

Scientists from Constantine and the Andalusian Capital during the Hafsid Era (A Study on the Impact of Andalusians on Scientific Movement in the Maghreb)

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Abstract

The Hafsid era was a bright era for Constantine, where cultural life flourished thanks to the factors that encouraged activity, especially the attention of kings and princes to scholars, writers, and jurists, and granting them high status. They spread knowledge and literature, presented valuable works for the princes of the city, and praised their achievements. For example, we can mention scholars of the great scientific institutions like Al-Qunfudhzi and Al-Mallari, as well as scholars of Al-Badisi and Al-Fakkuni, and others. What also contributed to activating the scientific movement were the strong cultural ties and communication bridges between the jurists and scholars of Constantine and the people of the Maghreb, Mashreq, and Andalusia. These ties were based on mutual contact, either through diplomatic activity, brotherly messages, Hajj trips, or scientific expeditions. Thus, intellectual cross-pollination occurred despite the political fragmentation that existed between the regions of the Islamic world.

Keywords : Constantine, Andalusia, the scientific movement, influence, the Hafsids.

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Introduction:

The Hafsid era was a bright era for Constantine, where cultural life flourished thanks to the factors that encouraged activity, especially the attention of kings and princes to scholars, writers, and jurists, and granting them high status. They spread knowledge and literature, presented valuable works for the princes of the city, and praised their achievements (al-Ansārī, 12) For example, we can mention scholars of the great scientific institutions like Al-Qunfudhzi and Al-Mallari, as well as scholars of Al-Badisi and Al-Fakkuni, and others. What also contributed to activating the scientific movements were the strong cultural ties and communication bridges between the jurists and scholars of Constantine and the people of the Maghreb, Mashreq, and Andalusia. These ties were based on mutual contact, either through diplomatic activity, brotherly messages, Hajj trips, or scientific expeditions. Thus, intellectual cross-pollination occurred despite the political fragmentation that existed between the regions of the Islamic world at that time. Just as the location of the city between scientific centers enabled it to activate this communication, politically it was a dependency of Tunis, the capital of the Hafsids, which was the first scientific center in the eastern region of Maghreb. Al-Qalasadi (891 AH / 1486 CE) expressed this in his journey, saying "The market of knowledge was then prosperous and the springs of knowledge in all their diversity were overflowing." Al-Abdari also said about it (al-Qalaşādī, 1985, 34) "The aspiration of hopes and the destination of every lightning, the destination of travelers from the west and the east, and adorned over time with crowns. No one seeks knowledge in it without finding it, and no one seeks to fulfill a need without benefitting from it (al-Balansī, 35). Many scholars who graduated from its schools, especially the Al-Munastiriya school, the University of Zitouna and others, emerged in it, which in turn contributed to the cultural vibrancy of Constantine. As for the second neighboring city of Constantine, it is Béjaïa, which played a significant and influential role in the history of Islamic civilization as a whole, and in Constantine in particular. Most of Béjaïa's scholars frequented and studied in Constantine, and they had great companionship with its scholars. Béjaïa also hosted councils of knowledge and debates that were held before its kings since the Hammadid period, and continued to do so since it was founded by Al-Nasir ibn Al-Anas Al-Hammadi in 460 AH / 1067 CE. He brought scholars and jurists from all regions, especially from Al-Andalus, such as Ibn Hamdis Al-Saqalli (died 527 AH / 1132 CE), who was the poet of Al-Mansur ibn Al-Nasr Al-Hammadi (481-498 AH / 1088-1104 CE) (Tarāwah, 1994, 68). This period gave birth to a constellation of later scholars who enriched the Islamic scientific heritage, such as the philosopher-physician Abu al-Hasan al-Harawi al-Tujiibi (al-Ghibrīnī, 2007, 68) (d. 638 AH/1240 CE) and the

Andalusian man of letters Ibn 'Amira (d. 658 AH/1259 CE) (al-Ghibrīnī, 2007, 142) who was appointed as a judge in Constantine. There was also the scholar Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn 'Isa al-Ghummari (d. 682 AH/1283 CE), who visited Constantine, taught there, and held scholarly gatherings (al-Ghibrīnī, 2007, 46). And Abu al-Abbas Ahmad al-Ghbarini (d. 1304 CE), Abu Ali Nasser al-Din al-Mashdali (d. 1330 CE), Abu Musa Imran al-Mashdali (d. 1344 CE) and others (bwnār, 2000, 318-319) were born in later periods, who enriched the Islamic scientific heritage. The visits of scholars to Constantine had a fruitful impact in both directions. The people of Constantine benefited in particular from the scholars of Al-Andalus, and scientific and commercial trips to Constantine continued uninterrupted. The majority of the scholars we have translated visited Bijaya and studied under its sheikhs, especially the sheikhs of the famous Ghbarini family, who were well-versed in the practice of jurisprudence. The scholars of the Qenfudhi house had a closer connection to the city of Béjaïa than others due to the proximity of their zaouia "Mellara" to it. They visited and frequented it often. It is worth noting that this zaouia had an Andalusian inclination.(Alī shghyb, 1980, 88) Therefore, in this scientific paper, we will try to answer the following questions: What is the relationship between the scholars of Constantine and the city of Al-Andalus? What impact did the scholars of Al-Andalus have on the scientific movement in Constantine? What were the main areas of scientific knowledge that were the subject of exchange and cross-fertilization between the scholars of both cities?

We will attempt to solve these questions by exploring a set of elements, including:

1- The scientific communication between the scholars of Constantine and Andalusia (through the scholars of the major scientific centers).

2- The Andalusians and their role in developing the fields of education in Constantine.

3- The Andalusians developing the fields of manuscript copying and calligraphy in Constantine.

4- The Andalusian Sufi influence on the Sufi movement in Constantine society.

We will follow the historical approach, which relies on description, analysis, inference, and deduction as tools to solve the problem presented by dealing with a set of historical sources, the most important of which are Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, Al-Rasa'il by Al-Qalqashandi, Rihla by Ibn Abdari, Rihla by Al-Abdari, Al-Daraya by Al-Ghobrini, Nafh Al-Tayyib by Al-Maqari, Al-Farisiya and Anas Al-Faqir by Ibn Qunfudh Al-Qastantini, and Tarikh Bayat Constantine by Al-Antari, and others. As for

references, we relied on Abdul Aziz Filali's book on Constantine (History, Monuments, Civilization), Hassan Hajazi Ali Trawa's book on the scientific movement in Algeria during the Ottoman period, and Rabi' Bonar's book on the Arab Maghreb. We also used Mohammed Al-Mahdi Ben Ali Shaghib's book titled "Umm Al-Hawadir in the Past and Present of Constantine." From academic studies, we relied on the Ph.D. of researcher Tahir Bounabi on the Sufi movement in the Central Maghreb during the 8th and 9th centuries AH/14-15th centuries AD,One of the translated foreign references is Robart Browning's study on the history of Africa during the Hafsid era (from the 7th century AH/13th century AD to the 10th century AH/15th century AD).

1- Scientific communication among scholars from Constantine and Al-Andalus (through the scholars of the great houses).

It is well known that seeking knowledge through travel was a hallmark of that era. Ibn Khaldun (d. 808 AH/1406 CE) said, "Travel is necessary in the pursuit of knowledge in order to gain benefits and completeness by meeting the elders and interacting with men..." (Ibn Khaldūn :618). Therefore, travel was a tradition and a commendable practice among the people of Constantine, where they traveled at a time when mobility and travel were much more difficult than in later eras. However, the pursuit of knowledge and the desire to acquire it overcame all difficulties and broke down all barriers. Therefore, the scholars of the city traveled to all the scientific centers, east and west. The scholars of Constantine interacted with scholars and students from different cities and cultural centers they visited, and they influenced the students and scholars they met in the cities of the East, West, and Al-Andalus, by their intellectual contributions and their explanations and interpretations, which they expressed in summaries, notes, and different comments (Fīlālī, 2007, 99).

The communication between scholars of Constantine and Andalusia was strong, whether it was through traveling in search of knowledge or through letters and correspondences. We will mention a part of this communication, which was led by the scholars of the major scientific institutions in Constantine, including the Qanfudhi, Fukuni, and Badesi houses, who built bridges of communication between the two regions.

The Fakouni house became famous during the Almohad period with its scholar and poet of Central Maghreb (Nuwayhid, 1980, 253), Abu Ali Hasan bin Ali bin Omar bin Fakoun Al-Qusanțīni (was still alive 602 AH / 1205 CE). His fame and prominence at the Almohad court marked the beginning of the emergence of this family in the

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Moroccan context. Later, the family attained a prestigious position in the Ottoman era, carrying the banner of knowledge in the city and controlling the most important administrative and religious positions there (al-'Antarī, 2009, 20) Ibn Fakoun excelled in various sciences; he was a traveler, a scholar, a jurist, and a skilled poet. Al-Ghbarini said about him: "He is one of the scholars whose news are sought and whose poetry is appreciated. His prose and poetry are abundant, as if they are the lights of flowers. He was one of the most virtuous and bright, and had luck and respect. Literature was a source of beauty and perfection for him, and he did not practice it for the sake of establishing friendship or fixing relationships. He originated from Constantine from its noble houses and its honorable families, and his songs were admired." (al-'Antarī, 2009, 280-281). Ibn Fakoun worked to strengthen the communication with Andalusia through his close relationship with Abu Al-Badr Muhammad bin Mardanish, the ruler of Eastern Andalusia. Al-Abdari mentioned the poem that Ibn Fakoun wrote during his journey to Marrakesh and sent it to Abu Al-Badr while he was in Constantine. This indicated his friendly relationship with Ibn Mardanish and expressed his gratitude to him. Ibn Fakoun also dedicated that poem to him, in which he described the lands of Maghreb in precise detail, including the Maghreb countries, their social conditions, customs, and traditions.

The Qanfudhi house was represented by its scholar, Sheikh Ibn Qanfudh al-Qasntini, also known as Ibn al-Khatib (810 AH/1407 CE). Ibn al-Khatib traveled to the lands of Maghreb, visited its cities, learned from many of its scholars, visited the tombs of the righteous saints, sought their blessings, and recorded his journey in a book called "Anis al-Faqir wa Az al-Haqir". Similarly, Ibn Qanfudh also learned from many scholars in the farthest regions of Maghreb, Andalusian scholars present in the city of Granada, and met many of them, especially in the city of Fez. Fez was a meeting place for scholars from all over the western Islamic world, and he took from them and learned a great deal.

Abu Al-Qasim Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Al-Sharif Al-Hasani Al-Sabti Al-Gharnati (760 AH / 1360 CE) was born in 697 AH / 1297 CE in Ceuta, Maghreb, where he grew up and studied. He then traveled to Al-Andalus and assumed the position of Director of Composition in Granada, then worked as a judge and orator, and later focused on teaching language and Islamic jurisprudence. He eventually returned to Granada where he remained until his death (al-Qusanțīnī i. Q., 2003, 28). Ibn Qunfudh studied under him, and Sheikh Ibn Al-Khațīb granted him a general ijazah, praising him as "one of those whom it is an honor to meet, and no one was like him in Al-Andalus after him." (al-Qusanțīnī I. Q., 1973, 362)

Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Ashur al-Andalusi (d. 765 AH/1363 CE) was originally from Andalusia, but lived in the city of Fez for a period of time before moving to Meknes and then to Sale. The Sheikh Ibn Ashur was well-known for his expertise in Hadith and jurisprudence. He met Ibn Qunfudh in the city of Sale in 763 AH/1361 CE, who said of him, "I met him while he was at the pinnacle of piety and avoidance of rulers, and adhering to the Sunnah. " (al-Qusanțīnī I. Q., 1973, 366). Ibn Qunfudh remained in his company until his death, and after that he often visited his grave. Ibn Qunfudh was influenced by Ibn Ashur's opinions and advice, especially those related to adhering to Sunni Sufism and the reform of individual beliefs. This influence was reflected in Ibn Qunfudh's inclusion of what he called "nukat" (remarks) in the footnotes of his book.

"Anas al-Faqir," which discusses Sufism, poverty, asceticism, the individual's relationship with Allah, ways to tame the ego, the principles of repentance, and other topics. He said in one of his remarks: "And we will conclude this book with remarks that benefit the poor and strengthen the weak, one of which is that someone who wants to repent should return to Allah the Almighty..." (al-Qusanţīnī i. Q:, 1965, 109). It is clear from these remarks that Ibn Qunfudh was also influenced by the major Sufi works of his time, such as "Riyadh al-Muhibbin" by al-Nawawi, "Qurrat al-'Uyun" by al-Suyuti, and "Ihya' Ulum al-Din" by al-Ghazali, which were also studied by his teacher, Ibn Ashir (al-Ţāhir Būnābī :, 2009, 31).

Abu Abdullah Lisan al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Khatib al-Gharnati (d. 776 AH/1374 CE) was born in the city of "Lusha" (al-Khatīb, 1973, 19) in 713 AH/1313 CE. He traveled to Maghreb and Tlemcen and settled in Fez. He was a great scholar and writer, accused of heresy and imprisoned in Fez. He was later killed by strangulation in 776 AH/1347 CE (al-Qusantīnī i. Q., 2003, 31). Ibn Qunfudh did not mention the period in which he studied under al-Khatib, and it appears that he did not study directly under him like most of the other Moroccan scholars. Instead, he heard from al-Khatib's writings, which he read in various gatherings, and he said about that, "I heard a number of his compositions by his own reading in different gatherings." (al-Qusantīnī I. Q., 1973, 370-371).

Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Hayati (d. 1379 CE/781 AH): was born in 1318 CE/718 AH in Granada, where he studied with its scholars before moving to Fez. There, he met Ibn Qunfudh, who said about him, "He had a mastery of grammar and recitation," (al-Qusanțīnī i. Q., 2003, 33) and described him as "our sheikh and teacher." Ibn Qunfudh also learned logic from him (altmbkty, 1989, 460).

As for the Badisi family, the sheikh Hassan bin Abi Al-Qasim bin Badis emerged from them. After receiving various sciences in his hometown, he embarked on a journey to seek knowledge in the lands of the Mashriq (the eastern region of the Islamic world). During his travels, he met many scholars from the Maghreb and Andalusia who had also traveled to the Mashriq for the same purpose. He learned from them and was authorized by many of them, including Athir al-Din Abu Hayyan (d. 1344 CE/745 AH), (al-Qusanţīnī I. Q., 1973, 349-350)the narrator and traveler Ibn Jabir al-Qaysi al-Wadi'ashi (Makhlūf, 210) (d. 1348 CE/749 AH), Ibn Gurayyun al-Bujayri (d. 1331 CE/731 AH), and "In the house of Ibn Abdoun, the Sheikh Abu al-Fadl Qasim bin Ali bin Abdoun emerged (he lived in the 7th century AH/13th century CE) and was a scholar in jurisprudence and hadith, knowledgeable in the principles of religion. He grew up in Constantine and learned there, where he also served as a judge, then he traveled to Andalusia to acquire more knowledge and delve deeper into it. He became occupied with teaching there in its schools and learning from its scholars, including Ibn Farqad al-Qurashi al-Fihri who passed away in the year 672 AH/1229 CE (Fīlālī, 2007, 153).

Also, many scholars from Andalusia visited Constantine, and they had a significant impact on its cultural life. Among them was the Andalusian writer and scholar Abu Ishaq Ibrahim ibn al-Hajj, the distinguished jurist Abu al-Hasan Ali bin Zakaria, who was from the houses of Andalusia and Ibn al-Abar (d. 658 AH/1259 CE) ((al-Qusanţīnī I. Q., 2002, 166). And Abu Uthman Said bin Umar bin Hukm bin Abdul Ghani, who had a close relationship with the Constantine scholar Muhammad bin Thabit and was the first to descend to Maghreb, then he connected with scholars from his compatriots in Bejaia in the 7th century AH/13th century CE (al-Ṭammār, 1981, 96).

Thus, the clear influence of the Andalusian elite who descended to the Maghreb region, especially in Tlemcen, Bejaia, and Constantine, (al-Tāhir Būnābī :, 2009, 126) appears. This elite carried many innovations in the field of mental sciences for which Andalusia was famous during that period (al-Tāhir Būnābī :, 2009, 138).

Mental and experimental sciences are natural to humans in terms of thought, as Ibn Khaldun mentioned. They are not limited to a specific religion and have been present in the human species since creation. (Ibn Khaldūn :, 531)Therefore, these sciences found their way to scholars of the region since ancient times but were not organized and included within the sciences until the later centuries of the Middle Ages after contact with the culture of Andalusia. Many scholars from Constantine emerged as experts in medical sciences, among them was Ahmed bin Ali al-Tamimi, known as Ibn al-Kammad, who compiled the Azayej before the year 679 AH/1280 CE (brwnshfyk, 1988,

390). Bronislaw Geremek mentioned the development of these sciences, especially medicine, for which Constantine was renowned more than any other city. Two families in Constantine were particularly known for their expertise in medicineothers."Especially in medicine, Constantine became famous for it, as it had two families, one originating from Tbessa and the other from Marrakech, which provided a large number of famous doctors for the people of Constantine. The field of medicine flourished in the city and developed under their leadership (Brwnshfyk, 1988, 390). Perhaps this coincided with the spread of diseases and the recurrence of years of epidemics and plagues."

2- Andalusians and their role in developing education in Constantine

Education in Constantine and the western Maghreb was traditionally based on the method of rote learning, where the teacher would impart knowledge to the student. This method was particularly used in the kuttab, which was the first stage of education, and the people of Constantine were keen to enroll their children in it. The norm was for children to learn the Quran first and memorize it (al-Qusanțīnī i. Q., 2003, 19).

The traveler Al-Hasan al-Wazzan (al-Wazzān, 1983, 99) spoke about the traditional method of teaching reading and writing, especially in the kuttab, where children would study in rooms with tiers that served as seats, and they would learn their lessons from large boards. Each day they would be taught a verse from the Quran until they completed it in two or three years, after which they would continue until they mastered it and memorized it well (al-Wazzān, 1983, 99).

The writer Al-Ghabriini also mentioned in the introduction to his book "Durrat altaj li-ta'liim al-walad" (The Pearl Necklace for Teaching Children) that the people of the Maghreb were only interested in teaching the Quran to their children, and during their education, they were taught calligraphy and its issues. The differences among the Quranic scholars did not affect their teaching of anything else such as Hadith, Fiqh, Arabic poetry, or speech. They would continue to learn Quran until they mastered it or stopped learning, which often meant a complete discontinuation of their education. This was the opinion of the people of the cities in the Maghreb and those who followed them in the Berber villages. This was the situation of the education of their children until they reached adolescence (al-Ghibrīnī, 2007, 29).

However, the Andalusian influence in the field of education and reading brought about a radical change, introducing more effective new methods, which we will illustrate in what follows. The traditional method did not last long, as a new cultural renaissance emerged in Constantine that resisted the old traditional ways and introduced new

methods. Andalusian immigrants (Fīlālī, 2007, 108) played a role in this renaissance, where the teaching style shifted from memorization and rote learning to teaching through dialogue, discussion, and deepening research and justification (al-Ghibrīnī, 2007, 28). Abu Abdullah Mohammed bin Al-Hassan bin Ali Al-Qala'i, who died in 673 AH/1274 CE, became famous for this method. Al-Ghubrini said of his method: "He had a lesson attended by his distinguished and alert students, in which various discussions took place in interpretation, Hadith, strange verses, and others. In it, refined meanings were discussed that are rarely found in rare books. He was strong in derivation and justification, following the ways of Abu Al-Fath bin Ginni (died 392 AH/1001 CE)" (al-Ghibrīnī, 2007, 29). This method spread throughout the entire African continent and gave Moroccan thought a kind of freedom and expression of opinion. It proved its success by increasing the level of comprehension of students who moved away from tradition, and eliminating satisfaction and restriction to summaries, directing them towards creation, editing, and expanding the scope of knowledge. The duration of teaching in both methods was from dawn until the time of the afternoon prayer, and this was the usual practice every day of the week except Thursday and Friday. Some even designated teaching circles periodically after each prayer (al-Ghibrīnī, 2007, 29).

Bourakat bin Ahmed Al-Aroussi Al-Qacentini (d. 897 AH/1491 CE) used to read Al-Motawasileen bi Fadhil Al-Salat his book "Waseelat ala Sayyid al-Mursaline" (Sadllāh, Tārīkh al-Jazā'ir al-Thaqāfī, 1981, 108) to his students. This book is divided into twenty-four sessions, and Sheikh Bourakat used to assign a session to his students to read every Friday until they completed it. (Sadllāh, 1981, 108)Sheikh Omar Al-Wazan (d. 960 AH/1552 CE), who dedicated his life to teaching and refused all official positions when offered, was also a prominent teacher in Constantine in the tenth century of the Hijri calendar. He used to read books on jurisprudence, preaching, and Sufism to his students in teaching circles. The people of his hometown mentioned that he used to read the Quran to the jinn. (altmbkty, 1989, 308) Therefore, the scientific councils were open dialogue circles in which talents emerged, ideas intermingled, and each student gave their opinion. The Sheikh explained, justified, and interpreted, and the majority opinion was ultimately taken into consideration.

Ibn Khaldun (Ibn Khaldūn:, 615) confirms the influence of Andalusian sheikhs on the people of Maghreb and Africa, to the point where their way became dominant in various educational institutions. He says, "As for the people of Africa, they mix the teaching of the Quran and Hadith mostly, and study the laws of sciences and teach some of its issues. However, their attention to the Quran and their emphasis on teaching it to their

children, and their standing on the differences in its narratives and readings, is more than anything else. Their attention to calligraphy is also related to that. In general, their way of teaching the Quran is closer to the way of the people of Andalusia, because the source of their way is connected to the sheikhs of Andalusia, who were authorized when the Christians conquered the eastern part of Andalusia and settled in Tunisia, and from them their children learned it after that." (Ibn Khaldūn :615).

In these stages of education in schools, the students learn under the guidance of their sheikhs in the modern way, and they also learn other sciences such as grammar, literature, jurisprudence, and the narratives of the Quran. In this way, they are able to achieve a considerable level of cultural and educational attainment (Fīlālī, 2007, 109). In the final stage of education, which today might be equivalent to university studies, the student witnesses a high level of in-depth education in various traditional and intellectual sciences. Scientific and jurisprudential debate circles were established, and most of them were held in the schools of Constantine and in the Grand Mosque and the Great Mosque in the Kasbah and others (al-Ghibrīnī, 2007, 29).

Since the sciences that received a great demand from students were the religious sciences, specifically Usul al-Fiqh (principles of jurisprudence) and Usul al-Din (principles of religion), two methods were used in their teaching: the method of the ancients, which was the method of Abu al-Ma'ali al-Juwayni (d. 478 AH/1085 CE) and others, and the method of the later scholars, which was the method of al-Fakhr al-Razi (d. 606 AH/1209 CE). As we mentioned earlier, the former method relied on memorization, while the latter relied on discussion, dialogue, and debate. Al-Ghaffarini mentioned this method in his statement: "Abu al-Abbas Ahmad bin Isa al-Ghammari used to teach al-Tahdhib and al-Jilab, where he would encourage discussion and debates would become heated. He would present a controversial issue, and one of its two faces would be accepted. He would then research it until the preponderance appeared and submission was made, then he would move on to the other side and compel his colleagues to accept what was being discussed until it was resolved." (al-Ghibrīnī, 2007, 29) This summarizes the teaching methods mentioned by historical sources as follows:

Lecture method: This method is based on direct instruction, where students rely on the teacher to provide them with information instead of seeking it themselves. It can also become monotonous for students, but it is known for its efficiency in terms of time. This method is usually used in elementary schools and general Quranic schools (kuttāb) (al-Anṣārī, 157).

The Socratic method: attributed to the philosopher Socrates (469 BC), relies on discussion and generating ideas to understand general truth and establish it in life. The aim of the method is to gradually lead the student to the correct ideas through dialogue, and it was invented to develop critical thinking through debate. This method is rarely used, and before that, information was transferred to the student through imitation, practice, and training. The method used in education was to deliver the lesson to the students, then ask one of them to repeat its content in a different form than what was presented, and then ask another to do the same, and so on until they were sure of their understanding. Their attention was focused on training students in word precision, self-organization, voice modulation, and speaking speed (al-Anṣārī, 134-135).

As for the education curricula and textbooks, they consisted of works from the Maghreb, Andalusia, and the Mashriq (Sadllāh, 1981, 350-355). Among these curricula and books that were taught in various scientific fields during that era, we can mention "At-Tamheed wa al-Istidhkaar" by Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Abdulbar (d. 462 AH/1069 CE) and "Al-Mustasfa" by Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali (d. 505 AH/1111 CE). During the Almohad period, schools opened their doors for knowledge sessions, and there was an increase in jurisprudential debates among scholars and jurists. The study of rational and transmitted sciences expanded, intellectual currents attracted each other, and humanistic and Islamic sciences were completed, particularly on this era. Andalusian and Mashriq cultures blended in it, (Sadllāh, 1981, 99) influencing many scholars from Constantine, including the Al-Qanfudh family of scholars, beginning with their grandfather Al-Khatib and ending with Ibn Qanfudh Ahmad, the author of Farsiya. Their family was a family of knowledge, and their education began in the same city. (al-Qusantīnī i. Q., 2003, 18) "As other families such as the family of Ibn Fakoun, Ibn Mubarak, Ibn Ibn Badis, and other famous families and intellectuals of the city were saturated with that culture (Sadllāh, 1986, 36), they were also influenced by the culture of neighboring cities and, in turn, influenced the students who met them and visited them. Thus, the cultural and scientific communication between them was dual, and they were the ones who contributed to the cultural integration of Maghreb within a religious and cultural unity that lasted for centuries. (Fīlālī,2007,99) Moreover, some students wanted to pursue their studies outside their school and away from their city, so many of them moved to nearby centers, especially Kairouan and Tunis, and perhaps found their academic haven in the Zitouna Mosque, which was truly a mosque for scholars and a school for jurists. Many scholars of Constantine graduated from it, and some of them even became its preachers. "(Brwnshfyk, 1988, 376)

3. Andalusians Develop the Field of Copying and Papermaking in Constantine

Considering that books are an important element in any scientific movement and a means to develop any intellectual activity, the people of Constantine were interested in the field of authorship and copying, and they gave books their value and status. As a result, many calligraphers and scribes emerged in the city, who had their own shops known as "Warraqeen" which were places dedicated to selling books and became markets for them. (Fīlālī, 2007, 115) Thus, the bookshops and sellers of manuscripts spread, which were originally opened for commercial purposes, but turned into a stage for culture and scientific dialogue. The book sellers were not just merchants seeking profit, but they were mostly literati with wide culture. Their choice of this profession was due to their affiliation with the field of science, reading and research. The books of literature and translations were filled with many scientific and literary discussions, and debates between scholars and jurists who gathered in those shops (Maḥāsinah, 2001, 143).

The trade of books was not the only way to acquire them, as there were other ways such as reproduction and copying. The book collectors used to copy the books themselves, or have others copy them, such as their students if they were teachers or their scribes if they were princes, and they would copy them in their own handwriting (Sadllāh, 1981, 289). Princes gave great attention to collecting and copying books and establishing state-owned libraries, which were called "Treasury of Books" (Brwnshfyk, 1988, 383). What contributed to the development and flourishing of calligraphy and book-making in Constantine was the migration of Andalusians, especially those known for copying and calligraphy. Thus, the Moroccans in general were influenced by them, as copying was mostly done in Andalusian handwriting. Thus, calligraphers and copiers emerged from them, and their handwriting was associated with the Andalusian handwriting, which dominated the other Moroccan writings. Ibn Khaldun even said about this, "And the handwriting of Kairouan and Mahdia was forgotten with their benefits and industries, and the handwriting of all African people became like the Andalusian " (Ibn Khaldūn :751). Among the Andalusians who had an influence on those two famous writers who lived most of their lives in the Maghreb were Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658 AH/1259 CE), whose origin is from Valencia, (al-Qusanţīnī I. Q., 2002, 122) and Abū al-Matarif Ahmad b. 'Amīrah al-Makhzūmī al-Andalusī, whom Ibn Qunfudh described as "the chief of the literati, the greatest of the scholars, and the sign of his time". He worked in the court of Abū Zakariyyā al-Awwal (626-647 AH/1228-1249 CE) and al-Musta sir (647-675 AH/1249-1276 CE) (brwnshfyk, 1988, 420).

Constantine was famous for some calligraphers and copyists who were even compared by some writers to the Persian calligrapher Ibn Muqlah al-Shīrāzī (d. 328 AH/939 CE) in terms of the beauty of their writing. Among these were Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Wahhād al-Qusanṭīnī (who lived in the 8th century AH/14th CE) and also Shaykh Abī Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥajar (who lived in the 8th century AH/14th CE), who wrote for a long time in the court of Tunis during the reign of Sultan Khālid b. Abī Isḥāq, as well as the writer Abū 'Alī Ḥasan Abī al-Faḍl al-Qusanṭīnī (d. 756 AH/1355 CE), who had a beautiful handwriting that was approved by anyone who saw it (al-Qusanṭīnī I. Q., 2002, 179]).

In the 10th century AH/16th CE, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-'Aṭṭār al-Qusanṭīnī (d. 934 AH/1536 CE) became famous for the quality of his handwriting and perhaps even more so than Ibn Muqlah. He was visited by both private individuals and the public in matters related to documents and contracts (Sadllāh , 1986, 290).

Ibn al-Faqūn mentioned the interest of the scholars of Constantine in copying and reproducing manuscripts when he referred to the story of the copying of the work of al-Barzalī (d. 844 AH/1440 CE), which was copied by Qādī Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' al-Ḥafīd (who lived in the 9th century AH/15th CE) in Constantine after he rented the original copy, which was the only one in the city, from Shaykh Yaḥyā al-Faqūn (d. 941 AH/1534 CE), then made a copy of it by his handwriting (Sadllāh, 1986, 42)

4. Sufism in Andalusia dominates over the Sufism of the Qasentini society. Sufism emerged at first as an ascetic movement that sought to return to the pure sources of religion, far from superstitions, innovations, and impurities. One of its means was the emergence of the doctrine of the Sufi orders and the spread of zawiyas (religious retreats), especially in the later centuries. Thus, Sufism became a scientific discipline, especially after the decline and division of the Islamic world and the emergence of external threats to it (al-Mālikī, 1996, 345).

4-1- Constantine was influenced by Andalusian Sufism

Like other cities in the Maghreb and Africa, Constantine was influenced by Sufism, which took on an ascetic character from the 3rd-6th century AH/9th-12th century CE. During that time, Andalusian Sufi ideas emerged, (al-Ṭāhir Būnābī, 2004, 20) and later, the Almohads played a prominent role in spreading and developing the Sufi trend by opening up the field of thought and the intellectual trend of perceiving God and His attributes. The books of Al-Ghazali and other Sunni Sufis were taught in educational institutions and were the subject of legal and intellectual councils.

With the arrival of the Almohads, the Sufi movement developed not only in its asceticism, but also in its theological views, which were included in the writings of their founder Ibn Tumart (d. 524 AH/1130 CE), such as "Al-Murshidah", "Al-Tawhid", and "Al-'Aqida" (Tūmart, 1996, 07). Following in the footsteps of the Sufi master Abi Madyan Shuayb (d. 594 AH/1197 CE), whose influence was also significant in the Sufism of Maghreb, Tlemcen became a spiritual center that produced many Sufi leaders (bal, 1987, 378). This was mentioned by Ibn Qunfudh (d. 810 AH/1407 CE) in his book "Anis Al-Faqir", which included the life of Abi Madyan(I Qusantīnī I. Q:, 1965, 25) and his companions, as well as their journey to Maghreb and the tomb of Abi Madyan. Many followers adopted this approach, including the Sufis of Constantine, who mainly learned Sufi knowledge from scholars who came from the Mashriq or Andalusia and visited cities such as Kairouan, Bone, Constantine, Béjaïa, Tlemcen, and others. They played a major role in activating cultural, intellectual, and Sufi life in these cities (al-Tāhir Būnābī :, 2009, 02). Among these were Abu al-Abbas Ibn al-Arife (d. 536 AH/1142 CE), Ibn Barjan, Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 505 AH/1111 CE), and from Andalusia, Ibn Arabi (d. 638 AH/1240 CE) and Abu al-Hasan al-Harrani (d. 637 AH/1239 CE), and others (Qusanţīnī I. Q:, 1965, 02).

Among the Sufis of Andalusia who frequented Constantine, lived there, and spread their ideas there was the Sufi jurist and writer Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Ibn al-Wazir al-Gharnati (d. 790 AH/1388 CE) (al-Ṭāhir Būnābī :, 2009, 127).

Also, among the Sufi scholars of Constantine, we mention Sheikh al-Muridin Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Ansari al-Andalusi al-Surraj. Ibn Qunfudh said about him: "He was one of the brothers of my grandmother, the Sheikh of the Muridin, the righteous jurist, who was well-versed in our country. He used to visit him frequently in M'lara, and he died in Constantine in 746 AH/1345 CE" (Qusanţīnī I. Q:, 1965, 48). We also mention Sheikh Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Abi Muhammad Abdullah al-Saffar (d. 750 AH/1349 CE), who was a friend of the Qunfudh family, highly respected by their scholars, and adopted their Sufi doctrine (Qusanţīnī I. Q:, 1965, 45).

Sufism began theoretically in the Maghreb, then turned to practical Sufism, and became known as "Sufi zawiya and tariqa". Constantine was influenced by many Moroccan Sufi orders, the most famous of which was the Madaniya order, named after Sheikh Abu Madin Shuaib (d. 594 AH/1197 CE), which reflected the Andalusian Sufi influence in the Maghreb. The zawiya of Sheikh Abu Madin Shuaib ibn al-Hasan al-Andalusi (al-Qusanțīnī I.Q., 1973, 297-298) (d. 594 AH/1197 CE) in El-Abbad,

Tlemcen, was the most famous in the whole of the Maghreb, and Ibn Qunfudh recorded it in his book "Anas al-Faqir wa Azz al-Haqir" (Qusanțīnī I. Q:, 1965, 319). Most of the zawiya in the Maghreb were influenced by it, and the Madaniya order became famous and widespread in various parts of the Islamic Maghreb. Sheikh Abu Madin had a great influence on the Sufis of Béjaïa and Constantine, especially when he lived in Béjaïa for a long time, spreading Sunni Sufi ideas there and in Constantine.(al-Zayyāt, 1997, 319) He followed in the footsteps of Abu Madin, and the Sufis of Constantine, including the sheikhs of the M'lara zawiya followed him (Qusanțīnī I. Q:, 1965, 02).

4-2- The Malariyya Zawiya (a model of Andalusian Sufism in Constantine):

The Malariyya Zawiya is considered one of the rural zawiyas that were built away from the major cities. The role of the rural zawiyas, particularly in education and upbringing, was more positive than the role of the urban zawiyas. The Malariyya Zawiya in Constantine played an important role in promoting education and had religious functions. It became a stronghold of the Madaniyya Sufi order in the western Maghreb, as the Malaariyya Sufi house established the foundations of Sunni Sufism according to Al-Ghazali in Constantine (Qusanţīnī I. Q:, 1965, 92-93). Ibn Qunfudh al-Qacentini mentions that his grandmother's grandfather built it for himself. It became a destination for scholars and jurists from various parts of the Maghreb, as it had a great spiritual influence, especially on the people of Lower and Middle Maghreb, who turned to it to express their ideas, opinions, and issues (Fīlālī, 2007, 120). Its network of relationships with the Maraziqa Tlemsaniyya (the house of Ibn Marzuq) (al-Ṭāhir Būnābī :, 2009, 501-510) and its relationship with the house of Abu Muhammad Salih al-Majri in Safi (Qusantīnī I. Q:, 1965, 61).

Sheikh Ya'qub al-Millari (d. 1317 CE) was keen to run his zawiya according to the Book and the Sunnah, and to focus on the spiritual and practical educational aspects, while distancing himself from the philosophical Sufi trend that made dancing, fatigue, eating and crying a program (Fīlālī, 2007, 119) This is the same method that his sheikh, Abu Madyan al-Ghawth, followed, and he believed that Sufism is not about monasticism, eating barley and bran, or wearing coarse wool, but rather about patience with the divine commands and certainty in guidance(Fīlālī, 2007, 120).

Ya'qub ibn Imran al-Buwayyusi (630 AH-717 AH / 1232 CE-1317 CE):

He was the grandfather of Ibn Qunfudh al-Khatib on his mother's side, a devout and ascetic Sufi, a scholar of hadith and jurisprudence, and one of the great Sufi masters.

He is known for his miracles and founded his Malaariyah zawiyah (Fīlālī, 2007, 127) in the area of "Talik" in Ferjoua, two stages away from Constantine. He did so after studying Sufism under Sheikh Abu Mas'ud bin Arif (al-Qusanţīnī I. Q., 1973, 40-41) (who lived in the 6th century AH/12th century CE) and was one of the great disciples of the pole Sheikh Abu Madyan Shu'ayb (d. 594 AH/1197 CE) when he went to him in the mountains of Chlef. Ibn Qunfudh said: "He went to him when he was young, and he educated him, refined him, raised him well, brought him close, and benefited greatly from him. He ordered him to return to his homeland (Qusanţīnī I. Q:, 1965, 40)." Sheikh Ya'qub may have worn the rough woolen cloak of the Sufis, and when he returned to his homeland, he built his Malaariyah zawiyah there with the approval of his Sheikh Abu Mas'ud bin Arif, after the latter recognized his expertise in Sufism and his knowledge of jurisprudence.

Ibn Qunfudh al-Khateeb mentioned the chain of Sheikh Ya'qub's Sufi leadership, where he learned Sufi knowledge from Abu Mas'ud bin 'Urayf al-Andalusi, a student of Abu Madin al-Andalusi (d. 594 AH / 1197 CE) who learned from Abu al-Hasan Harzahum al-Andalusi (d. 559 AH / 1163 CE), who learned from Qadi Abu Bakr bin Arabi al-Andalusi (d. 543 AH / 1148 CE), who learned from Abu Hamid al-Ghazali al-Andalusi (d. 505 AH / 1111 CE), who learned from Imam al-Haramayn Abu al-Ma'ali al-Juwayni (d. 478 AH / 1085 CE), who learned from Abu Talib al-Makki (d. 386 AH / 996 CE), who learned from Abu al-Qasim al-Junaid from Sirri al-Sagati (d. 253 AH / 867 CE), who learned from Ma'ruf al-Karkhi (d. 201 AH / 816 CE), who learned from Dawud al-Ta'i (d. 260 AH / 873 CE), who learned from Habib al-Ajami from al-Hasan al-Basri (d. 110 AH / 728 CE), who learned from Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 40 AH / 660 CE) who learned from the Prophet (peace be upon him) (d. 11 AH / 633 CE). The Malaariya Tariqa and its successor, the Qunfudhi Tariqa and zawiya, take pride in this chain. Ibn Qunfudh learned this information from his grandfather, Yusuf, in the year 758 AH / 1356 CE(Qusantīnī I. Q:, 1965, 42-43)Sheikh Ya'qub adhered to the principles of the Madaniyah method in its origins, maintaining the principle of severe struggles as a fundamental pillar in the method. This is evident in the way Sheikh raised his son Yusuf (680 AH-764 AH / 1281 CE-1362 CE), as mentioned by Ibn Qunfudh who quoted Yusuf's grandfather saying: "My father - Sheikh Ya'qub - ordered me, at the beginning of my journey, to perform i'tikaf in Ramadan. He gave me thirty dates on the first night and twenty-nine dates on the second night. Then, he continued to reduce by one date every night, and I did not see any hardship in that month. "(Qusanţīnī I. Q:, 1965, 42)

Sheikh Ya'qub was a devout and ascetic worshipper, fasting during the day and standing for prayer at night. Ibn Qunfudh mentioned that he had not seen the dawn except in the mosque for about fifty years, except for physical necessities. (Qusantīnī I. Q:, 1965, 43) His relationship with people was characterized by kindness, generosity, and humility. He helped the poor and gave charity from his wealth. He had good relations with the public, as Ibn Qunfudh summarized by saying: "His known characteristics to both the private and the public were spreading peace, feeding the hungry, praying at night while people slept. (Qusantīnī I. Q:, 1965, 44)" This led to the large number of followers, disciples, and students who attached themselves to their Sheikh.

The jurist Ibn Ridwa added a glimpse of the food-giving function that the Sheikh himself carried out, saying: "When we finished our visit and he brought us food, he brought me the food that I wanted alone, and he smiled. I saw in that something that I did not expect to find (Qusanţīnī I. Q:, 1965, 45)"He had miracles in his life as he used to inform people about what was happening in Constantine, from his position in "Mellara" which is two stages away (Qusanţīnī I. Q:, 1965, 44) The Hafsid princes respected him, believed in him, sought his invitation and satisfaction. When the Sultan, Amir al-Mu'minin Abu Yahya Abu Bakr (718 AH-747 AH/1318 CE-1346 CE) was sworn in for the first time in Constantine in 717 AH/1317 CE - before the general swearing-in - Sheikh Ya'qub was asked for his blessing, so he placed his hand on the Sultan and said: "May your reign be long, God willing, and you will be safe from killing", and he was called "Al-Mutawakkil 'Ala Allah".(Qusanţīnī I. Q:, 1965, 44) Sheikh Ya'qub lived for almost eighty-seven years, dedicating his life to asceticism, piety, and righteousness. He spent his last years in his corner in Mellara, where he died and was buried in 717 AH/1317 CE, leaving his son with a legacy of knowledge and Sufism, as well as a prestigious position in society and with the authority.

Yusuf ibn Ya'qub al-Mallari (d. 764 AH/1362 CE):He is the grandfather of Ibn Qunfudh al-Khatib on his mother's side, the son of the aforementioned Sheikh Ya'qub. He was born in 680 AH/1261 CE and followed his father's path in Sufism. He was raised in a Sufi spiritual upbringing in his father's zawiya in Mallari ⁽Qusantīnī I. Q:, 1965, 44), until he became independent and in charge of it. Before his death, his father taught him the Madaniyah Sufi path and clothed him in a Sufi garment.-(Qusantīnī I. Q:, 1965, 48-49) Sheikh Yusuf was considered sacred by Abu Madinah and followed his Sufi school. He gave a new life to the Mallari zawiya, which had many followers in his time, and expanded its network of relationships with Moroccan and Andalusian Sufi elites. He is

credited with creating the rituals of belonging to the Madaniyah Sufi path, which involves three steps: pledging allegiance, shaking hands, and finally donning the Sufi garment (al-Tāhir Būnābī :, 2009, 511). Ibn Qunfudh describes the affiliation of his father, al-Khatib Hasan ibn al-Khatib (d. 750 AH/1349 CE), in the presence of Sheikh Yusuf, saying, "He shook hands with him, pledged allegiance to him, and followed his pat.(Qusanțīnī I. Q:, 1965, 46)" Ibn Qunfudh also describes the affiliation of Sheikh Muhammad ibn Yahya al-Bahili al-Musaffar (d. 744 AH/1343 CE), who was one of Sheikh Yusuf's students, saying, "He lived with Yusuf al-Mallari, accompanied him, shook hands with him for the sake of Allah, hugged him, and visited Sheikh Abu Madinah with him in 730 AH/1329 CE.(Qusantīnī I. Q:, 1965, 54)"The veneration of Sheikh Yusuf for the Madaniyah Sufi order is evident in his dealings with opponents of Sheikh Abu Madinah, including a Moroccan man named Ali Al-Maghribi, who is also known as "Al-Mathloum". He appeared in Constantine before the year 730 AH/1329 CE, accompanied by a large group who were insulting the disciples of Sheikh Abu Madinah. This angered Sheikh Yusuf, who went to their gathering place himself, contacted Ali Al-Maghribi, advised him against his actions, and urged him to stop. However, he did not accept the advice and continued to insult Sheikh Abu Madinah and his companions with inappropriate language. At that point, Sheikh Yusuf complained about him to some of the governors, and he was executed and his group was dispersed (Qusanțīnī I. Q:, 1965, 46).

The Malaariya zawiyah continued its activities until after the 8th century AH / 14th century AD due to several factors, including belief in the two shaykhs, Ya'qub and Yusuf, as well as the connection between the Malaariya zawiyah and the Medina zawiya in Tlemcen. Shaykh Yusuf bin Ya'qub al-Malaari (d. 764 AH / 1362 AD) frequented the tomb of Shaykh Abi Madin (Qusanțīnī I. Q:, 1965, 54) The relationship between the two zawiyahs was strengthened by Shaykh Abu al-Abbas bin Marzouq (d. 741 AH / 1341 AD), who was responsible for the tomb of Shaykh Abi Madin in the Abbad zawiyah, who gave a part of Abi Madin's staff as a token of belonging and participation of the two houses in the Madaniya tariqah (Fīlālī, 2007, 121)/

The Malariyya zawiya played various roles in social, religious, cultural, and political aspects. Besides being the religious and scientific center of Constantine, it can also be considered as the center of power within the city and a mediator between the people of Constantine and the Hafsid authority (Qusantīnī I. Q:, 1965, 44) particularly when the state was strong. However, in times of weakness, the zawiya worked to maintain order, establish security, and expand its social, religious, and scientific

influence. The zawiya also had a mission to integrate the Hilalian Arabs into the religious life through the gateway of Sufism, particularly the Arabs of the Dawawida tribe, who lived adjacent to the zawiya ($B\bar{u}$ 'az \bar{z} , 1995, 229). Sheikh Ya'qub al-Malari (d. 1317) and his son Sheikh Yusuf (d. 1362) enjoyed a prestigious status among the princes of the Hafsids who employed them to serve the people of Constantine and exerted charismatic ($F\bar{1}l\bar{a}l\bar{1}$, 2007, 122) influence on power to serve the community ($F\bar{1}l\bar{a}l\bar{1}$, 2007, 122). This contributed to the increase in the number of followers and disciples of the zawiya, as Ibn Qunfudh confirmed when he spoke about the funeral of his grandfather Yusuf, "His funeral was attended by an uncountable number of people (Ibn Qunfudh al-Qusant $\bar{1}n\bar{1}$:, 1965, 43).

As for the architectural style of the zawiyah, it was built in the style of fortified corners that were constructed outside the city. It contains a mosque for prayer, a large hall, and rooms for the members of the party to sit, read Quran, and make prayers (al-Qusanțīnī I. Q., 1973, 40). After the death of its leader, Sheikh Ya'qub in 717 AH/1317 CE, it became a shrine for its followers because it included his tomb, which is located in the seclusion where he used to hide from people's eyes (Fīlālī, 2007, 119) The zawiyah also became rooms for sleeping, due to its multiple functions, especially social and educational, such as housing the poor, travelers, and feeding them, as well as teaching students and accommodating them (al-Qusanțīnī I. Q., 1973, 40).

Ibn Qunfudh did not refer much to the architectural and engineering nature of the Malariyyah Zawiyah, because his interest was focused on explaining the Sufi method, its origins, its lineage, and its sheikhs, and its communication with the Hafsid authority. This led to neglecting talking about the architectural aspects of it. It is supposed that its architectural style is in line with the fortified corners that were built outside the cities and consisted of rooms, facilities, and mosques for prayer, and a room for the members of the party, where the Sheikh meets with his followers for remembrance and reciting the Quran.(Fīlālī, 2007, 119) One of the rooms in the zawiyah included the tombs of Sheikh Ya'qub bin Imran and his son Yusuf, where Ibn Qunfudh mentioned that the latter was "buried in his zawiyah beside his father (al-'Āmirī, 2010, 146-147).

From this, the Malariyyah zawiyah stands out as a space for the Medina method and a scientific and social institution with many functions such as accommodation, feeding, education, and reform.

Conclusion:

And so the people of Constantine inherited a flourishing cultural life that included many branches, the most important of which was the Andalusian branch, whose influence on the scientific movement in Constantine was evident through:

The abundance of scientific expeditions that linked the two cities.

The establishment of many scientists from Constantine in Andalusia in order to acquire knowledge and learn from its scholars.

The communication between scientists in the two cities and the expansion of the scope of their influence and interaction.

The contribution of Andalusian scholars to the development of the education sector in Constantine through the transfer of teaching and reading methods to Maghreb, in addition to some teachers who were Andalusians.

The development of the Andalusians in the field of paper copying in Constantine through the activity of some Andalusian writers in the city.

The influence of the Sufis of Constantine by the method of Abi Madyan Shuayb Al-Andalusi through the Marara Sufi lodge, which was considered an extension of the Medina Sufism in the region.

The people of Constantine also contributed to the intellectual Renaissance in Andalusia, and many of their scholars settled in the Andalusian city and were active in it.

In conclusion, we can say that the people of Constantine were able to create an intellectual and scientific Renaissance and took advantage of the knowledge of neighboring centers, foremost among them Andalusia. They learned many ideas from them and then developed them. This active movement led to the flourishing and development of the entire western region of the Hafsid state, and under their reign, Maghreb witnessed a (\bar{A} mir, 1974, 65).

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