



The Official Celebrations of the Zayyanid Authority in Tlemcen (633–962 AH/1235–1554 AD) – A Historical-Anthropological Approach

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Abstract

This study investigates the official celebrations calendar of the Zayyanid authority in Tlemcen (633–962 AH/1235–1554 AD) by examining its political, military, and religious processions through a combined historical and anthropological approach. Rather than focusing solely on the widely studied occasion of the Prophet's birthday, the paper aims to inventory all celebrations the state considered official, classify them according to their nature, and describe their ceremonies and processions to uncover the symbolic contexts underlying them and how they were perceived by both the elite and the common populace.

The findings reveal that certain ceremonial elements recurred across all celebrations regardless of their type—such as gunpowder volleys, displays of army strength, and the conspicuous manifestation of material and aesthetic disparities between ruler and ruled. The Zayyanid princes proved particularly inventive in their engagement mechanisms, from the silver tree of Abū Tāshfīn I to the *manjānah* clock associated with *mawlid* festivities under Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II. Contrary to Ibn Khaldūn's characterization of the Zayyanid state as marked by Bedouinism and the absence of urban institutions, the study argues that their official celebrations displayed significant ceremonial sophistication. Religious occasions were strategically exploited to bolster legitimacy—through sanctifying the pillars of authority, reminding the public of shared Islamic origins, and consolidating the image of the ruler as the Caliph of the Muslims.

Keywords: Official Celebrations, Zayyanid Authority, Tlemcen, religious processions.

Introduction

The Zayyanid state was founded in the aftermath of the weakness that had crept into the foundations of the Almohad state and the dismantling of its pillars, especially after the Battle of Al-'Uqab in 609 AH/1212 AD; this accelerated the decision of the leader of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād tribe to declare secession in the central Maghrib while still maintaining allegiance and obedience to the Almohads. Then, with the transfer of rule, the emirate passed to Yaghmurasan ibn Zayān,¹ who subsequently declared his effective independence from the Almohad state, thus becoming the actual founder of the Zayyanid state in the year 633 AH/1235 AD.²

Our study focuses on the calendar of official occasions that the Zayyanid authority celebrated—especially since scholarly attention to this aspect, which is one of the crucial

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dimensions of the power structure of any political entity, had been underway since the inception of the state, as most medieval sources attest.³

Many specialized academic studies on the official celebrations of the Zayyanid authority concentrate on the occasion of the noble Prophet's birthday; yet, despite the validity, importance, and renown of that occasion for them, it was not the only event featured in the authority's official calendar of occasions. Moreover, while some studies emphasize the popular and Sufi dimensions of celebrations,⁴ this academic paper aims to inventory the celebrations that the authority considered part of its official calendar, to classify them according to their political, military, and religious nature, and to describe all the ceremonies and processions held to honor them—an endeavor that will help us understand their symbolic contexts and how they were perceived by both the elite and the common populace.

What further lends importance to the subject is the rationale behind the Zayyanid authority's dedication to these celebrations, to the extent that the commemoration of certain occasions became a focal point of rivalry with neighboring states in terms of the grandeur of the festivities—as occurred between the Zayyanids and the Marinids in the far Maghrib regarding the celebration of the noble Prophet's birthday.⁵ In addition, this paper seeks to put to the historical test what the eminent scholar 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn stated when he described the Zayyanid state in the central Maghrib as being characterized by Bedouinism (*badāwah*) and the absence of urban institutions (*al-khiṭaṭ*);⁶ this is a point we shall examine through the description and assessment of the Zayyanid authority's interaction with, and framing of, official occasions. This, in turn, leads us to pose the following problematic: how rich was the official occasions calendar of the Zayyanid authority? And what are the various symbolic contexts underlying the diverse images of the ceremonial practices?

To address this problematic, we will adopt the historical method to describe and analyze the entirety of the official celebrations held by the Zayyanid authority, while also pinpointing the transformations and developments that might occur from one reign to another; simultaneously, we will employ the anthropological method in order to comprehend and extract the diverse symbolic contexts embedded in the scenes and spectacles of these celebrations.

1. The Oath of Allegiance to the Zayyanid Sultan and the Consolidation of the Foundations of Authority

The purpose of political processions pertains to those celebrations that took place when the ruler received the oath of allegiance (*bay'ah*) from the institution of “those who bind and loose” (*ahl al-ḥall wa-l-'aqd*); these processions vary in composition from one political entity to another. When investigating such processions within the Zayyanid authority in Tlemcen, we find that the source texts provide us with certain descriptions of the proceedings of the oath of allegiance from one ruler to the next, thereby enabling us to possibly discern the transformations that occurred in the allegiance procession.

Beginning with the founding ruler: when Yaghmurasan ibn Zayān established his independent state, al-Tansī describes the events of the oath of allegiance, stating: “They

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pledged allegiance to him as an independent sovereign king, and they divested themselves of [loyalty to] the Banū ‘Abd al-Mu’min ... and thus the majesty of the caliphate manifested itself in his household; he employed what imparts perfection and beauty to kingship in his conduct and bearing, and he selected viziers and chamberlains, and chose commanders and scribes.”⁷ This text reveals to us that the process of pledging allegiance at the time of the first Zayyanid king did not involve the staging of a grand procession; rather, the matter was confined to the display of majesty and attention to fine details within his court—details which al-Tansī did not elaborate upon—in addition to certain administrative appointments essential for the state’s institutions (*khiṭaṭ al-dawlah*).

Nevertheless, this does not detract from the stature of Sultan Yaghmurasan ibn Zayān; for, despite his limited resources and lack of experience in conducting allegiance ceremonies, he managed to establish essential elements in crafting symbols of authority—namely, the manifestation of majesty and the highlighting of aesthetic components. He is credited with being the primary figure in shaping a new image for the rulers of the central Maghrib, one distinct from the stereotypical image associated with Bedouinism. The historian of the state, Yahyā ibn Khaldūn, alluded to this when he stated that the sultans of the Zayyanid dynasty were concerned with the throne—or what is termed “the dais” (*al-sarīr*)—from the time of Yaghmurasan onwards; he says: “He was the first to mix the attire of Bedouinism with the majesty of kingship, and he clad the tribe in the garb of sacred law (*sharī‘ah*); thus he exalted pulpits, prepared the ground for the caliphate, and favored the dais.”⁸ These details, precise as they may be, are highly significant, for they affirm social differentiation between classes and reproduce the social distinctions separating powerful rulers from the governed and their followers.⁹

It appears that this situation evolved rapidly; from the beginning of the 14th century AD, specifically during the reign of Abū Ḥammū Mūsā I (1307–1318 AD), he undertook the creation of new royal ceremonies and honors.¹⁰ What sources report in this regard is that Sultan Abū Tāshfīn I (1318–1337 AD) introduced a type of procession that took place in the state during its political occasions, whereby grand celebrations were held during the oath of allegiance; he would also display a silver tree, delighting the people who gathered to see it and hear the sounds emanating from it. Al-Tansī explains its operation: “He possessed a silver tree, upon whose branches were all kinds of speaking birds, and at its top was a falcon. When bellows were worked at the base of the tree, and the air reached the positions of the birds, they would produce sounds in their well-known manner, mimicking their real-life counterparts. When the air reached the position of the falcon, it would sound, and then the sounds of all those birds would cease.”¹¹

The image of the political procession is completed during the allegiance ceremony of Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II, as the source texts mention several important details concerning the *bay‘ah*: on Wednesday, the 8th of Rabī‘ al-Awwal in the year 760 AH/1359 AD, Abū Ḥammū succeeded in defeating the Marinid prince Abū ‘Inān, thereby recapturing Tlemcen after it had been lost for six years; consequently, the oath of allegiance was renewed for Sultan Abū Ḥammū.¹² Yahyā ibn Khaldūn provides a description of the ceremony, mentioning: “When

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the lands were settled for the master Abū Ḥammū, his sovereignty was consolidated, he was established in the seat of his noble forebears, and his standing was elevated, the people of the capital came to him and pledged to him the grand oath of allegiance (*al-bay'ah al-kubrā*) ... After four days, the people of Oujda arrived with their oath, and the people of Nedroma and Honein did likewise in their allegiance. The coastal tribes came to him in Tlemcen ...¹³ The people of Mostaganem and Mazagran arrived with their oath, as did the people of Baḥā'. Then they were followed by the people of Hawwāra with their allegiance. Thus, all of them attained the utmost eminence and the surest, most plentiful opening through their swiftness, and the horses of fortune ran unbridled."¹⁴ Following these successive pledges from the tribes, Abū Ḥammū bestowed upon them abundant gifts and presents of agricultural produce and horses.¹⁵

The allegiance ceremony of Sultan Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II, therefore, reveals to us the degree of completeness attained by the political procession within the Zayyanid authority. The spectacle presented to the populace is unveiled through the horse races and the firing of gunpowder volleys, indicating that this celebration likely took place at the site of al-Baḥā' in Tlemcen.¹⁶ This public spectacle aimed, in essence, to engage the audience, attract the masses, and summon them to join the cause, relinquishing their autonomy in favor of the authority.¹⁷ As for the gunpowder volleys discharged by the horsemen, beyond the element of intimidation and force, their function here is more focused on transmitting an image of the unfolding scene, visible to all present, to the absent others located in the surrounding regions, particularly in the countryside.¹⁸ The scene, as depicted by the source describing the allegiance of Sultan Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II, is one of tribal sheikhs and their notables arriving from every direction to the presence of the sultan to declare their allegiance. The ruler was in dire need of this representative sample of the institution of "those who bind and loose," for they acted as intermediaries between the ruler and the ruled. Their importance lies in the fact that the ruler required their legitimacy to strengthen his authority in his position, while the ruled considered them their representatives in articulating their rights.¹⁹

To fully grasp the significance of securing the allegiance of tribal sheikhs, one must first understand the relationship existing between the authority and the individual within the tribal sphere. The Zayyanid rulers were fully cognizant of the importance and role of the sheikh within his tribe. The rationale behind the Zayyanid ruler's emphasis on securing the oath of allegiance from tribal sheikhs stemmed from their approach of dealing with individuals indirectly through the tribal sheikh—a figure who represented, for the tribal individual, the symbol in which they believed. Therefore, the authority's recognition of this symbol and winning it over to its side ensured the loyalty of all members of the tribe; conversely, it would mean that they would seek revenge for him just as they would defend their own honor;²⁰ for their sheikh, based on his social, political, and religious standing, was the preserver and protector of the tribe's customs and traditions.²¹

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2. Military Processions and Their Rich Symbolic Load

The matter of the army is among the most sensitive and crucial issues for the authority. It is therefore notable that Sultan Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II concentrated on this sensitive pillar of the state in his book *Wāsiyat al-Sulūk*, which he dedicated to his crown prince, given the political reality that the Zayyanid state was experiencing—replete with conflicts with neighboring states or the Christian threat. Consequently, the term “army” (*jaysh*) appears in his book some seventy-four times. To emphasize its importance, he stated: “For there is no authority without an army, and no army without wealth.”²² The kings of the Banū Zayān made it their practice to honor their army, whether before setting out for battles or upon returning victorious from them; they would review its strength while simultaneously inspecting its equipment and combat readiness.

To paint a comprehensive picture of these military parades and honors, and to understand their symbolic contexts, we present some exemplary descriptions scattered across sources from that historical period. The state historian, Yaḥyā ibn Khaldūn, offered a precise account of the military review held by Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II in the year 767 AH/1366 AD, which the inhabitants of Tlemcen attended alongside their sultan. He writes: “The supreme orders were issued to the noble tribe and all the aforementioned commanders to muster the troops to the noble presence, so they might be displayed before the Caliph of God—may God grant him victory ... Then the Commander of the Believers—may God Almighty support him—sat to review his victorious armies, within a pavilion overlooking from a high plateau onto a level plain; there the battalions stood arrayed, beyond count ... They had taken their adornment ... In the center of each battalion was a sturdy beast draped in striped silk, with anklets of silver, tethered by a chain of silver; [around it were] young pages dressed in colorful silk, upon it a howdah adorned with various types of robes, from which emerged a maiden (*qunaynisah*) whose beauty and the fineness of her attire captivated onlookers; she held onto its pole and sang Zanjati poems ... Then they advanced to salute him in succession, from the forenoon of that day until the setting of the sun, while the scribes—before his noble hands—counted the number of tribes and peoples, distinguishing between the lancers and the archers among them. The total count came to twelve thousand paid cavalrymen.”²³

The scene this text presents of the review of Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II’s army consists of two primary, simultaneously contrasting images. The first image was formed by a vast army of twelve thousand soldiers with diverse equipment; the contrasting image was the presence of handsome pages and the beautiful maiden whose melodious voice embellished the scene. Through this scene, the authority aimed to manifest to the present populace—or to those elements that might contemplate rebellious action—the instruments of coercive power that it possessed and, indeed, controlled. The source text alludes to an important detail: the passing of this enormous army before the presence of the sultan “to salute him.” Although the gesture of greeting is derived from Islamic teachings, in this context it served as an affirmation of submission and deference to the ruler; for the greeting of peace can be offered collectively, as indicated by Prophetic tradition and social custom. What reinforces this interpretation is the endurance of the soldiers in this massive army throughout the day just to offer their

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salutations! As the same source states: “from the forenoon of that day until the setting of the sun.” In the same scene, we encounter a contrasting image that symbolizes and aims to temper the ruler’s image with gentleness and compassion—conveyed solely by the pages and the maiden with her voice.

The same symbols and connotations intended by the authority recur, albeit with a different mosaic of images within the military processions. The author of *Zahr al-Bustān* describes one such military procession that Sultan Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II designated to welcome his father, Abū Ya‘qūb, upon his return from the far Maghrib, mentioning: “When he arrived at the aforementioned outskirts ... he brought out the drums and standards, and ordered the people of Tlemcen to decorate and go out to meet him. So the people went forth as they do for festivals; the army mounted in the finest readiness, and there remained in Tlemcen no dweller of city or countryside, no one arriving or departing, who did not go out to welcome this great arrival and attend this momentous meeting. Then the master Abū Ḥammū went forth in his magnificent vessel and his abundant, victorious army until he reached the outskirts of the city.”²⁴ Here, we observe that the same ceremonies recurred in this military procession, wherein the authority wagered on showcasing the army in its most complete state of readiness, urged the populace to attend and witness, and orchestrated a public spectacle. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn explains the reason for the authority’s attention to these military processions—referred to by the term “the apparatus” (*al-ālah*)—stating: “Among the insignia of kingship is the adoption of the apparatus, which includes unfurling banners and flags, beating drums, blowing trumpets and horns ... The secret behind this is to terrify the enemy in war.”²⁵ Since this military procession was fundamentally staged to welcome a symbol of the Zayyanid authority, Ibn Khaldūn’s interpretation would attribute it to the purposes of intimidation, the assertion of power, and the suppression of any opposition.

Also apparent in military processions and carrying very significant meaning is the emergence of the Zayyanid ruler or princes within them, and their leadership of battles—whether against an external enemy or even against internal revolts within the country.²⁶ In their appearances, they were careful to present themselves in the finest form, wearing appropriate and splendid attire, and mounted on horses with magnificent saddles, in order to project majesty and distinction from the rest of the army ranks.²⁷ This practice was not confined to them alone but extended to their accompanying retinue. This was not done arbitrarily but was, in fact, something Sultan Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II counseled his son about: “It is commendable for the king to select valiant men, capable as mountains ... who should have a specific order in dress, distinguishing them from the rest of the people; they should adorn themselves with fine cloaks of diverse colors, and bear in their hands lances upon which are small flags made from various kinds of silk; for they indeed add to the splendor and beauty of kingship, its magnificence and perfection.”²⁸

In addition to the decree concerning the ruler’s presence in battles, the Zayyanid authority was careful, in forming its army, to ensure the presence of the sheikhs of the nomadic Arabs and tribes, promising them provisions as long as the war lasted.²⁹ This measure demonstrates

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the astuteness of the authority and its exploitation of all possible symbols within the military procession. The presence of tribal sheikhs, their volunteering youth, and the authority's regular soldiers, all alongside the ruler in the same army, affirmed the shared destiny awaiting everyone, whether in victory or defeat. The same applied to the political largesse (*sakhā' siyāsī*) that all these groups received, symbolizing the sharing of the bounty. Consequently, all would strive to sacrifice what was most precious to gain benefit. Thus, thanks to this sharing of the bounty, these groups became at once a fundamental and a remarkable component within the functional apparatus of the province (*al-iyālah*). Through this political symbol, the state became, in effect, their personal domain, for its continuity meant their stability in the region; moreover, their contribution to enriching the treasury from various resources would be reflected in their own material capacity. For these reasons, they defended their domain and preserved its governing structure.³⁰

However, the “bounty” must not remain confined to its material dimension; it must extend to the spiritual realm. Therefore, we find the Zayyanids were meticulous in observing religious rituals in their military processions, invoking blessing and divine favors, which was manifested in their association with the *muṣḥaf* (copy of the Qur'an) of Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān—displaying it in processions during their military operations.³¹

3. Religious Celebrations and the Authority's Focus on Symbols of Sanctity

a. The Celebration of the Noble Prophet's Birthday (al-Mawlid al-Nabawī) and the Night of the Seventh Day Thereof

Muslim interest in the occasion of the noble Prophet's birthday can be traced back to the Ismaili Shi'a during the fourth century AH / tenth century AD, as their sources indicate that they were the first to institute this custom—a point noted by scholars such as al-Qalqashandī and al-Maqrīzī.³² Historically, the mawlid marks the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, which falls on the 12th of Rabī' al-Awwal each year; the commemoration of this occasion itself has roots in the Prophet's own practice, for he used to fast on Mondays, saying, “This is the day on which I was born.”³³ As for the Maghribīs' engagement with this occasion, it began in the Moroccan city of Ceuta towards the end of the sixth century AH (twelfth century AD), when Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Qādī (d. 633 AH/1235 AD) called for its celebration, affirming this by composing his book *Al-Durr al-Munazzam fi Mawlid al-Nabī al-Mu'azzam*.

Regarding the Zayyanid princes' commemoration of this religious occasion, it came somewhat later than that of other Islamic states; indeed, it did not occur until the reign of Sultan Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II in the year 760 AH/1359 AD.³⁴ Nevertheless, it thereafter remained a continuous tradition among all the kings of the Banū Zayān and became one of the official occasions of the authority, while still retaining its popular character—thereby spreading spectacle and joy throughout all corners of the realm, until this occasion grew into one of the grandest events in their festive calendar.³⁵ The Mashwar palace³⁶ thus hosted celebrations and banquets attended by all strata of society,³⁷ including the princes themselves.³⁸

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The celebration was not confined to the night of the mawlid itself—that is, the eve preceding the 12th day of Rabī‘ al-Awwal—but rather the festivities continued for an entire week, during which the populace enjoyed this religious season, devoting all their time to devotional invocations, eulogies, and recounting the life and noble deeds of the Messenger Muhammad. The night of the seventh day of the mawlid—meaning the eve of the 18th of Rabī‘ al-Awwal—served as the concluding night of the ceremonial festivities, as al-Tansī confirms for the reign of Sultan Abū Tāshfīn II (791–795 AH/1389–1393 AD), stating: “When the night of the seventh day of the aforementioned mawlid arrived, he—may God exalt his station—celebrated it with a celebration similar to that of the mawlid night, or even greater.”³⁹

As for the features and components of this celebration, whether on the mawlid night or the night of its seventh day, it was held in the seat of government at the Mashwar palace. There, the sultan would preside over the assembly, seated upon the throne of kingship; the ashraf (descendants of the Prophet) and the central elite of the government were distinguished by being allocated special places befitting their rank.⁴⁰ The phenomenon of political largesse (al-sakhā’ al-siyāsī) was a constant feature during the celebration of the mawlid, and we observe that this giving operated on two fundamental levels. The first level was directed specifically at poets and men of letters, as the author of Zahr al-Bustān mentions: “So the poets came to him with odes, recalling the heroic stances and scenes he had undertaken; he then turned his attention to their compositions, hastened with magnanimity to honor them, and demonstrated his love for poetry ... then he bestowed upon them generous and ample gifts.”⁴¹ These poets played a role in highlighting the greatness of the Prophet Muhammad and his virtues, while also imbuing the occasion with the symbolic dimensions desired by the authority—by mentioning the merit of the Zayyanid princes in venerating and glorifying the night of his birth, thereby deepening the princes’ presence in the consciousness of the populace. It is plausible that the encouragement and rewards these poets received were a reason for the renown of a new genre of poetry among the Zayyanids, known as mawlidīyyāt; foremost among these poets was the Zayyanid sultan himself, Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II.⁴²

The second level of expenditure was reserved for those present at his gathering, particularly the vulnerable groups among them, as the same source notes: “He ordered the establishment of the noble night, multiplied the spending therein, rewarded the poets’ eulogies excellently, and provided for the needy and the poor.”⁴³ These groups required the authority’s attention, as they constituted a sensitive component of society whose discontent might lead to unrest and political agitation.

Among the things presented to those attending the celebrations generally, and the mawlid celebration in particular, was the manjānah (water clock) device, which the state historian Yahyā ibn Khaldūn describes as follows: “And the treasury of the manjānah, with its finely crafted silver figures standing in perfect construction, was before him; at its top was a thicket bearing a bird with two fledglings beneath its wings, while a serpent, emerging from an aperture at the base of the thicket, cunningly approached them; and at its front were closed doors corresponding to the number of temporal night hours.”⁴⁴ This device was specifically created for timekeeping and was distinguished by its wondrous geometric design, as

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described by the state historian; it was placed in the Mashwar citadel and its presence was associated with all the celebrations held there.

This device was invented by ‘Alī ibn al-Faḥḥām al-Tilimsānī in the early part of the year 760 AH/1359 AD;⁴⁵ it thus represents an intellectual achievement and carries the symbolism of the scientific level that the state, through its political and social components, had managed to attain. Therefore, its display during celebrations in the Mashwar citadel carried psychological implications for the onlookers—a sense of pride and belonging—in addition to the special tones and movements it produced with each passing hour of the night, thereby adding a spectacular dimension to the gathering.⁴⁶

The celebrations were also associated with the custom of honoring attendees with various kinds of foods and the finest, most delightful sweets. Regarding the mawlid, al-Tansī in *Nazm al-Durr* describes: “Then, at the end of the night, tables are brought in, like luminous circles and radiant gardens, containing a variety of excellent dishes of the kinds that souls desire and eyes deem worthy.”⁴⁷ Ibn Marzūq provides even more precise detail, stating: “It is customary to prepare for it with all kinds of foods and sweets, with various types of perfumes and incense, and to display adornments and embellish the gathering spaces. When we have prayed ... we head to his well-attended council; he then summons the people according to their rank ... food is called for and they partake in orderly fashion ... and all that remains of incense and candles—despite their abundance and plentiful number—is divided among the traveling poor according to their need.”⁴⁸

From these source texts we can discern multiple implications; The first implication lies in the reinforcement of the foundations of his authority by summoning all social groups, while simultaneously he himself oversaw their arrangement in full view of all those present. Among the important groups whose status was preserved and whose rank was elevated were the *ashrāf* (those claiming descent from the Prophet Muhammad); Yaḥyā ibn Khaldūn draws attention to this, saying: “He held in the courtyard of his exalted residence a noble gathering and a magnificent celebration, for which the nations gathered and the *ashrāf* assembled.”⁴⁹ Preserving the standing of the *ashrāf* and showing them esteem was of paramount importance for reinforcing the foundations of authority in a society that believed in the sacred; the ruler derived legitimacy and a sense of sanctity from them, just as they derived their status from the connection of their lineage to the Messenger Muhammad. The other implication lies in burnishing the ruler’s image in the eyes of the populace, through his personal attention to the ceremonial arrangements and his generosity that encompassed everyone—presenting him to those in attendance as the serving and benevolent sultan to his subjects. Moreover, the source draws attention to the aesthetic quality of the assembly and the care given to the smallest details, intended to impart majesty and grandeur to his court—an essential element for a ruler to manifest distinction and to calibrate the distances and boundaries between himself and his subjects.⁵⁰

b. The Two Feasts (al-‘Īdayn)

The feasts of *Fiṭr* and *Aḍḥā* are among the most significant religious occasions prescribed by Islamic law (*sharī‘ah*). As is well known, ‘Īd al-*Fiṭr* is celebrated after Muslims

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complete the fast of the month of Ramadan, while ‘Īd al-Aḏḥā follows the Abrahamic tradition of sacrificing animals. In keeping with the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, Muslims have customs and rituals for observing these two occasions that vary from one geographical or tribal region to another; nevertheless, they all agree on the underlying structure of the occasion, characterized by mutual forgiveness, exchanging greetings, and abundant charity. Given that most political entities in Islamic lands were governed on a theocratic basis, the authorities took an interest in these two feasts—both with the aim of observing them in compliance with the tenets of the sharī‘ah, and because a careful observer of the ceremonies employed in them will discern a clear exploitation by political authorities of their symbols and connotations in order to bolster their standing in the hearts of both the elite and the populace.

Accordingly, the Zayyanid princes followed the same path; sources indicate that the political authority took it upon itself to hold special processions in celebration of this occasion, particularly during the reign of Abū Ḥammū Mūsā I (1307–1318 AD).⁵¹ Although the details of this procession are not mentioned, the princes would proceed on the morning of the feast to the Bāb al-Qarmādīn gate⁵² in a grand procession to perform the feast prayer,⁵³ where those attending the prayer—of all ages—were present. While we lack descriptions to interpret this procession, the gathering of a vast multitude witnessing the ruler’s departure from his palace to perform the feast prayer is in itself a symbolic message conveying the extent of the rulers’ commitment to implementing the teachings of the sharī‘ah, thereby enriching his image from that of a political ruler to a pious Muslim imam. Ibn Khaldūn affirms this in his observation that the religious factor in politics increases the power of authority alongside the element of group solidarity (‘aṣabiyyah).⁵⁴

After the feast prayer and its sermon, the Zayyanid prince did not receive congratulations and well-wishes in the same space, which had now become sacred—as the Moroccan researcher Nūr al-Dīn al-Zāhī explains: “The affiliation of a space with the sphere of the sacred begins immediately after the sacred descends upon it; by virtue of this, it moves from the realm of chaos to the realm of order.”⁵⁵ Instead, he would proceed to the seat of government to receive his retinue within the palace for congratulations and well-wishes;⁵⁶ thereby, the palace itself acquired that sanctity and aura, a duality forged by the authority in linking the performance of a ritual with its location within the seat of government. Thus, the religious and the worldly intertwined, with the ultimate aim of viewing the space through the lens of the sacred.⁵⁷

After the retinue had offered their congratulations to the Zayyanid prince, the symbolic act of honoring them with a lavish banquet within the palace followed. This act revolves around the notion that the communal meal reminds all present of shared origins; in this context, those origins are grounded in Islamic reference points. It also contributes to fostering a spirit of social solidarity and strengthening social bonds among those present—particularly within the organic structure of the authority—thereby establishing a common identity and a sense of belonging.⁵⁸

Regarding the occasion of ‘Īd al-Aḏḥā, the Zayyanid princes observed this occasion with ceremonies similar to those followed for ‘Īd al-Fiṭr, with the exception of the particularities

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specific to the occasion. In compliance with the Abrahamic tradition, the Zayyanid prince would personally sacrifice the animal (al-uḏḥiyah) before his close associates and the general public; the animal would then be paraded before everyone's eyes, placed upon a beast of burden and carried through the alleys of the city, with the ruler accompanying it in a joyous procession—thus obviating the need to receive the general public in the palace, as congratulations remained limited to the officials of the authority, similar to the practice during 'Īd al-Fitr.⁵⁹

Consequently, the anthropological interpretation of the Zayyanid prince's ritual of sacrificing the animal and displaying it to all—whether by inviting them to the place of sacrifice or by parading it through the streets of Tlemcen—calls to mind the formulation of Émile Durkheim regarding sacrifice: “It is not performed for the sake of the sacrifice itself or for consumption, but in order to bring living elements out of their biological organicity so that they may become sacred nourishment.”⁶⁰ It appears that scholars of Islamic mythology have offered various interpretations, some of which align with the nature of this event. The presence of the ruler before the public in conjunction with the sacrificial victim induces a kind of inversion in the collective consciousness, for the conditions of the sacrificial victim (uḏḥiyah) established by Prophetic tradition—which we consider as constituting the event itself, despite the silence of historical sources regarding the specific victims sacrificed by the Zayyanid princes—are transferred to the prince or imam in the Islamic understanding.⁶¹ Among the transferred conditions, which may be considered the most important, is the requirement that blood flow from the victim, signifying its purification from base blood. The symbolic substitution here is that this biological purification likewise serves as the foundation for consensus and the expulsion of opposing or dissenting elements.⁶² The sacrificial victim was sent to the Prophet Abraham to prevent the occurrence of human violence through the sacrifice of his son Ishmael; the presence of the Zayyanid prince at the moment of slaughter constitutes a symbolic substitution, reminding those present of the illegitimacy of discord that leads the community to ruin, and that the ruler is the sole mechanism for preventing it.⁶³

c. The Celebration of Completing the Qur'an (Khatm al-Qur'ān) and the Bequeathing of Religious Legitimacy

The Zayyanid authority in Tlemcen was accustomed to holding celebrations in the seat of government at the Mashwar palace on the occasion when the sons of the Zayyanid sultans completed the memorization of the Qur'an—that is, demonstrating their mastery of its final sūrah, Sūrat al-Baqarah. A survey of sources from this period reveals that they dwell at length on this celebration, its magnificence, and its recurrence from one ruler to the next; indeed, the ruler was careful to hold the celebration upon the completion of each of his sons, as did Sultan Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II when his son al-Nāṣir completed in 770 AH/1369 AD, and again when his other son Abū Zayyān completed in 776 AH/1375 AD.⁶⁴ Among the selected texts that masterfully describe every detail of the celebration is that provided by the state historian Yaḥyā ibn Khaldūn: “In the month of Rajab al-Fard, his blessed son, al-Mawlā al-As'ad Abū Zayyān Muḥammad—may God Almighty bless him—mastered Sūrat al-Baqarah; so God granted him victory, and in his joy he held a noble gathering and a magnificent celebration, to

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which he gathered the ashraf, those deserving of honor, the high and the low alike. Proclamation was made to the masters of song and music, the *ṭabar khānah* (kettledrummers), the *karīj* (possibly trumpeters), and others in the city; they gathered together and assembled at the courtyard of his noble abode, delighting the eyes and gladdening the ears. He—may God support him—deputized his son, the supreme prince Abū Tāshfīn—may God preserve him—to be present. Numerous food tables were brought, containing everything pleasing to the palate and delightful to the eye; so the people ate and praised God Almighty for what He had granted their master as a comfort to the eye in soul, wealth, and children. May God perpetuate his authority, make his time blessed, and on that day Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Qaysī al-Andalusī recited a poem.”⁶⁵

Based on this source text, the Zayyanid princes invested heavily and went to great lengths in celebrating this occasion: extending diverse invitations to all social groups to the seat of government, reciting poems, enjoying local and Andalusian melodies, and offering rich and appetizing meals. A closer examination of the components of this celebration reveals a symbolic load that parallels and equals the symbolic load we have derived from the previous religious occasions—the noble Prophet’s birthday and the two feasts—noting that the celebration of those occasions is fundamental and derived from the Qur’an and Prophetic tradition, whereas the celebration of completing the Qur’an (*khatm*) was a personal initiative of the Zayyanid princes. Consequently, the repetition of these symbolic images on a seasonal or exceptional basis, as in the case of this occasion, serves the authority in a general sense, for it symbolizes continuity and the renewal of its relationship with the populace, thereby affirming its place in the collective consciousness.⁶⁶

Moreover, there is another approach that may bring us closer to understanding the reality of this celebration and the vast expenditures made for it: these symbolic images would be perceived by the attending elite and populace as reflecting the extent of these rulers’ dedication, veneration, and care for all that is religious. The ruler appears in their eyes as the legitimate imam of the Muslims, the one who preserves and safeguards all that is sacred—in this case, “the noble Qur’an,” which their sons and heirs to the throne had committed to memory. Furthermore, these ceremonies do not serve only the incumbent ruler at that moment; they simultaneously craft and polish the image of the coming ruler, with the aim of consolidating the succession (*wilāyat al-‘ahd*) and bequeathing rule to them. Their sons’ completion of the Qur’an is but an affirmation of their intelligence, piety, and deep understanding of religion, which enriches their store of legitimacy among the populace once they assume power after their father. Thus, by their custom of celebrating the *khatm*, the Zayyanid princes bequeathed religious legitimacy to their sons before bequeathing to them the governance after their passing. This is precisely what Machiavelli affirmed regarding religion: it is “necessary for the prince, not for the sake of virtue, but for the sake of greater control”; Max Weber elaborates further, describing it as “a form of collective or communal action, a system for organizing life and unifying the group.”⁶⁷

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4. Religious Occasions and the Authority's Sufficiency in Framing Them

a. The Month of Ramadan: An Occasion for Deepening Religious Sentiment

The month of Ramadan is among the religious rites (*sha'ā'ir*) that God commanded His servants to observe; it entails for the Muslim individual a set of obligations and prohibitions. During this month, Muslims are diligent in fasting from its beginning to its end, from the break of dawn until sunset; and in this month, acts of charity increase, relatives are visited, and the *tarāwīh* prayers are performed.

Given that the Zayyanid state was an Islamic polity, it bore religious duties towards its subjects on this occasion, as stipulated by the *sharī'ah*;⁶⁸ this is something that medieval sources mention, for the Zayyanid princes undertook a kind of material and moral framing of this occasion. They tended to the mosques, restoring them and adorning them with candles and lanterns, and perfuming them with various kinds of incense, agarwood (*ūd*), and ambergris (*'anbar*);⁶⁹ indeed, Jews and Christians would even participate in bringing these items to the mosques seeking blessing, which attests to the religious tolerance that characterized Zayyanid society.⁷⁰ The arrival of the month and its conclusion were announced through the mosque imams,⁷¹ in addition to the declaration of the times for beginning the fast (*imsāk*) and breaking it (*iftār*) by blowing the horn (*naḡīr*),⁷² or by beating the *ṭāz* (a type of drum) and playing the *shabbābah* (a kind of flute); often, the authority would entrust this task to the mosque muezzins.⁷³

The Zayyanid princes were known to go to the Great Mosque of Tlemcen to perform the *tarāwīh* prayers and to hold special gatherings for the recitation of the Qur'an, using their own copy of the *muṣḥaf* (codex) of Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān;⁷⁴ they also showed particular attention to the twenty-seventh night of this month, as al-Tādli mentions: "The greatest night in this month is the twenty-seventh night thereof."⁷⁵ This is the night on which the Qur'an was revealed, as mentioned in Sūrat al-Qadr. Thus, it appears that on this occasion, the Zayyanid authority did not celebrate with its own processions; rather, its function was limited to monitoring, framing, and directing the populace in a manner that achieved the spiritual and social goals of the month of Ramadan.

b. The Friday Prayer (*Ṣalāt al-Jumu'ah*)

Islam accorded special sanctity to the day of Friday and its prayer; Prophetic tradition encouraged certain practices such as bathing, applying perfume, and going early to perform the prayer. The attention given to this day stems from the belief that it is the day on which our master Adam was created, the spirit was created, he was made to dwell in paradise, and after his transgression he was sent down to earth—and it was on this day that his repentance was accepted. Among the practices to which Zayyanid society was accustomed was the collective recitation of the Qur'an in mosques on this day, along with the study of a *ḥizb* (a portion) of it—a practice that was among the enduring legacies of the former Almohad state, which the populace preserved—in addition to visiting relatives after performing the prayer.⁷⁶

As for the presence of the Zayyanid princes on this weekly occasion, medieval sources indicate that they made a point of attending the Friday prayer; indeed, some writings suggest that some of them would not appear before the populace during the week except on the

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occasion of the Friday prayer!⁷⁷ Regarding the image that the Zayyanid authority wished to project on this occasion, it involved their choosing the Great Mosque to perform the prayer and their taking upon themselves the care for it through restoration and beautification works;⁷⁸ this was done to venerate the houses of God and so that they might be “prepared for the public prayers,” in the words of Ibn Khaldūn.⁷⁹

Among the ceremonies adopted by the Zayyanid princes was their instruction to the mosque imams to invoke blessings upon them from the pulpits (*manābir*). They also constructed for themselves a special place within the mosque to perform the prayer, known as the *maqṣūrah* (enclosed prayer niche).⁸⁰ This practice dates back to the era of Caliph ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān, and its geometric and aesthetic form developed during the Umayyad period under Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān. However, Islamic jurists differed regarding its legitimacy; for, although its initial purpose was to protect rulers from assassinations and treacherous attacks that might befall them during prayer, jurists found in it a source of separation between the rows of worshippers.⁸¹ Moreover, its symbolic conception was associated with sanctification, majesty, and privacy—maintaining a barrier of grandeur and exalted status—all symbols that served the image of the Zayyanid ruler or sultan.

Conclusion

At the conclusion of this academic paper, we have arrived at the following findings:

- One who follows the religious, political, and military processions that the Zayyanids held will clearly discern that certain ceremonies recurred at every celebration, regardless of its nature: mechanisms of engagement such as gunpowder volleys; the creation of awe and dominance through the display of the army’s strength, numbers, and accoutrements, along with gunpowder volleys; and the manifestation of distinction, difference, and distance between the ruler and the ruled through material and aesthetic disparities.
- The Zayyanid princes excelled in diversifying the mechanisms of engagement that summoned the crowds and created spectacle. We find that the gunpowder volleys discharged by the horsemen accompanied all the Zayyanid princes in their celebrations, particularly the political and military ones; in addition, there was the silver tree with its birds producing various sounds, which distinguished Sultan Abū Tāshfīn I (1318–1337 AD), as well as the *manjānah* clock, which was associated with the *mawlid* celebrations, especially during the reign of Abū Ḥammū Mūsā II.
- We may not agree with Ibn Khaldūn’s description concerning the Bedouinism (*badāwah*) of the Zayyanid rulers; for, by tracing the most important official occasions of the authority, we find that the Zayyanid princes exhibited significant ceremonies and implicit symbols in their celebrations. This renders Ibn Khaldūn’s description relative and not reflective of the reality of celebrations within the Zayyanid authority. It seems that his characterization of them in his statement—“Bedouinism and the absence of urban institutions (*al-khiṭaṭ*)”—was based on a comparison with the neighboring political entities (the Ḥafṣid and Marinid states), which he considered more elaborate and spectacular. We

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attribute this primarily to the state of instability that the authority experienced throughout its existence.

- It becomes evident that the Zayyanid authority in the central Maghrib exploited the religious factor through their attention to religious occasions—holding celebrations for them and enriching their symbolic repertoire. This is manifested in the existence of shared ceremonial structures among them, exemplified by the ruler’s care to appear in public, the attraction of all social groups to the seat of government, thereby enabling the authority to bolster its legitimacy by focusing on religious contexts: imbuing the pillars of authority with a spirit of sanctity, reminding [the public] of shared origins and reinforcing bonds, and consolidating the perspective of the Caliph of the Muslims. Moreover, they did not neglect to rely on other symbolic ceremonies on the same occasions by adopting a strategy of majesty and deepening influence, wherein they sought to manifest the dominance of authority arising from grandeur, strength, and majesty—even though this was pursued without concentrated focus on a single goal, and they reinforced it by drawing upon political and military occasions.
- Military processions were characterized by dense ceremonies and were marked by multiplicity and continuity throughout Zayyanid rule, resulting in a richness of their symbolic load compared to other occasions. Through these military reviews, the authority targeted political violence, displaying elements of majesty, strength, and severity with the aim of consolidating its legitimacy, justifying its existence, and quelling any form of opposition.

Footnotes

¹ Yaghmurasan ibn Zayān: He is Yaghmurasan ibn Zayān ibn Thābit ibn Muḥammad al-‘Abd al-Wādī; born in 603 AH/1206 AD; his reign lasted 44 years and 5 months; he is considered the true founder of the Zayyanid state; he died in Wādī al-Shalif in 681 AH/1282 AD and was buried in Tlemcen. For more, see: Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Zayyāniyah bi-Tilimsān*, ed. Hānī Salāmah, Egypt, Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīniyah, 1st ed., 2001, p. 59.

² ‘Ammūr ‘Ammār, *Mūjaz fī Tārīkh al-Jazā’ir*, Algeria, Dār Rayḥānah, 1st ed., 2002, pp. 79–84.

³ Bilāl Walad al-‘Arabī & Qaddūr Wahrānī, “Marātib wa Taqālid Niẓām al-Ḥukm al-Siyāsī wa al-Dīnī fī al-‘Ahd al-Zayyānī,” *Majallat al-Ḥiwār al-Mutawassiṭī*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2020, p. 195.

⁴ Among academic studies, we mention: Suhaylah Dahmash, “Al-‘Ādāt al-Iḥtifāliyyah: Musāhamah fī al-Tārīkh al-Dīnī wa al-Ijtimā’ī li-l-Maghrib al-Awsaṭ al-Zayyānī (633–962 AH/1235–1555 AD),” supplementary dissertation for the Master’s degree in History, 2016.

⁵ Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Zayyāniyah...*, pp. 49–50.

⁶ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, Vol. 1, ed. ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Darwīsh, Damascus, Dār Ya’rub, 1st ed., 2004, p. 425.

⁷ Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Tansī, *Tārīkh Banī Zayān Mulūk Tilimsān: Muqtataf min Kitāb Naẓm al-Durr wa al-‘Iqān fī Bayān Sharaf Banī Zayān*, ed. Maḥmūd Āghā Bū‘ayyād, Algeria, Muwaffam lil-Nashr, 2011, p. 115.

⁸ Yaḥyā ibn Khaldūn, *Bughyat al-Ruwwād fī Dhikr al-Mulūk min Banī ‘Abd al-Wād*, ed. Būzyānī al-Darrājī, Vol. 1, Imprimerie Pierre Fontana [Sharafiyah], Algeria, n.d., 1903, p. 111.

⁹ Moncef Taieb, “Pouvoir et représentations: Réflexions sur les fondements culturels du pouvoir politique dans la Tunisie moderne,” Tunis, Faculté des Lettres, des Arts et des Humanités, La Manouba, 2011, p. 54.

¹⁰ Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad ibn Ramaḍān Shāwash, *Bāqat al-Sūsān fī al-Ta’rīf bi-Ḥāḍirat Tilimsān ‘Āšimat Dawlat Banī Zayān*, Vol. 1, Dīwān al-Maṭbū‘āt al-Jāmi‘iyah, 2011, p. 74.



- ¹¹ 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Faylālī, *Tilimsān fī al-'Ahd al-Zayyānī: Dirāsah Siyāsīyyah, 'Umrāniyyah, Ijtimā'īyyah, Thaḡāfiyyah*, Vol. 1, Algeria, Muwaffam lil-Nashr, 2011, p. 286.
- ¹² Al-Faylālī, *Tilimsān...*, Vol. 1, pp. 55, 286.
- ¹³ Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā ibn Khaldūn, *Bughyat al-Ruwwād fī Dhikr al-Mulūk min Banī 'Abd al-Wād*, ed. Būzyānī al-Darrājī, Vol. 2, Algeria, Dār al-Amal lil-Dirāsāt wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzī', 2007, Vol. 2, pp. 49, 40.
- ¹⁴ Abū Zakariyā', *Bughyat al-Ruwwād...*, Vol. 2, p. 50.
- ¹⁵ Al-Faylālī, *Tilimsān...*, Vol. 1, p. 55.
- ¹⁶ Abū Zakariyā', *Bughyat al-Ruwwād...*, Vol. 2, p. 382.
- ¹⁷ 'Abd Allāh Ḥammūdī, *Al-Shaykh wa al-Murīd: Al-Nasaq al-Thaḡāfī li-l-Sulṭah fī al-Mujtama'āt al-'Arabiyyah al-Ḥadīthah, yalīhi Maqāl fī al-Naqd wa al-Ta'wīl*, trans. 'Abd al-Majīd Jaḥfah, Morocco, Dār Tūbqāl lil-Nashr, 4th ed., 2010, p. 25.
- ¹⁸ Ḥammūdī, *Al-Shaykh wa al-Murīd...*, p. 64.
- ¹⁹ Ḥammūdī, *Al-Shaykh wa al-Murīd...*, pp. 47, 25.
- ²⁰ Khadījah Dūbālī, "Al-'Alāqāt al-Ijtimā'īyyah bayn al-Ra'īyyah wa al-Sulṭah fī Bāylik al-Tītrī Awākhīr al-'Ahd al-'Uthmānī min Khilāl al-Wathā'iq," *Majallat al-Ḥiwār al-Mutawassīṭī*, No. 3–4, p. 13.
- ²¹ Sa'īd Shuraydī, "Dawr al-Mashyakhāt fī Taf'īl Sulṭat al-Dawlah fī al-Jazā'ir khilāl al-Fatrah al-'Uthmāniyyah (Q 16–19)," *Majallat Muntadā al-Ustādḥ*, No. 18, 2016, pp. 253, 255.
- ²² Fahīmah Būshībī & Būsa'd al-Ṭayyib, "Al-Tadbīr al-Siyāsī fī Kutub al-Ādāb al-Sulṭāniyyah li-l-Maghrib al-Awsaṭ – Wāsiṭat al-Sulūk li-Abī Ḥammū al-Zayyānī (723–791 AH/1323–1379 AD) Namūdhajan," *Majallat al-Buḥūth al-Tārīkhiyyah*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2024, p. 205.
- ²³ Abū Zakariyā', *Bughyat al-Ruwwād...*, Vol. 2, pp. 356–357.
- ²⁴ Anonymous author, *Zahr al-Bustān fī Dawlat Banī Zayān 760–764 AH/1359–1363 AD*, Vol. 2, Algeria, Al-Aṣālah lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzī', 2nd ed., 2012, pp. 66–67.
- ²⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, p. 211.
- ²⁶ Anonymous author, *Zahr al-Bustān...*, Vol. 2, p. 69.
- ²⁷ Fawzī Maṣmūdī, *Tilimsān bi-'Uyūn 'Arabiyyah*, Algeria, Dār al-Sabīl lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzī', 2011, pp. 90–91.
- ²⁸ Abū Ḥammū Mūsā al-Thānī, *Wāsiṭat al-Sulūk fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*, al-Maṭba'ah al-Dawliyyah al-Tūnisiyyah, Tunis, n.d., 1279 AH, p. 81.
- ²⁹ Fawzī Maṣmūdī, *Tilimsān bi-'Uyūn 'Arabiyyah*, pp. 90–91.
- ³⁰ Murād Jihdū Ṣūn, *Nuẓum al-Ḥukm wa al-Idārah fī al-Dawlah al-'Uthmāniyyah fī 'Ahd Murād Jihdū Ṣūn ay fī Awākhīr al-Qarn 18 wa Awā'il al-Qarn 19*, trans. Fayṣal Shaykh al-Arḍ, thesis presented to the Department of History at the American University of Beirut for the degree of Professor in Sciences, American University of Beirut, 1942, pp. 185–186.
- ³¹ Al-Faylālī, *Tilimsān...*, Vol. 1, p. 270.
- ³² Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā'iz wa al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa al-Āthār*, Vol. 2, Hay'at Quṣūr al-Thaḡāfah, Cairo, Egypt, 1996, p. 48.
- ³³ 'Abd al-Jalīl Shakrūn, Nuḥlat al-Labīb bi-Akḥbār al-Riḥlah ilā al-Ḥabīb li-Ibn 'Ammār Abī al-'Abbās Sayyidī Aḥmad: Dirāsah Taḥqīq, dissertation submitted for the doctorate in manuscript editing, Tlemcen, 2017, p. 77.
- ³⁴ Al-Faylālī, *Tilimsān...*, Vol. 1, pp. 275–276.
- ³⁵ Abū Ḥammū Mūsā al-Thānī, *Wāsiṭat al-Sulūk fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*, p. 01.
- ³⁶ Qaṣr al-Mashwar: The royal palace, the ruler's center, and the state's court; it was built by Yaghmurasan ibn Zayān, and Abū Ḥammū Mūsā I later added some facilities to it. For more, see: Abū Zakariyā' Yaḥyā ibn Khaldūn, *Bughyat al-Ruwwād...*, p. 101.
- ³⁷ Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Nafādat al-Jirāb fī 'Ulālat al-Ightirāb*, ed. al-Sa'diyyah Fāghiyah, Vol. 3, Morocco, Maṭba'at al-Najāh al-Jadīdah, 1989, pp. 277–278.
- ³⁸ Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī al-Tilimsānī, *Azhar al-Riyāḍ fī Akḥbār 'Iyāḍ*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Sīqā et al., Cairo, Maṭba'at Lajnat al-Ta'līf wa al-Tarjamah wa al-Nashr, 1939, p. 244.
- ³⁹ Al-Thaḡhrī 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, *Manāqib Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī Ṣāhib Miftāḥ al-Wuṣūl wa Manāqib Waladayhi*, ed. Qundūz ibn Muḥammad al-Māḥī, 1st ed., Algeria, Dār al-Wa'y, 2018, p. 196.
- ⁴⁰ 'Abd al-Mālik Murtāḍ, "Ḥarakat al-Shi'r al-Mawlidī fī Tilimsān 'alā 'Ahd Abī Ḥammū al-Thānī," November 1975, No. 26, p. 312.



- ⁴¹ Anonymous author, *Zahr al-Bustān...*, p. 56.
- ⁴² ‘Abd al-Mālik Murtād, “Ḥarakat al-Shi’r...” p. 314.
- ⁴³ Anonymous author, *Zahr al-Bustān...*, p. 115.
- ⁴⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah...*, p. 39.
- ⁴⁵ For more, see: Shāwash, *Bāqat al-Sūsān...*, Vol. 1, p. 90.
- ⁴⁶ Ghazālī ‘Abd al-‘Ālī, Naqqādī Sayyid Aḥmad, “Ḥaḍrat al-Iḥtifāl bi-al-Mawlid al-Nabawī al-Sharīf fī Tilimsān al-Zayyāniyyah – Muqārabah Tārīkhiyyah Anthrūbūlūjiyyah,” *Majallat Anthrūbūlūjiyyā al-Adyān*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2020, p. 38.
- ⁴⁷ Al-Tansī, *Naẓm al-Durr...*, p. 163.
- ⁴⁸ Ibn Marzūq Muḥammad, *Al-Musnad al-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Ḥasan fī Ma’āthir Mawlānā Abī al-Ḥasan*, ed. María Jesús Viguera, Algeria, *al-Sharikah al-Waṭaniyyah lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzī’*, Algeria, 1981, p. 154.
- ⁴⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah...*, p. 39.
- ⁵⁰ Muḥammad Jādūr, *Mu’assasat al-Makhzan fī Tārīkh al-Maghrib*, Casablanca, *Mu’assasat al-Malik ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Āl Sa’ūd lil-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyyah wa al-‘Ulūm al-Insāniyyah*, 2011, p. 199.
- ⁵¹ Shāwash, *Bāqat al-Sūsān...*, Vol. 1, p. 74.
- ⁵² Bāb al-Qarmādīn: one of the gates of Tlemcen, located in its northwest; it was considered the main defensive stronghold protecting the city’s entrance. The gate took its name from the tile (qarmīd) industry that was prevalent there, evidenced by the pottery and tile kilns. For more, see: Dahmash, *Al-‘Ādāt al-Iḥtifāliyyah...*, p. 22.
- ⁵³ Al-Faylālī, *Tilimsān...*, Vol. 1, pp. 271, 274.
- ⁵⁴ Muḥammad Aḥmad al-‘Īsawī & ‘Ābid Barāk al-Anṣārī, “Sharāt al-Mulk wa al-Wazā’if fī Dawlat Banī al-Zayān ‘Banī ‘Abd al-Wād’: Dirāsah Taḥlīliyyah (633–796/1236–1393 AD),” *Majallat al-Malawiyah lil-Dirāsāt al-Āthāriyyah wa al-Tārīkhiyyah*, Vol. 5, No. 13, August 2018, p. 7.
- ⁵⁵ Nūr al-Dīn al-Zāhī, *Al-Muqaddas al-Islāmī*, Morocco, *Dār Tūbqāl lil-Nashr*, 2005, pp. 32, 35.
- ⁵⁶ Al-Faylālī, *Tilimsān...*, Vol. 1, pp. 271, 274.
- ⁵⁷ Al-Zāhī, *Al-Muqaddas al-Islāmī...*, pp. 32, 35.
- ⁵⁸ Muṭarrif ‘Umar & Bin Ma’mar Būkhḍarah, “Al-A’yād wa al-Munāsabāt al-Iḥtifāliyyah fī al-Mujtama’ al-Jazā’irī bayn al-‘Ādāt al-Ijtimā’iyyah wa al-Mazāhir al-Farajawiyah: Dirāsah Anthrūbūlūjiyyah,” *Majallat al-‘Ulūm al-Insāniyyah wa al-Ijtimā’iyyah*, No. 52, 2019, p. 392.
- ⁵⁹ Al-Faylālī, *Tilimsān...*, Vol. 1, p. 274.
- ⁶⁰ Thiyaqah al-Ṣiddīq, *Al-Mumārasah al-Iḥtifāliyyah ladā al-Mujtama’āt al-Quṣūriyyah bi-al-Janūb al-Gharbī al-Jazā’irī – Ziyārat al-Raqqānī Namūdhajan*, dissertation for the doctorate in Sociology, Oran, Algeria, 2014, p. 127.
- ⁶¹ Al-Zāhī, *Al-Muqaddas al-Islāmī...*, p. 98.
- ⁶² Al-Zāhī, *Al-Muqaddas al-Islāmī...*, pp. 59–60.
- ⁶³ Al-Zāhī, *Al-Muqaddas al-Islāmī...*, p. 99.
- ⁶⁴ ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Faylālī, *Tilimsān...*, p. 287.
- ⁶⁵ Abū Zakarīyā’ Yaḥyā ibn Khaldūn, *Bughyat al-Ruwwād...*, pp. 550–551.
- ⁶⁶ Munṣif al-Tāyib (Moncef Taieb), “‘Awā’id ‘Īd al-Fiṭr fī ‘Ahd Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī wa ‘Alī Bāshā: al-Dalālāt al-Siyāsiyyah al-Ijtimā’iyyah wa al-Thaqāfiyyah,” *Al-Majallah al-Tārīkhiyyah al-Maghāribiyyah*, No. 74, 1994, pp. 53, 69.
- ⁶⁷ ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-‘Aṭarī, *Anthrūbūlūjiyyā al-Ḥajj al-Islāmī: min al-Tajribah al-Dīniyyah ilā al-Naqd al-Munfatih*, Morocco, *Manṣūrāt Bāb al-Ḥikmah*, 1st ed., 2021, pp. 61, 244.
- ⁶⁸ Khalīl Inālījīk (Halil İnalçık), *Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-‘Uthmāniyyah min al-Nushū’ ilā al-Inḥidār*, trans. Muḥammad M. al-Arnā’ūt, Lebanon, *Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī*, 1st ed., 2002, p. 106.
- ⁶⁹ Al-Faylālī, *Tilimsān...*, p. 270.
- ⁷⁰ Ibn al-Zayyāt Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā al-Tādli, *Al-Tashawwuf ilā Rijāl al-Taṣawwuf wa Akhbār Abī al-‘Abbās al-Sabtī*, ed. Aḥmad al-Tawfiq, Vol. 2, Rabat, *Manṣūrāt Kulliyat al-‘Ādāb wa al-‘Ulūm al-Insāniyyah*, 1997, p. 373.
- ⁷¹ Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Iḥāṭah fī Akhbār Gharnāṭah*, 2nd ed., ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ‘Inān, Cairo, *Maktabat al-Khānjī*, Vol. 1, p. 318.



⁷² A loud brass horn resembling a trumpet in shape, used to emit certain tones to announce the time for waking or for breaking the fast (*iftār*) during Ramadan. For more, see: Suhaylah Dahmash, *Al-‘Ādāt al-Iḥtifāliyyah...*, p. 19.

⁷³ Dahmash, *Al-‘Ādāt al-Iḥtifāliyyah...*, p. 19.

⁷⁴ ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Faylālī, *Tilimsān...*, p. 270.

⁷⁵ Ibn al-Zayyāt Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā al-Tādli, *Al-Tashawwuf ilā Rijāl...*, p. 344.

⁷⁶ Dahmash, *Al-‘Ādāt al-Iḥtifāliyyah...*, p. 46.

⁷⁷ Marmol Carvajal, *Ifrīqiyyā*, Vol. 2, trans. Muḥammad Ḥajjī et al., Rabat, Dār Nashr al-Ma‘rifah, 2nd ed., 1989, p. 301.

⁷⁸ Shāwash, *Bāqat al-Sūsān...*, Vol. 1, p. 79.

⁷⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah...*, Vol. 1, pp. 400, 455.

⁸⁰ ‘Adnān Muhandis, “Al-Tanzīm al-Masjidī wa Ishrā‘uhu al-Tafā‘ulī – Namādhij Māddiyyah,” *Majallat Mafāhīm lil-Dirāsāt al-Falsafiyyah wa al-Insāniyyah al-Mu‘ammiqah*, No. 7, 2020, p. 5.

⁸¹ Īmān Aḥmad ‘Ārif, “Al-Maqṣūrah fi al-‘Imārah al-Islāmiyyah al-Miṣriyyah: al-Taḥawwulāt wa al-Taṭawwurāt al-Tārīkhiyyah,” *Majallat al-Turāth wa al-Taṣmīm*, Vol. 5, No. 29, 2025, pp. 18–25.