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## THE IMPACT OF THE ANDALUSIAN SCHOLARLY JOURNEY TO THE EAST ON AL-ANDALUS AND ITS MAJOR CULTURAL MANIFESTATIONS

Lamia Zekri\*

Mabkhout Boudwaya\*\*

**Abstract.** This study explores the impact of the Andalusian religious scholarly journey to East on al-Andalus. The region witnessed the travels of numerous Andalusian scholars to the lands of the Islamic East, where they forged cultural ties with their Eastern counterparts- scholars and sheikhs alike. These connections encompassed both religious and scientific domains, facilitating the exchange of knowledge, sciences, and scholarly methodologies. The journey offered an opportunity to become acquainted with Eastern sciences and religious teaching methods, yielding positive effects on the development of religious life in al-Andalus\*. Relations between al-Andalus and the lands of the Islamic East were consolidated through the journeys of scholars and students and their encounters in Eastern cities. These interactions enabled the establishment of diverse connections and resulted in a wide-ranging cultural exchange encompassing both religious and scientific fields. Through meetings with sheikhs and scholars, various sciences were acquired, alongside cultural influences that significantly enriched Andalusian intellectual heritage. These journeys provided considerable impetus to scientific and intellectual activity and sparked a cultural awakening, being among the most effective means of intellectual communication. What, then, was the impact of the Andalusian scholarly religious journey to the East on al-Andalus, and what were its most prominent cultural manifestations?

**Keywords:** Al-Andalus; Islamic East; Andalusian scholarly journey to the East; scholars; religious and scientific manifestations

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## ВЛИЯНИЕ АНДАЛУСИЙСКИХ НАУЧНО-РЕЛИГИОЗНЫХ ПУТЕШЕСТВИЙ НА ВОСТОК (АЛЬ-АНДАЛУС) И ЕГО ОСНОВНЫЕ КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ ПРОЯВЛЕНИЯ

Ламия Зекри\*

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**Абстракт.** В данном исследовании рассматривается влияние религиозных научных путешествий андалусийских учёных на Восток на регион аль-Андалус. В этот период множество андалусийских учёных направлялись в исламский Восток, где устанавливали культурные связи со своими восточными коллегами-учёными и шейхами. Эти связи охватывали как религиозную, так и научную сферы, способствуя обмену знаниями, науками и методами научной работы. Путешествия позволяли ознакомиться с восточными науками и методами религиозного преподавания, что оказало положительное влияние на развитие религиозной жизни в аль-Андалусе. Отношения между аль-Андалусом и исламским Востоком укреплялись благодаря путешествиям учёных и студентов, а также их встречам в восточных городах. Эти взаимодействия привели к широкому культурному обмену, охватывающему как религиозную, так и научную сферы. Через встречи с шейхами и учёными происходило освоение различных наук, а также культурное влияние, которое значительно обогатило интеллектуальное наследие аль-Андалуса. Эти путешествия дали мощный импульс научной и интеллектуальной активности, став одним из самых эффективных средств интеллектуального общения. Каково же было влияние андалусийских религиозных научных путешествий на Восток на аль-Андалус, и какими были их наиболее яркие культурные проявления?

**Ключевые слова:** аль-Андалус; исламский Восток; андалусийские научные путешествия на Восток; учёные; религиозные и научные проявления

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## ƏNDƏLUS ALİMLƏRİNİN ŞƏRQƏ DİNİ ELMİ SƏFƏRİNİN TƏSİRİ (ƏNDƏLUS TƏSİRİ) VƏ BAŞLICA MƏDƏNİ TƏCƏLLİLƏRİ

Lamiə Zəkri\*

Məbxut Budvaya\*\*

**Abstrakt.** Bu tədqiqat Əndəlus alimlərinin İslam Şərqinə etdikləri dini elmi səfərlərin Əndəlus təsirini araşdırır. Əndəlusda çoxsaylı alimlərin İslam Şərqinin müxtəlif bölgələrinə səfərləri müşahidə olunmuşdur. Bu səfərlər zamanı onlar şərqli alimlər və şeyxlərlə mədəni əlaqələr qurmuş, həm dini, həm də elmi sahələrdə bilik və metodların mübadiləsinə şərait yaratmışdır. Səfərlər şərq elmləri və dini tədris metodları ilə tanış olmaq imkanı vermiş və bu, Əndəlusda dini həyatın inkişafına müsbət təsir göstərmişdir. Əndəlus ilə İslam Şərq arasında münasibətlər alimlər və tələbələrin səfərləri, eləcə də onların şərq şəhərlərindəki qarşılıqlı görüşləri vasitəsilə daha da möhkəmləndirilmişdir. Bu əlaqələr dini və elmi sahələri əhatə edən genişmiqyaslı mədəni mübadiləyə yol açmışdır. Şeyx və alimlərlə keçirilən görüşlər nəticəsində müxtəlif elmlər mənimsənilmiş, eyni zamanda Əndəlusun intellektual irsini zənginləşdirən mədəni təsirlər baş vermişdir. Bu səfərlər elmi və intellektual fəaliyyətə güclü təkan vermiş, mədəni dirçəlişə səbəb olmuş və intellektual ünsiyyətin ən təsirli vasitələrindən biri kimi çıxış etmişdir. Bəs, Əndəlus alimlərinin İslam Şərqinə dini elmi səfərinin Əndəlus üzərindəki təsiri nə olmuşdur və onun ən mühüm mədəni təəcəlliləri hansılardır?

**Açar sözlər:** Əndəlus; İslam Şərq; Əndəlus alimlərinin Şərqə səfəri; alimlər; dini və elmi təəcəllilər

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## 1. Introduction

### 1. The Spread of the Mālikī Sunnī School of Thought in al-Andalus

The Mālikī school of jurisprudence came to dominate religious life in al-Andalus, having been transmitted by Andalusian scholars returning from the Islamic East. It spread widely across mosques and Qur'ānic schools. Among the most prominent Mālikī scholars in al-Andalus was Muḥammad al-Sarqustī, known for his exceptional memorisation of the teachings of Imām Mālik- may God be pleased with him. He was eloquent in his writings and contributed extensively to the Islamic legal sciences. He devoted himself to studying Mālikī jurisprudence and authored numerous works, including *Muslim*, *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, and *al-Tahdhīb* [Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Qalaṣādī. *Riḥlat al-Qalaṣādī*. Edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Ajḡān. Tunis: al-Sharikah al-Tūnisiyyah lil-Tawzī', n.d., 164]. Other important Mālikī texts in circulation included works by al-Barrādhī, Ibn Ḥājib, *al-Talqīn*, *al-Risāla*, Ibn Ḥājib's abridgement, and Khālīd's treatises, as well as the introductory works of Ibn Rushd and *al-Mudawwana*.

He passed away- may God have mercy on him- on Tuesday, the seventh of the blessed month of Ramaḡān in the year 865 AH/17 June 1461 CE.

Scientific activity in Granada was further enhanced through the attention given to the Mālikī school, particularly by sustaining the practice of issuing legal opinions (*fatāwā*) and addressing contemporary legal issues (*nawāzil*). Jurists focused on clarifying legal rulings and the encyclopaedic work "*al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib wa al-Jāmi' al-Maghrib 'an Fatāwā 'Ulamā' Ifrīqiyya wa al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib*" [Ibid., 168] Abū al-'Abbās Aḡmad al-Wansharīsī (d. 914 AH) has preserved a significant collection of legal opinions from Andalusian scholars of this period. These include figures such as Ibn Fatūḡ al-Gharnāṭī [Muḥammad Makhlūf. *Shajarat al-Nūr al-Zakiyya fī Ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyya*. Cairo: al-Maṭba'ah al-Salafiyyah, 1930 [1349 AH], 260]. (d. 867 AH), Ibn Sirāj al-Gharnāṭī (d. 848 AH), [Ibid., 248] and Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥaffār al-Anṣārī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 811 AH).

This extensive scholarly activity indicates the continued vibrancy of education and intellectual production in Granada, where teachers nourished the minds of students [Ibid., 249]. With carefully transmitted knowledge. Such transmission was, as far as possible, free from distortion or error, [Muḥammadī 'Ādil 'Abd al-'Azīz. *al-Tarbiyah al-Islāmiyyah fī al-Maghrib: Uṣūluḡ al-Mashriqiyyah wa Ta'thīrātuhā al-Andalusiyyah*. Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1986, 36] since students were deeply committed to acquiring precise and reliably attributed knowledge that could affirm their intellectual lineage to trustworthy scholars [Ibid., 35].

### 2. The Spread of Ṣūfī Orders in al-Andalus

The phenomenon of the spread of Ṣūfism in al-Andalus represents one of the most prominent religious manifestations and cultural ties that connected the region with the Islamic East. This finding is evidence of the profound spiritual and purely religious bonds between the two. This became especially evident following the establishment of Ṣūfī orders and the widespread affiliation of the general public with these ṭuruq (Ṣūfī paths) [Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn. *Shifā' al-Sā'il li-Tahdhīb al-Masā'il*. Edited by Father Ignatius 'Abdu Khalīfah al-Yasū'ī. Beirut: al-Maṭba'ah al-Kāthūlīkīyah, 1959, 27.; 'Umar Farāḥ. *Tārīkh al-Fikr al-'Arabī*. Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1966, 430].

The term *taṣawwuf* (Ṣūfism) is ancient within Islamic society, having emerged around the second century AH [Najafov R. (2025). On the philosophical study of the origin of irrational knowledge in Eastern peripatetic philosophy: “revelation, dream and inspiration”: in the context of the philosophical views of Shihabeddin Yahya Suhrawardi, Abulhasan Bahmaniyar and Al-Kindi. Science, Education and Innovations in the Context of Modern Problems. 8(3), 48-67] in the form of asceticism and piety before gradually evolving into a system of worship and a distinct psychological and intellectual orientation [Mukhtār Filālī. *Nash'at al-Murābiṭīn wa al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyyah wa Atharuhumā fī al-Jazā'ir khilāl al-'Ahd al-'Uthmānī*. Bātnah: Dār al-Alfann al-Ghrāfikī, n.d., 11].

Ibn Khaldūn defined it as follows:

“Devotion to worship, withdrawal to God Almighty, turning away from the outwards adornments of the world and its embellishments, renouncing what the majority pursue in terms of pleasure, wealth, and status, and isolating oneself from creation in retreat and worship”.

Ṣūfism initially entered the Maghrib in the form of asceticism and piety, later evolving into philosophical Ṣūfism due to various influences. Foremost among these was Andalusians' contact with the Eastern Islamic world through pilgrimage (*hajj*) and scholarly journeys, during which they engaged with Ṣūfī literature, doctrines, [Ibrāhīm Būchīsh. *Iḍā'āt Ḥawl Turāth al-Gharb al-Islāmī wa Tārīkhīh al-Iqtisādī wa al-Ijtimā'ī*. Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalī'ah, 2002, 147] Moreover, various Eastern Ṣūfī trends, acquiring significant works such as *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya* (The Epistle of al-Qushayrī) and *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (The Revival of the Religious Sciences) by Imām Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī [Ibid., 131].

This Ṣūfī movement in al-Andalus was spearheaded by the prominent figure Abū Madyan Shu'ayb al-Ishbīlī (d. 595 AH/1198 CE), [Ibn Maryam. *al-Bustān fī Dhikr al-Awliyā' wa al-'Ulamā' bi-Tilimsān*. Edited by Muḥammad b. Bī Shunub. Algiers: Dīwān al-Maṭbū'āt al-Jāmi'iyyah, 1986, 108] known as Ḍayf al-'Ibād in Tlemcen under the Zayyānid dynasty, who studied Ṣūfism under 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561 AH/1166 CE) [Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nadwī. *Rijāl*

*al-Fikr wa al-Da'wah fī al-Islām*. Vol. 1. Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 2002, 319] In Baghdad. The teachings of al-Ghazālī profoundly influenced Abū Madyan. Consequently, al-Andalus became a destination for Ṣūfī adherents from various Islamic regions, particularly the East. As a result, Ṣūfī activity flourished, and numerous Ṣūfī orders were established, significantly supported by Andalusian rulers, who esteemed the Ṣūfī movement and its proponents. They built dedicated Ṣūfī institutions such as *khānqāhs* (Ṣūfī lodges), *zāwiyas* (religious schools), and *ribāṭs* (spiritual retreats).

Among the most notable disciples of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī was Sheikh Aḥmad Abū al-'Abbās al-Mursī, who succeeded him as the head of the Shādhiliyya order until he died in Alexandria in 686 AH/1284 CE [al-Maqqarī. *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb wa Dhikr Wazīriḥā Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb*. Edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968, vol. 2, 330]. He was succeeded by Taj al-Dīn Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, the Egyptian, who composed the book *Laṭā'if al-Minan*, [Aḥmad Ibn 'Ajīnah. *Al-Qaṭf al-Himam fī Sharḥ al-Ḥikam*. Vol.1. Cairo: al-Maṭba'ah al-Jamāliyyah, 1913, 9] which chronicled the virtues and biographies of his Ṣūfī masters. The teachings and methods of the Shādhiliyya order closely align with the Ṣūfī approach of Imām Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī, characterised by adherence to the texts of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī himself was a disciple and spiritual successor of Sheikh 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mashīsh, ['Abd al-Ghanī Qāsim 'Abd al-Ḥakīm. *al-Madhāhib al-Ṣūfiyyah wa Madārisuhā*. Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1999, 178] who, in turn, studied under Abū Madyan Shu'ayb [Louis Rinn. *Marabouts et Khouans*. Algiers, 1984, 2110].

The Shādhiliyya order exerted considerable influence throughout the Islamic world, spreading across its regions and reaching al-Andalus. Among its most prominent representatives during the eighth century AH (fourteenth century CE) was Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī (d. 790 AH/1390 CE), known for his commentary on the *Ḥikam* of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī. In his letters, Ibn 'Abbād encouraged the study of Sunnī Ṣūfī texts [Ibn 'Abbād al-Randī. *al-Rasā'il al-Kubrā*. Edited by Father Pauls Yohanna al-Yasū'ī. Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1979, 210]. Andalusian Ṣūfis significantly influenced society, amassing numerous followers whom they spiritually and intellectually guided and educated through Ṣūfī lessons held in *khānqāhs*, *zāwiyas*, and *ribāṭs*, which had proliferated across al-Andalus. These institutions hosted Ṣūfī masters who engaged extensively with students. Specific Ṣūfī texts became widespread and were regularly studied and discussed among Andalusian students, such as the works of al-Harawī, *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya* by al-Qushayrī, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* by al-Ghazālī, and *al-Shifā'* by al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ [Ibn Khaldūn. *al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, 866]. Consequently, Ṣūfī currents expanded broadly, and Ṣūfī concepts became prevalent, with each Ṣūfī

community adopting its own set of customs, symbols, and behaviours [al-Mahdī al-Bū‘ Abdālī. “Aham al-Aḥdāth al-Fikriyyah bi-Tilimsān ‘Abr al-‘Uṣūr wa Nubadh Majmū‘ah min Tārīkh Ḥayāt Ba‘ḍ A‘lāmiḥā.” *Majallat al-Aṣālah*, no. 26, vol. 4, July-August 1975, 131]. A new phenomenon emerged, characterised by reverence towards saints (*awliyā’*) and sheikhs and belief in their blessings (*baraka*) [Ibn Taymiyyah. *al-Farq bayn Awliyā’ al-Raḥmān wa Awliyā’ al-Shayṭān*. Constantine: Dār al-Ba‘th, 1987, 11]. In various regions, these revered figures resided within *ribāṭs* [Aboubekr Abdesselam Ben Choaiḥ. “Les marabouts guérisseurs.” *Revue Africaine*, no. 51, 1907, 250; “Les marabouts petits monuments funéraires notifs du nord de l’Afrique.” *Revue Africaine*, no. 64, 1923, 448].

These examples, which illustrate the belief of Andalusian kings and sultans in saintly figures (*awliyā’*), sufficiently indicate how deeply such concepts had become rooted in the consciousness of al-Andalus’s population, rulers and subjects alike. This belief became integral to spiritual life and was firmly established as one of the primary characteristics defining spiritual relations and ties between al-Andalus and the Islamic East. Consequently, Andalusians and Eastern Muslims shared similar and interconnected beliefs and doctrines, which became further enriched and consolidated, particularly through scholarly journeys.

### **3. Construction of Religious Institutions in al-Andalus**

Madrasas represent some of the most significant educational institutions that flourished in the Islamic East and subsequently spread to al-Andalus. They are among the most prominent influences introduced from the East to al-Andalus. Andalusian rulers actively engaged in constructing these madrasas, supervising them officially, and appointing teaching staff according to a transparent methodology and policy, particularly aimed at serving the Mālikī school of jurisprudence.

Nevertheless, students continued to travel frequently between Andalusian and Eastern madrasas, seeking knowledge from eminent scholars across various disciplines. These institutions provided Andalusian students with opportunities to meet their Eastern counterparts, facilitating the exchange of knowledge and ideas and thereby greatly enhancing scholarly activity in both regions.

In al-Andalus, madrasas represented an evolution of mosques, from which education gradually separated, eventually developing into independent institutions [Aḥmad Shalabī. *al-Marja’ al-Sābiq*, 685]. Among the earliest Islamic madrasas was the one established by the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma’mūn [al-Ṭabarī. *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*. Edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo: Dār al-Ma’ārif, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., vol. 8, 1979, 660; Ibn Sa’d al-Yāfi‘ī. *Mir’āt al-Khabāzah wa ‘Ibar al-Yaqzān fī Ma’rifat Ḥawādith al-Zamān*.

Edited by Allāh al-Jubūrī, vol. 1, 1st ed., Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1984, 448] During his governorship of Khurāsān, [Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī. *Irshād al-Arīb ilā Ma'rifat al-Adīb (Mu'jam al-Udabā')*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed., Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993, vol. 2, 350] in the city of Nishapur, [Ibid., vol. 5, 331] in 217 AH [Ibid., 256].

Despite variations regarding the precise historical origins of the Nizāmiyya madrasas, [Al-Subkī. *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah*. Edited by 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulū and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Khānjī, vol. 4, Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 314; Ibn Taghrī Birdī. *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*. Edited by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn, 1st ed., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, (1992), 51-414] it is evident that the establishment of madrasas steadily expanded from Khurāsān into Iraq, [Ibn Khallikān. *al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, vol. 2, 128] Syria, Egypt, [Al-Shahrastānī. *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*. Edited by Muḥammad Sayyid Kilānī, vol. 1, Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1404 AH, 93] and moreover, throughout the broader Islamic world, including notably al-Andalus [Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī. *al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, vol. 2, 256]. The madrasa, in its Eastern model, emerged in Granada during the eighth century AH [Aḥmad Mukhtār al-'Abbādī. *Maẓāhir al-Ḥaḍārah, al-Marja' al-Sābiq*, 315]. It had previously appeared in Ifrīqiya, Fez, and Tlemcen in the seventh century AH, [al-Jīlālī Shaqrūn. "Tilmīsān Markaz Ish'ā' Ḥaḍārī fī al-Maghrib al-Awsaṭ." *Majallat al-Fuṣṭāṭ*, May 2009, 6] although historians commonly identify the earliest Nizāmiyya-type madrasa in the Maghrib as the Sābirīn Madrasa, founded by Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn in Fez [Ibid., 75].

Among the most renowned educational and scholarly centres in al-Andalus was the Great Mosque of Cordoba [Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥamīd 'Īsā. *al-Marja' al-Sābiq*, 390] and the Naṣrid Madrasa- also known as the Yūsufiyya Madrasa [Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, vol. 3, 36]- constructed by Sultan Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf at the suggestion of his chamberlain, Riḍwān al-Naṣrī, in 750 AH/1349 CE [Lucien Colón. "Quelques réflexions sur la fondation d'une madrasa à Grenade en 750/1349." In *Actas XII Congreso de la V.E.A.I.*, Málaga: Auertaz Madrid, 6, p. 305]. This institution was among Granada's most significant scholarly centres, [Ahmed Mukhtār al-'Abbādī. "El reino de Granada en la época de Muhammad V: Vida social y cultural." *Revistadel Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* 5 (1957): 79] and its reputation extends far beyond its immediate locality [al-Maqqarī. *Azhar al-Riyāḍ fī Akhbār al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ*. Edited by Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā. Cairo: Maṭba'at Lajnat al-Ta'līf wa al-Tarjamah wa al-Nashr, 1939, vol. 1, 272]. The madrasa attracted students from all corners of al-Andalus and was staffed by distinguished scholars and Qur'ānic reciters from both al-Andalus and the Islamic Maghrib. Among the most prominent figures who were taught were Abū Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh Abī al-Qāsim ibn Juzayy (d. 757 AH) [Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *al-Katībah al-Kāminah*

*fī Shu‘arā’ al-Mi‘ah al-Thāminah*. Edited by Iḥsān ‘Abbās. Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfah, n.d., 96] and Faraj ibn Qāsim ibn Lubb al-Tha‘labī (d. 782 AH) [Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *Awṣāf al-Nās fī al-Tārīkh wa al-Ṣilāt, Talīhā al-Zawājir wa al-‘Izāt*. Edited by Muḥammad Kamāl Shabānah. Maṭba‘at Faḍālah, al-Muḥammadiyyah, 32; ‘Imād al-Ḥanbalī. *Dhahab Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab*. Edited by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Arnā’ūt. Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1997, 483].

Ibn al-Khaṭīb made considerable efforts in seeking scholars and inviting them to Granada, including Muḥammad ibn al-‘Alī al-‘Awwād [Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *al-Maṣdar al-Nafsahu*, vol. 3, 33]. Other prominent figures who teach there include Manṣūr ibn ‘Alī al-Zawāwī [Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *al-Iḥāṭah*, vol. 3, 424] and Ibn Marzūq al-Tilimsānī [Muḥammad al-Sharīf. “Min Maẓāhir al-Tawāṣul al-Ḥaḍārī bayna al-Maghrib al-Marīnī wa Gharnāṭah al-Naṣriyyah.” Presented at the *Nadwah Mathallath al-Andalus*, Qaṣbat al-Awdāyah, Rabat, October 2003, 107]. There are further references indicating the existence of madrasas founded by scholars and ascetics in Málaga, which itself gained considerable renown for its educational institutions. The madrasa established there preceded the Naṣrid Madrasa of Granada. This institution was independent from the central mosque [Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ‘Īsā. *al-Marja’ al-Sābiq*, 286]. Moreover, it was founded by the Ṣūfī Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ibrāhīm Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Sāḥilī al-Mu‘allim (d. 754 AH) [Ibid., 378].

The Naṣrids became acquainted with Nizāmiyya-type madrasas after being influenced by Islamic educational institutions from the East, [Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, vol. 3, 239] Subsequently, developing them further and endowing them [Ibn Manẓūr. *Lisān al-‘Arab*. Edited by ‘Alī Shīrī. Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 4898]. They have collections of books and scholarly works. Among such works was *al-Iḥāṭa fī Akhbār Gharnāṭa* by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, explicitly endowed for students' benefit. Regarding this, al-Maqqarī narrates an account from the scholar Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥaddād al-Wādī Amīn, who stated, ‘On the cover of the exceptionally beautiful leading copy of *al-Iḥāṭa fī Tārīkh Gharnāṭa*, endowed to the Yūsufiyya Madrasa...’. Moreover, this esteemed madrasa produced many outstanding scholars who represented the final flourishing of Andalusian culture before migrating to the Islamic Maghrib, carrying with them their sciences, literature, and arts, thereby sparking a widespread scholarly revival in the region.

#### **4.The Spread of Zāwiyas, Khānqāhs, and Ribāṭs**

Al-Andalus witnessed the widespread establishment of *zāwiyas* (Ṣūfī lodges), the most notable of which was the *Zāwiyat Akhshāwush*, [Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *al-Iḥāṭah, al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, vol. 3, 40] founded by Ibn al-Khaṭīb specifically to serve scholarly activities [Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, vol. 1, 30]. Another example includes the *Ribāṭ al-Bayyāzīn*, established by a

family that originated from eastern al-Andalus, which became dedicated to Qur'ānic recitation and the performance of religious chants [Rachel Akil. *El Reino Nasrí de Granada (1232-1491)*. Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992, 256]. Additionally, some scholars resided in *khānqāhs* [al-Suyūṭī. *al-Bughyah, al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, vol. 2, 23].

Numerous *ribāṭs* (spiritual retreats) were also established in al-Andalus, among them the prominent *Ribāṭ Ibn al-Maḥrūq* [Yūsuf Shukrī Farḥāt. *Gharnāṭah fī Zill Banī al-Aḥmar: Dirāsah Ḥaḍāriyyah*. Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1993, 132]. and *Ribāṭ al-Qubṭa* in Almería, [Ibid., 395] as well as the famous *Ribāṭ al-'Uqāb*, [Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī. *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amsār*. Edited by Ḥamzah Aḥmad 'Abbāsī. vol. 4, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Abu Dhabi: al-Majma' al-Thaqāfī, 2002, 63] Located approximately eight miles outside Granada [Ibn Baṭṭūṭah. *al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, 686].

Among the notable *ribāṭs* for which al-Andalus was famous were the *Ribāṭs* of Toledo and Badajoz, the *Ribāṭ Kashkī*, [Ibid., 105] the *Ribāṭ Shantarīn*, [al-Ḥimyarī. *al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, 346] and the *Ribāṭ al-Rayyḥāna*. [Ibn al-Abbār. *al-Ḥillāh al-Sarā'*, *al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, vol. 2, 202]. Additionally, there are schools for ascetics and institutions promoting principles of pious living and spiritual seclusion, such as the seclusion retreat (*khalwa*) of Ibn Masarra at al-Jabal and the *Ribāṭ Ibn Mājid al-Albīrī* [Julián Ribera. *al-Tarbiyah al-Islāmiyyah fī al-Andalus: Uṣūluḥā al-Mashriqiyyah wa Ta'thīrātuhā al-Gharbiyyah*. Translated by Aḥmad Zakī. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif al-Maṭbū'iyah, 1942, 59].

These *ribāṭs* and *zāwiyas* devoted significant attention to cultural activities, allocating sessions for Qur'ānic recitation, the study of jurisprudential texts, and ethical poetry known as *al-raqā'iq*, which had dedicated gatherings. Moreover, there were religious chants known as *al-'āda* [Muḥammad al-Amīn Bulaḡīt. *al-Marja' al-Sābiq*, 198].

This vibrant intellectual activity contributed significantly to the evolution of Ṣūfism in al-Andalus, to the extent that it became characteristic of the culture of the Naṣrid period, shaping topics that scholars could address [Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *al-Iḥāṭah, al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, 122]. Andalusian students were not content merely with authorisations (*ijāzāt*) granted by their local teachers; instead, they travelled extensively to other Islamic regions, especially Egypt and the Levant, seeking knowledge from their sources and prominent specialists and obtaining authorisations directly from these masters. One scholar described this phenomenon as follows: "This practice may be termed cultural exchange between the Islamic Maghrib and the East, playing a significant role in unifying culture and knowledge and harmonising the diverse educational methods and scholarly approaches within scholarly institutions, ultimately standardising educational curricula and research methodologies

across the Islamic world' [Aḥmad Shalabī. *Tārīkh al-Tarbiyah al-Islāmiyyah*. Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Miṣriyyah, 1973, 245].

The *ijāza* (authorisation) among scholars initially signed permission to transmit (*riwāya*) [Lakhdar 'Abdlī. *al-Ḥayāh al-Thaqāfiyyah bi al-Maghrib al-Awsaṭ khilāl 'Ahd Banī Ziyān*. PhD diss., Department of History, University of Tlemcen, 101]. Originally granted to students of Ḥadīth, its use subsequently expanded to encompass other scholarly disciplines. The *ijāza* indicated the academic level a student had attained after mastering various textual and rational sciences, qualifying them to teach [Al-Wansharīsī. *al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib, al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, vol. 1, 15]. The person granting the *ijāza* was required to be knowledgeable in the subject matter, trustworthy in their religious character, and reliable in their transmission (*riwāya*) [Abū al-Qāsim Sa'd Allāh. *Tārīkh al-Jazā'ir al-Thaqāfi*, vol. 2. Algiers: al-Sharikah al-Waṭaniyyah lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzī', 1981, 133]. The recipient had to be recognised as a person of learning [Ibn Qunfudh. *al-Wafayāt, al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, 64; Ibn Maryam. *al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, 307]. Upon receiving an *ijāza*, the student attained the status of sheikh, elevated among scholars, jurists, and literary figures, and distinguished within scholarly circles ['Abd al-'Azīz al-Filālī. *al-Marja' al-Sābiq*, vol. 2, 357].

The biographical dictionaries of Andalusian and Eastern scholars abound with accounts of various *ijāzas* they exchanged. It was customary for a scholar to acquire multiple *ijāzas* during scholarly travels, obtaining authorisations from the eminent scholars of every city visited. This reflects the students' determination to accumulate authorisations to reinforce their scholarly credibility. Scholars and travelling students seized opportunities when passing through major Eastern cities to obtain such authorisations. One example is 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, who studied under the physician Mūsā ibn Samu'īl ibn Yahūd al-Isrā'īlī and received an *ijāza* from him ['Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl. *Riḥlat 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ*. Edited by Robert Brunschvig. Paris, 1936, 44].

The *ijāza* (authorisation) was customarily recorded at the end of works for which students sought authorisation. In the commentary of al-Tha'ālibī known as *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* ('The Precious Jewels in the Interpretation of the Qur'ān'), two *ijāzas* were found at the lower end of a manuscript page, dating to thirty years prior to the author's death, written in al-Tha'ālibī's handwriting. Within them, the recipient of the *ijāza* described al-Tha'ālibī's approach to composition, particularly in the Qur'ānic interpretation. The text of one of these authorisations reads:

'I studied under the learned Sheikh, Muftī, Ḥadīth scholar, ascetic, pious pilgrim, reliable memoriser, and Qur'ānic reciter Abū Zayd Sayyidī 'Abd al-Raḥmān, son of the righteous and blessed Sheikh Sayyidī Makhlūf- may God grant me benefit through them both and renew their blessings upon me. Under

him, I completed the reading of his precious compositions and distinguished works, through which God has sustained religion... including his transmission of the *Tafsīr al-Jawāhir al-Hisān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*.’ [al-Mahdī al-BūʿAbdī. “Ihtimām ‘Ulamā’ al-Jazā’ir bi’Ilm al-Qirā’āt fī al-Qadīm wa al-Ḥadīth,” in *Kitāb al-Aṣṣālah*, vol. 1. Constantine: Dār al-Baḥṭh, 1983, 154].

## **2.The Development of Scholarly Debate and Academic Disputation among Scholars and Students in al-Andalus**

Scholarly debates (*munāẓarāt*) have been known since ancient times. Within the Islamic world, debates gained prominence during Abbasid Caliph al-Maʾmūn’s reign, who designated one day each week specifically for debating scholars, jurists, and theologians (*mutakallimūn*) [Aḥmad Farīd Rifāʿī. *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, vol. 1. Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1927, 406; Waṣfī Abū Mughallī. “Musāhamat al-Ḥaḍārah wa al-Fikr al-Islāmiyy fī Mukhtalif Majālāt al-ʿUlūm wa al-Funūn,” *al-Multaqā al-Thāmin lil-Fikr al-Islāmī*, vol. 2, Bejaia, 1974, 887]. These academic disputes constitute an effective and structured method of responding to adherents of doctrines considered forbidden in Islamic regions. They also provided scholars with an opportunity to exchange opinions and discuss specific ideas across various fields of knowledge.

The importance and prevalence of scholarly debates increased significantly alongside the establishment of madrasas, which provided ideal venues for scholarly gatherings across all doctrinal affiliations and academic specialisations. Within these institutions, scholars exchanged perspectives on various topics spanning multiple disciplines. These debates played an instrumental role in encouraging intellectual and rational dialogue among scholars from diverse Islamic regions, despite their differing doctrinal affiliations. Furthermore, these scholarly disputes clearly illustrate the extent of mutual respect and appreciation shared between the scholars of al-Andalus and their counterparts in the Islamic East.

Arab culture became interwoven with Andalusian culture, blending into a unified, coherent, and integrated whole. This fusion had a profound impact on the intellectual legacy of both Andalusian and Eastern Islamic scholars. From this, the importance of Andalusian-Eastern scholarly debates becomes clear, as they provide a framework for understanding and presenting differing and divergent ideas in both religious and rational sciences. These debates clarified perspectives, illuminated complex concepts, and revealed aspects of complicated issues that challenged scholars in both regions. Consequently, students from al-Andalus and the East alike benefited, and the intellectual gains were widely shared.

## **3.Revitalisation of Translation, Book Production, and Manuscript Copying**

### **a. Authorship and transmission of books to al-Andalus**

Andalusian travellers, while present at centres of scholarly activity in the Islamic East, were particularly keen on acquiring rare books and scholarly works by jurists and intellectuals. Some of them traversed great distances in pursuit of a specific book or to obtain a unique manuscript copy of a given work. Ibn Rushayd, for example, resolved to travel to Alexandria to acquire several valuable books and scholarly texts. He stated:

“My journey to Alexandria was not driven by a desire for westwards travel, but rather to retrieve books I had entrusted there, with the intention of returning to Egypt for the purpose of study” [Ibn Rashīd. *Mil’ al-‘Aybah, al-Marja’ al-Sābiq*, 1b].

Ibn Rushd is regarded as one of the first to introduce specific works into the Maghrib, having brought from Egypt the book *al-Badr al-Munīr fī ‘Ilm al-Ta’bīr*, which he received in Alexandria directly from its author, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Surūr al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī [Ibn Rashīd. *Mil’ al-‘Aybah, al-Marja’ al-Sābiq*, 36]. Al-‘Abdharī was no less devoted to books than Ibn Rushayd was; in fact, Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dabbāgh in Kairouan gave him more than ten volumes of texts, benefits (*fawā’id*), and indexes (*fahāris*) [al-‘Abdarī. *al-Riḥlah al-Maghribiyyah, al-Marja’ al-Sābiq*, 67].

The objective of scholarly journeys was not limited to acquiring books and compositions but extended to the collection of rare works, scattered reports, and individual poems. Al-Ballūwī recounts the Tunisians’ interest in his journey and the material he had brought from the regions he visited, stating:

“They came seeking from me the benefits I had gathered and approached me to release the poems I had recorded. I cannot count how many men of letters transcribed from me the poem by our companion Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf ibn Sulaymān al-Dimashqī, known as al-Nābulusī.” [Khālīd ibn ‘Īsā al-Balawī. *Tāj al-Mufarriq fī Taḥliyat ‘Ulamā’ al-Mashriq*, edited by al-Ḥasan al-Sā’ih, vol. 1, Maṭba‘at Faḍālah, al-Muḥammadiyyah, 39]

At times, the journey itself served as the primary source of rare materials, news, and poetry. This was the case with Ibn Rushayd, who became the primary source for the poem composed by Abū al-Binā’ al-Ḥalabī in the Ḥijāz, which opens with the verse:

*We reached the heights and abandoned our homeland,*

*Moreover, we came to you, traversing the barren plains* [Ibn Rashīd. *Mil’ al-‘Aybah, al-Marja’ al-Sābiq*, 372; Ibn al-Aḥmar. *Nathīr al-Jumān fī Shi’r man Naẓmanī wa Iyyāh al-Zamān*, edited by Muḥammad Riḍwān al-Dāyah, Lebanon, (1976), 190].

وجئناك نطوي إليك القفار

وصلنا السرى وهجرنا الديار

Biographical sources mention numerous figures who were responsible for transferring books from the Islamic East to al-Andalus and vice versa. Notably,

al-Maqqarī, in *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, devoted the second volume to introducing Andalusian travellers to the Islamic East and likewise dedicated part of the same volume to those who arrived in al-Andalus from the East. These individuals often brought with them a rich intellectual legacy in the form of various authored works and scholarly compilations across a broad range of subjects and disciplines.

Andalusian scholars have shown exceptional interest in catalogues (*fiḥrasāt*) and scholarly registers (*barāmij*). Many scholars dedicated themselves to composing catalogues of their teachers, which became indispensable sources for researchers studying the cultural movement or historians examining the intellectual life of the time [Ibn ʿAṭīyyah, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq. *Fihris Ibn ʿAṭīyyah*. Edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Ajḡān and Maʿmar al-Zāhī. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1983, 40]. These *fiḥrasāt* and *barāmij* typically included inventories of the books that students had studied under their teachers or heard directly from them, along with bibliographical information related to those works [Hāmid al-Shāfiʿī. *al-Marjaʿ al-Sābiq*, 86].

Among the most notable scholarly programmes are the *Programme of al-Tujībī* (d. 730 AH), the *Programme of Ibn Jubayr al-Wādī Āshī* (d. 749 AH), the *Programme of al-Majārri* (d. 862 AH), and the *Thabat of al-Ballūwī* (d. 938 AH). The circulation of these books resulted in the emergence of a substantial intellectual output, expressed through an abundance of authored works and compilations, diverse in subject matter, style, and format. This exchange greatly contributed to the sustained growth of literary and scholarly production.

The scholarly journey played a significant role in the dissemination of books and their transmission from the Islamic East to al-Andalus. As a result, Córdoba became the city with the most books in al-Andalus, and its inhabitants were among the most devoted to the maintenance of book collections. Book ownership became a mark of refinement and leadership. This growing interest led to the founding of libraries and book repositories in palaces and private homes, in addition to public libraries. The encouragement of Umayyad and Naṣrid rulers also contributed to the thriving book trade in al-Andalus.

Numerous sources confirm the keen interest of sultans and rulers during the period under study in knowledge, learning, and the collection of books, as well as the care devoted to libraries. It thus becomes evident that the proliferation of educational institutions and book repositories, as well as the diversity of sciences in the Islamic East, were key motivations for the scholarly journeys undertaken by Andalusians. These journeys facilitated contact with eminent scholars and the acquisition of knowledge directly from them, which in turn contributed to the foundation of the Andalusian library tradition via the vast number of books brought back by travelling scholars.

During the Arab rule of al-Andalus, the Spanish population merged with and was deeply influenced by the culture, civilisation, customs, and traditions of the Arab conquerors. These influences left a profound imprint on the Andalusian character, which reflected all such elements. Through this cultural interaction, al-Andalus became a fertile ground for civilisational advancement. This was made possible by its natural beauty, the strength of its rising political state, and the influx of Arabs from the Islamic East, who brought with them their noble religion, flourishing civilisation, and expansive ambition.

These elements blended with the particular traits of al-Andalus to produce a flourishing and remarkable civilisation that exceeded all imagination and became the very source from which Europe later drew its civilisation. This is most clearly manifested in the translation of foundational and precious scholarly works, particularly those in rational sciences such as mathematics, medicine, and botany. These books were relocated, studied in depth, and valued for the immense benefits they offered to Europe and the Christian kingdoms.

### **b. Book Production, Manuscript Copying, and the Exchange of Books with Regions Beyond al-Andalus**

Book production (*warāqa*) flourished across the Islamic world, giving rise to many highly skilled copyists. Papyrus was particularly used in the copying process in Egypt and the Levant, where it was referred to as *qarṭās*. From Egypt, papyrus entered al-Andalus through trade. As scientific writing and administrative record-keeping increased, the book industry expanded, driven by people's eagerness to copy, preserve, and pass down texts from generation to generation. These texts were copied, bound, and circulated widely.

In al-Andalus, a class of professional copyists emerged, dedicated to reproducing the intellectual and literary heritage of Arab-Islamic Andalusian scholarship. They took this work as a profession, and the art of manuscript copying flourished, particularly the copying of Qur'āns, rare classical texts, canonical collections of ḥadīth, and local scholarly works in both the sciences and literature. As a result, the crafts of calligraphy, binding, watermarking, gilding, letter colouring, and manuscript ornamentation also developed to reflect the high scholarly value of the content being preserved [ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Filālī, *al-Marjaʿ al-Sābiq*, 336]. Calligraphers, jurists, students, and even rulers competed in copying books and Qur'āns [al-Tanāsī, *Tārīkh Banī Ziyān wa-Mulūk Tilimsān: Muqtaṭaf min Naẓm al-Durr wa-l-ʿAqiyān fī Bayān Sharaf Banī Ziyān*, edited by Maḥmūd BūʿAbbād. Algiers: Muʾassasat al-Kitāb, 1998, 242].

The invention and dissemination of paper as a writing medium greatly stimulated authorship and compilation. Al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā encouraged the production of *kāghid* (paper), used it for writing, and introduced it in royal

correspondence and official documents. Subsequently, it became the standard medium for scholarly and administrative writing [Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān. *al-Muqaddima, al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, 268]. This led to the rise of the professional class of *warraqūn* (scribes and bookmen), particularly in the major cities of al-Andalus such as Córdoba, Seville, and Granada.

The profession of *warāqa* in al-Andalus, as defined by Ibn Khaldūn, consisted of "the processes of transcription, correction, binding, and all office and record-related tasks." In modern terms, *warāqa* may be equated with publishing, encompassing all its components- printing, editing, binding, and distribution. The strong Andalusian desire to acquire literacy and knowledge further fuelled the momentum of authorship and intellectual production [Hāmid al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Marja' al-Sābiq*, 59-61].

All of these factors combined to dramatically increase intellectual output, both in volume and in thematic diversity. This literary productivity became a significant legacy of Islamic culture, thought, and civilisation in al-Andalus. The number of manuscripts grew significantly, and competition intensified among caliphs, ministers, and wealthy individuals to acquire rare and expensive books. Copyists themselves became highly sought after and held in high regard [Ibid., same page].

Among the most renowned calligraphers and scribes whose fame spread throughout the East was Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Yūsuf ibn al-Ṣā'i' (d. 845 AH/1442 CE). He was the founder of a prominent school of calligraphy and was recognised as the master of copyists and scribes in his time. He transcribed numerous Qur'ānic codices and poems in his hands and taught calligraphy in several schools across Cairo [al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, *al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, vol. 2, 162; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā, al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, 100].

Calligraphers in al-Andalus were influenced by their counterparts in the East, particularly those in Egypt, and some specialised in the Eastern style of script ['Abd al-'Azīz Filālī, *al-Marja' al-Sābiq*, vol. 2, 336]. Arabic writing was introduced to al-Andalus with Muslim Arab conquerors, and the journeys undertaken by Andalusians to the East exposed them to Eastern methods of writing, leading to the adoption of many of their techniques. They embraced the arrangement of the Arabic alphabet, albeit with slight variations from Eastern order, and employed diacritical marks, placing a single dot above the letter qāf and a single dot below the letter fā' [Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmad al-Baṣrī al-Farāhīdī al-Azdī (d. 160 AH/778 CE) was the first to formulate prosody and codify the Arabic language. See: Abū al-Barakāt Kamāl al-Dīn al-Anbārī, *Nuḥat al-Albāb fī Ṭabaqāt al-Udabā'*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1998, 49]. They also used vocalisation to indicate grammatical inflexions, following the method of al-

Khalīl ibn Aḥmad [al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-Albāb, al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, 50]. Additionally, they wrote the names of the Qur'ānic sūras in the Eastern thuluth script [Muḥammad Sa'īd Sharīfī, *Khuṭūṭ al-Maṣāḥif 'Inda al-Mashāriqa wa-l-Maghāribā min al-Qarn al-Rābi' ilā al-Āshir al-Hijrī*, al-Sharikah al-Waṭaniyya lil-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī', Algiers, 1982, 245].

The *warrāqūn* (scribes) were not merely copyists but also booksellers. A *warrāq* often operated a shop in which books were both copied and sold. The trade in books flourished greatly in al-Andalus as well as in the rest of the Islamic world, becoming a highly profitable commercial profession in which many distinguished scholars and writers engaged. Thus, the books produced in al-Andalus offer us an accurate picture of the scientific activity and cultural life of the era in which they were written.

Scientific exchange through books was not limited to communication between teachers and students but extended to scholarly interaction between intellectuals and entire communities. This was evident in the connections forged between Eastern and Andalusian scholars on the one hand and between Andalusian and European scholars on the other hand. In sum, books in al-Andalus played a critical role in enabling intellectual exchange among Andalusian scholars and their contemporaries, fostering what could be described as intellectual schools or movements, wherein shared fields of interest or specialisation bound small circles of scholars. Numerous examples [Muḥammad Sa'īd Sharīfī, *al-Marja' al-Sābiq*, 78] may be cited in this regard, but it suffices to refer to the school of Ibn Masarra [His full name is Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Masarra. His ideas spread widely, forming a school that advocated rational thought, particularly in religious matters. A group of jurists opposed his doctrines and fought against his followers. See: Muḥammad Sa'īd Sharīfī, *al-Marja' al-Sābiq*, 178-187].

Books circulated in various directions- from al-Andalus to the East and vice versa, as well as from al-Andalus to Western countries and back. Salma ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī, for instance, travelled to the East and settled in Egypt to study Islamic literature. The city of Toledo was considered the most prominent and active city in this regard, being richer in Arabic libraries than other cities. The translation movement was not limited to rendering Arabic works into other languages; it also flowed in the opposite direction. The Arabs translated everything they encountered from the heritage of bygone civilisations, and they added to it with their capacity for innovation and renewal. In this way, Muslims served as a vital conduit for the transmission of Arab-Islamic culture [Ḥāmid al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Marja' al-Sābiq*, 31].

In addition to the scientific influence of al-Andalus on Europe, a close examination of the literature on civilisation reveals the profound impact Andalusian scholarship had on the West. In his book *The Arabs and Europe*,

the Western scholar Huoyoung noted, "The tenth century witnessed the early transmission of Arabic sciences to Lorraine, turning it into a major cultural centre comparable to others." This is a significant indication of how swiftly Andalusian science influenced Europe, not at a late stage but quite early. At that time, al-Andalus, especially Córdoba, became a thriving hub of knowledge [Ḥāmid al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Marjaʿ al-Sābiq*, 401]. This attracted European scholars, a point acknowledged by Western authors such as Zeiger Yedihoonkeh and Louis Young. Ultimately, what the Andalusians contributed during the Caliphate era truly represents a luminous chapter in the history of Islamic civilisation. Its value lies in the lasting fruits of scientific thought they bestowed upon humanity- contributions whose influence remains visibly etched in contemporary civilisation and attests to the brilliance and generosity of Muslims in advancing human progress.

Copied books are often provided and donated to educational institutions such as mosques, madrasas, zawiyas, and khanqahs. Libraries supplied these institutions, while some books were designated for dispatch to the holy sites in Hijaz to be endowed to the Two Holy Mosques or al-Quds al-Sharif [Muḥammad Saʿīd Sharīfī, *al-Marjaʿ al-Sābiq*, 58]. Thus, the manuscript copying movement and the development of the bookmaking craft ensured the availability of books and treatises across all branches of knowledge. This coincided with an intense wave of authorship and the prolific scholarly output of both Eastern and Andalusian scholars. Their works travelled vast distances between the East and al-Andalus, carried by the movement of scholars and their quests for knowledge, as well as by commercial exchanges, including the trade in books. These treatises often arrived in al-Andalus through travelling scholars, pilgrims, and merchants who acquired them either independently or at the request of their counterparts. This was the case with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, who received a letter from the Granadan vizier and poet Ibn Zamrak [He is Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yūsuf al-Wazīr al-Gharnāṭī (d. after 795 AH/1393 CE), who held the vizierate in the Naṣrid dynasty after Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb. He was a writer, litterateur, and poet. See: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Kutayba al-Kāmīna, al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, 282]. In the year 789 AH/1387 CE, specific titles were requested to be acquired from Egypt. The letter included the following: "What is desired from my master is that he send me whatever is possible from the writings of so-and-so, along with the commentary of their elders on al-Fātiḥah [Scholars and commentators have written extensively on the exegesis of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa. See: Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn, al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, vol. 1, 454]. ... and *al-Safar* by Ibn Hāshim..." [Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʾrīf, al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, 1090]

Andalusian scholars also took the lead in introducing certain unfamiliar books into al-Andalus. Scholars would send their books to be endowed at the

Riwāq al-Maghāribā (the Maghrebi Portico) of al-Azhar Mosque. For example, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb sent a copy of his book *al-Iḥāṭa* to benefit scholars at the Khānqāh Sa‘īd al-Su‘adā’. This work has become a source for many Egyptian historians, including al-Maqrīzī, al-Suyūṭī, Ibn Duqmāq, al-Ḥāfiẓ, and Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī [Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Nafāḍat al-Jirāb fī ‘Ilālat al-Ightirāb*, ed. Aḥmad Mukhtār al-‘Abbādī, Maktabat al-Khānjī, Cairo, 1981, 367; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭib, al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, vol. 8, 288].

The Umayyad rulers al-Andalus established a flourishing scientific movement and used to dispatch scholars to Baghdad and the Middle East to obtain valuable books, both translations from Greek and original works by Arab and Islamic philosophers and scholars. By the end of the ninth century and into the tenth century CE, under the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, Córdoba had become the most culturally and civilisationally advanced city in Europe. European travellers and envoys were captivated by its prestige. The rulers of Christian principalities in the north, as well as southern French regions such as Barcelona, Navarre, Castile, and León, would send for physicians or architectural engineers from Córdoba. The Queen of Navarre, during the time of al-Nāṣir, is said to have sought assistance from there after its conquest. Thus, several Eastern books entered al-Andalus during this period, where they received close attention from Andalusian scholars, who devoted themselves to studying, commenting upon, abridging, and teaching these works in mosques and madrasas. Among the most renowned titles are as follows:

**\*-Mukhtaṣar Khalīl:** Authored by Shaykh Khalīl ibn Ishāq ibn Mūsā ibn Shu‘ayb al-Mālikī al-Miṣrī (767 AH/1367 CE), [He is Abū ‘Umar ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Umar ibn Abī Bakr ibn Yūnus al-Dūnī al-Miṣrī, the widely known Mālikī jurist, famous as Ibn al-Ḥājib and titled Jamāl al-Dīn. His father was the chamberlain of one of the emirs. He devoted himself to the Qur’ān in Cairo and studied Mālikī jurisprudence, Arabic language, literature, and Qur’ānic readings. He died in Alexandria (644 AH/1248 CE). See: al-Nu‘aymī al-Dimashqī, *al-Dārīs fī Tārīkh al-Madāris, al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, vol. 2, 3; Ibn Duqmāq, *Nuzhat al-Anām, al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, 180; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, *al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, vol. 16, 432] this work is a renowned compendium of Mālikī jurisprudence. The author reportedly spent twenty-five years composing it, reaching the section on marriage (al-nikāḥ), while the remainder of the manuscript was found among his possessions in draft form. His students later compiled and appended it to the original, thereby completing the book [al-Tanbuktī, *al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, 115; Ibn Maryam, *al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, 100]. This text entered Maghrib and al-Andalus, where it gained widespread acclaim and became one of the principal references for teaching religious sciences, alongside other foundational texts such as *al-Muwaṭṭa’*, *Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājib*, *al-Mudawwana*, and *al-Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd

[Muḥammad Būshaqīf, *al-‘Ulūm al-Dīniyya bi’l-Maghrib al-Awsaṭ khilāl al-Qarn al-Tāsi ‘H/al-Khāmis ‘Ashar M*, Master’s thesis, Department of History, University of Oran, 2004, 121]. Scholars highly praised the work and became the subject of an extensive exegetical tradition, with approximately sixty commentaries and glosses written on it [Ibn Maryam, *al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, 99].

\*-**Tanqīḥ al-Fuṣūl fī al-Uṣūl**: This work was authored by Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Idrīs al-Qarāfī al-Ṣanhājī al-Miṣrī (684 AH/1286 CE) [al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām (Qāmūs Tarājim)*, Dār al-‘Ilm lil-Malāyīn, Beirut, 1969, vol. 1, 90]. It is a foundational text outlining the principles and introductory rules of Islamic legal theory (uṣūl al-fiqh). The book received considerable attention from scholars in the Maghrib and al-Andalus, who composed various commentaries on it. It was later adopted as a core text within the curriculum of religious sciences [Muḥammad Būshaqīf, *al-Marja‘ al-Sābiq*, 121].

\*-**Tashīl al-Fawā’id wa-Takmil al-Maqāṣid fī al-Naḥw**: Authored by Ibn Mālīk, the renowned grammarian best known for his *Alfīyya*, this comprehensive work compiles key issues in Arabic grammar [Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn, al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, vol. 1, 445]. It attracted significant scholarly interest, and numerous commentaries were written to explain and expand upon its content [Ibn Maryam, *al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, 211].

\*-**Muḥṭāṭ al-Labīb min Kutub al-A‘rīb** (761 AH/1360 CE) is a seminal work in the Arabic linguistic sciences and grammar. It received high praise from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, who remarked of its author, Ibn Hishām: “As has reached us in this era, the composition of a man from among the masters of the Arabic craft in Egypt, known as Ibn Hishām...” [Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima, al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, 1022] He further noted: “In these recent times, a compendium has come to us from Egypt attributed to Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Hishām, one of its foremost scholars. He exhaustively covered the rules of syntax both concisely and in detail, addressing particles, words, and sentences while omitting the repetitive material found in many traditional chapters of the craft. He titled it *al-Muḥṭāṭ fī al-I‘rāb* (The Authority on Syntax).” [Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar, al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, 1059] This work subsequently became a foundational text in the curriculum for Arabic grammar instruction in educational institutions.

\*-**Ḥikam Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Sakandarī**: Composed by Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Sakandarī (d. 709 AH/1309 CE), a disciple of Shaykh al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī and Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī. The work consists of scattered aphorisms in Sufism by the masters of the Shādhilī order. It became part of the official curriculum in al-Andalus, in addition to being commented upon by Ibn ‘Abbād al-Rundī (d. 792 AH/1392 CE), the representative of the Shādhilī order in al-Andalus [Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn, al-Maṣḍar al-Sābiq*, vol. 2, 675;

Ma‘rūf Tājī, *‘Ulamā’ al-Nizāmiyyāt wa-Madāris al-Mashriq al-Islāmī*, 1st ed., Maṭba‘at al-Irshād, Baghdad, n.d., 19].

\*- ***Al-Burda by al-Būṣīrī***: Composed by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Būṣīrī (695 AH/1296 CE), it is a poem in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him). It received particular attention from Sufi scholars, primarily through their commentaries [Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab, al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, vol. 5, 432].

\*- ***Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājib in the Branches of Mālikī Jurisprudence***: Composed by Abū ‘Umar ‘Uthmān ibn al-Ḥājib (646 AH/1248 CE), [al-Nu‘aymī al-Dimashqī, *al-Dārīs fī Tārīkh al-Madāris*, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, Beirut, 1990, 3] He is considered the first to compile the jurisprudence of the Mālikī school in such a manner. His work is a treatise in which he summarised the methodologies of the Mālikī scholars in each chapter and enumerated their views on each issue, thus providing a comprehensive syllabus for the school of thought [Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima, al-Maṣdar al-Sābiq*, 808].

The introduction of this and other works had a positive effect on the development of religious, linguistic, and rational sciences.

\*- ***Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik al-Ṭā’ī al-Andalusī (d. 672 AH)***: He authored a comprehensive book on grammar entitled *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* and then summarised it in a didactic poem consisting of one thousand verses, incorporating all the issues of syntax and parsing within it.

*Al-‘Iqd al-Farīd* by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī: A work that compiled various types of reports, rare anecdotes, and masterpieces of poetry and prose.

*Kitāb al-Amālī* by Abū ‘Alī al-Qālī (288-356 AH): A scholar from Baghdad, his fame spread far and wide until it reached al-Andalus, where he was well received and his work highly valued. The book comprises selections of poetry and prose, literary anecdotes and rarities, while also addressing matters related to the Arabic language.

The Andalusian scholars clearly played a pivotal role in sustaining the momentum of scientific and cultural advancement across their various branches. This was achieved through teaching, authorship, and the transmission of renowned Andalusian texts. The number of books authored by members of this scholarly class- alongside judges and others involved in mosques and Mālikī Sufi lodges- exceeded one hundred and fifty. Some of these works were innovative, covering fields such as the Qur’ānic recitation, grammar, sufism, and pharmacy. In addition, numerous Andalusian compositions can be cited, including *Al-Jazūliyyah*, *Ash-Shāṭibiyyah*, *Ash-Shifā’* by Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Sirāj al-Mulūk* by al-Ṭurṭūshī, and several Greek texts introduced by Andalusian physicians such as Ibn al-Bayṭār, who brought the medical works of Galen and Dioscorides to Damascus, as well as books

transmitted by Ibn Zuhayr and others. Some scholars even transported their own authored works, as was the case with Ibn ar-Rushiyyah al-Nabbātī, in addition to Mālikī texts such as *Al-Muwattaʿa* of Mālik and others.

Thus, the accumulated Andalusian expertise merged with that of the East, creating a vast and integrated intellectual corpus, parts of which still hold significant importance today. Moreover, numerous students have graduated under the tutelage of Andalusian scholars across various disciplines- some of whom even surpassed their teachers in certain respects. Others, although less renowned, have made significant contributions that remain traceable through biographical dictionaries.

### Conclusion

From this study, it can be concluded that the religious scholarly journey had a profound impact on al-Andalus. This is evident through the widespread adoption of the Mālikī school of thought and the emergence of a culture of intellectual and doctrinal coexistence. The flourishing of religious scholars marked the period, the construction of formal educational institutions, the development of new pedagogical methods, and a sophisticated system of learning. The establishment of religious and educational institutions such as mosques, madrasas, zawāyā (Sufi lodges), khānqāhs, and ribāṭs played a key role in the diffusion of Sufism throughout the cities of al-Andalus. This expansion can be attributed to the efforts of Sufi scholars and jurists, who were deeply imbued with knowledge, literature, ethics, and religious devotion and who were dedicated to instilling this knowledge in passionate students. In this way, al-Andalus became a fertile ground for literary and religious gatherings and scientific activities of the highest caliber.

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