Epilogue

The collapse of the Almoravid state and its replacement by the Almohad state presented a profound disruption to the development of the institution explored in this book: Maghribī Mālikism. During the reign of its first three dynastic rulers (ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, Yūsuf I, and al-Manṣūr), Mālikism as a network of learning, corpus of texts, and perhaps primarily, as a vehicle for state legitimation, came under sustained attack by an Almohad ideology that championed radical religio-political change. On the whole, the kind of consultative correspondence between Andalusī and Maghribī jurists that produced the texts analyzed above was greatly diminished as the Almohads instituted a new administrative structure, which favored installing its own members in key positions across its territories. Mālikī texts were ordered burned and Almohad caliphs attempted to remake not only the judicial system but its culture and hermeneutics. Almohadism, therefore, understood as a coherent and unified ideology, coupled with the aims and effects of this anti-Mālikī agenda, may be construed as having resulted in a complete rupture in Maghribī history. And some of the discontinuities implied by these developments should definitely not be discounted. The success of the Almohad movement constitutes a major chapter in Maghribī history, a significant period of change.[1]

This change, however, was an evolution of trends existing in the Far Maghrib and not, I would argue, a sudden break. Too often in the modern historiography of the Islamic Maghrib ideology and dynastic change are construed as the sole, or at least most significant, agents of change. Many of the significant social historical trends described above, however, continued into the Almohad period, in which the Far Maghrib became even more engaged with the wider Mediterranean as a major political-economic entity. The confluence of what

1 The classic study of the Almohad period is Miranda Huici, Ambrosio., *Historia política del Imperio Almohade* (Tetuán: Editora Marroqu, 1956). For an excellent collection of relatively recent work on the period, see Patrice Cressier, et al., *Los almohades: problemas y perspectivas* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005). Two volumes of the series Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus are also particulary noteworthy: Maribel Fierro, and María Luisa Ávila, eds. *Biografías Almohades I*, vol. IX, Estudios Onomástico Biográficos de al-Andalus (Madrid-Granada: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999); Marīa Luisa Ávila, and Maribel Fierro, eds. *Biografías Almohades II*, vol. X, Estudios Onomástico Biográficos de al-Andalus (Madrid-Granada: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000). Together, these last three titles point to important dimensions of continuity across the dynastic and ideological change from Almoravids to Almohads.

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one might term "international" or pan-Islamic intellectual and religio-political currents with local, Far Maghribī social movements were likewise at play in the rise of the Almohads. This confluence, in important ways, accounts for the dynamic of ideological confrontation that was so important in the period. While it is true that without Ibn Tūmart's pronouncing himself Mahdī and rallying the Maṣmūda tribes of the High Atlas to his cause, there would have been no Almohad movement, it is equally true that there would have been no Almohad movement without the emergence of Marrakesh, and the economic production and intellectual flow and ferment it entailed. It was in the direct vicinity of Marrakesh that Ibn Tūmart organized his movement, which was rooted in the local population (for whom the Lamtūna were also foreigners, in a way perhaps not as pronounced as they were for the Andalusīs, but nevertheless, distinctly so). The urban transformation of the sixth/twelfth-century Far Maghrib, that is, is largely responsible for the rise of the Almohads, to which it made an important contribution.

This book has argued that the rise of the Almoravid state coincided with an urban transformation of the Far Maghrib, that Andalusī-influenced Mālikī legal institutions developed in these new urban spaces both responding to the administrative needs of the state (the first large-scale indigenous state in the region) as well as, crucially, to the social needs of these urban societies. There is no more eloquent evidence for the success of this social institution than the attack by the Almohad leadership on Mālikism and the ultimate failure of this attack. By the time of the fourth Almohad caliph, al-Ma'mūn (624–629/1227–1232), it became clear that the institution was deep-rooted and that the Almohads' intitial agenda was pointless. It would not be the first time in the Maghrib that this legal tradition (through "conservative" popular resistance) survived the attempt of a regime to replace it. It was precisely in surviving such attempts that the tradition had gained social force and cohesion in Ifrīqiya, from where it was first transmitted to the Almoravid south. The Mālikī *madhhab* was to develop into the dominant legal tradition of the Maghrib, from where it spread to West Africa. And in a variety of ways it informs the modern legal systems of the region's contemporary nation states.

All of the above, of course, is not meant as a simple paean to Mālikism, to imply that it was "tolerant," or even that it was a particularly enlightened tradition. It is to show, rather, how this Islamic legal tradition and institution of learning, developed and adapted to real social needs beyond those of supplying political legitimation or identity construction and group cohesion. In its North African historical development, Mālikism was a flexible institution that developed and responded to a variety of social needs, and was transformed in the process. It is through its fusing, perhaps, of essential Islamic concepts of

justice and morality with a set of adaptive practices with social management and self-regulatory functions, that this institution contributed to, and, in significant ways, encoded, the constitutional stability of the Islamic pre-modern Maghrib.