Muslim man holding a beer. Abū Bakr asked him many times to confess but the man said that he had a Roman slave who was Christian and the beer he is holding is for the slave" and so the jurist let him go.
47. Anonymous, *Ṭabaqātal-Mālikīyah*, Manuscript in the National Library of Morocco (Khizānahal-'Āmmah) No. 3928, p. 293. He took this fatwa from Ibn Rushd.
48. *The Endowment Archive ofMeknes* (*HawaltMiknes*) No. 5, pp. 295–298.
49. Ibn'IdhārīId *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, IV, p. 77.
50. Anonymous, *Nawāzilfī al-Fiqh*, a manuscript kept in the Royal Library (al-Khizānahal-Malakīyah), Rabat, No. 4321, p. 28.
51. De Mármol, Vol. 2, p. 56.
52. M. Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Nawāzil Ibn al-Ḥājj*, manuscript in the National Library of Morocco (al-Khizānahal-'Āmmah) Rabat, No. 55., p. 119.
53. Such as, 'Izzul-Dīn 'Umar Aḥmad Mūsá (1983, p. 110), Iṣmat'Abdul-Laṭīf Dandash (1988, p. 23).
54. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, XXIV, p. 282; Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 84; Abu al-Qasim Ibn Ahmad al-Zayyani (1994, p. 284); Ḥamdī ' am al-Mun 'imḤusayn (1986, p. 237).
55. José Almani, *al-Katā'ib al-MasīḥiyyahfīKhidmat al-Mulūk*, p. 35.
56. Read about the Christian wife of IbnTashfin named Kamar and her efforts in the installment of her grandson Ishaq instead of Tashfin as the Crown Prince: Ibn'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, p. 97.
57. Izzal-Dīn Ibnal-Athīr (2010, VIII, p. 296); Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, XXIV, p. 282; Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 84–58; Ibn 'IdhārīId *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, p. 102.
58. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 85.
59. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, XXIV, p. 282.
60. Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, XXIV, p. 283.
61. *J. Villard Les Touaregs au pays du Cid*., p. 234. The narration was quoted from the blog of Alfonso XII.
62. Ibn'IdhārīIdhārīī emphasizes that Ali was the first leader who opened the doors to the Christian in North *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, p. 102.

63. J. Aschbach, *Tārīkh al-Andalus*, pp. 116–117.
64. See the notice of *Provençal* in: *Réflexions sur l'empire* al-Moravide au Début du XIIIe Siècle (*Alger*:, extrait du Cinquantenaire de la Faculté des Lettres d'*Alger,1932*), p. 330.
65. Ibn'IdhārīId *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, p.102.
66. This could be concluded from al-Nuwairī who said when Ibn Tumart asked some of the tribes of the reasons for which they obey the Christian tax collectors: "What else can we do while we lack the power they have". See: Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, XXIV, p. 282.
67. Deverdun, Marrakech, p. 138; Burns, 1972, Vol. 58, pp. 341–366; István 1956, 195–204.
68. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 131.
69. Ibrāhīm Harakāt (1987, p. 223).
70. Ibrahemal-Qādirī, *Mabāḥith fī al-tārīkh al-Maghribwa-al-Andalus*, p 59.
71. Al-Bakrī, *al-Mughrib fī DhikrbilābIfrīqīyahwa-al-Maghrib*, p. 76.
72. Wansharīsī, *Al-Mi'yār al-mu'rib*, II, pp. 215–241.
73. Provençal has drawn attention to this in his edition of the Baydhaq book. For more details see footnote number 4 in his edition (Paris: 1925). Deverdun supports this opinion in his book: *Marrakech*, p. 139.
74. As a proof to what Provençal said see: Baydhaq, *Akhbār al-Mahdī*, p. 69.
75. It has been mentioned by De Genival (1927).
76. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 138.
77. C. De Chauvrebiere, *Histoire du Maroc*, p. 191.
78. Dufourcq (Ch.), *Les relations du Maroc et de la castile-prendant*, p. 45.
79. Ibn Abī Zar', *Al-Anīsl-Amuṭrib*, p. 250; Salāwī, *al-Istiqṣā*, II, p. 237.
80. Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib*, VIII, pp. 58–59.
81. *Ibid*., II, p. 249;Ibn Rushd, *Nawāzil Ibn Rushd*, pp. 78–79.
82. Maslatrie, *Traites de Paix..*, op. cit., T.2, p. 1.
83. Maslatrie, *Traites de Paix*., p. 5.
84. Maslatrie, *Traites de Paix*., p. 7.
85. Such as the correspondence of Gregory IX to Almohadruler al-Rashid. See: Maslatrie: op. cit., pp. 11–12.
86. Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār*, II, p. 240.
87. Ibnal-Qāḍī ' -Qạ, *Madhāhib*, p. 131.
88. Ibn'Abdūn, *Risālah fī al-Qaḍā'wa-al-hisbah*, p. 55.
89. For more details see: Barton and Fletcher (2007).
90. Simonet, *Historia de los Mazarabes*, p. 603.
91. Wansharīsī, *al-Mi'yār*, II, pp. 215–241.
92. Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Nawāzil Ibn al-Ḥājj*, p. 295.
93. Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Nawāzil Ibn al-Ḥājj*, p. 295.
94. 'Abdal-Badī', *al-Islām fī Isbāniyā*, p. 28.
95. Ibn Zakoun, *I'timād al-HukkāmfīMasā'il al-Ahkām*, a manuscript preserved in the National Library of Morocco (al-Khizānah al-'Āmmah), Ref. Q 413, p. 391.
96. Ibn Rushd, *Nawāzil Ibn Rushd*, p. 302.
97. Al-Ghālī al-Lijā'ī, *Muqmi' al-Kafarah bi al-Sinānwa al-HusāmfīBayān 'ījaāb al-Isti'dādwaHarb al-Nizām*, a manuscript in the Royal Rabat Library, Morocco, Ref. 965, p. 144. This Islamic opinion isquotedfrom Ibn Rushd.
98. Ibn Rushd, *Nawāzil*, p. 302.
99. Ibn al-Qāḍīl'Iyāḍ, *Madhāhib*, p. 50.
100. Ibn 'Abdūn, *Risālah fī al-Qaḍā'*, p. 48.
101. Ibn 'Abdūn, *Risālah fī al-Qaḍā'*, p. 48.
102. Ibn 'Abdūn, *Risālah fī al-Qaḍā'*, p. 49.
103. Ibn 'Abdūn, *Risālah fī al-Qaḍā'*, p. 57.
104. 'Umar Ibn 'Uthmānal-Garsifī, Jarsīfī, (1955, p. 22).
105. Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Nawāzil Ibn al-Ḥājj*, p. 119.
106. Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Nawāzil Ibn al-Ḥājj*, p. 211.
107. Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ShiekhAbī al-Abbās al-Sabtī*, a manuscript in the Royal Rabat Library, Morocco, Ref. D 896, p. 101 B.
108. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 138.

109. Anonymous, *al-hulalal-Muwashshīyah*, p. 138.
110. Maslatrie, *Traites de paix*, p. 32.

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