

**Central Maghreb Scholars Teaching in Andalusian Urban Centres during
the Centuries (3 AH–6 AH/9 AD–12 AD)**

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Abstract:

This study seeks to uncover cultural communication between the Central Maghreb and al-Andalus during the third to sixth centuries AH/the ninth to twelfth centuries AD. This period witnessed remarkable development, as attested by biographical dictionaries. This was manifested in the arrival of scholars from the Central Maghreb who taught in the scholarly urban centres of al-Andalus, where they received both material and moral support from the ruling authorities. These biographical accounts have revealed numerous scholarly urban centres that received this elite, such as Córdoba, Seville, Almería, and Elvira, distinguished by their educational institutions that strengthened scientific and cultural activity in al-Andalus. Among the sciences taught in the Andalusian urban centres were the religious sciences, including the sciences of the Qur'ān, ḥadīth, jurisprudence, and exegesis, followed by literature, history, and other sciences.

Keywords: scholars, teachers, the Central Maghreb, al-Andalus, sciences.

Introduction:

A group of scholars from the Central Maghreb devoted themselves to recitation and teaching, disseminating the treasures of knowledge and learning they contained, particularly those distinguished by versatility in the sciences and by participation in various disciplines. Scholars from the Central Maghreb who taught in al-Andalus found receptive ears, attentive hearts, open minds, and security; thus, they set about teaching what they excelled in, imparting what they knew, and refining what they carried of jurisprudence, ḥadīth, exegesis, literature, and diverse sciences.

The presence of scholars from the Central Maghreb in the urban centres of al-Andalus had a significant impact, invigorating the scholarly movement throughout the centuries of the period under study and advancing it towards broad horizons of development, diversity, and influence. The most compelling testimony to this influential role of Central Maghreb scholars engaged in

teaching is found in the biographical dictionaries compiled by Maghrebi and Andalusian authors, which constitute a rich component of the Arab-Islamic heritage.

The importance of this study lies in highlighting and uncovering a group of scholars from the Central Maghreb who practised teaching in the urban centres of al-Andalus during the third to sixth centuries AH/the ninth to twelfth centuries AD and the influence they left on the Andalusian shore. The problem addressed in this paper is articulated through the following questions:

- a. What is the list of scholars who undertook teaching in al-Andalus?
- b. Which urban centres did these scholars settle in and engage in teaching?
- c. What teaching methods did they employ?
- d. What types of sciences were taught by the scholars of the Central Maghreb in these urban centres?
- e. What books were taught by the scholars of the Central Maghreb?

1. List of Central Maghreb Scholars According to the Date of Their Arrival in al-Andalus:

There is no doubt that the connections between the Maghrebi and Andalusian shores began at an early period, allowing certain figures from the Central Maghreb, especially scholars engaged in teaching, to be among the foremost civil missions contributing to the administration of Islamic institutions and scholarly activity in the Andalusian urban centres. The following presents some of the names of scholars who practice teaching in al-Andalus according to the dates of their arrival there.

A. The Third Century AH/Ninth Century AD:

This period witnessed the rule of the Rustamid state in the Central Maghreb. Relations between the two shores at that time began a notable activity encompassing all the fields, particularly the cultural sphere. This was due to the cordial relations between the Rustamids and the Umayyad Emirate in al-Andalus, which would experience remarkable development in the following century (the fourth century AH/the tenth century AD). The following are the names of scholars who arrived in al-Andalus during the third century AH/the ninth century AD.

Name of the Scholar	City of Origin and Date of Birth and Death	Date of Arrival in al-Andalus	Place of Settlement and Teaching	List of Sources and References
al-Tāhartī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Bakr b. Ḥammād, Abū Zayd	Born in Tāhart, the sources do not reveal the date of his birth. He died in 295 AH/908 AD.	He travelled to al-Andalus during the third century AH.	Córdoba; he transmitted from his father, and more than one person recorded some of his father's poetry and ḥadīths.	1. al-Ḥumaydī, <i>Jadhwat al-Muqtabis fī Dhikr Wulāt al-Andalus</i> , p. 268; 2. ‘Ādil Nuwayhid, <i>Mu‘jam A‘lām al-Jazā‘ir</i> , p. 59.

B. Fourth Century AH/Tenth Century AD:

The arrival of scholars from the Central Maghreb in al-Andalus expanded markedly during the fourth century AH/the tenth century AD because of the great attention devoted by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir to Córdoba and its infrastructural establishments, particularly educational institutions; this policy was subsequently continued by his son al-Ḥakam and, finally, by the ‘āmirids. Stipends and privileges were generously granted to teachers, which encouraged students and scholars to flock to the Andalusian capital.

The prosperity of economic activity, together with the Fāṭimid–Umayyad struggle over the lands of the Maghreb and the latter’s control over them, further strengthened the movement of exchange. The following is a list of some of those who arrived during this period.

Name of the Scholar	City of Origin and Date of Birth and Death	Date of Arrival in al-Andalus	Place of Settlement and Teaching	List of Sources and References
Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān [b. Muḥammad] al-Tamīmī al-Tāhartī al-Bazzāz, Abū al-Faḍl	Born in Tāhart in 309 AH/921 AD; died in 396 AH/1005 AD.	He came to al-Andalus with his father while still a child during the fourth century AH.	He resided in Córdoba at the Mosque of Masrūr and transmitted in the Mosque of Surayj.	1. al-Ḥumaydī, <i>Jadhwat al-Muqtabis fī Dhikr Wulāt al-Andalus</i> , p. 201. 2. Ibn Bashkuwāl, <i>al-Ṣila fī Tārīkh A’immat al-Andalus</i> , vol. 1, p. 86.
Qāsim Abū Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Yūnus al-Ḍanā	Born in 322 AH/933 AD in the city of Jazā’ir Banī Mazghannā; died in 390 AH/999 AD.	He travelled to al-Andalus during the fourth century AH.	He travelled to al-Andalus and taught ḥadīth there.	1. Ibn Bashkuwāl, <i>al-Ṣila</i> , vol. 1, p. 449; 2. ‘Ādil Nuwayhid, <i>Mu’jam A’lām al-Jazā’ir</i> , p. 199; 3. A group of professors, <i>Mawsū’at al-‘Ulamā’ wa-al-Udabā’ al-Jazā’iriyyīn</i> , vol. 2, p. 241.

Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Rabī al-Bāghānī, the Qur'ān reciter, known as Abū al-'Abbās	Born in Bāghāy in 345 AH/956 AD; died in 401 AH/1010 AD.	He arrived in al-Andalus in the year 376 AH.	He taught Qur'ānic recitation at the Great Mosque of Córdoba and specialised in teaching the sciences of the Qur'ān.	1. Ibn Bashkuwāl, <i>al-Ṣila fī Tārīkh A'immat al-Andalus</i> , vol. 1, p. 87. 2. http://www.alquran.ma/Article.aspx?C=5932 , accessed 14/12/2023 at 10:00.
'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khālīd b. Musāfir al-Hamdānī, known as Abū al-Qāsim and called Ibn al-Kharrāz	Born in Wahrān in 338 AH/949 AD; died in 400 AH/1009 AD.	He came to al-Andalus and settled in Bajjana during the fourth century AH.	He settled in Bajjana and travelled between Córdoba and Seville to deliver his lessons on the rulings of the Qur'ān.	1. al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, <i>Tartīb al-Madārik wa-Taqrīb al-Masālik</i> , vol. 7, p. 218; 2. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, <i>Mu'jam al-Buldān</i> , vol. 5, p. 386.
Abū al-'Abbās al-Bāghānī, his name Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Maghribī	Born in Bāghāy; the sources do not mention the date of his birth; died in 401 AH/1010 AD.	He arrived in al-Andalus during the fourth century AH.	He taught Qur'ānic recitation at the Great Mosque of Córdoba and taught the rulings of the Qur'ān.	1. al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, <i>Tartīb al-Madārik wa-Taqrīb al-Masālik</i> , vol. 7, p. 198.
'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyādat	From Ṭabna; born in	His father had	Córdoba; he specialised	1. Ibn Bashkuwāl, <i>al-Ṣila</i> , vol. 1, pp. 297–298; 2. 'Ādil Nuwayhid, <i>Mu'jam A'lām al-Jazā'ir</i> , p. 202.

Allāh b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭabnī, Abū al-Ḥasan	Córdoba in 367 AH/977 AD; died in 401 AH/1010 AD.	moved there from Ṭabna and settled there.	in the transmission of ḥadīth.	
Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, known as Abū Bakr and called al-Jummānī al-Wahrānī	Born in Wahrān in 361 AH/971 AD; died in 430 AH/1039 AD.	He entered al-Andalus during the fourth century AH.	He settled in Seville and taught ḥadīth.	1. https://journals.openedition.org/insaniyat/5606 , accessed 14/12/2023 at 20:30.
'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ziyādat Allāh al-Ṭabnī, known as Abū al-Aṣḥab	Born in Córdoba after his father moved there, he was of Ṭabna origin; he died in 436 AH/1044 AD.	His father had moved there from Ṭabna and settled there.	Córdoba; he assumed a leading position in the transmission of ḥadīth.	1. Ibn Bashkuwāl, <i>al-Ṣila</i> , vol. 1, p. 352; 2. 'Adil Nuwayhid, <i>Mu'jam A'lām al-Jazā'ir</i> , p. 202.
'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Qudā'i, known as Maqrūn	Born in 290 AH/902 AD; died in 378 AH/988 AD.	He entered al-Andalus in 350 AH/961 AD.	Córdoba; he sat to teach the people the reading of Warsh on the authority of Nāfi'.	1. al-Dhahabī, <i>Ma'rifat al-Qurrā' al-Kibār 'alā al-Ṭabaqāt wa-al-A'ṣār</i> , p. 191.

C. The Fifth Century AH/Eleventh Century AD:

This century witnessed the advance of the Arab tribes of Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaym into both the lower and the central Maghreb and the events and devastation that resulted from it, as

attested to by the sources. In addition, the region experienced insecurity and instability, and wars fought on its territory. Among those who arrived are the following:

Name of the Scholar	City of Origin and Date of Birth and Death	Date of Arrival in al-Andalus	Place of Settlement and Teaching	List of Sources and References
‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Ṭalḥa b. ‘Amrūn al-Wahrānī, Abū Muḥammad	Born in Wahrān, he was alive in 429 AH/1037 AD.	He came to al-Andalus as a merchant in 429 AH/1037 AD.	He settled in Seville and held sessions there for the transmission of ḥadīth.	1. Ibn Bashkuwāl, <i>al-Ṣila</i> , vol. 1, p. 145; 2. ‘Ādil Nuwayhid, <i>Mu‘jam A‘lām al-Jazā‘ir</i> , p. 349.
Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Salmūn, Abū ‘Alī al-Masīlī; according to al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ: Abū Ḥusayn b. Salmūn al-Masīlī	Born in al-Masīla; the date of his birth is unknown; he died in 431 AH/1040 AD.	He travelled to al-Andalus during the governorship of Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam, during the fifth century AH.	He settled in Córdoba and assumed a leading position in teaching Mālikī jurisprudence.	1. Ibn Bashkuwāl, <i>al-Ṣila</i> , vol. 1, p. 287; 2. al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, <i>Tartīb al-Madārik wa-Taqrīb al-Masālik</i> , vol. 7, p. 271; 3. ‘Ādil Nuwayhid, <i>Mu‘jam A‘lām al-Jazā‘ir</i> , p. 300.
al-Tāhartī, ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Mālik al-Anṣārī, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Tāhartī	Born in Tāhart, the sources do not disclose the date of his birth; he died after 446 AH/after 1056 AD.	He entered al-Andalus during the fifth century AH.	Córdoba; ḥadīth was transmitted on his authority.	1. al-Marrākushī, <i>al-Dhayl wa-al-Takmila li-Kitābay al-Mawṣūl wa-al-Ṣila</i> , vol. 3, p. 368; 2. ‘Ādil Nuwayhid, <i>Mu‘jam A‘lām al-Jazā‘ir</i> , p. 60.
‘Abd al-Malik b. Ziyādat Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Asad al-Tamīmī, then al-Ḥammānī from Banū Sa‘d b. Zayd b. Manāt b.	Originally from Ṭabna in the province of Ifrīqiya; born in 396 AH/1005 AD; died in 456	During the fifth century AH.	Almería and Córdoba; he held dictation sessions in ḥadīth, literature, and language, and students studied under him.	1. Ibn Bashkuwāl, <i>al-Ṣila fī Tārīkh Andalus</i> , vol. 1, p. 343; 2. ‘Ādil Nuwayhid, <i>Mu‘jam A‘lām al-Jazā‘ir</i> , p. 202.

Tamīm al-Ṭabnī, known as Abū Marwān	AH/1063 AD.			
‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥammū al-Masīlī, known as Abū Muḥammad	Born in al-Masīla; the sources do not indicate the date of his birth; died in 473 AH/1080 AD.	He arrived in Almería during the fifth century AH.	He settled in Almería and practised the profession of teaching, specialising in the science of legal principles and subsidiary jurisprudence.	1. Ibn Bashkuwāl, <i>al-Ṣila fī Tārīkh A’immat al-Andalus</i> , vol. 1, p. 287; 2. ‘Ādil Nuwayhid, <i>Mu’jam A’lām al-Jazā’ir</i> , pp. 300–301; 3. Ibrāhīm Ḥarakāt, <i>Madkhal ilā Tārīkh al-‘Ulūm bial-Maghrib al-Muslim ḥattā al-Qarn 9/15</i> , vol. 1, p. 97.

D. The Sixth Century AH/Twelfth Century AD:

During this period, students displayed particular interest in ḥadīth culture, a tendency encouraged by the Almohads. Their encouragement reached its peak in the second half of the sixth century AH/the twelfth century AD. The following is a list of scholars who arrived in the urban centers of al-Andalus:

Name of the Scholar	City of Origin	Date of Arrival in al-Andalus	Place of Settlement in al-Andalus	List of Sources and References
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa’īd b. Ḥarb, known as Abū al-‘Abbās and called al-Masīlī	Born in al-Masīla, he lived in the sixth century AH.	He entered al-Andalus during the sixth century AH.	He settled in Seville, where he assumed a leading role in teaching recitation and showed interest in tajwīd and ḥadīth.	Ibn al-Abbār, <i>al-Takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣila</i> , vol. 1, pp. 46–47; Ibn Maryam, <i>al-Bustān fī Dhikr al-‘Ulamā’ wa-al-Awliyā’ bi-Tilimsān</i> , p. 398.
‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Awsī, known as Abū Muḥammad	Born in Bijāya, he was alive during the sixth century AH.	He travelled to al-Andalus during the	Córdoba; he transmitted there, and the <i>Muwaṭṭa’</i> of Imām Mālik was heard from him.	1. Ibn al-Abbār, <i>al-Takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣila</i> , vol. 2, p. 304.

and called al-Tāmaghaltī		sixth century AH.		
Jābir b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Qurashī al-Ḥasanī, known as Abū al-Ḥasan	Born in Tlemcen, he was alive during the sixth century AH.	He entered Seville in 578 AH/1182 AD.	Seville; he was among those devoted to the transmission of knowledge and to the study of the names of transmitters. He transmitted, others studied under him, and he delivered readings.	1. Ibn al-Abbār, <i>al-Takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣila</i> , vol. 1, p. 201; 2. Ibrāhīm Ḥarakāt, the previously cited work, vol. 1, p. 99.
ʿAbd Allāh b. Khalīfa b. Abī ʿArjūn al-Tilimsānī, known as Abū Muḥammad	Born in Tlemcen, the sources do not provide his birth date; he died in 534 AH/1139 AD.	He entered al-Andalus during the sixth century AH.	The sources do not specify the place of his settlement; ḥadīth and jurisprudence were studied under him.	1. Ibn Bashkuwāl, <i>al-Ṣila fī Tārīkh Aʿimmat al-Andalus</i> , p. 288.
ʿAlī al-Tarashkī al-Būnī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Būnī	Born in Būna (ʿAnnāba), he was alive in 536 AH/1141 AD.	He settled in the town of al-Munkab in the district of Ilbīra during the sixth century AH.	al-Munkab in the district of al-Bīra; he assumed a leading role in the transmission of ḥadīth.	1. Ibn al-Zubayr, <i>Ṣilat al-Ṣila</i> , vol. 3, p. 312; 2. ʿĀdil Nuwayhid, <i>Muʿjam Aʿlām al-Jazāʿir</i> , p. 51.

2. Places of Teaching:

The Andalusian shore, according to biographical dictionaries, hosted several scholarly urban centres visited by scholars from the Central Maghreb for study and teaching. These urban centres played a major role in enhancing al-Andalus's cultural and scholarly standing. They came to rival the greatest Islamic urban centres of the medieval period, such as Kairouan, Fez, Tlemcen, Béjaïa, the Ḥijāz, and Baghdad. These urban centres included Córdoba, Seville, and Almería. This situation encouraged the arrival of scholars from the Islamic Maghreb in general and from the Central Maghreb in particular. The following provides a brief account of each, which is based on the information from the biographical dictionaries.

2.1 Córdoba:

Córdoba was one of the great scholarly urban centers of al-Andalus and the political capital of the Umayyad state. During the period under study, it became a destination for scholars and students of knowledge alike from various parts of the world. Ibn Ḥawqal, in his description, portrayed the condition of Córdoba during his visit as follows: “The greatest city of al-Andalus is Córdoba. In all the Maghreb there is none like it, nor in the island, Syria, or Egypt anything

approaching it in the number of inhabitants, the extent of its area, the spaciousness of its markets, the cleanliness of its quarters, the splendour of its mosques, and the abundance of its baths and inns.”¹

Al-Idrīsī, however, stated, “The city of Córdoba is the capital of the lands of al-Andalus, the mother of its cities, and the seat of the Islamic caliphate. The virtues of the people of Córdoba are more famous than to be mentioned, and their merits are more evident than to be concealed. To them belongs the culmination of splendour and brilliance; indeed, they are the notables of the land and the distinguished among the people. They are known for the soundness of their doctrine, the purity of their livelihood, the elegance of their attire in clothing and mounts, the loftiness of their aspiration in assemblies and ranks, and the refinement of their tastes in food and drink, together with noble character and commendable conduct. Córdoba has never been devoid of eminent scholars and leading men of virtue”.²

The Andalusian al-Zuhrī also informed us, on the basis of what he observed during the sixth century AH, that Córdoba was “a city from which many sciences and numerous disciplines branched out, and it is the city of learning in al-Andalus”.³

This urban center was distinguished by the abundance of its educational and scholarly institutions, which were frequented by students seeking knowledge and by scholars and jurists from various parts of the world who came to teach. Lessons were delivered there in a wide range of sciences. Among these educational facilities were mosques, universities, and libraries. Of particular concern here are the places of teaching frequented by scholars, such as mosques and universities.

A. Mosques:

The mosque constituted one of the principal educational institutions responsible for teaching students various sciences and disciplines. Córdoba had no fewer than 491 mosques.⁴ Muḥammad Salāma, in his work *al-Adab al-‘Arabī al-Andalusī: Taṭawwuru Mawḍū‘ātihī wa-Ashhar Alāmihi*, summarised the development of its subjects and its most renowned figures, stating that the sciences taught in the mosques included the memorisation of the Noble Qur’ān and its exegesis, the study of its recitation, the study of the noble Prophetic Sunnah, and the study of jurisprudence according to the Mālikī school.⁵

Al-Maḥārī went even further, affirming that “Despite this, the people of al-Andalus have no schools to assist them in the pursuit of knowledge; rather, they study all sciences in the mosques”.⁶ This conclusion was also reached by Qāsim Nāyit Balqāsim, who observed that the sciences taught in the Mosque were not limited to the religious sciences; rather, they extended beyond the religious sciences to encompass linguistic and social sciences as well.⁷

¹ Ibn Hawqal, *Surat al-Ard* (Beirut: Maktabat Dar al-Hayat, 1996), 111.

² al-Idrisi, *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq al-Afaq* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqafa al-Diniyya, 2002), 574–575.

³ al-Zuhri, *Kitab al-Jughrafiya*, ed. Muhammad Hajj Sadiq (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqafa al-Diniyya, n.d.), 88.

⁴ Abu Ubayd al-Bakri, *al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik*, ed. Jamal Talaba, vol. 2, 1st ed. (Lebanon: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 2003), 389.

⁵ Muhammad Salama, *al-Adab al-Arabi al-Andalusī: Tatawwur Mawduatihi wa Ashhar Alamihi*, 1st ed. (Lebanon: al-Dar al-Arabiyya li al-Mawsuat, 1989), 21.

⁶ Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari al-Tilimsani, *Nafh al-Tib min Ghushn al-Andalus al-Ratib wa Dhikr Waziriha Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib*, ed. Ihsan Abbas, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1988), 220.

⁷ Qasim Nait Belkacem, “al-Masjid Jami wa Jamia,” *Majallat al-Asala*, nos. 46–47 (July 1979): 3–4.

Among the most important mosques that played a decisive role as educational institutions, producing numerous shaykhs and scholars, was the Mosque of Córdoba. Its construction began during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil in 170 AH/786 AD. With the emergence of each new reign, every caliph left his mark through expansion and embellishment.

Al-Bakrī, writing in the fifth century AH/eleventh century AD, described the Mosque of Córdoba as follows: “Its congregational Mosque stands opposite the palace on the eastern side, and the two are connected by a *sabāṭ* beneath which people pass from the main thoroughfare that lies between the Mosque and the palace to the Gate of the Bridge. The length of the covered aisles of the congregational Mosque from the qibla to the inner part before the expansion was two hundred and twenty-five cubits, and the width from east to west before the expansion was one hundred and thirty cubits”.⁸

This mosque underwent several expansions with the beginning of each new reign. Al-Bakrī referred to this as follows: “Then, al-Ḥakam increased its length on the qibla side by one hundred and five cubits so that the total length became three hundred and thirty cubits. Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Āmir, by order of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, increased its width on the eastern side by eighty cubits so that the total width reached two hundred and thirty cubits. The number of aisles was eleven: the central aisle measured sixteen cubits in width; the two adjacent aisles to the east and the two adjacent aisles to the west measured fourteen cubits each; and the remaining six aisles measured eleven cubits each. Ibn Abī ‘Āmir added eight further aisles, each ten cubits wide. The length of the courtyard from east to west was one hundred and twenty-eight cubits, and its width from the qibla to the inner part was one hundred and five cubits. The width of the surrounding porticoes of the courtyard was ten cubits, making its total area thirty-three thousand one hundred and fifty cubits”.⁹

As for the internal description of the Mosque, al-Bakrī portrayed it most vividly: “The number of its doors is nine: three opening into its courtyard on the west, east, and north sides, and four in its aisles two on the west and two on the east. In the women's enclosure of the porticoes, there are two doors. The total number of columns is one thousand two hundred and ninety-three, all of which are marble pillars. The domes of the Mosque's enclosure are gilded, as is the wall of the miḥrāb and what adjoins it, where gold has been applied upon mosaic. The chandeliers of the enclosure are pure silver. The height of the minaret today built by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad is seventy-three cubits to the top of the open dome in which the muezzins circulate. At the summit of this dome are spheres of gold and silver. Its height up to the place of the call to prayer is fifty-four cubits, and the length of each of its walls at ground level is eighteen cubits”.¹⁰

Al-Zuhrī also expressed his admiration for the Mosque of Córdoba, stating, “Among the wonders of Córdoba is the congregational Mosque, the like of which does not exist in Islam. It was built by twelve rulers of the Umayyad dynasty. Among its marvels is the extension carried out by al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir billāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh: Whenever four columns meet, their capital is formed from a single stone at both the top and the bottom

⁸ al-Bakri, *al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik*, vol. 2, 388.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ al-Bakri, *al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik*, vol. 2, 389.

something unparalleled in Islam. The last to build in it was the ḥājib Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Āmir, who constructed eight aisles on the eastern side”.¹¹

In addition to the Mosque of Córdoba, several other mosques played important roles in attracting scholars and students, including the Mosque of Madīnat al-Zahrā’; the Mosque attributed to Ṭurūb, the slave-girl of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam, which he built in the western suburb of Córdoba;¹² the Mosque of the slave-girl Fajr, also in Córdoba;¹³ and the Mosque of al-Bahā’, attributed to al-Bahā’, the mother of al-Walīd b. Bishr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam the litterateur;¹⁴ and the Mosque of Marjān, the mother of the caliph al-Ḥakam al-Mustansir.¹⁵

Simon al-Ḥāyik adds that there were other mosques built by the Umayyads, among them the Mosque of al-Shifā’, named after the slave-girl Shifā’, whom the amir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam emancipated and married. She was among the most distinguished women in intellect, piety, and virtue, and the mosque in the western suburb of Córdoba was attributed to her.¹⁶ Ibn Bashkuwāl, in his work *al-Ṣila*, also referred to the existence of two mosques in Córdoba when he spoke of Abū al-Faḍl al-Bazzāz, stating, “His residence was in Córdoba at the Mosque of Masrūr, and his transmission took place in the Mosque of Surayj”.¹⁷

Al-Zuhrī relates that “al-Muntaṣir billāh issued a command and proclaimed in the streets of Córdoba that no man should wear the turban unless he had memorised and mastered the *Jāmi’ al-Mudawwana* in both memorisation and jurisprudence. He said, “Three hundred or more men were turbaned there. What then would you suppose regarding the other sciences and disciplines?”¹⁸

The considerable support that Córdoba received from the Umayyad rulers, together with the large number of mosques and the resources provided by these educational institutions, contributed to the formation of students of knowledge and the attraction of scholars and teaching shaykhs. Among them were scholars from the Central Maghreb, who made significant contributions by transmitting their teaching experience to al-Andalus. Under their guidance, numerous students were trained, many of whom later became scholars and distinguished figures who assumed high-ranking positions.

Ibn Bashkuwāl, in his work *al-Ṣila*, reveals that “Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Rab’ī al-Bāghānī, the Qur’ān reciter, known as Abū al-‘Abbās, arrived in al-Andalus in the year 376 AH and came to teach recitation in the Great Mosque of Córdoba... He was among those distinguished for memorisation, knowledge, intelligence, and understanding. His memory was one of the signs of God Almighty; he was an ocean among the oceans of knowledge and had no equal in the science of the Qur’ān its readings, its

¹¹ al-Zuhri, *Kitab al-Jughrafiya*, 87.

¹² Khazal Yasin Mustafa, “Banu Umayya fi al-Andalus wa Dawruhūm fi al-Hayat al-Ilmiyya,” PhD diss., University of Mosul, 2004, 152.

¹³ Simon Hayek, *Abd al-Rahman al-Awsat* (Beirut: al-Matbaah al-Bulsiyya, n.d.), 128.

¹⁴ Mustafa, “Banū Umayya fi al-Andalus,” 152.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Hayek, *Abd al-Rahman al-Awsat*, 128.

¹⁷ Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila fi Tarikh Aimmat al-Andalus*, ed. Bashar Awwad Maruf, vol. 1, 1st ed. (Tunis: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 2010), 86.

¹⁸ al-Zuhri, *Kitab al-Jughrafiya*, 88.

grammatical analysis, its rulings, and its abrogating and abrogated verses”.¹⁹ Concerning those who studied under him and graduated through his instruction, Muḥammad Laḥmādī states, “As for his students who learned from him, the sources mention only ‘Umar b. Numāra b. ‘Umar b. Ḥabīb b. Rūḥ b. Maṭraḥ al-Umawī (d. c. 400 AH), Ibn ‘Attāb, the chief of the muftīs of Córdoba (d. 462 AH), ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Manzūr al-Qaysī (d. 422 AH), and Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm b. Rawāḥa al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī, known as Ibn al-Ṣābūnī (d. 578 AH)”²⁰

B. The University of Córdoba:

The university was among the educational institutions to which students advanced from the primary and secondary levels to higher education. It followed the mosque, and its professors taught literature, history, and the sciences in their various branches, as well as Islamic sciences and studies.²¹

Owing to the attention it received from the authorities of al-Andalus and the provision of all necessary resources, the University of Córdoba occupied a prominent position among the universities of the Islamic world during the medieval period. Scholars and jurist-teachers were granted attractive salaries so that they might devote themselves to teaching and writing, and scholarships were also allocated to students. In this regard, Khaz‘al Yāsīn Muṣṭafā wrote, “The instruction given by the renowned scholars and jurists of al-Andalus to the sons of the Umayyad palace brought them considerable wealth and elevated their positions and ranks within Andalusian society”.²² Al-Maqqarī added, “Among this was suitable accommodation and offices designated for the delivery of lessons”.²³

2.2 Seville:

Seville, like other Andalusian urban centers, attracted the attention of the Umayyad princes and caliphs, who fostered a favourable scholarly environment by establishing educational institutions and bringing in teaching scholars, shaykhs, and jurists from various regions. It thus became a scholarly center competing with Córdoba in terms of the number of institutions, scholars, and students enrolled and graduating.

A reading in al-Maqqarī’s *Nafh al-Ṭīb*, quoting Ibn Muflīḥ regarding the condition reached by Seville, states, “Seville is the bride of the lands of al-Andalus, for its crown is honour, and around its neck lies the necklace of the great river. There is no river on earth more beautiful than this one; it rivals the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile. Boats sail upon it for recreation, travel, and fishing beneath the shade of fruits and the songs of birds for twenty-four miles. People ride along its banks for ten parasangs through continuous habitation, lofty minarets, and well-built towers...”²⁴

Ibn al-Wardī, in *Kharīdat al-‘Ajā’ib*, describes Seville as follows: “A flourishing city on the bank of the great river known as the River of Córdoba, over which there is a bridge to which ships are moored. It possesses thriving markets and profitable commerce, and its inhabitants

¹⁹ Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila fi Tarikh Aimmat al-Andalus*, vol. 1, 87.

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Al-Quran. ma, "Article," accessed December 29, 2023, <http://www.alquran.ma/Article.aspx?C=5932>.

²¹ Mustafa Ibrāhīm al-Mashini, *Madrasa al-Tafsir fi al-Andalus* (Beirut: Muassasat al-Risala, 1986), 81.

²² Khazal Yasin Mustafa, "Banū Umayya fi al-Andalus wa Dawruhūm fi al-Hayat al-Ilmiyya," 100.

²³ al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, vol. 1, 153.

²⁴ al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, vol. 1, 208.

possess great wealth. Most of their trade is in olive oil, and it includes many products of the eastern regions”.²⁵

Seville witnessed a cultural and scholarly renaissance during the Umayyad period. It was called the city of music, art, dance, and song and thus became a destination for poets and for those wishing to study various sciences. With the rise of the Banū ‘Abbād in Seville and later the Almohads during the sixth century AH, its role came to rival that of other scholarly centers throughout the Islamic world.

Al-Bakrī, in his *Masālik*, states that Seville possessed: “Its congregational Mosque today built by the imām ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam. It is among the most remarkable and magnificent of buildings, and its minaret is exquisitely crafted and extraordinary in workmanship: its four corners consist of columns rising above columns to the top, each corner containing three columns”.²⁶

Among the most prominent and greatest mosques of this city was the Mosque of Ibn ‘Adīs, attributed to the judge ‘Umar b. ‘Adīs. Its construction was ordered by the Amir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam in 213 AH/830 AD.

2.3 Almería:

The city of Almería was one of the famous Andalusian urban centers on the coast. It was built by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir and attained greatness during the state of al-Manṣūr b. Abī ‘Āmir.²⁷ Al-Zuhrī stated that Almería was “A port to which ships arrive from the East and from Alexandria; it is the commercial centre of al-Andalus and the seat of its industries... The people of this city are gentler in heart, more refined in temperament, and more compassionate than others... All its inhabitants, men and women alike, are craftsmen working with their own hands”.²⁸

Al-Maqqarī, in *al-Ghuṣn al-Raṭīb*, depicted its condition as follows: “There were no people in al-Andalus wealthier than the people of Almería, nor possessing greater commerce and treasures. It contained nearly a thousand baths and inns. It lies between two mountains with a populated trench between them. Upon one mountain stands its citadel, renowned for its strength, and upon the other its suburb. A wall surrounds both the city and the suburb. Beyond it lies another suburb known as the suburb of the basin, possessing inns, baths, trenches, and industries. Around it on every side stand lofty fortresses and ancient stones, and it is as though its soil had been sifted free of dust. It possesses towns and flourishing estates connected by flowing rivers”.²⁹

This city experienced a scholarly movement, attested to by sources and biographical dictionaries, manifested in its attraction of scholars and teachers who delivered lessons in various sciences at the Great Mosque. Its prosperity reached its peak during the reign of al-

²⁵ Ibn al-Wardi, *Kharidat al-Ajaib wa Faridat al-Gharaib*, ed. Anwar Mahmud Zanati (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqafa al-Diniyya, 2008), 61.

²⁶ al-Bakri, *al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik*, vol. 2, 391.

²⁷ al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, vol. 1, 163.

²⁸ al-Zuhri, *Kitab al-Jughrafiya*, 101–102.

²⁹ al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, vol. 1, 163.

Mu'tašim b. Şumādiḥ, which may rightly be regarded as the golden age of sciences and literature, owing to his encouragement and generous patronage.³⁰

This is confirmed by what Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī recorded in his work *al-Mughrib fī Ḥulā al-Maghrib*, quoting al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān in his description of Ibn Şumādiḥ: “A ruler who established the marketplace of knowledge firmly upon its foundations, perfected its organisation and harmony, clarified its features, and stamped its mark upon the brow of his age. His days were never devoid of scholarly disputation, nor were they filled except with study, discussion, and learned gatherings”.³¹ Thus, the city of Almería became one of the Andalusian cities that shone in the firmament of knowledge and literature.

Almería possessed a Great Mosque, whose construction was ordered by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāşir after 346 AH/957 AD.³² This monument underwent several expansions, described by al-'Udhri in *Tarşī' al-Akhbār* as follows: “Khayrān al-Fatā entered the city of Almería in Muḥarram of the year 405 AH... and he extended the qibla of the Mosque of Almería in the year 410 AH with a fine addition by which the mosque was enlarged”.³³ When Zuhayr al-Fatā assumed the rule of Almería, “he built and added to the Mosque of Almería from its western, eastern, and northern sides an aisle on each side, enlarging the mosque, and he endowed for it the inns and shops located to the south of the mosque, to its east, and in much of its northern quarter”.³⁴

2.4 Elvira:

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, the author of *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, states that Elvira “is a large district of al-Andalus and a city adjoining the lands of the district of Cabra, lying between the south and the east of Córdoba. The distance between it and Córdoba is ninety miles. Its land abounds in rivers and trees, and it contains several towns, among them Qaşīliya and Granada... Many scholars in every discipline are attributed to it”.³⁵

Al-Qazwīnī, the author of *Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-'Ibād*, writes of the city of Elvira: “Elvira is a city in al-Andalus near Córdoba. It is among the most noble and pleasant cities, closely resembling the Ghūṭa of Damascus in terms of the abundance of its rivers, the density of its trees, and the profusion of its fruits. On its coast, banana trees grow, and sugarcane thrives there. It contains mines of gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, and brass, as well as deposits of tutty and quarries of marble, and these products are transported from it to the rest of the lands of al-Andalus”.³⁶

Like other Andalusian cities, Elvira possessed educational institutions that played an effective role in elevating it to the rank of a major scholarly center alongside Córdoba and Seville. Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī classified it among the urban centers renowned for the composition of poetry

³⁰ Muhammad Ahmad Abu al-Fadl, *Tarikh Madinat al-Mariyya al-Andalusiyya fī al-Asr al-Islami (344–484 AH/955–1091 AD)* (Alexandria: Egyptian General Book Authority, 1981), 230.

³¹ Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi, *al-Maghrib fī Hula al-Maghrib*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Dar al-Maarif, 1955), 196–197.

³² Maryam Qasim Tawil, *Mamlakat al-Mariyya fī Ahd al-Mutasim ibn Samadih (443–484 AH/1051–1091 AD)* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1994), 147–148.

³³ al-Udhri, *Nusus an al-Andalus min Kitāb Tarsi al-Akhbar wa Tanwi al-Athar*, ed. Abd al-Aziz al-Ahwani (Madrid: Institute of Islamic Studies, n.d.), 83.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Yaqut al-Hamawi, *Mujam al-Buldan*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1995), 244.

³⁶ al-Qazwini, *Athar al-Bilad wa Akhbar al-Ibad* (Beirut: Dar Sadir, n.d.), 502.

and the abundance of poets,³⁷ while al-Ḥamawī considered it among the centers that devoted attention to the religious sciences and the Mālikī school of law.³⁸ Thus, it became a destination for scholars and students of knowledge. Ibn al-Zubayr,³⁹ in his work *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, reported that Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Tarashkī al-Būnī (alive in 536 AH/1141 AD) travelled to al-Andalus and settled in the town of al-Munkab in the district of Elvira, where he assumed a leading role in the transmission of ḥadīth.

The Congregational Mosque of Elvira

Located in southern al-Andalus, near Granada, the Muslim conquerors, among them Arab nobles and others, settled in the plains of Elvira around this Mosque. Ibn Ḥayyān states that at the gate of the congregational Mosque of Elvira, there would gather fifty *ḥakama*, all made of silver, owing to the large number of nobles there.⁴⁰ The mosque was rebuilt by Amir Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b al-Ḥakam b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil, the fifth Umayyad ruler of al-Andalus (238–273 AH/825–886 AD), upon the foundation previously established by Ḥanash al-Ṣan‘ānī in the year 250 AH.⁴¹

This mosque enjoyed extensive scholarly activity until the time of the Fitna and the destruction of Elvira at the end of the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus, at the beginning of the fifth century AH.

3. Methods of Teaching:

The sources most frequently mention that Andalusians received knowledge from the shaykhs of the Central Maghreb primarily through listening, reading, dictation, and transmission.

3.1 Listening:

This consisted of the student hearing the shaykh's words directly, whether the shaykh transmitted it from a book he had read or from his memorised knowledge, whether he dictated it or not. If a student of knowledge wished to transmit knowledge acquired from his shaykh through this method, he had to clarify the manner of his reception by saying, “The shaykh informed us,” “The shaykh reported to us,” “I heard so-and-so say,” “So-and-so said to us,” or “So-and-so mentioned to us”.⁴²

Listening constituted the earliest method of transmission and reception, and it was the method employed by the first generation of transmitters. It represented the continuation of the transmission of ḥadīth from the early Islamic period and subsequent eras, when it was primarily conveyed orally and later through both narration and dictation, as writing and documentation spread. Scholars of ḥadīth were the first to adopt listening as a method for transmitting the

³⁷ Ibn Saïd al-Maghribi, *al-Maghrib fi Hula al-Maghrib*, vol. 2, 94–102.

³⁸ Yaqut al-Hamawi, *Mujam al-Buldan*, vol. 1, 244.

³⁹ Ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-Sila*, ed. Sharif Abu al-Ala al-Adawi, vol. 3 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqafa al-Diniyya, 2008), 312; Adel Nuwaihidi, *Mujam Alam al-Jazair* (Beirut: Nuwaihidi Cultural Foundation, 1980), 51.

⁴⁰ Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib, *al-Ihata fi Akhbar Gharnata*, ed. Muhammad Abd Allah Inan, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanji, 1973), 92.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Abu Amr Uthman ibn Abd al-Rahman Ibn al-Salah, *Ulum al-Hadith (Muqaddimat Ibn al-Salah)*, ed. Nur al-Din Itr (Medina: al-Maktaba al-Ilmiyya, 1972), 141; Muhammad ibn Musa al-Yahsabi (al-Qadi Iyad), *al-Ilma ila Marifat Usul al-Riwaya wa Taqyid al-Sama*, ed. Ahmad Safar (Cairo: Dar al-Turath, 1970), 69.

noble ḥadīth and establishing its rules and principles; listening thus became the natural means of conveying reports among people.⁴³

Listening is the most common method used in the biographies of scholars of the Central Maghreb. However, the sources do not clarify the precise nature or duration of this listening. Nor do they specify whether it was limited to the lessons delivered by the shaykhs of the Central Maghreb or whether it occurred individually or collectively within a study circle attended by all the students. The latter seems more likely, since the texts available to us all indicate collective listening.⁴⁴

In any case, some biographies illustrate this method of instruction. Among them is the account found in the biography of the shaykh al-Tāhartī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Bakr b. Ḥammād, Abū Zayd (d. 295 AH/908 AD), who entered Córdoba, transmitted from his father, and from whom more than one person wrote down some of his father’s poetry and some of his ḥadīths.⁴⁵

Similarly, Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Tāhartī al-Bazzāz, known as Abū al-Faḍl, met with a group of students in the Mosque of Masrūr in Córdoba, where they listened to him transmit ḥadīth.⁴⁶ Similarly, Jābir b. Aḥmad al-Qurashī al-Ḥasanī al-Tilimsānī, a transmitter and specialist in the names of transmitters, benefited others through his teaching and transmitted knowledge and was studied by a group of students. Ibn al-Abbār states concerning him: “He entered Seville, and I witnessed the listening from him in the year 578 AH”.⁴⁷

3.2 Reading:

One of the most well-known methods of teaching in the fields of religious and literary sciences was the method of *igrā’* (instruction through reading). In this method, the shaykh reads himself, or one of the students reads on his behalf, while the remaining students present and write down what is recited. During this process, the shaykh explains and corrects the material.⁴⁸ This method can be illustrated through the biographies of the following scholars:

‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Qudā’ī, known as Maqrūn (d. 378 AH/988 AD), entered Córdoba to teach people the reading of Warsh from Nāfi’.⁴⁹ Similarly, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Rab’ī al-Bāghānī, the Qur’ān reciter known as Abū al-‘Abbās (d. 401 AH/1010 AD), had no equal in the science of the Qur’ān, its grammatical analysis, its rulings, and its abrogating and abrogated verses. He taught the Qur’ān in the Great Mosque of Córdoba, and al-Mansūr Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Āmir appointed him as tutor to his son ‘Abd al-

⁴³ Tahani Salama Hassan Salama, “Turuq al-Talim wa al-Ijzat al-Ilmiyya fi al-Maghrib (540–668 AH/1145–1269 AD),” *al-Majalla al-Libiyya al-Alamiyya* 5 (2016): 3.

⁴⁴ Ibrahim al-Qadiri Boutchich, *Maqalat fi Tarikh al-Gharb al-Islami Khilal Asri al-Murabitin wa al-Muwahhidin*, 4th ed. (Meknes: Matbaat Sijilmasa al-Zaytoun, 2018), 159.

⁴⁵ al-Humaydi, *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis fi Dhikr Wulat al-Andalus*, 268; Adel Nuwaihidi, *Mujam Alam al-Jazair*, 59.

⁴⁶ al-Humaydi, *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis*, 201; Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila fi Tarikh Aimmat al-Andalus*, vol. 1, 86.

⁴⁷ Ibn al-Abbar, *al-Takmila li Kitab al-Sila*, vol. 1, 201; Ibrahim Haraqat, *Madkhal ila Tarikh al-Ulum bi al-Maghrib al-Muslim*, 99.

⁴⁸ Saad Abd Allah al-Bishri, “al-Hayat al-Ilmiyya fi Asr Muluk al-Tawaif fi al-Andalus,” PhD diss., Umm al-Qura University, 1986, 247.

⁴⁹ al-Dhahabi, *Marifat al-Qurra al-Kibar ala al-Tabaqat wa al-Asar* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 2009), 191.

Raḥmān.⁵⁰ Similarly, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Ḥarb, known as Abū al-ʿAbbās and called al-Masīlī, who was among the specialists in tajwīd and attentive to the study of ḥadīth, assumed a leading role in teaching recitation in Seville. Students listened to him, and he granted authorisation for all his transmissions and writings.⁵¹

3.3 Dictation:

This method resembles that of reading but leans more toward oral delivery from memory. In it, the shaykh dictates to his students the knowledge he possesses, whether from his memory or from a book before him, while the students write it down and record it in their notebooks. This method gradually spread as book circulation increased and the paper industry flourished during and after the Almohad period.⁵²

This method can be observed in the biography of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ibn Bashkuwāl, recorded by Ibn Bashkuwāl. Ziyādat Allāh b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭabnī, known as Abū Marwān (d. 457 AH/1065 AD), who belonged to a distinguished family known for ḥadīth and literature. He was an authority in language and a poet, and he had studied in al-Andalus. When he returned to Córdoba, he delivered dictation sessions, and large numbers gathered to attend them.⁵³

3.4 Transmission:

This method requires a longer period, owing to the extended time needed to acquire the sciences that the transmitter undertook to convey, bearing the responsibility for any error or alteration in their transmission.⁵⁴ Some examples may be cited from the biographies of scholars. Among them is the shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyāda b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭabnī, known as Abū al-Ḥasan, was an educated traditionist born in Córdoba. Ibn Bashkuwāl said of him, “He possessed virtue, refinement, asceticism, and devotion, and he transmitted ḥadīth”.⁵⁵

Similarly, ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm b. Mālīk al-Anṣārī, known as Abū Ḥafṣ al-Tāhartī, a memoriser of ḥadīth, transmitted in Córdoba from Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭarrif al-Kinānī, and Abū Muḥammad b. Hudhayl al-Fihri transmitted from him (d. 446 AH/1056 AD).⁵⁶ Similarly, ʿAlī al-Tarashkī al-Būnī, known as Abū al-Ḥasan, who was alive in 536 AH/1141 AD, was a traditionist among scholars. He travelled to al-Andalus and settled in the town of al-Munkab in the district of Elvira, and the judge Abū al-Qāsim b—Samjūn transmitted from him.⁵⁷

4. Types of Sciences Taught by Central Maghreb Scholars:

The intellectual marketplace of the Islamic West during the period under study was rich with various branches of knowledge and diverse forms of learning. However, scholars of the Central Maghreb and the Andalusians showed a particular preference for the religious sciences, especially jurisprudence, the sciences of ḥadīth, and the science of Qurʾānic readings. Indeed,

⁵⁰ Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila fi Tarikh Aimmat al-Andalus*, vol. 1, 87; al-Qadi Iyad, *Tartib al-Madarik wa Taqrib al-Masalik*, vol. 7 (Morocco: Matbaat Fadala, 1983), 198.

⁵¹ Ibn al-Abbar, *al-Takmila li Kitab al-Sila*, vol. 1, 46–47; Ibn Maryam, *al-Bustan fi Dhikr al-Ulama wa al-Awliya bi Tilimsan*, 398.

⁵² Tahani Salama Hassan Salama, “Turuq al-Talim wa al-Ijazat al-Ilmiyya fi al-Maghrib (540–668 AH/1145–1269 AD),” 11; Saad Abd Allah al-Bishri, “al-Hayat al-Ilmiyya fi Asr Muluk al-Tawaif fi al-Andalus,” 244.

⁵³ Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila fi Tarikh Aimmat al-Andalus*, vol. 1, 457–458.

⁵⁴ Ibrahim al-Qadiri Boutchich, *Maqalat fi Tarikh al-Gharb al-Islami Khilal Asri al-Murabitin wa al-Muwahhidin*, 160.

⁵⁵ Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila*, vol. 1, 297–298.

⁵⁶ al-Marrakushi, *al-Dhayl wa al-Takmila*, vol. 3, 368.

⁵⁷ Ibn al-Zubayr, *Silat al-Sila*, vol. 3, 312; Adel Nuwaihidi, *Mujam Alam al-Jazair*, 51.

the Andalusian scholar Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, one of the scholars of the fifth century AH/Eventh century AD, stated in his testament to his two sons, “The most excellent of sciences is the science of the Sharī‘a, and even more excellent for the one who is granted success is to perfect the recitation of the Qur’ān, to memorise the ḥadīth of the Prophet peace and blessings be upon him and to know its authenticity from its weak. Then, he should study the principles of jurisprudence, thereby becoming well versed in the Book and the Sunnah. Thereafter, he should study the statements of the jurists and what has been transmitted regarding legal questions from the scholars and reflect upon the methods of reasoning and the verification of proofs and arguments. This is the ultimate goal and the highest rank”.⁵⁸

Undoubtedly, these sciences occupied a prominent place in intellectual production. This is not surprising, since religion was closely connected to public life and regulated society's conduct in many ways. Moreover, the needs of the age required scholars to produce further intellectual work in this field to meet the demands of learners and clarify the ambiguities within these sciences.⁵⁹

The sciences of jurisprudence also attracted Andalusian students of knowledge to the shaykhs of the Central Maghreb, both because of their need to deepen their understanding of religion and because Andalusian society was composed of diverse ethnic groups: Arab, Berber, and *Muwallad* populations.⁶⁰ The resulting human mixture and urban growth required the organisation of daily life in accordance with appropriate legal regulations.⁶¹

Among the most prominent scholars who taught jurisprudence were Ḥusayn b. Salmūn, Abū ‘Alī al-Masīlī, referred to by al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ as Abū Ḥusayn b. Salmūn (d. 431 AH/1040 AD), who travelled to al-Andalus during the governorship of Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam, settled in Córdoba, and assumed a leading role in teaching Mālikī jurisprudence.⁶² Similarly, ‘Abd Allāh b. Khalīfa b. Abī ‘Arjūn al-Tilimsānī, known as Abū Muḥammad (d. 534 AH/1139 AD), was a jurist who had memorised jurisprudence and mastered it thoroughly. Students studied under him, and he served as a judge in several places, both in the Maghreb and in al-Andalus.⁶³

The interest of Andalusian students in the science of Qur’ānic readings was no less than their interest in jurisprudence. The sources mention a considerable number of scholars from the Central Maghreb who taught the sciences of the Qur’ān. Among the most renowned of them was Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Rab‘ī al-Bāghānī, the Qur’ān reciter known as Abū al-‘Abbās (d. 401 AH/1010 AD), who assumed the position of teaching recitation in the Great Mosque of Córdoba and specialised in the sciences of the Qur’ān.⁶⁴ Another was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Khālīd b. Musāfir al-Hamdānī, known as Abū

⁵⁸ Ibrahim al-Qadiri Boutchich, *Maqalat fi Tarikh al-Gharb al-Islami*, 157.

⁵⁹ Ahmad Shamekh al-Hamid al-Anzi, *al-Hayat al-Fikriyya fi al-Asr al-Mamluki al-Thani fi Misr wa al-Sham wa al-Hijaz* (Damascus: Safahat for Studies and Publishing, 2010), 270; Rabah Bonar, *al-Maghrib al-Arabi: Tarikhuhu wa Thaqafatuhu* (Algeria: Dar al-Huda, 2000), 77.

⁶⁰ Ibrahim al-Qadiri Boutchich, *Mabahith fi al-Tarikh al-Ijtimai li al-Maghrib wa al-Andalus Khilal Asr al-Murabitin* (Beirut: Dar al-Talia li al-Nashr wa al-Tawzi, 1998), 8.

⁶¹ Ibrahim al-Qadiri Boutchich, *Mabahith fi al-Tarikh al-Ijtimai*, 157.

⁶² Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila*, vol. 1, 287; al-Qadi Iyad, *Tartib al-Madarik wa Taqrib al-Masalik*, vol. 7, 271; Adel Nuwaihidi, *Mujam Alam al-Jazair*, 300.

⁶³ Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila fi Tarikh Aimmat al-Andalus*, vol. 1, 288.

⁶⁴ Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila*, vol. 1, 87.

al-Qāsim and called Ibn al-Kharrāz (d. 400 AH/1009 AD), who settled in Bajjana and travelled between Córdoba and Seville to deliver lessons on the rulings of the Qur'ān.

The science of ḥadīth was likewise of great importance, being the second branch of the religious sciences and no less significant than the sciences of the Qur'ān. This discipline included the study of ḥadīth in terms of its text, its chain of transmission, its terminology, its rare expressions, its problematic aspects, its abrogating and abrogated elements, and it constituted one of the sciences concerned with examining the degrees of ḥadīth, such as the authentic and the fabricated.⁶⁵

The sources mention several scholars from the Central Maghreb who taught this science. Among them were Qāsim Abū Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Yūnus al-Ḍanā (d. 390 AH/999 AD), who travelled to al-Andalus and taught ḥadīth there,⁶⁶ and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyādat Allāh b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭabnī, known as Abū al-Ḥasan, who likewise taught in Córdoba and specialised in the transmission of ḥadīth.⁶⁷

The strong inclination of Andalusian students of knowledge towards the religious sciences did not prevent some of them from drawing on other sciences, such as grammar and Arabic. Among the most prominent scholars who taught in this field was 'Abd al-Malik b. Ziyādat Allāh b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭabnī, known as Abū Marwān (d. 456 AH/1063 AD), who showed great care in recording knowledge and ḥadīth, and excelled in the sciences of literature and poetry. Large numbers gathered to attend his dictation sessions.⁶⁸ Another was Jābir b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Qurashī al-Ḥasanī al-Tilimsānī, known as Abū al-Ḥasan (alive in 578 AH/1182 AD), was devoted to the transmission of knowledge and to the study of the names of transmitters. He compiled the *mashyakha* of Ibn Khayr in alphabetical order and benefited from it.⁶⁹

5. The Books Taught by Scholars of the Central Maghreb:

In addition to the Noble Qur'ān, which served as the foundation of study in the urban centers of al-Andalus for both newcomers and others, the books taught by scholars of the Central Maghreb in al-Andalus during the period from the third to the sixth centuries AH may be identified from the biographical accounts available to us, in the biography of Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Tāhartī al-Bazzāz is reported to have been transmitted from the book *Ṣarīḥ al-Sunna* by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, as well as the books *Faḍā'il al-Jihād* and *Risāla ilā Ahl Ṭabaristān*.⁷⁰ In the biography of Abū al-'Abbās al-Baghā'ī, Abū 'Abd Allāh b. 'Attāb approved of his composition *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān* and studied it under him.⁷¹

Among the widely circulated ḥadīth works received by Andalusians was the book *al-Muwaṭṭa'* of Imām Mālik. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Awsī, originally from Bijāya, transmitted the book *al-Muwaṭṭa'* in Córdoba.⁷² Similarly, 'Alī al-Tarashkī al-Būnī, known as

⁶⁵ Ahmad Shamekh al-Hamid al-Anzi, *al-Hayat al-Fikriyya fi al-Asr al-Mamluki al-Thani*, 276.

⁶⁶ Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila*, vol. 1, 449; Adel Nuwaihīdh, *Mujam Alam al-Jazair*, 199; Collective Authors, *Mawsuat al-Ulama wa al-Udaba al-Jazairiyyin*, vol. 2, 241.

⁶⁷ Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila*, vol. 1, 343; Adel Nuwaihīdh, *Mujam Alam al-Jazair*, 202.

⁶⁸ Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila*, vol. 1, 343; Adel Nuwaihīdh, *Mujam Alam al-Jazair*, 202.

⁶⁹ Ibn al-Abbar, *al-Takmila li Kitab al-Sila*, vol. 1, 201; Ibrahim Haraqat, *Madkhal ila Tarikh al-Ulum bi al-Maghrib al-Muslim*, 99.

⁷⁰ Ibn Bashkuwal, *al-Sila*, vol. 1, 86.

⁷¹ al-Qadi Iyad, *Tartib al-Madarik*, vol. 7, 198.

⁷² Ibn al-Abbar, *al-Takmila li Kitab al-Sila*, vol. 2, 304.

Abū al-Ḥasan, about whom Ibn al-Zubayr states, “He travelled to al-Andalus and settled in the town of al-Munkab in the district of Elvira; the judge Abū al-Qāsim b. Samjūn transmitted from him and said: he passed by us as a traveller, and we received from him several books, and he authorised us”⁷³ indicates that these works belonged to the field of ḥadīth. It is also mentioned in the biography of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. Ḥarb al-Masīlī that he composed a book on the seven Qur’ānic readings entitled *al-Taqrīb*, from which Abū al-Ḥasan Najba b. Yaḥyā studied and from whom Abū Bakr b. Khayr heard.⁷⁴

Conclusion:

The period extending from the third to the sixth centuries AH witnessed the arrival of a group of scholars from the Central Maghreb in al-Andalus with the aim of teaching and disseminating both religious and secular sciences. According to the biographical dictionaries, this group was present in major scholarly centers such as Córdoba, Seville, Almería, and Elvira. A list has been compiled, including their names, the dates of their arrival in the Andalusian urban centres, and the sciences they taught.

The aforementioned cities, together with the considerable resources provided by the Umayyad rulers and their support, patronage, and attention, played a major role in attracting competent scholars to teach and promote the development of Andalusian urban centres, raising them to the rank of great scholarly centres. Among the sciences circulating in those centres were the religious sciences in their various branches, as well as history, literature, language, and others. Teaching was conducted through several methods, including dictation, reading, listening, and transmission. The sciences taught were diverse, comprising religious sciences such as the sciences of the Qur’ān, jurisprudence, and ḥadīth, as well as secular sciences such as history, literature, and language. The books taught were predominantly concerned with the field of religious studies.

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⁷³ Ibn al-Zubayr, *Silat al-Sila*, vol. 3, 312; Adel Nuwaihidi, *Mujam Alam al-Jazair*, 51.

⁷⁴ Ibn al-Abbar, *al-Takmila li Kitab al-Sila*, vol. 1, 46–47; Ibn Maryam, *al-Bustan fi Dhikr al-Ulama wa al-Awliya bi Tilimsan*, 398.

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