

# The Impact of Andalusian Migration on Educational Life in the Central Maghreb during the Middle Ages

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## Abstract

*This study examines the impact of Andalusian migration on the development of educational life in the Central Maghreb during the Middle Ages against the backdrop of the political and military transformations experienced in al-Andalus as a result of the intensification of the Christian Reconquista, particularly after the defeat of the Almohads at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 609 AH/1212 CE. These circumstances led to the migration of large numbers of Andalusians to the lands of the Islamic Maghreb. The Central Maghreb received a significant share of these migratory movements owing to its geographical proximity to al-Andalus, the relative stability it offered, and the welcome extended to this community by the ruling authorities, such as the Zayyanid and Hafsid states. The Andalusians brought with them a substantial scholarly and cultural legacy that helped invigorate intellectual and scientific life in the urban centres of the Central Maghreb, especially in the field of education. Andalusian scholars also played a role in renewing educational curricula and teaching methods by introducing new fields of knowledge and adopting innovative pedagogical approaches. This, in turn, led to the flourishing of scholarly activity in cities such as Tlemcen, Bejaia, and Constantine and to the emergence of an elite group of scholars who played a prominent role in the development of cultural life in the Central Maghreb.*

**Keywords:** *Andalusian Migration, Central Maghreb, Islamic Maghreb, Educational Curricula, Al-Andalus.*

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## Introduction

During the medieval period, al-Andalus witnessed profound political and military transformations as the Christian Reconquista intensified and Islamic power declined on the Iberian Peninsula, especially following the fall of several fortresses and strategic cities. These transformations peaked after the defeat of the Almohads at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 609 AH/1212 CE, which constituted a decisive turning point in the history of the Islamic presence in al-Andalus. Faced with this critical situation, large numbers of Andalusians were compelled to migrate to the regions of the Islamic Maghreb, and the Central Maghreb received a significant share of these migrations due to its geographical position and proximity to al-Andalus. This Andalusian community brought with it a rich civilisational and scholarly legacy that contributed to invigorating intellectual and scholarly life in the urban centres of the Central Maghreb, particularly in the field of education, its curricula, and its methods of instruction.

From this standpoint, this subject raises a fundamental problem, namely,

To what extent did the Andalusians influence the development of the educational system and teaching curricula in the Central Maghreb? What were the most prominent manifestations of the contribution of Andalusian scholars to the renewal of the educational movement in this region?

### *Andalusian Migration to the Central Maghreb*

The relationship between al-Andalus and the Islamic Maghreb dates back to the early period of the Islamic conquest of al-Andalus. This relationship subsequently strengthened and assumed the form of unity under the Almoravids and the Almohads. Despite the efforts of this state to preserve the unity of al-Andalus, it

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did not succeed,<sup>3</sup> especially in light of the emergence of the Christian kingdoms, which had regained their strength in an attempt to impose their authority over the Iberian Peninsula, particularly after the fall of the two defensive lines of Zaragoza and Toledo in 512 AH and 487 AH.<sup>4</sup> Although the Almohads achieved decisive victories in certain battles, such as the Battle of Alarcos,<sup>5</sup> weakness soon spread through the Almohad army, and the balance of power shifted between it and the Christian forces, whose attacks against the Muslim inhabitants of the land intensified,<sup>6</sup> especially after the Battle of al-'Uqab in 609 AH/1212 CE.<sup>7</sup>

In view of the convergence of these factors and the emergence of the Reconquista following the Christian alliance, the people of al-Andalus were compelled to migrate internally toward cities that remained under Muslim rule, such as Granada, and externally toward cities of the Islamic Maghreb and the Mashriq.<sup>8</sup>

Hence, the lands of the Central Maghreb became a stronghold to which the Andalusians resorted to seek assistance against the Christian danger and to find refuge. Several factors facilitated this, including proximity and the ease of communication between cities, especially coastal cities, as well as the similarity of their climatic environments and the ease of integration with the region's inhabitants. The people of al-Andalus were welcomed both by the local population and by the ruling authority at that time, represented by the Zayyanids in Tlemcen and the Hafsidis in Bejaia, between whom there was competition to attract them and to grant them important positions in the state in the judiciary, *ifta'*, and other offices.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, the urban centres of the Central Maghreb constituted a refuge for the Andalusians, including Algiers of the Banu Mazghanna, Bejaia, Oran,<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Tlemcen, while some preferred Nedroma and Honaine. In addition, many flocked to the capital of the Banu Zayyan at Tlemcen,<sup>11</sup> Moreover, they also settled in Cherchell, of which al-Hasan al-Wazzan said, "The Granadans went there at that time and rebuilt a considerable number of its houses."<sup>12</sup>

The movement of Andalusian migration toward the Central Maghreb during the seventh century AH was marked by distinct features, among them the arrival of large numbers of Andalusians.<sup>13</sup> Ibn Khaldun described them as a community,<sup>14</sup> Moreover, during this period, they were classified into households.

<sup>3</sup> Muhammad 'Abduh Hatamla, *Mawsu'at al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib al-'Arabi: al-Andalus, al-Tarikh wa-al-Hadara wa-al-Mihna, Dirasah Shamilah*, 1st ed. (Blida: Dar al-Madar al-Thaqafiyah, 2009), 2:896.

<sup>4</sup> It was near Qal'at Rabah in 592 AH/1195 CE; the Almohads were victorious there, and its results were comparable to those of the Battle of al-Zallaqah. See Muhammad 'Abduh Hatamla, *Mawsu'at al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib al-'Arabi*, 896.

<sup>5</sup> Husayn Mu'nis, *al-Thaghr al-'ala al-Andalusi fi 'Asr al-Murabitin wa-Suqut Saraqustah fi Yad al-Nasara Sanat 512 AH/1118 CE ma'a Arba' Watha'iq Jadidah* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqafah al-Diniyyah, n.d.), 5.

<sup>6</sup> 'Amarah Sidi Muhammad, "Hijrat al-Andalusiyin ila Bilad al-Maghrib al-Awsat khilal al-Qarn al-Sabi' AH/Thirteenth Century CE wa-Dawruhum al-Thaqafi" (MA thesis, Kulliyat al-'Ulum al-Insaniyyah wa-al-Hadarah al-Islamiyyah, Qism al-Hadarah al-Islamiyyah, Oran, 1433–1434 AH/2012–2013 CE), 17–18.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Khaldun, *Diwan al-Mubtada' wa-al-Khabar fi Tarikh al-'Arab wa-al-Barbar wa-man 'Asarahum min Dhawi al-Sha'n al-Akbar* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr lil-Tiba'ah wa-al-Nashr, 2000), 6:205–6.

<sup>8</sup> Mukhtar Hassani, *Mawsu'at Tarikh wa-Thaqafat al-Mudun al-Jaza'iriyah* (Algiers: Dar al-Hikmah, 2007), 4:47.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>10</sup> It is a city on the seacoast built by a group of Andalusian sailors on the slope of a large mountain. See Carvajal Marmol, *Ifriqiya*, trans. a group of professors (n.p.: al-Jam'iyyah al-Maghribiyyah lil-Ta'lif wa-al-Tarjamah wa-al-Nashr; Matabi' al-Ma'arif al-Jadidah, 1989), 2:376.

<sup>11</sup> Mukhtar Hassani, *Mawsu'at Tarikh wa-Thaqafat al-Mudun al-Jaza'iriyah*, 46.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Hasan ibn al-Wazzan al-Fasi, *Wasf Ifriqiya*, trans. Muhammad Hajji and Muhammad al-Akhdar, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1983), 136.

<sup>13</sup> Muhammad 'Amarah, *op. cit.*, 70.

<sup>14</sup> Abu al-'Abbas al-Ghubrini, *'Unwan al-Dirayah fi man 'Urif min al-'Ulama' fi al-Mi'ah al-Sabi'ah bi-Bijayah*, ed. and annotated by 'Adil Nuwayhid, 1st ed. (Algiers: Dar al-Abhath, 2013), 287.

*Stages of Education in the Central Maghreb*

The Andalusian community had a profound impact on cultural life in its various scholarly and intellectual dimensions. Since education represented the driving force that propelled scholarly activity toward development and prosperity, and was the principal means of advancing society culturally and intellectually, the Andalusians accorded this aspect great importance and exceptional care under the support of the ruling authority at the time.

Before the Andalusians left their mark upon it, education in the Central Maghreb was characterised by several stages. It was widespread throughout the various urban centres, including cities and villages,<sup>15</sup> Moreover, it was divided into three stages:

*The First Stage:*

This was known as the stage of primary education, in which children began attending the kuttab<sup>16</sup> When they reached the age of seven, pupil enrollment at this stage was very high, which explains the level of education among the people of the Maghreb and demonstrates the extent of parents' concern for their children's education. Thus, the urban centres of Tlemcen, Bejaia, and Constantine attached great importance to education and were keen to extend it throughout villages and rural areas; therefore, in addition to every mosque, there were kuttabs for the memorisation of the Qur'an and the instruction of young boys.<sup>17</sup>

The expenses of education at this stage were borne by the parents, since the ruling authority at that time, whether the Zayyanid authority in Tlemcen or the Hafsid authority in Bejaia, did not intervene in the affairs of education in the kuttab. Its role was limited to the supervision of the muhtasib exercised in monitoring how teachers dealt with children. The teacher chosen for instruction was required to possess essential scholarly qualifications, such as memorisation of the Qur'an, proper recitation, writing, and knowledge of the rules of Qur'anic recitation, including izhar, idgham, precision, and exactness, in addition to moral and social qualities.

The teacher received his wages from the parents of the pupils, following an agreement on a contract concluded for a full year, based on payment in kind or in cash. This was subject to the financial circumstances of the pupils' parents and to the number of children belonging to the guardian. Regarding orphaned children, the qadi assumed responsibility for their education. This situation did not apply to all teachers; however, not every teacher accepted payment from the children; some accepted payment only from children of affluent means.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Abd al-'Aziz Filali, *Tilimsan fi al-'Ahd al-Zayyani: Dirasah Siyasiyyah, 'Umriyyah, Ijtima'iyyah, Thaqafiyah* (Algiers: Mofem lil-Nashr, 2007), 2:338.

<sup>16</sup> It was one of the oldest cultural institutions after mosques and congregational mosques and was a place for teaching the Qur'an, usually located beside mosques. See Yusuf ibn Ahmad al-Hawalah, *al-Hayah al-'Ilmiyyah bial-Maghrib al-Adna Mundh Imam al-Fath hatta Munsaf al-Qarn al-Khamis al-Hijri (90–450 AH)* (Umm al-Qura University, 2000), 1:226; Muhammad As'ad Tallas, *al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta'lim fi al-Islam* (n.p.: Mu'assasat Hindawi lil-Ta'lim wa-al-Thaqafah, 2012), 67.

<sup>17</sup> Abdelaziz Filali, *op. cit.*, 344; al-Jilani Shaqrun, "Tlemcen, a Centre of Civilisational Influence in the Central Maghreb," *Majallat al-Fiqh wa-al-Qanun*, Jilani Liabes University, Sidi Bel Abbes, 2.

<sup>18</sup> Abdelaziz Filali, *op. cit.*, 345.

At this stage, pupils were taught reading, writing, memorisation of the Qur'an, and its proper recitation, so that they might master memorising the Book of God according to the well-known readings. Instruction in the Qur'an at this stage stood at the forefront of what the child learned in calligraphy and writing.<sup>19</sup>

### *The Second Stage*

This was the stage following the kuttab, at which the student had completed memorising the Qur'an and had learned the readings, as well as the principles of writing, reading, and Arabic. Instruction then took place in mosques and in schools built for this purpose. The most important feature of education at this stage was that students enjoyed the freedom to choose the subjects they studied and were not bound by an annual curriculum, since there was no authority imposing a specific programme upon them. Students thus had the right to choose the subjects towards which they were inclined, according to their aptitudes and capacities.

The subjects for which students had the right to choose were as follows:

- arithmetic
- chaste poetry free from satire
- accounts of the Arabs and their genealogies (history)
- grammar and the Arabic language
- fine handwriting<sup>20</sup>

Despite the student's freedom to choose subjects, this freedom was not absolute, as the teacher agreed with the student's guardian on the specialisation to which the student would be directed. Most of these specialisations were among those mentioned above, while only a few turned toward other sciences, namely, the rational sciences. Nevertheless, some teachers respected students' inclinations in choosing the specialisation in which they would find themselves, such as al-Sharif Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad al-Tilimsani (771 AH/1370 CE),<sup>21</sup> who allowed his students the freedom to choose the scholarly specialisations towards which they were inclined and would say to them, "Whoever is endowed in a particular field should adhere to it." Respect for students' wishes had a considerable effect upon them, and many excelled in various sciences, especially the transmitted sciences.<sup>22</sup> in which the scholars of the Central Maghreb distinguished themselves and attained prominence.<sup>23</sup>

The ruling authority at that time, such as the Zayyanids, would also intervene and prohibit the teaching of certain sciences that were contrary to its madhhab, namely, the Maliki school. In contrast, it encouraged those sciences compatible with its doctrinal orientation, particularly since it was, to a great extent, the chief force behind cultural and scholarly activity through the encouragement of the period's sultans. For this

<sup>19</sup> Lakhdar Bouabdali, *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi wa-al-Hadari li-Dawlat Bani 'Abd al-Wad* (Oran: Ibn al-Nadim lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzi', 2011), 221; Robert Brunschvig, *Tarikh Ifriqiyah fi al-'Ahd al-Hafsi min al-Qarn al-Thalith 'Ashar ila Nihayat al-Qarn al-Khamis 'Ashar*, trans. Hammadi al-Sahili, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1998), 375.

<sup>20</sup> Muhammad ibn Sahnun, *Kitab Adab al-Mu'allimin*, rev. and annotated by Muhammad al-'Arusi al-Matwi (Tunis: Dar al-Kutub al-Sharqiyyah, 1972), 42–43.

<sup>21</sup> Abu 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad al-Sharif al-Hasani, the recognised jurist, devout worshipper, and ascetic, was one of the notable men in learning, religion, and eloquence. He studied under the two sons of the Imam, Abu Zayd and Abu Musa, and died in 771 AH/1370 CE. See al-Ghubrini, *op. cit.*, 230; Yahya ibn Khaldun, *Bughyat al-Ruwwad fi Dhikr al-Muluk min Bani 'Abd al-Wad*, ed. 'Abd al-Hamid Hajyat (Algiers: 'Alam al-Ma'rifah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzi', special ed., 2011), 1:158.

<sup>22</sup> These are the sciences related to the religious law, derived from the Qur'an and the Sunnah. See 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddimah* (Cairo: Dar Ibn al-Jawzi, 1st ed., 2010), 369.

<sup>23</sup> Abdelaziz Filali, *op. cit.*, 347.

reason, some students were prevented from studying certain sciences, such as philosophy and logic; hence, students were more often directed toward the religious sciences, especially jurisprudence, exegesis, and hadith.<sup>24</sup>

### *Third Stage*

This was known as the scholarly shaykhate, or higher education, in which instruction was undertaken by specialised shaykhs who possessed outstanding scholarly competence in different subjects, were deeply versed in the major books, and were fully capable of presiding over the scholarly sessions they conducted. These shaykhs had deputies and repeaters. The repeater repeated the lesson after the shaykh delivered it and assisted the students in reviewing and studying, being superior to them in terms of knowledge and understanding. The deputy, by contrast, was the teacher who took the place of the shaykh, that is, who acted on his behalf during the exercise of his administrative and judicial duties.<sup>25</sup>

Instruction at this stage took place in the madrasa, the well-known mosques, or the zawiya, which played an important role in the spread of education and culture in the countryside and villages; its diffusion coincided with the spread of madrasas.<sup>26</sup>

Education was divided into two types: popular education and professional education. Popular education<sup>27</sup> was directed toward the general public, both adult men and women, and was obligatory for all to ensure integration into Islamic society. This type of education was necessary for people in their daily dealings and conduct of life because it regulated their religious and worldly affairs.<sup>28</sup>

The state, at times, intervened in this type of education, supervising it and ensuring its dissemination among the different sections of society. It therefore appointed jurists and teachers for this purpose, who delivered exhortatory lessons addressed to all people in various places. During this period, exhortatory lessons advanced notably, and several scholars distinguished themselves, especially scholars from Tlemcen, among whom may be mentioned Muhammad al-Tilimsani, known as Ibn al-Hajjam, and al-Shaykh al-Sanusi. They delivered exhortations to the people who caused bodies to shudder and hearts to soften, revolving around fear, death, and the terrors of the afterlife, including the gathering and the resurrection.

Professional education, by contrast, was education directed toward young people, generally aged 7 to 20. Its instruction depended on eloquent Arabic and began at the age when the child had started learning in the kuttab. In conclusion, this is difficult to determine, especially for students who continued to pursue lessons and deepen their knowledge of the sciences through the scholarly journey and movement between the urban centres of the Islamic world to meet shaykhs and benefit directly from them.<sup>29</sup>

The Andalusians had a profound impact on education at every stage, especially the first stage, in which instruction focused on memorising the Noble Qur'an and learning handwriting.<sup>30</sup> Ibn Khaldun commented on this, saying, "It is a sound method, except that customs do not assist it, although they are more powerful in determining conditions. The reason why custom has singled out the priority of the Qur'an is the

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 348–49.

<sup>25</sup> Abd al-Jalil Qurayyan, *al-Ta'lim bi-Tilimsan fi al-'Ahd al-Zayyani* (Algiers: Jusur lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzi', 1st ed., 2011), 259.

<sup>26</sup> Abdelaziz Filali, *op. cit.*, 351–52.

<sup>27</sup> Bassam Kamil 'Abd al-Razzaq Shaqdan, *Tilimsan fi al-'Ahd al-Zayyani (633–962 AH/1235–1555 CE)* (master's thesis, Faculty of Graduate Studies, Department of History, Nablus, Palestine, 2002), 224.

<sup>28</sup> Iman Tijani and Najat al-Sayyid, *al-Hayah al-'Ilmiyyah fi al-Dawlah al-Zayyaniyyah (633–962 AH/1236–1555 CE)* (licence thesis in history, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Department of History, El Oued, 1430–1431 AH/2009–2010 CE), 57

<sup>29</sup> Filali, *op. cit.*, 340–41, 343.

<sup>30</sup> Abd al-Qadir Buwahsun, *al-'Alaqat al-Thaqafiyyah bayna al-Maghrib al-Awsat wa-al-Andalus khilal al-'Ahd al-Zayyani (633–962 AH/1235–1554 CE)* (master's thesis, Faculty of Letters and Human and Social Sciences, Department of History, Tlemcen, 1428–1429 AH/2007–2008 CE), 123–24.

preference for blessing or reward and the fear of what may befall the child, in the folly of youth, of obstacles and interruptions to learning, such that the Qur'an escapes him. The winds of youth may perhaps sweep him away and cast him upon the shore of idleness, so they seize the period of restraint and the companionship of discipline to secure for him the acquisition of the Qur'an, lest some part of it be lost. Even if certainty were attained regarding his continuation in the pursuit of learning and his acceptance of instruction, this is nevertheless the method... with which the people of the Maghreb first concerned themselves."<sup>31</sup>

However, with the arrival of the Andalusians, their settlement in the scholarly urban centres, and their practice of teaching and education, these practices changed and were influenced by them, as they introduced new subjects for children. Thus, the people of the Maghreb began to teach children in the kuttab the recitation of poetry, epistolary composition, Arabic grammar, arithmetic, and the Noble Qur'an and hadith. They also played a role at every stage of education, whether in the post-Kuttab or scholarly shaykhate stages, thereby changing curricula and instructional methods. Alongside the Qur'an and the religious sciences, the rational sciences also came to be taught.<sup>32</sup>

#### *Teaching Curricula in the Central Maghreb and the Contribution of the Andalusians to Their Renewal*

Among the scholarly fields in which the Andalusians exerted influence was the method of instruction, into which they introduced new elements. The method of instruction at each stage of education was as follows:

##### *First: The Method of Instruction in the First Stage*

At this stage, students studied in the kuttab, and instruction was conducted according to a defined curriculum, centred on the Noble Qur'an as the foundation of education and the source of religion and knowledge. They placed it at the forefront of what the child learned, both in memorisation and in writing, because teaching the Noble Qur'an to the young was more firmly rooted and better retained than at other stages of life, especially since the Qur'an is the basis of all the other sciences that he would later study. For this reason, its instruction was widespread in all the cities of the Central Maghreb.<sup>33</sup>

The teacher would deliver the lesson to the students, and the students would record what they heard without analysis or discussion. They were thus like vessels to be filled with information, as they were given no opportunity for independent reasoning or inquiry.<sup>34</sup>

This was one of the shortcomings of the educational method adopted in the Central Maghreb. However, with the arrival of the Andalusian community and its settlement in the cities of the Central Maghreb, the method of instruction changed, and other subjects were added to the curriculum. This community was able to replace the Maghrebi method<sup>35</sup> with the Andalusian method of instruction, which allowed the mind to think, reason, and inquire. The Andalusians introduced new subjects for boys at this stage, such as the recitation of poetry, epistolary composition, the rules and memorisation of Arabic, hadith, calligraphy, and writing, and they also paid attention to transmitted versions and the different Qur'anic readings.<sup>36</sup>

Children spent seven years at this stage, a sufficient period for them to memorise the Qur'an, provided they did not discontinue their studies. The days of instruction ranged from 5 to 6 per week and were divided into two periods. The first period extended from after the dawn prayer until the afternoon prayer (the

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddimah*, 492.

<sup>32</sup> Filali, *op. cit.*, 346.

<sup>33</sup> Abd al-Hamid Hajyat, "al-Hayah al-Fikriyyah bi-Tilimsan fi 'Ahd Bani Zayyan," *Majallat al-Asalah*, no. 26, 138.

<sup>34</sup> Bassam Kamil 'Abd al-Razzaq Shaqdan, *op. cit.*, 223; Lakhdar Bu'abdali, *op. cit.*, 221.

<sup>35</sup> Abd al-Qadir Buwahsun, *op. cit.*, 124.

<sup>36</sup> Filali, *op. cit.*, 346.

morning period), during which time the difficult subjects were taught alongside the memorisation of the Noble Qur'an. The second period came after the afternoon prayer and was devoted to the recitation from memory of what they had learned. Friday was a day of rest, and study continued throughout the year except for holidays observed during religious feasts and occasions.<sup>37</sup>

*For the method of instruction in the second and third stages:*

It was characterised by dictation, explanation, questioning, and discussion. The teacher would sit on a chair, while it was customary for the students to sit on mats.<sup>38</sup>

The method of instruction required reading one of the mutun and explaining it. The teacher would assign one of the students to read a passage from one of the mutun, and it was the teacher's task to stop him and explain the text paragraph by paragraph. The explanation, naturally, was not devoid of his interpretations and personal opinions, depending on the extent of his memorisation and the breadth of his knowledge. During this process, the students recorded these explanations and notes. Before beginning the reading lesson, the teacher would present an introduction to the subject.<sup>39</sup> Among those who taught in this manner from among the teachers and shaykhs at this stage in the urban centres of the Central Maghreb was Muhammad ibn Marzuq al-Khatib (d. 681 AH/1282 CE).<sup>40</sup>

Instruction in these two stages was confined to a set of books upon which the learner relied and from which he did not depart. Consequently, teachers' efforts were limited to memorising, reading, and repeating the sayings of earlier scholars. Summaries and booklets also appeared, upon which they relied heavily.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, this did not prevent certain instances of independent reasoning. Some scholars have adopted innovative methods to facilitate students' understanding of subjects in rational sciences. For example, Al-Qalasadi employed the rules of arithmetic in solving problems of inheritance law and used the method of tables to clarify difficult matters related to arithmetic. In addition, he combined theory and practice in his teaching of arithmetic and fara'id.<sup>42</sup>

Some sciences, especially rational sciences such as arithmetic and geometry, were also taught through writing on the board or on paper. Reading alone was not sufficient for studying certain sciences or for facilitating students' understanding and comprehension of them, such as medicine and astronomy, which could not be understood solely through reading. For this reason, the processes of listening and reading were more particularly suited to the transmitted sciences, which at times did not require writing, unlike the rational sciences, which were difficult to understand and comprehend except through writing and explanation together.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Lakhdar Bu'abdali, *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi wa-al-Hadari li-Dawlat Bani 'Abd al-Wad* (Oran: Ibn al-Nadim lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzi', 1st ed., 2011), 221; Robert Brunschvig, *Tarikh Ifriqiyah fi al-'Ahd al-Hafsi min al-Qarn al-Thalith 'Ashar ila Nihayat al-Qarn al-Khamis 'Ashar*, trans. Hammadi al-Sahili (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1st ed., 1998), 217.

<sup>38</sup> Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-Tansi, *Tarikh Bani Zayyan Muluk Tilimsan: Muqataf min Nazm al-Durr wa-al-Uqyan fi Bayan Sharaf Bani Zayyan*, ed. and annotated by Mahmud Bu'iyad (Algiers: al-Mu'assasah al-Wataniyyah lil-Kitab wa-al-Maktabah al-Wataniyyah al-Jaza'iriyah, 1985), 190.

<sup>39</sup> Nasir al-Din Sa'iduni, *Dirasat Andalusiyah: Mazahir al-Ta'thir al-Ibiri wa-al-Wujud al-Andalusi bial-Jaza'ir* (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1st ed., 2003), 109; 'Uqbah al-Sa'id, *al-Hayah al-'Ilmiyyah wa-al-Fikriyyah bi-Bijayah khilal al-Qarn al-Sabi' AH/Thirteenth Century CE min khilal Kitab 'Unwan al-Dirayah fi man 'Urif min al-'Ulama' fi al-Mi'ah al-Sabi'ah bi-Bijayah li-Abi al-'Abbas Ahmad al-Ghubrini (d. 704 AH/1304 CE)* (master's thesis, Amir 'Abd al-Qadir University of Islamic Sciences, Constantine, 2008–2009).

<sup>40</sup> Bassam 'Abd al-Razzaq Shaqdan, *op. cit.*, 223.

<sup>41</sup> Muhammad 'Adil 'Abd al-'Aziz, *al-Tarbiyah al-Islamiyyah fi al-Maghrib: Usuluha al-Mashriqiyah wa-Ta'thiruha al-Andalusiyah* (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Misriyyah al-'Ammah lil-Kitab, 1987), 11.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Qalasadi, *Rihlat al-Qalasadi*, ed. Muhammad Abu al-Ajfan (Tunis: al-Sharikah al-Tunisiyyah lil-Tawzi', 1987), 44.

<sup>43</sup> Abd al-Jalil Qurayyan, *op. cit.*, 196.

Among the methods of instruction were debates and scholarly discussions held in study circles and scholarly sessions, which effectively helped firmly establish the various sciences in students' minds. The Central Maghreb was distinguished by this, as were the cities of the Far and Near Maghreb, and Ibn Khaldun regarded it as one of the easiest methods for mastering and acquiring the sciences.<sup>44</sup>

These disputes and sessions contributed to improving the instructional method from what it had been. Students of knowledge in the Central Maghreb, especially in the capital Tlemcen, acquired science and discipline gradually, little by little, each according to his ability and understanding. In this way, they comprehended them, benefited, and imparted benefits; thus, scholarly attainment took place gradually until mastery of the required science was acquired.<sup>45</sup>

This method was more widespread in the third stage of education, in which the student constituted the core of the dialogue,<sup>46</sup> while the Shaykh merely directed the disputation. This method was transmitted to the Central Maghreb in the late seventh century AH by the two sons of the Imam, and it spread throughout its urban centres, from Tlemcen to Bejaia and Constantine. Among the scholars renowned for it was Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Qal'i (d. 673 AH/1274 CE), who taught in the city of Bejaia, and Abu 'Abd Allah al-Sharif, of whom al-Abili related that he used to say to his students, "If a problem becomes difficult or a subtle question arises, wait for Abu 'Abd Allah al-Sharif." This indicates students' participation in conducting the disputation and discussion.<sup>47</sup>

From our examination of the methods and curricula of instruction in the Central Maghreb, it becomes clear that, before the arrival of the Andalusian community, instruction relied on memorisation and recitation. However, through the migration of the Andalusians and their settlement in their urban centres, they were able to change the traditional method of education and replace it with the Andalusian method, which allowed the mind to think, reason, inquire, and explain.<sup>48</sup> Ibn Khaldun defined the Maghrebi method as follows: "As for the people of the Maghreb, their method with children was to confine themselves to teaching the Qur'an only, and during practice to instruct them in the orthography, its questions, and the differences among the transmitters of the Qur'an concerning it. They did not mix this with anything else in any of their teaching sessions—hadith, jurisprudence, poetry, or the language of the Arabs—until the pupil mastered it or ceased before doing so; if he ceased, his cessation was in most cases a cessation from knowledge altogether. This is the method of the people of the cities in the Maghreb and of those among the Berber villages who followed them. As for the Maghreb ... they are therefore more upright than others in the orthography and memorisation of the Qur'an."<sup>49</sup>

Ibn Khaldun held that the method and curriculum of the people of the Maghreb in the instruction of boys depended primarily on teaching and memorising the Qur'an, and then on studying related matters, such as handwriting. He severely criticised this method, pointing out its defects in freezing the mind and preventing it from engaging in thought, independent reasoning, and discussion. This confinement to the Qur'an deprived them of the faculty of an eloquent tongue and resulted in a rigidity of expression and a limited command of speech.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddimah*, 491.

<sup>45</sup> Al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Ramadan Shawsh, *Baqat al-Sawsan fi al-Ta'rif bi-Hadirat Tilimsan 'Asimat Dawlat Bani Zayyan: Jughrafiyyan wa-Tarikhiiyyan wa-Fanniyyan wa-Mi'mariyyan, Dirasah Mashubah bi-Khara'it wa-Rusum wa-Suwar* (Algiers: Diwan al-Matbu'at al-Jami'iyyah, 2011), 69–70.

<sup>46</sup> Muhammad Bushqif, "al-Madrasah wa-Nizam al-Ta'lim bial-Maghrib al-Awsat khilal al-Qarn 8–9 AH/14–15 CE," *Dawriyyat Kan al-Tarikhiiyyah*, no. 11 (2011): 60.

<sup>47</sup> Abdelaziz Filali, *op. cit.*, 353.

<sup>48</sup> Lakhdar Bu'aydli, *op. cit.*, 221.

<sup>49</sup> Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddimah*, 490.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 491.

He also referred to the method of the people of al-Andalus, saying of it:

“As for the people of al-Andalus, their method is the teaching of the Noble Qur’an and writing inasmuch as it is such, and this is what they observe in instruction. However, since the Qur’an is the foundation and basis of that and the source of religion and the sciences, they made it the foundation of instruction. However, they do not confine themselves to it alone; rather, in teaching children, they combine with it, for the most part, the transmission of poetry, epistolary composition, instruction in the rules of Arabic and their memorisation, and the cultivation of handwriting and writing. Their concern in instruction is not confined to the Qur’an to the exclusion of these; indeed, their concern therein with handwriting is greater than with all the others, until the child emerges from the age of puberty into youth, having acquired some grounding in Arabic and poetry and insight into them, and having excelled in handwriting and writing and become attached, in a general way, to the fringes of knowledge ...”<sup>51</sup>

This method had a profound effect on learners due to its advantages. Their variety in instruction, abundant transmission of poetry, and practice of Arabic enabled them to acquire an eloquent Arabic tongue; for this reason, they became people of distinguished handwriting and refined literary accomplishment. Their arrival in the Central Maghreb and their practice of teaching and the various arts played a major role in reviving scholarly life across urban centres, including Tlemcen, Constantine, and Bejaia. In Bejaia, for example, curricula changed and took on an Andalusian character in both the kuttabs and the madrasas. They influenced teachers, and they came to dominate education, but this character spread throughout all the villages and cities<sup>52</sup> to the extent that Bejaia came to be regarded as one of the urban centres of al-Andalus.<sup>53</sup> Thus, the urban centres of the Central Maghreb were marked by an Andalusian character owing to the powerful influence of this community on social and political life, which affected the cultural situation.<sup>54</sup>

The Andalusian influence is clearly manifested therein, owing to the strong impact of certain scholarly figures who enjoyed high scholarly standing with the rulers and who became known as the Andalusian shaykhate. Among them were Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Jannan (d. c. 610 AH/1214 CE),<sup>55</sup> Abu Bakr ibn Muharriz al-Balansi (d. 655 AH/1258 CE),<sup>56</sup> and Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad al-Kinani (d. 699 AH/1297 CE).<sup>57</sup> These scholars played a major role in renewing the method of instruction and developing modes of receiving knowledge, so that education in Bejaia moved from memorisation to the method of inquiry, the posing of questions, and dialogue, and disputes emerged in the various circles of learning.<sup>58</sup>

Among the Andalusian scholars who contributed to the renewal of teaching methods, the following may be mentioned by way of example:

- Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Abili (d. 757 AH/1356 CE): Despite his brevity in teaching, he played a role in bringing renewal to the method of education, as he expressed reservations regarding the method of the people of the Maghreb.

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<sup>51</sup> Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddimah*, 491.

<sup>52</sup> Mesaoud Brikah, *al-Nukhbah wa-al-Sultah fi Bijayah al-Hafsiyyah (7–9 AH/13–15 CE)* (Algiers: Dar Mim lil-Nashr, 1st ed., 2014), 198.

<sup>53</sup> Muhammad al-Talbi, “al-Hijrah al-Andalusiyyah ila Ifriqiyah Ayyam al-Hafsiyyin,” *Majallat al-Asalah*, no. 26 (1975): 73.

<sup>54</sup> Nasir al-Din Sa‘iduni, *op. cit.*, 106–7.

<sup>55</sup> Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad, known as Ibn Jannan, was a man of transmission and learning; his poetry was abundant, his adab considerable, and he composed several poems. See al-Ghubrini, *op. cit.*, 427.

<sup>56</sup> Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Sulayman ibn Muhammad al-Zuhri, known as Ibn Muharriz, was one of the notable men in learning, understanding, and eloquence. See al-Ghubrini, *op. cit.*, 341–42.

<sup>57</sup> Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Salih ibn Ahmad al-Kinani (614–699 AH/1217–1297 CE) was a jurist and preacher who settled in Bejaia, where he taught and recited, and many people benefited from him. See al-Ghubrini, *op. cit.*, 98.

<sup>58</sup> Sa‘iduni, *op. cit.*, 107–8.

- Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Haqq ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Azdi al-Ishbili, known as Ibn al-Kharrat (d. 582 AH/1182 CE), was a distinguished jurist. He resided in Bejaia and continued teaching there for thirty-one years.<sup>59</sup>
- Abu Madyan Shu‘ayb ibn al-Hasan al-Ansari al-Ishbili (d. 594 AH/1198 CE) was raised in a family distinguished by knowledge and piety.<sup>60</sup> He was associated with the two shaykhs Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Isma‘il and al-Shaykh Abu al-Hasan ibn Ghalib. He held circles and sessions to exhort people and was engaged in guidance, instruction, and teaching, and many scholars graduated under his supervision.<sup>61</sup>
- Abu ‘Uthman Sa‘id ibn ‘Ali ibn Zahir al-Ansari al-Balansi (654 AH/1256 CE) was a scholar of transmitted readings and an imam in the Qur’anic readings. He taught in Bejaia, and many of his students learned from him.<sup>62</sup>

This is but one group among the Andalusian scholars who taught and influenced education in Bejaia. Regarding Tlemcen, Andalusian scholars also played a role in the flourishing of the intellectual movement by teaching in educational institutions.<sup>63</sup>

Among the most famous Andalusian scholars who taught in Tlemcen were the following:

- Lisan al-Din ibn al-Khatib (d. 776 AH/1374 CE), who studied under Ibn Marzuq<sup>64</sup> and Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Maqqari. He was raised in Granada, came to Tlemcen in 772 AH/1370 CE, and taught there. He had several works in various sciences, especially history.<sup>65</sup>
- ‘Ali ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali al-Qurashi al-Basti, better known as al-Qalasadi (d. 891 AH/1487 CE), was a versatile scholar who mastered several disciplines related to writing and composition. Many people in Tlemcen studied under him. Among his most famous works is *al-Masalik ila Madbhab Malik*.<sup>66</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Abi al-‘Ayyash al-Khazraji (d. 911 AH/1507 CE) taught usul and Sufism in Tlemcen and had several works. Among his most famous students who graduated under him were Yahya al-Maghili, al-Hafiz ‘Abd al-Jalil al-Tanasi, and al-Qalasadi.<sup>67</sup>

These scholars played important roles in the development of education and in fostering its dynamism across the urban centres of the Maghreb, to the extent that Tlemcen became a destination for knowledge and

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 108, 113.

<sup>60</sup> Al-Ghubrini, *op. cit.*, 27; ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Talidi, *al-Mutrib bi-Mashahir Awliya’ al-Maghrib* (Rabat: Dar al-Aman, 4th ed., 2003), 64.

<sup>61</sup> Damni al-Zuhrah, *Dawr al-Andalusiiyin fi al-Maghrib al-Awsat ‘Ilmiyyan wa-Siyasiyyan (Bijayah–Tilimsan) (5–8 AH/11–14 CE)* (master’s thesis, Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, Department of Human Sciences, Ibn Khaldun University, Tiaret, 2014), 37.

<sup>62</sup> Al-Ghubrini, *op. cit.*, 348; Sa‘iduni, *op. cit.*, 116.

<sup>63</sup> Mukhtar Hassani, *Tarikh al-Dawlah al-Zayyaniyyah: al-Ahwal al-Iqtisadiyyah wa-al-Thaqafiyah* (Algiers: Mansurat al-Hadarah, 2009), 2:227.

<sup>64</sup> Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr ibn Marzuq al-‘Ajisi al-Tilimsani was born in Tlemcen in 711 AH/1311 CE and died in 781 AH/1379 CE. See Muhammad ibn Marzuq al-Tilimsani, *al-Musnad al-Sahih fi Ma’athir wa-Mahasin Mawlana Abi al-Hasan*, ed. Maria Jesus, introd. Mahmud Bu‘iyad (Algiers: al-Sharikah al-Wataniyyah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzi’, 1981), 19.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Khaldun, *Diwan al-Mubtada’ wa-al-Khabar*, 7:591–92; Ibn Marzuq, *op. cit.*, 45–46.

<sup>66</sup> He was a distinguished scholar of noble character. See Ibn Maryam Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Maliti al-Madyuni al-Tilimsani, *al-Bustan fi Dhikr al-Awliya’ wa-al-‘Ulama’ bi-Tilimsan*, rev. Muhammad Ibn Abi Shanab (Algiers: Matba‘at al-Tha‘alibah, 1908), 141.

<sup>67</sup> Mukhtar Hassani, *op. cit.*, 288–89.

scholars from various regions. With respect to the influence of the Andalusian scholarly elite in the city of Constantine, they played a prominent role in reviving its method of instruction. Constantine was one of the most important urban centres of the Central Maghreb, and it enjoyed a considerable share of knowledge and education. Its method of instruction was transformed from memorisation to learning through dialogue, discussion, and teaching. Among the most prominent figures associated with this method was Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn al-Husayn ibn 'Ali al-Qal'i (d. 673 AH/1274 CE).<sup>68</sup>

Thus, the method of the people of al-Andalus spread throughout all the urban centres of the Central Maghreb and granted education and scholars a degree of freedom, allowing the mind to think, exercise independent reasoning, and move away from rigidity, memorisation, and rote instruction. Their knowledge expanded, and their efforts in authorship multiplied. They were therefore credited with invigorating the scholarly movement across various urban centres and with fostering scholars who influenced the development of the cultural situation in the Central Maghreb.

## Conclusion

- Andalusian migration to the Central Maghreb contributed to the transfer of important civilisational and scholarly elements that played a prominent role in stimulating the region's intellectual and scholarly life.
- The Central Maghreb provided a suitable environment for the settlement of the Andalusian community owing to geographical proximity and civilisational affinity, as well as the reception policies adopted by the ruling states, such as the Zayyanid and Hafsid dynasties.
- Andalusian scholars played a notable role in invigorating educational institutions, such as kuttabs, mosques, madrasas, and zawiyas, thereby broadening the scope of education and disseminating knowledge.
- The educational system in the Central Maghreb was distinguished by its progression through three principal stages: the kuttab stage, followed by education in mosques and madrasas, and, finally, scholarly shaykhate or higher education.
- The Andalusians introduced new elements into the educational curricula, as instruction was not confined to the memorisation of the Noble Qur'an but also included Arabic, poetry, arithmetic, and certain rational sciences.
- The Andalusian scholarly elite contributed to the renewal of teaching methods by adopting explanation, analysis, discussion, and scholarly disputation rather than restricting instruction to memorisation and rote learning.
- This influence led to the flourishing of scholarly activity in the urban centres of the Central Maghreb, such as Tlemcen, Bejaia, and Constantine, and to the emergence of an elite group of scholars who made prominent contributions to the development of cultural and intellectual life in the region.

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<sup>68</sup> Allal ibn 'Umar, *al-Harakah al-'Ilmiyyah wa-Buyutat al-'Ulama' fi Madinat Qusantinah min al-Qarn 7–10 AH/13–16 CE* (master's thesis, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Department of History, Amir 'Abd al-Qadir University, Constantine, 1431–1432 AH/2010–2014 CE), 101–2.