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**Faculty of Letters and Languages
Department of English**

**A Bridge to the Past, a Story Meant to Last:
The Cultural Legacy and Historical Ties
Between Al-Andalus and Tlemcen**

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Dedication

“

I dedicate this humble work:

*To my **dear parents**, especially **my mother**. I thank Allah for the priceless gift He has given me.*

*To my entire **family**, especially my brothers, and most notably my little brother **Anes**, who has always stood by my side. I also dedicate this to my cousin **Douaa** .*

*To **Chaimaa Senoussi**, for her incredible support and guidance throughout my five academic years.*

*To **Marwa Yesraf**, for her invaluable help, and of course to my loyal friends: **Fatima, Dounia, Ferial, Khouira, Hanae, Hiba** and **Kawther**; for their consistent support and wisdom. .*

Thank you.

-Feryel

”

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the legacy of Andalusian culture on Tlemcen, a city in Algeria, following the fall of Granada in 1492 and the subsequent expulsion of Muslims from Iberia (modern-day Spain and Portugal) in 1609, a period when many Moriscos sought refuge and established new lives in the receiving city. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to investigate how forced migration influenced Tlemcen's culture. To further comprehend this complicated cultural interchange, the study employs historical analysis, investigating a variety of historical documents such as chronicles and cultural artifacts. The study demonstrates that Andalusian refugees made major contributions to various aspects of Tlemcen's urban, artistic, and social scene, as well as having a considerable influence on its identity and trajectory. Through this comprehensive investigation of these cultural exchanges, the thesis affirms the pervasive and lasting Andalusian influence on the Tlemcen Kingdom. Ultimately, this study provides a clearer understanding of the rich and complicated Andalusian-Tlemcenian cultural interchange.

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General Introduction

General Introduction

For nearly eight centuries, Al-Andalus emerged as a centre of intellectual and artistic advancements in the Middle Ages. It was the platform for collaboration between Muslim, Christian, and Jewish scholars, who contributed to the development of medicine, philosophy, and architecture, while much of Europe was still in the early phases of the “Dark Ages”.

Believing that the fall of Granada in 1492 caused by Ferdinand and Isabella marked the absolute end of Andalusian civilisation is a short-sighted interpretation that ignores a fundamental fact: much of Andalusian culture was not lost or disappeared as Castilians wished; rather, it was transmitted across the Mediterranean. The true heirs to this civilisation were not the invaders who burned its libraries, but rather the Morisco refugees who were expelled from their homes into exile in North Africa, who worked tirelessly and fought ceaselessly to transmit and preserve what remained of Al-Andalus’ heritage.

Among the many refuges that welcomed these refugees, Tlemcen, the Zayyanid capital in present-day Algeria, emerged as a haven for Andalusian refugees. As a result of welcoming large Andalusian migrations, Tlemcen over time earned the epithet “African Granada”. In Tlemcen, Andalusians were able to preserve their Andalusian architecture, musicians preserved Andalusian maqams, and scholars continued their intellectual pursuits.

This study highlights the importance of identifying Tlemcen’s profound Andalusian influences in rectifying historical errors and improving our understanding of the continued development of civilisations outside their usual centres. By putting light on this cultural transmission, the study

hopes to reclaim a rich but frequently ignored chapter in North African and Islamic history.

To achieve these goals, this study centres on two main questions:

- How did the historical relations between Tlemcen and Andalusia develop?
- What are the manifestations of Andalusian influence on Tlemcen culture?

The first chapter mainly provides the basic historical background for both Al-Andalus and Tlemcen. This chapter traces the different Islamic states that governed both regions and then examines their development throughout history. Additionally, it examines the political and intellectual ties between Nasrid Granada and Zayyanid Tlemcen, following the waves of migration that transformed the city into a repository of Andalusian knowledge.

Based on this historical context, the second chapter offers an analysis of the Andalusian influence on Tlemcen across various cultural aspects: Architecture, science, language, music, and clothing. As a start, it examines the impact on historical buildings, especially mosques, as well as on the dialect and proverbs spoken in Tlemcen. It also explores the evolution of music in Tlemcen after the fall of Granada and highlights the contributions of science and scholars whose names resonate to this day.

Chapitre 1 : Tlemcen and Al-Andalus, a Historical Review

1.1 Introduction

In 711 CE, Tariq ibn Ziyad's armies crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and took control of the Iberian Peninsula. Within seven years, Muslims established Al-Andalus, Europe's most developed medieval civilisation. However, this period of unity and scientific advancements came to an end with the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate. The kingdom was then divided into separate, each of which fell under Christian kingdoms until the final collapse in 1492. This period began a lengthy period of misery for Muslims during the Inquisition, which ended with their expulsion in 1609. Simultaneously, across the Mediterranean, Tlemcen grew as an important centre of commerce, its strategic location along trans-Saharan trade routes had facilitated cultural and intellectual interchange with different Islamic kingdoms including Al-Andalus. The city further developed strong ties with Nasrids Granada. Following the fall of Al-Andalus, Tlemcen became officially the African Granada as it became a haven for displaced Andalusians and Moriscos.

Hence, this chapter aims to provide a comprehensive historical background of al-Andalus and Tlemcen as distinct yet interconnected entities. It will explore their respective historical trajectories, the successive states that governed them, the significant periods they experienced, and the notable achievements for which they became renowned. Additionally, this chapter will delve into the diplomatic relations and strong ties that bound these two kingdoms together which demonstrates their shared past and mutual influences.

1.2 Al-Andalus: A Historical Background

For almost eight centuries, Al-Andalus was a beacon of intellectual and artistic brilliance, known for its scientific discoveries, marvellous architectural styles, and influential musical heritage. This section of the research will explore its geographical location and the transformations that occurred during the Islamic conquest.

1.2.1 Geographical Location of Al-Andalus

Al-Andalus or the Iberia is a peninsula located in the north western Mediterranean Sea. To its north, it is bordered by the Pyrenees Mountains, which separate it from the rest of Europe. To the south, the narrow Strait of Gibraltar connects the Mediterranean Sea with the Atlantic Ocean (Nazeer, 2015). The term Al- Andalus is a corruption of the Latin “Vandalucia”; derived from Vandalus, in which Arabs named their new domain in the Iberian Peninsula (Watt & Cachia, 2007b).

1.2.2 Iberia Before and After the Islamic Conquest

Before Muslim armies crossed the Strait of Gibraltar towards the Iberian Peninsula, modern Spain and Portugal; it was a land of multiple names and rulers from early tribes to great empires that impacted the history of the peninsula.

1.2.2.1 Al-Andalus Before Islam

Long before the arrival of the Muslims, the Iberian Peninsula was inhabited by various indigenous populations. Among the significant early settlers in Northern Spain were the Celts, referred to as Roman Gaul in

Chapitre 1 : Tlemcen and Al-Andalus, a Historical Review

Greek, who sailed along the southern coast around 500 BC they named it Iberia after the Iberius river; today's Ebro they easily mixed with the locals, as a result, the Celti-berians appeared whom they expended further towards Central Europe. The peninsula had another name called Hispania; believed to be the land of the rabbits.

By the 6th Century, the Carthaginians; descendants of Phoenician traders conquered and expanded in Iberia, where they destroyed Tartessus and built Cadiz into a wealthy port. They remained in Iberia for two centuries and a half until the Romans defeated them and ended up with Romans taking complete control over Iberia, adding it to their Empire, and keeping the name Hispania for Iberia. However, their oppressive administration in Hispania characterised by systematic extraction of resources, and imposing heavy taxes made them hated by the Spaniards; whom they looked upon as barbarians and savages. (Akram, 1980.)

By the beginning of the 5th Century, the Roman domination over Hispania ended under the Germanic tribes; Vandals, Alans, and Suevi in 409 AD. Dozy notes, that these tribes brought the days of horror in the history of Spain, they turned civil wars among them, villages were destroyed, and caused famine in the region.

Nonetheless, upon the arrival of the Goths, they were defeated, whereby the Goths destroyed the southern Vandals, killed the Alan king, and pushed the remaining Vandals and Suevi back to Galicia (Dozy & Stokes, 1913). Later on, Vandals moved to the south of Spain where they stopped for a short time in Baetica; an old Roman province, and named it Vandalusia

(Akram, 1980) before they moved to North Africa one year later (Lane-Poole, c1888).

The Goths were also a Germanic tribe who split into two groups; Visigoths (West Goths) and Ostrogoths (East Goths). By the 5th century, the Visigoths established their kingdom in Toulouse which included Spain. Overtime, they gradually expanded their control southward until they managed to control most of the peninsula. By the early seventh century, they further extended towards Ceuta in the North African Coast; which was a part of the Byzantine Empire that was to be ruled by Julian (Akram, 1980).

The Visigoths ruled for two centuries; during their rule, Spain witnessed a decline rather than an improvement and reforms. Their Christianity did not inspire them to improve the lives of their subjects (Lane-Poole, ca. 1888). In this context, Lane-Poole (1888) states the following about the Visigoths' rule:

The middle classes bore, as in Roman times, the burden of taxation, and were consequently bankrupt and ruined: the land was still in the hands of the few, and the large estates were indifferently cultivated by crowds of miserable slaves, whose dreary lives were brightened by no hope of improvement or dream of release before death (p. 7).

Even the clergy, who preached Christian brotherhood, were no different than any Roman lord in their cruelty. Once they grew wealthy and owned vast estates, they treated Iberians as their slaves.

1.2.2.2 Al-Andalus After the Islamic Conquest

According to Watt & Cachia, it is necessarily to look at the conditions of Iberian Peninsula before Muslim conquest. In the early 8th century, the Visigothic kingdom was already falling apart. Lane-Poole (1888) further elaborates the situation of Spain back then as follows:

Such was the condition of Spain when the Mussulman approached her borders. A corrupt aristocracy divided the land among themselves ; the great estates were tilled by a wretched and hopeless race of serfs ; the citizen classes were ruined. On the other side of the straits of Gibraltar were the soldiers of Islam, all hardy warriors, fired with the fervour of a new faith, bred to arms from their childhood, simple and rude in their life, and eager to plunder the rich lands of the infidels. Between two such peoples there could be no doubt as to the issue of the fight; but to remove the possibility of doubt, treachery came to the aid of the invaders. (Lane-Poole, c1888, p. 8)

Furthermore, Julian's assistance facilitated the invasion of Muslims, in which he provided important information about the region's geography and military support. At this point, historians differ on the motives of Julian's alliance. Some, including Lane-Poole, believe Julian wished to

exact revenge on King Rodrigo for assaulting his daughter, Florida (Lane-Poole, c1888).

Whereas Collins, questioned this assertion due to a lack of contemporary historical evidence, claiming that the conquest was achieved through thorough military preparation, Visigothic internal divides, and adaptive political methods rather than pure military dominance (Collins, 1989). Julian tried to convince Musa ibn Nusayr about invading Iberia, as Lane-Poole (ca. 1888) describes:

He filled the ears of the Arab general with stories of the beauty and richness of Spain, of its rivers and pastures, vines and olives, its splendid cities and palaces, and the treasures of the Goths: it was a land flowing with milk and honey, he said, and Musa had only to go over and take it (p. 12).

Nonetheless, Musa ibn Nusayr was a cautious General, first, he asked for the Umayyad Caliphate's instructions to initiate an exploratory mission. Then, he decided to launch an exploratory mission in 710 under Tarif with a small army using Julian's four ships to reach the Iberian Coast. Once Tarif arrived, he landed at a place that still bears his name, Tarifa (Watt & Cachia, 2007b). Tarif's army launched a raid to assess the Visigothic defences and local reactions. Their success in defeating the Visigothic forces confirmed Julian's claim (Lane-Poole, c1888).

The actual military invasion did not begin until nine months later; Muslims had to wait for a suitable opportunity when Visigothic forces

would be less prepared to resist an invasion. Musa ibn Nusayr decided to start the invasion once he discovered that, Rodrigo; the king of Iberia was busy suppressing the Basque Revolt (Lane-Poole, c1888). As Akram (1980) states, “It was wise to wait until Roderic was committed elsewhere” (p. 37).

He then sent his General Tariq Ibn Ziyad along with 7,000 men (Watt & Cachia, 2007a). According to Akram (1980), it was a wise plan by Musa ibn Nusayr not to throw a large army over the strait into an unknown land to face an enemy who knew the land intimately; otherwise, it would have been a military folly. Moreover, Tariq ibn Ziyad was a competent leader who understood exactly what was on Musa’s mind (Akram, 1980).

Julian had a significant role in securing the Muslims’ access to the Spanish shores. He planned to transport the 7000 fighters through several waves using his commercial vessels to avoid any suspension. The first wave, with Tariq ibn Ziyad aboard, reached the shore without opposition, while subsequent waves were brought in regularly under Julian’s supervision (Akram, 1980). Tariq ibn Ziyad landed on the mainland at a site known as Lion’s Rock, which he chose as a base for him (Akram, 1980) which later came to be called Gibraltar, a perversion for Gibal Tariq; the mountain of Tariq (Watt & Cachia, 2007a).

Before King Rodrigo headed north, he left the southern region under the command of Count Theodomir. Theodomir quickly realised the unusual movements of foreign forces. He then mobilized his army to investigate them, which ultimately led to a confrontation between the Visigoths and

Muslims. However, Tariq ibn Ziyad's army easily defeated Theodomir's forces (Akram, 1980). Shortly afterward, they advanced inland and seized Carteya, an old Iberian town in Algeciras. Its proximity to the North African shores made it an ideal location for its main base (Lane-Poole, c1888).

Subsequently, Theodomir informed King Rodrigo to return immediately, as he no longer could defeat Muslims (Akram, 1980). As King Roderic returned from the north (Lane-Poole, c1888), Tariq ibn Ziyad's forces were reinforced by 5,000 men (Watt & Cachia, 2007a). The two armies eventually converged in a decisive battle near the Guadalete Valley, where the Muslims ultimately defeated Roderigo (Lane-Poole, c1888).

The profound impact of this victory is underscored by Lane-Poole (1888), who briefly states:

The victory of the Guadalete gave all Spain into the hands of the Moors. Tarik and his twelve thousand Berbers had by a single action won the whole peninsula, and it needed but ordinary energy and promptness to reduce the feeble resistance which some of the cities still offered (Lane-Poole, c1888, p. 23).

Following this victory, Tariq proceeded to Cordoba, securing its capture with the assistance of local Jewish communities and other discontented residents. He then advanced to Toledo, where he seized power without encountering significant opposition. Some accounts, such as Lane-Poole (1980), mention that Musa ibn Nusayr was jealous of Tariq's unexpected

success. Still, this claim is refuted by Watt & Cachia (2007), who assert that Musa ibn Nusayr's behaviour in achieving greater Muslim victories in Iberia entirely undermines it.

When Musa heard of Tariq's success in capturing lands in Iberia, he crossed the strait in 712, along with 18,000 troops, mostly Arabs. He seized Seville first and then moved to the north to capture Mérida. He met Tariq in Talavera, near Toledo. Within the next year, Musa took over Saragossa and continued to Narbonne in South-eastern France, then he moved westwards and Conquered Asturias, whereas Tariq already conquered Leon and Asturias whilst Tariq had already conquered Leon and Astorga. Within the same year, the Umayyad Caliph ibn Abd Malik summoned the two commanders, Musa ibn Nusayr and Tariq ibn Ziyad, to return to Damascus (Watt & Cachia, 2007a).

Abd al-Aziz son of Musa ibn Nusayr was appointed governor of Al-Andalus in 714, where he further extended the conquest of (Qulumbriyya) the western region (Portugal), and seized Evora, Santarem (Shantarín), Coimbra and captured Malaga, Elvira, and Tudmir. During his short reign, he signed a peace treaty with Theodore, guaranteeing the locals religious freedom, until his assassination in 714 (Jayyusi, 1992).

1.2.3 Al-Andalus Under Islamic States

The Umayyads came to power in Al-Andalus during the eighth century when Abd al-Rahman ibn Mu'awiyah, a survivor of the Abbasid massacre in the east, fled to North Africa. Initially, he attempted to take control of Ifriqiya (modern-day Tunisia), however, his efforts were unsuccessful. He

then shifted his focus on Al-Andalus, where he sought to establish connections with Umayyad supporters (Umayyad mawali) and Yemeni opposition groups (Yemeni jundis) to secure his backing. In 755, he arrived on the Andalusian southern coast and within a year, within a year, he managed to assemble an army of approximately 2,000 supporters, drawing from various local factions, including those sympathetic to the Umayyad cause and elements of the powerful Yemeni tribes.

He marched to Cordoba and defeated Yusuf al-Sumail al-Qaysi's army before entering the capital, where he announced himself as Emir at Cordoba's Mosque that same year. He sought to attract more supporters from Andalusia and beyond to back his rule (p.32). He further, extended his influence to Toledo after defeating the al-Fihri and al-Sumayl dynasties and conquering the city (Kennedy, 1996).

The Umayyad Caliphate reached its peak under Abd al-Rahman II, his reign achieved relative unity due to an extensive building program. However, this unity did not last long. The state became further weak with the rebellion of local leaders in the border regions, who exploited popular discontent against Umayyad authority to establish semi-autonomous regions. For instance, in the ninth century, Musa ibn Musa, the ruler of Toledo, refused to submit to the Umayyad emir and claimed himself as the third king of Spain, and the Banu Qasi and Banu Tujib families in Zaragoza, also challenged the central authority of Umayyads. Ultimately, These divisions made Umayyad emirs unable to impose their control over the rebels and were forced to grant local leaders autonomy in exchange for formal loyalty

(Watt & Cachia, 2007a).

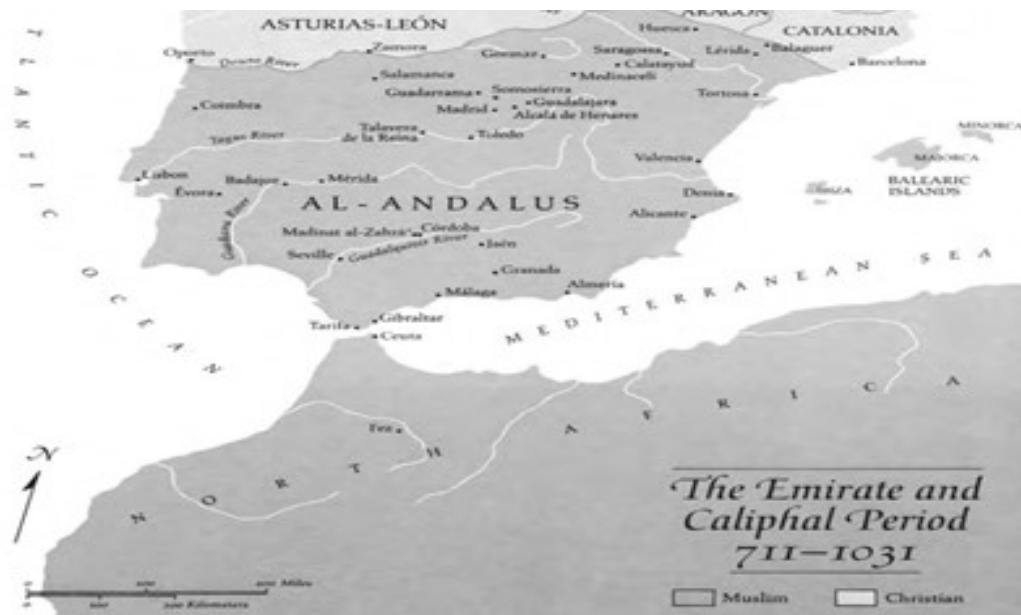


Figure 1.1: Map illustrating the Territorial Extent

In 1031 AD, the Umayyad Caliphate in Al-Andalus dissolved, fragmenting into minor states known as the Taifa Kingdoms (Kennedy, 1996). In this context, Jayyusi (1992) further explains, the Taifa period as follows:

Some states rising and others falling, boundaries in continuous flux, with the powerful forever coveting the land of their less powerful neighbours, seizing it by war or by peaceful means, or else cutting off pieces from it. Meanwhile, their Christian neighbours, whose power was on the increase, interfered unceasingly in the affairs of these small states, imposing tribute on many of them and working to gain possession of whatever of their lands they could (p.49).

Despite these conflicts, this era witnessed great achievements in architecture and decoration, such as the Aljafería Palace in Zaragoza and the Medina al-Zahra, which was destroyed in 1013 AD.



Figure 1.2: Map showing the division of Al-Andalus into Taifa Kingdoms after the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate by Dodds

Following the fall of Toledo in 1085 AD, the Taifa Kings understood they needed to employ the forces of Yusuf ibn Tashfin, the Almoravid emir of North Africa, to protect them against Christian attacks. Consequently, Yusuf ibn Tashfin answered their request by leading his Almoravid forces to Iberia. They successfully defeated Christian forces at the Battle of Zallaca in 1086 AD.

Nonetheless, upon the Almoravids' return to North Africa, the Taifa Kings renewed their alliances with Christian rulers. This act, which Yusuf ibn Tashfin viewed as a betrayal of their shared Muslim cause and a sign of their unreliability, prompted him to depose the Taifa Kings. He subsequently captured Granada, Córdoba, and Seville between 1090 and 1091,

later expanding his control northward until the fall of Zaragoza in 1110.

The Almoravids' success in conquering Al-Andalus stemmed not only from the military weakness of the Taifa Kings but also from the positive reception they garnered from the local populace. This warm welcome was particularly evident among the jurists and judges, who had grown weary of the Taifa kings' oppressive rule and the imposition of illegitimate taxes. (Kennedy, 1996)

However, the Almoravid rule in Al-Andalus did not last long, largely owing to internal dissent. Their policies of integrating only Berbers into their forces while largely excluding local Andalusians fostered significant discontent, as the latter often viewed the Almoravids as less civilised than them. Even after the death of Yusuf ibn Tashfin in 1106. His successors could no longer repel the Christian attacks, which created vulnerabilities in their rule in Al-Andalus. Consequently, the rising Almohad movement in North Africa exploited these weaknesses, ultimately overthrowing the Almoravids and assassinating their last princes by the mid-twelfth century (Jayyusi, 1992).



Figure 1.3: Al-Andalus Under the Almoravids (adapted from Visit Andalusia)

By the early 13th century, Al-Andalus officially became under Almohads, who rose to power, they managed to unify most of Al-Andalus under the leadership of Abd al-Mu'min and his successor Abu Yaqub Yusuf by defeating local warlords like Ibn Mardanish, who controlled Seville. They reached their zenith under Abu Yusuf Yaqub al-Mansur, who secured decisive victories against Christian forces. During his reign, large construction projects were completed, including several luxury palaces, forts, and towers, as well as the construction of the city towers and the Great Mosque of Seville.

Conversely, the Almohads struggled to maintain control over Al-Andalus for an extended period because they adopted a governance style similar to that of the Almoravids. Their administration was largely dominated by

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Berber elites from North Africa, which created a divide between the rulers and the local Andalusian population. Consequently, many cities under their rule did not provide full support (Kennedy, 1996). This discontent contributed to their defeat at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa against the Christian forces in 1212. Ultimately, this loss severely weakened the Almohads' control over Al-Andalus and weakened their ability to defend against the expansion of the Christian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon (Jayyusi, 1992).



Figure 1.4: Al-Andalus Under Almohads Rule Following Almoravids' Collapse (Dodds)

Following the collapse of Almohad rule, who permanently lost control over Al-Andalus, much of the Andalusian territories fell to the expanding Christian kingdoms. Amid this fragmentation, however, a new Muslim power began to rise under the leadership of Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Nasr, the founder of the Nasrid dynasty of the Banu al-Ahmar. He began to impose his control by seizing Arjona in 1232 and Jaen in 1233. He

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further solidified his nascent state by seizing Seville in 1234. By 1237, he had established Granada, formerly a Zirid kingdom, and by 1238, he had extended his dominion to include Almeria and Málaga.



Figure 1.5: Map of Andalusian Territories Under Nasrid Rule (Dodds)

Things started to change after Jaén's collapse at the hands of Ferdinand III, Muhammad II then realised that the survival of his power was dependent on an alliance with the Christian kingdoms. This partnership forced him to pay regular tributes and join Christian battles against other Muslim rulers. For example, he participated in the siege of Seville to maintain his dominion in areas with borders extending from Tarifa to 60 km east of Almería and north near Jaén.

However, beyond these agreements with Christian forces, the Nasrids also carefully balanced alliances with North African powers such as

Marinids and Zayyanid, particularly the Marinids, maintaining a cautious distance and engaging them as allies only when it served their purposes (Barrucand & Bednorz, 2007) (Husain, 2010).

While such diplomacy aimed at preserving the kingdom, however, it eventually collapsed due to internal problems and a growing Christian threat. Barrucand & Bednorz (2007) further elaborates on this complex situation as follows:

Arguments over the succession, in which every claimant to the throne pursued his own interests, were responsible for weakening Granada in the same measure as the threat from the Christians was growing. The unification of Castile and Aragón by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469 sealed the fate of the Sultanate. Antequera had already fallen in 1410, Gibraltar and Archidona no later than 1464, Málaga surrendered in 1487, Almería in 1489. The last Nasrid, Abû 'Abd Allâh Muhammad XII, known to the Spaniards as Boabdil, left the Alhambra in January 1492 (p.181).

Between April and July 1491, Castilian forces created a strong foothold at Santa Fe, near Granada, and laid siege to the city. The siege imposed difficult conditions on Andalusians, as food costs rose, causing a catastrophic famine that drove even wealthier inhabitants to consume donkey and dog meat. Snowfall also disrupted all supply lines from the Alpujarras Mountains, Granada's last remaining food source.

Moreover, Abu Abdullah pretended to be neutral when in fact he had

a secret agreement with Ferdinand in 1490 whereby he exchanged the surrender of Granada for the Guadix-Baza-Mojacar estates (Harvey, 1992). As a result, Granada officially fell on January 2, 1492 (Kennedy, 1996).



Figure 1.6: Boabdil Surrenders the Alhambra's Keys After the Fall of Granada, 1492 (Fine Art America)

The historic moment of surrender is depicted in Figure 1.6, in which Boabdil surrenders the Alhambra's keys, following the fall of Granada in 1492.

1.2.4 The Final Expulsion: Morisco Migration (1492–1614)

After the fall of Granada in 1492, Granada remained an Islamic city under Christian rule for a few years, Muslim judges retained their positions and had some religious independence. However, after the release of edicts in 1502, the Castilian crown, violated its agreements, they initiated a violent campaign to eradicate Islam from the peninsula (Harvey, 1992). Muslims

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were subjected to extreme torture; they were forced to either convert to Christianity or face execution.

Those who outwardly converted, later known as Moriscos, were constantly suspected. The Inquisition kept them under surveillance; simple acts like avoiding pork or washing before prayer could lead to imprisonment. The regime's cruelty included torture methods like using the Potro, public burning in public, and forcing women to eat pork in front of crowds, case if they refused to obey; they were tortured by inquisition for suspected secret adherence to Islam (Lea, 1901). For a visual example of the Inquisition's methods, Figure 1.7 presents a medieval rendering of Moriscos undergoing torture.



Figure 1.7: A medieval greeting card showing the Inquisition torturing Moriscos (from Science Photo Gallery)

The final tragedy occurred in 1609 when Philip III ordered the expulsion

of all Moriscos. This resulted in a humanitarian disaster, many were loaded onto small vessels with no water or food, ultimately causing many to die in transit. Castilian troops would sometimes abandon Moriscos in the desert with no water or kill them. Additionally, thousands of children were forcibly baptized and taken from their Muslim parents (Lea, 1901). In this context, Lea (1901) referenced the words of Cardinal Richelieu, who described the act “as the boldest and most barbarous recorded in human annals” (p. 365). This expulsion resulted in “the descendants of the conquerors driven from the land which the labors of their ancestors had enriched and adorned” (p. 365).

1.2.5 The Splendours of Andalusian Civilisation: Scientific, Architectural, and Musical Achievements

Al-Andalus’ civilisation flourished for nearly eight centuries as a beacon of intellectual and artistic brilliance in medieval Europe. Its influence extended across various sectors, including scientific discoveries, architectural innovations, and a rich musical heritage.

1.2.5.1 Architecture

Andalusian architecture is renowned for its stunning beauty and distinction, a testament to centuries of cultural blending and artistic creativity. It blends artistic features with advanced functionality in an elegant and contemporary manner. The result is spaces that combine aesthetics with structural intelligence.

Andalusian architecture is distinguished by its double-spanning arch systems, such as the horseshoe arches in the Great Mosque of Cordoba,

which include alternating red and white stones (Dodds, 1992). These innovative structures were not merely aesthetic; Muslim builders implemented these techniques to compensate for differences in column height, distribute loads efficiently, and prevent walls from collapsing (Barrucand & Bednorz, 2007).

Beyond its unique archways, Andalusian architecture is also characterised by hemispherical domes and the use of coloured or smooth, coloured pavements in the arcades (Marçais & Marçais, 1903).

To complement these structural and functional elements, Muslim Andalusians adorned their buildings with intricate geometric designs that incorporated plant motifs. Their decorative approach further extended to the use of shiny green and gold glass mosaics, and significantly, the elegant integration of Arabic calligraphy, often including Qur'anic verses or religious invocations. (Dodds, 1992). Additionally, the aisles and courtyard were extensively covered in painted wood (Barrucand & Bednorz, 2007).

1.2.5.2 Scientific Flourishing in Al-Andalus

During a period when much of Europe experienced widespread ignorance, Muslim scholars in Al-Andalus cultivated an environment of unparalleled scientific and intellectual advancement. In this regard, Lane (1888) highlights this intellectual flourishing, writing:

The Moors organized that wonderful kingdom of Cordova which was the marvel of the Middle Ages, and which, when all Europe was plunged in barbaric ignorance and strife, alone held the torch of learn-

ing and civilization bright and shining before the Western world. It must not be supposed that the Moors, like the barbarian hordes who preceded them, brought desolation and tyranny in their wake. On the contrary, never was Andalusia so mildly, justly, and wisely governed as by her Arab conquerors (Lane-Poole, c1888, p. 43).

Science began to flourish in Al-Andalus with the Umayyad era under the Caliph Al-Hakam II (961-976 CE). During his reign, Al-Andalus became a global scientific centre. He contributed significantly to this development by establishing his vast library, which contained over 400,000 manuscripts. He used to send envoys worldwide to acquire rare scientific texts. This commitment to scholarship led to the institutionalization of education through the Great Library of Cordoba, which alone contained 400,000 volumes distributed across 44 catalogues (Husain, 2010).

Al-Andalus was also the site of significant medical discoveries. Al-Zahrawi (Al-Bouqassi) was one of its most notable scholars, who invented over 200 surgical instruments, including specialised scalpels, needles, and obstetric forceps. Moreover, Andalusian medicine, as documented by Ahmad al-Razi, surpassed contemporary European practices. Hospitals provided free care, and surgical methods (Husain, 2010).

Husain (2010) further supports this view by noting the exceptional intellectual and cultural flourishing in Al-Andalus:

Art, literature and science prospered, as they did nowhere else in Europe, Students flocked from France and Germany and England to

drink from the fountain of learning, which flowed only in the cities of the Moors (pp. 90–91).

Cordoba, unlike many others, offered women great opportunities to pursue higher education. At the time, not having female doctors was unfamiliar. Islamic Spain was an exceptional place to master subjects such as mathematics, astronomy, botany, history, philosophy, and law (Husain, 2010).

1.2.5.3 Andalusian Music

Andalusian music's origins are often attributed to the legendary musician Ziryāb, a freed slave from Baghdad, who instigated a musical revolution in Al-Andalus. He arrived in Iberia in 890 CE (Poché, 1995). Ziryāb is credited with inventing the five-string lute, establishing 24 melodic modes (Maqāmāt), and composing 365 Nuba suites, one per day (Reynolds, 2021).

However, later perspectives, notably from the 12th-century lexicographer al-Tifashi, demonstrate that Andalusian music developed over centuries and that Ziryāb was only one important figure among many, such as Ibn Bajja, who contributed to its evolution by combining diverse musical elements.

Apart from its origin, the instruments are most commonly associated with this music. They include the lute (ʿūd), which was already known with five strings before Ziryāb, and sometimes other stringed and wind instruments like the mizmâr (Poché, 1995). Additionally, the Andalusian rebec, which consists of three gut strings and a horsehair bow, as well as

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the ceremonial Būq wind instrument, and percussion such as the duff frame drum and şanj cymbals, were included (Poché, 1995).

At the very heart of the composition of Andalusian music lies the Nuba. The Nuba itself, literally “to wait one’s turn”, originally referred to the rotational playing by the musicians before the caliph and later evolved into a structured musical composition. It had four movements: nashid, sawt, Muwashshah, and Zajil (Poché, 1995). Other descriptions describe it as a five-movement suite (Mīzān, Baṭāyḥī, Darj, Inṭilāq, Muwāl), with 24 rhythms per suite (Reynolds, 2021).



Figure 1.8: Miniature from the cantigas of Santa Maria, 16th century, of lute and bowed fiddle players (Poché, 1995, p.94)



Figure 1.9: Libro de Los Juegos 16th century player of Sanj instrument (Poché, 1995, p. 49)

The cultural landscape depicted in Al-Andalus' music and art expanded to include other major cities in the region. This next section will delve into the historical significance of Tlemcen, examining its past from its geographical location to the transformations it underwent during the Islamic invasion.

1.3 Tlemcen Through History

Tlemcen has historically been a centre of knowledge and architectural magnificence, ruled by various dynasties. This section will examine its geographical location will look into its geographical location and the changes that occurred during the Islamic invasion.

1.3.1 Geography of Tlemcen

Tlemcen is situated at 3°38' West longitude and 34°53' North latitude. It is located on the slopes of the Lalla Setti Plateau, at a height of 830 meters and approximately 40 km inland from the Mediterranean Sea (Abadie,

1994). This siting was also observed by the American artist and traveller Frederick Arthur Bridgman during his trip to Tlemcen in the French colonial period; wherein he described it as follows:

Tlemcen stands on the northern slope of the mountain Leila Setta, thirty miles from the sea; through a gap in the distant hills towards Oran the Mediterranean is visible. The site of the town is most beautiful against the barren rocks at the back. Above the plateau, where the town is built, below it, and for miles around are groves of dense olive and fig trees, under which in the red earth wheat and flowers grow in fields well watered and cultivated (Bridgman, 1889, p. 118).

Throughout history, the city of Tlemcen has witnessed profound changes and transformations, bearing many names as new settlements emerged and old ones disappeared.

The city's history dates back to the Roman era when it was used as a permanent Roman camp. The Romans named it Pomaria, which means "orchards", due to the abundance of olive trees in the area (Bargès, 1859). This argument is reinforced by Marçais & Marçais (1903), who point out that Tlemcen, formerly known as Pomaria, contains ancient Roman inscriptions, including five Latin inscriptions, found on the site of Agadir.

Following the Roman and Islamic conquests, the city became known as Agadir. There are various interpretations of this name. On the one hand, both Bargès (1859) and Abadie (1994) agree that this name could be derived from a Berber word signifying the city's walls. On the other

hand, Bargès (1859) suggests that this name also could be derived from an Arabic term such as /Jiddar/, which also means wall. He further points to Phoenician or Carthaginian roots for the word. Eventually, the city came to be called Tlemcen, a Berber term meaning water pockets (Abadie, 1994).

1.3.2 Tlemcen between the Roman and Islamic Conquer

The Arab conquest of the western Maghrib, including Tlemcen, began with the Umayyad governor Musa bin Nusayr's military campaign between 704 and 711 CE who relied on alliances with Berber tribes and his forces advanced from central Algeria through Tlemcen toward Tangier (Oliver & Fagan, 1975).

Marçais & Marçais (1901) offer a more detailed perspective on Tlemcen's early history, from the Roman period to the Islamic conquest. They state that Tlemcen was known during the Roman era as Pomaria, it was situated on the plateau currently occupied by Agadir. The name Pomaria itself appears in various inscriptions found at this site. While the precise nature of the locality at the time of the Muslim conquest remains unclear, with no significant Roman or Byzantine antiquities uncovered from its soil.

The initial Arab conquest likely passed through Tlemcen, much like the rest of Africa Minor, without leaving any serious traces. They further cite Ibn Khaldun to support their argument; whereby the city was conquered by Abou'l-Mohâdjir, a lieutenant of Iqba-ben-Nâfi, in the time of the great historian Ibn Khaldun, there was still a water source bearing the name of Abou'l-Mohâdjir.

Things changed when Idriss ibn Abdullah, a descendent of the prophet

Mohammed and the founder of the Idrissid dynasty; fled to North Africa in the late eighth century, where he gained the loyalty of Berber tribes who accepted him as their leader.

This alliance enabled the Idrissids to establish Fez as their capital between 790 and 809 CE, and then they extended their control eastward to Tlemcen. According to Oliver & Fagan (1975) although the Idrissids had Shi'ite origins, however; Idris I and his successors adopted Sunni orthodoxy and fostered the Arabic language in the region, supported by Arab migrants from Al-Andalus and Ifriqiya (Oliver & Fagan, 1975).

In support of this argument, Marçais & Marçais (1903) further provide details about the Idrissid rule:

In 790 (174 AH), it was conquered by Idris. It is in the name of this prince that the first historical mention of a building being built in Tlemcen is attached.

Idris, says the author of the *Qarfd*s, entered Tlemcen without a fight, gave peace to the people, and built a beautiful mosque, which he adorned with a pulpit on which he had these words engraved: "In the name of Allah, the most Merciful, the most Gracious". This mosque was built by the orders of Fimâm Idris-ibn-Abdallah-ibn-Husâin (pp.11-12).

Nevertheless, ultimately Idrissids lost their centralised authority, which increased their vulnerability to external threats. According to Oliver & Fagan (1975), Idrissids were further weakened by the rise of the Fatimid

Caliphate, as Fatimid forces expelled Idrisid loyalists from Tlemcen and forced many descendants to retreat to Al-Andalus. By the eleventh century, Tlemcen fell under Almoravids' control during their expansionist campaigns in the Maghreb region, when Abu Tachfin's cousin Mazdali besieged it in 1075. Marçais & Marçais (1903) further elaborate on this as follows:

At the end of the 11th century, Tlemcen changed hands. In 1079, the Almoravid prince Yusuf ibn Tashfin sent his general Mazdali against the Maghreb capital. In 1001, he himself renewed the attack, took the city, and subjugated the entire central Maghrib. Following a practice of which the history of Muslim peoples offers numerous examples, he began to build a new city on the site where his camp; it was on the vast plateau, located west of Agadir, replacing the modern city. This Almoravid city, Tagrârt, is the true ancestor of present-day Tlemcen (Marçais & Marçais, 1903, pp. 14–15).

By 1106, Agadir had been fully integrated into the vast Almoravid Empire, which included Tlemcen, Morocco, Al-Andalus, and sections of Mauritania. However, the Almoravids began to weaken over time, particularly following the birth of the Almohads movement, led by Muhammad ibn Tumart, who initiated a religious reform movement against the Almoravids.

After his death around 1128, his successor, Abd al-Mumin, spent 17 years strengthening his support among the High Atlas and Rif Berbers

before launching military campaigns on Tlemcen. The city fell to the Almohads during Abd al-Mumin's eastward expansion between 1145 and 1147, which ultimately ended the Almoravids' rule in the region (Oliver & Fagan, 1975). They seized Tagrart first, then Agadir, whereas Tachfin-ben-Ali escaped to Oran, where he died (Marçais & Marçais, 1903).

However, shortly thereafter, he rebuilt the walls of Agadir, extended those of Taghrart, and began construction of the Great Mosque. His successors followed suit, extending and fortifying the vast perimeter of the walls, particularly during the conflict against the Banu Ghaniya (1185–1223). Within this context, Marçais & Marçais (1903) cited Yaqut who described Tlemcen under the Almohad period, as follows:

Tlemcen consists of two adjacent cities, surrounded by walls, and a stone's throw from each other. One is old, the other new. The new city, built by the Almoravids, is called Taghrart; it is the residence of the army, officials, and various classes of people. The old city, Agadir, is inhabited by the majority of the population (p.16).

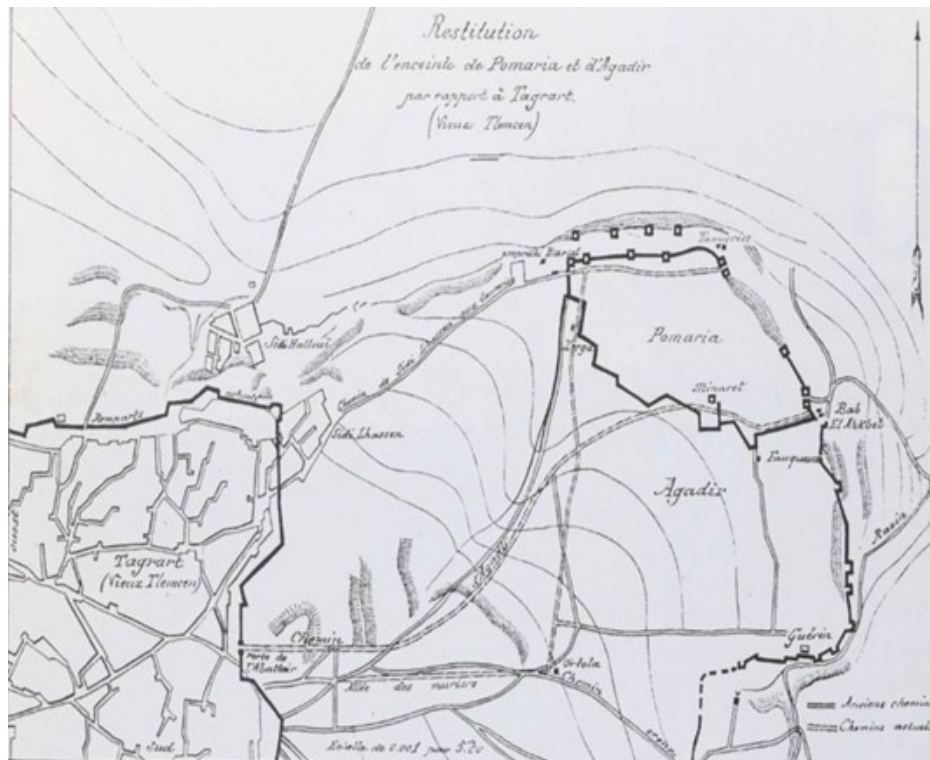


Figure 1.10: A map of reconstruction of the Pomaria and Agadir city walls in relation to Tagrart (after Abadie, 1994, p.6)

However, Almohad power began to collapse, and by 1239, the region was ceded to the Abd al-Wadids (Oliver & Fagan, 1975).

The Zanata Berbers later known as Zayyanids, rose to power in Tlemcen after the Idrisid dynasty dissolved in the 10th century (Oliver & Fagan, 1975). Their ascendancy was tied to their control of the trade route linking Fez to Sijilmasa, a significant caravan stops for the trans-Saharan exchange of West African gold and Saharan salt. They further managed effectively the salt-for-gold trade with the Ghana Empire by allying with the Sanhaja Berbers, who controlled the desert salt mines (Lawless, 1975).

This strategic economic control brought substantial wealth to their leadership, whereby allowed them to impose taxes on caravans and govern commerce between the Mediterranean and the Sahara. Eventually, Tlem-

cen established itself as an important commerce hub (Oliver & Fagan, 1975).

In this regard, Marçais and Marçais (1903) detail the administrative shift in Tlemcen's governance. They explain that the Abd al-Wadid rulers initially were governors of the region of Tlemcen for the Almohads, however, they asserted their independence when the Almohads declined.

Zayyanid rule started with Yaghmurasen ibn Zayyan, the founder of Zayyanid dynasty. Under his reign, Tlemcen became the capital of a new kingdom in the Central Maghrib. According to Marçais and Marçais (1903), citing Ibn Khaldun, Tlemcen's rise in prosperity was due to its function as “the defensive metropolis of the Zenata tribes”.

Unlike other cities that suffered during the Ibn Ghaniya wars, Tlemcen flourished, adding well-built houses and quarters. As the Zayyanid capital, it was further developed with palaces and caravanserais, eventually appearing as “an actual Muslim capital and even a caliphate” (Marçais & Marçais, 1903, pp. 17–18).

1.3.3 Tlemcen's Intellectual and Artistic Rise During the Zayyanid Period

During the reign of the Zayyanid rulers, Tlemcen became the centre of culture and science. The city swiftly flourished, with great expansion, architectural splendour, and culture. These accomplishments were mostly achieved during huge adversity and lengthy sieges. This is owing to the Zayyanid princes' close devotion to their kingdom.

Yaghmurasen for instance, (r. 1230–1283) wisely took advantage of

Almohads' weakness to declare Tlemcen's independence, wherein he transformed the city from a mere Almohad administrative centre into a capital of a powerful new kingdom (Marçais & Marçais, 1903).

In his early years, he faced significant challenges, most notably repelling persistent attacks from Marinid and Hafsîd neighbours (Marçais & Marçais, 1903, citing Bargès). However, these external pressures did not prevent him from expanding his influence westward, as he took control of Sijilmasa in 1264, a major trans-Saharan trading centre in southern Morocco that was later recaptured by the Marinids in 1274.

Furthermore, he succeeded in subjugating several Zenata tribes, including the Maghrawa, and managed to secure strategic cities such as Miliana in 1270 and Ténès in 1273 (Lawless, 1975). His reign witnessed significant architectural achievements within Tlemcen, the fortification of its western walls, the construction of the Great Mosque's minaret, and the restoration of the Idrisid Mosque's dome. Most importantly, he initiated the construction of the Mechouar palace, which replaced the earlier Almoravid Château-Vieux (El-Qaçr El-Qadim) (Marçais & Marçais, 1903).

Following Yaghmurasen's foundational reign, his successor Abu Saïd Uthman (r. 1283–1304) launched a campaign for significant territorial expansion, whereby Tlemcen extended from the Moulouya River to the Soummam Valley as well as the annexation of Medea in 1289 (Lawless, 1975). This era is notably characterised as the first golden age of the Zayyanid dynasty, during which the city saw a strong emphasis on scientific development, the establishment of religious schools, and the attraction of

scholars from Al-Andalus and Morocco.

This flourishing was complemented by the expansion of markets, the construction of caravanserais, and the rebuilding of the city following the earthquake of 1294. Additionally, the Mechouar palace-fortress complex became the official residence of the Zayanids.

However, this period of prosperity was not without trials; in 1299 the Marinids launched an eight-year siege under Sultan Abu Yaqub (1299-1307) in an attempt to invade Tlemcen (Marçais & Marçais, 1903). During the siege of Tlemcen, Sultan Abu Yaqub constructed a wall so formidable that, according to Ibn Khaldun (as cited in Lawless, 1975, p. 51), even “an invisible being would have had difficulty penetrating the city”.

As for Abu Hammu Musa I (r. 1307–1318), Marçais recounts; that this Sultan confronted a severe Marinid siege that began in 1299 CE, along with internal tribal rebellions against Zayyanid rule. Nevertheless, despite these challenges, Abu Hammu Musa I managed to control the situation and further accomplished significant architectural and infrastructure developments, including the construction of the Oued el-Imam Madrasa, zawiya, and mosque in 1310, followed by a palace and mosque within the Mechouar complex in 1317 (Lawless, 1975), as well as the establishment of the Sidi Abī Madyan zawiya and the progress of Tlemcen’s orchard irrigation system (Marçais & Marçais, 1903).

Aside from the works of Yaghmurasen and Abu Sa’id Uthman, the Zayyanid dynasty itself was characterised by a remarkable commitment to its perpetuation and extension. Marçais and Marçais (1903) describe the

century of Abd al-Wadid's rule as an "intense life, driven by warrior monarchs" who were not only "builders" and "protectors of arts and sciences" but also possessed "a rare and tenacious continuity of vision" (p.20). This dedication to the kingdom was not limited to Yaghmurasen and Abu Said Uthman.

For instance, Sultan Abu al-Abbas Ahmad inherited the kingdom with new economic and geopolitical problems. Nonetheless, He successfully responded to these challenges by redirecting the trans-Saharan gold trade towards Atlantic routes. In line with these economic shifts and the need for enhanced security, he further fortified the city's walls and repurposed the abandoned Caravan Square in 1446.

Beyond economic and defensive measures, Abu al-Abbas Ahmad also fostered internal integration; as Bakri documented that during his reign, the Jewish community was remarkably integrated within the city walls. This occurred after a Jewish doctor, Ephraim Inkawa, cured his daughter, and as a recompense, the Sultan permitted the establishment of a synagogue and a Jewish quarter in Tlemcen.

In terms of culture and architecture, Marçais & Marçais, (1903) emphasise the Sultan's significant efforts to restore the Tashfiniya Madrasa and build the Sidi Lahcen Mosque. However, his reign was also marked by increasing external pressures, as Abu al-Abbas Ahmad faced threats from the Spanish, who began to target coastal areas.

1.4 Diplomatic and Cultural Cooperation between Tlemcen and Al-Andalus

Tlemcen and Al-Andalus have had long-standing relations, dating back to the reigns of the Banu al-Ahmar (Nasrids) in Granada and the Zayyanids in Tlemcen, which resulted in extensive cultural and artistic collaboration, as well as military alliances.

1.4.1 Diplomatic Relations between Tlemcen and Al-Andalus

Tlemcen was an ambitious kingdom that sought to become a centre of civilization in the central Maghreb. Despite the power of its rulers and their political and military competence, the architectural arts did not thrive appropriately at the beginning of their reign. To illustrate this point, Marçais & Marçais (1903) cites Ibn Khaldun's writings:

In the time of Abu Hammu ibn Ali and his son Abu Tashfin, the arts were little advanced in Tlemcen, because the people, who had made this city the seat of their empire, still retained the harshness of nomadic life; therefore, these princes had to address themselves to Abu al-Walid, lord of Andalusia, for workmen and craftsmen. The Spanish king, lord of a settled nation among whom the arts had necessarily made great progress, sent to them the most skilled architects of his country. Tlemcen was then adorned with buildings of such beauty that since then nothing like it has ever been built (Marçais & Marçais, 1903, p. 37).

In addition, Marçais & Marçais (1903) adds that the Zayyanid prince,

Abu Hammu II, was born and raised in Andalusia, as documented by his secretary and historian, Yahya ibn Khaldun, brother of the historian Abd al-Rahman ibn Khaldun. This prince was known for his constant efforts to gather scholars and writers at his court. Himself was a poet and author, composing numerous poems and a literary political treatise on the art of government. The period of the reign of Sultan Abu Hammu Mus, the state was strengthened with a powerful Andalusian touch, in a way that became irreversible for subsequent generations (Saadallah, 2016).

1.4.2 Military Cooperation Between Tlemcen and Al-Andalus

Beyond cultural and societal ties, the relationship between Tlemcen and Al-Andalus further involved significant military cooperation, as Kennedy (1996) mentions that during the reign of Muhammad II in Granada (1273-1302), the Marinid sultan attacked Malaga in 1278 supported by Christian Castilian and Banu Ashqilula. “Muhammad incited the Muslim ruler of Tlemcen to attack them and was able to prise Malaga from their hands in February 1279” (p.284).

This cooperation was helpful, especially when a triple alliance of Castilians, Merinids, and Banu Ashqilula attacked Granada and Malaga once again in 1281. Kennedy (1996) recounts another instance where Muhammad II, relied on his Berber troops, who “proved their worth and the attackers were driven off” (p. 284).

The military assistance from Tlemcen extended into later periods. For example, when Sultan Muhammad faced attacks on his ships by his opponent Henry of Trastamara, and needed support, the ruler of Tlemcen,

Musa II, provided assistance. As Kennedy (1996) mentioned Muhammad V received money, supplies, and men from the governor of Tlemcen, Musa II.

1.5 Tlemcen: Morisco Settlements and Integration in Tlemcen (1492–1614)

After the fall of the Andalusian kingdoms in the north, the Zayyanid kingdom received massive numbers of Andalusian refugees and immigrants. These migrations included residents of Cordoba, Valencia, and Seville in the mid-thirteenth century AD, followed by residents of the Balearic Islands in the fourteenth century, and then residents of Ronda, Almeria, Málaga, and Granada in the fifteenth century. In this regard, Saadallah (2016) further highlights Zayyanid rulers in welcoming those Andalusian immigrants:

In the thirteenth century, the arriving Andalusians received special attention from the Zayyanid Sultan Yaghmorasen. He issued a royal decree aimed at 'regulating their integration and helping them rebuild their lives in solidarity and compassion for the suffering they were subjected to in their country (p. 203).

This support continued in the fifteenth century, as Tlemcen cleverly welcomed new waves of refugees between 1411 and 1424, who enjoyed the generosity of the Zayyanids and the kingdom's inhabitants. The elites were accommodated in jobs appropriate to their skills, while the 'Andalusian Trail' was allocated to craftsmen and merchants to enable them to pursue their activities.

The settlement locations of the Andalusian refugees varied according to their professions. Professionals in maritime activities were directed to the coasts, such as the region of Henin (opposite the Andalusian city of Almeria) and Mostaganem. As for the peasants and common people, they were directed to the suburbs of Tlemcen, which were filled with them, with some settling on the banks of Lwritt.

Soon Andalusian refugees turned the lands surrounding the valley were transformed into lush orchards and spacious gardens, and their residential communities. “They were the ‘goose that gives birth to gold”. Through them, ‘every land they settled in lives... as if they were rain in the corners of the earth, “in the words of Sidi Abu Madyan Shu’ayb” (p. 204).

Saadallah (2016) further elaborates that, the movement of ships across the Mediterranean continued to transport Andalusian merchants and craftsmen. Generations of Iberian Muslim craftsmen and artisans brought Andalusian techniques and technology to the Zayyanid kingdom.

These included professionals in leather, tanning, weaving, silk, pottery, glass, tailoring, embroidery, gold and silversmithing, dyeing, carpentry, blacksmithing, and arms manufacturing, as well as sailors, fishermen, calligraphers, teachers, and merchants. They spread out into neighbourhoods and alleys devoted to each craft.

Complementing this view, Oliver & Atmore add that following the fall of Granada, Spain became very concerned about its Morisco people and what possible actions North Africans might do, they stated:

left with six thousand followers in 1493, while countless others remained to be a cause of anxiety to their Christian conquerors. These lived in dread of a Morisco insurrection inspired and aided by the refugees. North African 'corsairs' (privateers, pirates, from the Italian corsare, to chase), their ships often propelled by Christian galley-slaves chained to their oars, were known and feared in every coastal town and village of eastern Spain: sometimes they landed and carried off whole communities of isolated farmers and fishermen (R. Oliver & Atmore, 1981, p. 66).

After the massive expulsion of Moriscos from Spain, they took refuge in North Africa. The first waves of exiles set out on October 2, 1509, from Denia. The first large sea voyage alone included approximately 28,000 individuals, and they arrived in Oran. Upon their arrival, they were greeted by the captain-General, the Count of Aguilar, they quickly expressed their desire to be accepted as vassals by the ruler of Tlemcen, which is located about 90 miles from Oran.

The ruler agreed to their request, noticing that they had money with them, he sent Captain Cid Almanzor, along with 500 horsemen to accompany them. They were accompanied by Camillo, a wealthy Jew who had brought a thousand camels to transport the women and their belongings. They paid him 1,500 crowns for his services, but they demanded Almanzor leave his son as a hostage before leaving.

As for those who were sent back to Spain to report, they carried several letters informing their friends of the good treatment they had received,

which fuelled their enthusiasm for going. However, the Moriscos were not able to trust any royal word, subsequently many preferred to charter ships rather than sail for free on the king's ships, where they received free provisions, even though this cost them 75 rials per person for those over 12 years old, and 35 rials for those younger. To protect those who followed this strategy, the voyage funds were kept in Valencia and not paid out until after the ship's arrival.

1.6 Tlemcen: From Zayyanid Fall to Ottoman Dominance

Tlemcen was ruled by the Zayanids for over three centuries, but by the late fifteenth century, their dynasty declined due to internal unrest and external pressures.

Internally, Tlemcen faced persistent disturbances from nomadic tribes, especially the Banu Hilal. These groups kept moving onto Tlemcen's farming lands. The Zayyanid rulers could no longer stop them. Subsequently, to recognize them as feudal lords. They were forced to surrender territories and revenues in exchange for tribute.

Externally, in the 1400s, the Zayyanids even became a vassal state, in which they had to pay tribute to the Hafsids in Ifriqiya. The state further weakened when the people of Algiers called on the pirate leader Aruj in 1515 to expel the Spanish forces that had invaded their coast. In this regard, Oliver & Atmore (1981), offer detailed information about the Ottoman's interventions:

From this time on 'Aruj acted as an independent ruler, using Turkish

soldiers to establish his own authority at Algiers, and proceeding in the next year to attack the Zayanid capital at Tlemcen. The Zayanids at once made common cause with the Spaniards. Before long the Hafids were to do the same. However indirectly, Spain and Turkey were henceforward engaged with one another on the North African scene (p.67).

In response, the Zayyanids, supported by Spanish forces, resisted the Ottomans and managed to kill Aruj in 1518. Nonetheless, Khair ad-Din quickly regained Algiers in 1525 and expelled the Spanish. He, then gradually expanded Ottoman influence in the region. Around 1550, the last Zayyanid rule collapsed, and Tlemcen officially became an Ottoman province, fully integrated into the empire (Oliver & Atmore, 1981).

The Ottomans were the last rulers of Tlemcen before French colonisation. While Marçais & Marçais (1903) portray Ottoman rule as a period of great decline and neglect of Tlemcen, their account contains contradictions that indicate the opposite of what they claim. During the Ottoman Empire, Tlemcen declined significantly and was reduced to a minor appendage of Mohammed El-Kbir, the Beylik of Oran. They state that the city's population declined, its walls decreased, and entire neighbourhoods fell, subsequently when the French first entered, only one-fifth of the primitive city remained inhabited which was also mentioned by Abadie (1995). They further deny any Ottoman contribution, claiming that their occupation "left no written or archaeological trace" and that "the only monument of importance made by the Turks seems to have been the dome of Sidi

Boumediene” (p. 27). However, they later acknowledge specific Ottoman contributions which claim. For example, they note that “the greater part of this dome of Sidi Boumediene is Turkish work”, dating it to 1793 AD during the reign of Bey Muhammad al-Kabir of Oran (p.27). They further note the reconstruction of the wooden dome of the Sidi Boumediene madrasa during this period, as well as traditions linking other buildings, such as the Wakil’s house, to Bey Muhammad (p. 28).

Moreover, they identify specific Ottoman era inscriptions on monuments, such as the stucco decorations on the tomb of Sidi Boumediene, signed in 1793 by al-Hashimi Çermchik, a member of a family of Turkish craftsmen settled in Tlemcen. The inscriptions confirm the construction of two tombs at Aïn-el-Hout, those of Sîdi Abdallah Ben-Mançour (dated 1804 CE / 1218 AH under Bey Mostafa El-Manzali) and Sîdi Mohammed Ben-Ali (dated 1761 CE / 1174 AH under Bey Ibrâhîm El-Mihani). These dates clearly indicate that both tombs belong to the Ottoman period (Marçais & Marçais, 1903).

To further refute the one-sided depiction of Ottoman cruelty or neglect, it is necessary to consider the perspectives of those who sought refuge under Ottoman rule. When Moriscos were expelled from Spain, they frequently expressed great relief at the prospect of settling in Ottoman-controlled territories such as Tlemcen, which they regarded as a liberation from slavery.

Henry Lea (1901) recounts a tragic narrative about the Moriscos’ exodus from Alicante. Despite the hardship journey, these exiles arrived “with music and song, as though going to a festival, and thanking Al-

lah for the happiness of returning to the land of their fathers” (p. 331). When questioned about their willingness to comply with the king’s letter for departure, one chief alfaqui (religious leader) responded with a sense of sadness:

Do you not know that many of us bought or stole boats in which to cross to Barbary with much danger? Then why, when we are offered safe and free passage, should we not avail ourselves of it to go to the land of our ancestors, under our king the Turk, who will let us live as Moors and not as slaves, as we have been treated by our masters? (p. 331).

This testimony of a Moriscos refugee refutes any depiction of the Ottomans as cruel or destructive as Fagan & Atmore depicted . The Moriscos’ willingness to pay for passage and their evident joy upon leaving Spain strongly suggest that they viewed Ottoman lands as a safe haven, far preferable to the conditions they faced in their former homeland.

1.7 French Colonial Impact on Tlemcen’s Urban and Architectural Heritage

During the French colonisation, Tlemcen had lost many of its Islamic landmarks and several structures were destroyed. The colonial authorities tried to redesign Tlemcen’s Islamic monument in a more European style. This transformation began early in the colonial period, as detailed by Appiah and Gates (2010) who consistently refer to Tlemcen as Tlemen throughout their text:

When the French began to occupy ALGERIA in 1830, Tlemen attempted to join Morocco. In a treaty, France promised Tlemen to resistance leader Abd al-Qadir, but after twelve years the French retook the city. The French used Tlemen as a military base and administrative center for western Algeria, an area that remained vulnerable until most of Morocco fell under a French protectorate (Appiah & Gates (Jr.), 2010, p. 475)

According to Abadie (1994), in 1895, the French authorities dismantled the historic tower near the Sidi Maamar Ben Aliya mausoleum to build a polyclinic. They also reconstructed Place du Fondouck (formerly Tâchfiniya Madrasa) as Place de la Mairie and converted the Sidi Belhassan Mosque into a museum, as well as constructing new quarters with European style. For instance, Tafrata, Sienne, Mirande.

Arbi as cited in Ben Sahla Tani, 2014, documented further destructions, he notes that the colonialists devised a plan for urban redevelopment and broad streets, such as Sidi Bel Abbès Street (now known as 1st November Street), France Street (Independence Street), and Paris Street (Tidjani Damerdji Street). Destruction and alteration work continued. In 1860, for instance, National Street (currently Colonel Lotfi Street) was measured at 33 metres wide. Additionally, the European Quarter was developed, housing buildings for the Gendarmerie, the District Authority, the Church, and the Courthouse.

Furthermore, Islamic schools were also demolished; the Tashfiniya School was destroyed in 1872, as was the Yaqoubiya School, while the Oulad El

Imam School was closed in 1904. The colonial impact did not stop there; the Qaysariya market was demolished to make way for the Covered Market.

After 1920, urban development took on a new dimension with construction extending beyond the city's traditional walls. New neighbourhoods like Beauséjour and Bel Air were established along the road to Mansourah, and Sidi Chaker at the foot of the Lalla Setti plateau, all while expansion continued within the Citadel.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter illustrates the significant historical and cultural connections between Al-Andalus and Tlemcen. From the early days of Islamic rule in Spain under the Umayyads until the rise of Granada under the Nasrids, Granada was elevated into an important centre for civilization and culture. During this time, both Tlemcen and Granada maintained strong and diverse ties with Tlemcen's Zayyanid leaders. These links included mutual military assistance, cultural exchanges, and artistic collaboration.

The fall of Granada in 1492 was more than merely the end of Muslim rule in Al-Andalus; it also signaled the beginning of one of history's ethnic cleansings, where Andalusians faced forced conversions and public burning. Tlemcen became the haven for Moriscos. Even after the Ottomans supplanted the Zayyanid monarchs, Tlemcen continued to welcome Andalusians as brothers and sisters. Following the massive expulsion between the 16th and early 17th centuries Morisco refugees, found in Tlemcen not only an essential shelter but a cultural centre that connected them back to their beloved homeland.

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2.1 Introduction

Since the fall of Granada in 1492, the Iberian Peninsula witnessed one of the most horrific ethnic and religious cleansings in history, hundreds of thousands of Muslims and Jews were forced to convert to Christianity. Furthermore, starting in 1609, the Castilians sought to purify Spain of its Moriscos by issuing the Decree of Massive Expulsion. After these events, most of the Moriscos were expelled from their homes. The majority of these people found refuge in the North African cities, one of which was Tlemcen which welcomed their brothers and sisters with open arms and provided the protection that they desperately needed. These same Andalusians, who integrated into Tlemcenian society, transformed Tlemcen into another version of Granada.

Hence, this chapter aims to present the most significant contributions made by Andalusians to the enrichment of Tlemcen culture. This research will address their influence on scientific and cultural life, traditional clothing, as well as the development of musical styles, and the evolution of the colloquial dialect. This study relies almost entirely on an examination of Algerian and colonial records.

2.2 Andalusian Scientists and Scholars in Tlemcen

Throughout history, Tlemcen and Al-Andalus had a long history of intellectual exchange. After the fall of Granada in 1492, Tlemcen experienced a new phase, as the kingdom welcomed more Andalusian scholars and physicians who had been expelled by their Castilian executioners. This section will not only introduce major Andalusian figures but also analyse

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how their contributions specifically demonstrate and strengthen the Andalusian intellectual influence on Tlemcen.

Among the most important figures that depict the intellectual connections between Tlemcen and al-Andalus is the renowned Andalusian scholar and mathematician, Ali B. Muhammad al-Qalasadi. He was born around 1412 in Basta (today Baza), a village in the Nasrid emirate of Granada (Selin, 2008; Karp & Schubring, 2014). He grew up in his birthplace, where he began his education, learning the Qur'an and receiving his first lessons in Arabic and likely mathematics from his teacher Ibn Aziz (Selin, 2008, p. 152). He is considered one of the last Andalusian scholars who dedicated a large part of his life to disseminating the Arab mathematical tradition across the central Maghreb, Ifriqiya, and Egypt (Selin, 2008).

He was aware that mathematical studies were more advanced in the Maghreb regions during his lifetime. In 1436, when he was 24 years old; went on a significant educational journey (rihla). His educational journey in Tlemcen was formative and contributed to his development as a leading mathematician before he continued his studies in Tunis and Cairo. He detailed his intellectual upbringing and the scholars who trained, which lasted about 13 years, during which he studied extensively in Tlemcen for eight years (Karp & Schubring, 2014).

In 1437, Al-Qalasadi arrived in Tlemcen, at which time it was still a small kingdom but was the destination for many Andalusian scholars who fled the advancing Castilian armies in the Andalusian kingdoms. He actively sought out experts in the mathematical sciences and found six

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teachers in Tlemcen (Karp & Schubring, 2014, p. 91). With them, he revisited Ibn al-Banna's Talkhis and explored additional works by this influential Maghribi.

One of his notable Tlemcenian teachers was Abū l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Maghrāwī, known as Ibn Zāghū (d. 1440/1), who taught at the madrasa alYa'qubiyya. As al-Qalasadi himself reported in his Rihla, Ibn Zāghū's summer classes were specifically devoted to 'arithmetic, and geometry' (Karp & Schubring, 2014).

These intensive studies were very impactful in that they expanded his mathematical knowledge substantially. Selin (2008) notes that it appears that al-Qalasadi's very first scientific works were indeed composed in Tlemcen between 1436 and 1444, including three commentaries on inheritance science and his mathematics book al-Tabsira fi lghubār.

Ibn Azraq was another well-known scholar who travelled extensively and resided in Tlemcen, where he also acquired significant knowledge. According to Sahin (2024), there are few facts about Ibn al-Azraq's early life. He was born in Malaga, Andalusian city. According to Sahin (2024), he traveled to several cities, including Granada, Fez, Tlemcen, and Tunis, as part of his extensive education. His educational journey enabled him to develop expertise in several subjects. Sahin (2024, p. 29) states that he studied Arabic literature, grammar, Quranic recitation, Islamic law (fiqh), applied law (faraid), norm derivation sources and methodology (usul), creed ('aqaid), logic (mantiq), and accountancy (hisāb).

He travelled to Tlemcen several times, wherein he developed his knowl-

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edge in a wide variety of subjects. For him, Tlemcen was one his favourite destinations, as Sahin (2024) explains: “In his studies, Fez, Tlemcen, and Tunis were particularly frequent destinations for Ibn al-Azraq, since large numbers of Andalusian scholars fleeing the Castilian advances sought refuge there” (p. 29).

After the collapse of Granada, numerous Andalusian physicians migrated to Tlemcen as Saadallah (2016) documents, citing al-Dhahiri’s records of notable figures. Among these figures is Abu Abdullah al-Malqi from Malaga. He arrived in Tlemcen after the fall of his homeland, he was known as “al-Muttabbib”. al-Malqi was a contemporary of the renowned Tlemcen jurist and scholar Ahmad al-Abili, who made substantial contributions to the medical sector in Tlemcen, particularly in the production of medications and the performance of surgical procedures for complex cases.

Another prominent Andalusian scholar who migrated to Tlemcen is Abu Ishaq Ibrahim al-Tilimsani al-Thaghri, who hailed from the northern frontier regions (alThughur) of Al-Andalus. One of his notable contributions was his dissertation, in which he detailed various types of herbs and their medicinal benefits, alongside a valuable collection of medicines commonly used in his era. al-Thaghri like many of his predecessors, was actively involved in patient care, preparing medicines, and performing necessary surgeries. Most notably, he used music as a therapeutic tool in a variety of contexts, including hospitals (Saadallah, 2016).

Another significant figure who contributed to the intellectual life of Tlemcen was Yahya ibn Khaldun (1333–1379 CE), brother of the famous

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historian Abd al-Rahman ibn Khaldun. He served as a scribe and minister to Sultan Abu Hammu Musa II during the Zayyanid rule, wherein he wrote a significant work on the history of the Abd alWadids, a valuable document detailing the dominance of the Zayanids, as mentioned by Marçais and Marçais (1903).

Tlemcen has historically been always a welcoming home for Sufi figures and revered saints from Al-Andalus, where shrines are found throughout the city and its surroundings. Among these, Madyan Shu'ayb, also known as Sidi Boumediene by the people of Tlemcen, is still one of the most recognised and adored of these holy men. He came from Seville and settled in Tlemcen back in the fourteenth century. His shrine at El Abbad still exists even today, demonstrating his enduring presence.

Sidi El Heloui El Choudhi El Ishbili (from Seville) is another Andalusian figure who was born and buried near Sidi Boumediene. He is originally from Seville, but he settled in Tlemcen, he earned the name Sidi El Haloui because of his reputation for creating sweets, in addition to his deep knowledge of various spiritual sciences. During his time, emerged as one of the most prominent leaders of the Sufi movement in western Algeria (Saadallah, 2016). His tomb can still be found in Tlemcen's cemetery named after him (Marçais & Marçais, 1903).

The Andalusian presence in Tlemcen extended beyond Muslims to include Andalusian Jews as Saadallah (2016) mentioned, who also contributed significantly to the city's intellectual life. Among these prominent Jewish scholars was Musa ibn Samu'il al-Isra'ili al-Malaqi, whom al-Zahiri

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described as Tlemcen's most renowned Jewish physician. Al-Malaqi was an expert in both medicine and astrology and notably treated Zayyanid royalty.

Another influential figure Ephraim Inkawa, a refugee from the Balearic Islands in Al-Andalus, who became a royal physician in Tlemcen after curing the Zayyanid sultan Abu al-Abbas Ahmad (Marçais & Marçais, 1903). For instance, the old Jewish cemetery in Kebassa, Tlemcen, still carries his name today.

The previous sections have carefully documented the large influx of Andalusian scholars and physicians to Tlemcen, especially following the fall of Granada in 1492. Although their presence is significant, the main goal is to understand the deep impact of their contributions to Tlemcen's intellectual and scientific development. Their arrival was not merely a relocation but rather catalysed the transformation and improvement of the city's academic landscape.

Scholars such as Ali B. Muhammad al-Qalasadi who arrived in Tlemcen, did not merely bring knowledge; they further enriched Tlemcen's knowledge and made it stronger and more varied. In the case of Al-Qalasadi, who spent eight years in Tlemcen to learn more about mathematics. He worked with Tlemcenian teachers, like Ibn Zāghū, to whom he dedicated his study of Maghribi mathematical works and even composed his first scientific works. This indicates that Tlemcen was a place for thriving sciences; an ideal environment for Andalusian intellectuals to share their knowledge and hone their skills that made both sides richer.

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Second, important figures like Ibn Azraq and many doctors, such as Abu Abdullah al-Malqi and Abu Ishaq Ibrahim al-Tilimsani al-Thaghri, show how Tlemcen's science became more practical and covered more areas. These scholars did not just focus on one subject. Ibn Azraq, for example, mastered many fields like Arabic language, law, and even accounting. This broad way of thinking added a lot to Tlemcen's schools. Even more important, the doctors brought advanced medical practices, such as medicines production, complex surgical procedures, and using new treatments like music in hospitals to enhance the patient psychology that existed in Al-Andalus before it collapsed. This direct use of their skills benefited the community of Tlemcen, by improving the healthcare system and practical sciences.

Third, the integration of Andalusian intellectual and spiritual figures, including Sufi leaders like Sidi Boumediene and Sidi El Heloui, alongside Jewish scholars such as Musa ibn Samu'il al-Isra'ili al-Malaqi and Ephraim Inkawa, reflects how Tlemcen openly accepted all kinds of knowledge regardless of their religions. The city did not welcome only Muslim scholars; but also, Jewish thinkers who made great contributions, especially in medicine and astrology, even treating the royal family such as Ephraim Inkawa who cured the sultan's daughter. Their names made such an impact on Tlemcen civilisation that they have endured for centuries and are still remembered today. Mosques, cemeteries, and educational institutions all proudly bear their names.

All in all, the migration of scholars and physicians from Al-Andalus

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to Tlemcen was far more than a demographic shift; it was a significant intellectual event. It contributed to strengthen and diversify the existing sciences, resulting in a thorough intellectual integration.

2.3 Andalusian Architecture in Tlemcen

During the Ziyamid period, Tlemcen flourished as an important centre where great achievements were accomplished by the Zayyanid rulers. In this section, the analysis of these effects, notably the detailed architectural and decorative elements, will be mainly based on Marçais & Marçais' 1903 study of Arab monuments in Tlemcen.

2.3.1 Mosques

Tlemcen has a collection of mosques and palaces that are excellent examples of Andalusian architecture. These sacred buildings demonstrate the great creative and architectural impact that flowed from Al-Andalus, particularly during the Ziyamid period.

2.3.1.1 Sidi Belhassan Mosque

This Mosque, is situated in the heart of Tlemcen, exemplifies the Andalusian influence on Maghrebi architecture during the Zayyanid period (Abadie, 1994). It was Constructed in 1296 under Sultan Abu Sa'id Uthman I in memory of his brother Abu Amir Ibrahim. The mosque's design and ornamentation reflect a direct engagement with Andalusian artistic traditions as Marçais & Marçais (1903) pointed out.

Further evidence of this influence is seen in its quadrangular minaret, adorned with slender columns and intricate mosaics, along with its foundation plaque inscribed in Andalusian script on green onyx, (Abadie, 1927).

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The mihrab's stucco panels, embellished with Kufic motifs, bear a striking resemblance to those found in the Alhambra.

These specific techniques, particularly those found in the mihrab's stucco panels, distinctly belong to the Nasrid period of Granada. This strong stylistic connection suggests the direct involvement of Andalusian craftsmen in the mosque's construction. This is further supported by historical accounts: both Saadallah (2016) and Marçais & Marçais (1903) cite Ibn Khaldun, who documented that Tlemcen's rulers received artistic cooperation from the Andalusian sultan, who provided skilled artisans and builders for their projects.

Furthermore, the oversized stucco capitals with interlacing palm and foliage designs resemble those in the Alhambra's Court of the Myrtles, while the mosque's muqarnas dome, with its octagonal plan and sixteen-pointed star finial, is similar to late Andalusian monuments in Granada and Seville (Marçais & Marçais, 1903). The extensive use of plasterwork, described as innovative and fluid, along with the synthesis of geometric patterns (e.g., eight-pointed stars) and vegetal motifs (e.g., palmettes), emphasises the adaptation of Andalusian decorative principles (Lawless, 1975).

This architectural resemblance was further noticed by Louis Abadie (1995), who explicitly noted that this mosque features Islamic-Andalusian identity through its Arabic inscriptions, arabesque motifs, and "exquisitely carved" onyx columns. Likewise, 19th-century European travellers, such as Workman (1895), were consistently captivated by the mosque's interior.

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They frequently remarked on its “striking elegance”, the graceful arches supported by polished onyx columns, and the “exquisitely carved” stucco walls, all of which strongly evoked the grandeur of Andalusian monuments.

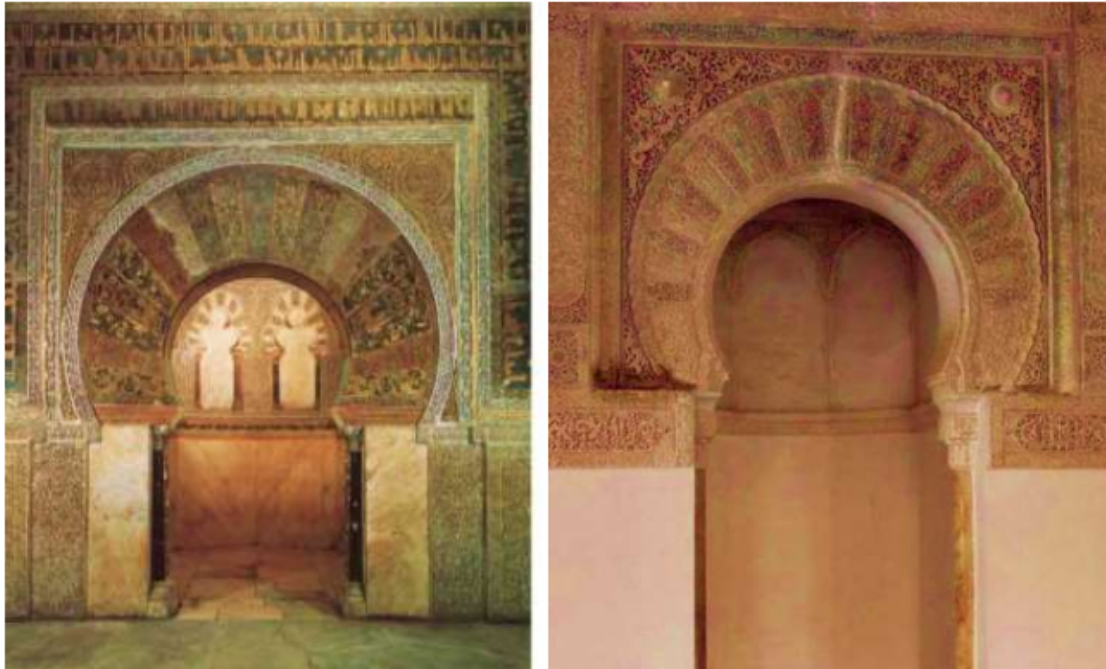


Figure 2.1: Mihrab: on the left, Mihrab of Cordoba (Dodds, p. 20). On the right, Mihrab of Sidi Belahcen (islamicart.museumwnf.org)

The Mihrab of Cordoba and the Mihrab of Sidi Belahcen bear striking architectural similarities, as shown in Figure 2.1. The figure visually reinforces Louis Abadie’s (1995) observation of “Arabic inscriptions, arabesque motifs, and ‘exquisitely carved’ onyx columns”.

2.3.1.2 The Great Mosque of Tlemcen

The Great Mosque was built in the twelfth century, it dates back to the Almoravid period during the reign of Ali ibn Yusuf (1106–1143), between 1135 and 1138 (Marçais & Marçais 1903). It was rebuilt by his son Ali. Later on, Sultan Yaghmorasan Ibn Zyan expanded it and added the central dome and minaret (The Public National Museum of Islamic Antiquities of

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the City of Tlemcen, 2025).

According to Marçais & Marçais's study in 1903, this mosque has a strong Andalusian architectural influence, which recognised numerous essential aspects that connect it to Al-Andalus' creative traditions, particularly the Great Mosque of Córdoba. One of the most noticeable features is the use of semi-circular horseshoe arches in the prayer hall.

These arches, supported by rows of columns, demonstrate a direct stylistic borrowing from Al-Andalus architecture. Additionally, the central dome preceding the mihrab incorporates a wide radiating fluted shell, closely resembling the dome of Córdoba's mihrab, along with trefoil arches, curved corners adorned with embryonic Muqarnas, and narrow intersecting arches at the apex.

The stucco decorations further reinforce this connection, they reflect the intricate mosaics and carved ornaments for which Córdoba's Mosque was renowned, including a frieze on the dome's square drum described as a "wide or short cavetto with Andalusian letters" and interlacing script within the mihrab. The column capitals in Tlemcen's mosque also bear a remarkable resemblance to those in Córdoba's eastern arcades, another notable feature is the false gallery with trefoil arches, alongside the use of vegetal and geometric motifs (Marçais & Marçais, 1903).

This Andalusian influence is confirmed by Jerrilyn D. Dodds (1992), who noted the striking similarities between the Great Mosque of Tlemcen and the Umayyad Mosque of Cordoba, as evidence that the latter was the primary model for the Umayyad Mosque. Her study emphasises that

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Andalusian architecture was not simply a mere imitation but was adapted to the local climate.



Figure 2.2: Islamic Architectural Gems: Arches of Alhambra walls (wallmonkeys.com.), and The Grand Mosque of Tlemcen (islami-cart.museumwnf.org)

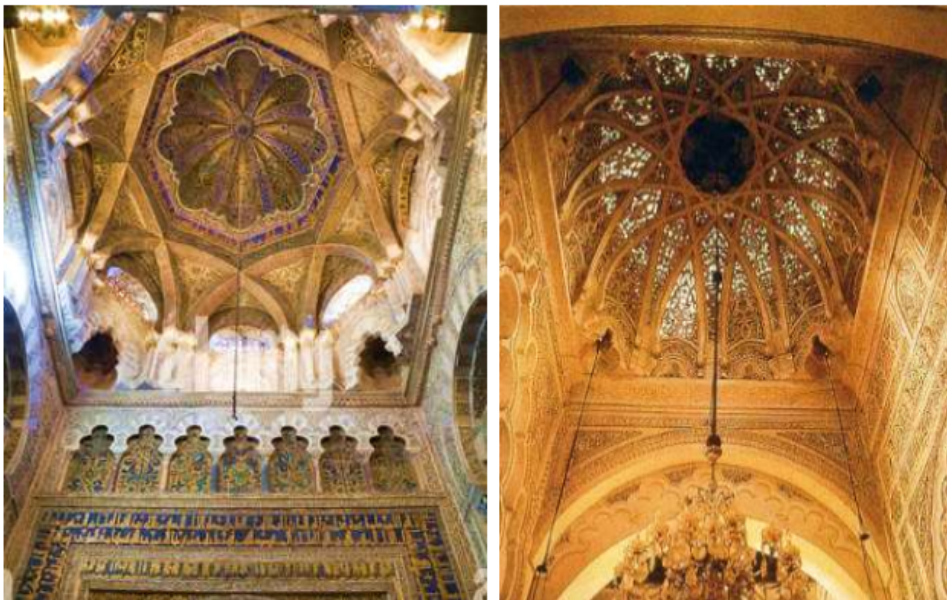


Figure 2.3: Islamic Domes: Dome of Cordoba Mosque (ResearchGate.net), and Dome of the Grand Mosque of Tlemcen (Alamy.com)

The notable similarities between these architectural traditions are evi-

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dent when comparing elements such as the arches, as represented in Figure 2.2, and elaborate dome constructions, as highlighted in Figure 2.3, which demonstrate the shared stylistic and constructive principles.

2.3.1.3 Sidi Boumediene Mosque

Sidi Boumediene mosque is located in the village of El Eubbad (present-day Sidi Boumediene). It was built by Sultan Abu al-Hasan ibn Ali in 739 AH/1339 AD during the Marinid siege (The Public National Museum of Islamic Antiquities of the City of Tlemcen, 2025).

This mosque had been widely recognised by travellers and scholars as a striking example of Andalusian-inspired Islamic architecture. For instance, the American artist and traveller Bridgman, upon his visit to the mosque in 1890, described it as one of the finest in Algeria, he praised its decorated columns, exquisite mosaics, richly detailed carvings, and its distinctive minaret clad in coloured faience tiles. Bridgman was deeply moved by the mosque's architectural magnificence, wherein he described it in the following way:

This lovely specimen of pure Moorish architecture is in an almost perfect state of preservation, and it so forcibly recalls the Alhambra that one feels almost as though standing with one foot in this celebrated palace and the other in the mosque of Bou-Medine (p.135).

He further observed fountains within the mosque complex, including a central fountain used by women, an octagonal fountain adorned with plants, and a scalloped marble basin surrounded by tile-decorated square edges. These features of the water elements are largely found in Andalusian

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palaces and gardens.

Reinforcing this architectural link, Marçais & Marçais (1903), in their research on Tlemcen's Arabic architecture. They not only pinpointed numerous Andalusian elements within the mosque's design such as the stucco decorations, the mihrab's design, and the vegetal and geometric ornamentation, but also highlighted specific features: the exquisite Kufic inscriptions, reflecting distinct Andalusian calligraphic traditions, and the monumental cedar doors, which is distinctive artistic legacy found across Islamic construction in Al-Andalus especially found in Alhambra's palace.

Additionally, the frieze above the entrance, inscribed in large Andalusian letters, serves as a direct indicator of Andalusian influence, while the prayer hall's layout divided into five aisles by arches perpendicular to the back wall mirrors the spatial organisation common in both North African and Andalusian mosques.



Figure 2.4: Comparative architectural spaces. (a) Alhambra, Patio de Cuarto Dorado(after Dodds, p. 139). (b) Sidi Boumediene's yard, Tlemcen. Source: Tlemcen-dz

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Figure 2.5: Architectural Parallels: Alhambra's Puerta de las Armas (Dodds, p. 156) and Sidi Boumedienne Mosque Gate (dta-tlemcen.dz)



Figure 2.6: Architectural Views: Castle Window Grill in Antequera, Spain (preiperlux.com) and The Dome of Sidi Boumedién of Tlemcen (tahwas-presse.dz)

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These multifaceted architectural connections and shared design principles are distinctly visualized in Figures 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6, offering direct comparisons of spaces, gates, and specific architectural details between key structures in Al-Andalus and Tlemcen.

2.3.1.4 Bab El Zir Mosque

There is little information about the history of this mosque. Although the Bab Zir Mosque is currently in a state of deterioration at the time of Marçais and Marçais, nonetheless, they managed to notice that it still preserves some architectural features that reflect its historical significance, as explained in their study of 1903. Their work notably documented three major aspects that directly link the mosque to the Andalusian architectural style.

First, the mosque's prayer hall features a layout with three parallel aisles extending along the Qibla wall. This design mirrors a common organizational plan fundamental to Andalusian Mosque architecture, exemplified by the Great Mosque of Córdoba. Second and most significantly, Marçais & Marçais (1903) discovered an ancient column capital inside the mosque. They specifically noted its "strong resemblance" to capitals found in Córdoba's arcades and the Great Mosque of Tlemcen (itself heavily influenced by Córdoba). They further described it as an inverted conical throne, crowned with two layers of interlaced leaves.

This specific detailing perfectly aligns with the abstract vegetal motifs so characteristic of Umayyad Andalusian stonework found in Córdoba. Moreover, the minaret's design, despite its modest size and the three dis-

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tinct levels of crenelated arcade tiers of arches, is a defining characteristic exhibited in the minarets of Al-Andalus and those in the Maghreb that absorbed its influence.



Figure 2.7: Almonaster La Real, Spain (Barceló Hotels & Resorts) VS Bab Zir in Tlemcen

To further elucidate the architectural connections, Figure 2.11 presents a direct comparison between the Nasrid House in Granada and the Palace of Eubad in Tlemcen. Examination of this figure reveals specific similarities in form, scale, and decorative motifs, which are indicative of shared architectural traditions and influences.

2.3.1.5 Sidi El Haloui Mosque

The Sidi El Haloui Mosque was constructed during the Marinid siege of Tlemcen by the Marinid Sultan Abu Inan in 754 AH/1353 AD. The mosque is named after Sheikh Abu Abdullah Al-Shawdhi, who was appointed a judge in Seville before settling in Tlemcen (The Public National Museum of Islamic Antiquities of the City of Tlemcen, 2025). It is situated in the

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north of the city centre, at the base of the city mountain (Bournan, 2018).

According to Marçais & Marçais (1903), the architectural and decorative styles of this mosque are influenced by Andalusian designs. The mosque features significant Andalusian elements, including horseshoe arches and a prayer hall layout that aligns with common plans found in Andalusian mosques, similar to the Great Mosque of Córdoba. Additionally, it has distinctive decorative details, such as an upper frieze adorned with octagonal rosettes and a carved band reminiscent of those found in the Alhambra.

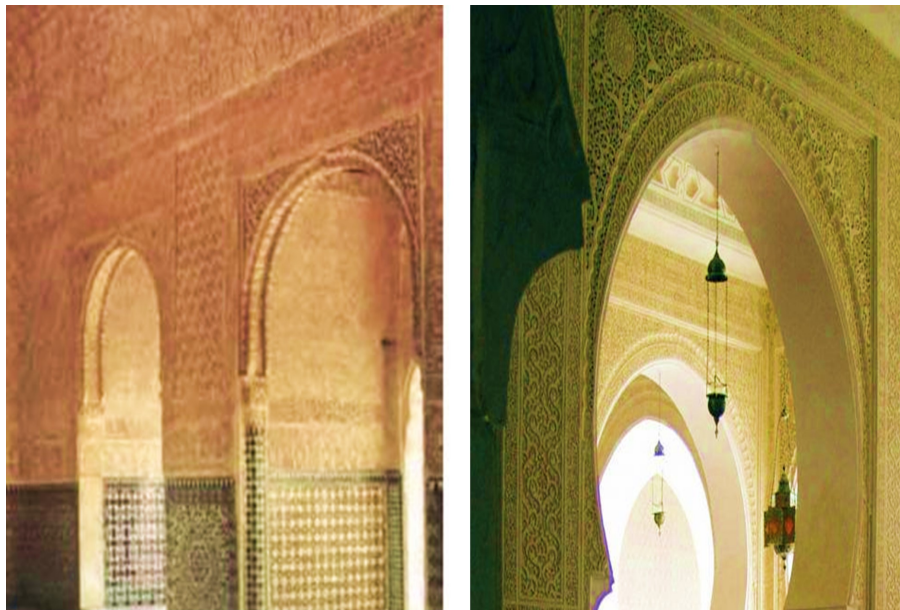


Figure 2.8: Decorative Resemblance: Salon de los Embajadores, Alhambra (Dodds, p. 140) and Sidi El-Haloui Mosque (islamicart.museumwnf.org)

Consistent with the "Andalusian Echoes in Tlemcen" theme, Figure 2.8 visually demonstrates the decorative links between the Alhambra's Salon de los Embajadores and the Sidi El-Haloui Mosque, directly observable in this comparison.

2.3.1.6 Mechouar Mosque

The Mosque of Mechouar is located within the Zayyanid royal Mechouar palace, it was established by Zayyanid Sultan Abu Hammu Musa I, although it has been constantly damaged. During the Ottoman administration in Tlemcen, the prayer hall was completely reconstructed, which included the removal of its original decorations and flooring. Then, during the French occupation, the mosque was repurposed first as a military hospital storage area and later as a Catholic church chapel. These alterations greatly diminished the original artistic value. Only the minaret survived, which has preserved its original shape and elegance (The Public National Museum of Islamic Antiquities of the City of Tlemcen, 2025).

This mosque for Marçais & Marçais (1903) was another sample of Andalusian architectural style. First, the inscriptions on the walls match those common in Al-Andalus: the phrase “Happiness and success today and prosperity” that exists on the wall also appears on an Alhambra vase and Spanish-Moorish pottery. Second, materials and motifs resemble Spanish products: the painted diamond patterns are characteristic of Andalusian-period craftsmanship. Third, facade treatment imitates classical decoration, a feature also presents in late Andalusian art. Finally, decorative elements like multilobed palm trees suggest origins in Spanish workshops.

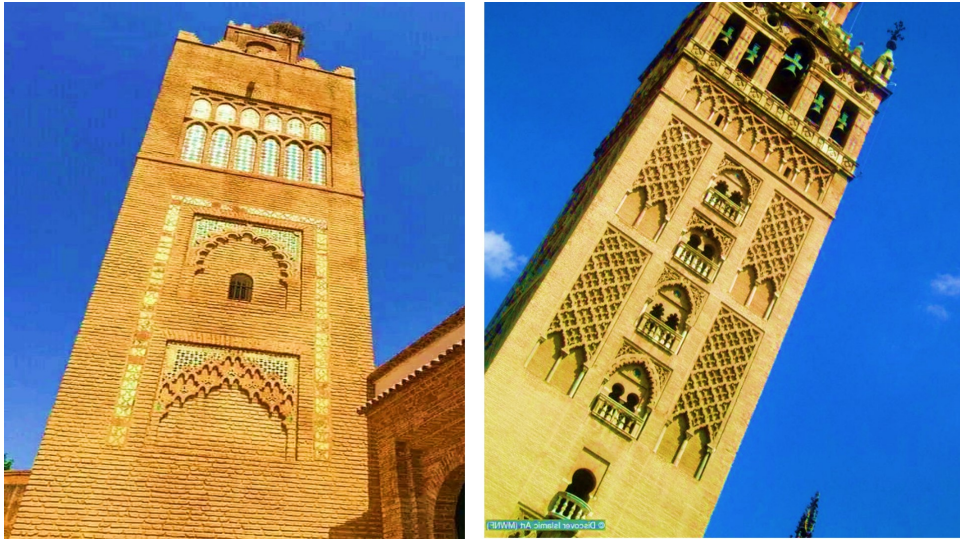


Figure 2.9: Minaret Resemblance: La Giralda (islamicart.museumwnf.org) and Royal Mechouar Mosque (tahwaspresse.dz)

Figure 2.9 depicts the stunning Minaret Resemblance of La Giralda and the Royal Mechouar Mosque. This visual similarity supports Marçais Marçais' (1903) remark that the Royal Mechouar Mosque is another sample of Andalusian architectural style.

2.3.2 Palaces

During the Zayyanid era, Tlemcen was home to many luxurious palaces. Unfortunately, only a few of these magnificent buildings remain today. This lack is largely due to the destructive tactics of French colonialism, which demolished many historic buildings.

2.3.2.1 Mechouar Palace

The royal Mechouar palace is situated at the heart of Tlemcen's city, and its origins trace back to the Zayyanid era by Yaghmorasan ibn Zyan between 1234 and 1235 (Algérie Press Service, 2022)

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According to Abadie (1994), ibn Khaldun described this palace as “magnificent buildings and gardens adorned with green spaces and meticulously arranged plants and flowers” that covered three hectares. However, this historical palace had been partially destroyed; particularly during the French colonisation, it transformed into horse stable, then a prison, and barracks, as mentioned by Abadie (1994). According to Algérie Press Service, the Mechouar Palace underwent an extensive restoration in 2011. The project was supervised by a local technical studies office, part of the “Tlemcen Capital of Islamic Culture” activities. The restoration was based on the remains of the original structure, walls, original decorations, and Zellij. The project aimed to return the palace to its original appearance as built by Abd-Wadids (Algerian Press Agency, 2022).



Figure 2.10: Architectural Parallels: Mechouar Palace (tripadvisor.fr) and Alhambra Palace (andalousie.style)

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The visual contrast in Figure 2.10 demonstrates that the Mechouar Palace and the Alhambra were created with a similar idea of the spaciousness and intricate ornamentation that distinguish Andalusia's old monuments.

2.3.2.2 The Palace of El Eubbad

The Palace of El Abbad, also known as the Dar Sultan, is located in the town of alAbbad, approximately 2 kilometres southeast of Tlemcen. This mosque was built in the year 739 AH / 1339 AD on a rectangle measuring 30 meters wide by 108 meters long (Lafer, 2025).

Despite its Marinid origins, studies by Marçais & Marçais (1903) on the Small Palace of El Eubbad revealed several architectural and decorative features that match Andalusian styles. The central courtyard, surrounded by arched walkways leading to rooms, is similar to the common design of Andalusian palaces. These kinds of palaces, and courtyards were important for bringing in light, allowing air to circulate, and helping people move around. The use of arches to divide rooms, especially in the large southern room where they create small recessed areas (alcoves), is a typical feature of Andalusian home architecture.

Moreover, the remaining pieces of geometric ceramic mosaics (Zellij) in the courtyard show a specific Andalusian art technique. This technique involved covering floors and walls with detailed geometric and flower patterns using beautiful tiles. The inclusion of semi-circular arches in the covered walkway further strengthens this connection, as these arches were a common part of Islamic architecture in Al-Andalus, often used in arched

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passages and galleries.

The palace's stucco decorations, described as "rich and elegant", feature smaller designs suitable for private rooms. These decorations reflect the refined plasterwork common in Andalusian craftsmanship, where skilled workers created detailed carved designs for walls and ceilings. Complex interwoven patterns along the corners of arches and decorative bands (friezes) with calligraphy or geometric shapes also fit with Andalusian decorative traditions, which focused on rhythmic, intertwined designs.

The presence of diamond patterns with interwoven palmettes on walls and ceilings shows a mix of geometric and plant themes. This combination is typical of Western Islamic decoration, which was common in Al-Andalus (Marçais & Marçais, 1903).



Figure 2.11: Architectural Parallels: Nasrid House, Calle Horno de Oro (alhambra-patronato.es) and Palace of Eubad (maghrebovoices.com)

To further elucidate the architectural connections, Figure 2.11 presents a direct comparison between the Nasrid House in Granada and the Palace

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of Eubad in Tlemcen. Examination of this figure reveals specific similarities in form, scale, and decorative motifs, which are indicative of shared architectural traditions and influences.

2.3.3 Analysing the Andalusian Architectural Presence

The mosques in Tlemcen clearly exhibit a strong Andalusian architectural style, which is evident in many aspects of their design. For instance, the prayer halls feature distinctive horseshoe arches, similar to those of the famous Mosque of Córdoba. Additionally, their intricate domes and unique mihrab ceilings display stalactite patterns known as Muqarnas, which are characteristic of Andalusian building techniques. The beautiful stucco decorations, unique column capitals, and the floral and geometric patterns found in these mosques strongly resemble styles from Al-Andalus, particularly those in Córdoba and the Alhambra. This indicates that the mosques in Tlemcen not only adopted Andalusian influences but also adapted and transformed these styles into something distinctly their own as seen in the Great mosque as Dodds explained earlier.

This pervasive influence extends beyond religious structures to the palatial architecture of Tlemcen, as seen in the Mechouar and El Eubbad Palaces. The architectural and decorative elements found in these palaces provide further strong evidence of major Andalusian influence, which indicates a deliberate adoption of design principles and artistic techniques prevalent in Al-Andalus. The description of the Mechouar Palace by ibn Khaldun highlights “magnificent buildings and gardens adorned with green spaces and meticulously arranged plants and flowers”. This direct integra-

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tion of lush gardens with the palace structure, covering a substantial area, is a hallmark of Andalusian royal complexes.

This design philosophy is clearly mirrored in iconic Andalusian sites such as the Alhambra's Generalife grounds and the courtyards of the Alcazar of Seville. These complexes were designed not just as residences but as integrated environments where nature and architecture harmonized, providing both aesthetic beauty and functional spaces for royal life and administration. The emphasis on gardens within palatial settings is a distinguishing feature that strongly links Tlemcen's Mechouar Palace to Andalusian precedents.

The Palace of El Eubbad further features a central courtyard surrounded by arched walkways leading to various rooms. This layout is regarded as similar to common Andalusian palace designs. In Andalusian architecture, central courtyards were fundamental. They served multiple functions: providing natural light and ventilation to surrounding rooms, acting as a central point for circulation within the building, and often containing water features or gardens to enhance the microclimate. The use of the courtyard as the focal point for light, air circulation, and movement is a direct borrowing from Andalusian domestic and palatial architecture as seen in the Alhambra's lion fountains.

The design incorporates arches to divide rooms, particularly in the large southern room where they create small recessed areas, known as alcoves. Semi-circular arches are also present in covered walkways. Arches, especially semi-circular or horseshoe arches, are iconic elements of Islamic

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architecture in Al-Andalus, found in the Moriscos houses, Alcazar palace, and Alhambra palace in Spain.

The remaining pieces of geometric ceramic mosaics (Zellij) in the Palace of El Eubbad's courtyard, as well as the stucco decorations, with intricately interwoven patterns, calligraphy, and decorative bands (friezes), and the presence of diamond patterns with interwoven palmettes. Zellij is a highly characteristic form of Andalusian and North African Islamic art. The technique of cutting and assembling individual glazed tiles to form complex geometric and floral patterns reached its zenith in Al-Andalus. Similarly, stucco (plasterwork) was a primary medium for decorative elements in Andalusian architecture. Similarly, stucco (plasterwork) was a primary medium for decorative expression in Andalusian architecture. These carved designs for walls and ceilings, feature interwoven geometric motifs, calligraphic inscriptions, and plant forms (arabesques) found in the mosques and palaces in Spain.

In conclusion, both the religious and residential architecture of Tlemcen demonstrate a deep and pervasive Andalusian influence. From the distinctive horseshoe arches and Muqarnas in the mosques to the integrated gardens, central courtyards, and elaborate Zellij and stucco work in the palaces, the architectural language of Tlemcen clearly draws heavily from Andalusian precedents. This suggests that the builders and artisans in Tlemcen not only adopted but also creatively adapted these rich traditions, establishing a strong and enduring connection between Tlemcen's architectural heritage and that of Al-Andalus.

2.4 Andalusian Influence on Tlemcen's Dialect

The evolution of distinct Arabic varieties, such as Andalusian Arabic and the Tlemcenian dialect, from Classical Arabic, can be understood through the fundamental principles of dialect emergence. While both are regional variations of a common linguistic ancestor, their differentiation highlights key factors beyond mere geographical separation.

As the linguist Max Weinreich (1940) once famously put it, “A language is a dialect with an army and a navy”. This powerful observation brings to mind that the distinction between a “language” and a “dialect” is as much socio-political as it is not necessarily inherent linguistic. This is an important consideration in examining the relationship between Andalusian Arabic and the Tlemcenian dialect.

Initially, both Andalusian Arabic and the local Tlemcenian variety evolved as distinct geographic dialects, influenced by the unique historical and social contexts of their respective areas. Each dialect has its specific features of vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation. This variety is a common process by which speakers in one place over time come to establish distinct linguistic patterns.

However, the “army and navy” principle comes into play more acutely with the Reconquista. When Andalusian speakers were expelled from Al-Andalus, their unique linguistic repertoire did not diminish. Instead, it was linguistically transplanted by their migration into new areas like Tlemcen. Therefore, this forced dialectal contact with the local Tlemcenian dialect and the incoming Andalusian Arabic.

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The subsequent linguistic diffusion in Tlemcen led to a unique linguistic mixture as it is called amalgamation, whereby Andalusian terms were integrated into the local dialect. The blend contributed significantly to the development of the unique sociolect/regiolect of Tlemcen, which provided distinct phonological, morphological, and syntactic features, including phonetic changes like “letter substitution”, as examined by Marçais (1902).

In essence, while linguistic factors of mutual intelligibility might suggest separateness, Weinreich’s method highlights how political conditions such as in the case of Andalusians who were forced to migrate to north African cities. These migrations resulted in the mixture and shaping of these dialects, with their features being carried over, retained, or merged in the host society of Tlemcen.

2.4.1 Andalusian-Influenced Phonetic Phenomena

Moreover, the dialect of Tlemcen displays several phonetic features that reflect the influence of old Andalusian dialects. One notable characteristic is the substitution among dental consonants, where the sounds /d /, /ð /, and its counterpart /ð/ merge into a single sound /d/. Another example includes the /t/ sound as in Tlemcen it is pronounced as /ts/, as heard in /ma:ts/ instead of /ma:t/ (died)). This phenomenon has also been observed by William Marçais (1902) in his studies of the Arabic dialect spoken in Tlemcen. According to Saadallah (2016), this phenomenon was common among the people of Granada.

This influence further extends to sibilant consonants, where a random or contextually influenced exchange occurs between /s /, /s/, and /z/. For

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instance, one hears /fa: zda/ instead of /fa:sda/ (spoiled), and /zdam/ instead of /sdam/ (to collide).

Another significant phonetic characteristic is the substitution of the letter /d/ with /t/, as exemplified by /tarabo/ instead of /darabo/ (to hit). This particular phenomenon drew the attention of the French researcher William Marçais (1902), while Saadallah (2016) interpreted it as a distinct Andalusian trait that permeated the Tlemcen's dialect. Saadallah (2016) specifically recounted an interview with the famous musician from Tlemcen Arabi Bensari, whose sister pronounced the name /budalfa/ with a /ta/ as /boutalfa/.

Furthermore, the pronunciation of /q/ as a strong glottal stop, similar to that found in the dialects of Cairo and Damascus, occurs in certain words. For example, /a: li/ is used instead of /qa: li/ (told me). This specific pronunciation of /q/ as a glottal stop is a notable feature of dialects in Islamic southern Spain, particularly in the dialect of Granada, as highlighted by researcher Saadallah (2016) in his study.

2.4.2 Inherited Andalusian Lexicon

Over centuries of coexistence and cultural exchange between Tlemcen & Andalus, especially after the Moriscos' migrations, a unique linguistic environment flourished in which Andalusian dialects intermingled with the local dialect of Tlemcen. This intense interaction inevitably led to significant lexical borrowings, with much of Andalusian terms and even popular proverbs that became later an integral part of the colloquial vocabulary of the people of Tlemcen. This section delves into the influence of this inher-

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ited Andalusian lexicon, examining the adopted word classes and linguistic evidence of this historical intermingling.

Animals:

Andalusian Term	Meaning	Tlemcen Usage	Source
/bu 'la:rdʒu/ "بَلَوْرَجْ"	Stork	/ba 'la:rdʒ/	Ibn Quzmān
/al fal 'lu:s/ "الْقَلُوس"	Chick	Pronounced identically	Al-Zajjālī, <i>Amsāl al-'Awwām</i>
/almaq 'li:n/ "المقلين"	Goldfinch	/almaq 'ni:n/	Al-Lakhmī, <i>Al-Madkhal</i>
/ħanf/ "خَنْش"	Snake	/ħnaf/	Al-Lakhmī
/ar ra 'ti:la/ "الرتيلي"	Poisonous insect	/ar r' ti: la/	Al-Lakhmī

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Food:

/ta:'dʒi:n/ "طاجين"	Clay pot	Pronounced identically	Al Zajil
/al'banna/ "البنّة"	Taste	Pronounced identically	Al-Ahuwani
/kar'mu:s/ "كرموس"	Figs	Pronounced identically	Ibn Sūda
/da'fi:f/ "دشيش"	Ground wheat	/d'fi:fa/	Douzi
Harshaf (حرفش)	Rough-surfaced vegetable (used in traditional dishes)	Khorshaf	Douzi

Verbs:

/zaʔa:q/ "زَعَق"	A humorous remark	Used to describe joking	Ibn Quzmān
/taʔbal/ "تَزَعْبَل"	To sway while walking	Still used	Douzi

Adjectives:

/bar.ra:.ni:/ "براني"	Foreigner	Still used	Douzi
/sal.f/ "سلف"	Brother-in-law (husband's brother)	Still used in the rural areas of Tlemcen	Al-Zajjālī

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Items:

<i>/sʰaˈba:tʰ/</i> “الصَّبَّاط”	Shoe (derived from Spanish)	Still in use	Al-Zajjālī
<i>/ʃtaː/</i> “الشَّتا”	Rain	Still used with the same meaning	Ibn Quzmān
<i>/ʃuka:ra/</i> “شَكَارَا”	Pouch/Sack	<i>/ʃka:ra/</i>	Douzi
<i>/sʰa:ˈqu:r/</i> “الصَّاقور”	Axe (for cutting wood)	<i>/ʃa:ˈqu:r/</i>	Ibn Quzmān
<i>/qarʕa/</i> “قرعة”	Bottle (named after the dried gourd it resembles)	Still used to refer to a bottle	Al-Zajjālī
<i>/qaj.tʰu:n/</i> “قَيْطون”	Inner room, used in winter	Still used	Al-Lakhmī
<i>/miz.wad/</i> “مزود”	Leather pouch for money/flour	<i>/maz.wad/</i>	Al-Zajjālī
<i>/qa:.siħ/</i> “قاسح”	Hard/Tough	Still used with the same meaning	Douzi
<i>/ʕuk.sʰa/</i> “عُكْسَة”	Hair bun	<i>/ʕak.sʰa/</i>	Al-Ahuwani
<i>/xu.nu:na/</i> “خنونة”	Mucus	Still used	Douzi

2.4.3 Andalusian Proverbs in the Tlemcen Dialect

Proverbs serve as a collective memory that reflects common values and experiences. The Tlemcen dialect, for instance; had inherited several Andalusian proverbs; some have maintained their original form, while others

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have been slightly modified, yet retaining their core meaning:

Andalusian Proverb	Tlemcen Equivalent	Meaning	Source
/tʰa:ʕat an.ni.sa:ʔ na.da:.ma/ "طاعة النساء ندامة"	//fa:wr mra:tak wa xa:lifha:/ "شاور مراتك وخالفها"	"He who obeys women regrets it" / "Consult your wife, then do the opposite"	Al-Zajjālī
/bad.dil dʒanb ta.dʒid ra:ħa/ "بدل جنب تجد راحة"	/bad.dil al.ma.ra:ħ tas.ta.ri:ħ/ "بدل المراح تستراح"	Replacement of the wife or husband in Cases of Marital Dissolution	Al-Zajjālī
/al.dʒa.na:za ħfi:l wal.maj.jit kalb/ "الجنّاز خفيل والميت كلب"	/al man da ba ka bi:ra wal maj jit fa:r/ "المنذبة كبيرة و"الميت فار"	"The funeral is grand, but the deceased is a dog" / "The lamentation is great, but the deceased is a mouse"	Al-Zajjālī
/tʰa:q ʕa la: tʰa:q, bi ħa:l ħa:.nu:t faq qaq/ "طاق على طاق، بخل" "حانوت شقشاق"	/tʰa:q ʕa la: man tʰa:q/ "طاق على من طاق"	"Strength for strength, like a noisy shop" / "He who can, overpowers"	Al-Zajjālī
/ðʰa.lam.ni: wa ba.ka:, wa ma:fa: lil.qa:.dʰi: wa ʔif.ta.ka:/ "ظلمني وبكى، ومشي" "للقاضي واشتكي"	/dʰa.rab.ni: wa ba.ka:, sa.baq.ni: wa ʔif.ta.ka:/ "ضربني وبكا سبقني" "واشتكا"	"He wronged me and cried, then went to the judge and complained" / "He hit me and cried, then preceded me in complaining"	Al-Zajjālī
/man za:d ʕa.laj.ka bi.na.ħa:r, za:d ʕa.laj.ka bi.xa.bar/ "من زاد عليك بنهار، زاد" "عليك بخبر"	/il.li: fa:.tak bi.li:.la fa:.tak bi.ħi:.la/ "الي فاتك بليلة فاتك" "بحيلة"	"Whoever is a day older than you is a day wiser" / "Whoever surpassed you by a night, surpassed you by a trick"	Al-Zajjālī

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<p>/man 'madaxa al ʕa'ru:s ʔa'la ummu'ha:/ "من مدح العروس؟ قال: "أمها"</p>	<p>/al ʕa'ru:s 'tʃokruha: 'ʔummuha: wa la: 'famha:/ العروس تشكرها أمها "ولا فمها"</p>	<p>"Who praises the bride? Her mother says: her mother" / "The bride is praised by her mother or her mouth"</p>	<p>Al-Zajjālī</p>
<p>/yatʕ'tʕa: ʕajn af'fams bi lyir'ba:l/ "غظ عين الشمس "بالغربال"</p>	<p>/iytʕi: fi: af'fams bi lyir'ba:l/ ايغطي فالشمس "بالغربال"</p>	<p>"To cover the eye of the sun with a sieve" / "He covers the sun with a sieve"</p>	<p>Al-Zajjālī</p>
<p>/la: ja.zu:ʕu δ.δi:b, wa la: ja.δʕlim ar.ra:ʕi:/ "لا يجوع الذيب، ولا "يظلم الراعي"</p>	<p>/ma: ja.zu:ʕu δ.δi:b, ma: ja.δʕlim ar.ra:ʕi:/ "ما يجوع الذيب، ما "يظلم الراعي"</p>	<p>"The wolf does not starve, nor is the shepherd wronged"</p>	<p>Al-Zajjālī</p>
<p>/it.baʕ al.kad.ða:b i.la: ad.da:r/ "اتبع الكذاب إلى الدار"</p>	<p>/it.baʕ al.kad.ða:b li.ba:b ad.da:r/ "اتبع الكذاب لباب "الدار"</p>	<p>"Follow the liar to the doorstep"</p>	<p>Al-Zajjālī</p>

2.5 Andalusian Music in Tlemcen

Andalusian musical tradition found a strong and enduring home in Tlemcen. Tlemcen's music has effectively kept Arabo-Andalusian music and its instruments alive. Even though the name "Gharnâti" (from Granada) does not appear in older Arabic writings, it has become strongly linked with a musical style mainly played in Tlemcen and other Maghreb countries (Poché, 1995). Algeria even represented the "Gharnâti" style of Tlemcen at the 1932 Cairo Congress, led by the well-known artist Larbi Ben Sari (Poché, 1995).

Furthermore, Tlemcen was an important place for nurturing Andalusian musical heritage, not only through its performance styles but also

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by keeping important Andalusian instruments alive, passed down through generations. While some instruments, like the Ud (lute) as Poché (1995) notes, existed in both the Middle East and Al-Andalus, Tlemcen's continuous use of others points to direct lineage. For instance, Poché (1995) quotes the English physician Thomas Shaw, who visited Algeria in the mid-18th century.

Shaw observed the "Târ" (a frame drum) used by the "Moors" (referring to Algerians, including those in Tlemcen), and also mentioned "quetaras" of different sizes, referring to the "Kwithra". This instrument, which came from "kitbâra" (guitar) and was known in Al-Andalus as early as the 11th century, clearly survived and thrived in Tlemcen. The Qânûn, another inherited Andalusian instrument, and the Rabâb, a bowed string instrument often seen with the 'Ūd in Al-Andalusian groups, are also important in Tlemcen's music. The Rabâb is frequently used with poetry, as shown by a line from a Tlemcen nouba: "Rabâbs, târs, and 'ûds unite in song to please you" (Poché, 1995). The consistent presence and use of these specific instruments emphasize Tlemcen's role as a living archive of Andalusian musical practices, showcasing how these traditions were carefully preserved.

Beyond simple preservation, Tlemcen musicians further developed the traditional Nuba, a core part of Andalusian music. While 'Nuba' generally means a group of pieces with a similar tune, the way they are performed had changed when it transmitted greatly across North Africa. Reynolds (2021) highlights this difference, stating that just listening to the nouba of

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the Mayan sands in Fez compared to Tlemcen reveals “two very different musical events” (p. 79). Tlemcen’s way, as Reynolds (2021) explains, involves a ‘vertical’ performance. This means musicians in Tlemcen usually play parts from each of the Nuba’s five main vocal sections, often with instrumental introductions. This “vertical” approach, where bits from all five parts are played in one performance along with short musical introductions, shows Tlemcen’s special way of interpreting and reshaping the Andalusian heritage to fit its own artistic expression, rather than simply preserving it. This distinct evolution set the stage for further local musical innovation.

Besides, Tlemcenian musicians did not only preserve Andalusian music but also developed it further, ultimately creating a new musical style using the local dialect, known as “Hawzi”. According to Saadallah (2016), this modern musical style began and grew in Tlemcen through the Moriscos, who found safety in the Zayyanid kingdom after being forced out of their land between the 15th and 17th centuries. They settled in a beautiful area called “El-Writt”, which later became a popular spot for friendly gatherings and outdoor events, often with music from Tlemcen’s orchestras.

What makes the Hawzi style different from Gharnâti is that it uses the same Andalusian musical form but features local poetry from Tlemcen’s “Haouz” region, unlike Gharnâti, which uses original Andalusian poetry. This demonstrates a clear evolution. Reynolds (2021) supports this, describing Tlemcen as a city that actively grew and expanded its musical heritage:

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Tlemcen's rich musical tradition is not merely a static preservation of ancient forms; rather, it reflects a dynamic process of historical development and expansion within its repertoire. This is evident in the way its own musical community understands its history (p. 73).

According to a post by Ben Masouad on the ArabiPost website (June 1st, 2023), Hawzi started as a local music style among common people, unlike Malouf, which was for the wealthy and rulers. Its name is traced to the city's outskirts, in areas like Ouzidan and Ain El-Hout.

According to the Babzman website, the discovery of this genre of music goes to the Zianid poet Said ibn Abdallah al-Mandassi, who was influenced by Malouf music and derived Hawzi music from it. Following him was the poet Muhammad ibn Abdallah ibn Masayib in the 17th century, followed by Ibn Sahla in the 18th century. The latter wrote the lyrics for the renowned song "Ya Daw Layani", One of the most important cultural and artistic centres in Algeria and the Maghreb, due to its status as the capital of the Zianid dynasty, the Hawzi emerged as a tributary of local music.

People in Tlemcen are deeply connected with Andalusian musical tradition; they see it as part of their own local culture. The term "Andalusian music" feels completely natural to them. As Poché (1995) explains, this widespread acceptance is exactly why people like Mohamed Ben Smail from Tlemcen were inspired to create the "Andalusian Musical Association" (al-Jam'iyya al-andalusiyya) in Oujda, Morocco, in 1921. Importantly, this was the first group of its kind to use that specific name and to focus only on Andalusian music. This immediate acceptance and promotion clearly

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show how deeply rooted Andalusian music became in Tlemcen and how its people actively took ownership of it, solidifying its place as a core element of their identity.



Figure 2.12: Musical group of Tlemcen directed by Larbi Bensari in 1932 (Poché, p.83)

2.6 Tlemcen's Andalusian Attire and Accessories

Tlemcen's close connection to Andalusia extends beyond intellectual heritage, advanced sciences, and elegant architecture, but also to its distinctive styles and accessories. The city did not adopt intellectual and architectural innovations from the Andalusian world, but instead carefully embraced and preserved its rich fashion heritage. This section will examine these traditions. For the clothing styles, this study primarily relies on Marçais's 1930 research on Algerian traditions, including those in Tlemcen. For accessories and jewellery, it depends on Eudel's study and the 2011 research by the Islamic Andalusian Research Centre of Tlemcen.

2.6.1 Traditional Clothing

Pleated trousers, known locally as “sarwal al-matwi”, are a distinctive and important part of traditional men’s clothing in Tlemcen. These trousers were part of their everyday and formal wear, but they are no longer as popular among urban residents of Tlemcen as they were in the last century. They are now widespread only in the rural areas, and are still worn by shepherds and farmers. This type of trousers was mentioned by Marçais (1930), who described them as long and loose, usually made of linen, and characterised by longitudinal pleats or folds extending along the fabric to provide comfort to the wearer, especially in hot climates.

Interestingly, the design of the pleated trousers bears a striking resemblance to trousers seen in the fine artwork of the famous Alhambra Palace in Granada. However, it is not possible to predict whether these trousers were transferred directly from Al-Andalus to Tlemcen, based on their presence in the Alhambra Palace, since Al-Andalus was a centre for all races of the world, where fashion flourished, as did science.

Haik is another traditional clothing that used to be widely common in Tlemcen, men wore a traditional wrapped shawl known as the Ḥā’ik. Marçais (1930) observed that this gown was made of either coarse wool or, in more refined forms, pure white silk. The Haik was occasionally worn in two layers. In which, the inner layer, composed of muslin, was wrapped over the head and tied with a camel hair rope. The outer Haik, usually made of wool, covered the full body. Marçais mentioned this type of clothing resembles the one worn in Spain during the Khalifs’ reign but

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had another name, he stated, “The Spain of the caliphs and sultans knew the Haïk under the name of Ksâ and Borda” (Marçais, 1930, p. 26).

This type of cloths, was worn in a peculiar manner than women’s version: one end was draped over the left shoulder, then twisted around the back to the right shoulder, passing underneath the right armpit, and lastly pulled back over the head to cover the entire left arm. The remaining end was then tucked behind the left shoulder to form a small, visible triangle in front, as described by Marçais (1930). To further enhance its appearance, the Haik was often adorned with a camel-hair cord or a long knife positioned at the shoulder.



Figure 2.13: Traditional male attire in Tlemcen: a man depicted wearing a Haik. Based on Marçais (1930)



Figure 2.14: Emir Abdelkader wearing similar attire, Source: Philitt, fr

The turban used to be worn in Tlemcen in the past, it possessed distinct characteristics, sharing remarkable similarities with those prevalent in Al-Andalus, particularly in Granada and within the illustrious Alhambra palace as Marçais (1930) documents, The Alhambra turban, as described by Marçais, was an elaborate headpiece. It consisted of a veil intricately wrapped over a wide, flat inner head covering.

This elaborate wrapping created a spiral crown positioned high on the forehead. Beyond just the top of the head, it also elegantly covered the ears and the back of the neck, extended down to pass under the chin, and then gracefully spread out over the shoulders which reflects a resemblance between the turban in Tlemcen and Al-Andalus.

The Granada turban, on the other hand, presented a considerably simpler form as it was portrayed in the carvings at Granada Cathedral. This

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version focused solely on covering the skull, leaving the neck and the lower chin exposed. Interestingly, these simpler turbans could be pre-made and worn much like a hat, a method similar to how the turbans of the Sanhaja princes were crafted using wooden molds (Marçais, 1930). This difference highlights the variety within Andalusian turban styles and their connections to Tlemcen's own traditions.



Figure 2.15: Two representations of traditional turban styles. Left: A Cheikh's turban as illustrated on the Alhambra ceiling, based on Marçais (1930, p.70). Right: A man from Tlemcen with a neckcovering turban in 1927, adapted from Abadie (1994, p.20)

Regarding women's dress, Haik is a piece of soft wool designed to cover a woman's head to ankle. This old robe was worn in Tlemcen until the twentieth century, and according to Marçais (1930), it represents modesty and fidelity.



Figure 2.16: Comparative turban styles. (a) Andalusian turban depicted in Granada paintings (after Marçais, 1930, p.20). (b) Young man from Tlemcen wearing another type of turban, 1927 (after Abadie, 1994, p.37)

The names of these garments vary depending on the materials used. According to Marçais, if it is made of pure wool or cotton, it is called “Ksa”, however, if it is made of a combination of wool and silk, it is still called “Haik”. This attire is distinguished by its huge size, which can reach up to 4 meters in width and 180 cm in height.

It is wrapped around the body and secured with a belt in the front or raised to shoulder level and secured with two gem-adorned gold clasps called “Bzaim”, as Marçais describes. He further continues his description of the Haik, wherein he emphasised on its similarity to that prevalent in Al-Andalus. The statues in Granada Cathedral, for instance, depict women wearing veils covering the lower part of their faces, leaving one eye (Marçais, 1930). This way of hiding a woman’s face is known in Tlemcen known as “*cawīna*”. Based on this similarity, Marçais (1930) stated:

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In this way, the women of Tlemcen appear, unsurprisingly, to conform to the custom of the women of Granada. Those who appear in the bas-reliefs of the cathedral veil the lower part of their faces with their Haik held in their right hand at nose level. They do not wear a face veil (p. 104).

This claim suggests a possible Andalusian influence in the design or manner of wearing the Haik. However, despite these striking similarities to this dress worn by women in Granada, it is impossible to say with certainty that the Haik is entirely Andalusian in origin, especially the manner of draping the fabric around the bodies of Muslim women is common in many Islamic nations, including Yemen.

This striking similarity can be attributed to the Prophet's (peace and blessings be upon him) teachings on how women should wear the hijab. In a hadith narrated by Bukhari and Abu Dawud, the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) said, "May Allah have mercy on the women of the first emigrants, who tore their thickest cloaks." This description, in terms of using thick fabrics and the way the women wrapped themselves to cover themselves, matches perfectly with the characteristics of the Haik. Subsequently, covering the body with a thick cloak such as Haik existed long before Al-Andalus in the Arabian Peninsula (modern Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries). Thus, all that can be said is that there is a similarity or a common heritage in this dress.

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Figure 2.17: Comparative view of traditional women's attire: on the left, a dress from Granada (found in Granada's Cathedral) from Marçais, p. 105). On the right, a Haik worn by a woman from Tlemcen. Adapted from el tahrir online dz



Figure 2.18: Traditional Attire: On the left, veiled woman statues Vejer de la Frontera, Spain (Adobe Stock), On the right, a Muslim woman wearing Haik in Tlemcen by Louis Abadie (1994, p.20)

2.6.2 Inherited Jewellery

Tlemcen is a city rich in history and culture, as Eudel (1906) indicates several Andalusian pieces were inherited by Tlemcen. Furthermore, after 1492 numerous skilled Andalusian craftsmen who migrated to Tlemcen 1492 brought with them multiple jewelry-making techniques and designs such as “Takiif”, or Filling, Piercing, as well as Decorative engraving techniques in making the jewelry, as the Centre for Andalusian Research Studies of Tlemcen (2011), documented.

In addition to these techniques, specific pieces of jewellery highlight this rich Andalusian heritage. One notable example is the *Khalkhāl* (anklet), a distinctive type made from a hollow tube of gold or gilded silver. This anklet is often adorned with alternating carvings and hammered floral motifs.

Each end features two large, hollow balls shaped like turban figures. To produce a rattling sound while walking, small pebbles were carefully placed inside the tube before it was sealed. Despite its popularity, including among children, this anklet has become rare, likely due to its susceptibility to wear and the narrowing of its opening over time (Eudel, 1906).

The *Bzaïm* is a triangular silver pin that weighs around 100 grammes. It was originally used to bind *Haiks*, particularly in Bedouin populations. Odile explicitly mentions that this type of buckle looks to have originated in Moorish Spain, which is not surprising given that Tlemcen hosted hundreds of thousands of *Moriscos*.



Figure 2.19: The Khelkhal el Menfoukh, a beautiful anklet found in the National Museum of Bardo in Algiers, Algeria (Andalusian Research Studies of Tlemcen)

The Khamsa, means “five”, refers to a jewel in the shape of an open hand. It is usually made of gold or silver, rarely copper, and is often a simple cut or cast plate. Although many pieces are devoid of elaborate decoration except for a few crudely engraved lines, some Khamsa feature additional motifs, such as a perforated palm tree (Eudel, 1906).

This kind of neckless is widely used as a talisman to ward off bad luck and is believed to protect against the “evil eye”, which is believed to be inflicted by extending the hand and uttering the phrase “five in your eye”. It is considered a good luck charm for both girls and boys and is embraced by Arab communities. and Judaism alike. Odile also notes that long after the conquest of Granada, women and girls of Moorish origin (Andalusian Muslims) continued to wear small gold hand-shaped jewels.



Figure 2.20: Khamisa (Eudel, p.82)

The Jbin is a very ancient browband found in Tlemcen, usually made of silver. local usage in Tlemcen consistently identifies this piece of jewelry as "Jbin". While often referred to as "Açaba" in historical and academic sources (e.g., Eudel, 1906). It Consists of seven inverted shield-shaped panels connected by hinges. Each panel is decorated with crescents at the top and pendants at the bottom, and both the panels and pendants are decorated with cut flowers.

The hinges are fastened with a pin surmounted by a pearl. In Tlemcen, two types are found: one made from sultans (coins), and the other, similar to those found in Algeria, features hinged panels with distinctive motifs at each end. This band is worn across the forehead and fastened behind the head with a silk ribbon (Eudel, 1906).



Figure 2.21: Jbin (Açaba) found in the National Museum of Bardo in Algiers, Algeria (Andalusian Research Studies of Tlemcen)

The “Khit al-Ruh” necklace, often known as the “Zarouf” in Tlemcen, is a magnificent piece of art crafted from gold, silver, and precious stones. This neckless was originally just a pendant but evolved into a wreath worn on the forehead, a piece widely used in “Chedda Tlemcen”. Measuring 38 cm in length, this necklace is still proudly displayed in the Pardo National Museum in Algiers.



Figure 2.22: Kheit El Rouh found in the National Museum of Bardo in Algiers, Algeria (Andalusian Research Studies of Tlemcen, p. 115)

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The “Cherket Soltani” necklace from Tlemcen dates back to the 11th century. This gilded silver necklace, decorated with silk threads, stands 28 cm tall. Poison, confirming that it bears a clear Andalusian heritage. It can also be found at the Bardo National Museum.



Figure 2.23: Cherkat Soltani Jbin (Açaba) found in the National Museum of Bardo in Algiers, Algeria (Andalusian Research Studies of Tlemcen, p.118)

Meskia Anbra, as described by Eudel, is an elegant neck chain, fastened with two clasps. At the heart of this chain is a small medallion designed to hold perfume. The Meskia is undoubtedly an Andalusian heritage piece, brought to Tlemcen by Andalusian immigrants, as noted by the Andalusian Research Centre in Tlemcen. This piece comes in two main varieties: a plain version made of solid gold, and another known as the “Skheb”, also made of gold but beautifully decorated with black agate.



Figure 2.24: Meskia, Aaba found in the National Museum of Bardo in Algiers, Algeria (Andalusian Research Studies of Tlemcen, p.118)

Finally, the “ Skheb ” necklace is another gilded silver piece from the 20th century. Measuring 69 cm in length, it features Baroque pearls and aromatic paste, further confirming that this necklace bears an Andalusian heritage.



Figure 2.25: Skhab Aaba found in the National Museum of Bardo in Algiers, Algeria (Andalusian Research Studies of Tlemcen



Figure 2.26: The Chedda Tlemcen, a traditional bridal dress from Tlemcen, featuring the Andalusian accessories Skhab, Meskia, Khamsa, Jbin (Açaba), Kheit Rouh, and Cherkat Soltani. (Source: narimanehaute couture.com)

2.7 Conclusion

In essence, this chapter concentrated primarily on the Andalusian influence on Tlemcen. This examination demonstrated how this impact pervaded almost every aspect of the city's life, from its architecture and customs, such as traditional clothing and decorations, to its unique accent. Tlemcen's music exemplifies this legacy, which has evolved into new styles and instruments. Furthermore, the chapter emphasised the tremendous contributions of Andalusian intellectuals and writers, including Sidi Boumedién, to Tlemcen's intellectual and religious community.

Tlemcen became more than only a destination for Andalusian immi-

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grants, but also a cultural hub. The Andalusians, in a sense, took the entire civilisation with them, redefining Tlemcen's identity in all aspects. This long-lasting impact demonstrates how Tlemcen grew as a living extension of an absent nation. This transfer of an entire civilisation from one site to another serves as a powerful reminder that these civilisations do not die, but rather live on via their people, arts, customs, and collective memory.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

All in all, this thesis aimed to study the Andalusian influence on the city of Tlemcen, by analysing its strong presence throughout the periods before and after the fall of Granada in 1492. The research demonstrated that Tlemcen was not merely a refuge for Andalusians who were expelled by the Inquisition; rather, it was a haven that absorbed a rich heritage that became an heir to Al-Andalus after its political fall and further resisted the displacement and continued to grow and develop.

The first chapter established the historical and political ties that bound Al-Andalus and Tlemcen. This chapter demonstrated that the relationship between the two kingdoms was rooted in shared Islamic states and constant cultural exchange, especially during the Zayyanid's rule long before the events of the fall of Granada. It highlighted how Tlemcen became a refuge, not only after the collapse of Granada, but particularly with the mass expulsion of the Moriscos between 1609 and 1700s, which ultimately led to the consolidation of Andalusian heritage within Tlemcen.

Building on this foundation, the second chapter carefully examined how Andalusian culture was integrated into the daily lives of the people of Tlemcen. This influence is evident in almost every aspect: from the beautiful Andalusian architecture of buildings like the Sidi Boumediene Mosque and Mechouar Palace, reminiscent of the Alhambra, to traditional clothing like Haik and jewelry such as Maskiya. Most importantly, the Birth of Hawzi style originated from Andalusian music which stands as proof that this heritage evolved in Tlemcen while preserving its essence. They have even clearly influenced the local dialect, where we find several

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Andalusian terms and proverbs.

Beyond the historical account, this study reflected cultural resilience, despite all the challenges. For instance, the French colonisation efforts to erase Tlemcen's Islamic landscape which carries Andalusian heritage, the streets and traditions of Tlemcen still bear clear traces of Al-Andalus. This resiliency not only rejected the common notion of cultural collapse but also powerfully demonstrated that culture cannot disappear owing to political change or deterioration. Rather, it is always shifting, adapting, and thriving thanks to those who maintain and transmit it, as is the case with Tlemcen.

This study has clearly answered the primary questions about Tlemcen's link to Al-Andalus. First, it demonstrated how Tlemcen and Al-Andalus shared a long history. Their connection developed through strong political ties and ongoing cultural exchange with the Nasrids, starting well before Granada fell in 1492. This connection became even stronger with later waves of migration, particularly when the Moriscos were expelled.

Second, the study highlighted how Andalusian culture deeply influenced Tlemcen. This can be clearly seen in the beautiful architecture of buildings like the Sidi Boumediene Mosque and Mechouar Palace. It also appears in traditional clothes such as the Haik and jewelry like Maskiya. Importantly, the Hawzi music style developed from Andalusian music. Plus, many Andalusian words and proverbs are now part of the local way of speaking.

As a whole, Tlemcen stands as a strong sample of preserving the Andalusian heritage, further developing it, and starting new traditions. Even

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after five centuries since Granada's fall, the 'scents of Al-Andalus' are still present in every aspect of Tlemcen.

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Summary: This study examines the profound impact of Andalusian migration on Tlemcen following the fall of Granada in 1492 and the subsequent expulsion of Muslims from Spain. As a major refuge for Andalusian exiles, Tlemcen became a cultural hub where Andalusian traditions in architecture, music, and language were preserved and adapted. Through an analysis of historical records, travel accounts (including French and English colonial sources), and surviving architectural landmarks such as the Sidi Bel Hassan Mosque and the Mansourah Palace. This research demonstrates how Tlemcen's urban and artistic identity was reshaped by Andalusian influences. Additionally, the study traces the evolution of Andalusian music in Tlemcen, highlighting its fusion with local traditions to create distinct forms like Hawzi. Linguistic analysis further reveals the persistence of Andalusian Arabic in Tlemcen's dialects and proverbs. By documenting these cultural transmissions, this thesis challenges the notion that Andalusian heritage was lost after 1492, instead showing how it flourished in North Africa. Ultimately, this research contributes to a broader understanding of Mediterranean cultural exchange and the enduring legacy of Al-Andalus in modern-day Algeria.

Résumé: Cette étude examine l'impact profond de la migration andalouse sur Tlemcen après la chute de Grenade en 1492 et l'expulsion des musulmans d'Espagne qui s'ensuivit. En tant que refuge majeur pour les exilés andalous, Tlemcen est devenu un centre culturel où les traditions andalouses en matière d'architecture, de musique et de langue ont été préservées et adaptées. En analysant les documents historiques, les récits de voyage (y compris les sources coloniales françaises et anglaises) et

les monuments architecturaux qui ont survécu, tels que la mosquée Sidi Bel Hassan et le palais Mansourah, cette recherche démontre comment l'identité urbaine et artistique de Tlemcen a été remodelée par les influences andalouses. En outre, l'étude retrace l'évolution de la musique andalouse à Tlemcen, en soulignant sa fusion avec les traditions locales pour créer des formes distinctes comme le hawzi. L'analyse linguistique révèle en outre la persistance de l'arabe andalou dans les dialectes et les proverbes de Tlemcen. En documentant ces transmissions culturelles, cette thèse remet en question l'idée que l'héritage andalou s'est perdu après 1492, et montre au contraire comment il s'est épanoui en Afrique du Nord. En fin de compte, cette recherche contribue à une meilleure compréhension des échanges culturels méditerranéens et de l'héritage durable d'Al-Andalus dans l'Algérie d'aujourd'hui.

ملخص: تتناول هذه الدراسة التأثير العميق للهجرة الأندلسية على تلمسان بعد سقوط غرناطة عام 1492 وما تلا ذلك من طرد المسلمين من إسبانيا. وباعتبارها ملجأ رئيسيًا للمنفيين الأندلسيين، أصبحت تلمسان مركزًا ثقافيًا تم فيه الحفاظ على التقاليد الأندلسية في الهندسة المعمارية والموسيقى واللغة وتكييفها. من خلال تحليل السجلات التاريخية، وروايات الرحلات (بما في ذلك المصادر الاستعمارية الفرنسية والإنجليزية)، والمعالم المعمارية الباقية مثل مسجد سيدي بلحسن وقصر المنصورة، يوضح هذا البحث كيف أعيد تشكيل الهوية الحضرية والفنية لمدينة تلمسان من خلال التأثيرات الأندلسية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تتبع الدراسة تطور الموسيقى الأندلسية في تلمسان، وتسلط الضوء على اندماجها مع التقاليد المحلية لخلق أشكال متميزة مثل الحوزي. ويكشف التحليل اللغوي كذلك عن استمرار اللغة العربية الأندلسية في لهجات وأمثال تلمسان. ومن خلال توثيق هذه التحولات الثقافية، تتحدى هذه الأطروحة فكرة فقدان التراث الأندلسي بعد عام 1492، وتظهر بدلاً من ذلك كيف ازدهر في شمال أفريقيا. وفي نهاية المطاف، يساهم هذا البحث في فهم أوسع للتبادل الثقافي المتوسطي والإرث الدائم للأندلس في الجزائر الحديثة.