

The Almohad Social-Political System or Hierarchy in the Reign of Ibn Tūmart

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Introduction

The Almohad dynasty (1130–1269), which was based on the religious and political movement of Ibn Tūmart (1091?–1130) dominated the Maghreb, Ifrīqiya, and al-Andalus. The doctrinal base of the movement was the Tawḥīd (belief in the unity of God), as a result its supporters were called the Muwaḥḥidūn i.e. the Almohads (believers in the doctrine of the Tawḥīd). Ibn Tūmart organized the Almohad hierarchy¹⁾ at the same time that he expanded the doctrine of the Tawḥīd, over a period of nine years, spreading it over Ījīlīz, where he was born, for three years, and for an additional six years over Tīnmallal. This expansion resulted in the toppling of the Almoravid dynasty and simultaneously, the grouping of all the Muwaḥḥidūn under his authority.

The importance of this organization has been stressed, but certain points remain obscure. Roger Le Tourneau cites two reasons for this²⁾, which are the unclear descriptions given in the documents and the contradictions among them. In addition, we can see another reason for the lack of clarity in past studies of this organization. Following the creation of the Almohad hierarchy by Ibn Tūmart, some organizations were disbanded, disappeared, or developed, and other organizations were added. In that way, the Almohad hierarchy, changing with the times, lasted until the end of the dynasty. Thus, we can acquire a correct knowledge of the character and functions of these organizations only by analyzing them in process from Ibn Tūmart's day to the end of the dynasty. Despite this necessity, past studies have not paid much attention to treating each organization according to period [J. F. P. Hopkins³⁾, R. Le Tourneau⁴⁾, Ch. A. Julien⁵⁾]. Even in those cases where they did, they neglected to analyze the transformation process from 'Abd al-Mu'min's (the first successor of Ibn Tūmart) day [Huici Miranda⁶⁾, Rachid Bourouiba⁷⁾, Henri Terrasse⁸⁾]. Furthermore, all past studies have lacked the analysis of the relationship between these organizations and the governmental structure.

I shall attempt to make up for such defects of past studies by adopting the following methods and purposes. Of the following two topics, I shall deal at this

time only with the first and will leave the study of the second until later, due to page limitations.

1. The Almohad hierarchy in Ibn Tūmart's day is regarded as an original model. The functions and the character of each organization in it will be analyzed and its relationship to the governmental structure will be studied.

2. The Almohads from 'Abd al-Mu'min's day are regarded as a developing model. The disbandments and disappearance of various organizations, the process of their changing functions and the character, and the foundations of new organizations will be analyzed and their relationship with the governmental structure will be considered.

The materials used in this paper are as follows:

Documents inédits; *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade, fragments inédits du "Legajo" 1919 du fonds arabe de l'Escorial*, Lévi-Provençal.

It was a critical edition of a manuscript, found in the Escorial library, in Spain, in 1924. It consists of three parts. The first part consists of the letters of Ibn Tūmart and 'Abd al-Mu'min (Kitāb al-Majmū'). The second is an abstract of an anonymous book called the Kitāb al-Ansāb (abbreviated as K. al-Ansāb). The third is the Ta'rikh al-Muwahhidīn al-Baydhaq (abbreviated as al-Baydhaq), the chronicle of al-Baydhaq, who served Ibn Tūmart and 'Abd al-Mu'min.

al-Qaṭṭān; Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, *Juz' min Kitāb Naẓm al-Jumān*, Tétouan, N.D
Ibn Ṣāhib; Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ṣalā, *al-Mann bi'l-Imāma*, Beirūt, 1964.

al-Mu'jib; 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu'jib fī Talkhiṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*.
Cairo, 1949.

al-Ḥulal; Anonymous, *al-Ḥulal al-Mawshīyya fī Dhikr al-Akhbār al-Marrākushiyya*.
Rabat, 1936.

al-Qirtās; Ibn Abī Zar', *al-Anīs al-Muṭrib Rawḍ al-Qirtās*, Upsaliae, 1843-46.

al-Bayān; Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī Akhbār al-Andalus wa'l-Maghrib*. Vol. 3 Tetouan, 1963.

al-Zarkashī; *Ta'rikh al-Dawlatayn al-Muwahhidīyya wa'l-Ḥafṣīyya*. Tunis, 1966.

al-'Umarī; *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amsār*. Cairo, 1924. The following abridged translation used in this paper *L'Afrique moins l'Égypte*, (tr.) M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris, 1927.

Ibn Khaldūn; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*. I-VII. Beirūt, 1966-61.

al-Athīr; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil fī al-Ta'rikh*. Vols., X, XI. Beirūt, 1966.

I The Almohad hierarchy in the reign of Ibn Tūmart

The organizations of the Almohad hierarchy are listed in the following three materials: the al-Qaṭṭān⁹⁾, the K. al-Ansāb¹⁰⁾, and the al-Ḥulal¹¹⁾ [table 1]. The al-Ḥulal is a copy of the al-Qaṭṭān. Thus, its contents are the same as those of the al-Qaṭṭān, though the former lacks the Ahl al-Qabā'il and mentions the al-Rumāt

Table 1. The Almohad hierarchy as presented in the materials

| ma- terials | al-Qaṭṭān | K. al-Ansāb | al-Ḥulal |
|----------------|-------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| | al-‘Ashara (Ahl al-Jamā‘a) | Ahl al-Dār | al-‘Ashara |
| | Ahl al-Khamsīn | Ahl al-Jamā‘a | Ahl al-Khamsīn |
| | Ahl al-Sab‘īn※a | Ahl al-Khamsīn | Ahl al-Sab‘īn※a |
| | al-Ṭalaba | Hargha | al-Ṭalaba |
| | al-Ḥuffāz | Ahl Tinmallal | al-Ḥuffāz |
| | Ahl al-Dār | Jadmīwa | Ahl al-Dār |
| | Hargha | Janfisa | Hargha |
| | Ahl Tinmallal | al-Qabā‘il | Ahl Tinmallal |
| | | Kūmiya | Jadmīwa |
| ※d | Jadmīwa | The Southern Haskūra (Haskūra al-Qibla) | ※d |
| | Janfisa | The Shady Haskūra (Haskūra al-Zill) | Janfisa |
| | Hintāta | The Southern Ṣanhāja (Ṣanhāja al-Qibla) | Hintāta |
| | Ahl al-Qabā‘il | The Shady Ṣanhāja (Ṣanhāja al-Zill) | al-Jund |
| | al-Jund | ‘Abid al-Makhzan | al-Ghuzāt and |
| | al-Ghirrāt ※b. (al-Ghuzāt) | Muḥtasibūn | al-Rumāt |
| | | al-Ghuzāt | |
| | | Sakkākūn | |
| | | al-Jund | |
| | | Mu‘adhdhinūn (al-Ṭalaba)※c | |
| | | al-Ḥuffāz | |
| | | Ahl al-Ḥizb | |
| | | al-Rumāt | |

- Notes.** ※a. The Ahl al-Sab‘īn are not taken into consideration because concrete materials on them cannot be found and the author (Ibn al-Qaṭṭān) doubts their existence.
 b. The reviewer, A.M. Makkī, mistakenly called them al-Ghirrāt, as I will show in analysis of the al-Ghuzāt.
 c. They are not regarded as an independent organization.
 d. The brace “[” shows the Almohad tribes.

and the al-Ghuzāt at the end of the hierarchy. The K. al-Ansāb contains some organizations which are not listed in the other two materials because it concerns the organizations found after Ibn Tūmart’s day. On the contrary, the al-Qaṭṭān is concerned with the organizations in Ibn Tūmart’s day as we can see from the membership of the al-‘Ashara and the Almohad tribes listed in the al-Qaṭṭān. For this reason, we will select the al-Qaṭṭān for our study, which is thought to be the closest to the original model.

II. The Almohad organizations

1. The al-‘Ashara (The ten), also called the al-Jamā‘a.

The members of the al-‘Ashara are diverse as Table 2 shows. The al-Mu‘jib listing differs considerably from those of the other materials. Such differences among the materials have not been studied in the past.¹²⁾ The differences of the members listed in the various materials, in accord with Table 2, are as follows:

1. The ten in the al-Qaṭṭān are the same as the ten in the K. al-Ansāb, except for ‘m’ and ‘n’.
2. The ten except for ‘f, who is not identified from the materials, became Ibn Tūmart’s confidants before he returned to Ījilliz from the East.
3. The existence of the ten is confirmed for Ibn Tūmart’s day. (Five of them died in the battle of al-Buḥayra.)
4. ‘m’ and ‘n’, which are listed as the eleventh, and the twelfth in the K. al-Ansāb, are not explained at all, as if they were added later. (The other ten are explained.) And they are identical with the members of the Ahl al-Dār.
5. The al-Qirtās, al-Ḥulal, and al-Zarkashī list some members whose identity is unclear (k, l, p, q, r, and s).
6. The al-Mu‘jib does not include the important person (b) and the influential persons (e, f, g, h, and j), who are listed in the other materials.
7. ‘o’, ‘a’, ‘d’, ‘i’, ‘v’, and ‘c’ listed in the al-Mu‘jib are verified to have lived after the seven years campaign (1139–46).
8. It is natural that ‘u’ lived in ‘Abd al-Mu‘min’s day according to his actions.
9. ‘X’’s actions show that he probably lived after ‘Abd al-Mu‘min’s day.
10. With the exception of the al-Mu‘jib, those who died in Ibn Tūmart’s day and those who lived in ‘Abd al-Mu‘min’s day are not divided in the materials.

We can conclude the following from the above-mentioned arrangements:

1. The “ten” in the al-Qaṭṭān were the first members of the al-‘Ashara.
2. The “ten” in the al-Mu‘jib were the members after ‘Abd al-Mu‘min was inaugurated as Ibn Tūmart’s successor (Khalifa).
3. The other members are thought to have existed in the periods between 1. and 2., or were displaced in the periods after 2., or are mistakenly listed in the materials.

It becomes clear that the first members of the al-‘Ashara in Ibn Tūmart’s day were the “ten” listed in the al-Qaṭṭān. Table 2, the al-Qirtās¹³⁾, and al-Athīr¹⁴⁾ show they were his first confidants and were most dependable.

What were the functions and the powers of the al-‘Ashara? Their powers were not strong in comparison with those of Ibn Tūmart because he held a dictatorship. But, they were thought to be very strong in comparison with other Muwaḥḥidūn.¹⁵⁾

What we can assess from the materials concerning their powers and functions

Table 2. The members of the al-'Ashara

| ma- teri- als mem- bers | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | Year of Death | Those who became confidants before Ibn Tūmart came back to Ījilliz from the East. | Other important matters |
|-------------------------------------|----|---|----|----|----------------|----------------|---|----------------------|---|---|
| | a | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | |
| b | 2 | 1 | 9 | 2 | 10 | 10 | | 1130 ^④ | ※ ^⑯ | Bay'a at Tinmallal ^⑳ The executor of the Tamyiz ^㉑ |
| c | 3 | | 4 | 6 | 4 | | 8 | 1153-54 ^⑤ | ※ ^⑰ | Bay'a at Tinmallal ^㉒ |
| d | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1144-45 ^⑥ | ※ ^⑱ | Bay'a at Tinmallal ^㉓ |
| e | 5 | | 3 | 5 | 3 ^① | 4 ^② | | 1130 ^⑦ | ※ ^⑲ | |
| f | 6 | | 5 | 8 | | | | 1130 ^⑧ | | His three brothers are representatives of the Jadmīwa tribe in the al-Khamsūn ^㉔ |
| g | 7 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 6 | | | 1130 ^⑨ | ※ ^㉒ | |
| h | 8 | | 7 | | 7 | 8 | | 1130 ^⑩ | ※ ^㉓ | |
| i | 9 | 6 | 10 | 3 | 9 | 3 | 4 | 1175-76 ^⑪ | ※ ^㉔ | |
| j | 10 | | 8 | | 8 | 9 | | 1132頃 ^⑫ | ※ ^㉕ | He survived the bat- tle of al-Buḥayra ^㉕ |
| k | | 5 | | | | | | | | |
| l | | 7 | | | | | | 1124-25 ^⑬ | | |
| m | | | 11 | | | | | | | A member of the Ahl al-Dār ^㉖ Bay'a at Tinmallal ^㉖ |
| n | | | 12 | | | | | 1134-35 ^⑭ | | A member of the Ahl al-Dār ^㉗ |
| o | | | | 7 | | | 1 | | | Bay'a at Tinmallal ^㉘ He was designated as the governor of Salé in 1146 ^㉘ |
| p | | | | 9 | | | | | | |
| q | | | | | 5 | 6 | | | | |
| r | | | | | | | 5 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|----|--|--|
| s | | | | | | | | 7 | | | |
| t | | | | | | | | | 5 | | One of the main confidants (Aṣḥab) of Ibn Tūmart ③⑤ |
| u | | | | | | | | | 6 | | He tried to have 'Abd al-Mu'min become the Khalifa ③⑥ |
| v | | | | | | | | | 7 | | Substitute ruler when 'Abd al-Mu'min was out of Marrakesh ③⑦ |
| w | | | | | | | | | 9 | | He was called Ibn Bījīt among Ahl al-Tīnmallal ③⑧ |
| x | | | | | | | | | 10 | | Initially, he distributed the Iqtā' to the Almohads ③⑨ |

- The names of the members are as follows

① 'Abd al-Mu'min, ② Abū Muḥammad al-Bashīr ③ Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il al-Hazrajī, ④ Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Ṣanhājī ('Umar Aṣṇāj), ⑤ Abū al-Rabī' Sulaymān b. (Makhlūf) al-Ḥadrī, ⑥ Abū 'Imrān Mūsā b. Tamārā (al-Jadmīwī) ⑦ Abū Yahyā Abū Bakr b. Yījīt (al-Hintātī), ⑧ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (al-Tīnmallī), ⑨ Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Yahyā (al-Hintātī), ⑩ 'Abd Allāh b. Malwiya (al-Zanātī), ⑪ al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, ⑫ Faqīh of Ifriqiya, ⑬ Abū Mūsā 'Isā b. Mūsā al-Ṣawdī, ⑭ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ghayghāṭī, ⑮ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Khadrī (al-Sharqī), ⑯ Abū 'Uthmān b. Yakhlūf, ⑰ Ismā'il b. Mūsā, ⑱ Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'il al-Harghī, ⑲ Abū Yahyā b. Makīth, ⑳ Yūsuf b. Sulaymān (al-Masakkālī), ㉑ 'Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān (al-Masakkālī), ㉒ Abū 'Imrān Mūsā b. 'Alī al-Darīr (al-Tīnmallī), ㉓ He is among Ahl al-Tīnmallal ㉔ Ayyūb al-Jadmīwī

- The materials and pages are as follows:

A. al-Qaṭṭān pp. 77–80, B. The testimony of a-Yasa' in the al-Qaṭṭān (p. 76), C. K. al-Ansāb. pp. 32–33, D. al-Qirtās p. 113, E. al-Ḥulal p. 88, F. al-Zarkashī p. 6, G. al-Mu'jib pp. 337–338.

- A blank space for the year of death indicates the date is unclear.

Notes

① He is called Ismā'il b. Makhlūf in the material. We can safely regard him as the same person as "e" because the name Makhlūf is very rare. (Documents inédits, p. 212 list Makhlūf Yallulī. That is the only mention of him in the following materials: Documents inédits, al-Ḥulal, and the al-Qirtās), ② Though the material calls him Ismā'il b. Makhlūf, he can be regarded as "e" for the same reason, ③ e.g. al-Qirtās p. 136, ④ K. al-Ansāb, p. 28, ⑤ al-Mu'jib, p. 233, ⑥ al-Baydhaq, p. 92, ⑦ K. al-Ansāb, p. 33, ⑧ K. al-Ansāb. p. 33, ⑨ K. al-Ansāb, p. 33, ⑩ K. al-Ansāb, p. 33, ⑪ Ibn Khaldūn, Histoire des Berbères (trad. De Slane), 1969, t. II. p. 285, ⑫ al-Baydhaq, p. 85, ⑬ al-Qaṭṭān p. 95, ⑭ al-Qaṭṭān, p. 212, ⑮ See the al-Baydhaq pp. 55–56 on his meeting Ibn Tūmart, ⑯ al-Baydhaq p. 59, ⑰ al-Baydhaq p. 70, ⑱ al-Baydhaq p. 64, ⑲ al-Baydhaq p. 70, ⑳ He payed homage (Bay'a) at Ījilliz. (K. al-'Ibar, VI. p. 469), ㉑ K. al-'Ibar, VI, p. 470, ㉒ al-Baydhaq, p. 71, ㉓ He took command in a war in the Ījilliz period. (al-Baydhaq p. 75), ㉔ al-Baydhaq p. 73, ㉕ al-Baydhaq p. 78, ㉖ al-Baydhaq p. 73, ㉗ al-Baydhaq p. 73, ㉘ K. al-Ansāb pp. 33–35, ㉙ al-Qaṭṭān pp. 121–122, ㉚ K. al-Ansāb p. 29, ㉛ al-Baydhaq p. 73, ㉜ K. al-Ansāb. p. 29, ㉝ al-Baydhaq p. 73, ㉞ al-Bayān, III, p. 21, ㉟ al-Mu'jib pp. 193–194, ㊱ al-Mu'jib p. 194, ㊲ al-Mu'jib p. 338. This was naturally after 1147, ㊳ al-Mu'jib p. 338, ㊴ al-Mu'jib p. 338.

are as follows. According to the al-Qaṭṭān, Ibn Tūmart's Wazīrs were the ten who were specially selected.¹⁶⁾ When they (the Muwaḥḥidūn) dealt with important issues, it was left to the al-'Ashara, while the others never took part.¹⁷⁾ It is well known that the Ḥafṣid dynasty (1228–1574), which became independent in Tunis at the end of the Almohad dynasty, succeeded to the Almohad hierarchy. According to al-'Umari, "the Ḥafṣid Qāḍī Abū al-Rūḥ 'Īsā al-Zawāwī said that at the meetings held by the Ṣulṭān, three persons took part in providing advice and making resolutions. If the commander in chief (Wazīr) is the (Almohad) chief shaykh, he sits with the Ṣulṭān. If not, he stands in front of them. The ten chief Shaykhs (including the above-stated three.) sat below. And the fifty personages held an inferior degree."¹⁸⁾ It is considered that these ten chief Shaykhs succeeded to the al-'Ashara of the Almohad period and the fifty succeeded to the al-Khamsūn, as will be related later. The ten chief Shaykhs succeeded to the al-'Ashara functions of Ibn Tūmart's day which include the resolution and execution of important political matters.

Judging from the descriptions that Ibn Tūmart, a little before he died, gave his directions to the al-Jamāma'a (al-'Ashara) concerning the problems of foods and expeditions¹⁹⁾, or his assembling of the al-Jamā'a (al-'Ashara) and the al-Khamsūn and his designation of 'Abd al-Mu'min as his successor²⁰⁾, we can see that the al-'Ashara were in a position where they received his instructions and orders directly.

Then al-Baydhaq reports that on the fourth expedition by Ibn Tūmart, 'Abd al-Mu'min (Table 2-a) commanded the Jadmīwa tribe, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl b. Yisallālī (c) led the Hargha tribe, 'Abd Allāh b. Ya'lā al-Zanātī (j) led the Janfisa tribe, and Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Yaḥyā al-Hintātī (i) led the Hintāta tribe.²¹⁾ Al-Bashīr (b) took command in the battle of al-Buḥayra, which was the biggest and the most important battle of Ibn Tūmart's day.²²⁾ In that way the members of the al-'Ashara were often the commanders in military expeditions.

According to the K. al-Ansāb, 'Abd al-Mu'min (a) received such privileges from Ibn Tūmart that he was called "The person of the time" (Ṣāḥib al-Waqt) and could ride a green horse. Abū al-Rabī' Sulaymān b. Makhlūf al-Ḥaḍramī (al-Ḥaḍrī) (e) wrote letters in the name of the Imām Mahdī (Ibn Tūmart). Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl b. Yisallālī al-Hazrajī (c) settled disturbances in the name of the Imām Mahdī. Abū 'Imrān Mūsā b. Tamārā (f) was the chief (Amīn) of the al-Jamā'a. And Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (h) was the leader of obligatory prayers.²³⁾ These facts tell us that they shared leadership in political matters under Ibn Tūmart and directed the Muwaḥḥidūn.

As far as we can discern from the few practical materials on the al-'Ashara, the al-'Ashara in Ibn Tūmart's day consisted the people who gave advice to Ibn Tūmart directly, who executed directions and orders from him on important political matters, and who were in command of an army.

2. Ahl al-Khamsīn (al-Khamsūn)

Ahl al-Khamsin means “fifty persons.” But, Table 3 shows that the number of the members is 41 according to the al-Qaṭṭān²⁴⁾, and a little more than 45 according to the K. al-Ansāb.²⁵⁾ R. Montagne²⁶⁾ and J. F. P. Hopkins²⁷⁾ conclude that the Ahl al-Khamsīn did not consist of 50 members exactly for reasons that are based in the traditional council of the Berber tribe (Ayt Arbaʿīn, which means “40 persons”) and that the real numbers of the Ayt Arbaʿīn are various, regardless of its name, “forty persons.” But from this explanation we cannot understand why the name of ‘Ahl al-Khamsīn’ (fifty persons) was used. Past studies neglected the relation between the number of the members and the name.²⁸⁾ What I consider on this problem is as follows. Firstly, it consisted of 50 members originally. The al-Qaṭṭān lists the members of the Ahl al-Khamsīn quoting Ibn Ṣāhib and says, “The number of their members is 40 or 41, according to the lists. Where are the rest of the fifty?”²⁹⁾ That shows that the al-Qaṭṭān considered the Ahl al-Khamsīn to have consisted of 50 members. Ibn Khaldūn also thought it consisted of 50 members.³⁰⁾ Here, the 50 members will be examined concretely. As Table 3 shows 8, 9, 10, 25, and 28 became Ibn Tūmart’s followers. 61 also is thought to have been a follower. That is why we could consider they were not listed in the al-Qaṭṭān. If they are parts of the Ahl al-Khamsīn, the number of its members is 47. Though the other three members are not identified, the number of the members originally is thought to have been 50.

Secondly, the number has a special meaning. Al-Baydhaq says about Ibn Tūmart’s ninth expedition, “The sinless man (Ibn Tūmart) said, ‘Over the Kīk (the hill to the south of the Marrakesh) is another Kīk, and even if seven Kīks were interposed, nothing could prevent our Yawm al-Khamīs (This expression literally means Thursday, but figuratively means “triumph”).’³¹⁾ “Lévi-Provençal explained the term “Yawm al-Khamīs”, quoting M. W. Marçais’s book. He cited the fact that Muslims in northern Africa use “5” (al-Khams) as “good news”, “fortune”, and “good thing.”³²⁾ According to al-Zarkashī, when ‘Abd al-Muʿmin occupied al-Mahdīya he named the year Sanat al-Akhmās (Akhmās is plural form of Khums [1/5]).³³⁾ H. R. Idris mentioned one of the reasons, which is the belief that the number “5” has good luck.³⁴⁾ That is why the special meaning of the number was one of the reasons for the name of the organization, “the fifty.”

We consider that the above-mentioned two reasons caused the name of the organization to be the Ahl al-Khamsīn.

Next, the functions and powers of the organization are studied. “Ibn Tūmart’s confidants, who advised him, are the Ahl al-Khamsīn,”³⁵⁾ says the al-Qaṭṭān, “al-Khamsūn are called by Ibn Tūmart to advise him on problems of not such great importance.”³⁶⁾ The al-Qirṭās states, “Ibn Tūmart designated the al-Khamsūn with the purpose of confirming his authority, providing him with advice and counsel, and keeping Muslims under their supervision.”³⁷⁾ These three descriptions show they were situated under the al-ʿAshara and in a position where they gave advice and conferred with Ibn Tūmart. My explanation previously

Table 3. The members of the Ahl al-Khamsīn

| ma- teri- als serial numbers | A | B | Year of death | Description in Ibn Tūmart's day | Description in Abd al-Mu'min's day and the time after that |
|--|---|---|------------------|--|---|
| 1 | ○ | ○ | | K. al-ansāb pp. 39, 40 | K. al-Ansāb p. 39 |
| 2 | ○ | | | | |
| 3 | ○ | | | | |
| 4 | ○ | ○ | | K. al-Ansāb pp. 38, 40 | K. al-Ansāb pp. 39, 102 |
| 5 | ○ | ○ | 1144-45 | | al-Baydhaq p. 88 |
| 6 | ○ | ○ | | | |
| 7 | | ○ | | | al-Baydhaq p. 110 |
| 8 | | ○ | | K. al-Ansāb pp. 28, 40 [Ⓢ] | al-Baydhaq p. 112 |
| 9 | | ○ | | K. al-Ansāb pp. 39, 40 [Ⓢ] | K. al-Ansāb p. 39 |
| 10 | | ○ | | K. al-Ansāb pp. 39, 40 [Ⓢ] | K. al-Ansāb p. 39 |
| 11 | ○ | ○ | | | al-Qaṭṭān p. 175, al-Mu'jib pp. 337~338 |
| 12 | ○ | ○ | | | |
| 13 | ○ | ○ | | | |
| 14 | ○ | ○ | | | |
| 15 | ○ | ○ | | | |
| 16 | ○ | | | | |
| 17 | ○ | | | | |
| 18 | ○ | | | | |
| 19 | ○ | | | | |
| 20 | ○ | | | | |
| 21 | ○ | ○ | | | |

| | | | | | |
|----|----|------------|---------|--|------------------------------------|
| 22 | ○ | ○ | | K. al-Ansāb p. 28 | |
| 23 | ○* | | | | |
| 24 | ○* | | | | |
| 25 | | ○ | | al-Qaṭṭān p. 81 [Ⓢ] | al-Baydhaq p. 93 |
| 26 | | ○ | | | al-Baydhaq p. 98, 111, 121, 126 |
| 27 | | ○ | 1154–55 | | al-Baydhaq p. 119 |
| 28 | | ○ | | al-Baydhaq p. 71 [Ⓢ] | |
| 29 | | ○ | | The description indicating an unclear period. al-Baydhaq p. 131 | |
| 30 | | ○ | | | |
| 31 | | ○ | | | |
| 32 | | ○ | | | |
| 33 | | ○ | | | |
| 34 | | ○ | | | |
| 35 | | ○ | | | |
| 36 | | ○ | | | |
| 37 | ○ | ○ | 1148–49 | al-Baydhaq p. 71 | al-Baydhaq p. 94, 108 |
| 38 | ○ | | | | |
| 39 | ○ | ○ | | | |
| 40 | | the plural | | | |
| 41 | ○ | ○ | 1130 | K. al-Ansāb p. 28 | |
| 42 | ○ | | | | |
| 43 | | ○ | | | |
| 44 | | ○ | | | |
| 45 | | ○ | | | |
| 46 | ○ | ○ | | | |
| 47 | ○ | ○ | | al-Baydhaq p. 72 | al-Baydhaq p. 85, 91, 104 |

| | | | | | |
|----|---|---|----------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| 48 | ○ | | | | |
| 49 | ○ | | | | |
| 50 | | ○ | | | |
| 51 | | ○ | | | |
| 52 | ○ | | | | |
| 53 | | ○ | | | |
| 54 | ○ | ○ | | | |
| 55 | ○ | ○ | | K. al-Ansāb p. 36 | |
| 56 | ○ | ○ | | | al-Baydhaq p. 112 |
| 57 | | ○ | | | |
| 58 | ○ | ○ | | | al-Baydhaq p. 108, 110 |
| 59 | ○ | ○ | | | |
| 60 | ○ | | | | |
| 61 | | ○ | | | al-Baydhaq p. 86 [Ⓢ] |
| 62 | ○ | | | | |
| 63 | ○ | | | | |
| 64 | ○ | | | | |
| 65 | ○ | | | | |
| 66 | ○ | | | al-Muʿjib p. 310 | |
| 67 | | ○ | | | al-Baydhaq p. 109, 111 |
| 68 | | ○ | | | al-Baydhaq p. 93, 99 |
| 69 | | ○ | ca. 1171 | | al-Baydhaq p. 108, 111, 126 |
| 70 | | ○ | 1151–52 | | al-Baydhaq p. 114 |
| 71 | | ○ | | | |
| 72 | | ○ | | | |
| 73 | | ○ | | | |
| 74 | | ○ | | | |

| | | | | | |
|----|--|------------|--|--|--|
| 75 | | ○ | | | |
| 76 | | the plural | | | |

Notes.

- The members belonged to the following tribes
 - ①~⑩ Hargha ⑪~⑳ Ahl al-Tīnmallal
 - ㉑~㉒ Hintāta ㉓~㉔ Jadmiwa
 - ㉕~㉖ Janfisa ㉗~㉘ al-Qabā'il (tribes)
 - ㉙~㉚ Haskūra ㉛~㉜ Ṣanhāja
 - ㉝~㉞ al-Ghurabā' (foreigners), The members (㉟~㊱) are those who joined after the Tamyiz.
 - A. The al-Qaṭṭān pp. 30~32 B. K. al-Ansāb pp. 33~35
 - The mark "※" means the members can not be identified. Because while al-Qaṭṭān says that 14 members are listed from among Ahl al-Tīnmallal, he actually shows only the name of 12 members (nos. 11-22).
 - The mark "○" means the members are listed in the materials.
 - There are so many members that only important members are mentioned as follows:
 - ⑧ Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-Dara'i, ⑨ Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-Hazmīrī, ⑩ Abū 'Isā al-Jazūlī ㉕ Abū al-Ḥasan Yūjūt b. Wajjāj ㉗ Abū 'Abd al-Salām Yaṣlātan ㉟ Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Nāṣir
 - ㉟ He accompanied Ibn Tūmart when the Almohads moved Ījilliz to Tīnmallal.
 - ㊱ He fought as a soldier of the Almohad army and was captured by the Almoravid troops in the beginning of the Ījilliz period
 - ㊲ He met Ibn Tūmart on the latter's return from Marrakesh to Ījilliz.
 - ㊳ He was designated as a governor of the Ṣanhāja tribe immediately after 'Abd al-Mu'min was inaugurated as khalifa.
- The total numbers of members from each tribe are as follows:

| tribes \ materials | A | B |
|-----------------------------------|----|--------------|
| Hargha | 6 | 8 |
| Ahl al-Tīnmallal | 14 | 19 |
| Hintāta | 3 | more than 2 |
| Jadmiwa | 2 | 4 |
| Janfisa | 4 | 4 |
| al-Qabā'il (tribes) | 1 | 1 |
| Haskūra | 3 | 4 |
| Ṣanhāja | 3 | 3 |
| al-Ghurabā' (foreigners) | 5 | |
| total | 41 | more than 45 |
| Those who joined after the Tamyiz | | more than 9 |

concerning the al-Khamsūn in the section on the al-‘Ashara at the time of the Ḥafṣid dynasty, according to al-‘Umari, when the Ṣultān held conferences, and the “fifty” (successors of the al-Khamsūn of the Almohad period) attended below the ten chief Shaykhs (successors of al-‘Ashara), represents the character of their position under the al-‘Ahsara.

It is clear that the organization was based on the Ayt Arba‘īn. “The term, Ayt Arba‘īn, is widely found among Berber groups throughout the Magrheb. (Some lines are omitted.) The Ayt Arba‘īn may have originally been a body composed of four groups of ten members each, representing the members of the whole tribe.”³⁸⁾ R. Montagne says, “It (the Ayt Arba‘īn) discusses, endlessly all the problems of local current affairs: the state of the footpaths and of the irrigation ditches; the right time for the nut harvest or for harvesting proper, or else for the departure to new pastures; external policies, relations with neighboring republics, and above all else, the question of the arbitration of disputes between citizens of the republic and the punishment of crimes and offences.”³⁹⁾ And al-Athīr reports, “The Ayt Khamsūn; i.e., the Ahl al-Khamsūn was a group of leaders of the tribes.”⁴⁰⁾ These materials allow us to understand that the members were basically selected from the elite classes of the tribes, and that in spite of having less power than Ayt Arba‘īn, they mediated between Ibn Tūmart and the people; that is, they issued Ibn Tūmart’s directions and orders to the people, and reported the people’s wishes and requests to Ibn Tūmart as representatives of the tribes.

3. The Ṭalaba (plural form of Ṭālib)

What we study first concerning the Ṭalaba in Ibn Tūmart’s day are as follows. 1. The Ṭalaba and the Ḥuffāz (plural form of Ḥāfiẓ) played a religious role in the whole hierarchy in the al-Qaṭṭān. 2. Ibn Tūmart wrote his books in the Berber language and made efforts to spread his thought to the people. With that purpose, he made his followers memorize his books and made some of them instruct his thought.⁴¹⁾ Those who deeply understood his thought were dispatched to other tribes.⁴²⁾ Considering the importance of spreading his thought at this time, special groups engaged in such activity must have been formed. 3. The meaning of the terms Ṭalaba, and Ḥuffāz were “students”, and “those who recite the Koran” respectively. They would seem to have been appropriate vehicles for the above-mentioned tasks.

What do the concrete materials have to say on this? Al-Baydhaq reports, “Ṭalaba al-Muwaḥḥidīn were sent to the Almohad tribes in 520 (1126–27). Abū[Mūsā] b. Tawīmaj of the Ṭalaba was dispatched to the people of Tīfnawt, Abū Muḥammad, ‘Aṭīya al-Manjaṣī to the Ghujdāma tribe, and the other blessed Ṭalaba (to the some tribes) . . .”⁴³⁾ This Ṭalaba must have been the first one. Considering the importance of spreading his ideas and of reforming morality and convention, they must have owed the duty of carrying it out. They stayed with the tribes to indoctrinate and lead them. Al-Baydhaq reports on this subject that when Ibn Tūmart convened the Almohads a little after the battle of al-Buḥayra, “The

Ṭalaba of the Janfisa tribe were absent on that day. The Janfisa people searched for them until the end of the reviewing the Hargha tribe, but they were not found."⁴⁴⁾ Those Ṭalaba must have been dispatched to spread the thought and to reform the morality and convention of the tribes and stayed there. When the Almohads lost the battle of al-Buḥayra and escaped to Tīnmallal, "‘Abd al-Mū’min fled to the district of the Haylāna tribe with the Ṭalaba of Aghmāt."⁴⁵⁾ This Ṭalaba must have been of the same type as the one above. These facts allow us to conclude that the Ṭalaba in Ibn Tūmart’s day must have had the same functions as missionaries.

4. The Ḥuffāz (plural form of Ḥāfiẓ)

Concrete descriptions of the Ḥuffāz in Ibn Tūmart’s day cannot be found. But, the Ḥuffāz can be considered juveniles studying to be Ṭalaba, because the al-Qaṭṭān, which reports dependably on the situation of that time, asserts that the Ḥuffāz constituted an independent organization and were young Ṭalaba.⁴⁶⁾ It is clear that they played a religious role like the Ṭalaba.

5. The Ahl al-Dār

The Table 4 shows that k, m, p, and t, who belonged to the Hargha tribe, and q, r, and s, who were Ibn Tūmart’s brothers, should be considered as Ibn Tūmart’s followers. But, the al-Qaṭṭān fails to list their names. According to past studies, Ibn Tūmart’s brothers and the Hargha people formed the main members of the Ahl al-Dār, or had a close relation with it.⁴⁷⁾ We can affirm that according to the K. al-Ansāb, but not according to the al-Qaṭṭān. It can be seen that there are differences in the character of the materials. The differences are that the members listed in the al-Qaṭṭān are those of Ibn Tūmart’s day, while the K. al-Ansāb includes the members both of Ibn Tūmart’s day and of ‘Abd al-Mu’min’s period. Judging from the character of the Ahl al-Dār’s functions (which will be related later.) in Ibn Tūmart’s day, it is very difficult to think that they served ‘Abd al-Mu’min as they did in Ibn Tūmart’s time. Therefore, they must have lost most of their actual functions and character upon Ibn Tūmart’s death. The members primarily came to consist of Ibn Tūmart’s brothers and family after his death. This indicates the respect shown to Ibn Tūmart by treating them courteously as Ahl al-Dār al-Imām al-Mahdī⁴⁸⁾ (the members of the family of al-Imām al-Mahdī). The reason that “a”, and “d” are duplicated in the al-‘Ashara and “i” is duplicated in the al-Khamsūn, may be that they entered these organizations after Ibn Tūmart’s death.

Next, their functions and power are considered. The al-Qaṭṭān reports that, Ibn Šāḥib al-Salā said, “Ibn Tūmart had men who served him in his house. They were called Ahl al-Dār from among his Aṣḥāb, because they served him night and day. He made them devote themselves to him very arduously.”⁴⁹⁾ It also reports that when he died, no one but the Ahl al-Dār, his sisters, and his main confidants knew of his death.⁵⁰⁾ These facts show they were his private chamberlains. The

Table 4. The members of the Ahl al-Dār

| serial numbers | materials | | A | B | Year of death | Other matters |
|----------------|---|--|---|----|---|---|
| | The members of Ahl al-Dār | | | | | |
| a | 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Umar (al-Sharqī) | | 1 | 1 | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He met Ibn Tūmart in Mellāla ⑤ • The guard of Ibn Tūmart ⑥ • The fourth in order of the Bay'a to Ibn Tūmart after the Hijra to Tinmallal ⑦ • A member of the al-'Ashara ⑧ |
| b | Abū Muhammad Wasnār b. Muḥammad | | 2 | 2 | At the beginning of the Khalifa Abū Ya 'qūb's reign (1184-99) ① | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He devoted himself to the service of Ibn Tūmart ⑨ • The eighth in order of the Bay'a to Ibn Tūmart after the Hijra to Tinmallal ⑩ • He rescued Ibn Tūmart on his seventh expedition ⑪ • One of the five persons who entered Ibn Tūmart's house immediately before his death. He announced Ibn Tūmart's will to the people. ⑫ |
| c | Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz (al-Ghayghā'i) | | 3 | 5 | 1134-35 ② | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He devoted himself to the service of Ibn Tūmart ⑬ • A member of the al-'Ashara ⑭ |
| d | Abū Mūsā 'Isā (b. Mūsā al-Khulārī) (al-Ṣawdī) | | 4 | 12 | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He devoted himself to service of Ibn Tūmart ⑮ • The sixth in order of the Bay'a to Ibn Tūmart after the Hijra to Tinmallal ⑯ • One of the al-'Ashara ⑰ |
| e | 'Abd al-Karīm | | 5 | 10 | | |
| f | Ya'qūb Afghū (al-Ṣawdī) | | 6 | 3 | | |
| g | Abū Zayd Tawalwā | | | 4 | | |
| h | Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Jamī | | | 6 | | |
| i | Abū 'Alī Yūnus b. Tādrārt | | | 7 | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He participated in the battle of al-Buḥayra ⑱ • A member of the al-Khamsūn from among the Ahl Tinmallal ⑲ |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|--|----|----------|--|
| j | Abū Zakariyā Yahyā b. Umm Uh-Sūm al-Tīmallī | | 8 | | |
| k | Abū Zakariyā Muḥammad al-Harghī | | 9 | | |
| l | Abū Warziz al-Zanātī | | 11 | | |
| m | Abū Muḥammad Wajjutan al-Harghī | | 13 | | |
| n | Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd al-Ḥayḥā'ī | | 14 | | |
| o | Abū al-Rabī' Sulaymān b. Maymūn | | 15 | | |
| p | Abū Muḥammad Yaşlāsan b. al-Mu'izz al-Harghī | | 16 | 1151-52③ | |
| q | Abū Mūsā 'Isā b. Wamghar al-Harghī | | 17 | 1154-55④ | The brother of Ibn Tūmart ⑩ |
| r | Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Wamghar al-Harghī | | 18 | 1154-44④ | The same as the above ⑩ |
| s | Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Wamghar al-Harghī | | 19 | | The same as the above ⑩ The blind man (Kafif) ⑫ |
| t | Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Harghī | | 20 | | |

Notes

- The materials and the pages are as follows:
A. al-Qaṭṭān p. 33 B. D. al-Ansāb
- The numbers indicate the order of the descriptions given in the materials.
① al-Mu'jib p. 339 ② al-Qaṭṭān p. 212 ③ al-Baydhaq p. 116 ④ al-Baydhaq p. 118
⑤ al-Baydhaq p. 53 al-Mu'jib p. 181 ⑥ al-Baydhaq p. 80 ⑦ al-Baydhaq p. 73 ⑧ al-Qirtās p. 113 al-Mu'jib p. 337 ⑨ K. al-Ansāb p. 29 ⑩ al-Baydhaq p. 73 ⑪ al-Baydhaq p. 76 ⑫ al-Baydhaq p. 81 ⑬ K. al-Ansāb p. 29 ⑭ K. al-Ansāb p. 33 ⑮ K. al-Ansāb p. 29 ⑯ al-Baydhaq p. 73 ⑰ K. al-Ansāb p. 33 ⑱ K. al-Ansāb p. 28 ⑲ K. al-Ansāb p. 34 ⑳ K. al-Ansāb p. 29 ㉑ K. al-Ansāb p. 29

al-Mu'jib reports, "Abū Muḥammad Wasnār ("b" in Table 4) was a negro tanner of Aghmāt. When Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Tūmart passed Aghmāt, Abū Muḥammad Wasnār accompanied him. Ibn Tūmart attached him to his personal service when he saw his piety and his reticence as to what he saw and heard. He was charged with his ablutions and toothpick, with giving permission to the people to go in to him, with the duties of the Ḥājib, and with the conducting of people with due

ceremony from his presence. He did so until the death of Ibn Tūmart, and guarded his grave after his death.”⁵¹⁾ These actions describe a private chamberlain’s work. The K. al-Ansāb refers to this organization apart from the other organizations which were listed.⁵²⁾ The al-Qaṭṭān put the organization between the al-Ḥuffāz and the Almohad tribes.⁵³⁾ According to the above materials, we conclude that the Ahl al-Dār were private chamberlains different from the other organizations. Therefore, they were in a position where they could be informed of such important occurrences as Ibn Tūmart’s death.

6. The Almohad tribes

In Ibn Tūmart’ day the five tribes or groups, the Hargha, Ahl al-Tīnmallal, Jadmiwa, Janfisa, and Hintāta, as well as the mountainous Hazmīra, the Haylāna, Māghūs, and Hunāya were among the Muwaḥḥidūn.⁵⁴⁾ The term al-Qabā’il (some tribes) used in the al-Qaṭṭān must have been the collective name of groups outside of the above five. On the other hand, the K. al-Ansāb includes tribes who yielded to ‘Abd al-Mu’min; e.g. the Hazraja tribe, the Haskūra tribe, the Ṣanhāja tribe, and Kūmiya tribe. These are thought to pertain to the period from ‘Abd al-Mu’min. The K. al-Ansāb lists as the al-Qabā’il the Harrāka tribe, Warīka tribe, Īn Māghūs tribe, Hunāya tribe, the Ahl Naffis, the Ṣāda tribe, the Rajrāja tribe, and the Hazraja tribe.⁵⁵⁾ The al-Mu’jib lists the Hazmīra tribe, Haylāna tribe, and the Hazraja tribe as the al-Qabā’il.⁵⁶⁾ These al-Qabā’il must have been from the period of ‘Abd al-Mu’min because the Hazmīra tribe, Hazraja tribe, Warīka tribe, Ṣāda (Ṣawda) tribe, and Rajrāja tribe belonged to the Maṣāmida al-Faḥs (the Maṣmūdas of the plain)⁵⁷⁾ and most of them submitted in the ‘Abd al-Mu’min’s age. Consequently, we judge the tribes in the al-Qaṭṭān constitute the Almohad tribes in the Ibn Tūmart’s day.

We can say with regard to this period that the Almohad territory was on the land of the Maṣmūda tribe in the Atlas mountain district, and that most of the tribes who submitted to Ibn Tūmart consisted of the Almohad tribes. Most of the Almohad army belonged to the Almohad tribes.

7. The al-Jund

The al-Qaṭṭān lists the Jund after the al-Qabā’il, but has no concrete description of the Jund. The K. al-Ansāb says, “The Jund consists of the inhabitants of Aghmāt or other city dwellers.”⁵⁸⁾ On the basis of that description, Hopkins regards the Jund as that army which consisted of urban people (foreigners).⁵⁹⁾ It is certain that when urban people in this time became the Muwaḥḥidūn, it must have been hard for them to join the existing organizations of tribes. Ibn Tūmart must have organized them as a standing army under his immediate control. But, when the whole Maghreb became dominated by the Almohads, we can no longer say the Jund consisted of only inhabitants of Aghmāt or of other city dwellers. The reason the al-Qaṭṭān mentions Aghmāt as representative of the cities is that Aghmāt⁶⁰⁾, which was at the foot of the Atlas

mountains, was the city closest to Muwaḥḥidūn of Ibn Tūmart's day. Therefore, it is not surprising that the K. al-Ansāb describes the inhabitants of Aghmāt as representative of all urban people. The population of such urban dwellers in Ibn Tūmart's day must have been small, hence the Jund does not appear in the materials.

8. al-Ghuzāt (plural form of al-Ghāzi)

The al-Qaṭṭān reports that the Ghuzāt were uneducated young men.⁶¹⁾ But, Maḥmūd 'Alī Makki', the reviser of this material, says, "We should call it Ghirrāt, not Ghuzāt, because Ghuzāt does not mean "uneducated young men" and Ghirrāt means "immature men"; that makes sense."⁶²⁾ I do not agree with his view for the following reasons. Firstly, the al-Ḥulal, a copy of the al-Qaṭṭān, calls them Ghuzāt.⁶³⁾ Secondly, even if they were called Ghirrāt, their real condition would not be clear. What is more, an example of their being called Ghirrāt cannot be found in any of the materials. On the contrary, the example of their being termed Ghuzāt can be found. When the Muwaḥḥidūn troops were defeated in the battle of al-Buḥayra and retreated to Tīnmallal in 1129, "The Muwaḥḥidūn met the troops of the Ghuzāt ('Askar min al-Ghuzāt) dispatched by Ibn Tūmart on the Atlas mountains. And thereupon they went back to Tīnmallal with the troops."⁶⁴⁾ This citation shows the Ghuzāt had a military role.⁶⁵⁾ With regard to the term "uneducated young men," does it mean they did not yet have enough knowledge or education?

The K. al-Ansāb says the Ghuzāt consisted of eleven tribes from the Hargha to the Ṣanhāja.⁶⁶⁾ But, it is clear that the structure cited is after the time of 'Abd al-Mu'min. In Ibn Tūmart's day, they were composed of its own Almohad tribes. In any case, concrete materials on them are poor, and it is difficult to grasp their real condition.

Conclusion

Most of the Almohad groups were incorporated into the Almohad hierarchy in Ibn Tūmart's day. In view of that, the hierarchy was most vital at that time. A schematic analysis of the arrangement of the various organizations of the governmental structure is as follows:

1. Ibn Tūmart reigned as an absolute dictator above the Almohad groups.
2. The al-'Ashara was composed of his ten top followers. They got immediate orders and directions from him and gave important advice to him. They were the most important executives and military leaders.
3. The al-Khamsūn were the 50 representatives of the Almohad tribes and were formed on the basis of the traditional Berber council, composed of the chiefs of the tribes (Ayt Arba'in). Their functions were less important than those of the al-'Ashara, but they took charge of political matters according to Ibn Tūmart's

directions and orders. Their main role was as an intermediary between Ibn Tūmart and the people.

4. The Ṭalaba and the Ḥuffāz took charge of moral and religious matters. They instructed Ibn Tūmart's directions and the Koran to the people as missionaries. The Ḥuffāz were the boys studying to become the Ṭalaba.

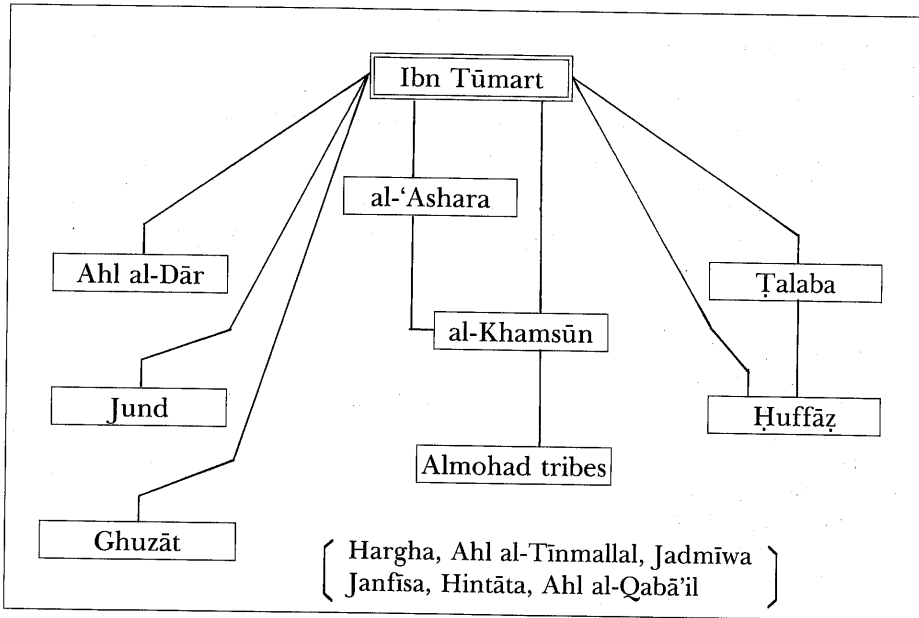
5. The Ahl al-Dār attended Ibn Tūmart as private chamberlains, who served him night and day.

6. The Almohad tribes were composed of the Hargha, Ahl Tinmallal, Jadmīwa, Janfisa, Hintāta, and Ahl al-Qabā'il. The Hargha and Ahl Tinmallal were superior to the others. The Ahl al-Qabā'il consisted of those who did not belong to the five tribes, from the Hargha to the Hintāta.

7. The Jund were regular soldiers, constituted of "the foreigners" (urban people). They did not belong to any tribe and were under Ibn Tūmart's immediate control, but their scale was small.

8. The Ghuzāt were special military groups of boys.

The above structure is represented in the following chart.



The governmental structure in Ibn Tūmart's day

Notes

1) Aṣṇāf (plural form of Ṣinf), or Ṭabaqāt (plural form of Ṭabaqa) are used in the materials. It may originally have been a battle-array, but actually is a functional grouping of the Almohads

- (Muwaḥḥidūn). It is uncertain whether the name of hierarchy is appropriate or not.
- 2) Roger Le Tourneau,
The Almohad Movement in North Africa in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Princeton, 1969, pp. 30–31.
 - 3) J. F. P. Hopkins, "The Almohad Hierarchy,"
Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XIV, 1954, pp. 93–112.
 - 4) Roger Le Tourneau,
op. cit., pp. 30–34.
 - 5) Ch. A. Julien,
Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, t. 2, Paris, 1951 (repr. 1975), pp. 98–100.
 - 6) A. Huici Miranda,
Historia Política del Imperio Almohade, t. 1. Tetouan, 1956, pp. 100–105. He expressed the incorrect view that all the groups existing in Ibn Tūmart's day consisted of the al-Jamā'a (another name of al-'Ashara), al-Khamsūn, and Ahl al-Dār, the other groups being added in 'Abd al-Mu'min's day.
 - 7) Rachid Bourouiba,
Ibn Tūmart, Alger., 1974, pp. 77–81.
 - 8) H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc des Origines à l'Etablissement du Protectorat Français*, t. 1, Casablanca, 1949, pp. 276–277, pp. 306–309. He does distinguish the difference of the groups of between Ibn Tūmart's day and 'Abd al-Mu'min's day, but neglects to note the changing process from one to the other.
 - 9) al-Qaṭṭān, p. 28.
 - 10) K. al-Ansāb, pp. 29–48.
 - 11) al-Ḥulal, p. 89.
 - 12) Rachid Bourouiba (*op. cit.*, p. 77) and J. F. P. Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 95) refer to the differences among the materials, but does not explain them. Huici Miranda does not refer to them.
 - 13) al-Qirṭās, p. 114.
 - 14) al-Athīr, Vol. 10, p. 576.
 - 15) Their actions (cf. Table 2) show that. What is more, the following description indicates that as well: "Ibn Tūmart said that all human beings of the world are the slaves ('Abid) of Ahl al-Jamā'a and their children." (al-Baydhaq, p. 93)
 - 16) al-Qaṭṭān, p. 74.
 - 17) *Ibid.*, p. 81.
 - 18) al-'Umarī, p. 113.
 - 19) al-Baydhaq, pp. 82–83.
 - 20) al-Mu'jib, pp. 194–196. We cannot conclude his designation was a fact.
 - 21) al-Baydhaq, p. 75.
 - 22) *Ibid.*, p. 87.
 - 23) K. al-Ansāb, p. 33.
 - 24) al-Qaṭṭān, pp. 30–32.
 - 25) K. al-Ansāb pp. 33–35.
 - 26) R. Montagne,
The Berbers, Edingburgh, 1973, p. 47.
 - 27) J. F. P. Hopkins,
op. cit., p. 98.
 - 28) H. Terrasse (*op. cit.*, p. 275) wrote that the al-Khamsūn were composed of 40 representatives of the Almohad tribes and 10 members of the al-'Ashara, but J. F. P. Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 97) maintained the two organizations were separate.
 - 29) al-Qaṭṭān, pp. 32–33.
 - 30) Ibn Khaldūn, Vol. VI, p. 470.
 - 31) al-Baydhaq, p. 77.
 - 32) Documents inédits, p. 126. note (2).
 - 33) al-Zarkashī, p. 9.

- 34) H. R. Idrīs,
La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zīrides, t. 1, Paris, 1962, p. 393. note (449).
- 35) al-Qaṭṭān, p. 75.
- 36) Ibid., p. 81.
- 37) al-Qirṭās, p. 114.
- 38) R. Montagne,
op. cit., note of p. 47.
- 39) Ibid., p. 47.
- 40) al-Athīr, Vol. X, p. 576.
- 41) al-Qaṭṭān, p. 27.
- 42) al-Muʿjib, p. 186.
- 43) al-Baydhaq, p. 132.
- 44) Ibid., p. 80.
- 45) Ibid., p. 79.
- 46) al-Qaṭṭān, p. 28.
- 47) cf. H. Terrasse (*op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 276), J. F. P. Hopkins (*op. cit.*, pp. 94–95).
- 48) K. al-Ansāb, p. 29.
- 49) al-Qaṭṭān, p. 33.
- 50) Ibid., p. 130.
- 51) al-Muʿjib, p. 338, J. F. P. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
- 52) The K. al-Ansāb describes the Ahl al-Dār on p. 29 and describes the other groups from p. 32 ff. J. F. P. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
- 53) al-Qaṭṭān, p. 28, *ibid.* J. F. P. Hopkins, p. 95.
- 54) al-Qaṭṭān, pp. 84–89, p. 121. al-Baydhaq, pp. 131–132.
- 55) K. al-Ansāb, p. 43.
- 56) al-Muʿjib, p. 341.
- 57) al-Qaṭṭān, p. 84.
- 58) K. al-Ansāb, p. 47.
- 59) J. F. P. Hopkins,
op. cit., pp. 104–105.
- 60) al-Idrīs,
Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, (ed.) R. Dozy, J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1866 (repr. 1968), p. 63.
It is an excerpt of the Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq.
al-Bakrī,
Description de l'Afrique Septentrional, (ed.) de Slane, Paris, 1965, p. 152.
This is an excerpt of the Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l Mamālik.
- 61) al-Qaṭṭān, p. 28.
- 62) Ibid., note (3) of p. 28. Rachid Bourouiba (*op. cit.*, p. 80, p. 118) follows Maḥmūd 'Alī Makkī's opinion, but takes Ghirrāt for Furāt.
- 63) The al-Ḥulal, p. 89. And, Lévi-Provençal calls them Ghuzāt and describes them as private guards. cf. Lévi-Provençal, "Six Fragments Inédits d'une Chronique Anonyme du Début des Almohades", *Mélanges René Bosset*, t. 2, aris 1925, p. 340, p. 362.
- 64) al-Qaṭṭān, p. 121.
- 65) The al-Ḥulal enumerates the Ghuzāt and Rumāt (archers) since they must have been related to each other. Actually, when the Almohad troops besieged Marrakesh in 1147, Ibn Humushk said, "You (the Almoravids) include a lot of Ghuzāt i.e. Rumāt." (al-Ḥulal, p. 94), regarding them as synonymous. Ghuzāt literally means "soldiers in a holy war."
- 66) K. al-Ansāb, p. 48.